# COMMON GROUND AND PROGRESS ON THE CELTIC OF THE SOUTH-WESTERN (S.W.) INSCRIPTIONS

*by*

## JOHN T. KOCH

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## INTRODUCTION

A special importance can be claimed for the 90–100 inscriptions in the South-western Palaeohispanic script.[1] This corpus, the script and language of which are also known as 'Tartessian', date to the earlier Iron Age. The most securely dated example today is the stela from the necropolis of Medellín in Spain's Badajoz province. This belongs to a mature style, rather than the beginning of the series, and is assigned to the period 650–625 BC (Almagro-Gorbea 2004a; 2008). Although intrusive literacy from the eastern Mediterranean had reached Europe's Atlantic façade prior to this, the SW inscriptions represent the oldest written corpus produced by an indigenous culture west of Etruria.

Going back to Wikander in 1966 (cf. Tovar 1969), many researchers have offered Indo-European interpretations for the language of this corpus or elements of it. More recently, the proposed Indo-European features and affinities have mostly been specifically Celtic. The aim of the present work is to provide an up-to-date survey of such proposals, noting instances where more than one researcher has offered the same or similar explanations, analysing an element either as Celtic or, more generally, as Indo-European or Palaeohispanic and not incompatible with an Indo-European or specifically Celtic classification. The primary focus here is on matters of detail rather than the central question of the classification of the principal language (or matrix language) of the corpus. That debate has become sometimes a distraction,

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obscuring points of agreement and areas of potential collaborative progress among researchers who recognize Celtic elements but hold different views about the matrix language (Celtic versus non-Celtic probably non-Indo-European) or have expressed no view on the matrix language.[2]

Recent work has modified the *status quæstionis*. *Notes on the Decipherment of Tartessian as Celtic* (2015) by the American linguist Terrence Kaufman could be counted as a sustained argument—at viii + 526 pages—for the classification of the language of SW corpus as Celtic. Regarding this core issue, Kaufman recognizes common ground:

> ... part of Koch's summing up of his conclusions and accomplishments runs: '[It is not hard to see that the SW corpus contains Celtic names.][3] It is not hard to see that the matrix language contains forms that look like Indo-European verbs and preverbs **t^ee**, **ro**, and **ar**.[4] Combined, these categories make up more than half the corpus and are consistent with a particular classification.' [Koch 2014b, 400–1] This is entirely correct and is the reason that Koch needs to be credited for showing that Tartessian is Celtic.[5] (Kaufman 2015, 19, cf. 525)

Kaufman (2015, 9) also provides a detailed account of how the distinguished Celticist and Indo-Europeanist, Eric Hamp, reached the conclusion that Tartessian is Celtic in 2010. This view of Hamp's also figured in his updated Indo-European family tree (Hamp 2013).[6] Several proposals in Kaufman's book are attributed to personal communication with Hamp. Thus, in effect, we are informed that there now exists a school of thought for whom the Celticity of the SW language has been established.

The seminar of Werner Nahm, 'Is Tartessian Celtic?', given at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies in October 2015, presented work carried out independently

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2   Readers interested in the classification controversy as of a few years ago can see the series of articles by Joseph Eska, Blanca Prósper, Miguel Valério, and myself in *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 42 (2014). The three other writers focus on areas of disagreement with my work. However, Eska allows that there are Celtic elements in the corpus and Prósper writes of its numerous Celtic names. As this series of papers was recent and included my response, it won't be recapitulated here.

3   In Kaufman's quotation from my 2014 article, the first sentence of the original text is restored in brackets above, because otherwise the 'combined categories' would make up less than a half of the corpus.

4   Throughout this e-book, I have, to avoid confusion, rewritten romanizations of SW Celtic and reconstructions of Proto-Celtic and Proto-Indo-European, by Kaufman and the various other researchers, so as to conform to the conventions used here and in my earlier work.

5   Although gratifying to be credited in this way, it is somewhat misleading for the complicated history of this particular question. In stating a case for the Celticity of the SW language, I was reviving and developing a hypothesis first put forward by Correa in the 1980s and early 1990s (which he subsequently modified, though never completely reversed), was allowed as possible by Untermann (1995; MLH IV) with further detail and regarded as more likely than any alternative by Jordán Cólera (2004; 2007) and others, before I began work on the corpus.

6   I first became aware of Hamp's interest in and views on Tartessian in conversations with the late R. Geraint Gruffydd, in spring 2011, at which time I sent a pre-publication typescript for *Tartessian 2* to Hamp.

of Kaufman and Hamp and was made public at nearly the same time as Kaufman 2015 appeared.[7] It is therefore significant that this seminar expressed agreements on several matters of detail, as well as the general conclusion, concerning the Indo-European, specifically Celtic, classification.

Notwithstanding the foregoing points, the Celtic classification of the SW language is not the primary focus of Kaufman's monograph. He sees the matter as already well enough established. So, it is time to move on to a second set of questions: Where can the grammatical and etymological interpretations be improved or confirmed? What is the content of the lexicon and grammar? What do the inscriptions say and what can that tell us about the cultural history of the region? What light does this new evidence throw on the evolution of Proto-Celtic from Proto-Indo-European? In Koch 2011 (§46.2) and speaking only for myself, I wrote that my personal research on the SW corpus had reached a similar stage.

Until the step past, or around, the classification debate can be taken, progress with the corpus will be limited and somewhat superficial. The focus necessarily remains on the most unambiguously Celtic-looking material in the corpus (against the allegedly least Celtic-looking material cited against it) in order to demonstrate the classification, reminding readers of examples recognized years ago.[8] As a result, apart from telling us that there is Celtic material in the SW corpus, the classification debate can tell us little that we did not already know. We see in the corpus what we've seen before, but now in a different time, place, and writing system. But, as a school of thought concerning the Celticity of the corpus gathers, it becomes possible to shift

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7   I was unable to attend the seminar, but Professor Nahm kindly sent me the file. Though Nahm accepts the Celtic decipherment of the language, he objects (not uniquely or without reason) to applying the term 'Tartessian' to the SW language: 'Conclusion: On the whole, Koch seems to be right … Town names with suffixes *ipo* (e.g. *Olisipo* = Lisbon) and *uba* (e.g. *Corduba* = Córdoba), with prefix *Ip-*, *Ipo-* (*Iptuci*, *Ipsca*, *Ipocobulcola*), personal and geographical names starting with *Sis-* (e.g. *Sisapo*) are regarded as remainders of a non-Indo-European, non-Iberian language in the Tartessian territory. Perhaps the Espanca "Abekatu" was used for that language. If texts will be discovered, it will be a shame if the name Tartessian is no longer available, but a book with the title *Cunetian* or similar might be less popular. Nevertheless I regard the choice of the name "Tartessian" for the newly discovered Celtic language as the least satisfactory aspect of his impressive work.' (Contra 'Tartessian', cf. also Brandherm 2016.) Let us urge, in any event, that publications on the SW language and script, whatever name for them is preferred by the author, include 'Tartessian' as a key word. One of the more avoidable, though real, obstacles to progress on the subject is the difficulty in searching for relevant literature due to the variety of terms in use. It should also be remembered that the probable Celticity of the name of the historical Arganthonios king of Tartessos (see below s.n. Ἀργανθώνιος) does not by itself prove that he, let alone his subjects, spoke a Celtic language; on the other hand, it certainly does not prove they did not.

8   On the other side of the debate, a converse but similarly arrested state is observable. So, recent assertions against Celtic as the SW matrix language—some of them lengthy—concede a substantial Celtic element in the corpus, but without specifying the acceptably Celtic items, let alone considering the affinities and implications of this material. Are they closer to reconstructed Proto-Celtic or one of the attested Celtic languages? Or do they define a unique sub-branch? So long as the focus remains on the matrix-language debate, such significant questions remain offstage.

from the more secure examples and features to the more difficult. And it is only these that can tell us things we did not already know about Celtic and its evolution from Proto-Indo-European.

Appearing at about the same time as the overviews of the language by Kaufman and Nahm, Woudhuizen (2014/15)[9] took an approach that is unusual in three significant ways. First, he innovates from the standard Correa/Untermann phonetic key for the romanization of some of the SW signs. Second, he allows breaks in *scriptio continua* between the graphemes for the stop consonants (i.e. those romanized **t^a t^e t^i t^o t^u**, &c.) and the following vowel with which they agree (i.e. **a e i o u**). Third, he regards the SW corpus as including examples written as late as the early Roman period and thus in some cases incorporating usages borrowed from the Celtiberian script of those times, as well as references to that later political situation. As a result, Woudhuizen's readings and interpretations are frequently unique. Nonetheless, his article accepts or arrives at several of the same specific Celtic interpretations as well as the conclusion that the language of the corpus is Celtic overall.

Prior to the outputs of 2015 and my own earlier work, several noted researchers in Palaeohispanic studies had, over a period of thirty years, recognized the presence of Celtic-looking forms in the SW corpus. Therefore, it will be useful in the present account to include also the identifications proposed in this earlier research, where these have continued to be viewed favourably and have thus contributed to developing areas of agreement. Much of this earlier published work included lists of Celtic-looking items. Thus the aim of this study is to take stock of these areas of consensus so as to provide a useful baseline or checklist for future research by taking note of specific interpretations that have seemed promising to two or more researchers. It should be mentioned also that, as well as the work that will be most useful here, several publications have acknowledged the existence of this Celtic material without repeating any examples or identifying new ones (e.g. Lorrio & Ruiz Zapatero 2005; Fortson 2009; Maier 2012).[10]

Despite what might now be seen as a sufficiency of published recognition, a coherent Celtic interpretation of the corpus—as could be integrated into historical and comparative Celtic and Indo-European studies—has been slow to take shape, even provisionally. Amongst the approaches favouring Celtic names in a non-Celtic matrix language, Villar's (2004) proposal that SW Celtic was early Gaulish would have important implications for the history of the Celtic languages as a whole and could be investigated further. Even allowing only the presence of Celtic elements, that nonetheless entails linguistic evidence comparable to that of the Old Indic words and names found in documents from the Late Bronze Age kingdom of Mitanni in present-

9    Cf. also Woudhuizen 1998/1999.
10   Broderick 2010 had also recapitulated many of the proposals in Koch 2009. Although he evidently thought the interpretation sufficiently worthwhile to merit an extended epitome, Broderick, unlike Kaufman and Nahm, does not make clear how far he was endorsing the approach in general or in its particulars.

day northern Syria, which have long been recognized as crucial for the study of Vedic Sanskrit and the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-Iranian.

In the interest of inclusiveness and aware of controversies over the name 'Tartessian', the term 'South-western Celtic (SW Celtic)' might be preferable for two reasons: it avoids the toxic T-word and can accommodate either the position *Celtic is the proven primary language of SW corpus* or merely *there is a recognized Celtic element in the SW corpus.*

Most of those elements of the SW corpus for which there has been some agreement over their identification as Celtic, or at least as Indo-European, are identified and explained in the list of the individual lexemes below. However, there are four general aspects of Kaufman's approach that affect numerous items and the overall interpretation. So they are better dealt with at this point. The first two are problematical for reasons explained. The third and fourth are acceptable and present significant potential for further progress.

1. Kaufman doubts many of the identifications of forms in the corpus previously recognized as Celtic names, advancing instead new proposals as verbs, nominal compounds, and so on. If correct, this would be ironic, amounting to a rejection of some of the identifications that led in the first place to the breakthrough of Correa's 'Posibles antropónimos en las inscripciones en escritura del SO. (o tartesia)' (1989). But irony avoidance is no part of a scientific methodology.

   An overview of the indigenous personal names of the region with *briga* place-names (i.e. the Indo-European zone of the Iberian Peninsula) during the Roman period is more decisive in this connection. The list of names and name elements that recur many times across this region, or wide areas of it, is limited, a few dozen. For example, there are many repeated instances of *Ambatos*, *Tirtos*, *Turos*, and their variants across the *briga* zone. Lengthy lists of comparanda from this material have been included below to convey some idea of its nature and extent. This distribution implies a longstanding stable onomastic system. That this name stock shows regional dialectal variation in its phonology and make up, considered along with its overall continuity and density across the *briga* zone, is certainly consistent with discovering an earlier state of the same system already in place in the Early Iron Age. It is, time and time again, this finite stock of pre-Roman Indo-European Palaeohispanic names for which striking resemblances have been found in the SW corpus. As argued (Koch 2014b; 2014c), it is, as a matter of statistical probability, essentially impossible that the standard Correa/Untermann phonetic key for the SW script could be incorrect in some fundamental way but have so often produced *by coincidence* forms resembling one particular language. It is likewise incredible for these forms repeatedly to resemble *by coincidence* the pre-Roman language spoken in the same region 500 to 1,000 years later. It would be still more incredible had a stable system of a few dozen Hispano-Celtic personal names been preceded in the same region by a corpus (of funerary inscriptions!), in which again and again forms resembling the names appeared (e.g. **anbᵃatⁱia**,

MAP: The '*briga* zone'

t<sup>i</sup>irt<sup>o</sup>os, t<sup>u</sup>urea), but those older forms were not names, the resemblances being coincidental. As is clear from the annotated alphabetical list of SW forms below, the consensus in the published scholarship is particularly broad in the area of Palaeohispanic onomastics with Celtic comparanda. As well as accepting that SW forms that have been recognized as closely resembling Palaeohispanic and/or Ancient Celtic names probably *are* names, we should also consider as inherently promising etymological explanations that can plausibly link Palaeohispanic and/or Ancient Celtic name stock to regular Indo-European and Celtic vocabulary.

2. Kaufman argues that Proto-Celtic preposition and preverb *\*u(p)o* should invariably be reflected as Tartessian **o** and *\*u(p)er* as **uar** 'no matter what Welsh does' (2015, 18). It is not just Welsh that implies otherwise. As well as the Brythonic reflex of Proto-Celtic *\*u(p)er+\*tegerno-* being written *Uertigernus*, *Gʋorthıgırn*, *Gʋarthıgırn*, and *Gwrtheyrn*, we find one word written both DIVERTOMV and DIVORTOM- on the Gaulish calendar of Coligny, VARCONIS occurs for the reflex of *\*u(p)er-kunos* in Noricum. Taking an overview of the evidence (see Koch 2011,



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§70.2), it can be seen that Proto-Celtic *u(p)o-* is reflected as both *ua* and *uo* in Gaulish, and likewise Brythonic, often for the same word or name, and that Proto-Celtic *u(p)er* is reflected in both languages variously as *uer*, *uor*, and *uar*. More to the present point, the evidence of Celtiberian **VERAMOS** (K.3.18; HEp, 9, 557 — Peñalba de Villastar, Teruel) right alongside **VORAMOS** (K.3.7; HEp, 9, 545 — Peñalba de Villastar, Teruel) (both from Proto-Celtic *u(p)er_amo-s*) shows that such variations occurred also in Hispano-Celtic. That implies, as comparative evidence, that the multiple reflexes go back to Proto-Celtic, rather than arising in the post-Proto-Celtic dialects. The source of the variations is not purely phonological; rather, the reflexes of *u(p)o* 'under, &c.' and *u(p)er* 'over, &c.' and their derivatives have contaminated one another analogically. Most relevant for our purposes, an ancient place-name of the south-western Iberian Peninsula preserves the most archaic way of saying 'highest' in Celtic: Οὐαμα *Uama* and the local group name Latinized as **VAMENSI** applied to a settlement (Luján 2001, 279; Villar 2004, 259–60; Falileyev et al. 2010, 228 — Salvatierra de los Barros, Badajoz) in the territory of the south-western Celtici are situated high on the massif within the great bend of the Anas/Guadiana; cf. SW **uabᵃan** |*uamām*| (J.16.5), and Lepontic UVAMO- (Prestino), likewise from Proto-Celtic *u(p)_amo-/ā*, with diagnostically Celtic weakening and loss of *p*. Thus, when the SW formula word **uar(n)bᵃan** |*uar_amām*| is explained as the phonological reflex of Proto-Celtic *u(p)er_amām* (feminine accusative singular), this is not the whole story. **uar(n)bᵃan** is also the analogical replacement of the obsolete lexeme *uamā-*. We cannot now be certain whether the first **a** of **uar(n)bᵃan** is the result of sound law or analogy or a combination. In any event, the Celtiberian evidence tells us that the variants **VERAMO-** and **VORAMO-** were also in use—either across the entire *briga* zone or just regionally towards the east. The latter form itself is probably due to the analogical influence of *u(p)o*.

3. Largely on the basis of the absence of grapheme for */m/* in the original and more basic form of the SW writing system, Kaufman proposes that this earliest Palaeohispanic script was first devised (from the Phoenician script, as widely held) to write an indigenous non-Indo-European language akin to Basque. Pre-Basque/Aquitanian did apparently lack the phoneme */m/*. This absence—found in only a minority of the languages of the world—is also characteristic of the extinct Iberian language of the Mediterranean side of the Peninsula. Iberian was in general phonologically similar to Pre-Basque/Aquitanian.[11] In other words,

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11 The possibility that Aquitanian/Basque and Iberian were genetically related, i.e. descended from a common proto-language, has yet to be decisively proved or disproved (cf. Ferrer i Jané 2009; Gorrochategui 2013b). That they had a typological similarity, particularly in matters of phonetics and phonology, is superficially apparent (cf. Trask 1997; Egurtzegi 2013). This could be the result of prolonged contact in geographical proximity in later prehistory. Ballester (2001; cf. Jordán 2015, 333–5) proposes this era of contact took place immediately north of the Pyrenees, with both languages subsequently expanding southwards into their historical territories. It is likely that both languages lost ground to Indo-European in later prehistory.

the absence of the phoneme /m/ was characteristic of the indigenenous non-Indo-European languages of south-west Europe (cf. Gorrochategui 2013a, 52). On the other hand, because words beginning with **r-** or **ŕ-** were not possible in the Iberian language, even beginning the second element of compounds, and the situation was the same for the reconstructed Pre-Basque (*r and *R), the several SW syntagmata beginning with **ro-** show that the language of the corpus was not itself of the 'Vasco-Iberian' type. Cf. also **raha**, **rinoeb°o**, and **ekᵘu-ŕine** in the SW word-list below. It is necessary to recognize and distinguish the characteristics imposed by the history and nature of the script from the underlying language.

Because the Phoenicians surely landed in Mediterranean Spain before the major Tyrian presence could be established at Huelva and environs on the Atlantic by *c.* 900 BC (González de Canales et al 2004; 2006; 2008; Torres 2008),[12] or coming into contact with the core area of the SW inscriptions further west and further north, it is inherently likely that Palaeohispanic writing was first devised in the non-Indo-European zone to the east (cf. Koch 2011, §131). Therefore, I'm now willing to accept this as the stronger hypothesis, rather than a direct transference of the literacy from the eastern Mediterranean to the Indo-European zone in the western Peninsula.

If it is then agreed that the SW script in its original form, as reflected in the epigraphic formula (on which see below), could not represent /m/, this conclusion has further implications. In writing an Indo-European language that did have the phoneme /m/, such as Celtic, and without drastically revamping the first Palaeohispanic signary and its phonetic values, a few strategies were available. These would be similar to those used a few centuries later when borrowed Celtic names were written in Iberian script and the same problems arose, e.g. **katubaŕe** (B.1.373, 1 — Ensérune, Hérault, France, *c.* 3rd century BC) for Gaulish *Katumāro-*. It is important, however, to draw a distinction between Celtic names borrowed into the Iberian language and then written in Iberian script as against a Celtic language written in a script adapted for a language of Vasco-Iberian type. As Correa (1994, 269) points out, Celtic *o*-stems borrowed into Iberian are found with the ending **-e**, and i̯*o*-stems with **-i**: for example, **asedile** (B.1.45) < Gaulish *Adsedilos*, **eśkinke** (B.1.268, MLH II, 47) < Gaulish *Excingus* /eχskiŋgos/, **likine** < Celtiberian **likinos**, **katulati** (to be read **katuladi**) < Gaulish *\*Katu-lad̯ios*. On the other hand, SW **tⁱirt°os** (J.1.2) and **akᵘolioś** (J.56.1) retain the Indo-European endings of masculine *o*-stem and i̯*o*-stem nominatives singular, implying that they belong to statements in an Indo-European language. If we compare an inscription from the Roman period like **DEIBABO NEMVCELAICABO FVSCINVS FVSCI F. / V.**

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12 The Ría de Huelva deposition of the 10th century BC shows that the place was already a major maritime hub before a permanent Phoenician presence was established there (Ruiz-Gálvez 1995a; 1995b). Therefore, it is likely that more than one indigenous language had been lately in use in Huelva at the time the prototype of the SW script was devised. After the horizon of the deposition, contacts with the (arguably incipiently Celtic) Atlantic Bronze Age world fell off precipitously (Burgess 2012).

**L. A. S.** (AE 1987, 159, 562 g; HEp 2, 839; Búa 1997, 60; Vallejo 2013 — Aguas Frias, Chaves, Vila Real), using Roman letters and combining indigenous gods' names and case forms with Latin, something different is involved. The native datives plural in **-BO** stand apart in the syntax, effectively forming a bipartite statement; even so, the blending involves two ancient Western Indo-European languages with clearly cognate declensional systems. The analogy with inscriptions of this type is imprecise for the idea that the SW corpus comprises Indo-European names inflected as Indo-European, showing a variety of case forms, in a non-Indo-European matrix language.

In the SW script, at the beginning or interior of a word, the **b**-series of signs was used for /m/. These signs required a following vowel, and therefore could not end a word: **bᵃa bᵉe bⁱi bᵒo bᵘu**. In the interior of words, it was also possible to represent phonetic nasalization as well as the labial quality of /m/ by writing ᕁ **n** followed by the **b**-series with the required redundant vowel: **nbᵃa nbᵉe nbⁱi nbᵒo nbᵘu**.[13] However, this strategy had the disadvantage of ambiguity, as it also represented the cluster /mb/, as in, for example, **anbᵃatⁱia** |*Amba(χ)ṭi̯ā*| 'daughter of Amba(χ)tos'. There are a few SW inscriptions making use of signs that resemble symbols for /m/ occurring in the less archaic versions of the Phoenician alephat and the Iberian and Celtiberian scripts, ᛗ and ᚹ respectively. These two signs are mostly confined to the beginning of words, marginal to the system overall, and never appear in the traditional epigraphic formula (on which see below).

At the end of words, neither of the first two strategies was possible. **bᵃa bᵉe bⁱi bᵒo bᵘu** and **nbᵃa nbᵉe nbⁱi nbᵒo nbᵘu** had to represent a syllable and could not stand for a non-syllabic sound at the end of a word. The uncommon signs ᛗ and ᚹ were not used at the end of words. On the other hand, ᕁ **n** was part of the basic system and commonly occurs at the end of a word. In many cases, SW **-n** corresponds to an etymological Proto-Celtic final */-m/, which would have been preserved as **-m** in Celtiberian. For example, the SW forms that Untermann recognized as genitive plural kindred names, ]l̲iirnestᵃakᵘun (J.19.1) and ]tᵃarnekᵘun (J.26.1), corresponding to Celtiberian **-Vkum**; similarly the formula word **uar(n)bᵃan** ~ Celtiberian (masculine) **VERAMOM** (K.3.11 — Peñalba de Villastar, Teruel). Such examples have been thought to show that the SW Celtic language had innovated, like Gaulish and in contrast to Celtiberian, with a sound law that changed inherited final */-m/ to /-n/ written **-n**. That remains possible. However, the SW script originally had no sign for /m/ and the strategy of employing **bᵃa bᵉe bⁱi bᵒo bᵘu** or **nbᵃa nbᵉe nbⁱi nbᵒo nbᵘu** could not be used at the end of a word. Therefore, it now seems unnecessary to posit a sound law whereby the SW Celtic language had evolved, at an early date, like Gaulish and away from Celtiberian, by turning inherited *-m to *-n. It is more probable that final **-n** was merely a strategy for representing the *-m reconstructed in this position for Proto-Celtic and found written **-m** in Celtiberian. Note that preceding another word in close phrases, Proto-Celtic final */-m/ was probably realized phonetically

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13 Cf. Iberian **kanbulo-ilereuti** (B.7.34, 14 — Pech Mahó, Aude, France, 3rd century BC) probably containing Gaulish *Kamulo-*.

as *[-n] before dentals and *[-ŋ] before velars. Therefore, ]**liirnestᵃakᵘun** (J.19.1), ]**tᵃarnekᵘun** (J.26.1), and **uar(n)bᵃan** can be understood as probably representing |*Liranestākūm*|, |*Taranekūm*|, and |*uarₐmām*| in a less innovative than previously thought Ancient Celtic language. To summarize the present proposal, in SW Celtic the phoneme */m/* was represented as follows.

a. in word-inital position, including initially in the second element in compounds— (originally):

bᵃa- ⋀⦚   bᵉe- ○9   bⁱi- ⋎↑   bᵒo- ╪☐   bᵘu- ⅄⋈

(subsequently also):

m- ⋏   m- ⋓

b. in word-internal position:

-bᵃa- ⋀⦚   -bᵉe- ○9   -bⁱi- ⋎↑   -bᵒo- ╪☐   -bᵘu- ⅄⋈

and

-nbᵃa- ⋀⦚⅄   -nbᵉe- ○9⅄   -nbⁱi- ⋎↑⅄   -nbᵒo- ╪☐⅄   -nbᵘu- ⅄⋈⅄

c. in word-final position:

-n ⅄

4.  In the SW corpus, forms that contained the Proto-Celtic diphthongs *\*ou* (< Proto-Indo-European *\*ou* and *\*eu*) and *\*ei* (< Proto-Indo-European *\*ei*, though this was possibly already *\*ē* in Proto-Celtic or least widely in the Ancient Celtic languages) are written **o** and **e**. In Koch 2013a, for example, it was assumed that this usage reflected an actual phonological change, that Proto-Indo-European *\*ou* and *\*eu* had become Tartessian */ō/* and Proto-Indo-European *\*ei* had become *\*/ē/*. Kaufman believes that Proto-Celtic *\*/oṷ/* and *\*/eị/* were retained but conventionally represented as **o** and **e** in the SW writing system. This seems likely (especially **o** for */oṷ/*) and, in line with the previous point, opens a possibility. Although Iberian texts contain forms representing a diphthong **ei**, the language did not seem to have had a phonemic diphthong */oṷ/* or, if it did, it was rare. The same observations holds for the less extensive remains of Aquitanian, and the phonemic diphthong */oṷ/* is wholly absent from reconstructed Pre-Basque (Trask 1997, 166). Therefore, it is possible that Kaufman is correct in this interpretation, especially with regards to Proto-Celtic *\*/oṷ/* represented by Tartessian **o**, and furthermore that this would be another example of a feature carried over with the SW script from its earlier history representing a neighbouring non-Indo-European language.

Accepting Kaufman's proposals 3 and 4 above together implies a major conclusion as follows. The first Palaeohispanic script was devised, largely on the basis of an early West Semitic alephat as used by the Phoenicians, to write an indigenous non-Indo-European language of the eastern, Mediterranean-facing Peninsula. Afterwards,

this primitive Palaeohispanic script was applied to an Indo-European language in the west (i.e. SW Celtic) without a second major reformation. In other words, new graphemes were not added, at least not initially, to accommodate phonemes in SW language that did not exist in Iberian (and Aquitanian/Palaeo-Basque), nor were surplus signs reassigned to adapt systematically to the new phonemic inventory. The initial creative impulse behind the invention of the first Palaeohispanic script was not sustained or reignited. This would not be surprising. It is, rather, the first major revamp of the alephat to create the primitive Palaeohispanic script that is remarkable. Individuals who have been taught to write only one language and then attempt to write a second usually do not create new symbols or change the values of the signs from what they have learned. The result is usually that the second language is represented less accurately, until a second innovator with enough imagination, disdain for tradition, and polyglot learning intervenes.

Taking an overview of the several versions of the Palaeohispanic script, their comparative characteristics imply that they were not flexibly redesigned to write the different indigenous languages. The four main versions—SW or Tartessian, SE or Meridional, NE or Levantine or Iberian, and Celtiberian—fall into two major subfamilies: the SW and SE signaries differ little, similarly NE and Celtiberian. In observing this alignment, Ballester (2004a) proposed that the integrity of these two subsets should be recognized, calling them *el sureño* and *el septentrional*, respectively. The key point presently is that this subdivision does not follow the principal linguistic division of the pre-Roman languages. Rather, both *el sureño* and *el septentrional* cross the Indo-European/non-Indo-European divide, i.e. the line separating the territories of the *briga* and *ilti* place-names. Furthermore, taken as a whole, the four Palaeohispanic scripts agree more with one another, in both their basic structure and the forms of their individual signs, than any of them agree with the early West Semitic alephat that was the primary basis for their common prototype. In other words, after the initial adoption and adaptation of the alephat in the Peninsula, Palaeohispanic writing became traditional, and did not change form drastically even when applied to wholly unrelated language families. The situation was, therefore, not unlike that in Cyprus, where Cypriot syllabic writing was applied to two wholly unrelated languages—Greek and non-Indo-European Eteo-Cypriot—in contrast to the non-native Phoenician script also in use on the island. In other words, Palaeohispanic writing in general—like Cypriot Syllabic writing in general—was emblematic not of linguistic affiliation, but of indigenous identity, diverse languages native to the country (Sherratt 2003). When this is the paramount consideration, we must be prepared to decipher corpora for which the phonetic accuracy of the writing systems was of secondary importance. That is another reason not to assume that, when our romanizations of Tartessian texts appear to show systematic deviations from comparanda of the Roman Period and reconstructed Proto-Celtic, this can only mean that the earlier language in Palaeohispanic script had rapidly innovated then died out.

If we accept now as the preferred working hypothesis that the immediate prototype from which SW script was derived had been customized to a non-Indo-European Palaeohispanic language, this permits a more minimalist account of the sound laws leading from Proto-Celtic to SW Celtic. In other words, some of the systematic disparities distinguishing reconstructed Proto-Celtic and the romanizations of the inscriptions can be explained as the result of constraints imposed by the script, as opposed to hypothetical sound laws. Thinking along these lines, we should suppose that the practitioners of the SW script were at considerable disadvantage in trying to represent their language with a script that was first invented for one wholly unrelated language (West Semitic) and then underwent a major reform in order to represent a second wholly unrelated language. Recognizing the likelihood of such a situation opens further possibilities for the decipherment of the SW corpus.

If it is possible that the SW writing system was regularly representing /ou̯/ as **o**, as per Kaufman, that raises a second possibility concerning the representation of the semi-vowel /u̯/[14] in general, that is, at the beginning of syllables as well as as the second element of a diphthong. Both Kaufman and I proposed that Proto-Celtic */u̯/ at the beginning of syllables was widely lost in the SW language. Kaufman defines this change as a simple loss of the segment across-the-board. My position has been—and I still think this possible—that /u̯/ assimilated to the articulation of a following /e(:)/, /i(:)/, /o/ and that the resulting /e̯e(:)/, /i̯i(:)/, /o̯o/ were then often written with the single graphemes **e**, **i**, **o**, whether or not they had preserved articulation as two segments. However, in instances, where /u̯o/ (mostly from Proto-Celtic *u(p)o 'under') had dissimilated as /u̯a/, the semivowel was preserved and the group was written **ua** in the corpus.

With either Kaufman's explanation or my own, the frequent disappearance of Proto-Celtic */u̯/ remains one of the more striking innovations distinguishing SW Celtic from the other Ancient Celtic languages and reconstructed Proto-Celtic. However, if we now build on Kaufman's proposal in accepting as likely that Proto-Celtic */ou̯/ was preserved, but written **o**, in Tartessian, that further suggests that the language had /u̯/—distributed more-or-less as in the other Ancient Celtic languages and as inherited from Proto-Celtic—but conventionally did not write it. If so, the apparent exceptions with **ua** < Proto-Celtic *u(p)o can be explained not as representations of /u̯a/ with the semivowel written—due to an exceptional phonological treatment of this combination—but of disyllabic /u.a/ (dissimilated from */u.o/ < *u(p)o) with two vowels and hiatus. Note that most or all of the examples of **ua** in the corpus do not reflect Proto-Celtic *u̯o-, but *u(p)o and *u(p)er. Therefore, the forms do not reflect the Proto-Celtic semivowel *u̯ but the vowel *u. They had gone through a stage as disyllables with hiatus, /u.a/ and /u.ar/, which might still have been the case when SW Celtic became a written language. In other words, much of what we are seeing in the SW corpus with regards the reflexes Proto-Celtic *u̯ could be explained as the

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14  /w/ is an alternative representation for this sound.

consistent application of a borrowed writing system that had a sign for the vowels /ū/ and /ŭ/, but had no sign for the semivowel /u̯/. Favouring this explanation is the fact that Iberian and Palaeo-Basque languages evidently lacked /w/, as can be shown by merely going through the corpora of Iberian[15] and Aquitanian inscriptions, as well as Michelena's 'Pre-Basque' phonemic inventory reconstructed for the later pre-Roman Iron Age (cf. Trask 1997, 126; see below).

**The phonemes of Pre-Basque**

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Fortis** | *(p)*[16] | *t* | *k* | *tz* | *ts* | *N* | *L* | | *R* |
| **Lenis** | *b* | *d* | *g* | *z* | *s* | *n* | *l* | | |
| **Vowels** | *i* | *e* | *a* | *o* | *u* | | | | |

Therefore, in taking over a writing system first devised to represent a language or languages lacking phonemic /u̯/, the epigraphers applying the script to Indo-European in the west had three alternatives:

1. invent a new sign for /u̯/,

2. use the sign **u** for both /u(:)/ and /u̯/,

3. or simply not write /u̯/ at all or (at most) sometimes suggest its presence with a copy of the following vowel sound.

The third alternative is consistent with the evidence of the SW corpus.

Anyone who has learned to read Latin or Welsh, for example, might at first pause, thinking it should have been so completely natural as to require virtually no thought to expand the values of the SW sign Ч **u**, which represented [u(:)], to include [w], when scribes literate only in a language lacking the latter sound faced the challenge of writing a language with [w]. In other words, we expect SW **u** Ч to represent both [u(:)] and [w], like Latin V and Welsh *w*, as a linguistic quasi-universal. A knowledge of Proto-Indo-European phonology might foster a similar expectation; however, in Proto-Celtic *[u] and *[w] were no longer allophonic realizations of a single phoneme */u/, as had once been the case at an early reconstructable stage of Proto-Indo-European. The experience of Welsh speakers with monoglot English speakers will dispel such assumptions. If the sounds are always distinct phonemes in your language, you must be taught to represent [u(:)] and [w] with the same grapheme. The idea is not inherently natural and does not arise spontaneously. A road sign to Eglwyswrw must be explained with patience.

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15  However, fairly numerous Iberian forms like Iberian **iunstir** suggest that a phonemic palatal glide /i̯/ was present in that language.

16  /p/ was most probably altogether absent from reconstructed Pre-Basque, as was likewise the case, and directly observable from contemporary evidence, in Iberian.

The evidence allows the possibility that Proto-Celtic */u̯/ was lost by a regular, across-the-board phonological change in the SW language. On the other hand, the possibility that the semivowel was retained but not written offers more for understanding SW Celtic as a less atypical Ancient Celtic language, as well as for the invention of Palaeohispanic script and its application to diverse indigenous languages of the Peninsula.

If this is the preferable explanation concerning the fate of Proto-Celtic */u̯/ in the SW language, it implies similar explanations for two further labial sounds. */kᵘ/ and */gᵘ/ undoubtedly existed in Proto-Celtic. The former at least clearly survived in Celtiberian and some of the Western Hispano-Celtic dialects attested in Roman times. These phonemes were absent from Iberian and Aquitanian/Palaeo-Basque, and they were absent from the Palaeohispanic signaries. It is therefore likely that the SW language had not eliminated these Proto-Celtic phonemes by phonological change, but wrote them with the series used for the simple velars (⋀ kᵃ, )| kᵉ, ♥ kⁱ, ✗ kᵒ, 目 kᵘ) because the script was taken over without modification for the SW language after last being modified to write a language lacking phonemic labiovelars.

Further problems associated with the SW corpus that could be solved with such a theory of the script's history include the distribution of the two sibilant signs (transliterated ‡ s and ⋈ ś) and the two rhotic signs (٩ r and ⋋ ŕ). It is not clear that in either case we are dealing with two different sounds, following an examination of all instances of these signs in the corpus (Koch 2011, 152–6). So, for example, there are two probable examples of the *(i)o*-stem nominative singular ending **akᵒolioś** (J.56.1) and **tⁱirtᵒos** (J.1.2). If so, the two sibilant signs could be used interchangeably, although in a few examples the **ś** seems to stand for what is historically a geminate or cluster with sibilant, for example **kᵃaśetᵃana** ~ Gaulish *cassidannos*, **iśiinkᵒolobᵒo** ~ Gaulish ESCENCOLATIS. The most common of the SW formula words, **naŕkᵉentⁱi** and numerous variants, is once written **naŕrkᵉe:n:**, implying that **ŕ** and **r** had similar or identical sounds; cf. also **tᵘurea** (J.7.8) versus **tᵘuŕekᵘui** (J.14.1), **kᵃaŕner-ion** (J.7.2; §§35.3, 60, 80, 96.1, 105) versus **enḇᵉ·kᵃarne** (J.17.4), **ekᵘu-ŕine** (J.4.1) versus **rinoebᵒo** (J.5.1). Unlike Proto-Celtic, the Iberian language and reconstructed pre-Basque had two clearly distinct phonemic sibilants and two clearly distinct phonemic rhotics, which, at least for the latter language, were opposed fortes and lenes. A script adapted for a non-Indo-European language of this type and then transferred with minimal revision to an Ancient Celtic language could account for both the surplus and inconsistent distribution of the sibilant and rhotic signs.

There follows a partial inventory of phonemes represented in the SW script,[17] as

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17  This is based on the *de facto* standard of the Correa–Untermann key, followed in almost all the work cited here. The values of most signs, especially the most frequently occurring signs, are not in dispute. The variant proposals have generally followed a fundamentally different methodology, in which the standard key's output of attested Palaeohispanic names has not been accepted as confirmation. In several instances, rejection of elements of the Correa–Untermann key has been advanced as part of an argument against the Indo-European classification of the language. A tentative proposal of Rodríguez-Ramos

implied by the foregoing discussion.

| SW sign and romanization | Phoneme(s) represented |
|---|---|
| Ⱄ **a** | /ā, ă/, and possibly /ə/ |
| Ο **e** | /ē, ě/, and possibly /ei/ |
| Ⱈ **i** | / ī, ĭ, i̯/ |
| ╪ **o** | / ō, ŏ, ou/ |
| Ⴗ **u** | /ū, ŭ/ |
| ⎯⎯ | /u̯/ |
| ╪ **s** | /s/ |
| Ⱂ **ś** | /s, ss/ |
| ⸠ **r** | /r/ |
| Ⱀ **ŕ** | /r/ |
| ⸠ **l** | /l/ |
| Ⱈ **n** | /n/, /ₐn/ < PIE */n̥/, /-m/ |
| ⸠ **bᵃ** | /b, m/, (/ₐm/< PIE */m̥/) before **a** |
| ⸠ **bᵉ** | /b, m/, (/ₐm/< PIE */m̥/) before **e** |
| ↑ **bⁱ** | /b, m/, (/ₐm/< PIE */m̥/) before **i** |
| ⯐ **bᵒ** | /b, m/, (/ₐm/< PIE */m̥/) before **o** |
| ⋈ **bᵘ** | /b, m/, (/ₐm/< PIE */m̥/) before **u** |
| Λ **kᵃ** | /k, g, kᵘ (, gᵘ)/ before **a** |
| ⟩ǀ **kᵉ** | /k, g, kᵘ (, gᵘ)/ before **e** |
| φ **kⁱ** | /k, g, kᵘ (, gᵘ)/ before **i** |
| Ⴟ **kᵒ** | /k, g, kᵘ (, gᵘ)/ before **o**; the distinction of kᵘ (, gᵘ) vs. k (, g) possibly neutralized in this position in Hispano-Celtic |
| ⼕ **kᵘ** | /k, g/ before **u**; the distinction of kᵘ (, gᵘ) vs. k (, g) neutralized in this position in PC |

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(2000), recently revived by Ferrer i Jané (2016), would reverse the phonetic values of Correa–Untermann ⋈ **bᵘ** and ⼕ **kᵘ** to ⋈ **kᵘ** and ⼕ **bᵘ**. This revision is not inherently impossible. In some cases its potential results are pointed out here in the notes on interpretations. However, such a revision is on balance unnecessary. It also has some specific drawbacks, including the following. (1) The Palaeohispanic sign Ⱈ **m** can be explained as having evolved as a simplification of ⋈. With the standard key, ⋈ is **bᵘ**, the phonemic values of which include /m/ before /u, ū/. On the other hand, reading ⋈ as **kᵘ** would leave the ancestry of Ⱈ **m** unexplained. (2) It is promising to take **uarbᵃan** Ⱈⱄ⸠ⰘⱄႷ, **uarbᵒoiir** ⸠ⱈⱈ╪⼕⸠ⱄⴗ (J.22.1), and **u( )arbᵘu** Ⴗ⋈⸠ⱄ[ ]Ⴗ (J.23.1) as reflecting forms of the same often-occurring SW formula word, but this correspondence would be lost if the last was transliterated **u( )arkᵘu**. (3) Other forms in Correa–Untermann transliteration, such as **aarkᵘuio** ╪ⱈⴗ⼕⸠ⱄⰔ (J.7.6), would have to be regarded as closely resembling Palaeohispanic names, such as the very common **ARQVIVS**, by uncanny coincidence.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✕ tᵃ | | /t, d/ before **a** |
| ⊦ tᵉ | | /t, d/ before **e** |
| ⊕ tⁱ | | /t, d/ before **i** |
| △ tᵒ | | /t, d/ before **o** |
| △ tᵘ | | /t, d/ before **u** |
| ⅄} nbᵃ, &c. | | /m, mb/ before **a**, &c. |
| ⋔ m | | /m/ |
| ⅄ m | | /m/ |
| ⪦ h (?φ) | | /h/? |

If the evidence is interpreted in this way, we gain three advances with the Celtic of the SW corpus. First, it reduces the examples showing Tartessian innovating from Proto-Celtic in a unique way so as to differ from the other Ancient Celtic languages. Second, it reinterprets and thus eliminates much of the evidence that would preclude regarding the SW language as the direct ancestor of the source of onomastic stock attested in the western Iberian Peninsula in Roman times. 'Tartessian' would no longer be seen as a *cul de sac*, related to the Western Hispano-Celtic attested in Roman script but having branched off from it through a remarkable series of major and early sound changes. To the contrary, there may be little to preclude applying the label 'Old Western Hispano-Celtic' to the SW language. Third, it reconciles features of the SW writing system that have been seen as better suited to a non-Indo-European language in general (e.g. Rodríguez Ramos 2002; 2015) or one of specifically Iberian type (Eska 2014), explaining the representation of /m/, /u̯/, rhotics, and sibilants as the legacy of such a language.


¶ THEORIES OF A SECOND SOURCE FOR THE PALAEOHISPANIC SCRIPTS' PROTOTYPE

The present work is intended to draw attention to details of SW Celtic about which two or more researchers have reached similar or identical conclusions. As mentioned above, Kaufman joins a broad consensus in seeing the West Semitic alephat, specifically that of the Phoenicians, as the primary source of the SW script. Untermann's idea (1997) that an early form of a Western Greek alphabet was an important second source has little resonance in newer work.

I have proposed that the influence of Cypriot Syllabic writing might account, not for the formal signs of the Palaeohispanic scripts, but for the scripts' peculiar hybrid structure (Koch 2011, 168–9; 2016, 452–6). They are semi-syllabaries, that is to say, a combination of the 'one sign = one phoneme' principle for the vowels and some consonants, but one sign representing a consonant plus a vowel for the stop consonants. In the case of the SW script, which is the earliest of the attested Palaeohispanic scripts, we should more accurately call it a 'pseudo-semi-syllabary',

because in most instances the vowel sign is written 'redundantly' after a grapheme for the stop consonant which in itself expresses the following vowel.

As to why the syllabic concept should come from Cyprus in particular rather than, say, from the Linear B syllabary used to write Greek in the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age, this is partly a matter of plausible historical context. Linear B died out not long after the collapse of Mycenae about 1200 BC, which is probably too early for it to have been a factor in the invention of Palaeohispanic writing. On the other hand, syllabic writing continued in Cyprus from about 1500 BC down to the 3rd century BC. There is also considerable archaeological evidence for contact between Cyprus and the Iberian Peninsula at the key period, about 1150–650 BC (Garrido Roiz 1983; Karageorghis & Lo Schiavo 1989; Mederos 1996; Almagro-Gorbea 2001; Blázquez 2011). Secondly, unlike Linear B, Cypriot Syllabic writing (at least in its more fully understood Iron Age forms) uses 15 signs to write the combinations of the stop consonants plus following vowels: **ta te ti to tu**, **pa pe pi po pu**, **ka ke ki ko ku**. It has no series to distinguish the voiced from voiceless consonants, or to distinguish other essential features of the Greek consonant system, which it was nonetheless used to represent for at least seven centuries. Palaeohispanic writing similarly used 15 signs to represent the same 15 combinations of consonants and vowels. Palaeohispanic writing also made no distinction of voice—at least not at the beginning—even though this contrast had been phonemic in the Indo-European languages of the Iberian Peninsula. So, in the SW pseudo-semi-syllabary, the corresponding series are $t^a$ $t^e$ $t^i$ $t^o$ $t^u$, $b^a$ $b^e$ $b^i$ $b^o$ $b^u$, $k^a$ $k^e$ $k^i$ $k^o$ $k^u$. (For the five signs in the middle, $b^a$ $b^e$ $b^i$ $b^o$ $b^u$ is written, following Untermann, in recognition of the evidence that the SW language probably lacked the phoneme */p/*, like Iberian, Aquitanian/Palaeo-Basque, and inherited vocabulary in Celtiberian.) Therefore, I've argued that this phonetically inaccurate structural feature of Palaeohispanic writing—though not the graphemes themselves—had been carried over from Cypriot Syllabic writing when the new script was first invented to represent an indigenous language or languages in the west.

More recently and based on a completely different approach, Hosszú (2017) has also concluded that Cypriot Syllabic writing is likely to have been a second source—once again recognizing the Phoenician alephat as the primary source—for the SW script and subsequent Palaeohispanic scripts. Hosszú's method is 'computational palaeography [which] investigates the evolution of graphemes'. In any event, the key point is that some of the SW signs that do not have any clear antecedent in the West Semitic alephat are arguably traced to Cypriot Syllabic graphemes. For example, the Paphian syllabary's sign for **ko** resembles SW Ⳍ $k^o$ (cf. Olivier 2013). Hosszú's specific derivations merit careful scrutiny, in terms of the dates when the graphemes were in use, their proposed evolution, variants, and phonetic values. Unless form and sound go together, similar graphemes in two writing systems could occur by chance. Bearing that in mind, if some of the SW signs can be credibly derived in this way, that would have inherent and obvious advantages over the theory that those SW graphemes

lacking clear Phoenician antecedents had all been created without precedent. The case is potentially compelling because, as noted above, other reasons have been found to attribute inspiration from Cypriot Syllabic writing to the Palaeohispanic script's inventor(s).

## INDO-EUROPEAN AND SPECIFICALLY CELTIC FORMS IDENTIFIED IN THE S.W. CORPUS

¶EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

⸻    precedes a form the segmentation of which is relatively uncertain, such as possibly incomplete forms beginning or ending broken inscribed stones.

[ ]    Square brackets indicate a break in the inscribed text, sometimes enclosing restored signs (mostly involving the SW epigraphic formula).

#    precedes the intact beginning of an inscribed text and follows the intact ending.

b^a    Underlined letters indicate uncertain readings.

*    indicates the position of a trace of a sign, for which no probable reading can be made out.

…    indicates a portion of an inscription omitted in the citation.

⟨ ⟩    Angle brackets enclose signs probably carved in error. Recognizable examples of this are rare.

≡    between nouns indicates that they form a possible co-ordinative (*dvandva*) compound or, more broadly, closely linked declinable forms in a noun phrase with case syncretism.

¶GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS. For citing Palaeohispanic comparanda, there has been no attempt to subdivide modern provinces in order to recover more accurately the ancient broundaries of Celtiberia, the *briga* zone*,* and so on. The heading 'Celtiberian region' comprises evidence from the modern Spanish provinces of Burgos, Cuenca, Guadalajara, La Rioja, Palencia, Soria, Teruel, and Zaragoza. 'Central region' comprises Ávila, Madrid, Segovia, Toledo, and Valladolid. 'Western Peninsula' comprises all of Portugal and the Spanish Provinces of Asturias, Badajoz, Cantabria, Cáceres, A Coruña, Huelva, Léon, Lugo, Ourense, Pontevedra, Salamanca, and Zamora. 'Outside the *briga* zone' refers to finds from the rest of the modern provinces of Spain.

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⸻**aalaein** ᙏᙏOΛ1ΛΛ (J.15.3)    Hispano-Celtic personal name, cf. especially **ALAINVS** below (MLH IV, 168; Almagro-Gorbea et al. 2008, 1050; Koch 2013a, 140; Jordán 2015, 309; Nahm 2015).

¶CONTEXT. **]aalaein ŕe̲[ naŕ]k̲ᵉe̲ni [**

¶COMPARANDA. ¶CELTIBERIAN REGION. **ala͞boi**; **akuia alaskum memunos** (K.1.3, II–13 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **belsa alasku[m] mem?** (K.1.3, I–12 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **biurtilaur alaskum bini** (K.1.3, I 37–38 — Botorrita, Zaragoza).

¶CENTRAL REGION. **OVINI(VS) ALAVS** (HEp, 7, 660; ERSg, 170–002 —Pedraza, Segovia).

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. **ALAINVS** (HAE, 1338 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **ALAISVS ARRENI F.** (HAE, 1366; HEp, 11, 426 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **LABOINA ALAISI F.** (HAE, 1274; Navascués 1966, 216 — Hinojosa de Duero, Salamanca); **CILIASA ALAESI F.** (ERZamora, 204; CIRPZ, 189 — Sejas de Aliste, Zamora); **ALAESI TRITI F. [V]BON[IC]VM** (Albertos 1975a, 2. 212. nº 235 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **SEXTIO ALAVI** (EBrag, 45; ERTOM, I —Santulhão, Bragança, Bragança); **BANDV ALANOBRIG͞VE AEMILIVS REBVRRINVS** (HAE 1966–9, 38 — San Amaro, Ourense).


