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Presiede Milani.

La seduta ha inizio alle ore 17.05.

COMUNICAZIONE:

J. L. GARCÍA RAMÓN, *Antroponymica Italica: Latin and Sabellic names with /Op- and /Ops-/**

1. Some personal names, praenomina (P) and gentilicia (G), which are attested in

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Latin and in the Sabellic languages, have a first syllable /Op-/ and /Ops-/, which underlies the spellings attested in the epigraphical texts and in the Latin literary sources. Most of them display derivative suffixes, some of which are onomastic, and let recognize the lexical item they are built on; others remain difficult to explain, at least in terms of one concrete item. In a first, purely formal approach one may state the following names in alphabetical order:¹

Lat. *Opellius* (§ 4.1)

Lat. *Opiter* (P) (: Ὀπίτερος § 4.2)

Lat. Ὀπίτωρ (P), Ὀπιτώριος (G) (§ 4.3)

Lat. *Opsturius* (G) and probably *Ostorius*, *Ostorius* (§ 6)

Lat. Ὀπίτωρ (P), Ὀπιτώριος (G) (§ 4.3)

O. *ofturies* (G) /Opto:r-/ (: *Optorius*) (§ 4.4)

O. **úpfalls** -, **ufal(i)ies** (G) /Opfals-/ (: *Ofalius*, *Ofel(l)ius*, *Offelius*, § 7)

O. οπιεσ (G) (§ 4.1), **úppiis**... (P) /Opijo-/ (: *Oppius*)

O. **upils**, **úpil** (P) /Opi(:)lo-/ (: *Opillus*), O. **úpil[iú]m** (G) /Opi(:)l-ijo-/ , O. **úpjilliuñis**- (G) /Opi(:)lio:n-ijo-/ (§ 4.1)

O. **úpsim**, οψιον (P), **úpsiis**, **úpsim**, **úpsiúí** (G) /Opsijo-/ (: *Opsius*) (§ 5).

In what follows an attempt will be made to establish the appurtenance of these types to one (or, in some cases, more than one) lexical item(s) and their morphological structure as well as, eventually, their meanings. It must be stressed at this point that the status of the persons which bear one name, their geographical origin and any further historical implication, are of no help for its etymology and structure.

2. A theoretical starting point of the present contribution is the rejection of the economy of hypothesis. Personal names with /op-/, /ops-/ may *a priori* be traced back to, at least, four IE different lexemes. Whether they are otherwise reflected in Latin or in Sabellic is in itself irrelevant, as an *unus testis* may reflect an inherited term in the Italic languages which has been lost and replaced by other(s).

(a) IE **h₃ep-* ‘(to work, produce in) abundance’, cf. Lat. *ops* ‘richness’, ‘aid’ (also GN *Ops*), **h₃épes-* ‘abundance’ (: PItal. **op-*, **op-s-*), cf. Lat. *opus* ‘work’ : Ved. *ápas-* ‘id.’, Hitt. *happina-* ‘rich’, Skr. *ápnas-* ‘property’. cf. the denominative **opes-ā-*, assured by O. *opsa-* : Lat. *operāre* ‘to build, prepare’.

Thanks are due to Alan J. Nussbaum and Michael Weiss (Cornell) for their remarks and criticism, as well as to Denise Hübner, and especially Lena Wolberg (Köln) for their invaluable help in the material preparation of the manuscript.

1. Latin forms matching Sabellic names are given in the right column in brackets. This does not mean that they are necessarily Sabellic forms in Latin.

(b) IE $*h_1op(i)$ - / $*h_1ep-i$ (: PItal. $*op$ -)² ‘thereupon, in addition, later’, ‘behind’, also ‘on, over’, e.g. Gk. ὀπί / ἐπί, ὀπισθεν ‘behind’, with variant $*ops$ - (ὀψέ ‘late’), Lyc. *epñ* ‘back, after’. Lat. *ob* (and *obs*^o) ‘to(wards), in front of’ (e.g. *ostendere* [$*obs-tend$ -] ‘to show, reveal’), as well as O. **úp**, *op* ‘at, near, beside’³ certainly reflect $*h_1op(i)$ - in spite of their different meaning.

(c) IE $*h_1op$ - / $*h_1p$ - ‘to take’ (: PItal. $*op$ - / $*ap$ -), e.g. Hitt. *ēp-/app-* ‘seize’, Ved. perf. *āpa* ‘has taken’ (also pres. *apnóti* AV) cf. Lat. *apiō**, *apiscor*, also *optō*, *-āre*, U. impv. **upetu** /*ope*-/ ‘should select’ ($*h_1op-éje$ -),⁴ O. *hipid* ‘sould take’.

