

Rethinking ‘Hellenization’ in South-eastern Gaul: the Gallo-Greek epigraphic record

‘*Gallia in Graeciam translata*’?

The first-century BC historian Pompeius Trogus of the tribe of the *Vocontii* is famously reported to have asserted that Southern Gaul had not simply been colonized by the Greeks but had actually become Greek¹. This ancient interest in contacts between the colonial Greeks and indigenous populations, and in the attendant transformation, is reflected in modern scholarship and continues to intrigue and perplex. This paper brings a new perspective to the debate, namely a reconsideration of the concept ‘hellenization’ for South-eastern Gaul through the Gallo-Greek epigraphic record, arguing that Italian influence has been underplayed.

Research has developed rapidly since the seminal work of Benoît², in particular in understanding the role of indigenous communities and the complexities of interaction. Traditionally, *Massalia* has been seen as the centre of Hellenization for South-eastern Gaul. Apparent links with Greek culture are usually traced to Marseille or, occasionally, to its colonies on the south coast. This interpretation is based on literary texts, and the paucity of Greek remains in Marseille means that the hypotheses of Massaliote influence cannot be easily denied. However, recently scholars have linked certain sites to the wider Mediterranean basin and to Italy in particular and this

approach could be applied more widely³. Influence from Italy increases from the third century BC, as reflected in trading patterns, and may have had a more significant role to play culturally in the region than has been allowed by those who have focused on the agency of the colonial Greeks. Recent research on the Etruscans in Southern France in an earlier period has emphasized the intensity and length of contact and argues for the presence of resident communities⁴. This might provide a useful model for viewing the cultural interaction between communities of Italy and Southern France between the third and first centuries BC.

Until now, epigraphic and linguistic analysis has not focused on the importance of Italy in the creation and development of Gallo-Greek (i.e. Gaulish written in Greek script)⁵. The significance of indicators of language contact for understanding cultural contacts will be demonstrated here through an overview of the Gallo-Greek inscriptional record. The phenomenon of Gallo-Greek is often seen as a reaction to contact with the Greeks. In fact, the epigraphic evidence should be interrogated more carefully, as it suggests that contact with Italy has been underestimated. In what follows, several pieces of evidence will be used to highlight Italy’s role: the circumstances of the adoption of the script, the *dede-bratoudekanten* formula and the onomastic record.

* Faculty of Classics and Jesus College, University of Cambridge, CB5 8BL, alm45@cam.ac.uk. All photographs are the author’s own, with kind permission from the Hôtel de Sade, Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, the Musée Archéologique, Nîmes, and the Musée Calvet, Avignon.

¹ Pompeius Trogus’s work is only known to us through Junianus Justinus, who quotes: *ut non Graeci in Galliam emigrasse, sed Gallia in Graeciam translata uideretur* (Just. 43.4).

² The standard text is Benoît 1965.

³ Our understanding of Glanum has improved rapidly in recent decades, with publications emphasizing the complexity of the origins of ‘Hellenistic’ features, see, for instance, Gros 1990; 1992; Heyn 2006; Roth Congès 1992. The ongoing excavation of Lattara has provided detailed information for the analysis of mixtures of populations and influences, see, for instance, the eponymous journal.

⁴ For recent wide-ranging publications, see, for instance Camporeale 2001; Gori and Bettini 2006; Landes, Cayzac, Laissac and Millet 2003; Long, Pomey and Sourisseau 2002. MacIntosh Turfa 2008 remarks that the research community seems to have been polarized into those who argue that some shipwrecks and trading posts were Etruscan and those who see the wrecks as Greek and play down the importance of the Etruscans.

⁵ For discussions of Gallo-Greek, see, for instance, Bats 1988; 2000; 2003; 2004; De Hoz 1998; Lambert 1992, 1997; Lejeune 1983, *RIG* I, pp. 1–5.

The Gallo-Greek epigraphic record

The adoption of the script

Early scholarship argued that the adoption of the Greek script in Gaul to write Gaulish indicated Hellenization and was part of a general ‘acculturation’ process. With advances in conceptual theory, particularly regarding the complexities of cultural change and the importance of the indigenous element, the focus changed. For the last few decades, the creation of Gallo-Greek has been viewed as an outward manifestation of the increased sense of ethnic identity and power felt by Gaulish-speaking communities: not a straightforward assimilation process but a complex reaction to a foreign colonial power. Gallo-Greek has even been described in anachronistic terms as ‘l’écriture nationale des Gaulois’⁶. As Woolf notes, once again the link with France’s approved ancestors is overstressed⁷. In fact Gallo-Greek is more an ‘écriture régionale’, whose use is sporadic and localised. The diversity of reactions of different indigenous settlements to the adoption of Greek script serves to highlight the complexity and heterogeneous nature of the region and to encourage further analysis of the purpose, authorship and readership of the inscriptions in the settlements.

Each act of expression in Gallo-Greek should be interpreted on its own terms. Each act of writing does not necessarily interact with the circumstances of the initial adoption and the proposed interaction with the Greeks. Even relatively soon after the initial creation of the script, it may no longer be associated with the Greeks in certain areas but may have taken on a ‘new’ identity. A consideration of the entirety of the epigraphic record suggests that two main factors have been underplayed: internal factors, and non-Massiliote external factors. Graffiti on pottery and coin legends can be fitted into the new patterns of nascent urbanization and economic development of the indigenous sites. More importantly, we might even reconsider the strongly held view of the Massiliote Greek origins of the script. The script adopted shows no diagnostic features to enable it to be assigned to Marseille. Lejeune recognized that commercial contacts may sometimes be sufficient for cultures to adopt literacy (for instance in the case of Iberian)⁸. This might encourage us at least to entertain the possibility that the creation of the script may have occurred through trading contacts, perhaps in part with the Italian peninsula. Not only did the

Greeks of *Magna Graecia* use the Greek script, but also some groups of the *Italici*, for instance the *Osci* (whose language, Oscan, is grouped with Latin in the Italic group of Indo-European languages).

Indeed, a detailed analysis of the distribution of the texts provides interesting reading. An incomplete circle on the map of Southern France in *RIG I*, page 16, described by Lejeune as containing a ‘grande densité de sites gallo-grecs’, indicates that the epicentre of the phenomenon is the confluence of several key rivers, with the Rhône running from north to south through the centre (fig. 1). *Massalia* lies to the South-east of the circle. The exclusion of *Massalia* has been noted by commentators⁹, but the significance for an understanding of the cultural contacts of the region has been neglected¹⁰. Even though the distribution provides no evidence against the claim that the script may have been adopted at Marseille, since the Massiliotes clearly plied the Rhône themselves and may have controlled trade, it should at least encourage us to believe that the focus on trade and more complex origins, including Italian influence, might not be misplaced. Moreover, a detailed analysis of the exact form of the script suggests that handwritten documents may have been the model, and again this may support the importance of the role of trade in the adoption process (through

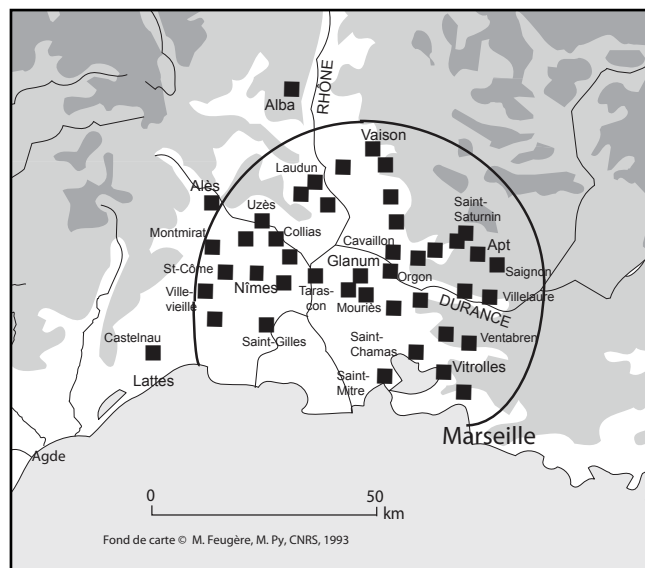


Fig. 1 - Distribution of Gallo-Greek inscriptions in Southern Gaul (based on *RIG I*, p. 16, courtesy of Ralph Häussler).

⁶ Lejeune 1983, 744.

⁷ Woolf 1994, 85.

⁸ See Lejeune 1983, 739. The ancient scripts of the Iberian peninsula have elicited a large amount of scholarship. See, for instance, De Hoz 1991 for an overview and bibliography.

⁹ Lejeune 1983, 745.

¹⁰ The argument that the absence of texts to the East is due to the anepigraphic Ligurians cannot be verified. The Ligurians remain an enigma and therefore tend to be used to account for any developments which are not easily explainable. Their linguistic remains are very scarce, and now generally thought to be a form of Celtic. In the South of France there are no diagnostic features which enable archaeologists to distinguish between Celtic and Ligurian sites. It is not clear that this term, based on external perceptions of the populations around the Mediterranean, is particularly helpful for this area.

familiarity with receipts, contracts, accounts, reports, letters etc). Another factor which militates against exclusive Massiliote involvement is that, despite several centuries of contact with literacy, the period of Gallo-Greek starts in the late third century BC, in the period of Massiliote economic decline. In other words, the phenomenon may not simply be a reaction to the circumstances of the Greek colony, but could also be motivated by another crucial factor which exerts its influence from the third century, namely contact with Italy.

Complex interactions: the dedebratoudekanten dossier¹¹

Given the absence of bi-version bilingual texts involving Gaulish in Southern France, texts which show language contact are of utmost importance¹². Both linguistic and extra-linguistic evidence suggests that the *dedebratoudekanten* formula may have been created, at least in part, through contact with non-Celtic linguistic groups. The dossier comprises fourteen inscriptions, all found within the circle described above. There is no evidence for the formula, even fragmentary, outside this region. Of the two hundred and eighty-one Gallo-Greek inscriptions edited in *RIG I*, two hundred and twenty are from South-eastern Gaul. Since the appearance of *RIG I* in 1985, the new Gallo-Greek inscriptions, published in articles such as ‘Compléments gallo-grecs’ (*Études celtiques*), have yielded no further examples of the formula¹³. The interpretation, and particularly the linguistic composition of the formula, have taken on disproportionate

importance due to the rarity of non-onomastic elements in Gallo-Greek inscriptions¹⁴. However, this formula has generally been regarded as an academic puzzle by Indo-Europeanists, with the result that the sizeable amount of highly-technical, specialist literature has been overlooked by archaeologists and historians working on the region. It is surely crucial for their analyses that the only formula attested in the Celtic inscriptions of South-eastern Gaul shows evidence of language contact. It will be argued below that this formula, which can be loosely translated as ‘X dedicated a tithe in gratitude / on account of favour’, appears to be a calque on an Italic formula, possibly with influence from Greek, and is linguistically Celtic, as the linguistic analysis and the almost exclusively Gaulish dedicators and dedicatees attest. An annotated version of the inscriptional evidence is presented below, followed by a discussion of the possible interpretations of the linguistic nature and origin of the formula.

The dedebratoudekanten dossier

- *RIG I G-27* (fig. 2). Stone cippus: Orgon, *circa* fifteen kilometres east of Glanum¹⁵.
ΟΥΗΒΡΟΥΜΑΡΟΣ¹⁶ |¹⁷ ΔΕΔΕ ΤΑΡΑΝΟΟΥ¹⁸ |
ΒΡΑΤΟΥ ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΜ.
- *RIG I G-28* (fig. 3). Rim of limestone basin: Saint-Chamas, Calissane, twenty-five kilometres west of Aix-en-Provence¹⁹.
ΒΡΑΤΟΥ²⁰
[---]ΠΟΡΕΙΞ²¹ ΙΟΥΓΙΑΛΙΑΚΟΣ²² ΔΕΔΕ ΒΕΛΕΙΝΟ²³.

¹¹ Lejeune 1976, 136 suggests the designation ‘formulaire βρατου’, as ΒΡΑΤΟΥ is the only element to appear in all of the non-fragmentary examples.

¹² I use the terms *bi-version* and *mono-version bilingual texts* to refer to what Adams (2003a) terms *bilingual texts* and *bilingual texts implicitly reflecting a bilingual situation*.

¹³ See de Hoz 2005; Lambert 2003b; Lejeune 1988; 1990; 1994a; 1995; Lejeune and Lambert 1996.

¹⁴ For the non-onomastic evidence, see, for instance, *RIG I G-13* IMM1, *RIG I G-153* ΤΟΟΥΤΙΟΥΣ...ΕΙΩΡΟΥ... ΣΟΣΙΝ ΝΕΜΗΤΟΝ, Lejeune 1994a G-528 ΕΙΩΡΑΙ, possibly also, but enigmatic, *RIG I G-9*, *RIG I G-151* ΚΑΡΝΙΤΟΥ[and *RIG I G-163*. The Gallo-Latin inscriptions provide considerably more non-onomastic evidence.

¹⁵ For this inscription, see also *CAG* 13/2, 231, no. 067.1*; Dottin 1920, 146-146; Rhys 1906, 289-291; Szemerényi 1974, 248.

¹⁶ For the H, see Vendryes 1948, 195-196 and Lejeune 1968-1969, 40-43. For the personal name, see *GPN* 118-119, 223-228, 272; *KGPN* 238-239, 285. See Gray 1953-1954, 62-63 for the (generally rejected) suggestion that the first element might be related to *wēb- ‘weapon’.

¹⁷ These editorial marks represent the start of a new line on the object.

¹⁸ For *Taranus*, *Taranis*, see Duval 1958, 54.

¹⁹ For this inscription, see also *CAG* 13/1, 217-218 no. 051.37*; Lejeune 1968-1969, 52-59; Szemerényi 1974, 248-249.

²⁰ The vertical line here is on the object, not the editor’s mark of a line break. ΒΡΑΤΟΥ has been positioned above ΒΕΛΕΙΝΟ to indicate the positioning on the basin.

²¹ For the element *-rix*, see Bolelli and Campanile 1972; *GPN* 243-249; *KGPN* 260-261; Lejeune 1982, 111-119.

²² This is a patronymic in -ΙΑΚΟΣ; for patronymics in the Celtic languages, see Mullen 2007, 43-44. See *GPN* 357-358 for the personal name, and *KGPN* 227 for the name elements *iouco-* / *iougo-* / *iuco-* / *iugo-*.

²³ For dedications to *Belenos* in Eastern Narbonensis, see Lejeune 1968-1969, 49-72. The other South-eastern examples are Glanum (*RIG I G-63*), Gréasque (*ILN* III 191), Pourrières (*ILGN* 34), Saint-Just (*CIL* XII 401), Nîmes (*CIL* XII 5693-12) and possibly Marseille (*IGF* 6 and *RIG I G-24*); see *CAG* 13/1, 217 and *RDG* 28-29. For a discussion of the etymology of the name, see Delamarre 2003, 72.



Fig. 2 - RIG I G-27.



Fig. 5 - RIG I G-65.

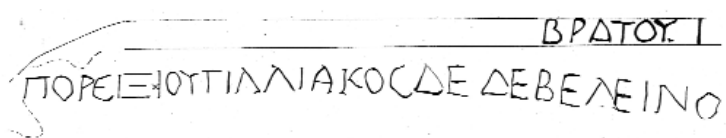


Fig. 3 - RIG I G-28.

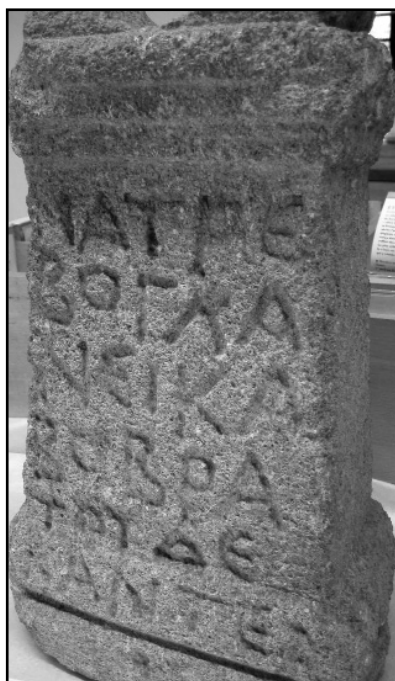


Fig. 4 - RIG I G-64.



Fig. 6 - RIG I G-183.



Fig. 7 - RIG I G-184.



Fig. 8 - RIG I G-202.

- RIG I G-64 (fig. 4). Stone altar: Glanum, at the base of the steps near the spring, beneath a niche with fragments of female statues, near the *Glanicabus* inscription (Rolland 1958, 88)²⁴.

MATPE|BO ΓΛΑ|NEIKA|BO BPA|TOY ΔΕ|KANTEN.

- RIG I G-65 (fig. 5). Stone altar: Glanum, twin temples²⁵.
ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΑ²⁶ ΡΟ|ΚΛΟΙΣΙΑΒΟ²⁷ | ΒΡΑΤΟΥ ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕ.
- RIG I G-66. Manuscript transcription of an inscription found at Glanum, known through seven versions dated from the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. No information is provided as to the type of object and the rest of the inscription is uncertain²⁸.

? BPA TOY [...]

- RIG I G-148. Stone pillar: Malaucène (Groseau), ten kilometres south-east of Vaison-la-Romaine, reused as a cross base²⁹.

[...]ΛΟΥΣ[?][...]ΛΙΑΚΟΣ³⁰[?][...]ΑΣΕΛΟΥ[?]
[.]ΑΤΟΥ ΔΕ|KANTEN.

Several restorations of the formula have been proposed, including BPA TOY ΔΕΔΕ KANTEM or BPA TOY ΔΕKANTEM. The second option seems the most plausible as the verb (ΔΕΔΕ) is not attested in the medial position.

- RIG I G-183 (revised) (fig. 6)³¹. Stone pillar: Collias (Gard) fifteen kilometres north-east of Nîmes, reused in a chapel wall³².