**aark<sup>u</sup>uio**  ✝ᛘᚳᛖᚵᛁᛡᛡ  (J.7.6)   Hispano-Celtic man's name (Correa 1989, 151; Untermann 1995, 255; MLH IV, 168; Villar 2004; Ballester 2004b, 119; 2012, 15; Almagro-Gorbea et al. 2008, 1050; Koch 2013a, 141; Jordán 2015, 309; Kaufman 2015, 487; Nahm 2015) < Proto-Celtic *ark<sup>u</sup>i̯o-*'archer' (Koch 2013a, 141; 2016, 438–42; Woudhuizen 2014/15, 325, 327, 329; cf. Rhŷs 1891–4; Kaiser 2003).

¶CONTEXT. # **aark<sup>u</sup>uiori̯ou⟨t<sup>i</sup>⟩b<sup>e</sup>a:i  :elurear**[ | **u̯ii** #. More than one segmentation is possible: genitive singular **aark<sup>u</sup>uio** '(grave stone) of Arkuios ("Archer")' or dative singular **aark<sup>u</sup>ui** 'for Arkuios' < *Ark<sup>u</sup>i̯ūī* [ark<sup>u</sup>(u̯)u:i], in which the palatal glide *i̯* has been assimilated to articulation of the flanking labials, a development generally consistent with the observable phonetic tendencies of Tartessian (see Koch 2011 §96.2), or first element of a compound name **aark<sup>u</sup>uio-**.[18]

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Kaufman: from *argo-* 'champion'.

¶NOTE. As explained above (N 17), the transliteration **aark<sup>u</sup>uio** is preferable to **aarb<sup>u</sup>uio** as implied by the transliteration system proposed by Rodríguez-Ramos (2000) and Ferrer (2016).

¶CELTIBERIAN REGION. **L. ARQVIVS [L. F.] GAL. CO[NT]V[CI]ANCO** (CIL II, 2830; HEp, 6, 896 — San Esteban de Gormaz, Soria); **A(VLO) M() MVNERIGIO ARQVI F.** (CIL II, 2834; HEp, 10, 582 — Calderuela, Soria); **L. VALERIVS L. F. ARQVOCVS** (Palol & Vilella 1987, 96; HEp, 2, 151; HEp, 13, 199 — Peñalba de Castro, Burgos).

¶CENTRAL REGION. **ARQVIO** (HEp, 4, 103; ERAv, 30 — Ávila); **FL[ORIN]A LIBERTA ARQVIOCVM** (AE, 1985, 604; Abascal 1994, s.v. — Alcalá de Henares, Madrid).

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. **ARQVIVS CANTABR(I)** (AE, 1973, 307 — Braga); **ARQVIVS VIRIATI F. Ɔ ACRIPIA** (CIL II, 2435; HEp, 4, 1011 — Braga); **[A]RQVIVS CANTAB[RI---]** (AE, 1973, 308; HEp, 1, 664 — Braga); **APIL[VS] ARQV[I]** (CIL II, 2433 — Dume, Braga); **C. IVLIO CILIO ARQVI** (Gimeno & Stylow 1993, nº 48 — Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Cáceres); **ARQVIA HELENA** (CIL II, 377 — Condeixa-a-Velha, Condeixa-a-

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18  Photographs of the stone show that the reading **aark<sup>u</sup>uioris** < *Ark<sup>u</sup>io-rīχs* 'archer-king' is not impossible, the signs **o** ✝ and **s** ✝ being similar and the upper crossbar of the latter possibly being obscured by the upper framing line carved above the series of signs.

Nova, Coimbra); **ANTONIVM ARQVIVM, EX GENTE VISALIGORVM** (CIL II, 2633; ERPL, 303 — Astorga, León); **ARQVIVS CLEMENS GIGVRRVS** (ERPL, 12; HEp, 7, 387 — Puente de Domingo Flórez, León); **S. ARQVI(VS) CIM(---) L(IBERTVS)** (CIL II, 2373 — Carriça, Maia, Ourense); **VALERIE ARQVI (F.)** (AE, 1983, 508 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **AETVRAE ARQVI F.** (CIL II, 2465 — Valença, Viana do Castelo); **CAMALA ARQVI F. TALABRIGENSIS** (AE, 1952, 65 — Estoraos, Ponte de Lima, Viana do Castelo); **ABRVI ARQVI APIOBICESIS** (Blázquez 1962, 81 — Taroquela, Cinfães, Viseu); **AMBATO ARQVI F.** (ERZamora, 114; CIRPZ, 241— Villalcampo, Zamora); **ARQVIO TALAI F.** (ERZamora, 103; CIRPZ, 164 — San Pedro de la Nave, Zamora); **IEMVRIAE ARQVI F.** (HAE, 913; ERZamora, 41; CIRPZ, 264 — Villalcampo, Zamora); **APLONDVS ARQVIAECVS SVRNAE F. MIROB(RIGENSIS** (CIL II, 4980 b; AE, 1913, 5; AE, 1987, 616 k — Garlitos, Badajoz); **AMBATI ARQVICI** (HEp, 11, 361 — Barruecopardo, Salamanca); **[H]ERCVL[AN]AE ARQ[VI]C(I) F(ILIAE)** (HEp, 11, 386 — Salamanca.   ¶DIVINE NAMES: **LVGVBO ARQVIENOBO C. IVLIVS HISPANVS V. S. L. M.** (IRLugo, 67 — Liñarán, Sober, Lugo); **LVGOVBV[S] ARQVIENI[S] SILONIVS SILO EX VOTO** (IRLugo, 68; IRG II, 18 — Sinoga, Rábade, Otero del Rey, Lugo).

¶OUTSIDE THE *BRIGA* ZONE. **STATVIVS ARQVIO** (CIL II, 2990; Castillo et al. 1981, 27 — Monteagudo, Navarra).

In the absence of a compelling case for a different etymology, the well attested series **ARCIVS**, &c., may be considered a delabialized variant of **ARQVIVS**, including the following examples:

¶CELTIBERIAN REGION. **ARCEA ALTICON ALEONEI FILIA** (Abásolo 1974a, 48 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **ARCEA [---] AMBATI F.** (Abásolo 1974a, 188 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **ARCEA [---]AVCA AMBATI TERENTI F.** (EE, VIII 150; Abásolo 1974a, 160 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **ARCEAE DESIIAE CADAECI F.** (Abásolo 1974a, 95 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **[A]RCEAE DESSICAE PAT[ER]NI F.** (AE, 1983, 600; HEp, 4, 198 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **ARCEA ELANIOCA PATERNI F.** (Abásolo 1974a, 146 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **ARCEAE LONGINAE C. F. (MATRI)** (CIL II, 5799; Abásolo 1974a, 154 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **ARCEA PLANDICA MATICVLA(E) F.** (CIL II, 2860; Abásolo 1974a, 176 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos). ¶ Note also the Hispano-Celtic place-name *Arcobriga*, probably 'bow-shaped hill' (Koch 2016, 438–42). **i arkᵒ[o- ]ꓘᕈᗅᕽ** (J.7.7), also from Ameixial, possibly reflects a name from the same root.

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. **ARCIAE MO[---]** (HEp, 4, 1023; ERRBragança, 22; HEp, 12, 599 — Meixedo, Bragança); **ARCIVS EPEICI F. BRACARVS** (HAE, 992; HEp, 11, 647; HEp, 13, 647 — Vila da Feira, Aveiro); **TAVRVS ARCI F. AMMICIVS** (AE, 1971, 146; HEp, 7, 168 — Villar del Rey, Badajoz); **ANIVS ARCI** (ILER, 974 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **ARCIVS** (AE, 1967, 157 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **[CAE]NIVS ARCI** (Almeida 1956, 154, nº 20 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **L. SVLLA ARCI F.** (AE, 1967, 157 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **TERTVLA ARCI F.** (HAE, 1172; Almeida 1956, 133 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **TOVTONI ARCI F.** (AE, 1967, 144; HEp, 2, 770; HEp, 5, 989 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **ARCIVS** (HEp, 5, 1055 —Ponte da Barca, Viana do Castelo); **ARCISSVS ARENIER(I) F.** (CIL II, 733; CPILC, 116 — Cáceres); **MEDAMVS ARCISI F. CASTE[L]LO MEIDVNIO** (CIL II, 2520; IRG IV, 130 — Cadones, Celanova, Ourense).

**aibᵘuris[** ]‡ᛘ૧૧ᛘᛘᛚᛘ⅄ (J.3.1)   Hispano-Celtic personal name, a compound with the second element Celtic *-rīχs* 'king' < Proto-Indo-European *H₃rēg-s* (Correa 1989, 250; 1992, 101; Untermann 1995, 255; MLH IV; Villar 2004, 264–5; Ballester 2004b, 119; 2012, 15; Almagro-Gorbea et al. 2008, 1050; Koch 2013a, 141; Jordán 2015, 310) showing characteristically Celtic *ī < ē* (Koch 2011, §81).

¶CONTEXT. # **aibᵘuris[ ]a kⁱinbᵃaibⁱi ro-la?a uarbᵃan ubᵘ[u]i #**

¶COMPARANDA. ¶WESTERN PENINSULA. **AEBVRA REBVRRINI F[I]LIA** (HEp, 3, 217 —Riotinto, Huelva); **COSO DOMINO AEB(VRVS) ATI CIL(ENVS) EXS VOTO P(OSVIT)** (CIRG I, 22; HEp, 4, 333; HE 1994, 133f; Búa 2000 — Logrosa, Negreira, A Coruña); **CALPVRNIA ABANA AEBOSO** (CIL II, 2527; IRG IV, 74 — Ourense); **CRISSVS TALABVRI F. AEBOSOCELENSIS T[R]EBARONI V.S.L.M.** (HAE, 342 = HAE, 945 = HAE, 1504; CPILC, 217; AE, 1958, 17; AE, 1952, 130; AE 1952, 42f; Búa 2000 — Coria, Cáceres); **C. SEMPRONIVS AEBARV[S] VISCVNOSNI F. CLVNIES.** (AE, 1950, 221; AE, 1984, 470* — Belver, Gaviao, Portalegre; this individual was a Celtiberian); **CILEA AEBICI F.** (HAE, 1108 r; HEp, 13, 941 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **AQVILVS AEBICI F. / AEBICVS** (AE, 1988, 691; FE, 108; HEp, 2, 777; HEp, 3, 475 — Soure, Coimbra, Coimbra); **BVAN(AE?) AEBVTI LIB.** (CIL II, 2500; ERRBragança, 36 — Bragança); **AEBVTIAE ATTE AEBVTI** (CIL II, 2672; ERPL, 97 — León); **AEBVTIAE ATTVAE AEBVTI FIL.** (CIL II, 2673; ERPL, 98 — León).

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Villar (2004, 263–4) also considers connections with the *Aipora* and similar Palaeohispanic place-names.

¶NOTE. Although the transliteration system proposed by Rodríguez-Ramos (2000) and Ferrer (2016) is not followed here (N 17), the resulting transliteration **aikᵘuris[** would be compatible with an etymology proposed by Correa (1992) < *aikᵘo-rēg-s-* 'justice king' without requiring a sound change */kᵘ/ > */p/.*

**akᵒo**l**ᵢioś** ᛘ‡ᛘ૧‡ᛘ⅄ or **akᵒo**s**ᵢioś** ᛘ‡ᛘ‡‡ᛘ⅄ (J.56.1)  Hispano-Celtic personal name (Correa 1992, 98; MLH IV; Ballester 2004b, 119; 2012, 15; Almagro-Gorbea et al. 2008, 1050; Jordán 2015, 309), masculine *o*-stem, nominative singular (Villar 2004, 264; Koch 2013a, 142).

¶CONTEXT. # **akᵒolᵢioś naŕkᵉetⁱi #**   As recognized by Villar (2004) the complete text clearly appears to be a nominative singular subject followed by its 3rd person singular present-tense verb. **akᵒo**(l)**ioś** is therefore a nominative singular masculine *o*-stem.

¶INTERPRETATION. If **akᵒo**lᵢ**ioś** is the correct reading, a cognate of Latin *accola* 'dweller by or near, neighbour' < *ad-kᵘolo-* 'turn towards' is possible.

¶COMPARANDA. Divine names: IOVI ACCIONI (CIL III, 3428; Jufer & Luginbühl 2001 — Pest, Hungary); GENI ACEOLI (Jufer & Luginbühl 2001 — Rognac, France).

¶CELTIBERIAN REGION. **ACCA** (CIL II, 2808; Palol & Vilella 1987, 97 — Peñalba de Castro, Burgos); **AEMILIA ACCA MEDVTTICORVM BARBARI MATER** (AE, 1925, 22 — Barcebalejo, Soria); **MAG[IA]E ACCAE PVPILLI F.** (AE, 1985, — Quintanarraya, Burgos); **DVSQVENA ACCIA** (HEp, 17, 63 — Saelices, Cuenca); **ACCONI** (AE,

1988, 779; Palol & Vilella 1987, 39; HEp, 2, 104 —Peñalba de Castro, Burgos); **GAIVS CAVTENICO ACCONIS F.** (HEp, 6, 182 — Valdeande, Burgos); **MADICENVS ACCONIS F. VAILICO(N)** (CIL II, 2771 — Gumiel de Hizán, Burgos); **VALERIVS ATTO SAIGLEINIQ(VM) ACCONIS F.** (HEp, 9 — San Leonardo de Yagüe, Soria); **LVCIV[S] NISSIC(VM) ACCVT(I) F.** (CIL II, 6294; AE, 1987, 623; Abascal 1983, 3 — Almadrones, Guadalajara).

¶CENTRAL REGION. **ACCA** (AE, 1914, 17; ERAv, 16 — Ávila); **ANAE ET ACCAE F(ILIABVS)** (HEp, 4, 98; ERAv, 25 — Ávila); **ACCE(S) CAVCA** (AE, 1914, 22; HEp, 4, 86; ERAv, 15 — Ávila); **ANAE ET ACCAE F(ILIABVS)** (HEp, 4, 98; ERAv, 25 — Ávila); **ACCAE DEOCENAE QVORONICVM CADANI F** (ERSg, 6; HEp, 13, 576; AE, 2003, 963 — San Miguel de Bernuy, Segovia); **ACCETI CARIQO AMBATI F.** (HEp, 2, 618; ERSg, 5 —Coca, Segovia); **ACCONI MATTICVM** (CIL II, 2734; HEp, 6, 860; ERSg, 81 — Segovia); **P(VBLICIO?) ACCIQ(VM?)** (CIL II, 5784; ERSg, 73 — Segovia); **ACCANNIV[S]** (AE 1976, 300 — Berrueces, Valladolid); **ACILIA ANNEZA** (CIL II, 3069 —Titulcia, Madrid).

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. **ACCAE METELLI SERVAE** (HEp, 7, 1164; ERRBragança, 14 — Castrelos, Bragança); **[---]A ACCA** (ERCan, 7; HEp, 6, 551 — Luriezo, Cantabria); **ACCA** (IRG IV, 78; HEp, 10, 388 — San Miguel de Canedo, Maside, Ourense); **ACCAE CELERIS STATVLCI VXORI** (FE, 8; AE, 1982, — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **QINTV[S] ACCI F.** (Beltrán 1975–6, 31; AE, 1977, 393 — Trujillo, Cáceres); **L. ACCIVS CAENO** (HAE, 1284 — Hinojosa de Duero, Salamanca); **LVCIVS ACCIVS REBVRRVS** (CIL II, 871 — Salamanca); **ACC[---]VS ACCI F.** (CIL II, 869 — Ciudad Rodrigo, Salamanca); **ACCA** (HEp, 6, 819 — Hinojosa de Duero, Salamanca); **APER MAVRI F. ACCEICVM** (CIL II, 865; HAE, 1261 — Fuenteguinaldo, Salamanca); **ACCO** (HEp, 7, 1078 — Rábano de Aliste, Zamora); **ACINI CILONIS F.** (ILER, 2326; ERZamora, 187; CIRPZ, 84 — Moral de Sayago, Zamora); **ACINICI** (Navascués 1963, 213, n. 63; Martín Valls 1979, 507, nº 10 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **ATTOANO FLAVO ACCONIS F(ILIVS) CLVN(IENSIS)** (CPILC, 652; HEp, 15, 104 — Villar de Plasencia, Cáceres); **CLVN]IENSIS(?) FRONTONIS ACCONIO FILI(O)** (HEp, 15, 103 — Villar de Plasencia, Cáceres); **ACINVS** (Encarnação 1975, 257, foto 60 — Vouzela, Viseu); **SAMACIA M. ACIL(I) FRONT[ON]IS LIB.** (CIL II, 844; CPILC, 649 — Villar de Plasencia, Cáceres); **CABVRIVS MA[GI]O ACILIS** (HEp, 7, 1298; HEp, 13, 1039 — Pinho, São Pedro do Sul, Viseu); **IVDEVS ACOLI C. S.** (HAE, 752; CPILC, 775 — Villamesías, Cáceres).

¶OUTSIDE THE *BRIGA* ZONE. **C(---) COLINECVS ACCONIS F. VXAME(N)SIS** (AE, 1915, 12; HEp, 3, 165 — Córdoba); **ACCINIPIVS (?)** (CIL II, 3238 — Valdepeñas, Ciudad Real); **ACILIA ANTVCA** (AE, 1920, 79; IRCád, 361 — Cádiz); **LVCIA AVIRCIA ACILIANA P. F.** (EE, VIII 306 — Montellano, Sevilla).

**al̲bᵒoroi[** ]ᛊ‡ᛉ‡☐ᛄᛏ (J.24.1)    Hispano-Celtic personal name (MLH IV, 327; Almagro-Gorbea et al. 2008, 1050; Koch 2013a, 142; Jordán 2015, 309; Nahm 2015; cf. Kaufman 2015, 486).

¶ETYMOLOGY. Probably with the root Proto-Celtic *\*albo-/ā-* < Proto-Indo-European *\*H₂elbho-* 'white'.

¶CONTEXT. **]la\*\*\*bª[ ]\*e a̠l̠b°oroi[ ] isakªaoeaŕtᵉ[ ]atᵒore/]kªaae̠[**   The inscription is fragmentary and its layout confusing. This is the clearest form in it. So we must go on etymology alone without clues from syntax. Of the 30 readable signs of the inscription there are no examples of Ч **u**; therefore, **a̠l̠b°oroi[** should possibly be read as dative singular |*Albūrūi*| 'for Alburos' or a nominative plural group name 'the Alburoi'.

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. **ALBVRA MATER** (CIL II, 73 — Beja); **IVLIA ALBVRA T. F.** (Encarnação 1984, 306 — Neves, Beja); **ALBVRA CATVRONIS F.** (AE, 1973, 303 — Braga); **ALBVRA CARISI F.** (EE, VIII 118 — Braga); **ALBVRA** (CIL II, 73 — Vila Nova de Ourém, Santarem); **ALBVRA** (Dias 1985–6, 196 — Almacave, Lamego, Viseu); **ALBVRA** (AE, 1977, 378; HEp, 12, 674 —Beijós, Carregal do Sal, Viseu); **ALBVRAE TANCINI** (CIL II, 853; CPILC, 392 — Plasencia, Cáceres); **ALBVRAE TITI F.** (CIL II, 341; Brandão 1972, nº 30 — Leiria); **POM(PEIA) ALBVRA** (HAE, 2124 — Varzea do Douro, Marco de Canaveses, Porto); **ALBVRVS** (CPILC, 412 — Robledillo de Trujillo, Cáceres).

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. Included in the Ancient Celtic toponymic elements of Isaac (2004) and Falileyev (2010).

**aliśne** OႷMႷ̃1A (J.11.4)      derived from Proto-Indo-European *\*H₂éliso-* 'alder' (Koch 2013a, 142; Kaufman 2015, 19, 63, 70–1, 123, 298, 486; cf. Nahm 2015).

INTERPRETATIONS. Proto-Celtic *\*alisanoi* possibly locative singular 'in the place of alder (...)', 'alder grove' possibly with secondary sense of 'sacred grove, sanctuary, burial ground'. Kaufman reconstructs Proto-Celtic *\*alisinị-essibis* instrumental plural 'with alder-catkin-eaters'.

CONTEXT. **# aioo̠ŕorainn bªaanon\*\*[ | ea ro-n-bªaren naŕkᵉenii aliśne #**    Thus **aliśne** follows **ea ro-n·bªaren naŕkᵉenii** on a single line at the end of the text, therefore, arguably to be construed as amplification of the basic epigraphic statement comprising name(s) of deceased + formula. The formula word **uar(n)bªan** 'highest destination' is absent. Therefore, I argue that **aliśne** possibly fills a logical gap of the expressed destination, as a locative singular place-name, |*Alisₐnē*| 'in Alisₐno-, Alisₐnā', from *\*Alisₐnoi* or *\*Alisₐnāi* with simplification of the diphthong (on which see Koch 2011, §94). **aliśne** would mean 'in the alder wood', or similar, perhaps in a transferred sense of sacred grove as necropolis.

COMPARANDA & ETYMOLOGY. Cf. Latin *alnus* 'alder' < *\*alisnos*, Celtiberian **alizos** (K.0.2), and the family name **alizokum** (K.0.1, genitive plural) (for a different interpretation of these Celtiberian forms, see Jordán 2009), Northern Hispano-Celtic **ALISSIEGINI** (genitive, Latinized?) (Untermann 1980b, 376), Gaulish place-names *Alesia*, IN ALISIIA, IN ALIXIE, *Alisicum*, also ALISANV 'to the god of Alesia'. On Gaulish *an* corresponding to Tartessian **n**, written as non-syllabic, see Koch 2011 §69.

**alkᵘu** Ч╟1A (J.12.1)     Celtic man's name, possibly meaning 'Elk' (Kaufman 2015, 124, 306, 309, 486), alternative possible meanings are 'Hawk' (Koch 2009; Kaufman 2015, 124, 306, 309, 486) or 'Wolf'.

¶ETYMOLOGY. Proto-Celtic*alko-* < Proto-Indo-European *H_xólĥis* 'elk' cf. Latin *alcēs* (Delamarre 2003 s.n. *alco-*; Mallory & Adams 2006, 135, 139); alternatively Proto-Indo-European *u̯ḷk̑ᵘo-* 'wolf' > Proto-Celtic *o*-grade *u̯olk̑ᵘo-* > 'Hawk' Middle Welsh *gwalch*, cf. the Gaulish group name *Volcae* (Delamarre 2003 s.n. *uolcos, uolca*; Mallory & Adams 2006, 135, 138).

¶CONTEXT. **# iru alkᵘu sie̱: naŕkᵉentⁱi mubᵃa tᵉe-ro-bᵃare hatᵃaneatᵉe #**

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Kaufman interprets the inflexion as 'associative/ instrumental sg.' However, the parallelism of the opening of this complete text with **# iru alkᵘu ...** and that of MdC **# tⁱilekᵘu̱r̲kᵘu arkᵃastᵃa̱mu ...** is best explained as coordinative compounds inflected in the nominative/accusative dual (cf. Nahm 2015), so **iru alkᵘu** |*(u̯)irū≡Alkū*|, literally 'the man/hero ⟨and⟩ Alkos'. In Celtiberian, *n*-stems are a well-attested and productive category for men's personal names. Therefore, an alternative possibility is to understand two nominative singular names here: *U̯irū* (genitive *U̯ironos*) and *Alkū* (genitive *Alkonos*).

¶NOTE. With the transliteration system proposed by Rodríguez-Ramos (2000) and Ferrer (2016), the resulting transliteration **albᵘu** would be compatible with an etymology from Proto-Indo-European *H₂elbhós* 'white'.

¶COMPARANDA. Lepontic or Cisalpine Gaulish **alko-uinos** (end of the 2nd century BC), Gaulish *Alco-uindos*, *Alcus*, *Alcius*, and the place-names *Alcena*, *Alciacum*, Ἀλκιμονις, Hispano-Celtic *Alce* (Delamarre 2003, 38). Tacitus (*Germania* 43) mentions central-European divine twins called *Alci*, worshipped by the Naharvali, a subtribe of the extensive Lugii (whose name is probably related to **lokᵒobᵒo** (J.1.1).


**anbᵃatⁱia** ᚯᚱᚴᚭᚺᚢᚯ (J.16.2) |*Amba(χ)t̨iā*|   Hispano-Celtic personal name < PC *ambaχto-* 'servant', more specifically 'man sent to act on behalf of a leader'  < based on the past passive particle of a Celtic compound verb *ambi-ag-tó-s* 'one sent around', Proto-Indo-European *H₂entbhi-* 'around' + *H₂eĝ-* 'drive, send'. (MLH IV, 168; Ballester 2004b, 119; 2012, 15; Almagro-Gorbea et al. 2008, 1050; Koch 2013a, 144–6; Jordán 2015, 309; Nahm 2015; cf. Kaufman 2015, 487; Herrera 2016, 76).

¶CONTEXT. **( )omuŕi̱kᵃa[  ]anbᵃatⁱia̱≡iobᵃa[  ]*e bᵃa-[na]ŕkᵉe kᵉe̱o-ion[**

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Kaufman (2015, 487) adopts the etymology proposed here, but takes the form as a common noun, designating a social function, as found for the cognates in Gaulish and Welsh. However, in the ancient Iberian Peninsula *Ambatos* and its derivatives are so common as personal names that this remains the preferred explanation, as also suits the structure of the epigraphic text, where the opening survives as ( )**omuŕikᵃa[ ≡ ]anbᵃatⁱia≡iobᵃa[**, which appears to comprise three feminine forms in case agreement. This naming phrase probably identifying the deceased and is to be provisionally analysed and translated |*(U̯)omurĭkā Amba(χ)t̨iā ̨iou_amā*| 'woman of the kindred of U̯omuri-, youngest daughter of Amba(χ)tos', cf. ]**li̱irnestᵃakᵘun bᵃane≡ooŕoire** 'woman of the kindred of Lir(a)nestos and wife of Ooŕoir' (J.19.1).
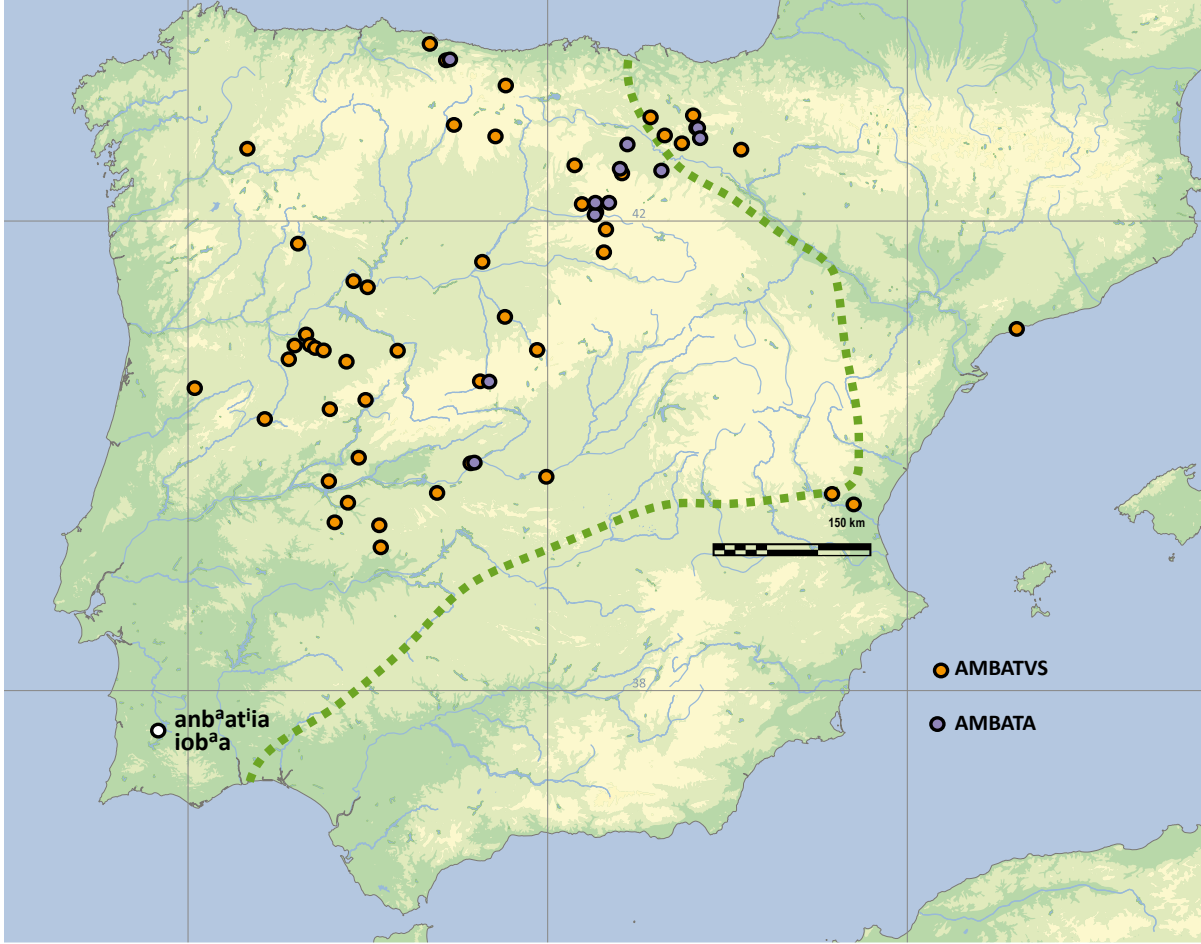
MAP: Distribution of the personal
names *Ambatus* and *Ambata*

¶NON-HISPANIC COMPARANDA. Gaulish AMBACTOS, *ambactus* 'a man sent in service
of a chief' (e.g. Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 6.15), *ambaxtus* 'servant of high rank, envoy,
representative' (De Hoz 2007, 191). Note also Gaulish *ambascia* 'embassy' < *\*ambi-
aχtiā* (De Hoz 2007, 191). AMBACTHIVS and AMBAXIVS occur as names in Latin
inscriptions of the Roman Period from the Netherlands and Germany respectively,
and AMBACTVS is found as a name in Germany and Serbia (Raybould & Sims-
Williams 2007, 34); Old Breton *ambaith*, Middle Welsh *amaeth* 'ploughman, farmer'
(cf. the mythological ploughman *Amaethon < \*Ambaχtonos* in *Culhwch ac Olwen* and
other Early Welsh sources); Old High German *ambaht* 'servant', Modern German *Amt*
'post, position, office' is a Celtic loanword.

¶ On *i̯o-, i̯ā*-stem adjectives forming patronymics in Indo-European and Ancient Celtic:
cf. Vedic *túgrya* 'son of Tugra'; Gallo-Greek BIMMOC LITOYMAREOC 'Bimmos son
of Litumāros' (RIG I, G-69 — Saint-Rémy-de-Provence).

¶CELTIBERIAN REGION. **AMBATA** (Abásolo 1974a, 99; Albertos 1975a, — Lara de los
Infantes, Burgos); **AMBATAE [---] SEGEI F.** (Abásolo 1974a, 194 — Quintanilla de
las Viñas, Burgos); **AMBATAE AIONCAE T[---]TI F.** (Abásolo 1974a, 155 — Lara
de los Infantes, Burgos); **AMBATAE AIONCAE LOVGEI F.** (Abásolo 1974a, 185 —
Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **AMBATA ALBEAVCA? SEGOVETIS F.** (CIL II, 2855;
Abásolo 1974a, 18 — Iglesia Pinta, Burgos); **AMBATA BETVCA AMBATI F.** (Abásolo

1974a, 60 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **AMBATA CAELICA CAI F.** (Abásolo 1974a, 24 — Iglesia Pinta, Burgos); **AMBATA COR(---)** (HEp, 10, 88 — Belorado, Burgos); **AMBATAE [D]ESSIC[A]E RVFI [F.] (SOCERAE)** (AE, 1983, 600; HEp, 4, 198 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **AMBATAE MEDICAE VERATI F.** (HEp, 10, 81 — Belorado, Burgos); **AMBATAE MEDICAE PLACIDI F.** (Abásolo 1974a, 81; HEp, 4, 199 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **AMBATA PAESICA ARGAMONICA AMBATI VXOR** (CIL II, 2856; Abásolo 1974a, 177 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **AMBATA(E) PEDITAGE AMBATI** (Reyes 2000, 24; HEp, 10, 87 — Belorado, Burgos); **AMBATAE PLANDIDAE** (EE, VIII 172; Abásolo 1974b, 63–4 — Pancorbo, Burgos); **AMB[A]TAE VENIAENAE VALERI CRESCENTI[S] F.** (CIL II, 2878 = CIL II, 2882; Abásolo 1974a, 214; HEp, 5, 153; HEp, 6, 172 — San Pedro de Arlanza, Hortigüela, Burgos); **[CA]LPVRNIAE AMBATAE LOVGEI F.** (AE, 1980, 587 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **SEMPRONIAE AMBATAE CELTIBERI** (Abásolo 1974a, 209 — San Millán de Lara, Burgos); **AMBATAE TERENTIAE SEVERI F.** (CIL II, 2857; Abásolo 1974a, 212 — San Pedro de Arlanza, Hortigüela; Burgos); **VALERIA AMBADAE** (CIL II, 2909; Abásolo 1974b, 30 — Villafranca, Montes de Oca, Burgos); **[---] AMBATI L.** (CIL II, 2884; Abásolo 1974a, 141 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **[A]MBATVS** (CIL II, 2790; Palol & Vilella 1987, 219 — Peñalba de Castro, Burgos); **[A]MBATO ALEBBIO [B]ODANI F.** (Reyes 2000, 5 — Belorado, Burgos); **AMBATO BVRGAE SEGILI F.** (HEp, 10, 84 — Belorado, Burgos); **AMBATVS VEMENVS ATI F.** (Abásolo 1974a, 55 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **AMBATO VIROVARCO** (HEp, 9, 246 — Ubierna, Burgos); **ARCEA [---] AMBATI F.** (Abásolo 1974a, 188 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **ARCEA [---] AVCA AMBATI TERENTI F.** (EE, VIII 150; Abásolo 1974a, 160 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **CABEDVS SEGGVES AMBATI F.** (CIL II, 2863; AE, 1977, 447 — Carazo, Burgos); **MADICENVS CALAETVS AMBATI F.** (CIL II, 2869; EE, VIII 154; Abásolo 1974a, 108 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **SECONTIO EBVREN[I]Q(VM) AMBATI F.** (Reyes 2000, 18 — Belorado, Burgos); **SEGILO AESPANCO(N) AMBATA[E] FILIO** (HEp, 10, 83 — Belorado, Burgos); **TALAVS CAESARIVS AMBATI F.** (Abásolo 1974a, 13 — Hontoria de la Cantera, Burgos); **METELIO REBVRRO AMBATI F.** (HEp, 10, 102 — Belorado, Burgos).

¶CENTRAL REGION. **AMBAT[O]** (HEp, 4, 103; ERAv, 30 — Ávila); **AMBATO** (HEp, 4, 72; ERAv, 11 — Ávila); **ATA AMBATICORVM HIRNI F.** (HEp, 10, 8; ERAv, 142 — Candeleda, Ávila); **VERNACVLVS AMBATIC(VM) MODESTI F.[ ---]** (HEp, 1, 79; HEp, 9, 83; ERAv, 143 — Candeleda, Ávila); **ACCETI CARIQO AMBATI F.** (HEp, 2, 618; ERSg, 5 — Coca, Segovia); **AMBAT(A)** (CIL II, 94*/5320 — Talavera de la Reina, Toledo).

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. **FVSCI CABEDI AMBATI F. VADINIENSIS** (CIL II, 2709; ERAsturias, 51 — Corao, Cangas de Onís, Asturias); **MACER AMBATI F. OBISOQ(VM** (Roso de Luna 1904, 127 — Casas de Don Pedro, Badajoz); **[---] AMBATI F.** (HEp, 1, 668; ERRBragança, 95; HEp, 12, 587 — Donai, Bragança); **AMBATVS** (CIL II, 738, 739; CPILC, 44 = CPILC, 45; HEp, 9, 248 — Arroyo de la Luz, Cáceres); **AMBATVS** (CPILC, 50; CILCC I, 75 — Arroyo de la Luz, Cáceres); **AMBATVS PE[L]LI** (CIL II, 853; CPILC, 392 — Plasencia, Cáceres); **A[N]DERCIA AMBATI F.** (AE, 1978, 393; AE, 2006, 625; HEp, 15, 92 — Monroy, Cáceres); **ARC[O]NI AMBATI F. CAMALICVM** (CPILC, 660 = CPILC, 803 — Villar del Pedroso, Cáceres); **CAMIRA AMBATI** (CIL II, 623; CPILC, 527 — Trujillo, Cáceres); **CORIA AMBAT(I) F.** (CPILC, 146 — Cáceres); **IRINEVS AMBATI F.** (CPILC, 367 — Pedroso de Acim, Cáceres); **AMBATVS** (ERCan, 8 — Luriezo,

Cantabria); **AMBATI PENTOVIECI AMBATIQ. PENTOVI F.** (ERCan, 8 — Luriezo, Cantabria); **TILLEGVS AMBATI F. SVSARRVS Ɔ AIOBAIGIAECO** (IRLugo, 55; HEp, 8, 334 — Esperante, Folgoso do Caurel, Lugo); **AMBATI BVRILI TVROLI F.** (HAE, 1367 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **AMBATVS DIV⟨I⟩LI F.** (HEp, 4, 962 — Hinojosa de Duero, Salamanca); **CAVRVNIVS AMBATI CAVRVNICVM** (Albertos 1975a, 18. nº 196 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **[A]MBATVS** (AE, 1972, 287 — Salamanca); **AMBATVS PINTOVI** (HAE, 1327 — Saldeana, Salamanca); **AMBATVS TANCINILI F.** (HEp, 2, 617; HEp, 5, 677 — San Martín del Castañar, Salamanca); **CLOVTI[A] AMBATI FILIA** (HAE, 1265; Navascués 1966, 212 — Hinojosa de Duero, Salamanca); **IANVA AMBATI** (HAE, 1253 — Cerralbo, Salamanca); **MENTINA AMBATI F.** (CIL II, 5036; HEp, 10, 513 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **AMBATI ARQVICI** (HEp, 11, 361 — Barruecopardo; Salamanca); **AMBATO ARQVI F.** (ERZamora, 114; CIRPZ, 241 — Villalcampo, Zamora); **AVELCO AMBATI F.** (HAE, 920; CIRPZ, 246; ERZamora, 29 — Villalcampo, Zamora); **PINTOVIO AMBATI** (ILER, 2333; ERZamora, 210; CIRPZ, 271 — Villalcampo, Zamora; **AMBATO** (HEp, 18, 486 — Villardiegua de la Ribera, Zamora); **AMBATIA** (HEp, 18, 488 —Villardiegua de la Ribera, Zamora).

¶OUTSIDE THE *BRIGA*-ZONE. **AMBATA APPAE F.** (CIL II, 2950 — Contrasta, Álava); **AMBATO** (HAE, 2522 — Angostina, Álava); **AMBATVS SERME F** (CIL II, 2951 — Contrasta, Álava); **AMBA[T]VS PLENDI F.** (CIL II, 2948 — Eguilaz, Álava); **[A]MBATVS [A]RAVI F.** (HAE, 2571; HEp, 4, 1 — Urabáin, Álava); **[---]CVS AMBATI F** (HAE, 2563; HEp, 4, 11 — San Román de San Millán, Álava); **ELANVS TVRAESAMICIO AMBATI F(ILIVS)** (CIL II, 5819; Albertos 1975a, 13. nº 74 — Iruña, Álava); **SEGONTIVS AMBATI VECTI F.** (CIL II, 2956 — Contrasta, Álava); **AMBATA** (Castillo et al. 1981, 48 — Gastiáin, Navarra); **DOITENA AMBATI CELTI F.** (EE, VIII 167; Castillo et al. 1981, 53 — Marañón, Navarra); **DOITERV[S ---] AMBATI F.** (Castillo et al. 1981, 55; HEp, 5, 623 — Marañón, Navarra); **IVNIA AMBATA VIRO[NI] F.** (CIL II, 5827; Castillo et al. 1981, 45 — Gastiáin, Navarra); **PORCIA AMBATA SEGONTI FILIA** (CIL II, 5829; Fita 1913, 565, nº — Gastiáin, Navarra); **AMBATV[S]** (HAE, 185; Alföldy 1975, 337 — Tarragona); **L. POSTVMIVS AMBATVS** (CIL II, 4024 — Villar del Arzobispo, Valencia).

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. GPC s.n. *amaeth*; Delamarre 2003; Matasović 2009 s.n. *\*ambaxtos.*

**ane** ᴏᴎᴀ (J.1.1)     |*an(d)e*| 'inside, below, great' preverb, preposition, (in Kaufman's terminology) adposition (as a possibility Koch 2013a, 146; with more certainty Kaufman 2015, 486).

¶CONTEXT. **... kᵃalteᵉ lokᵒon ane naŕkᵉe kᵃakⁱiśiinkᵒoloboᵒ ...**     With the sequence **lokᵒon ane naŕkᵉe**, one might consider the Gaulish compound preserved in the 9th-century *Andelagum monasterium* (De Hoz 2007, 195), implies the basic sense of the collocation *ande* + √*leg-* as 'lying down inside'; if so, 'the burial/urn lies down within' as a gloss on |*logon an(d)e narkēt*|, or |*... narkĕt*|, plausible in a necropolis.

¶ETYMOLOGY. Proto-Celtic *\*ₐnde* < Proto-Indo-European *\*H₁n̥dhi* ∼ *\*H₁éndo-* 'inside'.

¶COMPARANDA. Gaulish and Ancient Brythonic preposition *ande*; Old Irish *and* 'there'; Ancient Brythonic *Anderitum* for Pevensey, meaning 'between fords' or 'great ford'; Gaulish *andogna[* 'indigenous', feminine accusative singular *andognam*, negatived *anandognam* (all from the Larzac inscription); Middle Welsh *annyan* 'nature, inborn quality' < *\*andoganā*; Latin *indigena* 'native, &c.' < Proto-Indo-European *\*H₁(e)ndo- ĝenH₁-* 'born inside' (Delamarre 2003, 48); Hittite *anda* 'inwards, into'; Greek ἔνδον 'within, at home'; Old Latin *endo* 'in, on to'. An intensive force is often attributed to Gaulish and Ancient Brythonic compounds with initial *ande-*, e.g. *Ande-roudos* 'very red' (= Ir. *ann-ruadh*), similarly Welsh *annwyl* 'dear' ~ *gŵyl* 'meek' *\*ande-wēlo-*; cf. Sanskrit *adhi-deva-* 'greatest god', *adhi-rāj-a-* 'over-king' (Búa 2005, 119–20).

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. **ANDERENVS** (CPILC, 146 — Cáceres); **ANDEREN(VS) TRITI F.** (HEp, 4, 955 — Hinojosa de Duero, Salamanca); **AMMINVS ANDAITIAE F. BANDI ARBARIAICO VOTVM L.M.S.** (cf. CIL II 454; HEp, 11, 661 — Capinha, Fundão, Castelo Branco); **TONCIVS ANDAI[--- F.]** (EE, VIII 10; Encarnação 1984, 574 — Elvas, Portalegre); **ANDOTI FLAVI ARENI F.** (CIL II, 2696 = CIL II, 5675; ERPL, 356 — Puebla de Lillo, León); **ANDOTO VBALACINO VADONIS F. VAD(INIENSI)** (HEp, 1, 396; ERPL, 357 — Liegos, León); **ARENVS ANDOTI** (ERPL, 364 — Riaño, León).    ¶ *Andamos* can be interpreted as Celtic meaning 'inner-most' or 'greatest', a formation parallel to Celtiberian **VERAMOS**, accusative **VORAMOM** 'supreme' < *\*u(p)eramo-*: **ANDAMV[S] ARCONIS** (HEp, 4, 1082; HEp, 5, 1048; HEp, 9 — Ferreira do Zézere, Santarem); **MEIDVENVS ANDAMI** (AE, 1977, 409; CPILC, 4 = CPILC, 11; CILCC II, 428 — Abertura, Cáceres); **NOBBIVS ANDAMI** (HEp, 1, 458; HEp, 3, 247; HEp, 4, 505; HEp, 7, 402 — Lugo).    ¶ DIVINE NAME. [...] **MAR**[...] **EX CON**[**S**(**VLTO**)] **ANDAIEC**[.] **P**(**IVS**) **P**(**OSVIT**) (HEp, 6, 1064 — Santiago Maior, Castelo de Vide, Portalegre).

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. IdgEW, 181ff; LEIA A-75, de Vaan 2008, 189; Matasović 2009 s.n. *\*andom* 'inside, there'.

——]antᵒonbᵒo ‡□Ⴘ‡ㅅ Ⴘㅅ [ (J.8.1)    A fragmentary form possibly preserving the case ending of a dative/ablative plural |*-anton-bo*|. However, the orthography could also represent |*-antombo(-)*| or |*-antomo(-)*|, the last sign is not clear, and a vowel would be expected before the dative/ablative plural ending **-bᵒo**. However, **bᵒ** as the second-to-last sign is clear (Koch 2013a, 146), which precludes the reading **antᵒonbⁱi** (instrumental-locative plural) of Kaufman (2015, 487). Nonetheless, his identification of **anton-** 'forehead' as the root (cf. *\*anto-* 'border limit') < Proto-Indo-European *H₂ento-* 'border' ~*H₂ent-* 'forehead' cannot be immediately ruled out. A name beginning |*Anto*| is also thinkable: cf. e.g. **NO]RBANA ANTA Q. F.** (CPILC, 311 — Ibahernando, Cáceres). However, as the text breaks before ]**antᵒonbᵒo**, becomes unreadable afterwards, and there are numerous Palaeohispanic formations containing *-ant-*, only the discovery of a fuller text repeating this sequence could ever resolve the matter.

¶COMPARANDA. Celtiberian **antos**, possibly to be read **andos** (K.23.2 — Osma, Soria), Gaulish ANTO<u>M</u> or ANTO<u>S</u> 'fines' (Vercelli), *Antobroges* (variant *Antebroges,* Pliny IV, 109), Old Irish *étan* 'forehead'; Skt. *ánta-, ánti-* 'in front of', Gothic *andeis* 'end'; Latin *ante* 'in front of', Hittite *ḫant-,* Tocharian B *ante* 'surface, forehead'.

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. IdgEW48ff., 209; Delamarre 2003, 50; Matasović 2009 s.nn. *anto- 'border, limit', *antono- 'forehead'.


## ar ᛁᚨ  'before, in front of' preverb and prepositions < Proto-Celtic *(p)ari < Proto-Indo-European *peri 'over, through' (Koch 2013a, 146–7; Kaufman 2015, 63, 75, 111, 116–17, 238, 493).

¶CONTEXT.  See **ar·bᵃarie**.

¶COMPARANDA. Old Irish *air*, *ar*; Middle Welsh *ar-*, *er-*, Middle Breton *er-*, *ar-*; Gaulish group name *Aremorici*; Celtiberian place-name **arekorata** (A 52); Latin *per* 'over', Greek περί 'all around, about'. The same phonological development (*ar-* < *(p)are* < *peri*) is found in a Western Hispano-Celtic name **ABRVNVS ARCELTI F.** (Vallejo 2005, 183 — Coria, Cáceres) explained as *(p)ar(i)+Celtius ~ Conceltius* by Prósper (2002, 422): **BOVDELVS CONCELTI F.** (AE, 1984, 471 — Belver, Gavião, Portalegre), similarly Gaulish *Armorica* alongside *Aremorica* suggests that the tendency to lose this syllable was old, occurring in more than one Ancient Celtic language.

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. IdgEW, 810–12; LEIA, A–37; GOI 497f; Delamarre 2003, 52; MLH V.l, 36f; Matasović 2009 s.n. *fare.


## aŕai̱ai ᛀᚨᛘᚨᛉᚨ |araiāi| or, less probably, **aŕai̱ui** ᛀᛂᛘᚨᛉᚨ |araiūi| (J.1.1) Celtic, dative singular, possibly 'noble, free' (Koch 2013a, 147; Woudhuizen 2014/15, 318; Kaufman 2015, 68, 70, 486) < Proto-Indo-European *H₄er(i)i̯ós 'member of one's own group'.

¶CONTEXT. **# lokᵒobᵒo niirabᵒo tᵒo aŕai̱ai kᵃaltᵉe lokᵒon ...**

¶INTERPRETATION. Kaufman translates **aŕai̱ui** 'freeman-related', which is possible, but other explanations may be considered, such as an etymology connecting **aŕai̱ai**, along with Celtiberian **ARAIANOM**, to 'ploughland' (Schwerteck 1979; cf. MLH V.1, 29–30; Jordán 2006); cf. Middle Irish *airim* 'I plough'; Middle Welsh *arδaf*; Middle Breton *arat* 'ploughing'; Cornish *aras*; Latin *arō*; Gothic *arjan*. Alternatively, **aŕai̱ai** could be a dative singular personal name '(to) Aŕaia (*or* Aŕaius, Aŕaios)', corresponding exactly to the Celtiberian genitive plural family name **araiokum** 'of the kindred of Araios'. Note also the possibly distinct Western Hispano-Celtic personal name and family name occurring in an inscription from Ávila **ARAV(VS)| ARAV|IAQ(VM) TVRANI F(ILIVS)** (Sánchez Moreno 1996, 121) and the theonym **ARAB̲O COROBE|LICOBO TALVSICO·B̲O** (Arroyomolinas de la Vera, Cáceres, Spain [Búa 2000, 526]).


## ar·bᵃarie ᛟᛀᛁᚨᛝᛁᚨ (J.10.1)     perfect tense |ar·bāre| of a compound verb, Proto-Celtic *(p)ari+√ber- (Koch 2013a, 147–8; Kaufman 2015, 123, 188, 284–5, 490).

¶CONTEXT. **# ariariśe : oni?akᵃatⁱi-śe : o?er-b̲ᵉeŕi : leoine ar·bᵃarie (?n)i?ensere (?tᵃ)au #**     The only word in the text that comes at all close to resembling an element

of the epigraphic formula is **ar·bᵃarie**, so discerning a syntactic structure as a basis for interpretation is difficult. If there is an **n** following **ar·bᵃarie**, that sign could go with the preceding, allowing an interpretation as a 3rd person plural **ar·bᵃarien** (see **bᵃaren** and **tᵉee·bᵃarentⁱi** below).

