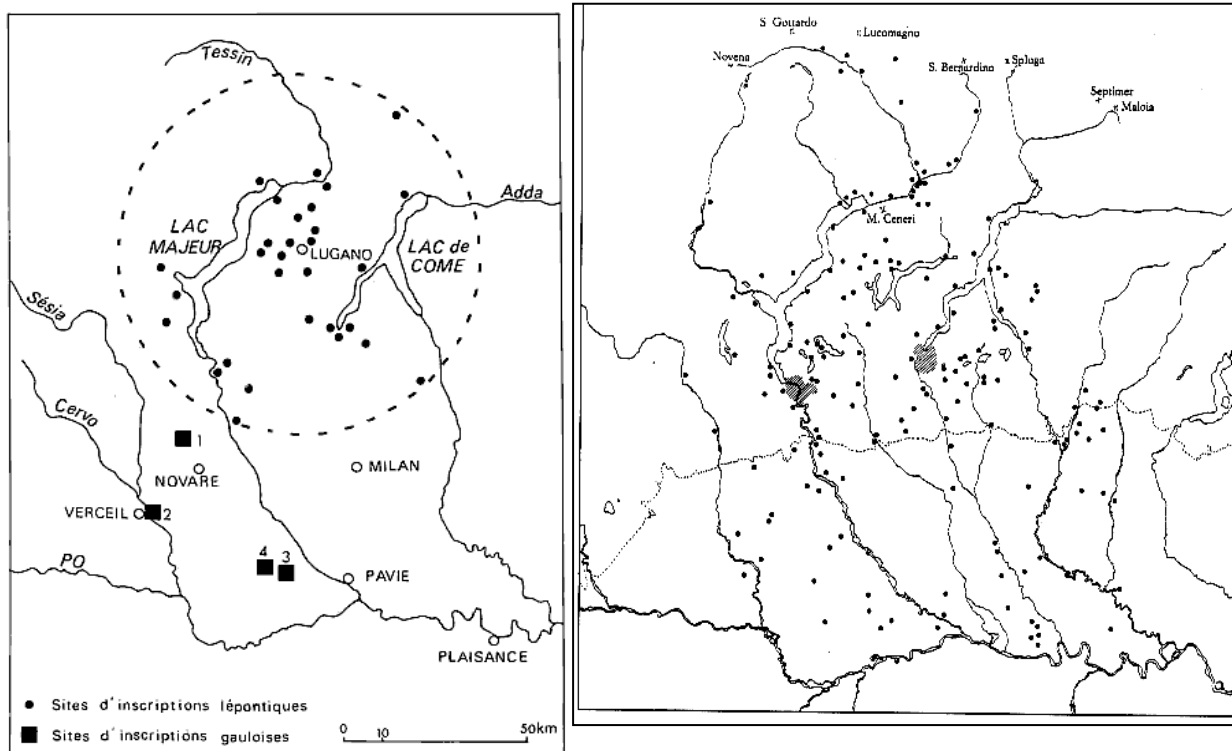## II. CELTIC IN NORTHERN ITALY: LEPONTIC AND CISALPINE GAULISH

1. GENERAL INFORMATION

Ill. 1.1.: Distribution of Lepontic (•) and Cisalpine Gaulish (▪) inscriptions (from: RIG II.1, 5; outdated)

Ill. 1.2.: Places with finds from the Golasecca culture (from: DE MARINIS 1991: 93).

From Northern Italy, from the Northern Italian lake region and from a wider area north of the River Po, stem appr. 350 objects bearing slightly more Celtic inscriptions. These texts are usually ascribed to two different languages, Lepontic and Cisalpine Gaulish, but there are divergent opinions. For some, all inscriptions belong to a single language with only dialectal/chronological differences. Lepontic is considered by some to be only a dialect or chronologically early variant of Gaulish. Here, the mainstream view is followed which distinguishes between two different, albeit (closely?) related languages. Since almost all texts are extremely short and since the languages are so similar, it is often impossible to make a certain ascription of a given text to a language. As a rule of thumb, those inscriptions found in the Alpine valleys within a radius of 50 km around the Swiss town of Lugano are usually considered Lepontic. Celtic inscriptions from outside this area are considered Cisalpine Gaulish.

The Lepontians are one of many peoples who in the first millenium B.C. inhabited the valleys of the Southern Alps. The *Valle Leventina* in Cn. Ticino/Tessin (Switzerland) still bears their name. Lepontic inscriptions date from the period of ca. the beginning of the 6th c. B.C. until shortly after Christ's birth, making Lepontic the oldest attested Celtic language. The Early Lepontic phase coincides with the final two periods of the archaeological Golasecca culture. With the Gaulish invasion in Northern Italy in the 5th c. B.C., the La-Tène style arrived in the Lepontic area. It is difficult to say whether this invasion meant only a cultural or also a linguistic gallicisation of the area. In any case, the so-called Cisalpine Gaulish inscriptions from Northern Italy are considered to be a consequence of this Gaulish invasion.

