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Lusitanian language

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LUSITANIAN LANGUAGE

1.1. The first descriptions of Lusitania were written in Greek by Polybius (2nd cent. BC) and Poseidonius (2nd-1st cent. BC). Polybius was quoted at least fragmentarily by Appian (2nd AD) in his *Iberica*, the witness of Poseidonius was preserved by Diodorus Siculus (1st cent. BC). Further references occur in the description of so called Sertorian war in the biography *Sertorius* by Plutarch (1st-2nd cent. AD).

1.1.1. From the antique authors, it was Strabo, who left us the most detailed information about Lusitania and its people [translated by H.J. Jones]:

[III 3]: (1) "The Tagus abounds in fish, and is full of oysters. It rises in Celtiberia, and flows through Vettonia, Carpetania, and *Lusitania*, towards the equinoctial west, up to a certain point being parallel to both the Anas [= Guadiana today] and the Baetis [= Guadalquivir today], but after that diverging from those rivers, since they bend off towards the southern seaboard. (2) Now the peoples situated beyond the mountains mentioned above, the Oretanians are most southerly, and their territory reaches as far as the seacoast in part of the country this side of the Pillars; the Carpetanians are next after these on the north; then the Vettonians and the Vaccaeans, through whose territory the Durius River flows, which affords a crossing at Acutia, a city of the Vaccaeans; and last, the Callaicans, who occupy a very considerable part of the mountainous country. For this reason, since they were very hard to fight with, the Callaicans themselves have not only furnished the surname for the man who defeated the Lusitanians but they have also brought it about that now, already, the most of the *Lusitanians* are called Callaicans. Now as for Oretania, its city of Castello is very powerful, and so is Oria. (3) And yet the country north of Tagus, *Lusitania*, is the greatest of the Iberian nations, and

is the nation against which the Romans waged war for the longest times. The boundaries of this country are: on the southern side, the Tagus; on the western and northern, the ocean; and on the eastern, the countries of the Carpetanians, Vettonians, Vaccaeans, and Callaicans, the well-known tribes; it is not worth while to name the rest, because of their smallness and lack of repute. Contrary to the men of to-day, however, some call also these people *Lusitanians*. These four peoples, in the eastern part of their countries, have common boundaries, thus: the Callaicans, with the tribe of the Asturians and with the Celtiberians, but the others with only the Celtiberians. Now the length of *Lusitania* to cape Nerium is three thousand stadia, but its breadth, which is formed between its eastern side and the coast-line that lies opposite thereto, is much less. The eastern side is high and rough, but the country that lies below is all plain even to the sea, except a few mountains of no great magnitude. And this, of course, is why Poseidonius says that Aristotle is incorrect in making the coast-line and Maurusia the cause of the flood-tides and the ebb-tides."

[III 4] (20) "But all the rest of Iberia is Caesar's; and he sends thither two legati, praetorian and consular respectively; the praetorian legatus, who has with him a legatus of his own, being sent to administer justice to those *Lusitanians* whose country is situated alongside Baetica and extends as far as the Durius River and its outlets (indeed, at the present time they apply the name *Lusitania* specifically to this country); and here, too, is there of Augusta Emerita. The remainder of Caesar's territory (and this is most of Iberia) is under the consular governor, who has under him, not only a noteworthy army of, I should say, three legions, but also three legati. One of the three, with two legions, guards the frontier of the whole country beyond the Durius to the north: the inhabitants of this country were spoken of by the people of former times as *Lusitanians*, but by the people of to-day they are called Cantabrians. The River Melsus flows through Asturia; a little farther on is the city of Noega; and near Noega there is an estuary from the ocean, which estuary is a boundary between the Asturians and the Cantabrians. ... "

1.2. From the authors written in Latin, Lusitania and its people is first mentioned by Caesar in his "Civil war" (I, 38.2; 40.7), further Cornelius Nepos (*Cato*, III, 4), Titus Livius (XXI, 43.8), Suetonius (*Otho*, III, 2). Let us quote the witness of Pomponius Mela (II, 87) and Plinius in his "History of nature" (IV, 116; XV, 103).

1.2.1. Pomponius Mela was more brief in his book *De Chorographia* written in AD 43–44 [II, 87–88]: *tribus autem est distincta nominibus, parsque eius Tarraconensis altero capite Gallias altero Baeticam Lusitaniamque contingens mari latera obicit Nostro quo meridiem, qua septentrionem spectat oceano. illas fluvius Anas separat, et ideo Baetica maria utraque prospicit, ad occidentem Atlanticum, ad meridiem Nostrum. Lusitania oceano tantummodo obiecta est, sed latere ad septentriones, fronte ad occasum.*

1.2.2. Pliny (AD 23/24–79) in his *Naturalis Historiae* was quite well informed about the Lusitanian geography [IV, 112–13]: *flumen Limia, Durius amnis ex maximis Hispaniae, ortus in Pelendonibus et iuxta Numantiam lapsus, dein per*

Arevacos Vaccaeosque, disterminatis ab Asturia Vettonibus, a Lusitania Gallae-
cis; ibi quoque Turdulo a Bracaris arcens. omnis, quae dicta regio a Pyrenaeo,
metallis referta auri, argenti, ferri, plumbi nigri albique. A Durio Lusitania in-
cipit: Turduli veteres, Paesuri, flumen Vagia, oppidum Talabriga, oppidum et
flumen Aeminium, oppida Coniumbriga, Colippo, Eburobrittium. ... [116] *Tagus*
auriferis harenis celebratur. ab eo CLX promunturium Sacrum e media prope
Hispaniae fronte prosilit. inde ad Pyrenaeum medium collogi Varro tradit, ad
Anam vero, quo Lusitaniam a Baetica discrevimus, CXXVI, a Gadibus CII addi-
tis. gentes Celtici, Turduli et circa Tagum Vettones, ab Ana ad Sacrum Lusitani.

