Addenda et corrigenda to Ranko Matasović’s *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (Brill, Leiden 2009).

Zagreb, December 2011

NOTE: This file contains only those lemmata that have been thoroughly revised, as well as about a hundred new etymologies not in the 2009 edition. Lemmata that have been subject to only minor revisions, as well as bibliographical updates, will appear in the second edition of the dictionary. Thanks to Irene Balles for helpful comments and criticisms of the first edition.

*adilo- ‘target’
SEE: *ad- ‘to’

*ad-rīmo ‘number’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. áram [ā f, later also o m] ‘act of counting’ (DIL áirem)
W: MW eirif [m] ‘number, amount, sum’
SEE: *rīmā ‘number, count’

*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: *h₂eg- ‘drive’ (IEW: 4f.)
COGN: Skt. ājati, Lat. ago, Gr. āgō, Arm. acem
ETYM: In Brit. this verb has a suppletive VN, MW mynet, MBret. monet, MCo. mones < *monet-, cf. P Celt. *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’. I find it unlikely that OIr. aiged [ā f] ‘face, countenance’ should be derived from this root (the semantic connection is weak). Likewise, OIr. āg [o and u m] ‘fight, battle, valour’ might in principle be from *āgu- (or *āgo-) < PIE *h₂oḡ-, cf. Skt. ājī- ‘race, combat’, but the long vowel (if the etymology is correct) could also be analogical after ār ‘carnage, battle’ (see *agro-).

*akino- ‘shoot, sprout’ [Noun]
W: MW egin [p] ‘shoots, sprouts, blades’
BRET: egin
PIE: *h₂ek- ‘be sharp’ (IEW 19ff.)
COGN: Lat. acus ‘needle’, OCS osъtъ ‘thistle’
ETYM: The Brittonic words have the exact cognate in Lat. acinus ‘grape or other berry’, which may point to PIE *h₂ek-ino-.
REF: GPC I: 1175.

*anamī ‘blemish, fault’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. anim [?f, later ň f] (DIL aínim)
W: OW anamou gl. mendae, MW anaf
BRET: MBret. anaf, anaff ‘fault’; OBret. di-anam gl. efficaciter
SEE: *am-o- ‘wash’; *ono- ‘blemish’
ETYM: The PCelt. reconstruction is here based on the somewhat doubtful assumption that the OIr. word is an ancient ē-stem (it also inflects as an ā-stem, but the Nom. pl. amnī might be an indication that i-inflection is original). Pokorny’s connection of these words with Gr. ὄνομαι ‘blame, injure’ (IEW 779) can be retained only if one assumes (with LIV 282) that the Greek vocalism is due to assimilation (*ono- < *ano-), and that the PIE root is *h₂enh₂- ‘blame’ (cf. also Hitt. hannari ‘litigates,
sues’. In that case *anamī can also be related to *ono- ‘blemish’, cf. also Mlr. antair [3 s pass.] ‘is blemished’. It is also possible (although, admittedly, speculative) 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’.

*anawo- ‘wealth, profit’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. anae [yo m] ‘wealth, riches, prosperity’
W: MW anaw [m] ‘wealth, bounty’
GAUL: Anawo-geno, Anauas [PN], Anaone portus [Toponym]
PIE: *h₂enₕ₁- ‘enjoy, use’ (IEW: 754, 47)
COGN: Gr. oninēmi ‘use’, Go. aniss ‘mercy, benevolence’
ETYM: OIr. anae is mostly used in the plural. Formally, the Celtic forms could also be from PIE *h₂enₕ₂- ‘breathe’ (Lat. animus ‘spirit’, Gr. ánemos ‘breath’), but this connection is much less probable from the semantic point of view.

*aramo- ‘quiet’ [Adj]
W: MW araf ‘quiet, leisurely, calm’
PIE: *h₁erh₁- ‘be still’ (IEW: 322f.)
COGN: Skt. ily- ‘be still’, rā tī- ‘night’, Av. rāman- ‘tranquility’, Gr. ērēmos ‘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 *h₁erh₁₁- / *h₁regh₁-. It is less probable that the root is *h₁reh₃- (cf. Gr. erōθē ‘rest’, OHG ruowa ‘rest’, since then we would have to posit Schwebeablaut (*herh₁₁- / *herh₃-) and Joseph’s rule to account for the Celtic forms. The connection with the Gaul. names Aramo [PN], Aramis [Hydronym], etc. is very tentative.

*argo- ‘noble, great’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. arg [o] ‘noble, great, impressive’
GAUL: Com-argus
ETYM: A rather problematic etymology, since the correspondence between OIr. arg and Gaul. –argus could be accidental. Beyond Celtic, one can compare Gr. arkhós ‘leader’ and derive all of these from the root *h₂ergh₁- ‘rule’. If MHG regen ‘set up, raise, stir up’ is related to these forms, we must either posit Schwebeablaut (*h₂ergh₁₁- / *h₂reg₃₁-), or accept that *h₂reg₃₁- was reflected as Celtic *arg- (see PCelt. *arganto- ‘silver’).

*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: *h₂ṛtkο- ‘bear’ (IEW: 845)
COGN: Hitt. hartagg–, Skt. ḍkṣa-, Gr. árktoς, Lat. ursus, Alb. ari
ETYM: Apparently homophonous Mlr. art ‘power’, ‘hero’, and ‘god’ are probably just metaphorical extensions of the word for ‘bear’ 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 *b) and that this cluster behaved like the fricative *s when the syllabic resonant developed vocalic prothesis (but cf. PCelt. *mₘrixto-, which shows that original, non metathesised *kt was preserved in Celtic until the development of the prothesis in syllabic resonants). Thus we had *h₂ṛtkos > *(H)rxpox > *arxpox > *artos, but *mrktoς > *mrixtoς > *mrixtoς. Another, in my opinion less probable explanation, would involve positing a special rule *h₂ṛC > *arC before CRC > CriC (Joseph 1982: 50f.).
*astili- ‘joint, part’ [Noun]
GOID: Mr. asil, aisil ‘part, division, joint’
BRET: MBret. esel [m] ‘joint’, MoBret. ezel ‘limb’
CO: Co. esel ‘joint’
ETYM: Probably from the same root as in *astn(iy)o- ‘rib’, from the PIE root *h₂óstʰ₁ ‘bone’ (IEW: 783).

*ati-li-n-o- ‘stick, adhere to’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. ad-len ‘adheres to, follows’
W: MW edlynú ‘to smear, daub’
SEE: *lin-ā ‘stick’
REF: KPV 453f., GPC I: 1166.

*ati-sek”o- ‘answer’ [Noun]
SEE: *sek”-o- ‘say’

*awe-C- ‘inspiration, insight’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. aui, ai [t m> f] ‘poetic inspiration’
W: MW awen [f] ‘poetic inspiration, talent’
SEE: *awelā ‘breeze, wind’
ETYM: MoBret. awen ‘inspiration’ is a loanword from W. The PCelt. reconstruction is difficult because word formations of OIr. aui and MW awen do not agree. The OIr. form points to a t-stem *h₂eh₁-et-.

*axtō-, *axtīno- ‘furze, gorse’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. aîtten [o m]
W: MW aeth, (GPC aîth), eîthin
BRET: OBret. ethin gl. rusci
CO: OCo. eythinen [Singulative] gl. rannmus
PIE: *h₂êk-sti-
COGN: Lith. akstis ‘spit (for roasting)’, Russ. ost ‘awn, bristle’
SEE: *akino- ‘shoot, sprout’, *akro- ‘high’
ETYM: MW aeth probably preserves the original underrived noun (*axtō-). The British forms presuppose a feminine noun (presumably old collective) *axtīnā, while OIr. aîtten points to *axtīno- with irregular change of *xt > it (McCone 2005a: 409 considers the possibility of a non-IE intermediary, cf. Basque ote ‘furze’). The PIE root is *h₂ek- ‘be sharp’.

*banonā ‘young woman’ [Noun]
SEE: *benā, *bena ‘woman’

*bano-wessā ‘wedding’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. banais [ā f]
BRET: MBret. banais, MoBret. banvez [m]
ETYM: A compound containing *bano- ‘woman’ (see *benā) and *wessā, which is derived from the same root as PCelt. *wed-o- ‘lead, bring together’. PCelt. *wessā represents PIE *wedʰ-teh₂. The root *wedʰ- was used to express the concept of ‘leading the bride’ in PIE, cf. Skt. vadhū́ ‘bride’.
REF: Irslinger 2002: 345f.

*bar-na- ‘proclaim’ [Vb]
W: MW barnu ‘judge, proclaim’; barn [Pres.]
BRET: MBret. barn
PIE: *g”erH- ‘praise’ (IEW: 478)
COGN: Skt. järate ‘sings’, Lat. grātus ‘pleasing, beloved’, Lith. giriū, girti ‘praise’
ETYM: The meaning of Gaul. *barnaom* (Larzac) is not quite certain; it may mean ‘judge’ or ‘judgement’, and it is probably from the same root (with the suffix *-mno-, a thematised derivative of the suffix *-mon-?).


*bego-* ‘break’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *do-beig*, co-toibget [3p Pres.]
Pf *b*eg- ‘break’ (IEW 114f.)
SEE: *bekko- ‘small’

ETYM: This verb was confused in OIr. with its near-homonym, *do-boing* (DIL) ‘wrests, plucks, breaks’ < PCelt. *bung-o- < *b*ungo-. PIE *b*eg- ‘break’ is also attested in MW *di-*fo, *diuo* ‘destroying’ (< *dī-bogo-*) and in the OIr. compound *ráth-buige* ‘builder of ramparts’ (< *bogyo-*). OIr. *bocht* ‘poor’ can represent *b*xo-t-< *b*og-to- from the same root (but cf. also PCelt. *b*uxto- ‘break’, and note that OIr. *bocht* could also be the to-participle of this root, PCelt. *b*uxto-). Finally, OIr. *becht* ‘precise, exact’ may, in principle, be from *b*xo-t- < *b*eg-to-, but the meanings are quite different so this etymology is improbable in my opinion.


*belyo-* ‘tree’ [Noun]
GOID: Mr. *bile* [io n] ‘large tree, tree trunk’
Pf: *b*olih3-yo- ‘leaf’ (IEW: 122)
COGN: Lat. *folium*, Gr. *phýllon*
SEE: *blátu- ‘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 *b*elh3-. The laryngeal probably dropped before *y* in PIE (Pinault’s rule). In Gaulish, the same root is probably found in toponyms such as *Billio-magus* (> Fr. *Billom*). Pr. *bilha* ‘tree-trunk’ may be from the (unattested) Gaulish reflex of this word.


*beranti* ‘sow’ [Noun]
SEE: *ber-o- ‘carry, bear, bring’

*beto-, *biyato-* ‘food’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *biad* [o n] ‘food’
W: MW *bwyd* [m]
BRET: MBret. *boet*, MoBret. *boued* [m]
CO: OCo. *buat* gl. *cibus vel esca*
PIE: *g*yeh3- ‘live’ (IEW: 468)
COGN: Lat. *uīta* ‘life’, Lith. *gyvatā*
SEE: *biwto- ‘alive’

ETYM: OIr. *biad* is attested as a bisyllable in early sources, which implies that the proto-form was *biwoto-* < *g*yeh3-wo-to- (cf. Lat. *uīta* < *wivotā*, Lith. *gyvatā*), or, slightly more probably, *biyato-* < *g*yeh3eto- (cf. Gr. *bios* ‘life’), with the suffix *-to- added to the zero-grade of the root (cf. PCelt. *riyatro-* ‘torrent’ < *riHetro-); the Brittonic words can be derived from *beto-*, ultimately form PIE *g*yeh3-eto-. A derivative is found in OBret. *boitolion* gl. *esciferis*.


*bi-na- ‘strike, hit’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *benaid*; -bia [Subj.]; *biu* [1s Fut.]; *bí* [Pret.]; -*bith* [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW *kymnynu* ‘hit, cut down’; *kynyn* [3s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. *benaff* ‘cut’
GAUL: *biyiutu* ‘should strike’ [Impv.] (Larzac)
CELTIB: *ne-bintor* ‘should not be hit’ [3p Impv. Med.] (Botorrita I)
Pf: *b*eyH- ‘strike’ (IEW: 117f.)
COGN: OLat. *perfines* ‘you should strike’, OCS *biti* ‘strike’
SEE: *biyatli- ‘axe’
ETYM: MW *kymnu is from *kom-bi-na- (the simplex verb is unattested in Welsh). The interpretation of Celtib. *nentor is dubious, but it appears probable that it is a verbal form with the middle ending, and the etymological connection with the root *beyH- is accepted by most specialists. OIr. *bith ‘blow, wound’ (also as a preposition ‘because’) is from the same root (PCelt. *bitV-), but the stem formation of this old verbal noun of *benaid is unknown. I doubt that MW *bid [f] ‘bush, thorn’ is from the same source, since the meanings are too different.


*biiatli- ‘axe’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *biált, *biál [m] ‘axe, hatchet, battle axe’
W: OW *behill gl. securis, MW *bwell, *buyll (GPC *bwyall [f] ‘axe’)
CO: MCô. *boell ‘axe’
SEE: *bi-na- ‘strike’
ETYM: Under the hypothesis that *H was lost after *ey in Celtic, OIr. *biált cannot be from *beyatli-< *beyH-tli-; rather, PCelt. *biyatli has generalized the shape of the root *bi- from the verb *bi-na-. Since *biyatli- is almost certainly derived from earlier *biya-tlo- (with the suffix *-tlo- used in formation for nouns denoting instruments), it is also possible that the shape of the suffix *-atlo- is analogically introduced from words such as *batlalo- ‘broom-plant, broom’, where *-a- is the regular reflex of *H between consonants. Note that the source of –h- in MBret. *bouhazl is unknown, and the relationship of W *bwyall and MCô. *boell to these forms is unclear, since *tl would have been preserved in Welsh and Cornish as *dl.


*bláro- ‘grey’ [Adj]
SEE: *bláwo- ‘yellow’

*blátu- ‘flower’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bláth [u m]
W: MW *blawd [m]
CO: MCô. *blodon Co. *bledzhan
PIE: *bhleik- ‘blossom, flower’ (IEW: 122)
COGN: Lat. flōs, OHG bluot
ETYM: Gaul. PN *Blatuna is probably derived from the same root (Meid 2005: 187), cf. also the toponym *Blato-magus. PCelt. *blátu- presupposes PIE *bhleik-, an abstract nominal derivative (‘blossoming’), but it is also compatible with *bhleik-tu-, if one assumes that the root vowel was shortened by Dybo’s law. The zero-grade of the root is attested in OHG blat ‘leaf’, ToA pált ‘leaf’...


*borro- ‘big, strong, stiff’ [Adj]
GOID: Mr. *borr [o] ‘thick, big, swollen’
W: MW *bwrr ‘thick, big’
CO: MCô. *bor gl. pinguus
PIE: *bhrs- ‘point’ (IEW: 109)
COGN: Skt. bhṛṣṭi- ‘tip, point’, OHG *bors, OIc. barr ‘sharp’
SEE: *barro- ‘point, top’
ETYM: Mr. *buirre ‘swelling’ is a derivative (PCelt. *barryā); PCelt. *barro- probably represents the o-grade of the root attested in *barro- ‘point, tip’.


*bóstá ‘palm, fist’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *bos, *bás [a f]
W: OW *bos, MW *bos [f]
BRET: MBret. *boz
PIE: *gwos-to-, *gwos-dʰo- ‘branch’ (IEW: 382, 480)
COGN: MHG quast ‘branch’, Alb. gieth ‘leaf, foliage’
SEE: *buzdo- ‘penis’
ETYM: Fr. boisse ‘measure of grain, bushel’ can be derived from Gaul. *bostiā (Gamillscheg 124). Romance words denoting ‘quantity that can be taken by two hands, two handfuls’ such as Catalan almosta, Piémontais ambosta and OSp. ambuesta seem to be Gaulish loanwords (from PCelt. *amb-bostā). 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-dʰo-, with a different suffix (cf. OCS gvozdъ ‘nail’), from which it may be possible to derive PCelt. *buzdo- ‘penis’.

*bow- ‘cow’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. bó [irregular f]
W: MW bu, buw [m and f]
BRET: MBret. bou-tig ‘stable’
GAUL: Bo-marus [PN]
CELTIB: bou-stom (?) ‘stable’ (Botorrata I)
PIE: *gʰ-o-w- ‘cow’ (IEW: 482)
COGN: Lat. bōs, OHG chuo, Skt. gáu-, 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 [ʔiː] ‘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. *baws, Gen. sg. *bow-os, Acc. sg. *bow-am (instead of PIE *gʰ-óm which would yield PCelt. **bām), etc. W biw ‘horned cattle’ can be derived from the acc. pl. of the word for ‘cow’ (PIE *gʰ-óns > PCelt. *bōs), with the new Proto-British form on the analogy with the consonant stem *būwās, which yields W biw regularly (Isaac 2007: 34). This is clearly preferable than deriving W biw from the PIE adjective *gʰ-ih3wō- ‘alive’ (see PCelt. *biwo-), where we would expect Dybo’s law to operate.

*bowed-ro- ‘dirty’ [Adj]
GOID: Mr. buaidir [ʔiː] ‘confusion’
W: MW budyr ‘filthy, dirty, mean’ (GPC budr)
PIE: *gʰ-ew-dʰ- ‘excrement, defecate’ (IEW: 484)
COGN: Skt. guváti ‘catac’, OE cwéad ‘dirt’
ETYM: The meaning of Mr. buaidir is not completely clear (it is compatible with the meaning ‘confusion’). Cf. also OIr. biáidre [iː] ‘trouble, confusion’. The meaning ‘confusion’ could have developed from something like ‘mess’ and ‘filth’ which may be posited for Brittonic. Cf. also MW baw [m] ‘dirt, filth’ and Fr. boue ‘mud’ (from Gaulish) which might be related. The etymology offered here in any case very tentative.

*brig- ‘hill’ [Noun]
GOID: Mr. bri [g f]
W: MW bre [f]
BRET: MBret. bre [m]
CO: Co. bre
GAUL: -briga [in Toponyms], Brig-antes [Ethnonym]
PIE: *bʰerɡʰ- ‘be high, hill’ (IEW: 140f.)
COGN: Av. bărã-, OHG berg
SEE: *brigã ‘might, power’
ETYM: The Celtic forms can be derived from the zero-grade of the PIE root *bʰerɡʰ-, and the observed vowel alternations point to a PIE root noun (Nom. sg. *bʰerɡʰs, Gen. sg. *bʰerɡʰos, Acc. sg. *bʰerɡʰ-óm, etc.)
*br̥erg̥m). 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 *brīgā. OIr. Brigid ‘dea poetarum’ (Cormac), OW brenhnin, brennin, MW brenhin ‘king’ are from the same root; they presuppose *brigantī (≡ Skt. bhyāti- ‘the high one’, an epithet of Uśas), and *brigantīnos, respectively. The original meaning would be ‘the exalted one’. The latter word is attested in Gaul. as birikantīn on a coin sometimes falsely attributed to Celtiberian, because it is written in Iberian script. However, it is discovered in Southern France, so it is presumably Gaulish (MLH V.1: XII).


*brīgo/ā ‘might, power’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. brig [ā]f
W: MW bri [m] ‘prestige, authority’
BRET: MBret. bry ‘respect’
CO: Co. bry ‘respect, honor’
SEE: *brig- ‘hill’
ETYM: Note that the genders of W and Goidelic do not match. The connection with *brig- ‘hill’ is improbable, because of the long *-i- in this word. The etymology relating PCelt. *brīgv- and Gr. brīthos ‘weight’, Latv. grīns ‘angry < *gʰriH-g- (IEW 477) is very tentative and semantically quite implausible.


*brísti- ‘haste’ [Noun]
W: MW brys [m] ‘hurry, haste’
BRET: MBret. bresic, brezec ‘swift’
PIE: *bʰris-ti- ‘haste’
COGN: Lat. festīno ‘hurry’
ETYM: The Breton form is formed with the suffix *-iko-. In Gaulish, one may compare the PN Brista (Limoges, attested in Gen. sg. Bristas). Latin festīnāre is built on an unattested ti-stem *festis (Schrijver 1990), which, just as PCelt. *brístis, must come from PIE *bʰris-tis. A deeper connection with the PIE root *bʰreyH- ‘cut’ (OCS briti, etc., LIV 92f.) appears difficult to me, both formally (there are no traces of the laryngeal in *brísti-) and semantically.


*brixtu- ‘magical formula, incantation’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. bricht [u n]
W: MW -brith in lled-frith ‘magical charm’
BRET: OBret. brith
GAUL: brixitia (Chamalières)
PIE: *bʰerχt- ‘enlighten (?)’
COGN: ON bragr ‘poetic talent’, Skt. brahmán- ‘priest’
SEE: *berxt- ‘bright, beautiful’
ETYM: The PIE root must be reconstructed without the laryngeal, otherwise we would expect *CrHC > CrāC, PCelt. **brāxtu-). Therefore, it is doubtful whether this is the same root as *bʰerHg- ‘bright’ (IEW 139, cf. Skt. bhrājate ‘shines’, Go. bairhts ‘bright’, etc.); we may want to compare PCelt. *brixtu- with *berxt- ‘bright, beautiful’, which also has to be from a root without a laryngeal. The same root may be found in Mr. brigaid ‘shows, declares’, MW bryth-ron ‘magic wand’ and Gaul. brixtom ‘magical formula’ (Larzac).


*brokko- ‘badger’ [Noun]
GOID: Mr. brocc [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, cf. also Molr. *broc ‘grey, speckled’, *brocach ‘dirty, filthy, spotted, grey, clumsy’ and W *broc ‘of a mixed colour’ (a loanword from Irish), which are probably related and may indicate that ‘badger’ was originally ‘the grey one’. Balles (2010) derives PCelt. *brokko- from PIE *bʰr̥rg-ko- (with the same suffix as in *bukko- ‘goat’ and *mukko- ‘pig’ (here reconstructed as *mokku-). She identifies the root with that of *brag-yo- ‘fart’, noting that badgers smell badly like all Mustelidae. However, this etymology is difficult because PCelt. *brag-yo- is from a PIE root in laryngeal, so we would expect PCelt. *brāk- from PIE *bʰruHg-.


*brend-ī- ‘spring forth, rush’ [Vb]
SEE: *brend-o- ‘flow, spurt out’

*brows- ‘belly’ [Noun]
SEE: *bruson- abdomen, womb’

*brū- ‘brow’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *brú (for- *brú) [u f]
PIE: *(h3)bʰrewH- ‘brow’ (IEW: 172f.)
COGN: Skt. bhrū́-, Gr. ophrýs, OE brú, Lith. brūvis, Russ. brow
ETYM: PCelt. *brū- is certainly related to PCelt. *abrānt- ‘eyelid’ (OIr. abrae [nt m], MW amrant, MoBret. abrant, Co. abrans), but the exact nature of the relationship is unclear. Hamp (1981: 49ff.) posits PIE *h₁p-bhr̥nt- to account for *a- in *abrant-, where *h₁p- would be the zero grade of the root found in the preposition *h₁p-epi- (Gr. epi ‘on’). This is formally possible, but quite speculative. 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 ophrýs.


*brugno- ‘sadness, pain’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *brón [o m]
W: MW *brwyn [m]
ETYM: The derivation of this Celtic word from PIE *gʷrewHgʰ- ‘bite’ (IEW 486) is difficult, as Gr. brýkho, Lith. grūžiu, 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 *gʷruHgʰ-nó- and subsequent shortening of the first vowel by Dybo’s law, or the laryngeal was lost before a consonant cluster (the so-called ‘Wetter-rule’, which is not generally accepted). Note, however, that W *brwyn is also compatible with PCelt. *brugno- and *brogino-, and OIr. *brón can be from *brugno- (cf. OIr. *srón ‘nose’ < *srōgnā). Thus, one may want to connect PCelt. *brogno-, *brogino- to PIE *bʰreg- ‘break’ (Lat. frango, Go. brikan).


*brous- ‘abdomen, womb’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. brú [n f]
W: MW *bron [f] ‘breast’
CO: Co. *bron ‘breast’
PIEL: *b'hui- ‘belly’ (?) (IEW: 170f.)
COGN: OE *broest ‘breast’, Russ. *brjúxo ‘belly, paunch’
PCelt. *bruson- is an n-stem derived from the zero grade of the PIE root (PIE *bʰrus-on-). The nominative sg. was *brusū (> OIr. *brū), and the genitive singular *brusnos (> OIr. *bronn). MW *bron and the Breton and Cornish forms point to *brusnā, which may be formed from the oblique cases of the original n-stem. MW *brū [m] ‘womb, belly’ is from a different ablaut grade of the root, PCelt. *brows- < PIE *bʰrewso-, with cognates in Slavic, cf. ORuss. *brjúxo ‘belly’, Pol. *brzuch ‘id.’ The Gaulish reflexes of this word are preserved in Fr. dial. *bronne ‘teat’ (Maine), *abrón ‘teat’ (Berry), and perhaps in toponyms such as Bronium, Broniacus, etc.
*bruto-* ‘prick’ [Noun]
GOID: Mr. broth [o] ‘beard, ear of corn, sedge (?)’
BRET: MoBret. broud ‘nail’
CO: Co. bras gl. aculeus
COGN: Lat. frutex ‘shrub, bush’
ETYM: The connection of the Celtic words and Lat. frutex is somewhat doubtful. If they are indeed related, the PIE root would be *bhrewt-. The basic meaning is ‘something sharp’.

*budaro- ‘deaf’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. bodar [o]
W: MW byddar ‘deaf, numb’
BRET: OBret. bodaran, MBret. bouzar
CO: OCo. bothar gl. surdus, Co. bodhar
PIE: *bhod(h)Hro- ‘deaf’ (IEW: 112)
COGN: Skt. badhirá- ‘deaf’
ETYM: The Brittonic reflexes show that the PCelt. form was *budaro-, not *bodaro-. The comparison with Skt. badhirá- is possible only under the assumption that the vocalism in Celtic is analogical, perhaps under the influence of (unattested) Celtic reflexes of the root *bhodh- > Go. baups ‘deaf’. Of course, this is very speculative. The Gaulish PN Bodaro may be from the same root with the original vocalism.

*bu-yo- ‘be, become’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. biid ‘is wont to be’ [Consuetudinal Pres.]; -bé [Subj.]; bieid, -bia [Fut.]; boí [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 Limé)
PIE: *bhwy₂- ‘be, become’ (IEW: 146-150)
COGN: Skt. bhāvati, Lat. fuī ‘I was’, Lith. bū́ ti OCS byti
SEE: *es- ‘be’
ETYM: These forms are suppletive to *es- ‘be’; OIr. biid (disyllabic) ‘is wont to be’ and Gaul. biiete point to PCelt. *biye- < *bhwiye- (< *bhuh₂i(H)ye-), cf. Lat. fio ‘become, be’ (Kortlandt 2007: 136). There is considerable disagreement about the reconstruction of the paradigm of the OIr. and W preterite; OIr. 3 sg. boí and W bu can be from PCelt. *bowe < PIE *bōum (perfect without reduplication), but OIr. 1sg. -bá is a problem. Kortlandt (2007: 125) now reconstructs the PIE root as *bh₂h₂u- and derives -bá from *bh₂um < *bh₂h₂um. The verbal noun of the verb ‘to be’ in OIr. is buith, both < *butā, with parallels in Brittonic, cf. W bod [m] ‘being, existence’, OBret. bot ‘being’. The masculine gender in W is secondary, since the original *u was lowered to o. The short root vowel may be due to Dybo’s law.

*dā- ‘give’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. -tartat ‘could give’ [3s Pres.] do-rat ‘has given’ [Perf.]
GAUL: dede [Pret.] (Orgon, etc.)
LEP: tetu (Prestino)
CELTIB: tattz [Imp.] (?) (Botorrita I)
PIE: *deh₂- ‘give’ (IEW: 223ff.)
COGN: Skt. dā-, Lat. do, dare, Gr. didōmi, Lith. diūti, OCS dati
SEE: *dānu- ‘gift’

ETYM: OIr. tartat < *tu-fro-ad-dā-; On Celtib. tatez (Botorrita I) see Eska 1989: 142; some derive this form from the root *dēh₁- ‘do’ (Lat. facio, Gr. tithēmi, etc.); the root *deh₃- is probably also attested in Celtib. zizonti ‘they give’ (by assimilation from *dizonti) and taunēi ‘to give’. Gaulish dede and Lepontic teut might also be from PIE *dēh₁- rather than from *deh₃-, but this appears less probable. OIr. dúas [ā f] ‘gift, reward, recompense to poets’ is derivable from PCelt. *dowstā; it might be from PIE *deh₃- with the suffix *-w- (perhaps originally the labial feature of the laryngeal *h₃?) as in Lat. duim ‘would give’, Lith. da’vė ‘gave’. Gaul. readdas (Saint-Marcel near Argenton-sur-Creuse) has been analysed as *fr(o)-e-ad-dā- ‘he has given this’ (Schrijver 1997: 178f.), but this is just a possibility. Finally, OIr. iadaid, iada ‘closes’ is certainly an old compound with the prefix *efi- (< PIE *h₁epi-, cf. Gr. epi), but it is unclear whether the verbal root is *deh₃- ‘give’ (as assumed by Schumacher in KPV), or *dēh₁- ‘do, make, put’. The latter appears more probable from the semantic point of view.


*dānniyō- ‘material, matter’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. damnae [yo m]
W: MW defnydd [m] ‘matter, use, cause’
BRET: MBret. daffnez, MoBret. danvez
PIE: *demH- ‘build’ (IEW: 198f.)
COGN: Gr. démō, Go. ga-timan ‘fit’
ETYM: Undervived *damno- may be preserved in W dafn [m] ‘yarn on weaver’s loom, warp and woof’, but the semantic connection is weak. The PIE root is reconstructed as *demh₂- by LIV because of Gr. démas ‘(man’s) body’.

REF: LEIA D-21, GPC I: 913, LIV 114f.

*dawno- ‘drop’ [Noun]
W: W dafn [m]
COGN: OE dēaw ‘dew’, Germ. Tau
ETYM: W dafn is derivable from *dēHu-no-, while the Germanic forms represent *dēHu-wo-. In principle, these words could be from the same root as in Lat. fūmus ‘smoke’, OCS dymъ < PIE *dhuh₂mo- (IEW 261), but both the semantic and the formal connections are somewhat doubtful.

REF: GPC I: 878, Kluge 817.

*dexsiwo- ‘right, south’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. dess [o]
W: MW dehau, deheu (GPC deau, de)
BRET: OBret. dehou, MBret. deho, dechou, MoBret. dehou, dehow
CO: Co. dehow, dyghow
GAUL: Dex(s)iuas [Theonym]
PIE: *deksw- ‘right’ (IEW: 190)
COGN: Lat. dexter, Gr. deksiterós, OCS desmъ, Alb. djahtē
ETYM: The Insular Celtic forms are derivable from *dexswo-, while the Gaulish name Dessoia points to *dexsiwo-, which is the expected form, in light of the cognates in other IE languages (cf. also Gr. deksiós < *deksiwo-). 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. tuath ‘left, north’ < P Celt. *towto-. Another derivative from the same PIE root is MW desti ‘orderly, tidy’, probably from *dextsto-. W des [m] ‘system’ (hapax) and Mr. des ‘arrangement, order’ are poorly attested, but, in principle, they could be from the same root.