ΕΚΙΑΙΟ|Σ Ρ[?]ΟΥ|ΜΑΝ[Ι/Ε?]|ΟΣ
ΑΝ|ΔΟΟΥΝ|ΝΑΒΟ³³ Δ[Ε]³⁴Δ<Ε> ΒΡΑΤΟ|[Υ]
ΔΕΚΑΝ|TEN.

- RIG I G-184 (fig. 7). Stone fragment of the upper part of a basin: Collorgues (Gard), twenty kilometres north of Nîmes³⁵.

[---]ΑΤΙΑΒ[---] | ΚΟΝΝΟΥΒΡ[---].

²⁴ This inscription probably dates to the first half of the first century BC (Rolland 1958, 115). For this inscription, see Rolland 1955; 1958, 114; 1960, 84; Szemerényi 1974, 250.

²⁵ For this inscription, see Rolland 1955; 1958, 54-55; 1960, 84; Szemerényi 1974, 249.

²⁶ For the use of H, possibly to represent the length of the vowel in Latin, see note 58.

²⁷ For the interpretation ‘Les Écoutants’, see Lejeune 1976-1978, 95-96; 1979, 101-102; Schmidt 1979-1980, 285-286; Lambert 1997, 45-46. See Blétry 1998 for the equivalent Latin inscription at Glanum (*IAG* 18) complete with a carving of two ears and the dedication *AVRIBVS*.

²⁸ For this inscription, see *CIL* XII, p. 127 number 1; *DAG* 39; Dottin 1920, 148; Rhys 1906, 305-306.

²⁹ For this inscription, see Dottin 1920, 147; Rhys 1906, 299-302; Szemerényi 1974, 249.

³⁰ See note 22.

³¹ The transcription of the beginning of the formula has been emended and a line break added (omitted in *RIG*).

³² For this inscription, see Dottin 1920, 159; Rhys 1906, 311-313; *DAG* 63; Szemerényi 1974, 247-248.

³³ For possible interpretations of the form ΑΝΔΟΟΥΝΝΑΒΟ, see de Bernardo-Stempel 1989; Lambert 1990, 197-199; 1997, 46; Lejeune 1982, 107-111.

³⁴ This word divider may come before the [Ε], as the pillar is fragmentary on both sides.

³⁵ For this inscription, see *DAG* 65; Dottin 1920, 158; Rhys 1906, 310.

- *RIG I G-202* (fig. 8). Part of a stone monument: Montmirat (Gard), twenty kilometres west of Nîmes³⁶.

BPATOYT[---].

Szemerényi 1974 rejects the previously established interpretation that BPATOYT represents an assimilation of *t...d* > *t...t*³⁷. Instead he prefers to view the second T as the beginning of a subject e.g. *touta* or *Toutios*³⁸. Lejeune notes that the subject after BPATOY is unparalleled and reconstructs *BPATOYTON, also unparalleled, a derivative of *bratu-* in *-to-* ‘offert par reconnaissance’³⁹.

- *RIG I G-203* (fig. 9). Abacus of a Doric capital: Nîmes, temple of the fountain⁴⁰.

[.]APTAP[OΣ .I]ΛΛΑΝΟΥΙΑΚΟΣ⁴¹ ΔΕΔΕ | MATPEBO
NAMAYΣIKABO BPATOY ΔΕ[KA?].

No letters are obviously missing at the end, though the same stone cutter ends the formula ΔΕΚΑ at Saint-Côme-et-Maruéjols (G-214, see below)⁴².

- *RIG I G-204*. Part of a dedication, known only through an eighteenth-century manuscript and engraving: Nîmes, temple of the fountain. Lejeune only accepts the formulaic part of the inscription and emends the letters AEF > ΔΕΚ. No information as to the type of object is provided⁴³.

[?]ΔΕΔΕ[.][---BPAT]ΟΥ ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ.

This evidence should be used with extreme caution as the transcription shows a strange mixture of Latin and Greek letters. However, the ΔΕΔΕ portion does seem to be clear on the manuscript, and the formula is already attested in the Gallo-Greek inscriptions from Nîmes.

- *RIG I G-205*. Abacus of a capital, known only from a manuscript transcription: Nîmes, temple of the fountain⁴⁴.

[---]Σ | [---]ΑΝΤΕΝ.

This abacus has been reused for a Latin inscription *CN.FLEPO[S] | [?] VSLM*, only one side with Gaulish remains.

- *RIG I G-206* (figg. 10-11). Stone pillar: Nîmes, rue de la Lampèze⁴⁵.

ΚΑΣΣΙ|ΤΑΛΟΣ⁴⁶ | ΟΥΕΡΣΙ|ΚΝΟΣ⁴⁷ Δ|ΕΔΕ
BP|ΑΤΟΥ Δ|ΕΚΑΝΤ|ΕΝ ΑΛΑ[.]ΕΙΝΟ|ΥΙ.

- *RIG I G-214* (fig. 12). Abacus of a Doric capital: Saint-Côme-et-Maruéjols (Gard), 15 kilometres west of Nîmes, reused in the foundations of a wall⁴⁸.

[---]ΑΔΡΕΣΣΙΚΝΟΣ⁴⁹ | [---Ο]ΥΙ BPATOY ΔΕΚΑ.

Linguistic analysis of the dedebratoudekanten formula

The *scriptura continua* of the inscriptions poses problems for the interpretation of this formula⁵⁰. ΔΕΔΕ has always been taken as a complete word, though the segmentation of BPATOYΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ has been controversial. At first, the break was made between BPATOYΔΕ and ΚΑΝΤΕΝ, perhaps motivated by the presence of *CANTALON* in a Gallo-Latin inscription from Auxey (Côte d’Or (*RIG II.1 L-9*)), meaning either ‘pillar, circular monument’, or ‘song, chant’⁵¹. In 1974 Szemerényi segmented the phrase differently, as ΔΕΔΕ BPATOY

³⁶ For this inscription, see *DAG* 66; Dottin 1920, 157; Szemerényi 1974, 250-251.

³⁷ See, for example, Lejeune 1968-1969, 57.

³⁸ Szemerényi 1974, 250-251.

³⁹ Lejeune 1976, 143; *RIG I*, p. 272.

⁴⁰ The writing of both *RIG I G-203* and *RIG I G-214* is dated by Bats to the first century BC to the second century AD (1988, 131-132). For this inscription, see *CIL* XII, p. 383, number 1; *DAG* 67; Dottin 1920, 155; *IAN* 43; Lejeune 1994c, 10-11; Rhys 1906, 306-307; Szemerényi 1974, 248.

⁴¹ See *GPN* 354 for this name, which is relatively well attested.

⁴² Evans (*GPN* 328-329) urges caution in reading this inscription.

⁴³ For this inscription, see *CIG* 6788e; *DAG* 73; Dottin 1920, 158; Lejeune 1994c, 10-13; Rhys 1906, 313-314; Szemerényi 1974, 248.

⁴⁴ For this inscription, see *DAG* note 14 bis; *CIL* XII 3044.

⁴⁵ For this inscription, see *DAG* 68; Dottin 1920, 155-156; *IAN* 58; Lejeune 1994c, 10-11; Rhys 1906, 307-309; Szemerényi 1974, 247.

⁴⁶ See *GPN* 65 for the name and *GPN* 167-171, *KGPN* 165-66 for *Cassi-* / *Casses-*; see *GPN* 259-261, *KGPN* 274 for *Talo-*.

⁴⁷ For the name, see *GPN* 122-123.

⁴⁸ See note 40. For the inscription, see *CIL* XII, p. 388, *DAG* 71, Dottin 1920, 157-158, *IAN* 564, Rhys 1906, 311, Szemerényi 1974, 249-250.

⁴⁹ For the name, see *GPN* 47-48. For *Ad-*, see *GPN* 128-131, *KGPN* 111-117; for *res(s)-* / *reds-* / *ret(t)-* / *rit(t)-* / *rest-* / *rot(t)-*, see *GPN* 249-251, *KGPN* 258.

⁵⁰ The word order demonstrates that although the position of the dative is flexible, it never splits BPATOY and ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ which, if both appear, always appear together (Lejeune 1976, 137). ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ may be abbreviated (ΔΕΚΑΝΤ, ΔΕΚΑ, ΔΕ?) or absent, but BPATOY always remains complete (Lambert 1996, 90-91).

⁵¹ See Delamarre 2003, 103.

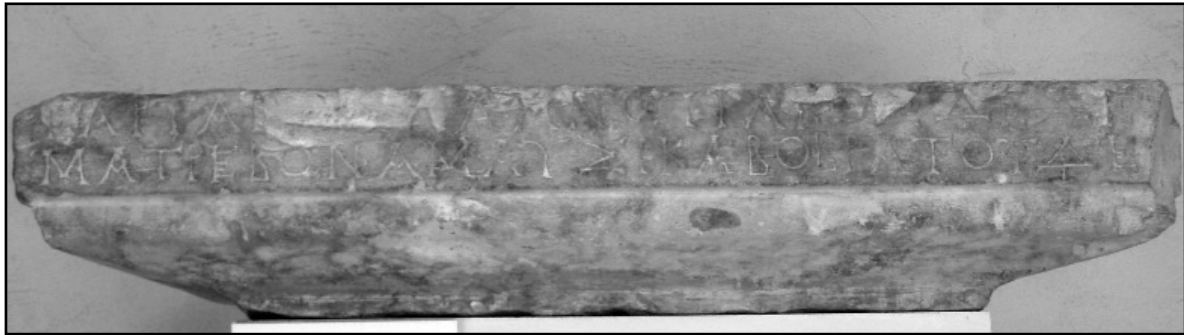


Fig. 9 - RIG I G-203.

ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ, eliciting widespread praise but creating a strained relationship with the great Indo-Europeanist, Lejeune⁵². In recent years, Lejeune’s pupil, Lambert, has tried, relatively unsuccessfully, to reanalyse the formula, seeing in ΒΡΑΤΟΥΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ a possible compound, translated as ‘en remerciement, en accomplissement du vœu’⁵³.

Most scholars accept Szemerényi’s interpretation, and merely attempt to clarify the exact formations involved, resolutely avoiding any discussion of the linguistic and cultural contacts. However, Szemerényi’s analysis includes a strong statement on the cultural contacts behind the adoption of the formula, which he states was created through contact with the Massaliote Greeks. His original hypothesis was that the formula ‘is not indigenous but transplanted from the Classical world, down to the smallest detail’⁵⁴. Indeed, in an article in 1991 he even alters his original thesis of 1974 by stating that ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ cannot be a Gaulish accusative of **dekantā* and that ‘we cannot escape the conclusion that *dekantem/-en* is simply the Greek (Ionic-Attic) acc. δεκάτην, with only a slight adjustment to the Gaulish ordinal (-*nt-*) and the Gaulish case-ending (-*m*, later -*n*)’⁵⁵. He describes the form as ‘not a calque [...] but the Greek form which was adopted with only the slightest concessions to the native **dekantā*’⁵⁶. It is not entirely clear what Szemerényi means by ‘slightest concessions’, and Lejeune is right to ques-



Figs. 10-11 - RIG I G-206.



Fig. 12 - RIG I G-214.

⁵² ‘As far as I can see the only dissentient voice has rather surprisingly come from Michel Lejeune, surprisingly because the paper was dedicated to him; but perhaps it was my mistake to trespass on his special domain, and venture to offer a solution that he had failed to glimpse.’ Szemerényi 1991, 304.

⁵³ Lambert 1996, 91. For the complete exposé, see 1996, 88-91, and for a résumé, 1997, 48. The *comparandum* adduced for the formation (predicative object, the first member **bratu-* followed by a second based on a root **dek-* (Old Irish *dech* ‘the best’)) is the toponym *Bratuspantium* (Caes. *B.G.* 2.13), which has been analysed as ‘l’endroit où l’on dit des vœux’, namely, **bratu-* plus **sek^w* in the same -*nt-* formation (Holder I *Bratuspantium* and III *Bratusp-ant-ium* and Guyonvarc’h 1962a, 167-173; 1962b, 609-614). Semantically the formation seems dubious: ‘l’emploi de ce mot implique que le vœu est pleinement réalisé par le dédicant, jusqu’au degré maximal de qualité’ (Lambert 1996, 90). Similarly, Lambert proposes an implausible morphological formation: ‘neutre th. en -*nt-*, à l’instrumental singulier – ou éventuellement acc. sg. de masculin th. en -*nt-*’ (Lambert 1996, 90, see De Bernardo Stempel 1999, 431-436 for participial compounds in *-*nt-* in Old Irish).

⁵⁴ Szemerényi 1974, 283.

⁵⁵ Szemerényi 1991, 310.

⁵⁶ Szemerényi 1991, 310.

tion exactly what sort of borrowing process is involved⁵⁷. ΔΕΚΑΤΗΝ cannot have been borrowed directly into Gaulish as ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ. The problem is not the second E, since H and E were interchangeable in Gallo-Greek inscriptions⁵⁸, but rather the insertion of the first N; there is no reason why the process of integration or nativization of the loanword would include the addition of a nasal before a stop.

Archaeologists and historians are currently unable to use the analysis of this formula, as the literature is a minefield of complexity and none of the linguists has attempted to examine Szemerényi's view of the cultural contacts associated with the creation of the phrase. The linguistic components of this formula will now be considered in conjunction with the extra-linguistic material to provide a statement on the nature of the formula, whose importance for studies of South-eastern Gaul is without doubt. The complex linguistic argumentation has been included in the appendix.

ΔΕΔΕ

D'Arbois de Jubainville suggested that the words ΔΕΔΕ ΜΑΤΡΕΒΟ ΝΑΜΑΥΣΙΚΑΒΟ of the Nîmes inscription (*RIG* I G-203) were Latin, ΔΕΔΕ being a dialectal form of *dedit*⁵⁹. Later scholars advocated a Celtic origin for the form⁶⁰, and took it to be cognate with either Latin *dedit* and Oscan *deded*⁶¹, or the perfect of 'placed, offered' < **dhedheh*₁⁶². Semantically either of the roots **deh*₃ 'give' or **dheh*₁ 'place, put' suit the notion of dedication. In terms of parallels, Latin has *decuma facta* in the ablative absolute, with forms of *dare* as the main verb, which reflects the former, as does the Oscan *deded brateis datas*, whereas Greek uses (ἀνα)θεῖναι with δεκάτην which reflects the latter.

Therefore, we are reliant on morphological arguments in making the decision between **dheh*₁ and **deh*₃ as the root of ΔΕΔΕ (for which, see appendix, 1), but these, unfortunately, are not able to provide the answer. What is

significant about this verb, and generally ignored, is its absence in uncompounded form in every other area of Gaul, where verbs such as *ieuru* or *a(u)uot* are employed, adding to the specificity of the formula⁶³. The compounded verb is possibly attested in two Gallo-Latin inscriptions. The first attestation occurs in a graffito on an *olla* from Saint-Marcel near Argenton-sur-Creuse (*Argento-magus*) in Indre, Central France: *JVIIRCOBRIITOS RIIADDAS* (*RIG* II.2 L-78). Numerous interpretations have been proposed for the form *readdas* (for this inscription, see appendix, 2)⁶⁴. The second attestation is *rodatim* in the Larzac lead tablets (*RIG* II.2 L-98 2a line 7) (for which, see appendix, 3). Unfortunately, neither of these two attestations can provide help with choosing the root. Considering our inability to assign with certainty Gaulish *readdas*, *rodatim* and ΔΕΔΕ to either of the roots as they would produce the same reflexes, it is possible that the roots may have already merged by the time of the Continental Celtic evidence.

The creators of this formula should not be lost behind the linguistic acrobatics. Indeed, the semantic force of the root created through the merger of **dheh*₁ and **deh*₃ may simply have been one of 'dedicating', and the etymological association of the verb with either Greek **dheh*₁ or Italic **deh*₃ is immaterial, as the speakers of Gaulish would not have been aware of the linguistic history and affiliations of the roots. Much more obvious to them would have been the superficial closeness of Latin *dedit* and Oscan *deded* to their own ΔΕΔΕ. Considering the fact that this uncompounded verb is otherwise unattested in Gaulish, cultural contact from the Italian peninsula is likely to have been the motivating factor in the choice of verb for this formula.

BPATOY

The most popular early interpretation of this form was an oblique case noun plus the postposition ΔΕ (Old Irish *de*, *di* 'from')⁶⁵. Two main interpretations of BPATOY have been advanced: one based on Insular Celtic cognate

⁵⁷ Lejeune 1994b, 175-178. De Bernardo Stempel 2006, 48 rightly states that it cannot be a loanword from Greek, though only the first of her three reasons is valid.

⁵⁸ Lejeune describes the use of H as a 'coquetterie de style graphique' (*RIG* I, p. 443). For the use of the digraph EI, H and Ω, see Lejeune 1968-1969, 36-48, *RIG* I, pp. 442-443.

⁵⁹ D'Arbois de Jubainville 1903, 173-177. Cf. *CIL* I 62, 169, 180.

⁶⁰ See, for instance Dottin 1920, 37, Rhys 1906, 290.

⁶¹ For Oscan *deded*, see, for instance, *ST* Po. 3 (= Vetter 1953 number 11).

⁶² See Holder I *de-de*. For Indo-European reduplication, see Niepokuj 1997, see also Meiser 2003 for reduplication in Latin, and 105-106 for the paradigm *dare*.

⁶³ The only Insular Celtic evidence for the uncompounded root **dō-* is Irish *dán*, Welsh *dawn* 'gift', see Lejeune, Vernhet *et al.* 1985, 160.

⁶⁴ See Fleuriot 1981, 96-97, *RIG* II.2, pp. 204-205.

⁶⁵ Rhys views the ΔΕ of BPATOYΔΕ as either a postposition or an oblique case, the ablative or instrumental, with *brātu-* meaning 'judgement, doom' (Rhys 1906, 291, 352).

tes, the other on a striking resemblance with the Italic languages⁶⁶.

