

# The Silent Europe

## *La Europa silenciosa*

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**Abstract:** The contribution deals with a number of areas in ancient Europe where the epichoric languages are predominantly and primarily onomastic. After a brief consideration of certain theoretical problems, it starts off with a survey of the “Ligurian” set of questions and then moves to the vast region which has been formally considered a domain of the “Illyrian” language. The paper discusses the available data and reviews anthroponymic provinces traditionally selected in this area as well as geographical names, also going beyond the traditional borders of the “Illyrian” space.

**Keywords:** Onomastic languages. Ligurian. Illyrian. Para-Venetic. Pannonian. Anthroponymic provinces. Onomastic groups.

**Resumen:** Esta contribución se ocupa de una serie de áreas de la antigua Europa en las que las lenguas epicóricas conocidas son predominantemente y principalmente onomásticas. Tras una breve consideración de ciertos problemas teóricos, se comienza con una aproximación a las cuestiones referidas al “ligur” para luego trasladarse a la vasta región que tradicionalmente se consideraba como el dominio de la lengua “iliria”. El trabajo analiza los datos disponibles y revisa las provincias antroponímicas tradicionalmente incluidas en esta área, así como los nombres geográficos, buscando ir más allá de los tradicionales límites del espacio “ilirio”.

**Palabras clave:** Lenguas onomásticas. Ligur. Ilirio. Para-Venético. Panonio. Provincias antroponímicas. Grupos onomásticos.

**Recepción:** 23.01.2020 | **Aceptación:** 12.03.2020



## 1. Introduction

The impressive part of Europe remained silent until the Middle Ages, but the degrees of this silence vary. In this essay I will consider only data from those areas which were drawn into the orbit of Graeco-Roman traditions and influences and which were at least partially incorporated into the Roman Empire, and only Indo-European languages will be surveyed. This appears to be a reasonable approach that eliminates from discussion a wide range of problems related to the treatment of Baltic and Slavic data in this context, and the question of what was the idiom spoken in a particular area of (North-) Eastern Europe at a given time will not concern us. Continental Celtic, Germanic, and Thracian data alongside evidence from Hispania is discussed in separate chapters, and therefore is omitted from this overview. The identification of the Indo-European languages traced solely by loanwords in other idioms remains speculative and will not be dealt with here, either. Due to the fact that the bulk of linguistic data stems from geographical names, and taking other factors in consideration, some (if not most) of these “silent” idioms have been considered non Indo-European, such as the “Ligurian” language, or allowed to be non-Indo-European (Illyrian, Thracian, etc.). This approach is at least partially justified, as place-names could have been (and in many cases indeed were) inherited from the previous population(s). This brings into question the problem of definition of what in fact we deal here with.

The traditional label which is used to describe this set of data is based on the notion of fragmentarily attested language. This is a useful umbrella term which could be applied equally to Venetic or Ancient Macedonian to oppose them, say, to Greek or Latin, which are described as corpus languages; for quasi-corpus languages, such as Etruscan see Marchesini 2009, 57. Within fragmentarily attested languages a further differentiation is provided: “those that have at least one attested text / inscription and those that are attested only through onomastics or individual words in texts written in other languages”, as Mate Kapović (2017, 5) formulates it. The former, which include Lusitanian, “Lepontic”, Venetic and Messapic alongside many other idioms are normally called *Restsprachen* or *Trümmersprachen* (see Untermann 1980). The second group of languages is traditionally labelled “onomastic” and comprises purely onomastic entities and those for which glosses are also recorded. The difference between *Restsprachen* and “onomastic” languages may be insignificant, while their differentiation could be misleading in quite a few

cases. The first and foremost feature that distinguishes one from another is the availability of inscriptions. However, “Ligurian” is claimed by some scholars to be known for a number of inscribed stelae, but generally is still considered onomastic, as the inscriptions may be ascribed to a different language. Thracian is regarded as a *Restsprache* notwithstanding that quite a few academics regard it as “unepigraphic” due to the fact that inscriptions assigned to this language allow for a multitude of interpretations, and some of them are even thought to be non-Thracian (see a useful survey in Dana 2015). Thracian in this scheme is opposed to Dacian as a completely onomastic language, but for the latter some scholars, I think incorrectly, still support the authenticity of the inscription *Decebalus per Scorilo*, which is maintained by others to be Latin (see references in Dana 2014, 48). If we take Dacian (or Dacian-Moesian in a different terminology) in wider terms, as was done e.g., by V. Georgiev who was the first to differentiate between these two Paleo-Balkan languages,<sup>1</sup> it is maintained that there is also the inscription in a closely related “Mysian” language in Asia Minor (cf. Georgiev 1977, 181-92 and 199-200). We find this view in many modern publications although the linguistic attribution of this text is disputable and the “Mysian” data itself is highly debatable. On top of that it should be taken into consideration that Georgiev’s differentiation of the Eastern Paleo-Balkan languages, still popular in the academic community, has not received universal support and the opposite opinion should not be discounted (for the comprehensive discussion see Janakieva 2014).

The data from onomastic languages is by default very defective. The lack — in the majority of cases — of the semantic component of the analysis jeopardises any discussion (for that see recently Yanakieva 2017), and the absence of any data from the later and better attested stages of the history of a language<sup>2</sup> cannot but make any conclusion very tentative. Also, it should always be taken into consideration that we deal with several distinctive layers of data. Glosses are most useful of course, as they provide meaning for the glossed indigenous word. However, this stratum may be treacherous: wrong labels may appear, as e.g., Thracian instead of Phrygian or *vice versa*, the compiler may well mishear

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1 The term “Paleo-Balkan” is used in this paper as a traditional linguistic label (cf. Neroznak 1978) disrespectful of the geographic location of the idioms, some of which were spoken far way from the Balkan peninsula; for the changing notion of “Balkan” applied to the territories of modern Croatia see Slukan Altić 2011.

2 Although Albanian has been claimed to descend from “Illyrian”, it is not the case; see different views expressed e.g., in Kaluzhskaya 2001, 8-12; Eichner 2004, 110-113; Matzinger 2009.

an indigenous word and render it incorrectly, and it is quite frequent that a Latin or Greek word or a phrase, sometimes garbled, is marked as a gloss in this or that language.<sup>3</sup> A different set of questions is presented in the study of place-names. First, as noted above, a discussion of place-names in a given area implies a chronological criterion. This layer of data may comprise recent coinages together with the formations inherited from previous population(s), including those of pre-Indo-European provenance. On top of that, movements of population may result in the emergence of geographical names similar or identical to those popular in the original *habitat* of these groups of migrants. Besides that, means of transmission of the geographical names should always be taken into consideration, as well as the peculiarities of their adaptation — graphical, morphological, etc. — by Greek and Roman writers, and the question of folk etymology should be borne in mind. It is also known that in the course of transmission of the data, which may last for a millennium, geographical names show notable (and noticeable) variation, but in many cases this should be explained not by phonetic development in a given language, but by the changes, either in orthographic canons or due to historical phonetics, of the language of their transmission. The native place-name may sometimes be attested for the first time in an adstratum language, and its reconstruction is bound to take into consideration even more factors. One must also consider the problem of stratification of data yielded by geographical names. There is a long ongoing dispute as to whether it should be used indiscriminately of the objects it designates, and similar sequences found in settlement names were treated together with those attested in oronyms and river-names to provide evidence for morphological models attested in an onomastic language. A different approach differentiates the data, and the models are constructed on the basis of generically compatible sources. In any event this information should be treated differently from that provided by personal names.

This set of data provides us with only limited possibilities for historical linguistic analysis, while etymologies of anthroponyms and divine names, particularly uncompounded, are mostly unreliable. As the names appear mostly in Latin or Greek texts and guises, their morphological peculiarities are in many cases undetectable. Frequently questions of their assignment to a particular language arise, and often no positive answer to it seems affordable.

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3 See methodological notes in Neroznak 1978, 37-65, 163-164 and 174-185, which offers a useful, although slightly outdated survey of the Paleo-Balkan data, and Falileyev 2011a, 91-94 for Ligurian.