*diko- ‘anger’ [Noun]
W: MW dic (GPC dig) [m] ‘anger, wrath, grief’
PIE: *diHk- (IEW 187)
ETYM: A very tentative etymology, since the evidence is limited to Welsh and Balto-Slavic. Derksen (2008: 107) thinks that the Baltic words might be borrowed from Slavic because they have circumflex on the root, while the Slavic cognates point to the acute from PIE laryngeal. He considers it possible that the Slavic words are cognate with Skt. *day- ‘fly (of birds, chariots, gods)’ but does not mention W *din.


**di-na-** ‘suck’ [Vb]

GOID: OIr. *denaid, denait [3p Pres.]; *did [Pret.]

W: MW *dynu, denu

BRET: MBret. *denaff, MoBret. *denañ

CO: Co. *dena

PIE: *dēh₁y- ‘suck’ (IEW: 241f.)


SEE: *dēli ‘teat’

ETYM: The PCelt. present stem *di-na- cannot be derived from *dēh₁-ne₁- (this would have given OIr. ***dinid rather than *denaid), so the suffix *-na- was extended analogically after the large class of Celtic presents with that suffix. The root *dēh₁- is the result of laryngeal metathesis (*dh₁i-C- > *dēh₁C-C-). Derivatives from this root include OIr. *dinú [nt m] ‘lamb’, W *dyniawed, dynawed, dyniowed [m] ‘yearling, stirk, young bullock’, OCo. *denevoit gl. *iuvencus, but a common PCelt. form cannot be reconstructed on the basis of these words. Mfr. *did ‘teat’ is attested only twice; in principle, it could be from the same root, but the stem formation and gender are unclear, as well as the reason why the vowel –i- is short.


**di-reyo-** ‘fine, honour-price’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. *dire [yo n] ‘honour-price, penalty, mulct’

W: MW *dirwy [m and f] ‘fine, mulct, penalty’

ETYM: This word is composed of the preposition *di- and the stem *reyo-, which is unattested as simplex. It may be from the same root as in *ri-ma ‘number, count’, *ri-na- ‘count, sell, exchange’.


** dowstá ** ‘gift’ [Noun]

SEE: *dā ‘give’

**dowyo-** ‘slow’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. *dóe [io] gl. *tardus ‘slow, sluggish’

PIE: *dūh₂- ‘far, long distance’ (IEW: 219f.)


**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- ‘hold’ (IEW: 212f., 254)


ETYM: OIr. *drécht [u m] ‘part, portion’ may be derivable from *dreg-tu- and preserve the original meaning of the verb ‘hold’ implied by the cognates in other IE languages. In that case, the nasal in *dreg-tu- must be based on the analogy with the present stem. Mfr. *dréimm ‘climbing’ is the verbal noun to OIr. *dringid and probably goes back to *drinxsman- (with *-n- from the present stem).

*drixsmā ‘face’ [Noun]
SEE: *drikā ‘face, appearance’

*drixsmā ‘quarrel’ [Noun]
GOID: Mfr. drenn [ā?] ‘quarrel, combat’
BRET: OBret. ardren gl. praepugnis (DGVB arðrēn)
PIE: *dʰregʰ- ‘incite, provoke’ (IEW 273)
COGN: OCS raz-dražiti ‘incite (against), provoke’, Croat. dražiti ‘annoy’
ETYM: A very tentative etymology. Mfr. drenn cannot be related to *der(H)- ‘tear’ (see *darno- ‘piece, part’), since we would expect **darn- from both *drno- and *dr-sno-. The accentuation of Croat. dražiti points to original *δ in the root (if there were a root-final laryngeal, we would have short a). Hence, the Slavic forms are probably denominative, going back to an (unattested) root noun *dʰroːɡ-s ‘quarrel’. If Mfr. drenn is indeed related, it must be from the zero-grade form of this root (*dʰroːɡ-) with the common suffix *-sno-. OBret. ardren presupposes PCelt. *fare-drixsnV-, but it could also be from *fare-trexsno -, cf. PCelt. *trexsno- ‘strong’. Delamarre (328) compares also the Gaul. ethnonym Uoto-drones, but this is just a conjecture.
REF: LEIA D-193, Delamarre 328, DGVB 72.

*drūxtu- ‘drop’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. drúcht [u m] ‘drop (of dew)’
PIE: *dʰrewb- ‘drop’ (IEW 275)
COGN: OHG tröffo, tropfo ‘drop’
ETYM: This etymology is quite uncertain, as the long ú in OIr. is unexpected. The length is preserved in Molr. drúcht ‘dew’. If the etymology is correct, the only cognates are found in Germanic, cf. also OIr. drúcht ‘dew’ (of dew), with the e-grade of the root. The alternation in vowel length may indicate that the root is borrowed from some non-IE source.

*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. W dew ‘fog’ is a ghost-word. We should probably start from PIE *dʰuh₂-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-.

*exs ‘out of, from’ [Prep]
GOID: OIr. ess-, ass-, a
W: MW ech, eh
BRET: OBret. ech
GAUL: ex-
CELTIB: es, es-
PICE: *(h1)egʰ’s (IEW: 292f.)
COGN: Lat. ex, Gr. eks, Lith. iš-, OCS ız
ETYM: W eithaf ‘extreme, farthest’ (also nominalized as ‘extremity, end’) is derivable from *extamo-, with the superlative suffix *-tamo- added to the root of *exs. W LW eithaf ‘extreme, farthest’ is probably derivable from *extamo-, with the superlative suffix *-tamo- added to the root of *exs.

*fanssā ‘footprint’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. ēs [ā f] (DIL ēs) ‘track, trace’
PIE: *peth₂- ‘spread out’ (IEW: 824f.)
COGN: Lat. pando ‘spread out, extend’, pateo ‘be open’, passum ‘step’, Gr. pítnēmi ‘spread out, open’
SEE: *fatamā ‘palm of the hand’
ETYM: OIr. ēs is used mostly in prepositional phrases like ar ēs ‘after’. The Gen. sg. is probably attested only in the toponym Traig Ėsi. A trace of the same word in Brittonic could be the Toponym
Ad Ansam from Itinerarium Antonini. The PCelt. form can be derived from *pant-teh₂, which presupposes a nasal present comparable to Lat. *pando (see Hamp 1981). The metathesis *pat-n- > *pant- (> Lat. *pando) should also be assumed for Celtic. 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’.


*farawsyo-'temple' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. ará gl. tempus, arae [yo m]
COGN: Gr. παραίκια [p] ‘cheeks’ (Attic παρακαίκια)
SEE: *fare ‘in front of’, *awso ‘ear’
ETYM: A compound of *fare- ‘in front of’ < PIE *prH(i)- and the word for ‘ear’, PIE *h₂es- (se *awso ‘ear’). Probable cognates are found in Gaul. toponyms such as Arausio (today’s Orange).

REF: LEIA A-82, Delamarre 51.

*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. पुरी, 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- < *ndē.


*ferissā ‘religion, belief’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. iress [ā f] ‘belief’
PIE: *peri- ‘about, before’, *dēh₁- ‘do, make, put’
ETYM: PCelt. *ferissā presupposes PIE *peri-dēh₁-teh₂, EIEC derives OIr. *ireis from *peri-steh₂- (from the root *steh₂- ‘stand’), and compares Parthian *parast ‘ardor’, but I believe the semantic connection with the root *dēh₁- is better (cf. Skt. dhā man ‘law’). The exact relationship of MW eirios (GPC eiroes) [f] ‘faith, trust’ to OIr. iress is unclear to me.

REF: EIEC 61,GPC I: 1197.

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


*ferkunyo- [Toponym]
SEE: *k*ext- ‘bush’

*fētu- ‘(grass-)land, territory’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. iath [un] ‘land, territory’
PIE: *peyH-tu- ‘prairie, rich grassland’ (IEW: 793)
COGN: Gr. poiē ‘grass’, Lith. pieva ‘meadow’
SEE: *fiweryon- ‘earth, soil’
ETYM: The name of the Gaulish tribe Heluētīī could be a compound *felu-ētyo- ‘Die Landreichen’ (see Delamarre 168). The PCelt. form is from PIE *peyh₂-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’,
pace Malzahn 2011 (cf. *fitu- ‘food’). It is probably the same root as in PCelt. *fweryon- ‘earth, soil’ < *pHwer-. I am not sure whether OIr. *íth [u n] belongs here as well, but it could, in principle, be from *fitu- < *pih₂tu-.


*flikkā ‘(flat) stone’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. lecc [a 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. pláks ‘flat stone’, ON flá
ETYM: The source of the geminate in Celtic is unclear. Perhaps PCelt. *flikkā contains the velar suffix *-keh₂ added to the root *plk-.


*fot-ī- ‘throw’ [Vb]
SEE: *fet-o- ‘fly’

*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 (*eh₁ > *ō > PCelt. *ā), or to vowel assimilation (*fatlo- > *fotlo-), or to the so-called ‘Wetter-rule’, by which laryngeals were lost before consonant clusters (*peh₃-tlo- > *potlo- > *fotlo-; note that this rule is not generally accepted). Original *peh₃-tlo- would presumably have given OIr. **ál.


*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 *prḥ₁-tō-. This would first have yielded PCelt. *frātō-, and then *frato- by Dybo’s law. It is unclear whether OIr. rāth [a f] ‘suretyship, pledge’ is connected with this root, but if it is, it might be from PCelt. collective *frātā ‘the sum of things given as a pledge’.


*frēmo- ‘chief, prince’ [Noun]
W: MW rwyf [m] (GPC rhwyf)
BRET: MBret. roue [m] ‘king’
CO: OCo. ruy gl. rex, rui̯f ‘king’
PIE: *prey- ‘before, at’ (IEW 812)
COGN: Lat. prīmus ‘first’, Gr. prín ‘before’, OCS pri ‘at’

ETYM: Campanile (1974: 91) derives the Brittonic forms from Lat. rēgem, which is unlikely: the accusative ending ⁻em is never preserved in Brittonic as ⁻m > -f. Haarmann (1970) does not list rhwyf among Latin loanwords in Welsh. The Celtic forms are derived from < *prey-mo-<, cf. Lat. prīmus <
*prey-smo-. Possible cognates in Gaulish include the Ethnonym *Remi (> Reims) and NPs *Remus, *Remos, etc.

*fritu- ‘ford’ [Noun]
GOID: Mr. Humár-rith [Toponym]
W: OW *rit, W *rhyð [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: *fro- ‘edge, limit’
ETYM: The fact that Mr. Humár-rith (with unclear first element) denotes a ford is clear from the context (Humárrith ainm ind átha sin ‘the name of the ford was Humárrith’, LU 5812).

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

*fowl-wo- ‘ashes, dust’ [Noun]
W: MW *ulw [p m]
PIE: *powlu- ‘dust (?)’
ETYM: The etymology proposed here is possible only under the assumption that Lat. puluis is not etymologically related to palea ‘chaff’ < PIE *pelH-, (as assumed by de Vaan 2008: 498). Note that puluis and MW *ulw are closer semantically and that both forms can go back to an u-stem with the Nom. sg. *powlu- (from which we have MW *ulw, with usual change of adjectival u-stems to wo-stems in Brittonic), Gen. sg. *pulw-os, from which Lat. puluis is ultimately derived (with the transfer to neuter s-stems, perhaps by analogy with cinis, cineris ‘ashes’. A trace of an etymologically related Gaulish word may be preserved in French dialects, e.g. luvre (Poitoux) ‘ashes’, orve (Champagne) ‘flour’, etc.

*futro- ‘ill’ [Adj]
GOID: Mr. othar [o] ‘ill’, othar [o n, later m] ‘illness, pain’
PIE: *pewH- ‘rot, decay’ (IEW: 849)
COGN: Lat. puter ‘rotten’, Skt. puvas- ‘pus’, Gr. pýos ‘pus’, OIr. fúinn ‘rotten’
ETYM: Short *u in Celtic is presumably due to Dybo’s shortening in pretonic position, i. e. PIE *puHtró- > PCelt. *futro-. Otherwise, the laryngeal may have been lost because of the so-called ‘Wetter-rule’, which is not generally accepted (cf. *fotlo- ‘drink’ which may be from *pêH-*llo-).

*g"eltā ‘grass’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. geilt ‘grazing’ [ä, f]
W: MW *gwells [m] ‘grass’
BRET: OBret. gueliiocion gl. ‘fenosa’, MBret. gueautenn [Singulative], MoBret. geot [Collective]
CO: MCo. gwels ‘grass’
SEE: *g"el-o- ‘graze’
*gan-yo- ‘be born’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. gainidir, gainithir, -gainedar, -genadar [Subj.]; -gignethar [Fut.]; génair [Pret.]
W: MW geni, ganaf [I s Pres.]
BRET: MBret. guenell
CO: Co. genys [Part. Pass.]
PIE: *genh₁- ‘beget’ (IEW: 373ff.)
COGN: Skt. jani-, Lat. gigno, nāscor, OE cennan
SEE: *geno- ‘family, gens’
ETYM: OIr. -gainedhar, -gainedar has the regular reflex of syllabic *-n- before any consonant except a laryngeal. Two developments are possible, either *gnh₁yetor > *gnyetor (with an early loss of the laryngeal before *y by Pinault’s law) > *ganyetor > *ganethor, or *gnh₁yetor > *gnHitor > *ganHitor > ganethar. OIr. gein [n n] ‘birth, conception’ is another derivative from the same root. It presupposes PCelt. *genan < *genh₁en (an archaic-looking neuter n-stem). The root is also attested in the e-grade in Celtiberian as the second element of the compound PN Mezu-kenos (= OIr. Midgen), and in the zero-grade in Ogam Irish PN DALA-GNI [Gen s].

*gat-o- ‘let, allow’ [Vb]
W: MW gadu ‘permit, let, allow’
CO: Co. gasa, gase
PIE: *gʰeh₁- ‘leave, let’ (IEW 418ff.)
COGN: jāhāti ‘leaves’, Gr. khēs ‘bereaved, widowed’
ETYM: A very tentative etymology. The PCelt. present stem of this verb cannot be established on the basis of Brittonic evidence alone, but a thematic verb is likely. The Celtic form looks like a deadjectival verb built from the to-participle *gʰh₁-to-, but the participle itself is unattested in Celtic.
REF: GPC II: 1367, LIV 173.

*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 gemanite *genettā; this PCelt. noun is derived with the suffix *-eto- (cf. Osc. genetai ‘daughter’ [Dat. sg.], cf. also OIr. geined, geinit [o m] ‘creature’ < *geneto- and OIr. aienced [o n] ‘nature, essence, spirit’ < *ad-geneto-. OIr. ingen [a ð] ‘daughter’ < *eni-genā (Ogam INIGENA) is another formation from the same root, cf. also Gaul. (Larzac) andognam ‘born inside (the family)’ and PN Andegenus. OIr. PN Sogen (Ogam Gen. SOGIN) is presumably from *su-gh₁- ‘well-born’ (Skt. sujana-).