Stokes argued for the interpretation of BPATΟΥΔΕ as corresponding to Latin *ex imperio, imperio, iussu*, and based on the Proto-Celtic form **brātu* whose reflexes are Old Irish *bráth* and Welsh *brawd* ‘judgement’⁶⁷. The etymology of these Insular Celtic *comparanda* is not certain⁶⁸. Originally they were thought to be related to Old Irish *brithem* ‘judge’, *breth, bretha* ‘judgement’ and therefore the Indo-European root **bher-*, with a set-root formation **bh̥tu-* ‘carry’⁶⁹. The etymology **g^werH-*, based on the Italic correspondences to BPATΟΥ, was also suggested⁷⁰, and is now in competition with Hamp’s di-syllabic **bherH-* ‘say’ (cf. Welsh *barnu brawd* ‘judge a judgement’) as the most likely origin⁷¹.

The analysis of BPATΟΥ without a postposition ΔΕ and cognate with Oscan *brateis* and *bratom* and Latin *gratia* has gained adherents since receiving the support of Szemerényi in 1974⁷². The Oscan form occurs, or can be reconstructed, as *brateis datas* twelve times⁷³; this is a genitive of rubric meaning ‘on account of favour granted’⁷⁴ and often appears with a main verb *deded* (for the linguistic details, see appendix, 4). *Brateis* also appears in the *Tabula Bantina* in the phrase *brateis auti cadeis amnud* ‘for the sake of enmity or friendship’, showing that semantically the referent can either be divine or human favour⁷⁵.

Neither the root **b^her-*, based on *comparanda* from the Insular Celtic languages, nor the root **g^werH-*, based on the same *comparanda* and the Italic forms, can be proven as the root of BPATΟΥ. However, the comparison with Oscan and Latin personal names *Grat-* and *Brat-* may support the latter and this is strengthened by the fact that the only instance of the Celtic name *Bratonius* is found in the form *Q(uintus) Bratonius Gratus* (AE 1955 36)⁷⁶. Of course, as stated in the conclusion to ΔΕΔΕ, the exact etymology of BPATΟΥ from an Indo-European perspective may be immaterial. In this case, as before, the comparison with Oscan *brateis* is particularly striking. The Latin formula may have a parallel in the lexeme *merito*, if it can be linked, at least semantically, and may have a closer parallel, *gratulor*, based on the **g^werH-* root in an early example from Plautus⁷⁷. The Greek formula yields no *comparandum*.

ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ

Before the new segmentation by Szemerényi in 1974, several analyses of ΚΑΝΤΕΝ were proposed⁷⁸. But Szemerényi’s new interpretation of the formula offered the first satisfactory solution. The segmentation ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ allowed an analysis of the lexeme as meaning ‘tithe’, a form of dedication commonly found in Greek inscriptions as δεκάτη, and in the Latin *corpus* as *decuma*⁷⁹. Szemerényi’s original interpretation of the accusa-

⁶⁶ See Holder I *bratu-de* for the former, Holder III *bratu-de* for the latter.

⁶⁷ Stokes 1886, 125. Dottin preferred the correspondence *merito*, following d’Arbois de Jubainville (Dottin 1920, 38-39; d’Arbois de Jubainville 1903, 173-177).

⁶⁸ See *LEIA* B-80 and Szemerényi 1974, 252-254 for a discussion of the various suggestions.

⁶⁹ *IEW* 130.

⁷⁰ Wagner 1960-1961.

⁷¹ Hamp 1976, 73. See de Bernardo Stempel 1987, 87-89 for an analysis.

⁷² This is the preferred interpretation in *LEIA* B-80.

⁷³ *ST* Pg 4, 6, MV 5, Hi 5, Si 3, Sa 26 (the *datas* is totally reconstructed here), 59, 60, Lu 14, 15, 16, 64.

⁷⁴ Szemerényi 1974, 258.

⁷⁵ *ST* Lu 1.

⁷⁶ For ‘translation names’, see Mullen 2007, 53.

⁷⁷ The use of *gratulor* may be a play on an original formula in early Latin more similar to the Oscan *datas brateis: Hercules, decumam esse adauc-tam tibi quam uoui gratulor* (Plaut. *Stich.* 386).

⁷⁸ See Evans 1977; *RIG* I, pp. 55-56; Szemerényi 1974, 266-267. Options included an equivalent to *libens* based on a root **k̑ā* (Espérandieu 1899), an accusative of the votive object either circular (**camb-tos*) (Holder I *kantena*) or ‘something erected’ (Irish *cet*) (Vendryes 1928, 331). A resemblance to Old Irish *cét* ‘first’ and Welsh *cyn* ‘recently, before’, encouraged Rhys and Gray to translate the formula as ‘*dedit ex voto* (or *ex imperio*) *primitias*’ (Gray 1953-1954, 63 and Rhys 1905, 104; 1906, 290-291). The attested forms in Gaulish are *cintus, cintux, cintusmos*, and Insular Celtic suggests a form with *cint-* or *cent-* but not *cant-*.

⁷⁹ Greek δεκάτη occurs a total of 1,138 times in the Greek inscriptional record, including 485 instances from Attica and 69 from Ionia. Δεκάτα occurs 357 times and δεκάτε 485 times (figures from *PHI* 7). Naturally, many of these are not votive in function, but rather refer to tax. See Lazzarini 1976, 90-93 for details of the meaning, contexts and temporal and geographical spread of the votive instances of δεκάτη. See Liebenam 1901 for Latin *decuma*. Surrendering a tenth of possessions or booty as a dedication or tax is attested in several branches of Indo-European, e.g. Germanic, Italic, Greek and Celtic, and many non-Indo-European cultures.

tive form ΔEKANTEN in the Gaulish inscriptions was < *dek̃ñ t̃m̃⁸⁰, a consonant-stem ending borrowed into the ā-stem⁸¹. He compares the Old Irish accusative of ‘tribe’ < toutā, namely tuaith < toutem, which may be formed in a similar way, though other options are possible⁸². The main opposition to this analysis is that the accusative of the ā-stems is attested as -an in Gaulish, possibly at Saignon MATIKAN (RIG I G-151) and at Todi LOKAN (RIG II.1 E-5), and, later, through analogy with the iā-stems, as -im at Larzac e.g. *Seuerim Tertioncnim* (RIG II.2 L-98)⁸³. An alternative might be to see the ending as a consonant-stem accusative ending (m̃ > am > em / en) of a consonant-stem noun⁸⁴, as in *materem* (Larzac, RIG II.2 L-98)⁸⁵.

Following the analysis of a consonant-stem ending, however, two different reflexes of the syllabic nasals exist within the same word, and because of this perceived problem ΔEKANTEN is perhaps the most studied word in the Gaulish corpus (for details of syllabic nasals in Celtic, see appendix, 5). In fact simple solutions have been overlooked. It is possible that in certain positions, e.g. word finally versus medially, the vowel shift m̃ > am > em / en may have occurred more quickly⁸⁶, or there may have been divergences depending on the lexeme. Another simple solution which removes the problem of the double reflex of the nasals is that the ending might be an early attestation of the first phase of the development of the ā-stem -ām > -am > -em, which was followed by a secondary phase of analogical borrowing from the iā-stems⁸⁷.

The fluctuation between final M and N (in the ratio 2:5) in the inscriptions is also unproblematic. Lejeune’s suggestion that the form was ‘empruntée par les Celtes de Narbonnaise à un autre groupe celtique (non localisable,

mais présentant des traits communs avec le lépontique)’⁸⁸ is not impossible, but the M can be explained without recourse to unattested dialects⁸⁹. Indeed, arguing that the orthographical variant M reflects influence from Italic languages provides a viable alternative. The references in the literature to ‘archaizing tendencies’ are less plausible⁹⁰: the notion of archaism often relies on reference to earlier written forms, which in the case of Gaulish are non-existent. Furthermore, the final M only occurs in this formula, which, if the foreign influence hypothesis is correct, would support the argument of contact-induced change.

As we have already seen, Szemerényi altered his original analysis of ΔEKANTEN in 1991 in the face of the perceived difficulties with the Gaulish origins of the formation. However, his hypothesis of a borrowing from Greek was shown to be impossible: the formation is Gaulish, the apparent problems being easily explainable, as has been demonstrated.

Origins of the dedebratoudekanten formula

An obvious suggestion is that the similarities between the Gaulish formula and the Graeco-Italic *comparanda* may be due to Indo-European heritage, rather than language contact since the split of the daughter languages. In this case, we might expect the formula, or traces of it, to appear in Insular Celtic and for it to be found elsewhere in the Continental Celtic zone. As it is, Insular Celtic cognates are scarce and the evidence is restricted to a sphere of influence in South-eastern Gaul. In fact, several factors point towards foreign influence. Firstly, the res-

⁸⁰ The main Celtic terms are based on the form *dekameto-: Gaulish *decametos* (La Graufesenque: RIG II.2 L-29.1, 10, p. 108), Celtiberian *TeCameTinas* (MLH K.1.1 A8 (Botorrita)), *TeCameTam* (K.1.1 A10), Old Irish *dechmad*, Welsh *degfed*. For possible forms in Insular Celtic based on *dek̃ñto-, see Szemerényi 1960, 169-171 and Motta 1993. For the development of the cardinal and ordinal forms of ‘ten’ in Indo-European, see Szemerényi 1960, especially 67-114.

