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I began to work on this dictionary in May 2004, after a visit to the University of Leiden, when Sasha Lubotsky kindly invited me to participate in the "New Pokorny" project by taking care of the Celtic inherited lexicon. Feeling honoured, but also quite uncertain if I was up to the task, I accepted because I felt such a reference work was quite badly needed. Stokes' *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz* was published more than a century ago, and none of the other reference works on Celtic etymology provide an easy overview of the Proto-Celtic forms. I set to work when I returned to Zagreb, and within a year I produced a database of more than a thousand reconstructed Proto-Celtic words. At first my ambitions were not very high: I wanted to provide a list of reliable Celtic etymologies for Indo-Europeanists to use, largely by sifting through the various etymological proposals found in reference works published during the last half a century. The initial versions of the database thus contained almost only uncontroversial etymologies, and very few new proposals. However, it soon began apparent that adding more material and telling apart reliable etymologies from obviously false ones was impossible without a clear picture of what Proto-Celtic looked like, and so my attention was gradually shifted towards the problems of reconstruction of Proto-Celtic. This then required an in-depth study of the historical phonology of the Celtic languages and a substantial filling of the gaps in my education as a Celticist and Indo-Europeanist, so the final redaction of the dictionary was delayed for two years. Much of the work I had done previously had to be revised after I had finally decided which Proto-Celtic sound changes should be accepted. The list of the Proto-Celtic sound laws is explicitly adduced in the Introduction to the dictionary, and all etymologies in this dictionary are based on the assumption that those sound laws operated in Proto-Celtic. Although details of the list may be controversial – there simply is no consensus among scholars in all aspects of Celtic historical phonology – at least it provides a degree of consistency in the etymological treatment of words included in this dictionary.

The dictionary was finished in Leiden, where I was a guest in the summer semester of 2008. My stay in Leiden was made possible by a generous grant from the *Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek* (NWO) and I would like to thank both the NWO and my hosts in the University of Leiden for their hospitality. I profited tremendously from the discussions I had with the members of the "New Pokorny" project, and I wish to express my gratitude to all of them, and in particular to Sasha
Lubotsky, Michiel de Vaan, and Tijmen Pronk. I would also like to thank Stefan Zimmer, who read the manuscript and sent me some valuable comments, as well as Kim McConne and Ruairí Ó hUiginn, who discussed some problems of Celtic etymology with me, during the Dubrovnik Summer School in Medieval Celtic Prose, in September 2008. Furthermore, I am grateful to my colleagues and students in the University of Zagreb for their understanding while I was working on my dictionary in Leiden, rather than teaching in Zagreb. Finally, I would like to thank my family for their love and support.

In Zagreb, October 10, 2008
GRAMMATICAL DATA AND TRANSLITTERATION PRINCIPLES

The abbreviations of grammatical categories generally follow the conventions of the “Leiden Pokorny” project. However, names of onomastic categories, except for personal names ([PN]) were spelled out in full: [Toponym], [Ethnonym], [Hydronym], [Theonym]. Attestations of Gaulish and Celtiberian forms are adduced, with the exception of proper names and toponyms. References to inscriptions on Celtiberian coins follow the conventions of MLH. For Old Irish verbs, several verbal stems are usually adduced, following the conventions of Schumacher’s monograph (KPV). I have also generally provided information about the stem and gender of OIr. nouns according to DIL, and about the gender of Welsh and Breton nouns according to GPC and Deshayes 2003, respectively.

I have transliterated the Greek words, as well as the Gaulish words written in the Greek alphabet, according to the standard transliteration system. I have adduced the Celtiberian words written in the Iberian script as they occur in Jordán Cólera’s manual (1998). Celtiberian forms written in Roman alphabet, as well as Primitive Irish forms written in Ogam alphabet, are transliterated in capital letters.

Abbreviations

A) Languages:

Alb.   Albanian     Fin.   Finnish
Arm.   Armenian     Fr.    French
Av.    Avestan      Gaul.  Gaulish
Brit.  Brittonic    Germ.  German
BSl.   Balto-Slavic Goid.  Goidelic
Cat.   Catalan      Goth.  Gothic
Celtib. Celtiberian Gr.    Greek
Co.    Cornish      Hitt.  Hittite
CS     Church Slavonic Hom.  Homeric
Croat. (Standard) Croatian It.    Italian
Cz.    Czech        Khot.  Khotanese (Saka)
Dan.   Danish       Lat.    Latin
Dor.   Doric        Latv.  Latvian
Eng.   English      Lep.    Lepontic
Falisc. Faliscan   Lith.  Lithuanian
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Language</th>
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<tr>
<td>Luv.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MBret.</td>
<td>Middle Breton</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Middle English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Middle High German</td>
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<td>MIr.</td>
<td>Middle Irish</td>
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<td>MLat.</td>
<td>Middle Latin</td>
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<td>Middle Low German</td>
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<td>MoCo.</td>
<td>Modern Cornish</td>
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<tr>
<td>MoIr.</td>
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<td>MoLG</td>
<td>Modern Low German</td>
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<td>Middle Welsh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Myc.</td>
<td>Mycenaean (Greek)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>OBret.</td>
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<td>Old Church Slavonic</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Old English</td>
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<td>Old French</td>
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<td>Russian Church Slavonic</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Upper Lusatian</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ved.</td>
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<td>VL at.</td>
<td>Vulgar Latin</td>
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**B) Grammatical terms and symbols**

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<td>Inst.</td>
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<td>Ip v.</td>
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<td>L</td>
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<td>Loc.</td>
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<td>m</td>
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<td>n</td>
<td>neuter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<td>-----------------------</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Perf.</td>
<td>perfect</td>
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<td>R</td>
<td>resonant</td>
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<td>s(g)</td>
<td>singular</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>vowel</td>
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<td>Vb.</td>
<td>Verb</td>
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<td>V:</td>
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<td>Voc.</td>
<td>vocative</td>
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<tr>
<td>[]</td>
<td>grammatical information</td>
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<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>beginning of a word</td>
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<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>reconstructed form</td>
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<tr>
<td>**</td>
<td>impossible form</td>
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<tr>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>develops into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;</td>
<td>develops from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;&gt;</td>
<td>develops by analogy</td>
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This dictionary contains the lexical entries that can be more or less reliably reconstructed for Proto-Celtic. It is intended to contain Proto-Celtic words rather than roots, but in several cases, where the word formation of cognates in the attested Celtic languages differs, a rather speculative choice had to be made in order to decide on the Proto-Celtic form. In some cases the OIr. form was projected to Proto-Celtic, but in many instances the form with most parallels in other IE languages was postulated for Proto-Celtic as well. Whenever the exact Proto-Celtic form is underspecified, for one reason or another, this is clearly stated in the discussion following the lemma.

In this dictionary, a Proto-Celtic form is reconstructed whenever at least one of the following two conditions are met:

1. Cognates are attested in at least two primary branches of Celtic. By primary branches I understand Goidelic (Irish, Scottish, and Manx), British (Welsh, Cornish, and Breton), Continental Celtic (Gaulish and Lepontic), and Celtiberian. Whether British was dialectally closer to Goidelic (the 'Insular Celtic' hypothesis) or to Continental Celtic (the 'P-Celtic' hypothesis) was considered irrelevant in deciding whether a given word was reconstructible for Proto-Celtic.

2. Probable cognates of a word, attested in only one branch of Celtic, exist in at least one other IE language.

PCelt. words are given as bare stems, e.g. the n-stem *talamon 'earth' is adduced rather than the Nom. sg. *talamū. Where ablaut patterns within paradigms of PCelt. nouns can be reconstructed, this was done in the discussion of particular lemmas. If the etymologically related words within Celtic do not agree in word-formation, the simpler form was usually projected to Proto-Celtic. For example, PCelt. *barinā 'rocky ground' is reconstructed on the basis of OIr. bairenn; it is assumed that the Brittonic forms (W brennigen, Bret. and Co. brennik) represent derivatives thereof. The meaning of Proto-Celtic words is often rather difficult to reconstruct. Where meanings of cognates in various Celtic languages do not agree, either all of the attested meanings were projected to Proto-Celtic, or the meaning deemed most basic was reconstructed. Whenever the meaning of a particular PCelt. word remained the same in one or more of the attested languages, the meaning of the attested word was not adduced in the fields
containing these reflexes. For example, PCelt. *wiro- ‘man’ has reflexes with identical meanings in OIr. and MW, so the meanings of OIr. fer and MW gwr were not adduced separately. The same principle was followed in adducing the meanings of the PIE forms and their reflexes: since the meaning of PIE *wiHro- ‘man’ was preserved in its reflexes (e.g. Skt. vî́ra-, Lith. vî́ras, etc.), it was not adduced in the field containing the attested forms in IE languages. The list of the attested cognates of the Proto-Celtic lemmata is not meant to be exhaustive. For the sake of conciseness, I usually adduced only cognates from two or three IE branches, usually those that are most relevant for the PIE reconstruction, and added a reference to Pokorny’s Dictionary (IEW), Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben (LIV), and/or Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture (EIEC), where more detailed lists of cognates can be found.

Reflexes of the reconstructed PCelt. forms were given from all of the attested Celtic languages. However, since most of our knowledge about Gaulish, Celtiberian and Lepontic is derived from onomastic analyses, cognates in these languages are sometimes adduced although they are not established beyond reasonable doubt.

Every investigator of Celtic etymology must make a principled choice: one can argue that, since Celtic is a branch of Indo-European, it is a priori likely that words in Celtic languages have Indo-European etymologies. If one accepts this assumption, then finding any possible cognate in the IE lexicon is preferable to not giving an etymology at all. On the other hand, one could argue that we cannot possibly know the percentage of words that Celtic borrowed from non-Indo-European languages, so that any Celtic etymon may be equally likely to be inherited as it is to be borrowed from some unknown source. If this is the case, then one needs more than possible cognates in other IE languages in order to make an etymology plausible.

Let us take one example: OIr. ail (phonologically [al']) ‘rock, cliff’ is a very short form, consisting of only two segments. It could, in principle, represent a variety of Proto-Celtic forms (*ali-, *fali-, *yali-), and these could go back to an even larger number of possible PIE roots (*hzel-, *hzelH-, *phzel-, *pelH-, *(s)pel-, *phzel-, *yel-, *yehzl-, etc.). It is obvious that, with such a short and isolated form, the possibility of finding chance resemblances in other IE languages is considerable. Many linguists would therefore consider any etymology of such a word hypothetical, and leave open the possibility that it was borrowed from some non-IE language. On the other hand, if one assumes that this word is much more likely to have been inherited than borrowed from some unknown source, then finding a possible set of cognates from the PIE root *pel- ‘rock’ (OHG feliza, etc.) is enough to make a plausible etymology.

I am not sure which of these two methodological principles one should adopt, but I thought it would not be fair to the reader to be too critical with respect to possible, but uncertain Indo-European etymologies of Celtic etymons. To do so would mean to limit oneself to trivial and well-
established etymologies, and my feeling is that potential readers of this book do not expect it to contain just the information that, e.g., OIr. *athir is related to Lat. *pater. Etymological dictionaries are usually not best-sellers, but this does not mean that they have to be boring. This means that many lemmata in this dictionary should be understood as proposals to be evaluated, rather than as a collection of well-established scientific facts.

However, it was my intention to avoid too speculative etymologies, especially those that rely on alleged reflexes of PCelt. words in only one, poorly attested Celtic language. For example, the Gaul. month name *ELEMBIU from the Coligny Calendar is usually derived from the PIE word for ‘deer’ (PIE *h₁eln-bʰo- > Gr. *éalphos). The Greek month name *elaphobolēion, derived from the same PIE word, is often adduced in support of this etymology. However, I did not include it in my lexicon, since the meaning of *ELEMBIU is far from being assured, and there are no traces of this word in other Celtic languages (but cf. PCelt. *elanti, a different formation arguably from the same root). The form found in Coligny is actually compatible with many other interpretations, and in order to relate it to PIE **h₁eln-bʰo- one would also have to explain the unexpected reflex of the syllabic nasal in Gaulish (em instead of *am). I have also tried to avoid all ‘last resort’ etymologies, which are often repeated in the handbooks simply because there do not seem to be any better Indo-European etymologies of particular words. A case in question is, e.g., OIr. *diúil ‘creation’, which is commonly derived from PIE *dʰuh₁li-, from the root *dʰuh₂- ‘smoke’ (Lat. *fūmus, etc.). Now, although it is possible to imagine a series of steps in semantic development that would lead from ‘smoke’ to ‘creation’, I find it difficult to believe this etymology: it seems to me that accepting it would be a sign of desperation, rather than the result of a sound consideration of probabilities.

In many similar cases, the fact that some often adduced etymology is not included in the lexicon means that I found it too incredible. On the other hand, I am sure that there are some good Celtic etymologies that were left out simply because I was unaware that they had been proposed.

2. THE SOURCES

In compiling the material for this lexicon, I have consulted all of the existing etymological dictionaries of Celtic languages published after 1950. I have not systematically used the older reference works, such as A. Holder's *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, or W. Stokes' *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*, because the material they contain has been well analyzed in later etymological dictionaries. So far the largest collection of Celtic etymologies can be found in Vendryès' *Léxique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* (LEIA); these are

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1 See, e.g., McConé 1996: 70, 74.
generally reliable, but often inconclusive and seldom very imaginative. Unfortunately, LEIA remains unfinished. Mac Bain's etymological dictionary of Scottish Gaelic is completely outdated and unreliable. Etymological notes in Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru (GPC) are short, but often correct, and they remain the most valuable etymological resource for Welsh. A. Falileyev's dictionary of Old Welsh is useful mostly for its rich philological documentation. Another valuable etymological source is Xavier Delamarre's Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise, although it contains the etymologies only of those Celtic words that are attested in Gaulish. Gaulish loanwords in French and other Romance languages can be gathered from the relevant etymological dictionaries (e.g. Gamillscheg and FEW for French), but they have also been the subject of several articles, e.g. Bolelli 1941-2, Corominas 1976, Campanile 1983, Fleuriot 1991). Latin words of Celtic origin have been treated quite exhaustively in a paper by M. L. Porzio Gernia (1981). Words attested in Celtiberian inscriptions have been gathered and subjected to a careful philological and etymological analysis by Dagmar Wodtko in her Wörterbuch der keltiberischen Inschriften (MLH V.1). For Breton, we have two etymological dictionaries. The dictionary by Guyonvarc'h was conceived very ambitiously, but only a few fascicles were published; the new dictionary by A. Deshayes (2003) is reasonably complete and generally reliable, but does not offer detailed Proto-Celtic reconstructions and any IE etymologies. Furthermore, for Old Breton, we have a very careful and exhaustive work by Léon Fleuriot, Dictionnaire des gloses en vieux breton (DGVB). Finally, for Cornish we have only one etymological dictionary by E. Campanile, who analyzed the lexicon of the Old Cornish glosses. I have also made good use of Stefan Schumacher's Die keltischen Primärverben, which contains a lot of detailed etymological analyses of Celtic verbs with an Indo-European pedigree.

Apart from the mentioned sources, I consulted the reference works on Indo-European etymology, most notably Pokorny's dictionary (IEW), EIEC, and LIV. Unfortunately, Nomina im indogermanischen Lexikon (Wodtko et alii 2008) appeared too late for it to be used systematically in the preparation of this dictionary. I also profited a lot from the etymological databases prepared for the 'New Pokorny' project by my Leiden colleagues, especially the Indo-Aryan database by A. Lubotsky, Latin and Italic by M. de Vaan, Hittite by A. Kloekhorst, and Baltic and Slavic by R. Derksen.

3. FROM PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN TO PROTO-Celtic

It is assumed here that PIE had the following phonemes:

I. Vowels

short  long
Phonemically, *i and *u were presumably just allophones of the semi-vowels *y and *w. The status of PIE *a is controversial. Following the Leiden school, I believe that PIE had no *a in the original, inherited lexicon (Lubotsky 1989), but this vowel occurs in several words that are probable loanwords from unknown, non-IE sources. In some cases, *a served as an epenthetic vowel separating difficult consonant clusters, e.g. Lat. pateo, < *pt-ch₁- (cf. PCelt. *fatamā ‘palm of the hand, talon’).

II. Consonants

stops:

labials  *p  (*b)  *bʰ

dentals  *t  *d  *dʰ

velars  *k  *g  *gʰ

apalatalized velars  *k̪  *g̪  *gʰ

labiovelars  *kʷ  *gʷ  *gʰʷ

fricative:  *s

laryngeals:  *h₁  *h₂  *h₃

resonants:  *m  *n  *l  *r

glides:  *y  *w

The phonemic status of the difference between pure velars and palatalized velars in PIE is a disputed matter. It is quite probable that the phonological opposition between them was restricted to just a few environments. The syllabic resonants were just allophones of the non-syllabic resonants, occurring in the syllable nucleus. Therefore, they are not distinguished graphically from the non-syllabic resonants in the PIE reconstructions. The
exact phonetic realization of PIE stops is a matter of controversy; the traditional ‘voiced stops’ may have been ejectives, perhaps in Early PIE. The phonetic realization of the ‘laryngeals’ is unknown, so they are marked with indexes (*h₁, *h₂, *h₃). Laryngeals may have been lost in some environments already in PIE, or dialectally, not long after the dissolution of the proto-language, e.g. before *y (Pinault’s rule), or after the sequence *oR (de Saussure’s rule). However, the validity of these rules of laryngeal loss, as well as their exact formulation, are controversial.

Here are the principal Celtic sound changes ordered into an approximate relative chronology:

A) Dialectal IE changes:

1. *h₁e > *e, *h₂e > *a, *h₃e > *o
2. *eh₁ > *e, *eh₂ > *a, *eh₃ > *o
4. *CstopHCstop > CstopCstop in non-initial syllables, cf. PIE *dʰugh₂tēr ‘daughter’ > PCelt. *ductīr (Gaul. ductir). This development is somewhat uncertain in the light of Celtib. tuateros ‘daughter’ (Gen. sg.).
5. TT > *-ss-, cf. PIE *krd-tu- > PCelt. *krissu- ‘belt’; the same development is found in Italic and in Germanic.
6. *CRHC > *CRaHC (> *CRaC), cf. PIE *plh₁no- ‘full’ > PCelt. *flano- (OIr. lán), PIE *grHno- ‘grain’ > PCelt. *grāno- (OIr. grán). Laryngeals were probably preserved after *Ra until the operation of Dybo’s law (A7), and then lost, with the compensatory lengthening of *aH > *ā. The change *CRHC > *CRaC occurred in Italic as well.
7. *VHC > VC in pretonic syllables (Dybo’s law, cf. Dybo 1961): PIE *wiHró- ‘man’ > PCelt. *wiro- (OIr. fer). In all non-problematic examples of Dybo’s law the laryngeal was lost after *i, *u, or *a which is the result of the development of syllabic resonants before laryngeals (A6). It is assumed here that the laryngeals had already been lost after *e and *o, which were lengthened (A2). Dybo’s law was posterior to the change of CRHC > CRaC (A6) because of the development of *sfraxtō- ‘eloquent’, *frati- ‘fern’, and

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3 For the alleged loss of laryngeals after PIE *e, *o in pretonic position see the lemmata *siti- and *omo-.
*klad-o- ‘dig’. Something like Dybo’s law also operated in Italic,4 and, in some form, probably in Germanic as well (cf. Lat. *uir, OE *wer < *wiHró-; maybe the vowel shortening (or laryngeal loss) was restricted to the position before resonants in Italic and Germanic). I assume that the operation of Dybo’s law in Celtic was general (i.e. unrestricted by phonetic environment).5 The apparent exceptions to the operation of Dybo’s law in Celtic are best treated as analogical re-introductions of vowel length from the forms of the root where the length was preserved regularly. Of course, since the position of the accent in PIE cannot be established for many PIE etymons of PCelt. words, the operation of Dybo’s law can often be just assumed, but not strictly proved.

8. #RHC- > RaC (cf. Beekes 1988). Although this change is not universally accepted, it is found in the development of the following etyma: *latyo- ‘day’, *natu- ‘poem’, *mati- ‘good’, *mak-o- ‘increase’, *mad-yo- ‘break’, *laxsaro- ‘shine’ (PIE *r could not occur word-initially, so here R = m, n, and l). The same change occurred in Italic and Balto-Slavic, and probably in other European IE branches. The development of *#yHC- and *wHC- is uncertain, but cf. the lemmata *yal-o- ‘clearing’ and *waxto- ‘bad’ for the possibility that *H > *a in this position.


B) Early PCelt. changes:

1. *gw > *b, cf. PIE *gW bowed > PCelt. *bow- > ‘cow’ (OIr. bó).

2. Deaspiration of aspirated stops, cf. PIE *bʰer-o- > PCelt. *ber-o- ‘carry’ (OIr. *berid). This sound change was obviously posterior to *gW > *b (B1), because PCelt. *gW > *gW, cf. PIE *gW er- > PCelt. *gW er-o- ‘heat up’ (MIr. *geirid).

3. CLCstop > CLiCstop (where L = r, l), cf. PIE *krd- > PCelt. *krid-yo- ‘heart’ (OIr. *cride). It is probable that the same development occurred before PIE *m (cf. *kWm- ‘worm’ > PCelt. *kWm- ‘elm’ > PCelt. *limo- (s.

4 A clear counter-example is the length of Lat. fūmus vs. Skt. dhūma- < PIE *dʰuhmós. I find none of the explanations of this exception compelling (e.g. the analogy with fūligo "soot", de Vaan 2008). However, the general impression is that Dybo’s law solves more problems than it creates.

5 Isaac 2007 attempts to limit the operation of Dybo’s depending on the nature of the laryngeal in question, but I do not find his argumentation persuasive.
v. *Iēmo-, *limo-). This change was anterior to the general change of CRC > CaRC (B5) which was otherwise unrestricted by phonetic environment.

4. *eRa > *aRa (Joseph’s rule, cf. Joseph 1982), cf. PIE *terh₁tro- ‘auger’ > PCelt. *taratro- (OIr. tarathar, W taradr). PIE *e did not become *a before *Rā (cf. PIE *gʷenth₂ > *gʷenth₂ > *gʷenā > PCelt. *benā, OIr. ben), and the vowel *e was restored analogically before *Ra in many instances, e.g. in the reduplicated syllables in the perfect (PCelt. *me-mad- > OIr. memaid ‘broke’, 3sg. perf. of maidid ‘breaks’ < PCelt. *mad-yo-). This change preceded the decomposition of syllabic nasals (B5) because of the development of PCelt. *elan(t)i ‘doe, hind’ < *h₁el(n(t)i)h₂ (rather than *alan(t)i), but after the vocalization of laryngeals between consonants, because of the development of *taratro- < *terh₁tro- above.

5. CRC > CaRC, cf. PIE *dнт- > PCelt. *danto- ‘tooth’ (OIr. dēt, W dant), PIE *mrwo- > PCelt. *marwo- ‘dead’ (OIr. marb, W marw), PIE *bʰrso- > PCelt. *barso- > *barro- ‘point, top’ (OIr. barr). Note that syllabic liquids had already developed to *ri, *li before stops and *m (B3).


7. *p...kw > *kw...*kw, cf. PIE *penkʷe > PCelt. *kʷenkʷe ‘five’ (OIr. cóic, MW pymp). This change predated the development of *kʷ > *x before stops (C1) if PCelt. *kʷext- ‘bush’ (W perth) is from PIE *perkw- ‘oak’. It is assumed here that the similar assimilation in Italic (cf. Lat. quercus) is a parallel development (for arguments see below).

8. *ē > *i, cf. PIE *Hrēg- ‘king’ > PCelt. *iHg- (OIr. rí). This change must predate PCelt. *p > *f > Ø (C4), because of PIE *h₁epirom > PCelt. *efirom (> *eyrom > *ērom, OIr. iar ‘after’, not *ír).


11. *V:RC > *VRC (Osthoff-type shortening before resonants in closed syllables), cf. e.g., PIE *h₂weh₁nto- ‘wind’ > *wēnto- > *winto- > PCelt. *winto-, perhaps also PIE *siH₂m-do- > *sindo- > PCelt. *sindo- ‘that’. This change was obviously posterior to *ē > *i (B7).

C) Late PCelt. changes:
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1. \*C₁C₂ > \*xC₂ (where C₂ stands for any stop and *s), cf. PIE *septm 'seven' > PCelt. *sextam (OIr. secht). This change is posterior to TT > *ss, and also to CRCstop > CRicstop (B3) because of PIE *prptu- > PCelt. *frixtu- 'form', *mrg'to- > PCelt. *mrixtō- 'variegated', *h₂mlg'to- > PCelt. *mlixtō- 'milk'.

2. *pL > *bL (where L stands for any liquid), cf. PIE *pi-prh₃-se- > PCelt. *pibrase- 'will bestow, will give' > *fibrase- (OIr. ebraid), PIE *dwey-plo- 'double' > PCelt. *dwēblo- (OIr. diabul).

3. *pN > *wN (where N is any nasal), presumably only after back vowels, cf. PIE *supno- > PCelt. *suwno- > *sowno- 'sleep' (OIr. súan, W hun).


5. *ū > ā, cf. PIE *deh₃no- > *dōno- > PCelt. *dāno- 'gift' (OIr. dán); this change is obviously later than the change of *ū > ū in final syllables (B8). Clear examples of this change in Celtiberian are lacking, but there are no counter-examples.

6. *ey > *ē, cf. PIE *(H)reyd- > PCelt. *rēd-o- 'ride' (OIr. réidid). This change was obviously later than *ē > *ī (B7). There is some uncertainty whether this change also occurred in Celtiberian.


8. *uw > *owl _ C, cf. PIE *supno- > PCelt. *suwno- > *sowno- 'sleep' (OIr. suian). This change probably did not apply before *-i- in the next syllable, because of *dru-wid- > OIr. dru 'druid' (rather than *drōl). It is unclear whether this change applied in Proto-Celtic, or just in Goidelic and Brittonic (data from Gaulish and Celtiberian are lacking).

D) Some other probable PCelt. changes:

1. The liquid assimilations *rp > *rf > *rr (PIE *serp- > PCelt. *serrā) and *lp > *lf > *ll (PIE *kulp- > PCelt. *kul(f)o-), *rs > *rr- (PIE *b₃rso- > PCelt. *barro-), *rst > *rt (PIE *trstu- 'thirst' > OIr. tart). All of the attested languages show the results of assimilations, so it is simpler to project those changes to Proto-Celtic. It is possible, however, that at least some of the assimilations were parallel innovations of individual languages after the break-up of Proto-Celtic.

3. The lengthening of the vowel before the cluster *xsL, cf. *tok-slo- ‘axe’ > *tôxslo- > PCelt. *tâxslo- (OIr. tál); it is possible that PCelt. *x was lost and that the preceding vowel was subject to compensatory lengthening. However, *x is conventionally retained in the PCelt. reconstructions because the regularity of this change is uncertain; cf. the lemmata *dîro-, *kîsră, *muxto-, *sego- and *skâxslo- for possible instances of this change, but also *tullo- for a possible counter-example.

4. The ‘liquid metathesis’ (*ar, *al > *ra, *la) between labials and a cluster of two dentals: PIE *mlsto- > PCelt. *mlasto- ‘taste’, PIE *gwrsto- > PCelt. *brasso- ‘great’, PIE *hwrasto- > PCelt. *wralno- ‘blood red’, etc. Like the preceding one, this change is proposed here for the first time, so it will probably raise some controversy. Another possibility is to assume an analogical zero-grade CCLaC of the roots with the full grade CLeCC (after the regular pattern with the zero-grade CaLCC and the full grade CeLCC).

5. The loss of laryngeals after *ey (and *oy?) before consonants (*VyHC > *VyC), cf. PCelt. *beto- ‘food’ (W bwyd) < PIE *gweyhto-, PCelt. *dêno- ‘fast’ (OIr. dian) < *deyHno-, PCelt. *fêtu- ‘(grass-)land, territory’ (OIr. iath) < PIE *peyHtu-, PCelt. *kêno- ‘long’ (OIr. cian) < *kweyHno-, PCelt. *rêno- ‘large expanse of water’ (OIr. rian) < PIE *(H)reypHno-, PCelt. *wêro- ‘crooked’ (OIr. fiar, W gwîr) < PIE *weyhto-, PCelt. *riathor (with disyllabic ia), do not represent PCelt. *reyatro-, but rather *riyatro-; likewise, OIr. disyllabic biad ‘food’ can be derived from *biyatro- or, less probably, *biwato- (rather than *beyato- < *gweyhto-). There are no truly reliable examples for the loss of laryngeals after *oy, but cf. PCelt. *koylo- ‘thin’ (which can be from PIE *koyHlo-) and *oyno- ‘one’ (which some linguists would derive from *oyHno- < *h3eyHno-).

E) Some doubtful changes:

1. *(C)RHC ductalC > *(C)RaCdentalC, cf. PIE (?) *prh3-sneh2 ‘gift, share’ > PCelt. *frasnā (OIr. rann); however, PCelt. *frasnā, just like Lat. pars, can be derived from a root without laryngeal (generalized after the present stem *pr-neh3- / *pr-nh3- > PCelt. *far-na-), and explained by ‘liquid metathesis’. Alternatively, the short *a in the Celtic reflexes of PIE roots of the form

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6 Note that this explanation will certainly not work for PCelt. *wralno- (the PIE root is *h1wers-, not **h1wres-).
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*CeRHC can always be the result of Dybo’s law, and it is, of course, more economical to assume fewer sound changes.

2. #RCvoicedC > #RaCvoicedC (Schrijver’s rule, cf. Lat. *magnus < *mgnos); however, all of the alleged examples involve the root *megh₂- ‘great’ (cf. PCelt. *maglo-, *magyo-, and *magos). None of those etymologies is beyond reproach.

3. *h₂rCstop_ > *arCstop_ and *h₃rCstop_ > *arCstop_ (but *h₁rCstop_ > *riCstop_, cf. *rig-o- ‘go’ < *h₁rgʰ-o-). However, examples of this change are few in number and quite controversial. PCelt. *orgyā ‘testicle’ can be derived from *h₁orgʰ-i- rather than *h₁rgʰ-i- or *h₃rgʰ-i- assumed by some linguists; PCelt. *arto- ‘bear’ is from PIE *h₂rtko-, but it probably went through the stage *h₂rpk’o- (and *#rpC- > *#arpC- may be assumed just like *#rsC > *#arsC). PCelt. *arganto- ‘silver’ is a problem, since the reconstruction *h₁rgnto- seems somewhat more probable than *h₂ergnto-. However, the word for ‘silver’ may have had an ablauting paradigm in PIE (Gr. argyros can be both from *h₂erg- and *h₂rg-, and Skt. árjuna- ‘shining’ is clearly from *h₂erg-).

4. THE PROBLEM OF ITALO-CELTIC

Although Italic shares a number of sound changes with Celtic, I remain unconvinced of the ‘Italo-Celtic hypothesis’. Very few phonological and morphological changes are actually exclusive Italo-Celtic isoglosses, and, more importantly, one cannot really establish a relative chronology of those isoglosses, as one can in the case of, e.g., Balto-Slavic. However, there is little doubt that Italic and Celtic developed from a group of closely related Western Indo-European dialects. For a recent discussion of the Italo-Celtic hypothesis see Kortlandt 2007: 151-157.

The following phonological innovations of Italic and Celtic are shared:

1. The development of PIE syllabic resonants followed by laryngeals, PIE *CRHC > *CrāC, cf. PIE *grHno- ‘grain’ > Lat. grānum, PCelt. *grān-. Note, however, that in PCelt. the development was actually from *CRHC to *CRaHC, and then to *CRāC with loss of the laryngeal and compensatory lengthening of *a (see above, changes A6-A7 in the relative chronology). It is uncertain whether the same two-step development occurred in Italic.

2. The assimilation *p...kw > *k"...k". However, this change appears to be late in Celtic. It failed to occur in OIr. deac, deēc ‘10’, which is often...
derived from *dwey-penkʷ-om ‘two-fives’, and when this compound was formed (in Proto-Celtic) *p was not in the beginning of the word, and so it regularly changed to *f > Ø rather than assimilating with *kʷ (see Watkins 1966: 145, but also the lemma *dekan below for problems with this etymology). In any case, such an assimilation is phonetically trivial (cf. the reverse assimilation in PIE *penkʷe ‘5’ > Go. fimf).

3. The shortening of vowels in pretonic position (Dybo’s law mentioned above); however, this change may not be limited to Italic and Celtic, because it appears to affect Germanic as well, at least in some examples, cf. OE wer ‘man’ < *wiHró- (Skt. vīrá-, Lith. výras, Lat. uir, OIr. fer).

Morphological Italo-Celtic isoglosses are not more convincing:

1. The genitive ending *-i is neither pan-Celtic (it is lacking in Celtiberian) nor pan-Italic (it is lacking in Sabellic), and it is not exclusively Italo-Celtic (it occurs in Messapic and probably in Tocharian). Actually, it is an old petrified adjectival form (see Matasovic 2004) and, as such, does not represent a common innovation in Italic and Celtic.

2. The generalization of the *so- stem of the PIE demonstrative pronoun *so-/*to- is a parallel development, since there are clear traces that PCelt. still had the pronominal stem *to- (see PCelt. *tod). Moreover, it is unclear whether Celtiberian shared the generalization of the *so- stem.

3. The introduction of the Gen. ending *-strom in the 1st and 2nd person plural pronouns is not very significant, since the stems of the 2nd person plural pronouns are different in Celtic and Italic, and the forms that actually have this ending are attested only in OIr. (nathar) and Latin (nostrum), so we cannot be sure if they were ever pan-Celtic and pan-Italic.

4. The spread of the Dat./Abl. pl. ending *-bʰos is uncertain, since in Gaulish we only have -bô, and Irish generalized the ending *-bʰis from the Instrumental.

5. The superlative ending *-smmo- is indeed a shared exclusive isogloss, but in itself it is not enough to prove the existence of an Italo-Celtic protolanguage.

5. The sub-classification of Celtic

The exact genetic subclassification of the Celtic languages is still an unsettled matter. Two approaches dominate the current discussions:
(1) The traditional view, defended, among others, by Schmidt (1977), Koch (1992), and de Bernardo Stempel (2006) who classify Brittonic together with Gaulish (and Lepontic, which is probably just an early offshoot of Gaulish) into Gallo-Brittonic, while the Goidelic languages remain as a separate branch of Celtic (see Fig. 1.1. below).

(2) An alternative theory, defended by e.g. McCon (1996) and supported by Schrijver (1995) and Schumacher (2004), who see Brittonic and Goidelic as a separate Insular Celtic branch, while Gaulish and Lepontic are viewed as the Continental Celtic branch. Celtiberian, as is becoming increasingly clear, is almost certainly an independent branch on the Celtic genealogical tree, one that became separated from the others very early (see Fig. 1.2. below):

Fig. 1.1:

![Proto-Celtic tree diagram]

Fig. 1.2:

![Proto-Celtic tree diagram with Celtiberian branch]

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The problem of sub-classification within Celtic is relevant to this work only inasmuch as it affects the reliability of Proto-Celtic reconstructions. If there was an Insular Celtic branch within Celtic, then forms reconstructed on the basis of just Old Irish and Middle Welsh, the two best attested early Celtic idioms, need not go back to common Proto-Celtic, but may instead represent Proto-Insular Celtic. Likewise, if we assume the existence of a Gallo-Brittonic branch, then we should be careful in attributing reconstructions based on evidence from the Brittonic languages and Gaulish to Proto-Celtic.

As I have argued elsewhere (Matasović 2008), I tend to view Insular Celtic more as an areal than as a genetic grouping. This does not, however, imply that I believe in Gallo-Brittonic as a valid genetic grouping, either: in the matters of genetic sub-classification within Celtic I think it is wise to remain agnostic, until more is known about Gaulish, Lepontic, and Celtiberian. In any case, since the argument about Insular Celtic vs. Gallo-Brittonic tends to revolve more around the morphological than around the phonological isoglosses, it is unlikely that the eventual resolution of the debate will substantially affect the Proto-Celtic reconstructions proposed here.

6. ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF PROTO-CELTIC

There are several unresolved issues in the reconstruction of the Proto-Celtic phonological system. I have generally tried to follow the consensus opinion, where there is any, but in some cases difficult choices had to be made. It is assumed here that Proto-Celtic had the following phonemes:

I. Vowels

a) short
   i  u
   e  o
   a

b) long
   ĕ
   ā

c) diphthongs
   oy   ow
   ay   aw
   āy   āw
I take the monophthongization of PIE *ey > *ē to be a Proto-Celtic change, although it is not absolutely certain that this change occurred in the prehistory of Celtiberian (cf. MLH V.1: XVII). I also believe that the change *ew > *ow is Proto-Celtic, and that instances of alleged eu in Gaulish (e.g. in Nevidium, a toponym in Slovenia) are just spelling variants of a diphthong that did not exist in Latin at the time of the adaptation of the Roman alphabet to Gaulish (cf. McCone 1996).

II. Consonants:

a) stops:

\[ b \]
\[ t \quad d \]
\[ k \quad g \]
\[ k^w \quad g^w \]

I assume that *kw merged with *kʷ in Proto-Celtic, so I reconstruct PCelt. *ekʷo- ‘horse’ (OIr. ech, etc.) from PIE *h₁ekwo- (Lat. equus etc.). Apparent exceptions, such as W ci ‘dog’ < PIE *kwōn can be explained by assuming early delabialization of *kʷ in certain environments (e.g. before PCelt. *ū as in the preceding example: *kwōn > PCelt. *kʷūn > *kūn > W ci). Similarly, the reflexes of *gʷ(h) and *g(h)w are indistinguishable in Celtic, cf. PCelt. *tangʷát- ‘tongue’ < *dngʰw- (OIr. tengae, W tafoð).

b) fricatives:

\[ f \quad s \quad [x] \] (an allophone of *k before stops and *s)
\[ [z] \] (an allophone of *s before voiced consonants)

I do not assume that there was a PCelt. phoneme *ts (from PIE clusters with two dentals, and/or from PIE *-st-). I believe that PIE *st was preserved in PCelt. (as it is in Celtiberian), and that PIE *TT yielded *ss already in PCelt. (see Schrijver 1995). The fricative *f is the regular reflex of PIE *p. It may have been a bilabial voiceless fricative [φ] phonetically, rather than a labiodental fricative [f]. I also assume that the assimilations of *rs > *rr and *ls > *ll are Proto-Celtic (see McCone 1996); however, I adopt the ‘etymological’ spelling for the clusters *-sr-, *-sl-, *-sn-, *-sm-, and *ly, as
if they were intact in Proto-Celtic reconstructions, although they could have changed to *-rr-, *-ll-, *-nn- and *-mm-, respectively, already in PCelt.  

8 c) resonants:

m n l r

I assume that the change of PIE syllabic *m, *n > *am, *an is pan-Celtic. The fronting of *am, *an > *em, *en in Goidelic is a later development that occurred only in some environments (see McCone 1996 for details). I also assume that word-final *-m was preserved, as it is in Celtiberian, and occasionally in Gaulish.

d) semivowels:

y w

7. THE CELTIC LANGUAGES

For the purpose of this lexicon we adopt the following periodization of the attested Celtic languages.

1. Lepontic (attested from the 7th, or early 6th century B.C. until ca. the 1st century B.C.). In all likelihood, Lepontic is just an early offshoot of Gaulish. The evidence for Lepontic as a separate branch of Celtic heavily relies on the archaeological data, especially on the early individualization of the (Lepontic) Golasseca Culture (see Uhlich 1999: 285-293).

2. Gaulish, attested onomastically since the 6th century B.C., but with a sizeable corpus of inscriptions only from the 3rd century B.C. (inscriptions in Greek alphabet). Inscriptions in the Roman alphabet are attested later, chiefly after the Roman conquest of Gaul (2nd half of the 1st century B.C.). It is unclear when Gaulish died out, but it was probably spoken until the 6th or 7th century A.D., at least in some isolated pockets in Gaul. Although Gaulish is attested for at least a millennium, no attempt has been made to distinguish between early and late Gaulish in this lexicon. However, the source of Gaulish words (except for names) is always indicated.

8 All of the attested reflexes have the geminates, cf., e.g., the reflexes of PCelt. *koslo-, *kasinā, *kīsrā, *alyo-, and cf. I sg. pres. of the copula, OIr. am, Gaul. immi. It is quite clear that Proto-Celtic was in the process of developing geminates, because some of the assimilations that produced geminates are certainly early (see above). The reconstructions in this dictionary contain geminated stops, fricatives, and resonants.
3. Celtiberian, attested from the 3rd or early 2nd century B.C. until ca. 1st century A.D. The earliest inscriptions are in Iberian syllabary, but from the 1st century B.C. a considerable number of inscriptions are in Roman alphabet.

4. Goidelic, represented by Old Irish and Middle Irish, attested since 4th century A.D. (Ogam inscriptions). We distinguish the following phases of Goidelic:

   - Ogam (4th - 6th centuries)
   - Old Irish (7th - 9th centuries)
   - Middle Irish (10th - 11th centuries)
   - Modern Irish (12th century - present)

Usually only the earliest attested form of the word is adduced in the lexicon. This is regularly the Old Irish or the Middle Irish form found in DIL. It should be noted that Old Irish and Middle Irish forms are often not easily distinguished. In principle, all words attested in the glosses and other texts from the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* are Old Irish, but Old Irish forms can often be found in later manuscripts as well. So, even if a word is only attested in texts, the manuscripts of which were preserved in the Middle Irish period (e.g. in the sagas of the Ulster cycle, or in the Leinster eulogistic poetry), we can often be sure that the same word existed in Old Irish. Therefore, in some cases where I adduced a word as OIr., although it does not occur in the proper OIr. texts, the reader will have to trust my philological judgement, or check the sources for himself.

Scottish Gaelic and Manx forms were not adduced in this lexicon (with a handful of exceptions), since they yield very little additional information about the reconstructed PCelt. words and their origin.

5. Brittonic, represented by Welsh, Breton, and Cornish. Dialectal diversity within Brittonic is far greater than within Goidelic, so reflexes of PCelt. words from all three Brittonic languages were adduced, whenever attested. We distinguish the following phases of Brittonic:

   - Old Welsh (7th - 10th centuries)
   - Middle Welsh (11th - 14th centuries)
   - Modern Welsh (15th century - present)
   - Old Breton (9th - 11th centuries)
   - Middle Breton (12th - 16th centuries)
   - Modern Breton (17th century - present)

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9 This branch of Celtic languages is referred to as "British", "Brythonic", and "Brittonic" in the literature; I tried to be consistent in using "Brittonic".
Old Cornish (9th - 12th centuries)
Cornish (13th - 18th centuries)

Middle Welsh, Middle Breton, and Middle Cornish forms are adduced by default. If a word was attested in Old Cornish, Old Breton, or Old Welsh, it is adduced separately in the Cornish, Breton, and Welsh fields, respectively. Modern Welsh forms, as cited in GPC, are adduced only when they are different from MW forms, and often the difference lies only in spelling.

8. Structure of the Entries

Each entry in this dictionary consists of several fields. The first field contains the reconstructed Proto-Celtic word and its meaning, as well as the information about the word-class to which it belonged. The following fields contain reflexes of the reconstructed etymon in the primary branches of Celtic, together with some basic grammatical information about them: as a rule the gender of Old Irish and Middle Welsh nouns, the inflectional class of the Old Irish nouns and adjectives, and the attested stems of Old Irish verbs.

In the next field the PIE root of the Proto-Celtic etymon is given, together with a reference to the page in IEW where that root is discussed. After that, there follows a discussion of the proposed etymology and the alternative proposals found in the literature. I have tried to make the derivation of the attested forms from PIE and Proto-Celtic as explicit as possible, without concealing any of the uncertainties or unresolved problems. This field also contains the discussion of other possible cognates of the reconstructed Proto-Celtic etymon. In many cases the etymology proposed here is not the only possible one, but all of the etymologies in this dictionary are meant to be consistent with the Celtic sound laws accepted in this Introduction (see above). I have tried to be maximally clear in making the distinction between mentioning various possible etymological proposals and claiming that a particular etymology is true.

The last field contains the references. The list of references is not meant to be exhaustive, but rather to include the most relevant books and articles, published during the last fifty years, in which etymological discussion of the etyma in question can be found. They are ordered in

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10 Cornish is often divided into Middle Cornish (from 12th until the end of the 16th centuries) and Modern Cornish (17th - 18th centuries), cf., e.g., Lewis 1990. I have grouped the words attested from the beginning of the 13th century onwards under a single label, “Cornish”.

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such a manner that the more general reference works precede publications dedicated to a particular word, or specific problems of phonological development relevant to the lemma in question.
*abalnā 'apple-tree' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ball [f]
W: MW *fall [f]
BRET: OBret. *ballen, MBret. *ballenn
CO: OCo. *allen gl. malus
PIE: *h₂eph₃ol- (IEW: 1)
SEE: *abal- ‘apple’

*abalo- ‘apple’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ball [n] (DIL *ball)
W: MW *al [m]
GAUL: *allo gl. poma (Endlicher’s Glossary, 14)
PIE: *h₂eph₃ol- ‘apple’ (IEW: 1)
COGN: OHG *pul, OCS *bko, Lith. *bolas, Osc. *bella [Toponym]
SEE: *abalnā ‘apple-tree’
ETYM: The geminate -ll- in OIr. could have arisen under analogical influence of *abalnā ‘apple-tree’. The Celtic forms can be derived from the oblique cases of the PIE l-stem, with the Nom. sg. *h₂eph₃ol (or *h₂eph₃öl) / Gen. sg. *h₂(e)ph₃ols. It is assumed here that *h₃ voiced the preceding *p (as in *piph₂et ‘drinks’ > Skt. pibati), but there is no independent evidence for a laryngeal in the word for ‘apple’, so the alternative PIE reconstruction *h₂ebol- (with the rare phoneme *b) is also possible.

*abanko- ‘beaver’ [Noun]
SEE: *abon- ‘river’

*abon- ‘river’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ab, *ub [n f]
W: MW *fon [f]
BRET: MBret. *uon
CO: Co. *uon
GAUL: ambe gl. riuo (Endlicher's Glossary, 6 (bis))
PIE: *h₂ep-h₃on- 'river' (IEW: 1)
COGN: Hitt. hāpa-, Pal. hāpna-, Lat. amnis
ETYM: Olr. aub clearly points to PCelt. *abū, Acc. *abonen; the form *abonā (> MW afon) was built to this stem. The n-stem is probably inherited from PIE (cf. the Pal. and Lat. reflexes). Gaul. ambe, with -m-, may be corrupted, but cf. the hydronyms Amyr (MW), Ammer (Germ.), Ambre (Fr.), which are probably Celtic (they may represent *ambr(ī)y-o-, but they are also often derived from PIE *nw²-ro-, cf. Lat. imber 'rain'). A probable derivative from PCelt. *abona- is PCelt. *abanko- 'beaver', cf. Mfr. abacc [o m] 'dwarf', perhaps also 'beaver', MW afanc [m] 'beaver, dwarf', MoBret. avank [m] 'dwarf, sea monster'. The PIE root is reconstructed as *h₂ep- with the (?possessive) suffix *-h₃on-, under the assumption that *ph₃ > *b (as in *piph₂eti 'drinks' > Skt. pibatti). If this is correct, the words adduced here are etymologically related to Skt. āp- 'water', OPr. ape 'brook', etc.

*abrant- 'eyelid' [Noun]
SEE: *brū- 'brow'

*ad 'to' [Prep]
GOID: Olr. ad-
W: OW ad, W add-
GAUL: Ad-ianto- [PN]
PIE: *h₂ed 'to, at' (IEW: 3)
COGN: Lat. ad, Go. at-
ETYM: MW eddyl 'target' is presumably derived from PCelt. *adilo-, with the same suffix as OE til 'to, until', cf. also OE tilian 'reach'. In principle, *adilo can be an adjectival form built to the Loc. sg. *ad-i- (Michiel de Vaan, p. c.). If so, the Germanic forms are from *h₂dilo-, which means that the PIE root had ablaut (*h₂ed- / *h₂d-). This supports the derivation of PCelt. *dī 'from' from the same root.

*adā 'hawthorn' [Noun]
GOID: Olr. aide [Gen s]
PIE: *h₂edbh² - 'hawthorn'
COGN: Hitt. hatt(ī)-alkisnas 'hawthorn/whitethorn branch'
ETYM: In Olr. this word is attested only in the Gen. sg., but its meaning appears quite certain. It is not in DIL. It is stipulated here (in the PCelt. reconstruction) that it was an ā-stem, but it could also have been an s-stem (*ados-).
*ad-ber-tā* ‘offering, victim’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *edbart* (DIL *idbart*) [ā f]

W: OW *aperth* [m and f], MW *aberth* ‘sacrifice’ [m and f]

ETYM: The OIr. word is actually the verbal noun of *ad-opair* ‘sacrifices, offers’ (from *ad-us-s-ber-o-†*).

REF: Falileyev 9, GPC I: 2, Hamp 1982.

*ad-dam-yo-* ‘allow, permit’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. *ad-daim*, -*addaim*; -*atma* [Subj. pres. 3 s]; *adndidma* [Fut. 3 s] ‘recognizes, permits, allows’

W: MW *addef* ‘admission, confession’

SEE: *dam-yo-* ‘allow, permit’

REF: KPV 260ff, GPC I: 32.

*adestu-* ‘merit’ [Noun]

SEE: *ad(u)-* ‘law’

*ad-k"is-o-* ‘see’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. *ad-ci*, -*aici*; -*accai* [Pret.]; *ad-cess*, -*aiccess* [Pass. Pret.]

GAUL: *appisetu* [Impv.] (Thiaucourt)

PIE: *k"eys- ‘perceive’ (IEW: 637)


*ad-kubro-* ‘wish’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *accobar* [o n] (DIL *accobar*)

PIE: *kup- ‘wish’ (IEW: 596)

COGN: Lat. *cupio* ‘wish’, Skt. *kupyati* ‘be angry’

ETYM: The OIr. word is actually the verbal noun of *ad-cobra* ‘wish’, which is itself of deadjectival origin, cf. Osc. *cyrum* ‘good’ (Varro, L.L. V 159). Cf. also the Italic theonym *dea Cupra* (Picenum). An old compound from this root is Mr. *milchobar* ‘honey-desiring = bear’ (a semantic parallel is provided by Russ. *medved’ ‘bear* (lit. ‘honey-eater’). The change *pr > *br is regular in Celtic (see *gabro- ‘goat’). Cf. also the PN *Ol-chobar* ‘drink-desiring (?)’. On the IE side of this etymology, the probable connection with OCS *kypēti* ‘boil’ and Lith. *kūpėti* ‘boil’ does not attest a laryngeal in this root; these forms have the long *ū* in the root as the result of Balto-Slavic *vṛddhi* (common in verbs with intensive meaning).


*ad-ret-o-* ‘reach, grasp’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. *ad-reith*; -*arraid* [Pret. 3 s] ‘runs toward, overtakes, attacks’

W: MW *eiryt* [3s Pres.]
*ad-sād-yo- ‘very easy’ [Adverb]
SEE: *sād-yo- ‘easy’

*ad-tekʷ-o- ‘run to, approach’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. ad-teich ‘finds refuge with someone, entreats, prays to’
W: MW athechaf [1s Pres.] ‘to flee from, avoid’
SEE: *tekʷ-o- ‘run, flee’
ETYM: MW athechaf might be rather from *ab-tekʷ-o-, with the Lat. prefix ab- (this would fit the meaning of the W verb much better than PCelt. *ad-).
REF: KPV 629f., GPC I: 234.

*ad(u)- ‘law’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. ad, ada [Gen s]
W: MW addas 1. ‘merit, reward’ 2. ‘right, fitting’
BRET: OBret. camadas gl. habilis
PIE: *h₂ed- (IEW: 3)
COGN: Umbr. arsie ‘sancte’
SEE: *adestu- ‘merit’
ETYM: The reconstruction of the PCelt. form is based on the assumption that OIr. ada ‘legal’ is actually the genitive singular of ad, which might not be the case. W addas ‘convenient, worthy of’ presumably represents a derivative *adestu-, parallel to OIr. adas ‘lawful, just’.

*āg-V- ‘fear’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. -ágadar, ni-ágathar
PIE: *h₂eɡʰ- ‘be afraid’ (IEW: 7)
COGN: Go. agan ‘be frightened’, OE ege ‘fear’, maybe also Gr. ákhos ‘pain, grief’, ākhnymai ‘grieve’
ETYM: The long vowel in Celtic is unexpected, but cf. Go. og ‘to fear’ < PGerm. *óga-, vs. agan ‘to be frightened’ < PGerm. *aga-. Reconstructing the PIE root as *h₂eH-gʰ- would make it difficult to relate Gr. ákhos, ákhnymai, etc. Assuming that PCelt. *āɡ- and PGerm. *ōɡ- come from PIE *h₂ōɡʰ- would involve positing the lengthened grade in PIE, which is clearly ad hoc. A solution might be to suppose that PCelt. *āɡ- and PGerm. *ōɡ- reflect the reduplicated perfect stem *h₂e-h₂oɡʰ-.
REF: LP 337, LEIA A-23, KPV 206.

*aglo- ‘brood, litter’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. ál [o m]
W: MW ael [f]
ETYM: The MW form represents *aglā, originally a collective to *aglo-.
The PIE root from which these forms might be derived is presumably *h₂eg-
'drive' (IEW 4f.). However, this is a mere possibility, since the meanings are
quite far apart.

*aglo- ‘wound, affliction’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. álad [u and o m]
W: MW aeled [m] ‘pain, grief’
PIE: *h₂eg₁lo- ‘distress’ (IEW: 8)
COGN: Skt. aghrā- ‘evil, distress’, Go. agl ‘shameful’
ETYM: MIr. álad is from a derivative *aglo-tu-, while MW aeled
presumably goes back to *agl-eto-, cf. also W aelawd ‘tumult, grief’ (? <
*agl-āto-) and W aele ‘sad, wretched’. GPC derives the Welsh words from
*ad-lāt-, *ad-let-, which does not make sense from the formal point of view
(the ablaut pattern is too odd).
REF: GPC I: 36f.

*ag-o- ‘drive’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. agid, -aig; agaid, -aga [Subj.]; acht, -acht [Pret.]
BRET: MBret. a ‘go’, OBret. nit-a; aez [Pret.]
CO: Co. a ‘go’; eth, etha [Pret.]
PIE: *h₂eg₁- ‘drive’ (IEW: 4f.)
COGN: Skt. ájati, Lat. ago, Gr. ἀγο, Arm. acem
ETYM: In Brit. this verb has a suppletive VN, MW mynet, MBret. monet,
MCo. mones < *monetu-, cf. PCelt. *mon-i- ‘go’. Gaul. axat (Marcellus of
Bordeaux) may be 3 sg. Pres. Subj. of the same verb (Delamarre 63), so it
would mean ‘he should bring’.
REF: LIV 255f, KPV 189-191, LEIA A-22, DGVB 50, GPC I: 40,
Delamarre 63, Meid 1996: 45.

*agos- ‘cow’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. ag [s n > f] ‘cow’
W: MWaelaw [m] ‘riches, wealth’
PIE: *h₂eg₁Ho- ‘cow’ (IEW: 7)
COGN: Skt. aḥi-, Arm. ezn
ETYM: The MW word represents a derivative, *ag-ilo-, or *ages-ilo-.
The development of meaning from ‘cows, cattle’ to ‘wealth’ is not unexpected,
cf. Eng. fee vs. Germ. Vieh ‘cattle’. The s-stem attested in OIr. would seem
to be more archaic, so it is posited for PCelt. The vocalism of Arm. ezn does
not match, so it is doubtful whether it is related.

*aqgrinyo- ‘sloe, fruit of the blackthorn’ [Noun]
*agro-

carnage, battle' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. ár [o n]
W: OW hair [f], MW aer [f] 'battle'
BRET: OBret. air
CO: OCo. hair gl. clades
GAUL: Ver-agri [Ethnonym] (Caesar)
PIE: *h₂egro- 'hunt' (IEW: 6)
COGN: Gr. ágrē 'hunt', Av. azrō.dai-ī- 'hunt'
ETYM: The word-initial h- in OW and OCo. is non-etymological. Presumably, these words are derived from PIE *h₂eg- 'drive' (Lat. ago, etc.), but the semantic connection binding them under a single etymon is admittedly weak.
REF: LEIA A-82, LP 32, DGVB 58, GPC I: 36, EIEC 284, Falileyev 80.

*akro-
‘high’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. ér ‘high, noble, great’
GAUL: Axro-talus [PN]
PIE: *h₂ekro- ‘high’ (IEW: 21)
COGN: Gr. ákros, Lat. ācer ‘sharp’
ETYM: OIr. acher (DIL aicher) ‘sharp, violent, fierce’ [o] might also belong here, if it is not a Latin loanword (as stated by LEIA A-11). It could represent PCelt. *ak-ero- or *ak-ar- (it is occasionally spelled achar), cf. PIE *h₂ok- > PCelt. *ok-ri- > OIr. ochar ‘edge’ (Lat. ocris ‘rugged mountain’, Gr. ókris ‘sharp edge’). W ochr and OBret. ocorrō gl. hirsutis...dentibus are considered to be Goidelic loanwords. Cf. also Gaul. Okelon (?) ‘promontory’ < *ok-elo- (Sims-Williams 2006: 96f.).

*alal(i)y(o)- ‘another, other’ [Pron]
GOID: OIr. arail(l)
*alamo-  29

W: OW arall, MW arall, y lall
BRET: MBret. al(l)all, arall
CO: Co. arall
SEE: *alyo- ‘other’
ETYM: This is a reduplicated, intensive variant of *alyo- ‘other’. In both branches of Insular Celtic there is evidence for dissimilated forms (*aralyo-), but these can be independent of each other.
REF: LEIA A-11, Falileyev 9, GPC I: 176.

*alamo- ‘herd, flock, movable property’ [Noun]
GOID: Mfr. alam [? n]
W: MW alaf [m] ‘herd, wealth, property’
ETYM: Schrijver (1995: 75) derives these words from PIE *pelh₂- ‘to drive’ (Lat. pello, etc.), which is possible. If this etymology is correct, the PCelt. form was *falamo-. However, I believe it is also possible to connect *alamo- with Hitt. hāli- (n.) ‘pen, corral (for cows and horses)’, in which case the PIE root would be *h₂el-. For the suffix cf. *fatamā ‘hand, talon’.

*albiyo- ‘world’ [Noun]
W: OW elbid [m and f] ‘world’, MW eluit, eluyd (GPC elfydd)
GAUL: Albio-rix [PN]
PIE: *h₂elbʰo- ‘white’ (IEW: 30)
COGN: Lat. albus, OHG albiz ‘swan’
ETYM: For the semantic developments, see Delamarre 36; the primary meaning is ‘upper world’ (in opposition to the underworld), with the development of meaning similar to the one seen in Russ. svet ‘world, light’. The name of Britain attested in ancient authors, Albion, is presumably from the same root, as well as the OIr. name for Britain and (later) Scotland, Albu.

*alnostu- ‘sweat, perspiration’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. allas [?o n]
PIE: *h₂elh₁- ‘heat’
COGN: Gr. alēa ‘body heat, warmth’
ETYM: The gender and stem of the OIr. word are not certainly established. According to DIL, it is an o-stem, and according to de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 272 it is neuter. It is occasionally spelled allus in early sources, so it could, conceivably, represent an old u-stem neuter *alnossu- < *alnos-tu-. The root-final *h₁ in PIE is uncertain. Although it is often adduced as a cognate, Hitt. allaniyezzi ‘sweats’ probably does not belong here; the meaning of this rare verb is not certain, and one would expect word-initial *h- in Hitt.
*al-o-  ‘feed, raise’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. alid, -ail; alaid, -ala [Subj.]; ailt, -alt [Pret.]; altae, -alt [Pret. Pass.] ‘feeds, raises’

W: MW alu ‘bear young’; alho [3s Pres Subj.]

BRET: MBret. halaff ‘bear young, calve’

PIE: *h2el-  ‘raise, feed, grow’ (IEW: 26)

COGN: Lat. alo, Gr. neálēs ‘strong’, Go. alan ‘grow’

SEE: *al-trawon-  ‘foster-uncle’

ETYM: The Gaul. toponym Alaunos and hydronym Alauna are usually derived from the same root, but like most etymologies of toponomastic elements, this is also uncertain.


*alten-  ‘razor’ [Noun]

GOID: MIr. ailt [n f]

W: OW elinn gl. nouacula, MW ellyn [m and f]

BRET: OBret. altin gl. ferula, MBret. autenn, MoBret. aotenn [f] ‘razor’

CO: Co. alsen

ETYM: The Brittonic forms point to a derived *(f)altinā. Pokorny’s etymology (IEW 986, followed by Falileyev: 53) which derives these Celtic words from PIE *(s)pel- ‘cut’ (Germ. splaten), is improbable, since *plten- would yield PCelt. *fliten. The derivation from PIE *(s)plg-ten- (OE spelc, spilc ‘bandage, binding’ < *spelg-) is hardly better, since this should give PCelt. **f1ixten-. Therefore, PCelt. *alten- may be a substratum word of non-IE origin.


*altiyo-  ‘fosterling, client’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. altae [io m]

W: MW eillt [m] ‘unfree landholder, subject, vassal’ (GPC aillt, aill)

SEE: *al-o-  ‘feed, raise’

ETYM: PCelt. *altiyo- is actually a lexicalized passive participle of *al-o-  ‘feed, raise’.

REF: GPC I: 73.

*alto-  ‘height, cliff’ [Noun]

GOID: MIr. alt [o m]

W: MW allt [f] ‘hill, slope, cliff, shore, wooded slope’; ellaedydd, aillt [p]

BRET: MBret. pen-an-aout ‘top of the hill’, MoBret. aod [f] ‘coast’

CO: OCo. als gl. litus

ETYM: These words are probably related to Lat. altus ‘high’, OHG alt ‘old’ (if developed from an earlier meaning ‘grown up’). Some derive them from the root *h2el- ‘feed, raise’ (IEW 26); the semantic development would have been ‘raised’ > ‘high’, but I do not find this very convincing.

*altr-awon- ‘foster-uncle’ [Noun]

GOID: Mfr. altra [n m] ‘foster-father’
W: MW athro [m] ‘teacher’, athrawon [p]
BRET: MBret. autrou ‘lord, master’
CO: Co. altrou ‘stepfather’
PIE *h₂el- (IEW: 27)
SEE: *al-o- ‘feed, raise, nourish’

ETYM: The second element of this compound, PCelt. *awū / *awon-, is the Celtic parallel to Lat. auunculus ‘uncle’ (see Stüber 1998: 109f.). It is preserved also in MoBret. eontr, W ewythir ‘uncle’ < PCelt. *awon-fīr.


*alyo- ‘other’ [Pron]

GOID: OIr. aile [io]
W: MW eil, all-
BRET: MBret. eil
CO: Co. yl

GAUL: Allo-broges [PN], allos (La Graufesenque)

PIE: *h₂elyo- ‘other’ (IEW: 25f.)

COGN: Lat. alius, Gr. állos, Go. aljis

ETYM: Celtib. ailam, which has been interpreted as the Acc. sg. of this pronoun (e.g. McCone 1996: 109), has also been taken to mean something like ‘place, abode’ (e.g. Meid 1994: 48). It is only fair to conclude with D. Wodtko (MLH V.1: 10f.) that its meaning is presently unknown.


*am-o- ‘wash’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. ind-aim ‘washes’

PIE: *h₂em(H)- ‘pour’ (IEW: 35)

COGN: Gr. amáomai ‘draw milk’, Arm. amanam ‘fill’

SEE: *anamī ‘blemish’

ETYM: OIr. ind-aim ‘washes’ reflects *ande-ame-ti; cf. also OIr. at-aim ‘washes’ < *ad-ame-ti. MW enneint [m and f] ‘bath’ has also been related to this root (it may represent PCelt. *and-antyo- < *am-tyo-), but another etymology derives it from the PIE root *nigʷ- ‘to wash’ (PCelt. *ande-nigʷ-Ina), with the unetymological final -t (Wodtko et alii 2008: 520, with references). The IE etymology of PCelt. *am-o- is quite uncertain, but at least Gr. amáomai and Arm. amanam appear as likely cognates, enabling us to reconstruct PIE *h₂em(H)-. Other possible derivatives from this poorly attested root might include Arm. aman ‘vessel’ and Skt. ámatra- ‘drinking vessel’ (though Mayrhofer, s. v. ámatra-, does not mention the possibility).

*amaro- 'wailing, crying' [Noun]
GOID: Olr. amar [o n, later m] 'wailing, moaning, singing'
W: MW afar [m] 'sadness, lamentation, grief'

*ambaxto- 'servant' [Noun]
W: MW amaeth [m] 'servus arans'
BRET: OBret. ambaith
GAUL: ambactos, ambactus 'vassal' (Festus, Caesar)
PİE: *h₂mbʰi-h₂eǵ- 'drive around'
SEE: *ag-o- 'drive'
ETYM: OHG ambahet 'servant' (Germ. Amt) is a Celtic loanword from the prehistoric period.

*amben- 'butter' [Noun]
GOID: Olr. imb [n n]
W: MW ymenyn [m] (GPC ymenyn (e)menyn)
BRET: MBret. amanen, MoBret. amann, amannen [m]
CO: OCo. amanen gl. butyrum , MoCo. manyn
PIE: *h₃engʷ-en- 'butter' (IEW: 779)
COGN: Lat. unguen 'grease', OHG ancho 'butter', OPr. anctan 'butter',
ETYM: The Celtic forms can be derived from the stem of the oblique cases of the PIE noun for 'butter', PIE *h₃engʷ-en-. The development *am- > *em-(> Olr. im-) is the same as in Olr. imbliu < PCelt. *ambliyon- 'navel'. The PIE root is *h₃engʷ- 'smear, anoint' (Skt. anákti, Lat. unguo, Arm. awcanem)

*ambi- 'around' [Prep]
GOID: Olr. imb, imm [Aspirating, +Acc.]
W: OW im, MW am
BRET: MBret. am, em
GAUL: ambi-
CELTIB: ampi-
PIE: *h₂mḇʰi 'around, about' (IEW: 34)
COGN: Skt. abhi, Gr. amphi, Lat. ambi-

*ambi-gʷan-o- 'fight (each other)'
GOID: MIr. imm-goin 'wages war, gives battle'
W: MW ymwan (GPC ymwan(u))
CO: Co. omwana 'to pierce oneself'
*ambi-gab-

SEE: *gʷan-o- ‘hit, strike’
REF: KPV 363f., GPC III: 3806.

*ambi-gab- ‘meet’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. imm-immgaib ‘avoids, evades’
W: MW ymgaffael ‘meet, sleep with’ (GPC ymgael, ymgaff(a)el)
SEE: *gab-yo- ‘take’
ETYM: OIr. imm-immgaib has the reduplicated prefix (*ambi-ambi-gab-).
REF: GPC III: 3778.

*ambi-rād-i- ‘think’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. imm-rādi ‘thinks, discusses, reflects on’
W: OW amraud ‘thought’
SEE: *rād-i- ‘think’

*ambliyon- ‘navel’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. imbliu [n, m or f] (DIL imliu, imbliu)
PIE: *h₃nob³-li- ‘navel, nave’ (IEW: 314f.)
COGN: Skt. nābhi-, Gr. omphalós, Lat. umbilicus, OE nafela
ETYM: Like Lat. umbilicus, the stem of the PCelt. word for ‘navel’ generalized the PIE oblique stem *h₂nb³l-. For the development of the initial *am- > OIr. im cf. *angʷen- ‘butter’.
REF: EIEC 391, de Bernardo Stempel 1999:118, 331.

*amo- ‘time’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. am(m) [? n, later m]
SEE: *amsterā ‘time, moment’
ETYM: OIr. am(m) was probably an o-stem (DIL). IE etymology is unknown, but cf. *amsterā ‘time, moment’.

*amsterā ‘time, moment’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. aimser [a f] ‘point of time, period of time’
W: OW amser [m] ‘time’, amser ‘because, when’, MW amser [m and f] ‘time’
BRET: MBret. amzer [f]
CO: OCo. anser gl. tempus
ETYM: In OIr. there is a noun am(m) [n] ‘time’, which reflects the root *amo- from which *amsterā must be derived. However, its etymology is unknown (LEIA A-67). It is also unclear why W amser is masculine – it may be from a PCelt. by-form *amstero-. It is tempting to connect these words with Hitt. hamesha- ‘spring’, which also has an obscure etymology (Kloekhorst, s. v.). We could start from a PIE s-stem *h₂emos ‘a period of time’, and PCelt. *amstero- would be derivable from *h₂emos-tero- by
*ana-

**syncope. Hitt. hamesha-** can be from *h₂emes-sh₂-o- (**-sha-** is a productive suffix).

**REF:** LEIA A-3, LP 21, Falleyev 6, GPC I: 102, Campanile 1974: 3.

*ana- ‘remain’ [Vb]

*GOLD:* OIr. anaid, -ana ‘waits, remains’; anaid, -ana [Subj.]; anais, -an [Pret.]

*W:* MW kynhanu ‘pronounce’ (GPC cynanaf)

*BRET:* MBret. ehanaff ‘remain’, MoBret. ehanañ ‘stop, pause’

*PIE:* *h₂enh₁- ‘breathe, blow’ (IEW: 38f.)

*Cogn:* Skt. ániti ‘breathes’, Gr. ánemos ‘breath’, Lat. animus ‘spirit’

*See:* *anatIa ‘breath’, *anamon- ‘soul’

**ETYM:** MW kynhanu < *kom-ana-, MBret. ehanaff < *exs-ana-. Cf. also OIr. con-osna ‘ceases’ < *kom-uss-ana-, and W cynnan ‘ready, witty, eloquent’. The Gaulish toponym Anaunion in Italy (Ptolemy) has been related to these words and interpreted as ‘the town of the Staying ones’, which is quite speculative. The connection of the meanings ‘to breathe’ and ‘to remain’ is not obvious, but this etymology is generally accepted. The development of meaning could have been ‘breathe’ > ‘pause’ > ‘remain’, cf. Croat. odàhmuti ‘pause’ from dāh ‘breath’.


*anami ‘blemish, fault’ [Noun]

*GOLD:* OIr. anim [ʔi, later ā f] (DIL ainim)

*W:* OW anamou gl. mendae, MW anaf

*BRET:* MBret. anaf, anaff ‘fault’; OBret. di-anam gl. efficaciter

*See:* *am-o- ‘wash’

**ETYM:** The PCelt. reconstruction is here based on the somewhat doubtful assumption that the OIr. word is an ancient i-stem (it also inflects as an ā-stem, but the Nom. pl anmi might be an indication that i-inflection is original). Pokorny’s connection of these words with Gr. ónomai ‘blame, injure’ is improbable. It is possible that *an- is the negative prefix in this word; the root could be the same as in the verb *am-o- ‘wash’, since the meaning ‘blemish’ could have developed from something like ‘unwashed, unwashable’; cf. also the parallelism between OBret. di-anam and OIr. dianim ‘faultless’.

**REF:** LEIA A-78, DGVB 63, GPC I: 106.

*anamon- ‘soul’ [Noun]

*GOLD:* OIr. anim [n f]

*BRET:* MBret. eneff

*CO:* Co. enef

*PIE:* *h₂enh₁-mon- ‘breath’ (IEW: 38)

*Cogn:* Lat. anima ‘soul’
*anatla

SEE: *anatla ‘breath’
ETYM: In both branches of Insular Celtic, the reflexes of this PCelt. etymon were influenced by Lat. anima.

*anatla ‘breath’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. anál [ə f]
W: MW anadyl, anadl [f and m]
BRET: MBret. alazn
CO: Co. anal, anel
PIE: *h₂enh₁- ‘breath’ (IEW: 38)
COGN: Lat. animus, Gr. ánemos
SEE: *ana- ‘breathe’
ETYM: Gaul. anatia (Larzac) should perhaps be translated as ‘souls’ and related to these words. PCelt. *anatla presupposes PIE < *h₂enh₁-tlo-, while Lat. animus and Gr. ánemos come from < *h₂enh₁-mo-.

*anderā ‘young woman’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. ander [ə f] (DIL ainder)
W: MW anneir [f] ‘heifer’ (GPC anner, annair)
BRET: MBret. anner ‘heifer’
CO: OCo. annoer gl. uitula
GAUL: ? anderon [Gen. p] (Larzac)
ETYM: Mlr. ander may have been an o-stem originally (DIL). The change of meaning attested in Brittonic (‘young woman’ > ‘heifer’) is based on a common metaphor in cattle-breeding societies. It has been suggested that there is a connection of this Celtic etymon and Basque andre ‘lady, woman’, but this might be only a chance resemblance. The meaning of Gaulish anderon is not certain (it might rather be related to Lat. inferus), so this word might not belong here after all.

*andum ‘inside, there’ [Adverb]
GOID: Olr. and ‘there’
PIE: *h₁ndo(m) ‘inside’ (IEW: 181ff.)
COGN: Hitt. anda ‘inwards, into’, Gr. éndon, OLat. endo ‘in, on to’
ETYM: The formation of PCelt. *andum shows that it was probably a neuter noun that became ‘petrified’ as an adverb. For the type of formation cf. *efirom ‘behind’.

*aneg-o- ‘protect’ [Vb]
*aneg-tlo-

GOID: OIr. aingid, anaig; anais, -ain [Subj.]; anais, -ain [Fut.]; anacht, -anacht [Pret.]; anachtae, -anacht [Pret. Pass.]
PIE: *h₁egH- ‘lack’ (IEW: 290)
COGN: Lat. egeo, ON ekla ‘lack’

*aneg-tlo- ‘refuge, protection’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. anacul [o, n] ‘act of protecting, sparing, protection’
GAUL: Anextlo-marus ‘attribute of Apollo’, perhaps ‘he, whose protection is great’
SEE: *aneg-o- ‘protect’
ETYM: The meaning of Anextlo-maros is doubtful; since the suffix *-tlo- usually has instrumental meaning, perhaps Anextlomaros originally meant ‘having great shelters’.

*angWina ‘nail’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. ingen [ä f] ‘nail, claw’
W: OW eguin, MW ewin [m and f]
BRET: OBret. eguin gl. adungem, MBret. euin
CO: OCo. euuin gl. unguis
PIE: *h₃nogʰu-, Gen. *h₃ngʰew-s ‘nail’ (IEW: 780)
ETYM: In Celtic, the stem of the oblique cases (*h₃ngʰu-) was generalized. Note the regular development of *h₃ngʰw- > *angw- without any laryngeal coloring of the vowel, whereas in Latin *h₃nC > unc-.

*angu- ‘narrow’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. cumung
W: MW ing
BRET: OBret. enc, MBret. encq, MoBret. enk
PIE: *h₂engʰu- ‘tight, narrow, constricted’ (IEW: 42f.)
SEE: *kom-angu- ‘narrow’
ETYM: OIr. cumung is from *kom-angu-, cf. also MW cyf-yn ‘narrow’ and MW eh-ang ‘broad’ < *exs-angu- ‘not narrow’. The PIE root is reconstructed as *h₂emgh- by Wodtko et alii (2008: 301).

*ank-o- ‘reach’ [Vb]
*ankoto-


W: MW rynghu ‘reach’, reingk [3s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. rencc, renqc ‘reaches’ [3s Pres.]
PIE: *h²nek- ‘reach, attain’ (IEW: 316-318)

COGN: Skt. aśnóti ‘reaches’, Lat. nanciscor

ETYM: MW rynghu ‘reach’ < *fro-ank-o- < PIE *h²n̥k-. OIr. -ic is usually derived from PIE *h²enkti (Narten present) > PCelt. *ínk- > *ink- (by Osthoff-type shortening before RC) > -ic. However, the PIE status of the Narten-presents with lengthened grade has been challenged recently (de Vaan 2004). Since PCelt. *ank- should have given OIr. éc- (cp. *anku- ‘death’ > OIr.éc), the Proto-Irish verbal stem *ink- would have to be analogical, perhaps generalized from the sandhi-variant occurring after the negation *nī: *nī anket ‘does not reach’ > *nínket, hence *inketi ‘reaches’.


*ankoto- ‘hook, paw’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. écath [?o] gl. hamus ‘fish hook’

W: MW anghad, aghad [m] ‘hand, grasp’ (GPC angad)
PIE: *h²n̥k̥o- ‘turn, bend’ (IEW: 45ff.)

COGN: Skt. áṅkas- ‘turn (in a road)’, Lat. ancus ‘with crooked arms’, OHG angul ‘angle’, perhaps Gr. ágkos ‘valley’

ETYM: The gender of OIr. écath is unknown, and the word is not well attested. Cf. also W craf-anc ‘paw, claw’, in which the underived *anko- is preserved as the second part of the compound. Both PIE *h²n̥k̥o- and *h²enko- would have been reflected as PCelt. *anko-. PIE *h²onko- is attested in Lat. uncus ‘hook’.

REF: GPC I: 49.

*anku- ‘death’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. éc [u m]

W: MW anghēu [m and f] (GPC angau)
BRET: OBret. ancou, MBret. ancou, MoBret. ankow [m]
CO: Co. ankow

PIE: *n̥k̥u- ‘death’ (IEW: 762)
COGN: Gr. n̥kys ‘corpse’, Av. nasu- ‘corpse’, ToA onık ‘man’

SEE: *nexso- ‘wound’

ETYM: OIr. écht [u n] ‘slaughter’ is another derivative from the same root. It can be derived from PCelt. *anxtu- < PIE *nk-tu-. OIr. écen [á f], W angen, MoBret. anken, Co. anken ‘necessity’ may represent *angino/ā ‘necessity’. The comparison of the Celtic forms with those from other IE languages presupposes a PIE ablauting paradigm with Nom. s. *nekus / Gen. *nkews. Celtic generalized the stem form of the oblique cases, as, e.g., in the words for ‘nail’ (*angʷīnā) and ‘name’ (*anman-).
*anman

‘name’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. ainm [n n]
W: OW anu, MW enw [m]
BRET: MBret. hanu, anff, MoBret. anw [m]
CO: Co. enw, hanow
GAUL: anuana [p] (Larzac)
PIE: *h₃nomn ‘name’ (IEW: 321)
COGN: Hitt. lāman, Skt. nāman-, Lat. nómen, Gr. ónoma, Go. namō, OPr. emmens, Russ. ímja, Alb. emēr, ToB ņom, Arm. anun
ETYM: The Celtic forms are derived from the oblique cases of the PIE word for ‘name’, i.e. from *h₃men-, just like, e.g., the Slavic forms (cf. Russ. ímja). The exact PIE reconstruction of the word for ‘name’ is hotly disputed; like de Vaan (2008) I discard the evidence of Gr. Ενύμα- as too uncertain for positing the initial *h₁-; however, unlike the Leiden school, I do not believe the evidence warrants *h₃neh₃mn (see Beekes 1987 and Matasović 2004: 122). The long o in Lat. nómen is analogical (presumably from co-gnōmen under the influence of co-gnōso ‘recognize’).

*an-men-V- ‘patience, forbearance’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. ainmne [nt ?]
W: MW amynnedd, amynnedd [m and f]
PIE: *men- ‘wait, remain’ (IEW: 729)
COGN: Skt. ámaman [3 s Perf.], Gr. ménō, Lat. maneo, Arm. mnam ‘stay, expect’, ToB màsketär ‘is located’
ETYM: The Celtic proto-form cannot be reconstructed. OIr. ainmne may be from *an-men-ant-, while MW amynnedd can come from *an-men-iyā, but in both cases the word formation is unclear. The prefix an- is probably the intensive prefix, quite common in Insular Celtic, and sometimes compared to Gaul. ande- (LEIA A-70). The attribution to the PIE root *men- seems quite probable.
REF: LEIA A-37, GPC I: 104, LIV 393.

*ānniyo- ‘ring’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. айдне [io ?m] gl. anellus
PIE: *h₁eṁn- ‘ring’ (IEW: 47)
COGN: Lat. ānus ‘ring, anus’, Arm. anur ‘necklace, ring’
ETYM: The reconstruction of the PCelt. form is uncertain. A derivation from *an-sn-iyo- is possible, with the similar development as in OIr. grian ‘sun’ < *gʷreïnsnā. On the other hand, the derivation from PCelt. *yāsniyo-
would also be regular, in which case we are dealing with PIE *(H)yeH3s-
‘belt, girdle’ (IEW 513, cf. Gr. zōnē, Lith. jūosta, OCS po-jasř). The
development of meaning from ‘belt’ to ‘ring’ would be quite unproblematic.
REF: LEIA A-37.

*ansyo- ‘reins’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. éis(s)i [ʔio m p]
PIE: *h2ensisyo- ‘reins’ (IEW: 48)
COGN: Gr. (Myc.) a-ni-ja, Gr. hēnía, Lat. ānsa ‘handle of a cup’
REF: EIEC 481.

*anto- ‘border, limit’ [Noun]
GAUL: antom (Vercelli); Anto-broges [Ethnonym] (var. Antebroges, Pliny
IV, 109)
PIE: *h2ento- ‘border’ (IEW: 48ff.)
COGN: Skt. ānta-, Go. andeis ‘end’
SEE: *antono- ‘forehead’
ETYM: Relying, as it does, only on Gaulish, this etymology is rather
uncertain, but cf. the derivative from the same root in OIr. étan < *antono-
‘front, forehead’.
REF: Delamarre 50.

*antono- ‘forehead’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. étan [0 m]
PIE: *h2ent- ‘face, forehead’ (IEW: 209)
COGN: Skt. ānti- ‘in front of’, Lat. ante ‘in front of’, Hitt. hant-, ToB ānte
‘surface, forehead’
SEE: *anto- ‘border’
ETYM: The word formation of PCelt. *antono- is somewhat unclear; a
derivation from PIE *h2ent-h3en- is thinkable.
REF: EIEC 209, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 256, 450

*anuxto- ‘what is unpronounced, mistake in versification’ [Noun]
SEE: *woxtlo- ‘word’, *wekxo- ‘face’

*anxtu- ‘slaughter’ [Noun]
SEE: *anku- ‘death’

*aramo- ‘quiet’ [Adj]
W: MW araf ‘quiet, leasurely, calm’
PIE: *h3erh3- ‘be still’ (IEW: 322f.)
erēmos ‘deserted’
ETYM: If this etymology is correct (the semantic connection leaves much to be desired), PCelt. *aramo- can be regularly derived from *eramo- (by Joseph's rule) < PIE *h₁er₁-mo-.
REF: GPC I: 175.

*aratro- 'plow' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. arathar [o n or m] 'plow, tillage'
W: OW ara[ter], MW aradr [m]
BRET: MBret. arazr
CO: OCo. aradar gl. aratrum
PIE: *h₂erh₃-tro- 'plough' (IEW: 62)
COGN: Lat. aratum, Gr. árotron, Lith. árklas
SEE: *ar-yo- 'to plow'

*arawn / *arawen- 'grain, cereal' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. arbor [n n]
W: W erwain [p] 'meadow-sweet'
PIE: *h₂erh₃wr 'field' (IEW: 63)
COGN: Lat. aruum 'plowed field', Gr. (Myc.) a-ro-u-ra 'field'
SEE: *ar-yo- 'to plow'
ETYM: The inflection of OIr. arbor shows that this word was a heterocliton in PCelt. The exact development of W erw 'field' is unclear to me. McCone 1994: 72 assumes that it is from the British pl. *arwaí through raising. If it belonged to the same paradigm as the precursor of OIr. arbor, then the meaning of PCelt. *arawar was probably 'cultivated field'. The PCelt. oblique stem *ar(a)wen- is reflected in W erwain and in MIr. airmnech 'man who possesses a lot of grain' (Cormac).

*ardi- 'point, extremity, direction' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. aird [i f]
PIE: *h₂erdi- 'point' (IEW: 63)
COGN: Gr. árdis 'point (of spear)'

*ardwo- 'high' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. ard [o]
W: MW ardd 'hill' [m and f]
BRET: MBret. arz 'elevated'
GAUL: Ardu-enna (silua) > Ardennes
PIE: *h₂erHdbh-wo- 'upright' (IEW: 339)
**arganto-**  ‘silver’ [Noun]

**arganto-**  ‘white’ [Adj], ‘snow’ [Noun]


ETYM: This etymology is generally accepted, but the derivation of the PCelt. form from PIE is difficult. If we start from *h₂erHdʰ-wo-* we must assume that the second laryngeal was lost in Celtic (through dissimilation?). Gr. *orthós* can be derived from *h₂orHdʰwo-* regularly (the loss of the laryngeal is expected after oR by de Saussure’s rule). The exact reconstruction of the PIE form is debated. Some linguists reconstruct PIE *h₃rdʰwo-*, but this does not explain Skt. *urdhvá-*. On the other hand, the form *h₂erHdʰwo-* is admittedly unusual (it looks like a compound of some sort).


*arganto-*  ‘silver’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *argat* [n]

W: OW *argant*, MW *arian* [m] (GPC *arian, arian*)


CO: Co. *argsans*

GAUL: Arganto-magus [Toponym] (today Argenton-sur-Creuse)

CELTIB: arkatō-bezom (K.0.7)

PIE: *h₂erg-nt-o-* ‘silver’ (IEW: 64)

COGN: Lat. argentum, Skt. rajata-, Arm. arcaf

ETYM: Celtib. arkatō-bezom has been interpreted as ‘silver mine’, but this is uncertain; however, the existence of this word for silver in Celtiberian is supported by PN Arkanta. There is some inconclusive evidence that Celtiberian also had another word for ‘silver’, *silapur* (Botorritá I), which is probably a Wanderwort of unknown origin, identical to Go. *silubr*, OCS *srebro* and Lith. *sidābras* (MLH V.1: 333). Positing a full grade in PIE *h₂ergnto-* to account for the Celtic reflexes appears more probable than accepting the rule *h₂rC/ > PCelt. *arC-* , but see also the development in *arto-* ‘bear’. The zero-grade *h₂rgnto-* would probably have yielded PCelt. **riganto-.** Skt. rajatá- is compatible only with *h₂rgnto-*, not with *h₂ergnto-*, but cp. Skt. árjuna- ‘silver’, which may be from *h₂erg-u-no-*, just as Gr. *árgyros* ‘silver’ is presumably from *h₂erg-u-ro-.** This shows that the PIE word for ‘silver’ may have had an ablauting paradigm, perhaps originally heteroclitic *h₂ergw-r / *h₂rgwen-s.**


*argyo-*  ‘white’ [Adj], ‘snow’ [Noun]

W: MW *eiry* (GPC *eira, eiry*) [m] ‘snow’

BRET: MBret. *ercʰ ‘snow’ [m]

CO: OCo. *irch*, MoCo. *ergh*
GAUL: Argio-talus [PN]
SEE: *argant- ‘silver’
ETYM: Hamp 1974, GPC and Deshayes (2003: 218) would relate these words to OIr. arg ‘drop’ (< *argo-), but this word is attested almost only in glossaries, its gender and stem-formation are unknown, and its meaning cannot easily be derived from the original meaning ‘white’. The meaning ‘snow’ is improbable in PCelt. (The Gaul. PN Argio-talus is presumably ‘white-foreheaded’ rather than ‘snow-foreheaded’).

*aro- ‘ploughing, ploughed land’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. ar [n > m] ‘tilling, the land ploughed, husbandry’
W: MW ar [m] ‘ploughed land’ (GPC ār)
PIE: *h₂erh₃-o - ‘ploughing’
SEE: *ar-yo- ‘plough’
ETYM: The PCelt. form reflects a simple nomen actionis (*h₂órh₃o-) from the PIE verb ‘to plough’.

*āron- ‘kidney’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. āru [n f] ‘kidney, gland’
W: MW aren [f] ‘kidney, testicle, stone’ (GPC aren); eirin [p]
PIE: *h₂eh₂r- ‘kidney’
COGN: Hitt. hahri-, ? Lat. rēnēs [Nom p], ToA āriṅc ‘heart’
ETYM: MW aren seems to be from *aren-, so we may reconstruct an ablauting paradigm in PCelt. (perhaps Nom. sg. *ārū / Gen. sg. *aron-os, or *aren-os). If Lat. rēnēs belongs here, it could represent the zero-grade *h₂hr-en-. Alternatively, we could reconstruct the PIE root as *h₂ren-, and assume reduplication in Celtic (*h₂-eh₂ren- > OIr. āru, *h₂h₂ren- > MW arenn) and, perhaps, Anatolian, while Latin rēnēs would be from unreduplicated *h₂rēn- (with the lengthened grade generalized from the Nom. sg.?). For a different etymology of the Celtic words for ‘kidney’ see Stüber 1998: 177f. She compares Go. akran ‘fruit’, which is not convincing semantically.

*arto- ‘bear’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. art [o m] ‘bear, hero, warrior’
W: MW arth [m and f]
BRET: OBret. Ard-, Arth-, MoBret. arzh [m]
GAUL: Artio [Theonym]
PIE: *h₂rtko- ‘bear’ (IEW: 845)
COGN: Hitt. hartagga-, Skt. ṭkṣa-, Gr. ārktos, Lat. ursus, Alb. ari
**arto-**

ETYM: Basque *hartz* ‘bear’ is presumably a Celtic loanword. The development of the syllabic resonant *r > ar* before a stop is probably to be explained by assuming a special development of the cluster *tk* (to *p* or *xp*) and that this cluster behaved like the fricative *s* when the syllabic resonant developed vocalic prothesis (but cf. PCelt. *mrixto-*). This shows that original, non metathesised *kt* was preserved in Celtic until the development of the prothesis in syllabic resonants. Thus we had *h2rtkos > *(H)rxtos > *artos, but *mrktos > *mriktos > *mrixtos. Another, in my opinion less probable explanation, would involve positing a special rule *h2rC > *arC before CRC > CriC (Joseph 1982: 50f.).


**arto-** ‘stone’ [Noun]

GOID: Mlr. *art*

GAUL: *artuass ‘stones’ (Todi)

ETYM: This is a rather weak etymology, since the Mlr. word is known only from glossaries (its gender and stem formation are unknown), and the meaning of the Gaulish noun is not ascertained (cf. Lambert 1994: 74).

REF: LEIA A-91.

**aryo-** ‘free man’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *aire* [k m, originally io m]

GAUL: *Ario-manus, Ario-vistus [PN]

PIE: *h2ery-o- ‘host’ (?) (IEW: 24, 67)

COGN: Skt. *arya- ‘kind, hospitable’

ETYM: The k-stem of OIr. *aire* is clearly secondary, as Dat. pl. *airib* is also attested. Therefore, the word was originally a yo-stem. A different etymology (e.g. in Meid 2005: 146) relates these Celtic words to PIE *prh3- ‘first’ (Skt. *pūrvā- etc.), but this is less convincing because there are no traces of the laryngeal in the purported Celtic reflexes (*prh3yo- would have probably given PCelt. *frāyo-). The old comparison with Skt. *aryā- (itself a derivative of *ari- ‘guest’, cf. Mayrhofer, s. v.) still offers the most plausible etymology.


**ar-yo-** ‘to plough’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. *airid, -air; araid, -ara [3 s Subj.]; ebraid, -ebra [Fut. 3 s]

W: MW *arddu*

BRET: MBret. *arat ‘ploughing’

CO: (Late) Co. *aras ‘ploughing’

PIE: *h2erh3-ye- ‘to plough’ (IEW 62f.)

COGN: Gr. *aróō*, Lat. *aro*, OHG *erien*, OCS *orja, orati*, Lith. *ariū, ėrti*
ETYM: Kortlandt (2007: 137) reconstructs an original athematic i-present for OIr. *airid and the whole BII class of presents that are traditionally interpreted as thematic. However, the existence of athematic i-presents (with possible parallels in Italic and Balto-Slavic) is disputed.


*ās- ‘mouth’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. á
PIE: *h₁oh₁s ‘mouth’
COGN: Hitt. ais, Skt. ās-, Lat. ṭǔs
ETYM: The OIr. word á is known only from poetry and glossaries. Its gender is uncertain. The reconstruction of the PIE etymon is a matter of dispute; I reconstruct *h₁s because of the lack of laryngeals in Anatolian. Another possibility is PIE *h₂eh₁s (assumed, e.g., by Mayrhofer, s. v. ās-), or *h₁eh₁-es- (Kloekhorst, s. v. aïs).


*asselt- ‘joint, part’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. asil, aisil ‘part, division, joint’
BRET: MBret. esel [m] ‘joint’
CO: Co. esel ‘joint’
ETYM: A convincing IE etymology is lacking. Formally, one could think of a derivation from *ad-sel- (cf. PCelt. *selwā ‘possession’).


*assowyo- ‘left’ [Adj]
W: MW aswy, asw ‘left, sinister, clumsy’
BRET: MBret. hasou ‘left’, MoBret. asow ‘favorable, venerable’
PIE *sewyo- (IEW: 915)
COGN: Skt. savyā-, OCS šui
ETYM: The Brittonic forms of this adjective are derived from prefixed *ad-sowyo- < *h₂ed-sewyo-. It is sometimes argued that this PIE word for ‘left’ is actually formed from the full grade of the root *h₁su- ‘good’ (Skt. su-). The change of meaning would be due to taboo.


*astr(i)yo- ‘rib’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. asna, esna [io m] ‘rib’
CO: OCoe. asen gl. costa
PIE: *h₂osth₁ ‘bone’ (IEW: 783)
COGN: Hitt. hastā-, Luv. hās-, Skt. āsthi-, Gr. (Hom.) ostéon, Lat. os, ossis, Alb. asht, Arm. oskr
ETYM: Celtic has generalized the stem of the oblique cases of this heteroclitic noun (cf. Skt. Gen. sg. asthnás). However, the stem formation in PCelt. is unclear. OIr. might perhaps point to *astniyo-, but cf. also MW ascurn, ascwrn ‘bone’, OCo. ascorn ‘bone’, MBret. ascorn, ascourn ‘bone’ < *as(t)-kornu- (where *kornu is the word for ‘horn’?). For the formation of *astniyo- and the development *stn > sn cf. PCelt. *brustniyo- ‘bundle’.


*āti- 'furnace, oven' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. āith [i f]
W: MW odyn [f] 'kiln'
CO: Co. Oden-colc [Toponym]
PIE: *h₂eh₁-t- 'burn' (IEW: 69)
COGN: Pal. hāri 'be hot', Lat. āra 'altar', ātrium 'first main room in a Roman house'

ETYM: Only Palaic seems to preserve the underlying PIE verb *h₂eh₁-, while Celtic shows a nominal derivative with the suffix *-ti-.

REF: LEIA A-54, GPC II: 2618, EIEC 87.

*āti-daw-ino- 'firebrand' [Noun]
SEE: *daw-yo- 'kindle'

*āti-gʷan-o- 'strike again' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. ad-goin 'wounds again'
W: MW atwanaf [1s Pres.] (GPC adwanaf)
SEE: *gʷan-o- 'hit, strike'

*āti-liy-o- 'stick, adhere to' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. ad-len 'adheres to, follows'
W: MW edlynu 'to smear, daub'
SEE: *liy-o- 'flow'
REF: KPV 453ff., GPC I: 1166.

*āti-nuw-o- 'promise, assent to' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. ad-noi 'entrusts, commends to'
W: MW adneu [m] 'inhumation, deposit (in the earth), pledge' (GPC adnau)
BRET: MBret. adnou 'deposit'
PIE: *new- 'nod, assent to' (IEW: 767)
COGN: Lat. ad-nuo, Gr. neūo 'nod', perhaps Skt. návate 'move, turn oneself'

ETYM: The Brittonic forms do not agree very well in meaning with the OIr. verb; for semantic development see LEIA N-13. Celtic points to the zero-
grade of the PIE root (*nuw-o*). Mayrhofer (s. v. NAV-*) doubts the existence of Skt. návate attributing all of the alleged instances of this verb to another root (PIE *new(H)-* 'roar, bellow').
REF: LEIA N-13, GPC I: 24, LIV 410.

*attrebā* 'settlement' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. attrab [ā f] 'possession, the act of occupying, a dwelling'
W: MW athref [f] 'dwelling-place, abode'
GAUL: Atrebates [Ethnonym]
SEE: *trebā* 'settlement'
ETYM: The geminate in Celtic is doubtlessly the result of assimilation from *ad-trebā*, cf. W tref 'home, town' < *trebā*. The assimilation must obviously be posterior to the development *DD > *ss, which is Proto-Celtic. This shows that the word need not be very old.
REF: GPC I: 235, LP 123, 147, Delamarre 59.

*attiyo-* 'father, foster father' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. aite [io m]
W: MW tat [m] (GPC tad)
BRET: MBret. tat, MoBret. tad [m]
CO: OCo. tat gl. pater
PIE: *atta- 'daddy' (IEW: 71)
COGN: Gr. ātta, Go. atta, Lat. atta, Croat. tāta
SEE: *tato- 'father'
ETYM: Cf. also the Gaul. PN Tati-cenus, which may be related. Nursery words not really derivable from the same prototype (the Brittonic forms are from a reduplicated root *tato-).

*aw* 'from' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. ó, ua [Aspirating, + Dat.]
W: OW o, MW o
BRET: MBret. o
PIE: *h₂ew 'away' (IEW: 73)
COGN: Lat. au-, Skt. áva, OCS u-
ETYM: The OIr. conjunction ó (and MW o) 'when' is the same word (in the unstressed position). There is, in OIr., also the adverb áu 'away' < *h₂ewo-(= Skt. áva). Celtib. au-tom (Bronze reš), which is probably a conjunction, might be comparable to Lat. autem.

*aw-* 'negative prefix and particle' [Particle]
GOID: OIr. ua-
*aw-bero-

PIE: *h₂ew- (IEW: 72)
COGN: OCS ɨ-, e.g. in ɨ-bogî ‘poor’
SEE: *aw- ‘from’
ETYM: This is perhaps the same entry as *aw- ‘from’ (see Hamp, 1990).
REF: LEIA U-1, Hamp 1990.

*aw-bero- ‘vain’ [Adj]
GOID: Olr. òbar, ùabar gl. inanis [o]
W: MW ofer
BRET: MoBret. euver ‘lazy’
CO: Co. ofer ‘vain’
ETYM: In principle, these words can be derived from the negative prefix *
aw- and the verbal root *ber-o- ‘carry’, but both the semantic connection
and the word formation are difficult. The original meaning could have been
‘not carrying’ hence ‘lazy’ and ‘vain’.

*awe-C- ‘inspiration, insight’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. aui, ai [t m> f] ‘poetic inspiration’
W: MW awen [f] ‘poetic inspiration, talent’
SEE: *awelâ ‘breeze, wind’
ETYM: MoBret. awen ‘inspiration’ is a loanword from W. The PCelt.
reconstruction is difficult because word formations of Olr. aui and MW
awen do not agree.
1999: 172.

*awelâ ‘breeze, wind’ [Noun]
W: MW awel [f] ‘breeze’
BRET: OBret. avelou gl. aurarum, MBret. avel, avel ‘wind’, MoBret. awel
CO: OCo. auhel gl. aura
PIE: *h₂uh₁-el- (IEW: 81ff.)
COGN: Gr. áella ‘stormwind’
ETYM: The Celtic forms presuppose the full grade of the root, *h₂ewh₁-el,
while Gr. áella can be both from *h₂uh₁el- and *h₂ewh₁-el-. We are probably
dealing with an archaic neuter l-stem here, with Nom. sg. *h₂ewh₁l, Gen. sg.
*h₂uh₁el-s. Both the Greek and the Celtic reflexes may be from the old
(collective) plural.

*awislo- ‘wish, desire’ [Noun]
W: MW ewyllys [m and f] ‘will, appetite, lust’
BRET: OBret. aiul gl. ultrô, MBret. eoul, youll ‘eagerness, appetite’
CO: Co. awell ‘will’
PIE: *h₂ewH- ‘wish’ (IEW: 77f.)
COGN: Lat. aueo ‘be eager’, Skt. avasá- ‘refreshment, food’, Arm. aviwn ‘lust’

ETYM: Cf. also Wawydd ‘eager desire, lust, greed’ which may represent *awédo- < *h₂ew-eydo- parallel to Lat. auidus ‘eager’ < *h₂ew-ido- (rather than being borrowed from Latin, as is often assumed).


*awon-tür, *awon-tro- ‘uncle’ [Noun]

W: MW ewaythyr, ewaythyr [m]
BRET: MBret. eontr
CO: OCq. eutor, MOCo. ewnter
PIE: *h₂ewh₂-on- (IEW: 89)
COGN: Lat. auunculus ‘maternal uncle’
SEE: *awyo- ‘grandfather’

ETYM: OIr. amnair [rm] ‘maternal uncle’ is derived from the same root in the oblique cases, but with a different suffix (*awn-er), by analogy with other kinship terms in *-r.


*awsetlo- ‘(flesh-)fork’ [Noun]

GOLD: OIr. aél [om, perhaps originally n] gl. fuscina
PIE: *h₂ews- ‘draw water, scoop up’ (IEW 90)
COGN: Pal. hussînta ‘they draw water for themselves’, Lat. haurio ‘draw up’, ON ausa ‘scoop up’

ETYM: OIr. aél is considered to have been borrowed from OE awul ‘fork’ by LEIA A-20, but the phonetics of this comparison are difficult, and the OIr. word is attested earlier than other loanwords from OE (already in the Sanktgallen Glosses). Watkins 2005 derives OIr. aél from the PIE root *h₂ews- ‘to draw water’ and assumes PCelt. *aws-elo- or *aws-il-, but the suffix *-tlo- in a nomen instrumenti is inherently more probable. For the sound development cp. OIr. scél ‘story’ < *skʷetlom. The initial h- in Lat. haurio is due to hypercorrection.


*awsos- ‘ear’ [Noun]

GOLD: OIr. au, (DIL ó) [sn]; ae [Gen s]
GAUL: Su-ausia [PN]
PIE: *h₂ews- ‘ear’ (IEW: 785)
COGN: Lat. auris, Gr. oûs, Av. uši [Dual], OE ēære, Lith. ausis, OCS uxo, Alb. vesh

ETYM: OIr. presupposes a PCelt. s-stem *awsos, cf. the parallel formation in Slavic (OCS uxo, Nom. pl. ušesa). This is much more probable than the
other possibility, namely that PCelt. preserved the PIE neuter root-noun (*h₂ Owens > Gr. oûs).

*aw-fto- ‘scarce’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. óthath ‘a few’
W: MW odid ‘scarce, rare, exceptional’
ETYM: These words are derived with the negative/ablative prefix *aw- from the verbal base *ti-ná- of OIr. tinaid ‘fades away’. Further etymological connections are unclear. PCelt. *ti-ná- can be derived from PIE *dʰgʷʰi- ‘perish’ (Gr. phthínō, Skt. kṣī-) only if one assumes a form of the root with s-mobile, hence *sqʰgʷʰi-ná– > *stinā– > *ti-ná– (with *st– > *t– as in OIr. tá < *stā–, which is perhaps due to a generalization of one sandhi form).

*awV- (?) ‘liver’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. óa [f] gl. iecur, óeib [Dat p]
W: MW auh, auv, afu [m and f]
BRET: MBret. auv, MoBret. avu [m]
CO: OCo. au
ETYM: OIr. óa is not well attested in the early period, so the stem formation is unknown. The MIr. form is ae. Cf. also the derivatives W euad, afuad ‘liver-rot, speedwell’, evod ‘liver fluke, worms in the liver of sheep’. The reconstruction of the PCelt. form is very uncertain, so it is impossible to offer a plausible IE etymology. Speculatively, one may consider the possibility of a derivation from the PIE root *h₂eh₁- ‘be warm’ (Pal. hā-, cf. LIV 229); for the semantic connection, cf. Russ. pecen’ ‘liver’ < *pekʷ- ‘cook, bake’ (Lat. coquo, etc.).

*aw-yo- ‘protect’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. con-óí ‘protects’
PIE: *h₂ewH- ‘help, protect’ (IEW: 77)
COGN: Skt. ávati ‘helps’
ETYM: OIr. con-óí is from the compound *kom-aw-yo- (the simplex is unattested). The compound PNs Gaul. Aui-cantus and OBret. Eucant might contain the same verbal root. The closest cognate to this Celtic verb is found in Skt. ávati, but it is possible that this is the same PIE root as *h₂ewH- ‘wish’ (see *awislo- ‘wish, desire’). For the root-final laryngeal cf. the Skt. past participle itá-. Lat. iuuo, iuüare ‘help’ may also belong here (de Vaan 2008: 318; he reconstructs the root as *h₁ewH-).

*awyo- ‘descendant, grandchild’ [Noun]
*āwoyo-

‘egg’ [Noun]

W: OW ui, MW wy [m]
BRET: MBret. uy, MoBret. ui [m]
CO: OCo. uy gl. ovum, MCo. oy
PIE: *h₂ōwy-o- ‘egg’ (IEW: 783)
COGN: Lat. œum, Gr. óión, Av. aēm [Acc. s], OCS ajce, Russ. jajcò, Arm. ju, OHG ei, Alb. ve
ETYM: The Olr. word for ‘egg’, og [s n, later m and f] probably does not belong here (some consider it to be a loanword from Brittonic). PIE *h₂ōwy-o- is a vrddhi derivative from *h₂ewi- ‘bird’ (Skt. vāy-, Lat. auis, Gr. aietós ‘eagle’, etc.). MW hwyat ‘duck’ and MBret. houat ‘duck’ are sometimes derived from the same PIE root, but the initial h- (< PIE *s-) is unclear, so I doubt whether this etymology is correct.

*aaksi- ‘back’ [Noun]
SEE: *axsilā ‘axis’

*aaxsilā ‘axis’ [Noun]
W: MW echel [f]
BRET: MBret. ahel [m]
PIE: *h₂eks- ‘axis’ (IEW: 6)
COGN: Lat. axis, Lith. ašis
ETYM: Olr. ais [f] ‘back’ might be related, but the semantic connection is unclear. The development ‘axis’ > ‘spine’ > ‘back’ is at least imaginable, and the development from PIE *h₂eksi- > PCelt. *axsi- > Olr. ais would be regular.

*aaxto-, *axtfno- ‘furze, gorse’ [Noun]
*ay-sso-

GOID: OIr. aitten [0 m]
W: MW aeth, (GPC aith), eithin
BRET: OBret. ethin gl. rusci
CO: OCo. eythin [Singulative] gl. ramnus
PIE: *h₂ek-sti-
Cogn: Lith. akstis ‘spit (for roasting)’, Russ. ost’ ‘awn, bristle’
Etym: MW aeth probably preserves the original underived noun (*axto-).
The British forms presuppose a feminine noun (presumably old collective)
*axtlna, while OIr. aitten points to *axttna-
Ref: LEIA A-57, GPC I: 73, 1203, DGVB 168, Zimmer 2000: 521,

*ay-sso-, *ay-to- ‘life, age’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. òes, òes [0 n]
W: OW ois [f] ‘age’, MW oes; OW oit [f and m] ‘time, period’, MW oed
BRET: OBret. oit, MBret. oet
CO: OCo. huis gl. seculum, Co. oys
PIE: *h₂ey-(wo)- ‘age’ (IEW: 17f.)
Cogn: Lat. aëuum, Go. aiws, Gr. aién ‘always’
Etym: Celtib. aiiuizas is often adduced as a cognate, but the meaning of
this word is quite uncertain, and the connection would be possible only if
PIE *-s- can give Celtib. -z-, which is improbable (*s is generally preserved
in Celtiberian, and z < *d). The forms within Brittonic differ to some extent.
Perhaps we should reconstruct both PCelt. *ayto- (> MW oed) and *aysso- <
*ayt-to- (MW oes). Cf. also Ogam PN AVITTO-RIGES and OBret. Oed-ri.
The IE comparanda in IEW (Lat. aëuum, etc.) are derived from the u-stem
seen in Skt. áyu- ‘lifetime’ < PIE *h₂oyu-. Celtic seems to preserve the
original root form *h₂ey- with different suffixes.
Ref: LEIA A-21, LP 9, Falileyev 124, DGVB 275, Campanile 1974: 66,

*aydu- ‘fire’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. àed [%u n]
W: W aidd [m and f] ‘ardor’
BRET: MBret. oaz [m] ‘ardor, jealousy’
PIE: *h₂eydʰos ‘firewood’ (IEW: 11)
Cogn: Skt. édhas-, OE ãd ‘bonfire’, Lat. aedes ‘building, temple’
Etym: The vocalism of the two Brittonic forms does not agree (MBret. oaz
may perhaps regularly come from *aydu-, but in W *oedd would be
expected). See LEIA s. v. aed. It is possible that the ethnonym Aedui is
derived from the same PCelt. form (Delamarre 35). OIr. àed is not well
attested, but it appears to be an u-stem (the Gen. sg. is áeda).
Ref: LEIA A-20, GPC I: 69, EIEC 87, Delamarre 35f., Deshayes 2003:
543.
*bā-, *ba-yo- ‘die’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. baíd, -bá; bebaid [Fut.]; bebais [Pret.]; -bath [Pret. Pass.]
PIE: *gʷeh₂- ‘tread’ (IEW: 463f.)
COGN: Skt. jīgāti ‘steps, goes’, Arm. kam ‘stand’, Lith. dial. gōju, gōti ‘go’
ETYM: The present stem of OIr. baíd is from PIE *gʷh₂-ye- (the zero grade of the root seems to have been generalized in the whole paradigm). It appears that the meaning was changed euphemistically from ‘go away’ to ‘die’ (cf. Eng. to pass away).

*bād-i- ‘dive, drown’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. báidid, -báidi; bádfid [Fut.], -báided [Part. Pass.] ‘submerge, drown’
W: MW boddi
BRET: MBret. beuziff, MoBret. beuziñ
CO: Co. buthy, bedhy
PIE: *gʷeh₂dʰ- ‘tread, wade’ (IEW: 465)
COGN: Skt. gādhā- ‘ford’
ETYM: The Celtic formations can be interpreted as causatives or iteratives, derived from *gʷoh₂dʰ-eye-. Gr. bēssa, Dor. bāssa ‘valley’ (if from *gʷeh₂dʰ-th₂) is possibly cognate, but the meanings are quite different. Skt. gāhate ‘wade’, Lith. gōžti ‘overthrow, overturn’, Croat. gžiti ‘tread, wade’ appear to be from the same root (*gʷeh₂-, cf. Skt. jīgāti ‘goes’, Gr. ἐβῆ ‘went’), but with a different suffix (*-gʰ-).

*bakk-o- ‘hook, (curved) stick, hook’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. bacc [o m] ‘bill-hook, angle, bend’
W: OW bach, MW bach [m and f] ‘hook, peg’
BRET: OBret. bah, MBret. bach ‘hook’, MoBret. bac’h [m]
CO: Co. bagh
PIE: *bak- ‘stick’ (IEW: 93)
COGN: Lat. baculum, Gr. báktron
ETYM: According to DIL, OIr. bacc is used to refer to various hooked or angled tools or other articles, but its primary meaning appears to be ‘angle, corner’ (it also refers to an enclosed corner of the field’). The IE etymology is uncertain: if it is indeed related to Lat. baculum, PCelt. *bakk-o- must come from PIE *bak-. Because of the word-initial *b- and the vowel *a it
*baloko-

contained, this word is suspect of being a *Wanderwort*, a loan from some unknown source. This is possible if the original meaning was ‘shepherd’s staff’ *vel. sim.*


*baloko-* ‘strong’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. balc [o] ‘stout, strong, vigorous’
W: MW balch ‘fine, proud, strong, brave’
BRET: MoBret. balc*h
CO: Co. balgh
PIE: *bʰel- ‘swell (?)’ *(IEW: 120)
COGN: OE beald ‘bold’

ETYM: Celtib. kom-balkores and kom-balkez (both in Botorrita I) are sometimes compared to this set of forms, but the meaning of these Celtiberian words is unknown. On the Indo-European side, of many forms from different languages adduced by IEW (120), few are actually related. The PIE etymology adduced here is rather speculative. It is assumed that OE beald and the cognate Germanic words contain the same root as PCelt. *bal-ko-*, with a different suffix, cf. also OE bealluc ‘testicle’. For a different proposal see Hamp 1990a.


*ballo-* ‘member, penis’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. ball [o m]; ball ferda gl. membrum uirile
GAUL: Ballo-marios [PN]
PIE: *bʰel- ‘swell (?)’ *(IEW: 120)
COGN: Gr. phallós ‘penis’, Lat. follis ‘bag, sack, testicles’

ETYM: The geminate *ll in PCelt. is most likely from *ln, cf. also W balle’g ‘sack, purse’, which is probably derived from the same root. Gr. phallós and Lat. follis can also be from PIE *bʰln-.


*bal-ni-* ‘throw away, die’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. a-t-bal ‘dies’; -bela [Subj.]; -béla [Fut.]; -balt [Pret.]
W: MW aballu ‘die, perish’, aballaf [1s Pres.]
PIE: *gʷelh₁- ‘throw’ *(IEW: 471f.)
COGN: Gr. bállo ‘throw’, perhaps ToAB klā- ‘fall’

ETYM: OIr. a-t-bal ‘dies’ is from *exs-id-bal-ni- ‘throws it (out)’, while W aballu ‘die, perish’ < *ad-bal-. As with the verb *bā-, *ba-yo- ‘die’, the development of meaning was euphemistic.

REF: LP 340, LEIA B-12, GPC I: 2, KPV 212, LIV 208.

*banatlo-* ‘broom-plant, broom’ [Noun]
*bandi-*, *bando-* ‘melodious, harmonious’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. *bind* [i] (DIL *binn*)

W: MW *bann, ban* ‘high, noble, sonorous, melodious’

BRET: OBret. *bann* gl. *canora*

SEE: *bando-* ‘peak, top’

ETYM: The Brittonic forms point to PCelt. *bando-, as if from the zero-grade of the root. In W, *ban* is also a noun [m and f] ‘top, tip, summit’, also ‘horn of animal, corner, angle’. It is possible that this word and PCelt. *bando- ‘top, peak’ became confused in Brit.

REF: LEIA B-51, GPC 1: 253, DGVB 78.

*bando-* ‘peak, top’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *benn* [ə f] ‘peak, horn, mountain, crest’

W: MW *bann* [m and f] ‘peak, top, horn, beam’ (GPC *ban*)

BRET: MBret. *ban*, MoBret. *bann* [m] ‘peak’

CO: Co. *ban*

GAUL: *Canto-bennicus* (mons) [Toponym]

PIE: *bend-* ‘point, pin’ (IEW: 96f.)

COGN: OE *pintel* ‘penis’, MLG *pin, pinne* ‘pin, nail’

SEE: *bandi-, *bando- ‘melodious, harmonious’

ETYM: Cf. also Pr. *banno* ‘horn’ < Gaul. *bannā. The a-vocalism is best explained if one assumes PIE zero-grade of the root, *bnd- > PCelt. *band-; Gaul. Canto-bennicus might contain the full-grade (*bend-), or represent one of the few instances of *CnC > Gaul. CenC. The Germanic parallels pointing to initial *b- make borrowing from some non-IE source quite possible.


*bandyo-* ‘drop’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *banne* [io ?m] (DIL *bannae*) ‘drop, pustule’

W: MW *ban* [m]
*bāno- ‘white, shining’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. báin [o]
PIE: *bʰeʰ₂- ‘shine’ (IEW: 104)
ETYM: P Celt. *bāno- is from a deverbal adjective PIE *bʰeʰ₂-no-.

*banssu- ‘custom, habit’
GOID: OIr. běs [u m]
W: MW moes [m and f]
BRET: MBret. boas [m and f], MoBret. boas
PIE: *bʰändʰ- ‘bind’ (IEW: 127)
COGN: Skt. bandh-, Go. bindan ‘tie’
SEE: *bondyo- ‘armband, bracelet’
ETYM: The meaning of Gaul. bessu gl. more feritatis (Virgil. Gramm. 14), which is sometimes compared with these nouns, is quite uncertain (the gloss could just as easily refer to feritas as to mos). W moes probably has its m- because of the analogical influence of Lat. mōs ‘custom’. The vocalism is best explained if one starts from PIE zero grade of the root *bʰeydʰ- ‘trust’ (IEW 117, cf. Lat. fidēs, Gr. peitho, etc.) is less probable. OIr. běs cannot be from *boyssu- (we would expect **bāes), nor from *bēssu- < *bᵉydʰ-tu- (we would expect **bias).

*banwo- ‘young pig, piglet’ [Noun]
GOID: Mfr. banb [o m]
W: MW banw [m and f]; beinw [p]
BRET: OBret. ban gl. scrofa, MoBret. banò, banw [f]
CO: OCo. baneu gl. sus
GAUL: Banuus [PN]
ETYM: There do not seem to be any clear cognates in other IE languages, so this word is, in all likelihood, a loanword from some non-IE source.
*barag(en)o/a '(barley) bread' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *barabgeo [a f] 'bread, loaf'
W: MW *bara [m]
BRET: MBret. *bara [m]
CO: OCo. bara gl. panis, bara can 'white bread'
PIE: *bhar- 'barley' (IEW: 111)
COGN: Lat. far 'grain, coarse meal', OE bere 'barley', Latv. barība 'food', Russ. bōrošno 'ryemeal'
ETYM: The PCelt. reconstruction is based on OIr., but *baraginā appears equally possible; in any case, this is a nominalized adjective, originally meaning farreus (sc. panis); the Brittonic forms could be from underived *barago- (cf. Lat. farrāgō 'mixed crop of inferior grains'). The a-vocalism in PIE *bhar- points to non-IE origin.

*bar(an)- 'fury, anger' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *barae [n f]
W: MW *bar (GPC bār) [m], baran [m]
BRET: OBret. bere-hic gl. furibundus, baran
GAUL: ? Ambi-barii (Caesar, De Bello Gallieo VII 75 4)
ETYM: Cf. also OBret. PN Bleid-bara 'furious as a wolf'. These words might be from the PIE root *bherH- 'pierce, injure' (Lat. ferio, OCS borenie 'fight', Gr. pharos 'plough', etc.), but this is uncertain (one would have to start with the n-stem *bheron / *bherHnos, which would give PCelt. *beran-, then *baran- by Joseph's rule; Stüber's stem *barn- is impossible, since this is a root in laryngeal, cf. the acute in Lith. bárti 'scold').

*bardo- 'bard, poet' [Noun]
GOID: Mr. *bard [o m]
W: MW bardd [m]; beirdd, beirddion, beirddiaid [p]
BRET: MBret. barz [m]
CO: OCo. *barth gl. mimus, scurra
GAUL: *bardos, bardus (Festus), Bardo-magus [Toponym]
PIE: *gẻrH- 'praise' (IEW: 478)
COGN: Skt. grnāti 'calls, praises', Lat. grātus 'grateful, pleasant, delightful', Lith. girti 'praise'
SEE: *bar-na- 'proclaim'
ETYM: The PCelt. form is an old compound, PIE *gwrH-dʰh₁-o- 'praise-maker' (the second element is the verbal root *dʰeh₁- 'do, make' (Skt. dādhā-tī, etc.). Since PIE *gwrH-dʰh₁-o- should have given PCelt. **brādo- we
should either assume that the compound is recent, and posit a PCGPC elt. root-noun (?) *bar- < *gʷrH-, or rather the loss of the first laryngeal in the compound and derive *bardo- from *gʷr-dʰ₁o- regularly.


*bārego- ‘morning’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. bárách [o ?] ‘tomorrow’
W: MW bore [m] ‘morning’; borey, boryau, boreau [p]
BRET: MBret. beure [m]
CO: Co. bore
SEE: *báno- ‘white, shining’
ETYM: A persuasive IE etymology is lacking. Hamp’s derivation of these words from *bā-rigo- ‘cow-tying’ is not impossible, but it is semantically far-fetched. From the formal side, *bārego- can be a compound, consisting of PIE *bʰeh₂- ‘shine’ (Skt. bhā-, Gr. phainō, Gr. Hom. phāos ‘light, daylight’, etc., cf. PCelt. *bāno-) and *h₃reg- ‘extend, stretch, rule’ (Skt. rāṣṭi ‘rules’, Gr. orégō ‘extend’, Lat. rego ‘rule’, cf. PCelt. *reg-o-). Note that reflexes of the verb *bʰeh₂- are regularly connected with dawn (Skt. usās-, Gr. Hom. ēōs) in both Greek and Vedic. A compound *bʰeh₂-h₃rego- ‘light-extending’ would be similar to the Gr. type phaes-phoros, phōt-agōgōs ‘light-bringing’ (Frisk, II: 989ff.). If this is correct, PCelt. *bārego- is in origin a nominalized adjective, perhaps originally an epithet of dawn.


