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GAULISH LANGUAGE¹

1. Borders of Gaul, its name and etymology
2. History of the epigraphical traditions
3. Main sources of Gaulish
 - 3.1. Gaulish epigraphical tradition
 - 3.1.1. Gaulish-Etruscan tradition
 - 3.1.2. Gaulish-Greek tradition
 - 3.1.3. Gaulish-Latin tradition
 - 3.2. Calendar of Coligny
 - 3.3. Medical compendium of Marcellus of Bordeaux
 - 3.4. Endlicher's glossary
 - 3.5. Ancient glosses and Gaulish loans in Latin
 - 3.6. Gaulish substratum in Gallo-Romance
4. Fragments of Gaulish grammar
 - 4.1. Gaulish vs. Insular Celtic: comparative phonetics
 - 4.2. Nominal morphology
 - 4.3. Pronouns
 - 4.4. Numerals
 - 4.5. Verbal morphology
5. Conclusion: On the position of Gaulish within Celtic
6. Basic bibliography

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

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

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

be an adaptation of the name of the Gauls, who were in both business and military contacts with the inhabitants of the British Islands in the 4th–7th centuries AD (Holder I, 1638–39).

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

3. For our knowledge of the Gaulish language there are the following sources:

- (1) Inscriptions and coin legends.
- (2) Calendar of Coligny (§ 3.2.).
- (3) Medical compendium of Marcellus of Bordeaux (§ 3.3.).
- (4) Glossar of Vienna (or so called Endlicher’s glossar), consisting of 18 words (§ 3.4.).
- (5) The glosses of antique authors and Gaulish words borrowed in Latin (§ 3.5.).
- (6) The Gaulish substratum in the Gallo-Romance languages (§ 3.6.).
- (7) Proper names (hydronyms, oronyms, toponyms; ethnonyms, anthroponyms, theonyms – see Billy 1993, DLG, Evans 1967, Holder I–III, Schmidt 1957, Schmitt 1996–97) – here limited only to examples in the comparative phonetics (§ 4.1.).

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

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

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

[N] .. [K] .. ESASOIOIKAN | TANOTALIKNOI | KUI^NTOS | LEKATOS | ANOKOPOKIOS |
 “ ? Descendants of Dannotalos, Quintos – legatus, Andokombogios,
 SETUPOKIOS | ESANEKOTI | ANAREUISEOS | TANOTALOS | KARNI^NTUS | TA^NKOS:TOUTAS ..

“Setubogios to Exandekottos: Andareuiseos, Dannotalos erected tombstone after the decision of a tribe”

Note:

The symbol “^N” designates an assumed presence of the nasal before stop, which the script *Lugano* did not differentiate.

The symbol “|” separates the lines of the original inscription.

The point “.” corresponds with the original, although not always consistent segmentation of the text.

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

Side “A” (Latin version)

ATEGNATEI DRVTEI·F·|..COI]SIS | DRV | TEL·F·FRATER | EIVS | MINIMVS·LOCAV | IT·ET·STATVIT

Side “B” (Latin version)

[ATEGNATI·DRVTI·F·|..C]OISIS DRVTI·F | [F]RATER·EIVS | [M]INIMVS·LOCA·E | [ST]ATVITQVI

The senses of both the Latin versions are in principle identical:

“[tomb] of Ategnatos, son of Drutos. Coisis, son of Drutos, his brother youngest, placed [it] and stood”

Side “A” (Gaulish version)

ATEKNATI·TRUT | IKNI·KARNITU | ARTUAŚ KOISIS·T | RUTIKNOS

“for Ategnatos, a son of Drutos, Koisis erected the stelle, son of Drutos”

Side “B” (Gaulish version)

[AT]EGNATI·TRUTI|K]NI | [KAR]NITU·LOKAN·KOI]SIS | [TR]UTIKNOS

“for Ategnatos, a son of Drutos, Koisis erected the tomb, son of Drutos”

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

Note 2: Kim McCone, *Fs. Untermann* 1993, 248, interprets **LOKAN** as /*longam*/ “urna”, cf. Old Irish *long* “vase, vaisseau”, Welsh *llong* “vaisseau”.

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

Latin version

FINIS | CAMPO·QVEM | DEDIT | ACISIVS | ARGANTOCOMATER | ECVS·COMVNE
M |

“(This is) the boundary to the field which Argantomaterecus gave in common

DEIS·ET·HOMINIB | VS·ITA VTI LAPIDES | IIII·STATVTISVNT

to gods and men; – thus 4 stones have been set up”

Gaulish version

AKISIOS·ARKA^NTOKO<K> | MATEREKOS·TO·ŚO | KO·TE A^NTOM TEUOX | TONION EU

“Akisios argantokomaterekos, he gave it, a boundary of gods and people.”

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

Note 2: The word TEUOXTONION represents the gen. pl. of the compound of the type of *dvandva*, reflecting Celtic **dēuo-* & **gdonio-* from IE **deīuo-* & **dʰǵʰomīo-* “god” & “man” (lit. “terrestrial”).

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

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

(A) TETVMVS SEXTI DVGIAVA SAŚADIS

“Tetumus, [son] of Sextus, and Dugiava, [daughter] of Saśid- [are buried here]” vel sim.

(B) TOMEDECLAI OBALDANATINA

“[and] Obalda, [their dear] daughter, set me [i.e. the monument] up.”

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

3.1.2.1. The dedicatory inscription from Vaison (Vaucluse), unearthed in 1840 (LG 86–87):

σεγομαρος ουιλλονεος τοουτιους ναμαυσατις ειωρου βηλησαμι σοσιν νεμητον
“Segomarus fils de Villū, citoyen de Nîmes, a offert à Belesama cet enclos sacré.”

3.1.2.2. The dedicatory inscription devoted to Taranis, discovered in 1886 in Orgon, Bouches-du-Rhône, today in the Musée Calvet in Avignon (LG 88–89):

ουηβρουμαρος δεδε ταρανοου βρατουδεκαντεμ
“Vebrumaros a offert à Taranus, par reconnaissance, avec la dîme.”

3.1.2.3. The dedicatory inscription from Glanum (Saint-Rémy) (LG 89):

ματρεβο γλανεικαβο βρατουδεκαντεν
“Aux Mères de Glanum, par reconnaissance, avec la dîme.”

3.1.2.4. Cup from Vallauris, Greek alphabet (Meid 1994, 51):

ουενικοι μεδου “friendly through mead”.

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

3.1.3.1. The dedicatory inscription from Nérès-Les-Bains, Allier, where it was discovered c. in 1836 (LG 106–07):

BRATRONOS NANTON[T]ICN EPAÐATEXTORICI . LEVCVTIO SVIOREBE LOGITOI
“Bratronos, fils de Nantonios a établi un *leucution* (bois sacré?) pour Epatatextorici en association avec ses soeurs.”

Note: Important is the only use of the word for “sister” in the Gaulish lexical corpus.

3.1.3.2. The inscription on a granit from Plumergat, canton d’Auray, with only a partial translation (LG 108–09):

VABROS IIIIOOVT ATREBO AGANNTOBO DURNEO GIAPO

“Vabros (a offert?) aux Pères-frontières ...”

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

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

MARTIALIS DANNOTALI IEVRV UCUETE SOSIN CELICNON

(A) “Martialis, son of Dannotalos, has devoted Ucuets this building,

(B) Martialis, son of Dannotalos, has offered to Ucuets this *celicnon*,

ETIC GOBEDBI DUGIIONTIHO UCUETIN IN ALISIA

(A) and with smiths who honour Ucuets in Alisia”

(B) which is [[made]] by the smiths who worship Ucuets in Alisia”

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

1. IN SINDE SE BNAME BRICTO[M]

A: “Gegen diesen dieser Frauen Zauber,

B: Discharge this of women’s incantations,

2. [I]N EIANOM ANUANA SANA ANDERNA

A: gegen deren Namen die (acc. pl.) unterweltlichen (der)

B: in these, the distinct feminine names,

3. BRICTOM UIDLUIAS UIDLU[A]

A: Zauber der Vidluia Magien (acc. pl.)

B: with the vision of seers of incantations.

4. TIGONTIAS SO ADSAGSONA SEUE[RIM]

A: (der) stechenden (ist) dies. Die Gegenwirkende (nom. sg.) Severa (acc.)

B: This supplicant of the indicated one, Severa

5. TERTIONICNIM LIDSSATIM LICIA TIM

A: (und) Tertionikna (acc.) *lidssatim* (attr.) *liciata* (attr.)

