

Types of Relativization and Headedness in Sabellic

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Like other Indo-European languages, Sabellic has different types of relativization: post-nominal, right-extraposed, free relatives, and correlatives.¹ Some of these types have been widely discussed in the literature, e.g. HALE (1988) for Old Persian, BENUCCI (1996) and DUPRAZ (2009) for Sabellic, PROBERT (2015) for Ancient Greek, POMPEI (2012) and PINKSTER (2021) for Latin.

Although Sabellic free relatives have been examined in DUPRAZ (2009), their subtypes have not been fully analyzed, and the analysis of the free relative type prove to be informative for the discussion of correlatives. Correlatives have not been analyzed at all in Sabellic, and usually only superficially analyzed in other Indo-European branches.

Section I focuses on these least studied types, free relatives and correlatives, such as the correlative below:

- (1) [*piei. ex. comono. pertemest.*] *izic. eizeic. zicelei*
who.DAT PREP assembly.ACC prohibit.3SG.FUT he.NOM that.LOC day.LOC
comono. ne. hipid.
assembly.ACC NEG hold.3SG.SUBJ.PF
'For whomsoever he shall thus prohibit an assembly, he may not that day hold (any other) assembly.' (BANTIA 1,3)

Section II shows that relatives in Sabellic can be internally headed (the head is in the relative clause), externally headed (the head is in the main clause) or headless. Case assignment is used to determine in which clause the head is.

- (2) *claverniur. dirsas. herti. (...) šesna/ homonus. duir.*
Clavernii.NOM give.3PL.SUBJ must dinner.ACC men.DAT two.DAT
[puri. far. eiscurent. (...)]
which.NOM.PL spelt.ACC collect.3PL.FUT
'The Clavernii must give (...) dinner to the two men, who will collect the spelt (...)'
(Vb 8a–10)

Even though the types of relativization and headedness are independent, both are essential to understand relative clauses. (1) has a correlative structure, but as for the headedness, it is headless, while (2) is an externally headed relative clause.

Section III discusses the relationship between definiteness and word order. IVANOV (1979) suggested that relative pronouns in Italic languages, similar to Hittite, are indefinite in initial position and are definite in non-initial position. However, unlike Hittite, the definiteness distinction of Sabellic word order is actually restricted to relative clauses, as a result of headedness: externally headed relative clauses have the relative pronoun after the antecedent, while internally headed relative clauses have the internal head after the relative pronoun. (2) is externally headed, and hence definite; (3) is internally headed, and indefinite. Correlatives are

¹ More types could be mentioned depending on the classification of the scholar, but here we will restrict ourselves to just this classification.

always internally headed (cf. 1) and are always indefinite, as is similar to the quantificational reading of correlatives in other Indo-European languages such as Hindi, discussed by DAYAL (1995).

- (3) *esuf. in(im). eituam. [poizad. ligud. <i>usc. censtur.*
he.NOM and property.ACC which.ABL law.ABL these.NOM censors.NOM
censaum. angetuzet.]
censor.INF pronounce.3PL.FUT
'(...) himself and in respect of his property, under whatever law those censors may have pronounced to the census.' (BANTIA 1,9)

Mainly, we will show how Sabellic relativization has similarities and differences to other branches of Indo-European languages.

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