



The Language(s) of the Callaeci

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Abstract

Although there is no direct extant record of the language spoken by any of the peoples of ancient *Callaecia*, some linguistic information can be recovered through the analysis of the names (personal names, names of deities, ethnonyms, and place-names) that occur in Latin inscriptions and in ancient Greek and Latin sources. These names prove the presence of speakers of a Celtic language in this area, but there are also names of other origins.

Keywords

Onomastics, place-names, Palaeohispanic languages, epigraphy, historical linguistics

1. Introduction¹

In this paper I will try to provide a general overview of the linguistic situation in ancient *Callaecia* by analyzing the linguistic evidence provided both by the literary and the epigraphic sources available in this westernmost area of continental Europe.

I will first review some facts that we have to bear in mind in order to understand the linguistic evidence presented here. There is no doubt that Celtic people had reached the westernmost coast of continental Europe by the early first century AD. Apart from a linguistic analysis that might allow us to conclude that there were Celts in this area, several Classical sources explicitly state that some of the peoples in this area were Celtic or at least Celtic-like². This is the case with the *Artabri*³, the *Nerii*⁴, the *Supertamarici*⁵, the *Praestamarici*⁶, and the *Cileni*⁷. In other instances the naming formula found in some Latin inscriptions provides the information that a particular group of people was Celtic⁸. This is the case, for example, with one of the peoples occupying the banks of the *Tamara* River (today's Tambre River), the

Supertamar(i)ci. The inscription *CIL* II 2902 = 5667 reads as follows:

Fusca Coedi f(ilia) Celtica Superta(marica) (castello) Blaniobriensi
 And *AE* 1997.863 (= *HEp*.7.397), an inscription from Crecente LU, reads:
Apana . Ambolli f(ilia) / Celtica Supertam(arica) (castello) Miobri / Apanus

I use the description 'Celtic' or 'Celtic-like', for, as de Hoz (1992: 9) has pointed out, the Greek and Latin literary and epigraphic sources only use the word *Celtae* for the Celtiberians when dealing with peoples of the Iberian Peninsula; for other Celtic peoples they use the derived adjective *Celtici* instead. As de Hoz suggests in another paper (1997: 107-108), this must mean that even if these other Celts of *Hispania* were recognized as such, there was somehow the feeling that they were 'special' Celts, that is, that in spite of the similarities they shared with 'proper', 'regular' Celts, there were some distinguishing characteristics. What those characteristics were is not stated explicitly by those sources that use the label *Celtici*.

It is also important to note that some of the migrations of the Celtic peoples to this area must have been so close in time to our sources that they were known to Classical writers like Strabo. As de Hoz (1992: 9-10) has pointed out, this must mean that the peoples in the area were still aware of the differences between Celtic and non-Celtic peoples. Strabo (III 3.5) also reports that the Celtic people in this area were related to those living in southern *Hispania*, in the province of *Baetica*⁹.

“Υστατοι δ' οἰκοῦσιν Ἄρταβροι περὶ τὴν ἄκραν, ἣ καλεῖται Νέριον, ἣ καὶ τῆς ἐσπερίου πλευρᾶς καὶ τῆς βορείου πέρασ ἐστί. Περιουκοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Κελτικοί, συγγενεῖς τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἄνα. Καὶ γὰρ τούτους καὶ Τουρδούλους στρατεύσαντας ἐκ εἰσε στρατιάσαι φασὶ μετὰ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ Λιμαία ποταμοῦ πρὸς δὲ τῇ στάσει καὶ ἀποβολῆς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος γενομένης, καταμείναι σκεδασθέντας αὐτόθι.

Last of all come the Artabrians, who live in the neighbourhood of the cape called Nerium, which is the end of both the western and the northern side of Iberia. But the country round about the cape itself is inhabited by Celtic people, kinsmen of those of the Anas; for these people and the Turdulians made an expedition thither and then had a quarrel, it is said, after they had crossed the Limaeas River; and when, in addition to the quarrel, the Celtic people also suffered the loss of their chieftain, they scattered and stayed there. [Transl. By H. L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo*, vol. II (Loeb Classical Library), London - Cambridge, Mass.]

The whole northwestern area of *Hispania* belonged in Roman times to the *Tarraconensis* province and, according to the information provided by Pliny (*NH* III 28), it was organized into three *conuentus* – the *conuentus lucensis* (with its capital at *Lucus Augustus*, modern Lugo), *bracarenensis* or *bracaraugustanus* (with its capital at *Bracara Augusta*, modern Braga), and

asturicensis (with its capital at *Asturica Augusta*, modern Astorga). Only the first two *conuentus* were assigned to the *Callaeci* and it is on these two that I will focus in this paper.

Since we do not have any inscription written in any indigenous language of this area¹⁰, in order to try and cast some light on the linguistic situation in ancient *Callaecia* our only resource is the meager information that we can recover by analyzing the indigenous, non-Latin names of the area. Those names fall into four categories:

1. Personal names. These appear mainly in Latin inscriptions in this area¹¹, but we also have a few occurrences in the Classical texts.
2. God names. Our main source of information is the Latin inscriptions in the area¹².
3. Ethnonyms, which appear both in the Classical sources and in inscriptions¹³.
4. Place-names, which appear mainly in the Classical sources (Strabo and, above all, Pliny and Ptolemy) but also on some inscriptions¹⁴.

I will first deal separately with the various categories of names¹⁵, which show different characteristics and, according to what we know about the behaviour of these various types of names from the point of view of general onomastics, may have a different depth in time and reflect various stages of the linguistic history of ancient *Callaecia*¹⁶.

2. Personal Names

As Albertos (1985) has noted, there is a clear-cut difference in the distribution of indigenous personal names in the two *conuentus* of the *Callaeci* – the number of indigenous personal names found in inscriptions from the *conuentus lucensis* is quite low when compared to those found in inscriptions from the *bracarensis*. New discoveries of inscriptions in this area have not changed this pattern of distribution significantly. In my survey of the indigenous personal names found in the inscriptions of *Callaecia*¹⁷, I have only found some seventy names in the inscriptions of the *conuentus lucensis*, while the number of indigenous personal names in the *bracarensis* is above three hundred.

Albertos (1985) also noted that the indigenous personal names from the *conuentus lucensis* showed a closer relationship to those appearing among its eastern neighbours, the *Astures*, while those of the *bracarensis* were more closely related to the names appearing farther south in *Lusitania*¹⁸. Excluding the names that occur only once, names attested in the *conuentus lucensis*

tend to show up also among the *Astures*, while names attested in the *conuentus bracarensis* tend to occur also in *Lusitania*.

As is also the case with most areas of ancient *Hispania*, it is very difficult to characterize *Callaecia* as an onomastic region as far the personal names are concerned. Indigenous personal names from *Hispania* do not usually show clear patterns of distribution among regions, but seem to be spread throughout the Iberian Peninsula¹⁹, thus making it very difficult to isolate specific linguistic traits of the indigenous language or languages which must have been spoken in any given region. Nevertheless, in the case of Galician names a few interesting observations may be made.

I will first analyze some of the most commonly occurring personal names in *Callaecia*, which are as follows²⁰:

1. *Arquius/Arc(u)ius* (+10 occ.). The variant *Arcuius* occurs only in *Callaecia*, but *Arquius* seems to be characteristic both of Asturians and Galicians, as pointed out by Albertos (1985: 266-267)²¹. Albertos also remarked that this personal name was clearly connected to the *Lugubo Arquienobo / Lucoubu[s] Arquieni[s]* attested in inscriptions from the province of Lugo. The name may be explained as a derivative of IE **arkw-* 'curve, arch'²².
2. *Camalus/-a* (+25 occ.). This is an interesting name, because, even if it appears in some inscriptions to the east of this area²³, it is a typical Lusitanian-Galician name, as Untermann (1965: 85-86, map 20) and Albertos (1985: 275-276) have already demonstrated. Based on the concentration of this name in the Portuguese province of Minho, Albertos (1985: 275) assumed that it was characteristic of the *bracarensis*, subsequently spreading to the south and east. According to Palomar (1957: 58) this name etymologically derives from the IE root **kem-* 'strain, fight', to which Pokorny (*IEW* 557) assigns also the Gaulish god name *Camulus* and all the Gaulish personal names in *Camul-* (see also *KGP* 160-161). After a critical revision of the bibliography, Evans (*GPN* 160-161) reached the conclusion that the name may be related to OIr. *cam* 'battle, encounter', making it a derivative of the IE root **kam-*, while the relationship to the Irish name *Cumal* would be uncertain. The forms in *Camal-* instead of *Camul-* found in Hispania could have a more conservative vocalism, but this is not certain²⁴.
3. *Caturo* (+10 occ.). The distribution of this name is similar to the previous one, appearing both in *Callaecia* and in *Lusitania*²⁵. It must be based on Celtic **catu-* 'battle' (cf. OIr. *cath*, W *cad*, Corn. *cas*). Evans (1979: 122), however, expressed his doubts that this name might be a hypocoristic, or pet name form, of such names as *Caturicus/-a*, *Caturis*, *Caturisa*, etc., since merely excising part of the second element would not be an acceptable form of hypocorism in ancient Celtic languages, so he suggested that the *-r-* could be suffixal.
4. *Cl(o)utius/Cloutaus* and other names in the same series appear in the region (+5 occ.), such as *Clutami* (gen.) and *Clutimoni* (gen.) with *-u-* vowel and *Clodamenis* (gen.) with

-o- (<-ou-). Based on its geographic distribution²⁶, Albertos (1985: 279-280) considered the series typically Asturian, subsequently spreading to the *Callaeci* and the *Vettones*. These names are clearly based on the IE root *kleu-, which has been frequently used in Celtic onomastics²⁷. Palomar (1957: 65) assumed a participial value for the -t-, which may be right in view of Skt. *śrutá-* (participle), Gk. κλυτός 'famous', Lat. *inclutus*, and the element (h)lot-/(h)loþ- in Germanic names.