Nevertheless, their distribution may provide boundaries for anthroponymic provinces, which also takes into consideration the naming formula. Still, the analysis even within one layer of the data may be erroneous, and heterogeneous in origin evidence could be considered. This danger was elegantly illustrated by Y. V. Otkupshikov (1988, 95) with the example of modern settlement-names *Dublin*, *Pushkin* and *Berlin* containing the final sequence [in], but they belong to different languages and it is obvious in this case that the selection of the alleged suffix *\*-in-* is wrong. Mapping two layers of onomastics together – place-names and personal names – sometimes leads to interesting results, but it is also not infrequent that these two maps do not match each other. In addition to that it should be remembered that a *Sprachgebiet* may not correspond to a *Namengebiet*, and when we deal solely with an anthroponymic province, the language responsible for its coinage may, particularly if they share a number of names, or may not lie behind the coinage of the neighbouring anthroponymic province. There is, certainly, a possibility to correlate data obtained from the analysis of place-names with that of the anthroponyms, and on that basis to reconstruct fragments of the language underlying them on a phonetic and morphological level. Moreover, some traits of a number of onomastic languages are obvious now, and this is mainly due to the contrast with neighbouring idioms. This certainly allows a diachronic glimpse of phonetics and morphology of a given idiom, but due to the character of the data it always should be treated cautiously. Thus, Y. V. Otkupshikov (1988, 79) noted the following paradox: a comparison of a personal name Μακηδόνιος with a place-name Μακηδονία is commonly accepted while identification of ἀηδόνιος ‘of a nightingale’ and ἀηδονία ‘loss of pleasure’ is untenable. All the outlined difficulties, as well as the most vexed question of chronology, compromise the usage here of the terms ‘language’, ‘idiom’ and ‘dialect’ relevant for most contributions in this volume, and in many cases the notion of ‘language’ is simply inapplicable. The term ‘hypothetical’ assigned by S. Marchesini (2009, 57) to Ligurian is equally valid for other labels used below, and in addition the character of data and the history of scholarship also affect the usage of linguistic and taxonomic labels such as “Illyrian” or “Pannonian”, they are conventional and may comprise linguistically heterogeneous data.

All that prompts a slightly different lay-out of this chapter, which contain sections of various structures and lengths for the discussion of relevant areas of ‘Silent Europe’. More specifically, at some point in the history of scholarship the region was labelled “Illyrian”, indeed “a very ambiguous term” misused by

generations of scholars (Polomé 1982, 866): as known, “Illyrian” data has been detected throughout Europe, from the British Isles to the Eastern Europe.<sup>4</sup> Below the term ‘Illyrian’ will be used mostly in its geographic meaning, thus comprising the huge area covered by the Roman province of Illyricum and adjacent areas. Before dealing with data from Illyricum the records of “Ligurian” will be surveyed. Although its location is undeniably well beyond the borders of the Roman province, this isolated data is relevant for the discussion of the contribution of ‘Silent Europe’ to European epigraphy, and the fact that it was considered “Illyrian” once (or, within a different scheme, *Ligures-cum-Illyriis*, associated with them; Mees 2003, 17) also excuses its discussion in this particular chapter.

## 2. Ligurian

The very concept of Ligurian remains very vague, and the “Ligurian” language has been observed both as non-Indo-European (“Mediterranean”, akin to Iberian or Etruscan, with parallels in the Caucasian languages, etc.) and Indo-European. As the Indo-European language it has been viewed as a phase of Celtic,<sup>5</sup> and a self-standing idiom. In the latter approach Ligurian was associated with Illyrian, has been contrasted to Latin and Celtic (e.g. Petracco Sicardi 1981b), and its links with Lusitanian also have been discussed (see Urbanová & Blažek 2009, 181). Besides, claims have been made that what we call “Ligurian” comprises several layers: a pre-Indo-European layer, which is traced by the number of suffixes in geographical names, and one or more Indo-European (or even Indo-europeanized pre-Indo-European) layers. There are also pessimistic views, for example: “[d]espite claims that some words or place-names (e.g. those ending in *-asco*, like *Giubasco*) are diagnostically Ligurian, the existence of any Ligurian language is still hypothetical”, F. R. Hodson & J.F. Drinkwater in *OCD*, 861; but this approach may equally be applied to other idioms surveyed in this chapter.

In the past, traces of Ligurian have been detected in Hispania, Sicily and Corsica, Normandy and the southern part of *Germania*. The reasons for that

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4 It is worth noting that less than two centuries ago the existence of an Illyrian-Thracian (and Dacian, if the differentiation is still allowed) linguistic community was maintained. These views have been long abandoned; see Rădulescu 1987, 239-240; De Simone 2018, 1867-1868.

5 At least from the last third of the nineteenth century there is the notion of “Ligurian Celtic” as a stage in the development of Celtic languages, cf. De Bernardo Stempel 2006, 47-49.

were straightforward: the conclusions were based on the evidence provided by ancient authors and alleged parallels in the toponymic landscapes of the areas (for the historiography of the question, with different conclusions, see Mees 2003, 16-18, 21-22; Untermann 2006, 1759-1761; Rubat Borel 2008; Falileyev 2011a). As the evidence remains unclear, attempts have been made to limit the Ligurian area. Thus, J. de Hoz (2005, 175) considered “it necessary to differentiate [sic] the people called Ligurians who inhabited the Roman *regio Liguria*, whose cultural personality is well defined and probably included the use of an IE language of which we know very little, and the culturally related but probably not homogenous peoples, perhaps speakers of various languages [...]. Once more we can speak of restricted and broad Ligurians”. To the Roman *regio Liguria* one should add the neighbouring territories, as e.g., those of South(-eastern) France (see e.g., Barruol 1999), but even with this imposed limitation the data at our disposal remains controversial. Already the chronological aspect of the problem is troublesome: the speakers of “Ligurian” apparently survived well into Roman times, while the first mention of them is recorded by Hesiod. This already gives us a millennium of non-linguistic evidence for the existence of the Ligurians, but the testimony of their language (*stricto sensu*) is so meagre and sometimes extraordinary controversial that it hardly allows for any generalisations.

Ligurian epigraphic evidence, which is central to this volume, remains enigmatic. In the past it was believed that it could be claimed for dozens of inscriptions, but they were proved to be Lepontic; see the chapter by D. Stifter above. A number of stelae inscribed with North-Italian script in Liguria and Lungiana are thought by scholars to contain texts in Ligurian, but others opt for their Celtic interpretation (see Morandi 2004, 695-702 with further references). The nature of these short texts, dating from the sixth century BC (judging by the objects), such as *Mezu Nemusus*, does not allow for far reaching conclusions, and their linguistic attribution remains disputable. It depends enormously on the interpretation of extra-linguistic factors, and particularly on the dating and characteristic features of the Celtic idiom(s) in the area. Some inscriptions from various parts of Italy have been discussed as “Ligurian” in a number of papers by A. Zavaroni (cf. Zavaroni & Mezzani 2017 for those in the provinces of La Spezia and Massa-Carrara in Liguria), and these readings and interpretations are doomed to be questioned. Undisputable Ligurian evidence is found in the Latin epigraphy of the area and in the classical sources as personal and geographical names. Relevant allegedly

Ligurian personal names are not compounded, and do not provide any important information for historical phonetics. However, J. Untermann (2006, 1762-1766) with due caution singled out a number of models which may be labelled as Ligurian. They include *patronymica* in *-anio-* (as in *Mocus Meticanio Mericoni f.*) and names in *-elio-*;<sup>6</sup> the author also provides a list of names relevant for the discussion of the *Namengebiet* on pp. 1767-1768. Untermann admits a possibility that the suffix found in the names may have a parallel in *-el-* formations frequent in local toponymy. Geographical names are in fact the most important source of our knowledge of Ligurian; see the corpus and discussion of the data from *regio Liguria* in Petracco Sicardi 1981a, and from south-eastern France in Barruol 1999. There is also a limited number of Ligurian “glosses” available, the sole layer of data where the semantic component is not missing. Most of them, however, are difficult, and interpretation of nearly all of them remains controversial, and some most probably should not be labelled “Ligurian” at all (see Falileyev 2011a, 91-94). A few of them, at least at face value, may be helpful, however, as the explanation of the Ligurian name of the river Po (Latin *Padus*) by Pliny (*Nat.* 3.122), “*Ligurum quidem lingua amnem ipsum Bodincum vocari, quod significet fundo carentem*”. It provides the semantics underlying the hydronym *Bodincus*, and its comparison with Latin *fundus* is important. As the latter goes back to PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>ud<sup>h</sup>no-*, it prompts a suggestion that aspirated PIE consonants lost their aspiration in Ligurian, and PIE *\*u* yielded Lig. *o*. Although this evidence, due to obvious reasons, should be treated with caution, the rest of the toponymic data, the meaning of which is unknown, is even more difficult to treat (Petracco Sicardi 1981a; Falileyev 2014b). Even the compounded forms have been analysed in different ways. The only exception seems to be the hydronym *Porcobera* (*CIL* V, 7749, var. *Procobera*, cp. *Porcifera* Plin. *Nat.* 3.5.48) analysed as a compound *\*porko-* ‘salmon’ & *\*b<sup>h</sup>er-* ‘carry’, thus adding the preservation of PIE *\*p-*, *\*o* and *\*e* in Ligurian to the features already known. The oronym *Berigiema* (*CIL* V, 7749) has been treated as a compound containing *\*b<sup>h</sup>er-* ‘carry’ & *\*g<sup>h</sup>eiem* ‘snow’ (thus P. Kretschmer, H. Krahe or recently V. Blažek), and as simplex, to PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>erǵ<sup>h</sup>-* ‘hill’ followed by *-(i)ema /-ie-ma* (so G. Petracco Sicardi or M. Mariani). The geographical name, however, is Celtic for P. De Bernardo Stempel (2006, 46), who traces it to *\*Bérgeomā*. The hydronym *Vindupalis* (*ex riuo Vindupale, ex riuo Vendupale, CIL* V, 7749), is traditionally analysed as

