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TOWARDS A LANGUAGE MAP OF SOUTHERN HISPANIA: ONOMASTIC ARGUMENTS

Determining the languages spoken in the south of the Iberian Peninsula in antiquity, in pre-Roman times and during Romanization, is no easy task. Although we have an important corpus of indigenous inscriptions, the different writing systems identified have not been fully deciphered, which is especially true for the southern varieties of the complex Palaeohispanic family of scripts. This paper opens with a brief introduction to the different epigraphic areas of the southern Iberian Peninsula with a note to the special situation of the southwest, to offer an alternative look on the contours of “Tartessian” topographic layer. The author points out that the Tartessian label should be limited to a territory in a specific region of the central and lower Guadalquivir valley and that the region of southern Portugal (in the Algarve) where an important collection of about 100 large funerary stelae has been found, seems to be outside or at least on the periphery of the Tartessian world, even if these inscriptions are called “Tartessian” by many researchers. To date, there are different ways of interpreting the language(s) reflected in the southern epigraphic texts, especially those from the central and western regions of Andalusia and southern Portugal. The Iberian language inscriptions found in the southeast are comparatively better read and understood. The present paper seeks further arguments in the discussion of southern languages by analysing a set of onomastic elements (personal and place names) distributed over a wide region of the central and lower Guadalquivir valley and southern Portugal, attested in antiquity. Some conclusions are drawn as to what they may imply in terms of the linguistic map of the area, as well as in terms of the different linguistic strata during the centuries before the arrival of the Romans.

K e y w o r d s: Palaeohispanic scripts; Tartessian; Iberian; Conii-Kynetes; epigraphic areas; onomastics; funerary stelae; language map; language strata

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1. Palaeohispanic indigenous texts in southern Hispania

During the last centuries BCE, the Iberian Peninsula left us a significant body of native epigraphy in a family of scripts that is a native adaptation of a Phoenician model.[1] This group of scripts is called Palaeohispanic.

A recent general overview of these native writing systems [Ferrer i Jané & Moncunill, 2019] distinguishes four different scripts that can be grouped in two main families:

1. The northern script family integrated by the northeastern Iberian and the Celtiberian varieties.

2. The southern script family, including southeastern Iberian, south-western (also referred to as Tartessian by some scholars), the Espanca script, and some further southern texts that cannot be classified either as Iberian or Southwestern.

The decipherment process has been quite challenging, especially with the southern varieties, for which we are "just at a preliminary stage" [Ibid., *2*].

In the south of the Iberian Peninsula (roughly today's Southern Portugal — Alentejo and Algarve — plus all across modern Andalusia and in the provinces of Murcia and Alicante), we are currently able to identify several "native" epigraphic areas.[2] The writing varieties, the spread and the number of inscriptions, the onomastic data and the languages we associate to each of these areas are quite heterogeneous.

There is a well-defined epigraphic region in the **south-west**,[3] characterized by a group of 100 inscriptions in a language whose genetic affiliation remains a mystery for most scholars, including myself. These inscriptions are a very special collection of large stone funerary stelae[4] found in the south-western corner of Hispania. Most of them seem to have been driven into the ground in a vertical position (perhaps in relation to a burial). Usually, they do not have a clear archaeological context and therefore, any precise chronology is challenging. They could date from a period from the 7th c. to the 4th c. BCE.

Even if these inscriptions are often called "Tartessian," this area does not really coincide with the region attributed to the kingdom of Tartessos (my red oval on Ferrer's and Moncunill's [2019, *79*] map, see Figure 1). This is the reason why some scholars limit the name of "Tartessian" to the core-zone inscriptions of the lower and middle Guadalquivir valley, to the East of this region, using just the neutral geographical

[1] A secondary influence of the Greek alphabet has convincingly been discarded by De Hoz [2010, *495–500*].

[2] Leaving aside the Phoenician area of the southern coasts of Andalusia and Murcia. See [Zamora, 2019].

[3] One of the most specific characteristics of this script is the so-called "vocalic redundancy," where each syllabic sign is followed by the same vowel. Also specific for this script is that they are written in continuous writing, independently of the length of the text. Only in a few cases are separators used in the form of a vertical bar. Such is the case in the inscription FAR.06.02 from Mestras.

[4] Up to 2 m tall and 50 cm wide, but some significantly smaller, as De Hoz [2010, *356*] remarks.

denomination of "southwestern" for the texts of this peripheral zone, where the inscriptions written in this script have in fact been found.[5]

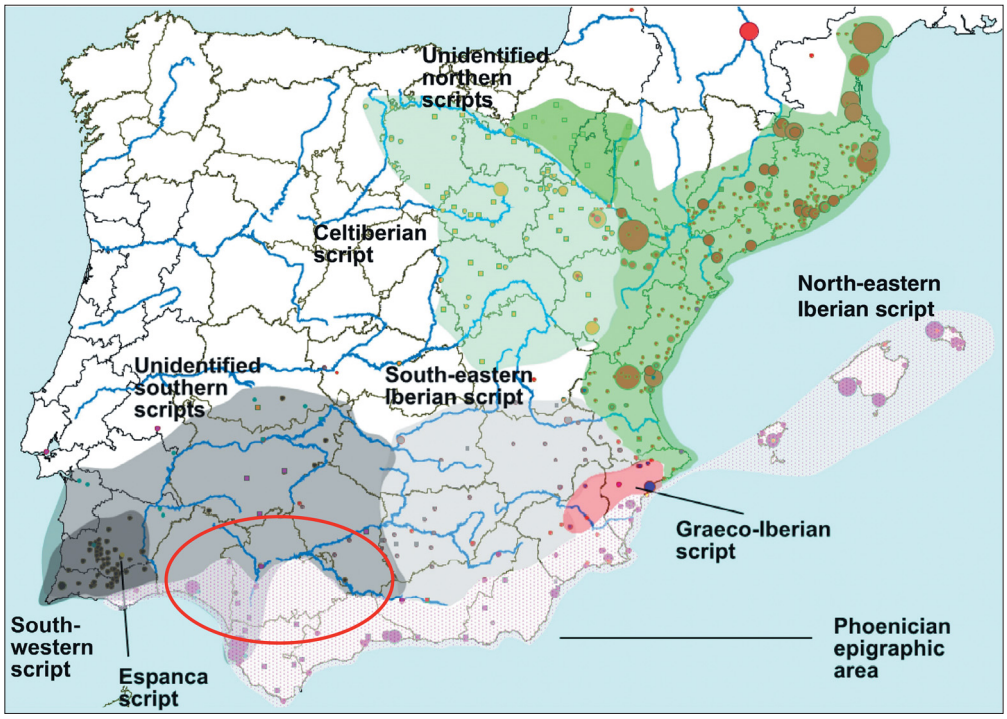

Fig. 1. The areal distribution of Palaeohispanic scripts
according to [Ferrer i Jané & Moncunill, 2019, *79*].
The red oval shows the situation of the kingdom of Tartessos

Quite importantly, a recent proposal suggests that there *could be* a second epigraphic area in the *Tartessian area*. In their 2019 paper, Ferrer i Jané and Moncunill ended their overview of the Southern scripts with a reference to a reduced but diverse group of texts "from a palaeographical point of view and also regarding their supports, geographical origin, and chronology" [Ferrer i Jané & Moncunill, 2019, *103*], thinking they represent other unidentified Southern varieties.[6]

[5] We do not even know whether the people inhabiting both areas spoke the same language or not.

