not been already discussed are *mulier*, and *baliolus*, neither of which are of certain derivation. If *mulier* really is a comparative from $\mu\upsilon\delta$ - in $\mu\upsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ κ.τ.λ. and means 'the rather moist', or 'the more moist creature' i. e. (!) 'she who gives suck', it must have been taken up, like *miles* as a slang word from the language of the commonest people, which would account for its regular contemptuous sense in Latin. *baliolus* is applied to an 'Afer' in Plautus and is certainly more likely to mean 'dusky' (*badius*) than 'dappled' (βάλιος). If it is the former it might be classed with *caesius*, *rufus*, as a borrowed word, restricted to the meaning of a personal epithet.

Cambridge, England Dec. 19. 1891.

R. Seymour Conway.

On the assimilation of pretonic *n* in Celtic suffixes.

"Ferner scheint *n* als Anlaut hochbetonter *n*-Suffixe an die Nachkommen idg. wurzelschliessenden Verschlusslaute assimiliert worden zu sein. So lässt sich die urgerm. Konsonantendehnung erklären z. B. ahd. *lecchōn* 'lecken', urgerm. *likkō*, aus vorgerm. **liġh-nā*-, vgl. griech. λιχνεύω, w. *leigh*-. Grundriss I § 214.

"*bn*, *dn*, *gn* vor dem Hauptton wurden im Ugerm. zu *bb*, *dd*, *gg*, daraus nach § 533 *pp*, *tt*, *kk*, die weiter ebenso behandelt wurden, wie die aus idg. *pn*, *tn*, *kn*, *qn* und aus idg. *bhn*, *dhn*, *ghn*, *ghn* entstandenen *pp*, *tt*, *kk* (§ 530. 538)". Grundriss I § 534¹⁾.

Though well aware of the danger of assuming that a phonetic law, good for one family of languages, is good for another, it seemed to me, when I read these passages, that they gave the key to the etymology of six groups of Celtic words, which have not, so far as I know, hitherto been explained. I mentioned this key, briefly, in KZ. XXIX 375, and now after five years' consideration, I proceed to submit to Celtologues the words in question and their respective etymologies.

1) Cf. Paul-Braunes Beiträge VII 133², Osthoff ibd. VIII 297 ff. Kluge ibd. IX 149 ff. Kauffmann ibd. XII 504 ff.

I. *gg* from *-gná*, *-gni*, *-gnó*, *-gnó*.

1. Ir. *acus*, *ocuis* 'und', urkelt. **akkusti*, *aggústi*, vorkelt. **aghnústi*, cognate with Lat. *angustus*, Gr. ἄχνυμαι, (Schmidt Vokalismus I 31), ἄγχι. So Cymr. *ach* 'near', urkelt. **akki*, **aggi*, vorkelt. **aghní*.

2. Gaul. *brāca* 'die Hose', urkelt. **brākkā* from **brāggā* (the provection being due to the accent). Vorkelt. **bhrāg-nā* derived from *bhrāg* 'Steiss'. Cognate with Lat. *frāgum*, *frāg-ro*. For the connexion of ideas compare Lith. *bulis* 'Hinterback', Skr. *buli* 'vulva', cognate with Ir. *bolad* (urkelt. **bulato-s*) 'Geruch'; Skr. *puta* m. du. 'die Hinterbacken', BR., cognate with *pūy*, *pūyatē* 'stinken': Lat. *podex* cognate with *pedo*: Gr. ῥόδανος, Zend *zadhañh*, cognate with χέζω and skr. *had*. From the Gaulish *brāca* (where the urkelt. *kk* is simplified) are borrowed, on the one hand, Romanic words like Ital. *braca*, O.Fr. *braie*, and, on the other, Teutonic words, such as OHG. *pruoh*, ON. *brókr*, Ags. *bróc* pl. *bréc*, Eng. *breech* 'Steiss'.

3. Gaulish *clocca* 'Glocke', Cymr. *cloch* F. Urkelt. **klokkā* from an oxyton **kloggā*. Vorkelt. **klog-nā* cognate with Gr. κλάζω from *κλαγζω, κλαγγή, Lat. *cla-n-go*, Lith. *klegēti* 'to laugh', ON. *hlakka* 'to scream'. The Irish cognate is *clocc*, a masc. o-stem, deducible from a vorkelt. **klog-nó-s*.

4. Ir. *fecc* 'Spaten'. Urkelt. **vekkā*, **veggā*. Vorkelt. **vegh-nā*. Cognate with Lat. *va-n-ga*, Gr. ὀπνίς, Pruss. *wag-nis* 'coultter'.

