

Καλαμαντία (Ptol. II,11,15)

В статье предпринята попытка провести этимологический анализ географического названия Καλαμαντία, известного только по «Географии» Птолемея в увязке с современными топонимами восточно-альпийского региона. На основании предложенной этимологии (производное от *kolH-mo- ‘поднимать’ *vel sim.*) в работе, с учетом данных исторической фонетики и морфологии и дистрибуции географических названий, показано, что топоним не может быть ни кельтским, ни паннонским. Автор предлагает рассматривать его в качестве «древне-европейского», насколько этот термин употребим для рассмотрения подобных случаев.

Ключевые слова: Kalamantía, этимология, индоевропеистика, ономастика.

Ptolemy's seems to be the only example of the place-name *Kalamantia* having been recorded in ancient sources. There it stands as Κελαμαντία (occupied in the Roman period by a *castellum*, now identified with Iža – Laényvár in modern Slovakia¹), which given the *variae lectiones* Κελεμαντία (*Ven. Marc. Gr.* 516, *Vatic. Graec.* 178) and Καλαμαντία (*Vatic. Graec.* 191)² is usually assumed to be the compromise and hence probably the original form, from which both alternatives could have been produced by simple (scribal?) assimilation. There are, however, numerous survivors of this ancient place-name into modern toponymy³, which decidedly point in the

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¹ See A. Mócsy in *RE Suppl.* XI (1968, c. 368), Soproni 1985: 76–77, and numerous archaeological publications by K. Kuzmová and J. Rajtár.

² See Müller 1883: 373, Isaac 2004, *Germania Magna*, s.v. In favour of Καλαμαντία in *Vatic. Graec.* 191 as the original form Rasch 2005: 202 and most recently Falileyev 2014: 113.

³ Most notably *Kellmünz* < Old Bavarian *K̥al(a)muntsa (cf. *Chalemunza*) < **Kalamontja* (*Itin. Ant.* 250: *Celio monte*, i.e. as if to *mōns, montis*) with superficial Latinisation/Romanisation of the original **Kalamantja* (see Wiesinger 1990: 287, Holzer 2008: 32, Greule 2010: 10).

direction of **Kalamantiā*⁴. What is immediately apparent is that this particular place-name enjoyed considerable productivity and that the areal of its geographical distribution is unusually compact, stretching in a wide arch from modern Bavaria to the Danube Bend and thus essentially following the Danube to the junction of Eastern Alps and Pannonia (for possible survivors in the South-Eastern Alpine region, notably modern Carinthia, see esp. Kranzmayer 1956–1958 s.vv. *et pass.* and Holzer 2008: 31–33 with older bibliography).

Older, traditional approaches to the place-name generally trace the first component of the name back to PIE **kel(ə)-* ‘ragen, hoch (heben)’ (IEW 544), i.e. in modern notation **kelH-* ‘aufragen, hochragen’ (LIV²: 349), cf. Lith. *kėlti* (II/1), Latv. *celt* ‘to lift (up)’⁵ (cf. Kranzmayer 1956: 26, Wiesinger 1990: 287), or, alternatively, to **kel-* ‘verbergen’ (LIV²: 322–323), most notably Steinhauser & Plank 1973: 18, who ultimately compare OInd. *śarman-* ‘shield, cover, shelter’ < **kel-men-*. Concerning the second portion of the name, it is often insisted on a cognate of the Latin *o*-grade feminine abstract noun **mon-ti-* (to PIE **men-* ‘emporrigen’, LIV²: 437), i.e. **-monti(-i)o-/ā-* > **-mantīā*. One would then probably have to trace the name back to a verbal governing compound **kelH-e-monti-* (cf. the river name *Colapis* if for **k^uel-e-H₂epi-*)⁶ ‘rising mountain’ (?) *vel sim.* (= *quasi* Κελεμαντία) or **ke/olH-o-monti-* (Κελαμαντία, Καλαμαντία)⁷, but this seems unnecessarily complicated and difficult to account for semantically. The *o*-grade in a feminine action noun in *-ti-* (*mon-ti-*) is problematic enough in itself to make it uneasy to assume its productivity outside Latin.