¶COMPARANDA. Old Irish *ar·beir* 'use, employ, practice'; Old Welsh *arber* 'use', Latin *perferō* 'carry through', Greek περιφέρω 'carry around'. The comparanda and their similar meanings imply the likelihood of a commonly inherited compound verb from Late Proto-Indo-European : *\*peri+√bher-.*

¶INTERPRETATION. Kaufman glosses **ar·bᵃarie** as 'has reproached'. This is an extended meaning of Old Irish *ar·beir* and requires in that language the preposition *fri* before its object, a point favouring the more basic meaning 'carry around, forward' > 'use'. The use of **ar·bᵃarie** here instead of one of the compounds of the same verb found more commonly in the SW epigraphic formula (**tᵉe·bᵃare**, **ro·bᵃare**, **tᵉe·ro·bᵃare**) may have been influenced by the contents of the text, such as the opening sequence **ariariś**, which is probably the name of the deceased. In other words, **ariariś** may have attracted the variant **ar·bᵃarie** due to alliteration and was possibly also felt to be a *figura etymologica*, i.e. 'leader forward' and 'has carried forward'. The **i** ⅄ in **bᵃarie** may be merely a graphic variant of the formulaic **bᵃare**, reflecting the epigrapher's recognition of the phonetically palatalized [r´]. Alternatively, **bᵃarie** could have been influenced purely graphically by the inscription's opening sequence (and keynote?) **ariariś** and/or the preceding form **bᵉeŕi**, which is, in my view, possibly a different tense stem of the same verb, likewise **ar·bᵉieŕitᵘu** ⅄△⅄⋏Ο⅄ⲋ⋪A or **ar·bᵉieŕi** ⅄⋏Ο⅄ⲋ⋪A (J.12.3).

**Ἀργανθωνιος** |*Arganton̥ios*| (Herodotus 1.163–5)    Celtic name, masculine *o*-stem (Ballester 2004b, 119; 2012, 14) derived from *\*argantom* 'silver' (Villar 2004, 264; De Bernardo-Stempel 2006, 47; Almagro-Gorbea et al. 2008, 1051; Tejera & Fernández 2012, 46–7; Koch 2013a, 148–50; Woudhuizen 2014/15, 328; Kaufman 2015, 487). Ἀργανθωνιος was the name of the beneficent philo-Greek king of the silver-based polity of Ταρτησσος, probably centred on present-day Huelva (González de Canales et al. 2004; 2006; 2008; 2010; Mederos 2006; Nijboer & van der Plicht 2006; 2008; Aubet 2008; Torres 2008), whose phenomenal 80-year reign notionally spanned *c.* 625–*c.* 545 BC.

¶COMPARANDA. Gaulish ARGANTODANNOS 'officer of silver, overseer of currency, moneyer' on the coins of the Lexovii and Meldi (De Hoz 2007, 192–3; cf. SW **kᵃaśetᵃana** 'tin-/bronze minister' (J.53.1)), place-name *Arganto-magus*; Cisalpine Gaulish (Vercelli) ARKATOKO⟨K⟩MATEREKOS/ARGANTOCOMATERECVS, Old Irish *argat*, *aircet*; Old Welsh *argant,* place-name *Lıcat Arganhell* < Ancient Brythonic *\*Argantillā*, Middle Welsh *ariant*, *aryant*; Old Breton *argant, Argantan*, *Arganthael*, *Argantlǫn*, *Argantlouuen*, *Argantmonǫc*, Middle Breton *archant,* ModB *arc'hant*; OC *argans*, OC personal names *Arganteilin*, *Argantmoet*, *Arganbri*; Hittite *ḫarki-*,

ḥarkant- (Vanséveren 2012); Latin *argentum*, Sanskrit *rajatá-*, Avestan *ərəzata*, Old Persian *rdata*.

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. IdgEW 64; LEIA A-88; EIEC 518, 641.; DGVB 72; GPC s.n. *arian*; LHEB 467f.; Lambert 1994, 76f; Delamarre 2003, 53; McCone 1994, 80; MLH V.1, 41f.; 2003 §2; de Vaan 2008 s.n. *argentum*; Matasović 2009 s.n. *\*arganto-*; Koch & Fernández 2017.

¶CELTIBERIAN REGION. **arkato-bezom** plausibly 'silver mine' [argãⁿtobeδom] (Wodtko 2003, §53 — K.0.7, find spot unknown); **arkanta mezukenoskue abokum** (K.1.3, III–11 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **arkanta loukanikum** (K.1.3, III–12 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **arkanta teiuantikum tirtunos** (K.1.3, III–21 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **arkanta toutinikum** (K.1.3, III–44 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **arkanta ailokiskum** (K.1.3, III–53 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **arkanta** (K.1.3, IV–20 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **[T]OVTONI ARGANTIOQ(VM) ABALI F.** (IRPP, 42; HEp, 6, 578 — Palencia); **SEMPRONIA ARGANTA** (HEp, 8, 275; HEp, 10, 291 — Saelices, Cuenca); **ARGANTO MEDVTICA MELMANIQ(VM)** (AE, 1916, 73; Abascal 1983, 22 — Riba de Saelices, Guadalajara).

¶CENTRAL REGION. **LVCRETIA ARGANSA** (HAE, 2462; HAE, 17–20, 21 — Valdenebro de los Valles, Valladolid).

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. **FLACCVS ARGANTON(I) MAGILANCVM MIROBRIGENSIS** (CPILC, 34; HEp, 13, 232; CILCC I, 200 — Garrovillas, Cáceres); divine epithet of the

**LVGGONI ARGANTICAENI** (Búa 2000, 274 — Villaviciosa, Asturias) the exact equivalent of the Early Breton woman's name *Argant-ken* 'beautiful in silver' (Evans 1988, 549 — Cartulary of Quimperlé, AD 1126).


**ariariś-e** ⌒⋔⋔٩A⋔٩A (J.10.1)     Celtic name (MLH IV, 257), cf. Gaulish ARIO- and RIX (Koch 2013a, 150; Nahm 2015).

¶CONTEXT.  **# ariariśe : oni?akᵃatⁱi-śe : o?er-bᵉeŕi : leoine ar·bᵃarie (?n)i?ensere (?tᵃ)au #**  There is apparent congruence in the endings: **# ariariśe : oni?akᵃatⁱi-śe …**

¶INTERPRETATION.  The second element is explained as **-riś** from Celtic *-rīχs* < Indo-European *$H_3$rēg-s* showing characteristically Celtic *ī < ē*; see Koch 2011, §81. On **a** from the composition vowel *\*o*, see Koch 2011, §73.1.

¶COMPARANDA. Gaulish *Ario-manus* (attested five times in Roman inscriptions from Austria [Raybould & Sims-Williams 2007, 37]), *Ario-uistus*, *Ario-gaisus*, simplex *Ariíos* (St-Germaine-Source-Seine), *Arius*, *Ariola*, the coin legend ARIVOS SANTONOS, the central-European *Harii* named as a subgroup of the Lugii (Tacitus, *Germania* §43), Old Irish nom. sg. *aire* 'lord, freeman, noble', genitive *airech < \*arik-s, -os* (De Hoz 2007, 192); the Indo-Iranian self-designation *ắrya-*, Avestan *airya-* 'Aryan, &c.'

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. IdgEW s.n. *ario-* ?; Mayrhofer 1992–2001, 1.3, 174–5; LEIA A–42, EIEC 213, Delamarre 2003, 55, Meid 2005, 146; Mallory & Adams 2006, 266; Matasović 2011 s.n. *\*aryo-*.

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. **C. ARIVS APILOCVS EBVRI F.** (AE, 1977, 358 — Fundão, Castelo Branco); possibly **LATINO ARI** 'for Latinus son of Ar(i)us' (IRLugo, 55; HEp, 8, 334 — Esperante, Folgoso do Caurel, Lugo). **ARIOVNIS MINCOSEGAEIGIS C. ARCISIVS RVFVS V.S.L.M.** (AE 1990, 159; Búa 2000, 303–4 — A Porqueira, Ourense) possibly belongs here, but more probably with 'ploughing, &c.'


**aś?a** (??= **aśtᵃa**) A⊟⋔A  (J.7.1, twice).

¶CONTEXT. **# aś⊟a bºobⁱir naŕkᵉenai | aś⊟a na·bºolon #**     The stone was found in a necropolis of the Early Iron Age. The inscription, which survives complete, is arranged as two discontinuous, parallel right-to-left lines. Both lines commence with the same segmentable form **aś⊟a**. The upper line ends in **naŕkᵉenai**, one of the less common variations of the most common of the formula words **naŕkᵉentⁱi/naŕkᵉenii**. This is the only recognizable element of the formula in the text.

¶INTERPRETATION. What must be stressed is that there is no sound basis for transliterating the hapax sign ⊟ as **tᵃ**. Redundancy appears to be regularly observed in this inscription. Therefore, ⊟ cannot be a variant form of the somewhat similar looking signs �ⴾ **tᵉ** or ⊟ **kᵘ**, which must precede **e** and **u** respectively. ⊟ does not resemble ✕ the usual sign for **tᵃ**. ⊟ does look somewhat like ⧹, which does often precede **a**, and the phonetic value of which is probably **h** (the phonetic value of the Phoenician letter that was its source) or possibly **φ**. Therefore, there would have to be compelling reasons for transliterating A⊟MA as **aśtᵃa**, such as etymology and syntactic structures in cognate languages, or a form like **aśtᵃa** used similarly in

the SW corpus itself. In this light, those proposals depending on the transliteration **aśtᵃa** are at most slim possibilities.     ¶ Focussing on the syntax of the complete text rather than relying on the doubtful representation **aśtᵃa**, the statement can be construed as two parallel clauses, the second negatived with **na** prefixed to a 3rd person plural thematic verb **bᵒolon** in statement-final position. The function of the repeated **aś⧄a** at the head of both clauses might then be as a conjunction, linking or contrasting them, something like '(or) either', 'and so', 'moreover', or 'but even' (cf. Namh 2015; see **na·bᵒolon** below).     ¶ A possibility based on the reading **aśtᵃa** is to see a connection with Palaeohispanic names, including the major group name *Astures* in the north-west (from which the personal names *Asturus*, *Astur*, *Asturius*, and *Asturia* are derived). Note also the place-names *Astapa*, *Astigi*, *Asta*, *Astia/ Hastia*, all south of the *-brigā* line. This apparent series is likely to be of multiple origin (Vallejo 2005, 188).     ¶ Kaufman (2015, 455, 463, 488) proposes derivation from Proto-Indo-European *\*H₂óst* 'bone' (whence Proto-Celtic *\*astn(ii̯)o-* 'rib'), suiting thematically an inscribed stone from a necropolis.

¶COMPARANDA. ¶ 'bone': Old Irish *asna*, *esna* 'rib'; Middle Welsh *assen* 'rib', collective *eis*; Old Cornish *asen* gl. 'costa'; Hittite *ḫastāi-*, Luvian *hās-*, Sanskrit *ásthi-*, Homeric ʹοστέον, Latin *os*, *ossis*, Albanian *asht*, Armenian *oskr*. Cf. also Middle Welsh *ascvrn*, *ascwrn*, Old Cornish *ascorn*, Middle Cornish *ascorn*, *ascourn* 'bone' < *\*ast-kornu-* 'bone+horn'.

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. IdgEW 783; GPC s.n. *eisen*; Mallory & Adams 2006, 97; Matasović 2009 s.n. *\*astn(iy)o-*.

## asune ○𐌵𐌷𐌸𐌀 (J.4.1)   Celtic, cf. the Gaulish personal names *Asunna*, *Assuna*, *Assonius* (Koch 2013a, 151; Nahm 2015); probably meaning 'she-ass, donkey, small horse' (Koch 2011, 83–4; 2013a, 151; Kaufman 2015, 239–40; Hamp *apud* Kaufman 2015, 240).

¶CONTEXT. # ?ib̠ᵒo̠i ion asune uarbᵃan ekᵘuŕi̠ne obᵃar bᵃara*******tᵃa oretᵒo # In the sequence **asune≡ uarbᵃan ≡ekᵘuŕi̠ne** with apparent case agreement with **ekᵘuŕi̠ne** and the formula word **uarbᵃan** 'highest, uppermost' intervening.

¶INTERPRETATION. To suggest a general meaning for the broader context on the basis of etymology, **asune≡ uarbᵃan ≡ekᵘuŕi̠ne ... bᵃara ... oretᵒo** 'As(s)un(n)ā and Ekurīgₐnī ("Horse Queen") ... I [this burial] have carried in deliverance (< running under) to the highest destination'. If the text does indeed contain words meaning 'Horse-Queen' and 'running under' (< *\*u(p)o-reto-*) as proposed, an obvious suggestion is that **asune** means 'divine mare' or 'she-ass', as the byname or partner of the Tartessian equivalent of the Gaulish Epona Regina. A difficulty or, at any rate, complication with this explanation is that linguists have not usually grouped Gaulish *Assuna* with Old Irish *asan*, Old Cornish *asen* 'ass', &c. These medieval Celtic forms tend to be explained as borrowed from Latin *asinus. Asinus*, Greek ὄνος, and Luvian *tarkasna-*, all meaning 'ass' (cf. Mallory & Adams 2006, 139) are often regarded as borrowed vocabulary from the east ~ Sumerian *anšu* 'ass' (LEIA A–93). It is, however,

not unlikely that this word spread widely in later prehistory with knowledge of the equine breeding and vehicle technology. Basque *asto* 'ass' was probably borrowed from Latin or Romance, but could derive from Celtic. ¶ On the suffix of **asune**, cf. the formation of the Hittite theonym *\*Tarḫunnas* and Gaulish *C]ernunnos* pointing to an inherited Indo-European divine suffix (Watkins 1999, 12–20). If so, the text invokes the divine she-ass in conjunction with the divine horse-queen.

### ——bᵃaanon ᛘᛏᛉᛆᛆᛣ (J.11.4)   genitive plural 'of women/wives' |*banon*| < Proto-Celtic *\*banom* ~ Old Irish *ban*; Gaulish *bnanom* (Larzac) (Koch 2013a, 152; Kaufman 2015, 301–2).

¶CONTEXT. These signs are clear enough in the extant 18th-century drawing, but the context **ai<u>oo</u>ŕorainn bᵃaanon\*\*[** is not helpful and contains doubtful readings as well as a break.

¶INTERPRETATION. Falling back on etymology, **bᵃaanon** corresponds precisely to the paradigmatic form implied by the identification of the recurrent **bᵃane** (J.11.1, J.19.1, J.20.1, J.26.1) as |*bₐnē*| < *\*bₐnai* 'woman, female, wife' nominative/accusative dual or dative singular, see below. It is possible that the epigrapher has written the vowel double in **bᵃaanon** to make it clear that this means |*banon*| with a full syllable before the first nasal, thus contrasting with monosyllabic **bᵃane** |*bₐnē*|.

### bᵃane ᛟᛉᛆᛣ (J.11.1, J.19.1, J.26.1)      'woman, wife', Proto-Celtic *\*bnāi* dative singular or nominative-accusative dual, < Proto-Indo-European *\*gʷnéH₂-i* (Koch 2013a, 153–4; Kaufman 2015, 125, 135, 291, 375–6, 398–9, 489).

¶COMPARANDA. Gaulish *beni* (Châteaubleau) ?accusative singular, genitive plural *bnanom* (Larzac), accusative plural *mnas* (Larzac) < Celtic *\*bnam-s* (see further Delamarre 2003, 72), personal names *Seno-bena*, *Uitu-bena*, Old Irish nominative singular *ben* 'woman, wife' < Proto-Celtic *\*bena* < Proto-Indo-European *\*gʷénH₂* (also archaic and literary *bé*), dative singular archaic *bein* < Proto-Celtic *\*bene*, later Old Irish *mnái*, nominative-accusative dual *mnái*, genitive plural *ban* < Proto-Celtic *\*banom*, compositional form *ban-* < Proto-Celtic *\*bano-*, Old Breton *ban-leu* gl. 'lene', *ban-doiuis* gl. 'musa' < 'goddess', OC *benen* gl. 'sponsa'; Sanskrit *jáni*, *gnã̄*, Greek γυνή, OE *cwen*, Old Prussian *genno*, Tocharian B *śana*, Old Church Slavonic *žena*.

¶CONTEXTS. # kⁱielaoe: oiś<u>au</u>a bᵃane robᵃae n(a)ŕkᵉenii # (J.11.1); # ]liirnestᵃakᵘun bᵃane ooŕoire bᵃ<u>a</u>[re naŕ]kᵉenii # (J.19.1); ]tᵃarnekᵘ⟨kᵘ⟩un bᵃane [ro-]bᵃare naŕkᵉ[e (J.26.1).

¶INTERPRETATION. Kaufman sees **bᵃane** as dative singular throughout (cf. Old Irish *mnái* < *\*bnāi*).     ¶ I think that **bᵃane** is probably a monsyllable |*bₐnē*| or |*bnē*| < *\*bnāi*, with the first graphic syllable either representing a phonetic whisper between consonants or merely a device to show a consonant cluster that could not be represented otherwise. My provisional interpretations of the examples above are as follows |... *bₐnē romae*| 'Oiśaha, most senior wife of Kielaos',

|*Lir(a)nestākūm bₐnē Ǫoṛǫirē*| (< *\*U(p)erụiṛiāi*) 'woman of the "Near the Sea" kin group wife of "Over-man"', |*Taranekūm bₐnē*| 'woman of the kingroup claiming descent from Taranos'.     ¶ Although Kaufman interprets **bᵃaenae** in J.15.1 differently, I think it is probably a further example with variant orthography (as influenced by the nominative singular *\*bena*): **haitᵘura meleśae≡::≡bᵃaenae** |*Haiturā meleᵗsae≡bₐnae*| 'Haitura, sweet-woman and wife'. In three of these four examples, there is an overt congruence of endings in **-e** (or, in the last, **-ae** as a more archaic graphic variant of **-e**), which can be interpreted as forming feminine co-ordinative compounds in the nominative-accusative dual. In two of the examples, there are typical Hispano-Celtic genitive plural kindred names immediately preceding **bᵃane**, thus **]liirnestᵃakᵘun** 'of the kindred of Lir(a)nestos' and **]tᵃarnekᵘun** 'of the kindred of Tar(a)nus'. Two of the phrases include forms resembling feminine *ā*-stem nominatives singular: **oiśaна** and **haitᵘura**. These may be taken as nominatives singular in apposition to the co-ordinative duals. In J.19.1, **]liirnestᵃakᵘun bᵃane≡ooŕoire** appears to be identified with an attributive form derived from the name **ooŕoir** (J.19.2) borne by an individual commemorated in the same necropolis.

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. IdgEW 473; LEIA B-23L, B-31L; GPC s.n. *†ben²*; DGVB 78; Lambert 1994, 16; Delamarre 2003, 72f.; Wodtko et al. 2008, 177–85; Matasović 2009 s.n. *\*benā*, *\*bena.*

**bᵃara** ⅄ꟿ⅄꜀ (S. Martinho), **bᵃara\*\* \*\*⅄ꟿ⅄꜀** (J.4.1)     |*bāra*| verb, 1st sg. perfect, 'I have borne, I have carried', from the root √*ber-* < Proto-Indo-European √*bher-* 'bear, carry' (Koch 2013a, 155–7; Kaufman 2015, 13–14, 69, 107, 115, 188, 247–52, 407, 440, 489–91).

¶CONTEXTS. # **?ibᵒoi ion asune uarbᵃan ekᵘuŕine obᵃar bᵃara\*\*\*\*\*\*\*tᵃa oretᵒo #** (J.4.1);   # **bᵃastᵉebᵘuŕoi onunaio tᵉ?e [...]i[...]o\*reiar\*nio ebᵘu alakⁱimuŕbᵒ? a naŕkᵉe bᵃa\* | ean bᵃara | bᵒ? #** (São Martinho)

¶INTERPRETATION. In S. Martinho, the sequence **ean bᵃara** comes near the end of the complete text and stands apart from, and inside, the main circle of signs, around which most of the text is arranged. Here **ean** can be understood as a feminine singular accusative relative |*eām*| < *\*įām*, so we read **ean bᵃara** as |*eām bāra*| 'she whom I have carried' or 'that I have borne' with feminine antecedent (Koch 2013a 122; Kaufman 2015, 440), which I take to refer back to the deceased with the burial structure receiving the interment and its inscribed stone being understood as speaking in the 1st person. This convention is likely also the case with J.4.1.

¶ See further **ar·bᵃarie**, **bᵃare**, **bᵃareii**, **bᵃaren**, **ro·bᵃare**, **tᵉe·bᵃare**, **tᵉee·bᵃarentⁱi**, **tᵉe·ro-bᵃare.**

**bᵃare** ꝋꟿ⅄꜀     'has borne, has carried', 3rd sg. perfect from the root Proto-Celtic √*ber-* < Proto-Indo-European √*bher-* 'bear, carry' (Koch 2013a, 155–7; Kaufman 2015, 13–14, 69, 107, 115, 188, 247–52, 407, 489–91).

¶CONTEXTS. **-bᵃare** is an essential element in the SW epigraphic formula (on which see below). **bᵃare** occurs as a simplex in J.27.1 (which is known only from an 18th-century drawing) : ]ukᵉe śaen bᵃare naŕkᵉe* [ ] bᵉeś**n*[   Probably also in (J.1.5): # m̲u̲t̲ᵘuirea bᵃar[e n]aŕkᵉentⁱi  a(a/m)m̲u̲sokᵉeonii #    **bᵃare** more commonly follows recurring prefixes that can be construed as preverbs with well-attested Celtic cognates: see the entries **ar·bᵃarie**, **bᵃaren**, **ro·bᵃare**, **tᵉe·bᵃare**, **tᵉee·bᵃarentⁱi**, **tᵉe·ro·bᵃare**, also **bᵃarei̯i**. In J.17.2 ]b̲ᵃare naŕkᵉentⁱi it could be compound or simplex, as there is room for several signs in the preceding gap.

¶DERIVATION. A perfect of Proto-Indo-European *bher- cannot be reconstructed from comparative Indo-European evidence (e.g. LIV 77; cf. Wodtko et al. 2008, 15–30), arguably none existed. Though probably generated independently by analogy, similar perfect forms came about early in some of the branches of Indo-European: e.g., Vedic *jabhãra* 'has brought', *babhãra* 'has carried' (the long vowel in these is not original), Gothic strong preterite 1st singular and 3rd singular -*bar* 'carried' (cf. New English *bore*). Old Irish and Early Welsh do not derive their preterites of this verb from the Indo-European perfect, but rather have *t*-preterites: e.g. Old Irish -*ru-bart* < *\*ro·birt* <*\*(p)ro·bīrt* < *\*-bērt*, Middle Welsh *kymmyrth* < *\*kom-bīrt*. **ro·bᵃare**, &c., therefore implies either that the Indo-European perfect and aorist had not yet merged in the SW language (and therefore had not yet merged in its Proto-Celtic ancestor) or that the merger had taken place, but the process had once given more scope to formations derived from the perfect, a tendency that prevailed fully in Germanic (cf. Schumacher 2004). In the surviving Goidelic and Brythonic material, there are no examples of verbs with the root shape *Cer-* forming an *ā*-preterite. However, these patterns could be due either to an innovation in SW Celtic or one in the Insular languages, or a mere accident of survival, as the category is not extensive.

¶ See further **ar·bᵃarie**, **bᵃara**, **bᵃarei̯i**, **bᵃaren**, **ro·bᵃare**, **tᵉe·bᵃare**, **tᵉee·bᵃarentⁱi**, **tᵉe·ro·bᵃare.**


**bᵃarei̯i** ᴎᴎO9A⸎ (J.5.1)    **bᵃare** |*bāre*| 'has borne, has carried', 3rd sg. perfect of Proto-Celtic √*ber-* < Proto-Indo-European √*bher-*, + affix (Koch 2013a, 157; Kaufman 2015, 244–5; cf. MLH IV, 165).

¶CONTEXT. #  **sabᵒoi  :  is̲t̲ᵃa|ibᵒo   rinoe̲b̲ᵒo|anakᵉenak̲ᵉ:e|ibᵒo   iibᵃan  bᵃarei̯i** #    The final double vowel **-ii** is surely meant to represent a syllable rather than a non-syllabic glide [-i̯].

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Kaufman identifies **-ii** as a pronoun object accusative plural < *\*īns*, so 'it has borne them'. On the other hand, it could be nominative-accusative neuter singular, Proto-Indo-European *\*Hᵢid* 'this one' (Latin *id*), referring either to the grave as the subject of **bᵃare** or the interment as its object. With either, the final *\*-d*, had it survived, could not have been represented in the SW writing system. My earlier proposal that **-ii** was possibly an analogical transference of present-tense marking (i.e. the *\*-i* of the Proto-Indo-European primary endings) to convey a present perfect

meaning ('[this grave] has now carried') entails an unconfirmed analogical innovation, but it remains suggestive that in the position, where simplex **bᵃareii** occurs in J.5.1, many of the epigraphic statements end with **naŕkᵉentⁱi** or **naŕkᵉenii**, forms which probably preserve the Proto-Indo-European primary ending written **-ii**.

¶ See further **ar·bᵃarie**, **bᵃara**, **bᵃar(e)n**, **ro·bᵃare**, **tᵉe·bᵃare**, **tᵉee·bᵃarentⁱi**, **tᵉe·ro·bᵃare.**

**bᵃar(e)n** ꟙꟙꓷꟛ (J.20.1), **ro-n·bᵃaren** ꓬꝊꟙꓷꟛꟙ╪ꟙ (J.11.4)     |*bārent*| 'they have carried' 3rd plural perfect, √*ber-* < Proto-Indo-European √*bher-* 'bear, carry' (Koch 2013a, 157–8; Kaufman 2015, 301, 381, 489).

¶CONTEXTS. **]uŕni bᵉeliśon uarn|bᵃan e\* bᵃar(e)n naŕkᵉen[** ( J.20.1)     There is enough space on the stone for another sign in the gap of **bᵃar n**, but nothing is visible there today.     # **aiooŕorainn bᵃaanon\*\*[ | ea ro-n-bᵃaren naŕkᵉenii aliśne #** (J.11.4)  This inscription survives only as an 18th-century drawing. However, most of the signs are recognizable in their usual forms. Although one stroke of the **r** of **ro-n-bᵃaren** is missing, the drawing does not, to my view, support Kaufman's reading **eaon bᵃaren** (with **r** apparently disregarded), which gives him the translation 'of whom they have borne' with **eaon** |*eaom*| < *\*i̯ām* as feminine relative genitive plural.

¶ See further **ar·bᵃarie**, **bᵃara**, **bᵃareii**, **ro·bᵃare**, **tᵉe·bᵃare**, **tᵉee·bᵃarentⁱi**, **tᵉe·ro·bᵃare.**

**bᵃarentⁱi** ꟙꝊꟙꝊꓷꟛ (J.23.1), see **tᵉee·bᵃarentⁱi**.

**bᵃastᵉebᵘuŕoi** ꟙ╪ꓥꟿꟿꝊ╞╪ꓷꟛ (S. Martinho)     compound, the second element of which is the plant name Celtic *eburo-/eburā*, common in place-, personal, group names, (Koch 2013a 166–7; Kaufman 2015, 70, 436, 441, 489; Nahm 2015).

¶CONTEXT. **bᵃastᵉebᵘuŕoi** opens a long and complete inscription: # **bᵃastᵉebᵘuŕoi onunaio tᵉ?e [...]i[...]o\*reiar\*nio ebᵘu ...**

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Per Koch, Kaufman, and Nahm, **ebᵘuŕoi** goes with the Celtic comparanda below. Kaufman understands **bᵃastᵉebᵘuŕoi** as nominative plural group name 'the death ivy-ish ones'. Although Kaufman's gloss sounds awkward, it is not impossible, especially in light of the Gaulish group name *Eburones*. The yew is poisonous, so |*bāsteburo-*| 'death-yew' would not have been an unintelligible qualification of the basic name, perhaps distinguishing the 'yew' from some of the other plants called by the same Celtic name. On the other hand, the comparanda and meaning of *eburo-* suggests alternatively that **bᵃastᵉebᵘuŕoi** could have been a place-name, formally locative, so 'in the yew wood' or 'in the death-yew wood', possibly referring to the necropolis where the stone was placed.     ¶ The element *Bast(i)-* is however widespread in the ancient place-names of the Iberian Peninsula, including the Iberian-speaking zone, and these names surely did not all contain Celtic 'death'. In

the south in Roman times, there was a territory known as *Bastetania*. On its western edge was a town named *Basti*. About 100km to the west of that in Turdetania lay town named *Ebura*. Therefore, it is probably easiest to understand **bᵃastᵉebᵘuŕoi** as the locative of a compound place-name.

¶COMPARANDA. (A) **bᵃastᵉ-** ⊢≢∧⟩  Celtiberian **baston/iam** (lead tablet from La Manchuela, Albecete), Old Irish *bás* 'death' < *\*bāsto-m* < *\*gᵘōsto-m* : Indo-European *\*gᵘes-* 'extinguish' (LEIA B–21). Alternatively, as a Palaeohispanic onomastic element: *Bastetani* near Granada, *Bastuli* near Gibraltar, and *Mastia* near Cartagena. The geographic distribution suggests that this is a non-Indo-European element. The fluctuation of *b-* and *m-* also fits Iberian phonology.

(B) **ebᵘuŕoi** ꟼ≢⋔ꟼꟿ○.  Galatian personal names Ἐβουρηνα, Ἐβουρηνος, possibly Ἐβουριανος (Freeman 2001, 53); Gaulish place-names *Eburobriga*, *Eburodunum*, *Euromagus*, *Eburovicum*; group names *Eburones*, *Eburouices*; Gallo-Roman divinities MATRIS AVG(VSTIS) EBVRICIS (Jufer & Luginbühl 2001, 38); Old Irish *ibar* 'yew'; Ancient Brythonic *Eburācum* 'York' (= Old Welsh *Caır Ebrauc*); Old Welsh *Ebur*, Middle Welsh *efwr* 'cow parsnip, hog-weed'; Middle Breton *euor*, ModB *evor*; cf. German *Eberesche* 'mountain ash'.

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. IdgEW 334; EIEC 654; Delamarre 2003 159f; MLH V.l, 103; Matasović 2009 s.n. *\*eburo-*; Falileyev et al. 2010, 117–18.

¶CELTIBERIAN REGION. **ebursunos mailikinokum** (K.1.3, III–52 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **SECONTIO EBVREN[I]Q(VM) AMBATI F.** (Reyes 2000, 18 — Belorado, Burgos); **[T]VRAIVS EBVRENIVS CALA[E]TI F.** (AE, 1976, 293 — Barcina de los Montes, Burgos); **ANT(ONIVS) ADDIO EBVR(A)NCO A(E)M(ILI) F.** (ERSoria, 59; HEp, 9, 529 — Dombellas, Soria); **L. TERENTIO PATERNO EBVRANCO(N) TITI F. QVIRINALI** (CIL II, 2828; ERSoria, 94 — San Esteban de Gormaz, Soria).

¶NOTE. De Bernardo Stempel (2013, 642) interprets **ebursunos** as '"hijo del dios EBUROS", del galo *\*Eburo-sún-o-s*'. With so much Palaeohispanic comparanda, the connection with Gaulish is probably unnecessary.

¶CENTRAL REGION. **EBVRIANVS** (CIL II, 2764 a; ERSg, 165 — Duratón, Segovia); **[A]TTA LVGVA CARAECICVM EBVRENI VXOR** (FE, 340; ERAv, 134; HEp, 13, 71 — Narros del Puerto, Ávila); **EBVREINIVS CVRVNDI F. CARAECIQ(VM)** (ERAv, 164 — Candeleda, Ávila).

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. ¶ place-names Ἐβορα (Ptolemy 2, 56) = *Ebora* (Pliny 4, 117 — Évora), *Eurobrittium* (Pliny 4, 113); possibly *Ebora* (Mela 3, 11) in Callaecia;    ¶personal names **LVCILA EBVRA** (HAE, 1691; CIRG I, 37 — Cidadela, Sobrado dos Monxes, A Coruña); **EBVRVS A]VRI F.** (Beltrán 1975–6, 24; AE, 1977, 387 — Cañamero, Cáceres); **AMANA EBVRI F.** (HAE, 744; CPILC, 611 = CPILC, 778 — Villamesías, Cáceres); **APANA EBVRI F.** (CPILC, 407; Beltrán 1975–6, 62 — Puerto de Santa Cruz, Cáceres); **C. ARIVS APILOCVS EBVRI F.** (AE, 1977, 358 — Fundão, Fundão, Castelo Branco); **CASIA EBVRI** (CIRPZ, 32 — Escuadro, Zamora); **L. IVLIV[S] EBVRA[N]CVS GAL. C. F.** (CIL II2/7, 873; AE, 1977, 422 — Siruela, Badajoz); **CAENOBIVS EBVREINI F.** (AE, 1967, 206; CPILC, 85 — Berzocana, Cáceres); **EBVR.** (CIRPZ, 33 — Escuadro, Zamora); **R[---] EBVRNI F.** (HEp, 6, 838 — Hinojosa de Duero, Salamanca); **[A]EBVR[I]NA** (Cangas de Morrazo, Pontevedra); **MANTAIVS / EBVRIAE** (Fabião & Guerra 2010, 343–4, figs. 11-13; Guerra & Fabião 2010, 482–3 — Mesas do Castelinho, Freguesia de Santa Clara-a-Nova, Almodôvar, Beja).

¶OUTSIDE THE *BRIGA* ZONE. Place-names *Ebora* (Pliny 3, 10 — Cádiz); *Ebura* (Córdoba).

**bᵉelibᵒo** ‡⧆Ɏ1Ο9 (J.1.2), **bᵉe:lin** ɎɎ1|Ο9 (J.17.4) **bᵉeliśo<u>n</u>** Ɏ‡ⱮɎ1Ο9 (J.20.1)   three paradigmatic variants of the same Celtic lexeme with a proposed translation 'bright (one)' (Koch 2013a, 160–1; Kaufman 2015, 125, 203–7, 361–4, 380–1, 489) < Proto-Indo-European √*bhel-* 'shine', although there are other possible roots and meanings.

¶INTERPRETATIONS. **kᵒo-** in **kᵒobᵉelibᵒo** ‡⧆Ɏ1Ο9‡Ⱦ could be either a preposition or part of a compound name, segmented as the latter by Untermann (MLH IV, 167) and Villar (2004); for the latter, possibly compare  **Q. CVMELIVS Q. [F]AB. CELER BRAC(ARENSIS)** (CIL II, 2639; EE, IX, 111; ERPL, 148 — Astorga, León); **CVMELIVS MEIDVENI F.** (AE, 1983, 479 — Región de Lamego, Viseu).  ¶ I interpret **bᵉeli-** as onomastic and the case forms respectively as dative/ablative plural, accusative singular, and genitive plural. ¶ Kaufman segments **bᵉeliśo<u>n</u>** as **bᵉeli**, analysing this as nominative-accusative plural.

¶COMPARANDA. Gaulish divine name in the text CEΓOMAPOC | OYIΛΛONEOC | TOOYTIOYC | NAMAYCATIC | EIΩPOY BHΛH|CAMI COCIN | NEMHTON 'Segomāros son of Uillonos, citizen of Nîmes, dedicated this holy thing/place to Belesama' (RIG I, G-153 — Vaison), MINERVAE BELISAMAE (Jufer & Lugibühl 2001, 29 — St-Lizier), also numerous attestations of Gaulish divine names *Belenos* and *Belinos* (Jufer & Lugibühl 2001, 28–9); Ancient Brythonic place-name Βελεριον, divine name BELISAMA. Cf. Old Irish *Bel(-tene)* ?'bright-fire', name of the festival of 1 May, ScG *bealtuinn* 'May-day'.

¶CELTIBERIAN REGION. **tirtanos abulokum letontunos ke belikios** (MLH IV, K.16.1 — Ibiza (Baleares); **belaiokum** (MLH IV, K.6.1; HEp, 11, 267 — Luzaga, Guadalajara); possibly include with these **CAENIVES VEMENICVS BELVICON** (Abásolo 1974a, 49 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **DEDDO / BELAI[N]OGVN C. F.** (Abascal 1983, 1; HEp, 2, 414 — Ablanque, Guadalajara). ¶ place-name **belaiskom** (A.80), **belaiskaz** (K.0.2), **CONTREBIA BELAISCA**.

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. **ARABO COROBELICOBO TALVSICOBO / M T B / D M / L A** (AE 1977, 108 — Arroyomolinos de la Vera, Cáceres; with *coro-* 'warband'); **BELICINA G. LIB.** (HEp, 5, 1995, 236 — Ruanes, Cáceres). ¶DIVINE NAME: **LARIB(VS) BELAECI/S** (HEp, 2, 873; HEp, 7, 1244 — Pitões das Junias, Montalegre, Vila Real).

**bᵉetⁱisai** ɎA‡ⱵΟ9 (J.23.1)    proposed to be segmented as **bᵉetⁱi sai** |*bedī sāi*| 'of a grave for her...' (Kaufman 2015, 390–1, 489).

¶CONTEXT. **bᵉetⁱisai tᵉee·bᵃarentⁱi iru**|(u)**arbᵘu iel naŕrkᵉe:n:** | **uśn<u>b</u>e**

¶INTERPRETATIONS. A Celtic word for 'grave' at the beginning of a funerary inscription is inherently plausible, but there are two problems with that. First, the Celtic *o*-stem genitive singular in -*ī*, as in Gaulish and Ogam Irish, is an innovation, and there is no clear evidence that the form occurred in the pre-Roman languages of the Iberian Peninsula. Celtiberian had -*o*. Secondly, the inscription survives complete, and

<span style="color:#b22222">**bᵉetⁱisai**   **bᵒotⁱi✧ana**</span>

**bᵉetⁱisai** opens the text, the most usual position for the naming phrase in the SW corpus. With the reading **bᵉetⁱi sai** 'of a grave for her', the personal name of the deceased may not be merely absent from its usual place, but altogether. Therefore, an alternative interpretation with **bᵉetⁱisai** as the dative singular of a woman's name remains preferable: |*Betisāi de·bārenti (u̯)irū≡(u̯)arₐmū Iel narkent Uχsₐmē*|, tentatively translated '[a grave] for Betisa: the supreme lord (? and Iel) have carried away, they lie down in Uxama (the highest place)'. A weakness for this second interpretation is that the onomastic comparanda are neither numerous nor especially close to **bᵉetⁱisai**.  ¶ This form, though it could represent |*Met-*| or |*Med-*|, is unlikely to have any connection with **MEDAMVS** (?'one counted in the middle of a series' = 'Middle son/child') and related forms common as indigenous personal names in the western Peninsula.   ¶ **baites** */baides/* of uncertain meaning occurs in Iberian inscriptions. However, we lack probable examples of SW **e** < *\*ai* in an initial syllable, and the correspondence of the vowel in the second syllable is also inexact.  ¶ Owing to the limitations of the SW writing system, **bᵉetⁱisai** could stand for |*bletisāi*|; however, if this was actually the superlative adjective 'broadest', or a name based on it, we would expect *\***bᵉetⁱisbᵃai** from Proto-Celtic dative-locative*\*(p)letisₐmāi.*

¶COMPARANDA. (A) 'grave, excavation': Possibly in Celtiberian **arkatobezom** */arganto-beδοµ/* 'silver mine' (K.0.7), the Gaulish pn. *Beda* now Bitburg (Falileyev et al. 2010, 69); Middle Welsh *beδ* 'grave'; Middle Breton *bez*; Middle Cornish *beth*; Latin *fodiō* 'dig', *fossa* 'ditch'; Hittite *padda-*, *pidda-*; Tocharian A *pāt-* 'plough'; Gothic *badi* 'bed' < Proto-Indo-European *\*bhedh-* 'dig' (Mallory & Adams 2006, 372, 375, 382–3).

(B) as a personal name: Celtiberian family name **betikum**, the family name **BEDAQ[VM]** from Soria, also **BETACI** from the Évora region (Vallejo 2005, 210, with further examples).

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. IdgEW s.n. *bhedh-*; GPC s.n. *bedd*; L&P 36; LIV 66; Lambert 1994, 188; Villar 1997, 906; Delamarre 2003, 70; de Vaan 2008 s.n. *fodiō*; Matasović 2009 s.n. *\*bedo-*.


<span style="color:#b22222">**bᵒolon**</span> Ⅿ�‡⌐‡⌷ (J.7.1), see <span style="color:#b22222">**na·bᵒolon**</span>.


<span style="color:#b22222">**bᵒotⁱi✧ana**</span> = <span style="color:#b22222">**bᵒotⁱieana**</span>  ᗅႸᗅ✧ᛗⵔ‡⌷  or  <span style="color:#b22222">**bᵒotⁱiea**</span>  ᗅ✧ᛗⵔ‡⌷ (J.18.1)   Hispano-Celtic feminine personal name (Correa 1992, 98; MLH IV ; Ballester 2004b, 119; 2012, 15; Almagro-Gorbea et al. 2008, 1050; Koch 2013a, 162–3; Jordán 2015, 309; Kaufman 2015, 125, 178, 366–7, 491; Nahm 2015; cf. Albertos 1983, 868).

¶CONTEXT. # **bᵒotⁱieana≡ kᵉertᵒo ≡robᵃa tᵉe-bᵃare bᵃa-naŕkᵉentⁱi #**

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Kaufman analyses the name as a compound *Boudi-iānā* 'booty-noble', cf. Middle Welsh *buδ+iawn*. My proposed interpretation for the statement-initial naming phrase remains |*Boutⁱeanā kerdo romā*| 'B. first-born daughter of the artisan'.

¶COMPARANDA. (A) Proto-Celtic *boudi-*. Gaulish personal names *Boudilatis, Boudicca*, Gaulish feminine name with similar, but not identical, nasal suffix *Boudina*, (Delamarre 2007, 46–7), and feminine divine names BOVDINAE, MATRONIS BOVDVNNEIHIS (Jufer & Luginbühl 2001, 30); Old Irish *buaid* 'victory, gain, profit'; Ancient Brythonic *Boudica*; Old Welsh *budicaul* gl. 'uicto', Middle Welsh *buδ* 'profit, advantage', *buδic* 'victorious'; Old Breton *budicǫl*. Old Irish *búadach* 'triumphant, &c.' probably reflects *boudāko-* rather than *boudi(:)ko-*. Modern English *booty* and cognate words in the other Germanic languages possibly derive from an early loanword from Celtic.

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. **BOVDICA SEMPRONI** (HAE, 1090 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **BOVDICAE TONGI F. MATRI** (AE, 1967, 170; Albertos 1983, 872 — Telhado, Fundão, Castelo Branco). The examples **BOVDIVS** (AE, 1975, 514 & 515 — Coria, Cáceres), **BOVDENNA CAMALI F.** (CIL II, 625 / 5274; CPILC, 521 — Trujillo, Cáceres), and **BOVDINNA CA[R]AI F. HSE** (AE, 1993, 924 — Trujillo, Cáceres) could alternatively belong with **BOVTIA**, **BOVTIVS**, but it is not necessary to assume that these reflect a lenited *t*.

(B) Proto-Celtic *bouti-*. A well attested name type, the distribution is predominately in the western Peninsula, but extends eastwards to Navarre. Generally rare elsewhere in Celtic territory, one BOVTIVS is attested in Gallia Belgica (OPEL I, 317) and another in Britain (CIL VII 1336, 174). Various etymologies have been proposed. Those reviewed by Vallejo (2005, 221–2) are consistent with classification as Celtic. There is no sound law that would regularly have produced **BOVTIA**, &c., with **-T-**, from Proto-Celtic **\*boudi-** 'victory'. And it is unlikely that all the attestations can be explained as hypercorrections for **BOVDI-**, though this may explain a few of them. Unlike **BOVTIA**, &c., Old Irish *both*, Middle Welsh *bot* 'dwelling' derives from zero-grade Proto-Indo-European *\*bhu(H)-tó-*. Therefore, it is more likely a form of Proto-Indo-European *\*gu̯o-* 'cow' with a dental suffix; cf. Greek βουτης 'cowherd', βοτόν 'head of cattle', βοτάνη, βώτωρ 'pasture', Lithuanian *gúotas* 'herd'. If so, these names are examples of the characteristically Proto-Indo-European > Proto-Celtic sound law *\*gᵘ̯ > \*b*.

¶CELTIBERIAN REGION. **ATTVAE BOVTIAE BOVTI F. INTERCATIENSI** (CIL II, 2786; AE, 1956, 27; Palol & Vilella 1987, 36; HEp, 2, 101 — Peñalba de Castro, Burgos); **AVSCVS BOVTIVS VIRONI F.** (Abásolo 1974a, 14 — Hontoria de la Cantera, Burgos); **BOVTIA VQVLANCA SEGILI F.** (HEp, 10, 79 — Belorado, Burgos); **VAL(ERIA) DONATA BOTIA** (CIL II, 5812; AE, 1946, 120 — Sasamón, Burgos).

¶CENTRAL REGION. **[---]OCANCVM BOVTI** (ERSg, 38 — Duratón, Segovia); **BOVTI** (Jiménez de Gregorio 1969, 211–12; Albertos 1972b, 22 — Talavera de la Reina, Toledo); **PROCVLA BOVTI F. PENTANIQ(VM)** (AE, 1969–70, 252; Albertos 1972b, 6 — Talavera de la Reina, Toledo).

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. **BOVTIAE SAELGI F.** (HEp, 5, 53 — Badajoz); **BOVTIA ALVCCI F.** (CIL II 2/7, 956; HEp, 7, 149 — Monterrubio de la Serena, Badajoz); **BOVTIA CADARI F.** (HEp, 2, 42 — Monterrubio de la Serena, Badajoz); **BOVTIA CABRVNI F.** (EE, IX 157 — Nogales, Badajoz); **BOVTIAE TVCI F.** (EBrag, 26; ERRBragança, 24 — Meixedo, Bragança); **BOVTIA** (CPILC, 50; CILCC I, 75 — Arroyo de la Luz, Cáceres); **BOVTIA LATRONI F. HISTINIENSI[S]** (CPILC, 147 — Cáceres); **BOVTIA BOVTI** (CPILC, 197 — Carrascalejo, Cáceres); **BOVTIA TANGINI F.** (CIL II, 798; CPILC, 200; Melena 1985, 498 — Casillas de Coria, Cáceres); **BOVTIA APER F.** (Albertos 1983, 871; HEp, 8, 65 — Coria, Cáceres); **BOVTIA AI[BA]RI** (CPILC, 208; Sánchez &

Vinagre 1998, nº 23. p. 37 — Coria, Cáceres); **BOVTIA TANGINI** (CPILC, 209 — Coria, Cáceres); **BOVTIA VISALI F.** (CIL II, 626; CPILC, 578 — Trujillo, Cáceres); **BOVTIAE MANTAI F.** (AE, 1983, 473 — Vale Formoso, Covilha, Castelo Branco); **BOVTIAE** (HEp, 6, 1033 — Condeixa-a-Velha, Condeixa-a-Nova, Coimbra); **BOVTIAE FILIAE SVAE** (CIL II, 2380 [891, 1039]; AE, 1956, 157 — Pombeiro da Beira, Arganil, Coimbra); **FELIX BOVTIAE LIB.** (CIL II, 375 — Condeixa-a-Velha, Condeixa-a-Nova, Coimbra); **BAEBIA BOVTIA** (AE, 1969–70, 232 — Bencatel, Vila Viçosa, Évora); **LVRIAE T. F. BOVTIAE** (CIL II, 123 — Nossa Senhora do Bispo, Montemor o Novo, Évora); **BOVTIA MANDI F.** (CILA Huelva, 53 — El Cerro de Andévalo, Huelva); **BOVTIA** (HEp, 9, 451 — San Cibrán de Pardavedra, A Bola, Ourense); **BOVTIAE CLOVTI F.** (HAE, 1260 — Espino de los Doctores, Salamanca); **BOVTIA BOVTI F.** (HEp, 5, 675 — Salamanca); **BOVTIA MEDV(---)** (HEp, 18, 287 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **CELT(IVS) ET BOVTIA MEID(VBRIGENESES)** (CIL II, 5250 — Lamego, Viseu); **BOVTIVS TVRAMI** (HEp, 1, 657; HEp, 4, 986; HEp, 5, 945 — Aguada de Cima, Águeda, Aveiro); **ACCIVS BOVTI F. ALONCVS INSTINIE(N)SIS** (AE, 1971, 146; HEp, 7, 168 — Villar del Rey, Badajoz); **C(AIVS) IVLIVS BOVTI F(ILIVS) LETONDO** (AE, 1909, 97 — Ourique, Beja); **BOVTIVS TALOGI** (EE, VIII 300; EE, IX 279; ERRBragança, 35 — Baçal, Bragança); **BOVTIO MATVGENI F.** (ERRBragança, 34; HEp, 12, 581 — Vila Nova, Donai, Bragança); **CLOVTIO BOVTI F.** (ERRBragança, 44; HEp, 12, 592 — Grijó de Parada, Bragança); **ANNIAE BOVTI F.** (EE, IX 118 — Garrovillas, Cáceres); **APER BOVTI F.** (Albertos 1983, 871; HEp, 8, 65 — Coria, Cáceres); **BOVTIVS ANTVBEL(I) F.** (CIL II, 756; CPILC, 24; Búa 2000, 519; CILCC I, 24 — Alcántara, Cáceres); **BOVTIVS** (CPILC, 737 — Barrado, Cáceres); **BOVTIVS [---]PANFIVS** (HAE, 736; HEp, 8, 46 — Campolugar, Cáceres); **BOVTIVS LOVCINI F.** (CIL II, 5305; CPILC, 343 — Moraleja, Cáceres); **BO[VT]IVS** (CPILC, 411; CILCC I, 255 — Robledillo de Trujillo, Cáceres); **[B]OVTIO FLAV...** (CIL II, 5348; CPILC, 481 — Talavera la Vieja, Cáceres); **AMOENA BOVTI F.** (HAE, 1091; HEp, 13, 895 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **BOVTIVS CAMALI F.** (HAE, 1091; HEp, 13, 895 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **BOVTI PETOBI F.** (HEp, 1, 676 —Meimoa, Penamacor, Castelo Branco); **BOVTIO LVBAECI F. PATERNO** (HAE, 1144; HEp, 11, 663 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **CALAETVS BOVTI F.** (AE, 1967, 154 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **CAMIRA BOVTI F.** (AE, 1977, 356; HEp, 3, 471 — Capinha, Fundão, Castelo Branco); **CILO BOVTI F.** (HEp, 1, 671 — Escalos de Cima, Castelo Branco, Castelo Branco); **CASA BOVTI** (CIL II, 458; HEp, 2, 795 — Benespera, Guarda); **AB[--]IVO BOVTI F.** (HAE, 1345; HEp, 11, 427 Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **APANA BOVTI F.** (HAE, 1294; Maluquer 1956, 136, nº 69 — Hinojosa de Duero, Salamanca) **BOVTIVS [AM]BATI** (HAE, 1310 — Agallas, Salamanca); **BOVTI TRITI** (HAE, 1239 — Barruecopardo, Salamanca); **[B]OVTIVS** (Albertos 1977b, 37; Búa 2000, 468; HEp, 10, 456 — Béjar, Salamanca); **BOVTIO TANCINI F.** (HAE, 1317 — Salamanca); **BOVTIVS** (HAE, 1909; HEp, 10, 492 — Saldeana, Salamanca); **ERGVENA BOVTI F. AMMARICVM** (HAE, 1370 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **TRITIVS BOVTI** (HAE, 1364 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **BOVTII++** (HEp, 11, 419 — San Morales, Salamanca); **DOMITEVS BVAC[---] BOVTI F.** (HAE, 1369 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **VICANVS BOVTI F.** (CIL II, 5182 — Alcácer do Sal, Setúbal); **T(---) BOVTIVS SEGONTI F. CL.** (HAE, 517; Aquae Flaviae 2, 329 — Três Minas, Vila Pouca de Aguiar, Vila Real); **APINNAE BOVTI F.** (HEp, 3, 492 — Lamas de Moledo, Castro Daire, Viseu); **[BO]VTIVS CILI** (CIL II, 5252 — Lamego, Lamego, Viseu); **MAELO BOVTI F.** (CIL II, 408 — Viseu); **BOVTI[O]** (ERZamora, 141 — Villalazán, Zamora); **BOVTI** (HEp, 5, 892; CIRPZ, 215 — Villalazán, Zamora); **CAMALA BOVTI**

**F.** (ERZamora, 17 — Villalazán, Zamora); **TALAVS TONCETAMI F. BOVTIE(CVM)** (Albertos 1975a, 2. 212. nº 234 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **AMMAIA BOVTILA** (AE, 1915, 8; CPILC, 471; Albertos 1977b, 35; CILCC I, 340 — Talaván, Cáceres); **BOTILLA AMI F.** (CPILC, 367 — Pedroso de Acim, Cáceres).

