Gaulish language

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In this article the state-of-the-art of research in the field of the Gaulish language is summarized, compared and evaluated. The article begins with Caesar’s information about the borders of Gaul, and its etymology. A brief survey of four epigraphic traditions recording the varieties of Gaulish follows. The largest space is devoted to illustrative examples of various Gaulish texts from Northern

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Italy and Gaul. Three special monuments are analyzed separately, the Calendar of Coligny, Medical compendium of Marcellus of Bordeaux, and Endlicher’s or Viennese Glossary. In the case of the famous Calendar the month-names and other terms, usually in abbreviations, are etymologized according to various scholars. In the following part the lexical data from the ancient glosses and Gaulish loans in Latin and Gallo-Romance languages are summarized. In the second half of the present study the fragments of Gaulish grammar are sketched. The phonetic correspondences are mapped on the Goidelic & Brittonic vs. Gaulish material. The nominal declension is illustrated by the paradigms of the o-, ā-, i-, u-, r-, n- and consonant stems. The case endings are compared with their counterparts in Lepontic, Celtiberian and Old Irish, plus Goidelic and late Indo-European reconstructions. The personal pronouns and demonstratives are illustrated by concrete examples from texts. Here a new etymology is proposed: a hypothetical continuant of IE *eǵō “I” in regu-c cambion from the inscription from Chamalières which is derivable from *reǵō eǵ(ō) knbiom “I straighten the bent one”. Thanks to the inscription from La Graufesenque and the Calendar of Coligny, almost all Gaulish numerals of the first decade are known. On the other hand, it is difficult to reconstruct even one complete paradigm of the verbal conjugation. And so only isolated examples can be analyzed. Finally, the position of Gaulish within Celtic from the point of view of ‘recalibrated’ glottochronology is discussed.

1. The basic information about the borders of ancient Gaul was mediated by Caesar in his De bello Gallico, 1: Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur: Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se different. Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit. ... Eorum una pars, quam Gallos obtinerere dictum est, initium capit a flumine Rhodano: continentur Garumna flumine, Oceano, finibus Belgarum; attingit etiam ab Sequanis et Helvetiis flumen Rhenum; vergit ad septentriones. Belgae ab extremis Galliae finibus oriuntur; pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni; spectant in septentrionem et orientem solem. Aquitania a Garumna flumine ad Pyrenaeos montes et eam partem Oceani, quae est ad Hispaniam, pertinet; spectet inter occasum solis et septentriones. “All Gaul is divided into three parts, one of which the Belgae inhabit, the Aquitani another, those who in their own language are called Celts, in our Gauls, the third. All these differ from each other in language, customs and laws. The river Garonne separates the Gauls from the Aquitani; the Marne and the Seine separate them from Belgae .... One part of these, which it has been said that the Gals occupy, takes its beginning at the river Rhone; it is bounded by the river Garonne, the ocean, and the territories of the Belgae, it borders, too, on the side of the Sequani and the Helvetii, upon the River Rhine, and stretches toward the north. The Belgae rises from the extreme frontier of Gaul, extend to the lower part of the river Rhine; and look toward the north and the rising sun. Aquitania extends from the river Garonne to the Pyrenaeae mountains and to the part of the ocean which is near Spain it looks between the setting of the sun, and the north star.” [translated by W.A. McDevitte & W.S. Bohn]. It is apparent, the Romans used the ethnonym Galli as a synonym to Celtae. The ethnonym has been connected with Cornish gallos, Old Breton gal “might, power, authority”, Irish gal “bravery, courage”. French gaillard “brave, vigorous, stout, robust, healthy” is of the same origin (Pokorny 1959, 351). Less promising seems to be the comparison with Irish gall, pl. gaill, gill “foreigner”, Welsh gâl “inimicus”, pl. galon; it could
be an adaptation of the name of the Gauls, who were in both business and military contacts with the inhabitants of the British Islands in the 4th–7th centuries AD (Holder I, 1638–39).

2. The first written reflex of Gaulish has been identified in the personal name in the Etruscan funerary inscription from the 5th century BC mi Nemetieś “I am a [tomb] of Nemetios” (Schmidt 1996, 6). The Gaulish language proper, or better to say its numerous dialects, used at least four epigraphic traditions, namely the Iberian script on the legends of coins from south Gaul (3rd–2nd cent. BC); the Lugano script borrowed from Leponts, which was used for seven inscriptions from north Italy, including 3 bilinguals (2nd–1st cent. BC); the Greek alphabet, which spread from the Greek colony Massalia in south and central Gaul (3rd–1st cent. BC); and the Latin script, from the time of Caesar’s campaign (51 BC) to the 4th cent. AD. In some inscriptions both Greek and Latin scripts appear together.

3. For our knowledge of the Gaulish language there are the following sources:
(1) Inscriptions and coin legends.
(2) Calendar of Coligny (§ 3.2.).
(3) Medical compendium of Marcellus of Bordeaux (§ 3.3.).
(4) Glossar of Vienna (or so called Endlicher’s glossar), consisting of 18 words (§ 3.4.).
(5) The glosses of antique authors and Gaulish words borrowed in Latin (§ 3.5.).
(6) The Gaulish substratum in the Gallo-Romance languages (§ 3.6.).

3.1. The following choice of the Gaulish epigraphic material from Northern Italy and Gaul should illustrate the various types of the Gaulish texts

3.1.1. The epigraphic tradition of the Cisalpine Gauls is so called according to adaptation of the North Italian alphabets of Etruscan origin, namely Lugano and Sondrio. In Lugano the voiced and voiceless stops were not differentiated. Their language is documented in 7 inscriptions from the 2nd–1st cent. BC, in three cases also with Latin versions.

3.1.1.1. The inscription from Briona (uneared in 1859 in San Bernardino by Briona, 10 km in the northeast from Novara, where is today deposited in the Museums of Lapidaries; LG 73–75)

[N] .. [K] .. ESASIOIKAN | TANOTALIKNOI | KUT^TOS | LEKATOS | ANOKOPOKIOS |
“ ? Descendants of Dannotalos, Quintos – legatus, Andokombogios, SETUPOKIOS | ESANEKOTI | ANAREUIS^EOS | TANOTALOS | KARNI^TUS | TA^KOS^TOUTAS ..
“Setubogios to Exandekottos: Andareuiseos, Dannotalos erected tombstone after the decision of a tribe”

Note:
The symbol “^n” designates an assumed presence of the nasal before stop, which the script Lugano did not differentiate.
The symbol “|” separates the lines of the original inscription.
The point “." corresponds with the original, although not always consistent segmentation of the text.

3.1.1.2. The bilingual from Todi (unearthed in 1839 in a neighbourhood of Todi in Umbria, today in the Etruscan Museum of Pope Gregory in Vatican; LG 76–78)

Side “A” (Latin version)
ATEGNATEI DRVTEI-F..COI[SIS] DRV TEI-F FRATER EIVS MINIMVS LOCA V IT ET STATVIT

Side “B” (Latin version)
[ATEGNATI-DRVTTI-F. ..COI[SIS] DRVTI-F FRATER EIVS MINIMVS LOCA VE ] [ST]ATVITQVI

The senses of both the Latin versions are in principle identical:
“[tomb] of Ategnatos, son of Drutos. Coisis, son of Drutos, his brother youngest, placed [it] and stood”

Side “A” (Gaulish version)
ATEKNATI-TRUT | IKNI-KARNITU | ARTUAŠ KOISIS-T | RUTIKNOS
“for Ategnatos, a son of Drutos, Koisis erected the stelle, son of Drutos”

Side “B” (Gaulish version)
“for Ategnatos, a son of Drutos, Koisis erected the tomb, son of Drutos”

Note 1: The patronymic TRUTIKNOS /Drutignos/ is translated as the “son of Drutos”, in agreement with the Latin version.


3.1.1.3. The bilingual from Vercelli (unearthed in 1960 on the bank of the river Sesia, today deposited in the museum in Vercelli; LG 78–80)

Latin version
FINIS | CAMPO-QVEM | DEDIT | ACISIVS | ARGANTOCOMATER | ECVS-COMVNE M |
“(This is) the boundary to the field which Argantomatercus gave in common

DEIS ET HOMINIB | VS-ITA VTI LAPIDES | IIII STATVTISVNT
to gods and men; – thus 4 stones have been set up”

Gaulish version
AKISIOS-ARKA<TOKO<K> | MATEREKOS-TO-ŠO | KO-TE A^X TOM TEUXO | TONION EU
“Akisios argantokomaterekos, he gave it, a boundary of gods and people.”