*barinā ‘rock, rocky ground’ [Noun]
GOID: Mr. bairenn [ā f]
W: MW brennig [Collective]; brennigen [Singulative] ‘barnacle, limpet’
BRET: MBret. brennik, MoBret. brennig [Collective]
CO: Co. brennik
PIE: *gʷrH- ‘hill, mountain’ (IEW: 477f.)
ETYM: It is assumed here that Mr. preserves the original formation, while the Brittonic forms represent derivatives with a velar suffix. English barnacle is ultimately derived from Brittonic *baranāko-, cf. also Gallo-Latin *bernaccia (Port. bernaca, Fr. dial. barnache), *bernica (Sp. berneca, Gamillscheg 86f.). Celtic preserved the zero-grade of the PIE root noun *gʷorHs/*gʷrH-os ‘woody mountain’ and added the adjectival suffix *-ino- which is common in Celtic, cf. *magino- ‘stone’ (W maen), *dragenā/*draginā ‘sloetree’ (OIr. draigen), *kasninā ‘garlic’ (OIr. cainenn), *worinā ‘troop’ (OIr. foinenn), etc.


*bar-na- ‘proclaim’ [Vb]
*barro-* ‘point, top’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. barr [o m], Ogam CATA-BAR
W: MW barr [m] (GPC bar) ‘top, crest’
BRET: OBret. barr, MBret. barr
CO: Co. bar
GAUL: Cuno-barrus [PN]
PIE: *bʰers- ‘point’ (IEW: 109)
COGN: Skt. bhṛṣṭi- ‘tip, point’, OHG borst
ETYM: The Celtic forms may be derived from the zero-grade *bʰrso- of an ablauting root-noun with the Nom. sg. *bʰ̀ṛrs, Gen. sg. *bʰ́ṛs-os, Acc. sg. *bʰ̀rs-m.

*baski-* ‘bundle’ [Noun]
W: MW beich [m] ‘load, weight, burden’ (GPC baich)
BRET: MBret. bech, MoBret. bech [m and f] ‘bundle, load’
CO: Co. begh
PIE: *bʰask- ‘bundle’ (IEW: 111)
COGN: Lat. fascis ‘bundle, faggot’, perhaps Alb. bashkë ‘fleece’
ETYM: OIr. basc ‘necklace’ is often related to these words, but it is scarcely attested, and its meaning does not agree well with the meanings of *baski- in other Celtic languages. A Gaulish reflex of PCelt. *baski- may be preserved in Fr. dial. basse ‘net for carrying load’ (Gamillscheg 69). The fact that the root *bʰask- is limited to Italic and Celtic (and, possibly, Albanian), as well as its a-vocalism, make it probable that it was borrowed from some non-IE language.

*basko-* ‘red’ [Adj]
GOID: MIr. basc [o m]
PIE: *bʰas- (IEW: 105)
COGN: OHG beri ‘berry’, OE basu ‘purple’
ETYM: MIr. basc is attested only in glossaries, and DIL relates it to basc ‘necklace’ (cf. PCelt. *baski- ‘bundle’). The IE etymology is very uncertain, relying, as it does, only on Celtic and Germanic. The a-vocalism would imply that the word was borrowed from some NW European substrate.
Kluge (s. v. Beere) doubts the connection and derives OHG beri from PIE *h₃gʷ-os-, relating it to Lith. uoga ‘berry’, OCS jagoda, Lat. āva, etc.

*bäṣto- ‘death’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. bás [o n]
PIE: *gʷeh₂- ‘go’ (IEW: 480)
SEE: *bā-, *ba-yo- ‘die’
ETYM: OIr. bás is actually the verbal noun to baíd ‘die’. The stem formation of *bäṣto- is unclear, since the suffix *-sto- is unlikely. Note that ll the forms could also be derived from *bāssō- < *gʷeh₂-dʰ-to-, where *-dʰ- is either the (present stem?) suffix, or part of the root cf. PCelt. *bād-I- ‘dive, drowned’ (the meaning ‘die’ could have developed from ‘drown’).
Another possibility is to relate OIr. bás to PIE *(s)gWes- ‘put out, quench’ (OCS gasiti, Gr. sbênnymi etc.). We would then have to posit PIE *gʷōs-to- > PCelt. *bäṣto-. The lengthened grade would have its parallel in Slavic.

*bato- ‘death’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. bath [o n] ‘death’
W: MW bad ‘pest, plague’ [f]
SEE: *bā- ‘die’, *bäṣto- ‘death’
ETYM: OIr. bath (also baath, bath) is an archaic word, occurring besides the more usual bás < *bäṣto- < *gʷeh₂-sto- (hence the analogical length in bath). It can be derived from the zero-grade of the same root, *gʷh₂-to-. Perhaps related are OCo. badus gl. lunaticus and MoBret. bad ‘stupor, giddiness’, but the semantic side of this connection is a problem.

*bebru- ‘beaver’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. Bibar [PN]
BRET: OBret. beuer gl. castor (?)
GAUL: Bebriacum [Toponym] ‘locus castorum’ (Tacitus), Bibracte [Toponym]
PIE: *bʰebʰru- ‘beaver’ (IEW: 136)
COGN: Skt. babhrú- ‘brown’, Av. baśra- ‘beaver’, Lat. fiber, OE beofer, Lith. bebrūs
ETYM: It is uncertain whether OBret. beuer is originally Breton, or rather from VLat. biber, which is itself a Gaulish loanword (cf. also OFr. bièvre, It. bevero, OSp. befre).

*bedo- ‘grave, ditch’ [Noun]
W: MW bedd [m]; beddau, beddi [p]
BRET: MBret. bez [f]
*bego-

CO: Co. *beth
GAUL: *bedo- > Fr. bief ‘canal’
CELTIB: (arkato-)beuzom (K.0.7)
PIE: *bʰedʰ- ‘dig’ (IEW: 113f.)
COGN: Hitt. padd-, Lat. fodio, Go. badi ‘bed’, Lith. bedū, bėsti, OCS bosti, bodėt ‘prick, stab’
ETYM: Celtib. arkato-bezom is plausibly interpreted as ‘silver mine’, but, as with most Celtiberian forms, the interpretation is not completely certain. The same word is preserved in toponymy, e.g. in the hydronyms Le Bé, Le Bez, etc. in France, as well as in some substrate words in French and Italian dialects (see Delamarre 70).

*bego- ‘break’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. do-beig, co-toibget [3p Pres.]
PIE *bʰeg- ‘break’ (IEW 114f.)
COGN: Skt. bhanakti, Arm. ebek ‘broke’, Lith. bengiū ‘end’
SEE: *bekko- ‘small’
ETYM: This verb was confused in OIr. with its near-homonym, do-boing (DIL) ‘wrests, plucks, breaks’ < PCelt. *bung-o- < *bʰungo-. PIE *bʰeg- ‘break’ is also attested in MW di-fo, diuo ‘destroying’ (*dī-bogo-) and in the OIr. compound ráth-buige ‘builder of ramparts’ (*bogyo-). Finally, OIr. bocht ‘poor’ can represent *bogto- < *bʰog-to- from the same root.
REF: KPV 216f, McCone 1991, LIV 66f.

*bek(k)o- ‘beak, snout’

BRET: MBret. bec, MoBret. beg [m]
GAUL: becus (Suetonius), *bekko- > Fr. bec
ETYM: This appears to be an ‘expressive’ word, comparable to Lat. bucca ‘mouth’.

*bekko- ‘small’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. bec [o]
W: MW bach, bychan
BRET: MBret. bihan
CO: Co. boghan
SEE: *beg-o- ‘break’
ETYM: These words could originally be adjectives derived from the verb ‘to break’, PIE *bʰeg- (Skt. bhanakti, Arm. bekanem, IEW 114f.). The semantic development ‘broken into pieces’ > ‘small’ is possible, and PIE *bʰeg-ko- would yield PCelt. *bekko- regularly. However, an adjective *bʰeg-ko- does not seem to be formed according to the rules of PIE word formation.
*bel-o- ‘strike’ [Vb]

W: MW bel [3s Pres.]; belu ‘pierce, strike’

PIE: *gʷelH- ‘suffer’ (IEW: 470f.)


SEE: *bal-ni- ‘die’

ETYM: Following LIV and KPV, these forms are to be separated from PIE *gʷelH₁- ‘throw’, Celt. *bal-ni-.


*belyo- ‘tree’ [Noun]

GOID: Mlr. bile [io n] ‘large tree, tree trunk’

PIE: *bʰelh₃yo- ‘leaf’ (IEW: 122)

COGN: Lat. folium, Gr. phyllon

SEE: *blātu- ‘flower’

ETYM: The fact that the vocalism of OIr. does not agree with the (expected) o-grade in Gr. and Lat. presumably shows that these are parallel formations from the root *bʰelh₃-. The laryngeal probably dropped before *y in PIE (Pinault’s rule).

REF: LEIA B-50f.

*benā, *bena ‘woman’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. bé [n], ben [f], mná [Gen s],

W: OW ben [f]

BRET: MBret. e-ben ‘other’, lit. ‘his wife’; OBret. ban-leu gl. lene

CO: OCo. benen gl. sponsa

GAUL: *bnanom [Gen p] (Larzac)

PIE: *gʷenH₂ ‘woman’ (IEW: 473)

COGN: Skt. jāni, gnā, Gr. gynē, (Cuneiform) Luv. wānā-, OE cwen, OPr. genno, ToB šana, OCS žena

ETYM: OIr. neuter bé is an archaic, poetic word, later replaced by ben, which also has an irregular inflection. LEIA derives bé from a putative proto-form *gʷepes- (cf. German Kebse ‘concubine’), which is very unconvincing. I assume that the OIr. word bé is the regular reflex of *bench < *ben < *gʷenH₂, while the ‘regularized’ form *benā (by analogy with the a-stems) yielded ben. OW ben is a hapax, and in OBret. we have ban-douis gl. musa, literally ‘woman-goddess’. Cf. also W banon [f] ‘queen, young woman’, Gaul. PN Banon[a], Banonias [Gen. sg.], which may represent PCelt. *banonā.

*bergā ‘pillage, robbery’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. berg [á f]
W: MW beryf, bery [m] ‘bird of prey’
ETYM: In MW, the compound difer ‘treachery’ is parallel to Olr. diberg ‘raid, pillage’< PCelt. *dībergā. OBret. barcot gl. caragios ‘sorcerer’ and MoBret. barged ‘fool’ are probably also related. A connection with the root *bher- ‘carry’ appears plausible (for the semantics, cf. Lat. ēr ‘thief’), but the formation with the suffix *-gā is unusual.
REF: LEIA B-41, GPC I: 276, DGVB 79.

*ber-o- ‘carry, bear, bring’ [Vb]
W: MW beryt ‘flows’ [3s Pres.]; beru [Verbal Noun]
BRET: MBret. beraff ‘flow’, MoBret. berañ; ber [3s Pres.]
CO: Co. kemmeres ‘take, receive’
PIE: *bēer- ‘carry’ (IEW: 128-132)
COGN: Skt. bhārati, Lat. fero, Gr. phérō, Go. bairan
ETYM: Co. kemmeres < *kom-bero-. Cf. also OBret. diuer gl. influit, W beru ‘flow’. Nominal derivatives from this root include, e.g., W -fer (cf. lleu-fer ‘light, luminary’) < PCelt. *bero-, Olr. -baire ‘bearer’ < PCelt. *boryo- (cf. e.g. deog-baire ‘cup-bearer, drink-bearer’) and Olr. birit [f] ‘sow’ < *beranti < PIE *bherenti (cf. ToB pretsa ‘pregnant’).

*beru- ‘spit’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. bir, biur [un]
W: MW ber [m] ‘spear, lance, shaft, spit’
BRET: MBret. ber [m]
CO: OCo. ber gl. ueru
PIE: *gweru- ‘spear, spit’ (IEW: 479)
COGN: Lat. uerū, Umbr. berva, Av. grava- ‘staff’
ETYM: Go. qairu ‘pole, sting’ is often compared to these Italo-Celtic words, but it does not belong here, since the correct reading is pairu (de Vaan 2008: 668, with references).

*beruro- ‘watercress’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. biror [om] (DIL birar)
W: MW berwr [Collective]
BRET: OBret. beror, MBret. and MoBret. beler [m]
CO: OCo. beler
GAUL: *berula (Marcellus of Bordeaux)
SEE: *berw-a- ‘brew, cook’

ETYM: This word is unattested in Gaulish, but we have Gallo-Latin *berula > Fr. berle ‘watercress’. It is probable that the Celtic words for watercress should be derived from *beru- ‘water, spring, well’ > OIr. bir. The segmentation is, therefore, presumably *beru-ro-. OIr. bir is, in turn, probably related to PCelt. *berw-a- ‘cook, brew’. For the semantic development cf. Croat. ključati ‘boil’ vs. ključ ‘well, spring’.

*berw-a-, *berw-i- ‘brew, cook’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. berbaid; -berba [Subj.]; berbais [Pt.]
W: MW berwi, berw
BRET: MBret. beiivi, birvi, biruiiff, MoBret. berwiiñ
PIE: *bʰerw- ‘boil, brew’ (IEW: 132)
COGN: Lat. ferueo ‘boil’, OE breowan
SEE: *brutu- ‘fermentation’
ETYM: This is a denominative verb, derived from *berwo- > W berw ‘stew’. Cf. also Gaul. Boruo ‘a name of Apollo as god of warm sources’, cf. Delamarre 83; Fr. bourbe ‘mud’ may be derived from Gaul. *borwo-(Gamillscheg 136), but the semantic connection is weak. The zero-grade of the root is attested in OIr. bruth [o m] ‘heat’ < PCelt. *bru-to- (= ON broð ‘stew, broth’).

*berwo- ‘stew’ [Noun]
SEE: *berw-a- ‘brew, cook’

*berxto- ‘bright, beautiful’ [Adj]
W: MW berth ‘beautiful, fine, rich’
BRET: MBret. berz, MoBret. berzh [m] ‘prosperity’
PIE: *bʰer(H)g- ‘bright’ (IEW: 139)
ETYM: If the IE etymology is correct, PCelt. *berxto- would seem to reflect a form of the root without laryngeal, PIE *bʰerg-to-. The accentuation of Russ. bērest, Gen. sg. bēresta may also point to a form of the root without the laryngeal, since it presupposes a fixed accent on the root, rather than an acute that had been lost in a mobile accentual paradigm (but cf. Derksen 2008: 37f.). The reasons why the laryngeal should drop are unclear, but de Saussure’s rule would account for *bʰorHgo- > *bʰorgo- (= Alb. bardhē), and the form of the root without the laryngeal could have been generalized in Celtic. Otherwise, we may want to reconstruct a different PIE root,
*bërgh- 'enlighten' (ON bragr 'poetic talent', Skt. brahmân- 'priest'), cf. PCelt. *brixtu- 'magical formula, incantation'.

*bé-sman 'blow' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. béimm [n n]
BRET: MBret. boemm, MoBret. boem [m]
CO: Co. bom
PIE: *bʰeyH- 'hit, strike' (IEW: 117f.)
COGN: OCS biti 'hit', Lat. per-fino 'shatter'
SEE: *bi-na- 'hit, strike'
ETYM: In OIr. béimm is the verbal noun of the verb benaid. Its gender cannot be established with full certainty, it might have been variable.

*beto-, *biyato- 'food' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. biad [o n]
W: MW bwyd [m]
BRET: MBret. boet, MoBret. boued [m]
CO: OCo. buit gl. cibus vel esca
PIE: *gʰeyh₃- 'live' (IEW: 468)
COGN: Lat. uīta 'life', Lith. gyvata
SEE: *biwo- 'alive'
ETYM: OIr. biad is attested as a bisyllable in early sources, which implies that the proto-form was *biwoto- < *gʰih₃-wo-to- (cf. Lat. uīta < *wiwotā, Lith. gyvata), or, slightly more probably, *biyato-, with the suffix *-ato- added to the zero-grade of the root (cf. PCelt. *riyatro- 'torrent' < *ri-atro-); the Brittonic words can be derived from *beto-, ultimately form PIE *gʰeyh₃-to-.

*betu- 'birch' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. beithe [i o m]
W: MW bedw-en [Singulative]
BRET: MBret. bezu, bezv-en [Singulative]
CO: OCo. bedewen gl. populus
GAUL: *betyo- > Pr., Cat. bez, Sp. biezo 'birch'
PIE: *gʰetu- 'pitch' (IEW: 480)
COGN: Skt. játu, OHG cuti, OE cwidu
ETYM: The formations within Celtic do not agree. The u-stem in Brit. appears to be more archaic, since it has parallels in other IE languages. Perhaps OIr. beithe can be from a derivative *betwiyo- if the development of *-tw- in Goidelic is not parallel to the development of *-dw- > OIr. db (cf. Medb < *medwā), but cf. *kʰetwores > cethir. The Gaul. source of Sp. biezo
and the related Romance words could also have been a yo-stem, because of
the palatalization of *ty > [s]. The semantic connection of this Celtic etymon
with the related words in other IE languages is possible if one assumes that
‘birch’ was originally a ‘sap tree’ (birch sap is used in the production of
glue). Lat. *bitumen is also related (it is a borrowing from some Italic dialect
with *gʷ > b), and Lat. *betulla may be from the Gaul. equivalent of PCelt.
REF: LEIA B-28, GPC 1: 266, EIEC 65, Campanile 1974: 13, Mallory &
Adams 2006: 158.

*bibud- ‘guilty’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. bibdu [d m] ‘culprit, enemy’
W: OW *bibid gl. rei
BRET: MBret. bevez ‘guilty’
PIE: *bhewd- ‘strike’ (IEW: 112)
COGN: OE bētan ‘strike’
ETYM: The OIr. form is actually a perfect participle *bibūdwōt- from a
verbal root which is unattested in Celtic. OW *bibid is a hapax in Welsh.
REF: LEIA B-48, GPC 1: 363, DGVB 82, EIEC 549, LIV 66, Falileyev 15,
Deshayes 2003: 106.

*biko- ‘bee’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. bech [o m]
W: MW begegyr, bygegyr [m] ‘drone’
GAUL: *biko- > Fr. dial. (Limousin) bec
PIE: *bhik-o- ‘bee’ (IEW: 116)
COGN: OE bēo, OCS bbčela
ETYM: Lat. fūcus ‘drone’ can be derived from *bhoy-ko-, with the o-grade
of the same root, while Lith. bītė ‘bee’ has a completely different suffix.
Perhaps we should reconstruct a root noun with Nom. sg. *bhoyk-s / Gen. sg.
*bhik-os / Acc. sg. *bhoyk-m in PIE. However, since this particular word is
attested only in European languages, it is more probable that it is a loanword
from some non-IE source.
REF: LEIA B-24f., GPC 1: 363, EIEC 57, de Bernardo Stempel 44, Hamp
1971.

*bi-na- ‘strike, hit’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. benaid; -bia [Subj.]; biu [1s Fut.]; bi [Pret.]; -bith [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW kymnu ‘hit, cut down’; kymyn [3s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. benaff ‘cut’
GAUL: bitetutu ‘should strike’ [Impv.] (Larzac)
CELTIB: ne-bintor ‘should not be hit’ [3p Impv. Med.] (Botorrita I)
PIE: *bhoyH- ‘strike’ (IEW: 117f.)
COGN: OLat. perfines ‘you should strike’, OCS biti ‘strike’
ETYM: MW kymynu is from *kom-bi-na- (the simplex verb is unattested in Welsh). The interpretation of Celtib. nebintor is dubious, but it appears probable that it is a verbal form with the middle ending, and the etymological connection with the root *bʰeyH- is accepted by most specialists.


*birro- ‘short’ [Adj]
GOID: Ofr. berr [o], Ogam BIRI
W: MW byrr (GPC byr)
BRET: OBret. berr, MBret. berr
CO: Co. ber
GAUL: Birrus [PN], (Gallo-Latin) birrus or birrum ‘short cloak’ (e.g. Isidore of Seville, Orig. XIX, 24, 18)

*bisli- ‘gall’ [Noun]
W: OW bist, MW bystyl
BRET: OBret. bistlou gl. humores nigri, MoBret. bestl [f]
CO: OCo. bistel gl. fel
COGN: Lat. bīlis ‘gall’
ETYM: The consonant -t- in Brittonic is epenthetic, cf. PCelt. *gēslo- ‘surety, hostage’ > W gwystl. De Vaan (2008: 72) considers the possibility that this word was borrowed from Celtic into Italic (because of the initial *b), but this is unlikely, since words for organs and body fluids are almost never borrowed.

*bisti- ‘finger’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. bissib ega [Dat. p] ‘icicle’
W: MW bys [m]
BRET: MoBret. biz, bis [m]
CO: OCo. bis, bes
PIE: *gʰwist- ‘twig, finger’ (IEW: 481)
COGN: ON kvistr ‘branch’, perhaps Alb. gisht ‘finger’
ETYM: MIr. bis is not well attested; it is once glossed as mér ‘finger’, and it may have been an i-stem, or a yo-stem.IEW (481) compares also the Celto-Germanic PN Bissula. Although almost generally accepted, the etymology relating Alb. gisht to PCelt. *bisti and ON kvistr is doubtful, since we would expect *gʰ > z in Albanian before a front vowel. Moreover, Demiraj (1997: 178f.) reconstructs an original bisyllable (*gV-isht-), which makes the connection to the Celtic forms difficult.
*bitu- ‘world’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bit [u m]
W: OW *bid [m], MW byd [m]
BRET: OBret. *bit, *bet
CO: OC. *bit gl. mundus, *bys
GAUL: Bitu-riges [Ethnonym]
PIE: *gWiH-tu- ‘life’ (IEW: 468)
Cogn: Lat. uīta ‘life’, OCS žiti ‘to live’
See: *biwo- ‘alive’
Etym: It is possible that the expected long *i < *iH was shortened by Dybo’s law, but there is no indication that this u-stem was originally oxytone. However, the short vowel in *bitu- might also be due to the analogy with *biwo-, where the shortening is regular by this rule (cf. Skt. jīvā-).

*biwo- ‘alive’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *beo [0], Ogam BIVI-TI
W: MW byw ‘living, alive’; ‘life’ [m]
BRET: MBret. beu, MoBret. bew
CO: OC. *bi uīta, byw, bew
GAUL: Biuonia [PN]
PIE: *gWiHwo- ‘alive’ (IEW: 468)
Cogn: Lat. uīus, Skt. jīvā-, Go. qius, OCS živb, Lith. gūvas
See: *bitu- ‘world’
Etym: The short *i is the result of the regular development by Dybo’s rule (cf. Skt. jīvā-).

*bīwV- ‘pitch’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. َbi [ʔf]
PIE: *gWiHu- ‘pitch’ (IEW: 482)
Cogn: Russ. živica, Arm. kiv (Gen. kvoy)
Etym: The OIr. word is too short and too poorly attested for this etymology to have any degree of certainty. It may, in principle, represent PCelt. *bīwā or *bīwi-.
Ref: LEIA B-45f.

*bītu- ‘flower’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bláth [u m]
W: MW blawd [m]
*Bławo- 'yellow' [Adj]

GOID: OIr. blá [o]

PIE: *bhlehz- (?) 'yellow' (IEW: 160)

COGN: Lat. flánuς

ETYM: OIr. blá matches the meaning of Lat. flánuς perfectly, so they should be connected, but the OIr. word could also be a loanword from Latin. The Germanic words often related to these adjectives, OHG *blao, Omc. *blår, etc., all mean 'blue', but color terms often change their meaning. However, the Germanic proto-form was *blēwa-, and the only way to relate it to the Italo-Celtic adjective for 'yellow' is to posit a vrddhi *b[h]lehzwo-, with *e remaining uncolored by the laryngeal through Eichner’s law; such a solution would clearly be *ad hoc. One should also compare W *blawr ‘grey’, which might be the same word as Mlr. Blár (name of a horse), and Scot. Gael. *blár ‘horse with a white spot, white-faced horse’. All of these, if related, could represent PIE *bhlehzro- > PCelt. *blāro-. For a different PIE etymology of these words see Schrijver (1991: 147, 177, etc.).


*blVOdV- ‘wolf, ?large predator’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *bled [ā f] ‘monster, large animal, whale’

W: MW *bleidd [m] ‘wolf, hero’ (GPC *bleidd)

BRET: OBreд. bleid, MBret. and MoBreд. bleiz [m]

CO: OCo. bleit gl. lupus

ETYM: OIr. *bled could be both from *blidā and from *bledā, but the Brittonic forms appear to be from *blad-i- (with *a > ei by raising). A derivative from the same root is OIr. *blesc [ā f] ‘prostitute’ < *bled-skā, or *blid-skā, cf. LEIA B-59. The semantic motivation is the same as in Lat. lupa ‘prostitute’ from lupus ‘wolf’ (the OIr. word might actually be a calque of the Latin word). Quite probably, PCelt. *blVOd- was borrowed from some non-IE substrate.

*bledā ‘year’ [Noun]
SEE: *bledanī ‘year’

*bledanī ‘year’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. bliadain [f]
W: OW bloidin, MW blwyddyn [f]
BRET: OBret. blid, blidan, bliden, MBret. blizen
CO: OCo. blipen
ETYM: The correspondence between OIr. and MW allows us to reconstruct an i-stem for PCelt. However, there is also W blwydd [f], OBret. blid, MoBret. bloaz [m], Co. blot ‘year’, presumably from an underived *bledā, or *bledom (note the divergence of gender within Brittonic). W blynedd and OBret. blened point to the zero grade *blid-niyo-. I cannot make much sense of these formations and their relationships. The etymology by Pennaod (1986), relating PCelt. *bled-/*blid- to OCS blēdā ‘pale’, OE blāt ‘pale’, Lith. blai’vas ‘whitish’ from PIE *bhleyd- (IEW 155) is possible formally (note that there is no laryngeal in the root, cf. Derksen 2008: 42f.). However, the semantic connection is weak.

*bodaro- ‘deaf’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. bodar [o]
W: MW byddar ‘deaf, numb’
BRET: OBret. bodaran, MBret. bouzar
CO: OCo. bothar gl. surdus, Co. bodhar
PIE: *bod(²)ro- ‘deaf’ (IEW: 112)
COGN: Skt. badhīrā- ‘deaf’

*bodiya ‘pleasure’ [Noun]
SEE: *bodo- ‘pleasure’

*bodo- ‘pleasure’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. buide [iā f] ‘satisfaction, pleasure, thanks’
W: MW bodd [m] ‘goodwill, satisfaction, favour, consent, pleasure’
BRET: OBret. bod-Ion gl. contentus
CO: Co. both ‘good will’
ETYM: It is assumed here that W bodd is inherited directly from PCelt. *bodo-, while OIr. buide represents a derivative *bodiya. IEW (151) relates these words to PIE *bod(²)ro- ‘be awake’ (Skt. bodhati, etc.), which is possible if one assumes PCelt. *budyā > OIr. buide and *budā > W bodd, but the meanings are quite different, and the masculine gender of the Welsh word has to be secondary.
*bodwo- 'crow' [Noun]
GOID: Mr. bodb [o m and ã f] (DIL badb) 'crow, war-goddess'
BRET: Obret. bodou gl. ardea
GAUL: Boduus [PN], Boduo-gnatus [PN]
PIE: *bʰodʰ-wo- 'battle' (IEW: 114)
COGN: OE beadu ‘fight, battle’
ETYM: The original meaning of the root *bʰodʰ- is presumably 'to pierce, to fight', hence *bʰodʰwo- 'battle, fight'. The meaning 'crow' in Celtic must be secondary (the crow is the bird symbolizing the carnage in battle).

*bodyo- ‘yellow’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. buide [io]
GAUL: (?) Bodio-casses [Ethnonym], Baius [PN]
PIE: *bodyo- ‘yellow’ (IEW: 92)
COGN: Lat. badius ‘bay, chestnut brown’
ETYM: Lat. badius can be derived from *bodyos (with *o > a after labials, as in mare < *mori), but the initial *b-, and the fact that this adjective is limited in its distribution to Italic and Celtic, make it likely that we are dealing with a loanword from some non-IE source.
REF: LEIA B-113, EIEC 85, Delamarre 63.

*bolgo- ‘sack, bag, stomach’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. bolg [o m] ‘bag, belly, bellow’
W: MW bol, boly, bola; boliau, byly [p]
BRET: MoBre. bolc’h ‘cosse de lin’
GAUL: *bulga (bulgas Galli sacculos scorteos appellant, P. Fest. 31.25)
PIE: *bʰolgʰ- ‘skin bag, bolster’ (IEW: 125f.)
COGN: Av. barziś ‘bolster, cushion’, OE belg ‘stomach’, OPr. balsinis ‘cushion’, Croat. dial. blazina ‘pillow’
ETYM: PIE *bʰelgʰ- ‘skin bag, bolster’ should be distinguished from *bʰelg- ‘beam’ (OHG balko), pace Derksen 2008: 54.

*bondyo- ‘(arm-)ring, circlet, bracelet’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. buinne [io] ‘bracelet, sprig, stalk, torrent’
PIE: *bʰendʰ- ‘bind’ (IEW: 127)
COGN: Skt. bandh-, Go. bindan
ETYM: It is not clear whether all of the words adduced under buinne in DIL have the same etymology, because it is difficult to explain how all of the
meanings developed. The IE etymology proposed here is based on the assumption that the meaning 'bracelet' is the oldest one. REF: LEIA B-115, LIV, EIEC 64, 196.

*bunu- ‘foundation, base, butt’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. bun [u m] ‘foundation, base, estuary (of a river)’
W: MW bon [m] (GPC bán)
ETYM: Gaul. toponyms such as Vindo-bona (today Vienna, Wien), Bonna (Bonn), etc. might also be from this root (Sims-Williams 2006: 46f.).

*bosta ‘palm, fist’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. bos, bas [ā f]
W: OW bos, MW bos [f]
BRET: MBret. boz
PIE: *gwos-to-, *gwos-dʰ-o- ‘branch’ (IEW: 382, 480)
COGN: MHG quast ‘branch’, Alb. gjethe ‘leaf, foliage’
SEE: *buzdo- ‘penis’
ETYM: Fr. boisse ‘measure of grain, bushel’ can be derived from Gaul. *bosta (Gamillscheg 124). Some linguists derive these Celtic words from non-IE sources, comparing them, e.g., to Basque bost ‘five’ (allegedly from ‘the number of fingers on a palm’), but these are mere speculations, and a good IE etymology is available. If the Basque word is related at all, it could have been borrowed from Celtiberian. The Proto-Celtic form presupposes PIE *gwos-to-, which should be a derivative from the same root as *gwos-dʰ-o-, with a different suffix (cf. OCS gvozd'b ‘nail’), from which it may be possible to derive PCelt. *buzdo- ‘penis’.
REF: LEIA B-20f., GPC I: 302, Falileyev 17, Gamillscheg 124.

*bow- ‘cow’ [Noun]
GOID: Ofr. bó [irregular f]
W: MW bu, buw [m and f]
BRET: MBret. bou-tig ‘stable’
GAUL: Bo-marus [PN]
CELTIB: bou-stom (?) ‘stable’ (Botorrita I)
PIE: *gʷo-w- ‘cow’ (IEW: 482)
COGN: Lat. bōs, OHG chuo, Skt. gāu-, ToA ko, Arm. kov
ETYM: The exact interpretation of Celtib. bou-stom is uncertain, but it is probable that it contains the root *bow- ‘cow’. It might be formally identical to OIr. biás [o ?n] ‘riches, wealth (in kine’) < *bow-sto-. The MW form bu is used only in counting cows; otherwise, the derivative buch is used, with parallels in MBret. buch, Co. buch (from *bow-sko-). The attested forms allow the reconstruction of a root-noun in PCelt., with Nom. sg. *bāws, Gen.
*bowdi-

sg. *bow-os, Acc. sg. *bow-am (instead of PIE *gWōm which would yield PCelt. **bām), etc.

*bowdi- ‘booty, victory’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. búaíd [i n] ‘victory, gain, profit’
W: MW budd [m] ‘profit, advantage’
BRET: OBret. bud gl. bradium
GAUL: Boudi-latis, Boud-icca [PN]
ETYM: In OW, there is a compound from this root, budi-caul ‘victor, conqueror’, exactly parallel to OBret. budicol. Germanic forms, such as German Beute ‘booty’, Du. buit, are sometimes considered to be loanwords from Celtic (Kluge 105), but they could also be inherited from the same root *bhewd-, the reflexes of which are limited to the NW Indo-European dialects (cf. also Oic. býta ‘to deal out’).

*bowd-ro- ‘dirty’ [Adj]
GOID: Mr. búaíd [í] ‘confusion’
W: MW budyr ‘filthy, dirty, mean’ (GPC budr)
PIE: *gWew-dh- ‘excrement, defecate’ (IEW: 484)
COGN: Skt. guvati ‘cacat’, OE cwéat ‘dirt’
ETYM: The meaning of Mr. búaíd [í] is not completely clear (it is compatible with the meaning ‘confusion’). Cf. also OIr. búaidre [iə f] ‘trouble, confusion’. The meaning ‘confusion’ could have developed from something like ‘mess’ and ‘filth’ which may be posited for Brittonic.

*bow-koli- ‘cowherd, herdsman’ [Noun]
GOID: Mr. búa chaill [i m]
W: MW bugeil (GPC bugail)
BRET: MBret. buguel, bugel
CO: Co. bugel
PIE: *gWow-kWolo- ‘shepherd’ (IEW: 639)
COGN: Gr. boukólos
ETYM: As in Greek, the second labiovelar was dissimilated (*kW > *k after *w) in Celtic. It is possible that this dissimilation occurred already in PIE.

*brágant- ‘neck, throat’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. brága [t f] (DIL brága)
W: MW breuant [f] (cf. OW abal-brouannou gl. gurgulionibus exsectis, ‘Adam’s apples’)

*bowdi-*
BRET: OBrét. Brehant (Dincat) [PN]
CO: Co. briānsen
PIE: *gʷerh₃- ‘swallow’ (IEW: 476)
ETYM: The Celtic forms seem to reflect *gʷrh₃-gnt-, where the first
morpheme is the zero-grade of the PIE root ‘to swallow, devour’ (Lat. uoro,
Gr. bibrósko, etc.). But what is the suffix, or the second element of this
compound? Or is *-go- a suffix? Kluge (s. v. Kragen) compares Germ.
Kragen ‘collar, neck’ deriving it also from *gʷerh₃- ‘devour, swallow’ but
does not discuss the original word formation.
REF: LEIA B-76, GPC I: 321, EIEC 64, Falileyev 2.

*bragno-, *bragni- ‘rotten, faul’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. brén [o]
W: MW braen ‘putrid, corrupt’
BRET: MBret. briēn ‘putrid, rotten’
PIE: *bʰreHg- (IEW: 165f.)
SEE: *brag(y)o- ‘to fart’
ETYM: Although these words are sometimes derived from the same root as
Lat. marceo ‘be withered’ (PIE *merk-, IEW 739), this is unsatisfactory
from the formal point of view, since *mrk-no- would give PCelt. *mrikno-.
Stempel 1999: 252, 258.

*brag-(y)o- ‘fart’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. braigid; -bebraig [Pret.]
PIE: *bʰreHg- (IEW: 165f.)
COGN: Lat. fragrāre ‘smell’, OHG bracko ‘Spürhund’, MLG bracke
‘hound’
SEE: *braxsman- ‘fart’
ETYM: Another IE etymology can be found in LIV 91f, where these words
are related to PIE *bʰreg- ‘break’ (cf. the English expression ‘to break
the wind’). However, the zero-grade of that root would be reflected as **barg-
in Proto-Celtic, rather than *brag-. On the other hand, PIE *bʰHgyé- would
regularly yield PCelt. *bragye- by Dybo’s law, so the derivation from a PIE
root ending in a laryngeal is preferable.

*brano- ‘raven’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. bran [o m], Ogam BRANI
W: MW bran [f] (GPC brán); brain [p]
BRET: OBrét. mor-bran, MoBret. bran [f]
CO: Co. bran
GAUL: Brano-dunum [PN]
ETYM: A convincing IE etymology is lacking. S. Zimmer (p. c.) suggests
that a connection may exist to Russ. voróna ‘raven’, Lith. várna ‘raven’ (<
*brasso-*

*worno-*, with a secondary BSI. lengthened grade), but this is difficult from a formal point of view (the change *wr- > *br- would be irregular). I think it better to treat PCelt. *brano- as a loanword from some unknown source.


**brasso-** ‘great, violent’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. bras [o] ‘great, boastful, defiant’

W: MW bras ‘fat, thick’

BRET: MBret. braz, bras ‘great’

PIE: *gWRD-to-, *gWRD-to- (IEW: 485)

COGN: Lat. grossus ‘fat’

ETYM: Although this etymology is disputed, the formal and semantic parallelism between these Celtic words and Lat. grossus is too obvious to be dismissed lightly. If one starts from PIE *gWRD-to- > *brsso- we would expect PCelt. *barso- > *barro-. These words show the same ‘liquid metathesis’ between labials and a dental cluster, as in *malsto- ‘taste’ (instead of *malsto- < *mlsto-). Mlr. bres ‘mighty’ might preserve the same root with the e-grade (*gWRD-to-). It is treated as a variant of bras in DII. The nature of the dental stop in PIE cannot be ascertained, since the reflexes are limited to Italic and Celtic; if W bredyn ‘nobleman, yeoman’ is from the same root, we should reconstruct *gWRD(red)b- (for the semantic connection cf. Croat. velikaš ‘nobleman’ from vělik ‘great’).


**brāfīr** ‘brother’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. bráthir [r m]

W: MW brawt (GPC brawd) [m]; brodyr, broder, brodorion [p]

BRET: OBret. brotr, MBret. breuzr, MoBret. breur [m]

CO: OCo. broder .l. braud gl. frater

GAUL: Bratronos [PN]

PIE: *breh2teř ‘brother’ (IEW: 163f.)

COGN: Skt. bhṛātar-, Lat. frāter, Gr. phrātēr ‘member of a phratric (brotherhood)’, Go. brohār, Lith. brūlis, OCS bratrę


**brātu-** ‘judgement’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. bráth [u m]

W: OW braut, MW brawd [f]; brodiau [p]

BRET: MBret. breut ‘debate, litigation, discussion’, MoBret. breud [m]

CO: Co. bres

GAUL: bratou (? in the dedicatory formula bratou dekantem, RIG G-28)

PIE: *gWRH-tu- ‘proclamation’ (IEW: 478)

COGN: Lat. grātus ‘thankful’
*bratto-  
[Noun]  
*Mantle, cloak*  
OIr. *brart* [o m]  


ETYM: *brat* ‘cloak’ is a loanword from Irish (the final -t cannot be original). Fleuriot (DGVB) believes OBret. *brothrac* also to be a loanword from OIr., and adduces Ir. *brothrach* ‘a rich garment’. The IE etymology is a mystery; Lane 1931 contains a very speculative proposal. The geminate *tt* means that the formation is new (old *tt > PCelt. *ss), and that this word might be a loanword from some unknown source. A similar word is Gaul. *bracae* ‘trousers, breeches’ > Fr. *braies*.  


*brawon-  
[Noun]  
*Quern, millstone*  
OIr. *brao, bró* [n f]  

BRET: MBret. *breo*  

CO: OCo. *brou* gl. *mola*  

PIE: *gʷreH(w)ōn, *gʷrHn- ‘quern’ (IEW: 447)  

Cogn: Skt. *grāvan-, Arm. *erkan, Go. *qairnus, Lith. *girnos* [p], OCS *žbrny*  

ETYM: Ancient British toponym *Brav(o)niacum* could be from the same root (Sims-Williams 2006: 49). It is unclear whether PCelt. *brawon- is from PIE *gʷreH(w)on-, with the full grade, or from *gʷrH(w)on-, with the zero grade of the root. The loss of laryngeal is unexpected by Dybo’s law (note the position of the accent in Skt.), but if the PIE ablaut paradigm was *gʷrēH(w)ōn / *gʷrHnōs (note the zero-grade of the root in Lithuanian), then we would have the Celtic paradigm *bräwū / *barnos. However, the stem *brawon- could have the new, analogical full grade with *-ra-, which sometimes occurs in roots of the shape *CreC / *CrC (cf. PCelt. *dragoen-).  


*braxsman-  
[Noun]  
*Fart*  
OIr. *broimm* [n n]  

W: MW *bram* [f]  

BRET: MBret. *bramm* [m]  

CO: Co. *bram*  

SEE: *brag-(y)o- ‘to fart’  

*brē-/*břī- 'cut, crumble' [Vb]

GOID: OIr. -bria [3s Subj.] (suppletive to broinnid)
PIE: *bʰreyH- 'cut' (IEW: 166f.)
COGN: Lat. frīo, friāre 'pulverize', crumble', OCS briti 'shave'

*brem-o- 'bleat, bellow, roar' [Vb]

W: MW brefu, brefad
GAUL: Bremia, Bremenium [Toponyms]
PIE: *bʰrem- 'roar' (IEW: 142f.)
COGN: Lat. fremo 'utter a deep dull sound', MHG brimmen 'roar'

*brend-o- 'flow, spurt out' [Vb]

GOID: OIr. do-eprinn [3 s Pres.], do-eprannat 'flows, gushes' [3p Pres.]
do-bré [3s Subj.] < *to-brend-s-o-; do-bibuir [3s Fut.]; bebarnatar [3p Pret.]
PIE: *bʰrend(h)- 'spurt out, gush forth' (IEW: 167f.)
COGN: Lith. brėsti
ETYM: OIr. do-eprinn represents PCelt. *to-exs-brend-o-, and do-bibuir [3s Fut.] < *to-bibrand-s-o-. Mlr. bruinnid is a causative built to this root (PIE *bʰrend(h)eye-). The acute in Baltic does not imply a laryngeal in this root. It is the result of metatony expected in sta-presents. Cf. also Lith. bristi 'wade', 3 sg. pres. brenda, Russ. bredū, bresti 'drag oneself along' (Derksen 2008: 61).
REF: KPV 232ff, LIV 95, LEIA B-103f., D-122, LP 347.

*brenk- 'bring' [Vb]

W: MW hebrwng, hebryngaf [1 s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. hambrouc, MoBret. ambroug
CO: Co. hembronyk
PIE: *bʰren-k- 'bring' (IEW: 168)
COGN: Go. briggan, OHG bringan, perhaps ToB prānik- 'take away'
ETYM: The prefixed he-, hem-, ham- in Brittonic is usually identified with PIE *sem- 'once'. The unusual shape of this root, combining an aspirated and a voiceless stop, makes one think that it is a contamination of PIE *bʰer- 'carry' (see PCelt. *ber-o-) and *h₂nek- 'reach' (see PCelt. *ank-o-).
REF: GPC II: 1831.

*bresta 'fight, combat' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. bres [a f]
W: OW Con-bresel [PN]
BRET: MBret. brezel, bresel 'war', MoBret. bresel [m]
CO: Co. bresel 'war'
PIE: *bʰres-t- 'break'
COGN: OE berstan, OHG brestan
ETYM: In OIr., there is the denominative verb *brissid 'break' from this root, cf. also Fr. *brisser 'break', presumably from Gaul. The derivation from the zero-grade *bʰrst- in LEIA B-86, 91 is improbable, since the syllabic *r would give *ar before *s. OIr. -i- in *brissid is due to raising.


*brētrā 'word' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *briathar [ā f]
W: MW *brwydyr, *brwydr [f] 'fight, combat'
PIE *bʰrey- (IEW: 166)
ETYM: The formal parallelism of these words is too obvious for this etymology to be dismissed, despite differences in meaning. On the semantic connection between the OIr. and the W words, see LEIA B-88. The development in W might have been 'words' > 'conversation' > 'quarrel, dispute' > 'fight'. On the other hand, if it is possible to derive *brētrā from the PCelt. root *brē-/*brī- 'to cut' (IEW 166), then the meaning observed in Brittonic would be original, and the semantic evolution occurred in Goidelic, cf. a similar semantic connection between MIr. *scoth [ā f] 'a word, saying' and MIr. *scoth [ā f] 'point, edge, sharp-edged' (presumably from the same etymon *skutā).

REF: LEIA B-88, GPC I: 336.

*brig- 'hill' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *brī [g f]
W: MW *bre [f]
BRET: MBret. *bre [m]
CO: Co. bre
GAUL: -briga [in Toponyms], *Briga-nites [Ethnonym]
PIE: *bʰergʰ- 'be high, hill' (IEW: 140f.)
Cogn: Av. *барэ-, OHG berg
SEE: *brīgā 'might, power'
ETYM: The Celtic forms can be derived from the zero-grade of the PIE root *bʰergʰ-, and the observed vowel alternations point to a PIE root noun (Nom. sg. *bʰergʰs, Gen. sg. *bʰergʰos, Acc. sg. *bʰergʰm). Celtic generalized the stem of the oblique cases, hence the paradigm PCelt. Nom. sg. *brig-s, Gen. *brig-os. The root noun is preserved in OIr. *brí, while the Brit. and Gaul. forms point to a derivative *brigā.

*brikko- ‘speckled’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. brecc [o]
W: MW brych
BRET: MoBret. brec’h ‘variola’
CO: Co. brygh
GAUL: Briccus [PN]
PIE: *prk- ‘speckled’ (IEW: 820f.)
COGN: Skt. prsni-, Gr. perknós
ETYM: Cf. also W brithyll ‘trout’, MoBret. brezhell ‘mackerel’, Co. brythel, ‘mackerel’ < *britto-. The initial *b- from PIE *p- is expected before *r, cf. *gabro- ‘goat’ < *kapro-. A different etymology is proposed by EIEC 514, relating the Celtic forms to Hitt. parkui- ‘clean’, which is unconvincing for semantic reasons.
REF: LEIA B-82, GPC I: 338, EIEC 514.

*brisko- ‘weak, fragile’ [Adj]
GOID: MIr. brisc [o]
W: W brysgar ‘vivid, busy, quick’
BRET: MBret. bresq ‘fragile’, MoBret. bresk
ETYM: It is somewhat doubtful whether W brysgar belongs here. GPC I: 340 derives it from brysgar and compares W brys ‘haste, speed, hurry’. PCelt. *brisko- cannot be related to OIr. brissid ‘breaks’, since this is a denominative from *brestā (v.).

*bristi- ‘haste’ [Noun]
W: MW brys [m] ‘hurry, haste’
BRET: MBret. bresic, brezec ‘swift’
PIE: *bʰris-ti- ‘haste’
COGN: Lat. festīno ‘hurry’
ETYM: Latin festīnāre is built on an unattested ti-stem *festis (Schrijver 1990), which, just as PCelt. *bristis, must come from PIE *bʰris-tis.

*briți- ‘carrying, judgement’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. brīth, breth
W: MW bryd [m] ‘thought, mind, intent, aim’
CO: Co. bry ‘thought’
GAUL: Britus [NP]
 PIE: *bʰr-ti- ‘carrying’ (IEW: 130)
COGN: Skt. bhṛti-
SEE: *ber-o- ‘carry’
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. brithem [n m] ‘judge’ < PCelt. *briti-mon-.
REF: LEIA B-86f., GPC I: 338, Delamarre 89, Remmer 2002-3: 188.

*břiwa ‘bridge’ [Noun]
GAUL: brio gl. ponte (Endlicher’s Glossary), -briua (in toponyms, e.g. Brīuo-durum > Biare.
 PIE: *bʰreh₁w-o- (IEW: 173)
COGN: OE brycg ‘bridge’, ON brú ‘bridge’, Croat. brv ‘large plank’
ETYM: The Germanic and Slavic cognates point to an ablauting paradigm in PIE, presumably with Nom. sg. *bʰrōḥ₁us (ON brú < PGerm. *brōwō),
 Acc. sg. *bʰreh₁um, Gen. sg. *bʰrh₁wos (Croat. brv). Celtic, to judge by the only reflex in Gaulish, generalized the full grade from the Accusative sg. It is possible that this word is from the same PIE root as PCelt. *brú ‘brow’
 (the semantic connection would lie in the similarity of the shapes).
REF: Delamarre 90f., Sims-Williams 2006: 54f.

*brixtilo- ‘trout’ or ‘mackerel’ [Noun]
SEE: *brikko- ‘speckled’

*brixtu- ‘magical formula, incantation’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. bricht [u n]
W: MW -brith in lled-frith ‘magical charm’
BRET: O Bret. brith
GAUL: brixtia (Chamalières)
 PIE: *bʰrg₁- ‘enlighten (?)’
COGN: ON bragr ‘poetic talent’, Skt. brahmán- ‘priest’
SEE: *berxto- ‘bright, beautiful’
ETYM: The PIE root must be reconstructed without the laryngeal, otherwise we would expect *CrHC > CrǎC, PCelt. **bräxtu-). Therefore, it is doubtful whether this is the same root as *bʰerHg₁- ‘bright’ (IEW 139, cf. Skt. bhrājate ‘shines’, Go. bairhts ‘bright’, etc.); we may want to compare
PCelt. *brixtu- with *berxto- ‘bright, beautiful’, which also has to be from a root without a laryngeal.


*brokko- ‘badger’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. broc [o m], Ogam BROCI
W: MW broch [m]
BRET: MoBret. broc’h [m]
CO: OCo. broch gl. taxo
GAUL: Broco-magus [PN]
ETYM: This word has no known cognates in other IE languages, and it has all but replaced the inherited word for ‘badger’, *tasko-. It may have been borrowed from some non-IE language into Proto-Celtic.


*brozdo- ‘point, tip’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. brot [o m] ‘goad, spike’
PIE: *bhrosdho- ‘point’ (IEW: 110)
COGN: OE brord ‘point’, Lith. bruzdëklis ‘bridle’, OCS brózda ‘bit’
ETYM: Mlr. brot might be from *brozdo-, but W brath [m] ‘stab, wound, injury, sting, prick’, which is often compared, has the unexpected -a-, as well as OCo. brath-ky gl. molossus (from *brozdo- we would expect W **broth). Could these words be loanwords from Goidelic? Or should we separate these words, and derive W brath from *bhrs-dho- > *bars-do- (cf. *barro- ‘point, top’), with the ‘liquid metathesis’ between labials and a dental cluster (cf. PCelt. *mlasto-)? OE brord and the Germ. cognates are from PGerm. *bruẕaz ‘spike, shaft’ (Orel), but the u-vocalism is secondary (G. Kroonen, p. c.).

REF: LEIA B-98, GPC I: 310.

*brū- ‘brow’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr.-brū (for-brū) [u f]
PIE: *(h₃)bʰrewH- ‘brow’ (IEW: 172f.)
COGN: Skt. brhr-, Gr. ophryś, OE brū, Lith. bruvis, Russ. brov'
ETYM: PCelt. *brū- is certainly related to PCelt. *abrant- ‘eyelid’ (Olr. abrae [nt m], MW amrant, MoBret. abrant, Co. abrans), but the exact nature of the relationship is unclear. A connection may also exist with the word for ‘bridge’, PCelt. *brīwā. The word-initial *h₃- in the PIE reconstruction can be posited only on the basis of Gr. o- in ophryś.


*brugno- ‘sadness, pain’ [Noun]
*brusno-

GOID: OIr. brón [o m]
W: MW brwyn [m]
ETYM: The derivation of this Celtic word from PIE *g"rewHgʰ- 'bite' (IEW 486) is difficult, as Gr. brýkhō, Lith. gráužiu, OCS gryzet 'bites' etc. clearly point to a laryngeal in the root, of which there is no trace in Celtic. Perhaps we should assume PIE *g"ruHgʰ-nó- and subsequent shortening of the first vowel by Dybo's law. Note, however, that W brwyn is also compatible with PCelt. *brugino- and *brogino-, and OIr. brón can be from *brogno- (cf. OIr. srón 'nose' < *srognā). Thus, one may want to connect PCelt. *brogno-, *brogino- to PIE *bhreg- 'break' (Lat. frango, Go. brikan).

*bruso-

SEE: *brustniyo- 'faggot'

*bruson- 'abdomen, womb' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. bru [n f]
W: MW bru [m] 'womb, belly', bron [f] 'breast'
BRET: OBret. bronn 'breast', MBret. and MoBret. bronn 'breast, teat' [f]
CO: Co. bron 'breast'
PIE: *bʰrews- 'belly' (?)(IEW: 170f.)
COGN: OE breost 'breast', Russ. brjúxo 'belly, paunch'
PCelt. *bruson- is an n-stem derived from the zero grade of the PIE root (PIE *bʰrus-on-).

*brustniyo- 'faggot, (bundle of) firewood' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. brosnae [io m]
PIE: *bʰrews- 'break' (IEW: 171)
COGN: Lat. frustum 'fragment'
‘break’
ETYM: The correct reconstruction of the proto-form of OIr. brosnae must contain the cluster *-stn- because *-sn- would give *-nn- in Irish, cf. *kʷresno- 'tree' > OIr. crann. OIr. bruid 'breaks' is from the same root (PCelt. *brus-yo- < *bʰrus-yo-), as well as bronnáid 'damage, injure' (*brus-na- < *bʰrus-neh-2). W bâu 'brittle, fragile', Co. brew, MoBret. brev, brew 'broken' can represent nominal derivatives (PCelt. *bruso-). Cf. also OFr. bruisier 'break' which might be from the Gaulish cognate of these words. W bryn [m] 'heap, mound' might be related, but the semantic connection is weak.

*brutu- 'fermentation, (boiling) heat' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. bruth [u n] 'raging, boiling heat, vehemence'
*bruwo- ‘quantity, multitude’ [Noun]
GOLD: Mr. bró ‘multitude, dense mass’
W: MW bryw ‘lively, strong, powerful’
ETYM: DIL (s. v.) treats bró ‘multitude, dense mass’ as the same word as bró ‘quern’, which might be correct, in which case this etymology is simply wrong. The vocalism of W bryw is unclear to me; it could point to PCelt. *bruwyo- (cf. W cyw ‘small animal’ < *kuwyo-). GPC relates this word to Lat. grauis ‘heavy’, which is not helpful, since the meanings are very divergent.
REF: LEIA B-93, GPC I: 342.

*budíná ‘troop, host’ [Noun]
GOLD: Olr. buiden [ā f]
W: MW byddin [f]
BRET: OBret. bodin gl. manus
GAUL: *budíná > Late Latin bodina ‘frontier’; Budenicus (Mars) [Theonym] (CIL XII 2973)
ETYM: These words might be related to PCelt. *bowdi- ‘booty, victory’.

*buggo- ‘soft, tender’ [Adj]
GOLD: Mr. boc [o]
BRET: OBret. buc gl. putris, MBret. and MoBret. boug ‘tender’
PIE: *bhewg(h)- ‘bend’ (IEW: 152)
COGN: Skt. bhujāti ‘bends’, Go. biugan
ETYM: The semantic development that has to be assumed for this etymology to work (‘bent’ > ‘kneaded’ > ‘softened’) is quite complex. Go. biugan and the related Germanic words (Germ. biegen, etc.) point to the PIE root with a word-final voiced stop (*bʰewg-h-), while Skt. bhujāti must be from PIE *bʰewg-. Note also that the geminate in Celtic is unexpected (positing a suffix *-go- added to the zero-grade *bʰug- would be quite ad hoc). All of this makes this etymology rather dubious.
*bukko- ‘goat’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *boc [o m]
W: MW bwch [m]
BRET: MBret. *bouch, MoBret. *bouc’h [m]
CO: OCo. boch gl. caper. I. hyrcus
PIE: *b'ugo- ‘goat, buck’ (IEW: 174)
COGN: Av. bůza-, Arm. buc ‘lamb’, Eng. buck
ETYM: Fr. bouc ‘goat, buck’ (and the derivative boucher ‘butcher’) are reflexes of the Gaulish cognates of this PCelt. word. The Celtic forms might be early loanwords from Germanic, since they have voiceless *-kk- (as if per Grimm’s law). However, the geminate *kk could still be explained if one starts from *bug-ko-, with a velar suffix, as in *bekko- ‘small’ (if from *beg-ko-).

*bundo- ‘sole of foot, base, floor’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. bond [o m] (DIL bonn)
PIE: *b'undo- ‘bottom’ (IEW: 174)
COGN: Skt. budhna-, Lat. fundus, OHG bodam
ETYM: MLat. bonda, Fr. dial. bonnier < bunnarium ‘measure of the surface of a field’ may be from Gaul. *bunnd, cf. also Fr. bonde ‘plug (of cask), sink’ (Gamillscheg 126).
REF: LEIA B-69, Kroonen 2006.

*bu-n-do- ‘proclaim, give notice’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. ad-boind; a-t-bósí [2s Subj.]; ad-buib [3s Fut.]; at-bobuid [3s Pret.]
BRET: OBret. dogurbonnue [3s Pres. Subj.]
PIE: *bhewdh- ‘be awake’ (IEW: 150-152)
COGN: Skt. bődhati ‘wakes, notices’, OE bōdian ‘announce’, Gr. peúthomai ‘give notice’
ETYM: OIr. ad-boind is from *ad-bund-o-, while the preterite at-bobuid < *uss-bu-bud-. OBret. dogurbonnue presupposes *to-ufor-bunde-. The meaning and etymological connection of the OBret. form dogurbonnue are not fully ascertained, cf. KPV 237. If OIr. ad-boind is indeed from PIE *b'hewdh- ‘be awake’, we must assume a complex evolution of meaning, as in Gr. peúthomai and OE bōdian: ‘be awake’ > ‘make oneself noticed’ > ‘give notice’. The same PIE root may be attested in OIr. ro-bud [u and o m] ‘a notice beforehand’, W rhybudd [m] ‘warning, caution’ < PCelt. *fro-bowdo-< PIE *b'hówdo-o-.
*bu-n-g-o-  ‘break’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. -boing ‘breaks, cuts, reaps’; -ba [Subj.], do-m-bibsat <
W: MW diwung ‘attacks’ [3s Pres.]
PIE: *bʰewg(h) ‘bend’ (IEW: 152f.)
COGN: OE būgan ‘to bend’, Russ. bgat’
ETYM: MW diwung is from *di-bungo-. Attempts to relate Gaulish -bogio-
in names like Ad-bogios, Com-bogio-marus to this Celtic etymon are
doubtful (Meid 2005, Delamarre 81), because the root vocalism does not
match. For the doubts about the exact form of the PIE root see PCelt.
*buggo- ‘soft, tender’.
REF: KPV 238ff, LIV 85f, LEIA B-70ff, McConie 1991: 43.

*bunno-  ‘owl, bittern’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. bonnán [o m] ‘bittern’
W: MW bun, bwn [m]
BRET: OBret. bonn gl. grus .i. auis, MoBret. bonn [m] ‘crane’
ETYM: OIr. bonnán represents a derivative (augmentative?) *bunn-ano-.
The IE etymology is unknown, as well as the source of the geminate *nn.
Like many bird-names, the PCelt. word for ‘bittern’ could also be a
loanword from some non-IE language.
REF: LEIA B-70, DGVB 88, Deshayes 2003: 120.

*burro-  ‘inflated, swollen’ [Adj]
GOID: MIr. borr [o]
W: MW bwrr, bwr ‘fat, strong, big’
CO: OCo. bor gl. pinguis
ETYM: One could, rather speculatively, derive PCelt. *burro- from
*brur(r)o-, and relate it to the root *bʰerw- ‘boil, ferment’ (see *brutu-).

*bussu-  ‘lip’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. bus
W: MW gwe-fus
BRET: MBret. gweuz, gues, MoBret. gweus [f]
CO: OCo. gues gl. labia
GAUL: Bussu-gnata [PN]

*butā  ‘place, dwelling, hut’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. both [ā f] ‘hut’
*bu-yo-

W: MW bod [f] ‘dwelling, place’
BRET: OBret. Bot- (in place-names), MoBret. bod [f]
CO: Co. bod, bos

ETYM: There is a possible connection to Lith. būtas ‘home, house’, OLith. buta, Oltc. biūd ‘house, residence’. One could reconstruct PIE *bh2to- (from the root *bh2whe- ‘be’, cf. PCelt. *bu-yo-) and derive the Celtic form by Dybo’s law (note that the the Lithuanian words have mobile accentuation, implying a PIE oxytone). However, Baltic also has short *u, so a reconstruction *bh2uto- has also been proposed to account for it, but to me this seems ad hoc. In light of these difficulties it may be assumed that PCelt. butā was borrowed from some unknown language, IE or non-IE (words for huts and houses are often Wanderwörter).


*bu-yo- ‘be, become’ [Vb]
GOID: Olr. biid ‘is wont to be’ [Consuetudinal Pres.]; -bé [Subj.]; bieid, -bia [Fut.]; boi [Pret.]; -both [Pret. Pass.]
W: OW bot (GPC bod); bez [3s Pres.]; bit [3s Pres.]; bei [Impf. Subj.]; bu [3s Pret.]
BRET: OBret. bout; bei [3s Impf. Subj.]; boe, boue [3s Pret.]
CO: Co. bos; beth [3s Pres.]; be [3s Impf. Subj.]; bue [3s Pret.]
GAUL: biiete [2p Impv] (Inscription from Limē)
PIE: *bh₂weh₂- ‘be, become’ (IEW: 146-150)
COGN: Skt. bhāvati, Lat. fīō ‘I was’, Lith. būti, OCS byti
SEE: *es- ‘be’

ETYM: These forms are suppletive to *es- ‘be’; Olr. biid (disyllabic) ‘is wont to be’ and Gaul. biiete point to PCelt. *biye- < *bh₂wiy-, cf. Lat. fīō ‘become, be’ (Kortlandt 2007: 136). There is considerable disagreement about the reconstruction of the paradigm of the Olr. and W preterite; Olr. 3 sg. boi and W bu can be from PCelt. *bowe < PIE *bʰowe (perfect without reduplication), but Olr. 1sg. -bā is a problem. Kortlandt (2007: 125) now reconstructs the PIE root as *bʰeh₂u- and derives -bā from *bʰoum < *bʰeh₂um.


*buzdo- ‘tail, penis’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. bot [o m] ‘penis, tail’
W: MW both [f] ‘umbo, nave, boss of shield’
GAUL: buddutton (?) ‘penis’
PIE: *gwosdʰ- ‘piece of wood, sprig’ (IEW: 485)
COGN: MHG quast ‘scrub’, Alb. gjeth(e) ‘foliage’, OCS gvozd ‘nail’
ETYM: Mlr. bot comes from *buzdo- straightforwardly, but W both must be from the corresponding feminine *buzdā. Gaul. buddutton has also been
interpreted as ‘kiss’ (see *bussu- ‘lip’): it boils down to the problem of indecent is the Gallo-Latin inscription *Moni gnatha gabu buddutton* (Révérien, cf. Meid 1980: 15ff.). Does it mean ‘Come, girl, give me a kiss’ or ‘Come, girl, take my penis’? Both interpretations are possible. Cf. a PN *Bussu-maro* which is slightly more probably interpreted as ‘large penis’ than ‘big kiss’. The PIE etymology is uncertain; it produces an ablauting paradigm, perhaps PIE *gʷośdh-s / *gwośdh-m / *guśdh₂* (see Alb. *gjeth(e)*, with e < *ǭ*, though Demi 187f. presupposes an umlauted variant of *gath*), and that *gʷ > H₂ in the Nom. and Acc., whereas the u-vocalism of the root is from the other cases. A paradigm *bozd- / *guzdo- would have been regularized and thematized into PCelt. *buzdo-.


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*da- ‘give’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. -tartat ‘could give’ [3s Pres.] do-rat ‘has given’ [Perf.]

GAUL: dede [Pret.] (Orgon, etc.)

LEP: tetu (Prestino)

CELTIB: tatuz [Imp.] (?) (Botorrita I)

PIE: *deh₁- ‘give’ (IEW: 223ff.)

COGN: Skt. da-, Lat. do, dare, Gr. didomi, Lith. diuoti, OCS dati

SEE: *dānu- ‘gift’

ETYM: OIr. tartat < *tu-fro-ad-dā-. On Celtib. tatuz (Botorrita I) 1989: 142); some derive this form from the root *dʰeh₁- ‘do’ (Lat. *tiθémi, etc.); the root *deh₁- is probably also attested in Celtib. *ziz( give’ (by assimilation from *dizonti) and taunei ‘to give’. Gaulish Lepontic tetu might also be from PIE *dʰeh₁- rather than from *deh₁-; this appears less probable. Gaul. readdas (Saint-Marcel near Arge Creuse) has also been analysed as *fr(o)-e-ad-dā-s ‘he has given’ (Schrijver 1997: 178ff.), but this is just a possibility. Finally, OIr. -iada ‘closes’ is certainly an old compound with the prefix *efi- *h₁epi-, cf. Gr. epi), but it is unclear whether the verbal root is *deh₁- (as assumed by Schumacher in KPV), or *dʰeh₁- ‘do, make, put’. *dā appears more probable from the semantic point of view.


*dago- ‘good’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. dag-
*dakro-

W: MW da
BRET: OBret. da-, MBret. da
CO: Co. da
GAUL: Dago-marus [PN]
ETYM: No convincing IE etymology has been proposed so far. However, it *dako-, which could, in turn, be derived from PIE *dko- (with epenthetic *a in the initial cluster of two stops, cf. *dakro- ‘tear’). The PIE root would be as in PCelt. *dekos- ‘honor’ > OIr. dech (note that dech serves as a suppletive superlative to maith ‘good’).

*dakro- ‘tear’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. dér [o n]
W: MW deigr [m], deigryn [Singulative]; dagrau [p]
BRET: OBret. dacr-lon ‘full of tears’, MBret. dazrou [p], MoBret. daer [m]
CO: Co. dagrow [p]
PIE: *dh₂kru- ‘tear’ (IEW: 23)
COGN: Hitt. ishahru-, Skt. áśru-, Gr. dákry, Lat. lacrima, OE tēar, Lith. ašara, ToB akrūna [p]
ETYM: The PIE form of this word is notoriously difficult to reconstruct. One possibility (Matasović 2004: 126) would be to posit PIE *h₂ekru- (or perhaps an old heterocliton, PIE *h₂ekwr / *h₂kwen-s) and to explain the word initial *d- in some branches as the result of false word division with the neuter pronoun *tod (*tod h₂ekru- > *tod h₂ekru- > *dakru). The root involved may be PIE *h₂ek- ‘sharp’ (>‘bitter’ > ‘tear’). Another possibility (Matasović 2000) is to start from PIE *dokwr / *dkwen-s and explain the *a in Celtic (and other branches) as epenthetic (breaking up the difficult Anlaut *dk-). Word-initial *d- could then have been lost in some branches through false word division (*tod dakwr- > *tod akwr), and the word could have been reshaped as a u-stem in Celtic, Indo-Iranian, Greek, etc. (perhaps through regular PIE metathesis of *-wr > *-ru, but cf. Lubotsky 1994a). Needless to say, both possibilities are highly speculative.

*dallo- ‘blind’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. dall [o], Ogam DALI
W: MW dall
BRET: OBret. dall, MBret. dall
CO: OCo. dal gl. cecus
ETYM: Probably related are Gaul. PN Tri-dallus, Dallo (cf. Delamarre 135, Meid 2005: 192). The IE etymology of these Celtic words is uncertain (see
IEW 266); however, the relationship with OHG tol ‘silly’, Ger.
‘foolish, stupid’ seems probable, but details of the phonetic develop-
difficult: PIE *dh.wolno- would presumably give PCelt. **dwollo-
**doll). Therefore, if the Germanic-Celtic etymology is correct, we
start from PIE *dhwlno-, with the zero grade of the root, which
develop to PCelt. *dwallo- regularly, and hence to OIr. dall, MW
dal. 

*dal-n- ‘come into being, turn into something’ [Vb]
W: MW deillyau (GPC deillio) ‘emanate, proceed, derive, come
originate’
PIE: *dʰel₁h₁- (IEW: 234)
COGN: Gr. thállō ‘blossom’ [Vb], OE dile ‘dill’, Arm. dalar
perhaps Alb. dal ‘flow out, exit, grow’
SEE: *dolisko- ‘seaweed’
ETYM: Schumacher (KPV 257f.) derives the OIr. verbal noun dal-
‘going’ from the same PIE root, but this is dubious on semantic
Some linguists reconstruct the PIE root as *dhelh₁- (e.g. KPV and LI
do not believe that the evidence warrants that reconstruction
generalized the zero-grade of the root in *dal-n- (< *dʰ₁]-n-h₁), but
grade is probably attested in *dolisko- ‘seaweed’ and *dol-V- ‘leaf’
grade seems to be attested in PGerm. *delja- (OE dile, Germ. Dill, et

*dalo- ‘share, part’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. dál [o n]
W: OW daul [m]
PIE: *deh₂- ‘divide’ (IEW: 175f.)
COGN: Skt. dávate ‘divides’, Gr. dàiomai
ETYM: OW daul is a hapax. The Celtic forms represent derivatives
suffix *-lo-, PIE *deh₂-lo-.
REF: LEIA D-16, LIV 87, Falileyev 41.

*dam-na- ‘subdue, break a horse’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. damnaid, -damna ‘binds, subdues’
PIE: *demh₂- ‘subdue, tame’ (IEW: 199f.)
COGN: Hitt. damaszi ‘press, push’, Skt. damāyāti ‘subdue, tame’

do mo
SEE: *damo- ‘bull’
REF: EIEC 565, LIV 99f.

*dámo/á- ‘retinue’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. dámu [ä f]
*daw-

W: MW daw ‘son-in-law’ (GPC daw, dawf)
BRET: MBret. deuff, MoBret. deuñv [m] ‘son-in-law’
CO: OCo. daf gl. gener
PIE: *domo- ‘household, home’ (IEW: 198f.)
COGN: Lat. domus ‘home’, Gr. démos, OCS dom
ETYM: The OW hapax daum has an alternative reading dauu (Falileyev, 41). As shown by Campanile 1974a and Mccone 1992, the Celtic forms continue PIE vrddhi built from *domo- (itself a thematicization of the original root-noun *dōm); the original meaning was ‘belonging to the household’, whence ‘retinue’ (collectively), and the subsequent narrowing of the meaning to ‘son-in-law’ in Brittonic. Another derivative from the same PIE word is probably OIr. déis [i m] ‘client’, built from the PIE Genitive sg. of the original root noun, *dems, remodelled as an i-stem (*dems-i-). Celtib. tamai [Dat./Loc. sg.] (Botorrita I) has been connected with this set of forms, but with little justification. In PIE, the original root-noun *dōm may have been connected with the root *demh₂- ‘build’ (Gr. démō, Dor. neódmētos ‘newly built’), if the development was *demh₂s > *dōm (as assumed by LIV).


*daw-

GOID: OIr. dam [o m] ‘bull, deer’
W: MW dafad [f] ‘sheep’, defaid, defeidiau [p]
BRET: MoBret. dañvod
CO: OCo. dauat gl. ouis
GAUL: Damona (?) [Theonym], Gallo-Lat. damma (> Fr. daim) ‘roe’
PIE: *dmh₂-o- ‘the tamed one’ (IEW: 199f.)
COGN: Skt. damya- ‘young bull to be tamed’, Alb. dem ‘bull, steer’
ETYM: The Celtic a-vocalism is best explained by starting from a proto-form *dm-Ho-, with syllabic *m. The Brit. forms point to a derivative *damato- (< *dmh₂eto-) rather than *dawo > OIr. dam. The PIE root *demh₂- is presumably also reflected in the British tribal name Demetae (> MW Dyfed), which can be interpreted as ‘Tamers’.

SEE: *dam-yo- ‘allow, permit, endure’, *dam-na- ‘subdue, break a horse’

*damo-

W: MW goddef ‘suffer, permit’
BRET: MBret. gouzaff ‘suffer, permit’, MoBret. gouzañv
CO: Co. godhaff ‘suffer’
**PIE:** *demh₂*- ‘subdue, tame’ (IEW: 199ff.)

**COGN:** Hitt. *damasızi* ‘forces, pushes’, Skt. *damáyati* ‘forces, tames’, Lat. *domo, domāre* ‘to tame’

**ETYM:** The simplex *dam-yo-* is attested only in OIr., the Brit. forms pointing to PCelt. *ufo-dam-, cf. also OIr. *fo-daim, -fodaim* ‘suffer, endure’.

SEE: *damo-*, *damato- ‘bull’, *dam-na- ‘subdue, break a horse’


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**PIE:** *deh₃r / *deh₃n-os* ‘gift’ (IEW: 225)

**COGN:** Lat. *dōnum*, Gr. *doron*, OCS *dan”, Arm. *tur*

SEE: *dā- ‘give’


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**PIE:** *h₁dint- ‘tooth’ (IEW: 289)

**COGN:** Lat. *dēns*, Skt. *dánt-, Gr. *odōn*, Lith. *dantis*, OHG *zand*

**ETYM:** The Celtic forms preserve the zero-grade of the root (PIE *h₁dnt-* *dant-). The nature of the initial laryngeal is uncertain: if the word for ‘tooth’ is originally the part. pres.of the verb *h₁ed- ‘to eat’, then it was *h₁dint-, but many linguists reconstruct *h₃-, from which Gr. *o- in odōn is derived straightforwardly.


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**PIE:** *der(H)- ‘tear’ (IEW: 206ff.)

**COGN:** Gr. *deírō ‘tear’, Lith. dial. *dirti*

**ETYM:** The Celtic words adduced here seem to be originally adjectives from the root ‘to tear’, but the phonetic development is not completely clear. From *drH-no- we would expect PCelt. *drāno-. Invoking Dybo’s laws would not help, since this would give *drano- (cf. *sfraxto- ‘eloquent)}
*frati- 'fern'), which means that we must start from an anit-form of the PIE root. The derivation *dmo- > *darno- is then straightforward. LIV (s. v.) also distinguishes two roots, *der- and *derH-, and both may be attested in Lith. dirī 'peel' (< *der-) vs. Lith. dial. dirtī 'tear'.


*daru- ‘oak’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. daur, dair [u f]
W: MW dar (GPC dār) [f]; deri, deiri [p]
BRET: OBret. dar
CO: OCo. dar gl. quercus
PIE: *doru- ‘tree, wood’ (IEW: 214ff.)
COGN: Hitt. tāru, Gr. dórý ‘tree, trunk, spear’, ToAB or ‘wood’, Av. dāuru
SEE: *derwo- ‘firm, true’
ETYM: The OIr. i-stem dair is younger than the old u-stem daur. It was reshaped since feminine u-stems are otherwise exceptional in Celtic. The a-vocalism of the Celtic forms can be explained if we posit an ablauting paradigm Nom sg. *doru / Gen. sg. *drw-os; after the regular development *drwo- > *darwo- in the oblique cases, this shape of the root was analogically extended to the Nominative, hence *daru.


*dar(y)o- ‘bull’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. dairid; daraid [Subj.]; -dart [Pret.]
PIE: *dherh₃- ‘jump, leap’ (IEW: 256)
COGN: Gr. thrōskō ‘leap, attack’, Skt. dhārā- ‘flood, rush’
ETYM: The present stem of OIr. dairid contains the zero-grade of the PIE root. The laryngeal was lost in the pre-vocalic position (*drh₃-o- > PCelt. *dar-o-), or regularly before *y (Pinault’s rule).


*dasti- ‘heap, pile’ [Noun]
GOID: Mfr. daiss [i f]
W: OW das, MW das [f and m]
BRET: OBret. desti
PIE: *dʰeh₃- ‘make, do’ (IEW: 238)
COGN: Lat. facio, Gr. tithēmi, Skt. dádhámi, OCS děti, Lith. dėti
SEE: *datlā ‘assembly, meeting’
ETYM: The Irish word is attested late, and its original stem formation is uncertain, but it was probably an i-stem. The PCelt. word *dasti- must be derived from the zero-grade *dʰh₁-sti-, cf. also the common Gaul. toponym Condate (Fr. Condé) < *kom-dati- ‘confluence’ < *kom-dʰh₁-ti-.
*datlā 'assembly, meeting' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. dāl [ā f] ‘meeting, encounter’; i ndāil ‘near, along with’; i nđal ‘towards’
W: MW dadl, dadyl [m]
BRET: OBret. dadl gl. concio, MoBret. dael [f] ‘dispute’
CO: OCo. datheluur gl. concionator
PIE: *dʰe₁h₁- ‘make, do’ (IEW: 237)
COGN: Lat. facio, Gr. tithēmi, Skt. dādhāmi, OCS děti, Lith. dėti
SEE: *dasti- ‘heap, pile’
ETYM: OIr. dāl ‘assembly’ is sometimes treated as the same etymon as dāl ‘share, part’, but this has a completely different etymology (see *dālo-). The PIE etymology of *datlā is disputed, but it may contain the root *dʰe₁h₁- ‘put together, make’ (Lat. facio, etc.), and the suffix *-tlo-, so we may start from PIE *dh₁-tlo-.

*dawnā ‘poem’ [Noun]
GOID: MrIr. diuān [ā f]
PIE: *dʰe₂p-no- ‘offering’ (IEW: 176f.)
COGN: Lat. daps, Hitt. tappala- ‘person responsible for court cooking’, OIr. tafn ‘sacrificial animal’
ETYM: ON tafn is the exact correspondence of OIr. diuān. The sound development in Celtic is the same as in *kapno- > *kawno- > OIr. cúía ‘harbour’. Another, less probable etymology relates MrIr. diuān to PIE *dʰe₂wgh̥- ‘be useful’ (IEW 271, Gr. τύkhē ‘fortune, chance’ etc.), cf. EIEC 614.

*daw-yo- ‘kindle, burn’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. doud [Verbal Noun Dat. s] ‘burning’
W: MW deifyaw (GPC deisio)
BRET: OBret. deuē, MBret. devo ‘burn’, dev ‘burned’
CO: Co. dewy, dywy
PIE: *deh₂w- ‘burn, kindle’ (IEW: 179f.)
COGN: Skt. dunūt'si, Gr. daiō, ToB tu
*dā-yo- ‘ail, trouble’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. dāthair, daas [Relative]
W: MW -dawr [3s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. -deur ‘is important’ [3s Pres.]
CO: Co. -duer [3s Pres.]
ETYM: In OIr. this verb was confused with *tā- ‘be, find oneself’ < PIE *stehr, see KPV 266ff. The IE etymology of PCelt. *dā-yo- is uncertain, but a derivation from PIE *deh₁- ‘bind’ (IEW 183, LIV 86, cf. Gr. déō) has been proposed. In my opinion, the semantic connection is too weak for this etymology to be plausible.
REF: KPV 266ff., LP 164, Morris Jones 1913: 373.

*dedmV- ‘rite, ceremony, usage’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. deidmea [Gen. s] ‘law, usage’
W: MW deuawt, defawt ‘rite, ceremony, law’; deddf [f] ‘rite, decree, ordinance, law’
BRET: OBret. domot gl. ritum
ETYM: Some attested forms (e.g. OBret. domot) point to PCelt. *dedmāto-, while OIr. deidmea, if it is the Gen. s. of an i-stem, must imply PCelt. *dedmi-. Outside Celtic, a probable cognate is Gr. thesmós ‘custom’ < PIE *dēd(h₁)mο-.

*degW- ‘flame, blaze’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. daig [i f]
W: MW goddeith [m and f] ‘big flame, blaze’ (GPC goddaith)
PIE: *dēgWh- ‘burn’ (IEW: 240f)
COGN: Skt. dāhati, Lat. febris ‘fever’, ToAB tsāk- ‘burn’, Alb. djeg ‘burn’
ETYM: The development in OIr. is straightforward, with *e > a before palatalized g as in aig ‘ice’ < *yegi-. MW goddeith is from *upo-degW-tā, cf. also W deifio ‘burn’ < PCelt. *degW-ye-. OIr. daigen ‘firm’ may be from *degW-no- ‘burned, baked’ (see *di-n-g-o- ‘knead, form’), but the semantic connection is weak.

*dekam ‘ten’ [Num]
GOID: OIr. deich [Nasalizing]
W: MW deg
BRET: OBret. dec, MBret. dek, MoBret. deg
CO: Co. dec
GAUL: decan-, decometos ‘tenth’
CELTIB: tekametam ‘tenth’ (Botorrita I)
PIE: *dekm ‘ten’ (IEW: 191)
*dekos

COGN: Lat. *decem, Gr. δέκα, Skt. दास, Go. taïhun, OCS *desët, Lith. dešimt, ToA šák

ETYM: For the possible derivation of OIr. deèc, deac ‘-teen’ from *dekan-kʷe ‘ten and’ see *kʷenkʷe ‘five’.


*dekos ‘honor, pride’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. dech [Comparative of maith ‘good’]

PIE: *dekos ‘honor’

COGN: Lat. decus, Arm. *tasanem ‘see’, Av. dasa- ‘goods, possessions’

ETYM: The indeclinable superlative dech in OIr. is best taken as the petrified form of old neuter noun meaning ‘honor, pride’, and this meaning is here posited for PCelt. The similarity with PCelt. *dago- ‘good’ could be accidental, but cf. the discussion under that lemma. Originally, PIE *dekos probably meant ‘that which is received’, cf. Gr. dékhomai, dékomai ‘take, accept’, Skt. dasasyati ‘renders service’.


*delg-o- ‘hold, contain’ [Vb]

W: MW daly, dala ‘hold’ (GPC dal, dala, daly)

BRET: OBret. delgim

GAUL: delgu [1s Pres.] (Banassac)

ETYM: In OIr. there is a possible cognate in coindelg [o and ā, n and f] ‘contract, comparison’ < *kom-delgo- (cf. also W cynnal ‘maintain’); a deverbal nominal stem (*delgo-) is probably preserved in OBret. dalg (MoBret. dalc‘h) ‘maintenance, tenure’. The connection to PIE *delh₁gho- (Skt. ěrgha-, etc.), suggested by IEW (197), appears improbable because of the difference in meaning, but Alb. ndal ‘halt, stop’ may be related.


*delgo- ‘pin, needle’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. delg [ ō m]

W: MW dala [m] ‘sting’

CO: OCo. delc(h) gl. monile

PIE: *dʰelg- ‘sting’ (IEW: 247)


ETYM: A Gaulish reflex of PCelt. *delgo- may be preserved in Fr. dial. dail ‘sickle’, Pr. dalh (Gamillscheg 294). These words could be from *dalglā. de Vaan (2008: 200) shows that Lat. falx is most probably a loanword from some IE language of Italy.

*delto-  ‘moist’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. delt [o m] ‘dew’
BRET: MBret. delt, MoBret. delt ‘sweaty’
PIE: *del- ‘sprinkle’ (IEW: 196)

COGN: ON tolgr ‘tallow’, Eng. tallow, Germ. Talg, Arm. tel ‘strong rain’

ETYM: The Germanic forms presuppose a velar suffix, presumably PGerm. *talgo-, *tulgo- (ON tolgr). They have been also connected with Go. tulgus ‘firm, steadfast’ (Orel 2003: 411) and derived from PIE *dlh₁gʰ- ‘long’ (IEW 197, cf. Skt. dirgha-, Gr. dolikhós, etc.), so the IE side of this etymology is uncertain.


*delwā ‘form, appearance, image’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. delb [ā f (later also u m)]
W: OW delu, MW delw [f]
CO: Co. del

PIE: *del- ‘carve, split’ (IEW: 194ff.)

COGN: Lat. dolo ‘hew, chop into shape’, Lith. dalýti ‘divide’, Alb. dalloj ‘cut’

ETYM: MoBret. delw is a loanword from Welsh. OIr. dolb [o m] ‘magic, illusion, appearance’ is another derivative from the same root (PCelt. *dolwo-)

REF: Stokes 150, LEIA D-47f., GPC I: 972, EIEC 143, Falileyev 42, LHEB 387, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 216

*demi- ‘dim, dark’ [Adj]

GOID: Mlr. deim [i]

PIE: *d₄em- ‘dim, dark’ (IEW: 148)

COGN: Eng. dim, Norw. daam, OFris. dimme ‘darker’

ETYM: Mlr. deim is not well-attested; it may be a back-formation to deime [iā f] < *demyā ‘darkness’. This word is attested only in Germanic and Celtic. The etymology in IEW 247f. (a connection with the PIE root *d₄emH- ‘smoke’) is doubtful on semantic grounds.

REF: LEIA D-42, Stokes 147.

*demyā ‘darkness’ [Noun]

SEE: *demi- ‘dim, dark’

*dēno- ‘fast’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. dian [o] gl. creber

PIE: *deyh₁- ‘fly, move swiftly’ (IEW: 187)

COGN: Skt. dīyati ‘fly’, Gr. diemai ‘hasten’

ETYM: The OIr. form can be regularly derived from PIE *deyh₁,no-.

*dergo- 'red, blood-red' [Adj]
GOLD: OIr. derg [o]
PIE: *dʰeɾg- ‘dark’ (IEW: 251)
COGN: OE deorc ‘dark’, Lith. dąrgana ‘bad weather’, dérgti ‘to become dirty’, (?) ToB tarkär ‘cloud’
ETYM: Delamarre (140) mentions the possibility that the PN An-dergus, attested in Lusitania, is related to the same PCelt. root.
REF: LEIA D-57, Delamarre 140.

*derk- ‘see’ [Vb]
GOLD: OIr. -darc, a-t-chondarc [1s Pres.]; ad-chon-dairc [3s Pret. relative]
PIE: *derk- ‘glance at’ (IEW: 213)
COGN: Skt. dārś-, Gr. dērkomai, OE torht ‘bright, clear’, Alb. drītē ‘light’
SEE: *kʷis-o- ‘perceive’, *drikā ‘face, appearance’
ETYM: OIr. a-t-chondarc < *ad-kom-dark-. The stem *derk-/*dark- formed some suppletive forms to the root *kʷis-o- ‘see’, cf. KPV 270. From the same root we have OIr. derc [o n] ‘eye, face’, MBret. derch ‘beautiful’ (PCelt. *derko-), and OIr. dreh ‘face’, W drych ‘appearance’ (see PCelt. *drikā, with the zero-grade of the root). Cf. also Gaul. uoderce (Larzac), which might be 2 sg. Ipv. of *ufo-derk-o- (Lambert 1994: 167), and the PNs Gaul. Derc-illus and Celtib. Terk-inos.

*derwo- ‘firm (as an oak)’ [Adj]; ‘oak’ [Noun]
GOLD: OIr. derb [o] ‘sure, certain, fixed’
W: MW derwen [Singulative] ‘oak’; derw [p]
BRET: OBret. daeru, MBret. deru, derw ‘oaks’
GAUL: Dervo [Toponym]; *derwo- > OFr. dervée ‘oak wood’
PIE: *derw-o- ‘oak’ (IEW: 214f.)
SEE: *daru- ‘oak’
ETYM: The semantic development in OIr. was ‘firm as an oak’ > ‘firm, strong’ > ‘true’, as explained by Benveniste, (1969: I, 8). OIr. derb ‘vessel’ is a feminine á-stem, derivable from *derwā ‘made of oak-wood’, the feminine-collective of *derwo-, cf. also Mfr. drochta ‘tub, vessel’, which may be from *druxto- < *dru-k-to- (cf. PGerm. *trugan, *trugaz ‘trough’ > OHG trog, ON trog, PIE *dru-ko-).

*dēwo- ‘god’ [Noun]
GOLD: OIr. dia [o m]
W: OW duiu, W dwu, Dwu [m]
BRET: MBret. doe, MoBret. doue [m]
CO: OCo. dūy, Co. dew
*dex(s)wo- 'right, south' [Adj]

GOID: OIr. dass [o]
W: MW dehau, deheu (GPC deau, de)
BRET: OBret. dehou, MBret. deho, dechou, MoBret. dehou, dehow
CO: Co. dehow, dyghow
GAUL: Dexe(s)iu [Theonym]
Pf: *deksiwo- 'right' (IEW: 190)
COGN: Lat. dexter, Gr. deksiteros, OCS desmr, Alb. djathwe
ETYM: The Insular Celtic forms are derivable from *dексwo-, while the
Gaulish name Dexe(s)iu points to *dexsiwo-, which is the expected form, in
light of the cognates in other IE languages (cf. also Gr. deksiós <
dekiwo-). The meaning 'south' is derived from the main principle of
orientation in the Celtic and IE tradition, by facing the rising sun (cf. also
OIr. tůath 'left, north' < PCelt. *towto-.
REF: Stokes 145, GPC I: 999, DGV 133, LEIA D-61f., EIEC 458, LHEB
535, Deshayes 2003: 174, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 212, Delamarre
143, Beekes 1994.

*dī 'from, of' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. di, de [Aspirating, +Dat.], dī-
W: MW di, di-
BRET: OBret. di
PIE: *h2d-eh1 'from' (IEW: 181ff.)
COGN: Lat. dē
ETYM: In OIr. the long i was shortened in unstressed position, but the
length is generally preserved before consonants in compounds, cf. e.g. digal
< *dī-galā 'vengeance'. The root in this Italic and Celtic preposition could be
the same as in *h2ed-, but with a different suffix (or instrumental case-
ending) *-eh1; see *ad 'to'.
REF: LEIA D-27, Stokes 143, GPC I: 943, EIEC 37, Falileyev 43 LEIA D-
27, GOI 504f., Delamarre 143, DGV 136.

*dī-akV- 'lazy, lit. un-swift' [Adj]
W: OW diauc gl. segnem, MW diaug (GPC diag)
BRET: OBret. diochi, MBret. diek, MoBret. dieg
CO: OCo. diek gl. piger
PIE: *h1ōku- 'swift' (IEW: 775)

ETYM: The existence of this compound (with the prefix *di-*) presupposes the simplex meaning ‘swift’; parallels in other IE languages point to an u-stem, but this cannot be demonstrated for Celtic. The PIE root is reconstructed as *h₁ōku- and interpreted as a vṛddhi formation related to *h₂ekwo- ‘horse’, but this is quite uncertain. The accentuation of Croat. jāstrebi (accentual paradigm a) and the related Slavic words points to a root ending in a laryngeal (PIE *h₁ōh₁kū- or *Hēh₂kū-), but the position of the accent in Gr. ὀκύς and Skt. āśū- shows that the shortening of the first vowel by Dybo’s law would be expected in Celtic.


*dī-bergā* ‘robbery, brigandage’ [Noun]

GOID: Olr. diberg [ā f]
W: MW diuer (GPC dixer) [m] ‘treason, betrayal’
SEE: *bergā* ‘plagge, robery’
ETYM: In Olr., there is also the simplex berg [ā f] ‘robbery’, cf. *bergā."


*dī-bi-na- ‘take away’ [Vb]

GOID: Mlr. do-ben ‘take away’
W: MW difyn [m] ‘fragment, splinter’
SEE: *bi-na- ‘hit, strike’

REF: LEIA D-121, KPV 228, GPC I: 988.

*dī-galā* ‘vengeance’ [Noun]

GOID: Olr. digal [ā f]
W: MW dial [m]
CO: Co. dyal
SEE: *gal-n- ‘be able’

ETYM: This word is a compound of PCelt. *dī- ‘from, of’ and *galā (presumably the same word as *galā ‘valour, ability’, q. v.).

REF: LEIA D-79f., GPC I: 946.

*dig-ed- ‘chafer, beetle’ [Noun]

GOID: Mlr. dega [d]
PIE: *digh₃ ‘tick’ (IEW: 187f.)
COGN: OE ticia ‘tick’, Arm. tiz ‘bug’

ETYM: Could this noun be a compound containing, as the second element, the root *h₁ed- ‘eat’? In that case, the correct reconstruction would be *dʰiḥ₃-h₁ed-, with *dʰiḥ₃- possibly the root of Germ. Teig ‘dough’, etc. Of course, this is mere speculation.

REF: LEIA D-38.
*dilā ‘teat, dug’
GOID: Mlr. *dilā ‘[translated]’ (DIL dela)
PIE: *dʰeh₁(y)-l- (IEW: 242)
COGN: Lat. fēlīx ‘fruitful, happy’, OHG tila ‘nipple’
SEE: *di-na- ‘suck’
ETYM: The Mlr. form *dilā is not well attested. In Cormac’s glossary we seem to have the plural *dila. It is probably the same noun as Mlr. *dilā ‘young sow, sow aged three years’. Is may be possible to derive PCelt. *dila from PIE *dʰi₁-l-, with the zero-grade, and without laryngeal metathesis, but such a derivation seems slightly ad hoc. Another possibility is to assume laryngeal metathesis and shortening by Dybo’s law (*dʰi₁-lēh₂- > *dih₁leih₂- > *dila). Short -i- is also found in *di-na- ‘suck’ and this verb may also have influenced other derivatives from the same root. OIr. dil [i] ‘dear, beloved, precious’ may be from the same root (PCelt. *dili-), but the meaning is quite different. Perhaps the meaning ‘dear’ developed from ‘fruitful’ (cf. Lat. fēlīx).
REF: LEIA D-42.

*di-na- ‘suck’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *dinaid ‘suck’ [3p Pres.]; *did [Pret.]
W: MW dynu, denu
BRET: MBret. *denaff, MoBret. *denaŋ
CO: Co. *dena
PIE: *dʰi₁- ‘suck’ (IEW: 241f.)
COGN: Luv. *taitai- ‘fed’, Skt. dhāyati, Lat. fēlāre, Go. daddjan, OCS *dojiti ‘suckle’, Arm. diem
SEE: *dilā ‘teat’
ETYM: The PCelt. present stem *dina- cannot be derived from *dʰi₁-neh₁- (this would have given OIr. **dinid rather than *dinaid), so the suffix *-na- was extended analogically after the large class of Celtic presents with that suffix. The root *dʰi₁- is the result of laryngeal metathesis (*dʰi₁-l₁- > *dʰih₁-C-).

*di-n-g-o- ‘knead, form, press’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *dingid, -ding; *didis [Fut.]; *dedaig [Pret.]; *decht [Pret. Pass.]
CELTIB: *ajmbitinkounei ‘build’ (Botorruta l) [Inf]
PIE: *dʰeyh₃- ‘knead, form’ (IEW: 244f.)
COGN: Lat. fingo ‘form, shape’, OCS *zidb ‘wall’, Go. daigs ‘dough’
ETYM: The connection of Celtib. *ajmbitinkounei (as if from *ambidingo-) with this stem is not certain (MLH V.1: 250f.); it has also been compared to *tenk- ‘be firm’, PCelt. *tanko- ‘peace’; see, however, KPV 277. The OIr. adjective daigen ‘firm, fast, solid’ (occasionally spelled daingen) is also sometimes connected with this root. The form daigen points
to a proto-form *degino- (with e > a before palatalized g, as in daig ‘wall’) < PCl. *degʷi-. This change was prior to raising and lowering, so one cannot derive daigen from *digino- and relate it to the PIE root *dʰeygʷ-. It could, however, be from *degʷino- < PIE *dʰegʷʰ- ‘burn, heat’ (see *degʷi- ‘flame’).


*díro- ‘proper, needed’ [Adj]
GOID: Olr. dir [o] ‘proper, fitting’
W: MW dir ‘sure, certain, necessary’
ETYM: A derivation from PIE *dʰeh₁- ‘do make’ (Lat. facio, Gr. tithēmi, OCS děti, etc.) with the suffix *-ro- is formally straightforward and semantically possible. The development of meaning of *dʰeh₁ro- would have been from ‘established’ to ‘customary, proper’ and ‘needed, necessary’. On the other hand, if vowel lengthening before the cluster *xsL is accepted, *díro- would also be derivable from *dīxsro- < *dēxsro- < *dek-sro-, cf. PCelt. *dekos ‘honour’.
REF: LEIA D-95, GPC I: 1030.

dis-smi- ‘something, anything, a small quantity’ [Pron]
GOID: Olr. dim gl. quippiam ‘something, anything’
W: MW dim ‘thing, any matter, aught’
SEE: (?) *dus- ‘bad’
ETYM: The Olr. word is scarcely attested (in the Ml. glosses) and it might be a borrowing from Brit. PCelt. *dis-smi-, if this is the correct reconstruction, could have been assimilated from *dus-smi- ‘a bad one’, where *smi- is from PIE *sem- ‘one’ (Gr. hēn, etc.).
REF: LEIA D-86, GPC I: 1018.

dí-wed-o- ‘stop’ [Vb]
GOID: Olr. do-ruid [3s Perf. Relative]
W: MW dywed(u) (GPC diweddu, diwed)
SEE: *wed-o-,*dí-wedo- ‘end’
ETYM: The Olr. form do-ruid contains the perfective preverb *fro- (*dí-fro-wed-o-)
REF: KPV 656ff., GPC I: 1056.

dí-wedo- ‘end’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. diad [o n, later á f] (DIL dead)
W: OW diued, MW diued, diwer [m] (GPC diwed)
BRET: OBret. diued, MBret. divez, MoBret. diwez [m]
CO: Co. deweth
PIE: *wedʰ- ‘lead’ (IEW: 1115f.)
COGN: OCS vести, vedeto, Lith. vėsti, vėda
**dī-wik-o-**

SEE: *wed-o- ‘lead’

ETYM: This verb contains the PCelt. prefix *dī- ‘from, away’, and the same root as in *wed-o- ‘lead’.


*dī-wik-o- ‘punish, avenge’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. do-fich, -dich

W: MW difwyn, diwyn (GPC difwyno) ‘spoil, defile, pollute, violate’; diwc [3s Pres.] ‘improve, pay wergeld’

SEE: *wik-o- ‘fight’


*dī(y)w(o)- ‘day’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. die (DIL dia)

W: OW did [m], MW dit, dyt, dyd(d) (GPC dydd) [m]; dyddiau, dieuoedd [p]

BRET: OBret. ded, did, MBret. dez, MoBret. deiz [m]

CO: OCO. det

PIE: *dīy-ew- ‘day’ (IEW: 184f.)

COGN: Lat. diēs, Arm. tīv

ETYM: Gaul. abbreviation D. in the Coligny Calendar may stand for *diyon ‘day’. Cf. also OBret. diu-mercer ‘Wednesday’, W heddiw ‘today’, MBret. hizio, Co. hethew, OIr. indiu ‘today’; we probably have to reconstruct an ablauting paradigm for PCelt. *diyēws / *diywos, but see Hamp 1974-5a. OIr. demus [u m] ‘space of a day, period’ probably comes from *dinostu- and preserves a trace of PIE *deyn- / *din- ‘day’ (Skt. su-dīna- ‘dawning beautifully’, OCS dīnams ‘day’, Lith. dienà ‘day’).


*dīlig-o- ‘owe, be entitled to’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. dligid, -dlig; -dlis [2s Subj.], dlicht [Pret.]

W: MW dylyu, dyly [3s Pres.]

BRET: MBret. dileut ‘must’

PIE: *dīhlegh[h]- (IEW: 271f.)

COGN: Go. dulgs ‘debt’, Russ. dōlg

ETYM: The Celtic forms reflect the zero-grade of the PIE root (*dlgh-h-o-).


*dīligito- ‘duty, debt’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. dliged [o n]

W: MW dled, dyled, dlyed, dlyed [m and f]

SEE: *dlig-o- ‘owe’
ETYM: This is a derivative (with the suffix *-eto-) from the same root as the verb *dlig-o- ‘owe’.
REF: LEIA D-107, GPC I: 1136.

*dlo-n-g-o- ‘split’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. dlongaid, -dloing ‘splits, cuts, cleaves or cuts away’; -didlastais [3p Cond.]
PfE: *delgʰ- ‘hew’ (IEW: 196)
Cogn: ON telgja ‘hew, cut’, Lith. dalgis ‘scythe’, OCS glodati ‘gnaw’
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. dluige ‘splitting’ < *dlogyo-, without the nasal infix of the present stem in dlongaid. OCS glodati is the result of metathesis (from *dloge)

*do ‘to’ [Prep]
GOID: OIr. do, du [Aspirating, +Dat.]
PfE: *do, *de (IEW: 181ff.)
Cogn: OLat. en-do ‘in’, OHG zuo, OCS do ‘up to’
ETYM: This PCelt. preposition should be distinguished from the preverb (old preposition) *to- which merged with it in Old Irish when *t > d in pretonic syllables. Archaic Old Irish still distinguishes do- and to-, tu- in spelling.
REF: LEIA D-110f., EIEC 590, GOI: 506.

*doklo- ‘hair, lock of hair’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. dúal [o m] ‘plait, fold, lock of hair’
PfE: *dök-lo- ‘thread, hair’ (IEW: 191)
Cogn: Skt. daśā- ‘fringe’, Go. tagl ‘a single hair’, Croat. dlåka ‘a single hair’
ETYM: While Sanskrit points to the root *dek-, Celtic agrees well with Germanic and Slavic (cf. the regular depalatalization in Proto-Slavic *doklā and subsequent metathesis *dolkā > Croat. dlaka).

*dol-V- ‘leaf’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. duíne, duille [iə f] ‘leaf, foliage’
W: MW deił, (GPC dail) [p] ‘leaves, foliage’; deiłen [Singulative]
BRET: OBret. dol, MoBret. del [Collective] ‘leaves’
CO: OCo. delen [Singulative] gl. folium
GAUL: pompéduola (Pseudo-Dioscorides IV, 42), read pempe-dula ‘a plant (with five leaves)’
PfE: *dʰelh₁- ‘blossom’ (IEW: 234)
Cogn: OE dile ‘dill’, Arm. dalar ‘green’
SEE: *dal-n- ‘come into being’
ETYM: The formations of these Celtic words do not match. OIr. *duille* should be derived from *dolnya*, while the Brittonic forms are from *dolya*, and Gaulish seems to have a reflex of *dolä*. In all of these cases the Celtic forms preserve the o-grade of the PIE root in the o-grade, reconstructed here as *dohl₁*- (the loss of the laryngeal in Celtic can be the result of de Saussure’s law, *oRH > *oR*).


*dolä* ‘meadow, dale’ [Noun]

W: MW *dol* [f] (GPC *döl*)
BRET: MoBret. *Dol-* [mostly in Toponyms]
CO: Co. *dol*
PIE: *dʰolh₂-o- ‘valley’ (IEW: 245f.)
COGN: Go. *dal*, OCS *dolb*
ETYM: Gr. *thalámē* ‘bed’, if related, shows that this root ended in *-h₂*. Otherwise, the PIE noun can be reconstructed as *dʰolo-.*


*dolisko-‘seaweed, *Palmaria palmata’*[Noun]

GOID: Mfr. *dülisc* [o m]
W: MW *delysc* [m] ‘fucus palmaratus, edible seaweed, stuff which is cast up by the sea’ (GPC *delysg, dyłysg, dyłusg*)
PIE: *dʰelh₁- ‘blossom’ (IEW: 234)
SEE: *dal-n-, *dolV- ‘leaf’
ETYM: A connection with PCelt. *dolV- ‘leaf’ appears probable both in terms of form and meaning. For the reconstruction of the PIE root see *dal-n- ‘come into being’.


*dolwo- ‘appearance’ [Noun]

SEE: *delwä ‘form, appearance’

*dorro-‘harsh, rough’ [Adj]

GOID: Mfr. *dorr* [o]
PIE: *dʰer-s- (IEW: 206ff.)
COGN: Eng. *tarse*
ETYM: There is little doubt that OIr. *dorr* is from the PIE root *der- ‘tear’, but parallels with the suffix *-s- are few, and limited to Germanic. Another derivative from the same root in OIr. is *doirr* [originally á f] ‘anger’, which may go back to *dorsā < *dorsch₂.*

REF: LEIA D-159.

*dowsant- ‘arm, hand’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *doë, doe* [nt f]
PIE: *dows- ‘arm, fore-arm’ (IEW: 226)
COGN: Skt. dōs- ‘arm, fore-arm’, Latv. pa-duse ‘armpit’
ETYM: The word formation in Celtic is unclear. In PIE, *dows- ‘arm’ was a root noun. The suffix *-ant- in Celtic can hardly be a petrified formative of present active participles (as in birit ‘sow’ < *bʰer-nt-i₂), since there is no corresponding verb. Could *dows-ant- be an old compound, whereby *-ant- is the same root as in PCelt. *anto- ‘border, limit’, *antono- ‘forehead’? It is conceivable that the meaning ‘hand’ was represented as ‘arm-limit’, ‘the end of the arm’ (cf. Go. andeis ‘end’).
REF: LEIA D-133, EIEC 26, Thurneysen 208, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 433.

*dragenā ‘sloetree, blackthorn, Prunus spinosa’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. draigen [ā f]
W: MW draen, drain [m and f] ‘thornbush, brambles, briars’; draenen [Singulative]
BRET: MBret. dren, MoBret. draen
CO: OCo. drain gl. spina
GAUL: Draganes [PN], *drageno- > Fr. dial. dren ‘raspberry’
PIE: *dʰergʰ- ‘sloetree, blackbush’ (IEW: 258)
COGN: OHG dirn-baum ‘cornea silva, cornel’, Gr. térkhnos ‘twig, branch’, Russ. dial. derēn ‘cornel’
ETYM: The vocalism in Celtic is difficult, since we would expect *drig-eno- from PIE *dʰergʰ-eno- with the zero-grade. PCelt. *drageno- thus probably has the secondary, analogical full grade *ra- sometimes found in the roots of the CLeC- structure. It is based on the proportion *CeLC- / *CaLC- vs. *CLeC- / X, where X = CLaC-. Russ.dial. derēn ‘cornel’ and the related Slavic words (Derksen 2008: 99) bear the neo-acute due to the retraction of the stress from the final yer; they are compatible with the reconstruction of the root without a laryngeal.

*drikā ‘face, appearance’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. drech [ā f] ‘face, front’
W: MW drych [m] ‘spectacle, mirror, aspect’
BRET: OBret. dreh(h), MBret. derch ‘aspect’, MoBret. derc’h ‘pure’
SEE: *derk-o- ‘see’
ETYM: The reflex of the velar in W drych is unexpected. However, as MoBret. derc’h shows, there was probably also a form *derko- in Brittonic, and *rk > W rch is regular. This might then be the source of analogical influence on W drych. MoBret. dremm [f] ‘face’ probably reflects PCelt. *drixsmā < *drk-sm-.
*dri-n-g-o- ‘climb, advance’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. dringid, -dring; dreisi [2s Subj.]; dreblaing [Pret.]
W: MW dringo (GPC dringo, dringio, dringad)
PIE: *dregʰ- (IEW: 212f., 254)
COGN: Av. dražaite ‘holds’, Gr. drássomai, Russ. deržát

*dristi- ‘bramble, thornbush’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. driss [i f] gl. veprés ‘bramble, briar’
W: OW drissi [p], MW dryssi, drissi [p] (GPC drysi, drys)
BRET: OBret. drisoc gl. drumentum, MoBret. drez
CO: OCo. dres gl. veprés
ETYM: These Celtic words were compared to Gr. driós ‘bush, coppice’, but Schrijver (1995: 410) calls this ‘a mere possibility’. In any case, in the absence of comparanda from other IE languages, it is difficult to reconstruct a PIE etymon (perhaps *dris-).

*droko- ‘wheel’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. droch [o m]
PIE: *dʰrogʰo- ‘wheel’ (IEW: 273)
COGN: Gr. trokhós, Arm. durgn ‘potter’s wheel’
ETYM: The Celtic form might be an independent formation from PIE *dʰregʰ- ‘run’ (Gr. trékhō, etc.). It is usually interpreted as a thematic derivative of the phorós-type, but its voiceless velar is unexplained (we would expect PCelt. *drogo-). Therefore, I think one should start from the PIE root-noun Nom. sg. *dʰrōgʰ’s (cf. Arm. durgn < *dʰrōgʰ-) / Gen. *dʰrōgʰos, and Celtic simply generalized the voiceless velar realized in the Nom. before final *-s. For a different explanation, see Hamp 1982a.

*druko- ‘bad’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. droch-
W: MW drwg
BRET: MBret. drouk, MoBret. droug
CO: Co. drog
GAUL: Druca, Drucco [PN]
ETYM: The IE etymology is quite uncertain. One may want to relate PCelt. *druko- to PIE *dʰrewgh- ‘deceive’ (IEW 276, cf. Skt. drúhyate ‘deceives’, OHG bi-triugan ‘deceive’, gi-trog ‘deceit’). The semantic evolution (‘false,
deceitful’ > ‘bad’) is unproblematic, but the voiceless *-k- in Celtic (instead of *-g-) is unexpected. Perhaps we must start from a PIE root-noun *dʰrowgʰ-s / *dʰrugʰ-os (attested in Skt. drūḥ- ‘deceit’, Av. drug- ‘deceit, lie, principle of the Daeuua-world’); the root-final velar would have been regularly devoiced before *-s in the Nom. sg., and thence it could have spread to the oblique cases, hence thematicized PCelt. *druko-. For a similar development cf. PCelt. *gorto- ‘enclosure, garden, pen’ < PIE *gʰordʰ-.


*drungo- ‘detachment, troop’ [Noun]
GOLD: Olr. drong [o m]
W: MW dronn [f] ‘multitude, throng, host’ (GPC dron)
BRET: OBrret. drogn gl. cetus (coetus)
SEE: *dring-o- ‘climb, advance’
ETYM: These Celtic words could be early borrowings from Germanic, as suggested by IEW (252ff.), cf. OE dryht ‘companion’, OHG truht ‘troop’ (otherwise the -u- in the root is unexplained). The Germanic words are related to OCS drugo ‘companion’, Lith. draugas, etc. The nasal infix might be due to the influence of the verb *dri-n-go- ‘advance’ (OIr. dringid etc.). Lat. drungus ‘globus hostium’ is a loanword from Gaulish (or directly from some Germanic source?).

*drusli(yo)- ‘fragment’ [Noun]
W: MW dryll [m] ‘broken piece, fragment’
BRET: MBret. druill
CO: Co. dral
PIE: *dʰrews- ‘grind, shatter’ (IEW: 274f.)
COGN: OE drēosan ‘rush, fall, perish’, Lith. druskà ‘salt’
ETYM: If the etymology is correct, the Celtic form is built from the zero-grade of the PIE root with the suffix *-li-.
REF: GPC I: 1095.

*druto- ‘foolish, lewd’ [Adj]
GOLD: Mlr. drith [o] ‘professional jester, fool’
W: MW druut (GPC drud) ‘dear, valiant, foolish, foolhardy’
GAUL: Truti-knos ‘Druti filius’ (Todi), Gallo-Latin *drudo- ‘dear’ > Fr. dru
ETYM: W druut has an unexpected u, rather than i < PCelt. *ū. Maybe it was influenced by Gallo-Latin *drudo- and its Romance reflexes, as Pokorny thinks. The only certain correspondence seems to be ON trúðr ‘juggler, fool’. It remains doubtful whether these words belong together with the words derived from PIE *deru-/*drew- (IEW 215).
REF: LEIA D-205f., GPC I: 1086.
*druwid- ‘priest, druid’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *drui, druī [d m]
GAUL: druīdes [Nom. p]
ETYM: The second element of this compound is the root of the verb *
weyd- ‘see, know’ (Skt. veda, etc.). The first element is presumably PIE
*derw-, *dru- ‘oak’ which metaphorically also meant ‘strong, firm’. *dru-
wid- is therefore the priest with ‘strong insight’. The Welsh form derwydd
and OBret. dorguid gl. pithonicus are actually parallel formations.
REF: LEIA D-202f., EIEC 598, Delamarre 149.

*druxtos- ‘vessel’ [Noun]
SEE: *derwo- ‘firm (as an oak)’

*dubno- ‘deep’ [Adj], ‘world’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *dubno- ‘deep’ [i], OIr. *domun [o m] ‘world’
W: MW *dwfn ‘deep’
BRET: MBret. *doun
CO: Co. *dow
GAUL: Dummo-rix [PN]
PIE: *dʰewb(h) ‘deep’ (IEW: 267f.)
ETYM: On the relationship of OIr. *domun ‘world’ and *domain ‘deep’ see
Ulrich 1995. The PIE root is often reconstructed as *dʰewb-, but the final
voiced stop *b is based only on Germanic evidence; note also that we would
expect OCS **duno from PIE **dubno- as the result of Winter’s law. Cf.
also PCelt. *dubro- ‘dark, unclean’ which points to PIE *dʰubh- (Gr. typhlós
‘blind’, etc.).
REF: Stokes 153, LEIA D-163f., GPC I: 1104, EIEC 154, Delamarre 152,
de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 70, Meid 2005: 141f., Ulrich 1995, Sims-
Williams 2006: 72.

*dubro- ‘dark’ [Adj]
GOID: Már. *dubh [o] ‘black, unclean’
W: MW *dwfr, *dwr [m] (GPC *dwr) ‘water’
BRET: MBret. dour
CO: Co. *dour
GAUL: Dubra, Uerno-dubrum [Toponym]
PIE: *dʰubh- ‘black’ (IEW: 263ff.)
COGN: Go. *daufs ‘deaf’, Gr. typhlós ‘blind’
SEE: *dubu- ‘black’
ETYM: OIr. has also the substantivized adjective *dubh ‘water’ (DIL D-
218), which presumably developed from the syntagm ‘dark water’, or ‘deep
water’ (cf. PCelt. *dubno- ‘deep’). A similar development also occurred in
Brittonic, and (probably) Gaulish.
*dubu-* 'black' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. dub [u], Ogam DOVA-GNI
W: OW Dub-, W du
BRET: OBret. du, MBret. duff, MoBret. du
CO: OCo. duw gl. niger
GAUL: Dubis [Hydronym]
PIE: *d’ubh- (IEW: 264)
COGN: Gr. typhlós ‘blind’, Go. daufs
SEE: *dubro- ‘dark, unclean’
ETYM: The Gaulish forms in -i- are best derived from a feminine *dubwī built to the stem in -u-, cf. OIr. (Ogam) CULIDOVI < *Kūlidubwī (with the regular development of *bw > Ogam V, see Uhlich 1989).

*dük-o-* ‘lead, carry’ [Vb]
W: MW dwyn (GPC dwyn, dygyd, dygu), dygaf [1 s Pres.]; dwe [3s Pres.]; duc [Pret.]
BRET: MBret. do(u)en ‘carry’
CO: Co. doen ‘take, bring, steal’
PIE: *dewk- (IEW: 220f.)
COGN: Lat. dúco ‘lead’, Go. tiuhan ‘pull’
REF: KPV 286ff, LIV 124, GPC I: 1129f.

*dūno-* ‘fort, rampart’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. dún [o n]
W: MW din [m in Toponyms], dinas [m and f]
BRET: OBret. din gl. arx, MoBret. din [m]
CO: Co. dyn
GAUL: dunum (in Latin authors), -dunum [in PN]
PIE: *d’uHno- ‘enclosure’ (IEW: 260)
COGN: OE dān ‘down, moor, height’
ETYM: Eng. town, Germ. Zaun etc. presumably represent PGerm. *tūno-, which is an old loanword from Celtic. EIEC 210, following Watkins 1990, relates Celtic *dūno- to Lat. fūmus ‘burial’ (from earlier unattested *'burial mound’). This is a speculation, but not inherently impossible.

*durno-* ‘fist’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. dorn, dornn [o m]
*dus- ‘bad, ill’ [Prefixed adjective, Adverb]
GOID: OIr. do-, du- (e.g. do-chla ‘inglorious’)
W: MW dy- (e.g. in dyfydd ‘gloomy’)
PIE: *dus- ‘ill-, mis-’ (IEW: 227)
COGN: Skt. dus-, Lat. difficilis ‘difficult’
ETYM: The lenition after OIr. do-, du- is due to the analogy with *so-, *su- < PIE *h₁su-. Lat. difficilis is from *dus-facilis.

*dusbwuyo- ‘gloom, grief’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. dubae (?io n]
W: MW dyfudd [m] (IEW: 148)
SEE: *bu-yo- ‘be’
ETYM: Cf. also Ogam DOVINIA < *du-bwînyā (Uhlich 1989).

*dusno- ‘dark, brown’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. donn [o]
W: MW dwrn (GPC dwn)
PIE: *dʰews- ‘dark’
COGN: Lat. fuscus ‘dusky’, OE dox ‘dark coloured, dusky’
ETYM: Gaulish names like Dunnîus, Dunnonia might be related (Delamarre 154). OIr. donn ‘noble’ (IEW 121) is a different word. The Celtic forms can be derived from PIE *dʰus-no- (cf. *dʰus-wo- > Lat. furuus ‘dusky’).

*duxtír ‘daughter’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. Der-, Dar- [elements of PN], e.g. Dar-inill; Dechtir [PN]
GAUL: duxtír (Larzac)
CELTIB: tuateros [Gen. s] (Botorrita III)
PIE: *dʰug₂tēr ‘daughter’ (IEW: 277)
COGN: Hieroglyphic Luv. tuwatar-, Skt. duhitār-, Gr. thygáter, Go. dauhtar, Lith. duktiè, OCS dššiti, ToB tkācer, Arm. dustr
ETYM: OIr. der [f] ‘girl’ and der- in compounds and PNs (MoIr. Derdroighen) is probably the reduced form of the word for ‘daughter’ in OIr. It
may be an allegro-form of the word. The loss of *x and the development of a in Celtiberian tuateros (also attested in Nom. pl. tuateres) is unexplained.


*dwāw ‘two’ [Num]
GOID: OIr. dāu, dōu, dō [m, Aspirating]; di, dī [f, Aspirating]; da, dá [n, Nasalizing]
W: OW dou, MW deu (GPC dau); dwy [f]
BRET: O Bret. dou, dau, M Bret. dou, Mo Bret. dow
CO: Co. dow, dew
PIE: *dwoh₁ ‘two’ (IEW: 228f.)
COGN: Lat. duo, Skt. dvā, Gr. ἐν, OE tu, OCS ḍva, Arm. erku, ToB wi, Alb. dy
ETYM: The feminine form of PCelt. *dwāw ‘two’ was *dwī (< PIE *dw-ih₁). This form was shortened in proclisis in OIr., but the vowel length was preserved in the stressed position. Cf. also Mlr. fo-dī ‘twice’ < *(ufo-)dwis (Lat. bis, Gr. δις < PIE *dwis).

*dwāyo- ‘slow’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. dōe [io] gl. tardus ‘slow, sluggish’
PIE: *dugh₂- ‘far, long distance’ (IEW: 219f.)
COGN: Skt. dāvyas- ‘further, more distant’, Gr. δἐν ‘far’ (Adv.), Lat. dūdum ‘some time ago’, Arm. tev ‘duration’, perhaps Hitt. tūwaz ‘from afar’
ETYM: It might also be possible to derive OIr. dōe from PCelt. *dāwyo- < PIE *dēwh₂- yo- with the lengthened grade of the root (attested in Slavic, cf. Croat. dāvn ‘very old, ancient’). In PIE, an ablauting paradigm must be assumed: Nom. sg. *dwōh₂-s, Acc. sg. *dweh₂-m (cf. Gr. δἐν < *dwān), Gen. sg. *dugh₂- os (cf. Lat. dū-dum).

*dwēblo- ‘double’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. diabul [o]
PIE: *dwey-plo- ‘double’ (IEW: 228ff.)
COGN: Go. tweifls, Lat. duplus
REF: LEIA D-65, GOI 139.

*dweno- ‘strong’ [Adj]
GOID: Mlr. de(i)n [o] ‘pure, clean, firm, strong’
PIE: *dweno- ‘good, favourable’ (IEW: 218f.)
COGN: Skt. ḍūvas- ‘worship, offering, reverence’, O Lat. duenos, Lat. bonus ‘good’
ETYM: The meaning of MR. dein is not completely clear according to DIL; it appears to be indeclinable and occurs only in poetry. LEIA (D-49) claims that MR. dein can be just a variant of dian ‘swift’, but this appears less probable because of the semantic difference. Moreover, dein appears quite consistently spelled with short e, while é would be expected. The PIE etymology is tentative; Mayrhofer (s. v. divas-) derives this word from PIE *deh₃- ‘give’ with the suffix *-w- (PIE *dh₃u(w)es-). Although somewhat artificial, such a derivation might also be possible for Italic and Celtic (*dh₃u-eno- > *dweno-).


*dwī ‘two’ (f.) [Num]
SEE: *dwāw ‘two’

*dwis ‘twice’ [Adverb]
SEE: *dwāw ‘two’

*dwītu- ‘loss, destruction’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. dith [u ?n, m] gl. detrimentum ‘destruction’
PIE: *dʰweh₁- ‘die’ (IEW: 260)
COGN: OHG rauwen ‘die’, OCS daviti ‘strangle’
ETYM: Lat. funus ‘burial’ could also be related (if from *dʰu₁nos), but it has also been connected quite persuasively with Hitt. tuhhus²l ‘to end’ (de Vaan 2008: 251).
REF: LEIA D-100, EIEC 150, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 292.

*dwīyot- ‘smoke’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. dé [d f]; diad [Gen. s]
PIE: *dʰewh₂- ‘make smoke, fumigate’ (IEW: 261ff.)
COGN: Lat. suffio ‘fumigate’, Lith. dial. dujà ‘mist’, ToB tweye ‘dust’
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. dethach [ā f] ‘smoke’ < *dwit-ākā. We should probably start from PIE *dʰu₁h₂-yo-, which developed as *dʰwīyo-, the immediate proto-form of Lat. suf-fio (Kortlandt 2007: 136). In Celtic, a dental suffix was added to this stem, hence PCelt.*dwīyot-.