The language is known almost exclusively from the ca. 350 inscriptions found to this day. Onomastic material in foreign transmission has been only inscufficiently studied. The inscriptions are written in a special alphabet called Lepontic (older: Lugano) alphabet, one of the several variants of the North Etruscan script. Texts are found on worked and crude stones and on pottery (vases, urns, often potsherds). The script is preponderantly sinistroverse. In most cases the dating depends on the archaeo-

logical context. As regards the contents of the texts, tombstones, possessor and producer notes and dedicatory inscriptions are found. The texts are extremely short. Only few contain more than two words, the longest has seven words. Almost exclusively names are attested, many of these in fragments.

Golasecca II A	beg. 6th c.–525	Golasecca culture since 9th c., without break since 12th c. [cont. ← G I A-C (9th–7th c.) ← Proto-Golasecca (12th–10th c.) ← Canegrate (13th–12th c.)	Early Lepontic
Golasecca II B	525–480/75		
Golasecca III A 1	480/75–450/40		
Golasecca III A 2	450/40–400		
Golasecca III A 3	400–375		
La Tène A = G III A 2–3	450–375	Gaul. invasion of Po Valley, ca. 400	Middle Lepontic, few texts, mostly from Kn. Ticino/ Tessin
La Tène B 1	375–end 4th c.		
La Tène B 2	1st half of 3rd c.		
La Tène C 1	2nd half of 3rd c.		
La Tène C 2	2nd c.	Roman conquest of Cisalpine Gauls, 225/191	Late Lepontic mostly south of Kn. Ticino/Tessin
La Tène D 1	end 2nd c.–beg. 1st c.		
La Tène D 2	remainder of 1st c.		

Ill. 1.3.: Lepontic language periods and archaeological periods (after UHLICH 1999) .

Be careful: Much of the information given in this chapter (e.g. illustrations, charts, tables) is taken from older publications which are based on obsolete data. It is nevertheless reproduced here since no studies based on more recent data have been produced yet.

2. LITERATURE ABOUT LEPONTIC

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AGOSTINETTI 2004 Paola Piana Agostinetti, *Celti d'Italia. Tomo I. Archeologia, lingua e scrittura dei Celti d'Italia* di Paolo Piana Agostinetti [= Popoli e Civiltà dell'Italia Antica 12.I], Roma: Spazio Tre 2004.

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relations (February 14, 1998). Ed. B. K. Bergin, M. C. Plauché, and A. C. Bailey, Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society 1998, 2–11.

TIBILETTI BRUNO 1997 Maria Grazia Tibiletti Bruno, 'A proposito di una nuova iscrizione in grafia »leponzia« (et repetita iuvant),' in: *Scríbthair a ainm n-ogaim. Scritti in Memoria de Enrico Campanile* a cura di Riccardo Ambrosini, Maria Patrizia Bologna, Filippo Motta, Chatia Orlandi. 2 voll., Pisa: Pacini Editore 1997, 1003–1022.

SOLINAS 1995 Patrizia Solinas, 'Il celtico in Italia,' *Studi Etruschi* 60 (1995), 311–408.

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SOLINAS 1992/3 Patrizia Solinas, 'Il leponzio. Da Biondello e Mommsen ai nostri giorni,' in: *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 151 (1992/3), 1237–1335.

TIBILETTI BRUNO 1981 Maria Grazia Tibiletti Bruno, 'Le iscrizioni celtiche d'Italia,' in: *I Celti d'Italia*. A cura di Enrico Campanile, Pisa: Giardini 1981, 157–207.

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RHŶS 1913 Sir John Rhŷs, 'The Celtic inscriptions of Cisalpine Gaul,' *Proceedings of the British Academy* 6 (1913) [repr. in: *Celtic Inscriptions*, Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag 1977].

CIL V *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Pars V: *Gallia Cisalpina*, Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften.

UNTERMANN 1959 Jürgen Untermann, 'Namenlandschaften im alten Oberitalien', *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 10 (1959), 74–108, 121–159.

UNTERMANN 1960 Jürgen Untermann, 'Namenlandschaften im alten Oberitalien (Fortsetzung)', *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 11 (1960), 273–318.

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2.2. Historical, archaeological:

ARSLAN 2001 Ermanno Arslan, *Leponti tra mito e realtà. Atti del convegno Locarno-Verbania 9/11 Novembre 2000*, CD-ROM, Comune di Verbania 2001.

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DE MARINIS & BIAGGIO SIMONA 2000 Raffaele de Marinis e Simonetta Biaggio Simona, *I Leponti tra mito e realtà*. 2 Vols., Locarno: Gruppo Archeologia Ticino 2000.