Note 1: The compound arganto-komaterekos consists of the word for “silver” and another compound, interpreted by Lambert (2003, 80) as kom- & ater-ekos, where the first component is the prefix “together” and the second component is a derivative of the word ater “father”, similar to Latin patricius. The final result was probably a title designating an important person with a privileged relation to silver, perhaps an administrator of a municipal safe or a local banker. Eska & Wallace (2002, 131, fn. 4) think about the same prefix *kom- + the derivative of the verb root *meH- “to measure”, hence it should be a title perhaps for a ‘treasurer’.
Note 2: The word TEUOXTONION represents the gen. pl. of the compound of the type of dvandva, reflecting Celtic *dēyo- & *gdonio- from IE *deiyo- & *gōmio- “god” & “man” (lit. “terrestrial”).

Note 3: The strange final EU is apparently an abbreviation. Eska & Wallace (2002, 140–42) suppose that is is Cisalpine Celtic *esō *olo *tū (abl. sg.), a loan translation of Latin S.P = de sua pecunia „from his wealth”, cf. Old Irish di=a folud id.

3.1.1.4. The funerary text of the inscription of Voltino (by Lago di Garda) contains both Latin (A) and Celtic (B) parts. The Latin part is written in the Latin alphabet, the Gaulish part is written in the Sondrio variant of the North Etruscan script (Eska & Weiss 1996, 289).

(A) TETVMVS SEXTI DVGIAVA SAŚADIS
“Tetumus, [son] of Sextus, and Dugiava, [daughter] of Saśid- [are buried here]” vel sim.

(B) TOMEDCLEAI OBALDANATINA
“[and] Obalda, [their dear] daughter, set me [i.e. the monument] up.”

3.1.2. The Gallo-Greek tradition means the Gaulish epigraphic monuments written in the Greek alphabet. Most of the inscriptions were discovered at the territory of the lower Rhône and its tributaries Gard and Durance.

3.1.2.1. The dedicatory inscription from Vaison (Vaucluse), unearthed in 1840 (LG 86–87):
σεγομαρος ουιλλονες τοουτιους νομαυςατις ειωρου βηλησαμι σοιν νεμητον
“Segomaros fils de Villû, citoyen de Nîmes, a offert à Belesama cet enclos sacré.”

3.1.2.2. The dedicatory inscription devoted to Taranis, discovered in 1886 in Orgon, Bouches-du-Rhône, today in the Musée Calvet in Avignon (LG 88–89):
ουβρουμαρος δεδε ταρανου βραστολεκαντεμ
“Vebrumaros a offert à Taranus, par reconnaissance, avec la dîme.”

3.1.2.3. The dedicatory inscription from Glanum (Saint-Rémy) (LG 89):
ματρεβο γλανεικαβο βραστολεκαντε
“Aux Mères de Glanum, par reconnaissance, avec la dîme.”

3.1.2.4. Cup from Vallauris, Greek alphabet (Meid 1994, 51):
ουενικοι μεδου “friendly through mead”.

3.1.3. In the number and length of inscriptions richest is the tradition using the Latin alphabet, although is younger than the preceding ones. Most of these inscriptions have their origin in Central Gaul (cf. the map in LG 92).

3.1.3.1. The dedicatory inscription from Néris-Les-Bains, Allier, where it was discovered c. in 1836 (LG 106–07):
BRATRONOS NANTON[T]ICN EPADATEXTORICI . LEVCVTIO SVIOREBE LOGITOI
“Bratonos, fils de Nantonios a établi un leucution (bois sacré?) pour Epadatextorix en as-
association avec ses soeurs.”

Note: Important is the only use of the word for “sister” in the Gaulish lexical corpus.
3.1.3.2. The inscription on a granit from Plumergat, canton d’Auray, with only a partial translation (LG 108–09):

VABROS IIIIOOV ATREBO AGANNOBO DURNEO GIAPO
“Vabros (a offert?) aux Pères-frontières ...”

Note: The word ATREBO represents the dat. pl. of *ater, known from the title gutuater (Caesar, BG VIII, 38).

3.1.3.3. The dedicatory inscription on a stone in the Latin monumental script from Alisia, today Alise-Sainte-Reine, which was determined by G. Poisson already in 1908 (see LG 100). Let us compare the translations of (A) Lambert (1994, 100–03) and (B) Schrijver (1997, 182):

MARTIALIS DANNOTALI IEVRV UCUETE SOSIN CELICNON
(A) “Martialis, son of Dannotalos, has devoted Ucuetis this building,
(B) Martialis, son of Dannotalos, has offered to Ucuetis this celicnon,
ETIC GOBEDBI DUGIINTII UCUETIN IN ALISIIA
(A) and with smiths who honour Ucuetis in Alisia”
(B) which is [[made]] by the smiths who worship Ucuetis in Alisia”

3.1.3.4. The inscription on the lead tablets from Larzac (near Millau) in Latin italics is the longest Gaulish inscription discovered up to the present time, consisting of a total of 160 words. The following example is limited to side 1a in the interpretation of [A] Schmidt (1990, 16–25), [B] Olmsted (1989, 160–62) and [C] Meid (1994, 40–46). In its contents the inscription belongs to the magic texts, here concretely of a warning character designated by Romans as defixiones. The inscription of Larzac is a contract of one of the groups of witches, directed against another group, represented by witches Severa and Tertionikna. The members of the alliance named in the second part of the fragment quoted here rely upon the magic abilities of some sibyl, who has at her disposal an ‘underworld magic’.

1. IN SINDE SE BNANOM BRICTOM[\M]
   A: “Gegen diesen dieser Frauen Zauber,
   B: Discharge this of women’s incantations,
2. I[N EIANOM ANUANA SANA ANDERNA
   A: gegen deren Namen die (acc. pl.) unterweltlichen (der)
   B: in these, the distinct feminine names,
3. BRICTOM UIDLUIAS UIDLU[A]
   A: Zauber der Vidluia Magien (acc. pl.)
   B: with the vision of seers of incantations.
4. TIGONTIAS SO ADSAGSONA SEUE[\RIM]
   A: (der) stehenden (ist) dies. Die Gegenwirkende (nom. sg.) Severa (acc.)
   B: This supplicant of the indicated one, Severa
5. TERTIONICNIM LIDSSATIM LICIATIM
   A: (und) Tertionica (acc.) lidssatim (attr.) liciata (attr.)
   B: Tertionica, a lot caster and letter-writer,
6. EIANOM UO-DUNO-DERCE LUNGET[UT]U // EIANOM VODUI VODERCE LUNGET[\.] UTONID
   A: deren unter-(Grab)hügel-Öffnung sie-soll-legen // B: with a conspicuous outcry to them, she released
   7. TON-ID PONC NITIXSINTOR SI[ES]
3.1.3.5. The inscription from Chamalières (near Clermont-Ferrand) was unearthed in 1971. The text is written again in Latin italics on lead tablets, which were preferred in communication with the other world. The interpretation follows K.H. Schmidt (1981, 260):

ANDEDIÓN UEDIUMI DÍÍUION RISU NARITU MAPON[ON] ARUERNATIN.
“By the magic tablet, I honour the divine Maponos Arvernatis, in whom a god dwells.
LOTITES SNI EDDIC SOS BRIXTÍA ANDERON
Quicken us [in the attack] and the following [men] by the magic of the Anderoi:
C.LUCION, FLORON NIGRINON ADGARION, AEMILION PATERIN,
the invoker C. Lucios Floros Nigrinos, Aemilios Paterin(os),
CLAUDION LEGITUMON, CAELION PELIGN[ON], CLAUDION PELIGN[ON],
Claudios Legitumos, Caeliaos Pelign(os), Claudioes Pelign(os),
MARCION UICTORIN ASIATÍCON. ADDEDILLI
Marcios Victorin(os), Asiati(cos), the son of Addedillos
ETIC SECOUI TONCNAMAN TONCSÍÖONT-IO.
and the Segovii, who will swear the oath.
MEÍON, PONC SESIT, BUET-ID OLLON.
The small thing will become great, when he has sown it.
REGU-C CAMBION EXSOPS PISSIU-MI ISO-C CANTÍ RISSU
I straighten the bent one. Though blind, I will see so by means of the song tablet.
ISON SON BISSÍET.
He will strike that one [the enemy].
LUGE DESSU-(M)MI-ÍIS. LUGE DESSU-MÍ-IS. LUGE DESSU-MÍ-ÍS. LUXE.
I prepare them for Lugus. I prepare them for Lugus. I prepare them for Lugus.
3.1.3.6. Tile from Châteaubleau (Seine-et-Marne) is one of the most recent (3rd–4th cent.) and most recently discovered (1997) inscriptions, maybe a wedding song (see Lambert 2001, 71, 112–13; LG 209–11):

1. NEMNALÍIUMI BENI. UEÍONNA INCOROBOUIDO
   “je célèbre une femme qui est fiancée avec dot de bétail /or/
   qui est menée (au mariage) à Coro Bouido
2. NEÍANMANBE GNÍOU APENI TEMUEUELLE ÊXSETE SI
   dont je ne connais pas les noms et une femme qui est en âge (lit. “dont les pudenda sont
   sombres”) /or/
   qui est consentante (lit. “en cette volonté”) /or/
   et je suis une femme plus noble, vous devez dire /or/ qu’elle dise
3. SUEREGENIATU O QUPRINNOPEMATAMBISSIETE.
   vous la famille /or/ son nom de famille, je demande qu’elle soit une épouse (QUPRINNO =
   comprinna)
4. MIÍHIÉGUMI. SUANTE UEÍOMMIPETAMASSI PAPISSONE
   pour moi /or/ je prie le fils de Kypris,
   qu’il (la) frappe pour moi je dis, par désir je me fiançais, nous te prions, ô Papissonos;
5. SUIREXETESI (or SUNIAETESI…) ÊGÍÍÍINA ANMANBE ÊGUISINI
   il la désirera bien, (elle) étant appelée par ses noms; je l’appelle,
6. SIAXSIOU . BEÍASSUNEBITI MOI/T UPIÍUMMI ATERI
   je chercherai BEÍASSU (le seuil facile? /or/ que tu prospères); il est brisé par moi /or/
   vers le seuil je vois un MOTU, mon père,
7. XSI INDORE CORE. NUANA ÊGUMISINI. BEÍASSUSETE
   dans cet endroit fermé; maintenant, attends; je appelle; BEÍASSU SETE. Elle ira. Appelle-
   moi ‘époux’.
8. SUE CLUIO U SEDAGISAMO CELE UIROIÓNOUE
   Je vous entend. Épouse Sedagisamo(s), un compagnon honnête et juste.
9. ÎÓBÍÍEBÉÍASSUSETE RE GA ÊXSTUMISENDI
   BEÍASSU SETÉ. Elle ira. Appelle-moi ‘époux’.
10. ME . SETINGI PAPISSONEBEÍASSUSETEMETINGISE
    Entre moi et elle, Papissonos, BEÍASSU SETE, entre moi, entre elle,
11. TINGI BEÍASSUSETERE GARISE (or GANSE?) ÊXSTUMISENDI
    BEÍASSU SETE, ils iront /or/ ô reine, appelle-moi ‘épouse’.

There are other inscriptions with more profane contents. The following short texts
are preserved on vessels (see Meid 1994, 51; LG 141–42):

3.1.3.7. Beaker from Banassac, Latin italics:
   NEDÁMON DELGU LINDA “I contain the drinks of the nearest.”
   LUBI RUTENICA ONOBIÁ TIEĐI ULANO CELICNU
   “Aime les (coupes?) rutènes du eau-de-vie?, tu seras un roi pour le banquet “

3.1.3.8. Bottle from Limé, Latin majuscule:
   IBETIS UCIU, ANDECARI BIJITE
   “Drink (2pl.) from this, (and) you will be very amiable”.
3.1.3.9. Remarkably naughty texts in late Gaulish, strongly influenced by Latin, appear on the conic circles outweighed distaffs, part of a rich find discovered north from Autun in eastern Gaul:

NATA UIMPI, CURMI DA “Pretty girl, give beer!” (Meid 1994, 54)
MONI GNATHA, GABI BUḌḌUTON IMON
“Come here, girl, take my little kiss” (Meid 1994, 53) or
“Come here, girl, take my penis” (Watkins).

3.2. The famous Calendar of Coligny (Ain) was unearthed in 1897. It is dated to the end of the 2nd cent. AD, but it apparently represents a late copy of an older version. The calendar is in principle lunar, with the length of the months vacillating between 29 and 30 days, plus two intercalary 30–day-months added every 5 years. During the 5 year cycle there are thus two 385–day years and three 355–day years, with an average year of 367 days (see McCluskey 1990, 165):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year 1: 385–days</th>
<th>Year 2: 355–days</th>
<th>Year 3: 355–days</th>
<th>Year 4: 355–days</th>
<th>Year 5: 355–days</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>In</strong> 30</td>
<td>Riv 30</td>
<td>Gia 30</td>
<td>Edr 30</td>
<td><strong>In</strong> 30</td>
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<td>Can 29</td>
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<td>Ele 29</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Dum</strong> 29</td>
<td>Can 30</td>
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<td>Can 29</td>
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<td>Gia 29</td>
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</table>

Abbreviations of the months: In¹ *₂ Intercalary month 1 & 2, Ana Anagantio-, Can Cantlos, Cut Cutios, Dum Dumann-, Edr *Edrini-, Ele Elembiu, Equ Equos, Gia Giamoni-, Ogr *Ogronn-, Riv Rivros, Sam Samon-, Sim *Simivisonn-.

Notes on the month-names (LG 112–13; RIG III):
I. SAMON, gen. SAMONI – cf. W. haf, B. hañv, OIr. sam-rad “summer” < *samo-;
III. RIVROS, gen. RIVRI – cf. W. rhew, B. reo, rev “intensive cold”, OIr. réud “strong cold” < *(p)reuso- or *ro-iuos “great fest” < *(p)ro-iuostu- (both ideas by Thurneysen), cf. the term iuos in the Calendar (DLG 220, 163);
IV. ANAGAN/ANAGTIO, gen. ANAGANTIO, ANAGTIOS – cf. Anextlo-maros “of a big protection”, the epithet of Apollo, from the verbal base *aneg-, *anag- “to protect”;
V. OGRONN / OGRONN, gen. OGRONI – cf. W. oer, OIr. úar “cold” < Celt. *ogro-;
VI. CVT-/ GVTIOS, gen. QVTIO, QUTI / CVTIO – cf. OIr. guth “voice” and G. gutuater by Lambert or an adaptation of the Greek month-name Κοούτιοζ by Thurneysen (DLG 111);
VII. GIAMON / GIAMONI, gen. GIAMONI – cf. W. gaeaf, B. gouañv, OIr. geim-red “winter” < *giamo-;
VIII. SIMIVIS. SEM.V., gen. SIMIVISONN. SEMIVISO. SIMIVISO < *semi-yesont- “half spring”, cf. OW. guianuin “spring” < Brittonic *yæsant-eino-;
IX. EQVOS, gen. EQVI – apparently the g-Celtic (‘Sequanian’) counterpart of IE *ekyos “horse”; cf. the Greek month-names ἵππος in Calabria and ἵπποδρομος in Thessaly (DLG 138).
X. ELEMBIV / ELEMB., gen. ELEMBI < *elenbʰjo-, perfectly agreeing with Greek ἑλάφος “deer”, cf. the fest ἠλαφηθόλας from Phocis and the corresponding month-name Ἑλαφηβολίων.
XI. AEDRINI / EDRINI – perhaps to OIr. aed “fire” (*aidu-), cf. L. aetas “summer” < *aidʰ-tāt- (DLG 29-30);
In the Calendar there are also other remarkable words, frequently abbreviated:

AMMAN – the term used in the head of the second intercalary month; cf. OIr. *ann “time, moment” (DLG 37).

ANMA-[TU-], ANM-[ATU-] lit. “not good”, i.e. “incomplete” – the term determining the shorter, 29–days-months, in contrary to MAT[U-] “good”, i.e. “complete”, for the “complete” 30-days-months (DLG 43).

CIALLOS B-[LEDN?]IS SONNOCINGOS “the second year course of the sun”, i.e. “the second intercalary”, where CI+ALLOS represents a compound of the demonstrative and the continual of IE *alno- “other”; B..IS could be completed as BLEDNIS or gen. BLEDNIAS “year”, cf. OIr. *bliaidain, W. blwydd, B. bloaz “year” < *bleidni-, and SONNOCINGOS is the compound of SONNO- “sun” and CINGOS, etymologized on the basis of OIr. *cingid “marches” (LG 116–17).

D-[ION?] – probably the abbreviation of the word “day”; cf. W. *dydd, B. de(i)z id. (LG 114).

IVOS(..), IVO, IV – the term designating the beginning and end of the month, perhaps the phases of the Moon (so Thurneysen or Olmsted) or a juridical term corresponding to OIr. *uisse “juste” (Pinault; see DLG 163; LG 114).

LAT[IION?] – the term in the head of the second intercalary month; cf. OIr. laithe “day” < Celt. *lation (DLG 166).

MAT[U-], M-[ATU-] “good”, i.e. “complete”, for the “complete” 30-days-months; cf. Celtiberian acc. pl. *matus and OIr. *maith “good”, OB *mat id. (DLG 186).

MID, M-[ID] – the context MID SAM[IONIOS] and MID X[III], latter about the first intercalary month, indicates the meaning “month” more probably than “mid”. In the Calendar the specific letter Đ, reflecting *ts & *st, was not used at all; it means, the correct spelling of MID could be MIĐ, allowing the projection in *mits < *mïnts < *mēns-, cf. OIr. mí, gen. *mís, W., C., B. mis “month” < Celtic *mēnsan < *mēnsan.


