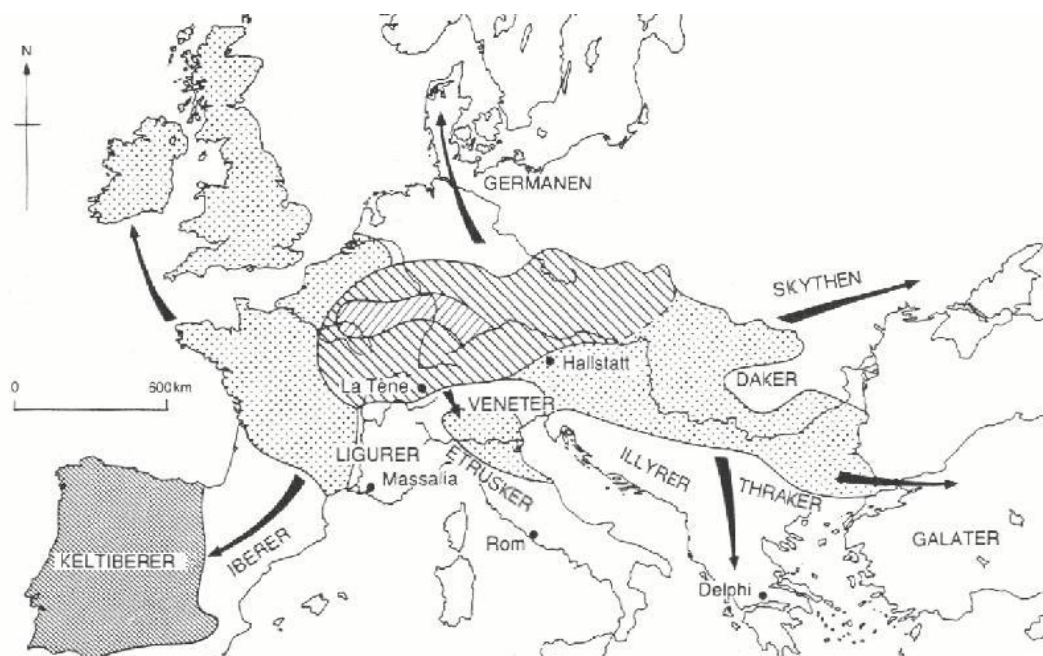


## IV. GAULISH

## 1. GENERAL INFORMATION

Gaulish is that Old Celtic language about which we are best informed – still it cannot be called a well-attested language. Gaulish in the strict sense is the Old Celtic language that was spoken in the area of modern France, ancient Gaul. An exception is Aquitaine (= South-West France) where a separate language called Aquitanian (sometimes also called ‘Sorothaptic’), an early relative of Basque, is attested. In a wider sense all those Old Celtic parts of the European Continent may be said to belong to the Gaulish language area which do not belong to the Celtiberian or Lepontic language areas. This takes in a far stretch of lands from Gaul across Central Europe (Switzerland, South Germany, Bohemia, Austria), partly across Pannonia and the Balkans until Asia Minor (Galatia). Old British is usually included as well, and for some scholars Lepontic is only an archaic dialect of Gaulish. The linguistic remains of these areas, mainly placenames and personal names, very rarely non-onomastic material, do not exhibit differences from Gaulish beyond the trivial (e.g. Galat. PN Δειόταρος/*Deiotarus* = Gaul. \**Dēuotarjos* ‘bull of heaven’; *u*, for which there was no letter in the classical Greek script, is either not written or has disappeared in front of *o*). Thus it seems appropriate to use the term ‘Gaulish’ in this broad sense. On the other hand, it should come as no surprise if new finds of texts outside of Gaul would reveal more decisive linguistic differences from Gaulish in the narrow sense, going beyond the mere ‘dialectal’. Perhaps one day we will have to speak of languages like Helvetian, Noric, Boic, Galatian etc. Even in Gaul itself the numerous linguistic testimonies do not form a coherent picture, but display peculiarities that may reflect dialectal divisions.

Gaulish probably has the longest period of attestation of all Old Celtic languages. The first documents start to appear in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC. The lower end can not be determined precisely; for this question, see chapter 2.1. below.



III. 1.1.: Celtic linguistic areas at the height of Celtic expansion (after: Miranda J. GREEN (ed.), *The Celtic World*, London and New York 1995, xxiv).



III. 1.2.: Gaul and its peoples (from: RIG II-2, 10).

## 2. THE PERIODS OF GAULISH

Gaulish texts are attested for more than half a millennium, maybe even three quarters of a millennium. To better describe the blatant chronological differences in these texts it is necessary to divide the language into periods. The epigraphic, phonological, morphological and social criteria applied here allow a division into three periods (Early Gaulish, Middle Gaulish and Late Gaulish). The middle period is one of transition. Since most Gaulish texts can be dated only very roughly, by necessity all chronological statements must remain vague. Pierre-Yves LAMBERT ('Gaulois tardif et latin vulgaire', ZCPH 49/50 (1997), 396–413) divides the language into two periods, Old Gaulish (*gaulois ancien*) and Late Gaulish (*gaulois tardif*). Despite the fragmentary attestation of Gaulish, enough material is known today to support the periodisation with sufficient examples, even though by necessity questions of dialectal subdivision or of absolute dates can only be tackled provisionally. Linguistic developments may have proceeded in different speeds at different places.

1. *Early Gaulish* covers the Gaulish inscriptions in the Greek and Lepontic alphabets, i.e. the Gallo-Greek and the Gallo-Etruscan texts, the earliest texts in the Roman alphabet, and Gaulish coinage. These texts have been edited mainly in RIG I, RIG II-1 and RIG IV. To this must be added material from the classical *Nebenüberlieferung* (transmission of Gaulish language material by Greek and Latin authors) in the pre-Christian period. In absolute dates this period runs from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C. and may have extended a little further into the first decades of the Christian era. This stage of the language is distinguished by archaisms in the vowel system and by fully fledged and intact inflectional endings. The main morphological archaisms are the gen. sg. of the *ā*-stems in *-as*, and the *ā*-stem acc. sg. in *-an* (*-am*). Occasionally, the loss of *-s* in word-final position can be observed, a feature that becomes much more prominent later. Sociolinguistically this periode is distinguished by the fact that Gaulish is the primary means of communication in Gaul, being used – as far as we can tell – in all communicative situations.
2. *Middle Gaulish* is the Gaulish language approximately from the beginning of the Christian era until the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. Both the upper and the lower ends are vague. Typical for the Middle Gaulish period is the almost exclusive use of the Roman alphabet, frequently in its cursive variant. That a consciousness for a national Gaulish script did exist at the time can be gleaned from the use of peculiar letters ( $\chi$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\theta$ ), inherited from earlier Gallo-Greek writing and used to represent sounds for which no letters existed in the Roman script. The language still resembles Early Gaulish to a large extent, only a few morphological changes have taken place. The gen. sg. of the *ā*-stems has become *-ias* instead of *-as*, the acc. sg. *-in* (*-im*) instead of *-an* (*-am*). The longish inscriptions from Chamalières and Larzac, the potters' graffiti from La Graufesenque, the calendars and numerous 'private texts' (legends on pottery, etc.) can be ascribed to this period. The lead-plate from Chartres (found 2011), which belongs to the earliest part of this period, shows considerable loss of final *-s* and perhaps (although very uncertain) of final *-n*. This indicates that the apparent retention of final nasals and sibilant in Chamalières and Larzac could be due to Latinate school influence. The texts have been edited mainly in RIG II-2 and RIG III. A sociolinguistic change has taken place. During the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. a process of urbanisation and Romanisation sets in, that slowly transforms Gaulish society and consequently the sociolinguistic situation. The primary language of administration and perhaps also of long-distance trade is now Latin. Gaulish is no longer used in all communicative situations, but is slowly receding to private and to rural environments. As with Middle Irish, Middle Gaulish displays no features that would make it tangible as such, but it is better conceived of a transition from one state (Early Gaulish) to another (Late Gaulish).
3. *Late Gaulish* refers to the final period of Gaulish until its death at an indetermined date around or after the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> mill. A.D. The most important phonological innovation observable in the inscriptions is the general loss of all final *s* and *n* (*m*), even though there are cases of the loss (or non-spelling) of *s* already earlier in Gaulish. Some evidence points to phonetic lenition word-internally. Texts from this period are rarer than from the preceding one. The most important documents are the tile from Châteaubleau (found 1997), the lead-plate from Rezé (found 2009) and, with some reservation, Endlicher's Glossary. The texts have been edited mainly in RIG II-2. Those documents that have come down to us do not give the impression of a language spoken by half-competent speakers, but of a language that is still undergoing its own developments, even though under strong influence from the Latin-Romance superstrate. Sociolinguistically we have to reckon with a further pull-back of the language from the urban centres into rural retreats, accompanied by a loss of social prestige of its speakers.

## 2.1. EXTERNAL TESTIMONIES FOR GAULISH IN LATE ANTIQUITY

The most important extra-linguistic pieces of evidence for the survival of Gaulish in the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> mill. A.D. are passing remarks by late-antique authors. Unfortunately, these testimonies are mostly ambiguous and vague.

1. Irenaeus of Lugdunum (2<sup>nd</sup> c.) says in his introduction to *Adversus Haereses* I, praef. 3: *Non autem exquires a nobis, qui apud Celtas commoramur et in barbarum sermonem plerumque uacamus, orationis artem [...]* (Οὐκ ἐπιζητήσεις δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν, τῶν ἐν Κελτοῖς διατριβόντων καὶ περὶ βάρβαρον διάλεκτον τὸ πλεῖστον ἀσχολουμένων, λόγων τέχνην [...]) 'Do not expect rhetorical art from us, who live with the Celts and usually conduct our businesses in the barbarian tongue (?), [...].'
2. Aulus Gellius (born between 110 and 130 A.D.) relates the following episode in his collection *Noces Atticae* (composed ca. 180):  
*ueluti Romae nobis praesentibus uetus celebratusque homo in causis, sed repentina et quasi tumultuaria doctrina praeditus, cum apud praefectum urbi uerba faceret et dicere uellet inopi quendam miseroque uictu uiuere et furfureum panem esitare uinumque eructum et feditum potare. "hic", inquit, "eques Romanus apludam edit et flocces bibit". aspexerunt omnes qui aderant alius alium, primo tristiores turbato et requirente uultu quidnam illud utriusque uerbi foret: post deinde, quasi nescio quid Tusce aut Gallice dixisset, uniuersi riserunt.*  
 'For instance in Rome in our presence, a man experienced and celebrated as a pleader, but furnished with a sudden and, as it were, hasty education, was speaking to the Prefect of the City, and wished to say that a certain man with a poor and wretched way of life ate bread from bran and drank bad and spoiled wine. "This Roman knight", he said, "eats *apluda* and drinks *flocces*." All who were present looked at each other, first seriously and with an inquiring expression, wondering what the two words meant; thereupon, as if he might have said something in, I don't know, Gaulish or Etruscan, all of them burst out laughing.' (after BLOM 2007: 183)  
 It is unclear whether this episode truly relates to Gellius' own time or is a literary anecdote from an earlier period.
3. The Greek satirist Lucian (ca. 120 – after 180) informs us in his pamphlet against the pseudo-prophet Alexandros (around 180) about the use of interpreters in Paphlagonia (northeast of Galatia): ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρους πολλάκις ἔρχησεν, εἴ τις τῇ πατρίῳ ἔροιτο φωνῇ, Συριστὶ ἢ Κελτιστὶ, ῥαδίως ἐξευρίσκων τινὰς ἐπιδημοῦντας ὁμοεθνεῖς τοῖς δεδωκόσιν. 'He gave oracles to barbarians many times, given that if someone asked a question in his native language, in Syrian or in Celtic, he easily found residents of the same people as the questioners' (after Eugenio Luján, 'The Galatian Place Names in Ptolemy', in: Javier de Hoz, Eugenio R. Luján, Patrick Sims-Williams (eds.), *New Approaches to Celtic Place-Names in Ptolemy's Geography*, Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas 2005, 263). Lucian writes about a current situation encountered by himself; the case for a living Celtic language in 2<sup>nd</sup>-century Galatia is quite good.
4. In the *Digesta* XXXII, 11 of Ulpian (222–228) it is decreed that *fideicommissa* (testamentary provisions) may also be composed in Gaulish: *Fideicommissa quocumque sermone relinqui possunt, non solum Latina uel Graeca, sed etiam Punica uel Gallicana uel alterius cuiuscumque gentis* 'Fideicommissa may be left in any language, not only in Latin or Greek, but also in Punic or Gallican or of whatever other people.'
5. The best known piece of evidence for Late Gaulish is found in St. Jerome's (331–420) commentary on St. Paul's letter to the Galatians, written in the year 386/7. In it he says that the language of the Treveri in the Belgica is similar to that of the Galatians: *Galatas excepto sermone Graeco, quo omnis oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eandem paene habere quam Treuiros* 'Apart from the Greek language, which is spoken throughout the entire East, the Galatians have their own language, almost the same as the Treveri' (*Commentarii in Epistulam ad Galatas* II, 3 = *Patrologia Latina* 26, 357). Even though St. Jerome spent some time both with the Treveri (370) and with the Galatians (373/4), this statement need not be based on his personal experience, but could reflect a literary commonplace taken from a now lost work of an author like Varro.

6. An episode of the *Historia Augusta* (dated around the turn of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. A.D.), ascribed to the historian Lampridius, tells about a druidess who prophesies to emperor Alexander Seuerus (222–235) in Gaulish: *mulier Druias eunti exclamauit Gallico sermone* (*Historia Augusta, Alexander Seuerus* LX, 6). The *Historia Augusta*, however, is a notoriously fictitious work of history, as are its alleged authors. The episode has not the slightest evidential value (see Andreas Hofeneder, ‘Die ‘Druidinnen’ der *Historia Augusta*’, *Keltische Forschungen* 3 (2008)).
7. In the *Dialogi de Vita Martini* I, 26 by Sulpicius Seuerus (363–425), one of the partners in the dialogue utters the rhetorical commonplace that his deficient Latin might insult the ears of his partners. One of them answers: *uel Celtice aut si mauis Gallice loquere dummodo Martinum loquaris* ‘speak Celtic or, if you prefer, Gaulish, as long as you speak about Martin’. The context, however, does not allow to decide if the Gaulish language, as we understand it, is meant, or perhaps a vulgar pronunciation of Latin in Gaul.
8. In his book on magical medicine *De Medicamentis*, Marcellus, usually called ‘of Burdigala’ (4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> c.) cites a few spells and charms that traditionally have been ascribed to Gaulish (edited in Wolfgang Meid, *Heilpflanzen und Heilsprüche. Zeugnisse gallischer Sprache bei Marcellus von Bordeaux* [= Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft. Vorträge und Kleinere Schriften 63], Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft 1996). But Marcellus makes nowhere the statement that those charms are Gaulish. Indeed, most of them rather conform to standard types of ‘magical language’ in the ancient world, that is, they are not taken from an actual language, but they vaguely resemble exotic words. BLOM (2007: 58–102) has argued convincingly that these spells have no evidential value for Gaulish. On the other hand, a few plant names transmitted by Marcellus probably are of Gaulish origin, but they need not be taken from the living language.
9. Sidonius Appollinaris of Lugdunum writes after 471 in a letter to his relative Ecdicius (*Epistulae* III, 3, 2): *sermonis Celtici squamam depositura nobilitas nunc oratorio stilo, nunc etiam Camenilibus modis imbuebatur* ‘the (Arvernian) nobility, wishing to cast off the scales of Celtic speech, will now be imbued (by him = Ecdicius) with oratorial style, even with tunes of the Muses’. This is a highly rhetorical, clichéed statement, which does not allow any inferences about the state of the language.
10. In the *Vita Sancti Symphoriani*, supposedly not older than the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> c., it is told that when the Christian martyr Symphorianus of Augustodunum (165–180) was being led to the execution stand, *uenerabilis mater sua de muro sedula et nota illum uoce Gallica monuit dicens: ‘nate, nate Synforiane, fmentobeto to diuof’* ‘his venerable mother admonished him from the wall eagerly and notable to all (?), saying in the Gaulish speech: “Son, son, Symphorianus, think of your God!”’ (Rudolf Thurneysen, ‘Irishes und Gallisches’, *ZCPH* 14 (1923), 10–11). The Gaulish sentence has been transmitted in a very corrupt state in the various manuscripts; as it stands, it has been reconstructed by Thurneysen. *\*mentobeto* looks like a Proto-Romance verb derived from Latin *mens*, *mentis* ‘mind’ and *habere* ‘to have’, and it cannot be excluded that the whole utterance is an early variant of Romance, or a mixture of Romance and Gaulish, instead of being an instance of pure Gaulish.
11. Cassiodorus (ca. 490–585 A.D.) cites in his book *Variae* VIII, 12, 7 (dated 526 A.D.) from a letter to king Athalaric: *Romanum denique eloquium non suis regionibus inuenisti et ibi te Tulliana lectio disertum reddidit, ubi quondam Gallica lingua resonauit* ‘Finally you found Roman eloquence in regions that were not originally its own; and there the reading of Cicero rendered you eloquent where once the Gaulish language resounded’ (after BLOM 2007: 188). Again, this is a purely rhetorical piece of prose without much value as evidence.
12. *Endlicher’s Glossary* is a short Gaulish-Latin vocabulary, preserved in a manuscript of the 9<sup>th</sup> c. (Öst. Nationalbibliothek, MS 89 fol. 189v). In my opinion, some of the words are taken from Gregory of Tours’ *Historia Francorum* (nr. 9 above) and must therefore logically be subsequent to that. Other words give an indication that the wordlist was compiled in Germanic environments in Gaul. But it is not certain if *Endlicher’s Glossary* reflects the state of a still living language or was compiled out of merely antiquarian interest in a dead language.



