

Blažek, Václav

Celtiberian

Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity. N, Řada klasická. 2007, vol. 56, iss. N12, pp. [5]-25

ISBN 978-80-210-4388-6

ISSN 1211-6335

Stable URL (handle): <https://hdl.handle.net/11222.digilib/114002>

Access Date: 28. 11. 2024

Version: 20220831

Terms of use: Digital Library of the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University provides access to digitized documents strictly for personal use, unless otherwise specified.

VÁCLAV BLAŽEK

CELTIBERIAN

1. Historical witness
2. Origin of the ethnonym
3. Most important inscriptions
4. Grammatical sketch
 - 4.1. Historical phonology
 - 4.2. Historical morphology
 - 4.2.1. Nominal declension in context of other old Celtic languages
 - 4.2.2. Pronouns
 - 4.2.3. Numerals
 - 4.2.4. Verbs
 - 4.2.5. Prepositions, prefixes & preverbs
 - 4.2.6. Conjunctions & negation.
5. Basic bibliography.

1. Historical witness

From the antique authors the most detailed information about Celtiberia and its inhabitants was mediated by Strabo [III, 4; translation Horace L. Jones]: (§12) “Crossing over the Idubeda Mountain, you are at once in Celtiberia, a large and uneven country. The greater part of it in fact is rugged and river-washed; for it is through these regions that the Anas flows, and also the Tagus, and the several rivers next to them, which, rising in Celtiberia, flow down to the western sea. Among these are Durius, which flows part Numantia and Serguntia, and the Baetis, which, rising in the Orospeđa, flows through Oretania into Baetica. Now, in the first place, the parts to the north of the Celtiberians are the home of the Veronians, neighbours of the Cantabrian Coniscans, and they too have their origin in the Celtic expedition; they have a city, Varia, situated at the crossing of the Iberus; and their territory also runs contiguous to that of the Barduetans, whom the men of today call Bardulians. Secondly, the parts on the western side are the home of some of the Asturians, Callaicans, and Vaccaean, and also of the Vettonians and Carpetanians. Thirdly, the southern parts are the home, not only

the Oretanians, but of all other tribes of those Bastetanians and Edetanians that live on the Orospeđa. And fourthly, on the east lies the Idubeda. (§13) Again, of the four divisions into which the Celtiberians have been separated, the most powerful, generally speaking, are the Arvacans, who live on the east and south, where their territory joins Carpetania and the sources of the Tagus; and they have a city of very great renown, Numantia. They gave proof of their valour in the Celtiberian war against the Romans, which lasted for twenty years; indeed, many armies, officers and all, were destroyed by them, and at the last the Numantians, when besieged, endured till death, except a few who surrendered the fortress. The Lusonians, likewise, live in the east, and their territory, too, joins the sources of the Tagus. The cities of Segeda and Pallantia both belong to the Arvacans. The distance of Numantia from Caesar Augusta [= today Zaragoza], which latter, as I was saying, is situated on the Iberus, is as much as 800 stadia. The cities of Segobriga and Bilibilis both belong to the Celtiberians, and it is near these cities that Metellus and Sertorius had their war. Polybius, in detailing the tribes and districts of the Vaccaeans and Celtiberians, includes with the rest of the cities both Segesama and Intercatia.” Pliny in his *Naturalis Historiae* [III, 25] directly said *caputque Celtiberiae Segobrigenses*, i.e. “and from Segobriga, the capital of Celtiberians”. In his *Geographia* [II, 6.58] Ptolemaeus quoted 18 cities of the Celtiberians: Ἀνατολικώτεροι δὲ τούτων Κελτίβηρες, ἐν οἷς πόλεις: Βέλσινον, Τουριασ(σ)ῶ, Νερτόβριγα, Βίλβις, Ἀρκόβριγα, Καίσαδα (Κέσαδα), Μεδίολον, Ἄττακον, Ἐργαούικα, Σηγόβριγα, Κονδαβόρα, Βούρσαδα, Λάζτα, Οὐαλερία, Ἴστόνιον, Ἄλαβα, Λοίβανα (Λίβανα), Οὐρκεσα.

The antique sources and the distribution of the inscriptions and coins allow to reconstruct the ethnic map of ancient Celtiberia (cf. Untermann & Wodtko, MLH IV, 363–66). Its territory was divided into *Celtiberia citerior* and *Celtiberia ulterior*. The tribe representing the most eastward border of *Celtiberia citerior* were the Lusons [*Lusones*], localizable between the lower streams of the contemporary Jalón and Moncayo [Strabo III, 4.13]. The Bellans [*Belli*] lived in the area of the lower Jiloca [Appian, *Iber.* 44, 180], the right tributary of Jalón. Their centre was in Segeda by Belmonte, 10 km in southeast from Calatayud. Tittans [*Titthi*] occupied the valley of the Jalón. The most powerful tribe from *Celtiberia ulterior* were Arvacans [*Arvaci*], living especially around the upper Duero. In their centre Numantia and other cities like Clunia, Tiermes, Langa de Duero (= *Segontia Lanca*), Uxama by El Burgo de Osmá, the Celtiberian inscriptions were discovered. Strabo also included Segeda and Pallantia to the cities of the Arvacans, while Appian ascribed them to the Bellans and Ptolemaeus to the Vaccaeans [*Vaccaei*]. Between Arvacans and the valley of the Ebro there settled Pelendons (between the Duero and Moncayo; their centre was *Augustobriga*) and Autrigons [*Autrigones*] between the Sierra de Demanda and the Cantabrian ridge, where their cities *Virovesca* = Briviesca and *Uxama Barca* = Osmá de Valdegovía were situated. In the east from the Autrigons Strabo [III, 4.12] localized Berons [*Berones*] with their centre *Vareia* near Logroño. The Celtiberian origin of Varduls [*Varduli*] is indicated by numerous proper names from the north of the contemporary province

Alava. The north border was occupied by the Cantabrians [*Cantabri*]. In their territory the Celtiberian epigraphics is known from Iuliobriga. In the southeast periphery the Carpetanians [*Carpetani*] lived. In this area the cities *Segobriga* (today Cabeza del Griego in the southeast from Madrid) and *Contrebia Carbica* lie, where the discoveries of the coins with Celtiberian legends were realized. Two inscriptions were discovered outside of the territory, where the Celtiberian was used: near Narbonne in south France and in the Island of Ibiza (see the corpus of selected inscriptions in §3 below).

2. Origin of the ethnonym

The ethnonym *Celtiberi* for Celts of Iberia could be interpreted as a witness of the Celtic & Iberian mixing. The name was probably created by Roman annalist Fabius Pictor, writing in Greek, in the first half of the 2nd cent. BC. Another Roman historian using Greek, Appian, in his *Historia Romana* from the 2nd cent. AD wrote: “What nations occupied it first, and who came after them, it is not very important for me to inquire, in writing merely Roman history. However, I think that the Celts, passing over the Pyrenees at some former time, mingled with the natives, and that the name Celtiberia originated in that.” [*Hispanian Wars* I, 2; translation Horace White]. Still more explicit, although brief, information is offered by Lucan [*Pharsalia* IV, 9–10]: *profugique a gente vetusta | Gallorum Celtae miscentes nomen Hiberis* “.. and Celts, emigrants from an ancient race of Gauls, (who) added the name of the Iberians (to their own).” The most pregnant is the witness of Isidore of Sevilla [*Etym.* IX, 2.114]: *Celtiberi ex Gallis Celticis fuerunt, quorum ex nomine appellata est regio Celtiberia. Nam ex flumine Hispaniae Ibero, ubi consederunt, et ex Gallis, qui Celtici dicebantur, mixto utroque vocabulo Celtiberi nuncupati sunt* “The Celtiberians come from the Celtic Gauls, for whom the region of Celtiberia is named. For from the Ebro, a river of Hispania, where they settled, and from the Gauls who are called Celtici, the Celtiberians are so called from the mixing of two names”.

