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SOME ILLYRIAN ETHNONYMS AND THEIR SUPPOSED ALBANIAN COGNATES: *TAULANTII, DELMATAE, DARDANI***

This paper explores the relation between the names of three Palaeo-Balkan tribes and their previously proposed cognates in Albanian: *Taulantii* to Alb. *dallëndyshe* ‘swallow’, *Delmatae* to Alb. *delme* ‘sheep’, and Dardani to Alb. *dardhë* ‘pear’. In various ancient sources, these tribes and their territories are labelled as “Illyrian”, but the linguistic and ethnographic scope of this term is obscure. Furthermore, only the first pair is unproblematic from the standpoint of regular Albanian sound change: Alb. *dallënd-* may continue an earlier *Taulant-*. On the other hand, the etymology of *delme* does not necessarily apply to *Delmate*. Finally, *dardhë* and *Dardani* are not related.

Keywords: Illyrian, Albanian, Thracian, etymology, onomastics

Before dealing with the problem at hand, a few remarks on the use of the term “Illyrian” are in order¹. I follow the view that Illyrian linguistic data should be sought primarily the south-east of Roman Dalmatia,

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¹ For detailed discussions on the linguistic and ethnographic uses of the term, see Katičić (1976: 154–158), Eichner (2004: 96–103), Dzino (2014), Lippert & Matzinger (2021: 117–124), Ligorio & Savić (fthc.).

roughly from the Naro (Neretva) in the north to the Drilon (Drin) in south, and in parts of Roman Macedonia, roughly from the Drin in the north to the lands between the Adriatic coast and the lake Lychnidos (Ohrid) in south. This is based on the classification of the indigenous anthroponymy of Illyricum into regions with a characteristic distribution of certain groups of personal names as established by Radoslav Katičić (1976: 179–184). In this classification, the borders outlined above correspond to the so-called South-Eastern or Illyrian anthroponymic region². “Illyrian” is an appropriate label in this case for several reasons. The territories encompassed by the Illyrian region mostly belonged to the Illyrian kingdom, which emerged during the 3rd century BCE and was conquered by the Romans in 168 BCE. Names of several of its rulers, known from literary sources, are also epigraphically attested here, e.g. Ἄγρων, *Gentius*, Τεύτα. Lastly, Roman sources place what appears to be a peregrine community named *Illyrii proprie dicti* somewhere between Epidarus (Cavtat) and Lissus (Lezhë)³. In view of these circumstances and the general acceptance of Katičić’s classification, the territorial extent of the Illyrian language has generally been equated with that of the Illyrian anthroponymic region⁴. The obvious flaw of this framework is that it relies mainly on anthroponymic systems, whose borders may differ from the linguistic ones. In spite of this, it provides a more precise point of reference for the study of Illyrian than the previous approach, most notably found in the works of Hans Krahe (1925, 1929, 1955) and Anton Mayer (1957, 1959), whose notion of Illyrian encompassed all of Illyricum,

² Note that Katičić primarily deals with personal names stemming from Dalmatia, while those from the areas south of the Drin are collected and analysed by Carlo de Simone (1993).

³ Pliny the Elder (3.144) and Pomponius Mela (2.55). For the historical context and possible interpretations of the *Illyrii proprie dicti*, see Katičić (1964) and Papazoglu (1965: 177–179).

⁴ Cf. Polomé (1982: 867–869), Wilkes (1996: 70–87), Grbić (2016), de Simone (2018), Falileyev (2020: 900–914), Lippert & Matzinger (2021: 134–142), Ligorio & Savić (fthc.).

i.e., Roman Dalmatia and Pannonia – both of which are linguistically diverse territories.

