

Types of Relativization and Headedness in Sabellic

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1 Introduction

- Like other Indo-European languages, Sabellic has different types of relativization: post-nominal, right-extraposed, free relatives, and correlatives¹. 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.
- Correlatives have not been analyzed at all in Sabellic, and usually only superficially analyzed in other Indo-European branches.
- Dupraz (2009): Oscan and Umbrian have different relativization strategies:
 - syntactic difference in Oscan: $*k^u i-$ in free relative clauses, and $*k^u o-$ when there is a noun in the relative clause domain.
 - semantic difference in Umbrian: $*k^u i-$ for generic relative clauses, and $*k^u o-$ for specific relative clauses.However, this distinction does not hold under our analysis.
- Table for relative pronouns in Sabellic:

Proto-Indo-European	Oscan	Umbrian
$*k^u o-$	púd , <i>pod</i> , paam , etc.	<i>poi</i> , <i>pure</i> , etc.
$*k^u i-$	<i>piei</i> , <i>peis</i> , etc.	<i>pisi</i> , pisi , etc.

Goals:

1. Sabellic innovates in using the pronouns of base $*k^u o-$ to introduce headless relative clauses meaning ‘who’.
2. Relative pronouns are indefinite in initial position and definite in non-initial position.
3. Sabellic has base generated correlatives.

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

2 Types

Although different scholars have different classifications of types of relativization², we will consider relatives and correlatives separately.

- “regular” relative clause: post-nominal or right extraposed.
- correlative: “preposed” and correlate to a demonstrative pronoun in the main clause.
- adverbial: the relative does not modify an NP, but it functions as an adjunct.

2.1 “Regular” relative clause

- (1) *eite. uus. pritrom-e pacris*
go.2PL.IMP.PERF you.NOM pritom.ACC-on.POSP peaceful.NOM.PL
puus. ecic / lexe. lifar. (Paelignian: Pg 9, 6-7)
who.NOM.PL this.ACC read.2PL.PERF ?
‘Go into *pritrome*, peaceful, **you (pl) who** have read ?³.’

2.2 Correlative

- (2) *uasor. ueris-co. treblanir. porsu. ocrer.*
vessels.NOM.N gates.ABL-POSP Trebulan.ABL which.INDECL mount.GEN
pehaner. paca. ostensendi. eo. iso.
purification.GEN POSP exhibit.3PL.FUT.PASS those.ones.NOM.N likewise
ostendu. pusi. pir. pureto. cehefi. dia.
exhibit.3SG.FUT.IMP that.CONJ fire.NOM fire.ABL kindle.INF.PASS one.can
surur. (Umbrian: VIa 19)
the.same.way
‘The **vessels** at the Trebulan Gate **which** are to be exhibited for the purification of the mount he shall so exhibit **them** as so that fire can be kindled from fire in the same way.’

2.3 Adverbial

- (3) *suae. pis. censtom-en. nei. cebnust. dolud.*
if anyone.NOM census.ACC-POSP not come.3SG.FUT.PERF deceit.ABL
mallud. in(im). eizeic. uincter. esuf.
wrongful.ABL and this.LOC win.3SG.PRES.PASS he.NOM
comenei. lamatir. pr(aectureis). meddixud.
assembly.place.LOC flogged.3SG.SUBJ.PASS pretor.GEN meddix.ABL
toutad. praesentid. perum. dolum. mallom in(im).
people.ABL present.PART.ABL without deceit.ACC wrongful.ACC and

²For other classifications, see Cinque 2020: 1 and de Vries 2005.

³Sabellic examples are from Rix (2002) and Crawford et al. (2010). Oscan translations are from Crawford et al. (2010) with minor modifications; translations from Umbrian are from Poultney (1959).

amiricatud. *allo.* *famelo.* *in(im).* *ei(tuo).* *siuom.*
 be.sold.ABL.PART whole.NOM.F property.NOM.F and ? his.own.NOM
paei. *eizeis.* *fust.* *pae.*
 which.NOM.SG.F this.GEN be.3SG.SUBJ.PERF which.NOM.SG.F
ancensto. *fust.* *toutico.* *estud.*
 not.listed.NOM.SG.F be.3SG.SUBJ.PERF public.NOM.SG.F be.3SG.IMP (Oscan:

Lu 1, 20-3)

‘But if anyone shall with wrongful deceit not have come to the census and is convicted of that, he himself should be flogged in the place of assembly, by virtue of the magistracy in the presence of the people, without wrongful deceit (of the magistrate) and the whole of his estate is to be sold and the whole of his property, which shall have been his **for it shall have been listed**, is to be public.’

