

Indogermanisches bei einem ligurischen Wort: 'ex rivo *Vindupale*' (CIL V, 7749)

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This important, neglected article is available only as a scanned image in German, which may be difficult for English speakers to understand. Therefore, its most important part was used as a test of OCR capabilities now available free online plus Google Translate. Here is the result, tidied up, and with many of the accented characters tediously corrected by hand. Apologies for any mistakes.

2. Exact correspondences that speak for a dialectally uniform formation

So far, some correspondences that are almost or even completely identical to *Vindupale* have been underestimated or ignored. M.P. Marchese convincingly cites the Venetian mountain name *Vendévol*, which goes back to an ancient "Gallic" **Vindupala* (which would give us a shape almost identical to the reconstructed **Vindupalis*), and also a *Monte Venda (Colli Euganei)*. The proposal by D. Olivieri that *Venda* and *Vendévol* should be linked with the Italian *vendita* 'sale' and *vendibile* 'salable' must be rejected without a doubt.

Most importantly, there are two rivers of the same name: the *Vendoval* river (Monasterio and Puebla del Maestre, Badajoz) and its branch, the *Vendoval* stream (Montemolin, Badajoz). Both can be found in the southern area of Lusitanian epigraphy. *Vendoval* is an exact equivalent of **Vindupalis* (an initial form **Vindubalis* is also conceivable), or more precisely from its Latinized accusative *Vindupalem*, as is usual with the *i*-stem pre-Roman place names of the Iberian Peninsula next to continuations of the nominative in *-is* > Spanish *-es*. If the Ligurian **Vindupalis* were in fact a 'white Palis', then we would have to assume a chain of coincidences: other Celtic peoples would have (a) inhabited the southwestern Spanish province of Badajoz, (b) encountered a river *Palis*, which was (c) secondary to the so-called 'white Palis'. The same should be true for the Venetian mountain name *Vendévol*. Such a way out presents us with new insoluble problems. Therefore, both the hypothesis of a 'white Palis', as well as a fortiori all hypotheses that require two language layers to explain *Vindupale*, are deprived of ground.

A second solution is obvious: *Vendoval* and *Vendévol* could be a case of secondary naming based on a previously existing place or river name. This in turn encounters new difficulties:

a) In both cases it could be a Celtic people. So far, however, we have not found any traces of a presumed immigration of Lepontic or Cisalpine-Gallic peoples into the peninsula, which doubles the problem of the solitary *Vindupale*, which is remote from the Celtic area.

b) We should think of Ligurian settlements, and accordingly to forego the approach of a Celtic *vindo* antecedent. If the 'Ligurian hypothesis' has something for itself in this case, then what is meant by 'Ligurian' must be defined again; after the failure of 'Panligustics' and because of the extraordinarily fragmentary nature of the proven Ligurian inventory of forms, this term may only be used in the narrowest possible sense.

3. Apparent correspondences that suggest a completely different analysis

A number of river names confirm the occurrence of a compound of a root **wind-/wid-* and a second part, which means 'water' and is alternately documented as **uba*, **ubya*, **upis* and **ubalis* throughout Europe. A **upis* 'water' was already known in the Baltic. Its voiced variant **ubā* has recently been demonstrated by F. Villar, as well as the fact that the **-upis* compounds point far beyond the Baltic region and can be found all over Europe including the Iberian Peninsula. One must

therefore reckon with the fact that Baltic river names in *-upis* are not necessarily of Lithuanian age, and that the trailing element of a previously existing **-up* compound can only have been transformed into a productive *-upis* after the arrival of the Balts.

Relevant equivalents are: The Lithuanian river name *Viñdupis*, the Lithuanian mountain name *Vindóve*, the personal name *Vindobius* (CIL III 6016, Pannonia Superior), and, with another back link, the river name *Windach* <**windä-akwa*, tributary of the Ammer (Bavaria, in the area of the *Vindelici*, see below) and perhaps *Swindach*, tributary of the Isen (Bavaria); with a base word **wid-*, the ancient river name *Vidubia*> *La Vouge* (Antonine Itinerary, Tabula Peutinger; France), the Lithuanian river names *Vidùpe*, *Vidùpis* and the personal name *Udiobius* (Penalba de Villastar, Teruel, Celtiberia) if it is written instead *Vidobius*. The river name *Wid-apa* near Werden (Ruhr) would be with the **apa* variant composed.

