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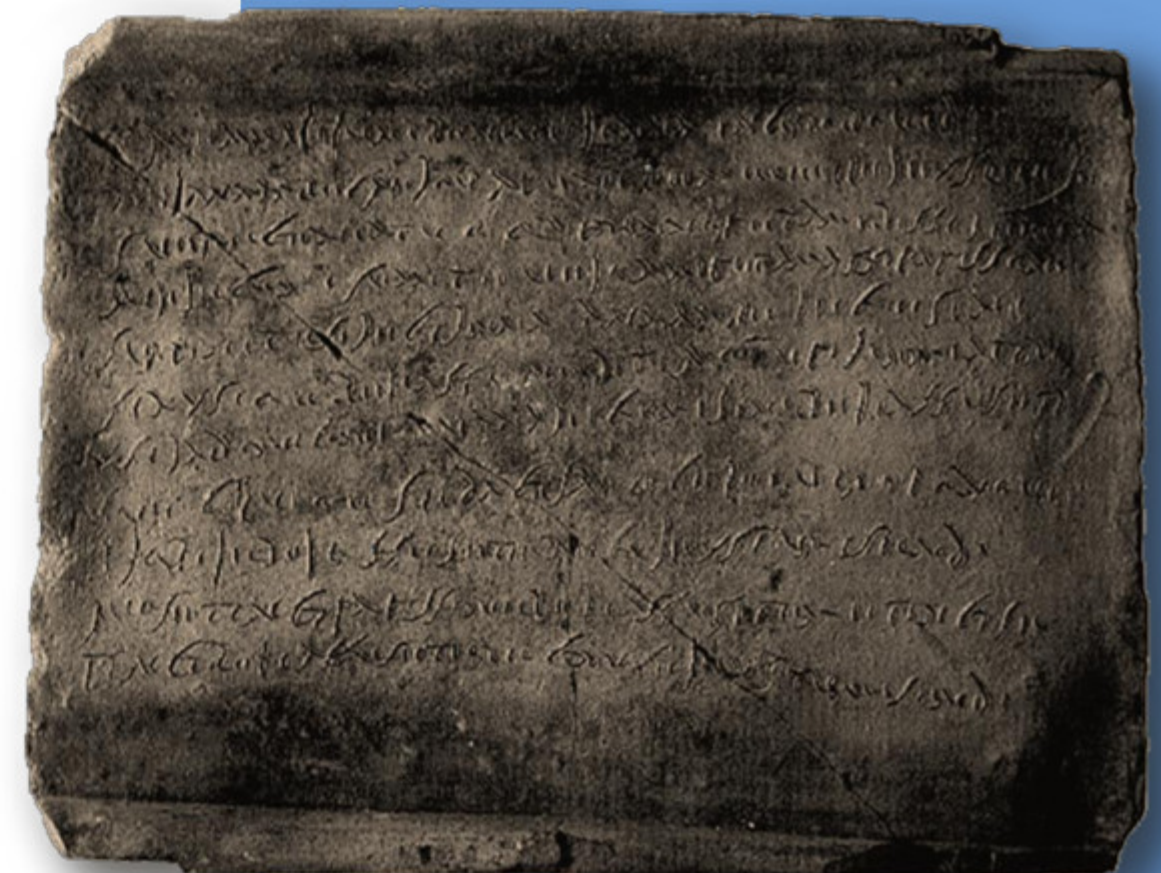
Olivier Piqueron

Yεχτις Kετικλ̃



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A CLASSICAL GAULISH HANDBOOK
(Unofficial English Translation)



OLIVIER PIQUERON

EDITED, CORRECTED & EXTENDED EDITION

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A CLASSICAL GAULISH HANDBOOK

EDITED, CORRECTED & EXTENDED EDITION

(UNOFFICIAL ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY *TEGOS SKRĪBBĀTOUS*)

Olivier PIQUERON



Calatoŭissāca — Celtologicals
(life in the La Tène Era):

Political life
Religious life
Economic life
Private life

Yextis Keltikā

A Classical Gaulish Handbook

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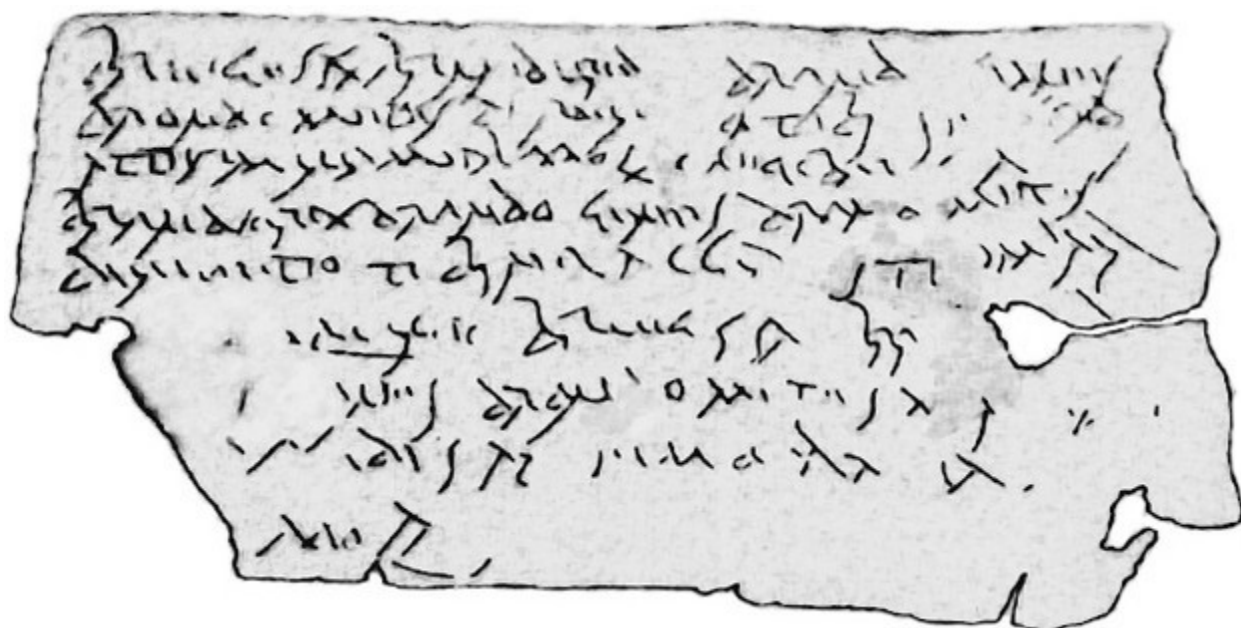
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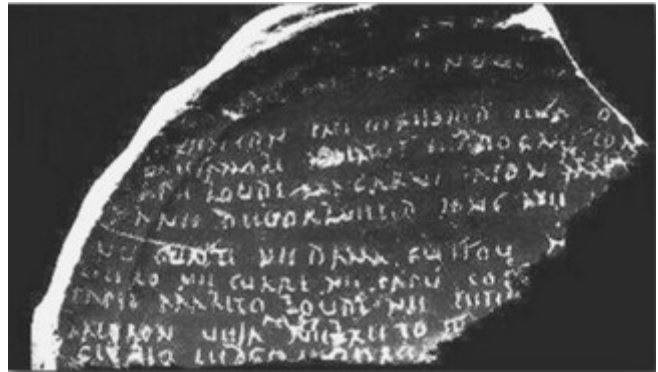


Cover – Tile (Châteaubleau, Seine-et-Marne)

Above, molding of a plaque written in Gaulish from Flavins (Mas Marcou)

Foreword

This “Classical Gaulish Handbook” aims to be a collection of knowledge acquired about the language of the Gauls. The word “Gaulish” is taken, in a broad sense, to mean the language spoken by Central Continental Celts—that is to say, outside the British and Irish Isles, Italian Alps, and Iberia. However, some parts of this work are broadened to cover all the regions that were occupied at some point by Celtic speakers.



Regarding onomastics, which is by far the richest material available, it appears that certain names identified as Celtic are characteristic of Central Europe, while others are specific to the British or Irish Isles. Perhaps both were also used in Gaul, but it is likely that important differences separated the various Celtic dialects in ancient times, as they do today.

Despite my effort to carry out as scholarly a work as possible, references are found in the bibliography but almost never in the body of the work (for ease of reading). In addition, this book contains many reconstructions and hypothetical forms, since what we know of this language is unfortunately rather sparse: a few words preserved by the Classics; many proper names, whose meanings are often in doubt; a rather small group of inscriptions, and some rare texts that are as difficult to decipher as they are to translate. Even if Gaulish vocabulary is fairly well-known, the structure of the language—which is essential—largely eludes linguists to this day.

I must also admit that providing the sum of knowledge and research done by linguists and Celticists exceeds my “amateur Celtic linguist” abilities and, unfortunately, this book is bound to be full of inaccuracies, errors, and shortcomings that will not go unnoticed by experienced linguists. Also, this “handbook” often oscillates between “simple conlang” and didactic manual of Celtic linguistics. That is why this work is intended above all for amateur Celticists who, like me, feel invested in a language whose reach was nearly as extensive as that of Latin or Greek and which must have played a role that was hardly inferior to them, but which had the great mistake of not being a written language—and so, did not leave a material trace in a world where materialism is everything.

From a Conlang to the study of Celtic culture

The reconstruction of a language, since it is based on phonemes, morphology, and essential vocabulary, can be pushed more-or-less far. In some cases, the confidence of an author in the validity of their reconstruction can lead them to write in Gaulish (or Celtic) and have fun translating this-or-that literary monument in Gaulish. It is the principle of a Conlang or (re)constructed language that satisfies these scholarly exercises.



But above all, from another perspective, such a language implies the existence of a prehistoric society who spoke it. Knowledge of the Celtic lexicon and its evolution (from Common Celtic to Gaulish, Welsh, and Breton, for example) introduces us to an understanding of the culture of that language's speakers which goes beyond what we could learn from archaeological evidence, as vocabulary is not limited by material constraints (on this subject, see the Linguistic Comparison Test and mythology of some Gaulish theonyms, Chapter 6).

Information about the religious, military and economic life of the Celts can be found in this book, especially from the proper names of people, places and rivers which it contains. Reconstructing the Gaulish words for 'day' (**latis*), 'year' (**bledanī*) or some animals does not tell us anything about the customs and civilization of the speakers. That's not, however, the case for all lexical items. Agricultural practices are suggested to us by words for 'fields', or another that may have meant 'fallow'; we have a word for 'grind' and 'flour', others for 'furrow', 'plow', 'yoke', 'sickle', 'reap' ... Names of people: Chief-Supreme-Warriors (*Vercingetorixs*), Hostage-of-Esus (*Aisugēslos*), Property of Lug (*Luguselva*), Beautiful Ears (*Suausiā*), Officer (*Luxterios*), Breast-Rights (*Arebronā*), Killer-ambitions (*Adiantuanos*), etc. ... are an important source for the understanding of the Gaulish language and the civilization it reflects. And so, three Gaulish personal names refer to the three planes of the world: *Albiorix* (*albio*- 'white, celestial, spiritual'), *Biturix* (*bitu*- 'living, perpetual', the world of men), *Dubnorix* (*dubno*- 'deep, dark,' the world of hell). We find a parallel in Germanic mythology.

But it is from their terms for kinship and social relations that we can draw the most interesting information (such as the words *ambaxtos*, *wassos* and *magus* that open up perspectives of studies on forms of servitude in Celtic society). Since the language reflects the essential concepts which socioeconomic relations and ideology revolve around, underlying the internal structure of the society, it is possible to describe the system of relations in the Celtic family, clan, and tribal structure—to define the kinship system, specify the contractual obligations involved in the exchange of services and goods, lay down the rights and duties of the rulers, trace their ways of honoring the gods (see *ambostā*, *ambītus*?) ...

As we see, trying to reconstruct Ancient Gaulish exceeds mere "intellectual masturbation" by allowing a better understanding of Celtic civilization and its mythology while helping in the study of epigraphy.

Olivier PIQUERON



Introduction

The Celtic branch is a family of Indo-European languages that is divided into a Continental group (now extinct) and an Insular one, which in turn is split into two branches: Brittonic (P-Celtic), which includes Breton, Cornish and Welsh; and Gaelic (Q-Celtic), made up of Irish, Scottish Gaelic, and Manx. Until at least the Fifth Century, Continental Celtic languages, including Gaulish, were spoken in Western Europe (Gaul, Iberia, Northern Italy), but their importance declined under the influence of Latin, and we know but little about them. Only the Brittonic and Gaelic groups survived, and only in the British Isles, Ireland, Brittany, and some North and South American communities (see the tree of the different Celtic languages in the appendices).

	600	500	400	300	200	-100	-	+100	200	300	400	500	600	700	800	900	1000	1100	1200	1300	1400	1500	1600	1700	1800	1900
Lepontic																										
Gaulish	?															?										
Celtiberian								?																		
Irish							?																			
Scot. Gaelic																										
Manx																										
Brittonic							?																			
Welsh																										
Cornish																										
Breton																										

Table showing the different Celtic dialects and their chronology (adapted from Stifter 2008).

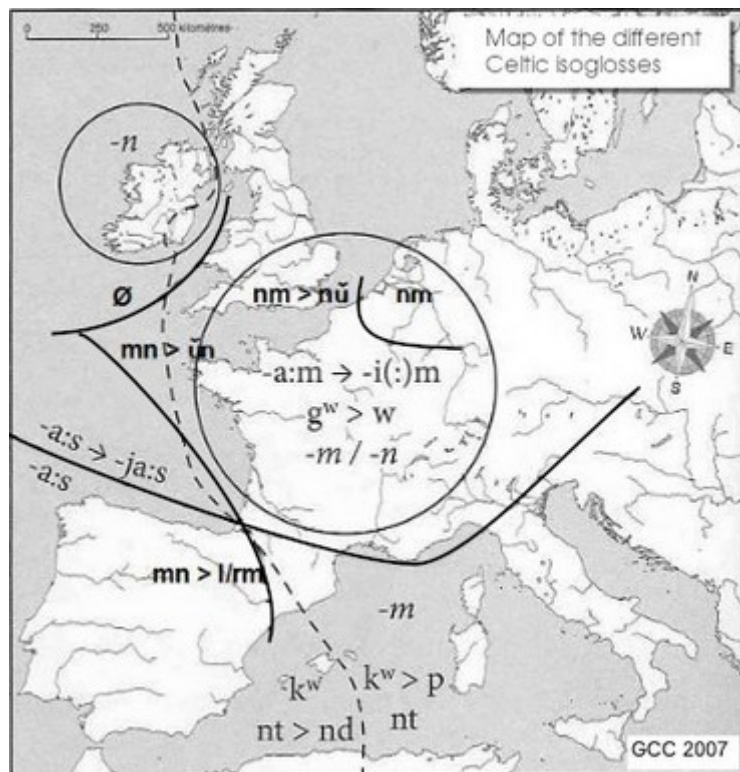
CONTINENTAL CELTIC

Continental Celtic is a branch of the Celtic languages that is neither British nor Gaelic. It is probable that the Celts spoke various languages or dialects across Europe in pre-Roman times, only four of which are attested:

- ① **Lepontic** (from the 7th Century BC to the 3rd Century AD). Lepontic is a dead Celtic language, the language of the *Lepontii*, which was spoken in part of Cisalpine Gaul from the 7th Century BC to the 3rd Century AD. Sometimes called Cisalpine Celtic, it is considered to be a dialect of Gaulish and therefore a Continental Celtic language (Eska ALE 2008). The grouping of all these inscriptions into a single Celtic language is controversial, and some (including the older ones) are supposed to belong to a para-Celtic language linked to Liguria (cf. Whatmough and Pisani). According to this theory, which prevailed until around 1970, Lepontic is the correct name for the non-Celtic language, while the Celtic language should be called Cisalpine Gaulish. Since Lejeune (1971), a consensus has established that Lepontic should be classified as a Celtic language, perhaps as divergent as Celtiberian, and in any case distinct from Cisalpine Gaulish. It is only in recent years that



there has been a tendency to identify the Lepontic Cisalpine Gaulish. Although the language is named after the *Lepontii* people, who occupied part of Rhaetia (in modern Switzerland and Italy), in the Alps, bordering Cisalpine Gaul, the term is currently used by many Celticists to designate all the Celtic dialects of ancient Italy. This usage is controversial by those who continue to (reasonably) consider the *Lepontii* as one of the many pre-Roman tribes of the Alps (like the Ligurians?), Celtic but distinct from the Gauls who invaded the plains of northern Italy during the historical era.



PELKVI : PRIAM : TEV : KARITE : IŠQŠ : KALITE : PARAM

LATVMARVI : SAPSVTAI : PE : VINOM : NATOM

ATEKNATI : TRVTIKNI · KARNITV · {LOKAN
ARTVAŚ} · KOISIS · TRVTIKNOS

Lepontic Inscriptions

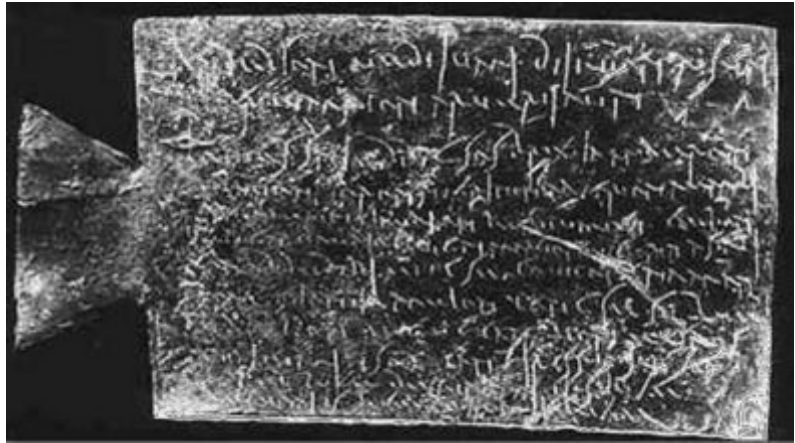
- ② **Celtiberian** (3rd Century BC to the 2nd Century AD) Celtiberian (or Hispano-Celtic) is a dead Celtic language spoken by Celtiberians in the center of Spain before and during the Roman Empire (Q-Celtic type). We still have a few traces of Celtiberian, which is attested in some pre-Roman names on the Iberian Peninsula and which survived long enough for their traces to be preserved in written documents, formulae that were used in certain personal names (which gives clues about its grammar), as well as some inscriptions on bronze plaques—written in a Celtiberian script that combines Phoenician and Greek characteristics.



- ③ **Galatian** (3rd Century BC to 4th Century AD) Galatian is a dead Continental Celtic language that was once spoken in Galatia, Asia Minor (present-day Turkey) from the 3rd Century BC to the 4th Century AD. We know only a few glosses of this language as well as some brief

comments from Classical writers and some inscribed names. This represents a total of about 120 words, mostly personal names ending in *-riks* (cf. Gaulish *-rīxs* / *-reix*, Old Irish *rí*, Latin *rex*) ‘king’ and some ending with *-marus*, dative *-mari* ‘grand’ (see Gaulish *-māros*, Old Irish *mor*, Welsh *mawr* and Breton *meur*). There are also some names of tribes such as *Ambitouti* (Old Irish *imm-* ‘around’ and *tuath* ‘tribe’) as well as a lexical word *drunemeton* ‘safe, firm sanctuary’ (see the Old Irish *neimed* ‘sacred place’). Galatian is a Continental Celtic language contemporary to Gaulish (probably even a dialect).

- ④ **Gaulish** It extended from at least 300 BC to 450 AD, and might have carried on in the remote corners of Gaul until the 6th Century. It was spoken in Cisalpine Gaul (Northern Italy) and in Transalpine Gaul (France, Belgium, Switzerland and part of the Netherlands and Germany).



- ⑤ **Eastern Celtic** has left almost no physical trace.

The term *Continental Celtic* is used in contrast to Insular Celtic. Although most scholars believe that Insular Celtic is a different branch of Celtic languages, representing languages that have undergone common linguistic innovations, there is no evidence that Continental Celtic can be grouped together in the same way. Furthermore, the term “Continental Celtic” is paraphyletic and only indicates a state of not belonging to the group of Insular Celtic languages (although Gaulish was very close to Brittonic). Since we have very few traces of Continental Celtic, comparative linguistics are difficult to realize.

INSULAR OR ATLANTIC CELTIC

Insular Celtic

Gaelic

Pictish?

Brittonic

Irish / Gaelic / Manx

Welsh / Cornish/ Armorican Breton

1. Gaelic languages

- **Irish** is the mother tongue. It is attested as early as the 5th Century by Oghamic inscriptions, Latin character inscriptions, glosses, and some religious texts. In the evolution of the language, we distinguish:
 - *Old Irish*, which goes from the 5th to the 10th Century, until the destruction of the monasteries by the Vikings.



- *Middle-Irish* (10th – 17th Centuries), which carries a very rich literature, preserved in more than a thousand manuscripts such as the *Lebor Lagen* or “Leinster’s Book” and the *Lebor na hUidre* or “Book of the Brown Cow” dating back to the 12th Century.
- *Modern Irish* (*Gaeilge*), which includes three dialects:
 - Southern dialect (Waterford, Cork, Kerry);
 - Eastern dialect (Aran Islands, Connemara, Mayo);
 - Northern dialect (Donegal).

The Oghamic alphabet mentioned is made of horizontal, oblique or transverse lines drawn on either side of an edge; it contains twenty characters, and the Kilmalkedar “stone of the alphabet” (Dingle Peninsula), on which are engraved the corresponding Latin characters, provides the key. The Book of Ballymote (1390) does as well.

The linguistic issue has been at the heart of the conflict between Ireland and England for centuries, resulting in a rupture in the 20th Century. The history of Irish is thus linked to that of Ireland; it is full of contradictions, vexatious measures, and tragedies. Until the 16th Century, it was spoken in the four corners of the island. Throughout the Middle Ages it had conveyed one of the richest literatures in Europe. Its decline precipitated in the 19th Century, partly because of the Great Famine.

The cultural renewal of the 20th Century, the creation of a free state, and education gave it new vigor; according to the latest language censuses, some 32.5% of the population or 1 million speakers have some knowledge of the language, which enjoys a privileged status, that of the “first official language”.

The *Gaeltachtaí* refers to areas where Irish language and culture are officially protected (see map). An official body, *Údarás na Gaeltachta*, is responsible for promoting the economic development of these regions, while a government agency, *Bord na Gaeilge*—the Office for the Irish Language—has the task of encouraging the use of Irish throughout the country. Many primary and secondary schools, the *Gaelscoil* or “Irish Schools”, now offer a variety of subjects in Irish; *Radio na Gaeltachta* broadcasts only in Irish for more than 80 hours a week, and since October 1996 *Telefís na Gaeilge* has been broadcasting in Ireland for several hours a day. Despite favorable support from a majority of the Irish, Irish should not survive more than a generation outside the intellectual sphere.



- **Scottish Gaelic** (*Gàidhlig*), which was introduced into the country in the 4th Century by the *Scotti* (immigrants from Ireland), managed to supplant the Pictish and Brittonic spoken there and become a dominant language before its decline towards the end of the Middle Ages. Separated from Irish at the end of the 10th Century, it has followed its own linguistic evolution to the modern day. The Reformation struck a fatal blow, and its decline was precipitated by the Act of Union of 1707, the persecutions of the Highlanders, and by the eviction policy of the authorities, resulting in the depopulation of the Highlands in the late 18th Century.

Today, Gaelic is spoken by only 1.4% of the population, or 69,980 speakers in the 1991 census. Several dialectal varieties exist. It is mostly spoken in the Highlands and Western Islands, where it enjoys a favorable circulation in schools, on radio, and on television. The current situation of Gaelic is quite ambiguous: although the number of its speakers is decreasing, Gaelic (which should not be confused with Scots, a Germanic language) remains the language of culture, being more and more associated with Scottish identity, which was not the case twenty years ago. Despite a vibrant cultural life, its future looks bleak except in the islands where an innovative policy has been introduced in its favor.

- **Manx.** As early as the 3rd Century Gaelic was also introduced to the Isle of Man (which until then had had a Brittonic language) by Irish immigrants, colonists, “marauders,” or monks. Manx was the result, but it was also influenced by Scandinavian (the Vikings having long dominated the island politically) and by English. Its decline was precipitated in the 19th Century with the arrival of many Anglophone immigrants, Anglicization of the middle classes, and the opening of the island to tourism. A policy favorable to the development of Manx has been emerging on the island since 1986. The 1991 census reported 643 Manx speakers. It should be noted that the laws currently passed by the Tynwald Court, the Parliament of the island, are officially proclaimed in English and Manx.

2. The Brittonic languages

- **Welsh – Cymraeg** in Welsh. We will distinguish Common Brittonic (6th – 8th Centuries) from Old Welsh (8th – 11th Centuries). Only a few inscriptions remain of Brittonic, some in Oghamic characters, which testify to the establishment of Irish colonies on the territory of present-day Wales, and some words transmitted in Latin works such as *De Excidio Britanniae* by Gildas, the *Vita Samsonis* (around 620) or the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* of Bede (731).

Old Welsh is attested by glosses written in the margins of Latin manuscripts, by some proper names, and also by short excerpts in verse or prose, which appear in works such as the *Oxoniensis Prior* (9th Century), the *Historia Brittonum* of the pseudo-Nennius, or the *Life of Alfred the Great* by Asser (circa 890). Middle Welsh ran from the 12th to the 15th Century: it is a rich period, which has produced quality works like the four branches of the *Mabinogi*. Its spelling changed around the 15th Century, although the poetic work of Dafydd ap Gwilym (c 1320-1380) already demonstrated modern Welsh spelling; prose, on the other hand, would not change until after the Reformation. Modern Welsh runs from the 16th Century to today. A



convenient date, 1588—which is that of the publication of the Welsh Bible—marks the beginning: Welsh now has a unified written language.

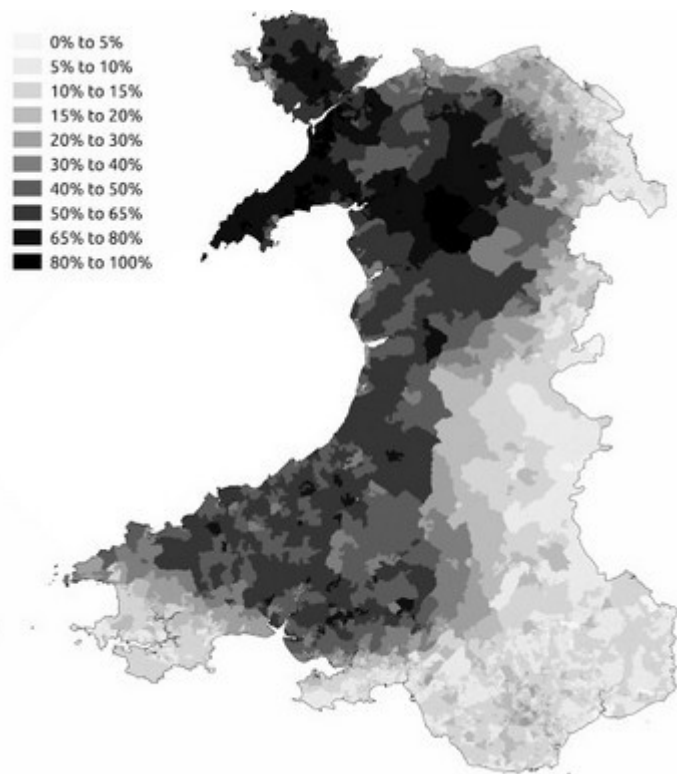
Among the causes that explain the decline of Welsh, the loss of effective independence in 1536 and 1542 (Union Act), the educational system, rural depopulation, and especially the effects of the industrial revolution in the 19th Century will be highlighted, along with the massive influx of English speakers who came to settle in the country. To these causes are added psycho-sociological ones: the cultural domination of English in the cities and government, and prejudices against Welsh, with English being regarded as much superior.

The decline was accentuated in the 20th Century, but the birth of a powerful popular movement in favor of Welsh has helped to stop it since the 1970s and many associations are now fighting for it. Thus a law was passed in 1967, the Welsh Language Act, which recognized Welsh as having “equal validity [with] English in the courts and administration of all Wales;” after a long campaign of repainting road signs, the Welsh Language Association, or *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg*, achieved success in 1974: road signs are now bilingual. Since 1981, Wales has had a television channel that transmits more than thirty hours a week in Welsh. The 1991 census records 508,098 Welsh people, nearly 20% of the population. The teaching of the language is, since 1988, obligatory in all schools in the country, barring exemption. Contemporary literature in the Welsh language is extremely rich and several authors are well known beyond their geographic boundaries: Emyr Humphreys, T. Gwynn Jones, TH Parry-Williams, Kate Roberts, RS Thomas, Harry Webb ...

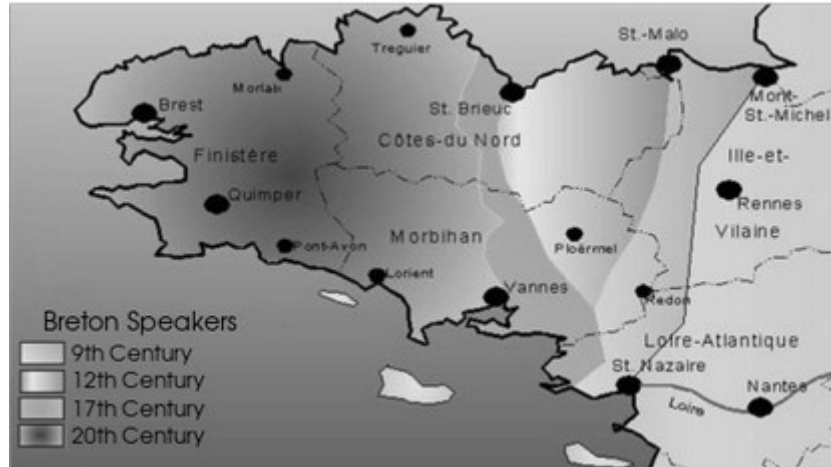
The current Welsh language includes two major groups of dialects:

- North (*Gwynedd* and *Clwyd*)
- South (*Dyfed* and *Glamorgan* in particular).

Of the Celtic languages spoken in the British Isles, it is the one that has best resisted English and whose chances of survival are the strongest.



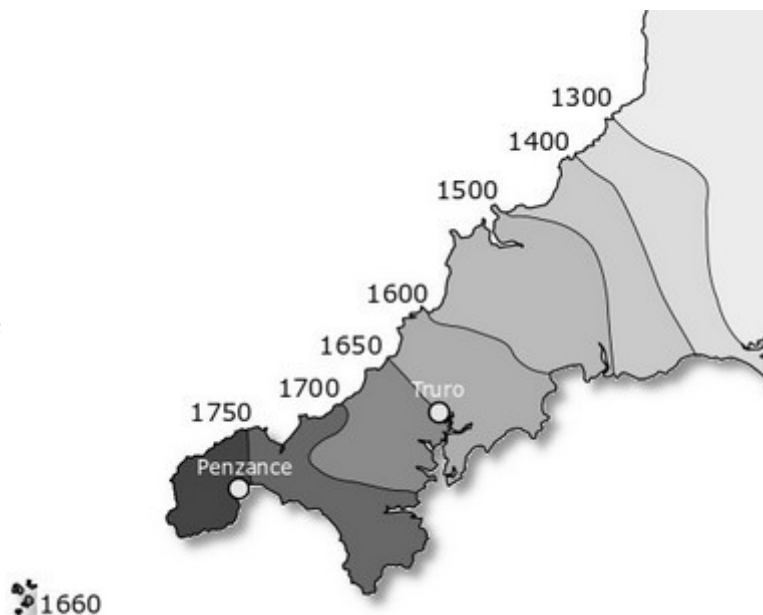
▪ **Armorican Breton** is spoken in the western part of Brittany, where the language was invigorated by immigrants from Britain at the end of the 3rd Century. It is attested since the 9th Century (glosses of Old Breton), though it has no old literature as in Wales. Manuscripts (in Middle Breton) only date back to the 15th Century.



Modern Breton begins around 1650. Shrinking, the Breton language is currently united (standard unified Breton) but not uniform. Spoken west of a *Vanne-Saint-Brieuc* line, the Breton territory is divided into two dialectal areas: the KLT (*Kernew-Leon-Tregor*) to the West and North, and *Vannetais* to the south. The written form *Breizh* (= Breton) expresses this difference: *Breiz* (KLT) and *Breih* (*Vannetais*). The most reliable surveys report about 200 000 speakers currently. Breton is the only Celtic language to have no official status. It is classified as “seriously endangered language” according to UNESCO. Despite the teaching of Breton in *Diwan* private schools, in 2007, the share of young people aged 15-19 able to express themselves in Breton is only 4%!

▪ **Cornish**, spoken in Cornwall (although extinguished in the late 18th Century), is now experiencing an interesting “revival”. Old Cornish, contemporary to Old Welsh and Old Breton (and close to the latter), is attested by glosses and some manuscripts—the most important of which is the *Vocabularium Cornicum*, a Latin-Cornish glossary of the late 11th Century.

Middle Cornish (12th – 16th Centuries), influenced by the orthography of Middle English, conveyed an essentially religious literature: *Ordinalia*, *Beunans Meriasek*. Late Cornish (17th – 18th Centuries) saw the decline of the language begin. Modern Cornish, the language of “renewal”, spoken by a few hundred speakers, is sometimes disputed by linguists. The causes of the rapid decline of Cornish are of a political order—with the loss of independence for the country in 936—as well as religious—with the





introduction of the Protestant Reformation. In the 16th Century, the movement of decline increased when the center of the tin industry moved eastward; it accelerated with the development of Cornish ports and trade, and the industrial revolution that drew thousands of English-speaking immigrants into the country.

Today, linguistic organizations such as *Kesva an Tavas Kernewek*, the Council for the Cornish Language (1967) and *Cowethas an Yeth Kernewek*, the Cornish Language Society, (1979) promote classes and the everyday use of language. According to the most reliable estimates, some two thousand speakers may be able to speak in Cornish today.

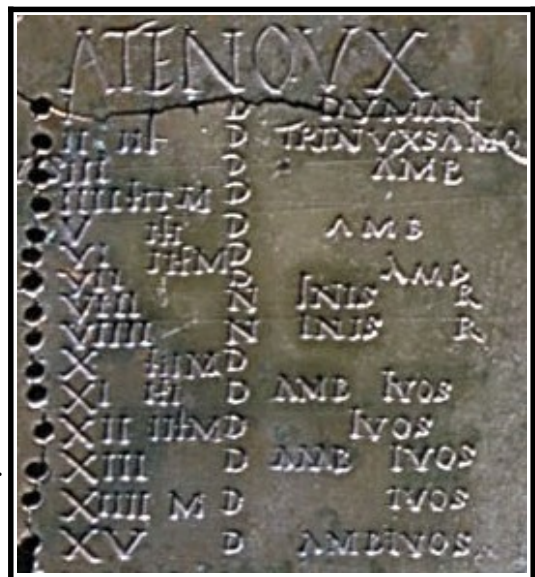
3. Pictish

▪ **Pictish** was the language spoken by the Picts, a people of Scotland, until the 9th Century. Proof of this language's existence is limited to placenames and personal names found on monuments and in period texts. At its peak, it seems that it was spoken in Shetland Fife. Placenames and personal names argue for the hypothesis that the Picts spoke an Insular Celtic tongue related to the Brittonic languages.

THE GAULISH LANGUAGE

We still know very little of the Gaulish language, whose attestations are quite fragmentary and generally collected on votive objects, with the exception of four major pieces: *Larzac*, *Chamalières*, *Lezoux* and the tablet from *Châteaubleau*. We have also found a large calendar in *Coligny*, *Ain*.

The Gauls, a people of oral tradition, did not use their own alphabet, but borrowed that of the Greeks, Etruscans, or Romans. The scarcity of written attestations is due to a religious peculiarity (druidism). The Gauls probably spoke several dialects of a Celtic language (as was the case for Greek in ancient times); however, there is currently no solid evidence to support this hypothesis.



These dialects were certainly influenced by a heterogeneous, pre-Celtic substrate (non-Indo-European languages spoken before the expansion of the Celtic peoples) or para-Celtic (non-Celtic Indo-European languages, but “close” to it like Lusitanian or “Ligurian”) for which, with the exception of Basque (whose extent at the time was more substantial than today), there remains traces only in toponymy or hydronymy (in “Ligurian”, for example, the names in *-asc / osc*: *Manosque*, etc.). It seems impossible to know the influence of these substrates on the dialectalization and evolution of Gaulish.

Gaulish is part of the Continental Celtic group (belonging to the Indo-European family): all these languages are now extinct, even if some words remain in certain languages of Europe and especially in toponymy (names of cities in *-euil*, *-jouls*, etc.). None of the current Celtic languages (of the so-called Insular group) originates from that spoken by the Gauls (although it seems that Gaulish was closer to Primitive Insular Celtic than the other Continental Celtic languages).

The Extinction of Gaulish*

Gaulish had died in the 4th Century according to most linguists, a victim of Latin. However, this theory is based on theses from the end of the 19th Century (at the height of nationalism exacerbated by the Franco-German rivalry). It seems unfounded because, even if the elite of society had an interest in speaking Latin, the countryside must have continued to speak some form of Gaulish (probably “creolized” and strongly influenced by Latin) which remained the language of the people and craftsmen. It was the urban elite who practiced Latin, the language of culture, government, and military—that is to say, of social and civic promotion. It was under the impulse of Christianity and in the bastardized form of vulgar Latin that Latin conquered Gaul, sounding the death knell of Gaulish (probably totally extinguished by the time of Charlemagne).

On this subject, we have tried to explain some peculiarities of the dialect of *Vannetais* Breton by the influence of a Gaulish substrate. Many linguists (including Kenneth Jackson) reject this hypothesis and instead explain some of these dialectal peculiarities by the existence of a Gallo-Roman substratum more important in the region of *Vannes*. However, the persistence of this Breton dialect in the area while the decline was more marked in the supposedly “purer” part of Brittany gives consistency to the theory of Canon François Falc’hun about the survival of Gaulish in Brittany, at least in the *Vannetais* region. As does the abundance of Celtic toponyms in *Vendée*—where Breton has never been spoken. The idea remains “politically” incorrect. The most recent direct attestation to date of Gaulish’s survival is a text from the 4th Century AD, recently found in a well (the *Châteaubleau Tablet*); chroniclers of the time assert that it was still spoken in the high valleys of the Alps in the 6th Century; area scholars from the valley of the *Brige* in the hinterland of Nice claim that their local dialect came from Gaulish rather than Latin! Apart from any Celtophile delusion, a global comparison with other languages such as Nahuatl or even Punic should encourage us, in the absence of evidence, to moderate our certainties.

The Gaulish substrate in French*

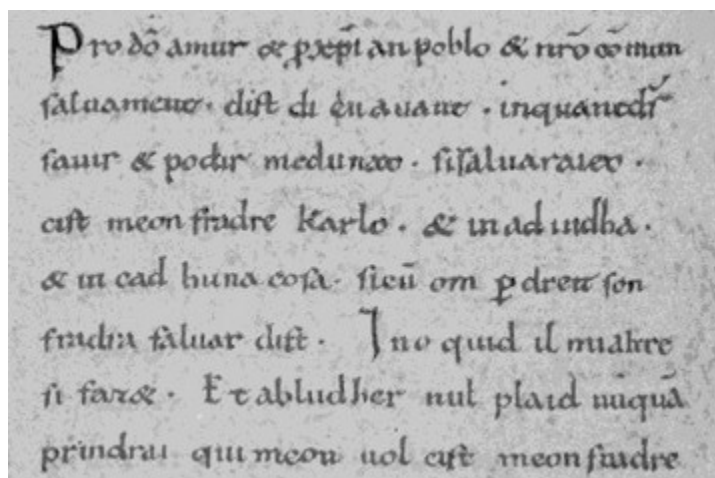
Gaulish certainly had an influence on the syntax and vocabulary of vulgar Latin: in Gaulish, the verb is often in the second position of the sentence, and the *subject + verb* order is frequent. Vigesimal counting (counting by twenties) would have come from Gaulish, as well as placename suffixes *-ac* (in the southern part of France) or *-ay*, *-ai* or *-y* (in the northern part and in Belgium, where the cities *Cognac*, *Douai*, *Tournai* or *Neuilly* are located). Only about 150 common words survive in modern French. The vowel /y/ (French ⟨u⟩, Classical Greek ⟨y⟩ or



German ⟨ü⟩ is present in the Brittonic languages ...

But on the whole, this doesn't amount to much. The weakness of the Gaulish substratum in official French (it was stronger in the Romance dialects) is explained by French's origin.

French derives from an administrative language, the "Proto-French" used in The Oath of Strasbourg (842) as a way to establish the partition of the Carolingian Empire by a linguistic



The "Oath of Strasbourg" — 842 (Vulgar Roman excerpt)

divide between Germanic and Romance speaking subjects. This language was not a replica of the *Île-de-France* dialect. It was a construct that was heavily inspired by Merovingian Latin (the simplified Latin used by scholars, so understandable to the people) which learned clerics of the 9th Century considered to be the model for written vernacular: their desire being to offer a supra-dialectal language that was accessible to all. This literary language, strongly marked with features from *Île-de-France* and incessantly expanded upon by Latinists, grew to dominate the dialects in the 16th Century because it had become the official language of the king. So, the Gaulish substratum in the lexicon comes from the infiltration of dialectal terms into official (and "literary") French.

**** Author's Note: Not being a linguist myself, I present this information humbly and with full reservation.***

Gaulish words:

1,500 Gaulish nouns related to economic activity and 900 to placenames can be found in France. 200 of these still exist in standard French while 400 do in dialects. They prove the importance and variety of economic activities, as they demonstrate means of communication, water ways, and road planning. It is very likely that hundreds, even thousands of words are of Gaulish origin, but those which resemble Latin too much are not included in the list that follows, due to lack of evidence. The words below are endorsed as Gaulish because there are no Latin equivalents, or the Gaulish form is amply attested:

alise / alisier, alose, alouette, ambassade / ambassadeur, ardoise, arpent, bac / baquet / bassin, balai, bec, béret, blaireau, bonde, borne / border / bornage, bouc, bouche, boue, bouleau, braguette, braies, branche, chamois, chemin, chêne, cheval, gaillard, glaner, jaillir, jarret, javelot, lance, mouton, palefroi / palefrenier, soc, talus, vassal / vassalité / valet, vouge...

Gaulish substratal influence on the evolution of Latin in Gaul:

Among the phonetic phenomena and speaking habits that are attributable to Gaulish, we can cite:



- Palatalization of Latin [ū] to French [ü], a sometimes disputed change (/ ü/ exists in other languages);
- Transition from [ē] to [oi] / [oé] as in Welsh and Breton;
- Change of Latin [ct] to [xt], then [it] as in Brittonic (cf *lactem* > *lait*)
- Lenition of intervocalic dentals
- A lenition phenomenon which is reminiscent of the consonantal mutation of the Insular languages (lenition exists more in Breton and Irish);
- Counting by twenty (*quatre-vingts*, OFr. *treis vinz*, *six vinz*);
- Gallicism (*c'est ... qui*) cf. OIr. *is mé* 'I am', *is é a rinne é* "he is the one who did it";
- Plural nouns ending in "s" (compare Lat. Npl *rosae*, Apl *rosas* ≠ Gaul N & Apl *towtas* and OFr direct cases *roses* but Lat Npl *equi*, Apl *equōs* - Gaul. *epoī*, *epoūs*, OFr. *cheval* and *chevals*);
- Suffixing of demonstrative particles, cf. OIr. *an fer-sin* = *cet homme-là* 'this man' ...

Some linguists are reluctant towards the substrate theory and consider the phenomenon to be linguistic convergence instead. As for speaking habits, they more than likely influenced the vocabulary and morphology of French. Thus, the word *aveugle* comes from the Vulgar Latin **ab-oculus* 'without eye', which does not exist in Classical Latin (= *caecus*). But Gaulish had a word *ex-ops* 'without eye', meaning 'blind'. The Vulgar Latin word is therefore a Gaulish calque.

Similarly the French word *fleur* 'flower' has another meaning derived from the expression *fleur de farine* (translator's note: this phrase literally means 'flower of flour' but figuratively refers to the finest portion of the ground grain. This phrase is the source of the English word 'flour', which explains why it is a homonym with 'flower'. Idiomatically, the phrase could be compared to English 'cream of the crop', or *crème de la crème*—meaning the finest portion or example of something). And the Gaulish word **blāto-*, from the phonetic development of two different terms: **bhloto-* 'flower' and **mlato-* 'ground' → 'flour'. The homonymy in Gaulish explains the double meaning in French.

It is likely that there are many examples we cannot yet prove (see the use of the preposition *ad* to mark possession). But it is not so much in the vocabulary as much as the syntax that one should look for traces of Gaulish. Indeed any Frenchman who (badly) speaks a foreign



language would use the vocabulary without difficulty but would tend to use French expressions that are unfit for this foreign language (e.g. the use of a ‘Gallicism’ in English). It was the same for a Gaul speaking Latin. More than vocabulary, it is the syntax that offers the characteristics of a language. Unfortunately, our knowledge of Gaulish is too fragmentary to allow us to compare it to French (while simultaneously retaining the hypothesis!).

OPENING REMARKS

The Gaulish language, *Yextis Keltikā*, its grammar, its conjugation, and its vocabulary is reconstructed from attested forms as well as from cross-comparison with Old Irish and Brittonic. The resulting forms are thought to correspond to a time before the Gallic Wars. The reconstructions are therefore essentially of a pedagogical nature, the purpose of which is to make it possible to understand all the elements that form a language as well as to help in the translation of Gaulish epigraphic texts (for example, see the classification of verbs in conjugation). *Yextis Keltikā* hopes to be: “everything you want to know about Gaulish”.

However, it is important before going further to know a minimum level of phonetics and the characteristics of Common Celtic.

Proto-Celtic or Common Celtic (according to J. Eska)

Proto-Celtic is the theoretical (and therefore reconstructed) language common to the Celtic peoples, thought to be spoken before the 9th Century BC. Common Celtic is mainly based on the Insular and Iberian Celtic languages and the ancient Spanish-Celtic languages. This theoretical language generally resembles many reconstructed Indo-European languages.

1. Phonological features include:

- Conservation of Indo-European diphthongs (except, perhaps, for *ew)
- Weakening of PIE *p to PCelt. *φ and the induced changes *pt* > *φt* > *øt* and *ps* > *φs* > *ø s*
- Absence of the use of aspiration to distinguish phonemes (bh, dh, gh > b, d, g)
- Non-abbreviation of long vowels in front of final nasals

2. Morphological characteristics include:

- Preservation of the Proto-Indo-European primary verb endings (**bereti* ‘I carry’, indicative present ≠ **beret* imperative or imperfect);
- Maintenance of the genitive PrIE thematic. sg. *-*osyo* (perhaps as *-*oiso*) and therefore its replacement by the genitive -*ī* in the Italo-Celtic languages had to be done separately and by contact (which is contradictory to the Proto-Italo-Celtic hypothesis);
- Conservation of PIE accusative. pl. *-*ns*.

3. Syntactic features include:

- A loose SOV clausal configuration (allowing the leftward movement of the verb, which would lead to the VSO structure of the Insular languages via an SVO stage as found in French and possibly Gaulish).

- Variable configuration for primary and complementary formations; thus genitive compliments precede their principal nouns, but adjectival attributes follow them; prepositions and postpositions occur in parallel; relative clauses follow their root clauses.

Phonetics concepts

Phonetics studies articulated sounds (phonemes) and their modifications. These modifications come from the inability (or more often the inconvenience) of our vocal organs to produce certain sound combinations. They are governed by laws that vary from one language to another, although there are always common rules.

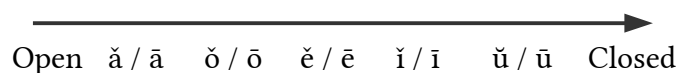
Phonetics considers:

- Vowels, consonants, and their associations,
- Quantity of vowels and syllables (long or short),
- Emphasis on this or that syllable.

1. Vowels

- *Open or closed*

The vowels / a, o, ε / are said to be open, and the vowels /e, i, u/ are said to be closed. An open syllable ends with a vowel. Closing or opening a vowel indicates a change in pronunciation (closing of /e/ to /i/).



- *Long or short*

The vowels are always characterized by their length. As for the vowels a, i, e, o, u, they can be long (notated < ā, ē, ī, ō, ū >) or short (sometimes denoted by < ˘ >).

- *Semi-vowels and resonants*

There are also semi-vowels ‘yod’ and ‘waw’, denoted by /y/ and /w/, and vowel resonants such as < ű, ű̃, ı̃, ı̃̃ > which represent the fact that the consonants /n, m, l, r/ take a vocalic resonance (which varies according to Indo-European dialects).

2. Consonants

Among the consonants, we distinguish those which are voiceless, voiced, or aspirated. And further we divide them into the labial, dental and palatal groups. There are also occlusive, resonant, fricative or sibilant. As phonology goes well beyond the scope of this handbook, refer to specialized linguistics literature as needed.

We can summarize their nature for PIE like this (according to classical theory and Gamkrelidze-Ivanov¹):



PIE	VOICED (glottalized)	VOICELESS	ASPIRATED
PALATALS or VELARS	g (k') ¹	k	gh (kh') ¹
DENTALS	d (d')	t	dh (th)
LABIALS	b? (-)	p	bh (ph)
LABIOVELARS	g ^w (k ^w)	k ^w	g ^w h (k ^w h)

Also note the resonant liquids /l, r/, nasals /n, m/ (which are voiced), voiceless sibilant /s/, and sibilant fricative /ts/.

3. Laryngeal theory

The *Laryngeal Theory* is a hypothesis framed by the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, then taken up and improved by the Danish H. Möller to explain certain characteristics of Indo-European and Proto-Indo-European vocalism.

According to this hypothesis, the vowels /e/, /a/ and /o/ would be derived from a combination of the elementary vowel /e/ with three appropriate aspirated phonemes (the laryngeals) h₁, h₂, h₃, which would have modified the timbre of initial /e/, to give the three vowels *e*, *a*, and *o* according to the following scheme:

Initial	e = H ₁ e	a = H ₂ e	o = H ₃ e
Preconsonantal	ē = eH ₁	ā = eH ₂	ō = eH ₃

While The Laryngeal Theory has been supported by renowned linguists, including Émile Benveniste, it has also been criticized, notably by Oswald Szemerényi (*Einführung in die vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*). Because the only laryngeal having really been attested is the simple /ə/, Proto-Indo-European possesses the same vowel system with six grades (/a, e, i, o, u/ short and long + schwa /ə/) as “classical” Indo-European does.

4. Some phonetic rules and laws

Most of the phonetic rules involve the accentual status of the syllable: for unaccented vowels, the most common phenomena are closure and shortening, while for accented vowels it is elongation, a tendency to diphthongize, opening short vowels, and closing long ones. As for the consonants, we distinguish between those in a strong position (word-initial, pretonic, and post-consonantal) which are characterized by a resistance to change, and those in a weak position which are characterized by voicing or disappearance in the intervocalic position, and devoicing or disappearance in the final position.

- *Accentuation*

The phonetic accent is manifested by a change in pitch of one or more syllables of a word (pitch accent) or by an increase in intensity of the sound accompanying one or more syllables (stress accent).

- *Affixation*

In morphology, a field of linguistics, an affix is a morpheme (unit of meaning) that is attached to the root or lexeme of a word. Affixes can lexicalize and thus become free morphemes: this is the case for the prefix *ex-* in an expression such as my “ex”—namely, my *ex*-husband / boyfriend, etc.

Depending on their position in relation to the root, affixes are subdivided into several types:

- Prefixes (Latin *præ-fixus*, ‘fixed in front’), placed before the root
- Suffixes (Latin *sub-fixus* > *suffixus*, ‘fixed behind’), placed after the root
- Infixes (Latin *in-fixus*, ‘fixed in’) inserted inside the root

Example: Greek λαμνάω *lamváno* ‘I take’ (root λαν- with an inchoative suffix -άω—indicating that the action begins—and an inchoative nasal infix -μ-); to the “aorist”, a kind of simple past: ἔ-λαν-ον *élabon* ‘I took’ (inchoative affixes disappear and an augment is prefixed to the root).

- *Analogical reshaping*

The reshaping of a word under the influence of a similar term. Example: vulgar Latin **cassanum*, ‘oak’, became **caxinum* under the influence of *fraxinum*, ‘ash’.

- *Anlaut – inlaut – auslaut*

“Anlaut” is the term for a sound in the initial position of a word or syllable, “auslaut” is a sound in the final position, and “inlaut” is an internal sound or a sound in the middle position.

- *Apocope & apheresis*

“Apocope” is the loss of one or more phonemes at the end of a word: e.g. *photo* for ‘photograph’, *cinema* for ‘cinematography’. It contrasts with “apheresis” (e.g. *Becca* for ‘Rebecca’).

- *Apophony*

“Apophony” is a change in the quality (or “tone”) of a vowel in a word over time (often due to the tonic accent). Not to be confused with vowel alternation (ablaut), raising of a vowel (e, o grade), vowel quantity change (full or long grade) or disappearance of the vowel (zero grade), all taking place in a schema related to morphological processes. However, some linguists commonly use “apophony” to refer to the morphological alternation of the IE root.

- *Assimilation & dissimilation*

Assimilation makes two similar consonants look alike. E.g.: **balne/o* > *balle/o*, *pinpe* > *pempe*. Dissimilation is a phonetic change that causes two identical or neighboring phonemes to become different. Example: *luernos* for *loernos* ‘fox’, closing of [o].

- *Caland*



A “Caland” form or system represents a set of suffixes distributed in such a way that the presence of one (in a semantic function) implies the existence of other suffixes in that set (in other semantic functions). Thus, the suffix -eto- seems to be found in derivatives of sigmatic neuter nouns (o/es-); For example *magos* / *magetos*, *nemos* / *nemetos* and maybe *wenos* / *wenetos*?

- *Clitic*

A clitic is, in linguistics, an element midway between an independent word and a related morpheme. Many clitics can be seen as derived from a historical grammaticalization process: lexical > clitic > affix.

According to this model, an autonomous lexical element located in a particular context will gradually lose some independent word properties to acquire those of a morphological affix. Thus, the element described as “clitic” is in some way an intermediate step in this evolutionary process. This relatively broad definition can therefore be applied to a very heterogeneous class of elements.

However, one feature shared by all clitics is their prosodic dependence. Indeed, a clitic is always prosodically linked to an adjacent word, called a host, so that it forms only one complex phonetic unit with it. Specifically, we speak of

→ proclitic when the clitic uses the following word. E.g.: “I” in *I know*.

→ enclitic when it is based on the word preceding it. E.g.: “I” in *will I know?*

- *Morphological Zero Degree (MZG morphological zero grade).*

Kurylowicz’s theory applied to Celtic languages explains the short forms of CRH root verbs (e.g. *mrāto-* instead of *mrāto-*) by the fact that in Celtic vowel alternation ReH_A and RH_A have phonetically disappeared (> $Rā$). It could have been remade analogically for morphological reasons.

- *Consonant mutation*

A sound change where the consonant of a word changes according to its morphological or syntactic environment. A typical example is the mutation of initial consonants in modern Celtic languages.

- *Devoicing or muting*

Mutation of a consonant sound to a voiceless consonant (occlusives: [b] to [p], [d] to [t], [g] to [k])

- *Elongation*

Compensatory elongation after dropping a consonant (very common rule). E.g.: * *abon-s*, *abens* > **abū*, *abās* > *aub*, *abae* in OIr. Gaulish Nsg *atīr* (= *atir-s*) but Vsg. *ater*.

- *Epenthesis*

When a consonant or vowel is inserted to a word, e.g. *maglos* > *magalos*.

- *Hapax*

A hapax generally refers to a word that has only one occurrence in the literature.

- *Hydronym*

Toponym designating a place characterized by the permanent or temporary presence of water or linked to snow such as a glacier, firn, moraine, etc. Example: *Nant d'Aisy*.

- *Hypocoristic*

Adjective and masculine noun that expresses affection or familiarity. For example the diminutives *Jenny* and *Pete* are hypocoristics derived from “Jennifer” and “Peter”.

- *Inflectional language*

Language in which lemmas (“words”) change their form according to their grammatical relationship to other lemmas. It’s considered that the words undergo “inflection” and that all the different forms of the same inflected word make up its “paradigm”. Each form of the same paradigm can convey one or more types of grammatical traits (gender, number, syntactic function, lexical class, tense, mood, etc.) which can be changed (singular vs. plural, masculine vs. neuter, 1st person singular vs. 1st person plural, etc.). The different forms of the same paradigm, however, do not change the root meaning of the word: only the grammatical function is changed. Noun inflection is often called “declension”, while verb inflection is “conjugation”.

- *Lenition*

Lenition is a consonantal mutation where intervocalic consonants are weakened. For example, the evolution of Brittonic voiceless occlusives into Welsh voiced occlusives and voiced fricatives.

- *Lexicon*

In linguistics, the lexicon of a language constitutes all of its lemmas (lexemes) or, in a more casual but less precise way, “all of its words”. It is always simpler to use technical terms than it is layman’s terms.

- *Metonymy*

The replacement of one term by another, which is linked to the first by a logical relation.

- *Palatalization*

Palatalization is a sound change where a sound is produced by a part further to the front of the palate than that used for the original sound.

For example, the Latin *castellum* gave *chastel* in old French, and *caballus* turned into a *cheval*. The transition from Latin /k/ to French /ch/ is a palatalization.



- *Paradigm*

The paradigm is the set of different forms that a word can take, especially in inflectional languages. Thus, the paradigm of the verb *to be* in the present indicative is: *am, is, are*.

- *Parataxis & hypotaxis*

Parataxis (from Greek *parátaxis*: coordination), is a type of construction by juxtaposition of phrases. No linking words explain the syntactic subordinating or coordinating relationships. Parataxis is the opposite of *hypotaxis*, where prepositions and conjunctions clarify the logical order.

- *Shortening*

Shortening of a diphthong into a long vowel (e.g. *ai* > *ē*, *ow* > *ū/ō*)

Shortening of a long vowel in front of another long vowel.

- *Sonorization (see voicing)*

- *Sound loss*

Sound losses are very common; they consist of the progressive disappearance of a phoneme (which becomes silent), whether it is conditioned or not. Ex: *patēr* > *fatēr* > *atīr*

Exception: loss of the /s/ between two vowels (Gaelic *swesor* > *swehor* > *swior*) except

- When the S present in the word results from the simplification of double S
- When there has been a simplification of a consonant group, such as *ns* > *ss* > *compensatory extension* + *s*:

- *Syntagma*

A syntagma is a set of words forming a single categorical and functional unit, constituting a semantic unit, but where each constituent (because it is separable, unlike compound words) retains its own meaning and syntax. A phrase therefore constitutes a changeable association, whereas a compound word is a fixed one.

- *Theonym*

Name of a god, goddess or other deity. Example: *Toutatis*.

- *Tmesis (from the Greek τμήσις 'cut')*

Affix separated from its root and which becomes autonomous (see separable particles in German).

- *Toponym*

Name assigned to a geographical entity.

- *Vendryes' Restriction*

States that when a pronominal clitic object is present, it must be adjacent to the verb.

- *Vocalization*

Changing a consonant to a vowel. Example: *Baume* is derived from *balme* through vocalization.

- *Voicing*

Changing a voiceless consonant (p, t, k) to a voiced one (b, d, g). See devoicing and sonorization.

- *Wackernagel's Law*

The so-called Wackernagel's Law generally states that certain words (weakly accented) are placed placed second in a phrase or sentence if the first place is occupied by an important and accented word.

Phonetic symbols

The spelling used largely corresponds to a phonetic transcription, inspired by characters used for Indo-European and ancient Greek: use of ⟨u⟩ for /ou/, ⟨k⟩ for /c/, ⟨x⟩ (to represent the Greek *khi*, aspirated consonant pronounced as /ch/ German in *nach*), ⟨Ð⟩ (initial), ⟨ð⟩ (rarely) and ⟨ss⟩ represent the “Tau-gallicum” a.k.a. the fricative /ts/.

/ā, ē, ī, ō, ū/ are long vowels.

Diphthongs are denoted by /aw/, /ow/, /ew/ and /ay/, /oy/ (except in the ending noted ⟨oī⟩).

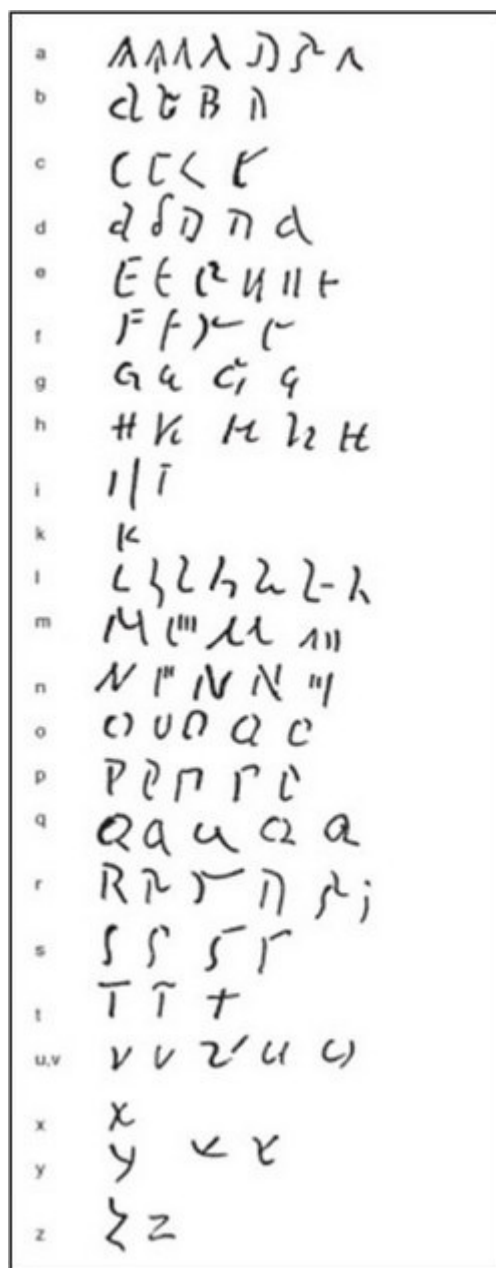
A consonant punctuated by a point ⟨˙⟩ indicates a sound assimilation or sandhi (e.g. *appisyū* for *ad-pisyū*).