13. In the 6th century Cyril of Scythopolis tells a story about a Galatian monk who was possessed by an evil spirit and was unable to speak, but if forced to, could only speak in Galatian: εἰ δὲ πάνυ ἐβί-  
 ᾶζετο, Γαλατιστὶ ἐφθέγγετο. ‘If he was forced to, he spoke in Galatian’ (*Vita S. Euthymii* 55; after Eugenio Luján, ‘The Galatian Place Names in Ptolemy’, in: Javier de Hoz, Eugenio R. Luján, Patrick Sims-Williams (eds.), *New Approaches to Celtic Place-Names in Ptolemy’s Geography*, Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas 2005, 264). In view of the isolated and late reference, it may not be excluded that it refers to a particularly incomprehensible dialect or accent of Greek.
14. Numerous authors throughout the imperial period made references to the meanings of Gaulish words (see Blom 2007: 166–201), but usually no inferences on the contemporary state of the Gaulish language can be made. For example, in Gregory of Tours’ *Historia Francorum* I, 32 and Venantius Fortunatus’ *Carmina* I, 9, 9 f. – both Merovingian authors of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. – Gaulish words are mentioned and translated. This does not mean that the language was still living at the time. Knowledge of isolated words may have been independently transmitted in learned circles.

### 3. THE WRITING OF GAULISH

At least three different writing systems were used in the course of history to write Gaulish. The Gauls invading Northern Italy in the 4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cs. BC took over the local variant of the North Etruscan script from the Lepontians in order to write their own language, Cisalpine Gaulish (‘Gallo-Etruscan inscriptions’; see chap. II.8–10).

In Transalpine Gaul, the Greek alphabet was used from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (after the 2<sup>nd</sup> Punic War). The height of the production of ‘Gallo-Greek inscriptions’ was in the century after the Roman conquest of southern Gaul (Gallia Narbonensis), i.e. from 125–25 B.C. This orthographic tradition was largely limited to the delta of the Rhône, i.e. the *hinterland* of the Greek city-state Massalia, which served as the starting point for the slowly spreading alphabetisation of the Gauls. Maybe the Greek alphabet was used beyond this rather small area, although the archaeological support for this is weak.

There are a few literary accounts. Poseidonius (transmitted in Diodorus’ Βιβλιοθήκη V 28,6) arguably writes about the situation in the Provincia Narbonensis: διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ταφὰς τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἐνός ἐπιστολὰς γεγραμμένας τοῖς οἰκείοις τετελευτηκόσιν ἐμβάλλειν εἰς τὴν πυράν, ὥς τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἀναγνωσομένων ταύτας. ‘At the funerals of their deceased some therefore throw letters into the fire; they write them because they think that the deceased will read them.’ Caesar in the *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* talks about Gaulish tribes outside the Narbonensis, on the one hand concerning the Helvetii: *in castris Heluetiorum tabulae repertae sunt litteris Graecis confectae [...] quibus in tabulis nominatim ratio confecta erat, qui numerus domo exisset, qui arma ferre possent, et item separatim pueri, senes mulieresque* ‘in the camp of the Helvetii tablets in Greek script were found [...] on these tablets lists by names had been made as to how many had left their homes, who were capable of bearing arms, and separately boys, old men and women’ (BG I 29,1); on the other hand concerning the Gauls in general: *neque fas esse existimant eas litteris mandare, cum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis priuatisque rationibus, Graecis litteris utantur* ‘they [= the druids] consider it a sacrilege to give it [= their sacred knowledge] over to letters, while they use the Greek script for all other matters, public and private’ (BG VI 14,3). In Switzerland two short inscriptions in Greek letters were found, one of which apparently stems from the period of Roman provincial rule. In the *oppidum* of Manching, Bavaria, two short inscriptions in Greek letters from the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. (La Tène D) were found.

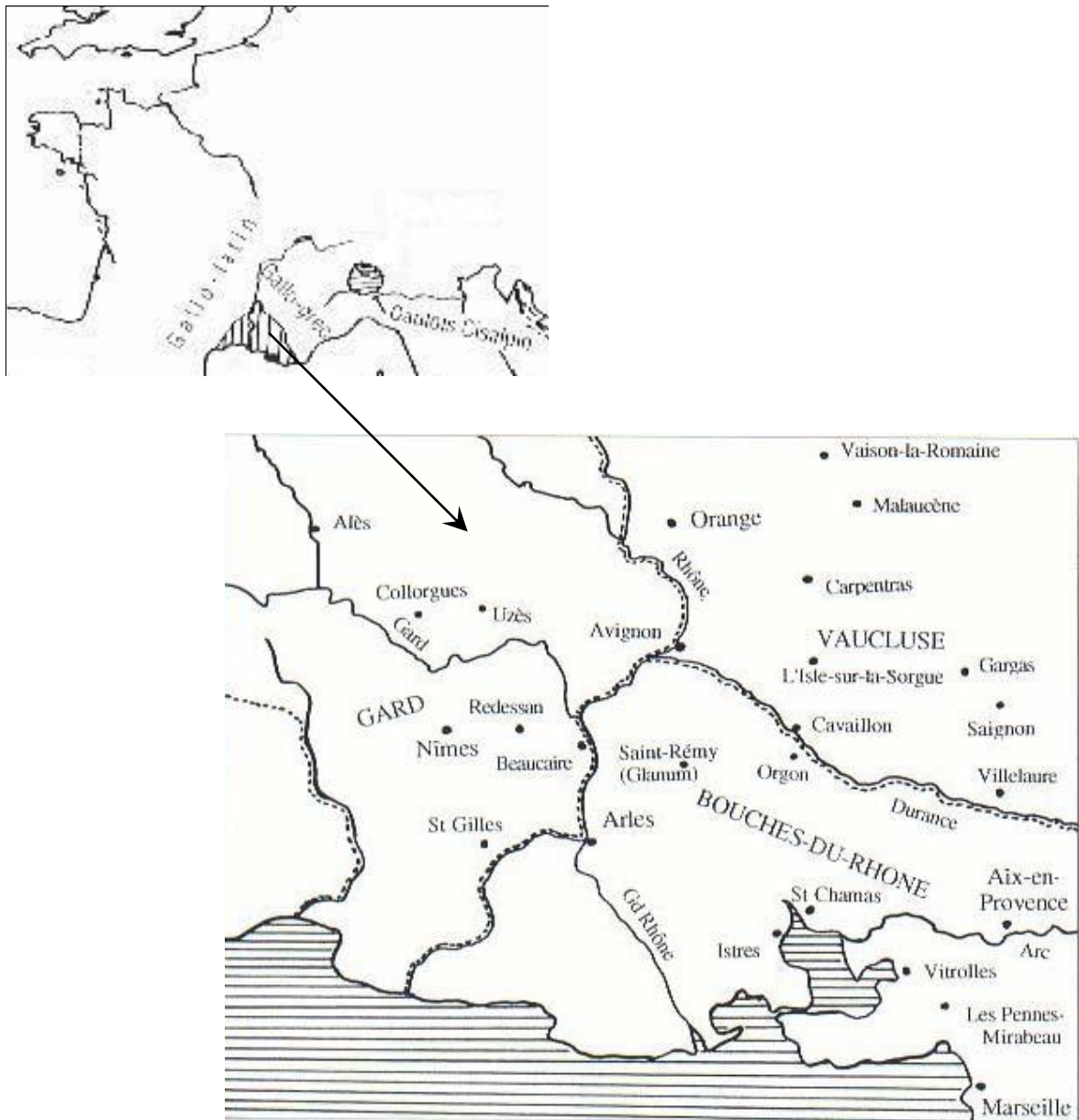
After the Roman conquest of Gaul the Roman alphabet seems to have replaced the Greek script rather soon. Only in isolated pockets like the *oppidum* of Alesia the Greek script remained in use for another century until the period of Nero. The Gauls retained two or three letters of the Greek alphabet in order to render specifically Gaulish sounds for which no letters existed in the Latin script (‘Gallo-Latin inscriptions’).

#### 3.1. GAULISH IN ETRUSCAN SCRIPT

See the chapter about Cisalpine Gaulish II.8–10.

## 3.2. GAULISH IN GREEK SCRIPT

1. On stone inscriptions, only capital letters ('majuscules') were used. For the purpose of transcription, today mainly lower-case letters ('minuscules') are being used. Because of the relatively small number of texts, some of the orthographic conventions are not totally clear.
2. In Galatian names in the Greek script, ει apparently can stand for *ei* or *ē* (e.g. Δειόταρος = \**dēuotaruos* or *dejuotaruos*), υ for \**ũ* (e.g. δρυνέμετον < \**drũ-*).