5. *Rebu(r)rus* and *Reburinus/-a* (+15 occ.). These are very common Hispanic names. Albertos (1985: 293-294) thought that *Reburus* was of Asturian origin, judging from its distribution and from the morphology, given that the suffix -u(r)rus also appears in a few ethnonyms of the Asturian area such as *Gigurrus*, *Seurrus*, *Susarrus*, and *Tiburus*. The name is not etymologically Celtic²⁸.

I think that this analysis of the most frequently occurring indigenous names in the Latin inscriptions of *Callaecia* is significant enough to demonstrate the mixture of Celtic and non-Celtic names that is characteristic of the onomastics of the area.

Another problem in *Callaecia* is that most names only appear once in the inscriptions of the area, making it impossible to determine which ones are regionally characteristic. In addition to the names already mentioned, some exceptions include *Medamus* and *Pintamus*, which occur a few times. *Medamus* has the superlative (?) suffix -amo-, which Untermann (1965: 20) already characterized as typical of the Lusitanian-Gallician area. As for *med-*, it may be related to various Indo-European roots, but I think that *Medamus*, which does not have any correlate in Celtic languages, is more likely related to IE *medh-(yo-) 'middle', a development parallel to that of Gk. μέ(σ)σατος, a longer form with the suffix -(a)to- of μέ(σ)σος²⁹. As for *Pintamus*, it shows the same suffix as *Medamus*. According to Villar (1994), we have here a non-Celtic formation on the numeral 'five', IE *penk^we, so in this case the suffix -amo- could be explained as due to the influence of the ordinal *sept^omos>*septamos '7th'. Albertos (1985: 290) considered this name Galician, later spreading into *Lusitania*, but the data do not seem cogent enough to confirm this theory³⁰.

Other exceptions specific to the *conuentus lucensis* are the following names: *Aebura* (twice + derivative *Aeburina*), *Apanus/-a*, *Auitus/-ius*, *Buleni* (gen., three times in the same inscription), *Caeleo* (twice in the same inscription), *Nantius/-a* or *Pusinca* (twice + derivative *Pusincina*). The masculine *Eburus* is attested several times in Lusitania and among the Astures³¹, *Apanus/-a* is well attested in Lusitania³², while *Pusinca* and related names are attested in various areas³³.

Theoretically it could be argued that the names appearing only in *Callaecia*, even only once, are proper 'Callaecian' names, for otherwise they would also be found outside *Callaecia*. But this is a risky and tricky conclusion. For instance, in Vigo several inscriptions have been found (*CIRG* II 40 and 48) dedicated to individuals from the *conuentus chuniensis*, that is, from Celtiberian territory. There is also an inscription from Caldas de Reis [PO] (*CIRG* II 70) which does not specifically refer to the *conuentus* but mentions *Celtiber*, showing that this individual also came originally from *Celtiberia*. Since the mention of origin does not always appear in the naming formula of Latin inscriptions we can assume that some of the hapax names (occurring only once) found in the area belonged to individuals from other areas of *Hispania*.

Laucius/-a is attested several times, but seems to be unique to *Aquae Flaviae*. The Celticity of this name is not certain – there are some place-names in *Lauco-* in Celtic areas of western Europe (Ho. II 157; Morlet 1985: 116) and *a-l-a-u-ka* and *a-l-a-u-ke* in Iberian script could stand for **adlauca/-os*³⁴.

Nantius/-a is unique to *Callaecia* – this is a name with a possibly solid Celtic etymology, since it can be easily shown to be a derivative in *-yos/-ya* from Celtic **nantu-* 'valley' (> IE **nmtu-*), cf. Welsh *nant*, Corn. *nans*³⁵. *Caeleo* and *Buleni* are unique to *Callaecia* as well.

From a linguistic point of view it should be remarked that, as opposed to what happens with other kinds of names, especially god names, as we will see in a moment, the personal names of *Callaecia* do not show strikingly special phonetic or morphological traits when compared to the names appearing in other areas of ancient *Hispania*. In other words, when we have the same personal name both in *Callaecia* and outside, the one appearing in *Callaecia* shows no evidence of being adapted to the particular phonetics of a language spoken in that area. Some remarkable phonetic features of the indigenous personal names in the Latin inscriptions of *Callaecia* are the following:

1. diphthong *ai-* in *Ailaeca* (Vilar de Areias, Barcelos, *AE* 1983.568), which may actually be a god name.
2. diphthong *-ei-* in a few names such as gen. *Cileioui* (*RAP* 323)³⁶, gen. *Peicanae* (*EE* IX 264), *Seicius* (*CIRG* II 136)³⁷. Occurrences with comparanda outside *Callaecia* are very scarce, e.g.:
 - *Malceinus*, which, according to its distribution³⁸, is a typical Lusitanian name, usually appears in *Lusitania* as *Malgeinus*, but also as *Malcenus* and *Malgenus*;
 - *Meiduena*, which is also a typically Lusitanian variant of *Medugenus/-a*³⁹.

3. diphthong *-oi-*: gen. *Cadroiolonis* (ILER 6330), ? *Doirau* (ILER 4643), *Goilius* (AF I² 155).
4. diphthong *-oe-*: *Bloena* (e.g., EE VIII 119), *Boelius* (CIL II 2530), ? gen. *Boesii* (AF I² 343, *Coemia* (CIRG II 14), *Laboena* (AF I² 272).

3. Names of Deities

The first observation that must be made is that the god names of *Callaecia* are closely connected to those of the *Lusitania* province south of this region. It has long been known that the god names appearing both north and south of the Duero River in western *Hispania* clearly belong together, so this *corpus* of god names is frequently labelled 'Lusitanian-Galician'⁴⁰. This relationship is twofold:

1. The major divinities (judging from the number of inscriptions) are the same in *Callaecia* and *Lusitania*.
2. The phonetic traits of these names are basically the same in *Callaecia* and in *Lusitania*, with only some minor exceptions that will be commented on below. See e.g. the dative endings in the sequence *Tongoe Nabiagoi* of the inscription from Braga (CIL II 2419 = HEp.7.1160)⁴¹.

The most frequent god names in the inscriptions of *Callaecia* are:

- a. *Bandue*. This is one of the most frequent indigenous gods in the Latin inscriptions of western Hispania. Pedrero (1999) showed that there is a clear-cut distribution of the forms of this god name: *Bandue* appears in the inscriptions of *Callaecia* (plus a pair of inscriptions in the western part of the *conuentus asturicensis*), while *Bandi* appears in the inscriptions of the province of *Lusitania*⁴². Assuming that we are dealing with a *u*-stem, that difference can be accounted for as the divergent final outcome of an original sequence **Banduei*, which would have evolved into *Bandue* in the northern forms and into *Bandei/Bande/Bandi*, with coalescence of the *-w-* in the cluster *-dw-*, in the forms south of the Duero. This evolution, as noted by Prósper (2002: 269), is paralleled by the forms of another important god name, *Cossue/Cosei*.
- b. *Nabiae/Nauiae*. This goddess appears very frequently in *Callaecia* and in *Lusitania*. Her name has been interpreted by Prósper (2002: 189-195) as **nāwyā* 'valley', cf. Spanish *nava* 'plain between mountains'.
- c. *Coso/Cossue*. In this case there is an interesting distribution of forms of the name of the god, as noted by Prósper (2002: 235-238). *Coso* appears in the *conuentus lucensis*, *Cossue* in the *bracarensis* and *Cossei* further south in *Lusitania*. *Coso* has been generally explained as a Latinized form with the Latin thematic dative, but Prósper has argued that this may reflect the evolution of an original adesinential dative *-ou*, while the

forms *Cossue* and *Cossei* appear to have originated from an original desinence in *-oweī*.

Among the god names appearing exclusively in *Callaecia* we have:

- a) *Bormanico*, appearing on two inscriptions from Caldas de Vizela, Guimarães (*CIL* II 2402 and *CIL* II 2403 = 5558). It is most probably a formation built on the IE root **gh^wer-* (cf. Skt. *gharma-*, Lat. *formus*, Gk. *θερμός*)⁴³. This fits in particular well in this case given that the two inscriptions come from a place with thermal waters.
- b) *Reue Larauc(o)*, *Larauco D(eo) Max(imo)*, *Larocuo*⁴⁴. The name lacks a clear etymology.
- c) *Diis Ceceaignis* (Zaparín, Cortegada OR) and *Laribus Inmucenbaecis Ceceaecis* (Samaioes, Chaves VRE), *L(aribus) Gegeiqis* (*AF* I² 124). Prósper (2002: 319) does not offer an etymology.
- d) Dedications to the *Lares* followed by indigenous epithets are very frequent in western Hispania. Among these, there is a homogeneous and interesting group coming from the Peninsula do Morrazo (Cangas PO). They are all devoted to a *Deo Lari Berobreo*⁴⁵, whose names must be explained as related to a place-name in *-bri-* or *-brig-*, as argued by Villar and Pedrero (2001: 693) and Prósper (2002: 367-369).
- e) Among the epithets only found in *Callaecia* we also have the dedication to a *Lari Cari[e]co* (Refoios de Lima, Ponte de Lima VCA, *AE* 1983.561) and to a *Mar(ti) Caria(eco)* (Lisouros, Paredes de Coura VCA, *CIL* II 5069 = *HEp.* 4.1088).

