full text research
abstracts of all titles
monthly updates

LINCOM webshop

The Sabellic Languages
of Ancient Italy

Rex E. Wallace

2007

Table of Contents

Preface

This text is a description of the grammatical features of the Sabellic languages of ancient Italy. Parts of the description appeared in a chapter on the Sabellic languages written for Roger Woodard's *Encyclopedia of Languages of the Ancient World* (Cambridge University Press). I thank Cambridge University Press for permitting me to recast parts of that material as the basis for this grammar. A few sections of the text were used in a senior seminar on Oscan, Umbrian, and South Picene taught at the University of Massachusetts Amherst in the spring of 2002. I thank the students who participated in the seminar for working through the material.

Mat Olkovikas created digital versions of the maps of Italy and of the alphabets of the Sabellic languages. I am indebted to him for putting together this material for me. I am grateful to Jennifer Heuser, a Kress Curatorial Fellow at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, for her assistance in tracking down the photograph of the Umbrian inscription that we have used for the cover art. Finally, I tip my hat to Jesse Sawyer who helped with proofreading. His worked was supported by a University of Massachusetts Amherst Commonwealth College fellowship.

The study of the Sabellic languages is based on a tiny corpus of inscriptions, most of which have been known for a hundred, in some cases well over a hundred, years. And yet the field is invigorated annually by the addition of a few new inscriptions to the corpus and more substantially by the re-interpretation of inscriptions that have long been in the public domain, the results of which are now being incorporated into synchronic and diachronic descriptions of Sabellic grammatical features. I justify the existence of this text by claiming that the outstanding work of my colleagues in the field necessitates an updated grammatical description.

If there are errors of fact or omission, they are my responsibility.

poiei ṣkerfs
skerfs heṛuseí

Rex E. Wallace
November 29, 2006

Grammatical Abbreviations

NOM	nominative
ACC	accusative
DAT	dative
ABL	ablative
GEN	genitive
LOC	locative
VOC	vocative
FEM	feminine
MASC	masculine
NEUT	neuter
SG	singular
PL	plural
PRES	present
FUT	future
IMPF	imperfect
IMPV	imperative
PERF	perfect
SUBJ	subjunctive
ACT	active
DEP	deponent
DEP/PASS	deponent/passive
PASS	passive
GRDV	gerundive
INF	infinitive
PART	participle
PRAE	praenomen
THEO	theonym
VCLESS	voiceless
VD	voiced
ADV	adverb
CONJ	conjunction
COORD	coordinating
DEM	demonstrative
NEG	negator

POST	postposition
PREP	preposition
REL	relative
PRO	pronoun
SUBORD	subordinator

Languages

He	Hernican
M	Marrucinian
Osc	Oscan
Pg	Paelignian
PS	Pre-Samnite
SP	South Picene
Um	Umbrian

Other Abbreviations

AQ	L'Aquila
AP	Ascoli Piceno
CA	*Cippus Abellanus*
Cm	Campania
Cp	Capua
Lu	Lucania
MV	Marrucini, Vestini
Po	Pompeii
Sa	Samnites
Si	Sidicini
t	*tegula*
TB	*Tabula Bantina*
TE	Teramo
VM	Volsci, Marsi, Aequiculi, Sabini

Conventions

Sabellic inscriptions are cited from Helmut Rix's *Sabellische Texte*. I follow Rix's readings for the texts unless otherwise noted. I also employ his conventions for formatting, except that I use the pipe (see below) to indicate line-divisions and angled brackets to indicate letters that have been erroneously inscribed and corrected by the editor. Reference numbers for Sabellic inscriptions follow the numbering system in *Sabellische Texte*, but I add the designation Osc for Oscan, e.g., the reference (Lu 1 TB) is rewritten as (Osc Lu 1 TB).

Forms in native Sabellic alphabets and in the Etruscan alphabet are transcribed in boldface type; forms in the Republican Latin alphabet are in italics; forms in Greek

alphabets are transcribed in a Greek font. Words that do not come from epigraphic sources are in italics, as are citation forms for all stems and affixes.

The following epigraphic symbols are employed: round brackets (**abc**) indicate characters omitted by the engraver for the purpose of abbreviation; curly brackets {**abc** indicate extra characters erroneously incised by the engraver; square brackets [**abc**] indicate characters which have been restored or which can no longer be read; angled brackets <**abc**> indicate characters omitted by the engraver and supplied by the editor; angled brackets are also used to enclose letters erroneously incised and corrected by the editor; the underdot a̱ indicates characters that are damaged and/or are no longer clearly legible: the pipe | indicates a line break.
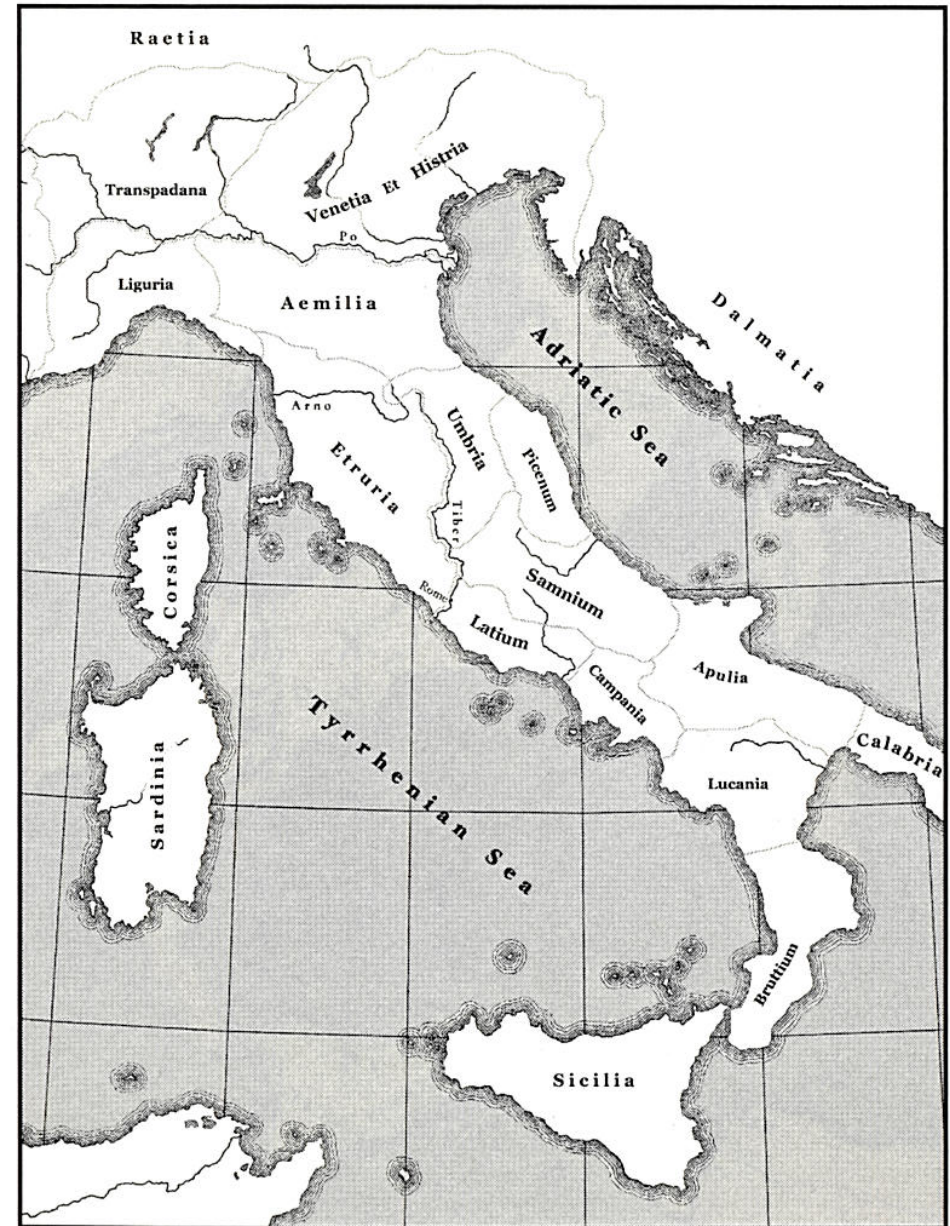
Map 1. Regions of Ancient Italy.

RAETIC

CELTIC

VENETIC

LIGURIAN

Po

ILLYRIAN

Arno

E t r u s c a n

Adriatic Sea

Tiber

Umbrian

Sabine

SOUTH PICENE

Rome

LATIN

North Oscan

O S C A N

MESSAPIC

CORSICAN

Pre-Samnite

SARDINIAN

T y r r h e n i a n   S e a

ELYMIAN

SICANIAN   SICEL

Shading indicates
speakers of Greek.
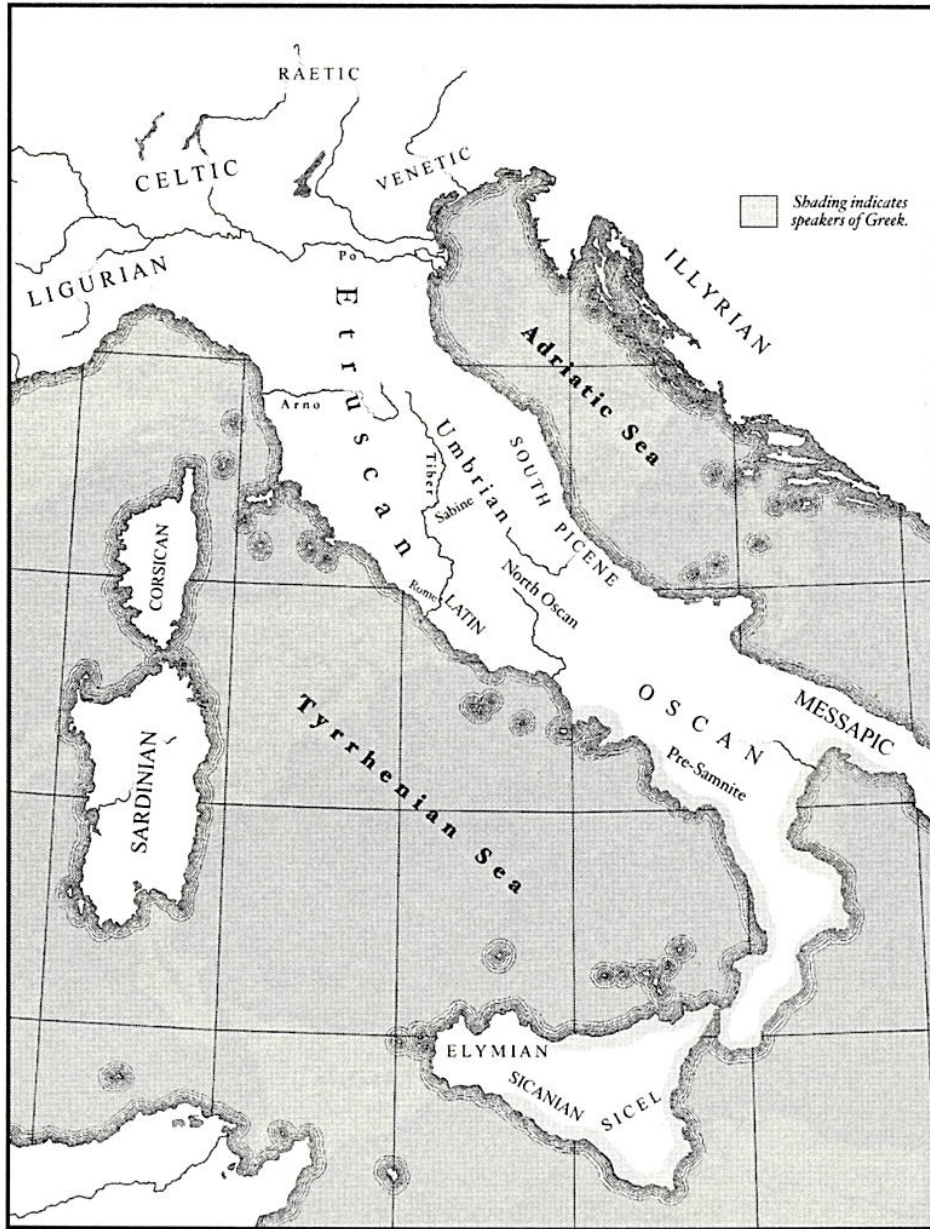
Map 2. Distribution of languages of ancient Italy.

I. National Oscan Alphabet

a

b

g

d

e

u

h

i

k

l

m

n

p

r

s

t

u

f

i

ú

Figure 1. National Oscan Alphabet.

II. Oscan-Greek Alphabet

α	**A**₁	**A**₂	**A**₃
β	**B**₁	**B**₂	
γ	**Γ**		
δ	**Δ**		
ε	**E**₁	**E**₂	
F	**E**		
ζ	**Z**		
h	**H**₁	**F**₂	
η	**H**		
ι	**I**		
κ	**K**		
λ	**Λ**		
μ	**M**₁	**M**₂	
ν	**N**₁	**N**₂	
ξ	**Ξ**		
o	**O**		
π	**Γ**₁	**Π**₂	
ρ	**P**₁	**P**₂	
σ	**Σ**₁	**Σ**₂	**C**₃
τ	**T**		
υ	**Y**		
χ	**X**		
ψ	**Ψ**		
ω	**Ω**₁	**Ш**₂	
f	**8**₁ **Θ**₂ **S**₃ₐ **Ƨ**₃ᵦ **ʃ**₄ₐ **Ꙅ**₄ᵦ **Ꝑ**₅ₐ **Γ**₅ᵦ **Ꞇ**₅ᵪ		

Figure 2. Oscan-Greek alphabet.

III. Umbrian Alphabet

a	**A**₁	**Я**₂		
b	**B**₁	**B**₂		
c	**Ǝ**₁	**Ƽ**₂	**Ǝ**₃	
d	**Ɔ**₁	**Ɔ**₂	**Ƨ**₃	
z	**Ꞁ**₁	**ǂ**₂		
h	**Θ**			
i	**I**			
k	**Ж**₁	**К**₂		
l	**Ⅎ**			
m	**M**₁	**M**₂	**Λ**₃	
n	**Ꞁ**₁	**И**₂	**И**₃	
p	**Ꞁ**₁	**Ꞁ**₂		
r	**ꟼ**₁	**ꟼ**₂		
s	**ʕ**₁	**ʕ**₂	**ʕ**₃	
t	**†**₁	**†**₂	**Ⴈ**₃	**Ⴈ**₄
u	**V**₁	**V**₂		
f	**8**₁	**8**₂		
$ř$	**ꝯ**₁	**ꝯ**₂		
$ç$	**d**₁	**d**₂		

Figure 3. Umbrian alphabet.

IV. South Picene Alphabet

a	A₁	A₂	A₃		
b	B₁	B₂			
g	<				
d	▷				
e	E₁	E₂			
v	⊟₁	K₂	F₃		
h	□				
i	I				
í	⋈₁	⊠₂	�255₃	⊡₄	∞₅
k	K₁	K₂			
l	Γ				
m	M				
n	N				
o	·				
p	Π				
q	Φ₁	◈₂	◇₃	◈₄	☉₅
r	P				
s	⧨₁	∫₂			
t	T₁	I₂	I₃	I₄	
u	Λ				
ú	⋏₁	⋏₂			
f	⋮				
ṣ	✳				

Figure 4. South Picene alphabet.

III. Umbrian Alphabet

a	Я₁	Я₂		
b	⧠₁	⧠₂		
e	Ǝ₁	Ǝ₂	Ǝ₃	
u	)₁	⊐₂	⊐₃	
z	⊺₁	⊧₂		
h	⊖			
i	I			
k	)|₁	)|₂		
l	L			
m	⋔₁	⋔₂	Λ₃	
n	⋈₁	⋈₂	И₃	
p	⌐₁	⌐₂		
r	ᗡ₁	ᗡ₂		
s	⟨₁	⟨₂	⟨₃	
t	†₁	†₂	⋎₃	⋎₄
u	V₁	V₂		
f	8₁	8₂		
ř	९₁	९₂		
ç	⌐₁	⌐₂		

Figure 3. Umbrian alphabet.

IV. South Picene Alphabet

a	A_1	A_2	A_3		
b	B_1	B_2			
g	<				
d	▷				
e	E_1	E_2			
v	$⫫_1$	$⋊_2$	F_3		
h	□				
i	I				
í	$⋈_1$	$⊠_2$	$⊞_3$	$⊡_4$	$∞_5$
k	K_1	K_2			
l	Γ				
m	M				
n	N				
o	·				
p	Π				
q	$Φ_1$	$⬙_2$	$◇_3$	$⬦_4$	$⊙_5$
r	P				
s	$⌇_1$	$ʃ_2$			
t	T_1	I_2	I_3	I_4	
u	Λ				
ú	$⅄_1$	$⅄_2$			
f	⦂				
ş	✻				

Figure 4. South Picene alphabet.

1. Introduction

1.1 The Sabellic languages

The Sabellic languages were spoken in central and southern Italy. They are attested by written documents that date from the 7th century BCE to the 1st century AD. These languages make up one branch of the Italic language family (on which, see below §1.6).

The Sabellic languages may be divided into three groups: an Oscan group, which includes Oscan, Paelignian, Marrucinian, Vestinian and Hernican; an Umbrian group, which encompasses Umbrian, Aequian, Marsian, and Volscian; and a Picene group, which has two members, South Picene and Pre-Samnite. Whether or not these divisions constitute sub-groupings is currently a matter of scholarly debate.

1.2 Distribution of Sabellic languages

The Sabellic languages were not indigenous to Italy. They were carried into the peninsula from the northeast during the 2nd millennium BCE. Before the beginning of the historical period, which is approximately 700 BCE, Sabellic tribes already occupied the mountainous interior of central Italy and had begun migrating toward the south in a fanlike sweep. By the end of 5th century BCE, Sabellic languages were spoken in territories stretching from Umbria in central Italy as far south as Bruttium (see map 1). At the beginning of the third century BCE, the Sabellic speech area included northeastern Sicily.

In the period before Roman expansion, the Sabellic languages were distributed as follows (see map 2):

Oscan speakers inhabited the territories of Samnium and Campania. Dialects of Oscan, collectively referred to as North Oscan, were spoken in southern Picenum (modern Abruzzo) by peoples called the Vestini (Teramo, L'Aquila), the Paeligni (Sulmo, Corfinio), and the Marrucini (Rapino, Chieti). Another Oscan-speaking tribe, the Hernici, settled in southeastern Latium with their chief center at Anagnia. During the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, Oscan-speaking Samnites moved into southern portions of the peninsula, settling in the territories of Lucania and Bruttium, and ultimately spreading across the straits of Messana into Sicily.

Umbrian was spoken in the territory of Umbria. The northernmost settlement seems to have been the town of Gubbio (Roman Iguvium). The language was spoken as far as south as Mevania. Epigraphic evidence suggests that speakers of Umbrian inhabited the easternmost portions of the territory of Etruria, in Clusium and environs, before Etruscan expansion pushed them eastward. Tribes speaking varieties of Sabellic related to Umbrian occupied the hill districts of Latium. The Aequiculi had their major settlement near the modern city of Collemaggiore; the Marsi controlled territory in the environs of Lake Fucine (Saepinum, Marruvium). The Volsci settled in southwestern Latium (Satricum) on the western side of the Liris River.

South Picene speakers settled the southern half of Picenum, from Macerata southward toward the Aternus River valley (modern provinces of Marche and Abruzzo), their speech area overlapping in part with that of the northernmost varieties of Oscan. Pre-Samnite is the name given to the language of Sabellic speakers who established settlements in Campania and Lucania in the 6th century BCE, before the

arrival of the Oscan-speaking Samnites.

1.3 Sabellic documents

Evidence for the Sabellic languages comes almost exclusively from inscriptions that were incised on stone, metal, or ceramic. A few dipinti (painted inscriptions) survive; these were discovered in the Campanian city of Pompeii (Osc Po 34–50). A few texts, e.g., Paelignian Pg 3, Pg 4, and Pg 5, are known from copies in manuscripts of the 16th and 17th centuries. Greek and Roman writers of the late Republic and early imperial period preserved a few Sabellic words and phrases, but these do not add substantially to our knowledge of any Sabellic language.

Sabellic inscriptions belong to well-known epigraphic categories: dedications, epitaphs, inscriptions on public works, religious regulations, contracts, proprietary inscriptions, manufacturer's inscriptions, curses, trademarks, legends on coins, and so forth.

Oscan has the greatest number of inscriptions, approximately 460. They cover a chronological span of approximately 600 years, from the end of the 6th century BCE to the 1st century AD. Most of the inscriptions belong to a two hundred year period from 300 BCE to 89 BCE, the latter being the date of the final Sabellic uprising against Rome. The nucleus of the Oscan corpus — over a quarter of the texts — comes from the Campanian cities of Capua and Pompeii. One of the most important Oscan inscriptions, the *Cippus Abellanus*, a limestone plaque recording an agreement between the cities of Nola and Abella regarding the common use of a sanctuary of Hercules, was also discovered in Campania. The *Tabula Bantina*, which is the longest Oscan inscription, was discovered in the territory of Lucania in the town of Bantia. The *Tabula Bantina* is a bronze tablet incised with statutes pertaining to municipal administration. The bronze dates to 100 BCE.

The North Oscan languages, Vestinian, Marrucinian, Hernican, and Paelignian, are represented by a smaller number of inscriptions. The largest segment, somewhere in the range of 65, belongs to Paelignian (Pg 1-59, nPg1a-8). Unfortunately, most of the documents are epitaphs recording only the names of the deceased. Vestinian and Marrucinian each have six inscriptions (MV 1-12). The most important Marrucinian inscription (MV 1), a *lex sacra* known as the Bronze of Rapino, is of moderate length and provides information about isoglosses separating North Oscan from the Oscan spoken in the territories of Samnium and Campania. Hernican is known from three recently recovered inscriptions (He 1-3), one of which dates to the 5th century BCE (He 1).

Even though the number of Umbrian inscriptions is small — no more than 40 — the corpus is arguably the most important in ancient Italy due to the *Tabulae Iguvinae* (Iguvine Tablets). The bronze tablets, which were discovered at Gubbio (Roman Iguvium) in 1444, were incised with the ritual regulations and cultic instructions of a religious fraternity known as the Atiedian brotherhood. The *Tabulae* date to the first half of the 3rd century BCE for Tablets I-Vb7 and to the end of the 2nd century BCE for Tablets Vb8-VII. Despite the relative lateness of the tablets, many of the ritual procedures and regulations stem from earlier Italic traditions. In addition to the *Tabulae Iguvinae*, Umbrian is attested through short inscriptions dating from the 7th to the 1st centuries BCE. The oldest, the so-called Poggio Sommavilla inscription (Um 2), gives insight into

the earliest attested stage of Umbrian; the latest inscriptions show influences resulting from contact with Latin.

Aequian, Marsian, and Volscian, which are the Sabellic varieties most closely associated with Umbrian, are sparsely attested. For Aequian there is but a single inscription (VM 8). Two inscriptions (VM 1, 2) are assigned to the Volscian corpus. VM 1, which is a text incised on a miniature axe-head, is of particular interest because it belongs to the 5th century BCE. Four fragments of inscriptions are attributed to the Marsi (VM 4, 5, 6, 7).

The South Picene corpus includes 23 inscriptions. They are of great significance because their antiquity; most date to the 6th or 5th centuries BCE. Pre-Samnitic inscriptions too are among the oldest in the Sabellic corpus. Ps 4, Ps 5, and *Ps 21 belong to the middle of the 6th century. Taken together the Picene corpus constitutes some of the oldest epigraphic material in all of Italic.

1.4 Indo-European and Proto-Italic

The Sabellic languages are members of the Indo-European language family. Within Indo-European, the closest relatives are Latin, spoken originally at Rome and at other settlements in northern Latium, and Faliscan, spoken on the right bank of the Tiber River at *Falerii veteres* (modern Civita Castellana) and at other small communities in this same area. The Sabellic languages and Latino-Faliscan make up the Italic branch of Indo-European. Four morphological innovations, all of which were shared exclusively by Sabellic languages and by Latino-Faliscan, support the reconstruction of an Italic subgroup within the Indo-European family. The evidence is assembled in (1).

(1) Morphological innovations in Proto-Italic

a. imperfect subjunctive suffix *-$s\bar{e}$-, e.g., Oscan **fusíd** 'should be', 3SG IMPF ACT SUBJ, Latin *foret* 3SG IMPF ACT SUBJ < Proto-Italic *$fus\bar{e}d$
b. imperfect indicative suffix *-$f\bar{a}$-, e.g., Oscan **fufans** 'they were', 3PL IMPF ACT, Latin *portābant* 'they were carrying', 3PL IMPF ACT (*-$f\bar{a}$- > -$b\bar{a}$- in the Latin of Rome)
c. gerundive formation with suffix *-*dno*-, e.g., Oscan **úpsannam** 'build', GRDV, ACC SG FEM, Umbrian **pihaner** 'purify', GRDV, GEN SG MASC (*-*nd*- > -**n(n)**- in Sabellic), Latin *operandam* 'build', GRDV, ACC SG FEM
d. 1SG PRES ACT of the verb 'to be', e.g., Pre-Samnite **esum**, South Picene **esum**, Latin *esom* < Proto-Italic *esom* < Proto-Indo-European *h_1esmi*

In addition to morphological innovations, a significant phonological development may also be cited as an Italic innovation, namely, the treatment of the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) voiced aspirates *bh, *dh, *ǵh, *gh, *gʷh. In word-initial position, as shown in (2a), the PIE voiced aspirates developed to Proto-Italic voiceless fricatives (*bh, *dh > f; *ǵh/*gh > x). In medial position, as shown in (2b), the PIE aspirates developed to Proto-Italic voiced fricatives (*bh > ß, *dh > ð, etc.), reflexes of which survived in the Sabellic languages, Faliscan, and rural Latin dialects. In the Latin of Rome the reflexes of the aspirates developed to voiced stops in this environment.

(2) Development of PIE *bh* in Italic

a. **bh > f-* in word-initial position, e.g., Oscan **fratrúm** 'brother', GEN PL MASC, Umbrian *fratrom* 'brotherhood', GEN PL MASC, Latin *fráter* 'brother', cp. Greek φράτηρ 'member of a phratry', Old Indic *bhrātar-*, Old Irish *bráthair*, Gothic *broðar*, etc., < Proto-Indo-European **bʰreh₂tēr* 'brother', NOM SG MASC

b. **bh > -ß-* in medial position, e.g., Oscan **mefiaí** [meßyay] 'middle', LOC SG FEM, South Picene **mefiín** [meßyēn] 'middle', LOC SG, Latin *medius*, cp. Old Indic *madhyas*, Gothic *miðjis*, etc., < Proto-Indo-European **medʰyos* NOM SG MASC

1.5 Proto-Sabellic

Examination of the Sabellic languages reveals morphological innovations that permit the grouping of these languages into a sub-branch distinct from Latin and Faliscan. The most important innovations are described in (3).

(3) Morphological innovations in Sabellic

a. the spread of the *i*-stem genitive singular ending **-eis* to *o*-stem and consonant-stem inflection, e.g., Oscan *o*-stem **sakarakleís** 'sanctuary', GEN SG NEUT; South Picene *o*-stem **kaúieís** 'Gavius', PRAE, GEN SG MASC, Umbrian **kapres** 'goat', GEN SG MASC < **kapreis*

b. the spread of the *o*-stem accusative singular ending *-om* to consonant-stem inflection, e.g., Oscan *n*-stem *tanginom* 'opinion, decision', ACC SG FEM

c. personal pronouns and reflexive pronouns augmented by the particle *-ōm*, e.g., Umbrian *tiom* 'you', 2ND PERS PRO, ACC SG, South Picene **tíom** 'you', 2ND PERS PRO, ACC SG; Umbrian **míom** 'me', 1ST PERS PRO, ACC SG; Oscan *siom* 'himself', REFLEXIVE PRO, ACC SG MASC

d. the development of the deponent/passive infinitive suffix *-fír/-fi*, e.g., Oscan **sakrafír** 'to be consecrated', PRES DEP/PASS INF; Umbrian *pihafi* 'to be purified', PRES DEP/PASS INF. Umbrian reflects the original form of the suffix; the Oscan suffix *-fír* reflects a secondary development involving the addition of the passive ending *-r*.

e. the development of a contrast between primary and secondary endings in the deponent/passive, e.g., primary *-te(r)* in Umbrian **teřte** 'is given', 3SG PRES DEP/PASS; secondary *-tur* in Umbrian **emantur** 'are taken', 3PL PRES DEP/PASS SUBJ. This contrast was eliminated in Oscan in favor of *-ter* and in South Picene in favor of *-tor*.

Prominent phonological innovations shared by all Sabellic languages include the syncope of short vowels in word-final syllables before *-s* and the change of PIE labiovelars to labials. Examples are in (4).

(4) Phonological innovations in Sabellic

a. the syncope of short vowels in word-final syllables before *-s*, e.g., Oscan **húrz** /horts/ 'grove, wood', NOM SG MASC < **ghortos*; South Picene **manus** 'hands', ABL SG PL < **manufos*; Umbrian *emps* 'purchased', NOM SG MASC < **emptos*

b. the development of PIE labiovelars to labials, e.g., Oscan **pis** 'anyone', INDEFINITE PRO, NOM SG MASC < **kʷis*; South Picene **pis** 'anyone', INDEFINITE PRO, NOM SG MASC < **kʷis*; Umbrian **piři** 'whatever', INDEF PRO, NOM/ACC SG NEUT < **kʷid-i(d)*

1.6 Subgrouping within Sabellic

Whether or not the grouping of the Sabellic languages into three camps — an Oscan group, an Umbrian group, and a Picene group — accurately reflects the interrelationships existing among these languages is a matter of debate among scholars. Some argue that a more accurate view is one that recognizes an intermediate stage of Oscan and Umbrian unity following the dissolution of the Proto-Sabellic speech community. Supporters of this view argue that evidence for a stage of Oscan-Umbrian unity comes in the form of 3rd plural secondary ending *-ns* that developed from Proto-Sabellic **-nd*. Compare, for example, the secondary 3rd plural ending *-ns* in members of the Oscan and Umbrian groups, e.g., Oscan **prúfattens** 'approved', 3PL PERF ACT; Paelignian *coisatens* 'manage, take care of', 3PL PERF ACT; Umbrian *dirsans* 'give', 3PL PRES ACT SUBJ, to the secondary endings in the South Picene group, e.g., *-d* in Pre-Samnite **fuffoδ** 'they were', 3PL PERF ACT, and *-h* in South Picene **adstaiúh** 'they set up', 3PL PERF ACT. The Oscan and Umbrian endings reflect a sound change **-nd > *-nn > *-n* followed by the addition of an *-s* that spread from the 1st plural inflectional ending *-ms*, cp. South Picene **adstaeoms** 'we set up'. The endings of the Picene group are best derived directly from the original Proto-Sabellic ending **-nd* and not treated as a further development of the ending **-ns*. Following this line of argumentation, Oscan and Umbrian share an intermediate stage of development that sets them apart from members of the Picene group.