Abbreviations

*	reconstructed form
<	descends from
>	develops into
→	therefore
Duno-	root, or stem without ending
-dunon	secondary compound element
ro-	prefix
-ti-	suffix
-s	ending
Bret.	Breton
Brit.	Brittonic, Britain
Celt.	Celtic
Celtib.	Celtiberian
Gaul.	Gaulish
Germ.	German, Germanic
Gr.	Greek
IE	Indo-European
Ir.	Ireland, Irish
Lat.	Latin
MW.	Middle Welsh
OFr.	Old French
OInd. Ir.	Old Indo-Iranian
OIr.	Old Irish
OW.	Old Welsh
P.	Proto- (before language)
Skt.	Sanskrit
W.	Welsh
A, acc.	accusative
Adj	adjective
Coll.	collective
CVRH	consonant, vowel, resonant, laryngeal ...
CeyH ...	where /e/ and /y/ indicate examples
D, dat.	dative
f, fem.	feminine
G, gen.	genitive
I / A	instrumental / ablative
m, masc.	masculine
n	neuter
N	noun or nominative
p	person



Examples of Roman cursive used in Gaulish inscriptions

pl	plural
PN	proper or personal name
pp	past (or passive) participle
pref.	prefix
RN	hydronym (river name)
suff.	suffix
SVO	“subject-verb-object” structure
SOV	“subject-object-verb” structure
VSO	“verb-subject-object” structure
sg	singular
V	verb / vocative (depending on context)
VA	verbal adjective
VN	verbal noun

1. Nominal Morphology

Morphology (ἡ μορφή in Greek) studies the various forms that words can take,

mainly *declensions* and *conjugations*. A

word is made up of various meaningful

elements called *morphemes*. Words are

divided into 8 *grammatical categories*:

nouns, adjectives (attribution of a quality),

pronouns (replacement of a noun), verbs

(act), adverbs (expression of time, place,

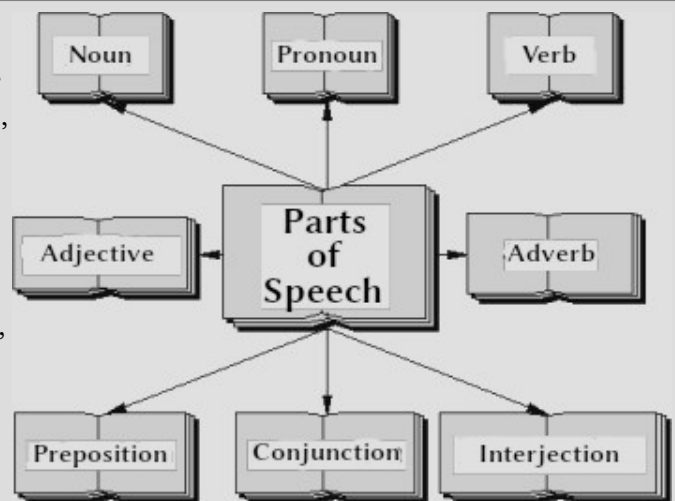
and manner), prepositions (relation

between words of the same sentence),

conjunctions (connection of words) and interjections. We will study the nature of the first 3

(inflection) in this chapter. Verbs will be studied in a separate chapter because of their

complexity. The other categories (uninflected) will be addressed in the chapter on syntax.



Note: The lack of written Gaulish source material makes it very difficult to reconstruct the morphology of the Gaulish language. Thus, it is necessary to reconstruct the missing morphemes of Gaulish from related Celtic languages, in accordance with linguistic sound laws. But there can be a significant chronological gap between an attested, living Celtic form and that assumed in ancient Gaulish. In such cases, it is not always possible to perform a complete reconstruction. Gaulish probably varied over the centuries, but the morphological system reconstructed here corresponds to its hypothetical state in the 1st Century AD.



1.1 INFLECTION & APOPHONY

Gaulish nominal morphology is characterized by its complex structure, which it inherited from Indo-European.

- It is based on **inflection**. Any inflected form is made up of the **word stem** and **ending**. This represents grammatical relationships and morphological categories, i.e. case and number for nominal forms, and gender for adjectives.
- Another characteristic inherited from the Indo-European languages is **vowel alternation**: a stem is characterized by an affix and a radical; this is formed from a consonant root (in IE forms, vowels do not belong to the root). Thus, several forms correspond to the same root with different vowels, a phenomenon called **apophony** (or **ablaut**). These forms are called **grades** in IE: *e (full) grade, *o (inflected) grade, long grades (the same as *e and *o, but with long vowels) and zero grade (no vowel). Example: in Gaulish, ‘run’ may have a normal full grade with /e/ (e.g. *retūte* ‘I run’), an inflected grade with /o/ (e.g. *rotā* ‘wheel’), and a zero or reduced grade with /i/ or /a/ (e.g. *ritus* ‘running, race’).

The alternation can give a complementary meaning to the ending (e.g. the inflected grade often gives roots with perfective or causative value).

- **Affixation** (suffixation, infixation and prefixation) is a very developed process in Celtic languages in the formation of nouns and especially in verbal inflection (see point 2).

Nominal forms are subdivided into **substantives** (**nouns**, **pronouns**) and **adjectives**.

1.2 SUBSTANTIVE DECLENSIONS

“**D**ecension” is the different forms a noun can take based on gender, number, and case. Celtic probably distinguished 6 cases: the nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive, dative, and optional instrumental; The locative appears distinct for thematic stems (after the preposition ‘in’). There does not seem to be a separate ablative anymore (Celtic must have used the instrumental).

- **Nominative**: marks the subject of a sentence, the epithet of a nominative, the apposition (e.g. Rome, capital of the world, the city of Rome is illustrious), and the attribute of the subject.
- **Accusative**: complement of direct object (+ epithet and apposition), circumstantial complement of place (directive), cc. time (duration)
- **Genitive**: complement of the noun, it expresses the origin (genitive of belonging), the partitive (one of us), even the instrument (“a glass of wine”).

- *Dative*: former dative-locative, it expresses prospective meaning (to do, beneficiary, destination) and inessive (to + place); complementary indirect object, attribution (to), interest (for); complement of some adjectives (similar to, useful to); ablative plural.
- *Instrumental*: possessive and perlocative meaning (where we come from); circumstantial complement of instrument, i.e. medium (e.g., hitting with the sword), cause (dying of hunger), accompaniment (= with, instr. of contact only, or + *kanti* when accompaniment), manner, matter; object complement of the deponent verbs; agent complement of passive verbs (see French *par*); CC. time (today = ‘this day’, ‘times of the day’, ‘season’), instrumental of contact (+ prepositions ‘with’, ‘for’, ‘in front’);
- *Ablative*: indicates the source. It must have merged with the instrumental (dropping of the final “d” in the singular).
- *Locative* (= where one is) exists only for singular stems; for the plural, it corresponds to the plural instrumental (among = pl in). For other stems, the ablative / instrumental replaces the locative (however *-ai* > *e* for laryngeal stems?).

1. Thematic -e / o- stems

(Latin *dominus* and *templum*)

Wiros ‘man’ (masculine, occ. feminine ¹)					Németon ‘sanctuary’ (neuter)				
	Singular	IE	Plural	IE		Singular	IE	Plural	IE
N	Wir- os	os	Wir- oi > i	oes	N	Nemet- on	om	Nemet- ā	oH _a
V	Â Wir- e	e	Â Wir- ūs	/	V	Â Nemet- on	e	Nemet- ā	/
A	Wir- on	om	Wir- ūs	ōns	A	Nemet- on	om	Nemet- ā	oH _a
G	Wir- i	os	Wir- on	oom	G	Nemet- i	os	Nemet- on	oom
D	Wir- ūi > ū	oey	Wir- obo	obos	D	Nemet- ūi > ū	oey	Nemet- obo	obos
I/A	Wir- ū	oH _e	Wir- ūs > obi ²	ōys	I/A	Nemet- ū	oH _e	Nemet- ūs > obi ?	ōys
L	Wir- ē	e/oi	cf. I/A	oy(su)	L	Nemet- ē	e/oi	cf. I/A	oy(su)

¹ These are usually masculine nouns which end with the alternating “thematic” vowel *e/o*. Only the names of trees and sometimes places are feminine.

² The plural instrumental evolved (as in Gaelic) to *obi*, reformed in accordance with the athematics. The dual, if it existed, must have matched the instrumental (= ‘with’).



2. Athematic Laryngeals (-ā, -ī)

$eH_a > \bar{a}$; $iH_a > \bar{i}$ or $y\bar{a}$; $uH_a > \bar{u}$ or $w\bar{a}^2$ (Latin *rosa*)

/Ā/ Tówtā 'people' (feminine, occ. masculine ¹)					/Ī/ Ríganī /yā 'queen' (often feminine)				
	Singular	IE	Plural	IE		Singular	IE	Plural	IE
N	Towt- ā	e H _a	Towt- ās	e H _a es	N	Rígan- ī / yā	i(e) H _a	Rígan- iyas / yās	i H _a es
V	Â Towt- a	H _a	Towt- ās	/	V	Â Rígan- i / ya	/	Rígan- iyas	/
A	Towt- an > im	e H _a m	Towt- ās	e H _a s	A	Rígan- īm	i H _a m	Rígan- iyas / yās	i H _a ns
G	Towt- ās > yās	e H _a es	Towt- ānon	e H _a om	G	Rígan- yās	i H _a es	Rígan- yānon	i H _a om
D	Towt- ai > ē > ī	e H _a ey	Towt- ābo	e H _a bos	D	Rígan- ī	i H _a ey	Rígan- yābo	i H _a bos
I/A	Towt- ai > yā > ī ?	e H _a	Towt- ābi	e H _a bis	I/A	Rígan- yā > ī ?	i H _a	Rígan- yābi	i H _a bis

¹ Laryngeal stems are generally feminine but sometimes also masculine: proper nouns, men's names (function) or river names. Moreover, *-tā* action nouns (formed from verbs) are feminine even if they apply to a man.

² The *wā* stems are extremely rare and merge with the *u/w* athematics.

3. Athematic Semi-vowels -i/y, -u/w

(Latin *mare* and *manuus*)

Wátis 'seer' (variable gender, animate)					Móri 'sea' (neuter)				
	Singular	IE	Plural	IE		Singular	IE	Plural	IE
N	Wāt i-s	i-s	Wāt ey-es > is	eyes	N	Mor ī > e	i	Mor iy-ā	i H _a
V	Â Wāt i *	ey	Wāt ī-s *	/	V	Â Mor ī *	i	Mor iy-ā	/
A	Wāt i-n	im	Wāt ī-s	íns	A	Mor ī	i	Mor iy-ā	/
G	Wāt ōs/yās ¹	oy-s	Wāt iy-on	yom	G	Mor y-os * > ōs	oy-s	Mor iy-on	yom
D	Wāt ē	ey-ey	Wāt i-bo > ebo	ibhos	D	Mor ē	ey-ey	Mor i-bo	ibhos
I/A	Wāt ī	i-H _e	Wāt i-bi > ebi	ibhis	I/A	Mor ī	i-H _e	Mor i-bi	ibhis

¹ Genitive *oys* > *ōs*, but possible exception for the open inflections (→ *-yos* and fem. *-yās*).

Mágus 'servant, boy' (animate)					Médu 'mead' (neuter) ¹				
	Singular	IE	Plural	IE		Singular	IE	Plural	IE
N	Mag u-s	u-s	Mag ow-es	ewes	N	Med u	u	Med u-ā ?	U H _a
V	Â Mag u	ew	Mag ū-s *	/	V	Â Med u *	ew	Med u-ā ?	/
A	Mag u-n	um	Mag ū-s	uns	A	Med u	u	Med u-ā ?	/
G	Mag ows * > ōs	ow-s	Mag (o)w-om	wom	G	Med ow-s * > ōs	ow-s	Med (o)w-om	wom
D	Mag ow-i > ow	owey	Mag ow-ībo ?	ubo	D	Mag ow-i > ow	owey	Med ow-ībo	oubo
I/A	Mag ū	uH _e	Mag ow-ībi ?	ubi	I/A	Mag u	ouH _e	Med ow-ībi	oubi

¹ Neuters in *u/w* are rare and tend to be replaced by thematic inflection (cf. *lindon*).

This declension is only partially known and is therefore reconstructed according to IE and OIr.

The semi-vowel stems alternate *i/y* and *u/w*, following the closed Indo-European inflection.

They undergo the alternation of the pre-desinential syllable grade.

4. Athematic Resonants (-r and -n)

The athematic resonants R and N most often follow the Indo-European open inflection. The accent is often mobile (in IE), just as the predesinential syllable grade varies. The R-stems are only masculine and feminine.

Mātīr ‘mother’ (animate)					Móltū ‘sheep’ (animate)				
	Singular	IE	Plural	IE		Singular	IE	Plural	IE
N	Mātīr	ér	Māter- es	es	N	Móltū	ó(n)	Molton- es	es
V	Â Māter ?	-	id	/	V	Móltū ?	-	id	/
A	Māter- əm/n ¹	m̃	Māt- ās	ŋs	A	Molton- ən ?	m̃	Molton- ās ?	ŋs
G	Mātr- ōs	os	Mātr- on	om	G	Molton- os ?	os	Molton- on	om
D	Mātr- ē* / i	ey	Mātr ĭ- bo	bho	D	Molton- ē* / i	ey	Molton-(ĭ) bo ?	bho
I/A	Mātr- ī*	i-H _ε	Mātr ĭ- bi	bhi	I/A	Molton- ī*	eH _ε	Molton-(ĭ) bi ?	bhi

¹ The [e] vocalism of <-əm> is the result of the closure of /a/ in front of a final nasal; /m/ is archaic.

5. Athematic Stops and S-stems

They feature open inflection but the stem is immobile.

There are stems ending in /t/, /k/, /nt/ (rare and perhaps thematized) whose declension (well-attested except the accusative, which remains controversial) is fairly uniform, except in the nominative.

Druiss < druids ‘druide’ (animate)					Mīss < mēns ‘month’ (various)				
	Singular	IE	Plural	IE		Singular	IE	Plural	IE
N	Druiss ¹	s	Druid- es	es	N	Mīss ¹	s	Mīss- es	es
V	Â Druiss ?	-	id	/	V	Mīss ?	-	id	/
A	Druid- ən ?	m̃	Druid- ās	ŋs	A	Mīss- ən ?	m̃	Mīss - ās/ēs ?	ŋs
G	Druid- os	os	Druid- on	om	G	Mīss- os ?	os	Mīss - on	om
D	Druid- ē* / i	ey	Druid-(ĭ) bo	bho	D	Mīss- ē* / i	ey	Mīss - bo ?	bho
I/A	Druid- ī*	eH _ε	Druid-(ĭ) bi	bhi	I/A	Mīss- ī*	eH _ε	Mīss - bi ?	bhi

¹ The final fricative is usually reduced to /s/ with vowel lengthening; the occlusive (stop) appears in other cases.



6. Athematic *-man-* and *-es-* (*-us-*) Stems

The suffix *mñ* on the proterokinetic root forms action nouns, verbal infinitives, or instrumental nouns, all neuter. The suffixes *-us* and *-es-* carry the “medio-patient” (mediopassive verb) sense. The declension of these stems is very little known and largely reconstructed.

Anwan < anman ‘name’ (neuter)					Nemos ‘sky’ (neuter)				
	Singular	IE	Plural	IE		Singular	IE	Plural	IE
N	Anwan	<i>mñ</i>	Anwan- a	(e)H _a	N	Nem os	os	Nem is- a	(e) H _a
V	Â Anwan	<i>mñ</i>	/	/	V	Â Nem os	-	/	/
A	Anwan	<i>mñ</i>	Anwan- a	(e)H _a	A	Nem os	os	Nem is- a	(e) H _a
G	Anwan- os ¹ ?	<i>s</i>	Anwan- on	om	G	Nem is- os	os	Nem is- on	om
D	Anwan- ē* / i	<i>ey</i>	Anwan- bo	bho	D	Nem is- ē* / ī	<i>ey</i>	Nem is-(ī) bo ?	bho
I/A	Anwan- ī*	<i>eH_e</i>	Anwan- bi	bhi	I/A	Nem is- ī	<i>oH_e</i>	Nem is-(ī) bi ?	bhi

¹ The expected genitive (see OIr.) **anwan-s* > ***anwās*, but probable reconstruction.

1.3 ADJECTIVE DECLENSIONS

Adjectives agree in gender and number with the noun to which they relate. They are declined like nouns, but according to 3 stems (*o-*, *i-*, and more rarely *u-*stems). There are a few adjectives that have a consonant stem (archaism).

Adjective placement is free but tends to follow the noun to which it refers. Adjectives can be suffixed or infixed, especially the adjectives *su-*, *du(s)-* (only prefixed), *dago-* (= ‘positive’, ‘good’), *māro-* (= ‘great’, ‘large’) and *dubno-* (= ‘deep’). This provokes a change in meaning (often intensive) or allows the creation of an adjective on the basis of a noun.

Examples: **Supritus* ‘handsome’ ≠ **dupritus* ‘ugly’ (pritus = ‘appearance’), *nertomāros* ‘strong’ from *nertos* ‘force’, *britumāros* ‘intelligent’ from *britus* ‘thought’ ...

Thematic Adjectives

'Large'	Masc. sg.	Neuter sg.	Fem. sg.	Masc. pl.	Neuter pl.	Fem. pl.
Nominative	māros	māron	mārā	māroī	mārā	mārās
Vocative	māre	māron	māra	mārūs	mārā	mārās
Accusative	māron	māron	māran > in	mārūs	mārā	mārās
Genitive	mārī	mārī	māryās	māron	māron	mārānon
Dative	mārū(i)	mārū(i)	mārāī > ī	mārobo	mārobo	mārābo
Instr./ Abl.	mārū	mārū	mārī(-yā)	mārobi	mārobi	mārābi
Locative	mārē	mārē	mārī	mārobi	mārobi	mārābi

I-stem Adjectives

'Numerous'	Masc. sg.	Neuter sg.	Fem. sg.	Masc. pl.	Neuter pl.	Fem. pl.
Nominative	mantis	manti	= masc.	mantīs	mantya	= masc.
Vocative	manti	manti	= masc.	mantīs	mantya	= masc.
Accusative	mantin	manti	= masc.	mantīs	mantya	= masc.
Genitive	mant(y)ōs	mant(y)ōs	mant(y)ās ?	mantyon	mantyon	= masc.
Dative	mantē	mantē	= masc.	mantibo	mantibo	= masc.
Instr./ Abl.	mantī	mantī	= masc.	mantibi	mantibi	= masc.

U-stem Adjectives

(poorly attested, very hypothetical reconstruction)

'Dark'	Masc. sg.	Neuter sg.	Fem. sg. = ū?	Masc. pl.	Neuter pl.	Fem. pl.
Nominative	dubus	dubu	dubwī	dubēs?	dubya?	dubyās?
Vocative	dubu	dubu	dubu	dubēs?	dubya?	dubyās?
Accusative	dubun	dubu	dubwin	dubūs	dubya?	dubyās?
Genitive	dubōs	dubōs	dubwās?	dubwon	dubwon	=
Dative	dubow	dubow	dubwī	dubwibo	dubwibo	dubwābo?
Instr./ Abl.	dubū	dubū	dubwī	dubwibi	dubwibi	dubwābi?



1.4 ADJECTIVE DEGREES OF COMPARISON

1. Equative

As ... as = Adjective + *is-etos*, *ā*, *on* (regular adjectives)

It can be formed also by prefixing a noun with *kon-* (intensive) → *Komantī* ‘as big as’.

This degree of comparison, besides its sense of equality, can express intensity, exclamation, or translate as ‘what a’ + the adjective.

→ *Trexsetos (essi) wiros* != ‘What a strong man!’, *Wimpetos (essi)* != ‘How beautiful!’

2. Comparative

Adding /k/ to IE *-yūs*, *usos* > *uxsos*, *ā*, *on* ? (based on *cintux-* from potters’ accounting and comparative Breton /oc’h/, Welsh /ach/) or better, comparative in *ūs*, *isos* if *ēurises* from the inscription of the Pillar of the Boatmen is formed on a comparative and means ‘seniors, elders’, i.e. *aiuryūs*, *ises* < *ayu* (‘age’) *-ro* (locative suffix) *-yūs* (comparative).

Similarly, *meion* (Chamalières) could come from an older Gpl **māison* > **maiyon* > **mēyon*.

‘Old’	Masc-Fem. sg.	P-Celt.	Masc.-Fem. pl.	P-Celt.
Nom.	senyūs, is / yuxsos, ā, on	*-yōs, yōs	senises / yuxsoī, ās, a	*-yoses
Acc.	senisən, is / yuxson, an	*-yos·m	senisās / yuxsūs, ās	*-yos·ns
Gen.	senisos / yuxsī, ās	*-yesos	senison / yuxson, ānon	*-yesom
Dat.	senisi/ yuxsūi, aī	*-yes-i	senis?bo / yuxobo, abo	
I/A	senisi / yuxsu, ī		senis?bi / yuxsobi, abi	

3. Superlative

Adjective radical + (*is-amos*, *ā*, *on*)

The superlative can be absolute and translated as “very + the adjective”, or relative and translated as “more + adjective”.

→ *Sindā kassikā essi windisamā* = ‘This mare is the whitest’

Some common adjectives have preserved old (suppletive) forms

Adjective	Equative	Comparative	Superlative
adgossus, u 'near, close'	nessetos, ā, on 'as near'	nessos, ā, on 'closer'	nessamos, ā, on 'closest'
bekkos, ā, on 'small'	bekkisetos, ā, on 'as small'	lag(y)us, u 'smaller'	lagisamos, ā, on 'smallest'
kintus, u 'first'	—	kintuxsos, ā, on 'first, further'	kintus(a)mos, ā, on 'prime'
dagos, ā, on 'good'	kondagos, ā, on 'as good'	wellos, ā, on 'better'	dekos, ā, on 'best'
drukos, ā, on 'bad'	kondrukos, ā, on 'as bad'	waxtos, ā, on 'worse'	messamos, ā, on 'worst'
elus, u 'many'	komantis, i 'as much' (cf. māro-)	lēūs, is 'more'	?
isselos, ā, on wosselos, ā, on 'low'	issetos, ā, on 'as low'	issus, u 'lower'	issamos, ā, on 'lowest'
yowinkos, ā, on 'young'	yowinketos, ā, on 'as young'	yowūs, wis 'younger'	yowisamos, ā, on 'youngest'
letanos, ā, on 'large'	kobletos, ā, on 'as large'	letūs, is 'larger'	letisamos, ā, on 'largest'
māros, ā, on 'great, big'	komantis, i 'as great'	māyūs, yos (> mēūs?) 'greater'	māsamos, ā, on 'greatest'
sīros, ā, on 'long'	kositos, ā, on 'as long'	sēūs, is 'longer'	sīsamos, ā, on 'longest'
trēnos, ā, on 'strong'	trexsetos, ā, on 'as strong'	trexsyos, iā 'stronger'	trexsamos, ā, on 'strongest'
uxselos, ā, on 'high'	uxsisetos, ā, on (or ouxsetos) 'as high'	uxsyū, is 'higher'	uxsisamos, ā, on (or uxsamos) 'highest'

Syntax of comparatives:

The equative is followed by the accusative (IE extensive or acc. of contact) while the comparative is followed by the instrumental / ablative ('with', 'between'):

→ *Wiros essi trexsetos tarwon* ≈ 'the man is strong like a bull'

→ *Wiros essi mayūs bnaī* ≈ 'the man is bigger than [with, with respect to] the woman'.

Moreover, as in French, adverbs can express inferiority or equality.



1.5 (AD)RĪMĀS: THE CARDINAL & REGULAR NUMBERS

1. Numeral Adjectives

The cardinal number adjectives are indeclinable, except for the first four, which depend on the noun that they count.

Oynos, ā, on:	1		
Dowo, dwī:	2 (former dual: G = ō < ow; I/A, D = pl)		
Trī(s), tīsres, tri-:	3 (th. pl. I-stem declension)		
Petwar(es), petesres, petru-:	4 (th. pl. I-stem declension)		
Pinpe / pempe:	5	Oynodekan:	11
Swexs:	6	Dwodekan:	12
Sextan:	7	Petrudekan:	14
Oxtu:	8	Penpedekan	...
Nawan:	9	Oxtudekan:	18
Dekan:	10	Nawdekan:	19

Indeclinable
Adjectives

2. Numeral Nouns

Numbers past the teens are treated as nouns (twenties, thirties, ...)

Wikantī*: 20 (ī noun, dual), the noun that follows is put in G. pl.; When adding ones and tens, the twenties and thirties follow the noun being counted, and are thus what is put in the genitive.

Trikontā: 30 (+Gpl); Petrukontā: 40 (+Gpl) ...
Kanton: 100 (+Gpl)

Examples: 21 horses = *oinos epos wikantō*^{Gdu}
35 horses = *penpe epoī trikontās*
40 horses = *petrukontā epon*^{Gpl}

3. Ordinals

Kintus, ī, u / kintuxos, a, on: 'first'	Swexsos, ā, on
Allos, ā, on: 'second'	Sextametos, ā, on
Tritos, ā, on	Oxtumetos, ā, on
Petwaryos, ā, on	Na(w)ametos, ā, on
Pempetos / Pimpetos, ā, on:	Dekametos, ā, on

Trēanis: 'third' Petranis: 'quarter'

Wo + Acc number = X times (exception: *oinowextā** = 'once')

4. Numeral Substantives

In Old Irish there were specific numbers for counting people, things or periods of time. Such substantives may have existed in Gaulish.

■ Group of indeterminate elements:

Number + *-dyon* (neuter n.) [Note: *-am* + *dyon* > *antyon*?]

→ *tridyon*, *petrudyon*^{*}, *pimpedyon*^{*}, *swexdyon*^{*}, *sextantyon*^{*}, ***oxtantyon***, *nawantyon*^{*}, *dekantyon*.

Only *oxtantyon* is attested (in the Coligny Calendar); it serves as a model for the reconstructed rule. *Tridyon* would mean ‘triad’, ‘group of three’.

■ Temporal substantives:

Old Irish possessed a form suffixed in *-akyā*, *-yakā* which creates abstract nouns designating a period of time (day, year). We probably have the equivalent with ***dekamnoxtiakon*** (‘period of 10 nights’, or 9 days if counting “Greek style”).

1.6 PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES

1.6.1 Pronouns & Anaphorics

① Personal pronouns

	<i>I</i>	<i>You (sg.)</i>	<i>He, It (m.-n.)</i>	<i>She</i>
<i>N/V</i>	mī ¹ (=I/A)	tī (I/a)/tū ¹	ēs/is - i/itu ⁴	Sī/iā ²
<i>Acc</i>	m(e) /mí	t(e)	in/ton - i/itu ⁴	im?
<i>G</i>	(i)mon(i)	tow(i)	esyo	esyās
<i>D</i>	moī > mī	toī > tī	(t)u ⁴ ?	ey(a)ī
<i>I/A</i>	mē > mī ²	tē/ō > tī/tū ¹	(t)u ⁴ ?	eyā

	<i>We</i>	<i>You (pl.)</i>	<i>They (m.-n.)</i>	<i>They (fem.)</i>
<i>N/V</i>	snī ¹	swī ¹	īs/ē ? - ī ?	eyas/iās
<i>Acc</i>	nos / sne	wos / swe	sōs – *sa ² ?	sies ^{2,4}
<i>G</i>	sonson ³ ?	soswon ³ ?	es(y)on	eyānon
<i>D</i>	snei > snī	swei > swī	ēbo / obo ?	eyābo
<i>I/A</i>	snē > snī ²	swē > swī	ēbi / obi ?	eyābi

1) The Celtic languages seem to have lost their nominative personal pronouns (made redundant by verb endings). However, pronouns may be suffixed in Gaulish for emphatic purposes, probably in the instrumental or accusative: *mī* (< *me*), *tī* / *tū* (< *te* / *tō*), *snī* / *e* (**ñsmē* > *snnē*), *swī* / *e* (**usmē* > *wswē* > *swē* or directly from **uswē* according to Cowgill or Dunkel) [*metathesis + assimilation] → Compare Fr. « *moi, je fais ...* » and apposition to the dative in OIr. (formerly instrumental).

2) For the third person singular and plural, and for the feminine, the situation is different; the pronoun is useful when it comes to gender. In this case, Gaulish uses the anaphoric *ey-* for



direct cases and the anaphoric *e / o* for indirect cases. The demonstrative *so / to - s' - so / to (d) > tu* have also been used to supplement (no distinction between nominative and accusative of the 3rd per. pl. pronouns, requiring a renewal of the forms; cf. *īs / sōs < *sons, eyās / sies < *siñs*).

3) 'Our': MW. *an = n̄smon → anson → a(s)non* (but MBret *hon = so + nōs?*), OIr. *na(tha)r / ar^N = n̄sron > é / aqron*; 'Your (pl.)': OIr. *sethar / for^N = swesron? > (s)waθron* (nevertheless, MW *awch* and Bret *hoz = sowōs*); Gaulish *so + nson / wson? = 'Ours, yours (pl.)'*. Their: MW *eu* - OIr *a^N = es(y)om*.

4) Pronouns are suffixed to simple verbs and infixed within compound verbs. There are atonic or tonic forms. For the 3rd pers. sg. m. and n., *to-* perhaps supersedes *i-* for phonetic reasons (after preverb) and when a subject pronoun is also affixed (example, acc. *-ton*). See OIr. *id < *i(d)to(d)?* The atonic forms of the pronouns are used mainly for suffixing the verb. A distinction could be made between suffixed atonic forms, and tonic forms enlarged in 's', and emphatics (phrase particle interpreted as the demonstrative *-s(o)* infixed in the pronoun but suffixed by *-t(o)* for neuter?). Subsequently, the use of enclitic or suffixed, atonic, or enlarged forms was able to replace the endings to distinguish the cases of personal pronouns.

② E/o anaphoric supplemented by ey/i (deictic): pronoun and clitic

N	ēs	eyā	i(d)	īs (< *eyes)	(e)yās	eyā/ī ?
Acc.	im	eyam?	i(d)	īs (< *ins)	(e)yās	eyā/ī ?
G	esyo	esyās	esyo	esyom	eyanom	esyom
D	ūi > ū ?	eyāi / iyāi?	ūi > ū ?	ēbo ?	eyābo	ēbo ?
I/A	ū ?	eyā ?	ū	ēbi ?	eyābi	ēbi ?

1.6.2 Demonstrative and indefinites

① Sindos/a, san 'this, that' [sm + d^he + e/o-] (cf. Latin *idem, quidam*)

N	sindos	sindā	sin ?	sindoī	sindās	sənā?
Acc.	sindon	sindān	sin ?	sindōs	sindās	sənā?
G	sindī	sindās	sindi	sindōn	sindanom	sindon
D	sindūi	sind(a)ī	sindūi	sindobo	sindābo	sindobo
I/A	sindū	sindya	sindū	sindobi?	sindābi	sindobi?
Loc.	sindē	/	sindē	/	/	/

Anaphoric demonstrative (referring to what precedes, determinant). Its declension resembles that of adjectives (except in neuter). It will serve as an article (and adv. 'there' = *sindū*, cf. OIr. *and < s̄ndū**). The disappearance of initial 's' can be postulated for the adjective in late Gaulish (cf. *indās mnās*).

Sometimes, pronominal use ('that one') or, in the case of *sən* or *senī*, relative resumptive (= 'what', cf. OIr *an-í*, 'that which' = **san-ei, int-í* '(s)he who' (see Lat. *id quod*, Goth. *sa-ei / that-ei*).

② *So-* ‘this’

Enclitic with demonstrative value representing place and time. Descended from direct cases. The other demonstratives come from oblique cases remade on *so-* (e.g. IE dative **te / osmoy*).

③ *Sondos/a, sosin* ‘this one, that one’ [*so+sm+ d^he+e/o-*]

N	sondos	sondā	sosin	sondoī	sondās	sosəna ?
Acc.	sondon	sondān	sosin	sondoūs	sondās	sosəna ?
G	sondī	sondās	sondī	sondon	sondanom	sondon
D	sondūi	sond(a)ī	sondūi	sondobo	sondābo	sondobo
I/A	sondū	sondya	sondū	sondobi?	sondābi	sondobi?
Loc	sondē	/	sondē	/	/	/

Demonstrative (adjective) of the greatest proximity or referring to what follows, it declines much the same as *sindos*, preceded by the enclitic particle *-so-*; (cf. W *hwn, hon, hyn* ‘this one’, and OIr. *sund* ‘here’ < **sondū* ‘here’). From the oblique case of *so* (dative-locative?). For further study, also compare Greek οὗτος ‘this one’ = *so + H_{au} + te / o* in relation to αὐτός (*he + demonstrative 2nd p.*) = *H_{au} + te / o*.

Note: the loss of initial /s/ can be postulated for late Gaulish adjectives (cf. *onda*); *sondios* (Chartres) may be a pronoun form (**sondiyos // int-í* OIr.)

④ *Nepos/a, Nepi* ‘some, someone, no or none’

N	nepos	nepos / ā	nepi	nepoī	nepās	nepā ?
Acc.	nepon	nepos / ān	nepi	nepūs	nepās	nepā ?
G	nepī	nepī / (y)ās	nepī	nepon	nepanom	nepon
D	nepūi	nepūi / (a)ī	nepūi	nepobo	nepābo	nepobo
I/A	nepū	nepū / ya	nepū	nepobi?	nepābi	nepobi?
Loc	nepē	nepē / -	nepē	/	/	/

- *Nepos*, i(d): indefinite o-stem pronoun for masculine and feminine singular, ‘id’ in neuter. Means ‘someone, something’, or with negation, ‘nobody’.
- *Pāpos*: ‘everyone, each one’ (m/f o-stem pronoun), no neuter? Only sg.
- *Nepos*, ā, i(d): ‘whatever’, ‘no ...’ → ‘any’ i.e., ‘(a) person’ (adj. = Gr. ὅστις)
- *Pāpos*, ā, i(d): ‘everything’, ‘each’ → ‘each’ (adj. = Lat. *quisque*, Gr. ἕκαστος)

⑤ *Interrogatives and relatives*

- *Pē* = ‘who’, ‘which’ (m.) Cf. Lat. *qui* (< **que-ī*), *pitō**? = ‘what’ (n) < **pi(d) + to(d)*, *peyā** / *pē-sī**? (f.) N, A;
- *Pī** (genitive); *pē* (dative / locative?), NPl *pē(s)?* *Pe* (compound form) *P(e)-are* = ‘why’
- *Panā** = ‘from where’
- *Ponī** = ‘when’
- *Pū** = ‘how’, ‘where’ (+ **pote* ‘to where’, **podī* ‘where?’)



- Peti = 'how much'
- -Yo (< *yod): relative suffix attached to the verb, negative, or preverb when the antecedent is a subject or object of the relative.

© Miscellaneous (pronouns & adjectives)

- *Sosyo, Sosyā*: "Genitive" formation of *so-*, used as first person demonstrative? Relative meaning (= 'which' OW *hai*)? Possessive 3rd person (his) ? See German *dessen*
- *(I)xsī*?: 'same', 'him' / 'herself', 'in person', 'just' (nominalized = 'the same', 'the same thing', < **epse*). Seems to be infixated between the root of a noun and its ending. See notes from OIr.?
- *Allos, allā, alli*: 'other' (after noun), 'second' (preceding the noun) -*alyos, ā, i*: 'other'
- *Ollos, ā, on*: 'whole', 'complete' ('very' in compound)
- *Ponk* (m), *pog* (n) = 'anyone', 'whatever', 'all that', indefinite pronoun, comparable to OIr. *cecha* used only in acc. and with the subjunctive (< **k^womk^we*, **k^wodk^we*, see Bret *bennag*, Lat. *quisque*)
- *Ki-* = 'this', locative sense (< **kei* proclitic or prefix).

1.6.3 Possessives

Possessives, which could have only existed in the first and second sg. and pl. persons (unlike in French,) would generally have been in competition with genitive personal pronouns or demonstratives (the only construction used in the third person).

Their existence in Gaulish is not assured.

2. Verbal Morphology

Another area where we find inflectional morphology is verbal morphology, or **conjugation**. This is the sum of different forms derived from a verb by inflection (**paradigm**). These different forms of the same verb come from a **lexeme** (≈ radical) whose form is conventionally used to represent the verb (e.g. in the dictionary) and is called the **lemma**.

The verbal system of Gaulish is quite rich and complex with an old morphology. Also, before we start, we will compare the Indo-European and Gaulish verbal systems.

2.1 THE VERBAL SYSTEM

The **Proto-Indo-European verbal system** resembled those of ancient Greek and Vedic Sanskrit, two of its closest daughter languages. It distinguished:

- ① **Person** marked by endings (3 singular, dual, and plural persons)

Voice: Divided between active (unmarked) and middle (marked by the "o" ending)

→ The active is found in the old denominative causative / benefactive (verbs 'to give', 'to raise' ...) or essives ('to be standing', 'to be such', ...); The aspect of the

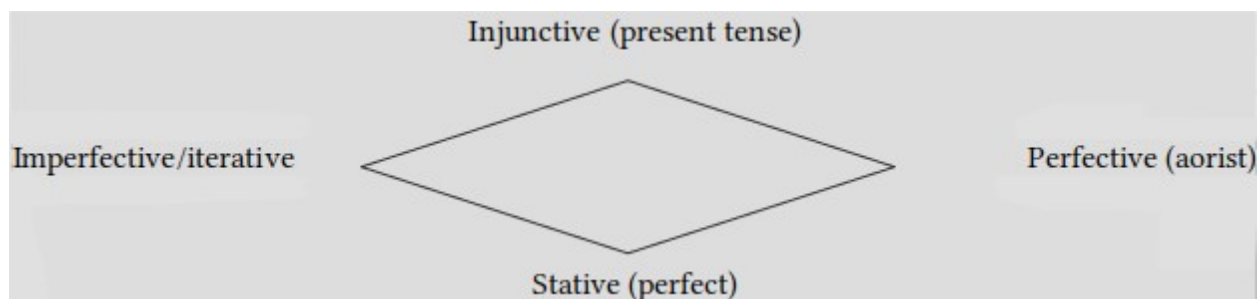
verb determines whether it is essive or not; an essive verb can become causative by infixing an “n” at the root or by suffixing *éye / ī*.

→ The middle is obtained by adding an inflectional ending to the active. It has a meaning ranging from receptive, to thoughtful, to passive (‘receive’, ‘stand up’, ‘be lifted by’). The subject is affected by or undergoes the action.

- ② **Mood:** it allows consideration of reality in different ways. We distinguish between the action actually taking place (indicative), the action that must take place (imperative), the probable action we expect or want to achieve (subjunctive) as well as the desired or non-real action, and the choice (optative); Indo-European might also have had an injunctive mood.
- ③ **Tense:** only pertains to the indicative and includes the present (actualized) as well as the past tense (marked by the prefix “e” in the Eastern languages).
- ④ **Aspect:** The aspect is inherent to the root or marked by suffixes. We recognize:
 - ↪ *The imperfective* (represented by the present and imperfect forms); implies the action has not been completed, or has no need to be completed to take effect (i.e. an ongoing action, e.g. ‘sing’, ‘carry’); the action is shown:
 - in progress (“to be in the middle of singing, eating ...”);
 - unfinished but trying to be completed (“seek to understand, convince ...”);
 - repeated over time (iterative), habitual, continuous; The continuous aspect is also often associated with the: iterative, distributive, intensive, or even emphatic.
 - ↪ *The perfective* (represented by the aorist forms): initially, the aorist carried no temporal meaning but an aspect called “zero” (or “perfective”). That is to say that the “action” is represented without reference to its duration (it marks the completion of an action that can not be prolonged unless repeated) and depends on the meaning of the verb. The aorist, however, needing the end of the act to be reached for it to take place (e.g., verbs ‘to buy’, ‘to go out’, etc.), has come to take a completed and past temporal meaning; it can also be used for general truths (gnomic aorist) or punctual actions (inchoative);
 - ↪ *The stative* (represented by the perfect and derivative forms): the process is eliminated in favor of its result. A verb with a perfect aspect indicates a stable state of the subject as a result of a past action (the present result of an action accomplished in the past). It contrasts with dynamic verbs and expresses neither duration nor accomplishment of the action (modal verbs and expressing states) and is often intransitive. The verb *es-*, ‘to be’, for this reason, only has a stative aspect. The sense of the stative is usually possessive (e.g., ‘fearing’ = ‘to have fear’).



The aspect of the verb determines how tense is formed. An aspect change can give a present, past, or even future tense. Thus an unmarked verb (indicative active) indicates only the aspect. To be present tense, the unmarked verb may suffice (primary verbs) or it must be modified (secondary verbs).



The IE verbal system originally boiled down to the following oppositions (see Watkins, OCV 1969):

The **Celtic verbal system** has inherited a large part of the Indo-European one.

However, it syncretized the aorist and perfect aspects into a narrative preterite (preterite = simple past tense). Aspectual opposition between imperfective - perfective (dynamic) ≠ perfect (static) became imperfective ≠ perfective (aorist) - perfect. The evolution of a perfect stative towards a perfect resultative explains the fusion of the perfect and the perfective (preterite = state acquired by the object). This led to the creation of a new perfect based on relations existing between linguistic units in the spoken language (see OIr. perfect in *ro-*) and the transformation of the future. It should be noted that this evolution, although belonging to Proto-Celtic, does seem more recent than that undergone in Italic languages (only when the aorist has subjunctive meaning?).

① This evolution is explained by the fact that the perfective (aorist) and the stative (perfect) aspects can be used to express the past. Examples:

- “I was heading towards the traffic light when it changed⁽¹⁾ red”
- “I’m stopping because the traffic light has changed⁽²⁾ red”.

The use of the aorist indicates in the first case a punctual action that was completed in the past compared to an action that lasts (narration). In the second case, the perfect is used to indicate a past action but which is prolonged into the present (the light is still red).

→ These 2 examples show how we went from an aspectual opposition to a temporal one.

Indeed, in the first example, the action takes place entirely in the past and the opposition is only aspectual (imperfective ≠ perfective). In the second, the opposition is temporal between a present action (“I’m stopping”) and a past action (“changed red”).

→ Temporal: present ≠ past (perfect) / Timeless: imperfective ≠ perfective (aorist).

The perfect evolves towards the preterite (temporal use) while the aorist expresses only the aspect (timeless use) by opposing the durative / iterative with which it is a pair.

→ The aorist, because of its timelessness, ends up expressing the mood, i.e., potentiality.

In addition, Celtic shows the tendency for the imperfective / iterative to shift into the temporal sphere of the present.

- An old verb derived in /s/ provides the sigmatic aorist which in Celtic has taken a modal (subjunctive) sense for imperfective primary verbs. While it became the causative preterite of secondary verbs, stative verbs (perfect = present), or those which did not have a perfect.

It emphasizes the action accomplished at the origin of this state (the subjunctive is the anticipated fulfillment of an imperfective present, the preterite the accomplished action of a stative). The sigmatic aorist is an extension of intransitive stative verbs (e.g. 'standing', 'being afraid' ...) used to make them transitive and perfective. It became the typical formation of the aorist and replaced the others.

③ The Celtic verbal structure has thus been reduced to the present-past opposition where the present has a necessarily imperfective, iterative or causative form, the past being made by the perfect (for imperfective verbs), by the sigmatic aorist-causative (athematic, i.e. factitive, durative or stative verbs). The perfect forming itself by the inflectional ending and by morphological changes (reduplication, *o* vocalism).

2.2 CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF VERBAL FORMS

Verbal forms consist of a radical and variable elements (prefixes, temporal or modal infixes and suffixes, and endings).

General outline of a simple verb form in Gaulish:

1.	2.	3.	
Radical	e/o vowel (thematic verbs)	Inflectional morphemes	
	Ø (athematic verbs)	Mood / tense	Number / person

2.2.1 Radical and Root

The *root* is an abstract element, common to various words of the same family, whose hypothetical reconstruction goes back to Indo-European. The radical is the concrete form that the root takes in a word; it is the term we will use to designate the element expressing the fundamental meaning of the word. The radical can remain the same (**mola-*: *molatus* 'to praise') or show alternations (*ri* / *re* / *ro*: of *ritus* 'to run'). The roots can be called *set* (with laryngeal) or *aniť* (without laryngeal).



2.2.2 Stem

The *stem* is the part of the word that remains stable throughout inflection. It consists of the radical, possibly extended by one or more suffixes.

The present (for the different present and imperfect moods), aorist, perfect, and future stems will be discussed.

The elements which mark tense, mood, voice, and person, and which will be described during the presentation of the conjugation, are:

- *Ending*: indicating the person, number, and voice
- *Thematic vowel*: suffix -e/o, sometimes not distinct from the ending
- *Reduplication* in *e* and *i*: to all perfect moods, and to the future
- Various aspectual and temporal suffixes and infixes (-*r* for middle, -*n*- for present, and -*s* for aorist)

2.2.3 Endings

Endings do not always appear clearly separated from the rest of the verbal form. In some cases, they combine with a “connecting vowel” called the *thematic vowel*.

The thematic vowel (alternating *o/e*) appears in many forms of conjugation. For certain tenses and moods, it is inserted between the stem and the ending.

Thus we find:

- o- in the 1st p. singular and 1st and 3rd plural (always -o- before -*m* and -*n*)
- e- in the 2nd and 3rd singular and 2nd plural (always -e- before -*s* and -*t*).
- Assumed Indo-European endings (one reconstructed among others, Beekes)

			Imperfective	Perfective	
Dynamic:	Subjective:	1sg	-mi	-m	Primary and Secondary Athematics
		2sg	-si	-s	
		3sg	-ti	-t	
		3pl	-nti	-nt	
Dynamic:	Objective:	1sg	-oH	-om	Primary and Secondary Thematics
		2sg	-eH ₁ i	-es	
		3sg	-e	-et	
		3pl	-o	-ont	
Static:		1sg	-H ₂	-H ₂ e	Perfect
		2sg	-tHo	-tH ₂ e	
		3sg	-o	-e	
		3pl	-ro	-r	

2.2.4 Reduplication

Reduplication is a prefix consisting of the initial consonant of the verb followed by *-e* or *-i*. Reduplication in *-i-* forms some rare present stems: *si-sta-mi*, ‘I find myself’, and desiderative stems: *sagyū*, ‘I seek’ → *si-sax-syū*, ‘I will seek’. The reduplicative forms the perfect stems: *klad-yū*, ‘I dig’ → *ke-klad-a*, ‘I dug’.

Reduplication belongs to a fairly broad class of phenomena, which expresses intensiveness (cf. D. Cohen, *Comparative Hamito-Semitic Studies*) by repetition, and which Troubetskoy includes in his calling processes: repetition of the whole root (Chinese intensive, Fijian adjectives), partial repetition (IE repetition), repetition of a consonant or vowel (see the Semitic and Berber intensive, and the French intensive *ép-pouvantable*). IE reduplication marks a change in aspect.

Notes:

- Verbs whose initial stem includes an occlusive followed by *-r* or *-l* reduplicate the occlusive only
- Some verbs whose radical begins with a short vowel reduplicate the vowel:

The initial syllable is doubled by lengthening the vowel (to perfect) or preceding the *-e* (perfect) or *-i* (future) vowel. These are old stems whose radical began with *-p-*.

Examples: **Ebrasyu* (for *pe-prasyu*) ‘I will offer’, **iorxsyū* (*pi-porg-syū*) ‘I will kill’.



- In compound verbs, reduplication is inserted between the preposition and the verb, possibly with phonetic transformations: *ati-ge-gna* 'I recognized / was recognizing'.

2.2.5 Summary

There probably were two main categories of Gaulish verbs:

- Primary verbs (strong & nasal infix verbs) are characterized by the aorist = subjunctive and preterite = perfect.
- Causative / factitive verbs (weak verbs + causatives in *éye*), the old statives and some perfectives are characterized by subjunctive = "optative" and preterite = sigmatic aorist.

This subdivision can be deduced from the verbal system of Old Irish. Indeed, this one includes strong verbs forming their subjunctive on the aorist and their preterite on the perfect.

Beside these verbs, there is a series of verbs making their subjunctive in /ā/ and/or their preterite on the sigmatic aorist. Some of these forms can be explained with phonetic reasons (the aorist in front of the *set* root gives *ase/o* > *ā* OIr.).

However subjunctives like OIr. *do-rata*, *gabaid*, *agaid* cannot be explained in this way, just as their sigmatic preterite. In addition, so-called "weak" verbs also make their subjunctive in /ā/ and their preterite by the sigmatic aorist.

To understand the facts of OIr., a comparison with other IE languages is needed:

- Denominative verbs, like factitives, never have a Vedic aorist stem.
- Similarities between causative-iterative and denominative formations in IE. These verbs are imperfective even if they have a meaning that includes fulfillment.

Example: the verb "buy" is perfective (we cannot say "I bought for 3 hours" → no duration). But on the basis of "purchase" (VN) → the denominative verb "to make purchases" is imperfective because one can say "I made purchases for 3 hours" (= a succession of acts of purchase) → a denominative is factitive (doing an act), iterative, and imperfective all at once (cf. opposition between the perfective simple verb and the imperfective denominative in Slavic languages).

- Factitive-iterative is a single class of verbs whose meaning is to engage "iteratively in an agentive activity" (in most cases, transitive verbs). With a causative suffix, if the verb is an intransitive verb of change of state (e.g., dying) or stative (e.g., staying) → it becomes factitive (kill and lie); if it already had an agentive activity → it becomes iterative.
- Verbs in *ā* and *ī* are semi-thematic, i.e. apart from 1st pers. sg. in (y)ō (thematic *e/o*), the remainder has an athematic ending (directly added to *ā* or *ī*). Compare Baltic in *ā*, Slavic in *ī*, Germanic and Greek in *ā*...

From all of this, it can be concluded that the irregular verbs in OIr. are either ¹ old perfective verbs without a perfect (atelic); but also ² some statives, including the perfect present sense, which form their present through a causative / iterative suffix or infix; or ³ denominative verbs. A comparison of Greek factitives shows that many irregular verbs in OIr. also exist in Greek (especially second aorist and present in *-ske/o*, *-(a)n-* ...).

Denominatives, statives and perfective verbs receive different suffixes in the present:

- *ye/o*, *éye/o* suffixes (probably the agent noun suffixed in *ye/o*) or *ne/o*
- *eH_a* suffix (of action or denominative factitives, cf. Hittite *aH*, probably an instrumental noun with action or agent meaning) + *ye/o*. In Greek, *aye/o* > *ae/o* with vowel contraction → the athematic form spreading to all conjugations.

Their subjunctive is perhaps drawn from the optative in /*ā*/: optative = potentiality (reiterated state).

Note: If intermittent action in the duration → iterative action over this duration, but also potential at any time of this period. The fusion between potentiality and iteration is stronger in the past (as in the case of the verb 'to be', with its form *esā-*). However, see verbal formation below?

2.3 THE DIFFERENT GAULISH VERBAL FORMS:

Present indicative

The **present indicative** is the most frequent tense and the basis for the conjugation of the present (indicative & imperative) and imperfect (represented only in the indicative) for verbs, listed in the glossary in the 1st p. sg. of the indicative present. The “thematic” verbs intercalate the thematic vowel *e/o* between the stem and the primary ending (apocopated the most often). “Athematic” verbs, without the thematic vowel, have the primary ending.

Other formations exist (for verbs with an aspect other than the imperfective root):

- Nasal infix derived verbs, nasal suffix stems, causatives in *-ye/o*
- Weak denominative athematic verbs, thematic (or semi-thematic) verbs

Imperfect

The **imperfect**, formed on the present stem, exists only in the indicative. A secondary tense, it is characterized by special endings consisting of suffixes that are probably pronominal or anaphoric (*-de*, *-se*? Cf. below); But medium endings according to several linguists (see Venetian *doto*?).

- Mediopassive (*media tantum* verbs) > imperfective > secondary endings.

E.g.: ‘I’m dying’ (medium / imperfective) present action ≠ ‘I am dead’ (stative) state acquired by the subject.



When the perfect of action verbs serves to express the preterite (state acquired by the object), the opposition is between accomplished (= perfect) ≠ imperfective (= medium). At the level of the present, the primary endings only express the imperfective (for action verbs out of the subject) → the sigmatic aorist takes a subjunctive mood value (aorist of anticipation). Subsequently (probably not in Common Celtic), the medium endings are used to express the incompleteness outside the present indicative (replacing the secondary IE endings): *onna* (< **mam/on* + *ma*), *tas, to, messi* (< **mesdhV*), *tē, nto*.

→ However, the need to affix pronouns after an empty *no* particle could militate in favor of the first hypothesis (impossibility of suffixing the pronoun); the absence of *r* deponent verbs can also be explained in this way (see GO 2003 for OIr.). Thus, the imperfect in Gaulish, as in French and in Latin, describes an act in the process of being realized in the past, an act that lasts, or a repeating act (in contrast to a punctual act). A correlative *-d(e)* particle could be suffixed to the imperfect verb in diptychs (imperfect proposition, perfect / aorist proposition) such as “I was walking in the street when it came to me” → endings: 1p: *om-de* > *omne* / *my-de* > *messi*, 2p *ess?* / *tes*. (see conjugation in “i”). However, the first hypothesis seems more likely.

Aorist

The **aorist** (ἀόριστος = indeterminate), like the present, is a very common tense, which is used in indicative, subjunctive and imperative moods. It is above all a punctual aspect, as opposed to the present continual. Only in the indicative does the aorist have a past meaning and correspond more-or-less to the simple past of French. In the subjunctive, the aorist is a secondary tense, characterized by an [-s] suffix of causative meaning and by secondary endings. We therefore distinguish different aorist stems:

Preterite (weak verbs and statives) = full grade root + s + primary endings. /S/ < /ss/ by reconstruction from 3sg *st* > /ss/ (in Old Irish). Examples *readdas*, *legasit*?

Subjunctives = root + s + endings → occlusive thematics = /s/, set roots = /as/.

See Greek sigmatic aorists (σα suffix for the indicative and σω/η subjunctive) on the model ἔλυσα *élusa*. Example: *beiyassu* < **beyasū*?

A thematic aorist (on the model of Greek thematic or “second” aorists) perhaps explains the /to/ forms (contracted?) of certain verbs in OIr. (on set CeRH root). Cf. the Greek subjunctive aorist verb βαλῶ/ε, which is explained by the radical βαλ *bal* + aorist *o* stem + subjunctive *o/e* stem, which gave forms contracted in ω/η.

Future

The **future** is formed either from the radical (with repetition in /i/), followed by the suffix /sy/, the thematic vowel *-e/o*, the primary endings, or the radical alone with the *-syē/o* (= desiderative) suffix. It is possible that the future Old Ir. in /f/ resulted from a fusion of the desiderative (OIr.: *-osyet** > *uīt* > *fīd*) and a form in *-bye/o* (usually present *-biyet** > *βīd?*), the weak verbs cannot reduplicate. Note the frequent palatalization of OIr. denominative *ā* verbs in the future (absent in other tenses).

For the future, compare with Doric Greek future, which consists of the radical ($\sqrt{\text{ }}$), the temporal suffix *se*, the thematic vowel ω/ϵ and primary endings (e.g. $\sigma\pi\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\acute{\omega}$ *speysiú*), the Sanskrit future in *syē/o* on the elongated root and the desiderative: reduplicated root + *se/o* and thematic endings.

Future: root grade *e* + (*a*)*s* + *ye* + endings.

Desiderative: reduplicated root [Ci + root 0] + (*a*)*s* + *ye* + terminations? cf. *sisaxsyū* (exception?).

Perfect

The **perfect** is a primary tense of the past (preterit). The perfect stem, always “athematic”, is more rarely used than the present and aorist stems. Some verbs do not encounter the perfect (weak verbs and some causatives).

The perfect is characterized by:

- *-e-* reduplication or *-ā-* grade root (for primary verbs with CeC root);
- the endings *-a*, *-as* / *-ta*, *-e*, *-amas*, *-ate*, *-ér*?

Optative

The **-ā optative**: ① forms the subjunctive of certain primary verbs (perfective, stative, $\sqrt{\text{set}}$?), ② Preterite value (= non-reality) on the verb ‘to be’ and ③ forms the subjunctive for denominative and deadjectival verbs (duratives, iterative)? The second value must be the oldest.

Effectively, the stative aspect can have 3 temporal spheres: the present = perfect (present result of a past action), the past = pluperfect (past result of a previous action, the present situation having changed; “I was sick” (I am no longer), the future \approx optative (reiteration of the past state). This form would be an *-ā* preterite, against part of an *-e / o* subjunctive (aorist).

The existence of the *-ā* optative remains hypothetical in Gaulish and Italic, however (cf. ‘Synthesis’ below).

Participles, adjectives, and verbal nouns

Participles, adjectives, and verbal nouns: we distinguish several formations:

- a) Verbal adjective in *-tyos*, *-ā*, *-on* (serves as past participle), possessive derivative on the primary zero grade root; the verbal adjective in *-tos*, *-ā*, *-on* (serves as a passive past). There is no proof that the two forms are considered Gaulish.
- b) Verbal adjective of obligation (future passive participle) in *-teyos*, *-to*, *-on* (e.g. *karateyos* = ‘lovable’)
- c) Adjective in *-mnos*, *ā*, *on*, coming from an IE form **mno* indicating that a noun can be the object of an action (passive participle evolving towards a present participle with imperfective aspect; rendered in French by the adjective in *-able / -ible* or the agent noun in *-ant*.



- d) Verbal noun: it serves as the infinitive or gerund in Celtic languages. It declines like an ordinary noun. There are different formations based on the suffixed verbal root (the suffix being rarely predictable from the root): $\sqrt{-on}$ (common for compound verbs with *g* endings), $\sqrt{-yon}$ (common for compound verbs with laryngeal endings), $\sqrt{-yā}$, $\sqrt{-(s)man}$, $\sqrt{-tis}$, $\sqrt{-tus}$ (common for secondary \bar{a} or \bar{i} verbs), $\sqrt{-tā}$, $\sqrt{-ton}$, $\sqrt{-tlon}$ (instrumental meaning), $\sqrt{-mus}$, $\sqrt{-mā}$ (common for secondary \bar{i} verbs) ... Some verbs are defective and use another root to form the verbal noun.

→ **Synthesis:** reconstruction of the evolution of Celtic verbal formations (according to OIr.)

IE → Celt.	Present	Subjunctive	Aorist	Perfect
① \sqrt{CVC}^{th}	CVC-e/o	CVCe--e/o	CVC-(s)é/o	CoC (V=e), Ce-CC (V≠e)
② \sqrt{CVRC}^{th}				
→	Id	= s-aorist	∅	perfect = preterite
③ \sqrt{CVRH}^{ath}	C(e)RH, CRn(e)H	CeRH-e/o	CR(e)H-é/o	CeCR(H) ?
④ \sqrt{CVR}^{ath}				
→	CRnH	S-aorist + e/o	∅	perfect = preterite
⑤ \sqrt{CVRH}^{th}	CRH-ye/o?	CeRH-e-e/o	CeRH	CeCR(H) ?
⑥ \sqrt{CVR}^{th}				
→	CVR-e/o	CVR-e-e/o	CVR	CeCR(H) ?
→	CVR-e/o	CeRH (=aorist)	s-aorist CVRHs	

General formations drawn from the main IE verbal roots, their particular cases not being taken into account.

Celtic languages have seen these formations evolve as a result of phonetic and morphological changes.

- The absence of a clear distinction between the present and subjunctive (consonantal roots), combined with the use of the perfect as a preterite has displaced the aorist (became sigmatic in Common Celtic) into the sphere of the subjunctive for the *aniṭ* roots.
- Thematic *aniṭ*- and *seṭ*- structure CVR verbs combine their formations (RHe/o = Re/o) with the present and subjunctive; in the aorist, the athematic ending is probably the origin of the *a*-subjunctive.
- Athematic *seṭ* root verbs make a clear distinction between *nā*-present and *e*-subjunctive. However, the aorist is no longer sufficiently marked compared to the subjunctive (primary opposition vs. secondary) → creation of a sigmatic aorist resulting from the stems (CVRH-s > CVR-Hs > CVR-as) with preterite meaning where the perfect is absent. Athematic present- $\sqrt{}$ verbs are confused with weak verbs. The

weak verbs, having no perfect, follow the model of the set verbs. This development probably does not date to Common Celtic.

→ Primary verbs in *-ye/o*, often formed on the \emptyset grade root, are divided between the two conjugation forms, based on their final consonant (with some irregularities).

2.4 “I” CONJUGATION (PRIMARY AND SECONDARY ENDINGS)

Gaulish must have no longer distinguished the primary and secondary endings for thematic verbs, which resulted in a replacement of the imperfect forms (the opposition between primary endings = present ↔ secondary imperfect endings no longer exists).

The “i” forms from Old Irish (absolute conjugation) have another origin: a **de* suffix (introductory particle suffixed in the anaphoric state), or **es* (according to W. Cowgill).

In Gaulish, one would find in parallel a focusing particle *id(e)* (= ‘there’) with anaphoric meaning (as the pronoun) and deictic. This would originally be the deictic particle “i” infixed with *de* (cf. Greek particle δε *de* and Homeric Greek ιδε *ide* ‘and’, used however in Cypriot to introduce a principal that follows a subordinate); *Ide* may have merged with the neuter personal pronoun **id* after apocope of the final vowel. See chapter on syntax.

“*Ide*” serves as an introductory and relative particle in the “false” relative subordinates in Brittonic.

Example: MW: *yd* → *yd af i*, ‘I go **there**’
ys < *essid*, used at the beginning of a sentence → *yssym* < *essidmī*
 (= ‘I have ... There is to me’).

Lepontic: *Belgūi pruiam Dēwū karite išos (id-sos) kalite palam*
 ‘D placed the *pr.* for B, which has raised *p.*’

These particles may be equivalent to the old locative adverbs of French *en* (= Lat. *inde*) and *y* (= *ibi* < **idhi*) which acquired a pronominal meaning.

“I”, of deictic origin, is found in the pronouns *ēs* (< *ey*s), *eya*, *i* and *yos*. The bare root only appears in compounds (OInd-Ir, *i-dam*, Lat., *i-dem*). Cf. Latin *jam* (now, soon, already), Gothic *ja(i)* (indeed, yes). Cf. also the *ezafē* of the Iranian languages (particularly the Ossetian ⟨i⟩ acc.). The root with ablaut must be provided with inflection (see Lat. and OIr *īs*, the Ind-Ir. relative and demonstrative *yo*). The naked independent term dissociated itself from the personal pronoun and became grammaticalized; it is prefixed to nouns, pronouns and adjectives (see OIr. *isiu*, *isin* but suffixed in *an-i*) and suffixed to the verb. It is probably the origin of the /i/ genitive in O-stems.