A Gaulish interpretation, more recently offered by Delamarre 2010/2012: 114, 2012 s.v., who assumes a collective form of a deanthroponymic zero-suffix derivative **Cēli-manto-* or **Cēli-mantīo-* (in this case perhaps better **Cēli=mant-īo-* as a possessive to **Cēli-manto-*, cf. *Adnama(n)tia* in Pannonia = *Ad=nāma(n)t-īo-*), is of course to be rejected as built on conjecture. Such an explanation

⁴ For the modern survivors see especially Kranzmayer 1956: 26, Schwarz 1960: 7–9, Steinhauser & Plank 1973, Wiesinger 1990: 286–287, Holzer 2008: 32, Greule 2010: 10.

⁵ See Smoczyński 2007: 274.

⁶ With what seems a regular sound change **k^ue-* > **ko-* of the Latin *coquō* type as already noted by Krahe 1932: 188, cf. Κορκόρας (Strabo VII,5,2) ~ *Corcac* (Rav. IV,21 for *Corcae* or *Corcas* but erroneously transposed to *Carneola*) if from **k^uerk^uu-ó-* to **k^uerk^uu-*.

⁷ I. e. to a concretised deverbative **ke/olH-o-* with **-mon-ti-* functioning as the governing member.

would however appear improbable in any event seeing that one would then have to favour Κελεμαντία as the original form (which given its status among the other *variae lectiones* appears very unlikely), assume early Romanisation of the unaccented vocalism, and detach it from the modern survivors. Moreover, a putative Gaulish **kēl(i)io-* ‘friend’ (cf. OI *céile*) would not normally be expected to appear in a reduced form ***kēli-* as the first member of a compound in Gaulish, notwithstanding such names as **Magi-* in *Magimaro-* (limited to Noricum and Pannonia) vs. the expected **Magio-*, which is highly exceptional and has not yet been convincingly accounted for⁸. Question may be raised why insist on a Celtic etymology for this series of place-names anyway, considering their conspicuous distribution and the fact that place-names derived from personal names are in fact (and contrary to some of the recently expressed views) an extremely unproductive category of Old Celtic name formation. It should be noted that Gaulish **mant-* ‘path’ mentioned by Sims-Williams 2006: 90–91, 211 and Falileyev 2014: 113–114 (ultimately deciding on a non-Celtic approach, however) in connection with Ptolemy’s place-name (cf. the segmentation *kel-man- -to- -ia-* in Isaac 2004, *Germ. Magna*, s.v.) is probably a ghost, the only reliably Gaulish examples being those involving **mantalo-*, which however is a *nomen instrumenti* in **-tlo-* with regular Gaulish anaptyxis in a *-TR-* cluster (cf. **gabalo-* ‘fork’, **kantalo-* ‘song’, perhaps also **kataro-* ‘strong’⁹).

Assuming that all the occurrences of the place-name **Kalamantiā* in the Eastern Alpine region belong together and have been formed in a coherent idiom rather than representing parallel and homonymous formations, I propose to treat it as belonging to the substratal layer and reaffirm its etymological (if not genetic) dependence on hapaxes such as *Celeia* and possibly *Celena*, going back to PIE **kelH-* ‘rise (up), tower over’ (v.s.). For the former consider Ptolemaic Κέλεια (var. lect. Κελέα, Κελεία), which may be interpreted either as a possessive derivative **kelH-o-* → **kelH-i-* → **kelH-ej-ó-*, a vrddhi derivative to **kēlH-i-* (i.e. a deverbal action noun of the Slavic *rěčb* type) → **kēlH-ej-ó-* (cf. Hitt. *Ḫištā-* ‘mausoleum’ if to **H₂est(H)-i-* ‘bone’), or, less likely, as **kēlH-ejo-* to a deverbal adjective **kēlH-jo-* with functionally non-transparent vrddhisiation of the suffix. *Celena* (*Itin. Burdig.* 562,3), on the other

⁸ See Schmidt 1957: 55, 91 and s.v., Sims-Williams 2013: 46–47.