3 Headedness

- Both the (cor)relative clause and the main clause can be headed (with overt head NP) or headless (without overt head NP), and the combination is as shown in the following chart.
- Case assignment is used to determine in which clause the head is.

(Cor)relative Main Clause	Headless	Headed
Headless	Headless	Internally-headed
Headed	Externally-headed	Double headed

3.1 Internally headed

- The case of the head here is assigned inside the relative clause.

Example (4) is an internally headed correlative:

- (4) *pafe.* *trif.* *promom.* *haburent.* *eaf.*
 which.ACC.PL.F three.ACC.PL.F first catch.3PL.FUT these.ACC.PL.F
acersoniem *fetu.* *turse.* *iouie.*
 Acedonia.LOC-POSP sacrifice.3SG.FUT.IMP Tursa.DAT Jovia.DAT
popluper. *totar.* *iiouinar.* *totaper.* *iouina.* (Umbrian:
 people.ABL-POSP state.GEN Iguvine.GEN state.ABL Iguvine.ABL
 VIIa 52)

‘**Whichever three** they catch first, **these** he (the *adfertor*) shall sacrifice at Acedonia to Tursa Jovia for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium.’

Example (5) is an example of internally headed relative clause:

- (5) *pis. pocapi{.}t. post. exac. comono. hafie{i}st.*
 which.NOM ever hereafter this.ABL assembly.ACC.PL hold.3SG.FUT
meddis. dat. castrid. loufir. en. eituas. factud. p{o}us.
meddis.NOM about goods.ABL or in money.GEN do.3SG.IMP that
touto. deiuatuns. tanginom. deicans. siom. dat.
 people.NOM swearing.NOM.PART opinion.ACC say.3PL.SUBJ.PRES they about
eiza(i)sc. idic. tangineis. deicum. pod. ualaemon. touticom.
 this.ABL this.ACC opinion.GEN to.say.INF which the.best.NOM public.ACC
tadait. ezum. nep. fefacid. pod. pis.
 seem.3SG.SUBJ.PRES to.be.INF not make.3SG.SUBJ.PERF that which.NOM
dat. eizac. egmad. min[s] deiuaid. dolud.
 about this.ABL thing.ABL that.not swear.3SG.SUBJ.PRES deceit.ABL
malud. (Oscan: Lu 1, 8-10)
 wrongful.ABL

‘Whoever *meddis* shall hereafter hold an assembly concerning goods or money, he is to see that the people should pronounce an opinion under oath that they should pronounce this opinion, which seems to represent the best for the public nor may he act to the effect that anyone not should swear with wrongful deceit...’

3.2 Externally headed

Relative clauses can be externally headed:

- (6) *claverniur. dirsas. herti. (...) sesna/ homonus. duir.*
 Clavernii.NOM give.3PL.SUBJ must dinner.ACC men.DAT two.DAT
[puri. far. eiscurent. (...)] (Umbrian: Vb 8a-10)
 which.INDECL spelt.ACC collect.3PL.FUT.PERF
 ‘The Clavernii must give (...) dinner to the **two men**, **who** will have collected the spelt (...)’

Correlatives can not be externally-headed in Sabellic.

3.3 Headless

Headless relative clauses do not have head nouns:

- (7) *poei. angla aseriato. eest. eso. tremnu. serse.*
 who.NOM.M birds.ACC observe.SUP will.go so tent.ABL sitting.NOM.SG
arsferture. ehueltu. (Umbrian: VIa 1)
 adfertor.DAT demand.3SG.IMP
 ‘The **one who** goes to observe the messengers, sitting shall call out from the tent to the *adfertor*.’