III. 3.1.: The places where Gallo-Greek inscriptions were found (from: LAMBERT 2003:

Greek	name	stands for Gaul.	notes	also Lat.
<b>A α</b>	<i>alpha</i>	a, ā		
<b>B β</b>	<i>beta</i>	b		
<b>Γ γ</b>	<i>gamma</i>	g	= <i>n</i> before γ and κ	
<b>Δ δ</b>	<i>delta</i>	d		
<b>E ε</b>	<i>epsilon</i>	e, ē		
<b>Z ζ</b>	<i>zeta</i>	–	not used	
<b>H η</b>	<i>eta</i>	e, (ē ?)		
<b>Θ θ</b>	<i>theta</i>	<i>tau gallicum</i>	usually double θθ	✓
<b>I ι</b>	<i>iota</i>	i, ī, ĭ		
<b>K κ</b>	<i>kappa</i>	k		
<b>Λ λ</b>	<i>lambda</i>	l		
<b>M μ</b>	<i>my</i>	m		
<b>N ν</b>	<i>ny</i>	n	also before γ and κ!	
<b>Ξ ξ</b>	<i>xi</i>	χ <sup>s</sup>		
<b>O ο</b>	<i>omikron</i>	o		
<b>Π π</b>	<i>pi</i>	p		
<b>P ρ</b>	<i>rho</i>	r		
<b>Σ σ ζ</b>	<i>sigma</i>	s		
<b>T τ</b>	<i>tau</i>	t		
<b>Υ υ</b>	<i>ypsilon</i>	–	only together with o	
<b>Φ φ</b>	<i>phi</i>	–	not used	
<b>X χ</b>	<i>chi</i>	χ		✓
<b>Ψ ψ</b>	<i>psi</i>	–	not used	
<b>Ω ω</b>	<i>omega</i>	o, (ō, ou ?)	usually in the form ω	
<b>ΑΥ αυ</b>	–	au		
<b>ΕΙ ει</b>	–	ī, (i)	also eĭ ?	
<b>ΟΥ ΟΥ</b>	–	u, ū, ũ	οου = ou, #ουρ/λ = ũr/l	
<b>ΩΥ ωυ</b>	–	ou ?		
<b>Αθ</b>	–	<i>tau gallicum</i>	only in Lat. texts?	✓

Ill. 3.2.: The Greek alphabet used for Gaulish.



## 3.3. GAULISH IN LATIN SCRIPT

Inscriptions in the Roman alphabet can be found on the entire territory of ancient Gaul and beyond its borders. Monumental stone inscriptions from Gaul in the imperial period use Roman capital letters, which are identical to our modern scripts. Differences from our modern usage are the use of an over-long *I* (*I longa*) (for *i*?) and the occasional use of two parallel *hastae* *II* for *E*.

Most Gaulish texts on other materials are written in the Roman cursive script, a shorthand variant of the Roman alphabet employed for everyday purposes. The reduced shapes of its letters, often taking on a very linear appearance, is due to the material written upon (lead, pottery, wax, etc.). The Roman cursive script is very difficult to read. Not infrequently this has consequences for the interpretation of Gaulish texts. The tables following below will provide a survey of the formal variation of cursive letters. The examples are taken from an extensive body of Gaulish texts, but note that some of the best known lead tablets have not been taken into account (Chamalières, Rom). Note also:

1. the typical cursive letters for *e* and *f*, consisting of two strokes; two-stroked *e* is sometimes even used in inscriptions in capital script.
2. long *i* (*i longa*) (for *i*?) beside *i* with normal height.
3. *x* as a sign for Lat. *x* to represent /ks/ and Vulgar Latin /s/, and as the Greek letter *chi* to represent /χ/.
4. barred Gr. *delta* and *theta* as signs for *tau Gallicum*.
5. for *tau Gallicum*, barred double *ss* is also used (e.g. Châteaubateau), this is missing in the tables.

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	i	l	m	n	o	p	r	s	t	u	x, χ	δ	θ
M.1	λ	β	ϸ	δ	u	ϣ	Ϸ	ι	l	μ	ν	α	ρ	λ	ς	τ	υ	χ	δ	θ
M.4	λ	β	ϸ	δ	u	ϣ	Ϸ	ι	l	μ	ν	α	ρ	λ	ς	τ	υ	χ		
M.14	λ	β	ϸ	δ	u	ϣ	Ϸ	ι	l	μ	ν	α	ρ	λ	ς	τ	υ	χ	δ	θ
M.23	λ	β	ϸ	δ	u		Ϸ	ι	l	μ	ν	α	ρ	λ	ς	τ	υ	χ	δ	θ
M.30	λ	β	ϸ	δ	u		Ϸ	ι	l	μ	ν	α	ρ	λ	ς	τ	υ	χ	δ	θ
M.32	λ	β	ϸ	δ	u		Ϸ	ι	l	μ	ν	α	ρ	λ	ς	τ	υ	χ	δ	θ
M.34	λ	β	ϸ	δ	u		Ϸ	ι	l	μ	ν	α	ρ	λ	ς	τ	υ	χ	δ	θ
M.46	λ	β	ϸ	δ	u		Ϸ	ι	l	μ	ν	α	ρ	λ	ς	τ	υ	χ	δ	θ
M.47	λ	β	ϸ	δ	u		Ϸ	ι	l	μ	ν	α	ρ	λ	ς	τ	υ	χ	δ	θ
M.49	λ	β	ϸ	δ	u		Ϸ	ι	l	μ	ν	α	ρ	λ	ς	τ	υ	χ	δ	θ
M.66	λ	β	ϸ	δ	u		Ϸ	ι	l	μ	ν	α	ρ	λ	ς	τ	υ	χ	δ	θ
M.74	λ	β	ϸ	δ	u		Ϸ	ι	l	μ	ν	α	ρ	λ	ς	τ	υ	χ	δ	θ
M.76	λ	β	ϸ	δ	u		Ϸ	ι	l	μ	ν	α	ρ	λ	ς	τ	υ	χ	δ	θ
M.85	λ	β	ϸ	δ	u		Ϸ	ι	l	μ	ν	α	ρ	λ	ς	τ	υ	χ	δ	θ
M.88	λ	β	ϸ	δ	u		Ϸ	ι	l	μ	ν	α	ρ	λ	ς	τ	υ	χ	δ	θ
M.89	λ	β	ϸ	δ	u		Ϸ	ι	l	μ	ν	α	ρ	λ	ς	τ	υ	χ	δ	θ
M.94	λ	β	ϸ	δ	u		Ϸ	ι	l	μ	ν	α	ρ	λ	ς	τ	υ	χ	δ	θ

Ill. 3.3.: Latin cursive script on pottery from La Graufesenque (from: RIG II-2, 370).

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	i	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	x
23.5a	λ		⸱			⸢		⸣	⸤	⸥		⸦			⸧	⸨	⸩	⸪	
27	λ		⸱	⸬	⸭		⸮	ⸯ	⸰	⸱	⸲	⸳			⸴	⸵	⸶	⸷	⸸
30a	λ		⸱	⸬	⸭			⸮		⸱	⸲	⸳		⸴	⸵	⸶	⸷	⸸	
30b	λ		⸱	⸬						⸱	⸲	⸳			⸴	⸵	⸶	⸷	
30d	λ	⸬	⸱	⸬	⸭			⸮	ⸯ	⸰	⸱	⸲	⸳		⸴	⸵	⸶	⸷	
30e	λ	⸬	⸱	⸬	⸭	⸮	ⸯ	⸰	⸱	⸲	⸳	⸴	⸵	⸶	⸷		⸸	⸹	
30f	λ	⸬	⸱	⸬		⸮		ⸯ	⸰	⸱	⸲	⸳	⸴	⸵	⸶	⸷	⸸	⸹	⸺
30g	⸢	⸬	⸱	⸬	⸭		⸮	ⸯ	⸰	⸱	⸲	⸳	⸴	⸵	⸶	⸷	⸸	⸹	⸺
30i	⸢	⸬	⸱	⸬	⸭			⸮	ⸯ	⸰	⸱	⸲	⸳		⸴	⸵	⸶	⸷	
30j	⸢	⸬	⸱	⸬	⸭		⸮	ⸯ	⸰	⸱	⸲	⸳	⸴	⸵	⸶	⸷	⸸	⸹	
30k	⸢		⸱	⸬			⸮	ⸯ				⸲			⸴	⸵			⸺
30l		⸬	⸱					ⸯ				⸲			⸴			⸸	
30mno	⸢			⸬	⸭			⸮	ⸯ	⸰			⸴			⸵			
30p	⸢	⸬	⸱	⸬				⸮	ⸯ	⸰	⸱	⸲	⸳		⸴	⸵	⸶	⸷	⸺
30q	⸢	⸬	⸱	⸬	⸭			⸮	ⸯ	⸰					⸴	⸵	⸶	⸷	⸺
31	⸢	⸬	⸱	⸬	⸭		⸮	ⸯ	⸰	⸱	⸲	⸳	⸴	⸵	⸶	⸷	⸸	⸹	⸺
33-34	⸢	⸬	⸱	⸬	⸭	⸮	ⸯ	⸰	⸱	⸲	⸳	⸴	⸵	⸶	⸷	⸸	⸹	⸺	⸻
35.1	⸢	⸬	⸱	⸬	⸭			⸮	ⸯ	⸰	⸱	⸲			⸴	⸵	⸶	⸷	
35.2	⸢		⸱					⸮	ⸯ						⸴			⸸	
35.3	⸢		⸱				⸮	ⸯ		⸰	⸱	⸲	⸳		⸴	⸵			
35.4	⸢		⸱	⸬				⸮			⸰	⸱	⸲	⸳	⸴			⸸	
35.5	⸢	⸬	⸱					⸮		⸰	⸱	⸲	⸳	⸴					
35.6	⸢	⸬	⸱					⸮		⸰	⸱	⸲	⸳		⸴				
35.7	⸢		⸱	⸬	⸭			⸮		⸰	⸱	⸲	⸳		⸴				