The divinities mentioned so far do not seem to be Celtic, but appear to be related to Lusitanian instead. In her comprehensive study of the indigenous gods of western Hispania, Prósper (2002: 511 map 12), however, lists three Celtic cults in *Callaecia*:

1. The dedications to the great Celtic god *Lug*, but in plural⁴⁶. We find a dedication to the *Lugubo Arquienob(o)* in Sober LU (*IRPL* 67) and, similarly, to the *Lucoubu Arquieni(bu?)* in Otero de Rey LU (*HAE* 1717).
2. *Suleis Natugaicis* Coucieiro, Padern de Allariz OR (*AF* I² 158 = *HEp.* 7.532). Prósper (2002: 311-312) has rightly explained the name as the Latinized dative plural of **Sūlew(i)yā*, that is, a variation of the Celtic god name *Suleui(i)s*, which is well attested, especially at Bath. As for *Nantugaicis*, it is a derivative in *-k-aiko-* from Celtic **nantu-* 'valley'.
3. *Ariounis Mincosegaeigis*. Prósper (2002: 205-215) explains the god name as a participle *ar-yo-uno* 'ploughed' < **ar-yo-mno-* < **H₂erH₃-yo-mno-*, while the epithet would be a derivative in *-aiko-* from a compound **menekko-sego-*. **menekko-* 'abundant, frequent' appears to be related to OIr. *menic*, MW *mynych*, MCorn. *menough*, while **-sego-* is the well known Celtic element.

I think that at least the following Celtic god names in *Callaecia* should be added⁴⁷:

1. *Deuori* (dat.) appears as an epithet of the god Hermes on an inscription from Outeiro Seco, Chaves VRE (*CIL* II 2473, *AF* I² 78). It is clearly a compound **deiwo->deuo-* plus *-ri(ks)*, with the same evolution in the ending as the place-names in *-bris* from **-briks*⁴⁸.
2. *Deab(us) Vseis* on an inscription from Atás, Cualedro OR (*AF* I² 155 = *HEp.*7.498). They seem to be related to the *Matribus Vseis* from Laguardia AL (*ILER* p. 692)⁴⁹, derived from **upso-* 'high'.
3. There are three inscriptions devoted to *Crougia** in the *bracarensis* or nearby: *Crougiai Toudadigoe* (Mosteiro de Ribeira, Ginzo de Limia OR, *CIL* II 2565 = *AF* I² 98), *Corougia Vesuco* (Barcelos, Braga, *RAP* 61), and *[C]rugia Munniaego* (Viana do Bolo OR, *CIL* II 2523, with a correction of the reading by Prósper 2002: 183-184)⁵⁰. The name can be explained as a derivative **krouk-yo-* and is thus related to *Mir. cruách*, *W crug*, Corn., Bret. *cruc*.

From a linguistic point of view it is also important to remark that, apart from the distributional differences that we saw above concerning the dative endings of the god names *Bandue* and *Cossue*, the same phonetics can be found in the god names of *Callaecia* as in the god names of *Lusitania*. This applies even when the god names seem to have a Celtic etymology.

4. Ethnonyms

We should make a distinction between proper ethnonyms, that is, names primarily used to refer to a people, and ethnonyms derived from a place-name. An example of the first type is the name of the *Bibali*, whose town is, in fact, named after the name of the people, φόρος Βιβαλῶν, according to Ptolemy (II 6.43). An example of the second type is e.g. the name (gen. plu.) *[T]ongobricensium*, attested in an inscription from Freixo, Marco de Canaveses POR (*CIL* II 5564), which is clearly derived from the place-name *Tongobriga*. In this section I will focus on the ethnonyms of the first type, while the second type will be dealt with together with the place-names in the following section.

There are some peoples with clearly Celtic names⁵¹, including the following:

1. *Albiones* (Pliny *NH* IV 111, *ERA* 14)⁵². Tovar (1989: 124 and 139) interpreted this as a Celtic name, which is possible, but the name shows no specifically Celtic trait. It is a derivative form of IE **albho-* 'white'.
2. *A(r)rotrebae* (Str. III 3.5, Pliny *NH* IV 111, 114). They are also frequently called *Artabri* (Str. III 2.9 etc., Mela III 13, Agathem. IV 16, Ptol. II 6.2, 21). If the correct form is *Arotrebae*, as Pliny *NH* IV 114 explicitly argues, we would have here a

compound of *are*-⁵³ (with loss of the initial IE **p*) plus a form of the stem **treb*- 'live in, inhabit'⁵⁴.

3. *Nemetates*: Gen. Plu. ΝΕΜΕΤΑΤΩΝ in Ptolemy (II 6.40). The name is no doubt Celtic - it is a derivative in *-ates* of the well-known Celtic word *nemeto*- 'sacred place, sanctuary' (cf. Gaul. νεμητον, OIr. *nemed*). According to Ptolemy their capital town is *Volobriga*, again a name that is clearly Celtic, belonging to the series of place-names in *-briga*. In the onomastics of the area the word *nemeto*- is also attested in the name *Nemetobriga*, the capital of the Asturian *Tiburi* according to Ptolemy (II 6.37), but we have now an inscription from Codesedo, Sarreaus OR (*HEp*.7.548) mentioning possibly another *Nemetobriga*.
4. *Neri* (Mela III 11, Pliny *NH* 4.111)⁵⁵. As we saw, this group of people is explicitly called Celtic in the Classical sources. The name can be easily interpreted as Celtic⁵⁶, from the word **ner* 'male' (cf. W *ner* 'lord', OIr. *ner* 'boar'), but it does not show any specific Celtic trait, given that the word is attested in other western Indo-European languages⁵⁷.
5. *Quarquerni/Querquerni* (Pliny *NH* III 28, Ptol. II 6.46, *CIL* II 2477 = 5616 ; *Querquennis*, *It.Ant.*428.2; *Cercennis*, *Rav.*320.3). Related to the IE name for oak, **perk^wos*. Given that the assimilation of the initial **p*- to the labiovelar of the second syllable only seems to occur in Italic – including Latin – and Celtic languages, we can guess that we have a Celtic form here⁵⁸.
6. *Treb(ilium)* (*AF* I² 618). Even if the name is abbreviated, it seems acceptable to consider it as based on Celtic **treb*-, as the second element in *Arotrebae* above.

In other cases there is no cogent reason to classify a given ethnonym as Celtic, but the possibility cannot be totally ruled out either. For instance⁵⁹:

1. *Baedui* (Ptol. II 6.26). García Alonso (2003: 251) suggests that, assuming that *Baed*- stands for [bed-], it might belong to the same root as *Boduo*- with *e*-grade⁶⁰.
2. *Callaeci* (Pliny *NH* III 28⁶¹). The etymology is not certain. It might be related to the first element *Cala*- in *Caladunum*⁶².
3. *Cileni/Cilini* (Pliny *NH* IV 111, Ptol. II 6.24, *It.Ant.* 423.7, 430.3, *Rav.* 308.2, 321.8)⁶³. with zero-grade.
4. *Coelerni* (Pliny *NH* III 28, Ptol. II 6.4, *CIL* II 2477 = 5616, *IRG* II 40).
5. *Coro-cauci* (*CIL* II 2462). The name seems to be a compound of *Coro*-⁶⁴ plus *cauco*-, which appears in other Hispanic names but lacks a certain etymology⁶⁵.
6. *Coroqui* (*CIL* II 2489 = *AF* I² 612-614). The initial *Cor*- must be related to the initial sequence of the previous name.

7. *Egibarri Namarini* (Pliny *NH* IV 111). *Egibarri* is corrected to *Egobarri* by Tovar (1989: 138) and is then explained as a compound of a river name **Ego-* (> modern *Eo*) plus *-barros*⁶⁶. *Namarini* is explained by him as showing the IE negative prefix **n̥->na-* plus *mari-* related to *mori-* 'sea'⁶⁷.
8. *Lemaui* (Pliny *NH* III 28, Ptol. II 6.25, *CIL* II 2103, *CIL* XVI 73, 157, 161). García Alonso (2003: 203-204) suggests a derivation from IE **Im-*, cf. Lat. *ulmus*, OIr. *lem*, W *llwyf*, Engl. *elm*. The name is thus not incompatible with a Celtic etymology but shows no specifically Celtic trait, either.
9. *Narbasi*: Gen. plu. *Ναρβασῶν* (Ptol. II 6.48). There is no clear Celtic etymology. The ethnonym, however, is reminiscent of names in other Celtic areas, especially *Narbo* in Gaul.
10. *Lubaeni* (Ptol. II 6.47). From **lubo-*, cf. OIr. *lub* 'herb'?⁶⁸

There is a small group of Indo-European names that cannot be Celtic:

1. *Copori* (Pliny *NH* IV 111; *Coporici*, *AE* 1983.562 Montariol, Braga BRA; *Capari* Ptol. II 6.23)⁶⁹.
2. *Equaesii* (Pliny *NH* III 28, *CIL* II 2477 = 5616). A derivation from the IE name for 'horse' **ekwos*.
3. *Sefes* (Auien. *Ora* 195; *Lari Sefio*, *RAP* 216). The name has been interpreted⁷⁰ as a derivative of the IE **s(w)e-bho-*. The evolution **bh>f* would clearly prove that this is not a Celtic formation, while that evolution is attested in Lusitanian⁷¹.

