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**IBERIAN AND BASQUE**  
**(A Morpho-Syntactic Comparison)**

I

When confronted with the question of Basque and Iberian relations, many scholars have not been content to restrain their researches to the purely linguistic field, but have gone boldly into pre-history with theories about the relationship of the Iberian (or the Basque) language to those of Asia, Africa, and Europe. Consequently their ideas frequently clash.

Schuchardt (1) thought that Basque and Iberian were closely related; Tovar believes the two languages were related in proto-historical times and that Iberian is fundamentally a Hamitic tongue (2). Both Schulten (3) and Bosch Gimpera (4) believe that the Iberians came to Spain from Africa, presumably bringing their language with them. But J. Hubschmid (5) says emphatically that Basque and Iberian have nothing to do with Hamitic. Menéndez Pidal (6) manages to find a compromise position: the Iberians came from Africa and their language

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(1) H. SCHUCHARDT: «Die Iberische Deklination». Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, CLVII, 2, Viena, 1907, pp. 44-5 and 64.

(2) A. TOVAR: «Lenguas prerromanas de la Península Ibérica». Enciclopedia Lingüística Hispana (hereafter cited as ELH), I, Madrid, 1960, pp. 21-2.

(3) A. SCHULTEN: «Geografía y Etnografía de la Península Ibérica» (hereafter cited as Schulten: Geogr.), Madrid, 1959, vol. II, p. 61.

(4) P. BOSCH GIMPERA: «Iberer», Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte, vol. VI, Berlin, 1926, p. 4.

(5) J. HUBSCHMID: «Mediterrane Substrate mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Baskischen und der west-östlichen Sprachbeziehungen». Romanica Helvetica, 70, Berna, 1960.

(6) R. MENENDEZ PIDAL: «Sobre el substrato mediterráneo». ZRPh, 59, 1939, p. 189.

ge was adopted by the Basques. This conflicts with Uhlenbeck's belief, namely that the Basques were not Iberianized, although their language has some Hamitic elements coming from the Iberian (7). Finally, Lafon declares that Iberian is not an Indoeuropean Language (8) although Almagro thinks that the Iberians spoke an ancient form of Celtic (9).

In our opinion, it is too early to make sweeping categorisations such as those just quoted. Until Iberian is better known through further archaeological discoveries and more patient work in limited areas of comparison with other languages it is futile to advance conclusions of such a broad scope. We believe we can show *possible* morphological concordances between Iberian and Basque, but we also feel it ill advised to conclude that Iberian was the source of Basque or that Basque gave some of its structure to Iberian. We hope that our observations will be a step towards more certain knowledge. We agree wholeheartedly with Domingo Fletcher Valls who says we can hardly cast aside the possibility of Basque-Iberian relationships and that we must accept it as a working hypothesis (10).

We shall attempt to see what structural elements in the two languages favor this hypothesis.

## II

### SYNTAX AND MORPHOLOGY

1 For the purpose of analyzing the structure of Iberian we must first collect all the inscriptions of undisputed authenticity, then segment them into recognizable elements of frequent occurrence throughout the preserved corpus of the language. We can then hope to clas-

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(7) C. C. UHLENBECK: «La langue basque et la linguistique générale». *Lingua*, I, 1947, pp. 60-1.

(8) R. LAFON: «La langue basque». *ELH*, I, p. 93, where the negative was omitted erroneously.

(9) M. ALMAGRO: «Historia de España», dirigida por R. MENENDEZ PIDAL (Hereafter cited as *Hist. Esp.*), I, 2, Madrid, 1963, p. 234: «Todo nos inclina a pensar que los pueblos ibéricos del Levante y valle del Ebro hablaban dialectos célticos, es decir, indoeuropeos, aunque de estructura muy antigua.»

(10) D. FLETCHER: «Neue iberische Inschriften aus der Provinz Castellón de la Plana». *Die Sprache*, 16, Wien, 1970, p. 168.

sify these segmental elements into roots and suffixes, the latter roughly divided into two categories – those which add a new semantic element and those which serve an inflectional or derivational purpose. To illustrate with examples from Basque: *ilargi* 'moon light' compounds two roots; *ikasbide* 'lesson, example' comes from *ikasi* 'learn' plus *bide* (which can stand as an independent word) 'way, path'; *ongi* 'well' comes from *on* 'good' plus the particle – *gi, ki* which has no independent use. These types of suffixes are not always clearly differentiated, nor are suffixes always absolutely different from roots. As in the case of *bide*, a suffix can also be a root.

2 We now look at some series of Iberian words incorporating frequently occurring elements.

biur (alone) (11)	biurtetel (Misc. 34a)
biurbi (12)	biurtigi (14)
biurtitegiar (Misc. 55)	biurtibas (15)
sosinbiuru (Misc. 43)	balcebiuraies (Misc. 43)
Biurno (Ascoli) (13)	
balcebiuraies (Misc. 43)	balceatin (MLI, xxviii)
balcelagu (16)	balcar (17)
bilosbalcarcais (Misc. 33)	
baisetaś (Misc. 76)	baisebilos (18)
belasbaiser (ibid. 23)	baisebolos (Misc. 118)
Baesadin (Livy XXXIII, 44, 4)	aunibaiseceteban (ibid. 44)
...espaiser (Ascoli)	Baesisceris (19)
bais (alone, MLI, 91)	Tannepaeseri (CIL, II, 5840)

(11) M. GOMEZ MORENO: «Misceláneas, historia-arte-arqueología, Primera serie». Madrid, 1949, p. 296. (Hereafter this work is cited as Misc. and when followed by a number refers to an inscription recorded in the section «Suplemento de epigrafía ibérica», pp. 284-330.)

(12) E. HÜBNER: «Monumenta Linguae Ibericae» (hereafter cited as MLI). Berlin, 1893, p. 15, 2 and J. UNTERMANN: «Lengua gala y lengua ibérica...». APL, 12, 1969, pp. 111-2. *Biurbi* appears on coin thought to be of Perpignan. See U. SCHMOLL: «Die Sprachen der vorkeltischen indogermanen Hispaniens». Wiesbaden, 1959, p. 62. Cf. the modern place names Biurrun (Navarra), El Piul (Madrid), and El Piuró del Barranc Fondo (Teruel).

(13) The bronze plaque honoring Iberian soldiers, published in several places, v.g. Misc., pp. 233-256.

(14) D. FLETCHER: «Orlely III, plomo ibérico escrito procedente de Vall d'Uxó». A. E. Arq., 40, 1967, pp. 51-9.

(15) J. MALUQUER DE MOTES y M. OLIVA: «El nuevo plomo de Ullastret». Pyrenae, I, 1965, pp. 124 ff.

(16) From Solaig: See FLETCHER: Die Sprache (cited in note 10), pp. 150-6; also in Arse 9, Sagunto, 1965, pp. 4-7.

(17) Misc. 9 and J. CABRE AGUILO: «Cerámica de Azaila», (hereafter cited as Azaila) Corpus Vasorum Hispanorum, Madrid, 1944, fig. 21, no. 271.

(18) M. ALMAGRO: «Las inscripciones ampuritanas griegas, ibéricas y latinas». Barcelona, 1952, pp. 68-9.

(19) Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Berlín, 1885, II, 3221.

- baites (alone) (20)  
 baidesbi (21)  
 baitesgi (Misc. 43, twice)  
 saldutibaite (Misc. 54)  
 bastaibaitieba (Solaig)  
 baitiban (22)
- bilos (alone) (25)  
 bilostibas (26)  
 bilosbalcarcais (Misc. 33)  
 talscubilos (27)
- icorbeles (Misc. 107)  
 icortibaś (Ens., Untermann, 1970) (28)
- ildutaś (Misc. 76)  
 ildubeleseban (ibid. 40)  
 nefelldun (ibid. 45)  
 ilducoite (MLI, p. 42)  
 biosildun (Serreta II)  
 ilduniraenai (Serreta I)
- Umarillun (Ascoli)
- Ilurberrixo (29)
- baidesiř (23)
- baitesbaniecarse (Misc. 43)  
 baserokeiunbaita (24)  
 baiti (Azaila, p. 28, no. 158)  
 baitolo (MLI, 27)
- bilose (Villares V)  
 Bilustibas (Ascoli)  
 bilosgre (Serreta II)  
 baisebilos (Almagro, Ins. Amp.,  
 pp. 68-69)  
 bostebilos (Ens., Misc. p. 324)
- icortas (Misc. 109)
- ilduratin (Misc. 31)  
 alořildui (ibid. 23)  
 abarildur (MLI, p. 33)  
 ilduro (ibid., p. 49)  
 ildunbar... (30)  
 Illurtibas (Ascoli, of. Illuro,  
 mod. Mataró)  
 Ilurbeda (a god, H.A.E., ~~362~~,  
 from Portugal)  
 Ildum (31)

(20) E. CUADRADO DIAZ: «El plomo con inscripción ibérica de Cigarralejo (Mula, Murcia)». Cuadernos de Historia Primitiva, 5, 1950, pp. 5-42.

(21) M. OLIVA PRAT: «El nuevo plomo con inscripción ibérica, hallado en Ullastret». Pyrenae, 3, 1967, pp. 107-123.

(22) M. GOMEZ MORENO: «Disgresiones ibéricas, escritura, lengua». BRAE, 24, 1945, p. 276.

(23) C. VISEDO: «Un nuevo plomo escrito de la Serreta». A. E. Arq., 23, 1950, pp. 211-2 (hereafter cited as Serreta II); also Ullastret, plomo III (cited in note 21) and Orleyl III (note 14).

(24) M. GOMEZ MORENO: «De epigrafía ibérica: el plomo de Alcoy». Misc., pp. 219-31 (hereafter cited as Serreta I).

(25) D. FLETCHER: «Cinco inscripciones ibéricas de Los Villares». APL, 15, 1978, pp. 191-207. See pp. 200 and 202.

(26) J. JANNORAY: «Ensérune: contribution à l'étude des civilisations preromaines de la Gaule méridionale». Paris, 1955 (hereafter cited as Ens.). See plate 67, no. 29.

(27) For *tals-*, *dals-*, compare *antalsker*, FLETCHER: «Nuevas inscripciones ibéricas de la región valenciana». APL, 13, 1972, p. 110; *arwidalsco*, Misc., p. 245, *catedalsco*, *ibid.* and *tantindals*, CIL, 12, 709.

(28) An unpublished reading in the Museo de Prehistoria, Valencia.

(29) The name of a god in the Valle de Arán. See A. BELTRAN: Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica, Zaragoza, 1950 ff., no. 402.

(30) C. VISEDO: «Dos nuevos plomos escritos de la Serreta». A. E. Arq., 25, 1952, pp. 123-4.

(31) J. VIVES: «Inscripciones latinas de la España romana». Barcelona, 2 vols., 1971-2, no. 1779.

iltir (32)	iltirta (MLI, p. 36)
iltirtašalirban (33)	iltircscen (Hill, loc. cit.)
iltirteor (MLI, 13)	iltirtar (34)
iltiradin (MLI, 120, 12)	...lirtige (35)
auauniltirten (Misc. 22)	iltirbidu, etc. (Fletcher, I. I., p. 44; Misc. 74b iltirbite)
iltirbigisen (Misc. 42)	nwceiltira ? wi (MLI, iv)
bastesiltirte (Misc. 65)	
esceř (Misc. 37c)	aiunesceř (Misc. 32a)
isceřbeles (ibid. 100)	isceradin (Misc. p. 267)
urcesceř (Serreta IV)	šacarišcer (Serreta I)
iscer (alone) (36)	M. iscer (37)
Baesisceris (CIL, II, 3221-6339)	Tannegiscerris (CIL, 3794)
Escerior (J. Vives, no. 5665)	
šacarišcer (Serreta I)	sacariscer (Misc. 74g)
sacarbetan (Misc. 41)	sacarilo... (MLI, vii)
sacarbišcař (38)	sacal iscer (coin of Castulo, Guadan, no. 298)
sacarbik (Cigarralejo)	sacalacuca (Serreta VI) (39)
tigirsacar (Misc. 2)	
salduie (MLI, 35)	saldulacogiato (Mogente, A, 14)
saldulacogiar (Mogente, A, 13) and 20; P. Beltrán reads saldulacogiabe)	saldugileřcu (Ullastret, plomo III)
salducobaculebobercur...(Ull., plomo III)	saldutibaite (Misc. 54)
šaliř (Serreta I; Fletcher, Cinco insc.)	šaliřg (Serreta I)
šalirban (MLI, 30b)	...nšalirbiter (40)
betasešalir (Misc. p. 278)	gulscēšalir (MHL, I, pp. 80 and 153)
iltirtašalirban (MLI, 30b)	tařaconšalir (MLI, 5)

(32) Serreta IV (cited in note 30); D. FLETCHER: «Inscripciones ibéricas del Museo de Prehistoria de Valencia». Valencia, 1953, p. 37.