- (8) **ařfetur. pisipumpe. fust. eikvasese. atieñier.**
 priest.NOM whoever.NOM be.3SG.FUT meeting.ABL+POSP atiedian.ABL
ere. ri. esune. kuraia. prehabia. piře.
 he.NOM thing.DAT ritual.DAT care.3SG.SUBJ provide.3SG.SUBJ what.NOM.N
uraku. ri. esuna. si herte
 that.ABL+POSP thing.ABL ritual.ABL be.3SG.SUBJ fitting.3SG.PRES.PASS
et pure esune sis. (Umbrian: Va 3-6)
 and who.NOM.PL that.(thing).DAT be.3PL.SUBJ
 ‘Whoever will be the priest at the Atiedian meeting he should care for the sacred
 thing. He should provide that **which** is necessary at that sacred thing and **who**
 should be at the rite.’⁴

Example (8) suggests that in headless relative clauses, the pronouns of base **k^ui-* only mean ‘which’, as **piře** in the example, and the pronouns of base **k^uo-* mean ‘who’, as **pure** in the example. The relative pronouns *poi, poe, poei* in Umbrian, and the form **pui** in Oscan in headless relative clauses also only mean ‘who’. We will discuss this more later on.

Headless correlative:

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

3.4 Double headed

- Double headed (cor)relatives are seen crosslinguistically.

English has an archaic register for non-restrictive relative clauses to be double headed:

- (10) he suggested to the defendant the commission of a **crime**, [**which crime** was to be consummated by the concurrent act of. . .]

In Sabellic we have an example of a double headed correlative clause:

- (11) **v(iġbis). aadirans. v(iġbieis). eġtiuvam. paam. vereiiaġ.**
 vibius.NOM adiranus.NOM vibius.GEN money.ACC which.ACC vereia.DAT
pumpaiianaġ. tristaa mentud. deded. eġsak. eġtiuvad
 pompeian.DAT will.ABL give.PERF.3SG that.ABL money.ABL
v(iġbis). viġnikiis. mr. kvaġstur. pŭmp-aiians.
 vibius.NOM vinicius.NOM maras.GEN questor.NOM pompeian.DAT

⁴Translation from Weiss (2010: 184).

trífbúm. ekak. kúmben-nieís. tanginud.
 building.ACC that.ACC assembly.GEN decision.ABL
úpsannam. deded. ísídum.
 be.constructed.GERUND.ACC give.3SG.PERF same.person.NOM
prúfatted (Oscan: Po 3)
 approve.3SG.PERF

‘In respect of the **money which** Vibius Adiranus, son of Vibius, gave by will to the Pompeian *vereia*, from **that money** V. Vinicius, son of Maras, quaestor at Pompei, let the contract for this building to be constructed, by decision of the assembly, the same person approved it.’

There is also a doubly headed relative clause:

- (12) **ekss. kúmbened. sakaralúm herekleís [ú]p slaagid. púd.**
 thus agreed sanctuary.NOM hercules.GEN beside *slaags*.ABL which.NOM
íst. íním. teer[úm] púd. úp. eísúd. sakaralúd[. íst]
 is and land.ACC which.NOM beside that.ABL sanctuary.ABL is
púd. anter. teremníss. eh[trúís]. íst. paí.
 which.NOM within boundaries.ABL.F external.ABL.F is which.NOM.PL.F
teremenniú. mú[íníkad]. tanginúd. prúftú.set. r[ehtúd].
 boundaries.NOM common.ABL decision.ABL set.3PL.PERF.PASS right.ABL
amnúd. puz. ídík. sakara[klúm] íním. ídík. terúm.
 perimeter.ABL that that.NOM sanctuary.NOM and that.NOM land.NOM
múíník[úm]. múíníkeí. tereí. fusíd. (Oscan: Cm 1A 11-19)
 common.NOM common.LOC land.LOC should.be

‘(...) thus agreed: for the sanctuary of Hercules which is beside the *slaags*, and the land which is beside that sanctuary, whatever is within the outer **boundary markers, which boundary markers** were set up by joint decision, in a straight fashion, that that sanctuary and that land should be jointly-held in jointly-held land, [and] that sanctuary [and] land should be common to both.’

