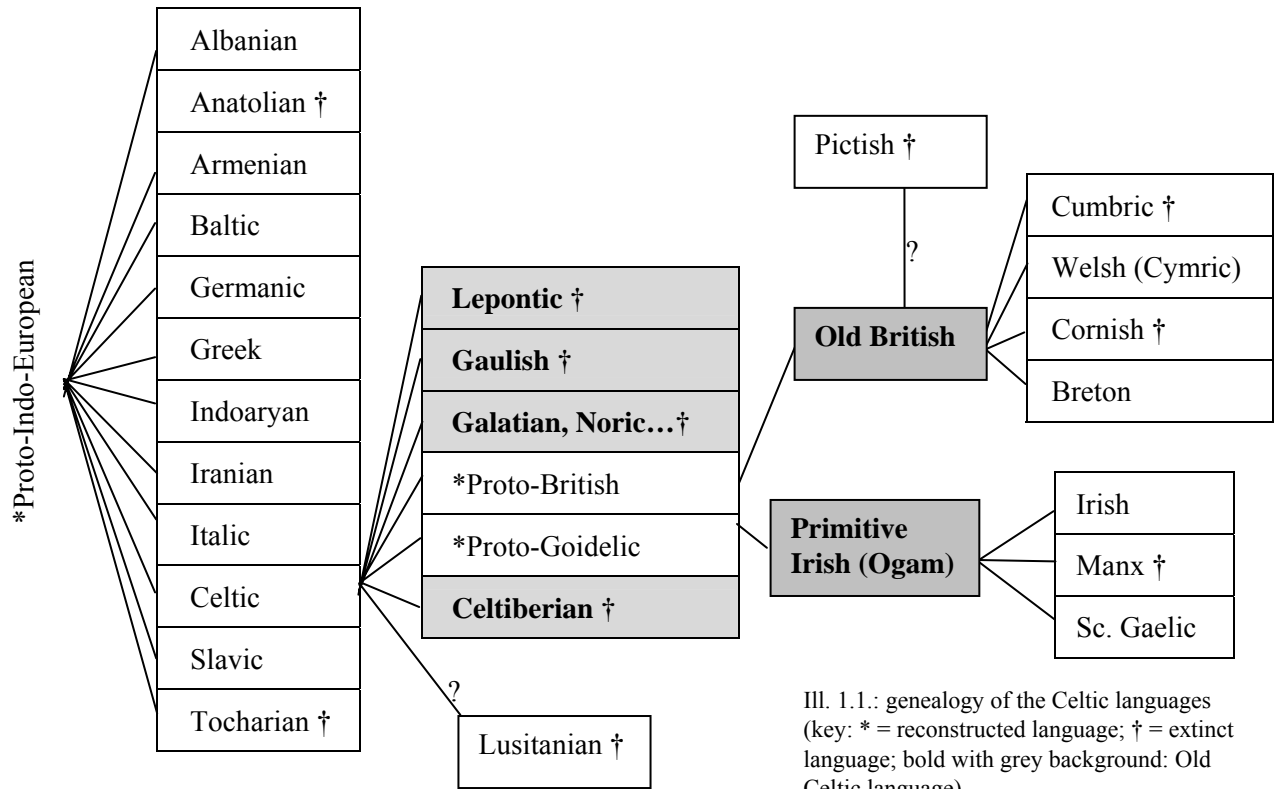


I. GENERAL INFORMATION

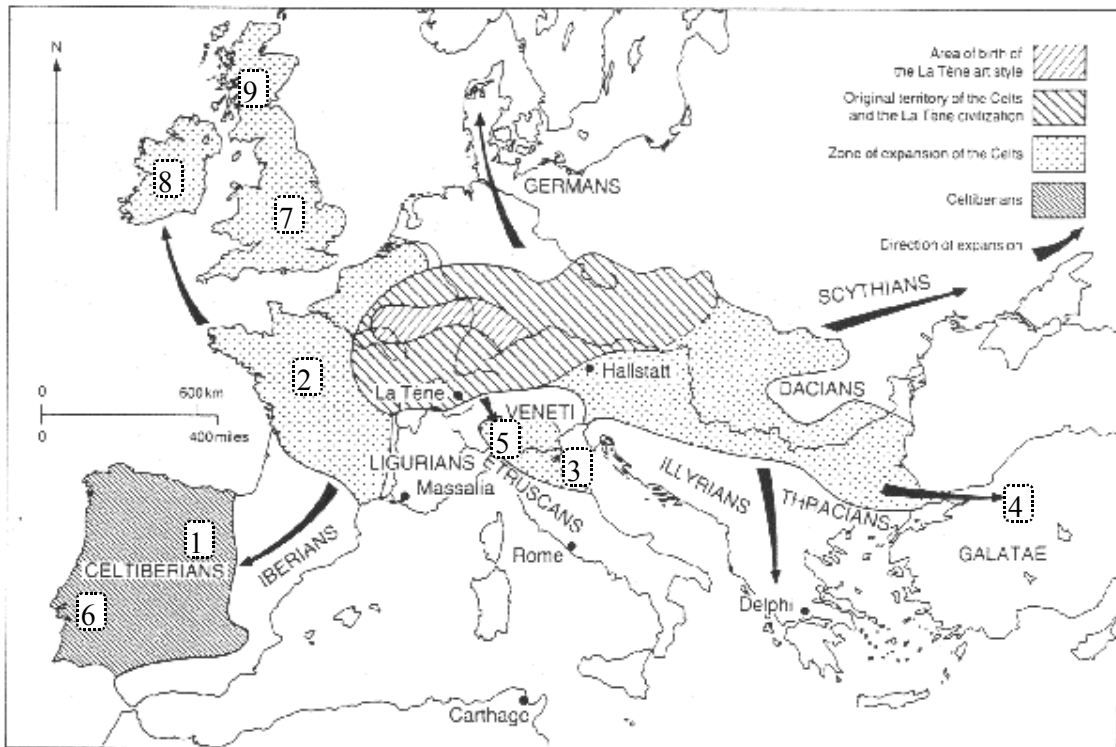
1. THE OLD CELTIC LANGUAGES



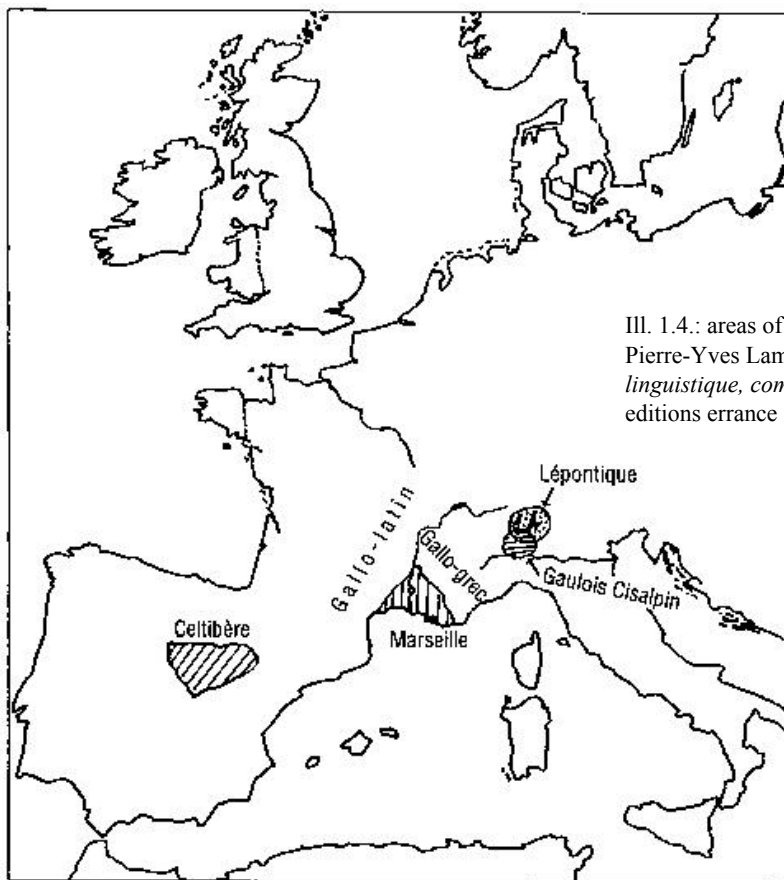
Ill. 1.1.: genealogy of the Celtic languages (key: * = reconstructed language; † = extinct language; bold with grey background: Old Celtic language)

	600	500	400	300	200	-100	1	+100	200	300	400	500	600	700	800	900	1000	1100	1200	1300	1400	1500	1600	1700	1800	1900
Lepontic	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked																				
Gaulish				checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked
Celtiberian					checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked
Irish											checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked
Sc. Gaelic																								checked	checked	checked
Manx																									checked	checked
Old British							checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked
Cymric												checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked	checked
Cornish																									checked	checked
Breton																										checked

Ill. 1.2.: chronology of attestation of Celtic languages (checked: fragmentarily attested, full: well attested)



