

### III. CELTIBERIAN

Celtiberian is the modern name for a q-Celtic language spoken by the ancient people of the Celtiberians in the centre of the Iberian Peninsula, occupying the area between the headwaters of the Duero, Tajo, Júcar and Turia rivers and the Ebro river. The language is directly attested in appr. two hundred inscriptions dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C., mainly in the Celtiberian variant of the northeastern Iberian script, but also in the Latin alphabet. The language is sometimes also known as Hispano-Celtic. That name is not quite appropriate and is better reserved as a cover-term for all different variants of Celtic on the Iberian Peninsula.

#### 1. HISTORICAL SKETCH

1<sup>st</sup> half 1<sup>st</sup> mill. B.C.?: invasion of q-Celtic peoples into the Iberian peninsula; the pre-existing population contained at least the non-Indo-European Iberians (east and south-east) and Proto-Basks (north-east); the relationship between these two linguistic groups is unclear. The west was inhabited by IE peoples, the Lusitanians, speaking a separate IE language, among them. The linguistic position of Tartessian in the south-west, whose language somehow looks IE, is unclear, but despite recent attempts to prove it, it is unlikely to be Celtic. Furthermore Phoenician and Greek colonists had established themselves in the country

218–202: Iberian Celts are drawn into the 2<sup>nd</sup> Punic War; by the end of the war, the entire peninsula is in Roman hands who divide it into two provinces.

182–179: 1<sup>st</sup> war in Celtiberia, pacification of Celtiberia by T. Sempronius Gracchus.

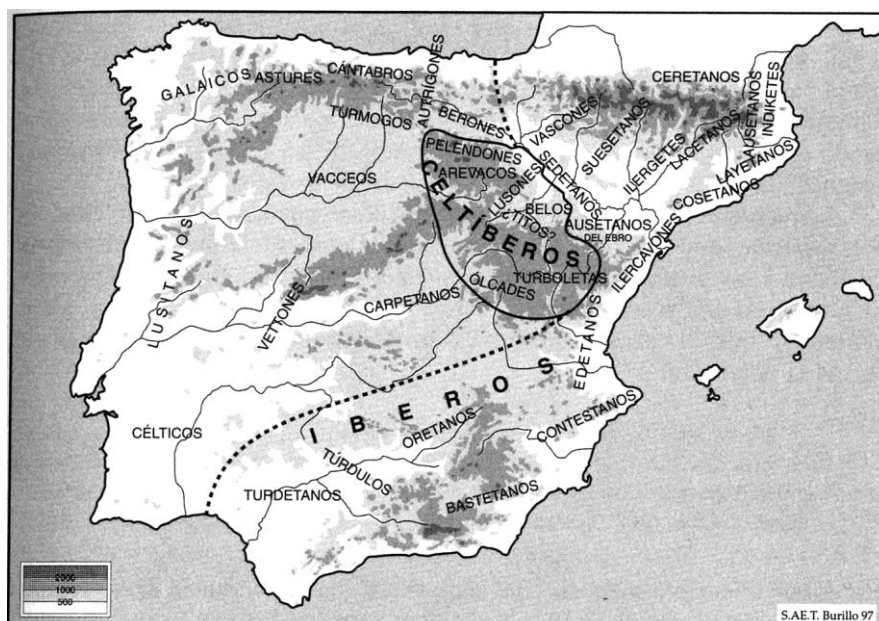
betw. 179–150: earliest coinage with Celtib. legends (*sekaiza, arakorata*).

154–133: Numantian War; the Aruaci, most affected by the war, take over the Iberian script.

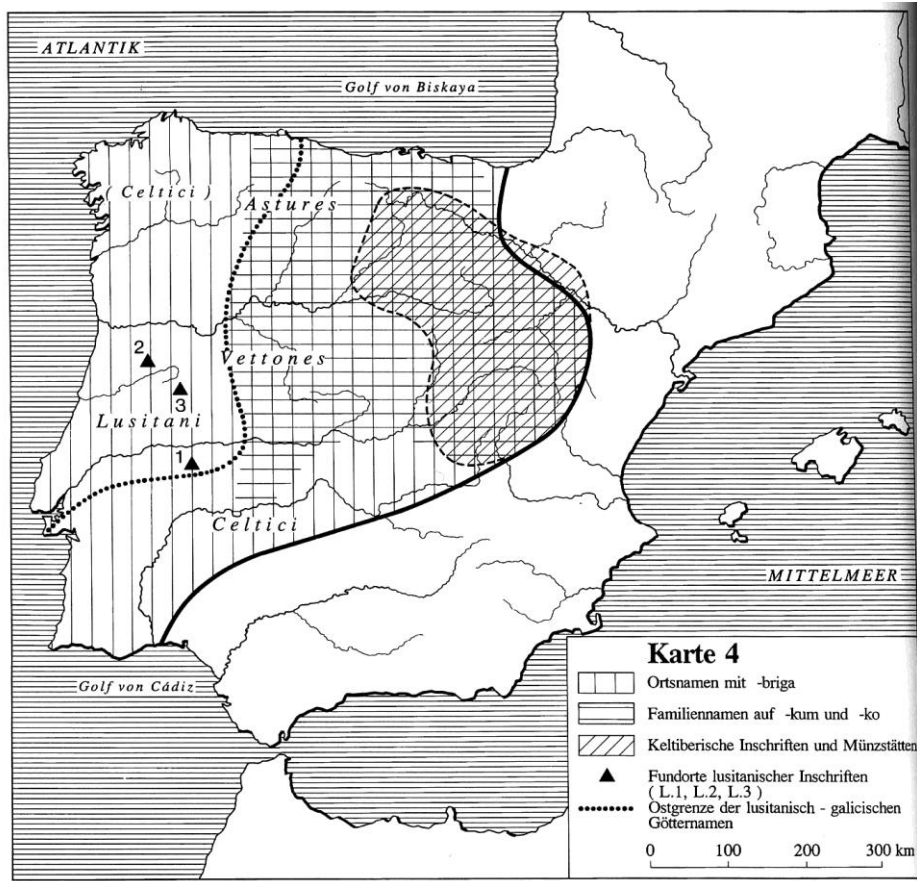
133–ca. 70: Probable period of production of the ‘important’ inscriptions: “The Celtiberian inscriptions and coins belong in the context of culturally romanized urban centres in the Celtiberian area” (MLH IV, 370); pre-Roman types of inscriptions (painted vessels) are negligibly rare.

79–72: Sertorian War; Contrebia Belaisca destroyed among other towns; the death of Sertorius is usually taken to mark the end of the autonomy of the Celtiberian towns.