¶OUTSIDE THE *BRIGA* ZONE. **[A]VRELIAE BOVTI[AE] FLACCI ATTESVCLO(N) F.** (CIL II, 5814; Elorza 1967, 14 — Laguardia, Álava); **OPPIA BOVTIA PATRVINI F.** (Castillo et al. 1981, 35 — Aguilar de Codés, Navarra); **FLAVOS BOVTI F. LVCE(NSIVM), MIL. COH. I** (CIL III, 9834 — Tepljú, Dalmatia; the man named was from Callaecia).

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. LEIA B–107; GPC s.n. *budd*; DGVB 91; Lambert 1994, 59; Delamarre 2003, 83f; Meid 2005, 188; Matasović 2009 s.n. *\*bowdi*.

**bᵒotᵒohar[** ⟩ꟾꓥꓹ꓾ꓥꓺꓸ (J.7.2)      Celtic compound personal name (Koch 2013a, 164; Kaufman 2015, 65, 123, 178, 188, 256–9, 491).

¶CONTEXT. **# bᵒotᵒohar[...]\*aa kᵃaŕner-ion ire #**      The positioning at the undamaged beginning of the epigraphic text favours interpreting **bᵒotᵒohar[** as the name of the deceased.

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Kaufman glosses the elements of the compound 'warning' |*boudo*-| (cf. Old Irish *robud* 'notice beforehand (generally of something unexpected or dangerous), a warning', Middle Welsh *rybuδ* 'warning, admonishment; advice, notice') and 'bestowal' |*haro*-|, cf. Old Irish *ernaid* 'bestows' < Proto-Celtic *\*(p)ar-na*-, Sanskrit *pṛṇā́ti* 'gives', Latin *parō* 'furnish, provide' < Proto-Indo-European √*perH₃*- 'bestow, give'. However, these words are rare, if not wholly absent, in Celtic onomastics. The comparanda suggests |*Bodo*-| as the more probable first element, perhaps from *\*Boduo*- with neutralization of /u̯/ before the round vowel, or /u̯/ not written as proposed above. Note that since etymological *\*ŏ* as a composition vowel tends to be reflected as **a** in the SW corpus, **bᵒotᵒo-** is more easily explained as the reflex of Proto-Celtic *\*Boduo*- rather than *\*Bodo*-, with composition vowel coloured by the preceding labial glide. The second element breaks off at the end. For **-har-** one looks for a source with Proto-Celtic *\*(p)ar*- or *\*(p)aCr*-, as the SW writing system could not accurately represent a stop at the beginning of a consonant cluster. Hispano-Celtic **BODOGENVS** 'born of, child of \*Bodu̯o-' suggests the possibility that **bᵒotᵒohar[** represents |*Bodu̯o-hatr*-| 'father of \*Bodu̯o-' or 'having \*Bodu̯o- as father'. The Proto-Celtic stem *\*(p)atr*- < Proto-Indo-European *\*pHₐtr*- : *\*pHₐtḗr* 'father' is the base of the Old Irish men's names *Aithirne* and *Aithre*, cf. Old Irish *aithre* 'paternal kindred', Middle Welsh *edryδ* 'property, inheritance' < *\*(p)atri̯o*-.

¶COMPARANDA. **BODOGENVS ABANI SAIBODAECI F.** (De Bernardo & Sanz 2009 — Padilla de Duero, Valladolid); Gaulish personal names *Boduos*, *Boduus*, *Bodua*, *Boduacius*, *Boduia*, *Boduisso*, *Boduo-genus*, *Boduo-gnatus*, *Maro-boduus*, probably *Bodorix*, Iberianized Gaulish **boduoŕiś** (B.7.34, 14 — Pech Mahó, Aude, France, 3rd century BC), &c., Ancient Brythonic BODVOC, BODOGNOVS, Old Irish *bodb*, later also *badb* 'crow, war goddess', Old Breton *Bodvvan*, &c., Old Welsh *Bodvg*.

**ea** ΛΟ, **ean** ⴹΛΟ      pronoun, feminine nominative singular or nominative-accusative neuter and feminine accusative singular |eā| and |eām ĕm|, relative (Koch 2013a, 165–6, cf. 176-7; broadly in agreement with Kaufman 2015, 119, as follows), or possibly anaphoric, cf. Celtiberian **ibos** (Torrijo del Campo, Teruel).

¶INTERPRETATION. Like Celtiberian, Tartessian has an inflected clause-introductory relative pronoun (i̯o-, i̯ā-) that marks gender, number, and case. Gallo-Brittonic and Goidelic have an invariant postposed relativizer *i̯o. The former situation is Proto-Celtic, the latter innovative. Because the segments in question are short (also singular masculine accusative and nominative-accusative neuter **ion** |i̯om|), there are relatively numerous possible examples in the *scriptio continua* that are difficult to confirm as the only or best explanation: e.g. **ea ro-n·bᵃaren naŕkᵉenii** (J.11.4) and **ea nira-kᵃaltᵉe…** (Mesas do Castelinho).

¶NOTE. **ea** and **ean** < *i̯ā and *i̯ām show regular SW **e** from Proto-Celtic *i̯ before *ã, a sound change that probably involves both vocalization of the semi-vowel and lowering. The same phonologized change occurred in Goidelic, 1,000 or more years later; however, an inherited phonetic tendency—common or widely occurring across dialectal varieties of Proto-Celtic—is possible.

If **ea ro-n·bᵃaren naŕkᵉenii** (J.11.4) is introduced by a subject relative, **ea** is probably neuter plural, as the following verbs both show plural marking, so something like '[these stones] that have carried him …' (?), cf. Kaufman (2015, 297) 'whom they have borne'. In the last three lines of the long MdC text **lii*eianiitᵃa** | **eanirakᵃaltᵉetᵃao** | **bᵉesaru[?n]an**, the third to last line remains opaque, but the segmentation of the last two lines as **ea nira-kᵃaltᵉe tᵃao-bᵉe saru[?n]an** is more straightforward, revealing another probable example of a segment **ea**, though difficult to construe without an interpretation of the preceding line. Kaufman (2015, 460) also segments **ea** here and allows as the first possibility that it is the relative pronoun.

**eertᵃaune** ΟⴹⵔΛ𐤗ꟼΟΟ (J.55.1), possibly recurring in the fragmentary **ertᵃau[** ]ⴹΛ𐤗ꟼΟ (J.54.1)      SW equivalent of Celtiberian **uertaunei** (K.1.1 — Botorrita, Zaragoza) (Ballester 2004b, 119; 2012, 15; Koch 2013a, 117, 167; Woudhuizen 2014/15, 325; Kaufman 2015, 65, 419–21, 424–5, 503).

¶CONTEXTS. J.55.1 is the better preserved text, with relatively clear-cut word divisions: # ṟo- kᵒolio̲n eertᵃaune tᵃarielnon liŕniene naŕkᵉenai #. As well as a form of the formula word **naŕkᵉenai** in its usual closing position, there is recurrent prefix ṟo-. (J.54.1) with ]*ikᵉei**[ ]*uosor ertᵃau[, from Capote, Badajoz, is more difficult and damaged, a reused Late Bronze Age warrior stela with prominent images of a chariot and an oversize lyre, which are upside-down from the perspective of inscription.

¶COMPARANDA. Celtiberian **nekue uertaunei litom nekue taunei litom nekue masnai tizaunei litom soz auku** (K.1.1, A2 — Botorrita; cf. Jordán 2007, 796).

¶INTERPRETATIONS. **eertᵃaune** is significant evidence for the classification question, because Celtiberian **uertaunei** is almost surely not a name, but generally interpreted as the dative singular of an infinitive verb (cf. MLH IV, 529), thus implying that the matrix language of the SW corpus, and not just the language of its name stock, is closely related to Celtiberian.      ¶ My earlier proposal, followed by Kaufman, derives **eertᵃaune** from Proto-Celtic √u̯ert- 'turn, exchange' (Welsh *gwerthu* 'sell'; Rix 2001, 691–2), which is possible, thus |u̯ertaunei| or |u̯ertaunē|. However, the Celtiberian context above suggests a simplex **taunei** and two compounds of the same verb, so possibly the well attested Proto-Indo-European primary verbs √deH₃- 'give' or √dheH₁- 'place' (cf. Fortson 2009, 71), thus parallel infinitives of Proto-Celtic *\*u(p)er-dā-*, *\*dā-*, and *\*dī-dā-* 'to give over/up ... to give ... to give away' or similar, so that **eertᵃaune** = |u̯er-dāunei| (cf. Woudhuizen 2014/15, 325).      ¶ In Nahm's interpretation, **naŕkᵉenai** is an infinitive. If **eertᵃaune** is likewise, **tᵃarielnon** is possibly the name of the deceased and the logical subject, in the accusative, of both infinitives, so that # **ro-kᵒoli̯on eertᵃaune tᵃarielnon liŕniene naŕkᵉenai** # would mean something like 'they have announced (< made heard) that *Tariel(a)nos has given over [=?died]  ... [and] lain down [here]', cf. Cisalpine TARIOLENVS (CIL V no. 1395 — Aquileia).

**ekᵘuŕine** ⵰⵴ⵝⵣⴹ⵰ (J.4.1)     'Horse-Queen' |*Eku-rīgₐnei*|, cf. numerous Gallo-Roman dedications to EPONA REGINA (Koch 2013a, 168–9; Kaufman 2015, 60, 67, 70–1, 188, 229, 232–4, 492; Nahm 2015).

¶CONTEXT. The form occurs on a stone now lost, but for which the text is clear from a surviving photograph: # **?ibᵒoi ion asune uarbᵃan ekᵘuŕine obᵃar bᵃara tᵃa oretᵒo** #. The same site produced a carved stone of the same thickness and geological fabric (J.4.2) with a fragmentary line of SW signs accompanied by the relief image of a woman, viewed from the back, wearing what appears to be an archaic Greek helmet and riding a large horse side-saddle.

¶INTERPRETATION. See **asune** above.

¶NOTE. The transcription system proposed by Rodríguez-Ramos (2000) and Ferrer (2016) would yield **ebᵘuŕine**, which would resemble a Celtic personal name, see comparanda at **bᵃastᵉebᵘuŕoi** above.

¶COMPARANDA. (A) *\*ekᵘo-* 'horse' < Proto-Indo-European *\*H₁ek̂u̯o-*. Galatian men's names Ἐπορηδοριξ (cf. Middle Welsh *ebrwyδ* 'swift') Ἐποσογνατος, Ἐπαδοριξ, woman's name Ἐπονη (Freeman 2001, 54–5); Gaulish coin legend EIQITIVICO (Allen & Nash 1980, 196) ?'horseback fighter', month name EQVOS (Coligny Calendar), divine name *Epona* (many attestations); Ogam EQODD[-- (CIIC no. 186 — Cill Fhionntain / Kilfountain, Co. Kerry); VEQOANAI MAQI EQOD[-- (CIIC no. 129; McManus 1991, 128 — Cooldorragha, Co. Cork); Old Irish *ech*; Ancient Brythonic coin legends EPATI[ for *Epaticcos* (Van Arsdell 1989, 179–82), COMM.F.EPILLV. 'Epillos son of Commios' (Van Arsdell 1989, 144); Middle Welsh *ebawl* 'foal'; Old Breton *eb* 'horse', *ebọl* 'foal', Middle Breton *ebeul*; OC *ebọl* gl. 'pullus'; Luvian *assu-*; Sanskrit *áśva-*; Latin *equus*; Venetic

acc. sg. EKVON, EKVOPETARIS 'of a horse-rider'; Greek ἵππος; OE *eoh*; Lithuanian *asvá* 'mare'; Tocharian B *yakwe.*

¶CELTIBERIAN REGION. Coin legends **ekualakos**, **ekualaku**, **ekualakom** (A.63; Jordán 2004 nos. SP.M.32, SP.M.54, SP.M.45) show an otherwise unknown group name, an adjectival formation with the same suffixed base as Middle Welsh *ebawl* < *\*ekᵘālo-*, similarly western **EQVALES** and **EQVALIVS** below, possible divine name **EQVEISVIQVI** (K.3.3 — Peñalba de Villastar, Teruel).

¶CENTRAL REGION. **DOBITERVS CABVRONIQ(VM) EQVAESI F.** (AE, 1914, 13; ERAv, 40 — Ávila).

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. **EQVALES LADRONI F.** (FE, 368 — Vilar de Perdizes, Montalegre, Vila Real); **EQVALIVS PECVNI**? (HEp, 3, 134 — Robledillo de Trujillo, Cáceres); **SEXSTO EQVAESI** (HAE, 899; ERZamora, 50; CIRPZ, 277 — Villalcampo, Zamora); **ARCIVS EPEICI F. BRACARVS** (HAE, 992; HEp, 11, 647; HEp, 13, 647 — Vila da Feira, Aveiro). It is noteworthy that the last example shows two divergent treatments of Proto-Celtic *\*kᵘ* in the reflexes of **\*arkᵘi̯os** and **\*ekᵘikos**. It is possible that the names reflect more than one indigenous Indo-European language, which differ on this point. However, in both examples *\*kᵘ* has been eliminated, which implies a common sound system lacking this phoneme. It is therefore possible that the dual reflexes have a historical basis within a single dialect. Such possibilities include the following two. (1) Proto-Indo-European *\*kᵘ* (as in 'bow and/or arrow') and *\*k̂u̯* (as in 'horse') did not fall together in this dialect and that the first gave /k/ and the second /p/. (2) More probably, *\*/(-)kᵘi̯-/* became *\*/(-)ki̯-/*, by assimilation of the (labio)velar to the following palatal glide, before the operation of *\*kᵘ > \*p* in other environments.

¶OUTSIDE THE *BRIGA* ZONE. **CALAETVS EQVESI F.** (CIL II, 2968 — Oteiza, Navarra).

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. IdgEW 301; GPC s.n. *ebol;* DGVB 154; EIEC 98, 274; Delamarre 2003, 163ff; MLH V.l, 104f, Wodtko et al. 2008, 230–3; Matasović 2009 s.n. *\*ekwo-.*

¶COMPARANDA. (B) *\*rīgₐnī* 'queen'. *\*H₃rēĝniH₂* > Sanskrit *rājñī* 'queen', Gaulish *rigani*, Cisalpine genitive **rikanas**, Old Irish *rígain*. Welsh *Rhiannon* and ΡΙΓΑΝΤΙΚ on Gaulish coin legends point to the existence of a form *\*rīgant-* in both Gaulish and Ancient Brythonic.

¶INTERPRETATION. Nominative-accusative dual or dative singular (Koch), locative singular (Kaufman).    ¶ Hamp (*apud* Kaufman 2015) proposes SW **ekᵘu-** as an inherited composition form, Proto-Indo-European *\*H₁ek̂u-*, rather than *\*H₁ek̂u̯o-s* with a subsequent sound change.    ¶ **-ŕine** 'queen' does not necessarily imly that Proto-Celtic *\*g* had been lost by phonetic change in this context. Rather, the overall orthographic pattern of the corpus implies that the reflexes of Proto-Indo-European *\*n̥* were written as SW **n** rather than **an**, where this remained possible within phonotactic constraints. Therefore, |ₐn| was represented as a single segment **n** and |rīgₐnei| was not represented as a trisyllable **\*\*ŕikᵃane**; the velar stop could not be shown before |ₐn| written **n** and therefore was simply not written.    ¶ The *Rhiannon* of the Welsh Mabinogi has often been seen as the functional equivalent of Epona in the light of her numerous equine associations. The accompanying image on stone J.4.2 is comparable to representations of Epona of the Roman Period. In the Roman

dedications, the recurrent collocation EPONAE REGINAE 'to queen Epona [Horse Goddess]' (Jufer & Luginbühl 2001, 39–40) suggests that Eponā and the equestrian Rhiannon < *Rīgantonā might both continue the function and myth of an earlier *Eku-rīgₐnī.

**——elu-** ꟼꓵꓳ (J.7.6)     possibly Proto-Celtic *(p)elu-* 'many' < Proto-Indo-European *pélH₁us* 'much' (Koch 2013a, 169–70; Kaufman 2015, 75, 266–7, 308, 390, 493) hardly certain.

¶CONTEXT. There is little basis for suggesting word divisions in this portion of the inscription:  **:elurear**[ , which is worn and fragmentary.

¶COMPARANDA. Celtiberian **elu** (K.1.3, II–5, III–39), family name **elokum** (K.1.3, III–28; see MLH V.1, 112), but these don't necessarily show *-u-* as part of the stem; Gaulish personal names *Eluontiu*, *Eluadius*, *Eluo-rix*, group names *Elu-sates*, *Helvetii*, *Helve-cones* (a subtribe of the Lugii in central Europe), Old Irish *il-* 'many, poly-', Welsh *elw-* 'profit, gain'.

¶INTERPRETATION. If this etymology is correct, SW **elu-** would show characteristically Celtic loss of Proto-Indo-European *p-*.

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. GPC s.n. *elw*; Delamarre 2003, 162.

**Gargoris**     'Savage king', the fitting name of the primeval and murderous ruler of the *saltus Tartessiorum* in the myth of cultural origins preserved in Justin's epitome of the Philippic Histories of Trogus Pompeius (44.4; for a full text and translation of the tale, see Freeman 2010, 316–18) < Proto-Celtic *gargo-* 'rough, savage' + *rīχs* 'king' (Villar 2004, 265; Koch 2013a, 173–4; Kaufman 2015, 64, 68–9, 175, 178, 494).

¶COMPARANDA. ¶ First element, cf. Old Irish *garg* 'fierce, savage' and the Gallo-Roman place-name *Gargarius* (Delamarre 2003, 175–6), also the woman's name *Gargenna/Gergenna* from Abertura, Cáceres (Luján 2007, 256), Greek γοργός 'terrible, frightful' Proto-Indo-European *garĝos* 'frightening, threatening'. ¶ Second element, note in the SW corpus: **aibᵘuris**[ (J.3.1) and **ariariśe** (J.10.1) = **ariaris-se** can be interpreted as Celtic *rīχs* names. -RIX sometimes spelled -RIXS was common in Gaulish and Ancient Brythonic personal names with plural occurring in Gaulish group names in *-rīges*, e.g. *Catu-rīges*, *Bitu-rīges*; cf. Old Irish *rí*, Latin *rēx*, Sanskrit *rā́j-* < Proto-Indo-European *H₃rḗg-s* 'ruler, king'.

**hatᵃaneatᵉe** ꓱ𐌀ꓫ𐌀ꓬꓳ𐌀ꓧꓳ (J.12.1) |*hataneatei*|     'to the winged one' dative singular < *(p)atanẖatei* (Koch 2013a, 173; Kaufman 2015, 20, 62, 69–70, 74, 124, 306, 309–313, 493) < Proto-Indo-European *ptẖ-* : *pet(e)r-* 'wing, feather', with characteristically Celtic loss of Proto-Indo-European *p*, and the Celtic agent suffix *-i̯atis.*

**hatᵃaneaᵗᵉe      iibᵃa̱n      (?)ibᵒo-i̱ion** or **(?)ibᵒoni̱on**

¶CONTEXT. # **iru alkᵘu sie̱: naŕkᵉentⁱi mubᵃa tᵉe-ro-bᵃare hatᵃaneatᵉe** #     With an accompanying image of a warrior as part of the same composition and showing all signs of being carved at the same time. He is shown with short throwing spears in each hand, extending outward from his body. If **hatᵃaneatᵉe** relates to this image, the meaning 'winged' makes sense, but 'feather' or 'bird' would not. Thus, this example arguably shows the semantic development found in Brythonic, where the reflexes of Proto-Celtic *(p)atan-* mean specifically 'wing', rather than the more general 'wing, feather, bird' found in other Indo-European cognates.

¶COMPARANDA. Old Breton *attanǫc* 'winged creature', plural *atanǫcion*, Old Welsh *hataned* 'wings', Early Welsh *edein*, plural *adaneδ* 'wings', *atar* 'birds', singular *eterınn*; Old Irish *én* 'bird'; the reading of the second word of Celtiberian **VORAMOS E̱DNOVM** ?'highest of birds' is doubtful (K.3.7 — Peñalba de Villastar, Teruel); Latin *penna* 'feather'; OHG *fedara* 'feather', English *feather*; Greek πτερόν 'wing'; Hittite *pittar*, *pattar* 'wing'; Sanskrit *pátra-* 'wing (of a bird), feather', Avestan *patarə-ta-* 'winged'.

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. LEIA A-53f.; Mallory & Adams 2006, 181; de Vaan 2008 s.n. *penna*; Matasović 2009 s.n. *\*fatar.*

## **iibᵃa̱n** ᚋᚐᚌᚋᚋ or **iibᵃau̱** ᚋᚐᚌᚋᚋ (J.5.1).

¶CONTEXT. # **sabᵒoi : istᵃa̱|ibᵒo rinoe̱bᵒo |anakᵉenaḵᵉ:e|ibᵒo iibᵃa̱n bᵃare̱ii** #

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Preferring the reading **iibᵃa̱n**, Kaufman (2015, 75, 90, 121, 203–5, 240–5, 493) interprets this form as 'they (may) drink', 3rd plural subjunctive. This is possible. Although Kaufman's overall interpretation of this text is different, his proposal for this word would suit the proposal in Koch 2013a (48–50), assuming that the function concerns a ritual that is non-funerary, at least not directly: |*samoi istVbo rīgₐnVbo an(d)agenākVbo ibãnt bāre-i̱i*| 'in the summer, may they drink to these indwelling queens [i.e. goddesses]…'

¶COMPARANDA. Old Irish *ibid*, *·ib* 'drinks', Middle Welsh *yf* 'drinks', Old Welsh 1st pl. *iben*, Middle Breton *eu* 'drinks', Gaulish 2nd plural IBETIS, possibly also the Gaulish theonym IBOSVS (CIL XIII 1370), Sanskrit *píbati* 'drinks', Old Church Slavonic *piti*, Latin *bibō* 'I drink' < Proto-Indo-European *\*peH₃(i)-* 'drink'.

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. IdgEW 839f; GPC s.n. *yfaf*; LIV 462f; L&P 373, RIG II.2, 349f; Delamarre 2003, 187; Mallory & Adams 2006, 256; Matasović 2009 s.n. *\*fibo-.*

## ——(?)iḇᵒo-i̱ion ᚋᚈᚋᚋᚈ≣ᚋʃ or (?)iḇᵒoni̱on (J.4.1)     personal pronoun

dative/ablative plural + relative |*ibo-i̱om*| (Koch 2013a, 44, 175, 176–7; Kaufman 2015, 55, 146, 229, 495, 504).

¶CONTEXT. # **?iḇᵒo̱i ion asune uarbᵃan ekᵘuŕi̱ne obᵃar bᵃara*******tᵃa oretᵒo** #

The sign of uncertain value at the beginning could alternatively belong to the end of the text, which forms a complete circuit. It is possible that that unusual sign merely

marks the beginning and ending of the text and has no phonetic value, though this would be a unique example for such a practice. A further uncertainty in the reading is whether the fifth sign is **i** ⋎ or **n** ⋎. A range of segmentations and grammatical analyses are possible, including **(?)ibᵒo iion** with the first element resembling a dative/ablative plural.

¶INTERPRETATION. **ibo** < Proto-Celtic *\*i̯i̯obos* per Kaufman. He glosses **-iion** 'when', but formally it suits the accusative singular masculine form of the relative pronoun, Proto-Celtic *\*i̯om*. In the present example **-iion** would be functioning as an enclitic, like the Gaulish uninflected *i̯o*, e.g. DVGIIONTIIO 'who serve' (3rd plural). Other possible examples in the SW corpus are **bᵃarua-ion** ⟨ΛΡΗΛ⋎‡⋏ (J.7.9) and **kᵃaŕner-ion** (J.7.2), possibly recurring in **kᵃa[ŕn]ir-ion** (J.1.3).

¶COMPARANDA. Cf. Celtiberian **ibos** (Torrijo del Campo, Teruel), relative **iom**, and the Gaulish personal pronouns of the Larzac inscription: 3rd feminine genitive plural *eianom*, 3rd singular nominative feminine *eia*, 3rd plural feminine instrumental plural *eiabi*, possibly genitive singular *esias* (Delamarre 2003, 161).

**ion**    This sequence of three signs occurs in contexts where it might stand for the relative pronoun accusative singular |i̯om| 'that, which, whom'. See **ibᵒoiion** (J.4.1) above.

**-ir** ٩⋎ (J.11.3), **-iir** ٩⋎⋎ (J.22.1) and probable case forms of the same **iru** ⼍٩⋎ (J.7.9, J.12.1, J.23.1) and **ire** ○٩⋎ (J.7.2, J.52.1) and as the second element of the compounds **ooŕoir** ٩⋎‡⋏‡‡ (J.19.2) and case form of the preceding **ooŕoire** ○٩⋎‡⋏‡‡ (J.19.1), **soloir** ٩⋎‡↑‡‡ (J.11.3), **uarbᵒoiir** ٩⋎⋎‡目٩Λ�५ (J.22.1), and **linbᵒoire** (J.11.2) in which the second element is a case form, < Proto-Celtic *\*u̯iros* 'man hero' (nom. sg.) < Proto-Indo-European *\*u̯iHrós* (Koch 2013a, 177–80; Kaufman 2015, 21–2, 61, 64–8, 125, 134, 187, 252, 275, 278, 293, 306, 375–8, 385–90, 491, 498, 501–4).

¶NOTE 1. The signs **ire** also occur on a fragment of a vessel of the 5th or 4th century BC from Córdoba (De Hoz 1989, 555), which may be coincidental.

¶INTERPRETATION. Kaufman and I agree that the forms represented as **-(i)ir** with no case ending are to be understood as the nominative singular with loss of final *\*-os*, as occurred, independently, in Latin. As in Latin, this was not a general sound law, but a special development in this high-frequency word. The analogy of the near synonym *r*-stem **\*nir** (< Proto-Indo-European nom. sg. *\*H₂nḗr* 'man, chief man, hero, &c.') was a possible factor, and Celtiberian **kar** 'friendship agreement' may show a similar development. As we do not have examples from the indigenous languages of the western Peninsula of reflexes of nominative singular *\*u̯iros* as a common noun or as the second element of a compound, we do not know if this sound change was limited to SW Celtic of had spread more generally across the region.

I interpret the form **iru** as probably nominative-accusative dual (i.e. in a co-ordinative or *dvandva* compound, thus **iru≡alkᵘu** would be literally 'the hero and Alkos', cf. Vedic *mitrā́≡varuṇā́* 'Mitra and Varuna', a being in two aspects, though logically and factually singular 'the hero Alkos'), less probably dative singular (from earlier *\*u̯irūi* or representing an unchanged |u̯irūi|). However, as mentioned above (s.n. **alkᵘu**), these could be represent two nominative singular *n*-stem names: *U̯irū* (genitive *U̯ironos*) and *Alkū* (genitive *Alkonos*). Kaufman proposes that **iru** is accusative singular or vocative plural. I propose that **(i)ire** represents nominative plural |u̯irē| < *\*u̯iroi* with simplification of the diphthong (see Koch 2011, §94). Kaufman interprets **ire** as vocative (*\*u̯ire*), instrumental, or locative (*\*u̯irei*) singular.

In Kaufman's view Proto-Celtic *\*u̯-* was simply lost in initial position in Tartessian, in keeping with a general view that the language had undergone extensive phonological change in its evolution from Proto-Celtic. As explained above, this conclusion may be unnecessary if we accept (with Kaufman) that SW Celtic had taken over a writing system from a language similar phonologically to Iberian and Palaeo-Basque/Aquitanian, i.e. a language lacking the phoneme /u̯/ and thus any sign for [w]. Therefore, the spellings **(i)ir(-)** could represent |u̯ir-| with /u̯-/ not written or, alternatively, |i̯ir-| or |u̯´ir|, in which the glide was palatalized before a front vowel (cf. Koch 2011, §§97.1–3).

¶COMPARANDA. Gaulish personal names *Uirocantus*, *Uirodu*, *Uirolo*, *Uiromarus*, *Uironianus*, *Uironicui*, *Uironus*, *Uirotalus*, *Uirotius*, *Uirotouta*, *Uirotus*, *Uirotutus*, *Uoretouirius*, divine names *Uirodactis*, *Uiroddis*, *Uirotuti*, *Uirotutis*, place-names *Uirodunum*, *Uirolouicium*, *Uiromagus*, *Uirouiacus*, group name *Uiromandui*; Old Irish *fer*, personal names *Fergnae ~ Feradach*, *Ferchar*, *Fergal*, and the extremely common *Fergus* (~ Pictish *Uurguist*); Scottish Gaelic *fear*; Early Medieval Brythonic *Uirgnov*, Old Welsh *gυυr*, *gυr*, personal names *Gυrcant*, *Gυrgυıstıl*, *Gυrhaual*, *Gυronυı*, *Gυrgυst* (~ *Fergus*), Middle Welsh *gwr*, Old Breton personal names *Catυυr < \*Katu-u̯iros*, *Uυrgost* (~ *Fergus*), *Gυrυυoret,* Middle Breton *gour*; OC *gυr* gl. 'uir', personal names *Wυrlowen*, *Wυrgūstεl*, *Wυrcant*, *Gυrυ̯aret*, MC *gour*; Sanskrit *vīrá-* 'man, hero'*;* Avestan *vīra-*; Latin *uir*; Umbrian *uiro*; Lithuanian *výras* 'man, husband'; Gothic *wair* 'man'; Tocharian A *wir* 'youthful, young, fresh'.

¶CELTIBERIAN REGION. **TVROS CAROQVM VIROS VERAMOS** (MLH IV, K.3.18; HEp, 9, 557 — Peñalba de Villastar, Teruel); **AIA ORIGENA VIRONI F.** (CIL II, 6298 — Olleros de Pisuerga, Palencia; the Old Welsh personal names as spelled *Gυruan* and *Gυorgonυı* [gᵂυrwoˈnυːɪ] imply that these reflect the Proto-Indo-European compound *\*u̯iHₓro-gᵘhono-* 'man-slaying' > 'hero' ~ Avestan *vīra-gan-*, rather than the suffixed Proto-Celtic *\*u̯irono-* [see Koch 1992b]). ¶ The divine name **VVROVIO** (AE, 1976, 294 — Barcina de los Montes, Burgos) possibly belongs here, in which case it shows a development of [wir-] > [wυr-] as in Brythonic, cf. Welsh *gwryw* 'male'. ¶ A kindred name that occurs several times in the name list of Botorrita III is possibly based on *\*u̯iro-* 'man': **ultinos amakue uiriaskum** (K.1.3, III-55 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **antiokos uiriaskum melm** (K.1.3, III-9 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **anu uiriaskum** (K.1.3, IV-15 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **aureiaku tuate+reskue uiriaskum** (K.1.3, II-39–40 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **basaku uiriaskum** (K.1.3, II-32 — Botorrita, Zaragoza);

**belsu uiriaskum** (K.1.3, I-21 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **bubilibor uiriaskum** (K.1.3, IV-22 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **elku suolakue tirtanikum uiriaskum mel** (K.1.3, III-2–3 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **elkuanos kunikum launikue uiriaskum** (K.1.3, II-27–8 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **elu uiriaskum launiku[e ---]** (K.1.3, II-5 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **iunsti+[.] uiriaskum** (K.1.3, I-49 —Botorrita, Zaragoza); **kari uiriaskum** (K.1.3, III-59 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **melmanios uiriaskum** (K.1.3, I-27 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **mizuku : retukenos : tirtanos munikakue : uiriaskum** (K.1.3, I-52–3 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **bini rusku uiriaskum kentiskue** (K.1.3, I-39 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **sekontios uiriaskum** (K.1.3, III-35 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **sekonzos uiriaskum me** (K.1.3, I-22 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **stena uiriaskum** (K.1.3, III-19 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **sura uiriaskum mel** (K.1.3, I-15 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **tais uiriaskum** (K.1.3, II-31 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **tioken+s uiriaskum** (K.1.3, I-50 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **tiriu uiriaskum** (K.1.3, III-31 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **tirtanos kentiskue loukaniko uiriaskum** (K.1.3, II-2-3 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **toloku uiriaskum** (K.1.3, III-20 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **turaios litanokum kurmilokum launikue uiriaskum** (K.1.3, III 57–8 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **ultia uiriaskum mel** (K.1.3, I-8 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **ultinos amakue uiriaskum** (K.1.3, III-55 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **usizu uiriaskum** (K.1.3, IV-23 — Botorrita, Zaragoza).

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. **AMAENIA VIRONI F. TRITECV(M)** (HAE, 1340 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **TRITIANVS VIRONI SERV.** (AE, 1983, 512 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **VIRONVS TOVTONI F.** (HAE, 1344 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **VIRON(VS)** (HEp, 13, 544 — Hinojosa de Duero, Salamanca); **BLOENAE VIRONI** (CIL II, 5654; ERRBragança, 32 — Castro de Avelãs, Bragança, Bragança); **CASIA VIRONI F.** (HAE, 784; CPILC, 800 — Valdelacasa del Tajo, Cáceres); **VIRONO CAELENI F.** (AE, 1987, 564 a; ERRBragança, 86 — Nogueira, Bragança, Bragança); **ARREINO VIRONI[.]** (FE, 385; HEp, 11, 143 — Zarza de Granadilla, Cáceres); **VIRONO SEGISAMI F. VA(DINIENSI)** (CIL II, 5713; ERPL, 396 — Villapadierna, León); **VIRONO TAVR[IN]O(-) DOIDERI F. VAD(INIENSI)** (CIL II, 5720; HEp, 1, 382; ERPL, 397 — Armada, León); **VIRONO TA[--- F.]** (ERZamora, 121; CIRPZ, 318 — Villardiegua de la Ribera, Zamora); **VIRONO LA[..]VI F(ILIO)** (ERZamora, 122; HEp, 5, 908; HEp, 6, 997; HEp, 18, 496 — Villardiegua de la Ribera, Zamora); **M. VIRONIVS SEM[---] (?)** (CIL II2/7, 856 — Capilla, Badajoz); **CILLII VIRONIGII** (CIL II, 5724; ERPL, 371 — Utrero, León); **C. VIRIACI[VS] VETTO** (CIL II, 601 — Mérida, Badajoz); **OCVLATIO CANGILI F. SEGISAMO GENTE VIROMENIGORVM** (CIL II, 5741; ERAsturias, 31 — Villamayor, Piloña, Asturias); **TONGIVS VIROTI** (CPILC, 221; HEp, 8, 77 — Coria, Cáceres); **TVROLIVS VIROTI F.** (HAE, 772; CPILC, 10 = CPILC, 794 — Abertura, Cáceres); **ARANTA VIRANI [F.]** (AE, 1969–70, 239; Encarnação 1986, 627 — São Salvador de Aramenha, Marvão, Portalegre).

¶OUTSIDE THE *BRIGA* ZONE. **IVNIA AMBATA VIRO[NI] F.** (CIL II, 5827; Castillo et al. 1981, 45 — Gastiáin, Navarra).

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. IdgEW 1177; GPC s.n. *gŵr*; DGVB 201; EIEC 355, 548; LHEB 337; Delamarre 2003, 32f; MLH V.l, 452f; de Vaan 2008 s.n. *vir*; Matasović 2009 s.n. *\*wiro-*.

¶NOTE 2. Cf. also the Celtiberian collocation **uiroku konikum** 'Uirokū of the kindred descended from \*Kū "Hound"' < Proto-Celtic \**u̯iro-kū*, genitive \**u̯iro-kunos* 'hound-man, male hound/wolf, werewolf'.

¶COMPARANDA. Old Irish personal name *Ferchú*; Old Welsh *Gʋʋrci*, *Gʋrci*, and *Gʋrcon* (from an oblique case); Old Breton *Gʋrki*; OC *Wʋrci* and *Wʋrcon* (from an oblique case). As a transparent compound of two common words, Gaelic *Ferchú* and Brythonic *Wʋrci* resisted the apocope that affected both Insular Neo-Celtic languages. It is possible that the Ancient Brythonic name for the Roman town of Wroxeter, Shropshire, is derived from this personal or divine name: Οὐιροκονιον (Ptolemy II, 3.11), spellings in Roman letters include *Uiroconiorum* and *Uiriconio* (Rivet & Smith 1979, 505).

¶CELTIBERIAN REGION. **turos retukenos statulu mezukenos koitina tueizu uiroku munika koitu koitina** (K.1.3, I-2-6 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **uiroku turumokum** (K.1.3, I-51 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **uiroku konikum statulos** (K.1.3, III-26 — Botorrita, Zaragoza).

**iru alkᵘu** ᓑ⊬1Λ⊣ᓇᛉ (J.12.1)    'man, hero' and 'Alkos' < Proto-Celtic *\*u̯iro-* + *\*Alko-*, **iru( )arbᵘui** ᛉᓑᛞ1Λ⊣ᓇᛉ (J.23.1)    'man, hero' and 'highest' < Proto-Celtic *\*u̯iro-* + *\*u(p)erₐmo-*, cf. Celtiberian **VIROS VERAMOS** (K.3.18 — Peñalba de Villastar, elements recurring, reversed, in the compound **uarbᵒoiir** (J.22.1)) (Koch 2013a, 178–80; Kaufman 2015, 305–9, 389–91).

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Although agreeing on the Celtic words involved, Kaufman and I construe the case inflexion and syntax differently. For both, I favour co-ordinative (*dvandva*) compounds, with both members as *o*-stems, inflected in nominative-accusative dual (with |-ū| < Later Proto-Indo-European < *\*-ō*): **iru≡alkᵘu** 'the man/hero ⟨and⟩ Alkos', **iru≡{u}arbu i-** |u̯irū≡u.arₐmū| 'the man/hero ⟨and⟩ the highest one'. To judge from the comparative Celtic evidence, this construction would already have been archaic in Proto-Celtic. I think this usage was favoured by the elevated style of the funerary statements and also as a device of verbal art for the epigraphers in that its grammatical ambiguity allowed that the deceased when named in the nominative-accusative dual along with the SW epigraphic formula could be construed as either the object of **tᵉe·ro·bᵃare** '[this grave] has carried away' and/or the subject of **(bᵃa·)naŕkᵉentⁱi** 'so they now lie below here'.  ¶ Kaufman takes **iru alkᵘu** as two accusatives-instrumentals singular in case agreement, translating 'with the man Alkos'. He segments the second as **ir uarbᵘui** 'man for the uppermost' (nominative singluar + dative singular).

¶See also the entries for **alkᵘu,-ir -iir**, **uar(n)bᵃan**, **uarbᵒoiir**.

**iśiinkᵒolobᵒo** (J.1.1),  see ——**kᵃakⁱiśiinkᵒolobᵒo**.

**isṯᵃa|ibᵒo** ←✕⧣ᛉ│→ᛘ日⧺ (J.5.1)    demonstrative (Koch 2013a, 180; Woudhuizen 2014/15, 323), **iśtᵘ[u** ⌈Ч⌉△ᛘᛉ (J.7.4) demonstrative (Koch 2013a, 180; Kaufman 2015, 138, 261, 495)

¶COMPARANDA. Celtiberian **stam**, also **iste** (for which there are various inter-

pretations, see MLH IV, 506), Lepontic IŚOS, Latin *iste*, *ista*, *istud*.

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Woudhuizen segments the first as endingless feminine **ista**. I propose that it is the first of three datives/ablatives plural in the sequence **isṯᵃₐ|ibᵒo rinoe̱bᵒo |anakᵉenaḵᵉ:e|ibᵒo** |*istVbo rīgₐnVbo an(d)agenākVbo*| 'to these indwelling queens'.


## ——kᵃakⁱiśiinkᵒolobᵒo ‡□‡1‡Ⴟ ᲧᲧ ᲧM ᲧᲝᲝᲝᲝᲝᲝ (J.1.1)  'every, everyone'

< Proto-Celtic *\*kᵘākᵘo-* < * *\*kᵘōkᵘo-* + dative-ablative plural noun (Koch 2013a, 181; Kaufman 2015, 198–9, 496; Nahm 2015) 'heroic one' < 'one who strides out' Proto-Celtic *\*eχs-kingo-lo-* (Koch 2013a, 181; Nahm 2015).

¶CONTEXT. **#lokᵒobᵒoniirabᵒotᵒoaŕaiaikᵃaltᵉelokᵒonanenaŕkᵉekᵃakⁱiśiinkᵒolobᵒo ii tᵉe-ro-bᵃare (bᵉ)e tᵉasiioonii #**

¶INTERPRETATION. As a dative-ablative plural **kᵃakⁱiśiinkᵒolobᵒo** can be seen as referring back to, or is at least as being parallel to, the first two words **lokᵒobᵒo niirabᵒo**. The basic sense of PC *\*eχskingos* is 'hero, champion', thus a plausible amplification to a list commencing with gods and chief men, a probable meaning of **lokᵒobᵒo niirabᵒo**; cf. Nahm **kᵃakⁱiśiinkᵒolobᵒo** 'for all warriors'.    ¶ An alternative segmentation as **kᵃakⁱiśiin kᵒolobᵒo** may be considered as per Kaufman (2015, 197). With such a word division, the first part would have some inexact Iberian parallels. The latter, again a dative/ablative plural, might be related to **kᵒoli̱on** (J.55.1) and/or ] **ḵᵒoloion** (Monte Novo do Castelinho).

¶COMPARANDA. (A) **kᵃakⁱi-**: Gaulish inflected forms *papon*, *papi*, *pape*, *papu*, Old Irish *cách*, proclitic *cach*, Old Welsh *pavp*, proclitic *pop*, Old Breton *pǫp*. (B) **iśiinkᵒolobᵒo**: Gaulish personal name ΕΣΚΕΓΓΟΛΑΤΙ (genitive, Les Pennes-Mirabeau), also ESCENCOLATIS in Roman script (Raybould & Sims-Williams 2007, 59 — Aubagne) for EXCINGOLATIS */eχskiŋgolatis/*, Iberianized Gaulish **eśkinke** (B.1.268, MLH II, 47) < */eχskiŋgos/*, EXCINGOMARVS (Raybould & Sims-Williams 2007, 59), feminine dative ΕΣΚΕΓΓΑΙ */e(χ)skiŋgāi/* (Gargas). The evidence of the Hispano-Celtic languages suggests that there was a deep-seated tendency to lose χ.


## kᵃaltᵉe ○Ξ1ΛΛ (J.1.1), nira-kᵃaltᵉe ○Ξ1ΛΛΑᲝᲧᲧ (MdC).

¶INTERPRETATIONS (1). Woudhuizen (2014/15, 314) adopts one of the proposals allowed by Koch (2010, 188; 2013a, 182): SW **kᵃaltᵉe** as a group name related to Κελτοί, Γαλάται, &c. In favour of this possibility, it should be remembered that Herodotus did say that the Κελτοί, implicitly in his own time, the mid 5th century BC, lived in this area, i.e. 'beyond the Pillars of Hercules and neighbouring the Κυνητες, the westernmost people of Europe'; the latter known from other sources to have been located in what is now the Algarve. Writers of the Roman Period name peoples in the south-western and north-western Iberian Peninsula as belonging to the Κελτικοί *Celtici*. For **kᵃaltᵉe** to be the equivalent of both Κελτοί and Γαλάται would

be at least possible if the latter two were variant forms of single name (Ballester 2002; cf. Sims-Williams 1998, 22). However, their equivalence is not proven (see, e.g., McCone 2006, who, however, suggests that another Latin synonym *Gallus* comes immediately from Etruscan *\*Kalde* < Proto-Celtic *\*galatis*, meaning essentially 'fighter'). During the Roman Period, *Celtius* occurred frequently as a personal name in the western Iberian Peninsula and mostly in context with other Hispano-Celtic names, making the possibility of a learned borrowing from Latin less likely. Strabo (4.1.14) considered Κέλται, rather than Herodotus's Κελτοί, to be the oldest form of the name, agreeing with the Latin *Celtae* and possibly SW **kᵃaltᵉe** (if dative singular); he used the form Γαλάται himself.

¶COMPARANDA. ¶CENTRAL REGION. **CELTI[.? ---]** (ERAv, 128; HEp, 10, 51; HEp, 13, 79 — Niharra, Ávila).

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. **CELTIO / CATVR/ONIS ˙ F(ILIO) / FILI(I) F(ACIENDVM) ˙ C(VRAVERVNT)** (FE, 625 — São Pedro do Sul, Viseu); **ALEBA CELTI F.** (CIL II, 755; CPILC, 27 — Alcántara, Cáceres); **COMMERTO CELTI F.** (Téllez et al. 1982, 16; Búa 2000, 551; HEp, 16, 106; CILCC I, 238 — Montánchez, Cáceres); **GAIVS CELTI** (Sayans 1964, 265; Búa 2000, 553 — Navaconcejo, Cáceres); **SVNVA CELTI F.** (AE, 1987, 488; HEp, 2, 213 — Madrigalejo, Cáceres); **[TAN]CINO CELTI F. ENTERANIES.** (Melena 1985, 499–501; CPILC, 736 — Zarza la Mayor, Cáceres); **CLOV[T]IVS CELTI FIL(IVS)** (HEp, 18, 81 — Ibahernando, Cáceres); **ANCEITVS CELTI** (AE, 1967, 146 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **[A]NIVS [C]ELTI [TA]PORVS** (Almeida 1956, 178, nº 59 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **CELTI ARANTONI F.** (AE, 1967, 144; HEp, 2, 770; HEp, 5, 989 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **CESSEA CELTI F.** (AE, 1977, 362 — Fundão, Fundão, Castelo Branco); **P. VALERIO CLEMENTI QVI. CELTI F.** (AE, 1967, 182 — Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **S(E)R(E)NVS CELTI F(ILIVS)** (HEp, 10, 445 — Hinojosa de Duero, Salamanca); **CESEA CELTI** (Vaz 1983, 577–81 — Meijinhos, Lamego, Viseu); **DOCQVIRVS CELTI** (HEp, 2, 899 — Carvalhal Redondo, Nelas, Viseu); **DOCQVIRVS CELTI** (HEp, 2, 900 — Carvalhal Redondo, Nelas, Viseu); **DOQVIRVS CELTI** (HEp, 2, 897 — Canas de Senhorim, Nelas, Viseu); **TANGINVS CELTI F.** (HEp, 7, 1276 — Castelo de Penalva, Penalva do Castelo, Viseu); **L. LVCRETI CELTI** (HEp, 8, 612a — Benfica do Ribatejo, Almeirim, Santarem); **CELTIO ANDERCI F.** (HEp, 13, 231 — Casas del Monte, Cáceres); **CELTIVS CILINI F.** (CIL II, 5310; CPILC, 269 — Hoyos, Cáceres); **CELTIVS** (CPILC, 617 — Villamesías, Cáceres); **CELT[IVS] TONG[I]** (FE, 382; HEp, 11, 141 — Zarza de Granadilla, Cáceres); **CELTIVS** (Albertos & Bento 1977, 1206 — Meimoa, Penamacor, Castelo Branco); **CELTIVS TONGI F.** (AE, 1934, 22; Encarnação 1984, 638 — Montalvão, Nisa, Portalegre); **CELTIVS CLOVTI F.** (HEp, 4, 979 — Hinojosa de Duero, Salamanca); **CELTIVS MAELONIVS** (CIL II, 5257 — Lamego, Viseu); **CELT(IVS) MEID(VBRIGENSIS)** (Vaz 1982, 505 — Lamego, Viseu); **CELT(IVS) ET BOVTIA MEID(VBRIGENESES)** (CIL II, 5250 — Lamego, Viseu); **APANA AMBOLLI F. CELTICA SVPERTAM(ARICA) [Ɔ] MAIOBRI** (HEp, 7, 397; HEp, 13, 436 — Lugo); **Q. CAECI[LI]O CELTI[CO]** (CPILC, 291 = CPILC, 320 — Ibahernando / La Cumbre, Cáceres); **CELTIENVS CANAPI F.** (HAE, 1208 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **CELTIATVS VENIATI F.** (CPILC, 30 — Alcollarín, Cáceres); **LATRONIVS CELTIATI F.** (AE, 1990, 541; HEp, 3, 280 — Verín, Ourense); **DVCRIAE CELTIATIS** (HEp, 2, 882; HEp, 7, 1250 — Bouçoães, Valpaços, Vila

Real); **AVNIAE ARANTONI CELTIATICI F. LANC(IENSI) OPPIDANAE** (HAE, 1088 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **ABRVNVS ARCELTI F.** (Beltrán 1975–76, 51; AE, 1977, 406; CPILC, 218 — Coria, Cáceres); **[P]EIDVRTA CONCELTI F.** (HEp, 5, 194 — Conquista de la Sierra, Cáceres); **BOVDELVS CONCELTI F.** (AE, 1984, 471 — Belver, Gavião, Portalegre).

¶OUTSIDE THE *BRIGA* ZONE. **DOITENA AMBATI CELTI F.** (EE, VIII 167; Castillo et al. 1981, 53 — Marañón, Navarra).