- This example is a relative clause since there is not a demonstrative in the main clause functioning as a correlate.
- Besides that, the relative clause is nested, which is impossible for correlatives.

4 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.
- In Sabellic both correlatives and relatives follow the same word order constraint.

4.1 Relative Pronoun before Head

- (13) *pafe.* *trif.* *promom.* *haburent.* *eaf.*
which.ACC.PL.F three.ACC.PL.F first catch.3PL.FUT these.ACC.PL.F
acersoniem *fetu.* *turse.* *iouie.*
Acedonia.LOC-POSP sacrifice.3SG.FUT.IMP Tursa.DAT Jovia.DAT
popluper. *totar.* *iiouinar.* *totaper.* *iouina.* (Umbrian:
people.ABL-POSP state.GEN Iguvine.GEN state.ABL Iguvine.ABL
VIIa 52)

‘Whichever three they catch first, these he (the *adfertor*) shall sacrifice at Acedonia to Tursa Jovia for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium.’

4.2 Relative Pronoun after Head

- (14) **the-savrúm.** **púd.** **e(i)seí.** **tereí.** **íst.** **pún.**
treasury.NOM which.NOM that.LOC land.LOC is when
patensíns. **múiníkad.** **ta[n]-ginúd.**
should.open.3PL.SUBJ.IMPF common.ABL decision.ABL
patensíns. **íním.** **píd.** **e[íseí]** **thesavreí.** **púkkapíd.**
should.open.3PL.SUBJ.IMPF and whatever that.DAT treasury.DAT ever
ee[stít] **aíttíúm.** **alttram.** **alttr[ús]** **[f]erríns.** (Oscan:
are shares.GEN each.one.GEN. each.one.NOM take.3PL.SUBJ.IMPF
Cm 1B 23-28)

‘But (it was agreed that) the treasury which is in that land, when they open it they are to open it by joint decision, and whatever is in that treasury, they are each to take one of (the two) shares’

5 Comparison with other IE languages

Sabellic relativization has similarities and differences to other branches of Indo-European languages.

5.1 Type Comparison with Latin

Latin shows the same types we see in Sabellic, internally and externally headed in relative clauses:

External:

- (15) *Multas ad res perutiles Xenophontis libri sunt, quos legite quaeso studiose, ut facitis.*

(Cic. *Sen.* 59)

‘Xenophon’s **writings** are very instructive on many subjects, **which** I beg you to keep reading studiously as you have been doing⁵.’

Internal:

(16) (...) *ut ei detur quam istic emi virginem* (...) (Pl. *Cur.* 433)

‘(...) that **the girl whom** I purchased there be given to him (...)’

Headless:

(17) *Edepol qui amat (...) misera affligitur aerumna.* (Pl. *Cur.* 142)

‘Truly, **the one who** loves (...) is struck by miserable sorrow.’

Archaic Latin:

(18) *quem agrum eōs uendere herēdemque sequī licet, is ager uectigal nei siet*

(*Sententia Minuciorum* CIL I² 584.5)

‘**whichever field** they are allowed to sell and pass to an heir, **that field** should not be taxable.’

Adverbial⁶:

(19) *erat iter tale, per quod vix tranquillum ab hostili metu agmen expediri posset* (Liv. 35.30.4)

‘The road was **such that** a column (of soldiers), even when free from fear of an enemy, could hardly traverse it.’

5.2 Definiteness and Word-order comparison with Hittite

In Section 4, we have seen that if the relative pronoun precedes the NP head, it has an indefinite reading as in (4), and if the NP precedes the relative pronoun, it has a definite reading as in (14). This is exactly the same as in Hittite, as discussed in Fortson (2004)⁷:

(20) *kue* GAL.HI.A *akkuškizzi* *ta* *apē=pat*
 which.NEUT.PL cup.PL drink.3SG.ITER.PRES CONN those-EMPH
ekuzi (KBo 19.74 iv 33’ -34’)
 drink.3SG.PRES

‘**whichever cups** he usually drinks from, he shall drink from **those**.’