PRINNI LAGET – used about the ANMATU-months., lit. perhaps “falling, i.e. diminishing tree”: PRINNI is probably the gen. of *prinno-, corresponding to prenne “tree” from the Viennese Glossar, W., B. prenn “wood”, OIr. crann “tree”. LAGET has been connected with the root *leg- “light” beginning from Thurneysen (1899, 529), cf. Ir. lagat “diminution”, laigiu “smaller”, W. llai id. (RIG III, 426; DLG 213–14; Olmsted 2001, 36). PRINNI LOVDIN – used about the MATU-months. LOVDIN has to correspond with B. luziañ “emmêler” (RIG III, 426; DLG 213–14), but if the determination of the function and etymology of LAGET is correct, for LOVDIN it is natural to expect the opposite meaning. For this reason it seems best the etymology based on IE *(H)leud- “to grow” (Olmsted 2001, 37).

NOVX in TRINOVX SAMON[II] – apparently “night”, cf. also TRINOX[TION] and further OIr. innocht “tonight”, W. nos “night” (LG 114, 112; Olmsted 2001, 40).
QVIMON – the last word written in the end of the first; perhaps contracted from *co(w)imon or the q-relic of ‘Sequanian’ type (DLG 109).


RIX – can reflect the starting-point *rēk-t-s, derivable from *rek- “to reckon”, i.e. ±”measure” (Olmsted 2001, 45).

SINDIV = OIr. indiu “today”.

3.3. A unique source of the Gaulish language is the medical compendium of Marcellus of Bordeaux, who lived in the 4th and 5th centuries. There are both glosses (e.g. ratis “herba pteridis”, i.e. “fern”, cf. Old Irish raith, Breton raden, Welsh rhedyn id. < *p3tis, further e.g. Lithuanian papártis, Russian paporot’ id. with a partial reduplication) and a complete sentence, here reproduced in the interpretation of W. Meid (1996, 45):

\[
\text{in mon dercom argos axati-son}
\]

“in my eye the brightness should enter”

3.4. A very rich source of information on Gaulish are glosses and loans in other languages, especially in Latin. Quite unique is so-called Viennese or Endlicher’s glossary titled “De nominibus Gallicis”, named according to the librarian, who published it in 1836 (LG 206–7). The glossary consists of 17 entries with equivalents in Vulgar Latin. Sometimes Gaulish words are used to determine the functions of compounds. For instance, the following words appear there: 1. ambe “brook, stream”, 2. anam “marsh”, 3. auallo “apple”, 4. are “before, in front of”, 5. brio “bridge”, 6. doro “entry, door”, 7. dunum “mountain”, 8. lautro “bath”, 9. more “sea”, 10. nanto “valley” & trinanto “three valleys”, 11. nate “son”, 12. onno “river”, 13. prenne “big tree”, 14. roth “steep”, 15. treide “foot”. The only verb, cambiare “to give a thing for a thing”, has the Latin infinitive ending, but the base is Gaulish. It also penetrated into Romance languages: Italian cambiare, French change, cf. the Celtic counterpart in Breton kemm “change”. The Latin equivalents of the nominal forms in the glossary appear in various cases, not only in the nominative: ablative: 1, 5, 6, 8, 10, 15; accusative: 2, 7, 14; vocative: 11. At least in some cases the same situation is probable for the Gaulish words. The oldest manuscript of the glossary is dated to AD 796, when Gaulish was surely extinct. This means that the glossary represents a copy of older texts, recording a late epoch in the development of Gaulish.

3.5. From the glosses of ancient authors and the words of Gaulish origin which became already familiar in Latin, it is possible to identify the following Gaulish words (see LG 204–06; Schmidt 1967; Sowa 1998), e.g.: acaunumarga “of stone-marl” (Pliny), consisting of the word *akaunon “stone” < *akamnon, and *margā, which also appears by Pliny in the compound glisomarga “a kind of the white clay”, cf. F. marne ~ marle “marl” < *margila; alauda “lark” (Pliny) > fr. alouette id.;
alausa “a kind of fish from the Moselle called shad / Culpea alosa” (Ausonius) > F., Pr. alauso, Sp. alosa;

ambactus “vassal, dependent on the lord” (Festus) < *amb(i)-agto- “making around”, cf. W. amaeth “farmer”, OB. ambaith id. (Celtic origin is also apparent in the case of OHG. ambaht “servant”, continuing in Germ. Amt “office, service”);

andabata & andobatta “the gladiator who fights in the helmet without openings for the eyes” (Cicero), i.e. “in blind”, lit. “fighting blind”, where the stem *ando- corresponds to Old Indic andhā- & Avestan anda- “blind”;

arinca “kind of grain, rye or grained wheat” (Pliny) – it is compatible with Greek ἄρινκος “vetch”;

attegia “hut, cottage” (Juvenalis), probably *ad- “to, by” & *tegia “house, roof”, therefore ±”shelter”, cf. OIr. teg, OW. tig “house”;

beber, acc. bebrum “beaver” in late Latin against Latin proper fiber id.; beccus “beak, bill” (Suetonius) > F. bec;

benna “a kind of carriage” (Festus) > F. benne, It. benna;

betulla “birch” (Pliny), cf. late Latin beta and Celtic parallels in OIr. beithe, W. bedw, OB. bedu id.; Pr., Cat. bez, Sp. biezo “birch” are also of Celtic origin;

billus, billa “trunk of the tree” (late) and F. bille id. < G. *bilio- & *biliā, cf. OIr. bile “big tree”;

βράκαι (Diodorus of Sicily), βράκκαι (Hesychius) = L. brācae, brācēs “trousers, breeches” > F. braies, Sp. braga, Romanian bracă, etc. id.

bracis “malt” (Pliny), cf. the Gaulish epitheton Braciaca “of beer”? of the god Mars; the Gaulish or Latin word continues in F. braie; cf. the Celtic parallels as OIr. braich, W. brag “malt”;

brogae “field”, dimin. brogilus (Schol. Juvenal.), F. arch. and onomastic breuil “field” < G. *brogi-, cf. W., B. bro “country”, OIr. mruig id.;

brucaria “heather” (late) > F. bruypère id., cf. OIr. froych, W. grug id. < Celt. *groiko-, besides B. brug id., which represents more probably the Gaulish word borrowed through the Romance mediation, how the change *yr- > br- indicates;

bulga “leathern knapsack, bag” (Festus) > OF. bouge(tte) id. > E. budget, cf. OIr. bolg “bag, belly”;

camminus “road” (7th cent.) > F. chemin, It. cammino, Sp. camino, Cat. camí etc. id., cf. OIr. céimm “walking, step”, W. cam “id., footprint”; cantedon “100 feet” (Isidore of Sevilla) < *kant(o)-pedom, cf. OIr. cét, W. cant “100” & OIr. ed “space, interval”;

carpentum “two-wheeled, covered carriage” (Titus Livius), the original Gaulish form probably was *karbanton, cf. OIr. carpat “war chariot”; the chariot was called after the hamper, the place for the charioteer; related is L. corbis “basket”;

carrus “two-wheeled wagon for transporting burdens” continues in F. char and also E. car; the Gaulish word which has its counterpart in OIr. carr “vehicle”, W. car, OB. carr id., replaced its Latin equivalent proper, namely currus “war-chariot”; all from the protoform *gros-, from the verb *kers- “to run”;