3. Most important inscriptions

The first use of a script for Celtiberian is dated to 179–150 BC for the coin legends from Segeda. Beginning of the middle of the 2nd cent. BC other cities introduce a modified Iberian semisyllabic script for the Celtiberian language. The most important texts are written just in the Celtiberian script (Botorrita 1–4, Luzaga), but also the Latin script was used (longest is the inscription from Peñalba de Villastar). The best studied Celtiberian inscription written in the Celtiberian script, the side A of so called “First bronze from Botorrita” (discovered in Botorrita, i.e. antique *Contreiba Belaisca*, in 1970, c. 20 km from Zaragoza; age: 2nd cent. BC), was analyzed by various scholars. Let us confront the interpretations

of (A) Eska (1989) and of (B) Meid (1993/1996). The segmentation follows Meid (1996), the figures indicate the beginnings of the real lines:

¹**tirikantam berkunetam tokoitoskue sarnikiokue sua kompalked nelitom**

(A) “Boundary structure...thus the senators of *Tokoitom* and *Sarnikios* (have agreed/decided); (it is) not permitted

(B) “Betreffend das ‘bergige’ Gebiet des Togoit und des Sarnicios wurde folgendes verfügt als nicht erlaubt:”

²**nekue to uertaunei litom nekue taunei litom nekue masnai tiðaunei litom soð auku ³arestalo tamai**

(A) “.. be demolished or destroyed or broken apart by violence”

(B) “Weder ist es erlaubt, dort (etwas) daraufzutun, noch ist es erlaubt, (Arbeiten) zu verrichten, noch ist es erlaubt, durch ‘Bruch’ Schaden zu verüben, ausser mit Erlaubnis des Vorstehers”

uta oskueð stena uerðoniti silabur sleitom konskilitom kabiðeti

⁴**kantom sankilistara otanaum tokoitei eni**

(A) “and whoever carries out these things, let him give silver, (i.e.) a cut up *sleitom*, (i.e.) 100 *sankilistara* at *Tokoitom*”

(B) “Wer immer aber diese (Verbote) übertritt / wer immer aber derartige (Tätigkeiten) durchführen möchte, soll gebarrtes (und zusätzlich) gestückeltes Silber nehmen, (und zwar) hundert *sankilistara* (Werteinheiten), um es im (Tempel des) Togoit zu deponieren.”

uta oskueð boustom ue koruinom ue ⁵makasi[a]m ue ailam ue ambitseti kamanom usabituð oðas sues sailo kusta biðetud

(A) “and let him rebuild the cow stable or (animal) enclosure or wall or (outer) wall (i.e., whatever it should be)

let him set up(?) a path, let him .. six *kusta* of *sailos*”

(B) “Wer immer aber einen Rinderstall oder eine (Pferde)koppel oder eine Umwallung oder einen Unterstand errichten möchte, soll einen Weg (als Zugang) heraushauen; das, was Notwendigkeit des Werkes ist (= alles, was zur Vollendung dieser Arbeit notwendig ist), darf er (um-, weg-)hauen.”

iom ⁶asekati ambitinkounei stena es uertai entara tiris matus

tinbituð neito tir[i]kantam eni ⁷oisatuð

(A) “and let him affirm that these things are to be rebuilt (i.e.,) let him effect(?) (the rebuilding) within 3 *matus* from (the time of) the destruction; let him ... to the boundary structure of *neitos*”

(B) “Wenn er (Erde) aussticht (aushebt) zum Zwecke des Bauens, dann soll er diese (Materialien) innerhalb von 3 Tagen (?) aus der Umhegung herauschaffen; in das Gebiet des Neitos soll er (sie) hineinbringen.”

iomui listas titas ðiðonti somui iom ⁸arðnas bionti - iom kustaikos arðnas kuati ias oðias

uertatos ue temeï ue robiseti - saum tekametinas tatuð

(A) “for whom ... and to him there are *arðnas* and let the *kustaikos* and *arðnas* which ... - let him offer a tithe of these”

(B) “Wem sie bestelltes Ackerland besäen, dem sollen sie - wenn sie die Früchte ernten, wenn ein *kustaikos* (Beauftragter?) die Früchte einbringt, welcher

er immer ausserhalb oder innerhalb [der Umhegung] ernten sollte - davon die den Zehnten betreffenden (Anteile) geben.”

somei ⁹enitouðei iste ankios iste esankios uðe areitena sarnikiei akainakubos ¹⁰nebintor

(A) “for an offering/veneration, whether it be small or large;

let the *areitena* above not apply to the people of *Akaina* at *sarnikios*”

(B) “In diesem inneren Bereich soll, sei es eingezäunt, sei offen, ausserhalb des bei Sarnikios gelegenen Geländes von den Leuten von Akaina nicht ‘geschlagen’ (geerntet) werden.”

tokoitei ios urantiom ue auðeti aratim ue tekametam tatuð

(A) “(and/or) *Tokoitom*; he who ... (to?) *urantios/m* or Arandis let him offer a tithe”

(B) “Wer bei Togoit Weideland oder Ackerland nutzen möchte, soll den zehnten geben.”

iom tokoitoskue ¹¹sarnikiokue aiuiðas kompalkores aleites iste ires ruðimuð abulu ubokum

(A) “and the president of the senators of *Tokoitom* and *sarnikios*, the *aleites*, the *ires*, (i.e.), Ablu of the Ubokos, (and the unnamed senators,) we proclaim (the above text) for ever”

(B) “Dieses verkünden wir (hiermit) wahrhaft und fest, anlässlich des Festes von Togoit und Sarnikios,

(ich), Ablu Ubokum, Regens der Beschlussversammlung, (und deren Mitglieder, nämlich..).”

Note: The verb **ðiðonti** (line 7) was transcribed as **sisonTi** by both Eska and Meid and interpreted as “sow; distribute” and “besäen” respectively. After Villar’s reinterpretation of the Celtiberian orthography it seems, the meaning “they give” is most probable” (so e.g. LIV 105–06, fn. 16a).

The side B represents a list of names of functionaries, arranged according to a specific order (see Eska 1989, 126–27):

| Personal name (nom. sg.) | Gentilitas (gen. pl.) | Patronym (gen. sg.) | Title or kinship term (nom. sg.) | Place of origin (gen. sg.) |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| ¹ Lubos | Kounesikum | Melmunos | bintis | |
| Letontu | Litokum | ² Abulos | bintis | |
| Melmu | Barauðanko | Lesunos | bintis | |
| ³ Letontu | Ubokum | Turo | bintis | Lubinas |
| Aiu | Berkantikum | ⁴ Abulos | bintis | |
| Tirtu | Aiankum | Abulos | bintis | |
| Abulu | Louðokum | ⁵ Useiðunos | bintis | Akainas |
| Letontu | Uikanokum | Suostuno ⁶ s | bintis | |
| Tirtanos | Statulikum | Lesunos | bintis | Nouantutas |
| ⁷ Letontu | Aiankum | Melmunos | bintis | |
| Useiðu | Aiankum | Tauro | ⁸ [bin]tis | |
| Abulu | Aiankum | Tauro | bintis | |

| | | | | |
|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| Letontu | Letikum | Abulos | bintis | ⁹Jukontas |
| Letontu | Esokum | Abulos | bintis | |

Note: The figures in the upper index indicate, where the new line starts.

As the Second bronze from Botorrita is called the Latin inscription discovered in 1979, known as *Tabula Contrebiensis*. The text represents a judgment of the judge of conciliation about the use of water. In their classification Untermann & Wodtko (MLH IV, 574–76) call as Botorrita 2 the following inscription:

| | Side A | Side B |
|---|-----------------|---------|
| 1 |]suro or]sturo |]abi |
| 2 |]ntikum |]kikus |
| 3 |]rkum or]ikum |]kionti |
| 4 |]s |]i |
| 5 |]rdonei |]om |
| 6 |]es | |

So called Third bronze from Botorrita (discovered in 1992; age: first half of the 1st cent. BC) represents a list of names and titles already arranged into four columns (MLH IV, 579–83):

Headline – Line 1: risatioka.lestera.ia.tarakuai.nouiða.auðanto;

Line 2: eskeninum.taniokakue.soisum.albana.

| | I. column | II. column | III. column | IV. column |
|-----|--------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. | skirtunos.tirtanikum.l | sekanos.kolukokum. lukinos /talu-, kos-, tas- | testios.turumokum | kainu.tirtobolokum |
| 2. | kontuðos.turos | tirtanos | elku.suolakue | steniontes.turituinos/ *kainos |
| 3. | retukenos.statulu | kentiskue.loukaniko. uiriasku | tirtanikum.uiriaskum.mel | bolgra.kentiskue.mel- manðos |
| 4. | meðukenos.koitina | meðukenos.turanikum | kinbiria.kentiskue.tur- ikum | tiokenesos.uiriaskum |
| 5. | tueiðu.uiroku | elu.uiriaskum.launiku]? | toloku.koitinakue.aus- tunikum | kalaitos.mturiskum |
| 6. | munika.koitu.koitina | likinos.uiskikum | stenu.bentilikum | burðu.karunikum |
| 7. | sekilos.toutinikum.me]- | letontu.auaskum | burðu.bentilikum.ulta- tunos | burðu.abilikum.elaðuno |
| 8. | ultia.uiriaskum.mel | kasilos.atokum | koloutios.biniskum | litu.makeskokum |
| 9. | sura.matulokum/maķa° | usiðu.abokum.titos | antiokos.uiriaskum.melm | meðukenos.kalisokum |
| 10. | elkua.raikokum | burðu.kulukamikum | elaðunos.kaburikum | koitina.tirikantanko |
| 11. | buria.batokum | akuia.sekiloskue.tirilokum | arkanta.meðukenoskue. abokum | esueiku.ateskum |
| 12. | belsa/ŷ.alasku[m].mem | meðukenos.akikum.memun | arkanta.loukanikum | kalaitos.kustikum |
| 13. | elkua.ensikum.seko | akuia.alaskum.memunos | stena.ensikum.skirtunos | antiokos.kustikum |
| 14. | sekontios.loukanikum.aiu | terkinos.austikum.eskuti- nos | burðu.betaskum | kabutu.abokum |
| 15. | sura.uiriaskum.mel | koitina.abokum.useiðunos | koitu.samikum.melmando | an]ju.uiriaskum |
| 16. | stena.muturisku.tirtu]- | tirtuiois.turumokum | sekontios.ubokum | kalaitos.muturiskum |
| 17. | sleitiu.karunikum.le | elaukos.bentikum.rote- nanko | barnai.ensikum.skirtunos | akuia.albinokum |
| 18. | retukenos.ensikum | elkuanos.muturiskum | tetu.loukanikum | balakos.sekonðos |