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3. THE LEPONTIC ('LUGANO') ALPHABET
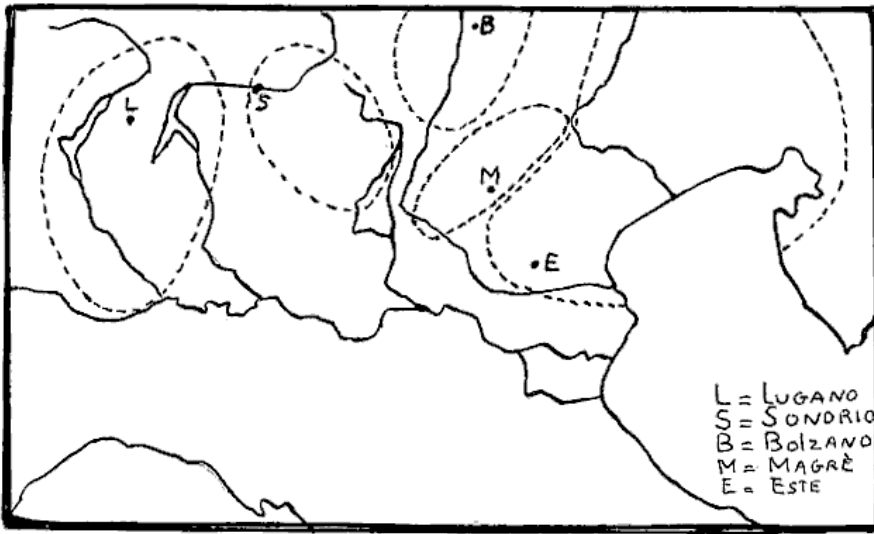
Ill. 3.1.: The distribution of variants of the North Etruscan (North Italian) alphabets (from LEJEUNE 1971: 365).

Note: The language of Sondrio is now called Camunian, that of Magrè and Bolzano Raetic, that of Este Venetic, and that of Lugano Lepontic.
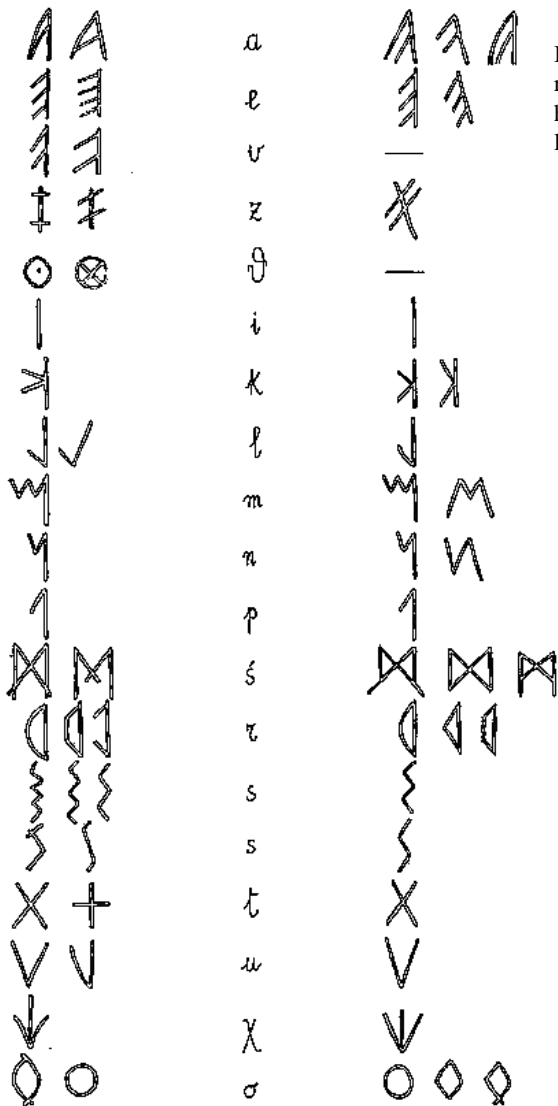
Ill. 3.2.: The Lepontic (older: Lugano) alphabet (left column: 6th–5th c.; right: column 3rd–2nd c. B.C.; from DE MARINIS 1991: 94). See also: http://www.obib.de/Schriften/AlteSchriften/alte_schriften. php?italisch/lepontisch.html~Text

4. THE LINGUISTIC POSITION OF LEPONTIC

4.1. LEPONTIC = AN INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGE

sg.	$\bar{a}$-decl.	o-decl.	n-decl.
nom.	$-a < *-eh_2$	$-os < *-os$	$-u < *-\bar{o}(n)$
gen.		$-i$ [$-oiso < *-os\underset{.}{i}o$]	
dat.	$-ai < *-eh_2e\underset{.}{i}$	$-ui < *-\bar{o}\underset{.}{i}$	$-onei$ [$-oni$] $< *-one\underset{.}{i}$
acc.	$-am < *-eh_2m$	$-om < *-om$	

Ill. 4.1.: IE morphological traits in Lepontic (after KRAHE 1936: 243)

4.2. LEPONTIC – A CELTIC LANGUAGE

Lepontic shares isoglosses (i.e. sound changes) with other Celtic languages (after KRAHE 1936: 244–247; LEJEUNE 1971: 472–477).

1. PIE $*-\bar{o}(C)\# > -\bar{u}(C)\#$: nom. sg. $-u$, dat. sg. $-ui$
2. PIE $*g^u > b$: $* g^ui(h_3)\underset{.}{u}o- > piuo-$ (= /bi$\underset{.}{u}$o-/) 'living'
3. PIE $*p > (\varphi >) 0$: $*up\underset{.}{m}mo- > uvamo-$ 'highest'
4. PIE $*\bar{e} > \bar{\iota}$: $*s\bar{e}d- > sit-$ (= /sīd-/) 'to sit'
5. PIE $*st > ts$: $*g^hostis > -kozis$ 'guest', $*istos > iśos$
6. lexicon: $*\underset{.}{u}indo-$ 'white' in $alkouinos$ (cp. Gaul. $Alcouindo$)
7. PIE $*i > *e$: $*-onib^hos > -onepos$ (but not general in Celtic!)