5. Ir. *aicc*, *aic*, 'Band, Kette'. Urkelt. **akki*, **aggi*, vorkelt. **pag-ní* (the loss of the *p* is regular). Cognate with Lat. *pa-n-go*, Gr. πήγ-νυ-μι. From *aicc* is derived Ir. *aicde* 'a building'.

6. Cymr. *crych* 'gekräuselt', Bret. *crech*. Urkelt. **krek-ko-s*, **kreggō-s*. Vorkelt. **kreggh-nó-s*. Cognate with Ags. *hring*, ON. *hringa*, O.Slov. *kragъ* 'Kreis', *kraglъ* 'rund'.

7. Ir. *licc* in *álic* (= *ad-lic*) and *adlaic*¹) (= *aithlic*) 'angenehm, gefallend', Cymr. *lip* in *cyffelyb* 'consimilis'. Urkelt. **liqqi*, **liggi*, vorkelt. **lig-ní*. Cognate with Goth. *ga-leiks*, *leikan*, Lit. *lygus*, Skr. *linga-m* (J. Schmidt Vokalismus I 89).

1) corruptly *adhailg*, O'Cl.

8. Ir. *menicc* 'häufig, reichlich, oft', Cymr. *mynych*. Urkelt. **menekki-*, **meneggi*. Vorkelt. **menegh-ní*. Cognate with got. *manags* 'viel', aslov. *m̃nogъ* (Kluge s. v. *manch*).

9. Ir. *tricc* 'schnell', urkelt. **trekki-s*, **treggi-s*, vorkelt. **treggh-ní-s*. Cognate with Gr. τρέχω, Goth. *þragjan*. Gaulish οὐέρ-τραγοι ποδώκεις κύνες, Ir. *traig* 'foot', and Goth. *þragja* exhibit a different grade of vowel.

10. Ir. *bacc* 'Krummstab, Haken', cymr. *bâch* 'hamus, uncus'. Urkelt. **bakko-*, **baggó-*, vorkelt. **bhag-nó-*. Cognate with Ags. *bæc*, Eng. *back*, Skr. *√bhaj* 'sich wenden'. For the connexion of ideas compare NHG. *Rücken* cognate with Skr. *√kruñc* 'sich krümmen'.

11. Ir. *bocc* 'zart', *bocc* 'Bogen' (in *fid-bocc* 'arcus ligneus'), urkelt. **bukko-*, **buggó-*. Vorkelt. **bhug-nó-*. Cognate with Ags. *boga*, NHG. *Bogen*, *biegen*, *biegsam*, Gr. φεύγω, Lat. *fugio*. Skr. *√bhuj*, part. perf. pass. *bhugna*.

12. Ir. *bocc* 'Bock', Cymr. *bwch* M., urkelt. **bukko-s* **buggó-s*, vorkelt. **bhug-nó-s*. Cognate with Zend *būza* 'Bock', Ags. *bucca*, ON. *bukkr*, OHG. *boc*.

13. Ir. *brecc* 'bunt, gefleckt', Cymr. *brych*, urkelt. **mrekko-s*, **mreggó-s*, vorkelt. **mreg-nó-s*. Cognate with Lit. *margas*. Another participle from the same root is O.Ir. *mrecht*, Cymr. *brith*, urkelt. **mrektos* = **mreg-to-s*.

14. Ir. *cnocc* M. 'Hügel', O.Bret. *cnoch* (gl. *tumulus*), urkelt. **knokko-s*, **knoggó-s*, vorkelt. **knog-nó-s*. Cognate with ON. *hnakke* 'Hinterhaupt', Ags. *hnēcca*, Eng. *neck*, NHG. *Nacken*, see Kluge s. v. *Nacken*. In Cymr. *cnwc*, pl. *cnyciau* 'gibbus, tuber', we have an unexplained preservation of the urkelt. *kk*.

15. Ir. *lacc*, *lac* 'schwach', urkelt. **lakko-s*, **laggó-s*, Vorkelt. **lag-nó-s*. Cognate with lat. *la-n-guidus*, griech. λαγρός, λήγω. In Cymr. *llacc* 'laxus, remissus', we have another instance of the preservation of urkelt. *kk*.

16. Ir. **lecc* "leac an act or deed which binds the persons indissolubly", O'Don. Supp. Urkelt. **likkā* (-ko-?), **liggá* (-gó-?). Vorkelt. **lig-ná* (-nó-?). Cognate with Lat. *ligare*, *ligula*.