1.3. It is possible to conclude the ancient Lusitanians lived between the rivers
Tejo/Tajo [*Tagus*] and Douro/Duero [*Durius*] at the territory of modern Portugal
and the Spanish province Extremadura. Regarding their neighbours, their inland
border could be determined by the cities *Caurium* (today Coria), *Norba Caesara*
(Cáceres) a *Caecilia Metellina* (Medellín). But in a deeper past, the Lusitanians
had also to inhabit the area to the north from the River Durius, where Cantabrians
were known in the time of Strabo. This author also mentioned that the Carpetani-
ans, Vettonians, Vaccaeans, and Callaicans were by some called Lusitanians too.

2. It was Antonio Tovar (1966–67) who first identified the ancient Lusitani-
ans with the authors of the inscriptions discovered at the territory of Lusitania.
The etymology of the ethnonym or place name is not known, although it was
already Pliny who first tried to etymologize the ethnonym *Lűsîtânî* [III, 8]: *lusum*
enim Liberi patris aut lyssam cum eo bacchantium nomen dedisse Lusitaniae et
Pana praefectum eius universae. Let us mention that the meaning of Latin *lūsus*
is "play, playing, game, sport", while Greek λύσσα means "rage, fury; raging,
madness, raving, frenzy". Pliny's attempt is naturally untenable, but the modern
comparative-historical linguistics cannot offer anything better. It is only accepted
that the ethnonym is related with another tribal name *Lusones* [Λούσονες] quoted
e.g. by Strabo: "The Lusonians, likewise, live in the east, and their territory, too,
joins the sources of the Tagus" [III 4, 13], cf. Schulten, *Paulys Realencyklopädie*
der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, 26. Halbband, Stuttgart: Druckenmüller
1927, c.1867. It is necessary to stress that -*s*- in Lusitanian orthography reflects
probably the geminate -*ss*-, derivable from various clusters as **-ns-, *-ts-, *-st-,*
*-TT-, *-ky-, while a regular continuant of IE **-s-* has to develop in Lusitanian -*ø*-
according to Witczak (2005, 261–67). Taking in account these phonetic rules and
separating the suffix **-(e)t-ānī* forming numerous ethnonyms in ancient Hispania
(*Bastetani, Carpetani, Oretani, Turdetani*), it is possible to relate the root **lus(i)ᵒ*
with the root **(H₁)leu̯dʰ-* "to grow", perhaps from **ludʰ-(s)ti-* with a hypothetical
meaning ±"sprout", cf. Old Irish *luss* m. "plant", Welsh *llysiau*, Breton *louzou*,
Old Cornish *les* id. < **ludʰ-stu-* (Pokorny 1959, 684–85).

3. The number of the Lusitanian epigraphic monuments is very limited. The
following short survey is based on the analysis published by Witczak (2005; fur-
ther W):

3.1. The oldest known inscription was found in Arroyo de la Luz, earlier Arroyo del Puerco, ca. 20 km from Cáceres, where the border between Lusitanians and Vettonians was situated. It also formed the western border of occurrence of the Celtiberian toponyms. The creation of the inscription is dated immediately after the Roman conquest of Hispania in 119 BC. It was discovered already in the 18th cent. and so the circumstances of this find are not unknown. The text is written in the contemporary Latin alphabet. In the following transcription the points follow the copy from 1793, the brackets [] indicate the reconstructed letters (after Witczak 2005, 171), the symbols | and / separate lines and the alternative readings respectively:

AMBATVS | SCRIP̲SI | CARLAE PRAISOM | SECIAS . ERBA . MVITIE|AS
. ARIMO . PRAESO|NDO . SINGEIE[T]O | INI . AVA[M] . INDI . VEA|VN/
M . INDI . [V]EDAGA|ROM . TEVCAECOM | INDI . NVRIM . I[NDI] |
VDE[N]EC . RVRSE[N]CO | AMPILVA | INDI .. | G/LOEMINA . INDI .
ENV | PETANIM . INDI . AR|IMOM . SINTAMO|M . INDI . TEVCOM |
SINTAMO[M]

Witczak (2005, 171) offered the following translation:

"(I) Ambatus have written: in Carla the treaty of friendship or reciprocity through the dignitary delegated [there], let be vowed without a participation of grandmother and brother's women and son's fiancées and house-lady and without RURSENO AMPILUA and family and without PETANIM and oldest dignitary and oldest descendant."

Comments:

AMBATVS SCRIPSI means in Latin "Ambatus has written". The name AMBATVS probably represents the Latin word *ambactus* "servant", originally borrowed from Gaulish.