4.3. LEPONTIC: A SEPARATE CELTIC LANGUAGE OR AN ARCHAIC GAULISH DIALECT?

4.3.1. Lepontic ≠ Transalpine Gaulish (after LEJEUNE 1971)

1. $*nd > nn$: $*\underset{.}{u}indos > -uinos$ (vs. Gaul. $uindo-$, $ambi-$, $cingo-$) (only graphic?)
2. $*NT > {}^NT$: $* g^ui(h_3)\underset{.}{u}o-nt- > piuot$, $piuotialui$ (vs. Gaul. $canto-$, $tanco-$) (only graphic? (cp. $piuonta$!))
3. $*\underset{.}{n} > en$ (?): $*s\bar{e}d\underset{.}{n}s > siteś$?, $*d\underset{.}{n}g^h\underset{.}{u}eh_2 > -teguaios$ (vs. Gaul. $> an$: $ande-$, $brigant-$)
4. $*\chi s > s(s)$: $sasamos$, $esopnio$ (vs. Gaul. $Sax(s)amus$, $Ex(s)obno-$) (only graphic?)
5. $*ad-s-$ (?): $aśkoneti$, $aśmina$ (vs. Gaul. $Adgonna$, $Adgonetius$, $Adminio$) (unlikely: $ś$ probably represents /d/)
6. word formation: patronymics in $-al(o/a)-$ (vs. Gaul. patronymics in $-ikno/a-$)

4.3.2. Lepontic compared to Cisalpine Gaulish

a. common features (≠ Transalpine Gaulish) (after UHLICH 1999 and 2007):
1. $*nd > nn$: $*ande- > -ane-$, $*and(e)-are- > an-are-$, ?$*and-o-kom- > ano-ko-$ (but see above!)
2. $*NT > {}^NT$: $*kom-bog(i)\underset{.}{i}os > -ko-pokios$, $Quintus → kuitos$, $*arganto- > arkato-$, $*longam > lokan$ (but see above!)
3. $*\chi s > s(s)$: $*egs- > *e\chi s- > es-$ in $es-anekoti$, $es-opnos$ (but see above!)

b. differences between Cisalpine Gaulish and Lepontic:
1. $*-m\# > -n\#$: $teuo\chi tonion$, $lokan$ vs. Lep. $pruiam$, $palam$, $uinom natom$ (but also Cis-Gaul. $atom$)
2. word formation: ending of 3. sg./pl. preterite in $-u$, cp. $karnitu(s)$ (Gaul. καρνιτου), vs. Lep. $karite$, $kalite$
3. patronymics in $-ikno/a-$ vs. Lep. $-alo-$, $-ala-$, $-al$ (but also mixed in Late (?) Lepontic)

5. LEPONTIC INSCRIPTIONS

Ill. 5.1.: the oldest Lepontic inscription (ca. 575 BC) from Castelletto Ticino (NO·1), containing the name χosioiso (from: F. M. Gambari, G. Colonna, 'Il bicchiere con iscrizione arcaica da Castelletto Ticino e l'adozione della scrittura nell'Italia nord-occidentale,' *Studi Etruschi* 54 (1986), 130).
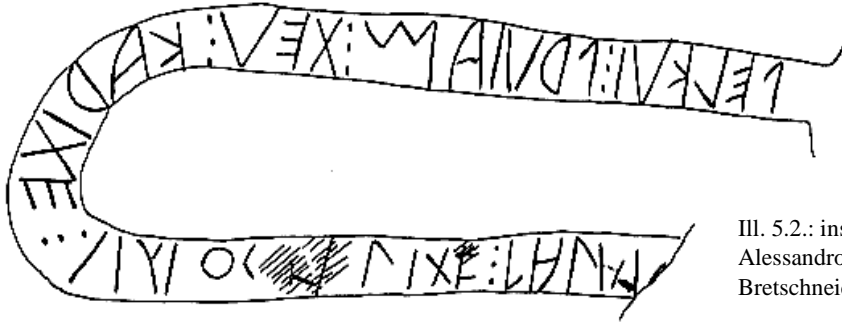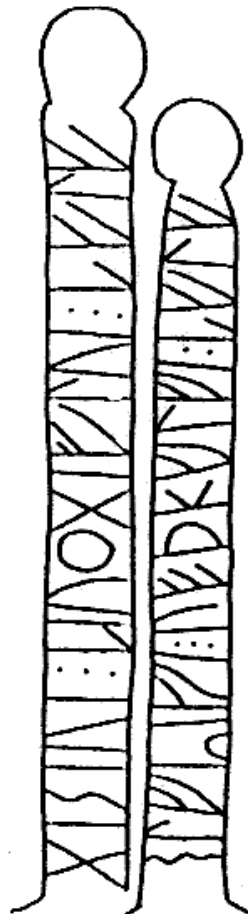