6 As in *Avelius*; note that the models are attested in other languages of Ancient Italy (Marchesini 2009, 99). On the suffix see also Repanšek 2016, 331.



a compound *\*vindu e̅ -palis* ‘(river with) white pebbles / stones’, but B. M. Prósper (1998) prefers seeing in it *\*vind-upalis* ‘winding river’,<sup>7</sup> and P. De Bernardo Stempel (2006, 49), as expected, takes it for Celtic. The last example also raises the question of borrowings from Ligurian: Lepontic *pala* ‘(funerary) stone’ is sometimes viewed as such, see the chapter on Cisalpine Celtic above. Also, a number of words in the local dialects of Italian have been claimed to go back to the Ligurian substrate, but this data is totally unreliable for any further conclusions (see Urbanová & Blažek 2009, 180 or Falileyev 2011a, 93-94 with further references).

Notwithstanding the uncertainties of the interpretation of the data, attempts have been made to describe the historical phonetics of the Indo-European layer of the Ligurian complex. These are due to the efforts of J. Whatmough, G. Devoto, M. Lejeune, and we owe to G. Petracco Sicardi (1981a, 26-27; 1981b) a possibly detailed sketch of the historical phonetics of Indo-European Ligurian. I revisited the question thirty years later and that allowed upgrading the scheme, and also to offer a selection of hitherto differently interpreted word-formation models (Falileyev 2011a, 103-109; 2014a, 90-91). Certainly, the scheme remains very tentative and fragmentary due to the character of the data, it does not include any endeavour to establish relative chronology of sound changes, and no socio-linguistic comments may be allowed. There are solid grounds, however, to claim that it was a *centum* language, and in contrast to Latin PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>* is realised in it as *b*, and generally PIE aspirates were deaspirated. In contrast to Celtic initial PIE *\*p-* was retained, and sonorants stayed intact. The majority of the underlying vowels were preserved (*\*o* - sporadically), *\*u* in some positions yielded *o*, and *\*yo* > *ye*. Various types of word formation, including compounding, are attested, and the inventory of suffixes include *-ink-*, *-isk-*, *-l-*, *-jo-*, *-ask-*, some of which may be in fact pre-IE or of multiple origins. This is what may be deduced from what remains at our disposal and any attempt to establish the precise place of the Indo-European (layer) of Ligurian within other IE branches, for those reasons, could only be speculative.

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7 For a possibility that this Ligurian hydronym denotes ‘white (or winding) river’ with a different interpretation of the second component, see Falileyev 2011b.

### 3. Illyrian questions

The “Illyrian question” is a multifaceted one, and was answered differently by linguists, archaeologists and historians at different times. The area where the corresponding language was spoken was defined variously in the course of the last century of investigations (see fig. 1). At first it extended greatly from ancient Illyria across Europe, and there was a strong tendency to detect “Illyrian” geographical names in areas quite distant from the Balkans. In the sixties of the last century this pan-Illyrian theory collapsed, giving way to the discussion of *Alteuropäisch* on the one hand,<sup>8</sup> and to the definition and the analysis of onomastic provinces in the areas east of the Adriatic Sea up to the Danube and south to the Alpine range on the other. The history of “Illyrian” scholarship and of its impact on Indo-European linguistics are well studied (see Neroznak 1978, 156-158; Mees 2003, 17-26; De Simone 2018, 1867-1869), and as these authors provide ample bibliographic references, this question will not be discussed below, which allows for concentrating attention on more recent research. Although Messapic in Southern Italy has long been considered to be the language of settlers from Illyricum (on the historical sources see Dzino 2014, 47-48), and therefore analysed within the Illyrian paradigm, this point of view has now been questioned (Eichner 2004, 108-110).<sup>9</sup> The Venetic language, once viewed as part of the “Illyrian” continuum, has regained its separate and distinctive linguistic value (see above).

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8 Cf. Mees 2003, 25: “Krahe’s hydronymic theory appears to represent little more than an *idée fixe* [...], which ultimately only represents a recycled form of Celto-Ligurian and Illyro-Venetic”. On the collapse of the Pan-Illyrian approach, see De Simone 2018, 1868 with major references.

9 See the contribution of S. Marchesini in this volume. The monograph by Joachim Matzinger “Messapisch” appeared too late to be consulted.

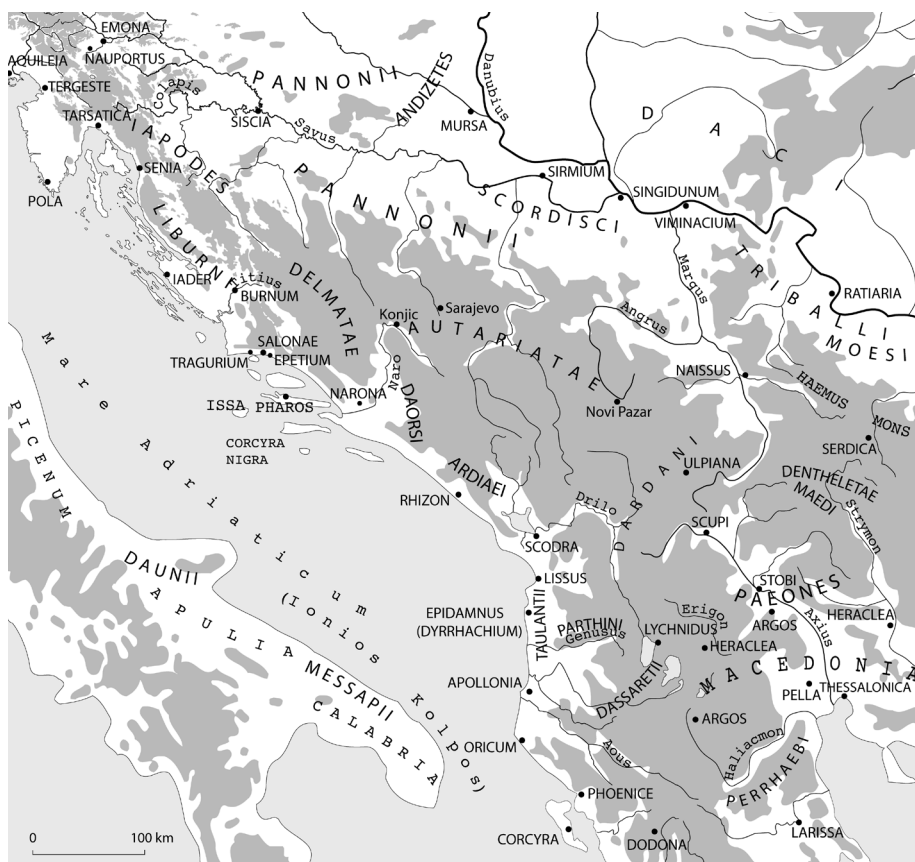


Fig. 1. The western Balkan area with the main ancient ethnonyms and cities (Šašel Kos 2004, 495).