⁹ See Antreiter 2001: 210.

hand, should probably be seen as a result of superficial thematisation **kelH-en-o-* to PIE **kelH-en-*¹⁰ as continued by Lith. *kálnas*, Latv. *kalns*, Run. *hallaz* (ON *hallr*, OE *heall*) < **kolH-n-o-*, Lat. *collis*, Run. *hali* < **kolH-n-i-* (cf. Lat. *amnis* < **ab-n-i-* vs. OI *aub* < PIE **H₂ep-H_{1/3}on-*), OE *hyll* < **k_lH-n-i-*, ‘hill, rising ground’, Gr. *κολώνη* < **kolH-ōn-eH₂* (cf. *θύρᾱ* < **d^hur-eH₂*), Lat. *columen* ‘summit, peak’ < **kelH-men-*¹¹.

If this etymological connection is correct, I propose to recognise in the derivational base of **Kalamantiā* a verbal abstract (be it action or agent noun) **kolH-mo-* of the Gr. *φορμός* type (< **b^hor-mo-*), from which a productive derivative in **-antiā* was then formed¹². That the Roman *castellum* identified with Ptolemy’s coordinates for Καλαμαντία is in fact located on flat ground¹³ is not a decisive argument against such an etymology, especially as the later settlement may not overlap completely with the old locality and also given the fact that the etiological criteria involved in name formation are not always obvious to the modern observer – what counts is the relative importance of a geomorphic feature in a particular area and not necessarily its prominence! In this respect consider the case of the near-by Gaulish place-name *Βριγαίτιον* (Ptol. II,14,3 = Szőny, see Soproni 1985: 55–56), which, whether originally an adjective of appurtenance or a collective name, indubitably belongs with Gaul. **brig-/brig-ā-* ‘height, hill’ *vel sim.* (see Repanšek 2014: 247–250)¹⁴.

The phonetic reflex **kala-m(a)-* < **kolH-mo-* of course raises the important question of linguistic affiliation of the name. If one does not wish to speculate on the possible disyllabic reflex of secondarily accented preconsonantal *-R_hH-* clusters of the Greek *γένεσις* type, also bearing in mind that a verbal adjective **k_lH-mo-* (formally substantivised by accent shift) would be semantically unlikely, it would appear necessary to acknowledge two phonetic developments, viz. **ō > *ā* and **H > ā /R__R*. The latter unavoidably brings up the question of de Saussure’s Law (as implicitly formulated in de Saussure 1905, 511 ft. 2), according to which regular loss of the

¹⁰ Similarly already Anreiter 2001: 51.

¹¹ Schrijver 1991: 326–327.

¹² Similar morphological segmentation already in Steinhauser & Plank 1973: 18 (»**Kalam-antia*«) and Rasch 2005: 202, where a dehydronymic origin for the place-name is suggested.

¹³ See Steinhauser & Plank 1973: 18, Falileyev 2014: 113.

¹⁴ Note, however, Falileyev 2014: 50, who agrees with Delamarre (2012: 88) on deriving *Brigetio* from an underlying Gaulish personal name.

laryngeal in an *-oRH-* sequence would be expected (***kal-m(a)-*). It has been reaffirmed recently, however, that de Saussure's Law in all likelihood was not in fact operative as a regular sound law and should not be *a priori* expected in similar phonetic contexts¹⁵. Consider in this respect the old acute intonation in Lith. *kálnas* < **kolH-no-*.

At least some of these names could easily be Gaulish as both **kela-mo-* and **kola-mo-* < **ke/olH^o-mo-* (**H* > *ǎ* /*R__R* is regular in Celtic) would have regularly resulted in **kala-mo-* by Joseph's Law (for **oRa* > *aRa* in Gaulish and Brythonic see Schrijver 1995: 94–97). It is the word formation, however, which makes it uncomfortable to suggest that **Kalamantiǎ* could represent a genuinely Gaulish place-name. *-*antiǎ* (i.e. with *-*iǎ* for PIE *-*iH₂*) is not a productive Celtic suffix (note that as the spread of *-*antiǎ* would be an innovation rather than an archaic feature it has diagnostic value in linguistic attribution)¹⁶ nor would it be expected in an adjectival possessive derivative of a denominal formation, i.e. *-*o-nt-iō-/ā-* with the thematic vowel normally preserved as *-o-*, cf. *Alisontia*, gen. sg. ἀλι[σ]ο[ν]τ[ι]εας (RIG: G–224) to **alisā* 'elder'.

In terms of historical phonology Pannonian¹⁷ is not an unlikely candidate either¹⁸, that is at least for the source of the **Kalamantiǎ* recorded by Ptolemy. Pann. **ǎ* for PIE **ō* is a well-known phenomenon and observable in numerous examples (see Anreiter 2001: 15–16 *et pass.*), while good examples of **H* > *ǎ* /*R__R* are lacking. A possible candidate is perhaps a horonym **Ara-u-iǎ* < **H₂erH₃-u-iō-* to **H₂erH₃-uō-* (cf. Lat. *arvum*)¹⁹ if it is Pannonian and if it indeed represents the derivational base of the Gaulish ethnic name *Aravisci* (var. lect. *Eravisci*)²⁰, possibly also *Arabiates* (but

¹⁵ See Kuryłowicz 1956: 201 ft. 47 and, more recently, Pronk 2011 and van Beek 2011.

¹⁶ See Pokorný 1959. *-antia* in Gaul. **Brigantiā* is of course irrelevant in this respect given its ultimately incomparable morphological structure: **b^h₁ǎǎ^h=nt-iō-* or, alternatively, **b^h₁ǎǎ^h=nt-iH₂-(i)ō-* to **b^h₁ǎǎ^h=nt-(iH₂)-*.

¹⁷ For this particular linguistic description and designation see Anreiter 2001 but cf. Фалилеев 2013b.

¹⁸ Also consider Anreiter's »Ostalpenindogermanisch« (Anreiter 1999, *id.* 2001: 10–13) at least as far as **o* > **a* is concerned, while the two systems also supposedly share *-un-* < *-*ŋ-* and *-*uR-* < *-*R-* (see *locc. cit.*).

¹⁹ But cf. Anreiter 2001: 207, where **arviǎ* is proposed on the strength of *Arviates*. Note that the ethnonym in question is in all likelihood a Latin creation (*-ātēs*).

²⁰ The derivational model is genuinely Gaulish and involves the creation of ethnic names from adjectives of appurtenance in *-*isko-*, normally built to

note the *var. lect. Arviate*s). Pannonian **H > ã* may otherwise be attested at least in **-THU-* sequences, for which consider **Pa/eto/ay-jo-* (Ptol. II,14,4: Παταύιον) if to **pet/p^etH₂-uo-*²¹ (i.e. a deverbal action noun to **petH₂-* ‘ausbreiten’, LIV²: 478–479) and *Pultovia* (Itin. Burdig. 561,3) if from **p_ltH₂-u-iã* for PIE **p_ltH₂-u-iH₂-* to **pletH₂-* ‘breit werden, sich ausbreiten’ (LIV²: 486–487, cf. OInd. *p_lthivī-* beside OW *Litau* < **-a-u-iã*, see Repanšek, *forth.*). Names in *-antia* are rare in Pannonia, the only good example being *Scarbantia*, which however lacks a convincing etymological explanation (see Anreiter 2001 s.v.). A putative Pannonian *-antiã* may be expected in a denominal formation to a thematic stem (*quasi* **kala=ma-nt-*), but even there only a generalised zero-grade suffix *-unt-* < **-nt-* seems to be actually attested, for which consider *Carnuntum* if to **karno-*.