*geno- ‘family, gens’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. Éo-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: *genh₁-os ‘family, clan, descendants’ (IEW: 373ff.)
COGN: Skt. jānas-, Gr. génos, Lat. genus
SEE: *gan-yo- ‘be born’

*gessi ‘taboo, prohibition’ [Noun]
GOID: Mr. geis [?f f]
PIE: *gʰed- ‘seize, take’ (IEW: 437ff.)
COGN: Lat. praehendo, Gr. khandanō
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 ī-stem. If an ā-stem is original in Irish (as supposed by Irslinger 2002: 348), we might reconstruct PCelt. *gissā (> OIr. *gess by lowering), and derive this word from PIE *gʰyd-h₂ ‘what is desired’ (cf. PIE *gʰeydh₂ > Lith. geidžiū ‘desire’, OCS ždati ‘wait’, IEW 426). The same root is probably attested in PCelt. *gēstlo- ‘surety, pledge, hostage’.


*glamā ‘cry, shout’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. glám [ā f] ‘outcry, clamour, satire’
PIE: *gla- (IEW: 350f.)
COGN: Skt. garh-, OHG klaga, Germ. klag.”

ETYM: The comparison with OHG klaga led IEW to derive Mlr. glám from *glaxsmā, but the lenited mh in Modern Irish glámh ‘satire’ shows that the correct PCelt. reconstruction is *glamā. Other possible comparanda include OIr. kall ‘cry’ and Russ. gólos ‘voice’, which could be derived from *golHso- (with the laryngeal lost by de Saussure’s rule), but there is no independent evidence for a laryngeal in that root (see PCelt. *galwo- ‘call’). PCelt. *glamā should probably be derived from an onomatopoeic root, so these correspondences could be accidental.


*glasto- ‘green, blue’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. glas [o], Ógam GLASI-CONAS [PN]
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 *g³hl₃h₂-stó- > *glasto- > *glasto- (by Dybo’s shortening). The PIE root would have been *g³elh₂- ‘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). The form of the (?composite) suffix *-sto- is unclear, but I do not believe we are dealing with an old compound *g³hl₃h₂-sth₂o- ‘standing in green(?)’ as suggested by Hill (2003: 274).


*gliwo- ‘valiant, brave’ [Adj]
GOID: Mlr. gleo
W: MW glew ‘valiant, bold, fierce’
CO: Co. glew ‘fierce’
ETYM: The original stem formation of OIr. gleo (also spelled gleó) is difficult to ascertain. It is inflected as a feminine dental stem (Gen sg. gliad), but it is also attested as a feminine ā-stem (Gen sg. glee, glé), and it is assumed here that this formation is original. It represents the substantivized adjective *gliwā ‘valiance, bravery’ > ‘fight, combat’.

REF: GPC II: 1497, de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 220.

*gloydo- ‘glue, lime’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. gláed (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. The Brit. forms point to word-final *-t rather than *-d. It is possible that they were actually borrowed from Lat. gluten (Haarmann 1970: 122), or that their Auslaut was influenced by that word. Cf. also Fr. glaise ‘clay’ which may be from Gaul. *gléssā < *gleydtā (Gamillscheg 480).

*gloysto ‘brightness’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. gléisse [yā f] ‘brightness’
W: W glwys ‘beautiful, pleasant, pure’
SEE: *gloywo-, *glēwi- ‘liquid, clear’
ETYM: It is assumed here that the adjective found in W is primary (PCelt. *gloysto-), while the OIr. noun is derived from a secondary abstract noun (*gloystyā).
REF: GPC II: 1413.

*gnāto- ‘known, usual’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. gnáth [o]
W: MW gnawt (GPC gnawd)
BRET: OBret. gnot ‘usual’
PIE: *ghn̂to- ‘know’ (IEW: 373ff.)
COGN: Gr. gignó skō, Lat. co-gnōscō, OCS znati, Lith. žinóti
ETYM: Certain Gaulish compounds with -gnatos can be understood both as ‘known’ < *ghn̂tos and as ‘born’ < *ghn̂tos (Delamarre 181f.). Note that the pre-form *ghn̂tos is more probable than *gn̂stos for PCelt. *gnāto-, since we would expect the operation of Dybo’s law if the latter were true. Next to adjectives in *-to- we also find nouns in *-sto- from this root (a productive pattern in Celtic, see Greene 1965): OIr. gnás [ā f] ‘custom, usage, intercourse’, W gnaws (GPC naws) < PCelt. *gnāsto- < *gn̂stos- (cf. Go. kund vs. kunst).

*gnāw(y)o- ‘clear, manifest’ [Adj]
GOID: MIr. gnóe, gnó [yō] ‘beautiful, fine, exquisite’; [yā f] ‘beauty, distinction, knowledge’
W: MW gno ‘evident, clear, manifest’
BRET: MBret. gnou ‘manifest, evident’
SEE: *gnāto- ‘known, usual’
ETYM: MW gognaw ‘provoking, exciting, fierce’ is probably from the same root (with the prefix *ufo-). The semantic development was probably from ‘known’ to ‘obvious, evident’ and ‘clear’, and then in Goidelic to ‘beautiful, fine’.

*gnūsti- ‘face, chin’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. gnūs [i f] ‘face, countenance’
W: MW gnīs [m] ‘jaw’, chin, face’
ETYM: This noun is probably related to PCelt. *genu- ‘jaw’, but it is exactly how. It may be based on the original neuter plural *g(e)nū < *g(e)nūh₂, but the origin of the suffix *-sti- is unclear.

*gowstā ‘chance, possibility’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. giūas ‘danger, peril, fear, chance, possibility’
PIE: *gews- ‘taste, choose’ (IEW: 399ff.)
COGN: Skt. jus- ‘like, enjoy’, Gr. getōmaī ‘taste’, Go. kiusan ‘check’
SEE: *gus-o- ‘choose’, *gustu- ‘excellence, force’
ETYM: Although the earliest meaning of OIr. giūas is ‘danger’, I believe this is not the basic meaning. Rather, one has to start from ‘chance, possibility’ (the meaning attested in MIr. according to DIL), which developed, in turn, from ‘choice’, which is obviously related to the meaning of the verb from the same root, PCelt. *gus-o- ‘choose’. A similar semantic development is attested in Croatian, cf. Croat. iskušenje ‘temptation, peril’ from the verb kušati ‘check, taste’. A derivative from the same root is OIr. giūasacht [ā f] ‘danger’, perhaps attested in Ogam as Gen. sg. GOSSUCTTIAS.

*gressā ‘group of guests’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. gress [ā f]
W: W gresaw ‘welcome, greeting of hospitality’ (GPC greso, gresaw)
ETYM: The direct reflex of PCelt. *gressā is reflected in Mfr. gress, while W gresaw represents a derivative. The PIE etymology is very uncertain. The connection with OE grētan ‘greet’ Germ. Gruss ‘greeting’ is formally impossible, and the derivation from the root *gres- ‘graze, devour’ (Skt. grásate, LIV 170, IEW 404) is semantically difficult, and this root is otherwise unattested in Celtic. A derivation from the PIE root *g`reydh- ‘go, walk’ (see PCelt. *gri-n-d-o- ‘follow, drive’) would imply that the correct pre-form of Mfr. gress is *grissā (< *g`rdh-teh₂). Again, this would involve complex semantic changes (‘a group of travellers’ > ‘a group of guests’). A similar semantic development (a noun meaning ‘guest’ from the root meaning ‘to go’) can be observed in PCelt. *oyget- ‘guest’.


*griitu- ‘cry, roar, vibration’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. grith [u m] ‘vibration, panic, cry’
W: MW gryt [m] (GPC gryd) ‘shout, yell, call, cry
ETYM: The derivation from the root of *gar-yo- ‘call’ is improbable, since that root is here reconstructed with a laryngeal. The comparison with onomatopoetic forms such as Lat. gingrīre ‘cry (of geese)’ found in IEW 384 is not illuminating, and the connection with the Germanic words such as OHG scrian ‘cry’ would be possible only under the difficult assumption that the Germanic forms go back to *sg- > *sk- (with s-mobile). Therefore, the PIE etymology of these Celtic forms must remain uncertain.


*gulvb-, *gulbīno- ‘beak’ [Noun]
GOID: Mr. gulba [n f] ‘beak, jaw’, gulban [o m] ‘beak, sting’
W: OW gilb [m and f] ‘point’, MW gylfin ‘beak’
BRET: OBret. golbin, golbinoc gl. ac rostratam; MBret. golff; MoBret. golv ‘without tail’
CO: OCo. geluin gl. rostrum
GAUL: *gulbīa > Lat. gula (Isidore of Seville)
ETYM: Cf. also Brit. Re-gulbium (name of a promontory). A persuasive IE etymology has not been proposed. A connection with Gr. gláphō ‘scrape up, dig’ (< PIE *glbh-, IEW 367) is improbable, since if does not explain PCelt. *u. The similarity with the Balto-Slavic words for ‘swan’ (Lith. gulbė, Russ. kolpica ‘young female swan’, Smoczyński 2007: 209) is probably accidental. This PCelt. etymon was probably borrowed from some non-IE language.


*gustu- ‘excellence, force’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. guss [u m], Ogam CUNA-GUSSOS
W: OW Gur-gust [PN], W gwest [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’, *gowstā ‘chance, possibility’
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’. It is unclear whether Mfr. gus ‘danger’ is the same word originally (it is a hapax in the glosses). I do not find persuasive its derivation from the root *g`ewd- ‘pour’ (Irslinger 2002: 107f. The semantic connection would be in the concept of ‘pouring of blood’).


*i-tro- ‘ferry, boat’ [Noun]
SEE: *i- ‘go’

*k`ak”o- ‘everyone’ [Pron]
GOID: OIr. cách
W: OW paup, MW pawb
BRET: OBret. pop, MBret. pep
*k*en*k*ekont- ‘fifty’ [Num]
GOID: OIr. cóica [m nt]
W: OW pimmunt, MW pymmwnt
SEE: *k*enke ‘five’
BRET: OBret. pimmont

ETYM: The OIr. form presupposes a haplology (in allegro-speech?) *k*enkekont- > *k*enkkont-. A similar process would account for the Brittonic forms. The second element of this compound, *-kont-, is presumably from *dkont- (from the PIE numeral *de kʰm ‘ten’, cf. the same element in Gr. pentê-konta ‘fifty’).

REF: LEIA C-143f., DGVB 286.

*kalli- ‘wood, grove’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. caill [?] [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. kládos ‘branch’, ON holt ‘woody hill’), will not do, since we would expect PCelt. *klido- (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.

REF: LEIA C-13, GPC I: 459.

*kani- ‘good, nice’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. cain [i]
W: MW cein (GPC cain)
BRET: MBret. quen, MoBret. ken

ETYM: The Brittonic reflexes point to the yo-stem (*knyo-), but the OIr. i-stem adjective is probably more archaic. These Celtic words are often derived from PIE *ken- ‘begin’ (IEW 563f., cf. Gr. kainós ‘new’, OCS na-čęti ‘begin’), but the semantic difference is too great. Since a convincing IE etymology is lacking, PCelt. *kani- may have been borrowed from some non-IE language.


*kart-ā- ‘cleanse’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. cartaid, -carta ‘sends, dispatches, expels, drives off’
W: W earthu ‘cleanse, purge’
BRET: MoBret. karza ‘cleanse’
SEE: *skara- ‘divide, separate’

ETYM: The semantic reconstruction is the key to the etymology of this word. If the meaning in Brittonic is original, the semantic evolution in Goidelic was from ‘cleanse’ to ‘expel’ and ‘drive off’. In that case, the PIE root may be the same as in *skara- ‘divide, separate’ (which has s-mobile).

REF: LEIA C-43, GPC I: 433.

*kato- ‘wise,, holy, pure’ [Adj]
**kēro-** ‘dark brown’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. ciar [o]

PIE: *key-ro- ‘horn’ (IEW: 540f.)

COGN: OIc. hárr ‘grey-haired’, OE hār ‘grey, grey-haired’, Russ. sēryj ‘grey’, Cz. šerý

SEE: *kiwo- ‘fog’

ETYM: MIr. cíarann ‘beetle’ is a derivative from the same root. Because of initial š- in Czech, we must assume that the Slavic forms go back to *x-, which was palatalized before *ě. Because of this, the root is sometimes reconstructed as *khčey-, under the assumption that *kH yields Slavic *x-. This would make easier the comparison with PIE *keyH-. However, *x- in Slavic can also be from *sk-9, i.e. the Slavic form can reflect the root with s-mobile.


**klisko-**, **klissu-** ‘feat’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. cles [o and u m] ‘feat, trick, stratagem’

PIE: *kleys-d-

COGN: Skt. krīḍati ‘plays, dances’

ETYM: If OIr. cles is related to Skt. krīḍati, the PIE root should be reconstructed as *kleys-d-. PCelt. *klisko- < *klisd-to- preserves the zero-grade of the root from the past participle. However, Skt. krīḍati has also been related to ON hrīsta ‘shake’, which must be from PIE *kreys-d-. Another possibility would be to relate OIr. cless to Skt. sreṣ- ‘hang’ (Mayrhofer II: 670f., LIV 333), in which case we should reconstruct PCelt. *klisko- (< PIE *klys-so-), or *klisto- (< PIE *klis-to-). Another possibility is that cless is related to Mr. cluiche ‘play, game’ (perhaps from the same onomatopoetic
root as OE hlihan ‘laugh’, OHG hlahhan), in which case it would be derivable from *klixso- < *klkso-.

*klito- ‘warm’ [Adj]
W: MW clyd ‘warm, sheltered’
PIE: *klt- ‘warm’ (IEW: 551)
COGN: Lith. šilas Lat. calidus, caleo ‘be warm’
ETYM: Formally, PCelt. *klito- is a past participle of the verbal stem *kêl-, which is attested in Lat. caleo. I find it improbable that OIr. clith [i] ‘thick, pressed, narrow (of cloth)’ is related to this root because the meanings are very different.

*klitro- ‘post’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. clithar [o m] ‘shelter, cover, protection’
W: MW clechr [f] ‘rod, stave, pole, rail, palm of hand, help’
BRET: MBret. kler, klezren, MoBret. klerenn ‘wooden post’
ETYM: Derived from the same root as *klit- ‘pillar, post’, with the suffix *-ro-. The development of meaning in Goidelic may have been influenced by *klito- ‘warm’ (MW clyd).
SEE: *klit- ‘pillar, post’

*kliyaro- ‘lukewarm, tepid’ [Adj]
W: MW claear, claeir ‘warm, gentle’
BRET: MoBret. klousar ‘tepid, kind, gentle’
CO: Co. clor, clouar ‘gentle’
PIE: *kleyH- ‘warm’
COGN: OHG lao, Germ. lau, OE hlêowes
ETYM: The Germanic forms represent the zero-grade of the PIE root (*kloyH-wo-), while the Celtic forms may be derived from the zero-grade (*kliH-), with the Celtic suffix *-aro-. The connection with Gr. khliarós ‘lukewarm’ is formally impossible.

*knidā ‘wound’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cned [ā f]
COGN: OIc. hnita ‘strike’, Gr. knizō ‘scratch, rub’
PIE: *kneyd- ‘scratch’ (IEW 561f.)
ETYM: Mfr. cnes [o m] ‘skin, surface, flesh’ can represent the to-participle of the same PIE verb (*knid-to- > PCelt. *knisso-, cf. also Co. cnes ‘skin’), but the verbal forms are not attested in Celtic.

*knisso- ‘skin, surface’ [Noun]
SEE: *knidā ‘wound’

*kolani- ‘body’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. colaim [i f] ‘body, flesh, corpse’
W: MW kelein [f] (GPC celain)
ETYM: The Welsh forms point to PCelt. *kolanî , while the Irish word is from an i-stem (*kolani-). The IE etymology suggested by IEW (924) is dubious: the Celtic forms are derived from the root *(s)kel- ‘cut’ (see *skölā ‘fissure, cleft’); the semantic development would be from ‘flesh, cut meat’ to ‘dead body, corpse’, cf. OIr. hold ‘flesh’ vs. OE hold ‘corpse’ and OE holdian ‘cut up, but the word-formation of the Celtic words is unclear even if that etymology is correct.