*dworrā, *duro-, *dworestu- ‘door’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. dorus [u m], Dor, Duir [Toponyms]
W: OW dor , MW dor [f] (GPC dör), drws [m]
BRET: MBret. dor
CO: Co. dor, darat
GAUL: Augusto-durum [Toponym] (‘Forum Augusti’)
PIE: *dwor- ‘door’ (IEW: 278)
COGN: Lat. forēs, Gr. thýrā, ToB twere
ETYM: The Celtic forms are actually not easy to subsume under a single etymon. We might be dealing with a PCelt. ablauting paradigm, Nom. sg. *dwār, Acc. *dwor-am (from which we have the Brittonic forms and, with a suffix, OIr. dorus, W drws < *dwor-es-tu-), Gen. sg. *dur-os (from which we can derive Gaul. -durum and the OIr. toponyms Dor, Duir.


*dwosyo- ‘human being’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. doé, dæ [io? m]
PIE: *dʰwes- ‘breathe’ (IEW: 268ff.)
COGN: Lith. dūsiu, OCS dyšati, Germ. Tier ‘animal’

ETYM: Middle Irish doé is attested chiefly in poetic texts. A possible parallel in Gaul. is Dusios ‘a kind of demon, incubus’, attested in the works of Lat. writers (e.g. Augustine). See Delamarre 158.


*ē- ‘this, that’ [Pron]
GOID: OIr. é, hé ‘he’; ed ‘it’
GAUL: eia ‘she’[f] (Larzac)
PIE: *(h)ey- ‘that’
COGN: Lat. is, OHG er, Lith. jis

ETYM: The masculine form of this pronoun is unattested in Gaul. In Insular Celtic, the feminine form (*i, or *ēyā) was replaced by the pronominal stem *sih₂ > OIr. si ‘she’.

REF: EIEC 399, Delamarre 161.

*eburo- ‘yew’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. ibar [o m]
W: MW efwr, ewr [m] ‘cow parsnip, hog-weed’
BRET: MBret. heuor, euor, MoBret. evor [Collective]
GAUL: Eburo-dunum [Toponym]
CELTIB: ? Ebur-sunos [PN]
PIE: *h₁ebʰro- ‘yew’ (IEW: 334)
COGN: Germ. Eber-esche, Alb. dial. bershe
SEE: *yewo- ‘yew’

ETYM: Cf. also Fr.bourdaine (Fr. dial. bourdaigne, OFr. borjaine) ‘alder’, perhaps from Gaul. *eburyenā (Gamillscheg 136). PCelt. *eburo- should not
be confused with PCelt. *yewo-, as in EIEC 654. Derivation from PIE *h₁erbh₄ 'dark, brown' (Gr. orphnós, OE eorp, etc.) in IEW (334) is quite speculative.

*ed-o- 'eat' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. ithid, -ith; estair, -estar [Subj.]; isaid, -isa [Fut.]
PIE: *h₁ed- 'eat' (IEW: 287f.)
COGN: Skt. ádmi, Gr. édomai, Lat. edo, Go. itan, Hitt. ēd-, Lith. ėsti, OCS jasti
ETYM: OIr. ithid has th (instead of the expected *d) perhaps because of the analogical influence of the nominal forms derived from PCelt. *fitu- 'food' (> OIr. ith 'grain'). Some linguists claim that this verb formed a 'Narten' (or lengthened grade) present in Proto-Celtic, in which case the correct reconstruction would be PCelt. *id-/*ed- (with subsequent leveling to *id-/*id-). See the discussion in KPV 378ff. for a rather complex explanation of the attested forms. On the other hand, a reduplicated present *hti-htd- (with the generalized zero-grade of the root from the plural) would also account for the i-vocalism without the need for positing a lengthened grade (the future stem of OIr. is- is from the PIE desiderative *h₁i-h₁d-se-). The root *h₁ed- may also be attested in MW cyfeddach [m and f] 'feasting, banqueting' < PCelt. *kom-ed-äko-.

*efmo- 'right, correct, equal' [Adj]
W: MW iawn [m] 'truth, rightness'
BRET: MBret. effn, MoBret. eun 'right, simple'
CO: Co. ewn ‘righteous, correct’
PIE: *h₁ep-(i)no- 'even' (IEW: 505)
COGN: Go. ibns ‘flat, even’, OHG eban ‘equal, same’
ETYM: There are some formal difficulties with this etymology; a pre-form *epno-, the exact match of the Germanic words, would presumably develop as *ewno- > *owno- > W **un. Could these words be derived from PIE *h₁epi- 'on, by' with the suffix *-no-? The vowel *-i- could have been lost in Germanic through syncope. The type of formation would be parallel to PCelt. *efirom 'behind'.

*efirom 'after, behind' [Prep]
GOID: OIr. iar [Nasalizing, +Dat.]
PIE: *h₁epi-, *h₁opi- 'near, on' (IEW: 323)
COGN: Skt. āpi, Arm. ev 'and, also', Alb. epërë 'upper'
ETYM: PCelt. *efirom presupposes, first, a nominalized PIE *h₁epi-ro-m 'behind', which then became a relational noun, and finally a preposition. The
phonetic development was regular: *h₁epiro- > *efiro- > *eyro- > *ĕro- > OIr. iar. The underived preposition *efi (Gr. epi, etc.) is preserved as the preverb of OIr. iadaid 'closes' < *efi-dā-.


*ekʷälo- ‘foal’ [Noun]
SEE: *ekʷo- ‘horse’

*ekʷo- ‘horse’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. ech [o m], Ogam EKO-DDI
W: MW ebawl ‘foal’ [m] (GPC ebol)
BRET: OBret. eb ‘horse’, ebol ‘foal’, MBret. ebeul [m]
CO: OCo. ebol gl. pullus
GAUL: Epos [PN]
CELTIB: Ekua-laku [PN] (A.63)
PIE: *h₁ekwo- ‘horse’ (IEW: 301)
COGN: Luv. assu-, Skt. áśva-, Lat. equus, Gr. hippos, OE eoh, Lith. ašvà ‘mare’, ToB yakwe, Arm. ēš
ETYM: Gaul. Equos ‘name of the ninth month’ (Coligny) might be an archaic form (with preserved qu < *kw), but it might also be a Latin loanword (although this possibility is seldom taken into consideration). The Brit. forms (except OBret. eb) are from a derivative *ekwälö- (cf. also Celtib. ekualaku and ekualakos, which has been interpreted as a Nom. sg. of an adjective ‘belonging to ekuala’). MoBret. has also the compound ken-eb ‘pregnant, inseminated mare’.


*elV- ‘swan’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. elu, Mlr. elae, ela [?] [f]
W: MW alarch [m and f]; eleirch, elyrch [f]
BRET: MoBret. alarc'h [m]
CO: OCo. elerhc gl. oror .1. cignus, Co. alargh
PIE: *h₁el- ‘swan’ (IEW: 304)
COGN: Lat. olor
ETYM: The Brittonic forms are derivable from *elarsko- according to Schrijver (1995: 76). W eleirch (also PN Eleirch) and OCo. elerhc are from the feminine *elarski. The OIr. form might imply PCelt. *elon-, but the oblique cases are not attested, so we cannot be sure if this word was originally an n-stem. If so, the non-operation of Joseph’s rule is expected in OIr., while its operation is regular in Brittonic. Russ. lébed', OHG albiz ‘swan’ show what is presumably the same root with the suffix *-bh-, which is common with animal and bird names.
*elan(t)i 'doe, hind' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. elit, ailit [f]

W: MW elein, (GPC elain) [m and f]

GAUL: Elantia [NP]

PIE: *h₁elh₁nih₂ 'hind-elk, adult female Cervus elaphus' (IEW: 303f.)

COGN: Gr. Hom. ellós 'young of the deer', Lith. álnė, OCS lani 'young of the deer', Arm. ętn 'deer'

ETYM: The OIr. and Gaul. forms are derivable from PCelt. *elanti, while MW elain points to *elanī, with clearer parallels in other languages. Gaul. elembiu(os) 'tenth month of the year' (Coligny) is often compared with these words, and interpreted as 'deer month', but I find this rather dubious. If it does belong here, Gaul. elembiu(os) contains the same suffix *bh- seen in Gr. élaphos ‘red deer, elk’. Mlr. ell ‘herd’, if related, may be from a collective *elna (with unexpected loss of the laryngeal as in Gr. Hom. ellós).


*em-o- 'take' [Vb]

GOID: OIr. ar-foim 'receive, allow'; ar-a-foima [3s Subj. Relative]; ar-fōet [Pret.]

PIE: *h₁em- 'take' (IEW: 310)

COGN: Lat. emo 'take', Lith. imti 'take', ORuss. jati

ETYM: OIr. ar-foim is from *fare-ufo-em-e-; the simplex verb is unattested.


*enātro- 'entrails, bowels' [Noun]

GOID: Mlr. inathar [0 m]

PIE: *h₁eh₁tro- 'internal organ'

COGN: Gr. ētor 'heart', OHG ādara 'vein'

ETYM: The OIr. form can be derived from PIE *h₁en-h₁oh₁tro-, with the o-grade of the root and the prefix *h₁en- 'in'.


*enekʷo- 'face' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. enech [0 n], Ogam INEQA-GLAS [PN]

W: OW enep [m], MW wyneb

BRET: OBret. enep

CO: OCo. eneb gl. pagina

PIE: *h₁en-h₁ekʷo- 'face' (IEW: 775ff.)

COGN: Skt. ánīka-, Gr. ὄψ, enōpē 'face', OCS oći 'eyes'

ETYM: This is an old compound meaning something like 'that on which eyes are located', cf. Skt. ánīka- < *h₁eni-h₁kʷo- The PCelt. form


*eni* ‘in’ [Prep]

GOID: OIr. *i* [Nasalizing, +Dat. and +Acc.], Ogam *INI-GENA* ‘daughter’
W: OW *in*, MW *yn*
BRET: MBret. *en*
CO: Co. *yn*
PIE: *(h₁)eni ‘in’ (IEW: 311)*
COGN: Gr. *éni*, en, Lat. *in*, Go. *in*


*eni-fedo-* ‘position, place’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *ined* (DIL *inad*) [o m]
PIE: *(h₁)eni-pedo-, from *pedo- ‘track, footprint’ (IEW: 79lf.)*
ETYM: This is a speculative etymology, since OIr. *ined* would be compatible with several PCelt. proto-forms, but the semantic development that has to be assumed is quite unproblematic (cf. Hitt. *pēdan* ‘place’).

**REF:** EIEC 595.

*eni-sti* ‘island’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *inis* [i f]
W: MW *ynys* [f]
BRET: OBret. *inis*, MBret. *enes*
CO: Co. *enys*
PIE: *(h₁)eni-sth₂-ih₂*
SEE: *stā-tlā ‘heel’, *si-sta- ‘stand’
ETYM: The PCelt. reconstruction is ambiguous and disputed. PCelt. *inistī* and *inesti* are also possible, but only *enisti* makes sense from the PIE point of view. It is derivable from *(h₁)eni-sth₂-ih₂ ‘that which stands in (the water)’, cf. Hamp 1974. For a similar semantic development cf. Lat. *insula* < *en-sala ‘that which is in the salt (sea)’. For a different opinion, see de Vaan 2008: 306; he rejects the usual derivation of *insula* from *en-sala* and reckons with the possibility that this word, as well as the Celtic words for ‘island’, and Gr. *nēsos*, are loanwords from some non-IE source.
*enter ‘between’ [Prep]
GOID: OIr. eter [Aspirating in MIr., +Acc.]
W: OW ITHER, MW YTHR
BRET: O Bret. entr-, MBret. intre
CO: Co. yntre, ynter
GAUL: Entarabo [Theonym Dat. p]
CELTIB: entara (Botorrita I)
PIE: *h₁enter ‘into, between’ (IEW: 313)
COGN: Skt. antár, Lat. inter, OHG untar(i), Alb. ndër

*erbā ‘fallow deer, roedeer’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. erp, eirp, erb [?n f] gl. dama and gl. capra ‘she-goat, doe, roe’
PIE: *h₁erb- ‘lamb, kid’ (IEW: 326)
COGN: Umbr. eriet- ‘ram’, Lat. ariēs ‘ram’, Gr. érīphos ‘young goat, kid’
ETYM: Cf. also Scottish Gaelic earb ‘roedeer’. According to DIL, OIr. erp could be an n-stem, but this is not certain. It is also unclear whether MIr. ferb(b) [a f] ‘cow, hind’ is also related to this etymon. This poetic word might have a secondary f- by confusion with words where the alternation of f- and vocalic Anlaut arises in leniting contexts. On the other hand, ferb has been compared with Lat. ueruex ‘ram, wether’, but the semantic connection is weak.

*erb-(y)o- ‘entrust, leave (after death)’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. erbaid, -erbai ‘entrusts, commits’
GAUL: Orbius [PN]
PIE: *h₁erbʰ- (IEW: 781f.)
COGN: Lat. orbis ‘bereft, parentless’, Gr. orphanós, Go. arbja ‘inheritance’
SEE: *orbo- ‘heir’
ETYM: This etymology is not completely ascertained; OIr. orb ‘heir’ and the nominal forms of IE cognates cited here must be from *h₁orbʰ-, although some would reconstruct *h₃erbʰ- for this PIE root (see Weiss 2006).

*eriro- ‘eagle’ [Noun]
GOID: Mfr. irar [o m] (DIL ilar)
W: MW eryr [m and f]; eryrod, eryron [p]
BRET: MBret. erer [m], er [m]
CO: OCo. er
PIE: *h₃er- ‘eagle’ (IEW: 325f.)
COGN: Hitt. hāras-, Gr. ὠρνις ‘bird’, Lith. erēlis, OCS orb/ů
ETYM: It is difficult to reconcile the vocalism of the Celtic words with the word-initial *h₃, assured by Hittite. Word-initial e- in Lithuanian is due to assimilation *are- > *ere-, but such an explanation cannot hold for Celtic, so maybe the traditional connection with PIE *h₃er- is wrong after all, or these words were transformed irregularly for tabooistic reasons. Co. er and MoBret. er might represent underived PCelt. *er-. Delamarre thinks that Gaulish names in Erno- might be related, but I do not find this very convincing (there is no other evidence for the stem *erno- in Celtic).

*errā ‘back, hinder-part, extremity’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. err [ã f]
PIE: *h₁er-so- ‘rear-end, buttocks’ (IEW: 340)
ETYM: I am not sure whether Mlr. err ‘point, spike’ is the same word as err ‘end, tail’ as stated by DIL (the semantic connection would be through the meaning ‘extremity’). IE cognates point to *h₁orso-. Lat. dorsum ‘back’ might also be related, if it is from *tod h₁orsom, with false word division. This word is often derived from *dē-ōrsum (from uerto ‘turn’), but we would expect *rs > Lat. rr (de Vaan 2008: 180).

*es- ‘be’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. is [3 s Pres. copula]; am [1 s Pres. copula]; it [3 p Pres. copula]
W: OW is, MW ys [3s Pres.]; hint [3 p Pres.]; oedd [Pret.]
BRET: OBret. is
CO: Co. os, oys
GAUL: immi [1s Pres.] (Pennes-Mirabeau)
PIE: *h₁es- ‘be’ (IEW: 340ff.)
COGN: Skt. áśmi, Lat. sum, esse, Gr. eimi, OCS jesmь
ETYM: The comparison of OIr. is: it with MW ys : hint shows that the PCelt. present paradigm had ablaut (3 sg. *esti: 3 pl. *senti).

*ēsky/o- ‘moon’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. éscae, ésca, éisce [io n, later m]
PIE: *h₁eysk- ‘shine, glitter’ (IEW: 16f.)
COGN: OCS iskra ‘spark’, Lith. ėiškus ‘bright’, Russ. jäskə ‘bright star’
ETYM: In OIr., this word replaced the earlier word for moon, lían (see *lōwx̂snā). Its Baltic and Slavic cognates are usually derived from PIE
*h₂eysk-, but on meagre evidence. Actually, it is equally possible to reconstruct an ablauting root *h₂eysk- > PCelt. *ēsk-, *h₁isk- > OCS iskra, *h₁oysk- > Russ. jáska, Lith. áiškus. The acute in BSL. may be the result of a secondary BSL. vṛddhi, or metatony; another possibility would be to reconstruct the PIE root as *h₁eyHsk-, but this root shape would be quite unusual.

*esok- ‘salmon’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. éó, eúi [k m]
W: MW ehawc (GPC eog) [m]
BRET: MBret. eheuc
CO: OCo. ehoc gl. isicius
GAUL: *esoks > Lat. esox (Pliny)
ETYM: The Brittonic forms were reshaped, and are derivable from *esāko- (on the analogy with the frequent formations in Celt. *-āko-). Basque izokin ‘salmon’ is ultimately a Celtic loanword rather than vice versa.

*eti ‘yet, still, but’ [Conjunction]
BRET: OBret. et-
GAUL: eti (La Graufensenque)
PIE: *h₁eti ‘beyond’ (IEW: 344)
COGN: Lat. et ‘and’, Skt. áti ‘beyond, over’
ETYM: Gaul. etic ‘and’ (Chamalières) is from *eti-k”e.

*exs ‘out of, from’ [Prep]
GOID: OIr. ess-, ass-, a
W: MW ech, eh
BRET: OBret. ech
GAUL: ex-
CELTIB: es, es-
PIE: *(h₁)egʰs (IEW: 292f.)
COGN: Lat. ex, Gr. eks, Lith. iš-, OCS iz

*exs-obniyiä ‘boldness’ [Noun]
SEE: *exs-obno- ‘fearless’

*exs-obno- ‘fearless’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. essamin, (DIL es(s)amain)
W: MW ehouyn (GPC eofn, eon)
GAUL: Exobnus
**extero-** ‘without, outside’ [Prep]
GOID: OIr. echtar
W: MW eithr, eithyr
SEE: *exs, *extos

**extos** ‘except, but’ [Conjunction, Preposition]
GOID: OIr. acht
PIE: *egʰ-s-to- ‘out’ (IEW 292f.)
COGN: Gr. ektós
SEE: *extero- ‘without’
REF: LEIA A-11.

**fales-** ‘rock, stone’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. ail [i and k f] ‘boulder, rock, grave-stone, basis’
PIE: *pel- ‘stone’ (IEW: 807)
COGN: OHG felis, ON fell ‘mountain’, Gr. pélla
SEE: *fallo- ‘cliff’
ETYM: Gaul. Toponym Alesia, Alisia might be related, as well as the Celtib. PN Alizos, but this latter connection is quite problematic (see Jordán Cólera 1998: 131, Delamarre 39, MLH V.1: 21). The Germanic cognates point to PGerm. *feleza-, which probably presupposes a PIE s-stem *pelos, Gen. sg. *pelas-os. However, we might also have an earlier (neuter) root-noun *pels, Gen. sg. *plsold, and Celtic would have generalized the stem of the oblique cases. The development of *Cls- > *Cals- in Celtic is regular, but we would expect *ls > *ll in PCelt., whereas OIr. ail is always written with a single -l. Another possibility would be to assume an old i-stem *peli-s, Gen. *ply-os, with *plyV- > PCelt. *falyV-, also a regular development. Gr. pélla ‘stone’ is a glossary word (Hesych.), so its form cannot be used as a safe argument in reconstruction (usually *pelsā is assumed). Ultimately from the same root is OIr. all ‘cliff’ < *fallo- < *plsold.

**fallo-** ‘cliff’ [Noun]
*fal-na-

GOID: OIr. all [o or u n]

PIE: *pel-s- ‘stone’ (IEW: 807)

COGN: ON fjall ‘rock’

SEE: *(f)ales- ‘rock’

ETYM: OIr. all can be derived from PIE *plso- regularly; a connection with PIE *phl₁- ‘settlement, fortress’, Gr. pólis, Skt. púr is precluded, since *phl₁o- would give PCelt. *falo- without the geminate (but see also *fales- ‘stone’). Skt. pāśāna- ‘stone’ is probably not related (unless one accepts Fortunatov’s law in Skt.).

REF: LEIA A-70.

*fal-na- ‘approach, drive’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. ad-ella, -aid/ea ‘visit, approach’; eblaid [Fut.]

W: MW el ‘goes’ [3s Pres.]

BRET: MBret. yal ‘goes’ [3s Pres.]

CO: Co. gallas ‘went’ [3s Pret.]

PIE: *pelh₂- ‘approach’ (IEW: 801f.)

COGN: Lat. pello ‘strike, drive’, Gr. (Epic) pīlnamai ‘approach’, Arm. elanem ‘exit’

SEE: *ag-o- ‘drive’

ETYM: OIr. ad-ella is from the compound *ad-fal-na- (the simplex is unattested). OIr. eblaid is the suppletive future to a gid ‘drive’; MW el is the suppletive present to mynet ‘go’ (GPC mynd)


*falto- ‘joint’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. alt [o n] ‘joint, articulation, state’

PIE: *pol-to- ‘fold’ (IEW: 802f.)

COGN: Gr. péplos ‘cloth (in folds)’, Alb. pālē ‘fold’, OE fealdan ‘to fold’, Croat. pláttna ‘cloth’

ETYM: PCelt. *falto- cannot be from *plto-, from which we would expect *flto-. Could this be an early Germanic loanword (before Grimm’s law)? Or was the stem *fal- generalized from other, unattested forms of this root?

REF: LEIA A-63, EIEC 63.

*fansā ‘footprint’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. és [ǎ f] (DIL eis) ‘track, trace’

PIE: *peth₂- ‘spread out’ (IEW: 824f.)

COGN: Lat. pando ‘spread out, extend’, pateo ‘be open’, passum ‘step’, Gr. pītnēmi ‘spread out, open’

SEE: *fatamā ‘palm of the hand’

ETYM: OIr. és is used mostly in prepositional phrases like ar ésis ‘after’. The Gen. sg. is probably attested only in the toponym Traig Ési. The PCelt. form can be derived from *pnt-teh₂, which presupposes a nasal present comparable to Lat. pando (see Hamp 1981). For the semantic connection
with the root *peth₂- ‘spread out, broaden’, cf. Lat. *passum 'step'. The same PIE root may be attested in PCelt. *fatamā ‘palm of the hand’.

REF: Hamp 1981.

*far-na- ‘bestow’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. ernaíd, -érn; eraid, -era [Subj.]; ebraíd, -ebra [Fut.]; ir [Pret.]; rathae, -rath [Pret. Pass.]
GAUL: *ieuru ‘offered’ [3s Pret.] (Alise)
PIE: *perh₃- ‘bestow, give’ (IEW: 817)
COGN: Skt. *prṇāti ‘gives’, Lat. *paro ‘prepare’
ETYM: Cf. OIr. perf. 3. sg. ro-ir ‘has granted’ < *pro-pepor₃-e (Isaac 2007: 15, pace KPV 509f.).

*farV- ‘prepare’ [Vb]
GOID: Mlr. aradu [n f] ‘preparation, disposition’
PIE: *perh₃- ‘bestow’ (IEW: 818)
COGN: Lat. paro ‘furnish, prepare’
SEE: *frato-, *far-na-
ETYM: The Mlr. word is a legal term, occurring only in commentaries to Laws. It is compatible with PCelt. *faradū from PIE *perh₃-dʰōn, or *perh₃-dōn, but the word formation of such a proto-form is unclear (Michiel de Vaan, p.c., compares the Lat. suffix -dō, -dinis, Gr. -dōn, -dnos). Also related might be W *erthyl [m] ‘abortus, prematurely born infant’, if from PCelt. *fari-tlo-. For the development of meaning, cf. Lat. *pario ‘give birth’ < *perh₃- ‘bestow’. On the relationship between Lat. pario ‘give birth’ and paro ‘prepare, furnish’ see de Vaan (2008: 447).

*fare ‘in front of’ [Prep]
GOID: OIr. air, ar [Aspirating, +Acc, +Dat.]
W: MW ar-, er-
BRET: MBret. er-, ar
GAUL: Are-morici [Ethnonym]
CELTIB: are-korata [Toponym](A 52)
PIE: *prH(i) ‘in front of’ (IEW: 810-812)
COGN: Skt. purā, Gr. πάρα, OHG furi
ETYM: LEIA A-37 relates the Celt. forms to Gr. peri, Go. faur-, Lat. per-(PIE *peri- ‘near’), but this is less probable in light of the vocalism and the meaning; the development *rHV > PCelt. *arV is expected. The Insular Celtic forms are compatible with PCelt. *fari, which could be the original form of this preposition (Loc. sg. of an old root-noun?). However, Gaul. and Celtib. point to *fare, with the final *-e perhaps by analogy with *ande- < *ndʰe.
*fare-ber-o-  'use' [Vb]

GOID: OIr. ar-beir, -arbeir, -arbera [3 s Pres. Subj.]; -erbera [3 s Fut.]

W: OW arber 'partake of', MW aruer 'use' (GPC arfer, arferu, arferyd)

SEE: *ber-o- 'carry'

REF: KPV 220, LEIA A-85, GPC I: 193, Falileyev 10

*fare-derko- 'visible' [Adj]

GOID: OIr. airdirc 'well-known, obvious, famous'

W: MW arderchawg (GPC arderchog) 'excellent, noble'

BRET: OBret. erderh gl. euidentis

SEE: *derk- 'see'

REF: LEIA A-41.

*fare-kwenno- 'end, extremity' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. airchenn [o n] 'end, measure of land'

W: MW arbenn [m] 'chief'

GAUL: arepennis 'semiijugerum'

SEE: *k"enno- 'head'

ETYM: GPC does not note the noun arbenn, but it has the derived adjective arbennig. Cf. the parallel formations of W arbennig 'principal, chief' and OIr. airchinnech < *arependikos.


*fare-ket- 'spare, have mercy on' [Vb]

GOID: OIr. ar-ceissi 'have mercy on'

W: W arbed 'spare, save, preserve, avoid, refrain from'

CO: OCo. henbidiat gl. parcus

ETYM: The Irish form presupposes a sigmatic suffix, *k"et-s-, or a generalization of the stem of the passive preterite (*k"et-to- > PCelt. *k"esso-). The root of this compound verb remains mysterious; it is possibly also found in OIr. ces 'debility, weakness' (? from 'pitiable state').

REF: LEIA A-38f., GPC I: 177.

*fare-kom-wed-o- 'prevent, wound' [Vb]


W: MW argyweddü 'injure, damage'

SEE: *wed-o- 'lead'


*fare-koro- 'blow, shot' [Noun]
*fare-kri-ni- ‘fear, perish’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. ar-a-chrin ‘perish, pass’; -cria [Subj.]; -ciuir [Pret.]
W: MW ergrynu ‘tremble, fear’ (GPC ergryn, egryn)
SEE: *kri-ni- ‘sift, shake’
ETYM: The semantic development of OIr. ar-a-chrin, which must have originally meant ‘shakes it’, to the attested meaning ‘perishes’ is difficult, but such euphemistic expressions are common in Celtic, cf. PCelt. *bā-, *ba-yo- ‘die’ < ‘go (away)’.
REF: KPV 420ff., GPC I: 1232f.

*fare-mert-o- ‘prepare’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. airmert [o n] ‘preparation, effort, taboo’
W: W armerth ‘prepare’
BRET: MBret. armerhein ‘preparation’

*fare-sed- ‘charioteer’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. arae [d m] (DIL ara) ‘charioteer, messenger’
ETYM: If this etymology is correct, the compound *fare-sed-s meant ‘the one sitting next (to the warrior)’. For a different interpretation see Campanile 1989.

*fare-wed-o- ‘lead, bring to’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. ar-feid (DIL ar-fet) ‘precede, take precedence of’
W: MW arwein ‘bear, carry’ (GPC arwain, arweddu)
SEE: *wed-o- ‘lead’
REF: KPV 656ff., GPC I: 214.

*fare-wēd-yo- ‘sign’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. airde [io n] ‘sign, token, quality’
W: MW arwydd [m and f] ‘sign, mark, standard, banner’
BRET: OBret. aroused-ma gl. signaculum, MBret. argoez, MoBret. arouez [m] ‘sign, symbol’
SEE: *wēd-o- ‘know’
REF: LEIA A-41, GPC I: 216, Deshayes 2003: 74..
*fare-xtu-*

‘conversation, assembly, meeting’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. airecht [u m] ‘assembly’

W: MW areith [f] ‘conversation’ (GPC araith)

BRET: MoBret. areih (Vannetais) ‘dispute’

CO: Co. areith

ETYM: I think it is possible to derive these Celtic words from the PIE root *h₂eg- ‘say’ (Lat. aio, Arm. asem, IEW 290f., LIV 228) and the PCelt. prefix *fare-. In Celtic we would have the zero-grade of the root and the abstract-building suffix *-tu-, i.e. *h₂eg-tu-.


*far-sko-* ‘ask, plead’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. arcaid, -airc; reiss, -ré [Subj.]; ibrais, -ibair [Fut.]; arcair [Pret.]

W: OW erchim, MW erchi; archaf [1s Pres.]; erchis [3s Pret.]; erchit [Impersonal]

BRET: MBret. archaff [ls Pres.], MoBret. arc ‘híñ ’request’

CO: Co. erghi

PIE: *prek- ‘ask’ (IEW: 821f.)

COGN: Skt. prçchai, Lat. precor, posco, Go. fraihman, OHG farscon, Lith. piñšti ‘to arrange a marriage’, OCS prositi, ToB pärk-, Arm. harç’anem

ETYM: The cluster *-ksk- in *prsk- was dissimilated to *prsk- (perhaps already in PIE), hence regularly *parsk- > PCelt. *farsk-.


*fásto-* ‘growth’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. ás [o n > m]

PIE: *pëh₂-s- ‘herd, protect’ (IEW: 787)

COGN: Lat. pâsco ‘feed, pasture’, Hitt. pahaszi ‘keeps, protects’, OCS pasti, pasets

ETYM: Cf. the denominative verb OIr. ásaid, fásaid (with unetymological f) ‘grows’. A difficult etymology in light of the fact that OIr. ás can go back to a great number of PCelt. and PIE root-forms, so the possibility of chance correspondence is significant. If the etymology proposed here is correct, we must start from PIE *pëh₂-s- to- ‘what is herded and fed’ > ‘growth’. Note the absence of shortening by Dybo’s law.

REF: LEIA A-92f.

*fatamā ‘palm of the hand, talon’ [Noun]

W: MW adaf [f] ‘hand, talon’

PIE: *pëh₂- ‘open’ (IEW: 824)

COGN: Lat. pateo ‘be open’, Gr. πιτνεμι ‘open, spread out’

SEE: *fanssā ‘footprint’
ETYM: If this etymology is correct, the formation of this PCelt. word would be similar to the one in *al-amo- ‘herd, flock’. The a-vocalism in the root is due to epenthesis, as in Lat. pateo < *pt-eh₁-.
REF: GPC I: 11.

*fatar / Gen. *fatanos, *fetnos ‘wing, bird’ [Noun]
W: OW atar ‘birds’, MW adar [p]; aderyn, ederyn [Singulative]; adein [f] (GPC adain) ‘wing’
BRET: OBr. attanoc gl. aligeris
PIE: *potr / *ptn-os ‘wing’
COGN: Hitt. pattar, Skt. pātra-, Gr. pterón, Lat. penna
SEE: *fet-no- ‘bird’
ETYM: PCelt. probably preserved the old PIE heterocliton which meant ‘wing’, but the meaning was changed to ‘bird’ (i. e. ‘the winged one’). Later, but still in PCelt., a new noun stem was formed from the oblique cases (*fetno-), which is the origin of Olr. én ‘bird’, W edn, cf. also W adain ‘wing’ < *patanī. Olr. aíth ‘wing’, sometimes adduced as related to this PCelt. etymon, probably does not exist (aíth ‘drying kiln’ is a different word).

*fatir ‘father’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. athir, aithair [r m]
GAUL: atrebo [Dat p] (RIG L-15)
PIE: *ph₂tër ‘father’ (IEW: 829)
COGN: Skt. pitár-, Gr. patér, Lat. pater, ToB pācer, Go. fadar, Arm. hayr
SEE: *fatriyo- ‘paternal’

*fatnā ‘drinking vessel’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. án [ā f]
PIE: *poth₂r / *pth₂nos ‘shallow dish, plate’
COGN: Hitt. pattar ‘basket made of wicker or reed’, Gr. patánē ‘plate’
ETYM: Another possibility, suggested by LEIA A-72, is to derive MIr. án from PCelt. *fā-nā, and relate it to PIE *peh₃– ‘drink’ (Skt. pibati, Lat. bibo, OCS piti, etc.), cf. PCelt. *fib-o-.

*fatriyo- ‘paternal’ [Adj]
GOID: MIr. aithre [io m] ‘paternal family’
W: MW edrydd [m] ‘paternal domain, abode, descent’
SEE: *fatrī ‘father’
REF: LEIA A-100, GPC I: 1168, EIEC 195.

*fedo- ‘space, distance’ [Noun]
*fedon- ‘birthpangs’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *ídu [n f] ‘pain, birthpangs’
Pronunciation: *ped- (?)
COGN: Go. *fita [1 sg. Pres.] ‘give birth to’
ETYM: Another etymology, proposed by Schindler (1975) and repeated by EIEC and others, is slightly less probable. It presupposes a PIE heterocliton *h₁edwol/n- ‘pain, evil’ > PCelt. *edwon- (IEW 287ff., cf. Hitt. idālu- ‘evil’, Luv. ādduwa- ‘evil’, Gr. ὄδυνὲς ‘pain’, Arm. erkn ‘birthpangs’, ToB yolo ‘evil’); however, the cluster *dw would give OIr. *db (cf. fedb ‘widow’ < *widwā), and most of the putative cognates can be explained otherwise (see Kloekhorst, s. v. idālu-).

*feno- ‘moor, swamp’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. en ‘water’
W: W *wenwynm [m] ‘buttermilk’
GAUL: *anam gl. paludem (Endlicher’s Glossary, 9)
Pronunciation: *pen- ‘mud’ (IEW: 807f.)
COGN: Go. *fani ‘mud’, OPr. pannean ‘moor, muddy field’
ETYM: MIr. en is a glossary word, but en- ‘water’ is attested as a first member of compounds, e.g. en-glas ‘watery milk’. There is also MIr. *enach [s n] ‘swamp’ (< *fenākos). The hydronym Enos (> Inn in Austria) is probably from the same P Celt. form. Gaul. *anam cannot be derived from *fenā by the regular vowel assimilation, since Joseph’s rule did not apply for long *ā (cf. *benā ‘woman’ > OIr. *ben). This also applies to MIr. *en [? ā f] ‘water, urine’. The a-vocalism of these forms might point to PIE *pn-Ho- (perhaps with the possessive suffix *-h₂o-), but this is clearly ad hoc. The etymology that connects the name of the Roman province of Pannonia with these words is possible, but rather speculative (see Meid 2005).

*fenākos- ‘swamp’ [Noun]
SEE: *feno- ‘moor, swamp’

*ferikā ‘concubine’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. airech [ā f]
Pronunciation: *perikeh₂ ‘female servant?’
COGN: Av. pairikā ‘witch’, ? Lat. Parcae ‘the Fates’
ETYM: A rather speculative etymology. Mlr. airech is a legal term for a type of concubine. PIE *perikeh₂ may be derived from *peri- ‘around’, so
the original meaning could have been ‘one that is around’ (A. Lubotsky, p.c.).

REF: LEIA A-43, de Bernardo Stempel 313.

*ferissâ ‘religion, belief’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. iress [ə f] ‘belief’
PIE: *peri- ‘about, before’, *dʰeh₁- ‘do, make, put’
ETYM: PCelt. *feri-sās presupposes PIE *peri-dh₁-teh₂. EIEC derives OIr. iress from *peri-steh₂- (from the root *steh₂- ‘stand’), and compares Parthian parast ‘ardor’, but I believe the semantic connection with the root *dʰeh₁- is better (cf. Skt. dhāman- ‘law’).
REF: EIEC 61.

*ferko- ‘perch’ [Noun], ‘speckled’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. erc [ə m] ‘perch, salmon’, Ogam. ERCA
PIE: *perk- ‘color’, *perk-no- ‘speckled (fish)’ (IEW: 821)
COGN: Gr. perkónos ‘freckled, red’, OHG ferhana ‘trout’.
ETYM: The original meaning of this substantivized adjective, ‘speckled’, may be preserved in Ogam PN ERCA.

*feruti ‘last year’ [Adverb]
GOID: OIr. innuraid (DIL uraid)
PIE: *per-uti [Loc. s] ‘last year’, *wet- ‘year’ (IEW: 1175)
COGN: Skt. par-út ‘last year’, Gr. pérysi, Arm. heru
ETYM: OIr. inn-uraid might reflect the PCelt. Accusative sg. *ferut-en, rather than Loc./Dat. s *feruti, if McCone 1996: 101 is right. However, an original locative sg. makes better sense in an expression of time.

*fēsko- ‘fish’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. iasc [ə m]
PIE: *pi(k)sko- ‘trout, fish’ (IEW: 796)
COGN: Lat. piscis, OE fisc
ETYM: W river-name Wysg could reflect *fēskā (Sims-Williams 2006: 80). Cf. also Gaul. river-name Isca, which would be from *fiskā. The vocalism of OIr. iasc requires that we start from PIE *pey(k)sko- (the cluster *ksk may have been dissimilated to *sk as in *prksk- : > PCelt. *farsk- ‘ask’).

*fēskūtā ‘(leather) boot, shoe’
W: MW esgid [f]
CO: Co. eskit, eskys
PIE: *ped- ‘foot’, *skuHto- ‘hide, wrap’ (IEW: 951ff.)
**fet-no-**


SEE: *kuti- ‘sack, scrotum’

ETYM: This word is an old compound, ‘foot-leather’, PIE *ped-skuHto-*. Celtic and Greek point to a variant of the root with s-mobile. The same root is attested in Celtic as *kuti- ‘sack, scrotum’. Note that Dybo’s law did not operate in this compound.


**fet-no-** ‘bird’ [Noun]

GOID: Olr. *én* [o, m]

W: MW *edn* [m]; *ednod* [p]

BRET: MBret. *ezn*, MoBret. *evn* [m]

CO: Co. *hethen*, *ethen*

GAUL: *Etnosus* [Theonym]

PIE: *pet- ‘fly’ (IEW: 825f.)

SEE: *fatar ‘bird’

ETYM: The thematic stem *fetno- is presumably generalized from the oblique cases of the old heterocliton *fatar*, Gen. sg. *fetnos (perhaps later reshaped as Gen. sg. *fatanos).


**fet-o-** ‘fly’ [Vb]

W: MW *ehedec; ehet* [3s Pres.]

PIE: *pet- ‘fly’ (IEW: 825f.)

SEE: *fet-no- ‘bird’

ETYM: MW *ehedec < *exs-fet-o-. LIV reconstructs this root as *peth₂-, KPV without the laryngeal. In Celtic, there is no evidence for a laryngeal, cf. PCelt. *fet-no- (rather than *fetano-).

REF: KPV 515, LIV 479.

**fetu-** ‘(grass-)land, territory’ [Noun]

GOID: Ofr. *iath* [u n] ‘land, territory’

PIE: *peyH-tu- ‘prairie, rich grassland’ (IEW: 793)


SEE: *fiweryon- ‘earth, soil’

ETYM: The name of the Gaulish tribe *Heluētīi* could be a compound *felu-ēto- ‘Die Landreichen’ (see Delamarre 168). The PCelt. form is from PIE *peyth₂-tu-. The laryngeal is reconstructed on the basis of the acute in Lithuanian, which means that this root has to be separated from *peyt- ‘feed’ (cf. *fītu- ‘food’). It is probably the same root as in PCelt. *fiweryon- ‘earth, soil’ < *piHwer-.

*fextu- ‘breast’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. ucht [u n?]
PTE: *pektu- ‘breast’ (IEW: 792)
COGN: Lat. pectus
ETYM: In the prehistory of the Olr. word, we must assume an assimilation *
*fextu- > *fuxtu-, in which case the Celtic proto-form would be parallel to
Lat. pectus. Otherwise, we might start from the o-grade in PCelt. (*foxtu-)
with the regular raising in Olr.; however, the o-grade is unexpected in a
stem in *tu- (at least in Celtic). The etymology found in IEW (848),
deriving ucht from PIE *pup-tu- (cf. Latv. pups ‘woman’s breast’) is less
probable.
REF: LEIA U-14f., EIEC 518.

*fib-o- ‘drink’ [Vb]
GOID: Olr. ibid, -ib; ebaid, -eba [Subj.]; ibaid, -iba [Fut.]; ibis, -ib [Pret.];
ibthe, -ibed [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW yuet; yf [3s Pres.] (GPC yfed)
BRET: MBret. euaff, yvet
CO: Co. eva, eve
GAUL: ibetis [2p Impv. or Ind.]
PTE: *peh3(y)- ‘drink’ (IEW: 839f.)
COGN: Skt. pibati, Lat. bibo, Gr. pinō, OCS piti
ETYM: Cf. also Gaul. theonym Ibosus (CIL XIII 1370), which might be
from the same root. In OW, the form iben is attested (Juvencus 3). It is the 1
pl. imperfect. For the possibility that this PCelt. verb originally had
REF: KPV 516f., GPC III: 3751, LIV 462f., LP 373, RIG II.2: 349f., EIEC
98, 175, Delamarre 187, Falileyev 89.

*fJJu- ‘many’ [Adj]
GOID: Olr. il
PTE: *pelh1u- ‘much’ (IEW: 800)
COGN: Skt. purū-, OE fela ‘much’, Gr. polýs ‘much’
ETYM: Celtic, together with Germanic, preserves the e-grade of this root,
while Skt. shows the zero-grade, and Greek the o-grade. The original ablaut
pattern of this adjective in PIE is disputed (Nom. sg. *pelh1u-s, Acc. sg.
*polh1u-m, Gen. sg. *plh1w-os?).
REF: EIEC 3, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 92, 532ff.

*fisselo- ‘low’ [Adj]
GOID: Olr. isel [o]
W: OW isel, MW isel
BRET: OBret. isel gl. imum, MBret. isel
CO: Co. yssel
SEE: *fissu-
**fell**

**ETYM:** This is obviously an adjectival derivative from the same form of the PIE root for ‘foot’ as PCelt. **fell**- ‘under’; it may have been influenced by **faxel-** ‘high’.

**REF:** GPC II: 2033, DGVB 232, Falileyev 97.

**fell**- ‘under’ [Prep]

**GOID:** OIr. *is* [+Dat.] ‘below, under’

**W:** OW *is*, MW *is*

**BRET:** OBret. *is*, MBret. *is*

**PIE:** *ped- ‘foot’ (IEW: 790)

**COGN:** Hitt. *pä-, pät-*, Skt. *pā-, pād-*, Lat. *pēs, Gr. *pous, OE *fēt [p], Arm. otn*

**SEE:** *fod-

**ETYM:** This OIr. form is usually derived from PIE Locative pl. of the word for ‘foot’ (*pēdsu*), but the lengthened grade is unexpected. The length in OCS *pēš ‘on foot’ is probably due to Winter’s law, and Alb. *posh-tē ‘under’ does not reflect the original *pēds-, but is rather borrowed from Lat. *post* (Demiraj 1997: 329f). Perhaps it is better to assume that the length spread in Celtic from the Nom. sg. of the root-noun (cf. Lat. *pēs*), although a *vrddhi formation* *pēdsV- cannot be excluded.


**fitu-** ‘food’ [Noun]

**GOID:** OIr. *ith [u n] ‘grain’

**W:** OW *it*

**BRET:** MBret. *et*, MoBret. *ed [m]*

**PIE:** *peytu-/*pitu- ‘food’ (IEW: 793f.)

**COGN:** Skt. *pitu-*, OCS *pišta ‘meal*, Lith. *piétuš ‘meal*

**ETYM:** Cf. also OIr. *ithe ‘eating’ < *fit-yā. The short vowel in Skt. and Celtic, and the circumflex in Lithuanian show that there was no laryngeal in this root. The accentuation of Croat. *pitati ‘feed’ points either to a secondary Slavic *vrddhi*, or to a laryngeal root in PIE (perhaps through the influence of *piH-wo- ‘fat’ (Skt. *pīvas-, Gr. *pion), cf. PCelt. *fētu- ‘grassland, territory’ and *fweryon- ‘earth, soil’.

**REF:** EIEC 208, Deshayes 2003: 210, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 292.

**fweryon-** ‘earth, soil’ [Noun]

**GOID:** OIr. *iriu [n f]

**PIE:** *piHwer-/*n- ‘thick, fat’ (IEW: 793)

**COGN:** Skt. *pīvan- ‘thick, fat’, Gr. *pion, f. *píera ‘fat, fruitful, rich’

**SEE:** *fētu- ‘grassland, territory*

**ETYM:** The Irish (and Welsh) name of Ireland, *Ériu, W Iwerddon*, might also be related, if the original meaning of this toponym was ‘fruitful, fertile’. However, there are difficulties with this etymology, and there are alternative ones (see Stüber 1998: 96).
*flāmā ‘palm, hand’ [Noun]
GOLD: OIr. lám [á f]
W: OW lau [f], MW llaw
BRET: OBret. lom-
CO: OCo. lof gl. manus
GAUL: Lama-tutus [PN]
PIE: *plh₂meh₂ ‘palm, hand’ (IEW: 73)
COGN: Lat. palma, Gr. palámē
SEE: *flāro- ‘floor’
ETYM: In OBret. lom- appears only in compounds and in PN Dreho-lom, cf. also W llof- in llof-rudd ‘murderer’ (<‘having red hands’). The PIE root is presumably the same as in *flāro- ‘floor’ and *flātro- ‘position, layer’.

*flāno- ‘full’ [Adj]
GOLD: OIr. lán [o]
W: MW llawn
BRET: OBret. dacr-lon ‘full of tears’, MBret. and MoBret. leun
CO: Co. luen, leun
GAUL: Uisu-lanius [PN]
PIE: *plh₁no- ‘full’ (IEW: 799)
COGN: Skt. pūrṇā-, Lat. plēnus, Go. fulls
ETYM: The vowel length in *flāno- should somehow be analogical, because the root vowel should have been shortened by Dybo’s law (cf. the accent in Skt. pūrṇā-). A source of analogy may have been PCelt. *flīnu- (OIr. lin [u m and n] ‘full number, complement’) from the same root (PIE *pleh₁nu-, cf. Lat. plēnus), cf. also the denominative verb OIr. linaid ‘fills’ < *flīn-ā-.

*flāro- ‘floor’ [Noun]
GOLD: OIr. lár [o n] ‘ground, surface, middle’
W: OW laur ‘floor’, MW llaur, llawr [m]
BRET: OBret. lor gl. solum
CO: OCo. lor gl. pauimentum
PIE: *pelh₁ ‘flat, to spread’ (IEW: 806)
COGN: OE flōr ‘floor’, Lat. plānus ‘flat, even’
SEE: *flātro- ‘position, layer’
ETYM: The closest equivalent of the Celtic forms is found in Germanic, where OE *flōr is from OE *flōruz < *pleh₂-ru-. Lat. *plānus perhaps points to the existence of a PIE heteroclitic, *pleh₂-/*plh₂nos 'floor'.


*flātro- 'position, (flat) layer' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. láthar [o m]
W: W llawdr [m and f] 'trousers'
BRET: MoBret. loer 'sock'
CO: OC. loder gl. caliga

ETYM: If the etymology is correct, the development of meaning in Brittonic is surprising. The PIE root is *pelh₂- 'flat, to spread' (IEW: 806, cf. Lat. *plānus 'flat, even'), as in *flāro- 'floor'.


*fleð-o- 'succeed' [Vb]

W: MW llwyddaw (GPC llwydd(i)o)
PIE: *pleyd- 'attempt'

COGN: OE flītan, OHG flīzan 'attempt, try hard'

ETYM: This verbal root is not found in LIV; it is attested only in Germanic and Celtic.

REF: GPC II: 2242, KPV 521f.

*flenstu- 'light' [Noun]

GOID: MIr. lēs [u m] 'light, daylight'
PIE: *(s)plend- 'shine' (IEW: 987)

COGN: Lat. splendeo, perhaps ToAB plāntā- 'rejoice'

ETYM: DIL considers lēs as a borrowing from ON ljóðs. The OIr. reflex should be derived from the full grade in PIE (*plend-tu-), with the productive abstract-building suffix -tu-; the zero-grade of the PIE root (*plnd-tu-) would presumably yield PCelt. *flanstu- > **lās.

REF: EIEC 514, LIV 530.

*flēto- 'gray' [Adj]

GOID: OIr. liath [o]
W: MW llwyd
BRET: OBret. loit, MBret. loet, MoBret. loued
CO: Co. lóys
GAUL: *Flētīsəmā > Louesme [Toponym]
PIE: *pelHī- 'gray' (IEW: 805)

COGN: Skt. patiś- 'grey', Lat. pallidus 'pale', Gr. pelitnós 'pale, greyish', OHG falo 'faded', Lith. pilkas 'grey', pilšas 'pale'

ETYM: The laryngeal in this root is suggested by the acute in Lithuanian, but cf. also Lith. palvas 'light yellow' (if it is from the same root). The
Celtic forms presuppose PIE *pley(H)-to-, while other languages show reflexes of *pel(H)i-to- (Skt.), *pel(H)i-tno- (Gr.), so Schwebeablaut must be assumed.


*fletro- ‘hide, leather’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. lethar [o m]
W: MW lledr [m]
BRET: MBret. lezr, MoBret. ler
PIE: *pel- ‘to skin’ (IEW 803f.)
COGN: Lat. pellis ‘skin’, OE fell ‘hide’, Russ. pléná ‘membrane’
ETYM: The Germanic words for ‘leather’ (OHG leadar, leder) are prehistoric loanwords from Celtic. The Celtic forms presuppose the zero-grade of the PIE root (*pl-etro-), with the unusual form of the suffix *-etro- (rather than *-tro-), cf. Russ. pléná < *pl-en-eh₂.

*fletyo- ‘shoulder, shoulder blade’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. leithe [io m]
PIE: *pleth₂-yo- ‘shoulder’ (IEW: 833f.)
COGN: OCS plešte, Hitt. paltana-
SEE: *flitano- ‘broad’
ETYM: Trivially derived from the root *pleth₂- ‘broad’ (cf. the Gr. name Plátōn, originally ‘broad-shouldered’). The Celtic word shows a remarkable parallelism in formation with Slavic.

*flikkā ‘(flat) stone’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. lecc [ā f] ‘(sepulcral) plate, stone, flat slab of rock’
W: MW llech [f] ‘slate, slab of stone’
BRET: MoBret. lec ‘h
CO: Co. lehan
GAUL: Are-lica [Toponym]
PIE: *plkeh₂ ‘flat surface’ (IEW: 831f.)
COGN: Gr. plάks ‘flat stone’, ON flά

*fli-nu- ‘flow’ [Vb]
GOID: Olr. do-lin
PIE: *pleh₁- ‘be full, fill’ (IEW: 798f.)
COGN: Skt. prṇāti ‘fill’, Arm. lnun
SEE: *flanos ‘full’
ETYM: Olr. do-lin < *to-fli-nu- (the simplex is unattested). In EIEC, the Olr. verb is related rather to PIE *leyH- ‘set in motion, pour’ (Lat. lītus
‘beach’, OCS liti ‘pour’, Lith. lieti, etc., IEW 664ff.), which is also a possibility.

REF: KPV 524f., LIV 482f., LEIA D-161, EIEC 506.

*flitano- *flitawI [f] ‘broad’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. lethan [o]

W: MW llydan ‘broad’; OW Litau ‘Brittany’, W Llydaw ‘id.’

BRET: OBret. litan, MoBret. ledan; OBret. Letau ‘Brittany’

CO: Co. ledan

Gaul: Litana (silua) [Toponym], Litaui [Theonym]

PIE: *plthw2- ‘broad’, *plthw2ih2 ‘the broad one’ [f] (IEW: 806, 833)

COGN: Skt. prthiv- ‘earth’, Gr. Plataia [Toponym]

SEE: *fletyo- ‘shoulder, shoulder-blade’

ETYM: Celtib. liitanokum is sometimes adduced as a derivative from PCelt. *flitano-, but the meaning of this form is uncertain (most probably it is a family name). The PIE form was *plthw2- m., *plthw2ih2 f. (cf. Gr. platys, plateia). PCelt. *flitawI directly represents the feminine form, while *flitano- is from the derived *plthw2- no- (cf. Hitt. paltana- ‘shoulder’).


*flittV- ‘pap, porridge’ [Noun]

GOID: MIr. litiu [n f]

W: MW lith [m] ‘food, nourishment, bait’

PIE: *polt- / *plt-os ‘pap, porridge’ (IEW: 802)

COGN: Lat. puls, pulitis, Gr. póltos

ETYM: If the etymology assumed here is correct, the Celtic forms are derived from the zero-grade of the root attested in Lat. puls. There is, however, another possibility (see Stüber 1998: 127). MIr. litiu is sometimes spelled lichtiu, so it could also be a derivative of ligid ‘licks’, PCelt. *lixtyo-. If so, MW llith would be from the participle *lixto-. On the other hand, the agreement in meaning with Lat. is compelling, and the MIr. form lichtiu could be due to the analogical influence of ligid.


*flowdyo- ‘lead’ [Noun]

GOID: MIr. lúaidhe [io m]

PIE: *plowdyo- ‘lead’

COGN: Lat. plumbum

ETYM: The Germanic words for ‘lead’ (OE lēad, etc.) are early borrowings from Celtic, and Gr. molybdos is probably unrelated. The Italic and Celtic words are presumably also loanwords from some unknown source. De Vaan (2008: 474) mentions the possibility of a connection with Berber *būldūn ‘lead’.
*flowyo-, *flowyä ‘rudder’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. luí [iə f] ‘rudder, tail’
W: MW llyw [m] ‘rudder, tail, leader, pilot’
BRET: MoBret. lewier [m] ‘pilot’
CO: Oc. leu gl. clausu, Co. lew
PIE: *plew- ‘swim, float’
COGN: Skt. plávate, Gr. pléö, Eng. flow
ETYM: The primary meaning in Celtic seems to be ‘rudder’, originally ‘floater’, vel. sim. The meanings ‘tail’ and ‘pilot, leader’ are metaphorical extensions.


*fod- ‘foot’ [Noun]

GAUL: ades ‘feet’ (Hesych., presumably Galatian), Gallo-Latin cant-edon ‘100 feet’ (Isidore of Seville)
PIE: *pod- ‘foot’ (IEW: 790)
COGN: Hitt. pār-, pat-, Skt. pād-, Lat. pēs, Gr. poús, Arm. otn
SEE: *fissu ‘under’
ETYM: Although the reflexes are scarcely attested, the reconstruction of the Celtic word for ‘foot’ seems reasonably certain. It is difficult to see how the Hesychian gloss could represent anything else than the Galatian word for ‘foot’, with the regular development *pōd- > ād-. The diverging vocalism of cant-edon presumably shows that the word had an ablauting paradigm in PCelt. (Nom. *fād-s, Gen. *fed-os, etc.). The e-grade may be attested in MIr. ed [o n] ‘space, distance’ < PCelt. *fedo-.

REF: Hamp 1975.

*folkā ‘arable land’ [Noun]

GAUL: Gaul. *olca > Lat. olca (Gregory of Tours)
PIE: *polkeh₂ ‘plowed field’ (IEW: 850)
COGN: OHG felga, Russ. polosá
ETYM: Although cognates in Goidelic and Brittonic are not attested, the absence of word-initial *p- shows that this word is inherited in Celtic, and the PIE reconstruction is straightforward. However, this root is limited to the NW Indo-European dialects.


*folno- ‘great, vast’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. oll
PIE: *polh₁- (IEW: 798ff.)
COGN: Gr. polýs ‘many’
ETYM: This etymon should not be confused with *olyo- ‘whole’. Gaul. ollah (Chamalières), Ollo- gnatus [PN] probably belong to that etymon. The
loss of laryngeal in PCelt. *folno- can be regular after *oR (de Saussure’s law); the o-grade of the root is attested in Greek.

REF: LEIA O-20f., Delamarre 241.

*fondos- ‘stone’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. ond [s n]
PIE: *(s)pondos ‘weight’ (IEW: 988)
COGN: Lat. pondus ‘weight’
ETYM: This is a poetic word in OIr., preserved chiefly in glossaries. If the etymology is correct, both Lat. pondus and OIr. ond are derived from the underlying verb *(s)pend- ‘hang’ (Lat. pendo, Russ. pjad ‘span’).


*forko- ‘pork, young pig’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. orc [o m]
PIE: *porko- ‘young pig, piglet’ (IEW: 841)
COGN: Khot. pāsa, Lat. porcus, Lith. pāšas, Croat. prase
ETYM: OIr. orc is a poetic word, attested chiefly in glossaries. The name of the Orkneys is probably from the same PCelt. root.


*foro- ‘edge, limit’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. or [o m]
W: MW or [f] (GPC ōr)
BRET: OBret. orion gl. oram, MoBret. or
CO: Co. or
PIE: *per- ‘pass through’ (IEW: 816f.)
COGN: Lat. portāre ‘lead, carry’, Gr. poreuō ‘bring, carry’, OHG faran ‘travel’
ETYM: The Celtic words for ‘edge, limit’ are thematic nouns derived from the verbal root ‘to pass, traverse’; we should start from the thematic nomen actionis *póros ‘a traversing’ which then changed its meaning to ‘limit, boundary’, cf. also Gr. póros ‘ford, path’.

REF: LEIA O-26, GPC III: 2561, DGVB 277.

*fotlo- ‘drink, act of drinking’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. ól, óol [o n]
PIE: *peh₃- ‘drink’ (IEW: 840)
COGN: Lat. pōculum ‘chalice’, Gr. pósis ‘drink’
SEE: *fib-o- ‘drink’
ETYM: The vowel *o in Celtic is unexpected, as the PIE laryngeal should have yielded *a between consonants. It is probably due to an early analogy with the full grade (*eh₃ > *o > PCelt. *ā), or to vowel assimilation (*fatlo-
*fowino- ‘foam, froth’ [Noun]

GOLD: OIr. úan
W: MW ewyn [m]
BRET: MBret. eon, MoBret. ewon [Collective]
CO: Co. ewon

ETYM: Mlr. úan is attested late, so the original inflection and gender are unknown. Though a truly convincing etymology is lacking, one could relate these words either to PIE *pew(H)- ‘pus’ (Lat. pūs, Lith. pūliai), IEW 848f., or to *pews- ‘swell’ (Lat. pūstula ‘blister, bubble’, Russ. пухнуть ‘swell’). If the latter comparison is correct, one should rather reconstruct PCelt. *fows-ino-. The e-vocalism in Brittonic is the result of Umlaut (*owin > MW ewyn, cf. W gwerin < *worīna ‘troop’).


*fowmosnā ‘skin’ [Noun]

GOLD: Mlr. ʻūmann [ā f]
PIE: *powm- ‘body hair’

COGN: Lat. pūbēs ‘adult’, Skt. pūmān- ‘man, male’, perhaps Lith. (dial.) paustis ‘animal fur’

ETYM: Since this word is very rare in Mlr. (occurring only in poetic texts of rather late date, such as Togail Tröl), this etymology is quite speculative.

REF: LEIA U-7, EIEC 469.

*fowtu- ‘fear’ [Noun]

GOLD: OIr. úath [u ṭm] ‘horror, fear’
W: MW uthr ‘terrible’
BRET: MBret. euz, MoBret. euzh [m] ‘horror’
CO: Co. uth ‘horror’

PIE: *pew- ‘fear’ (IEW: 73)

COGN: Lat. paureo, pauor

ETYM: While other Celtic reflexes seem to come from PIE *pow-tu-, W uthr represents *pow-tro-. Lat. pauero, pauor do not presuppose PIE *ph₂ew-, but rather *pow-, with *ow > au by Thurneysen-Havet’s law. McCone 1992b connects these words with W ofn, Mlr. omun ‘fear’ (< *fowno-), but here a different etymology is proposed (cf. PCelt. *obno-).


*frasnā ‘part’ [Noun]

GOLD: OIr. rann [ā f]
W: OW rann [f] ‘share’, MW ran, rann [f] (GPC rhan)
**frati-** ‘fern’ [Noun]

**frati-** ‘fort, rampart’ [Noun]

**frati-** ‘fractions, subdivisions’ is from *ufo-frasno- (Falileyev 73). PCelt. *ra instead of *ar from the syllabic PIE *r can be due to the ‘liquid metathesis’ between a labial and a dental cluster (*prsn > *farsn- > *frasn-), or to analogy with *frato-, where *ā was shortened by Dybo’s law. For the derivation of Lat. pars from PIE *perh3- ‘bear, provide’ see de Vaan 2008: 448.

from *h₂rh₃-ti-, from the root *h₂erh₃- ‘to plow’ (cf. PCelt. *ar-yo-). If this is correct, the PCelt. form would be *rāti-, and the original meaning would be ‘a dugout, a digging’.


*frato- ‘grace, virtue, good fortune’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. rath [o n]
W: OW rat [m], MW rat (GPC rhad)
BRET: OBret. Rad-(uueten) [PN]
CO: Co. ras
SEE: *far-na- ‘bestow’
ETYM: These nouns are probably related to the root of *far-na- ‘bestow’ (OIr. ernaid, etc.). Gaul. PN Su-ratus may contain the same root. The PIE form (maybe an old passive participle meaning ‘bestowed, given’) would be *prh₃tō-. This would first have yielded PCelt. *frātō-, and then *frato- by Dybo’s law.

REF: LEIA R-8, GPC III: 2995, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 442.

*freswo- ‘strong cold’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. reód, réud [o m] ‘hoar-frost’
W: MW rew [m] ‘frost, ice’ (GPC rhew)
BRET: MBret. re(a)u, MoBret. rew [m]
CO: OCo. reu gl. gelum, MoCo. reaw
PIE: *prews- ‘freeze’ (IEW: 846)
COGN: Skt. prusvā- ‘drops of dew’, Lat. pruīna ‘hoarfrost’, Go. frius ‘hoarfrost’
ETYM: The attested forms can be reconciled with PIE *prews- only if one assumes a metathesis (*ws > *sw), but even in that case the reconstruction of the PCelt. form remains difficult. OIr. reód may be from a derived stem *freswoto-.


*frikka ‘fart’ [Noun]
W: W rhech [f]
PIE: *perd- ‘fart’ (IEW: 819)
COGN: Lat. pēdo, Gr. pěrdiks ‘partridge’, Eng. fart, OCS prěděti
ETYM: PCelt. *frikka arose by assimilation from *prid-kā < PIE *prd-keh₂, which shows the zero-grade of the PIE root *perd- ‘fart’.

REF: GPC III: 3042.

*frika ‘furrow’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. etarche [iā f], also etridge, eitre
W: MW rych [m and f] (GPC rych)
BRET: OBret. rec gl. sulco, MoBret. re [Collective]
GAUL: *rikā > OFr. roie, Fr. raie
PIE: *prkeh₂ ‘furrow’ (IEW: 821)
COGN: Lat. porca, OHG furuh
ETYM: Mlr. etarche [iə f] is from *enter-frikā. If Lith. peršėti ‘to ache’ is also related, we should reconstruct the PIE root *perk- ‘to dig’.

*fritu- ‘ford’ [Noun]
GOID: Mfr. Humar-rith [Toponym]
W: OW rit, W rhyd [m]
BRET: OBret. rit gl. uadum
CO: OCo. rid gl. vadum, Co. red
GAUL: Ritu-magus [Toponym]
PIE: *prtu- ‘ford’ (IEW: 817)
COGN: Lat. portus ‘port’, OE ford
SEE: *foro- ‘edge, limit’

*frixtu- ‘form, appearance’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. richt [u m]
W: MW rith [m] (GPC rhith) ‘species, form, aspect’
BRET: OBret. (ar)rith gl. penace i. imago
PIE: *prep- ‘appear’ (IEW: 845)
COGN: Gr. prépō ‘appear’, Arm. erewim ‘be evident, appear’, perhaps OHG furben ‘to clear’
ETYM: The PCelt. form presupposes PIE *prp-tu-. The zero-grade of the root is expected.

*friyo- ‘free’ [Adj]
W: W rhydd
BRET: OBret. rid
CO: OCo. benen rid gl. femina
PIE: *priHo- ‘dear, free’ (IEW: 844)
COGN: Skt. priyā-, Go. freis ‘free’, OCS prijati ‘be appealing to’
ETYM: Some Gaul. names with the element Rio- (e.g. Rietalys) might be related to this root, rather than to *rīg- ‘king’ (Delamarre 258).

*fro-ank-o- ‘reach’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. ro-ic, -ric ‘reach’
W: MW renghi, rynghu ‘reach, satisfy, please’ (GPC rhyngu, rhangu, rhengi); reingk [3 s pres.]
BRET: MBret. ranquout, renquout ‘must’
SEE: *ank-o-
REF: KPV 200ff., GPC III: 3139

*fro-bowdo- ‘notice, warning’ [Noun]
SEE: *bu-n-do- ‘proclaim, give notice’

*fro-gus-o- ‘choice’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. rogu [indecl. n] ‘choice’
PIE: *gews- ‘taste, enjoy’ (IEW: 399)
COGN: Skt. jósat ‘enjoy’ [3s Subj. Aor.], Lat. gusto, OHG kiosan
ETYM: There are other words derived from the root *gews- in OIr., with
different prefixes: forgu ‘choice’, digu ‘not chosen, refuse, worst’, etc., but
the simplex is not preserved.
REF: LEIA R-40.

*fromo- ‘soon’ [Adverb]
GOID: MIr. rom ‘early, too soon’
PIE: *pro-mo- ‘first, leading’
COGN: Gr. prómos ‘leader’, Umbr. promom [Adverb] ‘firstly’
ETYM: Quite a speculative etymology, since there is also the possibility
that MIr. rom is from *fro-moxs, where *moxs means ‘early’ (Lat. mox, see
PCelt. *moxs).
REF: LEIA R-41f.

*frosto- ‘height, elevated land, (wooded) hill’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. ros [o m] ‘wood, height’
W: MW ros [f] ‘flat and uncultivated land, moor’ (GPC rhos)
BRET: MBret. ros, MoBret. roz
CO: Co. Rose, Roose [Toponyms]
PIE: *pro-sth₂-o- ‘protruding’ (?) (IEW: 1005)
COGN: Skt. prastha- ‘elevated land’
ETYM: Cf. also Lat. postis ‘door-post’ < *pr-sth₂-i-. The same PIE root is
attested in other compounds. OIr. iress ‘faith’ has been derived from PCelt.
*fare-sistā < PIE *peri-si-steh₂-, but a different etymology is proposed here
(see *ferissa). The parallelism in word formation with Skt. prastha-
is probably accidental, since that word is attested late in Skt.
638.

*fstr-ew- ‘sneeze’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. sreod [o m] (DIL sreód)
W: MW trev, ystrew [m]
BRET: MBret. streia, strevia ‘to sneeze’
PIE: *pster- ‘sneeze’ (IEW: 847)
*ful-V- ‘beard’ [Noun]
GOID: MR. *ul [?] 
GAUL: Ulatos [PN]
PIE: *pul- ‘body hair’ (IEW: 850)
COGN: Skt. pulaka-, Gr. pYligges [p]
ETYM: Delamarre (323) prefers to relate Gaul. Ulatos (etc.) to PCelt. *wläti- ‘ruler’, which is also a possibility. Skt. pulaka- is attested very late and it is uncertain whether it belongs here (see Mayrhofer s. v. pulasti-). Rieken (1999: 377) connects Hitt. SIG püttar ‘hairy part of animal’s body’ and reconstructs the PIE root as *pew-/*pu-, but Kloekhorst (2008: 683) finds this etymology too speculative.

*furo- ‘fresh’ [Adj]
GOID: MR. *ur [o] ‘fresh, fair, bright, green’ 
W: MW ir ‘verdant, green, sappy’
PIE: *puh₂-ro- ‘pure, clean’ (IEW: 827)
COGN: Lat. pūrus, Skt. pūtá- ‘purified’, pátate ‘becomes clean’, OHG fouwen ‘to sieve, sift’
ETYM: The PIE root is presumably the same as in *pehw₃r ‘fire’ (Hitt. pahhur, Gr. πῦρ, etc.), so the original meaning of *puh₂-ro- would have been ‘purified by fire’; however, many linguists doubt the connection and reconstruct the root as *pehw- ‘purify’ (e.g. Mayrhofer, s. v. PAV). Note, however, that adjectives in *-ro- were usually end-stressed in PIE, so we would expect PCelt. *pūrō- > *furo- (MR. **ur) by Dybo’s law.

*futro- ‘ill’ [Adj]
GOID: MR. *othar [o] ‘ill’, othar [o n, later m] ‘illness, pain’
PIE: *pehw- ‘rot, decay’ (IEW: 849)
COGN: Lat. puter ‘rotten’, Skt. puvas- ‘pus’, Gr. pýos ‘pus’, Olc. fúinn ‘rotten’
ETYM: Short *u in Celtic is presumably due to Dybo’s shortening in pretonic position, i.e. PIE *puHtró- > PCelt. *futro-.
REF: LEIA O-36.
*fuxtākā ‘pine’ [Noun]
GOID: Mr. ochtach [ā f]
PIE: *pewks ‘pine’ (IEW: 828)
COGN: Gr. peükē, OHG fiuhta ‘fir’, Lith. pušis
ETYM: The Proto-Celtic form presupposes the zero-grade of the root in PIE (*puk-, cf. Lith. pušis). The word formation is unclear (note the dental suffix also in OHG fiuhta).

Gʷ

*gʷan-o- ‘strike, kill’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. gonaid, -goin; gonaid, -gona [Subj.]; gignid, gignea [Fut.];
geguin [Pret.]; gétae, -gét [Part. Pass.]
W: MW gwan ‘hit, injure’; gwant [Pret.] (GPC gwanu, gwân)
BRET: MBret. goanaff, MoBret. gwanañ ‘punish’
CO: Co. gwana ‘pierce’
PIE: *gʷen- ‘strike, slay’ (IEW: 491-493)
COGN: Hitt. kue(n)zi, Skt. han-, Gr. theínō, Lat. dē-fendo ‘defend’, Lith.
ginti ‘defend, protect’, OCS gvnati ‘chase’
ETYM: Celtib. PN GUANDOS has been interpreted as a derivative from this root, but this is mere speculation. The o-vocalism in OIr. gonaid is the result of the regular rounding after the initial *gʷ-, cf. the same development in *gʷariyā ‘duty’.

*gʷariyā [Noun] ‘duty’
GOID: OIr. goire [iā f] ‘filial duty’
W: MW gward [m] ‘deliverance, relief’
BRET: MBret. gored
CO: Co. gweres ‘help’
PIE: *gʷer- ‘burn’ (IEW: 493ff.)
SEE: *gʷer-o-
ETYM: These words are formed with the regular Celtic reflex of the zero-grade of the root *gʷer- ‘burn’ (with the development of *-Cry- > *-Cary-). For the development *gʷa- > OIr. go- cf. *gʷan-o- ‘strike’ (McCone 1996). Cf. also W gwâr ‘tame, civilized’ and OIr. gor [o] ‘pious, dutiful’, which may be derived from thematic *gʷoro- < *gʷoro-.
*gʷed-yo- ‘ask, plead, pray’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. guidid, -guid; geiss, gé [Subj.]; gigis, -gig [Fut.]; gáid [Pret.]

W: MW imguodant

GAUL: uedíumi [1s Pres.] (Chamalières)

PIE: *gʰwedʰ- ‘wish’ (IEW: 488)

COGN: Gr. potheto ‘wish’, Go. bidjan

ETYM: MW imguodant < *ambi-gʷod-o-. The Celtiberian family name kuezontikum (Botorrita III, IV-36) might reflect the Celtib. reflex of this root (Villar 1997: 908). Gaul. uedíumi has also been connected to *wed- ‘bind’ (Fleuriot 1976-7); since it is a hapax, many interpretations are possible, but ‘I pray’ makes more sense than ‘I bind’ in the context of the Chamalières inscription. For the possibility that this verb (and the whole OIr. BII class of present stems) originally had athematic i-inflection see *ar-yo- ‘plough’ and cf. Kortlandt 2007: 137.


*gʷel-o- ‘graze, eat’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. geilid, -geil; gelaid, -gela [Subj.]; gilt, -gelt [Pret.]

SEE: *gʷel-ta ‘grass’

ETYM: The reconstruction of the PIE root from which this etymon developed is not generally agreed upon; Arm. klanem ‘swallow’, Russ. glotat’ ‘swallow’, Lat. glutio ‘devour’ point to PIE *glew- (IEW 365), which might be onomatopoetic (cf. also Lat. gula ‘throat’). OE ceole, Germ. Kehle ‘throat’ might contain the reflex of PIE *gel-, but if OIr. geilid is related to the word for ‘grass’, the Celtic proto-form must be from the root with initial *gʷ-, since PIE *gʷ > PCelt. *b. However, a PIE root *gʷel- with a comparable meaning does not seem to exist.

REF: KPV 371ff., LIV 217ff., LP 369, EIEC 349.

*gʷelti- ‘madman, lunatic’ [Noun]

GOID: MIr. geilt ‘lunatic, panic-stricken fugitive from battle’

W: MW gwyllt (GPC gwyllt, gwyll) ‘wild’

BRET: OBret. gueld-enes gl. ‘insula indomita’

CO: OCo. asen guill gl. onager, Co. gwyils, guyls ‘wild’

PIE: *gʷel-t-

COGN: Go. wilheis ‘wild’, OHG wildi

ETYM: These words certainly do not belong to the same root as the PIE word for ‘wool’, as claimed by IEW (1139f.). There is also no reason to believe that OIr. geilt was borrowed from Brittonic. The Germanic parallels are usually taken to be from PIE *wel-t-, but *gʷel- > Germanic *w- is also possible (cf., e.g., OHG warm ‘warm’ < *gʷormo-, cf. Skt. gharmā- ‘heat’, Lat. formus ‘warm’, see Bjorvand & Lindeman 2000: 1023f.).
*gweltā 'grass' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. geilt 'grazing' [ä, f]
W: MW gwellt [m] 'grass'
BRET: OBret. gueltiocion gl. 'fenosa'
CO: Co. gwels 'grass'
SEE: *gewel-o- 'graze'

*gwen- 'smile' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. gen [o n]
W: MW gwenn [f] (GPC gwên)
BRET: MoBret. gwen-c’hoarzin 'to smile'
ETYM: According to DIL, OIr. gen was originally an u-stem, but this is difficult in the light of the vocalism (**giun would be expected from *gwen). MW gwén probably represents the collective (Nom. pl. neuter) *gwenā.

*gwer-o- 'warm up, heat' [Vb]
GOID: Mlr. geirid, -geir; geraid, -gera [Subj.]; girt, -gert [Pret.]
PIE: *gwher- 'heat' (IEW: 493-495)
COGN: Gr. theromai, Go. brinnan 'burn'
ETYM: Mlr. guirid 'to warm' represents the causative from the same root, PIE *gwhoreye- > PCelt. *gwoři- (cf. also W gori ‘brood, sit (of hen)’, MoBret. gornī ‘to warm’. Nominal derivatives from this root include OIr. gorn ‘fire’ (< *gwořo-, cf. Lat. forns ‘oven’), and possibly goirt ‘bitter’ < *gwořti- (if the meaning developed from ‘hot’, cf. the same range of meaning of Eng. hot).

*gwered- 'animal fat, tallow' [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. geir [d f]
W: MW gwer (GPC gwêr) [m]
ETYM: A derivation from the root *gwher- 'warm, heat' (IEW 493, cf. Skt. háras- 'heat') is possible, in principle, but there is no semantic connection. A PCelt. stem *gere- would also be regularly derivable form a PIE compound *gwher-h₁ep- 'beast-fat' (cf. Lat. ferus ‘wild’, OCS zvěr ‘beast’, Gr. thēr ‘beast’, and Lat. ad-eps ‘suet, lard’, Hitt. apuzzi ‘animal fat, tallow’, ToB op ‘fatness’). However, this appears highly artificial.
REF: GPC II: 1642.
*g'orno- ‘fire’ [Noun]
SEE: *g'er-o- ‘warm up, heat’

*g'oro- ‘pious’ [Adj]
SEE: *g'ariyä ‘duty’

*g'orti- ‘bitter’ [Adj]
SEE: *g'er-o- ‘warm up, heat’

*g'rensnä ‘sun’ [Noun]
SEE: *g'rins- / *g'renso- ‘heat’

*g'rensu- ‘zeal, work, practice’
SEE: *g'rins- / *g'renso- ‘heat’

*g'rins- / *g'renso- ‘heat’ [Noun]
GOlD: Mlr.
grfs
[af] ‘heat, glow, embers’
W: MW gwres [m] ‘heat (of the sun, fire), passion, lust’
PIE: *g'wenso- ‘warm’ (IEW: 495)
COGN: Skt. ghramsā- ‘heat of the sun’
ETYM: OIr. gris must represent a reflex of PCelt. *g'rinso-, with the
lengthened grade (expected in the Nom. sg. of an original root noun). It
appears probable that OIr. grian [ã f] ‘sun’ should be derived from PCelt.
*g'rensnä > Primitive Irish *g'rēnā (Matasović to appear). This fits well
with the semantics of Skt. ghramsā-. The PIE root is *g'her- ‘be hot’ (Gr.
thermós etc.). Gaul. Grannos (a name of Apollo) probably also belongs here,
cf. Delamarre 183. Finally, OIr. grēs [u m] ‘handicraft, needlework, work of
art, practice’ may represent PCelt. *g'genresu- (the development of meaning
would have been from ‘heat’ to ‘zeal’ and ‘work’, cf. also Mlr. grēsach
‘lasting, habitual’).

G

*gablo/a- ‘fork, forked branch’ [Noun]
GOlD: OIr. gabul [œ m and â f]
W: MW gafl [f]
BRET: OBret. gabl, MoBret. gaol [f]
GAUL: (Cuitas) Gabalum (> Fr. le Gévaudon) [Toponym]
PIE: *g'ab'lo- ‘fork, branch of tree’ (IEW: 409)
COGN: OE gafol, OHG gabal ‘fork’
ETYM: In OW, there is the adjective *gablau ‘split open, forked’ (Falileyev 59). Lat. *gabalus ‘a kind of gallows’ (occurring in Varro) might be from the Gaulish reflex of the same word, cf. also Gallo-Latin *gabalottus ‘spear’ > Fr. *javelot, *javeline (Gamillscheg 546). The only correspondences to these Celtic words are attested in Germanic (although PGerm. *gablaz could be a Celtic loanword). However, it appears possible that these words should be related to PIE *gʰHbʰ- ‘have, hold’ (PCelt. *gab-yo-). If not, they are probably non-IE loanwords.


*gabro- ‘he-goat’ [Noun]; *gabra ‘she-goat’
GOID: OIr. gabor [o m] gl. caper
W: MW gauar (GPC gafr) [f] ‘goat, she-goat’
BRET: OBret. gabr, MoBret. gaor
CO: OCo. gauar gl. capra
PIE: *kapr ‘he-goat’ (IEW: 529)
COGN: ON hafr ‘he-goat’, Gr. kápros ‘boar’, Lat. caper ‘buck’, perhaps Skt. kāprth ‘penis’
ETYM: Cf. also Fr. dial. garron, Pr. gabre ‘male partridge’ < Gaul. *gabro- (according to Gamillscheg 470). The voicing *pr > *br in PCelt. is regular, but the initial *g-, rather than *k-, remains unaccounted for. It could be due to assimilation in voicing (with *-b-), or the result of influence of another word for ‘buck’, PIE *gʰaydo- (Lat. haedus, Eng. goat), which is, however, unattested in Celtic.


*gab-yo- ‘take, hold’ [Vb]
W: OW ad-gaieal, MW caffael ‘get, receive’, keiff [3s Pres.]; cauas [Pret.]
BRET: MBret. caffout
CO: OCo. gauael gl. prehensio
GAUL: gabii [2s Impv.] ?Gabiae [Theonym]
CELTIB: kabižeti [3s] (Botorrita I)
PIE: *gʰHbʰ- (IEW: 407ff.)
COGN: Lat. habeo ‘have’
ETYM: McCone (2003) argues rather persuasively that Celtib. kabižeti can be derived from *gabiyeti, i.e. that it is a present indicative rather than (sigmatic) desiderative formation; all certain examples of Celtib. z come from PIE *d rather than *s, which is generally preserved in Celtib., and the change of *(i)y > z may also be attested in PCelt. *nowyo- > Celtib.
However, Wodtko (MLH V.1: 144) considers the meaning of this form as unknown, and one would wish that there were more examples of the change *(i)y > z in Celtiberian. de Bernardo Stempel (2006) attempts to prove that the original meaning of PCelt. *gab- was ‘give’, rather than ‘take’, and interprets Gaul. *gabi as ‘give’, and the theonym *Gabiae as ‘the Givers, Bestowers’, which seems plausible; whether this is correct or not, the etymological equations gathered here are unaffected. For the possibility that this PCelt. verb had an athematic i-present see Kortlandt 2007: 137 and cf. *ar-yo- ‘plough’. The PIE reconstruction is disputed. The only certain cognate is Lat. habeo and the related Italic words (de Vaan 2008: 277). I do not believe that Skt. ṣabhasti- ‘hand, forearm’ is related (it would have to be from *gʰHebh-); likewise, I find it improbable that PGerm. *geban ‘give’ is from *gʰh₁ebʰ-, although this cannot be wholly excluded. Lith. gabus ‘handy’ and Lith. gabanà ‘armful of hay’ are possible cognates, but the e-grade in Lith. gebėti ‘be able’ would then have to be secondary (a new formation based on the frequent ablaut of a : e in other roots).


*galā ‘valor, ability’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. gal [ā f] ‘valor, fighting spirit, vapour’
W: MW gallu ‘be able’
BRET: OBret. gal ‘might, ability’
PIE: *gelH- ‘be able’ (IEW: 351)
COGN: Lith. galiu ‘be able’
SEE: *gal-n- ‘be able’
ETYM: The Celtic form *galā can be either the regular reflex of *gelā (by Joseph’s rule), or its root shape is analogical after the present stem of the corresponding verb, *gal-n- ‘be able’.

*galaro- ‘sickness, distress, pain’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. galar [o n]
W: MW galar [m] ‘grief, lament’
BRET: MBret. galar
CO: Co. glachar
PIE: *gʰelH-ro- ‘evil, unhealthy’ (IEW: 411)
COGN: Hitt. kallar- ‘evil, unpleasant, unhealthy, inauspicious’, perhaps also OE gealla ‘galled place on the skin’, Lith. žalà ‘damage, harm’
ETYM: There is no need for positing PIE *a in this root, as in EIEC; OIr. galar is derivable from *gela-ro- by Joseph’s rule.
REF: GPC II: 1373, EIEC 43, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 130, 320, 500.

*gal-n- ‘be able’ [Vb]
*galw-o- ‘call’ [Vb]

GOID: Mr. gall (?) ‘swan’
W: MW galw [m and f] ‘call, invitation’
BRET: OBret. galu, MBret. galo
PIE: *gelH- (IEW: 351)
COGN: Lith. galiu ‘can’, Arm. kalaw ‘found’
SEE: *gal-n- ‘be able’

ETYM: The ethnonyms Galli and Galátaí, as well as Gaul. PN like Gallus, Gallius, are probably also related to this etymon (McCone 2006 derives both Galli and Galátaí from PCelt. *galatis). The Brittonic reflexes of this etymon show the regular development of *ghln > *gall- > *gall- (where *-n- is the present-stem infix). Cf. also Fr. gaillard ‘strong, vigorous’ < Gallo-Latin *gallia ‘strength’ (Gamillscheg 461). The Centum-reflexes in Lith. and Arm. speak against McCone’s (2006) identification of the PIE root with *ghelh₃- ‘green, yellow’ (Gr. khlorōs etc.), whereby the semantic connection would lie in the color symbolism (‘yellow’ as the symbol of ‘bile, anger, battle fury’.


*gan-d-o- ‘take place’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. ro-geinn ‘takes place’
W: MW genni; gannaf [1s Pres.] ‘contain, find room in’
PIE: *gh₃ed- ‘take, seize’ (IEW: 437f.)
COGN: Lat. praehendo, Gr. khandáno, Alb. gjen ‘find’
SEE: *gendV- ‘wedge, block’

ETYM: OIr. ro-geinn < *fro-gan-d-e-ti (the simplex is unattested in Goidelic).

REF: GPC II: 1380, KPV 330, LIV 173.

*gan-yo- ‘be born’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. gainidir, gainithir, -gainedar; -genadar [Subj.]; -gignethar [Fut.]; génaire [Pret.]
W: MW geni; ganaf [1 s Pres.]
*gansi-* 'swan' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. géis [i f]
PIE: *gʰen₂ns- ‘goose’ (IEW: 412)
COGN: Skt. hamsá-, Lat. ánser, Gr. khén, OHG gans
ETYM: The PCelt. form presupposes the stem of the oblique cases of the PIE noun for ‘goose’ (PIE Nom. sg. *gʰen₂ns / Gen. sg. *gʰen₂ns-os). Skt. hamsá- seems to presuppose *gh₂ens- (from the accusative stem?).

*garano- ‘crane’ [Noun]
W: MW garan [f] ‘heron, crane’
BRET: MBret. garan
CO: Co. garan
GAUL: tri-garanos ‘with three cranes’ (RIG 2-1 165)
PIE: *gerh₂no- ‘crane’ (IEW: 383)
COGN: Gr. géranos, Eng. crane
ETYM: The vocalism is explained if we assume PIE *erh₂ > *era > PCelt. *ara by Joseph’s rule.

*gargo- ‘rough’ [Adj]
GOID: MIr. garg [o]
GAUL: Gargenus [NP]
PIE: *gargo- (?) ‘horror’ (IEW: 353)
COGN: OCS groza ‘horror’, Arm. karcr ‘hard’
ETYM: This is this presumably an onomatopoeic, or expressive word, which may explain the a-vocalism in the root. The parallels in other IE languages may be accidental similarities.
*gári-*

*gári-* ‘shout, call’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. gáir [i f, perhaps originally n]
W: MW Gawr [f and n]; Gewr, Geuri, Goriau [p]
GAUL: Garo-marus [PN]
PIE: *geh₂r- ‘shout, call’ (IEW: 352)
SEE: *gar(r)man- ‘cry, shout’, *garyo- ‘call, cry’
ETYM: These Celtic forms preserve the full grade of the PIE root; the zero-grade is preserved in *garsman- and *gari- (v.).

*garrV- ‘calf of the leg, shank’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. gairr [i m or f] ‘calf of the leg’
W: MW garr [m and n] (GPC gar) ‘leg, shank, ham, thigh’
BRET: MBret. garr ‘leg’, MoBret. gar
CO: Co. gar ‘leg’
GAUL: *garrā > OFr. gare ‘leg’
ETYM: Olr. gairr is poorly attested, and even the precise meaning is uncertain. A good IE etymology is lacking. Perhaps it is possible to derive these forms from the PIE word for ‘hand’ (PIE *gʰesr > Hitt. kissar, Gr. kheir, IEW 447). We could assume an early metathesis, PIE *gʰesr > *gers-, and the generalization of the oblique stem, *grs-, which is common in Celtic. A thematized *grso- would yield PCelt. *garro- regularly. Another possibility is to assume *gʰerso- > *gerro-, and then a secondary zero grade *grro-, which would yield PCelt. *garro- regularly. The meaning ‘(calf of the) leg’ could have developed from ‘hand, arm’ via the more general ‘limb’.
REF: GPC II: 1380, Deshayes 2003: 266.

*gar(r)man- ‘cry, shout’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. gaim [n n] ‘the act of shouting, calling’
W: MW garm [f]
BRET: MBret. garm [m]
CO: Co. garm
SEE: *gāri-, *garyo- ‘word, command’
ETYM: The short vowel is impossible if one starts from *geh₂r-smn-; however, the development from the zero-grade of the root (*gh₂r-smn-) is regular, and the zero-grade is attested in other such formations (cf. *kanxsman-, *lanxsman-). The chronology of the developments was probably *gh₂r-smn- > *garsman- > *garrman- (> *garman-).
*garwo- ‘rough, coarse’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. *garb [o]
W: MW *garw
BRET: MBret. *garu, MoBret. *garw
CO: Co. *garow

ETYM: The (probably Gaulish) PN Garvo attested in Pannonia might be related (Meid 2005: 231). Pokorny’s attribution to the root *ghers- (IEW 445f., cf. Skt. hārśate ‘is delighted’, Lat. horreo ‘to stare, fear, tremble’) is improbable for both semantic and formal reasons (PIE *gherswo- would yield PCelt. *garrwo-). It is better to relate these Celtic words to PCelt. *gargo- < PIE *ger-g-). PCelt. *garwo- would point to the zero-grade of the root, PIE *gh2r-wo-. Both PCelt. *gargo- and *garwo- are clearly expressive formations.


*gar-yo- ‘call, cry’ [Vb]

W: MW *garddu ‘groan, creak, crush, shake’
PIE: *geh₂r- ‘call’ (IEW: 352)
Cogn: Lat. garrīre, Oss. zaryn / zarun ‘sing’
SEE: *gari-, *garyo- ‘word, command’
ETYM: Gaul. adgarion [Acc. sg.] (Chamalières) might perhaps be translated as ‘accusatorem’ (Lejeune, Delamarre, Fleuriot), in which case it is a cognate of OIr. ad-gair ‘summon’ (Delamarre 32, Lambert 1994: 151). The short *a in this Celtic etymon is regular, if one starts from the zero-grade *gh₂r-yo-. The full grade of the root is preserved in *gāri- ‘call’.


*gargo- ‘word, command’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *gair
W: MW *geir [m] (GPC *gair) ‘word, speech’
BRET: MBret. *guer, MoBret. *ger [m]
SEE: *gārī- ‘shout, call’, *gar-yo- ‘call, cry’
ETYM: OIr. gair is not well attested, so we do not know its gender and stem formation. It is assumed here that the yo-stem is original in PCelt., but an i-stem would be possible as well. Zero-grade *gh₂r-yo- must be posited for PIE, because of the development *CHry > *Cary- in Celtic.


*gasso- ‘sprig’ [Noun]
SEE: *gazdo- ‘withe’
*gāwā ‘falsehood, lie’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. gāu [ā f]
W: MW geu [m] ‘lie’, ‘false’ (GPC gau)
BRET: MBret. gou ‘false, lie’, MoBret. gow
CO: Co. gow

ETYM: MW geu cannot be directly from *gāwā; rather, it may presuppose *guwo- (cf. creu < *kruwo-, an oblique stem of *krū- ‘blood’). This means that we may have had a root-noun in PCelt., with the ablaut pattern *gāw-/*guwo-. The IE etymology of these Celtic words is dubious, partly also because several PCelt. reconstructions are possible; some derive them from alleged PIE *gew- ‘bend, twist’ (Norw. kaα, see IEW 393), but comparison with Lat. haud ‘not’, Skt. gūhā ‘in secret’, gūhate ‘conceals’ seems more promising, if one starts from *gʰew- (note that *gāwā is most easily explained if the root ended in a laryngeal). Finally, the PIE root could be *gʰeh₂u- if one wants to relate Lith. at-žūlas ‘hard’, Av. zūrah- ‘unrighteousness’, OCS zub ‘bad, wicked’ (if from *gʰuh₂-lo-). All in all, as Vendryès would have said, rien de sûr.


*gayso- ‘spear’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. gae [o m]
W: MW gwaew [m and f] (GPC gwayw)
BRET: OBret. guugoioiu, MBret. goa
CO: OCo. hoch-wůyu gl. venabulum
Gaul: Ario-gaisus [PN], *gaiso- > Lat. gaesum
PIE: *gʰoyso- ‘spear’ (IEW: 410)
COGN: Skt. hēsas- ‘weapon’, OE gār ‘spear’

ETYM: Since the Celtic words for ‘spear’ imply a proto-form with *ay rather than *oy, PCelt. *gayso- may be a loanword from Germanic, cf. Delamarre 174. PIE *gʰoyso- ‘spear’ is probably derived from the root *gʰeys- ‘wound’ (Skt. hínāsti ‘wounds’, with the nasal infix in the present stem). Another possibility is to compare Skt. hēti- ‘missile’, Av. zaēna- ‘weapon’ and derive PIE *gʰoy-so- from the root *gʰey- ‘to impel’ (IEW 424).


*gaysseto- ‘mane, hair of beasts’ [Noun]

GOID: Mr. gaisid
PIE: *gʰayt-s- ‘mane, animal hair’ (IEW: 410)
COGN: Gr. khaitē, Av. gaēsu- ‘curly-haired’

ETYM: Mr. gaisid is poorly attested, so this etymology, as well as the formation of the PCelt. word, remain purely conjectural. Lat. caesariēs ‘long
*gazdo- ‘withe’ [Noun]
GOID: MR, gat [o m] ‘withe, osier’
PIE: *gʰasdʰ-/*gʰast- ‘shaft’ (IEW: 412f.)
COGN: Lat. *hasta ‘spear-shaft, lance’, Go. *gazds ‘goad’
ETYM: OIr. gazds ‘goad’

*gdesi ‘yesterday’ [Adverb]
GOID: OIr. in-đe
W: MW doe, ddoe
BRET: MBret. dech, MoBret. dec’h
CO: OCo. doy gl. heri, Co. de
PIE: *dʰg(h)es(i)_ ‘yesterday’ (IEW: 41)
COGN: Skt. hyás, Gr. khthéos, Lat. heri, OHG gesterên, Alb. dje
ETYM: The reconstructed PIE adverb *dʰg(h)es(i) is a petrified Loc. sg. of some old root-noun (? *dʰg(h)y(es)ðs) which meant ‘the preceding day’ vel. sim. There are considerable differences between the reflexes in individual IE languages (for a thorough discussion, see Isaac 2007: 75ff.). Note also the possibility that the original form was actually *gʰ-dyes-, where *gʰ- is a demonstrative particle, and *dyes- a derivative of the root *dey- ‘day’ (Lat. diēs, etc.), cf. Schindler 1977. For the development of the initial *gd- in Celtic cf. *gdon- ‘earth, place’ and *gdonyo- ‘human, person’.

*gdon- ‘earth, place’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. dú [n f] ‘place, spot’
PIE: *dʰegʰôm ‘earth’ (IEW: 414f.)
COGN: Hitt. tēkan, Skt. kṣā, kṣám-, Lat. humus, OCS zemljā, Alb. dhe, ToB kem
ETYM: The word-initial cluster *gd- may have been simplified to *d- already in PCelt. (McCone 1996: 48), cf. PCelt. *gdesi (*xdesi- ‘yesterday’) and *gdonyo- ‘human, person’.


*gdonyo- ‘human, person’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. duine [io m]; doini [p]
W: MW dyn [m and f]
BRET: OBret. don, den, MBret. den
CO: OCo. den gl. homo
GAUL: -xtonio (Vercelli)
PIE: *dʰgʰom-yo- ‘human, earthling’ (IEW: 414)
COGN: Lat. homo, Go. guma
SEE: *gdon- ‘earth’

ETYM: The Gaulish form -xtonio (in the compound form teuoxtonio) should be read -gdonio (the alphabet of Vercelli does not distinguish between voiced and voiceless stops, cf. Delamarre 176). OIr. Nom. pl. doini is from a suppletive stem (attested also as Nom. sg. doin, doén in poetry).


*gelo- ‘yellow, white’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. gel [o] ‘white, fair, shining’
W: MW gell ‘yellow’
BRET: MBret. gell ‘brown’
PIE: *gʰelh₃- ‘yellow, green’ (IEW: 429f.)

ETYM: Since PCelt. *lw should be reflected as OIr. lb (cf. delb < *delwā ‘form, appearance’), it is difficult to reconstruct *gelwo- to agree with Lat. heluus and OE geolu < *gʰelh₃(i)wo-. PCelt. *gelawo- < *gʰelh₃wo- is excluded since we would expect this to develop to *galawo- by Joseph’s rule, so PCelt. *gelo- can reflect a simple thematic *gʰelh₃o-. Another possibility is to assume that *w was lost before *o, but retained before *ā in *delwā, in which case *gelwo- > MW gell would be regular (with ll < *lw).

REF: EIEC 654, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 46.

*gelu- ‘leech’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. gil
W: MW gel [f and m] (GPC gelau, gele, gēl]
BRET: MBret. gélaouen
CO: OCo. ghel gl. sanguissuga
PIE: *ġelu- ‘leech’ (IEW: 365)
COGN: Skt. jalākā-, jalāyukā- ‘leech’
ETYM: A very doubtful etymology, amounting to a mere possibility. The Irish word is rather poorly attested, mostly in glossaries, and Skt. jalūkā-, jalāyukā-, besides also being attested late, is connected by Mayrhofer to jarāyu- ‘old snake skin’ (Mayrhofer, s. v. jarāyu-), which is in turn derived from the root JAR ‘get old’ (Skt. jārati, etc.).
REF: GPC II: 1389, EIEC 349.

*gem-en-o-*  
*gemelo-* ‘chain, shackle’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. gemel [o and ā, m and f]  
W: MW gefyn [m]  
PIE: *gem- ‘hold’  
COGN: Gr. (Hom.) génto ‘he took’, Latv. gūmī ‘seize’, Russ. žat’, žmū [1 s Pres.] ‘squeeze’
ETYM: The PCelt. word cannot be reconstructed precisely, since the suffixes in Goidelic and Brittonic do not agree. It is also unclear whether (and how) MIr. gēbend [m and f] ‘fetter, bond’ is related to these words (a borrowing from Brittonic?). Cf. also OIr. gemen, geimen ‘hide, skin’, which corresponds to MW gefyn, but is semantically quite distant. The PIE etymology is purely conjectural, since the meanings do not agree well.
REF: GPC II: 1386.

*genan-* ‘birth’ [Noun]
SEE: *gan-yo- ‘be born’, *genos- ‘family’

*gendV-* ‘wedge, block, lump’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. geind (DIL genn) [d f] ‘wedge, block’
W: W gaing ‘chisel, wedge’
BRET: OBret. genn, MBret. guenn, MoBret. genn
CO: Co. gen
PIE: *ghed- ‘take, seize’ (IEW: 473f.)
COGN: Lat. prae-hendo, Gr. khandánō
SEE: *gan-d-o- ‘take place’
ETYM: Since the OIr. word is a consonant stem, it is difficult to reconstruct the PCelt. inflection class. Perhaps this word was an i-stem in PCelt. (*gendi-), which later became a d-stem in Goidelic.
REF: GPC II: 1371, Deshayes 2003: 270

*genetā* ‘girl’ [Noun]
W: W geneth [f]
GAUL: geneta, genata, gnata
PIE: *genh1- ‘bear, engender, generate’ (IEW: 373ff.)
COGN: Lat. -genitus in primo-genitus ‘first born’
SEE: *genos- ‘family’
ETYM: W geneth points to a geminate *genettā; this PCelt. noun is derived with the suffix *-eto- (cf. Osc. genetai ‘daughter’ [Dat. sg.]. OIr. ingen [ā f]
'daughter' < *eni-genā (Ogam INIGENA) is another formation from the same root, cf. also Gaul. (Larzac) andognam 'born inside (the family)' and PN Andegenus. Olr. PN Sogen (Ogam Gen. SOGINI) is presumably from *su-γen̂h₁₀- 'well-born' (Skt. sujana-).

REF: GPC II: 1393, LIV 163, Delamarre 177, Uhlich 2002: 422.

*genos- 'family, gens' [Noun]

GOID: Olr. Æo-gan [PN], Ogam INI-GENA 'daughter'

W: OW Mor-gen [PN]

BRET: OBret. gen gl. ethnicus, MoBret. genel 'generate'

GAUL: Ad-genus, Cintu-genus [PN]

PIE: *γen̂h₁-os 'family, clan, descendants' (IEW: 373ff.)

COGN: Skt. jánas-, Gr. γénos, Lat. genus

SEE: *γan-γo- 'be born'


*genu- 'jaw' [Noun]

GOID: Olr. gin [um] 'mouth'

W: MW gen [f] 'cheek' (GPC gen)

BRET: OBret. gen gl. maxilla, MBret. guen, MoBret. gen [f] 'cheek'

CO: OCo. genau

PIE: *γen̂u- 'jaw' (IEW: 381)

COGN: Skt. hámu-, Gr. génys, Lat. gena 'cheek', OE cinn, ToA ñanwem [Dual] 'jaws'

ETYM: The Gaulish name of Genève, Genaua, is usually derived from the same etymon. The original meaning would have been 'mouth (of a river)', from the old dual.


*gessi 'taboo, prohibition' [Noun]

GOID: Mlr. geis [ʔi f]

PIE: *gʰed- 'seize, take' (IEW: 437f.)

COGN: Lat. prae-hendo, Gr. khandánō

SEE: *gan-d-o- 'take place'

ETYM: The Mlr. word can be derived regularly from *gʰed-ti-h₂, but the semantic development ('taking' > 'prohibition, taboo') is somewhat difficult, see Hamp 1981. Moreover, it is by no means certain that the original formation was an ĭ-stem. If an ā-stem is original in Irish, we might reconstruct PCelt. *gissā (> Olr. *gess by lowering), and derive this word from PIE *gʰidʰ-teh₂ 'what is desired' (cf. PIE *gʰeydʰ- > Lith. geidžiū 'desire', OCS žbdati 'wait', IEW 426). The same root is probably attested in PCelt. *gēstlo- 'surety, pledge, hostage'.

REF: Hamp 1981.
*gēstlo- ‘surety, pledge, hostage’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. giall [o m] ‘hostage’

W: MW gwystyl, gwystl [m and f] ‘pledge, surety, hostage’
BRET: OBret. guistl gl. obses, MBret. goestl, MoBret. gouestl [m]
CO: OCo. guistel gl. obses
GAUL: Con-geistlus [PN]
PIE: *gʰeydh- ‘desire, wait for’ (IEW: 426)

CGON: Lith. geidžiu ‘desire’, OCS ždati ‘wait’

ETYM: W gwystl and other Brittonic words probably have an epenthetic -t-(before *t), cf. Schrijver 1995: 404f. OIr. gisl ‘hostage’, Germ. Geisel, etc. are old loanwords from Celtic. The IE etymology of these Celtic words is somewhat weak on the semantic side. Could ‘hostage’ be interpreted as ‘one who is waiting (to be released)?’


*gexdo/A- ‘goose’ [Noun]

GOID: Mlr. géd [o m]

W: MW guit (GPC gwydd) [f]
BRET: MBret. gwaz [f]
CO: OCo. guit gl. auca, Co. goth

ETYM: Presumably an onomatopoetic word, there is probably no connection to PIE *gʰehz-ns ‘goose’ (cf. PCelt. *gansi- ‘swan’).


*glaxsmA ‘cry, shout’ [Noun]

GOID: Mlr. glám [ā f] ‘outcry, clamour, satire’

PIE: *gla- ‘cry, shout’ (IEW: 350f.)

CGON: Skt. garh-, OHG klag, Germ. klagen

ETYM: The comparison with OHG klaga allows the reconstruction of the PIE root as above; a different vocalization (Schwebeablaut?) must be assumed for Sanskrit. This is quite clearly an onomatopoetic root, so the correspondences in Germ. and Skt. could be accidental.

REF: Mayrhofer I: 475f.

*glan-n-d-o- ‘show’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. as-gleinn ‘examines’

PIE: *ghlendh- ‘show, shine’ (IEW: 431)

CGON: Russ. gjadět ‘watch’, Latv. dial. gledni [Ipv.] ‘search!’; perhaps Alb. gjas ‘I am similar’

ETYM: OIr. as-gleinn < *eks-gland-o- (the simplex is unattested). OBret. golent gl. prex (MBret. goulen) might be from *ufo-glendā, a derivative from the same root, cf. OIr. fo-gliunn gl. disco.

REF: KPV 334ff., LIV 200, DGVB 178.
*glano- 'clean, clear' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. glan [o], Ogam GLANNANI
W: MW glan (GPC glân)
BRET: OBret. glan, MBret. glan
CO: Co. glan
GAUL: Glanis [Hydronym], (Matrebo) Glaneikabo [Theonym]
ETYM: Pokorny's derivation of these words from the root for 'green, yellow' (*g^h^l^h^3-, IEW 429, cf. *gel(w)o-) is formally difficult (?! *g^h^l^h^3^h^n^o-> *glânó-, then *glano- by Dybo's law) and semantically not quite convincing (?! 'yellow' > 'bright' > 'clear, clean').

*glasto- 'green, blue' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. glas [o]
W: OW glas, MW glas
BRET: MBret. glas
CO: OCo. glesin gl. sandix
GAUL: glastum 'Isatis tinctoria' (Pliny)
ETYM: For the apparent preservation of *-st- in Gaul., cf. Schrijver 1995: 402. In principle, these forms could represent PIE *g^h^l^h^3-stō- > *glästo- > *glasto- (by Dybo's shortening). The PIE root would have been *g^h^l^h^3- 'yellow, green' (IEW 429ff.), as in *gel(w)o-. Cf. also MHG glasta 'shine', which may reflect a prehistoric borrowing from Celtic (if it is related at all).

*glendos- 'valley, shore' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. glend [s n] (DIL glenn)
W: MW glyn (GPC glyn) [m] 'glen, valley'
BRET: MBret. glann 'shore'
CO: Co. glan
PIE: *glend- 'shore' (?)
COGN: MLG klint, 'shore' ON klettr 'rock'
ETYM: Clearly limited to Celtic and Germanic, this word could have been borrowed from some non-IE language of NW Europe.

*gli-na- 'glue' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. glenaid, -glen; glieid, -glia [Subj.]; giulaid, -giulai [Fut.]; giuil [Pret.]
W: MW glynu
BRET: MBret. englenaff 'stick'
CO: Co. glena
**PIE:** *gleyH- (IEW: 362)
**Cogn.:** OHG *klenan* ‘smear’, Lith. dial. *glejü* ‘smear’
**Etym.:** MBret. *englenaff* < *en-gli-na-* (the simplex verb is unattested in Breton).
**Ref.:** GPC II: 1414, KPV 337ff., LIV 190, LP 369, LEIA D-148.

*glomro-* ‘bridle-bit, muzzle’ [Noun]
**Gold.:** Mlr. *glomar* [o m]
**PIE:** *glem- ‘ball-shaped mass (?) (IEW: 359f.)
**Cogn.:** OHG *klamma* ‘trap, gorge’, OE *clam(m)* ‘tie, fetters’, perhaps Lat. *glomus* ‘ball-shaped mass’
**Etym.:** This is a dubious etymology chiefly because there is a considerable difference in meaning between OIr. *glomar* and its putative cognates in Lat. and Germanic. The meaning ‘bridle-bit’ could have developed from ‘gag’ and this, in turn, from ‘ball-shaped mass’ (cf. Lat. *glomus*).
**Ref.:** de Vaan 2008: 265.

*glowo-* ‘charcoal’
**W:** MW *glo* [m]
**Bret.:** MBret. *glou, glaou*, MoBret. *glow* [Collective]
**Co.:** Co. *glow*
**PIE:** *g³leW- ‘burning’ (IEW: 433)
**Cogn.:** OE *glówan* ‘glow’, MHG *glau* ‘clever, intelligent’
**Etym.:** The relationship (if there is any) of these Brittonic words to Mlr. *gual* ‘coal’ is unclear.

*gloydo-* ‘glue, lime’ [Noun]
**Gold.:** Mlr. *glóed* (DIL *gláed*)
**W:** MW *glud* [m]
**Bret.:** MBret. *glut*, MoBret. *glud*
**Co.:** OCo. *glut* gl. *gluten*, MoCo. *glüs*
**See.:** *gli-na-* ‘glue’
**Etym.:** The gender and stem-formation of Mlr. *gláed* are uncertain. It is possible that the Brit. words were actually borrowed from Lat. *gluten* (Haarmann 1970: 122). Cf. also Fr. *glaise* ‘clay’ which may be from Gaul.
**gléssaa < *gleyd-tā* (Gamillscheg 480).

*gloywo-, *gléwi-* ‘liquid, clear’ [Adj]
**Gold.:** OIr. *glé* ‘clear, evident’
**W:** OW *gloiu* [m] gl. *liquidum*, MW *gloyw*, *gloew*
**Bret.:** OBret. *gloeu*
**PIE:** *g³leyh₂- ‘shine’ (IEW: 432)
**Cogn.:** Gr. *khliánō* ‘warm’, ON *gljā* ‘sparkle’, MHG *glīmen* ‘to shine’
ETYM: OIr. *glé (rather than **glóe) points to PCelt. *gléwi- (rather than *gloywo-), but British forms are more easily derived from *gloywo-. W gledd 'face of the earth, turf' could go back to PCelt. *gliyā, but the semantic connection is weak. The same can be said for the IE cognates of this PCelt. etymon; another possibility would be to take 'liquid' as the original meaning and compare Gr. gloryós 'glutinous substance', Russ. dial. glëv 'slime, mould' < PIE *glostwo- (Derksen 2008: 163).

REF: GPC II: 1411, LHEB 325f., Falileyev 62.

*glūnos- 'knee' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. glün [s n]
W: MW pen-lín, pen-glin [m and f]
BRET: MBret. penn-glin
CO: OCo. penclin gl. genu
PIE: *gonu- 'knee' (IEW: 380f.)
COGN: Skt. jānu-, Gr. gony, Lat. genu
ETYM: The transformation of PIE *gonu- into PCelt. *gnunos > OIr. glün is difficult to understand, but the etymology is beyond doubt. Long *u might reflect the old dual ending in *-uh₁, and the cluster *gl- arose from *gn- in the zero-grade of the PIE root (the same change occurred, independently, in Albanian, cf. Alb. giu ‘knee’ < *glun-). The first element of the compound attested in the Brit. languages is the word for 'head' (*kwenno-). Probably *kʷenno-gnunos referred originally to knee-caps only (cf. the parallelism with the Eng. compound knee-cap).


*gnāsto- 'custom, usage' [Noun]
SEE: *gnāto- 'known, usual'

*gnāto- 'known, usual' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. gnáth [o]
W: MW gnawt (GPC gnawd)
BRET: OBret. gnot 'usual'
PIE: *gēnh₃- 'know' (IEW: 373ff.)
COGN: Gr. gignōsko, Lat. co-gnōsco, OCS znati, Lith. žinōti
ETYM: Certain Gaulish compounds with -gnatos can be understood both as 'known' < *gēnh₃tos and as 'born' < *gēnh₃tos, see Delamarre 181f. Next to adjectives in *-to- we also find nouns in *-sto- from this root (a productive pattern in Celtic, see Greene 1965): OIr. gnás [á f] 'custom, usage, intercourse', W gnaws (GPC naws) < PCelt. *gnāsto- < *gēnh₃sto- (cf. Go. kund vs. kunst).

*gnīmu-  'work, action'
GOID: OIr. gnim [u m]
W: OW guor-gnim 'great toil, exertion'
BRET: OBret. im-guo-gnim
SEE: *gn-īyo-  'beget, create'
ETYM: OIr. gnim serves as the verbal noun to gniid (see *gni-yo-). PCelt.
*gnīmu- can be from PIE *gneh₁-mo-, with the (secondary) full grade of the
root 'to beget' (*gneh₁-), or, perhaps, from *gneye-mu- (see *gn-īyo-).
REF: Falileyev 73.

*gni-na-  'recognize' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. ad-gnin; -gēna [Fut.]; ad-gēn-sa [3s Pret. relative]
W: MW atnabot; atwaen [3s Pres.] (GPC adwaen)
CO: Co. aswonvos; aswon [3s Pres.]
PIE: *gēnḥ₃- 'know' (IEW: 373ff.)
SEE: *gn-īyo-  'beget, create'
ETYM: OIr. ad-gnin < *ati-gni-na-, MW atwaen < *ati-ufo-gni-, Co.
asonvos; aswon [3s Pres.] < *ati-ufo-gni-. Gaul. gniou (Chateaubleau) is
probably 1 sg. Pres. of the verb 'to know, recognize'. In principle, it can be
derived from PCelt. *gniyyū < PIE *gēnḥ₃-yo- (by Eichner's law, which is not
universally accepted). But it could also be related to PCelt. *gn-īyo-  'beget,
makes'.
REF: GPC I: 28, Delamarre 182.

*gn-īyo-  'beget, create, do' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. gniid, -gni 'do'; gneith, -gné [Subj.]; génaid, -gēna [Fut.];
génais [Pret.]
PIE: *gēnḥ₁- 'beget' (IEW: 373-375)
COGN: Lat. gigno, Skt. jānati 'begets'
ETYM: OIr. -gni is somewhat problematic, because of its long i. If it is
derived directly from *gni­yeti, then we have to explain why we have short i,
e.g., in biid 'is wont to be' < *biyetti. We know that *treyes '3' yields OIr.
tri (at least when used substantively; as an attribute, it is proclitic, hence
shortened to tri). Therefore, (do-­)gni can be from *gni­yeti (with the early
loss of laryngeal, originally before *y, or from an anit-form of the root, as in
Lat. gens). On the other hand, disyllabic biid 'is wont to be' can be from
*biyetti < *bhuyetti, or from *bh₃w-yetti (cf. Lat. fio). The same form is
attested in Gaul. biyete (Inscription from Limé) < *bh₃uHyetye or *bh₃wyyet. It
appears that PCelt. *i remains syllabic before glides followed by a vowel, cf.
PCelt. *biwato- > OIr. biad 'food' (disyllabic). In any case, OIr. biid must be
from PCelt. *b(w)yetti, while -gni can be from *gni­yeti. This can be the old
causative formation (with the suffix *-eye-) built from the zero grade of the
root. The meaning of OIr. -gni 'do, make' is actually fully compatible with
the originally causative formation of this verb, but why was the root in the
zero-grade, rather than in the expected o-grade? On the other hand, it is also
possible to derive -gni from PCelt. *gniyeti < PIE *gneh1yeti (thus McCone 1991: 33) because we know that PCelt. *snıyeti (< PIE *sneh1yeti) yields OIr. sniid, -sni 'spin, weave'. However, I find this explanation inherently improbable because the alleged proto-form *gneh1yeti lacks any parallels in Celtic or elsewhere. More similar is the present stem of *to-sl-iyo-'earn' < *slh1-yo- from the root *selh1- (see the discussion s. v. *to-sl-iyo-).


*goban- 'smith' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. gobae [n m]
W: MW gob [m]
BRET: MBret. gof(f), MoBret. gov
CO: OCo. gof gl. faber
GAUL: Gobano [PN], Cobanno [Theonym, Dat.] gobedbi [Dat p] (Alise)
ETYM: Cf. also OBret. gobail gl. officina = MW geueil, Co. gofall. Gaul. gobedbi may represent a further derivative, PCelt. *gob-et- (for the type of formation cf. *kenget- 'warrior'). The IE etymology is unknown. A comparison with Lat. faber 'craftsman, artisan' has been proposed long ago (Mac Bain 1911: 200, revived by Błažek 2006). It is possible if one starts from PIE *gʰwobʰ- or *gʰwobʰ- (with *o > a after labials in Latin, as in mare 'sea' < *mori), but faber is usually connected with Arm. darbin 'smith' < *dʰHbʰ-ro-.


*gobbo- 'muzzle, snout, beak' [Noun]
GOID: Mr. gop [o m]
GAUL: *gobbo- > OFr. gobel, gobet 'bit', Fr. gober 'swallow'
PIE: *goph₁₂o- 'eat, masticate (of animals)' (IEW: 382)
COGN: OE ceafl 'jaw, jowl', Russ. zobat' 'masticate'
ETYM: The geminate *-bb- in Celtic is typical of expressive words. The PIE reconstruction proposed here avoids positing PIE *b (there were no roots with two voiced stops in PIE). However, without the doubtful Germanic cognates, the Celtic and Slavic words could well go back to PIE *gʰobʰ-.


*gorto- 'fence, enclosure, pen' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. gort [o m, perhaps originally n] 'field'
W: W garth [m] 'field, pen'
BRET: OBret. -(o)rth 'pen', MBret. garz, MoBret. garzh [f]
GAUL: *gortiā > Gorze [Toponym], Fr. dial. (Limousin) gorso 'fence'
PIE: *gʰördʰ-s, Gen. *gʰrdʰ-os 'enclosure, garden, pen' (IEW: 444)

ETYM: In MW garth also means ‘mountain ridge, hill, woodland’, but GPC treats this as a different word. The development of *o > a in Brittonic is as in MW gwallt ‘hair’ < *gwollt (PCelt. *wolto-). Celtib. korta, kortika are sometimes related to this etymon, but with little justification (the meaning of these words is unknown). For the compound *lubi-gorto- ‘herb garden’ cf. PCelt. *lubí- ‘herb, plant’. On the IE side of this etymology, the voiceless stop seen in Celtic, Greek and Latin is best explained if one assumes that *-dʰ’s (in the Nominative) was assimilated to *-ts, from which *-t- was then extrapolated to other case-forms (with generalized o-grade from the Accusative (*gʰordʰ-m), see Matasović 2004: 99, 137. It should be noted, however, that the lengthened grade of the original root noun is not preserved anywhere. For a possibly similar development, cf. PCelt. *druko- ‘bad’.


*gowlo- ‘charcoal’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. guál [o m and ā f]
PIE: *ǵwel(H)- ‘burn, glow’ (IEW: 399)
SEE: *glowo- ‘charcoal’

ETYM: The PCelt. reconstruction of this etymon is uncertain, and it is difficult to reconcile it with PIE *ǵwelH-. The Germanic forms point to the zero-grade *gulo- > PGerm. *kulan (Orel 2003: 223). One would have to assume ‘Schwebeablauch’, which is improbable. Skt. jválá- is from the root the primary meaning of which is ‘burn’, cf. jvalati ‘burns’ (Mayrhofer, s. v. jval-), and the connection with ‘coal’ is not obvious. Starting from PCelt. *gwol- would imply that the reflexes of PIE *gʷ and *gw were distinct in PCelt., which can hardly have been the case (*gʷolo- as well as *gwolo- would give PCelt. **bolo-). Maybe we should simply assume that PCelt. *glow-lo- was dissimilated to *gowlo- in Goidelic, cf. W glo, MBret. glow ‘coal’ from < PCelt. *glowo-. Skt. jválá- and the Germanic words for ‘coal’ would then be from a different root.


*gowryā ‘animal hair’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. guaire ‘(animal hair), bristles’
PIE: *gowr (Gen. *gun-os) ‘animal hair’ (IEW: 357)
COGN: Av. gaona- ‘hair’, Lith. gaurai ‘body hair’, Norw. kaure ‘frizzy strand of wool’
ETYM: The stem formation and gender of Mlr. gúaire are unclear, as this word is attested mostly in glossaries. Russ. gúinja 'cloak' and the related Slavic words are probably loanwords from Iranian.

*gozdi- ‘theft’ [Noun]
SEE: *gazdo- ‘withe’

*gragni- ‘awful’ [Adj]
GOID: Mlr. gráin [f] ‘awfulness, horror’
W: MW graen ‘dire, awful, sad’
ETYM: An expressive word that has been connected to similar words in other IE languages, e.g. OCS groza ‘horror’, Gr. gorgós ‘grim, fierce’ (IEW 353). Cf. also PCelt. *gargo- ‘horror’.
REF: GPC II: 1521.

*grando-, *grendo- ‘beard’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. grend [?]a f
W: MW grann [m] ‘chin, beard, cheek’ (GPC gran)
BRET: MBret. grann ‘eyebrow’
GAUL: *grenno- ‘moustache, beard’ > Pr. gren ‘moustache’
PIE: *gʰren- ‘moustache’ (IEW: 440)
COGN: OE granu, OHG grana
ETYM: The semantic development of MBret. grann ‘eyebrow’ is unclear (? ‘beard’ > ‘any hair on the face’ > ‘eyebrow’). The attested forms point to two different ablaut grades in PCelt. Should we reconstruct an ablauting paradigm *grends / *grand-os? The name of the Gaulish equivalent of Apollo, Grannos, is sometimes related to this set of forms, but he is actually never portrayed with a beard (see Delamarre 183). If the etymology is correct, the Celtic words are derived from the PIE root *gʰren- / *gʰrn- with a dental suffix (? *-dh-). The related Germanic words can be from PIE *gʰrono-, with the o-grade. Alb. krënd ‘bushwood’, Croat. grána ‘branch’ and the related Slavic words are probably not derived from this root.
REF: GPC II: 1524, Delamarre 183.