This is not to exclude the possibility that Illyrian was spoken outside of Katičić's South-Eastern region. Another plausible source would be the so-called Delmato-Pannonian anthroponymic region – home to the Delmatae, among other tribes. This region covered the Dalmatian coast from Rider (near Šibenik) to Salona (Solin), and most of central Dalmatia up to the valley of the Sava. The language of this region might have been Illyrian, but the question ultimately remains open (Katičić 1976: 183, Falileyev 2020: 905–908)⁵. The same goes for Dardania, whose population was designated as Illyrian in a number of literary sources (Papazoglu 1978: 210–218), while its attested anthroponymic repertoire is of Delmato-Pannonian stock with a supposedly older, but thin, layer of Illyrian names in the south-west, and predominantly Thracian in the east (Katičić 1976: 181, Papazoglu 1978: 221–245, Јома 2010)⁶. Although these areas are on the periphery of the Illyrian kingdom and the Illyrian anthroponymic region, it remains possible that Illyrian was spoken there at some point in history.

For these reasons, it is not a priori unreasonable to suggest that the ethnonyms *Taulantii*, *Delmatae*, *Dardani* all stem from the Illyrian language, even within the system established by Katičić. The case for the latter two was briefly addressed above. Concerning the Taulantians, their territory was well within the South-Eastern or Illyrian region. They inhabited the hinterland between Epidamnus/Dyrrachium (Durrës) and Apollonia, and are one of the best known Illyrian tribes (Mayer 1957: 331). However, in contrast to the Delmatae and the Dardanians, the name of the Taulantians seems to have disappeared quickly after the Roman conquest of the Illyrian

⁵ It is in this context that one may speak of loanwords of Illyrian origin in Serbo-Croatian, cf. material in Matasović (1995) and Ligorio & Savić (fthc.).

⁶ On the borders of Dardania see Papazoglu (1978: 187–209, 224–225). Papazoglu (1978: 241) also believed that there existed a separate Dardanian group of personal names, but this is most certainly incorrect (Јома 2010).

kingdom⁷. The territories of the Illyrian anthroponymic region and of the Illyrian kingdom coincide with most of present-day northern and central Albania. This and other factors have led a number of scholars to propose that Albanian descends from Illyrian (Katičić 1976: 184–188), but the hypothesis is not without significant problems (Lippert & Matzinger 2021: 161–167).

In any case, the three presumably Illyrian ethnonyms seem to find quite striking parallels in the Albanian lexicon:

Taulantii – Alb. *dallëndyshe* ‘swallow’

Delmatae – Alb. *delme* ‘sheep’

Dardani – Alb. *dardhë* ‘pear’

These potential pairs of cognates have long been known in scholarly literature⁸. The comparison between *Taulantii* and Alb. *dallëndyshe* is perhaps supported by the following account by Stephanus of Byzantium: Ἄβροι, ἔθνος πρὸς τῷ Ἀδρίᾳ Ταλαντίνων (sic!) προσεχὲς τοῖς Χελιδονίοις, ὡς Ἐκαταῖος – “Abroi, a Taulantian people on the Adriatic bordering the Chelidonioi, according to Hecataeus.” The information from this passage relates to the late 6th or early 5th century, as evidenced by the mention of Hecataeus. The Χελιδόνοι obviously have a Greek name derived from Gk. χελιδών ‘swallow’. While this is no definitive proof, it is difficult to ignore the fact that the Χελιδόνοι are somehow connected to the Taulantians. It is also possible that Χελιδόνοι is the Greek translation of the Illyrian name (Mayer 1959: 331). Furthermore, Alb. *dallënd-* may derive from *Taulantii* mostly in accordance with Albanian sound laws (Eichner 2004: 107–108); *-ysh(e)* is diminutive suffix, cf. for example *këlysh* ‘young animal, cub’. For Alb. *a* from **au* one may adduce *ag* ‘twilight’

⁷ Apart from their mention in the passages of Pliny and Mela (fn. 4), their name does not reappear under Roman administration.

⁸ See Mayer (1959: 36–37, 61, 112) and Çabej (1976: 105–107, 111) with earlier references. Mayer supports all of these comparisons, while Çabej does not give his opinion explicitly, except in the case of *Taulantii* and *dallëndyshe* where he agrees with Mayer.