⁸¹ For the first declension in Celtic, see Lejeune 1985a, 88-94.

⁸² Such as a development of the vocalism ā > a > e, see Lejeune 1984, 136.

⁸³ For a discussion of the various proposed endings, see Lambert 1997, 46-48.

⁸⁴ For a consonant-stem noun, cf. δεκάς ‘group of ten’ or ‘ten’ in Greek, which is glossed as an equivalent of δεκάτη in Hesychius, see DGE 901-902.

⁸⁵ The hypothesis of a fifth declension in -ēs is unlikely as *ē > ī in final syllables, as seen in -rīx, (Lejeune 1984, 134-135). Bammesberger 1995 argues that the ending -em is an analogical substitution from the ē-stems into the ā-stems. Similarly, the hypothesis of a formation in -ti by de Bernardo Stempel (1984 and 1987, 105) has been rejected by Szemerényi 1991, 307-308 on semantic and orthographic grounds (a spelling *tim* / *tin* would be expected, cf. *Ucuetin* (RIG II.1 L-13)) and now by herself (De Bernardo Stempel 2006, 48). Her recent attempt to interpret ΔEKANTEN ‘as a religious formula imported into the Narbonensis from the directly adjoining Ligurian world’ (2006, 48) can be questioned (see note 10; the evidence for the development *yo > e is either doubtful (sections 5 and 7) or retains the *y (section 1)).

⁸⁶ The position of the accent may have been a factor in this. The evidence is complex, but it seems likely that the accent was not word final, see de Bernardo Stempel 1995.

⁸⁷ For this suggestion, see Lejeune 1994b, 178.

⁸⁸ Lejeune 1972, 270.

⁸⁹ Cf. Rhys’ reliance on ‘Celtican’ to describe the BPATOY inscriptions (Rhys 1906, 353), his term refers to a Continental Celtic language resembling Goidelic (Rhys 1905, 125-126).

⁹⁰ For the suggestion that final M in the inscriptions is due to archaism, see Lambert 1997, 47; 2003a, 57; Lejeune 1976, 1984, 132-133; Schmidt 1974, 332, note 19.

stricted area of Gaul in which this formula occurs has cultural contacts with Greek, Oscan and Latin-speaking communities, and is focused around the arterial trade route of the Rhône. The time-scale is also suitable for contact with these communities: these inscriptions are generally dated to the second to first centuries BC. Furthermore, the formula is particularly associated with merchants and soldiers giving tithes after successful journeys, which would provide a possible route of transmission into Southern Gaul, through the movement of Gaulish, Greek or Italic merchants and soldiers.

Most linguists have accepted the formula as being the product of language contact, at least to some extent. Not surprisingly, the focus has been on Marseille and the colonial Greeks as the purveyors of the formula. However, this hypothesis encounters some problems. Firstly, Szemerényi’s suggestion that the term ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ is a borrowing (in the linguistic sense) from Greek has been shown to be impossible. Secondly, ignoring the complexities of Indo-European linguistics which were not a concern for the Gaulish-speaking communities, ΔΕΔΕ and ΒΠΑΤΟΥ find superficially much closer *comparanda* in the Italic languages, indeed ΒΠΑΤΟΥ *vel sim.* is not found in the Greek formula. Moreover, none of the Greek inscriptions from France contains the formula and the distribution of the Gallo-Greek texts focuses not on Marseille, but on the Rhône, which might again argue for a complex mixture of influences disseminated through trade, of which only a proportion may have been Massaliote.

A new solution is therefore proposed. The Gaulish formula appears to be most closely associated with the equivalent phraseology in the Italic languages, both Oscan and Latin. Superficially the link seems stronger than with the Greek phrase, and the affinity may be deeper depending on the exact etymology of the lexemes. Oscan uses the Greek alphabet, particularly in the Lucania and Bruttium areas of Italy, and five out of fifteen Oscan inscriptions containing the *brat-* lexeme use the Greek script. The *brat-* lexeme also appears throughout central Italy, in the regions occupied by *Paeligni*, *Vestini*, *Hirpini*, *Sidicini* and *Samnites*, in both the Latin and Oscan alphabets. The counter argument might be that the

Gaulish ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ does not have a direct equivalent in the Oscan formula. However, δεκμας (Lu 22), accompanied by a personal name in a fragmentary inscription from Rossano, may be an Oscan equivalent to Gaulish ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ⁹¹, and several other lexemes may also be based on the same root: *dekmanniūis*⁹², *degetasis*⁹³, *dequier*⁹⁴, *dekkviarim*⁹⁵, *tekvias*⁹⁶. The ‘tenth’ seems to have been an established concept in Oscan.

The Latin inscriptions with *decuma* date from the second century BC, though the references in Plautus hint at the antiquity of the practice⁹⁷. The formula *decuma facta dedit donum merito* (Spoleto) and the abbreviated formula *d. d. l. m. d. f.* (*donum dat libens merito decuma facta*) (Tarentum) might contain all the elements of the Gaulish formula: *decuma*, *dare* and *merito*, if *merito* can be linked, at least semantically, to ΒΠΑΤΟΥ. One attestation of the formula in Plautus uses the verb *gratulator*, which may reflect a word-play on an earlier stage of the formula, as this verb contains the root found in Oscan *brateis*⁹⁸. The hypothesis of Latin influence seems somewhat less persuasive when extra-linguistic factors are considered, as the Latin formula is absent from South-eastern Gaul. Furthermore, Latin inscriptions involving tithes are almost exclusively addressed to Hercules⁹⁹, and, for instance, at Glanum, despite several dedications to Hercules, none contains any remnants of the formula, and this would certainly be a context where we might hope to see attestations of a formula deemed important in linguistic contacts in the area¹⁰⁰.

Contact with foreign cultures has influenced the creation of this Gaulish formula, but not one of the possible languages, Oscan, Latin or Greek, offers a totally satisfactory model and Gaulish did not borrow the formula directly from any one of these languages. However, considering the similarity of the formulae and the restricted distribution of the Gaulish examples, it seems likely that cultural contact motivated the creation of the formula and that the concept of the dedicatory tithe was introduced into South-eastern Gaul as a result of links with Graeco-Italic culture. The choice of the Celtic lexemes ΔΕΔΕ and ΒΠΑΤΟΥ is likely to be due to influence from the Italic languages. The form ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ is a Celtic formation, probably a calque of the equivalent Graeco-

⁹¹ See Untermann 2000, 166.

⁹² See Untermann 2000, 165.

⁹³ See Untermann 2000, 157-158.

⁹⁴ See Untermann 2000, 167.

⁹⁵ See Untermann 2000, 164.

⁹⁶ See Untermann 2000, 740-741.

⁹⁷ Plaut. *Bacch.* 666, *Most.* 984, *Stich.* 233, 386, *Truc.* 562.

⁹⁸ See note 77.

⁹⁹ See Szemerényi 1974, 275.

¹⁰⁰ Livy 5.21.1f. refers to a *decuma* promised to Apollo.

Italic concept, and cannot be a Greek borrowing as Szemerényi claims. The distribution of the Greek dedicatory titles, which are well attested in *Magna Graecia* but not in the Greek inscriptions from France, supports the suggestion that the model for this Celtic formula might derive from the Italian peninsula, in particular the central and southern zones.

Adams (2007) presents key evidence that might be marshalled to support this argument of an Italian linguistic melting pot, from which the Gaulish-speaking communities have created a contact-induced formula. In his excellent exposition of the regional diversification of Latin, he rewrites the orthodoxy on the evidence from the Republic¹⁰¹. In his discussion of possible Oscanisms in the Latin of the Republic, he discusses two inscriptions which have been mentioned in the discussion of the Oscan formula above: *STMV 5* and *ST Pg 6*. The former, from the territory of the *Vestini* and dated to the third century BC, reads *t. uetio duno didet herclo iouio brat(es) data(s)*. Adams sums up its linguistic content: ‘the verb, the declensional category of *Herclō* and the final two-word formula are Italic, but all the other inflections in the inscription are Latinate’¹⁰². He concludes that this inscription indicates language mixing that can occur in a period of language shift. The second inscription was found in the territory of the *Paeligni*: *sa. seio(s). sa. f. herclei. donom ded(ed). brat(eis). datas*. Again the linguistic content seems to suggest a mixture of Oscan (the formula) and Latin (the rest)¹⁰³. It is perhaps significant that the deity addressed in both inscriptions is Hercules, the standard recipient of the equivalent title formula in Latin (in Oscan no one deity receives dedications with the *brateis datas* formula). The appearance of inscriptions from central Italy in mixtures of Oscan and Latin which include the Oscan formula indicates that the formula may be crossing linguistic boundaries. It is possible that the Latin formula itself may be a combination of influence from Oscan (the notion of ‘dedicating X on account of favour received’) and Greek (the title). How exactly the Gaulish-speaking communities created their formula is probably irrecoverable, but central-southern Italy certainly provides all the elements and the appropriate circumstances for contact-induced adoption.

