

**FROM LIGURY TO SPAIN: UNACCENTED *YO > (Y)E IN
NARBONENSIC VOTIVES ('GAULISH' ΔEKANTEM),
HISPANIC COINS ('IBERIAN' -(SK)EN)
AND SOME THEONYMS¹**

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0. A PRELIMINARY THEORETICAL REMARK.

The number of varieties documented for a certain language is inversely proportional to the fixedness of a literary code within the the same linguistic tradition.

In particular, the richness of diatopic varieties documented in the ancient Gaulish territories was emphasized by Whatmough in the middle of the past century, and the coexistence of various dialects of an ancient type of Celtic² could also be proved for the Iberian Peninsula.³ Although much more work is to be done in order to identify all individual isoglosses and study their dispersion, we offer here some evidence regarding a specific one.

1. *yo > ye IN LIGURIAN ONOMASTICS.

Already Giacomo Devoto and after him Michel Lejeune recognized the phonetic change *yo > ye as a recurrent isogloss in the Ligurian onomastic material,⁴ calling attention to

- *iugo Blustiemelo*

- *fontem Lebriemelum*, both in the *Sententia Minuciorum*.

By applying the rule discovered by Devoto and Lejeune it has further been possible to understand more of the ethnics and place-names documented for ancient Liguria,⁵ such as:

¹ This is the revised version of the second part of a paper titled 'Beyond the Italian Keltiké' which was presented in Munich (30th of July 2004) on the occasion of the Symposium 'Linguistic Frontiers of the Ancient Celts' (= 4th workshop of the Aberystwyth project 'Towards an Atlas of Celtic Place Names'). The first part of the same paper has been summarized in De Bernardo Stempel (2002/05), pp. 105f.

It is my pleasure to thank Patrick Sims-Williams and Peter Schrijver for the hospitality as well as all other intervening colleagues for the fruitful discussion.

² Not only partly different from or later than the so-called Celtiberian, but also even more archaic.

³ De Bernardo Stempel (2002).

⁴ Lejeune (1972), p. 266.

⁵ De Bernardo Stempel (2002/ i.p.).

- *Nitielium*, the genitive plural of a tribal group to be compared with the Celtic ethnonym *Nitiobroges* ‘those who live in their own boundaries, the indigenous’ and derived from the adjective Celt. *nitio-* ‘local, own’ also present in personal names like *Nitiogen(n)a* ‘the locally born; the own daughter’;

- Βαδιευων, the genitive plural of a tribal group to be compared with the Celtic ethnonym *Ba(d)iocasses* ‘those with shiny helmets’⁶ and apparently meaning ‘the fair (or tanned?) ones’, since it is a derivative of the Celtic adjective *badius* ‘shiny; yellow, blond’;⁷

- *montem Berigiemam*, from a nominative **Bérigioma*, i.e. **b^herg^h-yo-mā* ‘the highest’ with West-Celtic epenthetic vowel in the second syllable and an equally archaic superlative suffix, the positive grade being preserved in *Bergiom*^{Hi} and Βεργιον^{GeM}.⁸

2. THE CELTO-LIGURIAN DIALECT.

That among the languages spoken on the territory of ancient Liguria⁹ a Celto-Ligurian dialect played a quite important rôle is becoming increasingly clear: cf. linguistically Celtic tribal and place names in Liguria such as¹⁰

- *Ligues* < **Lig-us-es* and *Ligauni* < **Lig-a-mn-i*, verbal adjectives derived from the root ¹**pleh₂g-* > Celt. *līg-* ‘to strike’ (documented in the Celtic loanword Lat. *lancea* and in OIr. *léssaim* ‘to beat thoroughly’) and meaning resp. ‘those who have beaten’, ‘the beating ones’;

- *Ingauni*, also with loss of initial #*p-*, from **ping-āmn-ī* ‘the painted ones’;

- *Salluvii* < *Sallui* < *Salues* with Celtic rendering of the syllabic sonant in the original **S_lwes* ‘the own ones’, akin to what in other languages are the *Suebi* : *Sefes* etc.;

- *Lib-icīi* ‘the friendly ones’; *Mar-ici* ‘the big ones’; *Nemet-urii* ‘the inhabitants of sacred places’; *Ner-usii* ‘the manly ones’; *Oxubii* ‘the inhabitants of a high place’ if not ‘the deer-slayers’; *Segobrig-ii* ‘the inhabitants of a stronghold’; *Taur-ini* ‘the tribe of the bull’; *Tigull-ii* ‘the inhabitants of *Tigulia*, “the last town [of the gulf]”’; *Vediantii* ‘the leaders’; *Vertamo-corii* ‘those with the superior host’, together with the smaller groups of *Biv-el-ii* and *Roud-el-ii*, *Catu-ci* and *Mati-ci* etc.;

