

GAULISH *CI*, *-C*, OLD IRISH *CÉ*, OGAM *KOI*

JOSEPH ESKA has given us (1990, 153) a persuasive and valuable interpretation of La Graufesenque Gaulish *duci* ‘hierzu’ (Thurneysen’s gloss), with *ci* ‘here’ the original zero-grade null-suffixed locative singular deictic **ki* ‘at this’. He then goes on (p. 154) to analyse Ogam *KOI* correctly, I believe, as Marstrander’s reflex of **koi*, but morphologically and chronologically the locative singular in an innovative thematic version.

However, this thematic shape would have been the final one for the locative singular, to judge by the Greek temporal sequence. The earlier thematic shape would have produced **kei* > **kei*, which thus would emerge as Marstrander’s solution for O. Ir. *cé*; cf. Hamp 1970. Moreover, it is not clear why a non-neuter nominative would be preferable; see examples in *DIL* C 94.

Finally, if we have **-ké* in Gaulish *isoc*, ‘thus (?)’, then we may find the oldest endingless shape of the thematic locative singular; i.e. = Lithuanian *tè* ‘there (you are)!', Albanian (including Arvanítika and most Arbëresh) *a-tjè* Barile (FZ) and Casalvecchio (FG) Arbëresh *Tosk atin* (< **au-te*) ‘there’, Vena (CZ), Falconara (CS) Arbëresh, and Mándres (Kilkís, Mac.) *këtjè*, Zangarone (CZ) Arbëresh *kitjè* (< **k^wo-te*) ‘there (nearby)’. In sum, these Celtic forms would all be successor stages of the same form.

Since Eska’s article was not yet published, Bachellery and Lambert’s treatment in *LÉIA* 1987 is in part overtaken by Eska’s correction of the record. But Bachellery and Lambert still express balanced views. Moreover, what is claimed above for this instance of **kei* (i.e. thematic) does not erase the validity of **kei* (i.e. pronominal *i*-state) as a correct shape for the nominative singular.

REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

- DIL* = Quin, E. G., and others (ed.) 1913–76: (*Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish language based mainly on Old and Middle Irish materials*. Dublin.
- Eska, J. F. 1990: ‘The deictic pronomial **key* in Celtic’, *Celtica* 21, 153–5
- Hamp, Eric P. 1970: ‘Locative singular in *-ε1*’, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 75, 105–6
- LÉIA* = E. Bachellery and P.-Y. Lambert 1987: *Lexique étymologique de l’irlandais ancien de J. Vendreyes: lettre C*. Paris, 51 s.v. 1 *cé*

ERIC P. HAMP

Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies