Italic

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Lecture 1: Geography, Genetics, Archaeology, Language Ecology

1. Geography

- Ancient Italy before the Roman expansion had a high level of linguistics diversity for this part of the world.

- Beginning in the 5th century Rome began to consolidate its dominance first over Latium and ultimately over the entire peninsula and adjacent islands.

2. Archaeology of Bronze and Iron Age

	Northern Italy	Central Italy	Southern Italy
Chalcolithic [1] **(3600-2200)**	Remedello **(3350-2500)** Po Valley (Ötzi)	Rinaldone **(3600-2870)** Laterza **(2820-2620)** Ortucchio **(2670-2130)** Latium, Etruria	Gaudo **(3150-2300)** Campania
Bronze Age I (2200-1650)	Polada **(2200-1500)** Lombardy, Venezia	Grotta Nuova **(1700-1500)**	Proto-Apennine B

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[1] i.e. the Copper-Stone age, to be understood as a dvandva. This period is also known as the Copper Age or the Eneolithic (Ital. *eneolitico*).

Middle Bronze Age	Terramare (1700-1150) Emilia	Apennine	
Bronze Age II (1300-900)	Proto-Villanovan		
Iron Age	Atestine	Villanovan Latiale	

Archaeological Cultures of Italian Peninsula from Chalcolithic to Iron Age

Remedello and Rinaldone:
- Remedello Sotto type site near Brescia in Lombardy; Rinaldone in Viterbo, Lazio
- weapons in some burials (copper or bronze daggers, chert arrowheads, stone battle-axes)

Polada culture
- Lakeside dwelling built on piles (palafitte)
- First evidence for domesticated horse in Italy
- Single inhumations with the dead deposited in flexed position and orientated according to sex (cf. Yamnaya supine, flexed, single)
- Brotlaibidol (Oggetti enigmatici) (ca. 2050-1400) stone or clay tablets with impressed geometrical shapes; also found in SW Germany, and on the middle and lower Danube region.

Terramare 'marl-earth' culture (16th-12th cent.)
- large quadrangular fortified villages built on piles even when on dry land into which a river is diverted
- cereal farming, herding
- flat inhumation with the dead in supine position, frequently accompanied by grave goods such as bronze ornaments and weapons or elimination so that no traces remain
- but after 1550 urnfields begin to appear and outnumber inhumations (a style originating in Hungary)
- societal collapse around 1150 (overexploitation of resources and climatic change Zerboni et al. 2020)

Grotta Nuova Culture (1700-1500) Romagna, Marche, Umbria, Tuscany, Latium

- first evidence for Steppe ancestry in Central Italy from Grotta Regina Margherita Collepardo, Frossinone (but genetic material from crucial period between 2000 and 1650 not sampled)

Apennine Culture
- pastoral
- imported Mycenaean pottery
- some Apennine remains on the Capitol in Rome

Proto-Villanovan
- pan-peninsular
- influence from Urnfield Culture
- cremation in urns

First evidence for domesticated horse in Italy
- Cerquete Fianello di Maccarese (Roma 2400-2300); deposition in a pit with two dogs; head and right front leg missing. (Compare the October Equus of Roman ritual where head and tail were removed)
- Sesto Fiorentino Querciola near Florence, Bell Beaker 3 (2100-1690)
- But remains of horse are still rare until Middle Bronze Age (17th-16th)

3. Genetics

Background reading:
- Barbieri and Widmer 2024
- Parmenter 2024 (critical but enlightening).
  > "Whether it draws on linguistics, material culture, or comparative mythology, Indo-European studies has, since its inception at the end of the eighteenth century, been plagued by special pleading and circular reasoning." 😡
- How not to talk about race and genetics
  https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/bfopinion/race-genetics-david-reich

Criticisms of Genomic History
- Misuse of human remains
- Scientism—all you historians and archaeologists are dumb
- Reification of labels, e.g. "The Yamnaya People"
- Reintroduction of "racial" thinking and "cultural historicism". Buzzfeed letter:

- "In short, there is a difference between finding genetic differences between individuals and *constructing* genetic differences across groups by making conscious choices about which types of group matter for your purposes. These sorts of groups do not exist "in nature." They are made by human choice. This is not to say that such groups have no biological attributes in common. Rather, it is to say that the *meaning and significance* of the groups is produced through social interventions."
- Partisan and clumsy involvement in present-day political-nationalism debates

All these criticisms are valid but as Indo-European linguists we are interested in the vectors by which the IE languages reached there historically-attested distribution.

These vectors in principle involve transmission without long-distance movement (e.g. a trade jargon).

But the genomic data shows that population movements did happen in prehistoric Eurasia and it would not be good method to ignore this data and fail to see to what extent it can be squared with the linguistic data. When we use terms like e.g. "the Yamnaya" this is to be understood as individuals broadly similar ancestry whose remains are associated with an archaeologically identifiable complex.

We cannot say with certainty what language or languages they spoke, but the expansion of the genetic material associated with these individuals is—so far—the most plausible vector for the spread of the IE languages.

I exclude the idea that IE family arose by convergence (Trubetzkoy 1938) favored by Demoule 2023 and the other haters.

Sketch of findings

- If we start from the Mesolithic period Western Eurasia had developed a strong genetic distinction between Western Hunter Gatherers (WHG) and Eastern Hunter Gatherers (EHG). The two groups met at a boundary running from the Baltic to the Black seas.
- Anatolian Neolithic farmers began expanding from Anatolia reaching the Balkans around 7700 and finally Denmark around 3900. So this was a slow process extending over almost 3,000 years.

- East of the Baltic-Black Sea Boundary there was no significant introduction of Anatolian Neolithic ancestry. The EHG ancestry continued. (Allentoft et al. 2024)
- "A "DniproCline" was formed as Caucasian Lower Volga people bearing both Caucasus Neolithic and Lower Volga ancestry moved west and acquired Ukraine Neolithic hunter-
  gatherer (UNHG) ancestry to establish the population of the Serednii Stih culture from which the direct ancestors of the Yamnaya themselves were formed around 4000" (Lazaridis et al. 2024).
- The Yamnaya cultural package arose around 3300:
  - animal husbandry
  - wheeled vehicles
  - limited agriculture
  - single gender-specific pit (Ru. *yáma*) and mound (Ru. *kurgán*) burials.
- Around 3000 there was a rapid expansion from the Steppe region of a lineage resulting from a combination of EHG and Caucasian Hunter Gatherer (CHG) ancestry both in an eastern and a western direction breaching the Baltic-Black Sea Boundary. This expansion was much more rapid and by 2200 Steppe-related ancestry was dominant or found in Britain, France and Iberia, the Balearic Islands and Sicily. Most scholars identify this Steppe-related ancestry with the Yamnaya. But

  - According to Allentoft et al. 2024: "Differences in Y-chromosomal haplogroups between CWC (R1b-L51 and R1a-M417 = R1a1a) and Yamnaya ((Core group: R1b M269, sublineage R1b-Z2103 and Don Yamnaya I-L699) suggest that the currently published Yamnaya-associated genomes do not represent the most direct source for the steppe ancestry."

  - But Lazaridis et al. 2024 argues against this idea. The Rlb-M269 has its closest relative in R1b-L51 (CWC and Beaker) and slightly more distant in R-PF7563 found at Pylos with an estimated time of formation at 4450. So it seems likely that the founder of all three lineages (R-L23) would have been around in the Eneolithic time frame. And the R1b M269 lineage *is* found in CWC, e.g. Ciry-Salsogne« La Bouche à Vesle » in northern France, a in single burial dated to 2574-2452. (Parasayan et al. 2024).

  - And what about R1a-M417 = R1a1a and the R1b-P312, the most common Y-lineage of the Central European Bell Beaker people? I'm not sure that

geneticists have answered these questions definitely yet. See Papac et al. 2021 for detailed study of Bohemian CW and BB people.

- Further we can show significant Identity by Descent (IBD) segments shared by Yamnaya and Corded Ware individuals and well as between CWC and GAC. (Ringbauer et al. 2023)

- The Steppe-related ancestry spread along with the Corded Ware Culture picking up along the way a package of Anatolian Neolithic ancestry from the people of the Globular Amphora Culture.
- The partly overlapping Bell Beaker phenomenon (2800-2300) in Central Europe was practiced by people with largely Steppe ancestry.

- Burial Practices of CW and BB
  - CW most burials being individual graves with
    - bodies laid on an east–west axis facing south
    - men lay on their right side, semi-flexed
    - women semi-flexed on their left.
  - BB
    - on a north–south axis
    - men lying on their left side facing east, crouched
    - women in a symmetrical position on their right side, facing east.

- Remedello-Rinaldone and Gaudo: Anatolian Neolithic 85% Western Hunter Gatherers 15% (Antonio et al. 2019; Saupe et al. 2021)
- Steppe-related ancestry first appears in Switzerland ca. 2700 and in Northern Germany ca. 2600 in France ca. 2500. (Parasayan 2024)
- Steppe-related ancestry first appears in the British Isles ca. 2450 entirely replacing Neolithic lineages.
- Steppe-related ancestry first appears in northern Spain ca. 2400 and southern Spain ca. 2200.
- Steppe-related ancestry first appears in Northern Italy ca. 2000 (Bell Beaker near Parma; Broion in Veneto; EBA from Remedello[2] 2134-1773) and Sicily (after 2300; surprisingly early!).

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[2] RISE486 From the site of Remedello, not from the Remedello Culture which is Chalcolithic.

- Central Italy ca. 1650 Regina Margheritá Collepardo (Frosinone province; Grotta Nuova Culture)—but no samples from the period 2000-1650 were tested.
- Southern Italy is best modeled as a mixture of Anatolian Neolithic plus Caucasian Hunter Gatherers/ "Iranian" Neolithic with close connections to Bronze Age Greek and Anatolian populations by a non-Steppe pathway. (Sazzini et al. 2021; Sarno et al. 2021)
- Modern Sardinian population is genetically distinctive from mainland Italian populations with the highest percentage of Anatolian Neolithic ancestry anywhere in Europe. (Chiang et al. 2018)
- Etruscans show no evidence for recent Anatolian ancestry and a significant Steppe component. They are genetically indistinguishable from neighbors. (Posth et al. 2021)

Confounding factors
- There is no simple one-to-one correspondence between Steppe-related ancestry and the later attestation of Indo-European languages. The genetic profile of people from areas later known to be Etruscan-speaking is not different from those of people from Latin-speaking areas, both with a significant Steppe-related component. See Saupe et al. 2021.

- Archeological cultures, i.e. a collection of distinctive material traits such as pottery styles, burial practice, etc. can spread with people or without people. For an example of the first, consider the spread of Yamnaya artifacts and Steppe-ancestry to the Altai region Afanasievo culture, ca. 3200 BCE. The Bell Beaker phenomenon would be an example of the spread of a style which was independent of the spread of people (Olalde 2018). There is little genetic connection between Iberian Bell Beaker (the locus of the first Bell Beaker artifacts ca. 2800 BCE) and Central European Bell Beaker populations.
- The upshot is that we still do not have a clear picture of the arrival of speakers of a precursor of Italic in Italy. The earliest date possible date would be around 2000, but in fact we don't know that the Steppe-related ancestry actually brought the precursor of Italic, rather than some now lost IE language. The old idea of Luigi Pigorini that the lake-dwelling Polada culture represents the first arrival of the "Italici inceneratori" into Italy still seems quite possible.

4. **The Languages of Ancient Italy**

- Before the expansion of Rome, the Italian peninsula and Sicily made up an area of considerable linguistic diversity. The languages spoken in Italy can be divided into two groups on linguistic grounds:
- Those which are definitely Indo-European
    - Lepontic and Cisalpine Gaulish
    - Venetic
    - Umbrian
    - (South) Picene
    - Oscan with the "North Oscan" dialects
    - Latin with Faliscan
    - Messapic
    - Greek (newcomer)
    - Sicel
- Those which are definitely not Indo-European
    - Etruscan
    - Rhaetic
    - Punic (newcomer)
    -
- The Italic Family: Latin, Faliscan, Venetic, Oscan, Umbrian, South Picene, Sicel (?).
    - Latin, Faliscan (which I regard as a dialect of and Venetic may possibly be grouped together in a **Latino-Venetic.** group
    - Oscan, Umbrian and Picene which make up the **Sabellic** group.
    - The position of Sicel is unclear.
- Non-Italic Indo-European
    - **Lepontic** and Cisalpine Gaulish a member of the **Celtic** family.
    - **Messapic** is also Indo-European but does not belong obviously to any known family. It is clearly not Italic.
- Sabellic in detail: Oscan
    - **Oscan**, the language of the Samnites of central and southern Italy, who also expanded into Campania and Sicily (the Mamertini in Messana) and of the so-called North Oscan groups: Vestini, Paeligni, Marrucini (with a Picene substrate), the Frentani, the Hirpini and the Hernici.
    - Oscan is represented by about 800 inscriptions dating from the mid 4th cent. BCE to perhaps as late as the 1st CE. Oscan texts are written in three different alphabets:

- An Etruscan-derived script, traditional called the native or national alphabet, used in the Samnite heartland and Campania.
- The Latin alphabet used for the late Tabula Bantina from Bantium in Lucania (ca. 90 bce) and a few others especially the North Oscan group.
- A modified form of the East Ionic Greek alphabet used for most inscriptions in Bruttium, Lucania, and Sicily.
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Ꙕ, a	⅃, v	↓, l	⩾, s
ꓭ, b	Ⅰ, z(= ts)	ⵍ, m	T, t
⟩, g	ⵌ, h	ꓧ, n	V, u
ꓤ, d	I, i	⊓, p	8, f
∃, e	Ⲭ, k	◖, r	⊦ (⊣ ⵏ), í	V̇, ú

The Etruscan-derived Oscan alphabet

- **Umbrian**
  - Known chiefly from the Iguvine Tables from Gubbio (3rd-2nd cent. bce) and about 40 smaller inscriptions, a few as early as the 7th cent.
  - The older Iguvine Tables (AKA Tablets) I, II, III, IV and part of V are written in the Etruscan-derived "native" alphabet, while the later ones are written in a modified form of the Latin alphabet.
  - The *Tabulae Iguuinae* are by far the longest and most interesting of all Sabellic inscriptions.
  - Similar to Umbrian are the languages of the scant remains of the Volsci, the Marsi, and the Aequicoli.
- **Picene**
  - The language of fewer than 30 inscriptions from the Marche and Abruzzo dating from the 6th-3rd centuries BCE written in a modified form of the Etruscan script. Some of these are our earliest examples of poetry from the Italic languages.
- **Pre-Samnite** or **Opic**
  - the language of inscriptions from Campania and Calabria before the Samnite conquest in the 5th cent.
  - The longest document is the Cippus of Tortora (ST Ps 20) from the 6th-5th cent written in a modified version of the Achaean Greek alphabet, though this text is sometimes referred to by the label Oenotrian and distinguished from the

texts further north in Campania written in the Etruscan alphabet or in a "native" (i.e. Etruscan-derived) script we can call the alphabet of Nocera.

Lecture 2: Common Innovations of Proto-Italic

- Positing Proto-Italic as the superordinate node of Latin, Venetic, and Sabellic is not uncontroversial, though it is supported by substantial phonological and morphological evidence:

    - The merger of *b^h- and *d^h- as *f- (+ Ven): Lat. *fråter*, Umb. **frater** 'brothers', Ven. **vhratere.i.** 'brother' dat. sg.
    - The gerundive in *-*nd*- Lat. *faciendus*, Osc. **úpsannas** 'to be built'
    - The ipf. subj. *-*sē*- Lat. *es-sē-s,* Osc. **fusíd**
    - The ipf. *-*βā*- Lat. *dūcē-bā-s*, Osc. **fufa-ns** 'were'
    - Use of interrogative as relative (also Hittite)
    - Creation of distinct abl. sg. of all declension types (also Celtib., PIC?)

- Challenges to Proto-Italic
    - Some scholars beginning with Walde 1917, Muller 1926, and Devoto 1929 have challenged this assumption and argued instead that Italic and Sabellic two separate branches of Indo-European that have converged in Italy.

- Evidence for Convergence
    - The change of intervocalic *-*z*- to -*r*-, called rhotacism, affects both Latin and Umbrian but not Oscan and can be shown to have happened long after the initial separation of both languages.
    - Initial *dị*- is eventually simplified in Latin, Umbrian, and Oscan to ị- (except in Bantia), but again these changes happened within the historical record for Oscan and Latin at least.
    - Both Latin and Sabellic show deletion of the final primary marker *-*i* in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd sg., and 3rd pl. But the survival of an unapocopated final -*i* in *tremonti* in the *Carmen Saliare* makes it unlikely that this apocope dates to Proto-Italic times. The apocope must be a diffused change.

- Contra convergence hypothesis
    - But while it is easy to show some degree of phonological convergence and, of course, lexical interchange and syntactic influence within the historical period, I know of no case of a Sabellic morpheme being adopted into Latin or vice versa.

- We have no *v*-perfects in Sabellic, no *-tt*-perfects in Latin, no Latin infinitives in *-om,* no Latin athematic nom pl. in *-s* and so on.

- **Meiser's List** of PItal. innovations (LUS, 37-38)
  2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 are debatable/dubious.
  1. The *pius ~ pūrus* rule
  2. **eu̯ > *ou̯*
  3. **r̥ *l̥ > or, ol*
  4. Development of voiced fricatives from PIE voiced aspirates.
  5. **-tl- > *-kl-*
  6. **p ... kʷ> *kʷ .... kʷ*
  7. **gi̯ > i̯i̯*
  8. Voicing of intervocalic **s > *z*
  9. **mi̯ > ni̯*
  10. Loss of intervocalic **i̯*
  11. **kÞ > -ks-; s-* in Anlaut.
  12. Initial accent

- **The Italic Lexicon**
  - Only Latin is genuinely well attested. In many instances we can't say what the Sabellic form for any given meaning. This problem is even worse for Venetic.
  - Let's examine body parts and family relationships.
  - Some body parts

Gloss	PIE	Latin	Oscan	Umbrian
BODY	**kʷerp-*	corpus	?	?
SKIN	**keu̯hₓ-*	cutis	?	?
FLESH	**mēmso-*	carō, carnis (membrum)	? (carneis 'part')	? (karu 'part')
HAIR	**hₓreu̯mn̥*	capillus/pilus	?	?
BEARD	**bʰardʰeh₂*	barba	?	?
BLOOD	**h₁esr̥*	assaratum/sanguis	?	?
BONE	**h₂ost-*	os, ossis	?	?
BACK		dorsum/tergum	?	?
HEAD	**ḱerh₂s*	caput (cerebrum)	?	?
EYE	**h₃okʷ-*	oculus/ fēr-ōx	?	?
EAR	**h₂eu̯s-*	auris	?	?
NOSE	**nas-*	nāsus	(Nasō?)	?
MOUTH	**h₁eh₃-es*	ōs	?	?
LIP	**lVb-*	labrum	?	?
TONGUE	**dn̥ǵʰuh₂-*	dingua	fanguam	?
TOOTH	**h₁dont- ~ *h₁dn̥t-*	dēns, dentis	dúnteís	?
NECK	**kʷolso-*	collum	?	?
ARM		bracchium	?	?
ELBOW		cubitus		
HAND	**ǵhesr̥*	manus (hīr)		manf/Pic. manus
FINGER		digitus	?	?
NAIL	**h₃nogʷʰ-*	unguis	?	?

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- This chart really brings out how little we know about the core lexicon of Sabellic. In the case where we do know the Sabellic word or a Sabellic cognate in a different sense we see some interesting mismatches.

  - The word for 'flesh' in Latin has a perfect match in Sabellic, but Sabellic preserves the original meaning of *karō 'slice, section' 'part' from the root *ker- 'cut', alongside the innovative meaning 'meat' in Umbrian.[3] Note that they both agree in generalizing the Lindeman variant *kr̥rō.[4]

  - On the other hand, Latin *lingua*, earlier *dingua,* continues *dn̥ghu̯ā whereas the Oscan form has undergone an irregular transfer of aspiration to *dhn̥gu̯ā to give *fangua*. This disagreement suggest that the voiced aspirated could not have already become fricatives in Proto-Italic since there is no way *dn̥γu̯ā could have become *fangua*. Proto-Italic must still have had aspirated consonants, so *dn̥ghu̯ā > *dhn̥gu̯ā > thn̥gu̯ā. Alternatively *dhn̥ghu̯ā with assimilation and *dn̥ghu̯ā coexisted in PItal. and Sabellic chose the former and Latin the later. But the word for 'tongue' is notorious for the various contaminations and taboo deformations it has undergone—witness Lat. *lingua* itself after *lingere* 'to lick'—so it is probably best not to draw any far-reaching conclusions from it.

  - In the word for 'tooth' Latin and Sabellic have generalized (well in Sabellic we can't really say since we only have one case form attested) different ablaut grades of the same paradigm which must have continued its suffix ablaut into Proto-Italic *h₁dont- vs. *h₁dn̥t-.

  - The non-rhotacized *s* in *nāsum* 'nose' vs. *narēs* 'nostrils'. It is usually said that the -s- was originally geminate in this word, and it is written *nassum* a few times in the mss. of Plautus, e.g. A *Merc*. 310, in recc. *Men*. 195. These Plautine spellings are probably not trustworthy since after a long vowel or diphthong we have spellings such as *paussa* (A *Poen*. 459). If they reflect something real, one might consider the possibility that *nāsso-* derives from an s-stem *nāses- created analogically to other *s*-stem body-part words or that the geminate is affective. Alternatively, the word could have a single *s* and be a loan from Sabellic.

  - The Latin word for 'shoulder' could match the Umbrian word perfectly, but it doesn't fit very well with the rest of IE.

- The names for family relations

	Latin	Oscan	Umbrian	Picene	Venetic
FATHER	*pater*	**patir**	**iuvepatre** (d.s.)	**patereih** (d.s)	*pater*
MOTHER	*māter*	**maatreís (**g.s.)	**matres (**g.s.)	SP **matereih** (d.s	?
BROTHER	*frāter*	**fratrúm** (g.p.)	**frateer** (n.p.)		**vhratere.i.**
SISTER	*soror*	?	?		?
SUN	*fīlius*	**puklum** (a.s.)	*fel(is)* (← Lat.)	SP **puqloh** (d.s.)	?
DAUGHTER	*fīlia*	**fuutír**	?	?	?
GRANDFATHER	*avus*	?	?	?	?

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[3] The members of the Latin league used the formulas *carnem petunt, carnem accipiunt*, and *sibi carnem datam non esse which* Dionysus translated as 4, 49 μέρος. See Buecheler 1883 (KS 2:500).

[4] Old Irish has *carnae* 'cooked meat' which is usually regarded as a loan from Latin, but could continue *kr̥nii̯o-.

| GRANDMOTHER | *avia* | ? | ? | ? | ? |

- The names for primary family relations are better attested in the non-Latin Italic languages. It's notable that the word for 'son' (PIE *suh_xnu-) has been entirely replaced by different innovations in Latin and Sabellic, but the word for 'daughter' (PIE *$d^hugh_2tēr$) has been retained in Oscan, but replaced in Latin.

- Cases where Latin and Sabellic preserve different inherited items

WATER
The basic Latin word is *aqua* which has cognates in Germanic (Goth. *ahva*, OE *ēa*) but Umbrian has retained the *r/n*-stem in **utur** < *$udōr$, abl. **une** < *$udni$ (Hitt. *wātar, widenaš*), which may be continued in modified form in Lat. *unda* 'wave'. Oscan, on the other hand, has **aapam** 'water pipe' which could be a vr̥ddhi of either a Sabellic cognate of Lat. *aqua* or a vr̥ddhi of the *h_2ep- continued in Ved. *ā́p*-. A variant of this root *$h_2eb(^h)$- is also continued in Lat. *amnis* 'river' < *$abni$- and in the probably originally Sabellic placenames *Interamna, Interamnia* (modern *Teramo, Terni*) representing Sabellic *$anteramna$.

FIRE
Latin has *ignis* < *h_1eg^wni- has cognates in Ved. (*agní*-) and Slavic (OCS *ognĭ*) but Umbrian has *pir* , *$pūr$, *pure* < *$puri$ cognate with Hitt, *paḫḫur, paḫḫwenaš*, and matching Gk. πῦρ, πυρός exactly with generalization of the *r*-stem and an exactly matching alternation between *ū* in the nom. acc. and *ŭ* in the other cases. Oscan must have had this word too because of the adjective **purasiaí** modifying **aasaí** 'altar' loc. sg.

HOUSE
Latin has *domus* 'house' a feminine *o*-stem (and *u*-stem) the gender of which was probably influenced by the feminine root noun *$doms$ (OIr. *daim* acc. sg. f.). Oscan also has a feminine *o*-stem **trííbúm** 'building' which maybe a vr̥ddhi derivative of the root noun continued in Latin by *trabs* 'beam'.

WALL
mūrus 'city wall' < *$moiros$ (MOIROS attested as acc. pl. ILLRP 523 in an archaizing 1st cent BCE inscription from Aeclanum, Mirabella Eclano), *moenia* 'city walls', *pomērium* < *$post-moiriio$- 'sacred area beside the city wall' all from the root *$mei̯$- 'fix' (Ved. *minóti*, OIr. *do-dí-men* 'fixes') vs. Osc. **feíhúss** 'walls' acc. pl. < *$d^hei̯ĝ^ho$- a *$temós$ type from the root *$d^hei̯ĝ^h$- 'knead' (Lat. *fingō* 'I fashion'), cf. Gk. τεῖχος n. *s*-stem 'city wall'

FOLK
In Latin the normal word is *populus* < *poplos* (*pilumnoe poploe* in the Carm. Sal.), probably a reduplicated noun < *$pepl(h_1)o$-from the root *$pleh_1$- 'fill' and this is shared with Umbrian where *poplo*- is the word for 'army' (cf. Lat. *populārī* 'to destroy' < 'to hand over to the army') but Sabellic (Osc. **toúta**, Umb. *tota*) and Venetic (**te.u.ta.m**. acc. sg.) preserve the Western IE word *$teu̯teh_2$ (OIr. *túath*, Goth *þiuda*, Lith. *tautà*).

- Indo-European Lexicon preserved only in Sabellic

*$u̯end^h$- 'wind, twist'

Latin continues the widespread PIE root *u̯ert- (Ved. vártate) which is also found in Umbrian (trauorfe 'crosswise', couortust 'will have turned', but Umbrian also has ahauendu, preuendu 'turn' < *u̯endʰe-tōd) which is cognate with Goth. -windan, OE windan 'to move in a sinuous way', TB wäntanaṃ 'they cover themselves'.

*derk̂- 'see'
Umbrian preserves this root in **terkantur** 'let them see' which has cognates in Celtic (OIr. ad-con-dairc, Germanic (Goth. ga-tarhjan 'to make public'), Greek (δέδορκα), Indo-Iranian (dadárśa)

*ner- 'under, lower'
The original meaning of this root seems to have been 'low' as in Greek (ἐ)νέρτερος 'below', Ved. nár
aka-'underworld' (AV), but the meaning in Germanic is 'north' (OE norþ < *n̥rto-) If you stand facing east, in the non-tropical northern hemisphere the sun will be to the highest in the south which will be on your right. So if we image the sun making a perfect circle around the earth it will be at its lowest when it disappears in the north which will also be on your left. Hence 'low' > 'north' > 'left'. In Umbrian **nertru** means 'left'.

*krengʰ- ± 'circle'
Umb. **krenkatrum** cringatro 'sash' cf. OE hring 'ring', OCS krǫgŭ 'circle'. The Umbrian form is an instrument noun derived from an unattested denominal verb *krengā-. This particular extended form of the root *(s)ker- is only known from Umbrian, Germanic, and Slavic.