| | | | | |
|-----|--|---|---|---------------------------------------|
| 19. | letontu.(b)atokum | terkinos.telaðokum | stena.uiriaskum | kara.kalatokum |
| 20. | bilinos.austikum | akuia.statu.turaku. tueðunos / tetokum | toloku.uiriaskum | arkanta.mailikum |
| 21. | belsu.uiriaskum | meðukenos.elaðunos | arkanta.teiuantikum. tirtunos | elaðunos.abiliokum/albin ^o |
| 22. | sekonðos.uiriaskum.me | tirtukue.ailokiskum | miðuku.tirtobolokum | bubilibor.uiriaskum |
| 23. | burðu.teiuantikum | sekilos.mailikum | retukeno.elkueikikum | usiðu.uiriaskum |
| 24. | bu/ilibos.turumokum.ultu | letontu.ustitokum | kentisum.tuateroskue | retukenos.telkaskum |
| 25. | letontu.mailikum | turenta.kentiskue. ataiokum | aban/ iu.ber(t)ikakue. suakinokum | burja.belsu |
| 26. | burðu.auikum | koitina.uerðaiðokum. kalmiku | uiroku.konikum.statulos | toloku.kurmiþiokum |
| 27. | melmanios.uiriaskum | elkuanos.kunikum | aunia.beskokum | anjeskor.talukokum |
| 28. | karbelos.turumokum.ulta | launikue.uiriaskum | bilonikos.elokum.elkinos | ste[---].aku/likum |
| 29. | likinos.uerðaiðokum.mem | koitu.uerðaiðokum.aias | meðukenos.tirtobolokum | elkueð.akikum |
| 30. | koitu.mailikum | snaðiuen/itos.ataiokum | akuios.alikum | raieni.uiðuskikum |
| 31. | akuios.tetokum | tais.uiriaskum | tíriu.uiriaskum | urkala austunikum |
| 32. | saluta.uiðuskikum | basaku.uiriaskum | turtunaðkue.kaðarokum | tama ataiokum |
| 33. | burðu.uiskikum.les | kalaitos | sleitiu.totinikum | retukenos.kustikum |
| 34. | ana.uerðaiðokum.atu | koitinakue.uiriraskum | munika.ensikum.skir- tunos | bilosban.betikum |
| 35. | sanion.baatokum/ ^o os.at ^o | likinos.ataiokum | sekontios.uiriaskum | koitina.kankaikiskum |
| 36. | niskekue.babokum/re. | sa[---].i.kaburikum.memun | sura.suaikinokum | likinos.kueðontikum |
| 37. | biurtilaur.alaskum | ka/tures.[-]ruaku.korkos | koitina.suoli[-]ikum | munika.uerðaiðokum |
| 38. | bini | -]tar[-]te/kutokum.kekas.ko | bilir[-].turtuntakue. telkaskum | terkinos.turanikum |
| 39. | rusku.uiriaskum. kentisku e | gureiaku | elu karbilikum/ ^o bul ^o | teuðesi.kustikum |
| 40. | or[-](n)bilos.likinoskue | tuatereskue.uiriskum | terkinos.atokum.launikue | kaukirino |
| 41. | aboþokum | burðu.(b)ata/(b)abouikum | miðuku.telkaskum | |
| 42. | abulu akuiakue.araiokum | koitu.kuinikum.tirtunos | melmantama.bentilikum | |
| 43. | alu/aku.aiukue.araiokum | ----].loukanikum.tirtunos | markos.kalisokum | |
| 44. | kalos.telkaskum | toloku.kalisokum.atinos | arkanta.toutinikum | |
| 45. | elaðuna.loukanikum | tarkunþjur | tolokunos.ke.kalisokum | |
| 46. | meðukenos.loukanikum | þibalos.atokum.tirtano | sura.ensikum.melman.(bi) | |
| 47. | burðu.tirtobolokum | sikeia.beteriskum | usama.abaloskue.karunikam | |
| 48. | sleitiu.makeskokum | sekontios.turumokum. ultatun | elaðuna.balaisokum | |
| 49. | iunstibaþ.uiriasum | tekos.konikum | likinos.turumokum.ti | |
| 50. | tiokenes.uiriaskum | bartiltun.ekarbilos | tueiðunos | |
| 51. | uiroku.turumokum | munika elkuakue.koittinas | bilonikos.ensikum | |
| 52. | miðuku.retukenos.tir- tanos | terkinos.toutinikum.leton | ebursunos.mailikiþokum | |
| 53. | munikakue.uiriaskum | katunos.burikounikum | arkanta.ailokiskum | |
| 54. | burðu.atokum | elaðuna.ukulikum | suros.alikum | |
| 55. | aualos.kortikos | keka.kabelaikiskum | ultinos.amakue.uiriaskum | |
| 56. | amu.kankaikiskum | munika.tolisokum.tirtun | babos.kentiskue.uirias- ikum | |
| 57. | kaiaitos.litukue.abokum | elaðuna.ensikum.turo | turaios.litanokum.kur- milokum | |
| 58. | muturiskum | sekonðos.bentikum | launikue.uiriaskum | |
| 59. | barnai.turumokum.tirs | tolosar/tokiosar.ensikum | kari.uiriaskum | |
| 60. | meðukenos.abokum.turo | akuia.abokum.letontunos | kuintitaku.mailikiþokum | |

Note: There are numerous non-Celtic names. It is possible to identify their origin in Latin: **balakos** = *Flaccus*, **bertika** = *Pertica*, **bolora** = *Flora*, **bubilibor** = *Publipor*, **kabutu** = *Capito*, **markos** = *Marcus*, **saluta** = *Saluta*, **sekonðos** = *Secundus*, **titos** = *Titus*.

Greek: **antiokos** = *Antiochos*, **bilinos** = *Philinos*, **bilonikos** = *Philonikos*, **bulibos/bilibos** = *Philipos*, **skirtunos** (gen.) = *Skirtō*, **tais** = *Thais*, **tiokenes** = *Diogenes*.

Iberian: **anieskor**, **barnai**, **bartiltun**, **bilosban**, **biurtilaur**, **burðu**, **ekarbilos**, **iunstibas**, **or** | **jbilos**, **toloku**, **ultu**; with Celtiberian suffixes: **tuos**, **turtunta**, **ultatunos**, **ultinos**.

One of the recently discovered inscription, the Fourth bronze from Botorrita, was preliminarily published by Stifter (2001, 109–10):

| A | B |
|---|--|
| 1. [----?] tam:tirikantam:entorkue:toutam[(-)]? | [----?]e[-]i[-----] |
| 2. [---?] :sua <> kombal<ke>ð:bouitos: oðeum:(te) [-] | [----?]atuð:uta:e[-----?] |
| 3. [---?] i:turuntas:tirikantos:kustai:biðetu<ð>[?] | [---?]isum:[-(-)]ti:(ba/ke/ku?)[-----?] |
| 4. [---?]a:karalom:aranti:otenei:amhi(o/ti)n [?] | [?]‡‡[-]olo‡[-]‡:iom:u[-----?] |
| 5. [--?]kom:atibion:taskue ‡[-(-)]a† (s/n)[---?] | [(-)]ta[---?]toke:(hu?)(l)ta:‡ue:tiðatuð[-----?] |
| 6. [(-)]kue:usimounei:[-----] | [---?]l[---]leð(a)l‡toioan[-----?] |
| 7. [?]karalom:ios:lu[-?]e[-]s[-----?] | [---?]toruonti:stoteroi:tas(u)†[---?] |
| 8. [---?]oi[-?]u[-(-)]ti:esta[-?] (ta?)[-----?] | [---?]ko[---?]‡(ð)esusimo‡‡o‡[---?] |
| 9. [---?]uta:‡[---]kue[-----?] | |
| 10. [----?]ti[-(-)]n[1]e[-----?] | |
| 11. [-----?] | |

Peñalba de Villastar 2 (MLH IV, 624).

The inscription in the Iberian script; the Iberian language of the text cannot be excluded.

atale ukebate |--kosmbake/--kosbarke/--kosbakuke | atioke/atibakom

Note: The symbol | indicates the individual lines.

