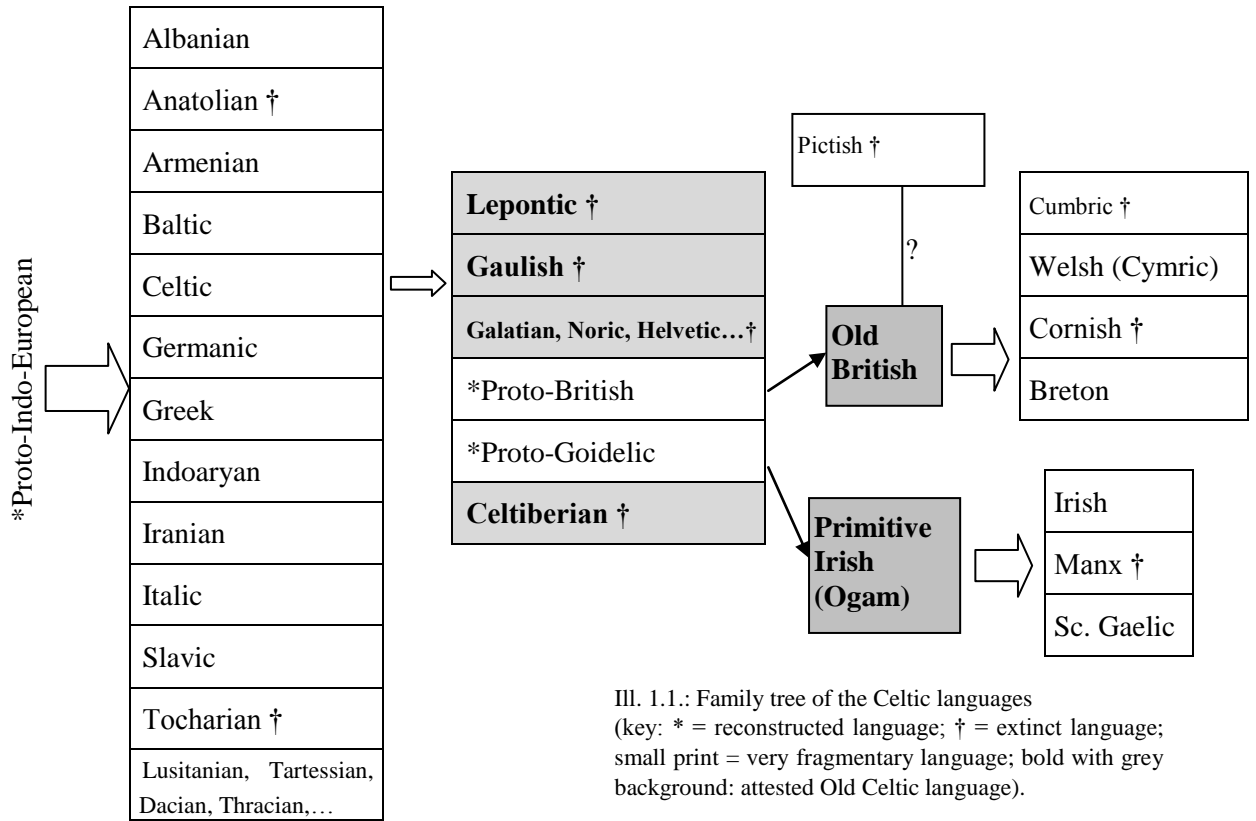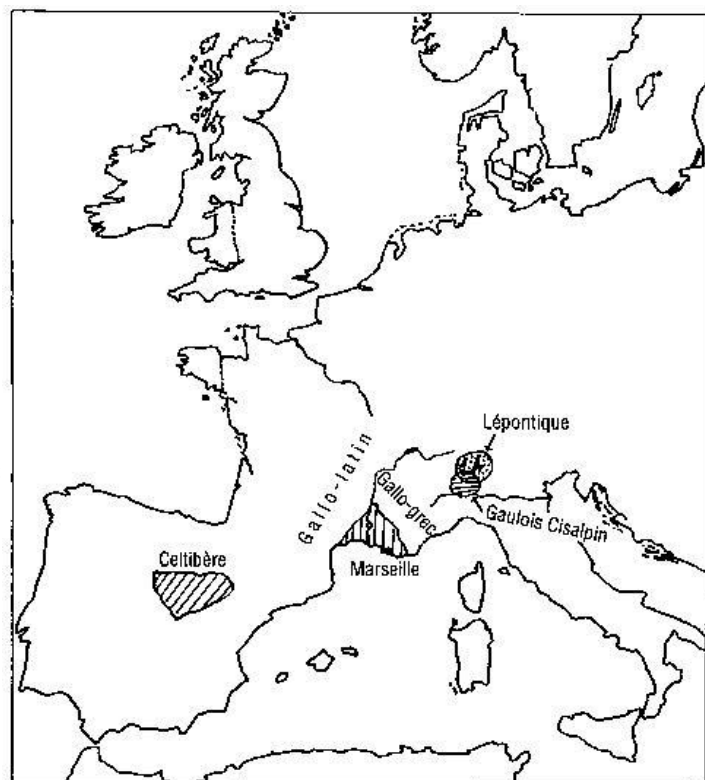# I. GENERAL INFORMATION