*gráno- ‘grain’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. grán [o n]
W: MW grawn [p], gronyn [Singulative m]
BRET: MBret. greun [m]
CO: OCo. gronen gl. granum
PIE: *gṛhno- ‘grain’ (IEW: 390f.)
COGN: Lat. grànum, OHG korn, Lith. žìrnis ‘pea’
ETYM: If the PIE word for ‘grain’ is derived from the root *gérh₂- ‘ripen, age’ (IEW 390, EIEC 236, cf. Skt. járati ‘gets old’, Gr. gérōn ‘old man’, etc.), then the correct reconstruction is *gṛh₂no-. In any case, the meaning
‘grain’ is found only in the European branches of IE, so it is probably a semantic innovation.


*grāwā ‘gravel, pebbles’ [Noun]
W: MW gro ‘coarse mixture of pebbles and sand deposited in a river-bed’ [Collective]
BRET: MoBret. groa, gro [f] ‘sand’
CO: Co. grow ‘sand’
GAUL: *growā > OFr. groe ‘pebble’
PIE: *gʰre₂h₁w- ‘grind’ (IEW: 460f.)
COGN: Lith. grūsti ‘grind (barley), grūdodas ‘frost, frozen street dirt’, Croat. grūda ‘lump’, ON grautr ‘porridge’
SEE: *griyano- ‘gravel’
ETYM: PCelt. *grāwā is regularly derived from PIE *gʰroh₁weh₂. The same root is presumably attested in PCelt. *griyano- ‘gravel’. Balto-Slavic and Germanic show the same root with the dental suffix (*gʰroh₁w-do-, *gʰruh₁do-).
REF: GPC II: 1533, Deshayes 2003: 293.

*gregi- ‘herd’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. graig [i n] ‘horses (collective)’
W: MW gre [f]
BRET: MBret. gre [f]
CO: Co. gre
PIE: *greg- ‘herd’ (IEW: 382f.)
COGN: Lat. grex, Gr. gárgara ‘crowd’
ETYM: Cf. also Olr. grafiand [ɑ f, perhaps originally o n] ‘horse-race’ < *grego-swendnā. The PIE root is presumably *ger- (or *h₂ger-) ‘gather’. W gre ‘herd, stud’ [m], MoBret. gre and Co. gre are usually considered to be loanwords from Lat. grex, but it is also possible that they are inherited.

*gremmen- ‘seizure, grasp’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. greimm [n n later m] ‘seizure, hold, grasp, profit, advantage, sway’
PIE: *gʰreb(h₂)- ‘seize, grasp’ (IEW: 455)
ETYM: PCelt. *gremmen- presupposes PIE *greb(h₂)-(s)men-. For the sound development cf. *braxsman- ‘fart’. The reconstruction of *h₂ in this root is not certain, and an alternative possibility is to reconstruct PIE
*ghrebʰ-, but then the Balto-Slavic words must have the vowel length as a result of Balto-Slavic vrddhi, rather than of Winter’s law.
REF: LIV 179.

*gri-n-d-o- ‘follow, drive’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. do-greinn
W: MW grynnyaw ‘push, press, thrust’; gryn [3s Pres.] (GPC grynio, grynmu)
PIE: *gʰreydh- (IEW: 456f.)
COGN: Go. grid ‘step’, OCS gręsti ‘tread, step, go’
ETYM: OIr. do-greinn is from *to-grend-o-. The simplex is unattested in Goidelic.
REF: GPC II: 1541, KPV 353ff., LIV 203.

*griyano- ‘gravel’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. grişn [o m or n] ‘sand, gravel’
W: MW graean [Collective] ‘gravel, coarse sand’
BRET: MoBret. groan, grouan [Collective] ‘gravel’
PIE: *gʰreydʰ- (IEW: 456f.)
COGN: MHG grien ‘sandy river-bank’, ON grjót ‘sand, gravel’
SEE: *grāwā ‘gravel, pebbles’
ETYM: This word is probably from the same root as its near-synonym, PCelt. *grāwā ‘gravel, pebbles’, but its development is not quite clear. Starting from PIE *gʰreydʰwy- we might derive PCelt. *grīyyo-, *griyo-, hence *griy-an-o- with a different suffix. However, this derivation is not quite satisfactory.
REF: GPC II: 1521, Deshayes 2003: 293.

*growdos- ‘cheek’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. grūad [s n, later m and f]
W: OW grudou [p], MW grudd [f and m]
CO: OCo. grud gl. maxilla
PIE: *gʰrowdh- (IEW: 462)
COGN: OE grēada ‘breast’
ETYM: The evidence that grūad was an s-stem is not absolutely certain, so the PCelt. reconstruction is purely conjectural. On the IE side, one may also want to connect the Slavic words from ‘breast’ (Russ. grud’, OPoi. grędzi), which may be from nasalized *gʰru-n-d-. The semantic side of this etymology is rather weak (*gʰrowdo- would presumably have denoted ‘round body parts’).

*gulbʰV-, *gulbino- ‘beak’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. gulba [n f] ‘beak, jaw’, gulban [o m] ‘beak, sting’
W: OW gilbin [m and f] ‘point’, MW gylfin ‘beak’
*gurmo- ‘dun, dark’ [Adj]

GOID: Mr. gorm [o] ‘blue’

W: MW gwrm (GPC gwrm, gwrwm)

BRET: OBret. Uurm-haelon [PN] ‘with brown brows’

ETYM: There do not seem to be any cognates in other IE languages, so this adjective was probably borrowed from some non-IE source.


*gus-o- ‘choose’ [Vb]

GOID: Olr. do-goa; do-gega [3s Fut. relative]; do-roigu [3s Pret. relative]

PIE: *gews- ‘choose, taste’ (IEW: 399f.)

COGN: Skt. ju~- ‘enjoy’, Gr. geiомαι, Go. kiusan, Alb. desha ‘loved’

SEE: *gustu- ‘excellence, force’

ETYM: Olr. do-goa < *to-gus-o-; the simplex is unattested.

REF: KPV 356ff., LEIA D-149, EIEC 566.

*gustu- ‘excellence, force’ [Noun]

GOID: Olr. guss [u m], Ogam CUNA-GUSSOS

W: OW Gur-gust [PN], W gwst [f and m]; gystion [p] ‘pain, endurance, patience, difficulty’

GAUL: gussou [Dat. s] ‘? force’ (Lezoux)

PIE: *gus-tu- ‘choose, taste’ (IEW: 399f.)

COGN: Lat. gustus ‘tasting’, OE cost ‘choice, excellence’

SEE: *gus-o- ‘choose’

ETYM: For the apparent preservation of *st in British, see Schrijver 1995: 412. The semantic development was from ‘choice’ to ‘excellence’ and ‘force’, cf. *gus-o- ‘choose’.


*gutu- ‘voice’ [Noun]

GOID: Olr. guth [u m]
GAUL: *guthu-ater ‘name of a priest’, perhaps ‘father of invocations’ (CIL XIII 1577)
PIE: *gʰewH- ‘call, invoke’ (IEW: 413)
ETYM: The short vowel of OIr. guth, if it is to be derived from *gʰuH-tu-, should be attributed to shortening in pretonic position (Dybo’s law), cf. Kortlandt 1981. The appurtenance of the Germanic words for ‘god’ to this root is disputed (they are often connected with Skt. juhoti, Gr. khēo ‘pour (a libation)’, etc.).
REF: EIEC 89, Delamarre 184f., Kortlandt 1981.

*gyemo- ‘winter’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. gam, gem (DIL gaim), Ogam GAMI-CUNAS
W: OW gaem, MW gayaf, gaeaf [m]
BRET: O Bret. guoiam, MBret. gouaff, MoBret. gouañ [m]
CO: OCo. goyf [gl. hyemps
GAUL: Giamoni[-] ‘name of the 7th month’ (Coligny), Giamos [PN]
PIE: *gʰyem- ‘winter’ (IEW: 425f.)
COGN: Gr. kheimōn, Lat. hiems, OCS zima, Arm. jiwn ‘snow’, Alb. dimër
ETYM: The reconstruction of PCelt. *gyemo- is based on the assumption (Schrijver) that *gye- > *gya- in British and Gaulish. However, cf. Fr. givre, Pr. gibre, giure, Cat. gebre ‘hoarfrost’, which may be from Gaul. *gewro- < *gem(e)ro- (Gamillscheg 480).

*gyo- ‘sinew’ [Noun]
CO: OCo. goiven gl. nervus, Co. gyew
PIE: *gʷyo- ‘sinew’ (IEW: 469)
COGN: Skt. jyā, Gr. biōs ‘bowstring’
ETYM: The word-initial *g- (instead of **b) presupposes an early delabialization of *gʷ before *y in Celtic, see McCon 1996: 42.
REF: GPC II: 1397, McCon 1996: 42.

*i- ‘go’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. etha [Part. Pass.]
PIE: *h₁ey- ‘go’ (IEW: 295)
COGN: Skt. ēti ‘goes’, Lat. eo, ēre, OCS iti
ETYM: OIr. etha presupposes *ityo- and serves as the suppletive passive participle to OIr. téit ‘go’. Hence the derived verb ethaid ‘goes’. IEW (295) compares also ethar [o m] ‘ferry-boat’, which is possible (PCelt. *i-tro- ?, with the same suffix as *aratro- ‘plough’).

*i- ‘it’ [Demonstrative Pronoun]
SEE: *ē-

*i-n-d-o- ‘light up’ [Vb]
W: MW ennynnu (GPC ennyn)
PIE: *h₂eydʰ- ‘burn’ (IEW: 11f.)
COGN: Skt. ędhate ‘shines’, inddhé ‘lights up’, Gr. aiθhō ‘burn’
ETYM: MW ennynnu < *ande-indo- (the simplex verb is unattested). The present stem of this verb in Celtic is formed with the nasal infix and the zero-grade of the root (PIE *h₂i-n-dʰ-).

*ikkā, *yekkā ‘cure, treatment, salvation’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. icc [a f]
W: MW iach ‘healthy’
BRET: OBret. iac gl. suspite, MBret. yach, MoBret. yac’h ‘healthy’
CO: OCo. iach gl. sanus, MCo. yagh
GAUL: iaccus [PN]
ETYM: Maybe the vocalism of OIr. icc can be explained if one starts with a reduplicated *yiyekkā. Since this OIr. word is actually the verbal noun of the verb iccaid ‘heal’, one might assume an original reduplicated present *yi-yekko- from which *yeykkā was abstracted (for *yek- > *yak- cf. OIr. aig, W ia ‘ice’ < *yegi-, cf. also W ias ‘boiling’ < *yestu-). These Celtic words are usually connected to Gr. ákos ‘cure, medicine’, but the phonetic development assumed by this etymology is difficult. Perhaps ákos is from a psilotic dialect (cf. Myc. aketirijai /akestrai/, but also jaketere ‘healers’ (?). If this is the case, it could be derived from Pre-Greek *yakos < PIE *yékko-, but this would be difficult to square with PCelt. *yekko-.

*ikʷori- ‘roe, spawn’ [Noun]
GOID: MrIr. iuchair [Collective]
PIE: *yēkʷr ‘liver’ (IEW: 504)
COGN: Skt. vākṛt, Gr. ἥπαρ, Lat. iecur, Lith. dial. jėknos, Arm. leard
ETYM: In Early MrIr. iuchair is inflected as a dental stem, but it appears that it was originally an i-stem. The semantic development from ‘liver’ to
'roe' has its exact parallel in Slavic (cf. Russ. *ikrá ‘roe, caviar’). In both Slavic and Celtic the original static ablaut pattern (*yěkʷr / *yekʷn-s) was replaced by a dynamic one (*yekʷr / *ɪkʷn-os). Celtic seems to have generalized the zero-grade of the oblique cases and the suffix *-or- from the Nom./Acc. sg.


*imbeto- ‘great quantity’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *imbed [o n] ‘large quantity, abundance of wealth’
W: OW *immet
GAUL: *Imbetius, *Imbetus [PN]
ETYM: According to Falileyev (91), the reading and meaning of OW *immet are not certain. The IE etymology is unknown; the word seems to be formed with the suffix *-et-o- (cf., e.g., *kenet- ‘warrior’), but what is the root? A connection might exist with Lat. pinguis ‘fat, greasy’, which may go back to PIE *pengʷu-/*pngʷo-, but in that case the etymology relating pinguis and Skt. pivan- ‘fat, swollen’ (de Vaan 2008: 466) must be discarded. A further cognate might be Hitt. panku- ‘all, entire’, although this is usually connected to Skt. bahu- ‘many’ (Kloekhorst 2008, s. v.). The correct PCelt. reconstruction would be *fembeto- and word-initial i- < *e- would be the result of secondary development before nasals. Of course, this is all very speculative.

REF: Delamarre 189, Falileyev 91.

*isarno- / *isarno- ‘iron’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *iarn(n) [o n, later m]
W: MW *haearn [m]
BRET: OBret. hoiarn, MBret. houarn, MoBret. houarn [m]
CO: OCo. *horn, Co. *hōrn
GAUL: *Isarnus [PN]
ETYM: This Celtic word was borrowed into Germanic in prehistoric times (cf. Go. eisarn, Eng. iron, etc.), cf. Birkhan 1970: 128f. PGerm. *īsarna- implies that the Celtic source had long *i-. For a possible PIE etymology see Cowgill 1987: 68 (from PIE *h₁eṣh₂r-no- > PCelt. *isarno- ‘bloody’ > ‘red’ ‘iron’, cf. Hitt. eshar ‘blood’). However, the long grade *e is unexpected (a nominal derivative with vṛddhi?). Another possibility is the connection to PIE *(H)išh₂ro- ‘strong, holy, having supernatural powers’ (Gr. hierós, Skt. iṣīrā-). In the latter case, the correct reconstruction is PCelt. *isarno-.


*isk-a- ‘look for lice’ [Vb]
GOID: Mtr. *escaid [Verbal Noun] ‘searching for lice’
PIE: *h₂eys-sk- ‘seek’ (IEW: 16)

ETYM: The semantic development in Celtic is from ‘seek’ to ‘seek lice’ (cf. Latv. ieškāt ‘look for lice’. However, the PCelt. reconstruction is uncertain since only the verbal noun escaid is attested in Irish.


*iwo- ‘shaft, yew’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. eo [o ?m] ‘stem, shaft, yew-tree’
W: MW yw [p] ‘yew, yew-wood’; ywen [Singulative]
BRET: OBret. Caer ’n Iuguinen [Toponym], MBret. ivin, iuin, MoBret. iwin [Collective]
CO: OCo. hiuin gl. taxus
PIE: *h₁eyw- ‘yew, Taxus baccata’ (IEW: 297)

ETYM: These forms should not be confused with PCelt. *eburo- ‘ivy’, as in EIEC. The Gaulish word for yew-tree is unattested, so far as I know, but it is the source of Fr. if (from *iwo-). The form iuos (Coligny) is of unknown meaning, pace Lambert 1994. In PIE we seem to have an original u-stem, with Nom. sg. *h₁eyu- / Gen. sg. *h₁iw-os, which was thematicized independently in different languages. Celtic preserves the stem of the oblique cases. For the phonetic development cf. PCelt. *biwo- ‘alive’ > OIr. beó, W byw. The acute in Balto-Slavic, implied by the accentual paradigm a, (cf. Russ. Gen. sg. ĭvy) is unexpected. It may be due to the secondary Balto-Slavic vrddhi, which is common in nominal derivation and bears the acute (in contradistinction to the inherited lengthened PIE grade formations, which bear the circumflex, cf. Matasović 2008a: 130ff.). Note, however, that Derksen (2008: 216) reconstructs the PIE root as *h₁eyH- and does not mention the connection with the Celtic words.


\( \text{KW} \)

*kʷakʷo- ‘everyone’ [Pron]
GOID: OIr. cách
W: OW paup, MW pawb
BRET: OBret. pop, MBret. pep
CO: Co. pup, pop, pep
PIE: *kʷo-h₃kʷo- (IEW: 645)
Cogn: OCS kakb 'qualis'

See: *kʷěs 'who'

Etym: Unstressed forms of this word serve as adjectival pronouns meaning 'every' (Olr. cach, cech, MW pob). The PIE form *kʷ-o-h₃-kʷ-o- is a compound consisting of the interrogative pronoun stem (*kʷ-o-) and the stem of the word for 'eye' (*h₃ekʷ- > Lat. oculus etc.). The original meaning could have been 'whatever the eye (sees)'. Another possibility would be to reconstruct a reduplicated *kʷeh₂-kʷ-o- (cf. long á in Lat. quālis). As Michiel de Vaan points out to me (p.c.) reduplicated interrogatives often yield indefinite pronouns (cf. Lat. quisquis).

Ref: LEIA C-3, GPC III: 2703, EIEC 457, Falileyev 128.

*kʷal-na- 'go around' [Vb]

Goid: Olr. imm-cella 'surrounds'

W: MW pallu 'die, perish, be destroyed, run out, fail'; palla [3s Pres.]

PIE: *kʷelh₁- 'turn' (IEW: 639f.)

Cogn: Skt. cáráti 'moves, goes', Lat. colo 'inhabit, take care of, cultivate'

Etym: Olr. imm-cella < *ambi-kʷal-na- (the simplex verb is unattested in Goidelic). The reconstruction of the meaning of PCelt. *kʷal-na- is tentative, since the reflexes underwent significant semantic changes, and the simplex verb is unattested. Celtic preserved the zero-grade of the PIE root (*kʷ₁-neh₁-, with analogical replacement of PIE *-neh₁- > PCelt. *-nī- with the productive suffix *-na-).

Ref: KPV 427ff., LIV 386-388, LEIA C-61, GPC III: 2676.

*kʷantyo- 'flat hill' [Noun]

Goid: Mlr. céite [io and iā, m and f] 'hill, eminence, open space, assembly'

W: MW pant 'valley'

Bret: OBret. pantet gl. imminet, MBret. pant [m]

CO: Co. pans 'valley'

PIE: *kwem-t- 'hill'

Cogn: Lat. cumulus 'hill', OE hwamm 'projection', Olc. hvammr 'small angular valley'

Etym: The alternation between an io- and an iā-stem in Mlr. probably shows that this word is a substantivized adjective; the original meaning could have been 'protruding' vel. sim. The reading and the meaning of OBret. pantet are uncertain (another possible reading is Lat. pandit). The IE etymology is very problematic. Lat. cumulus can also be derived from *kumos, which is in turn from *kuh₂mo- 'heap' (cf. Gr. kūma 'wave, sprout'), perhaps with *ū > u by Dybo's law (de Vaan 2008: 152ff.).


*kʷanā 'where from' [Particle]

Goid: Olr. can
*kwaryo- ‘cauldron’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. coire [io m]
W: MW peir [m] (GPC pair)
BRET: MoBret. per [m]
CO: OCo. per gl. lebes
PIE: *kʷeru- ‘cauldron’ (IEW: 642)
COGN: Skt. carū- ‘cauldron, vase’, Russ. čára, OE hwer
ETYM: Pr. pairol ‘jar’ is from the Gaulish reflex of this PCelt. word. The yo-stem in Celtic must be secondary, since all other evidence points to a u-stem, PIE *kʷeru-s; PCelt. *kʷar- could have been generalized from the zero-grade *kʷrw-, or the u-stem was replaced early by an i-stem *kʷeri-s / *kʷry-os, from the oblique cases of which we have PCelt. *kʷaryo-. Russ. čára, if related, must represent a Slavic vṛddhi formation (rather than the inherited PIE lengthened grade of the root).

*kʷaso- ‘cough’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. casachtach [á f] (DIL cosachtach) ‘the act of coughing’
W: W pas [m] ‘whooping cough’
BRET: OBret. pas gl. catarrus, MBret. pas, paz
CO: Co. pās, MoCo. pāz
PIE: *kʷeh₂-s-t- ‘cough’ (IEW: 649)
COGN: Skt. kās- ‘cough’, OHG huosto, Lith. kōsti, Russ. kāsli
ETYM: The Celtic forms are from the zero-grade *kʷh₂st- of this originally onomatopoetic root. The laryngeal is assured by the acute in Lithuanian and Slavic.

*kʷāti- ‘chaff, husks’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cáith [i f] gl. furfur
PIE: *(s)kweh₁-t- ‘agitare’ (IEW: 632)
COGN: Lat. quatio ‘agitate, disturb, shake’, OHG scutten ‘to shake’.
ETYM: If this etymology is correct, the OIr. form would have to be derived from PIE *kʷoh₁tí-, with the o-grade. Lith. kūsti ‘to recover’ cannot be related if there was a laryngeal in this root. However, the reconstructed PIE root shape is highly unusual.
REF: LEIA C-23, EIEC 113.

*-kʷe ‘and’ [Conjunction]
GOID: OIr. -ch
*kweф-

pant, breathe [Vb]

W: W peuo 'roar, breathe'

PIE: *kwep- 'breathe, pant' (IEW: 596)

COGN: Lith. kvepiu 'breathe'

ETYM: This is not a very strong etymology, since the primary meaning of W peuo, peuoaf (according to GPC) is 'bellow, roar', and only secondarily 'pant, breathe'. The Welsh verb is attested late, only in the 16th century. Moreover, other putative IE cognates in IEW (apart from Lith. kvepiu and the related Baltic forms) can be easily dismissed.

**kwenkweto-**

BRET: OBret. *pemp*, MBret. and MoBret. *pemp*  
CO: Co. *pymp*  
GAUL: *pempe*-  
PIE: *penkʷe* ‘5’ (IEW: 808)  

ETYM: The ordinal *kwenkweto-* can be reconstructed on the basis of OW *pimphet*, Gaul. *pinpetos* (La Graufesenque), MBret. *pempet* and OIr. *cóiced*. OIr. *deac*, *deēc* ‘ten’ is often derived from *dwē-penkʷom*, with the loss of *p-* rather than the assimilation with the following *kʷ*, but doubts have been raised on the possibility of this derivation (Cowgill 1970: 145, Schrijver 1993). The form *dwē-penkʷom* looks quite artificial, and the sound development that has to be assumed is difficult. However, Cowgill’s suggestion that *deēc* is from the Gen. sg. *dekan-os* through metathesis (*dekankʷos > *deēc*) is hardly more persuasive. A derivation from PCelt. *dekan-kʷe* ‘ten and’ with the apocope of final *-e* (*dekankʷe > *dekank > *deank > *deēc*) is possible if one accepts the dissimilatory loss of the first velar stop (Schrijver 1993).  

**kwenkʷeto-** ‘fifth’ [Num]  
SEE: *kwenkʷe* ‘five’

**kwenno-** ‘head’ [Noun]  
GOID: OIr. *cenn* [o n > m], Ogam *CUNA-CENNI*  
W: OW *penn* [m], MW *penn*, (GPC *pen*)  
BRET: OBret. *penn*, *pen*, MoBret. *penn* [m]  
CO: OCo. *pen* gl. *capud*, MCo. *pen*  
GAUL: *pennon* (Clermont-Ferrand, RIG L-136), *Penno-ouindos* [PN]  
ETYM: Mlr. spelling *cend* (rather than *cenn*) is late, and does not prove a pre-form *kwendo-*. Ogam PN *CUNA-CENNI* (Gen. sg.) has the perfect match in Gaul. *Cunopennus* ‘Dog-head’. OIr. *conn* [o m] ‘chief’ is sometimes derived from the same root (see PCelt. *kwendos*). If that is so, the ablaut shows that these words are inherited rather than borrowed from some substratum, but all attempts to identify a PIE root have proven futile.  

**kwenno-** ‘long’ [Adj]  
GOID: OIr. *cian* [o]  
PIE: *kweyHʷ-* ‘rest’ (IEW: 638)  
COGN: Go. *hweila* ‘period, time’, OCS *po-čiti* ‘rest’, Lat. *quiēs* ‘rest’
ETYM: Celtic presupposes PIE *kʷeyH-no-. Different IE languages show different extensions of this root. The suffix *-no- occurs only in Celtic.

*kʷer- ‘make, cause’ [Vb]
W: MW peri ‘cause, create, make’; paraf, peraf [1s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. paras [3s Pret.]
PIE: *kʷer- ‘do, make’ (IEW: 641f.)
COGN: Skt. kṛṇoti ‘does’, OCS čarť ‘magic’, Lith. keriū ‘enchant’
SEE: *kʷritu-
ETYM: The present stem formation of this PCelt. verbal root cannot be reconstructed.
REF: GPC III: 2685.

*kʷerxt- ‘bush’ (?) [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. ceirt ‘apple-tree, letter q in Ogam’
W: MW perth ‘bush, hedge, thicket’ [f]
CO: Co. Pen-berth [Toponym]
PIE: *perkwu- ‘oak’ (IEW: 822)
COGN: Lat. quercus, OE furh ‘fir’
ETYM: Since Mlr. ceirt is known only from glossaries and as the name of the Ogam letter Q, this etymology is not very strong. Even so, at least the derivation of W perth from PIE *perkwu- may be regular: first *p...kʷ assimilated to *kʷ...kʷ, then *kʷ > *x before *t, and finally initial *kʷ > p in Brittonic. The ancient name of the Ardennes, Hercynia (silva), Herkynios (drymós) is usually derived from PIE *perkw-unyo- > PCelt. *ferkunyo-, Gaul. *erkunyo- (cp. Go. fairguni ‘mountain’). If this etymology is correct, it shows that the regular assimilation of *p...*kʷ to *k...*kʷ occurred after the delabialization of *kʷ before *u.

*kʷes ‘who’ [Pron]
GOID: Olr. cía
W: OW pui, MW pwy
BRET: OBret. poul, MBret. piou
CO: Co. pyw
PIE: *kʷe/o-y- ‘who, what’ (IEW: 635)
COGN: Lat. quis ‘who’, Hitt. kuis, Gr. tís ‘who’, Skt. kím ‘what’
SEE: *kʷid ‘what’
ETYM: MBret. piou, Co. pyw are results of metathesis (*wy > yw). PCelt.
*kʷe- preserves the full grade, PIE *kʷey-. This shape of the root of the interrogative pronoun is probably older than *kʷo- (Skt. kás, OCS ků-to ‘who’), which is parallel to the demonstrative pronoun stem *so-, *to-.
Celtic unexpectedly has the full grade of the root *kʷi- (but cf. also Gr.
Doric adverb pei ‘where’). The creation of the full grade stem *k̥wey- may be a secondary development within Celtic, but cf. Lat. quī < *k̥woy.


*k̥wëslā ‘mind, spirit, reason’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. ciall [ä f]
W: OW puil [m and f], MW pwyll
BRET: MBret. poeill, MoBret. pouell [m] ‘connection, reason’
CO: OCo. gur-bull-oc gl. insanus, MoCo. poll
PIE: *k̥eyes- ‘perceive’ (IEW: 637)
SEE: *ad-k̥is-o- ‘see’
ETYM: The correct morphological segmentation is probably *kwës-slā, i.e. the suffix is *-slo-/*-sla.


*k̥ewtores ‘four’ [Num]

GOID: OIr. ceth(a)ir [m]; cetheoir [f]
W: OW petguar, MW pedwar [m]; pedeir [f]
BRET: OBret. petguar, MBret. peuar; peder [f], MoBret. pewar
CO: Co. peswar; pedyr [f]
GAUL: petuarfios [Ordinal]; Petru-corii [Ethnonym] = ‘Périgord’
PIE: *k̥wetores ‘4’ (IEW: 642)
COGN: Skt. catvāras, Lat. quattuor, Gr. tétares, Go. fidwor, Lith. keturi, OCS ētyre, ToA štar, Arm. čork
ETYM: Medieval Latin petia terrae ‘piece of land’ is from the lost Gaulish *pettia (cf. also Fr. pièce ‘piece’, etc.). PCelt. *k̥ezdi- does not seem to have any cognates in other IE languages, so it may have been borrowed from some non-IE source.


*k̥ezdi- ‘piece, portion’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. cuit [i f]
W: OW ped, MW peth ‘thing’ [m and f]
BRET: MBret. pez, MoBret. pezh [m]
CO: Co. peth, pyth
ETYM: Medieval Latin petia terrae ‘piece of land’ is from the lost Gaulish *pettia (cf. also Fr. pièce ‘piece’, etc.). PCelt. *k̥ezdi- does not seem to have any cognates in other IE languages, so it may have been borrowed from some non-IE source.


*k̥id ‘what’

GOID: OIr. cid
PIE: *k̥id ‘what’ (IEW: 646f.)
COGN: Lat. quid, Skt. kim ‘what’, cid ‘even’, Gr. ti
SEE: *k̥es ‘who’
**kwinut-**

*kw*inut- ‘crime, mistake, guilt’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cin* [m t]  
PIE: *kʰey- ‘esteem, regard; make pay, exact revenge’ (IEW: 637)  
ETYM: The word formation of this word is rather strange (the only comparable forms in this dictionary are *karut- ‘champion’ and, perhaps, *regut- ‘forearm’, s. v. *reg-o- ‘stretch’). This fact, as well as the lack of cognates in other Celtic languages besides Irish, makes this a speculative etymology. However, the semantics of the derivation from PIE *kʰey- ‘punish’ are fine.  
REF: LEIA C-91f., EIEC 123, Benveniste 1969.

**kw*is-o- ‘see’ [Vb]
GAUL: *pissiumi [1 s Pres.] (Chamalières); *appisetu (Thiaucourt)  
PIE: *kʰeys- ‘perceive’ (IEW: 637)  

**kw*o- ‘to’ [Prep]
GOID: OIr. *co [Geminating, +Acc.]  
W: MW *py (GPC *pwy)  
PIE: *kʰo- [Prep.] (IEW: 613)  
COGN: OCS *kʰ ‘to’  
REF: LEIA C-133, GPC III: 2948, GOI 501f.

**kw*okʰ-o- ‘cook, bake’ [Vb]
W: MW *pobi  
BRET: MBret. *pibi, poba, MoBret. *pobad  
CO: Co. *pobas  
PIE: *pekw- ‘cook’ (IEW: 798)  
*kwolu- ‘wheel’ [Noun]

GOID: Mlr. cul ‘chariot’ or ‘part of a chariot’

PIE: *kwol-o- ‘wheel’ (IEW: 639)

COGN: Gr. pólos ‘axis’, OE hweol, OCS kolo ‘wheel’, Lith. kāklas ‘neck’

SEE: *kwol-na- ‘go around’

ETYM: Mlr. cul is poorly attested. It is known chiefly from glossaries, so this etymology is uncertain.

REF: LEIA C-283.

*kʷon- ‘dog’ [Noun] (Nom. s *k(w)ü, Gen. s *kunos)

GOID: OIr. cü [n m], Ogam VEDA-CUNAS

W: MW ki, ci [m]; cwn [p]

BRET: MBret. ci, qui, MoBret. ki [m]

CO: OCo. ci gl. canis

GAUL: Cuno-pennus ‘Dog-head’ [PN]

PIE: *k(u)wōn ‘dog’ (IEW: 632)

COGN: Skt. svā, Gr. kýōn, Lat. canis, Germ. Hund, Lith. šuò, ToA ku, Arm. šun

ETYM: PCelt. *kʷ (from PIE cluster *kw) was delabialized before *u/u, e.g. in the Nom. pl. (*kʷunes > *kunes), hence we have W ci rather than **pi.

The Celtic forms are consistent with a PCelt. ablauting paradigm, with Nom. sg. *kü, Acc. sg. *kʷonam *or, analogically, *kon-am), Gen. sg. *kun-os.


*kʷoxto- ‘hot’ [Adj]

SEE: *kwokw_o_ ‘cook’

*kʷresno- ‘wood, tree’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. crann [n m]

W: MW prenn [m] (GPC pren)

BRET: OBret. pren, MBret. pynn, MoBret. pynn [m]

CO: OCo. pren gl. lignum, Co. pren

GAUL: prenne gl. arborum grandem (Endlicher’s Glossary)

PIE: *kʷres- ‘bush, thicket’ (IEW: 633)

COGN: OE hyrst ‘bushes’


*kʷrimi- ‘worm’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. cruim [i f] ‘worm, maggot’

W: OW pren, MW pryf [m]; pryfed [p]

BRET: MBret. preff, MoBret. preñv [m]
**kwri-na-**

CO: OCo. prif gl. uermis, MCo. pref
PIE: *kwri-* ‘worm’ (IEW: 1152)
COGN: Skt. krmi-, Alb. krimb, Lith. kirmis, Slovene črm
ETYM: The u-vocalism in Olr. cruim is a trace of the preceding labiovelar. Note that the reflex of the syllabic *r > *ri is regular before *m as well as before stops.

*kwri-na-* ‘buy’ [Vb]
GOID: Olr. crenaid, -cren; criead, -cria [Subj.]; ciuraid, -ciurai [Fut.], ciuir [Pret.]; crithae, -crith [Pass.]
W: OW prinit [3s Pres.], MW prynu
BRET: MBret. prenaff, MoBret. prenañ
CO: OCo. prinid, Co. prena
GAUL: prinas ‘bought’ (?) (La Graufesenque no. 46)
PIE: *kwreyhz- ‘buy, exchange’ (IEW: 648)
COGN: Skt. krīṇati, Gr. priasthai, ORuss. kriti
ETYM: The interpretation of Gaul. prinas is very uncertain (it may even not be a verbal form). Cf. also Olr. crith [ā f] ‘act of buying’, W prid ‘dear, expensive’ < PCelt. *kwrito- < PIE *kwrah-to- (past passive participle, where the operation of Dybo’s law would be expected).

*kwriu- ‘magical transformation, shape’ [Noun]
W: MW pryd [m] ‘form, shape, time’
BRET: MBret. pred [m] ‘moment’
CO: OCo. prit gl. hora, Co. prys
GAUL: Prittius (?) [PN]
SEE: *kwer- ‘make, cause’
ETYM: Olr. creth was abstracted from the regular Gen. sg. creth-o of the original u-stem cruth. In W, GPC separates pryd ‘time, moment’ and pryd ‘face, appearance’ as two lexical entries and doubts whether their etymologies are identical.

*kwriy- ‘clay, earth, mud’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. cré [t f]; inna criad [Gen s] gl. luti
W: MW pridd [m]
**kādo-**

BRET: OBret. *pri* gl. creta, MBret. *pry, pri, MoBret. *pri [m]

CO: Co. *p*ry

ETYM: These words are probably related to Lat. *crēta* ‘chalk’, but details are obscure. Mallory & Adams 2006: 121 reconstruct PIE *tkʷreh₁yot-* and add ToB *tukri* ‘clay’. Perhaps it is more sensible to start with the root *kʷreh₁-* with the suffix (?) *-yet-* and assume that the Tocharian words contain some kind of prefix. It is also possible that all of these words were borrowed from non-IE languages.


### K

**kādo-** ‘regret, anger’ [Noun]

W: MW *cawdd* [m] ‘anger’

BRET: MBret. *cuez, queuz, MoBret. keuz* [m] ‘regret, affliction’

CO: Co. *kueth, cūth* ‘regret’

PIE: *keh₂do-* ‘strong negative emotion’ (IEW: 517)

COGN: Gr. *kēdōs* ‘suffering, concern’, OHG *haz* ‘hate’

SEE: *kassi-* ‘hatred, hate’

ETYM: OIr. *cais* ‘hate’ goes back to zero-grade *kh₂d-ti-* > PCelt. *kass-i-*, while W *cawdd* represents the full grade *keh₂do-*. There may have been an ablauting paradigm *kād-*/ *kad-* in PCelt.


**kā(g)ni-** ‘law, tribute’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *cain* [fi]

W: MW *di-gawn* [m] ‘plenty, abundance’ (GPC *digon, digawn*); *digon* [Vb] ‘perform (masterly), be able’

PIE: *keh₂g-n-

COGN: OCS *kazmb* ‘punishment’

ETYM: Another etymology is found in EIEC 563; it derives the attested forms from PCelt. *kaxni- < *kapni-, but this is unlikely in the light of the development of *pn > *wn (cf. PIE *supno- > PCelt. *sowno- ‘sleep’). OIr. *cāinid* ‘to satirize’ could also be related to this root. The Welsh forms are sometimes related to Lat. *cōnor* ‘attempt’, OCS *kaniti* ‘intend’ < PIE *keh₃n-*. Finally, one could start from PIE *keh₂s-* ‘to speak, proclaim’ (Skt. *śās- ‘instruct, punish, command’, LIV *keh₂s-), and derive PCelt. *kāni-* from *keh₂s-eni-* (*keh₂sni-* is less likely, since *-sn- > *-nn-* in PCelt. is
expected on the evidence of *kasninā ‘garlic’ > OIr. cainnenn). There is no way to decide with certainty which of the various possibilities is most likely. REF: LEIA C-16, GPC I: 998, EIEC 563, O’Brien 1956: 172.

**kag-o-** ‘get, receive’ [Vb]
W: MW cael (GPC cael, caffael, caffiu); kehy [3s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. caffout ‘find’
CO: Co. kavoēs
PIE: *kagʰ- ‘take, grab’ (IEW: 518)
COGN: Lat. in-cohāre ‘begin’, Osc. kahad ‘takes’ [Subj.]
ETYM: Since the distribution of cognates is limited to Europe, and the root has a distinctly non-IE shape (with voiceless and aspirated stops and the vowel *a), this is probably a borrowing from some unknown non-IE language (de Vaan 2008: 123).

**kagro-** ‘enclosure, fort’ [Noun]
SEE: *kagyo- ‘pen, enclosure’

**kagyo-** ‘pen, enclosure’ [Noun]
W: MW kay, kae (GPC cae) [m] ‘hedge, hedge-row, fence, enclosure’
BRET: OBret. caī, MBret. quae, MoBret. kae [m]
CO: Co. ke
GAUL: cagiōn (Cajarc), caio ‘breialo sive bigardio’ (Endlicher’s Glossary)
PIE: *kagʰ-o- ‘enclosure’
COGN: OE haga ‘field’ (IEW: 518)
ETYM: Gaul. *kagio- ‘enclosure’ is presumably the source of Fr. quai ‘quay, wharf’ (Gamillscheg 735). The Brittonic word for ‘town’, W caer, MBret. ker, Co. caer, are probably from the same root (PCell. *kagro-‘enclosure, fort’). In any case, the a-vocalism, as well as the distribution of the reflexes to NW Europe, points to the possibility that these words were borrowed from some non-IE language (cf. also *kag-o- ‘get, receive’).

**kakkā** ‘excrement’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. cacc [a f]
W: W cach [m]
BRET: MBret. cauch, MoBret. kac’h [m]
CO: Co. caugh
PIE: *kakko- ‘defecate, excrement’ (IEW: 521)
COGN: Lat. cacco, Gr. kakkāō
ETYM: Cf. also MW denominative verb cachu ‘defecate’. A vulgar, expressive word that violates the rules of PIE root formation (with geminated *kk and the vowel *a).
REF: LEIA C-2, GPC I: 374, Deshayes 2003: 356.
**kaleto-**

‘hard, cruel, strong’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. calad [o]

W: MW caled

BRET: MBret. calet, caled, MoBret. kaled

CO: Co. cales, calas, calys

GAUL: Caleti [Ethnonym]

PIE: *klH-eto- ‘cold’ (IEW: 524)

COGN: Av. sarata- ‘cold’, Lith. šálë ‘be cold, frieze’, OE haeled ‘hero’.

ETYM: If this etymology, proposed by Joseph (1982), is correct, the original meaning was ‘cold, frozen’ > ‘hard’. Cf. also the Gaulish PN Calitix in Pannonia (Meid 2005: 189). Another possibility (de Vaan 2008: 80) would be to start from PIE *keHl-/*kHl- and compare Lat. callëre ‘grow hard’, Croat. káliti ‘temper’.


**kalli-**

‘wood, grove’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. caill [ʔi f]

W: MW celli [f] ‘grove, copse’

BRET: MoBret. Quille-vere [PN]

CO: OCo. kelli gl. nemus

ETYM: The geminate *-ll- is certainly the result of assimilation, but it cannot be ascertained which consonant was originally involved as the second member of the cluster. The obvious solution, PIE *kldo- (Gr. klados ‘branch’, ON holt ‘woody hill’), will not do, since we would expect PCelt. *kldeo- (cf., e.g., PIE *wld- > PCelt. *wlidā ‘feast’). Moreover, the cluster *ld would have been preserved in Celtic. A derivation from the root *kelH- ‘cut’ (IEW 545ff.) remains a possibility, but details are obscure (perhaps one should start with *klHyo- > *kalyo- > *kallo-, and then *kallā, *kalli as secondary formations?).

REF: LEIA C-13, GPC I: 459.

**kalmiyo-**

‘skilful, skilled’

GOID: Mrir. calma ‘strong, brave’ (gl. fortibus)

W: OW celmed, MW celuit, celuyd (GPC celfydd)

BRET: MBret. celmed

ETYM: Cf. also Mrir. calma ‘strength, fortitude’. The Celtib. family name kalmikum [Gen. pl.] (Botorrita III) might also be related. No convincing IE etymology has been proposed, so this word is probably a loanword from some non-IE language.


**kalyako-**

‘rooster’ [Noun]
*kalyo-

GOiD: OIr. cailech [o m]
W: MW keilyawc [m] (GPC ceiliog, ceilog)
BRET: MBret. kilhog, kil heg
CO: OC. chelioc gl. gallus, Co. col ye k
GAUL: Caliaga [PN]
PIE: *klh₂- ‘call’ (IEW: 549)
COGN: Lat. calo ‘announce’, Gr. kaléo ‘call’, OHG hellan ‘resound’
ETYM: The attribution of Gaul. Caliaga to this root is uncertain, since normally *ly > Gaul. Ⅱ (cf. *alyo- ‘other’ > Gaul. allo-). The Celtic forms are compatible with PIE *klh₁-yo- > PCelt. *kalyo- (with the early loss of H before y?), to which the frequent suffix *-āko- was added. For the development of meaning cf. Germ. Hahn < *kan- ‘to sing’, or Lat. gallus ‘rooster’ < *gel-w- ‘call’.

*kalyo- ‘spot’ [Noun]
GOiD: OIr. caile [i o m]
PIE: *keh₂₁ / *kh₂-lo- ‘dirty, spotted, dark’ (IEW: 548)
ETYM: The PCelt. form must be from *kh₂₁-yo-; it is uncertain whether all of the forms added from other IE languages belong to a single etymon. Mayrhofer interprets kāla- (s. v.) as a Dravidian loanword.
REF: LEIA C-11.

*kambo- ‘crooked, twisted’ [Adj]
GOiD: OIr. camm [o]
W: OW cam ‘wrong, evil’, MW cam
BRET: OBret. camm gl. obliquus, MBret. kamm
CO: Co. cam gl. strabo, cam-hinsic gl. iniustus
GAUL: Cambo [PN], Cambo-dunum [Toponym]
PIE: *(s)kambo- ‘crooked’ (IEW: 918)
COGN: Gr. skambós
ETYM: Gaul. cambion (Chamalières) is interpreted as ‘change’, and is the source of Gallo-Latin cambiare ‘change’ (Fr. changer, etc.). I find Pokorny’s attribution of OIr. cimbid ‘prisoner’, cimbe ‘captivity’ to this root objectionable on semantic grounds (the semantic connection would be ‘the one who must bow before his captor’ > ‘prisoner’). Both PCelt. *kambo- and Gr. skambós are probably borrowed from some ancient non-IE substrate; the PIE form contains two very rare sounds in PIE (*b and *a), both of which are indicative of non-IE loanwords.
*kanawon- 'young animal, young dog, whelp' [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. cana, cano [m n] 'cub, whelp'
W: MW ceneu [m] (GPC cenau, cænaw)
BRET: OBret. ceneuan gl. catulaster, Ri-keneu [PN], MBret. kenou,
MoBret. kenow [m] 'small animal'.
PIE: *(s)ken- 'young, new' (IEW: 564)
COGN: Russ. ščenö́k 'young dog, puppy', Skt. kanyà 'girl', Arm. skund
'young dog'
ETYM: PCelt. *kanawon- is presumably derived from earlier *kenawon-
by Joseph's rule. The word formation of this PCelt. etymon is problematic.
The suffix may be the same as in *altr-awon- 'uncle', so we may have to
start from something like PIE *kn-Hwon- (with the possessive suffix
*-Hwon-, cf. the Hitt. suffix of appurtenance -umen, or Skt. -van,
which lengthens the preceding vowel). Of course, this is just a speculation.

*kani- 'good, nice' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. cain [i]
W: MW cein (GPC cain)
BRET: MBret. quen, MoBret. ken
ETYM: These Celtic words are often derived from *knyo-, from PIE *ken-
'begin' (IEW 563f., cf. Gr. kainós 'new', OCS na-četi 'begin'), but the
semantic difference is too great. Since a convincing IE etymology is lacking,
P Celt. *kani- may have been borrowed from some non-IE language.

*kanka 'branch' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. géc [a f]
W: MW caine (GPC cainc, caing) [f and m]
PIE: *ko(n)kH- 'branch' (IEW: 523)
COGN: Skt. śákha, Go. hōha 'plow', Lith. šakà, OCS soxa 'plough'
SEE: *kanxtu- 'plough, ploughshare'
ETYM: W caine represents an u-stem (or an ū-stem), while OIr. géc
(perhaps with g- by dissimilation) points rather to an ā-stem. It is difficult to
see which is original.
REF: GPC I: 390, LP 43, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 44, 278.

*kano- 'sing' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. canaid, -cain; canaid, -cana [Subj.]; cechnaid, -cechna [Fut.];
cechain [Pret.]
W: OW canam, MW canu
BRET: MBret. canaff
CO: Co. kana
PIE: *kan- 'sing' (IEW: 525f.)
**kanta-bw-iyô-**

*perceive* [Vb]

GOID: OIr. ceta-bi ‘perceives’

W: MW kanfor ‘discover’ (GPC canfod, canffod)

SEE: *bu-yo-


**kantî** ‘together with’ [Prep]

GOID: OIr. cêt-, ceta-

W: MW cant, can (GPC gan)

BRET: OBret. cant, MoBret. gant

CO: OCo. cant, Co. cans

GAUL: canti-, Cantio-rix [PN]

PIE: *km-ti- (IEW: 613)

COGN: Gr. katá, kasi- (in Hom. kasi-gnêtos ‘brother’).

SEE: *kom-

ETYM: A nominal derivative from this preposition is OIr. céite ‘assembly’ < *kantyo-, cf. the ancient name of Kent, Cantium.


**kantlo-** ‘song, singing’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. céatal [o n]

W: MW kathyl, kathl (GPC cathl) [m and f]

BRET: MBret. quentel, MoBret. kentel ‘lesson’ [f]

SEE: *kan-o- ‘sing’

ETYM: OIr. céatal is the verbal noun of canid ‘sings’.


**kantom** ‘100’ [Num]

GOID: OIr. cét

W: OW cant, MW cant

BRET: OBret. cant, MBret. kant

CO: Co. cans

GAUL: Canto-mili [PN], Gallo-Lat. cantedon ‘100 feet’ (Isidore of Seville)

CELTIB: kantom (Botorrita I)

PIE: *dkmtom ‘100’ (IEW: 192)

COGN: Lat. centum, Skt. satâm, Gr. he-katôn, Go. hund, Lith. šimtas, ToB kante


**kanxsman-** ‘step, act of stepping’ [Noun]
*kanxtV- ‘power’ [Noun]

GOID: Mlr. cécht

PIE: *ke(n)k- ‘force’ (IEW: 522)

COGN: Skt. śákti- ‘power’, šaknóti ‘is able, helps’, ON háattr ‘ability’

ETYM: This is not a particularly strong etymology, because the Mlr. word is poorly attested (only as a glossary entry). W pybyr ‘strong’ is probably unrelated.


*kanxtu- ‘plough, plough-beam’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. cécht [u m]

PIE: *knk-t- ‘pointed object’ (IEW: 523)

COGN: Skt. śakti- ‘spear’

SEE: *kanka ‘branch’

ETYM: Obviously a derivative of the PCelt. word for ‘branch’. For the change of meaning cf. OCS soxa ‘plough’ vs. Lith. šakà ‘branch’ < PIE *kokHo-. On the connection of Skt. śákti- ‘power’ to śákti- ‘spear’ see Mayrhofer, s. v. A. Lubotsky (p. c.) doubts whether śákti- ‘spear’ exists.

REF: LEIA C-52, EIEC 80, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 290.

*karafyo-(mon)- ‘shoemaker’

GOID: OIr. cairem [n m] gl. sutor

W: MW crydd [m]

BRET: MoBret. kere [m], kereour

CO: Co. quere, keryor

PIE: *krh₁pi- ‘shoe’ (IEW: 581)

COGN: Gr. krēpis, Lith. kūrpē

ETYM: OIr. cairem goes back to *karafyo-mū < PIE *-mōn. The PIE suffix *-mōn is productive in OIr. names for occupations (Remmer 2002-3). The
Brittonic forms represent simple *karafyo-. The derivation from PIE is problematic. One would have to assume that *p > *f was lost before the vocalization of the resonant, i.e. *kρpyo- > *krfyο- > *kryo- > *karyo-, an impossible relative chronology in the light of the development of PIE *kρp- > PCelt. *k rif- ‘body’. Moreover, *rp would have yielded *rr in PCelt., cf. *serp- > PCelt. *serrā. The only solution seems to be to start from *kerh₂p- which would have yielded PCelt. *karaf- (by Joseph’s rule). A derivation *karafyomon- would give *karayomon > *karēmon > OIr. cairem. The Brittonic forms then must be from *kerh₂pyo- > *karafyο- > *karayyos (with subsequent loss of the first vowel in W crydd as in cwan from *kawano-). In any case, the proto-form *karpyo- (in LEIA C-21) is impossible. ON hreflýngr ‘a kind of shoe’ does not point to a form of the root without a laryngeal (*krep-), because it is derived from PGerm. *hreffaz ‘womb, belly’ (OE hrif, cf. Orel 2003: 185).


*karant- ‘friend’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cara [nt m]
W: MW car [m] (GPC cár); ceraint [p]
BRET: MBret. car, MoBret. kar ‘parent’
CO: OCo. car gl. amicus
GAUL: Caranto- [PN], Carantōna [Hydronym] (Charente)
SEE: *kar-o- ‘love’
ETYM: In origin, this is a present active participle of the verb *kar-o- ‘love’.

*karbanto- ‘(war) chariot’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. carpat [0 m]
GAUL: carpento- (Titus Livius XXXI.21.17), Carbanto-rigum [Toponym]
ETYM: W cerbyd and OBret. cerpit are loanwords from Goidelic. A connection of PCelt. *karbanto- with Lat. corbis ‘basket’ is improbable, since *krb- would yield **krib-, not *karb- in PCelt. The a-vocalism and the root-shape (*k...b(h)) make it probable that we are dealing with a loanword from some non-IE source.
REF: LEIA C-40f., Delamarre 105.

*karno- ‘horn, hoof’ [Noun]
W: MW carn ‘hoof’ [m]
BRET: OBret. carn gl. ungula caballi, MoBret. karn [f]
GAUL: kárton ‘Galatian trumpet’ (Hesych.)
PIE: *krno- ‘horn’ (IEW: 574ff.)
COGN: Luv. zarwani(ya) – ‘of horn’, OE horn, ORuss. sъrna ‘roedeer’
SEE: *karwo- ‘deer’
ETYM: The Celtic words are from an anít variant of the PIE root for ‘horn’ (*kerh₂-, cf. Nussbaum 1986). Probably related is also OIr. cruē ‘hoof’ (cf. Greene 1983). GPC treats carn ‘mound’ and carn ‘hoof’ as one word, which cannot be true for semantic reasons. OIr. corn ‘horn’ and W corn ‘horn’ are usually considered to be Latin loanwords (Haarmann 1970: 119, cf. Lat. cornu). However, Gaulish toponyms with the element Corn- (e.g. Cornacum, cf. Sims-Williams 2006: 65f.) might point to the existence of P Celt. *korno- ‘horn’.

**karno-** ‘heap of stones, tomb’

GOLD: OIr. carn [o n]
W: MW carn [m and f]; carnau, cernydd, cerni [p]
BRET: MBret. Pen karn [Toponym], MoBret. karn [f]
CO: Co. carn ‘heap’
GAUL: (?) karnitu (Todi) ‘erected, constructed’ (?); Carnuntum [Toponym]

SEE: *karno- ‘hoof’
ETYM: The Gaulish form karnitu is presumably a denominative verb. I am not sure whether Co. carn ‘heap’ exists at all. It might be the same word as OCo. carn gl. ungula, OBret. carn gl. ungula caballii, which are related to Lat. cornu ‘horn’ (cf. Campanile 1974: 22).

**kar-o-** ‘love’ [Vb]

GOLD: OIr. caraid, -cara; cechraid [Fut]; carais [Pret.]
W: MW caru
BRET: MBret. caret, MoBret. kared
CO: Co. care
GAUL: Caro- [PN]
CELTIB: Kara [PN]
PIE: *keh₂-ro- ‘love’ (IEW: 515)
COGN: Lat. cārus, OHG huor ‘prostitute’, Latv. kārs ‘lustful’

SEE: *karant- ‘friend’
ETYM: This is a deadjectival verb formed from unattested *karo- ‘dear, beloved’ < PIE *kh₂-ro-. The root is PIE *keh₂- (Skt. kāma- ‘love’, etc.).

**karro-** ‘wagon’ [Noun]

GOLD: OIr. carr [o m]
W: MW carr [m] (GPC car); ceir [p]
BRET: OBret. carr, MBret. carr, MoBret. karr [m]
**karut-**

*champion* [Noun]

SEE: *kawaro- 'hero, champion’

**karwo-**

‘deer’ [Noun]

W: OW caru, MW carw
BRET: MBret. caru, caro, MoBret. karw [m]
CO: OCo. caruu gl. cervus
GAUL: Caruus [PN]
PIE: *ker-n-, *kerh₂- ‘horn’ (IEW: 576)
ETYM: The Celtic forms presuppose PIE *krwo- > PCelt. *karwo-, i. e. a proto-form without a laryngeal, as in Lat. cornu, ceruus. Such a form could have been generalized in (dialectal) PIE from the environments in which the laryngeal had been regularly lost, e.g. *oRH > oR, or *RHy > *Ry. On this root and its variants see Nussbaum 1986.

**karya**

‘mistake, sin’ [Noun]

GOID: Olr. caire [iə f]
W: OW cared gl. nota, nequitiae, MW cared, karet
BRET: MBret. carez [f]
CO: Co. cara
PIE: *ker- ‘abuse, blame’ (IEW: 530)
COGN: Lat. carīno, OCS u-koriti, perhaps ToB kārn- ‘to strike’
ETYM: The Celtic forms can be regularly derived from a PIE abstract noun *kryeh₂ ‘blame’, with the zero-grade of the root.

**kasni-**

‘hare’ [Noun]

W: W ceinach [f]
PIE: *kas- (or *kh₂es-) ‘grey, hare’ (IEW: 533)
COGN: Skt. śaśā- ‘hare’, Lat. cānus ‘white-haired’, OPr. sasins ‘hare’, OE hasu ‘hare’
ETYM: The Welsh word for hare is derived with the common Celt. suffix *-ako-. The underived *kasni- (or, perhaps, *kasnī) is, however, unattested.
REF: GPC I: 452, Pedersen I: 86.

**kasninā** ‘garlic, leek’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. cainenn, cainenn [ā f] ‘garlic, leek(s)’
W: OW cennin [p] ‘leeks, daffodils’
BRET: OBret. caeninn, MBret. quinhenn, quinhenn
CO: OCo. kenin gl. allium
PIE: *kesn- (?) ‘garlic’
COGN: Russ. česnōk ‘garlic’, Croat. češnjak ‘garlic’
ETYM: This word looks like a derivative from *kasni- ‘hare’, but the similarity is probably accidental. As the a-vocalism shows, these words are presumably loanwords from some non-IE substrate, see Schrijver 1995: 456. The resemblance of the Slavic words for ‘garlic’ might be accidental, because they can be related to the verbal root *kes- (OCS česati ‘to comb, to peel).

**kassarā** ‘hail-shower, lightning’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. casar [ā f]
W: MW kesseir [p] ‘hail, hailstones’ (GPC cesair); ceseiren, ceseiryn [Singulative]
BRET: MBret. cazarc'h, MoBret. kasarc'h [m and collective]
CO: OCo. ceser gl. grando
PIE: *kad- ‘fall’ (IEW: 516)
COGN: Lat. dado, Skt. sad- ‘fall off, fall out (of teeth)’
ETYM: This is probably originally a collective formation, derived with the suffix *-ro- (cf. clochar ‘heap of stones, stony place’ from cloch ‘stone’; for this type of collectives cf. Tovar 1972-3). PCelt. *-ss- can be from *-ds-, or, more likely, from *-dt-. We would have PIE *kadto- ‘fallen’ > PCelt. *kasso-, from which the ‘collective’ *kassaro- was built. The PIE vowel *a in this word is presumably epenthetic (avoiding the initial cluster *kd-). It is uncertain whether these words have any connection to PCelt. *kassi- ‘hatred’ < *kh3d-ti-.

**kassi-** ‘hatred, hate’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. cais ‘love, hate’
W: OW cas [m], MW cas
BRET: MBret. cas, MoBret. kas [m] ‘hatred’
CO: Co. cas
PIE: *keh2d- ‘strong negative emotion’ (IEW: 517)
COGN: Go. *hatis ‘hatred’, Av. sādra- ‘suffering’
SEE: *kādō- ‘regret, hate’
ETYM: The meanings of Mlr. cais depend on the context; the best rendition would be ‘strong emotion (whether positive or negative)’. The stem and gender of that word are not stated in DIL. PCelt. *kassi- can be regularly derived from PIE *kʰ₂d-ti-, an abstract noun built to the root *kʰ₂d-/*kʰ₂d-. I am not sure if this is the same root as *kād- ‘fall’ (see *kassara ‘hail’).

*kasso- ‘curly, woven, twisted’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. cass [o] (DIL cas), ? Ogam CAS-ONI
GAUL: Cassi- [PN], Bodio-casses [Ethnonym]
ETYM: The connection with the root *kēs- ‘to comb’ (IEW 585, cf. OCS česati, PCelt. *kīsrā ‘comb’) is semantically appealing, but the a-vocalism in Celtic is unexplained (a secondary zero-grade *kasto- instead of the expected *ksto-, with epenthetic *a?).

*kato- ‘wise, able’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. cath [o] (DIL cáid [i]), cád, cad
PIE: *kʰ₂d- ‘sharpen’ (IEW: 542)
COGN: Skt. sītā- ‘sharpened’, Lat. catus ‘clever’
ETYM: The OIr. word is spelled differently as cath, cad, cáid and cád (see DIL for attestations). It is unclear whether the variability of the length of the root vowel could represent old ablaut. As in Latin, the Celtic word presupposes the semantic development of ‘sharp’ to ‘wise, clever’. A possible cognate is also Gallo-Lat. caddos ‘holy’ (CGL V 493, 30). The attribution to the PIE root *kʰ₂d- ‘sharp’ seems probable; however, the identity of the laryngeal is surmised chiefly on the basis of Lat. cōs, cōtis ‘whetstone’, and the etymology of this word is not completely certain.

*katrik- ‘fortification’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cathir [k f] ‘town’
COGN: OE hēādor ‘enclosure, prison’.
ETYM: The etymology of OIr. cathir is quite disputed. W cadair ‘seat, town’, Co. cadar, MBret. cadoer are from Lat. cathedra (ultimately from Greek). OIr. cathir is unlikely to have been borrowed from Lat. castrum, but even if inherited, the stem formation *katrik-. is unusual. The closest cognate seems to be OE hēādor. I am not sure whether Croat. kôt ‘sty’, kôtar ‘administrative unit, province’ can also be connected to the Celtic and Germanic forms. The a-vocalism points to the possibility that all or any of these words are loanwords from some non-IE source.

*katto- ‘cat’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. catt [o m]
W: MW cath [m and f]
BRET: MBret. caz, MoBret. kazh [m]
CO: Co. kat
GAUL: Cattos [PN]
COGN: Lat. cattus, OHG kazza, Russ. kótka
ETYM: The word for ‘cat’ in the European languages is a loanword from some non-IE (maybe north-African) source (cf. Nubian kadfs ‘cat’). Cats were first domesticated in North Africa, perhaps in the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. In Celtic, the intermediary may have been Latin, but this cannot be proved.

*katu- ‘battle’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cath [u m], Ogam RO-CATOS
W: OW cat, MW cad [f]; cadau, cadoedd [p]
BRET: OBret. Catoc [PN], -cat (in compounds, OBret.), MoBret. kad
CO: Co. cas [f]
GAUL: Catu-marus [PN], Catu-riges [PN]
PIE: *katu- ‘fight’ (IEW: 534)
ETYM: Celtib. PN Katunos might preserve the reflex of PCelt. *katu- in Celtiberian. The a-vocalism in this PIE root is unexpected. Because of its distribution in many branches of IE, this word is unlikely to be a loanword from some non-IE language. A reconstruction *kh₂et- is unlikely. One way to reconstruct a ‘normal’ PIE root *ket- / *kot- (cf. Skt. śātayati, as if from *koteyeti) would be to assume that PCelt. *katu- is a prehistoric loanword from Germanic (borrowed before the operation of Grimm’s law). Note that the Slavic reflexes were also probably borrowed from some Centum language (otherwise we would expect *k > Slavic *s). Another possibility would be to reconstruct an ablauting paradigm *kotu- / *ktw-os, and assume that *a in Celtic is epenthetic, originally introduced to avoid the difficult cluster *ktw- in the oblique cases.

*kat-yo- ‘throw’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. caithid, -caithi; caithfid [Fut.] ‘throws, uses, consumes’
GAUL: cateia ‘projectile’ (Servius, Aen. VII, 741)
**ETYM:** The Olr. verb has many meanings, but it is probable that ‘throw’ is the original one. The PCelt. root *kat-* can be compared to ORuss. kotitisja ‘roll’, Russ. katit’ ‘rush’, katát’sja ‘roll, drive’, Cz. kotiti ‘roll, turn’. This would imply a PIE root *keh₂t- / *kh₂t-, with Celtic preserving the zero-grade of the root.


***kawanno*—‘owl’ [Noun]

*W:* MW cwan, cuan [f]; cuanod [p]

*BRET:* OBret. couann, couhann, MoBret. kaouann

*GAUL:* Cauanos [PN]

*PIE:* *kaw-* ‘owl’ (IEW: 535f.)

*COGN:* OHG hīwo ‘owl’

**ETYM:** The existence of the Gaul. word cauan(n)os is confirmed by the VLat. loanword cauannus (ululae aues... quam auem Galli cauannum uocant, Schol. Verg. Bern. ad egl. 8.55), see Delamarre 111, Porzio Gemia 1981: 108. An underived Gaul. *kawa* ‘owl’ could have influenced the development of Fr. chouette ‘owl’ (Gamillscheg 227f.). In Welsh, the vowel in the first syllable was lost irregularly (the proto-form *kawan(n)o- must be assumed because an original *kwan(n)o- would yield *pan in Welsh). The words for ‘owl’ are often onomatopoetic, cf. also OCS sova ‘owl’, as if from *kaweh₂. However, all of these words could be parallel formations rather than inherited from the PIE word for ‘owl’.

**REF:** GPC I: 626, Delamarre 111, DGVB 120, Porzio Gemia 1981: 108.

***kawaro*—‘hero, champion’ [Noun]

*GOID:* Olr. cuar [*? m] (DIL ciur, caur)

*W:* MW cawr [m] ‘giant’

*CO:* OCo. caur-march gl. camelus

*GAUL:* Kauaros [PN]

*PIE:* *kewh₂-ro- ‘strong’ (IEW: 592)

*COGN:* Skt. śāvīra-, śūra- ‘strong’, Gr. kyrios ‘lord’.

**ETYM:** Olr. cuar is poorly attested, and was confounded with the near-synonym, caur [m] (Gen. sg. curad ‘champion’), which cannot be related directly to these forms. It is rather derived from *karut- (cf. the Germanic ethnonym Harudes).


***kawla* ‘faggot’ [Noun]

*GOID:* Olr. ciał [ä f] ‘faggot, bundle of sticks’

*PIE:* *keh₂ul- ‘stalk’ (IEW: 537)

*COGN:* Lat. caulis ‘stem, stalk, penis’, Gr. kaulós ‘stem’, Lith. káulas ‘bone’

**REF:** Schrijver 1991: 268f.
*kawno- ‘port, haven’ [Noun]
GOID: Mİr. cüan [o m]
PIE: *kHp-no- ‘take’ (IEW: 527)
COGN: Lat. capio ‘take’, OHG havan ‘haven’
ETYM: The formation with the suffix *-no- in the word for ‘haven’ is an exclusive Germanic-Celtic isogloss (could it be an early borrowing from Celtic into Germanic?). For the development of *kawno- from *kapno- cf. PCelt. *sowno- ‘sleep’.
REF: LEIA C-261, LP 27, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 255.

*kaxto- ‘prisoner, slave’ [Noun]
GOID: Mİr. cacht [a f] ‘female servant’; cacht [o m] ‘slave’
W: MW caeth [m and f] ‘bond, captive, captivity’
BRET: MBret. quaez, MoBret. kaezh ‘poor, unfortunate’
CO: OCo. cait gl. servus
PIE: *kHp-to- ‘captive’ (IEW: 527)
COGN: Lat. captus, Go. hafts
ETYM: It is possible that these words are borrowed from Lat. captus (OIr. cachtaiid ‘catch’ is certainly from Lat. captāre); however, they could also be inherited; the usual word for ‘prisoner’ in Lat. is captīus, not captus. Fr. chéti t ‘weak, feeble’ is usually derived from VLat. *cactius, which is, in turn, the result of contamination of Lat. captīus and Gaul. *kaxtos. This is, in itself, a sufficient reason to posit PCelt. *kaxto-.

*kayko- ‘having an eye defect, blind’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. cáech [o]
W: MW coeg
CO: OCo. cuic gl. luscus vel monophthalmus
PIE: *kayko- ‘blind’ (IEW: 519)
COGN: Lat. caecus, Go. haihs, Skt. kekara- ‘cross-eyed’
ETYM: The a-vocalism of *kayko- is typical of expressive, vulgar words (I see no reason to reconstruct *khzey-ko-, nor to connect these words to PIE *keh₂ilo- ‘whole’). It may be a loanword from some non-IE language (such adjectives can be borrowed, cf. Croat. dial. ćorav ‘one-eyed’ from Turkish kör). Gr. kaikias ‘northeast wind’ may be related to these words, but it is difficult to see the semantic connection.
REF: LEIA C-6, GPC I: 529, EIEC 70.

*kaylo- ‘omen’ [Noun]
W: OW coil(i)ou [p] ‘omens, auguries’; MW coel [m and f] ‘belief, omen’
BRET: OBret. coel gl. haruspicem, MoBret. koel
CO: OCo. chuillioc gl. augur
PIE: *keh₂i-lo- ‘whole, healthy’, perhaps also ‘blessed with good omen’ (IEW: 520)

COGN: Go. hails, OCS cḗlb, perhaps Lat. caelum ‘sky’

ETYM: Olr. cḗl ‘omen’ is a loanword from W. The first element of the toponym Caeilo-briga in Spain is probably also related. The semantic connection with Lat. caelum (de Vaan 2008: 80) might lie in the practice of divination through observing the flight of birds. Otherwise, omens might simply have been interpreted as signs from the sky, or caelestial divinities. The connection with the words meaning ‘whole’ might lie in the mythological belief that the sky is a firm whole made of stone (cf. Lat. firmamentum). However, all of this remains rather speculative.


*kayto- ‘wood’ [Noun]

W: OW coit, W coed [m]  
BRET: MBret. coat, MoBret. koad [m]  
CO: OCo. cuit gl. sitva, MCo. coys  
GAUL: Caito-brix [Toponym] (Ptolemy)  
PIE: *kayto- ‘wood, field’ (IEW: 521)  
COGN: Go. hai̯bi ‘field’

ETYM: The element -cetium found in toponyms such as Anicetis, Letocetum, tō ketio̅n óros (Ptolemy) might reflect a late Gaul. reflex of *kayto-. This is a correspondence limited to Celtic and Germanic. The a-vocalism in these words is difficult to account for. Maybe they were borrowed from some substrate in NW Europe.


*kekʷorā ‘swamp, mud’

GOID: Mlr. cechor [ā > k f] gl. palus  
PIE: *kokʷr ‘excrement’ (IEW: 544)  
COGN: Skt. śākrta, Gr. kópros

ETYM: The Proto-Celtic form *kekʷorā (or maybe *kekʷrā) is probably the collective/plural of the original r/n neuter stem. Lith. šikti ‘defecate’ probably does not belong here. Russ. serū ‘defecate’, Hitt. sakkar (Gen. sg. saknas) ‘excrement’ and Gr. skōr (Gen. sg. skatos) ‘excrement’ point to a similar PIE heterocliton *(s)kor which is very difficult to subsume under a single etymon with *kokʷr (perhaps originally *(s)kokʷr subject to tabooistic, irregular transformations?).


*kelfurno- ‘pail, bucket’ [Noun]

GOID: Ofr. cilornn gl. urceus, gl. situla
*kel-o-

W: MW celwrn [m]
BRET: MBret. quelorn, MoBret. kelorn
ETYM: These Celtic forms have been compared to the British toponym Cilurum, and also to Lat. calpar ‘pitcher (of wine)’, which is probably borrowed from Gr. kálpis ‘urn’. Probably a Wanderwort of unknown origin.
REF: LEIA C-99, GPC I: 458, Deshayes 2003: 381

*kel-o- ‘hide’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. ceilid, -ceil; celaid, -cela [Subj.]; célaud, -céla [Fut.]; cilt, -celt [Pret.]; clethae, -cleth [Pass.]
W: MW kelu (GPC celu)
BRET: MBret. keles
PIE: *kel- ‘hide’ (IEW: 553f.)
COGN: Lat. oc-culo, céló, OE helan, Skt. sárman- ‘shelter’
ETYM: The ethnonym *Keltoy ‘Celts’ (Lat. Celtae, Gr. Keltoz) has also been connected with this verbal root (McConen 2006: 95). It would be a vrddhi derivative from the PIE passive participle *kltós ‘hidden’, and its original meaning would have been ‘descendants of the hidden one (sc. the underworld deity)’. Though highly speculative, this etymology finds some support in Caesar’s remark that the Gauls claimed descent from an underworld god, Dis Pater (De Bello Gallico 6, 18).

*kellako- ‘fight, war’ [Noun]
GOID: Mr. cellach [o m]
PIE: *kelh₂- ‘strike’ (IEW: 546f.)
ETYM: Gaulish theonym Su-cellus (? ‘good striker’) might also be related to this root (this god is represented as carrying a hammer on a monument found in Sarrebourg). The origin of the geminate *ll is uncertain (*ls, *In, and *ly are possible). The same root is probably attested in the ethnonym Celtæ (from *kel-to-, cf. PGerm. *hildyō > OE hild ‘fight’, etc.). Since the PIE root ended in a laryngeal, this etymology presupposes that the laryngeal was lost in Celtic. This is possible if we assume a verb with a nasal present *kl-neh₂- (cf. Lat. per-cello ‘strike’) which could have served as the source from which the root form without the laryngeal was generalized. However, such a verb is unattested in Celtic, which casts some doubt on the IE part of this etymology.
REF: LEIA C-61.

*kélyo- / *kilyo- ‘companion’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. céile [io m]
W: MW cilit, kilid (GPC cilydd) [m] ‘companion, other’
BRET: MBret. e-gile ‘other’
**Kenetlo-**

**race, kind** [Noun]

**Gold:** OIr. *cenél* [o n]  
W: OW *cenetl* [f]; MW *kenedyl* (GPC *cenedl, ceneddl*)  
Bret: OBret. *chenetl*, MoBret. *kenel* [f]  
Co: OCo. *kinethel* gl. *generatio*, Co. *kenel*  
Pie: *ken-* ‘begin’ (IEW: 563f.)  
Cogn: Lat. *re-cens* ‘new’, Gr. *kainós* ‘young, new’  
See: *ken-o-* ‘descend from, come into being, be born’, *kani-* ‘good, nice’  
Etym: OW feminine *cenetl* is probably the original Nom-Acc. pl. (or collective) of the neuter *kenetlon*.  

**Kenget-**

‘warrior’ [Noun]

**Gold:** OIr. *cing* [t m]  
Gaul: *Cingeto-rix* [PN]  
Pie: *(s)keng-o-* ‘tread, step, walk (lamely)’ (IEW: 930)  
See: *(s)keng-o-* ‘tread’  
Etym: The same root is probably found in PN like Gaul. *Es-cinga, Eskeggai* (Dat.).  
Ref: LEIA C-102, Delamarre 116.

**Keng-o-**

‘tread, step, walk’ [Vb]

**Gold:** OIr. *cingid, -cing; céiss, -cé* [Subj.]; *chichis, -cich* [Fut.]; *cechaing* [Pret.]  
Pie: *(s)keng-* ‘limp, walk lamely’ (IEW: 930)  
Cogn: Gr. *skázō*, OHG *hikan*  
See: *(s)kenget-* ‘warrior’, *(s)kanxsm*-* ‘step’  
Etym: The same root is probably attested in MW *caseg* (pl. *cesig*) ‘mare’, OCo. *cassec* gl. *equa*, MBret. *casec*. These words could represent PCelt. *kanxst-iká* ‘she belonging to the stallion’, cf. PGerm. *xanxista-* ‘stallion’ (OE *hengest*, OHG *hengist* ‘gelding’). The original meaning of (unattested) PCelt. *kanxsto-* would have been ‘trotter’, vel sim., but it is possible that the Celtic words were borrowed from Germanic at an early stage.  
*kenno-* ‘skin’ [Noun]
GOld: OIr. ceinn ‘peel, rind’ (gl. scamae)
W: OW ceenn [m] ‘murex’, W cen [m] ‘skin’
Bret: OBret. cennenn gl. membrana, MoBret. ken [m] ‘skin’
CO: Co. cen
PIE: *(s)ken- ‘peel’ (IEW: 929f.)
Cogn: OE scinn ‘skin’, MHG scint ‘fruit shell’
Etym: OIr. ceinn is not well attested; MoBret. skant [Collective] ‘dandruff’ probably reflects *skanto- from the same root (PIE *skn-to-). Thus both variants with and without s-mobile are attested in Celtic.

*ken-o- ‘descend from, come into being, be born’ [Vb]
GOld: OIr. cinid; cinis, -cin [Pret.]
PIE: *ken- ‘begin’ (IEW: 564)
Cogn: Lat. re-cens, Gr. kainós ‘new’, OCS na-čëti ‘begin’
See: *kentu- ‘first’
Etym: The Gaulish patronymic suffix -cno- (e.g. in TRUTICNOS = Druti filius in the inscription from Todi) might be etymologically related to this verb. The same root might be in the second element of W bach-gen ‘young boy’.

*kentu- ‘first’ [Adj]
GOld: OIr. cét-
W: MW cynt
Bret: OBret. cint, MBret. quent, MoBret. kent ‘before’
CO: Co. kyns
Gaul: Cintu-gnatus [PN]
PIE: *ken-t- (IEW: 564)
Cogn: Lat. re-cens ‘new’, Gr. kainós ‘young, new’, OHG hintar ‘behind’
See: *ken-o- ‘descend from, come into being, be born’
Etym: This is originally an abstract noun derived from the root *ken- ‘begin’.

*kentu-samonyo- ‘May’ [Noun]
GOld: OIr. cétamain [Indecl.]
W: MW kintevin [m] (GPC cyntefin) ‘beginning of summer, May’
See: *kentu-, *samon-
Etym: This is a compound containing *kintu- ‘first’ and *samon- ‘summer’.
Ref: LEIA C-58, GPC I: 801.
*kerV- ‘fall’ [Vb]
GOID: Olr. do-cér ‘felled’ [3s Pret.]; -torchar [3s Perf.]
PIE: *kerh₂ ‘break’ (IEW: 578)
ETYM: Olr. do-cér < *to-kera- or *to-ker-e- with secondary depalatalization of -r (Mlr. forms with palatalized -r are attested admittedly late, but *kera- should have been assimilated to *kara- by Joseph’s rule). In Old Irish, forms derived from this root serve as suppletive preterites to *tud-o- ‘fall’, see KPV 399.

*kerbo- ‘pointed, sharp’ [Adj]
GOID: Mlr. cerb [o]
PIE: *(s)kerbʰo- ‘sharp’ (IEW: 943)
COGN: OE scearp, Latv. skarbs ‘sharp, rough’, ToB kārpye ‘rough’
ETYM: Mlr. cerb is attested rather late. The Germanic forms with *p do not point to PIE *b, but may be explained by Kluge’s law. Lat. scrobis, scrobs ‘ditch, trench, hole in the ground’ may be related, but only if Schwebeablaut (*skrobʰ-) is admitted, and the difference in meaning is significant.
REF: LEIA C-71.

*kerdā ‘art, skill’ [Noun]
GOID: Olfr. cerd [a f] ‘skill, art (esp. poetic art), craftsman’
W: MW cerdd [f] ‘skill, poetry, music’
BRET: OBret. cherdoran gl. parasitaster
PIE: *kerd- ‘profit’ (IEW: 579)
COGN: Gr. kérdos ‘gain, profit’
ETYM: This etymology is based on the comparison of just two branches of IE (Greek and Celtic) and is therefore not completely compelling. Moreover, the semantic connection is not quite persuasive. Bammesberger (1996) relates these words to the PIE root *kerd- ‘heart’, but I do not find his argument persuasive. From the purely formal point of view, PCelt. *kerdā can be related to PCelt. *kerd-o- ‘put, lay, move’, but the semantic connection is weak.
REF: LEIA C-71f., GPC I: 465, DGVB 103, LP 37, EIEC 139, 143, Bammesberger 1996.

*kerd-o- ‘put, lay, move’ [Vb]
W: MW kerddet ‘walk, go’ (GPC cerdded); kerdd [3s Pres.]
BRET: OBret. cerd ‘movement’, MBret. querzet ‘go, run’, MoBret. kerzed, kerz [m] ‘a march, a walk’
CO: Co. kerdhæs ‘go’
PIE: *kerd- ‘swing’ (IEW: 934f.)  
COGN: Gr. kradáō ‘swing, wave’  
ETYM: OIr. fo-ceird < *ufo-kerd-o- (the simplex verb is unattested in Goidelic). OBret. credam gl. vado has the unexpected re instead of *er; this could be due to metathesis. The IE connections of these Celtic forms are notoriously difficult. I prefer Pokorny’s etymology to more recent proposals. Gr. kradáō does not justify the reconstruction of the PIE root as *kerdh₂-, since the suffix -ao may have been extended analogically. Lat. cardō ‘hinge of a door or gate, pivot’ may also be related, as well as OHG scerdo ‘hinge’, but both the semantic and formal connections are weak.  

*kerkā ‘hen’ [Noun]  
SEE: *korxsā ‘heron’

*kernā ‘angle, corner’ [Noun]  
GOID: Mlr. cern [ā f]  
W: MW cern [f] ‘corner, jaw, cheek, side’  
BRET: MBret. quern ‘top’, MoBret. kern [f]  
CO: Co. Kernow ‘Cornwall’  
PIE: *ker(h₂)-no- ‘horn’ (IEW: 576)  
COGN: Go. haurna ‘horn’, Lat. cornu ‘horn’  
SEE: *karno- ‘horn, hoof’  
ETYM: Mlr. cern ‘corner’ might be the same word as cern ‘receptacle, dish’ (if this latter word originally denoted only dishes of angled shape). If this etymon is indeed from the PIE root for ‘horn’, Celtic must have generalized the root shape without the laryngeal (just as Latin cornu). The same root is in the zero-grade in PCelt. *karno-.  

*kí / *koy / *kē [Demonstrative Particle or pronoun]  
GOID: OIr. ce, cé demonstrative particle: in bith ce ‘this world’, Ogam CI, COI ‘this’  
GAUL: koui (?), iso-c ‘thus’ (Chamalières)  
PIE: *key- ‘this’ (IEW: 609)  
COGN: Lat. cis, Eng. he-reLith. šis  
ETYM: The OIr. form cé could represent the Nom. s masc. form of the pronoun, PIE *keys > PCelt. kēs (like *kʰeys ‘who’ > *kʰeś). The short form ce is due to shortening in atomic position. The Ogam particle COI probably also belongs here; since its meaning seems to be equivalent to Lat. hic (iacet), it has been interpreted as the Loc. sg. of the same pronominal stem.  
**kīkā** ‘breast’ [Noun]
GOLD: MIr. *cich* [ã f] ‘breast’
W: MW *cig* [m] ‘meat’
CO: OCo. *cic* gl. *caro, chic, kyk*
GAUL: *Cic-ollus* [PN]
ETYM: There is some evidence (according to DIL) that *cīch* was a neuter s-
stem in Olr., so maybe PCelt. *kīkos-* should be reconstructed (this would be
more in accordance with the gender of the Brittonic words). It is assumed
here that the meaning attested in Mlr. is original; this is a popular, expressive
word, such as are often used for (female) body parts.
REF: LEIA C-96, GPC I: 477, DGVB 105, LHEB 304, Delamarre 116,

**kīna, *kinā** ‘besides’ [Prep]
GOLD: Olr. *cen* [+Acc.] ‘without’
W: MW *am-gen* ‘other, different’
BRET: MBret. *quen* ‘other, otherwise’
CO: Co. *ken* ‘other, otherwise’
ETYM: W **gan** ‘with, by’ has also been related to these words (but cf.
PCelt. *kant- ‘together, with’). It appears that these words are connected to
the demonstrative base *kī- (Lat. *cis* etc.), but details are unclear.
REF: LEIA C-64, GPC I: 86.

**kīsrā** ‘comb’ [Noun]
GOLD: Olr. *cir* [ã f]
PIE: *kes- ‘comb’ (IEW: 585)
COGN: Gr. *ksainō* ‘comb’, OCS *cesati* ‘to comb’, Lith. *kasýti* ‘to scratch’
ETYM: The lengthened grade of Olr. *cir* is unexpected. On the other hand,
a proto-form *kes-erā* would presumably yield **keherā > **ciar in Olr. It is
tempting to posit a reduplicated proto-form *ke-ks-reh₂ > *kexsrā (for the
zero grade cf. Gr. *ksainō < *ks-n-) and assume lengthening of vowels before
*xsL (cf. *tāxslo- ‘axe’ < *tokslo-). If this is accepted, we would have
*kexsrā > *kēsrā > *kīsrā regularly.

**kistā** ‘(woven) basket’ [Noun]
GOLD: Mlr. *cess* (DIL *ces*) [ã f] ‘basket, causeway of wickerwork, bee-
hive’
W: OW *cest* [f] gl. *fuscina*
BRET: MBret. *kest*
COGN: Gr. *kistē*
ETYM: Borrowing from Lat. *cista* (itself from Gr. *kistē) seems improbable.
All of these words could be from some unknown, non-IE source. Lat.
cissium 'a kind of car with two wheels' is considered to be a loanword from Gaul. It may be from the same Celt. root. For the evolution of meaning cf. OIr. corb 'chariot', vs. Lat. corbis 'basket'.
REF: LEIA C-78f., GPC I: 740, DGVB 104, Delamarre 117.

*kiw-o- 'fog' [Noun]
GOld: OIr. ceó [? f and m]
PIE: *keyH- ‘gray’ (IEW: 951)
COgn: Skt. šváva- ‘dark brown’, OCS sivb ‘gray’, Lith. švās
ETYM: The derivation from the PIE root is doubtful both formally and semantically (for the phonetic development cf. OIr. béo from PCelt. *biwo- ‘alive’). The vowel length could have been lost by Dybo’s law if PIE end-stressed *kiH-wó- is posited. OE héow, hiw ‘appearance’ and the related Germanic words probably do not belong here (Orel 2003: 171 relates them convincingly to OE heawan ‘to hew’).
REF: LEIA C-68f.

*ki-yo- 'fall, cry' [Vb]
GOld: OIr. ciid, -ci ‘cry’; cieid, -cia [Subj.]; cichid, -cichi [Fut.]; cich [Pret.]
W: MW -chiawr ‘fall’ [3s Pres.] (GPC ciawr)
Bret: MBret. coezaff ‘fall, happen’
Co: Co. koedha ‘fall, happen’
PIE: *key- ‘fall’ (IEW: 542 (*keyd-))
COgn: Skt. śiyate ‘falls’, perhaps ON hitta ‘light upon, meet with’
ETYM: Breton and Cornish forms are from PCelt. *kē-do-, presumably a derivative from the same verbal root. Cf. also W cwyddaw ‘fall’ (denominal verb).
REF: GPC I: 475, KPV 404ff., LIV 321, LEIA C-9, C-98.

*kladiwo- ‘sword’ [Noun]
GOld: OIr. claideb [o m]
SEe: *k1ado-, *klado- ‘trench’
ETYM: The Brittonic words (MW cledyf, MBret. clezeff, Co. clethe) are early loanwords from Goidelic. It is usually assumed that Lat. gladius was borrowed from Celtic in prehistoric times, but it could also be inherited (with *kl > gl- as in Lat. glória < *klowesyā).

*klad-o- ‘dig, bury’ [Vb]
GOld: OIr. cladaid, -claid; cláiss, -clá [Subj.]; cechlaís, -cechla [Fut.]; cechlaíd [Pret.]; classae, -class [Pass.]
W: MW claddu
Bret: MBret. claza, MoBret. klazañ
PIE: *kelh2- ‘hit, break’ (IEW: 546f.)
**klödo-**


SEE: *klödo-*, *klädo-* ‘trench’

ETYM: The Celtic forms show the reflexes of the zero-grade of the PIE root. Schumacher (KPV 412) thinks that *klad-* is the regular reflex of *klh₂d-* , which I find unlikely. The expected reflex *kläd-* is preserved in the Subjunctive, OIr. -cláiss < *klāds-, while the short vowel in the present may be the result of Dybo’s law, if the original present was *klh₂dēti, *klh₂dónći (the type of Skt. tudāti).


**klädo-**

*klädo-* ‘trench’ [Noun]

GOID: Mlr. *clad*, *clod* [o m] ‘hole dug in the ground, trench’

W: MW *cladd* [m and f] ‘pit, ditch’ (GPC *cladd*), *clawd* [m] ‘mound, ditch, pit, bulwark’ (GPC *clawdd*); *cloddiau, cloddion* [p]

BRET: MBret. *kleuz* (MoBret.)

CO: Co. *cleath*

GAUL: *Vindo-cladia* [Toponym]

PIE: *kleh₂-d-* (IEW: 546)

COGN: Lat. *clādes* ‘devastation’

SEE: *klad-o-* ‘dig, bury’

ETYM: There is also a verbal derivative from the same root, PCelt. *klad-o-* (v.). MBret. *kleuz* and W *clawd* must be from PCelt. *klād-* with long *ā.* The forms with short *a* must somehow be analogical, because *klh₂d-* (with PIE zero-grade) would have yielded PCelt. *klād-* as well. The source of the analogy could have been the verb *klad-o-* ‘dig’, where the short *a* might be regular.


**klamo-**

‘sick, suffering from leprosy’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. *clam* [o] ‘leprous’

W: MW *claf* ‘sick, ill, leprous’

BRET: MBret. *claff*, MoBret. *kläñ*

CO: OCo. *claf* gl. eger

ETYM: The a-vocalism of this etymon points to non-IE origin.


**kläro-**

‘board, plank’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *clár* [o n and m] ‘plank, flat article, surface’

W: OW *claur*, W *clawr* [m] ‘cover, lid, plank’; *cloriau* [p]

BRET: MoBret. *cleûr, kleur* [m] ‘limon de charrette, cheville du limon’

PIE: *kleh₂-ro-* ‘plank’ (IEW: 545)

COGN: Gr. *klēros* ‘lot, piece of wood for casting lots’
*klāwo-

ETYM: A connection with the root *kelh₂- ‘cut’ (Gr. kláō, Lith. kálti, etc., Pokorny 545f.) appears probable, otherwise this would be an exclusive Celtic-Greek isogloss. Both PCelt. *klāro- and Gr. klēros can be from PIE *klh₂ro- (the Greek form shows that the accent was on the first syllable, so the length of the root vowel was preserved in Celtic).

SEE: *kellāko- ‘fight, war’, *klad-o- ‘bury, dig’, *kolgā ‘dagger’


*klāwo- ‘bolt’ [Noun]

GOI D: OIr. cló [o m] ‘nail, spike’; cloē [io m]

W: MW clo [m] ‘lock, bolt’

BRET: OBret. clou gl. acitamenta (for *acutamenta), MBret. clou, MoBret. klou [m] ‘key, bolt’

PIE: *kleh₂-w- ‘bolt, bar, hook’ (IEW: 604)

COGN: Lat. clāuis ‘key, bolt’, Gr. kleis (Dor. klāís)

ETYM: Some think these words were borrowed from Lat. clāuus, but inheritance is equally probable.


*klieto- ‘palisade, hurdle’ [Noun]

GOI D: Mfr. cliaith [ä f]

W: MW clwyd [f] ‘barrier, wattle, scaffolding, gate’

BRET: MBret. cloet, kloued, klwed [f]

CO: OC. cluit gl. clita

PIE: *kley-t- (IEW: 601)

SEE: *klit- ‘pillar, post’

ETYM: Fr. claié, Cat. cleda are derived from Gaul. *clēta, the exact correspondence of these Celtic words, see Delamarre 118.


*kλeyo- ‘left’ [Adj]

GOI D: OIr. clé

W: OW cled, MW cled (GPC cledd) ‘left, left hand or side’ ([f] when used as a noun)

BRET: MBret. cleiz, MoBret. kleiz

CO: Co. cledh

PIE: *kley- (IEW: 601)

COGN: Lat. clīitus ‘inauspicious, ominous’, Go. hleiduma ‘left’, Lith. šleivas ‘bow-legged’

ETYM: It seems that the original meaning of PIE *kley- was ‘bow-shaped’, or ‘sloping’, cf. Lat. clīitus ‘slope, hill’.

*kli-nu- ‘hear’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. ro-cluinethar; -cloathar [Subj.]; cechladar [Fut.]; -cualae [Pret.]; -closs [Pass.]
PIE: *klew- (IEW: 605ff.)
COGN: Skt. śru-, Gr. klýō, OCS sluti
SEE: *klus- ‘hear’, *klowstā ‘ear’
ETYM: OIr. ro-cluinethar < *fro-kli-nu-tor. The verb loses its prefix ro- in non-present tense. The PCelt. stem *kli-nu- was probably reshaped by transposition to *klu-ni- in Primitive Irish, hence regularly OIr. -cluin-ethar.

*klisso-, *klissu- ‘feat’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cles [o and u m] ‘feat, trick, stratagem’
PIE: *kleys-d-
COGN: Skt. krīdāti ‘plays, dances’
ETYM: If OIr. cles is related to Skt. krīdāti, the PIE root should be reconstructed as *kleys-d-. PCelt. *klisso- < *klis-to- preserves the zero-grade of the root from the past participle. However, Skt. krīdāti has also been related to ON hrīsta ‘shake’, which must be from PIE *krey-s-d-. Another possibility would be to relate OIr. cless to Skt. śres- ‘hang’ (Mayrhofer II: 670f., LIV 297), in which case we should reconstruct PCelt. *klisso- (< PIE *klis-so-), or *klisto- (< PIE *klis-to-).
REF: LEIA C-117.

*kliit- ‘pillar, post’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. clí [m] and cleth [ā f] ‘housepost, support, prop’
PIE: *kley-t- ‘post, trimmed log’ (IEW: 601)
COGN: Skt. śrītā- ‘attached’, Gr. klīta ‘cloister’ (Hesych.), OE gehlīd ‘fence’
ETYM: OIr. clí can be from *kliit-, whereas cleth is from the derived *klitā. Reflexes in other IE languages may point to a PIE root noun, *kleyt-/ *klit-os, but most languages seem to have generalized the oblique stem with the zero-grade of the root, attested also in the verb *kley- ‘lean’ (Skt. śray-, Lat. clīno, OHG hlinēn, Lith. šlieti).

*klito- ‘warm’ [Adj]
W: MW clyd ‘warm, sheltered’
PIE: *klto- ‘warm’ (IEW: 551)
COGN: Lith. šiltas, Lat. calidus, caleo ‘be warm’
ETYM: Formally, PCelt. *klito- is a past participle of the verbal stem *kel-, which is attested in Lat. caleo
REF: GPC I: 515.
*klokko- 'bell' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cloc [o m]
W: MW cloch [f]
BRET: MBret. cloch, MoBret. kloc’h [m]
CO: OCo. cloch gl. clocca
ETYM: Fr. cloche ‘bell’ < MLat. clocca was probably borrowed from the language of the Celtic missionaries in the early Middle Ages (clocca is first attested in the work of Adomnán in the 7th century). It is improbable that it is from Gaulish, cf. also Germ. Glocke. The PCelt. word is clearly onomatopoetic.

*klowni- ‘meadow’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cluain [i m]
W: OW clun [m], MW clun
GAUL: Clunia [Toponym]
ETYM: Pokorny hesitates between the roots *klep- (IEW 603) and *klew- (IEW 607), but neither etymology is completely persuasive. I find the derivation from PIE *klopni- (Lith. šlapius ‘wet’, Gr. klépas ‘swamp’) somewhat more probable. PIE *klopni would have given PCelt. *klowni-quite regularly.

*klowni- ‘thigh’ [Noun]
W: MW clun [f]; cluniau [p]
BRET: MBret. clun, MoBret. klun [f] ‘buttock’
CO: Co. clun
PIE: *klowni- (IEW: 607f.)
COGN: Lat. clūnis, Olc. hlaun, Lith. šlaunis

*klowsta ‘hearing, ear’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. chús [a f]
W: MW clust [m and f]; clustiau [p]
GAUL: Rokloisiabo [Dat p, Theonym]
PIE: *klews-t- ‘hear’ (IEW: 606)
SEE: *kli-nu- ‘hear’
COGN: OE hlyst ‘hearing’

*klukaro- ‘heap of stones, rocky place’ [Noun]
SEE: *klukā ‘stone’
*klukā ‘stone, rock’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. cloch [ä f]
W: MW clog [f] ‘rock’
BRET: MoBret. Cleguer [Toponym]
CO: Co. clog
ETYM: MBret. Cleguer, MoBret. Kleger (also kleger [m] ‘heap of stones’) is a collective formation with the suffix *-ro-, cf. Olr. clochar [o n]. W clegyr ‘a heap of stones’ (on this type of formation see Tovar 1972-3). In all likelihood, this PCelt. etymon was borrowed from some non-IE language.
REF: LEIA C-123f., GPC I: 505, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 471.

*klaus-ī- ‘hear’ [Vb]
W: MW clywet, clybot (GPC clywed, clybod)
BRET: MBret. clevet, MoBret. klewed
CO: Co. klywes
PIE: *klews- (IEW: 605ff.)
COGN: OHG hlosēn, OCS slyšati
SEE: *kli-nu- ‘hear’
ETYM: The forms of the verb ‘to hear’ in Goidelic are derived from the form *klew-, e.g. Olr. ro-cluinethar ‘hears’, cf. the preterite 3sg. -cualae < *ku-klow-e (= W cigleu).

*kluto- ‘fame’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. cloth [o n]
W: MW clod [m and f]
BRET: OBret. clot gl. rumoris, MoBret. klod [m]
CO: Co. clos
PIE: *klu-to- (IEW: 605ff.)
COGN: Gr. klytōs ‘famous’, Lat. in-clutus
ETYM: This word is a substantivized neuter passive participle. W clod < *klutā is best interpreted as the reflex of the old neuter plural, rather than as an independent feminine etymon.

*kluwos ‘fame’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. clū [s n, later f] gl. rumor; cluē [Gen s]
PIE: *klewos ‘word, fame’ (IEW: 606)
COGN: Skt. śrāvas-, Gr. kléos, Lat. clūor
SEE: *kli-nu- ‘hear’, *kluto- ‘fame’
ETYM: The unexpected *-u- in Celtic could be due to the analogy with the participle of the verb ‘to hear’, *klu-to-. PIE *klewos should probably have given PCelt. *klowos > Olr. **clúa. The same root is attested in Gaul.
personal names such as Ver-clovus, Veru-cloetius (Caesar). Gaul. (?Theonym) rokloisiabo [Dat. pl.] (Glanum) can represent *fro-klowes-yā (Hamp 1986).

**knāmi-** 'bone' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cnáim [i m]
P:IE: *konh2m ‘leg’ (Gen. s *knh2m-os) (IEW: 613)
COGN: Gr. knēmē ‘leg’, OE hamm ‘ham’
ETYM: The OIr. word is derived from the oblique stem of the PIE etymon, *knh2m-. W cnaw [m] ‘bone, skull’ is probably a loanword from OIr.

**knawi** ‘fleece’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cnai [i f]
W: MW cnai [f] ‘fleece, clipping, a shearing’
BRET: MBret. kneau, cnev, (Vannetais kaneo), MoBret. knew [m]
CO: Co. knew
ETYM: Cf. also MW cnu, cnuf [m] ‘fleece’ < *knowo-. An etymological connection to PCelt. *knä-yo- ‘bite, chew’ is probable.

**knä-yo-** ‘bite, chew’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. imm-cná-, -cná
W: MW cnoi; cny [3s Pres.]
P:IE: *kneh2- ‘bite, gnaw’ (IEW: 560)
COGN: Lith. knoti ‘peel’, Gr. knēstēr ‘a kind of knife’
ETYM: OIr. imm-cná < *ambi-knä-yo-. Cf. also OIr. cnaid ‘bites, gnaws’.
The verbal noun OIr. cnám < *knāmā might be etymologically identical to MW cnaw ‘bone’ (but see PCelt. *knāmi- ‘bone’).
REF: KPV 418, LIV 365, LP 354, LEIA C-129.

**knokko-** ‘protuberance, hill’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cnocc [o m] ‘lump, swelling, ulcer, hill, mound’
W: MW cnwch [m] (GPC cnwch, clwch)
BRET: OBret. noch gl. tumulus, MBret. qnech, MoBret. krec’h [m]
P:IE: *nek- (IEW: 559)
COGN: OE hnecca ‘neck’, OHG hnac ‘back, top’, ToA kňuk ‘neck’
ETYM: W cnwch is a loanword from Irish (the regular reflex of *kk is W ch). Its vocalism may have influenced cnwch, which is inherited, (otherwise we would have to reconstruct PCelt. *knukko-, and attribute -o- in OIr. to lowering). Celtic shows evidence of both *knokko- (OIr. cnocc) and *knekkko- (MoBret. krec’h, with kn > kr). PCelt. *knokko- agrees with the vocalism of the Germanic cognates.
*knū- ‘nut’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cnu [u f]
W: MW cnau [p]; cneuen [Singulative f]
BRET: MBret. kanou, MoBret. know [Collective], knoen [Singulative]
CO: Co. cnyfan [Singulative]
PIE: *knew- ‘nut’ (IEW: 558)
COGN: Lat. nux, OE hnutu
ETYM: These words, all derived from the same root (*knew-), have different suffixes (*-k- in Latin, *-d- in Germanic, ? -H- in Celtic). They may have been ultimately borrowed from some unknown non-IE source of W Europe.

*kob(o)- ‘victory’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. cob [o n (?)]
GAUL: Uer-cobius [PN]
PIE: *kob- (IEW: 610)
COGN: ON happ ‘chance, good luck’, OCS kobь ‘destiny’
ETYM: Ir. cob is a rare, poetic word glossed as buaid ‘victory’ in O’ Davoreen’s dictionary. It could have been neuter originally, but this is not certain. The comparison of the Gaulish names with this element is also rather speculative.
REF: LEIA C-134f., Delamarre 120, Ellis Evans 1967: 183.

*koldo- ‘destruction’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. coll [o n]
W: MW coll [m]
BRET: MBret. coll, MoBret. koll
CO: OCo. colloed gl. iactura
PIE: *kold- ‘strike, cut’ (IEW: 545)
COGN: OE healtian ‘limp’

*kolgā ‘sword, dagger’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. colg, calg [a f later o m]
W: MW col, coly [m] ‘sting, spike, chaff’; OW colginn gl. aristam, MW colyn [m] ‘sting, pivot’
CO: Co. col, colgh
PIE: *kelh₂- ‘pierce, strike’ (IEW: 545)
COGN: Lat. per-cello, OCS klati
*koligno-

ETYM: If we start from PIE *kolh₂-geh₂, the loss of the laryngeal is regular after *or (de Saussure’s rule). But the velar suffix *-go- is unusual.
REF: LEIA C-157, GPC I: 542, 546, LP 33, Falileyev 34, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 99

*koligno- ‘pup, small animal’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cuiléin [o m] ‘pup, whelp, cub, kitten’
W: MW colwyn [m]; colwynod [p]
BRET: OBret. coloinan gl. catulaster, MBret. quoa/en
CO: OCo. coloin gl. catulus
ETYM: Theoretically, it would be possible to derive *koligno- by dissimilation from *koni-gno-, and relate the first element of this compound to PIE *ken- ‘young, new’ (see PCelt. *kanawon-). The second element would be derivable from PIE *genh₁- ‘bear, give birth to’ (see PCelt. *genos-). However, this is highly speculative. Since no persuasive IE etymology is at hand, it is quite likely that this word was borrowed from some non-IE language.
REF: LEIA C-269, GPC I: 545, DGVB 114.

*kolino- ‘holly tree’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cuileann [o m]
W: MW celyn
BRET: MBret. quelenn, MoBret. kelenn [Collective]
CO: OCo. kelin gl. ulcia
PIE: *kol-ino- ‘pricky tree, ?holly’ (IEW: 545)
COGN: OE holegn ‘holly’, OHG hulis(boum), Alb. kalli ‘straw, chaff’
ETYM: The Germanic forms point to PGerm. *hulisa-, which would have to reflect the zero-grade of a PIE root *kol-, *kel-. Note, however, that OIr. cuileann would be compatible with *kulino- rather than *kolino-. If *kulino- is the correct PCelt. reconstruction, we are dealing with a loanword from some unknown non-IE language. But the vocalism of the Brittonic reflexes is best explained as the result of assimilation from *kylyn, which would be the regular reflex (by raising) of *kolyn (cf. W dylysc and delysc < PCelt. *dolisko- ‘seaweed’).

*kom ‘with’ [Prep]
GOID: OIr. co, cu [Nasalizing, +Dat.]
W: MW cyf-
BRET: MBret. kev-
CO: Co. kev-
PIE: *kom ‘with’ (IEW: 612)
COGN: Lat. cum, OCS sь
SEE: *kanti- ‘together with’
ETYM: A derivative of this preposition is PCelt. *kanti-<*kmti- ‘together, with’
REF: LEIA C-133, C-161, GOI 502f.

**kom-altiyo-** ‘foster-brother’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *comaltae* [io m]
W: MW *cyfeillt* [m] ‘friend’ (GPC *cyfaill*, *cyfaillt*)
CO: OCo. *chevals* gl. *artus*
SEE: *altiyo- ‘fosterling, client’
REF: GPC I: 675.

**kom-angu-** ‘narrow’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *cumung* [o]
W: MW *cyfwng* [m] ‘gap, chasm, straits’
SEE: *angu- ‘narrow’
ETYM: Cf. also the denominative verb W *cyfyngu* ‘to narrow, distress, restrict’.

**kom-are-(yo)-** ‘direction, presence’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *comair* (used as a preposition: *comair caich* ‘in front of everyone’)
W: MW *cyfair* [m and f] ‘direction, place, spot, acre’ (GPC *cyfair*, *cyfer*)
BRET: MBret. *e queffuer*, MoBret. *keñer*
CO: Co. *kever*
SEE: *kom-, *fare

**kom-ber-o-** ‘bring together’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *con-beir* ‘brings together, bears’
W: MW *kymryt* ‘take, receive’ (GPC *kymryd*, *clymyrd*)
BRET: MBret. *quempret*, MoBret. *keñer*
CO: Co. * kemmeres* ‘take, receive’
SEE: *ber-o- ‘carry’
REF: KPV 219ff., GPC I: 759.

**kom-bero-** ‘confluence (of rivers)’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *commar* [o]
W: OW *cimer* [m], *cymer*
BRET: MBret. *kemper*
SEE: *kom-, *ber-o- ‘carry’

**kom-bi-na-** ‘cut off’ [Vb]
GOID: Mlr. *con-ben* ‘cuts off’
*kom-dati-*

W: MW kymynu 'hew, cut off, hack'; kymyn [3s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. quemenas 'cut' [3s Pret.]
REF: GPC I: 774.

**kom-dati**- ‘confluence’ [Noun]
SEE: *dasti- ‘heap, pile’

**kom-daw-to**- ‘firewood’ [Noun]
SEE: *daw-yo- ‘kindle, burn’

**kom-delgo**- ‘contract, comparison’
SEE: *delg-o- ‘hold’

**kom-fro-ank-o**- ‘meet, fight’ [Vb]
GOlD: OIr. con-r-icc ‘meet’
W: MW kyfreing, kyfrang [3s Pres.] ‘meet, fight’ (GPC cyfrengi)
SEE: *ank-o- ‘reach’
REF: KPV 200f., GPC I: 710.

**kom-koro**- ‘meeting’ (?) [Noun]
GOID: MIr. coeur [o m] ‘consultation, conspiracy’
W: MW cynghor [m] ‘counsel’ (GPC cyngor)
SEE: *kom-, *koro- ‘act of putting’
REF: LEIA C-205, GPC I: 740.

**kom-men**- ‘memory’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cuman, cumen (in is cuman lim ‘I remember’)
W: MW cof [m], covein, cofawr [p]
BRET: OBret. com, cam, MBret. couff, coff, MoBret. koun [m]
CO: Co. cof
SEE: *man-yo- ‘think, remember’
ETYM: OBret. com, cam is not adduced in DGVB.

**kom-oxti**- ‘power, wealth’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cumachtae [io n] ‘power’
W: OW comoid [m] ‘power’, MW cyfoeth, kyuoeith ‘wealth’
CO: OCo. chêfuidoc gl. omnipotens
REF: LEIA C-286, GPC I: 708, Falileyev 34.

**kom-rigā** ‘binding, bond’ [Noun]
SEE: *rig-o- ‘bind’

**kom-skara**- ‘divide, destroy’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. con-scara ‘cut to pieces, destroy’
**kom-sniy-o-**

W: MW kyfyscaraf [1s Pres.] ‘separate (oneself)’ (GPC cyfysgar)
SEE: *skara- ‘separate’
REF: KPV 576, GPC I: 727.

*kom-sniy-o- ‘contend, strive for’ [Vb]
GOID: Ofr. con-sni; con-séna [Pret.]
W: MW kynnif, kynnyddu ‘grow, enlarge’
SEE: *sniy-o- ‘spin, weave’
REF: KPV 599f., GPC I: 797.

**kondo- ‘protuberance, preeminence, reason’ [Noun]
GOID: Ofr. conn [o m] ‘protuberance, adult person, intelligence’
PIE: *kom-dʰh₁-o- ‘put together’ (IEW: 613)
COGN: Lat. condō, OCS sādhs ‘court, judgement’
ETYM: It is not certain whether there is only one PCelt. word *kondo-
encompassing all of the meanings attributable to Ofr. conn. This Ofr. word
was also interpreted as *k’onno-, which would be in ablaut to *kʷenno-
‘head’ (v.), in which case it cannot be from PIE *kom-dʰh₁-o- ‘put together’.
REF: LEIA C-196.

**koret- ‘palisade, wall’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. cora [t f]
W: MW cored [f] ‘weir, dam’
BRET: OBret. coret
ETYM: The Germanic words for ‘hurdle’ (Germ. Hürde, OE hyrdel) may
be related, as well as OPr. corto ‘hedge’ and Lat. crātis ‘hurdle’, but the
proto-form is difficult to reconstruct. In all likelihood these words were
borrowed from some non-IE language. Mlr. ceirtle [iā f] ‘clew, ball of
thread’ (?) < *kert-li-yā) probably does not belong here.

**korkkyo- ‘oats’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. corca, coince [io m]
W: MW ceirch, cerch, cyrch [p]; ceirchyn, ceirchen [Singulative]
BRET: MBret. kerch, MoBret. kerc’h [Collective]
CO: OCo. bara keirch gl. panis avena
ETYM: The e-vocalism of the root in Brittonic is secondary, the regular
reflex is preserved in MW cyrch, which is the result of raising (from
*korkki); sequences of *y..i/y often dissimilate to *e...i/y in Brittonic (cf.
PCelt. *dolisko- > W delysc, dylysc). OSw. hagre ‘oats’ (from which Fin.
kakra ‘id.’ was borrowed) can be derived from *kokro-; these words for
‘oats’ were probably borrowed from some pre-IE source in NW Europe.
REF: LEIA C-208, GPC I: 454, Deshayes 2003: 386, Schrijver 1995: 259,
283, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 39.
**kormi** ‘beer’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cuirm* [i n]
W: OW *curum*, W *cwrw* [m]
CO: OCo. *coruf* gl. *ceruisia*, MCo. *kor*
GAUL: *curmi*, *curmi* (Vertault), *körma*
PIE: *kerm-* (IEW: 572)
COGN: Russ. *körm* ‘fodder’, ?Lat. *cremor* ‘broth, pap, juice made by boiling grain’
ETYM: The reconstruction PCelt. *kormi*- is preferable to the alternative *kurmi*-, because such a vocalism can more easily be related to the PIE root *kerm*-. Gaul. *curmi* must have the vowel *u* by a secondary development. Lat. *ceruēsia*, *ceruisia* ‘beer’ (Pliny, 22.64) was borrowed from a Celtic form with the e-vocalism. Falileyev does not adduce OW *curum*.

**korno** ‘horn’ [Noun]
SEE: *karno* ‘horn, hoof’

**koro** ‘act of putting, casting, a throw’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *cor* [o m]
PIE: *(s)ker-* ‘turn, curve’ (IEW: 935)
COGN: Lat. *curuus* ‘curved’
ETYM: In OIr., there is a denominative verb *do-cuirethar* ‘put, place’ (< *to-koryetor*) derived from this root. The IE etymology is conjectural; if true, the meaning changed from ‘turn’ to ‘cast’ and ‘put’ in Celtic. The same root may be contained in OIr. *echair*, [i and k, f] ‘key’, (DIL *eochair*), if from *(s)ker-* (the original meaning would have been ‘the opener’, while MW *agor* ‘open’ can be from *(s)ker-* (cf. also Co. *egory*, *ygeri* ‘open’). Pedersen’s derivation of these words from *(s)kari-* is impossible.

**koruko** ‘(leather) boat’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. *curach* [o m]
W: MW *corwg*, *corwg* [m] ‘coracle, vessel, body’
ETYM: A connection of these words with PIE *(s)koro-* ‘leather’ (OCS *kora*, Lat. *corium*, IEW 939) appears probable.

**korxsá** ‘heron, crane’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. *corr* [ã f]
W: MW *crynghedd* [m] ‘heron’
CO: OCo. crechit, cherchid gl. ardea, Co. kerghyt, keryth
ETYM: The derivation is not without problems, since the root is onomatopoetic. MW crychydd points to *krixsiyā, from the zero-grade of the same root as PCelt. *kērkā ‘hen’ > OIr. cerc [ā f]. This word may also have influenced the development of Bret. kerc ‘heiz’. Cf. also W creyr, crehr, MBret. querhair ‘heron’, which may be from a similar onomatopoetic root. The PIE etymology is uncertain, but other IE languages have similar onomatopoetic words, e.g. Skt. kṛka-vāku- ‘cock’.

*koryo- ‘troop, tribe’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. cuire [io ?m]
W: MW cordd [f] ‘tribe, clan’
GAUL: Vo-corii [Ethnonym], Ate-corius [PN]
PIE: *koryo- ‘troop’ (IEW: 615)
COGN: OPers. kāra- ‘people’, Go. harjis ‘army’, Lith. kārias ‘army’
ETYM: Cf. also OW cas-goord ‘retinue of attendants’ (? *kom-exs-koryo-).
IEW (579) compares MW cordd with Skt. śārīhas- ‘herd, troop’, Go. hairda, etc., but this is clearly less probable.

*koslo- ‘hazel’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. coll [o m] gl. corylus
W: OW coll gl. corilis [coll.], MW coll(en); cyll [p]
BRET: OBret. colguid gl. columus, MBret. queluez, MoBret. kelwez [Collective]
CO: OCo. colwiden gl. corillus
PIE: *kos(V)lo- ‘hazel’ (IEW: 616)
COGN: Lat. corulus, OHG hasal, perhaps OLith. kasulas ‘hunting spear’
ETYM: The Celtic forms can be derived by syncope. MoBret. kelvezen and OCo. colwiden represent compounds, with the second element *widu- ‘wood’. There may have existed a related word *koslo- in Gaulish (see LEIA C-158). The word for ‘hazel’ is clearly an innovation of the European branches of IE.

*kotto- ‘old’ [Adj]
BRET: MBret. coz, MoBret. kozh
CO: OCo. coth
GAUL: Ate-cotti [Ethnonym]
ETYM: According to Sims-Williams (2006: 67) Cat. cot ‘hill’, Sp. cueto are from the Gaulish reflex of this word. The semantic development was presumably from ‘old’ to ‘curved, humpbacked hillock’. In any case, these words are probably of non-IE origin.

*kowdo- ‘hiding place’ [Adj]
W: MW cudd [m] ‘hiding-place, concealment’
BRET: MBret. cuz, MoBret. kuz
PIE: *kewdʰ- ‘hide’ (IEW: 952)
COGN: Gr. kóutho, Arm. suzanem ‘submerge, hide’
ETYM: Celtic forms point to an o-grade nominal derivative, PIE *kowḍʰo-; cf. the denominative verbs W cuddieaf, MBret. cuzaff, Co. cuthe ‘hide’.

*kowik- ‘cuckoo’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cóí [k f] (DIL cai)
PIE: *kew-k- ‘cuckoo’ (IEW: 535)
COGN: Gr. kókkeús, Lat. cuculus, cf. also Gr. kauaks ‘gull’
ETYM: There are similar onomatopoeic words for ‘cuckoo’ in Brittonic, MW and Co. cog, but they do not formally match OIr. coí, the formation of which seems more archaic. The Brittonic words may go back to *koka (cf. Skt. kāka- ‘crow’).
REF: LEIA C-9, Mac Éoin 1974.

*kownā ‘litter (of dogs)’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cúan [â f]
W: MW cun [Collective] ‘pack (of dogs)’
ETYM: Mlr. cúan ‘troop’ may represent the metaphoric use of the same word. A connection with the word for ‘dog’ (*kwon-) is possible if one assumes a vṛddhi derivative (*kowno- < *kewno- ‘dog’s offspring’), but note that there are no other examples of such derivatives built to *CuC- roots in Celtic. Another possibility would be to relate PCelt. *kownā to PIE *kewHup- ‘heap’ (Lith. kauapas ‘heap’), but the semantics of the connection are difficult.
REF: LEIA C-261, GPC I: 630, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 257.

*kow-wari- ‘proper, fitting’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. cóir, coǐr, coai [i]
W: OW couer ‘complete’, MW kyweir cyweir, (GPC cywair) [m and f] ‘proper state, proper order, preparation, state of mind, temper’
PIE: *wer- (IEW: 1164)
COGN: Lat. uereor ‘show respect, fear’, Go. wars ‘attent’, ToB wārs- ‘to pity’
*kóxsá ‘leg’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cos [ã f]
P: *kókso- ‘hollow of joint’ (IEW: 611)
C: Lat. coxa ‘hip’, OHG hāhsa ‘back of knee’, ToB kakse ‘loins’
REF: LEIA C-6, GPC I: 629, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 222.

*koymo- ‘dear, nice’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. cóim [o] (DIL cáel) gl. macer
W: MW cu ‘narrow, lean’
BRET: MBret. cum, MBret. cunff, cuff, MoBret. kuñv
C: Co. cuj, cueff
P: *koymo- ‘homely, belonging to the family’ (IEW: 540)
C: OE hám ‘home’, Latv. sāime ‘family’, Russ. semjá ‘family’
ETYM: Gaul. PN Coemo might belong here (Meid 2005: 191); cf. also the compound OIr. maccóem ‘page’, from *makk"o-koymo- (Mac Cana 1991); W makwyf ‘page’ was borrowed from Goidelic.

*krābi- ‘devotion, religious practice’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. crábud [u > o m]
W: MW crefydd [f and m]
ETYM: W crefydd has -e- rather than -o- on the analogy with the verb credu ‘believe’. It has the suffix *-yo-, while OIr. crábud has another suffix, *-itu-.
Pokorny’s etymology of these words (IEW 617) is not convincing, since a connection with Skt. śrambahate ‘relies on someone’ is formally extremely difficult (PIE *krebʰ-, with the completely unmotivated lengthened grade in Celtic?).


**krāfo-** ‘stable, enclosure’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cró [o m]; cróe, cróa [io m] ‘enclosure, shed, sty’
W: MW creu [m] ‘shed’ (GPC crau, craw)
BRET: OBret. crou gl. hara .i. stabulum porcorum, MBret. kraou
CO: Co. crow ‘hut’
PIE: *krebh- ‘roof’
COGN: ON hróf ‘boat-shed’, OE hróf ‘roof’
ETYM: The PIE etymology of these words is uncertain because of the semantics of the Celtic cognates, which points to the PCelt. meaning ‘round, circular, enclosure’ (rather than ‘covered, roof’ which seems to be primary in Germanic). Formally comparable is OCS kreb ‘strong’ and Olc. hraefa ‘endure’ (PIE *krebʰ-po-), but their meanings are too far apart. Go. hrot ‘roof, house’, ON hrót, and OCS krada ‘pile of logs, pyre, altar’ point to the same root with a dental suffix (*krebʰ-do-), while we probably have *krebʰ-to- in OHG and OFris. rāza ‘honeycomb’. Greene 1983 relates the Celtic words for ‘enclosure’ to OIr. cruind, W crwnn ‘round’ (PCelt. *krund-). However, this is difficult from the formal point of view (*-ndi- does not seem like a possible suffix).


**kred-dí-** ‘believe’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. creitid, -creiti; -cretis [2s Pret.]
W: MW credu
BRET: MBret. crediff, critim
CO: Co. cresy, krysi, cregy
PIE: *kred-dʰeh₁- ‘believe, trust’ (IEW: 235ff.)
COGN: Skt. śrad-dhā-, Lat. crēdo
ETYM: The geminate in Celtic is only explainable if one assumes an old compound equivalent to Skt. śrad-dhā-. The first element of that compound is usually identified with the PIE word for ‘heart’, but for doubts see Benveniste 1969. Note also that we would expect PIE *dd > PCelt. *ss, so the geminate cannot be old.


**kreddimā** ‘faith, believing’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cretem [á f]
BRET: MBret. critim, MBret. cridiff
**kredro/i-**

ETYM: This is the verbal noun of *kred-dī- ‘believe’.
REF: LEIA C-228f., DGVB 123.

* **kredro/i-** ‘relic, sacred object’
GOID: OIr. *cretair [i f], (earlier *cretar [o])
W: OW creirriou [p], MW creir [m and f]
BRET: MBret. kreir [m]
CO: Co. crēr
ETYM: Obviously related to *kred-dī- ‘believe’, *kreddīmā ‘faith, belief’.

* **kremu-**, **kramo-** ‘(wild) garlic’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. *crem [u?]*, *crim
W: W craf [Collective] ‘garlic’
BRET: OBret. *cram*, MoBret. krav [m] ‘wild onion’
PICE: *kremHu-s-, *kermHu-s- ‘wild garlic, Allium ursinum’ (IEW: 580f.)
COGN: Gr. kremyon, Lith. kermušė, OE hramsan, Croat. crijemša
ETYM: The Irish word is attested only late, and W craf and MoBret. krav seem to represent the secondary zero-grade of the root (PCelt. *kramo- rather than *krimo-). The toponym Cremona in N Italy is often related to these words and interpreted as ‘garlic town’, but this is, of course, rather speculative. Various irregularities in the reflexes point to non-IE origin of this word. It is presumably a Wanderwort of some kind.

* **kre(n)xtu-** ‘wound’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. crecht [?] m
W: MW creith [f] (GPC craith)
BRET: OBret. creithi [p] gl. ulcera, MBret. creizenn [Singulative], MoBret. kreizh
ETYM: The original stem formation of Mlr. crécht is unclear. It may have been a u-stem, but also an ā-stem, which renders the PCelt. reconstruction tentative.

* **kret-o-** ‘meet, approach’ [Vb]
W: MW dygredu ‘go come near, meet, visit’
BRET: OBret. *credam [1s Pres.] gl. vado
PIE: *kret- ‘shake’ (IEW: 620f.)
COGN: Gr. krotēō ‘rattle, clap, strike’, OHG redan ‘sift’, OCS krotiti ‘tame’
ETYM: W dygredu < *di-kred- (the simplex verb is unattested in W). This is a very speculative etymology, since the meanings are very divergent. One could, in principle, imagine a development from ‘shake’ to ‘hit’ and then ‘meet, go to’, but this is not quite persuasive.
REF: KPV 419, GPC I: 1132, DGVB 121.