1.7 Death of the Sabellic languages

The Sabellic languages did not survive Roman expansion. The languages spoken in Latium succumbed to Romanization earlier than those in Umbria, Campania, and points further south. In Latium and in adjacent areas, speakers of Sabellic languages shifted to Latin before the end of the Roman Republic (ca. 30 BCE). In some parts of the peninsula, however, Sabellic speakers were more tenacious. Epigraphic evidence from the city of Pompeii demonstrates that Oscan was still spoken when Mt. Vesuvius destroyed the city in AD 79. Even so, it is unlikely that any Sabellic language survived as a native tongue beyond the first century AD. By this time the territories of the Sabellic peoples were securely incorporated both politically and culturally into the Roman empire.

1.8 Additional Reading

References to the major publications on Sabellic inscriptions are given in §8.5. For the notion Proto-Italic and for discussion of the linguistic evidence to support it see Joseph & Wallace (1987:675–677) and Rix (1994). Rix (2003) is a comprehensive overview of the Sabellic group of languages. Issues surrounding the sub-grouping of the Sabellic languages are discussed in Adiego Lajara (1990) and (1992). For the Pre-Samnite inscription designated as Ps *21 see Russo (2005).

2. Alphabets

2.1 Introduction

The Sabellic languages were written in alphabets that derived from three sources: Etruscan, Italiote Greek, and Republican Latin. The variety of alphabet that Sabellic scribes employed depended on the date at which they became literate, on the source from whom the alphabet was borrowed — Etruscan, Greek, or Roman —, and on the variety of alphabet employed by that source. Some Sabellic peoples borrowed from multiple sources, depending on where they settled and depending on the peoples with whom they were in close contact.

2.2 Oscan

Oscan documents display the greatest diversity in terms of alphabet. Inscriptions were written in alphabets borrowed from Etruscans, Italiote Greeks, and Romans.

Inscriptions from Campania and Samnium were composed in an alphabet that was borrowed from Etruscans who had colonized the coastal areas of Campania. In the territories of Lucania and Bruttium, Oscan inscriptions were written in an alphabet derived from the Ionic alphabet of the Greek colonists of *Magna Graeca*. Inscriptions dating from the end of the 2nd century BCE, including the important *Tabula Bantina* and the corpus of North Oscan inscriptions, were written in a Republican Latin alphabet.

The Oscan alphabet borrowed from Campanian Etruscan sources was formed no later than the last quarter of the 5th century BCE. This alphabet spread throughout Oscan-speaking Campania and soon thereafter into Samnium. At the beginning of the 3rd century BCE the alphabet underwent an important reform. Two letters were added in order to represent more accurately the phonology of Oscan mid-vowels. The letters i and u were modified by diacritics to create signs for the front mid-vowel phonemes /e/ and /ē/, and for the back mid-vowel phoneme /o/. These signs are transcribed as í and ú respectively. This chronological stage of the alphabet was codified as the National Oscan script. For the alphabet and letterforms see Fig. 1.

The degree of variation in the forms of letters in the national alphabet was relatively circumscribed, being limited in large part to stylistic differences and to differences dictated by the direction of writing (sinistroverse vs. dextroverse).

The Oscan-Greek alphabet was borrowed during the fourth century BCE, the period at which Oscan speakers came into contact with Greek communities already established in Lucania and Bruttium. This alphabet is depicted in Fig. 2. The most notable feature is the letter representing the phoneme /f/. It was created on the model of the letter f in the National Oscan alphabet. Over the course of two centuries it went through several permutations until it reached its ultimate form, a shape similar to the modern English letter J (see Fig. 2, letter f_{5c}). In some varieties of the Oscan-Greek script, the letter *zeta* was used to represent the phone [z], which was the intervocalic pronunciation of the phoneme /s/. This sign was then borrowed into the Republican Latin alphabet and was used to spell this sound in the Oscan *Tabula Bantina*, e.g., *ezum* 'to be'.

The Oscan-Greek alphabet represented the mid vowels, the high vowels, and the diphthongs whose nuclei were mid vowels in two ways. Table 2.1 summarizes the differences in the two spelling 'systems'. For the most part, they follow a chronological

arc, system one being more common in the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE and system two flourishing in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE. Still, the chronological fit is not perfect, and there are some inscriptions in which scribes made use of spellings from both systems.

Table 2.1   Vowels in the Oscan-Greek Alphabet

	system 1	system 2
/ey/	ει	ηι
/ē, e/	ε	ει
/oy/	οι	ωι
/ow/	οϝ	ωϝ, ωυ
/o/	ο	ω
/ū, u/	υ	ου
/yu/	ιυ	υ

2.3 Umbrian

Umbrian was written in alphabets derived from different Etruscan models. One of the most famous Umbrian inscriptions, the one incised on a statue of a warrior (Um 16) recovered from Todi, was written in an alphabet similar to that used by Etruscans who inhabited the city of Volsinii (modern Orvieto). The alphabet used to write Umbrian inscriptions from Colfiorito may have originated from this same area. The idea that Umbrian scribes borrowed from Etruscans inhabiting settlements in this part of Etruria is supported by the fact that *gamma*, rather than *kappa*, was used to spell the voiceless velar /k/. In contrast, Iguvine Tablets I–Vb7 were inscribed in an Etruscan-based alphabet in which the letter *gamma* was not part of the signatory. This alphabet had a northern Etruscan source, perhaps deriving from Perusia or Cortona (see Fig. 3).

The chief characteristic of the Umbrian alphabet used to write the Iguvine Tablets I-Vb7 was the absence of the signs *gamma*, *delta*, and *omicron*. *Kappa* represented the voiced and voiceless velar stops (/g/ and /k/); *tau* represented the voiced and voiceless dental stops (/d/ and /t/). *Upsilon* was used for all rounded back vowels (/ǫ/, /o/, /ō/, /u/, and /ū/). The letter *beta* was included in this script, although it is not clear whether it was inherited from the Etruscan alphabet that served as its model or was re-borrowed from another source. Even so, both *pi* and *beta* were used to spell the voiced stop /b/, e.g., **hapinaf**, **habina** /habīna-/ 'lambs', ACC PL FEM. The inherited inventory of signs was augmented in order to represent two new Umbrian phonemes, namely /š/ and /ð/. A letter having the form of a retrograde **d** was used to write the palatal fricative sound (see Fig. 3, ç₁ and ç₂). The voiced fricative /ð/ was written by means of a letter having the shape of a retrograde **P** (see Fig. 3, ř).

Tablets Vb8, VI, and VII and a small number of Umbrian inscriptions dating to the 1st and 2nd centuries BCE were written in a Republican Latin alphabet. The inventory of signs included a *sigma* modified by the addition of an oblique stroke in the upper left quadrant of the sign space. This letter stood for the palatal fricative /š/. It is transcribed by ś.

2.4 South Picene

The South Picene alphabet was probably an offshoot of a 7th century Etruscan alphabet (see Fig. 4), although a Greek model is not out of the question. This alphabet first took root in the territory traditionally labeled as Sabine. But when the earliest South Picene inscriptions make their appearance in the middle of the 6th century BCE, the script had already developed distinctive characteristics. The orientation of some letters was different than that found in other Sabellic writing systems. For example, *lambda* and *upsilon* were generally written upside down. Some letters were written in a minimalist style. The letter *omicron*, which stood for the vocalic phoneme /o/, and the letter *ef*, which stood for the voiceless fricative /f/, were reduced to points, · and : respectively. Other letters were modified along the lines of this minimalist style. The horizontal stroke of *tau* was reduced to a point (see Fig. IV, t_3 and t_4), as was the crossbar of the alpha (see Fig. IV, a_3). Another distinctive feature of the alphabet was the letter *wau*, which developed a very unusual shape (see Fig. IV, v_1 and v_2); it evolved to a form that resembles a C with a wing at the top and the bottom.

Two letters were added to the South Picene signatory to represent long mid-vowel phonemes. The letter *upsilon*, augmented by means of a vertical diacritic, was assigned the value of the back vowel /ō/ (see Fig. IV, ú). The letter *heta* was recycled in several distinctive forms to spell the long front vowel /ē/ (see Fig. IV, í).

South Picene inscriptions show a fair number of regional peculiarities, both in terms of letterforms and in terms of the phonological values assigned to them. For example, the letter í had five regional variants (see Fig. IV, $í_{1-5}$). *Sigma* was generally made with four bars, but in a few inscriptions it was written with three. *Gamma* stood for /g/ in some inscriptions; *kappa* and *qoppa* represented /k/. In others, *kappa* was used for both the voiced and the voiceless velar stops. The scribe who incised SP TE 5 used a sign with the shape of a 6-point star, possibly a reconfiguration of the letter *samekh*, to spell a palatal fricative /š/ (transcribed ś). The sound developed as the outcome of the palatalization of a voiceless velar before the palatal vowels *i* and *e*, e.g., śidom 'this here' < *kidōm (see Fig. 4 for this letterform).

2.5 Palaeo-Sabellic Alphabets

The earliest Pre-Samnite inscriptions, PS 2, 3 and *21, were written in an alphabet similar to that used to write South Picene inscriptions, both in terms of the shapes of the letterforms and in terms of their orientation. For example, a letter similar to South Picene v_1 is found in the Pre-Samnite inscriptions mentioned above (see Fig. IV), although in Pre-Samnite it had a different phonological value (= /f/). A distinctive feature of Pre-Samnite inscriptions written in this script was the letter representing /s/. It had the form of a tree with four or six branches. Other Pre-Samnite inscriptions were composed in alphabets deriving from Campanian Etruscan or Italiote Greek sources.

Palaeo-Umbrian inscriptions belonging to the 7th and 6th centuries BCE were also composed in an alphabet belonging to the South Picene/Pre-Samnite alphabetic tradition. Even so there are features that set these alphabets apart. For example, in the Umbrian inscription recovered from Tolfa in Etruria (Um 4) the scribe represented the phoneme /f/ by means of a letter in the form of an arrow. A *sigma* with eight very short

bars was used for the phoneme /s/. Inscription Um 2 attests what may well be the earliest example of /f/ in the form of the figure 8.

An archaic Volscian inscription from Satricum (MV 1) may also be placed within this same writing tradition. In MV 1 the letter *wau* (Fig. 4, v_3) had the value of a long back vowel phoneme, either /ō/ or /ū/. *Samekh* stood for the sound /h/. The phoneme /f/ was made by arranging three puncts vertically, a form reminiscent of the South Picene sign for /f/. The style of punctuation in this inscription is also worthy of note. Words were separated by four puncts. Five puncts marked the end of the text.

How these Palaeo-Sabellic alphabets are to be linked is not clear. It is tempting to think of a unitary Palaeo-Sabellic script that was the source for the South Picene, Umbrian, Volscian, and the Pre-Samnite writing systems, but the different forms of some letters, e.g., those representing /f/ and /s/, and the different phonological values of other letters, e.g., wau = /f/, /w/, and /ō/, impede efforts to reconstruct such an alphabet and its subsequent regional developments.

2.6 Republican Latin alphabet

Sabellic peoples in central Italy, most of whom became literate after contact with Romans, wrote in a Republican Latin alphabet. In several instances, there were additions to or modifications of the inherited inventory of signs. In Paelignian, for example, the sign *delta* D was modified by means of a diacritic Đ and was then employed in several inscriptions to represent the outcome of the assibilation of a voiced dental stop, e.g., Paelignian petiedu 'Petiedia', NOMEN, NOM SG FEM. In Vestinian, a four-bar *sigma* was used to represent the outcome of an earlier *ps cluster, e.g., Vestinian ośens 'they made', 3PL PERF ACT < *opsens.

2.7 Directionality and punctuation

Sabellic inscriptions composed in an Etruscan-based alphabet were generally written from right-to-left, but inscriptions written in dextroverse direction are found from time to time. Oscan inscriptions in the Greek alphabet were consistently written from left-to-right, as were Sabellic inscriptions in the Latin alphabet, including Tablets Vb8, VI, and VII of the *Tabulae Iguvinae*. Several South Picene inscriptions were set out in boustrophedon style ('as the ox plows'), others in a style called 'Schlangenscrift', where the lines of writing have a serpentine shape, and still others in what appears to be a combination of the two styles just described.

Most Sabellic inscriptions in Etruscan-based alphabets had some form of punctuation to separate words, although a few of the earliest inscriptions were written *scriptio continua*. Punctuation separating words was customarily a single point appearing at mid-line level, but word-punctuation also took the form of double or triple points, the latter being particularly common on South Picene inscriptions in order to avoid confusion with the signs for /f/ : and for /o/ · . In contrast, punctuation was used in Oscan inscriptions written in the Oscan-Greek alphabet primarily in official inscriptions. For private inscriptions — funerary texts, curses, and dedications — *scriptio continua* was the norm.

2.8 Additional Reading

Cristofani (1979) is a good resource for the introduction of the alphabet to central Italy and its subsequent diffusion to Sabellic speaking peoples. Lejeune (1970) and (1972) provide a thorough introduction to the Oscan alphabets and to the regional peculiarities of Oscan writing systems. Maggiani (1984:217–237) describes the alphabet of the Iguvine Tablets. Rocca (1996:12–16 [Tables 15-16]) covers the paleographic features of the various local Umbrian writing systems. Marinetti (1985:47–60 [Tables 59-60]) is the seminal discussion of the South Picene alphabet. See Adiego Lajara (1990b) for an emendation to Marinetti's treatment of the letter **h**. Russo (2005:38–41) summarizes recent scholarly debate about the phonological value of the letter **v**$_1$ (Fig. IV) in Pre-Samnite inscriptions, including the recently recovered inscription from Tortora (PS 20). For discussion of the relationship of the South Picene alphabet to Sabellic alphabets in Campania see Rix (2005).

3. Phonology

3.1 Introduction

The phonological inventories of the three groups of Sabellic languages were similar in most respects. This is not surprising given the languages' close genetic relationship. The major differences are to be found in the vowel systems. Umbrian and other languages of this group changed Proto-Sabellic diphthongs into long vowels.

3.2 Oscan

The consonant inventory of Oscan is set out in Table 3.1. There were two sets of stop consonants; one set was voiceless, the other voiced. The fricatives were voiceless. The semivowels, nasals, liquid, and rhotic were voiced in all environments.

Table 3.1   Oscan consonants

	labials	dentals	palatals	velars	glottal
vlss stops	/p/	/t/		/k/	
vd stops	/b/	/d/		/g/	
fricatives	/f/	/s/			/h/
nasals	/m/	/n/			
liquid			/l/		
rhotic			/r/		
semivowels				/y/	/w/

/p/ **pús** 'who', *pis* 'anyone', /t/ **tanginúd**, *tanginud* 'consent', /k/ **kúmbened** 'it was agreed', *censaum* 'to take the census'

/b/ **brateís** 'favor', *brateis* 'favor', /d/ **deded** 'he gave', *deiuast* 'he will swear', /g/ **genetaí** 'Geneta' THEONYM, *ligud* 'law, regulation'

/m/ **maatreís** 'mother', *manim* 'hand', /n/ **niir**, *nerum* 'leader, hero'

/f/ **faamat** 'calls to arms', *factud* 'let him make', /s/ **súm** 'I am', *sit* 'let it be', /h/ **heriiad** 'he may desire', *herest* 'he will desire'

/l/ **líkítud**, *licitud* 'it shall be permitted', /r/ **regatureí** 'director', *herest* 'he will desire'

/y/ **iúveí** 'Jove' THEONYM, *iouiois* 'of Jove' [Paelignian], /w/ **veru** 'gate', *uincter* 'he is convicted'

The fricatives /f/ and /s/ were voiced in intervocalic position. In inscriptions written in the Latin alphabet, the letter *z* stood for the sound derived from an intervocalic *s*, e.g., *ezum* [ezum] 'to be', PRES INF ACT; *egmazum* [egmazum] 'affairs', GEN PL FEM. In the Oscan-Greek alphabet, the fricative /f/ was occasionally spelled by means of β in intervocalic position, e.g., μεβιτηι 'Mefitis', THEONYM, DAT SG FEM and σταβαλανο 'set up', GRDV, ACC PL NEUT, a spelling that is generally considered to indicate that /f/ was voiced in this context.

The phoneme /h/ was restricted to word-initial position. When the letter **h** was written between vowels, it had the function of marking vocalic hiatus, e.g., Oscan **stahínt** 'they stand', which stands phonemically for /staēnt/ or /staent̥/.

All geographical varieties of Oscan palatalized consonants (except for fricatives and semivowels) before the semivowel /y/. The evidence suggests that the outcome of

palatalization differed depending on the regional dialect (see below). In the National Alphabet, that is to say, in the dialects spoken in Samnium and Campania, palatalization was marked in orthography by gemination of the palatalized consonant, e.g., **mamerttiaís** '(month) of Mamers' < *mamertya-, **meddikkiai** 'the office of *meddix*' < *meddikya-, **kúmbennieís** 'assembly' < *kombenyo-, **vítelliú** 'Italia' < *witelya-, etc. In the dialect of Oscan spoken at Bantia in Lucania, as attested by the *Tabula Bantina* (ca. 100 BCE), dental and velar stops were assibilated before the semivowel /y/, which was then lost, e.g., *bansae* 'Bantia' (town in Apulia) < *bantya-, *meddixud* '(municipal) office' < *meddikyo-. It is generally assumed that clusters of resonant (*m, n, l, r*) plus /y/ were also palatalized. The evidence pointing in this direction is the loss of the /y/, the sound that triggered palatalization, in these environments, e.g., *famelo* [famelʸo] 'household' < *famelyā, *herest* [herʸest] 'to wish, desire' < *heryest.

The Oscan vowel system, given in Table 3.2, had three pairs of vowel phonemes in the palatal region, each pair being distinguished by the features of height and length. In the National Oscan script, long vowels in word-initial/radical syllables were distinguished orthographically from short ones by double writing of the vowel sign, though this practice is by no means consistently employed, even in the same inscription. The inventory of labial vowels was half that of the palatals, consisting of two high vowels, /ū/ and /u/, and one mid vowel, /o/. The low vowels /ā/ and /a/ filled out the system.

Table 3.2   Oscan vowels

	front		back
hi	/ī/, /i/		/ū/, /u/
mid	/ē/, /e/		
	/ē̜/, /ę/		/o/
low		/ā/, /a/	

LONG VOWELS:
/ī/ **viíbis** 'Vibius', /ē/ **fíísnam** 'temple', /ē̜/ **teerúm** 'territory', /ā/ **braateís** 'favor', /ū/ **fluusaí** 'Flora'
SHORT VOWELS:
/i/ **leginum** 'troop (?)', /e/ **ídík** 'this', (*idik* 'this'), /ę/ **pedúm** 'foot', /a/ **tanginud** 'consent', /o/ **púd** 'which', /u/ **purasiaí** 'of the fire'

Although the evidence is not conclusive, it is possible that the distinction in vowel length illustrated above was maintained only in word-initial or radical syllables. Double spelling of vowels was rare outside of these environments.

At the beginning of the 3rd century the Oscan vowel system was augmented by a sound that developed from short /u/ following a dental consonant. In the National Alphabet this sound was spelled as **iu**, which probably represented a falling diphthong /yu/, e.g., **tiurrí** /tyurre(m)/ 'tower' ACC SG < *turrim, cp. Latin *turrim*. In a few late 2nd century inscriptions composed in the Oscan-Greek alphabet, this sound was spelled by

υ, e.g., νυμψιμ 'Numesius', NOMEN, ACC SG MASC. The fact that the letter υ stood at this time in Ionic Greek for a high front rounded vowel /ü/ suggests that the diphthong /yu/ had developed or was developing toward a vowel of this quality in some southern Oscan dialects.

Another feature characteristic of the Oscan phonological system was the development of anaptyctic vowels that broke up medial clusters of obstruents and resonants (R = /l/, /r/, /m/, /n/). In most Oscan dialects, anaptyxis occurred in two environments: (1) resonant plus obstruent clusters, e.g., **aragetud** 'money' < *argentōd, and (2) obstruent plus resonant clusters, provided the preceding vowel was short, e.g., **patereí** 'father' < *patrey. In anterior anaptyxis (RC), the quality of the anaptyctic vowel was determined by the quality of the vowel (nucleus) preceding the liquid, rhotic, or nasal, e.g., **aragetud**. In posterior anaptyxis (CR), the quality of the anaptyctic vowel was determined by the quality of the vowel (nucleus) in the following syllable. Compare the anaptyctic vowels (underlined) in **pate̲reí** 'father' and **tefu̲rúm** 'burnt offering' (< *tefrom), which are copies of the vowels in the final syllable, to the anaptyctic vowel in **aragetud**, which is a copy of the vowel in the initial syllable.

Oscan had six diphthongs. The diphthong /ew/ was introduced via loanwords from Greek. It was not found in native vocabulary.

Table 3.3   Oscan diphthongs

/ay/	/ey/	/oy/
/aw/	/ew/	/ow/

/ay/ **aitatúm** 'age', *aeteis* 'part', /ey/ **deívaí** 'divine', *deicum* 'to speak', /oy/ **múínikú** 'common, shared', *poizad* 'which', /aw/ **avt**, *aut* 'but', /ew/ **evklúí** 'Euclus', /ow/ **lúvkeí** 'grove', *loucies* 'Lucius', PRAE [Paelignian]

3.3 Umbrian

The Umbrian consonant inventory, as set out in Table 3.4, differed from the Oscan inventory in terms of the number of fricatives. In addition to the dental fricative /s/, Umbrian had a voiceless palatal fricative /š/, a sound that developed from prehistoric combinations of *ky, *ki, and *ke, e.g., **çerfie** /šerfye/ 'Serfius', THEONYM, DAT SG MASC, and a voiced alveolar fricative /ð/, a sound that developed from intervocalic *d and also from intervocalic *l when adjacent to palatal vowels. In the native Umbrian alphabet the alveolar fricative was spelled with a distinct letter that is transcribed as ř. In the Latin alphabet this sound was spelled most often by the digraph *rs*, but occasionally by simple *s* or *r*, e.g., **teřa**, *dirsa* /deða/ 'to give', 3SG PRES ACT SUBJ.

Table 3.4   Umbrian consonants

	labials	dentals	palatals	velars	glottal
vless stops	/p/	/t/		/k/	
vd stops	/b/	/d/		/g/	
fricatives	/f/	/s/, /ð/	/š/		(/h/)

nasals	/m/	/n/		
liquid			/l/	
rhotic			/r/	
semivowels			/y/	/w/

/p/ **puplum**, *poplom* 'army', /t/ **tuta**, *totam* 'community', /k/ **kumaltu**, *comolto* 'let him grind'
/b/ **habinaf**, *habina* 'lamb', /d/ **teřa**, *dirsa* 'he may give', /g/ **krapuvi**, *grabovie* 'Grabovius' THEONYM
/f/ **fust**, *fust* 'he will be', /s/ **sif**, *sif* 'sow', /š/ **çerfie**, *śerfie* 'Serfius' THEONYM, /ð/ **teřa**, *dirsa* 'he may give', (/h/ **habia** 'he may hold', **habiest** 'he will hold')
/m/ **matres**, *matrer* 'mother', /n/ **numem**, *nome* 'name'
/l/ **pihaclu**, *pihaclu* 'rite of purification', /r/ **rufru**, *rufrer* 'red'
/y/ **iuviu**, *iouiu* 'of Jupiter', /w/ **veres**, *verir* 'gate'

The lateral liquid /l/ was not found in word-initial position. In prehistoric Umbrian it developed to /w/, e.g., **vuku** 'grove, woods', LOC SG MASC < *lowkōḍ*. The phoneme /s/ was rhotacized in intervocalic position and this sound subsequently merged with the phoneme /r/, e.g., **eru**, *erom* 'to be', PRES ACT INF < *esom*. (For /s/ in word-final position, see below.)

By the time of the earliest Umbrian inscriptions word-final /d/ had already been lost, e.g., **dede** 'gave', 3SG PERF ACT < *deded*. Weakening and loss of other word-final consonants, namely, -*r*, -*m*, -*n*, -*s*, and -*f*, was particularly prominent in Umbrian inscriptions of the 3rd to 1st centuries BCE. Word-final consonants were sometimes spelled, and sometimes not, no doubt reflecting changes *in fieri* at the time of the production of the inscriptions. Word-final *s* was omitted sporadically in Iguvine Tablets I–Vb7. In the Tablets written in the Latin alphabet, word-final *s* was rhotacized to *r*, e.g., *popler* 'army', GEN SG MASC < *popleys*, and word-final -*m*, -*n*, -*f* (< *-ns*) and -*r*, including -*r* from original *-s*, were sometimes written and sometimes omitted. The writing of word-final -*f* in these Tablets is illustrative. Word-final -*f* was regularly, but not always, omitted in polysyllabic words and in monosyllables ending in a consonant cluster. In vocalic stem monosyllables -*f* was generally written. The following sentence, in which final -*f* was spelled in two words (*abrof, trif*) but omitted in two others (*rofu, peiu*), is typical: *abrof trif fetu heriei rofu heriei peiu* (VIIa 3) 'let him sacrifice three boars, either red or spotted'.

The glottal fricative /h/ was lost in Umbrian. In medial environments the sound was lost before the historical period. As a result the letter **h** was frequently used to mark both vocalic hiatus or vowel length, e.g., **ahesnes** /aesnes/ 'of bronze', ABL PL; **ahtripuřatu** /ātripuðatu/ 'let him dance the three-step', 3SG IMPV II. In word-initial position **h** was also lost, but this must have been a development that was more recent than that in medial environments. Spellings with and without **h** are found in the earliest sections of the *Tabulae*, e.g., **heries** 'to wish', 2SG FUT ACT vs. **eretu** 'wished for' ABL SG NEUT, as are examples of **h** appearing in phonological contexts where unexpected on etymological grounds, e.g., **habinaf** 'lamb', ACC PL FEM, cp. Latin *agnus*.

Umbrian also showed a greater tendency than other Sabellic languages to simplify consonant clusters internally. For example, Proto-Sabellic *-ft-* was reduced to -*t*- in Umbrian. Compare Oscan **scriftas** and Umbrian *screhto* /skrēṭo/.

The inventory of Umbrian vowels was similar to that found in Oscan, but there were two additional back vowel phonemes. One was a long mid phoneme /ō/ corresponding to short /o/; the second was a back rounded vowel that was lower phonetically than /o/, perhaps /ɒ/. As in Oscan, the distinction between long and short vowels appears to have been maintained in word-initial or radical syllables, etymological long vowels generally being shortened in medial and final syllables.

Table 3.5   The Umbrian vowel system

	front		back
hi	/ī/, /i/		/ū/, /u/
mid	/ē/, /e/		
	/ē/, /e/		/ō/, /o/
			/ɒ/
low		/ā/, /a/	

LONG VOWELS:
/ī/ **persnihmu** 'let him pray', /ē/ **sehmeniar** meaning uncertain, /ē/ **esuna**, *eesoṇa* 'offering', /ā/ **kumnahkle** 'meeting place', /ō/ **uhtur**, *oht* 'chief spokesperson', /ū/ **struhla** 'offering cake'
SHORT VOWELS:
/i/ **atiersir** 'Atiedian', /e/ **aves**, *avis*, *aueis* 'bird', /e/ **ařfertur** 'chief priest', /a/ **ařfertur**, /ɒ/ **pihaz**, *pihos* 'purified', /o/ **puplum**, *poplom*, 'army', /u/ **fust**, *fust* 'he will be'

Umbrian did not have diphthongs corresponding to those in Oscan (and South Picene). All inherited diphthongs developed to simple vowels. However, two new diphthongs were introduced as the result of phonological changes, e.g., **deitu** /deytu/ 'let him speak', 3SG ACT IMPV II < *deyketōḍ*; **aitu** /aytu/ 'let him move', 3SG ACT IMPV II < *agetōḍ*.

3.4 South Picene

The South Picene consonant inventory is virtually the same as the inventory in Oscan. The distinctive characteristics are to be found at the sub-phonemic level, and then only for some parts of the South Picene speech area. For example, in two inscriptions from the southern part of South Picene territory, namely, SP TE 7 and SP CH 1, word-initial *kl*- and *pl*- were spelled as **qd**, **pd**, rather than **ql**, **pl**, e.g., **qduíú**, **qdufenniúí**, and **pdufem**. It is impossible to determine with precision the quality of the sound represented by **d** in these clusters, but a dental or alveolar with tap or flap articulation is a reasonable guess. In SP TE 5, voiceless velar stops were palatalized before front vowels. The result was probably a palatal fricative [š], e.g., **śidom** 'this here' < *kidōm*.

Table 3.6   South Picene consonants

labials	dentals	palatals	velars	glottal

vlss stops	/p/	/t/			/k/	
vd stops	/b/	/d/			/g/	
fricatives	/f/	/s/		([š])		/h/
nasals	/m/	/n/				
liquid			/l/			
rhotic			/r/			
semivowels				/y/	/w/	

/p/ **puqloh** 'son', /t/ **toúta** 'community', /k/ **qoras** 'statue'
/b/ **ombríen** 'Ombria' TOPONYM, /d/ **dúnoh** 'gift', /g/ **tokam** 'burial place'
/f/ **fitiasom** meaning uncertain, /s/ **safinúm** 'Sabines', ([š] **śidom** 'this here'), /h/ **homanah** meaning
    uncertain
/m/ **matereíh** 'mother', /n/ **nerf** 'leaders, heroes'
/l/ **puqloh** 'son' /r/ **rufra** 'red'
/y/ **iepeten** meaning uncertain, /w/ **videtas** 'you see'

As was the case in Umbrian, the lateral liquid /l/ was eliminated from word-initial position by a prehistoric change whereby *l > w, e.g., **veiat** 'rests' < Proto-Sabellic *leγγāt. The phoneme /h/ was found only at the beginnings of words.