cateia “a kind of spear, probably barbed”, cf. OIr. caithid “throws”;
cauannos “owl” > F. chouan, chouette, cf. W. cwan, OB. couan, B. kaouann id.,
进一步 OHG. hūwo id.;
cectoria, cectorium “furrow forming the border of a field”, cf. OIr. cécht “plow
or its handle”;
cis(s)ium “light two-wheeled vehicle, cabriolet”, cf. OIr. cess “knitted basket” < *kistā;
cleta “hamper, hurdle” > F. claira id., Pr., Cat. cleda “grate in the window”, cf. OIr.
cliath “hamper, hurdle”, W. clwyd “barriere” < pre-Celtic *kleitā;
combrus “felled trees” (6th–7th cent.), “dam” (11. st.) < G. *komberos, cf. OIr.
commar, W. cymer, B. kemper “confluence”;
couinnus “war-chariot of the Brittons and Belgae” (Mela), W. cywain “coach-
crocina “suit of the skin”, cf. OIr. crocenn “(suit of) skin”, B. kroc’hen “skin”;
curucus “craft formed from the construction covered by skin”, cf. OIr. curach, W.
corwg id. < *koruk-, cf. Greek κόρυκος “leathern sack”;
KOUMI “alcoholic drink of fermented barley” (Dioscorides) = G. kurmi “beer”
(inscription from Autun), cf. OIr. cuirm “beer”, OW. curum, W. cwrf, B. coruf
“beer”;
damna “roe, antelope, gazelle” > F. daim, cf. OIr. dam “bull, deer”, damán
“fawn” (*damogneg-), W. dafad “ram” (*damato-);
drungus “troop of enemies”, cf. OIr. drong “group, band, gang”, OB. drogn
“troop”;
esox “a fish of the Rhine”, maybe “pike” (Pliny), cf. OIr. éo, gen. iach “salmon”,
W. ehowc, MB. eheuc id.;
esseddum “two-wheeled war-chariot used by Gauls, Belgae and Brittons” (Caesar,
Vergilius) < *en-sedo- or via assimilation from *ad-sedo-, cf. the Latin gloss
assenita “seat of quadriiuga”, W. ased “wagon” < *adsed-;
gaezum “spear, javelin”, cf. OIr. gae “spear”, MW. gwaew “spear, javelin”;
cludius “sword”, cf. OIr. claidib, W. cledyff & cledydd id. (the difference c : g
was perhaps caused by the orthographic vacillation or by Etruscan mediation);
glastum “blue colour” (Pliny), cf. OIr. glas “blue-green”, W. glas “blue”;
gulbia “beak, bill” (Isidore of Sevilla), cf. Mfr. gulba id., W. gyfign id.;
imata “soup of a milk, mash” (6th cent.), cf. OW. iot, OB. iot “mash”;
lancea “spear” (Nonius, Diodorus of Sicily), cf. OIr. dó-leicim “I throw”;
leucas ‘the Gaulish mile, c. 2.4 km’ (Saint Hieronymus), leuga id. (Isidore of
Sevilla) > F. lieue > E. league id.;
linna “mantle” (Isidore of Sevilla), cf. OIr. lenn “mantle”, OB. lenn “a piece of
linen, veil, curtain” < *płtnā, cf. OCS. plťno “linen”;
mannus “pony, little horse” < G. *mandu-, cf. Basque mando “mule” < Celtic;
OIr. menn “young animal, kid”;
nausum “ship” (Ausonius), cf. OIr. nau id.;
olca “arable field” (Gregor of Tours) > Pr. olca, F. ouche (dialect. also “garden”),
Sp. huelga;
petorritum “four-wheeled chariot” (Festus), cf. G. petuar[ios] “fourth”; OIr. ri(u) th “course”;
petia & pecia (late) > F. pièce “piece” from G. *petsi-, cf. W. peth, B. pez(h), OIr. cuít “piece” < Celt. *k(e)zdi-;
pititus (7. st.) > F. petit “small”;
riga “furrow” (late) < G. *rika, from here also OPr. riga, F. raie id., cf. OB. rec, MW. rych id., all from *prko/-ā;
rodarum “plant with the leaves which become red” (Pliny) < *(H)rourdʰ- “red”; rusca “bark” (9th cent.) > OPr., Cat. rusca “bark (of oak)”, F. ruche “beehive”, cf. OIr. rúsc “bark”, W. rhisgl id.;
sagum, sagus, saga “Gaulish tunic” (Isidore, Polybius) > F. saie;
sugia “soot” (late) > F. suie, Pr. suja, suga, from G. *sudia, cf. OIr. siide id.;
taratrum “borer, gimlet” (Isidore of Sevilla) > F. tarière, OPr. taraire, Sp. taladro, cf. W. taradr, MB. tararz, OIr. tararath;
tarinca “iron nail” > OF. taranche “big iron pin”, Pr. tarenco id., besides another gloss taringa “iron pins”, cf. OIr. tairnge “iron nail, point”;
tinca “tench” (Ausonius) > F. tanche, OF. tenche, It. tinca, Sp., Pr. tenca;
uassus “vassal, servant”, cf. OIr. foss, W. gwas id. < *upo-stH₂,0- “standing beyond”;
uātēs, uātis “prophet, poet”, sr. G. *yātēs “caste of prophets” (Strabo IV, 4.4: Ochants), OIr. fáith “prophet”;
vertragus “kind of a hound” < G. uer- “super-” & *trag- “foot”, from here OF. viautre, Old Milanese veltres, It. veltro “kind of a big dog”;
uiiriola “bracelets” (Pliny) > F. virole, Furlan viruele etc., id.

3.6. Another valuable source of knowledge of the Gaulish lexicon is substratum words in the Gallo-Romance languages (according to various scholars as many as 160), frequently appearing also in other Romance groups (see LG 187–203):
Pr. agreno “black-thorn”, Cat. aranyo id. < G. *agran(i)o-, cf. OIr. áirne and W. eirin, B. irin <*agrinia & *agrīno-;
Pr. banno “horn” < G. *bannă, cf. W. ban “tip, point”, OIr. benn “point, horn”; F. barre “pole, stick”, barrière “gratte, lattice; dam”, cf. OIr. barr “top (of a tree)”, W. barr;
F. dial. (Limousin) bec, (Creuse) beco, It. dial. bega “bee, wasp”, cf. OIr. bech “bee”, W. beg-eigr “hornet”;
F. boc “he-goat” < G. *bukko-, cf. Ir. bocc, W. bwch, B. bouc’h id.;
F. boue “mud”, cf. W. baw id.;
F. briser “to break”, cf. OIr. brissid “breaks”;
OF. bruisier “to press, wound, knock”, cf. OIr. bruīd “crushes”;
F. chêne, OF. chesne, chasne “oak” < Celt. *kassano-/*kassino-;
F. darne “piece of a fish”, cf. B. darn “part”;
OF. drille “piece of a cloth, hadr”, cf. W. dryll, B. draiilh “piece”;
F. dial. droue “cockle” < G. *drayā, cf. B. draok id. < *drayākā;
F. dru “stout, vigorous, dense” < G. *druto-, cf. W. drud “agile, bold, cheeky, arrogant”;
F. flanelle “woollen cloth”, dimin. of the Gaulish protoform *gīlanā, cf. W. gwlan,
B. gloan, OIr. olann “wool”;
F. gaillard “bold, merry, jolly” from G. *galiā “force”, cf. OIr. gal “passion of battle”, W. gallu “I can”;
F. glaner “to glean”, OPr. glenar id., cf. OIr. glenn- “to chose”;
OF. grenon “beard”, Pr. gren “moustache”, cf. the epithet of the Gaulish Apollo Grannus
and further OIr. grann “beard”, OW. grann “eyebrow”;
F. grève “sandy bank”, West F. dial. groue, cf. W., B. gro “river sand”;
Pr. garra, F. jarret “hollow of the knee” (dimin. *garrito-), cf. B. garr “leg”, W. gar “leg, thigh”, Ir. gairri “calf of the leg”;
F. meague “whey”, sr. stir. medg “curdled milk”, W. maidd < Celt. *mizgā;
F. mouton “wether”, It. montone “ram” < G. *multō, cf. OIr. molt, W. mollt, B.
maout “ram”;
Pr. pairol “pot, jar”, cf. W. pair, OIr. coire id. < *kəɾi-o-;
F. roche “rock”, cf. B. roc’h id. < *rokkā;
F. soc “ploughshare”, metaphorically transferred from the original meaning “pig”,
cf. OIr. socc “snout; pig”, W. hwch, B. houc’h “boar” < *sukko-;
F. dial. (Picardian, Norman) souche “stump”, (Berrichon) suque, (Piemontese) siūka, It.
socca, Aragonese zoque < G. *tsukkā, cf. Germ. Stock “stick, pole; stump”;
F. talus “slope”, cf. OIr. taul “forehead, face, prominence”, W., B. tal “face” < *talu-;
F. tan “bark of the oak” < G. *tanno- “kind of the oak”, cf. B. tann, C. glas-
tannen id.
F. trogne “red face”, cf. W. trwyn “nose”;
F. truand “beggar” < G. *trugant-, cf. OIr. truag “unfortunate, wretch”, W. tru
id.;
F. vandoise “white-fish < G. *yindesiā, from the stem *yindo- “white”, cf. Ir. find,
W. gwynn, B. gwenn id.;
F. vanneau “plover”, cf. OIr. fannall, B. gwennili, W. gwennol “swallow”;
F. ver(g)me “alder”, cf. Ir. fern, W. gwern id., B. gwern “id.; marsh, swamp”.