⁵Examples (15-18) are from Pinkster (2021).

⁶The example is from Gast & Schäfer: 367.

⁷For the counterexamples in Anatolian, cf. Yates (2014)

Compare to (4) repeated here as (21):

- (21) *pafe.* *trif.* *promom.* *haburent.* *eaf.*
 which.ACC.PL.F three.ACC.PL.F first catch.3PL.FUT these.ACC.PL.F
acersoniem *fetu.* *turse.* *iouie.*
 Acedonia.LOC-POSP sacrifice.3SG.FUT.IMP Tursa.DAT Jovia.DAT
popluper. *totar.* *iiouinar.* *totaper.* *iouina.* (Umbrian:
 people.ABL-POSP state.GEN Iguvine.GEN state.ABL Iguvine.ABL
 VIIa 52)

‘Whichever three they catch first, these he (the *adfertor*) shall sacrifice at Acedonia to Tursa Jovia for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium.’

- (22) *GU₄=ya=wa=mu* *kuin* *tet* *nu=war=an=mu*
 cow-and-QUOT-me which.COM.ACC.SG say.3SG.PRET CONN-QUOT-it-me
uppi
 send.2SG.IMP
 ‘And the cow that you promised me, send it to me’ (Ma at 75/14 obv. 14-16).

Compare to (14) repeated as (23)

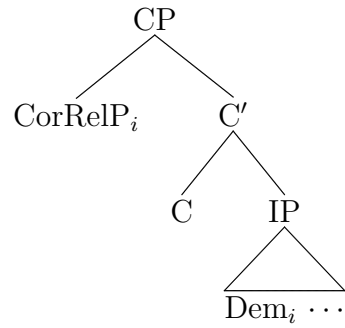
- (23) *the-savrúm.* *púd.* *e(i)seí.* *tereí.* *íst.* *pún.*
 treasury.NOM which.NOM that.LOC land.LOC is when
patensíns. *múíníkad.* *ta[n]-ginúd.*
 should.open.3PL.SUBJ.IMPF common.ABL decision.ABL
patensíns. *íním.* *píd.* *e[íseí]* *thesavreí.* *púkkapíd.*
 should.open.3PL.SUBJ.IMPF and whatever that.DAT treasury.DAT ever
ee[stít] *aíttíúm.* *alttram.* *alttr[ús]* *[f]erríns.* (Oscan:
 are shares.GEN each.one.GEN. each.one.NOM take.3PL.SUBJ.IMPF
 Cm 1B 23-28)

‘But (it was agreed that) the treasury which is in that land, when they open it they are to open it by joint decision, and whatever is in that treasury, they are each to take one of (the two) shares’

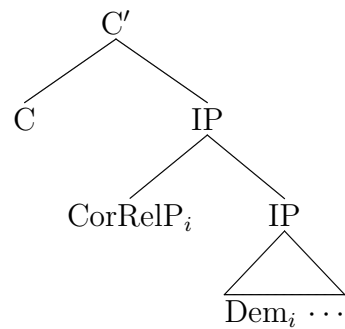
5.3 Base generation vs. Movement: comparing with Hittite and Indic

The correlative construction is described as a “preposed” relative clause. There are some strategies to form correlatives:

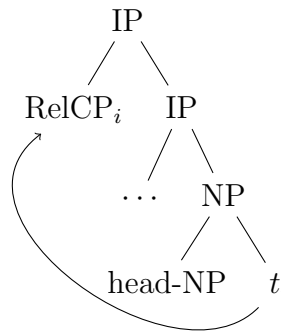
1. base generated in SpecCP (Hittite, Vedic)



2. base generated in Adjunct of IP (Modern Hindi multi-headed correlatives)



3. moved to Adjunct of IP (Modern Hindi simple correlatives)



- We want to show that Sabellic correlative clauses are more likely to be base generated in SpecCP

5.3.1 Hittite

Motter (2021) shows that Hittite correlative clause can have its correlate in an adjunct clause:

- (24) *kāšma=wa MUŠEN^H.A kue ANA EN=YA uppahhun nu=wa=za*
 herewith-QUOT bird.PL which to Lord-my sent.1SG CONN-QUOT-Refl
mān EN=YA apē MUŠEN^H.A malāši nu=wa=mu EN=YA
 if Lord-my those bird.PL approve.2SG CONN-QUOT-me Lord-my
EGIR-pa ḥatrāu (AT 125 11-12 5-9)
 back write.2SG.IMPF

‘The birds which I have herewith sent to my Lord, if you My Lord approve of those birds, may you My Lord write back to me.’