CARLAE – loc. sg. of the type of Latin *Romae* from the place name **Carla*, known in the Latinized form *Carula* in south from the river Baetis (W 153).

PRAISOM – nom. sg. ntr. ±"treaty" < **pro-ai̯so-*, cf. Old Indic *praiṣá-* "sending, direction, invitation, summons, order, call" < *pra-* "before, in front & *eṣá-* "gliding, running, hastening", Lithuanian *príesakas* "precept, mandate" (W 153–56).

SECIAS – gen. sg. f. from **sek(H)i̯ā* "friendship", cf. Old Indic *sakhyá-* "friendship" : *sákhā* (nom.) & *sakhi-* "friend, companion", Latin *societas* "society" : *socius* "friend"; concerning the case ending, cf. Old Latin *moltas* 'multae', in Classical Latin e.g. *pater familias*, Greek Attic φιλίᾱ, gen. sg. φιλίᾱς, etc. (W 156, 278).

ERBA – "or", cf. Lithuanian *arbà* "or" : *ar̃* "whether, if"; the primary vocalisation in **e-* is preserved in Old Lithuanian *er* id., Prussian *er prei* "bis an", *er en* "bin" (W 157).

MVITIEAS – gen. sg. f. from **moi̯teu̯ii̯ā* "reciprocity", cf. Siculian μοῖτον "reciprocity", Latin *mūtuum* id., *mūtuus* "mutual" < **moi̯teu̯o-* (W 156).

ARIMO – instr. sg. m. from **arimos* "dignitary" or "aristocrat", cf. Old Indic *áriya-* "man of the upper caste", Greek ἄριστος "best in birth and rank, noblest", ἀριστεύς "chief, prince, lord", Old Irish *aire*, gen. *airech* "aristocrat". The instrumental case in *-o* < **-oH₁* corresponds with Lithuanian *vilkù* < **u̯lku̯oH₁* (W 157).

PRAESONDO – gerundivum (= participium futuri passivi) from the same base as PRAISOM (W 158).

SINGEIETO < **sn̥gei̯etōd* 3sg. imper. II "let vow", cf. Old Indic *sajati*, caus. *sañjati* "attaches, fixes, fastens on", Slavic **sęgati* "to reach, stretch out, grasp" : **pri-sęgati* "to swear" (W 148–50).

INI – ±"without" < **u̯inē*, cf. Old Indic *vínā* "without", Khotanese *vina* "without", Prussian *winna* "heraus", Slavic **vъně* "outside". The loss of **u̯* before **i* has analogy in OILAM < **ou̯i̯lām* (W 159).

AVA[M] – acc. sg. f. from *$au̯ā$ "grandmother", cf. Latin arch. *ava* id., Gothic *awo* id., Slavic *$*ova$* id. > Low Lusatian *wowa*, Upper Lusatian *wowka* id., Lithuanian *avà* "aunt, wife of uncle" (W 160).

INDI – "and" – the most frequent word in the Lusitanian corpus, cf. Old High German *unti, enti, anti*, Old Saxon *endi*, Old English *and* "and", Old Nordic *en(n)* "et, etiam", Oscan *ant* "usque ad", Lithuanian *iñt* "nach", Vedic *áthā*, later *átha* "then, moreover, rather, but, else", Avestan *aθa* "ebenso" etc., reflecting *$*n̥tH_1e$* or *$*entH_1e$* (W 160–61). There are suggestive parallels in Portuguese *ainda* "still, yet, again, besides, at least, some day, notwithstanding, also" and Gallego *ainda* "aun, todavia", explainable only as the substratum loans (so Corominas; see W 383).

VEAVN – acc. pl. f. *$*u̯ēsūns$ from *$*u̯ēsū-$* "girl", cf. Old Indic acc. pl. f. *vāsūn : vāsū-* "young girl, maiden" (W 161–63). The digraph AE could reflect the vowel *$*ē$* .

VEDAGAROM – a derivative of the root *$*u̯ed^h-$* "to lead", frequently used about the marriage: Lithuanian *vedinti* "to marry", *vedimas & vedybos* pl. "marriage", Old Indic *vadh-* "bride, newly-married woman, young wife, spouse", Avestan *vaδū-* "Weib, Frau", Persian *bayōg* "bride" < *$*vadvakā$*, etc. (W 163).

TEVCAECOM – acc. sg. of the compound consisting of *$*teucom$* (~ Old Indic *tokám* ntr. "boy; descendants") and *$*aecos$* (~ Old Indic *īśá-* "ruler, master, lord", cf. *parameśa-* "supreme lord, supreme being", corresponding to Lusitanian dat. sg. PARAMAECO) (W 164).

NVRIM – acc. sg. f. *$*(H_2)nōrim$*, cf. Old Indic acc. sg. *nā́rīm* from *nā́rī-* "woman, wife", Avestan *nāiri-* "(verheiratete) Frau, Ehefrau", all from the masculine correspondent *$*(H_2)nēr$* "man", known from Old Indic *nár-* "man, male, person", Armenian *ayr*, Greek ἀνήρ, in compounded proper names e.g. ˆΑριστ-άνωρ, lit. "best man", Oscan *niir* etc., also from the Lusitanian man's anthroponyms: *Vonconer, Onconer* (W 164–65).