(33) MLI, p. 37; G. F. HILL: «Notes on the ancient coinage of Hispania Citerior». New York, 1931, p. 67.

(34) J. C. SERRA RÁFOLS: «El poblado ibérico del Castellet de Banyoles». Ampurias III. Barcelona, 1941, p. 22.

(35) E. LLOBREGAT: «Los grafitos en escritura jónica e ibérica del este, del Museo de Alicante». Saitabi, 15, 1967, p. 3.

(36) J. BERGUA CAMON: «Significado y sistema de la primitiva lengua ibérica». Zaragoza, 1974.

(37) On a coin. See A. M. DE GUADAN: «Numismática ibérica e ibero-romana». Madrid, 1969, no. 169, p. 62.

(38) P. BELTRAN: «El plomo escrito de la Bastida de Les Alcuses (Mogente)». Valencia, 1953, second edition with changes, 1962; FLETCHER: I. I. (see note 32). Beltrán reads *sacarbīsgabe*.

(39) D. FLETCHER: N. I. (see note 27), pp. 119-122.

(40) D. FLETCHER: N. I., pp. 108-112.

sosintacer (41)  
 nabarsosin (Almagro, Ins. Amp.,  
 pp. 72 and 260)  
 Sosinasae (Ascoli)  
 are tace (MLI, vi, xxiii, xxvi)  
 are tegi (MLI, vii)

sosinbiuru (Misc. 43)  
 Sosinaden (Ascoli)  
 Sosintigi (Pliny, N.H., III, 15)  
 ...ltirtige (Llobregat, loc. cit.)  
 soanbibu tagi (Alcudia) (42)

3 Our first conclusion from the segmentation of our tabulated words is that Iberian did not use prefixes in word composition, which is also true of Basque, with the important exception of the verb, in which prefixes are frequent. If we were to assume that a certain initial word element is a prefix—for example, *biur* in *biurtigi*—another compound—*sosinbiuru*—shows us that the segment can occupy medial or final positions. Similarly, *baise* in *baisetaś* and *belasbaiser*; and *sosin* in *sosinbiuru* and *nabarsosin*. These elements which appear in either position in the compound must be radicals, the principal conveyors of meaning.

Basque distinguishes between substantives and adjectives in forming compounds. Two substantives form a compound in which the *déterminant* precedes the *déterminé*: *etche/jaun* 'house master'; *il/argi* 'moon light'. If the same rule obtains in Iberian, a root which appears both in initial position and elsewhere in second place must be a substantive. Furthermore, when such a radical (which acts as a substantive in other combinations) is preceded by another root, this latter must also be a substantive. For example, *bilos* is initial in *bilosbalcarcais* and in second position in *baisebilos* where *baise* modifies or limits *bilos*; hence in *bostebilos* we take *boste* to be a substantive.

When Basque forms a compound of noun and adjective the order is the opposite of what we have just seen. The substantive precedes the adjective: *etche/berri* 'new House', *egu/erdi* 'mid day'. These adjectives are roots. They can stand alone and they can take suffixes.

An element which we take as an adjective is *beś*, *beleś*, very common in names (Beleś, Umarbeles, Sanibelser, Bennabels, all from Ascoli) and in Iberian script *icorbeleś* (Misc. 107), *ildubeleś* (ibid. 40) *iscerbeleś* (ibid. 100). *Beleś* can take a suffix: *beleśtar* (Solaig) and *beleśair* (ibid.). Only in one case, *beleśceřetorosair* (Orleyl III), is there the

(41) D. FLETCHER: «Tres lápidas funerarias ibéricas dels Viñets (Canet lo Roig, Castellón)». XIII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología, pp. 659-664. See p. 660.

(42) R. RAMOS FERNANDEZ: «Inscripciones de la Alcudia (Elche)». APL, 12, 1969, pp. 168-176. See p. 173.

possibility of its standing before another radical. Hence it is almost a certainty that *belś*, *beleś* is an adjective which confirms what has been supposed by all those who have seen it as an adjective and specifically a cognate of Basque *beltz* 'black'.

Iberian *biur* has been compared to Basque *bigur*, *bi(h)ur* 'torcido' (43) but our hypothesis shows it is a noun and cannot have an adjectival meaning. *Bi(h)ur* and its derivatives (in Azkue's dictionary) show a common basic element 'twist, turn, return; turn against, rebel'. The form *bihurritasun* 'carácter violento, indócil' seems to be the most appropriate to relate to the Iberian *biur* in men's names, since what little we know of Iberian personal names indicates that they were often chosen to inspire awe and fear: consider the name elements *Beleś* 'black', *Ildun* 'darkness' (*Umarillun*, *Abarildur*), and possibly *Iltir* 'wolf' (*Iltirdes*).

In the name *Nabařsosin* (*Almagro*, Ins. Amp. 72 and 260) the first component *nabař* has been equated to Basque 'vario, abigarrado, pardo', but as in the case of *biur* its place in the compound assures us that it is a noun. (See below, p. 31).

The difficulty of establishing an absolutely certain classification into nouns and adjectives is shown by the uses of *salir*, which stands alone or in second position. Hence *salir* seems to be an adjective; nevertheless its appearance in the recently published *Villares V* (*Fletcher*, *Cinco Inscripciones*, pp. 201-208) in the combination *salirbosita* throws our original notion (that *salir* is an adjective) into doubt. If *bosita* is a noun, according to our hypothesis, *salir* must also be a noun. Standing alone *salir* precedes numerals in this document; this, taken with its use with city names on coins, suggests that it is a unit of value or coinage. *Gómez Moreno* (*Misc.* p. 278) suggested a possible relationship with Basque *zilar* 'silver', and *Tovar* showed that this word seems to have been carried to the Germanic and Balto-Slavic peoples by the Bell Beaker migrants from Spain. Elsewhere the word for 'silver' is based on the root *arg-*, (44).

There remains the puzzling phrase *iunstir šalirg* (*La Serreta I*), the first words of one side of the famous *Alcoy* lead tablet. If, as we believe

(43) Among other, by L. MICHELENA: «Comentarios en torno a la lengua ibérica». *Zephyrus*, 12, 1961, pp. 5-23 (see p. 21); J. HUBSCHMID: «Tesaurus Praeromanicus». *Faszikel 2*, Bern, 1965, pp. 56-59, also «Mediterrane Substrate» (see note 5), p. 73, n. 9.

(44) A. TOVAR: «Basque Language and Indo-European Spread». *Third Indo-European Conference*, University of Pennsylvania, 1966, Philadelphia, 1970, pp. 271-273.

ve, *iunsti* is an honorific title (see p. 29), then *šaliŕg* might be something like 'worthy' or 'esteemed', with reference to the 'worth' and 'value' of silver.

4 We can pick out from among the many suffixes that appear in our compilations (Par. 2) certain ones which occupy a nebulous position, neither full-fledged suffix nor radical. For example, the three apparently related suffixes *-ba*, *-ban*, *-bas* are constantly appearing and one of them, *-ban*, sometimes serves as a radical: *banite* (Misc. 53a), *baniteor* (ibid. 57) or *banitewbar* (Fletcher, I. I., Lxxv). It must have had a meaning greater than a mere inflectional or derivational significance. We shall return to this group of suffixes later.

A parallel in Basque is *bide* 'road, way' which as a radical can stand alone or combine with suffixes: *bidealdi* 'hike', *bideburu* 'crossroads'; but very frequently it is a suffix: *eskubide* '(legal) right, authority', *ikasbide* 'lesson, example'. In these last compounds (*esku* 'hand; right, faculty' plus *bide* 'way, means'; *ikasi* 'learn' plus *bide*) the rule of *déterminant* before *déterminé* is abandoned. *Bide* is no longer chief element of the compound; psychologically its importance is diminished and it is reduced to a suffix although it retains its semantic value (45). We believe that *ban* undergoes a corresponding change in function.

Another example of a word segment which vacillates between radical and suffix is *take*, *tegi*. We find *take* alone in three epitaphs: *are take* (MLI, vi; xxiii – Misc. 45; and xxvi – Misc. 44). The compound *sosintaker* (Canet) is also on a tombstone. A much discussed epitaph begins with Latin.

HEIC.	EST.	SIT/...
are.	tegi.	ar/... (MLI, vii)

in which the *te* of *tegi* is indistinct (as is the following *a* of *ar*). Two other possibly related inscriptions are *soanbidu taki* (Alcudia, iv, on a pottery shard) and the fragmentary *sbogitace* (46). It seems self-evident that *take*, *tegi* means 'place'. *Sosin*, often attested as a man's name, subordinated to or modifying *take*, would give 'Sosin's place' or

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(45) In old Basque compounds, independent words can become suffixes and suffixes can become independent words. See L. MICHELENA: BSL, 53, 1958, p. 230 and C. C. UHLENBECK: *Lingua*, I, 1948, p. 69.

(46) D. FLETCHER: N. I., p. 108. The inscription may be on a tombstone.

'Sosin's grave'. Here *take* is a radical and performs as such in the compound (47).

What seems to be the same element is found in *biurtigi* (Orleyl III) and in the many place names preserved by classical authors: Artigi, Astigi, Cantigi, Lastigi, Olontigi, Sosintigi and Saltigi (MLI, Prolegomena, par. 37). Here the status of radical begins to give way to that of suffix. We are of course reminded of such Basque formations as *ardandegi* 'wine shop', *lorategi* 'flower garden', *apeztegi* 'priest's house', and the abbreviations of this element (*-gi*, *-ti*, *-di*, *-dui*, and *-doi*) which are clearly suffixes and which, we believe, relate to Iberian *-ti*, *-gi* in combinations with *-bas*: *boutintibaš* (Misc. 26), *tasbarigibaš* (ibid. 32c), and rarely with *-ban*: *ašceřtiban* (ibid. 75). We shall return to these suffixes later, when seeking their meaning.

5 A large number of suffixes must have had derivational or inflectional values. Some appear as a single sign: *sosinbiur̄/u* (Misc. 43), *alorildu/i* (ibid. 23), *abarildu/r* (MLI, 22); others contain two signs: *biur̄/bi* (MLI, 2) *baides/bi* (Ull. plomo 3), *ustalai/bi* (Misc. 74c) and *eban en* (MLI, 47, 48); elsewhere we are in doubt as to whether the suffix is *-r* or *-er*: *taker* (see above), *esc/er* (Misc. 37c), *benebetan/er* (ibid. 67), *baldus/er* (ibid. 119 = Liria Lxxvi). Other combinations are *-iu*: *ecariu* (Misc. 43), *aduniu* (ibid.), *cošoiu* (ibid.) and *borberoniū* (ibid.), which all coming from the same document suggest some sort of grammatical agreement; *-te* in *baser/te* (Misc. 53a), *caresir/te* (ibid.), and *bante* (ibid. 68) which recalls the suffix *-ite*: *ban/ite* (Misc. 53a), *caresbanite* (ibid. 54). For a final example of a brief suffix we take *-ik*, so written in Ionian script: *sabarik* (Cigarralejo), *legusegik* (Serreta I) which had to be written *-ice* in Iberian, since this writing had no sign for *c* (or *k*) standing alone: *Abartarice* (Misc. 74d).

6 Some longer suffixes which will demand our attention are *-sken* which always appears on coins in conjunction with city names; *-egiar*, also found as an independent word but always, we think, in close relation to a preceding name; and lastly the pair *-tar*, *-ar*, usually thought to be identical in value.

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(47) The same root gives Latin *tego*, *tegulum*, and *toga*, as well as Celtic *tegia* 'house' (A. HOLDER: «Altceltischer Sprachschatz». Leipzig, 1891-1913, cols. 1788-9). Most scholars reluctantly accept Celtic as the source of Basque *tegi* (J. HUBSCHMID: op cit. in note 14, p. 111). The root originally had the idea of 'covering' but in Basque it lost this notion as an essential part of its meaning and kept the idea of an enclosed or limited space. Basque also has the word *toki* 'place'.

L. MICHELENA: «Comentarios...», p. 15, accepts the interpretation of Iberian *are take* as 'this is the place'.

This survey of the Iberian roots, their compounds, and the types of suffixes shows a definite similarity to the structure of Basque. Both languages are to a large extent agglutinative, compounding elements which also exist independently, but they are at the same time inflectional, using suffixes which have no independent existence. We now turn to more specific comparisons, principally of morphemic function, but also of the semantic value of certain suffixes.