17. *sluccim* 'ich schlucke ein, verschlucke'. Urkelt. **slukkō* **sluggó*, vorkelt. **slug-nó*. Cognate with Gr. λύζω (from *λυγζω), λυγγάνομαι, and NHG. *schlucken*. The nasal in

the corresponding British verbs — Cymr. *llyngcu* 'deglutire, gurgitare', O.Bret. *ro-luncas* (gl. guturicauit) seems due to a contamination of the regular *luch* .. with the urbritt. equivalent of the Ir. *longud* 'essen' (Cymr. *llewa* 'edere, manducare'); or of the Goth. *fra-slindan* 'verschlingen'.

II. *dd* from *-dnā*, *-dni*, *-dnō*, *-dnō*, *-dnōn*.

18. Ir. *cit* 'Schaf', whence *citen*, *cetnait* 'Lamm'. Urkelt. **ketti-*, **keddi-*. Vorkelt. **ked-ni-*. Cognate with urgerm. **hadna* 'Ziege', Fick's Wörterb.³ III 61.

19. Ir. *gataim* 'ich nehme weg, erbeute, stehle'. Urkelt. **gattō*, **gaddō*, vorkelt. **ghadh-nō-*. Cognate with Skr. *√gad*h (Strachan), Vedic *gadhia* 'was zu erbeuten ist' (Grassmann). Kiccóc from **κεθjóc* and Lat. *hederā* have also been referred to *√ghadh*. The idg. root *ghad*, whence Gr. *χαυδάvw* Lat. *pre-hendo*, Goth. *bi-gitan*, is represented in Celtic by Cymr. 'genni contineri, comprehendi, capi'.

20. Ir. **gett*, now *gead* 'Steiss', whence *geadán* 'buttock', O'Don. Supp. Urkelt. **getto-*, **geddō-*, vorkelt. **ghed-nō-*. Cognate with Gr. *χέζω*, *κέχοδα*, *χόδανoc*. 'Steiss', Skr. *had*, 'cacare', zend *zadhañh* 'podex'.

21. *lútu* 'der kleine Finger', gen. *lútan*, dat. *lútain*, urkelt. **lúttōn*, gen. **lúttenos*, **lúddōn*. Urkelt. **lūd-nón*. Cognate with Ags. *lytel*, OHG. *luzil*.

22. **rataim* 'ich gebe', *do-rata* 'det', *do-ratus* 'dedi'. Urkelt. **rattō*, **raddō*. Vorkelt. **radh-nó*¹⁾. Cognate is Skr. *√radh*, *randh* 'überliefern, in die Gewalt geben'. See Schmidt Vocalismus I 36. From the unnasalised form of the root comes the M.Cymr. perfect *dyrodes*, where the ending of the *s*-pret. is added to the perfect *rod*. This *rod* (= Old Welsh **raud*) is to urkelt. **raddō* from *radh-nō* as *ἐρωγα* is to *ῥήγνυμι*.

23. Ir. *sláet*, 'Schleifbahn, Gleitbahn', LL. 301^a 7. Urkelt. **slaitto*, **slaiddō*, vorkelt. **slaidh-nó-*. Cognate are Lith. *slidus* 'glatt', Ags. *slidan*, NHG. *Schlitten*, Skr. *sridh* 'straukeln, fehlgehen'.

1) Windisch Wörterb. 499, brings doubtfully Ir. *rat* from *ro-dad*, Skr. *dadāmi*. But in Old Celtic the verb corresponding with Skr. *dadāmi* would probably have been *dō* or *didō*, and *ro-didō* would have yielded *ro-diud* in Irish.

24. Ir. *tot* = *tonn* 'a wave', O'Cl. Urkelt. **tutta*, **tuddā*. Vorkelt. **tud-nā*. Cognate are Skr. *tudāmi* 'ich stosse', Lat. *tudes*, *tuditare*, Goth. *stauta*. In Ir. and Cymr. *tonn* 'wave', urkelt. **tundā*, the root is nasalised as in Lat. *tundo*, *Per-tunda*, Skr. *tundate*.

III. *bb* from *-bni*, *-bnó*, *-bnū*.

25. Ir. *scip* 'hand', dat. sg. *ina dag-scip*, LB. 240^a. Urkelt. **skeppi*, **skebbi*-. Vorkelt. **skeb-ni*. Cognate are Goth. *ga-skapjan*, Eng. *shape*, NHG. *schaffen*. In Ir. *ceaptha* 'shapen', 'brought into form', O'Don. Supp. we have a part. pret. pass. from a sister-root *keb*.