(d) IE $*h_3ek^u$ - ‘to see, get in sight’ (: Gk. ὄσσομαι, Lat. *oculum*), $*h_3ek^u-s$ -⁵ (fut. ὄψομαι, YAv. *āxšaiia-* ‘to watch, guard’, Ved. *íkṣ-a-* ($*h_3i-h_3k^us-ó/é-$) ‘id.’).

For some names one single interpretation, at the exclusion of all others, turns out to be impossible (§§ 5, 6, 7).

3. The names with /Ops-/ and with /Op(e)lo-/ may belong to (a) $*h_3ep$ - (Lat. *ops*), $*h_3épes$ - (Lat. *opus*) in the framework of the Caland system:

CéC-es-	CeC-s-ó-	*(e)lo /eh₂-
$*uēt$ - <i>es</i> - ‘year’	$*uēt$ - <i>s-ó-</i>	$*uēt$ - <i>(elo)</i> ⁶
Gk. ἔτος	Ved. <i>vatsá-</i> ‘yearling, calf’ ⁷	(F)ἔτελον ‘id.’, Lat. <i>uitulus</i> , <i>uitellus</i>
	U. vesuna- ‘Lady of the Year’ ⁸	
$*ud$ - <i>es</i> - ‘water’	$*ud$ - <i>s-ó-</i>	
Loc. ὕδρι (Hsd.)	Ved. <i>útsa-</i> ‘source, spring, fountain’	
$*deu$ _{h₁} - <i>es</i> - ‘sinking’	$*deu$ _{h₁} - <i>s-ó/éh₂-</i>	$*deu$ _{h₁} - <i>elo/eh₂-</i>
	Av. <i>daōša-tara-</i> ‘evening’	$*Edev$ (F)ελος ‘late afternoon’ ⁹
	Ved. <i>došá-</i> ‘id.’	
Accordingly		
$*h_3ép$ - <i>es</i> -	$*h_3eps$ - <i>ó-</i>	$*h_3ep$ - <i>elo-</i>
Lat. <i>opus</i>	/Opsio-/	/Op-elo-/

2. Cf. Hamp 1981, Morpurgo Davies 1983.

3. Probably also O. *ooserclom* ($*op-seritlo$ -, cf. Lat. *obseruaculum*), cf. Untermann, *Wtb.* s.v. *ooserclom* (p. 816f. “vielleicht ‘Ort, wo man beobachtet’... zu *servā-* statt *seri-*...”).

4. Weiss 2010a: 94ff.

5. It is irrelevant at this point whether $*h_3ek^u-s$ - is a *-s*- desiderative or a *-s*-extension of $*h_3ek^u$ -.

6. Cf. the place-name O. **Vitel(I)ú** “Italia” (U. *uitlu-* : $*uēt$ -*(e)lo-*, cf. Gk. (F)ἔτελον, ἔταλον (Goth. *wiÞrus* ‘lamb’) also the gentilicia *Vetlius*, *Vitilius*, *Veulius*, *Vitilius* and *Vitullius* (Histria).

7. Actually ‘of the current year’ (cf. CLuv. *ušša-* ‘year’, HLuv. *u-sa/i-*).

8. As per Weiss 2010a: 236ff., *aliter* H. Rix *apud* Meiser 1986: 255f. (“Herrin des Jungviehs”), who trace convincingly the god-name (U. dat. **vesune**, also Marsian) back to PSabell. $*ues(s)ōnā$ - ($*uetsōnā$ -).

9. Cf. also the PN Myc. *e-u-de we-ro* /*E^(h)u-dewelo-*/ ‘having nice afternoons’, Hom. εὐδείελον (<ετ> for metrical lengthened /e/). On IE $*deu$ _{h₁}- (Gk. aor. ἔδῶν) cf. García Ramón 1998-1999: 145f.

4. Some of the names allow for a sure interpretation

4.1. /Op-elo-/ (Lat. *Opellius*), /Op-ijo-/ (Oscan, Lat. *Oppius*) and /Opillo-/ or /Opi(:)lo-/ (O. **úpils**, Lat. *Opillus*) are derivatives of (a) **op-* ‘richness’.