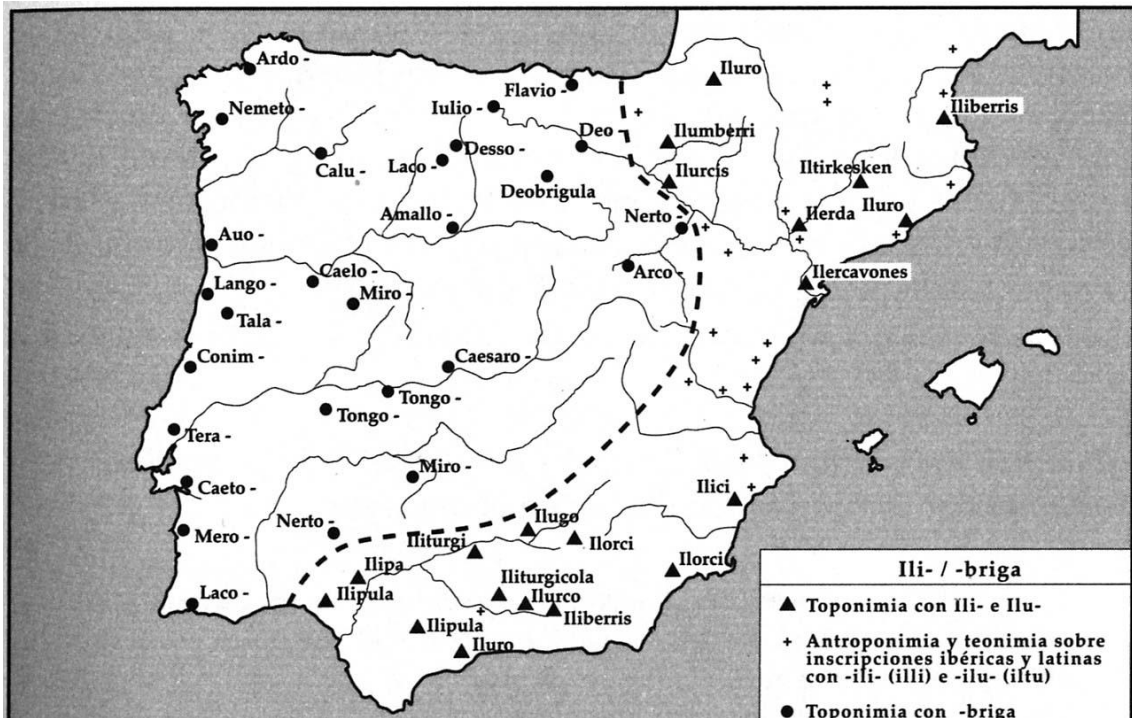
Augustan period: *pax Romana* apparently leads to quick Romanisation.



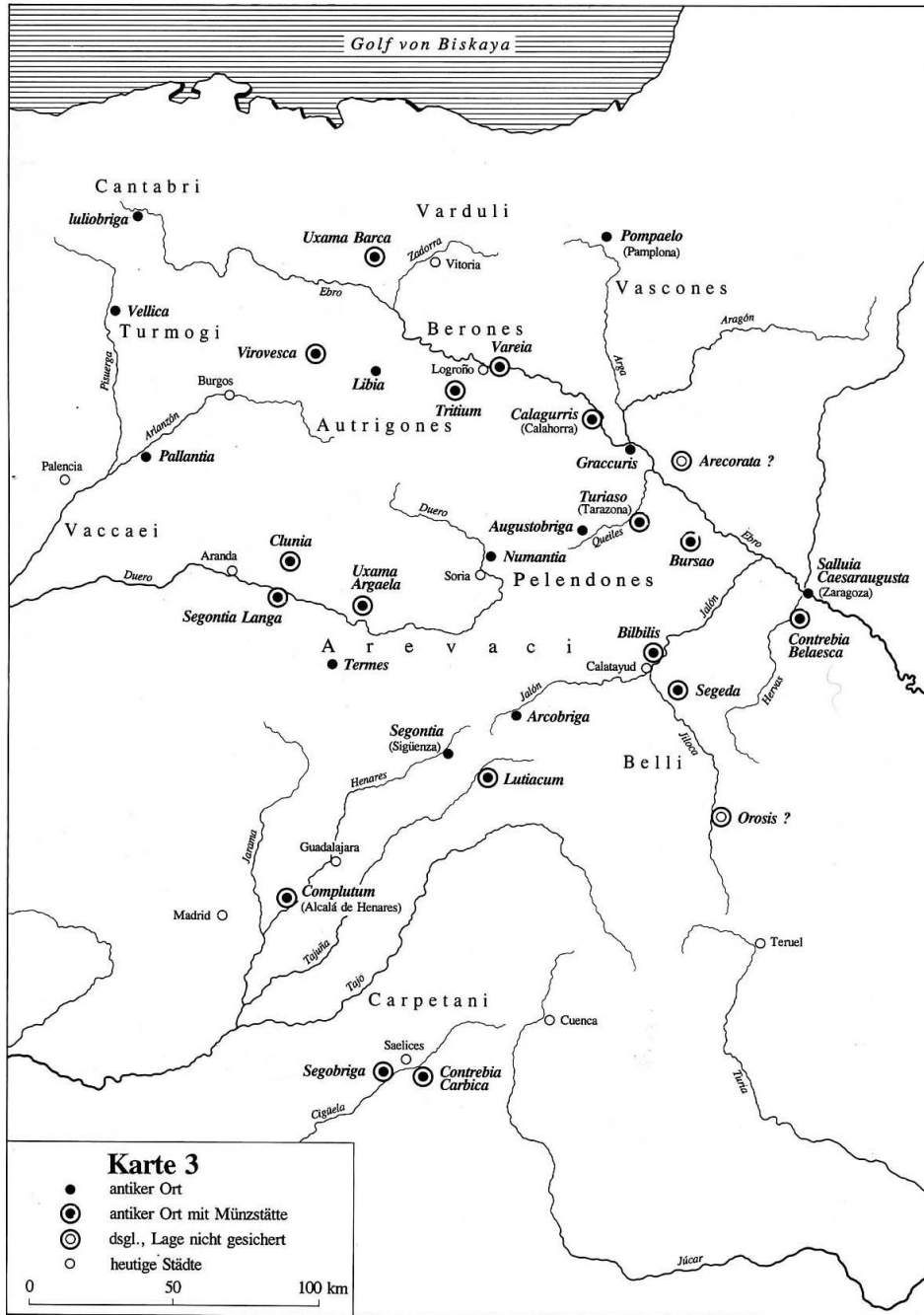
III. 1.1.: The peoples of the Iberian peninsula in Antiquity (from: BURILLO MOZOTA 1998: 17).



Ill. 1.2.: Celtic Hispania and Celtiberia (from: MLH IV, 436).



Ill. 1.3.: Placenames containing *ili-* (Iberian) and *-briga* (Celtic) (from: BURILLO MOZOTA 1998: 23).



Ill. 1.4.: Political map of Celtberia and the surrounding area (from MLH IV, 435).

## 2. HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON CELTIBERIAN

- 1893: publication of Emil Hübner's *Monumenta Linguae Ibericae*, who assumes a single, Proto-Basque language for the whole of the Iberian peninsula
- 1910: Juan Cabré discovers the rock inscriptions of Peñalba de Villastar
- 1920s: the decipherment of the Iberian script by Manuel Gómez-Moreno leads to the realisation that several different languages were written in the Iberian script, among them a q-Celtic language in the area of the Celtiberians
- after 1945: the newly discovered Celtiberian language is slowly made known internationally, mainly by the efforts of Antonio Tovar
- 1949: first reliable edition of the rock inscriptions of Peñalba de Villastar
- 1955: publication of Michel Lejeune's *Celtiberica* (mainly coins and some *tesserae*; of the long texts, only the bronze of Luzaga (K.6.1), the *tessera* Froehner (K.0.2) and the large rock inscription of Peñalba de Villastar (K.3.3) are known at the time)
- 1970: discovery of Botorrita I (K.1.1)
- 1974: first *Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas prerromanas de la Peninsula Ibérica*
- 1981: discovery of the *tessera* of Uxama (K.23.2)
- 1982: completed cleaning and definitive edition of Botorrita I
- 1985: discovery of the bronze of Cortonum (K.0.7)
- 1989–93: detailed analyses of Botorrita I by Joe Eska, Heiner Eichner and Wolfgang Meid
- 1993: discovery of the so-called 'bronze *res*' (K.0.14)
- 1993–5: 'new interpretation' of Celtiberian grammar by Francisco Villar, mainly concerning the value of the signs  $\zeta$  and  $\mathfrak{M}$ .
- 1996: discovery of Botorrita III (K.1.3)
- 1997: publication of MLH IV by Jürgen Untermann
- 1999: discovery of the inscription of Torrijo del Campo
- 2001: discovery of Botorrita IV, appearance of the lead plate from Iniesta

see also: MLH IV, 358–361

## 2. LITERATURE ABOUT CELTIBERIAN

## 2.1. Handbooks and editions:

- JORDÁN CÓLERA 2007 Carlos Jordán Cólera, 'Celtiberian', *e-Keltoi. Journal of Interdisciplinary Celtic Studies* 6. *The Celts in the Iberian Peninsula*, 2007 at: [http://www.uwm.edu/Dept/celtic/ekeltoi/volumes/vol6/6\\_17/jordan\\_6\\_17.pdf](http://www.uwm.edu/Dept/celtic/ekeltoi/volumes/vol6/6_17/jordan_6_17.pdf).
- JORDÁN CÓLERA 2004 Carlos Jordán Cólera, *Celtibérico* [= Monografías de filología griega 16], Zaragoza: Área de Filología Griega 2004 [revised and enlarged version of JORDÁN CÓLERA 1998].
- WODTKO 2003 Dagmar Wodtko, *An Outline of Celtiberian Grammar*, 2003, at: <http://www.freidok.uni-freiburg.de/volltexte/747/>
- MEID 2000 Wolfgang Meid, 'Altkeltische Sprachen III', *Kratylos* 45 (2000), 1–28.
- MEID 2002 Wolfgang Meid, 'Altkeltische Sprachen (Nachträge)', *Kratylos* 47 (2002), 25–28.
- MLH I Jürgen Untermann, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum*, Bd. I. *Die Münzlegenden*, Wiesbaden: Reichert 1975.
- MLH IV Jürgen Untermann, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum*, Bd. IV. *Die tartessischen, keltiberischen und lusitanischen Inschriften*, Wiesbaden: Reichert 1997.
- MLH V.1 = WKI Dagmar S. Wodtko, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum*, Bd. V.1. *Wörterbuch der keltiberischen Inschriften*, Wiesbaden: Reichert 2000.
- review: Francisco Villar y Carlos Jordán Cólera, in: *Kratylos* 49 (2004), 142–152.
- VILLAR 1997 Francisco Villar, 'The Celtiberian Language', *ZCPH* 49–50 (1997), 898–949.

## Also useful:

- BELTRÁN & DE HOZ & UNTERMANN 1996 Francisco Beltrán, Javier de Hoz y Jürgen Untermann, *El tercer bronce de Botorrita (Contrebia Belaisca)*, Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón 1996.
- ESKA & EVANS 2009 Joseph F. Eska and David 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, 28–34.
- MCCONE 1996 Kim McCone, *Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Change* [= Maynooth Studies in Celtic Linguistics 1], Maynooth: Department for Old and Middle Irish 1996, 8–17.
- MEID 1993 Wolfgang Meid, *Die erste Botorrita-Inschrift. Interpretation eines keltiberischen Sprachdenkmals* [= Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 76], Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft 1993.
- MEID 1994 Wolfgang Meid, *Celtiberian Inscriptions* [= *Archaeolingua. Series Minor* 5], Budapest: Archaeolingua 1994.
- MEID 1996 Wolfgang Meid, *Kleinere keltiberische Sprachdenkmäler* [= Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft. Vorträge und Kleinere Schriften 64], Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft 1996.
- PRÓSPER 2007 Blanca María Prósper, *Estudio lingüístico del plomo celtibérico de Iniesta* [= *Acta Salmanticensia. Estudios Filológicos* 319], Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca 2007.
- VILLAR 1993 Francisco Villar, 'Las sibilantes en celtibérico', in: *Actas V* (1993), 773–818.
- VILLAR 1995a Francisco Villar, *Estudios de celtibérico y de toponimia prerromana* [= *Acta Salmanticensia. Estudios Filológicos* 260], Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca 1995.
- VILLAR 1995b Francisco Villar, *A New Interpretation of Celtiberian Grammar* [= Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft. Vorträge und Kleinere Schriften 62], Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft 1995.
- VILLAR 2000 Francisco Villar, *Indoeuropeos y no indoeuropeos en la Hispania prerromana: las poblaciones y las lenguas prerromanas de Andalucía, Cataluña y Aragón según la información que nos proporciona la toponimia* [= *Acta Salmanticensia. Estudios Filológicos* 277], Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca 2000.
- VILLAR & JORDÁN CÓLERA et al. 2001 Francisco Villar, Carlos Jordán Cólera et al., *El IV Bronce de Botorrita (Contrebia Belaisca): Arqueología y Lingüística* [= *Acta Salmanticensia. Estudios filológicos* 286], Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca 2001.

VILLAR & PRÓSPER 2005 Francisco Villar y Blanca María Prósper, *Vascos, celtas e indoeuropeos. Genes y lenguas* [= Acta Salmanticensia. Estudios Filológicos 307], Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca 2005.

### Older literature:

- ESKA & EVANS 1993 Joseph F. Eska and David Ellis Evans, 'Continental Celtic', in: *The Celtic Languages*. Edited by Martin J. Ball with James Fife, London – New York: Routledge 1993, 30–35.
- JORDÁN CÓLERA 1998 Carlos Jordán Cólera, *Introducción al celtibérico. Prólogo de Francisco Villar* [= Monografías de filología griega 10], Zaragoza: Área de Filología Griega 1998.
- LEJEUNE 1955 Michel Lejeune, *Celtiberica* [= Acta Salmanticensia. Filosofía y letras 7/4], Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca 1955.
- SCHMOLL 1959 Ulrich Schmoll, *Die Sprachen der vorkeltischen Indogermanen Hispaniens und das Keltiberische*, Wiesbaden 1959.
- TOVAR 1958 Antonio Tovar, 'I. Forschungsbericht. Das Keltiberische, ein neuer Zweig des Festlandkeltischen', *Kratylos* 3/1 (1958), 1–14.
- TOVAR 1986 Antonio Tovar, 'The Celts in the Iberian Peninsula: archaeology, history and language', in: *Geschichte und Kultur der Kelten. Vorbereitungskonferenz 25.–28. Oktober 1982 in Bonn. Vorträge*. Herausgegeben von Karl Horst Schmidt unter Mitwirkung von Rolf Ködderitzsch, Heidelberg: Winter 1986, 68–101.