Luzaga (MLH IV, 655–57)

**arekoratikubos.karuo.kenei | kortika:lutiakei:aukis:baraðioka |
erna:uela:tikerðeboð:so | ueiðui:belaiokumkue:kenis.karikokue:kenis |
stam.kortikam:elaðunom | karuo:tekeð. sa:kortika | teiuoreikis**

Note: **lutiakei** (loc. sg. of **Lutiakom*) probably represents the contemporary city-name Luzaga.

Monreal de Ariza: Cerro Villar = Arcobriga (MLH IV, 659–60)

uentanaka.kar

Note: **uentana** is the adj. attribute to **kar**, which is probably shortened from **karaka**.

Torrellas (MLH IV, 661–63)

mata.abiliko[| manke.saulein* | kum.n[---]*s*[

Garray 1 = Numantia (MLH IV, 665)

mukokaiko

Note: Cf. **mukukaiau** from Clunia.

Garray 2 (MLH IV, 666)

luanikoo.koorinau

Garray 3 (MLH IV, 666)

noyantikum

Note: Probably from **nowanto-* “ninth”.

Langa de Duero: Cuesta del Moro (MLH IV, 681)

retukeno.esto | beltis / keltis

Sasamón 1 = *Segisamo* (MLH IV, 686–88)

A **irorekiios monituukoos nemaiois**

B **aletuures**

Viana: La Custodia 1 (MLH IV, 697)

berkuakum.sakas

Viana: La Custodia 1 (MLH IV, 699–700)

A **ku**o**kar**ia**m.ueniak**u**m**

B **iteulases : buntunes**

Osma 1 = *Uxama Argaela* (MLH 706–07)

arekubar[

Osma 1 = *Uxama Argaela* (MLH 708–10)

**karuotureka.tureibo | eskeinis.kortika | usama.antos | saikios.baisai | kaltai-
kikos**

Belorado: La Mesa (MLH IV, 711–12)

sekeeios.sailetiikoo.metaama

Palenzuela = *Pallantia* (MLH IV, 713–14)

uirouiaka.kar

Note: The first word is probably derived from **uirouia*; cf. the antique city-name *Virovesca*, today Briviesca.

Mendigorría: Ermita de Nuestra Señora de Andión = *Andelos*

likine.abuloñaune.ekien.bilibiliaís

Note: The component **abulo-** is very frequent in the Celtiberian anthroponymy, but the segment **-ñaune** is probably of Iberian origin.

Gruissan (Aude; South France, 10 km from Narbonne) (MLH IV, 695–96)

]ikum.steniotes.ke.rita**

Ibiza (MLH IV, 693–94)**tirtanos | abulokum | letontun | oskebeli|kios**

Note: A typical Celtiberian personal name, consisting of the individual name **tirtanos**, family name **abulokum** in the gen. pl., the individual name of the father **letontunos** in the gen. sg., the abbreviation **ke** for **kentis** “son” and the inhabitant name **belikios** in the nom.sg. The discovery of the Celtiberian inscription in the Balearian islands, controlled by Puns, is quite unique.

The longest Celtiberian text written in the Latin alphabet was discovered on the rock near Peñalba de Villastar in the beginning of the 20th cent. The inscription called Peñalba de Villastar 3 consists of two parts, I & II. Two various interpretations are quoted here: (A) Meid (1996, 157); B) Ködderitsch (1996, 149):

(I) *ENI.ROSEI | VTA.TICINO.TIATVNEI | TRECAIAS.TO.LVGVEI | ARAIANOM.
COMEIMV*

(A) “Zu dem auf dem Berge wohnenden, und zugleich dem ..., dem Lugus der Araianer haben wir eine Wallfahrt begangen / sind wir über die Fluren zusammengekommen.”

(B) “Dem Eniorsis und dem Tiato des Tiginos weihen wir die Furchen sowie dem Lugus das Ackerland.”

(II) *ENI.ROSEI.EQVEISVIQVE | OGRIS.OLOCAS.TOGIAS.SISTAT.LVGVEI.TIASO
| TOGIAS*

(A) “Dem auf dem Berge wohnenden und dem Pferddegott, dem Lugus, hat das Oberhaupt der Gemeinschaft eine Überdachung errichtet, (zugleich auch) für den *thiasus* (die Kultgemeinde) eine Überdachung”

(B) “Dem Eniorsis und dem Equaesos stellt Ogris den Schutz des Ackerlands (anheim), dem Lugus den Schutz des Rodelands.”

Peñalba de Villastar 7 (MLH IV, 630)*VORAMOS EDNOVM*Peñalba de Villastar 12 (MLH IV, 633)*VELSAM | TICINO VERAMOM | TVROS OILOBOS*

Notes:

1) *VORAMOS* & *VERAMOM* can represent the variants of the same superlative **ueramos* “highest, uppermost” < **uperḡHos* or **uperḡmos*.

2) *OILOBOS* may be the dat.-abl. pl. m. from **oilos*, probably “sheep”, cf. Lusitanian acc. sg. f. *OILAM*.

Peñalba de Villastar 18 (MLH IV, 640)*TVROS | CARORVM.VIROS.VERAMOS*

Note: Let us mention the syntagm *VIROS VERAMOS* < **wiros uperḡHos* “uppermost man”.

Tiermes 1 (MLH IV, 678–79)*STENIONTE.DOCILICO | AN.GENTE.MONIMAM*

Tiermes 2 (MLH IV, 679)
 COVGIO.VISCI|CO.MONIMAM

Sasamón 1 = *Segisamo* (MLH IV, 689)
 TRIDONIECV.CARA / CADA | CA DESSVAEONA | NEMAIOSO / NEMAIOSQ

4. Sketch of Celtiberian grammar

4.1. Historical phonology of Celtiberian

| IE. * | Examples |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <i>p</i> | oðas acc. pl. f. “feet” < * <i>pod-ns</i> |
| <i>b</i> | NL Konterbia , NL <i>CONTREBIA</i> nom. sg. f. < * <i>kom-treb-yā</i> , cf. MĪr. <i>con-treba</i> “inhabited” |
| <i>b^h</i> | berkUNETAKAM acc. sg. f. adj. < * <i>b^herġ^h-ōn-</i> “mountain” (adj.) + * <i>-et-</i> + <i>-āko-</i> / <i>-ā-</i> |
| <i>t</i> | tiris acc. pl. m./f. “3” < * <i>tri-ns</i> (or * <i>trisu</i> “thrice”?) |
| <i>d</i> | tekam etam acc. sg. f. “tithe” < Celt. * <i>dekameto-ā</i> “tenth” < * <i>dek^m</i> “10” |
| <i>-d-</i> | ueiðos nom. sg. “witness” < * <i>weidos</i> |
| <i>d^h</i> | tuateros gen. sg. f., tuateres nom. pl. f. “daughter” < * <i>d^hug₂ter</i> |
| <i>-d^h-</i> | auðeti < * <i>aud^h-</i> “to give, offer” |
| <i>k</i> | NM kara nom. sg. f. < * <i>kār-ā</i> “beloved” or “loving” |
| <i>g</i> | tokoitos gen. sg., tokoitei loc. sg., togias gen. sg. f. < *(<i>s</i>) <i>tog-</i> , cf. OIr. <i>tugae</i> “covering” < *(<i>s</i>) <i>tog-yā</i> |
| <i>g^h = ġ^h</i> | korta nom. sg. f. / nom.-ak. pl. ntr. “city, town” < * <i>g^h/ġ^hor-t-ā</i> |
| <i>ġ</i> | kantom “100” < * <i>ġ^hntom</i> |
| <i>ġ</i> | kentis nom. sg. m./f., <i>GENTE</i> dat. sg. m./f. “child; descendant” < * <i>ġen(ġ₁)-ti-</i> |
| <i>g^h = ġ^h</i> | korta nom. sg. f. / nom.-ak. pl. ntr. “city, town” < * <i>g^h/ġ^hor-t-ā</i> |
| <i>k^v</i> | kue , <i>-que</i> “and” < * <i>k^ve</i> |
| <i>g^v</i> | boustom “stable for cows” < * <i>g^vou-stH₂o-</i> , cf. Sp. dial. <i>bustar</i> , Port.-Glc. <i>bo-star</i> “pasture for cows” |
| <i>g^{wh}</i> | NFam Kueðontikum gen. pl. m. < * <i>g^{wh}ed^h-ont-</i> “wishing, asking” + <i>-iko-</i> |
| <i>s</i> | so nom. sg. m., sa nom. sg. f., soð nom. sg. ntr. “is, ea, id” < * <i>so</i> , * <i>sā</i> , * <i>sod</i> |
| <i>r</i> | NV Retukenos nom. sg. m., <i>Rectugeni</i> gen. sg. m. < *(<i>H</i>) <i>reġtu-</i> “law, right” (cf. OIr. <i>recht</i> , MW. <i>reith</i> id.) & * <i>ġenH₁o-</i> “born”; similarly G. NV <i>Rextugenos</i> , OB. NV <i>Rithgen</i> |
| <i>l</i> | NV Loukio gen. sg. m., NFam/NV Loukaniko gen. sg. m., NV <i>LOUCIUS</i> < * <i>leuk-/*louk-</i> “to shine” |
| <i>m</i> | monimam acc. sg. f. < * <i>mon-īmā-m</i> , cf. OB. <i>guomonim</i> “promise” from IE. * <i>men-</i> “to think” |
| <i>n</i> | nekue “also not, and not” < * <i>ne k^ve</i> ; NL Nertobis /Nertobriχs/ = Νερτόβριχα (Ptol.), <i>Nertobriga</i> (Itin. Ant.) < Celt. * <i>nerto-</i> “strong” (OIr. <i>nert</i> , OB. <i>nerth</i> “power, might”) & * <i>brig-</i> “fortification” < *(<i>H</i>) <i>nerto-</i> & * <i>b^hġ^h-</i> |
| <i>r_o</i> | NL Sekobirikeð abl. sg. f., Sekobirikea nom. sg. f. adj. < Celt. * <i>sego-brig-s</i> < * <i>seġ^ho-</i> “silný” & * <i>b^hġ^h-</i> “pevnost”, cf. G. <i>briga</i> |
| <i>l₁</i> | NFam Litanokum gen. pl. m., from Celt. * <i>litano-</i> “wide” < * <i>pl₂no-</i> |
| <i>m_o</i> | sankilistara nom. sg. f. / nom.-ak. pl. ntr.? “thousandth (coin)” (preceded by the numeral kantom “100”) < Celt. * <i>san-g(e)listrā</i> < * <i>s^m-ġ^hesli-t(e)rā</i> |

