

## CISALPINE CELTIC VARIA II

### ABSTRACT

The article comprises notes on different aspects – readings, analyses, etymologies and interpretations – of six Cisalpine Celtic inscriptions: VA·1.1 **kasikos**, MI·2 **atep**, TI·49 **inutu**, TI·13 **pirauixēs**, and the alphabetically Latin documents MI·15 SEUUONIS and MI·17 CALEDONOS.

THE PRESENT ARTICLE CONSTITUTES the second instalment in a series which is intended to draw attention to new readings, analyses and interpretations of Cisalpine Celtic inscriptions and the linguistic forms attested in them which have been implemented in the digital edition *Lexicon Leponticum* (*LexLep*). The text is, in essence, drawn from the respective *LexLep* entries, but was adapted to the format of a print publication. Data and details about aspects of the inscriptions which are not discussed here, as well as images and further references, can be found in the entries on the website. The inscription sigla used for Cisalpine Celtic inscriptions are those of *LexLep*; concordances of the *LexLep* sigla with the major print editions of the Cisalpine Celtic inscription corpus (Whatmough 1933; Tibiletti Bruno 1981; Solinas 1995; Motta 2000; Morandi 2004) are provided on <https://lexlep.univie.ac.at/wiki/Concordance>.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. VA·1.1 **kasikos** OR **kasiuos**

(ARDENA; FIRST HALF OF SECOND CENTURY BC)

The inscribed fiasca a trottole from a La Tène grave in Ardena on a plateau above Brusimpiano near Lago di Lugano was found in 1938 and published by Bertolone (1941). It bears two inscriptions, one two-character sequence VA·1.2 *ur* or *tu* vel sim. of unclear function on the shoulder, and the longer, clearly language-encoding sequence in question (VA·1.1) on the foot just inside the outer rim. The latter was read by Bertolone and later scholars<sup>2</sup> as **kasikos** – a linguistically plausible reading, *kassikos* being a well-attested Gaulish personal name (see *cassic(i)us/-a* in Delamarre 2007: 59) transparently formed

<sup>1</sup>The research for this article was conducted for the project Cisalpine Celtic Language and Literacy, funded by the Austrian Academy of Sciences (APART-GSK fellowship 2019) and conducted at the Department of Linguistics of the University of Vienna. The contents were presented at the conference ‘Cisalpine Celtic Literacy’ (Maynooth/online) in June 2022. I am grateful to David Stifter (Maynooth) for his feedback and advice on linguistic matters, to Laura Grestenberger, Alan J. Nussbaum and Michael Weiss for sharing their expertise, and to the participants of the abovementioned conference for their input and references.

<sup>2</sup>Tibiletti Bruno (1966: 15–21), Lejeune (1971: 50, 62), Tibiletti Bruno (1978: 148–9), Solinas (1995: 368–9, no. 113, 2), Morandi (1999: 173–4, no. 19), Morandi (2004: 544–5, no. 41 A), Rapi (2009: 214).

from the common base *kassi-* with a *k*-suffix. An examination of the object in January 2022, however, has revealed a problem with this reading: what looks in older photographs and drawings like secondary surface damage disrupting the inscription at the height of letters 5 and 6 is in fact a small pebble, which is baked into the clay and must have been there already when the letters were applied. The second-to-last letter omicron was, accordingly, applied half-size above the pebble because the latter could not be written on. The letter before omicron, of which only a chevron above the pebble is visible, was identified by Bertolone as kappa  $\chi$ ; the drawings by Tibiletti Bruno (1966: 16) and Morandi (2004: 548, fig. 11.41) show a hasta, slightly bent in the upper half, just before the pebble, and the trace of the tip of the lower bar below the pebble beneath omicron. Indeed, various small surface irregularities below the pebble, which show very prominently in all available photos, seem to suggest the lower tips of lines, but none of them hold up to examination. Furthermore, the surface just above the pebble is smooth, without traces of a hasta or lower bar to form kappa. The fifth letter looks more like a small upsilon  $\upsilon$  which was squeezed into the upper part of the line above the pebble, just like omicron.<sup>3</sup>

Unfortunately, the resulting reading **kasiuos** is considerably less attractive from a linguistic perspective. The common, if etymologically opaque base *kassi-* could be the same as in *kassikos*, but the suffix would appear to be adjectival *-uo-*, which regularly forms derivatives from verbal roots (overview in De Bernardo Stempel 1999: 212–21) and is present in base morphemes of personal names such as *biu-* ‘alive’, but – unlike *-k-* – is not itself a productive suffix in Continental Celtic onomastics. A name *kassiuos* would have to contain an old, otherwise unattested secondary formation *\*kassi-uo-*.

To retain the linguistically preferable reading **kasikos**, we can consider the possibility that the writer of the inscription, when reaching the pebble and realising their strategic mistake, made an executive decision to omit the lower half of the letter kappa, because they considered the resulting form to be sufficiently clear – cf. the argument of Weiss (handout 2019), who emends *PACA* in the Duenos Inscription to *P<L>ACA*, suggesting that the writer did not correct the mistake because *PACA* would be a nonce formation and could be interpreted correctly by contemporary readers.

## 2. MI.2 atep

(PARABIAGO; LATE FIRST CENTURY BC)

The sequence inscribed dextroverse in a curve on the foot of a black-glazed cup found in unrecorded circumstances in the nineteenth century was originally read *AUIA* (in the Latin alphabet) by Tibiletti Bruno (1984: 123) (cf. the drawing by Frontini 1985: tav. 16.12, which shows non-retrograde alpha as the final letter). However, the impression of a lower bar in the last letter to form  $\beta$

<sup>3</sup>As pointed out by the reviewer of this paper, the obliqueness of the chevron’s right-hand side line also supports upsilon; the hasta of initial kappa is quite straight.

is due to one of the concentric circles on the foot (and a combination of non-retrograde with initial retrograde alpha  $\Lambda$  would be unlikely in any case). The last letter is either pi or inverted lambda  $\Gamma$ , as shown in Tizzoni's drawing (1984: tav. XLIV e); Morandi (2004: 611, no. 132), who also included the short bar crossing the vertical  $\dagger$  after initial alpha, accordingly read **atīl** or **atiip**, interpreting the form as an abbreviated personal name and comparing specifically TI-12 **atīlonei**. Double iota, however, is not otherwise attested in language-encoding Cisalpine Celtic inscriptions; it is preferable to read the two verticals as cursive Latin epsilon  $\Pi$  (as also attested in MI-17 and MI-15 below). That the alphabet of the inscription is Latinised Lepontic or even Latin with Lepontic relics is indicated by the form of alpha with two oblique hastae  $\Lambda$  rather than late Lepontic  $\text{𐌰}$  and of tau with a straight hasta and only slightly tilted bar  $\dagger$  rather than Lepontic  $\text{𐌠}$ ; it is also made plausible by the late dating of the object (based on typology, see Tizzoni 1984: 72, Frontini 1985: 113). The letter forms agree well with those attested in the Latin alphabetarium on Monte Aga (see Casini and Fossati 2016), which features the exact same form of alpha with the shortened left-hand side hasta, cursive epsilon, tau with a slightly tilted bar  $\text{𐌠}$ , and Lepontic instead of Latin pi.

The resulting form **atep** can be interpreted as an abbreviation of a personal name in *ad-tepo*- 'run toward', as already attested three times in the Cisalpine Celtic corpus: VR-7 **ATEPORIX**, TI-8 **atepu**, VA-2 **atepa**; see Salomon (2022: 185) on the analysis of the names.

### 3. TI-49 **inutu**

(GIUBIASCO; SECOND HALF OF THIRD–FIRST CENTURY BC)

The most interesting among the eight graffiti which were detected in the course of the Nationalmuseum Zürich's review of the material from the Golasecca necropolis (TI-46, TI-47, TI-48, TI-49, TI-50, TI-51, TI-52, TI-53; see Pernet et al. 2006: 229) is a five-letter sequence on the foot of a bowl excavated in 1901. The reading of the tidily and deeply incised inscription is entirely unproblematic despite the find number having been painted right across it. Neither does the analysis pose any problems: **inutu** can be analysed as an *on*-stem personal name in the nominative *indutū* formed from the base *indut*-, with the (etymological) cluster /nd/ reflected as <n> in writing as typical for Cisalpine Celtic inscriptions.<sup>4</sup> *indut*- is well attested in Gaulish inscriptions: *CIL* XII 5884 *indutiomarus* (also in literary sources), *RIG* I G-70 (possibly sim. also G-111)  $\epsilon\iota\nu\delta\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\omicron\rho\epsilon\iota\zeta$ ,  $\iota\nu\delta\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\lambda\omicron$  (Mullen 2013: 182–9), *indut(i)usl-o*, *indutilli*, *indutissa* (see *AcS* II 41–5, *KGP* 226, *GPN* 96–8,

<sup>4</sup>This is generally assumed to reflect a phonetic reality, viz. a sound change [nd] > [nn] (see the detailed discussion in Uhlich 2007: 384–405; also Lejeune 1971: 24–5, Eska 1998: 5, Stifter 2020: 12). The fact that Celtic names are attested with etymological /nd/ intact in Latin inscriptions of Northern Italy casts doubt on whether this development was fully executed. While an outright orthographic rule for not spelling /d/ in this position is hardly feasible, we may be dealing with a reflection of allegro speech which was countenanced by Lepontic, but not Latin orthography.

Delamarre (2007: 110); probably also instances of *indus* as per *DLG* 190, but cf. Falileyev 2014: 128).