In most varieties of South Picene there were five pairs of vowel phonemes, two pairs of front vowels and three pairs of non-front vowels. Vowel length was distinctive. The mid vowels were also distinct qualitatively, the long vowels being somewhat higher than the corresponding short vowels. This information is summarized in Table 3.7. The letters spelling the vowel phonemes are underlined.

Table 3.7   South Picene vowels

	front		back	
hi	/ī/, /i/		/ū/, /u/	
mid	/ē/, /e/		/ō/, /o/	
low		/ā/, /a/		

LONG VOWELS:
/ī/ **arítih** meaning uncertain, /ē/ **nír** 'leader, hero', /ā/ **matereíh** 'mother', /ō/ **dúnoh** 'gift', /ū/ no
    example
SHORT VOWELS:
/i/ **apúnis** 'Aponius', NOMEN, /e/ **mefiín** 'middle', /a/ **patereíh** 'father', /o/ **tokam** 'tomb', /u/ **qupat**
    'he is buried'

Some South Picene dialects had additional long vowels of limited distribution resulting from the monophthongization of diphthongs in syllable-final position. These vowels were /ē/ and /ō/. In orthography vowel length was marked by the letter **h**, e.g., **tefeh** 'you', DAT SG and **dúnoh** 'gift', DAT SG NEUT.

Alongside the simple vowels, South Picene had a set of diphthongs that included at least one with a long nucleus, /ōy/ (see Table 3.8).

Table 3.8   South Picene diphthongs

/ay/	/ey/	/ōy/
/aw/		/ow/

/ay/ **praistaít** 'he sets up', /ey/ **meitims** 'monument', /ōy/ **titúí** 'Titus', /aw/ **aúdaqum** '?', /ow/ **toúta** 'community'

In inscriptions from the northern part of the South Picene speech area, diphthongs with a short nucleus were found in all positions within words. In contrast, in inscriptions from the south diphthongs in word-final position were monopthongized, e.g., **tefeh** 'you' < *tefey, **puqloh** 'son' < *puklōy (see preceding paragraph). There was also a tendency for speakers in this same territory to monophthongize *ey to /ē/ in closed final syllables before -s, e.g., **staties** 'Statius' PRAE, GEN SG MASC < *statieys.

3.5 Accentuation
Nothing is known about word accent in Sabellic. Nevertheless, it is possible to speculate about accentuation based on orthographic practices and on certain phonological processes that affected the Sabellic languages at various stages in their development. In all Sabellic languages short vowels were lost before word-final *s. And short vowels in open medial syllables were syncopated early in the historical period. These developments are consistent with a stress accent positioned on the initial syllable of words. The fact that vowel length is indicated only in word-initial or radical syllables in both Oscan and Umbrian (with rare exceptions) suggests that the accent fell on this syllable also during the historical period.

3.6 Additional Reading
Buck (1928:22–112) and Poultney (1959:25–84) are a good resource for Oscan and Umbrian phonology. Both descriptions include a substantial diachronic component. For the South Picene vowel system, though with useful references to Oscan and Umbrian as well, see Adiego Lajara (1992). Diachronic Umbrian phonology is discussed in great detail in Meiser (1986). For Oscan Lejeune (1949), (1970), (1972), and (1975) are useful resources. Weiss (1998) is a thorough discussion of South Picene diphthongs and of the vowels *ō and *o in word-final syllables. See Schmid (1954) and Adiego Lajara (1994) for anaptyxis in Oscan.

4. Morphology

4.1 Morphological classification

The Sabellic languages were fusional, inflecting languages. The major word classes — nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and verbs — had sets of affixes that encoded several grammatical features at the same time, e.g., *-nt* = 3rd person, plural, active. Other word classes, e.g., negators, subordinators, pre- and post-positions, and sentential adverbs, were uninflected.

4.2 Nominal system

The nominal system was composed of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns. All members of the nominal system, with the exception of the 1st and 2nd personal pronouns (on which, see below), inflected for the grammatical features of case, number, and gender. Sabellic languages had seven cases (nominative, vocative, accusative, dative, ablative, genitive, and locative), two numbers (singular and plural), and three gender classes, which are traditionally labeled masculine, feminine, and neuter. Nouns were assigned to one of the gender classes on the basis of the final sound of the stem. For example, *ā*-stems were feminine, *o*-stems and *u*-stems were either masculine or neuter, *men*-stems were neuter, and so forth. Nouns referring to males and females were assigned to masculine and feminine gender classes respectively, regardless of form. So, for example, the *r*-stem **patir** 'father' (Oscan, NOM SG) was masculine, while the *r*-stem **matereíh** 'mother' (South Picene, DAT SG) was feminine.

4.2.1 Nouns

Nouns were organized into inflectional patterns called declensions. The declensional pattern depended on the final sound of the stem (for paradigms, see Tables 4.1–4.5 below). Sabellic languages had four major vocalic-stem declensions: *ā*-stems, e.g., South Picene **qora** 'statue', NOM SG FEM; *o*-stems, e.g., Umbrian *poplom* 'army' ACC SG MASC; *i*-stems, e.g., Oscan **sakrid** 'victim' ABL SG FEM; and *u*-stems, e.g., Umbrian **trifu** 'district', ACC SG FEM; and four major consonant-stem declensions: stop-stems, e.g., Oscan **aítatúm** 'age', ACC SG FEM; *s*-stems, e.g., Umbrian **meřs** 'law', NOM SG NEUT; *r*-stems, e.g., Oscan **patir** 'father', NOM MASC SG; and *n*-stems, e.g., Umbrian **umen** 'ointment', ACC SG NEUT. Another vocalic declension whose stem ended in *-ē* may also be recognized, but the evidence for this declensional type is limited to a few words, e.g., Oscan **kerrí** 'Ceres', THEONYM, DAT SG FEM, and Umbrian **ri** 'matter', ABL SG FEM, cp. Latin *rēs* 'affair, matter', NOM SG FEM.

Table 4.1   Sabellic *ā*-declension

	Oscan	Umbrian	South Picene
SINGULAR			
NOM	**víú**[1], *touto*[2]	**muta**, *mutu*[11]	**qora**[21]
VOC	—	*tursa*[12], *prestota*[13]	—
ACC	**víam**, *t<o>utam*	**tuta**, *totam*[2]	**viam**
DAT	**deívaí**[3]	**tute**, *tote*	—
ABL	**eítiuvad**[4], *toutad*	**tuta**, *tota*	*uluβerna*[22]
GEN	**vereias**[5], *eituas*	**tutas**, *totar*	**safinas**[23]
LOC	**víaí**, *bansae*[6]	**tafle**[14], *tote*	**toútaih**[24]
PLURAL			
NOM	**aasas**[7], *scriftas*[8]	**pumpeřias**[15], *iuengar*[16]	**fítias**[25]
ACC	**víass**, *eituas*	**vitlaf**[17], *vitla*	**qoras**
DAT/ABL	**kerssnaís**[9]	**fesnere**[18], *dequrier*[19]	**súais**[26]
GEN	**<v>ehiianasúm**[10], *egmazum*[11]	**hapinaru**[20]	**fitiasom**

1. 'road' 2. 'community, people' 3. 'divine' 4. 'money' 5. 'community' 6. 'Bantia', TOPONYM 7. 'altar' 8. 'having been written' 9. 'banquet, meal' 10. meaning uncertain, perhaps the name of a festival 11. 'fine, penalty' 12. 'Tursa', THEONYM 13. 'Prestota', THEONYM 14. 'board, tablet' 15. meaning unclear 16. 'heifer' 17. 'calf' 18. 'temple' + POST -e 19. meaning unknown. 20. 'lamb' 21. 'statue' 22. 'Ulverna', TOPONYM 23. 'Sabine' 24. locative + -*í* particle 25. meaning unknown. This form could also be GEN SG. 26. 'their own'

Table 4.2   Sabellic *o*-declension

	Oscan	Umbrian	South Picene
SINGULAR			
NOM	**húrz**[1]	*ager*[10]	**meitims**[21]
VOC	**statie**[2], **silie**[3]	*serfe*[11], *tefre*[12]	—
ACC	**húrtúm**	**puplum**[13], *poplom*	**meitimúm**
DAT	**húrtúí**	**kumnacle**[14], *pople*	**titúí**,[22] **puqloh**[9]
ABL	**sakaraklúd**[4]	**puplu**, *poplu*	**spolitiú**[23]
GEN	**sakarakleís**	**katles**[15], *popler*	**kaúieis**[24]
LOC	**tereí**[5], *comenei*[6]	**kumne**[16], *pople*	**akren**[25]
PLURAL			
NOM	**núvlanús**[7]	**ikuvinus**, *iovinur*[17]	**apaiús**[26]
ACC	**feíhúss**[8]	**vitluf**[18], *vitlu*	—
DAT/ABL/LOC	*puclois*[9]	**veskles**[19], *vesclir*	—
GEN	**núvlanúm**	**pihaklu**[20], *pihaclo*	**safinúm**[27]

1. 'enclosure', MASC 2. 'Statius', PRAE, MASC 3. 'Silius', NOMEN, MASC 4. 'sanctuary', NEUT. 5. 'territory', NEUT 6. 'assembly', NEUT 7. 'people of Nola', MASC 8. 'wall', MASC 9. 'son', MASC 10. 'plot of land', MASC 11. 'Serfus', THEONYM, MASC 12. 'Tefer', THEONYM, MASC 13. 'army', MASC 14. 'assembly area; meeting house' NEUT 15. 'animal', possibly 'puppy', MASC 16. 'public square'; plural = 'assembly (of the people)', NEUT 17. 'Iguvine', MASC 18. 'calf', MASC 19. 'vessel, container', NEUT 20. 'propitiatory offering', NEUT 21. possibly 'present, gift', MASC 21. 'Titus', PRAE, MASC 22. 'son', MASC 23. 'Spoleto', TOPONYM 24.

'Gavius', PRAE, MASC 25. 'field', LOC SG MASC + **-en** POST < *agrey* + *-en*. 26. 'Appaei', NOMEN, MASC 27. 'Sabine people', MASC

Table 4.3   Sabellic *i*-declension

	Oscan	Umbrian	South Picene
SINGULAR			
NOM	**aídíl**[1]	**ukar**[5]	—
VOC	—	—	—
ACC	**slagím**[2]	**uvem**[6]	—
DAT	—	*ocre*	**okreí**[11]
ABL	**slaagid**	**ucri(per)**	—
GEN	*aeteis*[3]	*ocrer*	—
LOC	—	**ukre**, *ocre*	—
PLURAL			
NOM/VOC	**aídilis**	**puntes**[7]	—
ACC	—	**avif**[8], **avef, sakreu**[9]	—
DAT/ABL/LOC	**sakriss**[3]	**avis, aves**	—
GEN	**aíttíúm**[4]	*peracnio*[10]	**alíntiom**[12]

1. 'aedile', MASC = public official 2. 'boundary', FEM. 3. 'young pig, victim', MASC or FEM. 4. 'part, portion', FEM 5. 'citadel', MASC 6. 'sheep', MASC 7. meaning unclear. 8. 'bird', MASC or FEM 9. 'sacred articles', NEUT 10. meaning uncertain 11. 'citadel'. This form could also be locative. 12. Possibly an ethnic name, 'Allentes'

Table 4.4   Sabellic *u*-declension

	Umbrian	Other Sabellic languages
SINGULAR		
NOM	—	—
VOC	—	—
ACC	**trifu**[1], *trifo*	*manim*[7] (Oscan)
DAT	*trifo*	—
ABL	**trefi, mani**[2]	*castrid*[8] (Oscan)
GEN	*trifor*	*castrous* (Oscan)
LOC	**manuve**[3]	—
PLURAL		
NOM/VOC	**berva**[4], *castruo*[5]	—

	Oscan	Umbrian	South Picene
ACC	**manf**[6]	—	
DAT/ABL/LOC	**berus**	**manus**[9] (South Picene)	
GEN	—	—	

1. 'district', FEM 2. 'hand', MASC 3. LOC + **-e** 'in' POST 4. 'spits', NEUT 5. 'heads', NEUT 6. Analogically remade to consonant declension or possibly a consonant-stem form. 7. Oscan, 'hand'. The vowel of the ending is based on the *-ī* of the ABL SG. 8. Oscan, 'capital crime'. 9. South Picene, 'hand', FEM.

Table 4.5   Sabellic consonantal stem declension

	Oscan	Umbrian	South Picene
SINGULAR			
NOM	**meddíss**[1]	**ařfertur**[8], **pir**[9]	**nír**[18]
VOC	—	**Iupater**[10]	—
ACC	**trííbúm**[2]	*capirso*[11], **pir**	—
DAT	**medíkeí**	**nomne**[12]	**patereíh**[19]
ABL	**tanginud**[3]	**kapiře**[11]	—
GEN	**medíkeís**[1]	*nomner, matres*[13]	—
LOC	—	—	**vepeten**[20]
PLURAL			
NOM/VOC	**meddíss**[1], **humuns**[4]	**frater**[14], *vasor*[15]	—
ACC	**malaks**[5]	**capif, nerf**[16], *tudero*[17]	**nerf**[18]
DAT/ABL/LOC	*ligis*[6]	**capiřus**, *fratrus*	—
GEN	**fratrúm**[7]	**fratrum**	—

1. 'meddix', a public official, MASC, stop-stem 2. 'building', FEM, stop-stem 3. 'consent, agreement, decree', FEM, *n*-stem 4. 'man', MASC, *n*-stem 5. meaning unknown, possibly 'evil-doing (men)', MASC (?), stop-stem 6. 'law', FEM, stop-stem. 7. 'brother', MASC, *r*-stem. 8. 'priest', MASC, *r*-stem 9. 'fire', NEUT, *r*-stem 10. 'Jupiter', THEONYM, MASC, *r*-stem 11. 'offering cup', FEM, stop-stem 12. 'name', NEUT, *n*-stem 13. 'mother', FEM, *r*-stem, cp. South Picene **matereíh** DAT SG 14. 'members of a fraternity', MASC, *r*-stem 15. stem /wǎss-/, possibly 'receptacle', NEUT, *s*-stem 16. 'leader', MASC *r*-stem 17. 'boundary', NEUT, *r*-stem 18. 'leader', MASC, *r*-stem 19. 'father', MASC, *r*-stem 20. 'tomb', NEUT, stop-stem + **-en** 'in' POST

4.2.1.1 Inflectional Endings

The inflectional endings of nominal forms, while similar across declensional classes, display distinctive characteristics. For example, the genitive plural ending for most declensions was *-Vm*, e.g., Oscan /um/ **-úm, -um**, South Picene /ōm/ **-om**, and Umbrian (/om/ **-um**), but for *ā*-stems the genitive plural derived historically from an ending with the form **-sōm*, which yields /-sum/ in Oscan and /-sōm/ in South Picene, but /-rom/ in Umbrian via rhotacism of original medial *-s*. The accusative plural of masculine and feminine nominal forms in Umbrian was *-f*, while in Oscan the ending was *-ss*. Oscan consonant stems had an *-i* as the linking vowel before the ending of the dative/ablative/locative plural. In Umbrian consonant-stems the linking vowel was *-u*. The nominative singular of *ā*-stems was written as *-a* in South Picene, e.g. **qora** 'statue'.

In Oscan and Umbrian word-final *-ā* was raised and rounded, e.g., Oscan **víú** 'road', Umbrian **mutu** 'fine'. The ablative singular ending of the consonant-stems was borrowed from the *o*-stems in Oscan, e.g., Oscan **tanginud** 'consent', ABL SG FEM. Umbrian maintained the inherited ending, e.g., Umbrian **ferine** 'platter', ABL SG FEM. In Oscan masculine/feminine *n*-stems had a nominative singular ending in *-f*, e.g., **frūktātiōṇs* > **fruktatiúf** 'utilization'. The corresponding form in Umbrian was made without an inflectional ending, e.g., **karu** 'part', NOM SG FEM.

4.2.1.2 Paradigmatic subtypes

Paradigmatic subclasses existed within the inflectional types described above. For example, *o*-stems, *i*-stems, and consonant-stems split into subclasses based on the gender of the noun. Neuters had inflectional endings that were distinct from masculines and feminines in the nominative and accusative singular, and in the nominative and accusative plural.

Table 4.6   Oscan *o*-stem masculines and neuters

Oscan	MASC	NEUT
SINGULAR		
NOM	**húrz** /horts/[1]	**tefúrúm**[4]
ACC	**húrtúm**	**dunum**[5]
PLURAL		
NOM	**núvlanús**[2]	**veru**[6]
ACC	**feíhúss**[3]	**veru**

1. 'enclosure' 2. 'people of Nola' 3. 'wall' 4. 'burnt offering' 5. 'gift'. 6. 'gate'

o-stems and *i*-stems developed subtypes due to sound changes that eliminated short **o* and short **i* in word-final syllables before **s* and, in the case of **o*-stems, also in final syllables ending in **-yom*. As a result of these changes, stems that were built with the **-yo*-suffix came to have an inflectional pattern that was distinct from other types of *o*-stems. These types were distinguished by whether or not the nominative singular retained or lost its original word-final **-s*. Compare the nominative and accusative singulars in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7   Subclasses of Sabellic *o*-stems

Oscan	**-to*-stems	**-ro*-stems	**-lo*-stems	**-yo*-stems
NOM SG	**húrz** /horts/[1]	—	**paakul**[2]	**pakis**[3], **degetasis**[4]
ACC SG	**húrtum**	—	—	**pakim**

1. 'grove, wood', MASC 2. 'Pakulus', NOMEN, MASC 3. 'Pacius', PRAE, MASC 4. meaning uncertain, MASC

Umbrian	**-to*-stems	**-ro*-stems	**-lo*-stems	**-yo*-stems
NOM SG	**taçez** /tašets/[1]	*ager*[3]	**katel**[5]	**vuvçis**[6]
ACC SG	**kuratu**[2]	**kaprum**[4]	**katlu**	*fisim*[7]

1. 'silent', PAST PART, MASC 2. 'taken care of', PAST PART, NEUT 3. 'field', MASC 4. 'goat', MASC 5. 'animal', possibly 'puppy', MASC 6. 'Lucius', MASC PRAE 7. 'belonging to the god Fisus', ADJ, MASC

Masculine and feminine consonant-stems split into subtypes based on whether or not the nominative singular was formed by the addition of *-s* to the stem. Masculine and feminine stop-stems were inflected with *-s*, e.g., Marrucinian *lixs* /lēks/ 'regulation', NOM SG FEM. *n*-stems, which had a nominative singular *-s* in prehistoric Oscan, developed synchronic nominative singulars in *-f* due to a sound change whereby **-ns* > -*f*, e.g., **trēbarkyōns* > Oscan **tríbarakkiuf** 'building', NOM SG FEM (see §4.2.1.1). *l*-stems and *r*-stems were asigmatic in the nominative singular. *r*-stems referring to familial relationships had multiple stem forms, one stem for the nominative singular, e.g., Umbrian **frater** 'member of brotherhood', NOM SG MASC, and another for the remaining cases, e.g., Umbrian *fratr-* in **fratrum**, GEN PL MASC, and *fratrus*, DAT PL MASC.

4.2.1.3 Irregular nouns

A few important nouns stood outside of regular paradigmatic classes. For example, the Umbrian noun *bu-* 'ox, cow' had vocalic stem as well as consonantal stem features. The accusative singular ending was *-m*, e.g., **bu-m** ACC SG, which is characteristic of vocalic stems, but the ablative singular had the inflection of a consonantal stem, e.g., *bu-e* ABL SG. The Umbrian noun 'Jove' inflected with two distinct, but etymologically related, stems /yuw/- and /dē-/. The first stem appeared in oblique forms, the second stem in the accusative and the vocative (the nominative is not attested), e.g., *dei* ACC SG MASC < **dyēm; di, dei*, VOC SG MASC < **dyē*. In the Umbrian compound noun **iupater** 'Jupiter' both constituents inflected, e.g., **iuvepatre** = **iuve-** DAT SG MASC + **-patre** DAT SG MASC.

4.2.1.4 Locative case

An important morphological development in the Sabellic case system was triggered by sound changes affecting the prehistoric sequence **-eye-*. The postposition *-en* (Oscan **-en** 'in, upon', Umbrian **-en, -e, -em** 'in, upon', South Picene **-en, -ín**) governed the locative case as one of its functions. When this postposition was added to the locative of *o*-stems and *i*-stems, intervocalic **-y-* was lost, and the vowel of the case ending and the initial vowel of the postposition contracted to yield a single long vowel, e.g., Oscan **húrtín** /hortēn/ 'in the grove' < **hortey-en*. The vowel resulting from the contraction of the vowel of the inflectional ending and the postposition was then reanalyzed — at least by some speakers — as belonging to a new form of the locative case. That such a reanalysis did indeed happen is supported by noun phrases in which this new ending was attached to both adjective and noun, e.g., Oscan **hurtín kerríín** 'in the precinct of Ceres', LOC SG MASC, Umbrian *ocrem fisiem* 'on the Fisian Mount', LOC SG MASC, and by

locatives in which the postposition was added to a noun that already had the postposition affixed to it, e.g., Umbrian *toteme iouine* 'in the Iguvine community'. In this example *toteme* can be segmented diachronically as *tote* LOC SG FEM + *-(e)m* POST + *-e* POST.

4.2.2 Adjectives

Adjectives were organized into paradigmatic classes on the same basis as nouns, although there were fewer stem-types. Adjectives belonged to *o*-stem, *ā*-stem, *i*-stem, and consonant-stem declensions; *u*-stem declension is not attested. *o*-stems and *ā*-stems formed one adjectival constellation, the masculine and neuters taking *o*-stem inflection (Oscan **túvtíks** 'of the community, people', NOM SG MASC, *touticom* ACC SG NEUT) and the feminines taking *ā*-stem inflection (Oscan *toutico* NOM SG FEM with word-final *-o* from earlier *-ā*). *i*-stems and consonant-stems were inflected for all three gender classes, e.g., Umbrian *i*-stem *perakri* 'a year-old (?)', ABL SG MASC, **perakre** ACC SG FEM.

The inflectional category of degree was marked by suffixes added to the adjective stem. The regular suffixes were *-tro-* for comparative degree, e.g., Umbrian **mestru** 'greater', NOM SG FEM, and *-imo-* and *-simo-* for superlative, e.g., Oscan **maimas** 'greatest', NOM PL FEM, Oscan **nessimas** 'nearest', NOM PL FEM.

4.2.3 Pronouns

The Sabellic pronominal system included personal, reflexive, demonstrative, emphatic, anaphoric, interrogative/indefinite, and relative pronouns. The pronouns for first and second person were not marked for gender, but the rest of the forms in the pronominal system were assigned gender based on that of the noun with which they were in agreement or to which they referred, e.g., Umbrian **este persklum** 'this ceremony', ACC SG NEUT.

Sabellic pronouns showed significant differences in inflection when compared with nouns and adjectives. These differences were particularly striking in the case of the personal pronouns, but were manifest also in other pronominal categories. For example, the dative singular of the first and second person pronouns displayed endings not found in nominal inflection, e.g., *-he, -fe/-fei*: Umbrian **mehe** 'to me', DAT SG, **tefe** 'to you', DAT SG, Oscan **t(e)fei** 'to you' DAT SG, South Picene **tefeí, tefeh** 'to you', DAT SG, cp. Latin *tibi* DAT SG. The dative singular and the locative singular of demonstratives and relatives were marked by distinctive endings in Umbrian and in South Picene, e.g., dative *-smi, -smei*, locative *-sme*, e.g., Umbrian demonstrative *esmei*, **esmi-k** 'this', DAT SG, relative **pusme**, 'who, which', DAT SG, and demonstrative *esme* 'this', LOC SG; South Picene relative **posmúi** DAT SG < *posmōy* + *-ī* particle and demonstrative **esmín** LOC SG < *esmey* + *-en* POST. The pronominal neuter nominative/accusative singular was distinguished from neuter nouns by its case ending *-d*: Oscan **púd** 'which', Umbrian **puře** 'which' < *pod* + *-id*. Finally, there was a substantial amount of suppletion in pronominal paradigms, particularly with regard to the personal pronouns. Compare, for example, the nominative and accusative singular 1st person pronouns: South Picene **ekú** 'I', NOM SG vs. Umbrian **míom** 'me', ACC SG.

Outside of the personal pronouns, Sabellic pronominal formations belonged either to *ā-, o-,* or *i*-stem inflection. The relative and interrogative/indefinite pronouns had the

stems **po-** and **pi-** (for relative pronouns, see Table 4.8, for interrogative/indefinite pronouns see Table 4.9). Demonstrative formations typically had *ā-/o*-stem inflection, e.g., Paelignian *ecuc* 'this', NOM SG FEM < *ekā* + *-ke*, Oscan **ekas** 'this', NOM PL FEM, both with the stem *ekā-*; Umbrian **estu** 'that', ACC SG MASC, with the stem *esto-*; Oscan **eksuk** 'this', ABL SG NEUT < *eksōd-k(e)*, with the stem *ekso-*; Umbrian *eso* 'this', NOM SG FEM < *eksā*, with the stem *essā-*. The Sabellic anaphoric/demonstrative pronoun was built with the stems *i-, eyo-,* and *eyso-*, e.g., Oscan *izic*, Umbrian **erek** 'he, this' NOM SG MASC < *is-id-k(e)*; Umbrian **eam** 'her, this', ACC SG FEM < *eyām*; Oscan **eísak** 'her, this', ABL SG FEM < *eysād-k(e)* (see Table 4.10).

In the prehistory of the Sabellic languages many pronominal forms were augmented by means of particles. The accretion of particles to pronominal forms had the effect of producing paradigms with endings that appear, at first glance, to have little in common with those of the nominal system. In many instances the inflectional ending of a pronominal form cannot easily be identified until the particle has been removed, e.g., Umbrian **erak** 'this' = *erā* ABL SG FEM + particle *-k* < *eysād-k(e)*. In other cases the addition of a particle to a pronominal form created a phonological environment that made the final sound of a pronominal form susceptible to change. For example, the medial *-ř* of the Umbrian interrogative/indefinite pronoun **piře** 'whatever' arose as the result of a sound change whereby *d* > *ř* in intervocalic position, an environment that was created by the addition of the particle *-e* (**piře** = **piř-** NOM/ACC SG NEUT + particle **-e** < *pid-id*). Similarly, Umbrian *erarunt* 'the same' consists of the pronominal form *erār* GEN SG FEM and the particle *-unt*. The genitive inflectional ending *-r* is the result of rhotacism, which took intervocalic *-s* to *-r*, e.g., *eysās-ont* > *erarunt*.

Table 4.8　　　Sabellic relative pronoun, stems **po-/pa-**, 'who, which'

	Oscan	Umbrian
NOM SG MASC	—	*poi*
NOM SG FEM	**paí**	—
NOM/ACC SG NEUT	**púd**	(sve)pu[4]
ACC SG FEM	**paam**	—
DAT SG MASC	**pui**	**pusme**[5]
ABL SG FEM	**pad**,[1] *poizad*[2]	*pora*
NOM PL MASC	**pús**, *puus*[3]	**pure**
NOM PL FEM	**pas**	—
NOM/ACC PL NEUT	**paí**	—
ACC PL FEM	—	*pafe*

1. The syntactic context in which this word appears is unclear. 2. The *-i* in the stem *poiza-* is unexpected and not easily explained. See Untermann 2000:246. 3. Paelignian. 4. Enclitic following the conditional conjunction *sve* 'if'. 5. See also South Picene **posmúi** < *posmōy-ī*.

Table 4.9　　　Sabellic interrogative/indefinite, **pi-** 'who, anyone'

	Oscan	Umbrian
NOM SG MASC/FEM	**pis**	*pis*[3]
NOM/ACC SG NEUT	**píd**	**piři**
ACC SG MASC/FEM	*phim*[1]	—
DAT SG	*piei*	—
NOM PL MASC/FEM	**pís**[2]	—
ACC PL MASC/FEM	—	*pifi*

1. Following the reading of Rix 2002. **pim** is found also in South Picene but the syntactic context in which it appears is unclear. 2. Probably /pēs/, from *peyes* built on the stem *pey-*. 3. Volscian.

Table 4.10   Sabellic anaphoric/demonstrative, **i-/eyo-/eyso-, esmo-**, 'he, she, it; this'

	Oscan	Umbrian
NOM SG MASC	*izic*[1]	**erek**
NOM SG FEM	**íúk**	—
NOM SG NEUT	**ídík**	**eřek**
ACC SG MASC	*ionc*	**eu**
ACC SG FEM	**íak**	*eam*
DAT SG MASC/NEUT	—	**esmik**
ABL SG MASC/NEUT	*eísúd*	**eru(ku)**
ABL SG FEM	*eísak*	**erak**
GEN SG MASC/NEUT	*eíseís*	*erer*
GEN SG FEM	—	*erar*
LOC SG MASC/NEUT	*eíseí*	—
LOC SG FEM	*eísaí*	—
NOM PL MASC	*iusc*	—
ACC PL MASC	*eisuss*[2]	—
ACC PL FEM	*iafc*[3]	**eaf**
NOM/ACC PL NEUT	*ioc*	**eu**
DAT/ABL PL MASC/NEUT	*eizois*	—
DAT/ABL PL FEM	*eizaisc*	—
GEN PL MASC/NEUT	*eisunc*	**eru**
GEN PL FEM	*eizazunc*	—

1. Many of the forms in this paradigm end with the particle /k/. For example, the Oscan nominative singular feminine **iúk** is to be parsed as **iú-k**. 2. Identification of this form as an accusative plural may not be correct. The syntax of the passage appears to call for a nominative plural. 3. Marrucinian.

4.2.4 Pronominal adjective

Sabellic had at least one adjective that had features of both nominal and pronominal inflection. The evidence comes from the paradigm of the Oscan word *altro-/altra-* 'other'.

