Ten New Indo-European Etymologies for the Celtic Languages

Jouna Pyysalo

Abstract

This paper presents ten new etymologies between the Celtic and the Indo-European languages in a contribution to the reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European parent language. The items compared are:

1. OIr. *oenach-* 'an injury/wound' : OSax. *ēndago-* 'day of death' : Hitt. *ḫingan-* 'Seuche, Pest, Todesfall'; 2. OIr. *airecht-* 'assembly, meeting, conversation' : LAv. *vyāxa-* 'Versammlung'; 3. OIr. *cumachtae-* 'pouvoir, puissance' : TochB. *ekañ̃e-* 'possession, equipment', AV. *aṣṭi-* 'Erreichung'; 4. OIr. *ás-* 'croissance, fait de grandir/grossir' : Maced. ἄξο- 'ὑλή'; 5. OBret. *iolent* 'precentur' : Lat. *hariolā-* 'wahrsagen'; 6. Midlr. *cīch-* (f.) 'weibliche Brust' : RV. *kī́kasā-* 'Brust·bein';

7. OIr. *nái-* 'human being, person': TochA. *napen-* 'Mensch'; 8. OIr. *tol-* 'Wille' : RV. *turá-* 'Willfährig'; 9. OIr. *nūadat-* 'hand, wrist or arm' : RV. *nodhā́-* 'Elefant'; 10. OIr. *aiged* 'visage' : OHG. *agsiunî-* 'species : Aussehen, Angesicht'.

1. OIr. *oenach* 'some kind of injury or wound' (DIL 485)

1.1 Old Irish preserves the forms (see also GOI §66):

OIr. *oenach-*   (m/n?.) 'some kind of injury or wound' (DIL 485)
OIr. *áenach-*   (m/n?.) 'some kind of injury or wound' (DIL 10, 485).

1.2 The two items belong together (ablaut OIr. o-/a-) and are correctly separated from OIr. *oenach-* 'reunion' in DIL. However, they are not treated in LEIA and there is no Indo-European etymology that I am aware of. Hence we are left with the observation that the formation is a derivative with the commonplace suffix PCelt. *·āko-* implying a root OIr. √oen- √aen- 'injury, wound'.

1.3 Regarding the Goidelic root it should be noted that there is no etymological connection between OIr. *oen-/aen-* and PIE √in- 'Gewalt, Untat, Kränkung, Qual' (IEW 10):

Hitt. *inan-*	(n.) 'Krankheit, Erkränkung' (HEG 1, 358, *i-na-na-aš*)[1]	
RV. *enás-*	(n.) 'Frevel, Sünde, Gewalttat' (WbRV 300)	
RV. *an·enás-*	(a.) 'fehlerlos, sündlos' (WbRV 62, EWA 1, 268)	
gAv. *aēnah-*	(n.) 'Gewalt-, Übel-, Untat, Frevel' (AIWb 21)	
LAv. *inao-*	(pr.) 'vergewaltigen, kränken' (AIWb 21, *inaoⁱti* [3sg])	
LAv. *inti-*	(f.) 'Vergewaltigung, Kränkung, Qual' (AIWb 367)	

The absence of initial laryngeal in Hitt. *inan-* is incompatible with OIr. √*aen-* (PIE *hₐein-*), and the etymology is to be sought elsewhere.[2]

1.4 After this delimitation there remains only a single possible etymological candidate in the entire Indo-European material known to me, viz. the isolated Germanic stem

OSax. *ēn·dago-* (m.) 'Todestag : day of death' (ASächsWb 15).

The root PIE *hₐin-* (ablaut: PIE *hₐein-* *hₐoin-*) underlying the Celtic and Germanic forms is of particular interest, because it is functions as the derivational base of the Hittite word for 'fate, pestilence, death'[3] as indicated below:

PIE √*hₐin-* 'Seuche, Pest, Todesfall, Tod'

$$\text{PIE } *h\alpha^e/_o\text{in-}$$
Hitt. *ḫin-*	(n.) 'plague' (HED H, 299, *ḫinnaz* [sgAbl])[4]

OSax. *ēn·dago-*	(m.) 'Todestag : day of death' (ASächsWb 15)

$$\text{PIE } *h\alpha^e/_o\text{inēahko-}$$
OIr. *oenach-*	(m/n?.) 'some kind of injury or wound' (DIL 485)
OIr. *áenach-*	(m/n?.) 'some kind of injury or wound' (DIL 10)

$$\text{PIE } *h\alpha\text{inKon-}$$
Hitt. *ḫingan-*	(n.) 'Seuche, Pest, Todesfall' (HEG 1, 251)[5]

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1   For this etymology of Hitt. *inan-* 'eine bestimmte Krankheit' cf. HED 1/2, 365, which I find acceptable despite the artificial counterarguments of Kloekhorst (HIL 448).

2   In this paper a single laryngeal (cover symbol PIE *ḫ), phonetically a glottal fricative with voiceless and voiced variants PIE *h/ɦ is reconstructed. PIE *ḫ was always accompanied by a vowel PIE *ɑ (functionally the *Schwa Indogermanicum* of the Neogrammarians) thus appearing in diphonemic pairs PIE *ḫɑ *ɑḫ (for details see Pyysalo 2013).