Old Irish verbal system (my personal hypothesis, for others see Cowgill, Schrijver vs. McCone)



Reconstruction of the verbal system in the imperfective, based on a replacement of the forms derived from the old IE opposition: primary endings = present VS secondary = imperfect

① <u>Primary IE endings</u>		② <u>Secondary/Aorist IE endings</u>
<u>Absolute present inflection</u>	<u>Conjunct inflection</u>	<u>Imperfect</u> : do/de (unstressed) suffix
*Berū-d(e) → cf. gníyou ?	berū	*berom-dē > beron'ne (OIr.) / berommi ? (Gaul.)
*Beresi-d(e)	beres(i) / bere(s)i	*beres-de > *bereste/zde ? > berese (Bret.)/te
*Bereti-d(e)	beret(i)	*beret-do ? > bere'to
*Beromo-d(e)	beromo	*beromes-dē > beromesse
*Berete-d(e)	berete	*berete-dē > bere'tē
*Beronti-d(e)	beront(i)	*beront-do > beronto / berontesse (OIr. = 1pl ?)
→ apocope of the /e/, -se possible	→ apocope of the /i/	→ Common Celtic ? However the origin of the IE supra middle

Examples:

- *De+emmi, de+esi... → -da^L, -da^L (joint copula forms, the source of other formations)
- *Bereti+d(e) → *berid* (keeping the ending, no apocope)
- *Bereti+de+e → *berthi* (keeping the ending, elision of intervocalic *de* with object pronoun)
- *To+d(e)+beret → *do·beir* (no lenition after preverb)
- *Ni+d(e)+tóberet → *ni·tabair* (no lenition after negation and verbal particles)
- *To+d(e)+me+beret → *do·m·beir* (non-leniting object pronoun after preverb)
- *Kon+de+e+ənket → *cond·icc* (personal pronoun class B)
- *Wer+de+me+kanet → *fordom^L·chain* (same as above)
- *Ni+de+exs+beret → *ní·eper* (elision of intervocalic *de*)
- *Ro+de+em+karast → *ra^N·car* (elision of intervocalic *de*)
- *Ro+de+e+karast → *ra^L·char* (elision of intervocalic *de*, lenition after neuter object pron.)
- *Exs+de+yo+e+beret → *ass-id·beir*

Author's note: The idea of a particle as the source of the OIr. absolute inflection is from Pedersen and developed by Cowgill; however, the nature of the particle remains controversial (for the most part from *eti* or the copula *est*).

2.5 CONJUGATION MODELS

The indicative mood is the most used and is represented in all tenses. The first person indicative, future, aorist and perfect serve as a base for all the conjugations, and together make up the original tenses. Verbs listed in glossaries and dictionaries in the 1st p. (sometimes 3rd) sg. present indicative, aorist, and perfect, enable the identification of the verb stem, the base for conjugation in all moods.

Because conjugation is achieved through suffixing, there are two types of verbs depending on whether the suffixing is done on the verbal root (**primary verbs**) or on a derivative of it (**secondary verbs**); The latter are divided between those derived from primary verbs (**deverbatives**) and those derived from nouns or adjectives (**denominatives**).

2.5.1 Primary verbs

These are called “strong” verbs and are formed directly on the root. Depending on the affixation, we can categorize them as athematic or thematic ((y)e/o). Most are imperfective and have 3 stems:

1. Imperfective: used for the present and imperfect, in active and passive voices.
2. Aorist (perfective): used for the subjunctive.
3. Perfect: used for the preterite.

Verbal derivatives are added to these stems: *syē/o* suffixes give the future or desiderative, *sī* suffixes (athematics) the optative, and *īr* (primary) or *or* (secondary) the passive (< 3rd perfect pl *ēr*?).

Some irregular verbs do not have all the aspects and are therefore either defective or suffixed (iterative suffix) giving secondary verbs, or undergo reduplication (a few verbs in the process of assimilation). For their conjugation, see “irregular verbs”.

1) Thematics on consonant root

This conjugation is used for three groups: *e/o* stem verbs from a C(R)eC root (A1a), verbs from CVC(V ≠ e) or CVRC roots (A1b), and *ye/o* thematic verbs of the Latin *capio* type, formed mainly on *ø* grade root (A1c)

- Imperfective Present: root + (y)e/o + primary endings (apocopated?)
- CVRC type roots (where R is *y* or *n*) make their present on the zero grade
- Imperfect: root + *e/o* + special (due to apocope) or regular secondary endings
- Imperatives: imperative on imperfective present⁽¹⁾ and on aorist injunctive⁽²⁾ (especially 2nd sg.)
- Aorist subjunctive: root + *s* (sigmatic aorist) + *e/o* & endings (semi-thematic). The roots CVRC (where R is *y* or *n*) make their aorist on the lengthened grade (= *ey*, *en* > *ē*)
- Future (desiderative): root (single or reduplicated) + (ə)*syē/o* + secondary endings
- Conditional: optative corresponding to the present desiderative (= future) or s-aorist, √ + *sī*
- Past: *ā* grade (CVC verbs) or reduplicated zero grade root (CVRC) + perfect endings
- Verbal noun: serves as infinitive, various formations (irregular)
- Participles: passive preterite (*to*) / past p. (*tyo*), verbal adj. of necessity (gerundive)



KINGE/O ‘to walk’ (A1b)

- *Present:* king-**ū**, king-es/ē, king-**et**(i), king-omos, king-**ete**(s), king-ont(i);
king-etiyo ?, king-omosiyo?, king-ontiyo;
king-īr (<*ēr) ?, king-ontir?
- *Imperative:* king-**e**¹ ! / **kēxs**², king-**etu**/kēx**stu**, king-omo(s), king-**ete**, king-**ontu**/kēxsontu
- *Imperfect:* king-**onna**, king- etās?, king-etu, king-omessi, king-etes, king-ontu ?
- *Subjunctive aor.:* kēxsū, kēxsēs, kēxs(e)t, kēxsomo, kēxsēte, kēxsont ?; kēxse/ontor?
- *Future/desid.:* kēxsyū, kēxsyes, kēxsyet, kēxsyomo(s), kēxsyete, kēxsyont?; kēxsye/ontor?
- *Conditional:* kēxsīn, kēxsīs, kēxsīt, kēxsīmo(s), kēxsīte, kēxsīnt?; kēxsī(n)tor?
- *Preterite:* kekanga, kekangas, kekange, kekangame, kekangate, kekang(ant)er ?
- *Verbal noun:* **kē/amman**, ‘walk, march’
- *Participles:* kēxs(y)os, ā, on — kēxsēyos, ā, on

SAGYE/O ‘to tend towards, to search’ (A1c)

- *Present:* sag-**iu**, sag-is(i), sag-it(i), sag-yomos, sag-ite(s), sag-yont(i)
sag-ityo ?, sag-yomosiyo?, sag-**yontiu**
sag-itir?, sag-yontir?
- *Imperative:* sag-**i**/saxs !, sag-itu/saxstu, sag-yomo(s), sag-ite, sag-yontu
- *Imperfect:* sag-**yonna**, sag-itās?, sag-itu, sag-yomessi, sag-ites, sag-yontu?
- *Subjunctive aor.:* sāxsu, sāxsēs, sāxs(e)t, sāxsomo, sāxsēte, sāxsont?; sāxse/ontor?
- *Future/desid.:* **sisaxsyu**, sisaxsyēs, sisaxsyet, sisaxsyomo(s), sisaxsyete, sisaxsyont
- *Conditional:* sisaxsīn, sisaxsīs, sisaxsīt, sisaxsīmo(s), sisaxsīte, sisaxsīnt?; sisaxsī(n)tor?;
- *Preterite:* sesaga, sesagas, sesage, sesagame, sesagate, sesag(ant)er ?
- *Verbal noun:* Sagitis (f) ‘search’
- *Participles:* saxt(y)os, ā, on — saxtēyos, ā, on

Note: IE athematic verbs are close to this category. In the insular languages, these verbs have been “thematized” (except the verb ‘to be’ and some a-verbs that are assimilated to denominative verbs). It is not certain whether Gaulish had followed the same path. One instance of athematic verb may be attested (*diligentir*). These verbs will, however, be classified as irregular verbs.

2) Stems on resonant roots

These primary verbs differ from the above by their CVRH or CVR roots affixed in *e/o* (A2a) or *ye/o* (A2b).

There is confusion between *seṭ* and *aniṭ* roots for these verbs (RHe/o > Re/o).

Their conjugation is identical to the previous except in the subjunctive (*ā*) and future (*asye/o*)

*WERE/O 'to get, find' (A2a)

- *Present:* wer-**ū**, wer-es/ē, wer-**et**(i), wer-omos, wer-**ete**(s), wer-ont(i)
wer-etiyo ?, wer-omosiyo?, wer-ontiyō
wer-īr?, wer-ontir?
- *Imperative:* wer-**e**¹ !, wer-**etu**/wer**stu**, wer-omo(s), wer-**ete**, wer-**ontu**/wersontu
- *Imperfect:* wer-onna, wer- etās?, wer-etu, wer-omessi , wer-etes, wer-ontu ?
- *Subjunctive aor.:* wer-ān, wer-ās, wer-āt, wer-āmo, wer-āte, wer-ānt ?; wer-ā(n)tor
- *Future/desid.:* wer-asyū, wer-asyes, wer-asyet, wer-asyomo(s), wer-asyete, wer-asyont?
- *Conditional:* wer-asīn, wer-asīš, wer-asīt, wer-asīmo(s), wer-asīte, wer-asīnt? wer-asī(n)tor
- *Preterite:* wowra, wowras, wowre, wowrame, wowrate, wowr(ant)er ?
- *Verbal noun:* woron 'grant, gift'
- *Participles:* wrīt(y)os, ā, on — wrītēyos, ā, on

3) (A)thematic nasal verbs on resonant roots

Transitive, vaguely causative athematics referring to the beginning (inchoatives) or end of an action, or for punctual (non-repeated) actions = perfective. In Old Irish, this conjugation is characterized by an *n* present (BIV and some BV of the Thurneysen classification), an *ā* < (*a*)se/ *o* subjunctive, and a preterit = perfect (former aorist?) .

There are 2 subgroups:

- Seṭ or aniṭ verbs with athematic suffix in *N(e)He, Ha, Ho* > *Nă*
 - Formed on the reduced ablaut grade in present, imperfect, and perfect.
 - There is confusion between seṭ and aniṭ roots for these verbs.
- CVRC thematic type verbs in *Ne/o*. This last category probably has a phonetic origin (cf. E. Hamp and Milizia). They behave like A1 thematic verbs except in the present (*n* suffix).

BEYA 'to strike, split' (A3a)

- *Present:* bină-mi, bină-s(i), bină-t(i), bină-mes(i), bină-te(s), bină-nt(i)
bină-tyo?, bină-mesyo?, bină-ntyo (rel.)
binar ?, binantir (pass.)
- *Imperative:* bină !, bină-tu, bină-mas, bină-te, bină-ntu
- *Imperfect:* binăna, binătās ?, binātu, binămassi, binătes, bināntu
- *Subjunctive aor.:* **beyas-ū**, beyas-es, beyas-(e)t, beyas-omos, beyas-ete, beyas-int/ont?
- *Future:* beyas-yū, beyas-yes, beyas-yet, beyas-yomos, beyas-yete, beyas-yont?
- *Conditional:* beyas-īn, beyas-īs, beyas-īt, beyas-imos, beyas-īte, beyas-īnt?; beyas-ī(n)tor
- *Preterite:* beba, bebas?, bebe, bebame, bebate, bebyar ?
- *Verbal noun:* bēmman / -biyon (for strong compound verbs → *e* grade + *yōn*)
- *Participle:* ? - **bītos**, ā, on



Notes:

- The A3a verbs may have a thematic *e/o* subjunctive on the full-grade root.
- *Ne/o* suffixed to a CVRC root where R = *n* (cf. *tonkne/o*)
- *Nă* infixed in an RH root where R = *l* gives *ll* (*ex-to·blnă* > *ex-to·balla* > *a-t·bail*) → assimilated to B1?

2.5.2 Secondary derivative verbs

This is a highly productive category, with verbs formed by attaching a suffix to nouns, adjectives (denominatives) or another verb (deverbatives). They are used to produce new verbs or to introduce foreign verbs into the language.

1) *Athematics in a (aH)*

Transitive verbs — Fusion of *āye/o* denominatives, factitives (*eH* suffix), athematic duratives, formed on the stem (/ā/ thematic). Sometimes formed on the verbal (iterative) noun. They tend to replace primary verbs by eliminating a form that is phonetically weak or difficult to inflect (cf. how French *solutionner* replaces *résoudre*). Generalization of the athematic form (reshaped as /ă/ or /nă/ athematic).

- Imperfective Present: from old /ă/ athematics or from the *eHye/o* > *toe/o* > *toe/o* denominative (ex: *markāye/o* “to horseride” > *markāmi*, *markāti*, ...)
- Optative / subjunctive: laryngeal root + secondary iterative endings ?
- Present / habitual future (durative): root + stem + ‘to be’ (*bouti*) in hab. present
- Future / des. : thematic root + *s* + *ye/o* + endings (OIr.: *osyet** > *uīt* > *fid* = fut.?)
- Imperfect: present stem + middle or special secondary endings. Only preterite?
- Preterite: aorist / sigmatic causative: root + *s* + primary endings (zero grade).
- Root *a* (< *ə*?) + *S* + primary endings. Its existence is not certain in ancient Celtic.

Note: 3rd sg ST > *ss*, a form that extended to other persons in Old Irish → keeping *s*.

MOLĀ - ‘to praise, glorify’ (B1)

- *Impf. Present:* molā-**mi**, molā-ś(i), molā-**t**(i), molā-mes(i), molā-te(s), molā-**nt**(i)
molā-tiyo, molā-masyo, molā-ntiyo (rel.)
molātir ?, molāntir (pass.)
- *Imperative:* molā !, molā-tu, molā-mes, molā-te, molā-ntu
- *Imperfect:* molā-nna, molā-tās*, molā-tu, molā-**massi**, molā-te(s), molā-ntu
- *Subjunctive:* molā-n, molā-s, molā-t, molā-mos, molā-te, molā-nt
- *Futur/pres. hab:* molo-byū, Molo-byes, molo-byet, molo-byomos, molo-byete, molo-byont ?
- *Futur/desid.:* molo-**syū**, molo-syes, molo-syet, molo-syomos, molo-syete, molo-syont
- *Preterite ?:* mola-sū/an, mola-s(es), mola-ss, mola-s(o)mos, mola-s(e)te, mola-so/ant?
- *Verbal noun:* molatus ‘praise’
- *Participles:* molatos, ā, on (‘praised’) — molatéyos, ā, on (‘praiseworthy’)

2) Athematics and/or thematic in $\bar{e} > \bar{i}$ (eH_E)

Some intransitive and $\bar{e} > \bar{i}$ athematic statives, anti-causatives (reflexive) suffixed in *-sagī* (B2a), and deadjectival or denominative essives in *eye/o* or *seneye/o* (B2b).

- Present: root + primary endings (\bar{i} athematics and *iye/o* $> \bar{i}$ thematics?)
- Subjunctive: root + laryngeal (*eHA*) + secondary endings
- Imperfect: present stem + middle or special secondary endings?
- Preterite: aorist / sigmatic causative: root (*e* or \bar{i}) + S + primary endings (zero grade)?
- Present / habitual future (durative): root + stem + ‘to be’ (*bouti*) in hab. present
- Future: thematic root + s + *ye/o* + endings (OIr.: *osyet** $> \check{u}t > fid = fut??$)

ROWDĪ - ‘to be red, to blush’ (B2b)

- *Present:* rudi-yū/ \bar{i} -mi?, rudi-yes(i), rud-yet(i), rudi-yomos(i), rudi-yete(s), rudi-yont(i)
rudi-yetyo, rudi-yomosyo, rudi-yontyo (rel.)
rudi-yetīr ?, rudi-yontīr (pass.)
- *Imperative:* rudi!, rudi-tu, rudi-mes, rudi-te, rudi-tu
- *Imperfect:* rudi-**yonna**, rudi-tās, rudi-tu, rudi-massi, rudi-tes, rudi-ntu ?
- *Subjunctive:* rudi-y-**ān**?
- *Fut./pres. hab.:* rudiyo-**byū**?
- *Futur/desid:* ?
- *Preterite ? :* rowdi-sū, rowdi-s(es), rowdi-ss, rowdi-s(o)mos, rowdi-s(e)te, rowdi-so/ant?
- *Verbal noun:* rowdyamā ‘blushing’
- *Participles:* rowdītos, ā, on (‘reddened’) – rowdītēyos, ā, on (‘to blush’)

3) Ye/o Stems

Denominative or deadjectival *ye* on *-i-*, *-u-*, or \emptyset stems, mainly progressive and factitive-iterative on verbal noun (= repetitive agentive activity → transitive verbs).

- Present: stem (nu?) + *ye/o* + primary endings
- Subjunctive : ?
- Imperfect: present stem + middle or special secondary endings?
- Past: ?
- Present / habitual future (durative): root + stem + ‘to be’ (*bouti*) in hab. present
- Future: root + s + *ye/o* + endings (see *peditisont*)



SAGITI-YE/O - ‘to search for’ or BATTU*-YE/O - ‘to beat’ (B3a)

- *Present:* sagiti-yū, sagiti-yes, sagiti-yet, sagiti-(yo)mo(s), sagiti-yete(s), **sagiti-yont**
sagiti-yetiyo ?, sagiti-(yo)mosyo?, sagiti-yontiyō
- *Imperative:* sagit-ī !, sagiti-yetu, sagiti-(yo)mos, sagiti-yete, sagiti-yontu
- *Imperfect:* sagiti-yonna, sagiti-tās, sagiti-tu, sagiti-massi, sagiti-tes, sagiti-yontu ?
- *Subjunctive aor.:* ?
- *Fut./pres. hab.:* ?
- *Future:* sagiti-syū , sagiti-syes, sagiti-syet, sagiti-syomo(s) sagiti-syete, sagiti-syont?
- *Preterite:* ?
- *Verbal noun:* ?
- *Participle:* ?

Note*: The yod can disappear in contact with /w/ (see *betwyā ‘birch’ > betuā or betiyā).

KOR-YE/O - ‘to put, throw’ (B3b)

- *Present:* kor-yū, kor-is, kor-it, kor-yomos, kor-ite(s), kor-yont
kor-ityo ?, kor-yomosyo?, kor-yontyo
- *Verbal noun:* koros “place”

2.5.3 Causative and qualitative derived verbs

1) Verbs suffixed in ey/ī (e/o)

Frequentative or causative formed on the o-grade root (→ /ā/ when root to laryngeal).

Denominative?

Similar to B2b. In Old Irish, this conjugation is characterized by a present in -ye/o (BII of the Thurneysen classification) or ī (AII), a subjunctive in /ā/ and a preterite in /s/ (causative).

LOGÉ-YE/O ‘to lay down, lie down, put in place’ (C1)

- *Present:* log-īyū, log-īs(i), log-īt(i), log-īyomos, log-īte(s), log-īyont(i)
log-īyo ?, log-īyomosyo?, log-īyontyo?
- *Imperative:* log-ī !, log-ītu, log-nomos, log-īte, log-īyontu
- *Imperfect:* logī-yonna, logī-tās, **logī-tu**, logī-massi, logī-tes, logī-yontu ?
- *Subjunctive aor.:* -ān, -ās, -āt, -āmas, -āte, -ānt
- *Future:* lox-syū , lox-syes, lox-syet, lox-syomos, lox-syete, lox-syont ?
- *Preterite:* sigmatic aorist (logisu*) ? (no perfect for causatives)
- *Verbal noun:* logetus
- *Participle:* logetos/a/on

2) Iterative and causative thematic nasal infix or suffix—“CuC” type (a late formation)

Verbs resulting from causative or benefactive with infixation of the nasal present on the root in non-etymological *u* (former causative on inflected grade root of non-imperfective verbs? With sporadic closure of *o* to *u* before *ng*). Behave like strong verbs except in the present (*n* infix).

Iterative (e.g., ‘to load’ = to repeatedly put things in place).

In Old Irish, this conjugation is characterized by a present in *n* (BIII of the Thurneysen classification), a subjunctive in *s* and a reduplicated preterite = perfect.

LO(n)G-E/O ‘to load’ (C2)

- *Present:* lung-ū, lung-es(i), **lung-et(i)**, lung-omos, lung-ete(s), lung-ont(i)
- *Imperative:* lung-e !, **lung-etu**, lung-omo(s), lung-eté, lung-ontu
- *Imperfect:* lungonna ?
- *Subjunctive aor.:* lōxs-ou, lōxs -es, lōxs-(e)t, lōxs-omo(s), lōxs-eté, lōxs-int
- *Future:* liluxs-you, liluxs -yes, libuxs-yet, liluxs-yomo(s), liluxs-yeté, liluxs-yont
- *Preterite:* ? (possibly aoriste of *log-*)
- *Verbal noun:* lognis ?, luxtus ? — logon (comp.)
- *Participle:* luxtos/a/on — luxtēyos/a/on

2.5.4 Irregular verbs

Irregular verbs are mostly defective verbs. That is to say, they do not possess a complete verbal system like the other verbs; in this case, they do not have a perfect = preterite.

- These are stative verbs conjugated in the present perfect; in this case the aorist expresses the preterite and not the subjunctive, represented by an *ā* optative.
- There are also perfective or, more rarely, imperfective verbs with no perfect; they are then combined like the previous ones.
- Some old athematic verbs, which have become thematic in the Insular Celtic languages, could have survived in Gaulish (see *diligentir*), the thematization probably taking place gradually (semi-thematic). These verbs (essentially √ CVRC or CVH) should be conjugated as A3 class verbs, except in the present (no nasal) or B1 (if defective in the perfect).
- A last category of verbs can be called truly defective, in the sense that different verbal roots are used to make up the conjugation (cf. the conjugation of the verb *aller* in French based on different roots: *va-*, *all-*, *ir-*).

It is necessary to add to this long list the verb ‘to be’ which is also defective in some way (built on the roots *es-* & *bu-*), while presenting complex forms in OIr. in its use of copula.



1) (Semi-)athematic verbs – √ CVRC – (D1)

The athematic verbs are in the process of disappearing and becoming thematic (see OIr.)

D(I)LIG ‘to have the right, to deserve’ (active) / ‘to have to, to need’ (pass.)

- *Present:* dilig-ū/mi ?, dilix-si ?, dilix-ti ?, diligemes?, dilix-tē, dilig-**enti**
dilix-tir ?, **diligentir**
- *Imperative:* dilig !, dilix-tu, dilig-me(s), dilig-te, dilig-entu
- *Imperfect:* dilig-onna, dilix-tās, dilix-tu, dilig-messi, dilig-tes, dilig-entus ?
- *Subjunctive:* aorist (dilixsu, dilixses...) or thematic (diligu, diliges...) ?
- *Future:* dilix-syū, -syēs, -syet, -syemos, -syete, -syont ?
- *Conditional:* dilix -sīn, -sīs, -sīt, -sīmos, -sīte, -sīnt ?
- *Preterite:* = passive participle ?
- *Verbal noun:* dilixtus (‘right’, ‘prerogative’), diligeton (‘duty’)
- *Participles:* dilixtos, ā, on

2) Stative verbs of perception, perfective, and imperfective defective verbs. (D2)

Perceptual verbs are verbs originally expressing a state and not an action: ‘seeing’ (not ‘looking’), ‘hearing’ (not ‘listening’), knowing (not ‘learning’). These verbs, like the Germanic modal verbs, are characterized by a present = perfect.

However, it seems that an imperfective present was drawn from these verbs, on a zero grade root base + athematic suffix *ei/i* (cf. Germanic weak C3 verbs) [$H_E + \text{end.} > H_Y + \text{end.} > H.i?$] or e-grade with metathesis. Their preterite is based on the sigmatic aorist in OIr.

In Old Irish, an *-n-* infix was added onto the nasal infix causatives model (see above) where they were thematized (*ī/iyō*); these verbs are often deponent.

E.g.: *GneHOye/o* → *gnīyū* (‘to know’), *widiye/o* → *widīt* (‘to know’, ‘discover’, ‘learn’)?, *Klu(s)ēye/o* → *klu(s)īyū* (‘to hear’)

‘To know’

- *Impf. Present:* gnī-yū, gnī-(s)i, gnī-t(i), gnī-yomos(i), gnī-tē, gnī-yont(i)
gnī-tyo?, gnī-yomosyo?, gnī-yontyo (rel.)
gnītir ?, gnīyontir (pass.)
- *Imperative:* gnī !, gnī-tu, gnī-yomos, gnī-te, gnī-yontu
- *Imperfect:* gnīyonna, gnītās, gnītu, gabyomessi, gnītē, gnīyontu ?
- *Subjunctive:* ?
- *Future:* ?-syū, -syēs, -syet, -syemos, -syete, -syont ?
- *Preterite (pres.):* wid-ra, wid-?, wid-rī, wid-ames?, wid-ate?, wid-antri ? (origin of the deponents ?)
- *Verbal noun:* wissus ‘knowledge’
- *Participle:* gnātos, ā, on

- ❖ Other common usage verbs like IE **bere/o* ‘to carry’, **ghabē* ‘to hold’ are defective in the past

GABI ‘to hold, take’ (D2)

- *Present Impf.:* gabi-yū, gabi-(s)i, gabi-t(i), gabi-yomos(i), gabi-tē, gabi-yont(i)
gabi-tyo?, gabi-yomosyo?, gabi-yontyo (rel.)
gabitir ?, gabi-yontir (pass.)
- *Imperative:* gabi !, gabi-tu, gabi-yomos, gabi-te, gabi-yontu
- *Imperfect:* gabi-yonna, gabitās, gabītu, gabyomessi, gabitē, gabi-yontu ?
- *Subjunctive:* gab-ān, gab-ās, gab-āt, gab-āmos, gab-āte, gab-ānt? Or gaxs- (cf. gaxstu)?
- *Future:* ?-syū, -syēs, -syet, -syemos, -syete, -syont ?
- *Conditional:* ?-sīn, -sīs, -sīt, -sīmos, -sīte, -sīnt?
- *Preterite:* gabē-sū, gabe-sēs?, gabe-s(i)t, gabe-somos?, gabe-sete?, gabe-sont? (°)
- *Verbal noun:* gabagla ‘taking, holding’
- *Participle:* ?

(°)Gab- has developed a supporting vowel to avoid irregular shapes in **gaxs-?* Or *-ē-s-* preterite-aorist?

3) BOUTĪ, YĀS: ‘to be’

- *Present:* **immi**, esi, **essi**, emmesi, esses, sinti
- *Imperfect:* esān(mi) ?, esās, esāt / esātu (impers), esāmas, esāte, esānt ?
- *Pres. habitual:* biyū, biyes, biyet, biyomo(s), **biyete**, **biyont**
- *Imperative:* biyé !, biyétu ! biyomo(s) ! **biyete** !, **biyontu** !
- *Subjunctive:* bwū, bwes, **bwet**, bwomo(s), bwete, bwont
- *Future desider.:* bisyou, bisyes, **bisyet**, bisyomos, **bisyete**, bisyont
- *Preterite:* būwa(n), būwas, buwe, būwamas, būwate, būwar ?
- *Verbal noun:* Buti
- *Participle:* butos, ā, on

4) Verb ‘to have’

Celtic languages have the common characteristic of not having a verb “to have”, like Latin or Germanic languages; instead, they use constructions that combine the verb ‘to be’ and a personal pronoun.

- ➔ **‘To have’ (possession) = dative pronoun + 3sg ‘to be’**
 - *Present:* mī-essi, tī-essi, ?, snī-essi, swī-essi, ?
 - *Other tenses:* cf. ‘To be’
- ➔ **To have (membership) = pronoun I/A + 3sg ‘to be’**
- ➔ **To have (sensation, defect, disadvantage) = locative pronoun + 3sg ‘to be’**



5) Deponent verbs or media tantum

Celtic languages possessed verbs that only conjugated in the middle voice. These verbs were endowed with specific endings that were added to the regular conjugation. Some traces can be observed in Gaulish:

Markosyor (1st sg future), *uelor* (1st sg present?), *Exugrī* (3rd perfect sg, cf. OIr, *fidir* < **widrī*?)

Author's Note:

The verbal reconstructions above are highly hypothetical, because of the small number of verbal forms attested in Gaulish (bold forms).

They are essentially based on the verbal morphology of Old Irish and, to a lesser extent, on Brittonic forms.

However, besides the chronological gap, it must be taken into account that Gaulish, although related to the insular languages (Gaelic and Brittonic), could differ from these and at times be closer to neighboring continental IE languages such as Italic dialects, for example.

Moreover, it should be noted that the few Gaulish verbal forms in Latin and later French are essentially weak verbs. It is common in cases of borrowing for the borrowed forms to conform to the most prolific & regular conjugation. But one could also suppose that the mixing of Celtic populations, a result of the period of invasions from the 4th to 3rd Centuries BC, increased the development of commercial relations between cities, which may have required a standardization of Celtic dialects (at the end of independence). In regards to conjugation, this could have resulted in the replacement of irregular forms (strong verbs) with simplified ones (weak verbs drawn from verbal nouns, for example).

3. Phonology

The Celtic phonological system presents the following characteristics:

3.1 CONSONANTS

The phonological changes between IE and Celtic can be summarized in the table below:

PIE	Proto-Celtic	Example
*p *pt, ps	*φ > ø *xt, xs	*ph _a tēr > *φatīr > atīr ‘father’ *septam > *sextam ‘seven’ *laφs- > *laxs- ‘to shine’
*t	*t	*treyes > *trīs ‘three’
*k, k̑	*k	*kan- > *kan- ‘sing’ *k̑mtom > *kanton ‘hundred’
*k ^w	*k ^w /*p	*k ^w etwr > *k ^w etwar (Gael.) *petwar (Brit.) ‘four’
*b/bh	*b	*d ^h ub-no- > *dubno- ‘deep’ *b ^h er- > *ber- ‘to carry’
*d/dh	*d	*derk- > *derk- ‘to look’ *d ^h erg- > *derg- ‘dark’ > ‘red’
*g, g̑ *g, g̑h	*g	*gli- > *gli- ‘to glue’ *g ^h abh- > *gab- ‘to take’ *genu- > *genu- ‘mouth’ *g ^h elH-ro- > *galaro- ‘malady’
*g ^w	*b	*gwen- > *ben- ‘woman’
*g ^{wh}	*g ^w /*w	*g ^{wh} h̑- > *g ^w an- (Gael.) *wan- (Gallo-Brit.) ‘to kill, wound’
*s *st, ts *tt, dt	*s *Ḍ ṣṣ	*sentu- > *sentu- ‘path’ *melit-s > *melið ‘honey’ *medtu- > *messu- ‘judgment’ *ster- > Ḍir- ‘star’ *adrett- > *adress- ‘to attack’
*m	*m	*meh _a tēr > *mātīr ‘mother’
*n	*n	*newyo- > *nowyo- ‘new’
*l	*l	*leuk- > *louk- ‘shining’
*r	*r	*rēg-s > *rīxs ‘king’
*y	*y	*yuw̑nko- > *yuw̑nko- ‘young’
*w	*w	*wlati- > *wlati- ‘power’

- ① Aspirated-voiced and voiced consonants are united;
- ② The labiovelar undergoes particular changes: g^w > b (Celtic); k^w > p and g^{wh} > w (Gaul. & Brit.); Assimilation *p ... k^w > *k^w ... k^w
- ③ Dropping /p/ by an intermediate stage [φ] except in front of t or s where it is transformed into the fricative [x].
- ④ The fricative /ts/ represented by < Ḍ, ḏ, ṣṣ > results from a dental-sibilant, sibilant-dental or 2-dental sequence (-d-t- or -t-t-).



3.2 VOWELS

The Proto-Celtic vowel system is very comparable to that which is reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European by Antoine Meillet. Differences include the incidence of Celtic /i/ for Proto-Indo-European /ē/ (e.g. Gaelic *rīxs* and Irish *rí*, ‘king’ compared to Latin *rex*), /ā/ instead of /ō/ and monophthongization from /ey / to /ē/. The vowel system can be summarized as follows:

Monophthongs		Diphthongs	
Closed:	i ī ī ¹	ey	ew (> ow) ^{1< IE ē}
	e ē ²	oy	ow ^{2< IE ey}
Open:	a ā o ō ³ u ū	ay (> ē)	aw ^{3< IE ow}

PIE	Proto-Celtic	Example
*a, h _A e	*a	*h _A ebon- > *abon- ‘river’
*ā, eh _A , oh _A	*ā	*b ^h reh _A tēr > *brātīr ‘brother’
*e, h _E e	*e	*seno- > *seno- ‘old’
*ə (any laryngeal H between cons.)	*a	*ph _A tēr > *φatīr ‘father’
*ē, eh _E	*ī	*rēg- > *rīg- ‘king’
*o, Ho, h _O e	*o	*roto- > *roto- ‘wheel’
*ō, eh _O	In final syllable, *ū	*telāmōn- > *talamū ‘earth’
	Elsewhere, *ā	*ġneh _O to- > *gnāto- ‘known’
*i	*i	*g ^w itu- > *bitu- ‘world’
*ī, iH	*ī	*slīwo > *līwo ‘color’
*ai, h _A ei, eh _A i	*ai > ē	*kaito- > *kēto- ‘wood’ *seh _A itlo- > *saitlo- > sētlo- ‘age’
*(h _E)ei, ēi, eh _E i	*ē	*deiwo- > *dēwo- ‘god’
*oi, ōi, h _O ei, eh _O i	*oi > ū (late)	*oino- > *oino- ‘one’
*u	Before wa, o	*yuwñto- > *yowanto- ‘youth’
	Elsewhere, *u	*dhughHtēr- > *duxtīr ‘daughter’
*ū, uH	*ū	*ruHneh _A > *rūnā ‘secret’

* <i>au</i> , <i>h_Aeu</i> , <i>eh_Au</i>	* <i>au</i>	* <i>tauso-</i> > * <i>tauso-</i> ‘silence’
* <i>(h_E)eu</i> , <i>ēu</i> , <i>eh_Eu</i> ; * <i>ou</i> , <i>ōu</i> , <i>h_Oeu</i> , <i>eh_Au</i>	* <i>ou</i>	* <i>teuteh_A</i> > * <i>toutā</i> ‘people’ * <i>g^wōu-</i> > * <i>bou-</i> ‘cow’
* <i>l</i>	* <i>li</i> before occlusives	* <i>pl_lth_Anos</i> > * <i>ϕlitanos</i> ‘large’
	Elsewhere, * <i>al</i>	* <i>bhlno-</i> > * <i>ballo-</i> ‘member’
* <i>ṛ</i>	* <i>ri</i> before occlusives	* <i>ṛti-</i> > * <i>ritu-</i> ‘ford’
	Elsewhere, * <i>ar</i>	* <i>kṛros</i> > * <i>karros</i> ‘chariot’
* <i>m̥</i>	* <i>am</i>	* <i>dek^{m̥}eto-</i> > * <i>dekameto</i> ‘tent’
* <i>n̥</i>	* <i>an</i> (but <i>a</i> > <i>in/en</i> ?)	* <i>dek^{n̥}tñ</i> > * <i>dekanten</i> ‘suitable, honorable’
* <i>l̥H</i>	* <i>la</i>	* <i>w_{l̥}Hti-</i> > * <i>wlati-</i> ‘nobility’
	Before resonant, * <i>lā</i>	* <i>l̥Hnom</i> > * <i>lānon</i> ‘place’
* <i>ṛH</i>	* <i>ra</i>	* <i>m^ṛHtom</i> > * <i>mratom</i> ‘treason’
	Before resonant, * <i>rā</i>	* <i>ḡ^ṛHnom</i> > ** <i>grānom</i> ‘grain’
* <i>m̥H</i>	* <i>am/mā</i>	(none?)
* <i>n̥H</i>	* <i>an</i> or * <i>nā</i>	but * <i>gn̥h_Oto-</i> > * <i>gnāto-</i> ‘known’

- ① Resonant and laryngeal changes: *CeHC* > *Ci/ĀC*, *CHC* > *CaC*, *CRH* > *CRaH* > *CRā* (except for morphological reasons for some verbal forms), *CRC* > *CaRC* but *CRC* > *CRiC* (*R* = liquids), *CRHy* > *Cṛ y*, *CRH* + *V* > *CṛV* (*CaRV*). Rq. *Cṛ* (*R* = nasal) > *CaR* or *CāR* (became *e* or *i*, notably in front of *ŋ*)
- ② *VHCstop* > *VCstop*, in pretonic position syllables (Dybo’s law), where *V* = *a*, *i*, *u*.
- ③ Vowel changes: *ey* > *ē*, *ē* > *ī* and *ō* > *ā* (but *ū* in final).
- ④ Dropping laryngeals after *ey* and before consonants (*VyHC* > *VyC*).

3.3 PHONETIC VARIATIONS

Although only a fragmented body of texts is available and the writing systems used to transcribe Gaulish are not always phonologically appropriate, we can assume that there is some allophonic variation within the Gaulish language, as it differs from the other Continental Celtic languages.

Additionally, as Gaulish epigraphy covers a period of about six centuries (from -300 to +300), one can detect phonetic evolutions within the language itself.



- Among the characteristics of Classical Gaulish (1st Century BC to 1st Century AD) we can list: The disappearance of intervocalic /y/ (except between anterior and posterior vowels), the closure of /e/ (from /ən/) to /i/ before nasal + velar (made in [ɲ]) and sometimes, the closure of /ən/ (/en/) in endings, the closing of /e/ and /o/ to /i/ and /u/ in hiatus, in front of [ɲ] and in front of /i/ in the following ending (under the accent, later phenomenon?), the closing of /ō/ to /ū/ in endings, the transition of oRā to aRā, /mn/ to [wn] (as in Brittonic), and locally of /nm/ to [nw].
- In late Gaulish, lenition phenomena with the disappearance of /g/, /w/, and intervocalic /s/, and disappearance of final atonic endings (-n, -s), with perhaps a phenomenon close to that of liaison in French (see Chartres inscription). We also note the developments of /ye/ to /ya/ (*yentus* // *yantus*) and /wo/ to /wa/ (shared with Brittonic). There is also a tendency to open atonic /i/ to final /ě/ and to simplify late Gaulish diphthongs (°): /ew/ > /ow/ > /ō/ ° and /ai/ > /ē/ > /ī/ ° (endings), /oy/ > /ō/ ° but /i/ in the final position. Conversely, late, long vowels may tend to become diphthongs /ū/ > /ow/ (Châteaubleau?), /Ē/ > /ie/, /ā/ between labials go to /ō/ and get rounded (= /ɔ/) in other contexts, atonic /o/ > /e/ or /a/ (= /ə/?).

3.4 ACCENTUATION OF NOUNS IN GAULISH

We have seen that a noun stem is made up of a root and its vowel grade. To this must be added the accent. Indeed, a phonetic word is characterized by the emphasis of one of its parts (often a syllable), by raising the intensity or pitch.

Every Indo-European word has one and only one accent. It can fall on any syllable of the word. Its place is determined by inflection and derivation. Its main function is *culminative* (i.e. it marks the phonetic peak and word class) and incidentally *distinctive*. (cf. Greek τόμος *tómos* ‘cut’ and τομός *tomós* ‘cutting’).

The accent was never marked in Gaulish. Also, reconstruction is difficult because we do not have many clues. However, two different accents have long been observed in Gallo-Roman city names (see Falc’hun).

In late Gaulish, two kinds of accent seem to have existed: one on the antepenult and one on the penult. The first is supposed to occur in the language of the urban *bourgeoisie*, the latter in common speech (e.g.: *Bitúrīges* > *Bourges* but *Biturīges* > *Berry*).

To illustrate this point, another example: *Kondati* ‘confluence’ which is analyzed as *kon* + *dhH₁ti*, i.e. *Dāti* with a short vowel

- accent on the antepenult: *kóndati* > *Condes* (toponym);
- accent on the penult: *kondáti* > *Kondāte* (with late lengthening of *a*) > *Condé*.

In fact, the forms with antepenultimate accent are not the ones that pose a problem because they existed in Latin (due to the rapid Romanization of cities). In classical Latin, the accent depends first of all on the number of syllables and tends to “go up” from the end of the word to

the antepenultimate if the penultimate vowel is short. There is no indication that this accent was musical.

It can be deduced that the other forms stem from the Gaulish accent that had been preserved in rural areas (the lengthening of the vowel in penultimate syllables may be due to the influence of Latin where this accentuation is only possible if it is long). The Brittonic languages had, moreover, an accent on the penultimate syllable. So we can say that in Gaulish, the old mobile, tonic Indo-European accent (but also “prosodic” as in French?) has been fixed:

- on the word if it is monosyllabic (unless it is a preposition or a conjunction);
- on the penultimate syllable if the word is polysyllabic; the final syllable representing the ending.

A similar phenomenon is found in Middle Persian and Armenian: in Old Persian and Sogdian (before the harmonic law), the accent is on the strong syllable closest to the ending while in Middle Persian the accent is fixed on the penultimate.

This theory of Gaulish penultimate accent is strongly contested because it has been used to demonstrate the Gaulish origin of Vannetais (and consequently a late survival of Gaulish, see Falc’hun); but also to show the influence of a Gaulish substratum on French (which is contrary to the prevailing opinion that Gaulish disappeared rapidly in the face of Latin).

However, researchers who studied Continental Celtic, regardless of the Breton language, assume that the accent in Common Celtic was musical (especially because of the mutation phenomena of modern Celtic languages). Dottin (LG) refers to a tonal accent “an accent of pitch” and establishes that in the Gaulish period, it must have been a stress accent, and that the position of the accent showed a certain freedom. Lewis / Pedersen (CCCG) argues that the accent in Gaulish was either on the antepenultimate or the penultimate syllable and that this “may represent a trace of the free accent of IE”.

Others like Schrijver (SBCHP), argue that the Celtic accent (also in the insular languages, as is still the case for Old Irish) fell on the initial and was stress-based.

But for ancient languages whose accentuation is not known, for which a stress accent on the first syllable has been reconstructed (Sabellic languages, Old Latin), we have based that on syncopation affecting short final vowels (loss of vowels ending in -s in Umbrian and Oscan), and changes in the qualities of non-initial vowels (vowel reduction in Latin affecting open syllables) ...

However, these phonological precepts are not attested in Gaulish. The virtual absence of “phonetic wear” is more suggestive of a pitch accent, at least before its late phase.



History of French pronunciation

At this point, it seems necessary to carry out a synthesis on the origin of the prosodic system of French (according to the currently accepted theory).

French descends from a hybrid language born in the 9th Century (with the Oaths of Strasbourg) and resulting from the *langue d'oïl* (dialect of *Île de France*), belonging to the family of Romance languages—i.e. it descends from Vulgar Latin, which replaced Gaulish after Julius Caesar's conquest of Gaul.

The admiration of Latin culture, desire for social elevation and the use of Church Latin with Christianization would be responsible for the rapid disappearance of Gaulish, the common and “barbaric” language *par excellence*. From a Gaulish accent on the initial, we would have shifted to a stress on the antepenultimate or penultimate (heavy syllable) of Classical Latin and then to a late Latin penultimate accent according to the principle of “grammaticalization” (i.e., a frequent phenomenon becomes a normal phenomenon, therefore, a rule). The “Germanization” of the country in the 5th Century would have led to an intensification of the accent (influence from Germanic accentuation) leading to the disappearance of the post-tonic syllable (ending).

The French accent thus became final, the loss of the final vowel being the result of disappearance caused by the word accent, and the beginning of the dominance of the accentual phenomena of modern French. The loss of the acoustic identity of a word within a phrase would thus have led to the phenomena of liaison and linking between words internal to the phrase.

To this brilliant demonstration, it seems necessary to add some comments:

- ① The principle that phonetic changes generally have a social cause (bilingualism, coexistence of several accentual systems and choice of an articulatory style perceived as more prestigious) seems inadequate to explain the penultimate accent in the Gallo-Roman period because:
 - there is nothing to indicate that the Gaulish accent was on the initial (the Brittonic accent was on the penultimate) and therefore the accentuation of Gaulish and Latin differed greatly;
 - the “social cause” had to affect only the bourgeoisie of the cities and not the countryside (especially in the Lower Empire with its “*jacqueries*” Bagaudae).
- ② The expiratory nature of the Germanic accent on the initial fits poorly with an intensification of the penultimate accent of vulgar Latin; all the more so since at that time the intellectual life was reduced to a small number of literates who were far removed from society.
- ③ It is extremely unlikely that Gallo-Roman borrowed its heavy stress accent from Frankish for various reasons:
 - because accent loans are rare or non-existent;

- because 5th Century Frankish probably still had the initial accent of Common Germanic which, if there had been a transfer, would also have been transferred;
- and finally, because, in view of the absence of vowel reduction, Frankish at that time did not have a heavy stress accent (thus, the examination of the characteristics of Old High German and Old Dutch shows that these languages showed neither vowel reduction nor deletion).

④ The phenomena mentioned above did not affect the other Romance languages in the same way and the “Parisian” origin of French is currently disputed (see introduction).

The action of a Gaulish substratum on French accentuation seems more cogent because the politico-economic troubles of the Lower Empire and the Germanic invasions had to favor a popularization of the language (influence of the popular Gaulish accent on Latin).

The loss of post-tonic syllables is common to both French and Breton languages (accentuated on the penultimate without Germanic influence). The phenomena of French *liaison* and the mutations of Celtic languages could have a common origin: a tendency to “merge” syntactic units (examples: phenomenon of “conjugated” prepositions, suffixed and infixed pronouns ...). Only the moments of realization being different: the mutations result from a connection of a word ending (along with the loss of the phonological quantities of the vowels) with the following word, whereas French *liaison* appears only after the loss of final vowels (because Gaulish had already lost the final consonants of atonic word endings by the late period).

French is originally a learned and administrative language that replaced the Roman dialects parallel to the formation of the French nation, and having itself undergone the influence of dialects after having imposed itself on the whole nation (explaining the prosody of modern French).

Towards reconstruction of a Gaulish accent

If one wishes to indulge in some hypothesis about the accentuation of Gaulish, one must determine the constraints of syllabic formation in the language to be analyzed.

The **accentual system** emphasizes a limited part of the word or **syllable** (the one that bears the accent is called **tonic** as opposed to the other so-called **atonic**). The accentuation can be manifested by an increase in vocal **intensity** (stress) of a syllable in a word (see the Germanic languages), or highlighting it by a change of **pitch** or tone (as in Ancient Greek).

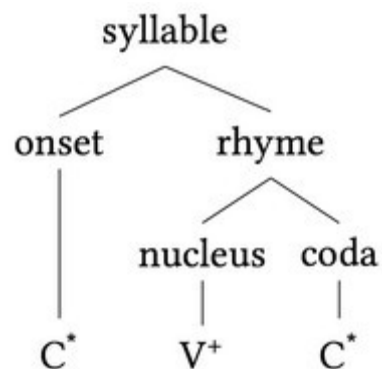
Stress accent explains a large number of phonetic changes that words undergo throughout their history. It is indeed one of the processes that, acoustically, acts the most on the sound shape of phonemes: by placing more intensity on certain syllables of a word, we can easily distort said syllables and, conversely, make unstressed syllables or words less distinct (accentual apophony), especially when they are far from the accent.



Pitch accent, meanwhile, seems to play almost no role in the evolution of words: indeed, melodic changes are not nearly, acoustically or physically, as deforming as stress-based changes are.

In the Western tradition, a syllable (phonetic unit governed by the **sonority hierarchy**) essentially comprises two constituents:

- an anlaut or onset
- a rhyme, which in some syllables is divided into:
 - a nucleus
 - a coda.



➔ Anlaut: Consonant anlaut may be mandatory in most languages, but some also allow empty syllable anlauts; however, even empty, the syllable anlaut tends to be filled by a consonant sound related to the context (this fact is particularly at the origin of the phenomenon of *liaison* in French) or by a glottal stop.

➔ Syllabic nucleus (also called syllabic *peak*, *core*) is the segment with the highest syllable sound level. In standard French, it is systematically a vocalic element (most often a short vowel, a long vowel, or a diphthong). It is mandatory in almost all languages.

➔ Coda: Consists of consonants, it is optional in many languages and sometimes prohibited. Its tone, unlike the syllable anlaut, is falling.

Syllables with codas are said to be **closed** (VC, CVC, CVCC, CVV ...), and those without are said to be **open** (V, CV, CCV).

E.g.: *Kondate* → the syllables kon.da.te: onset K, nucleus O, coda N (closed syllable) + onset D, nucleus A, coda ∅ (short open syllable).

It is the acoustic volume of the language's sounds that determines their place in the syllable.

The sonority hierarchy is universal: it applies to all the syllables of all the languages of the world. It constitutes the canonical schema of the syllable. "Within the syllable, the sonority increases to a peak, usually represented by a vowel, before decreasing to the end of the syllable".

What are the constraints of syllable formation in the Gaulish language, what is the quantitative structure of the syllables. Is there an evolution?

➔ For the oldest attestations, there are: no/few differences in structure between tonic and atonic syllables (no vowel reduction, no vowel erasure), few differences between tonic and atonic vowels, regular and stable phonotactics, no allophones determined by their position (no intervocalic voicing, no final devoicing, no initial aspiration).

➔ One can wonder if, as in French, the syllabification of a single word is relevant?

The accent in French is not a lexical accent (touching the word) but a prosodic one. As a result, many words form syllables with neighboring words, mainly via the *liaison* phenomenon.

Gaulish could be, like French, a **syllabic language** (according to the typology of Auer and Uhmann), i.e. a language that counts the syllables (its main constituent). Moreover, in syllabic languages, each syllable is made up of one or more ***morae***, which determine its weight, which in turn determines the tonic accent of the word, or its rhythm.

They are contrasted with accent-counting languages, or **word languages**, (*‘Wortsprache’*). In these languages it is the phonological word which is the main constituent. These two types of language are, of course, extreme prototypes.

The Chartres tablet (see p. 101) shows a partial loss of endings, suggesting a rule explaining the loss or retention of -s (the loss of word-final -n having already taken place):

- when the next word begins with a vowel, semivowel (/ǔ/) or s, the word-final -s is retained (empty onset filled by the final syllable of the previous word);
- when the next word starts with a consonant, the final -s disappears.

It is tempting to bring this rule closer to a *liaison* phenomenon.

In the text, the separation of a verbal segment into a syllable is as follows:

Step 1: Identify syllabic nuclei by locating sound peaks

Step 2: Onset maximization: A consonant at the two-syllable boundary (final -s) only belongs to the previous syllable if its sound is greater than the syllable that follows (if not it would violate the sonority hierarchy). In all other cases, it is the onset of the next syllable that takes precedence over the coda of the previous syllable.

Step 3: adding the codas: the remaining consonants are finally added to the coda of the previous syllable, respecting a lowering tone, and in compliance with the phonetic constraints of the syllable in question (lowering the tone of the final -s until its disappearance).

↪ The syllabic structure, i.e. the maximum number of phonemes for onset and coda is very limited in late Gaulish, since all (final) syllables seem to be open.

Thus in the Châteaubleau Tablet, the loss of the ending results in all the words in the text ending in a vowel (except *ater?*). A phenomenon that can be compared to Old Slavonic where all the words end with open syllables. The tonal wave of the syllables was therefore almost always rising with a climax at the end of the syllable. A sign of the penultimate accent (musical or pitch) in Gaulish?

However, the late syncope of intervocalic s and g, the reductions and changes of vowel openings (Châteaubleau Tablet), militate in favor of an accent that has become more intense (influence from Vulgar Latin?).



4. Compounding & Derivation

4.1 CONSTRUCT STATE

Construct state (or **compound**) differs from noun formation (or **derivation**). It's a form that has no real equivalent in French. It's done by connecting two words with a dash or making them one; the former word qualifies and specifies the latter. For example, *Doubnorīxs* 'King of the Underworld' is made up of *Rīxs* 'king' and *doubno-* 'underworld'. The construct state can use several words, for example *epo-rēdo-rixs* (king of those traveling on horseback).

The construct state can express different nuances:

- belonging: *Lugudunon* 'Lug's fort' and *Aballoyalon* 'clearing of apple trees';
- qualification: *Argyotalus* 'clear front', *argantodubron* 'silver river', etc.;
- compound: *Moritēxs*, lit. 'who goes on the sea', i.e. 'sailor'.

From the point of view of syntax, we distinguish:

- The copulative derivatives as *dewoxdonyōi* 'gods and humans' are formed from a primary substantive or adjective term affixed to a noun.
- The determinative derivatives comprise a determinant in the form of a compound (taken from the genitive) followed by a declined determinant. Example: *kingetorīxs* 'king of warriors' from *kingets* (N), *kingetos* (G).

4.2 NOUN FORMATION

Noun formation—or derivation—is based on agglutination. We can add affixes (prefixes, infixes, and suffixes) to each root that will change the meaning of the noun:

- ✓ *-atis*, *-(a)mnos*, *-yos*: agent nouns formed on the verbal noun, past participle, adjective, or noun (*adtrebatis* 'inhabitant', *mokkatis* 'swineherd', *bouyatis* 'cowherd') or on the present root of a verb (*barnawnos* 'judge', *adgaryos* 'accuser').
- ✓ *-onts/ant(o)s*: formerly the IE present participle and/or mediopassive, this suffix is used to form stative nouns or agents undergoing action, on the base of verbs. Examples: *karās* (= *ants*) 'friend, parent', = 'one we love' ≠ *karawnos* 'lover', *namantos* 'enemy', *anantos* 'poet', = 'the inspired', *adgaryōs* (= *onts*), *ontos* 'accused' ≠ *adgaryos*, *ī* 'accuser'.
- ✓ *-tis*, *-tus*: these suffixes provide action nouns (act / activity) → verbal nouns.
- ✓ *-los*: this suffix also provides agent nouns but more specifically occupation-related, e.g. *poppilos* 'cook', *metelos* 'harvester'.... It can be combined with the two previous ones (equivalent to IE *-ter / -tor*). Cf. *messulos* / *messilos*.
- ✓ *-tlo-*: substantive-forming suffix (often neuter) for instruments. Cf. *kant(ā)lon* 'song', *sētlon* 'seat', *gēstlos* 'oath' ...

- ✓ *-iknos* (also *-g(e)nos*) / *genā*, *gnātā*, suffix: it expresses filiation: ‘X son of Y’, example: *Andekamoulos towtissiknos*. The genitive case is also used to mark filiation (*Martyalis Dannotali*). So two different methods, although the meaning is pretty much the same. Indeed, ‘genitive’ and ‘progenitor’ share the same root, and thus have a related meaning. Note: √ *-ignos* > *íg.gnos* > *íkno*s (devoicing of *gnos*, see accent above).
- ✓ *-axtā*, *-iyā* (fem), *tā* (masc.), *yon* (n.), *ads*, suffixes: they express the abstract and / or collective meaning, the totality, the French suffix *-age* has a meaning close to this concept. They are built on nouns, *Bibraxte* ‘beavers’?, *Dewaxtā* ‘divinity’, *rigyon* ‘kingship’ < *riks*, on adjectives *karantiyā* ‘friendship’ < *karant-*, *sunartiyā* ‘force’ < *sunart-*, *baissā* ‘Madness’ < *bait(o)* + *tā*, *andernass* ‘those below’;
- ✓ *-sagyos*: agent noun, expresses the propensity towards; for example *kourmisagyos* ‘drunkard’;
- ✓ *ro-*, infix: prefix and preverb with intensive function, it indicates size with nouns or means ‘very’ or ‘too’ with adjectives. It is found in *romāros* ‘too big’;
- ✓ *ex-* and *dī-*, express deprivation, the opposite; example *exobnos* ‘without fear, fearless’

In addition, Gaulish readily employs **hypocoristics** for proper nouns:

- ✓ abbreviated names: frequent way of forming hypocoristics from compounded proper nouns consisting of the systematic removal of a part (apocope without concern for the boundaries between the components of the name); examples: *Adnema* (< **adnāmantos*), *Giamā* (< **Giamogenā*?).
- ✓ *-o(n)* / *-awo-* diminutives: formed from a single element of the compound noun; example *Segū* (< *Segomāros*); *Pictones* / *Pictawoī* ...
- ✓ *-illo*, *-ant-* derivatives: formed on the radical; example *Segillos* (< *sego-*), *Suadullā*, *brigantes*;
- ✓ geminated consonant derivatives: *Eppyā* (< *epos*), *mapos* (*mak^wos* < hyp. **Magg^wos* < *magus*).

4.3 ADJECTIVE FORMATION

Adjectives can be formed by suffixing or compounding.

The following suffixes are known:

- Past participles with *to-*: *karatos*, *ā*, *on* ‘beloved’
- *-tēyo-* adjectives: verbal adjective of obligation (e.g. *karatēyos* ‘lovable’)
- *-d(y)o-* adjectives: indicates a position, location, species, origin, or belonging, sometimes time; e.g. *owidyos* ‘ovine’, *brog(i)dos* ‘rural, regional’, *andedyos* ‘infernal’.
- *-īno-* adjectives: indicates material or possession (‘endowed with’)



- *-iko-*, *-(y)ako-* denominatives: indicates a possession, locality, the provenance (of ...); e.g.: *bennākos* ‘horned’, *anwalonākos* ‘of the god *Anwalū*’, *aremorikos* ‘coastal’, *namausikos* ‘Nîmois’ (a resident of *Nîmes*), *parisiākos* ‘Parisian’, *durnākos* ‘known for his fists’ (cf. the Breton PN *Skouarnnek* ‘big ears, lop-eared’).
- compound adjectives; adj + adj (e.g. *dubiglassos*), noun + adj (e.g. *nertomāros*), prefix + adj. In the latter case, the adjectives are formed on i- or o-stems (e.g. *sunartis*).

Compounding can be done with two adjectives (*dvandva* compound), for example *dubiglass* ‘dark blue’ or an adjective and a noun. In the latter case, the adjective follows the noun (*bahuvrihi* compound), indicating the possession of a quality; examples: *nertomāros*, *Pennowindos*, *Amarkolitanos* ...

In personal names, we can find the qualifying adjective first, the compound being perceived as a whole.

When the adjective is composed of an infixed particle (*su-*, *du-*...) or a preposition and a noun, the adjective thus formed is of semi-vowel inflection (*i* or *u*).

5. Syntax

Syntax studies the relationships between words that can make up syntagmas (groups of words centered around a base), and the relationships between these elements which constitute a sentence.

Due to lacking a sufficient number of sentences, it is difficult to reconstruct Gaulish syntax.

However, it is presently possible to analyze the syntactic relations of a simple sentence and to isolate some syntactic elements.

5.1 SIMPLE SENTENCE SYNTAX

A simple sentence consists of a noun phrase and/or a verb phrase.

The nominal or verbal predicate agrees in number with the subject, the adjective predicate also agrees in gender (when the subject consists of nouns of different genders, the agreement is made in the plural neuter). The various grammatical categories, also called “parts of speech”, or morphosyntactic classes, have been listed in the section on morphology.

There are two types of simple sentence: the verbal phrase and the nominal phrase (without verb).

5.2 VERBAL PHRASE WORD ORDER

The syntax of the Gaulish sentence (hypothetical) can be reconstructed from that of the other Celtic languages.

Four characteristics specific to Celtic languages must be analyzed:

- Placement of the verb at the beginning of the sentence (order VSO) found in Irish and Welsh;
- Dual conjugation of verbs (absolute and conjunct) in Old Irish and Middle Welsh, which contrasts the simple verb (long *i* inflection) with the compound verb, or the simple verb preceded by conjunct particles (short inflection). It should be noted that in Welsh long inflection is used in a declarative sentence rather than a negative clause.
- The use in Brittonic of verbal particles like the *a* (in direct relation) and *e(z)* (in indirect relation) introducing a verb placed in second position in Breton.
- Gallicism, i.e. putting emphasis on the main element at the beginning of the sentence (this exists or has existed in all Celtic languages, and in French).

As a general rule, word order is quite free in the old IE languages, the order of the statement's elements often being chronological. The classical structure in IE is of the SOV type. In addition, IE languages have two types of word order, a neutral type (the default for declarative sentences) and a type marked for topicalized statements. It must have been the same in old Gaulish.

However, it is possible that the topicalized word order became the default type.

In linguistics, we call **thematization** (in the French terminological tradition) or rather **topicalization** (in the English terminological tradition) a language process consisting of putting an element or a group of elements that make up the sentence in a topic position.

According to the structuralist definition, the **topic** contrasts with the **rheme** in the sense that the rheme represents a “new” statement whereas the topic represents the overarching context of what's being said.

In the majority of Indo-European languages in Europe, topicalization most often takes the form of a **prolepsis** (emphasizing an element) and is accompanied by a syntactic dislocation, which sometimes highlights it in the spoken language.

Examples: “I live in the countryside” [Topicalization of the subject], “the nose of Cleopatra: if it had been shorter, the whole face of the Earth would have changed” [Topicalization of the subject] (Blaise Pascal), “Henriette, I know her well” [topicalization of the object], “the sea, I go there every year” [topicalization of the circumstantial complement of place], “the state is me” [topicalization of the subject], etc.

Thus in Gaulish, undergoing a “shift to the left”, i.e. a displacement towards the head of the sentence, the personal verb in the independent or principal clause (unstressed) was found in second position (V_2) after a first stressed element (except in relatives where the verb is at the beginning of the clause); Gaulish being an emphatic language, the main element, or that which has greater informational importance (often the subject but also the object, the recipient, or a circumstance) was emphasized at the start of the sentence. E.g.: *Nessamon delgū linda*. In most



sentences, the subject being the main element, the most frequent order of a sentence would be SVO.

The loss of late Gaulish endings (/s/ and /n/ lost from nominative and accusative nouns) has resulted in the rigidity of the syntax (SV tends to be mandatory). Also to put the subject (even the object) in emphasis, it was necessary to have recourse to a particular construct, a Gallicism (it is ... that). This is called a ***split sentence***. This structure (late and purely oral, not attested) should have been: **esti* S V + *yo* (NB: this implies that Gaulish survived long enough for the construct to develop in popular language and carry on in spoken French). It is actually a phenomenon of topicalization.

At the same time, it may happen that the verb is at the beginning of the sentence, when the subject is contained in the ending of the verb. Also, when the personal verb had to be focused at the head of the sentence to allow the subject's emphasis, it was obligatory to accompany it with a redundant enclitic personal pronoun which, according to the rules of the Celtic languages, was suffixed to the verb (but infixed between the preverb and the compound verb, in accordance with Wackernagel's Law).

Example:

*Nessamon delgū linda ≠ *delgu-mí linda nessamon.*

Several cases of topicalization can be illustrated in response to a question asked; thus for the phrase *Eporēdos delget gaison** “the rider holds a lance”, to the question asked:

- Who holds the spear? The rider! / *It's the rider who* holds the spear (split sentence) ⁽¹⁾
- What is the rider holding? The spear! / *It's the spear that's* held by the rider (idem) ⁽²⁾
- Does the rider hold the spear? Yes / *He* holds *it*, the rider, the spear (affirmation) ⁽³⁾

In the ***declarative sentence*** (sentence in which the subject expresses a fact without exerting an influence on the interlocutor's will, used for an affirmation, in opposition to a negative, to actualize, or in response to a question introduced by an interrogative particle), it is the verb that is emphasized at the beginning of the sentence. In an affirmation, a *-de* particle (*se ?*) Had to be suffixed to the primary verb (following the same rule as the personal pronoun – Wackernagel's law).