Tovar (1989: 124) drew attention to the fact that a group of ethnonyms with a pre-Indo-European etymology are related to river names, for instance:

1. *Nebisoci*. According to Tovar (1989: 127) this name must be related to the river name *Nebis*, mentioned in various sources⁷². It would be a derivative in *-oco-*, which, as García Alonso (2003: 132) remarks, has the problem that the *-s-*, preserved in the ethnonym, is difficult to account for. I think, however, that that is not an unsolvable problem, for, if we assume that the indigenous name was an *-s* stem (a hypothetically nom. **Nebis*), gen. **Nebisos*, the Latin and Greek adaptation, starting from the nominative, would have been an *-i* stem, but the *-s* would be preserved in the derivations in the local language⁷³.
2. *Bibali* (Ptol. II 6.42, Pliny *NH* III 28, *It.Ant.* 428.7, *CIL* II 2477 = 5626)⁷⁴. This name seems to show some kind of reduplication in the initial syllable, as also shown by other ethnonyms in this area, such as *Gigurri* or *Susarri*⁷⁵. It has traditionally been related to the modern river name *Bubal*⁷⁶, which is rather doubtful.

3. *Tamagani* (*CIL* II 2477 = 5626, *IRG* IV 66). Related to the modern river name *Támega*.⁷⁷ The name could thus belong to the series of place-names in *Tam-* surveyed by Villar (1995b).
4. *Limici* (Pliny *NH* III 28, Ptol. II 6.43, *CILA* I 24, 33, 64, 72). Their name is related to the river name *Limia*.

Other ethnonyms have even more difficult or obscure etymologies⁷⁸: *Adoui/Iadou* (Pliny *NH* IV 111), *Ancondei* (*CIL* II 4215), *Arroni* (Pliny *NH* IV 111), *Gigurri* (Pliny *NH* III 28, Ptol.*Geog.* II 6.38, *It.Ant.* 428.7; *foro Gigurnion*, *Rav.*320.8, *CIL* II 2610, *HEp.*7.378 = 8.325), *Groui* (Mela III 10, Pliny *NH* IV 112, Ptol. II 6.44)⁷⁹, *Grauii* (Silius I 235; *Graii* in Silius III 366), *Leuni* (Pliny *NH* IV 112), *Luanci* (Ptol. II 6.45), *Praen(i)* (*CIL* II 2489 = *AF* I² 612-614), *Seu(r)ri* (Ptol. II 6.27, *AEA* 39.1966.142, *CIL* II 6290, *AE* 1934.19 ; *Seurbi* Pliny *NH* IV 112)⁸⁰.

5. Place Names

I will exclude from this analysis all the Latin place-names, since they cannot contribute to our knowledge of the indigenous languages of the area. I will also exclude such place-names as φόρος Βιβαλῶν, given that the ethnonyms have already been dealt with in the previous section.

5.1 Town (or human settlement) names

Among the names with a possible Celtic etymology we can mention the following:

1. *Asseconia* (*It.Ant.* 430.5; *Assegonion*, *Rav.* 321.6). The name may be Celtic if we accept that it is based on a compound **ad-sec-* or **ad-seg-*⁸¹.
2. *Bracara* (Pliny *NH* III 18, 28, IV 112, Ptol. II 6.38)⁸². The name may be Celtic if it is derived from the Celtic word *bracā* 'trousers' or from **mraci* (OIr. *braich/mraich* 'malt', W *brag* 'malt', etc.)⁸³.
3. *Caladunum* (Ptol. II 6.38, *It.Ant.* 422.5; *Caldu<n>a*, *CIL* II 2487 = *AF* I² 372)⁸⁴. The second element of the compound is clearly Celtic *-dunom*, but the etymology of the first element, even if it has good parallels in other Hispanic place-names, is problematic⁸⁵.
4. *Complutica* (Ptol. II 6.38; *Compleutica*, *It.Ant.* 423.1; *Com<pleu>tica*, fourth Astorga tablet). The name seems to be a derivative of IE **ploutos* 'swift' (cf. OIr. *lúath*, Gk. *πλέω*, etc.). The variation *-eu-/-u-* shown by the sources can be accounted for if we assume a development *Compleutica* > **Comploutica* > *Complūtica*⁸⁶, with an evolution *-eu->-ou-* known both in Celtic and in Latin⁸⁷.
5. *Ebora* (Mela III 11). Possibly from the Celtic word **eburo-* 'yew' (cf. OIr. *ibar* 'yew', W

- efwr, ewr* 'cow-parsnip, hogweed')⁸⁸.
6. *Lamecensis*⁸⁹. A place-name **Lamecum*, the forerunner of the modern *Lamego*, must be assumed on the basis of the ethnonym. It would be thus a derivative from *lama-*, which occurs frequently in Hispanic onomastics, and has been explained by García Alonso (2003: 126) as related to OIr. *lám* 'hand', from IE **p̥lma* or **plāma*, with Celtic loss of initial **p-*.
 7. *Lugisonis* (Rav.321.1). This could be a derivative of the god name *Lugu-*.
 8. *Meidunium* (CIL II 2520). This is the name of a *castellum* of the *Limici*. It seems to be a compound with *-dunium*, a derivative in *-yo-* from the Celtic word *-dunom* (cf. OIr. *dún* 'stronghold', W *din* 'stronghold'), which occurs frequently in Celtic areas of Western Europe (Ho. I 1375-1377), although it is rare in *Hispania*.
 9. *Morodon* (Rav.308.1). If the reading is right⁹⁰, this could be a compound of **moro-* (variation of **mori-* 'sea?') plus **-dunom*>*-don*, and therefore Celtic.
 10. *Nouion* (Ptol. II 6.21; *Noeta/Noela*, Pliny NH IV 111)⁹¹. Since Holder (Ho. II 792) this is usually considered the neuter form of Celtic **nowios* 'new' (a derivative in *-yos* from IE **newos*), showing thus the Celtic evolution *eu*>*ou*. *Nouio-* is frequent in the toponymy of Celtic areas of Western Europe⁹².
 11. *Ocelum* (Ptol. II 6.22). *Ocelo-* has no counterpart in insular Celtic, but its Celticity is usually assumed on the basis of its distribution in ancient onomastics⁹³.
 12. *Olca* (CIRG II 84). This is the name of a *castellum*. It seems to be the Celtic word *olca* 'field'⁹⁴.
 13. *Olina* (Ptol. II 6.22). Probably the Celtic word **olīnā* 'elbow' (cf. OIr. *uilen*, W *elin*, Mid.Corn. *elin*, etc.), in a metaphoric sense⁹⁵.

A special mention must be made of the names in *-briga* and *-bri(s)*, which are quite frequent in the area⁹⁶. There is only one non-compound name built on *briga*, *Brigantium* (Ptol. II 6.4, *It.Ant.* 424.5; *Bricantia*, Rav. 308.5; *Cabricantium* [for *-ca Bricantium*⁹⁷], Rav. 307.13; *Bregantium* Aethicus Ister, *Geographi Latini Minores* p.79.52 Riese; *Brigantia* Orosius I 2.71)⁹⁸. As for the compound names, I will provide a classification on the criterion whether the first term of the compound also has a clearly Celtic etymology or not⁹⁹:

a. Names in *-briga/-bri(s)* with a Celtic first element:

1. *Laniobrensis/Lamniobrensis/Lamiobrensis* (*Conc.Tol.* 137, 432, 451). The first element of the compound can be easily explained as Celtic **lanio-*, a derivative in *-yos* from the IE **p̥lH₂nos* 'flat'. It is highly remarkable that two phases in the evolution of this word can be attested, for abl. *Blaniobriensi* appears as the name of

a *castellum* of the *Supertamarici* on the inscription *CIL* II 2902 = 5667, with **p->b*- prior to its loss¹⁰⁰.