UDE[N]EC – "without", cf. Old English *ūtan(e)* "from outside, Middle High German *ūʒen* prep. & adv. "outside", Old Nordic *útan* adv. "from outside, away" (W 165).

RURSENCO – without any convincing explanation.

AMPILVA – nom. sg. f. *$*amb^hi-k^uel-u̯ā$*, cf. Latin m. *anculus* "man-servant", f. dim. *ancilla* "maid-servant, handmaid", Greek ἀμφίπολος m. "attendant, follower; priest", f. "handmaid, waiting-woman" < *$*amb^hi-k^uolos$* (W 165 after B.M. Prósper).

COEMINA or LOEMINA – the initial C- implies the comparison with Lithuanian arch. *šiemýna* "family", Prussian *seimīns* "Gesinde", Old Church Slavonic *sěminъ* "belonging to the family; servant", further Gothic *haims* "village", Old High German *heim* "homeward", etc. In the case of the initial L- the word LOEMINA corresponds with the second component of ICCONA LOIMINNA, known from the inscription from Cabeço das Fráguas. If ICCONA was the Lusitanian horse-goddess, the idiom ICCONA LOIMINNA could correspond to the dedication *Eponae Virgini* (W 165–67). This identification opens an attractive comparison with the (East) Baltic female deity *$*Laimā$ ~ *$*Laimijā$*, usually glossed as 'Fortuna', but according to M. Praetorius (*Deliciae Prussicae oder Preusische Schaubühne*, written from 1684 to 1703) also as the "Virgin Mary" by ...Nadrauen, Sudauen, Zalavonen... from the borderland of Lituania and Prussia: .. *und die Panna Maria (oder die **Laime**) um Hilfe anruft ... und betet nun ebenfalls zu Gott und Panna Maria (**Laime**)*; *... Darauf dankt die Pribuweje Gott und der Jungfrau Maria (**Laime**)..* (Mannhardt 1936, 600–01; Toporov 1990, 27–28).

ENU – "without", cf. Gothic *inu*, Ossetic *ænæ* id. (W 167).

PETANIM – acc. sg. f. of the female noun in *$*-H_2niH_2$* > Old Indic *-inī*, Greek *$*-ani̯a$* > -αινα. The word proper has to be comparable with Old Indic *pátnī* "lady", Avestan *ha-paθnī-* "wife", Greek πότνια "mistress, lady", Old Lithuanian *vieš-patni* "majestic", etc. (W 167). Let us mention that the *e*-vocalism is not typical for the nominal derivatives of this root.

ARIMOM – acc. sg. m. from the nom. *$*arimos$* (see above).

SINTAMOM – acc. sg. m. from the superlative *$*sen-tm̥Hos$* "oldest", cf. Galatian man's name, besides Old Irish *sinem*, Old Welsh *hinham* "the oldest one" < Celtic *$*senisamos$* (W 167–68).

TEVCOM – following K.H. Schmidt, Witczak prefers the translation "descendant" based on the comparison with Old Indic *tokám* ntr. "progeny, offspring, race; child", Avestan *taoxman-* ntr. "Same, Keim", pl. "Verwandtschaft", Middle High German *diehter* "grandson", rather than the

shortening from *teuticom, proposed on the basis of Oscan *túvtíks* "publicus" by Schmoll (W 169–70).

ARIMO[M] – see above.

3.2. The inscription from Arroyo de la Luz III (Cáceres) was published only in 1999. The text is brief and incompletely preserved. That is why it is difficult to translate it: ISAICCID . RUETI . [| PUPPID . CARLAE . EN | ETOM . INDI . NA.[| ...CE . IOM . | M

Comments:

ISAICCID – perhaps the ablative of the man's name by *Isaiccis* (W 180–81).

RUETI – 3sg. It can be connected with the root *reu̯H-* "aufreissen" (LIV 510), attested e.g. in Latin *ruō* "I fall down, go to ruin; hasten, hurry, rush wühlen, scharren; bury, fall to ruin", Old Church Slavonic *ryti* "to engrave", etc. In this case the semantic shift "to dig, engrave" → "to write" could be proposed. Witczak derives the verbal form from *ruH̥etoi̯* (*-oi̯* > Lusitanian *-ī*, i.e. *-i*, is illustrated by the ethnonym VEAM(I)NI-CORI, reflecting the plural in *-oi̯*).

PUPPID – perhaps the indefinite pronoun in nom.-acc. ntr. *kʷod-kʷid*, cf. Old Indic *kaccit* "sometimes, now and then". This identification implies the change *kʷ* > Lusitanian *p* (W 179).

CARLAE EN – loc. sg. "in Carla", cf. Celtiberian *ToKoitei eni* "in Togoitis", Oscan *húrtín* "in the garden" < *gʰortei̯ en*, although it is not excluded that EN forms one word with ETOM, i.e. ENETOM; in this case Latin *inītum* "going into; beginning" (*en-ei̯tom*) could be compared (W 176–78).

ETOM – if EN really belongs to the preceding word, ETOM was a pronoun originated from the combination of two demonstrative stems *ei̯-* & *to-* (W 183).

IOM – acc. sg. m. from the relative pronoun *i̯os : *i̯ā : *i̯od*, cf. Old Indic acc. sg. m. *yám* (W 183).