Inflection followed the regular pattern of *o*-stem/*ā*-stem declension in most case forms, except for that of the dative singular, which had the ending -*ey*, e.g., Oscan *alttrei* DAT SG MASC. Compare the dative singular of the interrogative/indefinite pronoun cited above in Table 4.9.

4.3 Numerals

The cardinal numbers are represented by the words for 'two' and 'three', both of which inflected for case and gender, e.g., Umbrian **sif trif**, 'three sows', ACC PL FEM, **triia tefra**, 'three pieces of burnt offering', ACC PL NEUT. The number 'four', **pettiur**, occurs once in Oscan (Osc Sa 17). Unfortunately, the inscription is damaged and the context in which the word is found cannot be recovered. As a result, it is not certain that this number inflected for case and gender. The Oscan adverb *petiropert* 'four times' has as a first constituent the numeral *petiro-* 'four', which appears to be an inflected form, namely, the accusative plural neuter. However, it is possible that *trioper* 'three times', whose first constituent is a neuter accusative plural, served as a model for the creation of the form *petiro-* in *petiropert*. In any case the stem *petir-* does not match up formally with **pettiur** in a way that is easy to explain. The stem of the number 'four' *petur-* is also found in Umbrian as the first member of the possessive compound *peturpurus* 'four-footed animal', DAT PL. Umbrian *desenduf* 'twelve', ACC PL, is a copulative compound consisting of *desen* 'ten' and *duf* 'two' ACC PL. Evidence for other cardinals can be extracted from derived formations. The Oscan noun **pumperiais** 'Pomperiae (a festival)', ABL PL FEM, and the Oscan adverb *pomtis* 'five times' point to *pompe* as the form for the number 'five'. An Oscan theonym οινατ 'Oyna', DAT SG FEM, may be the feminine form of the number 'one'.

In addition to the cardinal numbers, a few ordinal numbers are attested, e.g., Umbrian **prumum**, *promom*, 'first', ACC SG NEUT, *duti*, 'second', ACC SG NEUT (with the function of an adverb), and *tertim* 'third', ACC SG NEUT (also with the function of an adverb), and Oscan δεκμασ 'tenth', GEN SG FEM. Two distributive forms are found in Umbrian, **prever** 'one each', ABL PL MASC, and **tupler** 'two apiece', ABL PL MASC.

4.4 Verbal system

The Sabellic verb was inflected for the categories of tense, voice, mood, person and number. There were three persons (1st, 2nd, 3rd), two numbers (singular, plural), and two voices (active, deponent/passive). The mood categories were indicative, imperative, and subjunctive. Five different tense forms are attested for Sabellic verbs: present, imperfect, future, perfect, and future perfect. The symmetry of the Sabellic system and the fact that it was similar to the system in Latin suggest that there was another, as yet unattested, tense form, namely, the pluperfect, cp. Latin *portāuerat* 'had carried'.

The finite verb system was formally organized into subsystems based on two stems that originally carried a distinction in aspect, the INFECTUM (present system) and the PERFECTUM (perfect system). Present, imperfect, and future tense forms were built on the stem of the *infectum*; the perfect and the future perfect were built on the *perfectum* (see Table 4.11).

Table 4.11   Oscan *infectum* vs. *perfectum*

	infectum		*perfectum*	
PRES	*didet* 'he gives'[1]		PERF SUBJ	*fefa<c>id* 'he should do'
FUT	*didest* 'he will give'		FUT PERF	*fefacust* 'he will have done'
IMPF	**fufans** 'they were'		PLUPERF	—

1. Vestinian

The grammatical categories of person, number, and voice were signaled by suffixes called personal endings. There were two basic sets, one for active and one for deponent/passive (Table 4.12). The active endings had two forms depending on the tense of the verb-stem to which they were attached. Primary endings were used for present, future, and future perfect tenses. Secondary endings were used for imperfect and perfect indicative tenses, and for all tenses of the subjunctive. In the deponent/passive, only Umbrian had a primary versus secondary distinction, e.g., primary *-ter* in **herter** 'it is desirable', 3SG PRES DEP/PASS vs. secondary *-(n)tur* in **emantur** 'they should be accepted', 3SG PRES DEP/PASS SUBJ. South Picene lost the primary vs. secondary distinction in the 3rd singular active. The primary ending **-t** was extended into the secondary tenses, e.g., **opsút** 'he built'.

For several verbs, the interpretation of the personal ending is a matter of controversy. The Umbrian verbs *ferar* 'carry' and *ier* 'go' end in *-r*, which may be a 3rd singular passive suffix. The Umbrian verbs *benuso* 'come' and *couortuso* 'turn' end in the suffix *-so*, e.g., /benus-so/ 'will have come', FUT PERF. The syntactic contexts in which these verbs are found require that they be treated as 3rd plural forms, but there is no etymological support for such 3rd plural endings in Sabellic or in Italic for that matter. Paelignian *lexe* is generally taken to be a 2nd plural active form, either present or perfect tense. By either analysis the ending is *-se*, a form attested in no other Sabellic language.

Table 4.12   Sabellic personal endings

	PRIMARY
1SG ACT	**suboca-u** 'I invoke' (Umbrian), **kduí-ú** 'I hear' (South Picene)
2SG ACT	**heri-s** 'you desire' (Umbrian)
3SG ACT	*dide-t* '(s)he gives' (Vestinian)
3SG DEP/PASS	*vinc-ter* '(s)he is convicted' (Oscan); **qolofí-túr** 'is praised' (South Picene)
1PL ACT	—
2PL ACT	**vide-tas** 'you see' (South Picene)
3PL ACT	*furfa-nt* 'they shear' (Umbrian), *feret* 'they carry' (Marrucinian)
3PL DEP/PASS	*ostens-endi* 'they will be presented' (Umbrian)
	SECONDARY

1SG ACT	**manaf-úm** 'I entrusted' (Oscan)
2SG ACT	**haba-s** 'you should take' (Umbrian)
3SG ACT	**prúfatte-d** '(s)he approved' (Oscan), **opsú-t** 'he made' (South Picene)
1PL ACT	**adstaeo-ms** 'we set up' (South Picene)
3PL ACT	*coisat-ens* 'they took care of' (Paelignian), **adstaíú-h** 'they set up' (South Picene), **fυfυfo-δ** 'they were' (Pre-Samnite)
3PL DEP/PASS	**ema-ntur** 'they should be accepted' (Umbrian)

4.4.1 Conjugation classes

The Sabellic verb was organized into paradigmatic classes called conjugations. Conjugation class was determined by the final sound of the present tense verbal stem. If verbs such as 'be' (Oscan **súm** 'I am', 1SG PRES) and 'go' (Umbrian *est* 'he will go', 3SG FUT) are set aside as irregular forms, five conjugational patterns can be established. They are: *ā*-conjugation, e.g., Oscan **faamat** 'he calls to arms', 3SG PRES ACT; *ē*-conjugation, e.g., Umbrian **tusetu/tusitu** 'let him pursue', 3SG PRES IMPV II; Oscan **fatíum** 'to speak', PRES ACT INF; **licitud** 'let it be permitted', 3SG PRES IMPV II; *ī*-conjugation, e.g., Umbrian **seritu** 'let him watch out for', 3SG PRES IMPV II; *y/i*-conjugation, e.g., Umbrian **façiu** < **fakyo(m)* 'to sacrifice', PRES ACT INF; Oscan **fakiiad** 'he should make', 3SG PRES ACT SUBJ; and *e/ø*-conjugation, e.g., Oscan *acum* 'to move', PRES ACT INF, *actud* 'let him move', 3SG PRES IMPV II; Umbrian **aitu** 'let him move', 3SG PRES IMPV II. The forms for *y/i*- and *e/ø*-conjugations, such as the Oscan imperatives *factud, actud* cited above, may be derived synchronically from underlying forms in which the medial vowels were present and subsequently deleted by medial vowel syncope, e.g., /fakitōd/ with short *-i* underlying *factud* and /agetōd/ with short *-e* underlying *actud*. Forms such as /faki/ and /age/ can be motivated by tense forms in which these vowels were present in surface structure, e.g., Vestinian *didet* 'he gives', 3SG PRES ACT, Marrucinian *feret* 'they bring', 3PL PRES ACT.

Sabellic perfect tense stems for active voice were formed by different morphological operations. The following are well attested: (i) reduplication, e.g., Oscan **deded** 'gave', 3SG PERF ACT, *fefacid* 'should make', 3SG PERF ACT SUBJ, Umbrian *dede* 'gave', 3SG PERF ACT; South Picene **pepie** 'has paid (?)'; (ii) suffixation, e.g., *-tt-*: Oscan **prúfatted** 'approved', 3SG PERF ACT; *-k-*: Oscan **kella-k-ed** 'collected (?)', 3SG PERF ACT; *-s-*: Oscan **uupsens** 'built', 3PL PERF ACT, Umbrian *sesust* 'will have sat', 3SG FUT PERF ACT; *-nçi-*: Umbrian *purdinçiust* 'will have presented', 3SG FUT PERF ACT; *-f-*: Oscan **aíkda-f-ed** 'rebuilt', 3SG PERF ACT; Umbrian **andirsafust** 'will have made a circuit', 3SG FUT PERF ACT; *-ú-*: South Picene **adstaíúh** 'they set up'; and (iii) suppletion of the root, e.g., Oscan *hipid* /hēpēd/ 'should take', 3SG PERF ACT SUBJ vs. **habiest** /habyest/ 'will hold', 3SG FUT ACT. Some perfects were formed from the verb stem minus the suffix used to generate the present, e.g., Umbrian **anpelust** 'will have slain', 3SG FUT PERF ACT, beside a present that was characterized by a suffix *-ne*, **anpentu** 'let him slay' < **-pennetōd* < **-pelnetōd*.

In the deponent/passive, the perfect was made by a periphrastic construction consisting of the past participle plus a form of the verb 'be' inflected for person, number,

and tense, e.g., Oscan **prúftú set** 'were approved', 3PL PERF DEP/PASS, Oscan *scriftas set* 'were written', 3PL PERF DEP/PASS; Umbrian **pihaz fust** 'will have been purified', 3SG FUT PERF DEP/PASS. In these examples the past participles agree in gender, number, and case with the subject of the sentence, while the verb forms *set* (3PL PRES ACT) and **fust** (3SG FUT ACT) were inflected for person, number, tense, and mood. There is one example of a perfect passive that is not a periphrastic construction, namely, Oscan *comparascuster* 'will have been discussed', a future perfect form found on the *Tabula Bantina*. In all likelihood, this formation was an independent creation by speakers of the Oscan dialect of Bantia.

For some verbs, especially for denominative formations, the stem of the perfect was built directly from present stem. For example, *ā*-stem presents generally formed *-t(t)-*stem perfects in Oscan and in the Sabellic languages of central Italy, e.g., Oscan **duunated** 'gave as a gift', 3SG PERF ACT, Paelignian *coisatens* 'supervised', 3PL PERF ACT, Marrucinian *amatens* 'took', 3PL PERF ACT, Volscian *sistiat<i>ens* 'set up', 3PL PERF ACT. But there were exceptions. The Umbrian *ā*-conjugation verb *porta-* (**portatu** 'let him bring', 3SG PRES IMPV II) formed its perfect by truncating the present stem vowel *-a*, e.g., **port-us-t** 'will have brought', 3SG FUT PERF ACT. Other *ā*-stems formed perfect stems by means of the suffix *-f-*, e.g., Umbrian *andirsafust* 'will have made the circuit', 3SG FUT PERF ACT. In many cases, the type of perfect formation cannot be predicted based on the paradigmatic class of the present. For example, the verb 'give' formed a reduplicated present (Vestinian *didet* 'give', 3SG PRES ACT) and a reduplicated perfect (Oscan **deded** 'gave', 3SG PERF ACT); the verb 'make, sacrifice' formed a *y/i*-present and a reduplicated perfect (Oscan **fakiiad** 'let him make', 3SG PRES ACT SUBJ, *fefacid* 'should make', 3SG PERF ACT SUBJ).

4.4.2 Tense and mood

Tense was signaled by suffixation. Outside of the present stems and the perfect stems there were special tense-forming suffixes. The imperfect was formed by addition of the suffix *-fā-* to the present stem, e.g., Oscan **fu-fa-ns** 'they were', 3PL IMPF ACT; the future by means of *-(e)s-* to the present stem, e.g., Oscan *deiua-s-t* 'he will swear', 3SG FUT ACT. The future perfect was formed by addition of *-us-* to the perfect stem, e.g., Oscan **tríbarakatt-us-et** 'they will have built', 3PL FUT PERF ACT.

Subjunctive mood was marked by suffixes that were attached to the verb stem and positioned before the personal endings. In Umbrian the present subjunctive was indicated by *-ā* for all conjugation classes with the exception of the *ā*-stems. In this conjugation the subjunctive suffix was *-iā*. Compare the Umbrian *ē*-conjugation verb **habi-a** 'should hold', 3SG PRES ACT SUBJ, to the *ā*-conjugation verb *porta-ia* 'should carry', 3SG PRES ACT SUBJ. In Oscan the suffix *-í* was used to make *ā*-conjugation subjunctives, e.g., (Oscan) *deiua-i-d* 'let him swear', 3SG PRES ACT SUBJ. The suffix *-ā* was employed in all other conjugation classes, e.g., Oscan 2nd conjugation **púti-a-ns** 'may he be able', 3PL PRES ACT SUBJ.

The imperfect subjunctive, which is attested only in Oscan and Paelignian, was formed by addition of the suffix *-sē* to the present stem, e.g., Oscan **fu-sí-d** 'should be', 3SG IMPF ACT SUBJ, Paelignian *upsa-se-ter* 'was built', 3SG IMPF PASS SUBJ. For the perfect subjunctive active, the suffix *-ē* was affixed to the perfect stem, e.g., Oscan **tríbarakatt-í-**

ns 'should build', 3PL PERF ACT SUBJ. A perfect subjunctive in *-ē* may also be attested in South Picene. A plausible case can be made for the interpretation of **ehuelí** 'tear down' as a perfect subjunctive (3rd singular).

In addition to subjunctive formations built to tense stems, there are a few examples of a formation in which the subjunctive mood suffix *-ā* was attached directly to the verb root. Verbs made with this suffix are found in prohibitive sentences or in sentences that are syntactic transformations of prohibitions. Examples are: Umbrian **nei-ř-hab-a-s** 'don't take', prohibitive particle **nei-** + 2SG ACT SUBJ; Hernican *ni hvid-a-s* 'don't break', prohibitive particle **ni** + 2SG SUBJ; Marrucinian *ni ta[h]-a* 'let him not take', prohibitive particle *ni* + 3SG ACT SUBJ, cp. Latin *ne attigas me* 'don't touch me', prohibitive particle *ne* + 2SG ACT SUBJ.

Imperative mood verbs had two sets of endings (see Table 4.13). Imperative I forms employed the uninflected stem in the 2nd singular active, except in the case of the verb 'to go', which had a special ending *-f*. In the plural active the imperative I ending was *-te*. Imperative II forms were made with the endings *-tu* and *-tuto* for active singular and plural, and *-mu(r)* and *-mumo* for deponent/passive singular and plural.

Table 4.13 Sabellic imperatives

	IMPERATIVE I
2SG ACT	*anserio* 'observe' (Umbrian), *e-f* 'go' (Umbrian)
2PL ACT	*ei-te* 'go' (Paelignian)

	IMPERATIVE II
2SG ACT	**ene-tu** 'begin' (Umbrian)
2SG DEP/PASS	*persni-mu* 'pray' (Umbrian)
3SG ACT	*ee-tu* 'let him go' (Umbrian), **liki-tud** 'let it be permitted' (Oscan)
3SG DEP/PASS	**censa-mur** 'let him be assessed' (Oscan)
3SG DEP/PASS	*persni-mu* 'pray' (Umbrian)
2PL ACT	*ambre-tuto* 'circumambulate' (Umbrian)
2PL DEP/PASS	**katera-mu** 'arrange in order' (Umbrian), *pesni-mumo* 'pray' (Umbrian)
3PL ACT	*habi-tuto* 'let them hold' (Umbrian)
3PL DEP/PASS	*pesni-mumo* 'let them pray' (Umbrian)

4.4.3 Irregular verbs

Sabellic verbs that cannot be placed into the conjugation classes described in §4.4.1 may be classified as irregular. The most important irregular verbs are 'to be' and 'to go'.

The verb 'to be' had a suppletive paradigm (see below, Table 4.14). The verb root *es-*/*s-* was used for present tense forms, both indicative and subjunctive mood, while the

root *fu-* was used for all other tense and mood forms, except the imperative. For imperative mood Oscan employed the stem *es-*, Umbrian the stem *fu-*.

In the present tense, the conjugation of 'to be' was distinctive in several respects. First of all, in the present tense there were stem alternations, namely, *es-* vs. *s-*, e.g., Oscan **es-t** 3SG PRES vs. **s-ent** 3PL PRES. In the 1st singular active, variant forms existed, e.g., Oscan **súm, sim**; Hernican *esu*; Pre-Samnite **esum**; and South Picene **esum, sim**. Finally, in the present tense accented forms stood beside unaccented forms and forms bereft of a root vowel, e.g., Oscan **est** vs. **íst** vs. **-st**. This verb also had a distinctive present subjunctive suffix *-ī*, which was added to the root *s-*, e.g., Umbrian *sir* 2SG SUBJ; *si* 3SG SUBJ; and *sins* 3PL SUBJ.

The verb 'to go' shared inflectional peculiarities with the verb 'to be'. Different forms of the root were used to build paradigms, e.g., Paelignian *ei-*, e.g., *eite* 'go', 2PL IMPV I, Umbrian *ē-* (< *ey-*), e.g., Umbrian *eest* 'will go', 3SG FUT vs. Umbrian *i-*, e.g., *iust* 'will have gone', 3SG FUT PERF, and *ier* 'it is gone, they go', 3SG PASS (?). Unfortunately, this verb is less well attested than 'to be', so other possible inflectional peculiarities are not documented.

Table 4.14   Irregular verb 'to be'

	PRESENT	IMPERFECT
1SG	Oscan **súm, sim**, Hernican *esu* South Picene **esum, sim** Pre-Samnite **esum**	
3SG	Oscan **est, íst, -st** Umbrian **est**	
3PL	Oscan **sent, set** Umbrian *sent*	Oscan **fufans**
	FUTURE	PERFECT
3SG	Oscan **fust**, Umbrian **fust**	
3PL	Umbrian **furent**	Oscan **fufens** Pre-Samnite ϝυfϝοδ, ϝυfυϝοδ
	IMPERATIVE	
3SG	Oscan **estud** Umbrian **futu**	

4.4.4 Non-finite formations

An important subsection of the Sabellic verbal system was made up of a constellation of non-finite formations. These included present and past participles, present and perfect infinitives, a supine, and a gerundive.

The sign of the present active participle was the suffix *-nt-*, which was added to the present stem. The forms inflected following the consonant-stem pattern. Examples are attested in the nominative and ablative cases, e.g., Umbrian **zeřef**, *serse* 'sitting', PRES ACT PART, NOM SG MASC, **kutef** 'murmuring' PRES ACT PART, NOM SG MASC, Oscan *praesentid* 'being at hand', ABL SG FEM. (The Oscan ending *-i* was borrowed from *i*-stem inflection.) The nominative singular ending *-f* was the result of regular phonological developments, namely, *-f* < *-ns* < *-nts*. Past participles were formed by means of the suffix *-to-*, which was added to the present stem for *ā-*, *ē-*, and *ī*-conjugation verbs, e.g., Umbrian **çersnatur** 'having dined', PAST PART, NOM PL MASC, Oscan **teremnatu** 'widened', PAST PART, NOM SG FEM. For *i*-stems and *C-/i*-stems, the past participle was made to the root of the verb, e.g., Oscan **scriftas**, Umbrian *screihtor*, both from the Sabellic root *skreyf-*. The past participle followed *ā*-stem/*o*-stem adjective inflection. The perfect participle was formed by the suffix *-us-*, e.g., Oscan *sipus* 'knowing'. South Picene **vepses** 'is buried', if it is to be analyzed as a perfect participle from older *wep-us-eys*, points to consonant-stem inflection.

Present active infinitives were made by means of the suffix *-om*, e.g., Oscan **tríbarakavúm** 'to build', *ezum* 'to be', Umbrian *erom* 'to be'. Present passive forms had the suffix *-fi/-fir*, e.g., Umbrian *pihafi* 'to be expiated', PRES PASS INF; Oscan **sakarafír** 'to be consecrated', PRES PASS INF. Perfect passive infinitives were periphrastic constructions formed by means of the past participle plus the present infinitive of 'be', e.g., Umbrian **kuratu eru** 'to have been supervised'.

The supine had the form *-to(m)* (< *-tum*) in Umbrian, e.g., **anzeriatu,** *aseriato* 'for the purpose of observing'.

Gerundives were built with the suffix *-nno-* and inflected as *o*-stems (for masculine and neuter) and *ā*-stems (for feminine gender). Representative forms are: Oscan **úpsannam** 'build', GRDV, ACC SG FEM, and **sakrannas** 'consecrate', GRDV, NOM PL FEM, and Umbrian *pihaner* 'purify', GRDV, GEN SG MASC, and **pelsans** 'immolate', GRDV, NOM SG MASC.

4.5 Adverbs

Many of the adverbs attested in Sabellic inscriptions were derived from adjective stems or were inflected forms — generally accusative or ablative in case — that had acquired adverbial functions.

The most common adverbial suffix was *-ē(d)*, which is attested in the three Sabellic groups, e.g., Oscan *amprufid* 'incorrectly', Umbrian **prufe** 'properly' and **rehte** 'correctly', and South Picene **kuprí** 'in a good way'.

Ablative case forms of *ā*-stems and *o*-stems are found with adverbial use in Oscan, e.g., **súllad** 'everywhere', *contrud* 'in opposition', and in Umbrian, e.g., **subra** 'on the top, above'. Neuter accusatives were also used adverbially, e.g., Umbrian **prumum** 'at first', **pustru** 'behind, back', Oscan **posmom** 'for the last time'. The numerical adverbs attested in Umbrian, namely, **duti** 'for the second time' and *tertim* 'for the third time', were also neuter accusative singulars in origin.

The following multiplicative adverbs are attested: Umbrian **sumel** 'once', **triuper** 'three times', and Oscan *petriropert* 'four times', *pomtis* 'five times'. Umbrian **triuper** is in origin a prepositional phrase **triu** ACC PL NEUT + **-per(t)** POST, cp. Latin *semper* 'once'. Oscan *pomtis* appears to have had a suffix *-is*, which may be comparable to the multiplicative formation *-iēs* in Latin, e.g., *quinquiēs* 'five times'.

4.6 Negators

Negators in Sabellic languages were derived from two etymologically related forms, *ne* and *nē*. The following were built from the stem *ne* by the addition of clitic particle *-ī* and/or the conjunction *-p*: Oscan **nep** /nep/, Oscan *nei* /neī/, Umbrian **nei-** /neī/, and Oscan **neip**, Umbrian **neip** /neīp/. The other negator was formed from the stem ending in a long vowel: Oscan *ni*, Marrucinian *ni*, Hernican **ni**, and Umbrian **ne**. In the prehistory of the Sabellic languages, the forms and functions of the negatives were conflated so that it is not always easy to distinguish the two. For example, prohibitions in Oscan were introduced by *ni* and **nip**, but also by **nep**, *nep*. In Oscan and Umbrian, verb phrases were negated by **neip**, *neip*, and *nei*. The pairs **nep . . . nep** and **nip . . . nip**, 'neither . . . nor', served to negate coordinate phrases.

4.7 Derivation

Complex Sabellic words were formed by means of two morphological processes, affixation and compounding. Affixation, in particular suffixation, is much more amply attested than compounding.

4.7.1 Affixation

Several suffixes were productively used to form nouns. The suffix *-iuf* (NOM SG)/*-in-* (other cases) made nouns with abstract or concrete meanings, e.g., Oscan **tríbarakkiuf** 'a building', NOM SG FEM, cp. **tríbarakattens** 'they built', 3SG PERF ACT. The extended suffix *-tiuf/-tin-* had a similar morphological function, e.g., Oscan *medicatinom* 'judgment', ACC SG FEM, Umbrian **natine** 'tribe', ABL SG FEM, cp. Praenestine Latin *nationu* 'childbirth', GEN SG FEM. The suffix *-tur* was used to form agent nouns from verb stems, e.g., Oscan **regateí** 'the director' (as an epithet of Jupiter), DAT SG MASC, from the verb stem *regā-* 'direct'; **ařfertur** *'flamen*, chief priest', NOM SG MASC, from the verb stem *ad-fer-(e)-*. The suffix *-etia*, which was added to nominal stems to build abstracts, is attested in Umbrian by several formations that referred to political offices, e.g., Umbrian **kvestretie** 'during the quaestorship (of)', LOC SG.

A productive adjective-forming suffix was *-(a)sio-* 'relating to, pertaining to'. This suffix was used to make adjectives from nominal stems, e.g., Oscan **kerssnasias** 'concerned with banquets', NOM SG FEM, cf. Oscan **kersnu** 'banquet', NOM SG FEM, **purasiaí** 'concerned with fire', LOC SG FEM, cp. Umbrian **pir** 'fire', NOM/ACC SG NEUT. The suffix *-ano-* was also used to derive adjectives from nouns. Most of the examples attested in inscriptions were formed from ethnic names, the names of cities, or names associated with topography, e.g., Oscan **abellanús** 'from the city of Abella', NOM PL MASC, Umbrian **treblanir** 'leading to Trebula', ABL PL NEUT.

Verbs were productively formed in all of the Sabellic languages by means of the suffix *-ā* or by extensions of this suffix, e.g., *-iā*, *-tā*. Formations with the suffix *-ā*, a suffix

used primarily to derive verbs from nouns and adjectives, are widely attested, e.g., Umbrian **kuratu** 'accomplished', PAST PART, ACC SG NEUT, Paelignian *coisatens* 'they supervised', 3PL PERF ACT < **koysā-*, cp. Latin *cura* 'concern'; Oscan *deiuaid* 'let him swear', 3SG PRES ACT SUBJ < **deywā-*, cp. Oscan **deívaí** 'divine', DAT SG FEM; Umbrian **pihatu** 'let him purify', 3SG PRES ACT IMPV II, cp. Volscian *pihom* 'religiously unobjectionable', NOM SG NEUT; Oscan **teremnattens** 'they widened', 3PL PERF ACT < **termnā-*, cp. Oscan **teremnúss** DAT/ABL PL and Latin *termen* 'limit'; Umbrian **osatu** 'let him build', 3SG PRES ACT IMPV II < **opesā-*, cp. Latin *opus* 'work'. This suffix, as well as the variants built upon it, were used also in the formation of deverbatives, e.g., Umbrian *andirsafust* 'he will have made the circuit', 3SG FUT PERF < **am-did-ā-*, Umbrian **kumbifiatu** 'deliver instructions', 2SG PRES ACT IMPV II < **kombifiā-*, cp. Latin *fīdit* 'put confidence in', Umbrian *etaians* 'they go', 3PL PRES ACT SUBJ < **ey-tā-*.

4.7.2 Compounding

Sabellic compound formations consist in large part of words with an adverbial first constituent. In fact the only pervasive type of verbal composition in Sabellic involved the addition of adverbial elements to verb stems, e.g., Umbrian **aha-uendu** 'let him turn away', 3SG PRES ACT IMPV II, **am-pendu** 'let him slay', 3SG PRES ACT IMPV II, **re-vestu** 'let him examine', 3SG PRES ACT IMPV II, etc. A substantial number of nominal compounds formed by means of an adverbial first constituent are also attested. Words built with the privative prefix *a-*, *an-* 'not' are common, e.g., Oscan **an-censto** 'unburnt', NOM SG FEM, Umbrian *a-uirseto* 'unseen', NOM SG NEUT, **an-takres** 'untouched', ABL PL.

Nominal compounding is not well represented in Sabellic inscriptions. There are a few possessive compounds that have numerals as their first member, e.g., Umbrian *petur-purs-us* 'animals', DAT PL < 'having four feet', *du-pursus* 'having two feet', DAT PL. But apart from these, few formations qualify as compounds from a synchronic point of view. For example, Oscan **líganakdíkeí** DAT SG FEM, which appears to be compound with three constituents (**líg-** 'law' + **anak-** 'bring (?)' + **díkeí** 'speak'), is the name of a divinity. Oscan **meddíss** 'meddix (title of magistracy)', NOM SG MASC was originally an adjectival compound with first member **med-* 'law' and second member **dik-* 'speaking', cp. Latin *iūdex* < **yowes-dik-s* 'speaking the law'. However, the semantics of **meddíss**, the fact that it refers to public official, suggests that it was no longer interpreted synchronically as a compound.

4.8 Additional Reading

Overviews of the Oscan and Umbrian morphological systems can be found in von Planta (1897:1–405) and in Buck (1928:113–194). For Umbrian, Poultney (1959:85–141) is also a good resource. Castillero (2000) focuses on present tense verb formations, primarily from a diachronic perspective. Aspects of derivation and compounding are treated in Heidermanns (2002). *Sabellische Nominalbildung*, a book-length treatment of noun and adjective formations in Sabellic by the same author, should be published in the very near future.

5. Syntax

5.1 Introduction

Syntax covers the role of inflectional affixes play in marking the grammatical relationships between nouns and verbs, nouns and dependent nouns, and nouns and adpositions. Inflectional suffixes on nouns specify grammatical relationships to verbs at the clause level, and to nouns and adpositions at the phrase level. Other topics covered under the rubric of syntax include agreement, coordination and subordination, and the arrangement of words in phrases and clauses.

5.2 Case

The role of noun phrases in a sentence was determined by case. Inflectional suffixes attached to nominal and pronominal stems marked seven cases: nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, ablative, locative, and vocative (see §4.2). The syntactic functions of the cases are described in the following three sections.

5.2.1 Nominative, Accusative, and Dative

The complements of verbs were marked by nominative case for subject (1), accusative case for direct object (1), and dative case for indirect object or beneficiary (2).