*indut-* itself, recently discussed by Falileyev (2014: 128–9), is of unclear etymology (see *GPN* 97–8 for older literature), conceivably a compound of *in-* ‘in’ and opaque *dut-*, which also appears as second element in *CIL* XII 4223 *menmandutis* (theonym, Lat. dat. pl.) and possibly lexically in obscure *duti* on the Chartres defixio (Lambert 2013), and may be the same element as in names like *duta*, *dutia*, *duttius* etc. (see *AcS* I 1388, Delamarre 2007: 92). It is doubtful, though, whether all these instances of *dut-* have the same meaning and etymology. PIE roots from which Celtic *dut-/dūt-* could be derived (with *t*-suffix) are collected by Repanšek (2013: 188–9) (discussing *duti*).<sup>5</sup> Of the eight candidates, only *\*deh<sub>2</sub>u-* ‘ignite’ is securely attested in the Celtic branch, but without metathesis. Repanšek suggests a derivation from *\*deh<sub>3</sub>u-* (enlarged from *\*deh<sub>3</sub>-* ‘give’), which is attested, metathetised, in Umbrian *-dito-* < *\*duh<sub>3</sub>-tó-* ‘given’ (cf. Lambert 2013: 152). A semantically plausible option for the personal names is *\*d<sup>h</sup>eu-* ‘run’ (cf. the common elements *rit-* ‘run, attack’ and *king-* ‘stride, attack’). Specifically for *indut-*, Delamarre (*DLG* 190–1), assuming a meaning related to juridical matters based on the comparison with Lat. *indūtiae* ‘armistice’ (also of uncertain etymology), proposes an etymology *\*én(i)-d<sup>h</sup>ō-t-s* from PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘put, make’ → ‘who has the law within him’ (cf. Lambert 2013: 152 with the same etymology for the second element of *menmandutia* ‘qui applique son esprit’). Another possibility is again *\*deh<sub>3</sub>-* ‘give’ as in Lat. *sacerdōs* (*NIL* 63–4, n. 8 with literature). Cf. also Weiss (via Beekes 2010 s.v.), who suggests a derivation of Lat. *indūtiae* from the root *\*deu<sub>h</sub>2-* ‘to be able, arrange’. Whatever the etymology of *indut-*, Cisalpine Celtic *indutū* adds another example, with alternative stem formation (a hypocoristic of a compound or an individualising derivation directly from the hypothetical noun), to the list of Gaulish attestations.

#### 4. TI·13 **piraiuxēs**

(GIUBIASCO; LATE SECOND–FIRST CENTURY BC)

The damaged inscription TI·13 is written on the shoulder of a fiasco a trottola from Giubiasco. According to Herbig in the original publication (1906: 188–9, no. 1), the faintness of the scratches is the result of a cleaning of the object. Pi **1**, twice iota **l** and rho **Q** as well as chi **V**, epsilon **≡** and san **M** are clear. The fourth letter alpha is sometimes rendered as **Λ** (Herbig *ibid.*, Whatmough 1933: 78, no. 261, Morandi 2004: 527, no. 14), but the lower bar of **Λ** is faintly visible. The most problematic letter is no. 5, for which three different readings have been suggested. Since only a hasta and a bar in the upper area are visible and no trace of a second bar can be made out, the letter has most often been interpreted as upsilon **V** (Herbig *ibid.*, Whatmough *ibid.*, Crivelli 1943: 53, Solinas 1995: 324, no. 10, Morandi 1999: 163–4, no. 7, Morandi 2004 *ibid.*, De Marinis and

<sup>5</sup>Cf. also Repanšek (2015).

Biaggio Simona 2000: 462, no. 530), but also as kappa ϰ (Herbig *ibid.*, Rhys 1913: 26–7, no. 4) or nu Ν (Motta 2000: 213–4, no. 24, followed by Pernet *et al.* 2006: 229, tab. 6.2).

A re-examination of the inscription for *LexLep* in July 2021 has not shed any light on the issue. Upsilon does seem to be the best option epigraphically, as it requires only the assumption that the oblique hasta does not reach the bottom, while the addition of patently non-existent bars is necessary to form nu and kappa. **pirauixēs** lends itself to analysis as a dithematic personal name with first element *bira-* (connected with *birro-* ‘short’?)<sup>6</sup> and second element *uiko-* ‘fight’. In Motta’s **piranixēs**, the base of the second element might be *\*nig-* ‘wash’ (Stifter 2010: 370), but the semantics are questionable. As stressed, with good cause, by the reviewer of this paper, in both cases *a* in place of the expected stem vowel sheds some doubt on the segmentation. When assuming a segmentation **pir-aiuxēs** (with *ai-* ‘desire’?), however, the latter part of the form *-ixēs* is hard to explain. This also goes for Rhys’ **pirakixēs**, which would otherwise be attractive because of the commonness of Gaulish *birāk*-names, which are also attested in Cisalpine Celtic (NM-4 **pirakos**, NO-30 **piraki**).<sup>7</sup>