III. 1.3.: distribution of Celtic peoples and languages from the 5th c. BC until the Roman occupation, from: Miranda J. Green (ed.), *The Celtic World*, London and New York: Routledge 1995, xxiv
 key: 1. Celtiberian, 2. Gaulish, 3. Cisalpin-Gaulish, 4. Galatian, 5. Lepontic, 6. Lusitanian, 7. British, 8. Irish, 9. Pictish



III. 1.4.: areas of extensive finds of inscriptions, from: Pierre-Yves Lambert, *La Langue Gauloise. Description linguistique, commentaire d'inscriptions choisies*, Paris: éditions errance 1994

2. GENERAL LITERATURE ABOUT OLD CELTIC

2.1. Surveys:

- ESKA 2004 Joseph F. Eska, 'Continental Celtic', in: *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages*. Edited by Roger D. Woodard, Cambridge University Press 2004, 857–880.
- MEID 1998 Wolfgang Meid, 'Altkeltische Sprachen I', *Kratylos* 43 (1998), 1–31.
- MEID 1999 Wolfgang Meid, 'Altkeltische Sprachen II', *Kratylos* 44 (1999), 1–19.
- MEID 2000 Wolfgang Meid, 'Altkeltische Sprachen III', *Kratylos* 45 (2000), 1–28.
- MEID 2002 Wolfgang Meid, 'Altkeltische Sprachen (Nachträge)', *Kratylos* 47 (2002), 23–29.
- ESKA & EVANS 1993 Joseph F. Eska and D. Ellis Evans, 'Continental Celtic', in: *The Celtic Languages*. Edited by Martin J. Ball with James Fife, London – New York: Routledge 1993, 26–63.
- RUSSELL 1995 Paul Russell, *An Introduction to the Celtic Languages*, London – New York: Longman 1995.
- KOROLEV 1989 Андрей Александрович Королёв, 'Глава II. Континентальные кельтские языки', in: Виктор Павлович Кальгин и Андрей Александрович Королёв, *Введение в кельтскую филологию*, Москва: Наука 1989, 45–106.
- KOROLEV 1995 Andrej Aleksandrovič Korolev, 'The Early Celts: the evidence of language', in: *The Celtic World*. Edited by Miranda J. Green, London – New York: Routledge 1995, 8–20.
- PROSDOCIMI 1991 Aldo Luigi Prodocimi, 'Lingua e scrittura dei primi Celti', in: *I Celti*. Direzione scientifica Sabatino Moscati et al., Milano: Bompiani 1991, 51–60 [also in English].
- KRUTA 1991 Venceslas Kruta, 'La scrittura', in: *I Celti*. Direzione scientifica Sabatino Moscati et al., Milano: Bompiani 1991, 491–497 [also in English].

Specialised studies:

- EICHNER 1989 Heiner Eichner, 'Damals und heute: Probleme der Erschließung des Altkeltischen zu Zeußens Zeit und in der Gegenwart', in: *Erlanger Gedenkfeier für Johann Kaspar Zeuß*. Herausgegeben von Bernhard Forssman [= Erlanger Forschungen. Reihe A, Geisteswissenschaften 49], Erlangen: Universitätsbund Erlangen-Nürnberg e.V. 1989, 9–56 [slightly revised and repr. as: '61. Extracts from 'Then and now. Problems interpreting the Old Celtic languages in Zeuß's time and in the present', in: *The Celtic World. Critical Concepts in Historical Studies*. Edited by Raimund Karl and David Stifter. Volume IV. Celtic Linguistics, London – New York: Routledge 2007, 9–44].
- SCHMIDT 1983 Karl Horst Schmidt, 'Grundlagen einer festlandkeltischen Grammatik', in: *Le lingue Indoeuropee di frammentaria attestazione. Die indogermanischen Restsprachen. Atti del Convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia e della Indogermanische Gesellschaft*. Testi raccolti a cura di Edoardo Vineis. Udine, 22–24 settembre 1981, Pisa: Giardini 1983, 65–90.
- SCHMIDT 1997 Karl Horst Schmidt, 'Prolegomena zu einer historischen Grammatik der festlandkeltischen Sprachdenkmäler', *ZCPH* 49/50 (1997), 806–813.
- EVANS 1983 D. Ellis Evans, 'Continental Celtic and Linguistic Reconstruction', in: *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Celtic Studies held in University College, Galway, 6–13 July 1979*. Edited by Gearóid Mac Eoin with the collaboration of Anders Ahlqvist and Donncha Ó hAodha, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1983, 19–54.

Older surveys:

- EVANS 1979 D. Ellis Evans, 'The Labyrinth of Continental Celtic', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 65 (1979), 497–538.
- SCHMIDT 1977 Karl Horst Schmidt, *Die festlandkeltischen Sprachen* [= Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft. Vorträge 18], Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft 1977 [repr. as: 'On the Celtic languages of continental Europe', *BBCS* 28 (1979), 189–205].
- BACHELLERY 1972 Édouard Bachellery, 'Le celtique continental', *ÉC* 13 (1972), 29–60.
- POKORNY 1953 Julius Pokorny, 'Keltologie', in: *Wissenschaftliche Forschungsberichte. Geisteswissenschaftliche Reihe, Bd. 2*, Bern: Francke Verlag 1953, 95–199.
- WEISGERBER 1931 Leo Weisberger, 'Die Sprache der Festlandkelten', in: *20. Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission*, Frankfurt 1931, 147–226 [repr. in: *Rhenania Germano-Celtica. Gesammelte Abhandlungen. Dem Autor zum siebzigsten Geburtstag am 25. Februar 1969*. [...] unter redaktioneller Mitwirkung von Henning von Gadow und Gernot Schmidt herausgegeben von Johann Knobloch und Rudolf Schützeichel, Bonn: Röhrscheid Verlag 1969, 11–85].
- THURNEYSSEN 1916 Rudolf Thurneysen, 'Drittes Kapitel. Die keltischen Sprachen', in: Karl Brugmann und Christian Bartholomae, *Grundriß der indogermanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde. I. Geschichte der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft seit ihrer Begründung durch Franz Bopp*. Herausgegeben von Wilhelm Streitberg. *II. Die Erforschung der indogermanischen Sprachen. I. Griechisch, Italisch, Vulgärlatein, Keltisch*, Straßburg 1916, 281–305 [repr. in: *Gesammelte Schriften. Band II. Keltische Sprachen und Literaturen*. Herausgegeben von Patrizia de Bernardo Stempel und Rolf Ködderitzsch, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 241–265].

Further literature: see MEID 1998: 5.

2.2. Further important literature, not especially devoted to Old Celtic:

- ANRW 29/2 *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Principat. 29. Band (2. Teilband). Sprache und Literatur*. Herausgegeben von Wolfgang Haase, Berlin – New York: de Gruyter 1983.
- DE BERNARDO STEMPEL 1987 Patrizia de Bernardo Stempel, *Die Vertretung der indogermanischen liquiden und nasalen Sonanten im Keltischen* [= Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 54], Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft 1987.
- CCCG Henry Lewis and Holger Pedersen, *A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1937.
- EIEC James P. Mallory and Douglas Adams, *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*, London-Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn 1997.
- GOI Rudolf Thurneysen, *A Grammar of Old Irish. Revised and enlarged edition. Translated from the German by D. A. Binchy and Osborn Bergin. With Supplement*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1946.
- IEW Julius Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. I. Band*, Bern – Stuttgart: Francke Verlag 1959.
- POKORNY 1969 Julius Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. II. Band* (Gallisch: 207–211; Hispanisch: 211; Altbritisch: 211), Bern – Stuttgart: Francke 1969.
- IRSLINGER 2002 Britta Sofie Irlinger, *Abstrakta mit Dentialsuffixen im Altirischen*, Heidelberg: Winter 2002.
- ISAAC 2007 Graham R. Isaac, *Studies in Celtic Sound Changes and their Chronology* [= Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 127], Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft 2007.
- JOSEPH 1980 Lionel Saint Joseph, *Problems in the Development of the Indo-European Laryngeals in Celtic*, Cambridge/Massachusetts: Harvard University 1980 [unpublished PhD].
- KP Stefan Schumacher, *Die keltischen Primärverben. Ein vergleichendes, etymologisches und morphologisches Lexikon*. Unter Mitarbeit von Britta Schulze-Thulin und Caroline aan de Wiel [= Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 110], Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck 2004.