7 We begin with *-en*, the subject of an important study by Menéndez Pidal (48). He finds this pre-Latin element is peculiarly characteristic of the Iberian region of Spain. «La mayor abundancia de *-en* corresponde a las actuales provincias de Valencia, Zaragoza, Huesca y Lérida, es decir, al territorio más puramente ibérico...» (p. 6). It can form part of personal names, such as Suisetarten, Sosinaden, and Nalbeaden (ibid., all Ascoli names). In toponyms it is also abundant in the East and South, while scarcely recorded in the North and West. Typically, such a toponym is based on a personal name, hence place is described as «de fulano», exactly as Basque forms Michelena «Michel's place», literally «the of Michel» (pp. 32-34).

In Iberian inscriptions we find a noun *iltirten* (Misc. 22), *iltirbigisen* (ibid. 42), *antorbanen* (ibid. 69), *lacugiecen* (49); *urtisen* (50), *aboten* (ibid.) and several examples of *ebanen* (Misc. 15, 47, 48, and 76). Ensérune offers us *ibeñoaen* (Pl. 64, 23), but the residents of this site preferred the other signs of possession which we now examine.

Menéndez Pidal points out that *-en* often alternates with *-an* (p. 7) so that the same place name may appear with either ending. Iberian inscriptions reveal *sesgersduran* (Serreta I), *bitan* (Solaig), *uwisanwi* (Ens., Pl. 64, 27) (51), and *auetirisanwi* (ibid., Pl. 64, 11).

8 Another grafitto from Ensérune (Pl. 64, 12) is almost identical with the last one cited from that town. It reads *auetirisarwi* and compels the conclusion that *-ar* has the same function as *-an*. Now *-ar* has long been lumped with *-tar* and taken as an ethnika, because in

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(48) R. MENENDEZ PIDAL: «El sufijo *-en*; su difusión en la onomástica hispana». *Emérita*, 8, 1940, pp. 1-36; for examples from Valencian toponyms see M. SANCHIS GUARNER: «Introducción a la historia lingüística de Valencia», p. 61; and R. MENENDEZ PIDAL: «Toponimia mediterránea y toponimia valenciana primitiva». *Bol. de Dialectología Esp.*, 33, 1954.

(49) D. FLETCHER: «Un bronce escrito del poblado ibérico de San Antonio (Bechí, Castellón)». *Zephyrus*, 18, 1967, pp. 79-83. See p. 80.

(50) R. LAFON: «Inscriptions en caractères ibères de Perpignan». *Rev. Internat. d'Onomastique*, 17, 1965, pp. 1-6.

(51) The ending *-wi* is a frequent final suffix and seems to mean 'I (am)'. These Ensérune graffiti on pots would indicate ownership: I am of *uwis*, etc. TOVAR: ELH; FLETCHER: *Die Sprache*, 16, p. 158, n. 19; and L. MICHELENA: «Comentarios...», p. 19.

Basque these two suffixes are so used: Bilbaotar, Irunar. There is no reason to jump to this conclusion, as we shall see later. The *-ar* suffix has recently been seen as a possessive (52), which would of course still permit it to indicate origin 'of or from Madrid' as well as 'belonging to Madrid'.

Ensérune offers other graffitti in *-ar*: *unticořořarwi* (Pl. 69, 20), *selgiteřar* (Pl. 64, 19) and *abargitibařar* (Pl. 64, 6); the Ascoli bronze gives the names Luspanar and Arbiscar; Gómez Moreno records *duř-řaurar* (Misc. 7), *egořonar* (ibid. 32b), *minar* (ibid. 19), *enatilar* (ibid. 118), besides the abundant *egiar* which we shall take as a different morpheme. Elsewhere *-ar* appears in *dusgitar* (Orleyl III) and *car-coscar* (Solaig). While not denying the possibility of another identical suffix *-ar* with a different meaning, we take it to be a possessive in many cases. We shall return to this suffix when we study the combination *-aren*.

The *-en*, *-an* morpheme recalls the Basque particle *-en*, *-n* which makes the word or phrase to which it is affixed modify that which follows (53). Examples: *Michel/en/a* 'the (or that) of Michel'; *aur/du/n/a* 'the (woman) with (or possessing a) child' (literally 'child — she has it— particle to indicate modifying of the following —that one' equals 'the one that has a child'). Traditional Basque grammars call this particle a genitive which makes it difficult for them to explain its use with verbs and clauses (54). Traditionally, a second genitive, *-ko*, is recognized, and we see it also as a particle indicating modification of the following word.

9 Iberian has an infix *-cu-*, *-co-* suspiciously like the Basque *-ko-*. The words *besumin/cu/egiar* (Misc. 55), *duřeratine/cu/egiar* (ibid. 56), and *arř/agis/cu/egiar* (55) all end in *egiar* which we hope to show has a meaning something like 'lord' or 'master' or 'magistrate'. This would allow us to interpret the words given above as 'the lord of *besumin*', the lord of *duřeratine*' and 'the magistrate of the Arse *agis*'.

(52) A. TOVAR: «Las monedas saguntinas y otras notas sobre inscripciones ibéricas». BSEAA, 15, 1949, pp. 25-34. G. BAHR: «Baskisch und Iberisch». Eusko-Jakintza, 2, 1948, pp. 1-119. See p. 106.

(53) In our view it is exactly like the Chinese *de* in function.

(54) A. TOVAR: «Una explicación del sufijo vasco *-en*». Primitivas lenguas hispánicas, pp. 90-95; R. LAFON: «Les deux génitifs du Basque». BSL, 61, 1965, pp. 131-159.

(55) MLI, 40b; A. VIVES: I, 35; J. UNTERMANN: «Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum». Wiesbaden, 1975, I, 232; and M. C. PEREZ ALCORTA: «Monedas antiguas de Sagunto». Numario Hispánico, 4, 1955, p. 278.

In this last example, found on a coin of Arse (Sagunto), which coins often bore magistrates' names, it could be that *agis* (56) signifies 'mint'.

Tovar (57) segments this same coin legend *arsa - gis - cu - egiar* saying that *gis* may be related to the *gita* of other coins, and, most importantly, «En *cu* podría estar algo así como el *ko* del genitivo vasco...»

The particle *-cu-* is not confined to use with *-egiar*. *Tals/cu/bilos* (Ens., Pl. 68, 25) and *Ildu/co/ite* (on a coin, MLI, p. 42; A. Vives, I, 16) contain very common roots *bilos* and *ildu*. (The latter appears in several toponyms, such as Ildum, a stage on the Roman road north of Sagunto.) Elsewhere we find *sagustico* or *saguntico* (58), *castilco* (59), *abilico* (MLI, xiv), *balcelacu* (Solaig), and the names *Austinco* (*Ascoli*) and *Urcico* (CIL, II, nr. 2818). Michelena (60) gives examples of anthroponyms in medieval Basque ending in *-co*: Larraineco 'de la era', Bazterreco 'del linde, margen', etc. They show that the person in question was from a certain place, generally not a town. The *-co* implies modification of an understood, vaguely conceived, noun or pronoun, such as 'person', 'that (one)', or 'he', just as in the Iberian forms listed above. With these Basque names we can also compare the Aquitanian Estenconis (CIL, xiii, 271) which Lafon (61) calls «nom d'homme à suffixe *-co*, fléchi comme un nom latin en *-o*, *-onis*». The leader of the Editani called Edeco or Edesco (Livy, XXVIII, 17, 1) has a name formed by use of the same suffix.

The existence of such pairs as *et̃eko andere* and *et̃ekandere* 'ama de casa' implies that the Basque *-ko* can be reduced to the consonant *k*, especially before a following vowel. Another example: *su-*

(56) Latin *ago*, Greek  $\alpha\gamma\omega$  had once the sense of 'to weigh'. The derivative *agina* 'a balance beam' (ERNOUT et MEILLET, Dict. Etym., pp. 16-7) recalls *libra* 'the beam of a scales' hence the 'scales' and 'pound'. Obviously weighing out the metals was a prime function of the mint. We must remember that Iberian coinage began under the Greek and (principally) Roman influence, hence the comparison of *agis* to *ago* is justified. However, GOMEZ MORENO thinks this coin legend should be corrected to *arsbigisteegiar* (Misc., p. 278) on the analogy to *iltirbigisen* (Misc., 42). Note that this is the only Arse coin with the «strong» r.

(57) A. TOVAR: op. cit. in note 52, p. 29.

(58) FLETCHER: I. I., p. 29; TOVAR: Primitivas lenguas hispánicas, p. 212, note on p. 43.

(59) M. ALMAGRO: Zephyrus, 2. Salamanca, 1951, p. 104 and Ins. amp., p. 260.

(60) L. MICHELENA: «Notas lingüísticas a la colección diplomática de Irache». Fontes Linguae Vasconum, I, 1961, p. 40.

(61) R. LAFON: «Sur la langue des aquitains et celle des vascons». Bul. Philologique et Historique, 1958, p. 3.

*kalde* 'fire-side'. But is the *t* in *sutondo* 'fire-side' simply a variant of *k* and ultimately a derivative of *-ko-*? Basque scholars do not speak of this possibility, although they give examples of the use of the infix *-t-*: *atsotiz* 'proverb' from *atso* 'old woman' and *itz* 'word', *ilartiz* 'epitaph' from *ilar(ri)* 'tombstone' and *itz* (62).

Looking now at Iberian, city names like *Ili/t/urgi* and *Arce/d/urgi* show the same construction. Untermann (63) believes that *ili -*, *ilu-*, in toponyms comes from Iberian *ilti-*, *iltu-*, and in his map number 2 he shows the distribution of cities with this name element. They fall in the narrowly defined Iberian area, along the Mediterranean coast and in the Tartessian area of Andalucía. Not all of them have the *-t-* infix.

A form like *biur/t/egiar* shows the same infix.

10 The suffix *-ite* reminds us of the names of Iberian tribes as recorded by the Greeks and Romans: *Ceretes*, *Indigetes*, *Ilergetes*, and so on. This ending, to which the Romans added their sign of the plural (*-s*), just as the Greeks added *-oi*, was then extended with the adjectival *-anus* to form *etanus*, *-itanus*, to our mind a compound suffix (64), but considered by some great authorities as part of the Western Mediterranean substratum (65). Unfortunately, examples of the tribal names recorded by ancient authors are not found in Iberian script.

We find *-ite* and *-te* frequently in our documents and while there is no assurance that they are the same morpheme, or even that they always have the same function, there are reasons to assume that at least on occasion they serve as a plural sign. They precede the above-mentioned *-egiar* in several cases: *caresirte egiar* (Misc. 53a), *caresbanite egiar* (ibid. 54), *ebirteegiar* (ibid. 53b) and *biurtiteegiar* (ibid. 55) (66). If *egiar* can be taken as 'lord', 'magistrate', these phrases would stand for 'the lord of the *caresir* people', and so forth, the *-te*, *-ite* indicating the plural.

We have already spoken of *-ar* as a possessive and its confusion with *etar*, *-tar* on the basis of Basque analogies. We incline to believe

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(62) R. LAFON: «Sur un suffixe nominal commun au basque et quelques langues caucasiennes». BSL, 44, 1948, p. 144.

(63) J. UNTERMANN: «Estudio sobre las áreas lingüísticas prerromanas de la Península Ibérica». APL, 10, 1963, p. 173.

(64) A. GRAUR: «Double suffixation des noms des habitants». Acta Antiqua, Budapest, 10, 1962, pp. 119-121, makes a convincing argument for the compound suffix.

(65) J. HUBSCHMID: «Mediterrane Substrate», pp. 71-72; POKORNY: ELH, I, p. 6.

(66) Since this word is preceded and followed by words ending in *-egiar* the reconstruction by GOMEZ MORENO is almost certainly correct.

that Iberian *tar*, *-etar* includes the plural. Coins with legends like *Arseetar* (MLI, 40) and *Saitabietar* (A. Vives, Lám. vi, 18) parallel exactly the Greek letter inscriptions on Spanish coins which use the genitive plural, as in ΕΜΠΟΡΙΩΝ (A. Vives, II, 19). *Arseetar* means 'of the people of Arse' just as the Greek signifies 'of the people of Emporion' (67).

It would be convincing if we could prove that *-tar* is never a singular and *-ar* never a plural. The present state of our knowledge does not permit such a proof, but it does not present us with a categorical refutation. A pot with *balacertar* (Misc. 38c) could mean that it belonged to a family named Balacer; *Urgidar* (an Ascoli name) can be a 'man of the Urgi people'. The graffiti on Ensérune pots ending in *-ar* (see above) seem to indicate possession by one individual, as does *dursaurar* (Misc. 7) on an Ampurias vase (68).