San in final position is unlikely to spell /d/ as in many younger Lepontic inscriptions (cf. Stifter 2010: 372–3), but appears to be used in its original Lepontic function for a dental-sibilant cluster (cf. the possible use of chi rather than kappa for /k/ in *uiko-* as more common in archaic Lepontic inscriptions).<sup>8</sup> Since the ending <ēs> also occurs in **sitēs** in the Prestino inscription (CO-48), where it is assumed to reflect an accusative plural ending *-e<sup>n</sup>ts* vel sim. (with epenthetic /t/ and subsequently weakened nasal, see Uhlich 1999: 295–9), **pirauixēs**, expected to be a personal name due to its context, was analysed as a participle in *-ent-* (*-uik-ent-s* ‘fighting’) by Solinas (1995: 324, no. 10) (see also Motta 2000: 213–14, no. 24, Stifter 2010: 370). If this should be the case, the form would provide another instance of (analogical?) *-enC-* rather than *-anC-* for *\*-n<sup>h</sup>C-* in Cisalpine Celtic (see the discussion in Uhlich 1999: 299). It may be preferable, however, to analyse <ēs> in the present inscription as the agentive suffix *-et-* plus *-s* – a derivation *uik-et-* ‘fighter’ would parallel formations such as *king-et-* ‘attacker’ (in PNN like *vercingetorix*, maybe also

<sup>6</sup>An onomastic element *birr-* appears in Ogam *CIIC* 131 LITUBIRI and in Gaulish in simplex names like *birr(i)us*, *birro* (see *DLG* 76, Delamarre 2007: 213 et passim), thought to be connected with OIr *berr*, MW *byrr*, etc. ‘short’, Gallo-Lat. *birrus* ‘capelet with hood’ (*FEW* A–B 376, Thurneysen 1916: 82) < PC *\*birro-* (Matasović 2009 s.v., *LEIA* B-42) without an IE etymology.

<sup>7</sup>Delamarre (*DLG* 76) lists names in *birāk-* (*biracos*, *biracillus*, *biracatus*, *RIG* I G-257 βιρακοτουτι, *biracideginus*, etc.; see also *KGP* 149, Delamarre 2007: 42, 213) under the head-word *birr-*; the association goes back to De Jubainville (in *AcS* I 423), who makes the connection via a variant (nomen) *birius*, but this is uncertain considering consistent simple /t/ in the *birāk*-names as well as the suffix *-āk-* itself, which usually forms derivations from substantives (cf. *GPN* 311–13, Lochner von Hüttenbach 1989: 31). Cf., however, De Bernardo Stempel (2010: 79), who explains simple /t/ through degemination before stressed vowels (*birrus* vs. *birākos*).

<sup>8</sup>In contrast to its late sporadic employment to denote /g/ or [ɣ] (e.g. PV-4 **eripoχios** *eribogios*), which may be due to influence from Venetic orthography, chi can be argued (with unequal confidence) to denote /k/ in four archaic inscriptions: VA-3 **jiunθanaya** (if Celtic and with a *k*-suffix), VA-4.1 **viχu uikū** (uncertain reading), NO-29 **χoθios** *kottios*, NO-1 **χosioiso** *kossioiso*. How this fits into the strategies of obstruent spelling in the early Lepontic alphabet will be the topic of a future publication.

in Cisalpine Celtic VB-23 **kiketu** = *king-et-ū* with individualising *on*-stem), *seg-et-* ‘victor’ (CIL XI, 1711 SEGETIUS, CO-57 **sekezos** = *seg-et-īos*, arguably also NM-6 **sexeθu** = *seg-et-ū*) and *org-et-* ‘killer’ (*orgetius*, *orgetorix* etc.; Delamarre 2007: 146), all with martial semantics.<sup>9</sup> For the use of the non-thematised nominative *uik-et-s* in a personal name cf. *cinges* = *king-et-s* (Delamarre 2007: 65, Irslinger 2002: 58).

## 5. MI-17 CALEDONOS

(SAN GIORGIO SU LEGNANO; LATE FIRST CENTURY BC)

The black-glazed patera from the late La Tène/Augustan necropolis in Via Vittorio Veneto was excavated already in 1952 and published by Sutermeister (1956: 20–2). The inscription CALEDONOS, applied in small but neat letters upside-down on the bottom of the patera between two decorative lines, is written in the Latin alphabet with little to no influence from North Italic writing. Sutermeister, an archaeologist, took the name *caledonos* to be Greek; the document thus did not make it into the Cisalpine Celtic editions and was only added to the corpus in 2021 by its inclusion in *LexLep*.