B: Tertionikna, a lot caster and letter-writer,

6. EIANOM UO-DUNO-DERCE LUNGET[UT]U // EIANOM VODUI VODERCE LUNGET[.] UTONID

A: deren unter-(Grab)hügel-Öffnung sie-soll-legen // B: with a conspicuous outcry to them, she released

7. TON-ID PONC NITIXSINTOR SI[ES]

- A: ausserdem, wenn zaubern diese
 B: whomever when they are indicated. Bind
 8. DUS-CELINATIA IN EANON ANUAN[A]
 A: mit-bösem-Vorzeichen, gegen deren Namen (acc. pl.)
 B: the unpropitious through this. Named
 9. ESI ANDERNADOS BRICTOM BANO[NA]
 A: ist (der) Unterwelt Zauber. Banona
 B: is the group of women of incantations: Banonia
 10. FLATUCIAS PAULLA DONA POTITI[US]
 A: (Tochter) der Vlatucia; Paulla, Frau des Potitus;
 B: of Vlatucia, Paulla wife of Potitos,
 11. AIAI DUXTIR ADIEGIAS POTI[TA]
 A: Aiai, Tochter der Adiega; Potita,
 B: iaia daughter of Adiega, Potitia
 12. M]ATIR PAULLIAS SEUERA DU[XTIR]
 A: Muter. der Paulla; Severa, Tochter
 B: mother of Paulla, Severa daughter
 13. UALENTOS DONA PAULLI[I]US
 A: des Valens, Frau des Paullus;
 B: of Valens, the wife of Paullos..
 14. ADIEGA MATIR AIIAS
 A: Adiega, Mutter der Aiaa;
 B: Adiega mother of Aia,
 15+16. POTITA DONA PRIM[IUS DUXTIR] ABESIAS
 A: Potita. Frau des Primus, Tochter des Abesa.”
 B: Potita wife of Primos, the daughter of Abesia. “

3.1.3.5. The inscription from *Chamalières* (near Clermont-Ferrand) was unearthed in 1971. The text is written again in Latin italics on lead tablets, which were preferred in communication with the other world. The interpretation follows K.H. Schmidt (1981, 260):

ANDEDÍON UEDIÍUMI DÍIUHION RISU NARITU MAPON[ON] ARUERNATIN.
 “By the magic tablet, I honour the divine Maponos Arvernatis, in whom a god dwels.
 LOTITES SNÍ EDDIC SOS BRIXTÍA ANDERON
 Quicken us [in the attack] and the following [men] by the magic of the Anderoi:
 : C.LUCION, FLORON NIGRINON ADGARION, AEMILION PATERIN,
 the invoker C. Lucios Floros Nigrinos, Aemilios Paterin(os),
 CLAUDION LEGITUMON, CAELION PELIGN[ON], CLAUDION PELIGN[ON],
 Claudios Legitumos, Caelios Pelign(os), Claudios Pelign(os),
 MARCION UICTORIN ASIATÍCON. ADDEDILLI
 Marcios Victorin(os), Asiati(cos), the son of Addedillos
 ETIC SECOUI TONCNAMAN TONCSÍÍONT-IO.
 and the Segovii, who will swear the oath.
 MEÍON, PONC SESIT, BUET-ID OLLON.
 The small thing will become great, when he has sown it.
 REGU-C CAMBION EXSOPS PISSÍU-MI ISO-C CANTÍ RISSU
 I straighten the bent one. Though blind, I will see so by means of the song tablet.
 ISON SON BISSÍET.
 He will strike that one [the enemy].
 LUGE DESSU-(M)MI-ÍIS. LUGE DESSU-MÍ-IS. LUGE DESSU-MÍ-ÍIS. LUXE.
 I prepare them for Lugus. I prepare them for Lugus. I prepare them for Lugus.

LUXE
Swear!”

3.1.3.6. Tile from Châteaubateau (Seine-et-Marne) is one of the most recent (3rd–4th cent.) and most recently discovered (1997) inscriptions, maybe a wedding song (see Lambert 2001, 71, 112–13; LG 209–11):

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

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

3.1.3.7. Beaker from Banassac, Latin italics:

NEÐÐAMON DELGU LINDA “I contain the drinks of the nearest.”
LUBI RUTENICA ONOBIIA TIEDI ULANO CELICNU
“Aime les (coupes?) rutènes du eau-de-vie?, tu seras un roi pour le banquet “

3.1.3.8. Bottle from Limé, Latin majuscule:

IBETIS UCIU, ANDECARI BIHETE
“Drink (2pl.) from this, (and) you will be very amiable”.

3.1.3.9. Remarkably naughty texts in late Gaulish, strongly influenced by Latin, appear on the conic circles outweighed distaffs, part of a rich find discovered north from Autun in eastern Gaul :

NATA UIMPI, CURMI DA “Pretty girl, give beer!” (Meid 1994, 54)

MONI GNATHA, GABI BUÐÐUTON IMON

“Come here, girl, take my little kiss” (Meid 1994, 53) or

“Come here, girl, take my penis” (Watkins).

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

Year 1: 385–days			Year 2: 355–days			Year 3: 385–days			Year 4: 355–days			Year 5: 355–days			
In ¹ 30	<i>Riv</i> 30	<i>Gia</i> 29	<i>Edr</i> 30	<i>Riv</i> 30	<i>Gia</i> 29	<i>Edr</i> 30	In ² 30	<i>Equ</i> 30	<i>Sam</i> 30	<i>Ogr</i> 30	<i>Equ</i> 30	<i>Sam</i> 30	<i>Ogr</i> 30	<i>Equ</i> 30	
	<i>Ana</i> 29	<i>Sim</i> 30	<i>Can</i> 29	<i>Ana</i> 29	<i>Sim</i> 30	<i>Can</i> 29		<i>Ana</i> 29	<i>Ele</i> 29	<i>Dum</i> 29	<i>Cut</i> 30	<i>Ele</i> 29	<i>Dum</i> 29	<i>Cut</i> 30	<i>Ele</i> 29
<i>Sam</i> 30	<i>Ogr</i> 30	<i>Equ</i> 30	<i>Sam</i> 30	<i>Ogr</i> 30	<i>Equ</i> 30	<i>Sam</i> 30	<i>Ogr</i> 30	<i>Gia</i> 29	<i>Edr</i> 30	<i>Riv</i> 30	<i>Gia</i> 29	<i>Edr</i> 30	<i>Riv</i> 30	<i>Gia</i> 29	<i>Edr</i> 30
<i>Dum</i> 29	<i>Cut</i> 30	<i>Ele</i> 29	<i>Dum</i> 29	<i>Cut</i> 30	<i>Ele</i> 29	<i>Dum</i> 29	<i>Cut</i> 30	<i>Sim</i> 30	<i>Can</i> 29	<i>Ana</i> 29	<i>Sim</i> 30	<i>Can</i> 29	<i>Ana</i> 29	<i>Sim</i> 30	<i>Can</i> 29

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

Notes on the month-names (LG 112–13; RIG III):

I. SAMON, gen. SAMONI – cf. W. *haf*, B. *hañv*, OIr. *sam-rad* “summer” < **samo-*;

II. DVMAN, gen. DVMANNI – cf. Latin *fūmus* “smoke”; perhaps the month of fumigation (DLG 129) – similarly L. *februarius*.

III. RIVROS, gen. RIVRI – cf. W. *rheuw*, B. *reo*, *rev* “intensive cold”, OIr. *réud* “strong cold” < **(p)reuso-* or **ro-iuos* “great fest” < **(p)ro-iuostu-* (both ideas by Thurneysen), cf. the term *iuos* in the Calendar (DLG 220, 163);

IV. ANAGAN/ANAGTIO, gen. ANAGANTIO, ANAGTIOS – cf. *Anextlo-maros* “of a big protection”, the epithet of Apollo, from the verbal base **aneg-*, **anag-* “to protect”;

V. OGRONN / OGRONN, gen. OGRONI – cf. W. *oer*, OIr. *úar* “cold” < Celt. **ogro-*;

VI. CVT-/ GVTIOS, gen. QVTIO, QUTI / CVTIO – cf. OIr. *guth* “voice” and G. *gutwater* by Lambert or an adaptation of the Greek month-name Κοούτιος by Thurneysen (DLG 111);

VII. GIAMON / GIAMONI, gen. GIAMONI – cf. W. *gaeaf*, B. *gouañv*, OIr. *geim-red* “winter” < **giġamo-*;

VIII. SIMIVIS. SEM.V., gen. SIMIVISONN. SEMIVISO. SIMIVISO < **semi-uesont-* “half spring”, cf. OW. *guiannuin* “spring” < Brittonic **uesant-eino-*;

IX. EQVOS, gen. EQVI – apparently the *q*-Celtic (‘Sequanian’?) continuant of IE **ekwos* “horse”; cf. the Greek month-names ἴππιος in Calabria and Ἰπποδρομιος in Thessaly (DLG 138).

X. ELEMBIV / ELEMB., gen. ELEMBI < **elenb^hio-*, perfectly agreeing with Greek ἔλαφος “deer”, cf. the fest ἐλαφροβόλια from Phocis and the corresponding month-name Ἐλαφροβολιών.

XI. AEDRINI / EDRINI – perhaps to OIr. *aed* “fire” (**aidu-*), cf. L. *aestas* “summer” < **aid^h-tāt-* (DLG 29-30);

XII. CANTLOS / GANTLOS, gen. CANTLI – cf. W. *cathl* “song”, OIr. *-cétal* id. < Celt. **kan-tlo-*.

In the Calendar there are also other remarkable words, frequently abbreviated: AMMAN – the term used in the head of the second intercalary month; cf. OIr. *amm* “time, moment” (DLG 37).

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

CIALLOS B[LEDN?]IS SONNOCINGOS “the second year course of the sun”, i.e. “the second intercalary”, where CI+ALLOS represents a compound of the demonstrative and the continuant of IE **alno-* “other”; B..IS could be completed as BLEDNIS or gen. BLEDNIAS “year”, cf. OIr. *bliaidain*, W. *blwydd*, B. *bloaz* “year” < **bleidni-*, and SONNOCINGOS is the compound of SONNO- “sun” and CINGOS, etymologized on the basis of OIr. *cingid* “marches” (LG 116–17). D[IION?] – probably the abbreviation of the word “day”; cf. W. *dydd*, B. *de(i)z* id. (LG 114).

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

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

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

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

OX[A]NTIA – perhaps “80”, cf. *oxtu* “8” (LG 116).

PRINNI LAGET – used about the ANMATU-months., lit. perhaps “falling, i.e. diminishing tree”: PRINNI is probably the gen. of **prinno-*, corresponding to *prenne* “tree” from the Viennese Glossar, W., B. *prenn* “wood”, OIr. *crann* “tree”. LAGET has been connected with the root **leg^{uh-}* “light” beginning from Thurneysen (1899, 529), cf. Ir. *lagat* “diminution”, *laigiu* “smaller”, W. *llai* id. (RIG III, 426; DLG 213–14; Olmsted 2001, 36).

PRINNI LOVDIN – used about the MATU-months. LOVDIN has to correspond with B. *luziañ* “emmêler” (RIG III, 426; DLG 213–14), but if the determination of the function and etymology of LAGET is correct, for LOVDIN it is natural to expect the opposite meaning. For this reason it seems best the etymology based on IE **(H₁)leud^{h-}* “to grow” (Olmsted 2001, 37).