(1)   **setums : míom · face** (Um 4)
         'Septimius made me.'

setums 'Septimus', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; **míom** 'me', 1ST PERSON PRO, ACC SG; **face** 'made', 3SG PERF ACT

(2)   **iuve : krapuvi : tre buf : fetu** (Um 1, Ia 3)
         'Sacrifice three cows to Jupiter Grabovius.'

iuve 'Jupiter', THEONYM, DAT SG MASC; **krapuvi** 'Grabovius', THEONYM, DAT SG MASC; **tre** 'three', ACC PL MASC; **buf** 'cows', ACC PL MASC; **fetu** 'sacrifice', 2SG PRES ACT IMPV II

Nominative case was also used for nominal and adjectival predicates in copular sentences (3).

(3)   *pis · ceus · bantins · fust* (Osc Lu 1 = *TB* 19)
         'who will be a citizen of Bantia'

pis 'who', INDEFINITE REL PRO, NOM SG MASC; *ceus* 'citizen', NOM SG MASC; *bantins* 'of Bantia', NOM SG MASC; *fust* 'will be', 3SG FUT ACT

In addition to the functions of indirect object and beneficiary, dative case also marked the possessor when in construction with a form of the verb 'to be' (4).

(4)   **etantu : mutu : ařferture**| **si :** (Um 1, Vb 6–7)
         'so great a fine shall be to the priest' = 'the priest shall have so great a fine'

etantu 'so great', NOM SG FEM; **mutu** 'fine', NOM SG FEM; **ařferture** 'priest', DAT SG MASC; **si** 'shall be', 3SG ACT SUBJ

5.2.2 Genitive, Ablative, and Locative

The remaining oblique case forms, genitive, ablative, and locative, were used for adnominal or adverbial functions.

The genitive case typically marked relationships between noun phrases. In (5) and (6) the genitive indicates the possessor; in (7) it indicates a familial relationship.

(5)   **vipieis veliieis culchna sim** (Osc Cm 22)
         'I am the kylix of Vibius Velius.'

vipieis 'Vibius', PRAE, GEN SG MASC; **veliieis** 'Velius', NOMEN, GEN SG MASC; **culchna** 'kylix', NOM SG FEM; **sim** 'am', 1SG PRES ACT

(6)   **sakaraklúm · herekleís · [ú]p**| **slaagid · púd · íst** (Osc Cm 1 = *CA* A, 11–12)
         'the sanctuary of Hercules which is near the boundary'

sakaraklúm 'sanctuary', NOM SG NEUT; **herekleís** 'Hercules', THEONYM, GEN SG MASC; **[ú]p** 'near' PREP; **slaagid** 'boundary', ABL SG FEM; **púd** 'which', REL PRO, NOM SG NEUT; **íst** 'is', 3SG PRES ACT

(7)   **upfals · patir · miínieís** (Osc Cp 2)
         'Opfalus, father of Minius'

upfals 'Opfalus', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; **patir** 'father', NOM SG MASC; **miínieís** 'Minius', PRAE, GEN SG MASC

Genitive case was also used to convey part-whole relationships, as in (8).

(8)   **sve : mestru : karu :**| **fratru : atiieriu :** (Um 1, Va 24–25)
         'if a greater part of the Atiedian brotherhood'

sve 'if', CONDITIONAL CONJ; **mestru** 'greater', NOM SG FEM; **karu** 'part', NOM SG FEM; **fratru** 'brotherhood', GEN PL MASC; **atiieriu** 'Atiedian', GEN PL MASC

Two additional constructions involving the genitive case merit mention. The first is a temporal construction indicating the time within which an activity takes place. In sentence (9) the genitive phrase *zicolom XXX nesimum* marks the limits of a period of time.

(9)   *eisucen · ziculud ·*| *zicolom · XXX · nesimum · comonom · ni · hipid* (Osc Lu 1 = *TB* 16–17) 'He shall not hold a meeting of the assembly within thirty days from that day.'

eisucen = *eisuc* 'that', DEM PRO, ABL SG MASC + *-en* 'on', POST; *ziculud* 'day', ABL SG MASC; *zicolom* 'day', GEN PL MASC; XXX '30'; *nesimum* 'next', GEN PL MASC; *comonom* 'comitia', ACC SG NEUT; *ni* 'not', NEG; *hipid* 'hold', 3SG PERF ACT SUBJ

The second construction may be broadly characterized as specifying the penalty or indicating the legal matter under consideration. This is illustrated by sentences (10) and (11). The genitive phrases at issue are *motar* in (10) and *castrous auti eituas* in (11).

(10)   *fratreci · motar · sins a CCC* (Um 1, VIIb 4)
       'Three hundred asses of a fine shall be to the brotherhood.' = 'The brotherhood shall have as a fine 300 asses.'

fratreci 'brotherhood', DAT SG MASC; *motar* 'fine', GEN SG FEM; *sins* 'shall be', 3PL PRES ACT SUBJ; *a* abbrev. for 'asses', NOM PL; *CCC* '300'

(11)   *svaipis . . . altrei · castrous · auti · eituas ·* | *zicolom · dicust* (Osc Lu 1 = *TB* 13–14)
       'if anyone will have called for a court date for another (person) concerning a capital crime or a fine'

suaipis = *suai* 'if', CONDITIONAL CONJ + *pis* 'anyone' INDEFINITE PRO, NOM MASC SG; *altrei* 'another' DAT SG MASC; *castrous* 'capital crime', GEN SG; *auti* 'or', CONJ; *eituas* 'fine', GEN SG FEM; *zicolom* 'court date', ACC SG MASC; *dicust* 'will have called for', 3SG FUT PERF ACT

The uses of the ablative case fall into two main categories: source or separation and instrument or means. Both uses are found in sentence (12). The first category is illustrated by the phrase **eítiuvad múltasíkad**, the second by **tangi(nud)**.

(12)   **eítiuvad ·** | **múltasíkad · kúmbennieís · tangi** | **aamanaffed** (Osc Po 4)
       'He built (this sun dial) from money raised by fines in accordance with a decree of the assembly.'

eítiuvad 'money', ABL SG FEM; **múltasíkad** 'from fines', ABL SG FEM; **kúmbennieís** 'assembly', GEN SG FEM; **tangi** abbrev. for **tangi(nud)** 'decree', ABL SG FEM; **aamanaffed** 'built', 3SG PERF ACT

The ablative was also the case of an absolute construction. Functionally, the ablative absolute was a subordinate clause indicating the circumstances with respect to which the action of the main verb was performed. Absolute constructions had the following structure: a noun phrase, which served as subject, and a participle, which served as the predicate, both inflected in the ablative case and agreeing in gender and number, e.g., **aves anzeriates** (13).

(13)   *este : persklum : aves : anzeriates : enetu :* (Um 1, Ia 1)
       'After the birds have been observed, begin this ceremony.'

este 'this', ACC SG NEUT; **persklum** 'ceremony', ACC SG NEUT; **aves** 'birds', ABL PL FEM; **anzeriates** 'observe', PAST PART, ABL SG FEM; **enetu** 'begin', 2SG ACT IMPV II

The locative case had both local and temporal functions, as illustrated by examples (14) and (15) respectively.

(14)   **[e]ísaí · víaí · mefiaí · teremen|** **[n]iú . staíet** (Cm 1 = *CA* B, 31–32)
       'The boundaries stand in the middle of this road.'

[e]ísaí 'this', LOC SG FEM; **víaí** 'road', LOC SG FEM; **mefiaí** 'middle', LOC SG FEM; **teremen[n]iu** 'boundaries', NOM PL NEUT; **staíet** 'stand', 3PL PRES ACT

(15)   *izic · eizeic · zicele[i]|* *comono · ni · hipid ·* (Osc Lu 1 = *TB* 7–8)
       'This (man) shall not hold the assembly on this day.'

izic 'this', DEM PRO, NOM SG MASC; *eizeic* 'this', DEM PRO, LOC SG MASC; *zicele[i]* 'day', LOC SG MASC; *comono* 'assembly', ACC SG NEUT; *ni* 'not', NEG; *hipid* 'hold', 3SG PERF ACT SUBJ

5.2.3 Vocative

The vocative case marked nouns in direct address. Few vocatives are attested in the Sabellic corpus. They are limited to the names of deities addressed in prayers as recorded in the Iguvine Tablets (16) and to the names of the deceased in a style of funerary inscription that took the form of a greeting (17).

(16)   *dei · graboui* (Um 1, VIa 23)
       'O Jupiter Grabovius'

dei 'Jupiter', THEONYM, VOC SG MASC; *graboui* 'Grabovius', THEONYM, VOC SG MASC

(17)   **statie|** **silie s|** **salavs** (Osc Cm 18)
       'O Statius Silius, (I hope) you are secure.'

statie 'Statius', PRAE, VOC SG MASC; **silie** 'Silius', NOMEN, VOC SG MASC; **s** abbrev. for **s(is)** 'may you be', 2SG PRES ACT SUBJ; **salavs** 'secure', NOM SG MASC

5.3 Adpositions

Noun phrases governed by adpositions were also marked for case. Generally, an adposition governed a single case, either the accusative, ablative, or locative, but some adpositions governed two cases, the case depending on the meaning of the adposition. For example, the postposition *-en*, *-e*, *-em* governed the accusative case with the meaning 'into', but the locative case with the meaning 'in, on, upon'.

The behavior of the adposition *com*, *-com*, *-co*, **-ku** depended first on its meaning and then on whether or not it was in construction with a noun or a pronoun. As a preposition governing a noun, *com* had the meaning 'with', e.g., *com prinuatir* 'with the Prinovati' (Umbrian); as a postposition governing a noun, it had the meaning 'at, in', e.g., **asaku** 'at the altar', **uocucom** 'in the grove' (Umbrian). When governing pronominal forms, however, *com* was a postposition with comitative function (18).

(18)   *erucom prinuatur dur|* *etuto* (Um 1, VIb 50–51)

'the two Prinovati shall go with him'

erucom = *eru* 'him', DEM PRO, ABL SG MASC + -*com* 'with', POST; *prinuatur* 'Prinovati', NOM PL MASC; *dur* 'two', NUMBER, NOM PL MASC; *etuto* 'go', 3PL ACT IMPV II

Common adpositions are listed in Table 5.1. The examples are drawn from Oscan and Umbrian but are typical of Sabellic usage as a whole.

Table 5.1   Adpositions

a. Umbrian -*ař* 'at, to' + ACC
b. Oscan **az** 'at' + ACC
c. Oscan *com*, Umbrian *com*, -*com*, **-ku**, **-kum** 'with; at, in' + ABL
d. Oscan *dat* 'with reference to, concerning' + ABL
e. Umbrian **e**, *ehe* 'out of, from' + ABL
f. Oscan *en*, -*en*, Umbrian **-en**, **-e**, **-em** 'into, to; on, upon' + ACC, LOC
g. Oscan **úp**, *op* 'at, in the presence of' + ABL
h. Oscan *pru*, Umbrian **-per** 'for, on behalf of, by virtue of' +ABL
i. Oscan **pert**, Umbrian **pert** 'across, beyond ' + ACC
j. Oscan **pústin**, Umbrian **pustin**, **pusti**, *posti* 'for, with respect to' + ACC
k. Oscan **púst**, *post*, Umbrian **pus** 'behind' + ABL
l. Umbrian -*to*, **-ta**, **-tu** 'from' + ABL
m. Oscan **prai**, Umbrian *pre*, *pre* 'before, in front of' +ABL

5.4 Agreement

Pronominal modifiers and adjectives, both attributive as well as predicative, agreed with their head nouns in terms of the grammatical features gender, number, and case, e.g., **sif kumiaf** 'pregnant sows' (**sif** 'sow', ACC PL FEM; **kumiaf** 'pregnant', ACC PL FEM). (For agreement in copular sentences see example (3) above.) A relative pronoun agreed with the head of its antecedent noun phrase in gender and number (case was determined by the role of the relative word within its clause; see examples in §5.7.2). Finally, verbs were marked for person and number based on the person and number of their subject complements. In (19), the verb form *censazet* 'they will assess', 3PL FUT ACT, was third person plural by agreement with the nominative plural subject *censtur* 'censors', NOM PL MASC.

(19)   *pon · censtur · <b>ansae · toutam · censazet* (Osc Lu 1 = *TB* 18–19)
         'when the censors will assess the people at Bantia'

pon 'when', TEMPORAL CONJ; *censtur* 'censors', NOM PL MASC; *<b>ansae* 'Bantia', TOPONYM, LOC SG FEM; *toutam* 'people', ACC SG FEM; *censazet* 'assess', 3PL FUT ACT

Violations of the rules of agreement are sporadically attested in inscriptions. They can usually be attributed to factors such as agreement through sense. For example, in (20) the main verb **prusikurent** 'they will have proclaimed' 3PL FUT PERF ACT had plural

inflection because of the collective sense of the subject noun phrase **mestru karu** 'the greater part, the majority', NOM SG FEM.

(20)   **sve : mestru : karu :⫶ fratru ̣atiieriu : pure : ulu : benurent :⫶ prusikurent : rehte : kuratu : eru :** (Um 1, Va 24–26)
         'if a greater part of the Atiedian brothers who will have gone there will have proclaimed that (the ceremony) has been executed properly'

sve 'if', CONDITIONAL CONJ; **mestru** 'greater', NOM SG FEM; **karu** 'portion', NOM SG FEM; **fratru** 'brothers', GEN PL MASC; **atiieriu** 'Atiedian', GEN PL MASC; **puře** 'who', REL PRO, NOM PL MASC; **ulu** 'there', ADV; **benurent** 'will have gone', 3PL FUT PERF ACT; **prusikurent** 'proclaim', 3PL FUT PERF ACT; **rehte** 'properly', ADV; **kuratu eru** 'has been executed', PERF PASS INF = **kuratu** 'execute', PAST PART, ACC SG NEUT + **eru** 'be', PRES ACT INF

5.5 Clause types

Declaratives and imperatives are abundantly attested in Sabellic inscriptions, but there is very little evidence for interrogatives, perhaps only two examples in the entire corpus. Inscription (21) is the best example.

(21)   **perkíum | púiieh súm** (Osc Cp 41)
         'Whose am I? (I belong to) the Perkii.'

perkíum 'Perkii', NOMEN, GEN PL MASC; **púiieh** 'whose', INTERROGATIVE PRO, GEN SG MASC; **súm** 'am', 1SG PRES ACT

In main clauses indicative mood was used for statements (see examples (1), (3), etc.) and for questions seeking information (21); subjunctive mood was used for deliberative questions, for wishes, and for jussives (22); and imperative mood was used for commands and directions (23).

(22)   **lúvkis · úhtavis · núvellúm velliam · | nep · deíkum · nep · fatíum · pútíad** (Osc Cp 36) '(I hope that) Lucius Octavius is not able either to speak or to proclaim the accusation (?) of the Novelli.'

lúvkis 'Lucius', PRAE, MASC NOM SG; **úhtavis** 'Octavius', NOMEN, MASC NOM SG; **núvellúm** 'Novelli', NOMEN, MASC GEN PL; **velliam** 'accusation (?)', FEM ACC SG; **nep** 'not', NEG ; **deíkum** 'to speak', PRES INF ACT; **nep** 'not', NEG ; **fatíum** 'to proclaim', PRES INF ACT; **pútíad** 'be able', 3SG PRES ACT SUBJ

(23)   **este : persklum : aves : anzeriates : enetu :** (Um 1, Ia 1)
         'After the birds have been observed, begin this ceremony.'

este 'this', DEM PRO, ACC SG NEUT; **persklum** 'ceremony', ACC SG NEUT; **aves** 'birds', ABL SG FEM; **anzeriates** 'observe', PAST PART, ABL SG FEM; **enetu** 'begin', 2SG PRES IMPV ACT

Prohibitions in Oscan were signaled by the negator *ni* plus a verb that was in the subjunctive mood, perfect tense (24). In Umbrian the verb in a prohibition was generally imperative mood.

(24 = 15) *izic · eizeic · zicele[i]* | *comono · ni · hipid ·* (Osc Lu 1 = *TB* 7–8)
       'this (man) shall not hold an assembly on this day'

izic 'this', DEM PRO, NOM SG MASC; *eizeic* 'this', DEM PRO, LOC SG MASC; *zicele[i]* 'day', LOC SG MASC; *comono* 'assembly', ACC SG NEUT; *ni* 'not', NEG; *hipid* 'hold', 3SG PERF ACT SUBJ

Examples of a prohibitive construction in which the verb was an *ā*-subjunctive are attested in Marrucinian, e.g., *ni ta[h]a* 'let him not steal', 3SG PRES SUBJ, Hernican, e.g., **ni fidas** 'don't break', 2SG PRES SUBJ, and Umbrian, e.g., **neiřhabas** 'don't take' (25). In these examples the subjunctive mood suffix was attached directly to the verbal root, e.g., Umbrian -**hab-a-s**, rather than to the tense stem as was customarily the case in subjunctive formations (see §4.4.2).

(25)   **huntak : piři : prupehast : erek : ures : punes : neiřhabas** (Um 1, IV 32-33)
      'When he will expiate the *huntak*, do not take (any) of that porridge.'

huntak '?', ACC SG NEUT; **piři** 'when', TEMPORAL CONJ; **prupehast** 'expiate', 3SG FUT ACT; **erek** 'then', ADV; *ures* 'that', DEM PRO, GEN SG FEM; *punes* 'porridge', GEN SG FEM; **neiřhabas** = **nei** 'not', NEG + -**řhabas** 'take', 2SG PRES ACT SUBJ

5.6 Coordination

Phrases and sentences were conjoined in Oscan by means of **iním** /eṇeṃ/ 'and'. The adversative conjunction was **avt** 'but'. To indicate alternatives, Oscan employed both *auti* 'or' and *loufir* 'or'. As far as can be determined, there was no functional distinction.

Umbrian had two coordinators: **et** and **ene**, *enem*, *eine* /eṇe(m)/. **et** was typically used to coordinate the constituents of sentences, e.g., noun phrases, verb phrases, and so forth. /eṇe(m)/ conjoined clauses. Alternatives were expressed by **ute**, *ote*, the etymological equivalent of Oscan *auti*, or by **heri(s) . . . heri(s)** 'either . . . or', as in (26). The sentence particle **inumek, inumk, inuk** 'then, next' (**inum** + -**ek**) was used to bind a series of interconnected ritual activities.

(26)   **heris : vinu : heri puni** :| **ukriper : fisiu : tutaper : ikuvina : feitu** (Um 1, Ia 4–5)
      'Sacrifice either with wine or with porridge for the Fisian citadel,
      for the Iguvine community.'

heris 'either', CONJ; **vinu** 'wine', ABL SG NEUT; **heri** 'or', CONJ; **puni** 'porridge', ABL SG FEM; **ukriper** = **ukri** 'citadel', ABL SG MASC + -**per** 'for', POST; **fisiu** 'Fisian', ABL SG MASC; **tutaper** = **tuta** 'community', ABL SG FEM + -**per** 'for', POST; **ikuvina** 'Iguvine', ABL SG FEM; **feitu** 'sacrifice', 2SG PRES ACT IMPV II

Three coordinators, *et*, *inim*, and *inom*, are found in Paelignian inscriptions, all with the function of coordinating the constituents of sentences.

5.7 Subordination

Subordinate clauses are classified according to syntactic function: adverbial clauses, nominal clauses, and relative clauses. Subordinate clauses may also be organized into those in which the predicate is a finite verb and those in which the predicate is an

infinitive. Finite constructions can be further subdivided according to whether or not they were introduced by a subordinating conjunction, and whether or not the finite verb was indicative or subjunctive mood.

5.7.1 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses have the function of adverbs and as such indicate relationships of time, condition, cause, purpose, or result.

Temporal clauses were introduced by the following conjunctions: Umbrian *arnipo* 'until', **ape** 'when', *ponne*, **pune** 'when', *prepa* 'before', *post pane* 'after'; Oscan **pun** 'when' *pruter pan* 'before'. The mood of a verb in a temporal clause was generally indicative, and the tense was future or future perfect (27).

(27)   **pune : puplum : aferum : heries : avef : anz<e>eriatu : etu** (Um 1, Ib 10)
      'When you will wish to perform a lustration of the army, go to observe the birds.'

pune 'when', TEMPORAL CONJ; **puplum** 'army', ACC SG MASC; **aferum** 'perform a lustration of', PRES ACT INF; **heries** 'wish', 2SG FUT ACT; **avef** 'birds', ACC PL FEM; **anz<e>eriatu** 'observe', SUPINE; **etu** 'go', 2SG PRES ACT IMPV II

In those rare instances in which the verb in a temporal clause was subjunctive mood, the subordinate subjunctive anticipated the subjunctive mood of the verb in the main clause.

Conditional sentences were introduced by Umbrian *sve*, *sue* 'if', Oscan **svaí**, *suae* (28), and Volscian *se*-, e.g., *sepis* 'if anyone'. Umbrian had second conditional conjunction, namely, **pede**, *persi*, *persei*, 'if, in the case that'. This conjunction did not appear in construction with indefinite pronominal forms.

(28)   *suae · pis · pertemust . . .* | *deiuatud* (Osc Lu 1 = *TB* 4–5)
      'If anyone will have impeded (the meeting) . . . let him swear an oath . . .'

suae 'if', CONDITIONAL CONJ; *pis* 'anyone', INDEFINITE PRO, NOM SG MASC; *pertemust* 'will have impeded', 3SG FUT PERF ACT; *deiuatud* 'swear an oath', 3SG ACT IMPV II

Adverbial clauses of result were introduced by the subordinator *pusi* 'so that' (Umbrian). The verb was subjunctive mood.

(29)   *eo · iso · ostendu · pusi · pir · pureto · cehefi · dia* (Um 1, VIa 20)
      'Let him present them in this way so that it is possible for fire to be taken from fire.'

eo 'this', ACC PL NEUT; *iso* 'in this way', ADV; *ostendu* 'present', 3SG PRES ACT IMPV II; *pusi* 'so that', SUBORD; *pir* 'fire', ACC SG NEUT; *pureto* = *pure* 'fire', ABL SG NEUT + -*to* 'from' POST; *cehefi* 'to be taken', PRES DEP/PASS INF; *dia* 'is possible', 3SG PASS (?) SUBJ

5.7.2 Relative clauses

Two distinct relative clause structures are found in Sabellic inscriptions. In one type the relative clause is embedded in its antecedent noun phrase. In this type the relative

clause follows its antecedent noun phrase. For example, in (30) the antecedent of the relative pronoun **pam** is the noun phrase **iúk tríbarakkiuf**.

(30)   ínim · iúk · tríbal rakkiuf · pam · núvlanús I tríbarakattuset (Osc Cm 1 = *CA* B, 11–12) 'and this building which the citizens of Nola will have built'

ínim 'and', COORD CONJ; iúk 'this', DEM PRO, FEM NOM SG; tríbal rakkiuf 'building', FEM NOM SG; pam 'which', REL PRO, FEM ACC SG; núvlanús 'people of Nola', MASC NOM SG; tríbarakattuset 'will have built', 3PL FUT PERF ACT

In the other type of relative clause, the relative clause is placed before the main clause. Typically, the antecedent noun is placed within the relative clause and is inflected in the same case as the relative pronoun. The noun is then repeated in the main clause. In sentence (31) the antecedent **eítiuvam** is part of the relative clause, though it and the subject of the relative clause have been moved to the front of the sentence by topicalization. The antecedent is repeated at the beginning of the main clause (**eísak eítiuvad**).

(31)   v · aadirans · v · eítiuvam · paam I vereiiaí · púmpaiianaí · trístaal mentud · deded · eísak · eítiuvad I v · viínikiís · mr · kvaísstur · púmpaiians · trííbúm · ekak ... úpsannam · deded ... (Osc Po 3)
'The money that Vibius Adiranus, son of Vibius, gave to the community of Pompeii by means of his will, with that money Vibius Vinikius, son of Maraeus, the quaestor of Pompeii, oversaw the construction of this building.'

v abbrev. for v(iíbis) 'Vibius', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; aadirans 'Adiranus', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC; v abbrev. for v(iíbieís) 'Vibius', PRAE, GEN SG MASC; eítiuvam 'money', ACC SG FEM; paam 'which', REL PRO, ACC SG FEM; vereiiaí 'community', DAT SG FEM; púmpaiianaí 'of Pompeii', DAT SG FEM; trístaamentud 'will', ABL SG NEUT; deded 'gave', 3SG PERF ACT; eísak 'this', DEM PRO, ABL SG FEM; eítiuvad 'money', ABL SG FEM; v abbrev. for v(iíbis) 'Vibius', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; viínikiís 'Vinkius', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC; mr abbrev for m(a)r(aheís) 'Maraeus', PRAE, GEN SG MASC; kvaísstur 'quaestor', NOM SG MASC; púmpaiians 'of Pompeii', NOM SG MASC; trííbúm 'building', ACC SG FEM; ekak 'this', ACC SG FEM; úpsannam 'build', GRDV, ACC SG FEM; deded 'gave', 3SG PERF ACT

Other relative clauses in Sabellic inscriptions have characteristics of the types described above. In the Oscan sentence cited below the noun *ligud* 'law' is the antecedent of the relative pronoun *poizad* and it is placed within the relative clause. The relative pronoun *poizad*, which is the direct object of the verb *anget<·>vzet*, is attracted from the accusative case into the ablative case of the antecedent.

(32)   censamur · esuf ... poizad · ligud I iusc · censtur · censaum · anget<·>uzet (Osc Lu 1 = *TB* 19–20) 'He himself is counted/assessed by which law (by the law which) these censors will have proposed to take the census.'

censamur 'is counted/assessed', 3SG PRES DEP/PASS IMPV II; *esuf* 'self', EMPHATIC PRO, NOM SG MASC; *poizad* 'which', REL PRO, ABL SG FEM; *ligud* 'law', ABL SG FEM; *iusc* 'this', DEM PRO, NOM PL MASC; *censtur* 'censors', NOM PL MASC; *censaum* 'to take the census/make a valuation', PRES ACT INF; *anget<·>uzet* 'will have proposed', 3PL FUT PERF ACT

In (33), the Umbrian noun *uasor* 'vessels', which is the antecedent of the pronoun *porsi*, was placed within the relative clause. In the main clause the pronoun *eo* serves as the antecedent noun phrase. The position of *uasor* and of the postpositional phrase *uerisco treblanir*, standing as they do outside of the relative clause to which they belong, is the result of a syntactic rule moving these constituents to the front of the clause (compare example (31)).

(33)   uasor · uerisco · treblanir · porsi · ocrer · I pehaner · paca · ostensendi · eo · iso · ostendu (Um 1, VIa 19–20) 'Which vessels will be shown at the Trebulan gates for the purpose of purifying the citadel, these (vessels) let him present in this way.'

uasor 'vessels', NOM PL NEUT; *uerisco* = *ueris* 'gates', ABL PL NEUT + *-co* 'at', POST; *treblanir* 'Trebulan', ABL PL NEUT; *porsi* 'which, that', NOM PL NEUT; *ocrer* 'citadel', GEN SG FEM; *pehaner* 'purify', GRDV, GEN SG FEM; *paca* 'for the purpose of', POST; *ostensendi* 'present', 3PL FUT DEP/PASS; *eo* 'these', DEM PRO, ACC PL NEUT; *iso* 'in this way', ADV; *ostendu* 'present', 3SG PRES ACT IMPV II

5.7.3 Nominal clauses

Nominal clauses function as the complements of verbs. They can be classified as indirect statements, indirect questions, or indirect commands, depending on the meaning of the governing verb. In Sabellic, indirect questions and indirect commands clauses required finite verbs; indirect statement clauses required an infinitive.

In Umbrian indirect command clauses had their verbs in the subjunctive mood, which replaced verbs that were in the imperative. There was no subordinator (34).

(34)   **kupifiatu : rupiname : erus : teřa** (Um 1, Ib 35)
'he shall give the command to Rubinia that he distribute the *erus*.'

kupifiatu 'give the command', 3SG PRES ACT IMPV II; rupiname = rupinam 'Rubinia', ACC SG FEM + -e 'to', POST; erus '?', ACC SG NEUT; teřa 'distribute', 3SG PRES ACT SUBJ

Indirect questions were generally introduced by interrogative words, e.g., **panta** in (35), **sve** in (36). Verbs in indirect questions had either indicative or subjunctive mood depending on whether the event described in the subordinate clause was a fact or a possibility. In (35) the verb **si** is subjunctive because the original sentence was a deliberative question with the verb in the subjunctive mood. The subjunctive mood of the subordinate verb **kuratu si** in sentence (36), however, cannot reflect that of the original question. The subjunctive replaces the indicative mood of the direct question.

(35)   **ehvelklu : feia ... panta : muta : ařferture : si** (Um 1, Vb 1–4)
'He shall take a vote as to how great a fine should be for the priest.'

ehvelklu 'vote', ACC SG NEUT; feia 'take', 3SG PRES ACT SUBJ; panta 'how great', NOM SG FEM; muta 'fine', NOM SG FEM; ařferture 'priest', DAT SG MASC; si 'should be', 3SG PRES ACT SUBJ

(36)   **ehvelklu : feia ... sve : rehte : kuratu : si** (Um 1, Va 23)
'He shall take a vote on whether (the ceremony) was properly executed.'

ehvelklu 'vote', ACC SG NEUT; **feia** 'take', 3SG PRES ACT SUBJ; **sve** 'if', CONDITIONAL CONJ; **rehte** 'properly', ADV; **kuratu si** 'execute', 3SG PERF PASS SUBJ = **kuratu** PAST PART + **si** 'be', 3SG PRES ACT SUBJ

Indirect statements had accusative + infinitive structure. The main verb of the original sentence was transformed into an infinitive in reported speech, and the subject nominative of the original sentence was shifted into accusative case. In the Oscan example cited below (37), the accusative + infinitive construction, *siom. . . pertumum*, is governed by the imperative *deiuatud*.