1. THE OLD CELTIC LANGUAGES

Ill. 1.1.: Family tree of the Celtic languages
(key: * = reconstructed language; † = extinct language; small print = very fragmentary language; bold with grey background: attested Old Celtic language).

*Proto-Indo-European →

- Albanian
- Anatolian †
- Armenian
- Baltic
- Celtic →
- Germanic
- Greek
- Indoaryan
- Iranian
- Italic
- Slavic
- Tocharian †
- Lusitanian, Tartessian, Dacian, Thracian,…

Celtic:
- **Lepontic †**
- **Gaulish †**
- **Galatian, Noric, Helvetic…†**
- *Proto-British → Old British → Cumbric †, Welsh (Cymric), Cornish †, Breton
- *Proto-Goidelic → Primitive Irish (Ogam) → Irish, Manx †, Sc. Gaelic
- **Celtiberian †**

Pictish † — ? — Old British

	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	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨																				
Gaulish				▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨													
Celtiberian					▨	▨																				
Irish										▨	▨	▨	▨	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█
Sc. Gaelic																						█	█	█	█	█
Manx																						█	█	█	█	
Old British						▨	▨	▨	▨	▨																
Cymric											▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█
Cornish											▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	
Breton											▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█

Ill. 1.2.: Chronology of attestation of Celtic languages
(checkered: fragmentarily attested, full: well attested)

Ill. 1.3.: Distribution of Celtic peoples and languages from the 5th c. BC until the Roman occupation, from: *Linguae Imperii*
http://www.oocities.org/linguaeimperii/Celtic/celtic_es.html

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

2. GENERAL LITERATURE ABOUT OLD CELTIC

2.1. Surveys:

ESKA & EVANS 2009   Joseph F. Eska and D. Ellis Evans, 'Continental Celtic', in: *The Celtic Languages. 2nd edition.* Edited by Martin J. Ball and Nicole Müller, London – New York: Routledge 2009, 28–54.

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.

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 Калыгин и Андрей Александович 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 Prosdocimi, '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].

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].

THURNEYSEN 1916   Rudolf Thurneysen, 'Drittes Kapitel. Die keltischen Sprachen', in: Karl Brugmann und Christian Bartholomae, *Grundriß der indogermanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde. 1. 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.

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.

IEW   Julius Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. I. Band*, Bern – Stuttgart: Francke Verlag 1959 [plus: Julius Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. II. Band* (Gallisch: 207–211; Hispanisch: 211; Altbritisch: 211), Bern – Stuttgart: Francke 1969.]

IRSLINGER 2002   Britta Sofie Irslinger, *Abstrakta mit Dentalsuffixen 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.
                    [but see review by David Stifter, http://www.univie.ac.at/lexlep/images/4/4b/Stifter_Review_of_Isaac_2007.pdf]

JOSEPH 1980   Lionel Saint Joseph, *Problems in the Development of the Indo-European Laryngeals in Celtic*, Cambridge/Massachusetts: Harvard University 1980 [unpublished PhD].

KOCH 2006   John T. Koch, *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia*. 5 vols., Santa Barbara and Oxford: ABC-Clio, 2006.

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.

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– [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].

LIV   *LIV. Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben. Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen*. Unter der Leitung von Helmut Rix und der Mitarbeit vieler anderer bearbeitet von Martin Kümmel, Thomas Zehnder, Reiner Lipp, Brigitte Schirmer. Zweite, erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage bearbeitet von Martin Kümmel und Helmut Rix, Wiesbaden: Reichert 2001.