*kře-tro- ‘sieve’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. criathar [o m]
W: OW cruitr gl. pala, W crwydr [m] ‘a wandering’
BRET: OBret. croitir, MBret. croezr
CO: OCo. croider gl. cribrum
PIE: *(s)kre(h1)y- ‘separate’ (IEW: 946)
COGN: Lat. cribrum ‘sieve’, OE hridder
SEE: *kri-ni- ‘sift, shake’

*krid- ‘shrink, grow thinner’ [Vb]
GOID: MIr. credb(a) ‘shrinkage’, credba(id), -credbaigi ‘contract, grow thinner’
W: MW cryddu ‘shrink’
BRET: MBret. crezz, MoBret. krez ‘ stingy’
PIE: *(s)krd-'
COGN: Skt. krdhu- ‘short, shortened, small’, Lith. skursti ‘lack’
ETYM: MIr. credb can be from *kridwV (stem and gender are unknown).

*kridyo- ‘heart’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cride [io n]
W: W craidd [m] ‘center’
BRET: MBret. creis, MoBret. kreis [m] ‘center’
CO: Co. creys ‘center’
PIE: *krd- ‘heart’ (IEW: 580)
COGN: Hitt. kir, kardiyas [Gen s], Gr. kardia, Lat. cor, cordis, Go. heartô, Lith. širdis, OCS srūdsce, Arm. sirt
ETYM: Some linguists reconstruct a root noun in PCelt., with Nom. sg. *kred- (> W craidd), Gen. sg. *krid-os (> OIr. cride). It has been pointed out, however, that W craidd may be a ghost-word (cf. Schrijver 1995: 319ff.). It is quite scarcely attested, and not before the 15th century (according to GPC). If that is indeed the case, then OIr. cride and its Brittonic cognates may go back to PCelt. *kridyo- < PIE *krd-yo-. PIE *krd- was a neuter root noun (Gen. sg. *krd-os, cf. Lat. cord-is), with some languages preserving the stem of the Nom.-Acc. sg., and others, like Celtic, generalizing the stem of the oblique cases.
*krif- ‘body’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. cri [Indeclinable] ‘body’
W: MW cryf ‘strong’
BRET: MBret. creff, MoBret. kreñv ‘strong’
CO: OCo. crif gl. fortis, MCo. creff, cref
PIE: *krep- ‘body’
COGN: Skt. krp- ‘form, shape’, Lat. corpus ‘body’, OE hrif ‘guts, womb’
ETYM: The OIr. form is from the oblique case-stem of the PIE etymon, *krp-, while OE hrif preserves the nominative stem (*krep-). The word was a root noun in PIE. The British forms are from a thematic adjective, PCelt. *krif-mo-.

*kríkʷa ‘furrow, trench, boundary’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. crich [ã f]
W: OW críp gl. pectens, MW crib [f and m] ‘comb, crest’
BRET: MBret. crib ‘comb’, MoBret. krib [f]
CO: Co. cryb, cryben
PIE: *krek- ‘post’ (IEW: 619)
COGN: Russ. krókva ‘stake’, Lith. krękas ‘rafter’
ETYM: This etymology is not wholly convincing, since it requires an unmotivated lengthened grade in Celtic (PIE *krek-w-). Cf. also ON hraell ‘weaver’s rod’, which can be from *krok-ilo-.

*kri-ni- ‘sift, shake’ [Vb]
W: MW crynu ‘shake, tremble’
BRET: MBret.crenaff
CO: Co. crenna, krena
PIE: *krex(h₁)-y- ‘sift, divide’ (IEW: 945ff.)
COGN: Lat. cerno, Gr. krínō
ETYM: The laryngeal in PIE is based on Lat. crēuī [Perf.], crētus, and the alleged connection with OCS krai ‘edge, end’, Croat. krāj, krāja (Gr. krínō < *krín-yō). However, Lat. crēuī may be analogical (after verbs such as lino, lēuī), and crētus could have its shape under the influence of crēuī, whereas the original participle is preserved as certus ‘certain, fixed’ < *kri-to-. If this is indeed the case, and if OCS krai is unrelated, then the PIE root was *kre- rather than *kreh₁-y-.
*krīno- ‘withered, dry’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. *crin [o]

W: OW *crin gl. ar(i)dum, MW *crin
BRET: MBret. *crin, MoBret. *krin
CO: Co. *crin

PIE: *kreh₁(y)- ‘separate, sieve’ (IEW: 945f.)

COGN: Lat. cerno, OCS kroiti ‘cut’

SEE: *kri-ni- ‘sift, shake’

ETYM: The semantic connection of the Celtic forms with those in other languages is rather weak, so this etymology is uncertain. The alternative, adopted by LEIA and LIV, of treating these words as derived from *kerh₂- ‘break’ (IEW 578, cf. Skt. śṛṃāmai ‘break’, Gr. keraizō ‘destroy’), is impossible, since the Celtic forms clearly presuppose *eh₁ in PIE (*krHno- would give PCelt. * krāno-).


*krissu- ‘belt’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *cris [u m]

W: OW *guerrissou [p], MW *crys [m] ‘shirt’, *gwregys ‘belt, girdle’
CO: OCo. *kreis gl. camisía

PIE: *krdʰh- ‘belt’

COGN: Russ. čeres ‘leather belt’

ETYM: The PCelt. form is from the zero-grade of the PIE root with the added suffix *-tu- (PIE *krdʰ-tu-).


*krito- ‘trembling, fever’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *crith [o m]

W: OW *crit gl. timore, MW *críd, *cryt, *cryn [m]
BRET: OBret. *crit gl. frenesín
CO: Co. *dor-gryz ‘earthquake’

PIE: *krit- (IEW: 937)

COGN: OE *hrida ‘fever’


*krittā ‘body, frame, shape’ [Noun]

GOID: Mr. *rett, *creit [ā f]

W: MW *creth [f] ‘nature, appearance, form’
ETYM: The MIr. word is often used to refer to the frame of a chariot. The comparison with Lat. crātis ‘hurdle, construction of wickerwork’, OPr. corto ‘fence’, OHG hard ‘hurdle’, since these words are from PIE *korHt- (OPr.), *krHt- (Italic and Celtic), which would have given **krāt- in PCelt. The comparison with PCelt. *kruttā ‘round object, womb’, also with a geminate that cannot be old (since PIE *TT > PCelt. *ss), points to borrowing from a non-IE source.

REF: LEIA C-233, GPC I: 592.

*krixso- 'curly-haired' [Adj]
W: MW crych 'curly, wrinkled, rough'
BRET: MBret. creqh, MoBret. krec'h
GAUL: Crixus [PN]
PIE: *kris-po- 'curly-haired' (IEW: 938)
COGN: Lat. crispus, Alb. krip 'hair'
ETYM: For the development of *sp > Brittonic x (W crr etc.) see Schrijver 1995: 374. Presumably the same development occurred in Gaulish, if the name Crixus is related. The PIE root is the same as in Lat. crīnis 'hair' < *kris-ni-. Alb. krip may be a Latin loanword.


*krok(ke)no- 'skin' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. croicenn [o m]
W: MW croen [m] 'peel, hide, rind'
BRET: MBret. crochenn, MBret. kroch'en [m]
CO: OCo. croin gl. pellis, MoCo. croghen
ETYM: Gallo-Lat. crocina 'mastruca, a garment made of skin' probably represents the Gaulish equivalent of these words. W points to the original *krokno-, while other languages show reflexes of *krokkeno-. A connection with PIE *sker- 'cut' (IEW 943) is difficult (*s)kr-ok- does not look like a possible stem-shape). Thus, this word is probably a loanword from some non-IE language.


*krowdi- 'rude' [Adj]
SEE: *krū- 'blood'

*krowko- 'heap, hill' [Noun]
GOID: MIr. criuach [ə f] 'stack (of corn), rick, heap, hill'
W: OW cruc, W crug [m] 'cairn, hillock'
BRET: OBret. cruc gl. gibbus, MoBret. krug [m]
CO: OCo. cruc gl. collis
PIE: *krew-k- (IEW: 938)
COGN: ON hraukr 'heap'
ETYM: Related words (of Gaulish origin) are attested in Romance dialects (e.g. Béarnais cruque 'heap (of earth)'). Since W crug is masculine, and Mlr. crūach is feminine, it is doubtful whether to reconstruct PCelt. *krowkā or *krowko-; I assume that the form *krowko- is original, and *krowkā is a collective thereof.


*kru- 'blood' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. crú [? n] 'gore, blood' [Gen. s cróu, cró]
W: MW creu [m and f] 'blood' (GPC crau)
CO: Co. crow
PIE: *kruh₂- 'gore, raw meat' (IEW: 621)
COGN: Skt. kravīṣ- 'raw meat', Lat. cruor, Gr. krēas 'raw meat', Lith. kraužas 'blood'

ETYM: OIr. crúaid 'crude, rude' presupposes a PCelt. *krowdi-, similar in form to Lat. crūdus 'raw', see LEIA C-250f. MW creu cannot be from *kru- (we would expect MW *kri, cf. ki < *kū 'dog'), but it may be from *kruwo-, a thematized form, generalized from the oblique stem of the PCelt. root-noun (cf. PIE Gen. sg. *kruh₂-os). For the sound development cf. MW geu < PCelt. *guwo- (oblique stem of *gāwā 'lie'), Llew 'god Lug' < *Luwos < *Lugos).


*krumbo- 'round, curved' [Adj]
GOID: Mlr. cromm [o]
W: MW crwm
BRET: OBret. crum 'hunchback', MoBret. kromm
CO: Co. crom
ETYM: Germ. krumm, OE crumb 'round' point to PGerm. *krumba-, which was borrowed either from Celtic, or from the same non-IE source as the Celtic words.


*krundi- 'round, compact'
GOID: OIr. cruind [i] 'round, globular, circular' (DIL cruinn)
W: OW crūm, MW crwn
BRET: OBret. cron gl. tornatili, MBret. crenn, MoBret. krenn 'round'
CO: Co. cren
SEE: *krumbo- 'round, curved'
ETYM: Greene 1983 relates these words to OIr. cró 'stable, enclosure', but this is less likely than the relation to *krumbo- 'round, compact'. If so, *krundi- is from earlier *krum-di-, but the IE etymology is unknown. Both *krundi- and *krumbo- may be loanwords from some non-IE language.
*krutto- ‘round object, womb’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. crot [ə f] ‘harp, lute’
W: MW crwth [m] ‘round object, harp’, croth [f] ‘womb’
BRET: OBret. courz gl. uuluu, MoBret. kourzh [m]
CO: Co. crothak ‘abdomen, uterus’
ETYM: A connection with Lith. krūtis ‘woman’s breast’ appears possible (IEW 624), but the meanings are quite difficult to reconcile (? ‘a round body part’), and the geminate in Celtic needs an explanation. Maybe PCelt. *krutto- is a loanword from some non-IE language.

*kuf-skò- ‘sleep’ [Vb]
W: MW kyseu; euse [3s Pres.] (GPC cysgu)
BRET: MBret. cousquet, couscq, MoBret. kousk [m]
CO: Co. koska
PIE: *(s)keubh- ‘lie’ (IEW: 589f.)
COGN: Lat. cubo, cubāre
ETYM: Since the reflexes are limited to Italic and Celtic, we cannot be sure whether the root was *kewb- or *kewb-. In both cases the root structure is untypical for PIE. On the other hand, *skewb- (with s-mobile) is a possible root, and Italic and Celtic forms might be related to PGerm. *skeubanan ‘throw’ (Go. af-skiuban ‘reject’, OE sceófan ‘shove’, etc.). For the connection of ‘throw’ and ‘lie’ cf. Lat. iacio ‘throw’ and iaceo ‘lie’.

*kukro- ‘curved’ [Adj]
GOID: Mlr. cúar [o]
PIE: *kew-k- ‘curve’ (IEW: 589)
COGN: Lith. kaškaras ‘high ground, hill’, Croat. kuka ‘hook’
ETYM: For *kr > *r with compensatory lengthening of the preceding syllable in Olr., cf. *akro- ‘high’ > OIr. ér ‘noble’; a PCelt. form *kowkro- would also be possible. Skt. kuca might be related, but it is attested late, and it is unclear whether its primary meaning was ‘bend, curve’ (Mayrhofer, s. v. KUC). OHG höh ‘high’ and ToA koc ‘high’ could be from the same root, but the semantics of this comparison are difficult (‘curved’ > ‘protruded’ > ‘high’(?)).
REF: LEIA C-262, EIEC 62.

*kul(fo)- ‘sin, violation’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. col [o n]
W: OW ciliauc gl. scelestus, MW cwl [m] ‘fault, sin’
BRET: OBret. col, caul gl. nefariam rem
ETYM: OIr. col often occurs in the phrase is col do ‘it is unlawful to...’ These words have been compared with Lat. scelus (<?PIE *(s)kel-) and with Lat. culpa (< ?*kelp-). The second possibility appears more promising; if this is true, the correct reconstruction in P Celt. is presumably *kulfo-. OE hwealf ‘vault’ and OPr. po-quelbot ‘kneeling’, if related, might point to a PIE root *kwelp- ‘bent, crooked’ (thus in LIV 335, IEW 630).

*kuli- ‘mosquito, fly’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cúl [f] gl. culex
W: MW cylion [p]; cyliomyn, cyliomenn, [Singulative]
BRET: OBret. coiaenn, MBret. quelyen [p], MoBret. keellen
CO: Co. kelionen [Singulative] gl. musca
PIE: *kul- (IEW: 626)
COGN: Lat. culex ‘mosquito’, perhaps Arm. slake ‘spit, dagger’
ETYM: Skt. śūla- ‘spear’ may be from the same root only if we assume that short *u in Italic and Celtic is due to Dybo’s law (although the place of accent in PIE is unknown in this particular instance). I think it is more likely that the similarity of Skt. śūla- to these words is accidental.

*kūlo- ‘corner’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cúl [?ā ꞌf], cúil ‘corner, recess’, cúl [o m] ‘back’
W: MW cil [m] ‘corner, angle’
BRET: MBret. quil, MoBret. kil [m] ‘back’
CO: OCo. chil gl. cervix
PIE: *kuH-lo- ‘back’ (IEW: 951ff.)
COGN: Lat. cūlus ‘anus, arse’
ETYM: Note the divergence in gender between Brittonic and Goidelic. Maybe two words should be distinguished: *kūlo- ‘back’ and *kūla ‘corner’. The first one could have been borrowed from Lat. cūlus, although this means just ‘anus’, not ‘back’ in the sense of the Celtic words.

*kumbā ‘valley’ [Noun]
W: MW cwm [m]; cymoedd [p]
BRET: MoBret. komm [m] ‘river-bed’
GAUL: *cumba > VLat. cumba (Isidore of Seville)
PIE: *kumbho- (?) (IEW: 592)
COGN: Skt. kumbha- ‘pot’
ETYM: OIr. *comm, which is sometimes adduced as cognate, actually does not exist. Fr. combe ‘dale, coomb’ is from VLat. cumba < Gaul. *kumbā.
The structure of this root does not seem to be IE. Beekes (1996) compares also Gr. κύμβη ‘beaker’, and counts these words among his ‘ancient European loanwords’.


**kurro-** ‘pointed, protruding, angled’ [Adj]

GOID: Mlr. corr [o] ‘protruding, pointed, sharp’

W: MW cwrr [m] ‘corner, edge, end, brim’ (GPC cwr)

ETYM: Mlr. -o- in the adjective is the result of generalization of the a-affected variant, which is expected in the nominalized corr [ã] ‘protruding part’ < *kurra. Fr. dial. cor, coron ‘edge, corner’ is presumably from Gaul.

*korro-, or *kurro- (Gamillscheg 364). The connection with Lat. curvus ‘curved’, Gr. kyrtós ‘bent’ appears possible (de Vaan 2008: 158), but the PIE root is difficult to reconstruct (? *kew-ro-, *ku-ro-, with the Celtic forms from *kur-so-).

REF: LEIA C-211f., GPC I: 646, Gamillscheg 264.

**kuti-** ‘sack, scrotum’ [Noun]

W: MW cwd [m] ‘pouch, bag, scrotum’

PIE: *kuHti- ‘skin’ (IEW: 952f.)

COGN: Lat. cutis, OHG hüt, ToA kāc

ETYM: Mlr. codal ‘skin’ is borrowed from Lat. cutilia. Lat. cutis has short -u- as a result of Dybo’s law. W cwd is also compatible only with the preform *kuti-, rather than *kūti- (which would have given W **cid). ToA kāc is a hapax, and its meaning is not completely certain, but it probably means ‘skin’ (Hilmarsson 1985).


**kuwo-** ‘hollow’ [Adj]

GOID: Mlr. cúa ‘hollow, cavity’

W: MW keu, (GPC cau) ‘hollow, closed’

BRET: OBret. cau ‘covered’, MBret. queu, MoBret. kew ‘hollow’

PIE: *kewH₂- ‘vault, hole’ (IEW: 592f.)

COGN: Skt. śūnya- ‘empty, hollow’, Gr. κύραρ ‘eye of the needle’, Lat. cauus ‘hollow’, ToB kor ‘throat’

SEE: *kuwoyo- ‘small animal’

ETYM: Cf. also OIr. cúas [o] ‘hollow’, which may be from *kow-sto-. There is some doubt whether OBret. cau ‘closed’ belongs here, but since MW keu means both ‘hollow’ and ‘closed’, it is possible that both meanings were present in PCelt. This adjective might have been influenced by Lat. cauus ‘hollow, empty’. Various cognates in other PIE languages presuppose a PIE heterocliton, *kowHr / *kuHnos. Celtic preserves the thematicized stem *kuHo-, with the regular loss of *H between vowels.
*kuwoy- 'young animal' [Noun]
W: MW cyw [m]
PIE: *kew(h2)- 'swell, be pregnant' (IEW: 593)
COGN: Gr. k'ýos 'fetus'
SEE: *kuwo- 'hollow'
ETYM: This etymology is not completely persuasive, because the PIE root, as reconstructed in IEW, has an exceedingly broad meaning ('swell, be hollow') and it is difficult to avoid random associations.
REF: GPC I: 828.

*lab(a)ro- 'eloquent, talkative' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. labar [o]
W: MW llafar 'loud, resonant, talkative'
BRET: OBret. labar 'talking', MBret. lauaret 'talk', MoBret. lavar [m] 'language, speech'
CO: OCo. lauar gl. sermo
GAUL: Labarus, Labrios [PN]
ETYM: In OIr., there is also the denominative deponent verb labraithir, -labrathar 'talks'. Cf. the parallel formation of the antonyms W aflafar 'mute' and OIr. amlabar 'mute'. These Celtic words may have been onomatopoetic in origin; the connection with ME flappen 'hit' suggested by IEW (831) is a mere possibility (if this is correct, the PCelt. form of the root was *flab-), cf. also Germ. labern, 'babble'.

*lafego- 'calf' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. lóeg [o m]
W: OW lo, MW llo, llo [m]
BRET: MBret. lue, MoBret. leue [m]
CO: OCo. loch gl. vitulus, Co. lugh
PIE: *leh2p- 'cattle' (IEW: 654)
COGN: Alb. lopē 'cow', Latv. lūops 'cattle'
ETYM: The monosyllabic form found in MW llo must have been remodeled after the plural llo-eau (falsely reinterpreted as llo-eau, llo-iau). If
the IE side of this etymology is correct, the Celtic words must be from something like *leh₂p-igo-. If this is rejected, the Celtic words for ‘calf’ can also be derived from PCelt. *loygo- rather than *läfigo-.

*laggo- ‘weak, slack’ [Adj]
GOID: Mfr. lac [o]
PIE: *(s)leh₂g- ‘slack’ (IEW: 959f.)
COGN: Lat. laxus ‘spacious, loose’, languo ‘be sluggish’, Gr. lagarós ‘slack, thin’, OE sleack, ToB lakkare
ETYM: MW llacc ‘slack’ was probably borrowed from Goidelic. OIr. lacc(c) is, in principle, derivable from PIE *lh₂g-ko-. The pronunciation of MoIr. lag confirms that there was a geminate [gg] in OIr. that failed to undergo lenition.
REF: EIEC 523, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 509f.

*lam-ya- ‘dare’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. ro-laimethar; ro-lamathar [Subj.]; ro-lilmathar [Fut.]; lámairc [Pret.]; ro-lét [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW llafasu, llyfasu, llyfasel
BRET: MBret. lafuaez
CO: Co. lauasos ‘to be allowed’
PIE: *h₃lem- ‘to tire (oneself)’ (IEW: 674)
COGN: Gr. nôlemès ‘untiring’, OHG lam ‘lame’, Lith. lém’ti ‘to ordain’
ETYM: OIr. ro-laimethar < *fro-lam-ya- (the simplex verb is unattested in Goidelic). The acute in Lith. lém’ti (3sg. lémsta) must be due to metatony, which is expected in sta-presents.

*landā ‘open land’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. ĭann [ˈːf] ‘land, plot, church’
W: MW llann [t] ‘church-yard’, (GPC llan)
CO: Co. lan
GAUL: *landā > Fr. lande ‘sandy moor, heath’
PIE: *londʰ- ‘open land, waste’ (IEW: 675)
COGN: OE land, OPr. lindan ‘valley’
ETYM: The Celtic forms stem from the zero-grade, PIE *Indʰ- (as in OPr. lindan), while the Germanic words contain PIE *londʰ-. This probably points to an ablauting paradigm Nom. *lōndʰ-s, Gen. *Indʰ-os, Acc. *londʰ-m. Cf. also the parallel compounds OIr. ith-land, MW yd-lan ‘threshing floor’.
*lanx-sman-*

‘jump’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. léimm [n n]
W: MW lam
BRET: MBret. lam, MoBret. lamm [m]
CO: Co. lam
Gaul: Lingones [Ethnonym]
ETYM: A nominal derivative form the verbal base *leng- preserved in OIr. lingid ‘jumps’. Zero-grade of the root is expected in such a formation (cf. *kanxsman).

*lati- ‘liquid, fluid’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. laith ‘ale, liquor’
W: MW llad ‘drink, beer’
BRET: OBret. lat gl. crapulam
CO: OCo. lad gl. liquor
Gaul: Are-late [Toponym] = Arles
PIE: *lat- ‘wet’ (IEW: 654f.)
COGN: OHG letto ‘mud’
ETYM: OIr. laith does not mean ‘swamp’ pace IEW 654. Connection of these Celtic words with Gr. látaks ‘drops of wine from the bottom of a wine-cup’, suggested by Pokorny, is unconvincing (látaks is a loanword from some pre-Greek substrate). The connection with Lith. river-names such as Latuva is as uncertain as anything in toponomastics. The a-vocalism in the PIE root is difficult to account for, so this word may have been borrowed from some non-IE source.
REF: DGVB 237, Delamarre 197.

*lato- ‘furor, ardor [Noun]

GOID: OIr. làth [o m]
W: W llawd [m] ‘heat (of sow), sow’s desire for boar’
SEE: *lāyko- ‘warrior’
ETYM: The first element in the Gaulish Ethnonym Lato-bici might be derivable from this Celtic etymon (Delamarre 198, Meid 2005: 54). W llawd is attested very late (17th century) and shows somewhat unusual semantic development.

*latyo- ‘day’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. laithe [i o n] (DIL lá)
Gaul: lat- (Coligny)
PIE: *leht-, ‘warm part of the year (?)’ (IEW: 680)
ETYM: The Celtic forms contain the zero-grade of the root, which points to an ablauting paradigm *leh₁-ti/*lh₁-ty-o-, with Celtic generalizing the shape of the root in the oblique cases (the development *lh₁-ty-o- > *laty-o- is regular, cf. *laggo- ‘weak’). The semantic development in Celtic was from ‘warm part of the year’ to ‘warm part of the day’, and, finally, ‘day’ (for a similar development cf. Croat. godina ‘year’ vs. Polish godzina ‘hour’).


*lawano- ‘provisions, food, sustenance’
GOID: OIr. lón, lán, loon, loan [o m] ‘provisions, sustenance, fat, victuals’
PIE: *lewH- ‘cut off, loose’ (IEW: 68lf.)
COGN: Skt. lunāti ‘cuts off’, Lat. luo ‘suffer, make amends for’, OE lē ‘sickle’, Lith. liautis ‘to be cut’
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. as-loi ‘flees’ < *exs-luw-o- (< *lowH-o-, cf. PCelt. *luw-o-). OIr. lón is always written with a long vowel, so it cannot be from *luno- as stated by JEW (681). In early OIr. texts it is also spelled as a disyllabic word (loon, loan, see attestations in DIL). The semantic development from ‘a cut’ to ‘share’ and ‘portion, provision’ is clear, but the formal development needs some clarification. PCelt. *lawano- may, perhaps, be derived from PIE *lewHno- by Joseph’s rule, but it is uncertain if *lawano- should yield OIr. lán, or **luán. In the latter case, maybe *w was lost early between identical vowels, so *laano- yielded lán, lón regularly. On the other hand, PCelt. *lawano- (from *lowH-no-) would presumably have yielded the same result.
REF: EIEC 481, Kortlandt 1981.

*lawaro- ‘many, a lot’ [Adj]
SEE: *ufo-lawto- ‘property, wealth’

*laweno- ‘merry’ [Adj]
SEE: *ufo-lawto- ‘property, wealth’

*lawgo- ‘prize, price’ [Noun]
SEE: *ufo-lawto- ‘property, wealth’

*lāyko- ‘warrior’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. láech, lölch [o m]
PIE: *leh₂- ‘war’ (?)
COGN: Hitt. lähh- ‘military campaign’, Gr. lā(w)ós ‘army, folk’, Phrygian lawagtaei [Dat. s] ‘military leader’
ETYM: OIr. láech is often considered to be a loanword from Latin laicus ‘layman’ < Gr. laikós (e.g. in DIL, cf. also Sharpe 1979). Indeed, it means not only ‘warrior’, but ‘layman’ in some early texts. However, the semantic development would have been strange, and there is no such Latin loanword in British (but see below). If it is indeed inherited, OIr. láech would have to
be a derivative in *-iko- from the root *lā- that we might also have in PCelt. *lāko- ‘furor’. A possible cognate in Brittonic is the Welsh name for England, *Lloegr. This name, which has not been satisfactorily explained so far, could represent the collective *lāykor (as in OIr. *clochar ‘a heap of stones’, from cloch ‘stone’), vel. sim. On collectives in *-r see Tovar 1972-3.


*la-yo- ‘put, lay down, throw’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. ro-lá; -lāa [Subj.], ro-lāa [Pret.]
PIE: *leh₁- ‘let, leave’ (IEW: 666, 682f.)
ETYM: OIr. ro-lá < *fro-la-yo- (the simplex is unattested). The Gaulish inscription from Voltino (CIL V 4883, RIG II.2: 188) might contain this verb (TO-ME-Z-EC-LAI ʔ ‘put me up’), but this is very doubtful, see KPV 442. The PCelt. form is regularly derived from PIE *leh₁-yo-. Baltic and Germanic reflexes presuppose *leh₁-w- rather than *leh₁-, and the status of *-w- is unclear. I do not believe these words are connected to PCelt. *latyo- ‘day’ for semantic reasons, although formally, the connection is possible. On the other hand, OIr. aírle [á f] ‘counsel’ might be derivable from the same root and represent PCelt. *fare-la-yā (either with generalised *-lā- or with *-lā- < *loh₁).

REF: KPV 442ff., LIV 399, LP 354ff.

*laxsaro- ‘burning, shining’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. lassar [á f] ‘flame’ (DIL lasar)
W: MW llachar ‘shining, shiny, brilliant’
PIE: *leh₂-p- ‘shine’
COGN: Hitt. lāpzi ‘glows’, Gr. lámpō, OPr. lopsis ‘flame’
ETYM: OIr. lassar is probably a substantivized adjective. PCelt. *laxsaro- appears to be derivable from PIE *leh₂-ps-, with *IH₃- > *la- as in *natu- and *latyo-. From the same root we have OIr. lasaid ‘burn’. For the suffix see Zimmer 2000: 485f.


*lēgā ‘spoon’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. liag [á f] (DIL liach)
W: MW llwy [f]
BRET: OBret. loi, MBret. loa [f]
CO: OCo. loe, MoCo. lo
PIE: *leyɛh- ‘lick’ (IEW: 668)
COGN: Lat. lingo, OE liccian
SEE: *lig-o- ‘lick’
ETYM: The forms with a final g are clearly older in OIr., see Hamp 1984. The derivation from the root *leygʰ - 'to lick' is semantically trivial. REF: Deshayes 2003: 469, GPC II: 2237, LP 31, Hamp 1984.

*leg-o- 'melt' [Vb]
GOLD: OIr. legaid, -lega 'melts, melts away, perishes'
W: MW dilein 'destroy' (GPC dileu, dilein, dilain) < *dʰi-leg-o-
PIE: *leg- 'leak, drop' (IEW: 657)
COGN: ON leka 'leak, pour out in drops', OE hlec 'leak', Arm. lič 'bog'
ETYM: Cf. also W dadleithio, dadlaith 'melt' from *to-ate-lex-t-. REF: KPV 449, GPC I: 871, 1012, LP 376, EIEC 207.

*leg-o- 'to lay, lie down' [Vb]
GOLD: OIr. laigid, -laig; leiss, -lé [Subj.]; leiss, -lé [Fut.]; láig [Pret.]
PIE: *legʰ- 'lie' (IEW: 658ff.)
COGN: Go. ligan, OCS leštі, Falisc. lecet 'lies'
SEE: *leg(y)o- 'bed'
ETYM: OIr. lige [io n] 'lying, bed' is a nominal derivative from PCelt. *legyo-. Cf. also the Brittonic words for 'bed', which presuppose *ufo-leg-yo- (OW guelі, W gwely, OBret. guelі, MBret. guele [m]), MoIr. golighe 'setting of the sun'. REF: KPV 448, LIV 398f., LP 375.

*legu-, *lagu- 'small' [Adj]
GOLD: OIr. laigu, laigiu 'smaller' [Comparative]
W: MW llaw 'small, sad'
BRET: OBret. lau gl. petusulum 'small, bad', MoBret. law 'miserable, bad'
PIE: *h₁le(n)gʰw- 'small, light' (IEW: 661)
COGN: Skt. §raghit- 'light', Gr. elakhys 'small', Lat. leuis 'light', Go. leihths 'light', Lith. lengvas 'light'
ETYM: For a possible parallel in Gaul. see Delamarre 195. OIr. laigiu might be derivable from *legʰ-yōs, the PCelt. comparative of an adjective stem PCelt. *legʰ-u- > *legu- (cf. the u-affection in OIr. laugu and in the superlative lugam, lugimem, but with e in MW lleiаf). OIr. has -a- which is the regular development of PCelt. *e before palatalized *g (cf. PCelt. *yegi- 'ice' > OIr. aig). Similar comparatives are MW llei, Co. le 'smaller', cf. also OIr. lagat [? n] 'smallness'. The derivation from PIE *h₁legʰw- 'light, swift' is probable, but the Brittonic a-vocalism is surprising. The comparison with OIr. might point to an ablauting paradigm in PCelt., with Nom. sg. *legʰ-u- < *h₁legʰw-u-, Gen. sg. *lagʰw-o- < PIE *h₁lgʰwo-. The development *RCC- > *RaCC- would have been regular. In many languages the root shows nasalization (*h₁lengʰw-, cf. Lith. lengvas), presumably from the verbal present stem (cf. OHG gi-lingan 'attain'). On the other hand, some linguists
prefer to reconstruct the PIE root as *h₁lengʷh- ‘move effortlessly’ and relate these forms to PCelt. *leng-o- ‘jump’. This possibility cannot be excluded.


*Ieng-o- ‘bed, couch, place’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. lige [io m]
W: MW lie [m] ‘place’
BRET: OBret. le ‘place’, MoBret. le [m]
GAUL: legasit ‘placed’ [3s Pret.] (Bourges)
PIE: *h₁legʰ- ‘lie’ (IEW: 658f.)
COGN: Gr. lékhos ‘bed’, Lat. lectus ‘bed’, ToB leke, leki ‘bed, resting place’
ETYM: Gaul. legasit is a denominal verb. Also related is MBret. lech [m] ‘place’ < *lexso- < *legʰ-s-. Fr. lie ‘dregs, lees’ is often derived from Gaul. *ligyā or *ligā ‘layer’ (Gamillscheg 568). This, or rather *liyā, attested as lias ‘lees, dregs’ in the Reichenau Glosses (8th century) could actually be the VLat. form of Gaul. *legyā < PCelt. *legyā ‘layer’, from the same root as *leg(y)o- ‘bed’.


*Iemo-, *limo- ‘elm’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. lem [o m]
W: MW llwyfen [Singulative]; llwyf [p]
GAUL: Lemo-uices [Ethnonym] > Limoges
PIE: *h₁lem- ‘elm’ (IEW: 303)
COGN: Lat. ulmus, Eng. elm, ON almr, Russ. il’m ‘mountain elm’
ETYM: MIr. lem < *limo-, W llwyf-en < *lēmā. Together with the IE cognates, this probably points to an ablauting paradigm, PIE *h₁leyōm / *h₁lim-os. Lat. ulmus can be derived from *h₁elimos by syncope (*elmos > olmos > ulmus is regular). Syncope would also have to be assumed for the Germanic reflexes, which are derivable from PGerm. *elmaiz (Eng. elm) and *almaz (ON almr). Russ. il’m can be from *jblhm < *h₁limo-. All of these words for ‘elm’ are not related to the Balto-Slavic words for ‘linden’ (Russ. lipa, Lith. liepa, etc.), as suggested by some (Vasmer, etc.). The Balto-Slavic words are from the PIE root *leyp- ‘stick, adhere to’ (the linden tree produces sticky juice).


*leng-o- ‘jump’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. lингid, -ling; lēiss, -lé [Subj.]; iблais, -ibail [Fut.]; leblaing, eblaing [Pret.]; -eblacht [Pret. Pass.]
PIE: *h₁lengʷh- ‘move effortlessly’ (IEW: 660f.)
COGN: Skt. rámhate ‘hurry’, Gr. elaphrós ‘quick’, OHG gi-lingan ‘succeed’

SEE: *lanxsman- ‘jump’

ETYM: The name of the Gaulish tribe Lingones may be related to this root (Delamarre). KPV 522ff. relates this verb to PIE *(s)prengh- ‘jump’ (Germ. springen, etc.), but the developments that need to be assumed are too complex. I prefer to follow LIV’s attribution to PIE *hdengWh-, the phonological development is quite straightforward. The same root may be attested in PCelt. *legu-, *lagu- ‘light’


*lēro- ‘complete, diligent’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. léir [i] ‘assiduous, earnest, diligent’

W: MW llwy ‘utter, whole, full, total’

BRET: OBret. loir gl. diligent

ETYM: None of the IE etymologies proposed so far is satisfying. The connection with Lat. plenus ‘full’ < *pleh-no- is impossible, because PCelt. *ē must be from *eh or *eyH rather than *eh₁.

REF: GPC II: 2246, DGVB 245, Walde-Hoffmann II: 323.

*lestro- ‘vessel’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. lestar [o n] ‘container (for liquids), vessel, ship, receptacle’

W: OW lestir gl. rati, MW llestr, llestr [m] ‘vessel, container’

BRET: MBret. lestr [m]

CO: OCo. lester gl. nauis, MCo. lester

ETYM: OIr. lestar might be a W loanword (the cluster -st- is unexpected). Both OIr. lestar and W lestr can also mean ‘beehive’. A persuasive IE etymology is lacking. However, if the original meaning was actually ‘piece of wickerwork’, or ‘container made of wickerwork’, then we may reconstruct PCelt. *lexstro- < PIE *plek-str-<, from the root *plek- ‘weave’ (Gr. plékō, Lat. plecto, OE fleohtan, cf. IEW 834f.).


*letos ‘side’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. leth [s n] ‘side’

W: MW lled [m] ‘breadth, width, half’

BRET: MBret. let, led ‘large’, led [m] ‘greatness’

CO: Co. les

PIE: *letos? ‘side’

COGN: Lat. latus ‘side’

ETYM: A different etymology derives these nouns from PIE *pleth₂-es- ‘breadth’ (see PCelt. *flitano-), which is also possible. he OIr. preposition la ‘with, among’ [Geminating, +Acc.] might represent a form of PCelt. *letos- (presumably *letos > *let-s, with the second vowel lost in allegro speech).
For a different etymology see de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 142; she relates the Celtic words to PIE *ple-t-, presumably *pleh₁-t-, but there is no trace of the laryngeal in Celtic. Another possibility is to reconstruct, with Schrijver (1994), a locative sg. of a root noun *pleth₂- > PCelt. *flet-i > OIr. la (with early apocope of *-i). The vocalism of Lat. latus is puzzling, and this word has also other possible etymologies (cf. IEW 1018f., de Vaan 2008: 330).


*lig-o- ‘lick’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. ligid, -lig; lilis, -lil [Fut.]; lelaig [Pret.]

W: MW llyu (GPC llyfu, llyo, llyu)

BRET: MBret. leat, MoBret. lead

PIE: *leygʰ- ‘lick’ (IEW: 668)

COGN: Gr. leikhō, Lat. lingo, OCS lizati

SEE: *lēgā ‘spoon’


*lim-a- ‘sharpen, polish’ [Vb]

GOID: Mr. limaid ‘shaprens, polishes’; limsat [3p Pret.]

W: MW llymhau ‘sharpen, whet, quicken’

BRET: OBret. lemaam gl. acuo, MBret. lemaaff, MoBret. lemaañ

ETYM: These words are most probably related to Lat. lima ‘carpenter’s file’, OHG slitm ‘mud, slime’, slīman ‘make smooth’, etc. The PIE root would be *(s)ley- (IEW 663), with the suffix *-mo- in Italic, Germanic, and Celtic. However, the length in OIr. limaid is unexpected (but cf. the short vowel in 3 pl. Pret. limsat).


*li-na- ‘stick’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. lenaid, -len, ‘remains, adheres to, follows’; lieid, lia [Subj.]; lilid, -lil [Fut.]; lil [Pret.]

W: MW llynu ‘corrupt, pollute, infect, ?smear’

PIE: *h₂leyH- ‘smear’ (IEW: 662)

COGN: Lat. lino, Gr. a/inein (Hesych.)

ETYM: In OBret., cf. linom gl. litturam, which is parallel to OIr. lenamon [á f], lenaman ‘act of adhering, cleaving, following’.


*lindu-, *lindo- ‘liquid, lake’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. lind [u m] ‘drink, liquid, ale’

W: MW llynn [m and f] ‘drink, lake’ (GPC llyn)

BRET: OBret. lin ‘lake’, MoBret. lenn ‘pool’

CO: OCo. gre-lin gl. lacus

GAUL: linda [Nom. p] (Banassac), Lindiacum [Toponym]
ETYM: GPC has two different entries, llyn [m and f] ‘lake, pool’ and llyn [m] ‘drink, beverage’. It is possible that this difference goes back to PCelt. (? *lindo- ‘drink’, *lindā ‘pool, lake’); the basic meaning of *lind- could have been ‘drinkable water’ (St. Zimmer, p. c.). In principle, it would be possible to derive these words from the same root as in *liy-o- ‘flow’, but the derivation is difficult: PIE *liiH-nd-u (with unclear word formation) would give PCelt. *lìndu-, and *i could have been shortened either by the Celtic variant of Osthoff’s law, or by Dybo’s law, if it had been in the pretonic position.


*li-n-kʷ-o- ‘leave, let’ [Vb]
GOID: Olr. lécid, -léici ‘leaves, lets, allows’
PIE: *leykʷ- ‘leave’ (IEW: 669f.)
COGN: Skt. rīpākti, Lat. linguo, Gr. leípō, Go. leihwan, Lith. likti

*linnā ‘veil, cloak’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. lenn [ə f] ‘cloak, mantle’ (gl. sagana)
W: MW lenn [f] ‘veil, curtain’ (GPC llen )
BRET: OBret. escei lenn gl. cortina, MoBret. lenn [f] ‘couverture d’enfant’
CO: OCo. len gl. sagum
GAUL: Gallo-Lat. limna ‘mantle’ (Isidore of Seville)
ETYM: Some linguists have tried to provide these words with a PIE etymology by starting from *pltnhe₂ > PCelt. *fltnā, *flinnā (cf. PIE *polτ- > Croat. plátno ‘cloth’, Germ. Falte ‘fold’; Skt. pata- ‘cloth’ does not belong here unless one accepts Fortunatov’s law). However, *tn should have been preserved in PCelt., and the subsequent loss of *t should have caused the compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel in Olr. (cf. ēn ‘bird’ < *fetno-), so this etymology is improbable. More promising is to start from *lino- ‘flax, linen’ (Gr. linon, OCS lbrn). W llin Co. lyn, MBret. lin and Olr. lin ‘flax, linen’ are borrowed from Lat. línnum (which is compatible with *leyno-, just as OE lín, which might also be a loanword from Lat.), but the inherited word for ‘flax, flax’ could have been extended by a suffix (? *-sno-, *-do-, or *-no-) and acquired the meaning ‘cloth’ > ‘mantle’. The cultivation of flax was widespread in Europe and the Middle East from the Neolithic times, so it is impossible to locate the source of the original word, if it was initially borrowed from some non-IE language.


*līno- ‘flow, flood’ [Noun]
GOID: MoIr. lión ‘a fill, flood’ (Ó Donaill)
W: MW llin [m] ‘flow of blood, pus’
BRET: MBret. *liro-  
CO: Co. lyn  
PIE: *leyH- ‘flow’ (IEW: 664f.)  
COGN: OCS liti ‘flow, pour’, Lith. lieti ‘pour’  
SEE: *liy-o- ‘flow’  
ETYM: A nominal derivative from PCelt. *liy-o- ‘flow’. It presupposes the zero-grade of the PIE root (*liH-no-).  
REF: GPC II: 2181.  

*liro- ‘sea, ocean’ [Noun]  
GOID: OIr. ler [o m]  
W: OW lirou [p] ‘seas, oceans’, MW llyr [m] (GPC llyr)  
ETYM: The IE etymology offered by IEW (664, from *leyH- ‘flow’) is unconvincing. If anything, ‘sea’ is not ‘flowing’ in any possible sense. Moreover, the PIE root was *leyH- (see LIV 363f.), with a laryngeal, and there is no trace of long *i < *iH in Celtic (though, admittedly, PIE *liHro- would have been shortened to PCelt. *liro- by Dybo’s law). I believe that this word was borrowed from some non-IE substrate (the inherited word for ‘sea’ is PCelt. *mor).  
REF: GPC II: 2275, Falileyev 104.  

*lissu- ‘abhorrence’ [Noun]  
GOID: aIr. ius [u m] ‘loathing, disgust’  
PIE: *h2leyt- ‘do something hateful’ (IEW: 672)  
COGN: OE lāh ‘loathsome’, OHG leid ‘hate’, Gr. aloitós, aleitês ‘sinner’  
ETYM: Although this etymology is speculative, the PCelt. form would be derivable straightforwardly from PIE *h2lit-tu-, with the expected zero-grade of the root in an abstract noun with the suffix *-tu-.  
REF: EIEC 259, de Bernardo Stempel 288.  

*liti(-ako)- ‘accused’ [Adj]  
GOID: OIr. lithech [o] ‘accused person’  
COGN: Lat. līs, lītis, OLat. slis (Lex Acilia: quanti eius rei slis ae[stumata erit ‘such damages as shall have been assessed in this case’])  
SEE: *li-yo- ‘accuse’  
ETYM: OIr. lithech is a legal term, occurring mostly in early legal tracts. It is a nominalized adjective derived from unattested *(s)liti- ‘lawsuit, accusation’. The connection to Lat. līs is compelling, but we must assume that the PCelt. word lacked the s-mobile, which is attested in Old Latin.  

*litu- ‘feast, celebration’ [Noun]  
GOID: OIr. lith [u m]  
BRET: OBret. lit, MoBret. lid [m] ‘feast, rite’
ETYM: Gaulish names with the first element *Litu- may contain the same root (e.g., *Litu-genus, *Litu-maros), but they can also be related to PCelt. *flitano- ‘broad’. The absence of clear cognates outside Celtic means that the PCelt. reconstruction is quite uncertain (PCelt. *flit- would also be possible). In principle, PCelt. *litu- can be derived from *liH-tu- ‘flowing (of drinks/libations)’, from the PIE root *leyH- ‘flow’ (see PCelt. *liy-o- ‘flow’), but this is, of course, merely a root etymology.


*lIwank- ‘stone, pillar’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. lie, lia; liac [Gen s]
PPIE: *leH1- ‘stone’ (IEW: 683)
COGN: Gr. (Hom.) lāas ‘stone’, leūō ‘to stone’, Myc. ra-e-ja, Alb. lerē ‘rock slip, boulder’
ETYM: MoBret. liac’h ‘stone’ is a borrowing from Goidelic. It. lava ‘lava’, Fr. dial. lave, Pr. lavo, lauvo ‘flat stone’ may be from Gaul. *lawâ < *lh1w-.

Gallo-Lat. lausiae ‘pebbles in a stone-quarry’ (cf. Fr. lause, lauze ‘pierre plate utilisée comme dalle’) may be from an old s-stem *laws- < *lh1us-, cf. also Fr. losange ‘lozenge’ and the toponym Lausanne, which may be from *laws-on- < *lh1u-s-on-, or *lh1us-h3en-, with the possessive suffix *-h3en-. If the etymology is correct, we should probably reconstruct an u-stem in PIE, with Nom. sg. *leH1u-s, Gen. sg. *lh1w-os. OIr. lie preserved the full-grade of the Nom. sg.


*lIwo- ‘stream’ [Noun]
SEE: *li-yo- ‘flow’

*liwo- ‘color’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. li [? f, perhaps earlier n] ‘complexion, beauty, color’
W: OW liu [m], MW liw
BRET: OBret. liou, MBret. liu, MoBret. liw [m]
CO: OCo. liu gl. color, MCo. lyw
PPIE: *(s)liHwo- ‘blue’ (IEW: 967)
COGN: Lat. tīurus, tīudios, OCS sliva ‘plum’, OE slāh ‘sloe’
ETYM: OIr. li is often indeclinable. Gaul. Lionus [PN] may be derivable from the same root (Delamarre).


*liy-ant- ‘flood’ [Noun]
SEE: *liy-o- ‘flow’

*liy-o- ‘charge, accuse’ [Vb]
*liy-o-

GOID: OIr. liid, -li; lithae, -lith [Pass.] ‘accuses’
PIE: *sleyH- ‘accuse’ (IEW: 650f.)
COGN: Lat. līs, lītis ‘strife, accusation’
SEE: *līti-(āko)- ‘accused’
ETYM: Perhaps related is Celtib. litom (?) ‘what is permitted’ (Botorrita), cf. Meid 1994a: 17f. However, this Celtib. form allows many other etymological interpretations including, e.g., PCelt. *lixtom < *likʷ-to- (from the root *leykʷ- ‘to leave’, Lat. linguo, OIr. léicid, etc.).

*liy-o- ‘flow’ [Vb]
W: MW dillydd [3s Pres.]
PIE: *leyH- ‘flow’ (IEW: 664f.)
COGN: OCS liti, Lith. lieti
SEE: *līno- ‘flow, flood’
ETYM: W dillydd < *dī-exs-liy-o- (the simplex verb is unattested). Derived from the same root are W lli, līf [m] Co. lyf, ‘stream, flow’ (< *līwo-). OIr. li(a)e ‘flood’ and W lliant ‘flood, flux’ can be old present participles of this verbal root (PCelt. *liy-ant-).
REF: KPV 451f., GPC I: 1018, LIV 405f.

*loferno- ‘fox’ [Noun]
W: MW llewyrn [Collective, sometimes m] ‘foxes’, W llwyrn, llwyrn ‘will-o’-the-wisp, ignis fatuus’
BRET: MBret. louarn, MoBret. louarn, lowern [m]
CO: OCo. louuern gl. vulpes, Co. lowarn
PIE: *h₂lop- ‘fox’

*loku- ‘lake, pool’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. loch [u n]
PIE: *loku- ‘pond, pool’ (IEW: 653)
COGN: Lat. lacus, Gr. lákkos, OE lagu, OCS loky
ETYM: W llwch (OW lichou) and OBret. loch, MoBret. loc’h ‘lake, pond’ are either loanwords from Goidelic, or point to a geminate *lokku-. MBret. laguenn ‘inundated field’ and OCo. lagen gl. stagnum are probably borrowed from Lat. lacus (this would explain the vocalism). The difficulties presented by the IE cognates can be resolved if one starts from a PIE ablauting paradigm with Nom. sg. *loku-s, Gen. sg. *lkew-s (Matasović 2004: 104).
*lomanā ‘rope, thong’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. loman [ã f] ‘rope, leash, thong, bridle’
W: W llyfan [f and m]
BRET: MW louffan, MoBret. louan [m]
CO: Co. lovan

ETYM: W llyfan is attested only very late (19th century). The reconstruction is uncertain, since all of the attested forms might go back to *lumanā as well as *lomanā (Schrijver 1995: 31). The lack of cognates in other IE languages makes it probable that this word was borrowed from some non-IE source.


*longā ‘boat, vessel’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. long [ã f]
W: MW llong [f]
BRET: OBret. locou [p]
GAUL: Longaticum [Toponym] (= Nau-portus in Pannonia)

ETYM: It has been argued that this word is an old pan-Celtic loanword from Latin, derived from Lat. (nāuis) longa (note the equivalence of Gaul. Longaticum and Lat. Nauportus). However, I believe it is more probable that we are dealing with an inherited Celtic word for ‘vessel’, with unknown etymology, cf. also McCone 1993 for arguments against borrowing from Latin. Cisalpine Gaul. LOKAN may be the same word in the Acc. sg. (the alphabet used in Todi would render /ŋ/ as K).


*lorgo- ‘trace’ [Noun]

GOID: MIr. lorg [o m]
W: MW llwrw, llwry [m]
BRET: OBret. lerg, MoBret. lerc’h [m]
CO: Co. lergh

ETYM: The vocalism of MoBret. lerc’h and Co. lergh points to a variant *lorgyo- (Jackson 1967: 716), or *lergo-, cf. also Gaul. ethnonym Au-lerci, which has been interpreted as ‘those who are far away from their traces’ (Lambert 1994: 36). Pedersen (I 105) compares Arm. olork ‘smooth’, but this is more likely to be a chance similarity.


*lorgā ‘stick, club’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. lorg [ã f] ‘staff, stick, club’
W: MW llwry, llory [m]; llyry [p]
*lowatro-

BRET: MoBret. lorc'henn [f] ‘shaft’, also ‘vane woman’, lorc’h [m] ‘vanity, strong impression’
CO: OCo. lorch gl. baculus, MCo. lorgh
PIE: *lorg-o- ‘club’ (IEW: 691f.)
COGN: ON lurkr ‘club’
ETYM: The ON word is possibly a loanword from Celtic. If so, the Celtic word is isolated in IE, and may have been borrowed from some non-IE language.

*lowatro- ‘bath’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. loathar [o n]
BRET: MBret. lovazr
GAUL: lautro gl. balneo (Endlicher’s Glossary)
PIE: *lowatro- ‘bath’ (IEW: 692)
COGN: Lat. laurarium, Gr. Hom. loetrön, OE leaðor ‘soap-foam’
ETYM: The identity of the laryngeal in the PIE reconstruction seems to be assured by Myc. re-wo-to-ro- = Hom. loetrön (with metathesis *ewo- > *owe-).

*lowdo- ‘obstacle’ [Noun]
GOID: Mfr. lod [o m] ‘fence’ (?)
W: MW lludd ‘obstacle, hindrance’
BRET: MBret. luz ‘obstacle’
PIE: *lowdo- ‘obstacle’
COGN: Skt. rudh- ‘hinder’, rodhas- ‘obstacle’
ETYM: Mfr. lod is a rather obscure technical term from the legal language; DIL renders its meaning as ‘one of three perishable fences’; it can be related to MW lludd only if the original form was lód (from which we would expect liad in Mfr., but we may be dealing with the archaism of the legal language). The PIE root is not in IEW, but the correspondence with the Skt. root rudh- is perfect, both formally and semantically.

*lowko- ‘bright, light’ [Adj]
GOID: Mfr. luach (lóch) [o] ‘glowing white’
W: MW llug [m] ‘eyesight, perception’
GAUL: Leucus [PN]
PIE: *lewko- ‘bright, shining’ (IEW: 687ff.)
COGN: Lat. lux ‘light’, Go. liuhap ‘light’, Gr. leukós ‘white’, ToB lyuke ‘light’
SEE: *luk-o- ‘perceive’
ETYM: The same PCelt. root is presumably attested in MW llygad ‘eye’ [m and f], OCo. lagat gl. oculus. Co. lagas, MBret. lagat, MoBret. lagat [m] (PCelt. *lukato-?). The semantic connection of ‘light’ and ‘eye’ is based on a common metaphor (note that Lat. lūces can also mean ‘eyes’).

*lowlto-to- 'muddy' [Adj]
SEE: *lūtā 'dirt'

*lowlto- 'ash' [Noun]
GOld: Mlr. luaith [i f]
W: MW lludw [m] (GPC lludw, lludu)
BRET: MBret. ludo [m]
CO: Co. lusow
ETYM: Mlr. luaith points to *lōtwi-, which may represent a secondary i-stem form a n earlier u-stem *lowlto-. MW lludw is best explained from *lōtwi-. Pokorny’s connection of these words with PIE *lewh3- ‘wash’ (Lat. lauo, Gr. louo, Arm. loganam ‘bathe’, cf. IEW 692, LIV 375) is possible, under the assumption of the loss of laryngeal (by de Saussure’s law, *owH > *ow?). The original sense of PCelt. *lowlto- would have been ‘washing substance’ (cf. PCelt. *lōtwi- ‘bath’). Another possibility would be to relate these words to PCelt. *lūtā ‘mud, dirt’, from a root without a laryngeal.

*loydā 'poem, lay' [Noun]
SEE: *loyd-o- 'exhort'

*loyd-o- 'exhort, incite' [Vb]
GOld: Mlr. laïdid
PIE: *leyd- 'let go, play' (IEW: 666)
COGN: Lat. lūdo 'play', Lith. lāidyti 'throw'
ETYM: OIr. laïdid may be the denominative verb to OIr. laid [ʔa f] ‘poem, lay’< *loydā. Cf. also Gr. lizei ‘plays’ (Hesych.), which is not completely reliable as a cognate. Although formally flawless, the etymology relating Lat. lūdo and Mlr. laïdid is problematic both because of the difference in meaning, and because the o-grade in the root is unexpected (unless we have to do with the intensive presents of the type Lat. fodio ‘dig’, OCS bosti ‘sting’ < PIE *bʰodʰ-).
REF: LIV 361.

*lub-o- 'love' [Vb]
GAUL: lubi [Iipv.] (Banassac)
PIE: *lewbʰ- 'love' (IEW: 683)
COGN: Lat. lubīdō ‘sexual desire’, OE lēof ‘love’, OCS ljubiti ‘love’
*lubī/ā

ETYM: Although this verb is unattested in Insular Celtic, the meaning of the Gaul. forms derived from *lub-o- appears well established. Cf. also the Celtib. PN *Lubos (Botorrita I), which may also be related.


*lubī/ā 'herb, plant' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. luib [i? and ā f]
W: OW luird [p] gl. horti, MW lluarth
BRET: OBret. -lub, -lob, MBret. lou
PIE: *(h3)lewbh- 'leaf' (IEW: 690)
Cogn: OHG loub 'leaf', Lat. liber 'bark, rind', Russ. lub 'bark', Lith. lubā 'plank'
ETYM: OW luird is the plural to *luord, which is the compound corresponding to MBret. lorz, lyorz 'garden', Co. lowarth, OIr. lub-gort.
OIr. luib inflects mostly as an ā-stem, but Nom. pl. lubi may indicate that it had been originally an ā-stem. The Celtic, Baltic, and Italic forms are from the zero grade of the PIE root (*lubh-), while the Germanic and Slavic forms come from the o-grade (*lowbh-). If Gr. olóuphō 'peel' (Hesych.) is related, the correct PIE reconstruction is *h3lewbh-. I do not see the need to suppose that any of these words are loanwords from non-IE sources (cf. Beekes 1996).

REF: DGVB 274, Kluge 505, Beekes 1996.

*lud- 'went' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. luid 'went' [Pret.]
PIE: *h1ludh- 'grow, tread' (IEW: 684f., 306f.)
Cogn: Skt. rōdhati 'grows', Go. liudan 'grow', ToB lac 'went out'
ETYM: Judging by OIr. téit 'goes', pret. luid, the form *lude- was a suppletive thematic aorist of the verb 'to go' in PCelt., cf. also Gr. (Hom.) élythe 'he went'.

REF: KPV 456, LIV 248f., EIEC 228.

*lugiyio- 'oath' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. lugae [io n] (DIL luige)
W: MW llw [m and f]; llyfon, llyain, llwon [p]
BRET: MBret. le, MoBret. le [f]
CO: Co. gov-lya 'to swear falsely'
PIE: *h2lewgh- (IEW: 687)
COGN: Hitt. haluga- 'news, message', Go. liuga 'marriage', liugan 'marry, lie'
ETYM: OBret. di-lu gl. detestantur probably also contains this root. The semantic connection of the Celtic forms with those in other languages is weak, so this etymology is rather speculative.

*lugrā 'moon' [Noun]

W: OW loyr, MW lloer [f]
BRET: OBret. loir, loer, MBret. and MoBret. loar [f]
CO: OCo. luir gl. luna, Co. lo(e)r
PIE: *leuwg- 'to bend, twist' (IEW: 685f.)
COGN: Gr. lygízō 'bend', Lith. lūgnas 'twisted', Skt. rujāti 'breaks'

ETYM: The semantics of this derivation are somewhat stretched; however, this can be remedied if one starts from the meaning 'young moon' as 'twisted, bent'. Pokorny's (IEW 690) connection with the root *lewk- 'to shine' (Lat. lūx, etc.) is implausible from the phonological point of view (there is no evidence for the variant of this root with a voiced velar). A different etymology is offered 'as a mere possibility' by Schrijver (1995: 332). He relates W lloer etc. to Lat. lūridus 'pale, yellow', from a putative PIE *lows-.


*Lugu- 'god Lug', perhaps originally 'the shiny one' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. Lug [PN], Ogam LUGU-DECCAS

W: MW Llew

GAUL: Lugus (e.g. RIG G-159)

CELTIB: LUGUEI [Dat. s] (Peñalba)

ETYM: Cf. the parallelism of the compound PNs OIr. Lugaid (Gen Luigdech), Ogam LUGUDECCAS (CIIC no. 263) and Gaul. Lucudeca 'serving the god Lug' < PCelt. *Lugu-dek-s (Uhlich 2002: 409). For the second element of this compound see PCelt. *dekos.


*luk-o- 'see, perceive, set eyes upon' [Vb]

W: W gorllwyn 'expect, perceive, follow'

PIE: *lewk- 'shine' (IEW: 687)

COGN: Hitt. lukk- 'to get light, dawn', Skt. rócate 'shines', OLat. lúceo 'make light', OPr. luckis 'torch, log', ToB luk- 'to shine'

SEE: *lowko- 'bright'

ETYM: W gorllwyn, gorllgaf [1 sg. Pres.] < *ufor-luk-o- (the simplex verb is unattested). From the same root there is OW licat (MW llygat) 'well, source', OCo. lagat gl. oculus, MBret. lagat. The words for 'well' and 'eye' are etymologically related in many languages, cf. Persian časme 'well, source, eye'.

REF: GPC II: 1491, KPV 459, LIV 418, Falileyev 103.

*lukot- 'mouse' [Noun]
*lu-n-g-o- 249

GOID: OIr. luch [t f]
W: MW llygoden [Singulative]; llygod [p]
BRET: OBret. loc, MoBret. logodenn [Singulative]
CO: OCo. logoden gl. mus [Singulative], MoCo. logaz
GAUL: Lucotios [PN]
ETYM: The IE etymology is unknown. Pedersen’s connection with Lith. pelė ‘mouse’, Gr. poliós ‘gray’ has little to recommend itself. A PCelt. *flukot- < PIE *plukot- would be completely intransparent from the point of view of word formation. Thus, PCelt. *lukot- is probably a loanword from some non-IE language.

*lu-n-g-o- ‘put, place’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. fo-loing ‘support’; fo-ló [Subj.]; fo-lil [Fut.]; fo-lolaig [Pret.]; fo-locht [Pass.]
W: MW dillwng ‘set free’ (GPC dillwng, dillyngio)
PIE: *lewg- ‘bend’ (IEW: 685f.)
COGN: Lat. luctor ‘wrestle’, Go. ga-lukan ‘close’
ETYM: MW dillwng < *di-exs-lu-n-g-o-. Cf. also OIr. in-loing ‘connect’, MW ellwng ‘set free’ (< *exs-lung-o-).

*lu-n-g-o- ‘eat’ [Vb]
SEE: *slu-n-k-o- ‘swallow’

*lussu- ‘herb, vegetable’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. lus [u m] ‘herb, plant, garden herb’
W: MW lysieu, (GPC llysiau, llysau) [Collective]
BRET: MBret. lousou, MoBret. lousow [p]
CO: Co. losow [p]
ETYM: OIr. lus has also the more specific meaning ‘leek’. Brittonic words for ‘bilberries’ (W llus, MoBret. lus) are probably not related, because they denote altogether different kinds of plants (pace Deshayes 2003: 480). Pokorny’s derivation of these words from PIE *h₁lew∂h- ‘grow’ (Skt. ródhati, Go. liudan, cf. also Gr. eleūtheros ‘free’ < ‘grown up’) is possible (PIE *h₁lud∂-tu- would yield PCelt. *lussu- regularly, cf. also MIr. indlos, indlas [o m] ‘growth, riches’ < *ande-lussu-).

*lutā ‘mud, dirt’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. loth [a f] ‘mud, mire’
GAUL: Luto-magus, Lutetia (Paris) [Toponyms]
PIE: *lew-to- ‘mud, dirt’ (IEW: 681)
ETYM: In W, we have *lluđđđđ < *lowd-eto- ‘muddy’ (dissimilated from
*lowt-eto-) with the full grade of the same root. A Celtiberian cognate might
be incorporated into *lutiakos (A.76) ‘belonging to *Lutia’, where *Lutia
would be a toponym derived from PCelt. *lut-. Lith. liūtynas ‘puddle’ is
sometimes added as belonging to the same PIE root, but it is probably
unrelated (the accentuation points to a laryngeal root).

*luetu- ‘anger, power’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. liūth [u m] ‘power of motion, vigour’
W: MW *lid [m] ‘anger’
GAUL: Lutu-marus [PN]
PIE: *lewH-to- ‘angry’ (IEW: 691)
COGN: OCS ljut ‘angry’
ETYM: The Gaulish PN Lutumarus has the exact parallel in OIr. lūthmár
‘powerful’. The IE part of this etymology is somewhat speculative, since it
relies only on Celtic and Slavic; moreover, the Celtic forms must be from
*luHu-, while OCS ljut must represent *lewHto-.

*luwā ‘louse’ [Noun]
W: MW *leu (GPC llau) [p]; lleuen [Singularive]
BRET: MBret. louenn [Singularive], lou [Collective], MoBret. low
CO: OCo. lewen(ki) gl. pediculus, MoCo. low
PIE: *lewH- ‘louse’ (IEW: 692)
COGN: OE lūs, ON lús
ETYM: The PCelt. form is compatible with both PIE *lowHo- > *luwo-,
and with PIE *luHto- > *luwo-. The Germanic reflexes contain a sigmatic
suffix (PIE *luHs-). Skt. yūkā- ‘louse’ might be from *luH-keh₂, but *y-
instead of *r- is unexplained. ToA lu ‘animal’ (ToB luwo) might also be
ultimately from the same PIE root, but with an unusual generalization of
meaning.

*luw-o- ‘escape’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. as-λoi; as-loa [Subj.]
PIE: *lewH- ‘cut off, set free’ (IEW: 681f.)
COGN: Gr. lýo, Lat. lūo ‘pay, release from debt’, so-luo ‘release’
SEE: *lawano- ‘provisions, food, sustenance’
ETYM: OIr. as-λoi < *esx-luw-o- (the simplex is unattested in Goidelic).
REF: KPV 463, LIV 417, LP 379f.

*luxsman- ‘drop, a sip’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. loimm [n n] ‘sip, mouthful’, later ‘milk’
*luxtu- ‘contents; crowd, people’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. lucht [u m] ‘charge, contents, people’

W: OW luidt, luith [m] ‘tribe, lineage, family’, MW luith, (GPC llywyth)

BRET: OBret. loit gl. oppidanus

CO: OCo. leid gl. progenies

GAUL: luxtos [Gen. s] (La Graufesenque)

ETYM: The etymology in IEW (686) deriving these Celtic words from PIE *lewgh- ‘break’ is not convincing because of the difference in meaning. In Celtic, the basic meaning is ‘contents’ from which the meaning ‘people’ developed in a similar manner as in Lat. plēbs < *pleh₁- ‘be full’. The word may have been borrowed from some non-IE language.


M

*má, *ma ‘if’ [Conjunction]

GOID: OIr. ma, má

BRET: OBret. ma, MBret. ma, mar, MoBret. mar

CO: Co. mar

PIE: *meh₂- (particle) (IEW: 966)

COGN: Gr. môn (particle)

ETYM: The short vowel seen in OIr. ma and MBret. ma could perhaps be explained by shortening in clitics. Cf. also particles such as Hitt. -ma ‘but’, Skt. sama.


*mad-yo- ‘break’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. maidid, -maid; más, -má [Subj.]; memais, -mema [Fut.]; memaid [Pret.]

W: MW maeddu ‘break, win’

BRET: MBret. mezaff ‘knead’, MoBret. mezañ
PIE: *mad- (?, *mh₂d-) 'be wet, become wet' (IEW: 694f.)
Cogn: Lat. *madeo, Gr. *madāo, Skt. *madati 'rejoice, be intoxicated'
Etym: For the possibility that this PCelt. verb originally had athematic i-inflection (Kortlandt 2007: 137), cf. *ar-yo- 'plough'. The PIE etymology is semantically dubious because it is difficult to derive the meaning in Celtic ('break') from the PIE meaning 'be wet'. However, OIr. *maidid can be used impersonally in the sense of 'burst', and this may have been the original meaning of the root in Celtic. If so, then the meaning 'to burst' may have been extended from the more specific (the bursting of streams and torrents) to the more general, cf. the connection in Croatian between prskati 'sprinkle' and pršnuti 'burst, explode'. Formally, Celtic *mad- can be from PIE zero-grade of the root (*mh₂d-).

*madyo- 'futile, useless' [Adj]
Goid: OIr. madae [io] 'useless'
W: MW madeu in eneit vadeu 'lost soul'; madau (GPC maddau) 'forfeit, give up, lose'
Bret: OBr. in vadau gl. pessum
See: *mad-yo- 'break'
Etym: It is possible that this adjective is derived from the root *mad- 'to break'. The semantic development would be from 'broken' to 'useless'.
Ref: LEIA M-6, GPC III: 2303

*magino- 'stone, place' [Noun]
Goid: OIr. magen, mangan [ā, f] 'place' (DIL maigen)
W: MW maen [m] 'stone, grindstone'; main, meini, maenau [p]
Bret: OBr. main, MBret. men, MoBret. maen [m] 'stone'
Co: Co. men
See: *magos 'plain, field'
Etym: W maen is not just any stone, but one 'having some speciality or a particular use', according to GPC. The OIr. form in -ā is a collective built from *magino-, like Lat. loca from locus. The attribution in IEW (709) to the root *megh₂- 'great' is possible, cf. Skt. mahī- 'earth' (< *'the great one') and PCelt. *magos 'field', which might also be related.

*maglo- 'noble, chief' [Noun]
Goid: OIr. mál [o m], Ogam CUNA-MAGLI
W: MW mael [m] 'chieftain, lord'; MW -mael, -fael (in PN) (e.g. Brochfael < *Brocco-maglo);
Bret: MBret. -mael (in PN, e.g. Tiernmael)
Gaul: Magalos, -maglus [PN]
Pie: *megh₂- 'great' (IEW: 709)
Cogn: Gr. mégas, Go. mikils
ETYM: If the etymology is correct the a-vocalism in Celtic should be explained by Schrijver's rule (*mC voiced -> *maC voiced*), but this rule is not beyond doubt. Gaul. Magalos, if related, might represent PIE *mgh2-lo- with the expected vocalization of the laryngeal (which was, for some reason, lost in Insular Celtic and in Gaul. -magluss).


*magos-* 'plain, field' [Noun]
GOID: Olr. mag [s n]
W: OW maessid [p], MW -ma [m and f], maes
BRET: OBret. -ma, MoBret. ma 'place', maes [m] 'field'
CO: Co. -ma
GAUL: -magus (e.g. Noviomagus, Rigomagus)
PIE: *megh2- 'great' (?) (IEW: 709)
COGN: Skt. mahi- 'earth'
SEE: *magino- 'stone'
ETYM: MW maes and MBret. maes should be derived from a formation in *-tu, i.e. PCelt. *magestu-. The connection with the PIE adjective *megh2- 'great' is uncertain. Skt. mahi- 'great (f.), earth' is a substantivized adjective, originally a standing epithet of 'earth'.


*magyo- 'great' [Adj]
GOID: Mlr. maige [io]
GAUL: Magios [PN]
PIE: *megh2- 'great' (IEW: 709)
COGN: Lat. maius
ETYM: Mlr. maige is a rare, poetic word.


*makʷo- 'son' [Noun]
GOID: Olr. macc [o m]
W: OW map [m], MW map (GPC mab)
BRET: OBret. mab, map, MBret. and MoBret. mab [m]
CO: OCo. mab gl. filius, map
GAUL: Maponos [Theonym]
PIE: *meh₂k- 'raise, grow' (IEW: 709 (*megʰ-))
COGN: Lat. macer 'meagre', Gr. makrós 'great'
SEE: *mak-o- 'grow, increase'
ETYM: The IE etymology proposed here is rather uncertain for semantic reasons; the verbal stem *mak- means 'grow, raise, feed' in Celtic, so the development would have been from 'raised, fed' to 'son'. PIE *mh₂k-wo- would yield PCelt. *makʷo-, so the geminate *kʷkʷ in Goidelic is unexplained (the Brit. forms are derivable from *makʷo-).
*mak-o- ‘increase, raise, feed’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. do-formaig ‘increase, add’; do-forma [Subj.]; do-formacht [Pret.]

W: MW magu ‘feed, produce, rear’
BRET: MBret. maguaff ‘feed, rear’, MoBret. maezhur, magañ ‘feed, rear’
CO: Co. maga

PIE: *meh₂k- ‘thin, elongated’ (IEW: 709 (*megʰ-))
COGN: Lat. maceo ‘be lean’, Gr. makrós ‘big’, Hitt. maklant- ‘thin, meagre, slim (of animals)’, OHG magar ‘meagre’

SEE: *makk×os ‘son’

ETYM: OIr. do-formaig < *to-wor-mak-o- (the simplex is unattested in Goidelic). The Celtic forms presuppose the zero-grade of the root, PIE *meh₂k- > PCelt. *mak-. The development of meaning would have been from ‘make thin’ to ‘make long’ and, finally ‘increase’ (cf. also Gr. makrós ‘great’ from ‘*long, elongated’).


*makina ‘bellow’ [Noun]

W: MW megin [f] ‘a pair of bellows’
BRET: MBret. meguin, MoBret. megin [f]
CO: Co. mygen

PIE: *mak- ‘leather sack’ (IEW: 698)
COGN: OHG mago ‘belly’, Lith. mąkas ‘purse’

ETYM: If the etymology is correct, the a-vocalism points to a borrowing from some unknown source.


*mallo- ‘slow, lazy’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. mall [o] gl. tardus
W: MW mall ‘evil, sick, bad, rotten, dull’

PIE: *mel- ‘be late, hesitate’ (IEW: 720)
COGN: Gr. mellō ‘be late, must’, Lat. prō-mello

SEE: *mello- ‘destruction’

ETYM: The meaning of W mall according to GPC is not as close to the meaning of OIr. mall as implied by LEIA. As a noun, mall means ‘plague, pestilence’ in W. The Celtic geminate *ll can be both from PIE *ls and *ln. Lat. prōmellere, which means litem promovere, according to Lewis & Short (s. v.), is a hapax. Other possible cognates include Lat. malus ‘bad’, Gr. méleos ‘idle’, Arm. mel ‘sin’, Lith. mēlas ‘lie’. Maybe we should distinguish two roots, *mel- (1) ‘be late, hesitate’, and *mel- (2) ‘evil’. In that case OIr. mall is from *mel- (1) and W mall (and OIr. mell ‘destruction’) are from PIE *mel- (2).
*mal-o-*


**mal-o-**, **mel-o-** 'grind' [Vb]
GOID: Olr. meilid, -mei1; melaid, -mela [Subj.]; mélaid, -méla [Fut.]; milt, -melt [Pret.]; mlethae, -mleth [Pass.]
W: W malu
BRET: OBret. maletic gl. contritum [Past Part.], MBret. malaff 'grind'
PIE: *melh2- 'grind' (IEW: 716f.)
COGN: Lat. molo, Lith. málti, Arm. malem
ETYM: The Brittonic forms can be derived from the zero-grade of the root, PIE *mlH2-o- > *malH-o- > PCelt. *mal-o-. Olr. meilid preserves the full grade (PIE *melh2-o-).

*malo-* 'praise' [Noun]
SEE: *mol-ä- 'praise'

*mamm(y)ä* 'mother, nanny' [Noun]
GOID: Olr. muimme [iä fl] 'nurse, fostermother'
W: MW mam [f] 'mother'
BRET: MBret. mam(m) [f]
CO: OCo. mam gl. mater, MCo. mam
PIE: *mam(m)a 'mommy' (IEW: 694)
COGN: Lat. mamma, OHG muoma
SEE: *mātir 'mother'
ETYM: These forms are from the children’s language, while the ‘formal’ word for ‘mother’ is preserved in Olr. māthir. The fact that the nursery word *mammä usually does not denote the biological mother is explained by the Celtic custom of fosterage (children are raised by foster-parents, with whom they develop an intimate relationship).

*mani-* 'turf, peat' [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. móin [i f]
W: MW mawn [p]; mawnen [Singulative]
BRET: MoBret. man [m] ‘moss’
ETYM: MoBret. man ‘moss’ has aberrant vocalism (**meun would be expected), so I doubt whether this is the same word (the meaning is also different). Olr. móin and W mawn might be derivable from *makni- < *mhkni- 'swamp' (cf. Olr. tòn < *tuknä). The root would be the same as in Alb. makē ‘mud’, OCS mokrō ‘wet’, Lith. mknōtis ‘walk through the mud’ (IEW 698).
REF: LEIA M-60, GPC III: 2378, Deshayes 490, EIEC 639.
*man-yo- 'think, remember' [Vb]

GOID: OIr. *mwnithir, -mwnethar 'think'; menaithir, -menathar [Subj.];
*mnair [Pret.]; *mētae, -mēt [Pret. Pass.]
PIE: *men- 'think' (IEW: 726ff.)
COGN: Skt. *manyate, Go. *munan
SEE: *mentyon- 'thought, mention', *menman- 'thought'
ETYM: W *mynu, MoBret. *mennout, Co. *my纳斯 'want, wish, desire' are probably from the same root. The geminate -nn- can be from *nd < *ndʰ, cf. Gr. *manthánō 'learn'. The root is probably also attested in Celtib. MONIMAM (K.11.1), which may be identical with the formation of OBret. verbal noun guo-monim 'promise' (? formed from the causative stem *mon-eye- > PCelt. *monī- and the suffix *-mā).

*mantī- 'quantity' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *mēit [i f] 'greatness, magnitude'
W: OW pa-mint gl. quam; MW maint 'size, quantity'
BRET: OBret. ment, MoBret. ment [m and f] 'dimension, size'
CO: Co. myns
PIE: *meh₁- 'measure', *mh₁-nt- (IEW: 703)
COGN: Skt. má- 'to measure', Lat. metior
ETYM: Fr. main 'several' preserves the Gaulish cognate of the same Celtic word, derived from the PIE participle *mh₁-nt-. It is possible that the root is attested in Gaul. anthroponymy, e.g. Cara-mantius.

*manto- 'gums, jaw' [Noun]

W: MW mant [m] 'mandible, gums'
PIE: *men-t- 'jaw' (IEW: 726)
COGN: Lat. mentum 'jaw', OHG munt 'mouth', ? Hitt. mēni-, mēna- 'face, cheek'
ETYM: OIr. mant 'gums, jaw' (attested in Corm. 2897) is a W loanword according to DIL, s. v. It is possible that Gaul. PNs such as Mantus, Manta, Mantusa, etc., also contain this root.

*mantro- 'trampling, grinding' [Noun]
SEE: *menā 'flour'

*mark-āko- 'horseman' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. marcach [o m]
*marko- 257

W: OW marhauc [m], MW marchauc
BRET: OBret. marcoc gl. aequester, MBret. marhec, MoBret. marc’heg [m]
CO: Co. marrec
SEE: *marko- ‘horse’
ETYM: A trivial derivative (with the common suffix *-ako-) from PCelt. *marko- ‘horse’.

*marko- ‘horse’ [Noun]
GOID: Mfr. marc [o m]
W: MW march [m]; meirch [p]
BRET: OBret. marh, MBret. march, MoBret. marc’h
CO: OCo. march gl. equus, MCo. margh
GAUL: markan [Acc. s], marcosier ‘may I ride’ [Vb]
PIE: *marko- (?) ‘horse’ (IEW: 700)
COGN: OHG marah ‘horse’, OE mearh
ETYM: Mfr. marc is a rare, poetic word, but the derivative marcach ‘horseman’ is attested in OIr. Galatian marka is reported by Pausanias (10.19.11) as Galatian word for ‘horse’ (Freeman 2001: 17). Celtib. PN Markos (Botortia III) probably represents the adaptation of the Roman name Marcus. PCelt. *markos is probably a ‘Wanderwort’ of eastern origin. It established itself in Celtic and Germanic alongside the inherited PIE word for ‘horse’, *h₁ekwos (OIr. ech). Attempts to connect it to Skt. márya- ‘youth, foal’ are not convincing. Celtic points to non-IE a-vocalism of *marko-.

*mar-na- ‘betray’ [Vb]
PIE: *merh₂- ‘crumble, destroy’ (IEW: 735f.)
COGN: Skt. mṛṇāti ‘crumble’, Gr. mármamai ‘fight’, ON merja ‘hit’
ETYM: The connection with the PIE root *merh₂- is problematic on semantic grounds. The passive -mrath is unusual, since **mráth would be expected from *mrh₂to-; the short vowel could be the result of Dybo’s law.

*mar-o- ‘remain’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. maraid, -mair (DIL maraid and mairid) ‘lasts, remains, persists’; marathair, -marathar [Subj.]; méraid, méra [Fut.]
PIE: *merh₂- ‘delay’ (IEW: 969f. (*s)mer-))
*māro- ‘great’ [Adj]

COGN: OHG māri ‘news; known, famous, great’, Gr. -mōros (in compounds)

ETYM: All Celtic forms (and Gr. -mōros) can be derived from *moh₁-ro-, while the e-grade is attested in other languages. The PCelt. comparative and superlative of this adjective were suppletive. The comparative was *mā-yos- (Olr. mó, móoMW mwy, Co. moy), and the superlative was *mā-samo- (Olr. máam, moam). The Brittonic superlatives (OBret. meham, OW muihiam, Co. moygha) were built with the productive suffix *-samo- added to the comparative stem *māy-).


*marsto/i- ‘fate, untimely death’ [Noun]

COGN: Lat. mereo ‘to earn, gain’, Gr. meiromai ‘receive one’s share’

ETYM: The exact meaning of Mlr. mart, mairt, as well as the stem formation of this word, are unclear. It seems to be often applied to animals, so one of the meanings could have been ‘(sacrificial) victim’. Deshayes’ (2003: 496) derivation of the Brittonic words from Lat. uirtus ‘virtue’ is impossible formally and implausible semantically. Because of the semantic connection these Celtic words have with the concept of ‘death’ it is possible that the PIE root is *mer- ‘die’, since *mr-sto- would also yield PCelt. *marsto- regularly, and the PIE root of Lat. mereo, Gr. meiromai is *smer- (note that *sm- should be preserved in OIr.). The connection with Gaul. smerios ‘supplier (?)’ (an epithet of some Gaulish gods) and the Gaul. theonym Ro-smerta is a mere possibility.
*marw-ā-  ‘die’ [Vb]
SEE: *marwo- ‘dead’

*marwo- ‘dead’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. marb [o]
W: MW marw
BRET: MBret. marf, maru, MoBret. marw
CO: Co. marow
PIE: *mer- ‘die’, *mrto- ‘dead’ (IEW: 735)
COGN: Skt. mṛtā-, Lat. mortuus, Gr. (poetic) brotós ‘mortal’
SEE: *merwi- ‘lifeless’
ETYM: In Celtic, the original PIE adjective *mrto- was remodelled on the analogy with *ǵwīhwos ‘alive’ (Lat. īīus, etc.). There are also parallel denominative verbal formations in OIr. (marbaid ‘kills’) and Brit. (MW merwi ‘die’, MBret. meruel, MCo. merwel), pointing to PCelt. *marw-ā- ‘die’.

*marwo-natu- ‘funerary poem, eulogy’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. marbnad [ā f]
W: MW marwnad [f and m] (GPC marwnad, marnad)
BRET: MoBret. marvnad
SEE: *marwo- ‘dead’, *naut- ‘poem’
ETYM: A compound, pertaining to poetic language, that can probably be projected back to Proto-Celtic.
REF: LEIA N-4, GPC III: 2368.

*mati- ‘good’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. maith [i]
W: MW mad
BRET: MBret. mat, MoBret. mad
CO: Co. mas
GAUL: mat. (Coligny)
PIE: *meh₂-t- (IEW: 693)
COGN: Lat. mānis, mānus, Mātūta ‘goddess Dawn’
ETYM: OIr. math [u m] ‘bear’ is often understood as a tabooistic replacement for the original word for ‘bear’ (PCelt. *arto-) and related to this root. The u-stem (*matu-) may be attested in the Gaul. PN Matu-genos. Celtib. matus is sometimes also compared, but the meaning of this word (presumably a noun) is unknown (MLH V.1: 247f.), so it is not entitled to an etymology. Beyond Celtic, Gr. matís ‘great’ (Hesych.) is uncertain (it is not even ascertained that the word is Greek, it might be Galatian). The
connection of these words to PIE *meh₂- ‘give a sign, wink’ (Gr. μηνυό, Lith. mōtī, LIV 382) is very speculative. The development would have been from ‘wink’ to ‘give a sign of approval’ to ‘approve’, hence ‘good, approved’ as the meaning of the adjective from the same root.


*mātīr ‘mother’ [Noun]
GOLD: OIr. māthir [r, f] ‘mother’
W: OW modreped gl. materterae, W modryb [f] ‘aunt’
CO: OCo. modereb gl. matertera ‘aunt’
GAUL: matrebo [r, f] [Dat. p] (Glanum, RIG G-64)
CELTIB: MATRUBOS (?) [Dat. p] (CIL II 28-48, Muro de Agreda)
PIE: *meh₂tēr ‘mother’ (IEW: 700)
COGN: Skt. mātār-, Lat. māter, Gr. mētēr, OCS mati
ETYM: The Brittonic forms mean ‘aunt’ and can be derived from *mātrikʷā (cf. Skt. mātrkā- ‘mother’s brother’), or, perhaps, from *mātrokʷi (< *meh₂tr-h₃okʷ-h₂ ‘looking like mother, mother-like’).


*maylo- ‘bald’ [Adj]
GOLD: OIr. mæl [o], Ogam MAILA-GNI
W: OW mail, MW moel
BRET: MBret. moel, MoBret. moal
CO: Co. mōl
ETYM: A connection with Go. maitan ‘cut’, OHG meizan ‘cut off’ (IEW 697) is possible (from *may-d-?), but these Germanic words have unclear etymology (Kluge, s. v. Meiβel). We would have to assume a-vocalism of the root, so one may suspect that these words are borrowed from some pre-IE language of NW Europe.


*mazdyo- ‘stick’ [Noun]
GOLD: Mlr. maide [io m] ‘post, stick, bundle, wood’
PIE: *masdo- (IEW: 702)
COGN: Lat. mālus, Olc. mastr ‘mast’
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. mátán [o m] ‘club’, which could be from *māzd-ān-o-. However, this word is poorly documented. Fr. massue ‘club’ could preserve the Gaul. reflex of this word (it is usually derived from VLat. *mattiūca, but *mastiūca < *mazd-tiū-kā would do as well), cf. Gamillscheg 606. In
principle it would be possible to explain all of the Celtic-Italic-Germanic correspondences by assuming ablaut *meh₂sd/*mh₂sd-, but I think it is more probable that these words were borrowed from some pre-IE source.

REF: LEIA M-10, EIEC 441.

*meblä ‘shame’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. mebul [ə f]
W: MW mefyl, (GPC mefl) [m]
BRET: OBret. meplaom ‘be ashamed’ (gl. confutari)
CO: Co. meul ‘evil’
PIE: *mebʰ- (IEW: 725)
COGN: Gr. mémpomai ‘to blame’, Go. bi-mampjan ‘to mock’
ETYM: Possibly an expressive formation, but parallels in Gr. and Germ. point to a probable PIE origin. IEW reconstructs the root as *membʰ- and assumes the change *mbl > *bl in Celtic. However, -m- in Gr. mémpomai and Go. mampjan can also be present stem infixes, but note that -p- (rather than *b) in Gothic is unexpected.


*med-o- ‘measure, judge’ [Vb]
W: MW meddu ‘possess, rule’
CO: Co. medhes ‘say’
PIE: *med- ‘measure’ (IEW: 705f.)
COGN: Lat. medeor ‘heal’, modus ‘measure’, Gr. médomai ‘care for, think of’, Go. mitan ‘measure’
ETYM: Olr. mess [u m] ‘judgement’ is derived from the same root (PCelt. *messu- < PIE *med-tu-). For the possibility that this verb originally had athematic i-inflexion (Kortlandt 2007: 137) see *ar-yo- ‘plough’


*medu ‘mead, alcoholic drink’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. mid [u n > m], Ogam MEDDO-GENI
W: MW medd [m]
BRET: OBret. medot gl. ebrietas, MBret. and MoBret. mez [m]
CO: Co. med, meth
GAUL: Medu-genos [PN]
CELTIB: Mezu-kenos [PN] (Botorrita III)
PIE: *medʰu ‘mead’ (IEW: 707)
COGN: Skt. mádhu-, Gr. méthy ‘wine’, Lith. medu̯s ‘mead’
ETYM: OBret. medot corresponds to MW meddawt ‘drunkenness’; both represent a derivative *medātu-. The Celtiberian name Mezukenos is a rare
instance of a compound name in that language. It is completely parallel to
REF: LEIA M-48, GPC III: 2394, LP 36, EIEC 271, 313, Delamarre 222f.,

*mëdyo-* 'middle' [Noun]
GOID: Olr. mide [i o m]
BRET: OBret. med, (lit. 'middle (period) of the summer')
GAUL: *Medio-lanum* [Toponym] > Milano
PIE: *medh-yo- 'middle' (IEW: 706)
COGN: Skt. māḍhya-, Lat. medius, Gr. méssos, OHG mitti 'in the middle'
ETYM: W *Mehefin, MBret. mez-even 'June' is a compound of *mëdyo- and
*samono- 'summer'. MW meiau 'middle yoke' (length) is a compound of
*mëdyo- and *yugo- 'yoke'.
REF: LEIA M-50, GPC III: 2406, DGVB 252, EIEC 380, Delamarre 222,

*mëko-* 'sack, bushel (of grain)' [Noun]
GOID: Olr. miach [o n and f]
PIE: *meyg(h)- 'barley, grain'
COGN: OPr. mōasis 'barley', Latv. mieži [p] 'barley'
ETYM: The semantic connection with the Baltic words for 'barley' might
lie in the fact that Olr. miach is used chiefly to denote a measure of capacity
for corn (according to DIL). However, the etymology is very uncertain, since
the devoicing of *g > *k in Celtic is irregular; one would have to assume a
root-noun *mēyg(h)s [mēyks] from which the root form with *k could have
been extended analogically (cf. *druko- 'bad').
REF: LEIA M-47, EIEC 51.

*mëldo-* 'mild, pleasant'; *mëlido- 'soft' [Adj]
GOID: Olr. mell [o m] 'pleasant, delightful'
W: MW blydd 'soft'
GAUL: *Maldi* [Ethnonym] (?)
PIE: *meld- 'tender, mild, soft' (IEW: 718)
COGN: Skt. mṛdū-, Lat. mollis, Gr. bladýs 'weak', OCS mlad' 'young'
ETYM: The name of Gaulish Maldi is preserved in the toponym Meaux in
France. However, the vocalism of this name is unexpected (either **Moldi,
or **Meldi, or **Mlidi would have been regular); some compare also the
Gaul. theonym Meldios. W blydd is from *mëldo-, while Olr. mell represents
*mëldo-*, so either two different adjectives from the same root must be
posited for PCelt., or we have to assume an ablating paradigm (perhaps an
original u-stem *meldu- / *mldeu-). Note also that W blydd may have been
abstracted from esblydd 'tender', which is in turn related to plydd 'gentle,
soft, tender' (GPC III: 2831), with unknown etymology. I think it is more
probable that *plydd is secondary, although it is attested already in the 15th century, while *blydd is attested much later (in the works of Owen Pughe). A different etymology relates PCelt. *meldo- to PGerm. *meldja- ‘mild’ (Go. -mildeis, ON mildr) < PIE *melḍ- (IEW 719).


*melgos- ‘milk’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. melg [s n]  
PIE: *h₂melg- ‘milk’ (IEW: 722f.)  
SEE: *mlig-o- ‘milk’  
ETYM: OIr. melg is a glossary word. It is attested in Corm. 2861. However, there is little reason to doubt the usual derivation from PIE *h₂melg- ‘milk’ (Gr. amélgō, Eng. milk, etc.).

REF: LEIA M-33, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 142, 144.

*meli ‘honey’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. mil [i f], ? Ogam DU-MELI  
W: OW mel [m], MW mel (GPC mêl)  
BRET: OBret. mel gl. nectare, MBret. and MoBret. mel [m]  
CO: OCo. mel gl. mel  
GAUL: Meli-ssos [PN]  
PIE: *meli ‘honey’ (IEW: 724)  
COGN: Lat. mel, Gr. méli, Hitt. militt-, Arm. mëlr, Alb. mjal  
SEE: *melino- ‘yellow’  
ETYM: Brittonic *melino- ‘yellow’ (OW melin, melen, MW melyn, OBret. milin gl. flauus, OCo. milin gl. fuluus) probably represent a derivative from this word. The development of ‘honey-coloured’ to ‘yellow’ would be unremarkable.


*melino- ‘yellow’ [Adj]
W: MW melin (GPC melyn)  
BRET: OBret. milin gl. flauus, MBret. and MoBret. melen  
CO: OCo. milin gl. fuluus uel flauus, Co. melyn  
GAUL: Melinus [PN]  
SEE: *meli- ‘honey’  
ETYM: Romance adjectives such as Sardic mélínu, Rhaeto-Romance mélen ‘yellow’, are presumably from the unattested Gaulish form of this word, cf. also Fr. molène ‘mullein’ < *molënā (Gamillscheg 628).


*mello- ‘destruction, confusion’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. mell ‘error, confusion’  
COGN: ToB màl- ‘to wound, damage’, ?Lat. malus ‘bad’
SEE: *malno- ‘slow, lazy’

ETYM: The OIr. word is known mostly from glossaries, but there is a
denominative verb *millid ‘to destroy’, and a possible cognate in O Bret. *milin
‘prostitute’ (DGVB 257). The geminate *-ll- in PCelt. is presumably from
*-ls- so we should posit a proto-form *melso- in PIE. The connection to
*malno- ‘slow, lazy’ is just a possibility, since the meanings are very
different (but cf. Lat. malus ‘bad’, which could be related).

*menä ‘flour’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. men [ā f]
PIE: *menH- ‘crumble’ (IEW: 726)
COGN: Lith. minti ‘trample, break (flax)’, OCS мънеть ‘compresses’,
Russ. mjat’ ‘to knead’, Slovene manem [1s Pres.] ‘I mince’

ETYM: W mathru ‘to trample upon, stamp, suppress’ is usually derived
from the same root; it may represent a denominative verb from the
underlying noun *mantro-, cf. W mathr [m] ‘trampling, mire’. Possibly also
related is Gaul. toponym Petro-mantalon (< *man-tlo- < *mn-tlo-), cf. also
Mantua (today Mantova in N Italy). Gaul. *manto-, *mantalo- has been
interpreted as ‘(trampled) road’, cf. Lat. trīta uia. The IE etymology is
problematic, since the accentuation of the Balto-Slavic presumed cognates
shows that this root ended in a laryngeal, of which there is no trace in Celtic
(we would expect *mnHtro- > PCelt. *mnātro-).

*menadO- ‘awl’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. menad [o m]
W: MW mynawyd [m] (GPC mynawyrd, myniawyrd)
BRET: MBret. menauet
CO: Co. benewas, benewez

ETYM: Mlr. menad is sometimes confused with menoc ‘peg, piece of wood
used for securing a withe’. No plausible IE etymology exists, so PCelt.
*menado- could be a loanword from some non-IE language.
REF: LEIA M-36, GPC III: 2534.

*mendrā ‘blemish’ [Noun]
SEE: *mendu- ‘mark, sign’

*mendu- ‘mark, sign’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. mind [u n later m]
W: MW mann [m] ‘place, spot, location’ (GPC man, men, myn)
BRET: MBret. men(n) ‘place’, MoBret. man ‘case, point’, menn ‘where’
PIE: *men-dʰ₁u- (IEW: 729f.)
COGN: Lat. mendum ‘fault, blemish’, Hitt. mant- ‘something harming’
*menekki-  


*menekekki- 'frequent, abundant' [Adj]  
GOID: OIr. meinicc [i]  
W: MW mynych  
CO: Co. menough  
PIE: *men- (IEW: 730)  
COGN: OE manig 'sufficient, large, many', Go. manags, OCS тъногъ 'many'  
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. meince, mince [iä f] < *menekkyā. The double *-kk- in Celtic is probably the result of expressive gemination, but assimilation in a proto-form *meneg-ki- is also imaginable; the comparison of PCelt. *menek- and *m(0)nog-, implied by Slavic and Germanic forms points to a very un-Indo-European shape of the root. These words might be loanwords from some unknown NW European source (Boutkan 2005: 257).  

*menekkyā 'frequency' [Noun]  
SEE: *menekki- 'frequent'

*mēni- 'mineral, metal' [Noun]  
GOID: OIr. mein, mian 'ore, metal, mineral' [i f]  
W: MW mwyn [m]  
BRET: MBret. men-gleuz 'mine'  
PIE: *(s)mey(H)- 'hew, cut' (IEW: 968)  
COGN: Go. aiza-smipa 'smith', OHG smid 'smith', 'axe', 'smile 'a kind of knife'  
ETYM: Fr. mine (and, ultimately, Eng. mine) are derived from Gallo-Lat. mina, which is the Gaulish counterpart to Mlr. méin, etc. The PIE etymology is purely conjectural. The Celtic form would presuppose PIE *mey(H)ni- (without the s-mobile).  
REF: LEIA M-29, GPC III: 2519, Gamillscheg 622.

*menman- 'thought, mind' [Noun]  
GOID: OIr. menme [n m]  
W: MW mwnw [?m] 'nature, disposition'  
BRET: MBret. meno [m] (MoBret.) 'opinion, judgement'  
GAUL: Menman-dutis [Dat. p, Theonym]  
PIE: *men-mn- (IEW: 726)  
COGN: Skt. mānman- 'mind, thought'  
SEE: *man-yo- 'think'
**menno-** ‘young of an animal, kid’ [Noun]

GOID: Mr. *menn* [o m] ‘kid, young of an animal’

W: MW *myn* [m] ‘young goat, kid’

BRET: MBret. *menn* [m] ‘young goat’

CO: OCo. *min* gl. *hedus*

PIE: *men- ‘small’ (IEW: 728)


SEE: *menwo- ‘small’

ETYM: The origin of the geminate *nn is uncertain. A simple derivative *men-no- is possible, as well as *mendo- (but note that there is no trace of the cluster *nd in Olr.); a proto-form *mendo- could be related to VLat. *mannus*, Rum. *mînz* ‘foal’ (cf. also MHG *menz* ‘infertile cow’) which is from some unknown substrate (the term ‘Illyrian’ does not mean much). Cf. also Gaul. toponym *Epo-manduo-durum* and ethnonym *Mandu-bii* (Sims-Williams 2006: 90) and Basque *mando* ‘mule’ (a Celtic loanword?).


**mēno-** ‘wish’ [Noun]

GOID: Olr. *mian* [o n > m] ‘wish’

W: MW *mwyn* [m] ‘enjoyment, delight, profit, treasure’

BRET: MoBret. *menn* [m] ‘wish’

PIE: *meyno- ‘opinion’ (IEW: 714)

COGN: OE *mān* ‘meaning’, OHG *meinen* ‘to mean’, OCS *mēnit* ‘to mean’, perhaps ToB *onmim* ‘remorse’

ETYM: The PIE root may be the *mey- ‘exchange’, the same as in PCelt. *moyno- ‘treasure’, but semantic connections are weak. If ToB *onmim* is related, it must be from *h3epi-meyno-.


**mentyon-** ‘thought, mention’ [Noun]

GOID: Olr. *toimtiu* [n f]

PIE: *men-ti-Hon- (IEW: 726)

COGN: Lat. *mentiō* ‘mention’

SEE: *man-yo- ‘think’

ETYM: Olr. *toimtiu* presupposes *to-mentyon-. The simplex *mentyon- is unattested. It is a derivative of the root *men- ‘think’ with the Italo-Celtic compound suffix *-ti-on- (or *-ti-Hon-), cf. Lat. *mentiō* ‘a calling in mind, mention’.

*menwo- ‘small, minute’ [Adj]
  GOID: MIr. *menb [o]
  W: MW *difanw, difenwi ‘to weaken, decrease, diminish, abuse’
  PIE: *men- ‘small’ (IEW: 728)
  COGN: Osc. *menvum ‘diminish’, Gr. mānos ‘rare’
  SEE: *menno- ‘young of an animal’
  ETYM: MW *difanw is from *d1-menwo-. Gr. mānos is from *manwos < *mnwos, while Gr. mónos ‘alone’ is from *monwos. We seem to be dealing with the PIE pattern *menu- / *monw-m / *mnw-os.
  REF: LEIA M-37, GPC I: 980, EIEC 528.

*mergî ‘rust, corrosion’ [Noun]
  GOID: OIr. *meirc [f] gl. aerugo
  W: MW merydd ‘wet, stagnant (of water), slow, lazy’
  BRET: OBr. mergidhaam gl. hebesco
  PIE: *merg- ‘be wet, withered’ (IEW: 740)
  COGN: MHG *murc ‘withered’, Russ. moróz ‘frost’, Alb. mardhé ‘frost’
  ETYM: MoBret. mergî ‘rust’ could be an early Irish loanword. MW merydd represents a derivative *mergiyo-. The acute intonation in Slavic may be due to Winter’s law.

*merka ‘maiden’ [Noun]
  W: MW merch [f] ‘girl, daughter, maiden’
  BRET: MBret. merch, MoBret. merc’h [f]
  CO: Co. myrgh, mergh
  PIE: *mer- ‘boy, girl’ (IEW: 738f.)
  COGN: Skt. márya- ‘young man’, Gr. meîraks ‘girl, boy’, Lith. mergâ ‘girl’, OPr. mergo ‘girl’, perhaps Lat. maritus ‘married; husband’
  SEE: *morēnā ‘girl’
  ETYM: A derivative from the o-grade of the root may be preserved in PCelt. *morēnā ‘girl’ (MW morwyn, OCo. moroin).

*mero- ‘crazy, silly’ [Adj]
  GOID: OIr. mer [o] ‘crazy, wild’
  W: MW meredig, mereddig ‘foolish, strange’
  ETYM: LEIA adduces as the Brittonic cognates MW mererid, meryerid ‘foolish, crazy’ which are not found in GPC (mererid ‘pearl’ is of course another word, borrowed from Lat. margarita). This could be due to simple confusion. It is assumed here that the formation found in MIr. is original, while Welsh shows a derivative from the same root. None of the deeper etymologies suggested by LEIA (s. v. mer) are more than guesses, but a connection with Gr. mōrōs ‘stupid’ appears possible (see PCelt. *mar-o-).
  REF: LEIA M-39, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 42.
*merwi- ‘lifeless’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. meirb [i]
W: MW merw ‘limp, lifeless’ (GPC merf)
PIE: *mer- ‘die’, *mer-wo- ‘lifeless’ (IEW: 736)
COGN: OHG maro, marawi ‘tender, soft’, Gr. marainō ‘destroy, quench’,
Croat. mrva ‘crumble’
ETYM: Fr. (dial.) marv ‘rigid, insensible’ is from the Gaulish cognate of
these words, cf. Delamarre 219.

*mesal-kā ‘blackbird’ [Noun]
W: MW mwyalch [f]
BRET: MBret. moualch, MoBret. moualc’h [f]
CO: OCo. moelh, MoCo. mola
PIE: *mes-al- ‘blackbird’ (IEW: 35f.)
COGN: Lat. merula, OHG amusla, amsala
ETYM: This word has all the appearances of a loanword from some
REF: GPC III: 2516, Morris Jones 1913: 101, Deshayes 2003: 523,

*messo- ‘bad, worst’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. messa ‘worse’, messam ‘worst’ (comparative and superlative of
ocl ‘bad’)
GAUL: messamobi [Dat. or Inst. p] (Lezoux)
ETYM: OIr. messa, messam are probably related to MIr. meis .i. olc, but
this is a scarcely attested glossary word. The connection with midithir
‘judges’ found in LEIA (M-43f.) is not convincing from the semantic point
of view, though it is formally possible (PIE *med-to- > PCelt. *messo-).
Gaul. messamobi molatus can mean both ‘praise to the worst ones’ and
‘praise by the worst ones’.
REF: LEIA M-43f., Delamarre 226, Lambert 1994: 146, Schumacher 2000:
78, Mccone 2006: 37.

*messu- ‘acorn’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. mess [u m] ‘acorns, tree-fruit’
W: MW mes [p] mesen [Singulative]
BRET: MBret. mes, MoBret. mes [Collective]
CO: Co. mesen
ETYM: I find it difficult to accept the usual connection to PIE *med-
‘measure’ (IEW 705f.). Go. mats, OE mete ‘food’ would fit semantically,
but these words are plausibly derived from *mh₂d- ‘be wet’ (Gr. madáō, etc.,
cf. Orel 2003: 262); the primary meaning of PGerm. *matiz would have
been ‘soft, wet food’ as opposed to ‘hard food’. However, PCelt. *messu-
cannot be related to this root. It may have been borrowed from some non-IE language.

*messu- ‘judgement’ [Noun]
SEE: *med-o- ‘measure, judge’

*metelo- ‘reaper’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. methel [ã f] ‘a troop (of reapers)’ (DIL meithel)
W: MW medel [f] ‘a troop (of reapers)’
CO: Co. midil gl. messor
PIE: *met- ‘throw, reap’ (IEW: 704)
COGN: Lat. meto ‘reap’, OCS metati, mesti
SEE: *met-o- ‘reap, cut’
ETYM: PCelt. *metelā would be a collective denoting a group of reapers (*metelo-). These words are derived from *met-o- ‘reap, harvest’.

*met(t)o- ‘decay, blight, shame’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. meth [o and i, n and m] ‘decay’
W: W meth [m and f] ‘failure, error, misfortune’; MW methu ‘be unsuccessful, grow weak, err, fail’
BRET: MBret. mez, MoBret. mezh [f] (Vannetais meh) ‘shame’
CO: Co. meth ‘shame, confusion’
ETYM: The geminate *tt is implied by the Brittonic forms and, perhaps, by OIr. metta ‘timid, cowardly’, but OIr. meth shows the reflex of a single *t. Since there is no convincing IE etymology, these words could have been borrowed from some non-IE source.

*met-o- ‘reap, cut’ [Vb]
W: MW medi
BRET: MBret. midiff
CO: Co. midzhi (MoCo.)
PIE: *met- ‘throw, reap’ (IEW: 703)
COGN: Lat. meto ‘reap’, OCS mesti, metati ‘throw’, Lith. mèsti ‘throw’
SEE: *metelo- ‘reaper’
ETYM: LIV does not relate this PIE verbal root to OCS metati, Lith. mèsti ‘throw’, but I believe they belong here, rather than with a putative root *met- ‘reckon’ (Gr. métron, etc.), or with PIE *h₂meh₁- ‘mow’ (Gr. amáò, Eng. mow). The use of this particular verb as an agricultural term is one of the few exclusive Italic and Celtic lexical innovations.
*mêto-,

*meto-, *mêti- ‘fat, soft’ [Adj]
GOLD: OIr. mét [a and i] ‘plump, fat’
W: W mwyd [m] ‘a soaking, moistening’
PIE: *mey(H)-t- (IEW: 711f.)
COGN: Lat. mitis ‘mild, mellow, juicy’
ETYM: IEW (711f.) assumes that these words are related to words like OCS milb ‘dear’, Lith. mielas ‘dear’, etc., in which case the Balto-Slavic intonation would imply that the root contained a laryngeal. Cf. also Skt. máyas ‘enjoyment’ which may go to *moyHos. The same root could account for OIr. min ‘tender, soft’ < PCelt. *miño- < *miHno-, and W mwyn ‘mild, tender, gentle’, MoBret. moan ‘tender, thin’, OCo. muin ‘thin’ < *mĕnV- < *meyHnV-. See, however, PCelt. *moyni- ‘treasure, precious object’, where a different etymology is proposed.

*mêzo- ‘whey’ [Noun]
GOLD: Mr. medg, medc [o m]
W: MW meidd [m] (GPC maidd)
BRET: OBr. meid, MoBret. mez [m]
CO: MoCo. meith
PIE: *mesgo- ‘marrow’ (IEW: 714)
COGN: Skt. majjan-, OHG marg ‘marrow’, OCS mozgr ‘brain’
ETYM: Fr. mègue ‘whey’ is supposed to be from Gallo-Latin *mesga, ultimately from the Gaulish cognate of Mr. medg, etc.

*mî, *me ‘I’ [Pron, Acc. s]
GOLD: OIr. mè, me-s(s)e
W: MW mi
BRET: MBret. me
CO: Co. my, me
GAUL: -mi (as verbal suffix only)
PIE: *mē (IEW: 702)
COGN: Lat. mē(d)
ETYM: In PCelt. two forms must be posited, *mî and *me. The form with the short *e was later lengthened to yield OIr. (emphatic pronoun) mè. Already in PIE, this was the suppletive Acc. sg. to the 1st person singular personal pronoun *(h₁)ēgh₂om (Lat. ego etc.) which left no traces in Celtic. For the source of the alternation *me / *mē see PCelt. *nu.
*mi-nV- ‘change position’ [Vb]
W: MW tramwy ‘movement’
BRET: MBret. tremen ‘pass by’
CO: Co. tremena
PIE: *mey- ‘change’ (IEW: 710)
COGN: Skt. mayati, Latv. miju [1s Pres.] ‘change’, ToB mäsk- ‘exchange’, OCS minet ‘passes (of time)’
ETYM: The simplex verb is unattested, but cf. also MW tramynu < *tras-mi-n- ‘ride through’. MW (suppletive) verbal noun mynet ‘to go, going’ is sometimes related to these words, but in this dictionary a different etymology is accepted (see *mon-i- ‘go’).

*mi-nu- ‘bind’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. do-dimen; to-demi [Pret.]
PIE: *mey- ‘bind, fix’ (IEW: 709)
COGN: Skt. minotti ‘to fix, establish’, Latv. miets ‘stake, pole’
ETYM: OIr. do-dimen < *to-di-mi-nu- (the simplex is unattested).

*mik-n- ‘shine, look’ [Vb]
GOID: MIr. dimicnigid ‘despises, condemns’; do-meiccethar ‘despises, dishonours’
W: MW ed-mygu ‘admire’, myged ‘admiration’
BRET: MBret. dismegans ‘disdain’, MoBret. dismeg ‘lax’
PIE: *meyk- ‘twinkle, blink’ (IEW: 712f.)
COGN: Lat. mico, micare ‘twinkle, vibrate’, ULus. mikač ‘blink’, Russ. mečta ‘day-dream’
ETYM: MIr. dimicnigid < *di-mik-n-. IEW (713) says that the Goidelic forms are loanwords from Brittonic, but this is not certain. We would expect the cluster *kn to yield n in Goidelic, with the lengthening of the preceding vowel (cf. *tuknã, *makni-), but it is possible that dimicnigid is a new formation, and that do-meiccethar points to a variant of the root with the geminate (*mikk-).

*milo- ‘animal’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. mil [o n]
W: MW mil [m]
BRET: MBret. mil [m]
CO: Co. mil
PIE: *meh₁lo- ‘small animal’ (IEW: 724)
COGN: Gr. mělon, OCS mal ‘small’
ETYM: Celtic agrees with Greek in the ablaut grade (*meh₁-lo-), while OCS mal- must be from *moh₁-lo-. OHG smal- 'small', Go. smals, etc., are probably unrelated, unless *smh₁-lo- > PGerm. *smala-, with s-mobile. This ablaut pattern may point to a PIE root noun Nom. sg. *smōh₁ / Acc. sg. *smēh₁-lm / Gen. sg. *smēh₁-ls 'small animal'.

*mindu-* 'crown, diadem' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. mind [u n]
W: OW minn gl. sertum [ʔm]
ETYM: Falileyev (s. v. minn, minnou) thinks that the Brittonic words could be loanwords from OIr. It is possible that this is actually the same word as PCelt. *mendu- 'mark', as suggested by LEIA (the semantic development would have been from 'mark, distinction' to 'precious object').

*mīno- 'tender, soft' [Adj]
SEE: *mēto-, *mēti- 'fat, soft'

*mīns- 'month' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. mi [s m > f]
W: MW mis [m]
BRET: OBret. mis, MBret. miz, mis, MoBret. mis [m]
CO: OCo. mis gl. mensis, MCo. mys
PIE: *meh₁ns- 'month, moon' (IEW: 703)
COGN: Skt. mās-, Lat. mēnsis 'month', Lith. mėnuo 'moon'
ETYM: In the PIE paradigm the Nom. sg. was *meh₁nōs, the Gen. sg. was *meh₁nes-s (cf. Latv. mēnēss). This paradigm was remodelled in Celtic. The stem *meh₁ns- was first introduced to the oblique stem, and thence spread to the Nom. sg. Celtic may share this development with Italic, cf. Lat. mēns-is. The Nom. sg. *mīns was then formed by the regular developments of *ns > s(s) and *ē > ĭ.

*mīros- 'piece of meat, food' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. mīr [s n] 'morsel, piece of meat'
PIE: *mēms-ro- 'meat' (IEW: 725)
COGN: Skt. māmsā-, Lat. membrum 'part of the body, limb', Go. mimz, Russ. mjåso
ETYM: It is unclear whether the development *-ēnsro- > PCelt. *-īro- is regular, since this is the only example where it may have occurred. However,
this is probable, since *V:ns > V:s is regular, as well as the assimilation *sr > *rr.

*misko- ‘mixed, confused’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. mesc [o] ‘confused, drunk’
W: MW mysgi [m] ‘trouble, confusion’; mysgu ‘destroy, unravel, undo’
BRET: MBret. e mesk ‘among’, MoBret. mesk [m] ‘mixture’
CO: Co. yn mysk ‘among’
PIE: *meyk- ‘mix’ (IEW: 714)
COGN: Lat. misceo, OHG miscan
ETYM: The OIr. verb mescaid ‘mix’, and its W cognate mysgu are deadjectival, built to the stem *mesko-. This has been dissimilated from *mik-skø- (cf. the same dissimilation in *farsk-o- ‘ask’ from *fark-sk-o-). The development of meaning from ‘mixed’ to ‘confused’ and ‘drunk’ is unremarkable (cf. Eng. to be mixed up).

*mlasto- ‘taste’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. mlas [o?] gl. sapore, MIr. blas
W: MW blas [m]
BRET: MBret. blaz, blas, MoBret. bals [m]
CO: Co. blas
PIE: *mel-s- (IEW: 725)
COGN: Russ. molsát ‘suck’, Cz. mlsati ‘lick’
ETYM: As Hamp (1973: 154) notes, from PIE *mlsto- we would expect PCelt. *malsto- rather than *mlasto-. The aberrant form might be due to metathesis, which may be regular between a labial and a dental cluster, cf. *wlanno- ‘blood red’, *wrasto- ‘shower’.

*máthi- ‘tender, soft’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. mláith [i]
W: MW blawd [m] ‘flour’
BRET: OBret. blot, MoBret. bleud [m] ‘flour’,
CO: Co. blot ‘flour’, MCo. bles
PIE: *melh₂- ‘grind’ (IEW: 716)
COGN: Lat. molo, Lith. málti
SEE: *mal-o- ‘grind’
ETYM: The development in Celtic was from ‘ground’ to ‘tender, soft’, and the PIE proto-form was presumably the past participle of the verb ‘to grind’, *mlh₂to-, or the derived adjective *mlh₂ti- (which may be more probable in
the light of the fact that Dybo’s law did not operate; we would expect *mlato- from *mlh₂tó-).

*mlig-o- ‘milk’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. mligid, -mlig; meill, -mell [Subj.]; mailg [Pret.]; mlechtae, -mlecht [Pret. Pass.]
PIE: *h₂melg- ‘milk’ (IEW: 722f.)
COGN: Gr. amēlgō, Lat. mulgeo, OCS mlžeť ‘milks’
SEE: *melgos- ‘milk’
ETYM: Celtic and Slavic reflect the zero-grade of the PIE root (*h₂mlg-e-), while Greek points to the full grade (*h₂melg-e-). Presumably the PIE verb had athematic present, with the full grade in the singular and the zero grade in the plural.
REF: KPV 486ff., LIV 279.

*mlixto- ‘milk’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. mlicht [o m]
W: MW bliith ‘full of milk, milch’
PIE: *h₂melg- (IEW: 719)
SEE: *mlig-o- ‘milk’
ETYM: This word is originally a passive past participle of the verb ‘to milk’, PCelt. *mlig-o-. Milk is, obviously, ‘that which is milked’.

*mogu- ‘servant’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. mug [u m]
W: MW meu-dwy [m] ‘servant of God, hermit’
BRET: OBret. mauu ‘youth, servant’, MBret. mau, MoBret. maw [m] ‘boy’
CO: Co. maw
GAUL: Moguntia [Toponym] (> Mainz), Magurix [PN]
PIE: *mogh-u- ‘young person’ (IEW: 696)
COGN: Go. magus ‘boy’, mawi ‘young girl’, Av. mayava- ‘unmarried’
ETYM: The vocalism of Gaul. Magu- is unexpected (if it is indeed from the same root).

*mokku- ‘pig’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. mucċ [ā f]
W: MW moch [f]
BRET: OBret. moch, MoBret. moc’h [Collective]
CO: Co. mow, mogħ
GAUL: Moccos [Theonym] (?), Cato-mocus [PN]
ETYM: OIr. mucc was originally an u-stem, as confirmed by the u-affection of the root vowel (GOI 195). In the absence of any known IE cognates, this is a likely candidate for a loanword from some non-IE source. Germ. dial. Mucke (Franconian) ‘Mutterschwein’ is an old Gaul. loanword (S. Zimmer, p. c.).


*mol-ä- ‘praise’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. molaithir, -molathar (DIL molaid)
W: OW molim [Verbal Noun], MW moli
BRET: MBret. meuliff, MoBret. meuliñ
GAUL: molatus (Lezoux)

ETYM: Cf. also the parallel formation of verbal nouns to this verb in OIr. (molad), MW molawd and Gaul. (molatus), as noted by Schumacher 2000: 78. MoBret. meuliñ and meul [m] ‘praise’, together with W mawl [m and f] ‘praise, exaltation’, come from PCelt. *mälo-, which can be from the lengthened grade *molo-. There seem to be no correspondences in other IE languages, but cf. PIE *meldh- ‘speak solemnly, pray’ (Hitt. mäldi ‘praises’, Lith. maldyti ‘pray’, Croat. molti ‘pray’ < *modliti, LIV 388, IEW 722). Celtic may have preserved an archaic form of the root without *-d-, (whatever its origin), or it may have falsely analyzed *d- as a present-stem suffix, and then generalized the stem *mol- throughout the verbal paradigm. Alternatively, if W mawl and MoBret. meul point to a root-noun *moldhs, this could have developed regularly to *möl-s, and then the root without *d- could have been extended analogically. Needless to say, all of this is mere speculation.


*molto- ‘ram, wether’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. molt [o m] gl. vervex
W: MW mollt [m]
BRET: MBret. mout, maout
CO: OCo. mols gl. uerues , MCo. mols
GAUL: Moltus [PN]; Gallo-Lat. *multo > Fr. mouton

ETYM: A convincing IE etymology is lacking, so this word was probably borrowed from some non-IE source.


*monetu- ‘going’ [Verbal Noun]

SEE: *mon-i- ‘go’

*mongä ‘mane, hair’ [Noun]
*mon-i-

GOID: OIr. *mong [ä f] gl. cirrus, ‘a lock or tuft of hair’
W: MW mwng [m]
PIE: *mon-g- ‘mane’
COGN: OE manu, Dan. manke
SEE: *moni- ‘neck’
ETYM: If this word is related to *mon-i- ‘neck’, the derivation with the velar suffix is restricted to Celtic and Germanic.

*mon-i- ‘go’ [Vb]

GOID: MIr. muinithir ‘goes around’
W: MW mynet, myned, mynd [Verbal Noun]
BRET: MBret. monet, MoBret. moned [Verbal Noun]
CO: Co. mones [Verbal Noun]
GAUL: moni [Ipv] (St. Révérien) ‘go!’, or ‘come!’
PIE: *menH- ‘tread, stamp on’ (IEW 726)
COGN: Umbr. *menes [Fut. 2s] ‘will come’, Lith. minti ‘tread on’, CS *mēti ‘tread, knead’
ETYM: The verbal nouns in Brittonic presuppose PCelt. *monetu-. The meaning of MIr. muinithir is not completely clear, and the verb is poorly attested. The laryngeal in this root is reconstructed on the basis of the acute in Lithuanian. These words are sometimes related to MBret. tre-men ‘pass by’, W tramwy ‘traverse’, etc., but in this dictionary these words are rather derived from PCelt. *mi-nV- ‘change position’.

*moni- ‘neck’ [Noun]

GOID: MIr. *muin [i f] ‘the upper part of the back below the neck’
W: MW mwn [m and f]
BRET: OBret. mun
PIE: *moni- ‘neck’ (IEW: 747f.)
SEE: *mongā ‘mane’
ETYM: Cf. also the derivative *moniklo- ‘collar, necklace’ (MW mwnwgl, mwnwgl, mwnwgl, OIr. muínél).

*moni- ‘protection, patronage’ [Noun]

GOID: MIr. muin
W: MW mynawc (GPC mynog) ‘noble, eminent’, ‘prince’
*moniklo- 'collar' [Noun]
SEE: *moni- 'neck'

*moniyo- 'mountain' [Noun]
W: MW mynydd [m]
BRET: OBret. monid, MBret. menez, MoBret. menez [m]
CO: OCo. menit
PIE: *mon- 'mountain, hill' (IEW: 726)
COGN: Av. maiti-, Lat. mōns, OIC. mōnir 'ridge of a roof'
ETYM: Mr. moned, monad 'mountain' occurs only in Scottish toponyms and is considered to be a Pictish loanword, cf. also Scot. monadh 'mountain'. In terms of word formation, the closest parallel to PCelt. *moniyo- is found in Germanic. Lat. mōns and Av. maiti- seem to point to PIE *mon-ti- / *mn-tey- (with unexpected o-grade deduced from Latin).