- LEIA *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien*. Ed. Joseph Vendryes, Édouard Bachellery and Pierre-Yves Lambert, Dublin – Paris: DIAS – CNRS, 1959– [appeared so far: A, B, C, D, M, N, O, P, R, S, T, U].
- LHEB Kenneth Hurlstone Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain. A Chronological Survey of the Brittonic Languages 1st to 12th Century A.D.*, Edinburgh 1953 [repr.: Dublin: Four Courts Press 1994].
- MCCONE 1992 Kim McCone, 'Relative Chronologie: Keltisch', in: *Rekonstruktion und relative Chronologie. Akten der VIII. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft. Leiden, 31. August – 4. September 1987*. Herausgegeben von Robert Beekes, Alexander Lubotsky und Jos Weitenberg [= Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 65], Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft 1992, 11–39.
- MCCONE 1994 Kim McCone, 'An tSean-Ghaeilge agus a Réamhstair', in: *Stair na Gaeilge in Ómós do P[h]ádraig Ó F[h]iannachta*. In eagar ag Kim McCone, Damian McManus, Cathal Ó Háinle, Nicholas Williams, Liam Breatnach, Má Nuad: An Sagart, 61–219.
- MCCONE 1996 Kim McCone, *Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Changes* [= Maynooth Studies in Celtic Linguistics 1], Maynooth: Department for Old and Middle Irish 1996.
- RUSSELL 1990 Paul Russell, *Celtic Word-Formation. The Velar Suffixes*, Dublin: DIAS 1990.
- SCHRIJVER 1995 Peter Schrijver, *Studies in British Celtic Historical Phonology* [= Leiden Studies in Indo-European 5], Amsterdam – Atlanta: Rodopi 1995.
- SCHRIJVER 1997 Peter Schrijver, *Studies in the History of Celtic Pronouns and Particles* [= Maynooth Studies in Celtic Linguistics 2], Maynooth: Dept. of Old Irish, National University of Ireland 1997.
- STÜBER 1998 Karin Stüber, *The Historical Morphology of n-Stems in Celtic* [= Maynooth Studies in Celtic Linguistics 3], Maynooth: Dept. of Old Irish, National University of Ireland, Maynooth 1998.
- VGK Holger Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*. 2 Bde., Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1909–13.

2.3. General resources and collections of Old Celtic material:

- AcS Alfred Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*. 3 Bde., Leipzig: B. G. Teubner 1891–1913.
- SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006 *Additions to Alfred Holder's Celtic Thesaurus by Georges Cousin, together with an electronically searchable version of Holder's headwords by Llinos Dafis & Ashwin Gohil, and indexes to Joshua Whatmough's The Dialects of Ancient Gaul by Xavier Delamarre & G.R. Isaac*. Edited by Patrick Sims-Williams, Aberystwyth: CMCS 2006.
- MEID & ANREITER 1996 *Die größeren altkeltischen Sprachdenkmäler. Akten des Kolloquiums Innsbruck, 29. April – 3. Mai 1993*. Herausgegeben von Wolfgang Meid und Peter Anreiter [= Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Sonderheft 95], Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft 1996.
- PARSONS & SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000 *Ptolemy. Towards a linguistic atlas of the earliest Celtic place-names of Europe*. Papers from a workshop, sponsored by the British Academy, in the Department of Welsh, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 11–12 April 1999. Edited by David N. Parsons and Patrick Sims-Williams, Aberystwyth: CMCS 2000.
- ISAAC 2004 Graham R. Isaac, *Place-Names in Ptolemy's Geography. An electronic data base with etymological analysis of the Celtic name-elements, covering the ancient territories of Hibernia, Britannia, Hispania, Gallia, Germania, Raetia, Vindelicia, Noricum, Pannonia, Illyricum, Massiliotes, Liguria, Tusci, Gallia Cisalpina, Venetia, Istria, Sarmatia Europaea, Iazyges, Dacia, Moesia, Thracia, Chersonese, Pontus et Bithynia, and Galatia*, Aberystwyth: CMCS 2004.
- DE HOZ, LUJÁN & SIMS-WILLIAMS 2005 *New Approaches to Celtic Place-Names in Ptolemy's Geography*. Javier de Hoz, Eugenio R. Luján, Patrick Sims-Williams (eds.), Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas 2005.
- SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006 Patrick Sims-Williams, *Ancient Celtic Place-Names in Europe and Asia Minor* [= Publications of the Philological Society 39], Oxford – Boston: Blackwell Publishing 2006.
- RAYBOULD & SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007 Marilynne E. Raybould and Patrick Sims-Williams, *The Geography of Celtic Personal Names in the Latin Inscriptions of the Roman Empire*, Aberystwyth: CMCS 2007.
- RAYBOULD & SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007 Marilynne E. Raybould and Patrick Sims-Williams, *A Corpus of Latin Inscriptions of the Roman Empire containing Celtic Personal Names*, Aberystwyth: CMCS 2007.

- DELAMARRE 2007 Xavier Delamarre, *Nomina Celtica Antiqua Selecta Inscriptionum (Noms de personnes celtiques dans l'épigraphie classique)*, Paris: editions errance 2007.
- LAMBERT & PINAULT 2007 *Gaulois et celtique continental*. Études réunies par Pierre-Yves Lambert et Georges-Jean Pinault [= École pratique des hautes études. Sciences historiques et philologiques. III. Hautes études du monde gréco-romain 39], Genève: Librairie Droz S.A. 2007.
- HAYWOOD 2001 John Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World*. Foreword by Barry Cunliffe. With 214 illustrations, 180 in colour, including 54 maps, London: Thames & Hudson 2001.
- KOCH 2007 John T. Koch, *An Atlas for Celtic Studies. Archaeology and Names in Ancient Europe and Early Medieval Ireland, Britain, and Brittany*. In collaboration with Raimund Karl (Continental archaeology), Antone Minard (names and inscriptions), Simon Ó Faoláin (British and Irish archaeology) [= Celtic Studies Publications 12], Oxford: Oxbow Books 2007.

Collections of inscriptions from Classical Antiquity:

- CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften; in particular: Pars 2: *Hispania*; Pars 3: *Prouvinciae Europae*; Pars 5: *Gallia Cisalpina*; Pars 7: *Britannia*; Pars 12: *Gallia Narbonensis*; Pars 13: *Tres Galliae et Germaniae* [see also: <http://www.rz.uni-frankfurt.de/~clauss/>].
- OPEL *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum (OPEL)*. Ex materia ab András Mócsy, Reinhardo Feldmann, Elisabetha Marton et Mária Szilágyi collecta, composuit et correxuit Barnabás Lőrincz (voll. 1–4) et Franciscus Redó (vol. 1), Band 1: Budapest: Archaeolingua, Bände 2–4: Wien: Forschungsgesellschaft Wiener Stadtarchäologie 1994–2002.

2.4. Bibliographies:

- [BC] *Bibliotheca Celtica. A Register of Publications Relating to Wales and the Celtic Peoples & Languages*, Aberystwyth, 1967 (1964) – 1976 (1971–72).
- [BL] *Bibliographie linguistique*, section: *Langues celtiques*, Bd. 1 (1939–1947) –, Dordrecht.
- [IC] *Indogermanische Chronik. IX. Keltisch* (bibliographischer Sonderband der *Sprache*, ab Bd. 13 (1967) – 35 (1995) betreut von Wolfgang Meid), Wien.
- [IJ] *Indogermanisches Jahrbuch*, section: *Keltisch*, Bd. 1 (1913) – 30 (1955).

2.5. Journals with regular contributions on Old Celtic:

- [EC] *Études Celtiques*, Paris 1936–.
- [Ogam] *Ogam. Tradition celtique*, Rennes 1948–1986.
- [Palaeohispanica] *Palaeohispanica. Revista sobre lenguas y culturas de la Hispania Antigua*, Zaragoza 2001–.
- [SCelt] *Studia Celtica*, Cardiff 1966–.
- [ZCP; ZCPh] *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, Bonn 1897–.

Celtic studies journals with occasional contributions on Old Celtic:

- [BBCS] *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, Cardiff 1921–1993 [continued in *SCelt*].
- [CMCS] *Cambrian* (until 1993: *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*), Cambridge 1981–1993, Aberystwyth 1993–.
- [Celtica] *Celtica*, Dublin 1946–.
- [Celticum] *Celticum. Supplément à Ogam – Tradition celtique*, Rennes 1960–1986.
- [Ériu] *Ériu. Founded as the Journal of the School of Irish Learning*, Dublin 1904–.

- [JCL] *Journal of Celtic Linguistics*, Cardiff 1992–.
 [KF] *Keltische Forschungen*, Wien 2006–.
 [Ollodagos] *Ollodagos. Actes de la société belge d'études celtiques*, Brüssel 1988–.
 [RC] *Revue Celtique*, Paris 1870–1934 [continued in *EC*].
 [SCJap] *Studia Celtica Japonica*, Toyohashi 1988–1997.