[6] One point they make is that it is not certain whether all the inscriptions classified as "South-eastern Iberian were in fact Iberian, especially regarding the westernmost part of the corpus, since the limits of the Iberian-speaking territories are not yet well known" [Ferrer i Jané & Moncunill, 2019, *103*]. On top of these, they already identified in 2019 some more unclassified inscriptions, not more than 20, clearly "outside the Iberian territory in Andalusia, Extremadura, and Portugal covering an ample chronology running from the 7th century BCE to the 2nd century BCE" [Ibid.].

For the purposes of our paper, this area of the Guadalquivir valley is particularly relevant, since it corresponds better to the Tartessian territory than the area where the abovementioned south-western funerary stelae were uncovered.

In a more recent article, Ferrer refines his view a little. He now proposes a new epigraphic area for a group of southern inscriptions, too western to be considered Iberian, but without the characteristic redundancy of the south-west writing [Ferrer i Jané, 2021, *69*]. He convincingly argues this epigraphic area shows a specific variety of the script used by the *Turdetani*, whose name has traditionally been related to that of Tartessos and who lived along the middle and lower sections of the Guadalquivir valley. Figure 2 represents his modified map [Ibid.] of the southern script varieties (the green oval delimits the newly proposed "Turdetanian" area).

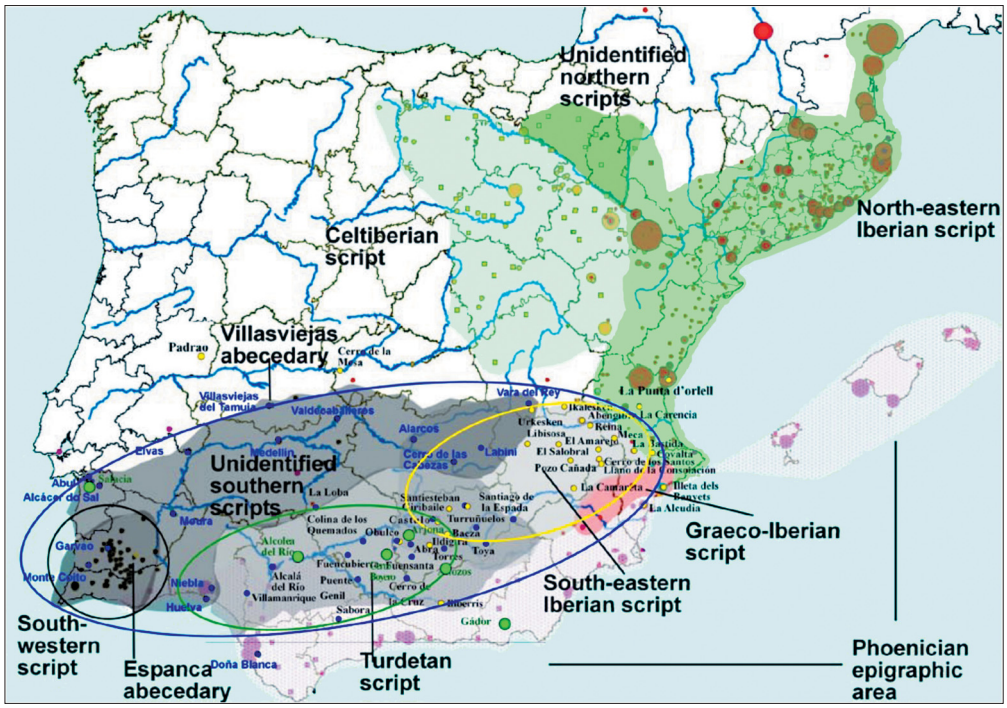

Fig. 2. Southern script varieties according to [Ferrer i Jané, 2021]

Finally,[7] **the south-eastern Iberian script** is attested in the Southeast in about 70 inscriptions dated from the 4th c. BCE to the 1st c. BCE. All these texts have

[7] We leave aside here what we could consider the last Palaeohispanic script of southern Hispania, the so-called Graeco-Iberian script, which is in fact a quite superficial adaptation of an Ionian variety of the Greek alphabet used to write Iberian in about 30 inscriptions, dated between the late 5th c. and the 3rd c. BCE, and found in a small south-eastern region of Hispania, coinciding with the territory

traditionally been considered Iberian, but "the westernmost inscriptions probably contain a different language, or languages, and probably new southern scripts" [Ferrer i Jané & Moncunill, 2019, *93*]. The direction of writing is right to left, with a few exceptions, and most texts are very short and with no word separators. However, we do have 20 longer texts that do include word separators.[8]

This script is not fully decoded.[9] The similarities with the Phoenician alphabet and with northeastern Iberian are the best tools to help us in the decipherment process.

2. Using all the information available, what ethnic groupings can we detect in southern Hispania and how can we possibly link them to specific languages?

The rest of this paper is attempting to provide answers to these questions, stressing what we know and, perhaps even more importantly, what we do not know.

In a recent paper, De Hoz [2019] overviews the linguistic situation of southern Hispania, updating his more detailed study on the area published in 2010 [see also De Hoz, 1989; 1990; 1993; 2000; 2016], suggesting to divide the area in several regions: "lower Guadalquivir, including the Atlantic coast from the River Guadiana as far as Gibraltar, Upper Andalusia, the Mediterranean coast with its mountainous hinterland, and, only partially separable from the lower Guadalquivir, the similarly mountainous area stretching as far as Extremadura" [De Hoz, 2019, *138*].

2.1. *Turdetani* (lower and middle Guadalquivir valley)

In each of these areas there are peoples of which we have some knowledge today (mentioned in some of the ancient sources), starting with the core area of the *Turdetani,* descendants of the Tartessians, that occupied the biggest portion of the region, the lower and middle Guadalquivir valley, and that should not be simply equated with the people authoring the south-western inscriptions. Most likely akin to them were the neighbouring *Turduli*, with a related name, who lived on the coastal region of the modern provinces of Huelva and Cádiz. De Hoz [2010, *141*] contends the *Turduli* could have been more

attributed to the *Contestani*, roughly the modern provinces of Murcia and Alicante. In this region this script coexisted with the north-eastern and south-eastern Iberian syllabaries. For no clear reasons, though, during the 3rd c. BCE, this script was abandoned in favour of the more generally widespread Iberian scripts. These texts are written from left to right and when the inscriptions are long, the words are separated by means of two or three vertical dots.