As already noted by Volonté (2012: 728) after consultation with Filippo Gambari, the form *caledonos* is the genitive of the Celtic personal name *kaledū*, which is attested in the Gaulish coin legends RIG IV M-88–90, M-257 CALEDU; cf. also CIL VIII 19745 CALEDIA, and repeated *caledō* (Delamarre 2007: 53). The name is certainly connected with the ethnonym *kaledones*, though the exact relationship – *kaledones* being simply the plural of *kaledū* without derivational suffix – is unclear (cf. the PN CALEDONIA, Delamarre 2007: 53). There is general agreement that the base is *kal-* ‘hard’ as in *\*kaletō-* ‘id.’ as attested in OIr *calad* etc., but – as asserted by Zimmer (2006: 165–6) (pace Luján 2003: 200) – *kaled-* cannot be directly compared with *kalet-*, which is formed with the ablauting *t*-suffix discussed above sub 4.; the second element/suffix *-ēd-* has not been convincingly explained. The Latin attestations of the ethnonym show long */ē/* (*calēdones*), which cannot be etymological in Gaulish (where */ē/* > */ī/*).<sup>10</sup> If */ē/* in Latin should be secondary in some way (though it is not evident how or why), the suffix may be the also otherwise attested, but enigmatic *-ed-*.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup>The comparison is not perfect, as the abovementioned Gaulish nomina agentis in *-et-* have generalised *e*-grade, not zero-grade of the root; see Irslinger (2002: 57–68) on the formation of nomina actionis and agentis with ablauting *t*-suffix in Irish.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. Zimmer (2006: 165–6), who suggests that the Romans may have encountered the ethnonym before */ē/* > */ī/* (and the coin legends also reflect that state, or show influence from Latin?). He proposes an analysis as a compound *\*kal-pēd-h<sub>3</sub>n-* ‘having hard feet’.

<sup>11</sup>Beside *caledonos*, a suffixed element *-ed-* appears in Cisalpine Celtic arguably in the names VR-14 **kelešu** and CO-48 **plialeθu**, possibly also VB-2 **oletu**, VB-23 **kiketu** and NM-6 **sexeθu** (though for the latter two *-et-* is more likely, see above sub 4.), so always as an *on*-stem *-edū* (on CO-57 **sekezos** see also sub 4.). Numerous potential Celtic attestations are collected in AcS I 1407 sub *-ēdon-/ēdū*. IE comparanda are elusive – cf. e.g. Neri 2003: 47, n. 105 on the possibility that a suffix *-ed-* underlies some Latin *-idus*-adjectives, specifically *calidus* ‘warm’ < PIE *\*k<sub>1</sub>l-ed-ó-* (see NIL 414, n. 1 on the root shape): OI. *śarād-* etc. ‘autumn’ < *\*k<sub>1</sub>el-éd-* ‘warmth’, where *-ed-* is also irregular (see NIL 415, n. 7 with literature). Schaffner 2014: 74 compares the derivation *\*meh<sub>2</sub>k-éd-* ‘height’ > Gk *\*mak-ed-ó-* ‘tall’ (as basis for Μακεδόν- ‘Macedonian’); cf. Nussbaum

## 6. MI·15 SEUUONIS

(PARABIAGO; SECOND HALF OF FIRST CENTURY BC–EARLY FIRST CENTURY AD)

The olpe was found in the La Tène/Roman Imperial age necropolis of San Lorenzo (Parabiago); the inscription is applied prominently on the shoulder. The sequence is written dextroverse in the Latin alphabet, with rounded sigmas, large omicron, nu with a full-length angle, and cursive epsilon. The document was included in the Cisalpine Celtic corpus by Morandi (2004: 709, no. 282), who, taking the two chevrons in the middle to represent inverted mu, read SEMONIS, genitive of a Latinised personal name *semō* from a largely hypothetical Celt. *semū*. This reading is hard to accept, as the only comparandum for such an inverted mu is found in the difficult, alphabetically Camunoid part of the Voltino inscription (BS.3.2); also, the two chevrons do not touch. The preferable reading SEUUONIS with double upsilon was already put forward by Volonté (1993: 42).

While the grammatical analysis remains the same (gen. *seuūōnis* of a Latinised *seuūō* ← Celt. *seuūū*), the base *seuū-* finds better Celtic comparanda than *sem-*. A Celtic element *seuū-* (or *seuū-?*), always spelled with double upsilon, is attested in a handful of Gaulish personal names: *seuūā* (SEUUAE gen.) in Geneva, *seuūō* (SEUUO, potter's name at Lezoux and at Strasbourg; more in AcS II 1530), and SEUUANTI[ at Trèves (Delamarre 2007: 167–8). For the latter, Delamarre (ibid. 168) suggests an etymology with first element *sego-* 'strength, victory' and second element in *uanti-* '?'; *seuūā* and Latinised *seuūō* could be hypocoristics of such compounds with any second element in *u-*, lenited /g/ and assimilated stem vowel. This can explain /e/ before /u/ (or /u/), since inherited /eu/ should have become /ou/. Despite the corrected reading, the inscription can thus retain its place in the corpus of Cisalpine Celtic inscriptions.<sup>12</sup>

1999: 407, n. 34, and further Nussbaum (handout 2004) on an ablauting suffix *-ed/ēd-* in Greek and Latin. With regard to the potential connection with Lat. *calidus* it may be considered whether the root present in *kaledū*, *kaledones* (and any of the unsuffixed bases *kalo-* in Gaulish PNN) is not the same as in the Insular Celtic 'hard'-words, but *\*kel-* 'warming', which is not lexically attested in Celtic.