transcription:
pelkui ꞉ pruiam ꞉ teu ꞉
karite ꞉
iśoṣ (꞉ ka)ḷite ꞉ palaṃ

Ill. 5.2.: inscription from Vergiate (VA·6); from: Alessandro Morandi, *Epigrafia Italica*, Roma: Bretschneider 1982, 190
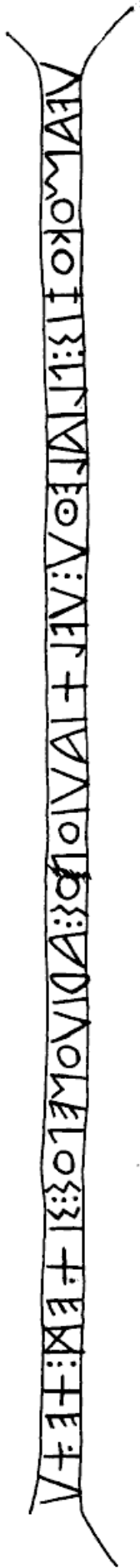

left: Ill. 5.3-4.: inscription from Davesco (TI·36.1, ·2) (photo from: MOTTA 2000: 201)

right: slaniai ꞉ uerkalai ꞉ pala
left: tisiui ꞉꞉ piuotialui ꞉ pala

right: Ill. 5.4.: drawing of the inscription from Davesco A (TI·36.1, ·2); source unknown (EICHNER SS 1999)

left: Ill. 5.5.: inscription from Prestino (CO·48; from: Alessandro Morandi, *Epigrafia Italica*, Roma: Bretschneider 1982, 188)
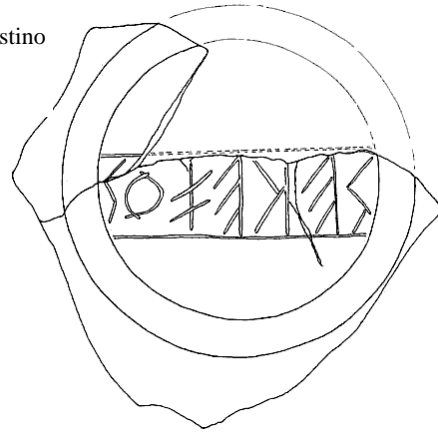
transcription: uvamokozis ⫶ plialeθu ⫶ uvltiauiopos ⫶ ariuonepos ⫶ siteś ⫶ tetu

above: Ill. 5.6.: inscription from Ornavasso (VB·3.1) (from: Michel Lejeune, 'Le vase de Latumaros,' *Latomus* 46 (1987), 498)

transcription: latumarui ⫶ sapsutai : pe ⫶ uinom ⫶ natom (not: naśom!)
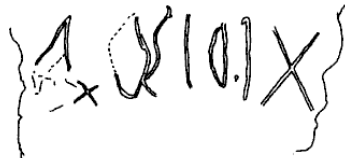
right: Ill. 5.7.: *sekezos*, inscription from Prestino (Como; CO·57) (from: MOTTA 2000: 207)

Ill. 5.8.: *]miu[* or *]tiś[* ? (Casate, CO·51)

Ill. 5.10.: *z v ośoris* (Casate, CO·62)

Ill. 5.9.: *]tioiso a̧[* ? (Rondineto, CO·11)

6. DATED LEPONTIC TEXTS

From UHLICH 1999, using his readings; datings based on information in SOLINAS 1995 (unreliable!). Key: inscriptions are basically sinistroverse, unless marked → = dextroverse; G = Golasecca, LT = La Tène; letters with underdots are uncertain.

6.1. Early Lepontic (6th–beg. 4th c., Golasecca II–III A, 'pre-Gaulish period')

1. *χosioiso*, Castelletto Ticino (Varese), G II A, 2nd quarter 6th c., NO·1
2. *uvamokozis : plialeθu : uvltiauiopos : ariuonepos : siteś : tetu*, Prestino (Como), 6th or beg. 5th c., CO·48
3. *pelkui : pruiam : teu : karite : iśos : kalite : palaṃ*, Vergiate (Varese), G II, beg. 5th c., VA·6
4. *kuaśoni : pala : teḷ/ṛialui*, Mezzovico (Ticino), G III A, TI·27.1
5. *takos*, Brescia, 5th c. (?), BS·5
6. *piuot*, Parre (Bergamo), 5th c., BG·18
7. *alios*, Civiglio (Como), G III A 1, CO·73
8. *plioiso*, Rondineto (Como), G III A 1–2, CO·6
9. *plioiso*, S. Fermo della Battaglia (Como), G III A 1–2, CO·72
10. *]nialui : pala*, Banco (Ticino), G III A, TI·33
11. *[ ]ni* (?) *: metalui pal[a]*, Davesco B (Ticino), G III A , TI·36.3
12. *aạ/ui : pala*, Tesserete Aa (Ticino), G III A, TI·34.1
13. *teromui : kualui*, Vira Gambarogna (Ticino), G III A, TI·26
14. *kiraki / ?kaṛ?* [→], Casate (Como), G III A?, CO·64

   furthermore (summarily):
15. (G II, 6th c.) *χa; ṭeχ; pa? ụa?* [→], *χuθ/t; iḥeχ?* [→]; *pχ*
16. (G III A, ca. 5th c.) *]ṭume[?; [---]oiṣ[o]; -]iso; aev;
   [---?]nẹriọṣ; pe; sapst[?* [→]; *po k ru; prn*
17. (5th–4th c.?) *]tioiso—[;] – ek* [→]; *]ias[; ev—[; as[?; peị[;
   χev* or *ạea* [→]; *]- : sulokei[?;]akur[;]ouki[; ?]ạklẹ[; tr-[;
   sḷạ[;]ṇaṛ[; a-[* [→]; *nap[/ ot-[;]rkimu[; ṃẹi/ạạ;]ais[;]rpia[?];
   ?]lu[?; peṣa* oder *veṣa; sṭụ[; ?]—paị̣ei- / ṣa[; ?]ọu* oder *?]ṛu; al*

6.2. Middle Lepontic (beg. 4th–3rd c., La Tène B 1/2–C 1, 'Gaulish period')

18. *slaniai : uerkalai : pala / tisiui : pịuotialui : pala*, Davesco A (Ticino), LT B/C, TI·36.1, .2
19. *setupokios*, Solduno (Ticino), 3rd c., TI·23
20. *anteśilu*, Solduno (Ticino), 3rd c., TI·25
21. A: *iakir*; B: *koi*, Giubasco (Ticino), LT B 1, TI·18
22. *plai[-]p*, Giubasco (Ticino), LT C 1, TI·14
? 23. *anarekartos*, coin A 2, at latest 3rd c., NM·2
? 24. *seχeθu*, coin A 6, at latest 3rd c., NM·6

6.3. Middle until/or Late Lepontic (La Tène B/C)

25. A: *]aniui : p[/]kionei : p[/ ẹ.ịoṇụ—[*; B: *]mationa[?*; C: *]—soni : ịla[*; D: *]ala[*, Aranno (Ticino), TI·29
26. *minuku : komoneos*, San Pietro di Stabio (Ticino), TI·42
27. *]rkomui : pala*, Tesserete B (Ticino), TI·34.2
28. *sunalei : mako[*, Viganello (Ticino), TI·37

6.4. Selection from Late Lepontic (2.–1. jh. La Tène C 2 – D 1/2, 'Roman period')

29. *ṣasamos*, Ornavasso (Novara), beg. 2nd c.–1st quarter 1st c., VB·1
30. *oletu amaśilu*, Ornavasso (Novara), beg. 2nd c.–1st quarter 1st c., VB·2
31. *latumarui ꞉ sapsutai : pe ꞉ uinom ꞉ naśom* [recte: *natom*] Ornavasso, LT D, VB·3.1
32. *ualaunal / raneni* [→], Mesocco (Ticino), LT D 1, GR·1
33. *alkouinos / aśkoneti* [→], San Pietro di Stabio (Ticino), LT D 1, TI·41
34. *tunal / koimila*, Levo (Novara), 1st c., VB·26
35. *namu / esopnio* [→], Levo (Novara), 1st c., VB·28
36. *piuonta*, Coccaglio (Brescia), LT D 2 (?), BS·1

7.5. undated, e.g.:

37. *metelui : maeśilalui : uenia : metelikna : aśmina : krasanikna* [→], Carcegna (Novara), NO·18
38. *]ones : m[/]ẹna / [ ]*, San Ferma della Battaglia (Como), CO·71

7. CISALPINE GAULISH

The Cisalpine Gaulish inscriptions are frequently combined with the Lepontic inscriptions under the term 'Celtic language remains in Italy' (see above point 2. for some of the literature). As the name reveals, linguistically these texts seem to go together with the Gaulish language known from Trans-alpine Gaul. While it is possible that the Lepontians were autochthonous to northern Italy since the end of the 2nd mill. B.C., it is well-known that the Gauls invaded the regions north of the river Po in se-veral waves since the 5th c. B.C. They apparently took over the art of writing from the Lepontians, including some of the orthographic peculiarities. In the handbooks on Gaulish, only about half a dozen Cisalpine Gaulish inscriptions are mentioned, three of which are 'longer' than just one or two words. In fact, however, the number must be vastly higher, even though the vast majority of the material con-tains only fragmentary forms. The inscriptions basically stem from the area south of the Lepontians. The bilingual inscription from Todi/Umbria is an exception and must be due to an emigrant.

8. LITERATURE ABOUT CISALPINE GAULISH

LAMBERT 2003   Pierre-Yves Lambert, 'Chapitre VI. Épigraphie gallo-étrusque,' in: *La langue gauloise*, Paris: Errance 2003, 73–81.

MEID 1992   Wolfgang Meid, *Gaulish Inscriptions. Their interpretation in the light of archaeological evidence and their value as a source of linguistic and sociological information* [= Archaeolingua. Series Minor 1], Budapest: Archaeolingua 1992.

RIG II.1   Michel Lejeune, *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises (R.I.G.)* sous la direction de Paul-Marie Duval. *Volume II – fascicule 1. Textes gallo-étrusques. Textes gallo-latins sur pierre*, Paris: Éditions du Cen-tre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1988, 1–54.

