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the West', according to which Celtic was a much older
lingua franca which evolved from a hypothetical
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zone and then spread eastwards in the third
millennium bc. An Alternative to 'Celtic from the East'
and 'Celtic from ... According to this new 'Celtic from
the West' hypothesis, the Celtic language was already
current by 3000 bc throughout an 'Atlantic zone' that
embraced the British Isles, northwestern France,
western Spain and Portugal, and then 'spread
eastwards into middle Europe during the Beaker period
by 2000 bc ' (Cunliffe Reference Cunliffe 2018,

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