Indo-European or classical journals with occasional contributions on Old Celtic:

- [CRAI] *Comptes rendus de l'académie des inscriptions & belles-lettres*, Paris 1835–
 [KZ; HS, ZVSpf] *Historische Sprachforschung (Historical Linguistics)*, bisher *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung*. Begründet von Adalbert Kuhn, Göttingen 1852–.
 [IF] *Indogermanische Forschungen. Zeitschrift für Indogermanistik und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft*, Berlin – New York 1892–.
 [JIES] *The Journal of Indo-European Studies*, Washington D.C. 1973–.
 [Kratylos] *Kratylos. Kritisches Berichts- und Rezensionsorgan für indogermanische und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft*, Wiesbaden 1956–.
 [MSS] *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, München 1956–.
 [Sprache] *Die Sprache. Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft*, Wien 1949–.
 [SE] *Studi Etruschi*, Firenze 1927–.
 [Veleia] *Veleia. Revista de prehistoria, historia antigua, arqueología y filología clásicas*, Gasteiz 1984–

2.6. Web-sites:

Celtic Studies Bibliography of the Celtic Studies Association of North America (CSANA): <http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/celtic/csanabib.html>

FERCAN – *Fontes Epigraphici Religionis Celticae Antiquae*: <http://www.oeaw.ac.at/praehist/fercan/fercan.html>

TITUS (*Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien*): <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/>

2.7. E-mail lists:

continentalceltic · *A forum for the discussion of Continental Celtic language and culture*: <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/continentalceltic/>

brittonica: <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/brittonica/>

Old-Irish-L: <http://listserv.heanet.ie/lists/old-irish-l.html>

3. 'OLD CELTIC'

3.1. DEFINITION

Continental Celtic:

ancient languages of the European Continent

(NB: Old British – being rather close to Gaulish – is usually included here; Breton is not Continental Celtic! Galician (Galego), Piemontesian, etc. are not Celtic!).

Old Celtic:

Celtic languages until the middle of the 1st mill. AD, including Primitive Irish (on Ogam stones) and Old British (inscriptions in Roman script); 'old Indo-European' character.

New/Modern Celtic:

Celtic languages since the middle of the 1st mill. AD; only Insular Celtic; strongly 'non-Indo-European' character.

Continental Celtic ≠ Old Celtic
but Continental Celtic = part of Old Celtic

Insular Celtic = 1. geographical/chronological term
2. genetic/genealogical term
but Continental Celtic = only geographical/chronological term

3.2. CRITERIA FOR DETERMINING THE LINGUISTIC CELTICITY OF AN AREA

in declining order of relevance:

1. fully developed literature in a Celtic language, large quantity of testimonies for the every-day use of a Celtic language (e.g. parts of the British Isles in the Middle and Modern Ages)
2. inscriptions in a Celtic language (e.g. Gaul, Central Spain, etc. in Antiquity)
3. information by external authors about the presence of a Celtic language (e.g. Galatia in Late Antiquity)
4. large distribution of Celtic personal names (e.g. the province of Noricum in Antiquity)
5. Celtic place names

3.3. HOW TO DEFINE A CELTIC LANGUAGE LINGUISTICALLY

Definitions by other authors. The signs [+] and [-] have been added by me in order to indicate if the feature can be applied to Continental Celtic. [?] indicates that we lack relevant language material that could help decide the question.

3.3.1. Helmut Birkhan, 'Allgemeine Merkmale des Keltischen und das Festlandkeltische', in: Helmut Birkhan (Hrsg.), *Bausteine zum Studium der Keltologie*, Wien: Edition Praesens 2005, 223:

a. Concerning the lexis:

- [+] Nouns denoting core lexis: man, wife, sister, brother, hand, head, anus, time/weather, ocean/sea, lake/pool, river, cow, bull, dog, pig etc.
- [+] Verbs denoting taking, saying/singing, drinking, hearing, loving, mixing etc.
- [+] Adjectives denoting good, high, low, big/large/great, small, left, right/south etc.

b. Concerning morphosyntax:

- [-] Morphological alternations: word initial mutations
- [-] Syntactically conditioned verb conjugations (proto-tonic and deuter-tonic forms)
- [?] Verb conjugation indicating actionality in the past (imperfect and preterite)
- [?] Conjugation of the Verb 'be' indicating the habitual
- [?] Distinction between copula and substantive forms of the verb 'be'
- [?] Autonomous verb forms
- [-] Prepositions inflected for person, gender and number
- [+] Inflection of numerals 2–4 for gender
- [?] Possession expressed by means of periphrastic constructions involving an inflected preposition and forms of the verb 'be'
- [-] Absence of plural noun inflections after numerals
- [?] Absence of number agreement between plural subject and predicate
- [?] Preference for syntactical co-ordination instead of subordination
- [?] The use of noun phrases rather than verbs for the expression of sensations, feelings, mental activities and abilities.

c. Concerning word order:

- [-] Basic VSO (=Verb-Subject-Object) word order
- [+] Postposition of attributes (adjectives and noun phrases)

3.3.2. James Fife, 'Introduction', in: *The Celtic Languages*. Edited by Martin J. Ball with James Fife, London – New York: Routledge 1993, 3–25:

a. Weak

- [+] gender
- [-?] Ablaut [*sic! recte*: Umlaut!]
- [?] copula/substantive
- [?] 'to have'
- [?] tense
- [-?] verbal nouns

b. *Medium*

- [-?] demonstratives
- [?] impersonals
- [+] infixes
- [-?] periphrasis
- [-] noun-numeral syntax

c. *Strong*

- [-] word order
- [-] mutation
- [-] particles
- [-] inflected prepositions

3.3.3. A decision whether a language is Celtic or not cannot be taken on a typological level, as attempted by the two authors above, but has to be made on a much more basic, i.e. phonological, morphological and lexical level:

1. A language is Celtic, if its lexemes and morphemes can be derived by specifically ‘Celtic’ sound laws and morphological processes from reconstructed Proto-Indo-European forms. Some of these sound laws are exclusively Celtic and can serve as very good indicators; but most sound laws are also found in other Indo-European branches and are therefore ambiguous if taken on their own; some of the so-called ‘Celtic’ sound laws mentioned in the literature cannot be safely postulated for Proto-Celtic, but only for the later individual languages, e.g. $*e_i > *ē$. Among the certain, generally accepted Celtic sound laws are (more detailed in: SCHUMACHER 2004; MCCONE 1996):

$*ō > *ū$ in final syllables

$*ō > *ā$ except in final syllables

$*p > \emptyset$ (? via intermediate stages $*\varphi$ and $*h$)¹

$*r, l > *ri, li / _ C$

$*r, l > *ar, al / _ \{s, u\}$

$*D^h > *D$ (= all IE voiced aspirates lose the aspiration and become merely voiced)

2. Point 1 logically entails typically Celtic phonological systems, both in regard to isolated sounds and to their phonotactic combinations. Any language material has to conform to these systems in order to be classified as Celtic. The individual Celtic phonological systems, however, do not have to be typologically similar, as, for example, the comparison of Lepontic and Old Irish reveals.
3. From point 1 follow typically Celtic morphemes.
4. A language may be called Celtic if its core vocabulary basically corresponds to that of other Celtic languages.
5. A proof of Celticity can only be reached cumulatively, i.e. a number of the above criteria have to be fulfilled. Note that points 2 and 3 logically follow from point 1.

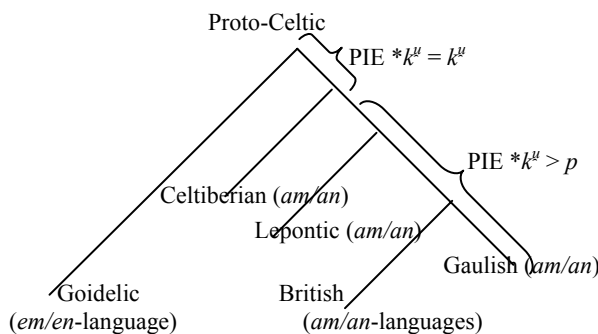
¹ The lack of this change in Lusitanian proves that this language is not Celtic, as is maintained by some.

3.4. CRITERIA FOR THE INTERNAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE CELTIC LANGUAGES

1. representation of PIE $*k^h$; representation of PIE $*ǵ/\ǵ̃$ → ‘Goidelic vs. Gallo-British’ (represented, e.g., by K.H. Schmidt, de Bernardo Stempel; out of favour today)
2. morphological-syntactical complex → ‘Insular Celtic vs. Continental Celtic’ (Gaulish, Celtiberian etc.) (represented, e.g., by McCone, Schrijver, Schumacher; widely accepted today)
3. Old Celtic treatment of PIE $*s$; treatment of Proto-Celtic $*zd$, $*zg$, $*zb$ (Watkins; wrong!)
4. representation of Proto-Celtic $*mn/*nm$ (Stifter)

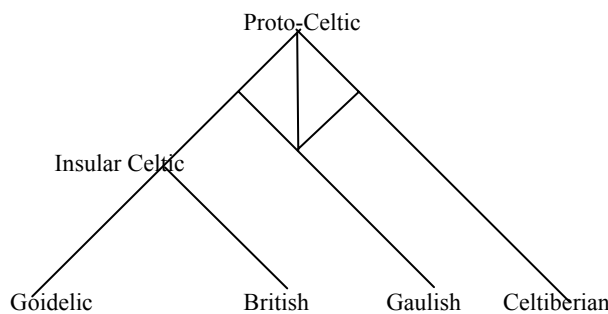
classificatory models of the Celtic languages:

Karl Horst Schmidt’s model:



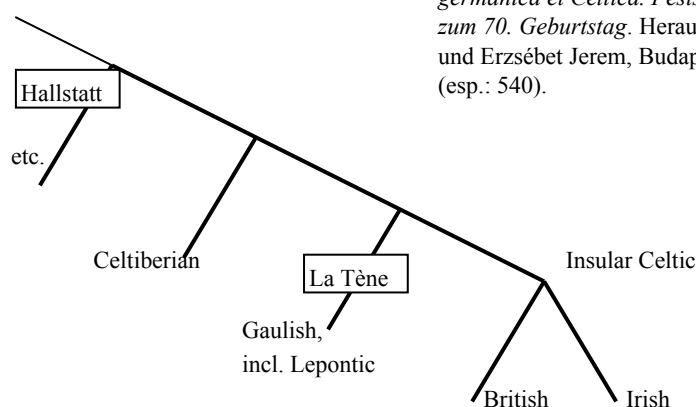
Ill. 3.1.: Karl Horst Schmidt, ‘Zur Rekonstruktion des Keltischen. Festlandkeltisches und inselkeltisches Verbum’, *ZCP* 41 (1986), 159–179.