3.3. The inscription from Lamas de Moledo, about 40 km in north from Viseau. The text on the granite rock by the small river Coura was first described already in 1630, available is till the present time. The words stand either individually or are separated by points, if there are more words in the one line. The symbol | separates the lines. The alternative reading is expressed by the symbol /.

RVFINVS . ET | TIRO SCRIP|SERVNT | VEAM(I)NICORI | DOENTI AN-GOM | LAM(M)ATICOM | CROVGEAI MACA|REAICOI . PETRAN/VIOI . T/R|ADOM . PORCOM IOVEA(I/.) | CAELOBRIGOI

After discussion of the preceding interpretations, Witczak (2005, 143) proposed his own translation:

"Rufinus and Tiro have written: People from Veamini offer a lamb from Lamas to [the god] *Crougias Macareaicos Petravios, and also the pig to [the god] Ioveas Caeilobrigos."

Comments:

RVFINVS ET TIRO SCRIPSERVNT – means in Latin: "Rufinus and Tiro have written".

VEAMNINICORI (or VEAMINI CORI) – etnonym, consisting from nom. pl. *koroi̯*, corresponding to the second component in the Gaulish tribal names *Tri-corii*, *Petru-corii*, further to Old Irish *cuire* "band, troop", Lithuanian dial. *kãras* "war", Old Persian *kāra-* "army", etc. (W 123–25). The closest parallel to the first component occurs in the proper name *Veamini* (the latinized nom. pl.), known from the region of the Alps (Plinius, *NH* III, 20, 136; he quotes this ethnonym

among 85 names of tribes from the Alps, subjugated by Romans), similarly *Veaminiorum* in CIL, T. 5, n. 7231 (the latinized gen. pl.).

DOENTI – 3pl. pres. – some scholars see here the root *deH_3- "to give", others including Witczak prefer *d^heH_1- "to put". His main argument against *deH_3- is based on his assumption of the regular change *d > Lusitanian *r* (W 125–29, esp. 126 about the rhotacism).

ANGOM, corr. *$agnom$ – acc. sg. m. from the nom. *ag^unos "lamb", cf. Latin *agnus*, Greek ἀμνός "lamb". This solution is supported by presence of the word PORCOM (acc. sg. m.), designating other sacrificial animal, if its meaning was "pig" (W 130). On the other hand, this etymology, although quite plausible, does not imply the regular reflex of IE *g^u as Lusitanian *g*, similarly as *g* is not a regular reflex of IE *g^u in Latin (it is *v*), but only in specific clusters: *g^un > *gn, *g^ur > *gr*, etc.

LAMATICOM – probably an adjective formed from a toponym, derived from the hypothetical appelative *$lāmā$ "lowland", which is reconstructed on the basis of numerous toponyms of the type *Lamas de Moledo* etc. The extension in -*at*- occurs e.g. in Latin *lamatus* "marshy" (W 131).

CROVGEAI – dat. sg. m. of the theonym *$Crougias$ (W 132).

MACAREAICOI – dat. sg. m. of the adj. formed from a proper name *$Macarios$? (Blázquez Martínez), cf. MACARI in the votive inscription from Lisouros, today Paredes de Coura (W 133–34).

PETRAN/VIOI – dat. sg. m. of the adj. formed from a proper name, which could designate some place or person or divinity (W 134–35).

T/RADOM – perhaps a particle, consisting of two components, first comparable with Greek ἄρ(α), encl. ῥα "then, straightway, at once, suddenly", Lithuanian *iȓ*, Latvian *ìr* "and, and than, and so; both .. and; also, as well" < *$H_β rH_2$; second with *-*dom* attested in Latin *etiamdum* "hitherto, even till now, still, yet", *interdum* "sometimes, occasionally, now and then; for some time; meanwhile", *nondum* "not yet", *primumdum* "in the first place", Oscan *iusídum* "idem", Greek ἀμφαδόν "openly, publicly", μοναδόν "only, solitary-wise", σχεδόν "near, close, hard-by; nearly, almost, just" (W 135–37).

PORCOM – acc. sg. m. from *$pork̂os$ "pig(let)" (W 137–38).

IOVEA(I/.) – perhaps dat. sg. m. from the nom. *$Iovias$, which has to be a theonym. Witczak rejects the attempts to derive this theonym from *$di̯eui̯i̯āi̯$ proposed by B.M. Prósper, explaining that the typical Italic change *$di̯$- > *$i̯$- cannot be automatically proposed for Lusitanian without any parallel examples (but the same can be said about the change *$di̯$- > *r*- assumed by him – in the initial position in Lusitanian it is supported only by one example, namely REVE). He offers his own solution, reconstructing the hydronym *$Iovea$ and corresponding theonym *$Iovias$. For the hydronym he has collected the following comparanda: Old Indic *yavyā́* "river, stream, channel", Old Persian *yauviyā*- "canal, channel", Attic Zέα 'one of three harbours in Piraeus' < *$i̯eui̯ā$ (W 138–39).

CAE(I)LOBRIGOI – adj. formed from the place name *$Cae(i)lobriga$, attested e.g. by Ptolemy (II, 6.41–42) as Κοιλιόβριγα. The final -OI probably reflects the dat. sg. m. of the *o*-stem *-*ōi* < *-*o-ei̯*; alternatively it could be the loc. pl. m., corresponding to the Italo-Celtic ending *-*ŏi̯s*, derivable from IE *-*oi̯-su/-si* (W 140–42; 282, 284).