MALLORY & ADAMS 2006   James P. Mallory and Douglas Q. Adams, *The Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Indo-European World*, Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press 2006

MATASOVIĆ 2009   Ranko Matasović, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* [= Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series 9], Leiden – Boston: Brill 2009.

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.

NIL   Dagmar S. Wodtko, Britta Irslinger, Carolin Schneider, *Nomina im Indogermanischen Lexikon*, Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter 2008.

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.

FALILEYEV 2010   Alexander Falileyev, in collaboration with Ashwin E. Gohil and Naomi Ward, *Dictionary of Continental Celtic Place-Names: A Celtic Companion to the 'Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World'*, Aberystwyth: CMCS 2010.

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.

RAYBOULD & SIMS-WILLIAMS 2009   Marilynne E. Raybould and Patrick Sims-Williams, *Introduction and Supplement to the Corpus of Latin Inscriptions of the Roman Empire Containing Celtic Personal Names*, Aberystwyth: CMCS 2009.

DELAMARRE 2007   Xavier Delamarre, *Nomina Celtica Antiqua Selecta Inscriptionum (Noms de personnes celtiques dans l'épigraphie classique)*, Paris: editions errance 2007.

DELAMARRE 2012   Xavier Delamarre, *Noms de lieux celtique de l'Europe ancienne (-500/+500). Dictionnaire*, Paris: editions errance 2012.

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.

Collections of inscriptions from Classical Antiquity:

AE	*L'Année épigraphique*, Paris: CNRS, 1888–.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften; in particular: Pars 2: *Hispania;* Pars 3: *Prouinciae Europae;* Pars 5: *Gallia Cisalpina;* Pars 7: *Britannia;* Pars 12: *Gallia Narbonensis;* Pars 13: *Tres Galliae et Germaniae*
	online: http://www.rz.uni-frankfurt.de/~clauss/
	Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg: http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh/
OPEL	*Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum (OPEL).* Ex materia ab András Mócsy, Reinhardo Feldmann, Elisabetha Marton et Mária Szilágyi collecta, composuit et correxit Barnabás Lörincz (voll. 1–4) et Franciscus Redő (vol. 1), Band 1: Budapest: Archaeolingua, Bände 2–4: Wien: Forschungsgesellschaft Wiener Stadtarchäologie 1994–2002.

and many other collections for individual provinces or regions.

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*, Wien. [bibliographical appendic to the journal *Die Sprache*, vols. 13 (1967)–35 (1995) curated by Wolfgang Meid; discontinued]
[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 societe belge d'etudes 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, arueología y filología clásicas*, Gasteiz 1984–

2.6. Web-sites and e-mail lists:

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/

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! Modern Galician (Galego), Piemontesian, etc. are not Celtic!

Old/Ancient 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;
- 'non-Indo-European' character.

	Continental Celtic $\neq$ Old Celtic	
but	Continental Celtic = part of Old Celtic	
	'Insular Celtic' is used as a	1. geographical/chronological term
		2. genetic/genealogical term
	'Continental Celtic' used as an	exclusively geographical/chronological term

3.2. CRITERIA FOR DETERMINING THE LINGUISTIC CELTICITY OF AN AREA

in decreasing 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. considerable body of 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 [-] indicate if the feature can actually 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:
[-] Morphonological alternations: word initial mutations
[-] Syntactically conditioned verb conjugations (absolut/conjunct or prototonic/deuterotonic 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:[1]

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

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[1]   Modified in James Fife, 'Typological aspects of the Celtic languages', in: *The Celtic Languages. 2nd edition*. Edited by Martin J. Ball and Nicole Müller, London – New York: Routledge 2009, 3–21.

b. *Medium*
[-?] demonstratives
[?] impersonals
[?] infixes
[-?] periphrasis
[-] noun-numeral syntax

c. *Strong*
[-] word order
[-] mutation
[-] particles
[-] inflected prepositions

My own position

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

1. A language is Celtic, if its lexems and morphemes can be derived by a large cluster of 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 when studied in isolation; 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. *$e\underline{i}$ > *$\bar{e}$. Among the certain, generally accepted Celtic sound laws are (more detailed in: SCHUMACHER 2004; MCCONE 1996):

    *$\bar{o}$ > *$\bar{u}$ in final syllables
    *$\bar{o}$ > *$\bar{a}$ except in final syllables
    *p > Ø (? via intermediate stages *φ and *h?)
    *$\underline{r}, \underline{l}$ > *ri, li /_C
    *$\underline{r}, \underline{l}$ > *ar, al /_{$s, \underline{u}$}
    *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 or has to be derivable from these systems in order to be classified as Celtic. The individual Celtic phonological systems, however, do not have to be typologically similar, like, 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.