Granting the possibility that several linguistic systems have contributed parallel and ultimately homophonous formations to what *prima facie* appears to be a homogenous group of **Kalamantiã* names, it is nevertheless more economical to trace the whole set to a single source. The likeliest candidate being Old European (in its collective sense), it is nevertheless uncomfortable to be exclusive in this designation, especially given the peculiar distribution of the place-name and the fact that none of the *designata* are in fact rivers nor are the names demonstrably dehydronymic in origin. The coalescence of PIE **ō* and **ã* to **ã*²² is an important feature not just of what is traditionally called Old European (i.e. if considered an actual linguistic stratum) but of the pre-Celtic substratum (or

toponymical bases (usually pre-Gaulish in origin), cf. **Taur-isko-*, **Skord-isko-* etc. (on these names and on the secondarily diminutive ethnic name *Boisci* see Falileyev 2013a: 87–88).

²¹ Possibly with PIE *ou / _i* (or generally in a closed syllable, cf. *Sa\$ua-*, *Dra\$ua-* < **sH₂ou-o-*, **drou-o-*, which however may not belong to the same idiom) preserved as Pann. **ou* (or **ou* through a middle-stage **au*) as in the divine name *Ovianus* (CIL III 14354²²) if *-ano-* < **-ono-* (cf. Pann. *Teutanus* < **Teuto-no-*), *Pultovia* (see above on the etymology, but here as well as in *Poetovio* vs. Παταύιον **ou* may ultimately be due to Latinisation), and perhaps *Iovia* (Anreiter 2001 s.v.). Note that Antreiter 2001: 71 proposes *e > o / _u* to account for **ou* in *Iovia*.

²² But probably not **ō > *ã* as tentatively surmised by Bichlmeier for Old European, e.g. 2012a: 369 (*et passim*), for which consider Νόαρος (name of the lower course of the Sava in Strabo VII,5,2; 12, see Šašel Kos 2002) if for **(s)nō-uo-* < **(s)noH₂-uo-* to PIE **(s)neH₂-* ‘baden, schwimmen’ (LIV²: 572–573) as would appear likely (cf. Νατίσων, *Natiso* in the region of the *Caput Adriae*).

substrata) in the Eastern Alpine region (including Pannonia) in general; however, the evidence for $*H > \tilde{a} / R_R$ is inconclusive. $*H > \tilde{a} / T_R$ (more accurately $/S_R$) may be confirmed by $*H_1isH_2-ró- > *Isa-ro-$ but as it has been rightly pointed out by H. Bichlmeier (2012: 29–37 (esp. 33–35), *id.* 2013: 56–57)²³, there is no saying that $*Isarā$ is not in fact Celtic or at least shows traces of $*H_1isH_2-ró-$ passing through a Celtic (or later Gaulish) phonetic filter – note that in view of Thrac. Ἰστρος $< *is-t-ro- < *is-ro- < *H_1isH_2-ró-$ (Янакиева 2009 s.v.) the formation itself may be genetically non-specific. The situation would be exactly parallel to that of $*Rēno- < *H_3rejH-no-$ (cf. OI *fēn* ‘waggon’ $< *ueg^h-no-$ and, ultimately, *rián* ‘sea’) with the rather diagnostically Celtic loss of the laryngeal between $*i$ and $*N$ (cf. OI *mīn* $< *mejH-no-$) in what should indeed be a pre-Celtic name²⁴. A better example is perhaps Αἶσαρος if for $*H_1oišH_2-ró-$, while a possible counter-example would be the German *Ilm*, which if it indeed goes back to $*H_1elH_2-men-eH_2-$, a proposal considered in Bichlmeier 2013: 55–56, would decisively point to $*H > \emptyset / R_R$. However, in light of the available and convincing Germanic etymological explanation for *Ilm* and related river names (see Bichlmeier 2011: 184–188) the case is ultimately ambiguous.