*mori- 'sea' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. muir [i n (later m and f)]
W: MW mor (GPC mòr) [m]
BRET: OBret. mor, MBret. and MoBret. mor [m]
CO: OCo. mor gl. mare, MCo. mor
GAUL: Mori-ni [Ethnonym], Are-morica (ancient name of Bretagne)
PIE: *mori 'sea, standing water' (IEW: 748)
COGN: Lat. mare, OHG mari, meri 'sea, lake', OCS morje 'sea', Oss. mal 'standing water'
ETYM: W mòr cannot be directly from *mori, since this would have given **myr. Probably the original i-stem became o-stem in Brittonic. Fr. morue 'cod' (dial. also molue) could be from Gaul. *morūka, ultimately from the same root as *mori 'sea' (Gamillscheg 634).
*morwi- ‘ant’ [Noun]

GOID: Mlr. moirb [i f]
W: MW *myr [f] (GPC *myr, myrr)
BRET: MBret. meryenenn [Singulative], MoBret. merion [Collective] ‘ants’
CO: MoCo. mwrrian
PIE: *morwi- ‘ant’ (IEW: 749)
COGN: Skt. vamrā-, vamrī-, Av. maoirī-, OE myre, ORuss. morovej, Gr. myrmos

ETYM: The PIE form is notoriously difficult to reconstruct. The PIE i-stem implied by the agreement between Mlr. and Avestan is probably older than the thematic forms found in Skt. (which also involves metathesis) and Greek (with assimilation *morwo- > *mormo-, and subsequent change of *o > y between a labial and a resonant).


*mora ‘female demon’ [Noun]

GOID: Mlr. mor-rigain [i f] ‘female demon’
PIE: *morehz ‘female demon’ (IEW: 736)
COGN: OHG mara, Russ. morá, Croat. Morana ‘a mythological figure, female demon’
SEE: *marwo- ‘dead’

ETYM: Presumably an abstract noun derived from the root *mer- ‘to die’ (cf. PCelt. *marwo- ‘dead’).


*morēnā ‘girl’ [Noun]

SEE: *merkā ‘maiden’

*moxs ‘early’ [Adverb]

GOID: OIr. mos-, mó ‘soon’
W: MW *moch
PIE: *moksu ‘early, soon’ (IEW: 747)
COGN: Skt. maksū ‘quickly’, Av. mošu ‘soon’, Lat. mox ‘soon’

ETYM: OIr. moch ‘early’ is a loanword from Brittonic. The prefix mos-, however, is inherited, cf. OIr. mos-riccub-sa ‘I will come immediately’. The length in OIr. mó is due to lengthening in monosyllables (as in mé ‘I’ from *me, cf. me-sse ‘I’).


*moyni- ‘treasure, precious object’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. moin [? f] (DIL main) ‘gift, benefit, treasure, valuable article’
*moyto-*

W: OW *muin* [m], MW *mwyn* ‘worth, value’
CO: OCo. *muin* gl. gracilis
PIE: *mey-n-* ‘exchange’ (IEW: 710)
ETYM: The development of meaning in Breton and Cornish was from ‘beautiful’ to ‘gracile’ and (in Breton) ‘thin’. The original meaning may have been ‘(precious) piece of property for exchange’.

*moyto-* ‘tender’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *moith* [o] (DIL maeth (moeth))
W: W *mwydion* [p] ‘tender parts of the body’; *mwydyn* [m] ‘pulp, soft inner part’
SEE: *mēto-, *mēti- ‘soft’
ETYM: MBret. *boedenn*, MoBret. *bouedenn* ‘pulp, marrow’ is sometimes derived from the same root (by assimilation *m...d > b...d*), but this is improbable; it is rather derived from *boued* ‘food’ < PCelt. *bētu-* ‘food’ (OIr. *biad*, etc.).
REF: LEIA M-61, GPC III: 2517, Deshayes 124.

*mraki-* ‘malt’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mraich*, [i m], MIr. *braich*
W: MW *brag* [m]
BRET: MBret. *braguez*, MoBret. *bragez* ‘wheat malt’ [m]
CO: Co. *bras*
GAUL: *brakis* (genus farris quod Galli bracem uocant (Pliny))
PIE: *mērk-* ‘be soaked’ (IEW: 739)
ETYM: Fr. *brais* ‘barley malt’ is from Gaul. *braki-* < *mraki-*. The vocalism in Celtic is puzzling, since PIE *mrki- should give PCelt. *mruki-. Maybe the similarity to Lat. *marceo* etc. is accidental, and the PCelt. word is borrowed from some unknown source (this would not be unusual for a term from food-processing technology).

*mrato-* ‘deceit’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *mrath* [o n], MIr. *brath*
W: MW *brad* [m and f] ‘treachery, trick’
BRET: OBret. *brat* gl. seditione, MoBret. *barat*, *barad*
CO: Co. *bras*
SEE: *mar-na- 'deceive'
ETYM: This is the old past passive participle from the same verbal root as *mar-na- (which ended in laryngeal); the development was presumably *mHtō- > *mṛātō- > *mṛato- (by Dybo's law).

*mrixto- ‘variegated, diversified, painted, speckled’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. mreach [o]
W: OW brith gl. pictam, W brith
BRET: MBret. briz, MoBret. brizh
CO: Co. bruit
 PIE: *mergʷ- ‘dark, coloured’ (IEW: 733f.)
COGN: Gr. amorbós ‘dark’, OIr. myrkr ‘dark’, Lith. márgas ‘variegated’
ETYM: Cf. also W denominal verb britho ‘speckle, colour’. OIr. mreach is not well attested, so this etymology is rather uncertain. The Celtic forms point to the zero-grade *mrgʷto- (> *mrikto- > *mrixto-); the acute intonation in Lith. may be due to Winter’s law.

*mrogi- ‘territory, region’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. mruig, [i m], Mlr. bruig
W: MW bro [f]; brofydd, broedd [p]
BRET: OBret. bro, MBret. and MoBret. bro [f]
CO: Co. bro
 GAUL: Brogi-maros [PN]; brogae Galli agrum dicunt (schol. Juven. 8.234), cf. also Galatian Brogitarus [PN] and Nitio-broges [Ethnonym]
 PIE: *morgʷ- ‘frontier’ (IEW: 738)
 COGN: Lat. margō ‘frontier, margin’, Go. marka ‘frontier’, MoPers. marz ‘region’
ETYM: W Cymru ‘Wales’ < *kom-mrogi-. The Celtic forms must be explained by metathesis (*morgi- > *mrogi-). The causes of this metathesis are unclear.

*mug- ‘conceal’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. for-muigthe, for-múchtha ‘smothered, concealed’
 PIE: *mewgʷ- ‘cheat, deceive’ (IEW: 743f.)
COGN: Lat. muger ‘dice-cheat’, ME micher ‘thief’, OHG mūhho ‘bandit’
ETYM: A very dubious etymology, not only because of the difference in meaning, but also in light of the unexpected long *u in Celtic.
REF: EIEC 154.
*muk-V- ‘smoke’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. mūch [ā f]
W: MW mwg [m]
BRET: MBret. mog, moug ‘hearth’
CO: Co. mok
ETYM: Mlr. mūch is poorly attested, chiefly in glossaries. It presupposes long *ū, but cf. the verbal noun muchad (to mūchaid ‘stifle, quench’); Mlr. mūch, mūch ‘gloom, dejection’ may be from a different root. The Brittonic words must be from *muk-, with a short vowel. A connection with PIE *(s)mewgʰ- ‘smoke’ (IEW 971) appears probable, but there are many irregularities in the reflexes of this root. Gr. smy khô ‘burn in moldering fire’ presupposes PIE *smuhegʰ-, while OE smeocan ‘to smoke’ appears to be from *smewgʰ-


*mūno- ‘urine’ [Noun]
GOID: Ofr. mūn [m, perhaps earlier n]
P: *mewH- ‘wash, make wet’ (IEW: 741)
COGN: Skt. mūtram ‘urine’, OCS myti ‘wash’
ETYM: Cf. also the denominative verb Mlr. mūnaid ‘piss’; both the verb and the noun are attested rather late. The PCelt. form is compatible with PIE *muH-no-. Ofr. mūr ‘mire, shoal’ may be from the same root and represent *muHro-, but it is more likely to have been borrowed from ON mýrr ‘slime’.

REF: LEIA M-74.

*musso- ‘dirty’ [Adj]
GOID: Ofr. mosach [o]
W: MW mws ‘stinky, smelly’
BRET: OBret. mos, MBret. and MoBret. mous [Collective] ‘litter, garbage’
CO: Co. mousak, mosek ‘smelly’
P: *mewdh- (IEW: 742)
COGN: Gr. mýsos ‘filth’
ETYM: The forms attested actually presuppose both *musso- and *mussako-; cf. also OBret. admosoi gl. inrogauerit maculam and Ofr. mosar ‘dirt’ (an old collective in *-aro-, as in clochar ‘heap of stones, rocky area’ from cloch ‘stone’). If the IE etymology is correct, PCelt. *musso- is from *mud-so-, cf. also MoLG mussig ‘dirty’.


*mustako- ‘boy’ [Noun]
GOID: Ogam MOSAC [?Gen. s]
COGN: Lat. mustus ‘young’
ETYM: The connection with PCelt. *musso- > OIr. mosach ‘dirty’ (Ziegler 1994: 210) does not convince semantically. OIr. MOSAC is the translation of
Lat. puer in the Ogam inscription of Crickhowel in Wales, CIC 327 (TVRPELLI IC IACIT PVERE TRILVNI DVNCATI = TURPILLI MOSAC TRALLONI). It is presumably a derivative in *-ako- from the same root as Lat. mustus (cf. also Lat. mustax ‘a kind of laurel’), but a PIE etymology cannot be found. It is possible that Sp. mozo ‘boy, servant, waiter’ should be derived from Celtic (?Celtiberian) *musso-, from the same root as *mussāko- (Marcus Obaya, p. c.).


*muto- ‘penis’ [Noun]

GOID: Mlr. moth [o m] ‘penis, male being, masculine gender (in grammar)’
PIE: *muH-to- ‘penis’ (IEW: 753)
COGN: Lat. mūtō, mūtō
ETYM: A possible cognate is MoIr. mut ‘circumcised’, Scot. mutach. These forms presuppose expressive gemination (*mutto-), cf. also Lat. mutilus ‘mutilated’. For the semantic connection, cf. Skt. kārna- ‘ear’ and CS krom ‘maimed, with slit ears’. The short *u in PCelt. *muto- is due to shortening by Dybo’s law. On the other hand, I do not see a particular reason to believe that Luv. mūwa- ‘to overpower (vel sim.)’, Hitt. mūwa- ‘an awe inspiring quality’ (presumably borrowed from Luv.) are related to these words.

REF: de Vaan 2008: 397f.

*muxto- ‘soft, tender’ [Adj]

GOID: Mlr. mocht [o] ‘soft, tender’
W: MW mwyth [m] ‘luxury, ease, pleasure’
PIE: *mewk- ‘soft’ (IEW: 744)
COGN: Lat. mūcor ‘mould’, mūcus ‘slime, mucus’, Gr. mýksa ‘slime’, Latv. mūks ‘marshy’
ETYM: This is a very problematic etymology. Mlr. mocht is a glossary word, and it is not in DIL; moreover, its meaning does not agree with MW mwyth; it is possible that the meaning ‘luxury, pleasure’ developed from something like ‘softness, the state of being relaxed’, cf. also Mlr. mūr ‘abundance’ which might be from *mux-sro- < *muk-sro- (presuming vowels are lengthened before *-xsr- and *-xsl-, cf. PCelt. *tāxslo- ‘axe’ < *toxslo-). GPC adduces also W mwyth ‘fever, first signs of a disease’, but it is unclear if this word is etymologically related at all.

*nämant-  

"enemy" [Noun]

GOID: OIr. námæe [t m]

GAUL: Namanto-, Namantius, Ad-namatus [PN]

PIE: *(n)e-h₂em-nt-

ETYM: If this etymology, which stems from Cormac (981), is correct, this is a negated present participle of the verb related to Lat. amo ‘love’. However, it looks dangerously like a folk etymology, and the root *h₂em- (> PCelt. *am-) is otherwise unattested in Celtic.


*nanti- ‘fight, battle’ [Noun]

GOID: Mfr. néit [i m]

PIE: *nent- ‘combat, fight’ (IEW: 755)

COGN: Go. ana-nanþjan ‘dare’, ON nenna ‘to strive’, OHG nenden ‘to dare’, ToA nati ‘might, strength’

ETYM: According to DIL, Néit may have been the name of an old Irish war-god. The PIE etymology is uncertain. I doubt whether the Tocharian forms are related to this root (cf. also ToB nete ‘might, strength’), since the *-n- should have been preserved.


*nantu-, *nanto- ‘stream, valley’ [Noun]

W: MW nant [m and f] ‘stream, river, brook, dale, valley’

BRET: MBret. nant [m]

CO: OCo. nans gl. vallis, MoCo. nance, nans

GAUL: nanto (Endlicher’s Glossary) *nanto- > Fr. dial. nant, Nanto-lium [Toponym]

ETYM: Conceivably, PCelt. *nanto- can be from *nm-to- and related to *nemeto- ‘grove’. The original meaning would have been ‘wooded valley’, vel sim.
*nāro-  ‘noble, great-hearted’  [Adj]

GOID: Mlr. nār [o]  ‘modest, magnanimous, noble, diffident’

PIE: *h₂enr ‘manly strength’ (IEW: 765 (*ner-t-))

COGN: Lith. nórás ‘will’, Hitt. innarā ‘forcefully’

SEE: *nerto- ‘strength, force’

ETYM: Cf. also Olr. nāire ‘modesty, magnanimity’ < *nāryā. This is a speculative etymology. If correct, we must assume PIE Nom. sg. *h₂nōr from which PCelt. *nār- would be derived regularly. Hitt. innarā is from < *en-h₂nor-o-, and Lith. nórás must have a secondary Baltic lengthened grade, cf. also OCS nràn ‘custom, habit’ (< *h₂nor-wo-). A different etymology is found in LIV, where PCelt. *nāro- is derived from *neh₂-sr-o-, and compared with Hitt. nāhi ‘is afraid’ (cf. also Hitt. nahsaratt- ‘fear, respect’). If this is correct, the meaning of *nāro- changed from ‘fearful’ to ‘respected’ and ‘modest, noble’ (the simplification of *rr < *sr after a long vowel may be regular, cf. *mīros ‘piece of meat, food’).


*nāryā ‘modesty, magnanimity’  [Noun]

SEE: *nāro- ‘noble, great-hearted’

*natrik- ‘serpent’  [Noun]

GOID: OIr. nathir [k f]

W: MW neidr [f]; nadredd [p]

BRET: OBret. natrolion  [p] gl. regulosis, MBret. (n)azr, aezr, MoBret. nāer [f]

CO: OCo. nader gl. vipera vel serpens vel anguis

PIE: *(s)nh₂-tr ‘water snake’ (IEW: 747)

COGN: Lat. natrix, Go. nadre [Gen p], ON naðr ‘viper, snake’

ETYM: The PIE root is *sneh₂- ‘swim’ (cf. PCelt. *snā-yo-). PCelt. *na- is the regular development of PIE *nh₂- before consonant, word-initially (cf. *natu- ‘poem’). Note, however, that *sn- is regularly preserved in OIr., so s-mobile has to be assumed.


*natu- ‘poem’  [Noun]

GOID: OIr. nath [u n, m, and f] ‘poem, eulogy’

W: MW nad [f and m] (GPC nād) ‘clamor, cry, poem’

SEE: *snātu- ‘thread’

ETYM: Lambert (1994: 168) speculates that this PCelt. word might be contained in Gaul. duscelinatia (Larzac), if the correct morphological
analysis of this form is *dus-celi-nat-i-a. Cf. also the Gaul. PN *Uo-nato-rix. These Celt. words could be related to PIE *(s)neh₁- ‘sew’ (W *nyddu). The semantic development could be explained in terms of the poetic metaphor, whereby a poem is identified with a thread (Matasovic 1996: 150). PIE *nh₁tu-, without s-mobile, would have developed as PCelt. *natu- regularly. The same root may be reflected in W *nawdd ‘patronage, support’ < *noh₁to-.


*nāwā ‘boat’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. nau [a fJ] (DIL nō)
W: MW noe [f and m] ‘large vase, bowl’
BRET: MBret. neau, nev, MoBret. new [f] ‘vase’
PIE: *neh₂u- ‘boat’ (IEW: 755f.)
COGN: Skt. nā-, Lat. nāvis, Gr. naiς, Arm. naw, OIr. nōr


*nāw(i)nya ‘hunger’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. naunae, noine [iä fJ] (DIL nína) ‘hunger, famine’
W: MW neuynn (GPC newyn) [m] ‘hunger, famine’
BRET: MBret. naffn, MoBret. naoun, naon [m]
CO: OCo. naun gl. faimis, Co. noun
SEE: *nāwito- ‘need’
ETYM: The original OIr. form, naunae, was changed to noine under the influence of oine ‘fast’ (from Lat. ieiunium). W newyn could be from *nāwinV- (with *-i- under the influence of *nāwito- ‘need’), but other reflexes point to *nāwnV-. The PIE root could be *neh₂w- (or *newh₂-, with laryngeal metathesis) ‘need’ (OCS nūžda ‘need’, nuditi ‘compel’, OPr. nautin [Acc. sg.] ‘need’, Cz. nutiti ‘compel, force’, ORuss. nyti ‘grieve’, Go. naujs ‘need’, IEW 756).


*nāwito- ‘need’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. néoit [i] ‘narrow, stingy’
W: MW neuéd (GPC neued, neuedd, neufedd) [m]
SEE: *nāw(i)nya ‘hunger’
ETYM: The exact development of OIr. néoit is unclear to me. It may be unrelated to W neuéd, although the etymology is almost generally accepted. The PIE root could be *neh₁w- ‘need’ (Lith. naudà ‘need’, Go. naujs ‘need’, IEW 756) as in *nāw(i)nya ‘hunger’.

REF: LEIA N-10, GPC III: 2576.
*ne, *ni, *nI ‘not’ [Negation]

GOLD: OIr. ni, ni
W: OW ni, MW ny, nyt (GPC ni)
BRET: OBret. ne, MBret. ne
CO: Co. ny
CELTIB: ne-
PIE: *ne (IEW: 756)
COGN: Skt. na, Lat. ne, Go. ni
ETYM: PCelt. *ne is preserved in Celtiberian, and perhaps also in the OIr. imperative negation na (later ná). As the main clause negation *ne was replaced by *ni, *nI in Insular Celtic; the particle added to the main clause negation in Insular Celtic cannot be identified with certainty. It has to be assumed, however, because there is gemination of the following word initial consonant in both Goidelic and Brittonic. One possibility is that the particle is the clitic 3sg. pres. of the copula, *esti > *est > *ess. For a discussion see, e.g., Schrijver 1997: 158, Kortlandt 2000: 144f.

*nēbo- ‘vigour, vital spirit’ [Noun]

GOLD: MIr. niab [o m] ‘vigour’ (?)
W: MW nwyf [m] ‘passion, joy, strong feeling’
PIE: *neybʰo- ‘holy’ (IEW: 760)
COGN: OPers. naiba- ‘good, beautiful’
SEE: *nēmā ‘brilliance’
ETYM: The meaning of MIr. niab is somewhat uncertain, but cf. the denominative verb niabaid ‘provokes, incites’. Cf. also OIr. noib ‘holy’ [o] < PCelt. *noybo-. Gaul. PN Noibio is probably from the same root.

*nefti- ‘niece, sister’s daughter’ [Noun]

GOLD: OIr. necht [? f] gl. neptis
W: MW nith [f]
BRET: OBret. nith gl. nepta, MBret. nyz
CO: OCo. noit gl. neptis
PIE: *nepti₂h₂ ‘niece’ (IEW: 764)
COGN: Skt. napti-, Lat. nepsis, OHG nift, Alb. mbesē
SEE: *nefot- ‘nephew’

*nefot- ‘nephew, sister’s son’

GOLD: OIr. nia [d m], Ogam NIOTTA [Gen s]
W: MW ney, nei [m] (GPC nai)
BRET: MBret. ny, MoBret. niz [m]
*ne-kwe

CO: OCo. noi gl. nepos
PIE: *nepōt- ‘nephew, descendant’ (IEW: 764)
COGN: Skt. nápār-, Lat. nepōs, OHG nēfo, RCsl. netiβ
SEE: *nēfī ‘niece’
ETYM: The Celtic reflexes seem to preserve the stem of the PIE Nom. sg. (PCelt. *nēfī- < PIE *nepōt-)

*ne-kʷe ‘not’ [Negation]
GOID: OIr. nach
W: MW nag, nac
CELTIB: nekue (Botorrita I)
PIE: *ne-kʷe (IEW: 756)
COGN: Lat. ne-que
SEE: *ne, *ni, *ní (negation)
ETYM: The a-vocalism in Insular Celtic is the result of the change *e > *a in proclisis, cf. e.g. 3 sg. of the (proclitic) OIr. copula ba vs. the stressed 3 sg. of the substantive verb boi; the final *-e was apocopated early in Brittonic and Goidelic (Schrijver 1997: 160).

*nekʷo- ‘someone’ [Pron]
GOID: OIr. nech
W: OW nepp, MW neb
BRET: OBret. nep, MBret. nep, MoBret. neb
CO: Co. nep
GAUL: nepon [Acc. s] (Larzac)
PIE: *ne-kʷo- (IEW: 645)
ETYM: Indefinite pronoun formed with the negative prefix. There is a similar formation of indefinite pronouns from negated interrogatives, e.g., in Slavic, cf. Croat. nětko ‘someone’. The meaning of Gaul. nepon is not completely ascertained.
REF: LEIA N-6, GPC III: 2560, DGVB 265, Falileyev 118, GOI 311, Delamarre 235.

*nek(k)i ‘not’ [Particle]
GOID: OIr. nacc, naicc
W: OW na, nac, MW na(d)
BRET: MBret. na, nac
CO: Co. na(g)
SEE: *ne, *ni, *ní (negation), *ne-kʷe ‘not’
ETYM: The exact relationship of this word to the PIE negation *ne, *ne- is unclear. The a-vocalism may be due to the development *e > *a in proclisis.
The geminate *-kk- may be expressive; the proto-form *ne-kʷe assumed by Schrijver (1997: 160) yielded OIr. nach, MW nag.


*nēmā ‘brilliance, beauty’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. niám [á f]
PIE: *ney- ‘shine’ (IEW: 760)
COGN: Lat. nito ‘shine’
SEE: *nēbo- ‘vigour, vital spirit’
ETYM: The connection with Lat. nito is uncertain. Ultimately, PCelt. *nēmā (if from *ney-meh₂) could be from the same root as *nēbo- ‘holy’, PIE *ney-, but there is an inflation of PIE roots meaning ‘to shine, be radiant’, so this etymology is quite uncertain.


*nemeto- ‘sacred place, sanctuary’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. nemed [o n > m]
W: OW Eid-nivet [PN]
BRET: OBret. lud-nimet [PN]
GAUL: nemétōn (Vaison, RIG G-153)
SEE: *nemos, *nanto-
ETYM: It is unclear whether MW nyfed ‘strength’ belongs here. The development would have been from ‘sacred, endowed with power’ to ‘strong’ and ‘force, strength’.


*nemo- ‘poison’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. neim [s n]
PIE: *nem- ‘divide, take’, *nemos ‘that, which is taken’ (IEW: 763)
COGN: Go. niman ‘take’, Gr. némō ‘divide, take’
ETYM: Vendryès rejects this etymology on semantic grounds, but it is not hopeless (cf. Germ. Gift ‘poison’ from the verbal root which is in geben ‘give’).

REF: LEIA N-7, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 142.

*nemos- ‘heaven, sky’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. nem [s n]
W: OW nem [f and m], MW nef
BRET: OBret. nem, MBret. neff, MoBret. neīv [m]
CO: OCo. nef gl. celum, MCo. nef
PIE: *nebh₂os ‘cloud, cloudy sky’ (IEW: 315)
COGN: Hitt. nēpis ‘sky’, Skt. nābhас- ‘cloud’, Gr. néphos, OCS nebo ‘sky’
ETYM: The irregular *-m- of the Celtic forms is best explained as the result of assimilation (n...bʰ > n...m).
*nero- ‘hero’

GOID: Mlr. ner [ʔo m] ‘boar’
W: MW ner [m] ‘chief, hero’ (GPC nēr)
PIE: *h₂nēr ‘man’ (IEW: 765)
COGN: Skt. nār-, Gr. anēr, Alb. njeri ‘person’, Osc. nera-
SEE: *nerto- ‘strength, force’

ETYM: Mlr. ner is a rare, poetic word. Cf. also W Nerys [PN] < *ner-issī.
The PIE ablaut pattern was Nom. sg. *h₂nēr / Acc. sg. *h₂ner-m / Gen. sg. *h₂nēr-os. The Celtic forms have generalized the full grade from the Accusative sg.


*nerto- ‘strength, force’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. nert [o n]
W: OW nert [m and f] (OW and MW)
BRET: OBret. nert gl. robur, MBret. nerz, MoBret. nerzh [m] ‘strength’, Vannetais nerh
CO: Co. nERT
GAUL: Nerto-maros [PN]
CELTIB: Nerto-bi(s) [Toponym]
PIE: *h₂ner-to- ‘virile, strong’ (IEW: 765)
SEE: *nero- ‘hero’

ETYM: Cf. also the denominal verbs OIr. nertaid ‘make stronger’, W nerthu, MoBret. nerza, nerzhañ. Celtib. Nertobi(s) should be interpreted as /nertobixs/ and connected with the toponym Nertobriga in Spain.


*nesso- ‘closer’ (comparative) [Adj]

GOID: OIr. nessa
W: OW nes, MW nes
BRET: MBret. nes ‘close’
CO: Co. nes, nessa
GAUL: neddamon [Gen p] ‘proximorum’ (Banassac, CIL XIII 10016,13)
PIE: *Hnedʰ- ‘bind’ (IEW: 758)
COGN: Osc. nessimas ‘proximae’
*nizdo- ‘nest’ [Noun]

Cogn: Skt. niktá ‘washed’, Gr. nízō ‘wash’

Ety: Mlr. necht is poorly attested (mostly in glossaries), so this etymology is quite uncertain. If it is correct, Pcelt. *nixto- is originally a past participle of the PIE root *neygʷ-, and the original meaning of *nigʷ*to-* > *nixto- was ‘washed’. Vlat. nectos i. merus (CGL V 374, emendation of neicos murus) has been interpreted as a Gaul. loanword, and also derived from PIE *nigʷ*to-* > Pcelt. *nixto- (LEIA N-6). However, this is quite dubious, since the word is a hapax.

Ref: LEIA N-6, Irslinger 2002: 271f.

*nizdo- ‘nest’ [Noun]

Goid: Mlr. net [o m, sometimes f]

W: MW nyth [m and f]

Bret: MBret. nez, MoBret. neizh [m]

Co: OCo. neid gl. nidus, MCo. nyth

Pie: *ni-sd-o- ‘nest’ (IEW: 887)

Cogn: Skt. nídd-, Lat. nidus, OHG nest, Lith. lizdas

Ety: It is usually assumed that *ni- is a prefix in the word for ‘nest’ in PIE, and that the root is *sed- ‘sit’. PIE *ni- would thus be the only prefix in the proto-language. However, the proper reconstruction may also be *h₂ni-sd-o-, in which case *h₂ni- is the petrified locative of an old root-noun from which we also have Gr. ánô ‘up, upwards’, Av. ana, Go. ana and other spatial prepositions (as argued in Matasović 2008a: 246ff.).


*now-slo- ‘cry, shout’ [Noun]

Goid: OIr. nuall [o n]

Pie: *newH- ‘cry, roar’ (IEW: 767)

Cogn: Skt. návate, ToB nu- ‘roar’

Ety: Another possible cognate is Lat. nüntium ‘message’, but that word has also been plausibly related to PIE *newo- ‘new’. Mayrhofer (s. v. NAV-) thinks this root may be onomatopoetic.

Ref: LEIA N-24, LIV 411.

*nowameto- ‘ninth’ [Ordinal Number]

Goid: Mlr. nómad

W: MW nawfet (GPC nawfed)

Bret: MBret. nauvet, naovet, MoBret. nawved

Co: MoCo. nawhwas

Gaul: nametos

See: *nowan ‘nine’


*nowan ‘nine’ [Number]
**Nowdont-**

SEE: *snowdo- ‘mist, haze’

*nowyo- ‘new’ [Adj]

**ETYM:** The meaning of the Celtiberian form *nouiza* (Botorrta III, 1) is far from ascertained, but it may be derivable from *nowiyā* if McCone (2003) is right in positing the change *-iyV-* > *-idV-* > *-izV-* in Celtiberian (cf. also PCelt. *gab-yo-, which may be attested as Celtib. *kabizeti /gabizeti/). Celtib. *nouantubos* has also been related to this PCelt. etymon (see under *nowan-* ‘nine’). OBret. *neguid*, which is sometimes adduced here, appears to be actually a verbal form (*ne guid* ‘does not know’). OBret. *neuidterou* is probably a plural form of *neuid-ter ‘newness’.


*noktv- ‘night’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *innocht* ‘tonight’

W: OW *he-noid ‘tonight’, MW *peu-noeth ‘every night’

BRET: MBret. *hanoez ‘tonight’
Co: Co. *haneth* ‘tonight’

Gaul: *tri-nox(tion)* ‘three nights’ (Coligny), *decam-noctiacis* (Limoges)

PIE: *nokʷ-* ‘night’ (IEW: 762)


Etym: MW *nos* is a loanword from Latin (*nox*); the Celtic form is preserved only in the adverbial form, just as in OIr. (but see Falileyev 121 for a different opinion: OW *nos* < PCelt. *noxt-stu-; for the suffix, cf. *flenstu-*, *adestu-*, etc.).


*nookto-* ‘naked’ [Adj]

Goid: OIr. *nocht* [o]

W: MW *noeth*


Co: Co. *noeth*, *noyth*

PIE: *nogʷ*- ‘naked body’, *nogʷ-o- ‘naked’ (IEW: 769)


Etym: OBret. *noit* might be the same word, but the meaning of this gloss is uncertain (it might mean ‘naked’). The Celtic forms can be derived from PIE *nogʷ-to-. The root is attested with different suffixes, except in BS1., where the simple thematic stem was built to the lengthened grade of the root (Winter’s law would not operate in open syllables, cf. Matasovic 1995). Cf. also Gr. *gymnós* ‘naked’ < *nogʷmos* (metathesis). A root adjective, or, more likely, a root noun meaning ‘naked body’ should be posited in PIE.


*noybo-* ‘holy’ [Adj]

See: *něbo- ‘vigour’

*nui* ‘now’ [Adverb]

Goid: OIr. *nu*

W: MW *nu*

Gaul: *nu* (Lezoux)

PIE: *nu(H)* ‘discourse particle’ (IEW: 770)


Etym: W *nu* presupposes *now, with the full-grade of the root (PIE *newH or *nowH). The alternation between *nu and *nū observed in several languages can be explained if we assume that the original form of the particle was *nuH, but that the laryngeal was lost in pause (sentence-sandhi).
This is probably also the explanation for the alternation between *me and *mē in Acc. sg. of the 1 sg. personal pronoun.

**nūsso-**, *nowsso-* ‘first milk, colostrum’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. mūs [o and u m]
W: W nūs [ʔm]
BRET: MBret. (leaz) lusen
ETYM: W nūs is very poorly attested, and it is unclear whether it is a masculine noun (as stated in GPC). The vocalisms of Goidelic and Brittonic do not agree, since OIr. mūs points to *nūss- and W nūs to *nowss-. The Brittonic words might actually be loan-words from Goidelic, or all of these words were borrowed from some unknown source. Breton could have the word initial l- by assimilation with the preceding word in the syntagm, or by analogy with the stem of *lūss-, which is attested in OIr. lūs(ail), which is originally the s-subjunctive of *ibid ‘drinks’ (GOI 471).
REF: LEIA N-25, GPC III: 2599.

**nuw-o-* ‘nod, assent to’ [Vb]
GOID: Mlr. as-noi ‘swear’
W: MW dineu (GPC dinau) ‘flow, pour, spill’
BRET: MBret. dinou ‘pour out’
CO: Co. dynwa [3s Subj.]
PIE: *new- ‘nod’ (IEW: 767)
COGN: Lat. ad-nuo, Gr. neūō
ETYM: Mlr. as-noi < *exs-nuwo-, while the Brittonic forms presuppose *di-new-o- (the simplex verb is unattested). MW nugio ‘shake, quiver’ could be from P Celt. *now-k- < *new-k-. Another possible cognate is Lith. niaūsti ‘to bend’; it may preserve the original meaning of the PIE root.
REF: KPV 491ff., LIV 455f., GPC I: 1021.

*obnu-* ‘fear’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. oμυn [u m]
W: MW ofυyn (GPC ofyn) [m]
BRET: MBret. oυn, MoBret. oνn [m]
CO: Co. oυn
GAUL: Ex-obnus [PN]
SEE: *exs-obno- ‘fearless’
*odbo-

ETYM: Olr. *omun is also attested with the long first vowel, *ómun > Mlr. *uámun. The source of the vacillation is unclear to me (short vowel by analogy with *essamin ‘fearless’?). Cf. also the denominative verb W ofnaf ‘to fear’. The PIE etymology is unknown, but a connection with Croat. jéza ‘fear, terror’ appears possible. Cf. also Lith. éngti ‘to strangle’, ON ekki ‘convulsive sobbing’, OE inca ‘doubt, complaint’ (Orel 2003: 84). The Slavic forms presuppose Early PSl. *endzā or *indzā, and can be derived from PIE *h₁ēngʷ-*, with the nasal infix from the verbal base (present stem), cf. also Lith. éngti (the acute is regular because of Winter’s law). The PIE root would be *h₁ēgʷ-*. P Celt. obno- or obnu- can be from PIE *h₁ogʷno- or *h₁ogʷnu-.


*odbo- ‘knot, bulge’ [Noun]

GOID: Olr. odb [o m]
W: W odd[f m]

ETYM: Cf. also the Gaul. PNs with the first element Osbi- (e.g. Osbimaca, Osbimanus). EIEC and Mallory and Adams 2006 relate these words to Skt. ádga- ‘knot, joint’, Gr. óskhos ‘sucker, shoot’, óskhē ‘vine with grapes’ (PIE *Hosgo-), but do not explain the sound developments, which would be highly irregular. One could, in principle, derive the Celtic and Indo-Iranian forms from PIE *h₃edgʷos, but then Greek óskhos is unrelated. Schrijver (1995: 376) follows LEIA in deriving the Celtic forms from *ost-bʰV- and relates them to Gr. osphýs ‘hip’, which I find less convincing. Lith. uodegà ‘tail’ is probably also unrelated to these words.


*ofi-bá ‘beauty, appearance’

GOID: Olr. oiph, oib [á f and m] ‘semblance, appearance, beauty’

PIE: *h₁opi-bʰeh₂ (IEW: 104)

COGN: Skt. abhi-bhā- ‘inauspicious omen’

ETYM: This old compound appears to contain the PIE root *b³eh₂- ‘shine’ (Skt. bhāti ‘shines’, Gr. phōs ‘light’, etc.). However, Vendryès may be right in claiming that this reconstruction ‘ne repose sur rien’ (LEIA O-14).


*ofi-belā ‘spark, flame’ [Noun]

GOID: Mlr. oibell [a f]
W: MW ufel [m]

PIE: *h₁opi-bʰel- (IEW: 119)

ETYM: MoBret. fulenn [f] ‘spark’ may be related, if it is metathesized from *uflenn. The reconstruction *ofi-belā proposed here is quite doubious.
Vendryès (LEIA O-15) doubts this etymology and relates the Mlr. word to oib 'beauty, prosperity', which does not seem convincing.

*Ogmiyo- 'a mythological name'
GOID: Mlr. Ogma [?io m]
GAUL: Ogmios [Theonym]
ETYM: Gaul. Ogmios occurs on an inscription from Salins as an epithet of Hercules, and Mlr. Ogma mac Ethlenn is depicted as the inventor of the Ogam writing. This theonym is usually derived from the name of Ogam, OIr. ogum, ogom [o m] < PCelt. *ogmo-, but other etymological connections are unknown. A problem for this etymology is that the development of PCelt. *-gm- in Irish is uncertain: since *g is lost before *n with the lengthening of the preceding vowel (cf. *wegno- 'wagon' > OIr. fén), it has been argued that *ogmo- should have given Mlr. *úam. However, there are no other examples to substantiate this development, so it is possible that *-gm- was preserved.

*oketā 'harrow' [Noun]
W: MW ocet, (GPC oged) [f]
BRET: MBret. oguet, MoBret. oged [f]
CO: OCo. ocet, Co. oges
PIE: *Hoketeh₂ ‘harrow, rake’ (IEW: 22)
COGN: Lat. occa, OPr. aketes, Russ. osét ‘granary, rack for drying grain’, OHG egida
ETYM: Although the shape of the reconstructed word for ‘harrow’ appears non-Indo-European, the connection with the root *h₂ek- ‘sharp’ (Lat. acus ‘needle’, etc.) seems likely (see PCelt. *akro-); in that case, the correct PIE reconstruction is *h₂oketeh₂. Note, however, that reflexes are limited to the European branches of IE, which is typical of many words belonging to agricultural terminology.

*okri- ‘edge’ [Noun]
SEE: *akro- ‘high’

*olënā ‘elbow, angle’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. uilen [á f]
W: OW elinou [p], MW elin [f and m]
BRET: MBret. elin, MoBret. elin [m]
CO: Co. elyn, elin
PIE: *h₁elēn ‘elbow’ (IEW: 307)
COGN: Lat. ulna, Gr. olēnē, Go. aleina, perhaps ToB aliyīye ‘palm’
ETYM: Cf. also Gaul. hydronym Olina (Sims-Williams 2006: 97). W elin is from *olin by i-Umlaut.

*olo- ‘behind, beyond’ [Prep]
GOID: OIr. ol 1. ‘beyond’ 2. ‘than’ (Preposition with the comparative)
W: MW ol [m] (GPC ól) ‘track’, yn ól ‘according to’
 PIE: *h2el- (IEW: 24f.)
COGN: OLat. ollus ‘that’, OCS lani ‘in the past year’
ETYM: The OIr. adverb and preposition ol is used in comparative constructions, e.g. Wb. 12a21 is sochrudiu láam oldó-sa ‘hand is more beautiful than I am’. Word initial *o instead of the expected a- may be due to early assimilation (*alo- > *olo-), or we should start from *h2olo- which would give PCelt. *olo- regularly (cf. also OLat. ollus < *h2olno-). PCelt. *olo- is from the PIE demonstrative stem *h2el-, which is also in PCelt. *alyo- ‘other’. OIr. defective verb ol ‘(s)he said, inquit’ has also been related to this root.

*olyo- ‘all, whole, every’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. uile [iø]
W: MW oll, holl
BRET: OBret. holl, MBret. holl, oll, MoBret. oll
CO: Co. hol, oll
GAUL: ollon [n] (Chamalières); Ollo-dagos [PN]
 PIE: *h3ol-oyo- ‘all’
COGN: Go. alls ‘all, whole’
ETYM: Another etymology, somewhat less viable, relates these words to PIE *sol-oyo- ‘whole’ (Skt. sárva-, Gr. hólos < *sol-wo-). This would help explain the traces of word initial *h- (< *s-) in Brittonic (but in most instances that word-initial h- can be purely graphic, and positing PCelt. *s- does not explain the Gaulish forms). In any case, these forms must be distinguished from PCelt. *folno- ‘great’.

*omiyo- ‘copper, bronze’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. umae [iø n]
W: OW (o) emid gl. ex aere, W efydd [m]
 PIE *HoHmo- ‘raw’ (IEW: 777)
 SEE: *omo- ‘raw’
ETYM: Both OIr. umae and W efydd mean ‘copper’ as well as ‘bronze, brass’, and we may assume that the meaning ‘copper’ is earlier. For the
Welsh vocalism cf. PCelt. *olīnā ‘elbow’ > MW elin. A derivation of *omiyo- from *omo- ‘raw’ appears formally possible, but the semantic connection is weak. Was ‘copper’ conceived of as ‘raw metal’ in contrast to iron, which is melted at much higher temperatures?


*omo- ‘raw’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. om [o]
W: W of
PIE: *HoHmo- ‘raw’ (IEW: 777f.)
COGN: Gr. ὄμος, Skt. āmā-, Khot. hāma-, Arm. hum
ETYM: As the Gr. and Skt. words are oxytona, this could be an instance of pretonic shortening in Celtic (Dybo’s law). Note, however, that there are but a few instances of this law operating on syllables with proper PIE vowels (*e, *o), so in this particular case one is tempted to think that the second laryngeal was lost by dissimilation (*HoHmo- > *Homo- > PCelt. *omo-). The PIE reconstruction is uncertain, since the nature of the second laryngeal cannot be ascertained (initial *h₂ is usually reconstructed on the basis of Arm. hum). A connection with Lat. amārus ‘bitter’ is doubtful (it may, in principle, represent *h₂H-emo-).


*onko- ‘at’ [Prep]
GOID: OIr. oc [+Dat.]
W: MW wnc, wng ‘near’
SEE: *ank-o- ‘reach’
ETYM: If PCelt. *onko- is indeed related to the verbal root *ank-o- ‘reach’, it probably presupposes a verbal noun *h₂onko- petrified as the preposition in Celtic. The development of meaning would be from ‘having reached’ to ‘at’.

REF: LEIA O-5, GPC III: 3732, GOI 524f.

*orbo- ‘heir, inheritor’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. orb [o m]
PIE: *h₁orbʰo- ‘inheritance’ (IEW: 781)
COGN: Lat. orbus ‘orphan’, OCS raba ‘slave’, Arm. orb
ETYM: OIr. orbe [io n] ‘inheritance’ is the exact parallel of PGerm. *ariya- (Go. arbi ‘inheritance’). I prefer to reconstruct the PIE root with *h₁ rather than with *h₃ because this facilitates McCone’s connection of these words with OIr. erbaid ‘entrusts’. Hitt. harp- ‘separate’ is therefore not related, pace Weiss 2006.

*ordo/A- ‘hammer’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. ord [o m] gl. malleus
W: OW ord [f], MW orth
BRET: OBret. ord gl. maleus, MBret. orz [f]
ETYM: Gaulish ethnonym Ordo-VICES has also been related to this PCelt. etymon. Falileyev 126 and Pedersen (I: 114) relate these words to Arm. unlikely ‘hammer’ (? < *ordin-) but this is highly speculative. One could also speculate that this word is an old compound, PIE *h₃erg-dh₁o-, from PIE *h₃erg- ‘perish’ (see PCelt. *orgo- ‘destroy’) and *dʰeh₁- ‘do, make’ (Lat. facio, OCS déti, etc.), although it is unknown what the development of the cluster *-rgd- should be in Celtic (but cf. *h₂rkto- ‘bear’ > OIr. art, so maybe *h₃erg-dh₁o- > *orxdo- > *ordo- is regular).
REF: LEIA 0-29, DGVB 277, GPC 1468, Delamarre 243f., Pedersen I: 114, Falileyev 126.

*org-o- ‘destroy’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. orgaid, -oig; oirr, -orr [Subj.]; ieirr, -iarr [Fut.]; oirt, -ort [Pret.]; ortae, ort [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW yny-orth [Impersonal Pass.]
GAUL: orge [Impv.] ‘kill’ (CGL V 316, 70)
PIE: *h₃erg- ‘perish’ (IEW: 819 (*perg-))
COGN: Hitt. harkzi, Arm. harkanem ‘strike’
ETYM: The Welsh simplex occurs only in Canu Aneirin (CA 13.315). Cf. also the Gaul. PN Orgeto-rix (Caesar, De Bello Gallico I, 2, 1).
REF: KPV 499ff., LIV 301, LEIA 0-30, LP 386f.

*orgyA ‘testicle’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. urige [iǎ f]
PIE: *h₁orgʰi- ‘testicle’
COGN: Hitt. arki-, Av. ārazi- [Dual]. Gr. órkhis, Alb. herdhe [p], Arm. orjikʰ [p]
ETYM: The Celtic yā-stem presupposed by Mlr. urige probably derives from the original PIE collective, built to the neuter i-stem. A possible cognate in Breton is MBret. orguet, MoBre. orged ‘lascivous’ (if it is from PCelt. *orgeto-). Some linguists reconstruct PIE *h₃ergʰi- because of Alb. herdhe, but Alb. h- can be secondary (Demiraj 1997: 199).

*osno- ‘ash-tree’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. onn [? ?] ‘pine tree, furze-bush (or ash?)’; OIr. uinnius [ǎ f]
W: MW onn [Collective]; ynn [p]
BRET: MBret. ounn, onn [Collective]
CO: OCo. onnen gl. fraxus [Singulative]
PIE: *h₃es-n- ‘ash-tree’ (IEW: 782)
*owgro- ‘cold’ [Adj]
GOID: Olr. iar [o] ‘cold, cool, ineffective’
W: MW oer
CO: OCo. or gl. frigidam
GAUL: Ogron- ‘a winter month in the Calendar of Coligny’ (fifth month of the year)
PIE: *h₃ewg- ‘cold’ (IEW: 783)
COGN: Arm. oye ‘cold’, Latv. aūksts ‘cold’
SEE: *owxtu- ‘cold’
ETYM: The Gaulish form attests to the (late) change of *ow > ď. BSl. acute implied by Latv. aūksts may be the result of Winter’s law.

*owi- ‘sheep’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. oi [m]
PIE: *h₃ewi- ‘sheep’ (IEW: 784)
COGN: Luv. hawi-, Skt. āvi-, Gr. ōis, Lat. ois, OE ewe, Lith. avis, OCS oęca, ToB awi [Nom p], Arm. hoviw ‘shepherd’
SEE: *owikā ‘hind, doe’
ETYM: Mlr. oi is a rare, poetic word, known chiefly from glossaries and Laws, but cf. Olr. oegaire ‘shepherd’ < *owi-garyo- lit. ‘sheep-caller’ (see *gar-yo- ‘call, cry’. The PIE reconstruction of the word for ‘sheep’ is disputed (some linguists reconstruct *h₂owi-, which is also possible (see the discussion in Wodtko et alii 2008: 335ff.).
REF: LEIA O-14, EIEC 510.

*owigno- ‘lamb’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. ian [o m]
W: MW oen [m and f]; ǭyn [p]
BRET: MBret. oen, MoBret. oan [m]
CO: OCo. oin gl. agnus, Co. oan, on
PIE: *h₂egʷno- ‘lamb’ (IEW: 9)
COGN: Lat. agnus, Gr. amnós, OE ēanian, OCS agné
ETYM: It is impossible to derive the attested forms directly from PIE *h₂egʷno-, since this would be reflected as PCelt. **abno-, and the cluster
*bn would be preserved as OIr. *mm, W *bn (cf. *obnu- ‘fear’ > OIr. omun, W ofn, *dubno- ‘world’ > W dufn). The word initial *o- in Brittonic must be analogical in any case, presumably under the influence of *owi- ‘sheep’. OIr. *úan would derivable from *owino- quite regularly (cf. *fowino- ‘foam’ > Mfr. *úan), but this would presumably have yielded W **ofyn. However, OIr. *úan may also reflect *owigno-, which was either dissimilated from *owi-gno-, or it represents a compound with the suffix *-gno-. This form could then have been changed analogically to *ogno- (under the influence of *abno- < *h₂egʷno-?), from which we can derive the Brittonic forms quite regularly. Although some linguists reconstruct the PIE word for ‘sheep’ as *h₂egʷno- (from which it would be much easier to derive both OIr. *úan and the Brittonic forms via PCelt. *agʷno- > *ogʷno-), this is incompatible not only with Gr. amnós, but also with OCS a- in agne, which must be due to Winter’s law.


*owíkā ‘hind, doe’ [Noun]
W: OW *eguic, W ewig [f]
CO: OCo. *euhig gl. cerva
PIE: *h₃ewi-kēh₂ ‘little sheep’ (IEW: 784)
COGN: Skt. *avikā-
SEE: *owi- ‘sheep’
ETYM: The development of meaning from ‘sheep’ to ‘hind, doe’ in Brit. may appear unusual at first glance, but cf. OIr. *oss ‘stag’ < PCelt. *uxso-, *uxson- < PIE *uxsōn ‘ox’.

*owmā ‘cave’
GOIr: OIr. *úam [ā f] ‘cave, den, boar’s lair’; úaim [i f], úama [d f]
PIE: *h₁ew-n- ‘empty’ (IEW: 345)
COGN: Gr. *eũis ‘deprived’, Arm. unayn, perhaps OE wan
ETYM: The connection with OCS jama ‘large hole, cave’ (LEIA) appears improbable, because we would expect PIE *(y)eh₂h₂m > OIr. **ám. Therefore, the etymology proposed by Hamp 1985 is to be preferred. The Irish word can be derived from *h₁ewn-meh₂ regularly. I doubt whether Lat. uārus, Skt. *ūnā- ‘lacking’ belong here, because they point rather to a root ending in a laryngeal (PIE *weh₂no-, *uh₂no-).

*owxs-anatā ‘sigh’ [Noun]
GOIr: OIr. osnad [ā f]
W: MW uchenaid [f]; ucheneid(i)au, uchenediau, ucheneidion [p]
BRET: MBret. *huana, MoBret. huadan [m] ‘sigh’
SEE: *owxsō- ‘above’, *ana- ‘breathe’
*owxsV- 'high' [Adj]

GOID: MFr. üais 'high, noble'
W: MW uchaf 'highest'
CO: Co. a-úgh
GAUL: Uxisama, Uxama [Toponyms]
CELTIB: usama [PN and Toponym] (Botorrita III)
SEE: *owxselo- 'high, elevated', *owxsSo- 'above'
ETYM: MW uchaf, Gaul. Uxama and Celtib. usama are feminine forms of superlatives derived with the suffix *-(s)amo- < *(s)mmo- from this adjective. Gaulish and Celtiberian may preserve the zero-grade of the root (*uxs- rather than *owxs-).

*owxso- 'above' [Prep]

GOID: OIr. ós [+Dat.] 'above'
W: MW uch
BRET: OBret. uh, MBret. and MoBret. uc'h
CO: Co. (a) ugh
GAUL: (a) uz
PIE: *h₃ewpso- 'above'
COGN: Gr. ἡψι 'height, summit', ἡψηλός 'high, lofty', Lat. super 'above'
SEE: *owxselo- 'high, elevated'

ETYM: OBret. huan 'breath', MoBret. huan [m] appear to preserve the underived *owxsano-, which is an old compound of *owxso- 'high' and *an-o- 'breathe'. OIr. osnad points to a variant *uxs-anatá, cf. also MFr. osnam 'sigh, groan' < *uxs-anamā.
ETYM: The zero-grade of this PIE root may be preserved in the Olr. preverb *uss-, *oss- ‘up, off’ < *uxso- (GOI 525). The reflexes of this preverb/preposition may have been mixed up with the reflexes of *usso- < *ud-so- (PIE *ud ‘up, off’, cf. Skt. úd, Russ. vy-, OE út, etc.), but there is otherwise no evidence for PIE *ud in Celtic.


*owxtu- ‘cold’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. ócht, úacht [um]
PIE: *h₃ewg- ‘be cold’ (IEW: 783)
COGN: Lith. áušti ‘become cold, Arm. oyc ‘cold’
SEE: *owgro- ‘cold’
REF: LEIA 0-7, EIEC 113.

*xxtu- ‘eight’ [Num]

GOID: OIr. ocht [Nasalizing]
W: OW oith, MW wyth
BRET: OBret. eith, MBret. eiz, MoBret. eizh
CO: Co. eath
GAUL: BRET. oxtumetos ‘eighth’
PIE: *h₃ektoh₁ ‘eight’ (IEW: 775)
COGN: Skt. aṣṭau, Lat. octō, Gr. oktō, Go. ahtau, Lith. aštuoni, Alb. tetē, ToB okt
ETYM: Gaul. oxtumetos and OIr. ochmad point to PCelt. ordinal *oxumeto- ‘eighth’ (cf. Skt. aṣṭamā-).

*oyget- ‘guest’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. ōgei [tm] ‘guest’
PIE: *h₃eygʰ- ‘go, tread’ (IEW 296)
COGN: Gr. ikhnos ‘footprint, sole’, Lith. eigà ‘path’
ETYM: The meaning ‘guest’ in Celtic could have developed from ‘wanderer, traveller’. The word formation with the suffix *-et- is commonly used in Celtic to derive agent nouns, cf. PCelt. *kenget- ‘warrior’ (from *keng-o- ‘tread, step’).

*oyxma- ‘alone, personally’
SEE: *oymo- ‘one’

*oyxma- ‘one’ [Num]

GOID: OIr. óen
W: OW un, MW un
BRET: OBret. un, MBret. and MoBret. un
*oyto-

CO: Co. un

PIE: *h₃ey-no- ‘one’ (IEW: 281ff.)

COGN: OLat. oinos, Lat. ümus, Gr. oinis ‘one (at dice)’; Go. ains, OCS ed-ino, Lith. vienas

ETYM: Other IE languages form the numeral ‘one’ from the same root (*h₂ey-), but with different suffixes, e.g. *-ko- in Skt. éka-, *-wo- in Av. aiuua-, etc. In Celtic, there is a derivative *oynāno- ‘alone, personally’ that can be inferred from OIr. oénán and MBret. unan, onan, and W hunan (with secondary h-). Cf. also OIr. oentu [d m and f] < *oyno-tūt- (Lat. ūnitās). The acute in Lith. vienas is unclear, but it hardly justifies positing PIE *h₂eyHno- rather than *h₂eyno-.


*oyto- ‘oath’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. oeth [o m]

W: OW an-utonau gl. periuria [p]

PIE: *h₁oy-to- ‘a going’ (IEW: 295)

COGN: OHG eid ‘oath’, ToB aittanka ‘directed toward’.

ETYM: Presumably, this is a derivative of the root *h₁ey- ‘to go’; the original meaning of ‘oath’ in Celtic and Germanic would be ‘a going, path’. This could be motivated by the custom of walking between pieces of sacrificed animals to give force to the oath, cf. also Gr. oĩtos ‘course, fate’.

REF: LEIA O-12, EIEC 408f., Falileyev 8, Benveniste 1969, II, ch. 3.

*Rād-I- ‘talk’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. rādíd, radid, -radi ‘talks’

W: OW amraud ‘thought, meditation’, W amrawdd [m] ‘mind’

PIE: *(H)reHdʰ- ‘perform successfully’ (IEW: 59f.)

COGN: Skt. rādh- ‘perform successfully’, OCS raditi ‘take care of, work’, Go. rodjan ‘talk’, Lith. rodyti ‘show’

SEE: *ambi-rād-I- ‘think’

ETYM: The Celtic reconstruction *rād-I- presupposes PIE *(H)roHdʰ-, *(H)rHdʰ- or *(H)reHdʰ-; the primary meaning of the root may be preserved in Skt. rādh-, but the semantic development in separate IE branches is not quite clear. If Lith. rodyti is from the same root, the laryngeal might be *h₂, but LIV (s. v. *reh₁dʰ-) and Mayrhofer (s. v. rādh-) reconstruct *h₁ because of Go. ga-redan ‘to intend, have a plan for’, OHG rātan ‘advise’ and the related Germanic words (from *(H)reH₁dʰ-).
*rāno-  ‘mane’ [Noun]
GOID: Molr. rón [o m]; MIr. rónne, rúainne [io m] ‘a single hair’
W: MW raun [m] (GPC rhawn)
BRET: MBret. reun [m]
CO: Co. rūn
ETYM: According to Pedersen (I: 49) OIr. rón was borrowed from Brittonic, but it is not obvious that it should be. In any case, the IE etymology of the Brittonic words is uncertain. They could, in principle, be connected to PSI. *pormy ‘lock (of hair)’, Croat. prâmen, Cz. pramen, Pol. promień < PIE *porH-men. PCelt. *frāno- would be regularly derivable from *prHno- or *prHmno- (the development of PIE *-mn- in Celtic is uncertain; all instances of *-mn- in PCelt. are from earlier *-bn-, cf. *obno- ‘fear’).

*rāsmiyo-  ‘oar’
SEE: *ra-yo-  ‘row’

*rā- yo-  ‘row’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. ráid, -rā; reraid, -rera [Fut.], rerais, -rerae [Pret.]
PICE: *h₁rēh₁- ‘row’ (IEW: 338)
COGN: Gr. (Myc.) e-re-e ‘row’, OE rōwan, Lith. īrti
ETYM: OIr. rāmae [io m, later also ā f and o m] ‘oar’ probably reflects a similar extension of this root as Lat. rēmus ‘oar’. Both might be derived from *h₁rēh₁-smo- (Lat. rēmus) viz. *h₁r₁h₁-smo- (PCelt. *rāsmo-). PCelt. *rā- yo- presumably preserved the zero-grade of the root (PIE *h₁r₁h₁-), but note that *h₁r₁r₁h₁- yo- would have also given the same result (cf. Lat. fōdio ‘dig’, also with the o-grade in the present stem typical of verbs denoting physical activities). OE rōwan and the related Germanic verbs also presuppose the o-grade.
REF: KPV 529f., LIV 251f., LEIA R-1f., LP 387.

*razd-o-  ‘scrape, scratch’ [Vb]
W: MW rathu (GPC rhathu)
BRET: MoBret. rahein (Vannetais) ‘scrape, shave’
PICE: *(H)reh₂sd̥(h₁)o- ‘shear, scratch, shave’ (IEW: 854 (*rēd-))
COGN: Lat. rádo ‘shave’
ETYM: A connection of these words with Germ. Ratte ‘rat’, Eng. rat, and the related Germanic words is possible, if their original meaning was ‘rodent’ vel sim.
REF: KPV 528f., LIV 496, GPC III: 3040.

*rēdi-  ‘simple, easy’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. réid [i] ‘simple, easy, flat’
*rēdo-

W: OW ruid gl. uacuum, W rhwydd ‘easy, quick’
BRET: OBret. ruet, MBret. and MBret. rouez
PIE: *(H)reydʰ- ‘ride, drive’ (IEW: 861)
COGN: OHG bi-reiti ‘ready’
SEE: *rēd-o- ‘ride’
ETYM: If the derivation from PIE *(H)reydʰ- ‘ride, drive’ is correct, the semantic development was from ‘riding, driving’ to ‘ready’ (cf. OHG bi-reiti, Eng. ready) and ‘easy, simple’.

*rēdo- ‘the act of riding, chariot’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. rīad [o n] ‘riding, driving, voyage’
W: MW gorwydd [m] ‘horse’
GAUL: Gallo-Lat. rēda (Isidore of Seville) > MLat. rēda ‘chariot’
SEE: *rēd-o- ‘ride’
ETYM: MW gorwydd is from *ufo-rēdo- ‘a ride’. Cf. also Gallo-Lat. paraveredus ‘work-horse’ (attested in Codex Iustinianus X, 48, 12, 2), which is the source of Germ. Pferd ‘horse’, Dutch paard.
REF: GPC II: 1506f., LEIA R-26, Delamarre 256.

*rēd-o- ‘ride’ [Vb]
GOID: Olr. rēdid, -rēid; reraid [Pret.]
PIE: *(H)reydʰ- ‘ride’ (IEW: 861)
COGN: OE rīdan, Lith. riedėti ‘roll’
SEE: *ufo-rēdo- ‘horse’, *rēdi-‘simple, easy’

*rēd-sman-, *ressman- ‘movement, course’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. réimm [n n] ‘course, movement’
SEE: *rēd-o- ‘ride’
ETYM: Olr. réimm is the verbal noun of rēdid (cf. *rēd-o- ‘ride’).
REF: LEIA R-18, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 551

*regini- ‘hard, stiff’
GOID: Olr. rigin [i] ‘tough, hard, slow’
W: MW rein ‘stiff, rigid’ (GPC rhain)
SEE: *reg-o- ‘stretch’
ETYM: The meaning ‘hard, stiff’ could have developed from ‘stretched’, which would have been the primary meaning of this adjective (cf. PCelt. *rig-o- ‘stretch’).
REF: LEIA R-30, GPC III: 3033.
*reg-o- ‘extend, stretch, straighten’ [Vb]
GOID: Olr. a-t-raig ‘stands up, rises’ (DIL at-reig); -ré [Subj.], -ré [Fut.]; -recht [Pret.]; -recht [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW re (GPC rhe) ‘get up, rise’
BRET: OBret. gurre ‘rise, get up’, MBret. re ‘leads, drives’
GAUL: regu-c [1s Pres.] (Chamalières)
PIE: *h₁reg-o- ‘extend, stretch, rule’ (IEW: 854ff.)
SEE: *rig-s ‘king’, *rig-o- ‘extend, stretch’
ETYM: Olr. at-raig < *exs-reg-o- (the simplex is unattested in Goidelic).

*rēg-sman- (*rexsman-) ‘bond’ [Noun]
W: OW ruimmein [p]
SEE: *rig-o- ‘bind’
REF: Falileyev 140.

*rek-o- ‘arrange’ [Vb]
GOID: Olr. ad-eirrig ‘repeats, changes’
PIE: *(H)rek- ‘set in order’ (IEW: 863)
COGN: Go. -rahnjan ‘calculate’, OCS reštī ‘say’, ToB reki ‘word’
ETYM: Olr. ad-eirrig < *ati-ferek-o-. This Olr. verb is usually related to PCelt. *reg-o- ‘extend’; I follow KPV 536f. in attributing it to PIE *(H)rek- ‘set in order’. The semantic development was presumably from ‘set in order’ to ‘repair’ and ‘repeat’, but details are unclear.
REF: KPV 536f., LIV 506, LEIA R-13

*rēk-o- ‘tear apart’ [Vb]
W: MW rwygaw (GPC rhwygo)
BRET: MBret. roegaff, MoBret. roegañ
PIE: *h₁reyk- ‘crush’ (IEW: 858)
COGN: Gr. ereikō, Lith. riękti ‘cut (bread)’
ETYM: The palatalized *k is implied by Skt. riśāti ‘tear off’, but I am not sure whether this is from the same root (note also k instead of š in Lithuanian riękti).

*remesso- ‘period of time’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. reimes, reimis [o m]
BRET: MBret. remsy, MoBret. rems [m]
ETYM: Mlr. reimse ‘time’ (DIL, s. v.) is derived from reimes. It may be from *remessya, but the stem formation is uncertain. The etymology of PCelt. *remesso- is problematic; we could start from *remes-to-, a derivative from an s-stem *remos-, and compare PCelt. *rom-i- ‘place, put’. Since *rom-i- is a causative to *rem- ‘be at rest’, the semantic development could have been from ‘rest, period of rest’ to ‘time, period of time’, but this is not completely persuasive.

REF: LEIA R-17, Deshayes 2003: 621.

*rem(r)o- ‘great, fat, thick’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. remor [o] ‘great, fat’
W: MW ref (GPC rhef) ‘thick, stout, large’
ETYM: OIr. remor presupposes *remro-, while MW ref can be from *remo-. The IE etymology is unknown.


*rendi- ‘point, peak’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. rind [i m]
BRET: OBret. gabl-rinn ‘fourche à pointe, forked branch’
ETYM: The OBret. compound gablrinn has the exact parallel in Ir. gabhal-rind. It is unclear whether OIr. rind [i n] ‘star’ is originally the same word, or an accidental homonym without etymology. The semantic connection would be clear if stars were mythologically represented as spear-points. A convincing IE etymology is lacking.

REF: LEIA R-232, DGVB 297.

*rēno- ‘large expanse of water’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. rian [o m] ‘sea, ocean, course, route’
GAUL: Rēnos > Lat. Rhēnus ‘Rhine’
PIE: *(H)reyH- ‘flow’ (IEW: 330)
COGN: Skt. riya-‘flows’, OE rīd ‘stream’, Lat. rīvus ‘river’
SEE: *riya-tro- ‘torrent’
ETYM: Gaul. rēnos ‘river’ is the source of OFr. rhin ‘stream’. PCelt. *rēno-presupposes PIE *(H)reyH-no-. If Gr. orīnō ‘to whirl’ is from the same root, the initial laryngeal can be identified as *h₃.


*rentu- ‘thing, matter’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. rēt [u m]
PIE: *(H)ren-t- ‘possession’ (IEW: 865)
COGN: Skt. ráta- ‘possession, precious object’
ETYM: Quite a speculative etymology, since the reflexes of the PIE root are limited to just two branches, and a metathesis of *nt > tn must be assumed in Sanskrit. Mayrhofer (s. v. ráma-) leaves the Sanskrit word without a PIE etymology.
REF: LEIA R-22, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 93.

*ret-o- ‘run’ [Vb]
W: OW reit [3s Pres.], MW redec; red [3s Pres.] (GPC rhedeg)
BRET: MBret. redec, MoBret. redeg
CO: Co. resek
PIE: *(H)reth2- ‘run’ (IEW: 866)
COGN: Lat. rota ‘wheel’, Skt. rathá- ‘chariot’
SEE: *roto- ‘wheel’, *retu- ‘course’
ETYM: In Welsh, the element -reto- > -red was generalized as a suffix forming abstract nouns (e.g. W brith-red [m] ‘confusion, strife’, cf. Zimmer 2000: 446ff.). Words for ‘wheel, chariot’ (Olr. roth) are also derived from this PIE root.

*retu- ‘course’
GOID: Olr. riuth, rith [u m]
W: MW red (GPC rhed) [f and m]
BRET: MBret. red [m]
CO: Co. rēs
SEE: *ret-o- ‘run’

*rextu- ‘fury, outburst of anger’ [Noun]
GOID: Mfr. recht [u m] ‘paroxysm, outburst of anger’
ETYM: W rhaith ‘plunder, booty’ adduced by LEIA R-12 seems not to exist. GPC (I: 153) has anrhaith [f] ‘plunder, booty, foray’ which is clearly from the negation an- and rhaith ‘law’. The derivation from PIE *h1rep-tu- (Skt. rāpas ‘wound, lesion’, Gr. erēptomai ‘devour, snatch away’, perhaps Hitt. arpa- ‘bad luck, misfortune’, cf. IEW 865) may be possible.
REF: LEIA R-12, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 288.

*rextu- ‘rule, law’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. recht [u m]
W: MW reyth (GPC rhaith) [f] ‘law, sermon, jury, verdict’
BRET: MBret. rez, reiz ‘law, rule, arrangement’, MoBret. reizh [m]
CO: Co. ryth ‘sex, kind’
GAUL: Rextu-genos
CELTIB: retu-keno [Gen s, PN] (Bottorita III)
SEE: *reg-o- ‘extend, stretch’
ETYM: Gaul. Rextugenos and Celtib. Retukeno are completely parallel compounds that could be derived from PCelt. *rextu-genos.

*rīg- ‘king’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. ri [g m], Ogam VOTECO-RIGAS
W: OW ri, MW ri [m] (GPC rhi)
GAUL: Rigomagus [Toponym], Catu-rix [PN]
CELTIB: Teioureikis [PN] (K.6.1)
PIE: *(H)rēg- ‘king’ (IEW: 855)
COGN: Skt. rāj-, Lat. rēx
SEE: *rīganī ‘queen’
ETYM: Celtib. Teioureikis is interpreted as a compound name parallel to Gaul. Devorix. However, the spelling -ei- in -reikis is unclear, since Celtib. -ei- is usually from PCelt. *ē (< PIE *ey) rather than from PCelt. *ī (the exact reflex of which in Celtib. is not quite certain, although i is expected). Moreover, the ending -is looks like the Nom. sg. of an i-stem, rather than of a consonant stem. On the PIE side of this etymology, there have been some justified doubts about the existence of the PIE word for ‘king’ (see Matasovic 2004: 85 and the literature quoted there). Perhaps PIE *(H)regs meant ‘power, force’, or something similar.

*rīganī ‘queen’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. rigain [ī f]
W: MW rein [f] ‘young girl, virgin’ (GPC rhiain)
GAUL: rigani (Lezoux)
PIE: *(H)rēgnih₂ ‘queen’ (IEW: 856)
COGN: Skt. rājñī-, Lat. rēgīna
SEE: *rīg- ‘king’
ETYM: Cf. also Gaul. theonym Rigina (CIL XIII 6021, Ingwiller). PIE *(H)rēgnih₂ should have given OIr. **rin, so we must assume that Celtic generalized the stem *rīgan- from the oblique cases (e.g. the PIE Gen. sg. *(H)rēgnye₃h₂-s > *rīganyās, where the development *-Cny- > *-Cany- would be regular).

*rīg-o- ‘bind’ [Vb]
*rig-o-

GOID: OIr. con-rig ‘binds together’; con-ré [Subj.]; con-rir [Fut.]; con-reraig [Pret.]; con-recht [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW gwarwy ‘play’ (GPC gwarwy, gwary)
BRET: MBret. hoari ‘play’
CO: Co. guariow [p] ‘games’
GAUL: regu (Lezoux) [1 s Pres.]
PIE: *(H)reyg- ‘bind, reach’ (IEW: 861)
ETYM: OIr. con-rig < *kom-rig-o-, MW gwarwy and MBret. hoari < *ufo-rig-o-; cf. the parallel compounds OIr. cuimrech ‘binding’ and MoBret. kevre < *kom-rigā-(ko-). This verb should be distinguished from the homonym PCelt. *rig-o- ‘stretch’. Lith. réžti has the acute by Winter’s law.
REF: GPC II: 1589, KPV 546ff., LIV 503.

*rig-o- ‘go’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. rigaid, -riga, -rega ‘will go’ [Fut. of téit ‘goes’]; eirgg ‘go’ [Impv.]
PIE: *h₁ergʰ- ‘go’ (IEW: 326ff.)
COGN: Gr. érkhomai ‘go’, orkhéomai ‘dance’, Alb. erdha ‘I came’
ETYM: The PCelt. form points to PIE *h₁ergʰ-o-, with the zero-grade of the root. Gr. érkhomai and orkhéomai are usually compared to Skt. rghāyāti ‘tremble’, but Mayrhofer (s. v. rghāy-) doubts this etymology. Since the Greek words have also been derived from PIE *h₁er- ‘rise’ (Gr. órnymi, Lat. orior < *h₁or-, etc.) with the present-stem suffix *sk-, it is possible that the Celtic words are actually unrelated, and that they should be derived from the root *h₃reg- ‘extend, stretch’ > PCelt. *rig-o- and *reg-o-. The semantic evolution would be from ‘extend (one's legs)’ to ‘step’ and ‘walk, go’.
REF: KPV 549ff, LIV 238f., LP 399ff., LEIA R-15f.

*rig-o- ‘stretch’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. rigid, -rig ‘stretches’; réiss, -ré; riris, -rir [Fut.]; reraig [Pret.]; rechtae, -recht [Pret. Pass.]
PIE: *h₃reg- ‘extend, stretch’ (IEW: 854ff.)
COGN: Skt. rjyate ‘extends itself’, Gr. orégō ‘extend, stretch’, Lat. rego ‘rule’, Go. rikan ‘to heap up’, ME reken ‘to stoke a fire’, ToB rāk- ‘to extend, to cover’
SEE: *reg-o- ‘extend, stretch’
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. do-rig ‘to lay bare’ < *to-rig-o- and, perhaps, OIr. ringid ‘to torture’ < *ri-n-g-o- (an infixed present formation with the original meaning ‘to stretch’). Some linguists, e.g. McCone (1991), prefer to derive OIr. rigid from a Narten-type present (from PIE *h₃reg- ‘extend’, with the lengthened grade), but I believe the evidence for this present type is insufficient both in Celtic and elsewhere (see de Vaan 2004). PCelt. *rig-can be from the PIE zero-grade *h₃reg-. MBret. renaff ‘lead, govern’,
MoBret. *renañ* may also be from this root, but they have also been plausibly interpreted as denominative verbs built to OFr. *ren* ‘reign’ (Deshayes 2003: 621).


*rímā* ‘number, count’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *rí* [á f]
W: MW *ríf* [m] (GPC *rhif*)
BRET: OBret. *rì(m) gl. summa, MoBret. *ríñv* [m]
CO: Co. *ryvow* [p] ‘numbers’, Co. *ryf*
PIE: *h₂reyH- ‘count’ (IEW: 60)
COGN: Gr. *arithmos* ‘number’, OE *rím* ‘number, calculation’, ToB *yārn* ‘measure’
ETYM: PGerm. *ríman* ‘number’, from which OE *rím* is derived, could be a loanword from Celtic (Orel 2003: 305). The lack of the reflex of the second laryngeal in Greek is puzzling. Maybe the second laryngeal was lost by dissimilation, especially if it was *h₂ (*h₂erih₂- > *h₂eri-).


*ri-na*- ‘count, sell, exchange’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *renaid* ‘sells, exchanges’; *rieid, -ria* [Subj.]; *ririd, -rir* [Fut.]; *rir* [Pret.]; *rithae, -rith* [Pret. Pass.]
PIE: *h₂reyH- ‘count’ (IEW: 60f. (*ari-))
COGN: Gr. *áriōmos* ‘number’, *néritos* ‘countless’, Lat. *rītus* ‘religious observances’
SEE: *rímā* ‘number’
ETYM: Another possibility is to relate these words to OIr. *ermaid* ‘bestow’, cf. PCelt. *far-na-.

REF: KPV 551f., LEIA R-19f.

*ri-n-g-o*- ‘torture’ [Vb]
SEE: *rig-o- ‘stretch’

*rinno- ‘quick, fast’ [Adj]
GOID: Mlr. *renn* [o] ‘quick, swift’, substantivized *rend, renn* ‘foot, leg’
W: MW *rin* (GPC *rhyn*) ‘unyielding, stiff, brave, fierce, cold’
CO: Co. *rynny* ‘trembling’
PIE: *h₃reyH- ‘flow’
ETYM: The range of meanings of the reflexes of the assumed PCelt. *rinno-* is considerable, so it is possible that two different etyma became confused. The origin of the geminate *-nn- is unknown. The usual derivation
from *rinwo- is impossible, since *-nw- is preserved as Olr. -nb-, cf. Olr. 
menb < *menwo- ‘small’. It seems probable, however, that the PIE root is
*HreyH- ‘flow’. A derivative from this root *HriH-n-do- would have given
*rindo- and then, by Osthoff-like shortening, *rindo- > *rinno-. The
meanings ‘to flow’ and ‘to run, flee’ are often expressed by a single verb, cf.
OCS tešti and Croat. těći ‘flow, run’.
REF: LEIA R-20, GPC III: 3140, LIV 271f.

*ría-tro- ‘torrent, waterfall’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. riathor [o m] gl. torrens
W: OW reatir [p] gl. torrentum, MW rhaeadr [f and m] (GPC rhaeadr,
rheidr); reydr [p]
SEE: *rño- ‘large expanse of water’
ETYM: The PCelt. form is derivable from the zero-grade of the PIE root
*(H)riHtro- (for cognates in other IE languages see *rño- ‘large expanse of
water’). Note that *(H)reyHtro- would give PCelt. *rético- (> MW **rwyrdr),
while *(H)riHtro- would be reflected as PCelt. *ritro- (Olr. **ríthor). This
could mean that we have to posit the suffix *-etro- rather than the more usual
*-tro-. Another possibility is that *-atro- was introduced analogically from
other roots in which *-H- > *a is regular (cf. *aratro- < *hzerh₃-tro- ‘plow’,
*taratro- < *terhz₃-tro- ‘auger’).
REF: LEIA R-28, GPC III: 2997, Falileyev 135, LHEB 337, de Bernardo

*rom-I- ‘place, put’ [Vb]
GOID: Olr. fo-ruimi, -fuirmi (in Mlr. as simplex fuirid)
PIE: *h₁rem- ‘be still’ (IEW: 864)
COGN: Skt. rámate ‘places oneself, stops’, Gr. ērēma ‘quiet’, Go. rimis
‘rest’, Lith. rimsta ‘becomes quiet’
SEE: *remesso- ‘period of time’
ETYM: Olr. fo-ruimi < *ufo-rom-I-, presumably a causative to unattested
*rem- ‘be at rest’. The semantic development would have been from ‘put to
rest’ to ‘place, put’. The acute in Lith. rimsta is the result of regular
metatony in sta-presents, and does not presuppose a laryngeal in the root.
REF: LEIA R-31.

*roto- ‘wheel, chariot’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. roth [o m]
W: MW rot, rod [f] (GPC rhod)
BRET: MBret. rot, X
[fr]
CO: MoCo. rôs
GAUL: Roto-magus [Toponym] > Rouen
PIE: *(H)roth₂-o- ‘wheel’ (IEW: 866)
COGN: Skt. rātha- ‘chariot’, Lat. rota, OHG rad, Lith. ratai ‘chariot’
SEE: *ret-o- ‘run’
ETYM: Originally from the root *(H)reth₂- ‘to run’ (PCelt. *ret-o-); the wheel is conceived of as ‘the runner’.

*rowd-smon- ‘red dye’ [Noun]
SEE: *rowdo- ‘red’

*rowdo- ‘red’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. riad [o], ? Ogam ROD-AGNI
W: OW rud, W rhudd
BRET: OBret. rud gl. rufus, MoBret. ruz
CO: OCo. rud gl. ruber, Co. ruth, ruyth
GAUL: Roudius [PN]
PIE: *h₁rewdhʰ- ‘red’ (IEW: 872)
COGN: Skt. rudhira-, Lat. ruber, Gr. erythros, OE réad
ETYM: Another derivative from this root in Celtic, but probably with PIE pedigree, is OIr. rúam ‘red dye’ < PCelt. *rowd-smon-, cf. Stifter 1998. Cf. also Gallo-Lat. rodarum ‘a plant with red leaves’ (Pliny) and OIr. rú (Dat. sg. roid) ‘red dye’. OIr. ruis [f] ‘holly; name of the letter r in Ogam’ has could reflect PCelt. *russi- < *h₁rudʰ-ti-, while OIr. rus [u m] ‘face, cheeks’ has been derived from *russu- < *h₁rudʰ-tu- (Irslinger 2002: 124f.).

*rowesyā ‘field, open ground’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. rēe [iā, f] ‘level piece of ground, battlefield’
PIE: *(H)rewHos- ‘open space’ (IEW: 874)
COGN: Lat. rūs ‘village, countryside’, Av. rauuah-, OE rūm ‘space, room’
ETYM: It seems probable that we have to start from a PIE s-stem *(H)rewos / *(H)rewes-os (cf. Lat. rūs). This could have first given *rowes- (with PCelt. *ew > ow) and hence PCelt. *rowesyā.

*rowk(k)-/*ruk- ‘tunic, mantle’
GOID: Mlr. rucht
W: W rhuch, rhuchen [f] ‘film, pellicle, layer, jerkin, coat’
PIE: *(H)rewk- ‘garment’ (IEW: 874)
COGN: OHG rocko ‘overcoat’, OE roc ‘upper garment’, ON rokkr ‘jerkin’
ETYM: The words attested in Celtic are not perfect matches, but they must be related. Mlr. rucht probably represents PCelt. *ruxtu- (it is not well attested), while W rhuch must be from *rowkkā. The Germanic correspondences point to PGerm. *rukkaz (Orel 2003: 308), cf. also OCS
*rowtro-

ruxo ‘garment’, which may be from *rowk-so-. Vacillations in vocalism and consonantism, as well as the fact that correspondences are limited to Germanic, probably point to a borrowing from some unknown source.
REF: LEIA R-50.

*rowtro- ‘assault, onrush’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. rúathar [o m, perhaps originally n]
W: MW ruthyr (GPC rhthr) [m] ‘rush, attack, invasion’
PIE: *h₃rew- ‘hurry, rush’
COGN: Lat. ruo, Gr. orouō
REF: LEIA R-49, GPC III: 3106.

*royno- ‘route, road’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. roen [o m] (DIL róen, ráen)
BRET: OBret. runt, MoBret. run [f] ‘mound’
PIE: *(H)royno- ‘? landmark’ (IEW: 857)
COGN: OHG rein ‘demarcation line on the ground’, ON rein ‘strip of land’
ETYM: Although formally impeccable, this etymology is weak on the semantic side. However, according to DIL, róen (ráen) "is used loosely of surfaces, spaces and in other derived senses", cf. Molr. ráon na slíabh ‘the range of the mountains’. The original sense may have been ‘landmark’, vel sim.

*rud-i- ‘redden, become red’ [Vb]
GOID: Mlr. ruidid, -ruidi
PIE: *h₁rewdh- ‘red’ (IEW: 872f.)
COGN: Lat. rubeo ‘be red’, OHG rotēn ‘be red’, OCS rđēti
SEE: *rowdo- ‘red’
ETYM: PCelt. *rud-i- is from PIE stative *h₁rudheh₁-, completely parallel to Lat. rubēre, OCS rđēti, etc.

*rūnā ‘secret, magic’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. rūn [ā f] ‘mystery, secret’
W: MW rin [m and f] ‘mystery, charm’ (GPC rhin)
BRET: MBret. rin [m] ‘secret, wisdom’
CO: Co. Rin-duran [PN]
GAUL: Cob-rumus (?) [PN]
LEP: Runatis (?) [PN]
PIE: *(H)rewH- (IEW: 867)
COGN: Go. rūna ‘secret’
ETYM: Gaul. Cobrumus, if related at all, reflects *kom-rūno-. The Germanic words for ‘secret’ and ‘runes’ could be early loanwords from Celtic, in which case PCelt. *rūno- is isolated in Indo-European. I find the
connection of these words to Skt. ráuti ‘roars’, OCS ruti ‘roar’, etc. (IEW 867) difficult to believe for semantic reasons. The connection with Gr. eréō ‘ask’ is also unlikely, since this is from *h₁r₁h₁-ye- (LIV 224, cf. Hitt. ariye- ‘ask an oracle’). Both Germanic and Celtic words may have been borrowed from some non-IE language.


*ru-n-d-o- ‘paint red’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. rondaid, -roind; róiss, -ró [Subj.]; roraid [Pret.]; rossae, -ross [Pret. Pass.]
PIE: *h₁rewdʰ- ‘red’ (IEW: 872f.)
COGN: Gr. ereúthō ‘paint red’
SEE: *rud-T- ‘redden’
REF: KPV 553f., LIV 508f.

*rūsk(l)o-, *rusko- ‘bark’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. rúsc [o m] gl. cortex
W: MW risgl [m] (GPC rhisgl, rhisg)
BRET: MBret. rusquenn, MoBret. rusk [Collective] ‘bark’, ruskenn ‘beehive’
CO: OCo. rusk gl. cortex, MCo. risc
GAUL: rusca (MLat. > Fr. ruche ‘beehive’)
ETYM: Gaul. rusca is actually attested only indirectly, via the Medieval Latin (9th century) loanword rusca ‘beehive’. It is possible that some of the Brittonic forms (with -u-) were borrowed from Goidelic, or Romance, in the prehistoric period. The vocalism of OIr. rúsc is probably original, though DIL states that it was borrowed from Brittonic. If it is inherited from PIE, then perhaps PCelt. *rūsko- should be analyzed as *rū-sk-o- and related to ON ryja ‘shear (of sheep), OCS rytí ‘dig’, Lat. ruo ‘dig out’, ToB ru- ‘pull out’, etc. (PIE *HrewH-, LIV 461, IEW 868). The original meaning would have been ‘that which is plucked, scratched, sheared’. OIr. rúsc, etc. would then be substantivized adjectives (similar formations are well attested in Celtic, cf. *trussko- ‘dirty’, *brisko- ‘weak’, perhaps also *dolisko- ‘seaweed’).


*ruxt- ‘noise’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. rucht [ʔ u]
PIE: *(H)rewk- ‘cry, make noise’ (IEW: 867)
COGN: Latv. rūkt, OCS rykati
ETYM: The gender and stem formation of Mlr. rucht are uncertain, and the word is not very well attested, so this etymology is quite problematic. OCS rykati represents a Balto-Slavic vrddhi formation; words with similar
meaning with the voiced stop adduced by IEW (p. 867, e.g. Lat. rūgio, Gr. ὀργμα, Russ. rugát', etc.) probably belong to another root, also onomatopoetic.
REF: LEIA R-50.

*sādo-

*sādo- ‘easy’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. asse [io]
W: MW hawdd; haws [Comparative]
ETYM: As shown by Hamp (1974: 281), OIr. asse goes back to *ad-sād-syo- ‘very easy’ (with the intensive prefix *ad-), cf. also the irregular W comparative haws < *sād-so-. OIr. annse ‘difficult’ contains the productive negative prefix an-.

*sag-yo- ‘seek’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. saigid, -saig; sáiss, -sá [Subj.]; sieis, -sia [Fut.]; siacht [Pret.]; sachtae, -sacht [Pret. Pass.]
PIE: *sēh₂g- ‘search, follow tracks’ (IEW: 876f.)
ETYM: The Brittonic parallels are denominatives, cf. W haeddu ‘attempt’, Co. hethy, hedhy, MBret. dir-haes. The Gaulish ethnonym Tecto-sagi is probably also related (the name would mean ‘house-seekers’), as well as the PN Curmi-sagius (‘beer-seeker’?) attested in Pannonia (Meid 2005: 152). Cf. also Gaul. sagitiontias (Larzac), where we may have the attestation of the 3p Pres. of the verb ‘to seek’ in Gaulish. Cf. also Galatian ethnonym Rigósages.

*sakro- ‘ugly’ (?) [Adj]
W: MW hagr ‘ugly’
BRET: MBret. hagr ‘ugly’
CO: Co. hager ‘ugly’
GAUL: Sacro-bena [PN]
PIE: *sh₂k-ro- ‘consecrated’ (IEW: 878)
COGN: Lat. sacer ‘holy, consecrated’, Hitt. sāklai ‘custom, rites’, perhaps ToB sākre ‘happy’
ETYM: If related, the Gaulish PN Sacrobena would have to mean 'ugly woman', hardly a very appealing name for a girl. Celtib. sankilistara (Botorrita I) may mean 'money-fine', but it is very dubious whether it belongs here. Wodtko (MLH V.1: 316f.) considers the meaning of this word as unknown. Since the meaning of the IE cognates is 'sacred, consecrated' rather than 'ugly', we have to suppose that the original meaning in Celtic was 'consecrated to infernal, malevolent deities', hence 'ugly', see Delamarre 264f. and Deshayes 2003: 319. The full grade of the PIE root (*seh₂k-) is attested in Lat. sācer, sācris 'worthy to be sacrificed' (de Vaan 2008: 532).


*sala 'dirt' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. sal [ə f] 'filth, impurity'

W: OW halou gl. stercora; OW halauc 'dirty', W halog

BRET: OBret. haloc gl. (in ueste) lugubri

COGN: OE salu 'dirty'

ETYM: W halog and OBret. haloc have the exact parallel in OIr. salach 'dirty' < *salako-. Some linguists derive this word from the PIE root *seh₂l- 'salt', but I find this dubious on semantic grounds. A connection with Lat. salīua 'saliva' is possible, but also not wholly convincing.


*salano- 'salt' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. salann [o ?] gl. sal

W: MW halen [m] (GPC halen, halaen)

BRET: MBret. holen, halen [m]

CO: Co. haloin

PIE: *seh₂l 'salt' (*sh₂l-os [Gen s]) (IEW: 878)

COGN: Lat. sāl, Gr. háls, Go. salt, Lith. dial. sólymas 'saltpan', OCS solb

ETYM: It is difficult to reconcile the attested forms with a single protoform. The Brit. words can be derived from PCelt. *saleno- < *sh₂l-enono-, while OIr. salann points to a PIE derived stem *sh₂l-Hno- > PCelt. salano-. The simplex may be reflected in W hál, MoBret. hál 'salty water, saline' (Deshayes 2003: 320), but it might also be a back-formation (under the influence of Lat. sāl?). The full grade of the PIE root is preserved in Mlr. sāl [o m] 'sea, ocean, seawater' < *sālo- < *seh₂l-o-.


*salik- 'willow' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. sail [k f] gl. salix

W: MW helyg [p], helygen [Singulative]

BRET: MBret. halek, MoBret. haleg [m and Collective]
**saltro-**  `trampling’ [Noun]

GOLD: Mlr. saltraid ‘tramples’

W: MW sathr [m] ‘trampling’

BRET: MBret. sautr, saotr ‘trampled, polluted’

PIE: *sh₂el₁- ‘jump’ (IEW: 899)

COGN: Lat. salio, Gr. ἑλλομαί, ToA sa/at ‘flying’

ETYM: Olr. saltraid is a denominative verb from unattested *saltar, cf. also W sathru ‘to trample’. For the development of *ltr in W cf. *altrawon- > W athro ‘teacher’. The reconstruction of the PIE root is problematic. LIV reconstructs *sel-, but *slt- would yield PCelt. *slit- rather than *salt-, and *sly- would probably yield Lat. **sol- rather than sal-.


**samali-**  `similitude, description’ [Noun]

GOLD: OIr. samail [i f]

W: MW hafal

BRET: MBret. -hemel [in PN], MBret. heuel, MoBret. heñvel ‘similar’

PIE: *smh₂el₁- (IEW: 903)

COGN: Lat. similis ‘similar’, Gr. homalós ‘equal’, OHG simble ‘always’, Go. simle ‘once’

ETYM: The Celtic forms could be derived from a proto-form *semh₂li- by Joseph’s rule (*ema > *ama), but *smh₂el₁- would yield the same result, and this is in better accordance with Lat. similis.


**samalo-**  `like, as’ [Prep]

GOLD: OIr. amal [Aspirating, +Acc.]

W: OW amal, MW val, mal

BRET: MBret. hamual, MoBret. hañval ‘similar’

CO: Co. haval ‘similar’

SEE: *samali- ‘similitude’
**samo-** 'summer' [Noun]

GOID: Mlr. *sam* [o m]

W: OW *ham*, MW *haf* [m]


CO: OCo. *haf* gl. estas

GAUL: *Samo-gnattius* [PN]

PIE: *sem- 'warm season, summer' (IEW: 905)

COGN: Skt. *sāmā- 'season, year', Khot. *hamāna- 'summer', OE *sumor 'summer', Arm. *am 'year', ToA. *sīme 'summer'


**sāmo-** 'calm, easy, pleasant' [Adj]

GOID: Mlr. *sām* [o]

PIE: *sōmo- 'same' (IEW: 902)

COGN: Skt. *sāmanā- 'calm', OCS *samo- 'alone'

SEE: *samo- 'same'

ETYM: Cf. also Mlr. *sāmae* [iā f] 'peace, tranquility' < *sāmyā. If this etymology is correct, PCelt. *sāmo- would be a vrddhi formation based on *sōmo- 'same' (PIE *sōmo-, cf. OCS *samo-; the existence of Skt. *sāmanā- is somewhat doubtful, cf. Mayrhofer II: 724); the underlying root is *sem-one* (Gr. *hēn*). However, the semantic side of the connection leaves much to be desired.


**samo-siskw* 'heifer, sterile cow' [Noun]

GOID: Mlr. *samaisc* [i f]

W: W *Hafesp* [Hydronym]

BRET: MBret. *hanvesk*, *hanveskenn* 'sterile cow', MoBret. *haïvesk* 'sterile'

SEE: *samo- 'summer', *siskw- 'dry, sterile'

ETYM: An old compound; the original meaning was preserved in W *Hafesp* ('dry in summer') and MoBret., where *hanvesk* denotes a cow that remained sterile during the summer. However, final -k in Breton is unexpected: maybe the word was borrowed from Goidelic, or an early delabialization of *k* must be assumed (LEIA S-23).
**samoni-** 'assembly, (feast of the) first month of the year' [Noun]

GOID: Mr. samain ‘(assembly on the) 1st of November’ [i f]

GAUL: samon- (Coligny)

PIE: *smHon- ‘reunion, assembly’ (IEW: 905)

COGN: Skt. samānā- ‘together’, Go. samana ‘together’

ETYM: The Gaulish form, occurring in the Coligny Calender, is abbreviated; it can be reconstructed either as Nom. s. *samonios, or as *samonos (or *samonis), if it is the Gen. sg. The original meaning of *samoni- would be ‘assembly of the living and the dead’ (Delamarre 267), cf. also OIr. bech-samain ‘bee-swarm’. The development of *smH- > *sam- in Celtic is regular (laryngeals were lost after the development of syllabic resonants).

REF: LEIA S-22f., EIEC 646, Delamarre 267

**sanesto-** ‘(secret) advice’ [Noun]

GOID: Mr. sanas, sanais [m and f] ‘whisper, secret advice, counsel’

W: MW hanes [m and f] ‘history, secret’

CO: Co. hanas, hanys ‘sigh’

ETYM: In the light of the comparison with W hanes, Mr. Nom. sg. sanais is presumably older than sanas, but the original stem-formation cannot be established (both Gen. sg. sanaise and sanais occur). The IE etymologies mentioned in LEIA S-24 and IEW 1047 are too speculative. The connection with PCelt. *swan-na- ‘sound’ is impossible because PCelt. *sw- > W chw-. However, if the primary meaning of PCelt. *sanesto- was ‘advice’ rather than ‘whisper’, then the connection with the PIE root *sen- ‘old’ is possible; the semantic development would be from ‘wisdom of the elders, ancient lore’ > ‘advice’. Maybe we should start from PIE *sn-Hes-to- which would give PCelt. *sanesto- regularly. But since the word formation of this compound is unclear, this must remain a mere speculation.


**sani** ‘different’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. sain [i] ‘particular, different, distinct’

W: OW han gl. alium, W hán [m] ‘separation’. Also used as a preposition, OW hanaud ‘from him’, MW ohanaw

BRET: OBret. han ‘except, different from’, MBret. a-hanoff ‘from me’

CO: Co. o-hanaw ‘from him’

PIE: *senH-/snH-i- ‘without’ (IEW: 907)

COGN: Lat. sine ‘without’, Skt. sanatār ‘away, aside’, Gr. áneu ‘without’, ToA sne ‘without’, Go. sundro ‘apart’, perhaps Hitt. sanna-‘hide, conceal’

ETYM: The Celtic forms, together with Lat. sine, presuppose PIE *snHi, which looks like a petrified locative of a root noun. For the sound development cf. PIE *smHeli- > PCelt. *samali- ‘similitude’.
*san-na- 'reach'[Vb]
GOID: Olr. seinnid, -seinn 'reaches, brings someone to something'; séiss, -sé [Subj.]; sifais, -sif(e) [Fut.]; sephaind [Pret.]; séssae, -séss [Pret. Pass.]
GAUL: soniti 'gets' (Lezoux)
PJE: *senb₂- 'reach, find, attain' (IEW: 906)
COGN: Hitt. sanahzi 'seeks', Skt. sanóti ‘attains’, Gr. anýō ‘finish’
ETYM: The OIr. preterite sephaind, sephainn must be from another verbal stem, *se-swon-e (cf. PCelt. *swan-na- ‘sound, play and instrument’), and the future stem sif- is also easily reconciled with *si-swen-s-; however, the semantic connection between *san-na- ‘reach’ and *swan-na- ‘sound’ should not be accepted too lightly (see KPV 559); there may have been a prehistoric development from ‘to reach for’ to ‘to call’ and to ‘resound’. Celtib. uer-zoniti [3sg. Pres.] (Botorrita I) is sometimes adduced under this etymon, but this would be possible only under the assumption that PCelt. *s > Celtib. z (perhaps after *). In any case, the meaning of this form is quite unclear.

*santero- ‘half, middle’ [Adj]
SEE: *somo- ‘same’

*sáss-a- ‘satisfy’ [Vb]
SEE: *sáti- ‘sufficiency, fill’

*sasyo- ‘barley’ [Noun]
W: MW heidd (GPC haidd) [m]
BRET: MBret. heiz; heizen(n) [Singulative], MoBret. heiz [Collective]
CO: Co. hêth
GAUL: (s)asia (?) ‘rye’
PJE: *sh₁-s-/ *sh₁-es- ‘grain, corn’ (IEW: 880)
COGN: Skt. sasyá- ‘corn-field, corn, grain’, Hitt. sēsa-
ETYM: Gaul. asia is known only from Pliny (secale Taurini sub Alpibus asiam vacant) and its form is not quite reliably established. Delamarre does not mention it. The PIE root is probably *seh₁- ‘to sow’, but derivations are difficult: the Celtic forms must be from the zero-grade *sh₁s-, Skt. sasyá- (and Ved. sasá- ‘food, corn’) are from *sh₁-es-, while Hitt. sēsa- might represent *seh₁-s- and *sh₁-e-s-, but the meaning and formation of this word are somewhat uncertain (Kloekhorst 2008: 749). Perhaps one should reconstruct a PIE neuter *sh₁es / *sh₁s-os.

*sati-, *sato- ‘swarm, throng’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. saithe [io m]
Heyd (GPC haid) [f]; heidiau [p] ‘a swarm (of bees), flock, pack (of hounds)’
Bret: MBret. het, MoBret. hed [m]
Co: Co. hēs
Pie: *sh₁-ti- (IEW: 890)
See: *sīlo- ‘seed’
Etym: Olr. saithe is from PCelt. *satyo-, but the Brittonic forms point to an i-stem, *sati-, which may be primary. The Pie root is *seh₁- ‘sow’ (Lat. sero, etc.). A different etymology derives these words from PIE *seh₂- ‘have one’s fill’, cf. Gr. āatos ‘insatiable’, Germ. satt ‘full, satiated’, Lat. satis ‘enough’ (IEW 876, see also Watkins 1979). If it is correct, the meaning ‘swarm’ must be derived through a metaphor ‘satiety of bees’ for which Watkins adduces some evidence.

*sāti- ‘sufficiency, fill’ [Noun]
Goid: OIr. sáth, sáith [ā f (earlier ? i-stem)]
Pie: *seh₂-t- ‘sufficient’ (IEW: 876)
Cogn: Lat. satis ‘enough’, Lith. sótis ‘sufficiency’, Go. ga-sōpjan ‘satisfy’
Etym: From the same root we also have Olr. sāsaid ‘satisfies, feeds’ (< PCelt. *sāss-a- < *seh₂-t-) and, perhaps, sās [o m] ‘snare, implement’ < *seh₂-t-o-. We should start from a PIE ablauting paradigm *seh₂-ti-/*sh₂tey-. The Celtic forms preserve the full grade, while Lat. satis must be from *sh₂ti-. The ā-stem in OIr. must be secondary.

*sāwol-/*sūli- ‘sun’ [Noun]
Goid: OIr. sūl [i f] ‘eye’
W: MW hau [m and f]
Bret: OBret. houl, MBret. heul, heul
Co: OCo. heul gl. sol, MCo. houl
Pie: *seh₂-wōl ‘sun’
Cogn: Skt. sūrya-, Gr. hēlios, Lat. sōl, Go. sauil, Lith. sāulė
Etym: The change of meaning in OIr. is understandable from the mythological context. ‘Sun’ is viewed as ‘the eye of the Sky’. It appears that there was still an ablauting paradigm in PCelt., Nom. sg. *sāwol, Gen. *sūl-os, from which Olr. sūil was abstracted. Another possibility would be to start with *sh₂wōl- > sāul- (with the regular change of *ō > *ū in the final syllable), thence *sūl-.

*saytlo- ‘age, lifetime’ [Noun]
W: MW hoedl, hoedyl [f] (GPC hoedl, hoeddl)
BRET: OBret. *hoidl, hoedl, MBret. *hoazl, MoBret. *hoal [m]
GAUL: *Setlo-cenia [Theonym]
PIE: *seh₂i-tlo- (IEW: 889f.)
Cogn: Lat. saeculum, saeclum ‘life-span, generation’
ETYM: The Celtic forms are parallel to Lat. saeculum, and the meanings are close. The original meaning of the PIE root *seh₂i- was ‘link, bind’ (Watkins 1995: 351), cf. Hitt. ishātī ‘bind’, Skt. śīnātī ‘binds’.

*saytro- ‘work, labour’ [Noun]
SEE: *saytu- ‘labour, illness’

*saytu- ‘labour, illness’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. saeth [u m] ‘trouble, hardship, distress’
W: MW *hoed [m] ‘pain, regret’
PIE: *sh₂ey-tu- (IEW: 877)
Cogn: Hitt. sāɾī ‘to become sullen, angry’, Lat. saeuus ‘wild, ferocious’, OE sār ‘sore’
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. saethar [o n] ‘work, labour’ < *saytro-. Lat. saeuus must be from PIE *sh₂ey-wo-, while OE sār and the related Germ. words reflect *sh₂ey-ro-. The underived root PIE *seh₂y- is attested in Hitt. sāi-ī.
REF: LEIA S-6f., GPC II: 1883, EIEC 413.

*sēbro- ‘demon, spectre’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. sīabar [o m]
W: MW *-hwyfar in Gwen-hwyfar [PN]
SEE: *soyto- ‘magic’
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. sóeb, sáeb [o] ‘crooked, misleading, false’, which may be from PCelt. *soybo-, with the o-grade in the root. W Gwen-hwyfar is Guinevre, Arthur’s wife in the Arthurian romances; this name is etymologically identical to OIr. Findabair, who is the daughter of Ailill and Medb in the Ulster Cycle. Quite probably the name was inherited from the pagan Celtic mythology. Its meaning was ‘white spectre’. Pokorny’s derivation of these words from PIE *seh₂i- ‘bind’ (IEW 891, cf. Hitt. išiya-, Skt. syāti, śināti) with a labial suffix (*-bḥ-) is possible, but uncertain. The semantic derivation would have been from ‘binder’ to ‘one who binds by magic’ and ‘demon’, cf. also PCelt. *soyto- ‘magic’ < *sh₂oy-to-.

*sed-o- ‘sit’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. saidid, -said; seiss, -sē [Subj.]; seiss, sé [Fut.]; do-essaid [Pret.]
BRET: MBret. hezaff ‘stop’, MoBret. hezānv
CO: Co. hedhi ‘stop’
PIE: *sed- ‘sit’ (IEW: 884–887)
*sedo-, *sīdos- 'tumulus', *sedlo- 'seat'

ETYM: Cf. also Olr. compound ar-neat 'awaits' < *fare-ni-sed-. The a-vocalism in Olr. saidid is problematic. McCone (1996: 111) explains it by analogy with laigid 'lie'.


*sedlo- 'seat' [Noun]

GAUL: caneco-sedlon (Autun)

PIE: *sed-lo- 'seat' (IEW: 885f.)

COGN: Lat. sella, Go. sitls 'throne'

SEE: *sedo-, *sīdos 'tumulus'

ETYM: The exact meaning of caneco-sedlon is unclear, but it appears probable that the second element of this compound means 'seat'.

REF: Delamarre 269.

*sedo-, *sīdos- 'tumulus (inhabited by supernatural beings), peace' [Noun]

GOID: Olr. sid [s n] 'peace, tumulus'

W: MW hed [m and f] 'peace'

BRET: OBret. hed, MBret. and MoBret. hez [m] 'peace'

GAUL: Mello-sedum [Toponym], Viro-sidum [Toponym]

PIE: *sēd-s / Gen. *sēd-os 'seat' (IEW: 885)

COGN: Gr. hēdos 'seat', Lat. sēdēs

SEE: *sedo- 'sit', *sedlo- 'seat'

ETYM: It is possible, but far from certain, that Lep. sites (Prestino) is from *sēdns (Acc. pl.) 'seats', with lengthened grade as in Olr. sid and Latin sēdēs, cf. Prosdocimi 1984: 73. In any case, it seems probable that an ablauting paradigm must be assumed for the PCelt. word for 'tumulus'. Gaul. toponyms show evidence for both stems, *sed- and *sīd- (Sims-Williams 2006: 107, 111). The strange combination of meanings 'tumulus' and 'peace' must have its roots in Celtic mythology. Cf. also W sedd [f] 'seat', which may be from *sedā, with s- instead of *h- as in seith 'seven' (cf. PCelt. *sextam).


*seg-eto- 'seed' [Noun]

W: OW segeticion [p] gl. prolis, MW se, he 'scattering'

PIE: *seg- 'attach, touch, sow' (IEW: 887)

COGN: Lat. seges 'cornfield, crop'

SEE: *segno-, *sogno- 'trap, snare', *seg-(y)o- 'sow, put'

ETYM: Mlr. séimed 'seed, descendants' is presumably from the same root. LEIA S-73 and DIL claim that this word is based on Lat. sēmen 'seed'; there
may have been some influence of the Latin word, since the word-formation of séimédr seems unusual (it is not certain whether *segmeto- would yield this, cf. OIr. ogum 'Ogam alphabet', Ogmédr, and Gaul. theonym Ogmiós). According to Walde & Hoffman (s. v. segeto) Thurneysen thought that séimédr was just a modification of Lat. sémen.

REF: LEIA S-73, GPC II: 1830.

*segno-, *sogno- ‘trap, snare’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. sén ‘trap (esp. for catching birds)’
W: MW hoenyn, hwynyn [m] ‘net, trap’ (IEW: 887)
PIE: *seg- ‘attach, touch, sow’
SEE: *segeto- ‘seed’, *seg-(y)o- ‘sow, put’
ETY: The gender and stem formation of OIr. sén are unknown. This word is attested mostly in glossaries, and it presupposes the proto-form *segno-; W hoenyn, which is more reliably attested, points to *sogno-. The attribution to the PIE root is uncertain. If correct, it presupposes the semantic development from ‘attach’ to ‘catch’, hence ‘snare’.

REF: LEIA S-85, GPC II: 1885.

*sego- ‘force’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. seg [o m] (DIL sed, seg) ‘strength, heed, interest, an equal’
W: MW hy ‘bold, brave’ (GPC hy, hyf)
GAUL: Segó-maros [PN], perhaps Segestica [Toponym]
LEP: seyethu (?) ‘Lepontic coin’
CELTIB: Segouia (?) [Toponym], Sekobirikez [Abl. s, Toponym] (A8)
PIE: *segʰ- ‘hold (by force)’ (IEW: 888f.)
COGN: Skt. sāhate ‘be able, support’, Gr. ekhó ‘hold, have’, Go. sigis ‘victory’
ETY: Mlr. and Early Molr. seg is sometimes spelled sed (Gen. sg. seda, seadhá). Celtib. asekati (Botorrita I) might reflect *ad-seg- (Eska 1989). W hoel [m] ‘nail, peg, stake’ has been derived from the o-grade of the root (? PCelt. *sogl), but this is not wholly convincing for semantic reasons. MW hoen [m and f] ‘joy, gladness, vigour’ could be from *sogno-, but again the difference in meaning is conspicuous. Finally, OIr. sár [o m] ‘outrage’, sár- ‘exceeding, excellent’ may be related, if we start from PIE *saxsro- < PIE *sogʰ-sro- and accept the lengthening of vowels before *xsL (cf. *táxslo- ‘axe’ < *tok-slo-).


*seg-(y)o- ‘sow, put’ [Vb]
W: MW heu ‘sow’ (GPC heu, hau), heaf [1 s Pres.]
PIE: *seg- ‘attach, touch, sow’ (IEW: 887)
COGN: Lat. seges, -etis ‘sowing field, arable land’, perhaps Skt. sájati ‘attaches’, Lith. sëgti ‘fasten, pin’
SEE: *segeto- ‘seed’, *segno-, *sogno- ‘trap, snare’
ETYM: The etymological connection to Lat. *seges is obvious; however, the attribution to the PIE root *seg- ‘attach, grasp’ is open to doubt on semantic grounds. KPV 562f. explains the development of meaning as ‘to imprint’ > ‘put in’ > ‘sow’, but I am not quite convinced.

*sekʷ-o- ‘follow’ [Vb]
GOID: Olr. sechithir, -sechethar
PIE: *sekʷ- ‘follow, be associated with’ (IEW: 896f.)
COGN: Skt. sácate, Gr. hépomai, Lat. sequor, Go. saihwan ‘to see’, Lith. sëkti ‘to follow’
SEE: *sekʷ- ‘say’
ETYM: The deponent inflection in Olr. agrees well with the fact that the reflex of this verb is a deponent in Lat. and that it belongs to media tantum in Gr. and Skt. There may have been a connection between this PIE root and *sekʷ- ‘say’ (> PCelt. *sekʷ-o- ‘say’) at a deeper level, but in Late PIE it is best to treat them as homonyms.
REF: KPV 564, LIV 525f., LP 394, LEIA S-62.

*sekʷ-o- ‘say’ [Vb]
GOID: Mlr. sechid, sichid; sich [Pret.] (DIL sichid) ‘asserts, declares’
W: OW hepp [3 s Pres.], MW hebu
BRET: OBret. hep
PIE: *sekʷ- ‘say’ (IEW: 895)
COGN: Gr. enn-épō ‘tell’, Lat. in-seque ‘say!’, inquit ‘says’, OHG sagen
SEE: *sekʷ- ‘follow’, *sekʷetlo- ‘story’
ETYM: The exact relationship of PIE *sekʷ- ‘say’ and *sekʷ- ‘follow’ is unclear, but there was probably a single verb with both meanings.

*sekʷ-o- ‘besides, without’ [Prep]
GOID: Olr. sech [Aspirating, +Acc.]
W: OW hep, MW heb ‘without’
BRET: OBret. ep gl. secus, MBret. hep ‘without’, MoBret. heb
CO: Co. heb
PIE: *sekʷ- ‘follow’ (IEW: 897)
COGN: Lat. secus ‘1. along; 2. differently, otherwise’, Skt. sácā ‘with’
ETYM: If this etymology is correct, the development of meaning was from ‘following’ to ‘along’ (Lat. secus), and then to ‘besides’. Another possibility is to derive Lat. secus and PCelt. *sekʷ-o- (or *sekʷ-ā) from the root *sek- ‘to cut’ (Lat. seco, secare, etc., cf. de Vaan 2008: 565). An abstract noun *sek-weh₂ ‘separation’ would yield PCelt. *sekʷ-ā regularly, and the meaning ‘besides’ can easily be derived from this.
*seket- ‘hide, skin’ [Noun]
SEE: *sextā/i- ‘rushes, sedge’

*selgā ‘hunt’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. selg [ə f]
W: OW helgha [Impv] gl. uenando, MW hela ‘to hunt’ (GPC hel, hela, hely)
BRET: MBret. hemolch, MoBret. emolc’h, emholc’h [m] ‘a hunt’
CO: Co. helghya ‘to hunt’
PIE: *selg- ‘send away, set loose’ (IEW: 900f.)
COGN: Skt. sr}ilti ‘sets loose, discharges’, Gr. (dial.) lagásai ‘to set free’, MHG selken ‘to trickle, to drip’
ETYM: MoBret. emholc’h is from *ambi-selg-o-. The evolution of meaning in Celtic was presumably from ‘set (the hounds) loose’ to ‘hunt’.
REF: LEIA S-80f, GPC II: 1844, LP 33, Falileyev 82, Deshayes 2003: 214, EIEC 481.

*selwa ‘possession’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. selb [ə f]
W: MW helw, elw [m] (ar helw ‘in possession of’)
GAUL: Lugu-selua [PN]
PIE: *selh₁- ‘take, grasp’ (IEW: 899)
COGN: Gr. heil온 ‘I took’, Go. saljan ‘offer as sacrifice’
SEE: *to-sli-yo- ‘earn’
ETYM: The Celtic forms are derivable from *selh₁-wo-, a thematic adjectival formation. Go. saljan is from the causative *solh₁-eye-, cf. also OCS svolati ‘send’ from the zero-grade of the root (*slH-).
REF: GPC I: 1208, LEIA S-79f, EIEC 564, Delamarre 270.

*semiti- ‘also’
GOID: OIr. emid ‘as it were, nearly’
W: MW hefyd ‘also, too, either’
PIE: *sem- ‘one’ (IEW: 902)
COGN: Lat. semel ‘once’
SEE: *samali- ‘similitude’, *samalo- ‘like, as’
ETYM: Initial *s- was lost in proclisis in OIr. (the same phenomenon is found in OIr. amal ‘as’ < PCelt. *samalo-). The same root in the zero-grade is probably contained in OIr. cumme ‘similar’ < PCelt. *kom-smiyo-. The word formation of *semiti- is puzzling. One may start with the PIE root *sem- ‘one’, while the second element, *-iti-, may, perhaps, be compared with Skt. iti ‘thus’ (A. Lubotsky, p. c.).
REF: GPC II: 1837.

*sem-o- ‘pour’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. do-essim; to-esma [Subj.]; to-esset [Pret. Pass]
W: MW gwehynnu ‘pour’
BRET: OBret. douohinnom gl. haustum
PIE: *semH- ‘pump, draw water, scoop’ (IEW: 901f.)
COGN: Lith. sėmti ‘pump, scoop’, Lat. sentīna ‘bilgewater’
ETYM: OIr. do-essim < *to-exs-sem-o-; MW gwehynnu < *ufo-sem-o-;
OBret. douohinnom < *to-ufo-sem-o- (the simplex verb is unattested). An
alternative reading of OBret. douohinnom is douohinuom, but the former
makes more sense. The Celtic forms point to a thematic present, PIE *semH-
o-. The laryngeal is confirmed by the acute intonation in Lith.
REF: KPV 569f., GPC II: 1618, DGVB 151, LIV 531, LP 395, LEIA S-82f.

*seno- ‘old’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. sen [o]
W: MW hen
BRET: OBret. hen, MBret. and MoBret. hen
CO: Co. hen
GAUL: Seno-gnatos [PN], Senones [Ethnonym]
PIE: *seno- ‘old’ (IEW: 908)
COGN: Skt. sāna-, Gr. hénos, Lat. senex, Go. sineigs, Lith. sēnas, Arm. hin
REF: LEIA S-83f., GPC II: 1848, DGVB 208, EIEC 98, 409, Delamarre

*sentu- ‘path’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. sét [u m]
W: MW hint, hynt [f]
BRET: OBret. hint, MBret. and MoBret. hent [m]
CO: Co. hins
GAUL: Sento-latis [Toponym] (> Satolas)
PIE: *sent- ‘head for, go’ (IEW: 908)
COGN: Lat. sentient ‘feel’, OHG sind ‘path’, Lith. sintėti ‘think’
ETYM: Cf. also the Brittonic Toponym Gabro-senti (?’Goat-paths’). OIr.
sétig [i f] ‘wife’ is derived from the same root (PCell. *sent-äk-i); the earlier
meaning was presumably ‘companion’. MW hennydd [m] ‘companion,
friend, the other’, MoBret. hentez ‘neighbor’, and Co. hynsa ‘neighbor’ are
from *sentiyo-.
REF: LEIA S-98f., GPC II: 1978f., 1862, DGVB 211, EIEC 488, 637,
Delamarre 271, Deshayes 2003: 326, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 45, 80,
Sims-Williams 2006: 110f.

*serrā ‘sickle’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. serr [ä f]
**serwā**

W: OW serr  
BRET: OBret. ser gl. fiscina (instead of fuscina)  
PIE: *serp- ‘sickle, cut’ (IEW: 911f.)  
COGN: Lat. sarpere ‘cut (twigs in the vineyard)’, Gr. ἕρπη ‘sickle’, Latv. sirpis ‘sickle’  
ETYM: For W s- instead of *h- cf. *sextam ‘seven’ > W seith. Some consider these Celtic forms to be loanwords from Lat. serra ‘saw’, but the meanings do not match, so it is at least equally possible that they are inherited; the PIE form from which PCelt. *serpā developed would be *serpēh₂, with the full grade of the root, while Greek, Latin, and Latvian generalized the zero-grade (*srp-).  
REF: LEIA S-95, GOI 95, DGVB 305.

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**serwā** ‘theft’ [Noun]  
GOID: OIr. serb [a f]  
W: MW herw [m] ‘raid, outlawry’  
PIE: *soru- / Gen. *srwo- ‘booty’ (IEW: 910)  
COGN: Hitt. sāru- ‘booty’, Lat. servus ‘slave’  
ETYM: Like Latin, Celtic built a thematicized paradigm from the original u-stem, which is preserved in Hittite. Then the abstract noun *serw-eh₂ (PCelt. *serwā) was built from *serw-o- (Lat. servus).  

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**sex-skā/i-** ‘rushes, sedge’ [Noun]  
GOID: MIr. seisc [i f] ‘rushes, rushy place’  
W: MW hescenn (GPC hesg [Collective])  
BRET: MBret. hesq, MoBret. hesk  
CO: Co. heschen gl. canna, arundo, Co. hesc  
PIE: *sek- ‘cut’ (IEW: 895)  
COGN: Lat. seco, secāre, OHG sega, saga ‘saw’, Lith. -sėkti, OCS sēsti, sēchn ‘cut’  
ETYM: The semantic motivation for this etymology lies in the sharp, cutting leaves of rushes and similar plants, cf. OE sedg ‘sword, sedge’. The PIE root *sek- is probably also attested in MIr. seiche [t f] ‘skin, hide’ which may be from *sek-et- (cf. OIC. sigg ‘hard skin’), and MIr. eiscid, -eisci ‘cuts off’ < *en-sek-.  

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**se(x)sman** ‘nail, rivet’ [Noun]  
GOID: OIr. seim(m) [n n]  
W: MW hemm [f] (GPC hem)  
SEE: *sego- ‘force’  
ETYM: OIr. seimn is masculine in Irish Grammatical Tracts, and is attested only in Middle and Modern Irish. It is presumably built to the root *seg- ‘to hold’ (it is probably the original verbal noun to that root).
*sextam* 'seven' [Num]
GOID: OIr. *secht* [+Nasalization]
W: MW *seith* (GPC *saith*)
CO: OCo. *syth*, MCo. *seyth*
GAUL: *sextan-
PIE: *septm* 'seven' (IEW: 909)
ETYM: Brittonic *s-* instead of *h-* is explained as the unlenited sandhi-variant (*s* was not changed to *h* after consonants).

*sextameto-* ‘seventh’ [Ordinal]
GOID: OIr. *sechtmad*
W: MW *seithted*
BRET: MBret. *seizvet*, MoBret. *seizhved*
CO: Co. *seythves, seythes*
GAUL: *sextametos* ‘seventh’ [Ordinal]

*sfelḡa* ‘spleen’ [Noun]
GOID: MIR. *selg* [ä f]
BRET: MBret. *felch*, MoBret. *felic̄h* [f]
PIE: *spelHgh- ‘spleen’ (IEW: 987)
ETYM: In the OW manuscript Angers 477, there is the hapax *felchou* [p] gl. placentalum, but it is possible that the gloss containing this word is Old Breton, rather than Old Welsh (see Falileyev 57). The PCelt. form seems to go back to *spelgh̄-eh₂*; if we start from a PIE paradigm with Nom. sg. *spelHgh- / Acc. sg. *spolHgh-m / Gen. sg. *spolHgh-os*, the laryngeal would have been lost regularly in the Acc. sg. by de Saussure's rule. Celtic may have rebuilt this noun from the stem of the Acc. sg. with the new full-grade *spelgh̄-. Although sound developments in other IE languages are also highly problematic, there is little doubt that these words are related.

*sfemi-* ‘thin’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *séim* [i] ‘slender, thin, mild’
PIE: *spey- ‘thin’ (IEW: 982)
*sfenyo- ‘teat, pap’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *sine [io and t m]
PEx: *pst-en- ‘teat’ (IEW: 990)
COGN: ON *speni, OE *spanu, Lith. *spenys
ETYM: Cf. OIr. bó *thri-phne = trí *sine ‘cow with three teats’. A probable Gaulish reflex of this word (< *sanyā < *sfanyā) is reflected as Fr. dial. *senyo ‘milking vessel’ (FEW 11: 183). The comparison with Gr. *stēnion ‘breast’ and Av. *fištāna- justifies the reconstruction of a PIE root noun *psten, Gen. sg. *psten-s or *psten-os. The difficult cluster *psten- was simplified in different ways in different languages (perhaps already in PIE).

*sfera ‘heel’ [Noun]
GOID: Mfr. *seir [a f]
W: MW *fēr [f and m] ‘ankle’ (GPC *fēr)
BRET: MBret. Fergant [PN]
CO: OCo. *fer pl. crus
PEx: *sperH-ö- / *sprH-ö- ‘heel’ (IEW: 993)
COGN: OE *spor ‘footprint’, ToB *sprāne [Dual] ‘flanks’

*sfionV- ‘foxclove’ [Noun]
**sfondo-** ‘stick, staff’ [Noun]

GOID: Mr. sond [o m] ‘stake, beam, palisade’

W: OW finn [p], MW ffion [f] (GPC ffion, ffuon); ffyn, ffonau [p]

PIE: *sph₂-en- ‘piece of wood’ (IEW: 980f.)

COGN: Lat. sponda ‘bedstead, bed’, OE spōn ‘sliver, shaving’, Gr. sphēn ‘wedge’

ETYM: The Italic and Celtic reflexes can be derived from *sph₂ondo-.

Another etymology derives PCelt. *sfondo- and Lat. sponda from PIE *(s)pend- ‘to spin’ (de Vaan 2008: 582). Although this shape of the root seems more in line with the PIE canon, the semantics of the connection are less appealing.