Multiplicative suffix*-pert< *kʷertu-?
In Latin the multiplicatives of 'three' and 'four' are ter < *tris (cf. Gk. τρίς, Ved. triḥ) and quater < *kʷatrus, cf. Aves. caθruš. In Sabellic the suffix -pert combines with the neuter plural of the numeral: Osc. petiropert 'four times' < *petrii̯ā-pertV), Umb. **triiuper**, trioper 'three times' < *trīi̯ā-pertV. This suffix might be compared to the pert- which functions as a preverb in Osc. pertumust, but it has also been compared with the noun/formant *-kʷr̥t ~ *kʷr̥tus ~ *kʷorto- * 'time' which serves to make multiplicatives in Balto-Slavic and Indo-Iranian: Lith. trìs kartùs, OCS tri kraty, Aves. hakərat̰, Ved. sakŕ̥t 'once', bhū́ri kŕ̥tvaḥ 'many times'

Some other items of this sort:
Umb. eiscurent < *ē-isk-us- 'will have requested' Ved. iccháti 'asks', OIr. escaid 'searches for lice' (if Lat. quaerō 'seek' is not from this root
Umb. fahe < *fāhei̯s gen. sg. 'of the forepart', cf. Ved. bāhú- 'arm', Gk. πῆχυς, but the interpretation is not certain; Osc. cadeis gen. sg. 'hatred', cf. Go. hatis 'hate' n., OIr. caiss 'hate' < *kadsi- from the root *k̂eh₂d- 'feel strong emotion'
Umb. **vera**, Osc. **veru** neut. plurale tantum 'city gates' < *u̯erā. Probably from the root *h_xu̯erh_x- 'open' 'close'
Ved. ápa ā́var 'opened', Lith. vérti, The root may survive in Lat. aperiō 'open and operiō 'close'.

Proto-Italic Syntax

- The syntax of Latin and the Sabellic languages are very similar. Oscan and Umbrian inscriptions are traditionally translated word for word into Latin, but this similarity may be largely the result of the similar genres of epigraphic texts, e.g. boundary agreements, public regulations, funerary monuments. An interesting problem would be to describe the syntactic Innovations of Proto-Italic. To my knowledge nobody has attempted such a sketch. Here are some notes.

- 1. Use of the interrogative-indefinite as the relative pronoun. Both Sabellic and Latin have eliminated PIE *$h_x io$-as a relative marker and instead use forms of the PIE interrogative indefinite. This innovation is attested in other subgroups (Anatolian) as a parallel independent development. There are no certain traces of *io- in Italic. The interrogative to relative shift also happened in Venetic (**eios kves XXX** "those which are 30" and **kvan** 'when'). Here is an example of a correlative-relative clause that shows some of the problems of analysis of Sabellic syntax.

  v(iíbis). aadirans. v(iíbieís). eítiuvam. paam
  vereiiaí. púmpaiianaí. trístaamentud.
  deded. eísak. eítiuvad
  v(iíbis). viínikiís. m(a)r(aheis). kvaísstur. púmpaiians. 4
  trííbúm. ekak. kúmbennieís.
  tanginud. úpsannam
  deded. ísídum. prúfatted
  Which money Vibis Aadirans, son of Vibis, gave by will to the *vereiia*- of Pompeii, **with this money** Vibis Viínikiís, son of Maras, quaestor of Pompeii, gave this building to be constructed by decision of the senate. The same man approved it.

- The structure of the relative clause is similar to examples found in Latin legal language:
    - the relative clause precedes the main clause
    - the case of the antecedent **eítiuvam** is attracted into the case of the relative pronoun **paam** (i.e. the clause is internally headed)
    - the antecedent is repeated in the main clause which is introduced by a demonstrative pronoun (i.e. it is doubly-headed)

- This is very close to Latin legal language, e.g.

  CIL 1².698 (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 open space across the road, which wall is near the road, in the middle of that wall he shall open a doorhole.

  But is it too close? One distinctive thing about this Oscan example is that two arguments of the relative clause are fronted in front of the relative pronoun, something which doesn't happen in Latin.

- 2. The Gerundive is a passive verbal adjective with deontic meaning formed from the present stem with the suffix *-nd-* in Latin and *-nn-* in Sabellic. It's exact origin is still debated but it is probable that the deontic meaning is a secondary development to judge from non-deontic relics associated with deponent verbs like *sanguen dis oriundum* 'blood sprung from the gods' Enn. *Ann.* 108 Sk, *secundus* 'following', *uoluendus* 'rolling', *rotundus* 'round' < *$retondos$ 'running' (OIr. *rethid* 'runs'). The deontic meaning is found in Sabellic as well. A use well established in Umbrian is the genitive of gerundive expressing purpose, e.g.

uerfale pufe arsfertur trebeit ocrer peihaner
 'the waiting area where the flamen remains for the purification of the mount' (VIa 8).

This construction is found in Latin too but not in Old Latin and only first in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and then especially in the speeches in Sallust's *Historia*, e.g. *(arma) quae cepit legum ac libertatis subuortundae.* This suggests that the genitive of purpose in Umbrian is a native use of the gerundive.

- 3. Ablative Absolute?
  - In Latin the ablative is used for absolute constructions. These absolute constructions probably originate in temporal locative expressions (like RV 8.27.19 *sū́rye udyatí* 'at the sun going up') and comitative instrumentals. It is probable that the use of the morphological ablative singular in Latin results from the syncretism of the instrumental, locative and ablative. Since Sabellic retains a distinct locative in the singular we would not expect to find morphological ablative absolutes, but in fact we do find one indubitable ablative in Osc. *toutad praesentid* (CA 21), but this is certainly a calque on Latin *populo praesente* (Plaut.) or *pube praesente* (Paul. ex F.). The other examples of the absolute construction in Sabellic (Volsc. *toticu couehriu sepu*; Pael. *oisa aetate.* Umb. **aves anzeriates**) could in theory be instrumentals or in the plural a locative.

- 4. One of the most distinctive features of Latin (also found in Greek but not exclusively), the accusative plus infinitive construction after verbs of SPEAKING etc. is also attested in Sabellic, e.g. Oscan (TB 5–7)

  deiuatud. sipus. comenei. perum. dolom. mallom. siom. ioc. comono. mais. egm[as touti]cas. amnud. pan. pieisum. brateis. auti. cadeis. amnud. ... pertumum.
  Let him swear knowingly in the assembly without criminal intent that he (*siom* = acc. of reflexive pronoun) prevented (*pertumum* pres. inf.) this assembly more for the sake of public affairs than on account of favor or enmity.

  Note here the use of the reflexive to refer to the subject of the main verb as in Latin: *Caesar dixit se aduenturum esse.*

  Umbrian shows the identical use of the perfect infinitive to indicate anteriority as in Latin, e.g. Va 25:

  sve mestru karu fratru Atiieřie prusikurent rehte kuratu eru
  if the large part of the Atiiedian brethren will have declared that it has been corrected taken care of (**kuratu eru** perf. pass. inf = *curatum esse*).

- 5. Elimination of the neuter plural + singular verb rule. There are to my knowledge no instances of the παιδία παίζει rule in Classical Latin or Sabellic. Neuter plurals always take plural verbs.

- 6. Spread of subjunctive (i.e. optative) in a variety of subordinate clause. The use of the subjunctive as a marker of subordinate clauses is much more advanced in Latin and Sabellic than in other old Indo-European languages. For example in purpose clauses, e.g. Umbrian (VI a 20)

eo. iso. ostendu. pusi. pir. pureto. cehefi. dia.
Let him present them in this way so that it is possible (*dia* pres. subj.) for fire to be taken from fire.

Here Vedic uses the PIE subjunctive RV 10.103.13 *ugrā́ vaḥ santu bāhavo anādhr̥ṣyā́ yáthā́satha* "Let your arms be mighty so that you will be unassailable" and Greek uses the PIE subjunctive after primary sequence and the optative after secondary sequence.

- Likewise in indirect commands the Italic subjunctive is the norm (where Greek would use an infinitive or ὅπως plus the future indicative). In Umbrian there can be either no explicit complementizer as in VI a 2 and VI b 64:

stiplo aseriaia
Demand that I observe (*aseriaia* pres. subj 3s)

etaians deitu
Let him tell them to go. (*etaians* pres. subj. 3p)

or *puse* can be used (VIIa 43)

carsitu . . . puse erus dersa
Let him call out ... to give the *erus* (*dersa* pres. subj. 3s)

- Latin and Sabellic agree in the sequence of tenses with the present subjunctive used after primary sequence matrix verbs and the imperfect subjunctive after secondary sequence verbs, e.g. in Oscan CA a 10...17–18)

ekss. kúmbened. ... puz. ídík. sakarạ[klúm] íním. ídík. terúm. múíník[úm] múíníkeí. tereí. fusíd.
Thus it was agreed ... that this sanctuary and this property should be held in common on common property.

kúmbened. ... puz. ... the|saurúm. ... pún. patensíns. múíníkad. tạ[n]ginúd. patensíns. 'it was agreed that, when they open the treasury, they should open it by common agreement'

with the imperfect subjunctive **fusíd** and **patensíns** after the perfect **kúmbened**.

Some features of Sabellic syntax which depart from Latin
- The free standing partitive genitive is used more freely than in Latin, e.g. not only as a direct object:

struhçlas fiklas sufafias kumaltu (Umb. IIa 24)
grind (some) of the s., f., and su. cakes.

as occasionally in Latin but also as a subject

revestu: pure: terte: eru: emantur: herte: (Umb. Va 8)

He should see with regard to what is given whether of these it should be taken.

- The genitive of time, though quite common in Greek is rare in Latin (P ex F. *amosio* (read *atnosio*) *annuo*; *trinum nundinum* "within three market days" (Cic. *Dom.* 16.41 etc.). It seems to have been less moribund e.g. in Oscan

  eisucen ziculud zicolom xxx nesimum comonom ni hipid
  shall not hold the comitia within the next thirty days from that day (CA 17).

- The locative survives as an independent case not just with place names (Osc. *Bansae* 'at Bantia', **Tiianei** 'at Teanum') and fixed phrases as in Latin: more freely used

  Osc. **eíseí tereí** 'in this territory', c*omenei* 'in the assembly', **víaí mefiaí** 'in the middle of the road', **aasaí purasiaí** 'on the fire-altar', **lúvkeí** 'in the grove' **thesavreí** 'in the treasury'; with a univerbated *-en*, **húrtín** 'in the grove' (171, 7), *ezaisc-en ligis* 'in these laws'

  Umb. with the postposition *-en*: *destre onse,* **testre e uze** on the right shoulder', **arven** 'in the field', a locative of time Umb. **sume ustite** 'at the highest stand (of the sun)

- The syntax of the adposition *co(m)* (Lat. *cum*) are distinctive in Umbrian.
  In Umbrian, the Ablative with postpositive *-co(m),* **-ku(m),** has locative sense, 'at', e.g. **asa-ku** 'at the altar', *termnu-co* 'at the boundary', **testru-ku peři** 'at the right foot', *nertru-co persi* 'at the left foot', **vuku-kum**, *uocu-com* 'at the grove', *ueris-co* 'at the gate', etc. In the sense of 'with' the form is prepositional *com peracris sacris* 'with p. victims', but when the governed item is a pronominal the form is postpostive as in Latin, e.g. *eru-com* like Lat *mēcum, quibuscum*, etc.

- Before/Until Clauses typically use the future, e.g. in Oscan TB 15-16:
  com preiuatud actud, pruter pam medicatinom didest
  Let him treat with the defendant before he gives judgment (*didest* fut. 3s)

  or future perfect as in Umbrian VIa 6

  nep andersistu, nersa courtust porsi angla anseriato iust
  "one shall not interrupt(?) until the one who has gone to observe the birds will have returned."
  (*courtust* fut. perf. 3s)

  In Latin the present or future perfect is the norm and the future is very rare.

Lecture 3: Very Old Latin

- Latin is attested from ca. 700 (or maybe a bit before). The Latin of the first period was very different from the Classical norm of writers lie Caesar or Cicero and even from the Latin of Old Latin authors like Plautus. I call this period Very Old Latin (following the lead of Warre Cowgill). This period extends from ca. 700 to about 330 BCE. See Weiss 2024 for further discussion.
- 0. Gabii (Present-day Osteria dell'Osa[5]), ca. 770 or 825 BCE

  ΕΥΛΙΝ or NILVE

  Bibliography: La Regina 1990; Colonna 2005

  Commentary: This text was discovered on an aryballos in Tomb 482, a woman's burial, dating to 770 BCE (Latial IIB). However, the chronology of the Geometric period and consequently other synchronized periods has recently been revised upwards. So Tomb 482 may be as early as 825 BCE! It has been read as a dextroverse Greek inscription (cf. εὔλινος 'good at spinning' La Regina and others) with a retrograde lambda or as a sinistroverse Latin inscription *ni lue* 'don't loosen!' (from a rope, i.e., pragmatically 'don't steal' (Colonna 2005) with a retrograde letter epsilon. The latter explanation is intriguing but problematic. We would expect *nei (cf. NEI on the Garigliano Bowl) lue at this very early stage since monophthongization is out of the question for this extremely early date. Perhaps N stands for NE as we find in the later "syllabic notation", but this too is problematic since the letter names for continuants have the vowel before the consonant. Further, the earliest Greek inscriptions are dextroverse. Finally, Boffa (2015) who catalogues all the other hypotheses suggests εῦλις 'well-smoothed' referring to the vessel itself, cf. Hom. λίς 'smooth'. Cf. Hor. *Car.* 2.7.21-22: *Oblivioso **levia** Massico ciboria exple* "Fill the smooth cups with forgetfulness-inducing Massican wine." In any case the use of vowels and the letter upsilon which did not exist in Phoenician show that this is the "Greek" alphabet. The occurrence of very early writing at Gabii is interesting in the light of Dionysius of Halicarnassus's statement that Romulus and Remus were sent to Gabii to learn to write.[6]

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[5] 'Inn of the Osa' takes its current name from an inn built on the Osa, a stream emanating from a marshy plain that was once the Lacus Regillus. Another Iron age cemetery of Gabii is called Castiglione after a medieval castle. Gabii was the place of origin for the *cinctus Gabinus*, a way of wearing the toga that kept both hands freed and the head covered which the Romans used in certain rituals. Gabii was the quintessential other for the archaic Romans. Varro *LL.* 5.33 reports that the public augurs distinguished five types of land (*ager*): *ager Romanus, ager Gabinus, ager peregrinus, ager hosticus,* and *ager incertus.*

[6] *Ant. Rom.* 1.84.5: δοθῆναι πρὸς τῶν τρεφόντων εἰς Γαβίους . . . ὡς Ἑλλάδα παιδείαν ἐκμάθοιεν, κἀκεῖ παρ' ἀνδράσιν ἰδιοξένοις τοῦ Φαιστύλου τραφῆναι γράμματα καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ χρῆσιν ὅπλων Ἑλληνικῶν ἐκδιδασκομένους μέχρις ἥβης. "They were given by their raisers to Gabii to learn Greek education and there they were raised by private guestfriends of Faestulus learning letters, music, and the use of Greek weapons until they were young men."

- 1. Vetusia Inscription; Praeneste (Present-day Palestrina[7]), Bernardini Tomb, ca. 650 BCE, silver bowl, sinistroverse, now at the Museo di Villa Giulia.

  FETVSIA /wetusia/

  Bibliography: Torelli 1967; Pandolfini and Prosdocimi 1990:234; Mancini 2004:22; Hartmann 2005:37-66.

  Commentary: Some scholars have identified this as an Etruscan text for no good reason. It illustrates F (digamma) in its original function of the labiovelar glide /w/. This graphic system, though mentioned by the Latin grammarians, did not last long.[8] The sign V originally a Greek modification of waw for syllabic /u/ (so-called upsilon) was generalized for notation of both the syllabic and non-syllabic segment. The form FETVSIA is a feminine gentilic of the gens later known as the *Veturii* (*Veturia* was the name of G. Marcius Coriolanus' mother).[9] The form should have come †*Veterius* because a short vowel in medial position before an *r* regularly becomes *e*. The *u* must be analogical to some form having *u* in a final syllable, e.g. *uetus* 'old'.[10]

  The exceptional -*ur*- forms fall into four groups

1. Forms where the -*ur*- is analogical to forms with *u* regularly surviving elsewhere: augur 'augur' → *augurium* 'augury',[11] *fulgur* 'lightning' → *fulgurālis* 'relating to lightning',[12] *luxus* 'extravagant living' → *luxurius* 'extravagant', *uoltur* 'vulture' → *uolturius* 'vulture', *cicur* 'tame' → *cicurāre* 'to tame', *furfur* 'bran' → *furfurius* 'of bran', *satur* 'well-fed' → *saturitās*

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[7] How did Praeneste become Palestrina? via an adjective (*Cīvitās*) *Praenestīna* > *Penestrina* (*territurio Penestrino* in the *Liber Pontificalis*, Life of Sylvester, 5th-6th cent. CE)> *Pelestrina* (Matilda of Tuscany, 11th cent. CE) > *Palestrina* (*Palestrinenses*) Diplomata Friderici I, 11th cent.).

[8] Annaeus Cornutus *De enuntiatione vel orthographia* apud Cassiodor. (*De Ort.* 1.1): *itaque in prima syllaba digamma et vocalem oportuit poni, Fotum Firgo, quod et Aeoles fecerunt et antiqui nostri, sicut scriptura in quibusdam libellis declarat. Hanc litteram Terentius Varro dum vult demonstrare, ita perscribit VAV* "So in the first syllable a digamma also had to be used as a vowel, e.g. *Fotum* and *Firgo* which both the Aeolians did and our ancestors, just as the spelling in some booklets shows. When Varro wants to mention this letter, he writes it VAV." Priscian (Keil 2:11*): F Aeolicum digamma, quod apud antiquissimos Latinorum eandem vim quam apud Aeolis habuit.* "F, Aeolic digamma, which had the same value among the most ancient of the Latins as it had among the Aeolians."

[9] Another interesting detail: The Roman tribe called *Voturia* cannot be separated from this gentilic and yet we know that *e* is original and cannot be explained as a result of the *$\underset{}{u}o$ to $\underset{}{u}e$ before coronals rule (Weiss 2020:152). This suggests that *e* could be rounded to *o* before a single stop plus *u* as in *rotundus* 'round' < **retondus*, the old gerundive from the lost verb **retō* (cf. OIr. *rethid* 'runs') and probably **iokun-*, later remade as *iociner-* < **iekun-* the oldest oblique stem of *iecur* 'liver' continued in Festus' (p. 114 M) *iecunarium* 'victimarium' i.e. 'assistant at a sacrifice' (plausibly emended form *iecunanum*).

[10] Recently Giulio Imbercadori (2018) has suggested that when a *u* was under the *penultimate* accent it only weakened to *u* before *r*. In which case some forms of the "desiderative" in -*uriō* may be phonologically regular. But the gentilic *Veturius* would still have to be partly analogical or non-Roman because the accent would have been on the first syllable by the *familia* rule still in Plautus's day.

[11] But note *augeratus* attributed to the *antiqui* by Priscian Keil 2.27. See Weiss 2011:365.

[12] but note Lucr. 4.190 *fulgere* and Rom. *a fulgera* 'to dumbfound'.

'satiety', *guttur* 'throat' → *gutturōsus* 'having goitre', *sulpur* 'sulfur' → *sulpurātus* 'impregnated with sulfur'.[13]

2. Forms where vowel harmony with a *u* in a preceding syllable preserved the *u*: *murmurillum* 'little murmur', *tugurium* 'hut' *uulturius* 'vulture', *fulgur-* 'lightning', *furfur-* 'bran', *guttur-* 'throat', *turtur-* 'dove', *luxurius* 'extravagant', *promunturium* 'promontory', *purpureus* 'purple'; many forms fall into both classes 1 and 2.

3. Gentilics and cognomina with the suffix *-urius* (in one case known to be from **-usios*) which are almost certainly of North-Sabellic and/or Etruscan origin as can be seen when we examine the locale of Republican era instances: *Aburius* (CIL 11.5443, 5444, Asissium), *Palfuriana* (Etruria, Sutrium 28-8 BCE, note non-Latin f), *Sangurius* (Picenum, Hadria 300-101 BCE) Saturius (Etruria 200-1 BCE Caere, 100-1 BCE Rome), *Pleturius* (Umbrian, Pisaurum, 300-200 BCE), *Vetusia* (Praeneste, Veturia Rome CIL 1.709 88 BCE, *Voturia* Rome 50-1 BCE AE 2001.461a, 60-20 BCE CIL 1.2961) *Mircurius* (Firmum Picenum, 264 BCE) Cf. the place name Perusia.

4. "Desideratives" in *-urīre,* the earliest of which are *ēsurīre* 'to be eager to eat' and *parturīre* 'to be about to give birth', which are unclear etymologically but may owe their *u* to synchronic association with -<u>tu</u>-stem abstracts.[14]

The Romans report a character *Māmurius Veturius*, a smith from the age of Numa, who made copies of the sacred shield *ancīle < *ambi-kaid-sli-* 'cut on both sides' that fell from heaven. More on him in connection with the *Carmen Saliare*.

- 2. Praenestine Fibula; Praeneste (Present-day Palestrina), Bernardini Tomb, ca. 670-50 BCE, gold fibula, sinistroverse, Museo Pigorini, CIL 1.3.

  MANIOS ꞉ MED ꞉ FHE꞉FHAKED ꞉ NVMASIOI

  Manios.NOM me.ACC made Numasios.DAT

  "Manios made me (or had me made) for Numasios"

  Bibliography: Wachter 1987:55-65; Urbanová 1999:477; Hartmann 2004:67-106; Mancini 2004:21; Touratier 2013

  Commentary: Generically we have an instance of an iscrizione parlante "a speaking inscription" in which the object is given a fictive 1st person voice.[15]

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[13] The form cited under the entry *gnāruris* 'knowing' are attested twice in Plautus, once in the nom. pl., once in the acc. pl. The supposed nom. sg. *gnaruris* is only found in the 4th cent. poet Ausonius. We expect a nom. sg. **gnarur* like *cicur*. *ebur* 'ivory' shows oblique forms and derivatives in *ebor-* and similar forms are occasionally found for other items. These forms suggest that an analogically restored *u* still violated some constraints in this environment.

[14] The peculiar *longurius* 'a (long) pole' may be from **longulius ← longulus* 'long'.

[15] On this genre see Agostiniani 1982.

MANIOS /mānios/ For *o* > *u* in final syllables before see Weiss 2020:151. This change is found already in the Caso Cantovios inscription (ILLRP 7) for the Fucine Lake from the end of the 4th cent. BCE, e.g. L[ECION]IBVS.[16]

- Note the absence of gentilics[17] for both individuals. This can be interpreted as an archaism (cf. *Rōmulus*) or as a sign of a less formal level of discourse. The Roman praenomina are very limited in the Classical period, but less so in VOL.[18] From the PIE point of view the praenomina are quite innovative since we see no trace of the old compound names so common from Greek (Ἀριστοφάνης *Aristophánēs* 'whose appearance is best'), Celtic (*Dumnorix* 'world king), Germanic (Negau B *Harigasti* 'army-guest'), Slavic (*Mstislav* 'revenge for fame!' etc.). It is likely that some of the Roman praenomina in *-ius* are actually generalized hypocoristics of old compound names. See Weiss 2010 for some arguments.

  C. Titius Probus, *De praenominibus* (preserved with Valerius Maximus in Julius Paris' epitome) 4.1: *Varro simplicia in Italia fuisse nomina ait existimationisque suae argumentum refert, quod Romulus et Remus et Faustulus neque praenomen ullum neque cognomen habuerint.* "Varro says that names were one-fold in Italy and he gives a reason for his view: Romulus and Remus and Faustulus had neither any praenomen or cognomen."

- *Manius* is to be connected with the old adjective for 'good', *mānus* (Carm. Sal. *cerus manus* '*bonus creator*', Duenos: EN MANOM EINOM), *mānis* as in the euphemistic funerary formula DIS MANIBVS 'to the good gods'.[19] Further afield semantically are *māne, mānī* 'in the morning' cf. Fr. *de bonne heure*. In Celtic the *-t-*suffixed forms have the meaning 'good': OIr. *maith* 'good' < **mati-* < **mh₂ti-*, *math* 'bear', lit. 'good one' a euphemism, MW *mad* <**matu-*, *mathgamain* 'bear' lit. 'good calf', Gaul. *Matugenos, Teutomatos*, Colign. *mat(u)*. 'dies fastus'.[20] There is another set of words in Latin that have to do with time: *mātūrus* 'ripe', *Māter Mātūta* (a dawn goddess), *mātūtīnus* 'in the morning'. These all are based on a *u*-stem instrumental **meh₂tuh₁*. Cf. also Russ. матёрый *mat'óryi* 'full-grown'. An *o*-stem base is found in Osc. **maatúís** the name of

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[16] Note also that the raising rule should be formulated more generally: *o* > /C#. The segment *o* does not occur in a final closed syllable in the Classical period except when preceded by a *u̯* or labiovelar. (*servos, servom*, etc.)

[17] The family name in the Roman and Italic name system is common to the clan or gens. Hence the name gentilic.

[18] 99% of Roman men of the regal and Republican periods share one of 17 praenomina A. = *Aulus*; Ap(p). =*Appius*; C. = *Gāius*; Cn. = *Gnaeus*; D. =*Decimus*; L. = *Lūcius*; M'. = *Mānius*; M. =*Mārcus*; N. = *Numerius*; P. =*Pūblius*; Q. = *Quīntus*; Ser. =*Servius*; Sex. = *Sextus*; Sp. = *Spurius*; T. =*Titus*; Ti(b). =*Tiberius*; V. =*Vībius*) out of a total of 56 recorded by historians and in CIL 1. See Salway 1994:125. Note the otherwise unattested praenomen *Brixus* on a recently discovered late Republican inscription from Tusculum referring to a no doubt legendary first *flamen dialis* at Tusculum BRIXVS · AMONIVS PREIMVS · FLAMEN DIALIS · TVSCVLEI. See Gorostidi Pi 2013:183.

[19] Paul. ex Fest. p. 109 L *Inferi di manes dicti ut subpliciter appellati bono essent.*

[20] Verrius Flaccus as preserved in Festus already made most of these connections: *Matrem Matutam antiqui ob bonitatem appellabant, et maturum idoneum usui, et mane principium diei, et inferi di Manes ut subpliciter appellati bono essent, et in Carmine Saliari Cerus Manus intellegitur creator bonus.*

masculine divinities in Ceres' sphere. It's often maintained that these forms belong with the 'good' forms, the semantic connection being that something that occurs at the right time is good. Recently I. Yakubovich has suggested connecting the time words with a root *meh_2- 'grow' (Hitt. *māi*, PIr. *$mā$-* 'become') and leaving the 'good' words unexplained,[21] but, in fact, if *meh_2- means 'grow, prosper' it's quite easy to get the meaning 'good' as well. An interesting occurrence of the praenomen *Manius* is found Cato *Agr.* 141:

Mando tibi, Mani, uti illace suovitaurilia fundum agrum terramque meam quota ex parte sive circumagi sive circumferenda censeas, uti cures lustrare.
"I bid you, Manius, that you see to it that you purify my farm, my land, my ground, with this suovitaurilia in whatever part you think best for them to be driven or carried around."

