The *o*-stem genitive singular: Considerations from the perspective of the Latin dialects

The o-stem genitive singular: Considerations from the perspective of the Latin dialects

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Résumés

Français English
L'article traite de la question du génitif singulier des thèmes en *-o-* à partir des données fournies par les dialectes latins dans un cadre qui prend en compte la comparaison des données et des réflexions générales sur le génitif. Je montre, en particulier, que *-osio* (dialecte de Satricum), *-oio* (ardéatin) et *-oeo* (romain) seraient, tout comme d'autres désinences documentées dans d'autres langues indo-européennes, des formations qui peuvent être ramenées à deux matrices abstraites : *-o/es- ± -jo* et *-o/e-(i)- ± -so/jo. Ensuite je formule quelques observations sur la différence sémantique et/ou syntaxique originelle entre ces désinences et -ī < *-j(e/o)H₂.

This article looks at the issue of the o-stem genitive singular, starting from the data of the Latin dialects, within a framework which takes into account comparative data as well as more general reflections on the genitive. In particular, I intend to show that Satrican –osio, Ardeatine –oio and Roman –oeo, like other endings attested in other IE languages, are formations attributable to two abstract matrices: *-o/es- ± -jo and *-o/e-(i)- ± -so/jo. Subsequently, I will put forward some considerations on the original semantic and/or syntactic distinction between these endings and -ī < *-j(e/o)H₂.

Texte intégral

1. Introduction[1]

1   The question of the *o*-stem genitive singular (henceforth GS) is broad and complex, involving key issues such as the genesis of the endings documented in the various IE languages, the relationship between them – within each language and in broader comparison – and, beyond that, the very definition of genitive. From the historiographical point of view, there is a gradual increase in the documentation, depending on the area and time period. This increase has on occasion led to the consideration of the question from perspectives affected each time by the new acquisitions, which have generally, *et pour cause*, tended to incorporate the new data in a predetermined framework. Giving the enormity of the subject, I will focus on Latin dialects, within which I also include Faliscan,[2] in a framework which takes account of the comparative data from other IE languages as well as more general reflections on the morphosyntactical/ - semantic functions of the genitive. The initial spark for this focus was the publication in 2009 of a presumed Faliscan inscription dating from the 7th c. BC which has a form *titi* (Biella, 2009) analysable as the GS in *-i* [ī] of a *o(/e)*-stem *tito-*. In line with a general principle, of particular relevance in the context of *Restsprachen,* the *novum* insists on a review or a refounding of the *notum*: in keeping with this principle, my intention was to take up the issue of the *o*-stem GS taking into account the new inscription. Recently Praust (2015) has shown the identification of *titi* to be the result of a misunderstanding: the inscription reads *44*, identification number, according to Pasqui's catalogue, of the tomb where the piece was found, scratched on after the discovery in the modern age. The exclusion of *titi* from the dossier does not change the overall picture. The hypothesis of an origin of *-i*, first noted in the 4th c. BC,[3] from *-osio*,[4] attested in the early stages of writing (7th-6th c. BC; see below), must be excluded on other grounds, *in primis* 68

2   for comparative reasons based on the *o*-stem GS ending *-i* in Celtic, secondarily because of the implausibility of the phonetic evolution involved.[5] Beyond this, despite the temporal distance between the occurrences of *-i* and of *-osio* respectively, there is still the evidence of the coexistence of the two endings within the same linguistic tradition, the terms of which are to be clarified

(see below). Although I have rejected the form *titi*, I have nonetheless maintained the focus on the Latin dialects, as it fits in with a particular reconstructive approach (see Prosdocimi, 1978).

2. The *o*-stem GS in the Latin dialects: data

3   The Latin dialects provide numerous forms which can be analysed with varying degrees of certainty as *o*-stem GS endings. Apart from *-i*, found in Roman, Faliscan and Praenestine, we also find:

-osio[6]	*(?)uotenosio*[7]	7th/6th c. BC	Faliscan
	kaisiosio[8]	6th c. BC	Faliscan
	aimiosio[9]	6th c. BC	Faliscan (?)
	cauios[---] (?)[10]	4th c. BC (?)	Faliscan
	popliosio valesiosio[11]	6th/5th c. BC	Satrican (?)
-io	*taseio*[12]	5th/4th c. BC	Praenestine
-oi	*cicoi*[13]	4th c. BC[14]	Faliscan
-oio	*titoio*[15]	3rd c. BC	Ardeatine (?)[16]
-oeo	*Me(t)tioeo Fufetioeo*[17]	Early 2nd c. BC	Roman
	alochoeo[18]	2nd c. BC	Roman
	vinoeo bonoeo[19]	late 1st c. BC/early 1st c. AD	Roman

4   Even if some of these forms were to be removed from the dossier, there would be still a considerable polymorphy: this is a *factum* and, as such, the reasons need to be researched, maybe in the evolution of the *o*-stem GS between forms and functions.

5   I take as my starting point the Praenestine form *taseio*, occurring in an inscription placed next to a figure on a mirror:

6   taseos luqorcos pilonicos . taseiofilios[20]

7   Prosdocimi (2011, p. 345) has suggested the strong probability of *taseio* being a GS in *-io*, primarily on account of the appositional *filios* 'son', which normally goes with the genitive;[21] furthermore, the preservation of *-s* in final position in the inscriptions on the mirror makes it improbable that it is cancelled out in *taseio* and consequently the analysis of *taseio* as a patronymic adjective in *-io-*taseios*. *taseio* would be the GS of *taseos*: the phonetic interpretation of the written form *taseos* and its corresponding morphological analysis are not obvious (see Prosdocimi, 2011, p. 337-40), however the juxtaposition of *taseos* and *taseio* makes it clear that *taseio*, if GS, is a GS in *-io* from a stem *taseo-*, with *-io* replacing *-o-*, which, therefore, should be taken as a "thematic" *-o-*.

8   The recognition of a GS morpheme *-io*, in this case on the basis of stand-alone evidence, does have parallels. A bowl from Ardea bears the inscription *titoio*: the form has been analysed as a GS in *-oio* < *-osio* or in *-io*, or as a nominative (*titoio(s)* < Etruscan *tituie*; adjective in *-jo- titoio(s/m)*).[22] The Praenestine form *taseio* would appear to support the hypothesis of an analysis of *titoio* as a GS in *-io*: the anomalous behaviour of *-io*, which in **tase-Ø-io* replaces the "thematic" vowel, in **tit-o-io* is added to be, it remains to be explained. This is probably a dissimilarity based on different and conflicting structural principles: this may be compared to that between the Faliscan forms *cicoi* (Bakkum 40) almost certainly a GS (<**cic-o-i*, Bakkum, 2009, p. 131-2) and *letei* (<**lete-Ø-ī*, Bakkum 470), though the chronological and systemic levels involved are at all different; specifically, *cicoi* is probably an analogical formation in the historical period (Bakkum, 2009, p. 131-2).

9   GS *-oio* has a probable parallel in the GS ending *-oeo* presumably occurring in Roman. The recognition of this ending is based on the forms *Met(t)ioeo Fufetioeo*, *vinoeo bonoeo* and *alochoeo*; nonetheless, *Met(t)ioeo Fufetioeo* and *vinoeo bonoeo* are uncertain readings as well as citations removed from their original context, so the existence of an ending *-oeo* and its identification as a GS have been questioned. I will leave to one side the ecdotic issue[23] and will here simply note that the recognition of a Grecism — evident in the case of *(Ixiones) alochoeo* < (Ἰξιονίης) ἀλόχοιο (Hom. *Il.* 317) — does not exclude the hypothesis of a Latin form as well: the retention of a Grecism *-oeo* in a Roman text could imply a degree, however minimal, of compatibility within the system of the target language, because of a residual pre-existing form (see Prosdocimi, 2011, p. 343-4).

10   The recurring hypothesis that *-oio/-oeo* is the phonetic outcome of *-osio*[24] is not convincing. The reconstruction of a change *-s* > Ø / V_V is based entirely on an attempt at etymology for the forms *quoius* > *cuius, huius, eius* starting from *-osio(-)*, which, with obvious circularity, presupposes the same phenomenon, as shown definitively by Untermann (2003). That said, the ending *-oio*, if it is to be interpreted phonetically as [ojo]/[oĭo],[25] poses a morphonological problem: indeed, the Latin dialects have been shown to exhibit a prehistoric loss of intervocalic [j].[26] On that basis, a form *titoio* may be justified on these hypotheses: that the [j] of *-io* is kept through a morphological caesura which inhibits the phonetic development; that *-io* is from **-ijo* (**tito-i-jo*), where *-i-* could be the same morpheme appearing in the Lepontic GS ending *-oiso* <**-o-i-so* (rather than phonetically derived from **osjo*; see below). In this case, the preservation of the diphthong *-oi-* in the 3rd c. BC would be unexpected,[27] unless we postulate a resyllabification on a prosodic basis ("maximal onset principle") and/or paradigmatic *ti.toi.o> ti.to.jo*.

11   On the basis of the possibilities offered by a purely formal comparison, we may postulate that the GS morpheme *-io* in *titoio* is the same *-io* which occurs in the GS ending *-osio*: thus, the two endings would share the "thematic" vowel and the morpheme *-io*. On the other hand, *taseio* < **tase-Ø-io* stands out as the only form distinguished by the absence of "thematic" *-o-* alongside the forms in *-i* (leaving aside any secondary forms such as *cicoi*). This could indicate a distinct status in terms of formation in relation to the evolution of the system, to which I shall return later.

## 3. Latin -osio, -oio/-oeo < *-o/es- ± -jo, *-o/e-(i)- ± -so/-jo

12   The data exhibited by the Latin dialects may be interpreted as indicative of a re-structuring which might and did have a number of different outcomes but in accordance with the same structural principles and the same morphological "material", both hereditary. I believe this observation is supported by the data manifested in other IE languages, apodictically noted below, even in cases where I depart from the mainstream interpretation, deferring discussion of the individual forms to the book in preparation (Rigobianco, in prep.):

13   1.

      -o   Celtiberian *-o*;[28] Mycenaean *-o*[29] (?)

*-o			-so	Greek -ou[30]
*-e-			-so	Germanic -is;[31] Sabellic -es[32] (?)
*-o-	-i-		-so	Lepontic -oiso;[33] Greek -oio[34] (?); Messapian -aihi[35] (?)
*-e-	-i-		-so (?)	Sabellic -eis (?)
*-o-	(-i-)		-jo	Latin -oio/-oeo
2. *-os				Hittite -as;[36] Mycenaean -o (?)
*-os			-jo	Sanskrit -asya;[37] Latin -osio; Messapian -aihi (?); etc.

14   The data being examined would appear to derive from two matrices, which are to be understood not as reconstructions of original morphemes but rather abstractions starting from the very data:

1.

cf. Skt. *devena* < **dew-o-i-*, etc.

2.
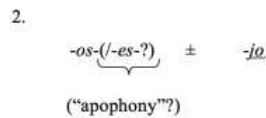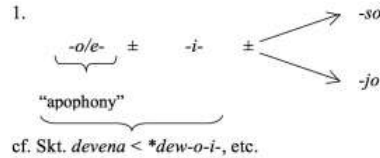
15   Keeping to the forms, the restructuring of the *o*-stem GS appears essentially based on the "pure" stem (**-o*) or on a flexed form in **-os*, in both cases with the possible conglutination of **-so* and **-jo*. The various forms documented in the different IE languages would be the result of the interference of such possibilities of morphological expression of the GS with the "apophony" (*-o-/-e-*) plus the "thematicity" (*-o/e-* ~ *-oi/ei-*, with *-i-* juxtaposed to *-o/e-* as a phenomenon which, for whatever reason, has left traces in a number of IE languages, see Wackernagel, 1930, p. 89-90). Within a perspective which considers the evolution of IE and IE languages over time, space and society, polymorphism dissolves, as previously stated, in the fulfilment of potentialities founded on shared morphological "material" and structural principles.

16   The outline given here leaves many questions unanswered, which, although distinct, should nonetheless be placed in a unitary framework. These questions include: the status of Celtiberian (and Mycenaean?) **-o#*; the origin of GS **-os* and its possible relationship with **-os* of nominative singular of the same stems and **-os* of GS of consonant stems;[37] function(s) of **-so/*-jo* and the reason for their conglutination.[38]

17   The situation is complicated by *-ī*, attested as an *o*-stem GS morpheme (and originally only in these stems), in the Latin and Celtic linguistic traditions.[39]

4. *-ī* versus *-osio*, *-oio/-oeo*: Latin data and reconstruction

18   GS *-ī* in the declension of *o*-stems in Latin and Celtic[40] is manifestly extra-paradigmatic and, therefore, at least as ancient as the "thematic" GS forms. This ending could be brought back to a derivational morpheme **-j(e/o)H$_2$*, which would generate, among other forms, *-ī-* in the derivation from *o*-stems in Latin and *-i(-)* of feminine in Sanskrit[41] and Celtic; based on that data, a basic semantic notion of "inherence" could be reconstructed for **-j(e/o)H$_2$*.[42] The evidence of the coexistence of *-ī* with *-osio*, *-oio/-oeo* within the Latin linguistic tradition and with *-oiso*, *-o* in Celtic raises the questions of the relationship between these endings and the possible extension of one ending to the detriment of the other. These issues are likely to be framed within the assumption that *-ī* and the "thematic" forms had features which were originally distinct but with the potential for interference.[43] The process would be comparable, *mutatis mutandis*, with the one generating the expansion of the morphology of the ablative singular to the detriment of that of the GS in the declension of the *o*-stems in Balto-Slavic, likely deriving from the expression of semantic functions for which there is interference between "genitive" and "ablative". In the competition between *-ī* and the "thematic" forms, semantic and/ or syntactic factors could be included. More precisely, it is conceivable that such competition was influenced by the adjectival nature[44] and/or the semantics of "inherence" of *-ī* in contrast to the status of the "thematic" forms as case morphemes for adnominality, namely the relationship of syntactic dependence between two nouns, secondarily interpretable in terms of semantics ("relation R").[45] On the other hand, an original different categorial status of *-i* and the "thematic" GS apparently crystallized in the known rule of the *standard* Roman which opposes *nihil boni* to the unacceptability of ***nihil dulcis* (Hofmann-Szantyr, 1965, p. 57). This original categorial status, different but with the potential for interference, would have raised the possibility of (re) functionalisations within the different varieties in time, space and society.

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Notes

1 Material for this article is taken from a broader study on the genitive (Rigobianco, in prep.) wherein will be found further clarification and detail as well as a fuller bibliography.

2 On the linguistic position of Faliscan, see Bakkum, 2009, p. 341-360.

3 See, e.g., the inscription Bakkum 470.

4 The most recent expression of this hypothesis, as far as I am aware, is in Mańczak, 2002.

5 See, e.g., Leumann, 1977, p. 413. Mańczak 2002's is an *ad hoc* hypothesis ("*développement phonétique irregulier dû à la haute fréquence*") which fails to take due account of the Celtic data.

6 For a possible attestation of -*osio* in Roman, see the article by Burroni and Brezigia (this volume).

7 Bakkum 3. I do not consider here the various reading and segmentation possibilities of the first part of the inscription (*ecoqutoņeuotenosio*).

8 Bakkum 7.

9 Bakkum 467. On the Faliscan character of the inscription, see Bakkum, 2009, p. 577-578.

10 Bakkum 197. The integration *cauioṣị[o]* (*CIE* 8286) is considered implausible by Bakkum, 2009, p. 487 because of the relatively recent dating of the inscription.

11 The *editio princeps* of the *lapis Satricanus* is in Stibbe *et al.* 1980. The linguistic attribution of the inscription is *sub judice*, apart from an almost universally shared attribution to a generic Latinity: see the considerations in Prosdocimi, 1984, p. 204; on this topic, see also Lucchesi e Magni, 2002; Rocca, 2009.

12 Franchi De Bellis, 2005, p. 78-83.

13 Bakkum 40.

14 Lejeune, 1989, p. 66.

15 Bakkum 483.

16 See Bakkum, 2009, p. 586-587.

17 Quint. *Inst.* 1, 5, 12 (Enn. *Ann.* 126).

18 Lucil. 25.

19 Quint. *Inst.* 8, 6, 33 (attributed by Quintilian to Ovid).

20 The alternative reading *tasei.filios* seems contrary to the evidence: see Franchi De Bellis, 2005, p. 78-9; 81.

21 Except that in the Sabellic name of the Dioscuri (Vetter 202 *iouiois.puclois*; Vetter 204 *[i]ouies.puclẹ[s]*).

22 See the references in Bakkum, 2009, p. 587, to be integrated with Bolelli, 1943, p. 56; Campanile, 1961, p. 20; Bader, 1992, p. 82; Meiser, 1998, p. 117; 133.

23 See Devine, 1970, p. 12-14. For my part, I point out that Colson, 1924, p. 55 acknowledges that "the MSS. are fairly persistent in exhibiting '-*oeo*' in the second word", even if he reads *Meteio Fufetteio*.