GAULISH LANGUAGE
4.1. Gaulish vs. Insular Celtic - phonetic correspondences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IE *</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p-</td>
<td>OIr. én, W. edn, OC. hethen, OB. etn-, MB. ezn, B. evn, ein “bird” &lt; *petno-; cf. Ogam Ena-barri “bird’s head”, G. ND Etnosus (Bourges)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-p-</td>
<td>Ir. caera, gen. caeracht “sheep” (*caerach : *caeracos), W. caer-iwrch “he-roe” &lt; *kapero-; cf. G. NP Caeracates (Tacitus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pt-</td>
<td>OIr. secht, MW. seith, C. seyth, B. seis, G. sextan “7” &lt; *septn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-b-</td>
<td>OIr. aball, W. afall, B. avallem “apple-tree”, late G. aullo, cf. NL Aballo &lt; *abhrno-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bʰ</td>
<td>OIr. bráth(a)ir, pl. brodyr, MB. breuzr, B. breur, pl. breudeur “brother” &lt; *bʰrātēr, cfr. G. ND Bratrones (Néris-de-Bains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-</td>
<td>OIr. túath “kin, tribe, people”, MW. tut “people, land”, W. túd, C. tus, B. tud “people” &lt; *teutā; cf. G. ND Teutates / Toutatis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-t-</td>
<td>OIr. cath, W. cad, C. cas “fight”, cf. G. NV Catu-rīges &lt; *katu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-</td>
<td>OIr. derc “eye”, B. derc’h “sight”, cf. G. in mon derco “in my eye” (Marcellus) &lt; *derk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dʰ-</td>
<td>OIr. dorus “door” &lt; *dʰyorestu-, W., OB. dor &lt; *dʰyorā, cfr. G. duorico “colonnade”, late doro “ostium” (Marcellus);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dʰ-</td>
<td>OIr. rúad, W. rhudd, OB. ruz “red” &lt; *roydʰo-; cf. G. NV Roidius, Ande-roudus, ND Rudianus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-</td>
<td>OIr. coll, W., OB. coll “hazel” &lt; *koslo-, cf. G. NL Cosla, today Coole, and Coslus, today Coolus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-k-</td>
<td>OIr. luch, gen. lochad “mouse” &lt; *lukōts, gen. *lukotos, W. llyg, OB. loc, B. pl. logod, W. llygod &lt; *lukotes; cf. G. NP Lucotios, Λουκότικος ‘son of mouse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ks-</td>
<td>OIr. tréise “force” &lt; *treksiā, treisse “stronger” &lt; *trekṣio-, W. trech id. &lt; *trekso-; cf. G. NV Trexius,-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-g-</td>
<td>OIr. teg “house” &lt; *(s)teg-os-, OW. twg, W. tǐ, C. ti, OB. tig, B. ti id, cf. G. &gt; L. attegia “cottage” (Juvenalibus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gʰ-</td>
<td>OIr. glan, W. glān, OB. glan “pure” &lt; *gʰ[H]-no-, cf. G. NL Glanum, Glanis, Glain etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gʰ-</td>
<td>Mfr. ligim “I lie”, W. lleu “to lay”, G. legasit “offerted” &lt; *legʰ-ā-s-ti + -t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰ-</td>
<td>OIr. cét, W. cant, B. kant “100” &lt; *kʰtom; cf. G. *kantο- in the measure of distance canedetum = *kand-edum “100 steps” &lt; *kʰtō-pedom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kʰ-</td>
<td>OIr. deich, OW. -dec, W. deg, C., B. dek, G. decam (Limoges) “10” &lt; *deḵm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰ-</td>
<td>OIr. gnáth “known”, W. gnawd “habit” &lt; *gnōto-, cf. G. NV Eposo-gnātus “known through horse”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʰ-</td>
<td>OIr. rigain “queen”, W. rhiain “girl, virgin”, G. dat. rigani “reginae” (Lezoux) &lt; *rēgnī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰ-</td>
<td>OIr. gam, OW. gaem, W. gauaf, OC. goyf, B. gouaŭv “winter” &lt; *gʰjem-o-, cf. the Gaulish winter month giamon[ios] (Coligny)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰ-</td>
<td>OIr. cethair, W. pedwar, B. pevar “4” &lt; *kʰetgroes, cf. G. petuar[ios] “4th” (Graufesenque)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

OIr. *ben* “woman”, OW. *ben*, W. *benyw* “female” < *gwenâ*, G. gen. pl. *bhanom* “mullierum” (Larzac)


OIr. *sam*, W., C. *haf*, OB. *ham*, B. *hayv* “summer” < *sâmHo-*, cf. the Gaulish month *Samónius* (Coligny) = OIr. *samain*; G. > F. dial. *samará* “June”


OIr. *sceirt* “to spit, vomit”, OB. *scruitiam “I spit”, G. (Marcellus of Bordeaux) *scrisum(i)-io* “that I spit”

OIr. *selg* = MB. *felch* “spleen” < *spelâ-; cf. G.-L. *fâvissa* “tank, sump” < *speyo-“cavity”?


OIr. nom. pl. f. *teir*, G. *tîdres* “3” (f.) < Celt. *tiôres* < *tîr-es*; cf. OIr. acc. pl. f. *têora*, W., B. *teîr* < *tîr-âs


OIr. *muir*, W. *mór*, C., B. *mor* “sea” < *morî-, cf. G. *more* “mare” (Viennese glossar), *Are-morići* etc.

OIr. *liach* “shining”, W. *llug* < *leykos*, cf. G. NL *Leuco-mago* “pure field”, ND *Le/oucius* (Mars)

OIr. *milis*, W. *melys* “sweet” < *melit-ti-; cf. G. NV *Meliddus, Melissus* << *melit-to-

OIr. *marb*, W. *marw*, C. *marw*, B. *maro* “died”, G. > F. dial. *marv* “rigid, insensitive” < *strigo-


OIr. *dechmad*, W. *degfed*, B. *dekved*, G. (Graufesenque) *decametos* “10th” < *dekm-eto-
n- OIr. ni, ní, na, W., C. ny, B. ne, G. (Lezoux, Larzac) ne “not”
-n- OIr. sen, W., C., B. hen “old” < *seno-; cf. G. NV Seno-gnato, Seno-virus, Seno-rix
ɾ OIr. NL Human-rith, W. rydh, OC. rid, OB. rit, red “ford” < *pɾtʰu-; cf. G. Ritu-magos, today Radepoon, Mapo-ritum (“son’s ford”), etc. OIr. carr, W. cár, B. karr “wagon” < *kɾs-, cf. G. > L. carrus
ラー OIr. lethan, W. llydan, OB. litan, B. ledan “wide, large” < *pʰl̥ʔts-, cf. G. NL Litana (silva), Litano-briga
η OIr. imb-, imm- “around”, W. am-, G. amb(i)- < *ambʰi- < *H₂g(i)-bʰi-
⁻ OIr. ét “jealousy”, W. add-iant “longing” < *iŋt-, cf. G. NV Iantu-maros = Ir. étmar “jealous”
⁻ OIr. nóe, nuae, W. newydd, C. newyth, OB. nevid, B. nevez, G. (Lezoux) nuiio.. “new” < *nuyio-
⁾ OIr. fer, W. gwr “man” < *giro-; cf. G. NV Uiros (coin), Seno-irus, Uiro-marus, NL Uiro-dunum, today Verdun, etc.
⁻ OIr. lind “pool; liquid”, W. lynn “drink; lake”, OB. lín “pool, lake”, B. lenn < *lindʰ-; cf. G. (Banassac) pl. linda “drink”
ᵘ OIr. dub, OW. Dub-, W. du, OC. duv, B. duw “black” < *dʰubʰ-uv-; cf. G. NF Dubis, today Doubs, or the well La Dhuine (*dubínā), from which the brook Font noire flows out today
⁻ OIr. lí “colour”, W. lliw, OC. liu, B. liou id. < *liu-o-; cf. G. NV gen. Lio-mari, etc.
⁾ OIr. dún “fortification”, W. NL Din, OB. din “arch” < *dʰuño-; cf. G. -dunum in the names of fortifications; dunum “enim montem” in the viennese glosses
ᵉ OIr. sen, W., C., B. hen “old” < *seno-, cf. G. NV Seno-rix, Seno-virus, Seno-carus, etc.
ᵃ OIr. all “beyond”, W., OB. all “other”, G. (Graufesenque) allos “second” < *alno-; cf. NP Allobrog-ae, *es = W. allfr “foreigner” (*”of other side of boundary”)
孬 OIr. oll “big, great”, W., C., B. oll “all” < *olno-, cf. G. (Chamalières) ollon, NV Ollognatus
คำตอบ OIr. rí, gen. ríg, Ogam gen. -rigas, W. rhi “king” < *rēgʰ-s, gen. -os; cf. G. Albio-, Bitu-, Dubin-rux, all “world’s king”
جدد OIr. máth(a)ir = G. (Larzac) matir < *mātʰr-, cf. W. modryb, C. modereb, OB. motrep “aunt of the maternal side” < *mātʰr̥ʔi
Cම Cම OIr. athir “father” < *p³jér, G. voc. ater < *p³jēr, dat. pl. atreo “patribus” < *p³jēbʰ-os; cf. W. edrydd “dwelling” (“father’s [house]”) = Mr. aithre < Celt. *atris
ᵉi OIr. riað(a)im “I go, ride”, W. rhwydd-hau “to hurry” < *reidʰ-; cf. G. > L. r(a)eda “four-wheeled wagon”, similarly OIr. dé-riad “carriage and pair”
ᵃi OIr. gae, gen. ga “spear”, MW. gwaew, OB. gauaiguio “spear, javelin” (*uo-gaiso-) < *gaiso-; cf. G. > L. gaesium “spear, javelin” (Servius, Nonius), also G. NV Ario-gaisus, Γαιοστο-πιζ, etc.
ᵈ OIr. óin, late. oen, MW., C. un, B. unan “one” < *oino-, cf. G. NV Oinos
ᵉy OIr. tuath “tribe, people”, MW. tu “people, state”, W. tiu “landscape”, B. tud “people” < *tegāª; cf. G. ND Teutatis / Toutates, NV Teuta, Teutalus, Teuta-gonus, Teuto-matus, besides Con-toto, Uiro-touta
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OIr. úa, ó “from, through, with”, OW. hou, velš. o “if”, o “from”</th>
<th><strong>au</strong></th>
<th>Gaulish</th>
<th>Lepontic</th>
<th>Celtiberian</th>
<th>Old Irish &lt; Goidelic</th>
<th>late IE</th>
<th>early IE</th>
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<td>-os</td>
<td>-os</td>
<td>in fer &lt; *wiros</td>
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<td>-om</td>
<td>-om</td>
<td>scél</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-on/-om</td>
<td>-om</td>
<td>-om</td>
<td>in₃ bferᵃ &lt; *wirom</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>indᵃ firᵃ &lt; *wirí</td>
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<td>-ui</td>
<td>-ui</td>
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<td>-ei</td>
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<td>-u</td>
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<td>fer &lt; *wirom</td>
<td>fer(a)ib &lt; *wirombl</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nom. pl. m.</td>
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<td>-oi</td>
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<td>-uš</td>
<td>-uš</td>
<td>scél</td>
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<td>-uš</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acc. m.</td>
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<td>Voc.</td>
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<td>-en</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>annaᵃ firᵃ &lt; *wirús</td>
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<td>-um</td>
<td>-um</td>
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<td>-oð</td>
<td>-oð</td>
<td>innaᵃ bferᵃ &lt; *wirom</td>
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<td>-oï</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note: The symbols Ḡ, ḿ, ḇ designate mutations, concretely Ḡ = gemination, if the word was terminated in -s, ḿ = lenition, if the word was terminated in a vowel, ḇ = nasalisation, if the word was terminated in a nasal.
### á-stems: OIr. *tuath* “kin, tribe”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Gaulish</th>
<th>Lepontic</th>
<th>Celtiberian</th>
<th>Old Irish &lt; Goidelic</th>
<th>late IE</th>
<th>early IE</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>in&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;*tuath&lt;sub&gt;1&lt;/sub&gt; &lt; *touță</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>-an/-im</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>in&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;*duaith&lt;sub&gt;3&lt;/sub&gt; &lt; *touțim</td>
<td>-ām</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
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<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>a&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;*thuath&lt;sub&gt;1&lt;/sub&gt; &lt; *touță</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>-as</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>inna&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;*tuaiθê&lt;sup&gt;Ω&lt;/sup&gt; &lt; *touțâs</td>
<td>-âs</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>-ai/-i</td>
<td>-ai</td>
<td>-ai</td>
<td>(do)nd&lt;sup&gt;5&lt;/sup&gt;*tuaith &lt; *touțî</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. Instr.</td>
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<td>-að</td>
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<td>Abl.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>tuatha</td>
<td>-âd</td>
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</table>