3   Hitt. *ḫingan-* is usually compared to W. *angeu-* 'death' : OIr. *éc-* 'idem' (cf. HED H, 300), but the vocalizations are incompatible and an alternative is needed.

4   Puhvel (HED H, 299) emends the form in XIV 14 + XIX 1 vs. 8-9 as *ḫin‹ga›naz*, which is possible but by no means necessary as it is possible to equate the latter directly with OSax. *ēn-* 'death'.

5   The attested forms are written Hitt. *ḫe-en-ka-an*, *ḫi-in-kán*, *ḫi-in-ga-an*, *ḫé-en-kán*, *ḫi-in-ga-na-aš* [sgG], see also Oettinger 1979a, 175, Melchert 1984a, 94, HED H, 296-301, and HIL 395-6.

Hitt. ḫinganant-   (c.) 'Seuche, Pest, Todesfall' (Hitt. ḫi-in-ga-na-an-za)[6]

With three Indo-European sub-branches confirming the root its postulation is methodically acceptable, but naturally additional cognates would be most welcome.

2. OIr. *airecht-* 'assembly, meeting, conversation'

2.1 Goidelic contains an archaic compound:

OIr. *air·echt-*   (m.*u-) 'assembly, meeting, conversation' (DIL 25).

2.2 The respective Celtic formation is reasonably well preserved (see LEIA A-43 & EtDiPC 123):

MidW. *araith-*   (f.) 'conversation' (EtDiPC 125, GPC I, 176)
MidW. *areith-*   (f.) 'conversation' (EtDiPC 125, GPC I, 176)
ModBret. *areih-*   (f.) 'dispute' (EtDiPC 125)
ModCorn. *areth*   (f.) 'XX' (EtDiPC 125).

The underlying compound consists of the prefix PCelt. *ar^e/$_o$-*, a root PCelt. *aK-* and the suffix PCelt. *tu-*, but despite the transparency of the formation no completely satisfactory etymology has emerged.[7]

2.3 In order to determine the nature of the ambiguous velar or the root PCelt- *aK-* (≡ PIE *ḫaeK-*) and the character of the cover symbol PIE *ḫ* (≡ PIE *h* or PIE *ḥ*) I compare the equally isolated Iranian compound in

LAv. *vy·āxa-*   (m.) 'Versammlung' (AIWb 1477)
LAv. *vy·āxana-*   (a.) 'in der Versammlung sprechend' (AIWb 1477)
LAv. *vy·āxman-*   (n.) 'Versammlung' (AIWb 1477).

The Celtic and the Iranian forms define a root PIE *haekah-* 'assembly, meeting, gathering' (≈ *h$_2$ekh$_2$-*).

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6   Rieken (1999, 426) compares Hitt. *ḫingan-* to TochB. *enkäl-, enkalwa* 'Leid', but the broader semantic field 'feeling, emotion, passion' (see Adams, DTochB 78-9) doesn't match with Hittite.

7   I agree with Matasović that it is possible to derive the Celtic words from PIE *h$_2$eǵ-* 'sprechen' (IEW 290f., LIV², 256), but OId Irish points to a primary meaning 'assembly, meeting' from which the meaning 'conversation' was then developed. Due to this a root with identical meaning is to be sought first and foremost.

2.4 Regarding the ablaut bases of the root the following remarks should be noted:
(a) MidW. *ar·aith* requires PIE *haekah·Σ- → *hakh·Σ- → PCelt. *ak·Σ-.
(b) OIr. *air·echt-*, MidW. *ar·eith-*, Bret. *ar·eih-* and Corn. *ar·eth-* agree in
PIE *ehakah·Σ- → *ehkh·Σ- → PCelt. *ek·Σ-.
(c) LAv. *vy·āxa-*, *vy·āxana-* and *vy·āxman-* require PIE *haēkah·Σ- and/or
PIE *haōkah·Σ- with an ambiguous long vowel.

3. OIr. *cum·achtae* 'power'

3.1 Old Irish preserves a compound noun and a related adjective
OIr. *cum·achtae-*   (n.-*io) 'power, strenght, might' (DIL 169)
OIr. *cum·achtach-*   (a.) 'gl. potitus : puissant' (LEIA C-285-6).

3.2 The formation is correctly compared to the Celtic parallels by the authors of
LEIA (C-286) and Matasović (EtDiPC 215):

OCorn. *chef·uidoc-*   (a.) 'gl. omnipotens' (LEIA C-286, EtDiPC 215)
OW. *com·oid-*   (m.) 'power' (EtDiPC 215, GPC I, 708)
MidW. *cyf·oeth-*   (sb.) 'richesse : wealth' (EtDiPC 215, GPC I, 708).