NOVX in TRINOVX SAMON[II] – apparently “night”, cf. also TRINOX[TION] and further OIr. *innocht* “tonight”, W. *nos* “night” (LG 114, 112; Olmsted 2001, 40).

QVIMON – the last word written in the end of the first; perhaps contracted from **co(w)imon* or the *q*-relic of ‘Sequanian’ type (DLG 109).

RI, R – in GANO R, RIX RI. Olmsted (2001, 45) connects it with OIr. *ré* “moon”, deriving both from Celt. **rion*.

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

SINDIV = OIr. *indiu* “today”.

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

in mon dercom argos axati-son
“in my eye the brightness should enter”

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

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

alaua “a kind of fish from the Moselle called shad / *Culpea alosa*” (Ausonius) > F., Pr. *alauo*, Sp. *alosa*;

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

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

arinca ‘‘kind of grain, rye or grained wheat’’ (Pliny) – it is compatible with Greek ἄρακος ‘‘vetch’’;

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

beber, acc. *bebrum* ‘‘beaver’’ in late Latin against Latin proper *fiber* id.;

beccus ‘‘beak, bill’’ (Suetonius) > F. *bec*;

benna ‘‘a kind of carriage’’ (Festus) > F. *benne*, It. *benna*;

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

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

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

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

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

brucaria ‘‘heather’’ (late) > F. *bruyère* id., cf. OIr. *fróich*, W. *grug* id. < Celt. **uroiko-*, besides B. *brug* id., which represents more probably the Gaulish word borrowed through the Romance mediation, how the change **ur-* > *br-* indicates;

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

camminus ‘‘road’’ (7th cent.) > F. *chemin*, It. *cammino*, Sp. *camino*, Cat. *camí* etc. id., cf. OIr. *céimm* ‘‘walking, step’’, W. *cam* ‘‘id., footprint’’;

cantedon ‘‘100 feet’’ (Isidore of Sevilla) < **k̑nt(o)-pedom*, cf. OIr. *cét*, W. *cant* ‘‘100’’ & OIr. *ed* ‘‘space, interval’’;

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

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

cateia “a kind of spear, probably barbed”, cf. OIr. *caithid* “throws”;
cauannos “owl” > F. *chouan*, *chouette*, cf. W. *cwan*, OB. *couan*, B. *kaouann* id.,
 further OHG. *hūwo* id.;

cectoria, *cectorium* “furrow forming the border of a field”, cf. OIr. *cécht* “plow
 or its handle”;

cis(s)ium “light two-wheeled vehicle, cabriolet”, cf. OIr. *cess* “knitted basket” <
 **kistā*;

cleta “hamper, hurdle” > F. *claie* id., Pr., Cat. *cleda* “grate in the window”, cf. OIr.
cliath “hamper, hurdle”, W. *clwyd* “barriere” < pre-Celtic **kleitā*;

combrus “felled trees” (6th–7th cent.), “dam” (11. st.) < G. **komberos*, cf. OIr.
commar, W. *cymer*, B. *kemper* “confluence”;

couinnus “war-chariot of the Brittons and Belgae” (Mela), W. *cywain* “coach-
 man” < Celt. **ko-uegno-*, cf. W. *gwain* “wagon”, OIr. *fén* id. < **uegno-*;

crocina “suit of the skin”, cf. OIr. *crocenn* “(suit of) skin”, B. *kroc’hen* “skin”;

curucus “craft formed from the construction covered by skin”, cf. OIr. *curach*, W.
corwg id. < **koruko-*, cf. Greek κώρυκος “leathern sack”;

κούρρι “alcoholic drink of fermented barley” (Dioscorides) = G. *kurmi* “beer”
 (inscription from Autun), cf. OIr. *cuirm* “beer”, OW. *curum*, W. *cwrif*, B. *coruf*
 “beer”;

damma “roe, antelope, gazelle” > F. *daim*, cf. OIr. *dam* “bull, deer”, *damán*
 “fawn” (**damogno-*), W. *dafad* “ram” (**damato-*);

drungus “troop of enemies”, cf. OIr. *drong* “group, band, gang”, OB. *drogn*
 “troop”;

esox “a fish of the Rhine”, maybe “pike” (Pliny), cf. OIr. *éo*, gen. *iach* “salmon”,
 W. *ehawc*, MB. *eheuc* id.;

essedum “two-wheeled war-chariot used by Gauls, Belgae and Brittons” (Caesar,
 Vergilius) < **en-sedo-* or via assimilation from **ad-sedo-*, cf. the Latin gloss
asseda “seat of quadriuga”, W. *assed* “wagon” < **ad-sed-*;

gaesum “spear, javelin”, cf. OIr. *gae* “spear”, MW. *gwaew* “spear, javelin”;

gladius “sword”, cf. OIr. *claideb*, W. *clddyf* & *clddydd* id. (the difference *c* : *g*
 was perhaps caused by the orthographic vacillation or by Etruscan mediation);

glastum “blue colour” (Pliny), cf. OIr. *glas* “blue-green”, W. *glas* “blue”;

gulbia “beak, bill” (Isidore of Sevilla), cf. MIr. *gulba* id., W. *gylfin* id.;

iotta “soup of a milk, mash” (6th cent.), cf. OW. *iot*, OB. *iot* “mash”;

lancea “spear” (Nonius, Diodorus of Sicily), cf. OIr. *dó-leicim* “I throw”;

leucas ‘the Gaulish mile, c. 2,4 km’ (Saint Hieronymus), *leuga* id. (Isidore of
 Sevilla) > F. *lieue* > E. *league* id.;

linna “mantle” (Isidore of Sevilla), cf. OIr. *lenn* “mantle”, OB. *lenn* “a piece of
 linen, veil, curtain” < **pl̥tnā*, cf. OCS. *pl̥t̥no* “linen”;

mannus “pony, little horse” < G. **mandu-*, cf. Basque *mando* “mule” < Celtic;
 OIr. *menn* “young animal, kid”;

nausum “ship” (Ausonius), cf. OIr. *nau* id.;

olca “arable field” (Gregor of Tours) > Pr. *olca*, F. *ouche* (dial. also “garden”),
 Sp. *huelga*;

petorritum “four-wheeled chariot” (Festus), cf. G. *petuar[ios]* “fourth”; OIr. *ri(u)th* “course”;

petia & *pecia* (late) > F. *pièce* “piece” from G. **petsi-*, cf. W. *peth*, B. *pez(h)*, OIr. *cuit* “piece” < Celt. **k^uezdi-*;

pititus (7. st.) > F. *petit* “small”;

riga “furrow” (late) < G. **rika*, from here also OPr. *riga*, F. *raie* id., cf. OB. *rec*, MW. *rych* id., all from **prko-/-ā*;

rodarum “plant with the leaves which become red” (Pliny) < **(H₁)roud^h-* “red”;

rusca “bark” (9th cent.) > OPr., Cat. *rusca* “bark (of oak)”, F. *ruche* “beehive”, cf. OIr. *risc* “bark”, W. *rhisgl* id.;

sagum, *sagus*, *saga* “Gaulish tunic” (Isidore, Polybius) > F. *saie*;

sugia “soot” (late) > F. *suie*, Pr. *suja*, *suga*, from G. **sudia*, cf. OIr. *súide* id.;

taratrum “borer, gimlet” (Isidore of Sevilla) > F. *tarière*, OPr. *taraire*, Sp. *taladro*, cf. W. *taradr*, MB. *tarazr*, OIr. *tarathar*;

tarinca “iron nail” > OF. *taranche* “big iron pin”, Pr. *tarenco* id., besides another gloss *taringa* “iron pins”, cf. OIr. *tairnge* “iron nail, point”;

taxō, acc. *taxōnem* “badger” > F. *taisson*, It. *tasso*, Sp. *tejon* id., cf. Gmc. **pahsu-* > OHG. *dahs* id.;

tinca “tench” (Ausonius) > F. *tanche*, OF. *tenche*, It. *tinca*, Sp., Pr. *tenca*;

uassus “vassal, servant”, cf. OIr. *foss*, W. *gwas* id. < **upo-stH₂o-* “standing beyond”;

uātēs, *uātis* “prophet, poet”, sr. G. **uātēs* “caste of prophets” (Strabo IV, 4.4: Οὐόαταις), OIr. *fáith* “prophet”;

uerēdus “post-horse”, cf. W. *gorwydd* “horse” < Celt. **uo-rēdos* < **upo-rei^do-*. The Latin word with the Greek prefix παρ- penetrated into F. *palefroi* and Germ. *Pferd* “horse”;

vertragus “kind of a hound” < G. *uer-* “super-” & **trag-* “foot”, from here OF. *viautre*, Old Milanese *veltres*, It. *veltro* “kind of a big dog”;

uiriola “bracelets” (Pliny) > F. *virole*, Furlan *viruele* etc., id.