**sfrawo-** ‘crow’ [Noun]

BRET: MBret. frəo, MoBret. fraw [m]

CO: Co. frau

PIE: *(s)per-w- ‘a kind of bird’ (IEW: 991)

COGN: Lat. parra ‘a kind of bird’, OE spearwa ‘sparrow’, OPr. spurglis ‘sparrow’

ETYM: PCelt. *sfrawo- could be from PIE *sprh₂wo-, but short *a is unexpected (could it be the result of Dybo’s law?). Lat. parra lacks the s-mobile and is probably derivable from *prHs-. The etymology is uncertain, since the meanings in other IE languages do not match exactly the meaning in Celtic. Like many bird names, this word can be a loanword from some unknown non-IE source.


**sfraxtō-** ‘fluent, eloquent, lively’ [Adj]

W: MW ffraeth

BRET: MBret. fraez, MoBret. fraezh ‘intelligible’

CO: Co. freth

PIE: *sperh₂g- ‘crackle, sputter’ (IEW: 996f.)

COGN: Gr. spharagéomai ‘crackle, hiss’, Lith. spragėti ‘crackle’, ON spraka ‘crackle, rattle’
ETYM: The Brittonic forms point to PIE *sprh₂gto-; since this form (to-
paticiple) was probably oxytone, the shortening in Celtic may be due
to Dybo's law (otherwise, *sfrāxtō- would be expected). The IE etymology is
uncertain because of semantic differences, but a development of 'crackling'
to 'lively' and 'eloquent' is possible.

*sfrusso- 'quick, fast' [Adj]
W: MW ffrwst [m] 'rush, haste'
PIE: *sprew-d- 'quick' (IEW: 994f.)
COGN: Go. sprautō 'quick'
ETYM: PCelt. *frusso- > W ffrwst presupposes PIE *sprud-to-. W ffrau
'stream, flow', adduced by IEW (982) in this connection, is much more
likely derived rom *srew- 'to flow', cf. PCelt. *srowman-, *srutu-. The
equation of OIr. srāb 'torrent' and W ffrawdd 'passion, ardour' found in
IEW 993, GPC I: 1311f., LEIA S-180 is implausible on both semantic and
formal grounds (W dd cannot correspond to OIr. b, and positing two
suffixes, *-do- and *-bo- is ad hoc).
REF: GPC I: 1311f.

*st 'she' [Pron]
GOID: OIr. si
W: MW hi
BRET: MBret. hy, hi
CO: Co. hy
PIE: *s- + -ih₂
COGN: Go. si 'she'
SEE: *sindo- 'that'
ETYM: The Celtic personal pronouns for the 3sg. f. were formed by adding
the 'motion suffix' *-ih₂ to the pronominal stem *s- (from which we have,
e.g., Skt. sá, Gr. ho, etc.); the same development yielded PGerm. *sī (Go. si,
OHG siu, sī, etc.).

*sido- 'elk, stag' [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. sed, seg
W: MW hit, hyd (GPC hydd) [m]
BRET: MBret. heizes [f] 'hind, doe'
ETYM: The Early Molr. spelling seg reflects the phonetic merger of [ð] and
[y], cf. also *sego- 'strength' > Mlr. seg, but sometimes spelled sed. The
Irish word is attested scarcely, and rather late (in Mlr.). It is sometimes
written with long é, and is attested in the Gen. sg. sētha, which may point to
an u-stem. The proto-form *sido- is confirmed by Mlr. sideng 'elk', which is
from sid- and eng 'wild'. IE cognates are lacking, so this word may be a
borrowing from some unknown source.
*sil-n- (?) ‘look’ [Vb]

GOID: Mr. sellaid, -sella ‘looks’
W: MW syllu ‘stare, gaze’ (GPC syllu, syllio)
BRET: MBret. sellout, MoBret. selloud, sell [m] ‘view’
CO: Co. sellos

ETYM: All of these verbs are originally denominative, but the original form of the noun from which they are derived cannot be reconstructed with any certainty, cf. OIr. sell ‘eye, iris’ [?n], W syll, MoBret. sell ‘look’. Schrijver’s connection with the word for ‘star’ (PCelt. *ster-) is far-fetched from the semantic point of view, but possible (cf. the semantic development of *sūli- from ‘sun’ to ‘eye’, OIr. sūil). The proto-form would have been *stillo- < *stirlo- . For the initial *s- instead of *h- in Brittonic cf., e.g., *sextam ‘seven’ > MW seith.


*sil- – seed, descendants’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. sil [on]
W: MW hil [f and m] ‘race, lineage’
BRET: MBret. hil-
PIE: *seh₁- ‘sow’ (IEW: 890)

COGN: Lat. sēmen ‘seed’, OE sāwan ‘sow’

ETYM: Celtib. zizonti (Botorrita I) might be the 3 pl. Pres. of the verb ‘sow’ (from PIE *seh₁- ), parallel to Lat. sero < *si-sh₁-, but I think it is somewhat more plausibly interpreted as belonging to PCelt. *dā- ‘give’, since PCelt. *d is the only certainly established source of Celtib. z (see MLH V.1: 99f).


*sinā ‘weather’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. sin [ā f] ‘bad weather, storm, good weather, season’
W: MW hin [f] ‘weather, bad weather, air’
BRET: MBret. hynon, hinon [f] ‘nice weather’, MoBret. hinon

ETYM: MoBret. hin [f] ‘climate’ is borrowed from W hin ‘id.’ IE etymology is unknown, but a connection with PCelt. *sī-ni- ‘stretch, extend’ appears possible, at least formally. The semantic development could have been from ‘a stretch of time’ to ‘time’ and ‘weather’. Note that many languages do not distinguish between ‘time’ and ‘weather’. (e.g. Fr. temps and MoBret. amzer).


*sindo- ‘this’ [Demonstrative Pronoun]

GOID: OIr. sin

*si-ni-

W: OW hinn, MW hynn [n s and p]
CO: Co. hen-ma
GAUL: sinde, (s)indas (Larzac)
PIE: *so- 'that'
ETYM: W demonstrative hwn together with OIr. sund 'here' points to PCelt. *sondo-; it may be that *sindo- is from *sindo- (by an Osthoff-like shortening), and that it contains the Acc. sg. of the feminine demonstrative stem *sihn-m plus a particle *do (? or *de, cf. Gr. -de). *sindo- could then be the masculine Acc. sg. (*so-m) plus the same particle.

*si-ni- 'stretch, extend' [Vb]
SEE: *siro- 'long'

*siro- 'long' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. sir [o]
W: OW hir, MW hir
BRET: MBret. hir, MoBret. hir
CO: Co. hir, hyr
GAUL: Sirus [PN]
PIE: *seh1-ro- 'long lasting' (IEW: 891)
COGN: Skt. sāyā- 'evening', Lat. sērus 'late', Go. seipu 'evening'
ETYM: Cf. the irregular comparatives OIr. sía, W hwyr < *sē-yo- (< PIE *seh1-yo-). W hwyr 'late' is probably borrowed from Lat. sērus (Haarmann 1970: 112). The root *si- < PIE *seh1- is also attested in Mlr. sinid 'stretches, extends, straightens' (PCelt. *si-ni-). If the IE etymology is correct, the non-operation of Dybo's law is unexpected (adjectives in *-ro- are mostly oxytone in PIE, but there are exceptions, cf., e.g., Gr. eleútheros 'free' vs. erythrós 'red').

*sisko-o- 'dry' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. sesc, seisc [o and i] 'dry, barren'
W: MW hysb, hysp; hesb [f]
BRET: MBret. hesp 'dry, sterile'
PIE: *sisku- 'dry' (IEW: 894)
COGN: Av. hišku-, Lat. siccus, Gr. iskhnós
SEE: *samo-siskwī- 'heifer, sterile cow'
ETYM: In PCelt., PIE *sisku- was thematized (*sisk-o- > *sisk"o-). I doubt whether Gr. iskhnós also belongs here, since the aspirated kh is unexpected. The sound development of Lat. siccus is also highly irregular (de Vaan 2008: 568).
*si-sta- ‘put, stand’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. sissidir, -sissedar ‘stands’; siasair [Pret.]
CELTIB: SISTAT [3s Pres.] ‘puts, constructs’ (Penalba, K.3.3)
PIE: *steh₂- ‘stand’ (IEW: 1004f.)
COGN: Lat. sto, stare, Gr. histēmi, Lith. stoti, OCS stojiati, OHG stān
SEE: *tā-yo- ‘be, find oneself’, *stā-tlā ‘heel’, *eni-stī ‘island’

*siti- ‘length’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. sith-
W: OW hit ‘length’, MW hyt [m and f] (GPC hyd)
BRET: OBret. hit, MBret. het, MoBret. hed [m] ‘length’
CO: Co. hes
SEE: *sīro- ‘long’
ETYM: Gaul. toponym Sitillia might be related (as well as some other toponyms, cf. Sims-Williams 2006: 112f.). These words may be connected to OIr. sir ‘long’ < PCelt. *sīro-, but the short *i in PCelt. is unexpected. One way to account for it would be to start from a PIE participle *seh₁-tō- ‘lengthened’, and then apply Dybo’s law (shortening in pretonic position). But Dybo’s law is thought to have applied early, almost certainly before the change of PIE *eh₁ > *ē > PCelt. *ē (see Introduction). A possible solution would be to assume that PCelt. *siti- is from *sh₁-ti- rather than from *seh₁ti-.

*sītlā ‘vase’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. sīthal [ā f] gl. situla
W: MW hidl [f] ‘filter, strainer, sieve’ (GPC hidl, hiddl)
BRET: MBret. sizl
ETYM: It is possible that these words were influenced by Lat. situla ‘urn, vessel’, but it is improbable that they are direct borrowings from Latin. Both the long *ī in Celtic and the meaning development in Welsh are unexpected. The IE etymology is unknown.
REF: LEIA S-120f., GPC II: 1865.

*skʷetlo- ‘story’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. scēl [o n]
W: MW chwedl [f and m] (GPC chwedl, chweddl)
BRET: MBret. kehel [m] ‘information, intention’
CO: Co. whethel
PIE: *sekʷ- ‘say’ (IEW: 898)
COGN: Lat. in-quam, OHG saga ‘tale’, Lith. sakįti
ETYM: It is difficult to derive the Brittonic forms directly from PCelt. *skʷ*etlo- (the expected outcome would probably have been initial *sp-* > W ysp-, cf. *skʷ*iyat- 'hawthorn'). They may be loanwords from Goidelic, or we would have to assume an early metathesis of *skʷ- to *kʷs- > *xs-, with the subsequent regular development to W *chwedl* (cf. *xswib-ī- ‘move, recede’ > W *chwythu*). MoBret. *kehel* is from *kom-skʷetlo-.


**skʷ*iyat-** ‘hawthorn’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. scé [d and k, f] ‘thorn bush, whitethorn’
W: OW *ispidatenn* [Singulative], MW yspidat [f and m] (GPC ysbýddad, (y)sbadad)
BRET: MBret. *spezadenn* [Singulative], MoBret. *spezad* [Collective]
CO: Co. spethes, spethas
PIE: *skwəy- ‘thorn’ (IEW: 958)

ETYM: All of the cognates can be accounted for by starting from a PIE paradigm with Nom. sg. *skwəy-s* / Acc. sg. *skwoy-m* / Gen. sg. *skw(i)y-os. Celtic preserves the zero-grade *skw(i)y-* (cf. Lith. *skujà*, with different syllabification, from *skuy-), and Russ. *xvojá* is derived from the o-grade (*skwoy-).


**skamo-** ‘light’ [Adj]

GOID: Mlr. scam [o m] ‘lung’ (attested only in the plural, scaim)
W: MW ysgafn ‘light’; ysgefeint ‘lung’ (GPC ysgafn, ysgawn, ysgon)
CO: Co. *scaff, schaff*
Cogn: OHG *scamm* ‘short’

ETYM: The original meaning was presumably preserved in W ysgafn ‘light’. For the semantic connection of ‘lungs’ and ‘light’ cf. OHG *lunga ‘lung’ < PIE *h₁lńgʷ*- (Gr. elaphrós ‘light, quick’) and OHG *lihti ‘light’ < PIE *h₁lńgʷ*-to-. OHG *scamm* and its Germanic cognates have been related to Av. kamma- ‘little’ (Orel 2003: 333), but the connection is quite dubious. The a-vocalism in Celtic is unusual, and a proto-form *skh₂m- would be artificial.


**skan-n-d-o-** ‘jump’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. sceinnid, -sceinn; sescaind [Pret.] ‘springs, darts’
W: MW ysgeinnyaw ‘disperse, spread, scatter’ (GPC *ysgain, (y)sgeinio, ysgeno*)
PIE: *skend- ‘jump’
COGN: Skt. skāndati ‘jumps, leaps’, Lat. scando ‘ascend, mount’
ETYM: Cf. also W cy-chwynnu ‘to arise, start’ < *kom-skend-, and the OIr. verbal noun sceinm < *skand-men-. The a-vocalism in Celtic is expected (syllabic *n > *an before obstruents), if one starts from the PIE zero-grade of the root (*sknd-). Latin -a- can be the result of the development of *e > *a after *k.

*skara- ‘divide, separate’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. scaraid, -scara ‘divides, separates’; scaraid, -scara [Subj.]; scarais, scar [Pret.]
W: MW yscar, ysgar (GPC (y)sgaru, ysgar, ysgario, ysgarad)
BRET: MBret. discar ‘divide, cut off’, MoBret. diskar, skar [m] ‘interstice’
PIE: *(s)kerH- ‘divide’ (IEW: 938ff.)
COGN: Umbr. kartu [Impv.]; Lith. skirti ‘cut, divide’
ETYM: MBret. discar < *di-skara- (the simplex verb is unattested in Breton). PCelt. *skara- is from *skera- (by Joseph’s rule) < PIE *skerH-. OIr. scurid ‘unyokes, ceases, desists’ is from the causative of the same verb, PIE *skorH-eye-.

*skēto- ‘shadow’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. scáth [o n]
W: MW ysgawd [m] ‘shade, darkness’ (GPC ysgod)
BRET: MBret. squeut
CO: OCo. scod gl. umbra, MCo. schus ‘terror’
PIE: *skeh₂t- ‘darkness, shadow’ (IEW: 957)
COGN: OE sceadu, Gr. skōtos
SEE: *ufo-skāto/u- ‘shelter, shadow’
ETYM: The Celtic forms are sometimes derived from PIE *skōto-, which would represent a vrddhi-formation from the root *skot- ‘shadow’, while the Germanic and Greek words are derivable from *skotu- and *skoto- respectively. It is far more probable that we should assume a PIE root-noun with the ablaut pattern *skeh₃ť- / *skh₃ťo-, with Celtic preserving the full grade of the root, and Germanic and Greek the zero-grade from the oblique cases.

*skāx-slo- ‘demon, supernatural being’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. scál [o n]
W: MW yscawl [m] ‘young hero, warrior’ (GPC ysgawl)
COGN: Go. skōhsl ‘demon’
SEE: *skek- ‘move, stir’ (IEW: 922f.)
ETYM: W yscawwl is not very well attested and its meaning is rather vaguely established. The relation to the PIE root *skek- is purely conjectural, but see Hamp 1965a. The long vowel in the root may be the result of regular lengthening before the cluster *xsl, cf. PCelt. *tāxslo- (if from *tok-slo- rather than (*tōk-slo-).

*skeðo- ‘wing, shoulder’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. sciaith [o m] ‘wing’
W: MW ysgwydd [f] ‘shoulder’
BRET: MBret. scoaz, diou scoaz ‘shoulders’
CO: OCo. scuid gl. scapula, MCo. dyw-scoth ‘shoulders’
SEE: *sketo- ‘shield’
ETYM: OIr. sciaith may have the final -th rather than -d because of the influence of the word for ‘shield’, OIr. sciaith < *sketo-. However, it is also possible that sciaith ‘shield’ was borrowed from Brittonic before the lenition of *t > th, and that sciaith ‘wing’ is the original OIr. word for ‘shield’, with metaphorical change of meaning. The Brittonic words for ‘shoulder’ then must have a different etymology.
REF: LEIA S-44, GPC III: 3851.

*skek- ‘move, stir’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. scuichid, -sceich ‘goes away’; sceiss, -scé [Subj.]; scáich [Pret.]
W: MW ysgogi ‘move, stir, tremble’ (GPC ysgogi, ysgog)
PIE: *skek- ‘move fast’ (IEW: 922f.)
ETYM: The Slavic and Celtic forms of the present point to a PIE causative *skok-eye-; the original present stem with the e-grade is preserved in Germanic and in the OIr. subjunctive. Lith. šōkti, if related, has the secondary BSl. vṛddhi which is characterized by acute intonation (in contradistinction to PIE lengthened grade, which always bears the circumflex, cf. Matasović 2008a: 131ff.).

*skēno- ‘knife’ [Noun]
SEE: *skiy-o- ‘cut’

*skerd-(y)o- ‘scrape off’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. scerdaid, -sceird ‘peels, scrapes off’; scaird [Pret.] (DIL sceirtid)
PIE: *skerdʰ- ‘cut, pierce’ (IEW: 940)
COGN: Lith. skerdziū ‘I cut’
ETYM: In all likelihood the PIE root *skerdʰ- is ultimately the same as *skerH- ‘cut, pierce’ (cf. PCelt. *skara-).
REF: KPV 582, LIV 558, LEIA S-39.

*skēto- ‘shield’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. sciath [o m]
W: MW ysgwyd [f and m]
BRET: MBret. scoed
PIE: *skoyto-, *skeyto- ‘shield’ (IEW: 921)
COGN: OCS štīt-, Lat. scūtum, Lith. skiētas
SEE: *skēdo- ‘wing, shoulder’
ETYM: The relationship of this word to PCelt. *skedo- ‘wing’ is not completely clear. PCelt. *skēto- must be from PIE *skeyto-. The ablaut *skeyt- / *skoyt- in PIE is impossible to reconcile with a thematic noun, so we can either reconstruct a root-noun (Nom. sg. *skoyt-s / Gen. sg. *skeyt-os), or assume that the e-grade is analogical after a verb *skeyt- ‘to protect, to shield (?)’, but such a verb is not attested anywhere. The word for ‘shield’ is a typical European word, with reflexes only in the European branches of IE.

*skīssu- ‘weariness’ [Noun]
SEE: *skīto- ‘tired’

*skeīto- ‘tired’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. scīth [o] ‘weary, tired’
W: MW escud, esgud (GPC esgud) ‘quick, vivid’
BRET: MBret. escuit ‘quick’
CO: Co. ukys ‘quick, vivid’
PIE: *skeh₁t(H)- ‘injure, harm’ (IEW: 950)
COGN: Go. škaβjan ‘damage’, OHG scado ‘harm, loss’
ETYM: The Brit. forms are from a compound *exs-skeīto-, where *exs- is a negative prefix (cf. PCelt. *exsobno- ‘fearless’). The vocalism of MW esgud (for expected *esgid) is unaccounted for, cf. OIr. escīd ‘tireless’, and scīs [o and u m], also [ā f] ‘fatigue, tiredness’ < *skīssu- < *skeh₁d-tu-. Gr. a-skēthēs ‘unharmed’ might be related, but th (instead of *t) in this word is difficult to account for. OHG scado and the related Germanic forms must be from *skh₁t(H)-, with the zero-grade of the root.
REF: LEIA S-46f., GPC I: 1245, EIEC 312.

*(s)kītto- ‘left, clumsy’ [Adj]
GOID: Mlr. cittach [o] ‘left-handed, awkward’
W: MW chwith ‘left, left-handed, sinister, sad, wrong’
PIE: *skh₂ey- ‘left’

COGN: Lat. *scaenus, Gr. skaiós

ETYM: Mlr. has also the variant cettach, showing a-affection, expected if the i was short. The form cettach might point to *kit-, but i is never written long. W chw- is from the initial cluster *sk- metathesised to *ks-. The Greek and Latin words for ‘left’ can be derived from *skh₂ey-wo-, while in order to account for the Celtic forms we must assume the zero-grade (*s)kh₂it-) and ‘expressive’ gemination (*s)kh₂i-tto-), which renders this etymology rather speculative.

REF: LEIA C-108, EIEC 349, GPC I: 858.

*skiy-o- ‘vomit, spew’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. sceid, -scé

W: MW chwydu

BRET: MBret. huedaff

CO: Co. huedzha

PIE: *skey-(d)- ‘defecate’ (?) (IEW: 920f.)

COGN: Lith. skiesti ‘to have diarrhoea’, ON skita ‘defecate’, Eng. shit

ETYM: The Brittonic forms are secondary verbs derived from the verbal noun (MW chwyd), cf. KPV 579. For the sound development of *skiyet > OIr. -scé, cf. PCelt. *skʰiyat-. The acute in Lith. skiesti is the result of Winter’s law. I am not sure whether these words are related to Lat. scindo, Gr. skhizō < PIE *skeyd- ‘break, divide’, as claimed by IEW (920), Orel (2003: 342), and others, because of the considerable difference in meaning.


*skiy-o- ‘cut’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. scian [ā f] ‘knife’

BRET: MBret. squeiaff, squeigaff ‘cut’; MoBret. skejan ‘cut’

PIE: *skey- ‘cut’ (IEW: 919f.)

COGN: Lat. sacēna, scēna ‘dolabra pontificalis’, Olc. skeggia ‘axe’, skeina ‘lightly wounded’

ETYM: W ysgien [f] is probably an Irish loanword corresponding to OIr. scian ‘knife’ (from PCelt. *skēno- < *skey-no-).


*skoltā ‘fissure, cleft’ [Noun]

GOID: Mlr. scoilt, scolt [ā f] ‘splitting’

W: MW hollt [m and f]

BRET: MBret. faout [m] ‘fissure’

CO: Co. fals ‘fissure’

PIE: *skel(H)- ‘divide’ (IEW: 924)

COGN: Hitt. iskalla- ‘tear apart, slit open’, Gr. skállo ‘hoe’, ON skilja ‘divide’, Lith. skėlti ‘split’
ETYM: It is difficult to derive the British and Irish forms from exactly the same PCelt. prototype, but they are definitely related, see LEIA S-48f. W hollt must be derived by metathesis (PCelt. *sko- > *xso- > *x"o- > ho-), and MoBret. faout is even more difficult to account for, perhaps by *x"- > f-, which is not a well established sound change. Deshayes (2003: 228) denies the connection, and derives faout from OFr. falder 'fold, wrinkle', but the semantic connection is weak. In Irish, scoilt is attested late, only in Modern Irish. However, there is a denominative verb scoiltid 'break, split' in OIr., cf. also the W denominative verb hollti, holli 'slit, split, open'. In PIE *skel(H)- the laryngeal is assumed because of the acute in Lith. skelti (it could have been lost in Celtic regularly after *ol by Saussure's rule).


*skrībb-ā- 'scratch' [Vb]
GOID: Mlr. scripaid 'scratches'
PIE: *skri(H)bʰ- (?) (IEW: 947)
COGN: 'write'
ETYM: The connection of Mlr. scripaid and Lat. scribo appears probable, but the exact relationship of these two verbs is uncertain. Mlr. -p- points to a geminate in PCelt., and the long *-i- is difficult to reconcile with Umbr. screhto, Osc. scriptas < *skribʰ-to- (Lat. scribo is presumably from *skreybʰ-). Cf. also Latv. skripāt 'scratch, scribble' (as if from *skrīp-).

REF: LEIA S-55.

*skublo- 'bird of prey' [Noun]
W: MW ysglyf [m] (GPC ysglyf, sglyf(f), ysglyff, ysgyfl, ysgylf) BRET: ŒBret. scubl, MoBret. skoul
CO: OCo. scoul gl. milvus
GAUL: Scubli [Ethnonym]
ETYM: In light of the absence of cognates in other IE languages, this word was probably borrowed from some non-IE language.

REF: GPC III: 3837, Delamarre 269.

*skuta 'point, edge' [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. sooth [á f] PIE: *skewt- 'cut' (IEW: 954)
COGN: Lith. skutū, skiūsti 'peel'
ETYM: Mlr. scothaid, scathaid 'cuts off, shears' is denominative from *skutā. Mlr. sooth [á f] 'word, saying' and 'flower, blossom, lock of hair' are probably the same word. The connection to Skt. skūtōti 'makes incisions in the ears of cattle' is improbable, because this Sanskrit verb is from a root ending in a laryngeal (note that the accent in Lith. skūsti shows that it is from *skewt-, not **sk Hut-).

REF: LEIA S-52.
*slad-yo- ‘hit, slay’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. slaidid, -slaid; sláiss, -slá [Subj.]; selais, -sela [Fut.]; selaid [Pret.]; slassae, -slass [Pret. Pass.]
BRET: OBret. ladam gl. caedo, MBret. lazaff
CO: Co. ladha, latha
ETYM: No convincing IE etymology has been proposed so far.

*sláno- ‘safe, whole, sane’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. slán [o]
PIE: *selh₂- ‘favorable’ (IEW: 900)
COGN: Lat. sōlor ‘comfort, relief’, Gr. hiláskomai ‘appease’, perhaps Go. sēls ‘good, kind’
ETYM: Lep. slaniai is compared to OIr. slán by Solinas (1995: 322), but the exact meaning of this form is uncertain (it is probably a proper name in the Dat. sg.). The PIE etymology is somewhat weak on the formal side, see EIEC 236. The PCelt. form would have to be from the zero-grade *slHno-. Go. sēls and the related Germanic words have also been plausibly related to Go. salfan ‘sacrifice’ (Orel 2003: 327), cf. *to-sli-yo- ‘earn’. Lat. sōlor, if it is derived from *selh₂-, would have to reflect the lengthened grade *sōlh₂- (de Vaan 2008: 572), which is unmotivated in a present stem.

*slattā ‘stalk, staff’ [Noun]
GOID: Mr. slāt [ā f] ‘stalk, stem, branch, twig’
W: MW llath [f] ‘rod, staff’
BRET: OBret. lath gl. stipite, MBret. laz
CO: Co. lath
ETYM: This could easily be a loanword from some non-IE language of NW Europe. Both the geminate and the a-vocalism testify to a foreign origin. The same source may have been the origin of the Germanic words such as OHG latta ‘plank’ (but note the absence of the initial *s-). The formation in Celtic must be new, since original *tt > *ss in PCelt. In any case, the root could be the same as in *slad-yo- ‘hit, slay’? The semantic connection can be seen in Croat. šibati ‘beat’ from šiba ‘staff, rod’.

*slēbos- ‘slope’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. slīab [s n, later m] ‘mountain, moor’
W: W llwyfan [f and m] ‘stage, platform’
*slig-o- 

strike, hew [Vb]

GOLD: Olr. sligid, -slig; sléiss, -slé [Subj.]; silis, -sil [Fut.]; selaig [Pret.]; slechtae, -slecht [Pret. Pass.]

PIE: *sleyg- 'smear, creep' (IEW: 663f.)

COGN: OHG sllhhan 'sneak', OCS slbZbkb 'slippery', perhaps Hitt. salik- 'to touch, have contact with'

ETYM: The meanings 'smear', 'sneak' and 'hit' are not easily reconciled, but cf. Germ. Streich 'blow' and streichen 'smear' (LIV 566).

REF: KPV 591f., LIV 566f., LP 396, LEIA S-133.

*slimono- 'polished, smooth' [Adj]

GOLD: Olr. siemon, slemain [o] 'smooth, sleek, polished'

W: OW limnint [3p Pres.] 'polish', MW llyfn 'polished, smooth'

BRET: OBret. limn gl. lentum, MBret. di-Ie./frl 'hard', MoBret. levn 'smooth'

CO: OCo. leven

PIE: *sley- 'smear (with grease), polish'

COGN: Lat. limo 'polish', OHG sliemen 'polish'

ETYM: This PCelt. word seems to contain the suffix *-ono- (cf. *antono- 'forehead').


*slowgo- 'troop, army' [Noun]

GOLD: Olr. sluag, slog [o m]

W: MW llu [m]

BRET: OBret. mor-lu 'great army', -lu (in toponyms)

CO: OCo. luo listri gl. classis, Co. lu

GAUL: Catu-slugi [Ethnonym]

PIE: *slowg(h)0- 'retinue' (IEW: 965)

COGN: OCS sluga 'servant', Lith. slaugà 'servitude'

SEE: *tego-slowgo- 'household'

*slu-n-k-o- ‘swallow’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. slucaid, -slucai; sloicis [Pret.]; -slogeth [Pret. Pass.] (DIL sluicid, slocaid)
W: MW lluncu
BRET: OBret. ro-luncas gl. guturicauit, MBret. louncaff
PIE: *(s)lewkw-, *(s)lewkg- (IEW: 964)
COGN: Gr. lýző ‘swallow’, Ukr. lykaty ‘swallow’, Germ. schlucken ‘swallow’
ETYM: The root-form *(s)lewkw- is a variant of *(s)lewkg- (LIV 964), from which we have Germ. schlucken, etc. and OIr. loingid ‘eat’ (< PCelt. *lu-n-g-o-). The variation *k/g is unexplained, but such irregularities are not uncommon in expressive verbs.
REF: LEIA S-139, GPC II: 2273, KPV 593f., LIV 568, LEIA S-139, LP 396.

*smeko- ‘chin’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. smech [o n]
PIE: *smekru- ‘chin, jaw’ (IEW: 968)
ETYM: Cognates in other IE languages point to PIE *smekru-, or *smokru-, which is probably the result of metathesis from earlier *smokwr (cf. Hitt. zamankur, and the similar development in PCelt. *dakro- ‘tear’). The underived stem in PCelt. *smek-o- is isolated.

*smero- ‘blackberry’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. smér [ʔo m]
W: MW mwyar, mwyaren [Singulative]
BRET: MBret. mouar [Collective]
CO: OCo. moyr-bren gl. morus
ETYM: OIr. mér, which also means ‘a berry, blackberry’ is a Brittonic loanword. Formally, the Brittonic words could be collectives in *-aro- (cf. *klukaro- ‘heap of stones’ from *klukā ‘stone’). However, the IE etymology is unknown, so this Celtic word for ‘berry’ may have been borrowed from some non-IE source.

*smeru- ‘marrow’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. smiur [u] gl. medulla (DIL smir)
W: MW mer (GPC mēr) [m]; meirion [p]
BRET: MBret. mel [Collective]
PIE: *smer- ‘marrow?’ (IEW: 970)
COGN: OE smēoర ‘butter, fat’, Lat. medulla ‘marrow’
ETYM: MoBret. -l- instead of *-r- is unexplained. It may be due, according to Hamp (1973: 155) to the analogical influence of the word for ‘honey’, PCelt. *meli- (v.). Lat. medulla was dissimilated from *merulla.

*snad-o- ‘hew, carve’ [Vb]
GOID: MIr. snaidid, -snaid; snáiss, -sná [Subj.]
W: MW naddu
PIE: *sneH₂ dʰ- ‘hew’ (IEW: 972f.)
COGN: OHG snatta ‘scar’
ETYM: Another possibility would be to relate these Celtic words to ON snata ‘spear’, OHG snazo ‘pike’ (Orel 2003: 357), and perhaps to ORuss. snastb ‘instrument, weapon’, Russ. dial. snast ‘penis’ (Vasmer, s. v.). The PIE root would be *sneHd-. The short vowel in the present tense of the Celtic reflexes may be the result of Dybo’s law, if the original inflection was of the Skt. tudáti-type (PIE *snHde- > *sniide- > PCelt. *snade-).
REF: GPC III: 2548, KPV 594f., LIV 571, LEIA S-146, LP 397.

*sná- ‘swim’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. snaïid, -sná ‘swims, floats, sails, flows’
W: MW nawf [m] ‘swimming’
BRET: MBret. neuff ‘swimming’, MoBret. neuñv [m]
PIE: *sneH₂ ‘swim, bathe’ (IEW: 971f.)
COGN: Skt. snáti ‘bathes’, Lat. no, nāre, ToB nask- ‘bathe’
ETYM: Brittonic verbal nouns (W nawf, MoBret. neuñ) are parallel to OIr. snám [o m] ‘swimming’ < PCelt. *snámmo- < PIE *sneH₂-mo-.

*snád-i- ‘protect’ [Vb]
GOID: MIr. snádíd, -snádi
W: MW nawdd [m and f] ‘protection, defence’
ETYM: PIE etymology is controversial. A connection with Skt. nāthá- ‘help’ appears possible if one assumes a PIE root *(s)neh₂- with different dental suffixes in Celtic and Skt. Gr. oninēmi ‘be useful, help’ (fut. onēsō) must then be unrelated, because it requires the reconstruction *h₃neh₂- (cf. also Go. ansts ‘beneficence’).
REF: LEIA S-146f., GPC III: 2556.

*snámo- ‘swimming’ [Noun]
SEE: *sná- ‘swim’

*snáto- ‘thread’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. snáth [o m or n]
BRET: OBret. notenn gl. a filo, MBret. neut, MoBret. neud [Collective]
PIE: *sneh₁- ‘spin’ (IEW: 973)
COGN: OE snód ‘headband, snood’, Latv. snāte ‘linen cover’
SEE: *sniy-o- ‘spin, weave’
ETYM: PCelt. *snāto- can be both from PIE *snh₁to- and *snoh₁to-; at first sight, the former seems more probable, since zero-grade is expected if we start from the past participle *snh₁tó-, but in that case the first syllable would presumably have been shortened by Dybo’s law. However, Latv. snāte must be from *snoh₁to-.

*sniða ‘nit’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. sned [ʔa f] gl. lens
W: MW nedd [Collective]. nedden [Singulative]
BRET: MBret. nez [Collective], nezenn [Singulative]
CO: Co. nedhen [Singulative]
PIE: *konid- ‘nit’ (IEW: 608, 437)
COGN: Gr. konis, OE hnutu, Russ. gnida
ETYM: Although it appears certain that the Celtic words adduced here are related to the PIE word for ‘nit’, the exact phonetic development is unclear. Word-initial *kn- should be preserved in Celtic. Is it possible that the cluster *skn- (with s-mobile) was reduced to *sn-?

*snigʷ-(y)o- ‘snow’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. snigid, -snig; sinis, -sin; senaig
PIE: *sneygʷh- ‘snow’ (IEW: 974)
COGN: Gr. neiphei ‘it snows’, Lat. nínguit ‘it snows’, OHG sniwan, perhaps Skt. snihyati ‘adheres to’
ETYM: Some think that W nyf [m] ‘snow’ (a late, poetic word) is a loanword from Lat. (niuem), but it could also be inherited (*snigʷo-?), cf. also OIr. snige [iə f] ‘snow’ < PCelt. *snigʷyā and OIr. snechtae [io m] ‘snow’.

*snīs ‘we’ [Pron]
GOID: OIr. sni
W: MW ni
BRET: MBret. ni, ny
CO: Co. ny
PIE: *no- ‘we’ (IEW: 758)
COGN: Lat. nōs, Hitt. anzas ‘us’, Go. uns ‘us’, OPr. noīson, Alb. ne
SEE: *swíis ‘you’
ETYM: The vocalism of PCelt. *sníis may have been influenced by *swíis ‘you’. The infixed form of the pronoun (OIr. -nn-, MW -n-) may reflect the original *sníis (LP 215).

*sniy-o- ‘spin, weave’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. sniíd, -sni; sénaid, -séna [Fut.]; sénais, -sénai [Pret.]; sníthae, -sníth [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW nyddu, nyddaf
BRET: MBret. nezaff, MoBret. nezañ
CO: Co. nedha
PIE: *sneh₁- ‘spin’ (IEW: 973)
COGN: Lat. neo, nère, Gr. nëthō, OHG näen
SEE: *snáto- ‘thread’

*snowdo- ‘mist, haze’ [Noun]
W: W nudd [m and f]
PIE: *snewdʰ ‘mist, cloud’ (IEW: 978)
COGN: Lat. nūbēs ‘clouds’, Av. snaoda- ‘cloud’
ETYM: The PCelt. formation is a pure conjecture, since we have only the W reflex. The theonym *Nowdont- (Mlr. Nuadu [n m], Gaul. Nodenti, Nodenti [Dat. sg.], CIL VII 138, 140, MW Ludd from earlier *Nudd) may, in principle, be from the same root (the alternative derivation of this name from PIE *neh₂w- ‘need, compel’ (cf. PCelt. *nāwito-) is formally quite difficult). Mlr. núada, núadu ‘hero, champion’ is probably just the euhemerized name of this Celtic deity.

*so- ‘this’ [Demonstrative Pron.]
GOID: OIr. -so
GAUL: so-sin (Vaison, RIG G-153)
PIE: *so- ‘this’ (IEW: 979)
COGN: Gr. ho, Skt. sá-
SEE: *sī ‘she’
ETYM: In OIr., -so is a clitic demonstrative particle; the Celtic pronominal stem *so- is also contained in MBret. ho-n ‘our’, ho-z ‘your’, as well as in W demonstratives hwn [m], hon [f], etc.

*sodyo- ‘seat’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. suide [io n] ‘sitting, seat’
**PIE:** *sodyo- 'seat' (IEW: 884)
**COGN:** Lat. *solium* < *sodiom* 'throne, high-backed chair, bath-tub'
**SEE:** *sed-o- 'sit'
**ETYM:** Cf. also MIr. *fothae* 'ground, basis', which can be from *ufo-sodyo-.
**REF:** LEIA S-200, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 209.

**PIE:** *somo- 'same' [Pron]
**GOLD:** OIr. *som* [emphatic particle 3s m. and n.]
**PIE:** *som-Ho- 'one, same' (IEW: 904)
**COGN:** Skt. *samā- 'same', Gr. *hómōs* 'one and the same', Go. *sama* 'same'
**ETYM:** The presence of the laryngeal in the suffix is shown by the non-operation of Brugmannh’s law in Skt. The same root is probably reflected in OW *hanther*, MW *hanner* 'middle, half' < PCelt. *santero- < PIE *sm-tero- 'one of the two' (cf. Gr. Dor. *háteros* 'one of the two' < *smteryo-, Lat. *sēmi-'half' < PIE Locative sg. *sēm-i 'in one').
**REF:** LEIA S-169, GPC II: 1821.

**PIE:** *sondo- 'that' [Pron]
**SEE:** *sindo-, *so-

**PIE:** *sowk-n-o- 'suck' [Vb]
**W:** MW *sugno* 'to suck, drink, suckle'
**BRET:** MBret. *sunaff*, MoBret. *sunañ*
**PIE:** *sewk- 'suck' (IEW: 1012)
**COGN:** OCS *sāsati*, ON *súgan*, Lat. *sūcus* 'juice'
**ETYM:** Cf. also W *sugn* [m] 'suction, suckling, juice', W *sugnedydld* 'pump'. IEW (913) assumed that W *sugno* has *-g-* by analogy with *sug* 'juice', which is from Lat. *sūcus*, but this is not necessary. Lat. *sūgo* 'suck' and OE *sūcan* point to *seẇg-* , but *-g-* could have developed regularly in nasal presents (*seẇk-n- > *seẇg-n-).*
**REF:** GPC IV: 3353, Deshayes 2003: 703, LIV 488.

**PIE:** *sowno- 'sleep' [Noun]
**GOLD:** OIr. *súan* [o m]
**W:** MW *hun* [f]
**BRET:** MBret. *hun*
**CO: OCo. *hun* gl. letargia, MCo. *hun*
**PIE:** *swopno- 'sleep' (IEW: 1048)
**ETYM:** The Celtic forms presuppose PIE *suppo- and are exactly parallel to Gr. *hýnos*; the development was PIE *supno- > *suwno- > *sowno- (*sw > W *h* before *o* is regular, though, cf. *sworo- 'louse' > W *hor*, so that W *hun* might in principle be from *swopno-).*
*sowono-*


*sowono-* ‘sun, sunlight’ [Noun]
W: MW *hu*n [m and f] ‘sun’
SEE: *suw-o- ‘turn’
ETYM: W *hu*n is usually derived from the oblique cases of the PIE heterocliton *seh₁wol/n- ‘sun’, but the phonetic development is difficult. Therefore, it is preferable to relate this noun to PIE *sewh₂- ‘turn, set in motion’ (Skt. *sváti). The Vedic theonym Savitár-, which is also derived from this root, is often just an epithet of the Sun (súrya-) in the Rig Veda. The suffix would have been *-ono- (cf. *antono-, *slimono-).

*soyo- ‘magic’ [Noun]
W: MW *hud* [m and f]
BRET: MBret. *hud
CO: Co. *hus
PIE: *seh₂i- ‘to bind’ (IEW: 891f.)
COGN: ON seiðr ‘magic, charm’
SEE: *sébro- ‘demon, spectre’
ETYM: Cf. also OCo. *hudol gl. magus and W *hudol ‘charming, illusory’ < *soyo-to-. If the IE etymology is correct, we can derive PCelt. *soyo- from PIE *sh₂oy-to-. OCS *sila ‘force’ and Lith. *siela ‘soul’ could be from the same root, going back to *seh₂yleh₂.
REF: GPC II: 1905.

*sregn-o- ‘snore’ [Vb]
SEE: *srogná ‘nose’

*srobu- ‘snout, beak’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *srub [u n]
PIE: *serbʰ-, *srebʰ- ‘suck, absorb, sip’ (IEW: 1001)

*srogná ‘nose’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *sró*n [ā f]
W: MW *froen [f] ‘nostril’
GAUL: *fró*n > OFr. *frogne (hence Eng. frown).
PIE: *sregonh- ‘snore’ (IEW: 1002)
ETYM: Olr. *srennid ‘snore’ (PCelt. < *sregn-o-) represents the reflex of the verbal root *sregʰ-, from which PCelt. *srognā is derived. Cf. also MoBret. fri[m] ‘nose’, Co. frig[f] ‘nostril’, which might be from *sregos, yet another derivative. The relationship of these words to W trwyn[m], OCo. trein, which appear to be from *trogni, is unclear, cf. also Galatian droüşgos ‘nose’ (Freeman 2001: 14).

*srowman- ‘stream’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. sruaim [n]
BRET: OBret. strum gl. copia (lactis)
PIE: *srew-m- ‘flow, stream’ (IEW: 1003)
COGN: Gr. rheümä, OHG stroum, Alb. rrymē ‘flow (of water), Lith. sraumuō ‘stream, brook’
REF: LEIA S-188, DGVB 309, EIEC 207, 486, de Bernando Stempel 1999: 266.

*sruto- ‘stream, flow’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. sruth [o n]
W: MW ffrwd [m > f]
BRET: OBret. frut
CO: OCo. frot gl. alueus
PIE: *srew- ‘flow’ (IEW: 1003)
COGN: Skt. srávati, Gr. rheō, OCS struja ‘stream’, OHG stroum ‘stream, current’
ETYM: OBret. frut is not found in DGVB. These Celtic words can be derived from a passive participle of the verb *srew- ‘flow’. Cf. also Gaul. Phroudis [Hydronym], which is sometimes claimed to show that Gaulish shared the Brittonic change of *sr-> *fr-.

*stabo- ‘shaft, pole’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. sab [o m]
PIE: *sth2-bʰo- ‘stand’ (IEW: 1012)
COGN: OHG stap ‘staff, crane’, Lith. stābas ‘post’
SEE: *tá-yo- ‘stand, find oneself’
ETYM: The etymology is quite dubious, but if correct, PCelt. *stabo- must be from PIE *sth2-bʰo-. The connection with Skt. stāmbha- ‘pillar’ is improbable because this noun is derived from *stembʰ-(H)- ‘support’, cf. Skt. stabhñāti ‘supports’, ToB sama ‘stood’ (LIV: 541).
REF: LEIA S-3, de Bernando Stempel 1999: 175.

*stagrā ‘river, stream’ [Noun]
*stamnā ‘mouth’ [Noun]
W: MW safyn (GPC safn) [f and m] ‘jawbone, mouth’
BRET: MBret. stafn
CO: MoCo. sāwn, sāwan ‘cleft’
PIE: *stom-n- ‘mouth, jawbone’ (IEW: 1035)
COGN: Hitt. istaman-, istāman- ‘ear’, Gr. stōma, Av. staman- ‘mouth of a dog’
ETYM: Late Co. stevnig ‘palate’ is a derivative (< *stamnikā). The reconstruction of the PIE form is a matter of controversy. Kloekhorst (2008: 441) reconstructs *steh3men- because of Luv. tummant- ‘ear’. If this is correct, PCelt. *stamnā must reflect *sth3m-n-.

*star-na- ‘strew, broaden’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. sernaid, -sern; seraid, -sera [Subj.]; sirt, -sert [Pret.]; srēthae, -sreth [Pret. Pass.]
W: W sarnu
PIE: *sterh3- ‘broaden, extend’ (IEW: 1029f.)
COGN: Skt. sṝpati, Lat. sterno, Gr. stōrnymi ‘extend’, strōtós ‘extended’
ETYM: Cf. also W sarn ‘pavement’, which can be from *star-no-, and the derivatives MoBret. gouzer [m] ‘litter’ and OIr. fossair ‘strewing, litter’ < *ufo-starV-. The original formation (with the zero-grade of the root) is preserved in W sarnu, while OIr. sernaid represents the analogically introduced full grade (*ster-na-).

*stālā ‘heel’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. sál [á f] gl. calx
W: MW saudel (GPC sawdl) [m and f]; sodlau [p]
BRET: MBret. siezl
CO: Co. suthel, sul
PIE: *steh2- ‘stand’ (IEW: 1004)
SEE: *tā-yo- ‘stand, find oneself’, *stabo- ‘shaft, pole’
ETYM: De Bernardo Stempel 1999: 303 derives these words from PIE *sth2-delh2, with zero-grade and a different suffix, cf. also MW stadl, ystadl ‘position’. The connection with Lat. tālus ‘ankle’ is problematic, since the diminutive taxillus implies a proto-form *takslos, not *(s)tátllos.
*sterkā ‘love’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. serc [a f]
W: MW serch [m]
BRET: OBret. Serchan [PN], MBret. serch ‘concubine’, MoBret. serc’h [f]
‘concubine, mistress, courtisan’
PIE: *ster-k-, *ster-g- ‘love’ (IEW: 1032)
COGN: Gr. stérgō ‘love’
ETYM: The fact that Greek stérgō has g instead of *k casts serious doubts on this etymology. One way to deal with this problem would be to assume that Celt. *k was generalized from the Nom. sg. of the (unattested) root-noun (PIE *sterg-s or *storg-s), cf. PCelt. *druko- ‘bad’.

*sterā ‘star’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. ser
W: OW serenn [Singulative], MW ser, syr [p] (GPC sër, sýr)
BRET: MBret. sterenn [Singulative]
CO: OCo. steren [Singulative] gl. stella, Co. ste(y)r
GAUL: Sirona, dírona [Theonym]
PIE: *h₂stēr ‘star’ (IEW: 1028)
COGN: Hitt. hašterz, Gr. astér, Lat. stēlla, Go. stairno
ETYM: OIr. ser is a hapax (it occurs in one of the archaic Leinster eulogies), its gender is unknown; therefore, the PCelt. reconstruction is uncertain. Gaul. Sirona, if it is indeed from the same etymon, perhaps contains the original lengthened grade from the Nom. sg. (PIE *h₂stēr > PCelt. *stir-ōnā).

*stirrāko- ‘small animal, chick’ [Noun]
GOID: Mr. sérrech [o m]
PIE: *stirp- ‘progeny’ (IEW: 1042)
COGN: Lat. stirps ‘stem, stock, ancestral race’, Lith. stīpti ‘to grow up’
ETYM: OIr. sarrach is equally compatible with PCelt. *sterrāko- < PIE *sterp-, but the comparison with Lat. stirps shows that *stirr- is the more likely proto-form of the root. However, a PIE form *stirp- seems highly unusual (*sterp- is inherently more plausible). The development *rp > PCelt. *rr is regular, cf. *serrā ‘sickle’.
REF: LEIA S-95f.
*stlēki- ‘lye’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. slēic ‘lye, nitrum’
BRET: MBret. stloac, stloaq, stloag
ETYM: The meaning of OIr. slēic as ‘lye’ is ascertained by Lambert 1990. The word may have been borrowed from Brittonic, as Lambert thinks, but the relation to Lat. līxa ‘lye’ appears probable. If the Italic and Celtic words go back to a root *stleyk- / *stlik-, then Lat. līxa cannot be related to liquor ‘fluid’ and derived from *wlik- (as in de Vaan 2008: 347).

*stlissu- ‘side, wall’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. sliss [u m] (DIL slis)
W: MW ystlys [f and m] (GPC ystlys, stlys)
PIE: *stel- ‘spread’ (IEW: 1018)
COGN: Gr. stel/a ‘spread’, OCS stblati ‘broaden’.
ETYM: The derivation of PCelt. *stlissu- from the zero-grade of the root in PIE *stl-stu- is difficult, since this should have given PCelt. **stalssu-. Assuming a full-grade *stlessu- would imply Schwebeablaut in PIE, for which there is no other evidence. The connection with Lat. lātus ‘broad, wide’ is improbable, since this presupposes a root in a laryngeal, PIE *s(t)lH-to-. It has been compared with OIr. con-slá ‘go away’ (de Vaan 2008: 329), but the semantic difference between ‘go away’ and ‘broad’ is considerable.

*stlondo- ‘sense, meaning’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. slond [o ?m] ‘expression, mention, designation’
W: OW istlinnit [3s Pres.] gl. profatur, W ystlw ‘connection’
BRET: MBret. stlen ‘declared’
ETYM: Cf. also the OIr. verb sluindid ‘expresses, declares, names’ from the same root (causative *stlond-í-). Schrijver (1995: 435ff.) defends the old connection of these words with Lat. splendor ‘brightness’, Lat. splendeo ‘shine’, cf. also ToB pāllātār ‘praise’, Go. spill ‘tale’. If this is true, the correct PCelt. reconstruction is *sflondo-, and the semantic development would have been from ‘enlighten, shed light on’ to ‘declare’.

*(s)towxsman- ‘bend, arch, curve’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. tūaimm [n n] ‘?mound’
W: MW ystum ‘curve, gesture, shape, trick’ [m and f]
BRET: MBret. stum ‘form’
CO: Co. Stym(codde) [Toponym]
SEE: *stu-n-g-o- ‘bend’
ETYM: The exact meaning of Mlr. tíaimm is unknown, but it appears to mean something like ‘tumulus, mound’. Greene (1958) related it to OIr. tíag [a f] ‘arch’. W ystum is apparently the same word as tíaimm with the s-mobile, or, alternatively, with the prefix *eks- (Stüber 1998: 68). Alternatively, OIr. tíaimm might reflect a sandhi-variant which lost the initial *s-. Since the change *rst > *rt is regular, the loss of the initial *s- may have been generalized from the environments after the final *-r of the preceding word in the sentence, cf. also *tā-yo- ‘stand, find oneself’ < *stā-yo-).


*strato- ‘valley’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. srath [o m] ‘grass, sward, valley’
W: OW Strat, MW Ystrad [in toponyms], MW ystrad [f and m] ‘valley’
BRET: MBret. strad ‘bottom’
CO: Co. Straet-neat [Toponym]
PIE: *sterh3- ‘extend, strew’ (IEW: 1029f.)
COGN: Skt. stṛṇāti, Lat. sterno, Gr. stórymi
SEE: *star-na- ‘broaden, extend’
ETYM: PCelt. *strato- is derivable from the participle *strh3-tó-, with shortening of the first vowel by Dybo’s law.

*stronko- ‘excrement’
W: W trwnc [m] ‘urine’
BRET: MoBret. stronk, stronk [m] ‘excrements’
PIE: *sterk- ‘excrement, dung’ (IEW: 1031f.)
COGN: Lat. stercus ‘dung’, perhaps Hitt. istark-zi ‘to ail, afflict’ and Lith. teršiū ‘befoul’
ETYM: Deshayes (2003: 700) derives MoBret. stronk from OFr. estron ‘dung’, but this is unlikely in light of the W cognate. Cf. also W troeth [m and f] ‘urine, lye’, MBret. troaz, MoBret. troazh [m] ‘urine’, Co. trōth ‘urine, lye’ < *(s)troxtā. The connection of PCelt. *stronko-, *(s)troxtā to Lat. stercus is not quite clear, since it seems to presuppose Schwebeablauf. One could assume that Celtic has the new o-grade of the root built from the zero-grade *strik-, but the zero-grade is actually unattested in Celtic.

*(s)troxtā ‘urine’ [Noun]
SEE: *stronko- ‘excrement’

*struti- ‘old, senior’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. sruth ‘old, venerable’
W: OW strutiu gl. antiquam gentem
BRET: OBret. strot
PIE: *strew- ‘respect’ (IEW: 1037)
COGN: Lith. strījus ‘old man’, ORuss. strbi ‘uncle’, Pol. stryj ‘uncle’
ETYM: PCelt. *struti- seems to be derived with the abstract noun forming suffix *-ti-, so the original meaning of the word could have been ‘respect’, vel sim.

*stu-n-g-o- ‘bend’ [Vb]
GOID: Mlr. as-toing ‘refuse, swear away’; as-tó [Subj.]
W: MW estwng, ystwng, estyngi ‘bend, lower oneself’
BRET: MBret. stoeaff ‘bend, lower oneself’
PIE: *(s)tewg- ‘move abruptly’ (IEW: 1032f.)
COGN: Skt. tuj- ‘set in motion’, tuñjáte ‘moves swiftly’, Gr. stygéo ‘hate’
ETYM: Mlr. as-toing < *exs-stungo- (the simplex verb is unattested). In Old Irish, forms of PCelt. *tungo- ‘swear’ were confused with the forms derived from *stungo- ‘bend’, see KPV 605. The connection with PIE *(s)tewg- ‘move abruptly’ is not completely convincing, because the meanings are quite different.

*su- ‘good’ [Adv], [(Prefixed) Adjective]
GOID: Olr. so-, su-
W: MW hy-
BRET: MBret. he-
CO: Co. he-
GAUL: Sucellos [Theonym]
PIE: *h₁su- ‘well, good’ (IEW: 1037)
COGN: Skt. su-, Gr. eu-, etc.

*subi- ‘strawberry’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. sub [i n]
W: MW syui (GPC syfi) [p]; syfien [Singulative]
BRET: MBret. seuuienn [Singulative]; s(τ)iyor [p]
CO: Co. syyven [Singulative]; sevi [p] (MoCo.)
ETYM: Presumably a loanword from some non-IE substrate; however, the declension class of Olr. suib (a neuter i-stem) looks archaic.
REF: LEIA S-197f., GPC III: 3379, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 281

*sūdyā, *sudyā ‘soot’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. suide
W: MW huddygl [m]
BRET: MoBret. huzel [f]
CO: Co. hudhyl, hylgeth
GAUL: *sūdya > Fr. suie, Cat. sutje
ETYM: It is possible that we should restore ú for u in OIr. o sūdi gl. fuligine. In this case OIr. sūde would be parallel to Gaul. *sūdyā. The Brittonic forms, however, seem to point to *sowd-, perhaps with the VLat. suffix -clum. I do not believe these words have anything to do with the PIE root *sed- ‘to sit’, as suggested in IEW (886). Rather, the comparison with Lith. sūodžiai ‘soot’ and OE sōt ‘soot’ seems to show that we have a PIE *seh₂wd-. The stem *sūdi- in Celtic could be due to laryngeal metathesis (*sh₂ud- > *suHd-), while the Brittonic forms seem to point to PIE *sh₃ewd-. The Schwebeablaut that needs to be posited appears strange, however.
REF: LEIA S-201, GPC II: 1908, Gamillscheg 827.

*sukko- ‘pig’ [Noun]
GOld: OIr. soc(c) [o m] ‘snout, plough-share’
W: OW huch, suh, MW hwch [f and m] ‘pig’
BRET: OBret. hoch gl. aper, MoBret. hoc’h
CO: OCo. hoch gl. porcus, Co. hoch
PIE: *suH- ‘pig’ (IEW: 1038)
COGN: Lat. sūs, Av. hū-, ToB suwo, OE sugu ‘sow’, Alb. thi
ETYM: Cf. also the OIr. river-name Socc and socc sāil ‘name of a fish’. Fr. soc ‘plough-share’ is from Gaul. *sukko- and shows the same development of meaning as OIr. socc. If the IE etymology in Pokorny is correct, the short *u in PCelt. is unexplained; the geminate *-kk- may be due to the analogical influence of the other word for ‘pig’, PCelt. *mokku-. In any case, borrowing from an unknown source remains a possibility.

*su-oxsmiyo- ‘rich’ [Adj]
GOld: OIr. sommae [io]
PIE: *h₂op- ‘wealth’ (IEW: 780)
SEE: *su- ‘good’
ETYM: There is, in OIr., also the antonym doimm ‘poor’ < *dus-oxs-mi-. Both *su-oxsmiyo- and *dus-oxs-mi- show unusual word formation.
REF: LEIA S-170, EIEC 637.

*sutu- ‘fruit, produce, issue’ [Noun]
GOld: OIr. suth [u m] ‘fruit, offspring’
PIE: *sewH- ‘bear offspring, give birth to’ (IEW: 913)
COGN: Skt. sūte ‘gives birth to’, sūnus ‘son’, Gr. hỹiós, hỹȳs, hỹós ‘son’, ToA se ‘son’
SEE: *sowkno- ‘juice’
ETYM: The short vowel in OIr. *suth may be due to Dybo's law (but cf. the accent in Skt. sātu- 'pregnancy'). MIr. *suth 'milk' is treated as related by DIL, but it may be from a different root, PIE *sew- 'flow, pour' (Gr. hýei 'it rains', OE séaw 'juice', Skt. sunóti 'presses (juice)'), IEW 912, LEIA S-206). It could represent PCelt. *suto-. The same root may be reflected in W sudd 'juice, sap, bodily fluid' (GPC IV: 3352), if it is from *sow-yo-, or *sow-do-, with *s- > s- as in seith 'seven' < PCelt. *sextam, but cf. Isaac 2004. Gr. hyiýs, ToA se and ToB soy reflect PIE *suH-yu-.

REF: LEIA S-205f.

*suw-o- 'turn, wind' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. soíd, -soí; soaid, -soa [Subj.]; soífid, -soífea [Fut.]
W: MW amheu 'doubt' (GPC amau, amheuo)
PIE: *sewh₁- 'move, set to motion' (IEW: 914)
COGN: Hitt. suwezzi, Skt. svuvāti
SEE: *sowono- 'sun'
ETYM: W asseu, aswy 'left' might be derivable from *ad-sowo-, from the same root; however, in this dictionary it is derived from PCelt. *assowyo- 'left'.

REF: KPV 605f., LIV 538f., LP 397f., LEIA S-156f., GPC I: 90

*suxto- 'silence, inactivity' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. socht [o m] 'silence, dejection, gloom'
PIE: *sewh₂- 'be ill, sorrowful' (IEW: 915)
COGN: Go. siuks 'ill', Eng. sick, OHG suht 'illness'
ETYM: The OIr. form looks like a to-participle, PIE *sug-to- (cf. OHG suht < *sug-ti-). The development of meaning was presumably from 'illness' to 'inactivity' and 'silence'.

REF: LEIA S-161.

*swādu- 'sweet' [Adj]
GOID: MIR. Sadb [PN]
GAUL: Suadu-gena, [PN], Suadu-rix [PN]
PIE: *swēh₂,du- 'sweet' (IEW: 1039)
COGN: Skt. svāḍu-, Gr. hēdýs, Lat. suāuis, ToB swāre
ETYM: W hawdd 'easy' is certainly not from this root, cf. PCelt. *sādo-.


*swan-na- 'sound, play (an instrument)' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. seinmid, -seinn; sifais, -sif(e) [Subj.]; sefainn, sephainn [Pret.]
PIE: *swēh₂,b- '(produce) sound' (IEW: 1046f.)
COGN: Skt. svaŋ-, ásvanīt [3s Aor.], Lat. sono, sonus 'sound', OE swinn 'music'
ETYM: PCelt. *swan-na- is from the zero-grade of the PIE root (*swn-neh₂-), with the regular development of syllabic *n > *an before resonant.

*swanto- ‘desire, what is desired’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. sét [o m] ‘treasure’
W: MW chwant [m] ‘desire, lust, space’
BRET: MoBret. c’hoant
CO: Co. whans
ETYM: The original meaning of PCelt. *swanto- was probably ‘desire’, and the meaning of OIr. sét developed through the stage ‘what is desired, the object of desire’. The PIE etymology is uncertain. A connection with Go. swinbs ‘strong, healthy’, OHG gi-sund ‘healthy’ is possible, but the difference in meaning is a considerable obstacle to this etymology. Moreover, if the a-vocalism in PCelt. *swanto- is due to the reflex of syllabic *n, we would have to assume that the PIE zero-grade *swnto- was syllabified differently in Celtic and in Germanic (cf. OHG gi-sund < *sunto-). On a deeper level, a derivation from PIE *h₁su-nt-, *h₁sw-ent- is thinkable (cf. Gr. eús ‘good’, Skt. su- ‘good’, Hitt. āssu- ‘good’). The development of meaning would have been from ‘good’ to ‘healthy, strong’ in Germanic, and to ‘desirable’ in Celtic, but the details of the phonetic development are unclear.
REF: LEIA S-99, GPC I: 841.

*swar-yo- ‘laugh’ [Vb]
W: MW chwerthin; chwarddaff [1s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. huerzin
CO: OCo. hwtherin gl. risus
PIE: *swer- ‘sound, make a sound’ (IEW: 1049f.)
COGN: Skt. sváratí, ON sverja ‘swear’, perhaps Lat. susurrus ‘whisper’
ETYM: The attribution of these Celtic forms to the PIE root *swer- is semantically difficult, but possible (see KPV 609). PCelt. *swar-yo- continues the zero-grade of the root, PIE *swr-yo-. Other derivatives from the same root in Celtic might include MW chwyrn ‘rapid, whirling’, MW chwyrnaf ‘snore’, MoBret. huerniñ ‘to quarrel’, OCo. hwirnores ‘hornet’ < *swer-no-.
REF: KPV 608f., GPC I: 843, LIV 613, LP 314.

*swe- ‘self, own’ [Pron]
GOID: OIr. féin
PIE: *swe ‘self’ (IEW: 1040)
COGN: Skt. svayáṁ, Gr. hé, Go. swes ‘own’
ETYM: OIr. féin reflects a compound pronominal stem *swe-sin, cf. also fadesin ‘himself’ < *swe-de-sin. Schrijver (1997: 83) sees the Brit. reflex of
the pronominal stem *swe- in the element -(h)eu of the MW conjunctive pronouns (minheu, titheu, ynteu, etc.). Thus, he derives MW ynteu from *en-de-swe, titheu from *tū-de-swe, etc.


*swēd-o- 'swell' [Vb]
W: MW chwyddaw (GPC chwyddo)
BRET: MoBret. c’hwez [m] ‘vanity, swelling’
PIE: *sweyd- ‘sweat’ (IEW: 1043)
COGN: Skt. svedate, Gr. idió, OHG swizzen, Latv. svīstu, ToB syelme
SEE: *swēsso- ‘sweat’
ETYM: In OIr. there is the deverbal noun siat [?u m] ‘inflation, swelling’ < PCelt. *swēdu-. For the semantic development ‘sweat’ > ‘swell’ see KPV 609.


*swēdu- ‘swelling’ [Noun]
SEE: *swēd-o- ‘swell’

*swekru- ‘mother-in-law’ [Noun]
W: MW chwegr [f]
CO: OCo. hweger gl. socrus
PIE: *swekru-h₂ ‘mother-in-law’ (IEW: 1043f.)
COGN: Skt. śvāšrű-, Lat. socrus, OCS svekrý, Arm. skesur, Alb. vjeheřr, OE sweger
SEE: *swekrVno- ‘father-in-law’
REF: GPC I: 848, LP 18, Campanile 66

*swekrVno- ‘father-in-law’ [Noun]
W: MW chwegrwn [m]
CO: OCo. hwigeren gl. socer
SEE: *swekru- ‘mother-in-law’
ETYM: The suffixes in W and OCo. do not agree. OCo. presupposes *swekrino-, while W chwegrwn can be derived from *swekruno-. Both are derived from *swekru- ‘mother-in-law’. The suffixes of the form *-(V)no- often indicate possession, cf. Lat. dominus ‘master, lord, possessor’ (from domus, ‘house(hold)’), Go. piudans ‘king’ (from piuda ‘people’). PCelt. *swekrVno- replaced PIE *swekuro- ‘father-in-law’ (IEW: 1043f., cf. Skt. śvāśura-, Lat. socer, Gr. hekyrós, OCS svekrŏ).
REF: GPC I: 848, LP 18, Campanile 66.

*swelo- ‘turn, moment’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. sel [o m]
W: MW chwył [m and f] ‘turn, course, destiny’ (GPC chwyl)
BRET: MBret. hoalat, MoBret. hoalad ‘attract, delight’
*swengo- 'thin' [Adj]
GOID: Mlr. seng [o]
COGN: MHG swanc ‘flexible, thin’
ETYM: LEIA S-85f. derives the ancient name of Belgrade, Singi-dunum, also from this root. It is known that Singidunum was the seat of the Celtic tribe of Scordisci, but *sw- is usually preserved in Gaulish, and the element *sweng- is otherwise unattested in toponymy.

*swergo- ‘illness’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. sergh [o m]
PIE: *swergʰ- ‘be ill’ (IEW: 1051)
COGN: Lith. sergù ‘I am sick’, Alb. dergjem ‘lie ill’, Go. saurga ‘care, sorrow’, ToA sārk ‘illness’
REF: LEIA S-92, EIEC 516

*swerno- ‘loud, whirling’ [Adj]
SEE: *swar-yo- ‘laugh’

*swerwo- ‘bitter’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. serb [o]
W: MW chwerw
BRET: MBret. hueru, MoBret. c’houero
CO: Co. wherow
SEE: *sworo- ‘louse’
ETYM: W chwarren [f] ‘gland, ulcer, lump’, if related, must represent PCelt. *swarrīnā < *swarsinā (with *ar < syllabic *r). These Celtic words lack a persuasive IE etymology. A connection to PIE *swer- ‘wound’ (IEW 1050) is possible (Av. x’ara- ‘wound’, OHG swero ‘pain’); for the semantic development cf. the connection between Eng. bitter (PGerm. *bitraz) and bite (PGerm. *bitanān).
*swēsson- ‘sweat’ [Noun]
W: MW *chuis (GPC *chwys) [m]
BRET: MBret. *huès, MoBret. c’huès, c’hwes [m]
CO: Co. *hwys
PIE: *sweyd- ‘sweat’ (IEW: 1043)
COGN: Lat. *sūdo, Skt. *svedate, OHG *sweiz, Arm. *k’irtn, Alb. *dirse, ToB *syelne
SEE: *swēdo- ‘swell’
ETYM: The Celtic forms can be derived from PIE *sweyd-so- or, more probably, *swid-to- (past participle).

*swesœr / *swesr-os ‘sister’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. *siur [r f]
W: MW *chwaer [f]
BRET: MBret. hoer, hoar, MoBret. c’hoar [f]
CO: OCo. *huir gl. soror
GAUL: *suioirobe [Instr. p] (Néris-les-Bains, RIG L-6)
PIE: *swesor ‘sister’ (IEW: 1051)
COGN: Skt. *svásar-, Lat. soror, Go. svistar, Lith. sesuō, OCS *sestra, Arm. *k’o’yr

*swexs ‘six’ [Num]
GOID: Olr. sé [Geminating]
W: MW *chwech, chwe
BRET: OBret. *hue, MoBret. c’houec’h
CO: Co. *wegh, whe
GAUL: *suexos ‘sixth’ [Ordinal] (Coligny)
CELTIB: *sues (Botorrita I)
PIE: *sweks ‘six’ (IEW: 1044)
COGN: Lat. sex, Gr. hēks, Skt. sát, Lith. šeši, OCS šestb, Alb. gjashtē
ETYM: The meaning of Celtib. *sues is not certainly established. Although most specialists see it as the numeral ‘six’, some have interpreted it as the reflexive pronoun.

*swexto- ‘taste’ [Noun]
W: MW *chwaeth [m and f]
PIE: *swek*- ‘sap, juice’ (IEW 898f.)
*swims

COGN: Gr. ὀπός, OHG swehhan ‘smell’, Lith. sakaĩ ‘resin’, OCS sokъ ‘juice’
ETYM: PCelt. *swexto- reflects PIE *swekw-to-, with the e-grade of the root; the o-grade is attested in Gr. ὀπός (< *swokъo-).

*swis ‘you (p)’ [Pron]
GOID: OIr. si
W: OW hui, MW chwi
BRET: OBret. hui, MBret. huy
CO: Co. why
GAUL: (?) sui, sue (Châteaubleau tile); suis (Chamalières)
ETYM: Both Gaul. forms sui < *swis and sue < *swes are found in a single inscription, the Châteaubleau tile (lines 2-5). The interpretation of suis from Chamalières is uncertain, like the interpretation of most other forms in that text (see Lambert 1994: 158). The shape of the PCelt. 2 pl. personal pronoun is unusual; the PIE stem is *we- (Lat. uōs, OCS ṣy, etc.), but the word-initial *s- must be analogical (perhaps influenced by the demonstrative / 3 sg. and pl. pronoun stem *so-?). OIr. seithar ‘your (pl.)’, proclitic far n-, is from *swes-tero- (cf. Lat. uos-ter, ues-ter).

*swizd-o- ‘blow’ [Vb]
W: MW chwythu ‘blow, breathe’
BRET: MBret. huezajJ, MoBret. c’hwezhaiî ‘breathe’
CO: Co. hwytha
PIE: *sweys-d- ‘hiss’ (IEW: 1040f.)
COGN: Gr. sizō, Russ. svistát’
ETYM: OIr. do-infet < *to-eni-swisdo- (the simplex verb is unattested in Goidelic). These words are of onomatopoetic origin, so independent creations in different branches of IE cannot be excluded.

*sworo- ‘louse’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. sor [o m] (DIL sar)
W: MW hor [Collective] (GPC hōr) ‘lice, esp. on pigs’
PIE: *swer- ‘wound’ (IEW: 1050)
COGN: Av. x̂āra- ‘wound’, OHG sweran ‘feel pain’
SEE: *swerwo- ‘bitter’
ETYM: For the development in W (*swo- > *xʷo- > ho-) cf. PCelt. *skoltā ‘cleft’. These words can represent the PIE thematic agent noun *sworόs ‘wounder’ > ‘biter’ (>‘louse’).
*tag-o- ‘strangle, choke’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. tachtaid, -tachta ‘chokes, stifies, oppresses’
W: MW tagu
BRET: MBret. tagu, MoBret. tago
CO: Co. tage
ETYM: OIr. seems to have a verbal stem built from the passive past participle, PCelt. *taxto-, whereas Brittonic points to primary *tag-o-. For possible, but unconvincing, IE etymologies, see LEIA T-5, IEW 1055.

*talamon- ‘earth, ground’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. talam [n m]
GAUL: Talamone, Talmun (> Talmont) [Toponyms]
PIE: *telh₂-m- ‘surface, support’ (IEW: 1061)
COGN: Lat. tellus ‘earth’, OPr. talus ‘ground, floor’, OCS tulo ‘ground’, OE þel ‘floor’, Arm. ʃal ‘district’
SEE: *tli-na- ‘raise’
ETYM: The PCelt. stem *talamon- < *telamon- < PIE *telh₂mon- is the result of Joseph’s rule. The PIE root is probably *telh₂- ‘raise, support’ (IEW 1060f.).

*tal-i- ‘pay’
W: MW talu, talaf [1s Pres]
BRET: OBret. tal[ont] gl. dependunt, MBret. taluout, MoBret. talvoud ‘be worthy, cost’, tal, taliñ ‘pay’
CO: Co. tal
PIE: *teh₂-li- (IEW: 1087)
COGN: Lat. tālis ‘such’, OCS toli ‘to such a degree’, toliko ‘so much’
ETYM: It has been suggested that these Brittonic verbs were borrowed from ON tal ‘number, count’ (cf. also Germ. Zahl ‘number’ and the denominative zahlen ‘pay’), but they could also be related to Lat. tāliō ‘exaction of compensation’ from PIE *teh₂li-. We may have to do with an Italo-Celtic legal term ‘to pay, exact a compensation’ from the PIE root that meant ‘so much’. PCelt. *tal- must be from the zero-grade *th₂l- (like OCS toli), but Latin tālis implies the full grade *teh₂l-. OCS toli(ko) may be from the zero-
grade *th₂l-, but it is also possible that its vocalism is analogical to *koli(ko) ‘so much’ < *kʷo-l-.

*talskV- ‘fragment, piece’ [Noun]
W: W talch [p] ‘oatmeal, groats, fragments’
CO: OCo. talch gl. furfures
PIE: *telk- ‘strike, hit’ (IEW: 1062)
COGN: OCS tlēšti
SEE: *telmi- ‘sling, snare’
ETYM: W talch can be related to the PIE zero-grade *tlk- by assuming that it is from *talxsko- < *t₁k-sk-o- (like W arch- from < *parxsko- < *prk-sk-o-).
REF: GPC IV: 3428, LP 43, LIV 566.

*talu- ‘front, forehead’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. taul [u n] ‘boss, protuberance’ (DIL tul)
W: OW tal, MW tal [m] ‘forehead’ (GPC tāl)
BRET: OBret. talar, MBret. and MoBret. tal [m]
CO: OCo. tal gl. frons, Co. tal, taal
GAUL: Argio-talus [PN]
SEE: *talamon- ‘earth, ground’
ETYM: The connection with PCelt. *talamon- suggested by IEW (1061) is uncertain for semantic reasons. A connection may exist with Skt. tālu- ‘palate’, in which case we should reconstruct PIE *teHlu- / *tHl-ew-, with Celtic generalizing the zero-grade of the root. If this is correct, the semantic development in Skt. would be from ‘forehead’ to ‘top’ and ‘palate, top of the (interior part of the) mouth’.

*tanā ‘time’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. tan [? f]
W: MW tan ‘until, while, below’ (GPC tan, dan)
BRET: OBret. tan, dan
SEE: *tan-nu- ‘broaden, stretch’
ETYM: OIr. tan, tain is often used as a subordinating conjunction in temporal, final, and conditional subordinated clauses, e.g. tan tiastae ‘when they come’. Formally, the derivation from *ten-eh₂ would be possible (by Joseph’s rule), and the relationship to the root *ten- ‘stretch’ appears probable. The evolution of meaning could have been from ‘a stretch of time’ to ‘time’, cf. Ved. tánā [Instr. sg.] ‘extension, a stretch of time’.

*tanawyo- ‘thin’ [Adj]
*tand-man- ‘cutting, gnawing’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. teinm [?n n]
W: MW tam [m] ‘morsel, piece’
BRET: MBret. tamm [m] ‘piece’
CO: Co. tam
SEE: *tend-o- ‘break, cut’
ETYM: There are phonological difficulties in equating Mlr. teinm with W tam, etc., see Stüber 1998: 167. Mlr. taman, tamon [o m] ‘trunk (of a tree)’ might also be related (LEIA T-25), but this word has also been derived from PIE *sth2mon-o- (cf. OHG stam ‘stem’, ToB stām ‘tree’).

*tang*ät- ‘tongue’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. tengae [m > f d]
W: OW tawawt, W tafod [m and f]
BRET: MBret. teaut, teut, MoBret. teod [m]
CO: OCo. tawot gl. lingua, MCo. tawes
PIE: *dngʰuh₂- ‘tongue’ (IEW: 223)
COGN: Skt. jihvā-, Lat. lingua, OHG zunga, OPr. insuvis, ToB kantwo
ETYM: In Celtic, the initial *t (instead of the expected *d-) is best explained as the result of assimilation (*d...t > t...t). The Celtic forms with stem-final *-t presuppose an earlier ā-stem, *tangwā (see Widmer 1997). In other IE languages, the word for ‘tongue’ has often been subject to various irregular and analogical changes, e.g. Lat. lingua with l- under the influence of lingo ‘lick’ (similarly Lith. liežuvis).
*tanko- ‘peace’ [Noun]
W: OW *tægɛ, MW tang, tæc [m]
GAUL: Tanco-rix [PN]
 PIE: *tenk- ‘be solid, firm’ (IEW: 1068)
 COGN: Skt. taṃc-, Germ. dicht ‘thick’, Lith. tānkus ‘thick’
ETYM: OIr. téchtaid, -téicha ‘freeze, solidify’ is a denominative verb from this root, built from the stem of OIr. técht ‘frozen’ < PCelt. *tankto-, cf. also Mlr. con-téici ‘freezes’ < *kom-tank-i-. PCelt. *tanko- presupposes the zero grade of the root, PIE *tnko-. The evolution of meaning was presumably from ‘what is firm, established’ to ‘peace’ (cf. Lat. pāx from pango ‘fix’). Fr. tanche < OFr. tenche < Gallo-Lat. tinca ‘tench’ could also be from the same root (? PCelt. *tenkā, *tenko- ‘firm, solid’), cf. also Gaul. toponym Duro-tincum.

*tanno- ‘green oak’ [Noun]
CO: OCo. glastannen gl. quercus uel ilex
GAUL: Tannetum, Tanno-gilum [Toponyms]
ETYM: OIr. tinne ‘holly, elder (?)’ is probably also related (PCelt. *tennyo-), cf. LEIA T-71, but the PIE etymology of these tree names is unclear. Borrowing from some non-IE language seems probable, but a connection may exist to OHG tanna ‘fir wood’, OS danna ‘pine’, cf. Hitt. tanau ‘a kind of tree’ (the meaning ‘fir’ of Hitt. GIS tanau is actually not certain, pace EIEC). We could start from *(s)dʰonu- *(s)dʰnws-, and then have to assume that *s- was lost in Celtic (presumably after *sdʰ- > *st-), cf. *tā-yo- ‘be, find oneself’ < *(s)tā-yo-).
REF: LEIA T-71, Delamarre 289f.

*tan-nu- ‘broaden, spread, stretch’ [Vb]
W: MW tannu ‘spread out, extend’
CO: Co. tan [Impv] ‘take’
 PIE: *ten- ‘broaden, stretch’ (IEW: 1065f.)
 COGN: Skt. tanoti, Gr. tánymai, Lat. tendo, Go. uf-panjan, OHG dennen
ETYM: Celtic preserves the zero-grade of the root (with regular *n > *an before nasal); the present stem built with the suffix *-new- / *-nu- is inherited from PIE, cf. Skt. tanóti and Gr. tánymai.
REF: KPV 618, LIV 626f., GPC III: 3443.

*tantā ‘cord, cable’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. tét [ə f] ‘rope, cord, stringed instrument’
W: OW tantou [p] gl. fides, W tant [m]
BRET: OBret. tanntou, MoBret. tant [m]
 PIE: *ten- ‘stretch’ (IEW: 1065)
*tārāko-

COGN: Skt. tan-, tanōti [3 s Pres.], Gr. tānymai, Lat. tendo
SEE: *tan-nu- ‘broaden, stretch’
ETYM: This is an old participle of the verb *ten- ‘to stretch’, cf. Lat. tentus (from tendo).

*tārāko- ‘tick, insect’ [Noun]
SEE: *tar-wo- ‘hit, strike’

*tarankyo- ‘nail’ [Noun]
SEE: *tara-wo- ‘hit, strike’

*taras ‘across’ [Prep]
GOID: OIr. tar, dar [+Acc.]
PIE: *terh₂- ‘cross’ (IEW: 1075)
COGN: Skt. tirās ‘across’, Lat. tràns ‘across’
ETYM: W (and OW) tra, Bret. treuz can be derived from a related form, * tràns (cf. Lat. tràns). OIr. tar presupposes PIE *trh₂-es. The PIE root is *terh₂- ‘to overcome’, Hitt. tarhu- ‘prevail’, Skt. tára-, etc. (IEW 1075f.).
REF: LEIA T-28f., GOI 530f., EIEC 4, Falileyev 149.

*taratro- ‘auger’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. tarathar [ø m]
W: OW tarater, W taradr [m]
BRET: MBret. tarazr, talazr, MoBret. tarar [m]
CO: Co. tardar
GAUL: *taratro- > Lat. taratrum (Isidore of Seville, hence Fr. tarière, Pr. taravel, travel)
PIE: *terh₁tro- ‘auger’ (IEW: 1072)
COGN: Gr. téretron, Lat. terebra
SEE: *tara-wo- ‘hit, strike’
ETYM: The change *-era- > *-ara- in this word is regular (Joseph’s rule). The PIE root is *terh₁- ‘to drill, tear’ (IEW 1071, cf. Lat. tero, Gr. teirō, etc.). Lat. terebra is from *terh₁-sro-.

*tara-wo- ‘hit, strike’ [Vb]
W: MW taraw, taro, (GPC trawaf [Pres 1 s])
BRET: OBret. toreusit gl. atruiuit, MBret. tarauat ‘rub, use’, MoBret. tarawad
PIE: *terh₁- ‘drill, rub’ (IEW: 1072)
COGN: Lat. tero, Gr. toreúō
SEE: *taratro- ‘auger’
ETYM: The a-vocalism is explicable by Joseph's rule, see Joseph 1982. Another derivative from this root could be OIr. tairme [io m] 'iron nail', if from < *tarankyo-, cf. also OFr. taranche 'big iron pin' (probably from Gaulish). W torogen 'tick, blood-sucking insect', OBret. torocenn gl. curculio, MoBret. teureuguenn 'tick' may also be from the same root (*tārāko- < PIE *tōrh₁-), cf. also Lat. termes 'termite', Gr. τερέθην (IEW 1076).


*targʷ-o- 'disturb, scare' [Vb]
W: MW tarfu 'disturb, trouble, scare'
PIE: *tergʷ- 'scare, fear' (IEW: 1076f.)
Cogn: Gr. tarbéò 'scare', Skt. tarjati 'threatens', Lat. toruus 'grim', Hitt. tarkuwant- 'looking angrily'

ETYM: The development is not straightforward as it may appear at first sight, because we would expect PCelt. *trib- from PIE *trgʷ-. One could assume an assimilation *trgʷ-wo- > *trwwo- > PCelt. *tarwo- > W tarfu, but this is clearly ad hoc.


*tar(r)tu- 'dryness, thirst' [Noun]
Goid: OIr. tart [u m] 'thirst'
W: MW tarth [m] 'vapour, steam, fume'
GAUL: Tartos (?) [PN]
PIE: *ters- 'dry' (IEW: 1078)
Cogn: Lat. torrus 'piece of firewood', Av. taršna- 'thirst', OHG durri

ETYM: The semantic connection of W tarth and OIr. tart is not beyond doubt, but the formal correspondence is perfect. The derivation from a PIE abstract noun *trs-tu- 'dryness' would be regular.


*tarwo- 'bull' [Noun]
Goid: OIr. tarb [o m]
W: MW tarw [m]
Bret: OBret. taruu, MBret. taru, MoBret. tarw [m]
Co: Co. tarow
GAUL: taruos, perhaps Tarvisium [Toponym]
PIE: *tawro- 'bull' (IEW: 1083)
Cogn: Lat. taurus, Lith. taitras, OCS tarp

ETYM: In Celtic, the metathesis *-wr- > *-rw- must be assumed; it may be a regular change. The PIE noun may have been borrowed from Semitic, or some intermediate source (cf. EIEC 98).
*tar-yo- ‘boil, burst’ [Vb]
W: MW tarddu ‘emerge, issue, sprout, appear’
BRET: OBret. tardom gl. clangor
CO: Co. tardha (IEW: 1074)
COGN: Lat. trāns (?)
ETYM: This PCelt. verb is derived from PIE *terh₂- ‘cross, overcome’ (IEW 1074, cf. Hitt. taruhzi, Skt. tārvat) by KPV and LIV, but the meanings are very different. A development from ‘cross’ to ‘change state’ and to ‘boil’ is possible, but speculative. Cf. also OIr. tair ‘come’ [Ipv.] < *trh₂ye ‘cross’?

*tasko- ‘badger’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. tadg ‘1. poet, 2. hard’, Tadg [PN]
GAUL: Tascos [PN], Tasco-uanus [PN] ‘badger-slayer’
PIE: *tosko- ‘badger’
COGN: OHG dahs, perhaps Hitt. tasku- ‘testicle?’
ETYM: OIr. tadg < *tazgo-. It is unknown why Goidelic replaced the cluster *sk with *zg (dissimilation in voicing with the initial *t?). Although this etymology appears weak on the semantic side on the first sight, it is actually quite sound, since MIr. Tadg is the name of a certain king whose totem was a badger. There are also reflexes of the Gaulish word for ‘badger’ in VLat. taxa and in various Romance dialects, e.g. Fr. (dial.) taisson, It. tasso, Sp. tejón, etc. (some believe these words were borrowed from Germanic, but initial t- points to Gaulish).

*tātant- ‘thief’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. táid [nt, m] gl. fur
PIE: *teh₂- ‘steal’ (IEW: 1010)
ETYM: The word formation of OIr. táid is unclear. Despite LIV (559), it is not superimposable on OCS tattb, which is a masculine i-stem (presumably an old abstract ‘the stealing’). If táid is an old nt-participle, we would have to assume a present with the suffix *-t-, PIE *teh₂-t- (the type of Lat. plecto, dicto, etc.). For a similar nominalized participle cf. *karant- ‘friend’.

*tato- ‘father’ [Noun]
*tawso-

W: MW tat (GPC tad) [m]
BRET: MBret. tat, MoBret. tad [m]
CO: OCo. tat gl. pater, Co. tas
SEE: *attyo- ‘father’
ETYM: A noun from children’s language, similar to Croat. tâta ‘daddy’, Eng. daddy, etc., cf. PCelt. *attyo- > OIr. aite ‘father’.

*tawso- ‘deaf’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. tó [o], túae [yo]
W: MW taw [m] ‘silence’
BRET: MBret. tao, MoBret. taw [m] ‘silence’
CO: Co. taw
SEE: *tawso-yo- ‘be quiet, be still’
ETYM: Derived from the verbal root *taws- < PIE *teh₂ws- (IEW 1056f., for cognates see *tawso-yo-).

*taws-yo- ‘be quiet, be still’ [Vb]
W: MW tewi; tawaf [1s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. teuell, MoBret. tewel
CO: Co. tewel
PIE: *teh₂ws- ‘be quiet, be still’ (IEW: 1056f.)
COGN: Hitt. tuhu(s)siyezzi ‘awaits’, Luv. tuhusiya- ‘to keep silent, quiet (?)’, Skt. tūṣāṁ ‘quietly’, OPr. tusnan ‘quiet’
SEE: *tawso- ‘deaf’
ETYM: The Hittite verb is derived from *tuHs- < *th₂us- by regular metathesis (but Kloekhorst 2008: 894 is sceptical). A different reconstruction of the PIE root is offered by LIV and KPV 621ff.

*tá-yo- ‘melt’ [Vb]
SEE: *tá-yo- ‘melt’

*tá-yo- ‘stand, find oneself (somewhere)’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. at-tá, -fil ‘be, find oneself’ (substantive verb)
W: MW -tau [3s Pres.] ‘is’
BRET: OBret. to [3s Pres.]
CO: Co. otte ‘there is’
PIE: *steh₂- ‘stand’ (IEW: 1004f.)
COGN: Lat. sto, stare, Gr. histēmi, OCS stojati, Lith. stōti
SEE: *si-sta- ‘put’
ETYM: OIr. at-tá is from *ad-stá-yo-. The loss of initial *s- is irregular, but it could be due to the generalization of a sandhi variant occurring regularly
after *-r, since *rst > *rt is a sound law in Celtic (cf. tart ‘thirsty’ < *tarrtu- < *tarstu-).

*tā-yo- ‘melt’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. taíd (disyllabic), -tá-, -taa
W: MW toddi
BRET: MBret. teuzi, MoBret. teuzo
PIE: *teh₂- ‘melt’ (IEW: 1053)
COGN: Lat. tābeo, Oss. taj- ‘thaw, melt’, Russ. tájat’, Eng. thaw
ETYM: The present with the suffix *-y- is attested in OIr. taíd ‘melt, dissolve’ < *tā-yo-, while the Brittonic forms apparently reflect *tā-d-o- < PIE *teh₂-d²h-. OIr. tám [u?] ‘plague, swoon, death’ may represent a nominal derivative from the same root (*tāmu-). Lat. tābeo must be from *teh₂-bʰ-, which is an unusual formant in a present stem.

*taysto- ‘dough’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. tais, taes [o] (DIL taes)
W: MW toes [m] ‘lump of dough or pastry, farina subacta, massa farinaria’
BRET: MBret. toas [m], MoBret. (Gwened) toes
CO: Co. tōs
PIE: *teh₂ys-t- ‘dough’ (IEW: 1054)
COGN: OCS tōsto ‘dough’, OHG theismo, deismo ‘dough’
ETYM: PCelt. *taysto- can be from PIE *th₂eys-to-, but *teh₂isto- is inherently more probable.

*tāxslo- ‘axe’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. tál [o m], ? Ogam TALA-GNI
PIE: *teks-slo- ‘axe’ (IEW: 1058)
COGN: OCS tesla, OHG dehsa, dehsala
ETYM: OIr. tál may point to a lengthened grade, PIE *tōk-, which is expected only in a root-noun (for which there is no evidence in other IE languages). Widmer’s (2001) reconstruction of PIE *tōkt-lo- (with length from a putative Narten-present *tēkt-ti) is also without clear parallels. It is possible, however, that vowels were regularly lengthened before the cluster *xsl (and *xsr?) in PCelt. (cf. PCelt. *skāxslo- ‘demon’ < *skok-slo-, perhaps also *kīsrā ‘comb’ < *ke-ks-reh₂). The simplification of the geminate after a long vowel (*tāxslo- > *tāxllo- > *tālo- > OIr. tál, not *táll) is parallel to the development of *mīros- ‘piece of meat, food’ and *fīros- ‘land’.
*tefent- ‘hot, warm’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. te, tee [nt]

PIE: *tep- ‘be warm’ (IEW: 1070)

COGN: Skt. tápati ‘burns’, Lat. tepeo ‘be warm’, OCS toplo ‘warm’

ETYM: Cf. OIr. téit gl. luxoriatae (‘wanton women’) < *tefentes.


*tefesmi- ‘warm’ [Adj]

SEE: *tefnet- ‘hot’

*tefnet- ‘fire’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. tene [d m]

W: MW tan [m] (GPC tân)

BRET: MBret. tan [m]

CO: Co. tan

PIE: *tep- ‘be warm’ (IEW: 1070)

SEE: *tefent- ‘hot, warm’

ETYM: The Celtic form *tefnet- presupposes an earlier s-stem (*tepnes), see Widmer 1997. The nasal might be due to the influence of *tefent- ‘warm’. Cf. also W twym ‘warm’ < *tēmo- < *tefesmi- as if from PIE *tepes-mi- (Skt. tápas- ‘heat’), cf. also OIr. timme ‘heat’ < *tefsmiā < *teps-mihā.


*tefstu- (*texstu-) ‘heat’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. tess [u m]

W: MW tes [m]

BRET: OBret. a tes gl. fotu, MoBret. tes [Collective]

CO: Co. tes gl. feruo

GAUL: Tessi-gnius (?) [PN]

LEP: Ašeš- (?) [PN]

PIE: *tep- ‘be warm’ (IEW: 1070)

COGN: Skt. tápas- ‘heat’, Lat. tepeo ‘be warm’, OCS teplo, toplō ‘warm’

SEE: *tefent- ‘hot, warm’

ETYM: If related, Lep. Ašeš- is from *ad-tess- < *ad-tef-s-. Celt. *tefstupresupposes PIE *tepstus-. For the suffix *-stu- cf. *flenstu-, *tlustu-.

*tēg- ‘go’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. téit, -tēt, -tiagait [3p]; téis, -tē [Subj.]
W: MW ardwyaw ‘defend, protect’ (GPC ardwyo)
PIE: *steygʰ- ‘tread, go’ (IEW: 1017f.)
COGN: Gr. steikhō, Go. steigan
ETYM: MW ardwyaw < *fare-tēg-o-, cf. also MW ymarwdyaw ‘defend oneself’ < *ambi-fare-tēg-o-. The simplex *tēg- probably had athematic present (Kortlandt 2007: 127f.). The Celtic forms consistently point to word initial *t-, so the simplification (probably originally in sandhi) of *st- > *t- is already Proto-Celtic (cf. also PCelt. *tā-yo- ‘stand’ < *stā-yo-). Gaul. moritex (negotiator Britannicus, CIL XIII 8164a, Cologne) is a compound of *mori ‘sea’ and PCelt. *tēg- ‘go’; cf. W mordwy ‘movement of the sea, sea-voyage’ < *mori-tēgV-.

*tégos- ‘house’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. tech [s n]
W: OW tīg, W tī [m] (GPC tŷ)
BRET: OBret. bou-tīg ‘stable’, MBret. and MoBret. tī [m]
CO: OCo. tī gl. domus, MCo. chy
GAUL: *attegia > Lat. attégia ‘hut’ (Juvenal)
PIE: *tég-os ‘cover, roof’ (IEW: 1013)
COGN: Lat. tēgo ‘cover’, Gr. tēgos ‘roof’, Germ. Dach
ETYM: Celtib. tekez (Luzaga) is often compared, but this form is completely obscure, not only with respect to meaning, but also grammatically: is it a verb in the 3 sg. preterite, or the Abl. sg. of a root noun? OCo. to gl. tectum, W and Bret. to ‘roof’ all presuppose PCelt. *togo-, another ablaut variant of the same root, while Gaul. ethnonym Tecto-sages may contain PCelt. *texto- (cf. Lat. tectum ‘roof’). Lat. attégia is a Gaul. loanword and reflects Gaul. *ad-tēg-yā. Cf. also OIr. tuige ‘cover, protection’ (DIL tugae) < *togyā, hence the denominative tuigithir ‘covers’. The comparison of this form with Celtib. TOGIAS (perhaps a Gen. sg. of an ā-stem) is formally in order, but the meaning of the Celtiberian word is unclear. The lengthened grade is attested in OIr. ti ‘cloak’ < PCelt. *tíg-s < *(s)tēg-s, which is also compatible with the Brit. forms (OW tīg, etc.). Should we reconstruct a PCelt. ablauting paradigm *tíg-s / *tég-os, or rather two etymons with different ablaut-grades in the root?

*tēgos-lowgo- ‘household’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. teglach [0 n]
W: OW telu ‘retinue’, MW teilu [m] (GPC teulu)
**tegu-**

thick’ [Adj]

GOLD: Mr. tiug [u] ‘thick, dense, solid’

W: OW teu, MW tew

BRET: MBret. teo, teu

CO: Co. tew

PIE: *tegu- ‘thick’ (IEW: 1057)

COGN: OHG dieehi, OE oieeh ‘thick’

ETYM: Reflexes of this PIE root are attested only in Celtic and Germanic. Both branches point to an original u-stem (Orel 2003: 411).


**tekW-o-** run, flee’ [Vb]

GOLD: OIr. teichid, -teich; teiss, -té [Subj.]; teiss, -té [Fut.]; táich [Pret.]

W: MW techu

BRET: MBret. techet, MoBret. tec’hed

CO: Co. têgh

PIE: *tekW- ‘flow, run’ (IEW: 1059f.)


ETYM: Brittonic -ch- is from an old subjunctive stem, cf. LP 399. The old present stem, parallel to OIr. teich- is preserved in Canu Aneirin 55.1418 ny-debit [Impf. Impersonal Relative].


**telmi-** ‘sling, snare’ [Noun]

GOLD: Mr. teilm [i f] (DIL tailm)

W: MW telm [f] ‘snare, trap’

BRET: OBret. talmorion gl. cum funditoribus, MBret. and MoBret. talm [f] ‘sling; a strike of lightning’

SEE: *talskV- ‘fragment, piece’

ETYM: A possible proto-form would also be PCelt. *talx-smi-, from PIE *telk- ‘hit, beat’ (IEW 1062, see PCelt. *talskV-). This appears more probable than *telfsmi- > *telxsmi- proposed by Hamp (1990a). He interpreted this reconstructed proto-form as ‘defence’ and related it to PIE *tpol- ‘defend’ (Gr. pólis, ptólis ‘defended settlement > town’, etc.).

*temeslo- ‘darkness’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. temel [o m] ‘shadow, darkness’ (DIL teimel)
W: OW timuil, W tywyl ‘dark, darkness’
BRET: OBret. temoel gl. fenicatum, MBret. teffal, MoBret. teñval
CO: OCo. tiwoulgou gl. tenebrae, Co. teul, tevle
PIE: *temH- ‘dark’ (IEW: 1064)
COGN: Skt. tāmīrā- ‘dark night’, OHG demar ‘twilight’, Lat. tenebrae ‘darkness’
SEE: *temo- ‘dark’
ETYM: PCelt. *temeslo- probably presupposes an s-stem *temos < *temHos-, parallel to Skt. tāmas-, cf. also Lith. tamsa ‘darkness’ and Lat. temere ‘blindly’ < *temHesi (Loc. sg.).

*temo- ‘dark’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. tem (DIL teim)
SEE: *temeslo- ‘darkness’
ETYM: OIr. tem ‘dark’ is a rare word occurring only in glossaries, but cf. the derivative *temeslo- ‘darkness’. In any case, PCelt. *temo- presupposes PIE *temH-o-.

*tend-o- ‘break, cut’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. teinnid, -teinn; teiss, -i [Subj.]; tethainn [Pret.]
PIE: *tend- ‘cut’ (IEW: 1062f.)
COGN: Lat. tondeo ‘shear’, Gr. tēndo ‘gnaw at’
SEE: *tondā ‘skin’
REF: KPV 614, LIV 628, LP 399, LEIA T-51.

*tennyo- ‘holly, elder’ [Noun]
SEE: *tanno- ‘green oak’

*teterV- ‘scaldcrow’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. tethra
PIE: *teter- ‘a kind of bird’ (IEW: 1079)
COGN: Skt. tittirā- ‘partridge’, Lith. tetvā ‘capercaillie’, Gr. tetrāōn ‘capercaillie’
ETYM: MIr. tethra is attested mostly in glossaries. Its stem-formation cannot be ascertained. In some contexts it refers to the war-goddess (Badb). The PIE word, whatever its precise meaning, was obviously onomatopoetic.

*tigerno- ‘lord, master’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. tigern [o m], Ogam TIGIRN
W: MW teern, teyrn [m]
*tigu- 'final, last' [Adj]

GOID: OIr. tigu-
W: OW guotig, W wedy, wedi ‘after’
BRET: OBret. guetig, MoBret. goude ‘after’
CO: OCo. guotig, Co. woge, wosa ‘after’
ETYM: The Brittonic forms come from PCelt. *wo-tigu- ‘at the end’.
REF: LEIA T-76f., GPC IV: 3730.

*tirnos- 'land, earth' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. tir [n]
W: OW tir, MW tir [m]
BRET: MBret. tir [m]
CO: OCo. tir gl. tellus, Co. tyr
PIE: *ter-s- ‘dry’ (IEW: 1078)
COGN: Hitt. tars- ‘become dry’, Lat. terra ‘land’
ETYM: The long vowel of *tiros < *tēros is exactly parallel to *sīdos < *sēdos, OIr. *sid ‘mound’ (see s. v. *sēdo-, *sīdos-). It may represent an old vrddhi, but it may also point to a PIE root-noun *tērs- ‘dryness, firmness’, Gen. sg. *trs-os; Lat. *terra has the full grade (*tereh₂). The simplification of geminates (i. e. *tirso- > *tūro- > *tūro-) is regular (cf. *mīros- ‘peace of meat’ and *wāri- ‘sunrise’). Cf. also OIr. *tirimm, *tirimm ‘dry’ < *tīrs-es-mi- (for the word formation cf. *tefesmi- ‘warm’).


*tlaṣtā ‘weakness’ [Noun]
SEE: *tlāti- ‘weak, sick’

*tlāti- ‘weak, sick’ [Adj]
GOID: Mlr. *tlaith [i] ‘weak, feeble, soft, pleasant’
W: MW *tlawdd ‘poor, sick’
PIE: *telh₂- ‘support’ (IEW: 1060f.)
COGN: Gr. *talās ‘sad’, OHG *dolen ‘suffer’
ETYM: Cf. also Mlr. *tlás [o m and ā f] ‘weakness, mildness’ < *tlaṣtā. The meaning in Celtic can be derived from ‘suppressed’, and finally from the PIE root *telh₂- ‘support’, but complex semantic evolution must be assumed (‘supporting’ > ‘suppressed’ > ‘weak’, or ‘support’ > ‘suffer’ ‘be weak, sick’).


*tli-na- ‘take away, steal’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *tlenaid, -tlen; *tlieid, -tlia [Subj.]; -tíuil [Pret.]
PIE: *telh₂- ‘raise, support, bear’ (IEW: 1060f.)
SEE: *talamon- ‘earth’, *tlāti- ‘weak, sick’
ETYM: If the IE etymology is correct, the development of meaning was from ‘pick up’ (cf. Lat. *tallo) to ‘steal, take away’. PCelt. *talamon- ‘earth’ (< ‘supporter’) is from the same root. The stem *tli- is analogical, since *tln- > *tln- in Celtic; should we assume that the source of the stem was the passive participle *ttlo- > *ttlo- (itself analogical, since *tln- to- would give PCelt. *tltō-, cf. PCelt. *tlāti- ‘weak, sick’)?

REF: KPV 641f., LIV 622f., LP 401, LEIA T-78f.

*tlokʷ- ‘talk’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. ad-tluchedar, atluchedar ‘thanks’, do-tluchedar ‘demands’
PIE: *tlokʷ- ‘talk’ (IEW: 1088)
COGN: Lat. *loquor ‘talk’, OCS *tlok² ‘talk’, Russ. *tik ‘meaning’
ETYM: Celtic and Latin point to o-grade *tlkw-, while Slavic preserves the zero-grade *tlkw-. Perhaps we may reconstruct an old perfect paradigm with regular ablaut (*tlkw-e / *tlkw-ro).

*tlustu- ‘kine, riches’ [Noun]
GOID: Mr. tlus [um]  
W: MW tlws [m] ‘treasure, jewel’

ETYM: No convincing IE etymology. However, if the Welsh word was borrowed from Irish, we can derive Mr. tlus from *(s)tloxstu- < PIE *stlok-stu-, and compare Lat. locus ‘place’ < stlocus, which also has an unclear etymology (the usual connection to *stel- ‘spread’ does not make any sense, cf. de Vaan 2008: 347). Note that Lat. locāre means not only ‘to place’, but also ‘to hire out’, and loculus means ‘a box’, and locārium is ‘rent for a market stall’. We may start from PIE *(s)tlok- ‘property, ware (for exchange)’, and an abstract noun *tllok-stu- would yield OIr. tlus regularly. For the semantic connection, cf. OCS město ‘place’, Pol. miasto ‘town, city’ < *moy-sth2o- (from the root *mey- ‘change’, cf. OCS ména ‘exchange’, Lith. maĩnas).

*to- ‘to’ [Prep]
GOID: OIr. to-, do-, do  
W: OW di, W dy  
BRET: OBret. do  
SEE: *tod ‘yes’

ETYM: Clear connections in other IE languages are lacking, but cf. OHitt. sentence connective ta, possibly related to PIE demonstrative pronominal stem *to-.

*to-ad-ret-o- ‘reach, grasp’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. do-áraid, -tarraid ‘grasps, finds, overtakes, attains’ (DIL do-airret, do-áirret)  
W: MW daeredu ‘reach, come, pay taxes’
SEE: *ret-o- ‘run’
REF: KPV 538f., GPC I: 878.

*to-ambi-org-o- ‘press, strike down’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. do-immuirc ‘presses, constrains’ (DIL do-immoirg)  
W: MW -damorth ‘struck down’ [3 s Pret.]
REF: KPV 498f.

*tod ‘yes, indeed’ [Particle]
GOID: OIr. tó
ETYM: W do ‘indeed, yes’ is probably the same word, but the word initial d- must somehow be analogical. Cf. also the parallelism between OIr. nathó ‘no’ and MW naddo (< *ne-tod). For a convincing argument that *-d was preserved in Proto-Celtic see McCone 2006: 171ff. It should also be preserved in OIr. in monosyllables, to judge by cid ‘what’ < *kʷid, ed ‘it’ < *id, so that in OIr. tô it probably dropped analogically after nathó.


*to-exs-brend-o- ‘flow’ [Vb]
SEE: *brend-o- ‘flow’

*to-fare-ufo-kan-o- ‘prophesize’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. do-aurchain
W: MW darogan, daroganu
SEE: *kan-o- ‘sing’
ETYM: Cf. OBret. darcenneti gl. hariolis.
REF: KPV 388ff., GPC I: 897.

*togyā ‘covering, roof’ [Noun]
SEE: *tegos ‘house’

*to-kom-far-sko- ‘ask’ [Vb]
GOID: MIr. do-comairc
W: MW dy-m-kyeirch (with infixed pronoun -m-)
SEE: *far-sko- ‘ask, plead’
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. verbal noun tochmarc [o n] ‘wooing, courting’ < *to-kom-farsko-.
REF: KPV 512.

*tolgo- ‘strength, energy’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. tolg [o m] ‘strength, force, attack’
PIE: *(s)tolg- ‘effort’ (?) (IEW: 1020)
COGN: OE stealc ‘high, steep’, Lith. stalgis ‘stiff, defiant, proud’
ETYM: LEIA compares Bret. (Vannetais) tolhien ‘tuft, spike’, which shows the semantic connection with the Germanic words. MIr. tolg can also be used in the sense of ‘piercing’.
REF: LEIA T-102.

*tol-I-yo- ‘sleep’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. tuilid, con-tuili; con-tuil [Pret.] ‘sleeps’
PIE: *(s)telH- ‘be quiet, be still’ (IEW: 1061f)
COGN: OHG stillen ‘make still’, Lith. tylá ‘quiet person’, tilti ‘fall silent’, OCS u-toliti ‘quench, soothe’
ETYM: Cf. OIr. verbal noun cotlud ‘sleep’ < *kom-toli-tu-. That the PIE root ended in a laryngeal is shown by the accentuation in Lithuanian.
*tondā  ‘skin, surface’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *tonn [ā f]
W: MW *tonn ‘skin, rind, surface, turf’ (GPC ton [m and f], tonnen [Singulative])
BRET: OBret. *tonnenn gl. cutela, MBret. *ton(n)enn, MoBret. *tonnenn
SEE: *tend-o-  ‘cut’
ETYM: Fr. tonne ‘ton, great vat’ is probably unrelated to these words, pace Gamillscheg 853 (the meanings are too different, although Gamillscheg starts from Gaul. *tondā  ‘skin’ > ‘skin bag’). The PIE root may well be *tend- ‘cut’ (IEW 1063, cf. Gr. téndo, Lat. tendeo) since the word for ‘skin’ are often related to verbs that mean ‘cut’ (cf. PCelt. *seket-  ‘skin, hide’ < PIE *sek-  ‘cut’).

*tong-o-  ‘swear’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. tongaid, -toing; -tó [Subj.], tithis, -tith [Fut.], tochtae, -tocht [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW tyngu
BRET: MBret. toeff, touet, MoBret. toued
CO: Co. ty; tof [1s Pres.]
GAUL: tongaiiontio [3p Fut. Relative] (Chamalières)
PIE: *teh₂g- ‘touch’ (IEW: 1055)
COGN: Lat. tango, Gr. tetagōn ‘having seized’, Go. tekan ‘touch’, ToB cesām ‘touch’
ETYM: The connection with Lat. tango ‘touch’ is not beyond doubt. The usual explanation is that swearing was performed by touching a part of the body, or the ground, see LEIA T-108. However, even if this is accepted, the o-grade (PIE *th₂g-?) is unexpected (analogy with *tonketo-  ‘destiny’?). KPV 650 derives this Celtic verb from *tu-n-g-o-, from earlier *lu-n-g-o-and relates it to PCelt. * lugyo-  ‘oath’; the explanation offered there how the stems *tek- and *leug- became confused is rather complicated. KPV also claims that the Gaulish form tonssiontio is unrelated to the Insular Celtic forms.

*tonketo-  ‘destiny’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. tocad [o m] gl. fors
W: MW tynged [f and m] (GPC tynged)
BRET: MBret. tonquaff ‘presage’, MoBret. tonkañ
CO: Co. tenky
GAUL: Togi-marus (?) [PN]
**torano-**

**thunder** [Noun]
GOID: Olr. *torann* [o m and ā f] 'thunder, noise'
W: MW *taran* [f] '(peal of) thunder, thunderclap'
BRET: OBret. *taran* gl. tonitru, MoBret. *taran* [m]
CO: OCo. *taran* gl. tonitruum, MCo. *taran*
GAUL: *Taranis* [Theonym]
PIE: *(s)tenH- 'thunder' (IEW: 1021)
COGN: Skt. *stánati* 'to thunder', Lat. *tono* 'to thunder', OHG *donar*, Eng. *thunder*

ETYM: The Gaulish word for 'thunder' is preserved in the Gasconian dialect of French (*taram*). The Celtic forms are best explained by a metathesis *tonaro- > *torano-*, despite some doubts expressed by LEIA (s. v.). The unmetathesized form is perhaps attested as the OBrit. theonym *Tanaro* and in the old name of the river Po, *Tanarus* 'thundering'. Both Celtic and Germanic point to PIE *(s)tonHr- / *stnHr-os (the zero-grade of the root is preserved in PGerm. *punraz*).


**to-ret-o-** ‘approach’ [Vb]
GOID: Olr. do-reith, -torreith ‘hurries, hastens’
W: MW *dyred* ‘approach’
SEE: *ret-o- ‘run’
REF: KPV 538f., GPC I: 1146.

**to-rid-** ‘pillar, hero’
GOID: Mlr. *tuir* [d m and f]
PIE: *h₁reyd- ‘support’
COGN: Lat. *ridica* ‘vine prop’, Gr. *ereidō* ‘support’

ETYM: de Vaan (2008: 522) claims that the connection of Lat. *ridica* and Gr. *ereidō* is 'very uncertain'. This should also apply to the etymology presented here. If the etymology is correct, we would have to reconstruct a root noun *h₁reyd- / *h₁rid-os, with Celtic preserving the zero-grade of the root from the oblique cases. Of course, this is just a speculation.

*torrV- 'belly' [Noun]

GOID: Mr. *tarr, tair [u or i, m]
W: OW torr gl. palma, MW tor [f] 'belly'
BRET: OBret. *tar gl. ventrem, MBret. *teur, MoBret. tor [m]

‘abdomen’
CO: OCo. tor gl. uenter, MoCo. torow [p]

ETYM: I have some doubts whether OW tor gl. palma is the same word as W tor 'belly'. It could belong rather to W torri (Co. terry, MBret. torret) 'break, smash’, if the original meaning was ‘fist’. MoBret. teur 'belly' seems to come from *tär- with the lengthened grade, but I find it probable, in the absence of IE etymology, that these words were borrowed from some non-IE language (cf., however, Pokorny 1024).


*torräko- 'pregnant' [Adj]

GOID: OIr. torrach [o]
W: MW torrog
BRET: OBret. *toroc
SEE: *torrV- 'belly'

ETYM: An adjectival derivative, with the suffix *-äko-, from *torrV- 'belly'.

REF: LEIA T-33, GPC IV: 3534.

*to-skara- 'conquer, subject, strew' [Vb]

GOID: OIr. do-scara 'conquer, subject'; *tascrais [Pret.]
W: MW *dysearaf [Pres.] 'strew'
SEE: *skara- 'separate'

REF: KPV 576.

*to-sl-iyo- 'earn' [Vb]

GOID: OIr. do-sli, -tuilli; (ro)-thuillsem [1p Pret. Relative] 'desires, merits, earns'
W: MW dyrrlid (GPC derlyddd, dyrrlyddu, dyrrlys, dyrrlid)
BRET: MBret. dellezaff, MoBret. dellezåñv
CO: Co. deleth [3s Pres.]
PIE: *selh₁- 'take' (IEW: 899)
COGN: Lat. cón-sulo 'gather, advice', Gr. *äänón 'I took', ON selja 'sell'

ETYM: The verbal root is unattested as simplex in Celtic. W dyrrlid and MBret. dellezaff are from *to-fro-sl-iyo-. It is difficult to derive the PCelt. present stem *-sl-iyo- directly from PIE *slh₁-yo- (we would expect **släyo- or **sal-yo-, if the laryngeal were lost before *y), but cf. the parallel case of *gn-iyo- < *gnh₁-yo-. Could this be due to some sort of special development
of the cluster *h₁y? Schumacher (KPV 381, 590) assumes in both cases a Celtic innovation (yo-present built to the zero grade *sl- vis. *gn-).

*to-wissāko- ‘chief, first’ [Adj]
GOLD: OIr. toisech [o]
W: MW tywyssawc [m] ‘prince’, Brit. TOVISACI [Gen. s] (Ogam) (GPC tywyssog)
BRET: OBret. toquisoc
SEE: *wēd-o- ‘sight, presence’
ETYM: PCelt. *to-wissāko- < *-wid-t-āko- (or *wid-s-āko-) < PIE *weyd- ‘see, know’ (cf. *wēd-o- ‘sight, presence’). Another etymology derives the attested forms from PIE *wedʰ- ‘lead’, i. e. PCelt. *to-wessāko- < *to-wed-t-āko- or *to-wed-s-āko- (cf. OCS vožd ‘leader’ < PIE *wodʰ-yo-, IEW 1115f.). Although somewhat better from the semantic point of view, this reconstruction is difficult to square with -i- in the British Ogam inscription TOVISACI (CIIC 399, McManus 1997: 108).

*to-wissu- ‘leadership, act of leading, driving’ [Noun]
GOLD: OIr. tuus, tús [u n] ‘act of leading, preceding, beginning’
W: MW tywys ‘lead, guide’ (GPC tywys, tywysio, tywysu)
SEE: *to-wiss-āko- ‘chief, first’, *wēd-o- ‘sight, presence’
ETYM: The attested forms cannot be from PCelt. *-wessu- < PIE *wedʰ-tu- (from the root *wedʰ- ‘lead’, IEW 1115f.), since this would yield OIr. **tōes, cf. OIr. rōe < *rowesya ‘field, open ground’.
REF: LEIA T-188, GPC III: 3688.

*towtā ‘people, tribe’ [Noun]
GOLD: OIr. tūath [af] (DIL tūaid)
W: MW tut [m] ‘people, country’ (GPC tud)
BRET: MBret. tut, MoBret. tud [p] ‘people’
CO: Co. tus
GAUL: Teutates [Theonym], Tuto [PN], Touto-bodiaci [Ethnonym]
 PIE: *tewteʰ₂ ‘people, tribe’ (IEW: 1084)
ETYM: Gaul. Teutates was presumably ‘god of the tribe’; this form appears strange, as the change *ew > ow, ou is well-attested in Gaul. (it may be just a spelling variant for a diphthong with no counterpart in Latin). Celtib. family name Toutinikum [Gen. pl.] (Botorrita III) probably represents a derivative from *towtā.
*towto- ‘left, north’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. *túath [o]

PIE: *tewto-

COGN: Lat. *tūtus ‘safe’, Go. *piup ‘good’

ETYM: OBret. tut, which Fleuriot (DGVB) renders as ‘good, favorable’, appears to be the same word, cf. also OBret. *tuhe ‘a kind of demon’. OIr. *túath also means ‘bad, perverse’. It is unclear if the meanings ‘left’, ‘good’, and ‘magic’ can be brought together, since the associations of the left hand side are almost universally negative. Perhaps some sort of taboo replacement is involved, but in any case the IE part of this etymology remains somewhat conjectural.


*toybo- ‘side’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *toib, *töeb [o m] (DIL taeb)

W: MW *tu [m]

BRET: OBret. *tu, MBret. and MoBret. *tu [m]

CO: Co. *tu

PIE: *(s)teyg*- ‘flank, side’ (?) (IEW: 1018)


ETYM: PCelt. *toybo- would presuppose PIE *(s)toyg*-o- and the loss of s-mobile. The semantic development would have been either from ‘flank’ to ‘hip’ or ‘shoulder’ (in Slavic and Armenian respectively), or vice versa (in Celtic).


*tragi- ‘beach, low tide’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *tráig [i f]

W: MW *tre [m] (GPC trai) ‘low tide, draining’; *treiau, *treion [p]

BRET: MBret. *tre [m], MoBret. *tre(c’h)

CO: Co. *trig

ETYM: Cf. also the denominative verb MiR. *tráigid ‘ebbs, recedes’. I doubt that these words are related to PCelt. *treget- ‘foot’, as is often assumed. One would have to posit an ad hoc lengthened grade, and the meanings are worlds apart.


*trāns- ‘across’ [Prep]

SEE: *taras- ‘across’
*trātu- 'length of time, hour' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. tráth [u n]
W: MW trawd [m and f] ‘course, voyage’ (GPC trawd, trawdd)
PIE: *terh₂- ‘traverse, cross’ (IEW: 1074)
COGN: Skt. tára ti ‘crosses’, OCS trajati ‘to last’
SEE: *taras- ‘across’
ETYM: PCelt. *trātu- presupposes PIE *trn₂tu- (the zero-grade is expected).
The development of meaning was from ‘traversing, passing’ to ‘duration, period’ and ‘time’.

*trē ‘through’ [Prep]
GOID: OIr. tre [Aspirating, +Acc., later also +Dat.]
W: OW trui, MW trwy, drwy
BRET: OBret. tre, MBret. and MoBret. dre
CO: Co. dre
SEE: *taras- ‘across’
ETYM: The relationship to PCelt. *taras-, *trāns- ‘across’ (PIE *terh₂- ‘traverse, cross’) suggested by IEW (1076) is plausible semantically, but formally quite unclear. In principle, if *trāns- first yielded *trās, and if this was still a root-noun in PCelt., the dative sg. form *trās-ē could have been contracted as *trāē > *trē after the loss of intervocalic *s in Insular Celtic. Needless to say, this is just a speculation.

*trebā ‘settlement’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. treb [ā f]
W: MW tref[f] ‘town, dwelling-place’, Tre- (in PN)
BRET: OBret. treff.i. urbs, MoBret. trev [f]
CO: Co. tre- (in Toponyms), trē ‘house, village’
GAUL: Ambi-trebius [PN], Atrebates [Ethnonym]
CELTIB: Con-trebia, kon-terbia (A.75) [Toponym]
PIE: *treb- ‘settlement’ (IEW: 1090)
COGN: Go. paurp, Lith. trobā ‘house’
SEE: *attrebā ‘settlement’
ETYM: Old Provencal trevar ‘inhabit’ is from the lost Gaulish verb of the same meaning. MW trefn [m and f] ‘room, house’ can be derived from PCelt. *trebno-. OIr. trebar [o] ‘wise’ is usually considered a derivative of this root (e.g. LEIA T-126f.), but this may be just a folk-etymology. In fact, OIr. trebar can be from PCelt. *trebro- ‘wise’ < PIE *trepro- ‘turning, apt’ (cf. Gr. trépō ‘turn’, Skt. trápate ‘is ashamed’, perhaps Lat. hapax trepit.
*trebno- ‘room, house’ [Noun]
SEE: *trebā ‘settlement’

*trebro- ‘wise’ [Adj]
SEE: *trebā ‘settlement’

*treget- ‘foot’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *traig [d m]
W: MW *troet [m] (GPC *troed)
BRET: O Bret. treot, MBret. *troat, MoBret. *troad [m]
CO: OCo. *truit gl. pes, MCo. tros, tros
GAUL: treide i. pede (Endlicher’s Glossary)
PIE: *tregʰ- ‘run, walk’ (IEW: 1089)
COGN: Go. pragjan ‘run’, Croat. trág ‘trace’
ETYM: The derivation of OIr. *traig is straightforward, with *e > a before palatalized *g as in fraig < *wregi-. The Brittonic forms are somewhat ambiguous (they could be from a variant *troget, according to Hamp 1982b because of the analogy with *drogo-, *droko- ‘runner’ > ‘wheel’). OIr. *tráig ‘beach’ etc., adduced by IEW (1089) is probably unrelated to this set of words. The connection with *dʰregʰ- ‘run’ (Gr. trekhō etc., see Hamp 1982b) is also possible, but difficult (it requires positing s-mobile, *sdʰrogʰet-, and its subsequent loss in Celtic (but cf. *tanno- ‘green oak’, which may be from *sdʰnwo-).

*trexso(n)- ‘strong’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *trén [o], Ogam TRENA-GUSU
W: MW *trech ‘stronger’
BRET: MBret. trech, MoBret. *trec’h [m] ‘victory’
CO: Co. *trygh ‘victorious’
GAUL: Trexius, Trexa, Trenus [PN]
PIE: *treg- ‘strength’ (IEW: 1090)
COGN: OE praka ‘courage’, ON prekr ‘strength’
ETYM: The Brittonic and Gaulish forms are from underived *trexso-, whereas OIr. *tréin is from *trexso-. Cognates are attested only in Germanic and point to PGerm. *prakja- < PIE *trogyo-.
*trīs

‘three’ [Num]
GOID: Olr. tri; tēoir [f]
W: MW tri; teir [f] (GPC tair)
BRET: MBret. tri; teir [f]
CO: Co. try; teyr, tyr [f]
GAUL: tri-; tiδ̣̂res [f]
PIE: *treyes ‘three’; *t(r)isres [f] (IEW: 1090f.)
COGN: Skt. trāyas, Lat. tres, Gr. τρีς, Lith. trįs, Go. prins [Acc. p], OCS troję, Alb. tre, ToB trai, Hitt. tri-
ETYM: Olr. tri has long i when used as a substantive, but short i when used attributively (shortening in proclisis). A possible cognate in Celtiberian is tiris (Botorrita I), but this word has also been related to PCelt. *tīros- ‘earth’. The ordinal numeral is formed differently in various Celtic languages: Gaulish has Trītos [PN], Olr. tris, tres < *tristo-, W trydydd, MoBret. trede < *tritiyo-.