3.3 With regard to the etymology the views expressed in LEIA (C-286) should be
carefully observed:

'Dérivé neutre suffixé en *-tio-* sur le verbe *con-icc* 'il peut, il arrive à' Thurn.
Gr. 128. D'après le correspondant gall. *cyfoeth* 'richesse' (cf. mcorn. *chefuidoc*
gl. *omnipotens* Voc.), le dérivé nominal semble avoir pour base un degré fléchi,
**kom-okt-*, où le th. verb. **ōnk-/ēnk-* a perdu très tôt sa nasale (Thurneysen Gr.
128).'

The problematic absence of nasal in Celtic, making the direct derivation of OIr.
cum·achtae (without nasal) from OIr. *con·icc-* (with nasal) impossible, traces back
to the Neogrammarian theory of syllabic nasals.

Brugmann's reconstruction was motivated by the Indo-Iranian root variation
PIIr. *CaNC- : CaC-, which he explained as reflecting an earlier alternation PIE
CeNC- : CṇC- (see Pyysalo 2013, 284–332 for details and literature). The theory
resulted in the generalization of nasal to all forms of the root, and subsequently the
idea found its way to the etymological dictionaries and the discussion. As detailed
in Pyysalo (2013, 284–322) Brugmann's reasoning is essentially internal and
therefore not necessarily correct. In this case both the root forms with and without
nasal are externally confirmed, thus tracing back to the proto-language as such.
Here the Pokorny-root *eneḱ- (IEW 316–318) is reconstructed with a throughout
nasal despite the fact that the Indo-European data implies two distinct roots, one

with and other without nasal. The root without nasal is undisputed due to the ablaut PIIr. $\bar{a}$: a : Ø and PToch. *a- in PIE *hak̑- 'gelangen, erreichen, treffen, teilhaftig werden, besitzen' (ablaut: PIE *hɑek̑- *hɑok̑-)

RV. ā́ś-	(pf.) 'erreichen, gelangen' (WbRV 135, ā́śa [3sg])[8]
RV. aś-	(aoM.) 'gelangen, erreichen, treffen' (WbRV 135, aṣṭa)
LAv. frāš-	(vb.) 'sich teilhaftig machen' (AIWb 360, frāšənti)
gAv. frō·sya-	(vb.) 'erreichen, treffen' (AIWb 360, frōsyāt [3sg])
TochB. ekañ̃e	(f.pl.) 'possession, equipment' (DTochB 75, ekañ̃e)
TochA. akäntsune-	(m.) 'Geld, Besitz' (Poucha 1, akäntsune).

3.4 In the existence of a root PIE *hak̑- the difficulty of the absence of nasal in the Celtic forms is apparent, since these forms can be directly compared with their Indo-Iranian counterparts as indicated below:

PIE	√haek̑t- √haok̑t-
RV. aṣṭá-	(pt.) 'erreicht' (WbRV 136, aṣṭā́ hárī)
AV. aṣṭi-	(f.) 'Erreichung' (WbRV 145)
OIr. cum·achtae-	(n.-*io) 'pouvoir, puissance' (EtDiPC 215)
OIr. cum·achtach-	(a.) 'gl. potitus : puissant' (LEIA C-285-6)
OCorn. chef·uidoc-	(a.) 'gl. omnipotens' (LEIA C-286, EtDiPC 215)
OW. com·oid-	(m.) 'power' (EtDiPC 215, GPC I, 708)
MidW. cyf·oeth-	(sb.) 'richesse : wealth' (EtDiPC 215, GPC I, 708)

Although this outline leaves the relation between PIE √hak̑- and the root *enek̑- (IEW 316-318) open, I hope to return to the issue in a separate paper—also addressing the embedded sound law problem of Celtic.

4. OIr. ás- 'Wachstum'

4.1 The early Irish language contains a (verbal) noun
    OIr. ās-   (n.m.) 'croissance, fait de grandir/grossir' (LEIA A-92).

4.2 Several verbal stems belong to the main entry (see DIL 53), including
    OIr. ro ās-   (pf.) 'il a grandi' (LEIA A-92, ro ás [3sg])
    OIr. āsa-   (vb.) 'grandir' (LEIA A-92, ásaid [3sg])
    OIr. for·āsa-   (vb.) 'gl. proficit' (LEIA A-92, forása [3sg], forásat [pl])

Beyond this point the Celtic languages provide no additional hints of the shape of the underlying PIE root. With regard to the broader Indo-European connections I have nothing to add to LEIA's (A-93) statement on the current standard etymology:

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8   For the correspondence with details see Pyysalo (2013, 304).

'[C]'est sans motif sérieux qu'on a proposé un prototype *pāt-to-, à rattacher à gr. πατέομαι 'je me nourris' et à got. *fodjan* 'nourrir' (...) (IF II 370); cf. Pok. 783.'

4.3 In order to provide an acceptable etymology I would begin with a brief excursion on the semantic field of the PIE roots with meanings 'growth' and 'greatness'. One of these is now attested in the Anatolian forms belonging to a root PIE *selɑh-*solɑh- in

Hitt. *šalḫanti-*	(sb.) 'Wachstum, Gedeihen' (?) (HHand 140)
HLu. *salhanza-*	(sb.) 'greatness' (CHLu 2.5.3, (LIGNUM)*sá-la-ha-za*)

These abstract meanings are derived from a concrete one embedded in the logogram HLu. LIGNUM 'tree, wood', also appearing in the determinative 'GIŠ' of yet another derivative of the root:

Hitt. *šalḫuria-*	(GIŠ.) 'Pfeiler, Pfosten' (HHand 140, HEG S, 767).