The use of the praenomen *Manius* has not in my opinion been adequately explained. For no one of that praenomen is mentioned in the entire *De Agricultura*. Naturally this has led to emendation. So Gesner 1735:104 suggested *Manlius* and Hörle 1929:39–40 suggested *Minius* since those names do occur. But there is no reason to think that either of those people would be likely to function as Cato's assistant at a sacrifice on Cato's estate. *Manlius* (145.2) seems to be an estate owner himself, and the Sabellic *Minius Percennius* (151) seems to have been an expert on agricultural economics, perhaps the author of one of Cato's sources. Scholars have also wondered about what Manius' status and function were. Turnebus and others thought him a slave. Others have suggested that he is the *uilicus* or estate manager. Still others have argued that he is a priest or haruspex. See Goujard 1975:287 for a summary of opinions. First of all, in regard to Manius' status, the fact that he is addressed by praenomen alone makes it likely that Manius was not a free man. Freemen are normally addressed in this time by their praenomen and nomen. In functional terms Manius is the assistant at the sacrifice, the man responsible for leading the animals around (*sive circumagi sive circumferenda*). Manius was the private analogue of what was known in the terminology of the Roman state religion as a *uictimarius*. The *uictimarii* were often chosen for their auspicious-sounding names. Cicero tells us (*Div.* 1.102): *Itemque in lustranda colonia et cum imperator exercitum, censor populum lustraret, bonis nominibus qui hostias ducerent eligebantur.* "So too, when the sacred ceremony of purification was held by one starting on an expedition to found a colony, or when the commander-in-chief was reviewing his army, or the censor was taking his census, it was the rule to choose men with names of good omen to lead the victims." [Translation William Armistead Falconer, Loeb edition] And this statement is borne out by *uictimarii* recorded

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[21] Yakubovich 2010.

epigraphically with names like *L. Valerius Victor* (CIL 10.3501), *L. Pompeius Felix* (CIL 6.1058 b 14) etc. Pliny the Elder once asked (Nat. 28.5.22): *Cur publicis lustris etiam nomina victimas ducentium prospera eligimus?* "Why in the case of public purifications do we choose favorable names for those leading the victims?" The answer for the ancient Romans might have been *boni ominis causa* 'for the sake of a good omen', which may be adequate to explain why the census started with names like *Valerius, Salvius,* and *Statorius* (Paul. Fest. 108 L). But in this particular case, one might offer a more specific answer to Pliny's question: sacrifice is ritual killing, but killing nonetheless, and the sacrifice is a killer. This central paradox of sacrificial religions, that the basic religious rite is a violation of even more basic taboos, was distinctly uncomfortable for many ancient cultures. Thus, time and again, we find that the verb 'to sacrifice' is represented by the most colorless of euphemisms, usually the verb meaning 'to do or make.' In the Athenian Dipolieia sacrifice, the βουτύπος, the 'ox-slayer,' dropped his ax and fled after having done the deed. See Burkert 1983:138. So in answer to Pliny's question we may say: the name of the *uictimarius* had to be auspicious because his action was inherently inauspicious, or to put it more simply, his name had to be good because his action was bad. Returning to the case of *Manius*, one may note that the parallelism between these public *uictimarii* and *Manius* is precise and exact. Both are employed specifically in lustrations and both have the responsibility of leading the animals around. And, of course, both have, or were given, auspicious names. For the name Manius is, from both the synchronic and diachronic point of view, inseparable from the old Latin word *manus* 'good.' The basic idea that the name *Manius* was chosen *boni ominis causa* occurred already to Ausonius van Popma (1563–1613), who wrote in his edition of 1590 as quoted by Gesner 1735:104: *hoc nomine dictum in sacris boni ominis causa quia Manius a mane quod bonum significat.* The word *manus* itself is barely attested. It is there on the *Duenos* inscription and is attributed by Aelius Stilo to the *Carmen Saliare.* Much better represented are the derivatives *manes* 'the souls of the dead'; *Mania* 'the mother of the Lares', in the plural 'ugly masks'; *immanis* 'savage', i.e., 'not good'; and *mane* 'in the morning'. See OLD s.v. The curious fact about most of the family of *manus* is that it is hardly ever used in its lexical sense 'good,' but nearly always in its pragmatically defined sense "good" i.e. 'really bad.' This curious feature may go a long way back in view of Old Irish *math* 'bear' (see DIL M:70) < *matus*, but in any case, no auspicious name could have been more suited for the *uictimarius* than *Manius.* Whether the Manius mentioned in Cato was a particular person chosen for this duty because of his name, or whether the name *Manius* was temporarily given to the *uictimarius*, as a simple-minded reading of Pliny might suggest, or whether Cato had no one in particular in mind, but was merely giving an example of the kind of name that a *uictimarius* ought to have, cannot be determined.

- MED /mēd/. The singular personal pronouns ended in -d in the accusative. This is an innovation of Latin that finds no match either elsewhere in PIE or even in Sabellic, where the accusative forms end in -om (OUmb. **míom**). See Weiss 2020:346–7. Presumably the -d results from some sort of particle that originally reinforced the tonic form of the pronoun *mé.[22] In personal pronouns we can observe a kind of Jespersen's cycle where tonic forms are downgraded to clitic. Note that med occurs here in the linear second position but we cannot say whether it has moved there by syntactic movement (i.e. "Wackernagel's Law") or is in its base generated position. The position of the IO after the verb is surprising.

- FHE:FHAKED. The Latin perfect is the result of merger of two PIE categories that were formally and semantically distinct, viz. the PIE perfect and the PIE aorist, the reflexes of which are still kept apart in Greek and Vedic. The aorist was a past perfective category and the perfect was expressed a resultative state. The aorist had a number of different formal expressions: (1) root aorist (Lat. fuit ~ Gk. ἔφυ, Ved. ábhūt), (2) s-aorist (Lat. dīxī 'I said', Gk. ἔδειξα 'I showed' (3) reduplicated aorist (Lat. vīdī 'I saw' < *u̯iu̯id-, Gk. εἶπον, Ved. ávocam < *(é)-u̯e-u̯kʷ- o-m ' I said') (4) thematic aorist (Gk. εἶδον, Ved. ávidam < *(é)-u̯id-o-m 'I saw') See Weiss 2020:438. The perfect had only one formal expression with reduplication, o ~ ø ablaut and "perfect" or *-h₂e endings (Weiss 2020:415). The standard Latin perfect of the verb faciō, fēcit (attested already on the Duenos inscription in the form FECED) continues a root aorist *é- dʰeh₁-(k)-t, cf. Gk. ἔθηκε, Boeot. ΑΝΕΘΗ 'dedicated', Ved. ádhāt. But Oscan and Praenestine Latin (or perhaps Proto-Italic?) created an innovative reduplicated perfect *fefak-, which we have here and in Osc. fefacid (perf. subj. Tabula Bantina). In addition deredupicated forms are found in OUmb. **face** (Ferrone di Tolfa), and Fal. **faced**. The elimination of fefak- was probably primed by disinclination of standard Latin to reduplicate stems with initial f (exception fallō ~ fefellī 'deceive') because medial f, as the result of the historical phonology of Latin where medial f [β] became b, was a rarity.

- The PIE perfect had the ending *-e in the 3rd sg. (Gk. οἶδε 'know'). This ending, as well as the 1st and 2nd sg and 3rd pl., was marked as a primary tense by the addition of the hic et nunc (here and now) primary particle and then recharacterized by the addition of a 3rd sg. ending -t leading to forms like FV(V)EIT. This -eit is the source of the heavy scansion of the 3rd sg. perf. in Plautus. The Latin perfect also had another 3rd sg. ending imported from the thematic aorist, viz. -e-d, as here. Note the realization of final -t as -d, a feature apparently

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[22] Clitic me may survive in Venetic (Isola Vicentina) iats venetkens osts ke enogenes laions me ufasto '...dedicated me'. Note that the typical accusative form in Venetic mego almost always occurs in clause-initial position.

inherited from PIE, and of great typological interest (final voicing?). These -*d* endings were eliminated in Classical Latin by the generalization of primary -*t* < *-*ti*. (Weiss 2020:420)

- Orthography: The segment /f/ presented a problem for the Italic adapters of the Greek alphabet, since Greek had no such segment. The first solution, seen here, was to use the sign digamma <F> /w/ combined with H, presumably indicating voicelessness. This spelling is found only here in Latin, but is known from Archaic Etruscan and Venetic. Soon after this text, digamma in the value /w/ was replaced by V (old upsilon) and this freed the sign shape of digamma to stand for /f/ all by itself. This system is in place already in the Duenos inscription. Later Etruscan and the Etruscan-derived alphabets used by the Oscans, Umbrians and South Picenes use a figure 8 or something derived from this, e.g. SP <:>. This is usually explained as a simplification of ᖴᕮ in favor of ᕮ, which then was modified to 8. The identification of FH as a spelling of /f/ was first achieved through the discovery of the Praenestine Fibula.

- The other orthography of interest is the use of the word divider to mark off the reduplicating syllable from the root. This could be interpreted as prima facie evidence of some sort of native analysis of reduplicating process. Note however that the reduplicating syllable was counted as a part of the phonological word for purposes of calculating the position of stress, at least to judge from the fact that roots in reduplicated forms regularly undergo non-initial-syllable weakening, e.g. *tetagai > *tetigī* 'I touched'.

- Recently, Maras has suggested that there is a trace of another "word divider" after FHA and that the traces of an overwritten FHE can be discerned. This could mean that the inscriber first wrote FHEFHEKED by dittography and used the dots to cancel out (cf. *expungere* 'to mark off a list'?) the erroneous FHEK before changing plans and overwriting FHE with FHA creating a reduplicated perfect. See Maras's drawing below. If this is correct it suggest an interesting mindset for the inscriber. They had a primary goal in mind (in this case *fēced*) but when they screwed up, they were ready to accept a marginal form as good enough (in this case the Oscan-like reduplicated *fefaked*). We may see another instance of "letting good enough stand" in the Duenos inscription.

- NUMASIOI /numasio:j/ dat. sg. of a praenomen, The dat. sg. of the thematic declension (the Latin 2nd declension) results from the combination of the thematic vowel -o- and the default dat. sg. ending *-*ei̯*. The result was a long diphthong *-*ōi̯* (Cf. Gk. -ωι). The treatment of this long diphthong was distinct from -*oi̯*. In the case of the form the final glide was eliminated

giving Classical *-ō* (*seruō* 'slave'), while *-oi̯ > -ei̯ > -ī*, as in the nom. pl. of the thematic declension. See Weiss 2020:222, 239. The praenomen *Numerius*, especially favored by the Fabii, is the lineal descendent. The vocalism of the medial-syllable of this word has always been a bit problematic. The name is normally related to Lat. *numerus* 'number' Varro (ap. Non. p. 352M) connected it to the adverb *numerō* 'quickly' or 'prematurely' *ut qui contra celeriter nati, fere numerios praenominabant.* There are two possible paths that might be taken to deal with the medial *-a-*.

- (1) The forms *Numasios* is often taken as the ancestor of the praenomen *Numerius*, and this may indeed be true, but the pathway is complicated. The simplest solution would be to take *Numasio-* as an adaptation of an Etruscan name **Numasie* inferable from the gentilic **Numasiana**, which is attested on an aryballos from the area of Caere **mi mlac mlakas larθus elaivana araθia numasianas** "I (am) the good oil jar of Araθ Numasiana for good Larθu". But the morphology *-sie-* looks Italic and if the name is in origin Italic we would, on the usual theory of the morphology, have expected an ancient **nomesio-*, which may in fact be attested in Etruscan **Numesiesi** (Ta 3.1, 7th cent.). This can be handled if we assume that the *a* of medial syllable is the result of an Etruscan weakening. Etruscan, like Latin, had initial-syllable stress and underwent weakening and eventually syncope of medial syllables.
- (2) Recently Stefan Höfler has proposed a rule **(C)ema- > (C)uma-* and derives *numerus* from **nemaso- < *nemh₁so-* 'having distribution'. *Numasioi* would confirm that the vowel of the 2nd syllable. This sound change would have to be quite ancient maybe Proto-Italic since the Osc. praenomen *Niumsis* shows the same *-u-* but the other proposed example of the change **emaso- > *omaso-> umaso- > umerus* 'shoulder' shows an *o* in Umbrian **uze**/onse.
- Syntax S O V IO

- What is already Italic?
  - Laryngeal developments
  - Development of voiced aspirates to fricative
  - Creation of stem *fak-* (also Venetic *fagsto*)
  - Creation of reduplicated perfect to *fak-*?
  - Creation of distinctive personal name system

- What is Latin
  - creation of acc. of personal pronouns in *-d*

- use of *māno-* in meaning 'good' (inferable); Sabellic situation unknown. The word for good in Sabellic is *kupro-*.

- What has yet to happen?
  - Raising of *o* to *u* and *e* to *i*/C#
  - Loss of final -*d*. The traditional formulation is that final -*d* is lost after a long vowel but retained after a short one. Thus abl. *-ōd, -ād, -īd*, etc. and *mēd, tēd, sēd* lose their final -*d* but *quod, ad, illud, sed* etc. retain theirs. Kümmel 2007 has suggested instead that final -*d* was lost after an unstressed vowel. This would allow him to account for the occasional omission of -*d* in 3rd sg. verb forms like IOVSI (425–350 BCE ILLRP 129, Aricia) and the loss of -*d* in 3rd pl. forms like DEDRON < *dederond* (ILLRP 123, Rome, 270-230 BCE) and consequently *illud, aliud* etc. would have analogically restored -*d*. Here are all the OL forms without final -*d*

    3rd sg.
    ILLRP 129 [H]ERCLE DEDERO [DO]NO PLEBE(S) IOVSI (Lacus Albanus, 3rd cent.)
    ILLRP 25 NOMELIA DEDE (Pisaurum 230-200)
    ILLRP 22 FERONIA STA(TIOS) TETIO DEDE (Pisaurum, 200-170)
    ILLRP 216 C. CARULIO(S) C. F. MARICA DEDE (3rd cent., Minturnae)
    ILLRP 1229 AMOR MED FLÁCA DEDE (Rome, 170-130)
    ILLRP 222 C. PLACENTIOS HERI F. MARTE DONU DEDE (Tibur 300-150)
    ILLRP 1217 K(AESO) SERPONIO(S) CALEB(OS) FECE VEQO ESQELINO C.S. (Cales)

    3rd pl.
    CIL 1².59 CORAVERO [---?] APOLON[---?]/[---?] METS) L S`T´ /[---? ILIO [---?]/[---?] MAGISTERE[S]/ [---?] CORAVERON[T]/ [---?] C(AIUS) ANICIO(] RIANDO. (Praeneste, 180-150)
    ILLRP 131 [D]EDERO Q. K. CESTIO(S) Q.F. HERCOLE DONU [DE]DERO. (Praeneste)
    ILLRP 24 DEDRO MATRE MATUTA DONO DEDRO MATRON M(ANIA) CURIA POLA LIVIA DEDA (Pisaurum)
    ILLRP 129 DEDERO [H]ERCLE DEDERO [DO]NO PLEBE(S) IOVSI
    ILLRP 449 PROBAVE[R]O (Rome)
    ILLRP 123 DEDRON (Rome)

    The earliest instance of the omission of -*d* in an ablative is MERETO ILLRP 81 300-270 Gabii

- Vowel weakening
- Rhotacism. The change from [z] to *r* must have happened before the middle of the 4th century BCE since Cicero reports (Fam. 9.21.2) that L. Papirius Crassus, the dictator of 339 BCE, was the first in his gens no longer to be called *Papīsius*. According to Sextus Pomponius (Dig. 1.2.2.36), *Appius Claudius R litteram inuenit* "invented the letter *r*" *ut pro Valesiis Valerii essent, et pro Fusiis Furii* "so that *Valesii* became *Valerii* and *Fusii* became *Furii*." This is normally interpreted to mean that in redacting the senatorial roll in his capacity as censor in 312 BCE Claudius rewrote these nomina, formerly spelled with *s*, with the letter *r*. The first certain epigraphical evidence for rhotacism in any Italic language is the Faliscan form **carefo** 'I will lack' (Bakkum 59, 4th century BCE) < **kasēfō*, cf. Lat. *cas-tus* 'free from'. Rhotacism appears to have been an areal feature that spread across Latin, Faliscan, and Umbrian some time in the 4th century BCE. The earliest Latin epigraphical attestation is C(E)RERE in CRERE L(VCIVS) TOLONIO(S) D(EDIT) ca. 300-270 BCE. (ILLRP 64, Veii, Campetti Sanctuary) about fifty years after the claim about Papirius.

- Here are all the pre-rhotacism forms known to the Latin written tradition:

	VF	Var.	Q.	TSc.	VL	Fr.	Pomp.	M.	Ps. Plac.	Serv. D	Dion Hal.
arbosem/ arboses	X										
asa				x		x		x	x		
asena		X									
ausum	X										
dasi	X										
esum		X									
astasent	X										
fasena					X						
Fesiae					X						
foedesum		X									
hasena									X		
helusa	X										
iusa	X										
Lases		X	X	X					X		
Loebasium									X	X	
loebeso	X	X									
maiosibus	X										
meliosem	X	X									

pignosa	X										
plisima	X	X									
robosem	X										

astasent statuerunt P. ex Fest. p. 24 L < **ad-steh₂-sn̥t* cf. Gk. ἔστησαν? This form could be a unique survival of an *s*-aorist built to a vowel final stem in Latin.

dasi dari P. ex F. p. 60 L At face value this suggests that the passive infinitive in -*rī* comes from -*sī*, with the long vowel not from the monophthongization of the diphthong. Alternatively it could be corrupt for *dasi dare* which would give us an instance of final -*i* before reduction to -*e*.

Helus et helusa antiqui dicebant, quod nunc holus et holera Paul. p. 89 L This form predates backing before l pinguis and medial weakening.

iusa iura (ms. *iussa*) Paul Fest. p. 92 L a thematic derivative of the neuter *s*-stem **i̯eu̯os* 'law' < 'binding', which is also the base for the denominative verb**i̯useh₂-i̯e-*: *dēierāre* 'to take an oath' (Plaut. +), *peiierāre* 'to swear falsely' (Plaut. +).

Loebasium and *Loebesum*
Servius Dan. *ad Georg.* 1.7: *quamuis Sabini Cererem Pandam appellant Liberum **Loebasium** dictum autem quia graece* λοιβή *dicitur res diuina.*
CGL V.30.9 ; V.80.22 **Libassius** *liber pater*
Festus Pauli p. 108 L **loebesum** *et loebertatem antique liberum et libertatem*
Var. *L.* 6.2 *ab libero liberum declinatum*
This was emendation by C. O. Müller to *loebesum* on the basis of Festus
In fact, it is not necessary to saddle Varro with this form. One could simply restore *Loeberum*, but *Loebesum* is unavoidable in Paulus.

On the basis of these forms with *s*, Benveniste 1936 suggested deriving the divine name *Līber* (the Roman god of wine) from **h₁leudʰesos* a thematic derivative of an *s*-stem **h₁leudʰos* 'growth' (Ved. *ródhati,* Go. *liudan* 'to grow', OIr. *lus* 'plant' < **h₁ludʰtu-*). But (1) there is no evidence for this s-stem (2) it is not specified that *Līber* the god is meant. In fact, it seems clear from the context that Paulus is refering to the adjective. For these reasons it is best to take **loebesum** as a false archaism for *līberum* 'free'.
But the situation is different for *Loebasium* which *is* explicitly connect with the god *Līber Pater*. In addition it is not a simple misapplication of the *r > s* substitution rule. Instead

the suffix is the well attested *-ārius < -āsio-* and the introduction of such a morpheme is not obviously motivated. It's possible instead that the *Loebasium* and *Libassius* are separate forms to be connected with *lībum* and *lībāre*, representing a Sabine **loibāsi̯o-* 'of the offering cake' and only secondarily approximated to *Līber*.

plisima (Fest. p. 222 L) <(**plei̯sVmo- < *pleh₁-ismo̦-* (cf. Gk. πλεῖστος 'most', Av. *fraēšta-* < **pleh₁-istos*).

Names

	VF	Ci	Q	Li	TS	Pomp	M	Ps.Plc.	Serv.D.	Dion
Auselius	X		X		X					
Fusius	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	
Papisius	X	X								
Spusius										X
Valesius	X		X						X	
Vetusius				X						

As can be seen from the above table most of the forms are known from Verrius Flaccus with 16 examples in Paulus ex Festo or Festus.

- Simplification of long diphthong *-ōi̯*. (first attestation of *-ō* in dat. CIL 1².358 Ardea, ca. 330-300 BCE D]OMO FAMELIAI DONOM D[EDET? ---].

3. Gabii, Present-day Osteria dell'Osa, tomb 115 ca. 620, Cristofani 1990 Olla impasto[23]

SALVETOD TITA

Commentary: The verb *saluēre* seen here in the future imperative is denominative from *salvus* 'safe, sound'. *Salvus* itself is syncopated from **salau̯os*. It is somewhat surprising to see that this syncope had already occurred by 620. Recently, Martzloff has suggested as an alternative that *saluos* is a recent thematization of a *u*-stem **salu-* but this seems problematic to me since *u*-stem adjective are invariably continued as *i*-stems in Latin.

The name *Tita* is the feminine version of Titus a praenomen associated first with the Sabine king *Titus Tatiu*s. In later times the form *Titia* is used as a feminine praenomen.

CIL 12.684 T. [I]VLIA VALENTINA Festus p. 244 M transmits *Titia* which would be originally a patronymic. The form is widespread throughout central Italy occurring in Faliscan (where there is

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[23] Wikipedia: I**mpasto** is a type of coarse Etruscan pottery. The defining characteristic is that the clay contains chips of mica or stone.

also a theonym Titus Mercus), South Picene (**tetis** read **tites** TE 2), Oscan (**titis** Po 45), Umbrian (**titis** Ib 45) and Etruscan (**tite** Ta 1.242). One of the three original tribes of Rome was called the *Tities* (beside the *Ramnes* and *Luceres*) and they were represented by the *sodales titii* who observed the *aves titiae*. The Scholia to Persius 1.20 inform us that *titi sunt columbae agrestes* "wild doves" and that the word was also used *sensu obsceno* for 'penis' (a common euphemism in Latin and elsewhere). Servius gives the form as *teta* (ad B. 1.58), The word survives in Romance (Log. *tidu*, the upper Engadine form *tidun*, however points to a *tītōnem which may be affective lengthening). It is a longstanding and unanswered question whether (1) the bird name has become the praenomen (2) the praenomen has become the bird name or (3) the bird name and the personal name are independent onomatopoetic or baby words. The praenomen *Gāius* is also said in late sources to mean 'jay' and is the source of that word, so the connection between bird names and praenomen is not isolated.

Note the dotted omicron representing a long vowel? Cf. Methone 5 ΘΕϹ (Janko 2015:9)

What new things are first attested here?

1. Syncope of unaccented vowel between *l* and *w*

2. Future ipv. in *-tōd* matching the Vedic future ipv. in *-tād*. But why is it used here? Perhaps for the same reason the fut. ipv. is typical in laws. The command is supposed to continue in effect into the indeterminate future.

3. 2nd conjugation here a denominal stative with the suffix *-ē* < **-eh₁*

4. Lexical material: **salau̯o-* < **sl̥h₂u̯o-* shared with Sabellic (Osc. *salaus*). The accented zero-grade contrasts with the *o*-grade form found in **sólh₂u̯o-* (Lat. *sollo-*, Ved. *sárva-* etc.); **tito-*

Bibliography: Colonna 1980b:51; Urbanová 1999:478; Mancini 2004:21

4. Caere, Present-day Cerveteri, ca. 600 impasto pithos, Museo di Villa Giulia

ECO VRNA TITA VENDIAS MAMAR[COS.......M]ED FHE[CED]

Commentary: This inscription on an impasto pithos was found at the Etruscan city of Caere. TITA VENDIAS are genitives. This is the earliest instance of the omission of final *-s* which becomes frequent in Old Latin. Final *-s* sometimes fails to make position in Old Latin verse (the latest example is from Catullus 106). The original genitive singular of the a-stems (1st declension) was originally **-eh₂es* > *-ās* as in Gk. φυγῆς. The old form survives in the fixed phrase *pater familias*. But there are a number of examples of *-ās* genitives in Livius Andronicus (*escas, Monetas, Latonas*) and Naevius (*terras*), and Ennius (*vias*). There are none in Plautus. The last epigraphical instance is MANIAS (Aqua Acetosa, 1st half of 5th cent. CIL 2917 b). The combo TITA VENDIA is the first attestation in Latin of the typical middle Italic double name system with praenomen and gentilic. The gentilic VENDIA is

apparently unattested elsewhere. Could it be a syncopated variant of Venidivs attested at Cumae (AE, 1988, 322) Herculaneum and elsewhere?

Mamar[cos] is to *Mamart-* (Lapis Satricanus mamartei) as *Marcus* is to *Mart-. Mamercus* is attested as a praenomen in Rome for the *gens Aemilia*. On first glance, it seems that *Mamercus* is simply the regular weakening product of *Mamarcos* and that would mean that this inscription provides a terminus post quem for the onset of weakening, but there is a complicating factor: The Oscan form of *Mars* is *Mamert-* as in the name of the famous *Mamertini* 'sons of Mars', the Samnite mercenaries who seized power in Messana and whose machinations eventually drew Rome and Carthage into the First Punic War. Oscan does not have weakening so it is possible that the *Mamercus* of the *gens Aemilia* is not a lineal descendant of *Mamarkos* but of Sabellic origin as Festus s.v. *Aemilia* suggested *Mamercus* praenomen *Oscum est ab eo quod hi Martem Mamertem appellant.*

Fhe[ced] could also be restored as fhe[fhaced] if you wish.

Syntax: Note the absence of the copula, which is an old pattern with the 1st and 2nd person prouns, cf. Ved. *tvā́ṃ váruṇaḥ* "you are Varuna."

What appears here first
(1) Reduction of cluster *rkn* to *rn* in *urna* < *urkna, cf. urceus* 'jar'
(2) Weakening of final *-s*
(3) Two name naming system
(4) Syncope of *i* if *vendia* is from *venidia* (possibly Sabellic in origin).
(5) eco nom. sg. of 1st pers pronoun. Note the spelling with c. Greek gamma was given the value of /k/ in Etruscan which did not have a distinctive voicing contrast for stops. This created a surplus of signs for /k/, viz. gamma, qoppa, kappa. Early Etruscan uses the three according to the kacriqv ΚΑϹΡΙϘΥ rule, i.e. *k* before *a*, *c* before a consonant or front vowel and *q* before a back vowel, but in vol there are exceptions as we see here.

What hasn't happened yet
(1) creation of distinct letter g
(2) heavy reduction in use of female praenomina.
(3) replacement of gen. sg. *-ās* by *-āī* > *-ae*
(4) vowel weakening

Bibliography: Urbanová 1999:78, n. 3; Mancini 2004:22

5. The Duenos Inscription. Rome, In valley between Quirinal and Viminal near Basilica of S. Vitale, ca. 570, CIL 1.4 First published by Dressler 1880. Housed in Berlin.

The vessel is of the type known as a kernos, i.e. multiple little pots—in this case three—joined together.

"Die Duenos-inschrift, deren Wichtigkeit für die geschichte sowohl der lateinischen spräche als des römischen alphabets ihr erwerber und erster herausgeber klar beleuchtet hat, ist gewissermassen der pfahl im fleisch des latinisten"

R. Thurneysen, 1898

IOVESATDEIVOSQOIMEDMITATNEITEDENDOCOSMISVIRCOSIED

ASTEDNOISIOPETOITESIAIPAKARIVOIS

DVENOSMEDFECEDENMANOMEINOMDVENOINEMEDMALOSTATOD

iovesat deivos qoi med mitat nei ted endo cosmis virco sied

ast ted noi si opet oites iai p(l)aca rivois

dvenos med feced en manom (m)einom dvenoi ne med malos tatod

Bibliography: Urbanová 1999:480 s., n. 5; Mancini 2004:22

"He swears by the gods who gives me in exchange, if a girl should not be friendly toward you and if she does not choose you, then pacify/placate (her) using streams (i.e. get her drunk).

A good man made me for a good purpose/gift. Let not a bad man steal me."

Paleography When the vase is rightside up the inscription is upside down. There is no necessary inference that this means something magical (as Kent suggested). Rather, it is the way the potter could have produced the text leaning over the still wet pot while trying not to touch it. The inscription was carved before firing.

Context The text has been seen as magical, but the last sentence plausibly interpreted as a prohibition against theft and the playful language and erotic content puts us in a symposiastic context. We know that small perfume vessels could be brought as gifts to symposia.[24]

IOVESAT There is a clear added mark after E, which has been interpreted as an *i* hence IOVEISAT, but that makes no sense. It can't be a word divider because that would be unparallel and the *iovei* if dat.

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[24] M. Węcowski 2017:318 "from the late classical playwright Alexis (fr. 147 Kassel–Austin, ap. Athen. VIII 365 d), we learn that small perfume vases, alabastoi, might serve as symbolai, i.e. symbolic contributions brought to symposia by their participants. Of the custom of bringing one's (unspecified) τῖμος, i.e. τιμή, for the symposion (later also called symbola, or merides, "parts" of the symposion), we hear already from Archilochos of Paros in the first half of the seventh century...."

sg. of Jove would be *diovei* at this early date. Denominative to **i̯ou̯os* 'binding formulation' (CL *iūs, iūris*). Note extension of suffix -*ā*- originally from denominals to **eh₂*-stems (**-eh₂-i̯e-*) to consonant stems. Apocope of final -*i* in primary endings. The oldest reconstructable meaning of Lat. *iūs* is 'authoritative formulation'. It is a speech act. This is clear from *iūdex* 'who says (**dik-*) the *iūs*'. Cf. Plaut. *Stich.* 726: *Bonum ius dicis: impetrare oportet qui aequom postulat* "What you say is perfectly right. Someone who demands what's fair ought to get it."; Plaut. *Rud.* 1152 (*Trin.* 1161 etc.) *Ius bonum oras.* Plaut. *Bacch.* 447 *Itur illinc iure dicto.* "They go away from there after the judgment has been pronounced." The denominative verb *iūrāre* means 'to swear', 'to perform a *iūs*', i.e. *iūs* must be the formulation of the content of the oath. **iūs iūrāre* 'to formulate a formula' is apparently preserved on the Corcolle Altar fragment according to Vine 1993:78 IOVE[S]AIOVE[SA]TOD. From this figura etymologica derives the standard *iūs iūrandum* 'oath', e.g. Plaut. *Bacch.* 1027 (12) *Ego ius iurandum uerbis conceptis dedi* "I took an oath in fixed words." Cf. OIr. *uisse* 'fair' < **i̯ustii̯o-*. **i̯eu̯os* can be connected with Ved. *yav-* 'bind'. Note particularly this combination of *yav-* 'bind' with *bráhma* 'sacred formulation'.

AVŚ.2.2.1   *táṃ tvā yaumi bráhmaṇā divya deva námas te astu diví te sadhástham*
"thee [Gandharva] being such a one I ban with incantation, O
heavenly god; homage be to you; in the heaven is thy station.

DEIVOS acc. pl. CLat. *deōs*. Loss of *n* before *s* with compensatory lengthening in final syllables has already occurred. But this change cannot be Proto-Italic since Sabellic acc. pl. -*f* continues **-ns*. The syntax is interesting. In CLat. one generally swears by the gods (*per deos*),[25] but here we have the gods as the direct object. This construction is found in the archaic phrase *iurare Iovem lapidem*:

Cic. *Fam.* 7.12.2:
quo modo autem tibi placebit Iovem lapidem iurare cum scias Iouem iratum esse nemini posse?
"But how are you happy to swear by Jupiter [and] stone when you know that
Jupiter can't be mad at anybody?" (i.e. according to Epicurean doctrine)

Fest. p. 102L:
lapidem silicem tenebant iuraturi per Iouem, haec uerba dicentes: 'si sciens fallo, tum
me Dispiter salua urbe arceque bonis eiciat, ut ego hunc lapidem
"Those going to swear by Jupiter used to hold a flint and say these words: 'If I
knowingly commit deceit, then may Jupiter cast me out from the good—the city

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[25] Cf. CIL 1.2924 123-103 BCE Tarentum IOVRATO IOVEM DEOSQVE PENATES with the old idiom vs. CIL 1.582 130-101 BCE Bantia IOVRANTO APVD QVAESTOREM AD AERARIVM PALAM LVCI PER IOVEM DEOSQVE PENATIS with the newer formula.

and citadel unscathed—just as I [caste out] this stone'."[26]

Gell. *NA* 1.21.4:

'iouem lapidem', inquit, 'quod sanctissimum iusiurandum habitum est, paratus

ego iurare sum Vergilium hoc numquam scripsisse

"I'm ready to swear that Vergil never wrote 'iouem lapidem' which was considered the most holy form of oath."

Vergil imitates the archaic syntax at. *Aen.* 12.197

Haec eadem, Aenea, terram mare sidera iuro

"Aeneas, I swear by these same things, the earth, the sea, and the stars."

What does it mean to say *iūrāre Iouem lapidem*? It doesn't mean 'to swear by Jupiter the rock". The Romans didn't think that Jupiter was a flint. Judging by the formula of oath that Festus preserves the *Iouem lapidem* part must be an asyndetic pair 'Jupiter and the rock". Cf. Vergil's asyndeton at Aen. 12.197. But you can't swear to a rock in the sense that the rock is the guarantor of the oath who will punish the oathbreaker. Rather this idiom only makes sense if the meaning is "to utter the formulation containing the words Jupiter and rock" and these are the key words of the preserved formula. Here IOVESAT DEIVOS presumably means 'to utter the formula "May the gods [strike me dead vel sim.]..''

QOI CLat. *quī* with monophthongization of $*$-$o\underset{\frown}{i}$ as in final syllable. Non-final $*$-$o\underset{\frown}{i}$ monophthongizes to *ū* (*oinos* > *ūnus*). The letter *q* is standing for $*k^w$.

MITAT cannot be any form of *mittere* which would have the indicative $*meitet$ at this time. The form *mitat* must be from a $*mit\bar{a}$- which Vine 1999 has suggested means 'give in exchange' < PIE $*h_2mei\underset{\frown}{i}$- (Cf Ved. *ví mayante* 'they alternate'). Alternatively LIV²:439 derived the present from $*mith_2$-$ei\underset{\frown}{e}$- from a root $*mei\underset{\frown}{t}h_2$- (Ved. *méthati* 'to be hostile to'). Better than either is a simple *cubāre* type, which doesn't rely on the coloring of a suffix $*$-$ei\underset{\frown}{e}$- by $*h_2$.

NEI CLat. *nī* 'if not' has two main functions (1) it is an alternative for *nē*, the prohibitive negative, e.g. ILLRP 931; CIL 1.596.4, Cumae:

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[26] Cf. Polyb. 3.25.

DEIS INFERVM PARENTVM SACRVM NI VIOLATO
"Sacred to the ancestral infernal gods. Don't violate!"

(2) it is an alternative for *nisi* 'if not', e.g. *Lex XII* 1.1:

> *si in ius uocat, ito, ni it, antestamino*
> If he (the plaintiff) summons him (the defendant), let him (the defendant) go. If
> he (the defendant) doesn't go, let him (the plaintiff) summon witnesses.

Cf. Osc. *nei*. NEI appears to be a reinforced form of *ne* 'not' or *nē* (the prohibitive negative) or possibly both. A simple negation meaning is preserved in *nīmirum* 'it is no wonder' > without doubt, evidently' and *quidnī* 'why not?' The negative conditional meaning is seen already here. Perhaps the rhyming forms of *nei* and *sei* has encouraged the specialization of *nei* in this meaning. *nī* is not used by Caesar at all and Cicero uses it mainly in fixed formulas (*ni ita se res haberet* "if things weren't so") and in colloquial contexts in his letters.

TED ENDO ENDO is attested in OL as a variant of *in* with either acc. or abl., e.g. *libras farris endo dies dato* "Give pounds of barley per day' (*Lex XII*) *endo dies = in dies*. The form survives in legal language in the *mancipatio* formula of the *familiae emptor* (Gaius *Inst*. 2.104):

> *familiam pecuniamque tuam endo mandatela tua custodiaque mea (esse aio et) quo tu iure*
> *testamentum facere possis secundum legem publicam hoc aere aeneaque libra esto mihi empta*
> "I say that your household and money are at your orders in my custody and let them be
> bought to me with this piece of bronze and brazen scale so that you may make a will
> according to public law."

The form *endo* is peculiar because the final *o* is short in two examples from Ennius (*Ann*. 576, *Ep*. 4.23) and one from Lucilius (*S*. 1075). Therefore one would predict that the final *-o* would have undergone weakening to *-e* as in the 2nd sg. mid.-pass. ending *-re < -so*. One might imagine that the word might be subject to a different treatment since it is a proclitic preposition and therefore the *-o* is not truly final, but in that case one might expect medial weakening to *i* or *u* in an open syllable, depending on the following consonant, and to *u* in a closed syllable. In fact, the form *indu* is attested as well as a preposition and as a preverb. But this does not explain the form *endo*. One option would be to say that *endo* is simply the preform of *indu* which hung around as an archaism. But it is interesting that Ennius uses *endo* only with the accusative and *indu* with the ablative, though later authors do not continue this distinction. Could it be that *endo* is from **endō* and *indu* is from **endo < *n̥do* cf. Celtib.

ando, Gaul. *andogna*? Perhaps **endō* could have been shortened by Tonanschluss after weakening. Cf. *quandōquidem* 'inasmuch as' > *quandŏquidem* (e.g. Catull. 64.218). Cf. Delph. ἔνδω. Hitt. *anda* and *andan*, OIr. *and* 'there, in it' < **n̥dom*. The postposition of *endo* is not found in later Latin.

VIRCO unanimously agreed to represent *uirgō* 'maiden'. If the etymology which connects *uirgō* with *uirga* 'branch' is correct and the latter is cognate with ON *visk* 'bundle of straw' < **u̯izgeh₂*, this form would show that the change of **z* to *r* before *g* (**mezgeti* 'sinks' > *mergit*, cf. Lith. *mazgóti* 'to wash') antedated rhotacism by several centuries at least. This is not in itself surprising because the /s/ was phonetically voiced in this environment already in PIE whereas intervocalic **s* only became voiced in Proto-Italic at the earliest or perhaps only later.

COSMIS CLat. *cōmis* 'kind, 'obliging', a compound of **kom-smi-*. The second part is usually compared with the root **smei̯-* 'smile' (Ved. *smáyate*), but as de Vaan s.v. points out there is no evidence for a root noun from this root and one might even expect it to be extended by *-t-* as in *pedes, -itis* 'foot soldier' < **ped-i-t-* or comes 'companion' < **kom-i-t-*. Instead it is better to derive *cōmis* from **kom-sm-i-* from the root **sem-* 'together'. For the semantic cf. OHG *samfti*, OE *sēfti* 'pleasant', Ved. *santya-* 'companion' < **som-ti̯o-*. Cf. OE *gesōm* 'united, peacable'. Cf. also OIr. *cummae* 'equal' < **kom-smii̯o-*. The meaning 'companionable' fits the Duenos context well.

SIED OLat. *siēt* < **h₁s-i̯eh₁-t*. VOL and OL continue the PIE athematic optative formant with ablaut faithfully in this paradigm. To *siēt ~ sient* < **h₁s-ih₁-ent* (n.b. the one survival of the athematic 3rd pl. ending *-ent* in Latin unless *astasent* is another as I think). cf. Gk. εἴη ~ εἴεν, Ved. *syā́t ~ syúr*. Already in OL we begin to see the leveling of the plural allomorph *sī-* into the singular. As a rule Latin subjunctive continue the PIE optative and PIE subjunctives are continued as Latin futures.

ASTEDNŌISIOPETOITESIAIPACARIVOIS The second line of the inscription is by far the most obscure.

One possibility: *ast ted, noi(n) si opet oites iai p(l)aca rivois*. "But if she does not choose you, in that case using streams pacify/placate (her)."

AST There is little doubt that a new colon begins with the sequence AST…. As pointed out by Jordan 1882: 7 there is a gap after the last letter of the first line, which is not caused by any external necessity and which must be intended to mark a boundary of some sort. The sequence

at the beginning of the second line has been read by most scholars in recent years as AST (T)ED[27]

following a suggestion first made by Bréal in 1882: 157 and adopted most famously by Thurneysen 1899: 197.[28] Bréal simply treated AST as a variant of *at*,[29] as indeed it is in Classical Latin, and translated it as 'mais', but Thurneysen introduced a crucial detail. He noted that in Old Latin ast is not just a variant of at but has a very specific function viz. introducing a second

conditional clause. The examples of this construction are well known and predominant in Very

Old and Old Latin.[30] For example (*Lex Regia*, Font. iur. p. 14, Fest. p. 260L):

si parentem puer uerberit, ast olle plorassit, puer diuis parentum sacer esto
"If a child strikes a parent and if that one complains, let the child be sacred to the ancestral gods."

Plautus, *Capt.* 683-4:
si ego hic peribo, ast ille, ut dixit, non redit,
at erit mi hoc factum mortuo memorabile
"If I die here, and if he, as he said, doesn't return,
at least I'll have accomplished this deed which will be remembered when I dead."

Since, by almost all accounts, the preceding clause of the DVENOS inscription is a negative conditional (ASTED NEI TED ENDO COSMIS VIRCO SIED "if the girl should not be friendly towards you,") and the end of the second line includes an imperative in an apparent apodosis, it is attractive to see the AST here in its well established VOL function—introducing a second protasis.

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[27] The single writing of geminate *t* in the combination *ast* + 2nd sg. pronoun finds a curiously exact parallel
in the spelling ASTV for *ast tu* in the Acts of the Arval Brethren (CIL 6.2068.19, etc.).

[28] In the same year (1882) Jordan suggested reading ASTED as an archaic variant of *ast*. The alternative division, which takes ASTED as the subjunctive of *astāre* and which goes back to the first interpretation of Dressel and Buecheler 1880, though formally unobjectionable, has never made a lot of sense. Since for graphic reasons ASTED is unlikely to belong to the preceding colon, it must be construed with the colon it begins and this colon already has a superfluity of potentially verbal forms.

[29] Etymology of *ast*: Ernout and Meillet 1985 s.v. *ast*: "*at* doit se cache sous *ast*, mais on ne sait pas comment." de Vaan 2008 s.v. *ast* suggests
*atst < *at-est* 'but is'. Walde and Hofmann 1938 s.v. *ast* prefer *at-s-ti*. (but Lindsay 1894:600 *ad-s-ti). Cf. the *-s* of Osc. **az** 'ad' and the *-ti* of
*post < *posti*. Walde and Hofmann's etymon is more likely to have produced *ast* by the time of the 6th century. Finally, Dunkel 2014: 87
(reviving Ceci 1895: 633) suggests *at-dhe* closely matching Indo-Iranian *adzdhā́ 'certainly' (Ved. *addhā́* OAv., OP *azdā*).

[30] See Lindsay 1900: 276–7. Jordan 1879: 290–5 probably goes too far in trying to entirely eliminate *ast* in the sense 'but' from Old Latin, but
the only secure example, in my view, is Plaut. *Merc.* 246 *ast non habere quoi commendarem capram*. "but I seemed not to have anyone to whom I
could entrust the goat."

This interpretation, as plausible as it is, creates problems of its own. If AST introduces the second protasis, then what is the role of NOISI, widely thought to be a VOL equivalent of CL *nisi*
'if not'? If we examine the instances of *ast* in its 2nd-protasis-introducing function we see that it
never combines with another conditional particle within its clause. Compare from the Twelve
Tables (XII, 5.7):

 Si furiosus escit, ast ei custos nec escit, adgnatum gentiliumque in eo
pecuniaque eius potestas esto
"If there is a madman, and if has no guardian, the authority over him and
his property goes to his agnate relatives or to the members of his gens."[31]

(XII, 10.9)
cui auro dentes iuncti escunt, ast im cum illo sepeliet uretue, se fraude esto
"If someone's teeth are bound with gold, and if they bury or cremate him
with that, it shall be with impunity."

and from the Lex Ursoniensis (CIL 1.594, 44 BCE):
SI QVIS IN EO VIM FACIET, AST EIVS VINCITVR, DVPLI DAMNAS ESTO
"If anyone does violence against him (the one leading him off), and if he
is convicted of the same, he shall be liable to double the amount claimed."

and extracting the formulaic elements from the oath for the well-being of the emperor and his
household in the Acta Arvalium (CIL 6. 32363, 32341, 32444, etc.):

IVPPITER, SI IMPERATOR VIVET EVMQVE SERVAVERIS
AST TV EA ITA FAXIS,
TVM TIBI BOVE AVRATO VOVEMVS FVTVRVM
Jupiter, if the emperor lives and you will have kept him safe,
and if you do these things in this way,

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[31]This example is somewhat constructed because Cic. de inv. 2.50 and ad Herenn. 1.13.23 give just *si furiosus escit, adgnatum gentiliumque in eo pecuniaque eius potestas esto*. The clause *ast ei custos nec escit* is preserved by Festus p. 158L in the discussion of *nec* as a simple negative. It was combined with the *si furiosus* quote by Schoell 1866:109.

then we vow that we will sacrifice a gilded ox to you.

From this very precise—and evidently old—function *ast* has developed in two ways. On the one hand, it has become a simple alternative for *at* that was especially useful to the poets because it was metrically distinct.[32] On the other hand, *ast* has become freed from its original locus and can be used in the sense "but if", even when not preceded by another conditional clause. In order to save the interpretation of the second line as combining AST and NOISI (= CL *nisi*) one could suppose that *ast* was being used here in the meaning 'but' and combined with the complementizer *noisi*. This could be explained as an archaism if the original meaning of *ast* was merely adversative.[33] To assume, however, that *ast* means just 'but' in the context of the DVENOS inscription would be to lose much of the original attraction of the analysis. AST happens to occur introducing a second protasis in the fashion we know was typical for VOL, but AST does not have its typical meaning and syntactic position. Instead it must have the simple meaning 'but'. It is also worth noting that, although the DVENOS text is not, in broad terms, generically similar to the Twelve Tables, the initial sentence has introduced the legal notion of 'swearing' (IOVESAT DEIVOS) and the segment we are dealing with is the content of that oath. Thus a similarity between formal legal discourse and this context is in place, if perhaps only as parody.

We may further observe that the view that NOISI is *nisi* requires positing a rather striking the word order. *Ast*, as a sentence conjoiner is always first in its sentence. TED looks like it is in Wackernagel's position, i.e. superficially it is 2nd in the linear order. But, in fact, a clitic pronoun should appear after the complementizer of the clause it is in. For example Hor. S. 1.6.125, with *ast* here in its later use as a metrical variant of at 'but':

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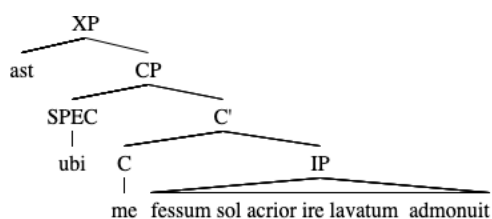
[32] See Norden 1927 ad Aen. 6.316 who notes that *ast* is, with one exception, always used in prevocalic position by Vergil.

[33] To my knowledge ast in the meaning 'but' is not found combined with a complementizer before Horace (Sat. 1.6.125) and never with the conditional complementizer. Cicero's archaizing usage of *ast* in *De Legibus* 3.9 is not an early example of *ast* plus a complementizer because *quando* does not mean 'when' but 'at some time': *Ast quando duellum grauius, discordiae ciuium escunt* "If at some time a serious war or civic discord arises." *Ast quando consules magisterue populi nec escunt* "If at some time there are no consuls or master of the people". On Cicero's use of *ast* in *De Legibus* see Powell 2005:136–7.

But in the DVENOS text, on the analysis being contemplated here, we apparently have the pronoun above the complementizer. This suggests that the pronoun is not a clitic but stressed—Latin has no observable phonological difference between stressed and clitic personal pronouns—and from this order we may infer that the pronoun has been topicalized for pragmatic reasons, perhaps contrastive focus.
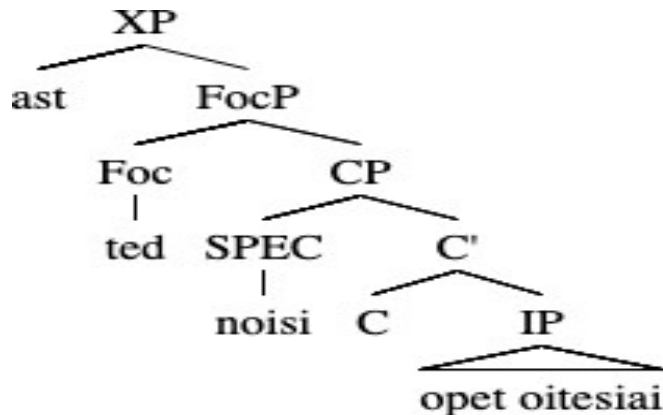
But is contrastive focus really expected here? (?If the girl is not well disposed to you and if she doesn't choose *you*.) To me it seems a little odd that there should be a contrastive focus on the second discourse reference to the same 2nd person, but such an argument cannot be pushed too far given our limited understanding of VOL pragmatics.

TED assuming the double *t* of *ast-ted* is written just once.

NOISI The communis opinio is that *noisi* means 'if not' and this view goes back all the way to the first interpreters, Dressel and Buecheler (1880: 180). But the vocalisms of both the first and second syllable of this putative preform or potential byform of *nisi* are problematic. For *noi*, the usual—and only—comparandum is Umb. *nosue* 'if not' (VI b 54). The *o* of this form in the Latin alphabet could continue *$o\underset{\frown}{i}$[34] and therefore support an o-grade variant of the negative particle. But o-grade forms of the negative particle are surprisingly hard to come by.[35] It would be much less radical to suppose that *nosue* is a regular development of pre-Umbrian *$ne\underset{\frown}{i}su̯ai̯$ (cf. Osc. *nei suae* TB l. 28). One would predict *$ne\underset{\frown}{i}su̯ai̯$ would regularly become *nɛːsuɛː. But complementizers are known to undergo low-stress developments.[36] Thus we may suppose that the first syllable *nɛːsu̯ɛː was shortened to *nɛ and that the vowel ɛ was rounded to ɔ before the labial of the following syllable yielding the attested *nosue*. We

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[34] but it also might continue a short o or the diphthong *o̯u or *e̯u.

[35] Despite Dunkel 2014: 530, Hitt. *natta* does *natta* continue an o-grade. See Melchert 2008:371–2.

[36] Cf. Proto-Romance *ko:mo (Rom. *cum*, OFr. *com*, OSp. *cuemo*, Port. *como* etc.) by an irregular shortening from CL *quōmodo*.

have a close parallel to these developments in Umb. *sopir* 'if anyone' (VI b 54) < **su̯ɛpis* < **su̯ɛːpis* < **su̯ai-pis*.[37]

The second syllable of NOISI, if equated with sī, is also problematic. There is no good evidence for a zero-grade variant of *sei[38] in the meaning 'if'. Latin sī from OL *sei* (SEI ILLRP 504, Spoleto, 1st half of 3rd cent. BCE) is generally and I think, correctly, taken as the locative of the pronominal stem *so- and meant original "in this (case, way, etc.)". The locative of a pronominal stem is a common source for conditional complementizers. Cf. PSabel. **su̯ai* (Osc. **svaí**, Umb. *sue*), Attic- Ionic Grk. εἰ, Dor. αἰ, Lith. *jeĩ ~ jéi*). It does not seem possible to explain a form **si* as a locative
or any case form of a stem *so- or even *si-.

The interpretation of NOISI as an ancestor or relative of *nisi* seems to be a dead end and most of the alternatives proposed so far are worse. A better solution would solve the problem of the vocalism of both syllables of NOISI and would eliminate the presence of two conditional particles AST and SI. A solution to all three issues may be reached if we segment NOI SI, with NOI functioning here as a simple negative, and SI as the fem. nom. sg. pronoun **si* exactly matching OIr. *sí* and Gothic and OHG *sĭ*. This division solves the two conditionals problem and gives good sense: And if (*ast*) she (*si*) doesn't (*noi*) choose (*opet*) you (*ted*). This proposal raises several questions.

First let us address some syntactic matters. Can a subject pronoun intercede between a negative and a verb? This order is possible to judge from the parallel of Cato Orat. 11 fr. 11 ap. Fest. p. 198L

Quid mihi fieret, si non ego stipendia omnia ordinarius meruissem semper?
"What would happen to me if I had not always earned all my stipends as an ordinary soldier?"

AST	TED	NOI	SI		OPET		
COMP	CL	NEG	SUBJPRO....		V		
si		non	ego	stipendia	ordinarius	meruissem	semper
COMP		NEG	SUBJPRO	O	PRED	V	ADV

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[37] See Meiser 1986: 279 and Untermann 2000:722.

[38] Despite the valiant and learned efforts of Jón Axel Harđarson (2011: 157). See also Eichner 1988: 213, 233.

Second, can two successive protases have different moods as here (SIED subj. and OPET indic.)? I have not been able to find a precise parallel for two protases, one in the subjunctive and one in the indicative, but note that the *si... ast* examples above do not always show perfect tense concord (SI QVIS IN EO VIM FACIET, AST EIVS VINCITVR; *si ego hic peribo, ast ille, ut dixit, non redit*) and, in any case, this modal discord is not an issue for my analysis only but for all analyses which recognize an indicative OPET as the verb of the AST clause.

On the analysis *ast ted noi si opet*, nothing in particular can be said about the status of *ted.*

The NOI problem. The idea that NOI is the simple negator was first suggested, to my knowledge, by Edgar Shumway in 1902. As noted above, there is no reliable evidence for an ograde of the negative particle so it is not plausible to simply posit a **noi̯< *no + i*. But Latin does have an attested negative with the diphthong *oe < *oi̯*. The standard view of Latin *nōn* is that it continues a preform **n(e)-oino-* 'not one'. In support of this idea is the existence of the OL forms *noenum* (Plaut. Aul. 67, Var. ap. Non. p. 141M), and *noenu* (Lucil. 987, Lucr. 3.199, 4.710) which indeed can be derived from **n(e)-oinos*. Thus, on the standard view of nōn its 6th century ancestor should have been **noin(o-)* and the DVENOS inscription's NOI may simply stand for *noi(n)* with the omission of word-final *n*. The apocope of the final syllable is undatable and could well be ancient. The omission of syllable final nasal before *s* is partly paralleled by COSMIS *< *kon-smis.*

Excursus on *nōn*. It is the standard view that *nōn* is from **ne-oi̯nom* by some irregular low stress development. I'm dubious. Ben Fortson suggests (p.c.) that *nōn* may not be from **ne-oi̯n om* at all but instead may contain **h₂oi̯u* 'lifetime', the source of Gk. οὐ. This could work for *nōn* as follows: **ne-h₂oi̯u̯ -ne* i.e. "NEG-lifetime-NEG" > **n'oune* (elision probable and required for other forms like *nūllus*) *> *nou̯n* (apocope probable and required also for standard theory) *> *nōn* (monophthongization as usual but raising to *ū* blocked before nasal)

Cf. **aliai̯-no- > aliēnus.* Note the earliest epigraphic evidence for *nōn* is shockingly late but interesting nevertheless. In the SCdB no form of *nōn* is attested but there are abundant instance of the diphthong ou in the stem IOVRA- 'swear'. There is also an instance of the diphthong *ou* before *n* in NOVDINVM. But in CIL 1.582, the Latin side of the Tabula Bantina from between 130 and 100 BCE, IOVRA- is still spelled the same way although now almost certainly representing /juːraː/, but the word for market day is now spelled with o (NOVDINVM) in the same way as NON. In CIL 1.596 from Clusium we find forms of the verb *pronuntiare* spelled consistently PRONONT- but IVDICIVM and IV[BETO]. In ILLRP 512 from Tivoli we have NONTIATA vs.

IINDOVCEBAMVS. Same pattern in CIL 1.583 PRONONTIATO vs. IOVS ~ IVRENT. But why does *nōn* not become †nūn as *nōntiāre* eventually became *nūntiāre*? Monosyllabic effect?

Favored least radical solution at this point: NOI is for *noi(n)* which is from **ne-oino-*.

15. The SI problem
The meaning is good "and if she does not choose you", and the survival of *sī is bold, but this must have been the Western PIE nom. sg. f. of the *is pronoun since it is there in Germanic and Celtic.

How old is *si and why do I reconstruct it without a laryngeal?

(a) OIr. *sí* 'she' but *sissi* (*Trip.* 90. 5) contrast OIr. *é ~ é-som* (but note *tú ~ tussu* where short vowel is analogical, but maybe *tŭ is old? cf. Gk. σύ, τύ). MW *hi* does point to a long vowel.

(b) Goth. *si* not †sei, the normal spelling for a long *ī*

(c) Soph. fr. 471   ἡ μὲν ὡς ἲ θάσσονα
                     ἡ δ' ὡς ἲ τέτοκε παῖδα
                     [they claimed vel sim.] one that she had born the faster son,
                     another that she had. [trans. Moorhouse, *Syntax of Sophocles* 142–3.]

Apollonius Dyscolus, *On Pronouns* p. 70 (55, 20 S).