¶INTERPRETATIONS (2). There are other possible interpretations for **kᵃaltᵉe**, such as locatives singular |*kaldē*| 'in the grove, i.e. in the necropolis' and |*nīra-kaldē*| 'in the grove of men/leaders' < *-kaldei* ~ Old Irish *caill* 'wood, forest', Old Welsh *celli*, Old Cornish *kelli*, Gaulish place-names *Caldis*, *Caldeniacum* (LEIA s.n. *caill*), Old English and Old Norse *holt* 'wood'. The Palaeohispanic group name *Callaec(i)i* may also belong here, as 'forest(-country) people', suiting Galicia, as suggested to me by Juan Luis García Alonso. That etymology is supported by the Callaecian personal name **CALDAECVS**, if that form is recognized as an archaic variant of the ethnonymic *Callaecus* (cf. Prósper 2011, 227), in which the original *ld* cluster has not yet been simplified. If we now read Celtiberian **kaltaikikos** on a tessera from Osma, Soria (González Rodríguez 1986, 126) as **kaldaikikos** (Jordán 2005; Prósper 2011), that might also belong here.

## ]kᵃanan ᎩᗅᎩᗅ(Λ)[  or ]a̱anan ᎩᗅᎩᗅ(A)[ (J.9.1).

¶CONTEXT. **]a̱anan uarᵇan eᵇᵉe naŕ[kᵉe …**

¶INTERPRETATIONS. As the inscription is fragmentary and the word under consideration very possibly incomplete and its first surviving sign in doubt, we can only note possibilities, if and until the same wording surfaces in a better preserved text. Based on the reading **]kᵃanan**, Kaufman (2015, 61, 281, 495) interprets this as |*kanānt*| or |*kanănt*|, a 3rd person plural subjunctive verb 'they may sing', cf. Old Irish *canaid* 'sings', Old Welsh *canam* 'I sing', Latin *canō*, Gothic *hana* 'cock' (Matasović 2009 s.n. *\*kan-o-*). This explanation can be acknowledged as possible.  ¶ Alternative possibilities include a feminine *ā*-stem accusative singular, possibly co-ordinated with the formula word with this ending **uarᵇan**. If the correct reading is **]kᵃanan**, this could be a name ending with the common Ancient Celtic element -*ganām* 'born of' < Proto-Indo-European √*ĝenH₁*- 'beget a child, be born' (Wodtko et al. 2008, 136–9). ¶ For the reading **]a̱anan**, a connection with the name *Anas* (now Guadiana), the principal river of the region, is possible. The feminine name *Anna* and masculine *n*-stem *Anno* are common in Hispano-Celtic contexts: for example, Celtiberian **ana uerzaizokum atu(nos)** (K.1.3, I–34 — Botorrita, Zaragoza), **ANNA MADVGENA F., ANNAE CALEDIGE, VALERIO ANNONI LVGVADICI F. VXAMENSIS** (Vallejo 2005, 141–9).

**kᵃaśetᵃana** ᐱᐱMOᚷᐱᛉᐱ (J.53.1) 'overseer of tin/bronze' |*kassedannā*|, cf. Gaulish *cassidanno(-)*, genitive *casidani* (Graufesenque) (Koch 2009, 101–2; Koch 2013a, 184; Guerra 2010b; Woudhuizen 2014/15, 300, 310; Kaufman 2015, 64–5, 189, 497; Nahm 2015), feminine *ā*-stem (Koch; Kaufman; Nahm).

¶CONTEXT. **# kᵒ-tᵘ-ua-ratᵉe tᵘnbⁱitᵉsbᵃan orbᵃa setᵃa lakᵉentⁱi raha kᵃaśetᵃana #** Where the form under consideration is the last word of longer first line of the text, which is oriented clockwise, left-to-right in a nearly complete circle.

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Concerning the last three words, **lakᵉentⁱi raha kᵃaśetᵃana**, Kaufman agrees with Koch (2013a, 114) that these are, respectively, a verb 3rd plural present 'they (now) lie down (here)', a woman's name, and her office. **kᵃaśetᵃana** can be construed as agreeing in number and case with **raha**. I think it likely that **raha kᵃaśetᵃana** identifies the deceased and is the subject of **lakᵉentⁱi**. Kaufman proposes that **orbᵃa setᵃa**, which he translates as 'heirloom seats', is the subject of **lakᵉentⁱi**. **kᵃaśetᵃana** |*kassedannā*| shows the regular phonological development in which Proto-Celtic short *\*i* was lowered to Tartessian **e** |*e*| when preceding an *ă* or *ā* either immediately or in the following syllable after a consonant (Koch 2011, §78).

¶COMPARANDA. Gaulish ARGANTODANNOS 'moneyer' (< 'silver minister') occurring on Gaulish coinage (Delamarre 2003, 108, citing De Bernardo Stempel 1998; cf. Gorrochategui 1984, 182), also *platiodanni* 'overseers of metal' or 'overseers of streets' (De Hoz 2007, 193, 196). Compare also the personal names Celtiberian *Kasilos*, Gaulish *Cassi-talos*, Ancient Brythonic *Cassi-uellaunos* (?'Excelling in [feats of] bronze'), &c.; it is possible that more than one homophonous root is involved in these names. Greek κασσίτερος 'tin' is of uncertain origin and probably a trade word going back to the Bronze Age. The name Κασσιτερίδες 'tin islands', mentioned repeatedly in the Greek sources (e.g. Herodotus 3.115), is of course related. Modern writers have located these islands variously in Galicia, Armorica, Scilly, and Cornwall, perhaps all of these.

**kⁱielaoe:** ᛁOᛆᐱᛏOᛉᛈ (J.11.1), **k͟ᵉeloia** ᐱᛉᛆᛏO)ᚹ (J.57.1), **k͟ᵉeilau** ᚼᐱᛏᛉO)ᚹ (Cabeza del Buey IV)    Celtic name (Koch 2013a, 185–6; Kaufman 2015, 495; Nahm 2015).

¶CONTEXTS. **# kⁱielaoe: oiśau͟a bᵃane robᵃae n(a)ŕkᵉenii #** (J.11.1); **]lokᵒon k͟ᵉeloia naŕkᵉ[e . . | li[ | bᵃa[re** (J.57.1); **]k͟ⁱiu [---] k͟ᵉeilau kᵉe iśa͟ n[a]ŕkᵉen #** (Cabeza del Buey IV)    In the contexts of the complete J.11.1 and intact ending of Cabeza del Buey IV the usual formulaic closing — **n(a)ŕkᵉenii** and **n[a]ŕkᵉen** — appears in its most common location with no amplification. It may be significant that the latter two inscriptions were recovered from sites in Spain, the basin of the upper Guadiana, about 200 kilometres to the north-east of the main concentration of the SW corpus in south Portugal.

¶INTERPRETATIONS. The three are similar enough to be interpreted as the same form with different case endings, possibly different genders (Koch 2013a, 185–6; Nahm

2015). ¶ Kaufman interprets **kᵉeloia** as the nominative singular of a woman's name (unobjectionably), which he etymologizes as Proto-Celtic *kᵘeillo-u̯ii̯ā 'Mind-bending'. This derivation of the first element is not impossible, but apart from the protagonist of the First Branch of the Mabinogi *Pwyll*, Proto-Celtic *kᵘeillo- 'sense, mind' is not a common in personal names.

¶COMPARANDA. Possibly Gaulish *cele* (Chateaubleau); Old Irish *céile* 'fellow, companion'; Middle Welsh *cilıt, kilıδ*; Middle Breton *e-gile* 'other'; Middle Cornish *y-gyla, e-gele*. The variation in the vowel of the first syllable of what are clearly cognates possibly reflects a Proto-Celtic paradigm with ablaut. Old Breton *i kiled* and Middle Welsh *kilyδ* show a different vowel, which cannot be fully explained by assuming a Pre-Celtic form with a movable accent, *kéilii̯o- and *kilii̯o-, as the Brythonic forms imply an earlier long *ī (see LEIA C–52–3). If this is the correct comparandum, **kⁱielaoe: … bᵃane** (J.11.1) is reminiscent of Irish *céile* in the sense of 'spouse', though this is rare in the earlier language.

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. GPC s.n. *cilydd*; LEIA C–52f; Delamarre 2003, 112; Matasović 2009 s.n. *\*kēlyo- / \*kilyo-*.

¶CELTIBERIAN REGION. **[EL]ANIO CILI +** (HEp, 5, 738 — Burgo de Osma, Soria); possibly the hospitality tessera **C̲ILICICOS … CARO** (CP-17).

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. As well as the group name *Cileni* in the north-west of the Peninsula, there are numerous comparable Hispano-Celtic (and/or Lusitanian) personal names, most heavily in the west (Albertos 1985, 278; Vallejo 2005, 278ff; cf. Búa 2000, 530–6): **CILIVS CAENONIS F.** (CIL II, 741; CPILC, 519; CILCC I, 95; HEp, 3, 121 — Brozas, Cáceres); **CILIVS CAMALI F.** with divine name **BANDI ISIBRAIEGVI** (AE, 1967, 133; Búa 2000, 508; HEp, 11, 666 — Bemposta do Campo, Penamacor, Castelo Branco); **CILIVS CAMALI F.** (AE, 1969–70, 216 — Ferro, Covilha, Castelo Branco); **CILEVS CAENONI** with divine name **APVLVSEAECO** (Búa 2000, 635–6 — Solana de los Barros, Badajoz); **CILVS · PISI/RI · F(ILIVS) · H(IC) · S(ITVS) · E(ST)** (FE, 626 — Trujillo, Cáceres); **MAGILO CILI F.** (CIL II, 5655; HEp, 7, 1166; ERRBragança, 65; HEp, 12, 574 — Bragança); **BOETELA CILI F.** (CPILC, 259; Salas & González 1991–2, 186–7 — Granadilla, Cáceres); **CILEAE CILI F. VXORI** (AE, 1967, 170; Albertos 1983, 872 — Telhado, Fundão, Castelo Branco); **CILEA CILI F.** (ERCon, 375 — Condeixa-a-Velha, Condeixa-a-Nova, Coimbra); **CILEA CILI F.** (ERCon, 392 — Condeixa-a-Velha, Condeixa-a-Nova, Coimbra); **CILEA CILI F.** (ERCon, 394 — Condeixa-a-Velha, Condeixa-a-Nova, Coimbra); **CILEA CILI F.** (ERCon, 361 b-c — Condeixa-a-Velha, Condeixa-a-Nova, Coimbra); **CILEA CILI F.** (ERCon, 395 — Condeixa-a-Velha, Condeixa-a-Nova, Coimbra); **CILEA CILI F.** (ERCon, 396 — Condeixa-a-Velha, Condeixa-a-Nova, Coimbra); **CILEA CILI F.** (ERCon, 397 — Condeixa-a-Velha, Condeixa-a-Nova, Coimbra); **CILEA CILI F.** (CIL II, 372 — Condeixa-a-Velha, Condeixa-a-Nova, Coimbra); **CILEA CILI F.** (ERCon, 331 — Condeixa-a-Velha, Condeixa-a-Nova, Coimbra); **CILEA CILI F.** (HAE, 1141 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **CILEAE CILI F.** (HAE, 1113 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **[L]EVRVS CILI F.** (CIL II, 443 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **MAELO CILI F.** (HEp, 1, 676 — Meimoa, Penamacor, Castelo Branco); **ALBINVS CILI F.** with divine name **ILVRBEDAE** (FE, 377; HEp, 10, 425 — La Alberca, Salamanca); **ANTISTIVS PLACIDVS CILI FILIVS** with divine name **CRVGIA? MVNNIAEGO** (CIL II, 2523; IRG IV, 90; Prósper 2002, 183–4 — Viana do Bolo, Viana do Bolo, Ourense); **LANCIVS CILI**

**F.** (CPILC, 398 — Plasenzuela, Cáceres); **MAILA CILI F.** (CPILC, 770 — Malpartida de Cáceres, Cáceres); **[BO]VTIVS CILI** (CIL II, 5252 — Lamego, Lamego, Viseu); **[D]VTIA CILI [F.]** (CIL II, 5252 — Lamego, Lamego, Viseu); **[TA]NCINVS CILI FI[L.]** (FE, 291 (64, 2000); HEp, 10, 751 — São José, Viseu, Viseu); **C. IVLIO CILIO ARQVI** (Gimeno & Stylow 1993, nº 48 — Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Cáceres); **CILIO PINTAMI F.** (CIL II, 441 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **CILIO TABAESI F. SOCRO** (AE, 1967, 170; Albertos 1983, 872 — Telhado, Fundão, Castelo Branco); **CILIA MAL[GEI?]NI F.** (HEp, 6, 191 — Alcollarín, Cáceres); **CILIA ARCONIS F.** (CIL II, 671; CPILC, 399 — Puerto de Santa Cruz, Cáceres); **CILEA** (HEp, 13, 889; AE, 2005, 759 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **CILEA** (CIL II, 757; CPILC, 25; Albertos 1977b, 38; CILCC I, 26 — Alcántara, Cáceres); **CILEA** (Sánchez & Vinagre 1998, nº 78, 93; HEp, 8, 48 — Coria, Cáceres); **CILEA** (ERCon, 400 — Condeixa-a-Velha, Condeixa-a-Nova, Coimbra); **CIL(EA)** (ERCon, 399 — Condeixa-a-Velha, Condeixa-a-Nova, Coimbra); **CILEA TANCINI** (CPILC, 50; CILCC I, 75 — Arroyo de la Luz, Cáceres); **CILEA TANCINI** (CPILC, 458 — Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Cáceres); **CILEA DVTIAE LIB. / DVTIA LANC(---) OPP(---)** (HEp, 1, 208 — Villamiel, Cáceres); **CILEA [QV]ADRATI** (HEp, 7, 272 — Zarza la Mayor, Cáceres); **CILEA DOCQVIRI CVNTIRI F.** (AE, 1967, 160; HEp, 13, 961— Idanha-a-Velha (Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **CILEA AEBICI F.** (HAE, 1108 r; HEp, 13, 941 — Idanha-a-Velha (Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **CILEA ALEONIS F.** (HEp, 13, 938 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **BALAESVS CILEAE** (Beltrán 1975–6, 84; CILCC I, 25; HEp, 14, 80 — Alcántara, Cáceres); **CILEA[---]** (CIL II, 737; CPILC, 43; CILCC I, 80 — Arroyo de la Luz, Cáceres); **CILEAE FLAVI F. CAVRENSIS / FLAVVS** (CPILC, 256; Salas & González 1991–2, 190 — Granadilla, Cáceres); **CILEAE TVRI** (AE, 1967, 176 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **CILEAE CRASI F.** (HAE, 1156 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **LONGINO CILEAE F(ILIO)** (HEp, 17, 222 — Aldeia do Souto, Covilhã, Castelo Branco); **CILIAE CAENONIS F. AMITAE** (HAE, 1144; HEp, 11, 663 —Idanha-a-Velha (Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **CILEA CADARI F.** (Encarnação 1984, 626 — Crato, Crato, Portalegre); **CILEA EMINI** (HEp, 1, 692 — Fontes, Santa Marta de Penaguião, Vila Real); **SVL(PICIAE) CILEAE** (CIL II, 434; HEp, 2, 901 — São João da Pesqueira, São João da Pesque, Viseu); **APANVS CILEI F.** (Encarnação 1984, 416 — Igrejinha, Arraiolos, Évora); **OMVNCIO CILAI F.** (AE, 1950, 217 — São Salvador de Aramenha, Marvão, Portalegre); **CILO BOVTI F.** (HEp, 1, 671 — Escalos de Cima, Castelo Branco, Castelo Branco); **AEMILIVS CILIMEDVS** (ERPL, 45 — Villadecanes, León) a compound possibly referring to a 'fellow mead-drinker' or simply a 'drinking companion'; **CANCILVS.** or **CAINOLVS ANDERCI F.** (Beltrán 1975–6, 78; AE, 1977, 424 — Casas de Millán, Cáceres); **CORACILAE BOVTINI F.** (Melena 1985, 491 — Villamiel, Cáceres); **CABVRO CILVRI F. CAVRIENSIS F.** (CPILC, 748 — Pozuelo de Zarzón, Cáceres); **CILVRA TONGI** (AE, 1967, 167 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **ACINI CILONIS F.** (ILER, 2326; ERZamora, 187; CIRPZ, 84 — Moral de Sayago, Zamora); **CILISI F.** (CPILC, 259; Salas & González 1991–2, 186–7 — Granadilla, Cáceres); **CILIASA ALAESI F.** (ERZamora, 204; CIRPZ, 189 — Sejas de Aliste, Zamora); **VISANCORV(M) CAMALI CONCILI** (HEp, 1, 699 — Penela da Beira, Penedono, Viseu).

¶NOTE. The Callaecian group name *Cileni/Cilini* (Pliny NH IV 111; Ptol. II, 6.24; It.Ant. 423.7, 430.3, Rav 308.2, 321.8) could belong to this root. Luján (2006, 724) lists this name as possibly Celtic.

**CELTIVS CILINI F.** (CIL II, 5310; CPILC, 269 — Hoyos, Cáceres); **ALBIN[VS] ALBVR[I] CILINV[S]** (EE, VIII 132; ERPL, 108 — Santa Colomba de Somoza, León); **CAELEO CADROIOLONIS F. CILENVS Ↄ BERISAMO** (HAE, 1695; CIRG I, 52 — Cicere, Santa Comba, A Coruña).

¶OUTSIDE THE *BRIGA* ZONE. **TI. CLAVDIVS CILVS Q. F.** (CIL II, 1319 — Medina Sidonia, Cádiz); **ARANTONIVS CILI F. [T]APORV[S]** (CIL II2/7, 766; HEp, 1, 296 — Santa Eufemia, Córdoba); **CILA** (HAE, 61* — Cartagena, Murcia).

**kᵉenila(*)rin** �(*)6763O3 (J.17.4)    Celtic compound personal name, accusative singular, with first element *\*geni-* < √*ĝenH₁-* 'beget a child, be born' (Koch 2013a, 185; Kaufman 2015, 60, 63, 70, 187, 359–63, 494).

¶CONTEXT. **# : kᵉenila(*)rin | bᵉe:lin enbᵉ·kᵃarne : #**    The reading from the surviving 18th-century drawing is not trustworthy. The first two words possibly show overt case agreement.

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Kaufman thinks **kᵉenila(*)rin** is possibly woman's name and derives the second element from Proto-Celtic *\*(p)lāri-* 'mare'.

¶COMPARANDA. Deritives of the Proto-Indo-European root √*ĝenH₁-* are abundantly attested in Ancient Celtic and Early Medieval Celtic personal names as the second element of bithematic compounds, as shown below. Therefore, comparison with these is inexact. A smaller group of Celtic names beginning with *Geni-* or *Gene-* followed by a suffix are more probably relevant: Gaulish *genetli m(anu)* (Lezoux); D.M. GALLIAE SECVNDAE BAEBILIVS GENETHILVS IVL(IVS) ZMARAGDVS HERED(ES) B.M. (CIL III no. 2342 — Salona, Dalmatia); Primitive Irish NAVALLO AVVI GENITTAC[… (CIIC no. 30 — Dunbell Big, Co. Kilkenny); GENDILI ogam and Roman script (CIIC no. 456 — Steynton, Radnorshire, Wales).    ¶ A second root may be considered: Proto-Indo-European √*ken-* 'begin, new, young, fresh', cf. Lat. *re-cens*, Gk. καινός 'young, new', Skt. *kanīna* 'do.'; Proto-Celtic *\*kenetlom* 'race, kind' > OIr. *cenél*, Old Welsh *cenetl* 'kindred' Chad 2, Old Breton *chenedtl*, Old Cornish *kınethel* gl. 'generatio'.    ¶NOTE. Owing to the limitations of the SW writing system, the consonant clusters of the type /tl/ could not be represented accurately. Therefore, it is possible that **kᵉenila...** represents */genitla(:)-/* or */kenitla(:)-/*.

¶CELTIC COMPOUND NAMES IN -*genos, -genā*, &c. Gaulish personal names *Cintu-genus*, *Litugenus*, *Suadugenus*, *Satigenus*, *Nitiogenus*; Primitive Irish in ogam script BRANOGENI, IVAGENI (cf. Old Irish *Éogan*), in Roman script CVNOCENNI FILIVS CVNOGENI (CIIC no. 342); INIGENA CVNIGNI AVITTORIGES '(the stone) of Cunignos's daughter, Avittoriga' (CIIC no. 147 — Eglwys Gymyn 2, Carmarthen-shire); cf. Old Irish *gainithir* 'is born'; Old Welsh *Abrgen*, *Anaugen*, *Gverngen*, *Gvidgen*, *Haerngen*, *Milgen*, *Morgen*, *Urbgen* < *\*Orbo-genos*, cf. Middle Welsh *ganet* 'was born'; Old Breton *gen* gl. 'ethnicus', personal names *Budien*, *Hoɪarngen*, *Morgen-mvnoc*, *Ridgen/Ridien*, *Torithgen/ Torithien*, *Uvrgen/ Uvrien*, *Uvrmgen/ Uvrmien*, *Uvorgen/ Uvorien*; ModB *genel* 'generate'; Sanskrit *jánas-*, Greek γένος, Latin *genus*.    ¶ Proto-Celtic *\*Matu-genos*, *\*Mati-genos*: Gaulish MATVGENVS (CIL XIII, 570 — Boudeaux); DM MATVGENO MONTANI F. (CIL XII, 2865 — Narbonensis); Old Irish *mad·génatar* 'blessed are they' lit. 'auspiciously are they born' (GOI 347), *Mathgen* (the name of a

sorcerer of the Túath Dé in *Cath Maige Tuired*); Ancient Brythonic or possibly Gaulish *matugenus* (on a potsherd from the Verulamium region); Old Welsh personal name *Matganoj*, cf. *mat-yth-anet* 'you were born auspiciously', *ny mat-anet* 'was not born auspiciously' in *Y Gododdin*, Middle Welsh personal name *Madyein*; Old Breton personal names *Matganoe, Matganet / Matgganet*.   ¶ Proto-Celtic *Medu-genos, -genā*: Latinized Ancient Brythonic DEI FAV MEDVGENI, DEI FAVNI MEDIGENI, DEI FAVN[ ] MEDIGENI (Nash Briggs 2012 — inscribed silver spoons, Thetford treasure, Norfolk); Ogamic Pr.Ir. (genitive) MEDDOGENI, Old Irish *Midgen*; Old Welsh place-name containing personal name *Porth Medgen*.

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. IdgEW 373ff; DGVB 174; GPN 204; Delamarre 2003, 177f; Matasović 2011 s.n. *geno-*.

¶CELTIBERIAN REGION. **eskeninum** probably with *eχs-gen-* 'descent from' hence 'kin group' in the opening lines of Botorrita III: **risatioka . lestera . ia . tarakuai . nouiza . auzanto / eskeninum . taniokakue . soisum . albana**; **ALIOGENVS** 'second-born'? (CIL II, 2774; EE, IX 117; Palol & Vilella 1987, 7; Abascal 1994, 41 — Peñalba de Castro, Burgos); **BOIOGENA** (Abásolo 1974a, 39; Beltrán & Díaz Ariño 2007, 39; HEp, 16, 51 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **retukeno** (MLH IV, K.12.1; HEp, 11, 488 — Langa de Duero, Soria); **retukenos ensikum** (K.1.3, I-18 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **turos retukenos statulu mezukenos koitina tueizu uiroku munika koitu koitina** (K.1.3, I-2-6 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **mizuku : retukenos : tirtanos munikakue : uiriaskum** (K.1.3, I-52–3 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **retukeno** (gen.) **elkueikikum kentisum tuateroskue** (K.1.3, III 23–4 — Botorrita, Zaragoza). Celtiberian **kentis** */gentis/* 'child' shows a semantic development from '"birth, generation" … into a resultative more concrete "offspring, child"' (Wodtko 2003, §59).   ¶ Evidence for the variant *Mati-genos* is confined to northern Celtiberia: **AFRVNVS MATIGENVS ALEONI F.** (Abásolo 1974a, 52 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **A(MBAT)A? MATIGENI** (CIL II, 2898; Espinosa 1986, 28 — Tricio, La Rioja); **VIRONO MATIENI F.** (AE, 1976, 330; Espinosa 1986, 48 — Herramélluri, La Rioja).   ¶ Proto-Celtic *Medu-genos, -genā*: **mezukenos abokum turo** (K.1.3, I–60 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **mezukenos loukanikum** (K.1.3, I–46 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **mezukenos elazunos tirtukue ailokiskum** (K.1.3, II 21–22 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **mezukenos akikum memun** (K.1.3, II–12 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **mezukenos turanikum** (K.1.3, II–4 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **mezukenos tirtobolokum** (K.1.3, III–29 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **mezukenos kalisokum** (K.1.3, IV–9 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **turos retukenos statulu mezukenos koitina tueizu uiroku munika koitu koitina** (K.1.3, I–2–6 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **arkanta mezukenoskue abokum** (K.1.3, III–11 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **MEDVGENVS RVFINVS D[** (HEp, 17, 78 — Riba de Saelices, Guadalajara); **ANO MEDVGINVS AVITIAMI** (HEp, 6, 892 — San Esteban de Gormaz, Soria).

¶CENTRAL REGION. **BODOGENVS ABANI SAIBODAECI F.** (De Bernardo & Sanz 2009, 230 — Padilla de Duero, Valladolid) <? *Bodu̯o-genos* or *Bouto-genos*; **[B]ODO[G?]GE[N]I CALAEDI F.** (De Bernardo & Sanz 2009, 230 — Piñel de Abajo, Valladolid); **DOMITIA VICCI MALVGENIQ. F.** (AE, 1990, 581; HEp, 4, 545 — Torrejón de Velasco, Madrid).   ¶ Proto-Celtic *Matu-genos*: **MATVGENO MATVGEN[I]Q(VM) TANCINI F.** (AE, 1982, 593; HEp, 4, 112; ERAv, 44 — Ávila) with genitive plural family name *Matugenikūm* 'of the descendants of *Matugenos*', likewise **MATV[E]NIQ(VM)** below; **MATVGENO** (ERAv, 45 — Ávila).   ¶ Proto-Celtic

*Medu-genos, -genā*: **MEDVGENVS CARPA+ [---]** (AE, 1986, 429 — Puebla de Montalbán, Toledo).

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. **TRI[TIO / -TIAE] COROGENI F.** (ERRBragança, 85; HEp, 12, 586 — Donai, Bragança, Bragança); **EDIGENIO DOMI̲N(O) CO**(…) **TROPHIMVS V.S.** (Mérida, Badajoz); [**D(EO)**] **EDIGENIO AVL**(…) **ASCANI SAC(RVM)** (Mérida, Badajoz), explained as '*edi-gen-(i)yo- < \*H₁eti- + genH-* '«renacido» o más bien *\*eti-genă/ā* «estirpe»' (Prósper 2002, 308).  ¶ Proto-Celtic *\*Katu-genos*:  **IVLIA CATVEN[A] B[--- F.]** (Encarnação 1984, 452 — Bencatel, Vila Viçosa, Évora); **CATVENVS TONGI F.** (CPILC, 221; HEp, 8, 77 — Coria, Cáceres); **CATVENVS AVELI** (with dedication to **BANDI VORTIAECI**; CIL II, 855; CPILC, 333; HEp, 4, 238; HEp, 11, 122; AE, 1999, 882 — Malpartida de Plasencia, Cáceres); **CATVENVS AECANDI F.** (CPILC, 730; M. Beltrán 1975–1976, 43; AE, 1977, 402; HEp, 14, 100 — Trujillo, Cáceres); **APANA CATVENI MATER** (CPILC, 228 — Coria, Cáceres); **CASINAE CATVENI** (HAE, 1107 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **DOCQVIRVS CATVENI LIB.** (AE, 1983, 471; FE, 19 — Orjais, Covilha, Castelo Branco); **PAVLVS CATVENI** (AE, 1981, 544; ERZamora, 87; CIRPZ, 71 — Madridanos, Zamora); **CATVENO** (CIL II, 780; CPILC, 246 — Coria, Cáceres); **CATVENO TANCINI F.** (CPILC, 228 — Coria, Cáceres).  ¶ Proto-Celtic *\*Matu-genos*: **BOVTIO MATVGENI F.** (ERRBragança, 34; HEp, 12, 581 — Vila Nova, Donai, Bragança, Bragança); **MATVGENI FA** (CIRPZ, 178 = CIRPZ, 208 — Santa Cristina de la Polvorosa, Zamora); **TANCINVS MATVENI F.** (EE, IX 166 — Badajoz); **TRITIA MAGILONIS MATV[E]NIQ(VM)** (HAE, 1356 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **CAPITO MATVCENI F.** (HAE, 784; CPILC, 800 — Valdelacasa del Tajo, Cáceres); **TOVTONO MATVCENI F.** (HAE, 927; ERZamora, 54; CIRPZ, 282 — Villalcampo, Zamora).  ¶ Proto-Celtic *\*Medu-genos, -genā*: **MEDVGENA TERE[NTI] FIL.** (HEp, 11, 385 — Salamanca); **MEDVGENA CAI F.** (HEp, 11, 387 — Salamanca); **MEDVGENAE ARRONIS F.** (AE, 1981, 542; ERZamora, 86; CIRPZ, 36 — Fariza, Zamora); **MEDVGENVS CESARONIS EX GENTE CILVRNIGORVM** (HEp, 4, 66 — Gijón, Asturias); **MEDVG[ENVS]** (EE, VIII — Jerez de los Caballeros, Badajoz); **C. LABERIVS MEDVGENVS** (HEp, 5, 946 — Messejana, Aljustrel, Beja); **C. LICINIVS VERVS MEDVGENI F. C[L]VN.** (CIL II, 162 — São Salvador de Aramenha, Marvão, Portalegre); **CAVNVS MEDVENI** (HEp, 1, 181 — Plasenzuela, Cáceres); **MEDVCEA MEDVENI F.** (HEp, 5, 1055 — Ponte da Barca, Ponte da Barca, Viana do Castelo); **MEIDVENA** (HAE, 291 = HAE, 2395; IRG IV, 128 — San Cristovo de Cea, Ourense); **MEARVS MEIDVENI F.** (CPILC, 743; HEp, 3, 127 — Malpartida de Plasencia, Cáceres); **MEIDVENVS ANDAMI** (AE, 1977, 409; CPILC, 4 = CPILC, 11; CILCC II, 428 — Abertura, Cáceres); **TALTICO MEIDVENI F. LANCIENSI OPPITANO** (Beltrán 1975–6, 20 — Nuñomoral, Cáceres); **RVFVS MEIDVENI** (HEp, 15, 101 — Valdeobispo, Cáceres); **TANGINVS MEIDVENI F.** (AE, 1967, 178 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **CVMELIVS MEIDVENI F.** (AE, 1983, 479 — Región de Lamego, Viseu), **[M]EDIGENVS** (EE, IX 72 — Mérida, Badajoz; if the **M-** has been incorrectly restored, this could be 'reborn' < *\*Ati-genos*); probably **SEX. IVLIVS LVPVS GAL. MEDVC[-- F.]** (EE, VIII 304 — Jerez de los Caballeros, Badajoz).


**kᵉertᵒo** ‡ΔꟿOϽ| (J.18.1) 'artisan' : Proto-Celtic *\*kerdā* 'art, skill' ∼ *o*-stem*\*kerdo-s* 'artisan, craftsman' (Koch 2013a, 185; Kaufman 2015, 20, 188, 368, 497).

¶CONTEXT. **# bᵒotⁱieana kᵉertᵒo robᵃa tᵉe-bᵃare bᵃa-naŕkᵉentⁱi #**

¶INTERPRETATIONS. I think it most probable that **kᵉertᵒo** is a genitive singular, identical to the *o*-stem ending in Celtiberian and probably a shared Hispano-Celtic innovation, thus |*Boutieanā kerdo romā*| 'Boutieana most senior female relative (probably eldest daughter) of the artisan'.      ¶ Kaufman sees **kᵉertᵒo** reflecting Proto-Celtic nominative singular *\*kerdos*, thus being one member of a co-ordinated subject 'Boutieana ⟨and⟩ Kerdos ("Craft")'.

¶COMPARANDA. Gaulish personal name *Cerdo*, Old Irish *cerd* 'artisan' or specifically 'bronze smith', Early Welsh *kerδawr* 'artisan' or specifically 'musician, poet, artisan', *kerδ* 'song, poem, craft'. If common origin with Greek κέρδος 'gain, advantage; tricks' is accepted, this supports Proto-Indo-European *\*kérdos* 'craft'.

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. GPC s.n. *cerdd*; LEIA C–71f; DGVB 103; L&P 37; EIEC 139, 143; Matasović 2009 s.n. *\*kerdā***.**

**kᵒoliọn** ᛉ≠ᛉ⏉≠⋈ (J.55.1), see **ro-kᵒoliọn**

**]kᵒoloion** ᛉ≠ᛉ≠⏉≠⋈[ (Monte Novo do Castelinho)

¶CONTEXT. **]kᵒoloion : kᵒoloar[ ]ŕ[.]s[?kᵉe]ntⁱi**,

¶INTERPRETATION. **]kᵒoloion** is possibly related to, or even the same word as **ro-kᵒoliọn** (which see) and likewise possibly a 3rd plural form of |*kloṷ-*| 'hear' as per Nahm's explanation. As the opening of the text has broken away, the original reading could have been **[ro-]koloion**.      ¶ Kaufman (2015, 496) derives **]kᵒoloion** from Proto-Celtic *\*kᵘolo-ṷii̯om* 'wheel-bending' going with **kᵒoloar[** derived from *\*kᵘolo-ṷarrā* 'wheel-prop'.

**kᵒoŕbᵉo** ≠◁↗≠⋈ (J.53.1)    Celtic man's name, cf. Ogamic Primitive Irish (genitives) CORBBI, CORBAGNI, Old Irish *Corb*, *Cormac* < older *Corb-macc*, and *Coirpre* (Koch 2013a, 189; Nahm 2015).

¶CONTEXT. **// bᵒbᵉ kᵒoŕbᵉo bᵃarletᵉ #** This portion of this lost inscription is detached from the rest, reads in the opposite orientation (right-to-left), and is generally difficult to read. **kᵒoŕbᵉo** is the clearest segmentable series of signs within this portion of the text. Note that there are six further violations of the principle of redundancy within the main text. Therefore, an edited transliteration |*korbeo*| is indicated.

¶COMPARANDA. Note also the Old Irish glossary word *corb .i. carput* 'chariot'.

**kᵒtᵘuaratᵉe** ⋈△Ⱶ𐤀Ρ𐤀ᚺΟ (J.53.1)    3rd singular perfect verb, compound of *rāte* 'has run' ~ √*ret-* 'run' with the preverb **tᵘ** from the widely reflected Proto-Celtic preverb *\*to*, alternatively reconstructed as *\*tu* (Koch 2013a, 189–90; Kaufman 2015, 17, 126, 410, 416, 500).

¶CONTEXT. **# kᵒtᵘuaratᵉe tᵘnbⁱitᵉsbᵃan orbᵃa≡setᵃa ...**

¶COMPARANDA. Old Irish *fu·rráith* = Old Welsh *guo-raut* 'he saved, helped, delivered' < 'has run under' < Celtic *\*u(p)o-rāte* (on the derivation of the Insular Celtic *ā*-preterites from the Indo-European perfect, see Schumacher 2004, 75–6; cf. 2005). Note that these Insular Celtic *ā*-preterites agree exactly with the attested Tartessian perfect as proposed here. Early Welsh also has a related compound with two preverbs *dywaret* < *\*to-u(p)o-ret-* 'rescue, save'. SW **oretᵒo** (J.4.1; see below) probably reflects the Proto-Celtic compound verb *\*u(p)o-ret-*.

¶INTERPRETATIONS. *\*ko(m)+to-u(p)o-rāte* 'has delivered to', expressing the action of the funerary rite with regards the deceased (Koch 2013a, 114–15, 189–90); *\*ko(m) tu-u(p)er-rāte* 'when s/he ran over hither' (Kaufman 2015, 17, 126, 410, 416, 500). Kaufman's gloss is more compatible with Old Irish *co* 'up to, until', than the reconstruction *\*ko(m)* 'with', and it is not impossible that the cognate of Old Irish *co* 'until, up to' is what we have here, going back to Proto-Celtic *\*kᵘo-* (Middle Welsh *py* 'up to, until'). If so, the sense would anticipate the accusative destination, 'has run … to/up to'. Kaufman thinks that **kᵒtᵘaratᵉe** must contain *\*u(p)er* not *\*u(p)o*, because the latter otherwise is the source of Tartessian **o** rather than **ua**. However, this objection should be discounted in the light of examples such as the Gaulish byforms *uoθθos* alongside *uassus* 'servant' < *\*u(p)ostos*. *\*u(p)o-ret-* 'help, deliver' < 'run under', perfect *\*u(p)o-rāte* can be safely reconstructed from abundant comparative evidence as a Proto-Celtic compound verb with a suitable meaning for a funerary context (although Kaufman takes this lost inscription to be non-funerary). On the other hand, there is insufficient evidence for Proto-Celtic *\*\*u(p)er-ret-*, as there are no certain examples of Old Irish *for·reith*, preterite *for·ráith*, and Welsh *gor-redeg* first appears in the mid 19th century.

**Κυνητες** *Kunētes*, **Κυνησιοι** *Kunēsioi*, **Κονιοι** *Conii*   Celtic group name 'the tribe of the hound' implying a society of warriors (De Bernardo Stempel 2008b, 103; Koch 2013a, 190–2; Koch 2014a), cf. Old Welsh *Cınuıt* and from it the warband name *Kyn⟨n⟩wydyon* (Koch 2013a; Kaufman 2015, 176, 495) < Proto-Indo-European : *\*k̂(u̯)ōn* 'dog'.

¶INTERPRETATION. The Kunētes lived in the present-day Algarve and upper Guadiana. Speaking of his own time (the mid 5th century BC), Herodotus (4.48) calls the Κυνητες Kunētes—as likewise when he writes their name Κυνησιοι *Kunēsioi* (2.34)—the westernmost people of Europe (i.e. in what is now southern Portugal, which is the area of densest concentration of SW inscriptions) with the Κελτοί as their immediate neighbours to the east.

*Conii* occurs for a people in the south-west in sources of the Roman period (e.g. Polybius 10.7.5: Κονιοι *Konioi*). Strabo (3.2.2) says that Κονιστοργις *Konistorgis*, a place-name which probably means 'Town of the Konioi', was the most famous city of the south-western Keltikoi. As now shown convincingly by Almagro-Gorbea et al.

(2008, 1033–60), the location of Konisturgis was Medellín on the upper Guadiana, site of the important Early Iron Age necropolis of the orientalizing Tartessian culture, findspot of J.57.1, &c. The cultural background of the Κονιοι *Konioi* is seen as an archaic «protocelta atlántica», which means not derived from Celtiberia or central European Urnfield, by Almagro-Gorbea et al. (2008, 1041).

¶COMPARANDA. Romano-British place-name *Cunētio* and the Old Welsh place-name *arx Cynuit* in Asser's Life of Alfred, also Old Welsh man's name *Cinuit*, the eponym of the north British dynasty/warband the *Kynwydyon* (in the 12th-century Welsh genealogical source *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* 'Pedigree of the Men of the North') < Brythonic *\*Cunētiones*, probably a recharacterized plural from older *Kunētes* (cf. Charles-Edwards 1978, 66–8). These names are based on Celtic *\*kuno-* 'hound, wolf', forms of which were commonly used in the metaphoric extension 'warrior, hero': Proto-Indo-European : *\*k̂(u̯)ōn* 'dog' (Wodtko et al. 2008, 436–40).

*Konioi* is probably also based on Celtic 'dog', meaning 'hound-like men' or 'descendants of the [mythic] hound'. The pre-Roman place-name *Conimbrigā*, modern Coimbra on the central Portuguese coast north of Lisbon, can be understood as standing for a Celtic noun phrase, rather than a close compound of the more usual type, i.e. *\*Konii̯ūm brigā* 'hillfort of the Konioi'. The group name Κονισκοι *Koniskoi* occurs in an area of thick Ancient Celtic place-names in the north-central Peninsula and probably represents another 'Hound Tribe' or even an offshoot of the south-western Kunētes/ Konioi (as per De Bernardo Stempel 2008b, 113). That the SW inscriptions are most heavily concentrated where this group name is found indicates that the shared name is meaningful, and that the same cultural practices and language were vigorously in use in these areas.

**lakᵉentⁱi** ΓΛΚΟΜΦΝ (J.53.1) Indo-European 3rd plural active verb (MLH IV, 159, 166; Guerra 2009, 327), specifically Celtic, present-tense 'they lie down' < Proto-Indo-European √*legh-* 'lie down' (Koch 2013a, 192–3; Kaufman 2015, 88, 458, 497).

¶CONTEXT. **# kᵒ-tᵘ-ua-ratᵉe tᵘnbⁱitᵉsbᵃan orbᵃa≡setᵃa lakᵉentⁱi raha≡kᵃaśetᵃana (...)**

¶NOTE. Other possible examples of this verb in the SW corpus include **lakⁱinbⁱi** ΓΛΦΝΥ⥥Ν (J.12.4), possibly a 1st singular present |*la(:)gimi*|, in which case either the deceased or burial and inscribed stone are understood as the speakers. The noun **lokᵒon** Ψ╪Χ╪⌐ (J.1.1, J.57.1), probably 'interment, burial, funerary urn', would also belong to this IE root.

¶COMPARANDA. Old Irish 3rd sg. present *laigid* 'lies down', Gaulish verbs LEGASIT (Bourges) and probably causative 'is laid down'? LOGITOE (Néris-les-Bains); Gothic *ligan*, Old Church Slavonic *lešti*, Faliscan *lecet* 'lies'.

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. IdgEW 658ff; LIV 398f; L&P 375; Matasović 2009 s.n. *\*leg-o-*.

**liirnestᵃakᵘun** ᕼᒣᕮᗅᐱᚷᗯᏀᏐᏐᏐᏐ1 (J.19.1)    Hispano-Celtic kindred name, typically characterized by an adjectival *k*-suffix and the genitive plural case ending SW **-un** |*-ūm*| < Proto-Indo-European *-ōm* (MLH IV, 166; Ballester 2004b, 120; 2012, 16), 'of the kindred living near the sea' |*Liranestākūm*| < Proto-Celtic *\*(p)liro-* 'sea' + *\*nesto-* 'near, next to' (Koch 2013a, 195–7; Kaufman 2015, 64, 125, 145–6, 348, 374, 497, 499; Nahm 2015).

¶CONTEXT.   **]l̲iirnestᵃakᵘun  bᵃane≡ooŕoire  bᵃa̲[re  naŕ]kᵉenii** #  Having examined the stone, I think it likely that there was originally no sign preceding the chipped **l 1**.

¶INTERPRETATION. The crux is the relationship of this text to that of J.19.2, a stone found nearby in the same necropolis: **# ooŕoir naŕkᵉenbⁱi #**. As summed up by Nahm (2015): 'Obviously two persons, one related to the other.' To take this pair as a case study could also supply a straightforward insight into the frequent occurrence of verbs with plural inflexion in the corpus (e.g. **naŕkᵉentⁱi**, **naŕkᵉenii**, **lakᵉentⁱi**, &c.). With the briefer inflexion, **ooŕoir** is the primary figure, and his relative called **]l̲iirnestᵃakᵘun bᵃane≡ooŕoire** is identified with reference to him, not vice versa. For **ooŕoir** the following formula word has what can be construed as 1st singular present-tense inflexion |*narke(:)mi*|, so translate as something like '[I] Ooŕoir (U̯oru̯iros) now lie down [here]'. As the more central person in the society (whose name, I think, means 'Over-man' < *\*u(p)er-u̯iros*), he can act as spokesman in the 1st singular. There is no question that he belongs, and he has his own status. Interpreting J.19.1 **]l̲iirnestᵃakᵘun  bᵃane≡ooŕoire  bᵃa̲[re  naŕ]kᵉenii #** as |*Liranestākūm bₐnē=Qoro̯irē bāre narkenji*| '[this grave] has carried O.'s wife of the kindred living next to the sea; they now lie below [here]', the plural verb contrasting with the first singular can be understood as appropriate for a person of less central social importance. Her value is enhanced because with her '*they* lie down here', including most significantly her husband Qoro̯ir, but also the rest of the community in the necropolis, with which she is included despite originating in a kindred which has been identified, presumably because it differs from that of the people among whom she is buried. It would not make much sense to identify a woman as belonging to the kindred of the Lir(a)nestākoi, if everyone she lived with and was buried with also belonged to that group. But if we assume an exogamous social order of the most common Indo-European type in which the wives were moving, **liirnestᵃakᵘun** not only effectively identified the woman, but also advertised the value of a marriage alliance for her husband's kindred, in whose territory the burial and inscribed stone were probably located. In other words, part of the motivation for the recurrent use of present-tense plural verbs in the epitaphs of individuals may be to emphasize belonging to the group, by making a statement which could allude to everyone buried in the necropolis or in an immediate family cluster.

¶NOTE. Brandherm's (2016) study of the necropolises in the Algarve and Baixo Alentejo shows that the burial rite of the Early Iron Age rite that has been found as the context of SW inscriptions is a precise revival of a rite Middle Bronze Age (*c.* 1800–*c.* 1300 BC) in exactly the same region. The widely separated chronological horizons are not easily distinguished without excavation: both sets characteristically include single burials in stone-lined cists and stelae reused as cap stones, all overlain by surface structures of circular or sub-circular pavements delimited by kerb stones, sometimes overlapping in clusters. Leaving aside the words on the Iron Age inscriptions, it can be seen that the message of their burial context involved a claim of ancestry and continuity with an indigenous community over centuries.

¶COMPARANDA. For Hispano-Celtic kindred names of this type, cf. ]**tᵃarnekᵘun bᵃane** in the SW corpus (J.26.1), Celtiberian **alizokum** 'of the descendants of Alizos', **tirtanikum** 'of the descendants of Tirtanos', **turikum** 'of the descendants of Turos' (Wodtko 2003, 26), and from Cantabria **AVITA|[E]CON** (Untermann 1980b). In inscriptions of the Roman Period, endings with -velar+ *-on*, *-um*, and *-un* are attested: **ALONGVN**, **AVLGIGVN**, **BALATVSCVN**, **BODDEGVN** 'of the clan of Bōdios', **CA|DDECVN**, **CANTABREQVN**, **CELTIGVN** 'of the clan of Celtius', **VIR[ONI]CVN** (González Rodríguez 1986, 145–6). ¶ For **liir-**compare Old Irish *ler*, Middle Welsh *llyr* 'sea' perhaps related to Latin *plērus < *pleiro-* 'very many' (Indo-European *pelh₁-* 'fill'), if so, Proto-Celtic *(p)liro-* showing characteristically Celtic loss of Indo-European *p*. Cf. also the kindred name **LER|AN[I]QV|M** on a funerary inscription of the Roman Period from Segovia (González Rodríguez 1994, 172). ¶ For **-nest-**, compare Gaulish *neððamon* 'of the nearest ones', Old Irish *nessam*, Middle Welsh *nes* 'nearer', *nessaf* 'nearest'. ¶ As Wodtko notes (2003, 26), the **-ako-** suffix in Celtiberian is best attested in expressing a relationship to a place: e.g. **kontebakom** 'pertaining to Contrebia', **sekaizakom** 'pertaining to Segeda'. That might also hold for SW **liirnestᵃakᵘun**. The Celtiberian family name **kounesikum** (K.1.1) has a double relevance here: first, as showing the cognate adjectival velar suffix and genitive plural case ending in the same functions and, second, by possibly identifying a group by an eponymous ancestor *\*Kom-netₜsos* 'neighbour, man living nearby'.

**lokᵒobᵒo** ‡□‡ⵝ‡ꓶ (J.1.1)      dative-ablative plural of the name of the widely attested Celtic god *Lugus* and divine group *Lugoues*, corresponding to indigenous names in inscriptions of the Lucenses in Galicia (Correa 1981, 208; 1992, 99–100; Untermann 1995, 255; Villar 2004, 261–3; Guerra 2010b; Koch 2013a, 197–8; Jordán 2015, 309, 318; Nahm 2015; Koch & Fernández 2017). This divine name is most probably based on the Proto-Indo-European √*leugh-* 'swear, lie, ask' (Jordán 2006, 54–5; cf. Koch 1992a; De Bernardo Stempel 2013, 643).

¶CONTEXT. **lokᵒobᵒo≡niirabᵒo tᵒo aŕaiai** ... begins a long, well-carved, and complete inscription. These dative/ablatives plural are closely co-ordinated with each other and more loosely with a third: **lokᵒobᵒo≡niirabᵒo ... kᵃakⁱiśiin|kᵒolobᵒ|o**. Cf. J.5.1: **ist̲a̲|ibᵒo rinoe̲bᵒo | anakᵉenak̲ᵉ:e|ibᵒo**.

¶INTERPRETATION. If **lokᵒobᵒo** does not represent */lugubo/* as has been proposed (Correa 1992, 100 N 62; Villar 2004, 263), it might reflect the full grade Proto-Celtic *\*Loug-* of a full-grade ablaut variant (Jordán 2006) or an archaic ablauting paradigm.

LVGGONI
ARGANTICAENI

LVCOVBV[S]
ARQVIENI[S]

LVCOBO /
AROVSA(ECIS)

LVGVA CADDECVN

LVGVBO
ARQVIENOBO

DIBVS M[.]
LVCVBO

LVGVNIS
DEABVS

LVGOVIBVS

LVGVADICI ...
VXAMENSIS

[A]TTA LVGVA
CARAECICVM
EBVRENI VXOR

LVGVEI

BANDE LVGVNO

150 km

lokᵒobᵒo
niirabᵒo

MAP: Distribution of names with *Lugu-*

Woudhuizen, (2014/2015, 316) sees **lokᵒobᵒo niirabᵒo** as collocated Celtic datives-ablatives plural, meaning 'over the Lugii (and) Nerii'. Nahm (2015) translates **lokᵒobᵒo niirabᵒo** as 'for gods and men'. The desinence of **lokᵒobᵒo** corresponds the dative-ablative plural **-BO** attested in 'Lusitanian-Callaecian' (Ballester 2004b, 120; 2012, 16). However, -BO is also the usual ending Gaulish, as in the comparable dedicatory formulas: ΜΑΤΡΕΒΟ ΓΛΑΝΕΙΚΑΒΟ 'for the mothers of Glanum' (Saint-Rémy G-64), ΡΟΚΛΟΙΣΙΑΒΟ 'for the listeners' (Saint-Rémy G-65), ΑΤΕΡΕΒΟ 'for the fathers/ancestors' (Plumergad, Morbihan). By contrast, the Celtiberian ending is *-bos* (Untermann 1985, 358). Furthermore, the Viseu inscription **DEIBABOR IGO DEIBOBOR VISSAIEIGOBOR** 'Deabus diisque Vissaieicis' (Fernandes et al. 2009: 146; cf. AE 2008, 643; HEp 17, 2008, 255) implies that *-bo* might better be interpreted as diagnostically the Western Hispano-Celtic form agreeing with Gaulish, whereas the corresponding Lusitanian dative-ablative plural ending is *-bor*; cf. Villar (2004, 261–2) who emphasizes that *-bo* (without *-s*) in this ending is otherwise known only in Celtic, i.e. Gaulish: 'It would therefore seem to me more correct from the

methodological point of view to attribute *-bo* to the Celts of the west rather than to the Lusitanians.'    ¶ Kaufman (2015, 121, 196, 199, 497) interprets **lokᵒobᵒo** as the dative-ablative plural of the same noun attested as accusative singular **lokᵒon** (J.1.1, J.57.1), for which the translation is plausibly 'grave, resting place' (see below).