Similarly the root OIr. √ás- with abstract meaning 'growth, greatness' can be formally and semantically compared to a gloss of Hesychius with a concrete meaning in

Maced. ἄξο-	(m.) 'ὑλή' (LSJ 172).

4.4 With regard to the details of the reconstruction it is to be noted that

(a) Macedonian follows the Greek rules of accentuation. In the absence of circumflex in Maced. ἄξο- the root-vowel was short (PIE *hɑéKso-). In contrast the Goidelic root reflects the long grade PIE *hɑēKs- and/or PIE *hɑōKs-.

(b) Macedonian and Old Irish belong to the centum languages, which leaves both a plain velar and a palatovelar possible. As the root PIE *hɑKs- ends in sibilant, it is also impossible to define the voice and/or aspiration of the cover symbol K unless unambiguous data is added to the data discussed (for this possibility see IEW 773, Lith. *úoga* etc.).

5. OBret. *iolent* 'precentur'

5.1 Old Breton preserves a verbal stem preserved in a gloss:

OBret. *iola-*	(vb.) 'precentur' (LEIA A-31, *iolent* [conj3pl]).	

5.2 The verb recurs in Welsh and Old Irish, both languages also confirming a long root variant with PIE *ō (in W. aw = OIr. á):

W. *iola-*   (vb.) 'ich lobe, preise' (GPC 3738, *iolaf* [1sg])
W. *eir·iola-*   (vb.) 'dringlich bitten' (GPC 2365, *eiriolaf* [1sg])
W. *iawl-*   (.) 'Gebot, Lob' (LEIA A-31, *iawl* [sgN])
OIr. *á^ilid*   (vb.) 'eifrig wünschen, erbitten, erflehen' (DIL 16).

Pokorny (IEW 501) hesitatingly attaches the forms to the root IEW. *i̯ā- : i̯ō-* 'bestrafen, rächen', but the semantics is far-fetched, if not outright impossible. As far as I am aware, however, no competing etymologies exist.

5.3 In the absence of plausible Indo-European cognates I would quote an Italic compound yielding a perfect match with the Celtic items in PIE *o:
Lat. *har·iolo-*   (m.) 'Wahr·sager' (WH 1, 635, *hariolus* [sgN])
Lat. *har·iolā-*   (prM.) 'wahr·sagen' (WH 1, 635, *hariolor* [1sg]).

The first part of the compound belong to the better known formation
Lat. *haru·spec-* (m.) 'Eingeweide·schauer, Wahr·sager' (WH 2, 635)
Fal. *hara·spec-* (m.) 'id.' (WH 2, 635, Fal. *haras⟨pex⟩*)

which implies that the meaning 'sagen' belongs to the segment Lat.·*iolā-* = W. *iola-*.

5.4 The Italo-Celtic root can be reconstructed with PIE *i̯ol-* and PIE *i̯ōl-* (or PIE *i̯ēᵃhl-?*). Since PIE *h/ɦ is also possible in the root-initial position the data is ambiguous with regard to the precise proto-form in PIE. It can be, however, hoped that future comparison calibrates the prototype when further connections of the root are explored.

6. Midlr. *cīch-* 'weibliche Brust'

6.1 LEIA (L-95-96) presents a following entry:

   Midlr. *cīch-*   (f.) 'weibliche Brust : female breast' (DIL 114-5)

6.2 The Goidelic stem represents a widespread Celtic isogloss (PCelt. √kīk-):
OGaul. *cīc·ollo-*   (PN) 'Gros-Muscles (?)' (DLG 116. *cicollus*, RDC 34)[9]

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[9] For the well-preserved root in Gaulish onomastics, see Delamarre (DLG 115): 'Thème de NP: *Cic-ollus* 'Gros-Muscles' ? (RDC 34) et *Cicinus*, surnoms de Mars (*Marti Carro Cicino*, Hl 1012, cf. *Cicena* au Larzac, en 2b1), *Cicto-uanus* 'Tueur de musclés (d'athlètes)' ?, *Cicca*, *Cicedu* (RIC 4, n° 106), *Cicetius* (*Cinge-* ?), *Cicarus*, *Cicorellius* DAC 207, *Cicadius* 693, *Cicereius* 839, *Cige-toutos* (Lezoux) ± 'Champion- de-la-

OIr. *cīc·car-*	(sb.) 'avide, vorace' (DLG 116, DIL 114)
OBret. *cic·guan-*	(sb.) 'gl. fuscina' (EtDiPC 204)
OCorn. *chic-*	(sb.) 'gl. caro' (DLG 116, EtDiPC 204)
MidBret. *quic-*	(sb.) 'Fleisch' (EtDiPC 204)
MidW. *cig-*	(m.) 'Fleisch : meat' (GPC I, 477, *cig*)
ModBret. *kig-*	(m.) 'Fleisch' (ModBret. *kig*, DLG 116)

6.3 LEIA (C-96) and Delamarre (DLG 116) correctly reject Pedersen's (VKG 1, 51) tentative comparison with Gr. κῖκυς (f.) 'Kraft, Stärke' (GEW 1, 582), which 'ne s'impose pas'. Unaware of competing proposals (see LEIA C-95-96, DLG 116 and EtDiPC 204) I would compare the Celtic formation to an ancient compound

RV. *kī́k·asā-*	(f.) 'Brust·bein' (f.pl.) 'Brust·rippen' (WbRV 327).

