

SOME NOTES ON LUSITANIAN

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Data for the Lusitanian language has increased in recent years with the discovery of new inscriptions from Arroyo de la Luz (Almagro-Grobea et al. 1999) and Arronches (Carneiro et al. 2008). Among new linguistic features provided by the new texts are words ending in *-d* (ISAICCID, PUPPID) and spellings with H (HARASEI, HARACUI, AHARACUI). Moreover, they confirm previously attested forms, e.g. CARLA, ERBAM in Arronches and CARLAE, ERBA in Arroyo de la Luz; OILA, ICCINUI in Arronches and OILAM, ICCONA in L.3.1. Most of these words show an inflectional relationship, but ICCINUI and ICCONA are different derivations from the same root. ICCINUI is also the first example for a DSg. in *-ui* in a Lusitanian text, an ending well known previously from epithets of indigenous gods in Latin votive inscriptions. Of such divine names REUE, previously known from L.3.1 and many Latin texts, recurs in Arronches, and BANDI is now first attested there in an indigenous text in addition to numerous attestations in Latin.

Yet the Lusitanian lexicon as preserved in the indigenous inscriptions totals less than 100 words, and accordingly, the gaps in our understanding of this language are still great. In verbal inflection only present tense-aspect forms have so far been detected with certainty. The development of the aorist and perfect is thus unknown. In declension, the number of existing cases cannot be securely established, clear examples e.g. of the GSg. and most plural case forms are lacking. The phonological system represented in the Lusitanian inscriptions shows only the following consonant clusters and geminates: *cr-*, *pr-*, *br-*, *-br-*, *tr-*, *-tr-*, *-rb-*, *-nt-*, *-rc-*, *-nd-*, *-rl-*, *-ng-*, *-rs-*, *-mp-*, *-lv-* (? or *-lu-*), *-pp-*, *-bb-*, *-tt-*, *-cc-*. Even frequent Indo-European groups like *st* are unattested.

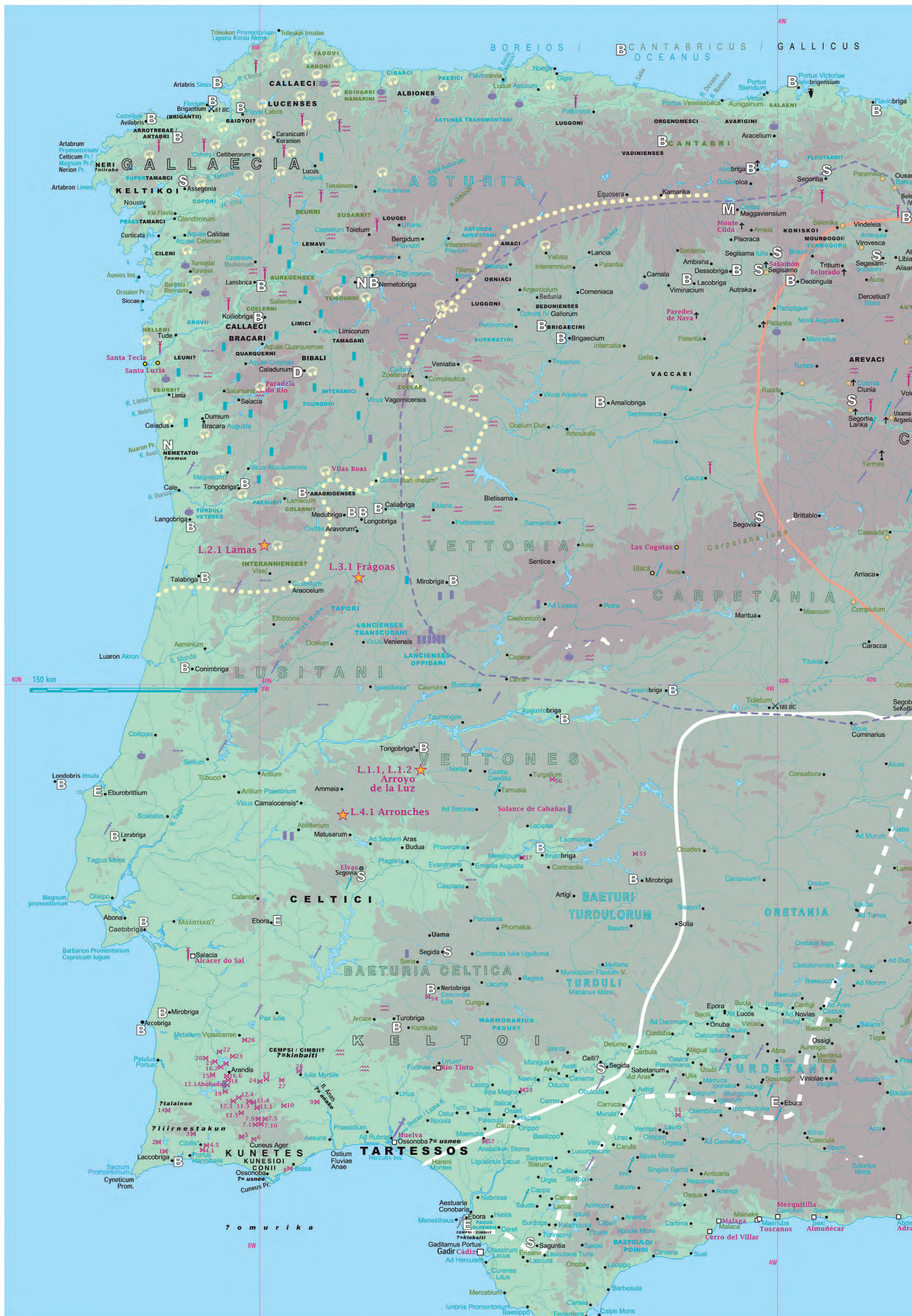
Further evidence for the characteristics of the Lusitanian language can be gleaned from proper names attested in Latin contexts or in Greek transmission, but the situation is complicated by the fact that at least two of the Lusitanian texts show clear examples for Latin interference: they begin with a Latin introduction of the scribes (de Hoz 2005, 88f.). We may wonder, then, whether Latin interference is also responsible for other features of Lusitanian texts, e.g. for the ending of the personal names APINUS and