Lat. *Opellius* is an *-*ijō-* derivative of */Op-ello-/ (from **opel-elo-*, diminutive of **op-elo-*)¹⁰, whereas O. **úppiis** P, πιεσ P/G¹¹ (: Lat. *Oppius*), also an *-*ijō-* derivative, is formed directly on the root-noun. The name is well attested among the Frentani, and in Campania, Latium (Preneste) and Sicily.

The type O. **upils**, **úpil** (P), attested in Samnium, Campania, Cumae, Capua,¹² with the derivatives /Opi:ljo-/ (O. **úpil|íú|m** G) and /Opi(:)ljo:n-ijo-/ (O. **úp|illiu-*nis***), like Lat. *Opillus*, may be traced back to two different forms:

(a) **op-n-elo-*, a diminutive in *-*elo-* to **op-n-* (cf. Ved. *ápnas-* ‘possession’). In this case, Lat. *Opillus* would be the regular form (cf. **sig-n-elo-* > *sigillus*), and the assumed Sabellic form */Opillo-/ would be a borrowing from Latin.

(b) **opī-lo-*, a derivative in *-lo-* (**h₃epih₁-lo-*?) built on a deinstrumental stem **opī-* (**-ih₁-*), like *opīmus* ‘fat’, ‘rich’ (**opī-mo-*) or Gk. πῖ-μελής ‘id.’. Anyway, cogent evidence for a stem **opi-* or for **opī(-)* in Italic is lacking.¹³

4.2 The MN *Opiter*, gen. *Opetris* (Venetia, Istria, Campania) occurs also in the Grammatian tradition.¹⁴ It may be the same as Ὀπίτερος, the name of a Latin consul (cf. Diod. Sic. *Bibl. Hist.* 12.73. 1).¹⁵

Lat. *opiter* was understood as the designation of a son born after father’s dead, and having a living grandfather,¹⁶ and explained as a compound **auo-pater-* (*auus*, *pater*) ‘whose father is a grandfather’, with a putative (non-urban) development **au* > *ō*. This is, however, excluded by the short scansion of /o-/ in Silius Italicus (10.33.17 *sternuntur leto atque Opiter, quos Setia colle*).¹⁷ Lat. *Opiter* may be analysed as **op-tero-* ‘the one after / behind’ (: OHG *aftara*), i.e. as a contrastive **-tero-*

10. Cf. Lat. *catellus* (**kat-el-elo-*) beside *catulus*.

11. Cf. πιεσ (G) Lu 40, **úppiis** (P) Cp 36, **upii[s]** Po 92 (P/G), gen. **uppieis** Cm 14 C9 (Salomies 1987:82, 2008: 29). The spelling <**ppi**> denotes the strong articulation of /p/ in the context /___jV (/opijo-/ by secondary yotisation of /i/ (/___ijV (García Ramón 2011a).

12. Cf. **upils** (P) Cm 33, **úp(i)l** Sa 53. tSa 12; **úpil(eis)** Cp 31. 32 (gen.), **úpil|íú|m** (G) Po 45, **úp|illiu-*nis*** (G) Cm 42 (Salomies 1987: 106, 2008: 29).

13. If O. **upil-** conceals /Opi:lo-/ , it could be also traced back to **opiḡ-elo-*, i.e. an *-(e)lo-*diminutive of **opiḡ-o-* (Alan Nussbaum *per litteras*): in this case, Lat. *Opillus* could be the outcome of **opīle-lo-*, or a variant of /Opīlo-/ with geminate.

14. Gen. *Opiteris* or *Opitris* (GL II 229), abl. *Opitre*[?] Festus p.476 L, also gen. *Opetris* in abbreviations (Salomies 1987: 41 f.).

15. The MN Ὀπίτερος is surely not connected with *Opiternius* (or *Opicernius* as per Schulze 1904: 203), the name of a Faliscan (Liv. 39.17) nor with Gr. Ὀπίτης (Il. 11.301), a derivative of ὄπις ‘looking at’, ‘revenge’ (cf. Hom. Δηι-οπίτης).

16. Cf. e.g. *Lib.praen.* 4 *Opiter* <*uocabatur*> *qui patre mortuo, auo uiuo gignebatur*, Festus p.201 L. *Opiter est cuius pater auo uiuo mortuus est, ducto uocabulo aut quod obitu patris genitus sit, aut quod auum ob patrem habeat, id est pro patre.*

17. Salomies 2007:42; Weiss 2010b: 366.

formation built on **op(i)*- ‘after, later’, as I have tried to show.¹⁸ The “Entgleisung” of **op-tero-* into the 3rd declination (cf. gen. *Opitris*, not **Opitrī*) may be the result of a secondary association with *pater*, °*pīter* (*Iuppiter*, *Diespiter*).