- Hittite correlative clauses are base generated, since otherwise (24) will violate adjunct-island.⁸

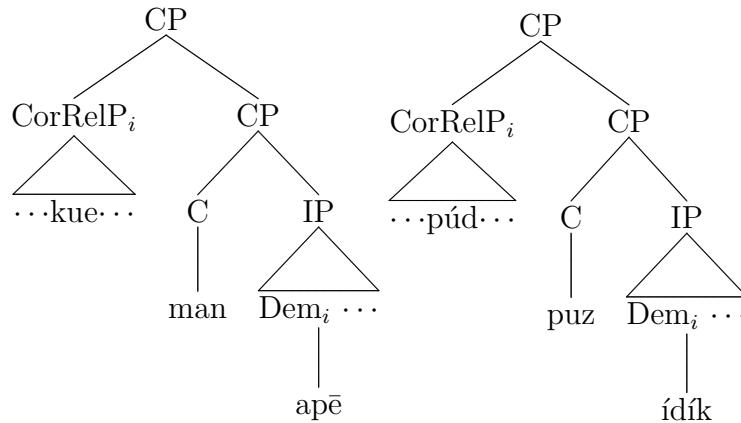
Now consider example (12) repeated here as (25)

- (25) *ekss. kúmbened. sakaraklúm herekleís [ú]p slaagid. púd.*
 thus agreed sanctuary.NOM hercules.GEN beside *slaags*.ABL which.NOM
íst. íním. teer[úm] púd. úp. eísúd. sakaraklúd[. íst]
 is and land.ACC which.NOM beside that.ABL sanctuary.ABL is
púd. anter. teremniš. eh[trúis]. íst. paí.
 which.NOM within boundaries.ABL.F external.ABL.F is which.NOM.PL.F
teremenniú. mú[íníkad]. tanginúd. prúftú.set. r[ehtúd].
 boundaries.NOM common.ABL decision.ABL set.3PL.PERF.PASS right.ABL
amnúd. puz. ídík. sakara[klúm] íním. ídík. terúm.
 perimeter.ABL that that.NOM sanctuary.NOM and that.NOM land.NOM
múíník[úm]. múíníkeí. tereí. fusíd. (Oscan: Cm 1A 11-19)
 common.NOM common.LOC land.LOC should.be

‘(...) thus agreed: for the sanctuary of Hercules which is beside the *slaags*, and the land which is beside that sanctuary, whatever is within the outer boundary markers, which boundary markers were set up by joint decision, in a straight fashion, that that sanctuary and that land should be jointly-held in jointly-held land, [and] that sanctuary [and] land should be common to both.’

The whole correlative clause “*sakarakúm ... amnúd*” precedes the complementizer ‘*puz*’, which is comparable to the Hittite correlative clause preceding the connective: Both languages share the following construction:

⁸Motter (2021) also discusses examples where the complementizer is in the correlative clause, and suggests that it is not a robust construction type.



- Sabellic correlatives have the same structure as Hittite correlatives, but *on the surface!*

5.3.2 Indic

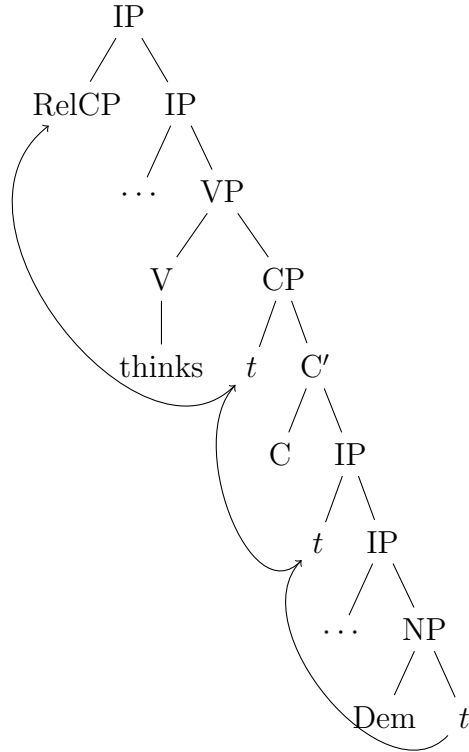
5.3.2.1 Correlate demonstrative in embedded clauses