Kim McCone’s model:

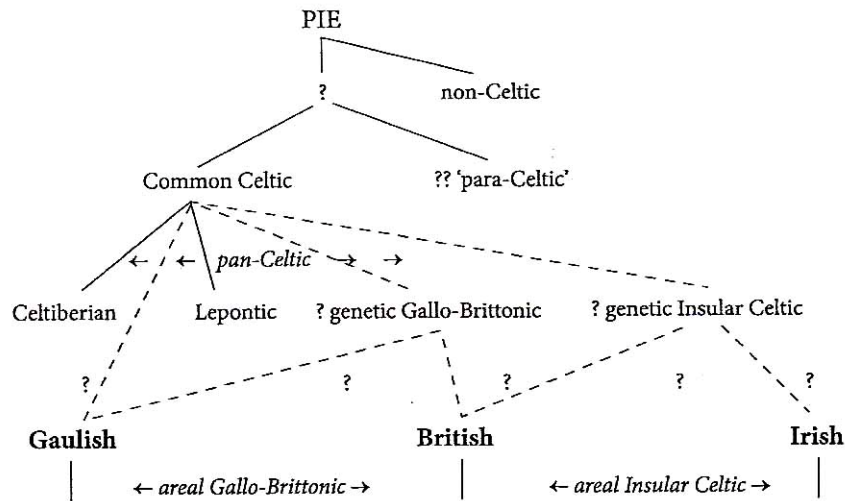


Ill. 3.2.: Kim McCone, *Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Change*, Maynooth 1996, 104.

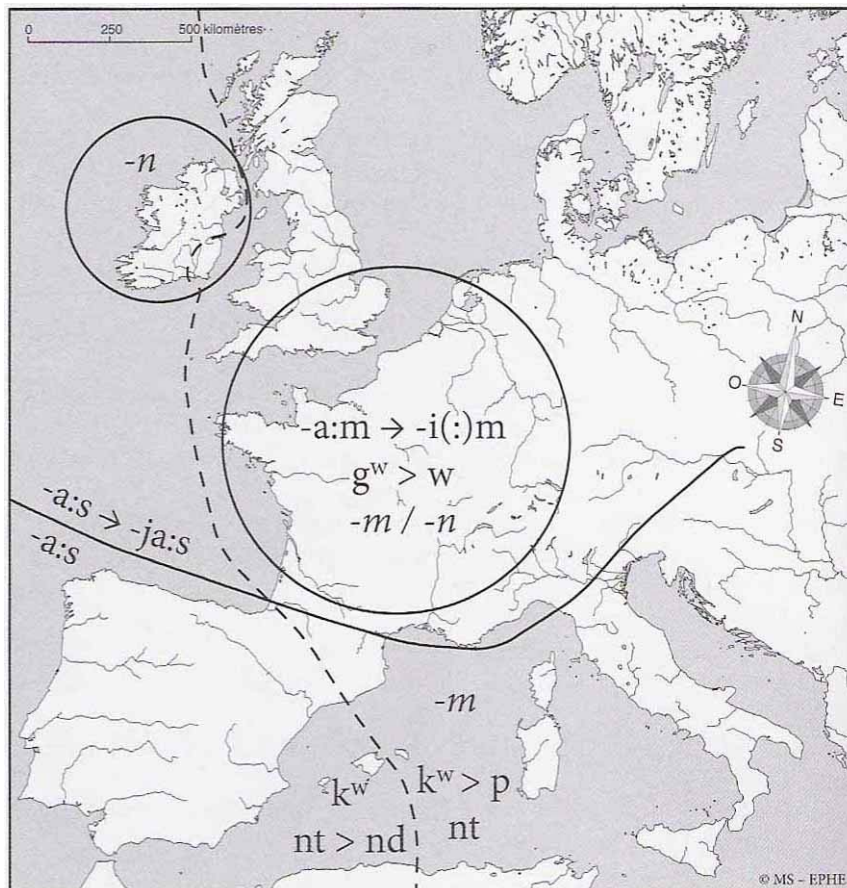
Calvert Watkin’s model:

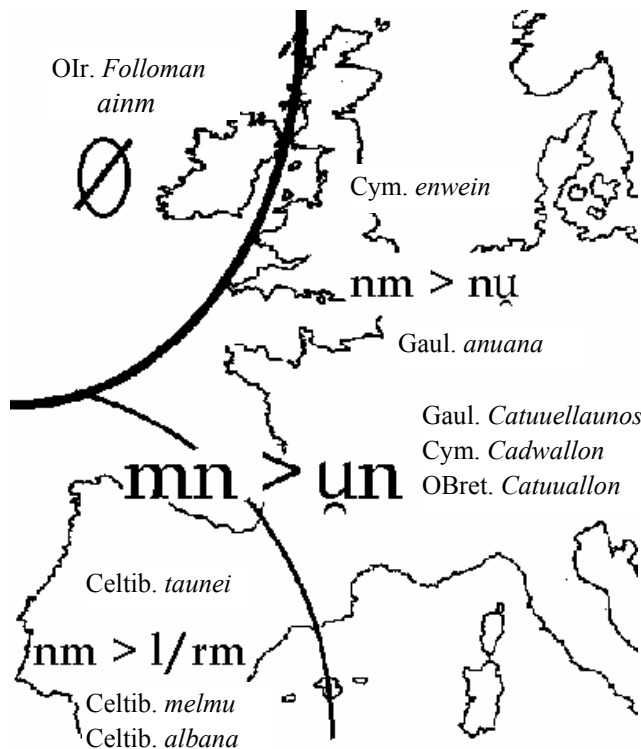


Ill. 3.3.: Calvert Watkins, ‘Two Celtic Notes’, in: *Indo-germanica et Celtica. Festschrift für Wolfgang Meid zum 70. Geburtstag*. Herausgegeben von Peter Anreiter und Erzsébet Jerem, Budapest: *Archaeolingua*, 539–544 (esp.: 540).



III. 3.4. and 3.5.: A possible complex stemma of the Celtic languages (above), and Celtic isoglosses (below), from: Patrick Sims-Williams, 'Common Celtic, Gallo-Brittonic and Insular Celtic', in: *Gaulois et celtique continental*. Études réunies par Pierre-Yves Lambert et Georges-Jean Pinault [= *École pratique des hautes études. Sciences historiques et philologiques. III. Hautes études du monde gréco-romain 39*], Genève: Librairie Droz S.A. 2007, 309–354.





OIr. *ainm*, Celtib. *albana*, Gaul. *anuana*, Cym. *enwein* 'name(s)' < PC **anman-* < PIE **h₁nh₃mn-*
 OIr. *Folloman*, Gaul. *uellaunos*, Brit. *uallaun-* 'ruler' < PC **ue/allamnos* < **uelHmnos*
 Celtib. *taunei* 'to put' < PC **damnej* < PIE **d^hh₁mnej*
 Celtib. *melmu* < PIE *menmōn* 'having intelligence'

III. 3.6.: The isoglosses in the development of nasal clusters in Celtic (STIFTER 2000).

3.5. p- VS. q-CELTIC

A traditional but obsolete classification of Celtic languages is that in p- and q-Celtic languages, depending on whether the PC labiovelar sound **k^h*, inherited from PIE, developed to **p* (Lep., Gaul., Brit.) or remained **k^h* (Celtib. and Ir.). In Irish, the labiovelar remained as such until the Primitive Irish period; it is still attested in Ogam inscriptions. But shortly before the OIr. period it lost its labial element and became /k/ or lenited /χ/. For modern scholars this difference between p- and q-Celtic languages is no longer a criterium for genetic classification, but only for phenotypic classification, since the development **k^h* > **p* is typologically trivial and can easily have occurred in the different Celtic languages independently.

1. PIE **-k^he* 'and':

Lep. *-pe*, Celtib. *-kue*, Arch. OIr. *-ch* < **-χ^he*; Gaul. *etic* < **eti-k^he* and MCym. *nac* < **nek^he*, which at first glance appear to display a q-Celtic development of **-k^he*, instead continue a form in which final unstressed *-e* was apocoped early on; **k^h* which thus came to stand in absolute final position lost its labiality before the sound change **k^h* > **p* occurred.