This explanation is unproblematic from the morphological point of view: Lat. *-ter* is the regular outcome of contrastive **-tero-*, cf. for instance, *alter*, *dexter*, *magister*, *minister*, *noster* (all of them used as names too), to which may be added the isolated Praenomen *Ferter* (*FERTER RESIUS REX AEQUEICOLUS* ILLRP 447 : Rome, 1st cent. BC),¹⁹ which matches Hom. φέρτερος ‘better, prominent’ (**b^hér-tero-*), and is connected with Hom. φέρτατος and φέριστος (: MN Φέριστος Plut.), which matches in turn YAv. (°)*bairišta-* (3x) ‘prominent’ (cf. especially the use as voc. *bairišta* : Hom. φέριστε).²⁰

As to the semantics, cf. especially PGmc. **aftara-* ‘after’ (IE *[*h*]₁*op-tero-*)²¹: OHG *aftero* ‘the following, the one after, later’ (*afteren* “posterior”), *afterôro* ‘the second’, superl. *aftrosto* ‘the last one’.²² The reconstruction of **op-*, which may not be assumed only *ex Germanico ipso*,²³ is proved beyond any doubt by the evidence from Greek (ὀπίστατος ‘last’, ὀψέ ‘afterwards, late’: Lit. Aeol. ὄψι²⁴, Hom. ὀπί(σ)ω ‘later’, also ‘behind’) and Lycian, the only Anatolian language where IE **o* is reflected differently from **a*, cf. *epñ* ‘back’, ‘afterwards’ (: Hitt. *āppan* ‘after’), *epñte* ‘thereafter’ (: Hitt. *āppanda* ‘back[wards]’, *āppananda* ‘afterwards’),²⁵ adj. *epri* ‘later’, and especially Lyc. *epññene/i-* ‘younger brother’ (dat.sg. *epññene/is*), cf. Hitt. EGIR-*az-zi ŠEŠ-ni* ‘o younger brother!’. IE *(*h*)*op-* underlies forms with other suffixes (**-tijo-*, **-ero-*), namely Hitt. *āpe/izzi(ia)*- (cf. Hom. ὀπίσσω), *āppiziia-* ‘the youngest (son)’ (KBo 22.2 obv. 18/9),²⁶ and Ilr. **áp-ara-* ‘(here)after’: Ved. *ápara-*, *aparám*,²⁷ OP *apara-*, YAv. *apara-zāta-* ‘born later, as the second’.

To sum up: Lat. *Opiter* has a straightforward formal comparandum in PGM **aftara-* and matches semantically Lyc. *epññene/i-* ‘younger brother’ (dat.sg.

18. García Ramón 2012.

19. The *forma difficilior* is the correct one (Peruzzi 1966: 278), *aliter* Salomies 1987: 102 s. v. *FERTOR* (“*Ferter* auf dem Stein”). The pair OLat. *Ferter* :: gentil. *Fertrius* (AT. *FERTRIO* CIL I², 476.2) fits into the pattern *-ter* :: *-trius* (*pater* :: *patrius*), which is different from *fertor* (U. *aifertur*) :: *Fertōrius* (*-tor* :: *-tōrius*, cf. *Sertor* :: gentil. *Sertōrius*).

20. García Ramón 2011b, 2013: 108ff.

21. Also ‘behind’, cf. NHG *after* “anus”.

22. Cf. also adv., prep. *after*, *afteri*, superl. *aftrosto* ‘finally’, at the end’ (“*postremum*”). Goth. *aftro* (**-trō* from IE **-troh₁*) is also temporal “πάλι, δεύτερον” (: Oic. *aptr*) (García Ramón 1997: 136ff.).