The meaning and pre-history of the ethnonym “Illyrian”, nevertheless, remains vague and disputable (see the survey in Šašel Kos 2004; Eichner 2004, 105-7; Dzino 2014 for this changing concept in the ancient ethnographic discourse). According to N. G. L. Hammond and J. Wilkes (*OCD*, 746) the Illyrians were “a large group of related Indo-European tribes, who occupied in classical times the western side of the Balkan range from the head of the Adriatic Sea to the hinterland of the Gulf of Valona and extended northwards as far as the eastern Alps and the Danube and eastwards into some districts beyond the Balkan range”. Therefore, it is appropriate to begin this survey with a reflection on the linguistic data available in this geographically vast area. Firstly, this is an unepigraphic territory: notwithstanding a considerable number of Greek and Latin inscriptions, as well as some Venetic texts in its northern fringe, not a single epichoric inscription is found. The text on the finger ring from Kalaja

e Dalmacës (Albania) was considered as such until it was proved in 1959 to be a Byzantine Greek inscription. The sixth - fifth century text on pottery from Pod near Bugoina (Bosnia), if not in fact the ornament, has been read as a mixture of Etruscan and Umbrian alphabets, and it has been admitted that it contains Etruscan words. Although there are constant attempts to provide evidence for “Illyrian” borrowings in the other Balkan languages, ancient and modern, a clear-headed look at evidence at our disposal offers more modest results.<sup>10</sup> There are three Illyrian glosses considered by academics nowadays (Katičić 1976, 170-171; Eichner 2004, 93-4), although there is a score of words in the works of the authors of antiquity labelled as “Illyrian”. Hesychius preserved the Illyrian name for satires (Δευάδαι· οί σάτ<υρ>οι ὑπ Ἴλλυριῶν), which is traditionally equated with the Paeonian name for Dionysos Δυάλος. The form is traced to OInd *dhūnoti* ‘he shakes’ and Gr. θύω ‘rage’, thus aiming to illustrate the development of \**dh* > *d*. Another markedly Illyrian gloss is the word for ‘mist’ found in a *scholion* to Odyssey 5.281, *rinos* (in acc. sg. ῥίνον), and this has been compared with Albanian *re* (older *ren*) ‘cloud’. These two words are labelled merely as Illyrian, which is not altogether helpful in placing them in a particular place of Illyricum *lato sensu*. The third gloss is provided in two sources: Ammianus Marcellinus (26.8.2) names *sabaia* as the word for a liquor made of barley or some other grain in Illyricum, and St. Jerome in his commentary to Isaias 7, 19 mentions it as *sabaium*, specifying it as peculiar to the Dalmatian-Pannonian area (“*in Dalmatiae Pannoniaeque provinciis*”). The traditional approach connects it with the putative PIE \**sab-* ‘juice’, but as a recent discussion of lat. *sapa* ‘new wine boiled down to a proportion of its original volume’ by M. De Vaan (2008, 538) warns us, this may be a loanword from a non-IE source. The name of beverage is certainly connected with *sabaiarius* ‘beer-drinker’ applied to the emperor Valens and has been also further connected with the Thracian and Phrygian name of Dionysus Σαβάδιος, Σαβάζιος (Mayer 1957, 287-28). It is significant that St. Jerome himself stems from Dalmatia, and therefore it is likely that we are dealing here with the first-hand linguistic evidence, although his knowledge of local languages is always questioned. This evidence is also intriguing insofar as the area known for brewing practices comprises the Dalmatian and Pannonian regions, and Priscus (FHG 4. 83) records the Pannonian word for beer *camum* (see on this

10 E.g., Kaluzhskaya 2001 in Albanian and Rumanian contexts, and Beekes 2010, 6, 19 *et passim* for the Greek ones. Only a few words are now maintained to be borrowed into Greek from Illyrian, e.g., βᾶρις ‘boat, large house’, (Beekes 2010, 202). See also Falileyev 2008.

set of issues Dzino 2005). The fourth gloss sometimes considered here is *sybina* ‘hunting spear’, but its interpretation and linguistic attribution are totally uncertain (see Georgiev 1977, 235; Neroznak 1978, 164; Beekes 2010, 1327).

As R. Katičić (1976, 171) rightfully stressed, “[w]hatever the value of these glosses and of the etymological equations they invite, it is clear that on their basis no comprehensive study of Illyrian historical phonology is possible. The only possibility, if any, to arrive at such a goal is to include in etymological research the names that are directly or indirectly attested in ancient Illyricum”. These names have been well collected, first for the whole vast area under the umbrella term “Illyrian” (Krahe 1925, 1929; Mayer 1957), then within the discussion of the anthroponymy of various Roman provinces (e.g., Alföldy 1969) and nowadays catalogues and discussions are available for various smaller regions. Indeed, it is likely that the analysis of onomastics in certain cases may be very illustrative. The personal name *Vescleves* in Latin inscriptions of Liburnia (Kurilić 2002, 133) may well go to PIE *\*uesu-k'leu-* (Skt. *Vasuśravas*), while the place-name located in modern Montenegro *Birziminium* (references in Mayer 1957, 88) may be based on IE *\*b<sup>h</sup>erg<sup>h</sup>-* ‘high’, also taking into consideration its Slavic name Podgorica, lit. ‘which is under a hillock’. The examples, however, point to different reflexes of PIE palatal guttural, and the discussion as to whether Illyrian is a *satem* (so Jokl, Mayer, Russu) or *centum* language (thus Hirt, Krahe, Whatmough) continue (see Mayer 1959, 166-183; Polomé 1982, 872-874). To explain this obvious controversy, it has been suggested that there was a depalatalisation of palatal gutturals in certain positions, the presence of *centum* elements in a *satem* language and *vice versa* was considered, and the validity of etymologies was also questioned. It has been noted also that many *centum* etymologies are relevant for the data from the North-West of the area, and the areal approach to the analysis has duly been considered. A similar question is the fate of PIE *\*o* which is preserved in some examples while in the other has yielded *a*, and various answers have been given to it (see e.g., Polomé 1982, 875 or Rădulescu 1987, 255-257). Generally, the idea that Illyrian was an undivided language has always been queried, at least in terms of influences: two distinctive regions in the north and in the south were observed already in the early days of scholarship (Kretschmer 1896, 271), the “double” reflex of PIE *\*o* prompted V. Georgiev (1977, 236) to allow two layers of Illyrian, and the notion of “Pannonio-Dalmato-Illyrian” (Rădulescu 1987, 257) is still not infrequent in linguistic discourse.<sup>11</sup>

11 There are also more complicated schemes. For example, K. Witczak (2005, 333) enu-

It has been observed that the epichoric personal names of Illyricum form several distinctive groups, and the territories where the anthroponyms are localised are geographically well-defined. So, in this vast area we have a number of “onomastic regions” (or “onomastic repertoires”, for that see De Simone 2018, 1988-9), and three onomastic provinces which were selected initially are, from north to south, Liburnian (Rendić-Miočević 1955), Central Dalmatian (Katičić 1962b), and Southeast Dalmatian (Katičić 1962a). There are also variations in naming formulas with epichoric anthroponyms preserved in Latin and Greek inscriptions. One should also keep in mind that a limited number of anthroponyms is common to all provinces, such as *Andes*, *Andia*, etc. (see Mirković 2010), and this cannot but remind us that D. Dana (2014, 65-67) in his analysis of personal names of the Eastern Balkans selects a group of “Pan-Thracian” names which are found in all the onomastic provinces he postulates for the huge area. With minor exceptions interpretation of personal names remains guesswork.<sup>12</sup> It should also be kept in mind that the “onomastic provinces” are in fact “anthroponymic” provinces, and the analysis of geographical names, some of which were coined by previous layers of the population, becomes secondary, although in many cases helpful for these investigations, and for the selection of “Pannonian” is quintessential. Place-names are more safely interpreted etymologically than the personal names (*cf.* Mayer 1959, 20) insofar as they reflect the topographic landscape, but otherwise their interpretation may be deceitful. Geographical names of Illyricum do not fall directly into areal sub-divisions,<sup>13</sup> and it has been noted that the “recurrent derivational patterns, e.g. in *-ona* (*Aenona*, *Emona*, *Narona*, *Scardona*, *Salona*), only confirm that the onomastic formations are basically Indo-European” (Polomé 1982, 869). It is important to note that this morphological model (*recte*: in *-ōn-*), long noted and well discussed (e.g., Krahe 1929, 146; 1946, 212 and 219-218), is attested throughout the vast area irrespective of the borders of anthroponymic provinces. Many other patterns with a similar loose distribution are also detected, as in *\*-īnii-* in

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merates among Palaeo-Balkan languages Pannonian, Moesian, Getic, Thracian, Bessan, Illyrian, Liburnian, Istrian, Dardanian, Paeonian, Macedonian, Epirotic and Dacian. For the region to be discussed here only some of the mentioned labels are relevant and they will be analysed below.

12 See e.g., for the analysis of *Skerdilaidas* as ‘high priest’ Rădulescu 1987, 254-255 or a survey of guesses on the pre-history of *Bato* in Polomé 1982, 871; for its treatment as an originally divine name see Šašel Kos 2004, 501

13 See the discussion in Falileyev 2013, 298-301; also Toporov 1984, 17 for a wider perspective.

*Berginium* or *Ulcinium* (see Anreiter 2001, 18). Some models may be found only in parts of Illyricum and outside of it, also in the areas never associated with “Illyrians”, as place names in *-e/ata* (Falileyev 2013, 299-301) or those in *-st-* (Krahe 1946, 220).<sup>14</sup> Place-names in *-ca*, as *Lopsica* or *Tarsatica* (see Šimunović 2013, 169 and 180-181) have possible but in no way obliging parallels in the hydronymy of the Balkans in *-k-* (*-kos, -kes, -kus*, Yanakieva 2009, 169), and more exact matches in place-names such as *Acuca* in Apulia, or in a cluster of toponyms in North-Western Dacia (*Alboca, \*Cauca, Napoca, \*Rataca*, discussed in Dana & Nemeti 2016, 89-92). The nature of the correspondences, nevertheless, may be coincidental.