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| <i>n</i> | NM Arkanta nom. sg. f., arkatobeđom “silver mine” < * <i>arġnto-b^hed^hHo-</i> |
| <i>y</i> | ios nom. sg. m., iom acc. sg. m., iomui dat. sg. m./ntr., ia nom. sg. f./nom.-acc. pl. ntr.?, ias gen. sg. f. / nom.-acc. pl. “which” < * <i>yo-</i> m./ntr. & * <i>yā</i> f. |
| <i>w</i> | ueiđos nom. sg. m., ueiđiai dat. sg. f. “witness” < * <i>weido-/yā</i> |
| <i>i</i> | uiros nom. sg. m. “man” < * <i>wiro-</i> (short * <i>i</i> is common for the Celtic, Germanic and Italic languages) |
| <i>u</i> | NM/NL Usama nom. sg. f., NL Usamuđ abl. sg. ntr. < * <i>ups-ŋm-ā, -ōd</i> “highest, uppermost” |
| <i>ī</i> | NV Litu nom. sg. < * <i>litō(n)</i> , cf. OIr. <i>lith</i> “fest“, G. <i>litu-</i> |
| <i>ū</i> | tunares nom. sg. m.? < * <i>d^hūnā-</i> & *(<i>H</i>) <i>rēġ-s?</i> “lord of a fortification”? |
| <i>e</i> | NL ekualakos nom. sg. m. adj., EQUOISUI-QUE dat. sg. m.? < * <i>ekwo-</i> “horse” + * <i>-āl(o)-</i> + * <i>-āko-</i> |
| <i>a</i> | antos nom. sg. m. “border” < * <i>anto-</i> |
| <i>o</i> | koruinom acc. sg. m./ntr. adj. “of cow”? < * <i>kor(ǝ)u-īno-</i> , cf. Lith. <i>kárvinis</i> ; the context is indicated by the word boustrom “stable for cows” - see above |
| <i>ē</i> | litom nom. sg. ntr. “permitted” < * <i>lēto-</i> |
| <i>ā</i> | sistat 3 sg. act. “builds / stands” < * <i>sistāt</i> < ** <i>steH₃-</i> |
| <i>ō</i> | |
| <i>C₂C</i> | NV Statu nom. sg. m. < * <i>st₂tō(n)</i> |
| <i>ei</i> | NV Teiuoreikis nom. sg. < * <i>deiwo-</i> “god; divine” & * <i>reigi-</i> “connected” or *(<i>H</i>) <i>rēġ-</i> “king” |
| <i>ai</i> | NFam Mailikum gen. pl. m., cf. OIr. <i>maél</i> , OW. <i>mail</i> “bald” < * <i>mailo-</i> |
| <i>oi</i> | soisum gen. pl. m./ntr. pron. “this / that” < * <i>soisōm</i> |
| <i>eu</i> | NFam Toutinikum gen. pl. m., NV TOUTONUS < * <i>teut-ā</i> “kin; people” |
| <i>au</i> | auku in formulaion sođ auku “also” < * <i>sod augō</i> “that more“, cf. OIcel. <i>auk</i> , Germ. <i>auch</i> “also” |
| <i>ou</i> | NL Clounioq & Kolounioku instr. sg. m./ntr. adj.; the primary NL was latinized in the form <i>Clunia</i> , cf. OIr. clúain “meadow“, W. clun id. < * <i>klouni-</i> |

Note: The Celtiberian words recorded in the Celtiberian semisyllabic script are transcribed by extra bold letters. The capitals in italics indicate the use of the Latin alphabet, including the toponyms. The transcription follows Dagmar Wodtko in her *Dictionary of the Celtiberian inscriptions* (2000). Let us mention that the Celtiberian script does not differentiate the voiced and voiceless stops. That is why, Celtic ***k** & ***g** and ***t** & ***d** merge in the Celtiberian orthography in **k** & **t** respectively. On the other hand, regarding the fact that IE ***p** is regularly missing in Celtic, it is apparent that the letter representing a labial stop must reflect Celt. **b*. That is why the transcription /**b**/.

4.2. Morphology

4.2.1. Nominal declension in context of other old Celtic languages o-stems:

OIr. *fer* “man”

| | Celtiberian | Lepontic | Gaulish | Old Irish < Celtic | late IE | early IE |
|------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------------|--|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Nom. sg. m. | -os | -os | -os | <i>in fer</i> < * <i>wiros</i> | <i>-os</i> | <i>-os</i> |
| Nom.-Acc.sg. n. | -om | -om | -on | <i>scél</i> | <i>-om</i> | <i>-om</i> |
| Acc. m. | -om | | -on | <i>in^N bfer^N</i> < * <i>wirom</i> | <i>-om</i> | <i>-om</i> |
| Voc. | | | -e? | <i>a^L fhír^L</i> < * <i>wire</i> | <i>-e</i> | <i>-e</i> |
| Gen. | -o | -oiso | -i | <i>ind^L fir^L</i> < * <i>wirī</i> Ogam maq(q)i | <i>-ī</i> | <i>-iHi</i> |
| Dat. | -ui | -ui | -ui/-u | <i>-ind^L fhiur^L</i> < * <i>wirū</i> Ogam Bigu | <i>-ōi</i> | <i>-o-ei</i> |
| Loc. | -ei | -ei | -e | | <i>-ei</i> | |
| Instr. | -u | | -u? | | <i>-ō</i> | <i>-oH₁</i> |
| Abl. | -uō | | | | <i>-ōd</i> | <i>-o-ed</i> |
| Nom.-Acc. du. | | | | <i>fer</i> < * <i>wirā</i> | | |
| Gen. | | | | <i>fer</i> < * <i>wirou</i> | | |
| Dat. | | | | <i>fer(a)ib</i> < * <i>wirobim</i> | | |
| Nom. pl. m. | -oi | -oi | -oi > -i | <i>ind^L fhīr^L</i> < * <i>wirī</i> | <i>-oi</i> | |
| Nom.-Acc. pl. n. | -a | | | <i>scél</i> | <i>-a₂</i> | <i>-H₂</i> |
| Acc. m. | -us | -uś | -us | <i>anna^G firu^G</i> < * <i>wirūs</i> | <i>-ōns</i> | |
| Voc. | | | | <i>a^L fhīru</i> < * <i>wirūs</i> | <i>-ōs</i> | |
| Gen. | -um | | -on | <i>inna^N bfer^N</i> < * <i>wirom</i> Ogam maq[an] mailagni Ogam macorbo | <i>-ōm/-om</i> | |
| Dat. | -ubos | -obos | -obo | <i>-naib</i> <i>fer(a)ib</i> < * <i>wirobi</i> | <i>-o-b^hos</i> | |
| Loc. | | | | | | |
| Instr. | | | -uis/-us | | <i>-ōis</i> | |
| Abl. | | | | | | |

Symbols ^G, ^L, ^N designate mutations, concretely G = *gemination*, if the word was terminated in -s, L = *lenition*, if the word was terminated in a vowel, N = *nasalisation*, if the word was terminated in a nasal.