3.4. The inscription from the mountain Cabeço das Frágoas (1015m.) occurs on the low rock near the top, where are the traces of the ancient fortification. The mountain is well-known by its mines for silver, zinc and iron, how it is indicated by the name of the mountain itself, cf. Portuguese *frágoa* "forge"). The points between words correspond with the original. The symbol | separates the original lines.

OILAM . TREBOPALA . | INDI . PORCOM . LA<u>E</u>BO . | COMAIAM . ICCO-
NA . LOIM|INNA . OILAM . VSSEAM . | TREBARVNE . INDI . TAVROM |
IFADE<u>M</u> ... | REVE . [T]RE ...

Comments:

OILAM – acc. sg. f. from *$ou̯ilā$ "sheep" or "lamb", regarding the probable diminutive function of the *l*-suffix, cf. Old Indic (lex.) *avilā* "ewe" : *ávi-* "sheep", further Latin *ovis* id., adj. *ovīlis*, Old Irish *ói* "sheep", etc. The same suffix formed Slavic *$kozъlъ$ "goat-buck" from *$koza$ "goat". The loss of expected V before I is not exceptional, cf. the vacillation in the proper names: *Doviterus & Dobiterus* : *Doiterus & Doiderus*; *Dovitena & Dovidena* : *Doitena & Doidena*, etc. (W 79–80, 328).

TREBOPALA – the name of a goddess, consisting of two components. The first one corresponds with Old Irish *treb* "habitation, family, tribe", Welsh *tref* "village", Oscan *trííbu-* "house"; the second one has cognates in various theonyms as Latin *Palēs*, Old Indic *-pálā* in the name of the goddess or heroine *Viśpálā*, where the member *viś-* designates "house, homested, dwelling, settlement" and so functionally corresponds with Lusitanian *trebo-*. Functionally corresponding components occur in the epithet TOUDO-PALANDAIGE (*$touto-palant$°) of the goddess Munida (W 80–83). In the final -A Witczak sees the dat. sg. f. in *$-āi < *-eH_2–ei̯$ (W 278).

INDI – conjunction "and (also)" – see §3.1.

PORCOM – acc. sg. m. from *$porĝos$ "pig(let)" – see §3.3.

LAEBO (the alternative reading LABBO is probably excluded by the theonym LAEPO, attested 4x – in two inscriptions from Pousafoles, from Benespora and Túy) – dat. pl. *$Lāsĕbʰo[s]$, corresponding to Old Latin dat. pl. *Lāsibus* (*Carmen Arvale*), Latin *Lāribus*, from the nom. sg. in Classical Latin *Lār*.

COMAIAM – acc. sg. f.; there are at least two possible interpretations, compatible with the following word ICCONA, if it designated a horse-goddess: (i) cf. Old Umbrian *kumia-* in TIg Ia 7–8: *sif kumiaſ* ~ Late Umbrian *gomia-* in TIg VIa 58: *si gomiaſ* "sues gravidas"; (ii) *$comaia-$ = "mare", cf. Lithuanian *kumẽlė* "mare", Prussian *camnet* "horse", Slavic *$komonь$ "horse" (W 87–92).

ICCONA – usually derived from *$eĝu̯onā$ and interpreted as a horse-goddess corresponding to Gaulish *Epona*. According to Witczak (W 94, 274–75), the velar reflex of IE *$ĝu̯$ differentiates from the reflexes of the IE labiovelar *$kᵘ$, attested e.g. in PUPPID (§3.2.) or AMPILVA (§3.1.). In Latin transcriptions of the Lusitanian proper names there are more examples containing *qu*: EQUEUNUBO < dat. pl. *$eĝu̯ei̯-sunubʰo(s)$, EQUOTULLAICENSI (Guarda), ARQUIAECUS, ARQUIS (León, Zamora, Cáceres), LUGUBO ARQUIENOBO & LUGUBUS ARQUIENIS (Lugo), LAQUINE(n)SI (Braga), AQUIAE, AQUITIBUS, AQUILIANCO, etc. (W 274–75). In the final -A of both ICCONA and LOIMINNA Witczak sees the ending of the dat. sg. f. *$-āi < *-eH_2–ei̯$ (W 278).

LOIMINNA – epithet of ICCONA. The solution of Untermann (1987), who speculated about the relation with Old Irish *loimm* "Schluck, Tropfen, Milch" (W95–97), is compatible with characterization of East Baltic goddess *$Laim(ij)ā$, compared by Praetorius (end of the 17th. cent.) with the Virgin Mary. The other relations – see LOEMINA discussed in §3.1.

OILAM . VSSEAM – acc. sg. f. The second word is an epithet determining the first word, interpreted as "sheep" or "lamb" (see above). Regarding such comparanda as Luwian *ussa-* "year" < *$utso-$, Old Indic *par-út* "last year" etc., the translation of OILAM VSSEAM as "one-year-old lamb" seems quite natural (W 97–98).