- Bhatt (2003) argues that in Modern Hindi, simple correlatives are moved rather than base generated.

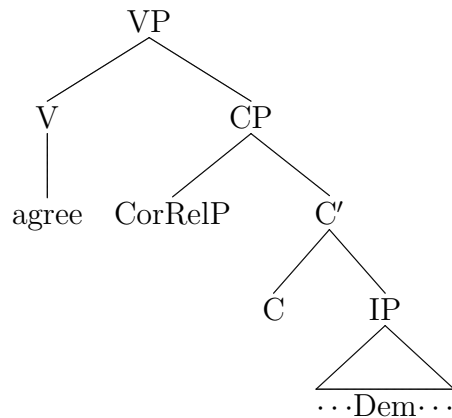
Simple correlatives in Modern Hindi cannot move from islands but they can move from embedded clauses as follows:

(26) *jo larki*: TV-par ga: rah-i: hai Sita soch-ti: hai ki
 Rel girl TV-on sing PROG be.PRES Sita.FEM think.HAB.FEM be.PRES that
vo sundar hai
 DEM beautiful be.PRES

‘Sita thinks that *the girl who* is singing on TV is beautiful.’ (lit. ‘*Which girl* is singing on TV, Sita thinks that *she* is beautiful.’)



(26) shows cyclic movement, but (25) does not.



- Sabellic correlative clauses, unlike Modern Hindi, do not show cyclic movement.

5.3.2.2 Position of the correlate demonstratives

- Bhatt (2003) suggests that Modern Hindi correlate demonstratives do not have to be moved to the left periphery of the main clause, not even covertly.

(27) jo CD sale-par hai, Maya us CD-ko khari:d-egi:
 REL CD sale-on be.PRES Maya.F DEM CD-ACC buy-FUT.F
 ‘Maya will buy the CD that is on sale.’

- In languages where correlatives are base generated like Vedic⁹, the correlates are usually moved to the left periphery:

(28) *yéna* *gácchathaḥ* *sukṛto* *duraṇám* *téna*
 Rel.INS.SG go.PRES.2pl good-doer.GEN.SG home.ACC.SG DEM.INS.SG
narā *varṭír* *asmábhyam yātam* (RV 1.117.2cd)
 man.VOC.DU course.ACC.SG 1PL.DAT go.IMP.2DU
 ‘By which (chariot) you go to the home of the good ritual performer, by that, o men, travel your course to us.’¹⁰

Even if the correlate is not in the leftmost position of the main clause, it is still in the left periphery.

- In all Sabellic correlative examples, the correlate demonstratives precedes everything else in IP, which suggests that they should be in the left periphery, like Vedic, but unlike Modern Hindi.

Parameter	Hittite	Vedic	Sabellic	Modern Hindi
Correlative above complimentizer	Yes!	Yes!	Yes	No
Cyclic movement	No	No	No	Yes
Correlate in left periphery	Yes?	Yes	Yes	No
Base generated in SpecCP	Yes	Yes		No

- For the Sabellic correlatives, it is still mechanically possible to suggest that the correlative clause is generated adjoined to the head noun, after the head noun moves to the left periphery, the correlative clause then moves outside the complex NP, but there is no syntactic motivation for that, so it is more likely that the Sabellic correlatives are also base generated, like Hittite and Vedic.

5.4 Innovative Headless Relative Clause

- Relative pronouns of base **k^mo-* introduce headless relative clauses in Sabellic.
- **k^mo-* can also introduce other types of relative clauses, but headless relative clauses meaning ‘who’ are only introduced by this pronoun. This is an innovation of Sabellic; other branches may have other (similar) innovations, but they must have been independently.