ā-stems: OIr. *tuath* “kin, tribe”

| | Celtiberian | Lepontic | Gaulish | Old Irish < Celtic | late IE | early IE |
|----------|-------------|------------|-----------------|--|------------|----------|
| Nom. sg. | -a | -a | -a | <i>in^L tuath^L</i> < * <i>toutā</i> Ogam inigena | <i>-ā</i> | |
| Acc. | -am | -am | -an/-im | <i>in^N dtuath^N</i> < * <i>toutim</i> | <i>-ām</i> | |
| Voc. | | -a | -a? | <i>a^L thuath^L</i> < * <i>toutā</i> | <i>-ā</i> | |
| Gen. | -as | | -as/-ias | <i>inna^G tuaithe^G</i> < * <i>toutiās</i> Ogam Ercias | <i>-ās</i> | |

| | Celtiberian | Lepontic | Gaulish | Old Irish < Celtic | late IE | early IE |
|--------------|-------------|------------|---------------|--|-----------------------|----------|
| Dat. | -ai | -ai | -ai/-i | (do)nd ^h tuaith < *toutī | -āi | |
| Loc. | | | | | | |
| Instr. | | | -ia? | | | |
| Abl. | -aō | | | | -ād | |
| Nom.-Acc du. | | | | tuatha | | |
| Gen. | | | | tuath | | |
| Dat. | | | | tuath(a)ib | | |
| Nom. pl. | -i | -as | -as | inna ^G tuatha ^G < *toutās | -ās | |
| Acc. | -as | -aš | -as | inna ^G tuatha ^G < *toutās | -āns | |
| Voc. | | | | a ^l thuatha < *toutās | -ās | |
| Gen. | aum | | -anom | inna ^N dtuath ^N < *toutānom | -ā-ōm/-ā- nom | |
| Dat. | | | -abo | (do)naib tuathaib < *toutābi | -āb ^h o(s) | |
| Loc. | | | | | | |
| Instr. | | | -abi | | -āb ^h i(s) | |
| Abl. | | | | | | |

i-stems: OIr. *flaith* “rule, government”

| | Celtiberian | Lepontic | Gaulish | Old Irish < Celtic | late IE. | early IE |
|---------------|---------------|------------|-------------|---|---------------------|----------|
| Nom. sg. | -is | -is | -is | <i>flaith</i> < *wlatīs | -is | |
| Acc. | -im | | -in | <i>flaith</i> < *wlatim | -im | |
| Voc. | | | -i | <i>flaith</i> < *wlati | -ei | |
| Gen. | | | -ηις | <i>flatho</i> , -a < *wla- tois? Ogam Allattos | -eyos | |
| Dat. | -ei | -ei | -e | <i>flaith</i> < *wlatī | -ei | |
| Loc. | | | | | | |
| Instr. | | | | | | |
| Abl. | -iō | | | | -id | |
| Nom.-Acc. du. | | | | <i>flaith</i> < *wlatī | -ī | |
| Gen. | | | | <i>flatho</i> , -a = gen. sg. | | |
| Dat. | | | | <i>fla(i)thib</i> < *wlati- bim | -ib ^h im | |
| Nom. pl. | -is | | -εις /-is | <i>fla(i)thi</i> < *wlatejes | -eyes | |
| Acc. | -is | | | <i>fla(i)thi</i> < *wlatīns | -īns | |
| Voc. | | | | <i>fla(i)thi</i> < *wlatejes | -eyes | |
| Gen. | -isum? | | -iom | <i>fla(i)the</i> < *wlatijōm | -iyōm | |
| Dat. | | | | | | |

| | Celtiberian | Lepontic | Gaulish | Old Irish < Celtic | late IE. | early IE |
|--------|-------------|----------|---------|---|--------------------------|----------|
| Loc. | | | | | | |
| Instr. | | | | Dat. <i>fla(i)thib</i> < * <i>wlatibi</i> | - <i>ib^hi</i> | |
| Abl. | | | | | | |

u-stems: OIr. *guth* “voice”

| | Celtiberian | Lepontic | Gaulish | Old Irish < Celtic | late IE | early IE |
|---------------|-------------|----------|------------------|--|--------------------------------|----------|
| Nom. sg. | | | -ovç /-us | <i>guth</i> < * <i>gutus</i> | - <i>us</i> | |
| Acc. | | | | <i>guth</i> < * <i>gutum</i> | - <i>um</i> | |
| Voc. | | | | <i>guth</i> < * <i>gutu</i> | - <i>u</i> | |
| Gen. | | | | <i>gotho</i> , - <i>a</i> < * <i>gutous</i> Ogam Cunagussos Ogam Vergoso | - <i>ous</i> | |
| Dat. | -uei | | -ooü | <i>guth</i> < * <i>gutū</i> Ogam magu , Manu | - <i>ewi</i> | |
| Loc. | | | | | | |
| Instr. | | | | | | |
| Abl. | -ueð | | | | - <i>ewed?</i> | |
| Nom.-Acc. du. | | | | <i>guth</i> < * <i>gutū</i> | - <i>ū</i> | |
| Gen. | | | | <i>gotho</i> , - <i>a</i> < * <i>gute-</i> <i>wou?</i> | | |
| Dat. | | | | <i>goth(a)ib</i> < * <i>gu-</i> <i>teubim</i> | | |
| Nom. pl. | | | -oues | <i>goth(a)e</i> - <i>a</i> < * <i>gutewes</i> | - <i>ewes</i> | |
| Acc. | | | | <i>guthu</i> < * <i>gutūns</i> | - <i>ūns</i> | |
| Voc. | | | | <i>goth(a)e</i> < * <i>gutewes</i> | - <i>ewes</i> | |
| Gen. | -oum | | | <i>goth(a)e</i> < * <i>gutewjōm</i> | - <i>ewōm</i> | |
| Dat. | | | -ouib u s | | - <i>oweb^h{o s}</i> | |
| Loc. | | | | | | |
| Lnstr. | | | | Dat. <i>goth(a)ib</i> < * <i>guteubi</i> | - <i>ewob^hi</i> | |
| Abl. | | | | | | |

i-stems: OIr. *rig(a)in* “queen”.

| | Celtiberian | Lepontic | Gaulish | Old Irish < Celtic | late IE | early IE |
|----------|-------------|----------|---------|------------------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| Nom. sg. | -i | | | <i>rig(a)in</i> < * <i>rīgnī</i> | * <i>rēgnī</i> | *- <i>iH</i> |
| Acc. | -im | | | <i>rign(a)i</i> < * <i>rīgnjēm</i> | | |
| Voc. | | | | <i>rig(a)in</i> < * <i>rīgnī</i> | | |
| Gen. | | | | <i>rign(a)e</i> < * <i>rīgnjās</i> | | |
| Dat. | | | | <i>rign(a)i</i> < * <i>rīgnjāi</i> | | |
| Loc. | | | | | | |
| Instr. | | | | | | |

| | Celtiberian | Lepontic | Gaulish | Old Irish < Celtic | late IE | early IE |
|---------------|-------------|----------|---------|---|---------|----------|
| Abl. | | | | | | |
| Nom.-Acc. du. | | | | <i>rīg(a)in</i> = nom. sg. | | |
| Gen. | | | | <i>rīg(a)e</i> = gen. sg. | | |
| Dat. | | | | <i>rīg(a)ib</i> < * <i>rīgñjābim</i> | | |
| Nom. pl. | | | | <i>rīg(a)i</i> < * <i>rīgñīs</i> | | |
| Acc. | | | | <i>rīg(a)i</i> < * <i>rīgñīs</i> | | |
| Voc. | | | | <i>rīg(a)i</i> < * <i>rīgñīs</i> | | |
| Gen. | | | | <i>rīg(a)e</i> < * <i>rīgñjōm</i> | | |
| Dat. | | | | | | |
| Loc. | | | | | | |
| Instr. | | | | Dat. <i>rīg(a)ib</i> < * <i>rīgñjābi</i> | | |
| Abl. | | | | | | |

r-stems: OIr. *ath(a)ir* “father”

| | Celtiberian | Lepontic | Gaulish | Old Irish < Celtic | late IE | early IE |
|---------------|---------------|----------|--------------|--|---|----------|
| Nom. sg. | | | -ir | <i>ath(a)ir</i> < *(p)atīr | * <i>pə,tēr</i> | |
| Acc. | | | -rem | <i>ath(a)ir</i> < *(p)ateram | * <i>pə,tērṃ</i> | |
| Voc. | | | | <i>ath(a)ir</i> < *(p)atīr | * <i>pə,tēr</i> | |
| Gen. | -eros | | | <i>athar</i> < *(p)atros Ogam Akeras | * <i>pə,tros</i> | |
| Dat. | | | | <i>ath(a)ir</i> < *(p)ateri | * <i>pə,teri</i> | |
| Loc. | | | | | | |
| Instr. | | | | | | |
| Abl. | | | | | | |
| Nom.-Acc. du. | | | | <i>athir</i> < *(p)atere | * <i>pə,tere</i> | |
| Gen. | | | | <i>athar</i> < *(p)atrou | * <i>pə,trou</i> | |
| Dat. | | | | <i>athr(a)ib</i> < *(p)atribim | * <i>pə,tṛ^hb^him</i> | |
| Nom. pl. | -eres | | | <i>a(i)thir</i> < *(p)ateres | * <i>pə,t₂eres</i> | |
| Acc. | | | | <i>aithr(e)a</i> < *(p)aterās | * <i>pə,t₂erṃs</i> | |
| Voc. | | | | <i>aithr(e)a</i> < *(p)aterās | * <i>pə,t₂erṃs</i> | |
| Gen. | | | -ron | <i>athr(a)e</i> < *(p)atrijōm | * <i>pə,tṛ^(y)ōm</i> | |
| Dat. | -rvbos | | -rebo | | * <i>pə,tṛ^hb^ho</i> | |
| Loc. | | | | | | |
| Instr. | | | | Dat. <i>athr(a)ib</i> < *(p)atribi | * <i>pə,tṛ^hb^hi</i> | |
| Abl. | -rvbos | | | | | |

n-stems: OIr. *cú* “dog”.