2. *Lambris* (Ptol. II 6.26; *Lambriaca* Mela III 10). If, based on the explanation by García Alonso (2003: 206-207), we assume that *Lam-* is an apocope for **lama*¹⁰¹, i.e. the final *-a* has been lost at the end of it, the name may be Celtic.
 3. *Nemetobriga* (*It.Ant.* 428.6, *Rav.* 320.7). Another town with an identical name appears on an inscription from Codesedo, Sarreaus OR (*HEp.* 7.548). The first element is clearly the Celtic word **nemeto-* 'sacred place, sanctuary'.
- b. Other names in *-briga/-bri(s)*:
1. *Adrobriga* (Mela III 13). No clear etymology for the first element¹⁰².
 2. *Aiiobrigiaecini*¹⁰³, a compound possibly with the personal name *Aius* as the first element, but we cannot be sure that this place was in Galician territory.
 3. *Alansbrica* (*AF* I² 105). The reading is uncertain and *Alaniobriga* has also been proposed.
 4. *Aliobrio*. Name of a mint of the Visigothic king Suintila¹⁰⁴. The first element is clearly related to IE **alyo-* 'other' and is widely used in Hispanic personal names, but **Ailo-* would be expected if it were Celtic.
 5. *Arcobriga* (*CIL* II 2419). There are two towns with this name in Spain and we do not know for sure whether this is a third one in *Callaecia*. The first element must be related to the personal name *Arcus*, which does not seem Celtic¹⁰⁵.
 6. *Auiliobris* (*CIRG* I 66). The first element is attested in Hispanic personal names¹⁰⁶.
 7. *Auobrigensis* (*CIL* II 4247)¹⁰⁷. The first element may be the personal name *Auus*.
 8. *Calubrigensis* (*CIL* II 2610, *AE* 1981.526). For the first element see the remarks on *Caladunum* above.
 9. *Canobri* (*Rav.* 308.12). This could be Celtic if *cano-* is related to MW *cawn* 'reeds'¹⁰⁸.
 10. *Coeliobriga* (Ptol. II 6.41)¹⁰⁹. The etymology of the first element is problematic¹¹⁰.
 11. *Ercoriobri* (abl.) (*CIL* II 2711). This must be a town of the *Albiones*. The analysis of the first element is difficult. If we isolate the element *corio-*, which is well known in Celtic onomastics¹¹¹, the initial *er-* cannot be accounted for. If we assume a relationship to place-names such as *Ercauica*, then we would be left with a suffix *-orio-*, which is also rather odd. Prósper (2002: 381) has suggested a relationship to OIr. *erchor* 'cast, shot'.

12. *Iuliobriga* (CIL II 2480). Rodríguez Colmenero (AF I² 223) reads this as <T>*ureobriga*. In that case the first element would be Indo-European non-Celtic rather than Latin, from the series of place-names in *Tur*-¹¹².
13. *Meobriga* (CIRG I 86). Possibly an epithet of the god *Coso*, as suggested by Prósper (2002: 226). The etymology of the first element, *meo*-, is uncertain.
14. *Talabriga* (AE 1952.65, CILA I 24, 33, 40, 42?). The first element must be related to the series of place-names in *Tala*- surveyed by Villar (1993).
15. *Tameobriga* (CIL II 2377). This is the name of a god, clearly derived from a place-name in *-brig*-. The first element must be related to the series of place-names in *Tam*- surveyed by Villar (1995b).
16. *[T]ongobricensium* (gen. plu.) (CIL II 5564). If the usual reconstruction of the initial letter of the name is right, the first element would fit well into a series of names in *Tongo*- found in *Callaecia* and *Lusitania*, including the god name *Tongoe Nabiagoi* (dat.) in *Bracara Augusta* (CIL II 2419) and personal names such as *Tongatius*, *Tongetamus*, etc.¹¹³ This element seems to be Indo-European, but is not necessarily Celtic¹¹⁴.
17. *Tuntobriga* (Ptol. II 6.38). The first element lacks any satisfactory explanation. It has thus been suggested¹¹⁵ that it should be corrected to read *Tungobriga*, in which case the town would be the same one as in the previous entry.
18. *Volobriga* (Ptol. II 6.40; *Valabricensis*, CIL II 5561; *Valubricensis*, ILER 5439)¹¹⁶. There are various possibilities for the etymology of the first element as an Indo-European element, but none of these is certain¹¹⁷.

It thus appears that in *Callaecia* the place-names in *-briga/-bris* with a non-Celtic first element are more numerous than those with a Celtic first element. I suggest that this allows us to draw interesting conclusions about the linguistic history of the region. Speakers of Celtic languages must have coined the names in *-briga* or *-bris*, but in order to generate them they seem to have used previously existing onomastic elements from that area.

The following place-names seem to be Indo-European but are not Celtic:

1. *Albucrarensis* (Pliny NH XXXIII 80; *Alboc(rarensis)* CIL 2598). This seems to be a compound with IE **albho*- 'white' as its first element, but *-crar*- cannot be accounted for.
2. *Auren(ses)* (CIL II 5613)¹¹⁸. This is clearly the ancient form of the modern toponym *Orense*. Tovar (1989: 307) suggests the possibility of a derivation from *aurum* – in which case it would be Latin.

3. *Buron* (Ptol. II 6.22). This may derive from the root **wer-/ur-* 'water, river', with *b-* for *w-*¹¹⁹.
4. *Cambaetum* (Ptol. II 6.47). From the root **(s)kamb-* plus a suffix *-aito-* attested in some personal names like *Andaitia* or *Calaitus*¹²⁰.
5. *Cariaca*, a place of the *Albiones* (ERA 14). This is a name derived from the root **car-*, with various possible etymologies¹²¹.
6. *Caronium* (Ptol. II 6.22; *Caranicum*, *It.Ant.* 424.6; ? *Carantium*, *Rav.* 307.15). This name is derived from the same root as the previous example.
7. *Glandomiron* (Ptol. II 6.22; *Glandimiro*, *It.Ant.* 424.3; *Glandimarium*, *Rav.* 308.3). This looks like a compound, the second element being *-miron-*, which is frequent in ancient Hispanic place-names¹²². As for the initial element, it would be tempting to relate it to the Celtic names in *Gla(n)n-*, but that would leave the cluster *-nd-* unexplained¹²³.
8. *Limia* (*It.Ant.* 429.5). See the river name *Limaia* below (§5.2).
9. *Medioca* (*Rav.* 308.4). This seems to be a derivative in *-ocā* from IE **medhyos* 'middle'.
10. *Merua* (Ptol. II 6.45). This may be derived from IE **mer* 'shine'¹²⁴.
11. *Salacia* (*It.Ant.* 422.3). This must belong to the series of Old European names in *sal-*¹²⁵.
12. *Salaniana* (*It.Ant.* 427.6, *Rav.* 320.1). This may be from the same stem as the previous example. One manuscript of the *Itinerarium* reads *Silaniana*, in which case the name would be Latin¹²⁶.
13. *Samarium* (*Rav.* 307.14). This must belong to the series of Old European names in *sam-*.
14. *Saramon* (*Rav.* 308.10). This must belong to the series of Old European names in *sar-*.
15. *Serante* (*AE* 1934.19). This is the name of a *castellum*. It might belong to the same root as the previous one but with *e*-grade.
16. *Talamina* (Ptol. II 6.27; *Timalino*, *It.Ant.* 430.9). This must belong to the series of names in *Tala-* analyzed by Villar (1993)¹²⁷.
17. *Turriga* (Ptol. II 6.22). This could be explained as a derivative in *-ica* belonging to the series of place-names in *tur-*, on which see Villar (1995a: 199-244), who explains them as built on the IE stem **tur-* (from **teuH₂-* 'swell, be strong', with *-r-*, cf. **turó-* 'strong'). It may even be the same town as the following one¹²⁸.
18. *Turoqua/Turaqua* (*It.Ant.* 430.2, *Rav.* 307.19). This has been interpreted by Villar (1995a: 191-197) as a compound of the stem *tur-* (see previous example) plus one of the

IE words for 'water', **akwā*. The variation *a-/o-* is, according to him, evidence of its belonging to the Old European substrate.

19. *Turonion* (Hidatius 131, *Chron. Min.* II p. 24, *Vita Fructuosi* 20). This must be a derivative from the same stem as the previous example.
20. *Turuptiana* (Ptol. II 6.22). Perhaps another derivative of *tur-*, but the sequence *-uptiana* cannot be accounted for¹²⁹.
21. *Vacoecum*¹³⁰.

Other place-names in *Callaecia* with even more uncertain etymologies include the following¹³¹: *Acripia* (*CIL* II 2435)¹³², *Araducca/Araducta* (Ptol. II 5.6, 6.38)¹³³, *Arragina* (*Rav.* 308.9)¹³⁴, *Atricondo* (*It.Ant.* 424.4), *Atucause(nses)* (*CIL* II 6287), *Berensi* (abl., *CILA* I 49), *Bonisana* (*Rav.* 307.18), *Burbida* (*It.Ant.* 430.1)¹³⁵, *Cistonia* (*Rav.* 308.7), *Dactonium* (Ptol. II 6.25)¹³⁶, *Dumium*¹³⁷, *Fi[?]* (*AE* 1977.451)¹³⁸, *Iria* (Ptol. II 6.23, *It.Ant.* 430.4)¹³⁹, *Laia* (Ptol. II 6.39; *Lais* Hidatius *Chron.* 252-253)¹⁴⁰, *Libunca* (Ptol. II 6.22)¹⁴¹, *Liui* (*CIL* II 2496 = *AF* I² 375)¹⁴², *Madequis(enses)* (*AE* 1977.451), *Odeis* (*Rav.* 307.11), *Ontonia* (*Rav.* 308.6), *Saqua* (*CIL* II 2487 = *AF* I² 372)¹⁴³, *Sermacele(n)s(is?)* (*CIL* II 2494 = *AF* I² 623), *Tardu* (*CIL* II 2484 = *AF* I² 237)¹⁴⁴, *Touagornicenses* (*AF* I² 5 = *HEp.* 7.1252)¹⁴⁵, *Tude* (*Str.* III 4.3, *Pliny NH* IV 112, Ptol. II 6.44, *Sil.Pun.* III 367, XVI 368, *It.Ant.* 429.7, *Rav.* 307.17)¹⁴⁶, *Vliainca* (*AE* 1977.451)¹⁴⁷, *Uttaris* (*It.Ant.* 425.3, 430.11)¹⁴⁸.

