

1. Testament of Vibis Aadirans

(Pompei 24 in *Imagines Italicae*, Po 3 in *Sabellische Texte*):

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

Vetter (1953: 49-50) translates into Latin

*V(ibi)us 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.*

Note a) preposed relative clause

b) **eítiuam** (*pecuniam*) both in relative clause and in matrix clause, accompanied by correlative pronoun **eísak** (*ea*)

c) so-called *attractio inversa*

Watkins (1995: 541) compared structure of *Artharva Veda* 2.31.1,

*índrasya yā mahī drsát
krímer víśvasya tárhañī
táyā pinaşmi sám krimīn
drsádā khálvām iva*

‘The great millstone which is Indra’s, bruiser of every worm, with that millstone I crush the worms like *khalva*-grains’

Watkins compares ‘high’ style of Hittite and Latin also.

2. Latinisms in Vibis Aadirans inscription

**kvaísstur ; tristaamentud deded ; kúmbennieís. tanginud
trííbúm. ...úpsannam deded. ísídum. prúfatted**

cf. e.g. AE 1996, 685 (167-131 BCE)

T(itus) Annius T(iti) f(ilius) ... is hance aedem / faciundam dedit ...

CIL I² 610 (200 BCE)

C. Aurilius C. f. / praetor/ iterum didit / eisdim consl / probauit

CIL I² 1565 (100 BCE)

*[T]i.) Messius Q. f., C. Acilius M. f., [C]n. Mevius Cn. F. aid(iles)
murum / et aream claudendam ex / sen(atus) sen(tentia)
faciundum curauere / eisdemque probauere.*

3. Left dislocation in Latin

Legal texts:

CIL 5 7749 (117 BCE) (Sententia Minuciorum) 42-4

*Vituries quei controuorsias / Genuensium ob iniourias iudicati
aut damnati sunt, sei quis in uinculeis ob eas res est, eos omneis /
soluei, mittei leiber <are>ique Genuenses uidetur oportere ante
eidus Sextilis primas.*

‘If any one of the Veturii who have been judged or found guilty in respect of quarrels with the Genuans on account of contumelious wrongs is in prison because of such matters, we think that all of them should be released, discharged, and set free before the thirteenth day of August next.’ (translation Warmington, Loeb)

CIL I² 698 (105 BCE) (Lex parieti faciendo Puteolana) 8-10

*In area trans uiam paries, qui est propter uiam in eo pariete
medio ostiei lumen aperito;*

‘In the middle of the party wall which is near the road and which is in the vacant space across the road, he shall open a gap for a doorway’ (translation Halla-aho 2018: 165)

CIL I² 587 (81 BCE) (Lex Cornelia de XX quaestoribus) 31-33

*uiatores praecones quei ex hac lege lectei sublectei erunt /
eis uiatoribus praeconibus magistratus proue mag(istratu) /
mercedis item tantundem dato*

‘A magistrate or person acting as a magistrate shall pay, to the messengers and heralds who shall be chosen or substituted by this law, just so much by way of salary’ (Loeb translation, Warmington)

Non-legal texts

See also Halla-aho 2016, Probert & Dickey 2016

Apuleius *Florida* 9.13 21 (cited by Halla-aho 2016)

*etiam anulum in laeva aureum faberrimo signaculo quem
ostentabat, ipse eius anuli et orbiculum circulauerat et palam
clauserat et gemmam insculpserat*

‘and as for the gold ring on his left hand which he flaunted with its
exquisite seal stone, he himself had molded the band, enclosed the
bezel, and carved the intaglio’ (Loeb translation, C.P. Jones)

AE 1964, 160, 3-5, from tomb of Vesonius Phileros at Pompeii

Cited by Väänänen 1981: 160, Halla-aho 2016: 384, Probert &
Dickey 2016: 395

*amicum hunc quem/ speraueram mi esse ab eo mihi accusato/res
subiecti et iudicia instaurata*

‘this friend I hoped I had, by him accusers have been brought
forward against me and a lawsuit started’ (translation Probert &
Dickey 2016: 395)

But the text is actually

*Hospes paullisper morare / si non est molestum et quid evites /
cognosce amicum hunc quem/ speraueram mi esse ab eo
mihi accusato/res subiecti et iudicia instaurata*

Pinkster 2021: 491 ‘the accusative in *amicum hunc* may be due to
preceding *cognosce* as a false start of an accusative and infinitive
clause’

NB language is also possibly influenced by formulae of curse tablets

4. Comparison with other Oscan relative clauses

Oscan (including Paelignian etc.) relative clauses

formed with relative pronoun **púí** = Latin *qui* < **k^wo-* c. 38 exx.

formed with relative pronoun **pís** = Latin *quis* < **k^wi-* c. 6 exx.