(37) *deiuatud · sipus · comenei · perum · dolom · mallom · siom · ioc · comono · mais · egm[as touti]l cas · amnud · pan · pieisum · brateis · auti · cadeis · amnud . . . pertumum* (Osc Lu 1 = *TB* 5–7) 'Let him swear knowingly in the assembly without criminal intent that he prevented this assembly more on account of public business than on account of favor or enmity.'

deiuatud 'let him swear', 3SG PRES IMPV II; *sipus* 'knowingly', PERF PART, NOM SG MASC; *comenei* 'assembly', LOC SG NEUT; *perum* 'with', PREP; *dolom* 'intent', ACC SG MASC; *mallom* 'criminal', ACC SG MASC; *siom* 'he', REFLEXIVE PRO, ACC SG MASC; *mais* 'more', ADV; *egm[as]* 'business', GEN SG FEM; *[touti]cas* 'public', GEN SG FEM; *amnud* 'on account of', POST; *pan* 'than', COMPARATIVE CONJ; *pieisum* 'any', INDEFINITE PRO, GEN SG FEM; *brateis* 'favor', GEN SG FEM ; *auti* 'or', CONJ; *cadeis* 'enmity', GEN SG FEM (?); *amnud* 'on account of', POST; *pertumum* 'prevent', PRES ACT INF

5.8 Impersonal constructions

Impersonal constructions are of two types. In one type of construction the impersonal verb was construed without a subject phrase. These constructions involved impersonal passives made to intransitive verbs such as 'go'. In the other type of construction, the subject of the impersonal verb was a nominal clause, either finite or non-finite depending on the meaning of the governing verb or verb phrase.

The following impersonal verbs are attested in Oscan: *tadait* 'it seems best', **kasit** 'it is necessary', and **kumbened** 'it was agreed'. These verbs governed noun clauses in which the mood of the subordinate verb was subjunctive (38). For the first two verbs the noun clause was not introduced by a subordinating conjunction. In contrast, the noun clause serving as subject of the impersonal **kumbened** 'it was agreed' was introduced by the subordinator **puz** (see below, (41) and (42)). In Umbrian the impersonal verbs **herter** 'it is desirable' and **tiçit** 'it is fitting' governed finite clauses in which the verb was in the subjunctive mood (39). The verb phrases *mers est* 'it is proper' and *pars est* 'it is required' governed non-finite clauses with accusative + infinitive syntax (40).

(38) sakrim l fakiiad kasit (Osc Cp 33)
      'It is necessary (that) he sacrifice a victim.'

sakrim 'victim', ACC SG FEM; **fakiiad** 'sacrifice', 3SG PRES ACT SUBJ; **kasit** 'is necessary', 3SG PRES ACT

(39) esunu : fuia : herter : sume : l ustite (Um 1, III 1)
      'It is desirable that the sacrifice be made on/in the last period.'

esunu 'sacrifice', NOM SG NEUT; **fuia** 'be made', 3SG PRES ACT SUBJ; **herter** 'be desirable', 3SG PRES DEP/PASS; **sume** 'last, final', LOC SG; **ustite** 'period', LOC SG

(40) *perse · mers · est · esu · sorsu · persondru · pihaclu · pihafi* (Um 1, VIb 31)
      'if it is proper that it be purified with this excellent pig as a victim of purification'

perse 'if', CONDITIONAL CONJ; *mers* 'proper', NOM SG NEUT; *est* 'is', 3SG PRES ACT; *esu* 'this', DEM PRO, ABL SG MASC; *sorsu* 'pig', ABL SG MASC; *persondru* 'excellent', ABL SG MASC; *pihaclu* 'victim of purification', ABL SG NEUT; *pihafi* 'be purified', PRES DEP/PASS INF

5.9 Sequence of tense

In indirect commands, indirect questions, adverbial clauses of result, etc., the tense of the subjunctive was governed by the tense of the main verb, so-called *consecutio temporum* 'sequence of tenses'. Present tense in the main clause required present tense of the subjunctive in the subordinate clause, and past tense in the main required an imperfect subjunctive in the subordinate clause. In the Oscan examples cited below, the verbs in the subordinate clauses shifted to imperfect subjunctive because the governing verb was perfect tense.

(41) **eks · kúmbened · . . . puz · ídík · sakara[klúm] l iním · idík · terúm · múínk[úm] · l múínikeí · tereí · fusíd** (Cm 1 = *CA* A, 17–19)
      'Thus it was agreed . . . that this sanctuary and this property should be held in common on common property.'

eks 'thus', ADV; **kúmbened** 'it was agreed', 3SG PERF ACT; **puz** 'that', SUBORD; **ídík** 'this', DEM PRO, NOM SG NEUT; **sakara[klúm]** 'sanctuary', NOM SG NEUT; **iním** 'and', COORD CONJ; **idík** 'this', DEM PRO, NOM SG NEUT; **terúm** 'property', NOM SG NEUT; **múínik[úm]** 'held in common', NOM SG NEUT; **múínikeí** 'common', LOC SG NEUT; **tereí** 'property', LOC SG NEUT; **fusíd** 'should be', 3SG IMPF ACT SUBJ

(42) **kúmbened . . . puz . . . thesavrúm · pún · patensíns · múínikad · tanginúd · patensíns** (Osc Cm 1 = *CA* A, 22–26)
      'It was agreed that, when they should open the treasury, they should open it by common consent.'

kúmbened 'it was agreed', 3SG PERF ACT; **puz** 'that', SUBORD; **thesavrúm** 'treasury', ACC SG MASC; **pún** 'when', TEMPORAL CONJ; **patensíns** 'open', 3PL IMPF ACT SUBJ; **múínikad** 'common', ABL SG FEM; **tanginúd** 'consent', ABL SG FEM; **patensíns** 'open', 3PL IMPF ACT SUBJ

5.10 Complementary Infinitives, Supines

Infinitives served as the complements of verbs that had the meanings 'wish', 'be necessary', 'be fit', etc. The example cited below is from Umbrian.

(43) **pune · puplum · aferum · heries · avef · anz<e>riatu · etu** (Um 1, Ib 10)
      'When you will wish to purify the army, go to observe the birds.'

pune 'when', TEMPORAL CONJ; **puplum** 'army', ACC SG MASC; **aferum** 'purify', PRES ACT INF; **heries** 'wish', 2SG FUT ACT; **avef** 'birds', ACC PL FEM; **anz<e>riatu** 'observe', SUPINE; **etu** 'go', 2SG PRES ACT IMPV II

Supines were used as complements to verbs of motion (see **anz<e>riatu** in sentence (43)).

5.11 Word order

The order of the major constituents in a Sabellic sentence was predominantly S(ubject), O(bject), V(erb), but almost all possible permutations of this order are attested in inscriptions. Changes from SOV order did not affect the grammaticality of a sentence and such changes were probably motivated by reasons having to do with focus (topicalization), prosody (speech rhythm), or aesthetics (style).

The order of elements within a noun phrase depended on the type of modifier. Typically, adjectives occupied post-nominal position, e.g., Oscan **lígatúís núvlanúís** 'legates from Nola' ('legates', DAT PL MASC; 'from Nola', DAT PL MASC), as did genitive noun phrases, e.g., Oscan **sakaraklúm herekleís** 'sanctuary of Herakles' ('sanctuary', ACC SG NEUT, 'Herakles', GEN SG MASC). However, examples of adjectives and genitives in pre-nominal position are not uncommon, e.g., Oscan **herekleís fíísnu** 'temple of Herakles' ('Herakles', GEN SG MASC; 'temple', NOM SG FEM), Oscan **múínikeí tereí** 'on common land', ('common', LOC SG MASC; 'land', LOC SG MASC). Numerals and pronominal modifiers were almost invariably placed before the noun, e.g., Umbrian **tref hapinaf** 'three lambs' ('three', ACC PL FEM, 'lambs', ACC PL FEM; Oscan **eísí tereí** 'in that territory' ('that', LOC SG MASC, 'territory', LOC SG MASC), but even here it is possible to find noun phrases in which the pronominal modifier followed its head, e.g., **trííbum ekak** 'this building', ('building', ACC SG FEM; 'this', DEM PRO, ACC SG FEM). When pronominals and numerals were part of the same noun phrase, the numeral could be placed after the noun, e.g., **eaf iveka tre** 'these three heifers' ('these', ACC PL FEM; 'heifers', ACC PL FEM; 'three', ACC PL FEM). In adpositional phrases with adjectival modifiers it was common to place the adposition in between the adjective and the noun, thus Umbrian *nertru-co persi* 'at the left foot', ABL SG MASC, cp. Latin *magnā cum dolōre* 'with great sorrow', ABL SG MASC. Relative clauses sometimes followed the antecedent noun phrase, but at other times the relative clause was positioned before the antecedent (see §5.7.2).

5.12 Additional Reading

Buck (1928:195–224), Poultney (1959:142–156), and von Planta (1897:406–490) are traditional treatments of the morphosyntax, but taken together they form a comprehensive overview of attested syntactic structures. Jones (1960) discusses the subjunctive in indirect commands. Rix (1976b) is a reanalysis of this material.

6. Nomenclature

6.1 Introduction

Many of the languages of ancient Italy, including the non-Indo-European language Etruscan, shared the major structural features of the system of nomenclature. Every freeborn male was given an individual name, a praenomen, and a family name, a nomen. In addition to these constituents, the names of a few Sabellic men were recorded with a third constituent, a cognomen. The cognomen served one of two purposes, either it further delineated a sub-branch of a family or it had a function similar to a praenomen. In many Sabellic inscriptions personal names were augmented by a patronymic. This was indicated by means of the praenomen of the father. The Sabellic languages split into two groups based on the order of the constituents in a name and based on the grammatical form of the patronymic.

6.2 Format of nomenclature

For members of the Umbrian group of languages, the standard format for the constituents of a name was praenomen + patronymic + nomen. The patronymic was indicated by means of a possessive adjective that was inflected to agree with the praenomen and the nomen in gender, number, and case. The following example is from Umbrian:

(1)　　**vuvçis titis teteies** : (Um 1, Ib 45)
　　　　'Lucius, of Titus, Tetteius = Lucius Tetteius, (son) of Titus'

vuvçis 'Lucius', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; **titis** 'of Titus', ADJ, NOM SG MASC; **teteies** 'Tetteius', NOMEN, NOM MASC SG

In (1) the adjective **titis** stands in the same case as the praenomen **vuvçis** and the nomen **teteies**.

The constituents of a name were arranged in a different order in the Oscan group of languages. The patronymic was placed at the end the phrase, after the praenomen and the nomen, and it was indicated by the praenomen of the father inflected in the genitive case. In (2) the patronymic is signaled by the genitive of the praenomen **niumsieís**, which is positioned after the first two constituents.

(2)　　**[n]iumsis · heírennis · niumsieís** (Osc Cm 6)
　　　　'Numerius Heirennius, (son) of Numerius'

[n]iumsis 'Numerius', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; **heírennis** 'Heirennius', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC; **niumsieís** 'Numerius', PRAE, GEN SG MASC

The cognomen, when it appeared, was placed at the end of the phrase after the patronymic, as in example (3).

(3)　　**l(úvkis) · slabiis · l(úvkieís) · aukíl** (Osc Cm 10b)

'Lucius Stlabius, (son) of Lucius, Aukilus = Lucius Stlabius Aukilus, (son) of Lucius'

l(úvkis) 'Lucius', abbrev. for PRAE, NOM SG MASC; slabiis 'Stlabius', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC; l(úvkieís) 'of Lucius', abbrev. for PRAE, GEN SG MASC; aukíl 'Aukilus', COGNOMEN, NOM SG MASC

For South Picene, the evidence does not permit any determination about the structure of a name having three constituents because the best example can be interpreted in multiple ways. Inscription Sp AP 5, cited below as example (4), can be analyzed as having an Umbrian-style arrangement in which pet<i>eronis is interpreted as a patronymic adjective and efidans as a nomen. Or this phrase can be interpreted as a sequence of praenomen + nomen + cognomen, in which pet<i>ronis is analyzed as a nomen and efidans as cognomen.

(4)   noúinis : pet<i>eronis : efidans (SP AP 5)
       'Novenius Petronius Aefidanus' or 'Novenius Aefidanus, (son) of Petro'

noúinis 'Novenius', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; pet<i>eronis 'Petronius', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC or PRAE, NOM SG MASC; efidans 'Aefidanus', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC or ETHNIC/COGNOMEN, NOM SG MASC

Pre-Samnite inscription PS 3, cited below, shows the Umbrian-style arrangement. The patronymic adjective veneliis is in agreement with the praenomen vinuχs and the nomen peracis, and it is positioned between the two. The phrase cited in (6) may have a structure that is a blend of both Oscan- and Umbrian-style phrases, provided p[–]ces is correctly interpreted as a patronymic. The name p[–]ces, though placed between the praenomen and nomen, is inflected in the genitive case.

(5)   vinuχs veneliis peracis (PS 3)
       'Vinox, (son) of Venel, Peracius'

vinuχs 'Vinox', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; veneliis 'of Venel', ADJ, NOM SG MASC; peracis 'Peracius', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC

(6)   ।efies।।esum : p[–]ces : adaries (PS 5)
       'I belong to Aedius, (son) of P[–]cus, Adarius = I belong to Aedius Adarius, (son) of P[–]cus'

efies 'Aedius', PRAE, GEN SG MASC; esum 'am', 1SG PRES ACT; p[–]ces 'P[–]cus', PRAE, GEN SG MASC; adaries 'Adarius', NOMEN, GEN SG MASC

6.3 Abbreviations

One of the characteristics of personal names as written on Oscan and North Oscan inscriptions is the abbreviation of the praenomen. It was not uncommon for the nomen to be the only member of the phrase written in full, the praenomen and patronymic both being abbreviated. Example (7) is drawn from an Oscan inscription.

(7)   n · púntiịs · m (Osc Po 1)
       'Numerius Pontius, (son) of Maius'

n abbrev. for n(iumsis) 'Numerius', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; púntiịs 'Pontius', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC; m abbrev. for m(aíieís) '(son) of Maius', PRAE, GEN SG MASC

In general nomina were not abbreviated, but on certain types of inscriptions, for example seal stamps (8), abbreviating the nomen was more common than not.

(8)   dek · tre (Osc tPo 19)
       'Decius Trebius'

dek abbrev. for dek(is) 'Decius', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; tre abbrev. for tre(biis) 'Trebius', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC

Abbreviations for all of the constituents in a name are found also on ceramics. These abbreviations may stand for the name of the owner of a workshop or they may stand for the names of the public officials who are cited as a means of dating production.

6.4 Female names

Evidence for the names of women in the Sabellic world is limited to a handful of examples. The structure of the nomenclature appears similar to that of Sabellic males. For example, in (9), an Oscan funerary inscription from the territory of the Sidicini, the name of the deceased woman has the same constituent structure as that of a freeborn male. The only difference is that the patronymic includes the word for 'daughter'. In the personal names of men the word for 'son' was rarely written.

(9)   ep lúvkiiú · min · futír (Osc Si 8)
       'Epidia Lucia, daughter of Minius'

ep abbrev. for ep(idiú) 'Epidia', PRAE, NOM SG FEM; lúvkiiú 'Lucia', NOMEN, NOM SG FEM; min abbrev. for min(ieís) 'of Minius', PRAE, GEN SG MASC; futír 'daughter', NOM SG FEM

Example (10) is a funerary inscription from Umbria. In this text the deceased was referred to by the feminine form of the nomen of her father, to which was added a gamonymic, i.e., the nomen of the deceased's husband. In another Umbrian funerary inscription, cited as (11), the gamonymic was placed in first position and it was followed by the praenomen and nomen of the deceased. Unfortunately, there is no way to be sure that these inscriptions were typical of Umbrian practice. They date to the 2nd or 1st centuries BCE and so may have been influenced by Roman onomastic practices.

(10)   *tupleia pu।plece* (Um 30)
       'Dupleia, (wife) of Puplicius'

tupleia 'Dupleia', NOMEN, NOM SG FEM; *puplece* 'Puplicius', NOMEN, GEN SG MASC

(11) *numesier · varea · folenia* (Um 38a)
'Varia Folenia, (wife) of Numerius'

numesier 'Numerius', NOMEN, GEN SG MASC; *varea* 'Varia', PRAE, NOM MASC SG; *folenia* 'Folenia', NOMEN, NOM MASC SG

Marrucinian, Vestinian and Paelignian funerary inscriptions have been recovered for women who served in an official capacity, as a priestess for the cults of Ceres or Herentas. In the Paelignian inscription cited as example (12), the name of the deceased was written in what appears to be the format typical of the Oscan group, namely, praenomen + nomen + patronymic (abbreviated). Interestingly, however, on this inscription and on other funerary inscriptions similar to this one, the praenomina of choice with few exceptions were *saluta* and *brata*. It has been suggested that these names were in origin cognomina and that they had a servile association, and this may well be the case.

(12) *saluta · scaifia · v | anceta cerri* (Pg 14)
'Saluta Scaifia, (daughter) of Vibius, priestess of Ceres'

saluta 'Saluta', PRAE, NOM FEM SG; *scaifia* 'Scaefia', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC; *v* abbrev. for *v(ibieis)* 'V(ibius)', PRAE, GEN SG MASC; *anceta* 'priestess', NOM SG MASC; *cerri* abbrev. for *cerri(a)* 'of Ceres', NOM SG MASC

6.5 Formation of names

Many Sabellic nomina were in origin adjectives derived from the base of an individual name by means of the suffix *-i-/-yo-*. Compare, for example, the Oscan praenomen **heírens** and the nomen derived from it, **heírennis**. When this suffix was added to a praenomen whose stem ended in *-i* to form a nomen, the stem of the nomen was spelled by means of two *i*-vowels, generally *-ii-*, but *-íí-* and *-íí-* are also found, e.g., Oscan praenomen **trebis** vs. Oscan nomen **trebiis**; Oscan praenomen **gavis** vs. nomen **gaavíís**; Oscan nomen **aadiriís**. Other suffixes prominent in the formation of nomina were *-ēno-*, e.g., Umbrian *voisiener* GEN SG MASC, *-idio-/-ídio-*, e.g., Oscan ωυδδιηισ GEN SG MASC, and *-iedio-*, e.g., Paelignian *ouiedis* NOM SG MASC. Another source of family names, though not attested very frequently in Sabellic inscriptions, were ethnic names. Umbrian *nurtins*, derived from the name of the town Nortia, and Oscan **aadirans**, derived from the name of the town Atria, may be cited as examples.

Sabellic praenomina such as Umbrian **vuvçis** 'Lucius' and Oscan **lúvkis** were formed by means of the suffix *-i-/-yo-*, in this case to a well known nominal stem **lowk-* 'light', cp. Latin *lūx, lūcidus*. This suffix was rather common in the formation of first names attested in Oscan inscriptions. Examples include **dekis**, **gavis**, **niumsis**, **pakis**, **statis**, and **trebis**. A few first names were made with the diminutive suffixes *-(e)lo-* and *-klom*, e.g., Oscan **paakul** and **steniklúm**, and a few others with the individualizing suffix *-ōn*, e.g., **pupuf** (stem *pompōn-*). Numbers referring to the month of birth were also used as first names, e.g., Umbrian **setums** 'Septimus'. The Oscan praenomen **dekis** 'Decius' may also belong in this category, if it is connected with the number '10'.

The praenomina of women were generally derived from the names of males, at least as far as can be determined, e.g., *vibis* MASC vs. *vibia* FEM. Ordinal numbers were used as praenomina for Paelignian women, e.g., *prismu* 'Prima' and *ter(tia)* 'Tertia', possibly a borrowing from Roman usage.

6.6 Foreign names

Some Sabellic names were nativized versions of those taken from foreign sources. For example, the stems of the Oscan family names **spuriís** 'Spurius' and **arruntiis** 'Arruntius' were Etruscan in origin, as was the first name **avl(eis)** 'Aulus' GEN SG.

The names of men who were not freeborn members of Sabellic communities generally had but a single constituent. Many stand out as being of foreign extraction. For example, the names **spartaks** 'Spartacus' and **phílí[ps]** 'Philippus', which were painted on the walls of a home at Pompeii, belong to this area of Sabellic nomenclature. Other personal names of Greek origin, e.g., **step(hans)** 'Stephanos', **arkiia** 'Arkhias', and **santia** 'Xanthias', belong here as well. A man mentioned on a curse tablet recovered from Capua (Osc Cp 36) bears the name **tríhpíu vírr<í>iis** 'Tryphio Virrius'. This fellow was of Greek extraction and a member of the family **vírr<í>iis**, perhaps as a freedman.

6.7 Additional Reading

Rix (1972:702–758) is a comprehensive overview of the origins of the Italic system of nomenclature. Rix (1995) is a concise description of Roman nomenclature, but with useful references also to Sabellic. The most informative resource for Oscan names is Lejeune (1976). See La Regina (2002) for a rereading and reanalysis of the Oscan inscriptions that are generally believed to follow an Umbrian-style of onomastic formula.

7. The lexicon

7.1 Introduction

For languages of limited attestation, it is impossible to obtain an adequate overview of the lexicon. In the case of the Sabellic languages, vocabulary is drawn from a small corpus of inscriptions that exemplify a few common epigraphic categories. As a result, vocabulary is restricted to a small number of semantic fields such as religion, civic administration, and death and burial. The vocabulary of day-to-day existence is largely unknown.

7.2 Words with Indo-European and Italic patrimony

The core of the existing Sabellic lexicon consists of words inherited from Indo-European. Many of these words, a selection of which is given in (1), are attested in the Sabellic and Latino-Faliscan branches of Italic.

(1)   Italic vocabulary with Indo-European cognates

(a) 'father': Oscan **patir** NOM SG MASC, South Picene **patereíh** DAT SG MASC, Latin *pater* NOM SG MASC, Sanskrit *pitā* NOM SG MASC, Greek πατήρ NOM SG MASC

(b) 'mother': Oscan **maatreís** GEN SG FEM, South Picene **matereíh** DAT SG FEM, Umbrian **matres** GEN SG FEM Latin *mater* NOM SG FEM, Sanskrit *mātā* NOM SG FEM, Greek μήτηρ NOM SG FEM

(c) 'brother': Oscan **fratrúm** GEN PL MASC, Umbrian *frater* 'member of a religious brotherhood', NOM PL MASC, Latin *frater* NOM SG MASC, Sanskrit *brātā* NOM SG MASC, Greek φράτηρ 'member of a fraternal organization' NOM SG MASC

(d) 'carries': Umbrian *ferest* 3SG FUT ACT, Volscian *ferom* PRES ACT INF, Marrucinian *feret* 3PL PRES ACT, Latin *fert* 3SG PRES ACT, Sanskrit *bharati* 3SG PRES ACT, Greek φέρει 3SG PRES ACT

(e) 'says': Oscan **deíkum** PRES ACT INF, Latin *dicit* 3SG PRES ACT, Greek δείκνυσι 'points out', 3SG PRES ACT

(f) 'be': Oscan **súm**, *sim* 1SG PRES ACT, *est* 3SG PRES ACT, Umbrian *est* 3SG PRES ACT, Volscian *estu* 3SG IMPV II, South Picene *esum* 1SG PRES ACT, Pre-Samnite *esum* 1SG PRES ACT, Latin *esom*, *sum* 1SG PRES ACT, *est* 3SG PRES ACT, Sanskrit *asti* 3SG PRES ACT, Greek ἐστί 3SG PRES ACT

(g) 'foot': Umbrian **peři** ABL SG MASC, Oscan **pedú** 'foot (as measure of length)', GEN PL MASC, Latin *pes* NOM SG MASC, Sanskrit *pāt* NOM SG MASC, Greek πούς NOM SG MASC

Other Sabellic vocabulary items have solid etymological connections with languages in other branches of Indo-European, but are not found in Latino-Faliscan. Examples are cited in (2).

(2)   Sabellic vocabulary with Indo-European cognates

(a) 'son': Oscan **puklui** DAT SG MASC, South Picene **puqloh** DAT SG MASC, Paelignian *puclois* DAT SG MASC, Marsian *pucle[s]* DAT PL MASC, Sanskrit *putrah* NOM SG MASC, cp. Latin *filius* NOM SG MASC

(b) 'daughter': Oscan **futír** NOM SG FEM, Greek θυγάτηρ NOM SG FEM, Sanskrit *duhitā* NOM SG FEM, cp. Latin *filia* NOM SG FEM

(c) 'fire': Umbrian *pir* NOM/ACC SG NEUT, Oscan **purasíaí** 'having to do with fire' LOC SG FEM, Greek πῦρ NOM/ACC SG NEUT, English *fire*, cp. Latin *ignis* NOM SG MASC

(d) 'water': Umbrian **utur** 'water', NOM/ACC SG NEUT, Greek ὕδωρ NOM/ACC SG NEUT, cp. Latin *unda* 'wave' and note also Latin *aqua* 'water', NOM SG FEM and Oscan **aapa** NOM SG FEM.

(e) 'community, people': Oscan *touto* NOM SG FEM, Umbrian **totam** ACC SG FEM, Marrucinian *toutai* DAT SG FEM, Venetic **teutam** ACC SG FEM, Lithuanian *tauta* 'people', NOM SG FEM, Gothic *thiuda* 'people', NOM SG FEM, Old Irish *tuath* 'people', NOM SG FEM

(f) 'see': Umbrian **terkantur** 3PL DEP/PASS SUBJ, Greek δέρκεται 3SG PRES DEP/PASS, Sanskrit *dadarśa* 3SG PERF ACT

The Italic languages, to the exclusion of other Indo-European languages, share a small set of words. A substantial number of these shared items are associated with religious practices. These are listed in (3).

(3)   Vocabulary shared by Italic languages

(a) Latin *sacer* 'sacred' NOM SG MASC, Oscan σακαρο NOM PL NEUT, Umbrian **sacra** ACC PL FEM

(b) Latin *sacrem (porcum)* 'young pig, victim', ACC SG MASC, Oscan **sakrím** ACC SG, Umbrian **sacre** ACC SG NEUT

(c) Latin *sanctum* 'consecrated', ACC SG NEUT, Oscan **saahtúm** ACC SG NEUT, Umbrian **sahta** ACC SG FEM in the phrase **tra sahta** 'Trans Sancta', TOPONYM, ACC SG FEM

(d) Latin *pius* 'obedient', NOM SG MASC, *piat* 'he propitiates', 3SG PRES ACT, Volscian *pihom* '(religiously) unobjectionable', NOM SG NEUT, Umbrian **pihatu** 'let him purify', 3SG ACT IMPV II

(d) Latin *feriae* 'days of religious observance', NOM PL FEM, Oscan **fiísiaís** DAT PL FEM

A few shared lexical items belong to more secular levels of the lexicon. Examples are in (4).

(4)   Vocabulary shared by Italic languages

(a) Latin *cēna* 'evening meal, funeral banquet', NOM SG FEM, Umbrian **çesna** 'meal, feast time', NOM SG FEM, Oscan **kersnu** 'meal, banquet', NOM SG FEM

(b) Latin *habet* 'have, hold', 3SG PRES ACT, Umbrian **habetu** 'take' 3SG ACT IMPV

(c) Latin *utī* 'to use', PRES DEP/PASS INF, Paelignian *oisa* 'exhausted, used up', PAST PART, ABL SG FEM, cp. Oscan **úíttiuf** 'use', NOM SG FEM

(d) Latin *familia* 'members of household', NOM SG FEM, Oscan *famelo* NOM SG FEM, Umbrian *fameřias* 'household', NOM PL FEM

(e) Latin *curat* 'oversees, manages', 3SG PRES ACT, Paelignian *coisatens* 3PL PERF ACT, Umbrian **kuraia** 3SG PRES ACT SUBJ

(f) Latin *incubat* 'is buried', 3SG PRES ACT, Faliscan **cupat**, South Picene **qupat**, Marrucinian *cibat* 3SG PRES ACT, Paelignian *incubat* 3SG PRES ACT

7.3 Loanwords

Loanwords entered the vocabularies of the Sabellic speakers from three main sources: Greek, Etruscan, and Latin.

The earliest layer of loanwords in Oscan was the result of contact with Greeks and Etruscans in southern Italy. The names of deities are among the most important borrowings (5).

(5)   Theonyms and divine epithets in Oscan borrowed from Greek

(a) Oscan **herekleís** 'Herakles', GEN SG MASC, cp. Greek ἡρακλῆς NOM SG MASC and Etruscan **hercle** NOM/ ACC

(b) Oscan **herukinaí** 'Herukina', DAT SG FEM, cp. Greek ἐρυκίνη NOM SG FEM, epithet of Aphrodite from Mt. Eryx in Sicily

(c) Oscan απτελλουνηι 'Apollo', DAT SG MASC, **appelluneís** GEN SG MASC, cp. Doric Greek απελλων NOM SG MASC

In addition to theonyms, a few cultural borrowings are attested as well, e.g., Oscan **kúiníks** 'quarts', NOM PL, cp. Greek χοῖνιξ 'quart (dry measure)', NOM SG; Oscan **thesavrúm** 'storehouse, ACC SG, cp. Greek ϑησαυρός NOM SG MASC; **passtata** 'portico', ACC SG FEM, cp. Greek παστάδα ACC SG FEM. Other words, ultimately of Greek origin, made their way into Sabellic through Etruscan middlemen, e.g., Oscan **culchna** 'kylix', NOM SG FEM, cp. Etruscan **kuliχna** NOM/ ACC and Greek κυλίχνα NOM SG FEM.

Greek loans, particularly the names of divinities, penetrated also into the Sabellic languages of central Italy. A late second century Paelignian inscription from Corfinium (Pg 9) reveals the names of two divinities of Greek origin, namely, *uranias* 'Urania', GEN SG FEM, and *perseponas* 'Persephone', GEN SG FEM. A Vestinian inscription from Navelli (MV 5) was dedicated to the god Herakles (*herclo*, DAT SG MASC).

Etruscan may be the source for the Sabellic word for 'god', which was widely attested in the Sabellic languages of central Italy (Marrucinian *aisos* 'gods', NOM PL MASC, Marsian *eṣos* NOM PL MASC, Paelignian *aisis* DAT PL MASC) and also in Oscan (**aisu<s>is**, DAT PL MASC). The word was built from the root *ais-*, which was the uninflected form of the word 'god' in Etruscan.