### 2.2. Congress proceedings on linguistic and philological problems:

- Actas I *Actas del I Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas prerromanas de la Península Ibérica (Salamanca, 27–31 Mayo 1974)*. Ed. por F. Jordá, J. de Hoz y L. Michelena [= Acta Salmanticensia. Filosofía y letras 95], Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca 1976.
- Actas II *Actas del II Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas prerromanas de la Península Ibérica (Tübingen, 17–19 Junio 1976)*. Ed. por A. Tovar, M. Faust, F. Fischer y M. Koch [= Acta Salmanticensia. Filosofía y letras 113], Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca 1979.
- Actas III *Actas del III Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas paleohispánicas (Lisboa, 5–8 Noviembre 1980)*. Ed. por J. de Hoz [= Acta Salmanticensia. Filosofía y letras 162], Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca 1985.
- Actas IV *Studia Palaeohispanica. Actas del IV Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas paleohispánicas (Vitoria/Gasteiz, 6–10 Mayo 1985)*. Ed. por J. Gorrochategui, J.L. Melena y J. Santos [= *Veleia* 2–3], Vitoria/Gasteiz 1987.
- Actas V *Lengua y cultura en la Hispania prerromana. Actas del V Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas prerromanas de la Península Ibérica (Köln, 25–28 de Noviembre de 1989)*. Ed. por J. Untermann y F. Villar [= Acta Salmanticensia. Estudios filológicos 251], Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca 1993.
- Actas VI *La Hispania prerromana. Actas del VI Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas prerromanas de la Península Ibérica (Coimbra, 13–15 de octubre de 1994)*. Ed. por F. Villar y J. D'Encarnação [= Acta Salmanticensia. Estudios filológicos 262], Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca 1996.
- Actas VII *Pueblos, lenguas y escrituras en la Hispania prerromana. Actas del VII Coloquio sobre Lenguas y Culturas Paleohispánicas (Zaragoza, 12 a 15 de marzo de 1997)*. Ed. por F. Villar y F. Beltrán [= Acta Salmanticensia. Estudios filológicos 273], Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca 1999.
- Actas VIII *Religión, lengua y culturas prerromanas de Hispania. Actas del VIII Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas prerromanas de la Península Ibérica (Salamanca, 11–14 de mayo de 1999)*. Ed. por F. Villar y M<sup>a</sup> Pilar Fernández Álvarez [= Acta Salmanticensia. Estudios filológicos 283], Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca 2001.
- Actas IX *Acta Palaeohispanica IX. Actas del IX Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas paleohispánicas. Barcelona, 20–24 de octubre de 2004*. Ed. F. Beltrán Lloris, C. Jordán Cólera y J. Velaza Frías [= *Palaeohispanica* 5], Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico" 2005.

*Actas X* *Acta Palaeohispanica X. Actas do X colóquio internacional sobre línguas e culturas paleo-hispânicas. Lisboa, 26–28 de Fevereiro de 2009.* Ed. F. Beltrán Lloris, J. D'Encarnação, A. Guerra, C. Jordán Cólera [= *Palaeohispanica* 9], Zaragoza: Institución “Fernando el Católico” 2009.

### 2.3. Archaeology, history, religion (selection):

- ALBERRO & ARNOLD 2004– Manuel Alberro and Bettina Arnold, The Celts in the Iberian Peninsula [= *e-Keltoi. Journal of Interdisciplinary Celtic Studies* 6], 2004–, at: <http://www4.uwm.edu/celtic/ekeltoi/volumes/vol6/index.html>
- ALMAGRO-GORBEA 1991 Martín Almagro-Gorbea, ‘I Celti della penisola iberica’, in: *I Celti*. Direzione scientifica Sabatino Moscati et al., Milano: Bompiani 1991, 389–405 [also in English].
- ALMAGRO-GORBEA & RUIZ ZAPATERO 1993 *Los celtas: Hispania y Europa*. Dirigido por Martín Almagro-Gorbea y Gonzalo Ruiz Zapatero, Madrid: Actas 1993.
- BIRKHAN 1997 Helmut Birkhan, ‘Ereignisgeschichte. Die Kelten auf der iberischen Halbinsel’, in: *Kelten. Versuch einer Gesamtdarstellung ihrer Kultur*, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1997, 151–172.
- BURILLO MOZOTA 1998 Francisco Burillo Mozota, *Los celtíberos. Etnias y estados*, Barcelona: Crítica 1998 [contains many maps].
- BURILLO MOZOTA, PERÉZ CASAS & DE SUS GIMÉNEZ 1988 Francisco Burillo Mozota, J. A. Pérez Casas y M<sup>a</sup> Luisa de Sus Giménez, *Celtíberos. Exposición a Zaragoza 30 de Marzo – 28 de Abril 1988*, Zaragoza 1988.
- JIMÉNEZ 2004 Julián Rubén Jiménez, *Diccionario toponímico y etnográfico de Hispania Antigua*, librosalacarta 2004.
- LENERZ-DE WILDE 1995 Majolie Lenerz-de Wilde, ‘The Celts in Spain’, in: *The Celtic World*. Ed. Miranda J. Green, London – New York: Routledge 1995, 533–551.
- LORRIO 1997 Alberto Lorrio, *Los Celtíberos*, Alicante 1997.
- MARCO SIMÓN 1998 Francisco Marco Simón, *Die Religion im keltischen Spanien* [= *Archaeolingua Series Minor* 12], Budapest: Archaeolingua 1998.
- El origen del mundo celtibérico* *El origen del mundo celtibérico. Actas de los encuentros sobre el origen del mundo celtibérico (Molina de Aragón, 1–3 de Octubre de 1998)*. Coordinadores: J. Alberto Arenas Esteban, M<sup>a</sup> Victoria Palacios Tamayo, Aragón 1999.

### 2.4. journals (in addition to the earlier-mentioned Celtic and Indo-European journals):

[Palaeohispanica] *Palaeohispanica. Revista sobre lenguas y culturas de la Hispania Antigua*, Zaragoza 2001–.

furthermore numerous Spanish journals (sometimes only of local distribution), like:

- [Complutum] *Complutum*, Madrid, Departamento de Prehistoria de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid 1991–.
- [Emerita] *Emerita. Revista de linguística y filología clásica*, Madrid: CSIC 1933–.
- [Kalathos] *Kalathos. Revista del seminario de arqueología y etnología Turolense*, Colegio de Universidad Teruel 1981–.
- [Veleia] *Veleia. Revista de Prehistoria, Historia Antigua, Arqueología y Filología Clásicas*, Instituto de Ciencias de la Antigüedad, Universidad del País Vasco 1984–.

## 2.5. internet:

*Bardulia · Lenguas y poblamiento de la Pen. Ibérica:* <http://es.groups.yahoo.com/group/bardulia/>

*Celtiberia.net – Portal de prehistoria, protohistoria y cultura en la península ibérica:* <http://www.celtiberia.net>

*Ethnographic Map of Pre-Roman Iberia (ca. 200 B.C.):* <http://arkeotavira.com/Mapas/Iberia/Populi.htm>

*Wikipedia – Paleohispanic Scripts:* [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paleohispanic\\_scripts](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paleohispanic_scripts)

*Wikipedia – Pre-Roman Peoples of the Iberian Peninsula:* [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pre-Roman\\_peoples\\_of\\_the\\_Iberian\\_Peninsula](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pre-Roman_peoples_of_the_Iberian_Peninsula)

*Wikipedia – Paleohispanic Languages:* [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paleohispanic\\_languages](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paleohispanic_languages)