9. CISALPINE GAULISH INSCRIPTIONS

Ill. 9.1.: The bilingual text from Todi (Umbria), face A (PG·1.1–2, from: MEID 1992: 14).

1	[ATEGNATI]
2	[DRVT]I[·]F[· ... vestiges ...]
3	[C]OISIS[·]DRVTI·F
4	[F]RATER·EIVS
5	[M]INIMVS·LOCAV[I]<T>
6	[ST]ATVITQV<E>
7	[AT]EKNATI TRUTI[K]ṆI
8	[KAR]NITU·LOKAN·KO[I]SIS
9	[TR]UTIKNOS

Ill. 9.2.: Drawing and transcription of the bilingual text from Todi, face A (PG·1.1-2; from: RIG II.1, 45–51).
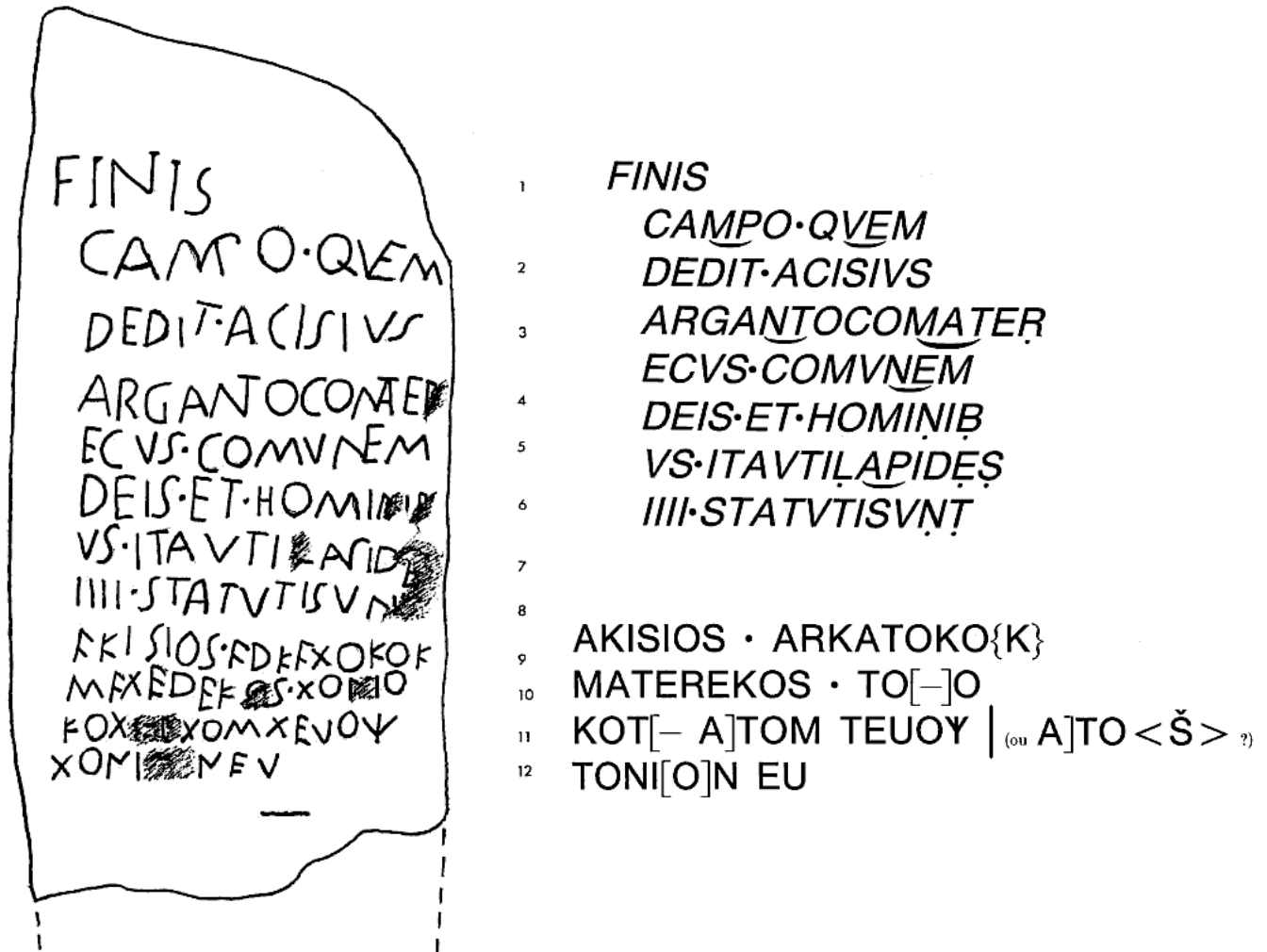