Now Basque has a plural in *-eta* (*arrieta* 'stones') which many have thought derived from Latin *-eta*, the plural of the collective ending *-etum* (69). But the antiquity of this plural in Basque seems evident when we find traces of it in the inflectional system of verbs (70). The verb incorporates the object; *du* 'he has it' contrasts with *ditu* 'he has them', and *zuen* 'he used to have it' with *zuten* 'he used to have them'. The third person plural ends in *-te*: *dituzte*, *dute*, etc. R. Lafon (71), points out that «le suffixe *-tzu* figure dans des toponymes où il exprime la pluralité, l'abondance. C'est sans doute le même suffixe que sert, sous les formes *-zu* et *-tzu* suivant les parlers, a former des adjectifs et des substantifs exprimant l'abondance... La semi-occlusive *-tz* sert aussi en basque... a indiquer dans les verbes le plural du sujet ou du patient.» It seems that Basque and Iberian share *-ite*, *-te* as a plural sign.

11 Quite a few Iberian documents have numbers written with vertical strokes, just as the Romans wrote one, two and three (72).

(67) U. SCHMOLL: «Die Sprachen der vorkeltischen Indogermanen Hispaniens...», p. 70, suggests that the suffix *-etar* has something to do with the tribal names in *-etes* recorded by ancient authors.

(68) A. TOVAR: BSEAA, 16, 1949, p. 26, maintains correctly that Basque *-etar* is indefinite in respect to number, and implies without proof that this is also true of Iberian.

(69) SCHUCHARDT: «Die iberische Deklination», p. 24 and ZRPh, 30, p. 6 ff.; R. LAFON: BSL, 55, 1960, p. 196; MICHELENA: Archivum, 8, 1958, p. 46, n. 27 is unsure about the Latin origin of *-eta*.

(70) L. MICHELENA: loc. cit (n. 69) «... no parece que no pueda señalar en las formas personales del verbo vasco ningún afijo que sea de origen latino».

(71) R. LAFON: «Le verbe basque au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle», I, p. 530.

(72) A few examples: Azaila, fig. 16, nr. 4a; fig. 17, nr. 30b; and fig. 18, nr. 4; Serreta VI; Orlely III; Ens. Pl. 65, 21; Liria, plomo I (FLETCHER: I. I., p. 42).

This same vertical stroke is also a sign of the Iberian syllabary, *-ba*, and although almost all Iberian signs are clearly related to Phoenician and Greek symbols, this one has no certain early prototype (73). We feel that the Iberians, accustomed to associate the vertical stroke with 'one', called it *ba* because *ba* (or a word emphasizing this syllable) meant 'one' in their language. The analogy to Basque *bat* 'one' is evident, and we note that *bat* always follows the word it modifies, contrary to the usual preceding position of other numerals.

Now if *ba* can be equated to 'one', it does not follow that it always has a numerical significance. It could become a morpheme or functor word, similar to the English *one* in combinations like *the small one*, *the silver one*, *the Florida one*.

A number of place names in *-ba*, *-uba*, *-oba* come to mind: *Sal-duba*, *Uduba*, *Corduba*, *Onuba*, *Maenuba* and *Iponuba* (74). With them we place *Ilipa* (Strabo, III, 2, 2) *Astopa* (Livy, xxviii, 22) and *Onoba* and *Ossonoba* (Strabo, III, 2, 5). If the roots of these words have meaning as common nouns or adjectives, which we think probable, then the suffix changes the root into a place name. If *Salduba* (75) can be related to Basque *saldu* 'sell', the root plus the suffix must be '(the) selling one' or 'the market place'. It can be compared to *Saltigi* (MLI, Prolegomena, 17) which we also interpret as '(the) place of Salt (or Sald)', and, if related to Basque *saldu*, 'the market place'. *Saldu-ti/ba/ite* (Misc. 54) may have something in common with *Salduba*, as we see when we segment in remembering *ban/ite* (Misc. 53, 54, 57 and 61) and such personal names as *Boutin/ti/bas* (Misc. 26) and *Bilus/ti/bas* (Ascoli), *Illur/ti/bas* (ibid.).

The use of *-ba* as a formative of place names is not necessarily the only way the suffix was employed, but since we do not know the meaning of the radicals to which it is affixed in the following examples, we cannot be more specific in our analysis. We find *culešba* (76)

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(73) J. UNTERMANN: *Emérita*, 30, 1962, p. 288. But J. M. SOLA-SOLE: «Miscelánea púnico-hispana». *Sefarad*, XVI, 1956, p. 339, believes the Iberian *l* (*ba*) comes from Phoenician *ʿ* (*bet*). In his table 1, opposite p. 334, he traces the evolution of the Iberian sign. However, he does not find *bet* as *l* before c. 180 B. C., which could mean that the Iberian script influenced the Hispano-Punic and not the reverse. M. ALMAGRO GORBEA: *Rev. de la U. Complutense de Madrid*, 25, 1976, p. 52 finds *l* (*ba*) as early as 600 B. C.

(74) A. SCHULTEN: *Geogr.*, II, p. 37.

(75) *Salduba*, also *Salduie*, the name of Zaragoza.

(76) Compare *culešuria* (Misc. 20).

(Ens. Pl. 65, no. 25), *balacoiaba* (MLI, xix), *bobaitinba* (Villares V), *balmaceba* (HAE, no. 535), *bastaibaitieba* (77) (Solaig), and [s]osintiba (Fletcher, Bronze). This last one will receive our attention later.

Finally a pottery fragment from La Alcudia (Elche) is inscribed *balcatica eba*, which brings to mind the many coins bearing *eba* (as well as *etaban* and *ban*) (78) which some have taken as marks of value (79).

The suffixes *-ban* and *-baš* are abundant as the final syllable of Iberian words. We have noticed *Iltirdašalirban* on a coin of Lérida. On tombstones we frequently find *-ban*, *-eban*, and *-ebanen*, for example *igoiwceiwi ildubelešeban* (Misc. 40, see p. 322) and *baisetaš-ilutašeba[ne]nwi* (Misc. 76). Now although Tovar stoutly maintains that *eban* means 'stone' (80). Caro Baroja and J. Vallejo both take *ban* to be the equivalent of Spanish *de* (81), Gómez Moreno hypothesizes a relationship between *ban* and the Semitic *ben* and G. Bahr equates *ban* with *filius* (82). Following these last opinions and remembering that *wi* is widely accepted as 'I (am)', the first inscription reads 'I (am) Igoiwcei, son of Ildubeleš' and the second is 'I (am) Baisetaš, son of Ilutaš'.

In other cases *-ban*, *-eban* cannot be translated by 'son' although the possessive is appropriate. Just as we postulated a meaning 'one' and a morphological function for *-ba*, so we regard *-ban* and *-bas* as the same kind of morpheme. *Iltirdašalirban* on a coin means '(the) *Iltirdašalir* one' as opposed to the ones of other cities. A stone weight topped by an iron ring is inscribed *ustai(n)abařarban* (Almagro, Insc. amp., pp. 78-80, Misc. 14). Since Basque *ustai* means 'ring, hoop' and *abař* often forms part of men's names, it is tempting to interpret the phrase by 'ring (the) *Abařar* one', that is, 'Abařar's ring',

(77) Compare *baii* (Azaila, CVH, fig. 19, no. 158), and *...tibaite* (FLETCHER, I. I., no. XXVII).

(78) MLI, pp. 30, 33, 43, and 48; G. H. HILL: «Ancient Coinage», pp. 67-8, 102, and 131.

(79) A. VIVES: II, part 2, p. 10; GUADAN: «Numismática ibérica», p. 161. But since *ban* is not confined to one coin value it can hardly indicate value. For example we find it on the reverse of semis, quadrans, and sextans of the mint identified by the magistrate *Abarildur* (HILL, pp. 102 and 131; MLI, p. 33).

(80) Lex., pp. 305-6; «El euskera y sus parientes», Madrid, 1959, p. 45; Prim. Leng. Hisp., pp. 61-66. But is *eban* always written on stone? R. RAMOS FERNANDEZ: APL, XII, 1969, p. 172, says it is not; an example is Ens., Pl. 70, nrs. 9 and 11, where reading from right to left we have *ebanbonar* stamped on clay.

(81) J. CARO BAROJA: «Sobre el vocabulario de las inscripciones ibéricas». BRAE, 25, 1946, p. 183; J. VALLEJO: «En torno a una vieja moneda ibérica». Emérita, 14, 1946, p. 250.

(82) M. GÓMEZ MORENO: Misc., p. 280; G. BAHR: p. 420.

where *-ban* has the same possessive role that we have seen elsewhere (83). 'Baisetaš (the) Ilutaš one' (Misc. 76) indicates a Baisetaš differentiated from others of the same name as the one related to Ilutaš. In the same way Lydian *nannaš bikivalis* is literally 'Nanna the one of Bikiva' (84).

Most epitaphs of the type «XZ *ban*» seem to refer to X — a man — son of Z. But there is no reason why X cannot be a woman, the wife or daughter of Z. From Liria we have a fragment inscribed... *ban unsceltegiar ban* (Fletcher, I. I., no. 1; see *ibid.*, no. LXXV and Misc. 57) over the picture of a lady with a mirror. If our interpretation of *egiar* as 'lord, magistrate' (see below, p. 29) is correct, *unsceltegiar* must be a man and the phrase — if it refers to the lady — must mean 'the one (i. e. wife or daughter) of *unsceltegiar*'.

Some other examples of *-ban* are *balcebereiwbarde balduser ban* (Misc. 119), *balceatin isbetarticer ebanen* (*ibid.* 47), and *alordui belasbaisereban* (*ibid.* 23). These names parallel those of the Ascoli bronze in structure, where each of the honored Iberian warriors' names is followed by this father's: Sanibelser — Adingibas, f[ilius], Illurtibas — Bilustibas f., and so forth. The father's name has no genitive inflection, so f[ilius] serves the same purpose as the Iberian *-ban* or *-eban*. Functionally the Latin and the Iberian are the same, but *-ban* cannot mean 'son' as this meaning could not translate *Iltirdasalirban* and similar inscriptions.

The suffix *-bas* shows up in the Ascoli list not only in the three names just mentioned but also in Umargibas and Luspangib[as] (85). In Iberian script we have *Dasbarigibaš* (Misc. 32c), *Boutintibaš* (*ibid.* 26), *Alostibaš* or *Bilostibaš* (Ens., Pl. 67, 29), *Baceoebas* (Alcudia) on a potter's stamp, and *Urcebas* (Misc. 53a; CB, p. 757) next to the head of a mounted warrior on a vase painting from Liria (86).

(83) *Abar* is also Celtic (HOLDER, I, col. 6). It seems to be a cognate of the Latin *avarus*, fundamentally 'eager, desirous' (ERNOUT et MEILLET: «Dictionnaire etymologique», p. 55). In Aquitania we find three place names derived from this anthroponym: Avaray, Averan, and Avero (A. DAUZAT et CH. ROSTAING: «Dict. etym. des noms de lieu de France.» Paris, 1963, p. 41).

While Basque *abar* 'branch (of tree)' could hardly be cognate with the Iberian, still Basque *abe* 'tree' also means 'column, support.' *Abe* combined with the suffix *-ar* (see p. 27) could give a name meaning 'support'.

(84) J. FRIEDRICH: *Extinct Languages* (translated by F. Gaynor), London, 1962, p. 111; A. HENBECK: *Lydiaka*, pp. 68-70.

(85) This name was too long to fit in the space allowed for it. GOMEZ MORENO: Misc., p. 250, completes it.

(86) These last two names are the only ones with the «weak» s in *-bas*.

Urci, Urci is abundant in Iberian place names. A town of Urci in southeastern Spain issued coins with southern Iberian (sometimes called «Tartessian») inscriptions (MLI, 116 and CB p. 708). It is mentioned by Mela (II, 94) and Pliny (N.H., III, 10). Pliny also records Iliturgi and Isturgi (CB, p. 795); and an Iberian coin bears Arcedurgi (MLI 23). Among personal names we note Urgidar (Ascoli), Urcescer (Serreta IV) and the Latinized Urcestar Tascaseceris f. (CIL, II, 2067). We suspect that Urcebais is a proper name based on a toponym and that *-bas* is comparable to *-ban*. Hence Urcebas is '(the) Urci one' or 'the man from Urci' or perhaps 'the ruler of Urci'. Caro Baroja calls *bas* «un sufijo étnico» (CB, 714) and says that it «indica procedencia y origen» (ibid. 792). His thought supports our hypothesis which differs only in relating *-bas* to *-ban* and finding their basic meaning in 'one' used as a functional morpheme.

In Basque *bat* 'one' (with obvious similarity to the Iberian) is an unusual word in several ways. As mentioned above, it always follows the word it modifies, whereas other numbers regularly precede. Its final *t* is strange as this letter is very rare in final position (87).

In compounds *bat* shows we are dealing with numbers, for example *zeinbat*, *zenbat* 'how much, how many', *onenbat* 'as much as this', *bana* 'one apiece', and *bakar* 'one alone, unique'.