III. 3.4.: Latin cursive script (from: RIG II-2, 376).

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	i	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	x
36	ʀ	ʁ			ʌ			ʌ	ʁ		ʁ					ʃ	ʀ	ʌ	
37	ʀ	ʁ	ʃ		ʌ			ʌ	ʃ		ʀ	ʌ			ʀ	ʃ		ʌ	
38		ʃ	ʃ		ʌ			ʌ	ʃ		ʀ	ʌ				ʃ		ʌ	
39	ʀ	ʁ	ʃ	ʃ						ʀ	ʀ						ʀ	ʌ	
41	ʀ		ʃ		ʌ			ʌ	ʃ	ʀ	ʀ		ʃ		ʀ	ʃ	ʀ		
42	ʀ			ʃ			ʃ	ʌ	ʃ										
43	ʀ							ʌ				ʃ	ʃ			ʃ	ʀ	ʃ	
44	ʀ		ʃ		ʌ	ʃ		ʌ	ʃ		ʀ	ʃ	ʃ		ʀ	ʃ	ʀ	ʃ	
45	ʀ		ʃ					ʌ				ʃ			ʀ	ʃ			
46					ʌ			ʌ					ʃ		ʀ		ʀ		
47.1	ʀ			ʃ	ʌ		ʃ <sup>h?</sup>			ʀ	ʀ	ʃ			ʀ				ʃ
47.3	ʀ			ʃ								ʃ			ʀ		ʀ		ʃ
49	ʀ			ʃ	ʌ			ʌ		ʀ	ʀ	ʃ			ʀ	ʃ	ʀ	ʌ	
50	ʀ			ʃ	ʌ		ʃ	ʌ	ʃ	ʀ	ʀ	ʃ						ʌ	
51	ʀ	ʁ	ʃ	ʃ	ʌ			ʌ	ʃ		ʀ	ʃ			ʀ		ʀ	ʌ	
52	ʀ	ʁ	ʃ		ʌ			ʌ	ʃ		ʀ	ʃ			ʀ	ʃ	ʀ	ʌ	
53	ʀ	ʁ	ʃ	ʃ <sup>?</sup>	ʌ			ʌ	ʃ	ʀ		ʃ			ʀ	ʃ	ʀ	ʌ	
54	ʀ	ʁ	ʃ	ʃ				ʌ		ʀ		ʃ	ʃ		ʀ			ʌ	
55	ʀ	ʁ	ʃ		ʌ		ʃ	ʌ	ʃ		ʀ	ʃ			ʀ	ʃ	ʀ	ʌ	
56	ʀ		ʃ	ʃ				ʌ		ʀ	ʀ								
57	ʀ		ʃ	ʃ	ʌ			ʌ		ʀ	ʀ	ʃ			ʀ	ʃ	ʀ		
58	ʀ		ʃ	ʃ	ʌ			ʌ		ʀ		ʃ					ʀ		ʃ
59	ʀ		ʃ		ʌ					ʀ					ʀ		ʀ	ʌ	
60	ʀ		ʃ		ʌ			ʌ		ʀ					ʀ		ʀ	ʌ	

Ill. 3.5.: Latin cursive script (from: RIG II-2, 377).

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	i	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	x
61	ʃ							)				ɑ					τ		
62	ʃ	ɑ	ʃ	ɑ				)				ɑ							
65	ʃ		ʃ	ɑ	u		ɑ	l	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ɑ	u		ʃ	ʃ		u	
66	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ɑ	u		ɑ	l	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ɑ	u	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	u	x
67	ʃ		ʃ		u		ɑ	l	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ɑ	u		ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	u	
68	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ		u		ɑ	l	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ɑ	u		ʃ	ʃ			
69	ʃ	ʃ		ɑ	u		ɑ	l	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ɑ	u		ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	u	x
70	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ		u	ʃ		l	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ɑ	u		ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	u	
71	ʃ		ʃ		u			l	ʃ		ʃ				ʃ	ʃ			
72	ʃ		ʃ					l	ʃ		ʃ	u			ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	u	
73	ʃ			ɑ				l	ʃ		ʃ	u	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	u	x
76	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ		u		ɑ	l	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ɑ	u	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	u	x
82e	ʃ			ɑ	ʃ			l			ʃ				ʃ		ʃ	u	
85	ʃ		ʃ	ɑ				l		ʃ		ɑ			ʃ		ʃ	u	
86	ʃ		ʃ	ɑ			ɑ	l	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ɑ	u	ʃ				u	
88	ʃ		ʃ				ɑ	l	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ɑ	u		ʃ		ʃ	u	
90	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ɑ	u		ɑ	l	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ɑ	u		ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	u	x
92	ʃ		ʃ		u	ʃ	ɑ	l	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ɑ	u		ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	u	
93	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ɑ	u		ɑ	l	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ɑ	u	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	u	x
101	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ɑ	u		ɑ	l	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ɑ	u		ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	u	x
135	ʃ		ʃ	ɑ			ɑ	l	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ɑ	u		ʃ	ʃ			
136				ɑ	u			l			ʃ	ɑ	u	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ			
138c	ʃ		ʃ					l	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ɑ	u	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	u	

Ill. 3.6.: Latin cursive script (from: RIG II-2, 378).





III. 3.7.: Sites of Gallo-Latin inscriptions (from: RIG II-2, 11).

## 4. A THORNY PROBLEM OF GAULISH PHONOLOGY

The phonological system of Gaulish, possibly also of Lepontic, contains a specific sound that is traditionally called *tau Gallicum* after a passage in Vergil's *Catalepton* 2, 4:

*Corinthiorum amator iste uerborum,  
iste iste rhetor, namque quatenus totus  
Thucydides, tyrannus Atticae febris:  
tau Gallicum, min et sphin ut male illisit,  
ita omnia ista uerba miscuit fratri.*

That lover of Corinthian words,  
that... that rhetor! Even though being a complete  
Thucydides, he is a tyrant of the Attic fever:  
how he badly belched (?) the *tau Gallicum*, the *min* and *sphin*,  
thus he mixed all those words for his brother.

It is uncertain if the sound *tau Gallicum* that Vergil mentions is the same sound as the one for which the term is used today. Today it denotes a phoneme of only roughly known value that is represented by a great number of different spellings in Gaulish and possibly also Lepontic inscriptions:

Roman: **t, tt, th, tth, d, dd, d̄, dd̄, ts, ds, s, ss, ss̄, sc, sd, st**

Greek: **θ, θθ, σ, σσ, σθ, τ, ττ**

Lepontic script: **san, zeta, sigma**

e.g.: *meddu-*, *messu-*, *μισσου-*, *medi-*, *μεθθι-*, *μεθι-*, *medsi-*, *medi-* < PIE *\*medtu/i-*

Wherever etymological speculations are possible, this phoneme, if it is one, goes back to earlier *\*Ds*, *\*st* and *\*Dt* (*D* = any dental obstruent). Etymologically, it clearly corresponds to Insular Celtic *s* < *\*ss* in word-initial and -internal position (against *\*s* that first became *\*h*, then *Ø* in Insular Celtic word-internally); e.g.:

PIE *\*nezd-tamo-* (?) 'next': Gaul. *neddamon*, OIr. *nessam*, Cym. *nessaf*

PIE *\*med-tu-* 'judgement': Gaul. *meddu-* etc., OIr. *mess*

PIE *\*melit-to-* 'sweet': Gaul. *meliddu-* etc., OIr. *milis*, Cym. *melys*

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ster-* 'star': Gaul. *Ḑirona* (?), OIr. *ser*, Cym. *syr*

PIE *\*tud-to-* 'pushed': Gaul. *tuθθus* 'loads'

PIE *\*g<sup>h</sup>osti-* 'guest, stranger': Lep. *uvamokozis*, *χosioisio* (?)

Pre-Celt. *\*is-to-* 'this': Lep. *iśos*

Sometimes *tau Gallicum* can also stand for strong, intensified (?) *s*:

PIE *\*meh<sub>1</sub>ns* 'month', Gaul. *miā*, OIr. *mís-*

also in acc. pl. Lep. *siTeś*, Cisalpine Gaul. *artuaś*?

and perhaps also for analogically re-introduced, strongly pronounced word-internal *s*, in opposition to regularly weakened (lenited?) intervocalic *s*:

Pre-Celt. *\*buisiē<sup>o</sup>* 'to want to become', Gaul. *bissiet* 'will be', *bissiete* 'you will be' (?)