## 3. THE IBERIAN SCRIPT AND CELTIBERIAN

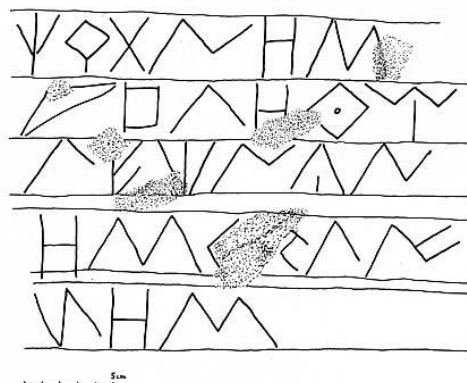
transcr.	Eastern variant	Western variant	transcr.	Eastern variant	Western variant
a	𐌗 𐌘 𐌙 𐌚	𐌗 𐌘	ba		𐌁
e	𐌛	𐌜	be	𐌞	𐌗 𐌛
i	𐌝 𐌞 𐌟 𐌠		bi	𐌡 𐌢 𐌣 𐌤	
o		𐌥 𐌦	bo	𐌧	𐌨
u		𐌩 𐌪	bu		𐌫
l		𐌬 𐌭	ka	𐌮 𐌯	𐌰
r	𐌱 𐌲 𐌳	𐌴 𐌵	ke	𐌶	𐌷 𐌸
m	𐌹 𐌺	𐌻 𐌼	ki		𐌽
n	𐌾 𐌿	𐍀 𐍁	ko	𐍂 𐍃 𐍄	
s	𐍅 𐍆 𐍇		ku	𐍈 𐍉	𐍊 𐍋
z	𐍌 𐍍 𐍎 𐍏 𐍐 𐍑		ta		𐍔
			te	𐍕	𐍖 𐍗
			ti	𐍘 𐍙 𐍚	
			to	𐍛 𐍜 𐍝 𐍞	
			tu	𐍟 𐍠 𐍡 𐍢	

III. 3.1.: The Celtiberian semisyllabic alphabet in its two regional variants



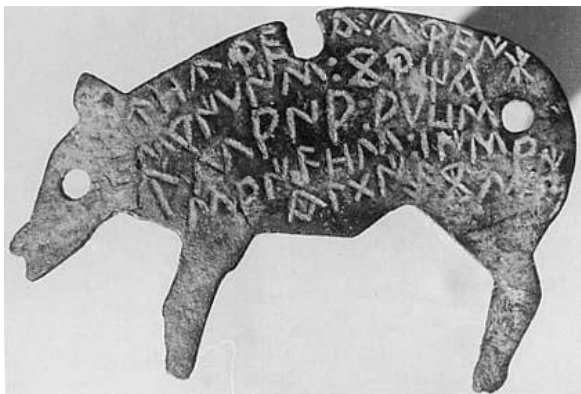
		g	k	b/p	d	t					
a	P	Λ	Λ	I	X	*		z	ξ	s	M
e	Ƒ	C	C	W	ϕ	⊕		r	φ	l	ʀ
i	ƚ	ʝ	ʝ	ƚ		ψ		m	ʎ	n	V
o	H	X	X	X		Ш					
u	↑	⊙	⊙	□	Δ	Δ					

III. 3.2.: The Western Celtiberian semisyllabic alphabet with the ‘dual’ value of the obstruent signs



III. 3.3.: Example of Eastern script: K.16.1 – tombstone from Ibiza (from MLH IV, 693 f.)

III. 3.4.: Example of Western script: the bronze inscription from Torrijo del Campo (Teruel), (from VICENTE REDÓN/ EZQUERRA LEBRÓN 1999: 593)



III. 3.5. & 3.6.: Possible example of Celtiberian script with ‘dual system’ of obstruent signs: K.23.2 – bronze pig from Osma

The Celtiberian script is usually dextroverse, but in a few cases sinistroverse.

### 3.1. SYLLABIC SIGNS (OBSTRUENTS + VOWEL)

1. the syllabic signs always combine an obstruent + a vowel
2. the obstruent element is usually indifferent towards voicedness/unvoicedness; therefore e.g. Λ (transcribed <ka> or <Ka>) stands for /kā/ and for /gā/
3. additionally, the syllabic signs can be read with ‘silent vowels’ in certain cases, especially where they are used to express the combination obstruent + resonant word-initially and word-internally (see below); it is disputed whether they can represent silent vowels also word-finally, (e.g. Υ <ti> or ◊ <te> for /t/)
4. the guttural series (*ka, ke...*) expresses /k.../ and /g.../; additionally, *ku* also represents /kʰ/ and /gʰ/; in loan words, it apparently can also stand for /χ/, e.g. K.1.3, III-9, IV-13 *antiokos* = Ἀντίοχος
5. the labial series (*ba, be...*) usually expresses /b/, but, against expectations for a q-Celtic language, it may sometimes represent /p/: A.74 *konbouto* = *Complutum*, K.1.3, IV-33 *bubilbor* = *Puplipor*; in loan words it can stand for /f/, e.g. K.1.3, IV-18 *balakos* = *Flaccus*, K.1.3, III-28 *bilonikos* = Φιλόνικος
6. in case of the dental series (*ta, te...*), things are more complex: word-initially they represent both /t/ and /d/, word-internally, however, they mostly stand for /t/; word-internal /d/ is usually expressed by *z*, but *ta...* can sometimes be used, too, e.g. K.0.7, -2 *ueitui*, beside K.6.1, -4 *ueizui*, or perhaps K.0.14, B-3 *metuutos* = *Medutus*?, or K.9.4 *elatunako*, related to K.1.3 *passim elazunos*? The case of K.1.1 *passim letontu* = *Letondo* is of a different nature, since the latter may have developed from *\*letonton-* by ‘lenition’ of *t* after *n*; word-finally, the voice-opposition was perhaps neutralised so that every dental in this position is probably rendered in Celtiberian script as *z*, e.g. *kombalkez* < *\*komplaket*? – but with *t* in Roman script: e.g. K.3.3, -6 *SISTAT*
7. because of the phonotactic rules of Celtiberian, one expects only the obstruent cluster /χt/ < *\*kt*, *\*kʰt*, *\*gt*, *\*gʰt*, *\*pt*, *\*bt*; this cannot be expressed in the Celtiberian script, as a solution, the first of the two sounds is graphically not represented, e.g. K.1.3 *passim retukenos* = *Rextugenos*; likewise with /χs/, e.g. K.23.2, -3 *usama* = *Uxama* < *\*upsmh<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>2</sub>*, or perhaps K.1.1, A-5 *ambitseti* = *ambiti(n)χ-seti* to K.1.1, A-6 *ambitinkounei*?
8. geminated consonants are not marked as such, e.g. K.0.2 *lubos* in Celtiberian script corresponds to Bot. II, 16 *LVBBVS* with geminated /b/ in Latin script
9. it has been observed for the Iberian script that in some variants a ‘dual system’ is used for the syllabic signs, i.e. sometimes a distinction is made between more ‘simple’ signs, which apparently stand for voiced consonants (*d* and *g*) + vowel, and more ‘complex’ signs (which usually contain one additional stroke), which stand for the voiceless counterparts, e.g. Λ for <ga> and Δ for <du>, but Α for <ka> and Δ <tu>. In the labial series, there is no distinction (probably because no voiceless *p* existed in the language). See Joan FERRER I JANÉ, ‘Novetats sobre el sistema dual de diferenciació gràfica de les oclusives sordes i sonores’, in: *Actas XI*, 957–982, and, for Celtiberian, Carlos JORDÁN CÓLERA, ‘¿Sistema dual de escritura en celtibérico?’, in: *Actas IX*, 1013–1030.