| | Celtiberian | Lepontic | Gaulish | Old Irish < Celtic | late IE | early IE |
|---------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|---|--|----------|
| Nom. sg. | -u | -u | -ou/-u | <i>cú</i> < * <i>kwū</i> | * <i>kwō</i> | |
| Acc. | | | | <i>coin</i> < * <i>kwonim</i> | * <i>kwonm̥</i> | |
| Voc. | | | | <i>cú</i> < * <i>kwū</i> | * <i>kwō</i> | |
| Gen. | -unos | | | <i>con</i> < * <i>kunos</i> Ogam Broinionas | * <i>kunos</i> | |
| Dat. | -unei | -onei | | <i>coin</i> < * <i>kwonei</i> | * <i>kwonei</i> | |
| Loc. | | | | | | |
| Instr. | -unu | | | | | |
| Abl. | -uneō | | | | | |
| Nom.-Acc. du. | | | | <i>coin</i> < * <i>kwone</i> | * <i>kwone</i> | |
| Gen. | | | | <i>con</i> < * <i>kunou</i> | * <i>kunou</i> | |
| Dat. | | | | <i>con(a)ib</i> < * <i>ku-</i> <i>nobim</i> | * <i>kuno-</i> <i>b^him</i> | |
| Nom. pl. | | | | <i>coin</i> < * <i>kwones</i> | * <i>kwones</i> | |
| Acc. | | | -onas | <i>cona</i> < * <i>kunās</i> | * <i>kunās</i> | |
| Voc. | | | | | | |
| Gen. | | | | <i>con</i> < * <i>kwonōm</i> | * <i>kwonōm</i> | |
| Dat. | | -onebos | | | | |
| Loc. | | | | | | |
| Instr. | | | | Dat. <i>con(a)ib</i> < * <i>kunobi</i> | * <i>kunob^hi</i> | |
| Abl. | | | | | | |

nt-stems: OIr. *car(a)e* “friend”

| | Celtiberian | Lepontic | Gaulish | Old Irish < Celtic | late IE | early IE |
|---------------|--------------------|----------|---------|--|--------------------------|----------|
| Nom. sg. | | | | <i>car(a)e</i> < * <i>karants</i> | | |
| Acc. | -ntam | | | <i>car(a)it</i> < <i>karantim</i> | <i>-m̥</i> | |
| Voc. | | | | <i>car(a)e</i> < * <i>karants</i> | | |
| Gen. | -ntos/-ntes | | | <i>carat</i> < * <i>karantos</i> | | |
| Dat. | -nte | | | <i>car(a)it</i> < * <i>karantei</i> | | |
| Loc. | | | | | | |
| Instr. | | | | | | |
| Abl. | | | | | | |
| Nom.-Acc. du. | | | | <i>car(a)it</i> < * <i>karante</i> | | |
| Gen. | | | | <i>carat</i> < * <i>karantou</i> | | |
| Dat. | | | | <i>cairtib</i> < * <i>karan-</i> <i>tobim</i> | <i>-ob^him</i> | |
| Nom. pl. | | | | <i>car(a)it</i> < * <i>karantes</i> | | |
| Acc. | | | | <i>cairt(e)a</i> < * <i>karantās</i> | <i>-ns</i> | |
| Voc. | | | | <i>cairt(e)a</i> = Acc. | | |
| Gen. | | | | <i>carat</i> < * <i>karantōm</i> | | |
| Dat. | | | | | | |
| Loc. | | | | | | |

| | Celtiberian | Lepontic | Gaulish | Old Irish < Celtic | late IE | early IE |
|--------|-------------|----------|---------|---|-------------------------|----------|
| Instr. | | | | Dat. <i>cairtib</i> < * <i>karantobi</i> | <i>-ob^hi</i> | |
| Abl. | | | | | | |

s-stems: OIr. *tech* “house”

| | Celtiberian | Lepontic | Gaulish | Old Irish | late IE | early IE |
|---------------|-------------|----------|---------|-------------------|--|----------|
| Nom. sg. | | | | <i>tech</i> | * <i>tegos</i> | |
| Acc. | | | | <i>tech</i> | * <i>tegos</i> | |
| Voc. | | | | <i>tech</i> | * <i>tegos</i> | |
| Gen. | | | | <i>tige</i> | * <i>tegesos</i> | |
| Dat. | | | | <i>tig</i> | * <i>teges</i> | |
| Loc. | | | | | | |
| Instr. | | | | | | |
| Abl. | | | | | | |
| Nom.-Acc. du. | | | | <i>tech</i> | * <i>tegesā</i> | |
| Gen. | | | | <i>tige</i> | * <i>tegesou</i> | |
| Dat. | | | | <i>tigib</i> | * <i>tegeso-</i> <i>b^him</i> | |
| Nom. pl. | | | | <i>tige</i> | * <i>tegesə,</i> | |
| Acc. | | | | <i>tige</i> | * <i>tegesə,</i> | |
| Voc. | | | | <i>tige</i> | * <i>tegesə,</i> | |
| Gen. | | | | <i>tige</i> | * <i>tegesōm</i> | |
| Dat. | | | | | | |
| Loc. | | | | | | |
| Instr. | | | | Dat. <i>tigib</i> | * <i>tege-</i> <i>sob^hi</i> | |
| Abl. | | | | | | |

Consonantic stems: OIr. *rí* “king”

| | Celtiberian | Lepontic | Gaulish | Old Irish < Celtic | late IE | early IE |
|---------------|-------------|------------|------------|---|------------------------------|----------|
| Nom. sg. | -s | | -s | <i>rí</i> < * <i>rīgs</i> | * <i>rēḡs</i> | |
| Acc. | | | | <i>ríg</i> < * <i>rīgim</i> | * <i>rēḡm</i> | |
| Voc. | | | | <i>rí</i> = Nom. | * <i>rēḡs</i> | |
| Gen. | -os | | -os | <i>ríg</i> < * <i>rīgos</i> Ogam Icorigas | * <i>rēḡos</i> | |
| Dat. | -ei | | -i | <i>ríg</i> < * <i>rīgei</i> | * <i>rēḡei</i> | |
| Loc. | | | | | | |
| Instr. | | | | | | |
| Abl. | -eō | | | | | |
| Nom.-Acc. du. | | | | <i>ríg</i> | * <i>rēḡe</i> | |
| Gen. | | | | <i>ríg</i> | * <i>rēḡou</i> | |
| Dat. | | | | <i>ríg(a)ib</i> | * <i>rēḡob^him</i> | |
| Nom. pl. | -es | | | <i>ríg</i> < * <i>rīges</i> | * <i>rēḡes</i> | |
| Acc. | | -eš | | <i>ríga</i> < * <i>rīgās</i> | * <i>rēḡns</i> | |
| Voc. | | | | <i>ríga</i> < * <i>rīgās</i> | * <i>rēḡns</i> | |

| | | | | | | |
|--------|-------------|----------|------------|--|-----------------------------|----------|
| | Celtiberian | Lepontic | Gaulish | Old Irish < Celtic | late IE | early IE |
| Gen. | | | | <i>rig</i> < * <i>rīgōm</i> | * <i>rēgōm</i> | |
| Dat. | | | | | | |
| Loc. | | | | | | |
| Instr. | | | -bi | Dat. <i>rig(a)ib</i> < * <i>rīgobi</i> | * <i>rēgob^hi</i> | |
| Abl. | | | | | | |

4.2.2. Pronouns (MLH IV, 406)

The pronominal declension is best attested in the fragmentarily preserved paradigms of the demonstrative **so-*/**sā-* and relative **yo-*/**yā-*:

| case / form | * <i>so-</i> m./ntr. | * <i>sā-</i> f. | * <i>yo-</i> m./ntr. | * <i>yā-</i> f. |
|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| nom. sg. | so | sa | ios | |
| nom. acc. sg. ntr. | soð | | | |
| gen. sg. | | | | ias (or acc. pl.?) |
| dat. sg. | somui | | iomui | |
| acc. sg. | | stam | iom | iam |
| loc. sg. | somei | | | |
| nom.-acc. pl. ntr. | | | ia | |
| gen. pl. | soisum | | | |
| acc. pl. | | | | ias (or gen. sg.?) |