- *Genua* ‘the town at the river mouth’; *Segesta* ‘the strongest [town]’; *Albintemelion* probably from **albion vindi-mell-ion* ‘the white-hill town’, and the smaller *pagi Ambi-treb-ius* and *Medutius*, together with the woodland *Ebur-el-ia*;

⁶ On account of the series they form together with the *Vidu-casses* and the *Velio-casses*, cf. De Bernardo Stempel & Meid i.p. and also De Bernardo Stempel (1998), pp. 603ff.

⁷ *NWÄI*, p. 358.

⁸ On the inadequacy of the traditional explanation as a compound De Bernardo Stempel (2002/ i.p.), note 67.

⁹ On it now De Marinis & Spadea eds. (2004).

¹⁰ All the following etymologies have been discussed, together with the isoglosses of Celto-Ligurian, in De Bernardo Stempel (1999/2000), (2002/ i.p.), eadem & Arenas (2003/ i.p.), eadem & Meid i.p., eadem (2005/06). On the problematic of pre-Celtic loans included in Celtic names cf. Arenas & De Bernardo (2005).

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- *Bormida* ‘the stormy river’; *Bo-áktos* ‘the cow driving river’; *Comberanea rivus* ‘the confluence river’; *Gandovera* and *Porco-bera*, resp. ‘the ships-’ and ‘the salmon carrying river’; *Vindu-pal-i-s* ‘the white-stone river’ and *Vinelasca* < *wind-el-askā ‘the white river’;

- *Leucu-mellus* ‘the fair hill’, *Prenicus* ‘the wooded [mountain]’, *Tuledo(n)* ‘the humpbacked [hill]’, to which at least the denominations in the second group under § 1 are to be added.

This is also confirmed by the few pre-Roman inscriptions: in addition to the possibly sacred stone with *mi Nemetieś* from Genua and to the *Enistale* from Cafale/Ameglia¹¹ resembling the Gaulish ethnonym *Longostaletes* and the *Oppidum Naustalo*,¹² it is worth mentioning that all inscribed anthropomorphic stelae show a naming formula of Celtic type; in *Veزارu Abus* (Filetto II), *Vemeθu Vis* (Bigliolo) and *Mezu Nemuśus* (Zignago) the individual’s name, i.e. *Ab(b)os, *Wik-s, and *Némausos, is preceded—with archaic syntax—by the archaic genitive in -u of the father’s name, i.e. *Wedy-aro-s, *Upo-met-o-s, *Med-yo-s.¹³

Already A. Grenier was conscious that the Ligurians were ‘presque de même langue’ as the Gaulish people,¹⁴ and one can probably now subscribe Delamarre’s opinion that ‘le terme ligure désigne la population des premières invasions celtiques vers le sud de l’Europe’.¹⁵

It is therefore possible to recognize the change of unstressed *yo* to *(y)e* as a Celtic isogloss, and even to compare it with what happened later on in Goidelic,¹⁶ cf. regular OIr. *bu(i)de*· flavus < IE *b^hǵ-dyo-s or *aile* ‘other’ and *ule* ‘whole’, which were preceded by alternations such as Ogam *BROINIONAS/ BROINIENAS* leading to *LOCARENAS*.

3. CULTURAL CONTACTS BETWEEN LIGURY AND THE NARBONENSIS.

Even better known is the existence of strong cultural links connecting the Italian Ligurian territory with the Narbonensis, which, apart from being implied by Hecateus’ definition of Marseille as ‘a Ligurian town in the South of the Keltiké’¹⁷ in the 6th cent. BC (and also by Strabo’s definition of

¹¹ Resp 5th. and 4th/3rd cent. BC.

¹² The second element is also contained in the Celtiberian clerk-name *arestalos* (Botorrita 1A: 3).

¹³ Cf. De Bernardo Stempel (2001/03) and (2005/06), § 3.2.3 with table 19.

¹⁴ (1940), p. 163 *pace* D. Garcia (2004), p. 18. In de Hoz’s opinion, ‘a not very numerous group of Gauls assimilated to their own variety of Celtic the primitive Celts inhabiting the region to which the *Segobrigii* belonged’ (1999, p. 148).

