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 *-ke in Gaulish isoc, ‘thus (?)’, then we may find the oldest endless shape of the thematic locative singular; i.e. = Lithuanian tē ‘there (you are)!’, Albanian (including Arvanitika 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.) kêtjè, Zagarone (CZ) Arbëresh kitjè (< *kwo-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.


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