In Cisalpine Celtic inscriptions, some of the PNN in (putative) *-edon-* appear in two-part names where a clear patronym is missing (**uvamokozis plialeθu**, **oletu amasīlu**), leading Markey to analyse the element as a suffix forming cognomina (Markey and Mees 2003: 140, 149, Markey 2006: 157). Markey compares Sabellic patronymic *-id-jo-*, Messapic patronymic *-id-*, and Greek *-ιδᾱ*, deriving *-ed-* from *\*id-* with lowering in Markey and Mees (2003: 149; cf. Villar and Prósper 2005: 286), but reconstructing Pre-Celtic *\*-edon-* in (2006: 157).

<sup>12</sup>This cannot be said of some other documents which have found their way into the corpus over time, prominently e.g. TI·4 POLIBI SPURIS from Giubiasco. In accordance with the dating of the terra sigillata plate to the second half of the first century AD based on the typology and stamp (see Pernet et al. 2006: 203, *OCK* 1765), the inscription is written in the Latin alphabet with possible Greek (lambda), but no Lepontic traces; the two personal names are Latinised Greek (πολυβιος → *polybius*; cf. the spelling of the Campanian fabricant Publius Cippius Polybius' cognomen POLIBI (gen.) on fabrication stamps; see Kunow 1985: 222–4) and Latin or Etruscan (*spuris* – cf. the Latin cognomen *spurius* and Etruscan names in *ET*<sup>2</sup> I, 281; Morandi (1999: 164–5) 'senza alcun dubbio un italico'), certainly not Celtic.

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AcS</i>	Holder 1896–1907.
<i>CIIC</i>	Macalister 1945–49.
<i>CIL</i>	Mommsen et al. 1862–.
<i>DLG</i>	Delamarre 2003.
<i>ET<sup>2</sup></i>	Meiser 2014.
<i>FEW</i>	Von Wartburg 1922–2002.
<i>GPN</i>	Ellis Evans 1967.
<i>KGP</i>	Schmidt 1957.
<i>LEIA</i>	Vendryes, Bachallery and Lambert 1959–96.
<i>NIL</i>	Wodtko, Irslinger and Schneider 2008.
<i>OCK</i>	Oxé, Comfort and Kenrick 2000.
<i>RIG</i>	Duval et al. 1985–2002.

## REFERENCES

- BEEKES, ROBERT 2010: *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series 10 (Leiden/Boston 2010).
- BERTOLONE, MARIO 1941: ‘Nuove scoperte archeologiche della provincia di Varese’, *Rivista Archeologica dell’Antica Provincia e Diocesi di Como* 123–4, 21–36.
- CASINI, STEFANIA and FOSSATI, ANGELO 2016: ‘L’alfabetario latino e le incisioni di età romana sulle rocce di Carona (BG)’, in Silvia Lusuadi Siena et al. (eds), *Archeologia Classica e Post-Classica tra Italia e Mediterraneo. Scritti in Ricordo di Maria Pia Rossignani*, Contributi di Archeologia 8 (Milano), 173–81.
- CRIVELLI, ALDO 1843: *Atlante Preistorico e Storico della Svizzera Italiana. Vol. 1: Dalle Origini alla Civiltà Romana* (Bellinzona).
- DE BERNARDO STEMPEL, PATRIZIA 1999: *Nominale Wortbildung des älteren Irischen. Stammbildung und Derivation*, Buchreihe der Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie 15 (Tübingen).
- , 2010: ‘Die Geminaten des Festlandkeltischen’, in Karin Stüber et al. (eds), *Akten des 5. Deutschsprachigen Keltologensymposiums Zürich, 7.–10. September 2009*, Keltische Forschungen, Allgemeine Reihe 1 (Wien), 65–87.
- DELAMARRE, XAVIER 2003: *Dictionnaire de la Langue Gauloise. Une Approche Linguistique du Vieux-Celtique Continental* (second edition, Paris).
- , 2007: *Noms de Personnes Celtiques dans l’Épigraphie Classique. Nomina Celtica Antiqua Selecta Inscriptionum* (Paris).
- DE MARINIS, RAFFAELE C. and BIAGGIO SIMONA, SIMONETTA (eds) 2000: *I Leponti tra Mito e Realtà. Raccolta di Saggi in Occasione della Mostra Locarno, Castello Visconteo – Casorella, 20 Maggio–3 Dicembre 2000* (Verbania).