In the third and second centuries BCE, as the influence of the Romans became progressively more pervasive, Latin loanwords began to appear in other areas of the Sabellic lexicon, most importantly in the spheres of politics and the law. Public officials appeared in Oscan and Umbrian inscriptions with the titles of magistracies borrowed from Roman sources, e.g., Latin *quaestor* 'quaestor', NOM SG MASC → Umbrian **kvestur** NOM SG MASC and Oscan **kvaísstur** NOM SG MASC; Latin *censor* 'censor', NOM SG MASC →

Oscan **keenzstur** NOM SG MASC; Latin *aedilis* 'aedile', NOM SG MASC → Oscan **aídil** NOM SG MASC. The Oscan word for assembly, **kúmbennieís** GEN SG, was replaced by the Latin term *senatus* 'senate', NOM SG MASC → Oscan *senateis* GEN SG MASC. The inhabitants of Bantia adopted the Latin word 'citizen': Latin *civis* → Oscan *ceus* 'citizen', NOM SG MASC. Indeed, the Oscan *Tabula Bantina*, which was inscribed at the beginning of the first century BCE, presents a formidable array of borrowings and calques based on Latin legal and political terminology. The borrowings in this text are a barometer of Rome's growing cultural, political, and linguistic supremacy in first century Italy and of the declining fortunes of the Sabellic speakers.

7.4 Additional Reading

For the organization of the Sabellic lexicon see Campanile (1967). Greek loans in Sabellic, most prominently Oscan, are discussed in Lazzeroni (1972) and Magni (1993). For Latin influences on Oscan vocabulary and syntax see Campanile (1976) and Porzio Gernia (1970).

8. Sabellic Inscriptions

8.1 Introduction

The Sabellic inscriptions in this chapter are drawn from a cross-section of epigraphic types. The selection includes inscriptions from the three Sabellic language groups. The format for each inscription is similar to that followed throughout the text but with the addition of short notes and bibliographic references.

8.2 Oscan group

The Oscan inscriptions presented here date from the 4th century BCE to the end of the 2nd century BCE. The proprietary inscription written in Hernican is a recent discovery. It belongs to the 3rd century BCE.

8.2.1 Oscan, Osc Cp 25, Epitaph: funerary stele (side a), ca. 350-325 BCE

> **ekas : iúvilas : iuveí : flagiuí : stahínt**
> **minnieís kaísillieís : minateís · ner :**
> 'These *Iovilas* (memorials) are set up for Juppiter Flagius. (They belong to) Minius Caesillius, (son of) Minatus, a leader (or hero).'

ekas 'these', DEM PRO, NOM PL FEM; **iúvilas** '*Iovilas* (memorials)', NOM PL FEM; **iuveí** 'Jupiter', THEONYM, DAT SG MASC; **flagiuí** 'Flagius', THEONYM, DAT SG MASC; **stahínt** 'are set up', 3PL PRES ACT; **minnieís** 'Minius', PRAE, GEN SG MASC; **kaísillieís** 'Caesilius', NOMEN, GEN SG MASC; **minateís** 'Minatus', PRAE, GEN SG MASC; **ner** abbrev. for ner(eís) ' leader, hero', GEN SG MASC

Notes: Both sides of the stele were inscribed with the same text. The meaning of iúvilas is uncertain. It seems to refer to the stele, but perhaps also to the services conducted in honor of the deceased. The precise meaning of ner(eís) is also difficult to determine. In this context it could refer to a political office. Translations and commentary: Buck (1928:248–249, no. 25); Vetter (1953:76–77, no. 83).

8.2.2 Oscan, Osc Sa 22, Dedication: gold ring, 3rd century BCE

> **stenis · kalaviis · g | anagtiai · diíviiai · | dunum · deded ·**
> 'Stenius Calvius, (son of) Gavius, gave (this ring) as a gift to (the goddess) Anagtia who is associated with Jove.'

stenis 'Stenius', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; **kalaviis** 'Calvius', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC; **g** abbrev. for **g(avieís)** 'Gavius', PRAE, GEN SG MASC; **anagtiai** 'Anagtia', THEONYM, DAT SG FEM; **diíviiai** 'of Jove', DAT SG FEM; **dunum** 'gift', ACC SG NEUT; **deded** 'gave', 3SG PERF ACT

Notes: The divinity *Anagtia* is unknown. Some connect it with the Marsian goddess *Angitia* who had a cult site near *Lacus Fucinus*. Translation and commentary: Vetter (1953:102, no. 140).

8.2.3 Oscan, Osc Si 5, Manufacturer's inscription: ceramic plate, ca. 325-300 BCE

> **vibieisen : beriieis : anei : upsatuh : sent : tiianei :**
> '(These ceramic vessels) were manufactured in the workshop (?) of Vibius Berrius at Teanum.'

vibieisen = **vibieis** 'Vibius', PRAE, GEN SG MASC + **-en** 'in', POST; **beriieis** 'Berrius', NOMEN, GEN SG MASC; **anei** 'workshop (?)', LOC SG MASC or NEUT; **upsatuh sent** 'were made', 3PL PERF PASS = **upsatuh** 'made', PAST PART, NOM PL MASC + **sent** 'are', 3PL PRES ACT; **tiianei** 'Teanum', TOPONYM, LOC SG

Notes: The postposition -en governs the locative noun anei. upsatuh is a plural nominative form in which word-final -s has developed to -h. This may be an external sandhi development. Translations and commentary: Buck (1928:253, no. 44); Vetter (1953:96–97, no. 102 b); Vine (1993:137–141).

8.2.4 Oscan, Osc Po 1, Building Inscription: stone plaque, 2nd century BCE

> **ṃ · siuttiis · m · n · púntiis · m[? .] | aídilis · ekak · víam · teremna|[t]ens · ant · húnttram · stafiị| anam · víu · teremnatust · per | X · íuṣsu · vía · púmpaiiana · ter | emnattens · perek · III · ant · kaí| la · iúveís · meeílíkiieís · ekass · ví | ass · íní · vía · iuviia · íní · dekkvia | rím · medíkeís · púmpaiianeís | serevkid · imaden · uupsens · íú| su · aídilis · prúfattens**

M. Suttius, son of M., Numerius Pontius, son of M., aediles, widened this road up to the lower Via Stabiana. The road was widened to 10 *percas*. These same (men) widened the Via Pompeiana to 3 *percas* up to the holy precinct (?) of Jove Milichius. They built these roads, and the Via Jovia, and the Decuviaris from the bottom (= from their foundations ?) by the authority of the meddix. The same (men) approved (the work after inspection).

ṃ abbrev. for PRAE, NOM SG MASC; **siuttiis** 'Suttius', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC; **m[? .]** abbrev. for PRAE, GEN SG MASC; **n** abbrev. for n(iumsis) 'Numerius', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; **púntiis** 'Pontius', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC; **m** abbrev. for PRAE, GEN SG MASC; **aídilis** 'aediles', NOM PL MASC; **ekak** 'this', DEM PRO, ACC SG FEM; **víam** 'road', ACC SG FEM; **teremna[t]ens** 'widened', 3PL PERF ACT; **ant** 'up to', PREP; **húnttram** 'lower', ACC SG FEM; **stafiịanam** 'Stabiana', ACC SG FEM; **víu** 'road', NOM SG FEM; **teremnatust** 'was widened', 3SG PERF PASS = **teremnatu** 'widened', PAST PART, NOM SG FEM + **-st** 'is', 3SG PRES ACT; **per** abbrev. for **per(ekaís)** '*perca* (measure of length)', ABL PL FEM; **X** '10'; **íuṣsu** 'the same', PRO, NOM PL MASC; **vía** 'road', ACC SG FEM; **púmpaiiana** 'Pompeiian', ACC SG FEM; **teremnattens** 'widened', 3PL PERF ACT; **perek** abbrev. for **perek(aís)** '*perca* (measure of length)', ABL PL FEM; **III** '3'; **ant** 'up to', PREP; **kaíla** 'holy precinct (?)', ACC SG FEM; **iúveís** 'Jove', THEONYM, GEN SG MASC; **meeílíkiieís** 'Milichius', THEONYM, GEN SG MASC; **ekass** 'these', DEM PRO, ACC PL FEM; **víass** 'road', ACC PL FEM; **íní** 'and', COORD CONJ; **vía** 'road', ACC SG FEM; **iuviia** 'of Jove', ACC SG FEM; **íní** 'and', COORD CONJ; **dekkviarím** 'Decuviaris (probably a street name)', ACC SG; **medíkeís** 'meddix', GEN SG MASC; **púmpaiianeís** 'Pompeiian', GEN SG MASC; **serevkid** 'authority', ABL SG; **imaden** = **imad** 'from the bottom', ABL SG FEM + **-en** 'from', POST; **uupsens** 'built', 3PL PERF ACT; **íúsu** 'the same', PRO, NOM PL MASC; **aídilis** 'aediles', NOM PL MASC; **prúfattens** 'approved', 3PL PERF ACT

Notes: Word-final -m is not spelled in most of the accusative singulars in this inscription, e.g., kaíla, púmpaiiana, vía, iuviia, and íní. The accusative ending -m of the demonstrative ekak was lost before the clitic particle -k. Original word-final *-ā is written as -u rather than -ú as is customary in other regional varieties of Oscan. Note the word víu. This feature and the loss of word-final -m may be regional dialect developments. aídilis is a borrowing from Latin. The spelling of the nominative plural ending -is is noteworthy. -ís the expected spelling. Noteworthy also is the aphaeresis of word-initial e- in the 3rd singular form of the verb -st 'is'. This verb and the past participle with which it is in construction were written as a single orthographic unit. Translations and commentary: Buck (1928:239–240, no. 3); Vetter (1953:47–49, no. 8).

8.2.5 Oscan, Osc Po 3, Building inscription: travertine plaque, 2nd century BCE

v · aadirans · v · eítiuvam · paam | vereiiaí · púmpaiianaí · trístaa | mentud ·
deded · eísak · eítiuvad | v · viínikiís · mr · kvaísstur · pump | aiians · trííbúm ·
ekak · kúmben | nieís · tanginud · úpsannam | deded · ísídum · prúfatted
'The money that Vibius Adiranis, (son) of Vibius, gave to the community (?) of
Pompeii from his will, with that money Vibius Vinikius, quaestor of Pompeii,
oversaw the building of this edifice with the consent of the assembly, and he
likewise approved (it after inspection).'

v abbrev. for v(iíbis) 'Vibius', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; **aadirans** 'Adiranus', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC; **v**
abbrev. for v(iíbieís) 'Vibius', PRAE, GEN SG MASC; **eítiuvam** 'money', ACC SG FEM; **paam** 'which', REL
PRO, ACC SG FEM; **vereiiaí** 'community (?)', DAT SG FEM; **púmpaiianaí** 'of Pompeii', DAT SG FEM;
trístaamentud 'will', ABL SG NEUT; **deded** 'gave', 3SG PERF ACT; **eísak** 'this', DEM PRO, ABL SG FEM;
eítiuvad 'money', ABL SG FEM; **v** abbrev. for v(iíbis) 'Vibius', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; **viínikiís** 'Vinikius',
NOMEN, NOM SG MASC; **mr** abbrev. for m(a)r(aheís) 'Maraeus', PRAE, GEN SG MASC; **kvaísstur**
'quaestor', NOM SG MASC; **pumpaiians** 'of Pompeii', NOM SG MASC; **trííbúm** 'building', ACC SG FEM;
ekak 'this' DEM PRO, ACC SG FEM; **kúmbennieís** 'assembly', GEN SG FEM; **tanginud** 'consent', ABL SG
FEM; **úpsannam** 'build', GRDV, ACC SG FEM; **deded** 'gave', 3SG PERF ACT; **ísídum** 'the same', NOM SG
MASC; **prúfatted** 'approved', 3SG PERF ACT

Notes: The structure of the relative clause is discussed in §5.7.2. The term **kvaísstur** is a borrowing from
Latin, cp. Latin *quaestor*. The accusative ending *-m* of the demonstrative **ekak** was lost before the clitic
particle *-k*. Translations and commentary: Buck (1928: 240, no. 4); Vetter (1953:49–50, no. 8).

8.2.6 Oscan, Osc Cp 36, Curse: lead sheet, ca. 100 BCE

steniklum | víriis | truhpíu · víriiis | plasis · bivellis | úppiis · helleviị̈s | lúvkis ·
úhtavis | statiis · gaviis · nep · fatíum · nep · deíkum · pútíans | lúvkis · úhtavịs ·
núvellum velliam | nep · deíkum nep · fatíum · pútíad | nep · memnim · nep ·
úlam · sífeí · heriiad
'(I hope that) Steniculum Virrius, Tryphio Virrius, Plasius Bivellius, Oppius Helvius,
Lucius Octavius are not able to proclaim or to speak. (I hope that) Lucius Octavius is
not able to speak or to proclaim the accusation (?) of the Novelli. (I hope that) he
does not wish (to speak of) either (his) recollection (?) or this (accusation) for his own
benefit.'

steniklum 'Steniculum', PRAE, NOM SG NEUT; **víriis** 'Virrius', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC; **truhpíu** 'Tryphio',
NOM SG MASC; **víriiis** 'Virrius', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC; **plasis** 'Plaisius', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; **bivellis**
'Bivellius', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC; **úppiis** 'Oppius', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; **helleviị̈s** 'Helvius', NOMEN,
NOM SG MASC; **lúvkis** 'Lucius', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; **úhtavis** 'Octavius', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC; **statiis**
'Statius', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; **gaviis** 'Gavius', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC; **nep** 'not', NEG; **fatíum** 'to
proclaim', PRES ACT INF; **nep** 'not', NEG; **deíkum** 'to speak', PRES ACT INF; **pútíans** 'may they be able',
3PL PRES ACT SUBJ; **lúvkis** 'Lucius', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; **úhtavịs** 'Octavius', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC;
núvellum 'Novelli', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC; **velliam** 'accusation (?)', ACC SG FEM; **nep** 'not', NEG;
deíkum 'to speak', PRES ACT INF; **nep** 'not', NEG; **fatíum** 'to speak', PRES ACT INF; **pútíad** 3SG PRES ACT
SUBJ; **nep** 'not', NEG; **memnim** 'recollection (?)', ACC SG; **nep** 'not', NEG; **úlam** 'this', DEM PRO, ACC SG
FEM; **sífeí** 'himself', REFLEXIVE PRO, DAT SG MASC; **heriiad** 'may he wish', 3SG PRES ACT SUBJ

Notes: The targets of the curse are men who were to speak in support of accusations brought by members
of the Nuvelli family against the sponsor of the curse. The final sentence is unclear. The meaning of
memnim is uncertain. Translations and commentary: Buck (1928:244–246, no. 20); Vetter (1953:31–33, no.
4).

8.2.7 Oscan, Osc Lu 1 = *TB* 18–23, Municipal regulation: bronze tablet, ca. 100 BCE

pom · censtur · | bạnsae · toutam · censazet · pis · ceus · bantins · fust · censamur · esuf ·
in · eituam · poizad · ligud · | iụsc · censtur · censaum · angetuzet · aut · suae · pis ·
censtomen · nei · cebnust · dolud · mallud · | in · eizeic · uincter · esuf · comenei · lamatir
· pr · meddixud · toutad · praesentid · perum · dolum · | mallom · in · amiricatud · allo ·
famelo · in · ei · siuom · paei · eizeis · fust · pae · ancensto · fust · | toutico · estud
'When the censors will take a census of the citizens at Bantia, whoever will be a
citizen of Bantia, he shall be counted/assessed and (they shall count/assess) his
property by whatever law the censors have proposed to take the census/make a
valuation. But if someone will not have come to the census with criminal intent (=
intentionally) and he is convicted in this (matter), he himself shall be punished (?)
in the assembly by the authority of the praetor with the people present without
criminal intent (= in good faith). And through a sale his entire household and (all
of) his property, which belongs to him without exception (and) which will not
have been counted/assessed, shall be public (property).'

pom 'when', TEMPORAL CONJ; *censtur* 'censors', NOM PL MASC; *bạnsae* 'Bantia', TOPONYM, LOC SG FEM;
toutam 'citizens', ACC SG FEM; *censazet* 'will take a census of', 3PL FUT ACT; *pis* 'whoever', INDEFINITE REL
PRO, NOM SG MASC; *ceus* 'citizen', NOM SG MASC; *bantins* 'of Bantia', NOM SG MASC; *fust* 'will be', 3SG
FUT ACT; *censamur* 'be counted/assessed', 3SG PRES PASS IMPV; *esuf* 'he himself', EMPHATIC PRO, NOM SG
MASC; *in* abbrev. for *in(im)* 'and', COORD CONJ; *eituam* 'property', ACC SG FEM; *poizad* 'whatever', REL
PRO, ABL SG FEM; *ligud* 'law', ABL SG FEM; *iụsc* 'these', DEM PRO, NOM PL MASC; *censtur* 'censors', NOM
PL MASC; *censaum* 'to take the census of/make a valuation', PRES ACT INF; *angetuzet* 'will have proposed',
3PL FUT PERF ACT; *aut* 'but', ADVERSATIVE CONJ; *suae* 'if', CONDITIONAL CONJ; *pis* 'someone',
INDEFINITE PRO, NOM SG MASC; *censtomen* = *censtom* 'census', ACC SG MASC + *-en* 'to', POST; *nei* 'not',
NEG; *cebnust* 'will have come', 3SG FUT PERF ACT; *dolud* 'intent, purpose', ABL SG MASC; *mallud* 'criminal',
ABL SG MASC; *in* abbrev. for *in(im)* 'and', COORD CONJ; *eizeic* 'this', DEM PRO, LOC SG MASC; *uincter* 'is
convicted', 3SG PRES DEP/PASS; *esuf* 'he himself', EMPHATIC PRO, NOM SG MASC; *comenei* 'assembly', LOC
SG NEUT; *lamatir* 'is punished (?)', 3SG PRES DEP/PASS; *pr* abbrev. for *pr(aetureís)* 'praetor', GEN SG MASC;
meddixud 'authority', ABL SG NEUT; *toutad* 'people', ABL SG FEM; *praesentid* 'present', PRES PART, ABL SG
FEM; *perum* 'without', PREP; *dolum* 'intent, purpose', ACC SG MASC; *mallom* 'criminal', ACC SG MASC; *in*
abbrev. for *in(im)* 'and', COORD CONJ; *amiricatud* 'sale', ABL SG; *allo* 'all', NOM SG FEM; *famelo* 'household
members', NOM SG FEM; *in* abbrev. for *in(im)* 'and', COORD CONJ; *ei* abbrev. for *ei(tuo)* 'property', NOM SG
FEM; *siuom* 'without exception', ADV; *paei* 'which', REL PRO, NOM SG FEM; *eizeis* 'this', DEM PRO, GEN SG
MASC; *fust* 'will be', 3SG FUT ACT; *pae* 'which', REL PRO, NOM SG FEM; *ancensto fust* 'will not have been
counted/assessed' = *ancensto* 'not assessed', PAST PART, NOM SG FEM + *fust* 'will be', 3SG FUT ACT; *toutico*
'public', NOM SG FEM; *estud* 'shall be', 3SG PRES ACT IMPV II

Notes: This passage is the fourth section of the *Tabula Bantina*. It is concerned with property valuation of
the citizens of Bantia. In sentence one the antecedent *ligud* is incorporated into the relative clause. The
phrase *dolud mallud* (*dolum mallom*) is borrowed from Latin legal phraseology. In sentence three the
relative words *paei* and *pae* are singular by agreement with the final member of the *nep* antecedent noun
phrase *allo famelo · in(im) ei(tuo)*. Translations and commentary: Buck (1928:230–239, no. 2 [section 4, pp.
233, 237–238]); Vetter (1953:13–28, no. 2 [section 4, pp. 16, 23–25]).

8.2.8 Hernican, He 3, Proprietary inscription: ceramic vase, 3rd century BCE

c · titieis · esu
'I am (the property) of Gaius Titius.'

c abbrev. for 'Gaius', PRAE, GEN SG MASC; *titieis* 'Titius', NOMEN, GEN SG MASC; *esu* 'am', 1ST SG PRES ACT

Notes: The verb *esu* may have been written without final -*m*, in which case it would be the first concrete piece of evidence that the Oscan group of languages too had /esom, esum/ as the 1st singular of the verb 'to be'. However, a 1st singular /esō/ cannot be ruled out of the realm of possibility. Translation and commentary: Rix (1998).

8.3 Umbrian group

Inscriptions from the Umbrian group include an artisan's signature, a dedication, a boundary stone, and an excerpt from the introductory section from the Iguvine Tablets. The final text in this section is a dedication written in Marsian.

8.3.1 Umbrian, Um 4, Artisan's inscription: ceramic vase, 6th century BCE

setums : míom | face
'Septimus made me.'

setums 'Septimus', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; *míom* 'me', 1ST PERSON PRO, ACC SG; *face* 'made', 3SG PERF ACT

Notes: The text is a *dipinto*. Translation and commentary: Rix (1992b).

8.3.2 Umbrian, Um 16, Dedication: bronze statue, 4th century BCE

ahal trutitis dunum dede
'A. Trutitis gave (me) as a gift.'

ahal abbrev. for PRAE, NOM SG MASC; *trutitis* 'Trutitius', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC; *dunum* 'gift', ACC SG NEUT; *dede* 'give', 3SG PERF ACT

Notes: The statue is that of a warrior. It is possible that **ahal** is to be segmented as **aha l** and interpreted as an abbreviation for both praenomen and patronymic. Translations and commentary: Buck (1928:310, no. 82); Vetter (1953:166, no. 230).

8.3.3 Umbrian, Um 1, Ia 1–6, religious text: bronze tablet, 3rd century BCE

este : persklum : aves : anzeriates : entetu : | pernaies : pusnaes : preveres : treplanes : | iuve : krapuvi : tre buf : fetu : arvia ustentu : | vatuva ferine : feitu : heris : vinu : heri puni : | ukriper : fisiu : tutaper : ikuvina : feitu : sevum : | kutef : pesnimu ařepes arves :
'Begin this ceremony after the birds have been observed, those in front, those behind. In front of the Trebulan gates sacrifice three cows to Jupiter Grabovius.

Present the intestines (?). Place the ribs (?) (of the slaughtered animals) on the carrier. Sacrifice either with wine or with porridge for the Fisian citadel, for the Iguvine community. Pray over each one, keeping silent, with the fat (?), with the intestines (?).'

este 'this', DEM PRO, ACC SG NEUT; **persklum** 'ceremony', ACC SG NEUT; **aves** 'bird', ABL PL FEM; **anzeriates** 'observe', PAST PART, ABL SG FEM; **entetu** 'begin', 2SG PRES ACT IMPV II; **preveres** = **pre** 'in front of', PREP + **veres** 'gate', ABL PL NEUT; **pernaies** 'in front', ABL PL FEM; **pusnaes** 'behind', ABL PL FEM; **treplanes** 'Trebulan', ABL PL NEUT; **iuve** 'Jupiter', THEONYM, DAT SG MASC; **krapuvi** 'Grabovius', THEONYM, DAT SG MASC; **tre** 'three', ACC PL MASC; **buf** 'cow', ACC PL MASC; **fetu** 'sacrifice', 2SG PRES ACT IMPV II; **arvia** 'intestines (?)', ACC PL NEUT; **ustentu** 'present', 2SG PRES ACT IMPV II; **vatuva** 'ribs (?)', ACC PL NEUT; **ferine** 'carrier', ABL SG FEM; **feitu** 'sacrifice', 2SG PRES ACT IMPV II; **heris** 'either', CONJ; **vinu** 'wine', ABL SG NEUT; **heri** 'or', CONJ; **puni** 'porridge', ABL SG FEM; **ukriper** = **ukri** 'citadel', ABL SG MASC + **-per** 'on behalf of', POST; **fisiu** 'Fisian', ABL SG MASC; **tutaper** = **tuta** 'community', ABL SG FEM + **-per** 'on behalf of', POST; **ikuvina** 'Iguvine', ABL SG FEM; **feitu** 'sacrifice', 2SG PRES ACT IMPV II; **sevum** 'each, every', ACC SG NEUT; **kutef** 'silent', PRES PART, NOM SG MASC; **pesnimu** 'pray', 2SG PRES DEP/PASS IMPV II; **ařepes** 'fat (?)', ABL PL FEM; **arves** 'intestines (?)', ABL PL NEUT

Notes: This section of tablet 1 is the auspices for the purification of the citadel. Portions of this passage are not well-understand, as is clear from the translation. Translations and commentary on the *Tabulae Iguvinae* are legion. Selected references are: Ancillotti & Cerri (1996:247–316 [Ia, 1–6, pp. 130–138, 277, 295]); Buck (1928:260–310, no. 81 [Ia, 1–6, pp. 262–269, 302–303]); Poultney (1959:157–159); Vetter (1953:170–310, no. 239 [Ia, 1–6, pp. 171–172]).

8.3.4 Umbrian, Um 10, Boundary marker: stone, ca. 100 BCE

ager · emps · et | termnas · oht | c · u · uistinie · ner · t · babr | maronatei · uois · ner · propartie · t · u · uoisiener · sacre · stahu
'This land was purchased and marked out under the authority of C. Vestinius, (son) of Vibius, (and) Nero Babrius, son of T., in the maroship of Volso Propertius, (son) of Nero, (and) T. Volsienus, (son) of Vibius. I stand inviolable.'

ager 'land', MASC SG NOM; *emps* 'purchased', PAST PART, MASC SG NOM; *et* 'and', COORD CONJ; *termnas* 'marked off', PAST PART, NOM SG MASC; *oht* abbrev. for *oht(retie)* 'authority', LOC SG FEM; *c* abbrev. for PRAE, NOM SG MASC; *u* abbrev. for *u(iber)* 'Vibius', PRAE, GEN SG MASC; *uistinie* 'Vestinius', NOMEN, GEN SG MASC; *ner* abbrev. for *ner(oner)* 'Nero', GEN SG MASC; *t* abbrev. for PRAE, GEN SG MASC; *babr* abbrev. for *babr(ier)* 'Babrius', NOMEN, GEN SG MASC; *maronatei* 'maroship', LOC SG; *uois* abbrev. for *vois(oner)* 'Volso', GEN SG MASC; *ner* abbrev. for *ner(oner)* 'Nero', PRAE, GEN SG MASC; *propartie* 'Propertius', NOMEN, GEN SG MASC; *t* abbrev. for PRAE, GEN SG MASC; *u* abbrev. for *u(oisoner)* 'Volso', PRAE, GEN SG MASC; *uoisiener* 'Voisienus', NOMEN, GEN SG MASC; *sacre* 'inviolable', ADV; *stahu* 'I stand', 1SG PRES ACT

Notes: The inscription is a boundary stone. *maronatei* refers to a political office. This provides the official date for the determination of the boundaries of the land. Translations and commentary: Buck (1928:310, no. 84); Vetter (1953:168–169, no. 236).

8.3.5 Marsian, VM 3, Dedication: bronze lamina, 2nd century BCE

pa · vi · pacuies · medis | vesune · dunom · ded | ca · cumnios · cetur

'Pacius Pacuius, (son) of Vibius, meddix, gave (this) as a gift to Vesona. Gavius Cumnius *cetur* (?).'

pa abbrev. for *pa(cis)* 'Pacius', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; *vi* abbrev. for *vi(biis)* 'of Vibius', ADJ, GEN SG MASC; *pacuies* 'Pacuius', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC; *medis* 'meddix', NOM SG MASC; *vesune* 'Vesona', THEONYM, DAT SG FEM; *dunom* 'gift', ACC SG NEUT; *ded* abbrev. for *ded(ed)* 'give', 3SG PERF ACT; *ca* abbrev. for *ca(vios)* 'Gavius' PRAE, NOM SG MASC; *cumnios* 'Cumnius', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC; *cetur* '?', NOM SG

Notes: The onomastic phrase follows the Umbrian arrangement; the patronymic adjective *vi(biis)* is placed between the praenomen and nomen. *medis* is the term for a political office. The name *Cumnios* is in Latin. *cetur* is either a cognomen or a substantive referring to a political office. A connection with *censtur* 'censor' is unlikely on phonological grounds. Translation and commentary: Vetter (1953:158, no. 223).

8.4 South Picene group

The inscriptions belonging to the South Picene group are overall the most difficult to interpret. Those cited here are among the least controversial.

8.4.1 South Picene, SP TE 2, Epitaph: stele, 6th century BCE

postin : viam : videtas : t<i>t<e>s : tokam : alies : esmen : vepses : vepeten
'Along the road you see the memorial stele of Titus Allius (who is) buried (?) in this tomb.'

postin 'along', PREP; **viam** 'road', ACC SG FEM; **videtas** 'see', 2PL PRES ACT; **t<i>t<e>s** 'Titus', PRAE, GEN SG MASC; **tokam** 'memorial stele', ACC SG FEM; **alies** 'Allius', NOMEN, GEN SG MASC; **esmen** 'this', DEM PRO, LOC SG NEUT; **vepses** 'bury (?)', PERF PART ACT (?), GEN SG MASC; **vepeten** = **vepete** 'tomb', LOC SG NEUT + **-en** 'in', POST

Notes: t<i>t<e>s was incised as **tetis**, a spelling that does not lend itself well to interpretation as a genitive singular. The interpretation of **vepses** as a perfect active participle is uncertain. Translations and commentary: Marinetti (1985:142–145); Vine (1993:230–233); Watkins (1995:131–132).

8.4.2 South Picene, SP AQ 2, Honorary: statue, ca. 550 BCE

makuprí koram opsút ani<ni>s rakinelís pomp[úne]í
'Annius Rakinelius made (this) statue for Pompo.'

makuprí 'very well', ADV; **koram** 'statue', ACC SG FEM; **opsút** 'made', 3SG PERF ACT; **ani<ni>s** 'Annius', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; **rakinelís** 'Rakinelius', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC; **pomp[úne]í** 'Pompo', PRAE, DAT SG MASC

Notes: The inscription is on a statue known as the Warrior of Capestrano. For the analysis of **makuprí** see Weiss (1998:705). The interpretation of the onomastic phrase is conjectural. A different reading and interpretation is adopted by Weiss (1998). Translations and commentary: Marinetti (1985:103–106); Weiss (1998:704–706).

8.4.3 South Picene, SP TE 6, Epitaph (?): fragment of stele, 6th century BCE

]nis : safinúm : nerf : persukant : p[
'(?) call the leaders of the Sabines'

]nis NOMEN (?), NOM SG MASC; **safinúm** 'Sabines', GEN PL MASC; **nerf** 'leaders, heroes', ACC PL MASC; **persukant** 'call', 3PL PRES ACT

Notes: The spelling of the genitive plural **safinúm** with final syllable -ú is unusual. -ú instead of expected -o may be a mistake or it may be due to orthographic analogy to the spelling of the nominative plural **safinús**. Commentary: Marinetti (1985:139–140).