When the verb is preceded by negation, an interrogative, or conditional particle, this replaces the enclitic and is emphasized (it is possible however that the enclitic is attached to it)—the clitics following a hierarchy (the most important being on the left): e.g. relative *yo* (sentence marker) precedes a personal clitic pronoun (marking the person).

→ SOV unmarked order → SVO emphasis, OSV requires redundant clitic (subject and object), VSO (id)

Examples:

– **Martialis Dannotalī** ieur = **u** *Ucuete* *sosin celicnon* → “M D, **he** dedicated to U this building”
S V3rd sg - pro I/A indirect O. dir. O [topicalization of the subject] ⁽¹⁾

– **ratin brivatiom** *Frontu Tarbeisonios ieiur = u* → “the wall of B. F. T. offered **it**”
 O dir. S V3rd sg - pro I / A [thematization of the object] ⁽²⁾

– *buet = id* (*bueti = d*) *ollon ...*
 V3rd sg- clit. attribute (here acc = dir. O) ⁽³⁾

Note: “*Id*” is compared to the Greek Homeric *ide* “and” (but introducing a principal followed by a subordinate in Cypriot), the suffix *-i* in OIr., neuter pronoun anticipating a noun that can be of a different gender (compare *cresaighth-i in lágín móir sin* ‘he brandishes it, the great spear’ with the previous example).

The structure with a verb at the beginning of the sentence, which has become the basic structure in OIr. (= long forms of the verb) can be explained by the suffixation of an affirmative particle *de* (possibly *se*).

The structure of Breton (S + a V or O + a V but other elements than S and O + e V) can be explained by the fact that the particle *a* represents a relative particle (*se* + *yo?*, cf. OW *hay*) and thus a Gallicism with an elision of the verb ‘to be’, while *e(z)* represents the old declarative infix particle.

This Celtic structure comes directly from the IE structure where an element is presented in a sentence and is then repeated and commented on in the following sentence which is introduced by a phrase particle or anaphoric (e.g. “then him ...”). The latter can be treated like the normal diptych, i.e. as a subordinate (complex v. sentence). In this case, both SOV and Indo-European languages show a VO structure for the subordinate that is introduced by a particle. For the origin of “*id*” see conjugation. For “*d(e)*” suffixed on primary endings cf. p. 53.

Examples: *Prinatin epon? Does he buy a horse? ≠ Prinatíd epon ! = yes, he buys a horse (reconst.)*
Níss! No. ≠ Essíd! = Oui-da
Anegetíd rātis, ne-aneget ratus = a fortress protects, fortune (luck) does not.
Maratti molatus, ne-marat(i) wolawtus = it is praise that brings glory, not wealth.

5.3 THE NOMINAL PHRASE

The nominal (noun) phrase, as the name suggests, does not contain (conjugated) verbs, but otherwise does not differ from the verbal phrase except that it does not contain an object noun.

However, in poetry, for narration (action sequence), Celtic uses the declined noun in place of the conjugated verb. In this case the complement of the verb (= subject of the verb) precedes this one.

Examples (* = reconstructed from OIr. examples):

- *In sinde se-bnanom brixton* (VN) *anwana san anderna ...* (Larzac)
 “When these women bewitch [these women’s bewitching] the names below ...”.
- *Rextus Keltabi Rīgos labratūi* (VN) *in kintusame**
 “It is law among the Celts for the King to speak first”



- *Extos ni adlos Keltabi Rīgos labratūi (VN) are druidi**
“But it is not acceptable to the Celts for the King to speak before the Druid”

Note: in these examples, the word order — determined noun (e.g. *brixton*), determiner (e.g. *se-bnanom*) — is not followed (see 5.4 infra) under the influence of the SVO verbal phrase structure.

5.4 WORD ORDER IN THE NOMINAL SYNTAGMA

As a rule, the determiner tends to follow the noun it determines in Celtic language. A substantive can be determined by an adjective (according to case, gender, and number), an affixed substantive (same case), or a substantive complement in the genitive (belonging), dative (destination), or the instrumental (possession and accompaniment). Sometimes the adjective does not agree with the noun (in compounding and in certain structures), in which case it always precedes the noun. The demonstrative, likewise, precedes the noun.

Examples:

- *Adiegā Matīr Aiiās* [Nom. N + Gen. N] — ‘Ad. Mother of A.’
- *ratin brivatiom* ... [Acc. N + Gen N] — ‘the Brivates’ rampart’
- *Mapon arueriatin* ... [N + Adj] — ‘the Prodigal Son’
- *sosin nemeton* ... [Dem. + N] — ‘this sanctuary’
- *anwanā san-andernā* ... [N + Dem. + Adj.] — ‘the names below’

5.5 COMPLEX SENTENCE SYNTAX

A complex sentence includes:

- Two or more independent, coordinated, or juxtaposed clauses
- One or more main clauses and one or more subordinate clauses.

In IE, the typical complex sentence is the subordinate-main diptych in which one has the anteposed subordinate that’s introduced by a relative, followed by the principal which is correlated by a resumptive anaphoric.

Subsequently, the diptych reversed and we end up with the structure that we find in Celtic:
main – subordinate.

In the case of several independent clauses coordinated by phrase particles, we find ourselves before the IE type structure.

Subordination:

In Gaulish, there are only a few clues:

- Relative propositions: introduced by a relative term, they function mainly as noun and predicate complements, but can also fulfill other functions. The Celtic relative is based on suffixing -yo particles, the verb, or by using the demonstrative *san/sin*?

- Subordinate clauses: introduced by a subordinating conjunction resulting from the relative. See *sinī* (< **sm-i*)? in *yegu[m]i sinī siaxsiou ...* (Châteaubleau tablet, more details on page 96).

Coordination

Coordination is normally done using the enclitic *-k* and the (stressed?) form *etik*.

They are used to coordinate words and clauses, alone or in combination with other conjunctions. Moreover, a conjunctive particle *-d(e)* comparable to the Greek *δέ* *de* appears to be used this way to link two contradictory clauses (→ the origin of the absolute and conjunct forms of Middle Welsh, ? e.g.: *Pereid y rycheu Ny phara have goreu*). See examples p.52.

5.6 ELEMENTS OF SYNTAX

Some elements of syntax are known as coordinating, negating, anaphoric, and demonstrative.

5.6.1 Adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions

① Coordinating (cc) and subordinating (sc) conjunctions

- *Ak-?*: (cc) ‘and’ (from **ad-ghe?*), + used with instrumental-sociative; proclitic?
- *-K*: ‘and’, coord. enclitic for 2 syntagmas of the same nature (verbs, nouns);
- *-N(e)*: interrogative suffix
- *Aw*: (sc) ‘when’ (unstressed)
- *Duki*: ‘like, besides’
- *Eri*: (sc) ‘because’
- *Etik*: (cc) ‘and’, ‘as well as’, introduces an additional phrase or element to a list;
- *Extos*: (cc) ‘but’
- *Koetik*: ‘and also, and again,’ cf. *etik*
- *Mā, ma**: ‘if’ (+ indicative if present or past action, subj. if future or general action, past subj. if very hypothetical or unreal action)
- *Nī, ne*: ‘no’, ‘not’; *ne* is proclitic
- *Nek**: particle ‘not, and not’ -conj. (with neg) = impediment, ignorance + sub.
- *Newe**: ‘or (no)’
- *-We*: ‘or’, coordinating suffix
- *Panā** = ‘wherefrom?’
- *Poni** = ‘when?’ (// *toni*)
- *Pō > pū**: ‘how’, ‘where?’ (// *so*)
- *Ponne*: ‘is it that ...?’ (*k^wod + ne*), interrogative particle.
- *Poti > peti*: ‘how much?’
- *Sok*: ‘and this/that’, coord. phrase particle (in *soccanti* but may be *sod + kanti*).



- *Uto* (*H_au+to?*): ‘As’, ‘since’, ‘so’ (also *kouto*), cf. Greek *αὐτος* *autos* (‘it’ + demonstrative 2nd p). Comparative conjunction (with *eti*).

② Adverbs

- *Alla*: ‘beyond’, ‘besides’
- *Ate / Atawu**: ‘again’, ‘anew’
- *Duki*: ‘also’, ‘moreover’, ‘besides’, ‘to that end’ (cf. *hierzu* = **de* + *kei / ki* ‘to this’ in loc. sg. → ‘here’)
- *Duti*: ‘for that’, ‘at the same time’, ‘in this case’, ‘furthermore’ (cf. *dazu* = **de* + *toi / ti* ‘to that’)
- *Eti / it*: ‘likewise’, ‘again’, ‘as much’ (cf. Latin *etiam*); prep. (cf. Latin *idem, item*)
- *-id*: ‘there’ (adv. of place and personal pronoun, cf. Latin *ibi*)
- *Issok**: ‘so’, ‘therefore’, ‘in this way’ (cf. Latin *sic*)
- *Moxs(u)**: ‘soon’, ‘early’
- *Nek**: ‘and not’ — adv. (at start of sentences in the imperative) = ‘what not’, ‘why not’
- *Nude*: ‘now’
- *Ōxs, Ūxs(i)*: ‘at the top’; also prefix
- *Sindyū*: ‘today’
- *Sindēsi*, xdei*: ‘yesterday’
- *Sin(di)noxti**: ‘that night’
- *So / Sondū**: ‘here’
- *Sindū**: ‘there’
- *Toni*: ‘so’, ‘well’; ‘then’, ‘finally’; ‘moreover’, ‘in addition’ (cf. *then, dan, dann* in Germ. languages, *tum* in latin);

Forming adverbs from adjectives:

- Adjective in sg. instrumental;
- *Inte* + M or N instr. adj.: “-ly” type adverb; e.g. *inte marū* = ‘greatly’

③ Prepositions & Prefixes

- *Ad*: (+ acc.) ‘To’, ‘at’; prep.
- *Ambi*: (+ acc.) ‘Around’, ‘about’, ‘on both sides’; ‘regarding’; inflected prefix
- *Ande*: pref. ‘more’, ‘very’; prep. *ander-*: (+ acc.) ‘under’, ‘below’
- *Are*: (+ I/A) prep. ‘before’, ‘in front of’; (+ acc.) ‘because of’; pref = ‘pre-’
- *Aw*: (+ I/A) prep. ‘out of’, ‘far from’; pref. = provenance, distance; (Germ. *von*)
- *Dī*: ① + (A/I) prep. ‘from’, ‘coming from’ (remoteness, separation); ② ‘of’ (partitive); ③ ‘without’, negative or intensive prefix = pref.
- *Enter, entar*: (+ ac.) p. ‘between’, ‘among’
- *Entra?*: (+ acc.) prep. ‘inside’, ‘in’

- *Eri*: ① (+ I/A) ‘by’, ‘in the name of’, ‘for’, ‘for the purpose of’ (Lat *per*, W *er*, Eng. *about*, *all*, Ger. *um*); ② (+ acc.) ‘around’ (Greek *περί* *peri*, Ger. *um*); pref.
- *Ēron**: (+ I/A) ‘behind’, ‘after’ (time)
- *Exs*: (+ I/A) prep. ‘out of’, ‘at the end of’ (cf. Germ. *aus*); pref. = ‘without’
- *Extra**: (+ acc.) prep. ‘outside of’, ‘without’ (cf. OIr. *echtar*, MW *eithyr*)
- *In, en-*: (+ I/A. -Loc) ‘in’, ‘at’; (+ acc.) ‘in’, ‘towards’; pref. and prep.
- *Iss(u)**: (+ I/A) ‘at the bottom of’, ‘below’, ‘lower than’; pref. and prep. May be formed from ① *ed* + *su-* (IE *ped-*) ‘at the foot’ or ② from *epi* (*pi**) + *sto* (‘backwards’ → ‘at the bottom’) through a form *iptero** (‘posterior’ *ichtar* → ‘to the west’ → ‘to the bottom’, ‘to the lowest’). Compare *wo* + *sto*.
- *Kanti*: (+ acc. I/A?) ‘With’, ‘beside’; prep. → *Kantimi* (‘with me’) but *sokkanti* (‘with that’)
- *Kon-* / *Ko(m)-*: ‘with’, ‘together’; prefix
- *Olo-*: (+ I/A) prep. ‘beyond’, ‘besides’
- *Oxti*: (+ I/A or ac.?) p. ‘above’, ‘higher than’, ‘over’, ‘on top’ → *Sioxti* (‘above her’) and maybe *suoxti** < *sū-ōxti* (= W *chwaeth*, ‘above that’, ‘still’, ‘more’).
- *Pos**: (+ acc.) ‘to’, ‘until’ (OIr. *co*, MW *py*) → *Au ... po*
- *Rāk(o)**: ‘in front’, ‘before’
- *Sepos**: (+ acc.) ‘rather than’, ‘beyond’, ‘except’ > ‘apart from’, ‘without’
- *Tio*: ‘to’, form // from *to*, i.e. corresponding to the OIr. prefix *tu** ‘to, towards’ (the speaker) or made up of *de* + *op(i)*, *de* + *ud* (deictic). Cf. OW *dī*?
- *Trē-, tri*: (+ acc.) ‘through’, ‘across’ (Germ. *durch*); pref. and prep.
- *Wer(o)-*: (+ I/A.) ‘on’; (+ acc.) ‘to the top’; pref. and prep.
- *Wo/a*: (+ acc.) ‘down’; (+ dat.) ‘under’; pref. and prep.
- *Writtu* / *wriissu**: ‘against’, ‘facing’ (Insular Celtic)

5.7 EXAMPLES OF CONSTRUCTS & PERIPHRASES

Express emphasis (* = reconstruction)

*Kantalu molatōs immi** = dat. VN + gen. S + sub. V *Orgenu namanton beret kladyon**

‘It’s praise I sing’ (= ‘I’m singing praise’)

‘It’s for slaying enemies, that he carries a sword’

Using the VN in place of the verb

Wissus essi-mī / *Mī-essi(d) wissus**

‘I know’ = ‘the knowledge is mine’.

*Kingetes biyont orgenui namanton** = S V ‘to be’ VN (dat.) O (gen.)

‘The warriors are killing the enemies’ = progressive present.

Maybe also inscriptions containing the verb *a(u)woti/e* = S + dat. VN



For comparison: summary table of Celtiberian nominal declension

		<i>-ō</i>	<i>-ā/ǝ-</i>	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-ū</i>
Sg.	N.	<i>-os < *-ōs</i> boutos	<i>-a < *-ǎ</i> kortika	<i>-is < *-īs</i> kenis	—
	A.	<i>-om < *-ōm</i> boustom	<i>-am < *-ǎm</i> kortikam	<i>-im < *-īm</i> aratim	—
	G.	<i>-o < *-ǝ</i> aualo	<i>-as < *-ǎs</i> koitinas	<i>-eis < *-eis</i> luzeis ?	—
	D.	<i>-ui < *-ōi</i> ueizui	<i>-ai < *-ǎi</i> masnai ?	<i>-ei < *-ei</i> kenei	<i>-uei < *-uei</i> LVGVEI
	Ab.	<i>-uz < *-ǝd</i> usamuz	<i>-az < *-ǎd</i> arekorataz	<i>-iz < *-īd</i> aratiz	<i>-uez < *-u éd</i> arauez
	L.	<i>-ei < *ei</i> lutiakei	<i>-ai < *-ǎi</i> kustai ?	—	—
	I.	<i>-u < *-ō</i> tamanu ?	—	—	—
Pl.	N.	<i>-oi < *-oi</i> stoteroi	—	—	—
	A.	<i>-us < -ons</i> matus?	<i>-as < *-ǎns</i> listas ?	—	—
	G.	<i>-um < *-ōm</i> abulokum	<i>-aum < *-ǎōm</i> otanaum ?	<i>-isum < *-is-ōm</i> kentisum ?	<i>-oum < *-ou-ōm</i> EDNOVM ?
	D.	<i>-ubos < *-(o)b^hos</i> arekoratikubos	—	—	—
		<i>-n</i>	<i>-r</i>	<i>-nt</i>	<i>-occ.</i>
Sg.	N.	<i>-u < *-ōn</i> melmu	<i>-r < *-(V)r</i> kar ?	—	<i>*-K-s</i> teiuoreikis ?
	A.	—	—	<i>-am < *-nt-ṃ</i> trikantam	—
	G.	<i>-(u)nos < *-(V)n-ōs</i> melmunos	<i>-(e)ros < *-(V)r-ōs</i> tuateros	<i>-os/-es < *-nt-os/-es</i> trikantos steniotes	<i>-os < *-K-ōs</i> tokoitos
	D.	<i>-(u)nei < *-(V)n-ei</i> terkininei	—	<i>-e < *-ei</i> STENIONTE	<i>-ei < *-K-ei</i> tokoitei
	Ab.	<i>-(u)nez < *-(V)-éd</i> oilaunez	—	—	<i>-ez < *-K-éd</i> sekobirikez
Pl.	N.	—	<i>-(e)res < *-(V)r-es</i> tuateres	—	<i>-es < *-K-és</i> aleites ?
	A.	—	—	—	—
	G.	—	—	—	—
	D.	—	<i>-rubos < *-r(o)b^hos</i> MATRVBOS ?	—	—

6. Woxtlon — Glossary

Here we will examine the following Gaulish or reconstructed Celtic (*) words, sorted by theme, while keeping in mind that a form and its meaning may vary slightly by time and space, and that these forms are only more-or-less approximate. Each attested or supposed word is based on a reconstruction from the current state of modern Celtic languages as well as the information provided by other Indo-European languages, which is of great help. Many roots are inevitably shared between Celtic, Germanic, Latin and all other so-called Indo-European languages. A relative difficulty is to know what gender a word had, because Gaulish possessed three genders—masculine, feminine, and neuter—while in modern Celtic languages only the masculine and the feminine remain (the “-” sign denotes an unknown gender).

Notes on spelling and pronunciation:

The *Tau Gallicum* (affricative /TS/) is written Ð, ð at the beginning of the word and ʒ everywhere else.

The “-” sign indicates a long vowel.

W is pronounced as in English and Y indicates a “yod” (as in *yes*, *yacht*).

G is always hard (as in *garner*) and U is pronounced as in Latin (= Fr. *ou*).

All nouns are given in the nominative (sg) followed by the genitive (sg) and the adjectives are shown in the 3 genders.

6.1 “PLEASANTRIES” AND EXPRESSIVE WORDS

(for fans of conlang, as these are too speculative)

- Essid*: ‘yes’ = ‘it is’, ‘this is’
- Tod* > tō/ū: ‘yes’, ‘yes’ in the sense of contradicting a negative statement (cf. Fr. *si*), ‘indeed’
- Netod* > netō/ū: ‘no’, ‘nay’, ‘actually not’
- Inte kowiron*: ‘OK’, ‘alright’
- Slānos !: ‘[be] well’, ‘hi’ (Lat. *salve*), *Slane â Magale! Salut ô Prince*
- Slānosies: ‘may you be in good health’
- Slāntiyā*: ‘cheers’
- Suawelos: ‘fare well’ (lit. ‘good wind’)
- Sulubī*: ‘Bravo’, ‘joy’, ‘welcome!’ (< lubī-: ‘to love’; cf. Ir. *suilbh*)
- Trugyā: ‘thanks’, ‘pardon’
- O! interj. = ‘Oh’
- Obo! interj. of defiance, surprise (*wallon bah, abah !*)
- Uk !: ‘Alas!’



- Up(p)u !: ‘Ow!’, ‘ouch!’
- Ut! Ut! Interj. of disapproval
- Wai ! > Wē !: ‘Woe!’ (cf. Latin *Vae*)

6.2 ANWANA / NOUNS

① TĪRESA ETIK ABONAS (75)

- | | |
|--|---|
| Abonā, ās = abenā = aba (Germ.): ‘river’ | Kladyā, yās: ‘trench’ |
| Abus, ōs?: <i>Same as above</i> (< <i>abon-s</i> , <i>aben-s</i>) | Klāros, ī: ‘plain, clearing’ |
| Akito-, ī: ‘plain, field’ (rare) | Klownyā, ās: ‘meadow, pasture’ |
| Adboros/abberos, ī: ‘estuary, tributary’ | Klukā, ās: ‘rock, stone’ |
| Alos, isos: ‘cliff, rock’ | Komberos, ī: ‘confluence, dam’ |
| Alton, ī *: ‘shore, slope of a hill’ | Kondāti, ōs: ‘confluence’ |
| Andownā, ās: ‘spring’ | Kumbā, ās: ‘bowl’ (valley), ‘valley’
‘bottom’ |
| Balma, ās: ‘cave’ | Krowko-, ī / ā; ās: ‘mound, heap’ |
| Bannā, ās/bennā: ‘peak, horn, summit’ | Landā, ās: ‘open field, wasteland, moor’ |
| Barros, ī: ‘summit, peak’ | Lati, ōs: ‘mud, silt, swamp’ |
| Barenā, ās*: ‘rock, reef’ | Lausā, ās: ‘flat stone, lauze’ |
| Barenāko-*, ī: ‘rocky terrain’ | Ligyā, ās: ‘loam, binds, bottom’ (<
*leg-) |
| Bawā, ās: ‘mud, muck’ | Likkā, ās: ‘flat stone, slab, tombstone’ |
| Berus, ōs: ‘spring’ | Lindon, ī: ‘liquid’ > ‘pond, drink’ (pl?) |
| Bornā, ās: ‘fountain’ | Loku, ōs: ‘lake’ |
| Borwā, ās: ‘muddy spring’ | Lutā, ās: ‘marsh’ |
| Braknā, ās: ‘rotten place, peaty,
uncultivated’ | Luton, ī: ‘mud, dirt’ |
| Brakus, ōs: ‘marshland, peaty’ | Maginon, ī*: ‘stone, square’ (pl.) |
| Brigā, ās: ‘hill, height’ | Magos, esos: ‘plain, field’ |
| Dubron, ī: ‘water’ | Monyo-, ī *: ‘mountain, eminence’ |
| Dumyon, ī: ‘bank, mound, tumulus’ | Mori, ōs: ‘sea’ |
| Eniboros / inberos, ī: ‘mouth’ (of a river) | Nantu-, ōs: ‘stream, valley’ |
| Ētu-, ōs: ‘meadow’ | Nemos, esos: ‘sky’ |
| Genawā, ās: ‘mouth’ (of a river) | Okelo-, ī (Celtib., N. Brit.): ‘Peak,
promontory’ |
| Glandā > glannā, ās: ‘shore’ | Pantyos, ī: ‘flat valley, plateau’ |
| Glendos, esos: ‘valley’ | Rénos, ī: ‘flow, river’ |
| Grawā, ās: ‘sand, gravel’ | Rokkā, ās (Gaul.): ‘Rock’ (not Celt.) |
| Graūs, wos: ‘gravel, pebble’ | Rossos, ī: ‘plateau, wooded hill’ (<i>pro +</i>
<i>sto-</i>) |
| Inberos, ī: ‘mouth’ (of a river) | |
| Inissī, yās: ‘island’ | |

🏔 Sleibos, ī (Ir.): ‘mountain, slope’	🏔 Turno-, ī: ‘butte, height, cliff’
🏔 (S)nawdā, ās: ‘flooded meadow, valley’	🏔 Traxtu-, ōs*: ‘coast, shore’
🏔 Šrutwā, ās: ‘torrent, stream’	🏔 Uxsownā, ās: ‘fountain, waterfall’
🏔 Talamū, onos: ‘earth, soil’ (rare)	🏔 Wagnā, ās: ‘wetland, slope, bog’
🏔 Talūtyon, ī: ‘slope, embankment’	🏔 Weltā, ās*: ‘pasture, grass’
🏔 Tīros, esos*: ‘land, territory’	🏔 Wer(y)ā, ās (Germ.): ‘Water, river, passage’
🏔 Tnowon, a*: ‘valley, flat valley’	🏔 Woberos, ī: ‘stream’ or ‘underground creek’
🏔 Tullon, a: ‘hollow, basin, water hole’	🏔 Yagis, ōs: ‘ice’ (f)
🏔 Tumbos, ī*: ‘mount, tumulus’	
🏔 Tunnā, ās: ‘wave’	

② WIDOWES, BLĀTOWES ETIK AGRANOBI (80)

✿ Abalon, ī: ‘apple’	✿ Dólā, ās: ‘leaf/leaves’
✿ Aballos, ī (fem.): ‘apple tree’	✿ Doliskos, ī*: ‘seaweed’
✿ Adarkā, ās: ‘reed foam’ (med. plant)	✿ Đukkā, ās: ‘trunk, stump’
✿ Agranon, a: ‘fruit’	✿ Dragenā, ās: ‘blackthorn, sloe’
✿ Agranyū, onos: ‘sloe’ (South of Gaul)	✿ Eburos, ī: ‘yew’
✿ Agranyos, ī / agranyā: ‘blackthorn’	✿ Erinon, ī: ‘wall germander’
✿ Albolon, ī: ‘pennyroyal’	✿ Gilaros, ī: ‘wild thyme’
✿ Alisyā, yās: ‘whitebeam’	✿ Glasson, ī: ‘woad’
✿ Alos, ī: ‘great comfrey’	✿ Īwos, ī: ‘yew’
✿ Axtīnos, ī: ‘gorse, juniper’	✿ Kāssanos, ī: ‘oak’
✿ Baditis, ōs: ‘water lily’	✿ Kērā* < kairā, ās: ‘bay’
✿ Bāgos, ī: ‘beech’	✿ Kēros, ī* = kerotannos, ī*: ‘service tree’
✿ Banatlo- / balatno, ī: ‘broom’	✿ Kēton, < Kaiton, ī: ‘forest, wood’
✿ Beliocantos, ī: ‘water-milfoil’	✿ Kētiyā, yās: ‘forest, woodland’
✿ Belenūs, ontos?: ‘henbane’	✿ Knoū, owos / onos: ‘hazelnut’
✿ Berurā, ās: ‘watercress’	✿ Kowā, ās: ‘hazelnut’
✿ Betwiyā / betuyā, ās: ‘birch’	✿ Knowillā, ās: ‘nut’
✿ Betidolā, ās: ‘great burdock’	✿ Kollos, ī: ‘hazel tree’
✿ Bilyos / bilyā, ī: ‘tall tree, tree trunk, sacred tree’ (< <i>belos</i> , <i>belisos</i> ?)	✿ Kremus, ōs: ‘garlic’
✿ Blātu-, ōs: ‘flower’	✗ Laginon, ī: ‘white hellebore’
✗ Bullukā, ās: ‘sloe’ (North of the Seine)	✗ Lemos, ī: ‘elm’
✗ Brīginos, ī: ‘sagebrush’	✗ Limeon, ī: ‘poisonous grass with which arrows were coated’ (hellebore?)
✗ Daglā, ās: ‘pine’	✗ Melatyā, yās: ‘larch’
✗ Derwos, ī > derwā: ‘oak’	✗ Meliswexsmoryon, ī: ‘clover’
✗ Dexsi(ta)mon, ī *: ‘European Birthwort’ (<i>A. clematitis</i>)	✗ Mentā, ās: ‘mint’



- ✿ Messus, ōs*: ‘acorn, mast, fruit’ (trees)
- ✿ Odokos, ī: *ebulus* (elderberry variety)
- ✿ Onnā, ās: ‘ash’
- ✿ Owalidyā, ās: ‘chamomile’
- ✿ Pempedulā, ās: ‘cinquefoil, potentilla’
- ✿ Prennon, ī: ‘tree, wood’
- ✿ Rowdaron, ī / rowdarā: ‘meadowseet, queen of the meadow’
- ✿ Salixs, kos > Salikā, ās: ‘(gray) willow’
- ✿ Sāmolon, ī: ‘plant for veterinary use growing in a humid environment’ (chickweed?)
- ✿ Santoni(k)on, ī: ‘wormwood’
- ✿ Sapanā, ās: ‘scarlet pimpernel’ (rich in saponin)
- ✿ Sapo-, ī > Sapawidus, ōs: ‘fir’
- ✿ Skobilū, onos*: ‘nightshade’
- ✿ Skobyes?-, ‘black elderberry’
- ✿ Sentulitano-, ī*: ‘plantain’

- ✿ Tannos, ī: ‘holm oak, *Ilex*’
- ✿ Tarwotangwātyon, ī*: ‘plantain’ (bull’s tongue)
- ✿ Togyā, ās: ‘thorny gorse, furze’ (heath gorse)
- ✿ Wegron, ī*: ‘grass’
- ✿ Welā, ās: ‘hedge mustard’ (*sisymbrium officinale*)
- ✿ Weltā, ās*: ‘grass, pasture’
- ✿ Wernā, ās: ‘alder’
- ✿ Wettonikā, ās: ‘betony’ (< *Vettones*)
- ✿ Widus, ōs: ‘tree’
- ✿ Widwā, ās: ‘wood, forest’
- ✿ Wimmonā, ās: ‘seaweed, algae’
- ✿ Wisumaros, ī: ‘clover’
- ✿ Wītu-, ōs: ‘wicker, willow branch’
- ✿ Wokēton, ī: ‘underbrush’
- ✿ Wridyo-, ī*: ‘root, radish’

③ SELWANOĪ MILAK (ANIMALS)

Et(a)nos, ī: bird (20)

- ✿ Alaw(i)dā, ās: ‘lark’
- ✿ Āwyon, ī*: ‘egg’
- ✿ Bardalā, ās: ‘crested lark’
- ✿ Bodwos, ī: ‘crow’
- ✿ Branos, ī: ‘raven’
- ✿ Elayos, yī: ‘swan’
- ✿ Etar, etnos*: ‘bird’
- ✿ Kālyakos, ī: ‘rooster’
- ✿ Kawannos, ī: ‘owl, barn owl’
- ✿ Kō(w)rkyo-, ī*: ‘heron’

- ✿ Garanus, ōs: ‘crane’
- ✿ Gēdā, ās*: ‘goose’
- ✿ Gulbyon, ī: ‘beak’
- ✿ I(y)aros, ī / Iarā, ās: ‘chicken, hen’
- ✿ Mesalkos, ī: ‘blackbird’
- ✿ Pinkyo-, ī: ‘chaffinch’
- ✿ S/frawo- (or **sfrag*-), ī: ‘rook, crow’
- ✿ Skublo-, ī: ‘kite’
- ✿ Wannāllos, ī: ‘swallow’?, ‘lapwing’
- ✿ Wolkos, ī: ‘falcon’

Fish (11)

- ✿ Alausā, ās: ‘shad’
- ✿ Ankorakū, onos: ‘kind of salmon’ (Rhine)
- ✿ Esoxs, kos: ‘salmon’ (-*okos* or -*ōkos* > -*kos*? See Latin *ūelox*, *ōcem*)
- ✿ Esoxs lewkyos: ‘pike’

- ✿ Gobyū, onos*: ‘gudgeon’
- ✿ Kottos gobyū: ‘sculpin’
- ✿ Lawkkā, ās: ‘loach’
- ✿ Lottā, ās: ‘monkfish’
- ✿ Tinkā, ās: ‘tench, doctor fish’

🐟 Troxtā, ās: 'trout'

Petrūss, odos*: quadrupeds (57)

🐾 Artos, ī: 'bear'
 🐾 Matus, ōs: (see above)
 🐾 Selwanos, ī: 'cattle, herd'
 🐾 Epos, ī: 'horse'
 🐾 Kaballos, ī: 'draft horse, nag' (horse)
 🐾 Kassikā, ās: 'mare'
 🐾 Mandus, ōs: 'pony, trotter'
 🐾 Markos, ī: 'horse'
 🐾 Worēdos, ī: 'courier'
 🐾 Bows, wos: 'cow, cattle'
 🐾 Anderā, ās: 'heifer'
 🐾 Bowi(ss)ā, ās: 'cow'
 🐾 Bowos, ī: 'steer, ox'
 🐾 Damos, ī: 'steer, cattle' (domestic
 horned beast)
 🐾 Kewā, ās: 'kind of cow'
 🐾 Lāigos, ī*: 'calf' (Brit., Ir.)
 🐾 Oxsus, ōs: 'ox, deer' (wild horned beast)
 🐾 Tarwos, ī: 'bull'
 🐾 Tarwinā, ās: 'heifer'
 🐾 Urus, ōs: 'aurochs'
 🐾 Sukkos, ī: 'pig, hog, swine'
 🐾 Banwos, ī: 'piglet'
 🐾 Mokkos, ī: 'swine, wild boar'
 🐾 Orkos, ī: 'goret, little pig'
 🐾 Torkos, ī: '(wild) boar'
 🐾 Trogyā, yās: 'sow'
 🐾 Wessis, ōs*: 'one year old sow'
 🐾 Owis, ōs: 'sheep, lamb'

Swél- etik allī: insects & others (11)

🐸 Angus ?: 'snake, dragon'
 🐝 Bikos, ī: 'bee'
 🐛 Dolbā, ās: 'wood worm, caterpillar'
 🐛 Karantyonos, ī: 'weevil'
 🐛 Koulis, eos*: 'fly, mosquito' (f)

🐟 Windessā, ās: 'bleak, dace'

🐾 Damatos, ī: 'sheep'
 🐾 Kairāxs, kos: 'ewe'
 🐾 Moltū, onos: 'ram'
 🐾 Ownos, ī*: 'lamb'
 🐾 Gabros, ī: 'goat, deer'
 🐾 Bukkū, onos: 'billy goat'
 🐾 Gabrā, ās: 'goat'
 🐾 Iorkos, ī/ā, ās: 'deer'
 🐾 Karwos, ī: 'deer'
 🐾 Alanī, yās*: 'fawn'
 🐾 Elantī, yās: 'doe'
 🐾 Alki, ōs: 'elk'
 🐾 Kambōxsu, ōs*: 'chamois' (wild goat)
 🐾 Milon, ī: '(small) animal'
 🐾 Bledyos, ī: 'wolf'
 🐾 Kanawon, ī: 'wolf pup, young animal'
 🐾 Kū, unos: 'dog, wolf'
 🐾 Kolignon, ī: 'puppy'
 🐾 Lowernos, ī: 'fox'
 🐾 Selgokū, ounos*: 'hunting dog'
 🐾 Wertragos, ī: 'racing dog, greyhound'
 🐾 Kattos, ī: 'cat'
 🐾 Bebro, ī: 'beaver'
 🐾 Brokkos, ī: 'badger'
 🐾 Tasgos, ī: (see above)
 🐾 Martalos, ī?: 'marten, weasel'
 🐾 Losso-, ī: 'tail'
 🐾 Wīweros, ī: 'squirrel'
 🐾 Wrankā, ās: 'paw, claw'

🐸 Kroxantos, ī: 'toad'
 🐛 Morwis, eos*: 'ant' (f)
 🐛 Natrixs, ikos*: 'snake'
 🐛 Primis, eos*: 'worm'
 🐛 Woxsi: 'wasps' (collective pl)



Wrigants, os: ‘vermin, meatworm’ (f)

④ DONYOĪ (people)

Wenis: clan, family (36)

































Altrawū, onos*: ‘foster father, maternal uncle, educator’
 Anderā, ās: ‘woman, girl’ (<?> ‘heifer’)
 Ariawos, ī / ā, ās*: ‘great grand-child’
 Ariyos, ī: (< are = preceding, cf. ≠ W wyr = *efiro ‘descendant’), ‘senior, ancestor’
 Atír, ros: ‘father’
 Atta / attyos: ‘foster father, dad’
 Awontír, tros: ‘uncle’
 Awos, ī / awā, ās: ‘grandchild, descendant’
 Brātír, tros: ‘brother’¹, ‘parent’²
 Kēlyos, yī: ‘companion, husband’
 Komaltiyos, ī*: ‘foster brother’
 Komprínnos, ī: ‘spouse, consort’
 Duxtír, ros: ‘daughter’
 Ēuryūs, isos: ‘adult, elder’ (< *ayu-ro-is-)
 Gnatos, ī / ā, ās: ‘son, daughter’
 Mammā / ī (inv.): ‘Mother, nurse’

Mapass, tos: ‘child’
 Mapos, ī: ‘son, boy’
 Mātír, tros: ‘mother’
 Matripī, iās*: ‘maternal aunt’
 Mātronā, ās: ‘matron, lady of the house’
 Morugenā, ās: ‘young girl’
 Neuss, otos*: ‘nephew’
 Nextī, yās*: ‘niece’
 Orbyos, ī: ‘heir’
 Rogen(es)yā, ās: ‘ancestors, lineage’
 Senatír, ros*: ‘grandfather’
 Senamātír, ros*: ‘grandmother’
 Sent(ik)ī, yās: ‘wife, companion’
 Serkā, ās: ‘concubine’
 Swekrus, ōs*: ‘mother-in-law’
 Swesur, oros: ‘sister’
 Tatta (inv) / tattos, ī*: ‘dad, papa’
 Wenyā, ās: ‘parent, family’
 Wenis, ōs: ‘parent’
 Widwā, ās*: ‘widow’

Donyos, yī: man, being human (53)
































Adtrebatis, ōs: ‘inhabitant’
 Allobrogis, ōs: ‘foreigner’ (to the region)
 Allotowtos, ī: ‘foreigner’ (to the tribe)
 Ambaxtos, ī: ‘emancipated’, ① *doerceile*, (OIr.) *amus*, ‘dependent’, ② ‘serf’ (late Gaul.)
 Anwan, anos: ‘name’
 Arkantodanos, ī: ‘tax collector’
 Atextos, ī: ‘landlord’
 Bāgaw(i)dā, ās (coll.): ‘bandits, robbers’
 Bena, ās / bano- (comp°): ‘woman’
 Brigant(o)s, os (ī): ‘noble, dignitary’

Brogi, ōs: ‘hike, field, country’
 Kommedūs, dutos?: ‘master’, *dominus*
 Kommedowyā, ās: ‘mistress’, *domina*
 Dan(n)os, ī: ‘steward’, *briugu* (**dapno*-)
 Dīassus, ōs: ‘elected leader, representative’?
 (X)donyos, ī: ‘human being’ (not clan)
 Ēuryūs, isos: ‘senior, elder’ (< *ayu-r-is-)
 Gotinā, ās: ‘prostitute, dyke’
 (Kon)gēstlos, ī: ‘hostage’
 Extā / egthā, ās: ‘nation, city’ (< *yek / *eg-)
 Kamulos, ī / ā, ās: ‘slave, tribute’, *cumal*

-  Karant(o)s, ī / tos: 'friend, parent'
 Kaxtos, ī: 'captive, prisoner, slave'
 Kombrogis, ōs: (see above)
 Kontowtos, ī: 'compatriot'
 Luxtus, ōs: 'clientele, office' (< 'responsibility')
 Magalos, ī: 'great, powerful, prince'
 Magetos, ī: (see above)
 Magus, ōs: 'servant, dependent' (of the father)
 Messilos: 'chief, herald'?
 Nāmant(o)s, ī / tos: 'enemy'
 Ninnos, ī / ā, ās: 'servant'
 Rēmos, ī: 'first, prince, king' (Belg.)
 Rigani, yās: 'queen'
 Rīxs, rgos: 'king' > 'chief'
 Soliduryos, ī: (OIr.) *amus*, 'devoted', (Fr.) *garde compaignon*, 'faithful' (**solī*- = 'guard'?)
 Tigernos, ī: 'lord, prince'
 Towtā, ās: 'people'
 Towtyos, ī: 'citizen'
 Tlātis: 'poor, weak' (who is supported)
 Trugant(o)s, os (ī): 'unhappy, poor'
 Uxsellos, ī: 'superior, patron' (noble)
 Walos, ī: 'leader, director, ruler'
 Worinā, ās: 'crowd, party, customer, debtor, subject, common people'
 Wassellos, ī: 'vassal, registered' (adj.)
 Wassos, ī: 'young man, boy, valet'
 Wellawnos, ī: 'ruler, noble, lord'
 Werkob(/m)retos, ī: 'premier magistrate' (mayor?)
 Weswā, ās: 'dignity, excellence'
 Wiros, ī: 'man, husband, adult of a clan'
 Wlati / us, y / ōs: 'prince, nobility'
 Wrigant(o)s, os (ī): 'vermin' (*fig.*), 'thief'
 Yowāntūs, tos: 'youth'

⑤ WERKOĪ (activities)

Kingetes etik katowes: warriors & battles (40)

-  Addressus, ōs: 'attacker'
 Āgo-, ī: 'combat, fight'
 Āgi-, yōs: 'warlike ardor'
 Agron, ī: 'carnage, massacre'
 Argos, ī: 'champion, warrior'
 Bāgā, ās: 'fight'
 Bogyos, ī: 'slayer, breaker'
 Bōwdi, ōs: 'victory, profit'
 Budinā, ās: 'troop, army, reveille'
 Brissā, ās: 'fight, war'
 Kamulos, ī: 'champion', *cimbid* (OIr.)?
 Katerwā, ās: 'army, combat group'
 Katus, ōs: 'battle'
 Kawaros, ī: 'giant, champion'
 Kingēs, etos: 'warrior, infantryman'
 Klutā, ās: 'glory, fame' (coll.)
 Kluton, ī: 'renowned' (nn), 'famous' (adj.)
 Kobos, ī: 'victory, advantage' (rare word)
 Komargos, ī: 'comrade, companion'
 Koryos, ī: 'troop, armed assembly'
 Koryonos, ī: 'army chief'
 Diwixs, kos: 'vigilante, policeman'
 Drungos, ī: 'battalion, band'
 Eporēdos, ī: 'rider, knight'
 Eporēdyā, ās: 'cavalry'
 Exkingos, ī: 'attacker'
 Gaisatis, yōs: 'mercenary'?
 Garman, anos: 'clamor, slogan'
 Lātis, yōs: 'hero'
 Nāmantos, ī: 'enemy'
 Orgeno-, ī: 'murder'



- 🐉 Orgos, etos: 'killer'
- 🐉 Parisyos, ī: 'sign holder'
- 🐉 Rakatus, ōs*: 'duel, opposition'
- 🐉 Selgā, ās: 'hunting'
- 🐉 Slowgos, ī: 'troop, entourage' (army)





















- 🐉 Tankos, ī: 'peace'
- 🐉 Trimarkisyā, ās: 'group of 3 riders'
- 🐉 Wextis, yōs: 'raid'
- 🐉 Wowixtos, ī: 'defeated'

Gaisī skētīk: weapons (17):













































- | | |
|---|---|
| ✠ Blīmā, ās*: 'catapult, launcher' (VN) | iron javelin' |
| ✠ Kalgo-, ī: 'sword, thrust' (Bret.) | ✠ Ordos, ī: 'club, bludgeon' |
| ✠ Karnuxs, kos: 'horn, trumpet' | ✠ Paros, esos?: 'standard bearer' |
| ✠ Kateyā, ās: 'throwing weapon, boomerang'? | ✠ Skēton, ī*: 'shield' |
| ✠ Kladiyos, ī: 'sword' | ✠ Sparon, ī*: 'dart' (wooden javelin) |
| ✠ Gaisos, ī: 'javelin' | ✠ Taballo-, ī*: 'sling' |
| ✠ Isarniyā, ās*: 'armor, harness' | ✠ Traglā, ās: 'javelin equipped with a strap' |
| ✠ Lankiyā, ās: 'spades' | ✠ Towgā / towgi-, ōs: 'bow, ax'? |
| ✠ Matarā, ās / Materis, yōs (Belg.): 'Broad | ✠ Waibrus > wēbrus, ōs: 'sword' (OIr <i>faibur</i> , Latin <i>vibro</i>) |

Druids, dēwītātis etik wissus: Druids, deities, and science (76)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 🏛 Albiyā, ās: 'element, first principle' | 🏛 Bitus, ōs (m): 'world of the living' |
| 🏛 Amaros, ī*: 'complaint, lamentation' | 🏛 Bostogaryon, ī*: 'lament' (clapping hands) |
| 🏛 Ambilū, onos*: 'navel', <i>umbilicus</i> | 🏛 Brātus, ōs: ① 'judgment, proclamation' (< *ber-); ② 'praise, prayer' (< *g ^w rH-) |
| 🏛 Ambīton, ī: 'favor' (<i>ambi-ito-</i>) | 🏛 Brixā, ās: 'magic' |
| 🏛 Ambītus, ōs*: <i>circumambulatio</i> , 'propitiation' | 🏛 Brixtilos, ī: 'magician, satirist' |
| 🏛 Ambostā, ās: '2 handfuls' (unit of measure), 'both hands together' | 🏛 Brixton, ī: 'bewitchment, charm' |
| 🏛 Anatyā, ās: 'spirit, reason' | 🏛 Brixtu, ōs: 'sung word of Welete, incantation, octosyllable' |
| 🏛 Anawnos, ī (mn): 'soul, breath, dead' | 🏛 Dānon, ī: 'poem, gift, present' |
| 🏛 Anawo-, ī: 'poetic inspiration, wealth' | 🏛 Dānus, ōs*: 'gift, present, art' |
| 🏛 Ankus, ōs / Ankawos, ī: 'death, Death' (the figure) | 🏛 Dēw(iss)ā, ās: 'goddess' |
| 🏛 Appertā, ās*: 'sacrifice, offering' | 🏛 Dēwītātis, ōs*: 'divinities' (coll) |
| 🏛 Areweron, ī: 'satisfaction of a wish' | 🏛 Dēwos, ī: 'god' |
| 🏛 Anddubnos, ī: 'Otherworld' (Hell) | 🏛 Dōgnis, ōs: 'exchange poem' |
| 🏛 Barditos, ī: 'war song, eulogy' | 🏛 Dubnos, ī: 'world' (from below) |
| 🏛 Bardos, ī: 'bard, censor' | 🏛 Dugilos, ī: 'dedicant, donor' |
| 🏛 Barnawnos, ī (mn): 'judge' (OIr. <i>brithem</i>) | 🏛 Duskantlos, ī*: 'satire' |
| | 🏛 Druiss, dos: 'druid' |

-  Ēweron, ī: ‘offering in return for a vow’
 Gutuatir, tros: ‘summoner’
 Karyā, ās*: ‘fault, blame, sin’
 Kantalon, ī: ‘divinatory incantation, singing’
 Kaylo-, ī: ‘omen’
 Kēliknon, ī: *cēnācūlum*, ‘hotel upstairs’
 Klasson, ī: ‘falls, ditch’
 Kredron, ī / kredris*: ‘relic, sacred object’
 Lēgis, ōs*: ‘physician’
 Lextā, ās*: ‘place of excarnation’
 Litawī, ās: ‘the Earth’
 Lītu-, ōs: ‘feast, celebration’
 Massitlātīdā, ās: ‘ritual of disenchantment’?
 Molatus, ōs: ‘praise’
 Natā, ās: ‘poem, bardic chant’ → Marunatā*: ‘funeral song’
 Medyolanon, ī: ‘sacred center’, *methas*
 Nemos, isos: ‘sky’
 Nemeton, ī: ‘shrine, temple’
 Noybyā, ās: ‘holiness’
 Noybos, ī: ‘saint’ (adj.)

Rextous: law (41)

-  Adgaryos, ī: ‘accuser, lawyer’
 Adgaryon, ī: ‘legal action, complaint’
 Adgaryos, ontos: ‘accused’
 Adsaxs, gos: ‘compurgation, intercession’; ‘acquittal obtained by testifying witness for the defense’
 Ankridyā, ās*: ‘injustice’
 Anoytos, ī*: ‘perjury’
 Arextu, ōs*: ‘senate’
 Ategabaglā, ās*: ‘seizure’
 Atenowon: ‘pledge, deposit’
 Ab(/w)rextus, ōs: ‘outlaw’
 Barnawnos, ī: ‘judge’ (agent)
-  Oytos, ī: ‘oath’
 Pritā, ās: ‘poetry’
 Prityos, ī: ‘poet’
 Raton, ī / or-, ōs: ‘virtue, grace, fortune’
 Sakros, ī: ‘cursed, sacred’ (adj.)
 Sepānos, ī: ‘disciple’
 Sēbros, ī*: ‘ghost, spectrum’
 Skālon, ī*: ‘demon’
 Sownos, ī: ‘dream, fantasy’
 Suwiss, dos: ‘sage’
 Soyton, ī*: ‘magic’
 Tonketā, ās: ‘destiny’ (suffered)
 Tonknaman, manos: ‘fate, destiny’ (action)
 Wātis, ōs: ‘diviner’
 Wātu-, ōs: ‘prophecy, satire’
 Wedyā, ās*: ‘prayer’
 Welēss, etos: ‘seer, prophet, chaplain’
 Werkantalos, ī*: ‘teaching, lesson’
 Widlwā, ās: ‘clairvoyant, magician’
 Wissus, ōs: ‘science’
 Wlidā, ās: ‘a feast, banquet’
 (Wo)derkos, ī: ‘tomb, vault’
-  Barnaman, os*: ‘judgment’ (act)
 Brātus, ōs: ‘conviction, judgment’ (resul.)
 Brīgā, ās: ‘rank’
 Brigantī, yās: ‘eminence, privilege’
 Britus, ōs (f): ‘judgment, reflection’
 Datlā, ās*: ‘assembly’ (neuter coll.)
 (Dī)assus, ōs: ‘legal representative, lieutenant’ (= *tanaiste?*)
 Dībergā, ās*: ‘theft, robbery’
 Dīwixtā, ās*: ‘revenge’
 Dīryon, ī*: ‘penalty, fine’
 Gāwā, ās: ‘falsehood, lie’



- ⚖ Gistlā: ‘guarantee, surety’
- ⚖ Gēstlos, ī: ‘hostage’
- ⚖ Incoros, ī: ‘spouses’ joint savings’
- ⚖ Kāgnis, yōs (f)*: ‘law, tribe’ (Ir. *cáin*)
- ⚖ Kantigaryos, ī: ‘co-accuser’
- ⚖ Kantipisōs, ontos: ‘witness’
- ⚖ Kob(/m)reton, ī*: ‘assembly’ (cf. vergobret)
- ⚖ Kob(/m)rextus, ī: ‘law’
- ⚖ Kongēstlon, ī: ‘pledge, guarantor’
- ⚖ Lugyon, ī: ‘oath’
- ⚖ Luxtus, ōs: ‘duty, office’ (via burden)

Kerdā etik dānus: arts and crafts (46)

- ⚖ Werkos, ī: ‘work’
- ⚖ Argantodanos, ī: ‘moneyer’
- ⚖ Danos, ī: ‘master, steward’, *curator*
- ⚖ Dānus, ōs*: ‘gift, art’
- ⚖ Luxteryos, ī: ‘officer’? (< *luxtus*, ‘office’)
- ⚖ Poppilos, ī: ‘cook’
- ⚖ Pritā, ās: ‘price, purchase’
- ⚖ Smertulos, ī: ‘director, butler’?
- ⚖ Kerdā, ās: ‘craft, trade’
- ⚖ Kerdū, nos: ‘craftsman’
- ⚖ Kariyos, ī: ‘shoemaker’
- ⚖ Moritēxs, ēgos: ‘sailor’
- ⚖ Gobess, annos, edbo: ‘blacksmith’
- ⚖ Enemno-, ī: ‘anvil’
- ⚖ Inkoxtiliā, ās: ‘tinned copper object’
- ⚖ Ordos, ī: ‘hammer’
- ⚖ Paryos, ī: ‘cauldron’
- ⚖ Passernixs, kos: ‘whetstone’
- ⚖ Sowxtu, ōs: ‘crucible’
- ⚖ Sairos, ī*: ‘carpenter’
- ⚖ Klāron, ī: ‘board’
- ⚖ Gulbyā, ās: ‘chisel, burin, gouge’

- ⚖ Makkos, ī*: ‘guarantor’
- ⚖ Messus, ōs: ‘judgment, measure’
- ⚖ Oytos, ī: ‘oath’
- ⚖ Pritā, ās: ‘price, purchase’
- ⚖ Rātā, ās: ‘guarantee, property’ (put in question)
- ⚖ Rātos, ī: ‘the one whose property is in question’
- ⚖ Rextus, ōs: ‘right, law, statute’
- ⚖ Srabo- / Đrabo-: ‘insult’ (> *frabo-* / *strabo-*)
- ⚖ Textosagitus, os: ‘seizure, taking possession of a land legally’

- ⚖ Rukani, ōs: ‘hand adze’, *rouanne* (cooper’s or sabotier’s tool for shaving wood)
- ⚖ Skotā, ās: *besaiguë*, ‘glazier’s hammer’ (carpenter’s tool that combines a chisel and mortise on a long handle)
- ⚖ Taratron, ī: ‘auger’
- ⚖ Tarínkā, ās: ‘nail, iron peg’
- ⚖ Widubyon, ī: ‘billhook’
- ⚖ Awtagis, ōs: ‘slip, docket, form’
- ⚖ Luxtus, ōs: ‘cargo, load’
- ⚖ Tussilos, ī: ‘burner’
- ⚖ Tussos, ī: ‘batch’
- ⚖ Writues, sos: ‘turner’ (< *wṛt-wes*)
- ⚖ Wegyon, ī*: ‘weaving, weave’
- ⚖ (S)nāton, ī: ‘thread’
- ⚖ (S)nātēyā / snatantā, ās*: ‘needle’
- ⚖ Wegēdos, ī*: ‘weaver’
- ⚖ Wegēyā*: ‘hessian’ (burlap), ‘fabric’
- ⚖ Wegyadyā, ās*: ‘spindle, distaff’, Lat. *tela* (thread?)
- ⚖ Wlānon: ‘wool’ → *wlānā* (collective)
- ⚖ Akawnon, ī: ‘stone’ (jewel?)
- ⚖ Arganton, ī: ‘gold, silver’ (Latin infl.)
- ⚖ Īsarnon, ī: ‘iron’

- ✂ Dagnon, ī: ‘tin’
✂ Omiyo-, ī*: ‘brass, copper’

- ✂ Minā, ās: ‘lead’ (mine?)
✂ Mēnis, ōs*: ‘ores, metal’ → ‘mine’
(lead?)