¹⁵ (2006), i.p.

¹⁶ As Meillet pointed out on the evidence of the sound-shifts in Germanic and of the palatalizations in Slavonic, some types of sound-changes can be shown to be recurrent during the history of IE branches.

¹⁷ Μασσαλία· πόλις τῆς Λιγυστικῆς κατὰ τὴν Κελτικὴν.

Liguria five centuries later¹⁸), is documented both by archaeological record¹⁹ and onomastics.²⁰

Particularly relevant to the matter under discussion is the marked Ligurian character of a Celtic sanctuary like that at Roquepertuse (Lescure 1995, pp. 80f.): while illustrating the characteristics shared by a number of other sanctuaries in this area, D. Garcia (2004, pp. 103ff.) surmises that ‘certains lieux de culte’ became ‘des véritables sanctuaires fédérateurs (d’un point de vue culturel et politique ...) permettant d’attirer et de cristalliser des populations de différents lignages’ (ibid., p. 5²¹).

4. THE VOTIVE FORMULA WITH ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΜ AS A CELTO-LIGURIAN LOANWORD.

It seems in fact that the Old Celtic dedication formula δεδε-βρατου-δεκαντεμ/ν found in the so-called Gallo-Greek iss. of Narbonensis and rightly segmented by Szemerényi (1974) shows the very same Celto-Ligurian isogloss described here under § 1 and can be best explained as a religious formula imported into the Narbonensis from the directly adjoining Ligurian world.

It is in particular the element δεκαντεμ/ν²² which has defied all attempts at reconstruction as an inherited Gaulish word: δεκαντεμ, giving way to the modernized form δεκαντεν, cannot be the Gaulish outcome of ***dekm̥tm̥* because of Gaul. *toncnaman*; nor can it be the Gaulish result of a former ***dekm̥təm* because of Gaul. *andognam*; nor can it represent the Gaulish outcome of ***dekm̥tām* because of Gaul. *ματικαν*; nor can it be the Gaulish outcome of ***dekm̥tim̥*²³ because of Gaul. *Ucuetin*; nor can it be the Gaulish result of a former ***dekm̥tēm*, since the *ē*-stems are an exclusively Latin category.²⁴ Neither can it be a loanword from Greek δεκάτην —as has also been maintained—, since it differs from it in no less than three respects: 1) *an* vs. Gk. *α*; 2) *ε* vs. Gk. *η*; 3) original *μ* vs. Gk. *ν*.

Michel Lejeune was therefore right in assuming the formula to stem from a different Celtic dialect: ‘Quelle celtique dans ΔΕΔΕΒΡΑΤΟΥΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΜ?’ (1976).

The accusative receives in fact a very simple explanation if we assume δεκαντεμ to be just the outcome of **dekm̥t-yo-m* ‘the tenth’ with Celto-Ligurian unaccented *e* < **yo*²⁵: the neuter (or masculine?) form of the ordinal

¹⁸ V, 2, 1 (Biffi 1988, p. 28): ἡ Λιγυστική ἢ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ἀπεννίνοις ὄρεσι, μεταξὺ ἰδρουμένη τῆς νῦν λεχθείσης Κελτικῆς καὶ τῆς Τυρρηρίας.

¹⁹ On this D. Garcia (2004).

²⁰ Untermann (1969), p. 189 speaks of ‘*e i n e* Namensschicht, die von den Pyrenäen bis zur Scrivia in Norditalien reicht und alle Grenzen zwischen Galliern und Iberern zu überschreiten scheint’.

²¹ Cf. also ibid., p. 119: ‘Ces espaces culturels primitifs son généralement placés en bordure de voies de communication, sur des points visibles ou associés à des lieux naturels remarquables (sources...). Ces sanctuaires, fréquentés par les populations locales disséminées antérieurement au processus d’urbanisation, auraient pu avoir un rôle important de cristallisation des groupes humains qui justifierait l’ampleur des premières occupations.’

²² On the analysis of δεδε cf. now De Bernardo Stempel (2005).

²³ As I myself proposed in 1984.

²⁴ Cf. recently R. Stempel (2005).

²⁵ As also proposed in De Bernardo Stempel i.p.

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‘[one] 10th’ would then show the same semantic development as ‘tithe’ or Sp. *el diezmo*.

Hence the whole formula δεδε βατου δεκαντεμ would then translate ‘*decumam* (literally: *decimum*) *ex iussu*²⁶ *dedit*’.

5. DEGANTO[] AND NOT ***dea Deganta* IN SPAIN.

Another occurrence of the same formulaic element is to be seen —this time as the original *o*-stem **dekmt-o-* albeit with intervocalic lenition of the etymological *k*— in *CIL* II 5762 from the neighborhood of León.²⁷

deae / deganto[m] / Flavia . Fl[...] / in hono[rem] / Argae[ae] / f[ecit]

‘For the goddess the tithe (*lit.*: the tenth); Flavia Fl. made in honour of Argaela’,

given that there is no evidence whatsoever pointing to the existence of a feminine theonym ***Deganta/-ia*:²⁸ even García Merino (2001), p. 131, has to admit that ‘lo que la autopsia de la pieza permite apreciar en el nombre de la diosa [*sic*] a continuación de NT no es I ó A/E sino un trazo curvo que sugiere más bien una O’, and the inscription from Osma only shows a fragmentary [nti[] or [ntē[].²⁹

6. ARCHAIC AND MODERN OLD CELTIC ORDINAL NUMBERS.

The ordinal **dekmtyo-* is in itself a reshaping of the original **dekmt-o-* by analogy to the ordinals ‘2nd’ through ‘4th’ showing the ‘definite’ suffix *-yo-* also employed for ordinal numbers in the Indo-Iranian family.³⁰ Accordingly,

‘2nd’ = **allo-* → **alyo-* (i.a. W. *ail*)

‘3rd’ = **trito-* (in Co.Celt. PNN) → **trityo-* (i.a. W. *trydydd*)

‘4th’ = **petwar-yo-* (i.a. Gaul. *p(e)tuarios*, PIN Πετουαρια^{Bri}, W. *pedwerydd*)

‘10th’ = **dekmt-o-* (i.a. PNN Gaul. *Decantilla* and Ogam *Decceda-*, ethnic Δεκανται^{Bri},³¹ Co.Celt. *deganto-*) → **dekmtyo-* (Liguro-Narb. Δεκαντε-).

Nevertheless, the new *yo*-stem belonged to an archaic dialectal linguistic layer that did not participate in the exclusively Celtic reshaping of this and other ordinalia by means of the suffix *-eto-* which, on the evidence of the feminine <*Te.ka.m.e.ta.m*>, i.e. [dekametam], translating ‘*decumam*’, is already documented for Celtiberian.

The reshaping seems to have been twofold:

α) **dekmt-o-* ‘10th’ → **dekmt-yo-* (Ligurian, used with specialized meaning in Narbonensic Gaulish)

β) **dekmt-o-* ‘10th’ → **dekam-eto-* (Cib.; Gaul. *decametos*; Goid.; Britt.).

²⁶ Cf. *NWÄI*, p. 292 with references.

²⁷ Cacabelos del Bierzo, cf. C. Búa Carballo *pace* Prósper (2002), p. 315.

²⁸ As quoted e.g. by Olivares Pedreño (2002), pp. 107ff.

²⁹ García Merino (2001), p. 130.

³⁰ Comparanda i.a. in Hirunuma (1988).

³¹ Cf. Motta (1993) and (1995), pp. 201ff. Note that the traditional explanation referred to by Rivet & Smith, p. 330 should have led to a form ***Dekontai* for the ethnonym.

7. CELTIC PHYTONYMS IN LIGURY AND TUSCANY.

The same suffix **-yo-* with monophthongization to *-e-* might be contained in the ending *-em#*, *-en#* of a few Old Celtic plant names attested by Pseudo-Dioscorides.³² Provided that they are not simply Latin accusatives written in Greek, we might therefore reconstruct:

- γελασῶνεμ/ν < **gel-as-on-yo-m* ‘cotonnière’, Gk. γναφαλλίον
- πονέμ < **pon-yo-m* ‘artemisia’, Gk. ἀρτεμισία
- οὔσουβέμ / *usuben* < **us(s?)ub-yo-m* ‘mustelago’, Gk. χαμαιδάφνη.

In this context, we might recall a fourth plant-name which, though not specifically glossed as Celtic by Pseudo-Dioscorides, has been traced back to the Celto-Ligurian dialect by Bertoldi (1950-51), p. 346: ‘A giudicare dall’area delle sopravvivenze limitate alle zone dialettali dell’Appennino tosco-ligure (toscano settentr. *lavari*, Carrara *lavarón*, Gagnana *lavaróni* ecc., [...]), il nome *laver*, *-eris* [a kind of nasturtium ‘*nascens in riuis*’] è interpretabile quale adattamento latino d’un vocabolo paleo-ligure giunto al gallico per il tramite celto-ligure’. Hence the form λάουερεμ in Pseudo-Dioscorides might go back to an original **lauer-yo-m*.