¶COMPARANDA. **LVGVBO ARQVIENOBO C. IVLIVS HISPANVS V. S. L. M.** (IRLugo, 67 — Liñarán, Sober, Lugo); **LVGOVBV[S] ARQVIENI[S] SILONIVS SILO EX VOTO** (IRLugo, 68; IRG II, 18 —Sinoga, Rábade, Otero del Rey, Lugo); **DIBVS M[.] LVCVBO** (Peña Amaya, north of Burgos — Búa 2003, 153–4; Marco 2005, 301), and **LVCOBO AROVSA[-]** (Lugo). Cf. **LVGOVIBVS** (CIL II, 2818 — Osma, Soria); **LVGVNIS DEABVS** (HEp, 6, 167 — Atapuerca, Burgos); **BANDE LVGVNO** (HEp, 17, 230 — Vale de Prazeres, Fundão, Castelo Branco, where the first divine name is definitely Lusitanian); **LVGGONI ARGA_N_TICAENI** in Asturias, northern Spain (Búa 2000, 274 — Villaviciosa, Oviedo); that collocation is interesting in the light of the Welsh tradition of *Llew fab Ar(y)anrot*.

¶ For further examples of this dative-ablative plural ending used similarly in dedications, compare **DEIBA_BO_ NEMVCELAIGA_BO_** (Vila Real, north Portugal), **ARA_BO_ COROBE|LICOBO TALVSICO_BO_** (Arroyomolinas de la Vera, Cáceres, Spain [Búa 2000, 526]). ¶For the divine name, note Celtiberian dative singular **LVGVEI** 'to [the god] Lugus' (MLH IV, K.3.3; HEp, 6, 921; HEp, 9, 541; HEp, 12, 429 — Peñalba de Villastar, Teruel). A Latin inscription from Uxama in Celtiberia records a dedication to **LVGOVIBVS** 'to the divine Lugoues' by a guild of shoemakers, which is intriguing in view of the shoemaking episode in the story of Lleu (< Celtic *Lugus*) in the Mabinogi. Cf. Gaulish LVGOVES (nominative plural) from Avenches, Switzerland, Old Irish *Lug*, Welsh *Lleu*.    ¶ Personal names: Gaulish ΛΟΥΓΟΥΣ, LVGVSELVA (Raybould & Sims-Williams 2007, 65); Ogamic Primitive Irish LUGUQRIT, LUGUVECCA, LUGUDECCAS, &c.; Brythonic *Louocatus*, Old Breton and Old Welsh *Loumarch > Llywarch* (cf. the simplex group name Λυγοι of north Britain, the extensive *Lugii* of central Europe); Hispano-Celtic **[A]TTA LVGVA CARAECICVM EBVRENI VXOR** (FE, 340; ERAv, 134; HEp, 13, 71 — Narros del Puerto, Ávila); **VALERIO ANNONI LVGVADICI F. VXAMENSIS AVR(ELIVS) CEL(ER)** (CIL II 2732 142 — Segovia); **sekanos kolukokum lukinos** (K.1.3, II-1 — Botorrita, Zaragoza).    ¶ Note also the Place-name *Lugisonis* (Rav.321.1) in Callaecia.    ¶ The following Palaeohispanic personal names may contain the full-grade of the same root: **AMBATAE AIONCAE LOVGEI F.** (Abásolo 1974a, 185 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **[CA]LPVRNIAE AMBATAE LOVGEI F.** (AE, 1980, 587 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **ELAESVS PETOLVS LOVGEI PETRAIOCI F.** (Abásolo 1974a, 70 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **AEMILIA LOVGO C. F. CLVNIENSIS** (AE, 1973, 298 — Braga); **BRVTTIA FESTA LOVGEIDOCVM** (CIL II, 3121; González Rodríguez 1986, nº 133 — Uclés, Cuenca).

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. Prósper 2002, 312; Wodtko 2003, §62.7; Delamarre 2003, 211; Luján 2006, 722; Matasović 2009 s.n. *Lugu-*; Koch & Fernández 2017.

**lokᵒon** ᛦᛨ𐌎ᛨᛍ (J.1.1), **]l͟o͟kᵒon** ᛦᛨ⋈ᛨᛍ⸢ (J.57.1)    Celtic (Villar 2004, 264) accusative singular (MLH IV, 167; Jordán 2006, 60–1) or nominative-accusative neuter, 'burial, interment, bed, resting place, grave, funerary urn', *o*-stem |*logom*| < Proto-

Indo-European √*legh-* 'lie down' (Koch 2009, 102; 2013a, 198; Guerra 2010b; Kaufman 2015, 121, 196, 199, 497).

¶CONTEXTS. **# lokᵒobᵒo≡niirabᵒo tᵒo aŕaiaі kᵃaltᵉe lokᵒon ane naŕkᵉe ...** (J.1.1); **]lokᵒon ḵᵉeloia naŕkᵉ[e . . | li[ | bᵃa[re** (J.57.1)

¶INTERPETATIONS. Apart from Jordán and myself, the writers cited above favour the possibility **lokᵒon** is a case form of the same noun opening J.1.1 as dative-ablative plural **lokᵒobᵒo**. Thus, Villar (2004, 264) sees **lokᵒon** as a genitive plural divine name; however, **liirnestᵃakᵘun** (J.19.1) and **]tᵃarnekᵘ⟨ḵᵘ⟩un** (J.26.1) imply that the corresponding SW genitive plural ending was **-un** |*-ūm*|. Although plausible on the face of it, equating **lokᵒobᵒo** and **lokᵒon** requires abandoning either the hard-to-deny comparison with Callaecian **LVGVBO ARQVIENOBO**, &c., or the similarity of Cisalpine Gaulish LOKAN (RIG E–5 — Todi bilingual inscription) = Latin VR̲N̲V̲M, more recently read SEPVLCRVM (Estarán 2016, 238–243). This comparison is also compelling as it occurs likewise in funerary context. It therefore might be necessary to allow that the similarity of **lokᵒobᵒo** and **lokᵒon** is apparent only.

¶COMPARANDA. Cisalpine LOKAN */logan/* 'burial, funerary urn', Early Welsh *golo* 'burial' < *\*u(p)o-log-*.

**meleśae** ΟΑΜΟꟼΟѠ(J.15.1)    woman's name or epithet from the Proto-Celtic adjective *\*melitso-*, *\*melitsā-* 'sweet' < 'tasting like honey', dative singular (Koch 2013a, 198–9; Kaufman 2015, 60, 65, 124, 178, 328–9, 498) or nominative-accusative dual (Koch).

¶CONTEXT. **# haitᵘura meleśae: :bᵃaenae \*(\*)n #**

¶COMPARANDA. Old Irish *milis*, Welsh *melys* 'sweet' (< 'honey-flavoured', an epithet of mead) < Proto-Indo-European *\*melit-ti-*. Although not known otherwise in the Iberian Peninsula, this form and derivatives are well attested as Ancient Celtic personal names in Gaul and central Europe, thus, to take just the feminine examples: D M MELISSAE VALER[IAE] LIBERTAE (CIL XII no. 5932 — Nîmes), MELLISSI ET MELISSAE (AE 1957 no. 149 — Tournai), MOGETIVS MARTIALI[S] VF SIBI ET MELIS[SA]E CONIVGI (CIL III no. 5635 — Treglwang, Austria) (see further Delamarre 2007, 131).

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Kaufman derives the name from the Proto-Celtic abstract noun 'sweetness' *\*meliᵗsiiā*, as implied by Middle Irish *millse*, Welsh *melysedd*. The corresponding masculine formation is attested as a Gaulish name: D M MELIÐÐIVS (CIL XIII, no. 5439 — Luxeuil). However, as the Gaulish feminine ā-stem MELISSAE is well and directly attested and more closely resembles SW **meleśae**, derivation from abstract *\*meliᵗsiiā* is unnecessary and requires one or more sound law to delete the segments [-ii̯-] from Proto-Celtic [meliᵗsii̯a:i] so as to leave no trace of their former presence. On the other hand, the lowering of Proto-Celtic *\*ĭ* and *\*i̯* preceding *\*ă* or *\*ā* to SW **e**, as in **meleśae** < *\*Meliᵗsāi*, is found in further examples in the corpus and can

be accepted as a regular sound law: for example, **hatᵃaneatᵉe** (J.12.1) < *\*(p)ataniatei* 'for the winged one', feminine accusative singular superlative **tᵘnbⁱitᵉsbᵃan** (J.53.1) with |-es_ama(:)m| < *\*-is_amām*; **tᵘurea** |*tureā*| 'daughter of Turos' (J.7.8) < *\*Turiā* (see Koch 2011, §78).

——**m̠utᵘuirea**  ΑΟ𐌘𐌌ᕼΔᕼ𐌌  or  ——**ś̠utᵘuirea**  ΑΟ𐌘𐌌ᕼΔ𐌌 (J.1.5)  possible Hispano-Celtic name (Ballester 2004b; 2012; Koch 2013a, 199; Kaufman 2015, 61, 64–6, 178, 187–8, 218–19, 498).

¶CONTEXT. # m̠utᵘuirea bᵃar[e n]aŕkᵉentⁱi  a(a)m̠usokᵉeonii #    The segmentation **m̠utᵘui** or **ś̠utᵘui** is also possible.

¶COMPARANDA. Celtiberian genitive plural kindred name **muturiskum** 'of the descendants of *Muturos*', personal names *Muturrae*, **mutorke**.

¶INTERPRETATIONS. **m̠utᵘuirea** can be understood as 'female relative of *Muturos*', feminine *iā*-stem, nominative singular. **m̠utᵘui** or **ś̠utᵘui** would resemble the dative singular of an *o*- or a *u*-stem; the former could be related to Celtiberian **muturiskum**.    ¶ Kaufman segments **m̠utᵘuire**, interpreting that as the locative singular derived from Proto-Celtic *\*muto-uiro-s* 'penis-man', possibly a personal name.

**na·bᵒolon** ᕼ‡ᒣ‡🏳Αᕼᕼ (J.7.1)    negated 3rd plural active verb derived from Proto-Celtic *\*bal-n-*, √*belA-* 'die' < Proto-Indo-European √*gᵘelH-* 'strike, stab' (Koch 2013a, 162; Kaufman 2015, 80, 85, 88, 107, 121–2, 252–3, 489).

¶CONTEXT. # aś🝊a bᵒobⁱir naŕkᵉenai | aś🝊a na·bᵒolon #

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Kaufman labels the form as 3rd plural perfect, but formally it resembles the active thematic inflection in the present-imperfect system, with imperfect *\*-ont* or present *\*-onti* with early apocope.

¶COMPARANDA. Old Irish *at·baill* 'dies', Early Welsh *aballaf* 'I (shall) perish' (Marwnad Cunedda), Sanskrit *galati* 'drops, disappears', Old English *cwelan* 'to die' (Lewis & Pedersen §502), Lithuanian *gālas* 'end, death': Indo- European *\*gᵘelH-* (LIV 207–8). If this is the relevant root, Tartessian **bᵒolon** shows diagnostically Celtic *b* from Indo-European *gᵘ*.

**naŕkᵉe** Ο𐌘ᕼᕼΑᕼ (J.27.1), **n̠aŕkᵉe** Ο𐌘ᕼᕼΑᕼ (S. Martinho), **naŕ[kᵉ]e** Ο[𐌘]ᕼᕼΑᕼ (J.1.1), **naŕkᵉ[e]** [Ο]𐌘ᕼᕼΑᕼ (J.26.1, J.57.1, MdC), **na]ŕkᵉe** Ο𐌘ᕼ[ (J.16.2), **naŕkᵉetⁱi** 𐌌ΦΟᕼᕼΑᕼ (J.56.1), **naŕkᵉe(n)** (ᕼ)ΟᕼᕼΑᕼ (J.7.8), **naŕkᵉenbⁱi** ᕼᒣᕼΟᕼᕼΑᕼ (J.19.2), **naŕkᵉeni** (J.1.2, J.1.3), **naŕkᵉenii** ᕼ𐌌ᕼΟᕼᕼΑᕼ (J.2.1, J.21.1), **n[aŕkᵉ]enii** (J.6.1), **naŕkᵉentⁱi** 𐌌ΦᕼΟᕼᕼΑᕼ (J.12.1, J.16.1, J.17.2, J.18.1), **[n]aŕkᵉentⁱi** (J.1.5), **na]ŕkᵉentⁱi[** (J.4.3), **n(a)ŕkᵉenii** ᕼ𐌌ᕼΟᕼᕼᕼ (J.11.1), **na̠ŕkᵉenii** 𐌌]Δᕼ𐌊Οᕼᕼᕼ (J.11.3), **na]ŕkᵉeni** ᕼΑ]ᕼ𐌊Οᕼᕼ (Corte Pinheiro), **naŕ]kᵉenii** (J.19.1),

**naŕrkᵉe:n:**⟨Ⴘ⟨ΟⳊⳂ𐌊ᴧ𐌊Ⴘ⟩ (J.23.1), **n[a]ŕkᵉen** Ⴘ𐌊ΟⳊΟ𐌊ᴧ𐌊Ⴘ (Cabeza del Buey IV), **na[ŕ]kᵉen** (Monte Gordo), **naŕkᵉenai** ᴧᴧᴧΟⳊᴧ𐌊Ⴘ (J.7.1, J.55.1), **]naŕkᵉeuu[** ]ᴧᴧΟⳊᴧ𐌊Ⴘ⟨ (Corte do Freixo 2).  These variants comprise the most common and characteristic forms of the SW epigraphic formula (see below). **naŕkᵉentⁱi**, &c., has been recognized as a verb with characteristic Indo-European inflexion relating to the state of the deceased and/or burial (Wikander 1966, 6–7; Tovar 1969, 343–5; cf. Correa 1992, 99; Untermann 1995, 253; Villar 2004, 264; Koch 2013a, 200–2; Koch 2014b; 2014c; Jordán 2015, 308–9; Kaufman 2015, 14, 64, 67, 71, 80–1, 88, 91–2, 109, 124, 187, 197, 205, 210, 219, 222, 2379, 251, 264, 273, 277, 281, 287, 290, 294, 298, 304–6, 324, 331–3, 337, 342–3, 346, 352, 356–8, 367, 370, 376–8, 381–5, 390, 398–400, 422, 426–8, 439, 445, 457, 469–71, 476, 505; Nahm 2015).

¶CONTEXTS. **naŕkᵉentⁱi**, &c., never occurs at the beginning of a complete epigraphic text, but often at, or nearer to, the end:

... kᵃaltᵉe lokᵒon ane naŕkᵉe kᵃakⁱiśiinkᵒolobᵒo ii tᵉe-ro-bᵃare ... (J.1.1);

... uarbᵃan tⁱirtᵒos ne-bᵃa-naŕkᵉeni #(J.1.2);

]ŕakᵘurś tᵉe-bᵃare naŕkᵉeni akᵃa**ir-ion a[ (J.1.3);

# mutᵘuirea bᵃar[e n]aŕkᵉentⁱi  a(a/m)musokᵉeonii # (J.1.5);

]bᵒoara naŕkᵉenii # (J.2.1);

]*r tᵉeaion(kᵃ)a[ ... na]ŕkᵉentⁱi[ (J.4.3);

]*reonuu[  ]u[a]rbᵃa[an ... naŕkᵉ]enii[ (J.4.4);

]ea-bᵃare n[aŕkᵉ]enii # (J.6.1);

aś?a bᵒo(tⁱ)ir naŕkᵉenai aś?a na-bᵒolon (J.7.1);

]uarbᵒon i[ ]naŕkᵉen[ (J.7.5);

]ebᵒo tᵉe-bᵃere naŕkᵉen emun tᵘurea≡iubᵃa # (J.7.8);

 ]****naŕkᵉenii raśen bᵃare # (J.7.10);

]aanan uarbᵃan ebᵉe naŕ[kᵉe (J.9.1);

# kⁱielaoe:≡ oiśaua ≡bᵃane≡ robᵃae n(a)ŕkᵉenii # (J.11.1);

# soloir uarbᵃan[ ]ina o*[ | n]aŕkᵉenii (J.11.3);

... ea ro-n-bᵃaren naŕkᵉenii aliśne (J.11.4);

# iru≡alkᵘu sie: naŕkᵉentⁱi mubᵃa tᵉe-ro-bᵃare hatᵃaneatᵉe # (J.12.1);

]noś tᵃae-bᵃare naŕkᵉen # (J.14.1);

# aalaein ŕe[ naŕ]kᵉeni # (J.15.3);

# uursaau *arbᵃan tᵉe-bar[e] bᵃa-naŕkᵉentⁱi # (J.16.1);

 ( )omuŕikᵃa[ ]anbᵃatⁱia≡iobᵃa[  ]*e bᵃa-[na]ŕkᵉe kᵉeo-ion[ (J.16.2);

... ro-bᵃare bᵃa-naŕkᵉ[e]ntⁱi # (J.16.3);

# kᵘui kᵃaosa naŕ[kᵉe]n( ) (J.17.1);

# kᵘui arairbᵘbᵘ[u | ]bᵃare naŕkᵉentⁱi # (J.17.2);

# bᵒotⁱieana≡ kᵉertᵒo ≡robᵃa tᵉe-bᵃare bᵃa-naŕkᵉentⁱi # (J.18.1);

]an tᵉee-ro-bᵃare na[ŕkᵉe(...) (J.18.2);

]liirnestᵃakᵘun bᵃane≡ooŕoire bᵃa[re naŕ]kᵉenii # (J.19.1);

# ooŕoir naŕkᵉenbⁱi # (J.19.2);

]uŕni bᵉelisᵒn uarn|bᵃan e* bᵃar(e)n naŕkᵉen[ (J.20.1);

]uarbᵃan tᵉe[(e)-ro-bᵃ]are naŕkᵉenii # (J.21.1);

# uarbᵒoiir sarune ea bᵃare naŕkᵉenii # (J.22.1);

# bᵉetⁱisai tᵉee-bᵃarentⁱi iru≡|(u)arbᵘu i el naŕrkᵉe:n: uśnbe # (J.23.1);

]tᵃarnekᵘ⟨kᵘ⟩un≡bᵃane |[ro-]bᵃare naŕkᵉ[ (J.26.1);

]ukᵉe śaen bᵃare naŕkᵉe*[ (J.27.1);

# ro- kᵒolion eertᵃaune tᵃarielnon : liŕniene naŕkᵉenai # (J.55.1);

# akᵒolioś naŕkᵉetⁱi # (J.56.1);

]lokᵒon kᵉeloia naŕkᵉ[e (J.57.1);

... alakⁱimuŕbᵒ? a naŕkᵉe bᵃa* ... (São Martinho);

]kⁱiu [---] kᵉeilau kᵉe iśa n[a]ŕkᵉen[ (Cabeza del Buey IV);

... lebᵒoiire ro-bᵃare naŕkᵉ[e ... (Mesas do Castelinho);

 # bᵉeu*[  ]ae* bᵃ[a]re [na]ŕkᵉeni # (Corte Pinheiro);

 ]*******bᵃ tᵉe-bᵃare na[ŕkᵉe( ) (Vale de Águia);

... ro-n-bᵃare na[ŕ]kᵉen tᵃa-bᵉe anoŕ-ion ... (Monte Gordo).

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Given the limitations of the SW writing system, **naŕkᵉe** (J.1.1., São Martinho, &c.) could represent |*narke(:)t*| and **naŕkᵉen** (J.14.1, J.7.8, &c.) |*narke(:)nt*|, in other words, the Indo-European secondary endings corresponding to primary **naŕkᵉetⁱi** (J.56.1) and **naŕkᵉentⁱi** (J.1.5, J.4.3, J.12.1, J.16.1, J.16.3, J.17.2), probably the past tenses (imperfect) correspond to the present with *-(n)ti*.   ¶ It would be an unremarkable phonological development for the forms **naŕkᵉenii** and **naŕkᵉeni** to represent a later pronunciation of **naŕkᵉentⁱi** rather than a distinct paradigmatic form. The relative frequency of **naŕkᵉenii** (with final **-ii**) as opposed to **naŕkᵉeni** suggests that change was not a matter of [-nti] simply becoming [-ni], but that [-t-] had shifted to palatal segment, with a result such as [-nji] or [-ntʃi].   ¶ The variant orthography **naŕrkᵉe:n:** ΙΥΙΟ)ΙΥΛΛΑΥ (J.23.1) implies that the signs Λ and Υ had similar or (sometimes, at least) identical sounds.   ¶ Nahm (2015) proposes that **naŕkᵉenai** (J.7.1, J.55.1) is an infinitive in the dative case.

As to the source and meaning of the verb itself, it remains possible that **naŕkᵉe-** is the cognate of Greek ναρκάω 'grow stiff, numb, dead' < Proto-Indo-European √*(s)ner-* 'bind, fasten with thread or cord' (cf. Koch 2013a, 202).   ¶ Kaufman's proposal relates to this same semantic field, deriving the base the base /*nazg-e-*/ 'from the Celtic preverb + verb string *\*en=ad=rig-E-*, also meaning 'to bind in' or from *\*en=ad=seg-E-* meaning "to plant in"' (2015, 14–15).   ¶ Nahm (2015)

translates **naŕkᵉe-** as 'lies buried' or 'put up', which is inherently likely for a formulaic verb recurring in a corpus of funerary inscriptions.

The idea of Wikander (1966), subsequently adopted by Tovar (1969), and more recently revived by myself (Koch 2014b), is that **naŕkᵉentⁱi**, &c., continues Proto-Indo-European √ḱei- 'lie down' (cf. κεῖται Πάτροκλος '[here] lies Patroklos', *Iliad* 23.210). This derivation requires a shift from an Indo-European medio-passive to active inflexion. Such a development seems well motivated in light of the evidence of Vedic 3rd singular *śáye* 'lies', which lacks the synchronically regular personal marker *-t-* and so must have been archaic and at least somewhat anomalous already in Late Proto-Indo-European. In other words, the inherited form was ripe for reformation. **naŕkᵉenbⁱi** |*narke(:)mi*| (J.19.2) is thus consistent with **naŕkᵉentⁱi** as IE athematic present-tense forms, 1st singular and 3rd plural respectively. Villar (2004) is therefore probably mistaken in interpreting **naŕkᵉetⁱi** (J.56.1) as a thematic 3rd person singular form. The evidence is however consistent with Wikander's theory, in which case active athematic endings (*-mi*, *-ti*, *-nti*) have been added to the base **-kᵉe-** < Proto-Indo-European √ḱei-. If so, the isolated fragment **]naŕkᵉeuu[** (Corte do Freixo 2) should probably not be interpreted as a thematic 1st person singular synonymous with **naŕkᵉenbⁱi**, but segmented **]naŕkᵉe uu[** .

¶NOTE. PLURAL VERBS IN THE S.W. CORPUS. As emphasized by Jordán (2015, 308–9), the resemblance **naŕkᵉentⁱi** and the other forms in forms in **-(e)ntⁱi** to Indo-European primary 3rd person active verbal endings is a key pointer towards the Indo-European classification of the SW (matrix) language. As to why forms of this type occur at a high frequency, mostly in the formula, there is, in my view, more than one possibility. (1) Nahm and Kaufman have seen this as an honorific usage in keeping with the elevated genre. There may be simply a stylistic bias for 3rd plural active forms. (2) It may also be an effect of basic grammatical structure, that is, that the naming phrases, which most often contain more than one name form, are not grammatically singular, even if they refer to one person logically. Where the naming phrase shows apparent case agreement of two masculine forms in **-u** or two feminine forms in **-e** or **-a**, these can be understood as co-ordinative compounds, grammatically nominative-accusative duals, which governed plural verbs after the dual verbal inflexion had died out in Proto-Celtic. An advantage of retaining the dual number for the names of the deceased in funerary inscriptions was the grammatical ambiguity of subject and object. Thus, in connection with an epigraphic formula with two verbs (**bᵃare** 'has carried' and **naŕkᵉe-** 'lie down' or similar) the deceased named in the dual case could be construed as the object of the first verb and/or the subject of the second. (3) It is possible that the variants of (**bᵃa-**)**naŕkᵉentⁱi**, coming at or near the end of so many of the epitaphs were understood as something like 'so they now lie down [here]', referring to the community's necropolis as whole, and stressing that the individual named on the stone was united with the larger social and religious group venerated in the place. The usual layout of the necropolises of south Portugal in the Early Iron Age was one of clusters of cist burials with overlapping circular pavements at the surface level (see Brandherm 2016). Presumably related individuals have been meaningfully arranged in these groups. So it is hardly farfetched to suppose that the plural (**bᵃa-**)**naŕkᵉentⁱi** had a logical plural subject, referring to individuals buried in primary and subsidiary interments in the immediate vicinity of the inscribed stone. The pair of stones from Pêgo (J.19.1 and J.19.2 — Ourique, Beja) support and illuminate this third possibility, as discussed above in the Interpretation of **liirnestᵃakᵘun**.▯

**ΝΙΕΘΩΙ**     Hellenized Celtic divine name, dative singular (Almagro-Gorbea 2004b; Marco 2005, 292; Koch 2013a, 203–4; Kaufman 2015, 175, 499).

¶CONTEXT. **ΝΙΕΘΩΙ** occurs as a graffito in archaic Ionic Greek script on a Greek bowl (probably Milesian) found at Huelva and dated by Almagro-Gorbea to 590–560 BC.

¶INTERPRETATION. Almagro-Gorbea identifies this linguistic form with the name of the Hispano-Celtic divinity Nētos (accusative *Nēton*), who is described by Macrobius (*Saturnalia* I.19.5) as a solar, ray-adorned manifestation of the war god, i.e. Mars: *simulacrum Martiis radiis ornatum*. Note also the probable etymological connection with Old Irish *níam* 'radiance, beauty' (LEIA N-16). For the name, Marco (2005, 292) compares *Nēton* with Celtiberian *Neito* (Botorrita), though it is now doubtful that *neito* could be a theonym, but there are also Palaeohispanic divine epithets of the Roman period—*Cossue Nedoledio*, *Nidanlua-*, *Reva Nitaecus*, and the *Netaci Veilebricae* named on an altar from Padrón. Cf. also **NETONI DEO** on an altar, now lost, from Trujillo, Cáceres (Búa 2000, 571–2). F. Beltrán (2002) has registered doubts about this reading, as well as some of the other evidence which has been adduced in support of a Hispano-Celtic god Neito-/Nēto-.

¶COMPARANDA. Almagro-Gorbea also compares Irish forms such as Old Irish *nía*, genitive *níath*, ogam NETTA, NETA 'champion, hero': e.g. NETTASLOGI, NETASEGAMONAS, NET(T)ACUNAS. That word could also be related to Old Irish *nioth* (genitive), ogam NIOTA 'nephew, sister's son' < Indo-European *\*nepot-s*, genitive *\*nepotos* (McManus 1991, 109–10). **ΝΙΕΘΩΙ** and *Neton* would imply a Hispano-Celtic *o*-stem, dative and accusative respectively.

**niirabᵒo** ‡□ΛꟼꝐꟼ (J.1.1)    dative-ablative plural, from Proto-Indo-European *\*H₂nḗr* 'man, leader, hero, warrior', related to the Callaecian group name Νεριοι (Correa 1981, 208; 1992, 99–100; Untermann 1995, 255; MLH IV; Villar 2004; Guerra 2010b; Woudhuizen 2014/15, 317; Jordán 2015, 309, 318), |nīrabo| in which the long *ī* reflects the ablaut spreading analogically from the Proto-Indo-European nominative singular *\*H₂nḗr* with diagnostically Celtic *\*ī* < *\*ē* (Koch 2013a, 204–5; Kaufman 2015, 196, 498).

**nira-** ΛꟼꝐꟼ (MdC)    is generally interpreted as a form of the same word as **niirabᵒo**, thus a Celtic word meaning '(chief) man' or 'manly' or the derived group name Νεριοι also from Proto-Indo-European *\*H₂nḗr*. A close syntactic association with the following word **kᵃaltᵉe** ○日ꟷΛΛ (see entry) is also recognized (Koch 2013a, 204–5; Woudhuizen 2014/15, 314; Kaufman 2015, 196, 498).

¶CONTEXTS. The second word in this unusual and high-quality inscription, 'Fonte Velha VI', where it is also the second of three datives/ablatives plural in agreement: **# lokᵒobᵒo niirabᵒo … kᵃakⁱiśiin|kᵒolobᵒ|o** …    The first and surely the most important in this series is **lokᵒobᵒo** 'for the [divine] Lugoues'. In the MdC text, **nira-**

follows a series of signs that is difficult to analyse and segment, ending with **ea**, possibly a form of the relative pronoun < *i̯ā*: **… lii*eianiitᵃa ea nira-kᵃaltᵉe tᵃao bᵉe saru[?]an[** .

¶INTERPRETATIONS. The comparanda indicates, in the first instance, an important Indo-European noun meaning 'man, leader, chief, hero'. ¶ Hence, Nahm's interpretation of **lokᵒobᵒo≡niirabᵒo** as 'to gods and men', reminiscent of the Cisalpine Gaulish TEUOXTONI()ON (RIG II.1, E-2 — Vercelli), although the attested meanings of the reflexes of Proto-Indo-European *$H_2$nḗr* indicate that the common noun had a sense more towards 'noblemen, chiefs', even a specifically defined rank or office, rather than simply 'male human being'. ¶ In the Iberian Peninsula, the group name of the north-west is the best attested cognate for SW **ni(i)ra-**. Thus, Woudhuizen sees as two parallel Celtic group names 'over the Lugii (and) Nerii'. However, given the difference in the vowel grade, it is not so likely that **niirabᵒo** and **nira-kᵃaltᵉe** refer to the group inhabiting Galicia some centuries later. ¶ Kaufman proposes an adjectival meaning 'male, masculine, manly' (cf. Vedic *nárya-* 'masculine, virile, heroic' < Proto-Indo-European *$H_2$néri̯o-*, though this is not a perfect match formally with **ni(i)ra-**, unless *i̯*-epenthesis is involved). ¶ There is more than one possible explanation for the **-a-** in **niirabᵒo** and **nira-kᵃaltᵉe**. It had possibly spread from the inherited accusative forms *neram(s)* < Indo-European *$H_2$nérm̥*: replacing the problematical reflex of Indo-European *$H_2$nr̥bho(s)*. The Ogam genitive -NIRRAS (see below) could equally go back to Proto-Celtic *-nīros* or *-nīras*.

¶COMPARANDA. The Indo-European paradigm had ablaut: *$H_2$nḗr*, *$H_2$nér-*, *$H_2$nr̥-´*: e.g. Homeric nominative singular ἀνήρ, dative ἀνδρί, accusative ἄνδρα (Homeric and Attic ἀνέρα), nominative plural ἄνδρες, dative ἀνδράσι, accusative ἄνδρας; Avestan nominative singular *nā* (< Indo-European *$H_2$nḗr*), genitive *nərəš*, dative *narōi*, accusative *narəm*, nominative plural *narō*; Oscan nominative singular *niir* 'leader, magistrate', Umbrian *nír* < Italic *nēr* (Wodtko et al. 2008, 332–8). ¶ Ogamic Primitive Irish DUBONIRRAS MAQQI TENAC[I] (McManus 1991, 65) probably shows that this Indo-European ablaut grade (*ī* < Proto-Indo-European *ē* spreading from the inherited nominative singular) survived in Proto-Celtic. Welsh *nêr* 'lord, chief (frequently of God)' and the closely synonymous *nâr* 'lord, chief, leader' likewise imply that Proto-Celtic had an inherited paradigm with vowel grades in the root. ¶ Strabo (3.3.5) and Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 4.111) classed the Νεριοι *Neri* of Galicia (cf. *promontorium Nerium*) as Κελτικοί *Celtici*, an over-arching group name also occurring in south-west Hispania in the Late Iron Age and Roman times, pointing towards a general shared 'Celtic' identity across the western Peninsula (cf. Villar 2004, 247). In a Roman-period inscription from Briteiros, north Portugal CORONERI CAMALI DOMVS 'a casa de Coronerus Camali' (Búa 2004, 382; 2007, 28), NERO- could signify either 'of the (Callaecian group) Ner(i)i' or 'leader (of the warband)' or both.


**omuŕik̲ᵃ(a*)[** ⴼⵂⵝⵌⵠ Ⲁ *[ (J.16.2)    'under-sea', compound with adjectival velar suffix, continuing notional Proto-Celtic *u(p)o-morĭkā* (Koch 2013a, 210–11; Kaufman 2015, 17–18, 66–9, 90, 107, 116, 134, 231, 285, 342, 437, 476, 487–92, 498–500, 504)

¶CONTEXT. The text is carved in four lines, the most probable order being: ( )omuŕik̲ᵃ(a*)[ ]anbᵃatⁱia≡iobᵃa[ ]*e bᵃa [na]ŕkᵉe kᵉeo-ion[ ¶ Kaufman's arrangement of the lines differs (2015, 340–3): ]anbᵃatⁱi a̲iobᵃa [na]ŕkᵉekᵉe⟩ o-ion[ ( )omuŕik̲ᵃa*[ ]*e bᵃa #

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Kaufman (2015, 68, 343, 498) approaches this text, as he does with the SW corpus generally, as commemorating a wide range of themes and events, and less often limited to stereotypical identifications of the deceased together with (usually followed by) versions of the epigraphic formula (on which see below). This question of basic attitude to the material is significant and cannot be simply resolved as a matter of subjective preference or common sense. For Kaufman, ( )omuŕik̲ᵃa*[ refers to an 'under-sea' creature somehow involved in the death of deceased, who bore the hapax name aiobᵃa. He supplies a final -s to Proto-Celtic *u(p)o-morĭkās (there is room for the sign on the stone) to restore the form in the inscription as genitive singular.

My interpretation begins with the long-standing recognition of SW ]anbᵃatⁱia as the attested Hispano-Celtic name AMBATIA, which is derived from the most common Hispano-Celtic man's name *Ambatos* < Proto-Celtic *ambaχtos* 'subordinate representing a superior' < 'one sent around'. ]anbᵃatⁱia can be seen in case agreement with two further forms forming the naming phrase ( )omuŕik̲ᵃa (*)[ ]anbᵃatⁱia iobᵃa[, which I propose as |Qomurīkā Amba(χ)t̯i̯ā ̯iouₐmā| 'woman of the U̯omurikoi kindred, youngest daughter of Amba(χ)tos'. U̯omurios (or the like), meaning 'Under-sea being', would be the namesake ancestor of the kindred, possibly a mythological founder, cf. below the SW kindred name ]tᵃarnekᵘun |Tar(a)nekūm| 'of the kindred descended from Taranos' (J.26.1). Like ]tᵃarnekᵘun and ]liirnestᵃakᵘun (J.19.1), Celtiberian and other Hispano-Celtic kindred names are mostly attested in the genitive plural, e.g. **mailikum**, **teiuantikum**, **toutinikum** (all K.1.3; see Wodtko 2003, §56 — Botorrita, Zaragoza). This evidence raises the question of the significance of the contrasting syntax of ( )omuŕik̲ᵃa (*)[ ]anbᵃatⁱia iobᵃa[ versus ]liirnestᵃakᵘun bᵃane ooŕoire and ]tᵃarnekᵘun bᵃane. If these three are examples of kindred names as used in a single system of identification of individuals within a single tradition of funerary inscriptions, why is the case form sometimes genitive plural and sometimes in concord with the name of the deceased? There is a significant difference in these examples. The woman of the Lir(a)nestākoi kindred and that of Tar(a)nekoi kindred are both identified as **bᵃane** 'woman, wife'. In other words, they are identified with reference to their husbands. In J.19.1, where the inscription has survived fully enough, we can see that the woman of Lirnestākoi is the wife of **ooŕoir**, whose own inscribed stone is J.19.2. She is 'Mrs. **ooŕoir**'. As we seem to have an exogamous patrilocal system, as common in the early Indo-European-speaking world, **ooŕoir** was not of the Lirnestākoi himself. Had the text read *]liirnestᵃakᵉe bᵃane ooŕoire*, the case agreement might have wrongly (even transgressively) implied that **ooŕoir** was of that same kin group. It might merely have been confusing: was that who she was

before or after she married? On the other hand, **( )omuŕik<u>ª</u>a (\*)[ ]anbªat<sup>i</sup>ia iobªa[** identifies a woman with her father's name and, I think also, her position within her father's family. In a patrilocal exogamous system, both the father and his dependent daughter were of the same U̯omurikoi kindred. Any syntactic ambiguity resulting from the case agreement of the three items of the naming phrase could not lead to a misunderstanding. There is no second kindred implied, although there are two individuals are involved, as in the epitaph for the married woman **]liirnestªak<sup>u</sup>un bªane≡ooŕoire**. Although the simplest interpretation would be to assume that 'the daughter of Amba(χ)tos' was unmarried and had perhaps died under age, the social system might have included male outsiders who had married local women, but had no hereditary legal standing or social status and were thus under the protection of their fathers-in-law; cf. the class of recognized married outsider called *cú glas* in the Old Irish laws (Kelly 1988, 6). Another possibility is that **( )omuŕik<u>ª</u>a\*[** < *\*u(p) o-morīkā* does not mean that the deceased woman is of an ancestral kindred claiming 'under-sea' as their founder, but that her spouse was a foreign mariner, castaway, or shipwreck survivor with no legal status.

¶COMPARANDA. Gaulish personal name AGEDOVIRVS MORICI FIL (CIL XIII, no. 3101 — Nantes), personal epithet MORITEX 'sea-farer' (CIL XIII, no. 8164a — Cologne), region name *Aremorica / Armorica*, group name *Morini*, divine name DEO APOLLIN[I] MORITASGO and DEO MORITASGO (cf. Prósper 2002, 203); with the phonetic development found in **( )omuŕik<u>ª</u>a**, ABVDIA MVRINILLA VXOR (feminine diminutive from *Morinos*; AE 1905 no. 240 — Carnuntum, now Austria); Ancient Brythonic personal names *Mori-uassus* (Bath), *Moricamulus* (near Verulamium), place-names Μορικαμβη, *Moridunum* 'sea-fort' = ModW *Caer-fyrddin*, Anglicized *Carmarthen*; Old Irish *muir* 'sea'; Scottish Gaelic *muir*; Old Welsh *mor*, ModW *môr* 'sea, ocean, the deep, also figuratively plenty, abundance, copiousness', also *merin* < *\*morīn-* 'sea, tidal estuary'; Cornish *mor* 'sea', Old Breton *mor*; Latin *mare,* Old High German *mari, meri* 'sea, lake', Old Church Slavonic *morje* 'sea'.

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. IdgEW 748; LEIA M-73, GPC s.n. *môr*; EIEC 503; DGVB 259; Delamarre 2003, 229; 2007, 136–7; Matasović 2009 s.n. *mori-*.

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. **MORINIS** (Diego Santos 1986, no. 220 — Cacabelos, León); **MORILAE TOVTONI F.** (HAE, 923; CIRPZ, 278; ERZamora, 42 — Villalcampo, Zamora); divine name **MORICILO** (AE 1977, 108 — Casas de Millán, Cáceres); possibly **MVRE PECE PARAMECO CADABREI** (HEp, 1, 77; ERAsturias, 11 a — El Collado, Riosa, Asturias).

On the phonetic conditioning of Proto-Celtic *\*mori-* to SW **-muŕi-**, see Koch 2011, §91.


**o-ni-(?b<sup>i</sup>)ak<sup>a</sup>at<sup>i</sup>-śe** ⵁⵉⵉⵁⵀⵍⵍⵀⵝⵉⵉⵜ (J.10.1)    3rd person singular verb with preverbs **o** < *\*u(p)o* 'under' and **ni** 'down(wards)' (Koch 2013a, 211; Kaufman 2015, 285, 499).

¶CONTEXT. **# ariariśe : oni(?b<sup>i</sup>)ak<sup>a</sup>at<sup>i</sup>-śe : o(?b<sup>i</sup>)er-<u>b</u><sup>e</sup>eŕi : leoine ar-bªarie(?n) i(?b<sup>i</sup>)ensere (?tª)au #**    The reading is problematical. There are many examples in

the corpus for which the sign ↑ can be transliterated as **bⁱ**, as ↑ stands for **bi** in the closely related SE or 'Meridional' script. However, in the inscription of 'Mestras' (J.10.1), the sign ↑ occurs three times, never preceding **i**, therefore, an apparent violation of the principal of redundancy in each instance, though redundancy is observed otherwise in that text. The phonetic value of ↑ **(?bⁱ)** is therefore uncertain.

¶COMPARANDA. **-ni-** : Proto-Indo-European *\*ni* (Mallory & Adams 2006, 289, 292) **>** Vedic *ni*, *ny-* 'down(wards)', Old Welsh *ni-tanam* 'down under me [this memorial stone]' (Tywyn inscription).

¶INTERPRETATION. Kaufman, ignoring ↑, takes the verb to be subjunctive **akᵃatⁱiśe** 'may drive' < *\*agāti*, cf. Old Irish *agaid*. He sees the final two signs as the future ending *\*-sịet*, which seems unlikely involving a second occurrence of a 3rd singular personal ending, following the tense marker. Therefore, it remains preferable to understand **-śe** as a demonstrative 'this one, here'.

**ooŕoir** ꟼ𐌼‡𐌗‡‡ (J.19.2), **ooŕoire** ꟲꟼ𐌼‡𐌗‡‡ (J.19.1)    western Palaeohispanic name (MLH IV, 168), Celtic compound man's name with second element **-oir(-)** < Proto-Indo-European *\*u̯iHₓrós* 'man, hero', both forms from the Pêgo necropolis and referring to the same man (Koch 2013a, 211–12; Kaufman 2015, 61, 63, 66–8, 125, 177, 375–8, 504; Nahm 2015).

¶CONTEXTS. **# ooŕoir naŕkᵉenbⁱi #**    and    **( )liirnestᵃakᵘun bᵃane≡ooŕoire bᵃa[re naŕ]kᵉenii #**

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Kaufman derives the compound from notional Proto-Celtic *\*u̯osu-u̯iros* 'goodness-man'. He agrees that **ooŕoir** is nominative singular, and considers **ooŕoire** to be locative singular, therefore, not in case agreement with **bᵃane** 'woman, wife', which he treats as dative singular.

My interpretation remains that **ooŕoir** and **ooŕoire** reflect the positive grade of the traditional honorific epithet Proto-Celtic *\*u(p)er-u̯iros*, for which the superlative is attested as Celtiberian **VIROS VERAMOS** 'supreme man' (K.3.18; MLH V.1, 444; De Hoz 2007, 202 — Peñalba de Villastar), also the SW compound **uarbᵒoiir** (J.22.1) |*uarₐmo-u̯´ir*| 'supreme man/hero' < Proto-Celtic *\*u(p)erₐmo-* + *\*u̯iro-s*. Thus the first element goes back to Proto-Indo-European *\*(s)H₄upér* 'over' and shows characteristically Celtic loss of Proto-Indo-European *\*p*. The vowel of the first element of **ooŕoir** and **ooŕoire** shows the phonological development found also in Celtiberian **VORAMOS**, cf. the second preverb of the Gaulish compound verb *de-uor-buet-id* (Lezoux). Therefore, the two texts are provisionally interpreted: |*Ọoŕọir narkẽmi*| 'I U̯oru̯ir am now lying down below [here]' (with **ooŕoir** < *\*u(p)er-u̯iros*) and |*Liranestākūm bₐnē=Ọorọirē bāre narkenji*| '[this grave] has carried U̯oru̯ir's wife ⟨and⟩ a woman of the Lirnestākoi group; they now lie down below [here]' (with **ooŕoire** < a feminine ị̯ā-stem form *\*u(p)er-u̯irị̯āi* with regular simplification of diphthongs; see Koch 2011, §94).

¶COMPARANDA. For Proto-Celtic *$\underline{u}$iro-* 'man, hero' < Proto-Indo-European *$\underline{u}iH_xró$-* 'man, young man, warrior': see the entry above for **-ir**, **-iir**, **iru** ᒿᕯᙏ, and **ire**.

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. IdgEW 1177; GPC s.n. *gŵr*; DGVB 201; EIEC 355, 548; LHEB 337; Delamarre 2003 32If; MLH V.l, 452f; de Vaan 2008 s.n. *vir*; Matasović 2009 s.n. *\*wiro-.*

## orbᵃa ╪ᕌ⟩Ａ (J.53.1)

¶CONTEXT. # **kᵒ-tᵘ-ua-ratᵉe tᵘnbⁱitᵉsbᵃan orbᵃa setᵃa lakᵉentⁱi raha kᵃaśetᵃana (...)**

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Koch (2013a, 212–13; 2016, 463–8) and Kaufman (2015, 188, 499) see **orbᵃa≡setᵃa** forming a close phrase with case agreement and the second word reflect Proto-Celtic *\*sedo-* 'seat', both probably feminine singular or dual in my view, or nominative accusative neuter plural for Kaufman. It is possible that **orbᵃa** means 'heiress, inheritance, inherited', cf. the Hispano-Celtic family name **[O]RBIENIC[VM]** (González Rodríguez 1986, 132 —León), Old Irish *orbae*, *orb(b)* 'heir, inheritance', Early Welsh (*Gododdin*) *wrvyδ* < Celtic *\*orbįom*, Gaulish personal names *Orbius*, *Orbia*, &c. (Delamarre 2003, 243), the Gaulish and Ancient Brythonic compound name **ORBIOTALVS** (Raybould & Sims-Williams 2007, 69) < Proto-Celtic *\*orbįom* < Proto-Indo-European *\*H₂/₃orbhos* 'orphan' (De Hoz 2007, 197). This interpretation is favoured by Kaufman, thus **orbᵃa≡setᵃa** 'heirloom seats'.

In light of the prevailing themes and vocabulary of the SW corpus, I now think it more likely that **orbᵃa** is a phonological variant (showing development parallel to that of Celtiberian **VORAMOS**) and different case of the SW formula word **uar(n)bᵃan** (which see) in the feminine nominative singular. Thus read **kᵒ-tᵘ-ua-ratᵉe tᵘnbⁱitᵉsbᵃan orbᵃa≡setᵃa ... raha≡kᵃaśetᵃana** |*ko(m) tu-ụa-rāte tumetisₐmām (ụ)orₐmā≡sedā ... Raha≡kassetanā*| 'the highest seat (=enthroned supreme deity) has safely delivered Raha the bronze officer to the greatest tumulus'. In other words, **orbᵃa≡setᵃa** would have the same two elements as Old Welsh *gⱳorsed* 'tumulus, ceremonial mound, throne, &c.' with a superlative form of the first element for a poetic meaning something like 'gorsedd, sedd oruchaf'.

## oretᵒo ╪△O⟨╪ (J.4.1.)    |*(ụ)o-reto*| 'help, deliverance, rescue' < 'running under', verbal noun < Proto-Celtic *\*u(p)o + \*reto-* < Proto-Indo-European √*\*retH₂-* 'run' (Koch 2013a, 213–14; Kaufman 2015, 134, 232–3, 500).

¶CONTEXT. The interpretation is supported by the forms **asune≡ uarbᵃan ≡ekᵘuŕine** 'divine she-ass(?) ... Horse-queen' in the same text, as well as the relief carving of a helmeted horsewoman from the same site (Benaciate, inscription J.4.2). To deliver to safety by running under (Proto-Celtic *\*u(p)o-reto-*) would be the principal virtue of the horse deity.

¶INTERPRETATIONS. If **akᵒolįoś** (J.56.1) and **tⁱirtᵒos** (J.1.2) are most probably *o*-stem nominative singulars, Kaufman's interpretation of **oretᵒo** as a masculine *o*-stem

nominative singular (Proto-Celtic *u(p)o-reto-s*) with loss of final *-s* raises questions. The problem is avoided by retaining the interpretation that the form is genitive singular in **-o** as well attested in Celtiberian.

¶COMPARANDA. Gaulish VORETO- occurs in names; Old Irish *fo·reith*, Old Welsh *guoret*, Middle Welsh *gwaret*, *dywaret*, &c. The older meaning of the compound is reflected in Old Irish *fod·rethat* 'that run under him' referring to chariot wheels in *Audacht Morainn*, Early Welsh (*Gododdin*) *eδystrawr pasc a-e gwaredei* 'it was well-nourished steeds that were wont to run under him [i.e. the hero]'. Probably a form of the same verb is the perfect 3rd singular **kº-tᵘ-ua-ratᵉe** 'has delivered' (J.53.1); see entry.

——**otᵉerkªa** ᚨᚾ�971ᛂᛡ *or* **otᵉerkªaŕ\*[** ]\*ᚾᚨᚾ971ᛂᛡ (J.1.4) 'grave, burial, tomb' < Proto-Celtic *\*u(p)o-derk-* < Proto-Indo-European *\*derĝ-* 'glance at, see' (Koch 2013a, 214; Kaufman 2015, 214, 217, 492)

¶CONTEXT. **]ṣekᵘui uurkᵉe otᵉerkªa ŕ\*[ ]aehaeoḷeaala[** Because of the fragmentary state of the stone and text—half or less survives—and absence of any of the formula words, interpretation is difficult. However, the meaning can be proposed due to the fact that the stone was found in the Fonte Velha Early Iron Age necropolis taken together with the form's close resemblance to a Gaulish word, the meaning of which would be appropriate in an epigraphic text commemorating a burial.

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Kaufman labels **otᵉerkªa** a nominative-accusative neuter plural 'tombs', which is possible.

¶COMPARANDA. Gaulish *uodercos*, *uoderce* 'tomb, burial' (Delamarre 2003, 326, citing Fleuriot — Larzac) < 'under-cavity', personal names INDERCILLVS, INDERCINIVS, INDERCVS (Raybould & Sims-Williams 2007, 63); Old Irish *derc*, also *deirc*, 'cavity' as well as 'eye, face', and the verb *a-t-chondarc* 'saw', *drech* 'face' < *\*drikā < \*dṛkā*; Welsh *drych* 'appearance, mirror' must belong to this root; Sanskrit *darś-*; Gk δέρκομαι; OE *torht* 'bright, clear'; Albanian *dritë* 'light'.