Agriculture & Livestock (43)

- 🐄 Akawnomargā, ās: ‘sandy soil’
🐄 Ambostā, ās: ‘measure of wheat’ (2 hands full), ‘cut’
🐄 Andekingā, ās: ‘private land of a lord loaned to a client, fief’
🐄 Aratron, ī*: ‘swing plough’
🐄 Aratryos, ī: ‘plowman’
🐄 Arepennis, ōs: *arpent* (unit of measurement close to an acre)
🐄 Artikā, ās: ‘uncultivated plowed field’ (*ueruactum*)
🐄 Blātis, ōs: ‘flour, cereal, wheat’
🐄 Bodikā, ās: ‘wasteland, land in pasture’
🐄 Bost(y)ā, ās: ‘measure of wheat’ (fistful)
🐄 Bowyatis, ōs*: ‘cowherd, herdsman’ (cf. Boiates)
🐄 Bowtegos, ī: ‘stable’
🐄 Braknā, ās: ‘uncultivated and wet land’
🐄 Brenno-, ī: ‘bran’
🐄 Brogi(ya)lon, ī: ‘enclosed meadow’, *saltus*
🐄 Dalglā, ās: ‘scythe’
🐄 Drasikā, ās: ‘malt residue, malt’
🐄 G(a)laxsinā, ās: ‘unit of volume’ (2 fistfuls)
🐄 Glisomargā, ās: ‘clay’
🐄 Gortos, ī: ‘enclosed field, garden’

- 🐄 Grānon, ī: ‘grain’
🐄 Kagon, ī: ‘enclosure, hedge of fascines’
🐄 Kenkto-, ī: ‘(handle of a) plow’
🐄 Koroyalon, ī: ‘corral, paddock’
🐄 Landā, ās: ‘moorland, unsuitable land’
🐄 Lubā, ās / yās*: ‘vegetable, plant’
🐄 Margā, ās: ‘marl’
🐄 Metelos, ī: ‘reaper’
🐄 Mokkyatis, ōs*: ‘swineherd’
🐄 Olkā, ās: ‘very fertile arable land’, *restibulus*
🐄 Owigaryos, ī: ‘shepherd’
🐄 Oxsogaryos, ī: ‘cattle driver’
🐄 Rikā, ās: ‘furrow’
🐄 Rūskā, ās: ‘hive’ (< ‘bark’)
🐄 Samareton, ī: ‘summer fallow, land at rest’
🐄 Sanyā, ās*: ‘milk jug’
🐄 Sasyos, ī?: ‘barley, rye’?
🐄 Selwanos, ī: ‘herd, cattle’
🐄 Serrā, ās: ‘billhook, sickle’
🐄 Sītlā, ās: ‘sieve, screen’
🐄 Sukkon, ī: ‘plowshare’ (< ‘snout’)
🐄 Werk(ar)yā, ās: ‘field, cultivated land surrounded by a hedge or ditch’, *ager*
🐄 Wikos, ī/ā, ās: ‘vetch’
🐄 Yugon, ī: ‘yoke’

© BROGI, TREBA & TEXTON

Adtrebā: property, residence (40)

- 🏠 Andekingā, ās: ‘subdivision’ (fief “loaned” to a serf)
🏠 Antos, ī: ‘limit, boundary’
🏠 Attegyā, ās: ‘hut, house’

- 🏠 Attextos ī: ‘protected, customer’
🏠 Attrebā, ās: ‘property, home’
🏠 Bedo-, ī: ‘canal, ditch’
🏠 Bundā, ās: ‘bottom, ground’



- Bon(n)ā, ās: ‘establishment’ (> *bonnier*), *fundus, tyddyn* (Welsh) — compare to *bundā*.
 Bottinā, ās: ‘boundary marker’, “[*arbre*] *ombilic*” (< **bozdo*-).
 Butā, ās: ‘cabin, sheepfold’
 Brigā, ās: ‘citadel’ (< ‘hill’)
 Brogī, ōs: ‘country, walk’
 Brogi(ya)lon, ī: ‘wooded pasture, hedgerow, meadow near the estate’, *saltus*
 Kagyon, ī: ‘hedge, pleaching, field paddock’
 Kantedon, ī: ‘measure of 100 to 150 sq. ft.’ (min 9.61 m² or 10p x 10p)
 Kladyā, ās: ‘ditch, trench’
 Klasson, ī: ‘grave, pit, ditch’
 Klētā, ās: ‘fence, trellis’
 Klitā, ās: ‘support, pole’
 Kontexton, ī: ‘shared holding’
 Doratyā, ās: ‘slatted door’
 D(w)oron, ī: ‘door, gate’
 Duron, ī: ‘closed place, courtyard > ‘village’ (comp°)
 Dūnon, ī: ‘fortress, enclosure’
 Granyā, ās: ‘granary’
 Iko(wo)randā: ‘border post’
 Ixtā / egthā, ās: ‘nation, city’
 Landā, ās: ‘wasteland, moor’
 Lissos, ī: ‘courtyard, mansion, court’
 Magos, esos: ‘plain, field, meeting place’
 Pettyā, ās: ‘earthquake, share’
 Rāti(s), ōs: ‘wall, earthquake, wall’ > ‘strong’
 Selwā, ās: ‘movable possession, flock’
 Sutegos, ī: ‘money, cent’
 Tegos, isos / Tégyā, yās: ‘house’
 Texton, ī: ‘provision, possession’
 Trebā, ās: ‘establishment, farm, hamlet’
 Westidānon, ī*: *vestizon* ? (tax measure)
 Widus, ōs: ‘wood’, *sylva*
 Yalon, ī: ‘meadow, summer pasture’, *saltus* > ‘locality’

Mantala etik karri: roads & wheels (18)

- Andāgni, ōs: ‘windrow, stride’ (unit of measure?)
 Bennā, ās: ‘wagon, cart’
 Bríwā, ās: ‘bridge’
 Kammínon: ‘path, trail’
 Karbanton, ī: ‘chariot’
 Karros, ī: ‘chariot’
 Edon, ī: ‘foot, interval’ (from 30 to 32.5 cm)
 Korukos, ī: ‘coracle’
 Le(g)ukā: ‘league’ (2.45 km)
 Lorgos, ī: ‘track, trace’
 Mantle, ī: ‘way, road’
 Moritixtā, ās: ‘boating, crossing’
 Nāūs, nawsos (f) / nāwā, ās: ‘boat’
 Petrumantalon, ī: ‘crossroads’
 Ritu, ōs: ‘ford’
 Sentus, ōs: ‘street, road’
 Stludiā, ās: ‘sled’
 Yātus, ōs*: ‘passage, ford’ (Ir. + NL Iātinon)

Selwa: possessions, furniture (22)

- Altinā, ās*: ‘razor’
 Andosedon, ī: ‘furniture, effects’
 Ātis, eos (f)*: ‘oven’
 Bakkos, ī: ‘tray, large vase’
 Baskis: ‘bundle, faggot, load’
 Baskaw(i)dā, ās: ‘barrel’?, ‘bowl’ (water)

- 🌀 Blowkyon, ī: ‘chest, trunk’
- 🌀 Bulgā, ās: ‘leather bag’
- 🌀 Brāwū, onos: ‘hand mill’
- 🌀 Brokkā, ās: ‘pitcher, jar’
- 🌀 Kilurno-, ī: ‘bucket, tub’
- 🌀 Kumbos, ī: ‘trough’
- 🌀 Lawatron, ī: ‘basin, bath’
- 🌀 Legyos, ī: ‘bed, blanket’ (layer)

- 🌀 Pannā, ās: ‘pot, pan’
- 🌀 Paryon, ī: ‘cauldron’
- 🌀 Sedlon, ī: ‘seat’
- 🌀 Selwā, ās: ‘possession, movable property’
- 🌀 Sītlā, ās*: ‘filter, rack, plate’
- 🌀 Skēnā, ās*: ‘knife, cutting board’
- 🌀 Swoxtu, ōs: ‘crucible’, *olla*
- 🌀 Tripettyā, ās: ‘stool’ (3 feet)

⑦ PRITUS

Balloī donikoī: human body (72)

- 🌀 Agedo-, ī: ‘appearance, face’
- 🌀 Amarko-, ī: ‘vision, look, view’
- 🌀 Anātlā, ās: ‘breath’
- 🌀 Arawsyā, ās: ‘temple’
- 🌀 Āru, onos*: ‘kidney’
- 🌀 Ašnos, ī*: ‘bone, rib’
- 🌀 Aw(so)s, (se)sos: ‘ear’
- 🌀 Ballos, ī: ‘member’
- 🌀 Barros, ī: ‘head, summit’
- 🌀 Bissus, ōs: ‘finger’
- 🌀 Bislis, ēs*: ‘bile, gall’
- 🌀 Bokkā, ās: ‘kiss, mouth’ (Irl *pōc*, *poice*)
- 🌀 Bostā, ās: ‘palm’
- 🌀 Botinā, ās: ‘navel’ (> ‘belly’)
- 🌀 Bundā, ās: ‘soles of the feet’
- 🌀 Bussu, ōs: ‘penis’ (< ‘hub’)
- 🌀 Brāgās, antos: ‘throat, neck’
- 🌀 Brunnyā, ās: ‘breast, udder’
- 🌀 Brunnyos, ī: ‘breast, nipple’
- 🌀 Brū, bronnōs: ‘belly, breast, entrails’
- 🌀 Kabu, ōs: ‘mouth, maw’ (inf.)
- 🌀 Kebenā, ās: ‘back’
- 🌀 Kikā, ās: ‘flesh, nipple’ (fig.)
- 🌀 Kiko-, ī: ‘muscle, meat’
- 🌀 Klussā, ās: ‘ear’
- 🌀 Klusso-, ī: ‘ear hole’

- 🌀 Knāmis, ōs (mn) / knāmā, ās (VN): ‘bone’
- 🌀 Kondos, ī: ‘bump, head, reason, sense’ (fig.)
- 🌀 Koxsā, ās: ‘leg’
- 🌀 Koxso-, ī: ‘foot’
- 🌀 Kridyon, ī: ‘heart’
- 🌀 Kroūs, sos: ‘blood (flowing)’
- 🌀 Dakron, ī*: ‘tear drop’
- 🌀 Dant, os* (n): ‘tooth’
- 🌀 Delwā, ās*: ‘image, form’
- 🌀 Derkos, ī: ‘eye, look, appearance’
- 🌀 Durnos, ī: ‘fist’
- 🌀 Durnatos, ī*: ‘punch’
- 🌀 Enipon, ī*: ‘side, face’
- 🌀 Gabalos, ī: ‘vulva’ (fork)
- 🌀 Garrā, ās: ‘leg, hock’
- 🌀 Genu, ōs: ‘mouth’
- 🌀 Genowes: ‘jaws’
- 🌀 Glūnos, esos*: ‘knee’
- 🌀 Gobbo-, ī: ‘beak, mouth’
- 🌀 Goutus, ōs: ‘voice’
- 🌀 Grennos / grannā, ās: ‘beard, mustache’
- 🌀 Inpennyon, ī*: ‘brain’
- 🌀 Lāmā, ās: ‘hand’
- 🌀 Monis, ēs: ‘neck’ (f)



- ☞ Motus, ōs: ‘male’, “pee-pee”
- ☞ Olinā, ās: ‘elbow’
- ☞ Ops, os: ‘eye’
- ☞ Pennos, ī: ‘head’
- ☞ Pritus, ōs: ‘shape, appearance’
- ☞ Rixtus, ōs*: ‘form, appearance, species’
- ☞ Stātlā, ās*: ‘heel’
- ☞ Selgā, ās*: ‘bile, bad mood’
- ☞ Skētā, ās*: ‘shoulder’
- ☞ Smeru-, ōs*: ‘marrow, fat’
- ☞ Dliissi-, ōs*: ‘side, flank’

- ☞ Dlondo-, ī*: ‘sex, gender’
- ☞ Drōgnā, ās: ‘nose, nostril’ (> ‘trowel, frog’)
- ☞ Talus, ōs: ‘front, face’
- ☞ Tangwās, ados > tangwā, ās*: ‘tongue’
- ☞ Tutos, ī: ‘female sex’
- ☞ Tukkā, ās: ‘buttocks, behind’
- ☞ Tragēss, etos: ‘foot’
- ☞ Trugnā, ās: ‘nose, snout’
- ☞ Wepo-, ī: ‘face, voice’
- ☞ Weliss, ōs* (f): ‘blood’
- ☞ Woltos, ī: ‘hair’

Sergyās: defects, illnesses (10)

- ☞ Baītos, ī: ‘crazy, ignorant’ → ‘debauched’
- ☞ Bodaros, ā, on: ‘deaf’ (adj.)
- ☞ Dallos, ā, on: ‘blind’ (adj.)
- ☞ Derwetā, ās: *impedigo*
- ☞ Exops, pos: ‘blind’

- ☞ Kaikos, ī: ‘one-eyed’ (N + adj.)
- ☞ Pass, tos*: ‘cough’
- ☞ Sergiyos, ī: ‘sick’
- ☞ Sīruxtā, ās: ‘nostalgia, languor’
- ☞ Truxos, ī: ‘lepers’

⑧ BIWOTOŪS

Brattās: clothing (20)

- ☞ Birron, ī (sagon): ‘short coat with hood’
- ☞ Bissawā, ās*: ‘ring’ → ‘jewel’
- ☞ Brākā, ās: *braccae* (Gaulish woolen trousers)
- ☞ Brattos, ī: ‘cloth, clothing’
- ☞ Delgos, esos: ‘fibula, hairpin’
- ☞ Gunnā, ās: *pelisse*, ‘fur-lined cape’
- ☞ Karakallā, ās: ‘top tunic reaching to the middle back’
- ☞ Kukullos, ī: ‘hood, balaclava’
- ☞ Kulkitā, ās: ‘mattress, pillow’

- ☞ Krissus, ōs*: ‘belt’
- ☞ Krokinā, ās: ‘clothing made of skins’
- ☞ Linnā, ās: ‘heavy woolen *sagum*, blanket’
- ☞ Sagon, ī: ‘wool coat, cape’
- ☞ Sokā, ās*: ‘rope, chain’
- ☞ Torko-, ī: ‘torque’
- ☞ Walis, ōs (f)*: ‘armband’
- ☞ Wiry(ol)ā, ās: ‘bracelet, brassard worn by adult men’
- ☞ Wlanillā, ās: ‘woolen cloth’

Biwiton lindak: food & beverages (28)

- ☞ Bannyos, ī*: ‘drop’ (drink)
- ☞ baraginā, ās*: ‘loaf of bread’ (barley)
- ☞ Baregon, ī*: ‘bread’

- ☞ Biwiton (< *biweton), ī: ‘food, provisions’
- ☞ Blixtus, ōs*: ‘milk’
- ☞ Brakis, ōs: ‘malt’

- ☞ Depro-, ī: 'food'
- ☞ Emban, enos* / amban, anos?: 'butter'
- ☞ Imbraxton, ī: 'drink, porridge, jelly'?
- ☞ Itu, ōs: 'cereals, food'
- ☞ Kanninā, ās*: 'garlic, leek'
- ☞ Kerwisyā, ās: 'beer' (mead)
- ☞ Knoū, onos: 'hazelnut'
- ☞ Knusto-, i: 'hazelnuts, harvest'
- ☞ Kurmi, ōs: 'barley beer'
- ☞ Kremus, ōs: '(wild) garlic, ramps'
- ☞ Lindon, ī: 'drink'

- ☞ Maxstrā, ās: 'bread dough, kneading trough'
- ☞ Medu, ōs: 'mead'
- ☞ Mēsgos, ī: 'whey'
- ☞ Omasson, ī: 'triperie'
- ☞ Salanos, ī / salinos, ī: 'salt'
- ☞ Swālos, ī*: 'salt'
- ☞ Tuketā, ās: 'ham'
- ☞ Wridyo-, ī*: 'root, radish'
- ☞ Yestā, ās: 'froth, foam' (ferment)
- ☞ Yusko-, ī*: 'broth, lard/bacon soup'
- ☞ Yuttā, ās: 'porridge'

☉ ALLOI

Amman: time (23)

- Ayeton, ī*: 'age, life'
- Ammansterā > ammesserā, ās: 'time'
- Amman, -manos*: 'time' [< *at-s-men*]
- Atenoux,?: 'Marks the middle of the month'
- Bāregos, ī*: 'morning, tomorrow' (use with preposition *in*)
- Blēd(a)nī = blēdā, ās: 'year'
- Diyus, diyon, diwos, diyowes (pl): 'day' (nm)
- Ďirā, ās: 'star(s)' (< collective)
- (G)des: 'yesterday'
- Giamos, i: 'winter'
- Kassarā, ās*: 'shower, light, storm'
- Latyon, i: 'day, daytime'
- Noxs, tos: 'night'
- Remessos, ī*: 'duration, period of time'
- Saitlo-, ī: 'age (30 years), generation'
- Samos, ī: 'summer'
- Sīnā, ās: 'weather'
- Sōl, soūlos > sōlis?: 'sun'; [*sh_awōl*] > *saūl*
- Taranā, ās: 'thunder'
- Trātu, ōs*: 'hour, travel time'
- Wexseros, ī*: 'afternoon, evening' (in + loc.)
- Wolkos, ī*: 'rain, downpour, shower'
- Wrastā, ās: 'rain, shower'

Delwās etik pettyās: forms and things [concrete] (15)

- ☒ Atenouxtyon, ī: 'inflection point, calendrical concept'
- ☒ Bundos, ī: 'bottom, base'
- ☒ Delwā, ās: 'shape, image'
- ☒ Imbeton, ī: 'large quantity'
- ☒ Kantos, ī: 'rim, (edge of) circle'
- ☒ Kernā, ās*: 'angle, corner'
- ☒ Kroundi, os*: 'round, circle'
- ☒ Lāron, ī: 'ground, surface'
- ☒ Oros, ī: 'edge, limit'
- ☒ Pettyā, ās: 'piece, thing, bit' (> 'earth')
- ☒ Pritus, ōs: 'shape, appearance'
- ☒ Randā, ās: 'point, end' (< **rondā*)
- ☒ Slattā, ās: 'batten, pole, rod'
- ☒ Toybos, ī*: 'side'



- ☒ Trogos, ī*: ‘tower, cycle’ ①; ‘result, offspring’ ②

Bēssowes etik galās: manners & abilities [abstract] (41)

- | | |
|---|--|
| ☞ Ambibaro-, ī: ‘rage’ | ☞ Mantī, yās: ‘quantity, size’ → ‘a lot’ |
| ☞ Ariobnos, ī: ‘terror’ | ☞ Menman, os: ‘thought’ |
| ☞ Awillos, ī: ‘desire, desirable thing’ | ☞ Nertos, ī: ‘strength’ |
| ☞ Baītos, ī: ‘crazy, ignorant, debauched’ | ☞ Obnos, ī: ‘doubt, fear’ |
| ☞ Bar(y)o-, ī: ‘anger, passion’ | ☞ Ouxsanatā, ās*: ‘sigh’ |
| ☞ Bēssus, ōs: ① ‘custom, conduct, use’; ② ‘manners, mores’ (pl) | ☞ Owtus, ōs: ‘dread’ |
| ☞ Burryā, ās: ‘pride, infatuation’ | ☞ Pantā, ās: ‘passion’ |
| ☞ Būryon, ī: ‘rage, fury’ | ☞ Pēllā, ās: ‘wisdom, prudence, reason’ |
| ☞ Braton, ī*: ‘sedition, treachery’ | ☞ Roukkyā, ās: ‘shame, redness’ |
| ☞ Brīgā, ās: ‘prestige, power, authority’ | ☞ Serkā, ās: ‘love, passion’ |
| ☞ Britā, ās: ① ‘judgment’, ② ‘burden’ | ☞ Sīraxtā, ās*: ‘nostalgia’ |
| ☞ Britus, ōs (f): ‘thought, reflection’ | ☞ Srabo-: ‘insult’ |
| ☞ Bruxtus, ōs: ‘noise’ | ☞ Swantā, ās: ‘desire, envy’ |
| ☞ Drikā, ās*: ‘looks, appearance’ | ☞ Trexsyā, ās: ‘strength, power’ |
| ☞ Galā, ās: ‘power, ability’ | ☞ Trinkon, ī: ‘death’ |
| ☞ Kluton, ī: ‘glory, rumor’ | ☞ Waryā, ās*: ‘duty’ (filial) |
| ☞ Komburryā, ās: ‘presumption’ | ☞ Wēliyā, ās: ‘honesty’ |
| ☞ Komman, os*: ‘memory’ | ☞ Weswā, ās: ‘excellence’ |
| ☞ Kondaryā, ās: ‘rage, madness, rut’ | ☞ Widā, ās: ‘aspect, form’ (comp. wda?) |
| ☞ Loūtu-, ōs: ‘ardor, passion’ | ☞ Wīroyāniyā, ās: ‘truth, accuracy’ |
| ☞ Magetos, ī: ‘powerful, power’ | ☞ Yentus, ōs: ‘desire, ambition’ |

6.3 ADJECTIVES

Līwoī: colors (18)

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☞ Argiyos, ā, on: ‘white, shiny’ | ☞ Glassos, ās, on: ‘blue, green (pastel)’ |
| ☞ Badyos, ā, on: ‘yellow, blond’ | ☞ Gormos, ās, on: ‘dark, brown’ |
| ☞ Blāros, ā, on: ‘gray, having a white spot’ | ☞ Kokkos, ā, on: ‘scarlet’ |
| ☞ Brikkos, ā, on: ‘blemished, spotted’ | ☞ Létos, ā, on: ‘gray’ |
| ☞ Dergos, ā, on*: ‘red, bloody’ (Ir., Lusit.) | ☞ Lewkos, ā, on: ‘brilliant’ |
| ☞ Dubus, wī, u: ‘black’ | ☞ Melinos, ā, on: ‘yellow’ |
| ☞ Dunnos, ās, on: ‘dark brown’ | ☞ Rowdos, ā, on: ‘red’ |
| ☞ Gilwos, ās, on: ‘light brown, dun’ | ☞ Windos, ā, on: ‘white’ |
| ☞ Glanos, ās, on: ‘clear, pure, limpid’ | ☞ Wlanos, ā, on: ‘blood red, bleeding’ |

Alloī : other (160)

- ✧ Āgomāros, ā, on: 'valiant'
- ✧ Aidwos, ā, on: 'ardent'
- ✧ Ākus, wī, u: 'fast'
- ✧ Alattus, wī, u: 'wild'
- ✧ Anati māros, ā, on: 'magnanimous'
- ✧ Andamos, ā, on: 'tiny, last'
- ✧ Andedyos, ā, on: 'lower, bottom'
- ✧ Andernados, ā, on: 'below'
- ✧ Anderos, ā, on: 'inferior, infernal'
- ✧ Angus, wī, u*: 'narrow'
- ✧ Anmatus, wi, u: 'harmful, unfavorable'
- ✧ Aramos, ā, on: 'soft, calm'
- ✧ Arik(an)os, ā, on: 'prime, excellent'
- ✧ Ard wos, ā, on: 'high'
- ✧ Atriyos, ā, on*: 'paternal'
- ✧ Awillos, ā, on*: 'desirable'
- ✧ Axros, ā, on: 'high, noble'
- ✧ Bāditos, ā, on: 'dipped, submerged'
- ✧ Baitos, ā, on: 'crazy, insane'
- ✧ Balkos, ā, on: 'strong'
- ✧ Banidos, ā, on*: 'feminine, female'
- ✧ Bekkōs, ā, on: 'small'
- ✧ Bezgos, ā, on?: 'small'
- ✧ Birros, ā, on: 'short'
- ✧ Biwos, ā, on: 'living'
- ✧ Blātis, i: 'soft, gentle, tender'
- ✧ Bodaros, ā, on: 'deaf'
- ✧ Burros, ā, on: 'swollen, inflated', →
'proud'
- ✧ Bowdikos, ā, on: 'victorious, fortunate'
- ✧ Bowdilānos, ā, on*: 'generous, healthy'
- ✧ Bowdimāros, ā, on: 'breadwinner' (fig.),
'advantageous, profitable'
- ✧ Bowdris, i*: 'dirty, trouble'
- ✧ Bragnis, i: 'rotten'
- ✧ Brassos, ā, on*: 'thick, big, loud, brave,
swaggering'
- ✧ Bressos, ā, on: 'broken'
- ✧ Brīgomāros, ā, on*: 'precious,
prestigious'
- ✧ Britumāros, ā, on: 'intelligent'
- ✧ Brogidos, ā, on: 'state-owned, in the
direction of travel?'
- ✧ Brugnos, ā, on: 'heavy, sad'
- ✧ Brugnateyos, ā, on*: 'dismal'
- ✧ Brussos, ā, on: 'fragile, brittle'
- ✧ Brussus, ā, on*: 'wounded, sprained'
- ✧ Dagos, ā, on: 'good'
- ✧ Dallos, ā, on: 'blind'
- ✧ Dāwiyos, ā, on: 'inflamed, burning'
- ✧ Dekās, antos: 'honorable, decent'
- ✧ Dēwokaros, ā, on*: 'piles'
- ✧ Dexsiwos, ā, on: 'right, south'
- ✧ Dīākus, wī, u: 'slow, lazy'
- ✧ Dītrebos, ā, on*: 'desert'
- ✧ Dubnos, ā, on: 'deep'
- ✧ Duratis, i: 'unfortunate, disgraceful'
- ✧ Drawsos, ā, on*: 'rigid, patient'
- ✧ Drukos, ā, on: 'bad'
- ✧ Drutos, ā, on: 'strong, valiant'; 'lustful'
- ✧ Exobnos, ā, on: 'without fear'
- ✧ Extamos, ā, on: 'extreme'
- ✧ Gandos, ā, on: 'rare'
- ✧ Gargos, ā, on: 'fierce, wild'
- ✧ Garwos, ā, on: 'bitter, rough'
- ✧ Ikos, ā, on: 'national'
- ✧ Kaletos, ā, on: 'hard'
- ✧ Kalmiyos, ā, on*: 'strong, skillful, clever'
- ✧ Karos, ā, on: 'darling'
- ✧ Karateyos, ā, on: 'kind'
- ✧ Kāssis, i: 'holy, venerable, brilliant'
- ✧ Kawaros, ā, on: 'giant'
- ✧ Kenos, ā, on: 'long'
- ✧ Komoxtyākos, ā, on*: 'omnipotent'



- ✧ Koros, ā, on: 'closed'
- ✧ Korros, ā, on: 'dwarf'
- ✧ Kottos, ā, on: 'old'
- ✧ Kowīros, ā, on: 'loyal, sincere, just'
- ✧ Kownos, ā, on: 'beautiful, expensive, pleasant'
- ✧ Koylos, ā, on: 'thin, narrow'
- ✧ Koymos, ā, on*: 'easy-going, kind, tender'
- ✧ Koyos, ā, on: 'puny'
- ✧ Kremos, ā, on*: 'strong, full-bodied'
- ✧ Krosos, ā, on: 'hollow'
- ✧ Krowdyos, ā, on: 'cruel, bloody, hard'
- ✧ Krundis, i: 'round, not straight, turned' (cf. Walloon-Picard *crond, e*)
- ✧ Lagus, wī, u: 'small' > 'mediocre'
- ✧ Lānos, ā, on: 'full, complete'
- ✧ Lawenos, ā, on: 'happy'
- ✧ Liscos, ā, on: 'slow, lazy'
- ✧ Litanos, ā, on: 'large'
- ✧ Lutetos, ā, on: 'swampy'
- ✧ Lutumāros, ā, on: 'ardent, vigorous'
- ✧ Lowos, ā, on: 'small, weak'
- ✧ Mailos, ā, on*: 'bald'
- ✧ Mallos, ā, on: 'slow, lazy'
- ✧ Mantis, i: 'numerous, many'
- ✧ Mānus, wī, u: 'good'
- ✧ Māros, ā, on: 'big' → Māyōs 'more, bigger'; māyamos: 'the biggest'
- ✧ Marwos, ā, on: 'dead' > 'frozen'
- ✧ Matus, wī, u / is, i: 'good, auspicious, favorable'
- ✧ Medyos, ā, on: 'medium, central'
- ✧ Medwos, ā, on: 'drunk'
- ✧ Melissos, ā, on: 'sweet, pleasant (= 'honey')
- ✧ Meldos, ā, on: 'pleasant, tender'
- ✧ Menwos, ā, on: 'minor, small'
- ✧ Mēnos, ā, on: 'sweet, pleasant, docile'
- ✧ Meskos, ā, on*: 'confused, mixed'
- ✧ Nessos, ā, on: 'closer' (comp.)
- ✧ Nowiyos, ā, on: 'new'
- ✧ Noxtos, ā, on*: 'naked'
- ✧ Ollos, ā, on: 'complete, whole, large'
- ✧ Omos, ā, on: 'raw, rough' → 'cruel'
- ✧ Omodyos, ā, on*: 'cruel'
- ✧ Ossimyos, ā, on: 'ultimate, extreme'
- ✧ Ūros, ā, on: 'fresh, pure'
- ✧ Uxsedyos, ā, on: 'superior'
- ✧ Uxsellos, ā, on: 'raised, high'
- ✧ Reyos, ā, on: 'free'
- ✧ Roburros, ā, on: 'infatuated'
- ✧ Run(i)dyos, ā, on*: 'mystic, mysterious'
- ✧ Sagros, ā, on: 'firm, tenacious' / 'importunate'
- ✧ Salakos, ā, on*: 'dirty'
- ✧ Samalis, i: 'resembling, similar'
- ✧ Sanis, i*: (adj) 'different, distinct, other'
- ✧ Senos, ā, on: 'old, ancient'
- ✧ Skītos, ā, on*: 'tired' (Walloon *skété* 'broken')
- ✧ Sīros, ā, on: 'long, durable' (*sissamos*)
- ✧ Sispos / sixsos, ā, on*: 'dry'
- ✧ Slānos, ā, on: 'healthy, well'
- ✧ Sunartis, i: 'strong, powerful'
- ✧ Suratis, i: 'fortunate, lucky, charmed'
- ✧ Swādus, wī, u: 'sweet, sugary, smooth'
- ✧ Swerwos, ā, on*: 'bitter'
- ✧ Tanawos, ā, on: 'thin, tenuous'
- ✧ Tartos, ā, on: 'dry'
- ✧ Taw(s)os, ā, on: 'silent'
- ✧ Tegus, wī, u*: 'thick, dense'
- ✧ Temos, ā, on: 'dark'
- ✧ Tēmmos, ā, on: 'hot'
- ✧ Tionos, ā, on: 'dear, close?'
- ✧ Tlātis, i: 'impoverished, weak, needy'
- ✧ Trexsos, ā, on: 'strong'

- | | |
|---|--|
| ✧ Trummos, ā, on*: 'heavy' | ✧ Wimpos, ā, on: 'beautiful' |
| ✧ Truxos, ā, on: 'mangy, leprous' | ✧ Wir(i)back, ā, on: 'virile, male' (cf. OIr. <i>ball ferda</i> gl., <i>membrum uirile</i>) |
| ✧ Trowgos, ā, on: 'poor, miserable, sad' | ✧ Wīros, ā, on: 'true' |
| ✧ Towtos, ā, on: 'left, north' | ✧ Wīroyānos, ā, on: 'true, just' |
| ✧ Tullos, ā, on: 'full of holes, perforated, pierced' | ✧ Wlipos, ā, on*: 'wet' |
| ✧ Wannos, ā, on: 'weak' | ✧ Yakkos, ā, on: 'healthy, sound' |
| ✧ Wēlyos, ā, on: 'honest, modest' | ✧ Yānobalkos, ā, on*: 'proud' |
| ✧ Weronados, ā, on: 'above' | ✧ Yānodagos, ā, on*: 'excellent, fair, very good' |
| ✧ Werus, wī, ou: 'wide, vast' | ✧ Yānos, ā, on: 'just, right' |
| ✧ Wertamos, ā, on: 'supreme' | ✧ Yessinos, ā, on: 'beautiful, brilliant' |
| ✧ Wesus, wī, u: 'worthy, good' | ✧ Yowankos, ā, on: 'young' |

6.4 VERBS – BRĒTRĀS

Primitive tenses = ① present, ② subj., ③ future, ④ perfect, ⑤ passive pres., ⑥ past participle
Classification: adapted from Thurneysen's OIr. verb classes. Verbs classified by roots.

A) STRONG VERBS (primary derivatives)

- ① Consonant stems; → A1 on $\sqrt{\text{CeC}}$ (a), CaC and CRC (b), in *ye/o* (c)
- ② Aniṭ and seṭ resonant stems CR(H) → A2
- ③ Nasal infixed athematics "neH_a" or "neH_e" on roots ending in CVR(H) → A3a
Nasal Stems suffixed on root CVRC → A3b

B) WEAK VERBS (secondary derivatives)

- ① "(e)H_a" *a/ā* Athematics: denominative or deadjectival intensive transitive verbs (formed on \emptyset grade root),
- ② Stems in "eH_e" $\bar{e} > \bar{i}$: stative verbs (to be such) or possessive; deadjectival *ēye/o*
- ③ I or U stems: denominatives

C) DURATIVE & CAUSATIVE VERBS

- ① *Ēye/ī* stems: causatives (on o-grade root), formed from old stative verbs?
- ② "N" infixed thematic stems (after semi-vowels) on CuC root

D) IRREGULAR VERBS

Old stative or perfective verbs; defective verbs (i.e., those which do not have all the forms)

- ✧ Age/o: [D] 'drive, go' (pres. ind. A1 v → intrans. and defect.) – Agnis (VN): 'driving'
→ aget ? - agāt - elāt - axtos [moyen] - agīr - axtos, a, on (pp)
- ✧ Anā-: [B1] 'stay, wait, breathe' (old athematic) – Anatus (VN): 'lying'
→ anāmi - anān - anasyu - anasu - anātir - anatos, ā, on
- ✧ Anege/o: [A1] 'protect' – Anextlon (VN): 'protection'



- anegū, anexsū, anexsyū -?- anegīr-anextos, ā, on
- ☼ Əṇkye/o*: [A1c] ‘reach, access’
→ əṇkyū - ?
- ☼ Dī-əṇkye/o*: [A1c/B2?] ‘escape’
- ☼ Ro-əṇkye/o: [A1c] ‘reach (an end), obtain, get to’
→ roaṇkyū - rīṇkī (imper.)- roaxsū - roaxsyū - ? - roaṇkitir - rīxtos, ā, on
- ☼ Trē-əṇkye/o: [A1c] ‘trespass’ – Trīṅkon (VN): ‘trespass’
→ trīṇkyū - trīxsū - trīxsyū - ? - trīṇkitir - trīxtos, ā, on
- ☼ Tyo-əṇkye/o: [A1c]: ‘come’ – Tī(n)ktu (VN): ‘arrival’
→ tiaṇkyū - rīṇkī (imper.)- tiaxsū - tiaxsyū - ?- tiaṇkitir - tīxtos, ā, on
- ☼ Ar(n)a: [A2 > A3a ?] ‘offer, give’ – Ratos / ratus (VN): ‘favor, offering, fortune’
→ arnami - erasū - erasyū - ebre?- arnatir- ratos, ā, on
- ☼ Assedā-: [B1] ‘sit’ –
→ assedāmi - assedān - assedosyu - assedasu - assedātir - assedatos, ā, on
- ☼ Bādī-: [B2/C1] ‘dive, soak’ – Bādītus (VN): ‘bath’
→ bādīmi – badyān - ?- badisu - badītir – baditos, ā, on
- ☼ Bar(n)e/o: [A3a] ‘judge, proclaim’ [bh/g^werH_a] – Bratus: ‘judgment, proclamation’ (VN)
→ barnū - berān - berasyū - ? - bratos, ā, on
- ☼ Bāgā-: [B1] ‘combat’ – Bāgā (VN) : ‘combat’
→ bāgāmi – bāgān – bāgasyu – bāgasu – bāgātir – bāgatos, ā, on
- ☼ Battu(y)e/o: [B3b] ‘kill, murder’ [denominative of *battu*]
- ☼ Bere/o-: [A2a/D] ‘carry’ (imperfective & defective) – Britis (VN): ‘burden’ (f)
→ berū -berān – ?- ?- berīr - britos, ā, on
- ☼ Ati-bere/o-: [A2a/D] ‘sacrifice, bring back, offer’ – Atebertā (VN): ‘sacrifice’
→ ateberū...
- ☼ Kom.bere/o*: [A2a/D] ‘take away, take’ → see *bere/o*
- ☼ Tyo-bere/o: [A2a/D] ‘bring, give’ - Tyobertā (VN): ‘gift’
- ☼ Bertyā-: [B1] ‘cradle’, from *bertā*, ‘burden’
→ bertyāmi - bertyān -? - bertyasyu-?
- ☼ Bey(n)a-: [A3a] ‘split, strike’ - Bēmman (VN): ‘blow’
→ binami - beyasū - beyasyū -? - binar - baitos, ā, on
- ☼ Kom.bey(n)a: [A3a] ‘cut, destroy’ - Kombiyon (VN): ‘carving’ → see *bey(n)has*
- ☼ Di-bey(n)a*: [A3a] ‘detach, break’ → see *bey(n)has*
- ☼ Bo(n)ge/o: [C2] ‘break, beat, cut’ - Bognis (VN): beating
→ bungū - bōxset - boxsyet - beboge? - - boxtos, ā, on
- ☼ Ad-kombo(n)ge/o-: [C2] ‘kill, strike to death’ - Adkombogyon (VN) → see *bo(n)g*
- ☼ Kom.bo(n)ge/o: [C2] ‘break, rout’ - Kombogyon (VN) → see *bo(n)g*
- ☼ Di-bo(n)ge/o*: [C2] ‘attack’ → see *bo(n)g*
- ☼ Bu-/es-: be - Butā (VN)
→ immi/biyūbwet(i) - bisseyet - esāt (impf) /? (pft) -
- ☼ Di-werbu-: [D] ‘defeat, surpass’ → see *bu*

- ✿ Brakyā-: [B1] ‘rot (malt), soak’
→ brakyāmi - brakyān - brakyosyu - brakasū - brakyātir - brakyatos, ā, on
- ✿ Bragye/o: [A1c] ‘fart, bellow’ - Bramman [< *bragsman*] (VN): ‘fart, bellowing’
→ bragyū - braxsū - braxsyū
- ✿ Brammā-: [B1] ‘roar, bellow, bream’
→ brammāmi - brammān -? - brammasū - brammātir - brammatos, ā, on
- ✿ Brissā-: [B1] ‘break’ [deadjectival of *brissos*] - Brissetus (VN): ‘break’
→ brissāmi - brissan - brissosyū - brissasū - brissātir - brissatos, ā, on
- ✿ Brusye/o: [A1c/B3] ‘crush, foil, bruise’ - Brussos (VN): ‘something brittle, fragile’
→ brusyū
- ✿ Burrā-: [B1] ‘stuff, inflate’ (deadjectival from *burros*, ‘inflated, proud, infatuated’)
→ burrāmi - burran - brissosyū - burrasū - burrātir - burratos, ā, on
- ✿ Damye/o [A2b/D]: ‘allow, suffer’
→ damyū - demān? - damasyū? -? -
- ✿ Dawī-: [B2] ‘ignite’
→ dawīmi - dawyan - dawissyū - dawisu - dawītir - dawitos, ā, on
- ✿ Dē/ī-/da-: [D] ‘put, ask, place’ (suppletive of *ker/kor* on the aorist)
→ dede (pret.)
- ✿ Delge/o-: [A1b] ‘hold’ - Delgon (VN): ‘outfit’
→ delgu - delxsū?
- ✿ Deprosagī: [B2] ‘feed, stuff’
→ deprosagīyū -
- ✿ Derke/o-: [A1b] ‘look’
→ derkū - derxsū - derxsyū - dedorkai? - derkīr
- ✿ D(i)lig-: [D athematic] ① ‘have right, deserve’, ② ‘need or have to’ - Dilixtus (VN):
‘prerogative’
→ diligti
→ diligtir
- ✿ Gabye/o: [D] ‘take, hold’ - Gabaglā (VN)
- ✿ Wo·gabye/o*: [D2] ‘find’ + werə (pft and pp)
→ wogabyū -
- ✿ Ganyo/e*: ‘be born, arise’ (deponent) - Genoū (VN): ‘birth’
→ ganiyōr -? - gnatos (pp),
- ✿ Garye/o: [A2b?] ‘call’ - Garman (VN): ‘cry’
- ✿ Ad·garye/o: [A2b] ‘accuse, summon’ - Adgarion (VN): ‘convocation’
→ adgaryu - adgarat,
- ✿ Gley(n)a -: [A3a] ‘paste’ - Glenamonā (VN): ‘adherence’
→ glinami - gleyan -
- ✿ Gnīye/o*: [D ath?] ‘make, do’ [gnH_{Ec}i > gniH + ye/o] (*wrege/o* suppletive?) -
(Tyo)gnīmus (VN): ‘action, event’



- gnīu - gnean - -
- ✿ Wo·gniye/o: ‘serve, be useful’ - Wognamus (VN): ‘service’
→ wogniu - wogneat -? - wogegne? - wognitos, ā, on
 - ✿ Gniye/o: [D] ‘know’ [gnH_{oi} > gniH + ye/o] - Gnīyon (VN): ‘knowledge’
→ gniyū -? -? -? -? - gnātos, ā, on
 - ✿ Ati·gniye/o: [D] ‘recognize’ (see *gniye/o*)
 - ✿ Gnoūxse/o-*: [A1a] ‘seeking to know, flirt with’ - Gnoūxsyon (VN): ‘encounter, intercourse’
 - ✿ Ibe/o: drink [A1a]
 - ✿ Kambī/yo-: [B2] ‘change’
→ kambiyū
 - ✿ Kane/o-: [A2] ‘sing’ - Kantalon (VN): ‘song, incantation’
→ kanu -? -? - kantos, ā, on
 - ✿ Ari·wo·kane/o*: [A2] ‘prophesize’ - Arikantlon (VN): ‘prophecy’
 - ✿ Wer·kane/o*: [A2] ‘teach, profess’ - Werkantlon (VN): ‘teaching’
 - ✿ Wo·kane/o*: [A2] ‘play music, accompany the voice’
 - ✿ Karā-: [B1] ‘love, cherish’ (old athematic v.) - Serkā: ‘love’ (VN)
→ karāmi - karāt -? - karāsu -? - karatos, ā, on
 - ✿ Kardatosagī-*: [B2b]: ‘beg’
→ kardatosagiyū ... see in *sagi*
 - ✿ Kenge/o: [A1b] ‘walk’ - Kamman (VN): ‘step’
→ kingu - kē xset - kēxsyu? - kekonge -
 - ✿ Klade/o: [A1b] ‘dig’ - Kladya (VN): ‘digging’
→ kladu - klassu - kiklassyu? - keklada - klassyos, ā, on,
 - ✿ Klewīye/o-: [A2/D?] ‘hear’ - Klutā (VN): ‘hearing’
→ kluīyu -
 - ✿ Korye/o: [A2b/D] ‘place, put, close’ (formed on VN koros of root ker- ‘to fall’) - Koros (VN): ‘throw, placement’
→ koryu - koran -? - see *dede* -
 - ✿ Di·korye/o: ‘open’ - Dikoryon (VN)?
→ dikoryu - dikoran -
 - ✿ Kuske/o: [A1a] ‘sleep’
 - ✿ Kreddī-: [B2] ‘believe’ - Kreddēma (VN): ‘belief’
→ kreddīmi
 - ✿ Kri(n)ī/kri(n)e/o?: [C2/3] ‘fear, tremble’ - Kritu (VN): ‘tremor’
→ krinīmi/krinu,
 - ✿ Kurmisagī-: [B2b] ‘get drunk’
 - ✿ Labarā-: [B1] ‘speak, say’ - Labaryon (VN)
→ labarāmi,
 - ✿ Legā-: [B1] ‘set, drop off, lay down, lie down, establish’
→ legāmi - legan -? - legas(i)t

- ✿ Linge/o: [A1b] ‘jump, leap’ - Lamman (VN): ‘jump’
→ lingu - lixset - -long
- ✿ Lowdye/o: [D] ‘move’
→ lowdit -? -? - ludet [aor.]
- ✿ Lubīye/o: [B2] ‘please another, be agreeable’
→ lubiyū - lubiyat -? - lubisu - lubitos, ā, on
- ✿ Lu(n)g: ‘load’ (logeye/o iterative) – Luxtus (VN): ‘load’
→ lungu - luxset - luxsyet - lelage, luxtos, ā, on
- ✿ Wo·lu(n)ge/o: [C1] ① ‘bear, support, provide’ ② ‘endure, suffer’
→ wolungu -
- ✿ Marā-*: [B1] ‘magnify’
→ marāmi - marān -marosyu - marasu - morātir
- ✿ Dī·menw(y)e/o: [B3a] ‘decrease’
- ✿ Molā-: [B1] ‘praise, glorify’ - Molatus (VN): ‘praise’
→ molami -
- ✿ Moritēge/o-: [A1a] ‘navigate’
→ moritēgu ... see tēge/o
- ✿ Barley/o-: [A1a] ‘kill’
→ orgu - orxsu - orxsyū -?
- ✿ Passā-: [B1] ‘suffer, endure’ - Passātus and Passā (VN): ‘suffering and passion’
- ✿ Pisa/o-: [A1a] ‘see’
- ✿ Ad·pise/o-: [A1a] ‘see, perceive’
→ appisu - appissū- appissyu -? - ‘to take a look’
- ✿ Prey(n)a-: [A3a] ‘buy’
→ prinami - prēasu - prēasyu - pepra? - pritos
- ✿ Wo·prey(n)a-*: [C2] ‘win, buy’ - Wopriton (VN): ‘price’
- ✿ Rēde/o: [A1] ‘drive (a chariot)’ - Rēdon (VN): ‘driving’
- ✿ Rege/o: [D] ‘lead’; ‘go, direct’ -
→ regu
- ✿ Wo·rege/o*: [A1a] ‘place, put’ (see *rege/o*)
- ✿ Rete/o: [A1a] ‘run’ - Ritus (VN): ‘race’
→ retu - ressu - ressyu - rāta? - retir - resos, ā, on (pp)
- ✿ Ad·rete/o: [A1a] ‘attack, run to’ - Adritus (VN): ‘attack’
→ adreteti - addressset - addresssyet - adrāte - - addresssos, ā, on (pp)
- ✿ Wo·rete/o: [A1a] ‘help, rescue, take the place of’
→ woretu - woressu - woressyu ...
- ✿ Ro·da: [B1/D] ‘give’ (substitute of *tyo·bere/o*)
→ rodāmi - rodām - - roaddasu - rodātir - rodatos, ā, on
- ✿ Rey(n)a-: [A3a] ‘sell’
→ rinami - rēasu - rēasyu - rera? - ritos, ā, on (pp)



- ✿ Rudī-*: [B2] ‘blush, turn red’
- ✿ Row(n)of/o*: [C2] ‘paint red’
→ rundū - rōssū - - rōda
- ✿ Sagitye/o -: [B3a] ‘search, try’ [factitive denominative from sagitis, W *haeddu*] -
→ sagityū -? - sagissyū
- ✿ Sagiye/o-: [A1c] ‘seek, tend to, be done for a purpose’ - Sagitis (VN): ‘search’
→ sagyū/sagīti - sāxsū? - sisaxsyu - sesaga*
- ✿ Skrēss-: ‘spit’ - Skrissu (VN) = ‘spit’
→ skressu
- ✿ Sede/o*: [A1a] ‘sit, stop, halt’
→ sedū - sessū - sessyū
- ✿ Sepe/o*: [A1a] ‘say’ - Spon* (VN): ‘saying, speech’
- ✿ Sopeye/o: [C1] ‘follow’
→ sopiyū, sopī!
- ✿ (S)nāe/o: [A1a] ‘swim’ - Snāmus (VN) = ‘swimming’
→ snāū
- ✿ (S)nēe/o: [A1a] ‘spin’ - Snemus (VN): ‘spindle, spinning’
→ néū - nésu - nésyū
- ✿ Sonéye/o: [C1] ‘reach, bring’ (causative of *senH₂-?*, OIr *san-na-*)
→ soniyū (3sg sonīti) - senān
- ✿ Ate·spā-: [B1] ‘answer’ [denominative of *atispon*] - Atispatus (VN): ‘answer’
→ ate·spāmi - ate·spān - ate·sposyu? - ate·spāsu
- ✿ Šreng(n)e/o: [A3b] ‘snore’
→ šrengnu,
- ✿ Soleye/o: [C1]: ‘grab, take’
→ solitos, ā, on
- ✿ Tankā-: ‘fix, freeze, close’
- ✿ Taw(s)ye/o: [A1c] ‘shut up’ - Taw(s)eli (VN)
→ tawsite!
- ✿ Tēge/o-: [D] ‘go’, [Defective verb, exists only in compounds?] - Tixtā (VN): ‘travel’
- ✿ Tepe/o: [A1a] ‘run, risk, flee’
→ tepu - teksu - teksyu - topa? - textos, ā, on
- ✿ Wo·tepe/o: [A1a] ‘help’
- ✿ Textosagī-: [B2b] ‘take possession, appropriate, seize’
→ textosagiyyu? ...
- ✿ To(n)ge/o: [C2] ‘swear’
→ tongu - tōxsū - tōxsyū
- ✿ Tonk(n)e/o: [A3b] ‘(pre)destine, cast a spell’ - Tonknaman (VN): ‘destiny, spell’
→ tonknu -? - tonksyu-? -? - tonketos, ā, on
- ✿ Trebā-: [B1] ‘live’
- ✿ Ad·trebā-: [B1] ‘inhabit, cultivate, exploit (for resources)’ - Adtrebatus: ‘farm’ (VN)

- adtrebāmi - adtrebān - adtrebosyu? - adtrebasu - adtrebātir, adtrebatos, ā, on
- ☼ Trogā-*: [B1] ‘carry, breed, produce’
→ trogami
- ☼ Wane/o*: [A1/2] ‘kill, pierce’ - Wani (VN): ‘wound, murder’
→ wanū -? - - wewana
- ☼ Ambi·wane/o*: [A1/2] ‘fight, kill each other’ → see *wane/o*
- ☼ Ate·wane/o-: hit [reduplicated] see *wane/o*
- ☼ Wediye/o-: [A1c] ‘pray, solicit, invoke’ - Wedyā (VN): ‘prayer, request’
→ wediyu - wessū - wessyū - - wessos, ā, on
- ☼ Wele/o: [D] ‘see’ (only imperative: *wele!* + Object acc = ‘this is it’)
- ☼ Were/o*: [A2a] ‘(get), find’ (suppl. of *wo·gabye/o*) - Woron (VN)?
→ werū - werān - werasyū? - wowra - writes, ā, on
- ☼ Are·were/o: [A2a] ‘satisfy, grant, lavish’ - Arewéron (VN): ‘satisfaction, pleasure’
→ ariwerū - ariwerān -? - ariwowra
- ☼ Ī·were/o: [A2a] ‘promise, make an offering, give thanks’ - Īweron (VN)?
→ iwerū - iwerān -? - iowra/iēwra
- ☼ Tyo·were/o: [A2a] ‘produce, supply’ - Tyowéron (VN): ‘supply’
- ☼ Wo·were/o*: [A2a] ‘cause’ - Wowéron (VN): ‘cause’
- ☼ Weyke/o: [A1] ‘fight’ (athematic origins)
→ wikū, wēxseti,
- ☼ Ambi·weyke/o*: [A1] ‘release’ see *weyke/o*
- ☼ Dī·weyke/o: [A1] ‘avenge, punish’
- ☼ Wo·weyke/o*: [A1] ‘offend, insult (the honor of)’
- ☼ Wi(n)ke/o: [C1] ‘defeat’
→ winkū
- ☼ Di·wi(n)ke/o-: [C1] ‘destroy’
- ☼ Wīroyānosagi*: [B2b] ‘justify (oneself)’ - Wīryānosagitus (VN)
→ wīryānosagiyū ...
- ☼ Wose/o*: [A1] ‘spend the night’
→ woseti
- ☼ Wrege/o*: [A1a] ‘do, work’ (past form of *gniye/o*)
→ wregū - wrexšū - wrexsyū
- ☼ Yeke/o-: [A1a] ‘say, speak, declare’
→ yekū - yexšū - yexsyū - ike? - yekīr

Sources: DLG 2003, DELF 1964, EDPG 2009, GOI 2003, IEW 1959-69, LG 1994, LXG 2004, OCV 1969



6.5 SELECTED THEONYMS

(comparative linguistics and mythology essay)

- **Lugus:** the etymologies of the chief god of the Celts are numerous and unconvincing. This theonym, attested from one end of the Celtic territories to the other, must be very old (Common Celtic). The most frequent etymology is 'luminous' based on a root **leuk-*, and therefore doubtful (W *golau* < **wolugus* must be compared with *golwith* and OIr *fulacht*, see below).

The mythological association with the raven is undoubtedly linked to *lóch*, *llug* 'black' (< **lowkos*), but that is more of a play on words than a true etymological explanation. Another more acceptable comparison is OIr. *luige* and W *llw* (< **lugyon*) 'oath' which would make Lug a god of oaths; this is a possibility because of the approximation of his feast with that of *St-Pierre-aux-liens* (August 1).

A better explanation would be to compare OIr. *loingid* 'burn' (< **lunget*), W *llosgi* 'shine' (< **logsket*) and *golau* 'light', from an IE root **legH* 'melt' (but also derived from Ir. *leacht*, W *llaith* 'place of death'). One should recall Lug's main role, the killer of Balor (like Indra or Apollo the Python killer, whose slaughter was commemorated in the Pythian games), using a glowing weapon (sling shot or spear). The theme of a struggle between a Lugian character and evil forces is found in Welsh literature with the duel between Culhwch and the giant Ysbaddaden, as well as with the intervention of Llefelys to save a Britain threatened by three plagues.

A link with putrefaction (+ making *chaires*) is found in the myth of Llew (cf. Sergent, Lug, and Apollo) and his nickname 'lord of *charniers* (mass graves)' in Ireland. This also opens up perspectives on the rite of excarnation associated with the funeral ritual (*llaith* < 'place of excarnation'?) And thus the role of the raven.

- **Aisus:** another very controversial theonym, he appears in the form 'Esus' in Lucan and on The Pillar of The Boatmen (/ē/ < /a/).

A comparison with the Italic languages (Oscan-Umbrian, Venetian *aisus/os* 'god') would seem wise. However, such an 'easy' term also exists in Etruscan, and it is unclear in what sense borrowing may have been possible. An IE root **ais-* 'honor, venerate' has been pointed out (especially Italic, Germanic *aizō*? < **aids*). But another term is possible: IE **aiwos*, *aywes* 'vital force'; it has produced derivatives as varied as 'youth' (**əyu-wen*), 'age, eternity' (adv. *aiwi-*) ...

Celtic has the stems **aissus* (< **aywestus*) and *aito-* (< **ayweto-*) OIr. *Aes*, *Oes*, W *oet*, *oes* 'age, people'. Note how *Ēsus* is always written with only one ⟨s⟩, never lenited (< /ss/? but would these phonetic rules apply to a theonym?). The IE roots **ais-* and **aiu* are probably from the root *H₂y* 'burn, fire', honoring the gods, often by burning offerings, and the life force being perceived as a fire.

The various theonyms and proper names containing the name *Ēsus*, *Ēsuatīr*, *Ēsumopats*, *Ēsutextos* ... could mean 'eternal father', 'eternal son', 'eternal possession' ... rather than 'Esus-

father', 'son of Esus'... In any case, *Ais(s)us*, if it means 'the eternal' could then be compared to the enigmatic Irish figure of Fintan or Merlin (Ambrosius "immortal" Merlinus) i.e., the Ancient, the Primordial Man, the god of the Vital Force (cf. Skt *Ayuh* < **ayus*). See homonymy of salmon (*esox*).

The iconography of Esus can be summed up in The Pillar of The Boatmen: there we see a human-looking figure in the process of debranching a tree (which certainly made him a god of lumberjacks!).

However, an anepigraphic relief from Trier (opposite), shows the same scene in association with a bull with three cranes (i.e. *taruos trigaranus* from The Pillar of The Boatmen).

Regarding the tree, it should be noted that Fintan also planted the first red yew berry from which emerged the primordial trees of the five provinces of Ireland: the *Suidiugad Tellaig Temrach* covers the authority of *Trefuilngide Treochair* (= Lug) the division of the island into five provinces, each around its sacred tree: the Tree of Tortu (an ash tree), the Trunk of Ross (a yew), the Branch of Dāithi (an ash tree), the Oak of Moone, and the Ash of Usnagh, and the existence of such sacred axes (*crann beathagh* or 'tree of life') at the center of each territorial microcosm of ancient Ireland is assured by the frequent allusions to their slaughter during incessant clan wars that tear it apart.

The *Bern Scholia* specifies that Esus was appeased by hanging a man from a tree "until, as a result his bloodshed, he let his limbs go". For this last point, cf. *Lugus*. For the Tree of Life and World Axis, see *Belisamāros* and *Bussumāros* below. For lopping, refer to the feast of *Lucario* and the legend of *Tailtiu*; for Esus with the axe, cf. *Merlin the wild*.



- **Belenos:** The name *Belenos*, which could mean "the hitter, piercer," is only a synonym for that of *Lugus*. He is a Celtic god particularly honored in the Julian Alps and Istria. These regions make up a large epigraphic collection of his name that centers on the city of Aquileia, which alone provides about sixty inscriptions likening him to Apollo. *Belenos* is nevertheless pan-Celtic since he appears on Gaulish and Latin inscriptions in Provence, as well as Clermont-Ferrand and Austria.

The theonym is also cited by Ausone as an epithet of Apollo and associated with Phoebus. The different dedications associate him with medicine and teaching. The etymology most often cited is "the luminous" on a pseudo-root ***bel* 'brilliant'; the IE root **g^welə* 'pierce, throw' seems to me more appropriate to characterize a Lugian (or "Indraic") god, killer of demons (*Belenos* is often Christianized as *St-Michel*). Homophony (in Common Celtic) with a root



evoking ‘swelling’ (**bhel?*) and/or lightning (see below) may have changed the meaning. Compare also the Old French term *belet* ‘flash’ and *belija* ‘throw lightning’. Lug’s spear can be considered the lightning of the Vedic Indra.

Beltaine, an early May feast in Ireland, must take its name from the same root and would be comparable to the Thargelia in honor of Apollo.

- **Grannos:** The most widespread epithet of Apollo. His cult is especially important in the East and North-East of Gaul. Often described as a solar god by comparison with OIr. *grian* ‘sun’, this etymology is nevertheless impossible (< **g^wrensnā*). It is also etymologized by a term meaning ‘beard, mustache’, i.e. *granno-*, *grenno-* (< *gr̥ndo-*, the origin of Provençal *gren*). The iconography never depicts him with such a feature (the rare depictions of Grannus are like classical Apollo, sometimes carrying the zither).

The functions associated with his character are medicine and the incubation method of divination. A second name of Apollo Grannus, in a Gallo-Roman inscription from Branges (Saône-et-Loire), is the theonym *Amarcolitanus*; it is composed of *amarco*, found in Irish *amarc*, ‘sight, vision’, and the adjective *litano*, ‘great’. It is therefore translated as: ‘with a great gaze, with a deep sight’. This epithet can be likened to the Irish expression *rosc imlebur inachind* (‘with a long eye in the head’, see below), that is to say with the deep or piercing gaze used by Cormac’s Glossary to define the genius of poetry who is a beautiful and radiant young man.

Grannos, lastly, is also a solar god. An inscription describes him as “Phoebus” and folk rites highlight his heliacal, bisexual and fructifying nature. One can then venture an etymology via **ghredh* ‘striding’ (*ghr̥ndnos* > *grannos*) and compare Grannos to the Vedic *Viṣṇu*, *Trefuilngid* (< *tri-fo.ling?*), *Treochair* and *Setanta* (Cú Chulainn’s alternative name).

- **Solitumaros:** epithet of Mercury at Châteaubleau; the name seems to mean “having great sight”, “all-seer”, because it is illustrated with the hypertrophied eyes of the god featured on the archaeological evidence concerned. Lugus endowed with visionary abilities is also, on occasion, a physician god who has a special affinity for the healing of eye diseases (see the Irish tradition of “fountains of the eyes”, *Tobar na súil*, healing optical afflictions).

This epithet must be compared with the preceding one: Apollo Grannos and *Amarcolitanos* (the latter equivalent of the Irish *rosc imlebur inachind*, i.e. ‘with a long eye in the head’). But if we may agree enough on the meaning, the etymology of the theonym is quite complex. We can propose the OIr *súil* ‘eye’ (< **sūli*) found in the name of the goddess *Sūlis* of Bath, a term that would itself be derived from the IE root **seHwol/n*, *swel*, designating the sun (Celtic metaphor of the sun = ‘eye of god’); however, this derivation is phonetically difficult to defend.



One would favor a *swel root found in OIr *sel, chwyl and whel in the Brittonic languages ('tour, course'), unfortunately not attested outside of Celtic (IE *swel- means 'to burn' and is probably related to the word *soleil*). It must be supposed that in Celtic there was an interpenetration of the roots *sewə 'to move, turn' (found in OIr *soid*, and perhaps W *huan* 'sun'), at the origin of the Vedic theonym *Savitār* (epithet of the sun), and *wel- 'see' but also 'turn, turn in circles'. The 3 grades of this root would give *swel-, *swol- (> *sol-) and *sul. This shift in meaning could happen when replacing the original term designating the sun.

Note that the word *sol-* is well attested in Gaul: *sol(tu)maros*, *soliboduus*, *solirix*, *solitos*, *solidures*, *coriosolites* ... It is probably derived from a causative derivative 'turn, see, keep'; thus the *solidures* must be guards or 'those who turn, revolve around the chief', the *Coriosolites* (Armorican people) must be 'those of the *avant-garde*, the scouts' (*koryos* = 'troupe, army'), in contrast to the *Corisopites* (another Armorican people ?, if not a mistranscription) 'the rearguard' (*sopi-, causative resulting from the IE *sek^w 'to follow').

- **Belisamāros**: this theonym attested in Chalon-sur-Saône might seem anecdotal if one could not compare it to *Beli Mawr*, a major god of Welsh Celtic mythology, ancestor and husband of the goddess-mother *Dôn* (Earth, comparable to Demeter). His Irish equivalent is *Bile*, the father of *Mile*, ancestor of the Irish. There is also an Irish *Mac Eilpin Bile* and a Welsh *Beli ab Elffin* (i.e. son of *Albinos, name for the celestial world).

Bile is the Old Irish term for a sacred or isolated tree. Here we have the myth of the pillar tree supporting the world (see the section on *Ēsus* above). We compare the late Gaulish *bilio-* 'tree trunk', which has survived in the French language with *la bille de bois* and is well attested in Gaulish toponymy. The term can come from IE *bheyə (cut), the tree trunk being perceived by the Gauls like a cut tree (debranched); however, the *-lo* derivation is problematic. An IE *bholh₃yo- 'leaf' root does not suit either the meaning (≠ trunk) or the derivation (inflected grade). Welsh and Old Irish presuppose a *belos, *esos* of which a female equivalent is perhaps found in the *belsa* (= *campo*) of Virgil the Grammarian and which is at the origin of *Beauce* (*Belesa > *belsa*). The meaning must be 'plain, clear'. W *blawr* 'gray', OIr. *blár* 'clearing' but with the PN referring to animals with a white spot (such as Old French *bler* or Provençal *blar* 'glaucus') may provide a solution.

Roots derived from IE *bhel, *bhl-es 'shine, brighten, pale', *bhəl-k 'ball, joist, stick', *bhal 'white, bald' and *bhlō-ro 'pale' suggest that the sigmatic neuter *belos could designate a lightened tree (debranched) or isolated in the middle of a clearing and the feminine derivative *belesa* (< n. pl.) a clearing (for caland forms, see *magos*, *magesyā*, *magyo-*, *mageto-* from *megə 'big'). See also Latin *lucus*.

- **Bussumāros**: epithet of Jupiter in Bohemia, has long been etymologized by comparison with OIr. *bus*, *pus* 'lip'. 'Big lip' being a strange term for a god, we may compare it to *budduton*, an inscription on a spindle whorl, itself close to W. *both* 'hub' and OIr. *bot* 'penis' (< *bozdo).



French dialectal words reinforce this etymology, such as *bouton* for ‘spindle weight’ (cf. LLG) or *bout* ‘end’.

Bussus itself can be continued by the Occitan *bust* ‘trunk, tree’ (and French *buste?*). This term could also explain the origin of the French *borne* ‘border’ that one usually derives from Gaulish **budina* ‘troop’, via Vulgar Latin *bodina* and Frankish *butina* ‘tree border’. But not only does this pose difficulty in semantics, it is phonetically difficult as well. *Butina* would be better explained by a derivative of **bozdo* (with /zd/ > /t/ or /th/ in French); *bussu-* being both ‘phallus’ and ‘tree of life’, which befits Jupiter All-Father.

- ***Nantosweltā***: the consort of Jupiter, the worship of this goddess is attested by statues and inscriptions. Her name has been the subject of many etymologies, based on the meaning of its first term *nanto*, ‘valley’ (< *nantu-*), namely ‘winding valley’, ‘sunny valley’ ... Another root could, however, avoid these strange theonyms, that resulting from OIr. *néit* (< **nanti-*) ‘fight, battle’.

Combined with the term *swel* ‘to turn’ already seen above, one would obtain the etymology ‘she who turns or changes the fight’ or ‘who turns a battle around’, the translation of the Greek τροπαιος *tropaîos* ‘that which turns something around, sets it in flight’ or τροπή *tropé* meaning ‘turn, change of direction, flight, rout’ (at the origin of the word *trophy*). Not only would such a name be perfectly suited to the consort of Gaulish Jupiter (see Dagda & Morrígan / Badb in Ireland), but mythological and archaeological facts support the etymology.

Thus, C. Sterckx identified the object held by the goddess as an *esplumoir*, i.e. a cage where a bird (hawk) is locked when molting. This object is associated with Merlin and his transformations, his passages from one life to another. The site at Ribemont, considered by Brunaux to be a trophy, perhaps shows us such an object in the elevated buildings used to store the corpses of the enemies, subject to effects of decomposition and scavengers. We understand then why a goddess of war (‘goddess of mass graves’) would possess such an instrument.