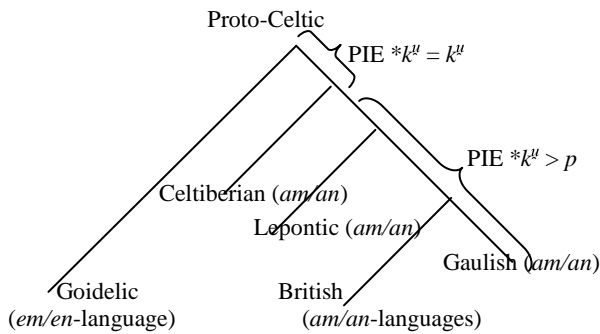### 3.4. CRITERIA FOR THE INTERNAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE CELTIC LANGUAGES

1. representation of PIE $*k^u$; representation of PIE $*\underset{\circ}{n}/\underset{\circ}{m}$ → '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)

3. Old Celtic treatment of PIE $*s$; treatment of Proto-Celtic $*zd$, $*zg$, $*zb$ (Watkins; wrong!)

see:

Joseph F. Eska, 'The Emergence of the Celtic Languages', in: *The Celtic Languages. 2^(nd) edition*. Edited by Martin J. Ball and Nicole Müller, London – New York: Routledge 2009, 22–27.
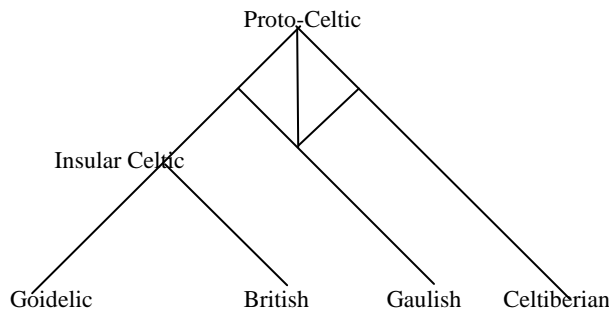
classificatory models of the Celtic languages:
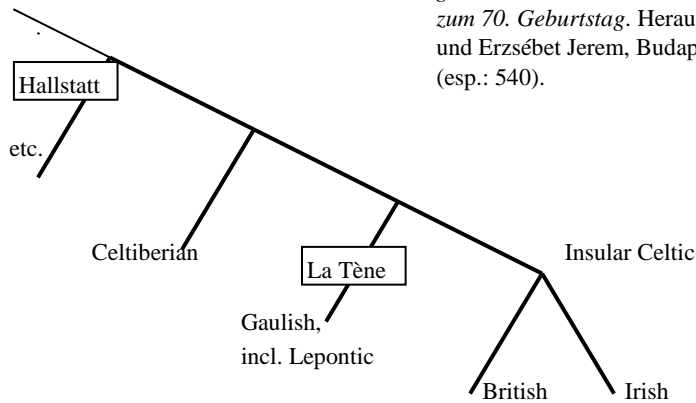
Karl Horst Schmidt's model:

Ill. 3.1.: Karl Horst Schmidt, 'Zur Rekonstruktion des Keltischen. Festlandkeltisches und inselkeltisches Verbum', *ZCPh* 41 (1986), 159–179.
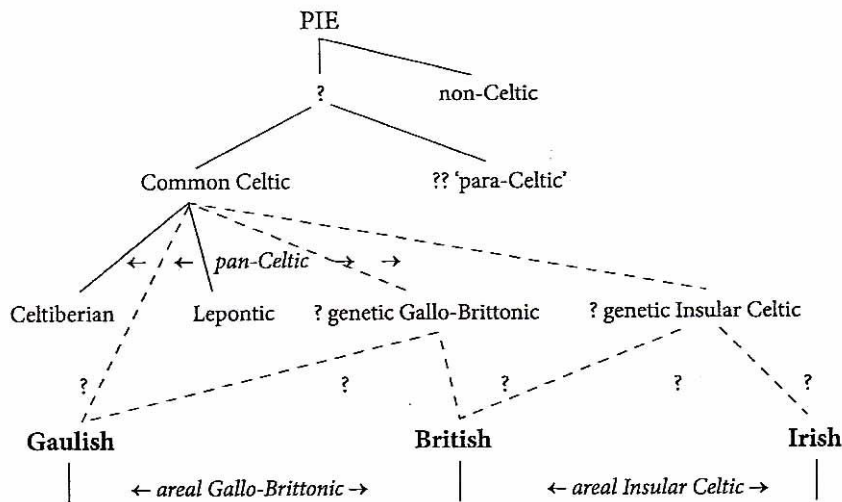
Kim McCone's model:

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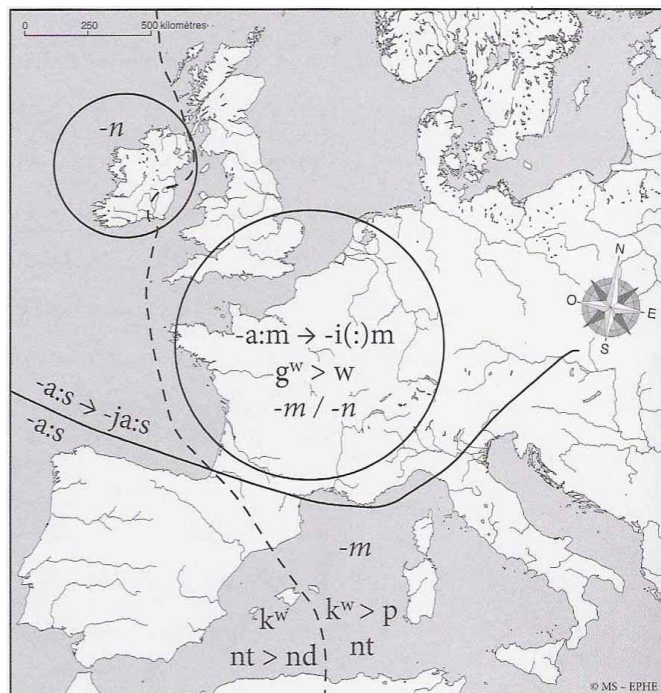
Calvert Watkin's model:

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).

But perhaps the truth is much more complex:

Ill. 3.4. and 3.5.: A possible complex stemma of the Celtic languages (above), and Celtic iso-glosses (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 philo-logiques. III. Hautes études du monde gréco-romain 39], Genève: Librairie Droz S.A. 2007, 309–354.

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 $*k^u$, inherited from PIE, developed to $*p$ (Lep., Gaul., Brit.) or remained $*k^u$ (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 an essential criterium for genetic, but only for phenotypic classification, since the development $*k^u > *p$ is typologically trivial and can easily have occurred in the different Celtic languages independently.

1. PIE $*-k^ue$ 'and':
    Lep. *-pe*, Celtib. *-kue*, Arch. OIr. *-ch* < $*-\chi^ue$; Gaul. *etic* < $*eti-k^ue$ and MCym. *nac* < $*ne-k^ue$, which at first glance appear to display a *q*-Celtic development of $*-k^ue$, instead continue a form in which final unstressed *-e* was apocopated early on; $*k^u$ which thus came to stand in absolute final position lost its labiality before the sound change $*k^u > *p$ occurred.

2. PIE $*k^ue\underline{t}uores$ '4' etc.:
    Gaul. *petuarios, paetrute* '4th', *petru*-, Cym. *pedwar*, OIr. *cethair*.

3. PC $*mak^uos$ 'son':
    Gaul. *mapon*, Cym. *mab*, Ogam. *MAQQI*, OIr. *macc*.

3.6. APPENDIX 1: PIE $*p > \emptyset$ IN CELTIC?

3.6.1. PIE $*p > $ PC $*k^u$ / #_…k^u
Gaul. *pinpe°*, OIr. *cóic*, Cym. *pymp* '5' < PC $*k^uenk^ue$ < PIE $*penk^ue$
MCym. *pobi*, MBret. *pibi*, Late Corn. *pobas* 'to bake' < PC $*k^uok^ue/o$- < PIE $*pek^ue/o$-
Celtib. *Querquetani* < PC $*k^uerk^uu$- < PIE $*perk^uu$- 'oak'