The onomastic record

The *dedebrateoudekanten* dossier reveals the complexity of cultural contacts that underlie linguistic and cultural development in the region. Further evidence for contact with the Italian peninsula exists in the inscriptions, though it is non-existent for contact with Greek: not one of the examples of non-Gaulish names in the published Gallo-Greek inscriptions is Greek¹⁰⁴. The clearest example of a non-Gaulish name is Latin *KOPNHΛIA* (*RIG I G-65*, Glanum), and since it is accompanied by the *dedebrateoudekanten* formula, this may support the hypothesis that the formula was formed through contact with the Italian peninsula. Other possible instances may also originate in the Italian peninsula, for instance *ΣΚΟΥΡΡΑ* (*RIG I G-141* (Cavaillon)) and *ΕΚΙΛΙΟ | Σ Π[?]ΟΥ | ΜΑΝ[Ι/Ε?]|ΟΣ* (*RIG I G-183*) which also occurs with *dedebrateoudekanten*, though the form resists simple analysis. The second name is possibly a patronymic in *ΙΟΣ / ΕΟΣ*. Lejeune remarks ‘qu’elle se lise *Riūmo-* ou *Rūmo-*, la souche demeure isolée. Même si on lit *ρουμενιος*, il est très improbable que le père ait eu pour nom un sobriquet “*Rōmānus*”’¹⁰⁵. According to Lejeune’s transcription of the inscription, the *l* following the *p* restored by Germer-Durand can be attributed to wear on the stone¹⁰⁶. Thus the reading *ρουμενιος* is the most plausible, and the idea that this character has a father named *Romanus* should not be dismissed so unquestioningly. The orthodoxy on the nature of the contacts in the region has led Lejeune to assume that this cultural development is impossible. However, other evidence highlighting the importance and precocity of the contacts with the Italian peninsula allows us to imagine a Celtic-speaking character involved in a public display of devotion, whose father may have had particularly close links with traders and settlers from the Italian peninsula, or may even have been Roman and married into a Celtic-speaking family. However, it is possible that the second word is in fact the name *Romanus*, which is well attested in the Celtic zone¹⁰⁷, and forms part of a bi-partite formula rather than a patronymic. If so, the attachment to Roman culture might be directly related to the character himself, rather than the father. Another instance of the closeness of

¹⁰¹ See Mullen forthcoming.

¹⁰² Adams 2007, 74.

¹⁰³ For the discussion, see Adams 2007, 76.

¹⁰⁴ See Häussler 2002, 66.

¹⁰⁵ *RIG I*, p. 254. Cf. the Middle Welsh personal name *Rufawn* < *Romanus* (Jackson 1953 307) and the Welsh place name *Rhufoniog* < *Romaniaco* (Jackson 1953 653).

¹⁰⁶ For Germer-Durand’s transcription, see *IAN*, p. 951.

¹⁰⁷ For the examples, see Untermann 1969, 138-139.

Gaulish and Latin can be seen in the two epitaphs from Ventabren positioned above a structure measuring 60 by 30 cm containing only cinders and charred material. One of the two Gaulish epitaphs uses Greek script, the other Latin. The female may have a patronymic based on a Latin name (e.g. *Quadronius*) ΟΥΕΝΙΤΟΟΥΤΑ | ΚΟΥΑΔΡΟΥΝΙΑ (*RIG I G-106*). Α ΠΡΑΙΤΩΡ also appears in a well-known fragmentary inscription from Vitrolles (*RIG I G-108*)¹⁰⁸, suggesting that this community may have invested, at least superficially, in Roman modes of organization, and this can be paralleled by the appearance of a *LEKATOS*, presumably a legate, in an inscription from Briona, Italy¹⁰⁹. A recent discovery (as yet unpublished) provides us with our first Gallo-Greek bilingual text from South-eastern Gaul: a mono-version text with a code-switch into Latin (not Greek) and providing a hybrid Latin-Gaulish *duo nomina*.

A new interpretation of Gallo-Greek

The aim here has not been to replace Greek influence, but to demonstrate the complexity of the transmission routes in the creation and development of Gallo-Greek. Linguistic evidence offers new insights into cultural transmission, which fit with the most recent archaeological research. The divide between epigraphers and linguists and archaeologists must be crossed as it is only through a synthesis of linguistic, historical and archaeological evidence that we can begin to reach an understanding of the ancient community, and develop a picture of the creation and manipulation of identities in South-eastern Gaul.

Appendix

1. Szemerényi derives Lepontic *TETU*¹¹⁰ (the Lugano alphabet uses voiceless stops to represent all stops, e.g. T for /t/ and /d/) from **de-dō-* and describes as ‘very improbable’¹¹¹ the suggestion that ΔΕΔΕ is the same formation and ‘in place of the final vowel of the root, which had coalesced with the personal ending, the normal personal ending was attached’¹¹². He prefers the formation of ΔΕΔΕ from **dhe-dhē-*. However, *ē* > *ī* in Gaulish, at least in certain environments, and the evidence from Larzac (*RIG II.2 L-98*) of *matir* < **mātēr*, suggest that the expected form would be ***dedi*, though the development of secondary long *e* from *ē* + *e* may not have been identical phonologically and / or orthographically from the reflex of the original long *e*. Bammesberger proposes two possible forms for the perfect of **dheh₁*, the first based on an o-grade (**dhe-dhoh₁-*), the second on the zero grade (**dhe-dhh₁-*)¹¹³. The Lepontic form could be based on the o-grade > **de-dō-e*, but the Gaulish form on the reduced grade > **deda-* plus endings¹¹⁴. However, these formations do not advance the discussion on the root, as **deh₃* would produce exactly the same forms: **de-doh₃-e* > *dedō-e*, **de-dh₃-e* > *deda-e* and it is not clear that such a parallel development is likely¹¹⁵.

2. The find-spot of the *olla*, a ditch dated to *circa* AD 40, contained a considerable amount of animal remains and broken vessels, suggesting a ritual banquet. The script has *II* for *E* and the first attested word is *uercobretos*, the title of the magistracy described by Caesar at *B.G.* 1.16¹¹⁶. Presumably the name of the magistrate would

¹⁰⁸For this inscription, see Lejeune 1968-1970; *CAG* 13/1, 334-335 no. 117.1*, Häussler 2002, 63-64.

¹⁰⁹For this inscription, see Adams 2003b, 190-191; Campanile 1981; Häussler 2002, 65-66; 2007, 59-60.

¹¹⁰*TETU* is found in the fifth-century Prestino inscription, see Lejeune 1971, 452-467.

¹¹¹Szemerényi 1974, 281.

¹¹²Thurneysen 1946, 428.

¹¹³Bammesberger 1992.

¹¹⁴Bammesberger does not explain the motivation behind the generalization of the reduced grade in Gaulish.

¹¹⁵The University of Wales in their recent electronic publication of a Proto-Celtic-English dictionary <<http://www.wales.ac.uk/documents/external/cawcs/PCI-MoE.pdf>> cite the form **de-d-e* (pf.) as ‘put’. The editors of *LIV* demonstrate the complexity, opting for **deh₃* in the first edition, but **dheh₁* in the second, citing Rubio-Orecilla 1999. De Bernardo Stempel 2005, 194 prefers **deh₃*.

¹¹⁶Lambert wrongly asserts that all the epigraphic attestations of this word appear with *C* not *G*, see *RIG II.2*, p. 204 for a list of examples. In fact, *CIL XIII* 1048 + 1074 (Saintes) has *uerg[obreto]*. One coin legend includes this word: Obv. *SIMISSOS · PVBLICOS · LIXOVIO* Rev. *VERCOBRETO · CISIAMBOS · CATTOS* (*DL II* 2481-2482). For the etymology of *uerg/cobretos*, see Fleuriot 1981, 95-96. For a discussion of the attestations and the possible dual form in the Lixovian coin legend, see Lejeune 1985b. According to Caesar, the *uergobretus* was annually elected and had power of life and death over his fellows ‘*qui creatur annuus et uitae necisque in suos habet potestatem*’. Later, the office seems to have been associated with that of the *quaestor*; see Cunliffe 1997, 231-232; Drinkwater 1983, 108; Jullian 1920-1926, IV, 336-343.

have filled the preceding *lacuna*. In terms of the verb *readdas*, Fleuriot opts for a formation *re* (a reduced form of *ro*)¹¹⁷ plus **azd-* ‘burn’, though the *olla* could not have been used as an incinerator¹¹⁸. Sims-Williams suggests a formation **pro-ed* (*ed* being the neuter infixed pronoun) plus a root cognate with Old Irish *ásaid* ‘grows’, though semantically this too is weak¹¹⁹. Meid views the formation as two preverbs *re-* and *ad-* plus the zero grade of either **dhh₁* or **sth₂*¹²⁰. Lambert selects **dhh₁* and compares Old Irish *do-rat* ‘he has given’ < **to-pro-ad-dhh₁*¹²¹. Schrijver translates the form ‘has given this’, preferring a formation with the infixed pronoun *readdas* < **(p)ro-e(d)-ad-da-s-t*¹²². He notes that the root involved could be either **dhh₁* or **dh₃*¹²³.