'Oneness' involves the notion of 'completeness', of bringing together all the parts to make one, as in 'unite'. In Basque this idea pervades *batzar* 'congress', *batze* 'harvest' and the suffix *-bete* as in *esku-bete* 'handful', and *betekada* 'satiety, bellyful'.

None of these or the many other derivatives of *bat* is an exact parallel to the Iberian *-ban*, *-bas*. However, we do find other precise counterparts. The family name Larrebat is literally '(the) pasture one(s)' (88). Even more interesting are the relational terms ending in *-ba*, *-pa*, such as *aizpa* 'sister' of a woman, *arriba* 'sister' of a man, *ugazaba* 'employer, master', *giharreba* 'father-in-law or mother-in-law', and *osaba* 'uncle', to name a few. The suffix on these words has defied the efforts of the etymologists (89).

Nonetheless Joan Corominas comes very close to the solution we shall propose when he shows that *aizpa* is related to *aiza* 'compañía'

(87) *Bat* may come from an earlier \**bade*, L. MICHELENA: «Fonética histórica», p. 134.

(88) MICHELENA: *op. cit.*, p. 30.

(89) The distinguished Basque scholar LUIS MICHELENA says «Mi intención no podría ser la de penetrar el sentido nunca revelado y acaso irrevelable del sufijo *-ba*» («Sobre algunos nombres vascos de parentesco» in *Fontes Linguae Vasconum*, I, 1969, p. 120). But BAHR, p. 422, finds *-ba* reminiscent of Iberian *-eban*.

and must mean 'compañera' (90). Carrying his investigation farther we note that other compounds of *aiza* imply work in common or common interests: *aizaberro* 'rotura hecha en común por los vecinos', *aizalan* 'trabajo vecinal', and *aizetse* 'casa de la villa'. It is clear that the idea of sharing, especially of work, is fundamental in *aiza*, hence *aizpa* is 'the work sharing one', and the suffix is, as in Iberian, 'one' used as a morpheme.

The term *ugazaba* goes back to *ugatz* 'breast', which by extension comes to mean 'mother's milk', and according to some 'food' in general (91). Words which designated stepfather and stepmother — *ugazaita*, *ugazama* — are undoubtedly based on the notion of feeding an orphaned child. In like fashion the young apprentice or farm laborer lived with and was fed by his *ugazaba* 'the feeding one', where the suffix *-ba* is the same morpheme as in *aizpa*.

Finally, *giharreba*, based on *giarre* 'rencor, amargo recuerdo; parte magra de la carne' seems to mean 'the disagreeable one', and *osaba* may have something to do with *osabide*, *osagarri* 'cure, remedy' for ill health, and *osagille*, *osalari* 'doctor'. An uncle may have been 'the curing one' in times past, perhaps not so much from ill health as from other difficulties. The special relationship between an uncle — especially a maternal uncle — and his nephew has been observed by many anthropologists. For example, Claude Levi-Strauss finds that a severe father's son tends to gravitate towards his mother's brother (92).

12 Can the final letters of *-ban* and *-bas* be explained? There can be no masculine/feminine distinction as both endings can refer to men. But a close examination of the epigraphical evidence shows that *-bas* never accompanies *wi* 'I (am)'. On the other hand the potter's stamp *Beceocebas* names a living, active man (93).

Basque contrasts the *agiens*, the «subject» of a transitive verb with the *patiens*, the «objetct» of such a verb or the «subject» of an intrans-

(90) J. COROMINAS: «Tópica hespérica». Madrid, 1972, p. 322.

(91) R. M. DE AZKUE gives these meanings, but MICHELENA: *op. cit.*, note 89, p. 123, insists that *ugatz* means only 'breast'. He accepts, however, the translations of *ugatzaita* 'padre nutricio', *ugatzama* 'madre nutricio', where the idea of food is essential.

AZKUE takes *ugazaba* from *ugatz* plus *aba* 'padre'; MICHELENA derives it from *ugaz* and *asaba* 'ancestor'. It is difficult to see how an 'antepasado nutricio' (MICHELENA's own words, p. 124) could be a living master or employer.

(92) C. LEVI-STRAUSS: «L'analyse structurale en linguistique et en anthropologie». *Word*, I, 1945, p. 44.

(93) G. BAHR, pp. 440-441, surmises that the *n* and the *s* of *ban* and *bas* are inflectional, *s* being a nominative ending.

sitive or a copulative verb (94). While there is no phonological similarity between the Iberian and Basque inflections, we do suggest with hesitation that the grammatical categories are the same: i.e., that *-baś* is the agiens and *-ban* the patiens.

In support of our suggestion concerning the ending *-s*, we turn to A. Martinet (95) who says the ending *-s* of the nominative in Indo-European languages was once «proper to all nouns designating entities capable of being conceived as agents», but not applicable to «patients». It «was necessarily the morpheme of an *ergative* case, designating the agent of the action. This was not the nominative... An ergative case is an indicator of function... An evolution in the structure of I. E. had the result of making the former ergative undertake the function of a nominative.»

13 We have seen (p. 12) that *Biurtigi* (Orleyl III) and possibly *atirtigi* ... (Liria, XXII) correspond to Iberian place names preserved in classical authors: Artigi, Astigi, Cantigi, Lastigi, Olontigi, Sosintigi, and Saltigi (MLI, Prolegomena, par. 37).

Among personal names we find *Biurtibaś* (Ullastret) (96), *Bilostibaś* (Misc. 26) and *Tasbarigibaś* (ibid. 32c) as well as a number of Ascoli names: *Adingibas*, *Illurtibas*, *Bilustibas*, *Umargibas*, and *Luspangib[as]*. Have these names anything to do with *-tigi*, *-tegi*?

Basque has this suffix with the basic notion 'place where' something exists or takes place. It gives rise to a number of abbreviated forms: *-gi*, *-ti*, *-di*, *-dui*, and *-doi*: *ardandegi*, *ardandui* 'wine shop', *arregi* 'stony place; quarry', *jangi* 'dining room', *sagasti*, *sagardo* 'apple orchard', *masti* 'vineyard', *goiti* 'on high; attic', and *lerdoi* 'pine grove'. Lexicographers differentiate between some of these endings but they are all variants of *tegi*, *tigi* (97).

Returning to Iberian personal names we examine *Biurtibaś* in conjunction with *biurtigi*. If the latter means 'the *biur* place' (where *biur* is found, harvested, mined or fabricated), then *Biurtibaś* is the one from that place, or the owner, ruler, or simply inhabitant of that place.

(94) R. LAFON: «Expression de l'auteur de l'action en Basque». BSL, 55, 1960, fasc. 1, pp. 186-221.

(95) A. MARTINET: Elements of general linguistics, London, 1964, p. 179.

(96) J. MALUQUER DE MOTES y M. OLIVA: «El nuevo plomo ibérico de Ullastret». Pyrenae, I, 1965, pp. 124 ff.

(97) AZKUE says *-di* indicates 'abundance', *-ti* 'frequency', and *-gi* 'place where'. L. MICHELENA: «Voces vascas», Emérita, 17, 1949, p. 201, lists all the variants of *-tegi*. R. MENENDEZ PIDAL: «Sobre las vocales ibéricas e y o en los nombres toponímicos», RFE, 5, 1918, p. 235 ff., deals with *-toi*, *-doi* as a variant of *toki*.

The Ascoli list gives us Luspanar and Luspangibas, two names varying only slightly, possibly the 'man of Luspan' and the 'man from the place where Luspan is found'. The same contrast exists in Urcebas (Misc. 53a) and Urgidar (Ascoli). Finally a clear example of a man from a known place is Illurtibas (Ascoli) who must be from Illuro (older form, Ilduro), a settlement close to modern Mataró (98).

We do not regard the places where something is found as being necessarily names of towns. Furthermore, even well-known town names were in all probability based on common nouns or adjectives. The root *ildu(r)*, which we have just seen, occurs in so many combinations (See p. 4) that it must have a wider significance than a limited geographical reference. *Il(d)urtibas* is then 'the one from the *ildur* place'. The root of *Iltirda* forms part of *bastesiltirte* (Misc. 65), *iltirbigisen* (ibid. 42), and *auauniltirten* (ibid. 22), and it is hard to believe that all these combinations refer to the city (99).

In fact Ulrich Schmoll, on the basis of wolves pictured on coins of *Iltirda* and *Iltiraca*, decides that *iltir* means 'wolf' as a common noun (100). It is conceivable that the 'place where' can allude to an event, as possibly *Boutintibas* means 'the one from the place of victory' (where a victory was won) if the name is based on Celtic *boudi* 'victory' (Holder, cols. 497-499).

Basque toponyms ending in *-tegi* and *-gi* are abundant and the derivatives of the same formation have been revealed in the Pyrénées Orientales and Catalonia (101) as well as in the old Kingdom of Valencia (102). This evidence confirms our interpretation of the Iberian suffix *-gi*, *-ti* as 'the place where' and provides another reason for seeing a relationship between Iberian and Basque.

(98) M. RIBAS BERTRAN: «El poblado ibérico de Ilduro». Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España, 30. Madrid, 1964.

(99) PIO BELTRAN: «Los textos ibéricos de Liria», RVF, 3, 1953, p. 155, concludes that *iltir* is not a geographical term but «una palabra común muy abundante».

(100) U. SCHMOLL: «Die Wortstämme *iltir* und *ildu* in der hispanischen Namenbildung», Die Sprache, 6, 1960, p. 49. On Iberian ceramics the wolf is frequently depicted. It must have had a meaning as a totem or a symbol of ferocity in combat. J. M. BLAZQUEZ MARTINEZ: «Religiones primitivas de Hispania», I, p. 11, shows that the wolf was associated with a god of the underworld. As early as 1948 GOMEZ MORENO saw the possibility that *iltir* and «wolf» were related (Misc., p. 278).

(101) H. GUITER: «Toponimia vasca en los Pirineos Orientales». APL, XIV, pp. 254-5; «Les parlers préromans des Pyrénées Orientales». Service des Archives (des Pyr. Or.), Perpignan, 1964; and J. COROMINAS: «La toponymie hispanique preromane at la servivance du basque jusqu'au bas moyen âge». Onomástica, I, 1960, pp. 105-146.

(102) M. SANCHIS GUARNER: «Introducción a la historia lingüística de Valencia», p. 43 (Cálig, Tírig), p. 44 (Caroig).

14 As we go through lists of men's names we discover that quite a few terminate in *-es* and *-er*, and that this last dissidence seems occasionally to become *-ar*. For example, the Ascoli bronze yields Agirnes, Arranes, Albennes, Belennes, and Enneges; another classical source (103) gives Ilerdes; and documents in Iberian script record (citing only those cases where we can be reasonably sure that we are dealing with a name) *ildubeleś* (Misc. 40), *ulticeleś* (ibid. 8), and *...štaneś ...intaneś ...banen* (ibid. 15) (104).

The *-er* ending is clear in Nespaiser, Atanscer, and Sanibelser (all from Ascoli), as well as Iberian inscriptions *belasbaiser* (Misc. 23) and *balduśer* (ibid. 68 and 119). These are surely men's names, and the same may be true of *śergiter* (ibid. 105) and *benebetaner* (ibid. 67 and 70), as well as *iltiraŕcer* (MLI, 25).

The dissidence *-r* is not confined to personal names, witness *Sosintaker* (Canet). In Basque we find the dissidence *-r* giving a substantive element needed to form a pronoun in cases like *nor* 'quien' as contrasted with *noiz* 'cuando' and *non* 'donde' or *zer* 'quien, cosa' contrasted with *zein* 'cual'. The use of final *-r* to substantivize roots is paralleled in Iberian and Basque.

That *-ar* is sometimes a variant of *-er* is not improbable, although we have difficulty in separating it from the possessive *-ar*. A form like *anaiośarenwi* (Ens. Pl. 65, nos. 11 and 13) can hardly end in the two genitives *-ar* and *-en*. It seems more plausible to take the *-ar* as the masculine dissidence of the name (105). Possibly *dusgitar* (Orleyl III), *balcar* (Misc. 9) and *carcoścar* (Solaig) are men's names with this ending. Michelena (*Pirineos X* (1954) p. 443) finds that the Aquitanian *-tar* is confined to masculine names. *Egiar*, a fairly frequent morpheme which we shall study later, is an obvious member of this group.

Turning to Basque we find names of animals in which the ending *-ar* differentiates the male from the female. Thus while *asto* means *burro* in general, *astar* is the *burro macho* and *astama*, *astana* is the *burra*. Similarly, contrasting pairs are *oillar* 'gallo' and *oillo* 'gallina'; *mando* 'mula', *mandar* 'mulo'; *zozar* 'mirlo macho' and *zozama* 'mirlo hembra'.