23. “Eine nicht mehr aufzulösende Mischung von idg. **ap(o)*- und **op(i)* enthaltende Formen” (Lloyd-Springer 1988 s.v. *after*)

24. Cf. also ὀπιτος ‘late’, ὀπιμος ‘late in coming’ (Hom.), ὀπίγονος ‘younger’ (Hom.+).

25. Cf. also CLuv. *apparanti-* ‘future’, HLuv. *apara(n)ta-* ‘in the future’.

26. From IE *(*h*)*opi-tijo-*, *(*h*)*optiijo-* (Oettinger 1995, with reference to other senses of *āpe/izzi[ia]*- ‘backmost, hindmost, last, of lowest rank’, and to Ved. *aptyá-* RV I 124.5 ‘being outside’). On ὀπίσσω cf. García Ramón 1997: 130 (*aliter* Dunkel 1983). Ved. *ápatya-* (n.) ‘offspring, descentence’, *apatya-sác-* ‘accompanied by descentence’ are creations within Indo-Aryan, after the merging of the reflexes of **h₁op(i)*- and **(H)apo/u-* ‘away, off’ (Gk. ἀπό, ἀπύ, ἄψ, Lat. *ab*, *abs*°), superl. *apamá-* (X 39.3) ‘the last, far away’.

epññēne/is), Hitt. *āppizijaš-* ‘the youngest (son)’, HLuv. *apara-* ‘after, behind’, as well as Ved. *āpatya-* ‘offspring’, and YAv. *apara-zāta-* ‘born later, as the second’. We may assume that the obsolete epithet *opiter* has been replaced within Latin by *posterior* (*Posterius*, *Posterius* also as cognomen), cf. also *postumus* (*Postumus*, *Postimus* as praenomen, cf. *Postumus cognominatur post patris mortem natus* Varro *ling.* 9.60, Festus p.274 L.).

4.3. Ὀπίτωρ (Dion. Hal. 5.4.91) and Ὀπιτόριος (Cass.Dio 41), transmitted by Greek sources as the Praenomen of a consul, let assume the existence of Lat. *Opitor**, *Opitōrius**. The name, which is certainly to be kept apart from *Opiter* (§ 4.2), could reflect an agent noun in *-tor-* of (c) **h₁op-* / **h₁ep-* ‘take’ (Lat. *ad-ipsi-scor*, also U. impv. **upetu** ‘should select’, with /ope:-/ from **h₁op-éje-*), i.e. *opitor* :: **opéjo/e-* according to the pattern *monitor* :: *monéjo/e-*, as pointed out to me by M.Weiss (*per litteras*).

4.4. The Oscan gentilicium *ofturies* (matching *Optorius* in Latin inscriptions) points to an agent noun **h₃ék^u-tor*, PSabell. **oftor-* ‘over-seer’²⁸, Gk. ὀπτήρ ‘spy, scout’ (*Od.* +). The often assumed connection of O. *ofturies* with the South Picenean term **oftorim** CH 1A (Crecchio) is far from sure: the form could be the outcome of **ok^u(e)tor-ijom*, meaning “spectatorium” (G. Meiser) or “auguraculum” (R. Calderini),²⁹ but the context is too obscure.

5. The type /Opsijo-/ (: Lat. *Opsius*), reflected in O. **úpsim**, οψιον (P), **úpsiis**, **úpsim**, **úpsiiúí** (G)³⁰ defies any definitive adscription. It may belong both to (a) PItal. **op(es)-* and to (b) **op-* ‘back, later’, and be interpreted (a) as an **-ijo-*-derivative of **op-s-o-*, itself an internal derivative of cf. **op-es-*, like **uēt-s-ó-* : **uēt-es-* (cf. § 3) or (b) as an *-ijo-*-derivative of ὀψέ, οψι³¹, and match Gk. ὀπιος ‘later (born)’ (Pind.), which is actually also attested as name (Ὀπιος, Myc. *o-pi-si-jo* /*Opsio-*/).

6. The gentilicium *Opsturius* (CIL 9.4187, Samnium), *Opstorius* (Africa Consularis) is not to be kept apart from *Ostorius* (CIL 4.2508 Pompei; Campania, Rome),³² also

27. As the opposite to *púrva-* ‘prior’, *purá* ‘before’ (RV II 29.8), *adyá* ‘today’ (I 36.6 *et al.*), *nūnám* ‘now’ (I 189.4 *et al.*).

28. The identification of PSabell. **oftor* with U. **uhtur**, interpreted as ‘observer, controller’ (Whatmough 1997: 111 with reference to an idea of Jürgen Untermann (cf. the cautious formulation in *Wtb.* 788 “vielleicht ‘Aufseher, Kontrollbeamter’”), is not to be preferred to the current identification of U. **uhtur** with Lat. *auctor* (Weiss 2010a: 87f.), which is supported by the IE phraseology (García Ramón 2010).