8. CONTACTS BETWEEN LIGURY AND THE NORTHERN IBERIAN TERRITORY.

If we proceed down along the coastal line, the archaeological record still shows narrow relations,³³ and although the south-west French territory is mainly known for its overall Iberian character, Celtic linguistic remains are not unknown, such as the inscription from Elne with its Celtic, but neither Celtiberian nor Gaulish names.³⁴

The situation does not change down the Catalan territory³⁵ where some Celtic place names are to be found (i.a. *Dertosa*³⁶ and above all *Tar(r)ako(n)*³⁷), and also Celtic elements in Iberian inscriptions,³⁸ given that ‘no es necesario que una frontera lingüística coincida con una frontera étnica’³⁹ and allowing us to recall that ‘Obwohl das Zentrum des Ligurischen in historischer Zeit am Golf von Genua [...] liegt, dürfte diese Sprache

³² Degavre s.vv.; cf. already De Bernardo Stempel (1998a), p. 149.

³³ Even allowing Ansaldo & De Paoli (2002/04) to dedicate an entire chapter to ‘I Liguri del Sud della Francia’.

³⁴ More details in De Bernardo Stempel (2005/ i.p.), chap. 6.

³⁵ On the oldest settlements in this territory cf. Sanmartí & Belarte (2001).

³⁶ To be compared with the Ligurian *Dertona* discussed in De Bernardo Stempel (2002/05), p. 106.

³⁷ Avienus’ *Tarraco* and today’s *Tarragona*, whose name belongs to a frequent pattern of ‘Hypostase’ whereby the place-name is generated by the genitive plural of the ethnic name designating its inhabitants: *Ταρακων* / *ta.r.a.ko.n*, resp. in Ptolemy and coin legends, ‘[place] of those who cross the sea (or boundaries)’; although hitherto undetected, both its derivation morpheme and its base are clearly Celtic, cf. Delamarre², p. 291 (after F. Bader 2001) on *Tarusco* and the *Tarusates*.

³⁸ For both, cf. the material collected in Arenas & De Bernardo (2003/ i.p.) and also eadem (2005/ i.p.), chap. 5.

³⁹ De Hoz (2001), p. 78; moreover (ibid.), a frontier is actually not a line ‘sino una franja más o menos extensa en la que ambos comportamientos se mezclan en mayor o menor grado’.

früher wesentlich weiter verbreitet gewesen sein, einerseits bis nach Etrurien und Latium, andererseits bis nach Spanien.⁴⁰

9. THE ANCIENT HISPANIC ETHNICS IN *-sk-en* ON COIN LEGENDS AS GENITIVE PLURALS OF A CELTIC DIALECT.

It seems, therefore, likely that the ending *-(sk)en* which characterizes some thirteen coin legends mostly classified as Iberian and located along the Catalan coast, but which is not attested in the numerous inscriptions in Iberian language, is actually the regional outcome of Celtic genitive plurals in **(sk-)yo-m*.

That the element in question might be a genitive-plural morpheme, is also supposed by García-Bellido & Blázquez (2001)⁴¹, even if without a specific reconstruction or linguistic adscription, and is indeed supported by the fact that in this strongly Greek-influenced coastal region both Gaulish and Celtiberian coin-legends tend to show the genitive plural of the ethnic names involved, i.e. instead of the correspondent nominative plural which is found rather on the inland coins of both traditions.⁴²

Whereas investigators reckoning with Iberian linguistic material are forced to dismember the *-(sk)en* in a rather atomistic way and without being able to offer either a match with truly linguistically Iberian inscriptions containing words with the same ending or even the reason for the distribution of *-en* vs. *-sk-en*,⁴³ it is beyond question that *sco*-suffixes were used in Old Celtic for expressing onomastic relationships: cf. the river *Veraglasca* in the settlement area of the Celtic-named *Veragri*, the town *Belaisca* (formerly **Bel-ask-yā*) related to the Celtic-named *Beli*,⁴⁴ and the ethnic of the *Taurisci* related to the bull.⁴⁵

It is therefore not surprising to discover that the names in the coin-legends showing *-sk-en* were derived from toponyms in order to name the inhabitants of the towns in question, i.e. according to the rule

{inhabitant of X} = {X + *-sk-yo-*}, with X = town name.⁴⁶

This is the case of

- *a.r.s.e.s.ke.n*⁴⁷ < gen. pl. **Arseskyom* ‘of the inhabitants of *ARSE*, the *Arseskii*’;

- *a.u.ś.e.s.ke.n* < gen. pl. **Auseskyom* ‘of the inhabitants of *AUSA*, the *Auseskii*’,⁴⁸

⁴⁰ Schmidt (1974/80), p. 27.