No conclusive evidence for a comparable sound exists for Celtiberian. Inherited *\*st* is retained in Celtiberian, e.g. *stena*, *boustom*. Other combinations of dental sounds and *s* may already have been simplified to mere *s(s)*. The many orthographic variants in Gaulish suggest that this sound had no direct equivalent in Latin and Greek, and that it featured a dental (because of the frequent spellings with *d*, *t*, ...) and a fricative component (because of *s*, *θ*, ...). The frequent double spellings and etymo-



logical considerations furthermore suggest gemination, i.e. prolonged pronunciation. Many phonetic suggestions for this sound have been proposed (see ESKA 1998: 116), but according to the *communis opinio* it probably was a geminate affricate [tʰ]. On the basis of a few forms where *tau Gallicum* in Gaulish cannot be derived from dental clusters or from \*st, i.e.:

*eddic* ‘and’ (cp. *etic* < \*eti-kʰe, unless it is \*esti-kʰe)  
*gnatha* ‘girl’ (cp. *nata* < \*gñh₁to- ‘born’)  
*madeuro* (cognate with Lat. *maturus*?)  
 [C]athuboduae (to Gaul. *catu-* ‘battle, war’)  
*bued* ‘may be’ (cp. *buet*=*id*, *deuorbuet*=*id*)

but where the sign perhaps represents lenited *t*, ESKA assumes that *tau Gallicum* may have stood for the so-called slit-*t*, a sound peculiar, for example, to Southern Hiberno-English.

#### Literature:

ESKA 1998 Joseph F. ESKA, ‘*Tau Gallicum*’, *StudCelt* 32 (1998), 115–127.

### 5. BASIC LITERATURE ABOUT GAULISH

Since Gaulish is by far the best researched Old Celtic language, the number of publications devoted to it is enormous compared to Lepontic and Celtiberian. This is especially true for specialised studies. Therefore I will restrict myself to the most important handbooks and introductions.

#### 5.1. editions, grammars and dictionaries:

- |               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|---------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| RIG I         | Michel Lejeune, <i>Recueil des inscriptions gauloises (R.I.G.)</i> sous la direction de Paul-Marie Duval. <i>Volume I. Textes gallo-grecs</i> , Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1985.                                                                                                          |
| RIG II-1      | Michel Lejeune, <i>Recueil des inscriptions gauloises (R.I.G.)</i> sous la direction de Paul-Marie Duval. <i>Volume II-1. Textes gallo-étrusques. Textes gallo-latins sur pierre</i> , Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1988.                                                                   |
| RIG II-2      | Pierre-Yves Lambert, <i>Recueil des inscriptions gauloises (R.I.G.)</i> . <i>Volume II-2. Textes gallo-latins sur instrumentum</i> , Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 2002.                                                                                                                     |
| RIG III       | Paul-Marie Duval et Georges Pinault, <i>Recueil des inscriptions gauloises (R.I.G.)</i> sous la direction de Paul-Marie Duval. <i>Volume III. Les calendriers</i> , Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1986.                                                                                      |
| RIG IV        | Jean-Baptiste Colbert de Beaulieu et Brigitte Fischer, <i>Recueil des inscriptions gauloises (R.I.G.)</i> sous la direction de Paul-Marie Duval. <i>Volume IV. Les légendes monétaires</i> , Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1998.                                                             |
| LG            | Pierre-Yves Lambert, <i>La langue gauloise. Description linguistique, commentaire d'inscriptions choisies</i> , Paris: Editions Errance 1994.<br><br>Pierre-Yves Lambert, <i>La langue gauloise. Description linguistique, commentaire d'inscriptions choisies</i> . Édition revue et augmentée, Paris: Editions Errance 2003. |
| MARICHAL 1988 | Robert Marichal, <i>Les graffites de La Graufesenque</i> , Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1988.                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| DLG           | Xavier Delamarre, <i>Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise. Une approche linguistique du vieux-celtique continental</i> . Préface de Pierre-Yves Lambert. 2 <sup>e</sup> édition revue et augmentée, Paris: Editions Errance 2003.                                                                                                |
| GPN           | D. Ellis Evans, <i>Gaulish Personal Names. A Study of some Continental Celtic Formations</i> , Oxford: Oxford University Press 1967.                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| BILLY 1993    | Pierre-Henry Billy, <i>Thesaurus Linguae Gallicae</i> [= Alpha – Omega: Reihe A, Lexika · Indizes · Konkordanzen zur klassischen Philologie 144], Hildesheim – Zürich – New York: Olms-Weidmann 1993.                                                                                                                          |
| BILLY 1995    | Pierre-Henry Billy, <i>Atlas Linguae Gallicae</i> [= Alpha – Omega: Reihe A, Lexika · Indizes · Konkordanzen zur klassischen Philologie 161], Hildesheim – Zürich – New York: Olms-Weidmann 1995.                                                                                                                              |

- DAG Joshua Whatmough, *The Dialects of Ancient Gaul*. 5 vols., microfilm, Ann Arbor – Michigan 1949–51.
- DEGAVRE 1998 Jean Degavre, *Lexique gaulois. Recueil de mots attestés, transmis ou restitués et de leurs interprétations*. 2 vols. [= *Memoires de la Société belge d'études celtiques* 9 & 10], Bruxelles: Société belge d'études celtiques 1998.

*further important descriptions and collections:*

- BLOM 2007 Alderik Blom, *Lingua Gallica: Studies in the Languages of Late Antique Gaul*, PhD-dissertation, University of Cambridge 2007.
- MEID 1998 Wolfgang Meid, 'Altkeltische Sprachen I', *Kratylos* 43 (1998), 6–31.
- MEID 1999 Wolfgang Meid, 'Altkeltische Sprachen II', *Kratylos* 44 (1999), 1–11.
- MEID 2002 Wolfgang Meid, 'Altkeltische Sprachen (Nachträge)', *Kratylos* 47 (2002), 23–25.
- MEID 1980 Wolfgang Meid, *Gallisch oder Lateinisch? Soziolinguistische und andere Bemerkungen zu populären gallo-lateinischen Inschriften* [= *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft. Vorträge und Kleinere Schriften* 24], Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft 1980.
- MEID 1989 Wolfgang Meid, *Zur Lesung und Deutung gallischer Inschriften* [= *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft. Vorträge und Kleinere Schriften* 40], Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft 1989.
- MEID 1992 Wolfgang Meid, *Gaulish Inscriptions. Their interpretation in the light of archaeological evidence and their value as a source of linguistic and sociological information* [= *Archaeolingua. Series Minor* 1], Budapest: Archaeolingua 1992.
- ESKA & EVANS 2009 Joseph F. Eska and D. Ellis Evans, 'Continental Celtic', in: *The Celtic Languages*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Edited by Martin J. Ball and Nicole Müller, London – New York: Routledge 2009, 35–43.
- KGP Karl Horst Schmidt, 'Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen', *ZCP* 26 (1957), 33–301.
- STÜBER 2005 Karin Stüber, 'II. Keltische Frauennamen aus Gallien', in: *Schmied und Frau. Studien zur gallischen Epigraphik und Onomastik* [= *Archaeolingua. Series Minor* 19], Budapest: Archaeolingua 2005, 47–124.
- 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: éditions errance 2007.
- CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften; in particular: 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/~claus/>].
- VON WARTBURG 1928–88 Walther von Wartburg *et al.*, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 24 Bde., Basel: Zbinden 1928–88.