The Vedic form is also without etymology (see Mayrhofer KEWA 1, 214 and EWA 1, 355), but it is readily understood that the second part of the compound RV. *·asā-* 'Bein, Rippe' (PIE *hₐosēₐh-) belongs to the root

PIE √*hₐs-* 'Bein, Rippe, Knochen, usw.' (Ablaut: PIE *hₐs- *hₐes- *hₐos-*, IEW 783)

CLu. *haša-*	(n.) 'Bein' (DLL 43, *ḫa-ša-ti* [plAbl])
RV. *kī́k·asā-*	(f.) 'Brust·bein' (f.pl.) 'Brust·rippen' (WbRV 327)
Lat. *oss-*	(n.) 'Knochen : bone' (WH 2, 225-6, *os, ossis* [sgG])
Gr. ὀστο·κόπο-	(m.) Bez. einer Knochenkrankheit (GEW 2, 436)
Hitt. *ḫaštai-*	(n.) 'Knochen, Gebeine, usw.' (HEG 3, 237).

Consequently the morpheme RV. kī́k- is the carrier of the meaning 'Brust'. In order to account for the absence of second palatalization, the quantity and the accent of RV. *kī́k-* it is necessary to reconstruct PIE *kₐ́hik- → PIIr. *kíhik- → RV. *kī́k-* 'Brust', a perfect formal and semantic match with PCelt. *kīk-* 'Brust'.[10]

6.4 The root PIE *kₐ́hik- is attested in two subgroups, i.e. the correspondence is well-defined. However, more support for the formation may emerge in the future.

Tribu' (plutôt que 'Tribu d'athlètes', mais pt ê. *-toutos* = v.irl. *tuath* 'gauche, mauvais', même sens alors que le suivant), *Cice-lauius* (Cologne, DAC 871), *Cice-lauus* CIL XIII 1140, 'Petit-Muscle' avec *lauus* de *laguo-* 'petit, faible'.'

10 The root RV. √*kī́k-* is possibly also attested in *RV. kī́k·aṭa-* (m.) 'EN eines nichtarischen Volksstammes' (WbRV 327, KEWA 1, 214, EWA 1, 355 *kī́kaṭāḥ* [plN]), since there are dozens of examples of a suffix OInd. *·aṭa-* in the Sanskrit corpus.

7. OIr. *nái-* 'human (being)'

7.1 Old Irish preserves a noun meaning 'human being, person' in a gloss

OIr. *nái-*   (m.) 'nái .i. duine' (LEIA N-19)

7.2 In addition the following stems can be attached to the entry:

OIr. *noe-*   (m.) 'a human being, person' (DIL 479, *noe, noi*)
OIr. *nae-*   (f.) 'woman' (LEIA N-19 *nae .i. ben*, etc.)
OIr. *nei-*   (f.) 'woman' (LEIA N-19 *nei .i. ben*, etc.).

Regarding to the Indo-European etymology LEIA (N-19) quotes two artificial comparisons, first OIr. *nia* 'son of sister, nephew' (DIL 478) and secondly Gr. ναίω 'j'habite', correctly rejecting both. As far as I am aware of no other etymologies have been suggested, and the best that can be said on the basis of Irish is to observe that the two forms like OIr. *nái-* and OIr. *nei-* imply a lost PIE phoneme X in *nVXi-, where X = PIE *p, *s, or *u̯.

7.3 The character of the lost sound is revealed by Tocharian, where the following formation has been preserved in dialect A:

TochA. *napen-*   (sb.m.) 'Mensch' (Poucha 140, *napeṃ, napenäs* [plObl])
TochA. *napeṃ ṣi-*   (a.) 'homilis, humanus' (Poucha 140, *napeṃ ṣi*)
TochA. *napes-*   (sb.m.) 'Mensch' (Poucha 140, TochA. *napesässi* [plG])

The forms require an immediate predecessor PToch. *napai-, which provides a match with Old Irish.[11]

7.4 The following observations can be made regarding to the original PIE ablaut required by the Celtic:

(a) OIr. nái (m.) requires PIE *nēɑhpio- or *nōɑhpio- (with a long root vowel)
(b) OIr. noi-/noe- (m.) requires PIE *noɑhpio-
(c) OIr. nae (f.) requires PIE *nɑehpiēɑh- (with a root in PCelt. *a)
(d) OIr. nei (f.) requires PIE *nɑhepiēɑh- (with schwebeablaut)

Tocharian, on the other hand, is relatively ambiguous with regard the vowel quality, but on the basis of the meaning and quantity the base PIE *noɑhp- with *o as in OIr. noi-/noe-) can be reasonably assumed for the root, although PIE *neɑhp- with *e remains equally possible.