2. PIE **k^hetuores* '4' etc.:

Gaul. *petuarios* '4th', *petru-*, Cym. *pedwar*, OIr. *cethair*.

3. PC **mak^hos* 'son':

Gaul. *mapon*, Cym. *mab*, Ogam. *MAQQI*, OIr. *macc*.

3.6. APPENDIX 1: PIE *p > Ø IN CELTIC?

3.6.1. PIE *p > PC *k^h / #_...k^h

Gaul. *pinpe*^o, OIr. *cóic*, Cym. *pymp* ‘5’ < PC *k^henk^he < PIE *penk^he

MCym. *pobi*, MBret. *pibi*, Late Corn. *pobas* ‘to bake’ < PC *k^hok^he/o- < PIE *pek^he/o-

Celtib. *Querquetani* < PC *k^herk^hu- < PIE *perk^hu- ‘oak’

3.6.2. PIE *p > PC *φ

partly preserved in Lepontic:

Lep. UVAMOKOZIS (Prestino) = /uφamo^o/ < *up^hh₂o- ‘highest’

Lep. UVLTIAUIOPOS (Prestino), read: *UVLITAUUIOPOS? = /φlitauij_os/ < *p^hth₂uij_o-, from
PIE *p^hth₂uih₂- ‘broad earth, goddess Earth’?

retained after *s and further developed only in individual languages?

Cym. *ffer*, OIr. *seir* (dual *di pherid*) ‘heel’ < PIE *sperHet-

OIr. *selg*, MBret. *felch* ‘spleen’ < PC *sφelgā < PIE *spelgeh₂

unclear: Gaul. °*spantium*

further development of PC *φ within Common Celtic

a. PC *φ > *χ /_{t, s}

Gaul. *sextam*^o, OIr. *secht*, Cym. *seith* ‘7’ < PIE *septm

Gaul. *Uxello*-, OIr. *úasal*, Cym. *uchel* ‘high’ < PIE *upselo-

b. PC *φ > *β /V_R

OIr. *ebraid* ‘will grant’ < PC *φiφrāseti < PIE *pip^hh₃seti

OIr. *eblaid* ‘will drive’ < PC *φiφlāseti < * PIE pip^hHseti

Gaul. *gabro*-, OIr. *gabor*, Cym. *gafr* ‘goat’ < PIE *g/kapro-

OIr. *diabul* ‘double’ < PC *d_ueij_olo- < PIE *d_ueij_olo-

c. PC *φ > IC (?) u /{a, o}_n

OIr. *súan*, Cym. *hun* ‘sleep’ < *so_unos < *su_unos < *su_onos < PIE *supnos

OIr. *cúan* ‘haven’ < *ka_unos < *ka_onos < PIE *kh₂pnos ‘enclosure’

d. PC *rφ > rr ?

OIr. *serr*, Cym. *ser* ‘sickle, scyth’ < PIE *serpeh₂

e. PC *n > OIr. *m /_*φ

OIr. *amiress* ‘unbelieving’ < *_n-peristh₂o-

otherwise:

f. PC *φ > *h > Ø

Heluetii < PIE *pelh₁u- ‘many’ ?

Hercynia silua < PIE *perk^hu- ‘oak’

Ogam vowel ¹ ‘hÚath’ < *pou_{to}- ?

OIr. (*h*)*iress* ‘belief’ < *peristh₂eh₂

OIr. *nië* / n’i(h)ë/, gen. *niäth* / n’iäð/, Cym. *nei*, Br. *ni*, pl. *nied* ‘nephew’ < PIE * nepōt-

(uncertain: OIr. sg. *teë* / t’ë(h)ë/, pl. *teit* ‘hot’ / t’ë(h)äð’/ < PIE *tepent-; the spellings could also represent /t’ë/ and /t’ëð’/)

OIr. *ten* / t’ev/ ‘fire’ < PIE *tepno- ?

g. * φ > Ø /#_a already earlier than in other positions?

ARIUONEPOS (Prestino) < PC **ari* (cf. Gaul. *are-*, Celtib. *are-*, OIr. *air*, Cym. *ar-*) < PIE **p₁h₂i*
‘in front’?

OIr. *athir* ‘father’ < **ph₂tēr* never written with *h-* in Würzburg glosses

3.6.3. unclear cases:

a. PC * φ /Celtib. *b/p* (?) > Ø /#_R

Complutum < **kom-plouto-*, from PIE $\sqrt{\text{pleu}}$ ‘to flow’?

Bletisa(ma), later *Ledesma* < **pleth₂is η h₂o-*?

but:

Gaul. *litano-*, OIr. *lethan*, Cym. *llydan* < PIE **p₁th₂no-*

b. Celtib. *p* ?

Paramus ?

Literature:

VGK I, 90–94

CCCG 26–27

GOI 138–140

MCCONE 1996: 43–45

KORTLANDT 1982 Frederik Kortlandt, ‘Phonemicization and Rephonemicization of the Old Irish Mutations’, *Ériu* 33 (1982), 73–83.

SCHRIJVER 1997 Peter Schrijver, ‘On the Nature and Origin of Word-initial *h-* in the Würzburg Glosses’, *Ériu* 48 (1997), 205–228.

ESKA 1998 Joseph F. Eska, ‘PIE **p* > Ø in proto-Celtic’, *MSS* 58 (1998), 63–80.

3.7. APPENDIX 2: *k^h* IN P-CELTIC?

Gaul. hydronym *Sēquanā*, ethnonym *Quariates*, month name *equos*

a. *equos* (calendar of Coligny) ‘horse?’ from Lat. *equus*?

b. *Quariates* from

1. PC **k^harijos* ‘cauldron’, cp. Gaul. *Parisii*, OIr. *coire*, Cym. *peir*; i.e. *Quariates* = ‘the people of the cauldron’?

2. <qu> = /ku/ for /ku η / ? *Quariates* = /ku η ariates/ < **kom- η ar- η at-*, to OIr. *coir* < **kom- η ari-*, Cym. *cyweir* < **kom- η arijo-* ‘correct, true’; abstr. OIr. *cóire*, Cym. *cyweir* < **kom- η ariā* ‘correctness, order, truth’, cp. Cym. *cyweiriad* ‘repairing’ < \circ *iatom* ?

3. OIr. *Cairid* is no phonological equivalent to *Quariates*! (pace BIRKHAN, *Kelten*¹ 506 who follows T.F. O’RAHILLY, EIHM 148).

c. *Sēquanā* from

1. $\sqrt{\text{sejk^h}}$ ‘to pour out’?

2. $\sqrt{\text{sejk}}$ ‘to reach’? → **sejk-u η anā*?

but: suffix *-anā* otherwise not attested in Gaulish; *Sēquanā* perhaps not Gaulish?

Literature:

STIFTER 2004

David Stifter, Rezension von: Helmut Birkhan, *Kelten. Celts. Bilder ihrer Kultur. Images of their Culture*, Wien 1999, in: *Die Sprache* 43/2 (2002/3 [2004]), 237–243.

4. ASPECTS OF OLD CELTIC GRAMMAR

Old Celtic languages display a typically ‘Old Indo-European’ character, i.e. the inflectional endings of nouns, verbs etc. are still recognisable (but of course showing the effects of constituent Celtic sound changes). That means that the syntactic relationship between the words in a sentence is determined by the endings, as in Latin, Greek, Old Indic etc. As a consequence, word order is relatively free.

In Late Gaulish the final syllables become weaker, perhaps under Vulgar Latin influence: final consonants are lost, so that in the end almost all words end in vowels (e.g. *sue cluio u sedagisamo cele uiroIonoue*, Châteaubleau l. 8). Early traces of this development, however, can already be met with in Early Gaulish inscriptions.

4.1. NOMINAL INFLECTION

Below follow three examples for Celtic declensional classes that are inherited from PIE (there are more classes, these three are the most frequent). Because of the fragmentary character of Old Celtic, only parts of the paradigms are attested in the individual languages. But if taken together and compared with related languages (modern Celtic, other PIE languages), full paradigms can be reconstructed with some certainty.

The column headed ‘PC’ stands for reconstructed Proto-Celtic forms. ‘—’ means that the category in question is not possible in this language. No examples for duals are given, since attestations of it in Old Celtic are rare and contested. The forms mentioned are only a selection.

NB: Some of the reconstructions are problematic and disputed and different reconstructions may be found with other scholars.