6.6 ENGLISH-GAULISH GLOSSARY

A

- Above: *Weronados*, ā, on
- Absinth: *Santoni(k)on*, ī
- Accuracy: *Wīroyāniyā*, ās
- Accused, lawyer: *Adgaryos*, ī
- Accused: *Adgaryonts*, tos
- Acorn, fruit (trees): *Messus*, ōs
- Activity: *Werkos*, ī
- Adult, elder: *Ēuryūs*, isos (< *ayu-ro-is*-)
- Advantageous, looter, profitable: *Bowdimāros*, ā, on
- Afternoon, evening (in. + loc.): *Wexseros*, ī
- Age, life: *Aisson*, i > ēsson
- Alder: *Wernā*, ās
- Ambition: *Yentus*, ōs
- Anger, passion: *Bar(y)o-*, ī
- Angle, corner: *Kernā*, ās
- Animal (small): *Milon*, ī
- Ant (f): *Morwis*, ēs
- Anvil: *Enemno-*, ī
- Appearance, look: *Drikā*, ās
- Appearance, face: *Agedo-*, ī
- Apple tree: *Aballos*, ī (fem.)
- Apple: *Abalon*, ī
- Appropriation, foreclosure: *Textosagitus*, os
- Araire: *Aratron*, ī
- Ardent, vigorous: *Lutumāros*, ā, on
- Ardent: *Aidwos*, ā, on
- Ardor, passion: *Loūtu-*, ōs
- Area, fallow land surrounded by a hedge or ditch: *Werk(ar)yā*, ās
- Aries: *Moltū*, onos
- *Aristolochia*, clematis: *Dexsi(ta)mon*, ī
- Armband: *Walis*, ōs (f)
- Armor, harness: *Isarniyā*, ās
- Army Chief: *Koryonos*, ī
- Army, Combat Group: *Katerwā*, ās
- Army, troop: *Budīnā*, ās
- Arpent (12 to 14 acres?): *Aripennis*, ōs
- Art, gift: *Dānus*, ōs
- Ash (tree): *Onnā*, ās
- Assembly: *Datlā*, ās (neutre), *cobreton*
- Attacker: *Adressus*, ōs
- Attic: *Granyā*, ās
- Auger: *Taratron*, ī
- Auroch: *Urus*, ōs
- Avenger, policeman: *Diwixs*, kos

B

- Barley Beer: *Kerwēsyā*, ās
- Back: *Kebenā*, ās
- Background, base: *Bundos*, ī
- Bad: *Drukos*, ā, on
- Badger: *Brokkos*, ī
- Bald: *Mailos*, ā, on
- Bard, headmaster: *Bardos*, ī
- Bardic prayer: *Bardowedyon*, ī
- Barley, rye?: *Sasyos*, ī?
- Barn: *Bowtegos*, ī
- Basin, bath: *Lawatron*, ī
- Basin, bowl (water): *Baskawdā*, ās
- Battalion, Band: *Drungos*, ī
- Battle: *Katus*, ōs
- Bay: *Kērā* < *kairā*, ās
- Be: *Bu-/es-*
- Beak, mouth: *Gobbo-*, ī
- Beak: *Gulbyon*, ī
- Bear: *Artos*, ī
- Beard, mustache: *Grennos/grannā*, ās
- Beat, kill: *Battuye/o*
- Beautiful, brilliant: *Yessinos*, ā, on



- Beautiful, expensive, nice: *Kownos*, ā, on
- Beautiful: *Wimpos*, ā, on
- Bed: *(Wo)legyon*, ī
- Bee: *Bikos*, ī
- Beech: *Bāgos*
- Beer house: *Kurmitegos*, ī
- Beer: *Kurmi*, ōs
- Believe: *Kreddī-*
- Belly, breast, bowels: *Brū*, *bronnōs*
- Below: *Andernados*, ā, on
- Below, infernal: *Anderos*, ā, on
- Below, lower: *Andedyos*, ā, on
- Belt: *(Wo)krissus*, ōs
- Betony (< *Vettones*): *Wettonikā*, ās
- Beverage: *Lindon*, ī
- Beyond (Heaven): *Albyos*, ī
- Big, grand: *Māros*, ā, on; more: *Māyōs*; bigger: *Māyamos*
- Bile, bad mood: *Selgā*, ās
- Bile, gall: *Bislis*, ēs
- Billhook, pike: *Widubyon*, ī
- Billhook, sickle: *Serrā*, ās
- Billy goat: *Bukku*, onos
- Birch: *Betwiā*, ās/*betouyā*
- Bird: *Etar*, *etnos*
- Bitter: *Swerwos*, ā, on
- Black elderberry: *Skobyes?*
- Black: *Dubus*, wī, ou
- Blackbird: *Mesalkos*, ī
- Blackthorn, sloe: *Dragenā*, ās
- Blackthorn: *Agranyos*, ī/*agranyā*
- Bleak (fish), dace: *Windessā*, ās
- Blemished, spotted: *Brikkos*, ā, on
- Blind: *Dallos*, ā, on (adj) - *Exops*, os
- Blood (flowing): *Kroūs*, sos
- Blood red, bleeding: *Wlanos*, ā, on
- Blood: *Welis*, ōs (f)
- Blue, green (pastel): *Glassos*, ā, on
- Board: *Klāron*, ī
- Boat: *Nāūs*, *nawsos* (f)/*nāwā*, ās
- Boiled, drink?: *Imbrexton*, ī
- Boiled: *Yuttā*, ās
- Bone: *Knāmis*, ōs (m. n.)/*knāmā*, ās (VN)
- Bottom, soil: *Bundā*, ās
- Bow, ax?: *Towgā/towgi-*, ōs
- Braccae (Gaulish style pants): *Brākā*, ās
- Bracelet, brassard: *Wiry(ol)ā*, ās
- Brain: *Impennyon*, ī
- Brass, copper: *Omiyo-*, ī
- Bread dough, kneader: *Maxstrā*, ās
- Bread: *Baregon*, ī
- Break: *Brissā-*
- Breast, nipple: *Brunnyos*, ī
- Breath: *Anātlā*, ās
- Bridge: *Brīwā*, ās
- Brilliant, luminous: *Lewkos*, ā, on
- Broad iron javelin: *Matarā*, ās/*Materis*, yōs (Belg.)
- Broken: *Bressos*, ā, on
- Broom: *Banatlo-*, ī > *balatno*
- Broth, bacon soup: *Yusko-*, ī
- Brother: *Brātīr*, tros
- Brown, dark: *Dunnos*, ā, on
- Bucket, tub: *Kilurno-*, ī
- Bull: *Tarwos*, ī
- Bump, head, reason, sense (fig.): *Kondos*, ī
- Burning, inflamed: *Dāwyos*, ā, on
- Butte, height, cliff: *Turno-*, ī
- Butter: *Emban*, *enos* /*amban*, *anos?*
- Buttocks, behind: *Tukkā*, ās
- Buy: *Prinā-*

C

- Calf (animal; Brit., Ir.): *Lāigos*, ī
- Canal, ditch: *Bedo-*, ī
- Captive, prisoner, slave: *Kaxtos*, ī
- Carnage, massacre: *Agron*, ī
- Carpenter: *Sairos*, ī
- Carry, bear: *Bere/o*
- Castor: *Bebros*, ī
- Cat: *Kattos*, ī

- Catapult: *Taballo-*, *ī*
- Catapult, launcher (VN): *Blīmā*, *ās*
- Cattle: *Bowidos*, *ā*, *on*
- Cattle driver: *Oxsogaryos*, *ī*
- Cauldron: *Paryon*, *ī*
- Cavalry: *Eporēdya*, *ās*
- Cave: *Balmā*, *ās*
- Cemetery, necropolis: *Beduratis* (m)
- Cereals, food: *Itu*, *ōs*
- Chamois: *Kambōxsu*, *ōs*
- Chamomile: *Owalidyā*, *ās*
- Champion, (Olr.) *cimbid*?: *Kamulos*, *ī*
- Champion, Warrior: *Argos*, *ī* - *Lātis*, *ēs*
- Change (v.): *Kambyā-*
- Charge, Office: *Luxtus*, *ōs*
- Chest, mammary: *Brunnyā*, *ās*
- Chest: *Blowkyon*, *ī*
- Chicken, hen: *I(y)aros*, *ī*/*Iarā*, *ās*
- Chief, *dux*: *Rīxs*
- Chief magistrate: *Wergobrētos*, *ī*
- Chief, ruler, sovereign: *Walos*, *ī* - *wellawnos*, *ī*
- Child: *Mapats*, *tos*
- Chisel, burin, gouge: *Gulbyā*, *ās*
- *Cicumambulatio*: *Dexsiswelon*, *ī*
- Cinquefoil, potentilla: *Pempedulā*, *ās*
- Citadel (< hill): *Brigā*, *ās*
- Citizen: *Towtyos*, *ī*
- Clay: *Glisomargā*, *ās*
- Clear, pure, limpid: *Glanos*, *ā*, *on*
- Clearing, open space > locality: *Yalon*, *ī*
- Cleave, lattice: *Kleta*, *ās*
- Clematis: *Dexsi(ta)mon*, *ī*
- Clientele, population: *Luxtus*, *ōs* - *Warinā*, *ās*
- Cliff, rock: *Alos*, *esos*
- Closed: *Koros*, *ā*, *on*
- Closer (comp.): *Nessos*, *ā*, *on*
- Clouded or subterranean stream, spring: *Woberos*, *ī*
- Clover: *Meliswexsmoryon*, *ī*
- Clover: *Wisumaros*, *ī*
- Club, hammer: *Ordos*, *ī*
- Coast, shore: *Traxtu-*, *ōs*
- Cock: *Kālyakos*, *ī*
- Coin, money: *Sutegos*, *ī*
- Combat, fight: *Āgo-*, *ī*
- Combat, war: *Brissā*, *ās*
- Combat: *Bāgā*, *ās*
- Comfrey: *Alos*, *ī*
- Common possession: *Kontexton*, *ī*
- Common savings of spouses: *Incoros*, *ī*
- Companion, hetaera (*solī-* = ‘guard’?): *Soliduryos*, *ī*
- Companion, Husband: *Kēlyos*, *yī*
- Compatriot, fellow: *Kombrogis*, *ōs*
- Compatriot: *Kontowtos*, *ī*
- Compensation (rehabilitation obtained by swearing defense witnesses): *Adsaxs*, *gos*
- Complaint, lamentation: *Amaros*, *ī*
- Complete, whole, big: *Ollos*, *ā*, *on*
- Concubine: *Serkā*, *ās*
- Conviction (legal), fine: *Brātus*, *ōs*
- Confluence, dam: *Komberos*, *ī*
- Confluence: *Kondāti*, *ōs*
- Confused, mixed: *Meskos*, *ā*, *on*
- Cook: *Poppilos*, *ī*
- Cooking pot, crucible: *Pannā*, *suoxtu*, *ōs*?
- Copper: *Omiyo-*, *ī*
- Copse, wooded pasture: *Brogi(ya)los*, *ī*
- Coracle: *Korukos*, *ī*
- Core: *Knowillā*, *ās*
- Cough: *Pass*, *tos*
- Country, walk: *Brogī*, *ōs*
- Courier: *Worēdos*, *ī*
- Court, manor, tribunal: *Lissos*, *ī*
- Cow: *Bowi(ṣṣ)ā*, *ās*
- Cow: *Bowos*, *ī*
- Cow, cattle: *Bows*, *wos*
- Cow (type of): *Kewā*, *ās*



- Cowherd, cowboy: *Bowyatis*, *ōs*
- Cradle: *Bertyā-*
- Crafts, trade: *Kerdā*, *ās*
- Craftsman: *Kerdū*, *nos*
- Crane: *Garanus*, *ōs*
- Crazy, ignorant, debauched: *Bāitos*, *ī*
- Crossroads: *Petrumantalōn*, *ī*
- Crow: *Bodwos*, *ī*

Ð

- Dad: *Tatta* (inv)/*tattos*, *ī*
- Danewort (Elderberry variety): *Odokos*, *ī*
- Dark, brown: *Gormos*, *ā*, *on*
- Dark: *Temos*, *ā*, *on*
- Darling: *Karos*, *ā*, *on*
- Dart (wooden javelin): *Sparon*, *ī*
- Daughter: *Duxtīr*, *ros*
- Dawn, East (rare): *Wāri*, *ōs*
- Day (mn): *Diyus*, *diwos*, *diyowes* (pl)
- Day, daytime: *Latyon*, *i*
- Deaf (adj.): *Bodaros*, *ā*, *on*
- Death, Death (the figure): *Ankus*, *ōs*/*Ankawos*, *ī*
- Death, > frozen: *Marwos*, *ā*, *on*
- Death: *Trinkon*, *ī*
- Dedicant: *Dugilos*, *ī*
- Deep: *Dubnos*, *ā*, *on*
- Deer: *Iorkos*, *ī/ā*, *ās*
- Deer: *Karwos*, *ī*
- Defeated: *Wowixtos*, *ī*
- Deities (coll): *Dēwitatis*, *ōs*
- Demon: *Skālon*, *ī*
- Desert: *Ditrebos*, *ā*, *on*
- Desirable: *Awillos*, *ā*, *on*
- Desire, ambition: *Yentus*, *ōs*
- Desire, desirable thing: *Awillos*, *ī*
- Desire, envy: *Swantā*, *ās*
- Destiny (suffered): *Tonketā*, *ās*

€

- Ear hole: *Klusso-*, *ī*

- Crow: *Branos*, *ī*
- Crowd, party, customer, debtor, subject, common people: *Worinā*, *ās*
- Cruel, bloody, hard: *Krowdyos*, *ā*, *on*
- Cruel: *Omodityos*, *ā*, *on*
- Cry, clamor: *Garman*, *anos*
- Cursed, sacred (adj.): *Sakros*, *ī*
- Custom, conduct, usage: *Bēssus*, *ōs*

- Different, distinct, other: *Sanis*, *i*
- Digging: *Klade/o*
- Dignitary, noble: *Brigantis*, *ōs*
- Dirty: *Salākos*, *ā*, *on*
- Dirty, stinky: *Mussos*, *ā*, *on*
- Dirty, trouble: *Bowdris*, *i*
- Disposition, possession: *Texton*, *ī*
- Ditch, trench: *Kladyā*, *ās*
- Divination incantation, singing: *Kantalōn*, *ī*
- Diving, submerged: *Bāditos*, *ā*, *on*
- Doctor: *Lēgis*, *ōs*
- Doe: *Elantī*, *yās*
- Dog, wolf: *Kū*, *unos*
- Door, gate: *D(w)oron*, *ī*
- Dream, fantasy: *Sownos*, *ī*
- Drinking horn: *Bannyo-*, *ī*
- Driving, riding, in a chariot: *Rēde/o-*
- Drop (drink): *Bannyā*, *ās*
- Druid, arbiter: *Messilos*
- Druid: *Druiss*, *dos*
- Drunk, fed up: *Medwos*, *ā*, *on*
- Dry: *Sispos/sixsos*, *ā*, *on*
- Dry: *Tartos*, *ā*, *on*
- Duel, opposition: *Rakatus*, *ōs*
- Duration, time period: *Remessos*, *i*
- Duty (filial): *Wariyā*, *ās*
- Duty, to be entitled: *Dilig-* (athematic)
- Dwarf: *Korros*, *ā*, *on*

- Ear: *Aw(so)s*, *(se)sos*

- Ear: *Klussā, ās*
- Edge, limit: *Oros, ī*
- Egg: *Āwyon, ī*; *Ogos, esos*
- Elbow: *Olīnā, ās*
- Elder, former: *Ariyos, ī*; *ēuryūs, isos*
- Elected representative, king? : *Dīassus, ōs*
- Elk: *Alki, ōs*
- Elm: *Lemos, ī*
- Eminence, privilege: *Brigantī, yās*
- Enchantment, charm: *Brixton, ī*
- Enclosed place > village (comp.): *Duron, ī*
- Enclosure, hedge of fascines: *Kagyon, ī*
- Enemy: *Nāmantos, ī/ās, atos*
- Era (30 years long), generation: *Saitlo-, ī*
- Establishment, *fundus* - toponym (compare to *bundā*): *Bon(n)to, ās*
- Estuary, tributary: *Adboros, ī/abberos*
- Evening: *Wīxserros, ī*
- Ewe (Ir.): *Kairaxs, kos*
- Excellence, dignity: *Weswā, ās*
- Excellent, fair, very good: *Yānodagos, ā, on*
- Extreme: *Extamos, ā, on*
- Eye, look, appearance: *Derkos, ī*
- Eye: *Ops, os*

F

- Fabric, canvas: *Wegēyā**
- Face, side: *Enipon, ī*
- Face, voice: *Wepo-, ī*
- Falcon: *Wolkos, ī*
- Fallow land: *Samareton, ī*
- False, lie: *Gāwā, ās*
- Family, household: *Tegoslowgos, ī*
- Farm, establishment, hamlet: *Trebā, ās*
- Farmer: *Aratryos, ī*
- Fast, rapid: *Ākus, wī, u*
- Father: *Atīr, ros*
- Fawn: *Alanī, yās*
- Fear: *Obnos, ī*
- Feast, banquet: *Wlidā, ās*
- Female gender: *Tutos, ī*
- Feminine, female: *Banidos, ā, on*
- Fen, valley: *(S)nawdā, ās*
- Fenced field, saltus: *Brogi(ya)lon, ī*
- Ferocious, Wild: *Gargos, ā, on*
- Fibula, hairpin: *Delgos, esos*
- Filter, screen: *Sitlā, ās*
- Finger: *Bissus, ōs*
- Fir: *Sapo-, ī* > *Sapawidous, ōs*
- Fireplace: *Tussilos, ī*
- Firm, tenacious: *Sagros, ā, on*
- Fist: *Durnos, ī*
- Flagstone, Fr. *lauze*: *Lausā, ās*
- Flagstone, slab, gravestone: *Likkā, ās*
- Flesh, nipple (fig.): *Kīkā, ās*
- Flood, river: *Rēnos, ī*
- Floor, surface: *Lāron, ī*
- Flower: *Blātu-, ōs*
- Flute: *Swīpanon, ī*
- Fly, mosquito (f): *Koullis, eos*
- Follower: *Sepānos, ī*
- Food: *Depro-, ī*
- Foot (measurement, 32.5 cm): *Edon, ī*
- Foot: *Koxso-, ī*
- Foot: *Tragēss, etos*
- Ford (Ir. + *yātinon* from the Meldi): *Yātus, ōs*
- Ford: *Ritu, ōs*
- Forest, wood: *Kēton, < Kaiton*
- Forest, wooded area: *Ketya, yas*
- Form, Appearance, Species: *Rixtus, ōs*
- Form, Appearance: *Pritus, ōs*
- Form, image: *Delwā, ās*
- Fortress, enclosure: *Dūnon, ī*
- Fortunate, lucky, graceful: *Suratis, i*
- Fortune: *Raton, ī/or-, ōs*



- Forward: *Exkingos*, *ī*
- Foster brother: *Komaltiyos*, *ī*
- Foster father, dad: *Atta* / *attyos*
- Foster father, maternal uncle, educator: *Altrawū*, *onos*
- Foul, blame, sin: *Karyā*, *ās*
- Fountain, waterfall: *Uxsownnā*, *ās*
- Fountain: *Bornā*, *ās*
- Fox: *Lowernos*, *ī*
- Fragile, brittle: *Bru*
- Free land, wasteland, heath: *Landā*, *ās*

6

- Garden, enclosed field: *Gortos*, *ī*
- Garlic (wild): *Kremus*, *ōs*
- Garlic, leek: *Kanninā*, *ās*
- Generous, healthy: *Bowdilānos*, *ā*, *on*
- Gentle, calm: *Aramos*, *ā*, *on*
- Ghost, specter: *Sēbros*, *ī*
- Giant, champion: *Kawaros*, *ī*
- Gift, present, art: *Dānus*, *ōs*
- Give: *Ro-dā-*, *tyo-bere/o*
- Glazier's hammer, *besaiguë*: *Skotā*, *ās*
- Glory, fame (coll.): *Klutā*, *ās*
- Glory, rumor: *Kluton*, *ī*
- Go to: *Ro-ankī*
- Go, drive: *Age/o* (defective)
- Goat, deer: *Gabros*, *ī*
- Goat: *Gabrā*, *ās*
- God: *Dēwos*, *ī*
- Goddess: *Dēw(iss)to*, *as*
- Gold: *Arganton*, *ī*
- Good, well: *Matus*, *ōs*
- Good: *Dagos*, *ā*, *on*

h

- Hair: *Woltos*, *ī*
- Hall: *Kēliknon*, *ī*
- Ham: *Tuketā*, *ās*
- Hammer: *Ordos*, *ī*
- Hand: *Lāmā*, *ās*

- Free: *Reyos*, *ā*, *on*
- Fresh, pure: *Ūros*, *ā*, *on*
- Friend, parent: *Karantos*, *ī/ās*, *atos*
- Front, face: *Talus*, *ōs*
- Froth, foam: *Yestā*, *ās*
- Fruit: *Agranon*, *a*
- Full, complete: *Lānos*, *ā*, *on*
- Funeral Song: *Marunatā*
- Furniture: *Andosedon*, *ī*
- Furrow: *Rikā*, *ās*

- Good: *Mānus*, *wi*, *u*
- Goose: *Gēdā*, *ās*
- Gorse, juniper: *Axtīnos*, *ī*
- Grain: *Grānon*, *ī*
- Grandchild, descendant: *Awos*, *ī/awā*, *ās*
- Grandfather: *Senatīr*, *ros*
- Grandmother: *Senamātīr*, *ros*
- Grass, pasture: *Weltā*, *ās*
- Grass: *Wegron*, *ī*
- Grave mound, heap: *Krowko-*, *ī/ā*, *ās*
- Gravel, pebble: *Graūs*, *wos*
- Gray, which has a white spot: *Blāros*, *ā*, *on*
- Gray: *Letos*, *ā*, *on*
- Great burdock: *Betidolā*, *ās*
- Great-grand-child: *Ariawos*, *ī/ā*, *ās*
- Green oak, oak: *Tannos*, *ī*
- Group of 3 riders: *Trimarkisyā*, *ās*
- Guarantee, pledge (good): *Rātā*, *ās*
- Guarantor: *Makkos*, *ī*
- Gudgeon (fish): *Gobyū*, *onos*

- Hand adze, *rouanne* (cooper's tool): *Rukani*, *ōs*
- Hangard: *Woligā*, *ās*
- Happy: *Lawenos*, *ā*, *on*
- Hard: *Kaletos*, *ā*, *on*
- Harmful, unfavorable: *Anmatus*, *wi*, *u*

- Harvester: *Metelos, ī*
- Hazel tree: *Kollos, ī*
- Hazelnut: *Knoū, owos/onos*
- Hazelnut: *Kowā, ās*
- Hazelnuts, picking: *Knusto-, i*
- Head, top: *Barros, ī*
- Head: *Pennos, ī*
- Headquarters: *Sedlon, ī*
- Healthy, well: *Slānos, ā, on*
- Healthy, well: *Yakkos, ā, on*
- Hear: *Klu(s)īye/o*
- Heart: *Kridyon, ī*
- Heath: *Landā, ās*
- Heavy, sad: *Brugnos, ā, on*
- Heavy: *Trummos, ā, on*
- Hedge, field enclosure: *Gortos, ī - Kagon, ī*
- Hedge mustard (*sisymbrium officinale*): *Welā, ās*
- Heel: *Sātlā, ās*
- Heifer: *Anderā, ās*
- Heifer: *Tarwinā, ās*
- Heir: *Orbyos, ī*
- Henbane, Apollinaris: *Belenūs, ontos?*
- Herd, livestock: *Selwanos, ī*
- Hero: *Lātis, ēs*
- Heron: *Kō(w)rkyo-, ī*
- Hetaera (*solī- = guard?*): *Soliduryos, ī*
- High ground, wooded hill: *Rossos, ī*
- High: *Uxsellos, ā, on*
- High, noble: *Axros, ā, on*
- Hill, height: *Brigā, ās*
- Hive (< bark): *Rūskā, ās*
- Hog, wild boar: *Torkos, ī*
- Hold: *Delge/o*
- Hold, possess: *Gabī-*
- Hole, pierced: *Tullos, ā, on*
- Holiness: *Noybyā, ās*
- Hollow, bowl, water hole: *Tullon, a*
- Hollow: *Krosos, ā, on*
- Holy (adj.): *Noybos, ī*
- Holy Center: *Medyolanon, ī*
- Honest, modest: *Wēlyos, ā, on*
- Honesty: *Wēliyā, ās*
- Honorable, decent: *Dekās, antos*
- Hood, balaclava: *Kukullos, ī*
- Hooded coat reaching to the middle back: *Karakallā, ās*
- Hooded short coat: *Birron, ī*
- Horn, trumpet: *Karnuxs, kos*
- Horse: *Epos, ī; Markos, ī - Kabalos, ī*
- Horseman, knight: *Eporēdos, ī*
- Host: *(Kon)gēstlos, ī*
- Hot: *Tēmamos, ā, on*
- House: *Tegos, esos/Tégyā, yās*
- Human being (excluding clan): *(X)donyos, ī*
- Hunting dog: *Selgokū, ounos*
- Hunting: *Selgā, ās*
- Hut, sheepfold: *Butā, ās*
- Hut: *Attegyā, ās*

I

- Ice (f): *Yagis, ōs*
- Impedigo: *Derwetā, ās*
- Infatuated: *Roburros, ā, on*
- Inflated, swollen; proud: *Burros, ā, on*
- Inhabitant: *Attrebatīs, ōs*

J

- Javelin: *Gaisos, ī*
- Injustice: *Ankridyā, ās*
- Intelligent: *Britumāros, ā, on*
- Iron: *Īsarnon, ī*
- Island: *Inissī, yās*
- Javelin equipped with a strap: *Traglā, ās*



- Jaws: *Genowes*
- Judge (OIr. *brithem*): *Barnawnos*, *ī*
- Judgment, burden: *Britā*, *ās*
- Judgment, measure: *Messus*, *ōs*
- Judgment, proclamation (< ber-); praise, prayer (< gwrh-): *Brātus*, *ōs*

K

- Kelp, seaweed: *Wimmonā*, *ās*
- Kidney: *Āru*, *onos*
- Kill: *Orge/o*
- Killer: *Orgēss*, *etos*
- Kind: *Karateyos*, *ā*, *on*
- King: *Rīxs*, *rīgos*

L

- Lake: *Loku*, *ōs*
- Lamb: *Ownos*, *ī*
- Lamentable: *Brugnatyos*, *ā*, *on*
- Lamentation (clapping hands): *Bostogaryon*, *ī*
- Land, cereal field: *Itulandā*, *ās*
- Land (adj), in the direction of travel: *Brogidos*, *ā*, *on*
- Land, unsuitable land: *Landā*, *ās*
- Land, soil (rare): *Talamū*, *onos*
- Land, territory: *Tīros*, *esos*
- Land: *Litawī*, *tos*
- Language, ethnicity: *Yextis*, *eos**
- Language: *Tangwās*, *ados* > *tangwā*, *ās**
- Larch: *Melatyā*, *yās*
- Large quantity: *Imbeton*, *ī*
- Large: *Litanos*, *ā*, *on*
- Lark: *Alawdā*, *ās*
- Lath, pole, rod: *Slattā*, *ās*
- Lattice door: *Doratyā*, *ās*
- Law, tribe (Ir. *cáin*): *Kāgnis*, *yōs* (f)
- Law: *Kom(/b)rextus*, *ī*
- Leader, noble, lord: *Wellawnos*, *ī*
- Leaf(s): *Dōlā*, *ās*
- Leather bag: *Bulgā*, *ās*
- Left, North: *Towtos*, *ā*, *on*

- Judgment, reflection: *Britus*, *ōs* (f)
- Judgment: *Barnaman*, *os*
- Juniper: *Axtīnos*, *ī*
- Just, right: *Yānos*, *ā*, *on*

- Kiss, peck, mouth (Ir. *pōc*, *poice*): *Bōkkā*, *ās*
- Kite (bird): *Skublo-*, *ī*
- Knee: *Glūnos*, *esos*
- Knife, chopping board: *Skēnā*, *ās*
- Know: *Gnīye/o*

- Leg, hock: *Garrā*, *ās*
- Leg: *Koxsā*, *ās*
- Legal action, complaint: *Adgaryon*, *ī*
- Legal representative: *(Dī)assus*, *ōs*
- Leper: *Truxos*, *ī*
- Light brown, dun: *Gilwos*, *ā*, *on*
- Limit, milestone: *Antos*, *ī*
- Lineage, parents: *Rogen(es)yā*, *ās*
- Liquid > pond, drink (pl?): *Lindon*, *ī*
- Live, settle, farm: *Ad·trebā-*
- Livestock, flock: *Selwanos*, *ī*
- Living: *Biwos*, *ā*, *on*
- Load: *Lu(n)ge/o*
- Loading: *Luxtus*, *ōs*
- Loaf of (barley) bread: *Baraginā*, *ās*
- Location (2.45 km): *Le(gu)kā*
- Loach: *Lawkkā*, *ās*
- Long, lasting (*sissamos*): *Sīros*, *ā*, *on*
- Long: *Kenos*, *ā*, *on*
- Look for, tend to: *Sagye/o-*
- Look: *Amarko-*, *ī*
- Lord, prince: *Tigernos*, *ī*
- Love, cherish: *Karā-*
- Love, desire, appreciate: *Lubī-*
- Love, passion: *Serkā*, *ās*
- Loyal, sincere, fair: *Kowīros*, *ā*, *on*

M

- Magic: *Brixtā, ās*
- Magic: *Soyton, ī*
- Magician, satirist: *Brixtlos, ī*
- Magnanimous: *Anatimāros, ā, on*
- Male, pee-pee: *Motus, ōs - Būssus*
- Malt: *Brakis, ōs*
- Malt residue, drech: *Drasikā, ās*
- Man, husband, adult of a clan: *Wiros, ī*
- Mangy, leprous: *Truxos, ā, on*
- Manly, male: *Wir(i)dos, ā, on*
- Manner, customs (pl): *Bēssus, ōs*
- Many: *Mantis, i*
- Mare: *Kassikā, ās*
- Marks the middle of the month: *Atenoux, ?*
- Market, Domain, Country: *Brogi, ōs*
- Marne: *Margā, ās*
- Marrow, fat: *Smeru-, ōs*
- Marten, weasel: *Martalos, ī?*
- Master, steward: *Danos, ī*
- Maternal aunt: *Matripī, iās*
- Matron, housemistress: *Matronā, ās*
- Mattress, pillow: *Kulkitā, ās*
- Mead: *Medu, ōs*
- Meadow, pasture: *Klownyā, ās*
- Meadowsweet: *Rowdaron, ī/rowdarā*
- Measure from 100 to 150 feet on the side (10.55 m2): *Kantedon, ī*
- Measure of wheat (handful): *Bostiā, ās*
- Member: *Ballos, ī*
- Memory: *Komman, os*
- Menu, small: *Menwos, ā, on*
- Mercenary (< weapon): *Gaisatis, yōs*
- Middle Earth: *Bitus, ōs (m)*
- Middle, central: *Medyos, ā, on*
- Milk: *Blixtus, ōs*
- Mine: *Minā, ās*
- Mint: *Mentā, ās*
- Mom, nanny: *Mammā/ī (inv.)*
- Monkfish: *Lottā, ās*
- Morelle: *Skobilū, onos*
- Morning (tomorrow) use with preposition (in): *Bāregos, i*
- Mother-in-law: *Swekrus, ōs*
- Mother: *Mātīr, tros*
- Mount, tumulus: *Tumbos, ī*
- Mountain, coast: *Sleibos, ī (Ir.)*
- Mountain, eminence: *Moniyo-, ī*
- Mouth: *Genu, ōs*
- Mouth (inf.): *Kabu, ōs*
- Mouth: *Eniboros/Inberos, ī*
- Mouthpiece: *Genawā, ās*
- Movable possession, herd: *Selwā, ās*
- Mud, dirt: *Lūton, ī*
- Mud, muck: *Bawā, ās*
- Mud, silt, swamp: *Lati, ōs*
- Muddy spring: *Borwā, ās*
- Mugwort: *Brīginos, ī*
- Murder: *Orgeno-, ī*
- Muscle, meat: *Kīko-, ī*
- Mystic, mysterious: *Run(i)dyos, ā, on*

N

- Nail, iron peg: *Tarinkā, ās*
- Name: *Anwan, anos*
- Narrow: *Angus, wī, u*
- Navel (> belly): *Botinā, ās*
- Navel: *Amb(i)lū, onos*
- Navigation, crossing: *Moritixtā, ās*
- Neck (f): *Monis, eos*
- Needle: *(S)nātēyā/snatantā, ās*
- Nephew: *Neuss, otos**
- New: *Nowiyos, ā, on*
- Nickname: *Komanwan, anos*
- Niece: *Nextī, yās*



- Night: *Noxs, tos*
- Noble, dignitary: *Brigantis, ōs* (Brit.)
- Noble, magistrate, steward: *Dan(n)os, ī*
- Noise: *Bruxtus, ōs*
- North: *Towtos, on*

O

- Oak: *Derwos, ī* > *derwā - Kāssanos, ī*
- Oath: *Lugyon, ī - Oytos, ī*
- Octosyllable, sung word of Welete: *Brixtu, ōs*
- Offer in return for a vow: *Ē·wera-*
- Offering in return for a vow: *Ēweron, ī*
- Officer: *Luxteryos, ī*
- Old, ancient: *Senos, ā, on*
- Old: *Kottos, ā, on*
- Omen: *Kaylo-, ī*
- Omnipotent: *Komoxtyākos, ā, on*

P

- Palm: *Bostā, ās*
- Parent, family: *Wenis, ōs*
- Parents, lineage: *Rogen(is)yā, ās*
- Feast, celebration: *Lītu-, ōs*
- Pass away (death): *Tre·ankī-*
- Passion: *Pantā, ās*
- Pastel: *Glasson, ī*
- Pasture, grass: *Weltā, ās*
- Paternal: *Atriyos, ā, on*
- Path, trail: *Kamminon*
- Patient: *Sergyos, ī*
- Paw, claw: *Wränkā, ās*
- Peace: *Tankos, ī*
- Pelisse, open cape lined with fur (Fr. *gonne*): *Gunnā, ās*
- Penalty, fine: *Dīryon, ī*
- Penis (< hub): *Bussu, ōs*
- Pennyroyal: *Albolon, ī*
- People: *Towtā, ās*
- Perforated, pierced: *Tullos, ā, on*
- Perjury: *Anoytos, ī*

- Nose, nostril (> trowel, wrinkles): *Drōgnā, ās*
- Nose, snout: *Trugnā, ās*
- Nostalgia, languor: *Sīraxtā, ās*
- Note: *Awtāgis, ōs*
- Nude: *Noxtos, ā, on*

- One year old sow: *Wessis, ōs*
- One-eyed (N + adj.): *Kaikos, ī*
- Ore, metal, lead: *Mēnis, ōs*
- Otherworld (hell): *Anddubnos, ī*
- Outcome, offshoot: *Trogos, ī*
- Outlaw: *Aw(/b)rextus, ōs*
- Oven: *Ātis, ēs* (f)
- Owl, barn-owl: *Kawannos, ī*
- Owner with land: *Attextos, ī*
- Ownership, domicile: *Attrebā, ās*
- Ox, wild stag: *Oxsus, ōs*

- Pewter: *Dagnon, ī*
- Picking, cutting (of flowers): *Knusto-, i*
- Picture, shape: *Delwā, ās*
- Piece, thing, bit: *Pettyā, ās*
- Pig: *Sukkos, ī; orkos, ī*
- Piglet: *Banwos, ī*
- Piglet: *Orkos, ī*
- Pike: *Esōxs lewkyos*
- Pike: *Lankyā, ās*
- Pinch: *Pinkyō-, ī*
- Pine: *Daglā, ās*
- Pious: *Dēwokaros, ā, on*
- Pitcher, pot: *Brokkā, ās*
- Plain, clearing: *Klāros, ī*
- Plain, field (rare, SW): *Akito-, ī*
- Plain, field, meeting place: *Magos, esos*
- Plain, square: *Lānon, ī*
- Plant for veterinary use growing in a humid environment (chickwort?): *Sāmolon, ī*
- Plant of the feet: *Bundā, ās*

- Plantain (bull's tongue): *Tarwotangwātyon, ī*
- Plantain: *Sentulitano-, ī*
- Pleasant, tender: *Meldos, ā, on*
- Pledge, deposit: *Atenowon, ī*
- Pledge, guarantor: *Kongēstlon, ī*
- Plow (handle): *Kenkto-, ī*
- Plowshare (< snout): *Sukkon, ī*
- Plowed uncultivated field: *Artikā, ās*
- Poem of exchange: *Dōgnā, ās*
- Poem, bardic song: *Natā, ās*
- Poem, gift, present: *Dānon, ī*
- Poet: *Prityos, ī*
- Poetic inspiration, wealth: *Anawo-, ī*
- Poetry: *Pritā, ās*
- Point, promontory: *Okelo-, ī* (Celtib., N. British)
- Poisonous herb used to coat arrows (hellebore?): *Limeon, ī*
- Pollard tree, sacred tree: *Bilyos, ī/bilyā*
- Pony, trotter: *Mandus, ōs*
- Poor, miserable, sad: *Trowgos, ā, on*
- Poor, weak, needy: *Tlātis, ī*
- Poor: *Koyos, ā, on*
- Pork, wild boar: *Mokkos, ī; torkos, ī*
- Pork: *Sukkos, ī*
- Power, ability: *Galā, ās*
- Prairie: *Ētu-, ōs*
- Praise: *Molatus, ōs*
- Praise, Bardic Poem: *Natu(s), ōs*
- Praise, glorify: *Molā-*
- Prayer: *Wedyā, ās*
- Precious, prestigious: *Brīgomāros, ā, on*
- Premium, excellent: *Arik(an)os, ā, on*
- Prestige, power, authority: *Brīgā, ās*
- Presumption: *Komburryā, ās*
- Price, purchase: *Pritā, ās*
- Pride, infatuation: *Burryā, ās*
- Prince, great: *Magalos, ī*
- Prince, king (Belg.), 'First,': *Rēmos, ī*
- Prince, noble: *Wlatos, ī*
- Private land loaned by a lord to a client, fief: *Andekingā, ās*
- Profitable: *Bowdimāros, ā, on*
- Prophecy, satire: *Wātu-, ōs*
- Prostitute, dyke: *Gotinā, ās*
- Protect: *Anege/o*
- Protection, cover: *Togyā, ās*
- Proud: *Yānobalkos, ā, on*
- Provide: *Tyo-werā*
- Provided: *Tussos, ī*
- Punch: *Durnatos, ī*
- Puppy: *Kolignon, ī*

Q

- Quantity, size, a lot: *Manti, yās*

R

- Rabies: *Ambibaro-, ī*
- Rage, fury: *Būryon, ī*
- Rage, madness, rut: *Kondaryā, ās*
- Raid: *Wextis, yōs*
- Rain, downpour, shower: *Wolkos, ī*
- Rain, light, storm: *Kassarā, ās*
- Rank: *Brīgā, ās*
- Rare: *Gandos, ā, on*
- Raw, rough: *Omos, ā, on*
- Queen: *Riganī, yās*
- Razor: *Altinā, ās*
- Red, bloody (Ir., Lusit.): *Dergos, ā, on*
- Red, ginger: *Rowdos, ā, on*
- Reed foam (med. Plant): *Adarkā, ās*
- Relic, sacred object: *Kredron, ī/kredris*
- Renown (nn): *Kluton, ī*
- Reply: *Ate-spā-*
- Rescue: *wo-rete/o; wo-tepe/o*
- Rib: *Ašnos, ī*



- Right, law, status: *Rextus*, *ōs*
- Right, south: *Dexsiwos*, *ā*, *on*
- Rigid, patient: *Drawsos*, *ā*, *on*
- Rim, (edge of a) circle: *Kantos*, *ī*
- Ring jewel: *Bissawā*, *ās*
- Ritual of disenchantment, weakening? : *Massitlātīdā*, *ās*
- River: *Abonā*, *ās* = *abenā* = *aba* (Germ.); *Abus*, *ōs*? (< *abon-s*, *aben-s*)
- Rock (non-Celt.): *Rokkā*, *ās* (Gaul.)
- Rock, reef: *Barenā*, *ās*
- Rock, stone: *Klukā*, *ās*
- Rocky terrain: *Barenāko-*
- Root, radish: *Wridyo-*, *ī*
- Rope, chain: *Sokā*, *ās*
- Rotten: *Bragnis*, *i*
- Rotten, peaty, uncultivated place: *Braknā*, *ās*
- Round object, harp: *Krottos*, *ī*
- Round, not straight, turned (see Wallo-Picard *cronde*, *e*): *Krundis*, *i*
- Rowan: *Kēros*, *ī* = *kerotannos*, *ī*
- Run: *Rete/o*
- Running Dog, Hound: *Wertragos*, *ī*

S

- Saber (OIr. *faibur*, Latin *vibro*): *Waibrus* > *wēbrus*, *ōs*
- Sacrifice; offering: *Appertā*, *ās*
- Sage: *Suwiss*, *back*
- Sailor: *Moritēxs*, *ēgos*
- Saint, venerable, brilliant: *Kāssis*, *i*
- Salmon (variety from the Rhine): *Ankorakū*, *onos*
- Salmon: *Esōxs*, *kos*
- Salt: *Salanos*, *ī* / *salinos*, *ī*
- Salt: *Swālos*, *ī*
- *Saltus*, fenced field: *Brogi(ya)los*, *ī*
- Sanctuary, Temple: *Nemeton*, *ī*
- Sand, gravel: *Grawā*, *ās*
- Sandy ground: *Akawnomargā*, *ās*
- Satire: *Duskantlos*, *ī*
- Satisfaction of a wish: *Areweron*, *ī*
- Say, declare, speak: *Yeke/o-*
- Scarlet: *Kokkos*, *ā*, *on*
- Scarlet pimpernel (rich in saponin): *Sapanā*, *ās*
- Science: *Wissus*, *ōs*
- Sculpin: *Kottos gobyū*
- Sea: *Mori*, *ōs*
- Search, try: *Sagiti-*
- Seaweed: *Doliskos*, *ī*
- Sedition, treachery: *Braton*, *ī*
- See: *Pisa/o*
- Seer: *Wātis*, *ōs*
- Seer, prophet, chaplain: *Welēss*, *etos*
- Seer, sorceress: *Widlwā*, *ās*
- Seizure: *Ategabaglā*, *ās*
- Senate: *Arextu*, *ōs*
- Senior, elder (< *ayu-ro-is*): *Ēuryūs*, *isos*
- Senior, lord, senator: *Aryos*, *ī* (< *are* = who precedes? Or perh. 'offer')
- Servant: *Ninnos*, *ī/a*, *ās*
- Servant, foster son, dependent (from father): *Magus*, *ōs*
- Sex, gender: *Ďlondo-*, *ī*
- Shad: *Alausā*, *ās*
- Shame, redness: *Roukkyā*, *ās*
- Shame: *Meblā*, *ās*
- Sheep, lamb: *Owis*, *ōs*
- Sheep: *Damatos*, *ī*
- Sheet, garment: *Brattos*, *ī*
- Shelter: *Woligā*, *ās*
- Shepherd: *Owigaryos*, *ī*
- Shield: *Skēton*, *ī*
- Shirt: *Krissus*, *ōs*
- Shoemaker: *Kariyos*, *ī*
- Shore, slope of a hill: *Alton*, *ī*
- Shore: *Glandā* > *glannā*, *ās*
- Short: *Birros*, *on*
- Shoulder: *Skētā*, *ās*
- Side, flank: *Ďlissi-*, *ōs*

- Side: *Toybos, ī*
- Sieve, screen: *Sītlā, ās*
- Sigh: *Ouxsanatā, ās*
- Silent: *Taw(s)os, ā, on*
- Silt, sediment, bottom: *Legā, ās*
- Silver: *Arganton, ī* (also gold)
- Similar, like: *Samalis, i*
- Simple, easy, flat: *Redi, i*
- Sing: *Kane/o*
- Sister: *Swesur, oros*
- Sit down: *Assedā-*
- Skins (clothing): *Krokinā, ās*
- Sky: *Nemos, esos*
- Slab, tombstone: *Likkā, ās*
- Slave: *Kaxtos, ī/Kamulā, ās*
- Slayer, breaker: *Bogyos, ī*
- Slicing, killing: *tre·ankā-*
- Sloe (N of the Seine): *Bullukā, ās*
- Sloe (Southern Gaul): *Agranyū, onos*
- Slope, embankment: *Talūtyon, ī*
- Slow, lazy: *Dīākus, wī, u*
- Slow, lazy: *Liscos, ā, on*
- Slow, lazy: *Mallos, ā, on*
- Small wolf, young animal: *Kanawon, ī*
- Small, last: *Andamos, ā, on*
- Small, mediocre: *Lagus, wī, u*
- Small, weak: *Lowos, ā, on*
- Small: *Bekkos, ā, on*
- Small: *Bezgos, ā, on?*
- Smith: *Gobess, annos, edbo*
- Snake: *Natrixs, ikos*
- Soft, sweet, tender: *Blātis, i*
- Soil that's very fertile and arable, *restibulus: Olkā, ās*
- Son, boy: *Mapos, ī*
- Son, daughter: *Gnātos, ī/ā, ās*
- Soul, *anima: Anatyon, ī*
- Soul, spirit, dead: *Anamū, onos (m)*
- Sound: *Brenno-, ī*
- Sow: *Trogyā, yās*
- Spell, destiny (action): *Tonknaman, manos*
- Spindle, distaff, tela: *Wegadyā, ās*
- Spotted lark: *Bardalā, ās*
- Spouse, consort: *Komprinnos, ī*
- Spring: *Berus, ōs*
- Spring, fountain: *Andownā, ās*
- Squirrel: *Wīweros, ī*
- Stars (collective): *Ďirā, ās*
- Steer, cattle (domestic horned beast): *Damos, ī*
- Steward, butler: *Smertulos, ī*
- Stone: *Akawnon, ī*
- Stone, place (pl.): *Maginon, ī*
- Stool: *Tripettyā, ās*
- Story, tale: *Skētlon, ī*
- Strain: *Ďukkā, ās*
- Stranger (to the country): *Allobrogis, ōs*
- Stranger (to the people): *Allotowtos, ī*
- Street, road: *Sentus, ōs*
- Strength, power, skill: *Nerton, ī*
- Strength, power: *Trexsyā, ās*
- Strong, brave, swaggering, thick, big: *Brassos, on*
- Strong, powerful: *Sunartis, i*
- Strong, skillful, clever: *Kalmiyos, ā, on*
- Strong, valiant; Luxurious: *Drutos, ā, on*
- Strong, full-bodied: *Kremos, ā, on*
- Strong: *Balkos, ā, on*
- Strong: *Trexsos, ā, on*
- Subdivision ('loaned' to a serf): *Andekingā, ās*
- Summer: *Samos, ī*
- Summit, peak: *Barros, ī*
- Summoner: *Gutuatīr, tros*
- Sun ; [shawōl] > saūl: *Sōl, soūlos > sōlis?*
- Superior: *Uxsedyos, ā, on*
- Support, post: *Klitā, ās*
- Supreme: *Wertamos, ā, on*
- Suzerain, patron (noble): *Uxsellos, ī*
- Swallow?, Lapwing: *Wannallos, ī*



- Swamp: *Lutā, ās*
- Swampy, peaty land: *Brakus, ōs*
- Swan: *Elayos, yī*
- Swear: *To(n)ge/o*
- Sweet, pleasant (= honey): *Melissos, ā, on*

T

- Tail: *Losso-, ī*
- Take possession: *Textosagī-*
- Talus, mound, tumulus: *Dumyon, ī*
- Tax collector: *Argantodanos / Arkantodānos, ī*
- Teaching, lesson: *Werkantalos, ī*
- Tear: *Dakron, ī*
- Temple (anatomy): *Arawsyā, ās*
- Tench: *Tinkā, ās*
- Terminal, umbilicus (< *bozdo-*): *Botinā, ās*
- Terror: *Ariobnos, ī*
- Theft, robbery: *Dībergā, ās*
- Thick wool yarn: *Linnā, ās*
- Thick, dense: *Tegus, wī, u*
- Thin, narrow: *Koylos, ā, on*
- Thin, slight: *Tanawos, ā, on*
- Thinking: *Menman, os*
- Thorny gorse, furze (heath gorse): *Togyā, ās*
- Thought, reflection: *Britus, ōs (f)*
- Thread: *(S)nāton, ī*
- Throat, neck, throat: *Brāgās, antos*
- Thrown weapon, boomerang?: *Kateyā, ās*
- Time, trip: *Trātu, ōs*
- Time: *Amman, -manos - ammesserā, ās*
- Tinned copper object: *Inkoxtiliā, ās*
- Tip, horn, top: *Bānnā, ās/bennā*

U

- Udder, milk pot: *Sanyā, ās*
- Ultimate, extreme: *Ossimyos, ā, on*
- Uncle: *Awontīr, tros*

- Sweet, pleasant, docile: *Mēnos, ā, on*
- Sweet, sweet, sweet: *Swādus, wī, u*
- Swineherd: *Mokkyatis, ōs*
- Sword, thrust (Bret.): *Kalgo-, ī*
- Sword: *Kladiyos, ī*

- Tired (Walloon *sketed* 'broken'): *Skītos, ā, on*
- Toad: *Kroxantos, ī*
- Tomb, ditch: *Klasson, ī*
- Tomb, vault: *(Wo)derkos, ī*
- Thunder: *Taranā, ās*
- Tooth: *Dant, os (n)*
- Top: *Ardwos, ā, on*
- Torque: *Torko-, ī*
- Torrent, stream: *Šrutwā, ās*
- Tour, cycle: *Trogos, ī*
- Track, trace: *Lorgos, ī*
- Tray, large vase: *Bakkos*
- Tree, wood: *Prennon, ī*
- Tree: *Widus, ōs*
- Trench: *Kladyā, yās*
- Tribute (Ir. *cumal*): *Kamulos, ī/a, ās*
- Tripe shop: *Omasson, ī*
- Troop, assembled and armed: *Koryos, ī*
- Troop: *Slowgos, ī*
- Trough: *Kumbos, ī*
- Trout: *Troxtā, ās*
- True, fair: *Wīroyānos, ā, on*
- True: *Wīros, ā, on*
- Trunk: *Belyon, ī - Būssus (sex)*
- Truth: *Wīroyāniyā, ās*
- Turner (< *wrt-wes*): *Writues, sos*
- Two hands together, two handfuls (unit of measure): *Ambostā, ās*

- Uncultivated, rotten place: *Braknā, ās*
- Undergrowth: *Wokēton, ī*
- Unfortunate, disgraceful: *Duratis, ī*

- Unhappy, poor: *Trugantos*, *ī/ēs*, *etos*

V

- Valiant: *Agomāros*, *ā*, *on*
- Valley: *Kumbā*, *ās*
- Valley, flat valley: *Tnowon*, *ā**, *panto*
- Valley, stream: *Nantu-*, *ōs*
- Valley: *Glendos*, *esos*
- Vassal, registered (adj.): *Wassellos*, *ī*
- Vassal, young man.: *wassos*, *ī*
- Vegetable, plant: *Lubā*, *ās/is**
- Vengeance: *Dīwixtā*, *ās*
- Vetch: *Wikos*, *ī/ā*, *ās*
- Victorious, wealthy: *Bowdikos*, *ā*, *on*
- Victory, advantage (rare word): *Kobos*, *ī*
- Victory, profit: *Bōwdi*, *ōs*
- Virgin (< heifer): *Anderā*, *ās?*
- Virtue, thanks: *Raton*, *ī/or-*, *ōs*
- Vision, view: *Amarko-*, *ī*
- Voice: *Goutus*, *ōs*
- Vulva (fork): *Gabalos*, *ī*

W

- Wait, breathe, take a break: *Anā-*
- Walking: *Kenge/o*
- Wall, earthwork, rampart > strong: *Rāti(s)*, *ōs*
- Wall germander: *Erinon*, *ī*
- War song, praise: *Barditos*, *ī*
- Warlike ardor: *Āgi-*, *yōs*
- Warranty, safety: *Gistlā*
- Warrior, infantryman: *Kingēs*, *etos*
- Wasps (collective pl): *Woxsī*
- Wasteland, heath, sylvia: *Landā*, *ās*
- Wasteland: *Bodikā*, *ās*
- Water lily: *Baditis*, *ōs*
- Water milfoil: *Beliocantos*, *i*
- Water: *Dubron*, *ī*
- Watercress: *Berurā*, *ās*
- Wave: *Tunnā*, *ās*
- Weak: *Wannos*, *ā*, *on*
- Weapons (coll.): *Gaisati*, *yōs*
- Weather: *Sīnā*, *ās*
- Weaver: *Wegēdos*, *ī*
- Weaving, weave: *Wegyon*, *ī*
- Weevil: *Karantynos*, *ī*
- Wetland, slope, bog: *Wagnā*, *ās*
- Wet: *Wlipos*, *ā*, *on*
- Whetstone: *Passernixs*, *kos*
- Whey: *Mēsgos*, *ī*
- White: *Windos*, *ā*, *on*
- Whitebeam: *Alisyā*, *yās*
- White, glossy: *Argyos*, *ā*, *on*
- White hellebore: *Laginon*, *ī*
- Wicker: *Wītu-*, *ōs*
- Wide, vast: *Werus*, *wī*, *or*
- Widow: *Widwā*, *ās*
- Wife, Companion: *Sent(ik)ī*, *yās*
- Wild: *Alattus*, *wī*, *u*
- Wild thyme: *Gilaros*, *ī*
- Willow (gray): *Salixs*, *kos* > *Salikā*, *ās*
- Willow, wicker branch: *Wītu-*, *ōs*
- Windrow, stride (unit of measure?): *Andāgni*, *ōs*
- Winter: *Giamos*, *i*
- Wisdom, prudence, reason: *Pēllā*, *ās* - *kondos*
- Without fear: *Exobnos*, *ā*, *on*
- Witnesses: *Kantipisonts*, *tos*
- Wolf: *Bledyos*, *ī*
- Woman: *Bena*, *ās/bano-* (comp °)
- Wood, forest: *Widwā*, *ās*
- Woodworm, caterpillar: *Dolbā*, *ās*
- Wool → *wlānā* (collective): *Wlānon*
- Wool coat: *Sagon*, *ī*
- Wool sheet: *Wlanillā*, *ās*
- World (from below): *Dubnos*, *ī*



- Worm (f): *Primis, eos*

Y

- Year: *Blēd(a)nī = blēdā, ās*
- Yellow, blond: *Badyos, ā, on*
- Yellow: *Melinos, on*
- Yesterday: *(G)des*
- Yew: *Eburos, ī - Īwos, ī*
- Wounded, trampled: *Brusus, ā, on*
- Yoke: *Yugon, ī*
- Young girl: *Morugenā, ās*
- Young: *Yowankos, ā, on*
- Youth: *Yowantūs, tos*

Sources : DLG 2003, LG 1994, EDPC 2009, IEW 1959-69, LXG 2004, DELF 1964



Larzac Tablet



Map showing the placement of Gaulish inscriptions in different epigraphic zones



7. Epigraphic Analysis

This section very modestly aims to examine some documents brought to light by archaeological research, and to attempt their interpretation as well as morphosyntactic analysis. Similarly, the analysis will sometimes focus on a few very short (one- or two-word) inscriptions which will be displayed in a historical and archaeological context. To interpret an inscription, different perspectives must be taken into account:

① The nature of the medium:

Allows recognition of the function and/or general content of the inscription.

- Stone inscriptions, monuments: votive, dedicatory or funerary content
- Lead inscriptions: magical texts, *defixio*
- Graffiti on ceramics: private documents (name of the creator or owner, labels, etc.)
- Graffiti on spindle weights: romantic notes.

② The archaeological context:

Provides information about the era and, therefore, the nature of the language (Old or Late Gaulish) as well as on the nature of the document (e.g., part of a monument).

③ Linguistic tools:

Used to make language dictionaries (see Delamarre DLG), collections of the inscriptions, and comparisons with medieval Celtic languages (especially Old Irish).

Documents in Gaulish can be found written in three alphabets: the North-Etruscan (Leponitic or Lugano) alphabet, the Greek alphabet, and the Latin alphabet. They are classified into three epigraphic groups: Gallo-Etruscan (located in the north-east of the Po Valley), Gallo-Greek (in the regions of Marseille and the Rhone Delta), and Gallo-Latin.

These three categories will be discussed by reviewing a number of different analyses.

It should be kept in mind, however, that most of these documents were written by people who were not what we might call “educated”, especially in the late period, when writing had become commonplace. Their knowledge was very rudimentary and orthography was non-existent (no Gaulish Academy to defend the purity of the language!). For comparison, I’ll quote the example of an inscription I made on a toy as a child (a wooden barrier): ONEPEPAPASE for *on ne peut pas passer* ‘we can not pass’. This resembles the way in which period documents would be written: without punctuation or space, in an approximate phonetic spelling (with the same sounds sometimes rendered in different ways in the same text). To view the epigraphic documents in their entirety, consult the appendices.

7.1 GALLO-ETRUSCAN

The most novel feature of the Gallo-Etruscan corpus is bilingualism (Gaulish-Latin). While the inscribed stones of Todi and Vercelli lack archaeological context, their bilingualism supposes

some advancement of the Roman conquests, thus a dating in the second half of the 3rd Century BC or earlier.

Bilingual Inscription from Todi

An inscription found in 1839 near Todi, Umbria. Held in the Gregorian Etruscan Museum, Vatican. It is a block of travertine 20 cm thick, 60 cm wide and 60 cm high. Not only is the inscription bilingual, but it has been repeated on both sides A and B, with some minor changes.

① Translation:

- Lat., A = B: “The tomb of Ategnatos son of Drutos, it is his younger brother, Coisis son of Drutos, who established and raised this”
- Gaul. A: “Coisis son of Drutos erected the tomb of Ategnatos son of Drutos”
- Gaul. B: “Coisis son of Drutos established the tomb of Ategnatos son of Drutos”.

② Notes:

Among the oldest Gaulish texts, the main point of interest is the verb *karni(n)tu*.

- Very difficult to analyze, this verb has been interpreted as an imperfect used as a preterite (Eska). However, we could have the past (aorist) of an old denominative verb in this case (see the section on conjugation). It is possible that for some of these verbs, aspect gives tense; e.g. *I get up* (imperf. present, reflexive, durative), *I am up* (perfect, intransitive, stative), *I got up* (aorist, transitive, completion).
→ *Karnit-u* would be a 3rd p. sg. aorist compounded with a *-u* suffix (derived from an imperfective), rather than a sigmatic aorist form (causative and transitive formation derived from a stative root).
- Suffixing: *-u* could be a 3rd p. sg. pronoun. and *-us* a 3rd p. redundant pronoun in the instrumental/ablative of direct cases (subject or object). For more details, see IEURU below.

Bilingual Inscription from Vercelli

A block found in Vercelli, in a gravel pit on the banks of the Sesia, in 1960. It is assumed that this block was once standing at the edge of the river. Held in the Vercelli Museum, this block has imposing dimensions (1.5 m tall, 70 cm wide, 25 cm thick). As the inscription says, this boundary marker, along with three others now lost, must have delimited a sacred space.

① Translation:

- Latin: “end of the land that Acisius Argantoco-materecus gave to share with the gods and men — within the limits where four stones were erected”
- Gaulish: “Akisios Argantocomaterekos [gave] the *antos* (boundary) to share with the gods and men”.

② Notes:

The term *Dewoxdonyon* is a dvandva compound meaning “to gods and men”.



7.2 GALLO-GREEK

Gallo-Greek epigraphy (2nd – 1st Cent. BC) has about 70 stone inscriptions and more than 240 shards.

Funerary inscriptions

Steles more than a meter high, of square or circular cut, are characteristic of Gallo-Greek epigraphy. Four were found in June 1909 at Mas de Pernix, Cavaillon (Vaucluse):

- *Kabiros uindiakos* → “Kabiros, son of Vindios”
- *Missukos siluknos* → “Missukos, son of Sil(us)”
- *Balaudui Makkariui* → “to Balaudos Makkarios” (i.e., ‘son of Makkaros’)
- *Ates atemaguti - onnakui* → “Ates (?)^{*} - to Atemaguts, son of Onnos”

^{*} (*ates* is uncertain in nature: name of the one who raised the stele, or the name of what was offered?).

↳ Notes:

Patronymic derivatives (father’s name) in *-ako-*, *-(i)kno-*, *yo-*. The suffix *-(i)knos* is the most common in Gaulish to mark filiation (< v. *genH1-* ‘to grow, be born’ by devoicing *-gnos*, or *kenH-* ‘to come out of’).

Dedications

- *Vaison: dedication of a sacred enclosure (Gaul. nemeton):*

“Segomaros son of Villu, a citizen of Nîmes, has offered Belesama this sacred enclosure.”

Beautiful inscription found in Vaison (Vaucluse). The block measures 25 by 31 cm (inscribed surface): it was certainly cut from a larger stone.

- *Dedication to the god of Thunder (Orgon, Bouches-du-Rhône):*

“Vebrumaros offered (it) to Taranus, in gratitude with tithing(?) or a suitable gift”

Stele found in the rubble of an old chapel.

- *Dedications found in Glanum (Saint-Rémy, Bouches-du-Rhône):*

“To the Mothers of Glanum, in gratitude, with tithing or a proper offering”.

This one is inscribed on a votive altar, found near the *fanum* of Hercules. It is a dedication to the Glanic Mothers, deities associated with the spring sanctuary of Glanum. **Glanis*, in Gaulish, must have been the source of the god of the spring’s name, like *Nemausus* in Nîmes.

↳ Notes:

The words *bratudekantem* / *bratudekanten*

This word is the most studied of Gaulish vocabulary and which has spilled the most ink, as much for its meaning as for its morphophonological particularities. The word formerly (Szemerényi) was analyzed into βρατου δεκαντεμ *bratoy dekantem* ‘in gratitude, with tithing’. However, P.Y. Lambert pointed out that the word had to be a compound (noun + adjective) because of the abbreviation of the formula βρατουδεκαντ *bratoydekant*, βρατουδε *bratoyde*. We can therefore break down the word into:

- **brātu** (OIr. *bráth*): ‘judgment’ (= to put on) by influence from a base *g^wrto-* ‘proclamation, praise > gift, favor, obligation, thanks’ having given Celtic **brāto-* the sense of ‘wish, thanks’ and at the same time ‘judgment’.

- **dekantem** (acc. sg. of a nominative *dekants*?): comparable to Latin *decens, tis* ‘decent’, *decūs, oris* ‘honor, distinction, befitting → glory, decoration’, *decentia* ‘decorum’, Greek δεκτός *dektós* ‘acceptable’, δοκέω *dokéu* ‘to think, imagine ...’, OIr. *dech* ‘best’ (< **dekos, esos*), Ogham *Lugudeccas*, one would have the meaning ‘suitable, honorable, dignified’. *Dekants** must be a form suffixed in *-(e/o)nt-* with passive participle value or active aorist (cf. OIr. *namae* ‘enemy’ < **namants* < *(a)n + amə*), itself, initially a possessive denominative. This same root is at the origin of the Common Celtic word meaning ‘right’, **dexsiwo-* and has probably given the verb *dugiiontiio* in the Alise inscription (= ‘who honor’), causative in *-éye/o-* or denominative in *-ye/o-* from a term *dogi-/dugi*, as well as the stem of PN *docni-* (comparable to OIr. *dúan*). At this level, there is probably a crossover with the root **dheugh* ‘to produce’, *dúan* meaning ‘poem of exchange’. NB. For a parallel development, compare the root **bheg-* ‘crush’, giving OIr. VN *buige* (**bogyon*) and verb *bu(n)g* ‘break, beat’, VN *buain* (**bognis*), under the influence of the root **bheug*, also **leg-* and **leug-* at the origin of *lu(n)g*, with the closing of /o/ to /u/ before *ng* and *gy*?

→ *Brātudekants* = ‘(gift) which honors a vow, *ex voto* offering’

→ δεδε βρατουδεκαντεμ *dede bratoydekantem* = ‘gave thanks (to the gods) by a gift’.

In fact, it is the final /em/ which is problematic because if one refers to the theories of linguists it could not exist. Indeed, it was claimed that the accusative of a consonantal stem was /an/, because of the process of *m̃ > am*, *ñ > an* in Brittonic. However, it is clear that:

1. No /an/ accusative in consonantal stems has been discovered, while the /em/ accusative is proven by *materem* (the influence of Latin is ruled out by the identical form to the IE **materm̃*, Latin having *matrem*).
2. No other case can be explained by this ending, the comparison with the Balto-Slavic instrumental (P.Y. Lambert) is impossible, given the forms in /en/ and the other Celtic languages.
3. OIr. shows that the development of the nasal had to be /ən/ in Proto-Celtic which then evolved, but not always, to /an/ (before vowels and /y/ or /w/). Old Irish has so many forms in /en/ (vocalization?) that could evolve to /in/ (especially in proclitics and before



gutturals); e.g. OIr. *imb* (< **embi*) compared to Gaulish *ambi*, *deich* (< **deKent*) compared to Brittonic and Gaulish *dekan*. The OIr accusative for consonantal stems was /en/.

4. Gaulish also has /en/ forms parallel to /an/ ones (*bennā* and *bannā*, *grennā* and *grannā*, *gobedbi* and *gobanno*-) and also shows a development to /in/ before gutturals: Gaul. *yowinkos* ≠ OIr. *oac* (*yowəŋkos*) and Bret. *yaouank* but *yowantous* ≠ OIr. *oítiu!*, *immi* (< *emmi* < *esmi*) ≠ OIr. *am* (*esmi* > *emmi*), *sindos* (< *smdhe/o*), *sosin* (< *sosm̃*) ...

It would be best to consider how the development of the Gaulish nasal could give something other than /an/ and that therefore /em/, /en/ represents the ending for acc. sg. These different developments may be dialectal and/or linked to accentuation and neighboring consonants.

Thus the pair *bennā* / *bannā* can be explained by two divergent evolutions (according to whether the loss of /d/ between nasals took place before or after the change of /ən/ to /an/): *bñdnā* > *bənd-na* > *band-nā* > *ban-nā* and *bñdnā* > *bən-nā* > *ben-nā* and the preservation of /e/ (compare the development of /en/: Fr. *pente* yet *penne*). See also /ənt/ > /ant/ (*yowantous*) but /enk/ > /iŋk/ (*yowinkos*, *tinko*- for *təŋko*, *rinki* for *ro.əŋkī*?). Perhaps also *kāmmino*- ‘path’ of *kñgsrm̃no*- > *kanxsmeno*- (without having to postulate influence from the Latin suffix *īno*- on a Gaulish **kāmmāno*-, note in this case the dual development, as a result of accentuation?).

Attempt from marking /ən/? See Avestan *asənga* ‘stone’ or *yud* before nasals in Sogdian (e.g. *β(y)nd* < *vant*).

7.3 GALLO-LATIN

Gallo-Latin epigraphy used Latin capitals on stone and bronze inscriptions, while using Latin cursive (a simplified script with the letters connected in “ligature”) for lead and ceramic ones.

“IEVRV” Dedications: Offered

Ieuru is one of the first known Gaulish verbs. Early on, we hesitated between the two meanings of ‘doing’ and ‘giving’, which are so common in ancient inscriptions. It has now been shown that *ieuru* must be a verb of dedication: associated with the dative forms of theonyms such as *Belisama*, *Alisanos*, *Ucuetis*, *Rosmerta*, and sometimes followed by the Latin votive formula V.S.L.M.