3.6.2. PIE $*p > $ PC $*\varphi$
partly preserved in Lepontic:
Lep. UVAMOKOZIS (Prestino) = /uφamo°/ < $*upm̥h_2o$- 'highest'
Lep. UVLTIAUIOPOS (Prestino), read: *UVLITAUIOPOS? = /φlitau̯i̯obos/ < $*pl̥th_2u̯ii̯o$-, from PIE $*pl̥th_2uih_2$- '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 $*spelgeh_2$
unclear: Gaul. °*spantium*

further development of PC $*\varphi$ within Common Celtic

a. PC $*\varphi > *\chi$ /_{*t, s*}
Gaul. *sextam°*, OIr. *secht*, Cym. *seith* '7' < PIE $*septm̥$
Gaul. *Uxello*-, OIr. *úasal*, Cym. *uchel* 'high' < PIE $*upselo$-

b. PC $*\varphi > *\beta$ /V_R
OIr. *ebraid* 'will grant' < PC $*\varphi i \varphi rāseti$ < PIE $*pipr̥h_3seti$
OIr. *eblaid* 'will drive' < PC $*\varphi i \varphi lāseti$ < * PIE $pipl̥Hseti$
Gaul. *gabro*-, OIr. *gabor*, Cym. *gafr* 'goat' < PIE $*g/kapro$-
OIr. *díabul* 'double' < PC $*du̯ei̯\varphi lo$- < PIE $*du̯ei̯plo$-

c. PC *φ > IC (?) u /{a, o}_n

OIr. *súan*, Cym. *hun* 'sleep' < *$sounos$ < *$suunos$ < *$su\varphi nos$ < PIE *$supnos$

OIr. *cúan* 'haven' < *$kaunos$ < *$ka\varphi nos$ < PIE *kh_2pnos 'enclosure'

d. PC *$r\varphi$ > rr ?

OIr. *serr*, Cym. *ser* 'sickle, scythe' < PIE *$serpeh_2$

OIr. *·tella* 'finds place' < PIE *$telp$- 'to create space'

e. PC *n > OIr. *m /_*φ

OIr. *amiress* 'unbelieving' < *$n̥$-$peristh_2o$-

otherwise:

f. PC *φ > *h > Ø

Heluetii < PIE *$pelh_1u$- 'many' (*Heluetii* is unlikely to contain a direct reflex of /h/: to Etruscans in the 3rd c. B.C., the word was *eluveitie* without *h*, so the *h* in Latin is probably rather a marker of exotic names)

Hercynia silua < PIE *$perk^uu$- 'oak'

Ogam vowel ᚆ 'hÚath' < *$pouto$- ?

OIr. *(h)iress* 'belief' < *$peristh_2eh_2$ (incorrect acc. to Peadar Ó Muircheartaigh: the *h* in *hiress* is suggested by holy names like *Hierosolymae*)

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

uncertain: OIr. sg. *teë* /t'e(h)ë/, pl. *teït* 'hot' /t'e(h)əd'/ < PIE *$tepent$-; but the spellings could also represent /t'ē/ and /t'ēd'/!

uncertain: 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 *$pr̥h_2i$ 'in front'?

OIr. *athir* 'father' < *$ph_2tēr$ never written with *h*- in Würzburg glosses (acc. to Schrijver, but wrong: *p* is not represented by *h* in OIr. at all)

3.6.3. unclear cases:

a. PC *φ/Celtib. *b/p* (?) > Ø /#_R

Bletisa(ma), later *Ledesma* < *$pleth_2ismh_2o$-? but: Gaul. *litano*-, OIr. *lethan*, Cym. *llydan* < PIE *$pl̥th_2no$-

b. Celtib. *p* ?

Complutum < *kom-$plouto$-, from PIE √$pleu$ 'to flow'?

Paramus ? (unlikely: rather a pre-Celtic, Western IE language)

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^u 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^uarios* 'cauldron', cp. Gaul. *Parisii*, OIr. *coire*, Cym. *peir*; i.e. *Quariates* = 'the people of the cauldron'?
2. <qu> = /ku/ for /kuu̯/ ? *Quariates* = /kuu̯ariates/ < *kom-u̯ar-i̯at-*, to OIr. *coïr* < *kom-u̯ari-*, Cym. *cyweir* < *kom-u̯ario-* 'correct, true'; abstr. OIr. *cóire*, Cym. *cyweir* < *kom-u̯ari̯ā* 'correctness, order, truth', cp. Cym. *cyweiriad* 'repairing' < °*i̯atom* ?
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. √*sei̯k^u* 'to pour out'?
2. √*sei̯k* 'to reach'? → *sei̯k-u̯anā*?
   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 they show the effects of the basic 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). Final *-s*, however, already starts to appear in early Middle Gaulish inscriptions, if not even in Early Gaulish forms like *matrebo*.