24 See, e.g., Leumann, 1977, p. 477 and Meiser, 1998, p. 117.

25 Roman -*ĭo*- for -*jo*- is a matter of syllabicity (*lex* Lindeman and *lex* Sievers; see Prosdocimi, 1987).

26 See Leumann, 1977, p. 126, and Meiser, 1998, p. 91.

27 I thank professor Adamik for this remark.

28 The Celtiberian GS in -*o* has been interpreted as an outcome of *-*ōd* or *-*os*, or even as an outcome of an analogical readjustment (see the references in Eska, 1995, to be integrated with Untermann, 1999, p. 139-40 and Watkins, 1999, p. 7-8). The plausibility of -*o* standing for [ŏ] would mean interpreting the forms in question as forms of GS coinciding with the "pure" stem: I will return to the issue in Rigobianco (in prep.).

29 Mycenaean shows a GS ending -*o* alternative to -*o-jo*: for the *status quaestionis* and updated references, see Pierini, 2011.

30 The derivation of -*ου* from a pronominal ending *-*oso* (Brugmann, 1911, p. 161-3) instead of from *-*osjo*, reported as "*zweifelhaft*" already by Brugmann, has been repeatedly questioned or refused (see, e.g., Sihler, 1995, p. 259-60); see however Rix, 1976, p. 139.

31 According to the common view, -*is* is the outcome of a pronominal ending *-*eso* (Brugmann, 1911, p. 161-3): this derivation has been sometimes questioned on the basis of formal considerations (see, e.g., Must, 1953).

32 I follow Prosdocimi's 2002 hypothesis, according to which -*es* and -*eis* are concurrent GS endings deriving from *-*eso* and *-*eiso* respectively, as against the standard hypothesis of an extension of the *i*-stem endings (Planta, 1892-1897, p. 105-9).

33 Gambari and Colonna, 1988. GS -*oiso* also occurs in an inscription from Oderzo of uncertain linguistic attribution between Venetic and Celtic (see lastly Eska and Wallace, 1999). This ending has also been explained phonetically starting from IE *osjo, assuming a process of metathesis, whereas Bader (1991, p. 109-12; 1992, p. 81-2), Eska (1995, p. 41-2) and Prosdocimi (2009, p. 65-72) have proposed a morphological explanation.

34 Greek -*οιο*, commonly connected to *-*osjo* (Brugmann, 1911, p. 161-3), could theoretically be the reflex of an original *-*oiso* (on -*isV-͜* > -*iị̯V*-, see Rix, 1976, p. 80).

35 See lastly Ciceri, 2012-2013, and, conversely, De Simone, 2013, p. 57-63.

36 This ending, a homophone of the nominative ending of the same stems, has been explained on the basis of an adjustment with the GS of consonant stems (see Sturtevant, 1933, p. 170), whereas Pedersen in 1933 put forward the hypothesis that the identity between the forms of nominative singular and GS in Hittite is due to the preservation of an original feature which disappeared in other IE languages. 37 Brugmann, 1911, p. 161-3.

37 In this regard we should note, among others, Rix 1998's suggestion to analyse *-*jo* in *-*osjo* and *-*o* in *-*oso* as anaphoric relatives (this interpretation of *-*jo* in *-*osjo* has been proposed at least since Kozlovski, 1887). Personally, I believe that, if this is the right line to pursue, an analysis of *-*oso* as *-*oso* would be preferable, as it could also take account of Celtiberian (and possibly of Mycenaean) data: as to the qualification of *-*jo* as anaphoric being extended to *-*so*, this is a matter for further research.

38 See, among the others, Beekes, 1985, p. 172-95, and Villar, 1995, p. 215-50.

39 On the identification of the GS ending -*ī* in other traditions (Venetic, Tocharian, and Albanian), see the references in Pairotti, 2014, p. 75-9.

40 See Thurneysen, 1909, p. 174 and Lambert, 1994, p. 51.

41 According to some only of the *ur̥ kī*-Flexion: see Pairotti, 2014, p. 75-9, for the bibliography.

42 On **j(e/o)H₂* and its outcomes see Prosdocimi, 2008. On the derivation of GS -*ī* from instrumental *-*i-H₁*, see Widmer, 2005.

43 On the hypothesis of a functional difference between -*ī* and -*osio* in Latin, see Untermann, 1964, De Simone in Stibbe *et al.*, 1980, p. 82-3, and Orlandini and Poccetti, 2014.

44 On genitive and adjective see, among the others, Wackernagel, 1908, Benveniste, 1960 and, in a syntactic perspective, the annotations in Giorgi and Longobardi, 1991.

45 "*R* express some contextually determined relation" (Higginbotham, 1983, p. 397-8).

Table des illustrations

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