[8] Consisting typically of a vertical bar.

[9] In 2010, Ferrer proposed this script might display a dual modality like some of the Northern varieties [Ferrer i Jané, 2010]. In this case the complex variant would mark voiced plosives, whereas the simple variant would depict voiceless ones. However, this hypothesis is not generally accepted. Variations in the letters are obvious, but their value as possible diacritical signs are difficult to prove without the aid of signaries, which have not appeared in this area.

influenced by the coastal Phoenicians and that maybe this is the reason why we have a different ethnonym formation for them.

In the upper Guadalquivir valley, similarly, another pair of peoples shows a parallel double denomination: *Bastetani* and *Bastuli*. Both ethnonyms could refer to a similar ethnic base, suggesting that a part of them was more exposed to Phoenician influences: the *Bastuli*, significantly, also lived closer to the coast. The *Bastetani* and the *Bastuli* could have spoken a language closely related to Turdetanian, but from their territory and from the lands of the *Oretani* to the North (they occupied areas both within modern Andalusia and outside of it, in the southern Meseta) we have onomastic evidence that Iberian must have been also spoken, being the limits between both languages quite blurry in our current state of knowledge.

To the south, the Phoenician presence was especially felt in and around their city-states near the coasts of the modern provinces of Málaga, Granada, and Almería.

2.2. *Contestani* (south-east)

In the eastern periphery, we know other ethnic groups speaking Iberian, coinciding with the epigraphic areas represented by the south-eastern Iberian script and the Greco-Iberian alphabet (although north-eastern Iberian inscriptions are also found here), corresponding mainly with the *Contestani* that occupied the lands of the modern provinces of Alicante and Murcia. In any case, De Hoz suggested,[10] from the early 1990s,[11] that Iberian was perhaps not vernacular across the whole Iberian epigraphic area, but would rather serve as a *lingua franca*[12] for the commercial activities of the region: its homeland would precisely be here, in the territory of the *Contestani*, where Greeks, Phoenicians, and Tartessians would converge.

2.3. *Conii, Celtici* (south-west)

Finally, in Roman times, in western Andalusia and in southern Portugal, we are aware of the presence of Celtic-speaking peoples, mentioned by the Greek and Roman sources as *Kéltikoi* or *Celtici*. But the time dimension needs not to be overlooked: different temporal layers are not only possible, but to be expected. Latin sources, such as Pliny (23–79 CE), mention some groups of *Celtici* in the region, but these groups

[10] See, however, [Ferrer i Jané, 2013]. Not convinced either are Velaza [2019] or Mullen and Ruiz Darasse [2019].

[11] See [De Hoz, 1993, *648–651*; 2009; 2011a, *336*; 2011b].

[12] It would have arisen from commercial relations established in the Levantine region, as a result of the contact of the Ionian Greeks with the natives of the Alicante coast, a place that would be the origin of the Iberian language. In other areas of the Levant and Catalonia, names appear occasionally that seem anomalous in the Iberian onomastic environment (something, in any case, questioned by Ferrer i Jané [2013]) and that could be considered the remains of largely unknown autochthonous languages of the respective areas, languages that were actually spoken by the bulk of the population in those areas, languages, in sum, that could not make their way to local epigraphy.

seem to have arrived recently,[13] perhaps around the change of the eras, and so the later presence of certain Celtic onomastic elements (personal or place names) in the region might refer to other sources than the linguistic layer reflected in the south-western stelae. This layer is to be linked to the ethnic group of the *Kynetes* or *Conii*[14] of Greek (Herodotus, 2:33; 4:49) and Roman sources.

The dates attributed to the inscriptions uncovered in the lands of the *Conii* are not certain, since these texts (around 100) usually lack a clear archaeological context. It is possible these funerary stelae should actually be dated much later than the 8th c. BCE initially imagined ([Correa & Guerra, 2019, *126* or Luján Martínez, 2020, *566*] prefer to date them rather to the 6th or even the 5th centuries BCE).

To many scholars,[15] the language of the southwestern stelae appeals as not Indo-European. It would look like an agglutinative language like Iberian, Etruscan or Basque, even if our texts from the Hispanic Southwest are much scarcer and more problematic. This is also my impression.[16]

For the past few years, though, a group of scholars, most notably John Koch [2009; 2013], but also others like Kaufmann [2015], have argued that these inscriptions represent the oldest form of Celtic ever attested, adding even the suggestion that this was nothing less than the Proto-Celtic *Urheimat*, taking into consideration the traditionally assumed very early date of the inscriptions themselves and linking them to the Tartessian traditions and civilization.

When there is an absence of texts or when the texts available are not transparent, onomastics usually comes to play a part, even if it certainly is a difficult aide. There could be some personal names with a plausible Indo-European etymology, not necessarily Celtic,[17] in these texts, but this is in no way a guarantee the text is written in a Celtic language.

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[13] Cf.: "Celticos a Celtiberis ex Lusitania aduenisse manifestum est sacris, lingua, oppidorum vocabulis" ("that the *Celtici* have arrived here from Celtiberia passing through Lusitania is obvious when considering their religion, their language or the names of their towns") (Pliny, 3:13).

[14] For a review of what we know about this people see [De Hoz, 2010, *310ff*].

[15] For recent general overviews, see [De Hoz, 2010, *386–402*; Correa & Guerra, 2019, *128–136*]. See also [Prósper, 2014 or Luján Martínez, 2020, *563*].

[16] When for the phonetic value of more than 50 % of the signs used in this Southwestern script researchers have not reached a general consensus, it seems clear that jumping to linguistic conclusions is a little premature, and certainly more so when these texts show no word separation and therefore separating words wherever it is convenient to prove a certain theory could weaken the argument significantly. Drawing some proper argumentation, almost anything becomes possible.

[17] The very vicinity of the Lusitanian area immediately to the north of the south-western epigraphic area complicates things more, since Lusitanian is indeed an Indo-European language showing a significant number of isoglosses with Celtic, although it may really have more ties with the Italic language family, as authors such as Prósper (see [Prósper, 2002] for instance) defend. If, by any chance, we were able to prove, beyond any reasonable doubt, an Indo-European etymology for a certain Tartessian personal name or for certain words on native inscriptions from the south or the south-west, we should not overlook the possibility that we could be dealing with a non-Celtic Indo-European language similar to Lusitanian.