TREBARVNE – probably the name of a goddess, which is also attested in 7 other inscriptions (T[R]/EBARON[E], TREBARVNE, TREBARON/NE, TREBARO/NI, TRIBORVNNI, TREBA[rune]). The first component *$treb-$ was discussed above (§3.4.), the interpretation of the second component remains without any convincing interpretation (W 99–100).

TAVROM – acc. sg. m. from *$tau̯ros$ "bull"; cf. Oscan acc. sg. ταυρομ, Latin *taurus*, Gaulish *taruos* id., etc. (W 100–01).

IFADEM – Tovar (1985) speculated about a derivative of the root *$i̯ebʰ-$ "futuere", extended by the dental suffix which has a correspondence in Old Irish *diade* "divine", etc. Although this solution is not too convincing, none better was formulated. Witczak supposes that *-f-* is a lenited variant of expected *-b-* (W 101).

REVE – dat. sg. of a theonym. Its masculine gender is apparent thanks to its epithets in other inscriptions as ANABARAECO, LANGANIDAEGUI, LANGANITAECO, VEISUTO etc. Several etymological starting points were proposed:

(i) Dat. sg. *reu̯-ei̯ from the nom. sg. *rus or *reu̯s, attested in the hydronyms *Rus & Ros*, all from the root *reu̯H-* "to be open, wide" (Tovar 1966–67, 258–59; Villar 1996, 160–61, 195–96; rejected by W 102).

(ii) Dat. sg. m. *rei̯u̯ōi̯ from the nom. sg. *rei̯u̯os "river" (first Fita 1911) > Latin *rīvus* "river" > *reivu̯ā*, continuing in Lithuanian *rievà* "hill; ford, shallow; bank, sandbar", Old Indic hydronym and theonym *Revā* (Villar 1996, 163, 192; rejected by W 103, 211).

(iii) Dat. sg. m. *di̯eu̯-ei̯ from the nom. sg. *di̯ḗu̯s "upper sky-god" (W 103, 212). This etymology is based on the rule *d > Lusitanian *r*, proposed by Witczak (W 267–74). The rule is probably correct in the medial position (similarly in Umbrian), judging upon the correspondences of the type Lusitanian REVE LARAVCO ~ Latin *Iovi ladico*; further the tribal name *Coelerni* (Pliny, *HN* III, 28) ~ *Queledini* (Léon), or the theonyms BORO (Monsanto, Idanha-a-Nova) ~ BODO (Léon) or VER(R)ORE dat. sg. "deity of water", derivable from *u̯edōr*. But the main objection, the absence of the parallel development in the initial position, remains.

[T]RE. remains uncertain.

Note:

The parallels from other Indo-European traditions support that the animals "lamb/sheep, "pig" and "bull" represent the stable triad, used as the ritual sacrifice. The most suggestive parallel occurs in the Roman tradition, where the purgative sacrifice was designated *Suouitaurīlia* (*sūs* "pig", *ovis* "sheep", *taurus* "bull"), cf. the witness of Varro in his *Res rusticae* II, 1.10: *populus Romanus cum lustratur suouetarilibus, circumaguntur uerres* ("boar"), *aries* ("ram"), *taurus* ("bull").

4. The appellatives and proper names etymologized above, plus other etymological material summarized by Witczak and his predecessors, allow us to formulate the elementary phonetic rules:

p > p: PARAMAECO, PORCOM, PRAISOM, TREBOPALA

b > b: TREBOPALA & TREBARVNE, ABNE

b^h > b: ERBA, LAEBO, (EQVE-)VNVBO; ?f: IFADEM

t > t: TAVROM, TEVCOM, TOVDADIGO, TREBOPALA, RVETI, DOENTI; *d*: TOVDADIGO

d > r: ??REVE; VER(R)ORE

d^h > d: ?DOENTI < *$d^h\bar{o}i̯enti$*; ROUDAE(C)O < *$(H_1)rou̯d^h$-*, FIDVENEARVM < *$u̯id^hu$-*

k > c: TEVCOM, VEAMINICORI

g > g: SINGEIETO

g^h > ?

k^u > p: PUPPID, AMPILVA

$ku̯/*ǩu̯$ > cc/qu: ICCONA & EQUEUNUBO, AQUIAE

g^u > g?: ANGOM (g represents a specific reflex in the cluster)

g^{uh} > b: BORMANICO < *$g^{uh}orm^o$*

$ǩ$ > c/g: PORCOM/PORGOM, PARAMAECO

$ĝ$ > g: REGONI < *$H_2r\bar{e}ĝ\bar{o}n$*

*$\hat{g}^h$ > ?

*s > s-/-ø-: SECIAS, SINGEIETO, SINTAMOM; LAEBO, (EQVE-)VNVBO

*m > m: MVITIEAS; ARIMOM

*n > n: NVRIM; ANGOM, ICCONA, REGONI

*l > l: LAEBO, LOIMINNA & LOEMINA; OILAM, TREBOPALA

*r > r: ?RVETI; NVRIM, PORCOM, TAVROM

*$\mathring{m}$ > em: ?IFADEM; am: SINTAMOM < *sen-t$\mathring{m}$Ho-, BLETISAMA < *plet-is-s$\mathring{m}$Ho-

*$\mathring{n}$ > ?

*$\mathring{l}$ > ?

*$\mathring{r}$ > ?