Literature:

- LAMBERT 2003 Pierre-Yves *La langue gauloise. Description linguistique, commentaire d'inscriptions choisies*, Paris: Errance 2003, 51–64.
- DELAMARRE 2003 Xavier Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise. Une approche linguistique du vieux-celtique continental*, Paris: Errance 2003, 342–346.
- JORDÁN CÓLERA 2004 Carlos Jordán Cólera, *Celtibérico* [= Monografías de filología griega 16], Zaragoza 2004.
- STIFTER 2006 David Stifter, *Sengoidelc. Old Irish for Beginners*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press 2006 [reconstructions with a view to the OIr. declensions].
- DE BERNARDO STEMPEL 2007 Patrizia de Bernardo Stempel, ‘Le declinazioni nel celtico continentale: innovazioni comuni al gallico e al goidelico?’, in: *Gaulois et celtique continental. Études réunies par Pierre-Yves Lambert et Georges-Jean Pinault* [= École pratique des hautes études. Sciences historiques et philologiques. III. Hautes études du monde gréco-romain 39], Genève: Librairie Droz S.A. 2007, 145–179.

1. *o-stems*

	PC	Gaul.	Celtib.	other	OIr.	Lat.
nom. sg. masc.	* <i>uīros</i>	<i>tuθος, Σεγομαρος, Perocho</i>	<i>VIROS, lubos</i>	Lep. <i>esoPnos</i>	<i>fer</i>	<i>amīcus</i>
nom. sg. neutr.	* <i>lindom</i>	<i>νεμητον, brictom, ollon, ollo</i>	<i>karalom</i>	Lep. <i>uinom</i>	<i>cenn^N</i>	<i>templum</i>
gen. sg. old	* <i>uīrosjo</i>		<i>aualo</i>	Lep. <i>chosioiso</i>	—	—
gen. sg. new	* <i>uīrī</i>	<i>aTeKnaTi, nepi</i>		Lep. <i>asKoneTi</i> , Og. <i>MAQQI</i>	<i>fīr^L</i>	<i>amīcī</i>
dat. sg.	* <i>uīrūj</i>	<i>Aδγεννοι, Magalu</i>	<i>ueizui</i>	Lep. <i>PiuoTialui</i>	<i>fīur^L</i>	<i>amīcō</i>
acc. sg.	* <i>uīrom</i>	<i>anTom, papon, duorico</i>	<i>boustom</i>		<i>fer^N</i>	<i>amīcum</i>
voc. sg.	* <i>uīre</i>	<i>gnate</i>			<i>fīr^L</i>	<i>amīce</i>
abl. sg.	* <i>uīrūd</i>	—	<i>usamuz</i>		—	<i>amīcō(d)</i>
instr. sg.	* <i>uīrū</i>	<i>risu nartiu ?</i>	<i>tamaniu ?</i>		—	—
loc. sg.	* <i>uīrej</i>	<i>derce ?</i>	<i>kortonei, lutiakei</i>		—	<i>Corinthī</i>
nom. pl. masc.	* <i>uīroj</i>	<i>TanoTaliKnoi, ουενικοι, Aresequani</i>	<i>stoteroi</i>		<i>fīr^L</i>	<i>amīcī</i>
nom. pl. neutr.	* <i>lindā</i>	<i>linda</i>			<i>cenn^L</i>	<i>templa</i>
gen. pl.	* <i>uīrom, -ūm</i>	<i>TeuoχTonion, neddamon</i>	<i>abulokum</i>	og. <i>MAQAⁿ</i> , <i>MACORBO (?)</i>	<i>fer^N</i>	<i>amīcōrum</i>
dat. pl.	* <i>uīrobos</i>	<i>aganntobo</i>	<i>arekoratikubos</i>	Lep. <i>uulTiauiPos</i>	<i>feraib</i>	<i>amīcīs</i>
acc. pl.	* <i>uīrūs</i>	<i>tuddus</i>	<i>matus ?</i>		<i>fīru^H</i>	<i>amīcōs</i>
voc. pl.	* <i>uīroj ?</i>				<i>fīru^H</i>	<i>amīcī</i>
abl. pl.	* <i>uīrobos ?</i>	—	<i>nouantubos (?)</i>		—	<i>amīcīs</i>
instr. pl.	* <i>uīrobi(s)</i>	<i>mesamobi, gandobe</i>			—	—

2. *ā*-stems

	PC	Gaul.	Celtib.	other	OIr.	Lat.
nom. sg.	* <i>toṽtā</i>	<i>geneta, -τοοντα</i>	<i>kortika</i>	Lep. <i>ásmina</i>	<i>túath^L</i>	<i>amīca</i>
gen. sg.	* <i>toṽtās</i>	<i>TouTas, Paullias</i>	<i>koitinas</i>	Og. <i>ERCIAS, ENIGENAS</i>	<i>túaithe</i>	<i>amīcae, familiās</i>
dat. sg.	* <i>toṽtāi</i> ?	<i>Εσκιγγαι, Βελεσα- μι, Brigindone</i>	<i>masnai</i>	Lep. <i>slaniai</i>	<i>túaithe^L</i>	<i>amīcae</i>
acc. sg.	* <i>toṽtam</i>	<i>loKan, lissiatim, beni</i>	<i>toutam</i>	Lep. <i>Pruiam</i>	<i>túaithe^N</i>	<i>amīcam</i>
voc. sg.	* <i>toṽta</i>	<i>gnatha, geneta</i>			<i>túath^L</i>	<i>amīca</i>
abl. sg.	* <i>toṽtād</i> ?	—	<i>arekorataz</i>		—	<i>amīcā(d)</i>
instr. sg.	* <i>toṽtā</i> ?	<i>brixtia</i>			—	—
loc. sg.	* <i>toṽtai</i>	<i>Alixie</i> ?	<i>uertai</i> ?		—	<i>Romae</i>
nom. pl.	* <i>toṽtās</i>	<i>pannas</i>			<i>túatha^H</i>	<i>amīcae</i>
gen. pl.	* <i>toṽtom</i>	<i>bnanom</i>			<i>túath^N</i>	<i>amīcārum</i>
dat. pl.	* <i>toṽtābos</i>	<i>Γλανεικαβο</i>			<i>túathaib</i>	<i>amīcīs</i>
acc. pl.	* <i>toṽtā(n)s</i>	<i>arTuaś, brictas</i>	<i>listas</i> ?		<i>túatha^H</i>	<i>amīcās</i>
voc. pl.	* <i>toṽtās</i>				<i>túatha^H</i>	<i>amīcae</i>
abl. pl.	* <i>toṽtābos</i> ?	—			—	<i>amīcīs</i>
instr. pl.	* <i>toṽtābi(s)</i> ?	<i>banuabi, eiabi</i> (used as datives)			—	—

3. consonant stems

	PC	Gaul.	Celtib.	other	OIr.	Lat.
nom. sg.	*rīgs > *rīχs	-rix, -πειζ, matir, exsops, amman	segobis, melmu	Lep. seχeθu	rt ^H	rēx
gen. sg.	*rīgos	andernados, Ualentos	tirikantos, tuateros	Og. -DECCAS, -DECCA	rīg	rēgis
dat. sg.	*rīgei		taunei, tokoitei	Lep. sunalei	rīg ^L	rēgi
acc. sg.	*rīgam	materem	tirikantam		rīg ^N	rēgem
voc. sg.	*rīg	ater ?			rt ^H	rēx
abl. sg.	*rīged ?	—	sekobirikez		—	rēge(d)
instr. sg.	*rīgī ?		oilauu ?		—	—
loc. sg.	*rīgi	-rici, -πειγι (used as datives)		Lep. Kuašoni (dat.)	—	—
nom. pl.	*rīges		tuateres	Lep. []ones	rīg	rēgēs
gen. pl.	*rīgom	ματρον			rīg ^N	rēgum
dat. pl.	*rīgbos		MATRVBOS	Lep. ariuonePos	-	rēgibus
acc. pl.	*rīga(n)s	-rigas		Lep. siTeś	rīga ^H	rēgēs
voc. pl.	*rīges			Og. DRUUIDES	rīga ^H	rēgēs
abl. pl.	*rīgbos ?	atrebo, matrebo			—	rēgibus
instr. pl.	*rīgbi(s)	gobedbi			rīgaib	—

4. u-stems

For u-stems see: David Stifter, 'Celtiberian *-unei, Luguei*', *Die Sprache* 39/2 (2000 [1997]), 213–223. To the examples of Old Celtic u-stems mentioned there add Gaul. gen. sg. *lokōs 'of the lake' < PC *lokou̯s in the placename *Pennelocos* 'Lake's End' (near Geneva), perhaps *luxtos* 'of the load', *nantou(s)* 'of the valley'.