If $-antiā$ represents the participial suffix $*-nt-iH_2$ ²⁵ rather than the denominal sequence $*-o-nt-$, it may speak in favour of $*an < PIE *n$ ²⁶, but note that actually there exist no convincing cases of a purely participial $*-antiā$ in what is traditionally considered to belong to the Old European hydronymical corpus and even there it could go back to thematic presents, so that the validity of this sound change may be questioned (but cf. *Argantia* if $*H_2rǵ=nt-iH_2-$ (?) vs. Celtic $*arganto- < *H_2rǵ=nt-o-$ in Early Goidelic $*Argēdā = \text{Αργίτα}$, *Ptol.* II,2,1). The suffixal part of $*Kalam-antiā$ may point to a denominal derivational base $*Kala=ma-nt-$ (cf. *Kara-nt-*), but it could well be a result of secondary productivity of the suffix $*-antiā$ in denominal place-name formations (cf. perhaps *Albantia*, *Aquantia* & c.), while there is no

²³ Who also reckons with the utterly ambiguous $*H_1isH_2-eró-$.

²⁴ For the whole problem of laryngeal loss in $*-ViHC-$ sequences see now Zair 2012: 225–243.

²⁵ Given the uncertain quality of the final $-a$ (i.e. $*-ia < *i\partial_2$ (?) or $*-iā$ with the generalisation of the full-grade suffix from the oblique stem) $-iā$ has been used in reconstructions throughout.

²⁶ For another example of $*an < *n$ in the Eastern Alpine region cf. $\text{Καρνάγκᾱ} < *nko-$, $*onko-$ being unlikely if what we have here is the PIE conglomerate suffix $*-en-ko-$.

saying whether the original locus of this suffix is indeed in the feminine present participle (*-(o)-nt-iH₂-), the denominal derivatives (*-(o)-nt-), or even represents an extrapolation of the feminine form of Caland adjectives in *-nt-iH₂- (i.e. granting the scenario in which these categories were already functionally diversified). As regards the still not quite resolved question of Old European I see two basic possibilities: either Old European is a linguistic layer, a stratum with its own phonetic and morphological peculiarities (innovations), or it is indeed a network of names so old that in terms of phonology and morphology these are non-specific/not yet diversified, which, given the continuity of linguistic change, will simply stay impossible to prove. In case either of the two definitions applies, however, the descriptive term “Old European” cannot be logically used categorically (i.e. limited to the classification of hydronymy only). If it is convincingly established that neither applies, this particular designation/classificatory label should of course be rendered superfluous. The usefulness of the term in linguistic affiliation of place-names such as **Kalamantiā* will necessarily depend on the choice between the three alternatives, taking heed of the fact that under such a classificatory label one does not necessarily assume linguistic affiliation²⁷.

Abbreviations

Gaul. = Gaulish; Gr. = Old Greek; Hitt. = Hittite; *Itin. Ant.* = *Itinerarium Antonini*; *Itin. Burdig.* = *Itinerarium Burdigalense*; Lat. = Latin; Latv. = Latvian; Lith. = Lithuanian; OE = Old English; OI = Old Irish; OInd. = Old Indic; ON = Old Norse; OW = Old Welsh; Pann. = Pannonian; PIE = Proto-Indo-European; Run. = Runic; Thr. = Thracian

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²⁷ Consider in this respect Фалилеев 2013b.

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L. Repanšek. Καλαμαντία (Ptol. II,11,15)

The article attempts to provide a satisfactory etymological solution to the place-name Καλαμαντία, noted once by Ptolemy in his *Geographia* and resurfacing several times in modern toponymy of the Eastern Alpine region. On the basis of the proposed etymology (a denominal derivative to **kolH-mo-* 'rising (up)' *vel sim.*) it is argued that the combined evidence of the place-name's historical phonology and morphology (word formation), coupled with its distribution does not allow for a Celtic or a Pannonian approach. As far as the label can be considered useful and/or applicable in such cases, an «Old European» origin (i. e. at least as far as the historical phonology and word formation are concerned) for this set of names is critically considered.

Key-words: Kalamantía, etymology, paleolinguistics, onomastics.