The metrical evidence is ambiguous since the line has been restored in various ways, but Apollonius Dyscolus p. 71 says explicitly that it is short (ἡ μετὰ δασέος βραχεῖα ἐκφορὰ τοῦ ι) and this is echoed by EM p. 588. But even if it was long, it cannot be from *sih_2 because that would have given *hia. Cf. *smih_2 > μία 'one' and the form is not proclitic but accented and hence we cannot invoke a possible internal development of *ih_2.

Summary of Jamison's 2002 paper:
- Ved. *īm* and *sīm* are accusative clitic pronouns not particles.
- *īm* has overwhelmingly masculine reference whereas *sīm* can refer to a noun of any
- gender.
- In Gathic Avestan *hīm* has feminine reference in all four examples. YAves. forms are
- gender indifferent.

- *īm* is the clitic match to *imám.*
- *ī* is isofunctional to *īm.*

Where does the length of *īm*, *ī* come from?
- Since *īm* is masculine it cannot be of $*h_2$ origin
- Since length is also found in *ī* it cannot be via Stang's Law (*īm* < *imm*)
- Since the forms are clitics, it cannot be from stressed monosyllabic lengthening—if that
- even is a thing in Vedic.

Proposal
- The most archaic form is $*h_1i$ an endingless accusative comparable to clitic 1s *mā*
- C=$*h_1i$=C > C=ih_1=C by laryngeal metathesis.
- *ī* was extended by accusative -*m* to give *īm*
- Original *sim* was remade to *sīm*

NPIE situation

	masc.	neut.	fem.	adjectival
nom.	$*h_1i$-s	$*h_1id$	*si*	$*h_1ei̯eh_2$
gen.	$*h_1esi̯o$			
dat.	$*h_1esmōi̯$			
acc.	stressed $*h_1im$	$*h_1id$	*sim*	
	clitic $*h_1i$		(clitic *si*?)	$*h_1ei̯eh_2m$

Lat. *nisi* normally scans as *nĭsī* or *nĭsĭ* with iambic shortening but on 15 occasions in Plautus it must scans as a spondee, e.g. Per. 2, 2, 52

    Séd ego césso, máne. Molésta es. Érgo ero quóque, nīsí́ sció (troch. sept.)
      ˘ ˘ – |– – | – ˘ ˘| –˘ | – ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ – | – ˘ |X
    Paegn.: But I'm going. Soph.: Wait! Paegn.: You're annoying! Soph.: I will be too unless I know.

nĭsī is excluded by Bentley-Luchs Law.[39] **noi*, if treated as a final syllable, would give **nei* and then *nī*. But if **noi* were univerbated with *si* from an early date we would expect the outcome to be †*nūsī*. The

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[39] If the final ˘ ´ # of an iambic or trochaic verse (characteristically including ia6 and tr8^) is provided by a single, disyllabic word (or two monosyllables), the preceding x – should not be a perfect iamb (˘ -), but should rather have a tribrach (˘ ˘ ˘), anapestic (˘ ˘ -), or spondaic (- -) shape.

best explanation is that sometimes the first element was *$nei̯$ rather than *ne. *si instead of sei is also hard to explain since *$sei̯$ and Sab. *$su̯ai̯$ look like locatives. Perhaps *si could be the root of the pronominal/numeral *si- (Hitt. $ši$- 'one', OH 1-$iš$), but there is no evidence for such a form functioning as a conditional particle.

OPET 'choose'. This verb has an exact match in Umb. **upetu** 'choose, 'select' from an iterative *h_1op-$ei̯e$- ← *h_1ep- 'take'. It served as the basis for the repetitive $optāre$.

OITESIAI would appear to be a dative from an *$oitesia$ presumably from the root *oit- of Lat. $ūtor$ use', but it doesn't look like any other piece of derivational morphology known from Latin. Recently Martzloff 2018 has suggested the division $oites$ (= $ūtens$) + iai a local particle meaning 'then', 'in this case' comparing Umb. **iepi** 'then'. He suggests that the participle $oites$ is governing the abl. RIVOIS. 'in this case, make peace by using the streams'.

PACA[40] supposedly ipv. of $pācāre$ 'to impose a settlement on'; but the verb is attested only from Cicero on and looks like a back formation from $pācātus$ 'peaceful' which is attested already in Plautus and is probably a $barbātus$ type denominative. $pācāre$ is not found in the metaphorical sense apparently required here. But a back-formation from $pācātus$ would in principle be possible at this stage of Latinity and the idea of "imposing peace" on an unwilling participant is within the realm of possibility. Another possibility: The TLL notes that $pācāre$ is often confused with $plācāre$ in codices (TLL s.v. $placo$), a verb which is very well attested from the earliest Latinity and which is segmentally identical to $pācāre$ except for the l and has a pretty similar meaning.
$plācāre$ is often used of reconciling an unhappy wife or girlfriend and the object of placation can be omitted, e.g. Plaut. *Men.* 600

> *iratast... nunc mihi; placabit palla, quam dedi (sc. amicae)*
> "She's mad at me. The cloak which I gave to my girlfriend will placate her."

Lucil. 729:

> *cum pacem peto, cum placo ..., cum appello meam.*
> "When I seek peace, when I placate, when I call her mine."

Could the intended spelling have been ⌐LΛꓘΛ? The inscriber writing upside down and in the awkward valley of connection between two of the vessels (see below) might have missed the L which

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[40] The division *paca rivois* is due to Steinbauer 1989:35, 46

indeed is quite similar to a Ꮁ except for a 180º inversion. The mistake was not fixed because PACA was good enough and interpretable.

RIVOIS supposedly 'streams' abl. pl. Some take this to refer to the streams of perfume stored in the jars. Another possibility would be that the streams refer to the abundant wine that was involved in symposastic competitive drinking. Both of these would be striking extensions. Cf. Verg. *G.* 1.132

> *Et passim riuis uina currentia repressit*
> "and he curtailed the wines running everywhere in streams"

where we find the idea that streams flowed with wine in the Golden Age until Jupiter put an end to it. For the combination of *plācāre* and *uīnum* cf. Hor. *De arte poetica* 207–10

> *postquam coepit agros extendere uictor et urbem*
> *latior amplecti murus uinoque diurno*
> *placari Genius festis impune diebus,*
> *accessit numerisque modisque licentia maior.*
> "After the victor began to extend the fields and a wider wall
> began to embrace the city and the Genius began to be placated
> with daily wine on festival days with impunity
> a greater license came to meters and modes."

Summing up my subjective probablities of line 2:
probable: AST, TED, OPET
my preferences: NOI SI, OITES, IAI PACA RIVOIS

The third line is pretty clear: *dvenos med feced en manom (m)einom dvenoi ne med malos tatod*

DVENOS the ancestor of OL *bonus*. The classical form is distinguished by three sound changes:

(1) *-oC#* to *-uC#* which we have already covered.
(2) **e > o/#(C)ṵNV[+back]* (i.e. following *ṵ* and preceding a nasal followed by a back vowel) *dṵenos* (> *dṵonos* (*duonus*, Carm. Sal. 3.2; DVONORV, ILLRP 310 elogium of L. Scipio son of Barbatus, co. 259 BCE); **ṵemō > uomō* 'I vomit', cf. Gk. ἐμέω, Ved. *vámiti*. This rule must antedate the following.
(3) **dṵ- > b-* in the middle of the 3rd century BCE: *dṵenos* 'good' > *dṵonos* > *bonus*; *duis > bis* 'twice'. Paul. Fest. p. 58 L: *duis...pro* δίς *ponebatur.* Cf. Ved. *dvíḥ*, Gk. δ(ϝ)ίς. Cicero (*Orat.* 153) reports that the

victor at the battle of Mylae (260 BCE) was called *Bellius*, although his ancestors had previously been called *Duellii*. (OHCGL² 174).

There is no agreed on the etymology of *duenos*, which is also attested in Old Faliscan *dueno duenas*. Recently Vine has argued for deriving *duenos* for **du̯enó-* < **duHenó-* 'generous' with syncope of *u* in the environment *Cuu̯V* when the *u* is unaccented by the PIE rules of accentuation. Cf. Ved. *dúvas-* 'gift'. I'm a bit skeptical of the examples and neither the semantic nor the morphology are all that compelling. MIr. has a poetic adjective *den* which designates some positive quality (*Féilire Gormán*, April 16 *deni, mathi móra* 'excellent, good, great' *Saltair na Rann* 1803-4 *ro-idbart Dia cach ndúil dein/tri bithu frit airmeitein* "God granted every good creature to reverence you eternally." [trans. D. Greene]. The form is mainly indeclinable but shows final palatalization which is indicative of an *i*-stem whereas the non-raising of the *e* points to an *o*-stem. This could be derived from **du̯eno-/ du̯eni-*.

EN (also ILLRP 517.12, Gk. ἐν, Osc. *-en*) is the precursor of OL *in*. The raisings of *e* to *i* in this example, both as preposition and prefix is also seen in (1) the negative prefix **n̥-* (Gk. α-, OE *un-*) > *en-* > *in-* (2) *endo* (see above etc.) > *indu-* 'in' and **n̥dʰeros* (Ved. *ádhara-*, OE *undar*) > **enferus* > *īnferus* 'lower'. But the exact conditions for the changes found in the cited words are unclear. It is often maintained that the preposition *in*, which was a proclitic, shows an unstressed development and that the negative particle has generalized a variant originally proper to pre-velar environment (e.g. *incrēdibilis* 'unbelievable' < **eŋkrēdibilis*). *Īnferus* has been folk-etymologically remade after *in-*. One might consider the possibility that initial **en-* simply became *in-*. The two counterexamples are *enim* 'for, indeed', *ēnsis* 'sword'. If we limit this rule to short *en-* (so *īnferus* and examples like *īnsula* must be analogical since the long vowel here is probably VOL) *ēnsis* is not a counterexample. In the case of *enim* the change may have been inhibited by the dissimilatory influence of the following *i* (OHCGL², p. 149). There are instance of the en spelling going down to the 2nd cent BCE:

4th cent.   EN VRBID (Caso Cantovio, Luco di Marsi, ILLRP 7)
ca. 220 BCE   EN PLAGA (SupplIt. Trebia 2,)
117 BCE   EN MANICELO beside IN MANICELVM (ILLRP 517 Sententia Minuciorum)

The earliest instance of *in* for *en* is ILLRP 504, the *Lex luci* of Luceria in Apulia: IN HOC LOVCARID from ca. 300 BCE. This inscription also has the first example of *in-* in a compound *in* the form INIECTIO. The first example of negative *in-* is INVITVS in CIL 1.2924 (Tarentum, 120-100 BCE) and ILLRP 517 (117 BCE), the first of *inf-* is INFVMVM (ILLRP 517, 117 BCE)

MANOM see discussion of MANIOS above.

MEINOM if MEINOM is read this would be a substanitivized form of **mei̯no-*. For this there are two

possibilities. Thurneysen compared OIr. *mían* n. 'desire', MW *mwyn* 'benefit' < **meinom*. Thurneysen "zu guter Absicht" "with good intention". The root in question would be the **mei̯-* of PDE *to mean* (OE *mænan*, OHG *meinan* 'to intend', OCS *měniti* 'to think'). Vine (anticipated by Meringer 1904) instead thinks 'for a good exhange'. Cf. also **moinos* in Lith. *maĩnas* 'exchange'. Alternatively, with Krogmann 1936 we can read *einom* a *-no*-derivative of **h₁ei̯-*. *en manom einom* 'for good going'. Krogmann supported his analysis with reference the form OPEINOR in the Praenestine mirror (ILLRP 1205, 3rd cent.)[41] DEVINCAM TED OPEINOR "W: I will beat you M: I expect so". The noun **ei̯nom* 'way' > made a compound **opei̯no-* 'coming to something' → **opeinā-* 'to come to a view'. The semantics aren't that great. I wonder if *opeinā-* is not denominative from **op-u̯ei̯no-* from the root **u̯ei̯h₁-* 'set one's sights on', 'desire' (Ved. *véti* 'pursues', Lat. *invītus* 'unwilling'). Cf. in particular Ved. *vená-* 'desiring', *venā́* 'desire. The development of **Vpu̯V* to *VpV* is probable, cf. *oportet* < **op-u̯ortet* 'it turns to s.o.' > 'it is fitting'. We don't know independently what would happen to a laryngeal in the environment **u̯ei̯h₁no-*. If this etymology is correct then EINOM cannot go with OPEINOR.[42]

NE = *nē* the CLat. prohibitive negative. **meh₁,* the prohibitive negative seen in Gk. μή, Ved. *mā́*, TB *ma*, Arm. mi, Mess. *ma*, Alb. *mo-s*. This is an innovation also seen in Sabellic (Osc. *ni*). But *nē* also replaces **ne* in the alternative negative *nēue/neu* 'neither' and is found in compounds like *nēquam* 'worthless', *nēquīquam* 'in vain', *nēdum* 'scarcely', and in *nē... quidem* 'not even'. It is therefore not likely that *nē* resulted from a contamination of **meh₁* and **ne*, nor can it be just the result of monosyllabic lengthening since it is not limited to monosyllables. Instead it must be due to emphatic lengthening. A lengthened variant **nē* is found in Go. *ne* 'no' which is used as a negative answer to a question (Peter says (John 18.25) *ne, ni im* "No! I am not him".[43] In Proto-Italic the lengthened variant was specialized as the prohibitive. No "Northwest" IE language has a trace of **meh₁*.

DVENOI dat. sg. *bonō*. See discussion of NVMASIOI
The polyptoton of DVENOS ... DVENOI is a figure common in inscriptions of this period in Greek, Faliscan, and Etruscan.[44] Cf. καλō Παντελεος τα ποτēρια καλα "the beautiful drinking vessels of beautiful Panteles" (DGE 361, Locr. Opunt, ca. 5th cent.); Fal. **eco quto ... Titias duenom duenas** "I am the good vessel of good Titia"; Etr. **mi Velelias θina mlaχ mlakas** "I am the good vessel of good Velelia."

MALOS = CLat. *malus* nom. sg. masc. The most secure cognate for *malus* is Osc. **mallo**-. The word has

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[41] Krogmann actually though OPEINOD, as he and most have read it, was an ablative adverb 'expectedly'.

[42] Matasović ("Latin *opīnor*" Academia.edu) has suggested deriving *opīnor* from **op-u̯ei̯s-ne-* from the root **h₃u̯ei̯s-* (Gk. οἴομαι 'think') to which he assigns the meaning 'to perform, know'. The nasal suffix is unsupported so it would be preferable to start with a **h₃uei̯sno-* 'expectation' which would work as well as my **u̯ei̯h₁no-*.

[43] Ved. *nā́* is a hapax at 10.34.8c. It is not clear what its explanation is. See Kamioka 1978.

[44] See Agostiniani 1981.

been suspected of being a loanword from Latin since it occurs in the Tabula Bantina in the collocation **perum dolom mallom** = Lat. *sine dolo malo* "without malicious deceit", but the loan hypothesis cannot explain the geminate. The geminate *l* may continue either *$l\u{i}$ which became *$ll\u{i}$ with non-notation of yod or from *-*l\u{u}*-. *malo*- beside *mal\u{i}o*- can be compared to *ne\u{u}o*- beside *ne\u{u}\u{i}o*- (Gaul. *Novio*-, Ved. *návya*- etc.). There is another relevant Oscan form. **malaks** acc. pl. (Cp 37, the Curse of Vibia) which has long been provisionally translated as *malevolos* (supposedly derived from *malo*- 'bad' (Lat. *malus*, Osc. *mallo*-). In fact, it is more probable that the word means 'children.' The crucial passage in favor of this translation, is Plutarch *Mulierum Virtutes* 261 D–E:

> Ἀριστόδημον τὸν τύραννον, ᾧ τινες Μαλακὸν ἐπίκλησιν οἴονται γεγονέναι,τὸ ληθὲς γνοοῦντες. ἐπεκλήθη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων Μαλακός, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀντίπαις
> "Aristodemus the despot [of Cumae in the 6th cent.), whom, some think, had the nickname of 'Mild' given to him, but they do not know the truth. The fact is that by the barbarians he was called 'Malakos' which, in their tongue, means 'childlike'."   [Translation after Frank Cole Babbitt, Loeb edition]

The best analysis for this stem would be to derive it from *malo*- 'small.' Cf. with *s*-mobile OE *smæl*, Go. *smalists* 'smallest'. An exact semantic parallel is found in Lat. *paruulus* 'child'. *$ml\u{h}_2o$- 'ground fine' would work for Italic vs. *$smolh_2o$- for Germanic.

TATOD Helmut Rix's brilliant insight was to identify this future imperative which is textually appropriate (cf. Berezan, ca. 550–525 BCE: Μηδες με κλεψει "Nobody steal me!" (IGDOlbia 38); Tataie aryballos, Cumae, ca. 650 BCE Ταταιες ἐμι λεϙυθος hoς δ' αν με κλεφσ|ει, θυφλος εσται. "I am the lekythos of Tataie. Whoever steals me will go blind." (IGDGG I 12); Etr. **ei mini pi capi** "Don't take me!") with the root *teh_2- 'steal' not previously recognized in Italic. The present *teh_2-\u{i}e- (Hitt. *tāyezzi* 'steals')[45] would give Lat. *tā-.

What's attested here first?
Phonology
*e\u{u} > o\u{u} (IOVESAT). The rounding of *e* before \u{u} is also found in Sabellic e.g. **Núvlan(**o**)**- < *no\u{u}elāno- 'of the city of Nola' ← *ne\u{u}o- 'new', but not completely in Venetic (**te.u.ta** 'people' vs. **louderobos** 'children' < *$h_1$le\u{u}dhero-. There are some alleged traces of *e\u{u} in early Latin, but they are all suspect. The best possible case is *Leucesie* (codd. *Leucesiae*, corr. Bergk), a vocative epithet of Jupiter (*Carmen Saliare*), which is also recorded in the form *Lūcetius* (Verg. *Aen.* 9.570 [as a personal name], Paul. Fest.

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[45] The nominal forms associated with this verb are complex and deserve further study. Note OIr. *táid* 'thief' which appears to combine a masc. *i*-stem nom. (Cf. OCS *tatĭ* 'thief' with an *nt*-stem oblique gen. sg. *tadhat*< *tātant-.

p. 102 L, Aul. Gell. 5.12.7). Since the *Carmen Saliare* does preserve remarkable archaisms, it is possible that this form continues an original **eu̯*, but, on the other hand, a poorly understood piece of very ancient Latin might have been subject to all manner of corruptions. The supposed example of preservation in NEVNA (ILLRP 11, 12, Tor Tignosa) = *Nōna* (name of one of the Parcae 'Fates') and, in a somewhat different prevocalic environment, NEVEN:DEIVO gen. pl. 'of the neven-gods' (CIL 1².445, Ardea, ca. 300 BCE) are probably to be explained otherwise. (See below) It should also be noted that all the forms that appear to have *eu̯* have a coronal preceding the diphthong. It cannot be ruled out that these forms are the result of a later (dialectal) change from *ou̯* to *eu̯* after a coronal, or that *eu̯* was preserved in some dialects after a coronal. (OHCGL², p. 112–3.)

Loss of final *-i* in primary verb form (IOVESAT, MITAT) and maybe in the form AST. The *Carmen Saliare* again preserves something even older *prae tet tremonti* (Bergk see below) "they tremble before you". Sabellic shows the same apocope. The line *prae tet tremonti* if correctly restored shows a specifically Latin piece of morphology in the acc. *tet*, i.e. *tēd*. Taken at face value, we would have to conclude that the final *-i* of the primary endings survived down into the distinct history of Latin and that the loss of final *-i* seen in Sabellic, Venetic (**atisteit**) would be a diffused innovation.

Reduction of *n* before fricatives with probably compensatory lengthening of preceding vowel (DEIVOS, COSMIS, OITES). In final syllables the nasalization must have been lost very early since we never see restoration of *n*. In other positions the nasality hung around until Classical orthography fixed the nasal as *n* in the spelling.

Contraction of *-*ei̯e*- to *ē* (OPET). If this form is correctly identified as an iterative-causative, it shows that the loss of intervocalic yod and the contraction of vowels left in hiatus was already complete. The 2nd conjugation results from the merger of the statives in -*ē*- < *-eh₁* and the iterative causatives (as well as some other minor sources). Since in Latin and Sabellic statives show participles in -*eto*- (**taçez** < *taketos 'quiet'), which originate in the iterative-causatives, the contraction of *-*ei̯e*- to *-*ē*- already happened in Proto-Italic. An *ē of this origin is treated in the same fashion as a long *ē of laryngeal origin in Sabellic.

Osthoff's Law (Round 1). It is probable that a sequence V̄RC was shortened perhaps in Proto-Italic. The thematic instrumental plural ending was **-ōi̯s* in PIE (Ved. *-aiḥ*, etc.). This is written -**úís** in Oscan (e.g. **Núvlanúís** 'Nōlānīs') where **ú** is the spelling for *o not *ō. In Latin the sequence was shortened early enough to feed the regular treatment of -*oi̯* in final syllables, i.e. -*ōi̯s* > -*oi̯s* > -*ei̯s* ([FILI]EISQUE, ILLRP 294, 1st half of 3rd cent. BCE)> -*īs* just like the thematic nom. pl. **-oi̯* > *ei̯*, > -*ī* and not like the thematic dat. sg. -*ōi̯* > -*ō*.

Morphology
inherited: present participle (OITES), athematic optative (SIED), 2nd sg ipv. (P(L)ACA); Thematic abl. pl. -*ois* (RIVOIS)

innovations: simple perfect *fēc-*; *tēd* parallel to *mēd*

Syntax
Relative clause [QOI MED MITAT] is postposed to main clause

Conditional clauses introduced by NEI with optative and AST with indicative.

Word order. The Duenos inscription is the first connected discourse in Latin. Dressler 1971 notes the following rule: "in einem isolierten Satz, der aus einem einfachen, nicht-emphatischen Hauptsatz besteht, kann das Prädikatsverbum nicht am Anfang stehen. Anfangsstellung des Verbums weist auf einen weiteren verbundenen Satz, der vor oder nach der vorliegenden Satz steht." So in the Manios fibula, an isolated sentence, the verb does not come first, but in the Duenos inscription we find the verb in first position. Dressler's formulation probably should be recast in terms of pragmatic fronting.

Lexicon

	Verbs	Nouns/Adjectives	Pronouns	Particles
Inherited	*es-, tā-*	*dei̯u̯o-, dueno-, meino-* (?)	k^wo-, *sī* (?)	*nei, endō, en*
Proto-Italic	*opē-*			*iai, noi*
Latin specific	*oite-, iou̯esā-, mitā-, p(l)ākā-*	*rīu̯o-, māno-, eino-?, virgō, cosmi-*		*ast*

What hasn't happened yet? (not mentioning things already mentioned: rhotacism, loss of final -*d*, -*ōi̯# > -ō#*)

Phonology

Reduction of vowels after *u̯* (*iou̯esat > iourat > iūrat*). This reduction is first attested in the Lex of Luceria ILLRP 504 ca. 300 BCE which has *ioudicatod < *i̯ou̯o(s)dikā-*.

A long vowel is shortened before final *t, r,* and *l* in polysyllables (presumably still *iouesāt*). The long

scansion is still the rule in Plautus, but the shortening had probably begun at just about this time and unambiguous short scansions are found in Ennius. See OHCGL², p. 139.

Loss of *u̯* before rounded vowel (DEIVOS) vs. OL *deos*
The usual story is that the dipththong *ei* monophthongized to *dē̯u̯os* and then the *u̯* was lost before o giving **dēos* and then *deos* with prevocalic shortening. But it might be that the development was instead **dei̯u̯os* > **dei̯os* and then a secondary intevocalic yod after *e* was lost giving *deos*. This might fit the absolute dates of these changes better. The loss of *u̯* before a rounded vowel is pre-Plautine. The SCdB 186 BCE has false archaism like OQVOLTOD 'secretly' for *occoltod* 'secretly' but faithfully retains *ei* diphthongs. A form like *parum* 'hardly' from **paru̯om* shows no trace of a consonant in any historically attested document. In fact we may have a form that reflects the mid-stage **deios* in an inscription from Castelvecchio Calvisio in the territory of the Vestini which reads DEIAS COMAFTAS 'of the goddess comafta"

Im. It. Furfo 1; CIL 9.3556 (200-150 BCE) The goddess's name is Vestinian < **komapta* 'fitting'? but the form *deias* must have been built on a masculine **deios* and this is could well be a Latin form because we don't have evidence for a similar sound change in Sabellic which have not been heavily influenced by Latin. But the loss of *u̯* before a rounded vowel is quite complicated.

- It did not happen in absolute initial position, e.g. *uoltus, uolgus,* etc.
- When the preceding vowel was *a, u̯* there seems to have been variation
  - some forms retain *u̯*, e.g. *averta* 'saddlebag' < **auorta* ← Dor. Gk. ἀϝορτά. Here the *u̯* was in place long enough to be part of the triggering environment for the *u̯o* to *u̯e*

change around 150 BCE.

- o in some cases ṷ was lost, e.g. AVS for *auus* 'grandfather' (CIL 9.748) AVNCVLVS for *auunculus* 'uncle' (CIL 2.5713)
- o in yet other cases a non-etymological ṷ is actually inserted into the sequence *ao*, e.g. *Dāvus Dāvos* ← Gk. Δᾶος; OINOMAVOS ← Οἰνό-μαος with -μαος from **maso-* μαίομαι 'to seek after/for' (**mas-i̯o/e-*, aor. °μασσα-)

- When the preceding vowel was the diphthong *ai* the ṷ was lost but the diphthong remain. *Gnaeus* < *gnaivo-* (GNAIVOD)
- analogical restoration in *saeuus, laeuus, aeuum, naeuus, scaeuus*
- *oleum* 'oil' < **olei̯u̯om* < **olai̯u̯om* ← Gk. ἔλαιϝον shows that weakening preceded i loss.

So

1. vowel weakening
2. ṷ loss before rounded vowel after all consonants and after vowels other than *a*
2. i̯ loss after *e*

More on Valerius

Serv. Dan. Aen. 1.24 *Antenor qui cum uxore Theano et filiis Helicaone et Polydamante ceterisque sociis in Illyricum peruenit et bello exceptus ab Euganeis et rege **Veleso** victor urbem Patavium condidit.*

Plutarch Οὐελεσος the ancestor of the Valerii
Volesii cognomen in Verona
Etr. **velesial,** *Velesius* in Perusia

So **uelh$_x$-* 'be strong'. (TB *walo, lānte*, OIr. *flaith* 'realm', rule') → **u̯elh$_x$os* 'strength' → **u̯elh$_x$es-o-* 'strong' → *Velesos* > *Volesus*
**ul̥hx-eh$_1$-* 'be powerful' > *ualē-re*.
The vocalism of *ualēre* influences *Valerius*.

Reduction of diphthongs (DEIVOS NEI, QOI, NOI OITES, RIVOIS)
Proto-Italic had five or possibly six "short" diphthongs (**ai̯, *oi̯, *ei̯, *au̯, *ou̯*, and **eu̯* if this had not already become **ou̯*). These five are all preserved in VOL. In some environment **oi̯* merged with **ei̯*, to wit, (1) in final syllables and (2) between an *l* and a labial.
The first instance of *-eis* for *-ois* is from the early 3rd cent. ([FILI]EISQUE, ILLRP 294, 1st half of 3rd

cent.) The first instance of *-ei* for *-oi* in the nom pl. is either QVEI, SERVEI, LEIBEREI (ILLRP 514, 189 BCE, Lascuta in Baetica) or MAGIEI (CIL 1².3190, near Luceria, early 3rd cent. BCE)

Outside of final syllables the regular outcome of *oi* is *ū*, but between *l* and a labial there was a dissimilatory unrounding of *oi* to *ei* and this is attested in the late 4th cent. in LEIBER (ILLRP 1198, 330-300. Praeneste), the god *Līber*< **loiber*, cf. Fal. **loifirtato** 'liberatatis' gen. sg., Bakkum 31–2).

