

Relative Clauses in Oscan and Latin

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Perhaps the most celebrated relative clauses in Oscan features in the so-called Testament of Vibius Adiranus from Pompeii (Pompei 24 in *Imagines Italicae*, Po 3 in *Sabellische Texte*):

**v(iíbis). aadirans. v(iíbieís). eítiuam. paam
vereiiaí. púmpaiianaí. trístamentud.
deded. eísak. eítiuad
v(iíbis). viínikiís. m(a)r(aheis). kvaísstur. púmpaiians.
trííbúm. ekak. kúmbennieís.
tanginud. úpsannam
deded. ísídum. prúfatted**

This text can be translated word-for-word into Latin, as in the following version from VETTER (1953: 49-50):

V(ibius) Atranus V(ibi f.) pecuniam quam iuventuti Pompeianae testament dedit, ea pecunia V. Vinicius M(a)r(aei f.) quaestor Pompeianus domum hanc (de) conventus sententia faciendam dedit, idem probavit.

The appearance of the antecedent **eítiuam** (*pecuniam*) both in the preposed relative clause (with so-called *attractio inversa*) and in the following matrix clause, accompanied by the correlative pronoun **eísak** (*ea*), is a recognised pattern in early Indo-European languages; WATKINS (1995: 541) gave parallels from Vedic and early Latin, associating the repetition of the antecedent also with Hittite ‘high style’. However, the second-century BCE date that Watkins ascribed to the inscription now seems too early, and the presence of other Latinisms in the text have led some to see this relative clause structure as a potential Oscan calque of a Latin legal formula (ADAMS 2003: 137, CLACKSON & HORROCKS 2007: 63, MCDONALD 2012: 51).

In this paper I shall address the question of Latin influence on Oscan relative clause syntax, using material both from the Oscan corpus and from other Sabellic languages. It is now possible to compare inscriptions composed in areas and at times when there is demonstrable Latin influence with those written at earlier periods. Although it will never be possible to prove that the relative syntax in the testament of Vibius Adiranus is not an archaism continued from Proto-Italic, a clearer account of the different structures found in Sabellic will help to clarify what is more likely to be a Latinism and what is an inherited feature.

References

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