4.1. NOMINAL INFLECTION

Below follow three examples for Celtic declensional classes that are inherited from PIE (there are more classes, the three below are the most frequent). Because of the fragmentary character of Old Celtic, only parts of the paradigms are attested in the individual languages. But when 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 contested and rare at best. 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.	*u̯iros	tuθos, Σεγομαρος, Peroco	VIROS, lubos	Lep. esopnos	fer	amīcus
nom. sg. neutr.	*lindom	νεμητον, brictom, ollon, ollo	karalom	Lep. uinom	cenn[N]	templum
gen. sg. old	*u̯irosi̯o		aualo	Lep. χosioiso	—	—
gen. sg. new	*u̯irī	ateknati, nepi		Lep. aśkoneti, Og. MAQQI	fir[L]	amīcī
dat. sg.	*u̯irūi̯	Αδγεννουι, Magalu	ueizui	Lep. piuotialui	fiur[L]	amīcō
acc. sg.	*u̯irom	antom, papon, duorico	boustom		fer[N]	amīcum
voc. sg.	*u̯ire	gnate, Decibale	likine ?		fir[L]	amīce
abl. sg.	*u̯irūd	—	usamuz		—	amīcō(d)
instr. sg.	*u̯irū	risu nartiu ?	tamaniu ?		—	—
loc. sg.	*u̯irei̯	derce ?	kortonei, lutiakei		—	Corinthī
nom. pl. masc.	*u̯iroi̯	tanotaliknoi, ουενικοι, Aresequani	stoteroi		fir[L]	amīcī
nom. pl. neutr.	*lindā	linda			cenn[L]	templa
gen. pl.	*u̯irom, -ūm	teuoχtonion, neddamon	abulokum	Og. MAQA[n], MACORBO (?)	fer[N]	amīcōrum
dat. pl.	*u̯irobos	aganntobo	arekoratikubos	Lep. uvltiauiopos	feraib	amīcīs
acc. pl.	*u̯irūs	tuddus	matus ?		firu[H]	amīcōs
voc. pl.	*u̯iroi̯ ?				firu[H]	amīcī
abl. pl.	*u̯irobos ?	—	nouantubos (?)		—	amīcīs
instr. pl.	*u̯irobi(s)	mesamobi, gandobe, dinariIu ? boletu ?			—	—

2. ā-stems

	PC	Gaul.	Celtib.	other	OIr.	Lat.
nom. sg.	*toutā	geneta, -τοουτα	kortika	Lep. aśmina	túath[L]	amīca
gen. sg.	*toutās	toutas, Paullias	koitinas	Og. ERCIAS, ENIGENAS	túaithe	amīcae, familiās
dat. sg.	*toutāi ?	Εσκιγγαι, Βελεσα-μι, Brigindone	masnai	Lep. slaniai	túaith[L]	amīcae
acc. sg.	*toutam	lokan, lissiatim, beni	toutam	Lep. pruiam	túaith[N]	amīcam
voc. sg.	*touta	gnatha, geneta			túath[L]	amīca
abl. sg.	*toutād ?	—	arekorataz		—	amīcā(d)
instr. sg.	*toutā ?	brixtia	-a ?		—	—
loc. sg.	*toutai	Alixie ?	uertai ?		—	Romae
nom. pl.	*toutās	pannas			túatha[H]	amīcae
gen. pl.	*toutom	bnanom			túath[N]	amīcārum
dat. pl.	*toutābos	Γλανεικαβο			túathaib	amīcīs
acc. pl.	*toutā(n)s	artuaś, brictas	listas ?		túatha[H]	amīcās
voc. pl.	*toutās				túatha[H]	amīcae
abl. pl.	*toutābos ?	—			—	amīcīs
instr. pl.	*toutābi(s)?	banuabi, eiabi (used as datives)			—	—