We also encounter forms that are extended by a suffix *-ali -/- alo-*, namely the Lithuanian river name *Vidūbalis* and the river name *Vitbol/Vidbol*, a southern tributary of the Danube (near Vidin, Bulgaria, Moesia Superior). I. Duridanov has segmented both river names without regard to the meaning as *Vidu-bal-* 'middle swamp'. V.I. Georgiev is not convincing either, in linking Thracian **Utu-bal(a)-* to IE **udō(r) bʰōlo-m* 'Whitewater'. J. Udolph remarks that some related river names in the Slavic region go back to **vidibā* and put on a suffix **-ub-/*-ib-*, but if we use the great abundance of material in favor of the reconstruction of a noun **uba/*ubya* 'water', we can easily reconstruct a compound **widubā*, which in turn was assimilated and reduced to **vid̥bba* by Slavic population groups: The result is the river name *Vid'ba*, tributary of the Daugava.

On the other hand, the second part *-ubalis/-ubalo-* in *Vidūbalis* and *Vitbol* requires that we add a subsidiary form increased by **-alo-/-ali-* next to **up-/ub-*. F. Villar only reconstructs three such suffixes: **-ilo-/-ili-* with the Dacian god name *Obila*, in Spain with the place names *Ovila*, *Ubiles*, **-elo-/-eli-* with Lithuanian *upelis* 'stream', Latvian *upele*, also with the Spanish river names *Ovel* (stream, Granada), *Oblea* (river, Salamanca) and *Ubel* (stream, Navarra); **-ulo-/-uli-* at *Oboa* < **ūbulā* (Portugal), *Is-óbol* (Brunnen, Huesca, Spain), (compare **ap-/ab-* at *Abula* in the Baltic region, *Apulia* in Italy). A whole series is offered by the 'Thracian' river name *Αξιός* and the place names *Αξιό-οπα* and *Αξι-ουπολις* derived from it. However, the following names can also be cited as Spanish examples of an initial form **upalis*, **ubalis*: *Obal* (Huesca), *Fund-ual* and *Font-obal* (Huesca), *Sarrobals* (fountain, Huesca), *Ofaya* (fountain, Asturias, in 921 attested as *Obalia*). **Ubalis* may prefigure 'super flumen Ubiale' (Asturias, a. 1170).

Against the Pre-Roman origin of *-upalis*, one could argue that the Romans in Liguria found an already existing river name **Vind-upis* and added a derived form *Vindup-ālis* to it using the example of the schema *Nāvis* → *navālis*, *piscis* → *piscālis*, in which the older form was gradually replaced. This is not possible because Latin adjectives ending in *-āli-* always form an ablative ending in *-ī*, not in *-e*. In addition, the shape of *Vidūbalis* would remain in the dark with this solution. Independent presence of a word **upalis* or **ubalis* 'water' in the basic language is not necessarily evident from the above; a derivation by means of **-alis* was probably first made dialectically and perhaps even as an adjectival derivation of the *wind-up-* compounds. That is, the word formation can be understood as [*wind* + [*up-alis*]^{abl.}]^{comp} as well as [[*wind* + *upā*]^{comp} -*alis*]^{abl.}

The assumption is that an Indo-European people, who cannot be called Celtic because of the preservation of /p/ and a lexical discrepancy, and whose hydronymy can be linked with ancient hydronymy well attested in the Baltic and Slavic regions, has spread over no longer definable parts of Europe, and is noticeable in the testimony of the river names in northern Italy and probably southwestern Spain. The relevant information is probably to be separated from the so-called "Old European", and the question of whether this lost language is originally related to Lusitanian and even to the real Ligurian onomastics (Comberanea, Porcobera, Bodinco, etc) remains open. Another problem is to what extent this language is used with the one responsible for the place names in *-uba*, *-oba*. These names have spread across Europe since ancient times and are particularly well

attested in Andalusia (Corduba, Onuba, Ossonoba, Maenuba). They are based on the combination of a basic word and an Indo-European word **ubā* 'water'. These primitive river names can possibly be transferred to cities. One can see that place names and river names in *-uba* alternate synchronously with other names which simply continue the first element of the compound. This can be explained in such a way that a river could indifferently be called X 'or X water'. A clear example of this type of duplicate is the river name *Maen-uba*, from which both a place name *Maenuba* and the place name Μαίναχη emerge, which is a derivative with *-okā* from a **Mainā*. I would like to propose here that the Lusitanian place name *Osson-oba* (modern Estoi, Faro, Portugal) handed down by Pliny, Prolemäus, Strabo and Mela requires a river name whose basic word still lives on with the river name *Huesna* (Seville): *Huesna* goes back to **ósona*. We are therefore justified in assuming that the **Vind-upális* being considered was also accompanied by a subsidiary form **Vindā*. A stream *Venda* still runs in Castuera (Badajoz), which apparently continues the same element as begins **Vind-upális*.