< **h₂eug-*, cf. Gk. ἀγή ‘light’, or *ar* ‘gold’ < Lat. *aurum* ‘id.’⁹ For Alb. -*ll-* from intervocalic **l* one may adduce *hell* ‘spit, icicle’ < **skoł-o-*, cf. Gk. σκῶλος ‘pointed pole’, or *shpellë* ‘cave’ < Gk. σπήλαιον. An unstressed vowel can result in Alb. *ë* under a number of conditions (de Vaan 2018b: 1737), cf. *shëndet* ‘health’ < Lat. *sanitatem* ‘id.’ or *upeshkëp* ‘priest’ < Lat. *episcopus*. Albanian -*nd-* may result from an older *-*nt-*, as in *kuvend* ‘assembly’ < Lat. *conventum* ‘meeting’, although this is not always the case, cf. *ërgjent* ‘silver’ < Lat. *argentum* ‘id.’ (Landi 1988: 116–117). A more apparent problem arises in view of Illyr. *t-* for Alb. *d-*. One may propose an assimilation **taulant-* > **tauland-* > **dauland-* (Mayer 1939: 91–92), but there is no way to affirm this or other solutions. A hapax Δαυλάντιον ἔθνος (Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 44.1) is of interest here, but its input remains unclear.

While the exact relation between Illyr. *t-* and Alb. *d-* would benefit from more precision, it appears quite certain that Alb. *dallënd-yshe* continues Illyr. *Taulantii*. Whether as a loanword or as an inherited form, it is difficult to say: the change **au* > Alb. *a* does not seem particularly old, since it affected Latin loanwords as well (cf. Alb. *ar* seen above, and Alb. *pak* ‘few’ < Lat. *paucus* ‘id.’). There is no plausible Indo-European etymology. Mayer’s connection with the root **teuh₂-* ‘to swell’ (LIV²: 639) is semantically and formally untenable. Orel (1998: 55) considers *dallëndyshe* to be “a relatively recent compound” consisting of **dalluan* > Alb. *dalluar* (participle of *dalloj* ‘to split’) and *dysh* ‘split in two parts’. His solution is unsatisfactory, since it ignores the diminutive function of *-ysh(e)*, as well as the very plausible link with the Illyrian form. The comparison with the Germanic words for swallow (ON *svala*, OHG *swalawa*, etc.) hinges on the disputed development of **su-* into Alb. *d-* (favoured by Kortlandt 1998: 37, excluded by Demiraj 1997: 48, Orel 2000: 82). More importantly, the Germanic forms are without Indo-European cognates and have no clear etymology (Kroonen 2013: 495).

⁹ The form Ταλαντ- is not necessarily genuine, as it may be corrupted by Gk. τάλαντος, τάλαντεύω.

The case of *Delmatae* and Alb. *delme* ‘sheep’ is less straightforward, with some authors rejecting the connection between the two (Demiraj 1997: 127–128, Orel 1998: 58). The lack of compelling evidence in ancient literary sources that *Delmatae* is derived from a word meaning ‘sheep’ has been noted earlier (Katičić 1976: 173). The Greek geographer Strabo (7.5.5) supposedly glossed the name of their capital Δέλιμιον· πεδίων μηλόβοτον ‘pasturage for sheep’¹⁰. As noted by Katičić, the context clearly indicates that Δέλιμιον was razed by the Romans and turned into a πεδίων μηλόβοτον. It is also uncertain whether the Albanian etymology is applicable to *Delmatae* as well.

The form *delme* is attributed to the Geg dialect, with *dele* being the standard Tosk word. However, the presence of derivatives in *delm-* across different dialects suggests an originally wider distribution of *delme* (Çabej 1976: 111, Demiraj 1997: 127). Both forms are usually traced back to the root **d^heh₁-(i-)* ‘to suckle’ (LIV²: 138–139), but there is no agreement upon one particular proto-form. *Dele* would then be one of many *l*-derivatives of this root, such as Lat. *filius* ‘son’ < **d^hih₁-l-* < **d^hh₁-il-*, Gk. θῆλυς ‘female’, Skt. *dhārú-* ‘sucking’ < **d^heh₁-lu-*¹¹. The root vowel is most often derived from a PALb. diphthong **ai* with different possible PIE sources (Demiraj 1997: 127 and Orel 1998: 58 with earlier references).