3. Lejeune reconstructs the proto-form **(p)ro-dhē/e* and compares Greek *προ(σ)τιθῆμι*, Latin *proficiscor*, Welsh *rhoddi*, Breton *rei*, Old Irish *do-rat* and the hydronym *Condate*¹²⁴. He describes *rodatim* as an agent noun equivalent to Welsh *rhoddiad* ‘he who gives’. Schmidt views the formation as a *to*-participle < **pro-dhh₁-tā*¹²⁵. Some debate has occurred over the root and formation underlying Old Irish *do-rat*, presumably because the roots **dheh₁* and **deh₃* fell together in Insular Celtic¹²⁶. There are probably two stages in the process of merger, one the loss of the aspiration > **deh₁* and **deh₃*, the other the development of both laryngeals into *-a-*.

4. Pisani viewed the Oscan form *brateis* as a genitive of the *o*-stem *brato-*, Szemerényi as an *i*-stem noun, and Rix as a consonant-stem noun, alongside a Latin consonant-stem *grātēs*¹²⁷. Following Rix, *bratom*, which occurs in the Oscan inscriptional record twice, once with *pam* and once with *esot*, would be the accusative singular

feminine form of the consonant stem, as *pam* requires, though neither the forms *pam* nor *esot* are securely attested, and *esot* remains somewhat obscure¹²⁸.

The Italic evidence suggests that several formations have been built on the **g^wr_hh₂-t-* root, e.g. *grates*, *gratus*, *gratuitus*, *gratia*, *brateis*. Studies into the chronological development of such forms are complex and an independent Gaulish formation would not be unexpected in the circumstances¹²⁹. Szemerényi argues that Gaulish BPA-TOY is derived from an Indo-European instrumental **g^wrātō*, and means ‘gratefully, in gratitude’¹³⁰. Lejeune rightly points out that the option of an ablative origin (< **-ōd*) should not have been excluded; it is possible, for instance, that final dental stops may have been lost in Gaulish after a long vowel, or that in Gaulish the ablative was generalised at the expense of the instrumental. Furthermore, Lejeune notes that we should not necessarily expect an *o*-stem noun in *-tos*, a *u*-stem noun in *-tus* is also possible, in favour of which he cites semantic plausibility, Latin *gratuitus*, and the toponym *Bratuspantium*, though he concedes that the etymology is controversial¹³¹. A Gallo-Latin inscription on stone found recently at *Nasium* (Naix-aux-Forges, Meuse) provides further evidence of the root: *BRATVLOS / IEVRV RATII / NASIIIA*¹³². The dedicator appears to have a name based on the *brat(u/o)-* root, with a suffix *-ul(l)os* which is found in other Gaulish names, e.g. *Smertullos*. This does not provide much assistance with the morphology or etymology of the root.

5. The reflexes of syllabic nasals are generally described as showing *a*-vocalism in Gaulish, Celtiberian and Brittonic, and *e*-vocalism in Goidelic and Lepontic. This feature became of central importance, alongside the

¹¹⁷For instances of this *ro-* form, see Fleuriot 1981, 97-98.

¹¹⁸Fleuriot 1981, 97. Eska 1990, 9-10, note 19 proposes an athematic *s*-aorist factitive in *-ā-* meaning “‘made burnt”, i.e., “sacrificed.””

¹¹⁹Sims-Williams 1984, 190, note 22.

¹²⁰Meid 1992, 19. For *ad-*, see Thurneysen 1946, 344.

¹²¹Lambert 2003a, 140, *RIG* II.2, p. 204.

¹²²Schrijver 1997, 178-179.

¹²³De Bernardo Stempel 2005, 194 plumps for the latter.

¹²⁴Lejeune, Vernhet *et al.* 1985, 160.

¹²⁵Schmidt 1996, 32.

¹²⁶Thurneysen 1946 claims *do-rat* is formed on the stem **dhh₁*, though see Schumacher 2004, 265-267 (s.v. **dā-* ‘geben’). There seems to be more consensus on *rhoddi*, Lejeune states emphatically that ‘il n’y a plus maintenant aucun doute: gall. *rhoddi* n’a rien à faire avec la rac. **dō-* “donner”’ (Lejeune, Vernhet *et al.* 1985, 160), see Schumacher 2004, 278-281 (s.v. **dī-* ‘setzen’). The phonological developments in Latin and Greek allow the roots to be clearly differentiated.

¹²⁷Pisani 1964, 52, 56; Rix 2000; Szemerényi 1974, 256-265. See also Untermann 2000, 149-151.

¹²⁸*ST* Pg 4, Lu 39.

¹²⁹For a detailed study, see Rix 2000.

¹³⁰Szemerényi 1974, 265.

¹³¹Lejeune 1976, 141-142.

¹³²Burnand and Lambert 2004, they translate ‘Bratulos a offert le gué de *Nasium*’ (688).

reflex of the voiceless labio-velar, for grouping the Celtic language family¹³³. However, not only are both features hardly diagnostic for the Celtic family grouping, but the evidence for the syllabic nasals is far from clear-cut. The etymology of the Lepontic evidence: *SITEŠ-* < *side's* < *sidens* < *sid̥ns* is not assured¹³⁴, and Gaulish shows possible evidence of *en*, e.g. **grennos* (Old French *grenon* ‘little beard’, Provençal *gren* ‘moustache’)¹³⁵, **brennos* ‘bran, husks’, (Provençal *bren*, cf. Welsh *bran*)¹³⁶, and the month-name *ELEMBIV* (Coligny calendar *RIG* III) < **el̥nbho*-¹³⁷. Furthermore, the Irish evidence is complex, with *a*-vocalism in certain environments¹³⁸. McCone argues that the change *m* > *am* is a Proto-Celtic development and that Irish and Continental Celtic languages, which display *em* / *im*, have undergone a process of pre-nasal vowel raising in the post-Proto-Celtic period¹³⁹. This is a significant departure from the suggestion that Goidelic branched off from the other Celtic languages when *ŋ* and *m* were unaltered, and the theory has been well received, though detractors argue that cross-declensional influences cannot be ruled out.

Abbreviations

- CAG* = Provost, M. et al. 1988 ff., *Carte archéologique de la Gaule*, Paris.
CIG = Boeckh, A. (ed.) 1828-1877, *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*, Berlin.
CIL = Mommsen, T. (ed.) 1863-, *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, Berlin.
DAG = Whatmough, J. 1970 [1949-1951], *The dialects of ancient Gaul: prolegomena and records of the dialects*, Cambridge, Mass. (new edition).
DGE = Gangutia, E. 1980, *Diccionario griego-español*, Madrid.
DL II = Delestrée, L.-P. and Tache, M. 2004, *Nouvel atlas des monnaies gauloises II. De la Seine à la Loire moyenne*, Paris.
GPN = Evans, D. E. 1967, *Gaulish personal names. A study of some Continental Celtic formations*, Oxford.
Holder = Holder, A. 1896-1913, *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, Leipzig.
IAG = Rolland, H. 1944, “Inscriptions antiques de Glanum. Saint-Rémy-de-Provence. Révision et complément du *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*”, *Gallia* 2, 167-223.

- IAN* = Germer-Durand, E., Germer-Durand, M.-M. F. and Allmer, A. 1893, *Inscriptions antiques de Nîmes*, Toulouse.
IEW = Pokorny, J. 1959, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern.
KGN = Schmidt, K. H. 1957, *Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen*, Tübingen.
LEIA = Vendryes, J. 1959-, *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien*, Dublin.
LIV = Rix, H. (ed.) 2001, *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben. Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen*, Wiesbaden (second edition).
MLH = Untermann, J. 1997, *Monumenta linguarum hispanicarum. IV Die tartessischen, keltiberischen und lusitanischen Inschriften*, Wiesbaden.
RDG = Jufer, N. and Luginbühl, T. 2001, *Répertoire des dieux gaulois. Les noms de divinités celtiques connus par l'épigraphie, les textes antiques et la toponymie*, Paris.
RIG = Colbert de Beaulieu, J.-B., Duval, P.-M., Fischer, B., Lejeune, M., Lambert, P.-Y. and Pinault, G. 1985 ff., *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises*, vols. I, II.1, II.2, III, IV, Paris.
ST = Rix, H. 2002, *Sabellische Texte*, Heidelberg.

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¹³³ See Mullen 2007, note 35.

¹³⁴ See de Bernardo Stempel 1987, 165-166 and Uhlich 1999.

¹³⁵ See de Bernardo Stempel 1987, 119-120 and Delamarre 2003, 183.

¹³⁶ See de Bernardo Stempel 1987, 151.

¹³⁷ See de Bernardo Stempel 1987, 163.

¹³⁸ For a detailed discussion of the reflexes of syllabic nasals (and liquids) in Celtic, see de Bernardo Stempel 1987.

¹³⁹ See McCone 1996, 70-79. McCone (1996, 77-78) proposes a date of the fifth century for the change *an* / *am* > *in* / *im* before voiced stops in certain environments, based on the evidence of Old Irish *ingor* < *ancora* and Ogam Irish [AM]B[I]CATOS and Old Irish *Imchado*, though the Ogam evidence is poor as the crucial part of the inscription is illegible and has been restored.

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