29. Meiser 1996: 197, Calderini 2001: 257 n.82, 309ff. For other views cf. Untermann *Wtb.* 786f., s.v.

30. Cf. **úpsim** (P) Cm 41, **úpsiis** (G) nSi 3g, **úpsim** Cm 41, οψιον Lu 46. 46, (dat.) **úpsiiúí** Si 2.

31. Whether both forms may be traced back to **opti-* or to **optjo-* must remain open at this point.

32. Cf. also *ÓSTORIUS*, *OstóRIUS* (Schulze 1904: 203).

name of a *Sabinus eques* (Tac. *Ann.* 16.23, 30 *et al.*), with simplification /pst/ > /st/. All points to a basis form */Opsto:r/, actually an agent noun **opstor-*. The unexpected <u> in *Opsturius* in a Latin inscription of Samnium speaks in favor of a Sabellic origin (/tu:r/ from *-tōr), as inherited */o:/ yields PSabell. /u:/, noted <u>. The Latin forms *Opstorius*, *Ostorius* should have been remade on the Latin pattern -tor :: -tōrius.

The MN **opstōr* /opstor-/ (with **opstōr-ijō-*) may be traced back to three original forms:

(1) **op-stator-* (Lat. **opstitor* : *(*h*₁)*op-sth*₂-*tor-*) ‘the one who stands over’ (i.e. having prominence or authority), with regular Sabellic syncope of /a/ in the second syllable.³³ Some clear parallels may be adduced in support of this interpretation: on the one hand, Lat. *stator* (also Praenomen), title of an official attached to provincial governors, later to the Emperor (Cic. +, inscriptions),³⁴ also a cultual epithet of Iuppiter³⁵; on the other hand, Gk. ἐπι-στάτης ‘one who is set over, commander’³⁶, and the glosses ἐπιστατήρες· ἀγορανόμοι. καὶ οἱ τῶν ποιμνίων νομεῖς and Ἐπιστατήριος· Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ (Hsch.).

(2) **ok^u-s-tor-* ‘the one who observes’, i.e. the agent noun of IE **h*₃*ek^u-s-*, actually an inherited desiderative or a -s-present (cf. Gk. future ὄψομαι, YAv. *aiuii.āxštar-* ‘observer, controller’, °*āxšaiia-* ‘to observe, control’). If this is correct, Sabell. /opstor-/ would be the only evidence for IE **h*₃*ek^u-s-* attested in Italic: this is actually no problem, once strictures against an *unus testis* are rejected (§2).

(3) an atypical agent noun **op(e)s-eto-*³⁷ (with both short /e/ vowels syncopated) which would have been built on the perfect active stem **ops-o/e-* (O. 3sg.perf. **upsed**, **úpsed**)³⁸ beside PSabell. **ops-ā-* ‘erect, build’ (denominative **opes-ā-*: O. **úpsannam**, U. *osatu*, etc., Lat. *operāre*). The possibility is, to my mind, not cogent: the ppp. **op(e)sā-to-* (: Lat. *operatus*), actually attested in Oscan. **upsatuh** Si 4 *et al.*, is built on the denominative **ops-ā-*, not on the perfect stem **ops-o/e-*, and the

33. Cf. U. **ustite** ‘station’ as the locative of **op-statūto-* (Weiss 2010a: 33, after Ribezzo). If the name were specifically Latin, i.e. **opstitor* (with /i/ for */a/), then haplogy could be assumed, cf. *portorium* ‘toll’ (**portitorium*), *stipendium* ‘cash payment, income’ (**stipipendium*), *cette* ‘give here!’ (2.pl. **kedate*, cf. *cēdere* ‘to go, proceed’), *antestārī* ‘to call as a witness’ (**āntitēstārī*).

34. Cf. Var. gramm. 137 *statorem ... quod haberet ... statuendi ... potestatem*.

35. Iuppiter *Stator* ‘stayer’ (: Στάτωρ, translated as Ἐπιστάσιος, Στήσιος by Plutarch) does not match semantically the title *stator* ‘supervisor’. It reflects the acceptance ‘to halt, stop’ of *sistō*, *consistō*, in memory of the episode when the god stayed the Romans who were taking flight in their war against the Sabinians (García Ramón forthcoming: § 14).