*older works:*

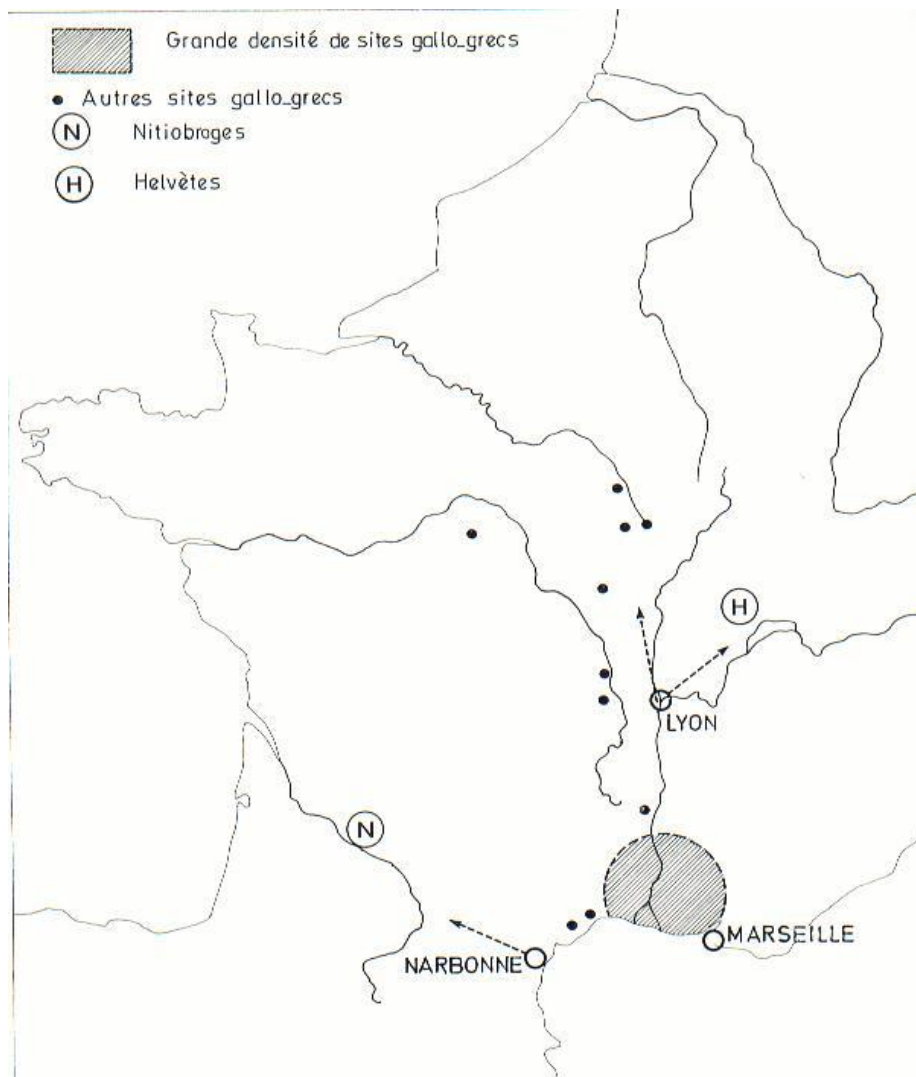
- DOTTIN 1918 Georges Dottin, *La langue gauloise. Grammaire, textes et glossaire*, Paris: Klincksieck 1918 [repr.: Genf: Slatkine 1980].
- RHÛS 1906 Sir John Rhys, 'The Celtic inscriptions of France and Italy', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 2 (1906) [repr. in: *Celtic Inscriptions*, Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag 1977].
- RHÛS 1911 Sir John Rhys, 'The Celtic inscriptions of Gaul', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 5 (1911) [repr. in: *Celtic Inscriptions*, Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag 1977].
- RHÛS 1913 Sir John Rhys, 'The Celtic inscriptions of Cisalpine Gaul', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 6 (1913) [repr. in: *Celtic Inscriptions*, Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag 1977].

## 6. GAULISH TEXTS

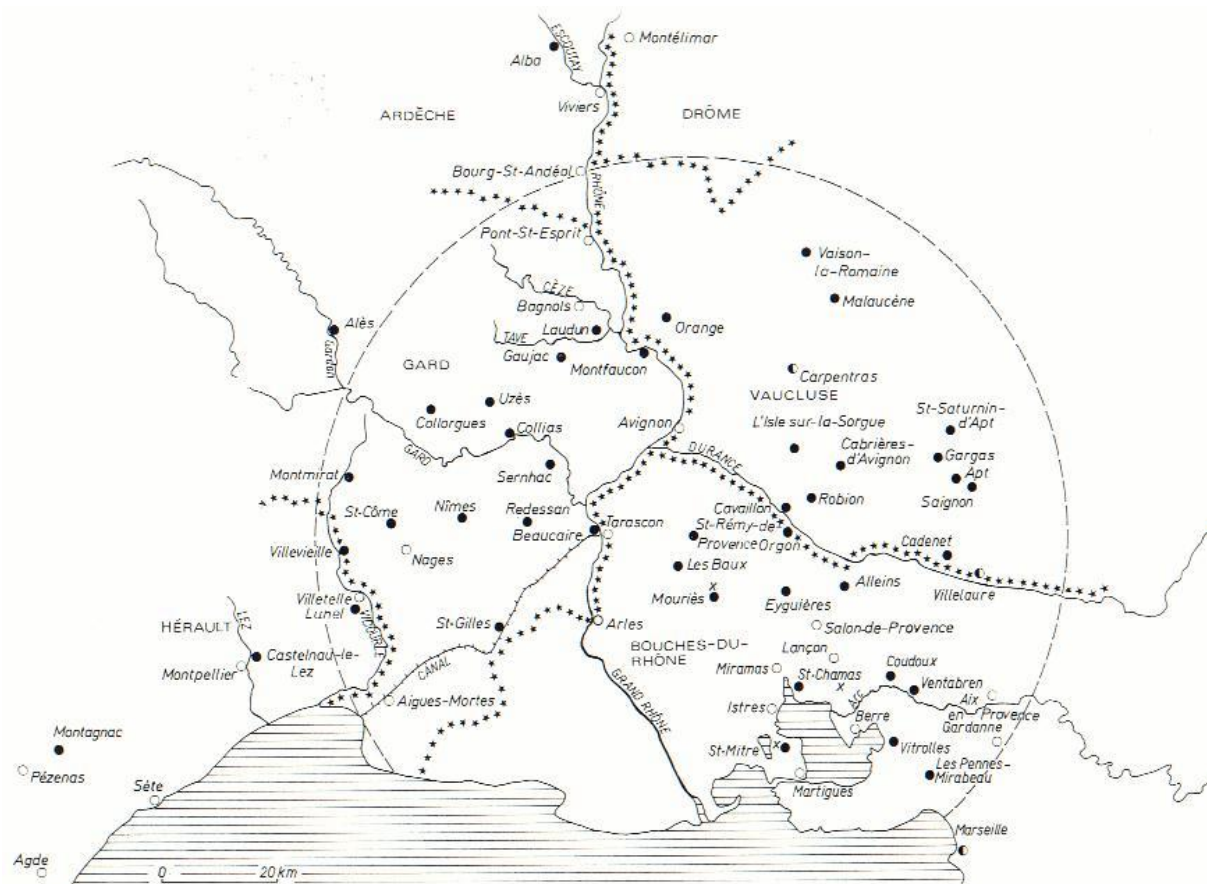
The material discussed here represents a collection of the more interesting texts. Short fragments and severely damaged pieces will be ignored.

### 6.1. GALLO-GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

For the greatest part, the Gallo-Greek inscriptions come from a small area at the mouth of the river Rhône, in the North-Western *hinterland* of the Greek city-state Massalia. Gallo-Greek inscriptions usually do not extend beyond half a dozen words. At the moment about 300 texts are known, most of them fragmentary, consisting of only a few letters. Gallo-Greek inscriptions are mostly written in *scriptura continua*; in the transcription, however, I will insert spaces at the probable word boundaries.



Ill. 6.1.: The area of distribution of Gallo-Greek inscriptions (from: RIG I, 2).



III. 6.2.: The central area of distribution of Gallo-Greek inscriptions (from: RIG I, 16).

## 6.1.1. GRAVE INSCRIPTIONS (STELES)

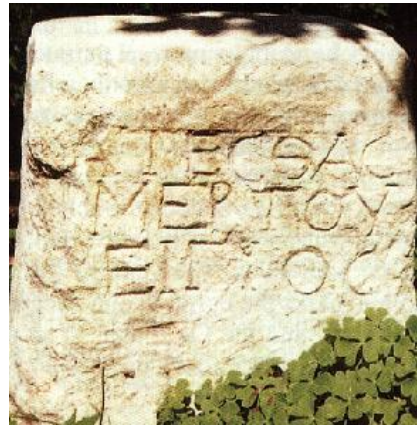
## 6.1.1.1. G-1 (Alleins, Bouches-du-Rhône):

κογγενν  
ολιτανο  
ς καρθιλιτα  
νιος

## 6.1.1.2. G-3 (Coudoux, Bouches-du-Rhône):

[α]τεσθας  
[σ]μερτου  
[ρ]ειγιος

Ill. 6.3.: G-3 (from MEID 1992: 11).



## 6.1.1.3. G-4 (Coudoux, Bouches-du-Rhône):

σεκειος  
δουγιλιος

6.1.1.4. G-68 (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence,  
Bouches-du-Rhône)  
(together with G-69):

ουριττα  
κος ηλο  
υσκονι  
ος

Ill. 6.4.: G-68 (from LAMBERT 2003: 85).

6.1.1.5. G-69 (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence,  
Bouches-du-Rhône)  
(together with G-68):

βιμμος  
λιτουμ  
αρεος

Ill. 6.5.: G-69 (from LAMBERT 2003: 85).