Examples could be *aipʷuris*, if it really has the Celtic element *-rix* in it,[18] or the name of the mythical Tartessian kings *Gargoris* [Luján Martínez, 2020, *565*] or *Arganthonius*,[19] even if we really do not know whether the language of the inscriptions from the Southwest, in southern Portugal, and those from the Guadalquivir valley (as we discussed above and will in more detail below) are really the same.

Apart from personal names, other arguments have been put forward by the proponents of the celticity of the language of the south-west, although none seems to attain the level of a final proof. In any case, it is not my intention in this paper to discuss the different readings, textual analysis or specific suggestions the proponents of the celticity of these texts have put forward.

I would just like to add that the presence of speakers of Celtic in the south-west of Hispania in Roman times is actually confirmed and one could infer from it that they could have been in the area much earlier, but we have no evidence of that. In order to avoid explaining *obscurum per obscurius*, I would simply like to insist on the following:

▪ The possibility that certain personal names in the Tartessian tradition are Celtic does not imply anything about the language of the texts from the south-west, since the language of these inscriptions could have nothing to do with the language spoken in the Tartessian core region.

▪ A possible isolated Indo-European etymology cannot be taken for granted as Celtic, since we know of the presence of at least another Indo-European language in the vicinity (Lusitanian to the immediate north).

▪ We should not rely on a few dubious linguistic analyses to suggest that these texts confirm a very early presence of Celtic in the far south-west of Europe, since, to begin with, even if the readings were correct, we do not even know precisely when to date the inscriptions.

3. How can onomastics complement the ethnic and linguistic information coming from epigraphic and other sources so that we can draw a tentative language map of southern Hispania?

Anyone working with onomastics soon becomes familiar with both the risks and the rewards of relying on proper names as the last resort in endeavours such as drawing language maps in areas with very scarce (or non-existent) linguistic information from other sources. On these occasions, we cannot leave these data unused [see García Alonso, 2001; 2003]. We must, though, be extremely careful in its interpretation and

[18] As first suggested by Correa [1985, *393*].

[19] Herodotus (1:163), the 5th c. BCE Greek historian, is the first source to mention him. According to Herodotus, he was king for 80 years (625–545 BCE) and lived 120.

mind the limitations of onomastics when the elements analysed are very brief (chance homophony is a real danger when we deal with just two or three letter elements) and the names (place or personal) show little consistency with other language material.

A detailed study by De Hoz from 2010 overviews the epigraphic and toponymic data of the colonizing peoples of southern Hispania (Phoenician,[20] Punic,[21] and Greek,[22] excluding the Romans here) [De Hoz, 2010, *424–455*], analysing the linguistic information from southern Hispania that we know thanks to the ancient sources "either through indirect reports, or because they transmit us linguistic material in the proper sense of the word, usually names of people or places" [Ibid., *455*]. He stresses that time depth is a dimension we cannot forget: the Graeco-Roman sources contemporary or close in time to the Tartessian period (around 600 BCE) are scarce and provide very few data. Most of them are fragmentary or very limited,[23] like Herodotus's mention (1:163; 4:152 and 192) of a semi-mythical king *Arganthonios* of Tartessos.

De Hoz [2010, *456–457*] comments on the frequent ethnonymic type in *-etes* (*Kynetes*, *Ilergetes*), formally based on Greek models (*Magnetes*), but most likely also following some other native pattern we cannot analyse in detail and cannot attribute to a particular language since these ethnonyms are spread in Hispania in areas of different linguistic character, both in the south and in the north-east. This name formation is underneath the frequent Latin endings in *-etani*, like, for instance, the *Turdetani* in the south, but also the *Carpetani* in the southern plateau or the *Laietani* in the north-east.

With this very limited amount of information, we cannot advance really in our intentions to learn anything about the languages of the area. But we do not arrive at a more refined knowledge of the local onomastics until much later, in imperial times.

Place names are known thanks to later authors like Strabo, Pliny, Mela or Ptolemy, but for personal names the main source is Latin epigraphic texts, that, by definition, are only available in the context of Romanization. However, by the time we have Latin epigraphy, the native peoples of the south and the Mediterranean regions are already quite deeply Romanized. Therefore, in the regions in questions, the number of autochthonous anthroponyms is scarce in comparison to the names appearing in the Latin inscriptions from the Indo-European areas of Hispania, where Romanization started much later. This aspect can easily be perceived by having a look at the recent map by Gorrochategui and Vallejo [2019, *347*] (Figure 3), where, clearly, the concentration of indigenous personal names is lower in the South and near the Mediterranean.

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[20] Starting at the end of the 8th c. BCE and until the middle of the 6th.

[21] Beginning around 550 BCE and until the arrival of the Romans.

[22] For some of the oldest types (*-oussa* names) and their geographical distribution see [García Alonso, 1996; 2010].

[23] See De Hoz's overview in [De Hoz, 2010, *217ff*].

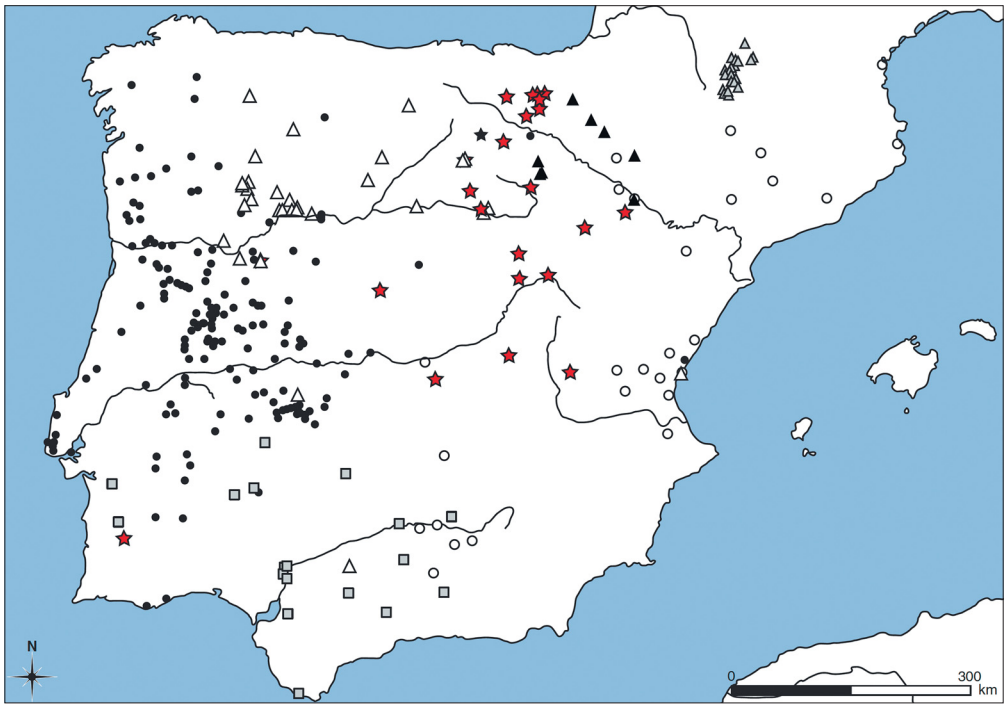

Fig. 3. Areal distribution of indigenous names mentioned in the epigraphy of Roman times according to [Gorrochategui & Vallejo, 2019, *347*]