Alise-Sainte-Reine (Côte-d'Or):

MARTIALIS. DANNOTALI
IEVRV. VCVETE . SOSIN
CELICNON 𐌚 ETIC
GOBEDBI. DUGIIONTIIO
𐌚 VCVETIN
IN ...ALISIIA 𐌚

Stone, 49 cm tall, 74 cm wide, 13 cm thick. Found in 1839 on Mont Auxois, it caused quite a stir because the inscription immediately identified the ancient name of *Alise*. Once excavations

restarted in the same place (St-Père cemetery) starting in 1908, it was possible to uncover the monument up to the level of the god *Ucuetis*, both a cultic and professional patron of blacksmiths. The inscription is at The Museum of Alise.

① Translation:

“Martialis son of Dannotalos offered *Ucuetis* this building (*celicnon*), and that with the blacksmiths who honor *Ucuetis* of Alise”.

② Notes:

a) The verb *ieuru* whose current etymological solution was found by Lambert.

➡ *Ieuru* (+ Gallo-Greek εἰυροῦ *eiuroy*) = *ēōru** < *pepore**, reduplicated perfect from the root *perH*- ‘to offer’, cf. OIr. *ernaid* ‘he offers’ *ro-ír* ‘he offered’.

However, for this type of verb in OIr., the reduplicated perfect is on a zero grade root and not the inflected grade (*peprhe** > *ebre** in Common Celtic).

Additionally, OIr. *ro-irus* ‘I offered’ (cf. *ranirusa im chét mbó* in *Togail bruidne Da Derga*, eDIL) assumes a preterite built on the sigmatic causative (‘to offer’ must be a perfective verb): with *ro-irus* < **ro-ér(H?)su*, *ro-ír* < **ro-er(H?)st* (compare the identical OIr. formation *do-uccus* ‘I brought’, *do-uic* ‘he brought’). Note that the causative preterite normally gives a form in /t/ in OIr for verbs ending in /r/ resonants (on an old reduplicating form). But it seems that for prefixed verbs, like *ro.ír*, the preterit in /t/ does not apply in OIr, probably due to the accentuation which makes the ending disappear in 3rd pers. sg. Should we consider *karnitu* a perfective form (the OIr having systematized imperfective forms)?

Another solution would be to see in *ieuru* / *eoru* a perfect from a verb *(e)*pi.werH* ‘to give thanks, to offer’? → perfect **epi.wewre* → **ēwowre* / **īewre* with the development of /y+w/ identical to *deiwo* > *dēwo* / *dī(w)o* (which allows the Greek letter ω). For the root *werH*, cf. OIr *fuair*, *fo.fera*, *duferthar* ... We could have an etymological pair (votive vocabulary) based on the root *werH*:

- a compound *ar(e)wer(a)-* (cf. *arueriātin*, Chamalières, below) meaning ‘to satisfy, to answer’.
- a compound *īwer(a)-* probably meaning ‘to offer graces, an offering in return’, with the opposition being ‘before’ / *ī*, *ēro* ‘against, after’ on the root *werH* ‘find, pour, bring’.

➡ Suffix *-u(s)*: this suffix seems to be found in other past verbal forms (*karnitu*, *dedu*) but perhaps also in subjunctive, future or imperative forms (*iexstumi*, *slanossietum*). This suffix must have a pronominal value and can thus be compared to the redundant pronoun *-mi* suffixed in the first person, i.e. redundant pronouns with the instrumental / ablative of the direct cases (subject or object).

Cf. the redundant use of the combined preposition ‘with’ or ‘from’ in the Brittonic languages.



- b) The suffixed particle *-yo*, marking the relative as in Old Irish. *Dugīyontio* is probably a causative (or denominative) of the *dek/g* root found in the word *decanten* 'honest', with sporadic closure of *o* to *u* before *ng* and *gy*. For phonetics, compare the closure of *e* > *i* in *ligyā* 'binds' and before *η* (*yowinko-*). For the formation, see above.
- c) The existence of the instrumental case (here in the plural) <-BI> distinct from the dative <-BO>.

The Graufesenque potters' accounts

Nearly two hundred examples of oven-loading records were found among thousands of sigillated shards, in a suburb of Millau. Their existence is linked to the shared firing process adopted by the potters of this great industrial center at the beginning of the 1st Century AD. The cost of firewood, and perhaps the cost of renting the kiln or other economic constraints, forced the potters to join together for the use of each kiln. When loading the oven, they wrote on a plate of clay the list of pots brought by each of them. This record baked with the wares. The graffiti of La Graufesenque presents a mixture of Gaulish and Latin. These sentences are very rare, as are the Gaulish common nouns they contain: there are half a dozen, specific to accounting (*uxsedia* = *summa* 'sum, total'), or the potters' techniques (*tuđos* 'batch'; *luxtodos* 'loaded', *luxtus* 'load', *cassidanno-* a job title).

Notes:

- The most significant finding for linguists is the series of ordinal numbers, since the batches are numbered: *cintux~* 'first', *alos*, *allos* 'second', *tr[itios]*, 'third', *petuar[ios]* 'fourth', *pinpetos* 'fifth', *suexos* 'sixth', *sextametos* 'seventh', *oxtumeto[s]* 'eighth', *namet[os]* 'ninth', *decametos* 'tenth'.

Magic Texts:

Lead tablets have often been used throughout the Roman Empire as a medium for *defixiones*. The magical procedure involves writing the name of a targeted enemy, the invocation of supernatural powers meant to carry out the curse, as well as various stipulations about the motives for the condemnation or the various torments that will serve as a punishment.

a) The Chamalières Tablet

A rectangular lead tablet, about 6 cm wide and 4 cm high, discovered in 1971 at a place called *Source des Roches*, a Gallo-Roman thermal bath site that featured a spring cult (1st Century AD). The text takes up 12 lines; it is complete and the cursive writing is regular and readable.

① Translation:

→ "I invoke Mapon[os] who gives satisfaction by the good power of the gods below; that you ... them and that you torture them by the magic of the infernals: [i.e., them] accuser Caius Lucius Florus Nigrinus, Aemilius Paterinus, Claudius Legitimus, Caelius Pelignus, Claudius Pelignus, Marcius Victorinus, Asiaticus son of Ađđedillos, and all who would swear this false oath. As for the one who swore it, let it be for him the deformation of

these upright bones. Blind, I see (?). With that it will be ours before you (?). That you ... on my right (3X)." [P.-Y. Lambert]

→ "I invoke the divine and infernal Son who grants the vows, by force, that he ? them and that we may have the magic of the infernals ..." [Personal translation]

② Notes: The main contribution of the tablet is Gaulish sentence syntax and conjugation.

- *Uediiu-mī, pissiu-mī, buet-id ...*

Conjugated verbs would be lengthened by a redundant, affixed pronoun

→ *exops, pissiu-mi* 'blind, I'll see' can be compared to syntax in Old Norse *Hariuha haitē-ka farawisa* 'H., I'm called the wise traveler' i.e. S, V1st sg-pron clitic I/A. The comparison with the *ieuru* sentences seen above (c. -u = 3rd per. sg I/A) would give the following structures:

S, Vc O – O, SVc – Vc, (S) O

where < , > indicates the emphasized element (S or O) and < c > is a clitic

It would seem that Gaulish did not possess personal pronouns in the nominative (pron. drop?).

- *Toncnaman toncsiiontio*

The analysis of P.-Y. Lambert can be explained by the root *tenk-*: 'hold, be firm, fix'

→ *tñko-* 'peace', OW. *tanc*, 'peace'

→ *tñkto-* 'frozen, pacified', OIr. *téchta*

→ *tonk-*: inflected grade root (\approx parfait) = 'what is fixed', i.e. 'Destiny' (action accomplished, effect still present). It can also be seen as a *tenk-* → *tonkeye/o* causative.

On this root is created a thematic causative verb with nasal suffixed *tonkne/o-*, whose *tonksyont* is the desiderative and meaning to 'fix a destiny', 'cast a spell'.

For comparison, OIr. shows a certain instability of causative forms, which may only be present in the present, imperfective, and future forms (*do.moinethar*) or in the whole paradigm. In the latter case, the verbs form a present on a nasal infix or suffix (when infixation is impossible on CR or CC root verbs); cf. *fo.loing* < **logeye/o* < **leg*, *bongid* < **bogeye/o* < **beg* (nasal infix) and *tonkne/o* < **tonkeye/o* < **tenk* (thematic nasal suffix). See *dekantem* above.

→ *Tonknaman* would be the verbal noun of instrumental origin and meaning 'destiny, fate' (comparable to the meaning of OIr. *geiss*), parallel to *tonketon* (passive form, thus suffered) meaning 'destiny'. There would be an etymological figure of speech comparable to Welsh *tynghaf tynghet it* 'I put a destiny on you'. This last root is not to be confused with the root *tog-* 'swear' because a formation in *-sy/o* is impossible on a present nasal infix.



Here we would have an old class of causative Gaulish verbs (see below *barnaunom*).

Moreover, as in OIr., in Gaulish we would have affixation of the particles relating to the verb (in this case *-yo*).

- *Arueriiatis* ‘which gives satisfaction’: form derived from the verb *are.werə* ‘to satisfy, grant’, comparable to the ethnic group *Aruernos* ‘blessed, satisfied’ or ‘those from the land of celebration’ and to the Old Irish *airer* < **areweron*. This verb can be paired with its opposite *īwerə* (whose preterite is *īewru*) in a formula equivalent to the Latin *do ut des* (see *ieuru* above).

b) The Larzac Tablet:

Discovered during a salvage dig performed on the Gallo-Roman necropolis of L’Hospitalet-du-Larzac (La Vayssière locality). These are two fragments of a lead tablet, which had been folded and cut in half. The two fragments were found one on the other, on the opening of a funerary urn. The burial in question also included about forty vases and a ring with a glass-paste bezel (late 1st Century AD). This tablet is now kept at the Museum of Millau. The two lead fragments are inscribed on both sides (1a, 1b, 2a and 2b), the last of which is in a different hand (the first 3 show a hypercorrection of the final *om* < *on* and *ct* < *xt* under the influence of Latin). This text is the longest Gaulish text currently known: with about sixty lines and one hundred seventy words or fragments, it presents a large number of new revelations in phonetics, morphology, syntax, etc., that have been introduced to linguists for the first time.

① Translation (L. Fleuriot, P.-Y. Lambert, M. Lejeune):

Side 1a, lines 1-7:

“Send the charm of these women against their names (that are) below; this (is a) witch charm bewitching witches. O Adsagsona, look twice at Severa Tertioncna, their thread sorceress and their writing witch, whom she releases whom they have struck from *defixio*; with a bad spell against their names, bewitch the group below:”

[+ a dozen female names]

1b6-7:

“May these women, named above, enchanted, be reduced to impotence”

2a3-10:

“Every man according to judgment, that they would have struck from *defixio*, that she (Severa Tertioncna) cancels the *defixio* of this man; that there can be no sorcery by writing, sorcery by thread, sorcery preacher, among these women, who solicit Severa, the witch by writing, the witch by the thread, the stranger”

2b1-3:

“Aia, Cicena (vocatives? Nominatives?), That she does not escape the evil of the bewitched”

② Notes:

Larzac contributes new words of a characteristically Indo-European quality, preserved later in Insular Celtic as *matīr* ‘mother’, or lost from insular Celtic such as *duxtīr* ‘daughter’; But most of all it is Gaulish morphology and phonetics which The Larzac Tablet reveals;

- Declensions of ā-stems, with borrowing from yā- or ī-stems as in Old Irish.
- Elements of conjugation: imperative 3rd p. sg. and pl. *tu*, deponent or passive with *nitixsintor* ...
- Existence of various demonstratives and deictics: *so* and its variant *se* (‘this’), *eia* (feminine deictic, serving as 3rd p. personal pronoun or demonstrative), the 3rd p. fem. pl. pronoun *sies* (< *siñs ?), and demonstratives (s)*indā* and (s)*ondā*. 3rd p. suffixed personal pronouns *-tu*, *-tus*, *-ton* after imperative verbal forms (*bietu*, *biontu*). *Ton* must be compared to *-tu(s)* and recall the Irish Class B infixes (da^N-, d^L-, da^G = *ton, *tod > to/tu, *tons > tus?). These forms drawn from IE *to would be used in enclitics, while the pronouns resulting from IE *so gave the tonic forms.

Note: The forms *indā*, *ondā* with loss of the s-initial can represent atonic clitic forms, parallel to the tonic forms *sindā*, *sondā* cf. *in sinde* in the inscription. Other pronouns or demonstratives seem to exist in accented / atonic pairs: *eia* and *sies* // *ias* (in *sagitiontias*) ...

- Syntax example of the verbal phrase — clitic elements:

Lungetu = ton = id punc ni-tixsintor sies

We have the example here of a phrase with a verb at the beginning of the sentence to which a series of clitics in second position (pronoun 3rd per. acc. sg. *-ton*, particle *id*) are suffixed.

- Existence of non-verbal sentences? Using a verbal noun instead of a conjugated verb:

In sinde se-bnanom brixton (VN) *anwana san anderna* ... = “When these women (will) bewitch [the bewitching of these women] the names below ...”. *In sinde* here has a temporal conj. meaning? The subject in the genitive is placed before the verbal noun in this case, contrary to the normal noun syntax (determinant follows the determined) but conforms with the SVO sentence syntax in Gaulish.

- Coordinating elements such as the suffix *-ue* ‘or’, *etic* and *coetic* ‘and again, and also’.

Châteaubleau Tiles

The Gallo-Roman *vicus* of Châteaubleau (Seine-et-Marne, France), which primarily developed in the 2nd Century of our era, was an important stop on the busy Roman road connecting Sens to Meaux. Châteaubleau may correspond to the toponym **Riobe* on The Peutinger Map (*Tabula Peutingeriana*). The principal buildings recognized to date are: a theater at a place called *Bois de la Vigne*; a religious monument with apses, which is a spring sanctuary, at a place called *La Tannerie*. A second religious assembly was found at *La Justice*, in 1990-1991, during salvage



digs carried out in advance of new construction. Residential quarters from the 2nd and 3rd Centuries were excavated in 1997 in the area called *Les Grands Jardins*. An artifact storeroom at Châteaubleau houses the collected objects.

Tile 1

It is a rectangular tile, 1.2 to 2 cm in thickness. The four lines were
 i. [[ba]] bixs. uenerianum ad briureco. [The letters have a body height of 8 mm and a line
 s. r.....cem · suaueloslan[upper half of the tile. A fragment lost to the right of
 t. slanossietum · suagido·contil.ossi[s. The surviving lines have a length ranging from 30
 c. ie sittom · mongnatixsouim less neat starting from the 2nd line. Legibility is
 made very difficult due to surface erosion. Only the deep strokes are still visible in the first line.
 The first half of the 2nd line has completely disappeared. Jean-Paul Burin theorized that this tile
 had simply been worn by the elements, with the right part being better preserved because it
 was covered by the second tile. This would thus be a message written at the tiler's, but which
 did not affect the normal fate of this type of product.

This tile's placement at the sanctuary of *La Tannerie* allows a dating of the first half of the 2nd Century CE.

① Translation: This text was studied in a seminar by Michel Lejeune at the *École pratique des Hautes Études* in 1972-1973. Robert Marichal had developed a reading in conjunction with two other Celticists, E. Bachellery and L. Fleuriot. The first line is certainly in Latin (even if the first word is unclear):

“(This is) the property of the Venerianum at Briureco-”. These property marks were frequent in the Greco-Roman world. What is surprising is that only one exemplar of this kind of mark has been found. Possible alternative: the first word could be *bixsi*, for *uixit*, which would indicate a funerary epitaph. But then the ending of *uenerianum* (now the name of man) is mistaken.

The next three lines, in Gaulish, could be a personal message or possibly a personal prayer.

Mongnatixsou / im ?u / em : “my son”, if we allow for the contraction *gnat' ixsou* ..., with an element *ixso-* comparable to Latin **pse*, meaning ‘own, to oneself’.

Two adjectives compounded with the prefix *su-*, ‘good’, *su-aelos* = ‘who has a good wind’, *su-agido-*, ‘honorable, good behavior’ (*agedo-*, *agido-*: OIr. *agaid*), and the stem *slano-*, ‘safe and sound’ (akin to OIr. *slan* of the same meaning), would indicate the benevolence of the Gaulish text.

Slanossietu-m(i), ‘let me heal’, derived verb with a desiderative suffix *-sye/o-?* as in *bissiet* below: To then accept a spelling or pronunciation exaggeration of the intervocalic sibilant, to prevent it from disappearing. We would have a simple denominative derivative of *slano-*, ‘healthy’, with desiderative suffix, *slanosiet-*, ‘he (she) may heal ...’

② Notes:

-(i)xso would, by example, explain Old Irish personal particles or *notae augentes* (apparently likely on Lat. *.pse, in *ipse, metipse, ...*). Here, (i)xso is suffixed to a noun in connection with *mon* (1st p. sg.)?

Tile 2

The second Châteaubleau tile was discovered in 1997, in the secondary agglomeration of a well's infill. It could date from the first half of the 4th Century AD.

The tile is reminiscent of a legal notice, as in the inscription from Villafranca de los Barros, but according to P.-Y. Lambert it would be contrary to history to ascribe an official status to the Gaulish language under the Roman Empire. He favors the view that it had kept to the private sphere. Some see the tile as a *defixio*.

Types of inscriptions on tiles:

- inscriptions made for fun, between the tile makers:
 - inscriptions of their names
 - caricatures
- teaching writing (several alphabets)
- accounting documents from the tile shop:
 - orders
 - delivery accounts
- a court sentence (text posted on the pillory beside the convict) in Villafranca de los Barros

① Translations:

- P.-Y. Lambert interprets this text as a literary composition written for a wedding

“I celebrate a woman who is betrothed with dowry or who is led (at marriage) to Coro Boudo (2) whose names I do not know and a woman who is old (literally: “whose pudenda are dark”) or who is consenting (literally: “in this will”), or and I am a more noble woman, you must say, (3) you the family, or that she say (3) her surname, I ask that she be a wife (*quprinno* = *comprinna*) (4) for me or I pray the son of Kypris, that he strikes (her) (4) for me I say, by desire I betrothed, we pray you, O Papissonos; (5) He will desire her, (she) being called by her names; I call her, (6) I will look for *beíassu sete* (= threshold, be viable ? or that you prosper); it is broken by me or towards the threshold I see a *motu*, my father, (7) in this closed place; now, wait; I call him ; *beíassu sete* (= threshold, be viable or may you prosper for a long time or until you die ?). (8) I hear you. Wife Sedagisamo(s), an honest and fair companion. *beíassu sete*. She will go. Call me ‘husband’. Between me and her, Papissonos, *beíassu sete*, between me, between her *beíassu sete*, they will go (or oh queen), call me ‘wife’”.

- Personal attempt (other translations exist: cf. Schrijver or B. Mees)

The translation of the first line must give an indication of the meaning of the text:



NEMNALIŪMI BENI UEIONNA INCOROBOUIDO NEI ANMANN GNIIU

→ Lambert's translation for the verb is wrong (comparison with OIr. *nual* < **now-slo* is impossible); it is probably necessary to split into NE MNA LIŪ UMI (***nemna* inflected case of a Celtic **neman* 'poison' is incorrect and has no IE etymology), with a verb *liyū-mi* that it would be tempting to compare to OIr. *liu* 'I accuse'. The difficulty comes from *mna* which must be instrumental or dative. However, the Irish verb is used in indirect construction: neither *liim for suide* 'I do not accuse it', *do líadh oruinn olc Umhuill, líter fair ben Chrínraidh* ...

It is remarkable that in the latter case, the verb may mean 'to be accused of rape'. In some contexts (*Coir Anman*, *Scéla mucce Meic Dáthó*), the verb takes on the meaning of accusing of sexual crime or infidelity ... See also the presence of the verb of Latin origin *petā* 'to ask in justice'. *Beni* is good for *benim*, late acc. of the 'woman' ā-stems;

This analysis can be supplemented by the interpretation of lines 5 to 7:

... IEGUMI SINI SIAXSIOU BEIIASSU BITI MOTU PIIUMMI ATER IXSI IN CORE
NU ANA. IEGUMI SINI BEIIASSU SETE ...

→ "I declare: that what I will try to 'take' (= that I break¹, split), was not split¹ by a penis², I see it oh my own father by this closed door. Now wait. I declare: that I break what has been linked³ (hymen)? ..."

(1) √ *beyH_A* 'break, split' - cf. OIr. *benaid*, *-bia*, *bithe*

(2) *Moto-*, *motu-* freq. attested in Gaulish and comparable to OIr. *moth* 'male member'.

(3) √ **seH_{Ai}* 'link' or *sēte* + OIr. *saeth* 'trouble, distress', MW. *hoed* 'pain, regret'

In this case, rather than a literary composition (P.-Y. Lambert) or a defixio (analysis from B. Mees), a legal notice (outcome of private justice?) would better correspond to the support chosen and corroborate the surface-level reading of these few lines. It could be public recognition of the virginity or fidelity of a wife, or even a man defending himself from charges of rape ...

Other elements reinforce this hypothesis: QUPRINNO for **komprinno* 'consort' i.e. 'husband', SEDAGISAMO CELE UIROŪONO meaning 'this companion better and just'. A recurrent verb based on a root **wei-* (UEIONNA, UEIOMMI, UEIŪOBIŪE), probably denominative, is essential to the understanding of the text. Unfortunately, the late form of Gaulish used leads to several difficult-to-verify hypotheses:

- √ **wedh-* 'lead, bring' → **wedye/o* with lenition of /dy/ > /y/ (unjustified doubts of Delamarre in DLG because the examples quoted, *Adiantu-*, *diastu-*, where the lenition is absent, are all examples where *dy* is enjoined to the affix: *ad-iantu*, *di-astu*); this lenition is also found in the pair *bodiocasse*, *baiocasse* and in an identical form from Lezoux (*ueiobiu*), also late.

- √*wes- ‘to spend the night, to sleep’ → *wese/o with the syncope of /s/ and development of a yod in contact with 2 vowels: *weso- > *weo- > *weyo-. This syncope can be postulated for PīŭMI in the same text (*pisumi > *piyumi). This solution seems preferable to me for the meaning but poses difficulties for the probable accusative of “*incorobo uido*” (verb of anticipated movement).
- √*weiə- ‘link’: Lambert’s proposal is less likely because this root is unsure and attested in Celtic languages in a nasal-infixed form (*wi-na-).
- √*g^{wh}edh- ‘invoke, pray’, with same treatment as for *wedh-*, but a strong verb.

② Notes:

■ **Phonetic notes:**

This text, along with Southern Gaulish, does not share some common innovations with Brittonic, such as the development of *-nm-* > *-nw-*. But other features connect it to Brittonic, such as the loss of /n/ and /s/ endings and the syncope of intervocalic /s/ (for the latter, the text shows us the difference between a phonetic change — syncope of *s* — and a morphological one — preserved *s*, spelled <ss>).

This apocope causes all of the words in the text to end with a vowel (except *ater?*), a phenomenon that can be compared to Old Slavic where all words end with open syllables. The intonation of the syllables was therefore almost always rising with a climax at the end. A sign of the Gaulish penultimate (musical or pitch) accent? The apocope had to begin with *d* (cf. instrumental = ablative), the simplification of the *ns* cluster > *s*, the loss of nasals, then the word-final *s* (short endings). The *r* seems to have remained. It should be noted that at the same time, word-final /i/ opens to /e/. The preservation of the primary verbs endings (cf. *petame*, *iexsete*) is probably also related.

Among other innovations (perhaps late and local), the Gaulish from Châteaubateau would present a remarkable diphthong of long vowels — only in absolute endings for long *-ū-* (as in *gniūou*, but see below), and perhaps long *-ī-*. We also note an evolution of the nominal ending *-yo* to *-e* (via *-ye?*, cf. *cele*). All these developments suggest an accentual change.

■ **Grammar notes:**

- *Conjugation elements*: present tense of weak *ā* verbs (*petame*), a subjunctive of a weak verb? (*ueiommi* < *ue? an + mi* suffixed, with closing of /a/ to /o/ before *mm*); *ye/o* thematics (*gniyou*, *cluyou*); some imperfect forms (?) with *ueionna* (< **we? onma?*), *petamassi* (< **petāmesde*)

The verb *yeke/o* is the most interesting element of the text because it is found conjugated in different tenses and persons. This verb could mean ‘say, declare, speak’, with the lenition of /k/ to /g/ in this case (as in *tingi?*). Such an intervocalic lenition might also be found in /d/ (cf. *ueionna*), /t/ (*senti* > *sendi*). A verb *oge/o* > *yege/o* ‘to complain, to cry’ makes less sense.



- *Iegū-mi* = 1p sg ind. pres. (with redundant subject pronoun);
- *Iexstu* = 3p sg imperative aorist. This form is the expected sigmatic aorist according to Watkins' theory (athematic aorist, see IEOCV) with the imperative ending *-tu* (< **tod*). A preterit is less likely in this context. Moreover, Old Irish retains traces of the sigmatic imperative.
- *Iexsete-si* = probably 3p sg subjunctive (sigmatic aorist) with 3p fem. personal pronoun suffixed (**yexseti-sī*, with closing of atonic /i/, see Phonology). A 2nd person plural is possible (**swī* > *sī*) but less likely (pronoun *swe* = *swi* attested in the text). It should be noted that in the subjunctive the ending is thematic! Also *rexsete-si* in the text.
- *Iegilinna*: According to Lambert, this form is a verbal or gerund noun but its morphology is inexplicable to me (compare Latin in *-end*?). It should be noted that this form is not very legible and that the three successive I's may possibly point to a syncopation. Otherwise 1p sg imperfect (*yeg*[?] *nna*).

Another verb form also attested at different times is *ueionna* (imperfect), *ueiommi* (subj.) and *ueiobiie* (imperative), which could present a case of weak verb conjugation (?).

A form of future (desiderative?) In *syē/o* is also attested, but this time on a reduplicated root (*sisaxsiou*). Special case attached to this root, or other mood (desiderative ≠ future)?

The 1p sg of the indicative is attested in 2 forms: in *umi* (e.g., *iegumi*) and *ou* (e.g. *gniiou*). The existence of these two forms (and the athematic ending of *petame*) show that *-mi* is indeed a suffixed pronoun and not a double ending (thematic and athematic) as sometimes proposed. However, the spelling <ou> is intriguing (phonetic according to Schrijver, i.e. diphthongization but see below).

A passive preterite may be found in the clause NE BITI MOTU with **biti* as the participle form of the verb **beyH* 'split' and **motu* the complement of the agent instrumental.

- *Syntax elements*: we may encounter markers of subordination other than the relative suffix *-yo*; In the sentence IEGU[M]I SINI SIAXSIU, *sini* could be compared to OIr. *an-í*, Gothic *that-ei* as a neuter demonstrative *sin* followed by deictic *ī*, which can serve as the indirect relative (as in Gothic); This would correspond to the nasal constructions of Old Irish after verbs such as 'to say', 'to speak', 'to think' (French *je dis que, je pense que* ...). See also the element *in sinde* in the Larzac inscription (above) which could be a relative temporal clause.

The 1p sg ending *ou* may not be a variant of *ū* as Schrijver thinks, but could represent the relative ending suffixed in *-yo*, i.e. **gnīyōyo*, **sisaxsyōyo*, ... with *ō* (no ending) not evolving to *ū* but *-ōyo** > *-ō'o* > *-ōu* (closing of /o/ to /u/ in hiatus).

- Indeed, the relative *-yo* probably had to be suffixed to all persons in Proto-Celtic, but following phonetic changes (apocope), was maintained only for certain persons in OIr. (3rd sg and p, 1st p);

- A relative form is expected after *sin-ī* (see OIr after deictic *ī*): **Yegū-mī sin-ī, sisaxsyōyo beyasū sete* ... “I declare that what I will try: that I break (= to break) ...”. Note that *gniiou* also follows a form suffixed in *i*: **ne-anmanbe gniyōyo* “whose names I do not know” and that also a relative is expected. As for the last form *sue cluiou*, a relative form is possible although not obligatory → **swe cluyōyo* “you, to whom I am listening” (split form).

▪ *Lexical elements*

They depend on the meaning we want to attribute to the tile!

However, terms related to marriage, family or sex can be detected: *regenia* for **rogen(es)yā* ‘lineage, ancestors’, *ater(i)* ‘father’, *sendi* for **sentī* ‘wife’, *beni* (< *benim* for *benā* ‘woman’ and *mna*), *cele* for **kēlyos* ‘companion’, *quprinno* for **komprinnos* ‘consorts’, *motu* ‘male member’, *suante* ‘desire’, *uelle* ‘modesty’ ...

Taking these elements together militates against the hypothesis of a classical *defixio* (unless it is a charm, a *defixio amatoria*, to obtain someone’s love).

Some interesting verbs are found in this text: *patā* ‘to ask in justice’, *yeke/o* ‘declare, announce’, *cluye/o* ‘to listen’, *gnīye/o* ‘to know’, *pise/o* ‘to see’ ...

Tablets from Chartres

These are two lead tablets covered with magical inscriptions in the Gaulish language discovered in the city of Chartres. The texts engraved in lead were the subject of a first reading by P.-Y. Lambert.

① *Translation:*

Text not yet published at the time of this writing, it nevertheless appears that it is a judicial *defixio* (P.-Y. Lambert).

A large number of people are named in this text, who are reproached for being accusers or accomplices (witnesses, co-accusers).

According to Lambert, to counter them, the text calls upon a dreaded magician, with one or more assistants.

▪ *Personal attempt*

“(List of names + surnames in the Gen.) Vatumaros son of Senouiros (PN but also a theonym, epithet of Apollo), Cantognatos of the Virato(s) people, Conbarilos son of Abrextobogios, Raros son of Esuatextos, Toutisa daughter of Alignatos, on the one hand witnesses (testifying), this accuser, at the same time (as) here invoking (or calling to) Olusamos Lognardicnos, Tascouipus (with Tascouipī?), accused, and other, here accuser (complainant) Minios of the Maria people, Tasgunī Abrextubogiu (with A?), Paulo Tasgunias (son of Tasgunī), Cornutos of the Cornilia



people son of Lamos Eponicnos (L son of E) on one side as witnesses (testifying), and the other Cornuti Toutisa Vi(m)pili (1 or 2 people?); Felix son of Uocontestos?, besides here co-accuser with those”

- There does not seem to be any declared curse here, only lists of names that would be dragged through the mud; should we instead see an oath or an alliance between people (at a trial?) guaranteed by a ritual with the Otherworld (ancestors)? Individuals are not always easy to isolate, because most are declined in name + surname, others add an ethnonym and we perhaps encounter a matronym (Tasgunias) as well. Several people have, it seems, family ties to each other.

② Notes:

▪ ***Liaison phenomenon (loss of final -s and -n).***

The late Gaulish texts show a disappearance of the final -s and -n in endings whose vowels are short (e.g. *ōn*, *ās* > *o*, *a* but *ōn*, *as* > *on*, *as*).

However, this text shows a partial loss of endings, suggesting a rule that explains whether or not the -s is maintained (the dropping of final -n having already taken place):

- when the following word begins with a vowel, semivowel (/ǃ/), or *s*, the final -s is maintained (empty anlaut filled by the final syllable of the previous word);
- when the next word starts with a consonant, the final -s disappears.

Subsequently, in later texts like the Châteaubleau Tile, the endings are totally lost in all contexts. It is tempting to link the loss of initial *s-* in the demonstratives *sindo*, *sondo* to this liaison phenomenon, if they proved to be enclitics. Indeed, the stronger the grammatical cohesion of two words, the more likely that liaison would take place between them. In French, most absolutely spontaneous and unavoidable liaisons take place between a main word and a clitic, helper word without its own tonal accent but forming a single accentual group with the main word.

▪ ***Syntactic elements***

Some conjunctions, adverbs, and other connectors are found in this text to coordinate groups of people:

- *uto*, *cuto* = **ko-uto* (~ Latin *ut*, *utpōdē*, Greek *ὅτιος αἰτός*; IE *H_au+to*): ‘as, as much as, seeing that’ (+ acc. with equative meaning, see its use with OIr. *amal*); perhaps already encountered by *colliauto* in an inscription from La Graufesenque (< **kon.līa uto*). Similar to the Celtiberian connector *uta*?
- *eti* (cf. *etic* as already mentioned): ‘yet’ (conjunction); *uto* ... and comparative clauses ‘as ... as ...’ or consecutive clauses ‘on one hand ... , yet on the other ...’ (see Latin *ut ... ita*, *ut ... etiam*?)

- *duti* = **du* + *toi* (adverb comparable to German *dazu*) ‘for that, at the same time’ // *duci* = **du* + *kei* (cf. *hierzu*) ‘to this, moreover, for this purpose’? Some demonstratives and deictics:
- *sondios*, *sondiobi*: we are dealing with a demonstrative **sond-* already seen in an adjectival form without ‘s’ (unaccented form?). It seems that we are dealing here with pronouns based on the context, but also because the form **sondiyos* (and not **sondos*) can perhaps be compared to the OIr forms *int í-sin*, *a n-í-siu* i.e. **sind-* + *éy* (accented deictic) + determinant. In this case **sond-iyē/o*. Compare adj. ‘this’, ‘that’ and pron. ‘the one’, ‘that’ (‘this’ + ‘he/she’), or *ce*, *cette*, *celui*, *celle*, in French.
- *so* + *adgarie*, *a[n]dogarie*, *cantigaria* (verbal nouns in locative, present participle value): “this one as an accuser ...” = “here accusing” ...

■ Legal vocabulary

A number of terms pertain to legal vocabulary, different but parallel to those of Old Irish.

- *adgarion* VN ‘calling, pleading’ linked to *adgariont-* ‘accuser’, -nt- suffix being the former present participle of *adgarie/o* ‘to accuse’ in the sense of an agent (cf. *karants* ‘friend’, *namants* ‘enemy’). Note OIr. *accrae* (< **adgarion*) ‘legal action, complaint’.
- **andogarios* ‘defending, questioning’? the word *adogarie* in the inscription could be an error (*adgarie* is also possible, but it is difficult to see why the author would have added an <o> by mistake), otherwise it may be an unknown construction (*ad* + *o?* + *garyos*); one could read it as *a[n]dogariti* (thus a 3rd p. verb). We would be in the presence of calques of Latin *advocare*, *invocare* ... Cf. OIr. *tingair* / *do-ingair*, ‘keep’.
- *kantigarios* ‘co-accusing’, ‘additional charge’, ‘supporting’? (*Kanti* ‘together’), VN. The term may refer to prosecution witnesses who support and plead in favor of the prosecution. Cf. the meaning of OIr. *imtach* ‘compurgation, acquittal’.
- *kantipisont-* ‘witness (visual)’? (participle, agentive derivative from *pise/o* ‘see’ + *kanti* ‘with’)
- *abrextos* ‘outlaw’? In PN *Abrextobogios* ‘outlaw killer’ (writes *aberxtobogios* and *abrestubogios*).



Miscellaneous texts

One element that is difficult to analyze can be found in various texts: the preverb/adjective *tio-*; as a preverb, we have *tioinūoru*, *tiopriton*, *tiocobrextio* and *tioberte*; as an adjective, we have *tiotamica* and *tionoūimpi*. *Tio* cannot have a nominal origin (from a ***tepo* or ***tipo* with syncope of the *p* in Celtic) as the verbal compounds show. We must therefore favor the prepositional/preverb hypothesis. In this case, it is probably necessary to compare the IE demonstrative and connector **to*, *tâ*, *tyo* suppletive of **so*, perhaps at the origin of the OIr. preverb *to-* and class 2 pronominal forms. However, one can not discard a compound (meaning + δε-υπο) *de* + *ópi* > *diope* > *tio* with sound transfer. Adjectival forms are analytic and derived from other positional prepositions:

- *Tiono-* // *verono-*, *anderno-* (locative sense, see Latin *super-nus*, *infer-nus*, *prō-nus* ...); also compare OIr. *inne* (**ennyā*) ‘medium, quality, essence’, abstract of an unattested form, **en-no-*.
- *Tiotamo-* // *Vertamo-*, *Andamo-* *andetamo-* (superlatives).
- *Tio* could be a form comparable to an adjective **aryo* (from which the abstract **ariyā* > OIr. *ari* is derived).
- From the semantic point of view, it must form a pair with its antonym *ost-* (see *Ostimyoī* ‘Ossismi’) such as ‘hither’ ≠ ‘behind’, ‘close’ ≠ ‘distant, last’. *Tiono-* = ‘close’ → ‘dear’.



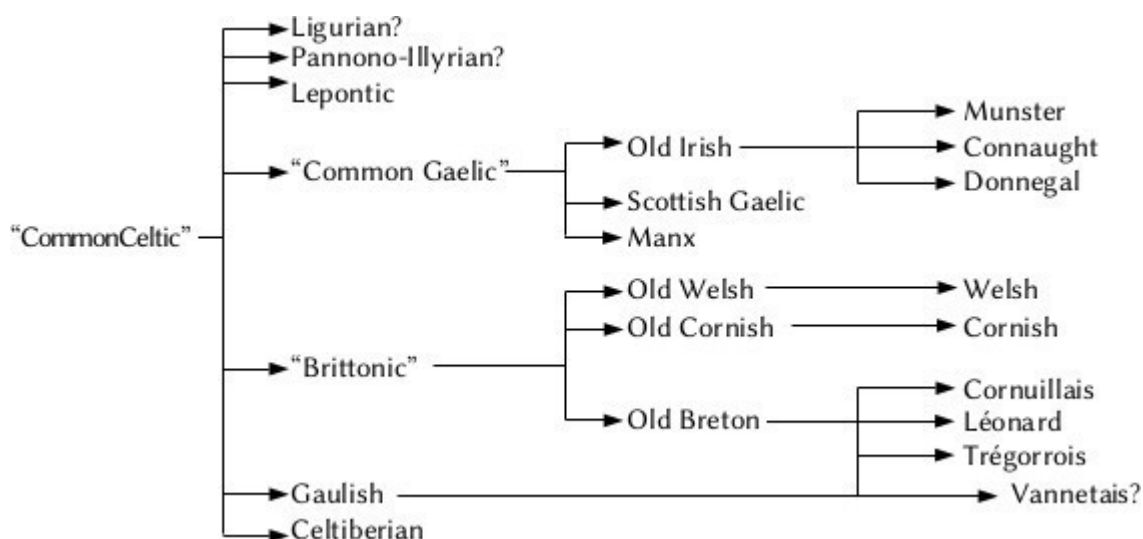
TARVOS TRIGARANVS from the Pillar of the Boatmen

Appendices

1. SOUND CORRESPONDENCE TABLE FOR IE LANGUAGES

PIE	SKT.	AV.	O.C.S.	LITH.	ARM.	TOCH.	HITT.	GR.	LAT.	O.IR.	GOTH.
*p	p	p	p	p	h	p	p	p	p	Ø	f
*b	b	b	b	b	p	p	p	b	b	b	p
*bh	b h	b	b	b	b	p	p	p ^h	f	b	b
*k	š	s	s	š	s	k, š	k	k	k	k	x
*ǵ	j	z	z	ž	ts	k, š	k	g	g	g	k
*ǵ h	h	z	z	ž	dz	k, š	k	k ^h	h, g	g	g
*k	k, č	k, č	k,č,ts	k	k ^h	k, š	k	k	k	k	x
*g	g, j	g, j	gž, dz	g	k	k, š	k	g	g	g	k
*gh	g h	g, j	gž, dz	g	g, j	k, š	k	k ^h	h, g	g	g
*k ^w	k, č	k, č	k,č,ts	k	k ^h	k, š	ku	p,t,k	k ^w	k	h ^w
*g ^w	g, j	g, j	gž, dz	g	k	k, š	ku	b,d,g	g ^w ,v	b	k ^w
*gh ^w	g h	g, j	gž, dz	g	g, j	k, š	ku	p ^h ,t ^h ,k ^h	g ^w ,v,f	g	g,g ^w ,w

2. CELTIC LANGUAGE TREE





3. GAULISH WORDS IN FRENCH VOCAB. AND ROMAN DIALECTS

(around 240 entries)

- *agreno* (Provençal): 'Sloe', **agran(y)o-*, Gaulish origin
- *alain* (Wallo-Picard): 'Calf 18 months to 2 years of age' < **al-* 'feed' via Celt. **alamnos* or **alamo-* 'flock', cf. MBret. *halaff*?
- *alise*: 'Fruit of the whitebeam' Gaul. **alikā* > Germ. *aliza* (Latin *alisia*?), doubtful
- *alose*: 'Fish', Gaul. word (B) Late Lat. *Alausa*
- *alouette*: 'Lark' Lat. *alauda* > OFr. *aloe*; Gaul. origin according to the Romans (name of the 'crested lark' or *cochevis*)
- *alpe*: 'Alp' Celtic origin; *alps* (1213), *alpe* (1826) < *alpa* (Lat.) < **alba*.
- *ambassade*: 'Embassy' Gaul. **ambaxtos* > Lat. *ambactus* / *ambactia* > Occ. *ambaissada* > It. *ambasciata*
- *amponna*: 'Raspberry, red fruit' (berry)
- *ancenge*: Agrarian measure of Gaul origin. (**andekingā*?) = 'advance, loan, stronghold' > 'landholding'?
- *andain*: 'Swath' > OFr. 'big step, stride' > *andagnis* (*ande* + *agnis* 'to go'), Gaul. origin
- *ardoise*: 'Slate' ① Gaulish root **ard-* 'high', word from the North, uncertain origin → despite Gaul. *Ardennes*, (*ardu*); ② **aritisiā* (// Latin *paries*, *parietis*), more likely.
- *andû* (WP): 'Stall, old furniture' < **andosedo-* 'furniture' or relationship with (*l*)*andier* 'andiron'?
- *angon* (WP): 'Cheater' < OFr. 'Hook for fishing crustaceans' from **anko-*, Gaul. origin
- *arpent*: Pre-metric unit of measure. Lat. *arepennis* > Vulg. Lat. **arependis*, Gaul. origin
- *artiga* (Occit.): 'Fallow land' (uncultivated plowed land) also Walloon *ârtû* < Gaul. **artikā*?
- *auvent*: 'Canopy, awning' cf. Prov. *amban*, Languedoc. *ambans* < *andebanno-* (cf. *banno*)
- *aven*: 'Pit, sinkhole' Gaul. orig. **abonā* > Occ. (Rouergue); also OFr. *avenc* < **abon-incV-*
- *bac*: 'Vat, ferry' **bakkos* is not attested (but *bacchinon* < **bakkinon* 'cup, wooden bowl')
- *bâche*: 'Tarp, tank' Imp. Lat. *bascauda* > OFr. *baschoe*, or. Celt. according to Martial
- *bachelier*: 'Bachelor' Lat. *baccalarius* > Vulg. Lat. **baccalaris*, obscure origin, perh. Gaul.
- *balai*: 'Broom' Gaul. **banalto* > **balatno*, prob. Gaul. origin, evid. Bret.
- *bal(l)e*: 'Bale, chaff' Gaul. **balu* (disputed), could derive from *baller* = 'dance'?
- *banne* (or *benne*): 'Trash' and 'vehicle' Imp. Lat. *benna*, Gaul. origin
- *banno* (Provençal): 'Horn' < **bannā*, Gaul. origin
- *banse* (WP): 'Manna, basket' < **bennyā*? The form *mante* also exists.
- *barde*: 'Bard' Lat. *bardus* (Gaul. word).
- *barre*: 'Bar, cake, ingot' Gaul. **barro* 'summit, top' > Vulg. Lat. **barra*?
- *barrette* (WP): 'Cap, bonnet' (cf. *berret*, *béret*), Lat. *biretum*, Gaul. origin
- *battre*: 'To beat, strike' Lat. *battuere* > Imp. Lat. *battere* perhaps of Celtic origin (**batwye/o*, denominative of *batu-*)
- *bau* (WP): 'Chopped tree (log)', from **belya*, Celt. orig. (cf *bille*), influence from *baum*?

- *bauchelle* (WP): ‘Girl’, OFr. *bace*, *bacelle* (cf. *bachelier* ‘bachelor’), Celt. origin ? (W *bach* ‘small’)
- *bauge*: ‘Cob, wallow (for swine)’ Gaul. **balcos* > OFr. *bauche*? Speculative...
- *bayard* (WP): ‘Stretcher to carry the dead’ (Liégeois *baie*) < Lat. *bajulus* < **bā-* ‘to die’?, Gaul. origin is likely.
- *béau*, *beyau* (WP): ‘Imbecile, amazed’ perh. same origin as Fr. *béat* (Lat. *beatus*) but crossing meaning with Celt. **baitos* (crazy).
- *bec*: ‘Beak, bill’ Lat. *beccus*, Gaul. origin
- *beca*, *bieca* (Occit.), *beko* (Creuse): ‘Bee’, cf. OIr. *bech*, Gaul. origin. < *bikkos*
- *bedot* (WP): ‘Sheep’, Berrichon *bide* (old sheep), obs. orig., prob. Gaulish
- *belette*: ‘Weasel’ Prov. Fr. *belete*. of Gaul. origin (**belā*?)
- *ber(s)*: ‘Cradle’, Pop. Lat. **bertium* (see next)
- *bercer*: ‘To cradle, rock’ Vulg. Lat. **bertiare*, taken from the name of the burden, Celt. or Gallo-Rom. origin
- *berge*: ‘Riverbank’ Vulg. Lat. **barica* > OFr. *berche* ‘hedge’. uncert. orig. (cf. W *bargod* ‘edge’), cf. the following?
- *bernache*: ‘Barnacle (type of shell)’ and ‘wild goose’ OFr *barnaque* < Gaulish **barenikā*, from **barenos* ‘rock’
- *berle*: Aquatic plant, Late Lat. *berula*, cf. the Celtic name of watercress, **berurā*.
- *berret*: ‘Short hooded coat’, diminutive of *birrus* (Latinized Gaulish)
- *bief*: ‘Reach (of water), mill race’ Gaul **bedu* / Vulg. Lat. **bedum* > *bied*, borr. from Gaul.
- *bièvre*: ‘Beaver (*Castor*)’ Vulg. Lat. *Bebrum* ? Gaul. origin
- *bille*: ‘Log’ Vulg. Lat. or Gaul. **bilis* > Med. Lat. *billa*, Gaul. origin (sg. *belos*, pl. *belesa*?)
- *bite*, *bitte* (WP): ‘Penis, male’, obscure orig.; perhaps linked to the verb **beiH-* ‘split’ → also *bègne*, *bin* ‘boy’, antonym of ‘middle-aged person’, Celt. orig. (very) uncertain
- *blaireau*: ‘Blair’ designating a horse color (white spot on the forehead) < *blaro-*
- *blé*: ‘Wheat’ freq. **blad*, perhaps crossed with Gaul. **blatu-* (Gaul. orig. of the freq. word < root **mlat-* ‘grind’)?
- *blese* (Occit.): ‘Wolf’ < Gaul. **bledyos*
- *boisseau*: ‘Bushel’ Gaul. **bosta* > Gallo-Lat. **bostia* > OFr. *boisse* ‘handful (measure of grain), 1/6 of a bushel’
- *boiton*: ‘Stable’ Gaul. **bowteg-* (lit. ‘cow-house’), regional word neglected by many dictionaries. (cf. *boutique*)
- *bonnier* (WP): Agrarian measure of about 1ha40. Gaulish orig. (< **bonnaria* < *bonnā* ‘fundus’?)
- *bonde*: ‘Plug, bung’ from Gaul. **bunda* ‘bottom’ → *bondelle*. Same root as above?
- *borne* (OFr. *bosne*): ‘Boundary marker’ **budīnā* > Med. Lat. *bodina* and Frank. *botina* ‘border tree’. Obscure orig., perh. Gaul. (semantic problem, **budīnā* = ‘army’) perh. Germ. (*butina* but borr. from Gaul.?) → link with **bozdo*? (cf. *bout*, *boudine* and *boust*).
- *bosiga* (Occ.): ‘Fallow land’, Ligurian orig. (i.e. Southern Celtic?).
- *bouc*: ‘Billy goat’ Gaul. **bucco* > Med. Lat. *buccus*, Gaul. origin



- *boudine, boudenne* (WP): ‘Navel, belly’, same origin as Fr. *bedaine, boudin*, from Celt. **buzdo-*? (however /zd/ > Celt. /dd/ > Fr. /tt/), uncertain origin (however, cf. ‘navel’ // found in Gr. *omfalós*).
- *boue*: ‘Mud, dirt’ Gaul. **bawa*
- *bouge*: ‘Sack, purse, small bag’ Lat. *bulga* borr. from Gaul. according to Festus (**bolgā*)
- *bouleau*: ‘Birch’ Lat. *betulla* > Vulg. Lat. **betullus* > OFr. *boul* (1215) Gaul. origin
- *bourbe*: ‘Mire’ I-E. **bher*, Gaul. **borvo* → quagmire
- *bourrer*: ‘To stuff, fill’ compare Gaul. *burros* (adj.) ‘swollen, inflated’ → deadjectival
- *boust* (Occit.): ‘Tree trunk’ < Gaul. **būstis*, **buzdis*?
- *bout*: ‘End, tip, bit’ link with Gaul. **bozdos* ‘penis’? cf. also *boudine, borne* and preceding.
- *brader* (WP): ‘To spoil, waste’ or ‘sell something short’ or ‘sell down the river’. Flanders & Hainaut orig., connection with Dutch *braden* ‘roast’? or better, Celt. *merə* ‘betray’ → *brato-* ‘betrayal’; cf. Fr. *brader le métier*. Speculative.
- *braguette*: ‘Codpiece, pants fly’ Lat. *braca* > Occ. *braya* or *braga* > Fr. *brague* = *braca* ‘breeches’ borr. from Gaul.
- *brahain, braine* (WP): ‘Barren and marshy land’, < OFr. *baraign* < Lat. *brannā* ‘sterile pond’ < Gaul. **braknā*
- *braire* (WP): OFr. ‘To bray, shout, weep’ < Lat. **bragire* compared to a Celtic root **brag-* ‘crack, explode, make noise by blowing’, Celt. orig. is likely
- *brammer*: Denominative from **bragsman* ‘roaring, fart’, Gaul. origin likely
- *bran, bren* (OFr.): ‘Bran, faeces’ Wallo-Picard *brein* < from a hypothetical Vulg. Lat. **brennus* ‘bran’?, obscure orig., perhaps Gaul. (**brakni-* ‘rotten’). See also *brasser*.
- *braine* (WP): ‘Rotten place, peaty’ (found in numerous place names), Gaul. orig. (see previous)
- *brais*: ‘Barley malt, grist’ Gaul. origin. (**braki*), related to the previous entry? See also *brasser*.
- *branche*: ‘Branch’ > Gaulish **wrankā* ‘claw’
- *brasser*: ‘Brew’ Vulg. Lat. **braciare* > Med. Lat. *bratsare*, Gaul. orig. acc. to Pliny (*brace* ‘barley grist’)
- *breuil*: ‘Copse’ (field, *fundus*) Late Lat. *brogilus*, der. from *brogi*, Gaul. origin (cf. *breialo* < **brogiyalo-* ?)
- *bribe*: ‘Crumb, scrap, bit’ Pic. orig. ‘morsel, piece, loaf of bread’, < obsc. Celt. **bribā* ?
- *brin*: ‘Sprout, strand’ < **brinos*, possibly Gaul., Gaul. origin is contested
- *brio*: ‘Brio, verve’ Gaul. **brīgo* > It. *brio*
- *briser* (*bruissier*): ‘To break’ Late Lat. *brisare* > Vulg. Lat. **brisiare*, Gaul. origin (from **briss-* ‘break’ and **brews-* ‘crush, crinkle’)
- *bribouzer, brouzer* (WP): ‘To stain, soil’ < **brikkos* ‘spotted, scabbed’? → *brouzelé*
- *brōja* (Gascon), *borona* (Castill.): ‘Black bread (rye or buckwheat)’ < Gaul. **barogenā*
- *bruit*: ‘Noise’ Gaul. orig.? (**Bruxtus*)
- *bruyère*: ‘Heather, briar’ Gaul. **wroykā* > Med. Lat. *brucus* > Vulg. Lat. **brucaria*
- *bulok* (WP): ‘Plum’, Celt. orig. (Western *beloce*, Bret., *bolos* ‘black sloe’ < **bullukā*)

- *ca-* (WP): Prefix and preverb that we find with augmentative meaning in Fr. *camoussier* ('rot'), *cafouiller* ('falter'), *capougner* (palpate, feel the fist) ..., Celt orig. *co(m)*, Germ. *ga?* – very speculative
- *cabane*: 'Cabin, shack, shed' Late Lat. *capanna* < Gaul. **kappos* 'tent, shelter'
- *caboulot*: 'Low-class tavern' akin to Gaul. **buta* 'hut', borr. from Franche-Comté dialect.
- *cache* (WP): 'Alley, low-quarter', formerly 'livestock pen' (rare), Late Lat. *cacia*, from **cagyo-* 'enclosure'?, but confused with verb *chasser* (= *catcher* in the sense of 'searching', in WP)
- *caillou*: 'Small stone, gravel' Norman origin, Gaul. **kallio-* 'hoof' > Vulg. Lat. **caliaŷum*
- *cervoise*: 'Barley beer' Imp. Lat. *cervesia*, Gaul. origin
- *chai*: 'Cellar', Gaul. origin., see. *quai*
- *cham* (Walloon): 'Wheel rim', Celt. origin (**kambo-*)
- *chambijo* (Limousin): 'Tiller', < Gaul. **kambikā*
- *chamois*: 'Chamois (*Rupicapra*)' Late Lat. origin *camox*. Pre-Latin, possibly pre-IE Alpine orig. (or Celt. **kamukson*).
- *changer*: 'To change' Late Lat. *combiāre*, borr. from Gaul. (Classical Latin *cambīre*)
- *char*: 'Chariot' < Lat. *carrus* from Gaul., possibly from the 4th Century BC.
- *charançon*: 'Weevil' **karantionos* obscure origin; maybe Lat., maybe Gaul. (derived from *karwos* 'deer' or *karos* 'beloved, dear'!).
- *charpente*: 'Framework, build' Lat. *carpentum*, 'type of chariot' (Celt. **karbantōn*)
- *charrue*: 'Plough' Lat. *carruca*, derived from *carrus* (see *char*)
- *chemin*: 'Path' Vulg. Lat. **camminus*, Gaul. origin (< derived from locative **kŋgsmēni*, from f. proterokinetic **kēngsmŋn*)
- *chègne*, *chin* (WP): 'Middle-aged people (slang)', in contrast to *bin*, from **seno-* 'old'?, Gaul. or Lat.
- *chêne*: 'Oak' Vulg. Lat. **cassanus* > Med. Lat. *casnus*, Gaul. origin (**kad-ti-?*)
- *chétif*: 'Feeble, sickly' Lat. *captivus* crossed with Gaul. **kaxtos* (or undergoing Gaulish phonetization)
- *cheval*: 'Horse' Vulg. Lat. *caballus*, possibly not Indo-European, Gaul. or Balkan.
- *chouan*: Dialectal variant of *chouette* 'owl', < Gaul. **kawannos*
- *claie*: 'Rack, hurdle' Gaul. **kletā* > Med. Lat. *clida*
- *cloche*: 'Bell' Late Lat. *clocca*, uncert. orig., possibly Celtic (Ireland)
- *cochon*: 'Pig' Gaul. origin ? < *cocca* 'hip, ham', *pars pro toto?*
- *combe*: 'Valley' < Gaul. **kumbā*, dialectal word.
- *cormie*: 'Beer' Vulg. Lat. **corma* > Fr. *corme*, Gaul. origin
- *couette*: 'Quilt' (OFr. *coulte*, *couelte*, *coite*) **kulkitā* 'mattress, pillow' (Gaulish invention)
- *coule*: 'Cowl' Gaulish via Lat. *cuculla*
- *craindre*: 'To fear' IE. **ter* (Lat. **tremere* > Late Gaul. **cremere* → poss. infl. from a Gaul. word **crin-*)
- *crave*: 'Corvid, bird', forgotten by etymological dictionaries, Gaulish orig.?



- *crème*: 'Cream' Late Lat. *crama*. Gaul. origin (P) crossed with Eccl. Lat. *chrisma* (Greek origin).
- *créner*: 'To cut, unload' Late Lat. *crena* (L) possib. from the Latinized Gaulish **crinare* < **crinos* 'collapsed, rotted, gaunt'
- *creux*: 'Hollow, deep' Vulg. Lat. **crosus* Gaul. orig.
- *crincher* (Pic.): 'To bask, shake' < 'to sift', Late Lat. *crienta* 'chaff'; cf. W. (go-)grynu 'sift' → Celtic or. possible (IE base **krei-*), cf. *craindre*
- *dartre*: 'Scab, sore' IE. **d(e)rw-* > Late Lat. *derbita* Celt. orig.
- *djote* (WP): 'Sort of vegetable porridge and cottage cheese' < Gaul. **yotus* 'porridge'
- *douve*: 'Fluke' (worm) Late Lat. *dolva*, prob. of Gaul. orig. (**dolbā* 'caterpillar, woodworm')
- *drap*: 'Flag' Late Lat. origin *drappus*. Gaul. (< metathesis **brattos*?)
- *drèche*: 'Draff, dregs' **drasca* > Med. Lat. *drasca* / *drachia* / *drascum* obscure orig., likely Celtic
- *droue*: 'Ryegrass', < Gaul. **drawakā*?
- *dru* (WP): 'Strong, dense' < Gaul. **druto-*
- *druerie* (OFr.): 'Lascivious mood', secondary meaning from the previous one, Gaul. origin
- *dûhon* (Wall.): 'Goblin, elf' < **dusion-*, related to *dusios* 'demon, incubus' (soul, breath).
- *dune*: 'Dune' > Old Dutch. *dûna* possib. Related to Gaul. *dunum*
- *écobuer*: 'Swidden, slash, and burn' *gobe* > Fr. *egobuer*, prob. related to Gaul. **gobbo*
- *écoufle*: 'Bird, type of kite', Gaul. **skublo-*
- *encombrer*: 'To encumber' Gaul. **kombero* > Med. Lat. *combrus* > Fr. *Combre*
- *érable*: 'Maple' Lat. *acer* + Gaul. **abolos* > Late Lat. *acerabulus* (Gaul. **acar* also possible)
- *étain*: 'Tin' Lat. *stagnum* R(PH) borr. of uncertain origin, evid. Gaul. according to Pliny.
- *étalon*: 'Stallion' Frankish orig. supposedly from **stallo-*, itself derived from **stall* 'abode' → 'stable'. However, this secondary meaning must be due to crossing with Lat. *stabulā*. A Gaul. origin is possible (< **statlo-* 'heel') if we compare it to the Germ. word for stallion **hanhistaz* > Hengist, taken from **hanha-* 'heel'. See Bret. *kaseg* 'mare' from Celt. *kassikā* of the same origin (*kŋgs+[suff.]+ikā*? 'that of the stallion')
- *étron*: 'Excrement', also WP *stron*, Br. *Stronko* < Gaul. **stronkos*
- *fourdraine* (Picard): 'Sloe', **dragino-* 'thorn', Gaul. origin
- *frigon* (WP): 'Butcher's-broom' Late Lat. *frisco* 'holly, *Ilex*' < OFr. *fregon* 'butcher's broom, myrtle' perh. Gaul. origin **srigo-*
- *froigne*: 'To frown' same word as *trogne*, from **sroknā* > *θroknā* > *frugna* and *trugna*
- *gaillard*: 'Strapping, lusty' Celtic **gal-* > Vulg. Lat. **galia* 'force'
- *galet*: 'Pebble, shingle' perh. Gaul. **gallos* > OFr. *gal*.
- *garenne*: 'Warren' also dial. *varenne*, Gaul. **waranda* / *warennā*? 'Enclosed territory, reserve'
- *garrot*: 'Garrote' (strangling device) Gaul. **garrā* > Occ. *garrot* cf. *jarret*
- *gaspiller*: 'Waste' **waspa*? > Occ. *gaspilha* / *gaspailler* in the West, given as Gaul. by dic.
- *glaise*: 'Clay, earth' Gaul. **glisa*.

- *glaner*: ‘To gather, glean’ Gaul. **glenn-* > Late Lat. *glenare*
- *glas* (OFr.): ‘Tolling bell, death knell’ also Occitan *clas*, ‘clamor, bell’, or Gaul. (< **klad-*)
- *gobelet*: ‘Goblet’ Gaul. **gobbo-* > Gallo-Rom. **gob-* etym. contested.
- *gober*: ‘To swallow, gulp’ Gaul. **gobbo-* > Gallo-Rom. **gob-*
- *godau* (WP): ‘Mad woman’, see also *gouine*
- *gort*: OFr. ‘Border hedge’, Pr. *gorsa* ‘hedge’ < Gaul. **gorto* ‘walled garden’
- *gosier*: ‘Throat’ Gaul. **gos-* > Late Lat. *geusiae* > OFr. *josier*
- *gouine*: ‘Gold-digger, promiscuous woman, lesbian’ (insulting, vulgar) also *godine* ‘idle woman’ < Gaul. **gotinā* ‘prostitute’?
- *goyerne /coyeune* (WP): ‘Crooked, askance’, same or. as Bret. *gao* ‘crooked’, very speculative!
- *grève*: ‘Riverbank, strand’ Vulg. Lat. **grava* and strictly speaking doubtfully Celt.
- *guenille*: ‘Rag’ IE. **wed-* > Gaul. **wadana*? (quoted in etymological dictionary Fr.) > OFr. *guenipe*: ‘Promiscuous woman’ (insulting, vulgar) but rather **wagnā* ‘slope, swamp’
- *habiller*: ‘Dress, cover’ Vulg. Lat. or Gaul. **biliā* > Med. Lat. *billa*. Derived from *bille*
- *if*: Gaul. **ivos* attested Gaul. word
- *jable*: ‘Chine (rim of a cask)’ Norse *gafe*, pre-Romanian *jabot* **gaba* > Auvergnat or Limousin word, perh. of Gaul or. or pre-IE. see, *joue*
- *jachère*: ‘Fallow land’ Gaul. **ganskaria* > Late Lat. *gascaria* ‘ard, bough’
- *jaillir*: ‘To spring, spout’ Gaulish *gali-* > Vulg. Lat. **galire* > OFr. *jalir*
- *jante*: ‘Rim (of a wheel)’ Gaul. **cambo* > Vulg. Lat. **cambita*
- *jarret*: ‘Back of knee, hock, knuckle’ Gaul. **garra*
- *javelle*: ‘Sheaf, swath’ Vulg. Lat. **gabellā* > *javella* obscure or., perh. Gaul. (see VN of the verb *gabi-*)
- *javelot*: ‘Javelin’ Anglo-Sax. **zafeloc* < Gaul. **gabalaccos* (same origin as above?)
- *joue*: ‘Cheek’ pre-Romanesque **gaba* > **gauta* cf. *gaver*, *jabot*
- *kéwette, quewette* (WP): ‘River bend, basin’ < Gaul. **kowos*?
- *lande*: ‘Moor, heath’ IE. **londh-* or **lendh-* > Gaul. **landa*
- *landier*: ‘Andiron’ Gaul. **andero* ‘young calf, heifer’ + agglutination of the article, origin *andero* ‘inferior’
- *latte*: ‘Lath, slat’ possible Gaul. origin **lattā* < Celt. **slazdā* ‘stick, shepherd cane’; root **slad-*
- *lause* (or *lauze*): ‘Shingle’ southern word?
- *liais*: ‘Limestone’ prob. der. from *lie* (cf)
- *lie*: ‘Mud, sediment, deposits, dregs’ IE. **leggh-* > Gaul. **legyā*
- *lieue*: ‘League (distance)’ Lat. *leuca* / *leuga* Gaul. origin after the Ancients (**lewokā*?)
- *limande* (fish): ‘Dab, flounder’ Lat. *lima* + suffix *-ande* obsc., perh. Gaul. origin (**lei-* ‘drag’) but Lat. *limus*
- *limon*: ‘Stringer, stringpiece/board’ Celtic root **leim-* dubious orig.
- *loche*: ‘Loach’ (fish) Gaul. origin **leukā*?



