

Thracian-Illyrian Language Parallels: Thrac. MEZENAI ~ Illyr. *Menzanas*

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The paper deals with a rather difficult and disputable problem of establishing resemblances between Thracian and Illyrian linguistic relics. The point is that the conclusions about one or another correspondence often depend on interpretation of available material. That is why the preliminary analysis of linguistic units is so important. All said above may be illustrated with one concrete case in which it can be clearly seen how the interpretation of the initial facts influences the final decision.

The Messapian nickname for Jupiter - *Menzanas* attested by Festus in the passage describing the South Calabrian tribe of Sallentines (*Sallentini, apud quos Menzanae Iovi dicatus [sc. equos] vivos conicitur in ignem* - "Sallentines, who while making a sacrifice live [sc. horses] throw into fire" - Festus p. 190, ed. M. Lindsay) was reliably interpreted by Stier (KZ 1863, XI: 148). He successfully identified it with Alb. *mëz* (Gheg. *mâz*) m. 'foal' and Rum. *mânz* m. G. Meyer (1891: 276) accepted that identification connecting *mëz* with the verb *mënd* 'suck' within the Albanian.

V. Georgiev (1977: 111-114) discovered the Thracian equivalent to Illyr. *Menzanas* in the final fragment of the well-known Thracian inscription on the ring from the Arabaji tumulus (V-th c. B.C.) in the Duvanly region: $\text{H}\bar{\text{Y}}\Sigma\text{I}\bar{\text{H}}\dots\Delta\bar{\text{E}}\Lambda\bar{\text{E}}$ MEZENAI. Since the inscription accompanies the portrayal of a horseman V. Georgiev considered them to be closely connected and the former to include the name of the Riding God. Thus the sequence MEZENAI was related to Illyr. *Menzanas*, Alb. *mëz* and Rum. *mânz*. V. Georgiev also supposed Thracian PN *Meζavaia* (Detschew 1957: 291) to be cognate. The fragment *Meζevai*, according to the Bulgarian scientist, means 'the horseman' and seems to be a name of the well-known horse deity that is found on a lot of reliefs discovered in the Eastern part of the Balkan peninsula. The whole inscription was interpreted by Georgiev as "powerful (or rapid, life-giving), help ... defend, the Horseman". The fall of the first *v* in the Thracian word was explained either by dissimilatory impact from the part of the second *v*, or by the position before *ζ* which is similar to Lab. *mëz*. But those phonetic assumptions cannot be proved by the linguistic data. First of all it should be noted that the process of *v* falling has not been confirmed by the available Thracian language material. The analogy with Albanian is not appropriate here because denasalisation of *ā* is a rather late dialectal process (Çabej 1959: 553). Besides that, Georgiev's interpretation of the inscription itself is not so indisputable as it seemed to him.

Recently S. Kaloyanov has proposed a new and as we think more convincing reading of the inscription (Kaloyanov 1988). The fact is that signs in it are sufficiently spoilt (especially in the second fragment), so they can be interpreted variously. For example, the first publisher of the Arabaji inscription, B. Filov (Filov 1934: 129-131) read it as HΥΣ (or HΥΣ) AEΛE MEZENAI. Kaloyanov has taken notice of four silver pots found in the neighbouring Bashov tumulus. All the four contain one and the same inscription: ΔΑΔΑΛΕΜΕ. Having based on these data the author has proposed the new reading: HΥΣ ΔΑΔΑΛΕΜΕ ΖΗΝΑΙ. In that way it turns out that the epigraphic material from the two neighbouring and obviously connected tumuli (it cannot be excluded that they had belonged to kinsmen) contains one and the same graphic sequence: ΔΑΔΑΛΕΜΕ. The segment IH is well known from other Thracian inscriptions, for example the one on the phialè from Branichevo (Georgiev 1977: 137, 138) and may present some numerical designation, may be a date or a year. The ΖΗΝΑΙ complex is identical to the Thracian PN Ζηνας, Ζηνις, Ζηνιος (Detschew 1957: 184). Thus in spite of *a priori* nature of some the Kaloyanov's assumptions they seem to be system character which makes them more convincing than Georgiev's hypothesis. The conclusion one can draw from all said above is that connecting the Thracian sequence MEZENAI with the Illyr. *Menzanas*, Alb. *mëz* and Rum. *mânz* is impossible.