⁴¹ I.a. pp. 43 and 129.

⁴² On the quite clear pattern accounting for the distribution of *kom-* and *kos-*legends cf. Arenas et al. (2001), pp. 315f. with note 36.

⁴³ Cf. De Hoz (2002), Luján (2003), Rodríguez Ramos (2004), pp. 339ff.

⁴⁴ Meaning ‘the strong people’.

⁴⁵ In its older Celtic form *tauro-*. On the naming patterns of Celtic tribes cf. De Bernardo & Meid i.p.

⁴⁶ The origin of such ethnics ‘debe buscarse’ —with Burillo (2001-02), pp. 186f.— ‘en el surgimiento de una ciudad estado, ya que es el proceso usual en el territorio ibérico donde se encuentra’, whereas in a prevalently Celtic milieu the naming process would mostly go from the ethnic to the name of the town, cf. De Bernardo Stempel (1999/2000), pp.102 vs. 92. On toponyms in Iberian inscriptions cf. now Luján in *PalHis* 5.

⁴⁷ A coin from the 3rd century BC, cf. García-Bellido & Blázquez (2001), p. 37.

- *i.ka.l.e.(n).s.ke.n* < gen. pl. **Igale(n)skyom* ‘the inhabitants of *EGLESTA*,⁴⁹ the Igaeskii’;
- *i.l.ti.ř.ke.s.ke.n* < gen. pl. **Itirgeskyom* ‘of the inhabitants of *ILTIRTA*, the Itirgeskii;
- *l.a.i.e.š.ke.n* < gen. pl. **Layeskyom* ‘of the inhabitants of *LAIE*, the Laieskii’;
- *o.to.be.s.ke.n* < gen. pl. **Otobeskyom* ‘of the inhabitants of *OTOBESA*, the Otobeskii’;
- *s.e.te.i.s.ke.n* < gen. pl. **Sedeskyom* ‘of the inhabitants of *SEDEIS*, the Sedeskii’;
- *u.n.ti.ke.s.ke.n* < gen. pl. **Undigeskyom* ‘of the inhabitants of *INDIKA*, the Undigeskii’;⁵⁰
- *u.r.ke.s.ke.n* < gen. pl. **Urkeskyom* ‘of the inhabitants of *URCI* (whose name matches the Celtiberian town of Οὔρκεσα),⁵¹ the Urkeskii’.

Most of these ethnics were already known to us in their classical Mediterranean variant:⁵² the *Ausetani* meaning the Auseskii, the *Egelestani* meaning the Igaeskii, the *Ilergetes* meaning the Itirgeskii, the *Laietani* meaning the Laieskii, the *Otobesani* meaning the Otobeskii, the *Sedetani* meaning the Sedeskii, the *Indigetes* aka *Indicetani* meaning the Undigeskii, and the *Urcitani* meaning the Urkeskii.

With regard to their toponymic bases, a Celtic etymology has meanwhile been offered for *Laiie* < **plā-yo-m*, thus interpreting the Laieskii/Laietani —which have an onomastic parallel in the Norican *Laianci*— as ‘the lowland people’;⁵³ at least the Sedeskii/Sedetani could also be derived from a Celtic etymon, but this is not really important: what is important is that their word-formation and morphology are typically Celtic.

Along the same lines, one could imagine ‘Iberian’ plurals in *-sker* to represent original Old Celtic nominative plurals in **-yōs* from tribal names showing the suffix **-sko-*, e.g. *s.a.ka.r.i.s.ke.ř* and *s.a.ka.ř.i.s.ke.ř* in Liria and Alcoy < Celt. **sakr-isk-yōs*.

We then have *bo.l.š.ke.n*, which we have no reason to interpret ‘como una haplología de **bolškeken*’⁵⁴, given that it apparently represents a former

⁴⁸ According to García-Bellido & Blázquez (2001), p. 49, ‘Considerados como íberos, podrían sin embargo, según ciertas características numismáticas, ser de origen celta o galo’.