### 3.2. VOWEL SIGNS

1. short and long vowels are not graphically distinguished: all statement about vowel length are usually based on grammatical interpretation or on information from the Latin and Greek side traditions
2. isolated cases of ‘plene-spellings’, e.g. K.14.1 *m-o-n-i-tu-u-ko-o-s*, prob. for /monitukos/, do not indicate vowel length, but indicate that the preceding syllabic signs do not contain a silent vowel
3. ʳ <i> and ↑ <u> are used both for the vowels, as well as for the corresponding glides /i/ and /u/

## 3.3. SIGNS FOR RESONANTS

1. of the two signs for *r* in the Iberian alphabet, i.e. <r> and <ř>, Celtiberian inscriptions only use <ř>; for simplicity's sake, since it is in no opposition to another *r*, it is usually transcribed without diacritic as <r>
2. eastern Celtiberia uses the Iberian signs ʎ <m> and ʎ̄ <n> to represent *m* and *n*; in the west, however, for *m* Iberian ʎ̄ <n> is used, for *n* Iberian ʎ / ʎ̄ <m> – this difference is usually ignored in transcriptions, for both <m> and <n> are written
3. in front of obstruents, *n* and *m* are sporadically not written, e.g. K.17.1 *steniotes*, beside K.11.1 *STENIONTE* and K.1.3, IV-2 *steniontes*, or K.0.7, -3 *arkatobezom* < \**arganto-* ‘silver’, beside K.1.3 *passim arkanta*, or A.77 *sekotiaz lakaz* for \**Segontia Langa*; something comparable could be the case with *r* in A.38 *baskunez* beside *barskunez*

## 3.4. SIGNS FOR SIBILANTS

1. the Celtiberian script uses two signs for sibilants – their interpretation belongs to the most contested areas of Celtiberian studies:

sign	trad. Iberian transcription	modern transcription	
		VILLAR 1993	UNTERMANN 1997
ʎ ‘san’	ś	s	s
ʎ̄ ‘sigma’	s	z	š

2. in older scholarship, it was assumed that both signs were used to represent etymological \**s*, without a clear rationale behind their distribution; since the middle of the 90ies the opinion has gained ground that *z* in most cases (or exclusively; thus UNTERMANN 1997) stands for etymological \**d*. Apart from that, some people think that it could also stand for intervocalic *s* (VILLAR 1993), *di/ti* (DE BERNARDO STEMPEL) or *i* (MCCONE). The details are far from clear and heavily disputed. Some people still cling to the old theory (e.g. ISAAC, SCHMIDT). The following table presents the origins of *z* which I deem most probable:

key:

- ++ ‘very frequent; very certain’
- + ‘frequent (at least half a dozen times); relatively probable’
- ~ ‘a few times; probable or possible’
- ‘rare (ca. 3x); hardly probable’
- ‘very rare (1–2x); totally unclear’

	Ζ <	examples with probable etymologies	attestation	certainty
1.	*#dV?	3. pl. pres. <i>zizonti</i> = * <i>didonti</i> ?	--	+
2.	*VdV	PN <i>elazunos</i> etc., cp. <i>Eladus</i> , PN <i>mezukenos</i> = * <i>medugenos</i> ‘mead-born < PIE * <i>med</i> <sup>h</sup> <i>u-</i> , <i>ueizos</i> ‘witness’ < PIE * <i>ueidos</i> etc.	++	++
3.	*VRdV	PN <i>burzu</i> = <i>Burdo</i> , PN <i>melmanzos</i> = <i>Melmandus</i>	~	++
4.	*Vd#	placename abl. sg. <i>kontebiaz</i> = * <i>kontrebiā</i> d, 3. sg. imp. <i>tatuz</i> = * <i>datūd</i> < PIE * <i>dh<sub>3</sub>tōd</i> ‘let him give’, <i>soz</i> = * <i>sod</i> << PIE * <i>tod</i> ‘that’	++	++
5.	*Vt#	3. sg. pret. <i>kombalkez</i> = * <i>komplaket</i> ?	+	~
6.	*VsV	placename <i>turiazu</i> = <i>Turias(s)o</i>	--	~
7.	*VntjV	PN <i>melmanzos</i> = * <i>melmantjos</i> ?	- (-)	~
8.	*Vnts#	PN <i>melmaz</i> = * <i>melmants</i> ?	- (-)	~
9.	*RsV	PN <i>burzau</i> , cp. <i>Bursaones</i> ?	--	~
10.	*ijV	3. sg. pres. <i>kabizeti</i> = * <i>gabijeti</i> ‘he takes’, <i>nouiza</i> = * <i>noūiā</i> ‘new’, 3. sg. imp. <i>bizetuz</i> = * <i>b(y)ijetūd</i> ‘let it be’	-	~
11.	*VtV	PN <i>lazuro</i> , cp. <i>Lat(t)urus</i> ?	--	--
12.	?	<i>arznas</i> ‘?’	--	--
	Σ <	examples with probable etymologies	attestation	certainty
1.	*#sV	gen. pl. demonstr. <i>soisum</i> < * <i>soijsōm</i> << PIE * <i>toijsōm</i> , placename <i>sekaiza</i> = <i>Segeda</i> ? ← PIE √ <i>seg</i> <sup>h</sup> ‘to defeat’	++	++
2.	*#sT	PN <i>statu</i> ← √ <i>steh</i> <sub>2</sub> ?, PN <i>skirtu</i> = <i>Scirtus</i>	+	++
3.	*#sR	<i>sues</i> < PIE * <i>sueks</i> ‘6’?, <i>sleitom</i> ‘?’	+	++
4.	*VχsV	<i>eskenim</i> ‘foreigner?’ = * <i>eχsgenim</i> < PIE * <i>eg</i> <sup>h</sup> <i>s-ĝenh<sub>1</sub>i-</i> , placename <i>usama</i> = * <i>uχsamā</i> < PIE * <i>upsŋh<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>2</sub></i> ‘highest’	+	++
5.	*Vχs#	placename <i>nertobis</i> = * <i>nertobriχs</i> ‘power-hill’ < CC * <i>-brig-s</i> , <i>sues</i> < PIE * <i>sueks</i> ‘6’?	~	++
6.	*Vs#	PN nom. sg. <i>abulos</i> etc. < PIE * <i>-os</i> , PN gen. sg. <i>aias</i> = * <i>-ās</i> < PIE * <i>-eh<sub>2</sub>es</i> , akk. pl. <i>tiris</i> = * <i>trīs</i> < PIE * <i>trins</i> ‘3’, nom. pl. <i>tuateres</i> < PIE * <i>d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>teres</i> ‘daughters’ etc.	++	++
7.	*VsV	GN <i>balaisokum</i> , cp. PN <i>Balaesus</i> , placename <i>letaisama</i> < PIE * <i>pleth<sub>2</sub>isŋh<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>2</sub></i> ‘broadest’	+	+
8.	*VsTV	placename <i>belaiskaz</i> = <i>Belaisca</i> , <i>boustom</i> < PIE * <i>g<sup>h</sup>ousth<sub>2</sub>om</i> ‘cow-shed’?	+	++
9.	*VTsV	3. sg. s-subj. <i>robiseti</i> < PIE * <i>pro-b<sup>h</sup>id<sup>h</sup>-se-ti</i> ‘let him cleave’?, 3. sg. imp. <i>usabituz</i> < PIE * <i>uds-ad-bih<sub>2</sub>-tōd</i> ‘let him beat out’?, <i>masnai</i> ‘the beating?’ < * <i>mad-snā</i> ?	~	~
10.	*VdtV	GN <i>kounesikum</i> < CC * <i>kom-ned-tiko-</i> ‘neighbour’?	--	-