(Dupraz (2009) argues that **pís** marks free relatives, **púí** others, but
counter-examples at Pompei 7 / Po 38 and Anxia 1 / Lu 39)

Of these examples, 10 are in the *Tabula Bantina* (Bantia 1 / Lu 1),
Oscan legal text of c. 100-91 BCE, written in Latin script and widely
recognized to have heavy Latin influence.

i) *Cippus Abellanus* (Abella 1 / Cm 1), c. 100 BCE, has 13 exx. It
‘shows clear evidence of influence of the drafting style of Roman
legislation from C. Gracchus onwards’ (Crawford et al. 2011 II 887).
B 3-11

... [puf]

‘where

herekleís fíisnú mefi[ú]
íst, ehtrad feihúss pú[s]
herekleís fíisnam amfr-
et pert víam pússtís,
paí íp íst pústin slagím,
senateís suveís tangi-
núd tribarakavúm lí-
kítud.

the temple of Hercules is in the
middle, outside the walls which
surround the temple of Hercules,
up to the road, which is
there, within the boundary
by the decision of the senate
it is permitted to build.’

(translation McDonald 2022: 127)

CIL I² 698 (Lex parieti faciendo Puteolana) 105 BCE, ll. 14-15

*Eisdem ostium, introitu in area quod nunc est, et fenestras, quae in
pariete propter eam aream sunt, pariete{m} opstruito;*

‘He shall also block up the doorway which now forms an entrance
into the building space and also wall up the windows which are in
the wall along the said vacant space.’ (trans. Halla-aho 2018: 166)

Cippus Abellanus B 11-14

íním íúk triba-
rakkiuf pam núvlanús
tribarakattuset íním
úíttiuf núvlanúm estud

‘And any building which
the Nolans build and its use
must belong to the Nolans.’

(translation McDonald 2022: 127)

CIL I² 587 (81 BCE) (Lex Cornelia de XX quaestoribus) 24-6

*itemque eis uiatoribus praeconibus, quei ex hac lege lectei erunt,
uicarium dare subdere ius esto licetoque*

‘And it is to be right and lawful for those messengers and criers,
who shall have been chosen according to this statute, to appoint or
substitute a deputy’ (trans. Halla-aho 2018: 179)

Possible examples of preposed relative clauses in Oscan

ii) Teruentum 8-10, lines 7-8, c. 125 BCE

-?? tríibúm paam essuf úmbn[-] -??

íak tríib úm -?? -] avt. pústiris. esidu m -??- íkúlú m

‘... the building] which he himself ...[....

... tha]t building [...] ... or later the same man... [...’

NB ? *izic/íúk/ídík* (= *is ea id*) + noun, only in Oscan post-125

iii) Capua 34 / CP 37 Curse tablet, possibly 4/3rd century BCE

B (outside)

Keri: arentika l pai pui suvam h eriam suvam l eginum [...

‘To Ceres Arentikú, for her own [will her] own band..’

A 1 (inside)

Keri: arent l kai: man afum pai: pu i pu i heriam suvam
leg in um

‘To Ceres Arentikú I have entrusted, who , with respect to her own will, her own band I shall invoke...’ (trans. McDonald 2022: 246)

iiii) *Iúvilú* inscriptions Capua 24 / CP 33-4

A

[??]

ík (ieís) pak (ieís) ... viiúm

pak (ieís) medikid

túvtik (ud) kapv (anud)

sakraítir. ka (sit)

damsennias

pas. fiíet. pústr (eí)

iúkleí vehii (asúm)

m edik (id). minive

kersna [s] ias

B

[??]

sak ra [ít] ir.

kas [it dam s en n-

ias. pas. fií et.

pústreí. iúkleí

<v> ehii anasúm

a <v> t. sakrim

fakiíad kasit

medik (i) d. túvtik (ud)

minive / kersnasias

kapv (anud), adpúd / fiíet

(B) ‘Of Dec. and Pac. Calauii; it is necessary that there be a consecration; (the occasion is) the *damothoiniai* which take place on the day after the Vehianae; but it is necessary that one sacrifice a

victim under the office of the *meddix tuticus* at Capua until they take place.’ (Translation Crawford 2011).

damsennias. pas. fiíet. pústreí. iúkleí. <v> ehii anasúm

A nominal sentence *damsennias* followed by a relative?