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11 Van Windeken's early etymology (LeTokh 309), comparing LAv. *nāfa-* (m.) Verwandtschaft, Familie' (AIWb 1062), is semantically inferior. However, a distant relationship (via root etymology) remains possible.

8. OIr. *tol-* 'volonté, désir, désir charnel'

8.1 Old Irish preserves a noun:

OIr. *tol-*   (f.) 'will : Wille' (DIL 598, OIr. *tol, tuile* [sgG])

Pokorny's proto-form PCelt. *tulā- (IEW 1061) is confirmed by oblique cases

OIr. *tuile* [G] and OIr. *tuil* [D] indicating a root vowel PIE *u.

8.2 The derivates include (for the forms, see also DIL 598-9):

OIr. *ro·tholo-*   (vb.) 'plaire' (LEIA T-101, in *rontolomar* [rel1pl])
OIr. *tolach-*   (a.) 'volontaire' (LEIA T-101)
OIr. *toltu*^{N}-   (pl.) 'désir' (LEIA T-101)
OIr. *tolna-*   (vb.) 'plaire' (LEIA T-101, tolnatar 'qui plait')
OIr. *toltanach-*   (a.) 'volontaire' (LEIA T-101, SOgam 239).

In addition, the last-quoted form is now equated with

Ogam. *tulotanagi(a)-*   (.) 'willfährig (?)' (SOgam 239)

by Ziegler.

8.3 With regard to the etymology the authors of LEIA discuss a possibility of connecting the formation to the root PIE *tel- *tol- (IEW 1061, Lat. *tolerare*, etc.) via a hypothetic noun with a hypothetic meaning 'fait de supporter, de laisser faire, bonne volonté, bon plaisir'. Although this is also opted by Pokorny no concrete parallels for the meaning 'will' are attested, which means that the idea is hardly helpful from the comparative point of view.

In the absence of an external etymology I would like to quote the Vedic adjective:

RV. *turá-*   (a.) 'Willfährig : willing' (KEWA 1, 514, MonWil 450).

With a regular change PIE *l → RV. r the form can be readily compared to OIr. √tul- providing an Indo-European etymology.[12]

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12   In the existence of duplicates with oblique in OIr. *tol-* (OIr. *toil* [A], *tole* [G], *toil* [D]), one wonders if there were originally two homonymous roots PIE *tul- and PIE *tol-. As I have not been able to confirm the latter I will restrict the discussion to the root PIE √tul-.

8.4 I have not been able to find additional parallels for the root PIE √tul- in the rest of the group. It is, however, possible that the root is an extension *·l- of a primary root PIE √tu- also possibly attested in

   (a) √tuḱ-
RV. *tośa-*	(pr.)	'befriedigt sein, sich erlaben' (WbRV 546)
LAv. *tusa-*	(m.)	'ein Held der iranischen Sage' (AIWb 657)
OInd. *tokṣya-*	(fut.)	'to satisfy, etc. (MonWil 452)

   (b) √tus-
OInd. *toṣa-*	(m.)	'satisfaction, pleasure, joy' (MonWil 456)
RV. *tuṣáyantī-*	(pt.f.)	'zufrieden stellend' (WbRV 546)
Hitt. *tuške/a-*	(vb.)	'rejoice, be happy' (HEG T, 464f., HIL 1040)
Hitt. *para tuške/a-*	(vb.)	'sich freuen, gnädig sein' (HHand 182)
Hitt. *tuškeia-*	(vb1.)	'freuen, fröhlich sein; spielen' (HHand 182)

Whether this is accepted or not the root PIE √tul- is confirmed by two subgroups and therefore acceptable according to the standard procedure.

9. OIr. *nūadat-* 'hand, wrist or arm'

9.1 Old Irish preserves a noun
   OIr. *nūadat-*   (sb.) 'hand, wrist or arm' (DIL 481).

9.2 In addition the following forms likely belong to the main entry:
   OIr. *núadat-*   (m.) 'hero, champion, king (poetic)' (DIL 481)
   OIr. *núadat-*   (PNm.) 'of kings of Ireland' (DIL 481 *núadu, núadat*)

The personal name is also attested in archaic forms predating the change PCelt. *ō → OIr. úa (GOI §62):

   OIr. *nodent-*   (PNm.) 'of kings of Ireland' (DIL 481, *nodenti* [D])
   OIr. *nodont-*   (PNm.) 'of kings of Ireland' (DIL 481, *nodonti* [D])

The alternation between the meanings 'hand/arm' and 'hero/champion/king' recurs in the archaic semantic fields of Indo-European roots and a parallel can be readily found, e.g., in OIr. *sab-* (sb.) 'hand, palm, support, upholder, champion, leader' (DIL 515). However, no Celtic cognates are available and there is no Indo-European etymology.[13]

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13   Matasović (EtDiPC 350) compares the Goidelic forms to W. *nudd-* 'mist, haze', but the form has an etymological *s- absent in OIr. √núad-. In addition the semantic side of the equation is difficult to understand.