4.2.3. Numerals (MLH IV, 407–08)

| | |
|------|--|
| 1 | * <i>san-</i> in sankilistara nom. sg. f. / nom.-acc. pl. ntr.? “thousandth (coin)” (preceded by the numeral kantom “100”) < Celt. * <i>san-g(e)listrā</i> < * <i>sm̥-ġ^hesli-t(e)rā</i> |
| 2 | ?* <i>duino-</i> in tuiniku (NV/NFam) |
| 3 | tiris < acc. pl. * <i>trins</i> or * <i>trisu</i> “thrice”; tirikantam “trifinium”; tirtobolokum < * <i>trito-plo-ko-</i> “double” |
| 4 | ???* <i>ku[etu(o)r]i</i> in bouitos:oðeum:te ---i “four-feet-road”, if the sign for ku instead te has to be here (both signs are very similar) - see Stifter 2001, 108–09 |
| 5 | ??* <i>kuenkue</i> in a compound kuekuetikui ; ?* <i>kuinto-</i> in NV kuintitaku |
| 6 | ? <i>sues</i> in the sequence kamanom ... oðas sues “six-feet-road”; cf. the NP <i>Suesset-ani</i> < * <i>swekseto-</i> “6th” |
| 7 | |
| 8 | |
| 9 | nouantubos < * <i>nowantobos</i> < * <i>newm̥to-b^hos</i> |
| 10 | tekametam & adj. tekametinas “tithes” < Celt. * <i>dekameto-/ā</i> “10th” |
| 100 | kantom < IE * <i>k̑ntom</i> |
| 1000 | sankilistara nom. sg. f. / nom.-acc. pl. ntr.? “thousandth (coin)” (preceded by the numeral kantom “100”) < Celt. * <i>san-g(e)listrā</i> < * <i>sm̥-ġ^hesli-t(e)rā</i> |

4.2.4. Verbs (MLH IV, 408–411)

The following verbal endings are attested:

3 sg. ind. or conj. in **-ti**: **ambitseti auðeti kabiðeti robiseti asekati susati uerðoniti kuati**;

The form *SISTAT* remains rather isolated; no other final *-t* is known in Celtiberian.

3 pl. ind. in **-nti**: **bionti ðiðonti]kionti**.

3 sg. imper. in **-tuð**: **biðetuð oisatuð tinbituð usabituð tatuð**.

3 pl. medio-passive in **-nto**: **auðanto** and / or in **-ntor**: **nebintor**.

Infinitive in **-unci**: **a]mbitinkounei taunei tiðaunei to[u]ertaunei**.

4.2.5. Prepositions, prefixes & preverbs (MLH IV, 413–15)

ad-* “by”?: **asekati = **ad-segāti*;

ambi-: **ambitseti, a]mbitinkounei**;

are- “by, near”?: **arebasiko, arekorata, arekubar**[, **areitena, arestalo**/^o**so**

eni- “in”?: **ENIOROSEI, enitouðei, tokoitei eni**;

entara “among”;

es- “out = ex”?: **esankios** vs. **ankios, eskeinis eskeninum** vs. **kenis; es.uertai**;

ka- “together”?: **kabiðeti** vs. **biðetuð**;

kom- “together”?: **kombalkeð, konbouto** & *COMPLUTUM*, **konterbia**;

ro- “for”?: **robiseti**;

to-: **to[u]ertaunei** (cf. OIr. *to-*);

uer- “over”?: *VERAMOS* & *VORAMOS*, **uertatos, es.uertai**;

us- “up”?: **usama, usamuð**.

4.2.6. Conjunctionions & negation

kue “and”, **ue** “or”, **uta** “and so”;

ne- “no” & “not”?: **nekue; nelitom, nebintor**.

Abbreviations: B. Breton, Celt. Celtic, G. Gaulish, Germ. German, Glc. Galician, Icel. Icelandic, IE Indo-European, Ir. Irish, Lith. Lithuanian, M Middle, NFam nomen familiaris, NL nomen loci, NM nomen mulieri, NP nomen populi, NV nomen viri, O Old, Port. Portugal, Sp. Spanish, W. Welsh,

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BELTRÁN, FRANCISCO, DE HOZ, JAVIER & UNTERMANN, JÜRGEN (1996). *El tercer bronce de Botorrita (Contrebia Belaisca)*. Zaragoza: Departamento de Educación y Cultura.

CÓLERA, CARLOS JORDÁN (2005). *Celtibérico*. Zaragoza: Gorfisa.

ESKA, JOSEPH (1989). *Towards an Interpretation of the Hispano-Celtic Inscription of Botorrita*. Innsbruck: IBS 59.

GAS = *Die Grösseren altkeltischen Sprachdenkmäler. Akten des Kolloquiums Innsbruck (Mai 1993)*, ed. W. MEID & P. ANREITER. Innsbruck: IBK 95.

KALYGIN, VIKTOR P. (2000). Kelt'skie jazyki. In: *Jazyki mira: Germanskie jazyki; kelt'skie jazyki*, ed. V.N. Jarceva. Moskva: Academia (Rossijskaja Akademija nauk, Institut jazykoznanija), 388–462.

- KÖDDERITSCH, ROLF (1996). Noch einmal zur grossen Felsinschrift von Peñalba de Villastar. In *GAS*, 149–155.
- LAMBERT, PIERRE-YVES (1994). *La langue gauloise*. Paris: Errance.
- LIV* = *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*, ed. by HELMUT RIX ET AL. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- MEID, WOLFGANG (1993). *Die Erste Botorrita-Inschrift: Interpretation eines keltiberischen Sprachdenkmals*. Innsbruck: IBS 76.
- MEID, WOLFGANG (1996). Zur grossen Inschrift von Peñalba de Villastar. In: *GAS*, 156–157.
- MEID, WOLFGANG (2000). Altkeltische Sprachen: 3. Keltiberisch. *Kratylos* 45, 1–28.
- MLH Monumenta linguarum Hispanicarum*, ed. UNTERMANN, JÜRGEN (& WODTKO, DAGMAR).
- PLINIUS, C SECUNDUS (1988). *Naturalis Historiae*, Libri III/IV, ed. by GERHARD WINKLER. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- POKORNY, JULIUS (1925). *Altirische Grammatik*. Berlin - Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter.
- PTOLEMAEUS, CLAUDIUS (1966). *Geographia*, ed. by C. F. A. NOBBE. Hildesheim: Olms.
- STIFTER, DAVID (2001). Neues vom Keltiberischen: Notizen zu Botorrita IV. *Die Sprache* 38/3[1996], 91–112.
- STRABÓN (1923). *The Geography of Strabo* II, transl. by HORACE L. JONES. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University-Press (Loeb Classical Library).
- THURNEYSEN, RUDOLF, 1946: *A Grammar of Old Irish*₂. Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- UNTERMANN, JÜRGEN & WODTKO, DAGMAR (1997). *Die tartesischen, keltiberischen und lusitanischen Inschriften*. In *MLH* IV. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- VILLAR, FRANCISCO (1995). *A New Interpretation of Celtiberian Grammar*. Innsbruck: IBS, Vorträge und Kleinere Schriften 62.
- VILLAR, FRANCISCO (1996–97). The Celtiberian Language. *Zeitschrift für Celtologie* 49–50, 898–949.
- WATKINS, CALVERT (1999). *A Celtic Miscellany*. In: *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference* (LA, May 1998), eds. by K. Jones-Bley et al. Washington, D.C.: JIES Studies Monographs 32, 3–25.
- WODTKO, DAGMAR (2000). *Wörterbuch der keltiberischen Inschriften*. In: *MLH* V.1. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- ZIEGLER, SABINE (1994). *Die Sprache der altirischen Ogam-Inschriften*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

RESUMÉ

Článek shrnuje současný stav poznání keltiberského jazyka, který je znám z řady epigrafických památek z 2. a 1. st. př. Kr. z centrální a severní Hispánie, výjimečně též z jižní Francie a Baleár (Ibiza), z větší části zaznamenaných poloslabičným písmem převztým od jejich východních sousedů Iberů, z menší části latinským písmem. V úvodních pasážích jsou shrnuty nejdůležitější antické zprávy o Keltiberech. Následuje prezentace nejvýznamnějších nápisů, transkribovaných jak z keltiberské, tak latinské grafiky. Gramatická část začíná přehledem hláskových zákonů s ilustračními příklady. Následuje představení jmenné deklinace, která je konfrontována s paradigmaty dalších starých keltských jazyků (Iepontský, galský, staroirský, včetně ogamské fáze). Podrobněji jsou představeny ještě číslovky, předložky & předpony a spojky, jen neúplná paradigmata jsou k dispozici u zájmen a sloves. Studii uzavírá základní bibliografie.

Václav Blažek
 Ústav jazykovědy a baltistiky FF MU
 (blazek@phil.muni.cz)