The reconstruction of a language on the basis of onomastics alone is a treacherous task. Moreover, as E. Polomé (1982, 868) reminds us, “it remains unwarranted to infer that the linguistic situation of Illyricum is directly reflected in these three major onomastic areas with their internal and outside correspondences”. All these compromises attempt to compile etymological dictionaries or outline historical grammars on the basis of the data collected from the whole Roman province of Illyricum, and the factor of coincidence (*cf.* Falileyev 2008; 2015b) should be taken into account. It is remarkable that out of three anthroponymic areas only two may be considered “Illyrian” (and that in Southeast Illyricum is certainly “proper Illyrian”), while the northern province has been connected with (or at least viewed as much influenced by) the Venetic-speaking region, and the linguistic relationship between the Central and Southeastern Dalmatian provinces remains vague. With all these caveats and restrictions in mind the survey of regions will be presented below.

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14 Population movements should be taken into consideration in dealing with this problem. Thus Tergeste (modern Trieste), located in Venetic territories once was a Carnic village according to a historiographical account, and possibly belonged earlier to the Histri, *cf.* Šašel Kos 2007, 11.

#### 4. The Southeastern Dalmatian anthroponymic province and adjacent territories

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The province was established by R. Katičić (1962a), and the geographical area it occupies is delimited by the river Neretva (ancient Νάρων) in the north, the Adriatic coast in the west, the Greek world (in the wider sense as the problem of Macedonian and Epirotic does not concern us here) to the south and east. The region is thus associated with parts of the Roman provinces of Dalmatia and Macedonia, or, in modern terms, with parts of Albania and Montenegro. The repertoire of names attested there and known from narrative sources and numismatics includes *Aba*, *Abaius*, *Annaeus*, *Bardylis*, *Kalas*, *Cilles*, *Clevatus*, *Epicadus*, *Etleva*, *Etuta*, *Ettritius*, *Gentius*, *Glavus*, *Grabos*, *Laideas*, *Pinnes*, *Plassus*, *Pleuratus*, *Skerdilaidas*, *Temus*, *Teutana* and *Verzo* (as listed in Katičić 1964, 28-29; 1976, 179-180; De Simone 2018, 1869). Unfortunately, there is no definitive modern corpus of names for this province, and De Simone (2018) provides a basic bibliography of later discoveries. He also (*op. cit.*, 1870) aptly warns us that our knowledge of Southeastern Dalmatian anthroponymy “can be extended or even in part altered by new findings”. Compounded names are very rare for the province, and the naming formula occurring in Greek and Latin inscriptions comprises an individual name followed by a patronym in the genitive case, as *Temeiae Glavi f.*, *Ecco Epicadi* or Μαχάτας Γενθίου, and although it was suspected in the past that this originated under Greek influence, the model is nowadays viewed as epichoric. There are also exceptional formulas attested, e.g. *Sofus Silva* or *Sextus Bubulcus*, but these are found in big urban centres and particularly on the seacoast (for this set of matters see Katičić 1962a, 111-113).

As the province is located in the area which was according to Pliny (*Nat.* 3.144) inhabited by proper Illyrians (*Illyrii proprie dicti*, see Katičić 1964a; Dzino 2014, 46-47, 57-58 for the historical discussion), its anthroponyms (and toponyms) offer us a glimpse of the Illyrian language *stricto sensu*. Although it certainly remains an “unknown language”, to use the coinage of H. Eichner (2004), some of its traits may still be detectable. As C. De Simone (2018, 1870) admitted most recently, obvious PIE etymologies are acceptable for several personal names, such as Γενθιος / *Gentius* < \**ǵénh<sub>1</sub>-ti-s*, Τευτιος, Τεπι-τευτα, etc. < \**teutā* and Τριτος, Τριτω, etc. < \**tri-to-s*. This limited set of examples prompts conclusions that “proper” Illyrian was a *centum* language with a preservation of PIE \**e*, \**i*, \**eu*, \**t* and \**r*. The last two examples are uncontroversial,



and the trivial character of etymologies and parallels elsewhere – Greek, Celtic or Latin – are obvious (*cf.* Mayer 1959, 115-116, 119). It is important that the latter name is well attested in the Central Dalmatian anthroponymic province: it is known among the Japodes (Alföldy 1964, 60) as well as the Delmatae (Rendić-Miočević 1971, 169 lists sixteen attestations of *Tritus* and seven of *Tritano* in Rider alone). Its exact parallels are known in the anthroponymy of other languages (for Albanian see important observations in Matzinger 2009, 100-101), and therefore it has no diagnostic value for Illyrian *stricto sensu* or, indeed, for the whole area. Note also that according to H. Krahe (1946, 185) *Tritus*, *-a* are “shortened” names in view of *Et-tritus* or *Trita-nerus*. The preservation of PIE *\*-eu-* in names derived from *\*teutā* is notable, and is also found in the Pannonian territories (see the discussion of *Teutoburgium* in Anreiter 2001, 137-138; Prósper 2019, 35) and in the North-West, which is distinctive from Pannonia in several respects (see the comments in Repanšek 2016, 333). Whether this is a coincidence in the reflexes in the given areas, or whether it points to a common (or common ancestral) language in some of them, is impossible to say.

The first anthroponym discussed in this connection by de Simone, Γενθιος / *Gentius*, very well attested and also as the name of the last Ardiaei ruler in 181–168 BC (Krahe 1929, 53-55., Mayer 1957, 48-49), is more difficult.<sup>15</sup> For the proponents of the *satem* character of the language this etymology is improbable – the expected reflex is found in the attested *Zanatis* in Dalmatia (Alföldy 1969, 331-332). The name is derived in this approach from PIE *\*g<sup>wh</sup>en-* ‘swell, be full of’ (see Mayer 1959, 50), and although E. Polomé (1982, 870) found this etymology “obviously semantically rather unconvincing”, the usage of the synonymous PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>elg<sup>ʰ</sup>-* ‘swell’ in Celtic name formation does not allow us to abandon this etymology completely. As for place-names of the *Illyrii proprie dicti*, the most often quoted example is the *Ulcinium* (Ulcinj in modern Montenegro) which is traced to PIE *\*ul<sup>u</sup>kos* ‘wolf’ as well as the oronym *Ulcirus* in Dalmatia (unlocalised, see Ivšić 2012, 106) and *Ulcisia castra* (Anreiter 2001, 140-141) in Pannonia Inferior (Mayer 1959, 120). As summarised by Polomé (1982, 874), it points to the development of the *liquida sonans* into *-ul-* and the delabialization of the labiovelar *\*k<sup>u</sup>*, unless it is a conditioned change (see also notes in Repanšek 2016a, 34). Thus, a set of identical phonetic developments is shared by the data of three allegedly different regions of

15 See valuable remarks on the form and its distribution in Proeva 2017, 76-77 and 84. Its Celtic associations are noted too: Eichner 2004, 114.

Illyricum, and it should be noted that D. Ivšić (2012, 106) also admits tracing the oronym to PIE \*uelk- ‘moist’, which then finds the etymological parallel in Pannonian *Ulcaea palus* (Anreiter 2001, 139-140). As we can see, the data at our disposal does not allow us to reach any definite conclusions about the language of “real Illyrians” or its relation to other idioms across the borders of the area, and only hints at tiny fragments of the huge and enigmatic jigsaw.

Listing the name Λάγγαρος / *Langarus* in his register of southeastern Dalmatian anthroponymy R. Katičić (1962a, 111) also notes the Paeonian and Dardanian provenance of some of their bearers (cf. Mayer 1957, 204 and also Rădulescu 1987, 255-256). In the history of scholarship, the Paeonians, a group of tribes in the area of the rivers Axios (modern Vardar) and Astibus (Bregalnica) has been viewed as Illyrian (so already Kretschmer 1896, 246-249), and also as Thracian or Phrygian, and the ancient authors affiliated them with different peoples of the Balkans (see a useful overview in Katičić 1964, 116-20; for their assonance with the Pannonians see Grassl 1990). Paeonian linguistic data, which comprises one gloss, a dozen toponyms and several names (see Babamova 2008) has been assembled and discussed in Duridanov 1970 and Ködderitzsch 1985, 23-24. Unfortunately, the evidence is not sufficient for any generalisation. The Dardanian problem is even more complicated. The people, to whom the name is applied and which was in the past frequently discussed alongside Alb. *dardhë* ‘pear’ although other etymologies are known, too, occupied a comparatively vast area in the Central Balkans. Dardania bordered on Macedonia and fought with it on several occasions between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> cc. BC, and later was incorporated into the Roman province of Moesia Superior; for the history of the Dardanians see Petrović 2006. Classical ethnography connected them with the Dardans of Troy, and associations with Moesians are also observed. Several plant-names in the classical sources are labelled as “Dardanian” (see Witczak 2014), and the evidence of onomastics points to the conclusion that it was an “extremely mixed” area, with Thracian, “Illyrian” and “proper Dardanian” names (that is those unattested elsewhere as *Dicco* or *Mescena*), thus showing the movement of their bearers in prehistory (Mirković 2007). As expected, Thracian place- and personal names are found in eastern Dardania, while “Illyrian” onomastics dominates in the west. It has been observed that the “Illyrian” component of the anthroponymic repertoire of Dardania partially belongs to the Central Dalmatian province (*Dasius*, etc.), while the other part of it (e.g., *Etuta*, *Epicadus*, *Scerulaedus*) finds correspondences in the Southeastern (proper Illyrian) region, and it is suspected

that “in the west of Dardania an originally Illyrian anthroponymy was superseded by a Delmato-Pannonian stratum” (Katičić 1976, 181). Together with the Paeonian data, as far as the anthroponymy is concerned, the onomastic landscape of Dardania has been labelled as ambiguous (see Dana 2014, 30-32 and 78-83). It has been maintained that the onomastic formula contains a *nomen* and patronym. The language of the Dardanians, which has been viewed as Illyrian, Thracian, Illyro-Thracian or different from them both, remains enigmatic. Generally, the linguistic situation in what has become Roman Moesia Superior cannot be described even roughly as the information at our disposal is very sparse, and the territory witnessed massive relocations of population in prehistory. The linguistic component is difficult and sometimes impossible to access (e.g., the languages and dialects of the Triballi or the Scordisci; cf. Falileyev 2014a, 96-98), and disputes regarding the affiliation of the idiom of Moesians who dwelt in the eastern part of the province continue (for different views see Janakieva 2014; Dana 2014, 67-75 *et passim*). The same ambiguity is predominant also in the analysis of the south-(western) territories towards Epirus and Macedonia with the visible Illyrian component (for the *Dassaretia et Penestianae terrae* see the excellent study by Proeva 2017). In any event, the linguistic notion of ‘language’ is not applicable in all of the cases.

## 5. The Central Dalmatian anthroponymic province

The area to the north of the region occupied by the “proper Illyrians” is the home of the so-called Central Dalmatian onomastic province (Katičić 1962b). It goes as far north as the Liburnian territories, and the river Krka (*Titius*, *Corcoras*, or *Korkoras* of the ancient sources) is frequently quoted as its border. In the west the Adriatic coast provides its natural border, while the north-eastern limits of the territory are roughly defined by the river Sava, both south and north of it. The repertoire of names of the Central Dalmatian province has been well studied and includes such anthroponyms as *Apludus*, *Beuzas*, *Buzetius*, *Carvius*, *Germanus*, *Gresa*, *Panes*, *Pinsus*, *Planus*, *Scaeva*, *Sinus*, *Stataria*, *Stennas*, *Stennato*, *Tizius*, *Tudania*. The number of compounded forms is very restricted, and includes *Cursulavia*, *Pladomenus*, *Scenobarbus*, or *Scenocalus*. The names are found also beyond the province, and particularly in Dacia to where their bearers were moved from the south of the Danube in Roman times (see Ciobanu 1999). R. Katičić (1962b, 280-290) discusses at length the peculiarity of the name-formation of this province, viz. the popularity of feminine *n*-stem anthroponyms, as *Aplis* (masc.) and *Aplo* (fem.)

or *Vendes* (masc.) and *Vendo* (fem.), and notes that the onomastic formula varies. Shortly afterwards G. Alföldy (1964) argued for a differentiation of the whole province into smaller onomastic enclaves. This included the territory of the Delmatae and the Japodes, as well as the Pannonian group in the vicinity of the river Sava. He also remarks that the onomastic territory of Montenegro around modern Pljevlja is remarkable in many respects (Alföldy 1964, 98). The latter area has been well studied since, and the results of the analysis are published by M. Mirković (2012), who relates it to the Central Dalmatian province noting a number of peculiarities. The exact nature of this relation is disputable, and the local population may be viewed as indigenous, or removed from the Delmatae area in the Roman period. There are a number of epichoric names attested in this area only, as *Cambria* or *Cambrianus*, and as far as the onomastic formula is concerned, a *nomen* with two cognomina (as in *Aurelia Titulla Cambria*) is a frequent configuration. For the discussion see Mirković 2012, 61-64, where lateral kinship reflected in inscriptions is also analysed.

The Delmatae occupied the area between the rivers Krka and Narenta, bordering with the Liburni in the north and having various contacts with them which explains the presence of Liburnian names in the region (Zaninović 2007). In the east they bordered the Daesitiates, frequently labelled as the Pannonian tribe (see Dzino 2009 for the modern discussion of the identities pertaining to this group). The central stronghold of the Delmatae was Delminium,<sup>16</sup> and it has traditionally been equated with Albanian *delmë* ‘sheep’, which is also used for the explanation of the tribal name. Latin inscriptions from Rider (Danilo Kraljice in Croatia) contain the unprecedented record of the epichoric names of the onomastic province. The data was studied by D. Rendić-Miočević (1971), and it is obvious that the most popular name was *Aplis* and certainly connected with it *Aplo*, both found about thirty times. He also (1971, 170-171) observes the frequency of *n*-stem formation in anthroponymy (*Culo*, *Daeco*, etc.), and discusses names in *-as* (*Dasas*), *-es* (*Pines*) alongside other models. According to G. Alföldy (1964, 76-86) the area occupied by the Delmatae constitutes a distinctive onomastic area, which reflects contacts with the neighbours. As for the onomastic formula, various models are attested in Latin inscriptions, from a single name (*Tito*), also accompanied by a patronymic (*Panes Titi*), to a two-name formula with various variations (e.g., *Titis Candalio*, *Aplis Lunnicus Triti f.* or *Plator Carvius Batonis*). Its dis-

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16 Modern Tomislavgrad, formerly Duvno, in Bosnia; for the historical development of the toponym see Šimunović 2013, 165.

tribution is uneven and influences from the neighbouring regions have been detected.

In his analysis of the Japodean area G. Alföldy (1964, 59-64) noted its affinities with the Delmatian territories, which is only to be expected as both areas are in Katičić's Central Dalmatian anthroponymic province, and also pointed to Liburnian associations and its Celtic component. It may be reminded that in the past the Japodes have been viewed as an Illyrian, Celtic, Celtic and Illyrian or Celto-Illyrian mixed folk (see Dzino 2008, 371-375), and as far as the onomastic data is concerned, this question became a battlefield of opinions between R. Katičić and G. Alföldy. Nowadays the dispute is resolved in favour of the epichoric component (see the discussion in Falileyev 2015a, 923-927): the linguistically Celtic component in local place-names is in fact most probably non-existent, while that in personal names is certainly overestimated. It is worthy of note that archaeological Celtic associations in the territory of Japodes are limited, and similarities with the neighbouring Liburni and Colapiani are well established, but generally it is accepted that the territories form a definitive 'Japodean archaeological culture' (Dzino 2008, 376, also Dimitrijević, Težak-Gregl & Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, 282-305 for a concise survey). According to G. Alföldy (1964, 63-65), there is a number of unique names found in the Japodean area (*Deidmu* (gen.), *Loantius*, etc.), while the name formula may vary. It may simply contain a name (e.g., *Stennas*) or a name with a patronymic (e.g., *Andes Sini f.*), but a two-name formula is also well attested (*Turus Sarius* or *Vendes Dennaia Andentis f.*), and formations in *-icus* are found in the area, too. Alföldy (1964, 91-95) selects also a Pannonian sub-group in the north and notes *inter alia* anthroponyms known only from this territory (e.g. *Arbo*, *Daetor*, or *Proratus*) and those shared with the Delmatae (*Bato*, *Dasus*, etc.). It should be recalled that for a long time historians have observed the chronologically changing concept "Pannonian" in the works of ancient authors (*cf.* e.g., Domić Kunić 2012, 34), and the term remains ambiguous. Thus, it is a frequent occurrence that academics operate with terms such as "Illyrian-Pannonian" and "Pannonian-Illyrian" indiscriminately (*cf.* Radman-Livaja & Ivezić 2012, 139-140) and the view that Pannonians belong to the Illyrians is traditional, *cf.* Kretschmer 1896, 252-3. Strictly speaking, this is a misnomer, unless the bordering territory is meant, as it is commonly maintained that the "Pannonians" are the north-western neighbours of the "Illyrians" (Dzino 2014, 58). However, as Domić-Kunić (2012, 42) summarises, "[a]s a rule, Pannonia was not alternately called Illyricum;