3.6. Another valuable source of knowledge of the Gaulish lexicon is substratum words in the Gallo-Romance languages (according to various scholars as many as 160), frequently appearing also in other Romance groups (see LG 187–203):

Pr. *agreno* “black-thorn”, Cat. *aranyo* id. < G. **agran(i)o-*, cf. OIr. *áirne* and W. *airin*, B. *irin* < **agrinia* & **agrīno-*;

Pr. *banno* “horn” < G. **bannā*, cf. W. *ban* “tip, point”, OIr. *benn* “point, horn”;

F. *barre* “pole, stick”, *barrière* “gratte, lattice; dam”, cf. OIr. *barr* “top (of a tree)”, W. *barr*;

F. dial. (Limousin) *bec*, (Creuse) *beco*, It. dial. *bega* “bee, wasp”, cf. OIr. *bech* “bee”, W. *beg-egyr* “hornet”;

F. *bouc* “he-goat” < G. **bukko-*, cf. Ir. *bocc*, W. *bwch*, B. *bouc’h* id.;

F. *boue* “mud”, cf. W. *baw* id.;

F. *briser* “to break”, cf. OIr. *brissid* “breaks”;

OF. *bruisier* “to press, wound, knock”, cf. OIr. *bruïd* “crushes”;

- F. *chêne*, OF. *chesne*, *chasne* “oak” < Celt. **kassano-*/**kassino-*;
 F. *darne* “piece of a fish”, cf. B. *darn* “part”;
 OF. *drille* “piece of a cloth, hadr”, cf. W. *dryll*, B. *drailh* “piece”;
 F. dial. *droue* “cockle” < G. **drauā*, cf. B. *draok* id. < **drauākā*;
 F. *dru* “stout, vigorous, dense” < G. **druto-*, cf. W. *drud* “agile, bold, cheeky, arrogant”;
 F. *flanelle* “woollen cloth”, dimin. of the Gaulish protoform **ulanā*, cf. W. *gwlan*, B. *gloan*, OIr. *olann* “wool”;
 F. *gaillard* “bold, merry, jolly” from G. **galiā* “force”, cf. OIr. *gal* “passion of battle”, W. *gallu* “I can”;
 F. *glaner* “to glean”, OPr. *glenar* id., cf. OIr. *glenn-* “to chose”;
 OF. *grenon* “beard”, Pr. *gren* “moustache”, cf. the epithet of the Gaulish Apollo *Grannus* and further OIr. *greinn* “beard”, OW. *grann* “eyebrow”;
 F. *grève* “sandy bank”, West F. dial. *groue*, cf. W., B. *gro* “river sand”;
 F. *if* “yew” < G. *iuos* (Calendar of Coligny), cf. further OIr. *éo*, W. *yw*;
 Pr. *garra*, F. *jarret* “hollow of the knee” (dimin. **garrito-*), cf. B. *garr* “leg”, W. *gar* “leg, thigh”, Ir. *gairri* “calf of the leg”;
 F. *mèague* “whey”, sr. stir. *medg* “curdled milk”, W. *maidd* < Celt. **mizgā*;
 F. *mouton* “wether”, It. *montone* “ram” < G. **multō*, cf. OIr. *molt*, W. *mollt*, B. *maout* “ram”;
 Pr. *pairol* “pot, jar”, cf. W. *pair*, OIr. *coire* id. < **k^hr̥io-*;
 F. *roche* “rock”, cf. B. *roc’h* id. < **rokkā*;
 F. *soc* “ploughshare”, metaphorically transferred from the original meaning “pig”, cf. OIr. *socc* “snout; pig”, W. *hwch*, B. *houc’h* “boar” < **sukko-*;
 F. dial. (Picardian, Normandian) *souche* “stump”, (Berrichon) *suque*, (Piemontese) *sūka*, It. *socca*, Aragonese *zoque* < G. **tsukkā*, cf. Germ. *Stock* “stick, pole; stump”;
 F. *talus* “slope”, cf. OIr. *taul* “forehead, face, prominence”, W., B. *tal* “face” < **talu-*;
 F. *tan* “bark of the oak” < G. **tanno-* “kind of the oak”, cf. B. *tann*, C. *glas-tannen* id.
 F. *trogne* “red face”, cf. W. *trwyn* “nose”;
 F. *truand* “beggar” < G. **trugant-*, cf. OIr. *truag* “unfortunate, wretch”, W. *tru* id.;
 F. *vandoise* “white-fish” < G. **uindesiā*, from the stem **uindo-* “white”, cf. Ir. *find*, W. *gwynn*, B. *gwenn* id.;
 F. *vanneau* “plover”, cf. OIr. *fannall*, B. *gwennili*, W. *gwennol* “swallow”;
 F. *ver(g)ne* “alder”, cf. Ir. *fern*, W. *gwern* id., B. *gwern* “id.; marsh, swamp”.

4.1. Gaulish vs. Insular Celtic - phonetic correspondences

IE *	Examples
<i>p-</i>	OIr. <i>én</i> , W. <i>edn</i> , OC. <i>hethen</i> , OB. <i>etn-</i> , MB. <i>ezn</i> , B. <i>evn</i> , <i>ein</i> “bird” < * <i>petno-</i> ; cf. Ogam <i>Ena-barri</i> “bird’s head”, G. ND <i>Etnosus</i> (Bourges)
<i>-p-</i>	Ir. <i>caera</i> , gen. <i>caerach</i> “sheep” (* <i>caerax</i> : * <i>caeracos</i>), W. <i>caer-iwrch</i> “he-roe” < * <i>kap-ero-</i> ; cf. G. NP <i>Caeracates</i> (Tacitus)
<i>-pt-</i>	OIr. <i>secht</i> , MW. <i>seith</i> , C. <i>seyth</i> , B. <i>seiz</i> , G. <i>sextan</i> “7” < * <i>septm̥</i>
<i>b-</i>	MIr. <i>benn</i> “horn; top”, W. <i>bann</i> “id., height”, MB. <i>ban</i> “hillock, projection” < * <i>b̥nd-no-</i> , cf. F. <i>auvent</i> “protective roof” < G. * <i>ande-banno-</i> (* <i>b-</i> is confirmed by the Germanic parallels: West Flemish <i>pint</i> “point, tip”, MHG. <i>pinz</i> “awl” < * <i>bend-</i> ; OE. <i>pinn</i> “pin”, MHG. <i>pfinne</i> “nail” << * <i>bend-n-</i>);
<i>-b-</i>	OIr. <i>aball</i> , W. <i>afall</i> , B. <i>avallenn</i> “apple-tree”, late G. <i>auallo</i> , cf. NL <i>Aballo</i> < * <i>ab̥lno-</i>
<i>b^h</i>	OIr. <i>bráth(a)ir</i> , W. <i>brawd</i> , pl. <i>brodyr</i> , MB. <i>breuzr</i> , B. <i>breur</i> , pl. <i>breudeur</i> “brother” < * <i>b^hrātēr</i> , cf. G. ND <i>Bratronos</i> (Néris-de-Bains)
<i>t-</i>	OIr. <i>túath</i> “kin, tribe, people”, MW. <i>tut</i> “people, land”, W. <i>túd</i> , C. <i>tus</i> , B. <i>tud</i> “people” < * <i>teutā</i> ; cf. G. ND <i>Teutates / Toutatis</i>
<i>-t-</i>	OIr. <i>cath</i> , W. <i>cad</i> , C. <i>cas</i> “fight”, cf. G. NV <i>Catu-rīges</i> < * <i>katu-</i>
<i>d</i>	OIr. <i>derc</i> “eye”, B. <i>derc^h</i> “sight”, cf. G. <i>in mon derco</i> “in my eye” (Marcellus) < * <i>derk-</i>
<i>d^h</i>	OIr. <i>dorus</i> “door” < * <i>d^huorestu-</i> , W., C., OB. <i>dor</i> < * <i>d^huorā</i> , cf. G. <i>duorico</i> “colonnade”, late <i>doro</i> “ostium” (Marcellus);
<i>-d^h</i>	OIr. <i>riúad</i> , W. <i>rhudd</i> , OB. <i>ruz</i> “red” < * <i>rou^ho-</i> ; cf. G. NV <i>Roidius</i> , <i>Ande-roudus</i> , ND <i>Rudianus</i>
<i>k-</i>	OIr. <i>coll</i> , W., OB. <i>coll</i> “hazel” < * <i>koslo-</i> , cf. G. NL <i>Cosla</i> , today <i>Coole</i> , and <i>Costus</i> , today <i>Coolus</i>
<i>-k-</i>	OIr. <i>luch</i> , gen. <i>lochad</i> “mouse” < * <i>lukōts</i> , gen. * <i>lukotos</i> , W. <i>llyg</i> , OB. <i>loc</i> , B. pl. <i>logod</i> , W. <i>llygod</i> < * <i>lukotes</i> ; cf. G. NP <i>Lucotios</i> , Λουκοτικνος ‘son of mouse’
<i>-ks-</i>	OIr. <i>tréise</i> “force” < * <i>treksiā</i> , <i>treisse</i> “stronger” < * <i>treksio-</i> , W. <i>trech</i> id. < * <i>trekso-</i> ; cf. G. NV <i>Trexius</i> , -a
<i>g-</i>	OIr. <i>glend</i> , gen. <i>glinde</i> “valley”, W. <i>glynn</i> id. < * <i>glend-os</i> : - <i>esos</i> , besides W., B. <i>glann</i> “shore”, OC. <i>glan</i> < * <i>gln̥dā</i> , cf. G. NL <i>Glanna</i> (9th cent.; today <i>Glennes</i>)
<i>-g-</i>	OIr. <i>teg</i> “house” < *(s) <i>teg-os-</i> , OW. <i>tig</i> , W. <i>tí</i> , C. <i>tí</i> , OB. <i>tig</i> , B. <i>tí</i> id., cf. G. > L. <i>attegaia</i> “cottage” (Juvenalis)
<i>g^h</i>	OIr. <i>glan</i> , W. <i>glân</i> , OB. <i>glan</i> “pure” < * <i>g^hl̥H-no-</i> , cf. G. NL <i>Glanum</i> , <i>Glanis</i> , <i>Glain</i> etc.
<i>-g^h</i>	MIr. <i>ligim</i> “I lie”, W. <i>lleu</i> “to lay”, G. <i>legasit</i> “offerted” < * <i>leg^h-ā-s-ti</i> + - <i>t</i>
<i>k̥-</i>	OIr. <i>cét</i> , W. <i>cant</i> , B. <i>kant</i> “100” < * <i>k̥ntom</i> ; cf. G. * <i>kanto-</i> in the measure of distance <i>candetum</i> = * <i>kant-edum</i> “100 steps” < * <i>k̥nto-pedom</i>
<i>-k̥-</i>	OIr. <i>deich</i> , OW. - <i>dec</i> , W. <i>deg</i> , C., B. <i>dek</i> , G. <i>decam</i> (Limoges) “10” < * <i>dekm̥</i>
<i>ġ-</i>	OIr. <i>gnáth</i> “known”, W. <i>gnawd</i> “habit” < * <i>ġnōto-</i> , cf. G. NV <i>Eposo-gnātus</i> “known through horse”
<i>-ġ-</i>	OIr. <i>rigain</i> “queen”, W. <i>rhiain</i> “girl, virgin”, G. dat. <i>rigani</i> “reginae” (Lezoux) < * <i>rēġnī</i>
<i>ġ^h</i>	OIr. <i>gam</i> , OW. <i>gaem</i> , W. <i>gauaf</i> , OC. <i>goyf</i> , B. <i>gouañ</i> “winter” < * <i>ġ^hijemo-</i> , cf. the Gaulish winter month <i>giamon</i> [[<i>ios</i>]] (Coligny)
<i>-ġ^h</i>	OIr. <i>brí</i> , gen. <i>breg</i> “hill” < Celt. * <i>brigs</i> : * <i>brigos</i> < * <i>b^hrġ^hs</i> : * <i>b^hrġ^hos</i> , W., C., B. <i>bre</i> id. < Celt. * <i>briga</i> < * <i>b^hrġ^hā</i> ; cf. G. NL <i>Uindo-briga</i> “white hill”, etc.
<i>k^h</i>	OIr. <i>cethair</i> , W. <i>pedwar</i> , B. <i>pevar</i> “4” < * <i>k^hetuores</i> , cf. G. <i>petuar</i> [[<i>ios</i>]] “4th” (Graufesenque)