Literary Latin of the classical period preserves some reminiscence of the diphthong *oi* in these environments For example, *loebertatem* (Paul. Fest. p. 108). But the fact is that there are almost no Latin inscriptions from the 5th century and so we don't really know quite how early these changes could have taken place. We have VOL from the 7th-6th centuries. Then we have a gap in the 5th century and then inscriptions pick up again in the 4th century and by this time we mainly see a form of Latin that is OL. The changes that may have happened in the 5th century were referred to by Devoto as "The Crisis of the 5th Century".[46] The diphthongs underwent further changes (monphthongizations of $e\underline{i} > \bar{e} > \bar{i}$, $o\underline{i}$ and $o\underline{u} > \bar{\varrho} > \bar{u}$; lowering of *ai* to *ae*) in the OL period which we will discuss below.

Loss of *s* with compensatory lengthening in the environment *-VsnV-*, *-VsmV-*. VOL inscriptions preserve evidence of *s* in the environment. Beside COSMIS we have:

IOVXMENTA *iūmenta* 'yoked teams' from the Forum inscription
LOSNA (ILLRP 1200 Praeneste ca. 330).
TRIRESMOS[47] 'triremes' from the Duilius inscription is probably a false archaism.

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[46] Polybius 3.22.2–4 commented that Romans of his day (2nd cent. BCE) could only understand a treaty between Roman and Carthage dated to 508 BCE with difficulty because there was such a great difference between Latin of his day and the ancient language. τηλικαύτη γὰρ ἡ διαφορὰ γέγονε τῆς διαλέκτου καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τῆς νῦν πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ὥστε τοὺς συνετωτάτους ἔνια μόλις ἐξ ἐπιστάσεως διευκρινεῖν.

[47] In discussing the development of **-Vtsm-* in OHCGL 1 I give **retsmos* as the pre-form for *rēmus* 'oar' and cite the inscriptional form TRIRESMOS (ILLRP 319) in support of this. But both the reconstruction and the evidential value of the form TRIRESMOS are highly dubious. First, TRIRESMOS comes from the notorious Columna Rostrata inscription of Duilius. This inscription was ostensibly composed by Gaius Duilius the consul of 260, but the actual physical

monument certainly does not date to the 3rd century BCE, but from some centuries later. The crucial question, however, is whether the text as we have it is (1) a faithful copy of the original, (2) a flawed but honest attempted a reproducing the original, or (3) an ancient falsification made up on the basis of what a scholarly Roman of some centuries later would

have thought Duilius should have written. If anything like the third hypothesis is correct, then the S of TRIRESMOS is worthless since it could have been inserted on the model of CL *dūmus* 'thorn bush' : VOL *dusmos* (preserved in Livius Andronicus' 31.35 *dusmo in loco* 'in a thorny place') *rēmus* : X, X = *resmos*. The Columna Rostrata does have the form PRIMOS from < **prīsmos*, but that in itself does not prove that TRIRESMOS is a false archaism since one need

only assume that the modernization was carried through inconsistently or maybe even that **-Vsm-* lost its *s* before

*-VCsm-. Nevertheless, this form in this inscription is a very thin reed to support any etymological hypothesis about *rēmus*. Second, the root in question is **h₁erh₁-* 'row' (Ved. *aritā́* 'rower', Grk. ἐρέττω 'I row', < **h₁erh₁-ti̯ō*, etc.) and nowhere but in Greek is there any evidence for a *t*-extension of the root—the unextended from of the root is still attested in Myc. *e-re-e* /erehen/ 'to row'. The Latin form points to a schwebeablauting *e*-grade pre-from **h₁reh₁-mos*. A pre-form

*h₁reh₁-smos would also be possible, but given the dubious nature of TRIRESMOS there is no strong reason to favor it. See Vine 1993:126. So are there any good cases of **-Vtsm-*? There don't seem to be any quoted by the usual suspects (Meiser, Sihler, Leumann, Sommer, Meillet and

The earliest evidence for omission of *s* in this environment is Primoᴚenia 'first-born' an epithet of Fortuna (ILLRP 101, Praeneste, ca. 300). Once again, the Latin literary tradition preserves some traces of the VOL state of affairs. For example, Paul. ex Fest., p. 59 L offers three examples of supposedly archaic forms with *-sm-*

> *dusmo in loco apud Livium significat dumosum locum. Antiqui enim interserebant s litteram et dicebant 'cosmittere' pro committere et 'Casmenae' pro Camenae.*
> "In Livius Andronicus *dusmo in loco* means a bushy place. For the ancients used to insert the letter *s* and used to say *cosmittere* for 'to commit' and *Casmenae* for *Camenae*."

Livius Andronicus' *s* before *m* certainly does not reflect contemporary speech, but *dusmo* is likely to have a correct *s*. It has been compared with OIr. *dos* m. o-stem 'bushy tree' < **dusto-*. The other two examples cited in this passage from Festus are unlikely. *cosmittere* cannot be the preform of CL *committere* which is from **kom-meite-*. A preform **kom-smeit-* would have given †*cōmittere* and the so-called *Iuppiter* or *littera* rule which shortens long *ī* and *ū* and lengthens following voiceless stops,[48] obviously does not apply here. Further MITAT of the very Duenos inscription, if to be connected with *mittere*, argues against an original **smeit-*. The problem with *Casmēna* is that the vowel of the first syllable is always short, e.g. in these two hexameters

Lucil. 10.28   *cui sua committunt mortali claustra Camenae*
         "To which mortal the Camenae entrust their enclosures"

Enn. *Ann.* 487 Sk[49]
         Musas quas memorant, nosce[s] nos esse Camenas.
         "You will learn that those whom they call muses are us the Camenae"

The *s* is quite well attested here not only in the citation from Festus but also in the so-called *Carmen Priami*, quoted by Varro (LL 7.28):

> *ueteres Casmenas cascam rem uolo profari.*

Vendryes), but I'd be highly surprised if the outcome was anything other than *-V:m-*. Could *pōmum* 'tree-fruit' be from **potsmo-* 'what falls' or 'what one seeks'? I have selfish reasons for preferring this to the standard **po-emo-* 'what is taken away'. See Weiss 2010:229. But I wouldn't insist on it.

[48] See Weiss Academia.edu for the narrow formulation of this change.

[49] This verse has been much emended to produce a scannable hexameter.

> "I want the ancient Casmenae to speak of an old affair" or "I want, o
> ancient Casmenae,[50] to speak of an old affair."

In fact the story on *Camēna* is probably that it always had a short *a*. The word was remade by folk etymology to *Carmena* after *carmen* 'song' and this was pseudo-archaized on the basis of an overapplication of rhotacism as *Casmēna*. As Varro says *L. L.* VII, 27 : *qua re est Casmena Carmena Carmena carmina <et>carmen, R extrito Camena factum.* "Therefore from Casmena Carmena was made and from carmen, the *r* worn away *Camena* was made."

Another dubious *s* is in *pesnis* supposedly the antecedent of *penna*

Fest. 222 L: *'pesnis' pennis, ut 'casmenas' dicebant pro Camenis et 'cesnas' pro caenis*
> "They used to say *pesnis* for *pennis* 'feathers' dat. abl. pl. like *casmenas* for
> *Camenis* (poetic nymphs) and *cesnas* for *caenis* i.e. *cenis* 'meals' dat. abl. pl."

The Latin word for 'feather' is *penna*,[51] which is undoubtedly a derivative of the PIE root *$pet(h_2)$-'fly'. If we knew nothing else it would be assumed that penna was from *pet-na,* but the picture is complicated by the existence of the forms *pesnis* (Fest. p. 222 L) and *pesnas* (Fest. p. 228 L). This has led some scholars, e.g. Meiser 1998:118, to suppose that *penna* is from *$petsna$ and that the outcome of *-$VtsnV$- was not -$V:nV$-, as one might have expected, but -$VnnV$-. This is not totally impossible since *pullus* 'chick' < *$putslo$- (cf. *pusillus*) shows that at least one *-$VtsRV$- sequence could lead to -$VRRV$-. Szemerényi's idea, on the other hand, that *penna* is from *$pēna$ by the *Iuppiter* rule is totally impossible. But I think the Festus passage at 228 suggests a solution other than the one favored by Meiser. The passage reads in Lindsay's edition:

Pennas antiquos fertur appellasse †peenas† ex Graeco quod illi πετηνὰ quae sunt volucria, dicant. Item easdem pesnas ut cesnas.

It is evident that what stands between the obels must be emended to *pet(V)nas*, as suggested by Mueller, since only if the form had a *t* in it would the derivation from Greek πετηνὰ make sense. The second sentence (*item easdem pesnas ut cesnas*) means that Festus' source also knew an old form with *s*. Thus there were two old forms floating around *petna* and *pesna*, just like *$putslo$- (Lat. *pullus*) beside *$putlo$- (Osc. **pukl(o)**-). Nothing stands in the way of deriving *penna* from *$petna$*. Whether *$petsna$ would have given *penna* too or *$pēna$ cannot be answered

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50 Taking *Casmenas* as a nom.-voc. in *-as*.

[50] Taking *Casmenas* as a nom.-voc. in *-as*.
[51] Actually the commonly attested form in literature and inscriptions and reflected by the Romance languages is *pinna* (Logud. Sard. *pinna).* Servius ad *Aen.* 2.479: *ueteres pennas dicebant, non pinnas.* The origin of this variant is unknown.

with certainty.

cesnas for *cēnās* 'meals' is a correct reminiscence of an earlier form since Umb. has *śesna* and Osc. has **kerssnaís** (Cp 31). The etymon is **kertsneh₂* from the root **kert-* 'cut' (Ved. *kṛntáti* 'cuts').

osmen is said to be the earlier form of *ōmen* by Varro (*LL* 6.76, 7.97), but we don't have a convincing etymology of this word. If it is from **h₃ekʷs-mn̥* 'vision' from **h₃ekʷ-* 'see' the s could be real, but *ōmen* does not often refer to specifically visual phenomenon.

So of all the forms with *s* cited by the literary tradition only *Casmēna* is definitely fake. The TRIRESMOS of the Duilius inscription is also highly dubious. It's possible that *VsM* and *VssM* from *VCsM* were not lost at the same time since fairly contemporaneous Praesnestine inscriptions have PRIMOƆENGIA < **prīsmogenia* and LOSNA <**loṷssna < *loṷksna*.

Morphology
Leveling of paradigm of present subjunctive (< optative) of *esse*. The paradigm of *siem* in VOL was

siem	*sīmus*
siēs	*sītis*
siēd	*sien(d)*

This ablauting paradigm is continued into OL but in Plautus the archaic forms (*siem, siēs, siēt, sient*) are mainly limited to verse-final position where they produce a handy iambic ending. Already in Plautus *sit* etc. are the normal forms. In Plautus, siet etc. occur 147 times in line-final position vs. 22 times elsewhere; in Terence, the ratios are 64x vs. 2x. *Siet* does show up occasionally in the Classical period and beyond. For example the formula *quod melius siet populo Romano Quiritibus* occurs several times in the *Commentarii* of the *Ludi Saeculares* in the years 17 CE (CIL 6.877 in the Hymn to Moerae) and 204 CE (CIL 6.32329 in the Hymn to Juno) and in the Hymn to Terra Mater (AE 1935:26). Since this clause is a recycled prayer formula, the survival of the archaism siet is not too surprising, but a recently discovered curse tablet from Peñaflor dating to the 2nd half of the 1st century BCE also has the form *siet*. In literature, the form is used a few times by Lucretius (2.954, 1077, 3.98) and in the Atellan farces of Novius (20), and Pomponius (8, 103). It is revived by the archaizers Aulus Gellius and Fronto and continues in later writers such as Ausonius, Ennodius, Lactantius, Martianus Capella, Porphyrius, and Terentianus Maurus. Cicero *Orat.* 157 says, '*siet*' *plenum est,* '*sit*' *imminutum; licet utare utroque* "*siet* is full, *sit* is small; you may use either."

Replacement of secondary ending *-d -nd* with primary endings *-t, -nt*.

PIE distinguished between primary endings used in the present and subjunctive (optionally) and secondary endings used in the imperfect, aorist, and optative. The primary ending of the active singular and the 3rd pl. active had an additional *-i*, the so-called hic et nunc marker. Thus 1s *-mi*, 2s *-si*, 3s *-ti*, 3p *-(e)nti*. The secondary ending lacked this marker: 1s *-m*, 2s *-s*, 3s *-t*, 3p *-(e)nt*. In Italic and perhaps even in PIE the final underlying voiceless stops were realized as "voiced": -d and *-nd*. Cf. Fal. **fifiqod** /fifikond/ 'they fixed' *finxērunt*, Pre-Samnite fuɸϼoδ /fufu̯ond/ 'they were'. In VOL -d is preserved in the subjunctive (from the old optative with secondary endings) and the perfect (which continues in part the PIE aorist) *-nd* is apparently not attested in Latin per se but the 3rd pl. ending *-on*, e.g. DEDRON 'they gave' reflects it. These endings were eventually leveled out of existence. The first case of replacement attested is from the famous Cista Ficoroni (ILLRP 1197, Praeneste, ca. 340 BCE), Museo di Villa Giulia) which has both old *-d* (FECID) and innovative -t (DEDIT) in the same morphological category of the perfect. This suggests that the replacement happened at just about this time.

There are a few Old Latin examples that suggest that final *-d* was lost for some speakers. Thus we find DEDE (ILLRP 22 and 25, Pisaurum; ILLRP 222, Tibur), FECE (ILLRP 1217, Cales), CEPI (ILLRP 321a, Rome). The literary tradition never comments on the old forms to my knowledge.

Lexicon

Loss of *tā-* 'to steal' loss of *mitā-* 'to give/send', loss of *meino-* 'gift' or *eino-* 'way', loss of *māno-* 'good', loss of *si*'she', loss of *noi* 'not'.

Lecture 4: Sabellic

Głosy

Ledwie ruszysz nogą, zaraz jak spod ziemi
Aboryginowie, Marku Emiliuszu.
W sam środek Rutułów już ci grzęźnie pięta.
W Sabinów, Latynów wpadasz po kolana.
Już po pas, po szyję, już po dziurki w nosie
Ekwów masz i Wolsków, Lucjuszu Fabiuszu.

Do uprzykrzenia pełno tych małych narodów,
do przesytu i mdłości, Kwintusie Decjuszu.

Jedno miasto, drugie, sto siedemdziesiąte.
Upór Fidenatów. Zła wola Felisków.
ślepota Ecetran. Chwiejność Antemnatów.
Obraźliwa niechęć Labikan, Pelignów.
Oto co nas, łagodnych, zmusza do surowości
za każdym nowym wzgórzem, Gajuszu Kleliuszu.

Gdybyż nie zawadzali, ale zawadzają
Aurunkowie, Marsowie, Spuriuszu Manliuszu.

Tarkwinowie stąd zowąd, Etruskowie zewsząd.
Wolsyńczycy ponadto. Na domiar Wejenci.
Ponad sens Aulerkowie. Item Sappianaci.
ponad ludzką cierpliwość, Sekstusie Oppiuszu

Narody małe rozumieją mało.
Otacza nas tępota coraz szerszym kręgiem.
Naganne obyczaje. Zacofane prawa.
Nieskuteczni bogowie, Tytusie Wiliuszu

Kopce Herników. Roje Murrycynów.
Owadzia mnogość Westynów, Samnitów.
Im dalej, tym ich wiecej, Serwiuszu Foliuszu.

Godne ubolewania są małe narody.
Ich lekkomyślność wymaga nadzoru
za każdą nową rzeką, Aulusie Juniuszu.

Czuję się zagrożony wszelkim horyzontem.
Tak bym ujął te kwestie, Hostiuszu Meliuszu

Na to ja, Hostiusz Meliusz, Appiuszu Papiuszu, powiadam
tobie: Naprzód. Gdzieś wreszcie jest koniec świata.

Voices

You scarcely move your foot, when out of nowhere spring
Aborigines, O Marcus Aemilius.
You heel's mired in the very midst of Rutulians
In Sabines and Latins you're up to your knees.
You're up to your waist, your neck, your nostrils
in Aequians and Volscians, O Lucius Fabius

These small peoples are thick as flies, to the point of irritation, satiation
and nausea, O Quintus Decius.

One town, another, the hundred seventieth
The stubbornness of the Fidenates, the ill will of the Faliscans.
The blindness of the Ecetrans. The vacillation of the Antemnates.
The studied hostility of the Labicani, the Paeligni.
That's what drives us, benevolent men, to harshness
beyond each new hill, O Gaius Clelius.

If only they weren't in our way, but they are
the Aurunci, The Marsi, O Spurius Manlius.

The Tarquinii from here and there, The Etruscans from everywhere. The
Volsinii besides, The Veientes to boot.
Beyond all reason the Aulerci, ditto the Sappinates (?).
beyond all human patience, O Sextus Oppius.

Small people have small understanding.
Stupidity surrounds us in an ever-widening circle.
Objectionable customs. Benighted laws.
Ineffectual gods, O Titus Vilius.

Mounds of Hernici, swarms of Marrucini
an insect-like multitude of Vestini, Samnites.
The farther you go, the more there are, O Servius Folius

Deplorable are small peoples.
Their insolence bears watching
beyond each new river, O Aulus Junius.

I feel threatened by every new horizon.
That's how I see the problem, O Hostius Melius.

To that I, Hostius Melius, reply to you, O Appius Papius,
Forward. Somewhere out there the world must have and end.

— Wisława Szymborska

Chronology of Sabellic Italy

753 Traditional date of founding of Rome according to Varro
Mythical involvement of *Sabini* in the early royal period (Titus Tatius and the abduction of the Sabine women; Battle of Lake Curtius; Numa Pompilius)

Excursus 1: Some evidence for early Sabellic (Sabine?) influence on Latin. There are a good number of words that are found from Old Latin and traceable to PIE origin but with Sabellic phonological developments. The most notable distinctive Sabellic outcomes are the labial reflexes of the PIE labiovelars.

PIE	Latin	Sabellic
*k^w	*qu*	*p*
*g^w	*u*	*b*
*g^{wh}	*f- ~ -u-*	*f*

Examples:
popīna 'cook-shop' (Plaut. +) ← Sabel. **popīna* < **k^wok^w-* 'cook'. Cf. Lat. *forum coquīnum* (Plaut. *Pseud.* 790) *coquīna* 'kitchen' is quite late not before *Testamentum Porcelli* (3rd cent. CE?)

lupus 'wolf' (Naev. +) ← Sabel. **lupo-* metathesized from < **ulpo-* (cf. the gentilic *Ulpius*?)< **wl̥k^{w}o-* (Ved. *vŕ̥ka-*, TB *walkwe*). It's striking that the symbol of Rome is itself a Sabellic loanword.

bōs 'cow' (Enn. +) ← Sabel. **bou̯s* **bōm*< **g^{w}ou̯s, *g^{w}ōm*. Cf. Umb. **bum** acc. sg. OIr. *bó*, Gk. βοῦς, Ved. *gáu-*. Latin should have had **uūs.* The *ō* of the Latin form probably reflects a remodeling on the accusative **g^{w}ōm* which arose by Stang's Law.

brūtus 'heavy', 'stupid' (Naev. +) ← Sabel. **brūto-* < **g^{w}ruh₁-to-*, cf. Latv. *grũts* 'heavy', Lat. *gravis*

Another notable feature of non-Roman words is the retention of medial *-f-* as the reflex of **d^h*, **b^h* and **g^{wh}* , but here we cannot be sure that these words were from Sabellic since many non-Roman forms of Latin (e.g. Faliscan) retain medial *-f-*. In the case of *būfō* 'toad, hamster' (Verg. +)

< *$g^w\bar{o}b^h\bar{o}n$- (cf. OCS *žaba*, Por. *gabawo* 'toad') we find medial *f*, a labial treatment of a labiovelar, and the change of *$\bar{o}$* to *$\bar{u}$* which secures a Sabellic origin.

In one instance we may be able point to the introduction of Sabellic lexicon into the toponyms of Rome itself. Varro (*L.* 5.159) tells us about a street in Rome, the *Vicus Ciprius*. The manuscript reads:

> *Vicus ciprius a cipro, quod ibi Sabini ciues additi consederunt, qui a bono omine id appellarunt; nam ciprum Sabine 'bonum'.*
> The *Vīcus ciprius* 'Good row' comes from *ciprum*, because there the Sabines who were added as citizens settled down, who named it after a good omen; for in Sabine *ciprum* means *bonum* 'good'. (translation slightly modified from de Melo 2019:343)

The form that Varro evidently had in mind is **kupro-* 'good'. This word is well attested in almost every form of Italic except Latin and Oscan:

Umbrian	**cupras** (Um 17-20, Plestia, 4th BCE); *cubrar* (Um 7, Tadinum, 2nd BCE) as an epithet of a goddess called 'the good mother' (**cupras matres**); [M]ÁRTI CYPRIO (CIL 11.5805, Iguvium)
Picene	**kuprí** 'well' or 'lovingly'< **kuprēd* (AQ 2); Place names *Cupra Montana* (once Massaccio) and *Cupra Maritima* (Marano, the site of a temple of *Kupra* according to Strab. 5.4.2), both in the Marche
Pre-Samnite	**ciperum** ? (ImIt Atella 2, 500–450 BCE)
Venetic	**kuprikonio.i.** patronymic dat. sg. (Pa 9, Padua)
"Sicel"	Κυπαρας εμι; (Morgantina, ca. 550 BCE, Antonaccio 1999) Κυπυρα (SEG 47.1415, Agrigentum, 5th. cent. BCE)

Was the street actually named after the Sabellic word for 'good'?

Scholars are divided since some think *ciprius* might be the Greek Κύπριος 'of Cyprus' or 'copper' but reference to Cyprus is unlikely for an ancient street in Rome and the name of copper after Cyprus is much later in Latin. Varro's connection seems likely even though the exact story may not be correct. But we have to answer two questions:

(1) why is the form transmitted with the *i* vowel and
(2) why is it *ciprius* and not *ciprus*?

Two possible answers for (1): either the name was assimilated as some point to Greek Κύπρος 'Cyprus' and spelled with a *y* (as it is transmitted in Livy 1.48, cf. D. H. 3.22.8-9 who used υ) which then became *i* in transmission or the "Sabine" *u* vowel was itself somewhat fronted in this environment between a velar and a labial. Cf. Pael. *cipat* for *cubat.* the Pre-Samnite spelling **ciperum**. As for the suffix *-ius* Palmer 1973 explained it by analogy to the many Roman street names named after their builder, e.g. *Compitum Acilium*, etc. but perhaps the *Vicus Cuprius* was named after the goddess *Kupra* who is well attested among the Picenes.

Beyond Italic we find close matches for the stem **kupro-* in OIr. *accobar* 'desire' < **ad-kuprom*, the verbal noun of *ad-cobra* 'desires' < **ad-kuprā-* a denominative from **kupro-.* In Lycian *kupriti* 'loves', 'choose'.
The Italic forms look like a verbal adjective **kupro-* 'desirable' from the stem **keu̯p-* 'desire' (Lat. *cupiō*, etc.). The Lycian and Irish forms look like denominatives to a noun **kupro-* 'desire'. So Latin has eliminated a nice inherited item.

Another piece of Old Sabellic lexicon perhaps imported early by Sabine speakers is the stem **nero-* 'strong, manly'. Suetonius in recounting the history of the *gens Claudia*, supposedly of Sabine origine remarks (Tib. 1):

> *Inter cognomina autem et Neronis assumpsit, quo[d] significatur lingua Sabina fortis ac strenuus.*
> Among their cognomina they adopted also that of *Nero* which means strong and tough in the Sabine language.

Cf. Oscan **niir** (Cm 14; Lu 1, 29, 31) 'superior man', Umbrian *ner* (Um 10), Picene **nír** (AP 3). < PIE **h₂nēr, *h₂ner-* 'man' 'strength' (Gk. ἀνήρ). Some derivational morphology obviously intervened between the root noun and the Sabellic forms. **nerōn-* could be a Στραβών type derivative from a **nero-* 'manly' which itself looks like a vr̥ddhi derivative of **nr̥-* 'superior man'. We also have evidence for an *-ii̯o-* derivative **nerii̯o-* derivative of *ner-* (comparable to Ved. *náriya-* 'manly') in *Neriō, Nerien-* (Gellius *NA 13.23*) and *neriōsus : resistens fortis* (CGL 4.124.22).

493 Foedus Cassianum between Rome and the other Latin cities (probably fictional)
- Conflict with Volsci and Aequi
396 Destruction of Veii

390/386 Gauls sack Rome after Battle of Allia

343-341 First Samnite Wars (conflict between Rome and Samnites over Campania)

341-338 Latin War (dissolution of Latin League; Latin states granted *ciuitas sine suffragio*)

328-304 Second Samnite War

- 321 Battle of the Caudine Forks near Benevento in Campania (Samnite victory!)
- 304 Defeat of Hernici and Aequi; Treaties with Paeligni, Marrucini, Frentani, and Vestini

298-290 Third Samnite War

- 295 Battle of Sentinum (Romans defeated Gaulish-Samnite Army near present-day Sassoferrato, Marche)

290 Defeat of Sabines

283 Battle of Lake Vadimo near present-day Orte (Viterbo, Lazio) against Etruscans and Boii and Senones; Annexation of Ager Gallicus

ca. 280-200 Livius Andronicus

272 Surrender of Tarentum

270-201 Gn. Naevius

264-241 First Punic War

- Triggered by Rome's assistance of the Mamertini Oscan-speaking mercenaries who had established themselves as rulers of the site of Messana in Sicily in 298.

254-184 T. Maccius Plautus

239-169 Q. Ennius

234-149 M. Porcius Cato

218-201 Second Punic War

216 Battle of Cannae (near Present-day Barletta in Apulia; Carthaginian Victory!)

195-151 P. Terentius Afer

160-130 Lucilius

116-126 M. Terentius Varro

106-43 M. Tullius Cicero

99-55 T. Lucretius Carus

91-88 Bellum Marsicum AKA Bellum Sociale "The Social War"(last gasp of the Italic peoples)

Excursus I: During the Social War the Sabellic peoples offered a united front opposition to Rome. The Sabellic allies minted coins under the name **Vítelliú**

The obverse of the coin has a profile of a wreathed Bacchus while the reverse shows a bull goring a (Roman) she-wolf. Other coins of the Italian Socii use Lat. *Italia* ← Gk. *Italia* and a very few use **safinim** 'Samnium'. **Vitelliú** is the Oscan name for Italy < *$uiteli\underaccent{\circ}{i}ā$. The name of Italy Ἰταλία in Greek is first attested in fragments attributed to Hecataeus (6th cent.) according to whom the reference was at first limited to a part of Bruttium including the cities of Medma, Locri, Krotalla and Caulonia. According to Hellanicus Italy takes its name from the calf of Geryon's herd that Heracles was pursuing though the region.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus *A R* 1.35

Ἰταλία δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον ὠνομάσθη ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς δυνάστου ὄνομα Ἰταλοῦ. Τοῦτον δέ φησιν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Συρακούσιος ἀγαθὸν καὶ σοφὸν γεγενημένον καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων τοὺς μὲν λόγοις ἀναπείθοντα, τοὺς δὲ βίᾳ προσαγόμενον, ἅπασαν ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ ποιήσασθαι τὴν γῆν ὅση ἐντὸς ἦν τῶν κόλπων τοῦ τε Ναπητίνου καὶ τοῦ Σκυλλητίνου· ἣν δὴ πρώτην κληθῆναι Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰταλοῦ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτης καρτερὸς ἐγένετο καὶ ἀνθρώπους πολλοὺς εἶχεν ὑπηκόους αὐτῷ, αὐτίκα τῶν ἐχομένων ἐπορέγεσθαι καὶ πόλεις συνάγεσθαι πολλάς· εἶναι δ᾽ αὐτὸν Οἴνωτρον τὸ γένος.
Ἑλλάνικος δὲ ὁ Λέσβιός φησιν Ἡρακλέα τὰς Γηρυόνου βοῦς ἀπελαύνοντα εἰς Ἄργος, ἐπειδή τις αὐτῶι δάμαλις ἀποσκιρτήσας τῆς ἀγέλης ἐν Ἰταλίαι ἐόντι ἤδη φεύγων διῆρε τὴν
ἀκτὴν καὶ τὸν μεταξὺ διανηξάμενος πόρον τῆς θαλάττης εἰς Σικελίαν ἀφίκετο,
ἐρόμενον ἀεὶ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθ' οὓς ἑκάστοτε γίνοιτο διώκων τὸν δάμαλιν, εἴ πή τις αὐ
τὸν ἑωρακὼς εἴη, τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων Ἑλλάδος μὲν γλώττης ὀλίγα συνιέντων,
τῆι δὲ πατρίωι φωνῆι κατὰ τὰς μηνύσεις τοῦ ζώιου καλούντων τὸν δάμαλιν
οὐίτουλον, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν λέγεται, ἐπὶ τοῦ ζώιου τὴν χώραν ὀνομάσαι
πᾶσαν ὅσην ὁ δάμαλις διῆλθεν Οὐιτουλίαν**.**

But in the course of time the land came to be called Italy, after a ruler named Italus. This man, according to Antiochus of Syracuse (fl. 420), he made himself master of all the land which lies between the Napetine and Scylacian bays (i.e. the toe of Italy, Bruttium, present-day Calabria), which was the first land, he says, to be called Italy, after Italus. And when he had possessed himself of this district and had many subjects, he immediately

coveted the neighboring peoples and brought many cities under his rule. He says further that Italus was an Oenotrian by birth.