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. IdgEW, 213; GPN 344f; LEIA D-55f; LIV 122; EIEC 505; Lambert 1994, 167; MLHV.l, 378f; Matasović 2009 s.n. *derk-*.

¶CELTIBERIAN REGION. **terkininei** (Torrijo del Campo, Teruel); **bartiltun ekarbilos munika elkuakue koitinas terkinos toutinikum leton** (K.1.3, II 50–52 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **terkinos austikum eskutino** (K.1.3, II — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **terkinos telazokum** (K.1.3, II–19 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **terkinos atokum launikue** (K.1.3, III–40 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **terkinos turanikum** (K.1.3, IV–38 —Botorrita, Zaragoza); **AEMILIA DERCINIO** (CIL II, 6338 ee — Saelices, Cuenca); **DERCETIO** (CIL II, 5809; Espinosa 1986, 40 — Estollo, La Rioja).

¶NOTE. The Palaeohispanic forms **A[N]DERCIA**, &c., are probably intensives *\*Ande-derkịā* with syncope. As all of the examples have **ANDERC-**, it is most likely that **-C-** is part of the root, rather than a suffix attached to *\*ander-* 'young woman' or 'below, infernal', cf. Gaulish *anderon* 'of the underworld beings' (Chamalières).

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. **A[N]DERCIA AMBATI F.** (AE, 1978, 393; AE, 2006, 625; HEp, 15, 92 — Monroy, Cáceres); **CANCILVS** (or **CAINOLVS**) **ANDERCI F.** with the divine

name **MORICILO** (Beltrán 1975–6, 78; AE, 1977, 424 — Casas de Millán, Cáceres); **CELTIO ANDERCI F.** (HEp, 13, 231 — Casas del Monte, Cáceres); **AVELIVS ANDERCI** (HEp, 18, 77 — Cerezo, Cáceres); **ANDERCIVS ALLVCQVI F.** with divine name **ERBINE IAEDI CANTIBEDONE** (HEp, 4, 1042; HEp, 5, 992 — Segura, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **ANDERCO** (ERCon, 99 —SPOT: Condeixa-a-Velha, Condeixa-a-Nova, Coimbra); **ANDERCA CATVRONI F.** (AE, 1904, 156 — Arcos de Valdevez, Viana do Castelo).

## rahaΞkᵃaśetᵃana PAⱵAΛAMO✕AⱵA (J.53.1)　　a Semitic woman's name in close combination with a Celtic occupational title, see **kᵃaśetᵃana** above (Nahm 2015; Koch 2016, 464–5; cf. Kaufman 2015, 74, 126, 172, 178, 413, 416–18, 500)

¶CONTEXT. **# k°-tᵘ-ua-ratᵉe tᵘnbⁱitᵉsbᵃan orbᵃa setᵃa lakᵉentⁱi raha kᵃaśetᵃana (…)**

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Koch 2016 follows Nahm. That the name **raha** is probably Semitic is indicated by the Palaeohispanic examples of the Roman Period, **RAPPA** in the territory of the south-western Celtici and **RAPETIGVS MEDICVS CIVIS HISPANIS** in Rome. West Semitic *rapa* means 'heal, healer, healing' and is attested in Aramaic, Phoenician, and Hebrew, including numerous examples in the Hebrew Bible (Hoftijzer & Jongeling 1995  s.n. *rapa*). That Semitic [p] is reflected in **raha** with the SW sign derived from the Phoenician/Canaanite letter with the phonetic value [h] indicates that the SW language either lacked the phoneme /p/ at the time the name was borrowed or subsequently underwent the change of /p/ > /h/ in this phonetic context. **RAPPA** and **RAPETIGVS** date from a period when the Palaeohispanic languages had acquired [p]. Factors favouring the (re-)acquisition of this phoneme included the presence of [p] in Latin, Lusitanian, and the language that was the source of the *ip(p)o* place-names in the southern Peninsula. Kaufman also doubts that **raha** is Celtic (cf. also Luján 2001, 473), but Nahm's interpretation is preferable to Kaufman's 'rope'.

## rinoeb°o PⱵⱵ⧻○日⧻ (J.5.1) or **rino-** PⱵⱵ⧻　　stem identified as 'queen' Proto-Celtic nominative singular *rīgₐnī* < Proto-Indo-European *$H_3$réĝniH$_2$* (Koch 2013a, 215; Woudhuizen 2014/15, 323)

¶CONTEXT. **# sab°oi : isṯa̲ib°o rinoeb°o anakᵉenakᵉ:eib°o iibᵃa̲n bᵃar̲eii #**

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Woudhuizen sees a reference to the Tartessian goddess called 'Horse Queen' (cf. Gaulish *Epona*) in the sequence **isṯa̲a ib°o rino**, with the first word interpreted as a demonstrative followed by a p-Celtic form of 'horse' < Proto-Celtic *$ek^u$o-* < Proto-Indo-European *$H_1ek^u$o-*. Then **rino** is a composition form from Proto-Celtic *rīgₐnī*. I do not see this as an advance over my explanation of **isṯa̲ib°o rinoeb°o** as datives-ablatives plural of demonstrative + 'queen' in case agreement, 'for these queens (i.e. goddesses)'.　　¶ **rinoeb°o** and **ekᵘuŕine** (J.4.1) are not to be

taken as evidence that \*/g/ had been lost in the reflex of Proto-Celtic \**rīg<sub>a</sub>nī* < Proto-Indo-European \**H₃rḗĝniH₂*. Rather, the reflexes of syllabic \**n̥* was usually written as **n** rather than **an** in the SW corpus, wherever phonotactic constraints did not require the vowel. As the SW pseudo-semisyllabary could not represent /g/ + **n** without an intervening vowel, the velar was simply omitted. In other words, the cluster /gn/ was permissible phonologically, but not orthographically.

¶COMPARANDA. See **ekᵘuŕine** above.


**ro** ⨎¶    preverb < Proto-Celtic \**(p)ro* < Proto-Indo-European \**pro* 'in front of, before, &c.', used as part of the tense-aspect system and possibly other functions (Koch 2013a, 215–16; Kaufman 2015, 12–13).

¶CONTEXT. Examples of **ro** in complete texts show that the form never appears independently or at the end of a statement or the end of a plausibly segmented phrase, but always prefixed to another, longer word, most or all of which can be interpreted as verbs. The occurrences are listed below as the compounds or close phrases that begin with **ro**.

¶INTERPRETATIONS. In my view, the contextualized examples of **ro** in the SW corpus, notably in the epigraphic formula, are especially strong evidence in favour of the Celtic classification of the matrix language. The loss of Proto-Indo-European \**p* is diagnostically Celtic, as is the use of **ro** with verbs appearing to have perfect form and meaning and the preverb's avoidance of verbs marked for the present tense (Koch 2011, 101–12; 2013a, 295–303).

According to Kaufman:

> In Tartessian, the preverb shape **ro** occurs in two positions. My take on this is that when absolutely initial it can be interpreted as encoding 'perfect', as suggested by Koch, and noted by students of OIr.; but when it is preceded by other preverbs it should be interpreted as 'forth', and NOT as 'perfect'. (2015, 12–13)

No such distinction operated in Old Irish. It is not clear, in variants of the SW epigraphic formula, why **ro** should be understood as having one function in **ro·bᵃare** (MdC; J.16.3) and another in **tᵉe·ro-bᵃare** (J.1.1, J.12.1). For both, the verb is understood, by both Kaufman and myself, as a perfect of √*ber*- 'carry'. What evidence in Indo-European, the Celtic languages, or the SW corpus leads us to expect that the preceding preverb **tᵉe** rendered the perfectivizing force of **ro** superfluous and activated its lexical meaning?

¶COMPARANDA. Celtiberian (in **ro-biseti**), Gaulish, Old Irish, Old Breton *ro*, Old Welsh *rɪ*; Latin *prō, pro*- 'before', Oscan *pru,* Umbrian *pru*-, *pro*-; Greek πρό 'before', Sanskrit *prá* 'before, forward', Avestan *fra*- 'for, before', Lithuanian *pra*- 'by, through', Old Church Slavonic *pro*- 'through'.

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. IdgEW, 813–16; GPC s.n. *rhy*; LEIA, B-35–6; de Vaan 2008 s.n. *prō*; Matasović 2009, 141–2.

**robᵃa** ᚐᚎᚌᚋᚔ (J.18.1)　form based on Proto-Celtic *\*(p)ro* from the Proto-Indo-European preposition and preverb *\*pró*, thus showing the diagnostically Celtic weakening, and regular loss in this position, of Proto-Indo-European *\*p* (Koch 2009, 109; 2013a, 216; Kaufman 2015, 107, 366–7, 488).

¶CONTEXT. **# bᵒotⁱieana kᵉertᵒo robᵃa tᵉe-bᵃare bᵃa-naŕkᵉentⁱi #**

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Acknowledging Koch 2009, Kaufman proposes a 3rd singular perfect of the verb 'to be, 'has been' |*ro·bā*| < Proto-Celtic *\*(p)ro·bāu̯e*. This is not impossible and would anticipate Old Irish *ro-ba* 'has been'. Expecting that Proto-Celtic *\*u̯* would be lost or not written, this proposal still requires a special explanation for the absence of the inherited Proto-Indo-European desinence *\*-e*, which seems to survive in **ratᵉe** 'has run' (see **kᵒtᵘuaratᵉe** above) and **bᵃare** 'has carried'. I more recently favour the alternative possibility that **robᵃa** here be read |*romā*| < Proto-Celtic *\*(p)romā* < Proto-Indo-European *\*pro-meH₂* 'first, most senior woman', in context probably 'eldest daughter', showing case agreement with the name of the deceased **bᵒotⁱieana**: cf. Middle Irish *rom* 'early, too soon', Homeric Greek πρόμος 'foremost man, champion'. A similar Western Hispano-Celtic formation is attested during the Roman Period as a man's name: **C(AIVS) ROTAMVS · TRITEI** (HEp, 1, 709; HEp, 5, 1066 — São Martinho de Mouros, Resende, Viseu), cf. Vedic *prathamá* '1st' and the closely related *pratamá* 'foremost'.


**ro·bᵃare** ᚑᚏᚐᚎᚌᚔ (MdC), possibly also … ᚚᚇᚄᚐᚚᚑ … **ro·bᵃare** (J.16.3) |*ro-bāre*| 'has carried, has borne' perfect 3rd sg. < *\*(p)ro*+√ber- 'carry' (Koch 2013a, 217; Kaufman 2015, 346, 418, 457, 490).

¶CONTEXTS. **… tᵉe·bᵃantⁱi lebᵒoiire ro·bᵃare naŕkᵉ[e …** (MdC)　　**itⁱiabᵉŕebᵉ anakᵃa [---] ro·bᵃare bᵃa-naŕkᵉ[e]ntⁱi** (J.16.3)　　In the second example, a long gap with space for several signs precedes **ro·bᵃare**, so this is possibly another example of **tᵉe·ro·bᵃare** (see below). Therefore, the MdC text is the only certain example of **ro·bᵃare** without **tᵉe** presently known in the corpus. Note that 1.16.3 could be read … ᚚᚇᚄᚐᚕᚑ … **ro·bᵃakᵉe**. It is therefore possibly significant that in MdC **ro·bᵃare** is preceded by **tᵉe·bᵃantⁱi**, which also appears to be a compound verb. The omission of **tᵉe** in its usual place in the formula may be merely stylistic avoidance of repetition. On the other hand, as the semantic force of the preverb is likely to have been as an adverbial of direction, its repetition might have been barred grammatically and/or logically, unnecessarily and incorrectly reversing the direction of the first **tᵉe**, for example.

¶COMPARANDA. Although Greek προ-φέρω and Latin *prōferō* 'bring before one, bring forward' comprise the same two elements, **ro·bᵃare** is more probably a perfective of √*ber-* than an inherited IE compound verb. Furthermore, the sense of the Greek and Latin are not particularly apt for a funerary inscription.

¶ See further **tᵉe·ro·bᵃare** below.

## ro-kᵒolio̯n ꓵ╪ꓵ↑╪⋈╪ꟼ (J.55.1).

¶CONTEXT. The inscription is complete, and the reading is mostly unproblematical: **# ro-kᵒolio̯n eertᵃaune | tᵃarielnon : liŕniene naŕkᵉenai #**    However, it is an unusual text without obvious syntactic parallels within the corpus, apart from closing with a form of **naŕkᵉe-**, which does not however occur here with that verb's most common ending. For an epigraphic statement to begin with **ro** is unparalleled, although that reading is not completely certain. I have recently re-examined the stone in Badajoz, which supports, as does the photograph in MLH IV, the reading **ro…**, rather than **ao…**

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Kaufman and Nahm differ completely. Kaufman (2015, 61, 64–6, 71, 121, 178, 187–9, 197–9, 421, 424–7, 448–50, 496) etymologizes *\*(p)ro-kᵘolii̯on* as 'fore-wheel-related', which could be the basis for a compound word or name meaning 'chariot driver, chariot warrior (> hero), captain, leader'. Cf. Celtiberian **kueliokos** (probably an adjective derived from a proper name). **kᵒolio̯n** could be construed as showing overt agreement with **tᵃarielnon**, possibly two masculine names in the accusative singular. As I suggested (Koch 2013a, 188) |*Koli̯os*| or |*Kᵒoli̯os*| could mean 'chariot-' or 'cart-driver, -warrior', as a i̯o-stem agent noun corresponding to Old Irish *cul* 'chariot' < Proto-Celtic *\* kᵘol-* : Proto-Indo-European √*kᵘel-* 'turn'. Note also Old Irish *búachaill*, Old Welsh *buceil* 'cowherd' < Proto-Indo-European *\*gᵘou-kᵘoli̯os*, hence *Koli̯os* 'leader, guide, protector' (also Proto-Indo-European √*kᵘel-* 'turn'). The proposed root is therefore the source of Proto-Indo-European *\*kᵘekᵘlóm* 'wheel'. The orthography **kᵒolion** could represent the reflex of *\*kᵘekᵘlóm*, as the SW writing system could not accurately represent the cluster -*kl*-.

Consideration of the possible consequences of this deficiency leads Nahm to what in my current view is a better explanation: that **ro-kᵒolio̯n** is a form of the Celtic verb *\*klou̯-* 'hear' < Proto-Indo-European √*k̂leu̯-* with the preverb *\*(p)ro*, specifically causative |*ro·klouiont*| < *\*(p)ro·kloue̯i̯ont* 'they caused to hear', i.e. 'they made known, they announced'. As it is likely that the form **tⁱirtᵒos** (J.1.2) is a name meaning 'Third' |*Tritos*|, we have further reason to think that SW orthography's strategy for writing the clusters *trV*, *klV*, &c., was to write the vowel sign between those for the stop and the resonant, hence **kᵒolio̯n** could stand for | *klouion(t)*| . Although not otherwise attested in Celtic, a causative of √*k̂leu̯-* formed in this way is found in Vedic and can be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European (LIV 334–5): Vedic *śrāváyati*, also *śraváyati* 'causes to hear', Avestan *srāuueiieiti* 'causes to hear, recites'. The function of SW |*ro·klouiont*| would not be far from that of the past passive *ro-cloth* 'was heard' in the Irish sagas. The Old Irish verb meaning 'hears', *ro·cluinethar*, is formed with an inherent lexical *ro*, rather than *ro* limited to forming the perfect tense and similar functions. That the compound verb *\*(p)ro-klou̯-* 'hear, listen' is reconstructable for Proto-Celtic is implied also by a Gaulish inscription from Glanum (RIG I, G–65) for a dedicant with a Roman name: ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΑ ΡΟΚΛΟΙϹΑΒΟ ΒΡΑΤΟΥ ΔΕΚΑΝΤ[ΕΜ] 'Cornelia (gave) a tithe in gratitude to the Ro-klouisas (goddesses who hear)'.

ΡΟΚΛΟΙCΑΒΟ is understandable as equivalent to a Latin dedication, also from Glanum, inscribed *Auribus* 'to the ears', accompanied by a prominent relief image of two ears set in a medallion (cf. Delamarre 2003, 262).

However, as an alternative to taking **ro-** in **<u>ro</u>-kᵒoli<u>o</u>n** as belonging to a Proto-Celtic compound *\*(p)ro-klou̯-*, the example is consistent with all others in the corpus in maintaining the rule that **ro-** is mutually exclusive with the verbal endings with present marking (**-tⁱi**, **-ntⁱi**, &c.), i.e. from Proto-Indo-European primary endings. Therefore, **<u>ro</u>-kᵒoli<u>o</u>n** |*ro·klou̯iont*| might be another example of SW **ro** marking a past tense expressing a prior action or state, this time used with an imperfect form to mean 'they made heard, i.e. they have announced, made it known', a completed action. In keeping with Nahm's interpretation, in which **naŕkᵉenai** is an infinitive, **tᵃarielnon** might thus be its logical subject in the accusative singular. The statement could then be construed, in part, as something like 'they have made it known ... that Tariel(a)nos lies buried [here] ...', cf. Cisalpine TARIOLENVS (CIL V no. 1395 — Aquileia).

The ending of **kᵒoli<u>o</u>n**, without the present-marked **-ontⁱi** or **-onii**, may be seen as contrasting with Proto-Indo-European *\*dōsi̯ónti* 'they will give' > Proto-Celtic *\*dāsi̯onti* > SW **tᵉasiioonii** (J.1.1; see below). If these derivations are accepted, the examples **kᵒoli<u>o</u>n** and **tᵉasiioonii** imply that the Proto-Indo-European 3rd plural thematic ending *\*-ont(i)* was preserved in SW Celtic. Therefore, 3rd plural **naŕkᵉentⁱi** alongside 3rd singular **naŕkᵉetⁱi** (probably similarly **naŕkᵉen** and **naŕkᵉe** as the corresponding secondary endings |*-ent*| and |*-et*|) cannot be explained as the general replacement of thematic *\*-ont(i)* by athematic *\*-ent(i)* (as in the Sabellian languages). It must be something else, such as the unvarying **-e-** continuing the vowel of the root of Proto-Indo-European *\*k̂ei-* 'lie down' as in the explanation of Wikander (1966) and Tovar (1969).


**ro-n·bᵃaren**      See **bᵃar(e)n**.


**sabᵒoi** ᛉᛣᛘᚐᛣ (J.5.1)      The ending **-oi** resembles that of an Indo-European *o*-stem locative singular (MLH IV, 167). The written form could represent |*samoi*| corresponding to the Proto-Celtic locative form meaning 'in (the) summer' (Koch 2013a, 216), cf. Middle Irish *sam* 'summer', OWB *ham*, OC  *haf*, Gaulish personal names SAMOCENI, SAMOCNA, SAMOGENI, SAMOGNATIVS, SAMORIX, SAMOTALI (Delamarre 2007, 159); Sanskrit *sámā-* 'season, year', OE *sumor* 'summer' < Proto-Indo-European *\*sem-* 'summer'.

¶CONTEXT. **# sabᵒoi : ist<u>ᵃai</u>bᵒo rino<u>e</u>bᵒo anakᵉena<u>k</u>ᵉ:eibᵒo iibᵃa<u>n</u> bᵃar<u>e</u>ii #**

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. IdgEW, 905; DGVB 206; GPC s.n. *haf*; LEIA S-19; Matasović 2009 s.n. *\*samo-*.

**——sarune** ○ᚼ⸙⸙𐌀‡ (J.22.1, J.22.2) less probably to be segmented **saruneea** 𐌀○○ᚼ⸙⸙𐌀‡  Hispano-Celtic name (Correa 1992, 98; MLH IV, 168; Ballester 2004b; 2012; Almagro-Gorbea et al. 2008, 1050; Koch 2013a, 218–20), resembling **saru[?]an** ‡𐌀ᚱᚼ☼𐌀ᛖ (MdC, see Guerra 2010a, 71–3).

¶CONTEXTS. # **uarbᵒoiir sarune ea bᵃare naŕkᵉenii** # (J.22.1),    ]s̲arune ea oar[ (J.22.2),    **... nira-kᵃaltᵉe tᵃao bᵉe saru☼an** # (MdC)

¶COMPARANDA. **[P]R(IMVS) AXONIVS SARON(IS)** (HEp, 12, 633; Vallejo 2005, 394 — Borba, Borba, Évora)

**setᵃa** ‡○✕𐌀 (J.53.1) |*sedā*|    'seat' < Proto-Celtic *\*sedā-* or *\*sedo-* < Proto-Indo-European *\*sēd-s*, genitive *\*sed-os* ∼ √*sed-* 'sit down, set' (Koch 2013a, 220–1; Kaufman 2015, 500).

¶CONTEXT. # **kᵒ-tᵘ-ua-ratᵉe tᵘnbⁱitᵉsbᵃan orbᵃa setᵃa lakᵉentⁱi raha kᵃaśetᵃana (...)**

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Koch 2013a proposes that **setᵃa** is feminine singular (like Welsh *sedd*) in the noun phrase **orbᵃa setᵃa**, which is the subject of the singular verb **tᵘ-ua-ratᵉe** 'has delivered safely to' < 'has run under towards'. If one encountered in Welsh elegy the words *dywaredawdd yr orsedd* 'the throne (has) delivered [the deceased]', *gorsedd* (< *ṷor-sedā*) would be understood as a metaphor for God.    ¶ Kaufman also takes **orbᵃa setᵃa** to be a noun phrase, but nominative-accusative neuter plural, translating 'heirloom seats'.

¶COMPARANDA.  Middle Welsh *seδ* 'seat, chair, throne, resting place', cf. Old Welsh *gṷorsed* 'mound of earth, barrow, tumulus, fairy mound, grave; throne, office of dignity; court, judicial assembly' ∼ Old Irish *forad* 'mound, platform, place of meeting', cf. North-west Hispano-Celtic **NIMMEDO ASEDDIAGO** (Búa 2000, 270–1 — Mieres, Oviedo): Proto-Indo-European *\*sedes-*, *\*sed-* 'seat'. Old Irish *síd* 'tumulus, fairy mound', also 'peace' (cf. Welsh *hedd* and *heddwch*) goes back to the same root with a long vowel, Proto-Indo-European *\*sēd-* (see further Ó Cathasaigh 1977/8; Falileyev et al. 2010, 30). Lepontic SITEŚ in the Prestino inscription (*c.* 500 BC) possibly belongs here, with 'seat' in the sense of 'monument, temple'. Cf. also Gaulish *assedon* 'war chariot' < *\*ad-sedo-*, Ancient Brythonic coin legends AΘΘEDOMAROS nos. 1635 1–1638 *c.* 33–30 BC, Old Irish *arae* 'charioteer' < *\*are-sed-s* (Koch 1987).

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. IdgEW 885; GPC snn. *sedd*, *gorsedd*; DIL s.n. *forad*; Wodtko et al. 2008 s.n. *\*sed-*.

**soloir**  ‡‡⌐‡⋈P (J.11.3)   Hispano-Celtic name (Correa 1989, 246–7; Untermann 1995, 255; Jordán 2015, 309), nominative singular compound with second element from Proto-Celtic *\*ṷiros* < Proto-Indo-European *\*ṷiHₓro-s* 'man, hero' (Koch 2013a, 221–2; Kaufman 2015, 60–1, 501; Nahm 2015).

¶CONTEXT. # **soloir uarb̲ᵃan̲[   ]in̲a o\*[ | n]aŕkᵉenii** #   The text does not survive complete, but we clearly have the beginning and end. The signs are enclosed within

an inscribed line, and a vertical rule precedes **soloir**. As the clearly legible formula word **uarḇᵃan̠[** follows, there is no doubt about this form's segmentation.

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Kaufman derives from Proto-Celtic *\*sollo-+u̯iro-s* 'entire-man'. ¶ An alternative possibility is that the first element is 'sun', Old Welsh *houl* 'sun'< Proto-Indo-European *\*saH₂u̯el/n*.

¶COMPARANDA.  Celtiberian **elku suolakue tirtanikum uiriaskum mel** (K.1.3 III 2–3 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); 'family name' **suoli\*kum** (K.1.3 III–37 — Botorrita, Zaragoza) and another Hispano-Celtic family name **SOLICVM** on a funerary inscription (González Rodríguez 1994, 172 — Navas de Estena, Ciudad Real), Cisalpine SOLA (Cureggio), Gaulish SOLIBODVVS, SOLICVRVS (2 attestations in Latin inscriptions), SOLIMARIVS (4 attestations), SOLIMARVS (12 attestations), SOLIRIX (2 attestations), SOLISETIVS, SOLORIX (Delamarre 2003, 287; Raybould & Sims-Williams 2007, 74–6), SVOLICCENI, Gaulish divine name SOLIMARA (Jufer & Luginbühl 2001, 63); Galatian ΣΥΟΩΛΙΒΡΟΓΗΝΟΣ (Delamarre 2007, 174–5).

¶ (A) 'sun': Middle Welsh *heul* also *huan*, OC *heuul*, Middle Breton *heaul*, Old Irish *súil* 'eye' < Proto-Indo-European *\*suH₂l-i-*; Latin *sōl*; Vedic *súvar*, cf. Mitanni Indic personal name *Šuu̯ar-data*, Gothic *sunno* (Wodtko et al. 2008, 606–11).

¶ (B) 'man': see **-ir**, **-iir**, **iru**, **-ire** above.


**tᵃao** ‡ΑΧ (MdC) possibly also **(?tᵃ)au** 目ΑЧ (J.10.1)    'I stand', hence 'I am', 1st singular present, < Proto-Indo-European √*(s)teH₂*- (Koch 2013a, 222; Kaufman 2015, 287, 461, 502).

¶CONTEXTS. Both examples come near or at the end of long, complex, and atypical inscriptions: **… nira-kᵃaltᵉe tᵃao bᵉe saru[?n]an #** (MdC);     … **leoine ar-bᵃarie(?n) i?ensere (?tᵃ)au #** (J.10.1)

¶COMPARANDA. Old Irish *·táu* 'I am' < Proto-Celtic *\*tā(i)ū* < Proto-Indo-European *\*(s)teH₂-(i̯ )oH* 'I stand', cf. Welsh *taw* 'that it is' (probably attested as Old Welsh *tav* in the Juvencus glosses), Latin *stō*, Oscan *stahu* 'I stand' (McCone 1994, 149; LIV, 590; Schumacher 2004, 623). Oscan *stahu* and 3rd plural *stahínt* were used on stelae to describe the state of the monument itself, and its inscription, standing. The meaning 'I stand', in which the inscribed stone is the speaker, would make sense also for the SW examples.


**tᵃala-inon** Ч‡ЧМΑ1ΑΧ (J.14.1)    Hispano-Celtic compound name (Correa 1992, 98; MLH IV; Almagro-Gorbea et al. 2008, 1050; Koch 2013a, 223–4; Jordán 2015, 309; Nahm 2015).

¶CONTEXT. **# tᵃalainon tᵘuŕekᵘui or[ | ] i̱ [ | ]noś tᵃae-bᵃare naŕkᵉen #**

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Kaufman (2015, 322–5, 449, 503) proposes a Celtic noun phrase |*dālā u̯īnom*| 'gifts [and] wine', cf. possibly Lepontic UINOM.    ¶ It nonetheless

remains likely that the element **tᵃala-** is the same as that so commonly found in Celtic onomastics as in the examples below. With the SW writing system -**inon** could stand for the reflex of Proto-Celtic *ṷindom*, masculine accusative singular or nominative-accusative neuter, meaning 'white, fair, blessed', and extensively attested in names: cf. Gaulish *vindo-*, -Lepontic -UINO-, Old Irish *finn*, Old Welsh *gṷ ınn* < Proto-Indo-European √*ṷeid-* 'see' (Wodtko et al. 2008, 717–22). I stand by the suggestion that SW |*Tala(ṷ)-ṷindom*| might have something to do with the place known as *sacrum promontorium* to the Romans and *Sagres* today.

¶COMPARANDA. Old Irish *tul*, *taul*, and Welsh *tal* < Celtic *talu-*, *talaṷ-* 'front, brow, headland, protuberance, shield boss', Ogam TALAGNI, Old Welsh *Talhaern*, Old Breton *Talhoiarn* 'Iron-brow'; Cisalpine compound name TANOTALIKNOI (Briona, late 2nd century BC), *talu* on pottery from Verdello, Gaulish personal names DANNOTALI, *Argio-talus*, *Dubno-talus*, *Cassi-talos*, *Orbio-talus*, &c. (Delamarre 2003, 288–9),

¶CELTIBERIAN REGION. **anieskor talukokum** (K.1.3 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **TALAVS CAESARIVS AMBATI F.** (Abásolo 1974a, 13 — Hontoria de la Cantera, Burgos); **SEMPRONIVS TALAVS SEMPRONI [---]** (Palol & Vilella 1987, 85; HEp, 2, 145 — Peñalba de Castro, Burgos); **L. TALANIO REBVRRINO** (HAE, 2595 — Olleros de Pisuerga, Palencia).

¶CENTRAL REGION. **TALAVS NIMIVS ARVS T. LICINI N. (SERVI)** (HEp, 7, 730; ERSg, 170–072 — Pedraza, Segovia).

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. **SEGVMARVS TALABARI F.** (HEp, 3, 201 — Aroche, Huelva); **CAMALA ARQVI F. TALABRIGENSIS** (AE, 1952, 65 — Estoraos, Ponte de Lima, Viana do Castelo); **ARQVIO TALAI F.** (AE, 1941, 20; ERZamora, 103; CIRPZ, 164 — San Pedro de la Nave, Zamora); **ARABO COROBELICOBO TALVSICOBO M. T. B(...) D.M.L.A.** (AE, 1977, 423; HEp, 13, 215; Búa 2000, 526; Prósper 2002, 365 — Arroyomolinos de la Vera, Cáceres); **TALAVS TONCETAMI F. BOVTIE(CVM)** (Albertos 1975a, 2. 212. nº 234 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **ANCEITVS VACCEI F. Ɔ TALABRIC(A)** (CILA Huelva, 24 — El Repilado, Huelva); **TALAO DOCI F.** (ERZamora, 219; CIRPZ, 315— Villardiegua de la Ribera, Zamora); **DOVITENA TALAVI F.** (HAE, 1906; Albertos 1964, 245 — Hinojosa de Duero, Salamanca); **CAMALO TALONTI ENTARAMICO** (HAE, 1102; HEp, 13, 901 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **TALAVIVS CLOVTIVS CLOVTAI F. (LIMICVS)** (CILA Huelva, 24 — El Repilado, Huelva); **PINTONI TALAVI** (HEp, 2, 762; ERRBragança, 69; HEp, 12, 582 — Donai, Bragança, Bragança); **CRISSVS TALABVRI F. AEBOSOCELENSIS** (HAE, 342 = HAE, 945 = HAE, 1504; CPILC, 217; AE, 1958, 17; AE, 1952, 130 — Coria, Cáceres); **SEGONTIVS TALAVI F. TALABONICVM** (HAE, 1351; Albertos 1975a, 18. nº 200 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **[...]AE TALAVI F.** (CIL II, 5750; ERAsturias, 18 — Castiello, Salas, Asturias); **HELENVS TALAVI SER.** (CIL II, 2442 — Braga); **AVRELIO TALAVI F.** (ERRBragança, 29; HEp, 12, 610 — Santa Maria, Bragança, Bragança); **IEMVRIAE TALAVI F.** (HEp, 4, 1019; HEp, 7, 1170; ERRBragança, 59; HEp, 12, 600 — Meixedo, Bragança, Bragança); **ANVLA TALAVI F.** (Gimeno & Stylow 1993, nº 56 — Logrosán, Cáceres); **[L]VCIVS TAL[A]BI F.** (AE, 1975, 516 — Coria, Cáceres); **PAVGENDE TALABI F.** (CIL II, 776; CPILC, 741; Albertos 1977b, 35 — Coria, Cáceres); **TALABVS LAMVNGI? F.** (CPILC, 749 — Pozuelo de Zarzón, Cáceres); **TOGETA TALABA** (CPILC, 179 — Campolugar, Cáceres); **TALABVS TANGINI** (FE, 384; HEp, 11, 142 — Zarza de Granadilla, Cáceres);

**AMO[EN]A TA[L]AV(I) F(ILIA)** (HEp, 16, 147; CILCC I, 398 — Zarza de Montánchez, Cáceres); **ARANTONIO TALABI F.** (AE, 1977, 364 — Fundão, Fundão, Castelo Branco); **TALABVS SALICI F.** (HAE, 1171; HEp, 13, 930 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **G(AIVS) AEMILIVS TALAVI F(ILIVS) Q(VIRINA)** (ERPL, 105 — León); **TALAVIAE FLAVINAE F.** (IRG IV, 116 — Castro de Escuadro, Maceda, Ourense); **CA[D]AV[S] TALAVI F.** (HAE, 1352 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **TALAVI CAESARIONIS** (HAE, 915; ERZamora, 52; HEp, 10, 634 — Villalcampo, Zamora); **CVMELIO TALAI F.** (HEp, 13, 938 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **TALEVO** (CIL II, 5350; CPILC, 81 — Belvís de Monroy, Cáceres); **[---] TALABARI F.** (HEp, 9, 258 — Tejeda de Tiétar, Cáceres); **VICANVS TALABARI F.** (Gimeno & Stylow 1993, nº 57 — Herguijuela, Cáceres); **TALABARA** (CIL II, 453; HEp, 13, 875; HEp, 17, 225 — Capinha, Fundão, Castelo Branco); **TALABARIVS PISIRI** (AE, 1967, 141; HAE, 2115 — Alpedrinha, Fundão, Castelo Branco); **MAXVMVS TALABARI F.** (Encarnação 1984, 646 — Almeirim, Évora); **MAXVMVS TALABARI F.**(CIL II, 171 — Nisa, Portalegre); **VORD**[I]**O TALAGONIO M C O / QI FI**(**LIVS**) (Búa 2000 — Sabugal, Guarda); **ANVLA TALAVI F.** (Gimeno & Stylow 1993, nº 56 — Logrosán, Cáceres); **CAPITO TALAB[AR]** (HEp, 9, 258 —Tejeda de Tiétar, Cáceres); **[L]VCIVS TAL[A]BI F.** (AE, 1975, 516 — Coria, Cáceres); **IVNONI LINEAIGAE TALAVIVS CABVRI F. D**(E) **S**(VO) **D**(EDIT) (Búa 2000 — Castelo Branco, Castelo Branco); **REBVRRVS TALABI F. V S A P M / S A L I V** (HE 1989, 176; Búa 2000 — Gouveia, Guarda); **Q. TALOTIVS Q. F. QVIR. ALLIVS SILONIANVS COLLIPONENSIS** (CIL II, 5232; AE, 1971, 29 — Leiria); **IBDOENA TALOTIS F.** (AE, 1983, 483 — Almacave, Lamego, Viseu).

¶OUTSIDE THE BRIGA ZONE. **T. TALENV[S] PVDENS T. F.** (CIL II, 5448 — Osuna, Sevilla).


**]tᵃarnekᵘ⟨k̲ᵘ⟩un** ᕼᕼᗌᕼOᕼᕁAX (J.26.1) for **tᵃarnekᵘun** (the seventh sign is an incomplete repetition of the sixth, looking like an error realized during carving)   genitive plural Hispano-Celtic kindred name (MLH IV, 166; Koch 2013a, 224; Kaufman 2015, 399, 492).

¶CONTEXT. **]tᵃarnekᵘ⟨k̲ᵘ⟩un bᵃane |[...]bᵃare naŕkᵉ[e**

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Kaufman agrees that **]tᵃarnekᵘun** is genitive plural and the following word **bᵃane** means 'woman, wife' (2015, 489). But he proposes a compound name or epithet |*Dar-neiko-*| 'oak-like hero', as opposed to seeing a velar suffix characteristic of Hispano-Celtic kindred names. However, especially when compared with the text J.19.1 (below), the syntactic structure is clear. In both epitaphs, the genitive plural in **-kᵘun** immediately precedes 'woman, wife', as can be readily explained on the assumption that the society producing the SW corpus were of the typical early Indo-European sort—patrilineal, patrilocal, and exogamous. Therefore, the wives commemorated in J.26.1 and J.19.1 were, unlike their husbands, not buried amongst the kindred of the necropolises and thus required further identification. Where it was possible in the SW writing system, the vowel *ă* was often not written before a nasal. This practice can be seen as a throwback reflecting the fact that in most cases Ancient Celtic *ăm* and *ăn* derived from what had been single phonemes in

Proto-Indo-European /m/ and /n/ realized as syllabic nasals [m̥, n̥, ŋ̊], for example, the formula word **uar(n)bᵃan** |u.ar̥mãm| < *u(p)er̥mãm. (See further Koch 2011, §73.2.) Therefore, the kindred name **]tᵃarnekᵘun** can be read as |Tar̥nekũm|, a form based on the Ancient Celtic *tarano-*, best known as the name of the well attested 'thunder' god < Proto-Indo-European *(s)tonHₓr-/(s)tn̥Hₓr-os 'thundering': √(s)tenHₓ- 'groan, thunder' (LIV 597; Mallory & Adams 2006, 128). **]tᵃarnekᵘun** may thus be an example of kin group claiming descent from a mythological ancestor. If this is the correct derivation, the Indo-European syllabic *n̥* either never developed as *an* in Tartessian |Tar̥nekũm| or that development was not yet (consistently) recognized in SW orthography. **]tᵃarnekᵘun** |Tar̥nekũm| would go back to Proto-Celtic *Tor̥nikũm*, where the lowering of *ĭ* > **e** might reflect an older *Tor̥nikõm*, or a levelling through the paradigm of a sound change that had begun in another case form, where there had been a low vowel in the final syllable (see Koch 2011, §78).

¶COMPARANDA. Within the SW corpus **]liirnestᵃakᵘun bᵃane≡ooŕoire bᵃa[re naŕ]kᵉenii #** (J.19.1) is most closely comparable. For the form **]tᵃarnekᵘun**, cf. the Celtiberian genitive plural family name **mezukenos turanikum** (K.1.3, II-4 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **terkinos turanikum** (K.1.3, IV-38 — Botorrita, Zaragoza) ~ Old Irish *torann* 'thunder' (MLH V.1, 422), Old Breton *taran* 'thunder', the Gaulish dative divine name TAPANOOY (Matasović 2009, 384), also TARANVOS and suffixed TARANVCNO. Ancient Brythonic TANARO (Latinized dative epithet of Jupiter) probably preserves the older form without metathesis (< Proto-Indo-European *(s)tn̥Hₓr-os), rather than reflecting a second metathesis reversing the first.

**—— tᵉasiioonii** ＞M＞Y‡‡MY‡ΛƐ (J.1.1)   Indo-European verb, active, thematic 3rd plural (Correa 1992, 99), reflecting Proto-Celtic *dāsi̯onti (Koch 2013a, 226), the cognate of Vedic *dāsyánti* 'they will give' < Late Proto-Indo-European *dōsi̯ónti : √deH₃- 'give' (on which see LIV 105–6).

¶CONTEXT. The final word of this long and complete inscription: **… kᵃakⁱiśiinkᵒolobᵒo ii tᵉe-ro-bᵃare (bᵉ)e tᵉasiioonii #**

**tᵉe·bᵃantⁱi** ＞ΦＹΛƐOƐ (MdC)   Indo-European 3rd person plural, present-tense verb (Guerra 2009, 327; 2010, 74), specifically Celtic meaning 'pass away, die out' (Koch 2013a, 227; Kaufman 2015, 109, 341–2, 488).

¶CONTEXT. **# tⁱilekᵘur̠kᵘu arkᵃastᵃam̠u tᵉe·bᵃantⁱi lebᵒo-iire …**

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Kaufman reconstructs a compound verb with two preverbs *tu-eχs-bā-* 'die out hither'. The Irish comparanda favours my earlier explanation: |de·banti| 'they die' < 'they step away', cf. Old Irish *dí-ba-* 'becomes extinct' (< 'goes away from'), *-dibatur* 'they became extinct' (L&P, §500), *dibad* 'destruction, extinction': Proto-Indo-European √gᵘeH₂- 'step, stride, tread' (LIV 205).

**tᵉe·bᵃare** ⊙୨Ⱥ⟩⊙目 (J.1.3; Vale de Águia), **tᵉe·bᵃar[e]** \*୨Ⱥ⟩⊙目 (J.16.1), **t̲ᵉe·b̲ᵃare** ⊙୨Ⱥ[⟩]⊙目 (J.18.1), **t̲ᵉe·[bᵃ]are** ⊙୨Ⱥ[ ]⊙目 (J.21.1)   Celtic compound verb, 3rd person singular perfect |-bāre| 'has carried' : Proto-Celtic √ber- (Koch 2013a, 227–8; Kaufman 2015, 210, 336, 367, 383, 471) < Proto-Indo-European √bher- 'carry' (on which see LIV 76–7).

¶CONTEXTS. All attestations of **tᵉe·bᵃare** precede a form of **naŕkᵉentⁱi**, which is always final, at least in the texts as they survive. In the two examples where **uarbᵃan** is present, **uarbᵃan** immediately precedes **tᵉe·bᵃare**.

   **]ŕakᵘurś tᵉe·bᵃare naŕkᵉeni** # (J.1.3),

   **]\*\*\*\*\*\*\*bᵃ tᵉe·bᵃare na[ŕkᵉe---]** (Vale de Águia),

   **# uu̲r̲saau̲ \*arbᵃan tᵉe·bar[e] bᵃa naŕkᵉentⁱi #** (J.16.1),

   **# bᵒotⁱieana≡ kᵉertᵒo≡robᵃa tᵉe·bᵃare bᵃa naŕkᵉentⁱi #** (J.18.1).

¶Note: In J.21.1, the reading should possibly be **...]u̲arbᵃan t̲ᵉe[(e)·ro-bᵃ]a̲re naŕkᵉenii #**.

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Kaufman reconstructs a notional Proto-Celtic *tu-e(p)i-bāre*, translating 'has borne back hither'.    ¶ A compound verb *de(:)-ber-* cognate with Latin *dēferō* 'carry down, away' would suit a funerary formula. Welsh *difer-u*, Middle Cornish *devera* 'drip, run down, flow out (of liquids)' belongs to a different semantic field, but taken together with Middle Welsh *kymmer* 'confluence' and *aber* 'river mouth', the group can be understood as showing transferred sense of 'carry', meaning 'flow' when applied to liquids: 'carry water out, carry water together, carry water to'. As argued elsewhere, the line of early Welsh poetry, *namyn y·δuv vchaf nys dioferaf* 'except to the highest God I shall not relinquish [my patron]' can be understood as containing words related to **uar(n)bᵃan** and **tᵉe·bᵃare** to express an idea about the afterlife of the patron which would not be implausible underlying the SW epigraphic formula (Koch 2013b).


**tᵉe·bᵃere** ⊙୨⊙⟩⊙目 (J.7.8) '(has) carried away'    With **bᵃ** followed by **e** this form violates the principal of redundancy and is thus an anomalous spelling for the formula word **tᵉe·bᵃare** (see previous entry; Koch 2103a, 228; Kaufman 2015, 273).

¶CONTEXT. **\*\*kᵉe uuakᵉe\*[ | ]ebᵒo tᵉe·bᵃere naŕkᵉen emun tᵘurea iubᵃa #**

¶INTERPRETATION. Writing **tᵉe·bᵃere** for the usual **tᵉe·bᵃare** is a significant discrepancy. A sign has not merely been omitted, repeated, carved badly, or replaced by another sign more or less randomly. This variant supports—indeed could be said to confirm—the derivation from √ber- 'carry'. The present/imperfect system and the imperative, all of which had |ber-| not |bār-| were no doubt of higher frequency. It is  also relevant that *|beret|* 'carried' was an inherited form from Proto-Indo-European, whereas |bāre| 'has carried' was probably an analogical innovation, filling an inherited gap in the verbal system. 3rd singular imperfect |de·beret| would have an overlapping functional range with perfect |de·bāre|. If **tᵉe·bᵃere** continued the

ending of the Proto-Celtic imperfect *-et, the final *-t could not be represented in the SW writing system. So the final -e is inconclusive as to whether the *-t was present or not. Hispano-Celtic 3rd singular imperfect *|beret| is confirmed by Celtiberian **terberez** on the 'Res' Bronze, which can be understood as the same verb as **tᵉe·bᵃere** with a different preverb: thus Proto-Celtic *tre-beret* or *trei-beret* 'carried through, carried over' (Jordán 2014, 308–9). It is not impossible that Celtiberian **terberez** and SW **tᵉe·bᵃere**, **tᵉe·bᵃare**, &c., represent the same preverb and verb following different pinciples for writing *tre-* or *trei-* in Palaeohispanic semisyllabic script. However, the examples **tⁱirtᵒos** (J.1.2) probably = |*Tritos*| and possibly **ro-kᵒoli̱on** (J.55.1) = |*ro·klouiont*| point instead to a system in which TRV sequences were written **tᵛvr**, along the lines of Celtiberian, rather than omitting the liquid, to write **tᵛv**, more like Linear B.

**tᵉee·bᵃarentⁱi** (J.23.1) ᙏⵁ⵿ⵁ⍥⵿ᙅ⵿⵿H     3rd person plural Indo-European verb and not other than Celtic (MLH IV, 165; Guerra 2009, 327), with preverb(s) (MLH IV, 166), specifically Celtic and a compound of √*ber-* < Proto-Indo-European √*bher-* 'carry' (Koch 2013a, 228; Kaufman 2015, 389–91, 489–90).

¶CONTEXT. # bᵉetⁱisai tᵉe(-)e·bᵃarentⁱi iru     arbᵘu i el naŕkᵉe꞉n꞉ uśn̲be # There is a long gap between **iru     arbᵘu** where the course of the text turns 180° at the top of the stone. But there is no clear trace of a missing sign. The text is remarkable in that main the formula words are present (**uar(n)bᵃan**, **tᵉe-(ro-)bᵃare**, **naŕkᵉentⁱi**), but not in this most usual order and each one is inflected in a unique way. As well as having an unusual and longer than average inscription, the stone is exceptionally large 95 x 34 x 22cm.

¶INTERPRETATIONS. **bᵃarentⁱi** clearly inflected as a verb (with 3rd plural active present marking) confirms that the less unambiguous form **bᵃare** is also correctly identified as a verb; see **tᵉe·bᵃare** above. I interpret **tᵉee·bᵃarentⁱi** |*dĕ-(e(n))-bārenti*| 3rd plural, possibly present perfect sense 'they have now carried (him) away, carried (him) down' < a notional Proto-Celtic compound *dĕ+√ber-*, cf. Latin *dēferō*, Welsh *diferaf*. The double vowel of **tᵉee** could represent an enclitic object pronoun, but an orthographic variant of **tᵉe** is also possible.

Kaufman proposes |*t(u)-ei-bārent-i*| 'they have borne back hither' < Proto-Celtic *tu+e(p)i+√ber-*. He construes the final **–i** as an enclitic 3rd person plural pronoun, evidently in agreement with the personal ending of the verb, which is therefore not seen as a reflex of the Indo-European primary (present-marked) *-enti*, but secondary *-ent.* This explanation for **-i** is possible. However, this example is strongly consistent with overall pattern observable in the corpus: **ro** < Proto-Indo-European *pro* never occurs more than once in any inscription and never occurs with forms with the endings **-(n)tⁱi** and **-nbⁱi** |*-mi*|, i.e. the reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European primary ending, which also occur at most once in any inscription (see Koch 2011, 101–12; 2013a,

295–303). The clear implication of this pattern that **ro** marks a previous state or action and **-(n)tⁱi** and **-nbⁱi** mark subsequent and or present state or action. In the present context (where the formulaic **tᵉe-bᵃare-** lacks **ro** but has a primary ending and **nar̠ḱᵉe-** lacks the primary ending), the temporal sequence would be something like '… now they have carried away … [previously] they did lie down …' (probably not the same actors). Another thing that is unusual about this text is that **nar̠ḱᵉe:n:** does not end the statement, but is followed by the form **uśn̠be** (see entry). If this last word is locative |u(χ)sₐmē| 'in the highest place' (if not the proper name 'in Uxama'), it is virtually identical semantically with the basic meaning of the formula word **uar(n)baᵃn** |uarₐmām| < *u(p)eramām, a form of which also appears in the text in sequence **iru {u}arbᵘu i el**. In this unique repetition of synonymous words, the epigrapher was possibly striving to elaborate on two aspects of the formulaic theme 'highest': the heavenly afterlife where the departed lay in rest (**nar̠rkᵉe:n:**) and the highest god or gods who have (now) carried the deceased away (**tᵉee·bᵃarentⁱi**).

**tᵉe·ro-bᵃare**  O٩A⋛‡٩O目,  ⊦O⋔⊞ΔꞖO (J.1.1,  J.12.1),  **tᵉee·ro-bᵃare**
O٩A⋛‡٩OO⊦ (J.18.2)    Celtic compound of √*ber-* 'carry' < Proto-Indo-European √*bher-* with preverbs, 3rd person singular, perfect (Koch 2013a, 229; Kaufman 2015, 12–14, 418, 490).

¶CONTEXTS. **… nar̠ḱᵉe kᵃakⁱiśiinkᵒolobᵒo ii tᵉe·ro-bᵃare** (bᵉ)e tᵉasiiⁱoonii # (J.1.1); **… nar̠ḱᵉentⁱi—mubᵃa tᵉe·ro-bᵃare hatᵃaneat̠ᵉe #** (J.12.1); **uarbᵃ]an tᵉe(-)e·ro-bᵃare na[ŕkᵉe(…)** (J.18.2)    ¶ In the extant examples, **tᵉe·ro-bᵃare** occurs in a medial position. J.1.1 and J.12.1 are both long, well executed, and generally remarkable inscriptions. And they both have unusual syntax in that **nar̠ḱᵉe** and **nar̠ḱᵉentⁱi**, forms of which often mark the close of the statement, precede **tᵉe·ro-bᵃare**. Cf. **ro-n·bᵃare** O٩A⋛⋎‡٩ (Monte Gordo).

¶INTERPETATIONS. Kaufman derives **tᵉe(e)·ro-bᵃare** < Proto-Celtic *tu+eχs+(p)ro+√ber-*. He takes **ro** < *(p)ro* in this combination to have lexical force rather than marking perfective aspect. He translates 'has received'.    ¶ I think it more likely, as previously proposed, that these items represent |de·ro·bāre| 'has carried away', in which **ro** < *(p)ro* specially marks a prior state or action with the 'Italo-Celtic' compound verb *dĕ+√bher-*. ¶

¶ See further **tᵉe·bᵃare** above.

**tⁱilekᵘur̠kᵘu** ꟿ⊟٩ꟿ⊞O↑꟥Φ or **tⁱilekᵘul̠kᵘu** ꟿⴹ↑⊞O↑꟥Φ (MdC) personal name with Callaecian and Gaulish comparanda (Guerra 2010a, 67–73; Koch 2013a, 229–30; Nahm 2015), showing honorific use of a dual in **-u** for the deceased, with predicate indistinguishable from plural (Koch; Nahm), cf. # **iru≡alkᵘu … nar̠ḱᵉentⁱi** (J.12.1).