*kom-rûno- ‘secret, confident’ [Adj]
GOID: Mfr. comrin, coibrín ‘joint secret’
W: MW cyfrin
BRET: MBret. queffrin ‘mystery, secret’

ETYM: In Gaulish, one compares the NPs Cobrunus, Cobruna, etc.

REF: LEIA C-, GPC I: 727, Delamarre 123.

*koyynV- ‘foam’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. çoéenna gl. putamen, çienna ‘foam’ [k f]
BRET: OBret. ceuni gl. muscus

ETYM: A difficult etymology since the forms are poorly attested. The comparison with Lat. caenum ‘mud, filth, slime’ is formally impossible. Better is the connection with Swedish (dialect.) hven ‘low, marshy field’, OIr. -hvein (in placenames), but here the meanings are quite different.

REF: LEIA C-7.

*krid- ‘shrink, grow thinner’ [Vb]
GOID: Mr. credh(a) ‘shrinkage’, credba(ig)id, -credbaigi ‘contract, grow thinner’
W: MW cryddu ‘shrink’
BRET: MBret. crezz, MoBret. krez ‘stingy’
PIE: *(s)krdh-.
Cogn: Skt. kr̥dh- ‘short, shortened, small’, Lith. skūsti ‘lack’

ETYM: Mr. credh can be from *kridhV (stem and gender are unknown). Mr. cres [o] ‘small, narrow’ could also, in principle, be from the same root (PCelt. *krisso- < *krdh-to-).


*kruw(y)o- ‘stable, enclosure’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. cró [o m]; cróe, cróa [io m] ‘enclosure, shed, sty’
W: MW creu [m] ‘shed’ (GPC crou, craw)
BRET: OBret. crou gl. harā i. stabulum porcorum, MBret. kraou
CO: Co. crow ‘hut’
PIE: *krewh₁- ‘hide’
Cogn: OCS krěyti ‘hide’, OE hrœadan ‘cover’

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 Slavic and Germanic). Greene 1983 relates the Celtic words for ‘enclosure’ to OIr. cruind, W crwnn ‘round’ (PCelt. *krundh-). However, this is difficult from the formal point of view (*-ndh- does not seem like a possible suffix). Likewise, OCS krěpъ ‘strong’, OIr. hraefa ‘endure’ and OE hróf ‘roof’ (PIE *kreh₁po-/ *kroh₁po-) cannot be related, since PCelt. *krāpo- would have given OIr. **crá, MW **kraw. Go. hrot ‘roof, house’, ON hrót, and OCS krada ‘pile of logs, pyre, altar’ are probably from same root with a dental suffix (*kreh₁-do-), while we probably have *kreh₁to-in OHG and OFris. rāza ‘honeycomb’.


*ladano- ‘dumb’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. ladan [o]
PIE: *leh₁d- ‘tire, let’
Cogn: Lat. lassus ‘tired’, Gr. lēdeῖn ‘be tired’, Alb. lodhem ‘be tired’

ETYM: This etymology is quite uncertain, since the meaning of OIr. ladan is quite different from that posited for PIE *leh₁d-, but the semantic development ‘tired’ > ‘useless’ > ‘dumb’ is conceivable. If the etymology is correct, ladan can be from the zero-grade of the root *lh₁d- and the Celtic suffix *-ano- (the PIE suffix *-ano- generalized after roots in a laryngeal). Gaul. PN Ladanus can be plausibly connected with OIr. ladan, but as all etymologies of proper names this has to be taken cautiously.

REF: Delamarre: 194, LIV 400, Zair 2010: 76.

*lam-yo- ‘dare’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. ro-laimethar; ro-lamathar [Subj.]; ro-lilmathar [Fut.]; lámair [Pret.]; ro-lét [Pret. Pass.]
W: MW llafasu, lllyfasu, llyfasel
BRET: MBret. lafauez
CO: Co. lauisos ‘to be allowed’
PIE: *h₁lem- ‘to tire (oneself), to break (intransitive)’ (IEW: 674)
COGN: Gr. οὖλεμές ‘untiringly, unceasingly’, OHG lam ‘lame’, Lith. lėmti ‘to ordain’, OCS lomiti ‘break’

ETYM: OIr. ro-laimethar < *fro-lam-yo- (the simplex verb is unattested in Goidelic). The acute in Lith. lėmti (3sg. lėmsta) must be due to metatony, which is expected in sta-presents. LIV (412) reconstructs the root without the initial *h3-, obviously believing that Gr. οὖλεμές is not related. In any case, the semantic variation of the reflexes of *h3lem- is considerable, so this etymology is not beyond reproach. This also applies to the meanings in Celtic. Perhaps the evolution was from ‘to tire’ to ‘to attempt’ and, finally, to ‘to dare’. Mfr. laime ‘axe’ may be from the same root (*lam-yo- or *lам-yâ?), but it is very poorly attested and its exact stem formation and gender are unknown. Mfr. lem [o] ‘soft, impotent’ may, in principle, be from the same root in the e-grade (*lem-o-), but this is also very uncertain.


*léko- ‘wretched, pitiful’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. liach [o]

ETYM: The etymology given by IEW 667 compares OIr. liach to Gr. loigós ‘ruin, mischief, death, plague’, Lith. ligà ‘illness’, Alb. lig ‘bad’ is difficult, since Celtic points to word final *-k, while the other languages have *-g. The comparison is possible only if one reconstructs a root PIEnoun *lōyg-s /loyks/, in which the velar was devoiced before final *-s; the resulting root-final *-k could have been generalized throughout the paradigm in Celtic, which subsequently formed a thematic adjective *leyko- > *léko- from that root. Greek preserves the stem *lōyg- from the PIE accusative (*loyg-m), while Lith. generalized the stem of the oblique cases (e.g. Gen. sg. *lig-os). For similar examples of generalization of voiceless stops see Matusović 2010b. A different explanation is proposed by de Bernardo Stempel (1999: 42) who supposes that the ending –ach is due to analogy with adjectives with the productive suffix –ach < *-āko-.

REF: de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 42.

*lesko- ‘weak, lazy’ [Adj]

GOID: OIr. lesc [o] gl. piger
W: W lleg ‘weak, frail, faint, feeble’

ETYM: It is doubtful whether the GL PNs Liscus, Lisca belong here. The IE etymology is unclear. In principle, it is formally possible to derive PCelt. *lesko- from *lexsko- < *legh-sk-o-, from the root *leg-o- ‘lay, lie down’ (see *leg-o-) and compare OHG ir-lēsken ‘extinguish’ (Germ. löschen), but a deverbal adjective with the present suffix *-sko- would be surprising.

REF: GPC II: 2157, Elamarrre 204.

*lessu- ‘benefit, use’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. les [u m] ‘relief, advantage, good’
W: MW llles [m] ‘use, profit, advantage’, ‘gainful, profitable’
CO: OCo. les gl. commodum

ETYM: In spite of several suggestions in the literature, none of the IE etymologies proposed so far appears convincing. A derivation from the root *pleh₁- ‘be full’ is formally impossible. A compound from the same root is probably found in OIr. díles ‘own, loyal, steadfast’ and W dilys ‘pure, authentic, valid’ < *di-lessu-, but the semantic connection is not obvious.


*lextu- ‘tomb’ [Noun]

GOID: OIr. lecht [u m] ‘tomb, death’
W: MW lleith [m] ‘death, destruction’ (GPC llaiith)
PIE: *leg-yo- ‘lie’ (IEW 658f.)
COGN: Lat. lectus ‘bed’
SEE: *leg(y)o- ‘bed’

ETYM: OIr. lecht is sometimes considered to be a borrowing from Lat. lectus, but the parallels in Welsh make it probable that the word is inherited. MW lleas, llías ‘death, bloodshed’ may represent a derivative from the same root (*legastu-).


*lisso- ‘walled space (about a dwelling), yard’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *les [o m] ‘yard, palace, hall’
W: MW *llys [m and f]
BRET: MBret. *les, MoBret. *lez ‘yard’
CO: Co. *lys ‘yard’
ETYM: These words are usually derived from the PIE root *pleth- ‘broad’ (Gr. *platýs, Lith. *platūs, etc., IEW 833), in which case the correct reconstruction would be P Celt. *lisso-. However, I do not find this etymology convincing from the semantic point of view, so I tentatively reconstruct *lisso-.

*līwo- ‘accusation’ [Noun]
SEE: *liy-o- ‘charge, accuse’

*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’
ETYM: In OIr. we can compare the PN *Loarn (parallel to OW *Louern), perhaps also Gaul. PN Louernios. The parallels in other IE languages do not allow to reconstruct a PIE prototype precisely. This might be a Wanderwort of some kind.

*losko- ‘lame’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *losc [o] ‘lame, crippled’
PIE: *lokso- ‘oblique’ (IEW 308)
COGN: Gr. *lokós ‘slanting’
ETYM: If this etymology is correct, the OIr. word underwent a metathesis *lokso- > *losko-. The original form of the root might be preserved in W *llechwedd [m] ‘hillside, slope, acclivity’, which may represent P Celt. *lexsowiyo-. In Gaul., one may compare the ethnonym Lexouii and (with the same metathesis as in Goidelic) PN Loscus. Of course, all of this is very speculative.
REF: GPC II: 2126, Delamarre 201, 209.

*lowano- ‘dirty’ [Adj]
BRET: MBret. *louan
PIE: *lew- ‘dirty’ (IEW 681)
COGN: Lat. *pol-luo ‘make dirty, infect’
SEE: *lutā ‘mud, dirt’
ETYM: Although this adjective is attested only in Breton, it is both formally and semantically derivable from the root *lew-, which is also found in the zero-grade in P Celt. *lutā ‘mud, dirt’. The suffix *ano- was generalized from roots where the adjectival suffix *-no- was preceded by a syllabic laryngeal.

*lustā ‘tail’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *los [o m and ā f] ‘end, tail, result’
W: MW *lost [f] ‘tail, spear’
BRET: MoBret. *lost ‘tail’
CO: MCo. *lost ‘tail’
ETYM: I find improbable the derivation of these Celtic words from the PIE root *lewH- ‘cut off, loose’ (Gr. *lyā, OIr. liōsta ‘hit’, Go. *fraliusan ‘lose’, LIV 417f.)

*lutā ‘mud, dirt’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *loth [ā f] ‘mud, mire’
GAUL: *Luto-magus, *Lutetia (Paris) [Toponyms]
PIE: *lew-to- ‘mud, dirt’ (IEW 681)
**ETYM:** In W, *lluddedic* ‘muddy’ is derived from *lowd-eto-* (dissimilated from *lowt-eto-*) with the full grade of the same root, but this may be a ghost-word (*lluddedig* in GPC II: 2219 means ‘tired’. A Celtiberian cognate might be incorporated into *lutiasos* (A.76) ‘belonging to *Lutia’*, where *Lutia* would be a toponym derived from PCelt. *lutu-*. Lith. *liūtynas* ‘puddle’ is sometimes adduced as belonging to the same PIE root, but it is probably unrelated (the accentuation points to a laryngeal root).


*magestu* ‘field’ [Noun]
SEE: *magos* ‘plain, field’

**mak-o-o* ‘increase, raise, feed’ [Vb];
GOID: OIr. *do-formaig* ‘increase, add’; *do-forma* [Subj.]; *do-formacht* [Pret.]
W: MW *magu* ‘feed, produce, rear’
CO: Co. *maga*
PIE: *meh₂-k*- ‘thin, elongated’ (IEW: 709 (*me₃h-))
SEE: *mak-o-o* ‘son’

**mar-na-** ‘betray’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *mar-naid*, *mairn* (DIL *mairnid*) ‘betray, deceive, confound’; *meraid, -mera* [Subj.]; *meraid, -méra* [Fut.]; *mirt, -mert* [Pret.]; *mrathae, -mrath* [Pret. Pass.]
PIE: *merh₂- ‘crumble, destroy’ (IEW: 735f.)

**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. *mānus* ‘good’, Mātūta ‘goddess Dawn’

**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. *matis* ‘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-t- ‘give a sign, wink’ (Gr. *mēnýō*, Lith. *mūt*, LIV 425) 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. On the other
hand, if PCelt. *mati- Lat. mānus and mātūrus ‘ripe, mature’ are related to Hitt. mehur ‘time’, the original meaning of PIE *meh₂- was probably ‘timely’. Note, though, that Kloekhorst (2008: 568) derives Hitt. mehur from the root *meyh₂- ‘diminish’ (Lat. minuo, etc.), in which case it cannot be related to PCelt. *mati-.


*med-o- ‘measure, judge’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. midithir, -midethar; mestair, -mestar [Subj.]; miastair, -miastar [Fut.]; midair [Pret.]; messae, -mess [Pret. Pass.]
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: OIr. mess [u m] ‘judgement’ is derived from the same root (PCelt. *messu- < PIE *med-tu-), cf. also OIr. tomus ‘measure, mass’ < *to-messu-, commus ‘control, power’ < *kom-messu- and coimdu [t m] ‘lord, master’ < PCelt. *kom-med-wot- (a substantivized perfect participle). For the possibility that this verb originally had athematic i-inflexion (Kortlandt 2007: 137) see *ar-yo- ‘plough’

*Medu-gen- [PN]
SEE: *medu- ‘mead, alcoholic drink’

*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. In Gaulish, the element Mero-, -mero- in compound names (e.g. Esmerius) may be from the same root. It is assumed here that the formation found in Mr. 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-). If this is correct, the Greek word would have to be derived from *mōrh-o-, with the lengthened grade of the root, while the Celtic forms would be from *merh₂-o-. The development of meaning would be from ‘slow’ to ‘silly’ and ‘crazy’.

*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. madāō, 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, although it is conceivable that it is derived from *met-tu-, where *met- is the root found in *met-o- ‘reap, cut’ (MW medi etc.). If so, the original meaning would have been ‘that which is cut, reaped’.

*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. mètron, etc.), or with PIE *h₂mèh₁- ‘mow’ (Gr. amáo, Eng. mow). The use of this particular verb as an agricultural term is one of the few exclusive Italic and Celtic lexical innovations. This root is probably contained as the second member of the compound OIr. deimes [o m] ‘scissors’ if it is from *dwi-met-to-.


*mēto-, *mēti- ‘fat, soft’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. méth [o and i] ‘plump, fat’
W: W mwyd [m] ‘a soaking, moistening’, mwydion [p] ‘tender parts of the body’; mwydyn [m] ‘pulp, soft inner part’
PIE: *mē(H)-t- (IEW: 711f.)
COGN: Lat. mītis ‘mild, mellow, juicy’

ETYM: IEW (711f.) assumes that these words are related to words like OCS milh. ‘dear’, Lith. mielas ‘dear’, etc., in which case the Balto-Slavic intonation would imply that the root contained a laryngeal. Cf. also Skt. māyas ‘enjoyment’ which may go to *moyHos. The same root could account for OIr. mín ‘tender, soft’ < PCelt. *mīno- < *mīHno-, and W mwyn ‘mild, tender, gentle’, MoBret. moan ‘tender, thin’, OCo. muin ‘thin’ < *mēnV- < *meyHnV-. See, however, PCelt. *moyni- ‘treasure, precious object’, where a different etymology is proposed.