But Hellanicus of Lesbos (490-405) says that when Hercules was driving Geryon's cattle to Argos and was come to Italy, a calf escaped from the herd and in its flight wandered the whole length of the coast and then, swimming across the intervening strait of the sea, came into Sicily. Hercules, following the calf, inquired of the inhabitants wherever he came if anyone had seen it anywhere, and when the people of the island, who understood but little Greek and used their own speech when indicating the animal, called it *vitulus* (the name by which it is still known), he, in memory of the calf, called all the country it had wandered over *Vitulia.*

Dionysius is clearly giving a Greek transcription of the contemporary Latin word, but Italic does indeed have a word for 'calf' attested in Lat. *uitulus* and Umb. *vitel**, acc. pl. *vitluf.* This word is a derivative of **u̯et-* 'year' (the archaic root noun see in Hittite *uitt-* not the *s*-stem seen in Gk. ϝἔτος). The preform must be **uet-elo-* 'the one of the year' with the suffix *-elo-* in genitival function. The Oscan name on the coin may be an old derivative or a recent form built directly to the nominative where final syllable syncope created a closed syllable which protected the medial *e* from syncope whereas in the forms with a preserved final syllable the medial syllable was subsequently syncopated as in Umb. *vitluf.*

The change of original *e to *i* in this environment, i.e. between *w* and a coronal is paralleled by *uispillō* for *uespillō* 'undertaker' and Umb. *uistinie* 'Vestinii' (Um 10.3). This change must be dialectal or sporadic since /weC$_{[+cor]}$/ is normally retained in Latin, e.g. *uetus* 'old', *uestis* 'garment', *Venus* 'Venus', *uesper* 'evening' and in Sabellic (Umb. **vesuna** < **u̯etsōnā* 'year goddess') but it must be quite old, if the etymological connection with Italia is correct since that form appears in Greek texts from at least the 5th century.

The Italic word has close matches in Gk. ἔτελον (Kos IG 12.4.1.279, 250-200 BCE), ἔταλα (Aigai, Keil-Premerstein 1. Bericht 97.203, early Hellenistic) and perhaps in Indo-Iranian if Udmurt *vetị̈l* 'calf'[52] is borrowed from an unattested Indo-Iranian cognate of *uitulus.* But does Ἰταλία really mean 'land of calves' or is this just a folk-etymological association by speakers of the Italic-languages?

72-79 CE The latest Oscan alphabet inscription

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[52] The Udmurt form cannot be from a very old loan from Indo-Iranian preserving *l because Indo-Iranian loans into Uralic invariably show *r.* Nor can it be from a pre-Indo-Iranian loan because an intervocalic **-t-* would have been lost. It's possible that the Udmurt word represents a fairly recent Alanic loan **watal-* < OIr, **u̯atarya-.* Thanks to Mikhail Zhivlov for instruction on this matter.

Excursus III: This text from the brothel from Regio VII, 12, 8 written right to left in the Oscan alphabet reads **marcas.** The text below is FELICLA(M) EGO F(VTVI) (CIL 4.2199) and above FELICLA(M) EGO FVTVI "I f..ed Felicla" (CIL 4.2200). It would appear to be the gen. sg. of a female name *marka.* The wall of the brothel was replastered after the earthquake of 62 CE and coins of Galba, Vespasian, and Titus were pressed into the wet plaster. Thus the inscription can be date precisely to between 72 (the date of the Titus coin) and 79 CE (when Pompeii came to a sudden end). The last sordid end of the written Sabellic tradition.

Excursus IV: The names of the Oscans
The earliest Greek sources refer to the inhabitants of southwestern Italy as Αὔσονες (Hecataeus *FGrHist* 1 F 61 calls the Campanian city of Nola a city of the Ausonians; Pind. fr. 140b.7 locates the Epizephyrian Locrians above the Ausonian sea, i.e. the Ionian sea). This form must have been based on a native form because it is evidently related to Lat. *Aurunci*, the name of a people living on the southern border of Latium *auson-ko-.*

Another term that appears a little later is Ὀπικοί (Antiochus, Thuc., Hellanicus) who are said to have driven the Σικελοί from their earlier home in Italy. This is borrowed into Lat. as *Opici*, which usually has the meaning 'ignorant person', e.g. Tiro ap. Aul. Gell. *NA* 13.9.4): *sed* ὑάδες *inquit* οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑῶν *id est non a subus ita ut nostri opici putaverunt, sed ab eo quod est* ὕειν *appellantur* "But Hyades is not from ὕες, i.e. from *sues* 'pigs' as our ignorant people thought, but are so called from ὕειν 'to rain'."

A third term is *Osci* which is the usual term for the language of the Samnites. We know that this form continues an earlier *opsko-* as Verrius Flaccus tells us:
Oscos quos dicimus ait Verrius Opscos antea dictos, teste Ennio, cum dicat "de muris rem gerit Opscus" (Fest. p. 218 L)
Verrius says that those whom we call *Osci* used to be called *Opsci*, for which Ennius bears witness when he says "The *Opscus* is waging war from the walls"

We also have evidence for the spelling *obscum*, which cannot be phonologically meaningful and may be the result of folk-etymological speculation (Fest. p. 204L):

Obscum duas diversas et contrarias significationes habet. Nam Cloatius putat eo vocabulo significari sacrum, quo etiam leges sacratae obscatae dicantur; et in omnibus fere antiquis

commentariis scribitur Opscum (Lindsay[2]; ms *Opicum) pro Obsco, ut in Titi[a]ni fabula Quinto: „Qui Opsce et Volsce fabulantur, nam Latine nesciunt.” A quo etiam verba impudentia elata appellantur obscena, quia frequentissimus fuit usus Oscis libidinum spurcarum. Sed eodem etiam nomine appellatur locus in agro Veienti, quo frui soliti produntur augures Romani.*

Obscus has two different and opposite meanings. For Cloatius [Verus] thinks it means 'sacred' whereby *leges sacratae* (laws protected by the sanction of declaring their violators *sacer*, i.e. accursed) are called *obscatae.* And in almost all old records *Opscus* is written for *Obscus* as in Titinius's play Quintus: Who speak Oscan and Volscian for they don't know Latin.” From which also words spoken with shamelessness are called *obscena*, since the Oscans very frequently practiced filthy sexual practices. But a place in the territory of Veii which the Roman augurs are reported to have been accustomed to use is also called by the same name.

obscātus has nothing to do with *Oscus* nor does *obscaenus.* I think *obscātus* must be < **op-sk-ā-to-* a Sabellic syncopated **opsakā-* 'sacred'. In fact precisely this verb is attested in Umbrian **usaçe** with the meaning 'ratified' < **op-saked.*

There is no way that **opiko-* could be the ancestor of **opsko-.* They must be two different forms perhaps built to the same base **op-.* One could derive **opsko-* from an earlier **opsiko-* or **opisko-* with syncope or even an **opVsko-* Cf. *Volscī* ~ Gk. Οὐολοῦσκοι /woluskoi/. **op-iko-* beside **opVs-ko-* reminds one of Latin *op-s* 'wealth' (von Blumenthal compared the goddess Ops) beside *opus* 'work' (Mommsen RG 1:21 'the agricultural workers'). But there can be no certainty about the origin of the ethnonym.

There is a town Opi in L'Aquila which is attested from 995 CE (In Opi) which might be relevant.

The manuscripts of Thucydides 6.2.4 transmit an accusative pl. Ὄπικας besides Ὀπικούς and this is probably the correct form for Thucydides since he refers elsewhere to the territory of these people as Ὀπικία which is well formed from a k-stem (cf. Κίλικες : Κιλικία) but which would strange from an o-stem (cf. Ἀττικοί : ἡ Ἀττική). See Dittenberger 1906. It's not known whether this reflects an older native athematic form.

There is one other account of the name of the *Osci*. In another Paulus ex Festo entry (p. 121L) we read:

Maesius lingua Osca mensis Maius. Osci enim a regione Campaniae, quae est Oscor, uocati sunt.
May is called *Maesius* in the Oscan language. For the Osci were called from a region of
Campania which is *Oscor*.

This entry has undergone so much abridging that the logic has become obscure. What is
the connection between the name of the month of May and the origin of the name of the
Oscans from a place called *Oscor,* which by the way is a very peculiar form piece of
morphology? There is a river name given traditionally as *Calor* in Samnium (the present-
day Calore Irpino), but we don't actually know that the nom. was Calor rather than say
Caloris.

The forms *Oscus* generally refers to the language spoken by the *Samnītes*. Cf. Liv. 10.20.8,
where spies sent to investigate the doings of the Samnite forces are said to be *gnaros Oscae
linguae.*

Proto-Sabellic Innovations

Phonological
- Merger of labiovelars with labials (Sabellic is the P-Celtic of Italic!)
- *-ns* > *-f*
- Final Syllable Syncope of short vowels before *-s* (ordered after 5.1.2)
- *kt* > *ht*
- Raising of *ē* to *ẹ̄* and *ō* to *ọ̄*
- (Lowering of *i* probably not PS contra Meiser LUS 42 and no general lowering of *u*)
- *-ā* > *-å* [ɒ]
- *ū* > *y:* in final syllables?
- Contraction of like vowels
- *n̥*, *m̥* > *an, *am* in initial syllables, *en, *em* elsewhere.
- Assimilation of *-nd-* to *-nn-*
- NB: Medial Syllable Syncope is not PS

Morphological Innovations
- Extension of *i*-stem gen. sing. *-eis* to *o*-stems and consonant stems.
- Infinitive in *-om*. (??)
- Plethora of perfect suffixes, but none certainly reconstructable for PS.
- Secondary 3rd pl. in *-ns* (not in Pre-Samnite so diffused! fufuoδ 'they were')

- Future imperative passive in *-mō (see my discussion in Olander volume)

Innovations of Umbroid (Umbrian, South Picene, Pre-Samnite)
- Monophthongization of diphthongs in final syllables??
- Weakening of *d# to -h??
- Palatalization of *k before front vowels.

The Vowels System from Proto-Italic to Umbrian
Proto-Italic

       *i, *ī   *u, *ū

         *e, *ē   *o, *ō

          *a, *ā

Proto-Sabellic System
Long Vowels

     *ī   *ū with allophone [y:]
          *ẹ̄   *ọ̄ [sublinear dots indicate high mid vowels]

           *ā with allophone[ɒ]??

Resulting from following changes:
- *ō and *ē are raised to *ọ̄ and *ẹ̄.
- *ū is fronted to *y: in PS only in final syllables.[53] However, it's also possible that *ū had already become *ī in monosyllables in Proto-Sabellic.
- *ā in absolute Auslaut (= end of word) may have been rounded to *[ɒ].
- New instances of *ī are created by the syncope of *Ciịos/m# > *Ciịs/m > *Cīs/m (so-called samprasāraṇa).

Short Vowels

     *i   *u

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[53] The only surviving ū that I know of is Osc. **fruktatiuf** nom. sg. 'usage' < *frūgetātiịōn-s. Cf. Lat. frūctus (Ital. frutto).

*e   *o

                        *a

In South Picene the reflex of syllabic *i is never written with anything but <i>. In Oscan and Umbrian the reflex of *i (phonetically [ɪ]?) eventually is lowered so that it is very close or identical in quality with *ẹ̄ (the reflex of PIt. *ē)

*a, *e, *o, *u remain unchanged.

Osthoff's Law (possibly Proto-Italic) creates new short vowels.

From Proto-Sabellic to Umbrian
Long Vowels

            ī   ū

                ē   ō

                    ẹ̄

                    ā

- *ū > ī in all positions (presumably via a mid-stage *y:).
- *ọ̄ > ū.
- *eị, *aị become ẹ̄.
- *oị, *oụ and *aụ >*ọ̄ > -ō. But *-oị in final syllables became in the first instance *-ē.
- New instances of long vowels are created by (compensatory) lengthenings. Possibly (but not certainly) Proto-Sabellic is the lengthening of a vowel before n plus a fricative.
- Later (probably Old Umbrian) is the compensatory lengthening of a vowel by the loss of h arising from *k or *p before t.

Short Vowels
            i   u
                é [ɪ]
                e   o

a   ʋ

Long vowels in non-stressed (i.e. mainly non-initial) syllables are shortened. This is inferred from that fact that plene spelling (graphic vowel gemination) and the use of **h** as a marker of length are mainly limited to initial syllables.

Spelling charts for representations of Umbrian phonemes in Latin and Native alphabets.

Phoneme	Latin Alphabet	Examples	Native Alphabet	Examples
a	a	*castruo* 'property'	**a**	**façia** 'make' subj.
ā	a	*matrer* 'mother' gen.	**a**	**fratrum** 'brothers' gen.
e	e	*destram* 'right'	**e**	**ferest** 'will bring'
o	o	*post* 'along'	**u**	**pus** 'along'
u	u	*fust* 'will be'	**u**	**fust** 'will be'
i	i	*Atiersir* 'Atiedian' dat	**i**	**Trutitis**
ī	i, ih	*persni(h)mu* 'pray!'	**i, ih**	**persni(h)mu** 'pray!'
ē	i, e	*tursitu* 'frighten' *plener* 'full'	**e, i**	**tusetu** 'frighten!' **plenasier** 'Ides'
é	i, e, ei	*dirsa* 'give' subj. *dersa* 'give' subj. *aveis* 'birds' abl.	**e, i**	**teřa** 'give' subj. **aves** 'birds' abl. **avis** 'birds' abl.
ę̄	e , ee, ehe	*eetu* 'go!'	**e**	**etu** 'go!'
ū	u	*struśla* 'cake'	**u**	**stru(h)çla** 'cake'
ǭ	o	*toru* 'bulls' acc.	**u**	**turuf** 'bulls' acc.

Other Changes Affecting the Vowels
- Medial Syllable Syncope: A PS short vowel in an open medial syllable is syncopated.
- A sequence Ci̯ closes a syllable, but -st- apparently does not.
- Exceptions usually have straightforward analogical explanations.
- **The Consonants from Proto-Sabellic to Umbrian**

Proto-Sabellic
*p   *t   *k

*b   *d   *g

*f ~[β]   *x ~[ɣ]

        *r
        *l
        *s ~[z]
*w   *j

p continues in part *kʷ and *b is predominantly from *gʷ.
*f and the medial allophone [β] continue < PIE *dʰ and *bʰ.

Umbrian

p   t   k

b   d   g

f ~ [β]

       s ʃ
       r ř
       l
w   j

       h

- The graphic representations of these are pretty much what you'd expect, but remember:
- The native alphabet has no <g> so both /k/ and /g/ are written <k>. In the Latin
- alphabet they are distinguished as <c> and <g>.
- The native alphabet has no <d> so both /t/ and /d/ are written <t>.
- ʃ is written in the native alphabet with what looks like a lower-case **d.** In the Latin alphabet it is written <ś > or just <s>.
- **ř** is written with a special sign in the native alphabet but with *rs* in the Latin alphabet.

New Phonemes

- *ř* is the result of intervocalic *d, *d before a labial, and *l̯i before an unaccented vowel.
- ʃ is the result of *k before a front vowel or i̯.

New Realization: *x > h and h also arises from *k and *f < *p before t.

New Sources
f
- *-ns (*-ns, *-nts, *-n+s) > f.
- *rs resulting from syncope and from *-rss -> rf??

w
- Initial *l before a back vowel becomes w.

r
- Intervocalic *s [z] became r.
- Final *-s tends to become r on tables V-VII.

Loss: Final *-d is lost.

The Oscan Alphabets. Oscan was written in three different alphabets:
- The native Etruscan derived alphabet with twenty-one characters. This script was used for the majority of Oscan Inscriptions from the Oscan heartland among the Samnites and in Campania. Around 150 BCE there was a spelling reform, which introduced two new letters transcribed as **í** and **ú**.
- The Latin alphabet was used for the *Tabula Bantina*, a relatively recent document from Bantia in Lucania and for the North "Oscan" dialects (Marrucinian etc.) from a very early date.
- The southern part of the Oscan-speaking area which was in closest contact with the Greek speaking world use the Greek alphabet with a few signs derived from the native script for non-Greek sound (e.g. 8 /f/, and [/w/ and /h/).

The Phonemes of Oscan
- The high e (< *i, or *ē) was written **í** in the reformed NA, but just **i** in the pre-reformed script.
- The high u (< *u or *ō) was written **u** in the NA.
- The o (< *o) was written **ú** in the reformed NA, but just **u** in the pre-reformed script.

- A final long -*ā was rounded in Oscan, as in Umbrian, although this sound change was probably not completed Proto-Sabellic. Thus the nominative singular of a 1ˢᵗ declension *a*-stem is regularly written -**ú**, e.g. **víú** = *via*.
- A long *ū became *i* in PS in final syllables and monosyllables: Oscan *castrid < *kastrūd*, abl. of the *u*-stem *castru-* 'property'.

Vowels and Spellings of Oscan

PI	PS	Oscan Segments	Oscan Alphabe (pre-reform)	Oscan Alphabet (reformed)		Latin Alpha
*-iịos	*iịs > -īs	-is	-**is**	-is		-is
*ī	*ī	iː	**i** or **ii**	**ií**	ⱶⱵ	i
*i	*ɪ	ɪ or e?	**i**	**í**	Ⱶ	i
*ē	*ẹ̄	ɪː or eː?	**i**	**íí**	ⱵⱵ	i
*e	*e	*ɛ	**e**	e		e
*a/ā	*a/ā	*a/aː	**a**	**a ~ aa**		a
*-ā	*-ɒ̄	*-ɔ	**u**	**ú**	Ɐ	o
*o	*o	*ɔ	**u**	**ú**	Ɐ	o
*ō	*ō	*uː	**u**	**u ~ uu**		u
*u	*u	*u	**u**	**u**		u
*ū	*ū	*uː	**u**	**u ~ uu**		u

Oscan Texts.

The Testament of Vibius Adiranus

Archaeological Context: In the colonnade of the temple of Isis, Strada d'Iside. Said to be found in the so-called "Samnite Palaestra" of the 2nd cent. BCE. But recent research calls into doubt that this structure was a palaestra. The top of inscription has two lions' feet broken. This suggests the inscription was not built into a wall in its original context, but was reused. See McDonald 2012 on the subject of whether this inscription is a 2nd century BCE original or 1st century CE recopying. The former is more likely.

Lines 1 and 4 (inaccurately represented in the drawing) are offset to the right as a kind of paragraphing.

V. Aadirans. V. eítiuvam. paam	Which money Vibius Adirans, son of Vibius
vereiiaí. púmpaiianaí. trístaa	gave by will to the Pompeian state, from
mentud. deded. eísak eítiuvad	that money Vibius Vinicius, son of Maras
V. Viínikiís. Mr. kvaísstur pump	the Pompeian quaestor, this building
aiians trííbúm. ekak. kúmben	according to the opinion of the comitia
nieís tanginud úpsannam	gave to be built and the same one
deded ísídum prúfatted	approved it.

Commentary

- **Vibis** = Lat Vībius a Roman gentilic and praenomen of Sabellic origin. In Oscan it is only attested as a praenomen. Presumably the gentilic would have been Oscan ***Vibiís**. The praenomen is also attested at an earlier date in Rome first attested as the praenomen of the grandfather of P. Sestius Capitolinus (circa 5th BCE). The quantity of the first *i* is guaranteed by Martial, the spellings Víbius (CIL 5.752), Veibius and Oscan **Viíbis (**Fr 1)

- Etymology: Italic praenomina in *-*i̯o*- are sometime hypocoristics from compounds. The best example of this sort is *Stātius* which Rix has suggested is a hypocoristic from a name comparable to Greek Στησίχορος < *stāti-*. *Mānius* is probably hypocoristic from a compound name with *māno-* 'good' in the first member. Ditto for Lūcius < *leu̯kios* 'shining'. *Vībii̯o-* is analyzable as *u̯ī- 'strength' Cf. Lat. vīs and Gk. ϝῖφι instr. plus the root *g^wih_3- 'life' (Lat. *vīta*, Osc. **biam** 'fountain' etc.). *Vībii̯o-* 'whose life is strong'. Cf. also Gk. Κλεόβις 'whose life has fame'. It is also possible that the long i-stem was simply preserved and fell together with the *-is* that resulted from samprasāraṇa. See Weiss 2010.

- **Aadirans** = *ātrānus*. Note syncope of final syllable *-os*. Also note spelling of long vowel with plene spelling. Plene spelling of long vowels is with very few exceptions found in initial (i.e. stressed) syllables and rarely elsewhere as in **tristaamentud** 'testamento' (probably a loanword from Latin). Accius is said to have introduced this spelling convention into Latin, although Quintilian says *usque ad Accium et ultra*. Examples AARA 'altar' (ILLRP 208), MAANIUM (ILLRP 149). The spelling of the abl. sg. of 4ᵗʰ declension u-stem as -UUD continues into the Imperial period. The Latin geminatio vocalium is found predominantly in Oscan-influenced areas and significant does not extend to *o*, because there was no Oscan model for geminate *o*. See Lazzeroni 1956.
- The suffix *-āno-* can be segmented in this word comparable to the Latin suffix *-āno-* in *Rōmānus*. This suggests that the gentilic in this case may originally have been an ethnic adjective. *Atria*, modern *Adria* is probably too far away. Cf. *Norbānus ← Norba*, Osc. **Nurtins.**
- The stem **ādiro-* is also found in the Oscan gentilic **Aadiriis**. It is probable that the *i* of the second syllable is of anaptyxtic origin and originates in the form **Aadiriis** where it would be phonologically regular. The quality of this *i* is uncertain since the spelling **Aadiriis** and **Aadíriis** are both attested. It is possible that this name is connected with Lat. *āter* 'black'. If so, what is the relationship between *tr* and *dr*? **tr* does not regularly become *-dr-* in Oscan: **alttram, fratrúm, puturuspid Sadiris** vs. *Satrius* is ambiguous since *Satrius* could be by the Latin rule which changes *dr* to *tr* (see below)). Umbrian, however, does have clear evidence for such a voicing rule at post-syncope date in the form *podruhpei* 'on each of two sides' < **kʷoterōd-kʷe-ī*. On the other hand, **dr* regularly becomes *tr* in Latin, e.g. *uter* 'water sack' < **udris*, Cf. Gk. ὕδωρ *húdōr* 'water'. Thus it is best to start with **ādro-* 'black'. This also afford a nice etymological connection with *ador* 'roasted grain', which in turn is connected by Watkins with Hitt. *ḫatar* 'id.' from the root *ḫat-* 'roast'. **ādro-* would be an inner Italic vṛddhi derivative of **ador > *ādro-* 'roasted'. Cf. *acerbus* 'sharp, sour' < **akri-dʰo-* v. *ācer* 'sharp'. Similarly *ātro-* a vṛddhi derivative vs. *atro-ox. atrōx* might be a derivative with the possessive suffix *-o-* and no vṛddhi. Pure speculation!
- **V Aadirans V** This is the typical order for the *praenomen patris* in Oscan inscriptions in contrast to the Roman order which placed the praenomen patris immediately before the gentilic.
- **eitiuvam** 'money' acc. sg. fem. Not really attractio inversa as Vetter says. This word is derived from the root **h₁ei̯-* 'go' More specifically from a verbal abstract in *tu- *eitu-* 'going'. This was no doubt originally the term for 'moveable wealth' in Oscan which has replaced **peĉu* in this meaning. Wealth was divided into moveable and

nonmoveable wealth by PIE speakers and there are various reflexes of this in Italic. Cf. the idioms *lance et licio* "with platter (for goods) and leash (for animals)", an idiom from the Twelve Tables, *ferre et agere*, = Gk. φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν 'to carry off (stuff) and drive off (livestock)', usually describing rapine and robbery. ON *gangandi fé* 'going fee' and Gk. βασιλεύς 'king' (originally 'person rich in movable wealth', cf. βάσις? M. Peters) also find explanation in these terms. This item also illustrates the change of *u* to *iu* after a dental.

- **paam** = *quam* an example of the regular development of labiovelars to labials in Sabellic vs. maintenance in Latin. Also note that a long vowel before a final *-m* was retained in Oscan in a monosyllable in contrast to Latin where shortening of a long vowel before final *m* also applied to monosyllables.

- **vereiiaí** dat. sg. fem. This is often thought to be the name of the Oscan equivalent of an ephebic group, a military organization since some of the dedication mentioning the **vereiia** are on military objects like a spear or a helmet. A Jungmännerbund. The correct form and etymology of this word are disputed. On one occasion it seems to be written **verehia**. If the latter is the original form, then we could suppose that hi assimilated to ii, which is not impossible. Furthermore there is the apparently related **Vereh-asiúí**, (Sa 1 A11 and B14) an epithet of Jove. This analysis would also allow us to explain away the problematic suffix -eiia, which really is quite unparalleled. *$\underset{\circ}{u}$erehiịā would be by anaptyxis from *$\underset{\circ}{u}$erh-iịā which could go back to PIE *$\underset{\circ}{u}$ergʰ-. This root is attested in Germanic in the meaning 'wolf' (ON *vargr*) and outlaw' (OE *warag* 'outlaw'). These go back to a PIE *$\underset{\circ}{u}$orgʰos. The association of the Männerbund with the wolf and outlaw has been well documented. The *e*-grade might be traced to an old *$temós$ type agential (Nussbaum 2007). Rix, following Mommsen, has another view. He believes that Oscan *vereiia* the name of the city or state. This meaning too could plausibly be derived from the root *$\underset{\circ}{u}$erĝʰ- 'to compress'

- **púmpaii**-**anaí** dat. sg. fem.= *Pompeiianae*. This is made with the suffix *-āno-* which makes ethnic adjective likes *Rōmānus*. Pompeii is itself a plural place name. The Oscan would have been *$**púmpaiius**$. Placenames like this probably refer to the original founding clan the *Pompeii*. Cf. also *Veii*. Cf. the gentilic Pompeius. The gentilic in Latin *-eio-* matches Oscan *-aio-* which shows Latin weakening of *a* to *e* in a closed syllable since aio is really *-aịịo- < *-a-ịo-. These *-aịịo-* forms are in origin derived from 1st declension forms ending in *-a*. Cf. *Rōma*. Thus *Pompa-iio-* implies *$pompa$. *pompa and *Rōma* itself are in turn originally collectives from thematic *o*-stems personal names and meant collection of folk descended from X. In the case of that praenomen is *rōmos attested in Etruscan **Rume,** also Gk. Ῥῶμος. Thus *$rōmo-$ PN → *Rōma* PlN and

pompo- → **Pompa* PlN > **pompaiio-* 'ethnic-gentilic' > ***Púmpaiius** is the nom. pl. of ethnic as PlN. The name is undoubtedly to be connected with **pompe* the Oscan for 'five' < **kʷenkʷe*.

- **trístaamentud** The abl. sg. neut. of a noun matching Lat. *testāmentum*. *-mentum* makes a verbal abstract from a 1ˢᵗ conj. verb *testārī*. Cf. *ōrnāmentum*. *Testārī* is derived from *testis* 'witness'. The Oscan shows that **trist-* > *test-* in Latin. Another example of this sound change is **krito-* 'selected' > *certus* = Gk. κριτός. A similar change appears to be happening in Oscan since we also find the spelling **trsta**-. Etymologically **tristi-* is probably from **trito-sti-* (by haplology?) and means 'the third person standing around', i.e. neither the plaintiff nor the defendant. For *-sti-* cf. *caelestis* 'existing in the sky.'