9.3 As the Goidelic require an etymology I would like to compare the Old Indo-Aryan root √nodh- attested in:

RV. *nodhā́-*   (f.) 'ein Elefant' (EWA 2, 58, RV. 1.124.4)
RV. *nodhā́s-*   (PNm.) 'EN eines Sängers' (WbRV 756, *nodhā́s* [N])
RV. *nodhā́s-*   (PNm.) 'EN eines Sängers' (WbRV 756, *nódhas* [V]).

Although Thieme's (1965) derivation RV. *nodhā́-* ← PIir. **naz·dhā́-* 'mit der Nase saugend' lacks rigor (since PIIr. *azdh → RV. edh, not †odh), the argument for the meaning 'elephant' is acceptable.

9.4 With regard to the alternation between meanings 'hand' and 'elephant' one should note the existence of the noun:

RV. *kará-*   (m.) 'die Hand' (WbRV 314)[14]

When the word is applied to an elephant, it becomes to mean its trunk:
OInd. *kará-*   (m.) 'Elefantenrüssel' (KEWA 1, 166)

Hence it is possible to equate the roots RV. √nodh- = PCelt. √nōd- through an underlying prototype PIE *noudʰ-.

10. OIr. *aiged* 'visage, honneur'

10.1 Old Irish preserves a noun
OIr. *aiged-*   (.) 'visage, honneur' (DIL 11 *aiged* [N], *aigthe* [G]).

In addition there is a variant with an alternative suffix vocalism
OIr. *agad-*   (.) 'visage, honneur' (DIL 11, *agad* [N]).

10.2 The stem OIr. aiged- has a direct parallel in Old Gaulish onomasticon:

OGaul. *cali·aged-*   (PNm.) 'Dur-Visage (?)' (DLG 34, *caliaged*)
OGaul. *agedo-*   (PNm.) 'aspect, visage, face' (DLG 34, *agedus* [sgN])
OGaul. *agedo·uiro-*   (PNm.) 'à l'aspect franc' (DLG 34, *agedouirus*)[15]

Regarding to etymology Vendryes (LEIA A-23) relates a possibility that OIr. *aiged* could be a derivate of the root IEW. **aǵ-* 'mener, conduire' (Lat. *agere* etc.)

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14   Also note the respective adjective in RV. *kará-* (a.) 'machend, wirkend, tätig' (WbRV 314).
15   Also in OGaul. *agedo·mopati-* (PN) 'au visage d'enfant' and OGaul. *agedo·mapati-* 'au visage d'enfant' (PN) 'idem.' (see DLG 34).

from which the meaning 'manière d'agir, contenance' would have passed to 'face'. As against this there is no formal confirmation that OGaul. *g* stands for PIE *$\acute{g}$, nor is the semantic shift supported by parallels in the data. Without match in meaning and ambiguity in the form it is more secure to admit that the Celtic root has no etymology.

10.3 A semantically more attractive etymology is found comparing the root PCelt. √ag- to

OHG. *ag·siunī-*   (f.) 'species : Aussehen, Angesicht, Gestalt' (Tatian).[16]

As revealed by the identically formed compound OHG. *oug·siunī-* 'Aussehen, Angesicht' the meaning of OHG. *ag-* coincides with OHG. *oug-* 'Auge', whence also OGaul. *ag-* and OIr. *ag-* meant the same.

10.4 In conclusion I would like to discuss OGaul. *aced- acit-* and *acid-* mentioned in this connection by Delamarre (DLG 34). Due to the difference in vocalism OGaul. *acit-* (and *acid-*) are indeed better understood as belonging to OGaul. *acito-* 'plaine, champ' as suggested by the author.[17] However, the personal name OGaul. *acedo·mopati-* (PN) constitutes an exact match with OGaul. *agedo·mopati-* (PN) except for the difference in voice, leaving little doubt that the forms belong together. An explanation for the alternation /c/ : /g/ can be sought from the PIE root undelying the voiceless root OGaul. √ac- 'Auge':

PIE √hɑḱ- 'Auge' (IEW 774, *ok-)
     PIE *hɑe/oḱ-

OGaul. *ac·edo-*	(sb.) 'visage' (ACSS 1, 16, in *acedo·mopatis* [sgN])
Goth. *in·ah-*	(a.) 'φρόνιμος : verständig : wise' (GoEtD 11)
Goth. *ni·ukl·ah-*	(a.) 'νήπιος : unmündig, kindisch' (GoEtD 11)[18]
Goth. *ahja-*	(vb.) 'think : νομίζειν' (GoEtD 11, *ahjan* [inf.])
Goth. *aha(n)-*	(m.) 'Sinn, Verstand' (GoEtD 11, *aha* [sgN])
Gr. ὄκνος	(m.) 'Bedenklichkeit, Scheu, Zögern' (GEW 1, 373)
RV. *ákṣi-*	(n.) 'Auge' (EWA1, 42-3, WbRV 6, KEWA 1, 543)
gAv. *aši-*	(n.) 'Auge' (AIWb 229 *ašibyā* [Y 32.10b], LAv. *aši*)

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16   Lehmann (GoEtD 48) quotes the form as OHG. *acsiunī* [sic] with /c/, but against this Tatian has OHG. *agsiunī* (with /g/).