Table 1: **wid-/wind-* compounds

<i>*-awo-</i>	+ upis	+ ubä/-yä	+ upalis/—ä		
<i>*wid-</i>		Vidùpis Vidùpé (Wid-apa)	Vid'ba Vidubia → <u>Vidubius</u>		Vidùbalis Vidbol
<i>*wind-</i>	<u>Vindóvé</u> Vindóvés	Viñdupis (Wind-ach)	<u>Vindobius</u>	Vindupalis → Vendoval <u>Vendévoló</u>	<u>Vindobala</u>

River names are in bold. Names handed down in antiquity are underlined. Mountain names are double underlined. Spanish names are preceded by an → arrow. Compounds with related second elements are (bracketed).

III. River names and place names from a base **wid-el-*, **wind-el-*

A number of uncompounded river names also show the alternation of *Vid-/Vind-*. Most of them are derivatives with the suffix *-elis*, *-ulis*. Some examples are: Windelbach, tributary of the Vers (Marburg) and *Swindila-bach* (Bavaria in 914); the river name Ουινδεριος (Ptolemy 2,2,7, genitive of a **winderis*, Ireland); the place names *Vindellum*>Vendel and *Vindalium*>Védéne (France). From **windálos* comes all appearances of the river name *Bendal* (Coruña, Spain). The river name *Vindellicus* (Gaul) and the tribe of the *Vindelici* in Raetia (*Augusta Vindelicum* -> Augsburg) are derivatives with the help of the velar suffix **(i)ko-*. *Vindausca*> Venasque (France) and *Benasque* (Huesca, Spain, near the Pyrenees, where nd > n) contain a 'Ligurian' *-sk-*. In addition from **wid-* the place name *Widela* (Netherlands), the river name *Vidula*> Vésle (tributary of the Aisne, France), and the river name *Vidulina* (stream, León, Spain, or <Latin bet iula 'birch').

Within the Iberian Peninsula, H. Schmeja found a place name *Vindel* (Cuenca), which actually owes its name to a river name *Vindel*. There are other river names that have never been considered in this regard, namely *Vendejo* / *Bendeyo* in Cantabria (from an initial form **windelyos*) and possibly the place name *Vindejo* in westernmost Andalusia (Huelva). A river name *Vendul* in Cantabria probably comes from **windulis* (about the omission of the expected transition du /> / o / I refer to footnote 4), while a derived form **windulyos* occurs in the place name *Bendollo* (Lugo, Galicia). I think it is conceivable that the place name *Vendoglio* (Udine, Venetia, near Noricum) continues the same original form and therefore does not come from **vindo-ialum* 'Whitefield'. The question of why a Celtic adjective is followed by a non-Celtic suffix worried H.Schmeja. According to J.Corominas and A.Holder the word would be a Ligurian derivative. H.Schmeja grants the developed **Vindelis* a primary function as a water word; the place name *Vindeleia* could have derived only secondarily from an i-stem river name **Vindelis*, (compare the relationship of Αχουλis to Aquileia). He finds no Celtic place names with a suffix *-eli-*, but he still claims that *Vindelis* may be Celtic. His remark that an 'old European' ascription is impossible because "Spain as a rule does not participate in old European hydronymy" is untenable. Therefore, a question can be raised about the language

affiliation of **wi(n)d-el-* formations, which must be adjudged like *Vind-up-*. The suffix *-el-* is particularly well attested in the epigraphy of Liguria: *Vin-el-asca*, *Tul-el-asca*, *Cemen-elum*, *Nav-elis*, *Mann-ic-elo*, *Sol-ic-elo*, *Bud-ac-elium*, *Roud-elius*, *Biv-elius*, *Blond-elia*.

How do you explain the coexistence of *Vid-* and *Vind-* names? Despite some Indo-Europeans who speak of nasal nouns, the approach of a transition from verbal present nasal formation to non-verbal words cannot be justified. In contrast, a metathesis **-dn- > -nd-* is well attested in Latin and Celtic. We are therefore entitled to reconstruct **wid-o-l-no-* for the duplicates mentioned. Although a connection with the root **weid-* 'see, know' is conceivable, as far as I know, a development **wid-nos > *windos* is limited to Celtic. I prefer the approach of a stem **weid-* 'turn, bend', compare Greek Ἰδνοομαι from **wid-nos*. Compare also in this sense J. Udolph with numerous examples and literature. In summary: European river names from **wid-ub/p-*, **wind-ub/p-* roughly meant 'curved river, crooked watercourse'.