## 3.5. CLUSTERS OF OBSTRUENT + RESONANT

1. sequences of the structure TRV (obstruent + resonant + vowel) cannot be expressed as such in the Celtiberian script
2. word-initially, the strategy is to take that variant of the obstruent syllabic sign which contains the following vowel as a silent sound, e.g. K.1.1, A-1 *tirikantam* = /trikantam/, K.1.3, IV-3 *bolora* = *Flora*; perhaps in a few cases the resonant is not written at all, e.g. A.58 *titiakos* = ‘belonging to a place \*tritiom’?
3. word-internally, things are more complicated: if the sound sequence consists of  $V_1CRV_2$ , usually that variant of the obstruent syllabic sign is chosen which contains  $V_2$  as a silent vowel, e.g. K.1.1, A-11 *abulu* = /ablū/ = *Ablo*, A.89 *sekobirikea* from *Segobriga*; at least on coins, the resonant may not be written at all to save space: A.50 *nertobi(s)* from *Nertobriga*
4. where a further resonant stands before the obstruent (usually *n/m*), i.e.  $V_1R_1CR_2V_2$ , it seems that the second resonant was not written, e.g. A.74 *konbouto* = *Complutum*, K.0.2, -3 *kontebiaz* to *Contrebia*, or  $R_2$  and  $V_2$  were graphically metathetised, e.g. A.75 *konterbia* = *Contrebia*, perhaps *kombalkez* to Lat. *placet*; there are no certain examples for  $V_2$  used as a silent vowel between C and  $R_2$ , the two possible cases K.1.1, A-3 *konskilitom* and A-4 *sankilistara* have no clear etymology, but the readings /konskli(χ)tom/ and /sanKlistrā/ suggests itself
5. the spelling  $CV_1RV_1$ , esp. word-internally, does not, however, warrant the automatic conclusion that the first vowel must be silent, e.g. A.73 *bilbiliz* belongs to *Bilbilis*, A.53 *kalakorikos* to *Calagurris*

*Literature:*

PROSPER 2007

Blanca María Prósper, *Estudio lingüístico del plomo celtibérico de Iniesta* [= Acta Salmanticensia. Estudios filológicos 319], Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad Salamanca 2007, 129–135.

## 4. THE DIFFERENT SYSTEMS OF TRANSCRIBING CELTIBERIAN

In the history of Celtiberian scholarship different systems of transcription were used, a fact which in particular may cause beginners confusion. However, confusion is unwarranted since all systems of transcription are unambiguous and are easily transformable into the others. The differences lie only in the use of diacritics and in the methods of giving the boundaries between the letters graphic expression. The overall tendency in scholarship is to simplify the transcription with an eye on typographic practicability. On the problem of variants in transcription cp. also MEID 1993: 26–31.

It is a widely accepted practice today to write Celtiberian words in bold lower-case letters, if we are dealing with text in Celtiberian script, and in upper-case letters (not necessarily in bold face) in the case of texts in Latin script.

I will exemplify the different systems of transcription with the inscription from Torrijo del Campo (Teruel) (*Actas* VII, 593; see ill. 3.2):

1. old system (adhering to the practice used for Iberian texts): transcription of the obstruent signs with archigraphemes (*Ca* = /ka/, /ga/ etc.), use of *C*<sup>o</sup> for the guttural, of *P*<sup>o</sup> for the labial series, delimitation of single letters by <->, representation of *M* as *ś*, of *ś* as *s* and of *ŷ* as *r*

1. *Ce-l-a-u-n-i-Cu-i*
2. *Te-ŕ-Ci-n-i-n-e-i : e-ś*
3. *Ce-n-i-m : Tu-ŕ-e-ś : l-a-u*
4. *n-i : o-l-s-u-i : o-Pa-Ca-i*
5. *e-ś-Ce-n-i-m : Tu-ŕ-e-ś*
6. *u-ś-e-i-s-u-n-o-ś : Co-Ti-s-o*
7. *n-e-i : l-u-To-ŕ-i-Cu-m : e-i*
8. *ś-u-Po-ś : a-Ti-s-a-i : e-Cu-e : Ca-ŕ*
9. *Ti-n-o-Cu-m : e-Cu-e : l-a-Ci-Cu-m*
10. *e-Cu-e : Ti-ŕ-To-Cu-m : ś-i-l-a-Pu-ŕ*
11. *ś-a-s-o-m : i-Po-ś : e-ś-a-Tu-i*

2. slightly simplified system: transcription of the obstruent signs with unmarked obstruent signs (*ka* = /ka/, /ga/ etc.), use of *k*<sup>o</sup> for the guttural, of *p*<sup>o</sup> for the labial series, delimitation of single letters by <.>, representation of *M* as *ś*, of *ś* as *s* and of *ŷ* as *r*

1. *ke.l.a.u.n.i.ku.i*
2. *te.r.ki.n.i.n.e.i : e.ś*
3. *ke.n.i.m : tu.r.e.ś : l.a.u*
4. *n.i : o.l.s.u.i : o.pa.ka.i*
5. *e.ś.ke.n.i.m : tu.r.e.ś*
6. *u.ś.e.i.s.u.n.o.ś : ko.ti.s.o*
7. *n.e.i : l.u.to.r.i.ku.m : e.i*
8. *ś.u.po.ś : a.ti.s.a.i : e.ku.e : ka.r*
9. *ti.n.o.ku.m : e.ku.e : l.a.ki.ku.m*
10. *e.ku.e : ti.r.to.ku.m : ś.i.l.a.pu.r*
11. *ś.a.s.o.m : i.po.ś : e.ś.a.tu.i*

5. transcription according to supposed semantic units (possible in each of the systems above), word separators are not specifically indicated, e.g.:

*kelaunikui terkininei eskenim tures launi  
olzui obakai eskenim tures useizunos  
kotizonei lutorikum eisubos atizai  
ekue kartinokum ekue lakikum ekue tirtokum  
silabur sazom ibos esatui*

3. most widely used modern system: transcription of the obstruent signs with unmarked obstruent signs (*ka* = /ka/, /ga/ etc.), use of *k*<sup>o</sup> for the guttural, of *b*<sup>o</sup> for the labial series, no delimitation of single letters, representation of *M* as *s*, of *ś* as *z* and of *ŷ* as *r*

1. *kelaunikui*
2. *terkininei : es*
3. *kenim : tures : lau*
4. *ni : olzui : obakai*
5. *eskenim : tures*
6. *useizunos : kotizo*
7. *nei : lutorikum : ei*
8. *subos : atizai : ekue : kar*
9. *tinokum : ekue : lakikum*
10. *ekue : tirtokum : silabur*
11. *sazom : ibos : esatui*

4. UNTERMANN's system (mainly in MLH IV and WKI, but becoming increasingly more wide-spread): like 3., but *ś* represented as *đ* (in MLH IV at the end of the alphabet, in WKI under *d*)

1. *kelaunikui*
2. *terkininei : es*
3. *kenim : tures : lau*
4. *ni : olđui : obakai*
5. *eskenim : tures*
6. *useiđunos : kotiđo*
7. *nei : lutorikum : ei*
8. *subos : atiđai : ekue : kar*
9. *tinokum : ekue : lakikum*
10. *ekue : tirtokum : silabur*
11. *sađom : ibos : esatui*

System 3 is being used by me. Between systems 1 and 3, there are all sorts of intermediate variants.