¶CONTEXT. # **tⁱilekᵘur̠kᵘu≡arkᵃastᵃam̠u tᵉe-bᵃantⁱi lebᵒoiire ro-bᵃare nar̠ḱᵉ[ …** Opening this long inscription, it is likely that **tⁱilekᵘur̠kᵘu** is part of the naming phrase identifying the deceased.

¶INTERPRETATIONS. A completely different interpretation, apart from being Celtic, by Kaufman (2015, 87, 115, 454, 458, 463, 497), seeing **t<sup>i</sup>ilek<sup>u</sup>u̱r** as a 1st singular deponent verb *dī-legūr* 'I lay down', which is at least attractive semantically.

¶COMPARANDA. **TILLEGVS AMBATI F SVSARRVS Ɔ AIOB[R]IGIAECO** (Caurel, Lugo, Galicia; AD 28 — Búa 2004, 387) with *Tillegus* probably reflecting an earlier *Tillikos*, showing the regular lowering of Celtic *-iko-* > *-eko-* in both Tartessian and the North-west Hispano-Celtic of the Roman Period; see Koch 2011, §80. The voicing of **TILLEGVS < *Tillikos** is a common feature in the Western Hispano-Celtic names found in inscriptions of the Roman Period. The same Celtic man's name without the lowering or voicing occurs as the Gaulish genitive **TILLICI** (CIL XII, no. 5575 — Les Poussots, Dijon).

**t<sup>i</sup>irt<sup>o</sup>os** ‡‡△⌐Ⴓ⋔Ⴒ (J.1.2)    Hispano-Celtic man's name (Correa 1992; MLH IV, 168; Ballester 2004b, 119; 2012, 15; Almagro-Gorbea et al. 2008, 1050; Jordán 2015, 309; Herrera 2016, 76), identical with the masculine form of the ordinal '3rd', cf. Latin *Tertius* (Koch 2013a, 230; 2015, 341–3; Woudhuizen 2014/2015, 326).

¶NOTE. Because of the principles of the SW writing system, as similarly with Celtiberian written in Palaeohispanic script, **t<sup>i</sup>irt<sup>o</sup>os** could stand for either |*Tirtos*| or |*Tritos*|.

¶CONTEXT. **# k<sup>o</sup>o-b<sup>e</sup>elib<sup>o</sup>o na-k<sup>i</sup>i-b<sup>u</sup>u oira uarb<sup>a</sup>an t<sup>i</sup>irt<sup>o</sup>os ne-b<sup>a</sup>a-naŕk<sup>e</sup>eni #**

¶INTERPRETATIONS. The basic sense of this common Hispano-Celtic name is the ordinal number. So **t<sup>i</sup>irt<sup>o</sup>os** possibly names the third son, if not commemorating an earlier **t<sup>i</sup>irt<sup>o</sup>os**.    ¶ The form is unproblematically a masculine *o*-stem, nominative singular. Its position in the statement is not the most usual for the name of the deceased, i.e. it is not at the very beginning of the inscription. It does, however, begin the second of the complete inscription's two lines, which display a clear form of the most usual formulaic closing: **t<sup>i</sup>irt<sup>o</sup>os ne-b<sup>a</sup>a naŕk<sup>e</sup>eni**, probably a negation of the basic formula.    ¶ Kaufman (2015, 122, 187, 204, 502) offers a completely different interpretation with **tir** < Proto-Celtic *tīros* 'land'.

¶COMPARANDA. Gaulish *tritos* and personal names *Trito[s]*, *Tritus*, *Triti*; Old Welsh *trıtıd*, *trıtı*; ModB *trede*; Latin *tertius* < Proto-Italic *tritio-*; Vedic *tṛtīya-*, older *tṛtá-*. Old Irish *tris*, *tres* reflects a different formation. The existence of the forms *trit(i)i̯os* and *trit(i)i̯ā* in Proto-Celtic is indicated by the exact correspondence of Middle Welsh *trydyδ* and feminine singular *trydeδ* with the Hispano-Celtic personal names **TRITIVS** and **TRITIA**.

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. IdgEW 1090–1; MLH V.1, 297; de Vaan 2008 s.n. *trēs*; Matasović 2009 s.n. *trīs*.

¶CELTIBERIAN REGION. **tirtouios turumokum** (K.1.3, II–16 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **elku suolakue tirtanikum uiriaskum mel** (K.1.3, III 2–3 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **mizuku : retukenos : tirtanos munikakue : uiriaskum** (K.1.3, I–52–53 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **tirtanos kentiskue loukaniko uiriaskum** (K.1.3, II–2–3 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **arkanta teiuantikum tirtunos** (K.1.3, III–21— Botorrita, Zaragoza); **[---] loukanikum tirtunos** (K.1.3, II–43 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **tirtokum** (Torrijo

del Campo, Teruel; HEp, 11, 547); **tarkunbiur bibalos atokum tirtano** (K.1.3, II 45–46 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **burzu tirtobolokum** (K.1.3 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **mezukenos elazunos tirtukue ailokiskum** (K.1.3, II 21–22 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **kainu tirtobolokum** (K.1.3, IV–1 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **koitu kuinikum tirtunos** (K.1.3, II–42 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **mezukenos tirtobolokum** (K.1.3, III–29 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **mizuku tirtobolokum** (K.1.3, III–22 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **munika tolisokum tirtun** (K.1.3, II–56); **skirtunos** (gen.) **tirtanikum l** (K.1.3, I–1 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **stena muturiskum tirtu+** (K.1.3, I–16 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **tirtanos statulikum lesunos bintis** (MLH IV, K.1.1 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **tirtu aiankum abulos bintis** (MLH IV, K.1.1 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **tirtotulu baston**(-?) (Castillejo de Iniesta, Cuenca); **tirtanos abulokum letontunos ke belikios** (MLH IV, K.16.1 — Ibiza, Baleares); **M(ANII) TIRTALIQVM HILARVS ET FVSCVS LAXTENSES** (CIL II, 6338 ff; HEp, 2, 377 — Saelices, Cuenca); **[L(VCIVS)] TRITALICVM ATTO[NIS F]LAVI [F(ILIVS)]** (HEp, 11, 506 — San Esteban de Gormaz, Soria); **L. TRITALICV[S] ATTONIS FLAVI F**. (CIL II, 2814; EE, VIII 142; HEp, 10, 591 — San Esteban de Gormaz, Soria); **TRIDONIECV. CARACA DESSVAEONA NEMAIOSQ** (MLH IV, K.14.2; HEp, 9, 245; HEp, 11, 96 — Sasamón, Burgos); **DOIDERVS TRIDIA[V]M** (EE, VIII 159 — Olleros de Pisuerga, Palencia).

¶CENTRAL REGION. **VERINIVS TRITIOQ** (HEp, 7, 677 — Pedraza, Segovia).

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. **TRITEVS TVRAOS PEICAI** (FE, 318 — São Facundo, Abrantes, Santarem); **VELVA TRIT[I]** (ERZamora, 218 — Villardiegua de la Ribera, Zamora); **AMAENIA VIRONI F. TRITECV(M)** (HAE, 1340 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **TRITIANVS VIRONI SERV.** (AE, 1983, 512 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **CACALIA TRITEI F.** (HEp, 1, 93 — Herrera del Duque, Badajoz); **TRITIA** (AE, 1971, 161 — Jerez de los Caballeros, Badajoz); **PAVGENDA TRITEI** (CIL II, 2445 — Braga; **PAVGENDA** is explained by Prósper [2013, 182–3] as a Lusitanian name preserving Indo-European *p* , as participle *pau̯k-ē-(io)-nt-* 'being small'); **PINAREA TRITEI** (CIL II, 2445 — Braga); **ANNIA LEVCIPP(E) TRITI(A)E SERV(A)E** (AE, 1971, 161 — Jerez de los Caballeros, Badajoz); **AVNIAE TRITI** (ERRBragança, 27; HEp, 12, 604 — Quintela de Lampaças, Bragança); **DOCINIAE TRITI** (HEp, 2, 764; ERRBragança, 48 — Donai, Bragança); **DOCIO TRITI F.** (ERRBragança, 50; HEp, 12, 579 — Coelhoso, Bragança); **ELAESO TRITI** (HEp, 2, 767; ERRBragança, 52 — Donai, Bragança); **TRITIAE ABINI F.** (HEp, 2, 766; ERRBragança, 84; HEp, 12, 585 — Donai, Bragança); **GALAETO TRITI F.** (AE, 1985, 546; HEp, 1, 167 — Jarandilla de la Vera, Cáceres); **TRITENE L[IC]INI F. AVON[O]RVM** (Cerezo, Cáceres); **TRITEVS** (CIL II, 639 / 5275; CPILC, 257 = CPILC, 539 — Garrovillas, Cáceres); **TRITEVS TANGINI** (HEp, 1, 179 — Plasencia, Cáceres); **TRITEVS ALLVQVI F.** (CPILC, 762; AE, 1971, 149 — Robledillo de Gata, Cáceres); **TRITEVS MANTAE F.** (San Martín de Trevejo, Cáceres); **TRITIVS CLOVTI F.** (CPILC, 169 — Campolugar, Cáceres); **TRITIVS CASAB(I) F.** (Coria, Cáceres); **TRITIVS LVNI F.** (CIL II, 5304; CPILC, 496 — Torre de don Miguel, Cáceres); **IVLIA BOVANA TRITI F.** (CIL II, 666; CPILC, 636 — Villamesías, Cáceres); **BINEREAE TRITI F. AVITAE** (HEp, 11, 663 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **RVFVS TRITI F.** (HAE, 1157 —Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **CORIAE TRITI FILIAE** (HAE, 234; HEp, 2, 797 — Guarda); **PEINVCAE TRITI FILIAE** (HEp, 2, 797 — Guarda); **PROCVLVS TRITALICVM L. F.** (CIL II, 5077; ERPL, 224 — Astorga, León); **ARO(---) TRITE** (ERPL, 118 — Astorga, León); **ALAESI TRITI F. [V]BON[IC]VM** (Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **AMAENIA VIRONI F. TRITECV(M)** (HAE, 1340 —

Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **ANDEREN(VS) TRITI F.** (HEp, 4, 955 — Hinojosa de Duero, Salamanca); **APANA TRITI** (AE, 1983, 503 — Villar de la Yegua, Salamanca); **BOVTI TRITI** (HAE, 1239 — Barruecopardo, Salamanca); **CAERVS TRITI F.** (HEp, 6, 818 — Hinojosa de Duero, Salamanca); **MENTINA TRITI F. CAMBARICVM** (Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **TRITIA MAGILONIS MATV[E]NIQ(VM)** (HAE, 1356 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **TRITIANVS VIRONI SERV.** (AE, 1983, 512 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **TRITIVS BOVTI** (HAE, 1364 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **TRITIVS AMBINI F.** (Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **TRITEVS TVRAOS PEICAI** (FE, 318 — São Facundo, Abrantes, Santarem); **C(AIVS) ROTAMVS · TRITEI** (HEp, 1, 709; HEp, 5, 1066 — São Martinho de Mouros, Resende, Viseu;); **CAINO TRITEI** (AE, 1985, 520 — São João da Fresta, Mangualde, Viseu); **[---]VS TRITEI [FRA]TER** (AE, 1985, 520 — São João da Fresta, Mangualde, Viseu); **ASTVRIO TRITI F.** (ERZamora, 115; HEp, 5, 905 — Villalcampo, Zamora); **CLOVTIO TRITI F.** (ILER, 2343*; ERZamora, 92 —Rabanales, Zamora); **EMVRIAE TRITI F.** (CIL II, 2619; ERZamora, 189 — Moral de Sayago, Zamora); **MVSTARO TRITI F.** (HAE, 892; ERZamora, 45 — Villalcampo, Zamora); **[---]PIO TRITI F.** (ERZamora, 211 — Villalcampo, Zamora); **SALAIVS TRITI** (AE, 1965, 105; ERZamora, 13 — Villalazán, Zamora); **TRITIAE PINTONIS F.** (HAE, 894; HAE, 914; ERZamora, 55; HEp, 5, 902 — Villalcampo, Zamora); **VELVA TRIT[I]** (ERZamora, 218 — Villardiegua de la Ribera, Zamora); **CABVRENA TRITI F(ILIA)** (HEp, 18, 489 — Villardiegua de la Ribera, Zamora); **TRID[IVS]** (HEp, 6, 82 — Hinojosa de Duero, Salamanca); **TRIDIVS [---]NI F.** (HEp, 6, 839 — Hinojosa de Duero, Salamanca); **GENTILITAS TRIDIAVORVM EX GENTE IDEM ZOELARVM** (ERPL, 303; CIL II, 2633 — Astorga, León); **[----]D[ERO] PENT[I]OCVM TRIDI FIL(IO) VAD(INIENSI)** (ERPL, 364 — Riaño, León).

¶OUTSIDE THE *BRIGA* ZONE. **[CAL]AETVS TRITAI** (HEp, 1, 14 — Ocáriz, Álava); **CANTABRI TRITAI F.** (CIL II, 2953 — Contrasta, Álava); **TRITAVS** (HEp, 5, 628 — Olazagutia, Navarra).

**t<sup>o</sup>o ⵜ△** (J.1.1)    preposition 'to, for, towards' (Koch 2013a, 230; Kaufman 2015, 492).

¶CONTEXT. **# lok<sup>o</sup>ob<sup>o</sup>o≡niirab<sup>o</sup>o t<sup>o</sup>o aŕaia̠i k<sup>a</sup>alt<sup>e</sup>e lok<sup>o</sup>on …**

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Kaufman reconstructs Proto-Celtic byforms *\*do* ~ *\*dū*, although Celtiberian **TO**, in Roman script, favours *\*to*.

¶COMPARANDA. There is an obvious similarity to Celtiberian **TO LVGVEI ARAIANOM** (Koch 2013a, 147). This comparison implies that Hispano-Celtic *to* is a preposition which governs the dative case and was long-surviving in Hispano-Celtic religious vocabulary in connection with the cult of the pan-Celtic deity Lugus (cf. Jordán 2006). As De Bernardo Stempel has argued for the Celtiberian example (2008a), the dative without **TO** would mean 'for' (para), but with **TO** 'to, towards' (hacia) with implied motion. The same principle is probably apt for the current example.

**t<sup>u</sup>u △ꟼ** (J.53.1)    preverb from Proto-Celtic *\*to* or *\*tu* in **k<sup>o</sup>t<sup>u</sup>uarat<sup>e</sup>e** (see above; Koch 2013a, 231; Kaufman 2015, 502).

¶COMPARANDA. Cisalpine Gaulish TOŠOKOTE (Vercelli) = *to-śo(s)·ko(n)-de* 'has given these' (Koch 1983, 187–8), Old Irish *do*, Archaic Old Irish *tu*, Old Breton *do*, Old Welsh *dı*.

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. Cf. Matasović 2009 s.n. *\*to-*.

## tᵘnbⁱitᵉsbᵃan  ᐃᛏᚬᛂᛘ╪ᛑᛉᛏ  (J.53.1) Celtic feminine accusative singular superlative substantive (Koch 2013a, 231; Kaufman 2015, 69, 126, 492).

¶CONTEXT. **# kᵒ-tᵘ-ua-ratᵉe tᵘnbⁱitᵉsbᵃan orbᵃa setᵃa lakᵉentⁱi raha kᵃaśetᵃana ...**

¶INTERPRETATIONS. Kaufman derives **tᵘnbⁱitᵉsbᵃan** < Proto-Celtic *\*tu-ambi-deχsₐmām* 'hither-around-rightmostly, southmostly'.    ¶ Also segmenting the word as **tᵘnbⁱitᵉsbᵃan**, I retain my earlier proposal: |*tumitesₐmām*| < notional Proto-Celtic *\*tumetisₐmā-* 'greatest tumulus, cairn' < 'most swollen', taking the syntactic and logical place of the formula word **uar(n)bᵃan** |*uarₐmām*| 'highest one/place' as an accusative of destination, similarly feminine singular, possibly alternative poetic expressions for heaven, the happy afterlife.

¶COMPARANDA. Old Irish *túaim* 'tumulus' in place-names, Middle Welsh *tyfu* 'grow', cf. ModW *tyfedig* 'grown'; Latin *tumulus* 'knoll, burial-mound' ~ *tumeō* 'swell, be swollen'; Greek τύμβος 'a mound of earth or cairn heaped over cremated remains'; Sanskrit *túmra-* 'strong, thick'; Lithuanian *tuméti* 'become thick', Old Norse *þumal-fingr* 'thumb' (i.e. 'the swollen finger') < Proto-Indo-European √*tum-* 'swell' (LEIA s.n. *túaim*; de Vaan 2008 s.n. *tumeō*) ~ √*teuHₐ-* 'swell (with power), grow fat' (Mallory & Adams 2006, 385).

## tᵘurea ᐃᚬᛈᛉᐃ (J.7.8), cf. tᵘuŕekᵘui ᛘᚼᛂᚬᛌᛉᐃ (J.14.1).

¶CONTEXTS. **]ebᵒo tᵉe-bᵃere naŕkᵉen emun tᵘurea iubᵃa #** (J.7.8); **# tᵃalainon tᵘuŕekᵘui or[[ ] i̠ [ ] ]noś tᵃae-bᵃare naŕkᵉen #** (J.14.1)

¶INTERPRETATIONS. It is remarkable—and perhaps must be counted a quirk of intellectual history—that these two SW forms that so clearly resemble one of the most frequently recurring personal name types of the *briga* zone have not figured from the beginning in the published lists of probable Celtic names in the corpus. **tᵘuŕekᵘui**, which I think means 'for a man of the kindred of Turos' < *\*Turikūi*, figures recently in **tᵘuŕekᵘui** as one of the three examples cited by Herrera (2016, 76) of Indo-European onomastics with Celtic parallels in the SW corpus.    ¶ The interpretations of **tᵘurea** by Kaufman and myself share only slight common ground. We both see the form as Celtic. Kaufman (2015, 273–4, 502) analyses **tᵘure** as the locative singular of a Celtic word *\*turi-* meaning 'stronghold' (not in Matasović 2009). As 'strong' is one possible meaning for the Hispano-Celtic man's name *Turos* (cf. Vedic *turá-* 'strong'), we may be proposing the same Proto-Indo-European root. Against Kaufman's segmentation and translation (**nemun tᵘure a iubᵃa** 'in the stronghold of the heavens, o Yuba'),

it must again be emphasized that the phrase **]anbᵃatⁱia̲≡iobᵃa[** (J.16.2) is formed in exactly the same way from a second extremely common Hispano-Celtic man's name, i.e. *Amba(χ)tos*. Therefore, these two are most plausibly understood as |*Tureā i̯ou̯ₐmā*| 'the youngest daughter of Turos' and (the phonologically more archaic) |*Amba(χ)ti̯ā i̯ou̯ₐmā*| 'the youngest daughter of Amba(χ)tos' (Koch 2013a, 231–2). Despite the objection of Prósper (2014), the variant spellings **iobᵃa** and **iubᵃa** are well within the range of what we should expect for an Ancient Celtic language in the light of attested outcomes of Proto-Celtic */ou/* in Gaulish and Ancient Brythonic, e.g. names with *Tout-*, *Tot-*, and *Tut-*. Furthermore, in the phonetic context after the palatal glide /i̯/, the close high articulation of the following round vowel would be phonetically natural. In both cases, the absence of a kindred name in **-Vkᵘun** or a husband's name, probably means that these youngest daughters were unmarried and buried with their paternal kin, although it is alternatively possible that *Tureā* and/or *Amba(χ)ti̯ā* were identified by the father's name because they had married a man of low social standing, from outside the community, for example.  ¶ The high frequency of the Palaeohispanic names based on *Trito-* '3rd' and *Pento-/Pinto-* '5th' suggests that at least some of the many *Turo-* names mean '4th', cf. Vedic '4th' *turīya-*, *turya* (Avestan *tūirya*) < Proto-Indo-European zero-grade *\*kᵘturó-*. As recently shown by Vallejo (2017), the closely corresponding geographical distributions of the *trito-*, *turo-*, and *pento-/pinto-* names also supports the interpretation '3rd, 4th, 5th'. As the Hispanic *Turo-* names are numerous and show varied formations, it is not unlikely that they are of more than one origin. The names below of the type **TVRESAM[OS]**, &c., look like superlative adjectives, rather than ordinal numbers; cf. Prósper (2013, 183) deriving Celtic *\*tūro-* 'strong' < Proto-Indo-European *\*tuH-ro-* 'swelling, inflating' ~ √*teuHₐ-* 'swell (with power), grow fat' (Mallory & Adams 2006, 385).

¶COMPARANDA. Cisalpine TUROKOS on pottery from Oleggio, early 1st century BC.

¶CELTIBERIAN REGION. **turos retukenos** (K.1.3, I–2–60 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **letontu ubokum turo bintis** (Botorrita, Zaragoza; MLH IV, K.1.1 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **mezukenos abokum turo** (K.1.3, I–60 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **barnai turumokum tirs** (K.1.3, I–59); **bulibos turumokum ultu** (K.1.3, I–24 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **likinos turumokum ti** (K.1.3, III–49 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **elazuna ensikum turo** (K.1.3, II–57); **akuia statu turaku tueizunos tetoku[m**?] (K.1.3, II–20 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **karbelos turumokum ulta** (K.1.3, I–28) — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **sekontios turumokum ultatun** (K.1.3, II–48 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **testios turumokum** (K.1.3, III–1); **tirtouios turumokum** (K.1.3, II–16 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **kinbiria kentiskue turikum** (K.1.3, III–4 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **mezukenos turanikum** (K.1.3, II–4 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **terkinos turanikum** (K.1.3, IV–38 — Botorrita, Zaragoza); **ATIAE TVRELIAE G(AI) TVRELI F. / G(AIVS) TVRELIVS** (Palol & Vilella 1987, 42; HEp, 2, 107 — Peñalba de Castro, Burgos); **TVROS** (MLH IV, K.3.11; HEp, 9, 549; HEp, 12, 428 — Peñalba de Villastar, Teruel); **TVROV** (MLH IV, K.3.12; HEp, 9, 550 — Peñalba de Villastar, Teruel); **TVROS CAROQVM VIROS VERAMOS** (MLH IV, K.3.18; HEp, 9, 557 — Peñalba de Villastar, Teruel); **TVROS** (MLH IV, K.3.9; HEp, 9, 547 — Peñalba de Villastar, Teruel); **APOLINIVS TVRAINVS AIPONI F.** (CIL II, 2859 — Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **ATTA TVROCO(M) GAI VXSOR** (HEp, 7, 343

— Cifuentes, Guadalajara); **GAIVS TVROCO(M) PACATI F.** (HEp, 7, 343 — Cifuentes, Guadalajara); **TVRANI** (HEp, 10, 171 — Saelices, Cuenca); **C. VALERIVS TVRANCICVS** (CIL II, 2866 —Lara de los Infantes, Burgos); **TVRAESIVS LETONDICVM MARSI F.** (HEp, 2, 415 — Cifuentes, Guadalajara).

¶CENTRAL REGION. **CACO TVRI F.** (CIL II, 947 = CIL II, 5344; HEp, 3, 377 — Torralba de Oropesa, Toledo); **ARAV(VS) ARAVIAQ(VM) TVRANI F.** (ERAv, 28 — Ávila); **MATVGENO TVRAEDOQV(M) CADANI F(ILIO)** (HEp, 18, 24 — Ávila); **TVRA SEQ** (HEp, 7, 736 — Pedraza, Segovia); **TVRASI[---]** (HEp, 7, 709 — Pedraza, Segovia).

¶WESTERN PENINSULA. **BOVTIVS TVRAIANI** (HEp, 1, 657; HEp, 4, 986; HEp, 5, 945 — Aguada de Cima, Águeda, Aveiro); **CATVRO TVRENDI** (AE, 1984, 478; FE, 26 — Penamacor, Castelo Branco); **CILEAE TVRI** (AE, 1967, 176 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **DVTIA TVRANI F.** (FE, 311 [69, 2002]; HEp, 12, 621 — Capinha, Fundão, Castelo Branco); **TVRACIA SAELGI F**. (AE, 1977, 382 — Lousa, Castelo Branco, Castelo Branco); **TVRANTIVS LO[V]ESI F.** (AE, 1967, 156 — Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco;); **TVROLI** (Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco); **FLA(VIVS) TVRIVS FELIX** (AE, 1985, 531; HEp, 3, 473 [+ HEp, 11, 665] — Penamacor, Castelo Branco;); **TVRANVS** (HEp, 5, 962 — Montemor-o-Novo, Évora); **TVRAIVS CLOVTI** (CIL II, 2633; ERPL, 303 — Astorga, León); **TVRANIO BODECCVN** (ERPL, 373 — Velilla de Valdoré, León); **[T]VRANO [PE]NTIOCVM [--- / CAE]VIVI F(ILIO)** (CIL II, 5721; HEp, 1, 402; ERPL, 392 — Riaño, León); **[T]VRENNO [B]ODDEGVN [B]ODDI F. VAD(INIENSI)** (ERPL, 393 — Argovejo, León); **ADIO FLAC[C]O TVREN[N]I F.** (CIL II, 2671; ERPL, 96 — León); **REBVRRVS COROTVRETIS F(ILIVS) MIL(ES) C(O)HO(RTIS) I LVCENSIV(M) HISPANORVM** (CIL XIII, 7045 — Zalbach, Maguntia, Germany; man of origin in the western Peninsula); **TVRANVS ALVQVI** (AE, 1984, 472 — Belver, Gavião, Portalegre); **AMBATI BVRILI TVROLI F.** (HAE, 1367 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **LVPERC[---] TVRAI F.** (HAE, 1280 — Hinojosa de Duero, Salamanca); **TVROVIVS AMBINI** (HEp, 9, 498 — Salamanca); **BALAESVS TVRAI F.** (HEp, 18, 288 — Yecla de Yeltes, Salamanca); **TRITEVS TVRAOS PEICAI** (FE, 318 — São Facundo, Abrantes, Santarem); **CALABVS TVROBI F.** (EE, IX 273; Tranoy 1981, 62. n, 195; HEp, 7, 1237 — Tronco, Chaves, Vila Real); **DOQIRVS TVREI F.** (AE, 1983, 483 — Almacave, Lamego, Viseu); **CELOTIVS GI TVREIVS** (HEp, 5, 1068 — Viseu; HAE, 2328); **TVREVS[---]** (Carvalho 1989, 79 — Granja, Penedono, Viseu); **TVROS BANIE(N)SV(M)** (Carvalho 1989, 78 — Penela da Beira, Penedono, Viseu); **AVNIAE TVRAI F.** (HAE, 1336; HAE, 1823; ERZamora, 90 — Rabanales, Zamora); **[---]RIAE TVRAI F.** (HAE, 909; ERZamora, 32 — Villalcampo, Zamora); **TVRENIO ARCONIS** (HAE, 900; ERZamora, 40 — Villalcampo, Zamora); **VENICIAE TVRAI F**. (HAE, 907; ERZamora, 58 — Villalcampo, Zamora).    ¶ place-names **TVROBRIGA** (north of Huelva), **TVRVBRIGA** (attested also in Beja and Faro, south Portugal), **TVRIVBRIGA** attested in the region of Badajoz, Spain (Búa 2000, 90–1, 641, 645).

¶OUTSIDE THE *BRIGA* ZONE. **ELANVS TVRAESAMICIO AMBATI F(ILIVS)** (CIL II, 5819 — Iruña, Álava); **[T]VRAESAMVS CANTABRI F.** (CIL II, 2957 — Contrasta, Álava); **TVRESICA TVRESAMI F.** (HEp, 1, 1 — Alaiza, Álava).

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. Albertos 1983, 865; MLH V.1, 428–9; Vallejo 2005, 444–5; de Vaan 2008 s.n. *quattor*; Prósper 2015, 31.

—— **]t̲ͧurkᵃaio[** ]ΔⱣРΛΛↁ+[ (J.51.1)   Hispano-Celtic name (Correa 1992, 98; Almagro-Gorbea et al. 2008, 1050; Jordán 2015, 309).

¶CONTEXT & READING. The segmentation is uncertain for this fragmentary text. **]t̲ͧurkᵃaio[** is the more probable reading than ]t̲ͧur̲aaio[.

¶INTERPETATIONS. Untermann (MLH IV, 168) and Almagro-Gorbea et al. (2008, 1050) connect **]t̲ͧurkᵃaio[** with the place-name element occurring in *Conistorgis* and *Iliturgi*.   ¶ Kaufman proposes a Celtic adjective derived from Proto-Celtic *\*turko-* 'boar' (2015, 82, 187, 405, 502; cf. Matasović 2009 s.n. *\*tworko-*).   ¶ **]t̲ͧurkᵃaio[** could be related to the forms **t̲ͧurea** (J.7.8) and **t̲ͧur̲ekͧui** (J.14.1), such as taking **t̲ͧurkᵃai** as a syncopated feminine form of **t̲ͧur̲ekͧui**, i.e. Proto-Celtic *\*Turikāi* 'for a woman of the kindred of Turos', dative singular; note also **MAXSVMA TEIA ARCONI TVRCALE(NSIS)** (CIL II, 5307; CPILC, 469 — Sierra de Fuentes, Cáceres) and Cisalpine TUROKOS cited above.

**uarbᵃan** ५A३٩A५, **uarnbᵃan** ५A३٩٩A५ |u.ar_amām|    reflecting Proto-Celtic *\*u(p)er_amo-/-ā-* 'uppermost, highest', cf. Celtiberian **VERAMOS**, **VORAMOS**, superlative of Proto-Indo-European *\*(s)H₄uper_mo̜-* 'over-most, highest' (Correa 1992, 101; Untermann 1995, 253; Koch 2013a, 232–4, 236; Kaufman 2015, 12, 63–6, 121, 124–6, 178, 188, 204–5, 227–9, 232, 238–9, 263–4, 281–2, 293–4, 336–8, 350, 380–6, 390–1, 503), feminine accusative singular < *\*u(p)er_amām* (Koch; Kaufman).

¶CONTEXTS. **uar(n)bᵃan** is one of the recurrent words of the SW epigraphic formula (on which see below): # **kᵒo-bᵉelibᵒo na-kⁱi-bͧu oira uarbᵃan t̲ⁱirtᵒos ne-bᵃa-nar̲kᵉeni #** (J.1.2); ... **kⁱinbᵃaibⁱi ro-la?a uarbᵃan ubͧ[u]i #** (J.3.1); ... **asune≡ uarb̲ᵃan ≡ekͧur̲ine ...** (J.4.1); **]\*reo̲nuu[  ]u[a]rbᵃa[an ... nar̲kᵉ]enii[** (J.4.4); **]aanan uar̲bᵃan ebᵉe nar̲[kᵉe** (J.9.1); # **soloir uar̲bᵃan̲[  ]i̲na  o\*[ | n]a̲r̲kᵉenii #** (J.11.3); # **uur̲saau̲ \*arbᵃan tᵉe-bᵃar[e] bᵃa-nar̲kᵉentⁱi #** (J.16.1); **]ur̲ni bᵉelisᵒn̲ uarn|bᵃan e̲\* bᵃar(e)n nar̲kᵉen̲[ .**(J.20.1); **]uarbᵃan t̲ᵉe̲[(e)-ro-bᵃ]ar̲e nar̲kᵉenii #** (J.21.1); # **uur̲erkᵃar ua[rbᵃa]n kⁱikᵉe≡arkᵃare ...** (Monte Gordo).

¶INTERPRETATION. As interpreted by Correa followed by Koch and Kaufman, Proto-Celtic *\*u(p)er* regularly gives SW **uar**, representing */u̯ar/* as in Brythonic, e.g. Breton *war* 'on, over' (see Koch 2011, §§70.1–2), alternatively or earlier disyllabic *\*/u.ar/*.   ¶ My view remains that **uar(n)bᵃan** is an accusative of destination as the object of a verb of motion 'to the highest place/one'.   ¶ Although agreeing on identification of the case form, Kaufman understands the meaning as adverbial, glossing 'uppermostly'.

¶NOTE 1. A possible example of the corresponding accusative singular masculine form, or nominative/accusative neuter, is **]uarbᵒon i[ | ]nar̲kᵉen[** (J.7.5). If the intended referent of the better attested **uarbᵃan** 'highest (one)' is a goddess **uarbᵒon̲** |u.ar_amom| < *\*u(p)er_amom* may refer to a male deity fulfilling the same function.

¶NOTE 2. It is likely that *u(p)er_amām* in the SW formula provides significant insight into the belief system of the people of stelae, including the cult of high places and ideas connected with the Hispano-Celtic place-name *Uxama* 'highest' and those incorporating *brigā* 'elevated place, hill(fort)'. At the same time, the formulaic **uar(n)bᵃan tᵉe·ro-bᵃare**, meaning something like '[this grave] has carried X away to the highest place/being', euphemistically avoided direct reference to death, as one today might say, 'so-and-so has gone to heaven' merely to avoid the words 'died, dead, death'.

¶COMPARANDA. In Celtic, there were several ways of saying 'highest', most of which are formed from the related prepositional bases *\*u(p)-* and *\*u(p)er-*. For example, Gaulish *uertamo-* and Old Welsh *gvartham* < *\*u(p)ert_amo-*. Hispano-Celtic shows three related formations. *\*u(p)_amo-* gives Ούαμα *Uama* and the Latinized group name **VAMENSI** for a Roman-period settlement (Salvatierra de los Barros, Badajoz; Falileyev et al. 2010, 228) in the territory of the south-western Celtici, situated high on the massif within the great bend of the Anas/Guadiana; cf. SW **uabᵃan** |*u.amām*| (J.16.5), and Lepontic UVAMO- < *\*u(p)_amo-/ā*. Ούαμα probably originally designated the nearby conspicuous landmark, the highest summit of the region, Peña Utrera, at 813 metres. *\*u(p)s_amo-* gives the recurrent Hispano-Celtic place-name *Uxama*; see **uśnbᵉe** below. It is noteworthy that the superlative place-names Ούαμα and *Uxama* are feminine singular, like the much more common place-name element *-brigā* 'high (> important) place, elevated settlement, hillfort'. In the conceptual hierarchy of toponyms, a place called *Uxama* would be claiming superiority over its region's places with *-brigā* names. *\*u(p)er_amo-* gives Celtiberian masculine nominative singular **VERAMOS**, **VORAMOS**, accusative (?) **VERAMOM** (MLH V.1, 444−5, 459−60), possibly also **VRAMVS** in Roman Lusitania (Vallejo 2005, 695).

**uarbᵒoiir** ٩𐌼𐌼╪🝙٩𐌀𐌔 (J.22.1)   |*uar_amo-u̯´ir*| 'supreme man/hero' nominative singular < Proto-Celtic *\*u(p)er_amo-* + *\*u̯iro-s* < Proto-Indo-European *\*(s)H₄upermo-* + *u̯iH_xro-*, Palaeohispanic name or title, cf. Celtiberian **VIROS VERAMOS** (K.3.18) with the same elements as a noun phrase rather than a compound (Koch 2013a, 234−5; Kaufman 2015, 503).

¶CONTEXT. **# uarbᵒoiir sarune ea bᵃare naŕkᵉenii #**

**u( )arbᵘu** 𐌇🝔𐌼٩𐌀[ ]𐌇 or **u( )arbᵘui** 𐌼𐌇🝔𐌼٩𐌀[ ]𐌇 (J.23.1)   'highest' < Proto-Celtic *\*u(p)er_amo-*, nominative- accusative dual |*uar_amū*| (Koch 2013a, 179−80) or dative singular masculine or neuter |*uar_amūi*| (Koch; Kaufman 2015, 12, 63−6, 121, 124−6, 178, 188, 204−5, 227−9, 232, 238−9, 263−4, 281−2, 293−4, 336−8, 350, 380−6, 390−1, 503).

¶CONTEXT. **#bᵉetⁱisai tᵉee·bᵃarentⁱi iru( )arbᵘu i el naŕkᵉe:n: uśnbe #**   The segmentation into words in this section of the text is complicated by three factors. Although the inscription appears complete with nothing broken away, the series of signs runs up the right-hand side of the stone to the top to the sequence **… iru**, then recommences on the left going down, beginning with **arbᵘu…** It is possible, then, that the final **u** of **iru**, a form that occurs elsewhere in the SW corpus (J.12.1), is doing 'double duty' as the final of **iru** and the initial of **uarbᵘu**. Whether the correct reading should be **(u)arbᵘu** or **(u)arbᵘui** is then uncertain due to the hapax **iel** or **-i el**, which follows.

**(])uultⁱina** ΑΥΜΦ114(]) (J.12.3)    Palaeohispanic woman's name, corresponding exactly to the Celtiberian masculine *o*-stem **ultinos** (K.1.3), inflected as a Celtic feminine *ā*-stem nominative singular (Koch 2013a, 237) or vocative singular (Kaufman 2015, 178, 315–16).

¶CONTEXT.  The extant text is fragmentary: **(])uultⁱina ar-ḇᵉieŕitᵘu la[** .

¶INTERPRETATIONS.  The stem **ulti-** (*Uldi-*) is found amongst Iberian personal names (Moncunill Martí 2007, 195, 322–3), and this element is possibly of Iberian origin, as favoured by Kaufman. On the other hand, what looks like the same onomastic element occurs in Lepontic dative/ablative plural UVL̲TIAUIOPOS (Prestino), in which case a Celtic origin would be more likely and Iberian totally unexpected; therefore, the borrowing was more probably in the opposite direction. In either case, the element is found fully adapted to Hispano-Celtic onomastic word formation amongst the personal names form Botorrita (K.1.3): **ultinos**, **ultia**, **ultu**, **ultatunos**, and **ulta**. If ultimately Celtic, **ulti-** is possibly a zero-grade variant of the element found as Gaulish *u̯olti-*, cf. *Uolto-dagae*, which probably means 'long-haired' (De Hoz 2005, 81) ~ Old Irish *folt*, Old Breton *guolt*, OC *gols* gl. 'cesaries', Welsh *gwallt* 'human hair of the head'.

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. GPC s.n. *gwallt*; MLH V.1, 457–8; Matasović 2009 s.n. *\*wolto-*.

**uśnḇᵉe** ○℞ΥΜ4 (J.23.1)    Celtic 'high(est) place' (Koch 2013a, 236; Woudhuizen 2014/15, 325)

¶CONTEXT. **# ḇᵉetⁱisai tᵉee·ḇᵃarentⁱi iru≡( )arḇᵘu i el naŕrkᵉe:n: uśnḇe #**    The text is unusual in the way the formula words are used, so that the 3rd person plural present case marking appears on **tᵉe·ḇᵃare** rather than **naŕkᵉentⁱi**, and there seems to be a different case form of the formula word **uarḇᵃan**. Thus, **uśnḇe** appears in the syntax, as well as the word's position on the stone, to be an amplification, following a form of the word **naŕkᵉe-** which often closes the epigraph.

¶See further **tᵉee·ḇᵃarentⁱi**.

¶INTERPRETATIONS. The previously published reading **uśnee** ○○ΥΜ4 is not confirmed by closer examination, which rather favours **uśnḇᵉe** ○℞ΥΜ4, as there is a more pronounced tail on the first of the two circular signs at the end of the inscription, thus agreeing in form with the first sign of the text, which is to be read **ḇᵉ** (see above). In fact, the sign **ḇᵉ** in **uśnḇᵉe** closely resembles that opening the text in **# ḇᵉetⁱisai ...** Therefore the second proposed reading of Koch 21013a (236) is preferable: **uśnḇᵉe** |*uχsₐmē*| < *\*u(p)sₐmāi* 'in the highest place', locative singular, either as a common noun or as the well-attested Hispano-Celtic place-name, i.e. 'in Uxama'. This reading reveals an ideologically significant word reconstructable in this form for Proto-Celtic and consistent with the logical content of **uar(n)ḇᵃan** |*uarₐmam*| < *\*u(p)erₐmām* 'highest (one, place)'.     ¶ Based on the reading **uśnee**, Kaufman (2015, 503) interprets as a locative-instrumental singular derived from Proto-Celtic *\*udsini̯o-* 'small water, pool', with the same base as Old Irish *uisce* 'water'.

¶COMPARANDA. Hispano-Celtic Οὐξαμα *Uxama* (e.g. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 3.27, Ptolemy 2.6.55 Οὐξαμα Ἀργαιλα, 2.6.52 Οὐξαμα Βαρκα), Celtiberian **usama**, Old Breton *Ossam* 'Ouessant', probably a borrowing from Gaulish Οὐξισαμη 'Ouessant' (Strabo 1.4.5) into Brythonic (as indicated by *O-* [o̥-] rather than *U-* [ü-], the usual reflex of Proto-Celtic *\*ou*, and *ss* rather than *ch*), Middle Welsh *uchaf*.

¶BIBLIOGRAPHY. IdgEW, 1106–7; LEIA U-4f; GPC s.n. *uchaf*; MLH V.1, 463–5; Matasović s.n. *\*owxsV-*.

——**uuṟsaaṳ** ЧΛΛ‡ ꟼЧЧ (J.16.1) is comparable to indigenous names in Roman script from present-day Portugal (MLH IV, 168; Koch 2013a, 238). However, it is possible that **VRSIVS** and **VRSIACIVS** are derived from Latin *Ursus/Ursa* 'bear/ she-bear', which occurred as personal names in the Peninsula in Roman times and, therefore, would have nothing to do with SW **uuṟsaaṳ**.

¶CONTEXT. Within the complete text **# uuṟsaaṳ [u]arbᵃan tᵉe·bar[e] bᵃa naŕkᵉentⁱi #**, which adheres closely to the norms of the SW epigraphic formula. Therefore **uuṟsaaṳ** is very probably the name of the deceased. The only possible uncertainty in segmentation is whether the formula word might uniquely have been written here **uuarbᵃan** with an initial double **uu-**, preceded by **uuṟsaa**.

# **NAMING PHRASE** uar(n)bᵃan tᵉe(e)·ro-bᵃare (bᵃa) naŕkᵉentⁱi (+AMPLIFICATION) #

is the underlying shape of many of the epigraphic statements in the SW corpus, although the variations and exceptions are numerous and wide ranging (Koch 2013b). In most examples, we get something shorter than the 'full' formula as set out above. In a recent survey of the 72 most readable inscriptions of the SW corpus (Koch 2014a; 2016, 462–3), this sample totalled 1752 signs. The sequences of signs that could be segmented and then yielded forms resembling attested Palaeohispanic and/or Ancient Celtic names comprised 590 signs or 33.7% of the corpus. Variants of the formula comprised another 581 signs or 33.2% of the corpus and 50.3% of the matrix language, i.e. the total excluding forms resembling names. In other words, the question of the linguistic classification of the matrix language of the SW corpus is largely the question of the language of the formula.

¶AREAS OF AGREEMENT. My working hypothesis is that this formula is to be analysed |... *uarₐman de·ro-bāre, ma narkenti* (...)|, meaning approximately '[this grave/ death] has carried the deceased away to the highest destination, so they now rest/remain/lie down [here] ...' (Koch 2013b). 'The highest' could refer to heaven or a specific female deity, though merely an elevated euphemism for death as 'the ultimate' is another possibility. The derivation **uar(n)bᵃan** < Proto-Celtic superlative *\*u(p)erₐmo-* 'highest' goes back to Correa (1992; cf. Untermann 1995, 251 N 30). Like myself, Kaufman accepts this etymology and interprets the case form of **uarbᵃan** as feminine accusative singular, Proto-Celtic *\*u(p)erₐmām*. Like myself he interprets **ro** as a preverb < Proto-Celtic *\*(p)ro* < Proto-Indo-European *\*pro* compounded with **bᵃare**, a 3rd singular perfect of Proto-Celtic $\sqrt{ber}$- < Proto-Indo-European $\sqrt{bher}$- 'carry'. We agree in analysing **tᵉe(e)** as preverbal, but differ concerning the more probable derivation of the segment. Kaufman also agrees in interpreting **naŕkᵉentⁱi** as a 3rd plural active present-tense verb expressing the act of interment and present state of deceased. It follows, from these specifics, that the approaches of Kaufman and myself also concur concerning the basic tripartite syntactic structure: **uar(n)bᵃan — tᵉe(e)-ro-bᵃare — (bᵃa) naŕkᵉentⁱi** .

¶ALTERNATIVE SEGMENTATION OF THE EPIGRAPHIC FORMULA? Because the formulaic elements occur most usually in the sequence set out above, it can be considered whether **bᵃare** should be interpreted as a prefix on **naŕkᵉe-** rather than belonging to a separate phrase or clause (cf. the lecture presented by Eugenio Luján to the workshop on 'Indo-European migrations and Celtic origins: aDNA and linguistic evidence' in Heidelberg, September 2016). Such an alternative might lend itself to an interpretation of the SW formula, and hence the SW matrix language, as non-Indo-European. However, looking across the corpus as a whole, there are clearly examples in which

the sequence of the formula words precludes the segmentation **bᵃarenaŕkᵉe-**, most clearly the following three (with the formula words printed in upper-case letters): **# lokᵒobᵒo≡niirabᵒo tᵒo aŕaiai kᵃaltᵉe lokᵒon ane NAŔKᴱE kᵃakⁱiśiinkᵒolobᵒo ii TᴱE-RO-BᴬARE (bᵉ)e tᵉasiioonii #** (J.1.1); **# iru≡alkᵘu sie: NAŔKᴱENTⁱI mubᵃa TᴱE-RO-BᴬARE hatᵃaneatᵉe #** (J.12.1); and **# bᵉetⁱisai TᴱEE-BᴬARENTⁱI iru≡|(U)ARBᵁU i el NAŔRKᴱE:N: uśnbᵉe #** (J.23.1). In the last example, the inflexion of **bᵃarentⁱi** shows that it belongs to the same grammatical category as **naŕkᵉentⁱi**, which obviously looks like an Indo-European active 3rd person plural present-tense verb. Note also **# bᵃastᵉebᵘuŕoi onunaio tᵉ?e [...]i[...]o*reiar*nio ebᵘu alakⁱimuŕbᵒ? a NAŔKᴱE bᵃa* | eaₙ BᴬARA | bᵒ?** (São Martinho), if **bᵃara** here can be taken as a variant (such as the corresponding 1st person form) of the usual formula word **bᵃare**. As well as the above examples there are those in which the segment **bᵃa** intervenes between **bᵃare** and **naŕkᵉentⁱi**, such as **# bᵒotⁱieana kᵉertᵒo robᵃa TᴱE-BᴬARE bᵃa-NAŔKᴱENTⁱI #** (J.18.1), but these are less decisive for the present question, as they do not by themselves exclude the possibility that **bᵃarebᵃanaŕkᵉentⁱi** might be analysed as **naŕkᵉentⁱi** preceded by chained prefixes **bᵃare+bᵃa**.

Gorrochategui (2013a) writes that, though he does not believe the SW language is Iberian, it can nevertheless be analysed as though it were, at least regarding the syntax of some segments comprising one or two phonemes and usually written with a single sign in Iberian script. Using inscription J.12.1 as a demonstration, he breaks up **tᵉe-ro-bᵃare** to make **tᵉe** a suffix on the previous sequence **mubᵃa**, as would favour this analysis in his view: **irualkᵘusi-e: naŕkᵉentⁱi   mubᵃa-tᵉe ro-bᵃare   *atanea-tᵉe**. In Iberian inscriptions, a morpheme **te** is sometimes found affixed to personal names, where it has been analysed as marking the agent. However, with any survey of the whole SW corpus, one must conclude that **tᵉe(e)-ro-bᵃare** forms a syntactic unit (likewise **tᵉe-bᵃare**, **tᵉee-bᵃarentⁱi**, **tᵉe-bᵃantⁱi**); **tᵉe(e)** is regularly prefixed to forms that look like Indo-European verbs rather than suffixed to recognizable names.

These alternative segmentations can be ruled out as based on selective and inaccurate descriptions of the evidence. However, such efforts have value. With a corpus written without word divisions, scepticism can linger that it could easily be segmented to resemble a completely different language, such as Iberian, and that the potential for ingenious manipulation of the *scriptio continua* required no demonstration.

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BRAH = *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia.* Madrid.

*BSAA Arqueología = BSAA Arqueología – Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arqueología*

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# INDEX

## Abbreviated Language Names Used in the Index

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| AB | Ancient Brythonic | | ModW | Modern Welsh |
| Av | Avestan | | MW | Middle Welsh |
| B | Breton | | Num | Numidian (Old Berber) |
| C | Cornish | | OB | Old Breton |
| Celt | Celtic | | OC | Old Cornish |
| Cis | Cisalpine Gaulish/Celtic | | OCS | Old Church Slavonic |
| Ctb | Celtiberian | | OE | Old English |
| Cumb | Cumbric | | Og | Ogamic Primitive Irish |
| E | English | | OHG | Old High German |
| EW | Early Welsh | | OIr | Old Irish |
| Galat | Galatian | | ON | Old Norse |
| Gaul | Gaulish | | OW | Old Welsh |
| Gk | Greek | | OWB | Old Welsh and Old Breton |
| Goth | Gothic | | PC | Proto-Celtic |
| Hitt | Hittite | | Phoen | Phoenician/Punic |
| Ib | Iberian | | PIE | Proto-Indo-European |
| Ir | Irish | | Pict | Pictish |
| Lat | Latin | | Pr.Ir. | Primitive Irish |
| Lith | Lithuanian | | ScG | Scottish Gaelic |
| Lpt | Lepontic | | Sem | Semitic |
| Lus | Lusitanian | | Toch | Tocharaian |
| MB | Middle Breton | | Skt | Sanskrit (incl. Vedic) |
| MC | Middle Cornish | | SW | South-Western / Tartessian |
| MIr | Middle Irish | | W | Welsh |
| ModB | Modern Breton | | | |

¶NOTE: INDO-EUROPEAN PALAEOHISPANIC NAMES. Material from the Celtiberian region as approximated geographically here (i.e. the modern Spanish provinces of Burgos, Cuenca, Guadalajara, La Rioja, Palencia, Soria, Teruel, and Zaragoza) is labelled 'Celtiberian (Ctb)'. The bulk of the linguistiFLithc comparanda cited in this book is treated as a default category, and these forms are not given a language label in the Index. These are Indo-European Palaeo-hispanic names from sources of the Roman Period and from ouside the Celtiberian region. In most cases these show diagnostically Celtic features or features at least consistent with a classification as Celtic. However, these short forms often contain neither conclusively Celtic nor non-Celtic features, such as might lead to classification as Lusitanian or possibly some even less well known non-Celtic indigenous Indo-European language.