⁴⁹ Today’s *ILLESCAS*, cf. Luján (2003).

⁵⁰ Note that these coins, together with those with *š.e.l.o.n.ke.n* and *n.e.r.o.n.ke.n* discussed below, present —according to García-Bellido & Blázquez (2001), p. 67— some similarities with the Celtic *bi.r.i.ka.(n).ti.o*-type.

⁵¹ Cf. on both García Alonso (2003), pp. 162f. and 342f.

⁵² Cf. Faust (1966). That the suffix of an ethnonym varies according to the language in which it is used is not only a modern characteristic (cf. Engl. *Iraqis* = It. *Iracheni*), but also known from the ancient world: in the Latin inscription called *Sententia Mimuciorum* both forms Celt. *Genuates* and Lat. *Genuenses* are used to designate the inhabitants of Genua; notably, when speaking of the *agri publici* the Roman variants are used (e.g. *Langenses*), whereas the *agri privati* are defined by means of the Celtic forms (gen.pl. *Langatium* to *Langates*). Cf. also Lat. *Virunenses* as a rendering of Celt. *Virunes*.

⁵³ García Alonso, i.a. in *PalHis* 5.

⁵⁴ With Rodríguez Ramos (2001-02), p. 433.

**bolśkyom*, probably from an original ethnic genitive plural **Wolsk-yo-m*, as suggested also by the variant *olśken*.⁵⁵

In the last four legends the derivative morpheme is not IE and Celt. *-sk(o)-*, but a different velar suffix. This is the case of *bi.n.e.ke.n* from Mont Llaurés (Narbona, Aude),⁵⁶ going back to a genitive plural **Binyokyom*⁵⁷ apparently matching the family name *bi.n.i.s.ko.m* in Botorrita 3 (IV: 6) which seems derived from Cib. *bindis*.⁵⁸ The other three ethnics are formed with the suffix *-(i)ko-* added to derivatives in *-on-*: *s.e.l.o.n.ke.n*, of a Gaulish mint ‘al oeste del Herault (Narbonensis)’⁵⁹ and going back to the genitive plural **Sélon-(i)k-yo-m* ‘of the Selón(i)kyoi’, i.e. of the proprietors or land-owners, cf. Gaul. *selua* and related forms, including *Selani* in RIG-L-*16,⁶⁰ *o.s.ku.(m.)ke.n* from a surmised genitive plural **Oskun-(i)k-yo-m* seems to have referred to a population of ‘oxen- (i.e. cattle-) raisers’.⁶¹ Last not least, *n.e.r.o.n.ke.n* from the Narbonensis takes us once more —with a match in the tribal name of the *Nerusii* between Nizza and Antibes— back to the very territory from which our investigation set out, its protoform being a clearly Celtic **Nér-on-(i)k-yo-m* ‘of the Nerón(i)kyoi or manly people’. In this case the resuffixation by means of the velar suffix was evidently prompted by the use of the original genitive plural of the ethnonym **Neruōn* for designating the place, i.e. the town of *Ναρβων*⁶² to which these coins have been usually related.⁶³

It becomes evident, then, that the reason why these alleged Iberian forms do not appear in the truly Iberian inscriptions is ... that these genitive-plural forms are not linguistically Iberian. I am obviously not saying that the derivational bases of all these ethnonyms are Celtic, but only that their word-formation and morphology are Celtic, and that therefore they simply testify of the presence of some Celtic speakers —perhaps even in leading political positions— in the Catalan territory,⁶⁴ even if the main language of the area was Iberian.⁶⁵ On the other hand, this submerged

⁵⁵ Also Rodríguez Ramos agrees now (2004), p. 239, ‘que pudo tener razón Tovar al relacionar esta ceca con los «volciani».’

⁵⁶ García-Bellido & Blázquez (2001), p. 67.

⁵⁷ Rather than **Binekyom*; note that Untermann (1996), p. 133, reconstructs a Celtiberian personal name ‘masc. **Binios*’.

⁵⁸ Cf. De Bernardo Stempel (2002), p. 103, and (1996).

⁵⁹ García-Bellido & Blázquez (2001), p. 348.

⁶⁰ Cf. Degavre II, pp. 372f., and Delamarre², p. 270.

⁶¹ Cf. Delamarre², p. 245. Alternatively, one could also think of **osco-* ‘frêne’ (Degavre, p. 332).

⁶² On the lowering from *e* to *a* before *r* in this area cf. De Bernardo Stempel (2005/06).