5.2 Rivers

1. *Limaia*. The modern *Limia* appears as the River of Forgetting in the Classical sources, specifically the *Lethes* and *Obliuio*¹⁴⁹. The etymology of *Limaia* is uncertain, but it could be Celtic if derived from **lm-*¹⁵⁰.
2. *Tamaris* (Mela III 11) / *Tamara* (Ptol. II 6.2), modern *Tambre*. The river name also appears in the ethnonyms *Supertamarici* (Mela III 11, *Pliny NH* IV 111, *CIL* II 2902 = 5667 Astorga, *CIL* II 2904 = 5081 Astorga) and *Praestamar(i)ci* (Mela III 11; *Pliny NH* IV 111)¹⁵¹. The name *Tamaris* seems to belong to the series of Indo-European place-names in *tam-* surveyed by Villar (1995b).
3. *Minius* is attested several times in the sources¹⁵². It also appears in the ethnonym *Transminiensis* (*AE* 39.1966.142, *CIL* II 6290). The name may be Celtic, but this is not certain¹⁵³.

6. Conclusions

In addition to the ethnological information provided by the Classical sources, the linguistic analysis of the onomastic records of ancient *Callaecia* clearly confirms the presence of Celtic populations in this area of *Hispania* by the early first century AD.

For the linguistic and cultural history of this region it is important to remark that the linguistic characteristics of its god names, which for the most part clearly point to a link with the southern regions in the *Lusitania* province, do not reappear in personal names. If we have a look at the personal names of *Lusitania* we will see that at least some of the characteristics of the god names, for instance, the presence of 'strange' diphthongs and sequences of vowels reappear in personal names. I will not go now in detail into the debated problem whether a Celtic-like phonetic 'infection'¹⁵⁴ is attested in *Lusitania*, but the fact is that while we frequently have variants of personal names with that infection or infection-like sequences in the onomastics of the Vettones¹⁵⁵ and other peoples of *Lusitania*, there are virtually no corresponding examples among the peoples of *Callaecia*.

We do have some unequivocally Celtic place-names, as has been demonstrated here. It is striking, however, how many names in *-briga/-bris* show a non-Celtic initial element, indicating that at their arrival the Celtic populations used non-Celtic onomastic elements already existing in the area to create the new names of these settlements.

We also have to bear in mind that in Roman times people from the Celtiberian area were continually moving into *Callaecia*. As stated above, we have inscriptions that clearly show this on-going migration. We can expect that these people were responsible for the introduction in *Callaecia* of some Celtic personal names, and possibly also some place-names. We know indeed that place-names are rather conservative, but we have to take into account that new towns were created in this area in Roman times in order to subdue the indigenous peoples. One example among others is the above-mentioned *Forus Bibalorum*. This may also have been the case, for instance, for some of the names in *-briga*, which appear both in *Callaecia* and in the Celtiberian area.

As for the relationship between these Galician *Celtici* and the inhabitants of the *Anas* (= Guadiana) River area, who are explicitly mentioned in Strabo's paragraph, quoted at the beginning of this paper, I do not think that it is by chance that in *Callaecia* we have at least one inscription¹⁵⁶ to *Reue Ana Baraego*, the god of the Guadiana and Albárregas Rivers, the latter a

tributary of the Guadiana near Mérida. These gods also appear as *Ana* and *Barraeca* in a monumental inscription on the mausoleum of a *seuir augustalis*, the so-called "dintel de los ríos" at Mérida (*Emerita Augusta*, the ancient capital town of the Roman province of *Lusitania*)¹⁵⁷. The iconography of this monument, in which *Ana* appears as an old man and *Barraeca* as a young man, clearly points to an interpretation of the Guadiana and its deity as the old, bigger river with the Albárregas and its deity as the young tributary. So while these *Celtici* may have introduced some personal Celtic place-names in the area, they may also be responsible for the introduction of non-Celtic names, such as that of *Reue*. The *Celtici*, coming to the north through *Lusitania*, may have brought with them some Lusitanian onomastics, too¹⁵⁸.

Summing up, the nature of the evidence makes it difficult to provide a detailed linguistic history of ancient *Callaecia*. However, by analyzing the various sources available, a global picture seems to emerge in which the Celts constituted the last layer of Indo-Europeans to come to this area. But what was there before? Obviously there were populations related to the Lusitanians. But only that? More investigation is needed before we can safely state that Lusitanian or Lusitanian-like populations are not the oldest Indo-European layer in this area. Leaving aside theonymy, which can be easily borrowed, *Callaecia* does not seem to have so much in common with *Lusitania* as is usually assumed. A very tentative explanation would be that a previous Indo-European layer was later influenced by the Lusitanian populations in the southern region and that that mixture was what the Celts found when they finally reached this westernmost region of Europe.

Endnotes

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² Mela (III 10) reports that the *Celtici* were settled along the whole coast of *Callaecia* from the Duero River northwards, except the part inhabited by the *Groui*.

³ Mela III 13.

⁴ Pliny, *NH* IV 111. Cape *Nerion* is called *promontorium Celticum* by Mela (III 9 and 12) and Pliny (*NH* IV 111).

⁵ Pliny, *NH* IV 111.

⁶ Pliny, *NH* IV 111.

⁷ Pliny, *NH* IV 111.

⁸ In other cases we are told that a particular group of people was not Celtic. This seems to be the case with the *Groui* according to Mela (III 10), who makes a distinction between *Celtici* and *Groui* on the coast of *Callaecia*.

⁹ On the personal names of the *Celtici* in the *Baetica* see Luján (2001). For a comprehensive archaeological study of the Celts in that area see Berrocal Rangel (1992). According to Pliny (*NH* III 13-14) the *Celtici* in *Baetica* originated from the Celtiberians, coming through *Lusitania*.

¹⁰ There might be one indigenous inscription from this area – that found on the gold ring from Ginzo de Limia (Orense). The inscription is lost and we only know of it through a drawing by Martín Sarmiento. Hübner (*CIL* II p. 1025 XII/III) transcribed it in Greek letters and published it in his *Monumenta Linguae Ibericae* (p. 183, n. LV). Despite recent attempts (Schwerteck 1993, 1998) to read it as an inscription in western Iberian script, its interpretation is not certain at all and its phonetic transcription is totally dubious; see my critical remarks in *HEp.* 8.381. In *CIL* II 5600 two small disks from Briteiros (Guimarães BRA) were published with symbols that have sometimes been thought to be Iberian, although this does not seem to be the case. Those inscriptions do not provide any linguistic information in any case.

¹¹ There has been no recent collection of the indigenous personal names of *Callaecia* after Albertos' (1985) paper. However, Albertos' list can be updated with the names listed in Abascal's (1994) general survey of the personal names of *Hispania* and the names listed in the volumes of the journal *Hispania Epigraphica*.

¹² The god names of *Callaecia*, together with those of the province of *Lusitania*, have been systematically surveyed by Prósper (2002). Previously, they had been studied by Untermann (1985). Olivares Pedreño (2002: 67-109) also provides an analysis of the gods attested in *Callaecia*. Again, new god names and corrections of previous readings can be found in the volumes of *Hispania Epigraphica*.

¹³ For a general survey of the ethnonyms of *Hispania* see Untermann (1992). Most ethnonyms and place-names of *Callaecia* can be found in Tovar's (1989: 127-141 and 293-322) book and in the *TIR* K-29. Luján (2000) has studied the names of towns in this area cited in Ptolemy. For a comprehensive survey of the Hispanic place-names transmitted by Ptolemy see García Alonso (2003), especially pp. 129-155, 187-

210, and 232-255 for the names of towns in *Callaecia*. Recent volumes of *Hispania Epigraphica* should be checked for new finds and corrections of names appearing in inscriptions.

¹⁴ See previous note for the most relevant secondary literature on the place-names of *Callaecia*.

¹⁵ I do not intend to be comprehensive and provide in this paper every linguistic record available for the study of the linguistic situation of ancient *Callaecia*, but rather have selected and commented on some significant records that may serve to provide insight into the general picture of this area.

¹⁶ For previous general surveys about the indigenous languages of *Callaecia* see de Hoz (1997) and Gorrochategui (1997).

¹⁷ In order to write this paper I have checked the published Latin inscriptions from *Callaecia* in search of indigenous names of any kind. This has been made possible by the use of the files of the *Archivo Epigráfico de Hispania* of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid. I am very grateful to its director, Prof. Isabel Velázquez, as well as to Dr. Rosario Hernando and José L. Gamallo for their help.