-k ^h -	OIr. <i>nech</i> “somebody”, W. <i>neb</i> , OB. <i>nep</i> “some”, cf. G. (Larzac) gen. <i>nepi</i> < * <i>ne-k^ho-s</i> , gen. * <i>ne-k^his</i>
g ^h	OIr. <i>ben</i> “woman”, OW. <i>ben</i> , W. <i>benyw</i> “female” < * <i>g^henā</i> , G. gen. pl. <i>bnanom</i> “mulierum” (Larzac)
g th -	MIr. <i>gorim</i> “I warm”, Ir. <i>gor</i> “heat”, W. <i>gori</i> “to scorch”, B. <i>gor</i> “heat” < * <i>gthor-</i> ; The Gaulish reflex remains unclear, perhaps <i>gobedbi</i> dat./instr. pl. “smith” : OIr. <i>gobae</i> , W. <i>gof</i> id. < * <i>gthob^(h)-</i> , if it corresponds with L. <i>faber</i> id.
-g th -	OIr. <i>laigiu</i> “smaller” < * <i>lagiūōs</i> , W. <i>llaw</i> “little, low, sad”, OB. <i>lau</i> “bad; mediocre” < * <i>laguo-</i> ; cf. G. NV <i>Lagu-audus</i> , <i>Lagussa</i> and the <i>lau</i> “bad” in late G. text of Marcellus of Bordeaux
s-	OIr. <i>sam</i> , W., C. <i>haf</i> , OB. <i>ham</i> , B. <i>hañv</i> “summer” < ** <i>smHo-</i> , cf. the Gaulish month <i>Samon[ius]</i> (Coligny) = OIr. fest <i>Samain</i> ; G. > F. dial. <i>samará</i> “June”
-s-	OIr. <i>iarinn</i> , W. <i>haearn</i> , OC. <i>hoern</i> , OB. <i>hoiarn</i> , B. <i>houarn</i> “iron” < Celt. * <i>īsarno-</i> < * <i>ēsꝛ-no-</i> “bloody”, cf. G. NL <i>Isarno-dori</i> , glossed in <i>Vita Eugendi</i> (+510) ‘ <i>Gallica lingua Isarnodori, id est ferrei ostii</i> ’, i.e. “iron gate”
sk-	OIr. <i>sceirt-</i> “to spit, vomit”, OB. <i>scrutiam</i> “I spit”, G. (Marcellus of Bordeaux) <i>scrisum(i)-io</i> “that I spit”
-sk-	OIr. * <i>rūsc</i> “bark”, Welsh <i>rhisgl</i> < * <i>rūsk(o)-</i> , besides OC <i>rusc</i> “cortex”, B. <i>rusk</i> “bark”; cf. Gaulish loans in Romance: OPr. <i>rusca</i> “bark”, Cat. <i>rusca</i> “bark of an oak”, It. dial. (North) <i>rūsca</i> “bark”
sl-	OIr. <i>slóg</i> , <i>slúag</i> “army, troop”, W. <i>llu</i> “troop”, MC. <i>lu</i> , OB. <i>-lu</i> “army”, cf. G. NP <i>Catulusgi</i> < * <i>sloug^ho-</i>
sp-	OIr. <i>selg</i> = MB. <i>felch</i> “spleen” << * <i>spelg̃-</i> ; cf. G.-L. <i>favissa</i> “tank, sump” < * <i>speuo-</i> “cavity”?
sr-	OIr. <i>srón</i> “nose, nostrils”, W. <i>ffroen</i> “nostrils”, MB. <i>froan</i> , B. <i>fron</i> id., G. > OF. <i>froigne</i> “frowning face”, F. dial. (Vosgien) <i>frognon</i> “snout” < * <i>srok-nā</i>
-sr-	OIr. nom. pl. f. <i>teuir</i> , G. <i>tidres</i> “3” (f.) < Celt. * <i>tiðres</i> < * <i>tisr-es</i> ; cf. OIr. acc. pl. f. <i>téora</i> , W., B. <i>teir</i> < * <i>tisr-ns</i>
st-	OIr. <i>ser</i> , W. <i>ser</i> , MC. <i>steyr</i> , B. <i>ster</i> “stars” < * <i>H₂ster-</i> , cf. G. ND <i>Đirona</i> , <i>Sirona</i> < Celt. * <i>stēr-on-ā</i>
-st-	OIr. <i>gus</i> “power, might”, Ogam gen. sg. <i>-gusso(s)</i> , G. (Lezoux) dat. sg. <i>gussou</i> id. < * <i>gustu-</i> , cf. G. NV <i>Gudo-marus</i> “great through power”, OW. <i>Ungust</i> (* <i>Oino-gustus</i>), maybe also W. <i>gwst</i> “pain, illness”
su-	OIr. <i>sé</i> , W. <i>chwech</i> , C. <i>whegh</i> , B. <i>c’houec’h</i> “6” < * <i>(-)sueks</i> , cf. G. <i>suexos</i> “6th” (Graufesenque)
r-	OIr. <i>roth</i> m., W. <i>rhod</i> f. “wheel” < * <i>rotHo-/-ā</i> ; cf. G. <i>Roto-magus</i> , today <i>Rouen</i> , etc.
-r-	OIr. <i>muir</i> , W. <i>môr</i> , C., B. <i>mor</i> “sea” < * <i>mori-</i> , cf. G. <i>more</i> “mare” (Viennese glossar), <i>Are-morici</i> etc.
l-	OIr. <i>lúach</i> “shining”, W. <i>llug</i> < * <i>leukos</i> , cf. G. NL <i>Leuco-mago</i> “pure field”, ND <i>Le/oucetius</i> (<i>Mars</i>)
-l-	OIr. <i>milis</i> , W. <i>melys</i> “sweet” < * <i>melit-ti-</i> ; cf. G. NV <i>Meliddus</i> , <i>Melissus</i> << * <i>melit-to-</i>
m-	OIr. <i>marb</i> , W. <i>marw</i> , C. <i>marow</i> , B. <i>maro</i> “died”, G. > F. dial. <i>marv</i> “rigid, insensitive” < * <i>mꝛuo-</i>
mr-	OIr. <i>mruig</i> , <i>bruig</i> , W., C., B. <i>bro</i> “area, state” < Celt. * <i>mrogi-/-ā</i> < * <i>morg̃-</i> “boundary”, cf. G. NP <i>Allo-brogēs</i> : <i>Nitio-brogēs</i> , lit. “from other country” vs. “inhabitant of own country”, similarly W. <i>Cymry</i> “Welsh” < * <i>kom-brogi-</i> “of the same country”; cf. also Pr. <i>broa</i> “uncultivated country which separates two fields” < G. * <i>broga</i>
-m-	OIr. <i>dechmad</i> , W. <i>degfed</i> , B. <i>dekved</i> , G. (Graufesenque) <i>decametos</i> “10th” < * <i>dek̃m-eto-</i>