Demiraj reconstructs **d^heh₁-i-lieh₂-*, whereby **eh₁i* presumably gives PALb. **ai* > Alb. *e*, merging with other PIE *i*-diphthongs (cf. Demiraj 1997: 45). The closest formal parallel (without the suffix *-i-*) is found in Lith. *dėlė* ‘leech’ and *pirm(a)-dėlė* ‘cow which bears a calf for the first time’ < **d^heh₁-lieh₂-*, cf. also *pirm(a)-dėlys* ‘first-born’ < **d^heh₁-lio-* (Fraenkel 1962: 87, Derksen 2015: 120–121). However, the development of **eh₁i* (and of **h₁ei*, **ei*) into Alb. *e* is not necessarily correct, as most examples are ambiguous (cf. Vermeer 2008: 595, de

¹⁰ Strabo’s form possibly emendable to the more common Δελμίνιον/Lat. *Delminium* (Mayer 1957: 118).

¹¹ On the morphology and the semantics of **d^heh₁-i-* ‘to suck’ and its relation with **d^heh₁-* ‘to put’ (LIV²: 136) see de Vaan (2018a). The root **d^heh₁-(i-)* has three basic meanings: ‘to suck milk from a teat’, ‘to nurse’, ‘to lactate’ (de Vaan 2018a: 177), all of which may surface in individual languages. Also, cf. the similar discussion in Martirosyan (2010: 230–231).

Vaan 2018b: 1738). Thus, one may in theory derive Alb. *be* ‘oath’ either from *b^heid^h*- like Gk. *πείθω* ‘persuade’ (Demiraj 1997: 45), or from *b^hoid^h*- like Lat. *foedus* ‘alliance’ (Orel 2000: 12). For Alb. *e* < PALb. **ai* < PIE **oi*, a standard example is *shteg* ‘path’ < **stoig^h*- (Gk. *στοίχος* ‘row’). On the other hand, Alb. *dimër* ‘winter’ may continue **g^heim*- like Gk. *χειμών*, Lith. *žiemà* ‘id.’ (Orel 2000: 13), or **g^him*- like Skt. *himá-* ‘cold, frost’; according to Demiraj (1997: 133), unstressed **ei* gave *i* in *dimër*.

A better alternative for Alb. *dele* may then be **d^hh₁-oi-lieh₂*- with an exact formal and, perhaps, semantic match in SCr. *dòjilja* ‘nurse’, cf. SCr. *dòjiti* ‘breast-feed’, OCS *doiti* ‘to nurse’ < **d^hh₁-oi-*.

Furthermore, a diphthong is not necessary if one assumes a zero-grade **d^hh₁-lieh₂*-, without the suffix **-i-*. This would give PALb. **daliā* > *dele*, where **a* > *e* is explained by *i*-mutation (on which see e.g. Demiraj 1997: 47, de Vaan 2018b passim). To my knowledge, the only formal parallel would be Arm. *dal* ‘colostrum, beestings’ that has been reconstructed as **d^hh₁-li(e)h₂*- (Martirosyan 2010: 231), but the semantics are perhaps less compelling than in the previous case.

Whatever the origin of its root vowel, *dele* is unproblematically understood as a *l*-derivative of the root **d^heh₁-(i)-*, with the suffix **-io-*. This interpretation supports the view that *delme* was secondarily derived from *dele*, via the suffix **-mo-*, as it would otherwise present an isolated and an unusual formation in PIE. A comparable situation is apparently seen in Alb. *djalë* ‘boy’, pl. *djem* < *djelm*. Demiraj (1997: 134) explains this through the existence of two competing stems, one with sg. *djal-* and pl. *djel-*, other with sg. *djalm-* and pl. *djelm-*, which later merged into one. *Djalë* probably derives from the same root as *dele*, but a precise reconstruction is unknown (Demiraj 1997: 134–135, Orel 1998: 67). If this is correct, *delme* and *djelm* would be the only two forms of the root **d^heh₁-(i)-* in which **-mo-* is used. A similar morphological relation was suggested for Alb. *zjarrë* ‘fire’ and the pl. *zjerm*, whence perhaps an analogical sg. *zjarm* (de Vaan 2004: 80–82). In view of the plural stems *djelm-* and *zjerm-*, it is tempting to see *delm-* as a singularised plural¹². Taken together, these three

¹² Cf. a similar proposal by Çabej (1976: 111).

forms may suggest a common morphological pattern that developed in Proto-Albanian, where *-mo- is a formant of the plural.