4.2. VERBAL INFLECTION

Old Celtic verbal forms have not survived in the same number as nouns and their interpretation is decidedly more difficult. A selection (Gaul. not specifically indicated):

1. infinitive

Celtib. *taunei, uertaunei, touertaunei, ambitikounei*

2. present indicative

1st sg. *delgu, regu, ueditumí, legumi, gniúou (?)*, *chlúou (?)*; *ιμι, imi, petame (?)*

3rd sg. Celtib.: *kabizeti (?)*, *kuati, uerzoniti*

3rd pl. *senant*, [ι]αχταντ; pass. *diligentir*; rel. *dugiiontió, sagitiontias (?)*, Celtib.: *bionti, zizonti*, []*toruonti*

3. present subjunctive

3rd sg. *buetid, bueθ (?)*, *axati (?)*, Celtib.: *ambitiseti, asekati, auzeti (?)*, *robiseti*

4. future

1st sg. *pissiumí, siaxsiou*; dep./pass. *marcosior*

3rd sg. *bissiet*

2nd pl. *bissiete (?)*

3rd pl. rel. *toncsiiontio*

5. optative

3rd pl. pass. *ni tixsintor*

6. imperative

2nd sg. *lubi, gabi, luge, luxse, moni, orge*

3rd sg. *appisetu, biietutu (?)*, Celtib.: *bizetuz, oisatuz, tatuz, tizatuz, tinbituz, usabituz*

2nd pl. *ibetis*

3rd pl. *biontutu (?)*, Celtib. *nebintor*

7. imperfect

3rd sg. Celtib.: *kombalkez (?)*, *SISTAT (?)*

3rd pl. Celtib. *atibion*; pass./dep. Celtib.: *auzanto, esianto (?)*

8. preterite

1st sg. *ειωραι*

3rd sg. *ειωρου, δεδε, αυουωτ, au(u)ot(e/i)*, *καρνιτου, κληρνιτου, logitoi, legasit, readdas, prinas, gabas, sioxti, ToóoKoTe, toberte (?)*, Lep.: *TeTu, KariTe, KaliTe (?)*²

3rd pl. *καρνιτους, iourus*, Celtib.: *auzares (?)*, *esozeres (?)*, *kombalkores (?)*, *tunares (?)*

Literature:

KP

Stefan Schumacher, *Die keltischen Primärverben. Ein vergleichendes, etymologisches und morphologisches Lexikon*. Unter Mitarbeit von Britta Schulze-Thulin und Caroline aan de Wiel (= Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 110), Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck 2003.

LAMBERT 2003

Pierre-Yves Lambert, *La langue gauloise. Description linguistique, commentaire d'inscriptions choisies*, Paris: Errance 2003, 64–66.

² *Tomezeklai* on an epichoric inscription from Voltino (Italy) was long regarded as Celtic. But it has been shown by Adolfo Zavaroni that the form was wrongly read and rather belongs to Camunian.

JORDÁN CÓLERA 2004 Carlos Jordán Cólera, *Celtibérico* [= Monografías de filología griega 16], Zaragoza 2004.

STIFTER 2006 David Stifter, *Sengoidelc – Old Irish for Beginners*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press 2006 [reconstructions with a view to the OIr. conjugational classes]

4.3. SYNTAX

Due to the high syntactical markedness of the Old Celtic inflectional endings the word order in the sentence is relatively free (unlike, for example, OIr. or MCym. with their underlying word order VSO). Nevertheless, it appears that at least in Gaulish the basic, unmarked word order was SVO, which means a development away from the inherited Indo-European order SOV.

Examples for the free word order from Gaulish, exemplified by the frequent *ieuru*-inscriptions ('dedicated'). Key: S = subject (nominative), O_{dir.} = direct object (accusative), O_{ind.} = indirect object (dative), V = verb, X = additional element (typically an adverbial or prepositional phrase):

1. S – V – O_{ind.} – O_{dir.} ('normal type'):

[Martialis Dannotali]_S [ieuru]_V [Ucuete]_{Oind.} [sosin celicnon]_{Odir.} ...
 'Martialis, son of Dannotalos, dedicated to Ucuete this *celicnon*...'
2. S – O_{ind.} – V – O_{dir.}:

[Sacer]_S [Peroco]_{Oind.?} [ieuru]_V [duorico]_{Odir.}
 'Sacer to Perocos dedicated the *porticus*'.
3. O_{dir.} – S – V:

[Ratin briuationom]_{Odir.} [Frontu Tarbeisonios]_S [ieuru]_V
 'The fort of the bridge-dwellers Frontu, son of Tarbeisu, dedicated'.
4. S – O_{dir.} – V – X – O_{ind.}:

[Buscilla]_S [sosio]_{Odir.} [legasit]_V [in Alixie]_{loc} [Magalu]_{Oind.}
 'Buscilla this placed in Alisia to/for Magalos'.
5. the most recently found inscription:

[Bratulos]_S [ieuru]_V [Rate]_{Oind.?} [Naseia]_{Odir.?}
 'Bratulos dedicated to Ratis the *naseia*/the *nasei*-an fort'. (?)

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5. PERSONAL NAMES

Onomastic formulas of the individual languages, i.e. full names that make a person a citizen of a state or a society, will be treated in separate chapters. Here only a few general things will be said about the formation and meaning of individual names in Celtic. Individual names are those names that make a human being identifiable as an individual person, unlike patronymics or gentilic names which tell us something about a person's position within a society and about his or her relationships to other members of the society. In all Celtic languages, both men and women have individual names.

5.1. MORPHOLOGY

Morphologically, four types of names can be distinguished:

1. Full compounded names of two ('zweistämmige vollnamen') or more ('mehrstämmige vollnamen') components:
e.g. Gaul. *Epomaros* 'having great horses' or 'being great in horses' < CC **ek^uo-* 'horse' + **māros* 'big, great', Gaul. *Cintugnata* 'first born' < CC **kintu-* 'first' + **gnato-* 'born', *Ateurita* 'found again' < CC **ati* 're-, back' + **urīto-* 'found', Gaul. *Vercingetorix* 'great king of warriors' or 'king of great warriors' < CC **uer* 'super' + **kinget-* 'warrior' + **rīg-* 'king'. It may be assumed that compounded names of these types, sometimes of a heroic meaning, originally were confined to members of the upper or free-born classes, but this assumption is difficult to prove or disprove. In the attested material, these names seem to be distributed among all classes. Semantically, compounded names can be possessive compounds ('bahuvrīhis'), e.g. Gaul. *Epomaros* 'having great horses', or determinative compounds (one element of the name determines the other element), e.g. Gaul. *Cingetorix* 'king of warriors'.
2. Full uncompounded names ('einstämmige vollnamen'):
e.g. Gaul. *Maros* 'big one' < CC **māro-*, Gaul. *Boccos* 'he-goat' < CC **bokko-*, Gaul. *Cocca* 'red one' < CC **kokko-*.
3. Uncompounded derived names, suffixal formation:
e.g. Gaul. *Suadulla* 'sweety' < CC **sūādu-* 'sweet', Celtib. *katunos* 'battler (?)' < CC **katu-* 'battle, war', Gaul. *Iouincia* 'young one' < CC **joua/enko-* 'young'. Very often, the suffixes involved have hypocoristic connotations (nicknames).
4. Short names ('kurznamen'):
They are typically derived from full compounded and uncompounded names by mechanical shortening, thereby often ignoring morpheme boundaries and cutting right 'through' the original name; e.g. Gaul. *Adnema* < **Adnamata* 'greatly inimical' < CC **ad-* 'very' + **nāmant-* 'enemy' or Gaul. *Bouda* < a compound of CC **bou̯di-* 'victory, bounty'. It is not always easy to distinguish short names from full uncompounded names, but where the apparent semantics of a name are not easily compatible with onomastics, a short name may be suspected, e.g. Gaul. *Giama* < a name like **Giamogena* 'born in winter' < CC **giamo-* 'winter' + **geno-* 'born', Celtib. *Ablu* < a name containing CC **ablo-* 'power, strength'. Often shortened names display gemination in the final consonant, e.g. Gaul. *Eppios* < CC **ek^uos* 'horse' or Celtib. *Lubbos* < CC **lub-* 'to love' (?).

5.2. MEANINGS OF NAMES

One must not make the mistake to think that names always carry a meaning. This may have been the case at the very first time a specific name was given to a child, but as soon as a word is established as a name in a society, it loses its connection to its etymological meaning and develops a semantic life of its own. Furthermore, with the ever on-going change of languages, the etymological meanings of established names are prone to be obscured or forgotten.

Trying to find out the etymological meaning of personal names will never reveal anything about the persons who bore the names. If an important person in a society bore a specific name, there was a reason for other members of that society to call their children like that person ('nachbenennung'). People may have changed their names during their lifetimes (although to my knowledge there are no

clear such cases attested in our corpus of Celtic) or were given new names by other people. In such a case it may be assumed that the newly acquired name had some meaning or significance, but still the etymological meaning of a name need not be the sole motive. Therefore, names can possess at least two levels of meaning:

1. etymological meaning (always prone to be obscured, misunderstood, or forgotten)
2. societal meaning (names that are particularly popular or unpopular at a given period in a given society, or names that carry particularly good or bad connotations because of the actions of other members of the society who carried these names)

Where the etymological meaning of a name was transparent, various motivations may have driven the parents or other members of a society to give a particular name:

1. positive wishful names ('wunschnamen'), especially true for full compounded names, e.g. Gaul. *Comnertus* 'being with strength' < CC **kom-* 'with' + **ner-to-* 'strength'
2. honorific uncompounded names, e.g. Gaul. *Matta* 'good one' < CC **mati-*
3. descriptive names referring to defects or weaknesses, e.g. Gaul. *Curmisagios* 'seeker for beer' < CC **kurmi-* 'beer' + **sag-* 'to seek'

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