

KΑΠΟΡΟΙΝΝΑ

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In one discussion of the Rossano di Vaglio fragments¹⁾, Michel Lejeune offers an etymology for the epithet *καποροιννα*²⁾.

His argument is as follows. He constructs a protoform, **καπορονια*. On the basis of the Latin noun *caper* and *nomen Caprōnius*, he postulates a intermediate or "linking" form **caprō*³⁾, which undergoes anaptyxis and is extended by the feminine suffix *-ya*. Thus: **capro(n) > *caporo(n) > *caporōnya*⁴⁾.

The next stage of development is the diphthongization of the second *o*, Lejeune's theory of *i*-umlaut. We have then **καποροινια*. The final form, *καποροιννα*, is a result of a doubling of *n* before *y* (with subsequent loss of *y*). (This is by analogy of a tendency observed in the *Tabula Bantina* for certain consonants + *y* to geminate or become fricatives⁵⁾.)

One objection may be made. The *y* of the suffix *-onia* is held to account for both the *i*-umlaut and the gemination of *n*. This is highly improbable.

I would like to propose an alternate derivation. Let us agree that **καπορονια* is the true protoform. If so, the first change was the gemination of *n* before *y*. This is a regular tendency of consonants in Oscan, and in contrast to the change at Bantia, the *y* remains⁶⁾. The *y* then caused *i*-umlaut and was lost in the process. The development would then be: **καπορονια > *καποροιννια > *καποροιννα*. Lejeune's theory is still valid and, in fact, is strengthened by the reordering of the rules.

¹⁾ "L'Epigraphie osque de Rossano di Vaglio (Potenza)" in Dinu Adamesteanu and Michel Lejeune, "Il santuario lucano di Macchia di Rossano di Vaglio." *MALinc* XVI-2, 1971.

²⁾ It appears in fragment RV-06, *μ]ε]φ]ι]ται καποροιννα[ι*, "to Mefitis Capronia".

³⁾ This is based, in turn, on a similar model of *aper*/**aprō*/*Aprōnius*; the *nomen*, as well as nouns in *-ō*, *-ōnis*, are derived from the linking form.

⁴⁾ Lejeune (p. 57) explains the difference in vowel length: "On notera que les noms qui sont en latin en *-ō*/gén. *-ōnis* paraissent avoir présenté en osco-ombrien une alternance quantitative (flexion bâtie sur *-ōn-*); aux dérivés latins en *-ōnio-* doivent correspondre des dérivés osco-ombriens en *-ōnio-* et à lat. *Caprōnio* (gentilice *Caprōnius*) un osque *Caprōnio-* (que nous estimons impliqué par *Καποροιννα-*)."

⁵⁾ Cf. C. D. Buck, *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, p. 66.

⁶⁾ Cf. Buck, p. 99; in any case, Lejeune admits that an example of *n + y > nn* is lacking in the *Tabula Bantina*.