26. Ir. *gop* M. 'Mund, Schnabel, Schnauze', compd. *gop-chiul*, LU. 122^a 35. Urkelt. **goppo-s*, **gobbó-s*. Vorkelt. **gobh-nó-s*. Cognate are Gr. γαμφηλαί, γόμφος, Skr. *ṽjabh* 'schnappen', *jambha* 'Zahn', O.Sl. *zobiti* 'essen'.

27. *rap* 'every animal that drags to it, ut sunt sues', Corm. Urkelt. **rappo*-, *rabbó*-, vorkelt. **rab-nó*-. Cognate with NLG. *rapen* 'zusammenraffen', NHG. *raffen*. Or O.Bulg. *rabiti* *secare*, *rapere*?

28. Old-Ir. **bapp*, **bopp* 'Büschel, Quast', M.Ir. *papp*, *popp*, Highland Gaelic *bab* M., gen. *baba*. Urkelt. **bappu*-, **bobbu*-, **babbú*-, **bobbú*-. Vorkelt. **babh-nú*, **bhobh-nú*. Cognate with Lat. *faba*¹⁾, *haba*, Pruss. *babo*, O.Slav. *bobъ*, and perhaps griech. πο-μ-φός, πε-μ-φός from *φο-μ-φός, *φε-μ-φός. The Eng. *bob* 'bunch, knob, plummet' seems either borrowed from or cognate with O.Ir. *bopp*. The initial *p* in M.Ir. *popp* LU. 97^a 3, pl. acc. *pupu* LB. 127^a may be due to assimilation, as in M.Ir. *prapad* = O.Ir. *brafad*, urkelt. **qenqi* 'fünf' = vorkelt. **penqi*, and Eng. *Bob* a pet-form of *Robert*.

Other words, such as Ir. *croccenn* 'Haut', *di-bracim* 'ich werfe, schiesse', *fracc* 'Hand', *fracc* or *fraicc* 'Schild', *glicc* 'klug', *fuic* 'Kälte', *cuic* 'Teil', *grut* 'Quark', *slat* (cymr. *llath*) 'Ruthe', *lott* 'Hure', *cepoc* 'Chorgesang', *lapp* 'Schlamm', *opunn*, *t-opp* 'plötzlich' (cf. ἄφνω), *timpán* 'ein stehender Steiss' (cf. Skr. *stambha*), and Cymr. *gwyech* 'brav', *mellt* 'Blitze', *cloff* 'lahm', *lleibio* 'lecken' (bret. *lippiat*) may possibly be explained in like manner. But enough has been said

1) The Greek φάβα ὀσπριον, Hesych., seems a loan from some Sicilian dialect closely related to Latin.

to make it probable, if not to prove, that in Ur-celtic, as in Ur-germanic, the initial *n* of the accented *n*-suffixes was sometimes assimilated to a preceding *g*, *d* or *b*. We have now to notice some instances where the same *n* appears to have been assimilated to a preceding *k*, *t*, or *p*.

IV. *kk* from *knā*, *knó-*, *knón-*, *knú-*.

29. Cymr. *ach* F. 'generation', *achen* 'lineage', O.Cymr. *achmonou* (gl. inguinibus), Ir. *aicme* 'genus', *aicned* 'natura'. All from an urkelt. **akkā*, vorkelt. **aknā*. Cognate with Skr. *anaka* 'Bug, Seite, Schooss' and *ākna*, *vy-akna*, *sam-akna* 'gebogen' Fick³ i. 6.

30. Ir. *lecc* F. = cymr. *llech* 'tabula saxeā'. Urkelt. **lekkā* or **lkkā*, vorkelt. **plk-nā*. Cognate with Lat. *planca*, *placenta*. Gr. πλάζ, πλακοῦς, nhg. *flach*.

31. Ir. *lecco* 'Wange', gen. *leccon*, urkelt. **lekkōn*, vorkelt. **lek-nōn*. Cognate with O.Pruss. *laygnan* for **layknan*, O.Sl. *lice* πρόσωπον (Windisch KB. VIII 439).

32. Ir. *sicc* now *siocc* 'Frost', urkelt. **sikku*, vorkelt. **siq-nū*. Cognate with Lat. *siccare*. Skr. *sikatā*, Zend *hikuš* (Bartholomae KZ. XXIX 525).

33. Cymr. *trinch* 1. fractus, mancus, mutilus. 2. scissura incisio, incile. Urkelt. **trokko-s*. Vorkelt. **trok-nó-s*. Cognate with Lat. *tro-n-cus*, *truncus*, Lith. *trinka* 'Block, Klotz'.