Regarding the relation between *delme* and *Delmatae*, it is difficult to say whether the latter can continue a form with a diphthong. There is not much material to confirm or deny this. A diphthong may be conserved in the ethnonym *Daesitiates* (Mayer 1957: 104), neighbours of the *Delmatae*, or in the personal names in *Laid-/Laed-*, common in Illyrian and Delmato-Pannonian regions (Mayer 1957: 203, de Simone 1993: 60–61). On the other hand, **d^hh₁-l-m-* seems phonologically plausible for *Delmatae*. But, as in the case of *delme*, such a form is unexpected in PIE. If the two are indeed related, one could expect a secondary addition of the suffix *-mo- in *Delmatae* as well. It is worthwhile noting that *Delm-* appears in anthroponymy, cf. *Delmanna* (AE 1983 742, Dalmatia), *Dalmana* (IMS 4 89, Upper Moesia). The second element is either the frequent Illyrian and Delmato-Pannonian anthroponymic stem *Annā-* (Mayer 1957: 46–47, de Simone 1993: 52–53), or simply the suffix *-āno-*. Apart from the same stem, the two names show a variation between *a* and *e*, of unknown origin, also seen in various attested forms of *Delmatae* (Mayer 1957: 117). While the use of *-mo- on a *l*-derivative of the same root would be an interesting correspondence between Albanian and Illyrian, there is no evidence to support that this suffix was used for comparable purposes, nor that the meaning ‘sheep (vel.sim.)’ can be ascribed to the *Delmatae*. More importantly, given the state of the material, one may even derive *Delmatae* from the root **d^heh₁-* ‘to put’ (cf. OCS *dělo* ‘deed’, SCr. *dj lo* ‘id.’ < **d^heh₁-lo-*). Evidently, any comparison of *Delmatae* with *delme* requires an undesirable amount of speculation. On the other hand, an etymological link between the two forms is not impossible in theory. Although onomastic items derived from animal names are not uncommon, cf. *Taulantii* discussed above, *Ulcinium* < **ul^ku-* ‘wolf’ (SCr. *Ulcinj*/Alb. *Ulqin*), Thrac. *Βέβρυκες* < **b^heb^hr-u-* ‘beaver’ (tribe in Bithynia), one must also take into account the possibility that *Delmatae* and *delme* may come from the same root while having a different meaning. The problem is best left open for now.

The comparison between *Dardani* and Alb. *dardhë* ‘pear’ is not without problems as well. As mentioned before, the south-western parts of Dardania were seemingly considered Illyrian in early sources, while their anthroponymy is Delmato-Pannonian in Roman times. In the remaining parts of Dardania, Thracian anthroponymy is prevalent. It is then not a coincidence, perhaps, that ancient Balkan forms in *Dard-/Derd-* occur almost exclusively in a Thracian context¹³. Moreover, these are often compounds showing Thracian derivational patterns, cf. the personal names *Dardi-sanus*/Δαρδι-ζανις, Δερζι-ζενις, *Derzi-tralis*, and the place name Δαρδά-παρα. The second elements -ζανις/-ζενις ‘born of’ ‘born of’ < **gēnh₁*- (Gk. -γενής), -*tralis* ‘?’ (Dana 2014: 378–379), -παρα ‘river (?)’ (Georgiev 1977: 187–188) are all well attested in Thracian onomastics. Forms in *Derd-* must belong here in view of Thracian graphical fluctuations between *a* and *e* (Yanakieva 2018: 41), an example of which is -ζανις/-ζενις¹⁴. The -*z-* in *Derz-* is then best explained as a result of palatalisation. In this case, forms such as *Derzenus* conceivably derive from Δερζιζενις by way of haplology. The name *Derzō* is then probably a hypocoristic of *Derzenus*. This survey shows that *Dard-/Derd-* was a productive stem in Thracian onomastics, and that it is safe to assume its Thracian provenance. Here it should be noted that a similar name Δέρδας is particularly frequent in Epirus and Macedon¹⁵, while some examples are scattered