¹⁸ The personal names of *Lusitania* are now fully and easily accessible in the *Atlas antroponímico de Lusitania* prepared by the Grupo Mérida (2003). This volume allows for quick and systematic comparisons of the personal names in the *Gallaecia* with those in *Lusitania*. For the indigenous personal names of the *Lusitania* we now can rely on Vallejo's (2004) monograph.

¹⁹ This has been variously explained. De Hoz (e.g., 1997: 109-111) favors the view that the onomastic homogeneity between the different areas and peoples of ancient *Hispania* is the result of a long process of migrations and intermingling, while since his early works Untermann (e.g., 1965) has advocated for an original unity.

²⁰ Untermann (1965: 20) listed the following names as "most typical" of the Lusitanian-Galician area: *Albinus, Balaesus, Caturo, Cilius, Louesius, Medamus, Tritius, Viriatus*, and possibly also *Vegetus*.

²¹ See Abascal (1994: 284 and 286) and Vallejo (2004: 180-185) for the occurrences of the names. Vallejo (2004: 185) may be right when he argues that *Arquius* and *Arcius* cannot be two variants of the same name.

²² See Prósper (2002: 312).

²³ See Abascal (1994: 313-314) and Vallejo (2004: 249-255) for the occurrences of the name.

²⁴ See Evans (1979: 121-122) specifically on the Hispanic names.

²⁵ See Abascal (1994: 320-321) and Vallejo (2004: 283-286), as well as the remarks by Albertos (1985: 277).

²⁶ See Abascal (1994: 331-332) and Vallejo (2004: 283-286) for the occurrences of the names in this series.

²⁷ See *GPN* 180-181.

²⁸ Palomar (1957: 52) analyzed *Reburrus* as derived from a base *Burrus* with the prefix *re-* and related it to the late Latin words *burra* (cf. Spanish *borra* 'sheep') and *reburrus* 'with crisp hair'. Pokorny (*IEW* 134)

explained these forms as coming from the root **bher* 'rub, cut'. For their distribution and a critique of Palomar's etymology see Vallejo (2004: 381-390).

²⁹ See Villar (1995a: 61) and Vallejo (2004: 355-356).

³⁰ See Abascal (1994: 458-459), as well as Villar's (1994: 238) map and Vallejo's (2004: 370-375) map and comments. Although Villar (1994: 237) stated that the variant *Pentamus* was not attested, it seems to have been identified recently in an inscription from Ponte da Barca VDC (*HEp.* 5.1055).

³¹ See Abascal (1994: 349) and also Vallejo (2004: 108-109 and 313-315), who argues, however, that names in *Aeb-* and *Eb-* must be kept separate.

³² See Abascal (1994: 279) and Vallejo (2004: 158-160).

³³ See Abascal (1994: 474-475) and Vallejo (2004: 380-381).

³⁴ See Luján (2003: 186).

³⁵ See Ho. II 687, *GPN* 236-237.

³⁶ The reading is uncertain.

³⁷ When compared to *Secuia* and other names of this series.

³⁸ See Abascal (1994: 410-411) and Vallejo (2004: 344-346).

³⁹ See Abascal (1994: 425-426) and Vallejo (2004: 356-360). *Medugenus* at Caldas de Vizela, Guimarães BRA (*CIL* II 2403 = 5558, with reading *Rectugenus* which has been later corrected) is an *uxamensis*, thus from Celtiberia. See Vallejo (2004: 689-690) for an analysis of *-ei-* for *-e-* as a typically Lusitanian phenomenon.

⁴⁰ See Untermann (1985) and Prósper (2002), among others.

⁴¹ For the linguistic analysis of that inscription see Prósper (1998, 2002: 154-166).

⁴² See de Bernardo Stempel (2003) for a survey of the types of the dedications to this god and a linguistic analysis of the name.

⁴³ See Prósper (2002: 329-330) for other possible etymologies and further literature.

⁴⁴ See Prósper (2002: 129-130).

⁴⁵ See *CIRG* II 1-12. The segmentation of the god name appearing in these inscriptions has been discussed. The author of the *corpus* reads *Deo Laribero Breo*, but given the frequent presence of inscriptions consecrated to the *Lares* in *Callaecia* the segmentation accepted above seems preferable. See Prósper (2002: 367-369) for a revision of the bibliography and a proposed etymology.

⁴⁶ On the cult of the god *Lug* in *Hispania* see Marco Simón (1986).

⁴⁷ The British goddess *Conuentina* had been related to the god name *Cohuetene* appearing in an inscription from the province of Lugo, but according to the analysis by Prósper (2002: 244-247), *Cohue* is merely a phonetic variant of the god name *Cossue/Coso* that we have already mentioned, and *Tene[* is the beginning of an epithet of the god.

⁴⁸ On this linguistic development see Villar (1995a: 153-188).

⁴⁹ This epithet may or may not be related to the adjective *usseam* on the Lusitanian inscription from Cabeço das Fragoas (*MLH L-3.1*). See Prósper (2002: 47, fn. 47) for a revision of the bibliography.

⁵⁰ This name also appears on some inscriptions from *Lusitania* and in the Lusitanian inscription from Lamas de Moleo (*MLH L-2.1*).

⁵¹ See Tovar (1989: 124) for *Albiones*, *Neri*, and *Nemetates*. He does not consider *Querquerni* to be Celtic.

⁵² Possibly also in *CIL* II 2711 if *Al()* is to be read as *Al(bio)*, as proposed by Albertos (1975: 32).

⁵³ See Ho. I 188, *KGP* 132-133, *GPN* 142, *DELG* 52.

⁵⁴ See *KGP* 280, *LEIA* s.u. *treb*, *DELG* 301.

⁵⁵ For the problem of the interpretation of *Claudionerium* (Ptol. II 6.22) see Luján (2000: 56-57) and García Alonso (2003: 187-188).

⁵⁶ See Tovar (1989: 136).

⁵⁷ See *LEIA* s.u. *nert*.

⁵⁸ See Luján (2000: 62) and García Alonso (2003: 251).

⁵⁹ Other names such as *Cabarci* (Pliny *NH* IV 111) and gen. plu. *Obili(um)* (*AF* I² 618) may also belong in this group.

⁶⁰ For other possibly related place and personal names and a discussion of the possible etymologies of the names see García Alonso (2003: 205-206).

⁶¹ This seems to be the only occurrence of this name referring to a specific people and not as a general name for all the inhabitants of *Callaecia* (Tovar 1989: 129).

⁶² See §5.1 below.

⁶³ For the possibility of epigraphic occurrences see García Alonso (2003: 202-203).

⁶⁴ See *KGP* 183-184 for the series of names in *Coro-/Corio-* and *GPN* 338-339 for *Coros*.

⁶⁵ See García Alonso (2003: 269-270) on the place-name *Cauca* in central Spain.

⁶⁶ On which see *KGP* 144.

⁶⁷ On which see *GPN* 232-233.

⁶⁸ For other names in *Lub-* see Ho. II 295-296.

⁶⁹ For the use of *Coporus* as a personal name see Albertos (1966: 94-95), Abascal (1994: 334) and García Alonso (2003: 200-201 and fn. 169).

⁷⁰ Gorrochategui (1987: 85 and fn. 38), cf. Prósper (2002: 317).

⁷¹ See Gorrochategui (1987) and Untermann (*MLH* IV 730).

⁷² Ptol. II 6.1, Mela III 1.10. *It. Ant.* 425.2 and 430.10 records a *ponte Neuiæ* and *Rav.* 4.45, a *ponte Abei*, usually considered a mistaken reading of *Neuiæ*. See García Alonso (2003: 131-132).

⁷³ The reading of the inscription seems to be, in fact, *Aebisoci*, but given that the peoples mentioned in it appear in alphabetical order, it is usually assumed that it should be read as *Naebisoci*. Nevertheless, the dat. *Ebu[soc]o* has been proposed by Colmenero for an inscription from Mairos, Chaves VRE (*AF* I² 247).

⁷⁴ *B(e)ibalus* is also attested as *cognomen* in two inscriptions (*CIL* II 2475; *AEA* 39.14).

⁷⁵ See Luján (2005: 403-405) and *HEp.* 8.325.

⁷⁶ See García Alonso (2003: 244-245) for the relevant bibliography and for the possibility of a Celtic etymology as **be-ba(l)lo-*, from the root **ba(l)l-* known in Celtic onomastics (*GPN* 147), plus a reduplication.

⁷⁷ See Tovar (1989: 130).

⁷⁸ The names *Helleni* (Pliny *NH* IV 112) and *Amphiloci* (Str. III 4.3) seem to be adaptations of similar Greek names, so we cannot use them for our purposes.

⁷⁹ For possible epigraphical occurrences see Tovar (1989: 132).

⁸⁰ The same suffix appears in the name *Gigurri*. For some etymological possibilities, all of them uncertain, see García Alonso (2003: 207-208).

⁸¹ For *ad-* see *KGP* 111-116 and *GPN* 128-131; for *se(c)c-*, Ho. II 1422-1426 and *KGP* 265; and for *seg-*, Ho. II 1444-1453, *KGP* 265-266, *GPN* 254-257.

⁸² See Tovar (1989: 310-311) for further references.

⁸³ See Luján (2000: 64-65) and García Alonso (2003: 232-234) for other possibilities.