- DUVAL, PAUL-MARIE, LEJEUNE, MICHEL, COLBERT DE BEAULIEU, JEAN-BAPTISTE, FISCHER, BRIGITTE and LAMBERT, PIERRE-YVES 1985–2002: *Recueil des Inscriptions Gauloises* (Paris).
- ELLIS EVANS, DAVID 1967: *Gaulish Personal Names: A Study of Continental Celtic Formations* (Oxford).
- ESKA, JOSEPH F. 1998: ‘The linguistic position of Lepontic’, in Benjamin K. Bergin et al. (eds), *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society. Special Session on Indo-European Subgrouping and Internal Relations* (Berkeley, CA), 2–11.
- FALILEYEV, ALEXANDER 2014: ‘The Gaulish word for “thin” and some personal names from Roman Siscia’, *SC* 48, 107–37.
- FRONTINI, PATRIZIA 1985: *La Ceramica a Vernice Nera nei Contesti Tombali della Lombardia*, *Archeologia dell’Italia Settentrionale* 3 (Como).
- HERBIG, GUSTAV 1906: ‘“Keltoligurische” Inschriften aus Giubiasco’, *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde* 7, 187–205.
- HOLDER, ALFRED 1896–1907: *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz* (Leipzig).
- IRSLINGER, BRITTA SOFIE 2002: *Abstrakta mit Dentialsuffixen im Altirischen* (Heidelberg).
- KUNOW, JÜRGEN 1985: ‘Die capuanischen Bronzegefäßhersteller Lucius Ansius Epaphroditus und Publius Cippius Polybius’, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 185, 215–42.
- LAMBERT, PIERRE-YVES 2013: ‘Chartres 2011 : essai d’interprétation’, *EC* 39, 135–59.
- LEJEUNE, MICHEL 1971: *Lepontica* (Paris).
- LOCHNER VON HÜTTENBACH, FRITZ 1989: *Die Römerzeitlichen Personennamen der Steiermark* (Graz).
- LUJÁN, EUGENIO R. 2003: ‘Gaulish personal names: an update’, *EC* 35, 181–247.
- MACALISTER, R. A. S. 1945–49: *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum* (Dublin).
- MARKEY, THOMAS L. 2006: ‘Early Celticity in Slovenia and at Rhaetic Magrè (Schio)’, *Linguistica* 46, 145–71.
- MARKEY, THOMAS L. and MEES, BERNARD 2003: ‘Prestino, patrimony and the Plinys’, *ZCP* 53, 116–67.
- MATASOVIĆ, RANKO 2009: *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic*, Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series 9 (Leiden/Boston).
- MEISER, GERHARD 2014: *Etruskische Texte. Editio Minor* (second edition, Hamburg).
- MOMMSEN, THEODOR et al. 1862–: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin).
- MORANDI, ALESSANDRO 1999: ‘Epigrafia vascolare celtica fra Ticino e Como’, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire* 77, 151–204.
- , 2004: *Celti d’Italia. Tomo II: Epigrafia e Lingua dei Celti d’Italia*, Popoli e Civiltà dell’Italia Antica 12.2 (Roma).
- MOTTA, FILIPPO 2000: ‘La documentazione epigrafica e linguistica’, in De Marinis and Biaggio Simona 2000, 181–222.

- MULLEN, ALEX 2013: *Southern Gaul and the Mediterranean: Multilingualism and Multiple Identities in the Iron Age and Roman Periods* (Cambridge).
- NERI, SERGIO 2003: *I Sostantivi in -u del gotico: Morfologia e Preistoria*, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 108 (Innsbruck).
- NUSSBAUM, ALAN J. 1999: ‘\*JOCIDUS: an account of the Latin adjectives in -idus’, in Heiner Eichner and Hans Christian Luschützky (eds), *Compositiones Indogermanicae in Memoriam Jochem Schindler* (Praha), 377–419.
- , 2004: ‘Cool \*-ēd-: The Latin *frīgēdō* and Greek ἀλγηδών, τηκεδών, and ῥιγεδανός types’, handout at East Coast Indo-European Conference 23, VirginiaTech, 2004.
- OXÉ, AUGUST, COMFORT, HOWARD and KENRICK, PHILIP 2000: *Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum: A Catalogue of the Signatures, Shapes and Chronology of Italian Sigillata* (second edition, Bonn).
- PERNET, LIONEL, CARLEVARO, EVA, TORI, LUCA, VIETTI, GIANLUCA, DELLA CASA, PHILIPPE and SCHMID-SIKIMIĆ, BILJANA 2006: *La Necropoli di Giubiasco (TI), Vol. II: Les Tombes de La Tène Finale et d'Époque Romaine*, Collectio Archaeologica 4 (Zürich).
- RAPI, MARTA 1999: ‘Ardena, località Brusimpiano, tomba gallica con iscrizione’, in Raffaele C. de Marinis et al. (eds), *Alle Origini di Varese e del suo Territorio: Le Collezioni del Sistema Archeologico Provinciale*, Bibliotheca Archaeologica 44 (Roma), 213–14.
- REPANŠEK, LUKA 2013: ‘The inscription from Chartres’, *EC* 39, 181–92.
- , 2015: ‘A note on Gaul. *duti*, Chartres A7, B9’, *EC* 41, 111–19.
- RHÛS, JOHN 1913: ‘The Celtic inscriptions of Cisalpine Gaul’, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 6, 23–112.
- SALOMON, CORINNA 2022: ‘Cisalpine Celtic varia I’, *North American Journal of Celtic Studies* 6.2, 178–86.
- SCHAFFNER, STEFAN 2014: ‘Zur Wortbildung und Etymologie von lateinisch *autumnus* ‘Herbst’, *Graecolatina et Orientalia* XXXV–XXXVI, 67–102.
- SCHMIDT, KARL HORST 1957: ‘Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen’, *ZCP* 26, 33–301.
- SOLINAS, PATRIZIA 1995: ‘Il celtico in Italia’, *Studi Etruschi* 60, 311–408.
- STIFTER, DAVID 2010: ‘Lepontische Studien: *Lexicon Leponticum* und die Funktion von *san* im Lepontischen’, in Karin Stüber et al. (eds), *Akten des 5. Deutschsprachigen Keltologensymposiums. Zürich, 7.–10. September 2009*, Keltische Forschungen, Allgemeine Reihe 1 (Wien), 361–76.
- , 2020: *Cisalpine Celtic: Language – Writing – Epigraphy*, AELAW Booklet 8 (Zaragoza).
- SUTERMEISTER, GUIDO 1956: ‘Un secondo sepolcreto di epoca imperiale a S. Giorgio su Legnano’, *Memorie della Società Arte e Storia di Legnano* 16, 3–22.
- THURNEISEN, RUDOLF 1916: ‘Etymologica’, in Lucian Scherman and Carl Bezold (eds), *Aufsätze zur Kultur-und Sprachgeschichte vornehmlich des Orients. Ernst Kuhn zum 70. Geburtstage am 7. Februar 1916 gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern* (München), 80–2.