¹³ Cf. material in Detschew (1957: 117–119), and in Dana (2014: 112, 123–125); forms in *Derd-* are more frequent than the ones in *Dard-*. The Dardanians of Asia Minor are probably of Thracian descent, having migrated there from Thrace proper towards the end of the 2nd millennium BCE, along with other Thracian tribes, such as the Bithynians and the Mysians (cf. Brixhe & Panayotou 1994: 184). I have no opinion regarding the Apulian *Dardi* mentioned by Pliny the Elder (3.104).

¹⁴ Note that Georgiev (1977: 78) rather sees -ζανις as an *o*-grade variant comparable to Gk. -γοϋος. I do not know whether Thrac. *a/e* variants have anything to do with *Delm-/Dalm-*.

¹⁵ Six attestations in Epirus, mostly in Buthrotum (LGPN IIIa: 121), and ten in Macedon (LGPN IIIa: 89).

across Greece¹⁶, but none are found in Thracian territories. If Δέρδας is related to the Thracian names presented above, I would assume that it was imported from Thrace, since the stem *Derd-* is not productive in Epirus and Macedon. Furthermore, the highest concentration of examples comes from Macedon, which borders the western fringes of Thrace.

None of the names mentioned so far has been attributed to Illyrian, nor does such a proposal seem plausible. One Δάρδανος is found in Dyrrachium (LGNP IIIa: 117). Some instances of *Dardanus* are known in Dalmatia, but these come from Narona (ILJug 2 654) and Salona (ILJug 3 2041), both large settlements with diverse population. Furthermore, *Dardanus* may simply be derived from the ethnonym *Dardani*, such as Δαρδάνα τὸ γένος Δαρδάναν (LGNP IIIa: 116). Such attestations have no bearing on the problem.

I conclude that the names in *Dard-/Derd-* should be regarded as Thracian. This is relevant in view of different etymological proposals regarding Alb. *dardhë* ‘pear’. Çabej (1976: 107) derives *dardhë* from **d^horg^h-*, comparable to SCr. *drìjen* ‘cornel’, OHG *dirn-baum*, OIr. *draigen* ‘blackthorn, sloe’, maybe Gk. *τερχνός* ‘twig’, all from **d^h(e)rg^h-no-*. Note that in this case only the Albanian form does not take the suffix **-no-*. Demiraj (1997: 121–122) proposes *dardhë* < **d^horHg^h-eh₂-* comparing it to *dredhë* ‘strawberry’, which he derives from **d^hrHg^h-eh₂-* (1997: 144), and further compares it with Lat. *frāgum* ‘id.’ only. However, the Latin form could be unrelated to *dredhë* and is possibly non Indo-European (de Vaan 2008: 339). Finally, Orel (1998: 56) considers that *dardhë* is derived from the verb *derdh* ‘to tip out, pour’ PIE **d^herg^h-* ‘to turn’ (LIV²: 146), but the semantics are not convincing. While Çabej’s etymology seems preferable, all of the mentioned proposals require **g^h* to explain Alb. *dh*. If this is the case, then the Thracian forms in *Dard-/Derd-* cannot be compared with

¹⁶ Δαρδα in Boeotia (LGNP IIIb: 106; female name?), Δέρδας twice in Thessaly (LGNP IIIb: 110; once as a patronym Δερδαία). Cf. Krahe (1929: 41–42), Mayer (1957: 108–109), de Simone (1993: 67–68). Krahe and Mayer present the relevant literary attestations as well. Given the geographical and historical context in which it occurs, Δέρδας sometimes seen as a Macedonian name.