8.4.4 Pre-Samnite, PS 4, Proprietary: bucchero wine pitcher, ca. 550 BCE

| bruties | | esum | |
'I am (the property) of Brutius.'

bruties 'Brutius', PRAE, GEN SG MASC; **esum** 'am', 1ST SG PRES ACT

Notes: The alphabet is palaeo-Italic. The sound /s/ is spelled with a letter in the form of a tree with six branches. Translation and commentary: Joseph & Wallace (1987:683–684).

8.4.5 Pre-Samnite, PS 3, Dedication: bronze stamnos, ca. 450 BCE

vinucs veneliis peracis estam tetet venelei viniciiu
'Vinox Peracius, son of Venel, gave this (bronze stamnos) to Venel Vinicius.'

vinucs 'Vinox', PRAE, NOM SG MASC; **veneliis** 'of Venel', NOM SG MASC; **peracis** 'Peracius', NOMEN, NOM SG MASC; **estam** 'this', DEM PRO, ACC SG FEM; **tetet** 'gave', 3SG PERF ACT; **venelei** 'Venel', PRAE, DAT SG MASC; **viniciiu** 'Vinicius', NOMEN, DAT SG MASC

Notes: The alphabet is Etruscan-based. The voiced dentals are spelled as t, e.g., **tetet** /deded/. The o-stem dative singular with the ending -u is also worthy of note. Translation and commentary: Vetter (1953:83, no. 101).

8.5 Additional Reading

Rix (2002) is an up-to-date *editio minor* of Sabellic inscriptions. It contains primary references for each inscription in the corpus. Unfortunately, there is no epigraphic or linguistic commentary. For commentary, Vetter (1953) is the most useful resource. It has interlinear Latin translations, a glossary, and a list of Sabellic words found in Greek and Roman sources. Poccetti (1979) is a supplement to Vetter. This publication includes inscriptions recovered after 1953 as well as revisions to the inscriptions published in Vetter. Two publications by Prosdocimi, namely (1978a) and (1978b), have extensive commentary on Oscan and Umbrian inscriptions. Recently recovered inscriptions are published on an annual basis in the journal *Studi Etruschi, Rivista di epigrafia italica*.

9. Bibliography

The bibliography is not exhaustive. It contains all of the titles cited in the bibliographic notes at the end of each chapter as well as other significant contributions to the field.

Adams, J. N. 2003. *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*. Cambridge.

Adiego Lajara, Ignacio-Javier. 1990. Der Archaismus des Südpikenischen. *Historische Sprachforschung* 103:69–79.

—. 1990b. Sobre la inscripcion sudpicenica CH. 2. *AION* 12:257–260.

—. 1990c. Sobre la notación de las vocals posteriors en sudpicéno. *Anuari de filologia* 13.1, Secció D, 7–14.

—. 1992. *Protosabellio, osco–umbro, sudpiceno*. Barcelona.

—. 1994. Sobre la anaptixis anterior en osco. *AION* 16:259–271.

—. 1995. Sudpiceno *vepses*. *La Parola del Passato* 50:135–139.

—. 2001. Osco *tríbuf plífriks*. *Glotta* 77:1–6.

Ancillotti, Augusto & Romolo Cerri. 1996. *Le tavole di Gubbio e la civilta degli Umbri*. Perugia.

Arena, Renato. 1974. L'iscrizione di Vico Equense. *Studi Etruschi* 42:387–389.

Beckwith, Miles. 2002. Umbrian *uestiçia* and Other Old Italic Sacraments. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 30:205-213.

—. 2005. Volscian *sistiatiens* and the Oscan -*tt*- Perfect. *Historische Sprachforschung* 118:145–159.

Beeler, Martin S. 1952. The Relation of Latin and Osco-Umbrian. *Language* 28:435–443.

Benediktsson, H. 1960. The vowel syncope in Oscan–Umbrian. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 19:157–295.

Bottiglioni, Gino. 1954. *Manuale dei dialetti italici*. Bologna.

Briquel, Dominique. 1972. Sur des faits d'ecriture en Sabine et dans l'ager Capenas. *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Antiquité* 84:789–845.

Buck, Carl Darling. 1928 *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*. 2nd edition. Boston.

Castillero, C. García. 2000. La formación de presente primario Osco-Umbro. Vitoria.

Campanile, Enrico. 1967. Note sulla statificazione del lessico italico. *Studi e saggi linguistici* 7:106–141.

—. 1976. La latinizzazione dell'osco. In *Scritti in onore di Giuliano Bonfante*. Vol. 1, pp. 109–120. Brescia.

—. 1991. Note sulle divinita degli Italici meridionali e centrali. *Studi Classici e Orientali* 41:279–297.

—. 1993. L'uso storico della linguistica italica: l'osco nel quadro della koiné italiana. *Oskisch–Umbrisch. Texte und Grammatik. Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft und der Societa Italiana di Glottologia vom 25. bis 28. September 1991 in Frieburg*, hrsg. von Helmut Rix, pp. 26–35. Wiesbaden.

Cipriano, P. & Marco Mancini. 1984. Enclisi e morfologia del verbo 'essere' nel latino e nell'osco. In *Studi latini e romanzi in memoria di Antonino Pagliaro*, pp. 11–62. Roma.

Coleman, Robert. Italic. In *Indo-European Numerals*, ed. by Jandranka Gvozdanović, pp. 389–445. Berlin, New York.

Colonna, Giovanni. 1974a. Nuceria Alfaterna. *Studi Etruschi* 42:379–385.

—. 1974b. Nuovi dati epigrafici sulla protostoria della Campania. *Istituto italiano di preistoria e protostoria. Atti della riunione scientifica*, 1974, 151–169. Firenze.

—. 1989. Nuovi graffiti capenati. *Rivista di Epigrafia Italica, Studi Etruschi* 56:462–464.

—. 1994. Le iscrizioni di Nocera e il popolamento pre- e paleo-sannitico della Valle del Sarno. In *Nuceria Alfaterna e il suo territorio. Dalla fondazione ai Longobardi*, pp. 85–99. Nocera Inferiore.

Colonna, Giovanni & Carlo de Simone. 1985. Un'iscrizione paleoitalica dall'agro tolfetano. *Studi Etruschi* 51:573–594.

Colonna, Giovanni & Sandra Gatti. 1993. Iscrizioni in dialetto hernico. *Studi Etruschi* 58:320–327.

Cowgill, Warren. 1970 Italic and Celtic Superlatives and the Dialects of Indo–European. *Indo–European and Indo–Europeans*, ed. by George Cardona, Henry Hoenigswald, & Alfred Senn, pp. 113–153. Philadelphia, PA.

—. 1973. The source of Latin *stāre*, with notes on comparable forms elsewhere in Indo–European. *Journal of Indo–European Studies* 1:271–303.

—. 1987. The second plural of the Umbrian verb. *Festschrift for Henry Hoenigswald. On the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. by George Cardona & Norman H. Zide, pp. 81–90. Tübingen.

Cristofani, Mauro. 1979. Recent Advances in Etruscan Epigraphy and Language. *Italy Before the Romans. The Iron Age, Orientalizing and Etruscan Periods*, ed. by David and Francesca R. Ridgway, pp. 373–412. London, New York, San Francisco.

—. 1993. Nuove iscrizioni 'paleoosche'. *Indogermanica et Italica, Festschrift Rix*, hrsg. von Gerhard Meiser, pp. 69–75. Innsbruck.

De Bernardo Stempel, Patrizia. 2000. Kernitalisch, Latein, Venetisch: ein Etappenmodell. In *125 Jahre Indogermanistik in Graz*, hrsg. von M. Ofitisch & C. Zinko, pp. 47-70. Graz.

De Simone, Carlo. 1987. Südpikenisch *praistaklasa*. *Glotta* 65:125–127.

—. 1996. La nuova iscrizione aurunca arcaica e il nome della dea Marica. *Studi Classici e Orientali* 46:61–92.

Durante, Marcello. 1978. I dialetti medio–italici. *Lingue e Dialetti dell'Italia Antica*, a cura di Aldo L. Prosdocimi, pp. 789–823. Roma. (Popoli e Civilta dell'Italia Antica, VI).

Eichner, Heiner. 1990a. Ein Heldendenkmal der Sabiner mit trochäischem Epigramm eines pikenischen Plautus des fünften Jahrhunderts v. Chr. *Die Sprache* 34:198–206.

—. 1990b. Pikenische *Pietas*: Das Zeugnis des südpikenischen Cippus von Catignano. *Die Sprache* 34:195–197.

—. 1993. 1919 oder 1991? Zur Entwicklung der oskisch–umbrischen Studien nebst einer neuen Interpretation des Textes von Fonte Romito (Vetter nr. 147). In *Oskisch–Umbrisch. Texte und Grammatik: Arbeitstagung der Indogermanische Gesellschaft und der Societa Italiana di Glottologia vom 25 bis 28 Sept. 1991 in Freiburg*, hrsg. von Helmut Rix, pp. 46–95. Wiesbaden.

Euler, Wolfram. 1982. *Dōnom dō-. Eine figura etymologica der sprachen Altitaliens*. Innsbruck.

— 1993. Oskisch–Umbrisch, Venetisch und Lateinisch. In *Oskisch–Umbrisch. Texte und Grammatik: Arbeitstagung der Indogermanische Gesellschaft und der Socieț Italiana di Glottologia vom 25 bis 28 Sept. 1991 in Freiburg*, hrsg. von Helmut Rix, pp. 196–205. Wiesbaden.

Franchi de Bellis, Annalisa. 1981. *Le iovile capuane*. Firenze.

Garcia–Ramon, Josef Luis. 1993. Zur Morphosyntax der passivischen Infinitive im Oskisch–Umbrisch. *Oskisch–Umbrisch. Texte und Grammatik. Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft und der Socíetĵ Italiana di Glottologia vom 25. bis 28. September 1991 in Freiburg*, hrsg. von Helmut Rix, pp. 106–124. Wiesbaden.

Gusmani, Roberto. 1966. Umbrisch *pihafi* und Verwandtes. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 71:64–80.

—. 1970. Osco *sipus*. *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 55:145–149.

Hajanal, Ivo. 1993. Das oskische Cognomen **Pukalatúí**. In *Oskisch–Umbrisch. Texte und Grammatik. Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft und der Societa Italiana di Glottologia vom 25. bis 28. September 1991 in Frieburg*, hrsg. von Helmut Rix, pp. 125–142. Wiesbaden.

Heidermanns, Frank. 2002. Nominal Composition in Sabellic and Proto–Italic. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 100:185-202.

Janda, Michael. 1993. Die Inschrift des Helms von Canosa und der Buchstabe B des Südpikenischen. In *Oskisch–Umbrisch. Texte und Grammatik: Arbeitstagung der Indogermanische Gesellschaft und der Societa Italiana di Glottologia vom 25 bis 28 Sept. 1991 in Freiburg*, hrsg. von Helmut Rix, pp. 147–154. Wiesbaden.

Jasanoff, Jay. The Origin of the Italic Imperfect Subjunctive. *Historische Sprachforshung* 104:84–105.

Jeffers, Robert. 1973. Problems with the reconstruction of Proto–Italic. *Journal of Indo–European Studies* 1:330–344.

Jiménez Zamudio, R. 1986. *Estudio del dialecto peligno*. Salamanca.

Jones, Daniel M. 1950. The relation of Latin to Osco–Umbrian. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 60–87.

—. 1962. Imperative and jussive subjunctive in Umbrian. *Glotta* 40:210–219.

Joseph, Brian D. & Rex E. Wallace. 1987. Latin *sum* and Oscan **súm**, *sim*, **esum**. *American Journal of Philology* 108:675–93.

Klingenschmitt, Gert. 1992. Die lateinische Nominalinflexion. In *Latein und Indogermanisch. Akten des Kolloquiums der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft (Salzburg, September 1996)*, hrsg. von Oswald Panagl und Thomas Krisch, pp. 89-135. Innsbruck.

La Regina, Adriano. 2002. La formula onomastica osca in Lucanis e nei Bruzio. *Eutopia* 2:57-69.

Lazzarini, M. L. & Paolo Poccetti. 2001. *Il mondo enotrio tra VI e V secolo a.C. L'iscrizione paleoitalica da Tortora*. Napoli.

Lazzeroni, Romano. 1972. Contatti di lingue e culture nell'Italia antica: elementi greci nei dialetti italici. *Studi e saggi italici* 12:1–24.

Lejeune, Michel. 1949. Sur le traitement osque de *-ā* final. *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris* 45:104–110.

—. 1969. Osque *estud* — ombrien *futu*. In *Hommages a Marcel Renard*, Vol. 1, édités par Jacqueline Bibauw, pp. 533–537. Collection *Latomus*, Vol. 101. Brussels.

—. 1970. Phonologie osque et graphie grecque. *Revue des Études Anciennes* 72:271–316.

—. 1972. Phonologie osque et graphie grecque II. *Revue des Études Anciennes* 74:5–13.

—. 1975. Réflexions sur la phonologie du vocalism osque. *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris* 70:233–251.

—. 1976. *L'anthroponymie osque*. Paris.

Maggiani, Adriano. 1984. Iscrizioni iguvine e usi grafici nell'etruria settentrionale. *Le Tavole Iguvine* I by Aldo L. Prosdocimi, pp. 217–237. Firenze.

Magni, Elisabetta. 1993. Ve 192. Episodi di interferenza fra Greco e osco. *Studi e saggi linguistici* 33:85–104.

Marinetti, Anna. 1981. Il sudpiceno come italico (e come 'sabino'): nota preliminare. *Studi Etruschi* 49:113–158.

—. 1985. *Le iscrizioni sudpicene. I testi*. Firenze.

Martinez–Pinna, Jorge. 1998. La inscripción italica de Rapino: propuesta de interpretación. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 120:203–214.

Meiser, Gerhard. 1986. *Lautgeschichte der umbrischen Sprache*. Innsbruck.

—. 1987. Pälignisch, Latein und Südpikenisch. *Glotta* 65:104–125.

—. 1992a. Die Sabellischen Medialendungen der 3 Person. In *Rekonstruktion und relative Chronologie. Akten der VIII. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft*, hrsg. von R. Beekes, A. Lubotsky, J. Weitenberg, 291–305. Innsbruck.

—. 1992b. Syncretism in Indo-European Languages — Motives, Processes and Results. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 90:187–218.

—. 1993a. Das Gerundivum im Spiegel der italischen Onomastik. In *Sprachen und Schriften des antiken Mittelmeerraums, Festschrift Untermann*, hgg. von F. Heidermanns et al., pp. 255–268. Innsbruck.

—. 1993b. Uritalisches Modussyntax: zur Genese des Konjunktiv Imperfekt. In *Oskisch–Umbrisch. Texte und Grammatik. Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft und der Societa Italiana di Glottologia vom 25. bis 28. September 1991 in Freiburg*, hrsg. von Helmut Rix, pp. 167–195. Wiesbaden.

—. 1998. *Historische Laut- und Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*. Darmstadt.

—. 2003. *Veni Vidi Vici: Die Vorgeschichte des lateinischen Perfektsystem*. München.

Morandi, Alessandro. 1982. *Epigrafia italica*. Roma.

Negri, Mario. 1976. I perfetti oscoumbri in *-f-*. *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche* 110:3–10.

Nussbaum, Alan. 1973. *Benuso, couortuso*, and the Archetype of Tab. IG. I and VI–VIIa. *Journal of Indo–European Studies* 1:356–369.

—. 1976. Umbrian 'pisher'. *Glotta* 54:241–253.

Olzscha, Karl. 1958. Das umbrische Perfekt auf *-nki-*. *Glotta* 36:300–304.

—. 1963. Das *f*–Perfektum im Oskisch–Umbrischen. *Glotta* 41:290–299.

Poccetti, Paolo. 1979. *Nuovi documenti italici a complemento del Manuale di E. Vetter*. Pisa.

—. 1980. Una nuova iscrizione peligna e il problema di *an(a)c(e)ta*. *Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Roma. Classe di scienze, morali, storiche, filologiche* 35:509–517.

—. 1982. Ancora sull'interpretazione di peligno *an(a)c(e)ta* alla luce di una nuova attestazione. *Studi e saggi linguistici* 22:171–182.

—. 1983. Sul formulario dell'epigrafia ufficiale italica. *Athenaeum* 61:178–198.

—. 1993. Le lingue dell'Italia antica tra genealogie e contatti. *Incontri Linguistici* 16.79–86.

Poccetti, Paolo & Maurizio Gualtieri. 2001. Frammento di tabula bronzea con iscrizione osca dal pianoro centrale. In *Roccagloriosa II, l'Oppidum lucano e il territorio*, pp. 187–275. Napoli.

Porzio Gernia, M. L. 1970. Aspetti dell'influsso latino sul lessico e sulla sintassi osca. *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 55:94–144.

Poultney, James W. 1951. Volscians and Umbrians. *American Journal of Philology* 72:113–127.

—. 1959. *The Bronze Tables of Iguvium*. Baltimore.

Prosdocimi, Aldo L. 1974. Tra epigrafia e filologia testuale nelle iscrizioni italiche. Restituzione e interpretazione di Ve. 203. *Abruzzo* 8:1–39.

—. 1978a. L'Osco. *Lingue e Dialetti dell'Italia Antica*, a cura di Aldo L. Prosdocimi, pp. 825–911. Roma. (Popoli e Civilta dell'Italia Antica, VI)

—. 1978b. L'Umbro. *Lingue e Dialetti dell'Italia Antica*, a cura di Aldo L. Prosdocimi, pp. 587–787. Roma. (Popoli e Civilta dell'Italia Antica, VI).

—. 1984. *Le tavole iguvine, I*. Firenze.

—. 1996. La tavola di Agnone. Una interpretazione. In *La Tavola di Agnone nel contesto italico, Convegno di Studio Agnone 13–15 aprile 1994*, a cura di Loretta Del Tutto Palma, pp. 435–630. Firenze.

Prosdocimi, Aldo L. & Anna Marinetti. 1993a. Appunti sul verbo italico (e) latino. In *Oskisch–Umbrisch. Texte und Grammatik. Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft und der Societa Italiana di Glottologia vom 25. bis 28. September 1991 in Frieburg*, hrsg. von Helmut Rix, pp. 219–279. Wiesbaden.

—. 1993b. Appunti sul verbo latino (e) italico III. In *Sprachen und Scchriften des antiken Mittelmeeraums: Festschrift für Jürgen Untermann zum 65. Geburtstag*, hrsg. von F. Heidermanns (et al.), pp. 297–328. Innsbruck.

—. 1994. Appunti su verbo latino (e) italico II. Umbrica 2. *Studi Etruschi* 59:167–201.

Pulgram, Ernst. 1958. *The Tongues of Italy*. Cambridge.

—. 1960. The Oscan Cippus Abellanus: A New Interpretation. *American Journal of Philology* 81:16–29.

—. 1976. The Volscian *Tabula Veliterna*: a new interpretation. *Glotta* 54:251–261.

Rix, Helmut. 1972. Zum Ursprung des römisch-mittelitalischen Gentilnamensystems. *ANRW* I,2:702-758.

—. 1976a. Die umbrischen Infinitive auf -*fi* und die urindogermanische Infinitivendung **-dhyoi. Studies in Greek, Italic, and Indo–European Linguistics offered to Leonard Palmer on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, June 5, 1976*, ed. by Anna Morpurgo Davies & Wolfgang Meid, pp. 319–331. Innsbruck.

—. 1976b. Subjonctif et infinitif dans les complétives de l'ombrien. *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris* 71:221–220.

—. 1976c. Umbrisch *ene . . . kupifiaia*. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 34.151–164.

—. 1983. Umbro e Proto–Osco–Umbro. *Le lingue indoeuropee di frammentaria attestazione. Die Indogermanischen Restsprachen. Atti del Convegno della Societa Italiana di Glottologia e della Indogermanische Gesellschaft, Udine, 22–24 settembre 1981*, a cura di Edoardo Vineis, pp. 91–107. Pisa.

—. 1985. Descrizioni di rituali in Etrusco e in Italico. *L'Etrusco e le lingue dell'Italia antica. Atti del Convegno della Societĵ Italiana di Glottologia, Pisa, 8 e 9 dicembre 1984*, a cura di Adriana Moreschini, pp. 21–37. Pisa.

—. 1986. Die Endung des Akkusativ Plural commune im Oskischen. *o–o–pe–ro–si, Festschrift für Ernst Risch zum 75. Geburtstag*, hrsg. von Annemarie Etter, pp. 583–597. Berlin-New York.

—. 1992a. La lingua dei Volsci. Testi e parentela. *I Volsci. Quaderni di Archeologia etrusco–italica* 20:37–49. Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche. Istituto per l'archeologia etrusco-italica.

—. 1992b. Una firma paleo–umbra. *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 77:243–252.

—. 1993a. La lingua dei volsci: testi e parentela. *Quaderni di archeologia etrusco-italica* 20:37-49.

—. 1993b. *úpsannam – uupsens* und Zugehöriges. *Sprachen und Scchriften des antiken Mittelmeeraums: Festschrift für Jürgen Untermann zum 65. Geburtstag*, hrsg. von F. Heidermanns (et al.), pp. 329–348. Innsbruck.

—. 1994a. Latein und Sabellisch. Stammbaum und/oder Sprachbund? *Incontri Linguistici* 17:13–29.

—. 1994b. Südpikenische *kduíú. Historische Sprachforschung* 118:105-122.

—. 1995. Il testo paleoumbro di Poggio Sommavilla. *Studi Etruschi* 61:233–246.

—. 1996. Variazioni locali in osco. In *La Tavola di Agnone nel contesto italico, Convegno di Studio Agnone 13–15 aprile 1994*, a cura di Loretta Del Tutto Palma, pp. 243–261. Firenze.

—. 1997. The pre–Lucanian inscriptions from southern Italy. In *Festschrift for Eric P. Hamp, Volume 2*, ed. by Douglas Q. Adams, pp. 144–154. JIES Monograph 25. Washington, D.C.

—. 1998. Eine neue frühsabellische Inschrift und der altitalische Präventiv. *Historische Sprachforschung* 111:247–269.

—. 2002. *Sabellische Texte. Die Texte des Oskischen, Umbrischen und Sĭdpikenischen*. Heidelberg.

—. 2003. Ausgliederung und Aufgliederung der italischen Sprachen. In *Languages in Prehistoric Europe*, ed. by Alfred Bammesberger & Theo Vennemann, pp. 147–172. Heidelberg.

—. 2005. Alphabete im vorrömischen Kampanien. In *Otium. Festschrift für Volker Michael Strocka*, pp. 323-330. Remshalden.

Rocca, Giovanna. 1995. I rapporti del Latino con le varieta italiche. Il caso di Satricum. *Evtopia. Commentarii novi de antiquitatibus totius Evropae. Atti del Convegno internazionale 'nomen latinum'. Latini e Romani prima di Annibale (Roma, Accademia di S. Luca, 24–26 Ottobre 1995)*, pp. 189–198.

—. 1996. *Iscrizioni umbre minori*. Firenze.

Russo, Mario. 2005. *Sorrento. Una nuova iscrizione paleoitalica in alfabeto 'nucerino' e alter iscrizioni archaiche dalla Collezione Fluss*. Capri.

Salmon, E. T. 1967. *Samnium and the Samnites*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

—. 1982. *The Making of Roman Italy*. London.

Schirmir, Brigitte. 1998. *Studien zum Wortschatz der Iguvinischen Tafeln: die Verben des Betens und Sprechens*. Frankfurt am Main.

Schmid, Wolfgang. 1954. Anaptyze, Doppelschreibung und Akzent im Oskischen. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 72:30–46.

Sihler, Andrew L. 1995. *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*. New York, Oxford.

Untermann, Jürgen. 1956. Die Bronzetafel von Velletri. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 62:123–135.

—. 1973. The Osco–Umbrian preverbs *a-, ad-,* and *an-. Journal of Indo–European Studies* 1:387–393.

—. 2000. *Wörterbuch des Oskischen–Umbrischen*. Heidelberg.

—. 2002. Das Perfekt der Sekundärverben im Oskisch-Umbrischen. In *Novalis Indogermanica: Festschrift für Günter Neumann zum 80. Gerburtstag*, hrsg. von M. Fritz und S. Zeilfelder, pp. 489-495. Graz.

Vine, Brent. 1993. *Studies in Archaic Latin Inscriptions*. Innsbruck.

Wallace, Rex E. 1984. *The Sabellian Languages*. Ph.D. dissertation. The Ohio State University. Columbus.

—. 1985. Volscian *sistiatiens. Glotta* 63:93–101.

—. 1986. The Etymology of Umbrian and Paelignian *bio. Classical Philology* 80:337–40.

—. 1990. The Palaeo–Oscan Besitzerinschriften from Nocera and Vico Equese. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 95:171–183.

—. 2004. Sabellian Languages. In *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages*, ed. by Roger Woodard, pp. 812–839. Cambridge.

Watkins, Calvert. 1995. *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics*. New York.

Weiss, Michael. 1993. *Studies in Sabellic Nominal Morphology*. Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University.

—. 1998. On Some Problems of Final Syllables in South Picene. In *Mír Curad. Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins*, ed. by Jay Jasanoff, H. Craig Melchert & Lisi Olivier, 703–715. Innsbruck.

—. 2002. Observations on the South Picene Inscription TE 1 (S. Omero). In *Indo-European Perspectives*, ed. by Mark Southern, pp. 351-366. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* Monograph 43.

Vetter, Emil. 1953 *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte. I. Texte mit Erklärung, Glossen, Wörterverzeichnis*. Heidelberg.

von Planta, Robert. 1892–97. *Grammatik der oskisch–umbrischen Dialekte*, 2 vols. Strassburg.

Languages of the World/Materials

LINCOM´s Descriptive Grammar Series

01 **Ge'ez** (Classical Ethiopic) St. Weninger (1ˢᵗ ed., 2ⁿᵈ ed.)
02 **Kwamera** L. Lindstrom & J. Lynch
03 **Mbalanhu** D. Fourie
05 **Ukrainian** A. Danylenko & S. Vakulenko
06 **Cantonese** S.-Y. Killingley
07 **Koptisch** Andrea Eberle
10 **Koiari** T.E. Dutton
11 **Gunin/Kwini** W. McGregor
12 **Even** A.L. Malchukov
18 **Sanskrit** D. Killingley & S.-Y. Killingley
19 **Ixtenco Otomí** Y. Lastra
20 **Maori** R. Harlow
21 **Chadian Arabic** S. Abu-Absi
22 **(Modern Eastern) Armenian** N.A. Kozintseva
27 **Passamaquoddy-Maliseet** R. Leavitt
28 **Rural Palestinian Arabic** (Abu Shusha dial.) K.N. Shahin
30 **Northern Sotho** L.J. Louwrens, I.M. Kosch & A.E. Kotzé
31 **Saliba** U. Mosel
34 **Sinhala** J.W. Gair & J. Paolillo
50 **Zulu** S.E. Bosch & G. Poulos
58 **Tokelauan** R. Hooper
59 **Kunama** M.L. Bender
63 **Maldivian/Divehi** J.W. Gair & B. Cain
64 **Dogon** V. Plungian
65 **Corse** M. Giacomo-Marcellesi
66 **Bulgare** J. Feuillet
68 **Sumerian** J.L. Hayes
69 **Basilicatese** R. Bigalke
70 **El Gallego** J.A. Pérez Bouza
71 **Pima Bajo** Z. Estrada Fernández
74 **Abruzzese** R. Bigalke
81 **Literary Old Babylonian** Shlomo Izre'el & Eran Cohen
82 **Canaano-Akkadian** Shlomo Izre'el
83 **Papiamentu** S. Kouwenberg & E. Murray
88 **Nyulnyul** W. McGregor
89 **Warrwa** W. McGregor
92 **Icari Dargwa** Nina R. Sumbatova & Rasul O. Mutalov
93 **Daur** Chaolu Wu (Üjiyedin Chuluu)
100 **Bare** (Arawak) Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald
101 **Acadian French** D. Jory & V.

103 **Chamling** K. Ebert
104 **Kodava** (Dravidian) K. Ebert
105 **Romanes** (Sinti) D. Holzinger
106 **Sepecides-Romani** P. Cech & M.F. Heinschink
107 **Burgenland-Romani** D.W. Halwachs & Michal Wogg
109 **Karachay** St. Seegmiller
111 **Nivkh** E. Gruzdeva
114 **Hittite** S. Luraghi
116 **Songhay** R. Nicolai & P. Zima
117 **Macedonian** V.A. Friedman
125 **Czech** L. Janda & Ch.E. Townsend
127 **Modern Hebrew** O. Schwarzwald
129 **Siciliano** R. Bigalke
130 **Ratahan** N.P. Himmelmann & J.U. Wolff
133 **Tsakhur** W. Schulze
135 **Late Cornish** I. Wmffre
136 **Fyem** D. Nettle
137 **Yingkarta** A. Dench
139 **Svan** K. Tuite
141 **Evenki** N. Bulatova & L. Grenoble
144 **Livonian** Christopher Moseley
145 **Russian** E. Andrews
147 **Georgian** M. Cherchi
148 **Serbo-Croatian** S. Kordic
152 **Central Breton** I. Wmffre
155 **Chagatay** A. Bodrogligeti
158 **Vogul** T. Riese
159 **Mandan** Mauricio Mixco
160 **Upper Sorbian** G. Schaarschmidt
162 **West Greenlandic** Jerrold M. Sadock
165 **Dagaare** A. Bodomo
170 **Tol** Dennis Holt
173 **Khamnigan Mongol** Juha Janhunen
179 **Toba** H.E. Manelis Klein
180 **Degema** E.E. Kari
183 **Jaqaru** M.J. Hardman
180 **Degema** E.E. Kari
183 **Jaqaru** M.J. Hardman
184 **Madurese** W. D. Davies
185 **Kamass** A. Künnap
186 **Enets** A. Künnap
190 **Esperanto** Ch. Gledhill
192 **Maipure** Raoul Zamponi
193 **Kiliwa** M. Mixco
200 **Karbardian** John Colarusso
201 **Irish** Aidian Doyle
204 **Ket** Edward J. Vajda
207 **Damana** María Trillos Amaya
208 **Embera** Daniel Aguirre