*$\underset{\frown}{i}$ > i: IOM; SINGEIETO

*$\underset{\frown}{u}$ > v/f: VEAVN, VER(R)ORE, FIDUENEARVM; AVA; øi: OILAM, INI

*a > a: ANGOM, AVA; LAEBO

*e > e: EN(-)ETOM, ERBA, TREBOPALA; i: ICCONA, SINTAMOM

*o > o: OILAM; ICCONA, PORCOM

*i > i: ARIMOM, DOENTI

*u > u: VSSEAM; RVETI

*$\bar{a}$ > a: LAMATICOM

*$\bar{e}$ > e: REGONI; ea: VEAVN

*$\bar{o}$ > o: REGONI, TRIBARONNI; u: TREBARVNE, ?NVRIM

*$\bar{\imath}$ > i: NVRIM

*$\bar{u}$ > u: (EQVE-)VNVBO

*$a\underset{\frown}{i}$ > ai/ae: PRAISOM, PRAESONDO

*$e\underset{\frown}{i}$ > e: EQVE-(VNVBO)

*$o\underset{\frown}{i}$ > oe: goddess POEMANE ~ Greek ποιμήν "herdsman", Lithuanian *piemŭo* m., *piemẽnė* f. id. (W 241)

*$a\underset{\frown}{u}$ > au: TAVROM

*$e\underset{\frown}{u}$ > ou: TOVDO-PALANDAIGAI < *te$\underset{\frown}{u}$to-

*$o\underset{\frown}{u}$ > ou: ROVDAECO < *(H$_\nu$)ro$\underset{\frown}{u}^h$o-.

5. Although the analyzed corpus is very limited and frequently represented by the proper names, it is possible to determine the main features of the nominal paradigm (W 277–88):

case / stem	*-ā-*	*-o-*	*-i-/-ī-*	*-u-/-ū-*	consonant
nom. sg.		ntr. -OM			
		PRAISOM			
gen.	-AS < *-ās	-IS?			
	SECIAS MVITIEAS	MODESTIS			
dat.	f. -A / m. -AI < *-āi	-O(I), -V(I) < *-ōi	-E? < *-e$\underset{\frown}{i}$-ei	-UE < *-u-ei	-E < *-ei

	f. ICCONA m. CROVGEAI	PETRANIOI QVANGEIO NILAGVI LARAVCV	ABNE	BANDVE	REVE
acc.	-AM < *-ām	-OM < *-om	-IM < *-ĭm		-EM < -m̨
	OILAM	TAVROM	NVRIM		IFADEM
loc.	-AE < *-ai	-E < *-ei			
	CARLAE	EQUE-(UNUBO)			
abl.		-O < *-ō(d)			
		ARIMO			
nom. pl.		-I < *-oi			
		VEAMINICORI			
dat.	-ABO < *-ā-bʰo(s)	-OBO < *-o-bʰo(s)		-VBO < *-u-bʰo(s)	-EBO < *-e-bʰo(s)
	ARABO	ARQUIENOBO		LVCVBO	LAEBO
acc.				-VN? < *-u-ns	
				VEAVN	
loc.		-OI? < *-oi-s(u/i)			
		CAEILOBRIGOI			

6. Conclusion

The etymological and grammatical analysis of the lexical and onomastic corpus of Lusitanian, which is at our disposal, indicates that this language belongs into the circle of the Western Indo-European languages, with closest cognates with the Italic and Celtic languages, but undoubtedly different from them, representing its own group comparable with the statute of Italic, Celtic, Germanic, etc. On the other hand, the specific isoglosses connecting Lusitanian with Indo-Aryan/Iranian apparently reflect the peripheral archaisms, which are also typical for Italic and Celtic.

Post Scriptum:

The present contribution can also serve as the review article of the book *Język i religia Luzytanów* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódźkiego 2005; pp. 472 – ISBN 83–7171–837–3) of Krzysztof Tomasz Witczak, where the author summarizes all available information about the language (and mythology) of Lusitanians and develops his own interpretations and solutions. The space does not allow to discuss all ideas presented by Witczak (e.g. interpretations of the substratal words in modern Ibero-Romance languages), but even from these partial comments should be evident that the author achieves maximum of possible. Let us quote some misprints which cannot influence the high value of the book:

P. 85 – stprus., instead of strus.

P. 90 – Blanca M. Prósper, instead of Babara M. Prósper.

P. 90 – Lithuanian *kumẽlė* "mare", instead of *kumẽlè*.

P. 280 – Lusitanian LAEBO has to be interpreted as the dat. pl. (so p. 288), not dat sg.

P. 449 – *Annali del Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico e del Mediterraneo Antico* (= *AIΩN*), instead of *Annali del Istituto Orientale di Napoli* (= *AION*).

P. 454 – Vennemann instead of Venneman.

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RESUMÉ

Článek shrnuje základní informaci o jazyce epigrafických památek antické Lusitanie. Analyzovaný materiál vymezuje pozici lusitanského jazyka na západní periférii indoevropského dialektového kontinua, s nejbližšími příbuznými v jazycích keltských a italických. Pozoruhodné jsou specifické izoglosy mezi jazyky lusitanským a indoíránskými, které jsou pokládány za archaismy konzervované na východní i západní periférii. Obdobné izoglosy spojují i jazyky italické a keltské na západě a indoíránské na východě.

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