36. Also ‘president, chairman’, originally ‘one who stands near or by’ (οὐ σύ γ’ ἄν ... σὺ ἐπιστάτη / ἄλλα δοίης *Od.* 17.455, on which cf. the glosses ἐπιστάτη· μεταίτη. ἀπὸ τοῦ <ἐφίστασθαι> τῆ τραπέζῃ, as well as ἐπιστατήρες· ἀγορανόμοι. καὶ οἱ τῶν ποιμνίων νομεῖς and Ἐπιστατήριος· Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ (Hsch.). Anyway, the existence of three /t/ makes haplogy conceivable as well.

37. This possibility is pointed out to me by Alan Nussbaum *per litteras*.

38. Cf. also 3pl. **u(u)psens**, Vest. *osens*, ptc.perf. U. *oseto* Um 7 (**op(e)s-eto-*).

same should be expected for the agent noun, which should be ⁺*op(e)sā-tor-* (: Lat. *operator*).³⁹

To sum up: *Opsturius*, *Op(s)torius* points to PSabell. */*opstu:r/*, which may be equally traced back either to **op-sta-tor-* (**h₁op-sth₂-tor*) or to **ok^us-tor-* (**h₃ek^u-s-tor-*), eventually also to PSabell. **ops(e)tor-*.

7. The Oscan Praenomen **úpvals**, attested in the Sabellic area (Frentani, Campania [Capua, Pompeii, Cumae]), as well as in Lucania, Petelia, Sicilia,⁴⁰ clearly point to an original **/Opfallo-/**: the same applies to the gentilicium **uþaliis** (Fratte 6th-5th C.). The form is reflected in the gentilicium Lat. *Ofalius* (G: 2nd C. BC, unknown origin) and Ὀφάλλος (Lipara), **Uþale** (in indirect Greek and Etruscan tradition respectively), as well as in *Ofellus* (C: Hor. *Sat.* 2.2) and *Ofelius*, *Offelius*, *Offellius* (G).⁴¹

M. Weiss⁴² has convincingly shown that O. **úpvals** conceals a compound **/op-fallo-/** from **op-falso-* (from **^ofalVso-*, with a geminate /ll/ from secondary /-ls-/ after syncope). The second member **^ofalso-*, a derivative of the type *C(V)C-s-ó-* (like Ved. *vat-s-á-* §3), may conceal the outcome of **d^halh₃-s-ó-* ‘flourishing’ (Gk. θάλος ‘shoot, scion’, Gk. θαλερός; Arm. *dalar*), or of **b^hlh₃-es-ó-* ‘(having) blooming’ (PItal. **fal-es-* ‘bloom, flourishing’ from **b^hleh₃-* ‘to bloom’, cf. nom. **b^hleh₃os* > **flōs* [Lat. *flōs*, O. **Fluusai** ‘Florae’], gen. **b^hlh₃* > **falesos*).

The first member may be connected both with (a) Lat. *ops* ‘richness’ and with (b) PSabell. **op(i)-* ‘near, at, on’ (O. **úp**). The meaning of the compound should thus be either (a) ‘having a flourishing which is wealth’, i.e. ‘flourishing with wealth’, as proposed by M. Weiss himself,⁴³ who refers to Plaut. *Cist.* 671 *nisi quid mi opis di dant disperii*, where *quid opis* matches O. **pidum ufteis**) and especially to the collocation *florēre opibus* (e.g. Cic. *Verr.* 4.46 *cum Sicilia florebat opibus et copiis*, Liv. 1.2.3 *florentes opes*).

Anyway, in spite of the attractive collocational parallels invoked by M. Weiss, the assumption that the first member was PSabell. **op(i)* (O. **úp**; Gk. ὀπι(°), ἐπί(°)) has a major advantage: it allows to explain PItal. **op-fal(e)s-* (O. **/op-falso-/**) as a compound of the type *ἔν-θεος*, i.e. ‘having a flourishing which is *on* him’, which is strongly supported by the close parallel of the Greek names Ἐπι-θάλης and Ἐπ-άνθης, which fully match the two possibilities assumed for the second member **/^ofalso-/**.

39. Cf. O. *salauatur* ‘saluātor’ to **saluā-* (: Lat. *saluāre*).

40. Cf. **úpvals** Cp 2, **upvals** Cp 3, (gen.) **upfaleis** Cp 9, **upfalleis** Cm 14.8, C5, **úff[alleis]** Fr 1, **úpf(alleis)** Po 8. Cf. Salomies 1987: 81, 2008: 29f. and especially Weiss 2010: 367.

41. Cf. Weiss 2010b: 368, who observes that /pf/ (preserved in Campania and Samnium), shifts to /ff/ among the Frentani and in regions where forms noted as *Ofalius* and the like, Ὀφάλλ(λ)ος occur.