(103) SILIO ITALICO, XVI, 566, 571.

(104) GOMEZ MORENO completes and corrects the first of these names to *bascones* which has led to much speculation, especially as to its allusion to the tribal name *Vascones*. In our opinion we have a typical situation: a deceased man's name followed by his father's.

(105) TOVAR: ELH, p. 19, sees *-aren* as the article plus the genitive, as in Basque *Miquelarena*.

Finally, two endings indicate a woman: Bileseton (CIL, II, 3537) and *Sergeton* (ibid. 2114) are both women's names (106). Likewise *-unin* is a feminine ending: Galduriaunin (CIL, II, 5922), *aredaunin* (Misc. 73), *cabeunin* (ibid. 75), *nisunin* (ibid. 57), and *sicounin* (Almagro, Ins. Amp. p. 72).

15 This is all we can say of Iberian morphology at present. The omissions, such as our failure to identify signs of the negative and interrogative and even the conjunction 'and' are striking. We turn now to questions of vocabulary, especially possible Iberian and Basque cognates.

### III

#### QUESTIONS OF IBERIAN VOCABULARY

16 If we know what a given document is about we have a much greater chance of reaching valid conclusions about the meaning of some (not all) of its words. The tombstone epitaphs would not contain the same vocabulary as the *tabellae defixionum*. Contracts or financial accounts will usually reveal themselves by the presence of numbers. Religious topics are not easily identified, but pictures on vases can give a hint of the meaning of the accompanying inscriptions. Pictures of dances, winged anthropomorphic figures, and animals, either monsters or totems, imply religious significance, but unfortunately most of these do not have accompanying inscriptions (107). Simple graffiti on pots and similar objects often are the names of the owners.

If keep these facts in mind, and at the same time take into consideration the morphological elements of our working hypothesis, we may come to results which will elucidate some meanings.

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(106) MICHELENA: *Pirineos*, 10, 1954, p. 443. Cf. ELH, I, p. 383 and J. CARO BAROJA: «Comparaciones vasco-ibéricas». *Hist. Esp.*, dirigida por R. MENENDEZ PIDAL, I, 3, p. 806.

(107) The Liria vase paintings show dances, *Corpus Vasorum Hispanorum*, Liria, Láminas XXIII (see Misc. 58), LIII, LXIII and LXVII (see Misc. 55). The first and last have accompanying inscriptions. A winged figure, *ibid.*, Lám. LXXII, and monstrous animals also appear, Lám. LIV, LXVIII, LXXI, and LXXIV. J. MALUQUER: *Hist. Esp.* dirigida por MENENDEZ PIDAL, I, 3, p. 322, believes that many of these dance scenes are «romerías o procesiones religiosas» to some of the Iberian shrines. J. M. BLAZQUEZ MARTINEZ: «Aportaciones al estudio de las religiones primitivas de España». *A. E. Arq.*, 30, 1957, p. 84, confirms this belief.

17 Many scholars have suggested that certain Basque words may have Iberian origins (108). A few ill-advised attempts have been made to interpret whole Iberian documents by Basque (109) but the accepted opinion is that the etymological method, starting with Basque, will give meager results in Iberian. The combinatory method has been restricted up to recent times because of the paucity of documentary evidence. It is this second method we hope to employ to the limited extent of its possibilities, with occasional glances at possible Basque counterparts.

18 The first tablet found at La Serreta (Alcoy) has the words *arnai sakarisker* written transversely across one end of the principal text, something like a final thought or a signature added to a letter which has already filled the page. In all probability *sakarisker* is a proper name or title; it reappears in the 'lead' of Liria (Misc. 74g) and seemingly in the Tartessian inscriptions *sacal iscer* (Castulo, modern Cazlona) (110) and *sacarbišcar* (Mogente) (111).

The first part of the name recalls the root *sacr-* found in Latin *sacer*, *sacerdos* and in Celtic names (112) such as *Sacerus*, *Sacra*, and *Socer*.

After the Roman occupation of Cartago Nova one of the magistrates of the city gives his name as *Sacerdos* (113) which looks suspiciously like a latinization of *sakarisker*. In any case, the root *sacr-* may be related to 'sacred' and 'sacrifice', or as Gómez Moreno (Misc. p. 281) says, «todo inclina a sospechar que el *sacariscer* sea nombre de entidad sagrada.»

(108) A partial list: A. TOVAR: «El euskera y sus parientes», pp. 38-56; ELH, I, pp. 18-21; P. BELTRAN: «Textos ibéricos de Liria». RVF, III, 1953, p. 41 ff.; D. FLETCHER: *Die Sprache*, 16, 1970, pp. 167-8; L. MICHELENA: *Emérita*, 23, 1955, pp. 277-280; *Archivum*, VIII, p. 43 and *Pirineos*, X, 1954, pp. 410-443; GÓMEZ MORENO: *Misc.*, pp. 278-281; R. MENENDEZ PIDAL: «Toponimia mediterránea y toponimia valenciana primitiva». *Bol. de Dialectología Española*, 33, 1954/5, pp. 61-75, and J. CARO BAROJA: *op. cit.*, note 106, pp. 789 ff.

(109) For example, L. GALERA: «Ensayo de lectura del plomo de El Solaig» in *APL*, 13, 1972, pp. 127-137.

(110) A. VIVES: II, pp. 168 and 172.

(111) G. BAHR: *op. cit.*, note 52, pp. 425 and 427; PIO BELTRAN: *op. cit.*, note 38, who transcribes (p. 36) this word as *sakarbisgabe*. See below p. 41.

(112) A. HOLDER: II, cols. 1275 and 1279; J. WHATMOUGH: «Dialects of Ancient Gaul». Cambridge, Mass., 1970, pp. 338, 343, 352, and 653.

(113) A. VIVES: *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 33 and 36 and cxviii of the prologue; A. BELTRAN: «Sobre la moneda de Cartago Nova con 'Sacerdos'». *A. E. Arq.*, 20, 1947, pp. 137-141, inclines to the opinion that *Sacerdos* is not a name, as Vives believes. For another example of *Sacerdos* as a name, see J. VIVES, no. 1357.

Strabo (114) calls the Lusitanian priest a 'Hieroskopos', who divines the future by examining the viscera of animals and sacrificed prisoners. Similar rites occurred among the tribes of northern Spain (115). Ancient cults continued their practice in the west and north, but those of the east disappeared under the influence of Greek and Roman religion at the beginning of the historical period. It is not surprising, since almost no name of a primitive god is found in eastern Spain, that records of pre-Greek and Roman religious practices among the Iberians are rare. But in the earliest Christian times, lingering pagan superstitions were condemned, including the divining of the *haruspices* who sought their omens in the entrails of their victims (116).

The root *sacar* leads us to the Basque *sakarramin* 'entrails'; *sakar* 'rubble; pus', *sakaila* 'big wound'. It seems that a root (*sacr-*) having to do with divining the will of the gods through entrails has been adopted by both Iberian and Basque (or passed on to Basque through Iberian?).

19 The second part of *sakarisker* sometimes takes the form *esker* (standing alone, Misc. 37c and 119), in *Aiunesker* (Misc. 32a) and ...*urcescer* (La Serreta IV). It seems to form part of the Latinized names Tanneg/iscerr/is (CIL, II, 3794) and Baes/isceris (ibid. 3221); also in shortened form, in the name Atan/sker in the Ascoli document. Where we also find Arb/iscar. *Iscer* can also appear as the first element of a proper name: *Iscerbeles* (Misc. 100) and the Tartessian *Isceraden* (Misc. p. 267).

Apparently *isker*, *esker* has not usually been related to *-esken*, found only on coins. Traditionally taken as a genitive plural with relations to Basque, this latter suffix has more recently been called an ethnika (117) simply indicating that the coin in question is from such and such a city. Among the many examples Tovar cites: *arsescen*, *ausescen*, *iltircescen laiescen*, *otobešcen*, and *undicescen*, as well as the Tartessian *icaloscen* and *urcescen* (118). It seems clear that if *-esken*

(114) A. GARCIA Y BELLIDO: «España y los españoles hace dos mil años». Madrid, 1968, cuarta ed., p. 118; J. M. BLAZQUEZ MARTINEZ: «Religiones primitivas de España», C.S.I.C., 1962, p. 23.

(115) BLAZQUEZ MARTINEZ: *op. cit.*, p. 32.

(116) M. TORRES in *Hist. Esp.*, II, pp. 452 and 479, n. 49.

(117) A. TOVAR: *Lex.*, p. 317 and *ELH*, I, pp. 24 and 18, n. 34, where he speculates that *-escer* may be an ethnika related to *-escen*; he analyzes *-escen* as a compound suffix, like the Basque instrumental *-z* plus the Indoeuropean *-ko*.

(118) On *-sken*, see SCHUCHARDT: *Iber Decl.*, p. 31; J. VALLEJO: «Sobre ibérico *-sken* y *-en*». *Emérita*, 18, 1950, pp. 215-220; MICHELENA: «Sobre el estado actual de la cuestión del genitivo vasco en *-en*». *Emérita*, 18, 1950, pp. 221-224; SCHMOLL, *op. cit.*, note 67, p. 62; A. TOVAR: *Léxico*, p. 291, under *arsescen*, and p. 317 under *-scen*.

is an ethnic this suffix cannot be related to *isker*, *esker*, for Iskerbeles defies interpretation as a localization.

Taking *isker*, *esker* and *-esken* as related to the Basque *esku* we come to a plausible solution not entirely at odds with Tovar's idea. *Esku* is fundamentally 'hand', but among its meanings we find 'derecho, facultad' which idea dominates in *eskuantza* and *eskubide* (both meaning 'facultad, derecho, autorización'), as well as in *eskudun* 'ministro, persona dotada de autoridad' and *eskuera* 'jurisdicción' (119).

A coin, then, inscribed *Undikesken* is issued 'by the authority of *Undike*' (or *Indike*) and *Sakarisker* is a man 'empowered' to 'sacrifice' (or with authority in religious matters), in short, a priest. *Escer* seems to be the equivalent of 'magistrate' or 'official'. The combination *urcescer* (La Serreta IV) is '(the) magistrate of Urçi'; *aiunescer* (Misc. 32a) '(the) *aiun* official', where *aiun* (120) is not necessarily a place name, any more than *sakar* was in *sakarisker*. These combinations with *esker* could with time become simply personal names, as Priest, Bishop, Pope, and Mayor have done in English, as well as *Álcalde*, *Conde*, *Reyes*, and others in Spanish. Thus the magistrate of Cartago Nova named *Sacerdos* may have been the son or grandson of a priest, rather than a priest himself.

An inscription from Liria around the rim of a pot cover reads *...giscer egiar bancebereiwbar balduser ban* (Fletcher, I. I. LXXVI) which has something to do with a noble (*egiar*) official (*iscer*), son of *Balduser*. *Egiar*, I hope to show, is something like the Spanish 'señor', and is appended to many names in Liria inscriptions.

The last example we shall examine is *Iskerbeles* on a coin also bearing the inscription *Undikesken* (Misc. 100). Hence *Iskerbeles* is indisputably a magistrate's name. *Beles*, *bels*, has constantly been related to Basque *beltz* 'black', but in Iberian, where it occurs frequently in men's names (121), it may have had a more affirmative, positive value: perhaps something to do with the moon goddess whom the Romans called *Hekate* to whom they sacrificed black puppies and black lambs and who presided over magicians and enchanters. The Iberians worshipped the moon goddess on the island off *Mainake* as well

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(119) Latin *manus* also has 'power' as one meaning.

Two coins bear legends ending in *-cen* instead of *-escen*, which may be an abbreviation, a variant, or a scribal error.

(120) 'Aiuni' appears on a tombstone (Misc. 44).

(121) See TOVAR: *Léx.*, p. 296 (under *beles*).

as other points along the Mediterranean coast (122). She is perhaps the nameless Basque divinity, fearful yet beneficent, for whom the Basques danced on nights of full moon (Strabo, III, 4, 16). Iskerbeles would be '(the) man empowered with magic' or simply 'the magician' (123). His name recalls the Basque *belhagile*, *belhaile* 'brujo, hechicero' which seems to combine *bel* 'negro', *ageri* 'declarar, manifestar', and *-gile*, *-ile* the ending denoting the actor or agent; hence *belhagile* would be 'the one who reveals the black or occult'.

We must record, however, the fact that Michelena (124) derives *belhagile* from *belhar* 'hierba', giving its meaning as 'bruja', lit. 'hacedor de hierbas'.

As for the final letters of *-sken* and *isker*, *esker*, the dissidence *-en* appears to be the same which Basque uses as a possessive, and which was widely diffused in place names throughout the Iberian region. See above, p. 10-11. The ending *-er* shows up often, in addition to *isker*, *esker*. For the *-er* ending, see p. 22.

20 We are fortunate to have a learned work on the geographical distribution of personal names in ancient Hispania (125). As might have been supposed, the elements *isker* and *beles* are confined to the Iberian region. When, after the Roman conquest, Iberians adopted Roman names, it was only natural that some of them translated their Iberian names into Latin. We find Pollio 'Powerful' and Niger 'Black' appear frequently in the Mediterranean coastal area and in Andalucia and Portugal. Only a few occurrences of these two names are recorded for central and northwest Spain. Does Pollio translate *isker* as Niger does *beles*? Furthermore, can we relate Porcius, common in the Iberian district, to the tribal name of the Cerritani, famous for their hams (126), whose name is thought to relate to the Basque *zerri* 'hog', *cherri* 'pig'? We also wonder if other Latin names peculiar to the East

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(122) A. SCHULTEN: Geogr., I, 323, and II, 43. In Celtic territory a god represented by a crow and whose name contained the syllable *lug* (Indo-European 'black') is catalogued by J. M. BLAZQUEZ MARTINEZ: «Religiones primitivas de Hispania», I, p. 89.

(123) Another possibility is that *beles* is related to Celtic *Belenos* (the equivalent of Apollo), derived from the Indoeuropean *ghel* 'blanco, brillante'. In Iberian territory we find *Belenos* in Azaila (Misc. 32d) and *Belennes* in the Ascoli list.

(124) MICHELENA: «Hispanico antiguo y vasco». Archivum, 8, 1958, p. 40, n. 15.

(125) J. UNTERMANN: «Elementos de un atlas antroponímico de la Hispania antigua». Madrid, 1965.

(126) See SCHULTEN: Estrabón (in Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae, VI, p. 246), and Geogr., II, p. 513.

tern zone hide native Iberian names of which they may be translations, for example Granus, Grattius, and Postumius (127).

21 We have mentioned Urcebas (Misc. 53a), Urcescer, and Urgidar (Ascoli), three men whose names derive from Urçi, Urgi, recorded as a place name by Mela (II, 94) and Pliny (*N. H.*, III, 10) (128). The latter also speaks of Iliturgi and Isturgi. Furthermore, Latin inscriptions bring us Urcestar (CIL, II, nr. 2067) and Urcico (ibid. nr. 2818). *Urke* appears without suffix (Alcoy, La Serreta I) and in the compounds *urcetices* (Misc. 26), *urcecerere* (ibid. 43) and *Arcedurgi* (MLI, 23). Apparently more than a couple of places called Urçi existed in ancient Iberia.

Caro Baroja surmised that Urçi means 'fortress', basing his thought on Pliny's words «Urgia cognominata Castrum Julium» (CB, 808). Consequently Urcebas could be 'the one from the fortress'. But we must not overlook the Basque *urcia* 'God' according to Aymeric Piccaud (129), and the modern Basque *ortze* 'sky, Heaven', *ortzadar* 'rainbow' (literally 'sky arch'), and *ortzegun* 'Thursday', the day of the sky god, just as *Jueves* is also '(the day) of the sky god' (130). A usual modern Basque word for God is *Jaungoikoa* 'the lord of the high (place)' or 'of heaven'.

We think that Urcebas must mean the 'one from the height' and Urcescer can be the 'magistrate of the high (town)'. It is very possible that a number of settlements — as we know, generally built on high, easily defended places — should have 'high' or 'height' as their names. Hence, we suggest that the fundamental meaning 'height' be ascribed, at least tentatively, to *urçi* (131). A secondary meaning 'fort' or 'acropolis' is not precluded. There seems to be a correspondence between *urçi* and Latin *arx*, *arcis* 'fortress, castle; a height; a mountain peak; (anything) high'. The two seem to be combined in the unidentified city's name *Arcedurgi*.

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(127) Granus and Porcius gave rise to the place names Granena and Purchena, MENENDEZ PIDAL: *op. cit.*, note 48, pp. 20 and 27.

(128) See above, p. 18; J. UNTERMANN: «Estudio sobre las áreas lingüísticas prerromanas...». APL, 10, 1963, pp. 187-188 and map 9.

(129) The 12th century author of a guidebook for pilgrims to Compostela.

(130) Several mountains called Mons Jovis (modern Mongó) bear witness to the worship of the sky god in the high places. SCHULTEN: *Geogr.*, I, pp. 325, 328 and 330.

(131) SCHULTEN: *ibid.*, I, pp. 219-221; and *Hist. Esp.*, I, 3, p. 324, describe Iberian towns and shrines as built on high places.

22 Besides *escer*, *iscer* two other recurring words seem to refer to the position of esteem enjoyed by the recipient. *Egiar*, which may stand alone or be affixed to the preceding word, is particularly common on the painted Liria vases, where human figures, often warriors, are depicted. In some cases there can be little question that the words refer to the man, as for example *caresbobigir egia*r inscribed between the horse's legs under a mounted warrior (Misc. 53b, with reproduction of the vase; Liria, plate LII). On the same vase fragments we find *carestirte egia*r and *ebirteegia*r which have, however, no clear reference to specific men in their placement. Another fragmentary pot with pictures of horsemen, women, and musicians (a ritual or a triumphal parade?) bears the words ...*rbancusegia*r *biurtitee*[*giar*] *besumincuegia*r (Misc. 55, Liria, plate LXVII, nr. 7). Still another fragmentary vessel, painted with war and hunting scenes, has next to two combatants *cemiegia*r and *ecuegia*r (Misc. 56; Liria, plates 48 and 49; reproduced in M. Pidal, *Historia de España*, I, 3, p. 624). Finally, a coin of Arse (Sagunto) is inscribed *Arsagiscuegia*r (See above p. 11) which must be the title of the official who issued the coin.

Several scholars have seen a relationship between *egia*r and the Basque verb *egin* 'to make, to do' (132). This verb is regularly used with nouns to express physical actions (as opposed to emotional states). For example, 'to sleep' is *lo egin*, 'to cough', *eztul egin*. It enters a compound indicating one who deals with or works with something: *legegin*, 'legislator', *harrigin*, 'stone worker'.

We take *egia*r as a 'doer' of deeds of importance, whether it be in the military or governmental sphere. This interpretation is supported by the appearance of the word with warriors and on the coin of Arse. Hence we equate it with 'chief, leader, lord' and 'official'. It may have about the same semantic content as the Latin *eques*.

For the ending *-ar* on the end of *egia*r, see above p. 22.

A second word which may be a title of some sort is *iunstir*. It is recorded fairly often, sometimes as *iumstir* and also as *iustir*. Significantly, in the 'lead' of Solaig, it stands as the first word of the two lines of the inscription: *iunstir belesair* and *iunstir egiartone*. In the 'lead' (Serreta I) of Alcoy *iunstir* (written *iumstir*) is the first word of the second text, comparable to *irike* (which may be the Celtic *riks*, *riki* 'king') that begins the first text. Although we advance our suggestion

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(132) TOVAR: *Léx.*, p. 306, mentions BELTRAN, CARO BAROJA, GOMEZ MORENO, who support this belief, and adds his own approval.

with reserve, it seems probable that *iunstir* is a title, especially as it begins what may be proclamations issued by noblemen. The fact that it is accompanied by *egiar* in some of the texts strengthens our notion that it is a title (133).

Cuadrado saw a relationship between *iunstir* and the Basque *iaun* 'lord' (134) this root appears in the name «L. Iunius *Iaurbeles*» from Guisona (Lérida) (J. Vives, no. 2492; HAE, no. 496), which can be compared to Basque derivatives of *jaun* such as *jaurgo* 'señorío' and *jaunri* 'gobernar, defender, amparar'. *Iaurbeles* shows us that the root *iaun* was known in Iberian territory, thus adding to the credibility of a relationship between *iunstir* and the Basque root. Since the latter root means 'señor' our belief that *iunstir* is an honorific title is supported.

23 We now turn to other vocabulary item which may be related to Basque cognates. It goes without saying that much of what follows is only tentative.

A) An inscription around the rim of a Liria vessel (Misc. 54; Fletcher I. I., Insc. IX) reads: *bancuṛs caresbanite egiar saldutibaite iumstir tolir/bitane bassumiwtinire*. The painted figures on the vase represent two horsemen, galloping in the same direction (See Liria, CVH, p. 37 and Lám. xxxiv). Aside from the two riders with their horses no other man or animal is depicted, which causes us to conclude that the inscription must refer to these two persons.

Now both *egiar* and *iumstir* can be taken as titles of rank or nobility, something like 'lord' and 'prince'. *Caresbanite*, which we divide *cares-ban-ite* must be '(the) cares ones' and with *egiar* 'the lord of the cares people' (135). Similarly, *saldutibaite iumstir* becomes 'the prince of the ones from *saldu*'.

B) The Iberian *-aur* has been equated to Basque *aur* 'child' (see Lex. p. 288), expressing filiation in the compounds *atin/bel/aur* (MLI, vi), *lacer/bel/aur* (Misc. 16) (136), *or̄ceicelaur* (Binéfar) and *belagasi-*

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(133) FLETCHER: *Die Sprache*, 16, 1970, p. 153, comments on the combination of *iunstir* with *egiar* and also *bitan*.

(134) See FLETCHER: «Villares VI, nuevo plomo ibérico escrito». *APL*, pp. 196-7, for bibliography and interpretations of *iunstir*. In medieval Basque *jaun* is a frequent proper name, MICHELENA, *op. cit.*, note 89, p. 49.

(135) Compare *caresirte egiar* (Misc. 53a) on another Liria pot.

(136) Compare *lacereiarduru* (Misc. 118) and *Lacerilis* (ven., CIL, II, 4625).

*kaur* (Serreta I) (137). If these words can mean 'son of Atinbel', etc., how are we to interpret *aurbiu(r)* and *aur/so...* (both in Ullastret, plomo 2)? According to our hypothesis *aur-* is the *déterminant*, hence it has an adjectival function and would be 'youthful' or 'childlike', if derived from Basque *aur*. Further doubt is cast on this interpretation of *-aur* by the study of the inscriptions of Pico de los Ajos by D. Fletcher. He finds the division *bel-aur* is unlikely, as *laur*, without *be-*, is more frequent.

C) Among the radicals we isolated earlier was *baite(s)*, *baiti* (see p. 6). Except in the form *baitesbaniecarse* (138), where it occupies the initial position, *baite*, *baiti* acts like an adjective, following another radical or standing alone and taking derivational suffixes. Basque *baita* (Azkue, 3rd meaning) is described as a particle added to a name to designate the house of the owner, but most commonly as an infix between a personal name and a suffix such as *-n*, *-rik*, or *-ra*. Basque *baiten* 'in, among' shows this root combined with the inessive ending. The occurrence of the same word in northern Italy leads to its classification as a remnant from a substrat language (139).

If we take *baite(s)* to be an adjective, and assuming that its meaning is related to Basque 'house', we would have to interpret it by 'domestic; home-like' or perhaps 'familiar'.

D) *Sosin* is often a component of men's names; *Sosinasae* (Ascoli). *Sosimilus* (ibid. < *Sosinbilis*), *Sosinaden* (ibid.) and *Sosintaker* (Canet). But other uses of *sosin* lead to the conclusion that it had a meaning as a common noun or adjective. *Sosintigi* (Pliny, N. H., III, 15) a place name, and [*s*] *osintiba* (Fletcher, Bronze) seem to refer to a place where something called *sosin* was found (although perhaps it is the place of residence of a man named *Sosin*). *Sosinbiuŕu* (Misc. 43) shows *sosin* applied as an epithet, although it could still be the proper name as a modifier, just as in *Sosintaker*, 'Sosin's place or grave'. In

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(137) Less certain examples are *argiboti-becaur* (LAFON: *op. cit.*, note 50), *durs/aur/ar* (Misc. 7); ALMAGRO: *Ins. Amp.*, p. 76, suggests *durs/biur/atu* and *balcebaur* (so given by GOMEZ MORENO; Misc., p. 324, which we read as *balcesur* from JANNORAY: *Ens.*, Plate LXVI, 28). Also see D. FLETCHER: «Los plomos ibéricos de Yátova (Valencia)». T.V.S.I.P., 66, Valencia, 1980, pp. 17-8.

(138) See below p. 38, for speculation on the possibility that *baites- baniecarse* is a verb.

(139) TOVAR: «The Basque Language» (translated by H. P. HOUGHTON), p. 72, points out that *baita*, *baittha* means 'house' in Guipúzcoa, in dialects of North Italy, Langue d'Oc and Gascon.