<i>n-</i>	OIr. <i>ní, ní, na</i> , W., C. <i>ny</i> , B. <i>ne</i> , G. (Lezoux, Larzac) <i>ne</i> “not”
<i>-n-</i>	OIr. <i>sen</i> , W., C., B. <i>hen</i> “old” < * <i>seno-</i> ; cf. G. NV <i>Seno-gnato</i> , <i>Seno-virus</i> , <i>Seno-rix</i>
<i>r</i>	OIr. NL <i>Humar-rith</i> , W. <i>rhyd</i> , OC. <i>rid</i> , OB. <i>rit</i> , <i>red</i> “ford” < * <i>p₂rtu-</i> ; cf. G. <i>Ritu-magos</i> , today <i>Radepont</i> , <i>Mapo-ritum</i> (“son’s ford”), etc. OIr. <i>carr</i> , W. <i>câr</i> , B. <i>karr</i> “wagon” < * <i>k₂so-</i> , cf. G. > L. <i>carrus</i>
<i>l</i>	OIr. <i>lethan</i> , W. <i>llydan</i> , OB. <i>litan</i> , B. <i>ledan</i> “wide, large” < * <i>p₂l₂no-</i> , cf. G. NL <i>Litana (silva)</i> , <i>Litano-briga</i>
<i>m</i>	OIr. <i>imb-</i> , <i>imm-</i> “around”, W. <i>am-</i> , G. <i>amb(i)-</i> < * <i>m^bi-</i> < * <i>H₂n(t)-b^hi-</i>
<i>n̄</i>	OIr. <i>land</i> “territory, soil, piece of land, plain”, W. <i>llan</i> “village”, B. <i>lann</i> “steppe, flat place” < *(<i>p</i>) <i>l₂n^d-ā-</i> ; cf. G. > F. <i>landa</i> “uninhabited, uncultivated area”, Pr., Cat., Sp., Port., It. <i>landa</i> “field”
<i>ī-</i>	OIr. <i>ét</i> “jealousy”, W. <i>add-iant</i> “longing” < * <i>i₂ntu-</i> , cf. G. NV <i>Iantu-maros</i> = Ir. <i>étmar</i> “jealous”
<i>-ī-</i>	OIr. <i>nóe, nuae</i> , W. <i>newydd</i> , C. <i>newyth</i> , OB. <i>nevid</i> , B. <i>nevez</i> , G. (Lezoux) <i>nouiio</i> .. “new” < * <i>no₂iio-</i>
<i>u</i>	OIr. <i>fer</i> , W. <i>gwr</i> “man” < * <i>u₂ro-</i> ; cf. G. NV <i>Uiros</i> (coin), <i>Seno-uirus</i> , <i>Uiro-marus</i> , NL <i>Uiro-dunum</i> , today <i>Verdun</i> , etc.
<i>i</i>	OIr. <i>lind</i> “pool; liquid”, W. <i>lynn</i> “drink; lake”, OB. <i>lin</i> “pool, lake”, B. <i>lenn</i> < * <i>lind^h-</i> ; cf. G. (Banassac) pl. <i>linda</i> “drink”
<i>u</i>	OIr. <i>dub</i> , OW. <i>Dub-</i> , W. <i>du</i> , OC. <i>duw</i> , B. <i>duw</i> “black” < * <i>d^hub^h-u-</i> ; cf. G. NF <i>Dubis</i> , today <i>Doubs</i> , or the well <i>La Dhuine</i> (* <i>dubīnā</i>), from which the brook <i>Font noire</i> flows out today
<i>ī</i>	OIr. <i>lí</i> “colour”, W. <i>lliw</i> , OC. <i>liu</i> , B. <i>liou</i> id. < * <i>lī₂o-</i> ; cf. G. NV gen. <i>Lio-mari</i> , etc.
<i>ū</i>	OIr. <i>dún</i> “fortification”, W. NL <i>Din</i> , OB. <i>din</i> “arx” < * <i>d^hūno-</i> ; cf. G. - <i>dunum</i> in the names of fortifications; <i>dunum</i> “enim montem” in the viennese glosses
<i>e</i>	OIr. <i>sen</i> , W., C., B. <i>hen</i> “old” < * <i>seno-</i> , cf. G. NV <i>Seno-rix</i> , <i>Seno-virus</i> , <i>Seno-carus</i> , etc.
<i>a</i>	OIr. <i>all</i> “beyond”, W., OB. <i>all</i> “other”, G. (Graufesenque) <i>allos</i> “second” < * <i>alno-</i> ; cf. NP <i>Allobrog-ae</i> , - <i>es</i> = W. <i>allfro</i> “foreigner” (“of other side of boundary”)
<i>o</i>	OIr. <i>oll</i> “big, great”, W., C., B. <i>oll</i> “all” < * <i>olno-</i> , cf. G. (Chamalières) <i>ollon</i> , NV <i>Ollognatus</i>
<i>ē</i>	OIr. <i>rí</i> , gen. <i>ríg</i> , Ogam gen. - <i>rigas</i> , W. <i>rhi</i> “king” < * <i>rēg^s-</i> , gen. - <i>os</i> ; cf. G. <i>Albio-</i> , <i>Bitu-</i> , <i>Dubno-rix</i> , all “world’s king”
<i>ā</i>	OIr. <i>máth(a)ir</i> = G. (Larzac) <i>matir</i> < * <i>mātēr</i> , cf. W. <i>modryb</i> , C. <i>modereb</i> , OB. <i>motrep</i> “aunt of the maternal side” < * <i>mātr^kī</i>
<i>ō</i>	OIr. <i>már, mór</i> , W. <i>mawr</i> , OC. <i>maur</i> , OB. <i>mor</i> , B. <i>meur</i> < Celt. * <i>māros</i> < * <i>mōro-</i> < * <i>moH₁-ro-</i> ; cf. G. NV <i>Maro-uirus</i> , - <i>boduius</i> , etc., <i>Catu-marus</i> = W. <i>Cadfawr</i> , <i>Nerto-marus</i> = OIr. <i>Nertmar</i>
<i>C₂C</i>	OIr. <i>athir</i> “father” < * <i>p₂t₂ír</i> , G. voc. <i>ater</i> < * <i>p₂ter</i> , dat. pl. <i>atrebo</i> “patribus” < * <i>p₂tr^bhos</i> ; cf. W. <i>edrydd</i> “dwelling” (“father’s [house]”) = MIr. <i>aithre</i> < Celt. * <i>atrios</i>
<i>e₂</i>	OIr. <i>riad(a)im</i> “I go, ride”, W. <i>rhwydd-hau</i> “to hurry” < * <i>re₂id^h-</i> ; cf. G. > L. <i>r(a)eda</i> “four-wheeled wagon”, similarly OIr. <i>dé-riad</i> “carriage and pair”
<i>a₂</i>	OIr. <i>gae</i> , gen. <i>ga</i> “spear”, MW. <i>gwaew</i> , OB. <i>guugoiuou</i> “spear, javelin” (* <i>uo-gaiso-</i>) < * <i>gaiso-</i> ; cf. G. > L. <i>gaesum</i> “spear, javelin” (Servius, Nonius), also G. NV <i>Ario-gaisus</i> , Γαιζατό-πιξ, etc.
<i>o₂</i>	OIr. <i>óin</i> , late. <i>oen</i> , MW., C. <i>un</i> , B. <i>unan</i> “one” < * <i>o₂ino-</i> , cf. G. NV <i>Oinos</i>
<i>e₂</i>	OIr. <i>uath</i> “tribe, people”, MW. <i>tut</i> “people, state”, W. <i>tūd</i> “landscape”, B. <i>tud</i> “people” < * <i>te₂tā-</i> ; cf. G. ND <i>Teutatis</i> / <i>Toutates</i> , NV <i>Teuta</i> , <i>Teutalus</i> , <i>Teuta-gonus</i> , <i>Teuto-matus</i> , besides <i>Con-toutos</i> , <i>Uiro-touta</i>

<i>au</i>	OIr. <i>úa, ó</i> “from, through, with”, OW. <i>hou</i> , velš. <i>o</i> “if”, <i>o</i> “from” < * <i>au-</i> < ** <i>H₂eu-</i> ; cf. G. (Graufesenque) <i>autagis</i> “arrangement, schedule”
<i>ou</i>	OIr. <i>crúach</i> “heap, pile; mountain”, W. <i>crug</i> , OC., OB. <i>cruc</i> “hill” < * <i>krouko-/ā-</i> ; cf. F. dial. (Béarnais) <i>cruque</i> “heap of earth”, B. NL <i>Croucincum</i> (Geograph of Ravenna), Κρουκιάτωννον (Ptol.), etc.

4.2. Nominal declension in context of other old Celtic languages

Only the best documented paradigms are presented. The complete tabulation of the Celtic nominal declension was published by Blažek 2007.

(The Old Irish and proto-Goidelic paradigms follow Pedersen 1909–13 and Thurneysen 1946)

o-stems: OIr. *fer* “man”

	Gaulish	Lepontic	Celtiberian	Old Irish < Goidelic	late IE	early IE
Nom. sg. m.	<i>-os</i>	<i>-os</i>	<i>-os</i>	<i>in fer</i> < * <i>wiros</i>	<i>-os</i>	<i>-os</i>
Nom.-Acc. sg. n.	<i>-on</i>	<i>-om</i>	<i>-om</i>	<i>scél</i>	<i>-om</i>	<i>-om</i>
Acc. m.	<i>-on/-om</i>		<i>-om</i>	<i>in^N bfer^N</i> < * <i>wirom</i>	<i>-om</i>	<i>-om</i>
Voc.				<i>a^L fhir^L</i> < * <i>wire</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-e</i>
Gen.	<i>-i</i>			<i>ind^L fir^L</i> < * <i>wirī</i> Ogam maq(q)i	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-iHi</i>
			<i>-o</i>			
		<i>-oiso</i>				
Dat.	<i>-ui/-u</i>	<i>-ui</i>	<i>-ui</i>	<i>-ind^L fhiur^L</i> < * <i>wirū</i> Ogam Bigu	<i>-ōi</i>	<i>-o-ei</i>
Loc.	<i>-e</i>	<i>-ei</i>	<i>-ei</i>		<i>-ei</i>	
Instr.	<i>-u?</i>		<i>-u</i>		<i>-ō</i>	<i>-o-H₁</i>
Abl.			<i>-uđ</i>		<i>-ōd</i>	<i>-o-ed</i>
Nom.-Acc. du.				<i>fer</i> < * <i>wirā</i>	<i>-ō</i>	<i>-o-H₁</i>
Gen.				<i>fer</i> < * <i>wirou</i>		
Dat.				<i>fer(a)ib</i> < * <i>wirobim</i>		
Nom. pl. m.	<i>-oi > -i</i>	<i>-oi</i>	<i>-oi</i>	<i>ind^L fhir^L</i> < * <i>wirī</i>	<i>-oi</i>	<i>-oi</i>
Nom.-Acc. pl. n.			<i>-a</i>	<i>scél</i>	<i>-ə₂</i>	<i>-H₂</i>
Acc. m.	<i>-us</i>	<i>-uś</i>	<i>-us</i>	<i>anna^G firu^G</i> < * <i>wirūs</i>	<i>-ōns</i>	<i>-o-oms</i>
Voc.				<i>a^L fhiru</i> < * <i>wirūs</i>	<i>-ōs</i>	<i>-o-es</i>
Gen.	<i>-on</i>		<i>-um</i>	<i>inna^N bfer^N</i> < * <i>wirom</i> Ogam maq[n] maila- gni Ogam macorbo	<i>-ōm/-om</i>	<i>-o-H-om?</i>
Dat.	<i>-obo</i>	<i>-obos</i>	<i>-ubos</i>	<i>-naib fer(a)ib</i> < * <i>wirobi</i>	<i>-o-b^hos</i>	<i>-o-b^hos</i>
Loc.						
Instr.	<i>-uis/-us</i>				<i>-ōis</i>	<i>-o-eis</i>
Abl.						