Example (8) repeated as example (29) shows that in headless relative clauses, the pronouns of base **k^mo-* and **k^mi-* have different meanings.

(29) *aṛfetur.* *pisipumpe.* *fust.* *eikvasese.* *atiiērier.*
 priest.NOM whoever.NOM be.3SG.FUT meeting.ABL+POSP atiedian.ABL
ere. *ri.* *esune.* *kuraia.* *prehabia.* *piře.*
 he.NOM thing.DAT ritual.DAT care.3SG.SUBJ provide.3SG.SUBJ what.NOM.N

⁹The arguments for Vedic correlatives being base generated can be found in the appendix, as argued by Qu (2021).

¹⁰All Vedic translations are from Jamison and Brereton (2014)

uraku. **ri.** **esuna.** **si** **herte**
 that.ABL+POSP thing.ABL ritual.ABL be.3SG.SUBJ fitting.3SG.PRES.PASS
et pure **esune** **sis.** (Umbrian: Va 3-6)
 and who.NOM.PL that.(thing).DAT be.3PL.SUBJ

‘Whoever will be the priest at the Atiedian meeting he should care for the sacred thing. He should provide that **which** is necessary at that sacred thing and **who** should be at the rite.’

But in Latin there is no distinct meaning for the relative pronouns:

(30) Mer. *Facit ille quod volgo haud solent, ut quid se sit dignum sciat.* (Pl. *Amphitruo*, 185)

Mer: ‘He does **what** people do not generally do, in knowing **what** he is worth of.’

6 Conclusion

- Overall, Sabellic uses the same types of relativization as Latin, but does not use the relative pronouns in the same way.
- Sabellic innovates in using the pronouns of base $*k^u o-$ to introduce headless relative clauses meaning ‘who’.
- Sabellic correlatives are not different from other branches in respect of the use of relative pronouns and headedness.
- Correlatives are base generated like Vedic.

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Appendix

Vedic correlatives as base generated

- Vedic correlative clauses are not sensitive to island-effect.

(30) *yásya* *chāyá* *amṛtam* *yásya* *mṛtyúḥ*
REL.GEN.SG shadow.NOM.SG immortal.NOM.SG REL.GEN.SG death.NOM.SG
kásmai *devāya* *haviṣā* *vidhema* (RV 10.121.2cd)
which.DAT.SG god.DAT.SG oblation.INS.SG homage.OPT.1PL
‘whose shadow is immortality, whose shadow is death — who is the god to whom we should do homage with our oblation?’

- Vedic correlative structure can be coordinated with a relative structure.

(31) *yát* *vaḥ* *citrám* *yugé-yuge*
REL.ACC.NEUT.SG 2PL.GEN glittering.ACC.SG every.generation.LOC
návyam *ghóṣāt* *ámartyam* *asmásu* *tát*
new.ACC.SG sound.SUBJ.3SG immortal.ACC.SG 1PL.LOC DEM.ACC.SG
marutaḥ *yát* *ca* *duṣṭáram*
Marut.PL.VOC REL.NOM.NEUT.SG and difficult.to.pass.NOM.NEUT.SG
didhṛtá *yát* *ca* *duṣṭáram*
hold.firm.IMP.2PL REL.NOM.NEUT.SG and difficult.to.pass.NOM.NEUT.SG
(RV 1.139.8defg)

‘What glittering, immortal (deed) of yours shall sound anew in every generation, o Maruts, fix that firm in us as well as (brilliance) difficult to surpass — and what is difficult to surpass’

- Binding Condition C suggests Vedic correlatives are base generated.

(32) *yásmāt* *índrāt* *bṛhatáḥ* *kím* *caná* *īm* *ṛté*
REL.ABL.SG Indra.ABL lofty.ABL.SG nothing PT without all.PL
víśvāni *asmin* *sámbhṛtā* *ádhi* *vīryā*
DEM.LOC.SG gather.PPP pv manliness.PL
‘Lofty Indra, without whom there is nothing, in him all facets of a hero are gathered.’