⁶³ García-Bellido & Blázquez (2001), pp. 283ff. The personal name *ti.v.i.s* on the reverse could be the regular outcome of Celt. **dē-wik-s* ‘he who fights off’ in this territory, cf. De Bernardo Stempel (2002), pp. 102 and 117.

⁶⁴ Note that even from a numismatic point of view ‘los “íberos” de la actual Cataluña’ actually produce a coinage of Celtic rather than of Iberian specifications: García-Bellido & Blázquez (2001), p. 102.

⁶⁵ As de Hoz (2001), p. 80, points out ‘las leyendas monetales de una comunidad pueden no estar en su propia lengua sino en la que por razones diversas tenga un mayor prestigio o mayores ventajas por el intercambio en la zona.’

Catalan Celticity might be another argument supporting both de Hoz' thesis that the Iberian language in this territory was just a *lingua franca* used by what he calls 'eteoíberos',⁶⁶ and 'the possible effective role of migration in social change during the Early Iberian Period in Catalonia and, *a fortiori*, in Languedoc'.⁶⁷

10. FORM-VARIATION IN THE CELTIC THEMATIC GENITIVE PLURAL.

We can henceforth add at least the variant with *-en* to the already numerous types of the Celtic thematic genitive plural attested in the Iberian Peninsula. Given that the endings *-om*, *-on*, *-o^(N)*, *-um*, *-un* and *-u^(N)* are all attested for the *o*-stems,⁶⁸ we might in fact even screen our corpora for some instances of *-e^(N)* to go with the *-yom*, *-yon*, *-en*, *-yo^(N)*, *-yum*, *-yun*, *-yu^(N)* of the *yo*-stems.

11. A FURTHER AREA POSSIBLY AFFECTED BY THE SAME ISOGLOSS.

Apart from sporadic items such as the Hispanic family name *Aelecum* from Duratón/ Segovia, probably representing a dialectal transformation **Ailiocum* of the former **Alyokōm* also implied by *A.i.l.o.ki.s.ku.m* in the 3rd bronze from Botorrita,⁶⁹ a few more examples of the regional Celtic monophthongization of unaccented *yo* to *e* seems to concentrate in the territory of the Convenae in the Aquitanian hinterland⁷⁰ and of the Volcae Arecomici bordering with the Cavares and the Salluvii on the coast:⁷¹ we first observe it in some dedications to Mediterranean gods such as *Ele deo*, which can be traced back to **Elyō deō* as a dative singular of the sun-god *Helios*, and *deo Er(r)iape*, which —alternating with *deo E(r)riap(p)o* in Saint Béat— implies *deō Priap-yō* with the adjectival variant of the *Priapus* contained in *Er(r)iap(p)o* < **Priapō*.

In the same territory, the sound change is also to be found in Celtic names, cf. the datives *Andereni* < **Anderyoni*,⁷² *Andose* < **Andos-yō*,⁷³ and *deo Artaha* > *Artehe deo* > *Arte*, a dedication to the god originally called *Artaius*.

⁶⁶ (2001), pp. 78f.; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 85: 'En el caso de Languedoc y el Ampurdán [...] el contacto de los íberos con otros estamentos privilegiados [...] dió lugar a que éstos adoptasen la escritura pero curiosamente no adaptándola a su propia lengua sino recibéndola junto con la lengua vehicular ibérica como un paquete inseparable, hasta el punto de que, si no fuese por los nombres no ibéricos de los autores de algunas inscripciones en lengua y escritura ibéricas, no podríamos detectar el préstamo.'

⁶⁷ Sanmartí (2004), p. 29; cf. also Sanmartí (2003).

⁶⁸ Cf. Villar (1995), pp. 109ff., De Bernardo Stempel (1998/ i.p.), (2002), pp. 113f., and (2003).

⁶⁹ Cf. Untermann (1996), p. 123.

⁷⁰ I.e. with respect to the coastal region described above.

⁷¹ Cf. Jufer & Luginbühl (2001), p. 8.

⁷² On this and related names cf. now De Bernardo Stempel (2006), chap. 4.

⁷³ A stem *Andosso-*, with the earlier variants *Andot(i)o-* and *Andosto-* is also attested. The theonymic dative accompanies *Herculi* together with his Euskeric epicleris *Ilunno*, of which it represents a 'translatio Celtica': both are renderings of Ἡρακλέης χθόνιος, cf. De Bernardo Stempel (2006), chap. 4, and (2005a/ i.p.).

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