- TIBILETTI BRUNO, MARIA GRAZIA 1966: 'Note epigrafiche leponzio-liguri e galliche', *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo di Scienza e Letteratura* 100, 3–24.
- , 1978: 'Ligure leponzio e gallico', in Aldo Luigi Prosdocimi (ed.), *Lingue e Dialecti dell'Italia Antica*, Popoli e Civiltà dell'Italia Antica 6.1 (Roma), 131–208.
- , 1981: 'Le iscrizioni celtiche d'Italia', in Enrico Campanile (ed.), *I Celti d'Italia* (Pisa), 157–207.
- , 1984: 'Appendice E: I materiali iscritti', in Tizzoni 1984, 119–23.
- TIZZONI, MARCO 1984: *I Materiali della Tarda Età del Ferro nelle Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche del Museo di Milano*, Notizie dal Chiostro del Monastero Maggiore Suppl. 3 (Milano).
- UHLICH, JÜRGEN 1999: 'Zur sprachlichen Einordnung des Lepontischen', in Stefan Zimmer et al. (eds), *Akten des zweiten deutschen Keltologensymposiums (Bonn, 2.–4. April 1997)*, Buchreihe der Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie 17 (Tübingen), 277–304.
- VENDRYES, JOSEPH, BACHELLERY, ÉDOUARD and LAMBERT, PIERRE-YVES 1959–96: *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* (Dublin).
- VILLAR, FRANCISCO and PRÓSPER, BLANCA MARÍA 2005: *Vascos, Celtas e Indo-europeos: Genes y Lenguas*, Acta Salmanticensia, Estudios Filológicos 307 (Salamanca).
- VOLONTÉ, ANNA MARIA 1993: 'La cucina e la mensa', in Anna Maria Volonté (ed.), *Otium et Negotium: Aspetti della Vita Quotidiana in Età Romana* (Legnano), 36–55.
- , 2012: 'I materiali della tarda età del ferro nel Museo civico di Legnano', in Cristina Chiaramonte Treré et al. (eds), *Interpretando l'Antico: Scritti di Archeologia Offerti a Maria Bonghi Jovino. Tomo Secondo*, Quaderni di Acme 134 (Milano), 717–41.
- VON WARTBURG, WALTHER 1922–2002: *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bâle).
- WEISS, MICHAEL 2019: 'Observations on the DVENOS inscription and the feminine pronoun \*si', handout at the Department of Linguistics, Cornell University, 2019.
- WHATMOUGH, JOSHUA 1933: *The Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy, Vol. II, Part 3: The Raetic, Lepontic, Gallic, East-Italic, Messapic and Sicel inscriptions* (London).
- WODTKO, DAGMAR S., IRSLINGER, BRITTA and SCHNEIDER, CAROLIN 2008: *Nomina im Indogermanischen Lexikon* (Heidelberg).
- ZIMMER, STEFAN 2006: 'Some names and epithets in Culhwch ac Olwen', *Studi Celtici* 4, 163–79.

CORINNA SALOMON

Department of Early Irish, Maynooth University