that name was reserved for Dalmatia, an old Roman occupancy from where the name Illyricum spread to the north. Illyricum in the meaning of Pannonia is found, for instance, in Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.46; 1.53) and Suetonius (*Tib.* 25), as well as in late antique writings. Besides, the name Illyricum denoted the whole area along the south bank of the mid and lower Danube reaches (*cf.* Tac. *Hist.* 1.76; 2.86, and several later sources — e.g. SHA, *M. Ant.* 14.6; 22.1)” (see also Šašel Kos 2010). As for the anthroponymic “Pannonian” complex in Dalmatia, the label is still accepted by some scholars (*cf.* Mirković 2010) and rejected by the others. Generally, the tags are confusing,<sup>17</sup> and some of its consequences will be discussed below. From the point of view of anthroponymic nomenclature the data belongs to the Central Dalmatian province (Mócsy 1967, 196). Generally, as E. Polomé (1982, 868) observed decades ago, “[a]s for the central and south-eastern Dalmatian anthroponyms, they hardly provide enough evidence to indicate whether their bearers were speakers of different languages or merely of regional varieties of the same language”. The ancient toponymy of the area (see a survey in Šimunović 2013, 161-182) does not prompt any answers either.

## 6. The Liburnian anthroponymic province and the Northern Adriatic onomastic group

The Liburnian anthroponymic province of Dalmatia was first comprehensively discussed by D. Rendić-Miočević (1955). The Croatian scholar collected all available evidence and has shown that there are names particular for this province, discussed onomastic formulas attested in epigraphy and observed that the northern area of Liburnia between the rivers Zrmanja (*Tedanius fl.*) and Raša (ancient *Arsia* in Istria) is different from the rest of the territory as far as the onomastics is concerned. He also indicated influences and parallels in onomastics coming from the neighbouring regions. This research has been unanimously accepted (*cf.* Katičić 1964, 27-28), and due to the efforts of A. Kurilić (2002; 2010; 2012, etc.) our knowledge of the anthroponymic province has been considerably enhanced. Thus, we have a definitive list of names pertaining to the province (Rendić-Miočević 1955, 127-129, with a significant upgrade and thorough discussion in Kurilić 2002, 127-144), to which new findings add more data. The most common names are *C(a)eunus*, *Turus*,

17 E.g. Radman-Livaja & Ivezić 2012, 144: “[a] person with an Illyrian name could, of course, be a Pannonian, but he could just the same be an immigrant from the neighbouring province of Dalmatia”.

*Aetor*, *Voltisa* and *O(e)plus*, and although simple names predominate, compounds are also attested, particularly in the north, where we find *Host(i)dux* (twice in Albona), *Vescleves* (twice in Albona and in Apsorus), compounds in *Volt-*, etc. Various naming formulas with epichoric anthroponyms are attested in Latin inscriptions of the area, and it is maintained that the three-name formula (with variations) is popular. The identity of the Liburnians has been thoroughly discussed (Kurilić 2010, 2012; Dzino 2014, 52-55, and for the archaeologically distinctive area see Dimitrijević Težak-Gregl & Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, 306-318). Notwithstanding that some compounded personal names such as *Vescleves* allow for etymology, while for a number of them a plethora of possible etymological solutions may be offered (Falileyev 2017, 435 for the divine name *Sentona*), the majority of them (as well as toponymy, see the survey in Šimunović 2013, 161f.) remain etymologically obscure. It is fairly obvious, however, that they are best comparable with Venetic names, and therefore it is maintained that they were coined in a language probably belonging to the same group (cf. Polomé 1982, 868).

The better part of the Istrian peninsula inhabited by the Histri is located beyond the borders of Dalmatia, but local epichoric names have been viewed together with those found in the neighbouring Liburnia as well as Venetia. The discussion as to whether the names are “Venetic” or “Illyrian” lasted for centuries, and was summarised by D. Rendić-Miočević (1982) in his most important publication. The arguments were upgraded in Matijašić 2017, and we also have at our disposal a fundamental monograph-length survey of the anthroponymy of ancient Istria by M. Križman (1991), which also contains a very detailed analysis of the history of scholarship. It has been noted that “Istrian” names often perform the function of *gentilica* (*Fervalocus*, *Laepocus*, *Mocolicus*, etc.), with a recognisable set of suffixes *-icus*, *-a*, *-ocus*, *-a* (see Alföldy 1978 for a wider perspective), and Rendić-Miočević maintained that they go back to patronymics. He defines a “Piquentine anthroponymic formula” for the set from northern Istria (the area of Piquentum, modern Buzet), as in *Metellus Laepocus Suri f(i)lius*, *Messius Laevicus Lamberi lib(ertus)*, etc. The naming of females is sometimes distinctive from the Roman practice (Rendić-Miočević 1982, 71), and corresponds to that from Liburnia; see the discussion in Kurilić 2008. Although parallels of the anthroponymy of Istria have been found in the territory of the Delmatae (particularly Rider), stronger links are established with the onomastics of Liburnia, and also Venetia. It is obvious, however, that peculiar repertoires of names are recognizable in these three

areas, and it is perhaps important to draw attention to the fact that archaeologically they are also quite diverse. Again, we do not have reliable data at our disposal to speak about the language. There are very questionable etymologies for many epichoric personal names in Istria (see e.g., the survey in Križman 1991, 113 and 124-133), and although some of them look possible, there can be no generalisation. The analysis of place-names attested in the area does not lead us much further (Crevatin 1991; Falileyev 2017, 426-430), while the discussion of its hydronyms (Repanšek 2014) poses additional and mainly irrelevant problems. In terms of the anthroponymics, it is obvious that Histrian and Liburnian anthroponymy are parts of a bigger complex, sometimes labelled as the Northern Adriatic group (*cf.* Alföldy 1978).

This North-Adriatic group, as A. Kurilić (2010, 136) stresses, is “a separate and recognizable corpus of names and therefore should be treated as a distinct and independent unit, and not — as it was sometimes indicated in the older literature — as the “Illyrian” or “Venetic” group”. She also points out that its exact equation with Venetic is inappropriate, and the group, to which various labels have been applied,<sup>18</sup> comprises more distinctive *Namenlangschaften*. The area of “Igian onomastics” is found further north-east in the area of the modern Slovenian town of Ig and adjacent territories up to the Emona basin. The area of Šmarata, sometimes considered here, does not belong to it but certainly is part of North-Adriatic onomastic complex. Its anthroponymic repertoire (*Feuconts*, *Planius*, *Tatsoria*, *Volta* are attested as cognomina, and *Lassonius*, *-a*, *Poteiius*, possibly *Turoius* as gentilicia) has been researched (see Repanšek 2016, 323-325 and 332-333). The “Igian province” itself has long been established (see the survey of scholarly discussions in Stifter 2012, 247-249 and 260; Repanšek 2016, 321-323), and is viewed as a peripheral area of the North-Adriatic complex. Epichoric anthroponyms include *Amatu*, *Beatulo*, *Hostius*, \**Quiemonis*, *-ico-* derivatives (*Ebonicus*), and a number of compounded forms such as *Enignus* or *Volturex*. The most common type of the naming formula contains the name with patronymic (e.g., *Voltrex Plaetoris f.*), although a more complex formula (e.g., *Secundus Volturegis Talsi f.*) is also attested. The careful research of D. Stifter (2012, 254-260) and L. Repanšek (2016, 323-346; 2016a, 34-35; 2017) allows us to think about the traits of the language behind the names attested in the Igian area. It

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18 Istro-Venetic, Venetic-Istrian-Liburnian, Dalmato-Istrian or Liburno-Istrian, Venetoid, or Para-Venetic; the latter term seems reasonable as implies not sameness but a correlation in anthroponymic systems of Venetic as a *Restsprache* and “silent” languages to the east of them.



is most certain to be a *centum* language, with deaspiration of aspirates; PIE \**o* is certainly preserved, and \**kʷ* is most possibly retained. The syllabic nasals are reflected as in Venetic, but differently to the latter PIE \**eu* most probably did not change to *ou*, which is viewed as a peripheral (archaic) feature. It should be noted, however, that B. M. Prósper (2018, 107) denies the segmentation of the enclave (see now Prósper 2019). Certainly, all these *Namenlandschaften* are compatible with that of the Veneti, but it may be an oversimplification to consider this huge North-Eastern Adriatic area as linguistically strictly Venetic. Although there are some sporadic minor finds of Venetic inscriptions in the area (see the overview in Turk *et alii* 2009; Šašel Kos 2007, 11), the sub-regions preserve their identities, and also anthroponymically, which may be reflected on a linguistic level.