3.1. Anthroponyms from the South

There are, nevertheless, quite a few personal names from southern Hispania attested, some of which are clearly Indo-European (Celtic or Lusitanian is frequently impossible to decide) and quite similar to names we know from areas further north in Lusitania or from other regions of Indo-European Hispania in the centre, west and north of the Iberian Peninsula: *Albicus*, *Boutius*, *Caesius*, *Caturo*, *Medugenos* or *Tancinus*.[24] They can be seen on De Hoz's map [2019, *151*] (Figure 4), as also a few Iberian names that show up in different types of Iberian inscriptions from the southern plateau and in upper Andalusia.

Finally, between these two areas, in the core zone attributed in our sources to the *Turdetani*,[25] we find a set of names exclusively appearing in Andalusia. Some

[24] See [Tovar, 1962; Untermann, 1965; Albertos Firmat, 1966; 1983; Abascal, 1994; De Hoz, 2010, *458ff*; Vallejo, 2016].

[25] As Ferrer i Jané [2021, *75*] remarks, the language of the Turdetani is actually only known, for its most part, thanks to the "toponyms and anthroponyms transmitted by classical sources and Latin inscriptions, although it was already suspected that it was the language used in some of the southern inscriptions in Turdetanian territory that do not show signs of Iberian," admitting then that the number of these inscriptions is not larger than twenty or so.

of them belong in well-defined series, such as *Antullus*, *Atinius*/*Attenius*, *Broccus*, and those starting with *Sis-* [De Hoz, 2010, *459*]. However, there is little we can say of these names apart from the fact that they resist both an Indo-European or an Iberian analysis, while their geographical layout is significantly coincidental with the lands attributed to the Turdetani.

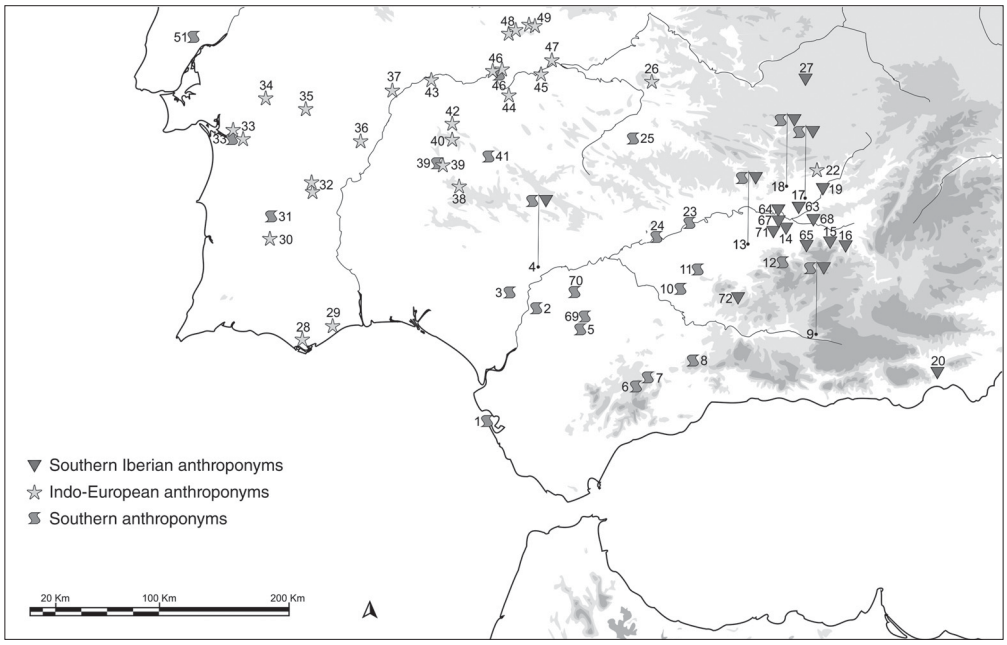

Fig. 4. Geographic distribution of epigraphic mentions of anthroponyms in the South of Hispania according to [De Hoz, 2019]

We do not know whether they are products of one and the same language, but we do find a couple of phonetic features that often show up in these names. It seems the Romans had some doubts on how to represent their consonant sounds (both stops and nasal sounds) and so we have hesitant transcriptions, with or without gemination (*Sisanna*/*Sisania*, *Atinius*/*Attenius*), with or without aspiration (*Broccus*/*Brocchus*), or even both, as in *Brocchus*.[26] This also appears in a few personal names known from

[26] Ferrer i Jané [2021, *75*] notes "the frequency of geminate consonants that are supposed to reproduce in the Latin transcription characteristic sounds of the Turdetanian language." This would happen with nasals (*Aninna*, *Nanna* or *Sisanna*), laterals (*Antullus* or *Broccilla*), sibilants (*Ossonoba*, *Carissa*, *Ossigi*), trills (*Carruca*) or voiceless plosives (*Attenius* and *Attisaga*; *Broccus*, *Aucci* or *Tucci*; *Irippo* or *Sisippo*). Looking at the identified personal and place names of this language, the presence of aspirated velar consonants is also characteristic (*Culchas*, *Chalbus*) as well as aspirations in initial position (*Hasta* or *Hispalis*).

Livy (*Chalbus*, *Attene*, *Culcha*[27]), as pointed out by De Hoz [2019, *152*]. Whatever the phonetic reality behind the hesitancies,[28] these transcriptions point at features that felt exotic and extremely foreign to Greek and Roman ears.

One more quite important detail is that Turdetanian seems to have both voiceless and voiced labial stops (*Iponoba*), unlike Iberian, where voiceless labial plosives are unknown. As for Celtic, a voiceless labial stop is lost between vowels and in the initial position before a vowel. Intervocalic *-p-*, though, appears in these Turdetanian names, as can easily be appreciated in Ferrer's table [see Ferrer i Jané, 2021, *76*].

Even if so thinly defined, this third linguistic area (besides the Indo-European to the west and the Iberian to the east) could be quite safely attributed to the Turdetanian language that would seem, then, according to this information, a non-Indo-European, non-Iberian language (if only one language). Moreover, when having a careful look to De Hoz's map (Figure 4), if one keeps in mind that the Indo-European names are only attested from later sources and that a few examples of Turdetanian names *also* appear in the west (the area of the funerary stelae), it would be reasonable to think that the Indo-European group of names is a relatively new layer covering older ones, which is consistent, by the way, with Pliny's claim (3:13) that the *Celtici* had "obviously" arrived from Celtiberia through Lusitania.

It would also be reasonable to assume that the particular concentration along the Guadalquivir valley had to do with the fact this was very likely the core-region of their people and language, perhaps the area more densely populated, and that the *Conii* of Southern Portugal were, at the time of the stelae, just peripherally or marginally a part of this culture. For reasons that escape us, the writing of these inscriptions became a particular habit for a certain group in that area for a period of time. It is also possible that the *Conii* were not ethnically close to the *Turdetani*, and that they spoke a completely different language.[29] We really don't know.

In the same 2021 paper, where he proposes the existence of a specific Turdetanian epigraphic area, Ferrer also correlates the geographical spread of this script variety with these elements and phonetic characteristics detected in the anthroponymy and toponymy of the region. When placed on a map, these names roughly match Ferrer's recently proposed Turdetanian epigraphic area.

[27] *Kolikhas* is the name of the same individual in Polybius (11.20.3), also with aspiration.

[28] Perhaps a phonemic opposition based on a contrast in articulatory intensity and not on sonority, as happens with Basque.

[29] See De Hoz's detailed studies on this difficult question [particularly, De Hoz, 2010, *217–481*; 2019]. Without this implying anything, of course, and just as a simple and obvious reminder of the possibility, these two areas speak different (related) languages today (Spanish and Portuguese).

3.2. Toponyms from the South

The place names peculiar to this area, identified long ago, have been interpreted in different ways.[30] Ferrer, as many authors before him, believes that these names could be testimonies of the language we could refer to as Turdetanian.

There is, indeed, a significant number of place-name elements that seems specific to this region of Hispania. They do not look Celtic or Indo-European [see García Alonso, 2003, *21*; De Hoz, 2010; 2016; Correa, 2005; 2006; 2009; 2016; Villar, 2000; 2014; Ferrer i Jané, 2021], although it is impossible to say whether they could be attributed to just one language or more than one.[31]

Ip(p)o:[32]

▪ as a second member of a compound: *Acinipo — Acinippo*, *Baecipo*, *Baesippo*, *Basilippo*, *Belippo*, *Blacippo*, *Cedripo*, *Collippo*, *Hienipo*, *Irippo*, *Lacippo*, *Olisippo*,[33] *Orippo — Orippum*, *Ostippo*, *Serippo*, *Sisipo*, *Ventipo — Ventippo*, *Ilipa*, *Ilipula*, *Iulipa*;

▪ as a first member: *Iponuba*, *Iptucci.*

This element means most likely something like 'town' or 'city' in a language from the area. These names appear across the Southwest but are concentrated in the lower Guadalquivir valley [see Villar, 2000, *104*, with a map]. This distribution makes their association with the *Turduli*-*Turdetani*-Tartessians very likely. Their presence in the south-western region of the funerary stelae is much less dense, as if it was a secondary extension arriving up to Lisbon (*Olisippo*).

Another significant hint is that, again, there are hesitations as to the gemination, as it happens with some of the remaining segments we will look at. The fact that a few of these elements can appear in combination with the others seems to indicate that both members of these compounds should (or at least could) be attributed to the same language.[34]

-uba*, *-oba: *Calduba*, *Corduba*, *Iponuba*, *Maenuba — Maenoba — Manoba*, *Onuba — Onoba*, *Ossonoba*, *Salduba*, *Uduba.*

I am more cautious than Villar [2000, *122*] concerning other possible members in this list.[35] This explains that, in my view, contrary to his, the distribution of these

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[30] See, particularly, [De Hoz, 2010, *455–471*; 2019; cf. Villar, 2000; 2014].

[31] Besides my selection, other possible, less certain, toponymic elements have been pointed out, such as *-pa* [Correa, 1994, *339*; De Hoz, 2010, *463*], *-mo(n)* and *Car-* [Correa, 2007, *517–521*; De Hoz, 2010, *463*], *Lac-* [De Hoz, 2010, *463*], and others [Ibid., *464*].

[32] See [Villar, 2000, *87*] for the references to these names. His series and mine do not coincide completely, since he includes some more names, but I here prefer just to collect those names we are absolutely certain are part of the series.

[33] Modern Lisbon, one of the cases further apart from the central nuclear area.

[34] *Ip-tuci*, *Baesippo*, *Baesucci*, *Iponuba*, *Ossonoba*, *Ossigi*. See [De Hoz, 2010, *465*].

[35] For a complete list of the ancient sources mentioning these names see Villar [2000, *122*].

names and that of the *ippo*-series are very similar [see also De Hoz, 2010, *462*]. This does not mean that I am certain they belong to the same language, since there is no way to prove it, but it would seem so. In general terms, I am not convinced by the possibility that a few names that Villar assigns to this series and that display formal variations do actually belong here: to me linking these south-western names with a group of other names in the river Ebro area is far from proven and extremely unlikely (see Villar's map [Villar, 2000, *141*]). In my view, the simplest solution is to think that the *-ip(p)o* and the *-uba* names belong to the same linguistic context, perhaps the language of the *Turduli*-*Turdetani*-Tartessians. The meaning of the element could also be 'town' (a traditional interpretation first suggested by Schulten, as Villar [Ibid., *121*] discusses), but it is much less certain since some of the names are actually river names (*Maenuba*, for instance).[36]

Bae-: *Baecula*, *Baedro*, *Baega*, *Baesippo*, *Baesucci*, *Baesuri*, *Baetis*,[37] *Baeturia*, *Baicipo*, *Baicor*, *Bailo.*[38]

Villar's list [2000, *239*], with full references of the ancient sources mentioning the names, includes some toponyms which I would doubt to place in the same group. Their distribution, however, coincides with the previous elements and it is to be associated with the *Turdetani*-Tartessians.[39]

-(t)uc(c)i: *Arucci*, *Agatucci — Acatucci*, *Baesucci*, *Iptuci*, *Ituci*, *Tuatuci*, *Tucci Augusta Gemella*, *Tucci Vetus*, *Tuci* (Balearic Islands).