*trīsanō ‘one third’ [Num]
GOID: Olr. trian
W: OW trean, MW trayan
BRET: OBret. troian
SEE: *trīs ‘three’
REF: LEIA T-141f., GOI 250, Falileyev 149.

*trowgo- ‘sorry, sad’ [Adj]
GOID: Olr. trúag, tróg [o]
W: OW tru, MW tru
CO: Co. tru
GAUL: Trouceti-marus [PN]
*trowkkaro- ‘merciful’ [Adj]
SEE: *trowgo- ‘sorry, sad’

*trow-, *truxso- ‘trunk, broken part’
GOID: Mfr. *trú [k m and f] ‘doomed person, man condemned to death’
(Gen. s *troc)
W: MW *trwch [m] ‘wounded, broken, sad, thickness, density’; *trychau [p]
BRET: OBret. *truch gl. obtusi, MoBret. *troc’h, *troc’h [m] ‘cut’
CO: OCo. *trech gl. truncus; MoCo. *trogh ‘broken’
PIE: *trewk- ‘cut’ (IEW: 1074)
COGN: Lat. truncus ‘1. mutilated, 2. stem’
ETYM: GPC distinguishes two words, *trwch thickness, bulk’ and *trwch
’sad, broken, wounded’; however, the meaning ‘thickness, density (= GPC
*trwch⁴)’ is clearly secondary, being attested only in Modern Welsh. The
Brittonic forms presuppose *truk-so- with regular metathesis to *trusko- >
W trwch. In Irish, we should start from a root noun *truk-s, which meant
‘slain, cut man’, hence ‘man condemned to death’. Despite formal and
semantic problems, the connection to Lat. truncus ‘trunk’, trucidāre, Lith.
trenkiu ‘hit’ remains probable, but forms adduced in IEW (1074) belong to
several different roots.

*trummo- ‘heavy’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. trom [o]
W: OW trumm, MW trwm
BRET: OBret. trom, trum gl. inopurtune
CO: Co. trom
PIE: *trewd- ‘thrust, press’ (IEW: 1095f.)
COGN: Lat. trúdo ‘thrust, push’, Go. us-priutan ‘to maltreat’, OCS trudh
‘trouble’, perhaps also Alb. tredh ‘castrate’
ETYM: The Celtic forms can be derived from *trud-smo-, or maybe
*trud-mo- (but *-sm- is preserved in *dedmV- ‘rite’). Another possibility is
*trukso- (cf. PCelt. *truk- ‘trunk, broken part’). Germ. dial. (Bavaria)
Trumm ‘great piece, chunk’ (Kluge, s. v. Trümmer) may be a loanword from
Gaulish.
REF: LEIA T-151, GPC IV: 3626f., DGVB 324, EIEC 451, Falileyev 151,

*trussko- ‘dirty, leprous’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. trosc [o] ‘leprous’
*trusto- ‘noise, cry’ [Noun]

GOID: Mr. trost [o m]
W: MW trwst [m]
BRET: MBret. trous [m]
CO: Co. tros
ETYM: Since this word has no PIE etymology, it may have been borrowed from some non-IE language.
REF: LEIA T-152, GPC IV: 3629, Deshayes 2003: 748.

*truti- ‘starling’ [Noun]

GOID: Mr. truit, truid [i f]
W: MW trydw (GPC drudw)
BRET: MBret. dret, tret, MoBret. tred [f]
CO: OCo. troet gl. turdus, Co. trós
PIE: *trusdo- ‘starling, thrush’ (IEW: 1096)
COGN: Lat. turdus ‘thrush (or similar bird)’, MHG trostel, OPr. tresde, Croat. drôzd
ETYM: Mr. truit could also be from *trozdi- (cf. Lat. turdus < *trosdo-). The relationship of W tresglen, OBret. traf[s]cl gl. larum, MoBret. drask(l), Co. trasket ‘thrush’ to these words is unclear to me (? from PCelt. *trezd-ko-, or *trazd-ko-, with *ra < *ar < *r). Cf. also Fr. drenne ‘thrush’ (earlier also draine, drine), allegedly from Gaul. *dresdina < *tresd-inâ (Gamillscheg 332f.). Like the word for ‘blackbird’ (*mesalkā), this word for ‘starling’ has all the appearances of a loanword from some non-IE language of NW Europe (but cf. Arm. tordik ‘thrush’).

*tű, *tu ‘you’ [Pron]

GOID: Olr. tū, tu-ssu
W: OW ti, MW ti (GPC ti, dì)
BRET: MBret. ti, te
CO: Co. ty
PIE: *tuH ‘you’ (IEW: 1097f.)
*tud-o-


ETYM: Two forms of this pronoun must be distinguished in PCelt., one with long *tū, *tū (> W *ti), and the other with short *u, PCelt. *tu, preserved in OIr. tu-ssu and relengthened in OIr. tú (cf. mé ‘I’ vs. me-sse). Lengthening is regular in monosyllables. The origins of the alternation of *tu and *tū go back to PIE. Some linguists think that *tū was the stressed variant, and *tu the clitic pronoun, but it is also possible that the forms were actually *tuH and *tu, with *tu being the result of the loss of laryngeal in pause (this is argued for in Matasović 2008a: 233f.).

REF: LEIA T-156f., GPC IV: 3496, DGVB 311, 313, EIEC 455, Falileyev 147.

*tud-o- ‘fall’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. do-tuit; -toth [Subj.]; -tóeth [Fut.]

PIE: *(s)tewd- ‘hit’ (IEW: 1033f.)

COGN: Skt. tudáti, Lat. tundo, Go. stautan

ETYM: OIr. do-tuít < *tu-tud-o-; the verb is unattested as simplex.

REF: KPV 642ff., LIV 601, LEIA T-177ff., LP 402.

*tuknā ‘back, bottom, arse’ [Noun]

GOID: MIr. tón [ā f] ‘hindquarters, podex, bottom’

W: MW tin [f and m] ‘bottom, arse, rear’

CO: Co. tyn

PIE: *tewH-k- ‘swell’ (IEW: 1080)

COGN: OE þeoh ‘thigh’, Lith. táukas ‘fat’

ETYM: In MIr. this word is also attested as a feminine i-stem tóin. The MIr. forms must be from *tuknā or *tukni- (*tükna would yield MIr. **tún). The Brittonic forms point to *tūnā, which is derivable from *tuknā under the assumption that the compensatory lengthening of *u > *ū before *kn is earlier than the change of *ū > *ī > MW i (for the lengthening in Brittonic, cf. W mawn ‘peat’ < *makni- < PIE *mh₂kni- ‘swamp’). The laryngeal in PIE is confirmed by the acute in Baltic, so the short *u in Celtic is a problem. One possibility would be to assume that it was shortened by Dybo’s law (*tuHknó- > *tükno- > *tukno-).

REF: LEIA T-105f., GPC IV: 3498f.

*tullo- ‘pierced, perforated’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. toll [o]

W: MW twll [m]

BRET: OBret. toll gl. foramen, MBret. and MoBret. toull [m] ‘hole’

CO: Co. toll, tol

PIE: *tewk- ‘beat, perforate’ (IEW: 1032f.)

ETYM: The Celtic forms are usually derived from *tuxslo- < *tuk-slo- from the root *tewk- ‘beat, perforate’ (IEW 1032f. cf. Gr. τύκος ‘hammer’, Latv.
*tumšlo- 'beat'). However, the suffix *-slo- is used to derive nouns, not adjectives, and it appears probable that vowels were regularly lengthened before the cluster *xsl (cf. PCelt. *tāxslo- ‘axe’). In any case, the proximate reconstruction based on the Insular Celtic forms yields *tullo- rather than *tuxslo-.


*tumbo- ‘excrescence, hill’ [Noun]

GOID: MIr. *tomn [o m] ‘bush, bunch, hillock’ (DIL *tom)  
W: MW *tom [f and m] ‘dung, heap of dung, mound’  
PIE: *tum-bʰ - ‘mound, hill’ (IEW: 1082)  
COGN: Lat. tumulus ‘mound’  
ETYM: OIr. *túaim [n n] ‘hill, mound’ might also belong here (see LEIA T-159), but it might also be from *stowxsman- (see above).


*tum-i- ‘grow’ [Vb]

W: MW *tyfu  
BRET: OBret. *tum [3s Pres.], MoBret. teñvañ  
CO: Co. *a dyff ‘grow’; *tyff [3 s Pres.]  
PIE: *twem- ‘grow, swell’ (IEW: 1082)  
COGN: Skt. tumra- ‘strong, thick’, Lat. tumeo, Lith. tumėti ‘get fat’, OIr. *pumal-fingr ‘thumb’  
ETYM: Celtic *tum-i- is a reflex of the PIE stative present *tum-eh₁-, which is also the source of Lat. tumeo and Lith. tumėti.


*tundë ‘wave’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *tonn [ā f]  
W: OW *tōnnou gl. aequora; MW *tonn [f] (GPC ton)  
CO: Co. *ton  
ETYM: Perhaps related to Lat. tundo ‘beat’, Skt. tudāti ‘beat’, Arm. ṭndam ‘I am shattered’ (PIE *(s)tewd- ‘beat’, IEW 1032ff., see *tud-o- ‘fall’), cf. LEIA T-109; however, the difference in meaning is considerable (the semantic connection would lie in the beating of waves against the shore?). Note also that all of the reflexes in the Celtic languages could be derived from PCelt. *tondë, which could be identical to *tondā ‘surface, skin’, if the word first referred to the surface of the sea, and to ‘wave’ only secondarily.

*tuto- ‘vulva’ [Noun]  
GOID: MIr. toth [o m] ‘vulva, vagina, feminine gender (in grammar)’  
GAUL: Tuta [PN], Uirot-tuti [Dat. s, PN] (?)  
ETYM: Of course, the interpretation of the Gaulish personal names is quite uncertain, so the connection with MIr. toth is a speculation. There is also a possible connection to the name of the Roman Priapic deity Tutūnus.  
REF: LEIA T-119, Delamarre 305.

*tworko- ‘boar’ [Noun]  
GOID: OIr. torc [o m]  
W: MW twrch [m] ‘young pig, boar’  
BRET: OBret. torch gl. uerres, MoBret. tourc‘h [m]  
CO: OCo. torch gl. magalis  
PIE: *tworko- ‘cutter, boar’  
COGN: Av. ḍoṛas- ‘piglet’, perhaps Gr. sárks ‘flesh’  
ETYM: It is assumed here that *tw- was preserved in PCelt. (just as PIE *dw- was retained), but it is also possible that the change *tw- > *t- is already Proto-Celtic, since all Celtic languages have *t-. On the other hand, Lubotsky (1994a) derives the Celtic forms from the zero-grade of the PIE root (*turk-o-), since the cluster *rk usually resists raising in Irish. However, *tworko- makes more sense from the morphological point of view, if the word was originally an agent noun of the tomós-type. The PIE root meant ‘to cut out (a pit)’, cf. Av. ḍoṛas- ‘dig, cut out’, so the meaning ‘boar’ must have developed from ‘cutter, digger’.  

*uden-sk-yo- ‘water’ [Noun]  
GOID: OIr. uisce [io m]  
PIE: *wod-r / *uden- ‘water’ (IEW: 79)  
COGN: Skt. udān-, Hitt. watar-, Gr. ὕδωρ (Gen. ὕδατος), Umbr. utur, Lat. unda ‘wave’, OCS voda, Germ. Wasser  
ETYM: Although this etymology is often repeated in handbooks, I am not absolutely certain that it is correct. The suffix combination *-skryo- seems odd. Another possibility is to posit *ud-es-kyo- (cf. the s-stem in Gr. dial. ὕδος ‘water’, and cf. Skt. útsa- ‘well’). OIr. odar ‘brown, dun’ is often derived from the same PIE root for ‘water’ (PCelt. *ud-ro-), but the semantic difference is considerable.
**ufelo-** ‘bad, evil’ [Adj]

GOID: MIr. fel [o]

PIE: *h₂wop- ‘treat badly’ (IEW: 1107)

COGN: Hitt. huwapzi ‘harrows, despoils’, Go. ubils ‘bad, evil’

ETYM: The development is regular: PIE *h₂up-elo- > *ufelo- > *welo- > Olr. fel. The closest cognates are found in Germanic, cf. also OE yfel ‘evil, bad’.

REF: EIEC 43, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 410, 450.

**ufo- ‘under’ [Prep]

GOID: Olr. fo [Aspirating, +Acc, +Dat]

W: OW guo, MW go, go- ‘under, rather, partly’

BRET: OBret. guo, MoBret. gwa-, gou-

CO: Co. go- gwa-

GAUL: Vo-

LEP: Uvamo-kozis (Prestino)

PIE: *upo- ‘under, up to’ (IEW: 1106)

COGN: Skt. úpa, Gr. hypó, Go. uf

ETYM: I am not certain whether Lep. Uvamokozis (var. lect. Uvamakozis) stands for *uwamo-gostis, as is usually supposed, but the first element of this compound is likely to contain the reflex of PCelt. *ufo- (whether or not the letter v of the Lugano alphabet actually stands for the preserved PCelt. *f). The other element of this compound is thought to represent *gostis < PIE *gʰostis ‘guest’ (OCS gostb, Go. gasts, etc.), but it is unclear whether this word is otherwise not preserved in Celtic (see under *gazdo- ‘withe’).


**ufo-ate-k*ri-na- ‘buy back, redeem’ [Vb]

GOID: Olr. do-aithchren

BRET: MBret. dazprenaff

REF: KPV 440.

**ufo-biyo- ‘blow, injury’ [Noun]

GOID: Olr. fubae [io n]

W: MW gofwy ‘to visit, afflict with sickness, punish’ (GPC gofwy, gofwyo)

PIE: *bʰeyH- ‘strike, hit’ (IEW: 117f.)

COGN: OCS bitti, OLat. per-finás [2s Subjunctive]

SEE: *bi-na- ‘strike’


**ufo-dam-yo- ‘suffer’ [Vb]
*ufo-dex-tā

'blaze' [Noun]
SEE: *deg"i- 'flame'

*ufo-gni-ye- 'serve, be useful' [Vb]
GOID: Olr. fo-gni, -fogna; -fogna [3 s Subj.]; fugen-sa [1s Fut.] ‘serves, avails, profits, is used by’
W: MW gweini; gweinyt [3s Pres.] (GPC gweini, gweinyddu)
BRET: MBret. go(u)nit
CO: Co. gonis ‘work’
SEE: *gn-iyoe- ‘do’
REF: KPV 339ff., GPC II: 1621.

*ufo-kwri-na- 'buy, earn' [Vb]
GOID: Mlr. fo-cren ‘buys, exchanges, hires’; fo-chiura [Fut.]; fa-crith
[Pass.]
W: MW gobryn ‘earn’ (GPC gobryn, gobrynu)
SEE: *kwri-na- 'sell'
REF: KPV 438ff., GPC II: 1419.

*ufo-kan-o- 'sing along, play' [Vb]
GOID: Olr. fo-cain ‘accompanies (with a musical instrument)’
W: MW goganu ‘praise’ (GPC goganu, gogan, goganyd)
SEE: *kan-o- 'sing'
REF: KPV 388ff., GPC II: 1435.

*ufo-kel-o- 'protect, cover' [Vb]
GOID: Mlr. fo-ceil ‘hide, cover’
W: MW goglyt ‘defend, protect’; gogel [3s Pres.] (GPC goglyd, gogelyd, gogel, gogelu)
SEE: *kel-o- 'hide'
REF: GPC II: 1435, KPV 394ff.

*ufo-lawto- 'property, wealth' [Noun]
GOID: Olr. folud [o n] ‘substance, material, property, equivalent, reason, cause’
W: MW golud [m and f]
CO: OCo. wuludoc gl. dives
PIE: *leh₂u- ‘benefit, prize’ (IEW: 655)
ETYM: The Celtic forms represent a derivative with the suffix *-to-, or the past participle (*leh₂u-to-). Cf. also OIr. liáig, lóg ‘prize’ < *lowgo- < *loh₂u-go-. OE lēan and Go. laun can be from *leh₂w-no-. Lat. lucrum may represent *lu-tlo-, but the loss of laryngeal is unusual (by Dybo’s rule?). OIr. lour ‘enough’ and W llawer ‘many, a lot’ (Co. lower), /lawen ‘merry’ (MBret. lounen, Co. lowen) could also be from the same root (*law-ero-, *law-en-o-, cf. Gr. lārós ‘tasty’ < *láwaros).
REF: GPC II: 1452, EIEC 484, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 144.

*ufo-leg- ‘shelter, lair’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. foil, fail [k f]
W: MW gwal [f and m] ‘lair, pigsty’ (GPC gwål)
PIE: *legʰ ‘lie’ (IEW: 659)
ETYM: Cf. also W gwely ‘bed’ < *ufo-leg-yo-.

*ufo-rēdo- ‘horse’ [Noun]
W: MW gorwydd [m] ‘horse’; gorwyddawr, gorwyddod [p]
GAUL: *verēdo- > VLat. uerēdus ‘post horse’
SEE: *rēdo- ‘riding’, *rēd-smen-
ETYM: VLat. para-ueredus (ultimately from Gaulish) is the source of Germ. Pferd ‘horse’ and Fr. palefroi. The Gaulish form *verēdo- can represent the result of assimilation from *worēdo- < *ufo-rēdo-.
REF: LEIA R-26, GPC II: 1596, Delamarre 315.

*ufor- ‘over, on’ [Prep]
GOID: OIr. for [+Acc., +Dat.]
W: OW guor, MW gor, gwar
BRET: ŒBret. guor-, gor-
CO: Co. gor
GAUL: Ver-cingeto-rix [PN]
CELTIB: UER-AMOM [Acc. s] ‘highest’
PIE: *uper- ‘over’ (IEW: 1105)
COGN: Skt. upāri, Gr. hypér, Go. ufar
ETYM: It is not clear whether PCelt. *ufor- is a variant of *ufer- < *uper-, or a development thereof. For the development of *ufV- > *wV- cf. PCelt. *ufelo- and *ufo-.

*ufor-bu-yo- ‘remain’ [Vb]
**uo-ret-o-**

GOID: OIr. *for-tá; -forbáí* [3s Pret.]; *forbía* [3s Fut.]
W: MW *gorfot* ‘win, force (someone)’ (GPC *gorfodi*)
SEE: *bu-yo- ‘be’
REF: KPV 245, GPC II: 1479.

**uo-ret-o-** ‘help, save’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *fo-reith* ‘helps, takes someone’s place’
W: MW *gwared* ‘save, be helpful to’ (GPC *gwaredu, gwared*)
GAUL: *Uoreto-uirius* [PN]
SEE: *ret-o- ‘run’
ETYM: Cf. also OIr. *cobair, cobuir* ‘help’ < *kom-ufo-ret-, OIr. tóir* ‘help’ < *to-ufo-ret-. For the semantic development of the verb ‘to run’ (*ret-o-*) with the prefix *ufo-* < *wo- ‘under’ cf. Lat. *su-curro* ‘help’ (the Insular Celtic verbs may actually be calques of Latin).

**ufo-k*enno-** ‘end’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *forcenn* [o n>m] ‘end, final limit, what is destined’
W: MW *gorffen* [m]
BRET: MBret. *gourffenn*
CO: Co. *gorfen*
SEE: *k*enno- ‘head’
ETYM: There is also the denominative verb OIr. *for-cenna* ‘puts an end to’, W *gorffennu* ‘finish off’. This may be the result of a parallel development in Goidelic and Brittonic.
REF: GPC II: 1483, LP 45.

**ufo-kan-o-** ‘teach’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *for-cain*
W: MW *gwcharanu* (GPC *gorchan, gorchanu, gwcharan*)
SEE: *kan-o- ‘sing’
REF: KPV 388ff., GPC II: 1463.

**ufo-skato/u-** ‘shadow, shelter’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *foscad* [u and o n>m] ‘shade, shelter’
W: MW *gwascawt* (GPC *gwasgod*) [m] ‘shelter, shady place, shadow’
BRET: OBret. *guascotou* gl. frigora, MBret. *goasquet*, MoBret. *gwasked* [m]
PIE: *skeh₃t- ‘darkness’ (IEW: 957)
COGN: Gr. *skōtos*, OE *sceadu* ‘darkness’
SEE: *skāto- ‘shadow’
REF: GPC II: 1596, LP 2, Deshayes 2003: 300.

**ufo-sodyo-** ‘ground’ [Noun]
SEE: *sodyo- ‘seat’
*ufo-star-na- ‘strew’ [Vb]
GOID: Mr. fo-sern ‘arranges in due order, spreads abroad’
W: MW gwassarnu (GPC gwasarnu, gosarnu)
SEE: *star-na- ‘strew, broaden’

*ufo-wik-o- ‘commit an offence’ [Vb]
GOID: Olr. fo-fich ‘trespasses, commits an offence’
W: MW gowyn [m] (GPC gowyn) ‘shame, disgrace’
SEE: *wik-o- ‘fight’
REF: KPV 683ff., GPC II: 1517.

*ulk"o- ‘bad, evil’ [Adj]
GOID: Olr. olc [o]
LEP: Ułkos [PN]
PIE: *wlkwo- ‘wolf’ (IEW: 1178f.)
COGN: Skt. vrka-, Gr. lÝkos, Lat. lupus, Lith. vilkas, OCS vlëk, Go. wulfs
ETYM: The meaning of this word in PCelt. could have been ‘wolf’, as in PIE. Another etymology, less persuasive in my opinion, relates Olr. olc to Lat. ulciscor ‘take vengeance’ (see LP 43). The Gaulish ethnonym Volcae and W gwalch ‘hawk, rascal’ are sometimes also connected with the PIE word for ‘wolf’, but this is quite uncertain (Gaulish and Brittonic would have preserved the o-grade *wolk"o-).

*u-n-k-o- ‘understand’ [Vb]
GOID: Olr. do-ucai (DIL do-ucci, s. v. do-beir)
PIE: *h1ewk- ‘get used to’ (IEW: 347)
COGN: Skt. ucyati, Go. bi-uhits ‘used to’, OCS učiti ‘learn’, vyknäti ‘get used to’, Lith. jünkty ‘get used to’
ETYM: Olr. do-ucai is from *to-u-n-k-o-. The simplex is not attested. Cf. the verbal noun tuisce, tuisciu ‘understanding’ < *to-unk-syon-.
REF: KPV 652f., LIV 244f., LEIA U-13f., LP 345.

*up(p)u ‘ouch’ [Exclamation]
GOID: Olr. upp gl. ei mihi
W: MW wb (GPC wb, ub)
REF: LEIA U-26, GPC III: 3729.

*uxso-, *uxson- ‘ox’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. oss [o m] ‘stag, cow’
W: MW ych [m], ychen [p]

CO: Co. *ogh* [p]

PIE: *uksōn ‘ox’* (IEW: 1118)

COGN: OE *oxa*, Av. *uxsan- ‘bull’, ToB *okso ‘draft-ox’*

ETYM: The Brittonic forms presuppose a n-stem (with Nom. sg. *uxso(n) > *uxsū > *uxsī and subsequent i-affection in W). MIr. *oss* presupposes a thematic *uxso-*, cf. also the PN *Oscar* (‘stag-loving’).


**W**

*wa(d)-sko- ‘press’ [Vb]

GOID: MIr. *fāisci, fāisci* ‘presses’

W: MW *gwascu* (GPC *gwasgu*)


CO: Co. *gwyscel*

PIE: *wedʰH- ‘strike’* (IEW: 1115)


SEE: *wodwo- ‘cutting’*

ETYM: The derivation from the PIE root *wedʰH- is doubtful, since it requires positing an unmotivated lengthened grade in Celtic (it is unexpected with sk-presents). OIr. *fodb* [o n] probably does not belong here, since it means ‘booty (usually of clothes)’ rather than ‘weapon’, as stated by EIEC 471. The reconstruction of the PIE root is uncertain; LIV reconstructs *wedʰ₁* and Kloekhorst (2008: 349) compares Htt. *huttiyezi ‘draws, pulls, plucks’ and reconstructs *h₂wedʰ₁*.

REF: LP 19, LIV 600f., EIEC 471.

*waŋno/ā- ‘depression, slope, hollow’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *fán [o m] ‘slope, declivity, hollow’*

W: OW *guoun* [f] ‘meadow’, MW *gwawn, gweun* (GPC *gwaun*)

BRET: OBret. *goen*, MBret. *gueun*

CO: OCo. *guen* gl. campus, MCo. *goen, gon, goon*

ETYM: The cluster -gn- is assured by the toponym *Vagniacis* in Britain (Itin.). The toponym *Vagna* in Piemont could be the Gaulish equivalent of these words. The genders in OIr. and in Brittonic do not match, so we must assume both *waŋno- and *waŋnā* (OIr. *fán* could also be derived from *wagno-, with short *a, cf. de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 255). On the Indo-
European side, PCelt. *wāgno- has been connected to Lat. uagus (IEW 1120), but this is uncertain from both semantic and formal points of view. 

*walatro- ‘ruler’ [Noun]
SEE: *walo- ‘prince, chief’

*wal-na- ‘rule, govern’ [Vb]
GOID: Olr. fallnaithir, -fallnathar, -follnathar
PIE: *welH- ‘be strong, rule’ (IEW: 1111f.)
COGN: Lat. ualeo ‘be strong’, Lith. veldėti ‘govern, rule’, Go. waldan ‘rule’, perhaps also Hitt. hullê? ‘smash, defeat’
SEE: *walo- ‘prince, chief’
ETYM: Celtic preserves the zero-grade of the PIE root (PIE *wl-neh₂- > *wal-nā- >> PCelt. *wal-na-).
REF: KPV 655f., LIV 676f.

*walo- ‘prince, chief’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. fal ‘rule’ (DIL fâl ‘king’)
W: OW Con-gual [PN]
BRET: OBret. Conuual [PN]
PIE: *welH- ‘rule’ (IEW: 1112)
COGN: Lat. ualeo ‘be strong’ Go. waldan ‘rule’, ToB walo ‘king’
SEE: *walati- ‘sovereignty’, *wal-na- ‘rule, govern’
ETYM: Olr. Con-all, OW Con-gual, OBret. Conuual [PN] < *kuno-walo-.
Cf. the parallel compound PNs Gaul. Katouualos, OW Catgual, Olr. Cathal ‘strong in battle’ < *katu-walo-. PCelt. *walo- can be derived regularly form PIE *wlHo-.

*wanno- ‘weak’ [Adj]
GOID: Mlr. fann [o]
W: MW gwan
BRET: OBret. guenion gl. mitiores, MoBret. goann, gwan
CO: OCo. guan gl. debilis
PIE: *h₁weh₂-s ‘disappear, vanish’ (IEW: 345)
COGN: Lat. uānus ‘hollow, devoid’, Skt. ūnā- ‘deficient’, Go. wān ‘missing’
ETYM: The PCelt. form can be from the PIE adjective *h₁weh₂-sno- (= Lat. uānus), with *ā > *a by Dybo's law (cf. the accentuation in Skt. uṇā- 'empty'. Alternatively, it could, perhaps, represent *h₁uh₂-sno- (though **uṇo- would be a more likely outcome of this form).

*wāri- 'sunrise, east' [Noun]
GOID: MLr. fāir [? ?]
W: MW gwawr [f and m] 'dawn'
PIE: *wōsri-, *west/n- 'spring'
COGN: Gr. ēar 'spring', Lat. uēr 'spring'
ETYM: W gwawr can also mean 'hero, prince, chieftain' and GPC treats these meanings as metaphorical extensions of the primary meaning 'dawn, sunrise'. However, I am not sure that this is correct; S Zimmer (p. c.) relates W gwawr to Germ. wehren 'prohibit' (PIE *wer-, LIV 684). Celtic *wāri- appears to be a vrddhi derivative from PIE *wesr 'spring'. The PCelt. reconstruction is difficult since the gender and stem of Olr. fāir are unknown. The word is known only from glossaries. PIE *sr regularly gives PCelt. *rr, but the geminate was probably simplified after long vowels, cf. PCelt. *mīros- 'peace of meat, food' < *mīrros-.
REF: GPC II: 1605, LP 22.

*warrā 'post, prop' [Noun]
GOID: MLr. farr [? f] 'post'
W: OW guar, MW gwar [m and f] 'nape of the neck, noddle, upper part'
CO: OCo. guar gl. collum
PIE: *wer-s- 'top, peak' (IEW: 1150ff.)
COGN: Skt. vārsman- 'height, top', OCS vr̥xva 'top, peak', Lith. viršūs 'top, peak', Lat. uerrūca
SEE: *werro- 'high'
ETYM: The semantic connection between the Goidelic and Welsh forms is not wholly convincing. Besides, farr is attested rather late in Irish. Gamillscheg (469) derives Fr. garenne 'rabbit-warren, fishing preserve', Fr. dial. varenne 'wilderness', from Gaul. *war(r)ennā, a derivative of a putative *warro- 'stick, post', but I doubt if this etymology is correct. On the formal side, PCelt. *warrā can be derived from PIE *wrseh₂.

*wāsto- 'empty' [Adj]
GOID: Olr. fās [o]
PIE: *h₁weh₂sto- 'waste' (IEW: 345f.)
COGN: Lat. uāstus, OE wēste 'waste, empty'
ETYM: It is unclear whether W gwaws 'gentle, pleasant, terrible' is related to this set of forms, or is it a borrowing from Lat. uāstus. In any case, the
meaning is quite different. The word-initial laryngeal can be deduced if these words are related to Gr. εἰνις ‘deprived’, but this is not certain.


*wasto- ‘servant’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. foss [o m]
W: OW guas, MW gwlas [m]; gweision, gweis [p]
BRET: MBret. -uuas, -guas [in PN], MoBret. gwaz ‘man, husband’
CO: Co. guas
GAUL: *uassos > MLat.uassus (cf. Fr. vassal)
ETYM: OIr. foss ‘male servant’ should be distinguished from OIr. foss [o m] ‘rest, resting place’. Some linguists derive these words from PIE *upo-sth₂-o- ‘standing beneath’, cf. Delamarre 307, IEW 1106. However, this proto-form should give PCelt. *ufo-sto- > *wosso-, from which we could derive OIr. foss ‘rest, resting place’, while PCelt. *wasto- must have a different etymology. See, however, PCelt. *wostu-.


*wastu- ‘dwelling’ [Noun]
W: MW gwlas [f] ‘abode, dwelling’
PIE: *weh₂stu- ‘dwelling’ (IEW: 1170f.)
COGN: Skt. vāstu- ‘house, dwelling’, Gr. ἀστy ‘city’, ToB ost ‘house’
ETYM: OIr. i foss ‘at rest, at home’ is sometimes related to this set of forms, but the o-vocalism makes this comparison unlikely. It is more probably related to foss ‘rest’, which can, in turn, be derived from PCelt. *wasto- ‘servant’). MW gwlas reflects the zero-grade of the PIE word, which had an ablauting paradigm (presumably *woh₂stu- / *wh₂stew-). For the development *wHC- > *waC- in Celtic, see *waxto- ‘bad’ (the same development is found in Gr. ἀστy < *wh₂stu-).

REF: GPC II: 1591, EIEC 281.

*wāti- ‘sooth-sayer, prophet’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. fāith [i m]
GAUL: ouāteis [p] (Strabo 4.4.4.)
PIE: *weh₂-ti- ‘prophet’ (IEW: 1113)
COGN: Lat. uātēs ‘prophet’, OE wōd ‘inspiration’
SEE: *wātu- ‘poetic inspiration’
ETYM: Lat. uātēs is often considered to be an old Celtic loanword, but de Vaan (2008: 656) thinks it is inherited. It is true that uātēs is rather isolated in Latin, but there are no compelling reasons to think it must have been borrowed from Celtic.

REF: LP 6, 65f., EIEC 707, Delamarre 308, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 369, 375.
*wātu- 'poetic inspiration' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. fāth [u m] 'prophesy, cause, reason'
W: MW gwawd [m and f] 'poem, song of praise, satire, mockery'
PIE: *weh₂-tu- 'prophesy' (IEW: 1113)
SEE: *wāti- 'sooth-sayer, prophet'

*waxto- 'bad' [Adj]
GOID: Mr. facht [? ?] 'malice'
W: MW gwaeth 'worse' (comparative to drwg 'bad')
BRET: MBret. goaz, MoBret. gwažh 'worse'
CO: Co. gweth 'worse'
ETYM: OIr. facht is very poorly attested, and stem formation, gender, and precise meaning of this word are unknown. Gaul. name Vaxtulla (CIL XIII 5864, Billy 1993: 152) might be from the same root, but there is no proof that it is. Schrijver (1995: 132, following Morris Jones 1913: 246) derives the MW superlative gwaeth-af from < *ufo-fed-isamo- < *upo-ped-is-mmo-, where *ped- is the word for 'foot' (Lat. pēs, etc.). The positive gwaeth would be analogical (since *ufo-ped-yo- would yield MW **gweidd). All of this makes the etymology proposed here rather problematic. The connection of PCelt. *waxto- and Lat. uacillo 'stagger, waver' (IEW 1135, as if from PIE *wak-) is a mere possibility. I believe that Lat. uacū ‘be empty’, uacus ‘empty’ are better candidates for cognates outside Celtic. We could reconstruct a PIE root *weh₂k-, and both the Latin and the Celtic reflexes could be regularly derived from the zero-grade of that root under the assumption that *wHk- > *wak- (rather than *ük-). The Celtic form could be an old to-participle, and the semantic development could have been from 'emptied' to 'lacking' and 'bad'. Note that de Vaan (2008: 649, 653) connects Lat. uacus to vānum ‘hollow, devoid’, and reconstructs the PIE root as *h₁weh₂-, with *h₁- because of Gr. eāō ‘let, permit’ (cf. also Go. wans ‘missing’ and Skt. ānā- ‘empty’).

*way 'woe, oh, alas' [Interjection]
GOID: Mr. fāe ‘alas’
W: MW gwaē ‘woe, misery, trouble’
BRET: MBret. goa, MoBret. gwa
PIE: *way ‘alas, woe’ (IEW: 1111)
COGN: Av. vaiiōi, Lat. uae, OE wā
ETYM: All of these interjections in different IE languages could be independent formations, but their similarity is obvious. Cf. also W gwael ‘poor, wretched, despised’, MoBret. gail, Gaul. PN Vailo, which may be from the same root (*waylo-).
REF: GPC II: 1544.
*waydā ‘shout, cry, clamour’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. fáed, faid
W: MW gwaedd [f]
ETYM: Possibly connected with *way ‘woe’.
REF: GPC II: 1548.

*waylo- ‘poor, wretched’ [Adj]
SEE: *way- ‘woe’

*waylo- ‘wolf’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. fáel [o m]
PIE: *waylo- (?) ‘wolf’ (IEW: 1110f.)
COGN: Arm. gayl ‘wolf’
ETYM: MW poetic compound gweil-gi [f] ‘ocean, sea’ has been compared to OIr. fáel-chú ‘wolf’ (PCelt. ? *waylo-kü, cf. Zimmer 2000: 56), but the evolution of meaning in Welsh is difficult to explain (if this is correct). A putative MoBret. gail ‘wolf’ seems not to exist. There is some evidence that OIr. fáel was originally an u-stem, and in some texts it inflects as a dental stem. The correspondence between it and Arm. gayl could be accidental, since it is based on only two IE languages. The connection with the interjection *way (IEW 1111) is not convincing. It is assumed here that the PIE word for ‘wolf’, *wlk’o-, became the adjective meaning ‘bad, evil’ in PCelt. (*ulk’o-).

*wed-o- ‘lead, bring together’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. feidid, -feid; feiss, -fé [Subj.], feiss, -fé [Fut.]; fáid [Pret.]; fessae, -fess [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW arweddu ‘lead, bring’
BRET: MBret. dimiziff ‘marry’
CO: Co. demmedhi ‘marry’
PIE: *wedʰ- ‘lead’ (IEW: 1115f.)
COGN: Lith. vedū ‘lead, marry’, Go. ga-widan ‘bind’, OCS vesti, Lith. vedū, věsti
ETYM: MW arweddu is from *fare-wed-o-, and MBret. dimiziff, Co. demmedhi are from *to-ambi-wed-o-. Cf. also W cywain, cyweiniaf ‘carry together, convey’ < PCelt. *kow-wed- < *kom-wedʰ-, and W dyweddio ‘marry’ < *dī-wed-. Some linguists reconstruct a word-initial *h₂ in the PIE root and compare Hitt. huett(iya)- ‘draw, pull, pluck’, but this connection is not universally accepted. Note that the Hitt. verb is written with double -tt-, which should be from the PIE voiceless stop *t, or *dH, *dʰH; Kloekhorst 2008: 349 derives it from PIE *h₂wedʰh₁- ‘strike’ (Skt. vadh-, etc., cf. *wād-sko- ‘press’).
*wed-o- 'yoke, harness' [Noun]

GOID: MIr. *fedil (DIL feidil)

W: MW *gwedd [m and f]

PIE: *wedh- 'bind' (IEW: 1117f.)

COGN: Go. ga-widan 'bind’, OHG wetan ‘bind’, perhaps Hitt. weda-, weta- 'build'

SEE: *wed-o- 'lead, bring to'

ETYM: The Welsh formation is original, and the MIr. noun is a derivative (? *wed-el-o-). Cf. also gweddu ‘subject oneself to, submit, be humbled’ (originally ‘be bound, harnessed’). GPC claims these words are derived from *wed-o- 'lead’; the semantic connection would presumably lie in the fact that oxen are harnessed in order to be led. I find this difficult to accept, and I believe that it is better to separate PIE *wedh- 'lead’ and *wedh- 'bind, harness’, as Pokorny does (IEW 1116-7). Skt. vādhra- 'leather belt’ is sometimes compared, but it may be actually dissimilated from vārdhra-, which is from ‘enclose, encompass’ (cf. Mayrhofer, s. v. vādhra-).

REF: GPC II: 1609.

*wēd-o- 'tell, relate' [Vb]

GOID: OIr. ad-fēt ‘tells’; ad-fē [Subj.]; ad-fī [Fut.]; ad-fiad [Pret.]; ad-fess [Pret. Pass.]

W: MW amkawdd [3s Pret.]

PIE: *weyd- 'perceive, see’ (IEW: 1125f.)

COGN: Skt. vindāti ‘finds’, Lat. uideo, OCS vidēti ‘see’, Arm. gitem ‘know’

ETYM: OIr. ad-fēt < *ad-wēd-o-, MW amkawdd < *ambi-kom-wēd-o-. The simplex is not attested. The semantic evolution from ‘perceive, see’ to ‘tell, relate’ is somewhat difficult (one would expect a causative formation of which there is no trace in Celtic).


*wēdo- 'sight, presence' [Noun]

GOID: OIr. fiad [Preposition, Aspirating] ‘in the presence of’

W: MW gwyard [m] (GPC gwyard) ‘sight, presence’

CELTIB: *ueizos? ‘witness’

PIE: *weyd- ‘perceive, see’ (IEW: 1125f.)

COGN: Lat. uideo

SEE: *wēd-o- 'tell, relate'

ETYM: The meaning of Celtib. *ueizos is uncertain. It occurs in the dative in Luzaga (*ueizui), and, apparently, in the Nom. sg. in ‘The Bronze reś’. Meid (1994: 48) renders its meaning as ‘visitor, guest’, but ‘witness’ has also been
proposed (cf. OIr. fiadu [n m] ‘witness’ (DIL fiada) < *wédon- and noidiu ‘baby, small child’ < *ne-wéed-yon-).

*wédon- ‘witness’ [Noun]
SEE: *wedo- ‘sight, presence’

*wédu- ‘wild’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. fiad [u m] ‘wild animals, game’, Ogam VEDA-CUNAS
W: MW gwýdd (GPC gwýdd)
BRET: O Bret. guoid-och gl. aper, MBret. goez, MoBret. gouez
CO: OCo. guit-fil gl. fera
PIE: *wýd- ‘wood, wilderness’ (IEW: 1177)
COGN: OE wáð ‘hunt’
SEE: *widu- ‘wood’
ETYM: In OIr., there is also fiad ‘uncultivated land’ and fiadach ‘hunt’. Another derivative from the same PCelt. root could be Mlr. fían, denoting a troop of young warriors and brigands. It could be derived from *wédná (McConne 1987), but an alternative etymology derives it from PCelt. *wêná (see below) and relates it to OCS vojba ‘war’. OE wáð ‘hunt’ represents a different ablaut grade, PGerm. *waydz. These words are probably from the same PIE root as PCelt. *wédná ‘wood’ (Lat. siluiaticus > Fr. sauvage ‘wild’, also means ‘wild’). Also a derivative from the same root is OW *Goidel (W Gwyddel ‘Irishman’, which was borrowed into OIr. as Goidel ‘Irishman, a Gael’).

*wegno- ‘wagon’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. fén [o m] gl. plaustrum
W: W gwain
PIE: *weghno- ‘wagon’ (IEW: 1118ff.)
COGN: OHG wagan, ToB yakne ‘way, manner’
ETYM: W gwain ‘car’ appears not to be attested in GPC (gwain ‘sheath’ < Lat. uaguna is a different word of course). Cf. also OIr. fénæ [iā f] ‘wagon’ < *wegn-ya.
REF: LP 11, EIEC 625, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 254, 258.

*wegnya ‘wagon’ [Noun]
SEE: *wegno- ‘wagon’

*wegro- ‘grass’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. fér [o n]
W: MW gweir (GPC gwair) [m] ‘grass, hay’
PIE: *h₂weg- / *h₂weg- ‘grow’ (IEW: 84f.)

COGN: Lat. augeo, Go. aukan

ETYM: In OW, there is the compound guer-claud ‘meadow’. Deshayes (2003: 296) adduces MoBret. gwain ‘chiendent des grèves’ and claims it comes from *wegro- by a ‘dissimilation de la consonne finale’; however, a different proto-form, *wegno-, would appear equally probable. On the Indo-European side, this etymology is weak from the semantic point of view; the semantic development would be from ‘outgrowth’ to ‘grass’, and formally PIE *h₂wegro- > PCelt. *wegro- would be regular (if one admits Schwebeablaut, cf. Go. wahsjan ‘grow’ < *h₂weg-s-). A. Lubotsky (p. c.) suggests that PCelt. *wegro- may be related to Lat. uegeo ‘enliven’, OHG wahhen ‘to be awake’ (PIE *weg- ‘be lively’, IEW 1117f., LIV 601). This may be more likely from the formal point of view, but again a rather complex semantic development would have to be assumed (cf. MLat. vegetatio, Eng. vegetation).


*weg(y)ā ‘web, woven fabric’

GOID: OIr. fige [iā f] ‘weaving’

W: MW gwe [m and f]

BRET: OBret. gueg gl. textrix, MoBret. gwe [m] ‘torsion, weaving’

SEE: *weg-yo- ‘weave’


*weg-yo- ‘weave, compose’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. figid, -fig, fāig [Pret.]; fechtæ, -fecht [Pret. Pass.]

W: MW gwēu (GPC gwau)

BRET: MBret. gueaff

CO: Late Co. gwia

PIE: *weg- ‘spin, weave’ (IEW: 1117)

COGN: Lat. uēlum ‘sail’, OE wice ‘wick’

SEE: *weg(y)ā ‘web, woven fabric’

ETYM: Lat. uēlum represents *weg-slo-, while Celtic points to PIE *weg-yo-.


*wek"o- ‘face’, originally ‘speech (?)’ [Noun]

GOID: ? Ogam VEQ-REQ

W: MW gwep [f] ‘face, aspect, grimace’

BRET: MBret. goap [m] ‘mockery’

GAUL: Uepo-litanos [PN], Uepos [PN]

PIE: *wek”- ‘say, utter’ (IEW: 1135f.)

*welet-*

SEE: *woxtlo- 'word'

ETYM: A difficult etymology. Ogam PN *VEQREQ* could contain the same element as the first part of Gaul. *Vepo-litanos* (but cf. a different explanation in Ziegler 1994: 118). The change of meaning in W would be from 'speech' to 'mockery' to 'grimace', and finally, to 'face'. This semantic evolution is complex, but possible. On the other hand, it is difficult to know the meaning of the onomastic element *Uepo-* in Gaulish (see Meid 2005: 245ff.). Is *Uepo-litanos* 'broad-faced' or 'one with the broad speech'? Such difficulties of interpretation cast some doubt on the validity of this etymology. Deshayes 2003: 277 considers Bret. *goap* to be a loanword from Norman French *gouaper* 'mock' (form ON *gabba*). The PIE root *wekw-* is attested in Celtic in Mlr. *anocht* (o m, originally n) 'mistake to be avoided by poets' < *anuxto- < *an-uk(w)-to-, cf. Skt. *anukta- 'unpronounced', in PCelt. *woxtlo- 'word' (see below), and perhaps in Mlr. *fūaimm* 'noise' if it is from *woxsman- < *wokw-smn-.


*welet-* 'seer, poet' [Noun]
SEE: *wel-o- 'see'

*weli-, *woli- 'blood' [Noun]

GOID: Olr. *fuil* [i f]
W: MW *gweli* [f and m] 'blood, wound'
BRET: MBret. *goulyow* [p]
CO: Co. *goly*
PIE: *welh23- 'wound' (IEW: 1144f.)
COGN: Lat. *uolnus*, Gr. *oulē* 'scar'
SEE: *wlanno- 'blood red'

ETYM: W *gweli* and the other Brittonic forms cannot be derived directly from the proto-form *weli-*, but rather presuppose some kind of suffix, perhaps *-iso- (IEW). Olr. *fuil* appears to be from *woli- < *wolHi-. The laryngeal in the PIE root is implied by Lat. *In* (from *-lan- by syncope; original *In would have been assimilated to *īl, cf. *tōlo* 'take' < *tolnō)

REF: GPC II: 1627, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 65, 73, EIEC 650.

*wēliyo/ā- 'modesty' [Noun]

GOID: Olr. *fēle* gl. honestas [iā f]
W: OW *guiled* [m], MW *gwyled* (GPC *gwyledd*)
BRET: OBret. *guiled* gl. honestas
SEE: *wēlo- 'modest'

ETYM: In Gaulish, there are PN with the element *uelio-* (e.g. *Uelio-casses*), but the length of the vowel e is unknown. Therefore, the connection with PCelt. *wēliyo-* must remain conjectural.
*wello-*

*good, desirable* [Adj]
W: MW *gwell* ‘better’
BRET: MBret. *guell*, MoBret. *gwell* ‘better’
CO: Co. *gwell* ‘better’
PIE: *welH- ‘want, wish, choose’ (IEW: 1137)

ETYM: The Brittonic forms presuppose *wello- < *wel-n-o-. It is possible that the Gaulish phrase *Aisus scrisumio uelor*, preserved in Marcellus of Bordeaux (Dottin 1920: 214), contains the 1 sg. Pres. of the deponent verb *uele* ‘I wish’, see Delamarre 312. The interpretation of this Gaulish healing formula is difficult, though. Meid 1994: 44 interprets Celtib. *ERNA UELA* (Luzaga) as ‘good reception’ and relates *uela* to PCelt. *welo-* ‘good’, but this is a mere possibility (as is his contention that the same element is contained in the first part of the probably Celtic name *Vela-genus*, Meid 2004: 126). The second element of the Gaul. ethnonym *Catu-vellauni* has also been related to this set of words (IEW 1137); it may reflect an old participle *welH-mh₁no-*, with *mn > *wn. In PIE, the laryngeal is often identified as *h₁ because of Gr. (Dor.) *léō* ‘want, wish’.


*wello-, *wallo- ‘deceit, error’ [Noun]
GOID: Mfr. *fell* [o m and å f] ‘deceit, treachery, crime’
W: MW *gwall* [m] ‘error, mistake’
BRET: MBret. *goall*, MoBret. *gwall* [m] ‘damage, evil’
CO: Co. *gwall* ‘accident, deficit’

ETYM: Cf. also OIr. *foll* ‘crime’, *follach* ‘negligent, neglect, denominative *follaig* ‘neglects, omits, fails to’. This would point to the ablaut pattern *wello- / *wollo-/*wallo- in PCelt. These words have been related to Lith. *vilti*, *vilbinti* ‘deceive’, Skt. *valh*- ‘puzzle (by riddles)’, Gr. *elephairomai* ‘deceive’ (IEW 1140), in which case we should reconstruct PIE *(h₁)welH₁-(b²)*. The geminate *ll in Celtic may be from *In, but the loss of laryngeal is puzzling. It may have been generalized from *(H)wolHn- > *(H)woln- (by de Saussure’s law), or, more likely, from the shape of the root in the infixed present stem *wl-ne-h₁-/*wl-n-h₁-.


*wel-n-o- ‘bend’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *fillid, -filli*
BRET: MBret. *goalenn* ‘green twig’, MoBret. *gwalenn* [f]
PIE: *wel- ‘turn, wind’ (IEW: 1140ff.)
COGN: Lat. uoluo, OCS valiti ‘roll’, Go. walwen ‘rotate, roll’, ToA walji ‘worms’
ETYM: MoBret. gwalemn is a nominal derivative from the verb ‘to bend, twist’. It may go back to PCelt. *wal-ennā < *wal-ensnā.

*wel-o- ‘see’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. -fil ‘there is’
W: MW gwelet ‘see’ (GPC gweld, gwelel)
BRET: OBret. guilinn [3p Pret.], MBret. guelet, MoBret. gweled [m] ‘sight’
CO: Co. gweles
PIE: *wel-o- ‘see’ (IEW: 1136f.)
COGN: Lat. uoltus ‘face, facial expression’, Go. wulþus ‘wealth’
ETYM: The semantic development of OIr. fil was from ‘lo, behold’ (Impv. of *wel-o- ‘see’) to ‘there is’. OIr. file [d m] ‘poet’ is a derivative from this root (cf. Ogam Gen. sg. VELITAS). The original meaning was ‘seer’, PCelt. *wel-et-. Go. wulþus < PIE *wl-tu- shows the development of meaning from ‘sight, appearance’ to ‘respect’ and ‘wealth’ (cf. Croat. ugled ‘respect’ vs. glêdati ‘see’).

*wëlo- ‘modest’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. fial [o] ‘decorous, honourable, modest’
W: MW gwyl (GPC gwyl)
SEE: *wëlîyoo- ‘modesty’
ETYM: Hamp (1980a: 213) derives these words from PIE *wey- ‘turn’ (IEW 1120), cf. Lat. uilis ‘cheap, abundant’ < PIE *wey-lo- (but against this etymology see de Vaan 2008: 678 deriving uilis from *wes-li-, PIE *wes- ‘to buy’).

*wëna ‘troop, band of warriors’
GOID: Mlr. fian [ã f]
PIE: *weyhi- ‘chase, pursue, suppress’ (IEW: 1123)
ETYM: DIL renders the meaning of fian as ‘a band of roving men whose principal occupations were hunting and war, also a troop of professional fighting-men under a leader’. The Irish ethnonym Féni is probably related. The collective formation (PCelt. *wënâ) seems to be the same as in PCelt. *slowgâ ‘band, troop’, and its synonym *worînâ ‘band, troop’. I believe this word was much more likely to have been inherited than borrowed from ON fiandi ‘enemy’ (the etymology mentioned in DIL). The development of PIE *weyHnehz₂ > PCelt. *wënâ would have been regular, cf. OCS vojîna ‘war’.
However, an alternative etymology derives OIr. *flan from PCelt. *wēdnā (see *wēdu- 'wild').

*wendo- 'a single hair' [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. find [o.m, earlier n] (DIL finna)
PIE: *wendʰ- 'hair' (IEW: 1148)
COGN: Gr. ionthos 'hair root, acne', OHG wint-brāwa 'eyelash'
SEE: *wenso- 'pubic hair'
ETYM: Celtic points to the thematic *wendʰo-, while Gr. ionthos is from reduplicated *wiwondʰo-.

*wenk-ā- 'bend' [Vb]
GOID: Mlr. feccaid 'bends, stoops'
PIE: *wenk- 'bend'
COGN: Skt. vaḥc- 'move (waveringly), vakṛ- 'curved', OE wō h 'bent'
ETYM: Lat. con-uexus 'curving outwards, arching' is probably unrelated to these words, being derived from *wegʰ- 'drive', cf. de Vaan 2008: 133.

*wens- 'pubic hair' [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. fēs [Collective]
PIE: *wendʰ-s- 'body hair, beard'
IEW: 1148
COGN: OPr. wanso 'first beard', Russ. us' 'moustache'
SEE: *wenso- 'a single hair'
ETYM: The PIE root seems to be *wendʰ-, cf. PCelt. *wend-o-. This means that PCelt. *wenso- is from *wendʰ-so-, just like the BSl. cognates.

&wentā 'place, town' [Noun]
W: MW cad-went 'battlefield'
PIE: *h₁wen- 'place' (?)
COGN: Gr. eunɛ 'bed', Alb. vend 'place'
ETYM: Cf. also the Ancient British toponym Venta.

*wenyā 'family, kindred' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. fine [iə f]
BRET: OBret. coguenou gl. indigena, MBret. gouen(n), MoBret. gouenn [f]
'race, kind'
GAUL: Veni-carus [PN], Ven-eti [Ethnonym] (today Vannes)
PIE: *wenh₁- 'desire' (IEW: 1147)
COGN: OHG wini 'friend'
ETYM: The same root is attested in OIr. fingal 'slaying of a relative' (*weni-galā); cf. also the parallel compound PNs OIr. Finchar, OW Guncar, Gaul. Uenicarus < *weni-kar-o-. Some authors interpret Lepontic uenia as
'family' and derive it from the same root (cf. McCone 2006: 28, Solinas 1995: 372f.).


*wer-V- ‘find’ [Verb]
GOID: OIr. -ficiar [Pret.]; fo-frith ‘was found’ [Pass. Pret.]
PIE: *werh₁- ‘find’ (IEW: 1160)
COGN: Gr. heuriskō, Arm. gerem ‘take prisoner’
ETYM: OIr. -ficiar represents a reflex of the PIE reduplicated perfect (*we-worh₁-).
REF: EIEC 202, LIV 637.

*werga ‘anger’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. ferg [ã f]
W: W gwery ‘active, lively’
BRET: OBret. guerg gl. efficax
GAUL: uergo-bretus ‘a magistrate’ (Argenton sur Creuse, Caesar, De bello Gallico I.16.5)
PIE: *werg₂- ‘anger, strength’ (IEW: 1169)
COGN: Skt. ūr-, ūrā- ‘strength, nourishment’, Gr. orgē ‘impulse, mood, anger, passion’
ETYM: Gaul. vergobretos has also been related to Gr. érgon ‘work’ < PIE *wergōm, so it is doubtful whether it belongs here. Skt. ūrā does not necessarily presuppose a root in laryngeal (*werHg-), cf. Av. varızci.cašman- ‘with strong eyes’. Gr. orgē is from *worged₂. The development of meaning from ‘enmity’ to ‘anger’ is unproblematic.

*werno- ‘alder, alder-tree’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. fern [ã f]
W: MW gwern [m and f], gwernen [Singulative] ‘alder, mast of a ship’
BRET: OBret. guern, MBret. guern, MoBret. gwern [f] ‘alder, mast’
CO: OCo. guern gl. malus, guernen gl. alnus, Co. gwern ‘mast’
GAUL: Gaul. *werna > Fr. vergne, Pr. verne, Gaul. Verno-dubrum [Toponym]
PIE: *werno- ‘alder’ (IEW: 1169)
COGN: Alb. verrē ‘Populus alba’, Arm. geran ‘alder’

*wēro- ‘crooked’ [Adj]
GOID: Mfr. fiar [o]
W: MW gwyrr (GPC gŵyr)
*werro-*

BRET: MBret. goar, MoBret. gwar ‘curved’
PIE: *weyh₁-ro- ‘turned, twisted’ (IEW: 1122)
COGN: OE wihr ‘wire’
SEE: *wi-na- ‘bend, enclose’
ETYM: The PIE root is *weyh₁- ‘turn, twist’, cf. OCS viti, Lat. uieo, etc.

*werro-* ‘better (?)’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. ferr [o] ‘better’
PIE: *werso- ‘peak’ (IEW: 1151f.)
COGN: Lat. uerrūca ‘varus, pimple’, OE wearr ‘sill’, Lith. viršius ‘peak’,
OCS vṛx ‘peak’, Russ. vérx ‘peak’
SEE: *warrā ‘post, prop’
REF: EIEC 416.

*werp- ‘worth, price’ [Noun]
W: MW gwerth [m]
CO: Co. guerdhe ‘sell’
PIE: *wert- ‘turn’ (IEW: 1156ff.)
COGN: Skt. vṛtate ‘turns’, OHG werd ‘worth’, Lat. uerto ‘turn’, Lith. vīršti ‘to turn around’, OCS vṛtēti ‘to turn around’
ETYM: Some authors think that these Brittonic words were borrowed from Germanic, but it is equally possible that they are inherited. Attribution to the root *wert- ‘turn’ is probable if one starts with the meaning ‘exchange’ (a similar evolution of meaning occurred in Germanic). The same root is attested in OIr. ad-ferta gl. adversatur and OIr. adbairt ‘adversary’. Schrijver (1996) relates these words to OIr. gor ‘pious, dutiful’, MW gwar ‘tame, civilized’ (see PCelt. *gwar ‘duty’).

*wertyā ‘mound’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. fertae [iā f] ‘mound, tumulus’
PIE: *Hwer- ‘cover, close’ (IEW: 1160f.)
COGN: Skt. vṛnōti ‘close’, Lat. aperio ‘open’, Lith. at-vėrti ‘open’
ETYM: MW gwerthyr [m] ‘fort’ (< *wert-ro-) and MW gweryd [m] ‘earth, soil, grave’ (< *wereto-) are derivatives from the same root. The identity of the initial laryngeal in PIE is uncertain. If Gr. áoron (Hesych.) ‘a wooden or iron bar or bolt placed across gates on the inside’ is related, then it was *h₂-. On this root in PIE see Lubotsky 2000.

*waresk(k)o-, *wesakko- ‘grebe’ or ‘raven’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. fiach, fiach [o m] ‘raven’
W: MW gwyach [f] ‘grebe, Podiceps’
ETYM: OIr. fiach is disyllabic. W gwyach points to a geminate *-kk- in PCelt., but it may be an early loanword from Goidelic (although the meanings are different). Both words have been borrowed from some unknown non-IE language.
REF: GPC II: 1744.

*wesk*ero- ‘evening’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. fescor [o m]
W: MW ucher [m and f]
PIE: *weskwer- ‘evening’ (IEW: 1173)
COGN: Lat. uesper, Gr. hésperos, Arm. ǧičer
ETYM: OIr. fescor is usually considered to have been borrowed from Lat. uesper, but Lat. origin is improbable for MW ucher. In light of that, the OIr. word may have been inherited as well. However, the vocalism of MW ucher is unclear. It seems to point to *owskwero- < *ewskwero-, which may have been metathesized from *wesk*ero- (cf. also W ugaint from *wikantī).

*wesnālā ‘swallow’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. fannall [ā f] gl. hirundo
W: OW guennol gl. hirundo, MW gwennawl [f]
BRET: ŸOBret. guennol gl. herundo, MBret. guennel, MoBret. gwennel [f]
CO: Co. gwennol
PIE: *west/n- ‘spring’ (IEW: 1174)
COGN: Lat. uēr, Gr. éar, OCS vesna
ETYM: Cf. also Fr. vanneau ‘lapwing’ might, in principle, be from Gaul. *wannalo- (with the changed meaning), but there are other etymologies of this word (Gamillscheg 883). McCone (2005: 3) included OIr. fannall and MW gwennawl ‘swallow’ in a group of “obviously related words... that not only lack obvious cognates elsewhere in Indo-European but also have a distinctly non-Indo-European look”. However, a PIE etymology seems probable, if one starts from the PIE word for ‘spring’. The a-vocalism in Irish is unclear; it may be due to an assimilation *e...ā > *a...ā, but the genitive fainle (with palatalization) may also point to a (metathesized) prototform *wasnela. The stem *wesn- was generalized in Celtic, and the suffix *-alō- was added to it. It is the same denominal suffix used for deriving adjectives as, e.g., in W misol ‘monthly’ (from mis ‘month’), saethol ‘sagittal’ (from saeth ‘arrow’, etc. This suffix is less productive in Goidelic, but cf., e.g., OIr. mebul, mebal ‘shame’, bual ‘water’ (de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 224ff.). The stem *wesnā- is attested in Slavic (OCS vesna). The semantic development is rather clear: swallows are often conceived as ‘messengers of spring’, so ‘swallow’ is a spring-bird. This tradition about swallows was widely known in Antiquity, and is mentioned by many classical authors, e.g. Horace (Epistolae 1.7.13), Ovid (Fasti 2.853), etc.
*wesr- / *wesen- ‘spring’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. errach [ɔ m]
W: OW guiannuin [m]
CO: OCo. guaintoin gl. ver
PIE: *wesr ‘spring’ (IEW: 1174)
COGN: Skt. vasantá-, Lat. uēr, OCS vesna, Lith. vāsara ‘summer’, Arm. garun
SEE: *wesnālā ‘swallow’
ETYM: The Brittonic forms are derivable from something like PCelt.*wesantēno-, cf. Skt. vasantá-. The OIr. form points to *werrako- < *wesrako-; the word-initial *f- < *w- was lost regularly in environments involving lenition, and then generalized. It seems possible that the PCelt. form was a heteroclite in r/n inherited from PIE.

*wessi- ‘sow, young female pig’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. feis [i f]
W: MW gwys (GPC gwŷs [f]
BRET: OBret. guis, MBret. quis, gues, MoBret. gwis [f]
CO: OCo. quis gl. scroffa
PIE: *wet- ‘year’ (IEW: 1175)
COGN: Skt. vatsá- ‘yearling, calf’, Lat. vitulus ‘calf’, Gr. étos ‘year’
ETYM: OIr. feis (féis) is chiefly attested in archaizing poetry. PCelt. *wessi- must be from PIE *wet-ti- (for the evolution of meaning cf. Lat. vitulus < *wetelo- ‘yearling’, from PIE *wet- ‘year’).

*westā ‘food, feast’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. feis(s), fess [ʔʰ f] 1. ‘spending the night, sleeping’, 2. ‘feast, food, provisions’
W: MW gwest [m and f]; gwesti, gweston [p]
BRET: OBret. Or-guest [PN]
CO: Co. gwest ‘lodging’
PIE: *wes- ‘graze’ (IEW: 1171)
COGN: Hitt. wesi- ‘pasture’, Skt. svásara- ‘pasture, meadow’ (if from *su-vāsar-a-), Lat. uēscor ‘make use of, enjoy’, OHG wist ‘food’, ToA wāsri- ‘pasture’
ETYM: It is not certain whether the OIr. words under 1. and 2. belong together. OIr. feis(s) 1. is actually the VN of fo-aid ‘spends the night, sleeps’. Cf. also OBret. guest-hemisiou gl. laticlauia and W cy-westach ‘chambering, sexual intercourse’. We may be dealing with two PCelt. words,
*wes-tā 'food, feast' < *wes- 'graze' and *wessā 'sexual union, sex' < *wedh-teh₂ (from *wedh- 'lead, marry', cf. PCelt. *wed-o-, or from *h₂wes- 'spend the night', cf. PCelt. *wos-o-).
REF: GPC II: 1650, DGVBl 189, EIEC 198.

*wesu- 'excellent, noble' [Adj]
GOID: OIr. feib [Dat.] 'in excellence'
GAUL: Vesu-avus, Bello-vesus [PN],
PIE: *wesu- 'excellent' (IEW: 1174)
COGN: Luv. wāsu- 'good', Skt. vāsu-
ETYM: For possible Gaul. toponyms from this root see Sims-Williams 2006: 121f. OIr. feb must be from *weswā, while fō 'goodness' < *wosu-. OIr. fiu, W gwiv, MoBret. gwiv, Co. gwyw 'worthy, valuable' are also presumably related to this root. These forms might be directly derivable from *wesu- > *wihu- > OIr. fiu, W gwiv (Hamp 1974 reconstructs a vrddhi *wēsu-, which is also possible, but in my opinion not necessary).

*wēti- 'withe' [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. féith [i f] 'some kind of twining plant'
W: MW gwden, gwyden [f] 'withe'
BRET: MBret. gueden, MoBret. gwedenn [f]
CO: OCo. guiden gl. circulus, MCo. gusen [Singulative]
PIE: *weyh₁-t-i- 'willow, withé' (IEW: 1122)
COGN: Skt. vetasā-'reed', OHG wīda 'willow', Lith. vytis 'willow switch', OCS větna 'branch', perhaps Lat. uītis 'vine'
ETYM: W gwden < gwyden can be from a derivative *wētina-, but -en can also be a petrified singulative suffix. The loss of laryngeal after *ey before consonant is regular, hence PIE *weyh₁ti- > PCelt. *wēti-. The PIE root is *weyh₁- 'weave, wind' (see *wi-na- 'bend, enclose').

*wet-o- 'say' [Vb]
W: OW guetid
PIE: *weth₂- 'say'
COGN: Lat. ueto 'forbid', Hitt. uttar 'word, speech'
ETYM: Cf. also MW dy-wedaf 'say' < *di-wet-, gwadu 'deny', OBret. gwad 'denial' < PCelt. *woto-. OIr. as-fena 'testifies' can be from *exs-wet-na- (cf. the verbal noun aspenad).

*wet-o- 'be acquainted with' [Vb]
*wēt(t)ā*  
'stream, swamp' [Noun]  
GOID: MR. feith [f] ‘marsh, swamp’  
W: MW gwyth [f] (GPC gwyth) ‘canal, nerve, vein, ditch’  
BRET: OBret. goed ‘stream’, MBret. goaz, guez, MoBret. gwazh [f] ‘stream, brook’  
CO: OCo. guid gl. vena, MCo. gwyth, goth  
ETYM: In OIr. there is also feith [f] which means ‘sinew’, but also ‘kidney’ (in the glosses); this is probably just a homonym of feith ‘swamp’ (as suggested by DIL). It is probably the same word as W gwythi [p] ‘veins’. These words are usually derived from the root *weyh1- ‘twist, turn’ (IEW 1122), but this is dubious on semantic grounds. PIE *weyh1- ‘wither’ (IEW 1123) is a better candidate (cf. PCelt. *wiwo- ‘withered’). The Brit. reflexes point to a double stop (*-tt-) in PCelt., but the OIr. form is derivable from PCelt. *wētā with a single *-t-.


*we-wlo- ‘lip’ [Noun]  
GOID: OIr. bēl [o m]  
W: MW gwefl [f]  
BRET: MBret. guefl ‘mouth’  
CO: Co. gwelv  
ETYM: The exact reconstruction of this PCelt. etymon is difficult, but the attested forms are doubtlessly related. Perhaps the original *wewlo- was a reduplicated form, created after the Common Celtic shift of *ew > *ow. It is assumed here that the OIr. word is the result of a dissimilation (*w...w > *b...w). This is clearly preferable than deriving bēl from *beklo- (IEW 481, cf. PCelt. *bekko- ‘beak, snout’), although this latter etymology is not impossible.

REF: LEIA B-29, GPC II: 1615.

*wextā* ‘time, course, turn’ [Noun]  
GOID: OIr. fecht [ā f]  
W: MW gweith (GPC gwaith) [f] ‘1. time, course, 2. work, act’  
BRET: OBret. gueid ‘time’, MBret. guez, MoBret. gwezh [f]  
CO: OCo. gueid gl. opus, MCo. gweth, gwyth ‘time’  
PIE: *wegh- ‘carry, drive’ (IEW: 1118ff.)
SEE: *wegno- ‘wagon’
ETYM: If this etymology is correct, the PCelt. word is the past participle of the PIE verb ‘to carry, convey’ (Lat. uctus); the semantic development was from ‘carried away’ to ‘passed, gone’, to ‘period of time’. This is possible, but not compelling. OIr. fecht is also used to denote an expedition (‘usually with hostile intentions’ according to DIL); in this latter sense it may be parallel to OW gwth, MW gwyth ‘rage, fury’, from PCelt. *wixtā < PIE *weyk- ‘fight’ (cf. PCelt. *wik-o-).

*widu- ‘wood’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. fid [u m]
W: OW guid [Collective] ‘trees’, MW gwydd ‘trees’ (GPC gwýdd); gwydden [Singulative]
BRET: OBret. guid, MBret. guez, MoBret. gwez [Collective] ‘trees’
CO: Co. guiden [Singulative]
GAUL: uidu-bia (CGL IV 171, 49), uidobium ‘sickle’ (CGL III 368, 64, (Marti) Uiduco [Theonym, Dat.]
PIE: *widhu- ‘wood’ (IEW: 1117)
COGN: OE widu, wudu, Lith. vidūs ‘interior’.
ETYM: Gaul. vidubia, vidobium ‘hoe’ (Fr. vouge) is from *widu- and the verbal root *b'eyH- ‘strike, cut’ (PCelt. *widu-biyo-, cf. the parallel compound OIr. fidbae ‘bill-hook’, W gwddyf ‘sickle’). Lat. dī-uido ‘divide’ is sometimes connected with this etymon (because woods mark the boundary of the inhabited territory), but it is actually from *(d)wi-dih₁-o- (de Vaan 2008: 174; the root is *d'eh₁, ‘make, put’, cf. Lat. facio).

*widu-biyo- ‘hoe, sickle’ [Noun]
SEE: *widu- ‘wood’

*widwā ‘widow’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. fedb [ā f]
W: MW gweddw [m and f] ‘widowed, widower, widow, unmarried’
CO: OCo. guedeu gl. vidua
PIE: *h₁widʰewh₂ ‘widow’ (IEW: 1127f.)
COGN: Skt. vidhāvā, Gr. eitheos ‘unmarried young man’, Lat. uidua, OHG wituwa, Go. wido, OPr. widdewū, OCS vbodova
ETYM: The PCelt. form must be *widwā, not *widwā, as one would expect (Beekes 1992). Maybe it can be explained by early (Proto-Celtic) and irregular syncope from PIE *h₁widʰewh₂, or, more likely, we must
reconstruct an ablauting PIE paradigm (perhaps Nom. sg. *h₁widʰuh₂-s, Gen. sg. *h₁widʰ-uh₂-os > *widw-os, from which the Celtic stem could have been generalized). The word for ‘widow’ may be a derivative from the PIE root *h₁widʰ- ‘kill’ (Skt. vídhya-ti). The semantic development of *h₁widʰ(e)weh₂ would have been ‘family of the killed one’ > ‘widow’. REF: GPC II: 1613, Matasović 2004: 84, Tichy 1993: 1-16, Lubotsky 1994.

*wikantī ‘twenty’ [Num]
GOID: OIr. fiche, ficht [Dat./Acc.]
W: OW uceint, MW figgit (GPC ugaint)
BRET: OBret. ucent, MBret. uquent, MoBret. ugent
CO: Co. ugans
PIE: *(h₁)wi(d)kmtih₁ ‘twenty’ (IEW: 1177)
COGN: Skt. vimśati-, Gr. eikosi, Lat. uīginī, OE twēgen-tig, Alb. njē-zet, Arm. k’san, ToA wiki

*wik-o- ‘fight’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. fichid, -fich; féiss, -fé [Subj.], fiis, -fí [Fut.]; fich [Pret.]; fechtæ, -fecht [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW amwyn, amwc [3s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. amouez ‘set free’
GAUL: Ordo-vices [Ethnonym]
PIE: *weyk- ‘fight, conquer’ (IEW: 1128f.)
COGN: Lat. unico ‘conquer’, ON vega ‘fight, kill’
ETYM: MW amwyn and MBret. amouez < *ambi-wik-o- (the simplex verb is unattested in Brittonic). For a possible PCelt. derivative *wixto- (MW gwyth ‘rage’, OIr. fecht ‘expedition’) see *wextā.

*wimonā ‘sea weed’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. fem(m)ain [? f]
W: MW gwymon [m] (GPC gwymon, gwmon, gwimon); gwymologyd [p]
BRET: OBret. gueimmonou gl. marinis herbis, MBret. gowmon gl. alga, MoBret. gowmon, gouemon [m]
CO: Co. gumman
ETYM: MIr. femm ‘seaweed’ might represent the underived n-stem (*wimon-), but this is far from certain because of the poor attestation of that word. The connection to PIE *weyb/p- ‘shake, vibrate’ suggested by
Pokorny (Lat. uibrare, Skt. vepate, IEW 1131f.) is a mere possibility. These words were probably borrowed from some non-IE language.

*wimpo- ‘beautiful, comely’ [Adj]
W: MW gwyme
BRET: MBret. gwemp ‘excellent’
GAUL: Uimpia [PN], uimpi (?) ‘pretty’
ETYM: More speculative etymologies derive these forms from PCelt. *wenkʷo- and relate them to PIE *wenh₁- ‘desire’, cf. Delamarre 320. In any case, since these words are attested only in Brittonic and Gaulish, an alternative PCelt. reconstruction is *winkʷo- (or *wenkʷo-, if from *wenh₁-*h₃kʷo- ‘desirably-looking’). It has also been suggested that these Celtic words are related to ToA wamp- ‘decorate’ and ToB wamer ‘jewel’ (Adams, s.v. wamer).

*wi-na- ‘bend, enclose’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. imm-fen ‘hedge round, enclose, guard’
PIE: *weyh₁- ‘weave, wind’ (IEW: 1120ff.)
COGN: Skt. vyāyati ‘wraps, envelops’, Lat. uieo
ETYM: OIr. imm-fen is from *ambi-wi-na- (cf. its verbal noun imbe). MIr. fiám ‘chain’ (?) might, in principle, be from the same root and represent *wē-men (cf. Lat. uīmen ‘flexible branch used in wickerwork’), but this is quite uncertain due to the poor attestation and uncertain meaning of the MIr. word. The PIE root is reconstructed as *wyeh₁- in LIV 695.
REF: KPV 688f., LIV 695f., LP 362.

*wi-n-d-o- ‘find, experience’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. ro-finnadar; ro-fiastar [Subj.]; ro-fiastar [Fut.]
W: MW gwybot; gwn [3s Pres.] ‘know’ (GPC gwybod)
BRET: MBret. gouz(o)ut; goun, gon [1s Pres.] ‘know’
CO: Co. godhvos ‘know’
PIE: *weyd- ‘see, know’ (IEW: 1125f.)
COGN: Skt. vindati ‘finds’, Lat. uideo, Arm. gitem ‘know’
SEE: *wēd-o- ‘find’
ETYM: OIr. ro-finnadar is from *fro-wi-n-d-o-. In the perfect, the forms of this verb meant ‘to know’, cf. OIr. ro-fitir ‘knows’ (synchronically [3 sg. Pres.], but historically from the perfect stem); in Brittonic, the following forms arepreterites, formed from the PCelt. perfect stem: MW gwyër, MBret. goar, MCo. gor [3 sg. Pret.] ‘knew’; in KPV 693ff. these forms are listed under a separate entry. OIr. fiado [nt m] ‘lord’ (feda, Gen. sg. fedot in the archaic Cambrai Homily) represents PCelt. *wēdōnts, originally ‘knower’, the present active participle.
*windo- ‘white’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *find [o], ? Ogam VENDO-GNI
W: MW gwynn (GPC gwyn); gwén [f]
CO: OCo. guyn gl. albus, Co. guyn
GAUL: Unìda, Unìdus [PN], Vindo-bona [Toponym]
ETYM: Fr. vandoise denotes a white fish and is probably from Gaul.
*wind-ēsyā. MoBret. gwenn is the preserved feminine form (*windā), as shown by the a-infection.

*winto- ‘wind, whistling’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fet [æ f] ‘a whistling or a hissing sound’
W: MW gwyn [m] ‘wind’
BRET: MBret. guent, MoBret. gwent [m] ‘wind’
CO: OCo. guins gl. ventus, Co. gwyns
PIE: *h₂weh₁-nto- ‘wind’ (IEW: 81ff.)
COGN: Lat. ventus, Skt. vāta-, Hitt. huwant-, OHG wint, ToB yente
ETYM: If the etymology of OIr. *fet is correct, we have to assume Osthoff-like shortening in Celtic (*wēnto- > *wīnto- > *winto-), since PCelt. *wīnto- would yield OIr. *fit.

*wiro- ‘man’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fer [o m]
W: OW gur, MW gwr [m] (GPC gwʳ); gwyr [f]
BRET: OBret. -ger, MBret. gour
CO: OCo. gur gl. uir, MCo. gour
GAUL: Uiro-cantus [PN], Viro-mandui [Toponym]
CELTIB: UIROS ‘man’
PIE: *wiHro- ‘man’ (IEW: 1177)
COGN: Skt. vīrā-, Lat. uir, Lith. výras, Go. wair
ETYM: Derivatives from this root include MW gwron ‘hero’ and Celtib. PN Vironus (< *wiro-no-) and, probably, MW gwrrdd ‘strong’ (< *wiro-yo-). Germanic, Celtic, and Italic point to a short *i, with loss of the laryngeal, which is reconstructed on the basis of Lith. and Skt. forms.
*wirō- ‘true’ [Adj]
 GOID: OIr. fir [o]
 W: MW gwir
 BRET: OBret. guir, MoBret. gwir
 CO: OCo. guir gl. verus, guirion gl. uerax, MCo. guyr, gwyr
 GAUL: Co-virus [PN]
 PIE: *weh₁-ro- ‘true’ (IEW: 1166)
 COGN: Lat. uērus, OHG wār, OCS vēra ‘belief’, OHG wār
 ETYM: MW kywir ‘true’ is an exact parallel to Gaul. Co-virus, with the probably PCelt. assimilation of *kom-wīro- to *kow-wīro- (McCone 1996: 49). PIE adjectives in *-ró- were mostly oxytona, so we would expect PCelt. *ī to be shortened by Dybo’s law. However, there are other ro-adjectives that do not show the operation of Dybo’s rule in Celtic (cf. *fīro- ‘fresh’).

*wirō- ‘milk’ (?) [Noun]
 GOID: OIr. fir [o]
 PIE: *weh₁r ‘water’ (IEW: 80f.)
 COGN: Skt. vār ‘water’, Lat. ārīna ‘urine’, ON úr ‘rain’, OPr. wurs ‘pond’, ToB war ‘water’
 ETYM: OIr. fir is a hapax, occurring only in the phrase téora ferba firá ‘three milch cows’, which makes this etymology quite speculative. If it is correct, the possible cognates in other IE languages point to a PIE root-noun, with Nom. sg. *weh₁r (Skt. vār), Gen. sg. *uh₁r-os (Lat. ārīna, OPr. wurs, ON úr). Celtic generalized the stem of the Nom. sg.

*wisu- ‘poison’ [Noun]
 GOID: Mfr. fi [? ?]
 GAUL: visu-marus ‘clover’ (Marcellus of Bordeaux)
 PIE: *weys / *wis-os ‘poison’ (IEW: 1134)
 COGN: Skt. viśā-, Lat. uīrus, Gr. iós
 ETYM: Gaul. visu-marus is interpreted as a compound originally meaning ‘juicy’ by Meid (1996: 10). The second element would be PCelt. *māro- ‘great’. Clover was considered to be an antidote for poisons in Antiquity. The Mfr. word fi is attested chiefly in poetic texts. DIL does not state its gender and stem, so the PCelt. reconstruction is only tentative (an u-stem is also possible). The OIr. form cannot be from the thematic *wiso-, since this would have given **feo (cf. Mfr. feo < *wiwo- ‘withered’), and Gaul. visu-, although attested late, gives additional support for reconstructing an u-stem. Note, however, that the attested forms would also be compatible with PCelt. *wīso-. However, the length of ī in Lat. uīrus is best accounted for by positing an original root-noun *weys / *wis-os; Lat. preserved the stem of
the nominative, whereas the other languages generalized the stem of the oblique cases. This leaves the length of \( i \) in Gr. \( i\'s \) unexplained. It could be from an adjectival stem *wisyo (M. de Vaan, p. c.). Hydronyms such as Gaul. Visera > Fr. Vesère might belong here, if one starts from the basic meaning ‘liquid’ (cf. Skt. vesati ‘flows’), and W gwyr [m] ‘blood’ might be from a derivative *weysHro- > PCelt. *wēsaro-, but the semantic connection (?) ‘flowing’ > ‘blood’) is not beyond reproach.


*wiwo- ‘withered’ [Adj]
GOID: Mlr. feo
W: MW gwiw (GPC gwyw)
PIE: *wey\(1\)- ‘wither’ (IEW: 1123)
COGN: Lat. uiēscō ‘wilt’, ON visinn ‘wilted’, Lith. vysti ‘wither’
ETYM: The PCelt. form is from PIE *wi\(1\)yo-. The short vowel may be due to Dybo’s law (cf. also Olr. feugud gl. marcor).
REF: GPC II: 1792.

*wlanno- ‘blood red’ [Adj]
GOID: Mlr. flann [o]
PIE: *wel\(2\)- ‘hit, wound’ (IEW: 1144f.)
COGN: Hitt. walahzi ‘strikes’, Lat. ulnus ‘wound’
ETYM: LIV (619) hesitatingly reconstructs the PIE root with *h\(3\) rather than *h\(2\). The PCelt. reconstruction *wlanno- is, in my opinion, preferable to Pokorny’s *wlansno-, since this would yield Olr. **flán (cf. Olr. grian ‘sun’ from *g\(4\)rensā). We may assume that PCelt. *walsno- became *wlanno- by ‘liquid metathesis’ between a labial and a dental cluster. But why did the laryngeal drop here? Or should we dissociate PCelt. *wlanno- and Lat. ulnus from PIE *wel\(3\)-, which means ‘strike, hit’, not ‘wound, blood’? Both would then have the same prototype (PIE *wlansno-).

*wlati- ‘sovereignty’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. flaith [i f, later m] ‘sovereignty, ruler’
W: OW gulat [f], MW gwlad ‘country’
CO: OCo. gulat gl. patria, Co. gulas, gwlas
SEE: *walo- ‘prince, chief’
ETYM: Gaul. PN Ulattius might be related, cf. also the Ethnonym Ulatti. Olr. flaithem [n m] ‘ruler’ represents PCelt. *wlati-mon-. PCelt. *wlati presupposes PIE *wlHti- with shortening of the first vowel by Dybo’s law (see *walo- ‘prince, chief’).
*wlīdā ‘feast, banquet’ [Noun]

GOI D: OIr. fleđ [á f]

W: OW guleğ [f], MW gwleđ

BRET: MoBret. gloé (Gwened)

GAUL: Ulido-rix [PN]

PIE: *weld- ‘desire’ (IEW: 1137)

COGN: Gr. ęddomai ‘desire’

ETYM: The reading of the inscription containing the PN Ulidorix is uncertain, but the name could mean ‘King of feasts’. The Insular Celtic forms are compatible with the reconstruction *wlīdā as well, but Gr. ęddomai < *weldo- shows that they are from the zero-grade of the root, PIE *wlīdeḥ₂.

REF: GPC II: 1682f., Delamarre 324 163.

*wlīko- ‘wet’ [Adj]

GOI D: OIr. flíuch [o]

W: OW gulip, MW gulip, gwlyp (GPC gwlyb); gwleb [f]

BRET: OBret. gulip, MBret. gloeb, glueb, MoBret. gwleb

CO: OCo. glibor gl. humor

PIE: *welk-wo- ‘wet’ (IEW: 1145)

COGN: OHG welh ‘wet, mild’, Latv. valks ‘wet’

SEE: *welko- ‘rain, wet weather’

ETYM: W gwliθen ‘stye, whitlow’ may represent PCelt. *wlīko-<-, another derivative from the same root (Fowkes 1945), cf. also W gwlych ‘liquid, moisture’ [m] < *wlīko-. MoBret. gwleb preserved the feminine form, PCelt. *wlīkʷà.


*wlīskā ‘stick, rod’ [Noun]

GOI D: OIr. flesc [á f]

PIE: *wlīyo-sk- ‘stick’ (IEW: 1143)

COGN: Go. wlīsjan ‘hit’, Croat. lijèska ‘hazel’, Pol. laska ‘stick, staff’

ETYM: The Slavic words have also been related to Lith. lazda ‘stick, staff’, Latv. lazda ‘hazel’, OPr. laxste ‘hazel’ (Derksen 2008: 274), but the vocalism of these Baltic words cannot be reconciled with the PIE root *wlīyo-. Rather, it is possible that the words for ‘stick, staff’ (*wlīyo-sk-) and ‘hazel’ (*log-sdo-) influenced each other, and eventually became confused, in Balto-Slavic.

*wodwo- ‘cutting’ [Adj]
*wodwā ‘mole’

W: MW gwadd [f]
BRET: OBret. guod gl. talpa, MoBret. goz [f]
CO: OCo. god gl. talpa, Co. goth

ETYM: The a-vocalism in W gwadd must be secondary (as in gwallt ‘hair’ from *gwollt, cf. GPC II: 1543, 1569). Scottish Gaelic has famh, fath ‘mole’ which is presumably the same word. The connection with PCelt. *wodwo- ‘cutting’ seems dubious for semantic reasons, but it is at least conceivable that, originally, *wodwā meant ‘a digger’ vel sim.


*wolko- ‘rain, wet weather’ [Noun]

GOID: MIR. folc [o m] ‘heavy rain’
W: MW golchi ‘to cleanse, wash’
BRET: MBret. guelchi, MoBret. gwalc’hi, gwolc’h [m] ‘ablution’
CO: Co. golhy

PIE: *welk- ‘wet’ (IEW: 1145f.)
COGN: Ole. va/gr ‘wet, moist’, Latv. valks ‘wet’
SEE: *wlikwo- ‘wet’

ETYM: The relationship of these words with PIE *wel(H)g- (Lith. vilgyti ‘make wet’, CS vlag, Russ. dial. vológa, Cz. vláha ‘wetness’, OHG wélk ‘wet, moist’) is unclear. The acute in BSL can also be the result of Winter’s law, so we do not have to reconstruct the laryngeal in PIE. The two roots, *welk- and *welg- should be somehow related. Perhaps we can reconstruct the PIE root-noun *wolg-s ‘rain’ (pronounced [*wolks]), Gen. sg. *wolg-os, and assume that some languages generalized the voiceless velar from the Nom. sg. throughout the paradigm. For a similar development cf. PCelt. *druko- ‘bad’.


*wolnā-mon- ‘ruler’ [Noun]

SEE: *walo- ‘prince, chief’

*walto- ‘hair’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. folt [o m]
W: MW gwallt [m]
BRET: OBret. guolt
CO: OCo. gois gl. cesaries
PIE: *wol-t- ‘hair’ (IEW: 1138)
COGN: OCS vlát, OE weald ‘wood’
ETYM: The same PCelt. etymon is perhaps reflected in Gaul. Volto-dagae [PN], etc. See Delamarre 327f.
REF: GPC II: 1569, LP 2, DGVB 197, Delamarre 327f.

*worínā ‘band, troop’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. foirenn [á f] gl. factio
W: OW guerin, MW gwerin [f and m] ‘host’ (GPC gwerin ‘people’)
BRET: OBret. guerin gl. in duas factiones, MBret. gueryn ‘people’
PIE: *wori-no- ‘flock, troop’ (IEW: 1151)
COGN: OE wearn ‘troop, crowd’
ETYM: There is some uncertainty with respect to vocalism in PCelt. A proto-form *warínā would be possible if -o- in Olr. foirenn is secondary, but it is easier to assume that MW gwerin is dissimilated from *gwyryn (< *gworin by regular raising), cf. W dlylysc and delysc < PCelt. *dolisko-. A connection with the root *swer- ‘to resound’ (IEW 1049f., LIV 557, cf. Skt. svārati ‘resounds’, ON sverja ‘to swear’) has been suggested (cf. Zimmer 2000: 518). The original meaning of *worínā would presumably have been ‘the group of warriors who have sworn allegiance (to each other)’ However, this connection is difficult to accept, since there is no other evidence for s-mobile in this root.

*wos-o- ‘spend the night, remain’ [Vb]
GOID: Olr. fo-aid, -foi ‘spend the night, sleep with someone’; fied, -fia [Subj.]; fīf(a)id, -fīf(e)a [Fut.]; fīu [Pret.]
W: MW kyuarhos ‘wait, expect’ (GPC cyfaros)
BRET: MBret. gourtos ‘expect, wait for’
CO: Co. gortos ‘wait for’
PIE: *h2wes- ‘remain, spend the night’ (IEW: 1170f.)
COGN: Hitt. huiszi ‘lives’, Skt. vásati ‘spends the night, remains’, Go. wisan ‘be, live’, Arm. goy ‘is’
ETYM: MW kyuarhos < *kom-fare-wos-o-; MBret. gourtos and Co. gortos < *ufor-ate-wos-o- (the simplex verb is unattested in Brittonic).

*wosu- ‘goodness’
SEE: *wesu- ‘good’

*wox-tlo- ‘dispute’ [Noun]
W: MW gwaethl [m] ‘dispute, debate’
PIE: *wokʷ- ‘voice, word’ (IEW: 1135f.)
COGN: Skt. vāk-, Lat. uōx, OHG giwahanem ‘recall’, Arm. gočem ‘call’
SEE: *wekʷo- ‘face’
ETYM: OIr. focal, focol [o n] is presumably a Latin loanword (Lat. uocābulum; inherited *woxtlo- would have given **fochtul) The same root (*wokʷ-) appears in OIr. an-ocht ‘a metrical fault’ < PCelt. *an-uxto- < *n-ukʷto-, parallel to Skt. anukta-.

*woxs-V- ‘wasp’ [Noun]
W: MW gwychi [p] (GPC gwychi, gwchi)
BRET: OBret. guohi gl. fucos
CO: OCo. guhi-en [Singulative] gl. uespa
PIE: *wobšeh₂ ‘wasp’ (IEW: 1179)
COGN: Lat. uespa, OE wasp, OPr. wobse, Croat. ősa
ETYM: OIr. foich ‘wasp’ is a loanword from Brittonic.
REF: GPC II: 1607, DGVB 196, LP 19, Schrijver 1995: 160

*wragi- ‘needle’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. fraig ‘sharp instrument, ?needle’
PIE: *wreh₂gʰ- ‘thorn’ (IEW: 1180)
COGN: Gr. rákhis ‘spine, backbone’
ETYM: The stem and gender of MIr. fraig are uncertain. The word occurs mostly in law tracts, and refers to a physician’s instrument. Therefore, the PCelt. reconstruction is a mere conjecture.

*wrasto- ‘shower’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. frass ‘rain-shower, torrent’
PIE: *h₁wers- ‘shower, rain’ (IEW: 78ff.)
ETYM: OIr. frass can be the result of a regular ‘liquid metathesis’ between a labial and a dental (*warsto- > *wasto-), in which case it preserves the zero-grade of the PIE root (*h₁wrs-to-).

*wreg-o- ‘do, make’ [Vb]
W: MW gwneuthur, goruc [3s Pret.]
BRET: MBret. groa, gra [3s Pres.]
CO: Co. gwra [3s Pres.]
PIE: *werg- ‘do, make’ (IEW: 1168f.)
COGN: Gr. (Myc.) wo-ze /worzei/, Go. waurkjan
ETYM: The forms with gwne- in Welsh are due to the analogy with the verb *gn-iyo- with the similar meaning. The IE part of the etymology is difficult since Schwebeablaut (*werg- / *wreg- ) has to be assumed (cf. also PCelt.
*wregi- ‘wall, enclosure’ < *h₁wreg- ‘close’, which may have influenced this root.

*wregi- ‘wall, enclosure’
GOID: MIr. fraig [i f] ‘interior wall, wall of a house’
W: MW ach-vre, ach-fre [? m] (GPC ach-wre) ‘wattled fence, palisade, under-thatch, defence’
PIE: *h₁wreg- ‘close’ (IEW: 1168)
ETYM: W achwre is compounded from ach ‘near, by’ and *wre, which is not attested as a simplex. The PIE root shows evidence of Schwebeablaut (cf. Gr. éérgō which must be from *h₁wreg-).
REF: GPC I: 10.

*wridā ‘root’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. frén [? ā f], MIr. frém
W: MW gwreidd (GPC gwraidd) [m]
BRET: MBret. gruizyenn, MoBret. gwriz(ienn)
CO: OCo. gwreiten gl. radix
PIE: *wre(h₂)d- ‘root’ (IEW: 1167)
COGN: Lat. rādīx, Gr. rhıza ‘root’, rhādiks ‘branch, twig’, ON rōt, Go. waarts, Alb. rrenjë, rreźë, perhaps ToB witsako ‘root’
ETYM: The development of OIr. frén < *wrēnā < *wrednā < *wridnā seems to be regular; the Brittonic words presuppose *wridā (Breton), or *wradi- (Welsh). The form *wradi- presumably has the secondary full grade of the root instead of the expected *wredi-. Some reflexes of this root in other IE languages require positing *wreh₂d- (cf. ON rōt, Lat. rādīx, Gr. rhādiks), but both PIE *wreh₂d- and *wrh₂d- would give PCelt. *wrād-, so it seems that the laryngeal was lost in Celtic for some reason.

*wrig(g)ant- ‘vermin’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. frige [nt f] ‘some kind of vermin, flesh-worm’
W: MW gwre [f] ‘acardis, mites’ (GPC gwraint [p])
BRET: MBret. gruech, MoBret. gwrec’ [m] ‘itch-mite’
ETYM: MIr. frige and W gwre, pl. gwraint are from *wrigant-, while MoBret. gwrec’h must come from *wriggant- (the cause of the gemination is unclear). Cf. also Gallo-Lat. brigantes ‘vermin’. The connection with Lat. uermis ‘worm’ suggested by IEW (1152) is unlikely: the similarity is probably accidental. These Celtic words may have been borrowed from some non-IE language.
*writ-ber-o- ‘come against, return’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. fris-beir ‘opposes, resists’
W: MW gwrthvryt ‘return’
SEE: *ber-o- ‘carry’
REF: KPV 220f.

*writ-kom-far-sk-o- ‘ask’ [Vb]
GOID: Mr. fris-comaire ‘asks for, asks questions of’
W: MW gwrthgyfarch ‘address, inquire of, ask (in turn)’
SEE: *far-sk-o- ‘ask’
REF: KPV 511f.

*writ-to-n-g-o- ‘renounce’ [Vb]
GOID: Mr. fris-toing ‘forswears, abjures, renounces’
W: MW gwrthdwing [m] ‘counter-oath’
SEE: *to-n-g-o- ‘swear’
REF: KPV 648f., GPC II: 1718.

*writu- ‘against’ [Prep]
GOID: OIr. frith-, fris-, fri [+Acc.]
W: OW gurt, MW wrth
BRET: OBret. gurth
CO: Co. (w)orth
PIE: *wert- ‘turn’ (IEW: 1156)
COGN: Lat. uersus, uorsus ‘against’, ToB wrattsai ‘against’
ETYM: The exact proto-form is a matter of some dispute; PCelt. locative
*writi is possible if one accepts early apocope of *-i in Insular Celtic (see Schrijver 1994).

*wroyko- ‘heather’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. fróich (DIL fráech) [o m]
W: MW gwrug (GPC grug) [Collective]
CO: Anglo-Cornish griglan
GAUL: *brūcaria > Fr. bruyère
ETYM: The change of *wr- to br- in Gaulish may be due to the influence of VLat. (Lambert 1997). No clear IE cognates. The similarity with the Balto-Slavic words for ‘heather’ (Russ. véresk, véres, Croat. vrijês < *versъ < *werko-, Lith. viržis, Latv. virsis < *wrHko-), may be accidental, but cf. also Gr. ereikē ‘heath, Erica arborea’ (< *wereyk-). This is probably a loan from some non-IE language.
*w(u)lāno-, *w(u)lano- ‘wool’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. olann [ā f]
W: OW gulan [m], MW gwlan (GPC gwlân)
BRET: MBret. glan, gloan
CO: OCo. gluan gl. lana, MCo. glan, glawn
PIE: *wlh₂no- ‘wool’ (IEW: 1139)
COGN: Hitt. hulana-, Skt. ūrṇā-, Lat. lāna, Gr. lēnos, Go. wulla, Lith. vilna, OCS vluna
ETYM: Some authors think that OIr. olann is a loanword from Brittonic (e.g. Falileyev, p. 70), which I find unlikely. The word initial o- in OIr. can be explained if we start from *ulanā, with a different syllabification than in Brittonic, which reflects *wlāno-; we should probably reconstruct both a feminine *ulanā and a neuter *wlāno- for Proto-Celtic (the feminine being an old collective), see Matasović 2005: 128. Hittite h- is the result of metathesis; there is no other evidence for the word-initial laryngeal in PIE.

X

*xswib-ī- ‘move, recede’ [Vb]
GOID: Mlr. scibid, -scibi
W: MW chwyfu (GPC chwifio, chwyfio, chwyfu, chwyfan)
BRET: MBret. fiñval, MoBret. fiñval ‘move’
PIE: *ksweyb - ‘make a swift movement’ (IEW: 1041 (*swēy-))
COGN: Skt. kṣipāti ‘throw’, OCS šibati ‘to whip’
ETYM: Sanskrit -p- is puzzling. It may be the result of assimilation to the initial k-. OE swápan ‘sweep’ and its Germanic cognates may be derived from the same root, if we assume that *xsw- > *sw-. In any case, the form of the PIE root is highly unusual, perhaps onomatopoeic.

Y

*yalo- ‘clearing’ [Noun]
*yālo-*

**W:** MW *ial* (GPC *iāl*)
**GAUL:** *Ebroo-ialum* (> *Ebreuil*), *Verno-ialum* (Verneuil) [Toponyms]
**ETYM:** Cf. also MW *an-ial* ‘wasteland’. Pokorny’s ([IEW: 504f.]) comparison with PSI. *jalb* ‘waste, bare, unfruitful’ (Russ. *jálovýj*, *jályj*, Cz. *jalovyj*) is possible under the assumption that PIE *yHC-* would be reflected as PCelt. *yal-* rather than *yl-. For the possibility that *wHC-* likewise gives PCelt. *waC-* rather than *ūC-* cf. PCelt. *waxto-* ‘bad’.

*yālo-* ‘praise, worship’ [Noun]
**GOID:** OIr. *áil*, *ál* ‘request, act of asking’
**W:** MW *iawl* (?f) ‘prayer, supplication, worship’
**PIE:** *(H)yehzlo-* ‘zeal’ ([IEW: 501])
**COGN:** Gr. *zēlos* ‘zeal’, Croat. *jāl* ‘envy’
**ETYM:** OIr. *áil* is usually used with the copula in phrases such as *is áil do...* ‘it is desirable to...’, cf. also the denominative verb *áilid* ‘wishes’. Cf. also OBret. *iolent* [3 pl.] gl. precentur, *W iolaf* ‘praise’.
**REF:** LEIA A-30f., GPC II: 2002f.

*yāno-* ‘true, noble’ [Adj]
**GOID:** OIr. *án* [o] ‘true, just’
**W:** MW *iawn* ‘true, just’
**BRET:** OBret. *ion*, MBret. *effn*
**CO:** OCo. *eun-hinsic* gl. iustus, MCo. *ewn*
**ETYM:** OIr. *án* ‘ardent, splendid’ might or might not be a different word. In OBret. both *eunt* and *ion* are found with the same meaning; *ion* seems to be the older form. IE etymology is uncertain. Connection with PIE *h₂eh₁*- ‘be hot’ (so reconstructed in LIV, cf. Pal. *hāri*, Av. *āṛ*- ‘fire’, IEW 68) appears possible for OIr. *án* ‘ardent’, but not for the Brittonic words, which must be from PCelt. *yāno-.*
**REF:** LEIA A-72, GPC II: 2003, DGVB 169, 227.

*yāntī* ‘place’ [Noun]
**GOID:** OIr. *áit* [ʔf], *áitt* (DIL)
**PIE:** *(H)yeh₂-* ‘ride, go’ ([IEW: 296])
**COGN:** Skt. *yāti* ‘rides’, Lith. *jōti* ‘ride’, OCS *jaxati*
**SEE:** *yātu-* ‘ford’
**ETYM:** The usual derivation of OIr. *áit* from PIE *pōntH-* ‘bridge, path’ is not convincing, since the long *ō* is unjustified. Bammeberger’s (1998) proposal to derive *áit* from a vrddhi formation *pōtniā* ‘belonging to a female ruler, *pōtni*) is also quite unconvincing from the semantic point of view. The etymology proposed here is also provisory because of semantic difficulties. PCelt. *yāntī-* would be the feminine form of the active participle of the verb *(H)yeh₂-* (cf. OIr. *birit* ‘sow’ < *(b)erontih₂*). Note, however, that participles in *(H)-nt-* sometimes have passive, rather than active
meaning in Celtic, cf. Olr. méit ‘size, quantity’ < *mh₁ntih₂ (the root is PIE *meh₁– ‘to measure’). In the one case, the semantic development is ‘the measured amount’ > ‘amount’ > ‘size, quantity’, in the other case it would be from ‘the traversed area’ to ‘area’ and ‘place’.


*yantu- ‘zeal, jealousy’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. ét [o m] gl. aemulatio ‘emulation, jealousy’
W: MW add-iant, add-iat [m] ‘wish’
PIE: *yet– ‘to place oneself firmly, establish oneself’ (IEW: 506)
COGN: Skt. yátate ‘put in place, line up’, Lat. nítor ‘to strive’, ToA yatatār ‘is capable’
ETYM: Gaulish name lantumarus has an exact correspondance in Mlr. étmar ‘jealous’. The nasal is lost in the Gaul. PN Ad-ietumarus. It is probably analogical, introduced from the n-presents (although the verb from this root is unattested in Celtic). The etymology relating these Celt. words to Skt. yátate, Lat. nítor < *ni-yet–, etc., has been doubted on semantic grounds; it is not even mentioned by Mayrhofer and by LIV (277). Another possibility is to derive PCelt. *yantu– from PIE *yeh₂– ‘desire, wish, beg’ (IEW 501, LIV 274, A. Lubotsky, p. c.), cf. Skt. yāmi ‘I ask’. Original *yāntu– may have developed to *yantu– by Osthoff-like shortening.


*yaro- ‘chicken, hen’ [Noun]
W: OW iar, MW yar, iar [f] (GPC iår, giår); ieir, gieir [p]
BRET: MBret. yar [f]
CO: OCo. iar gl. gallina, Co. yar
GAUL: iaros [PN]
ETYM: Mlr. eirin(e) ‘chicken’ is related to these words, but details are unclear. All of these words might be related to Lat. pīpio ‘to cheep’, Skt. pippakā– ‘a species of bird’ and derived from something like *pipero– > PCelt. *fifero–. Of course, with such onomatopoetic roots, any comparison can be accidental.


*yās ‘chariot’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. ā; aaib gl. axibus [Dat. p]
PIE: *yeh₂– ‘ride, go’ (IEW: 296)
COGN: Skt. yāti ‘rides’, Lith. jōti ‘ride’
SEE: *yātu– ‘ford’
ETYM: If this etymology is correct, Olr. ā is an archaic root-noun derived directly from the PIE verbal root *yeh₂– ‘to go’.

REF: Watkins 1978, LIV 275, LEIA A-4
yātu- ‘ford’ [Noun]
GOID: Olr. áth [u m]
PIE: *yeh₂- ‘ride, go’ (IEW: 296)
COGN: Skt. yāti ‘rides’, Lith. joti ‘ride’
SEE: *yānti ‘place’
REF: LEIA A-99, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 290

yegi- ‘ice’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. aig [i f]
W: MW ia [m] (GPC iā)
BRET: MBret. yen ‘cold’, MoBret. yein
CO: OCo. iein gl. frigus; iey gl. glacies
GAUL: *yegōnia > Fr. Jouanne, Jogne [Hydronyms]
PIE: *yeg- ‘ice’ (IEW: 503)
COGN: Hitt. eka- ‘cold, frost, ice’, ON jaki, Wakhi yaz ‘glacier’
ETYM: MBret. yen and OCo. iein are from *yeg-no-, a derivative of the
same root.
REF: LEIA A-28, GPC II: 1994, EIEC 135, 287, Delamarre 185f.,

yemono- ‘twin’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. emon [o m] ‘twin, a pair (or triplet) born at one birth’
PIE: *yem(H)o- ‘twin’ (IEW: 505)
COGN: Skt. yama-, Lat. geminus, Latv. jūmis ‘pair’
ETYM: Celtic shares the derivation by means of the suffix *-no- with Latin.
The initial g- in Lat. is irregular, probably by analogy with genus ‘offspring’.

yestu- ‘boiling’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. es(s) [u m] ‘catastact, stream’
W: MW ias [f and m] ‘boiling’
PIE: *(H)yes- ‘boil’ (IEW: 506)
COGN: Hitt. is(s)na- ‘dough’, Skt. yásyati ‘boils’, Gr. zéo ‘boil’, ToA yäs-
boil, excite sexually’, OHG jesan ‘to foam, ferment’
ETYM: Gaul. PN Iestinus might be related to this root, cf. also Gallo-Lat.
esta ‘foam’ and MoBret. go ‘boiled’, if from *ufo-yes-o-, MBret. goaff,
MoBret. goiī ‘boil, digest’.

yeztV- ‘speech, language’ [Noun]
GOID: MoIr. icht [??u m] ‘people, tribe’
W: MW ieith [f] ‘language, nation, race’ (GPC iaith)
BRET: MBret. yez, MoBret. yezh [f] ‘language’
*yo 'which' [Relative particle]
GAUL: *dugiionti-iom 'who worship(?)' (Alise St. Reine)
CELTIB: *iwm [Acc.s]; *iwm [Dat.s]; *ios [Nom.s] (Botorrita I)
P: *yo- 'which' (IEW: 283)
COGN: Skt. ya-, Gr. hos
ETYM: In Olr. the relative pronoun is preserved as the aspiration of the verbal root in leniting relative clauses, chiefly with subject antecedents (see Schrijver 1997: 105). PIE *yo- may be a thematicized formation from the demonstrative stem *h₁ey- (Lat. is, ea, id), in which case the correct PIE reconstruction is *h₁yo-.

*yorko- 'roebuck' [Noun]
W: MW iwrch [m]; (i)yrch, ywrchod [p]
BRET: MBret. iorch gl. caprea, MBret. yourch, MBret. yourc'h [m]
CO: OC. yorc gl. caprea
GAUL: iorkos 'roebuck' (probably Galatian)
P: *(H)yorko- 'goat' (IEW: 513)
COGN: Gr. zórks 'gazelle, roe deer'
ETYM: The vowel of W iwrch is unexplained. It would be regular in the plural, as the result of raising, so perhaps the stem of the plural was generalized. The attested plural (i)yrch then must be analogical.

*yowanko- 'young' [Adj]
GOID: Olr. óac [o], óc (DIL)
W: MW ieuanc (GPC ieuanc, (-ng), ifanc, iefanc)
BRET: MBret. youanc, MBret. yowank
CO: OC. iouanc, MoBret. yowanke
GAUL: Iouinc-illus, Iouinca [PN]
P: *(H)ywoanko- 'young' (IEW: 510)
Cogn: Skt. yuvaśá- ‘young’, Lat. iuuenus ‘young cow’, OE geong ‘young’

Etym: The change of (Early PCelt.) *yuwanko- to *yowanko- is regular, cf. *supno- ‘sleep’ > *suwno- > *sowno- (OIr. súan). PIE *h₂yu-h₁nk-o- is a derivative from *h₂yu-h₁en- ‘young, possessing vital force’ (Lat. iuuenis, Skt. yuvan-, Lith. jáunas, and OCS jum). The root is *h₂oyu- ‘vital force, lifetime’ (Skt. āyu-), cf. also the parallel formations of OIr. oitiu [d f] ‘youth’ and Lat. iuuentius < *h₂yu-h₁n-tuHt-.


*yownī ‘time, opportunity’ [Noun]

GoiD: OIr. iáin [i f] ‘opportunity, time, period, reign’

Pie: *yowni- ‘seat, place’ (IEW: 512)

Cogn: Skt. yóni- ‘seat, home, womb’

Etym: Since it is limited to just two branches (Celtic and Indo-Iranian), and the meanings do not match completely, this is a conjectural etymology. If true, it presupposes that the meaning ‘place’ was changed to ‘right place and time, opportunity’ in Celtic. But note that Vendryes considers iáin to be a by-form of óin, which is the verbal noun of oitid ‘lends, grants’. If this is correct, the original meaning of iáin would have been ‘leasure, free time’.

Ref: LEIA U-4.

*yoyni- ‘rushes, reed’ [Noun]

GoiD: Mlr. áin [?i, Gen. s áine]

Pie: *yoyni- ‘reed’ (IEW: 513)

Cogn: Skt. iuncus, ON einir ‘juniper’

Etym: Lat. iuncus represents *yoyni-ko-, while the underived i-stem seems to be preserved in OIr. Cf. also Lat. iüniperus ‘juniper-berry’. The shape of this PIE root and its distribution only in western dialects suggests that it is a loanword from some non-IE source.


*yugō- ‘yoke’ [Noun]

GoiD: Mlr. cuing [i f]

W: OW iou, MW iau, yeu [f and m]

Bret: MBret. yeu, ieo, MoBret. yew [f]

Co: Co. ieu, yew

GaUl: Ver-iugus [PN]

Pie: *yugō- ‘yoke’ (IEW: 508f.)

Cogn: Hitt. iukan, Skt. yugā-, Gr. zygón, Lat. iugum, OCS igo, Lith. įungas, Go. juk, Arm. luc

Etym: The Brittonic forms might be borrowings from Lat. iugum, while OIr. cuing presupposes *kom-yungi-, with *-n- from the present tense of the verbal stem (cf. Lith. įungas), but the verb is unattested in Celtic.
*yūsko- *yūsko- ‘soup, broth’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. úsc, úsca ‘lard, fat’
W: MW isgell [m] ‘soup’
CO: OCo. iskel gl. ius, Co. isgal
PIE: *yuHs- ‘broth’ (IEW: 507)
COGN: Skt. yūṣ-, Lat. iūsus, OCS juxa
ETYM: The Brit. words might be loanwords from Lat. (so in GPC, but Lat. *iüsscellum, the alleged source of these words according to GPC, is not attested; the closest match is *iusculum (OLD, s. v.) which means ‘broth’ and is scarcely attested in the whole Lat. corpus).
REF: GPC II: 2037, LEIA U-30, EIEC 84

*yustyo- ‘just’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. uisse [io]
PIE: *yows- ‘right, regular’ (IEW: 512)
COGN: Lat. iūsus ‘justice, right’, Av. yaoš
ETYM: Willi (2002) argues against this etymology and relates OIr. uisse to Lat. iūbeo ‘order’ (PIE *Hyewdh-). If this is correct, OIr. uisse would be derivable from *(H)yudbtyo- > PCelt. *yussyo-, and ultimately from the past passive participle (*H)yuddto-). If the original meaning of this root in Celtic was ‘to order’, *yussyo- would be ‘what is ordered’, i. e. ‘just’. Possible other reflexes of PIE *(H)yudh- include elements of personal names, e.g. OW Mor-iud and OBre. jūd-nimet, as well as W udd ‘lord’ (but Lambert 1994a: 227f. derives these from Lat. iūdex ‘judge’).

*yutV- ‘pap, porridge’
GOID: OIr. ith gl. puls
W: OW iot, MW iwt, iwd (GPC uwd)
BRET: MBret. yot, iot, MoBret. yod [m]
CO: OCo. iot gl. puls, Co. yūs
ETYM: Gallo-Lat. iutta, iotta ‘a kind of soup, porridge’ is presumably borrowed from the Gaulish equivalent of these Insular Celtic words. The long i in OIr. is analogical, probably having developed under the influence of ith ‘fat’ (GOI 39), or ithid ‘eats’. It is not well attested, so that its gender and stem are unknown (DIL). The alternation of *o and *u in Brittonic perhaps points to PCelt. variant forms with various vowels in the final syllable. Perhaps we should reconstruct both *yuti- and *yuto-. Pokorny’s PIE etymology (p. 507), relating these words to PIE *yewH- ‘soup, broth’ (Gr. zūmē, OCS juxa, etc.) is unconvincing from both formal (no trace of laryngeal in Celtic) and semantic point of view (but cf. PCelt. *yūsko-,
*yūsko- ‘soup, broth’). In all probability, this word is a loanword from some non-IE source.
Although standards for mentioning possible Indo-European etymologies are rather liberal in this dictionary, there is still a large number of words in the reconstructed Proto-Celtic lexicon that cannot be attributed to any PIE root, and that are, therefore, quite likely to have been borrowed from some non-IE source. In some cases, there are a number of probable cognates in the neighbouring IE dialects (usually Italic and Germanic), but the reconstructed shape of the root distinctly shows non-IE features, which again makes it probable that the Celtic etymon in question was borrowed from some non-IE substratum language, perhaps shared with Italic and/or Germanic.

A number of such words, for which a substratum origin can be assumed, have reflexes only in Brittonic and Goidelic. This can, of course, be the consequence of the poor attestation of Gaulish, Lepontic, and Celtiberian, but in principle we cannot exclude the possibility of substrates shared by Insular Celtic languages, but not by the Continental Celtic.

The following is an alphabetical list of Proto-Celtic forms for which a substrate origin can be assumed; in each case it is indicated whether the etymon in question is attested in Continental Celtic, and whether it has likely cognates in the neighbouring IE dialects (Germanic and Italic).

1. *alten- ‘razor’
2. *amaro- ‘wailing, crying’
3. *anderă ‘young woman’ (probably attested in Gaulish)
4. *bando- ‘peak, top’ (attested in Gaulish; possible cognates in Germanic)
5. *banwo- ‘young pig, piglet’ (attested in Gaulish)
6. *baski- ‘bundle’ (probable cognates in Italic)
7. *birro- ‘short’ (attested in Gaulish)
8. *blVdV- ‘wolf, large predator’
9. *bodyo- ‘yellow’ (attested in Gaulish, probable cognates in Italic)
10. *brano- ‘raven’ (attested in Gaulish)
11. *bratto- *brattino- ‘mantle, cloak’
12. *brokko- ‘badger’ (attested in Gaulish)
13. *bunno- ‘awl, bittern’
14. *bussu- ‘lip’ (probably attested in Gaulish)
15. *butā ‘house, dwelling, hut’
16. *druko- ‘bad’
17. *durno- ‘fist’
18. *esok- ‘salmon’ (attested in Gaulish)
19. *gʷeno- ‘smile’
20. *gulbV, *gulbino- ‘beak’ (probably attested in Gaulish)
21. *gurmo- ‘dun, dark’
22. *kag-o- ‘get, receive’ (probable cognates in Italic)
23. *kagyoyo- ‘pen, enclosure’ (possible cognates in Germanic)
24. *kalmiyo- ‘skilful, skilled’
25. *kani- ‘good, nice’
26. *karbanto- ‘war chariot’ (attested in Gaulish)
27. *kasninā ‘garlic, leek’ (probably attested in Gaulish)
28. *katrik- ‘fortification’ (probable cognates in Germanic)
29. *kayto- ‘wood’ (cognates in Germanic)
30. *klamo- ‘sick, suffering from leprosy’
31. *klukā ‘stone, rock’
32. *knū ‘nut’ (probable cognates in Italic and Celtic)
33. *koligno- ‘pup, small animal’
34. *koret- ‘palisade, stone wall’ (possible cognates in Germanic)
35. *korkkyo- ‘oats’ (probable cognates in Germanic)
36. *kotto- ‘old’ (probably attested in Gaulish)
37. *kritta ‘body, frame, shape’
38. *krok(ke)no- ‘skin’ (probably attested in Gaulish)
39. *krumbo- ‘round, curved’ (probable cognates in Germanic)
40. *krundi- ‘round, compact’
41. *krutto- ‘round object, womb’
42. *kʷezdi- ‘piece, portion’ (attested in Gaulish)
43. *lēro- ‘diligent’
44. *liro- ‘sea, ocean’
45. *lomanā ‘rope, thong’
46. *lubīa ‘herb, plant’ (probable cognates in Germanic)
47. *lukot- ‘mouse’
48. *luxtu- ‘content, crowd’
49. *makinā ‘bellow’ (probable cognates in Germanic and Baltic)
50. *maylo- ‘bald’ (possible cognates in Germanic)
51. *mazdyo- ‘stick’ (cognates in Italic and Germanic)
52. *mesal-kā ‘blackbird’ (cognates in Italic and Germanic)
53. *menädo- ‘awl’
54. *metto- ‘decay, blight, shame’
55. *mokku- ‘pig’
56. *molto- ‘ram, wether’ (probably attested in Gaulish)
57. *ninati- ‘nettle’ (probable cognates in Germanic and Baltic)
58. *nino- ‘ash-tree’ (possibly attested in Gaulish)
59. *nūsso-, *nowsso- ‘first milk, colostrum’
60. *rem(r)o- ‘fat, thick’
61. *rendi- ‘point, peak’
62. *rowk(k)- / *ruk- ‘tunic, mantle’ (cognates in Germanic and Slavic)
63. *rūnā ‘secret’ (possible cognates in Germanic)
64. *sēbro- ‘demon, spectre’
65. *sfrawo- ‘crow’ (possible cognates in Germanic, Baltic, and Italic)
66. *sido- ‘elk, stag’
67. *skamo- ‘light’ (possible cognates in Germanic)
68. *skublo- ‘bird of prey’ (probably attested in Gaulish)
69. *slad-yo- ‘hit, slay’
70. *slattā ‘stalk, staff’ (possible cognates in Germanic)
71. *swanto- ‘treasure, what is desired’
72. *smēro- ‘berry’
73. *subi- ‘strawberry’
74. *sukko- ‘pig’
75. *tago- ‘strangle, choke’
76. *torrV- ‘belly’
77. *trussko- ‘dirty, leprous’
78. *trusto- ‘noise, cry’
79. *wesakko-, *wesākko- ‘grebe, raven’
80. *wēt(t)ā ‘stream, swamp’
81. *wimonā ‘sea weed’
82. *wriggant- ‘vermin’ (possibly attested in Gaulish)
83. *wroyko- ‘heather’ (possible cognates in Balto-Slavic)
84. *yoyni- ‘rushes, reed’ (probable cognates in Italic and Germanic)
85. *yutV- ‘pap, porridge’ (possibly attested in Gaulish)

The number of substrate words in Proto-Celtic is actually surprisingly low. Only 85 out of the total 1490 Proto-Celtic words can be ascribed to a non-IE substrate, which is under 6%. This number is probably slightly higher, since several of the IE etymologies proposed in the dictionary might turn out to be false, but even so, it probably does not exceed 10%. Since many of the nouns listed above have probable cognates in other Western Indo-European languages (primarily Italic and Germanic), we might argue that there was no pre-IE substrate exclusive to Celtic, i.e., there was no common substrate in Western Europe from which Celtic, and only Celtic, borrowed words. There are, of course, many words in Welsh and Irish with obscure, presumably non-IE etymology, but it is rather surprising how few of those words go back to Proto-Celtic, or Proto-Insular Celtic (if one believes in that). Again, this may point to the conclusion that there was no single substratum language (or a group of closely related languages) prior to the arrival of the Celts in the British Isles. Judging by the amount of language diversity before the Roman conquests in other parts of Europe, for which we have more data (e.g. for Spain or Italy), this is not so surprising.

It is not surprising that most of the non-IE words in Celtic are nouns, since nouns are much more often borrowed than verbs, or words belonging to other word classes. It is also understandable that nouns of substrate origin
often denote birds, plants, and small animals.

On the formal side, one should note that substratum words in Celtic often have geminates and the vowel *a in the root. Both of these features have been recognized as characteristic of substratum words in other European language groups, especially in Germanic. What is more surprising is the fact that words of non-IE origin in Celtic have the vowel *u in the root much more often than could be attributed to chance (24 out of 85 words, or more than a quarter of the total). Moreover, the donor language(s) seem not to have had a length contrast in their vowel systems. The only long vowels that appear in the roots of non-IE loanwords in Celtic are *ė (which can be from the diphthong *ey) and *ū (in two instances, once alternating with *ow). Finally, labiovelars are extremely rare (they occur in only two words), which probably means that the donor language(s) lacked them. The significance of these findings is yet to be evaluated in the realm of the Celtic linguistics.
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