### i-stems: OIr. *flaith* “rule, government”

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Case</th>
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<th>Lepontic</th>
<th>Celtiberian</th>
<th>Old Irish &lt; Goidelic</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>-is</td>
<td>-is</td>
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<td>-im</td>
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<td>Voc.</td>
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<td>-i</td>
<td></td>
<td>flaith &lt; *wlati</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>flaitho, -a &lt; *wlatois?</td>
<td>-eyos</td>
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<td>-ei</td>
<td>-ei</td>
<td>flaith &lt; *wlati</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loc. Instr.</td>
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<td>-eι</td>
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<td>-ið</td>
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<td>flaith &lt; *wlati</td>
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In Ogam, the genitive plural for *flaith* appears as *wlati* in the nominative singular and *wlati* in the accusative singular.
### Gaulish Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loc.</th>
<th>Gaulish</th>
<th>Lepontic</th>
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<th>early IE</th>
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<td><em>fla(i)thib</em> &lt; <em>wlatibi</em></td>
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#### u-stems: OIr. *guth* “voice”

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<th>Celtiberian</th>
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<th>early IE</th>
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<td>Voc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>guth</em> &lt; <em>gutum</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>guth</em> &lt; <em>gut</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
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<td>-uei</td>
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<td>gotho, -&lt; <em>gutum</em></td>
<td><em>-ous</em></td>
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<tr>
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<td><em>-ewi</em></td>
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<td>goth(a)ib &lt; <em>guteubim</em></td>
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#### r-stems: OIr. *ath(a)ir* “father”

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<td><em>pojēri</em></td>
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<td>Instr.</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.-Acc. du.</th>
<th>Gaulish</th>
<th>Lepontic</th>
<th>Celtiberian</th>
<th>Old Irish &lt; Goidelic</th>
<th>late IE</th>
<th>early IE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>athir</em> &lt; <em>(p)atere</em></td>
<td><em>pojēre</em></td>
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<td>Dat.</td>
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<td><em>athar</em> &lt; <em>(p)atrou</em></td>
<td><em>pojēre</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>athar(a)ib</em> &lt; <em>(p)atribim</em></td>
<td><em>pojēbrim</em></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### n-stems: OIr. cú “dog”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gaulish</th>
<th>Lepontic</th>
<th>Celtiberian</th>
<th>Old Irish &lt; Celtic</th>
<th>late IE</th>
<th>early IE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. sg.</td>
<td>-ou/-u</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>cú &lt; *kwū</td>
<td>*kwō</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>-uos</td>
<td></td>
<td>-unos</td>
<td>coin &lt; *kwonim</td>
<td>*kwonim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-unei</td>
<td>con &lt; *kunos</td>
<td>*kunos</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-unu</td>
<td>Ogam Broinionas coin &lt; *kwonei</td>
<td>*kwonei</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-uned</td>
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<td>Nom.-Acc. du.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>coin &lt; *kwone</td>
<td>*kwone</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>con &lt; *kunou</td>
<td>*kunou</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>con(a)ib &lt; *kunobim</td>
<td>*kunobim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
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<td>con &lt; *kunās</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>con &lt; *kwonōm</td>
<td>*kwonōm</td>
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<td>Loc.</td>
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</table>

### Consonantic stems: OIr. rí “king”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gaulish</th>
<th>Lepontic</th>
<th>Celtiberian</th>
<th>Old Irish &lt; Goidelic</th>
<th>late IE</th>
<th>early IE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. sg.</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>ri &lt; *rīgs</td>
<td>*rēģs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rig &lt; *rīgim</td>
<td>*rēģm</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>-os</td>
<td>-os</td>
<td>ri = Nom.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-ei</td>
<td>rig &lt; *rīgos</td>
<td>*rēgos</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
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<td>Ogam Icorigas</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rig &lt; *rīgei</td>
<td>*rēgei</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.1. The personal pronouns are attested only in the reinforcing or enclitic roles (LG 69; Rubio Orecilla 1997):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person (nom.)</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Examples and parallels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg. nom. (&lt; acc.)</td>
<td>mi &lt; *mē</td>
<td>ande dion uediu-mi &lt; *μδί dijom yeidō mē “ver- einen Gott ehre ich” = Gothic in-wetib gup (de Bernardo Stempel 2001, 164-68), exsops pissa-mi &lt; *eks-ol's k’issiō mē “blind, I will see” (both Chamalières; see LG 159-60); cf. OIr. mē, W. mi “I”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg. dat.</td>
<td>mi &lt; *moi</td>
<td>iexs-tu-mendi &lt; *tis-tu-mo(oi)ndi(n) (Châteaubleau; Schrijver 2001, 138)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg. abl.</td>
<td>me or med met &lt; *med</td>
<td>tomedeclai &lt; *to-med-ek-lai-e (Voltonio; Eska &amp; Weiss 1996, 290) or *to-med-ek-lai? met-ingi-set-ingi “between me (and) between her” (Châteaubleau; Lambert 2001, 112)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg. nom.</td>
<td>tu &lt; *tī</td>
<td>iexs-tu-mendi “say you me that” (Châteaubleau; see Schrijver 2001, 138)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg. dat.</td>
<td>ti &lt; *tōi</td>
<td>tiedi = tedi (Banassac) &lt; *tē etsi &lt; *tōi etsi “tibi est” (DLG 140). lotites sniœedic &lt; *sniœic-tis-ti-e (Chamalières; see LG 69, 156)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg. acc.</td>
<td>ti &lt; *tē</td>
<td>met-ingi-set-ingi “between me (and) between her” (Châteaubleau; Lambert 2001, 112)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg. nom. f.</td>
<td>si &lt; *sī-</td>
<td>iexsete si ? (Châteaubleau), cf. pl. sies (LG 69, 169, 210); cf. OIr. si, W. hī “she”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg. abl. f.</td>
<td>set &lt; *sed</td>
<td>met-ingi-set-ingi “between me (and) between her” (Châteaubleau; Lambert 2001, 112)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl. nom.</td>
<td>sni(s) &lt; *snē(s)</td>
<td>lotites sniœedic &lt; *sniœic-est-kē (Chamalières); cf. OIr. sni, MW., OB. ni, MC. ny (see DLG 235; Katz 1998, 51, 54, 58-59, 79; contra: LG 156) cantirrissusonson = *canti+(u)irts=suis+onson; cf. OB han, B. hon “our” (LG 160; RIG II. 2, 280)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl. gen.</td>
<td>onson &lt; *soms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl. nom.?</td>
<td>suis &lt; *syēs</td>
<td>cantirrissus = *canti+(u)irts=suis (Chamalières; see LG 69, 160); iexsetesi sue (Châteaubleau; cf. Schrijver 2001, 139; sue cluiou “je vous entend” (Lambert 2001, 109) cf. OIr. si, MW. chwi, OB. huì, MC. why (Katz 1998, 51)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 3.4.2. Other pronouns

**eianom** gen. pl. f., *eiabi* dat./instr. pl. f. (Larzac) from the stem *ei̯ā- or *esįā- (Schrijver 1997, 63);

**isoc & ison?** (both Chamalières); cf. Lepontic *išos*, Celtiberian *iste*, Latin *iste* “that” (Schrijver 1997, 63);

*iixsi* “the same” (Châteaubleau); cf. L. *ipsi* (Lambert 2001, 108);

*“sindos: insinde se bnanom brictom “in(to) the magic of women here” (Larzac),
indas bnas “the women” = OIr. acc. pl. *inna mná* (Schrijver 1997, 49); maybe also *sendi* (acc. sg. f.?) in *ıexstumı-sendi* “appelle, toi, celle-ci pour moi” (Lambert 2001, 111);

*sonda* (nom. sg. f.) in *onda boca* “this mouth”, cf. W. *honn* “this” f. (Schrijver 1999, 48-49);

**sosio** in *Buscilla* sosio *legasit* “Buscilla has offered this” (Schrijver 1997, 49);

**sosin** “that” (nom. sg. ntr.) in *sosin celicnon* (Alise-Sainte-Reine), σοσιν νεμετον (Vaison-La-Romaine).

### 4.4. Numerals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gaulish</th>
<th>Old Irish</th>
<th>Gaelic</th>
<th>Manx</th>
<th>Welsh</th>
<th>Cornish</th>
<th>Breton</th>
<th>Celtiberian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>oínos</em> (NV)</td>
<td>oín-, óén-</td>
<td>aon</td>
<td>un</td>
<td>un</td>
<td>vn</td>
<td>un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>uo-dui “2x”</td>
<td>dâu</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>dau</td>
<td>dwy</td>
<td>daou</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tidres</td>
<td>tri</td>
<td>teoir</td>
<td>tri</td>
<td>tri</td>
<td>tair</td>
<td>try, tri</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>petuar[os]</td>
<td>cetha(i)r</td>
<td>cethéoir</td>
<td>ceithir</td>
<td>kaire</td>
<td>pedwar</td>
<td>peswar</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>pinpe-, pompe</td>
<td>cóc</td>
<td>coig</td>
<td>queig</td>
<td>pump</td>
<td>pump</td>
<td>pump</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>suexos</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>shey</td>
<td>chwech</td>
<td>whe(g)h</td>
<td>c’houec’h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sextan/m-</td>
<td>secht</td>
<td>seachd</td>
<td>shiaigt</td>
<td>saith</td>
<td>seyth, syth</td>
<td>seiz</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>oxtu-</td>
<td>ocht</td>
<td>ochd</td>
<td>hoght</td>
<td>wytth</td>
<td>eth</td>
<td>eiz</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>namet[os]</td>
<td>noi</td>
<td>noai</td>
<td>noy</td>
<td>naw</td>
<td>naw</td>
<td>n ao, nav</td>
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<td>deich</td>
<td>deich</td>
<td>jeih</td>
<td>deg</td>
<td>dek</td>
<td>dek</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>canto-</td>
<td>cét</td>
<td>ceud</td>
<td>keead</td>
<td>cant</td>
<td>cans</td>
<td>k ant</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
4.5. Verbal morphology

The verbal morphology of Gaulish is mapped only very fragmentarily. It is difficult to complete the paradigms and for this reason the individual forms will be analyzed (LG 64-66):

**Present indicative**

1 sg. thematic in -u & -ou [-ū] < *-ō, frequently with reinforcing -mi (*mē)

\[ \text{delgu “je contiens” (Bannasac); gniiou “je connais” & cluiou “j’entends” (Châteaubleau)} \]

\[ \text{uediíumi “I do honour”, pissíumi “je vois” (Chamalières); iegu-mi “je dis” (Châteaubleau)} \]

1 sg. athematic in -mi & -me < *-mi

ιμμι (Graffiti from Pennes-Mirabeau), \[ \text{geneta imi “I am a girl/daughter” (conic circles outweighed distaffs from Eastern Gaul)} \]< *es-mi.

\[ \text{petame “je demande” (Châteaubleau), cf. W. pedaf, B. pedañ “je prie”, borrowed from L. petō, -ere.} \]

2 sg. athematic in -si?

\[ \text{esi “thou are” (Larzac)} < *essi; the usual derivation from the 3 sg. *esti is more difficult (cf. DLG 140).} \]

3 sg. thematic in -t < *-ti

\[ \text{senit (Larzac), sesiti (Chamalières), neat (Argenton-sur-Creuse).} \]

3 sg. athematic

\[ \text{tiedi = tiedi (Banassac)} < *tī etsi < *toi esti “tibi est” (DLG 140).} \]

1 pl. thematic in -massi?

\[ \text{petamassi (Châteaubleau)} < *-mosi, cf. OIr. absolute –mai < *-mosi (Lambert 2001, 101) \]

3 pl. thematic in -nt(i)

\[ \text{senant (Paris, Pilier des Nautes), [t]αχταν (Beaucaire), (passive) diligentir (Larzac) (relative) dugionti-io “qui honorent” (Alise), sagitionti-ias or nt-iias “qui cher-} \]

\[ \text{chent” (Larzac).} \]

**Future**: desiderative, sometimes deponent

1 sg. siäxiou “je chercherai” (Châteaubleau) < *si-sag-siō.

1 sg. deponent marcosior “que je fasse le cheval” (conic circles outweighed distaffs).
1 sg. deponent velor “je voudrais” (Marcellus of Bordeaux; see LG 179).
3 sg. bissiet “il sera” (Chamalières).
3 pl. relative toncsiionti-io “qui auront juré / jeté le sort” (Chamalières)

**Subjunctive** in -s-
2 sg. redresta “que tu montes” (Cajarc; LG 65)
2 pl. iexsetesi sue regenia tu “may you try & get, ye, ancestors, (and) thou” (Châteaubleau), where iexsetesi is derivable from *ēg-s-e-tesi-(e)s or -(e)t (Lambert 2001, 95; Schrijver 2001, 139-41: IE *H₁eigʰ-)

**Optative** in -si-, deponent
3 pl. ni tixsintor (Larzac).

**Imperative**
2 sg. in -i: lubi (graffitties); gabi (conic circles outweighed distaffs from St.-Révérien)
2 sg. in -e: luge, luxse (Chamalières), ueiïobiie “sois fiancé” (Châteaubleau)
Note: The forms andigs, incors (Larzac) can belong here too, if the expected final -i was apocopated (cf. luxse).
2 pl. in -tis (-ti+is?): ibetis “drink” (Limé), cf. OIr. ibid, B. evit, Vannetais ivet id. (DLG 157).

**Preterite**
3 sg.
δεδε < *dʰe-dʰH₂-e “a offert”.
sioxti (La Graufesenque); cf. OIr. siacht “a cherché” < *se-sag-ti.
ειωρου / ieuru “a offert” < *(p)e-(p)orH-u, cf. OIr. ernaid “il offre” (LG 104–06; Isaac 1997).

5. **Conclusion: On the position of Gaulish within Celtic**
The lexical data of Gaulish are not complete (c. 70% of the basic lexicon consisting of 100 semantic units), but sufficient for application of the so-called ‘recalibrated’ glottochronology. This result supports the Gallo-Brittonic unity, but the chronological level of its disintegration is only one century younger than the Goidelic / Gallo-Brittonic disintegration. It is a pity that the lexical corpus of Celtiberian is too scarce to include it in this comparison as well. On the other hand, Lepontic seems to belong to the same dialect zone as Gaulish.

BASIC BIBLIOGRAPHY

RESUMÉ

Cílem předkládaného článku je shrnout současný stav poznání galského jazyka. Vzhledem k omezenému prostoru byl možný pouze výběr faktů: ukázky epigrafických památek a jejich interpretace podle různých autorů, nástín historicko-srovnávací fonetiky, fragmenty jmenné, zájmenné a slovesné flexe, číslovky. Bibliografie shrnuje nejnovější významné práce, plus některé studie starší, jejichž cena nadále zůstává.

Ústav jazykovědy a baltistiky FF MU
blazek@phil.muni.cz