See [Villar, 2000, *181*] for references and a map showing the distribution of these names. I don't think the *-uc(c)i* names are a different series, and neither did De Hoz [1989, *571*]. In his 2010 book, De Hoz alludes to this and even suggests that this *-t-* could be a morphological feature whose specific value, if any, we really cannot appreciate, though, and that could also be present in some of the other formants [De Hoz, 2010, *471*].[40] Villar [2000, *125*] prefers to think these are two different series, although most

[36] Villar [2000, *150*] believes this is an essential component of river names, later transferred to cities on their banks. It is possible, but far from certain in my view. He believes this to be an Indo-European lexical element originally meaning 'water,' being a source for a new specific meaning of 'river.' The name element would not be Celtic, though, according to him, I am not really convinced by this possibility, in any case, and would leave the etymology as 'unknown.'

[37] Ancient name of the Guadalquivir. *Baetica* became the Roman denomination for this whole south-western province.

[38] See [De Hoz, 2010, *466* or Villar, 2000, *218–219*]. The latter discards explicitly any Celtic possibility.

[39] Villar [2000, *243–246*] considers *Bae-* a non-Celtic Indo-European name element derived from the root *$*g^{w}heh_{1}i$-, *$*g^{w}hh_{1}i$- meaning 'shine, to be white,' probably appropriate for river names. However, even if this could be possible as an etymological conjecture, the distribution of the element and its combination with the other elements (*Baesippo*, *Baesucci*) makes me prefer the Turdetanian hypothesis.

[40] He accordingly writes it as *(t)urgi*, *(t)igi*.

of the names in his list under an element *-uc-* are not members of one and the same toponymic type series, in my opinion.

The *(t)uc(c)i* names are concentrated slightly to the East of the *-ip(p)o* and *-uba* toponymic types, along the upper part of the Guadalquivir river basin. Looking at Villar's map [2000, *185*] I would say they are almost on the fringe of the Iberian language or at least the Iberian epigraphic area of the Southeast. Villar does not venture a linguistic affiliation for this group of names. De Hoz [2010, *462*] also points out that this element and the following two (*-igi* and *-urgi*) show a slightly different geographical distribution ("more to the east and northwest").

However, in my opinion, this is not significant and would not invalidate the idea that the whole group are elements of the same language.

-igi: *Artigi*, *Astigi*, *Cantigi*, *Lastigi*, *Olontigi*, *Ossigi*, *Saltigi*, *Sosintigi.*

See [Villar, 2000, *249*] for references. The distribution of this type is roughly similar to the previous types (see Villar's map [Ibid., *250*]). The name element is of an unknown etymology and does not look Indo-European. It does not seem Iberian either. Its geographical spread makes it plausible to associate it with the language of the Tartessians also.[41]

-urgi*/*-urci*/*-orci: *Ceturgi*, *Ilorci*, *Ilurco*, *Iporca*, *Isturgi*, *Isurgi.*

For a complete list of the ancient sources that mention these names and a map of their distribution see [Villar, 2000, *211*, *213*]. Their geographical area seems more or less identical to that of the *-tucci* names, the etymology being unknown and the attribution to the *Turduli*-*Turdetani*-Tartessians commonly accepted.

The special case of ***Il(t)i-***:

De Hoz [2010, *466–470*] analyses the structure and geographical distribution of the names that seem to include this element. It appears in toponyms and ethnonyms in eastern and southern Andalusia, but also along the Mediterranean coasts up to northeastern Hispania and upstream following the Ebro river basin up to the Basque lands, as in *Pompaelo*. The ancient name of modern Pamplona, in the territory of the *Vascones*, could include this element attached to the name of its Roman founder: ***Pompe(i)-ilu(n)***. The city was founded by Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus about 76–74 BC. Strabo (3:4 and 10), in fact, explicitly states that the place name is equivalent to a *Pompeiopolis*. The second element has traditionally been linked to modern Basque *iri* 'town, city.' Names attested in Iberian epigraphy, Graeco-Roman literary sources and Latin epigraphy, such as *Iliberris*, *Ilergetes*, *Ilduro*-*Iluro*, *Ilerda*-*Iltirta*, etc. indicate that the element was also used in Iberian and most likely meant 'city' as well. The element

[41] Villar [2014, *109*], tentatively, adds some more names to this list, although in these cases we cannot be certain that they belong to the same series: *Auringi*, *Oningi*, *Aiungi*, *Singilis*, *Singili*, *Singiliense pagus*.

is known in the South as *Ili-* and, as it seems, it also meant 'city' in Turdetanian. De Hoz [2010, *466–470*] believes this word was borrowed by the ancient Basques from the Iberians and by these from the Turdetanians, following the chronological order of the respective urbanization processes of their societies. He believes, although this is difficult to demonstrate, that the forms written[42] with a dental plosive (*Ilt-*)[43] reflect the fact that in Iberian those forms are secondary compounded or derived forms (with perhaps some additional lexical or morphological meaning unknown to us) and that the basic *Ili-* forms follow more closely the Southern pattern and are the only possible origin, phonetically speaking, of modern Basque *iri*.

3.3. A Turdetanian toponymic corpus

All these name elements and perhaps some more[44] are a quite significant indicator that, at some point at least, there was a non-Indo-European language, clearly distinct from Iberian, concentrated quite exactly in Central and Western Andalusia, what would roughly coincide with the territory traditionally attributed to the *Turdetani* and the *Turduli*.[45]

This other map by De Hoz [2019, *154*] (see Figure 5) allows us to clearly appreciate their distribution, very much coinciding with the spread of the anthroponyms we just called Turdetanian. As it happened with certain Indo-European anthroponyms, here we also see the "penetration" of the Celtic *-briga* names in the West, which we can attribute to the late arrival of the *Celtici* mentioned by the Greek and Roman sources.[46] And again we witness a core concentration of names in the lower and middle parts of the Guadalquivir valley and what appears to be a much thinner spread westwards following the Atlantic coast up to Lisbon (ancient *Olisippo*, which bears one of these names).

De Hoz [2019, *156*] concludes that Turdetanian was the language spoken in the lower and central sections of the Guadalquivir valley and even partly in the upper valley where the frontier with Iberian must have been. "Turdetanian was not Iberian, nor did it belong to the Indo-European family," he states with confidence based on the scarce evidence available.

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[42] In the Iberian north-eastern script, but also in Greek and Latin sources. Sometimes we find a *-d-*.

[43] This could be an attempt to reflect a fortis *-l-*, but it does not seem so, since there are different writing systems behaving similarly.

[44] There are other southwestern onomastic elements traditionally associated with the Southwest, such as: *Sis-* [see Villar, 2000, *342–344*], usually found in personal names, as we have just seen, but also in place names such as *Sisipo* or *Sisapo* or the *Ast-* part in *Ast-igi*, *Ast-a* or *Ast-apa*.

[45] See [De Hoz, 2016] specifically on the *Turdetani* and their language(s).