*mī, *me ‘I’ [Pron, Acc. s]
GOID: OIr. mé, me-s(s)e
W: MW mi
BRET: MBret. me
CO: Co. my, me
GAUL: -mi (as verbal suffix only)
PIE: *(h₁)meh₁, *(h₁)me (IEW: 702)
COGN: Lat. mē(d), Gr. emē, Skt. mām

ETYM: In PCelt. two forms must be posited, *mī and *me. The form with the short *e was later regularly lengthened to yield OIr. (emphatic pronoun) mé. MBret. me also comes from *me, while MW mi must be from *mī. Already in PIE, this was the suppletive Acc. sg. to the 1st person singular personal pronoun *(h₁)egh₁om (Lat. ego etc.) which left no traces in Celtic. The initial *h₁- in the oblique stem might be reconstructed only on the basis of prothetic e- in Greek. For the source of the alternation *(h₁)me / *(h₁)meh, see PCelt. *nu.


*mlāto/i- ‘tender, soft’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. mláith [i]
W: MW blawd [m] ‘flour’
BRET: OBret. blot, MBret. bleud [m] ‘flour’,
CO: Co. blot ‘flour’, MCo. bles
PIE: *mlh₂-t- ‘grind’ (IEW: 716)
COGN: Lat. molo, Lith. mālti
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 *mlh₂to-). The Brittonic forms could also be from PCelt. *blātu- ‘flower’ with the same semantic development as in English flour < Fr. fleur (de farine).

*nani- ‘grandmother’ [Noun]
W: MW nain [f]
PIE: *nana- ‘mommy’ [IEW 754f.]
COGN: Skt. nānā ‘mommy’, Gr. nānnē ‘aunt’, Alb. nēnē ‘mother’
ETYM: Clearly a nursery word, so the parallels in other IE languages may be accidental.
REF: GPC III: 2550.

*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. Gaulish personal names with the element Nanti- (e.g. Nantio-rix) may also belong here, but in many cases it is difficult to separate them from the element *nantu-, *nanto- ‘valley, stream’. 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.

*nāwā ‘boat’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. nau [ā f] (DIL nó)
W: MW noe [f and m] ‘large vase, bowl’
BRET: MBret. neau, nev, MoBret. new [f] ‘vase’
PIE: *neh2u- ‘boat’ (IEW: 755f.)
COGN: Skt. nāu-, Lat. nāuis, Gr. náus, Arm. naw, OIr. nōr

*naw(i)nyā ‘hunger’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. naunae, noíne [iā f] (DIL núna) ‘hunger, famine’
W: MW newyn (GPC nevyn) [m] ‘hunger, famine’
BRET: MBret. naffn, MoBret. naoun, naon [m]
CO: OCo. naun gl. faimis, Co. nown
SEE: *nāwito- ‘need’
ETYM: The original OIr. form, naunae, was changed to noíne under the influence of oíne ‘fast’ (from Lat. ieiunium). W newyn could be from *nawinV- (with *-i- under the influence of *nāwito- ‘need’), but other reflexes point to *nawynV-. The PIE root could be *neh2w- (or *newh2-, with laryngeal metathesis) ‘need’ (OCS nūžda ‘need’, nuditi ‘compel’, OPr. nauin [Acc. sg.] ‘need’, Cz. nutiti ‘compel, force’, ORuss. nyti ‘grieve’, Go. nuaps ‘need’, IEW 756).

*nawito- ‘need’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. néoit [i] ‘narrow, stingy’
W: MW newed (GPC newed, newedd, neufedd) [m]
SEE: *naw(i)nyā ‘hunger’
ETYM: The exact development of OIr. néoit is unclear to me. It may be unrelated to W newed, although the etymology is almost generally accepted. The PIE root could be *neh2w- ‘need’ (Lith. naudà ‘need’, Go. naufs ‘need’, IEW 756) as in *nāw(i)nyā ‘hunger’.
REF: LEIA N-10, GPC III: 2576.

*nemo- ‘poison’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. neim [s n]
PIE: *nem- ‘divide, take’, *nemos ‘that, which is taken’ (IEW: 763)
COGN: Go. niman ‘take’, Gr. némο ‘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’). If the s-stem in OIr. is original, the correct reconstruction is *nemos-, and the word is homophonous with *nemos- ‘heaven, sky’.

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. neñiv [m]
CO: OCo. nef gl. celum, MCo. nef
PIE: *nебо- ‘cloud, cloudy sky’ (IEW: 315)

ETYM: In Gaulish, possible cognates are PNs *Nemesia, Nemessi [p]. The irregular *-m- of the Celtic forms is best explained as the result of assimilation (n...b h > n...m). Another possibility is that–m- is due to the analogical influence of *nemeto- ‘sacred place, sanctuary’.


*now-slo- ‘cry, shout’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. nuall [o n]
PIE: *newH- ‘cry, roar’ (IEW: 767)
COGN: Skt. návate, ToB nu- ‘roar’

ETYM: Another possible cognate is Lat. nūntium ‘message’, but that word has also been plausibly related to PIE *newo- ‘new’. Mayrhofer (s. v. NAV -) thinks this root may be onomatopoetic. MoIr. niar ‘wail, lament’ is probably from the same root (*now-ro-).


*obnu- ‘fear’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. omun [u m]
W: MW ofuyn (GPC ofn) [m]
BRET: MBret. omn, MoBret. ovn [m]
CO: Co. own
GAUL: Ex-obnu [PN]
SEE: *exs-obno- ‘fearless’

ETYM: OIr. omun is also attested with the long first vowel, ómun > Mr. úamun. The source of the vacillation is unclear to me (short vowel by analogy with essamin ‘fearless’?). Cf. also the demonstrative verb W ofnaf ‘to fear’. The PIE etymology is unknown, but it is connected with Croat. jéza ‘fear, terror’ appears possible. Cf. also Lith. ūngti ‘to strangle’, ON ekki ‘convulsive sobbing’, OE inca ‘doubt, complaint’ (Orel 2003: 84). The Slavic forms presuppose Early PSl. *endža or *indža, and can be derived from PIE *h1engw-, with the nasal infix from the verbal base (present stem) and with the nasal infix from the verbal base (present stem); cf. also Lith. ūngti (the acute is regular because of Winter’s law). The PIE root would be *h1egw-. P Celt. *obno- or *obnu- can be derived from PIE *h1ogw- ‘fear, terror’, with the nasal infix from the verbal base (present stem) and with the nasal infix from the verbal base (present stem). A different etymology is proposed by McCone (1992b), who derives the Celtic forms from *fowno- and relates them to Lat. pavor and OIr. úath (see under *fowtu- ‘fear’).


*olīnā ‘elbow, angle’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. uilen [ā 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. ἀλένη, Go. aleina, perhaps ToB aliyve ‘palm’

ETYM: Cf. also Gaul. hydronym Olna (Sims-Williams 2006: 97, today’s Orne). W elin is from *olin by i-Umlaut. The PIE reconstruction is uncertain, since the long vowel in Gr. ἀλένη is unexplained (cf. also Latv. uolekts ‘elbow’ with the broken tone pointing to the root *HeH-l-).
*omo- ‘raw’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. on [o]
W: W of
PIE: *HoHmo- ‘raw’ (IEW: 777f.)
COGN: Gr. ὀμᾶς, Skt. āmā-, Khot. hàma-, 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-). Gaul. personal names with the element Omo- (e.g. Omos) might also be from this root, but this is far from certain.

*ono- ‘blemish’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. on [o n]
PIE: *h2enh3o- ‘blame’ (IEW: 779)
COGN: Gr. ὄνομαι ‘blame’, Hitt. hannari ‘litigates, sues’
ETYM: The etymology is speculative, since the OIr. form is short and there are no parallels in other Celtic languages. If it is correct, OIr. on must be from PIE *h2onh3o-, and the Greek vocalism must be due to assimilation *ano- > *ono- (as assumed by LIV 282). LIV reconstructs the root as *h2neh3, but this would not work for Celtic *ono-.
SEE: *anamī ‘blemish’

*oxtū ‘eight’ [Num]
GOID: OIr. ocht [Nasalizing]
W: OW oith, MW wyth
BRET: OBret. eith, MBret. eiz, MoBret. eizh
CO: Co. eath
GAUL: oxtumetos ‘eighth’
PIE: *h2ekth3 ‘eight’ (IEW: 775)
COGN: Skt. aṣṭāu, Lat. octō, Gr. oktō, Go. ahtau, Lith. aštuoni, Alb. tetē, ToB okt
ETYM: Gaul. oxtumetos, OIr. ochtmad, and W wythfed, MoBret. eizfed point to PCelt. ordinal *oxtumeto- ‘eighth’ (cf. Skt. aṣṭamā-).

*oxtumeto- ‘eighth’ [Num]
SEE: *oxtū ‘eight’

*oyto- ‘oath’ [Noun]
GOID: Mlr. oeth [o m]
W: OW an-utonau gl. peruria [p]
PIE: *h1ey-to- ‘a going’ (IEW: 295)
COGN: OHG eid ‘oath’, ToB aittanka ‘directed toward’.
ETYM: OW an-ut-on-au contains the negative prefix an- adnd a nasal suffix. In Gaul., we find PNs such as Oitoccius, Ar-oitus, which may be related. Presumably, PCelt. *oyto- 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. oïtos ‘course, fate’.
*razd-o- 'scrape, scratch' [Vb]
W: MW *rathu* (GPC *rhathu*)
BRET: MBret. *razaff*, MoBret. *razhan*, *rahein* (Vannetais) 'scrape, shave'
PIE: *(H)reh2s-d-(h1)o- 'shear, scratch, shave' (IEW: 854 (*rēd-))
COGN: Lat. *rādo* '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.

*rēd-o- 'ride' [Vb]
GOID: OIr. *rēdid, -rēid; reraid* [Pret.]
PIE: *(H)reydh- 'ride' (IEW: 861)
COGN: OE *rīdan*, Lith. *riedėti* 'roll'
SEE: *ufo-rēdo- 'horse', *rēdi- 'simple, easy'
ETYM: Also from this root are W rhwyd-hau 'hurry' and the Gaul. PN *Ande-reodus* and ethnonym *Redones* (> *Rennes*, *Redon*). The same root is preserved in PCelt. *ufo-rēdo- 'horse' and, probably, *rēdi- 'simple, easy'.
REF: KPV 535, LEIA R-26, Delamarre 255.

*rendi- 'point, peak' [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *rind* [im]
BRET: OBret. *gabl-rinn* 'fourche à pointe, forked branch'
ETYM: The OBret. compound *gabl-rinn* has the exact parallel in Ir. *gabhal-rind*.

*rinno- 'quick, fast' [Adj]
GOID: MIr. *renn* [o] 'quick, swift', substantivized *rend, renn* 'foot, leg'
W: MW *rin* (GPC *rhyn*) 'unyielding, stiff, brave, fierce, cold'
CO: Co. *rynn* 'trembling'
PIE: *(H)riHn- 'flow'
COGN: Skt. *ṛṇāti* makes flow', Gr. *orίnō* 'whirl', OHG *rinnan* 'run', OCS *rějati* '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 OIr. -nb-; cf. OIr. *menb* < *menwo- 'small'. It seems probable, however, that the PIE root is *h3riH- 'flow'. A derivative from this root *h3riH-n-do- would have given *rīndo- 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 305f.

*rowtro- 'assault, onrush' [Noun]
GOID: Mr. ríuthar [o m, perhaps originally n]
W: MW ruthyr (GPC rhuthr) [m] ‘rush, attack, invasion’
PIE: *h3rew- ‘hurry, rush’
COGN: Lat. ruo, Gr. orouō
ETYM: LIV (510) reconstructs the root as *rewH- ‘tear up’ because of reflexes such as Olc. rýja ‘tear off wool’ and OCS ryt ‘dig’, but these may be from a different root.

*sād-* ‘set, fix’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. sáidid, -sáidi ‘thrusts, fixes, implants’
W: MW gwahawd ‘invites’ (GPC gwahodd)
SEE: *sed-o- ‘sit’
ETYM: MW gwahawd is from the prefixed *ufo-sād-. This Celtic verb is originally the causative to *sed-o- ‘sit’; the ō-grade is found in OCS saditi ‘set’, which is also from PIE *sōd-eye-.

*sālo- ‘sea, ocean’ [Noun]
SEE: *salano- ‘salt’

*sati-, *satyo- ‘swarm, throng’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. saithe [io m]
W: MW 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: *silō- ‘seed’, *satV- ‘seed’
ETYM: OIr. saithe is from PCelt. *satyo-, but the Brittonic forms point to an i-stem, *sati-, which may be primary. Possible Gaulish cognates include the PNs Sati-genus, Satia, Sattius, etc. The PIE root is *sh1- ‘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. satís ‘enough’ (IEW 876, see also Watkins 1979 and PCelt. *sāti-). If it is correct, the meaning ‘swarm’ must be derived through a metaphor ‘satiety of bees’ for which Watkins adduces some evidence.

*stesto- ‘seed, offspring’ [Noun]
W: MW had [Collective]
CO: MCo. has [Collective]
BRET: MBret. hat, MoBret. had [m]
PIE: *sh1-tV- (IEW: 890)
SEE: *silō- ‘seed’, *sati-, *satyo- ‘swarm, throng’
ETYM: The vocalism of the suffix cannot be established. Since the attested forms are collectives, PCelt. *satā is a plausible reconstruction.

*sek"-o- ‘say’ [Vb]
GOID: Mr. sechid, sichid; sich [Pret.] (DIL sichid) ‘asserts, declares’
W: OW hepp [3 s Pres.], MW hebu
BRET: OBret. hep
PIE: *sek"- ‘say’ (IEW: 895)
COGN: Gr. enn-ēpō ‘tell’, Lat. in-sequē ‘say!’, inquit ‘says’, OHG sagen
SEE: *sek"- ‘follow’, *sk"etlo- ‘story’
ETYM: W. ateb ‘answer’ is from PCelt. *ati-sek"o-, cf. also OIr. aithesc [o n] ‘answer’. The exact relationship of PIE *sek"- ‘say’ and *sek"- ‘follow’ is unclear, but there was probably a single verb with both meanings.

*sferā ‘heel’ [Noun]
**Goid:** Mr. seir [ā f]
W: MW fēr [f and m] ‘ankle’ (GPC ffēr)
Bret: MBret. Fergant [PN]
Co: OCo. fer gl. crus
Pie: *sperh₁-os- / *spha₁-os- ‘heel’ (IEW: 993)
Cog: OE spor ‘footprint’, ToB sprāne [Dual] ‘flanks’
Etymology: MoBret. fer ‘heel’ is a loanword from W. (Deshayes 2003: 232). The Mr.'s dative sg. serid (Cormac's Glossary) points to a dental stem (PCelt. *sferet-?), and traces of a n-stem are probably preserved in W dial. ufern ‘heel’, OCo. ufern gl. talus, MoBret. ufern, uvern, which may be from *ofi-sfer-no-. Gr. sphyrón ‘ankle(bone)’ is probably related, but the aspirate is unexpected. The vowel y in Gr. sphyrón ‘heel’ might be the result of Cowgill’s law (o > y between labials and resonants). The reflexes in other IE languages probably justify the reconstruction of a paradigm *sperh₁- / *sporh₁-m / *sprh₁-os. Celtic generalized the full grade (*sperh₁-), while Germanic generalized the zero-grade (PIE *sprh₁-os > P Germ. *spura- > OE spor). Lubotsky (2006) relates these forms to Skt. sphūrāti ‘kicks away’, Lat. sperno ‘push away, despise’ and reconstructs the root *tsperH- ‘kick with the heel’. The same root might, perhaps, be posited for Skt. pāṣṇi- ‘heel’, Gr. ptérna ‘heel’, Lat. perna ‘leg, haunch’ (< *tperH-neh₂).