## 7. “Pannonian” and East Alpine toponymy

The difficulties in interpretation of Pannonian begin already with its definition. *Lingua Pannonica* was viewed by Tacitus (*Germ.* 43.1) in contrast to Celtic and Germanic speech and was applied primarily to the tribe of the Osi (for which see Anreiter 2001, 97-98; Adamik 2003, 264-265). The vision of the Pannonian language by Tacitus was discussed by A. Mócsy (1967), who ironically called it “eine Konfektur”. The epichoric Pannonian names are listed in “Illyrian” *compendia* (Krahe 1929; Mayer 1957), and on the basis of the repertoire and the onomastic formula they are similar to those of the Central Dalmatian anthroponymic province (*cf.* Mócsy 1967, 196 or Katičić 1976, 179). The definitive list of South-Pannonian indigenous anthroponymy is provided and analysed in Radman-Livaja & Ivezić 2012, the personal names of the Azali in the north are discussed in Grbić 2013, 125-37 and generally for Pannonian onomastics there is a useful survey in Meid 2005, 23-30. The same label is given by P. Anreiter (2001) in his discussion and collection of native place-names, specifically in two Pannonias, and the methodology lying behind it is similar to that applied to the study of anthroponyms (Mócsy 1967, 195) insofar they are linguistically distinctive from Celtic. There is obvious similarity in place-names and some personal and divine names labelled as “Pannonian” as far as historical phonetics is concerned. There are other extra-linguistic factors contributing to the construction of the Pannonian identity such as the so-called Pannonian-Norican dress or Pannonian funerary stelae. Sometimes they are regional in nature, and occasionally go beyond the provincial borders (see the discussion in Dzino & Domic-Kunić 2012, 103-106). The idea

of regionalism of Pannonia and northern Dalmatia is importantly traced on different levels, including linguistic. It is also significant, as A. Domić-Kunić (2012, 34) summarises, that “[g]enerally speaking, the ethnic composition of Pannonia was zoned: the northern part (Transdanubia) being primarily Celtic, the middle part (southern Pannonia) consisting of both Celtic and indigenous components, while the southernmost area (south of the Sava) was deprived of such Celtic influence and was, conditionally termed, “ethnically purest”, even though influence from all sides (the Delmatae and Illyrians from the south and the Celts from the north) can be recognised there”. Moreover, large-scale movements of the peoples, both in pre-Roman and Roman times in the territory of both Pannonias are known. Thus, the Pannonian (i.e. non-Celtic) tribe Azali (Anreiter 2001, 34) is located next to the Celtic Boii in the north, and it has been argued that their original *habitat* was in the south (for a challenge to this commonly accepted view see Grbić 2013 and cf. Colombo 2010, 184-185). The “Pannonians” were also confused by observers with Paeonians (Grassl 1990), their perception from the outside varied through time, and, moreover, pre-Roman “Pannonia” cannot be identified archaeologically (Dzino & Domić-Kunić 2012, 96-97).

It is obvious that the ethnic / linguistic situation in the area in antiquity was notoriously difficult, and as I. Radman-Livaja and H. Ivezić (2012, 140-141) aptly warn us, “[o]ne should, therefore, avoid simplified interpretations defining individuals or entire territories in ethnic terms based only on personal names documented in the inscriptions”. *Mutatis mutandis*, it has been noted on many occasions that the differentiations of the idioms spoken in the area is very troublesome, and “to what degree our onomastic materials preserve the remainders of the languages spoken by the populations originally inhabiting the region and then spreading southwards is unknown” (Prósper 2018, 119-120). As for the language of the indigenous population of the area it is also apparent that the history of scholarship and various strata of data offer different definitions of the term “Pannonian”, and also in the linguistic sense (Adamik 2003, 264-265; Falileyev 2013, 298-304). Nevertheless, there is almost no dispute that some of the features of the “Pannonian” language are established (Adamik 2003, 263; Repanšek 2016, 333-334). This was a *centum* language, with the preservation of PIE *\*p* and deaspiration of aspirates; PIE *\*o* yielded *a*, and syllabic resonants and nasals – *ur/ul* and *un/um* respectively (Anreiter 2001, 14-21, and see a convenient complete table of Pannonian linguistic features in Repanšek 2016a, 33). Nevertheless, there

exist different competing etymologies for a number of geographical names and anthroponyms, and, moreover, the linguistic attribution of some them remains disputable. For example, the Breuci of Lower Pannonia have been seen as an “Illyrian” (Pannonian) tribe, and for H. Krahe (1929, 83-84) the ethnicon was viewed as Illyrian (*Breu-ci*, *Breu-ni*) in origins. According to A. Mayer (1959, 29), it goes back to *\*brug-* ‘frei’ < PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>reu-g-*, while P. Anreiter (2001, 39), who operates with the notion “Pannonian” instead of “Illyrian”, admits its derivation either from Pokorny’s PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>reu-* “mit scharfem Werkzeug arbeiten, abrechnen, abschaben” or *\*bh(e)reu-* “sich heftig bewegen, aufbrausen”. Observing anthroponymy directly associated with the Breuci, I. Radman-Livaja and H. Ivezić (2012, 142) remark that “[t]he available data leave no doubt whatsoever as to the Illyrian-Pannonian character of their anthroponymy, although few names might also belong to a Celticised, if not entirely Celtic onomastic tradition”. Not surprisingly, the ethnic name itself has also been analysed as linguistically Celtic (to *\*uroico-* ‘heather’ in Colombo 2010, 197-198 or to *\*breuk-o-s* ‘grinders’ in De Bernardo Stempel 2015, 93), and as far as the etymology is concerned, we cannot come to any solid conclusion. As W. Meid (2005, 24) aptly states, “eine semantische Deutung bietet sich aber nicht an”. The obvious co-existence of Celtic and Pannonian linguistic component with different patterns of domination in these provinces lead some scholars to define the complete region as “Celto-Illyrian” with obvious consequences for pure linguistic analysis (Colombo 2010, 202). Moreover, as per B. Prósper (2018, 107), “the alleged existence of a specifically “Pannonian” dialect will not be taken into account, and cannot be substantiated, since it is mostly based upon phonetic peculiarities which are the emergent product of language contact”. This reservation is understandable insofar as our knowledge of the language of the *Pannonii proprii dicti* is certainly very defective, but the described set of linguistic features nevertheless allows us to differentiate “Pannonian” from other neighbouring and co-existing idioms.

The data does not permit a description of “Pannonian” to the same extent as some other onomastic languages, but notwithstanding that attempts have been made to locate it within IE language family. Thus, according to P. Anreiter (2001, 13-15), “Pannonian” toponymics is genetically connected with the toponymy of the so-called “East Alpine Block” (*Ostalpenblock*, for the systematic analysis of which see Anreiter 1997; 1999). The traits of this toponymic language (or languages) as reconstructed by P. Anreiter (see e.g., Anreiter 1997, 148-149; 2001, 10-13) indeed exhibit similarity with those postulated

for Pannonian, including PIE \**o* > *a* and the outcome of the syllabic nasals and liquids. At the same time Anreiter (2001, 15-21) argues for the connection of “Pannonian” with idioms of the Liburnians, Moesians, Dalmatians and other speakers of Illyria *lato sensu*, as well as those of the Eastern Paleo-Balkan areas. This admission begs for questions (*cf.* Falileyev 2002, 123-124; Adamik 2003, 263-264; Falileyev 2014b, 91), and it should be acknowledged that Thracian (*resp.* Daco-Moesian) anthroponymy and toponymy is certainly distinct from “Illyrian” (see Georgiev 1977, 237-239)<sup>19</sup> although as regards hydronymy a different view is also possible (Yanakieva 2009, 182-183). As all the languages (dialects) remain silent, definitive conclusions are unfeasible.

### Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Professor A. Kurilić (Zadar), Mr R. Lacey (Aberystwyth), Dr L. Repanšek (Ljubljana) and Professor S. Yanakieva (Sofia) for their comments on the earlier draft of the paper, and to M. Šašel Kos for making her map available. Usual disclaimers apply.

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19 It is notable that the same Baltic data has occasionally been used as *comparanda* both for “Illyrian” and Thracian geographical names. This problem is discussed in Toporov 1984; Falileyev 2008.

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