## 5. ASPECTS OF CELTIBERIAN GRAMMAR

## 5.1. NOMINAL INFLECTION

Celtiberian nominal inflection is characterised by the generally unreduced retention of inflectional endings. Final PIE and PC \*-m is preserved as such. The preservation of the ablative, as well as the odd ending -o of the genitive singular of o-stems are remarkable for a Celtic language.

case	o- & jo-decl.	ā- & jā-decl.	ī-decl.	i-decl.
sg.				
nom.	<i>ankios, VIROS, litom</i>	<i>kortika</i>	<i>launi</i>	<i>kentis</i>
gen.	<i>aualo</i>	<i>aias</i>	<i>elkinos</i>	
dat.	<i>ueizui</i>	<i>masnai?</i>	<i>terkininei?</i>	<i>kenei, GENTE</i>
acc.	<i>boustom</i>	<i>toutam</i>		<i>eskenim</i>
abl.	<i>karaluz</i>	<i>kontebiaz</i>		<i>bilbiliz</i>
instr.?	<i>auku?</i>			
loc.	<i>sarnikiei, -DVRE</i>	<i>kustai?</i>	<i>terkininei?</i>	<i>OROSEI?</i>
pl.				
nom.	<i>stoteroi?</i>			<i>kentis?</i>
gen.	<i>alizokum</i>	<i>saum</i>		<i>kentisum, eskeninum?</i>
dat./abl.	<i>arekoratikubos</i>			
acc.	<i>matus?; nouiza?, Jkikus?</i>	<i>ozias</i>		<i>tiris</i>
case	u-decl.	consonant decl.	n-decl.	r-decl.
sg.				
nom.		<i>nertobis, kares, tiokenes, melmaz?</i>	<i>melmu</i>	<i>kar, CAAR?</i>
gen.		<i>tirikantos, tiokenesos, steniotes</i>	<i>melmunos</i>	<i>tuateros</i>
dat.	<i>LVGVEI</i>	<i>STENIONTE</i>	<i>taunei, Jrzonei?</i>	
acc.		<i>tirikantam</i>		<i>silabur?</i>
abl.	<i>karauez?</i>	<i>sekobirikez</i>	<i>barskunez</i>	
instr.?			<i>oilaunu?</i>	
loc.		<i>tokoitei</i>		
pl.				
nom.		<i>aleites?</i>	<i>albana, buntunes?</i>	<i>tuateres</i>
gen.	<i>EDNOVM?</i>			<i>MATRVBOS</i>
dat./abl.	<i>LVGIVBVS</i>			
acc.	<i>matus?</i>			

*Literature:*

MLH IV, 396–408

JORDÁN CÓLERA 2004: 81–140

## 5.2. VERBAL INFLECTION

In the verbal inflection, too, the endings are generally preserved. Remarkable is the presence of an infinitive in *-unei* < \*-mnej (?), and the formation of subjunctives with *s* (e.g. *ambitseti* < PC \**ambidi(n)g-se-ti* from PIE \**d<sup>h</sup>eǵ<sup>h</sup>* ‘to form’, *robiseti* < PC \**pro-bid-se-ti* from PIE \**b<sup>h</sup>eǵ<sup>h</sup>* ‘to cleave’; cp. the OIr. *s*-subjunctive). However, hardly anything is undisputed. Other forms, marked by ? below, are entirely unclear, e.g. forms in *-ez* like *kombalkez* and in *-res* like *auzares*. It is not even clear if they are verbal forms at all.

1. 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. primary ending *-ti*: *ambitseti, asekati, auzeti, kabizeti, kuati, robiseti, uerzoniti, zizeti*
2. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. primary ending *-nti*: *bionti, toruonti, zizonti*
3. 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. secondary ending *-t* > \*-*d* > *-z?*: *SISTAT, kombalkez, tekez, terturez, esokez (?)*
4. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. secondary ending \*-*nt* > *-n?*: *atibion (?), tako (?)*
5. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. middle primary ending *-ntor*: *nebintor (?)*
6. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. middle secondary ending *-nto?*: *auzanto, esianto*
7. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. perfect ending *-res?* oder *s*-aorist \*-*rēg-s-t?*: *auzares, esozeres, kombalkores*
8. 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. imperative in *-tuz*: *bizetuz, oisatuz, tatuz, tinbituz, tizatuz, usabituz, sekubituz*
9. infinitive in *-unei*: *ambitinkounei, (es)usimounei, taunei, tizaunei, touertaunei, (rouzunei)*

*Literature:*

MLH IV, 408–412

JORDÁN CÓLERA 2004: 141–153

MEID 1995 Wolfgang Meid, ‘Das Verbum im Keltiberischen’, in: *Verba et Structurae. Festschrift für Klaus Strunk zum 65. Geburtstag*. Herausgegeben von Heinrich Hettrich, Wolfgang Hock, Peter-Arnold Mumm und Norbert Oettinger [= Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 83], Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck 1995, 135–167.

PROSPER 2007 Blanca María Prósper, *Estudio lingüístico del plomo celtibérico de Iniesta* [= Acta Salmanticensia. Estudios filológicos 319], Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad Salamanca 2007.

RUBIO ORECILLA 1999 Francisco J. Rubio Orecilla, ‘El verbo celtibérico y el verbo protocéltico: problemas y perspectivas’, in: *Actas VII* (1999), 619–634.

RUBIO ORECILLA 1999 Francisco J. Rubio Orecilla, ‘Das keltiberische Verb und der protokeltische Imperativ’, in: HS 112 (1999), 106–121.

## 5.3. SYNTAX

1. clear word order SOV
2. preposed genitive: K.0.2 *aualo ke[ntis]* ‘son of Aualos’ (onomastic formulas where the patronymic follows the individual name in the gen. sg. are no counter-evidence)
3. fully inflected relative pronoun with correlated demonstrative pronoun: K.1.1, A-7 *iomui ... somui*

*Literature:*

SCHMIDT 1972 Karl Horst Schmidt, ‘Der Beitrag der keltiberischen Inschrift von Botorrita zur Rekonstruktion der protokeltischen Syntax’, *Word* 28 (1972), 51–62.



## 6. THE CELTIBERIAN ONOMASTIC FORMULA

individual name	gentilic name	patronymic	'son'/title	origin	
nom. sg.	gen. pl.	gen. sg.	nom. sg.	abl. sg./adjective	
<i>lubos</i> Lub(b)os	<i>alizokum</i> of the Alizokoi	<i>aualo</i> of Aualos	<i>ke[ntis]</i> son		K.0.2
<i>tirtanos</i> Tirtanos	<i>abulokum</i> of the Ab(u)lokoi	<i>letontunos</i> of Letontu	<i>ke[ntis]</i> son	<i>belikios</i> the Belikian	K.16.1
<i>abulu</i> Ablu	<i>louzokum</i> of the Louzokoi	<i>useizunos</i> of Useizu	<i>bintis</i> 'bintis'	<i>akainaz</i> from Akaina	K.1.1, B-4-5
<i>LVBBS</i> Lubbus	<i>VRDINOCVM</i> of the Urdinokoi	<i>LETONDONIS</i> of Letondo	<i>F[ILIVS] PRAETOR</i> son, pretor		Bot. II, 16
<i>TVRIBAS</i> Turibas		<i>TEITABAS</i> of Teitabas	<i>F[ILIVS]</i> son	<i>[ALLAVO]N[EN]-S[IS]</i> the Allauonian	Bot. II, 19-20
<i>TVLLOS</i> Tullos	<i>CALOQ[VM]</i> of the Kalokoi	<i>TVRRO</i> of Turros	<i>G[ENTIS]</i> son		K.3.14
<i>TVROS</i> Tur(r)os	<i>CARORVM</i> of the Karoi		<i>VIROS VERAMOS</i> highest man		K.3.18
<i>koitu</i> Koitu	<i>uerzaizokum</i> of the Verzaizokoi	<i>aias</i> of Aia (fem.)			K.1.3, II-29
<i>elu</i> Elu	<i>uiriaskum</i> of the Viriaskoi		<i>launikue</i> and wife		K.1.3, II-5
<i>munika</i> Munika	<i>elkuakum</i> of the Elkuakoi	<i>koitinas</i> of Koitina (fem.)			K.1.3, II-51

literature about the onomastic formula: MEID 2000: 27-28.