[46] Of course, there were other Celtic place names in the south-west on top of the *-briga* names, transmitted by late sources such as Ptolemy. See [García Alonso, 2003] for a complete commentary and linguistic analysis of Ptolemy's Hispania and its names.

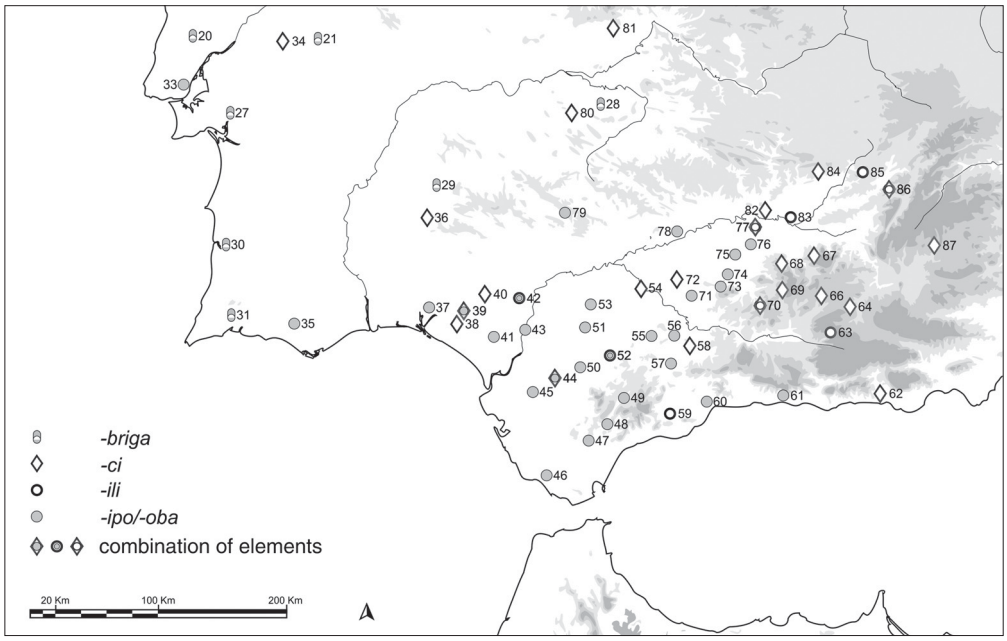

Fig. 5. Areal distribution of Turdetanian and Celtic (*-briga*) toponymic elements according to [De Hoz, 2019, *154*]

4. A few concluding remarks

Toponymy has, by definition, a time-depth dimension we always need to be aware of when dealing with the evidence they bring about. More so, for instance, than anthroponymy, that tends to reflect language changes much more rapidly.

In my view, all the data provided by onomastics, together with the rest of information available (epigraphic, etc.), would seem to confirm a threefold linguistic division[47] of southern Hispania *in Roman times* (Celtic in the West,[48] Tartessian along the Guadalquivir valley,[49] and Iberian in the south-east corner of the Iberian Peninsula).

However, there are different hints that would suggest there was a different situation in earlier periods, such as the moment when the south-western stelae were written and set upright. It would seem that, at that time, the so-called *Celtici* had not arrived yet

[47] Leaving aside the Phoenician language still spoken in the coastal areas of the South.

[48] However, it is very likely that Celtic had recently superseded another language, perhaps close to Turdetanian, that was most likely still spoken.

[49] De Hoz [2010, *472*] explicitly, but cautiously, indicates that, in his opinion, "the set of onomastic data <…> points, with a certain probability, to the existence of a language that could be the origin of all those onomastic elements and that we could identify with the language of the Tartessians and, later, of the Turdetani."

(Pliny 3:13) and that the Southwest was the periphery of the Tartessian-Turdetanian world and was inhabited by a people that we could call *Conii* or *Kynétes*. Their degree of identification with the Tartessians is difficult to ascertain with the amount and kind of information that we have at our disposal. The Tartessians could be a colonial power and the *Conii* could speak a completely different language or not. But it is worth pointing out that typically "Turdetanian" onomastics also appears in the South of Portugal up to Lisbon-*Olisippo*.

It is theoretically possible that the first Indo-Europeans were around already, perhaps akin to the Lusitanians. But none of this has any direct evidence, apart from a few suggested Indo-European etymologies for sequences in the stelae that *could* be anthroponyms and a few proposed Indo-European verbal forms, the scholars are still quite in doubt of.

In any case, the classification of the language of the funerary stelae is a very complex discussion for another occasion.[50] As it was said above, it is, in my view, a non-Indo-European agglutinative language, whose level of closeness to Iberian is not possible to ascertain with the information currently available.

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[50] See now Luján Martínez [2021] or Vallejo [2021] for recent updates.

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К ПОСТРОЕНИЮ ЯЗЫКОВОЙ КАРТЫ ЮГА ДОРИМСКОЙ ИСПАНИИ: ОНОМАСТИЧЕСКИЕ ДАННЫЕ

Определение языков, на которых говорили на юге Иберийского полуострова в древности, в доримское время и во время романизации, является непростой задачей. Несмотря на то, что сохранился значительный корпус надписей на автохтонных языках, используемые в них различные системы письменности до сих пор не полностью расшифрованы, что особенно характерно для южных разновидностей палеоиспанского письма. В статье дается краткое введение в географию сохранившегося эпиграфического материала юга и юго-запада Иберийского полуострова. Автор исходит из того, что эпиграфические, этнографические, археологические, исторические и ономастические свидетельства ограничивают территорию распространения тартессийского языка районами среднего и нижнего течения реки Гвадалквивир, при этом область на юге Португалии (в Алгарви), где было найдено около ста больших погребальных стел, находилась вне или, во всяком случае, на периферии тартессийского ареала (несмотря на то что надписи на этих стелах многие исследователи называют тартессийскими). К настоящему времени существует несколько способов интерпретации языков, отраженных в южной эпиграфике, особенно в текстах центральных и западных районов Андалусии и юга Португалии. Надписи на иберийском языке, найденные на юго-востоке, хоть и выполнены по меньшей мере тремя системами письменности, проще читаются и сравнительно лучше поддаются интерпретации. В настоящей статье предпринята попытка предложить дополнительные аргументы в дискуссии о географическом распределении южных палеоиспанских языков, основываясь на анализе ономастического материала (личные имена, топонимия), встречающегося в эпиграфике среднего и нижнего течения реки Гвадалквивир и юга Португалии. Этот анализ позволяет уточнить лингвистическую карту данной области, а также относительную стратификацию выделяемых на этой территории языков в период, предшествовавший приходу римлян.

К л ю ч е в ы е с л о в а: палеоиспанское письмо; тартессийский язык; конии (кинеты); эпиграфические ареалы; ономастика; погребальные стелы; языковая карта; языковые страты

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