17   Delamarre (DLG 34): 'E. Evans, GPN 131-132, doute de l'existence du mot *aged-* en gaulois à cause des doublets *aced-*, *acid-*, *acit-*, alternances orthographiques fréquentes. S'il n'y avait qu'un seul mot *acito-* 'plaine, champ' (voir à ce mot), *Agedo-mapatis* serait 'l'enfant de la plaine'. Il est cependant probable qu'il y a deux mots différents *agedo-* et *acito-*. Cf. aussi E.P. Hamp, BBCS 27 (1976-1978), 213.'

18   For the segmentation Goth. *ni·ukl·ah-* containing Goth. *ukl-* 'strong' = gAv. *ugra-* 'idem', see Pyysalo 2010, 235–36.

Despite plain velar in Pokorny's dictionary (see IEW 774 *ok-) Av. *š* = RV. *kṣ* confirms a palatovelar for the root. When the suffix PIE *·ɑfi- was added to the root PIE *hɑeḱ- this resulted in PIE *hɑeǵɑfi- with assimilation of voice. This is the root to which the voiced forms discussed above can be attached as follows:

PIE *haeǵah-	'Auge'
OHG. *ag·siunī-*	(f.) 'species : Aussehen, Angesicht, Gestalt' (Tatian)
OIr. *ag·ad-*	(.) 'visage, honneur' (OIr. *agad* [N])
OGaul. *cali·ag·ed-*	(PNm.) 'Dur-Visage (?)' (DLG 34, *caliaged*)
OGaul. *ag·edo-*	(PNm.) 'aspect, visage, face' (DLG 34, *agedus* [sgN])
OIr. *aig·ed-*	(.) 'visage, honneur' (OIr. *aiged* [N], *aigthe* [G])
OGaul. *ag·edo·uiro-*	(PNm.) 'à l'aspect franc' (DLG 34, *agedouirus*)

Similarly the general alternation of voice can be explained regularly with PIE *fi, the voiced variant of the 'laryngeal' (see Pyysalo 2013, 366-414).

Abbreviations

a.	adjective
A	accusative
Abl	Ablative
ACSS 1	Holder 1896
ACSS 2	Holder 1904
AIWb	Bartholomae 1904
ANEtWb	Vries 1961
ao.	aorist
ASächsWb	Holthausen 1954
AV.	Atharva-Veda
Av.	Avestan
c.	genus commune
CLu.	Cuneiform Luwian
CHLu	Hawkins 2000
conj.	conjunctive
W.	Welsh
D	Dative
DIL	Marstrander (et al.) 1913ff.
DLG	Delamarre 2003[2]
DLL.	Laroche 1959
DTochB	Adams 1999
du.	dual
EtDiPC	Matasović 2009
f.	feminine
Fal.	Faliscan
G	Genetive
gAv.	Gathic Avestan
GEW 1	Frisk 1960
GEW 2	Frisk 1972

GoEtD	Lehmann 1986
Goth.	Gothic
GPC	Bevan & Donovan 2003ff.
Gr.	Greek
HED	Puhvel 1984ff.
HEG	Tischler 1977ff.
HHand	Tischler 2001
HIL	Kloekhorst 2007
Hitt.	Hittite
HLu.	Hieroglyphic Luwian
IEW	Pokorny 1959
inf.	infinitive
KZ	*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Göttingen. (Berlin, 1952-)
Lat.	Latin
LAv.	late(r) Avestan
LEIA	Vendryes, Bachellery & Lambert 1959ff.
LeTokh	Windekens 1976
LIV^2	Rix et alii 2001
LSJ	Liddell & Scott 1940
m.	masculine
M.	medium
Maced.	Macedonian
MidBret.	Middle Breton
MidW.	Middle Welsh
MidIr.	Middle Irish
ModBret.	Modern Breton
ModCorn.	Modern Cornish
MonWil	Monier-Williams 1993
n.	neuter
N	nominative
Obl.	Oblique (case form)
OBret.	Old Breton
OCorn.	Old Cornish
OW.	Old Welsh
OGaul.	Old Gaulish
OHG.	Old High German
OInd.	Sanskrit
OIr.	Old Irish
OSax.	Old Saxon
PCelt.	Proto-Celtic
pf.	perfect
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
PIIr.	Proto-Indo-Iranian
pl.	plural
PN	personal name
Poucha	Poucha 1955
pr.	presens
PToch.	Proto-Tocharian

RDC	Nicole & Luginbühl 2001
rel	relative (form)
RV.	Rig-Veda
sb.	substantive (noun)
sg.	Singular
SOgam	Ziegler 1994
TochA.	Tocharian A
TochB.	Tocharian B
V	Vocative
vb.	verb(al stem)
VKG 1	Pedersen 1909
VKG 2	Pedersen 1913
WbRV	Grassmann 1996[6]

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