Alb. *dardhë*, because **gʰ* and **gʰ* give Thrac. *z* or *s* depending on the orthography of the individual form, cf. *Dardisanus*/Δαρζιζενις seen above, or Thrac. -διζα ‘(walled?) settlement’ < **dʰ(e)igʰ*- related to Gk. τεῖχος ‘wall’, Av. *da za-* ‘id.’ Given the state of Illyrian linguistic remains, and the geographical distribution of the onomastic material, it is highly improbable that *Dard-/Derd-* can be taken as an Illyrian loan in Thracian. Additionally, the change **gʰ* > *d* cannot be accounted for in Illyrian. Therefore, Alb. *dardhë* is in all probability unrelated to *Dardani*¹⁷. The latter is perhaps better compared with Skt. *dardurā-* ‘frog, pipe’, Lith. *dardėti* ‘to rattle, chatter’, Gk. δάρδα· μέλισσα ‘bee’, sometimes read μόλυσμα ‘stain’, δαρδαίνει· μολύνει ‘to stain’ (both from Hesychius), but this merits a separate discussion, particularly in view of the aberrant semantics of the Greek glosses. If δάρδα is indeed understood as ‘bee’, the starting point for all these forms may be ‘noise, chatter (vel.sim.)’.

The following conclusions may be drawn from the previous discussion. The ethnonym *Taulantii* is indeed related to Alb. *dallëndyshe* ‘swallow’, but its origin in Albanian is currently unexplained. Maintaining the relationship between *Delmatae* and *delme* is quite difficult, although theoretically not impossible. More data from the Illyrian side would be helpful in resolving this question. On the other hand, *Dardani* is better understood as a Thracian form, comparable to Thracian names such as *Dardisanus*, *Derzitrallis*, etc. Furthermore, *Dardani* and *dardhë* are not related, since the proposed etymologies for the Albanian form cannot explain Thracian *Dard-/Derd-*.

Abbreviations and symbols

* — reconstructed form

> — yields

Lat. — Latin

Lith. — Lithuanian

¹⁷ I left out of consideration the comparison of Alb. *dardhë* with Gk. ἄχερδος ‘pear’, which is most probably of non Indo-European origin (Beekes 2010: 182). Any common form for these two words would still be incompatible with the Thracian material.

< — comes from	OCS — Old Church Slavonic
AE — <i>Année épigraphique</i>	OHG — Old High German
Alb. — Albanian	PIE — ON — Old Norse
Arm. — Armenian	Proto-Indo-European
Av. — Avestan	pl. — plural
Gk. — Greek	Thrac. — Thracian
Illyr. — Illyrian	SCr. — Serbo-Croatian
IMS — <i>Inscriptions de la Mésie supérieure</i>	sg. — singular
ILJug. — <i>Inscriptiones Latinae in Jugoslavia</i>	Skt. — Sanskrit

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QUELQUES ETHNONYMES ILLYRIENS ET LEURS COGNATS SUPPOSÉS
EN ALBANAIS : *TAULANTII*, *DELMATAE*, *DARDANI*

Résumé

Les noms de trois tribus des Balkans anciens ont été comparés avec des formes possiblement apparentées en albanais : *Taulantii* avec alb. *dallëndyshe* 'hirondelle', *Delmatae* avec alb. *delme* 'brebis', *Dardani* avec alb. *dardhë* 'poire'. Plusieurs sources anciennes intègrent ces tribus et leurs territoires au complexe « illyrien », mais

l'apport linguistique de ce terme est obscur. Par ailleurs, seulement la première paire n'est pas problématique en ce qui concerne les développements phonologiques en albanais et en illyrien : on peut dériver alb. *dallënd-* de *Taulant-* sans grande réserve. La comparaison directe entre *Delmatae* et *delme* est indémontrable, car elle impose plusieurs spéculations. Pourtant, il reste possible que les deux formes remontent à la même racine. De l'autre côté, *dardhë* et *Dardani* ne sont pas apparentés. La distribution des formes en *Dard-/Derd-* permet de les attribuer à la langue thrace. Dans ce cas, *Dardani* n'est pas compatible avec les étymologies proposées pour *dardhë*.

Mots clés : illyrien, albanais, thrace, étymologie, onomastique