42. Weiss 2010b: 369ff.

43. Weiss 2010b: 370f.

8. The dossier of names with /Op-/ and /Ops-/ has turned to be fairly heterogeneous and lets recognize a possible appurtenance to at least four lexical items, all of them of Indo-European origin and represented in the Italic area. The taking into account of their spelling and word formation has made been possible to identify seven basic forms attested in Latin, or in the Sabellic languages, or in both. The results of our inquiry may be shortly summarized as follows

(a) to **op(es)-* ‘riches’ belong /Op-ello-/ (Lat. *Opellius*, from **op-el-elo-*, a diminutive of **op-elo-*) and /Op-ijo-/ , an Oscan name (O. *οπιεσ, úppiis* : Lat. *Oppius*, §4.1), as well as /Opil(l)io-/ (O. *upils, úpil* : Lat. *Opillus*, with derivatives **úpil[iú]m** and O. **úpilliuñis-**):

(b) to **op(i)* ‘on, after’ belongs **/Opi-tero-/* ‘born later’ (Lat. *Opiter*, probably also *᾽Οπίτερος*), with contrastive **-tero-* (§ 4.2)

(c) to **op* /**ap-* ‘to get’ belongs **/Opi-tor-/* (: *᾽Οπίτωρ, ᾽Οπιτώριος* in Greek sources), an agent noun, probably of Sabellic origin (§ 4.3)

(d) to **ok^u-* ‘to see’ belongs **/Optor-/* (O. *ofturies* : Lat. *Optorius*), an agent noun (§ 4.4).

Other names may belong to, at least, two lexical items.

/Ops-io-/ (O. **úpsim**, *οψιον, úpsiis, úpsim, úpsiiúí* : *Opsius*) may be a **-iio-* derivative of (a) **op(es)-* or belong to (b) **ops-* and match Gk. *᾽Οψιος* ‘later’.

/Opstōr/, PSabell. **/opstu:r/* (Lat. *Opsturius, Opstorius*) may be traced back to **op-sta-tor-* ‘standing over’, or to **ok^us-tor-* ‘who will observe’, or even to PSabell. **ops(e)tor-*, i.e. to (b) **op(i)*, to (a) **op(es)-* or to (c) **ok^us-* respectively (§ 6).

/Opfals-/ (O. **úpfals** -, **ufal(i)ies** : *Ofalius, Ofel(l)ius*) seems to have as the first member (b) **op(i)-*, cf. Gk. *᾽Επι-θάλης* and *᾽Επ-άνθης*, but (a) **op(es)-*, i.e. ‘flourishing with health’ (cf. Lat. *florere opibus* as per M. Weiss) is also possible (§ 7).

Some of these names are of Sabellic origin, even if they occur in Latin inscriptions: /Op-ijo-/ (O. *οπιεσ, úppiis* : Lat. *Oppius*), **/Opi-tor-/* (: *᾽Οπίτωρ*), /Opstōr/ (Lat. *Opsturius, Opstorius*), and /Opfals-/ (O. **úpfals, ufal(i)ies** : *Ofalius, ...*). For its part, /Ops-ijo-/ (O. **úpsim**, *οψιον, ...* : *Opsius*) may be Sabellic or Greek.

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Intervengono: Rocca, Lozza, Bologna, Vai.

La seduta è tolta alle ore 19.

SEDUTA DEL 27/2/2012

Presenti: Bonfadini, Borghi, Ciceri, Digiovinazzo, Fortuna, Iannàccaro, Lozza, Milani, Ottobrini, Scala, Sgarbi, Soldani, Vai.

Presiede Milani.

La seduta ha inizio alle ore 17.05.

COMUNICAZIONE:

G. IANNÀCCARO / V. DELL’AQUILA, *Una proposta per lo studio della vitalità delle lingue.**

1. Da qualche anno, in concomitanza con un rinnovato interesse per le lingue minori, le situazioni etno- e sociolinguistiche peculiari e le istanze di cosiddetta ‘ecologia linguistica’¹, si è sviluppato un vasto dibattito sulle tematiche della vitalità delle lin-

* Il lavoro è una rielaborazione della seconda parte di Iannàccaro / Dell’Aquila 2011, che segue da vicino con qualche ampliamento e specificazione.

1. Per cui cfr. almeno, in italiano, Valentini / Molinelli / Cuzzolin / Bernini 2003, Iannàccaro 2009.