As for the genesis of Illyr. *Menzanas* and its correlation with Alb. *mëz* and Rum. *mânz*, it has already been mentioned that G. Meyer (Meyer 1891: 276) accepted this correspondance and reconstructed Protoalb. **manza* < **mandja* < **mondjo*-, having connected *mëz* (after W. Tomaschek - BB 1885, IX, 101) with Alb. *mënd* 'suck' < IE **mend-* (Gk. *μαστός* 'bosom' < **μαδ-τός* < **mḡd-to-*, OHG *manzon* m. pl. 'nipples' < **mond-*, OInd. *mándati*, *mádati* 'flows' (other view was offered by Pokorny: 694-695). G. Meyer qualified Alb. *mëz*, Rum. *mânz* as well as some similar forms from the Romance languages (Ital. *manzo* 'bull', Sard. *Manzu* 'young bull', Trient. *manza* 'young cow', Groedn. *mants* 'bull', *máinzä* 'heifer', Bair. *manz*, *menz* 'sterile cow', Rhein. *Minzekalb* 'heifer') as "ein illyrisches Alpenwort" (Meyer 1891: 276).

Krahe (1955: 84-85, 103, 115) attributed Lat. *mannus* 'undersized horse of Gallic race' to the Illyrian source (< Illyr. **manda-*) having added to this family Illyr. PN *Menda*, *Mandeta* and LN in Calabria *Manduria* (Liv. 27, 15; Plin. 2, 102), *Μανδύριον* (St. Byz. s.v.); *Mandonia* in Lucania and *Μανδαπαί* in Macedonia. We can accomplish this range with Thrac. PN *Μένδας* m. in the area of Byzantion, LN *Μένδῃ*, *Μένδα*, *Mendaeum*, *Mendae* - the town of Sytones in the Pallena peninsula, *Μενδενίς* - the name of the nymph that gave birth to the Pallena peninsula whose father was Sytone (Detschew 1957: 293-294). There is also a family of related Celtic forms: Mlr. *menn* (< **mendo-*), *mennan* 'young animal, calf, foal', Gael *minnseach* 'kid', Cymr. *mynnan* 'young one', Corn. *min* 'kid', Bret. *menn*

'young animal', *menn gaur'kid* (Pokorny: 729), possibly PN *Mendus* m. and *Menda* f. (Holder 1961-62, II: 549). Of special interest is Basq. *mando* 'mule' which has been considered either as PreIE heritage (Hubschmid 1954: 28 f.) or as a Celtic borrowing to Basque (Ernout-Meillet 1960: 558), the latter is more preferable.

It is worth mentioning that the phonetic appearance of Alb. *mëz* permits reconstructing (in contrast to G. Meyer) a protoform both whit *o*- and *e*-voicing, cf. Alb. Tosk. *rërë*, Gheg. *rânë* 'sand' < Lat. *arena*, Tosk. *qëndër*, Gheg. *qänder* 'center' < Lat. *centrum*, Tosk. *mënd*, Gheg. *mând* 'mind' < Lat. *mentem* etc. Thus Alb. *mëz* can reflect the same prototype as Illyrian *Menzanas* and Celt. **mendos*. Another step of Ablaut is represented in Lat. *mannus*, Basq. *mando* and above mentioned Romance forms. Unfortunately we do not dispose of more precise phonetic criteria for judging whether the Rumanian word has been borrowed from the Albanian one, or both of them go back to the Illyrian, or all three to some common prototype. The indirect indication that Balkan forms are closer to each other lies in their semantics, i.e. in designating a young horse, a colt, as distinct from Celtic and Romance denominations of a young horned cattle.

All said above seems a sufficient illustration to how the analysis and interpretation of the initial facts can influence the final conclusions.

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