- *lo(t)te*: ‘Monkfish, anglerfish’ Gaul. **lotta* > Med. Lat. *lota* perh. Gaul. origin (by default if not Lat or Germ.?)
- *luge*: ‘Sled, luge’ Gaul. **stludia* ‘pulling, made to slide’ > Late Lat. *sclochia* / *sludia*, Franco-Prov. word
- *magouille*: ‘Scheming’ Gaul. **marga*? speculative
- *maint, maintes*: ‘Many, a lot of’ Gaul. **manti* or Lat. *magnus-tantus* or Germ. **manigipô* (disputed origin)
- *mait’e* (WP): ‘Trouble,’ Gaulish orig. **maxstron*, cf. *mastra*
- *marne*: ‘Marl’ Imp. Lat. *marga* > Vulg. Lat. **margila*, WP *marle*, Gaulish word
- *marv* (Swiss Rom.): ‘Rigid’, also Occ. *marfi*, Gaul. orig.
- *mastra* (Occit.): ‘Dough, kneader’ < **makstrā*, Gaul. origin ?
- *mégot*: ‘Butt, stub’ derived from *mec* Gaul. or. **mesigu* (cf. *mègue*); slang., obsc. or, Gaul. unlikely
- *mègue*: ‘Whey’ Gaul. **mesigu* > *mesgue*
- *mine*: ‘Mine, ore’ Gaul. or Celtib. **meina* > Vulg. Lat. **mina*
- *molène*: ‘Mullein’ Gaul. *melinos*, *molinos* ‘yellow’
- *mouton*: ‘Sheep’ Gaul. > Vulg. Lat. **multo*
- *muchi* (WP): ‘Hide’ (‘disguise’ in Liège) < Gaul. **mukkye/o*, **mukkitos* ‘hidden’
- *nant* (Sav.): ‘Brook’ < **nantu-*, Gaulish orig.
- *noue*: ‘Valley’ Gaul. *(s)*naudā* > Med. Lat. *nauda*
- *orteil*: ‘Toe’ Lat. *articulus* with infl. from Gaul. **ordigā*
- *ouche*: ‘Garden, arable field’, Lat. late *olcā*.
- *pairol* (Prov.): ‘Cauldron’, Gaulish orig.
- *parc*: ‘Park’ Pre- or Late Lat. **parra* > Med. Lat. *parricus*, obscure (Pre-Latin = ?)
- *patte*: ‘Leg, foot, paw, hoof’ pre-Celt. **pauta* or onomatopoeia *patt*-?
- *pena* (Gasc.): ‘Cliff, escarpment’ < Gaul. **pennā* (from **pennos* ‘top, head’)
- *petit*: ‘Small’ Gaul. origin **pito* ‘point, end’ → **pitinos* ‘pee-pee’ (lower Lat. *pitinnus*)
- *pièce*: ‘Piece’ Gaul. **pettiā*, *petsī* ‘thing, piece’ > Med. Lat. *petia* prob. Gaul. orig. (< **pet* ‘what’)
- *pinson*: ‘Chaffinch’ **pinkyo*- Gaul. origin (W *pink*, Br *pint*), onomatopoeia? (*k^wink*-)
- *quai*: ‘Quay, platform’ Gaul. **caio*, Normanno-Picard word derived from Gaul.
- *raie*: ‘Furrow (agriculture)’ Gaul. **ricā* > Med. Lat. **riga*, Gaul. origin postulated;
- *renfrogner*: ‘Scowl, frown’ Gaul. **frognā* > OFr. *refrogner* < *frogne* // ‘sullen face’.
- *roye* (Pic., Tournaisien): ‘Cart’ (13th Cent.), < Gaul. *rēdā*.
- *ruche*: ‘Hive’ Gaul **rusca* > Med. Lat. *rūsca*, Gaul. orig. postulated;
- *saie*: ‘Gambison (historical defensive garment)’ *sagum* > Vulg. Lat. **sagia*, Lat. word of Gaul. origin, according to Polybius
- *sapin*: ‘Fir, pine’ Lat. *sap(p)inus* compound of **sappus* + *pinus*, **sappus* perh. Gaul. (see Savoy < *sapaudia* < *sappaudia**)
- *seuwe* (OFr.): ‘Rope, chain’, Gaul. origin **sokā*
- *skété* (WP): ‘Broken, tired’ (for that sense, compare Bret *skuizh*) → Gaul. orig.?
- *soc*: ‘Ploughshare’ Gaul. **soccos* or **succos* (pork snout)

- *souche*: ‘Stump, stub, roots’ Gaul. **tsukka*
- *soue*: ‘Penny, coin’ Gaul. **su-teg* > Late Lat. *sutis*
- *suie*: ‘Soot’ Gaul. **sudia*
- *tachelle* (WP): *clou* ‘Nail’ → *glose* Galat. τασκον *taskon* ‘nail’, Prov. *tascoun* ‘ankle’, Gaul. origin
- *tacon* (WP): ‘Piece of lard’, compare Lat. *taxea* ‘badger fat, lard’, of Gaulish orig. (Isidore)
- *taisson* (Occit): ‘Badger’ < **tazgos* ‘badger’, Gaul. origin.
- *talus*: ‘Bank, rampart’ Gaul. **talo* > Imp. Lat. *talutium*
- *tamis*: ‘Sieve’ Gaul. **tamesion* > Vulg. Lat. *tamisium*, obscure Pre-Latin word, possib. Gaul. (**teh₂*- ‘dissolve’ ?)
- *tan*: ‘Pulped oak bark used for tanning’ Gaul. **tann* prob. of Gaul. origin
- *tanche*: ‘Tench (fish)’ Late Lat. *tinca* Gaul. word, no certain etym.
- *tanière*: ‘Den, lair’ Vulg. Lat. **taxonaria* > OFr. *tainiere*, see *taisson*
- *tancar* (Occ.): ‘Close’ cf. *petanque* Gaulish orig. (**tank*:- ‘peace’, from an IE root meaning ‘freeze’)
- *tarière*: ‘Auger’ Late Lat. *taratrum* Gaul. orig.
- *tonne*: ‘Ton’ Med. Lat. *tunna* / *tonna* Celt. orig. supposed → *tonneau* derived from *tonne*
- *trencher*: ‘To cut’ often given as coming from a hypoth. Lat. **trīnicāre* ‘cut in three’, prob. Gaulish, from gladiators called *trincī*, Gaulish fighter, until decapitation; comp. W. *tranc* ‘dead’, *trenge* ‘expire’, < **tre-ank* ‘pass away’, by contamination from another root **nekue* Celt **anku*- ‘dead’ (Bret. *ankou*)
- *trogne*: ‘Face, look’ Gaul. **θrugna* Gaul. origin, see *froigne*
- *trou*: ‘Hole’ Vulg. Lat. **traucum* > Med. Lat. *traugum*. possib. Gaul. origin
- *truand*: ‘Wretch, beggar’ Gaul. **trugant* ‘someone at the mercy of, poor’; Gaul. origin challenged (wrongly)
- *truie*: ‘Sow’ Gaulish origin (**trogia*)
- *truite*: ‘Trout’ Late Lat. *trucia* obscure but Gaul. **esoxs θrutia*? (river salmon), cf. *srutis* > *θrudis* > *frudis* (river name) / *trutia* with the same double evolution as *trogne* / *frogne*?
- *vandoise*: ‘Dace (fish)’ Gaul. **vindos* > Gallo-Rom. **vindisia*
- *vanne*: ‘Floodgate’ Med. Lat. *venna*. Perhaps of Celtic origin.
- *vassal*: ‘Vassal’ Lat. *vassus* > *vassalus* Gaul. origin (*vosselos*?) → valet
- *vautre*: ‘Hunting dog’, Gaulish *wertragos*
- *vergne*: ‘Alder’ < OFr. *verne*. Gaul. origin
- *virole*: ‘Ferrule, iron band/ring’ Lat. *viriola*, dim. of *viria* ‘bracelet’ possib. Celtic orig. (see *ver*- ‘turn’ Late Lat. *vārāre*)
- *vouge*: ‘Voulge, pole cleaver’ Late Lat. **vidubium* Gaul. origin

Note:

Many of these words are dialectal or obsolete today because they reflect agricultural techniques and a rural way of life that no longer exist. So we can reckon that words of Gaulish origin will shrink in number in our vocabulary.



4. SELECTED GAULISH TEXTS

(Warning: illustrations fall under copyright ©)

📖 Orgon, Bouches-du-Rhône

Ουηβρουμαρος δεδε Ταρανοου βρατουδε χαντεμ.

Webroumāros dedē Taranoou bratoudekantem

📖 Gargas, Vaucluse

ΕΚΚΕΓΓΑΙΒΛΑΝΔΟΟΥΙΚΟΥΝΙΑΙ

ΕΚΚΕΓΓΑΙΒΛΑΝΔΟΟΥΙΚΟΥΝΙΑΙ

Exkengai Blandowikounyai

📖 Vaison

ΣΕΓΟΜΑΡΟΣ ΟΥΛΛΟΝΕΟΣ

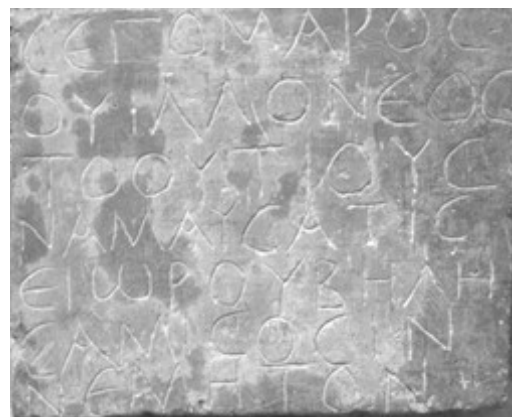
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ΕΙΩΡΥ ΒΗΛΗΣΑΜΙ ΣΟΣΙΝ ΝΕΜΗΤΟΝ →

SEGOMAROS OULLONEOS

TOOUTIOUS NAMAUSATIS

EIWRU BHLHSAMI SOSIN NEMHTON



📖 Alleins, Bouches-du-Rhône:

κογγεννολιτανος *kongennolitanos*

καρθιλιτα νιος *karthilita nios*

📖 Beaucaire, Gard):

a: ιεμουριοιτελλ *a: iemourioitell*

b: [..]ειατεγλοουσι *b: [..]eiateglooussi*

c: ουι τοουτουνια *c: oui tooutounia*

d: ια[..]ιανττεουτο *d: ia[..]iantteouto*

📖 Coudoux, Bouches-du-Rhône:

[α]τεσθας *[a]testhas*

[σ]μερτου *[s]mertou*

[ρ]ειγιος *[r]eigios*

📖 L'Isle-sur-la-Sorgue, Vaucluse:

αδγεννοριγ[ι] *adgennorig[i]*

ουερετο μαρε[ο]υι *ouereto mare[o]ui*

☞ Nîmes, Gard:

κασσι – ταλος	<i>kassi – talos</i>
ουερσι – κνος δ	<i>ouersi – knos d</i>
εδε βρ – ατου δ	<i>ede br – atou d</i>
εκαντ – εν αλα	<i>ekant – en ala</i>
?εινο – υι	<i>?eino – ui</i>

☞ Temple of Diana, Nîmes

ΚΑΡΤΑΡΟΣΙΛΛΑΝΟΥΙΑΚΟΣΔΕΔΕ
ΜΑΤΡΕΒΟΝΑΜΑΥΣΙΚΑΒΟΒΡΑΤΟΥΔΕ

[.]αρταρ/ος ι/λλανουιακος δεδε
ματρεβο ναμαυσικαβο βρατουδε[

ΚΑΡΤΑΡΟΣΙΛΛΑΝΟΥΙΑΚΟΣΔΕΔΕ
ΜΑΤΡΕΒΟΝΑΜΑΥΣΙΚΑΒΟΒΡΑΤΟΥΔΕ

(*K*)*artaros Illanouyakos dedē Matrebo Namausikabo bratoude[kantem]*

“(?)*artaros* son of *Illanus* offered (it) to the *Nîmoises* Mothers, (?) in gratitude, with the tithe/to fulfill the vows” (P.-Y. Lambert trans.).

☞ Nîmes

[N]ερτομ[αρος] βοιουχνος ν[...]μαρος ανδουσ[ιατις] [...] Μαδερα
[– –] ειωραι [...]ιχναι [...]ε [...]ο [...] ιχασσι[

[*N*]*ertom[aros] boiou[kn]os n[....]maros andous[iatis] [...]* *Madera*
[– –] *eiôrai [...]* *iknai [...]* *e [..]* *o [....]* *ikassi[*

☞ Saint-Chamas, Bouches-du-Rhône:

]πορειξ ιουγιλλιακος δεδε βελεινο ↑ βρατου

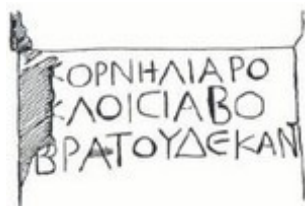
]poreix iouyilliakos dede beleino ↑ bratou

☞ Saint-Rémy-en-Provence – Glanum, Bouche-du-Rhône:

ματρε	<i>matre</i>
βο γλα	<i>bo gla</i>
νεικα	<i>neika</i>
βο βρα	<i>bo bra</i>
του δε	<i>tou de</i>
καντεμ	<i>kantem</i>



☰ Glanum



[κ]ορνηλια ρο [k]ornēlia ro
 [κ]λοισιαβο [k]loisiabo
 βρατον δεκαντ[braton dekant[

☰ Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, Bouches-du-Rhône :

βιμμος bimmos
 λιτουμ litoum
 αρεος areos



☰ Ventabren, Bouches-du-Rhône:

εκκαιος | ουι[πι] ekkaios | ouim[pi]
 εσκινγο | λλα · α eskingo | lla ; a
 μαριος | διατους marios | diatous
 | σια | sia

☰ Villelaure, Vaucluse:

ουατιοουνουι σο νεμε
 τος κομμου εσκεγγιλου
 ouatioounoui so neme
 tos kommou eskengilou

☰ Vitrolles, Bouches-du-Rhône

]τιουαλος αδρε[]tiualos adre[
]ς πραιτωρ σομα[]s praitōr soma[
]αρρος ατουνιο[]arrhos attounio[
] ακτος σομα[] aktos soma[

☰ Les Pennes-Mirabeau, Bouches-du-Rhône



εσκεγγολατι ανια<τει>ος ιμμι
 eskengolati ania<tei>os immi
 “I am the property of Excengolatos”

Alise-Sainte-Reine, Côte-d'Or:

σαμ[ο]ταλο[ς] αυουωτ [<i>sam[o]talo[s] auouōt [</i>
σεσ[.]λαμα[.] :γαρμα[<i>ses[.]lama[.] :garma[</i>
βιρακοτωτι[.]αννο[<i>birakotōuti[.]anno[</i>
κοβριτουλω[...]:ατ[<i>kobritoulō[...]:at[</i>
δω[<i>dō[</i>

Alise-Sainte-Reine, Côte-d'Or

MARTIALIS. DANNOTALI
IEVRV. VCVETE . SOSIN
CELICNON 𐌶 ETIC
GOBEDBI. DUGIIONTIIO
𐌶 VCVETIN
IN ...ALISIIA 𐌶

MARTIALIS𐌶DANN𐌶^A₁
I EVRV𐌶VCVETE𐌶SOS𐌶_N
CELICNON 𐌶 ETIC
GOBEDBI𐌶DVGIIONT𐌶IIO
VCVETIN𐌶
𐌶 IN ALISIIA 𐌶

Auxey, Côte-d'Or

Iceauos Oppianicnos ieuru Brigindoni cantalon

Autun (Augustodunum)

LICNOS · CON
TEXTOS · IEVRV
ANVALONNACV ·
CANECOSDLON

Bern, Thormebodenwald (Switzerland)

ΔΟΒΝΟΡΗΔΟ	<i>DOBNORĒDO</i>
ΓΟΒΑΝΟ	<i>GOBANO</i>
ΒΡΕΝΟΔΩΡ	<i>BRENODŌR</i>
ΝΑΝΤΑΡΩΡ	<i>NANTARŌR</i>



Couchey, Côte-d'Or

DOIROs · SEGOMARI
IEVRU · ALISANV 𐌶

Lezoux, Puy-de-Dôme

APRONIOS
IEVRV · SOSI
ESOMARO

Nevers:

ANDE
CAMV
LOS · TOVTI
SSICNOS
IEVRV ·

Sazeirat, Creuse:

SACER PEROCO
IEVRV DVORI
CO · V · S · L · M



📖 Saint-Germain (Sources-Seine)

A
RESE
QVANI A
RÍÍOS IOVRVS
LUCÍÍO NERTECOMA
δαγολιτους . αυου[τ]
Dagolitous auot



📖 Autun (Saône et Loire)

NATA VIMPI
CVRMI DA
(L111)
TAVRINA
VIMPI
(L112)
GENETTA
VIS CARA
(L113)
MATTA DAGOMOTA
BALINE ENATA
(L114)

MATTA DAGOMOTA
BALINE ENATA
(L115)
VEADIA
TVA TENET
(L116)
MARCOSIOR
MATERNIA
(L117)

📖 Baudecet (Gembloux, Belgique)

E[.]IMO
SDET IVT[S]ABAVTIO
RVFI DVO ESIALA
TARATN ÐANOV
OIB FONT MEM
MIÐR · MARMAR
EVI IABO · VIII · MV
MVLCOI CARBRV · X



La Graufesenque (Millau, Aveyron)

cintuxmos]	<i>first</i>
alos, allos	<i>second</i>
tritios]	<i>third</i>
petuarios]	<i>fourth</i>
pinpetos	<i>fifth</i>
suexos	<i>sixth</i>
sextametos	<i>seventh</i>
oxtumetos]	<i>eighth</i>
nametos]	<i>ninth</i>
decometos, decametos	<i>tenth</i>



Séraucourt, Bourges

BVSCILLA SOSIO LEGASIT IN ALIXIE MAGALV

BVSCILLA SOSIO LEGASIT IN ALIXIE MAGALV

Naintré « le Vieux-Poitiers », menhir

RATN BRIVATIOM

FRONTV TARBEISO[...]NOS

IEVRV



Néris-Les-Bains

BRATRONOS

NANTONICN

EPADATEXTO

RIGI · LEVCVLIO

SVIOREBE · LOGI

TOE

Notre-Dame de Paris (4 stone altars)

	Face A.	Face B.	Face C.	Face D.
	TIB · CAESARE ·	EVRISES	SENANI VSEILO	
	AVG · IOVI · OPTVM			
1.	MAXVMO · SV			
	NAVTAE · PARISIAC			
	VBlice · POSIER			
	· N			
2.	IOVIS	TARVOS · TRIGARANVS ·	VOLCANVS	ESVS
3.	CERNVNNO	CASTOR	SMERT	O
4.	FORT	VS		





☞ Sens, (Yonne), spindle whorl

GENETA IMI

DAGA VIMPI



GENETA IAAI'
DAGAVIAAΓIA

☞ Miscellaneous

Nata uimpi curmi da

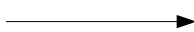
Nata uimpi pota uinum

MONI GNATHA GABI

BVÐÐVTON IMON

Sioxti albanos panna extra tudd ccc

Uercobretos readdas



VIRCOBRITTO S READDAS

Adiantunne ni exuertinin appisetu

Labrios neai uXoune

lubi caunonnas sincera



ΛΥΒΡΙΑΝΕΑΙ
ΛΥΒΡΙΑΝΕΑΙ
ΛΥΒΡΙΑΝΕΑΙ

Lubi rutenica onobia tiedi ulano celicnu

Aricani lubitias ris tecu andoedo tidres trianis



ΛΥΒΡΙΑΝΕΑΙ
ΛΥΒΡΙΑΝΕΑΙ
ΛΥΒΡΙΑΝΕΑΙ

leuri rigani rosmertiac

Subroni sumeli uoretouirius

Billicotas rebellias tioinuoru siluanos



ΛΥΒΡΙΑΝΕΑΙ
ΛΥΒΡΙΑΝΕΑΙ
ΛΥΒΡΙΑΝΕΑΙ

Nessamon delgu linda

Dobnoredogobano brenodor nantaror

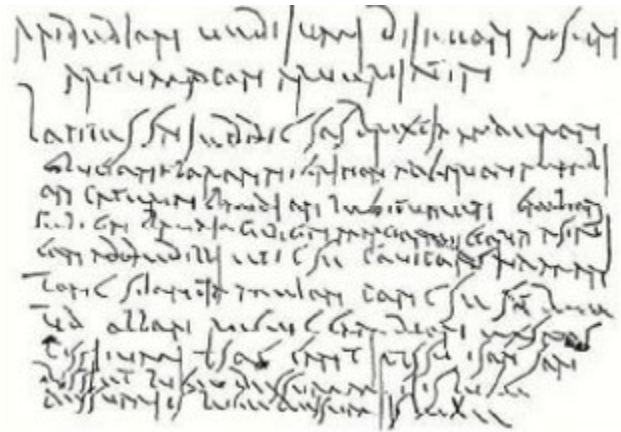
Rextugenos sullias auuot

lbetis uciu andecari biiete —————→

Calia ueiobiu sauni tioberte mouno



- Chamalières, lead tablet — [1st c. A.D.]
 andedlon uedilumī diliuion risun
 artiu mapon aruerrilatin
 lopites snl eddic sos brixla anderon
 c. lucion floron nigrinon adgarion
 aemill
 on paterin. claudlon legitumon caelion
 pelign. claudlo. pelign. marcion victorin
 asiatl
 con addedilll etic secoui toncnaman
 toncsilontlo melon tonc (ponc) sesit
 buetid ollon reguccambion exops
 pissliumlitsocanti rissuis onson
 bissiet luge dessummilis luge
 dessumlis luge dessumllis luxe



- Hospitalet-du-Larzac, (Aveyron), tablet – [end of 1st c. A.D.]

1A :

INSINDE · SE · BNANOM BRICTO[MI]
 N ÉÍANOM · ANUANA SANANDER [...]
 NA · BRICTOM · UIDLUAS UIDLU [...]
 TIGONTIAS · SO · ADSAGS · ONA · SEUE[RIM]
 TERTIONICNIM · LIDSSATIM LICIATIM
 EIANOM · UODUIUDERCE · LUNGET
 UTONID PONC · NITIXSINTOR SI[ES]
 DUSCELINATIA IN[EI] ANON ANUAN[A]
 ESI · ANDERNADOS BRICTOM · BANO[NA]
 FLATUCIAS · PAULLA DONA POTITI[US]
 IAIA · DUXTIR · ADIEGIAS POTI[TAM]
 ATIR PAULLIAS · SEUERA DU[XTIR]
 VALENTOS DONA PAULLIUS
 ADIEGA · MATIR · AÍÍAS
 POTITA DONA PRIMUS I [...]





ABESIAS



1B:

ETIC EPOTINIOSCO · ET[IC]
 RUFICNA CASTA DONA B [...]
 NONUS CO ETIC DILIGENTI R [...]
 ULATIO · NICN OM AUCITIONIM [...]
 ATEREM POTITI ULATUCIA MAT [...]
 BANONIAS NE · INCITAS · BIONTUTU IN
 DAS MNAS UERONADAS BRICTAS LISSINAU [E]
 SEUERIM LICINAUE · TERTIONI [CNIM]
 EÍABI TIOPRITOM BIETUTU SEMIT [...]
 RATET SEUERA TERTIONICNA [...] DU [...]
 NE INCITAS BIONTUTUS ...
 ANATIA NEPI ANDA ...
 [...] AD INCORSONDA B ...
 [...]· PI · LU DORE CON · S ...
 INCARATA

Lezoux (Puy-de-Dôme), lead pendant [beginning of 2nd c. A.D.]

A 1st reading (H. Vertet)

lutura eiu p
 secoles pon..
 exiansagabxsp..
 triaram..
 tri..tic..nus
 o[-]o secoles

B

buen da lx
 mendicas ...
 sonitix opus..
 loatin god...po
 dumuiodu...
 rincituso...
 unasioda...



2nd reading (L. Fleuriot)

lutua ieu...
 secoles pom...n..
 treans agabxso..
 triaram..
 tri catic.nus
 ol..x secoles

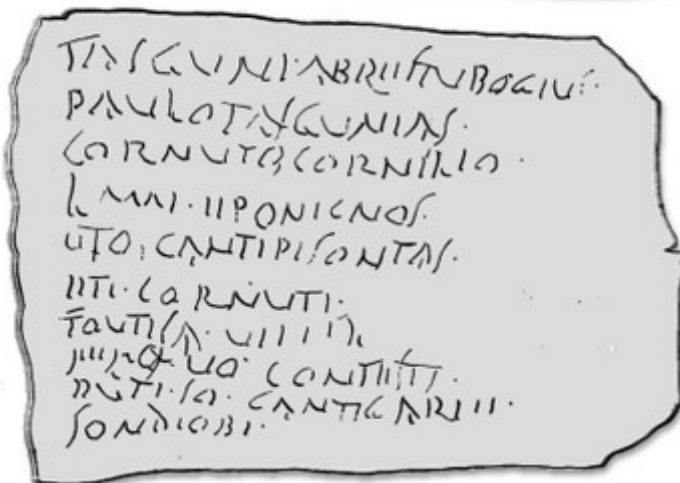
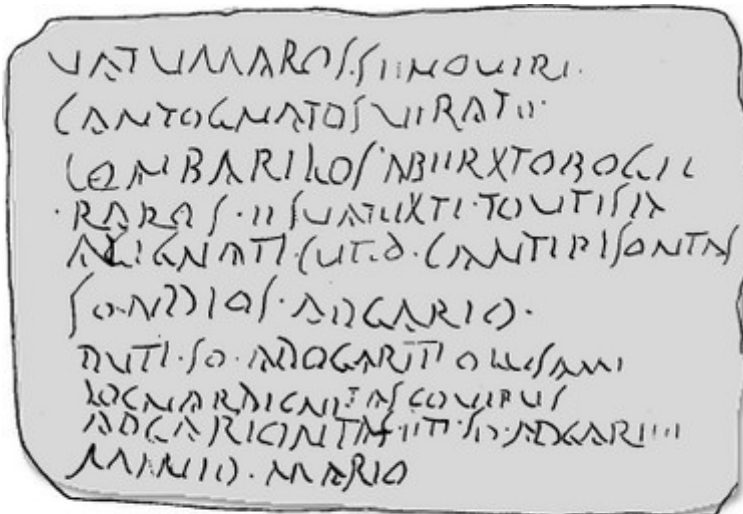
bueti daelus
 mendicos
 nitix orus
 ioatinca lao
 bumeioda..
 rincituso
 gnasioda

Lezoux, (Puy-de-Dôme), plate [?]



1. ne regu.na[...]
2. gandobe inte nouiio[...]
3. extincon papi coriiosed exa o [...]
4. mesamobi molatus cerdognu sueti>con[...]
5. pape boudi magarni papon mam[...]
6. nane deuorbuetid loncate[...]
7. nu gnate ne dama gussou n[...]
8. uero ne curri ne papi cots[...]
9. pape ambito papi boudi ne tetu[...]
10. batoron ueia suebreto su[...]
11. citbio ledgo mo berci[...]

Chartres (Eure-et-Loir) – *Defixio*, [2nd c. A.D. ?]



A

Vatumaros · Senouiri ·
 Cantognatos Virato ·
 Conbarilos Aberxtobogii
 Raros · Esuatexti · Toutisa
 Alignati · Cut · O · cantipisontas
 sondios .adgario ·
 duti · so · a[n]dogarie olusami
 logua(locna)rdicni · tascouipus
 adgariontas eti · so · adgarie...
 Minio · Mario

B

Tasguni · Abrystubogiu ·
 Paulo Tasgunias ·
 Cornuto · Cornilio ·
 Lami · Eponichnos ·
 uto(yto) · cantipisontas ·
 yti · Cornuti ·
 Toutisa · Vi[m]pili ·
 Fylice · uo · contesti[
 duti · so · cantigarie ·
 sondiobi ·



Rezé (Loire-Atlantique) – [2nd c. A.D.?]



triju – paetrute – pixte – suexxe ①

serinoti

sequndo

dinarilu ②

setigi prino

ascani usare

boletu xv ③

Plumergat (Morbihan), stele [3rd or 4th Century?]

Lambert P.-Y. (1994)

VABROS IIOOVT ATREBO AGANNTOBO

DURNEO GIAPO

Davies W. Et al. (1999)

V[.]JPQS RI[.]OUT ATEREBO ATE[MI]NTOBO

DURNBOGIAPO



Rom (Deux-sèvres) – Marichal Transcription [3rd, 4th C. A.D.]

A:

apECIALligarti

estiheiontcaticato

atademtissiebotu

cnasedemtitiato

bicartaontdibo

nasociodecipia

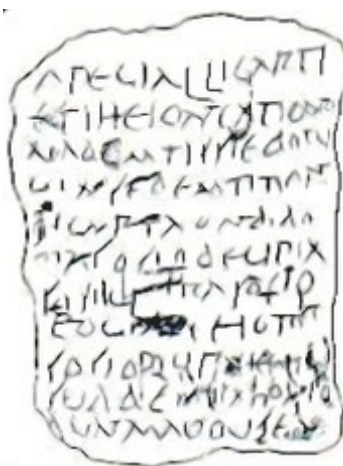
sosiopurasosio

eo...eiotet

sosiopurah...

suade..ix.o.cn

auntaontiodiseia



B:

teuoraiimo

ihzantatotehi

zontantatecom

prixtososioberti

noipommioateho

tissepoteatepri

auiomontantate

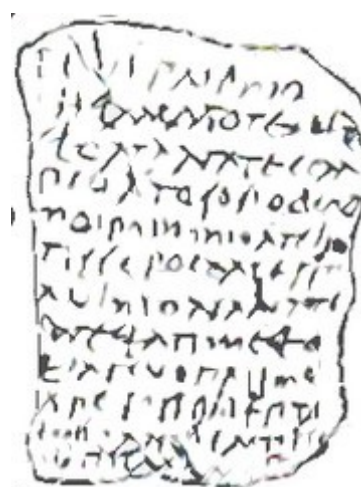
ontezatimezo

ziateuoraiimo

apesosioberti

im...demtiss..

ueie.....



Châteaubateau, (Seine-et-Marne) – [300-350 A.D.]

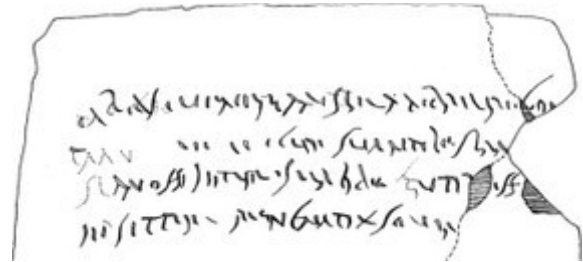
TILE 1

nemnalíúmi beni. ueíonna incorobouido
 neíanmanbe gniíou apeni temeuelle íexsetesi
 sueregeniatu o quprinnopetamebissi íeteta.
 miií íegumi. suante ueíommi petamassi papissone
 suirexetesi íegiiinna anmanbe íeguisini
 siaxsiou. beíassunebiti moi upiíummiateri
 xsi índore core. nuana íegumisini · beíassusete
 sue cluio u sedagisamo cele uiro íonoue
 ííobiíe beíassusete rega íexstumisendi
 me · setingi papissonebeíassusetemetingise
 tingibeíassuseteregarise íexstumisendi

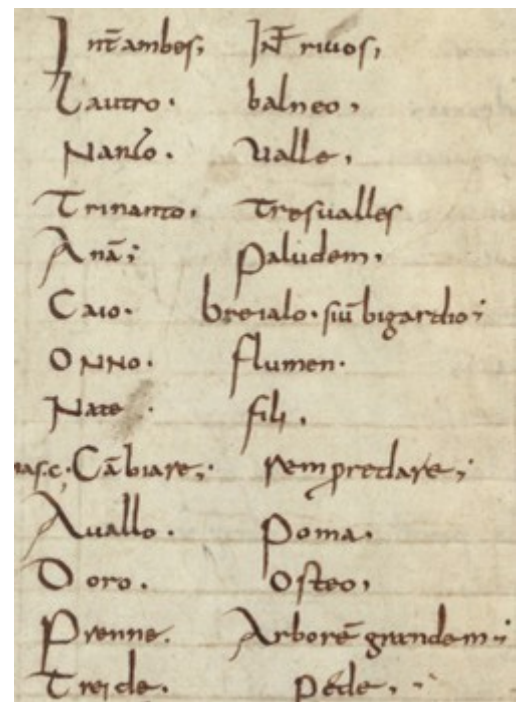
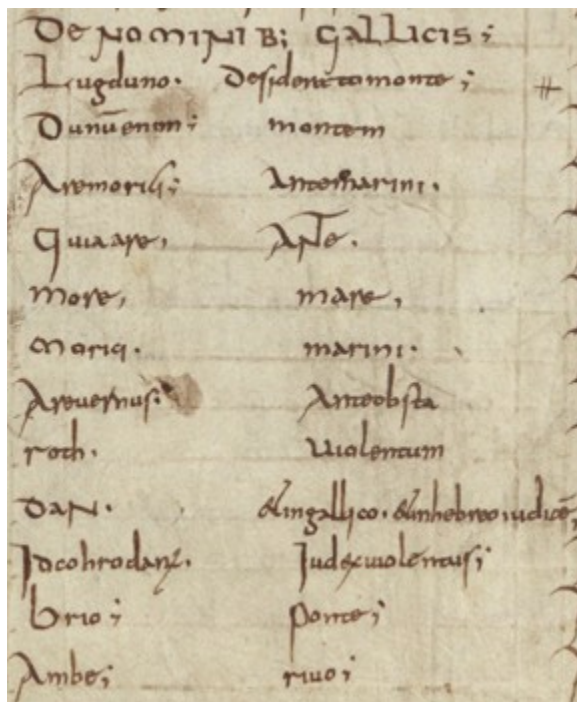


TILE 6

ba] bixs (bid ?) . uenyrianum ad briureco.[--]
 [ba] bidse uenerianum adebriureco.[...]
 r[...].cum · suaueloslan[...]
 slanossiíetum · sualido·contil.ossi[...]
 íe sittem · mongnatixsouim



📖 Endlicher's Glossary [6th C. A.D.?)



DE NOMINIB[US] GALLICIS;

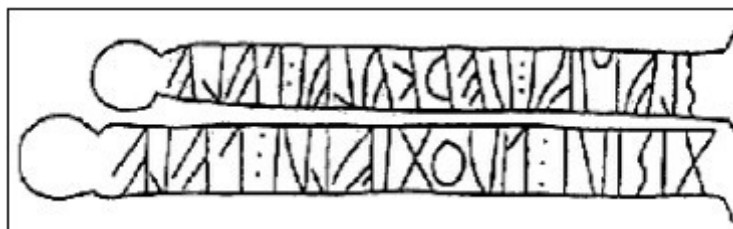


Lugduno·	desideratomonte;	Int[er] ambes,	Int[er] riuos,
Dunu[m]enim;	montem	Lautro·	balneo,
Aremorici;	antemarini·	Nanto·	Ualle,
Quiaare,	Ante·	Trinanto,	tresualles
More,	mare,	Ana[m];	Paludem,
Morici·	marini·	Caio·	breialo· siu[e] bigardio;
Areuernus·	Anteobsta	O nno·	Flumen·
Roth·	uiolentum	Nate[]·	Fili·
Dan·	&ingallico·&inhebreo iudice[m];	Ca[m]biare;	rem[pro]redare;
Idcohrodan[us]·	Iudexuiolentus;	Auallo·	Poma·
Brio;	Ponte;	Doro·	osteo,
Ambe;	riuo;	Prenne·	Arbore[m] grandem;
		Treide·	Pede,

5. SELECTED LEPONTIC TEXTS

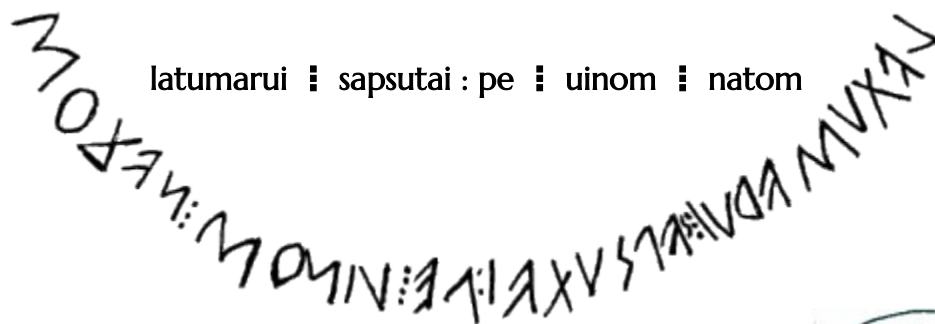
▢ Davesco

slaniai : uerkalai : pala
tisiui : piuotialui : pala



▢ Ornavasso

latumarui : sapsutai : pe : uinom : natom



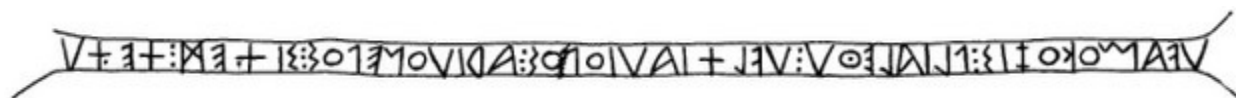
▢ Graffiti on a dish (Solduno)

soi7o7i43 eripoxios (Eribogios)

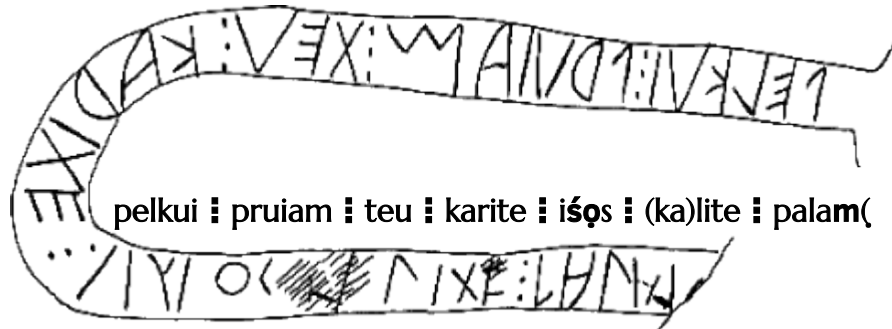


▢ Prestino

uvamokozis : plialeθu : uvtiauiopos : ariuonepos : siteś : tetu



☞ Vergiate



6. SELECTED CISALPINE GAULISH TEXTS

☞ Bilingual inscription from Todi

Face A

EI · VRNVM
OISIS DRVTI · F
RATER · EIVS
MINIMVS · LOCAV E
STATVITQVI ·
eknati trutikni
nitū · lokan · ko
utiknos

Face B

SIS
DRVTEI · F · FRATER
EIVS
MINIMVS · LOVAC
IT · ET · STATVIT
ateknati trut
ikni · karnitu

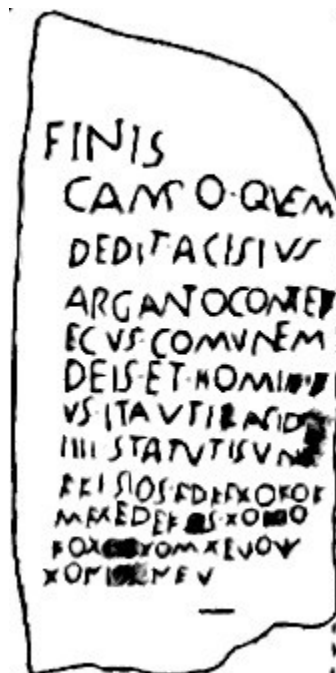
artuass koisis · t



☞ Vercelli

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

AKISIOS ARKATOKO
MATEREKOS TO[-]O
KOT[-]A]TOM TEVOX
TONION EV



☞ Briona

tanotaliknoi
kuitos
lekatos
anokopokios
setupokios
esane koti
anareuišeos
tanotalos
karnitus





7. SELECTED BRITTONIC TEXTS

- 📖 Pendant from Bath (P.-Y. Lambert interpretation)
ADIXOVI | DEVINA | DEVEDA | ANDAGIN |
VINDIORIX | CVAM VN | AI



8. SELECTED EASTERN CELTIC TEXTS

- 📖 Ptuj (Slovenia)
ARTEBUΘSBROXΘUI

ARTEBUΘSBROXΘUI

- 📖 Graffenstein
moge · es+[—]
pet(?) lau · ex[—]
ne · sames[—]
ollo · so · vilo · [—]
ona o(?) + ++
ollo · so · +
+ lugni-si



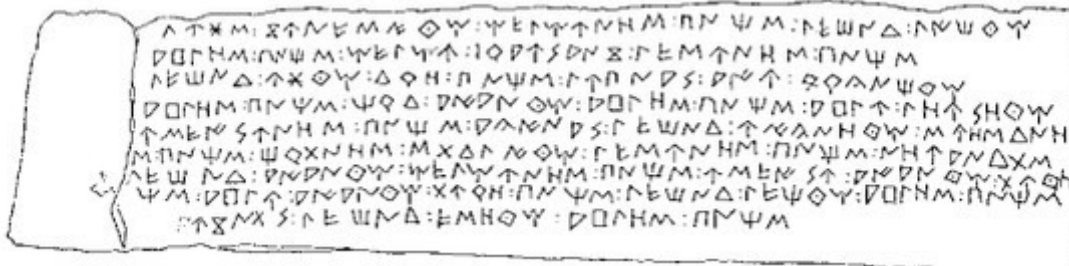
9. SELECTED CELTIBERIAN TEXTS

- 📖 Luzaga bronze

arekoratikubos · karuo · kenei
kortika : lutiakei : aukis : barazioka
erna : uela : tikerzeboz : so
ueizui : belaiokumkue
kenis · karikokue : kenis
stam · kortikam : elazunom
karuo : tekez · sa [:] kortika
teiuoreikis

📖 Botorrita 1, bronze, faces A & B

tirikantam : berkunetakam : tokoitoskue : sarnikio : kue : sua : kombalkez : nelitom
 nekue [:] to [u]ertaunei : litom : nekue : taunei : litom : nekue : masnai : tizaunei : litom : soz : auku
 aretaso : tamai : uta : oskuez : stena : uerzoniti : silabur : sleitom : konskilitom : kabizeti
 kantom : sankilistra : otanaum : tokoitei : eni : uta : oskuez : boustomue : koruinomue
 makasi[a]mue : ailamue : ambitiseti : kamanom : usabituz : ozas : sues : sailo : kusta : bizetuz : iom
 asekatu [:] a]mbitinkounei : stena : es : uertai : entara : tiris : matus : tinbituz : neito : tirnkantam
 eni : oisatuz : iomui : listas : titas : zizonti : somui : iom : arznas : bionti : iom : kustaikos
 arznas : kuati : ias : ozias : uertatosue : temeiue : robiseti : saum : tekametinas : tatuz : somei
 enitouzei : iste : ankios : iste : esankios : uze : areteina : sarnikiei : akainakubos
 nebintor : tokoitei : ios : ur : antiomue : auzeti : aratimue : tekametam : tatuz : iom : tokoitoskue
 sarnikiokue : aiuizas : kombalkores : aleites : iste : ikues : ruzimuz : abulu ; ubokum



lubos : kounesikum : melmunos : bintis : letontu : litokum
 abulos : bintis : melmu : barauzanko : lesunos : bintis
 letontu : ubokum : turo : bintis : lubinaz : aiu : berkantikum
 abulos : bintis : tirtu : aiankum : abulos : bintis : abulu : louzokum
 useizunos : bintis : akainaz : letontu : uikanokum : suostuno
 s : bintis : tirtanos : statulikum : lesunos : bintis : nouantubos (or nouantutas)
 letontu : aiankum : melmunos : bintis : useizu : aiankum : tauro :
]tis : abulu : aiankum : tauro : bintis : letontu : letikum : abulos : bintis
 [—]ukontaz : letontu : esokum : abulos : bintis



☞ Botorrita 3

I 1 skirtunos : tirtanikum : l(---)
 I 2 kontuzos : turos
 I 3 retukenos : statulu
 I 4 mezukenos : koitina
 I 5 tueizu : uiroku
 I 6 munika : koitu : koitina
 I 7 sekilos : toutinikum me+(---)
 I 8 ultia : uiriaskum : mel(---)
 I 9 sura : matulokum
 I 10 elkua : raiokum
 I 11 buria : batokum
 I 12 belsa : alasku[m] : mem(unos)
 I 13 elkua : ensikum : seko(---)
 I 14 sekontios : loukanikum : aiu(---)
 I 15 sura : uiriaskum : mel(---)
 I 16 stena : muturiskum : tirtu+(os)
 I 17 sleitui : karunikum : le(tontunos?)
 I 18 retukenos : ensikum
 I 19 letontu : atokum
 I 20 bilinos : austikum
 I 21 belsu : uiriaskum
 I 22 sekonzos : uiriaskum : me(---)
 I 23 burzu : teiuantikum
 I 24 bulibos : turumokum : ul(ta)tu(nos?)
 I 25 letontu : mailikum
 I 26 burzu : auikum
 I 27 melmanios : uiriaskum
 I 28 karbelos : turumokum : ulta(tunos)
 I 29 likinos : uerzaizokum : mem(unos)
 I 30 koitu : mailikum

II 1 sekanos kolukokum : lukinos
 II 2 tirtanos
 II 3 kentiskue : loukaniko uiriaskuùm
 II 4 mezukenos : turanikum
 II 5 elu : uiriaskum : launiku[.?)
 II 6 likinos : uiskikum
 II 7 letontu : auaskum
 II 8 kasilos : atokum
 II 9 usizu : abokum : titos

I 31 akuios : tetokum I 32 saluta :
 uizuskikum
 I 33 burzu : uiskikum : le(tontuno?)s
 I 34 ana : uerzaizokum : atu(---)
 I 35 sanion : baatokum
 I 36 niskekue : babokum
 I 37 biurtilaur : alaskum
 I 38 bini
 I 39 rusku : uiriaskum : kentisku<e>
 I 40 or++bilos : likinoskue
 I 41 abo++kum
 I 42 abu++akuiakue : araiokum
 I 43 alu : aiukue : araiokum
 I 44 kalos : telkaskum
 I 45 elazuna : loukanikum
 I 46 mezukenos : loukanikum
 I 47 burzu : tirtobolokum
 I 48 sleitui : makeskokum
 I 49 iunsti+[.] : uiriaskum
 I 50 tioken+s : uiriaskum
 I 51 uiroku : turumokum
 I 52 mizuku : retukenos : tirtanos
 I 53 munikakue : uiriaskum
 I 54 burzu : atokum
 I 55 aualos : kortikos
 I 56 amu : kankaikiskum
 I 57 kaiaitos : litukue : abokum
 I 58 aba : muturiskum
 I 59 barnai : turumokum : tir(tuno?)s
 I 60 mezukenos : abokum : turo

II 10 burzu : kulukamikum
 II 11 akuia : sekiloskue : tirilokum
 II 12 mezukenos : akikum : memun(os)
 II 13 akuia : alaskum : memunos
 II 14 terkinos : austikum : eskutino
 II 15 koitina : abokum : useizunos
 II 16 tirtouios : turumokum
 II 17 elaukos : bentikum : rotenanko
 II 18 elkuanos : muturiskum

II 19 terkinos : telazokum
 II 20 akuia : statu : turaku :
 tueizunos/tetoku[m?]
 II 21 mezukenos : elazunos
 II 22 tirtukue : ailokiskum
 II 23 sekilos : mailikum
 II 24 letontu : ustitokum II 25 turenta :
 kentiskue : ataiokum
 II 26 koitina : uerzaizokum : kalmiku/m
 II 27 elkuanos : kunikum
 II 28 launikue : uiriaskum
 II 29 koitu : uerzaizokum : aias
 II 30 snaziuentos : ataiokum
 II 31 tais : uiriaskum
 II 32 basaku : uiriaskum
 II 33 kalaitos
 II 34 koitinakue : uiriraskum
 II 35 likinos : ataiokum
 II 36 sa[-c.3 or 4-]i kaburikum : memun(os)
 II 37 kares : +ruaku : korkos
 II 38 to[.]r+tetokum : kekas : ko(---)
 II 39 aureiaku

III 1 testios : turumokum
 III 2 elku : suolakue
 III 3 tirtanikum : uiriaskum : mel(---)
 III 4 kinbiria : kentiskue : turikum
 III 5 toloku : koitinakue : austunikum
 III 6 stenu : bentilikum
 III 7 burzu : bentilikum : ultatunos
 III 8 koloutios : biniskum
 III 9 antiokos : uiriaskum : melm(---)
 III 10 elazunos : kaburikum
 III 11 arkanta : mezukenoskue : abokum
 III 12 arkanta : loukanikum
 III 13 stena : ensikum : skirtunos
 III 14 burzu : betaskum
 III 15 koitu : samikum : melmanzo
 III 16 sekontios : ubokum
 III 17 barnai : ensikum : skirtunos
 III 18 tetu : loukanikum

II 40 tuate+eskue : uiriaskum
 II 41 burzu : babouikum
 II 42 koitu : kuinikum : tirtunos
 II 43 [-c. 5-] : loukanikum : tirtunos
 II 44 toloku : kalisokum : atinos
 II 45 tarkunbiur
 II 46 bibalos : atokum : tirtano
 II 47 sikeia : beteriskum
 II 48 sekontios : turumokum : ultatun(os)
 II 49 tekos : konikum
 II 50 bartiltun : ekarbilos
 II 51 munika elkuakue : koitinas
 II 52 terkinos : toutinikum : leton(tunos)
 II 53 katunos : burikounikum
 II 54 elazuna : ukulikum
 II 55 keka : kabelaikiskum II 56 munika :
 tolisokum : tirtun(os)
 II 57 elazuna : ensikum : turo
 II 58 sekonzos : bentikum
 II 59 tokiosar : ensikum
 II 60 akuia : abokum : letontunos

III 19 stena : uiriaskum
 III 20 toloku : uiriaskum
 III 21 arkanta : teiuantikum : tirtunos
 III 22 mizuku : tirtobolokum
 III 23 retukeno : elkueikikum
 III 24 kentisum : tuateroskue
 III 25 abaliu berikakue : suaikinokum
 III 26 uiroku : konikum : statulos
 III 27 aunia : beskokum
 III 28 bilonikos : elokum : elkinos
 III 29 mezukenos : tirtobolokum
 III 30 akuios : alikum
 III 31 tiriu : uiriaskum III 32 turtunazkue :
 kazarokum
 III 33 sleitiu : totinikum
 III 34 munika ensikum : skirtunos
 III 35 sekontios : uiriaskum
 III 36 sura : suaikinokum



III 37 koitina : suoli+kum
III 38 bilir+turtuntakue : telkaskum
III 39 elu karbilikum
III 40 terkinos : atokum : launikue
III 41 mizuku : telkaskum
III 42 melmantama : bentilikum
III 43 markos : kalisokum
III 44 arkanta : toutinikum
III 45 tolokunos : ke(---) : kalisokum
III 46 sura : ensikum : melman bi(---)?
III 47 usama : abaloskue : karunikum
III 48 elazuna : balaisokum

IV 1 kainu : tirtobolokum
IV 2 stenion+ : turikainos
IV 3 bolora : kentiskue : melmanzos
IV 4 tiokenesos : uiriaskum
IV 5 kalaitos : mturiskum
IV 6 burzu : karunikum
IV 7 burzu : abilikum : elazuno
IV 8 litu : makeskokum
IV 9 mezukenos : kalisokum
IV 10 koitina : tirikantanko
IV 11 esueiku : ateskum
IV 12 kalaitos : kustikum
IV 13 antiokos : kustikum
IV 14 kabutu : abokum
IV 15 anu : uiriaskum
IV 16 kalaitos : muturiskum
IV 17 akuia : albinokum
IV 18 balakos : sekonzos
IV 19 kara : kalatokum
IV 20 arkanta : mailikum IV 21 elazunos :
albinokum

III 49 likinos : turumokum : ti(---)
III 50 tueizunos : binis+kum
III 51 bilonikos : ensikum
III 52 ebursunos : mailikinokum
III 53 arkanta ailokiskum
III 54 suros : alikum
III 55 ultinos : amakue uiriaskum
III 56 babos : kentiskue : uiriaskum
III 57 turaios : litanokum : kurmilokum
III 58 launikue : uiriaskum
III 59 kari : uiriaskum
III 60 kuintitaku : mailikinokum

IV 22 bubilibor : uiriaskum
IV 23 usizu : uiriaskum
IV 24 retukenos : telkaskum
IV 25 +ri a : belsu
IV 26 toloku : kurmi+iokum
IV 27 anieskor : talukokum
IV 28 s+[-c.3 or 4-] alikum
IV 29 elkueis : akikum
IV 30 raieni : uizuskikum
IV 31 urkala : austunikum
IV32 tama : ataiokum
IV 33 retukenos : kustikum
IV 34 bilosban : betikum
IV 35 koitina : kankaikiskum
IV 36 likinos : kuezontikum
IV 37 munika : uerzaizokum
IV 38 terkinos : turanikum
IV 39 teuzesi : kustikum
IV 40 kaukirino

☞ Botorrita 4

Face A

1. [ca. 5 ?]tam : tirikantam : entorkue : toutam[O ou 2 ?]
2. [ca. 4 ?]: sua kombal<ke>z : bouitos : ozeum :[te][I ?]
3. [ca. 3 ?]i : turuntas : tirikantos : kustai : bizetu<z>[?]
4. [ca. 3 ?]a : karalom : aranti : otenei : ambi[o/ti]n[?]
5. [ca. 2 ?]kom : atibion : taskue†[2-3]a†[s/n][mind. 4 ?]
6. [O-I ?]kue : usimounei : [mind. II ?]
7. [O ?]karalom : ios : lu[I ?]e[I]s[mind. IO ?]
8. [ca. 3 ?]oi[I ?]u[I-2]ti : esta[ca. I][ta?][mind. IO ?]
9. [ca. 4 ?]uta : †[ca. 4]kue[mind. II ?]
10. [ca. 5 ?]ti[I-2]n[I]e[mind. I3 ?]
11. [mind. 23 ?]



Face B

1. [ca. 6 ?]e[I]i[mind. I3 ?]
2. [ca. 5 ?]atuz : uta : e[mind. II ?]
3. [ca. 4 ?]isum : [2-3]ti : [ba/ke/ku ?][mind. IO ?]
4. [O ?]††[ca. 2]olo†[I]† : iom : u[mind. 9 ?]
5. [O-I ?]ta[ca. 3]toke : [bu ?][I ?]ta : †ue : tizatuz[mind. 8 ?]
6. [ca. 3 ?]I[ca. 3]lez[a]†toioan[mind. 8 ?]
7. [ca. 3 ?]toruonti : stoterai : tas[u ?]†[mind. 4 ?]
8. [ca. 3 ?]ko[ca. 2]†[z]esusimo††o†[mind. 4 ?]



☞ Bronze "res"

Face A

kuekueetikui : nekue : es | ozeres
 nekue : esianto :
 uameiste : aino | likum
 retukeno [:] uei | ziai
 mitai [:] autom
 ailai



Face B

tunares : nezokim : | ★res :
 auzares : korta : [:]
 akaizokum : metuu | tos
 terberez
 mozim : tizaui | om
 auzares :



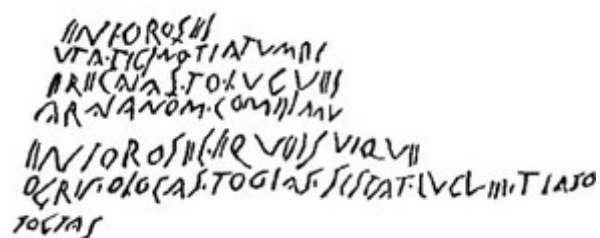


☞ Torrijo del Campo

1. kelaunikui [—]
2. terkininei : es
3. kenim : tures : lau
4. ni : olzui : obakai
5. eskenim : tures [—]
6. useizunos : kotizo
7. nei : lutorikum : ei
8. subos : atizai : ekue : kar
9. tinokum : ekue : lakikum
10. ekue : tirtokum : silabur
11. sazom : ibos : esatui



☞ Peñalba de Villastar (main inscription)



ENIOROSEI
 UTA · TIGINO · TIATVMEI
 ERECAIAS · TO LVGVEI
 ARAINOM · COMEIMV
 ENIOROSEI · EQVEISVIQVE
 OGRIS · OIOCAS · TO GIAS · SISTAT · LVGVEI · TIASO
 TOGIAS

☞ Osma (Bronze pig)



boruoture[i]ka : tureibo[s]
 eskeinis : kortika
 usama : antos
 saikios : baisai
 kaltaikikos

	Toiryo	Car. 1	Car. 2	Car. 3	Car. 4	Res	A. Chacón	Bot. 1	Bot. 3	Froehner	Ibiza	Luzaga	Medinaceli	Vuna	Uxama
a	Ð	Þ		Þ	Þ	ÞÞ	Þ	ÞÞ	ÞÞ	ÞÞ	Þ	ÞÞÞ	ÞÞ	Þ	ÞÞ
e	É	Ṽ		É	Ṽ	ÉÉ	Ṽ	Ṽ	ṼṼ		Ṽ	É	É	ÉÉ	É
i	Ṽ	Ṽ				Ṽ	Ṽ	ṼṼ	ṼṼ	ṼṼ	Ṽ	Ṽ		Ṽ	
o	H		H			H		H	H	H	H	H		H	
u	ʌ			ʌ		ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌʌ	ʌ		ʌ		ʌ	
m	ʍ		ʍ			ʍ	ʍ	ʍ	ʍ	ʍ	ʍ	N(?)		ʍ	
n	N	N			N	NN	N	NN	N	N	N	V			
l	ʌʌ	ʌ			ʌ		ʌʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ		ʌ	
r	Φ	Φ	Φ		Φ	Φ	ΦΦ	Φ	Φ	Φ	Φ	Φ	Φ	Φ	Φ
z	ʃʃʃ	ʃ		ʃ		ʃʃʃ		ʃ	ʃʃʃ	ʃʃ		ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	
s	M			M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M		M	
ba	ʃ		ʃ		ʃ		ʃ	ʃ	ʃ			ʃ			
be				ʃ	ʃʃ			ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	
bi								ʃʃ	ʃʃ	ʃ					
bo	* *			*				*	* *	*		*	*	*	*
bu	ʃ				ʃ			ʃ	ʃ		ʃ				
ka	ʃ		ʃ		ʃ	ʃ		ʃ	ʃʃ	ʃ		ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ
ke	ʃ	ʃ			ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ		ʃ		ʃ	
ki	Zʃ	ʃ			ʃ		ʃ	ʃ	ʃʃ	ʃ		ʃ			
ko	X				X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	
ku	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃʃ		ʃ		ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ		ʃʃ	
ta					X			X	X		X	X			
te	ʃ	ʃ			X	X	X	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ		ʃ	ʃ	ʃʃ	
ti	ʃʃ			ʃ	ʃʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ		ʃ	ʃ			
to	ʃ				ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ		ʃ				
tu	ʃ				ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ		ʃ				

Celtiberian alphabet and its variants

10. LUSITANIAN TEXTS

Lusitanian was the language spoken by a group of peoples with uncertain origins, gathered in a circumstantial way and taken under a generic name that actually designated a restricted people or group of tribes: the *Lusitani*, situated between the Tagus and Douro, in the area of the Beira. The characteristics of this Indo-European language make it possible to doubt its Celticity.

The inscriptions show that we are dealing with a language that is translatable and interpretable because it retains a great degree of similarity with Celtic. However, the conservation of the initial *p* in some Lusitanian inscriptions means that many authors do not consider Lusitanian to be a Celtic language, but a language that could be described as para-Celtic (see GCC); it lacks the Common Celtic loss of the initial Indo-European *p* (for example: *porcom* in Lusitanian would correspond to *orcos* in other Celtic languages such as Celtiberian, Gaelic, or Gaulish). For these authors, Lusitanian would be a language related to Celtic (Southwest Indo-European like the Celtic and Italic languages)—that is to say, a variant distinct from Celtic but with many connections to it.



☞ Cabeço das Fráguas

OILAM TREBOPALA
INDI PORCOM LAEBO
COMMAIAM ICCONA LOIM
INNA OILAM VSSEAM
TREBARVNE INDI TAVROM
IFADEM[...]
REVE TRE[...]



☞ Arroyo de la Luz (I & II)

AMBATVS SCRIPSI CARLAE PRAISOM
SECIAS ERBA MVITIE
AS ARIMO PRAESONDO SINGEIETO
INI AVA INDI VEA VN INDI VEDAGA
ROM TEVCAECOM INDI NVRIM INDI
VDEVEC RVRSENCO AMPILVA
INDI LOEMINA INDI ENV
PETANIM INDI ARIMOM SINTAMO
M INDI TEVCOM SINTAMO

☞ Arroyo de la Luz (III)

ISAICCID. RVETI. PVPPID. CARLAE. EN
ETOM. INDI. NA(.) (....) CE. IOM. M



☞ Ribeira da Venda

[- - - - -] XX · OILAM · ERBAM
HARASE · OILA · X · BROENEIAE · H
OILA · X · REVE AHARACVI · T · AV [...]
IEATE · X · BANDI HARACVI AV [...]
MVNITIE CARIA CANTIBIDONE ·
APINVS · VENDICVS · ERIACAINV[S]
OVOVIANI [?]
ICCINVI · PANDITI · ATTEDIA · M · TR
PVMPI · CANTI · AILATIO

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