Note: The symbols ^G, ^L, ^N designate mutations, concretely G = *gemination*, if the word was terminated in *-s*, L = *lenition*, if the word was terminated in a vowel, N = *nasalisation*, if the word was terminated in a nasal.

ā-stems: OIr. *tuath* “kin, tribe”

	Gaulish	Leponitic	Celtiberian	Old Irish < Goidelic	late IE	early IE
Nom. sg.	-a	-a	-a	<i>in^l tuath^l</i> < * <i>toutā</i>	-ā	
Acc.	-an/-im	-am	-am	Ogam inigena <i>in^N dtuaith^N</i> < * <i>toutim</i>	-ām	
Voc.	-a?	-a		<i>a^l thuath^l</i> < * <i>toutā</i>	-ā	
Gen.	-as/-ias		-as	<i>inna^G tuaithe^G</i> < * <i>toutiās</i>	-ās	
Dat.	-ai/-i	-ai	-ai	Ogam Ercias <i>(do)nd^l tuaith</i> < * <i>toutī</i>	-āi	
Loc.						
Instr.	-ia?					
Abl.			-ađ		-ād	
Nom.-Acc du.				tuatha		
Gen.				tuath		
Dat.				tuath(a)ib		
Nom. pl.	-as	-as	-i	<i>inna^G tuatha^G</i> < * <i>toutās</i>	-ās	
Acc.	-as	-aš	-as	<i>inna^G tuatha^G</i> < * <i>toutās</i>	-āns	
Voc.				<i>a^l thuatha</i> < * <i>toutās</i>	-ās	
Gen.	-anom		aum	<i>inna^N dtuath^N</i> < * <i>toutānom</i>	-ā-ōm/ -ā-nom	
Dat.	-abo			<i>(do)naib tuathaib</i> < * <i>toutābi</i>	-āb ^h o(s)	
Loc.						
Instr.	-abi				-āb ^h i(s)	
Abl.						

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

	Gaulish	Leponitic	Celtiberian	Old Irish < Goidelic	late IE.	early IE
Nom. sg.	-is	-is	-is	<i>flaith</i> < * <i>wlatis</i>	-is	
Acc.	-in		-im	<i>flaith</i> < * <i>wlatim</i>	-im	
Voc.	-i			<i>flaith</i> < * <i>wlati</i>	-ei	
Gen.	-ης			<i>flatho</i> , -a < * <i>wlatois?</i>	-eyos	
Dat.	-e	-ei	-ei	Ogam Allattos <i>flaith</i> < * <i>wlatī</i>	-ei	
Loc.						
Instr.						
Abl.			-iđ		-id	
Nom.-Acc du.				<i>flaith</i> < * <i>wlatī</i>	-ī	
Gen.				<i>flatho</i> , -a = gen. sg.		
Dat.				<i>fla(i)thib</i> < * <i>wlatibim</i>	-ib ^h im	
Nom. pl.	-εις/-is		-is	<i>fla(i)thi</i> < * <i>wlatejes</i>	-eyes	
Acc.			-is	<i>fla(i)thi</i> < * <i>wlatīns</i>	-īns	
Voc.				<i>fla(i)thi</i> < * <i>wlatejes</i>	-eyes	
Gen.	-iom		-isum?	<i>fla(i)the</i> < * <i>wlatijōm</i>	-iyōm	
Dat.						

	Gaulish	Lepontic	Celtiberian	Old Irish < Goidelic	late IE	early IE
Nom. pl.			-eres	<i>a(i)thir</i> < *(p)ateres	*p ₂ teres	
Acc.				<i>aithr(e)a</i> < *(p)aterās	*p ₂ ter _h s	
Voc.				<i>aithr(e)a</i> < *(p)aterās	*p ₂ ter _h s	
Gen.	-ron			<i>athr(a)e</i> < *(p)atrijōm	*p ₂ tr(iy) ōm	
Dat.	-rebo				*p ₂ tr ^h o	
Loc.						
Instr.				Dat. <i>athr(a)ib</i> < *(p)atribi	*p ₂ tr ^h i	
Abl.						

n-stems: OIr. *cú* “dog”

	Gaulish	Lepontic	Celtiberian	Old Irish < Celtic	late IE	early IE
Nom. sg.	-ov/-u	-u	-u	<i>cú</i> < *kwū	*k ₁ wō	
Acc.				<i>coin</i> < *kwonim	*k ₁ won _h i	
Voc.				<i>cú</i> < *kwū	*k ₁ wō	
Gen.			-unos	<i>con</i> < *kunos	*k ₁ kunos	
Dat.		-onei	-unei	Ogam Broinionas <i>coin</i> < *kwonei	*k ₁ wonei	
Loc.						
Instr.			-unu			
Abl.			-uneð			
Nom.-Acc. du.				<i>coin</i> < *kwone	*k ₁ wone	
Gen.				<i>con</i> < *kunou	*k ₁ kunou	
Dat.				<i>con(a)ib</i> < *kunobim	*k ₁ kunob ^h im	
Nom. pl.				<i>coin</i> < *kwones	*k ₁ wones	
Acc.	-onas			<i>cona</i> < *kunās	*k ₁ kun _h s	
Voc.						
Gen.				<i>con</i> < *kwonōm	*k ₁ wonōm	
Dat.		-onebos				
Loc.						
Instr.				Dat. <i>con(a)ib</i> < *kunobi	*k ₁ kunob ^h i	
Abl.						

Consonantic stems: OIr. *rí* “king”

	Gaulish	Lepontic	Celtiberian	Old Irish < Goidelic	late IE	early IE
Nom. sg.	-s		-s	<i>rí</i> < *rīgs	*rēg _h s	
Acc.				<i>rīg</i> < *rīgim	*rēg _h m	
Voc.				<i>rí</i> = Nom.	*rēg _h s	
Gen.	-os		-os	<i>rīg</i> < *rīgos	*rēg _h os	
Dat.	-i		-ei	Ogam Icorigas <i>rīg</i> < *rīgei	*rēg _h ei	
Loc.						

	Gaulish	Lepontic	Celtiberian	Old Irish < Goidelic	late IE	early IE
Instr. Abl.						
Nom.-Acc. du. Gen. Dat.				<i>rīg</i> <i>rīg</i> <i>rīg(a)ib</i>	<i>*rēgē</i> <i>*rēgōu</i> <i>*rēgōb^him</i>	
Nom. pl. Acc. Voc. Gen. Dat. Loc. Instr. Abl.		<i>-eš</i>	<i>-es</i>	<i>rīg</i> < <i>*rīges</i> <i>rīga</i> < <i>*rīgās</i> <i>rīga</i> < <i>*rīgās</i> <i>rīg</i> < <i>*rīgōm</i> Dat. <i>rīg(a)ib</i> < <i>*rīgobi</i>	<i>*rēgēs</i> <i>*rēgēs</i> <i>*rēgēs</i> <i>*rēgōm</i> <i>*rēgōb^hi</i>	
	<i>-bi</i>					

4.3. Pronouns

4.3.1. The **personal pronouns** are attested only in the reinforcing or enclitic roles (LG 69; Rubio Orecilla 1997):

Person	Pronoun	Examples and parallels
1 sg. nom. (< acc.)	<i>mi</i> < <i>*mē</i>	<i>ande dīon uediū-mi</i> < <i>*nd^hi dijom uēidiō mē</i> “ver- einen Gott ehre ich” = Gothic <i>in-weitip gup</i> (de Bernardo Stempel 2001, 164-68), <i>exsops pissiu-mi</i> < <i>*eks-ok^s k^sissīō mē</i> “blind, I will see” (both Chamalières; see LG 159-60); cf. OIr. <i>mé</i> , W. <i>mi</i> “I”
1 sg. dat.	<i>mi</i> < <i>*moi</i>	<i>íexstumisendi</i> < <i>*íegs-tū-moi-sindi(n)</i> (Châteaubleau; Schrijver 2001, 138)
1 sg. abl.	<i>me</i> or <i>med</i> <i>met</i> < <i>*med</i>	<i>tomedeclei</i> < <i>*to-me-de-ek-lā-e</i> (Voltino; Eska & Weiss 1996, 290) or <i>*to-med-ek-lai?</i> <i>met-ingi-set-ingi</i> “between me (and) between her” (Châteaubleau; Lambert 2001, 112)
2 sg. nom. 2 sg. dat. 2 sg. acc.	<i>tu</i> < <i>*tū</i> <i>tī</i> < <i>*toi</i> <i>tī</i> < <i>*tē</i>	<i>íexs-tu-mi-sendi</i> “say you me that” (Châteaubleau; see Schrijver 2001, 138) <i>tiedi</i> = <i>tiedī</i> (Banassac) < <i>*tī etsi</i> < <i>*toi esti</i> “tibi est” (DLG 140). <i>lotites sniedđic</i> < <i>*snies-ti-c</i> (Chamalières; see LG 69, 156)
3 sg. nom. f. 3 sg. abl. f.	<i>si</i> < <i>*sī-</i> <i>set</i> < <i>*sed</i>	<i>íexsete si</i> ? (Châteaubleau), cf. pl. <i>sies</i> (LG 69, 169, 210); cf. OIr. <i>sí</i> , W., B. <i>hi</i> “she” <i>met-ingi-set-ingi</i> “between me (and) between her” (Châteaubleau; Lambert 2001, 112)
1 pl. nom. 1 pl. gen.	<i>sni(s)</i> < <i>*snē(s)</i> <i>onson</i> < <i>*ḡsom</i>	<i>lotites sniedđic</i> < <i>*sni-esti-k^e</i> (Chamalières); cf. OIr. <i>sní</i> , MW., OB. <i>ni</i> , MC. <i>ny</i> (see DLG 235; Katz 1998, 51, 54, 58-59, 79; contra: LG 156) <i>cantirtssuisonson</i> = <i>*canti+(u)irts=suis+onson</i> ; cf. OB. <i>han</i> , B. <i>hon</i> “our” (LG 160; RIG II. 2, 280)
2 pl. ? 2 pl. nom. ? 2 pl. acc.	<i>suis</i> < <i>*sūēs</i> <i>sue</i> <i>sue</i>	<i>cantirtssuis</i> = <i>*canti+(u)irts=suis</i> (Chamalières; see LG 69, 160); <i>íexsetesi sue</i> (Châteaubleau; cf. Schrijver 2001, 139); <i>sue chuiou</i> “je vous entendes” (Lambert 2001, 109) cf. OIr. <i>sí</i> , MW. <i>chwi</i> , OB. <i>hui</i> , MC. <i>why</i> (Katz 1998, 51)