3. consonant stems

	PC	Gaul.	Celtib.	other	OIr.	Lat.
nom. sg.	*rīgs > *rīχs	-rix, -ρειξ, matir, exsops, amman	segobis, melmu	Lep. seχeθu	rí[H]	rēx
gen. sg.	*rīgos	andernados, Ualentos	tirikantos, tuateros	Og. -DECCAS, -DECCA	ríg	rēgis
dat. sg.	*rīgei̯		taunei, tokoitei	Lep. sunalei	ríg[L]	rēgi
acc. sg.	*rīgam	materem	tirikantam		ríg[N]	rēgem
voc. sg.	*rīg	ater ?			rí[H]	rēx
abl. sg.	*rīged ?	—	sekobirikez		—	rēge(d)
instr. sg.	*rīgī ?		oilaunu ?		—	—
loc. sg.	*rīgi	-rici, -ρειγι (used as datives)		Lep. kuaśoni (dat.)	—	—
nom. pl.	*rīges		tuateres	Lep. [ ]ones	ríg	rēgēs
gen. pl.	*rīgom	ματρον			ríg[N]	rēgum
dat. pl.	*rīgbos		MATRVBOS	Lep. ariuonepos	-	rēgibus
acc. pl.	*rīga(n)s	-rigas		Lep. siteś	ríga[H]	rēgēs
voc. pl.	*rīges			Og. DRVVIDES	ríga[H]	rēgēs
abl. pl.	*rīgbos ?	atrebo, matrebo			—	rēgibus
instr. pl.	*rīgbi(s)	gobedbi			rígaib	—

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, uediíumí, íegumi, gniíou* (?), *cluíou* (?); ιμμι, *imi, petame* (?)

   3rd sg. *rinoti* (?), *adogarie, adgarie, cantigarie*; Celtib.: *kabizeti* (?), *kuati, uerzoniti, zizeti*

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

3. present subjunctive

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

4. future

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

   3rd sg. *bissiet*

   2nd pl. *bissiíete* (?)

   3rd pl. rel. *toncsiiontio*

5. optative

   3rd sg. *sit*

   3rd pl. pass. *ni tixsintor*

6. imperative

   2nd sg. *lubi, tiedi* (?), *gabi, luge, luxse, moni, orge, ateuane*

   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, κλιρνιτου (?), *logitoi, legasit, readdas, prinas, gabas, sioxti, tioinuoru/e, tośokote, toberte* (?), *prino* (?); Lep.: *tetu, karite, kalite* (?)

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

Literature:

KP   Stefan Schumacher, *Die keltischen Primärverben. Ein vergleichendes, etymologisches und morpholo-gisches 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.

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 syntactic markedness of the Old Celtic inflectional endings, the word order in Old Celtic sentences is comparatively free (unlike, for example, OIr. or MW with their underlying worder order VSO). Nevertheless, it appears that at least in Gaulish the basic, unmarked word order was SVO. This means a development away from the inherited Indo-European order SOV, which is retained in Celtiberian.

Examples for the free word order from Gaulish, exemplified by the frequent *ieru*-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]$_S$ [ieru]$_V$ [Ucuete]$_{Oind.}$ [sosin celicnon]$_{Odir.}$ …
   'Martialis, son of Dannotalos, dedicated to Ucuetis this *celicnon*…'

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

3. $O_{dir.}$ – S – V:
   [Ratin briuatiom]$_{Odir.}$ [Frontu Tarbetisonios]$_S$ [ieru]$_V$
   'The fort of the bridge-dwellers, Frontu, son of Tarbetisu, 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:
   S – $O_{ind.?}$ – $O_{dir.?}$
   [Bratulos]$_S$ [ieru]$_V$ [Rate]$_{Oind.? Odir.?}$ [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 identifiable as an individual person, unlike patronymics or gentilic names which speak about a person's relative position within a society and about his or her relationships to other members of 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 *$ek^{u}o$-* 'horse' + *māros* 'big, great', Gaul. *Cintugnata* 'first born' < CC *kıntu-* 'first' + *gnato-* 'born', *Ateurita* 'found again' < CC *ati* 're-, back' + *uŗīto-* 'found', Gaul. *Vercingetorix* 'great king of warriors' or 'king of great warriors' < CC *uer* 'super' + *kınget-* 'warrior' + *rīg-* 'king'. It may be assumed that compounded names of these types, sometimes of a heroic meaning, were originally 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 are 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 *suādu-* 'sweet', Celtib. *Katunos* 'battler (?)' < CC *katu-* 'battle, war', Gaul. *Iouincia* 'young one' < CC *ıouạ/enko-* 'young'. Very often, the suffixes involved have hypocoristic connotations (nicknames).
4. Short names ('kurznamen'):
    These 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 *bouḍi-* '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 *$ek^{u}os$* 'horse' or Celtib. *Lubbos* < CC *lub-* 'to love' (?).

5.2. MEANINGS OF NAMES

Names are not necessarily intended to carry a lexical 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.

The etymology of personal names will never reveal anything about the persons who bore those names. If an influential person in a society bore a particular name X, there was a reason for other members of that society to call their children also X 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 this meaning need not be based on the etymological meaning of the name. 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' + *nerto-* '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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