**sfliissi-** ‘shaving, splinter’ [Noun]
Goid: Mr. slis [i f]
Pie: *spleydi- ‘split’ (IEW: 986)
Cog: MHG splitter, Eng. split
Etymology: Mr. slis is not well attested, but there is a more common synonymous derivative, slisiu [n f] which may be from PCelt. *sliisyon-. The PCelt. form *sfliissi- is from the zero-grade of the root (*splid-ti-), which is otherwise attested only in Germanic.

**simV-** ‘chain’ [Noun]
Goid: Mr. sim ‘chain or loop used in securing a cattle pound’
Pie: *shyey- ‘bind’ (IEW: 892)
Etymology: A very tentative etymology, since the Mr. word is attested only twice, and its gender and word-formation are unknown. For semantic reasons it can be plausibly connected to OE sīma ‘rope, tie’, but it is unclear why the –i- is short (maybe we should read sim, or the vowel was shortened by Dybo’s law).

**skětlo-** ‘story’ [Noun]
Goid: Ofr. scel [o n]
W: MW chweddl [f and m] (GPC chweddl, chweddl)
Bret: MBret. que-hezl, MoBret. kehel [m] ‘information, intention’
Co: Co. whethel
Pie: *sekʷ- ‘say’ (IEW: 898)
Cog: Lat. in-quam, OHG saga ‘tale’, Lith. sakýtį
Etymology: It is difficult to derive the Brittonic forms directly from PCelt. *skʷetlo- (the expected outcome would probably have been initial *sp- > W ysp-., cf. *skʷiyat- ‘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 chweddl (cf. *xswib-ī ‘move, recede’ > W chwythu). MoBret. kehel is from *kom-skʷetlo-. The same root is probably found in Mr. scoth [ā f] ‘word’, which is found mostly in glossaries or poetic texts. It may be from PCelt. *skʷotā.

**skětlo-** ‘shadow’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. scáth [u and o n]
W: MW ysgawd [m] ‘shade, darkness’ (GPC ysgod)
BRET: MBret. squeut
CO: OCo. scod gl. umbra, MCo. schus ‘terror’
PIE: *skeh3t- ‘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 vṛddhi-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 *skeh3t- / *skh3t-os, with Celtic preserving the full grade of the root, and Germanic and Greek the zero-grade from the oblique cases.

*skerd-(y)o- ‘scrape off’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. scerdaid, -sceird ‘peels, scrapes off’; scárd [Pret.] (DIL sceirtid)
PIE: *skerdh- ‘cut, pierce’ (IEW: 940)
COGN: Lith. skerdžiù ‘I cut’
ETYM: A derivative from the same root is probably found in MIr. scris [u m] ‘scraping, tearing’ < *skrissu- < *skrdh-tu. In all likelihood the PIE root *skerH - is ultimately the same as *skerH- ‘cut, pierce’ (cf. PCelt. *skara-).

*skīto- ‘tired’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. scíth [o] ‘weary, tired’
W: MW escud, esgud (GPC esgud) ‘quick, vivid’
BRET: MBret. escuit ‘quick’
CO: Co. uskys ‘quick, vivid’
PIE: *skeh1t(H)- ‘injure, harm’ (IEW: 950)
COGN: Go. skaþjan ‘damage’, OHG scado ‘harm, loss’
ETYM: The Brit. forms may be from a compound *exs-skīto-, where *exs- is a negative prefix (cf. PCelt. *exsobno- ‘fearless’). The vocalism of MW esgud (for expected *esgid) is unaccounted for, cf. OIr. escid ‘tireless’, and scis [o and u m], also [ā f] ‘fatigue, tiredness’ < *skīsu- < *skh1t-d-tu-. Gr. a-skēthē ‘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. A different etymology is proposed by Schrijver (1992), who thinks that the Brittonic words are borrowed from Goidelic and reconstructs PCelt. *skwīto- (perhaps from the same root as in Lat. quiēs ‘sleep, rest’ < PIE *k`yeh-; (OCS po-čiti ‘to rest’), IEW 638).

*(s)kītto- ‘left, clumsy’ [Adj]
GOID: MIr. cittach [o] ‘left-handed, awkward’
W: MW chwith ‘left, left-handed, sinister, sad, wrong’
PIE: *skh2ey- ‘left’
COGN: Lat. scaeuus, Gr. skaiós
ETYM: MIr. has also the variantcottach, showing a-affection, expected if the i was short. The form cottach might point to *ki-, 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)kh2i-t-), and ‘expressive’ gemination (*s)kh2i-tto-), which renders this etymology rather speculative. A different etymology of MW chwith is proposed by Schrijver (2003), who derives the Welsh word from PIE *ksweybh- ‘make a swift movement’ (LIV 373), from which we have PCelt. *xswib-ī ‘move, recede’. However, this is difficult to reconcile with MIr. cottach.

*skoltā ‘fissure, cleft’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. 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)

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. We would expect a prothetic y- in Welsh (*skoltā > *ysgoll), so W *hollt must be derived by metathesis (PCelt. *sko- > *xso- > *xw- > ho-), and MoBret. *faout is even more difficult to account for, perhaps by *xw- > 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, *scollt 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. skélti (it could have been lost in Celtic regularly after *ol by Saussure’s rule).


*slig-o- ‘strike, hew’ [Vb]
PIE: *sley-g- ‘smear, creep’ (IEW: 663f.)
Cogn: OHG slīhhan ‘sneak’, OCS *sljzъkъ ‘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). It is possible that OIr. *slicht [u m] ‘sign, trace, version’ contains the same root (PCelt. *slix-tu- < *sli-< tu-), but the semantic connection is weak. W *wllith ‘bait’, which is sometimes compared with OIr. *slicht, is probably unrelated.


*slimno- ‘polished, smooth’ [Adj]
Goid: OIr. slemun, slemun ‘smooth, sleek, polished’
BRET: OBret. limn gl. lentum, MBret. di-leffn ‘hard’, MoBret. levn ‘smooth’
CO: Co. leven
PIE: *sley-m- ‘smear (with grease), polish’
Cogn: Lat. lima ‘polish’, OHG slīmen ‘polish’
ETYM: The oldest form of the OIr. word appears to be slemun, with the same development of the final syllable as in domun ‘world’ < *dumno- < *dubno- . The PCelt. word is built from the root *sleym- with the suffix adjectival suffix *-no-.


*slu-n-k-o- ‘swallow’ [Vb]
Goid: OIr. slucaid, -slucai; sloicis [Pret.]; -sloiceth [Pret. Pass.] (DIL sluicid, slocaid)
W: MW llyncu
BRET: OBret. ro-luncas gl. guturicauit, MBret. louncaff
PIE: *(s)lewks-, *(s)lewgs- (IEW: 964)
Cogn: Gr. lýzō ‘swallow’, Ukr. lýkaty ‘swallow’, Germ. schlucken ‘swallow’
ETYM: The root-form *(s)lewks- is a variant of *(s)lewgs- (IEW 964), from which we have Germ. schlucken, Gr. lýzō ‘to have the hiccup’, etc. and OIr. loingid ‘eat’ (< PCelt. *lu-n-g-o-), W llewa ‘eating, drinking’ < *lug-ā. The variation *k/g is unexplained, but such irregularities are not uncommon in expressive verbs. It is also possible that root final *-g is original, while *-k was generalized from the sigmatic aorist, where *-gs- yielded *-ks- regularly.


*snis ‘we’ [Pron]
Goid: OIr. sni
**W**: MW ni  
**BRET**: MBret. ni, ny  
**PIE**: *no- ‘we’ (IEW: 758)  
**COGN**: Lat. nōs, Hitt. anzas ‘us’, Go. uns ‘us’, OPr. noisōn, Alb. ne  
**SEE**: *swis ‘you’  
**ETYM**: Gaul. snī in line 3 of the Chamalières inscription probably represents the same pronoun, but this text is written in scriptio continua, and the segmentation of words is uncertain. The vocalism of PCelt. *snīs may have been influenced by *swis ‘you’, and the analogy with this pronoun might also account for the initial *s-. The infixed form of the pronoun (OIr. -nn-, MW -n-) may reflect the original *snōs (LP 215). Katz (1998a) reconstructs the PCelt. form as *snī (without final *-s) and derives it from PIE *ns-me, which supposedly developed as *nsne (dissimilation) > *ansne > *sne (aphaeresis) > *snī (lengthening in monosyllables). I find this complex derivation difficult to believe.  

**sobybo-** ‘crooked’ [Adj]  
**SEE**: *sēbro- ‘demon, spectre’

**stlondo-** ‘sense, meaning’ [Noun]  
**GOID**: OIr. slond [o ?m] ‘expression, mention, designation’  
**W**: OW ıstlınit [3s Pres.] gl. profatur, W ystlın ‘connection’  
**BRET**: MBret. stlen ‘declared’  
**ETYM**: Cf. also the OIr. verb sluindid ‘expresses, declares, names’ from the same root (causative *stlond-i-). Schrijver (1995: 435ff.) defends the old connection of these words with Lat. splendor ‘brightness’, Lat. splendeo ‘shine’, cf. also ToB pällatăr ‘praise’, Go. spill ‘tale’. If this is true, the correct PCelt. reconstruction is *sflando-, and the semantic development would have been from ‘enlighten, shed light on’ to ‘declare’. Cf. also OIr. lēs ‘daylight, rays’ which could represent *sflanssu- < *splnd-tu- from the same root.  

**sukko-** ‘pig’ [Noun]  
**GOID**: OIr. soc(c) [o m] ‘snout, plough-share’  
**W**: OW huch, suh, MW hwich [f and m] ‘pig’  
**BRET**: OBr. hoch gl. aper, MoBr. houc h  
**CO**: OCo. hoch gl. porcus, Co. hoch  
**PIE**: *suH- ‘pig’ (IEW: 1038)  
**COGN**: Lat. sūs, Av. hū- ‘sow’, OE sugu ‘sow’, Alb. thi  
**ETYM**: Cf. also the OIr. river-name Soecc and socc sāil ‘name of a fish’. Fr. soc ‘plough-share’ is from Gaul. *sukko- and shows the same development of meaning as OIr. seocc. Cf. also the Gaul. PNs Succus, Sucio, Succius, etc. The geminate *-kk- may be due to the analogical influence of the other word for ‘pig’, PCelt. *mokku-. The short vowel may be due to the generalization of the root shape in the oblique cases of the root noun (*suHs, Gen. sg. *suH-os). The velar suffix and the short vowel are also found in Lat. sucula ‘small pig’ and OE sugu ‘sow’.  

**swan-na-** ‘sound, play (an instrument)’ [Vb]  
**GOID**: OIr. seinind, -seinn; sifais, -sif(e) [Subj.]; sefainn, sephainn [Pret.]  
**PIE**: *swenh₂- ‘(produce) sound’ (IEW: 1046f.)  
**COGN**: Skt. svaN-, āśvaNīṭ [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 syllable *n > *an before resonant. Mlr. sēis [i f] ‘melody, sound, music’ may be from PCelt. *swen-sth-,* with the generalized shape of the root without laryngeal.  

**swarrinā** ‘gland, ulcer’ [Noun]
*swēkru-* ‘mother-in-law’ [Noun]
W: MW chwegr [f]
CO: OCo. hweger gl. socrus
PIE: *swēkru-h₂ ‘mother-in-law’ (IEW: 1043f.)
COGN: Skt. śvāśrū-, Lat. socrus, OCS svekry, Arm. skesur, Alb. vjeheër, OE sweger
SEE: *swēkrVno- ‘father-in-law’
ETYM: The PIE form of the word for ‘mother-in-law’, *swēkruh₂, should have been reflected as
*swēkrū in PCelt., but the absence of i-affection in Welsh shows that the vowel of the final syllable
was shortened (as in Latin). It is also possible that the proto-form was *swēkrū-, but that the Welsh
form is chwegr rather than *chwygr on the analogy with chwegrvn ‘father-in-law’.

*swēnsto- ‘melody, music’ [Noun]
SEE: *swan-na- ‘sound, play (an instrument)’

*swērwo- ‘bitter’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. serb [o]
W: MW chwerw
BRET: MBret. hueru, MoBret. c’houero
CO: Co. wherow
SEE: *sworo- ‘louse’
ETYM: W chwarren [I] ‘gland, ulcer, lump’, if related, must represent PCelt. *swarrinā < *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).
Nikolaev 2010 compares Luv. šihuwa/i- ‘bitter’, which may be from PIE *seh2/3- ‘sharpness’ (cf. also
the Germanic words from ‘sword’, e.g. Germ. Schwert). The Celtic forms would be derivable from an
adjectival *sHwer-wo-.

*swēs ‘you (p)’ [Pron]
GOID: OIr. sí
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 < *swēs 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). OIr. hapax emphatic pronoun
sib (Wb. 1920), as well as its reflex in MoIr. sibh, may be from reduplicated *swe-swe, which would
imply the existence of a form with a short vowel (*swe, parallel to *me ‘I’ besides *mī). The shape of
the PCelt. 2 pl. personal pronoun is unusual; the PIE stem is *we-, attested mostly in ō-grade (Lat. uōs,
OCS vy, etc.), but the word-initial *s- must be analogical (perhaps after the reflexive pronoun *swe-).
Katze’s (1998a: 100ff.) derivation of PCelt. *swī (without final *s-) from *swe (with lengthening in
monosyllables) < PIE *uswe is improbable, in my view. OIr. sethar ‘your (pl.)’, proclitic far n-, is from
*swe-stero- (cf. Lat. vos-ter, ues-ter).

*tanxtō- ‘frozen, thick’ [Adj]
SEE: *tanko- ‘peace’

*tāt/*tā-nť- ‘thief’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. tāid [nt, m] gl. fur
PIE: *teh₂-y- ‘steal’ (IEW: 1010)
ETYM: The word formation of OIr. tàid is unclear. It is an nt-stem, i.e. a nominalized participle of the PIE verb PIE *teh2-, which is unattested in Cletic, but the Nom. sg. tàid cannot be directly inherited from PIE, since word-final *-ant-s would be reflected as *-e in OIr. (cf. *karant- ‘friend’ > OIr. carae). Rather, it may be compared to OCS tatb, which is a masculine i-stem (presumably an old abstract ‘the stealing’).


*tawso- ‘deaf’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. tó [o], tíae [yo]
W: MW taw [m] ‘silence’
BRET: MBret. tao, MoBret. taw [m] ‘silence’
CO: Co. taw
SEE: *taws-yo- ‘be quiet, be still’
ETYM: Derived from the verbal root *taws- < PIE *teh2us- (IEW 1056f., for cognates see *taws-yo-).

Taul. PN Tausius may also be from the same root.


*tegu- ‘thick’ [Adj]
GOID: Mr. tiug [i] ‘thick, dense, solid’
W: OW teu, MW tew ‘thick, fat’
BRET: MBret. tao, MoBret. taw [m] ‘silence’
CO: Co. tew
PIE: *tegu- ‘thick’ (IEW: 1057)
COGN: OHG dicciht, OE dicce ‘thick’
ETYM: While Mr. tiug is clearly an u-stem, the Brittonic forms go back to (secondary) thematized *tegwo-. Reflexes of this PIE root are attested only in Celtic and Germanic. Both branches point to an original u-stem (Orel 2003: 411).


*teterV- ‘scaldcrow’ [Noun]
GOID: Mr. tethra
PIE: *teter- ‘a kind of bird’ (IEW: 1079)
COGN: Skt. tittirá- ‘partridge’, Lith. tetrava ‘capercaille’, Gr. tetráon ‘capercaille’
ETYM: Mr. tethra is attested mostly in glossaries. Its stem-formation cannot be ascertained. In some contexts it refers to the war-goddess (Badb). Delamarre (295) compares the Gaul. NP Tetarus, Tettaro, but this may be just a chance correspondence. The PIE word, whatever its precise meaning, was obviously onomatopoetic.