UENDICUS in Arronches, which look like Latin NSg. *o*-stems vs. expected Lusitanian *-*os*. Latin loanwords or loan-affixes have not been identified in Lusitanian texts; however, it has been claimed that the indigenous inscriptions as well as the onomastic record show considerable Celtic influence in their lexicon (Schmidt 1985). Attempts to separate a Lusitanian from a Celtic stratum are not always convincing, as they must frequently argue *e silentio*. The map below adapted from Koch et al. 2007 summarizes linguistic and archaeological arguments for a Celtic presence in the area (Celtic or possibly Celtic names are marked black resp. grey).

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- surely or probably CELTIC name
- possibly CELTIC name
- surely or probably NON-CELTIC
- modern name
- ☐ Phoenician settlements, 8th-7th centuries BC [§16]
- north-western zone of densely distributed 'castros' [§44]
- individual castros [§44]
- ▲ Greek colonies [§47]
- ~ chevaux de frise defensive works [§45]
- ~ carp's-tongue swords [§123]
- ~ antenna-hilted swords [§124]
- ~ La Tène swords [§141]
- ~ LBA warrior steles [§146]
- ~ later Iron Age warrior steles [§146]
- ~ omega bridle bits [§159]
- ~ gold torcs [§173]
- ~ LBA Irish cauldrons [§190]
- ~ western Greek amphorae [§200]
- ~ LTD handled cups [§209]
- ~ Dressel I amphorae [§210]
- ~ flesh hooks & articulated spits [§213]
- ~ mints which struck Celtiberian coins [§251]
- ↑ Celtiberian inscriptions [§296]
- ~ south-western 'Tartessian' inscriptions [§§16, 296]
- ★ Lusitanian inscriptions
- limits of Cogotas I LBA culture [§301]
- limits of Celtiberian archaeological culture c. 100 BC [§304]
- B -briga names [§289]
- E -Eburo- names [§292]
- M -magos names [§293]
- N -nemeton names [§294]
- S -Sego- names [§295]