## 6.1.1.6. G-70 (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, Bouches-du-Rhône):

εινο[υ]  
 τιορειξ  
 εσκιγγορ  
 [ι]ουι

## 6.1.1.7. G-71 (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, Bouches-du-Rhône):

μεδουρειξ  
 λι[του]μαρεος

## 6.1.1.8. G-106 (Ventabren, Bouches-du-Rhône):

ουενιτοουντα  
 κουαδρουνια

## 6.1.1.9. G-107 (Ventabren, Bouches-du-Rhône):

εκκαιος	ουιμ[πι]
εσκινγο	λλα · α
μαριος	διατους
σια	

## 6.1.1.10. G-118 (Cavaillon, Vaucluse):

καβρος ουι  
 νδιακος

## 6.1.1.11. G-119 (Cavaillon, Vaucluse):

μισσο  
 υκος  
 σιλου  
 κνος

## 6.1.1.12. G-120 (Cavaillon, Vaucluse):

βαλαυδο  
 υι μακκαριο  
 υι

## 6.1.1.13. G-121 (Cavaillon, Vaucluse):

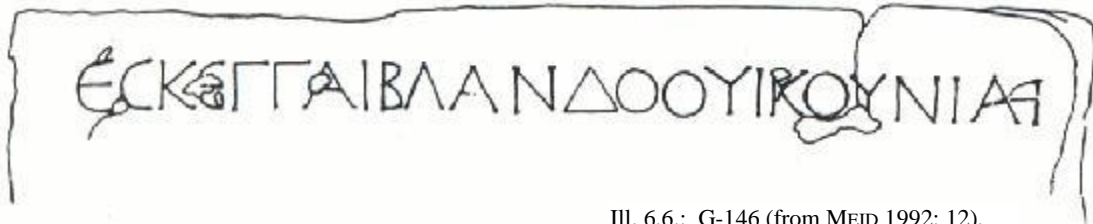
ελουισσα  
 μαγουρει  
 γι αουα



## 6.1.1.14. G-122 (Cavaillon, Vaucluse):

ατες · ατ  
[ε]μαγου  
τι · οννα  
[κ]ουι

## 6.1.1.15. G-146 (Gargas, Vaucluse): εσκεγγαι βλανδοουικουνιαι



Ill. 6.6.: G-146 (from MEID 1992: 12).

## 6.1.1.16. G-147 (L'Isle-sur-la-Sorgue, Vaucluse):

αδγεννοριγ[ι]  
ουερετο μαρε[ο]υι

## 6.1.1.17. G-152 (Saint-Saturnin-d'Apt, Vaucluse):

ουαλικκ  
ονερεστ[ι]  
αιουνιαι[ι]

## 6.1.1.18. G-163 (Beaucaire, Gard):

a: ιεμουριοιτελλ  
b: [...]ειατεγλουουσι  
c: ουι τουτουνια  
d: ια[...]ιανττεουτο

## 6.1.1.19. G- 207 (Nîmes, Gard):

εскиγγο  
ρειξ κο  
νδιλλε  
ος

Ill. 6.7.: G-205 (from MEID 1992: 10).



## 6.1.1.20. G-224 (Montagnac, Hérault):

αλλετ[ει]νος καρνονου αλ[ι]σο[ντ]εας

## 6.1.2. DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS, ESP. INSCRIPTIONS WITH THE FORMULA ΒΡΑΤΟΥ ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΜ/N

6.1.2.1. G-27 (Orgon,  
Bouches-du-Rhône):

ουηβρουμαρος  
δεδε ταρανοου  
βρατου δεκαντεμ

III. 6.8.: G-27 (from MEID 1992: 24).



## 6.1.2.2. G-28 (Saint-Chamas, Bouches-du-Rhône):

]πορειξ ιουγιλιακος δεδε βελεινο ↑ βρατου

6.1.2.3. G-64 (Glanum = Saint-Rémy-en-Provence,  
Bouche-du-Rhône):

ματρε  
βο γλα  
νεικα  
βο βρα  
του δε  
καντεμ



III. 6.9.: G-64 (from MEID 1992: 26).

## 6.1.2.4. G-65 (Glanum = Saint-Rémy-en-Provence, Bouche-du-Rhône):

[κ]ορνηλια ρο  
[κ]λοισιαβο  
βρατου δεκαντ[

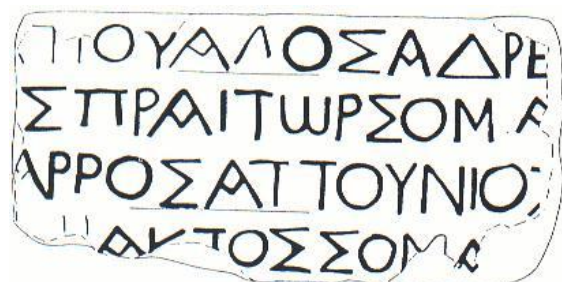
III. 6.10.: G-65 (from LAMBERT 2003: 89).



## 6.1.2.5. G-108 (Vitrolles, Bouches-du-Rhône):

]τιουαλος αδρε[  
]ς πραιτωρ σομα[  
]αρρος αττουνιο[  
] ακτος σομα[

III. 6.11.: G-108 (from LAMBERT 2003: 90).

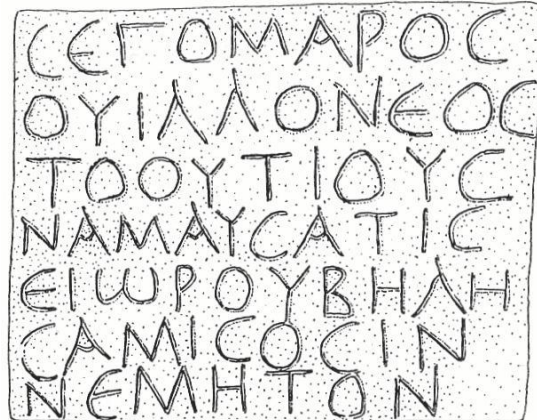


## 6.1.2.6. G-151 (Robion-Saignon, Vaucluse):

]δβο[ τ]οο[  
 ]ουει ματικαν [  
 ]λιουει καρνιτου[

## 6.1.2.7. G-153 (Vaison-la-Romaine, Vaucluse):

σεγομαρος  
 ουιλλονεος  
 τοουτιους  
 ναμαυσαις  
 ειωρου βηλη  
 σαμι σοσιν  
 νεμητον



III. 6.12.: G-153 (from MEID 1992: 29).

## 6.1.2.8. G-154 (Villelaure, Vaucluse):

ουατιουνουι σο νεμε  
 τος κομμου εσκεγγιλου

## 6.1.2.9. G-183 (Collias, Gard):

εκλιο  
 ς ρ·ου  
 μαν[ι]  
 ος αν  
 δοου[ν]  
 ναβο δ(ε)  
 δ(ε) βρατο  
 [ν] δεκαν  
 [τ]εν

## 6.1.2.10. G-203 (Nîmes, Gard):

]αρταρ[ος ι]λλανουιακος δεδε  
 ματρεβο ναμανσικαβο βρατου δε

## 6.1.2.11. G-206 (Nîmes, Gard):

κασσι – ταλος  
 ουερσι – κνος δ  
 εδε βρ – ατου δ  
 εκαντ – εν αλα  
 ?εινο – υι

## 6.1.2.12. G-528 (Nîmes, Gard):

[v]ερτο[ – ]βοιου  
 [κν]ος ν[ – ]μαρος  
 ανδουσ[ιατις – ]μαδερα  
 [.]ειωραι [ – ]ικνιαι  
 [...]ε[...]ο[ – ]ικασσι[...]

## 6.1.3. BESITZ-, HERSTELLER- UND SONSTIGE INSCRIPTIONEN

## 6.1.3.1. G-13 (Les Pennes-Mirabeau, Bouches-du-Rhône):

εσκεγγολατι ανια<τει>ος ιμμι

Ill. 6.13.: G-13 (from LAMBERT 2003: 91).



## 6.1.3.2. G-257 (Alise-Sainte-Reine, Centre-Est):

σαμ[ο]ταλο[ς] αυουωτ [   
 σεσ[.]λαμα[.] :γαρμα[   
 βιρακοτωυτι[.]αννο[   
 κοβριτουλω[...]]β:ατ[   
 δω[

## 6.1.3.3. G-271 (Saint-Germain-Source-Seine, Centre-Est):

δαγολιτους · αυουω[τ]

## 6.1.3.4. G-275 (Mailly-le-Camp, Aube), torques:

νιτιοβρογεις

## 6.1.3.5. G-279 (Vallauris, Alpes-Maritimes), becher:

ουενικοι μεδου

## 6.1.3.6. G-280 (Port, Kn. Bern), schwert:

κορισιος

## 6.1.3.7. G-556 (Cavaillon, Vaucluse):

[ι]οουιγκορειξ

[ου]ελτουοσ

ηλιος

λερε

τ

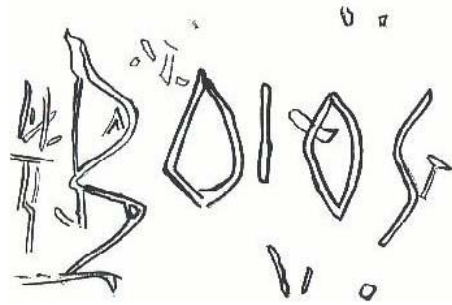
]εκτου[

]οσσον[

6.1.3.8. *oppidum* of Manching, fragment of a bottle:

βοιος

Ill. 6.14.: Inscription from Manching  
(drawing after the photograph in Werner  
Krämer, 'Graffiti auf Spätlatènekeramik aus  
Manching', *Germania* 60 (1982), 494).



## 6.1.3.9. L-106 (Bern, Thormebodenwald):

ΔΟΒΝΟΡΗΔΟ

ΓΟΒΑΝΟ

ΒΡΕΝΟΔΩΡ

ΝΑΝΤΑΡΩΡ

Ill. 6.15.: L-106 (handout STÜBER 2003).