Compare Capua 25 / Cp 30, erected by same family

ek (úk). iúvil (ú). s (e) p (ieís) / kalúvieis. ini /m. fratrúm

múinik (ú). est fiísiais. púm /periais. pas. pr /aí. mamerttia /is.

set. sakrasia /s. l. pettieis. me /ddik kiai. fuf /ens

‘This *iúvilú* is common to Sepis Kalúviis and his brothers; on the

festival of the Nones which is before (the Nones) of March, there

were sacrifices in the *meddiss*-ship of L. Pettiiis.’ (translation

McDonald 2022: 133)

v) Anxia 1 ST Lu 39

πωτ φολ /λο ο ο μ. σο ρο /φο μ ειν (ειμ) κα πι δι τ /ω μ. κα θα ς λει κει τ κω-

[ρο μ] α χε ρη ι λι ο {κα} κ ει τ σ φα /ι τι ω μ] ε σο τ β ρα τ ω μ μ ει αι α να [φα κ-

‘What ???, ??? and ??? it is proper for you (the passer-by) to take,

[the monument] stands out for Machaireus (?) if you offer this

favour to my [*psyche* (?)-?]-’ (translation Crawford et al. 2011)

But *βρατωμ* is elsewhere feminine, and *εσοτ* is most likely neuter.

See discussion at Zair 2016: 196. A different correlative pronoun?

5. Comparison with other Sabellian relative clauses

i) Umbrian

Nothing in early tables, but VIa 19f, cited by Buck (1928: 222)

uasor. *uerisco.* *treblanir.* *porsi.* *ocrer.* *pehaner.* *paca.* *ostensendi.* *eo.* *iso.* *ostendu.* *pusi.* *pir.* *pureto.* *cehefi.* *dia.*

‘The vessels at the Trebulan Gate which shall be exhibited for the purification of the mount, he shall exhibit them so that it might be given that fire might be taken from fire.’ (Trans. Dupraz 2011: 132).

NB 1) *uasor* marked as *nom.* plural although actually a neuter noun

2) *porsi* is an uninflected relativiser, used when the case of the

relative is different to that of the head noun

3) *eo* is neuter plural nom./acc. (cognate with *is ea id*) with no repetition of the head noun (which does not happen in Umbrian).

ii) South Picene

There are several relative pronouns in the early South Picene corpus; the following inscription has two: **pid** (written together with following verb **aitúpas**) and **posmúi** (dative singular):

Interamna Praetuttiorum1 / Sp TE 5 (5th c BCE)

oidom: safinús: estuf: eœlsít: tíom: povaisis:

pidaitúpas: fitiasom: múfqlúm: menfistrúí:

nemúneí: praistaít: panivú: meitims: safinas:

tútas: trebegis: titúí: pra|istaklasa: posmúí:

‘On this side (?), the Sabines erect (?) here, you (ACC), [-? -] (in respect of) anything you have decreed (?), a monument (?) of (your) deeds (?) stands out for [-? -] [-? -] the gift (?) of the Sabine community for Titus (son) of Trebecius, for whom the (?) stele (is)’. (Text and translation from Zamponi 2021)

The final placement of **posmúí** is paralleled in another South Picene text, Asculum Picenum 2 / Sp AP 2 (c. 500 BCE)

matereih: patereih: qolofítúr: qupíríh: arítíh: ímih: puíh

púpúnúm: estufk: apaiús: adstaíuh: súais: manus: meitimúm

‘The Appaei belonging to the Poponii have set up here with their hands the gift (?) which is erected well, with art [-? -] for the mother (and) for the father’ (Text and translation from Zamponi 2021)

6. Some Conclusions

- i) Oscan adnominal relatives follow their head noun
- ii) Oscan seems to avoid the Latin type *qui ager ... in eo agro ...*
- iii) Correlative *izic* / **íúk** / **ídík** + noun is not found in older texts
- iv) Word order in Pompei 24 doesn’t the discourse functions that similar word orders in Latin legal texts have.

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