Person	Pronoun	Examples and parallels
3 pl. acc. m. 3 pl. nom. f.	<i>sos</i> < * <i>sons</i> <i>sies</i> < * <i>sī-es</i>	<i>lotites snieddic sos</i> (Chamalières); cf. OIr. <i>-(s)u</i> , B. <i>-ho-</i> (DLG 237) <i>nitixsintor sies</i> (Larzac; see LG 69)

Note: Celtic languages represent the only IE branch, where the pronoun **eǵō* “I” is not directly attested. It is tempting to speculate about its traces in the formation *regu-c cambion* “I straighten bent one” < **reǵō* (*e*)ǵ *kmb̥jom*, attested in the inscription from Chamalières, parallel with the use of the reinforcing *mi*, e.g. in *uediū-mi* “I do honour”, *pissiu-mi* “je vois” (Chamalières); *iegu-mi* “je dis” (Châteaubleau).

4.3.2. Other pronouns

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.4. Numerals

	Gaulish	Old Irish	Gaelic	Manx	Welsh	Cornish	Breton	Celtiberian
1	* <i>oinos</i> (NV)	<i>óin-, óen-</i>	<i>aon</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>vn</i>	<i>un</i>	
								<i>san-</i> , cf. “1000”
2 m. f.	<i>uo-dui</i> “2x”	<i>dáu</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>dau</i> <i>dwy</i>	<i>dew</i> <i>dyw</i>	<i>daou</i> <i>diou</i>	
3 m. f.	<i>tidres</i>	<i>tri</i> <i>teoir</i>	<i>tri</i>	<i>tri</i>	<i>tri</i> <i>tair</i>	<i>try</i> , <i>tri</i> <i>te(y)r</i> , <i>tyr</i>	<i>tri</i> <i>teir</i>	<i>tiris</i> acc. sg.
4 m. f.	<i>petuar</i> [ios] ⁺	<i>cetha(i)r</i> <i>cethéoir</i>	<i>ceithir</i>	<i>kaire</i>	<i>pedwar</i> <i>pedair</i>	<i>peswar</i> <i>peder</i> , <i>-yr</i>	<i>pevar</i> <i>peder</i>	
5	<i>pinpe-</i> , <i>pompe</i>	<i>coíc</i>	<i>coig</i>	<i>queig</i>	<i>pump</i>	<i>pump</i>	<i>pemp</i>	? <i>kuekue-</i>
6	<i>suexos</i> ⁺	<i>se</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>shey</i>	<i>chwech</i>	<i>whe(gh)</i>	<i>c'houec'h</i>	<i>sues</i>
7	<i>sextan/m-</i>	<i>secht</i>	<i>seachd</i>	<i>shiaght</i>	<i>saith</i>	<i>seyth</i> , <i>syth</i>	<i>seiz</i>	
8	<i>oxtu-</i>	<i>ocht</i>	<i>ochd</i>	<i>hoght</i>	<i>wyth</i>	<i>eth</i>	<i>eiz</i>	
9	<i>namet</i> [os] ⁺	<i>noí</i>	<i>naoi</i>	<i>noy</i>	<i>naw</i>	<i>naw</i>	<i>nao</i> , <i>nav</i>	<i>nouan-</i>
10	<i>decam-</i>	<i>deich</i>	<i>deich</i>	<i>jeih</i>	<i>deg</i>	<i>dek</i>	<i>dek</i>	<i>tekam-</i>
100	<i>canto-</i>	<i>cét</i>	<i>ceud</i>	<i>keead</i>	<i>cant</i>	<i>cans</i>	<i>kant</i>	<i>kantom</i>

	Gaulish	Old Irish	Gaelic	Manx	Welsh	Cornish	Breton	Celtiberian
1000		<i>mile</i>	<i>mile</i>	<i>thousane</i>	<i>mil</i>	<i>myl</i>	<i>mil</i>	<i>san-kilista-</i>

Note 1: The symbol “+” indicates the ordinals.

Note 2: The Neo-Celtic numeral “1000” was borrowed from Latin *mille*, with exception of Manx, where it is a loan from English.

4.5. Verbal morphology

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

Present indicative

1 sg. thematic in *-u* & *-ou* [-*ū*] < **-ō*, frequently with reinforcing *-mi* (**mē*)
delgu “je contiens” (Bannasac); *gniou* “je connais” & *cluïou* “j’entends” (Châteaubleau)

uediūmi “I do honour”, *pissiumi* “je vois” (Chamalières); *iegu-mi* “je dis” (Châteaubleau)

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

μμμ (Grafitti from Pennes-Mirabeau), *geneta imi* “I am a girl/daughter” (conic circles outweighed distaffs from Eastern Gaul) < **es-mi*.

petame “je demande” (Châteaubleau), cf. W. *pedaf*, B. *pedañ* “je prie”, borrowed from L. *petō*, *-ere*.

2 sg. athematic in *-si*?

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

3 sg. thematic in *-t* < **-ti*

senit (Larzac), *sesit* (Chamalières), *neat* (Argenton-sur-Creuse).

3 sg. athematic

tiedi = *tiedi* (Banassac) < **tī etsi* < **toi esti* “tibi est” (DLG 140).

1 pl. thematic in *-massi*?

petamassi (Châteaubleau) < **-mosi*, cf. OIr. absolute *-mai* < **-mosi* (Lambert 2001, 101)

3 pl. thematic in *-nt(i)*

senant (Paris, Pilier des Nautes), [ι]αχταντ (Beaucaire),

(passive) *diligentir* (Larzac)

(relative) *dugionti-io* “qui honorent” (Alise), *sagitionti-ias* or *ⁿnt-iias* “qui cherchent” (Larzac)

Future: desiderative, sometimes deponent

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

1 sg. deponent *marcosior* “que je fasse le cheval” (conic circles outweighed distaffs).

1 sg. deponent *velor* “je voudrais” (Marcellus of Bordeaux; see LG 179).

3 sg. *bissiet* “il sera” (Chamalières).

3 pl. relative *toncsiionti-io* “qui auront juré / jeté le sort” (Chamalières)

Subjunctive in -s-

2 sg. *redresta* “que tu montes” (Cajarc; LG 65)

2 pl. *íexsetesi sue regenia tu* “may you try & get, ye, ancestors, (and) thou” (Châteaubleau), where *íexsetesi* is derivable from **ēg-s-e-tesi-(e)s* or *-(e)t* (Lambert 2001, 95; Schrijver 2001, 139-41: IE **H₁eiǵ^h-*)

Optative in -si-, deponent

3 pl. *ni tixsintor* (Larzac).

Imperative

2 sg. in -i: *lubi* (grafitties); *gabi* (conic circles outweighed distaffs from St.-Révérien)

2 sg. in -e: *luge*, *luxse* (Chamalières), *ueííobiíe* “sois fiancé” (Châteaubleau)

Note: The forms *andigs*, *incors* (Larzac) can belong here too, if the expected final -i was apocopated (cf. *luxse*).

2 pl. in -tis (-ti+is?): *ibetis* “drink” (Limé), cf. OIr. *ibid*, B. *evit*, Vannetais *ivet* id. (DLG 157).

Preterite

3 sg.

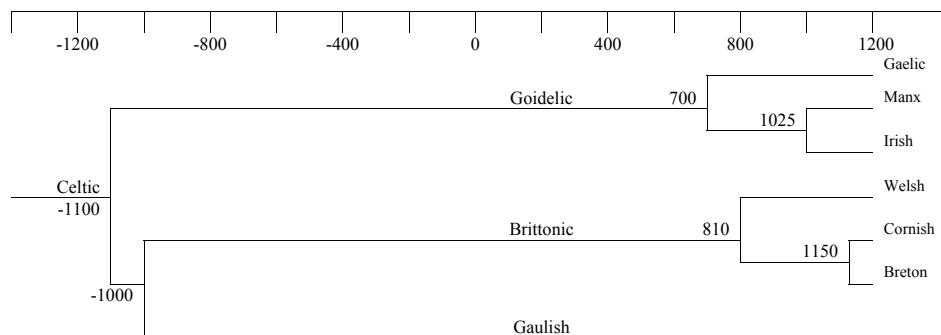
δεδε < **d^he-d^hH₂-e* “a offert”.

sioxti (La Graufesenque); cf. OIr. *siacht* “a cherché” < **se-sag-ti*.

ειωρου / *ieuru* “a offert” < **(p)e-(p)orH-u*, cf. OIr. *ernaid* “il offre” (LG 104–06; Isaac 1997).

5. Conclusion: On the position of Gaulish within Celtic

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



Abbreviations: B. Breton, C. Cornish, Cat. Catalanian, Celt. Celtic, E. English, F. French, G. Gaulish, Germ. German, Gmc. Germanic, HG. High German, IE Indo-European, Ir. Irish, It. Italian, L. Latin, M Middle, ND nomen dei, NL nomem loci, NP nomen populi, NV nomen viri, O Old, OCS Old Church Slavonic, Port. Portuguese, Pr. Provençal, Sp. Spanish, W. Welsh.

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RESUMÉ

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

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