34. Old-bret. **techam* 'ich fliehe', M.Bret. infin. *techet* 'fugere, urkelt. **tekkō-*, vorkelt. **tek-nō*. Cognate with Lith. *tekinas* 'laufend, schnell' So the Irish *techim* 'I flee' is cognate with Lith. *teku*, *tekėti* 'laufen, fliessen', Zend Wz. *tac* 'laufen, eilen, fliessen'.

In the same way, perhaps, may be explained Ir. *béccim* 'ich brülle, blöke', (Cymr. *beichio* 'mugire'): Ir. *fo-thrucud* 'Bad' = M.Bret. *gou-zronquet* (Cymr. *trochi* 'mergere, balneare'): Ir. *cocca* 'Boot' (Cymr. *cwch*), Ir. *mucc* 'Schwein' (Cymr. *moch*): Ir. *icc* 'Heilung' (Cymr. *iach*), *cace* 'Koth', (Cymr. *câch*), Ir. *grác* 'Gekrächze' cf. Lat. *graculus*.

V. *tt* from *-tnā*, *-tnó*.

35. Ir. *bratt* M. 'Mantel', Cymr. *map-brethinnou* (gl. in cunis), urkelt. **bratto-s*, vorkelt. **brath-nó-s*, **grath-nó-s*. Cognate with Ir. *bréit* 'ein Streifen Wollenzeug', which Rhys has brought from **branti* = skr. *granthi* 'tie, knot'.

36. Ir. *crett* F. 1. 'Körper', 2. 'Wagenkasten', urkelt. **krtta*, vorkelt. **krt-nā*. Cognate with Lat. *crātis*, Gr. *κάρταλος*.

37. Ir. *lat* i. troigh, 'Fuss', O'Cl. Urkelt. **latta* (*latto*-?), vorkelt. **plat-nā* (*nó*-?). Cognate with Lat. *planta* 'Fusssohle', Gr. *πλατύς*, Lith. *platus*.

38. Ir. *littiu*, gen. *litten*, Cymr. *llith* 'Mehlsuppe'. Derived from an urkelt. **ltto-*, vorkelt. **plt-nó-*. Cognate with Lat. *puls* (Idg. *pl̥ti*), Gr. *πόλτος* (Idg. *pl̥to-s*).

In like manner we may explain Ir. *mut* 'kurz', cognate with Lat. *mutilus*.

VI. *pp* from *-pnó*, *-pní*.

39. Ir. *cep* M. 'a piece of ground', whence Mod. Ir. *ceapach* 'a piece of ground laid out for tillage', O'Don. Supp. Urkelt. **keppo-s*, vorkelt. **kep-nó-s*. Cognate with Lat. *ca-m-pus*, Lith. *kampas* 'Winkel, Ecke, Gegend', Pol. *kepa* 'Flussinsel' Dor. *κάπος*.

40. Cymr. *craff* 'firmus', urkelt. **krappo-s*, vorkelt. **krap-nó-s*. Cognate with O.Slav. *krěpъ* 'fortis', ON. *hræfa* 'ertragen', *kræfr*, *krāptr* 'robur' (Ebel KB. II 174, Schmidt Vokalismus II 72).

41. Ir. *crip* 'schnell', urkelt. **krppi*, vorkelt. **krip-ní*. Cognate with Gr. *καρπάλιμος* 'schnell'.

42. Ir. *ropp* M. 'ein stössiges Thier', 'every animal that gores, ut sunt uaccae', Corm. urkelt. **ruppo-s*, vorkelt. **rup-nó-s*. Cognate with Lat. *ru-m-po*, Goth. *bi-raubōn*, Ags. *reárfian*, *reofan*, ON. *rjúfa*.

43. O. Ir. **répaím*, Mid. and Mod. Ir. *rébaim*, *reubaim* 'ich reisse, zerreisse', urkelt. **reippō*, vorkelt. **reip-nó*. Cognate is Ir. *rép* in the compound *rép-gaeth* 'reissender Wind' LL. 83^a 51. Teutonic cognates are ON. *rifna* 'to be rent, riven, cracked', Vigf., *rifa* 'a rift' Eng. *to rive*.

Of the above etymologies, eight, namely those numbered 5, 9, 12, 13, 21, 31, 32, 35, are due to Professor Strachan, who also pointed out to me that the Ir. adj. *bocc* 'soft' (No. 11) might be deduced from *bhugno*:- that 2. *gataim* (No. 19) might be connected with the Skr. *√gadḥ*; and that *bulis* and *buli* were cognate with Ir. *bolad* (No. 2).

Whitley Stokes.