*nabarsosin* (Almagro, *Ins. Amp.*, pp. 72 and 260) we are tempted to see a relationship with Basque *nabarben*, *nabargarri*, *nabarmen* 'extraordinary, outstanding'. Since according to our hypothesis (p. 10) *nabar* in the initial position of the compound must be a noun, we have to postulate a meaning something like 'prince, nobleman'.

Michelena has suggested a relationship between *sosin* and Basque *(h)osin*, 'pozo, lugar de mayor profundidad del río' (140). If we accept this meaning we can assume that the man's name was chosen to inspire awe and fear (see above p. 6). Names of an awe-inspiring nature are recorded in many other cultures, and are natural in a society given to warfare, like the Iberian.

E) The root *tigir*, *ticer*, *tigis*, *tices* may represent the Celtic *tigernius*, *tigernus*, *tigirnos* 'Herr, König' (Holder, cols. 1841-2). Thus a name like *isbetarticer* (Misc. 47) would be 'Lord Isbetar'; *alortigis* (Misc. 39) 'Sir Alor', and *urcetices* (Misc. 26) 'sovereign, supreme lord'. *Argiticer* (Misc. 43) 'lord of light'? (141) could stand for a god, for instance a sun god like Apollo.

Another possibility is that this root is present in *Ticer*, *Ticis*, the name of the river near Ampurias (modern Ter) recorded by Pliny, N. H., 3, 22 and Mela 2, 6, 89 (142). The well-known worship of rivers could lead to the name 'sovereign' given to this one.

24 We have said nothing about possible verb forms and what we have to say reveals little that reminds us of Basque. It is true that *-dedin* in *bidudedin* (Serreta I) and *sedirgadedin* (ibid.) and *dadula* (ibid.) do have the appearance of Basque forms. But the other words which we tentatively classify as verbs show no resemblance to Basque, except that they seem to be able to compound a noun and a verb just as Basque does in combinations like *aurduna* 'the (woman) that has a child' and *arrigina* 'the (man) who works with stone'. It looks as if two words in the 'lead' of Castellón (Misc. 43) are such compounds: *aste/beiceaie land auruni/beiceai*. They can be compared to *arnai* (Serreta I) *turlbai* (ibid.), *isbinai* (ibid.) and *ilduniraenai* (ibid.) which may be verbs. Castellón gives us another compound with a possible verbal ending: *balcebiur̄aies* (Misc. 43). The same kind of compounding may occur in *goloitecari* (Misc. 76) and *berbeinari* (ibid.) both of

(140) MICHELENA: «Cuestiones relacionadas con la escritura ibérica». *Emérita*, 23, 1955, p. 279.

(141) BAHR: *op. cit.*, note 52, p. 419.

(142) See HOLDER, col. 1840.

which are followed by *eugiar*, possibly related to Basque *euki* 'tener; poder (substantivo)' just as the more common *egiar* has been related to Basque *egin*.

Other possible verbs end in *-se*: *ultitecèraicase* (Misc. 43), *bèri-carsense* (ibid.) and *baitesbaniecarèse* (ibid.). It is noteworthy that all these supposed verbs appear in the long inscriptions, whereas in the brief epitaphs there is no need for anything but nouns. The long inscription of Cigarralejo (Mula) lacks word dividers and it is difficult if not impossible to isolate possible verb forms in it.

25 Numerals and measures. We have called attention to the notation of numbers (up to nine in the lead of Gádor) by means of vertical strokes (p. 15). In another case (Liria, lead ✕ 1) we find 22 such strokes, but this we take to be a running account where one stroke was added each time another unit of whatever was being counted was added. The writer did not know in advance how many units were going to be delivered.

It is different in cases where the total number of units was at hand from the beginning. Now the scribe could sum part of the digits into larger numbers, as we might combine them into tens and hundreds.

This is the case in several inscriptions where the total is divided into A, O, and Ki, each followed by a certain number of vertical strokes. Examples: *Sagalaguga A1 O1 Ki 1* (Serreta VI, cara A), and *unwsa aren A 1 O 4 Ki 4* (La Granjuela) (143); in addition there are other inscriptions using only part of these symbols, such as *A 1 O 11111* (Santisteban del Puerto) and *O 111111 Ki 11* (Serreta VI, cara B) (144).

Aside from Tovar's identification of A with sextarius, H with hemina, and Ki with kyathi, to which there are two objections (145), no

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(143) Published by TOVAR: «Inscripción ibérica en una gamella del tesoro de La Granjuela». RABM, 61, 1955, pp. 580-583 and ELH, I, 19. TOVAR takes the symbol we transcribe by O to be H, which is corrected by FLETCHER: «Orleyl III», A. E. Arq., 40, 1967, p. 56. This spoils TOVAR's interpretation of H as *hemina*.

(144) Serreta VI continues below the cited numerals with O 111111 ki 1 ki 11 A 11111, another case, we think, of a running account where new figures were added at later times. FLETCHER: *op. cit.*, note 143, p. 55; Die Sprache, 16, 1970, p. 159; and APL, 13, 1972, pp. 120-1, deals comprehensively with numerical inscriptions of the type we are considering. FLETCHER's recently published «Los plomos ibéricos de Yátova» (see note 137) contains another type of numerals of great interest.

(145) First, the confusion of H and O; second, the fact that if the second element is four heminas it would be more than one sextarius, as observed by FLETCHER: A. E. Arq., 40, 1967, p. 55.

one to my knowledge has tried to give values to these symbols. We suggest that we have here the Roman system in which A is *as*, originally a pound, O equals *uncia*, *uncia*, 1/12 of the *as*, and  $\surd$  is the sign of the *sextula*, 1/6 of the *uncia*, or 1/12 of the *as*. The last symbol brings in doubt, as the *dimidia sextula*, 1/12 of the *uncia* had a sign  $\bar{\surd}$  which resembles even more closely the symbol  $\surd$  we transcribe *ki* (146).

According to this system the total contents of the vase of La Granjuela equals one *as* plus .333 *as* (4 *unciae*) plus .0556 *as* (4 *sextulae*), giving 1.3886 *as*. Since Tovar tells us that the vase holds 1.715 liters when filled to the ring on the neck, the unit A (or *as*) would then be equivalent to 1.235 liters. When the vase is filled to the top the contents are 1.960 liters and on this basis the *as* would be 1.41 liters. There is not, however, any ancient unit of measure which corresponds to either of these figures. Perhaps the annotation on the vase has nothing to do with its contents.

In other Iberian cities different systems of measurement were employed. A document of Ensérune (Plate 65, no. 21) bears: *e III*. At Azaila we find  $\text{XVII} \wedge \text{III}$  (CVH, fig. 17, 30) as well as several apparent numbers involving the  $\surd$  sign:  $\text{DSS}$  (ibid., fig. 18, 30),  $\text{SS}$  (fig. 19, 111),  $\text{SSS}$  (fig. 19, 117), and  $\text{MS}$  (fig. 19, 125). These recordings bring to mind  $\text{XXX} \times <$  (Serreta I), which Schulten interprets as 3 staters and 1-1/2 chalkoi (147). Possibly the  $\text{MM}$  ( $\text{S} \text{S}$ , Liria XIII) and the  $\text{SS}$  (ibid., LXIII) belong with the numbers just cited. The recently published Villares V (Fletcher, «Cinco Inscripciones», p. 201) is a document of great interest for numerals as is his even more recent «Plomos ibéricos de Yátova» (See n. 137). They are apparently of commercial nature.

Far more engrossing is the question of numbers on the 'lead' of Mogente (148). This tablet, which was found under a hand mill, whe-

(146) See FLETCHER: APL, 13, 1972, p. 120 and F. HULTSCH: Griechische und römische Metrologie, Berlin, 1882, p. 148.

The system of the *as*, *uncia*, etc., was used for the measure of weight, coinage and liquids, although the significance of the units varied in each case. Also with the passage of time the value of the units changed greatly. See M. LAZZARINI: «Metrologia romana», Conimbriga, 4, 1965, pp. 81-95. I have not been able to consult the work of F. J. DE OROZ ARIZCUREN: «El sistema metrológico de la inscripción de La Granjuela», II Coloquio sobre lenguas y cultura prerromanas de la Península Ibérica (Tübingen, 17-19 junio, 1976), Salamanca, 1979, to which D. FLETCHER calls my attention in a letter of May 2, 1980.

(147) A. SCHULTEN: «Forschungen in Spanien». Arch. Anzeiger, 1933, col. 521.

(148) Published by PIO BELTRAN: *op. cit.*, note 38; and D. FLETCHER: *op. cit.*, note 32, pp. 46-48.

re it was apparently hidden not long before the settlement was destroyed, contains on one side a series of words separated by dots, ranging in number from one to six and crossed out by a vertical line drawn through the dots, except in the added text, written upside down at the bottom. (This description refers to Cara A in Fletcher, which Beltrán calls Cara B.) The text of the other side (Fletcher B, Beltrán A) has all the words crossed out by a line drawn through them with the exception of two, but the dots, which number from one to ten, have not been touched.

The conclusion that we are dealing with an account of some kind, perhaps a commercial record, is hard to avoid (149). The crossed out dots and, on the other side, the crossed out words, seem to indicate closed accounts.

The problem is complicated by the fact the script of the documents is the southern Iberian, or Tartessian script, and the value of various signs is in dispute. Particularly important is the symbol  $\varphi$ , which in eastern Iberian equals  $\acute{r}$ , but which Pio Beltrán takes as *be* at Mogente. This means that a word transcribed by Gómez Moreno's system as *saldulacogiar* (150) and which looks very much like a name with the honorific *-(e)giar* added becomes *saldulagogiabe* (Beltrán, op. cit., p. 36, words 13 and 20), and nine other words which Fletcher transcribes with the ending *-gar* become *-gabe* for Beltrán. This leads to an equation with Basque *gabe* 'without' and the belief that the whole text is a *tabella defixionis*, especially since one word *aiduar/begi/abe* is related to Basque *aidur* 'maligno', *begi* 'ojo' and *gabe* (Beltrán, op. cit., p. 35 ff.) (151).

Against Beltrán's opinion we can adduce some objections. In the first place not even the eminent Gómez Moreno could make a definitive transcription. In his article published in 1961 (152) he revises his opinions and gives the values *o* and *e* to the symbol  $\varphi$ . *Saldulacogiar*

(149) A. SCHULTEN: *op. cit.*, col. 522; J. DE C. SERRA RÁFOLS: «Noves inscripcions ibèriques». Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Anuari, 8, 1934, p. 339, both support this idea.

(150) FLETCHER's cara B, line 1 and line 3; compare this word to *sacalacucaegiar* followed by a number (Serreta VI) and words formed on the radical *saldu-*: *salduie* (MLI, 35), *saldugilerku* (Ullastret, plomo 3), and *saldukobalkulebobeḱur...* (ibid.).

(151) AZKUE gives other meanings for *aidur*. If the adjective 'maligno' is chosen, it should not stand in the initial position. See our hypothesis, p. 6.

(152) M. GÓMEZ MORENO: «La escritura bástulo-turdetana». RABM, 69, 2, 1961, pp. 879-949. This article postdated BELTRÁN's work by seven years.

becomes *saldulacokiae* (p. 932) and *rdarbauba* becomes *otarbeobe* (p. 930). In the second place Beltrán gives no attention to the numbers indicated by the dots or to the words stricken out.

Contrary to Beltrán we place great importance on the numerical notations of this document and feel that at least some of the words in *-ar* must be personal names. Hence the document is for us simply a record of a commercial transaction.

#### IV

#### CONCLUSIONS

As a result of the comparisons we have made between Basque and Iberian we think there is a clear structural relationship between the two languages. We feel that they compound radicals with the same distinction between nouns and adjectives, and that this distinction permits us to narrow the possibilities of ascribing meaning to some radicals.

Among Iberian inflectional suffixes we believe there is sufficient evidence to accept the meaning 'one' for *-ba*, *-ban*, *-bas* and see a correspondence in Basque. The significance of *-ti*, *-gi* as 'place where' and its identity with *take*, *tegi* is plausible, as is also *-ite* as a plural sign, including the interpretation of *-tar* as an Iberian plural possessive. The particles *-en*, *-ar* and *-cu*, *-co* seem to correspond to Basque counterparts.

Among vocabulary items we maintain that the rendering of *iunstir* and *egiar* as honorific titles is a strong probability. The relationship of *-escen* and *escer* with each other and with Basque *esku* seems justified. The meanings ascribed to *urci* 'height' and *Sacariscer* 'priest' we think are warranted.

Far be it from us to claim any special type of relationship between Basque and Iberian. We are content to say simply that they appear to share certain morphological and syntactic structural elements. Whether these similarities depend on a common origin, on a borrowing of one language from the other, or on the influence of a substratum is impossible to decide. Until much more investigation on a purely linguistic basis is possible the reasons for the correspondences between the two languages remain a closed book.