⁸⁴ The sequences *]dun[* and *]un[* in the final lines of an inscription from Braga (*EE* VIII 120) have sometimes been completed as *Caladuniensis* or, alternatively, as *Beduniensis*. *Caladu<n>us* as a personal name occurs on another inscription from Braga (*EE* VIII 125 = *AE* 1983.570).

⁸⁵ See Luján (2000: 59-60) and García Alonso (2003: 234-236). See Tovar (1989: 306) for another place-name *Cale*, which would later survive into *Portocale* > *Portugal*.

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- ⁸⁶ For the second step in the evolution, cp. *ko-n-bo-u-to* (= *Complouto*), the name of another place in Spain, on Celtiberian coins (*MLHI* A-74d).
- ⁸⁷ For further comments on this name see Luján (2000: 60) and García Alonso (2003: 236-237).
- ⁸⁸ See *KGP* 202, *GPN* 346-347.
- ⁸⁹ The name is attested only from late antiquity onwards; see Tovar (1989: 316).
- ⁹⁰ See Tovar (1989: 315) for various suggestions regarding corrections of this name.
- ⁹¹ For the difficulties associated with identifying *Nouion* with the town mentioned by Pliny see Tovar (1989: 300-301), Luján (2000: 58), and García Alonso (2003: 188).
- ⁹² See *Ho.* II 787-792.
- ⁹³ See the remarks by Sims-Williams (2005: 273) for additional bibliographic references. The word *ocelo-* is attested in the god name *Lari Ocaelaego* in *Callaecia*; see Prósper (2002: 110) for further references.
- ⁹⁴ On which see *DELG* 240.
- ⁹⁵ Further remarks in Luján (2000: 58) and García Alonso (2003: 190-191).
- ⁹⁶ For collection of names in *-briga* in Hispania see Albertos (1990) and Villar (1995a: 155-159). Villar (1995a: 153-188) also provides a detailed linguistic analysis of the variations of these names in Spain. Interesting remarks can be found also in Prósper (2002: 357-382). See also the comments on *-briga* place-names and their classification by García Alonso (2006).
- ⁹⁷ This is the usual emendation, but some *Vicani Cabr(icensis?)* appear on an inscription from Vieiza do Minho BRA (*HEp.*4.1016).
- ⁹⁸ Further sources in Tovar (1989: 309).
- ⁹⁹ Further names in *-brig-* identified in epithets of gods can be found in Prósper (2002: 357-382).
- ¹⁰⁰ Sometimes *Lanobriga* has been read on an inscription from Eiras, San Amaro OR (*AF* I² 105), but the reading is uncertain. See *Alansbrica* below.
- ¹⁰¹ For *lama* see § 5.1 above.
- ¹⁰² For other names in *Adro-* see *Ho.* I 45-46.
- ¹⁰³ *Aiobrigiaeco* in the *Tabula* from O Caurel (*HAE* 1965 = *HEp.* 8.334) with corrected reading according to the occurrence of the name in El Bierzo edict (*HEp.* 8.325).
- ¹⁰⁴ See Tovar (1989: 293).
- ¹⁰⁵ See Albertos (1990: 132-133) and García Alonso (2003: 99).

¹⁰⁶ See Abascal (1994: 292) and Vallejo (2004: 196-198). For the analysis and contextualization of this name see de Hoz (1994).

¹⁰⁷ May be identical with *Abobriga* and *Aobriga* known from other sources; see Albertos (1990: 133-134).

¹⁰⁸ See Isaac (2002: AI WW/Celtic elem. etym.).

¹⁰⁹ The *Caelobrigoi* are mentioned in the Lusitanian inscription from Lamas de Moledo (*CIL* II 416 = *MLH* IV L-2.1), but it is not certain that the same place is referred to in both cases.

¹¹⁰ See Luján (2000: 61-62) and García Alonso (2003: 243-244).

¹¹¹ See *KGP* 183-184.

¹¹² On which see the analysis of *Turriga* below.

¹¹³ See Albertos (1985: 297-298) and Vallejo (2004: 417-423).

¹¹⁴ See Prósper (2002: 157-164) for a revision of the etymology. According to her these would be derivatives from the IE root **teng-* 'make wet', and not from the root of OIr. *tongid* 'swear'.

¹¹⁵ See Tovar (1989: 293), Luján (2000: 60-61) and García Alonso (2003: 238-239).

¹¹⁶ Tovar (1989: 301) also has suggested the possibility that the second part of the sequence *Netaciueilebrigae* in *CIL* II 2539, most probably a god name, might also be this name, adding thus a further possibility for the vowel of the first syllable. Prósper (2002: 370) suggests splitting the sequence as *Neta Ciueilebrigae*. In that case *Ciueilebrigae* should be added to our list of names in *-briga*, but the first element *Ciueile-* is rather odd.

¹¹⁷ See Luján (2000: 61) and García Alonso (2003: 243).

¹¹⁸ For later sources see Tovar (1989: 307).

¹¹⁹ See García Alonso (2003: 188-190) for further possibilities.

¹²⁰ See Luján (2000: 65) and further comments by García Alonso (2003: 252-254).

¹²¹ See *GPN* 162-166 for that root and García Alonso (2003: 196-197) for other possibilities of analyzing this particular name.

¹²² See the study of those names by Pedrero (1996).

¹²³ See Luján (2000: 63-64) and García Alonso (2003: 198-199).

¹²⁴ See Luján (2000: 65). Other possibilities in García Alonso (2003: 250-251).

¹²⁵ See Villar (2000: 291-292).

¹²⁶ See Tovar (1989: 295).

¹²⁷ See further comments by García Alonso (2003: 208-210).

¹²⁸ See Luján (2000: 64) and García Alonso (2003: 200).

¹²⁹ See Tovar (1989: 304), Luján (2000: 63), and García Alonso (2003: 197-198).

¹³⁰ See Tovar (1989: 304).

¹³¹ Tentative etymologies could be proposed at least for some of these, but they would be highly speculative and would not change the general look of Galician onomastics.

¹³² This is the name of a *castellum*. The reading is not certain and *Acripae* has also been suggested.

¹³³ See Luján (2000: 66) and García Alonso (2003: 239-241).

¹³⁴ See Tovar (1989: 304) for the possibility that the *Aregenses montes* mentioned by Joh. Bicl. s.a. 572,2 *Chron. min.* II p. 214, are related to it.

¹³⁵ For the possibility that *Burbida* and *Bonisana* are, in fact, the same place, see Tovar (1989: 299).

¹³⁶ See García Alonso (2003: 204-205) for a tentative analysis as related to Celtic *dago*- 'good'.

¹³⁷ Attested only from Suebian times on. See Tovar (1989: 302).

¹³⁸ This is the name of a *castellum*. Unfortunately the complete name is not preserved, but the presence of an initial *f*- shows that the name was not Celtic.

¹³⁹ References to later sources can be found in Tovar (1989: 318).

¹⁴⁰ The existence of the place-name itself has been questioned. See Luján (2000: 66) and García Alonso (2003: 242).

¹⁴¹ See Luján (2000: 65) and García Alonso (2003: 192-193) for further comments and possibilities of analysis.

¹⁴² This seems to be a *castellum* of the *Limici*, but the reading of the inscription is doubtful.

¹⁴³ Name of a *castellum*.

¹⁴⁴ Name of a *castellum*.

¹⁴⁵ This reading is not definite – *Lovagornicenes* and *Vagornicenses* are alternate readings.

¹⁴⁶ For further sources in later times see Tovar (1989: 298-299). More comments in García Alonso (2003: 247-248).

¹⁴⁷ This is the name of a *castellum*. The name looks very odd and the segmentation of the sequence is uncertain.

¹⁴⁸]ruecensis appears in *CIL* 5583. The readings *Ripau(m) (castellum) Puant(ium)* (*AF* I² 617) and *Amba(um) Colen(ae)* (*CIL* 2482 = *AF* I² 371) are extremely uncertain.

¹⁴⁹ On the names of this river in antiquity see the paper by Guerra (1996), to which the appearance of *Obliuio* in a newly discovered papyrus containing part of the Greek text of the *Geography* by Artemidorus of Ephesus (Kramer 2005: 29) should be added.

¹⁵⁰ See García Alonso (2003: 134-135).

¹⁵¹ It is, however, problematic to explain *prae(s)-*, given that this prefix is not used in Latin for creating place-names. Pokorny (*IEW* 844) thought that **praesta-* was a participial form meaning 'lovable, beloved', so **marko-* would be the Celtic word for 'horse', cf. Ags. *frīd-hengest*.

¹⁵² See *TIR* K-29 s.u. for a list of the sources.

¹⁵³ See García Alonso (2003: 135-136).

¹⁵⁴ The 'infection' is the appearance of a non-etymological *i* – which may sometimes evolve into *e* – as a mark of palatalization of the following consonant.

¹⁵⁵ See Luján (in press).

¹⁵⁶ The question of whether *CIL* II 685, an inscription devoted to *Reue Ana Baraeco* preserved in the Diocesan Museum of Astorga (León), came from Ruanes (Cáceres) or from Rubianes (Orense) has been discussed. In the latter case we would have two records of the cult of this god in *Callaecia*.

¹⁵⁷ See Canto et al. (1997).

¹⁵⁸ The same applies to the *Turduli*, mentioned together with them by Strabo.

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