*tixtā ‘going, coming’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. techt [ā f]
W: MW teith (GPC taith) [f] ‘voyage, trip’
SEE: *tēg- ‘go’
ETYM: In OIr., techt is the verbal noun to tēit ‘goes’. The Celtic forms adduced here can be derived from PIE *stig-transh. Derivatives from the same root include MW tith [f] ‘gallop, swift movement’ (< *stixti-) and MW tuth [m] ‘trot’ (< *stoyxto-).


*tlāti- ‘weak, sick’ [Adj]
GOID: Mr. tlāth [i] ‘weak, feeble, soft, pleasant’
W: MW tlawdd ‘poor, sick’
PIE: *telh2- ‘support’ (IEW: 1060f.)
COGN: Gr. talás ‘sad’, OHG dolen ‘suffer’
SEE: *talāmon- ‘earth’, *tli-na- ‘take away, steal’
ETYM: Cf. also Mr. tlās [o m and ā f] ‘weakness, mildness’ < *tlāstā. 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,

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*tātī- can be both from PIE *tīh2-ti- (because Dybo’s law did not operate), or from PIE *telh2-ti- (where both the initial and the final accent would be possible).


*togo-  ’roof’ [Noun]
SEE: *tegos ‘house’

*tātu-  ‘length of time, hour’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. trāth [u n]
W: MW trawd [m and f] ‘course, voyage’ (GPC trawd, trawdd)
PIE: *terh2- ‘traverse, cross’ (IEW: 1074)
COGN: Skt. tārata ‘crosses’, OCS trajati ‘to last’
SEE: *tāras- ‘across’
ETYM: PCelt. *tātu- presupposes PIE *tēh2-tu- or *tēr̥h2-tu-. The development of meaning was from ‘traversing, passing’ to ‘duration, period’ and ‘time’.

*tātv-  ‘weak’ [Noun]
W: MW trawd
BRET: MoBret. treut
PIE: *terh1- ‘rub, drill’ (IEW: 1090)
ETYM: PCelt. *tātv- presupposes PIE *tēh1-tv-, but the same root is attested with the suffix (‘enlargement’) *-y- in OIr. triath [o] ‘weak’ < *tēto- < *tēy(h)to- and OIr. tēth [i] ‘weak’ < *tēti- < *tēy(h)i-.
For the suffix cf. Lat. tītum ‘rubbed’, trītor ‘who rubs or grinds’ < *tēh1-tōr. The development of meaning in Celtic was from ‘rubbed, oppressed’ to ‘weak’.

*trexs(n)o-  ‘strong’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. trēn [o], Ogam TRENA-GUSU
W: MW trech ‘stronger’
BRET: MBret. trech, MoBret. trech [m] ‘victory’
CO: Co. trīgh ‘victorious’
GAUL: Trexius, Trexa, Trenus [PN]
PIE: *treg- ‘strength’ (IEW: 1090)
COGN: OE prāka ‘courage’, ON prekr ‘strength’
ETYM: The Brittonic and Gaulish forms are from underived *trexso-, whereas OIr. trēn is from *trexso-. OIr. tress [u m] ‘contention, fight’ is from *trexsu-, while W tress [m and f] ‘raid, battle, attack’ must be a borrowing from Goidelic (*sx yields ch in Welsh). Certain cognates are attested only in Germanic and point to PGerm. *prakja- < PIE *troggo- (Russ. trogat’ ‘touch’ adduced by IEW is unrelated).

*trexsu-  ‘fight’ [Noun]
SEE: *trex(n)o- ‘strong’

*trikont-  ‘thirty’ [Num]
GOID: OIr. tricho [nt m]
BRET: OBret. tricon, trigont, MBret. tregont
GAUL: triconis
SEE: *trīs ‘three’
ETYM: In MW there is a (possible) hapax triphery ‘thirty’.
The word for ‘thirty’ is a compound of *trī- ‘three’ and the element –kont- for which see *k’enk’ekont- ‘fifty’.
*tuxtu- ‘form’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *tucht [u m]
PIE: *twek- ‘be visible’
COGN: Hitt. dukkāri ‘is visible’, Skt. tváč- ‘skin’
ETYM: The derivation from PIE *tuk-tu- is straightforward and the semantic connection is convincing, but the verbal root *twek- is attested only in Anatolian. The connection with Gr. teúkh ‘make’ (PIE *(s)tewgh-) is less probable.

*ufo-ber(w)o- ‘source, well’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. *ufo-ber(w)o- [ā f], MoIr. fobhar [m]
GAUL: Uobera [Hydronym] (> Vavre, Vaivre), [Toponym] (> Vabre, Voivre)
SEE: *berw-ā-, *berw-ī- ‘boil, cook’, *beruro- ‘watercress’, *brutu- ‘fermentation, boiling’
ETYM: MIr. fobar is poorly attested, but MoIr. fobhar is quite a common word. These words are very likely derived from the same root as in *berwā- ‘boil, cook’, but the absence of evidence for root-final *-w- is puzzling.
REF: Delamarre 325, DGVB 145.

*ufo-kliyo- ‘north’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. fochla [yo n]
W: gogledd [m]
BRET: MoBret. gwalez ‘northern wind’
SEE: *kliyo- ‘left’
ETYM: The motivation of the development from ‘left’ to ‘north’ lies in the fact that the north is on the left side when one is facing the east (the rising sun).
REF: GPC II: 1436.

*ufo-lawto- ‘property, wealth’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. 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. liag, 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’ (MCo. lower), llawen ‘merry’ (MBret. louen, Co. lowen) could also be from the same root (*law-ero-, *law-eno- ?, cf. Gr. lārós ‘tasty’ < *lāwaros), and OIr. deolaid [i] ‘bestowed by favour, gratuitous’ is from *dī-ufo-lawti-.

*wastu- ‘dwelling’ [Noun]
W: MW gwaw [f] ‘abode, dwelling’
PIE: *weh₂stu- ‘dwelling’ (IEW: 1170f.)
COGN: Skt. vástu ‘house, dwelling’, Gr. ásty ‘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 *ufo-sto- (see PCelt. *wassto- ‘servant’). MW gwaw may reflect 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. ásty < *wh₂stu-).
A different etymology derives both OIr. foss and MW gwaw from PIE *h₂wos-to- (with the change *wo- > W gwa- as in *wolto- ‘hair’ > W gwallt), from the PIE root *h₂wes- ‘spend the night, abide’ (Hitt. huiszi ‘lives’, Go. wisan ‘be, remain’, Arm. goy ‘is’, IEW 72, 1170f., LIV 293).
*waydā ‘shout, cry, clamour’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. fáed, fáid
W: MW gwáedd [f]
ETYM: Possibly connected with *way ‘woe’. Theoretically, one could think of a compound *way-
dheh₁-eh₂, with the root *dheh₁- ‘do, make’ as the second element (Lat. facio, Gr. tithēmi, OCS děti, etc., IEW 235ff.), but this is quite far-fetched, since no trace of such a compound is attested in any other IE language.
REF: GPC II: 1548.

*waylino- ‘sea-gull’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. failenn, foílenn [o m]
W gwyllan [f]
BRET: MoBret. gouelan
CO: OCo. guilan gl. alcedo
ETYM: The Brittonic forms probably represent the feminine *waylanā parallel to the masculine *waylino- in Goidelic. A derivation from the interjection *way is formally possible, but semantically not quite convincing (see also *waylo- ‘wolf’). The word may be a borrowing from some non-IE substratum in Insular Celtic.

*weni-kar-o- [PN]
SEE: *wenyā ‘family’

*wenkyo- ‘crossbeam’ [Noun]
GOID: MIr. féice [yo m] ‘ridge-pole’
PIE: *wenkyo- (IEW 1112)
COGN: Skt. vāṃśya- ‘cane, bamboo-cane, upper beams’, Wakhi was ‘roof-beam’
ETYM: A very tentative etymology, as it relies on the correspondence of the MIr. word and a Sanskrit word attested only in Atharva-Veda and later. A connection with the verb *wenk-ā- ‘bend’ is possible for MIr. féice, but not for the Sanskrit word, which has the reflex of the palatalized velar, while *wenk-ā- is from PIE *wenkid ‘bend’ with a plain velar.

*wer-V- ‘find’ [Vb]
GOID: OIr. -fiar [Pret.]; fo-fríth ‘was found’ [Pass. Pret.]
PIE: *werh₁- ‘find’ (IEW: 1160)
COGN: Gr. heurískō, Arm. gerem ‘take prisoner’
ETYM: OIr. -fiar represents a reflex of the PIE redeuplicated perfect (*we-worh₁-). The same root is sound in OIr. fríth [o m], frithe [yo m] ‘that which is found, foundling, waif’, which is from PCelt. *wrīto- < *wreh₁-to-, cf. also Gaul. Ateuritus, Uritius [PN].

*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. guéid gl. opus, MCo. gweith, gwyth ‘time’
PIE: *wegh₁- ‘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. vectus); 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 gweth, MW gweth [m] ‘rage, fury’, from PCelt. *wixtā / *wixto- < PIE *wey-k- ‘fight’ (cf. PCelt. *wik-o-). Gaulish and Brittonic ethnonyms in –vices (e.g. Ordo-vices, Lemo-vices) probably also contain the same root, and it is also found in personal names such as Gaul. Veco-rix, which may be parallel to OIr. Fiachraí (Gen. sg. Fiachrach).
*winto- ‘wind, whistling’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fet [ā f] ‘a whistling or a hissing sound’
W: MW gwyn, gwint [m] ‘wind’
BRET: MBret. guent, MoBret. gwent [m] ‘wind’
CO: OCo. gains gl. venitus, Co. gwyns
PIE: *h₂weh₁-nto- ‘wind’ (IEW: 81ff.)
COGN: Lat. uentus, Skt. vá ta, Hitt. huvant-, 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. *fít. On the other hand, OIr. feth [m] ‘breeze’ (not féth, as adduced in DIL) may be from *wito-, with unexpected short –i- (by Dybo’s law?).

*wissu- ‘knowledge’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *fius [u and o m]
W: MW gwys [m and f] ‘declaration, summons’
PIE: *weyd- ‘see’ (IEW 1125ff.)
COGN: Skt. vindáti ‘finds’, Lat. uideo, Arm. gitem ‘know’
SEE: *wēd-o- ‘find’
ETYM: The Celtic forms represent an abstract tu-stem (*wid-tu-) from the root *weyd- ‘to see’. There are many derivatives in OIr. and MIr., e.g. cibus ‘conscience’ < *kom-wissu-, ros ‘great knowledge’ < *fro-wissu-, nós ‘custom’ < *nowo-wissu- ‘new knowledge’, etc.

*wítyo- ‘woven, plaited’ [Adj]
GOID: OIr. *fíthe [yo]
W: W gwyr
BRET: MoBret. gwiber
PIE: *wi-ner- ‘squirrel’ (IEW: 1166)
COGN: Lat. uieo ‘plait, weave’, Skt. vyáyati ‘bends, encloses’, Lith. výri ‘twist, wind’
SEE: *wi-na- ‘bend, wrap’

*wiwero- ‘squirrel’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. *iaru [n f], Scottish Gaelic feòrag
W: W gwvr
BRET: MoBret. gwiber
PIE: *wi-ner- ‘squirrel’ (IEW: 1166)
COGN: Lat. uieo ‘plait, weave’, Skt. vyáyati ‘bends, encloses’, Lith. výri ‘twist, wind’
SEE: *wi-na- ‘bend, wrap’

*wox-tlo- ‘dispute’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. focull, focal [o n, later m] ‘dispute’
W: MW gwaethl [m] ‘dispute, debate’
PIE: *wok- ‘voice, word’ (IEW: 1135f.)
COGN: Skt. vā k, Lat. uōx, OHG givahanem ‘recall’, Arm. gočem ‘call’
SEE: *wek-o- ‘face’
ETYM: OIr. focal, focul [o n] is often assumed to be a Latin loanword (cf. Lat. uocābulum), but the development *xtl- > *kl- > -cul is attested in OIr. anacul < *anextlo-. The same root (*wok-*) appears in OIr. an-oacht ‘a metrical fault’ < PCelt. *an-uxto- < *n-ukʷto-, parallel to Skt. anukta-, with the zero-grade of the root. MIr. fiúim [n n, later f] ‘sound’ may be from *wósman-, or rather from the prefixed *ufó-wósman-, and the same prefix would account for MIr. fiúach [o m] ‘word’ < *ufó-wok-o-. W gwep [f] ‘face, grimace’ is often also derived from PCelt. *wok-*, with the e-grade, and compared to Gaul. PNs such as Uepo, Uepo-litanos ‘broad-faced’ (?), as well as MoBret. goap ‘joke’
but here the semantic evolution would have to be very complex if this etymology is correct (‘word’ > ‘joke, mocking’ > ‘grimace’ > ‘face’).


*wrastā ‘shower’ [Noun]
GOID: OIr. frass[ā f] ‘rain-shower, torrent’
PJE: *h₁wṛṣras- ‘shower, rain’ (IEW: 78ff.)
ETYM: It is not completely certain that OIr. frass (also spelled fros) is a feminine ā-stem, but most attested forms are compatible with this interpretation. PCelt. *wrastā can be the result of a regular ‘liquid metathesis’ between a labial and a dental (*warṣā > *wrastā), in which case it preserves the zero-grade of the PIE root (*h₁wṛṣ-to-).


*yālō- ‘praise, worship’ [Noun]
G OID: OIr. āil, āl ‘request, act of asking’
W: MW iawl [?] ‘prayer, supplication, worship’
BRET: OBret. iolent gl precentur
PJE: *(H)yēh₂lo- ‘zeal’ (IEW: 501)
COGN: Gr. zē̃ los ‘zeal’, Croat. jâl ‘envy’
ETYM: OIr. āil is usually used with the copula in phrases such as is āil do… ‘it is desirable to…’, cf. also the denominative verb āilid ‘wishes’. Cf. also OBret. iolent [3 pl.] gl. precentur, W ilolaf ‘praise’.


*yextV- ‘speech, language’ [Noun]
G OID: MoIr. icht [?ú m] ‘people, tribe’
W: MW ieith [f] ‘language, nation, race’ (GPC iaith)
BRET: MBret. yez, MoBret. yezh [f] ‘language’
CO: Co. yēth
PJE: *(y)ek- ‘say, speak’ (IEW: 503f.)
COGN: OHG jehan ‘speak’, Lat. iōcus ‘joke’
ETYM: The stem and gender of Early MoIr icht are uncertain (it is a rare word). If it was a feminine i-stem, then the PCelt. reconstruction *yexti- would be probable. Moreover, if it were an u-stem, we would not expect raising of *e to *i (cf. OIr. icht ‘outburst of anger’ < *rextu-). However, a pre-form *yexti- would be reflected as *(i)th in Welsh, so the Brittonic do not seem to correspond exactly to MoIr. icht. A possible Gaulish cognate of these Insular Celtic forms is found in the inscription on the Châteaubleau tile (Lambert 1998-2000), where on line 2 we read iexsetesi, which might mean ‘you will say’ (McCone 2006: 101). This might be the 2 pl. future of a denominative verb from the root *yext-.

COGN: Lat. *iūbeo* ‘order’, Skt. *yūdhyāti* ‘fights’

ETYM: Although the attested forms in Celtic are short, the etymology is formally and semantically irreproachable. The loss of *y* in MW *ud* in stressed syllable is regular.