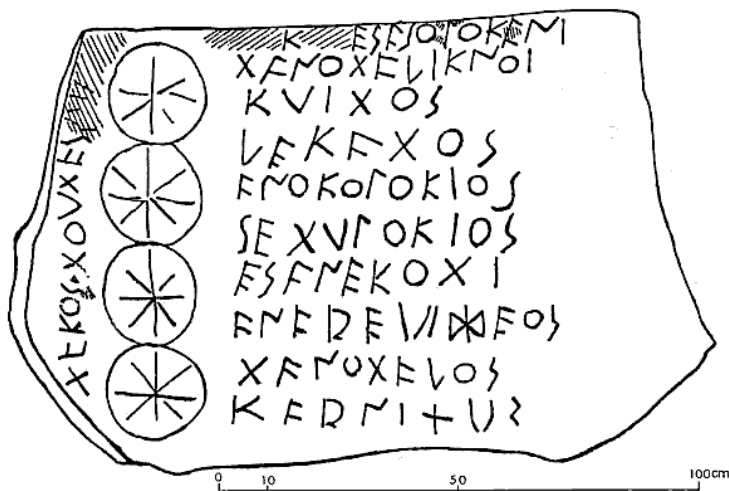Ill. 9.3.: The bilingual text from Todi (Umbria), face B (PG·1.3–4; from: MEID 1992: 15).

1	[ATEGNATEI·DRV]
2	[TEI·F· ... ...]
3	[COI]ṢIṢ
4	ḌRVTEI·F·FRATER
5	EIVS
6	MINIMVS·LOCAV
7	IT·ET·STATVIT
8	ẠTEKNATI·TRUT
9	IKNI·KARNITU
10	ARTUAŠKOISIS·T
11	ṚUṬIKNOṢ·

Ill. 9.4.: Drawing and transcription of the bilingual text from Todi, face B (PG·1.3–4; from: RIG II.1, 45–51).

FINIS
   CAMPO·QVEM
DEDIT·ACISIVS
ARGANTOCOMATER
ECVS·COMVNEM
DEIS·ET·HOMINIB
VS·ITAVTILAPIDES
IIII·STATVTISVNT

AKISIOS · ARKATOKO{K}
MATEREKOS · TO[–]O
KOT[– A]TOM TEUOY | (ou A]TO < Š > ?)
TONI[O]N EU

Ill. 9.5.: drawing and transcription of the bilingual text from Vercelli (VC·11–2;
from: RIG II.1, 29–37).

transcription:

left: *takos · toutas[…]*

right top: *] n[…]k[…]tesasopokaṇị*

main text:
   tanotaliknoi
   kuitos
   lekatos
   anokopokios
   setupokios
   esanekoti
   anareuiśeos
   tanotalos
   karnitus

Ill. 9.6.: The inscription from Briona (NO·21; from: RIG II.1, 15).

a) *meśiolano*
b) *miliarios*
c) *ultll* or *lutuu*
d) *[p?]ossito [?]iu*
e) *oieiplu* or *oiesplu*
f) *śuro*
g) *u[r?]ii[?]rkiu ku* or *u[r?]I.[?]rkiu ku*
h) *[   ]rkiu*

Ill. 10.7.: the mural graffiti from Milan (MI·10; from: Maria Grazia Tibiletti Bruno, 'Nuove iscrizioni epicoriche a Milano,' in: *Scritti in ricordo di Graziella Massari Gaballo e di Umberto Tocchetti Pollini*, Milano 1986, 100)

10. ITALO-CELTIC ONOMASTIC FORMULAS

Isolated individual names reveal nothing about onomastic formulas, since we may be looking at informal short names. The typical basic structure of the Lepontic and Cisalpine Gaulish onomastic formulas is *individual name + patronymic*. The name of the father can be expressed in various ways. A development in the expression of the patronymics can be observed, probably under influence from Gaulish. It must be kept in mind, however, that the linguistic ascription of many of these texts is uncertain. The patronymic suffix in *-al* is probably a loan from Etruscan.

individual name alone:
Early Lep.: e.g. *χosioiso, plioiso, takos, pelkui*
Middle Lep.: e.g. *setupokios, anteśilu, seχeθu, anarekartos*
Late Lep.: e.g. *sasamos, latumarui, sapsutai, piuonta*

individual name + patronymic in *-al-*:
Early Lep.: *kuaśoni teḷ/ṛialui, teromui kualui*
Middle Lep.: *slaniai uerkalai, tisiui piuotialui*
Late Lep.: *metelui maeśilalui, kiketu ṛ…talos*
unclear dating: *piuonei tekialui*

individual name + further element (?):
Early Lep.: *uvamokozis plialeθu*
Late Lep.: *aśkonetio pianu*

individual name + patronymic in *-ii̯o-*?:
Middle Lep.: *minuku komoneos*
Late Lep.: *namu esopnio, komoneos uarsileos*

individual name + name of father in genitiv:
Late Lep.: *ualaunal raneni*, *alkouinos aśkoneti*, *atekua aśouni*

individual name + patronymic in *-il-*?:
Late Lep.: *oletu amaśilu, tunal koimila*

individual name + patronymic in *-ikno-*:
Late Lep.: *uenia metelikna, aśmina krasanikna*

Cisalpine Gaulish:

individual name + name of father in genitiv:
esopnos kepi, esanekoti anareuiśeos tanotalos (two individual names + preposed patronymic!)

individual name + patronymic in *-ikno-*:
sola nimonikna, tanotaliknoi, ateknati trutikni, koisis trutiknos

individual name + further element:
akisios arkatokomaterekos