- -**ud** is the abl. sg. ending which is found in Old Latin before final *d* was lost after a long vowel. Proto-Italic **ō* is written with unmodified **u** as expected, although the abl. is often written -**úd** by graphic analogy with the rest of the stem. Cf. my gen. pl. parallel.

- **deded** 'gave' = Lat. *dedit* a 3ʳᵈ sg. perf. The personal endings are given on Buck 1928:151. The various perfect formations are given on Buck 1928:169–73. The Italic perfect is the result of the collapse of the PIE perfect and aorist into one category which preserved formal and semantic features of both. Thus Lat. *dīxī* is formally an s-aorist matching Gk. ἔδειξα and Aves. *dāiš*. But *cecinī* is a reduplicated perfect in origin matching forms like Gk. πέπονθα 'suffered. The form **deded** is originally a perfect as its reduplication suggests. The root **deh₃-* 'give' is in the zero-grade **dedh₃-e*. The endings of the PIE perfect were

1ˢᵗ sg. **-h₂e* > **-a*

2ⁿᵈ sg. **-th₂e* > **-t(ʰ)a*

3ʳᵈ sg. **-e*

In Latin these were extended with *i*, the so-called *hic et nunc* particle which marks primary tenses giving **-ai*, **-tai*, **-ei* > (*-ī*, *-(is)tī*). The 3ʳᵈ person was extended with the normal marker of the 3ʳᵈ person giving OL ғvvᴇɪ-ᴛ (still occasional long scansions in Plautus and Terence, e.g. *Phorm.* 9 *stetīt*) In Oscan and Umbrian secondary ending are entirely from the thematic aorist.

- **eísak** < *eisad-k abl. sg. fem. of izic, **ídík, íúk** the equivalent of Lat. *is, ea, id*. In the nom./acc. the stem is *i/ei̯-* elsewhere it is *eis-* which originates in the gen. pl. *ei-sōm misanalyzed as *eis-ōm. Cf. Ved. *éṣām*. (Buck 1928:141).

- **Viínikiís** The first sequence of **ií** stands for a long *ī*, i.e. is a plene spelling in an initial syllable. The *i* of the second syllable is also (originally) long since unmodified **i** usually reflects *ī, and a short *i* should have been syncopated in this syllable. The final -**iís** does not stand for a long vowel but for a sequence of -*i̯es* the Greco-Oscan alphabets consistently spell these names with -ιες. The name *Vinicius* is attested at Rome for the tr. pl. of 51 BCE. The form *Vinucius* is also found. Suffixwechsel?

- **Mr.** abbreviation for **Maras** gen. sg. *Marah(eis),* gentilic **Marahis**. The **h** in these forms is probably a hiatus breaker. There is good evidence for a feminine *Mara* in an inscription from 2ⁿᵈ cent. BCE, Rhodes Μάρα Βρέττια. This name is found Romanized to MARVS CORNELIVS MARI F. VELITRAE (CIL 10.6555). In literature this is Marius, Gk. Μάρης. Perhaps this name is connected with *Marō*. **maro-* → *marōn-*, *mara-*→ *Maras*? Etruscan?

- **kvaísstur** a Latin loan word, as is shown probably by the preservation of a *kw*. This is not decisive since this the root of this word probably has **ku̯* and not the labiovelar. Cf. OPr. *quāits* 'will, desire', Lith. *kviẽsti* <**ku̯ait-*. But I think **ku̯* also became p in Sabellic on the basis of the name-stem *Epidius* **epidiiís** probably related to the Sabellic word for 'horse'. Cf. *Ovidius* ← **ou̯is* 'sheep'. Gemination of *s* before a voiceless stop is not uncommon in Greek and Latin inscriptions, e.g. PRAESSTAT (CIL 1.590, Taranto). The final member of an *i* or *u* diphthong is regularly written with **í** and **ú** in the post-reform alphabets. Note that the reflex of *ō in *-*tōr* is spelled **u** showing that the Latin word was integrated into the Oscan morphological system.

- **trííbum** acc. sg. fem. 'building' the building referred to may be the palaestra sannitica del foro triangolare. This word for house is related to Lat. *trabs* 'beam' and *taberna* < *traberna. Cf. Horace's (*O.* 1.4.13-4) *Pallida mors aequo pulsat pede **pauperum tabernas** regumque turres* "Pale death knock with equal measure at the huts of the poor and the towers of kings." for the more general meaning 'hut' rather than specifically 'restaurant, inn'. In my diss. I argued that **trííbum** could be a thematic vṛddhi derivative of the root noun continued by Lat. *trabs*, because it would be hard to integrate a lengthened grade into the same paradigm which produced *trabs*, itself a morphological replacement for a zero-grade **tṛb-*. There are no unambiguous athematic forms, but a point I missed back then was that the word is feminine. This is the reason the word has previously been set up as a root noun, but in fact a thematic feminine cannot be exclude especially since Lat. *domus* 'house(hold)' is feminine.

- **ekak** is the semantic equivalent of Lat. *hic*. The stem is *eko-* in the abl. sg. and dat. pl. *eks-*.
- **kúmbennieís** gen. sg. < **kom-benii̯om*. Cf. Lat. *cōntiō* < **ko-u̯entiō* or *com-it-ium*. Note **gʷ* > *b*, doubling of consonant before yod, nonsyncope in closed syllable. gen. sg. -**eís** from *i*-stems.
- **tanginud** < **tang-īn-* Cf. Lat. *nā-tiō*, *rebell-iō*. Cf. the gloss *tongitio* Paul. Fest. p. 489 L *tongere nosse est. nam Praenestini tongitionem dicunt notionem* "*tongere* is to know, for the Praenestini call knowing *tongitio* Enn. Var. 28 *alii rhetorica tongent*. Cf. Go. *Þagkjan* 'think', *Þugkjan* 'seems'. **tanginúd** could be from a zero-grade since vocalic became an in initial syllables in Sabellic, but *en* in non-initial syllables.

Umbrian: The Iguvine Tables

Anna Karenina by Leo Tolstoy, Constance Garnett translation Part 3, Chapter 14

Alexey Alexandrovitch ordered tea to be brought to the study, and playing with the massive paperknife, he moved to his easy chair, near which there had been placed ready for him a lamp and the French work on Egyptian hieroglyphics that he had begun. Over the easy chair there hung in a gold frame an oval portrait of Anna, a fine painting by a celebrated artist. Alexey Alexandrovitch glanced at it. The unfathomable eyes (Непроницаемые глаза) gazed ironically and insolently at him. Insufferably insolent and challenging was the effect in Alexey Alexandrovitch's eyes of the black lace about the head, admirably touched in by the painter, the black hair and handsome white hand with one finger lifted, covered with rings. After looking at the portrait for a minute, Alexey Alexandrovitch shuddered so that his lips quivered and he uttered the sound "brrr," and turned away. He made haste to sit down in his easy chair and opened the book. He tried to read, but he could not revive the very vivid interest he had felt before in Egyptian hieroglyphics. He looked at the book and thought of something else. He thought not of his wife, but of a complication that had arisen in his official life, which at the time constituted the chief interest of it. He felt that he had penetrated (вникал) more deeply than ever before into this intricate affair, and that he had originated a leading idea—he could say it without self-flattery—calculated to clear up the whole business, to strengthen him in his official career, to discomfit his enemies, and thereby to be of the greatest benefit to the government.

The Russian original makes no mention of Egyptian Hieroglyphics instead the book was a *French book on Umbrian inscriptions* (начатая французская книга о евгюбических надписях).

The Contents of the Tabulae Iguvinae

At Gubbio (ancient Iguvium) were discovered in some time before 1456[54] seven bronze tablets of varying sizes (the largest measure 86 by 56.5 cm. or 33 by 22 inches, the smallest 40 by 28 cm. or 16 by 12 inches), engraved on one or both sides with Umbrian texts, partly in the native alphabet (normally transcribed in bold), partly in the

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[54] The traditional date of discovery is 1444 which is first mentioned by Gabrielli 1580. This may well be correct but the only solid date we have is the record of sale of the Tables By Paulo Greghori to the commune of Gubbio in 1456.

Latin alphabet. These are the famous Iguvine Tables. They range in date probably from c. 200 BCE to the early 1st cent. BCE and are the main source of our knowledge of Umbrian.

The texts contain the proceedings and liturgy of a brotherhood of priests, the *frater atiersiur* 'Atiedian Brethren', not unlike the Roman arval brethren. The name is clearly to be linked with **atiieřiate** (dat. sg.), the name of one of the social groupings within Iguvine society; it had two subdivisions, which may correspond to two groups mentioned in rituals as having sacrifices performed on their behalf (**petruniaper natine, vuçiiaper natine**).

The ceremonies include:

- Ia 1–Ib 9~ Via 1–Vb 47. The purification of the *ocre fisiu* (dat. sg., often taken as 'the Fisian mount', but probably the actual name of the city of Iguvium), in which sacrifice is offered to the triad Jupiter Grabovius (*iuue grabouei* dat. sg.), Mars Grabovius (*marte grabouei* dat. sg.), and Vofion(us) Grabovius (*uofione grabouie* dat. sg.; cf. the Roman triad *Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus*) before the three gates of the city and to Trebus Iovius (*trebo iouie* dat. sg.), Fisus Sancius (*fiso sansie* dat. sg. or *fisoui sansì* voc. sg., cf. Lat. *Dius Fidius, Sancus*), and Tefer Jovius (*tefrei ioui* dat. sg.) behind the three gates of the city; the

- Ib 10–Ib 45 ~ VIb 48–VIIb 4. lustration of the *poplom* (acc. sg.) of Iguvium (the army, the original meaning of Lat. *populus*), in which sacrifice is offered to the triad Çerfus Martius (*śerfe martie* dat. sg., on phonological and theological grounds not to be connected with Lat. *Ceres*), Prestota Çerfia of Çerfus Martius (*prestote śerfie* dat. sg. *śerfer martier* gen. sg.), and Torsa Çerfia of Çerfus Martius (*turse śerfie* dat. sg. *śerfer martier* gen. sg.; these and other double names probably mark functional or theological connections rather than genealogical relationships), and a threefold circuit of the assembled *poplom* is made (cf. the Roman *lustratio* in which sacrifice was offered to Mars with its threefold circuit);

  The purification and the lustration are attested in two recensions: an older briefer version written in the Umbrian alphabet on Table Ia and Ib and a younger, longer version written in the Latin alphabet on Tablets VIa VIb and VIIa and VIIb. This situation is a bit like the Synoptic Gospel problem. Many interesting insights and many difficult questions arise from comparing the two recensions.

- II a 1–IIa 14 sacrifices in the event of the commission of a ritual fault offered to Vestiçius Sancius (**vestiçe saçe** dat. sg.), Jupiter (**iuvepatre** dat. sg.), Iovius (**iuvie** dat. sg.), Dicamnus Jovius (**tikamne iuvie** dat. sg.), Ahtus Jupiter (**ahtu iuvip** abbreviated dat. sg.), and Ahtus Mars (**ahtu marti** dat. sg.);

- II a 15–IIa 44 a sacrifice of a puppy on behalf of the **petrunia natine** to Hondus (cf. Gk. χθόνιος) Jovius (*hunte iuvie* dat. sg.);

- IIb 1–IIb 29 sacrifices at the festival on behalf of the **fameřias** of the Iguvine people offered to Jupiter and Sancius (**saçi** dat. sg.);

- III 1–IV 33 a procession through the fields to a grove where sacrifice is made to Jupiter, to Puemu (or Puemunus) Pupřikus (**puemune pupřike** dat. sg.), and to Vesuna of Puemun- Pupřikus (**vesune puemunes pupřiçes**), possibly as part of a new year festival.

  Tables III and IV are smaller than the others and the only tables that are not written on both sides. They were probably displayed back to back. These tablets are the subject of my 2010 book.

The character of the contents of Table V which is the only table written first in the Umbrian alphabet and also, presumably later, in the Latin alphabet, is different. It describes the decrees and regulations governing the functioning of the Atiedian Brethren.

In scope, content, and antiquity the Iguvine Tables surpass all other documents for the study of Italic religion even though the interpretation of many passages remains uncertain. In many details they show resemblance to Roman ritual and cult.

The Discovery of the Tabulae Iguvinae

Liber Reformationum, ab anno 1453 usque ad annum 1457

Paulus Greghori de Sig. habitator Eugubii...de rato promisit.... vendidit... magnificis dominis Gonfalonerio et Consulibus dicte civitatis et michi Guererio Cancellario infrascripto recipientibus pro dicto Comuni tabulas septem eburneas variis literis scriptas latinis videlicet et segretis
Paulus Greghori of Signa (= Senj, Croatia), an inhabitant of Gubbio, promised in ratified fashion and sold to the magnificent lords Gonfaloneri and to the consuls of the aforesaid city and to Guererio the subscribed chancellor as receivers for the aforesaid commune seven ivory tables written with various Latin letters clearly and with secret letters.

Agostino Steuchi (Gubbio, 1497-1548) *De perenni philosophia* 1542

uetustatem [urbis] declarant Mausoleum extra moenia et theatrum: tum complures tabulae aeneae repertae in agris, literis incognitis incisae, quas hucusque legere potuit nemo.
The antiquity of the city is demonstrated by the Mausoleum outside the walls and the theater; And also by the severa; bronze tables discovered in the fields inscribed with unknown letters which nobody so far has been able to read.

Antonio Concioli, 1673, *Statuta Ciuitatis Eugubii,* p. 3

Confirmat (sc. Eugubium ciuitatem fuisse antiquissimam, ac reges ibi resedisse) ueterrimum theatrum: confirmant nouem aheneae tabulae fama percelebres, ac litteris ac sententiis nemini cognitis exaratae quae totius orbis, nedum Italiae, antiquissima creduntur monumenta. Anno 1444 has tabellas ex aere purissimo fortuna detexit in subterranea concameratione miris emblematis tessellata, quae quidem tam egregio picturatur artificio, ut regalis aulae specimen praebeat, apud theatrum, hoc est in planitie ubi antiquitus sedebat Eugubium. Atque illae

notissimum sibi nomen compararunt apud eos, qui uetustate cognita delectantur, multique
crediderunt leges ibi caelatas esse primorum regum, qui in hac prouincia dominarentur.
Centesimus trigesimus tertius agitur annus ex quo illarum duae Venetiis in armamentaria ducalis
palatii inter rarissima custodiuntur, tanquam pretiosa caligantis, sed pulchrae antiquitatis
monumenta, ac Tabulae Eugubinae uocantur. Delatae fuerunt in eam urbem a clarissimo uiro ut
nobilibus eorum temporum antiquariis traderentur interpretandae: et licet breui remittendas
fuisse promiserit, nee breui, nec ullo unquam tempore redierunt in societatem aliarum septem,
quae in secreto palatii communis archiuio asseruantur.

That Gubbio was the most ancient town and that kings resided there is proved by the ancient theater and the nine very famous bronze tables inscribed with letters and sentences which nobody understands and which are thought to be the most ancient monuments of not only Italy, but of the whole world. In the year 1444, chance uncovered these tablets of the purest bronze in a subterranean chamber tiled in a mosaic with wonderful symbols which was adorned with such outstanding skill that it appeared to be a royal hall, at the theater, that is in the plain where Iguvium used to sit of old. And these tables acquired a great deal of fame among the lovers of the discovery of antiquity and many thought that the laws of the first kings who ruled in this region were chiseled there. It's now 133 years that two of them are guarded at Venice in the armory of the Doge's palace among the rarissima. as valuable monuments of obscure but beautiful antiquity, and they are called the Tabulae Eugubinae. They were transported to that city by a notable man (Cardinal Pietro Bembo) so that they might be handed over to the esteemed antiquarians of those days to be interpreted: and although he promised that they would be returned soon, they didn't return soon or at any time at all into the society of the other seven which are preserved in the secret archive of the community palace.

The Umbrian Alphabet

No Umbrian abecedaria survive so the order is speculative. The Umbrian alphabet as we have it in the TI was adopted from the Etruscan alphabet after the Etruscan alphabet standardized 8 as the sign for /f/, ca. 5ᵗʰ cent. BCE.

The Etruscan alphabet had jettisoned the signs for the voiced stops /b/, /d/ /g/ and used ʞ to represent /k/. The Umbrian script introduced a modified form of Greek delta Ρ which was first used for /d/ but when intervocalic *d became a rhotic of some sort the Ρ sign was specialized to represent this new segment, transcribed ř. In the Latin alphabet the same segment is rendered with <rs>. After this reassignment Umbrian went back to representing /d/ with the sign T. For /b/ the sign B was introduced from Greek but the sign for /p/ continued to be used for the voiced stop in medial position and ʞ was generalized to represent both the voiced and voiceless velar in all positions.[55] Another new sign was ƅ to represent /ʃ/, normally transcribed as ç, which arose from *k before a front vowel or glide. Two other peculiarities Λ occurs as an option for /m/ and Θ for /h/.

The Tables on display at the Palazzo dei Consoli, Gubbio

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[55] But Umbrian inscriptions from Asisium, Plestia and Tuder further south use ⟨ for /k/, following the southern Etruscan practice.

Spelling charts for representations of Umbrian phonemes in Latin and Native alphabets. (Repeated from above)

Phoneme	Latin Alphabet	Examples	Native Alphabet	Examples
a	a	*castruo* 'property'	**a**	**façia** 'make' subj.
ā	a	*matrer* 'mother' gen.	**a**	**fratrum** 'brothers' gen.
e	e	*destram* 'right'	**e**	**ferest** 'will bring'
o	o	*post* 'along'	**u**	**pus** 'along'
u	u	*fust* 'will be'	**u**	**fust** 'will be'
i	i	*Atiersir* 'Atiedian' dat. pl.	**i**	**Trutitis**
ī	i, ih	*persni(h)mu* 'pray!'	**i, ih**	**persni(h)mu** 'pray!'
ē	i, e	*tursitu* 'frighten' *plener* 'full'	**e, i**	**tusetu** 'frighten!' **plenasier** 'Ides'
é	i, e, ei	*dirsa* 'give' subj. *dersa* 'give' subj. *aveis* 'birds' abl.	**e, i**	**teřa** 'give' subj. **aves** 'birds' abl. **avis** 'birds' abl.
ę̄	e , ee, ehe	*eetu* 'go!'	**e**	**etu** 'go!'
ū	u	*struśla* 'cake'	**u**	**stru(h)çla** 'cake'
ǭ	o	*toru* 'bulls' acc.	**u**	**turuf** 'bulls' acc.

Plautus and Umbrian

The great Roman comic playwright T. Maccius Plautus was born ca. 250 BCE, but where? According to Festus he was born in the town of Sarsina.

Fest. p. 274 L in the unique and damaged Codex Farnesianus

<Plotos appellant> Umbri pedibus planis
natos. Hinc soleas dimidiatas qui>bus utuntur in uenando
<quo planius pedem ponant uoc>ant semiplotia et
.............................<Macci>us poeta quia Umber
Sarsinas erat, a pedum planitia initio Plo-
tus, postea Plautus coeptus est dici.

The Umbri call *plotos* those born with flat feet. Hence, they call halved sandals which they use in hunting in order to put the foot flater *semiplotia*[56] and Maccius the poet since he was an Umbrian from Sarsina at first was called Plotus and later started to be called Plautus.

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[56] The *semiplotia* were most likely shoes with a hinged sole that allowed the foot greater flexibility

Fig. 1010. — Sandale actuelle.

like the ones pictured above in Daremberg Saglio. See Ortoleva 2007:167–8.

The version in Paulus's epitome of Festus p. 275 Lindsay runs as follows

Ploti appellantur, qui sunt planis pedibus.
Unde et poeta M. Accius, quia Umber Sarsinas erat,
a pedum planitie initio Plotus, postea Plautus est dictus.
Soleas quoque dimidiatas, quibus utebantur in uenando,
quo planius pedem ponerent, semiplotia appellabant

corrupting Maccius to M. Accius and finally in some manuscripts Accius, a completely different poet![57]

Festus's work was an epitome of the Augustan-age scholar Verrius Flaccus's *De uerborum significatu* and this material may come ultimately from Varro who edited Plautus' works.

There is good reason to think that this material is at least in part genuine. First it is indeed correct that the diphthong *au* of Latin corresponds to a long monophthong in Umbrian. Cf. Umb. *toru* (VIb 43, 45) = Lat. *taurōs*

So **Plōts* would indeed be the Umbrian form. Further, the stem *plaut-* is continued in both Oscan and Umbrian. In the bilingual inscription above from Pietrabbondante/Terventum (ST Sa 35) where the feminine *plauta* means 'sole (of a shoe)'

herenneis ·amica	**h(eíre)n(eís) · sattiieís · detfri**
signauit · qando- a-	**seganatted · plavtad**
ponebamus · tegila(m)	

The girlfriend of Herenns	The *detfri* of Herenns Sattius
signed when we were putting down tile	signed with the sole (of her shoe).

A gentilic name *Plauties* is attested in Paelignian Pg. 23 (*u. pḷạuties u*) and a cognomen which varies between *Plautus* and *Plotus* is attested at Perusia L. Pomponivs Plotvs (CIL I².2056) ~ L. Pomponivs L. F. Arsniae gnatvs Plavtvs (CIL I².2055).

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[57] Houseman on the correct gentilic of Plautus: It had been supposed for several centuries that Plautus' name was M. Accius Plautus, when Ritschl in 1845 pointed out that in the Ambrosian palimpsest discovered by Mai in 1815, written in the fourth or fifth century, and much the oldest of Plautus' manuscripts, the name appears in the genitive as T. Macci Plauti, so that he was really called Titus Maccius (or Maccus) Plautus. An Italian scholar, one Vallauri, objected to this innovation on the ground that in all printed editions from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, the name was M. Accius. He went to Milan to look at the palimpsest, and there, to be sure, he found T. Macci quite legibly written. But he observed that many *other* pages of the manuscript were quite illegible, and that the whole book was very much tattered and battered; whereupon he said that he could not sufficiently wonder at anyone attaching any weight to a manuscript which was in such a condition. Is there any other science, anything calling itself a science, into which such intellects intrude and conduct such operations in public?

In Umbrian we don't have the nominal itself but we do have a derived verb *preplohotatu* (Vlla 49) *preplotatu* (Vlb 60) in a curse against the neighbors of the Iguvines (arranged here into cola ignoring line divisions VIb 57-60)

ape ambrefurent termnome benurent	when they will have made the circuit and arrived at the boundary
termnuco com prinuatir eso persnimumo . tasetur . silently	at the boundaries with *prinovati* thus let them pray
serfe martie	O Śerfs Martis
prestota śerfia śerfer martier	O Prestota Śerfia of Śerfs Martis
tursa śerfia śerfer martier	O Tursa Śerfia of Śerfs Martis
totam tarsinatem trifo tarsinatem	the Tadinate nation, the Tadinate community
tuscom naharcom iabuscom nome	the Tuscan, the Narcan, the Iapudic name,
totar tarsinater	of the Tadinate nation
trifor tarsinater	of the Tadinate community
tuscer naharcer iabuscer nomner	of the Tuscan, Narcan, Iapudic name
nerf śihitu anśihitu	the leaders girded and ungirded
iouie hostatu anhostatu	the youth armed with spear and not armed with spear
tursitu tremitu	Frighten, terrify!
hondu holtu	Humble, cut down!
ninctu nepitu	Remove, Annihilate!
sonitu sauitu	Do bad thing X Do bad thing Y [*sunitu* VIIa 49]
preplotatu preuilatu	Trample under foot, Bind! [*preplohotatu*
preuiślatu VII a 49]	

To start with the immediate point, let's analyze *preplo(ho)tatu*.

preplohotatu and *preplotatu* are two different fashions of spelling /prɛːploːtatu/. The *oho* spelling is one of the ways Umbrian has for indicating long vowels. It combines two different of indications of length. On the one hand, Umbrian sometimes uses plene spelling (i.e. double spelling of vowels), like Oscan, to indicate vowel length but, on the other hand. it also uses *Vh. h* was apparently lost with compensatory lengthening of the preceding syllable and hence *Vh* became a possible means for indicating vowel length. Cf. the PDE use of *gh* in words like *delight* which is from ME *delite* from OF *deleiter* because *gh* /x/ was lost with compensatory lengthening in words like *night*. In Table VII they are making double sure that you know the vowel is long.

The preverb *pre* is the etymological equivalent of Latin *prae* and is used in both this word and its partner to produce alliteration which is clearly one of the organizing principles of this curse. What is the force of *pre* here? Probably just intensive like in Lat. *praeclārus* 'very famous'. Only Italic has this particular shape of preverb *$pr̥h_2i$ derived from the *per ~*pr- particle stem, but Proto-Celtic *ari (OIr. *air*, Gaul *are*-) looks like it could go back to a sandhi variant *$pr̥h_2i$.

The suffix *-tu* is the 2s/3s future imperative marker matching Lat. *-tō*, OLat. *-tōd*. The use of the future imperative is very frequent in the TI because the instructions orders and requests are conceived of as holding not just for the instance of speaking but into the future. In Latin we find the future imperative in similar contexts, for example, in sacred laws, the Twelve Tables (e.g. Fest. p. 260 L *si parentem puer uerberit, ast olle plorassit, puer diuis parentum sacer estod.* "If a child strikes a parent and if that one complains, let the child be sacer to the spirits of the parents.") and in Cicero's archaizing Laws.

Now let's look more generally at the curse. The curse reported forms a key part of the rite which is typically called a *lūstrātiō* on the analogy of Roman practice. It involves a circumambulation of the borders of the city together with the sacrificial animals and was conceived of as a purification and protection of the city from external harms. The Romans reconstituted the state every five years with a *lūstrum* (the idiom is *lustrum condere*) which involved a circumambulation of the assembled people by priests who conveyed the *suovetaurilia* (the three sacrificial animals, a pig, a sheep and a bull—a rare Latin *dvandva* compound!) around the Campus Martius. The victims were sacrificed to Mars. There were several variants of this type of rite including the *Ambarvalia*, the *Amburbium*, the *Lustratio Pagi* and the private rite described in detail by Cato (*Agr.* 141).

The first clause quoted above *ape ambrefurent termnome benurent* 'when they will have circumambulated and will have come into the border" includes the Umbrian verb of circumambulation *ambre-furent* which is here in the 3pl future perfect. The morpheme *-ur-* < *-us-* marke the future perfect and is comparable to the Latin mark the future perfect *-er-* < *-is-*. These both are made up of the future morpheme -s- (from the PIE desiderative) added to a union vowel which differs between the two languages. The verb is *-i-* 'go' (Lat. *īre*) as we can see from the fut. ipv. **amprehtu** (Ib 21) but the perfect stem was supplied by suppletion from the verb *-fu*, rather like what happens in Spanish *yo me fui* 'I left'. The two preverbs are equivalent to the archaic Latin preverb *amb-* seen in *Ambarvalia* etc. and *pre-*.

benurent
fut. perf. 3pl. of *ben-* 'come' equivalent to Lat. *ueniō* < *$g^w em$-*, a nice example of the labial treatment of the labiovelars in Sabellic. Note the contrast between the vowel of the perfect stems in Latin *uēn-* vs. Sabellic *ben-*. This suggests that Latin inherited a root aorist with alternation between long and short *e* in the root and that Sabellic and Latin have generalized in opposite directions. The long vowel of Latin is matched by Tocharian B *śem* 2/3s 'came'.

termnuco com prinuatir eso persnimumo tasetur
Notice the two different syntactic and semantic uses of the adprep *com*. When it is a postposition, it means 'at', so *termnuco* means 'at the boundary' but when it is a preposition it means 'with' as in Latin.

prinuatir is the name of some class of priestly assistants. Probably form *pri* and a derivative of the root *$neu̯$-* 'cry', 'call', cf. Lat. *nūntius,* TB *ñewetär* 'shouts'. So these guys would 'shout out in front'. At Rome we have the *praeciamitatores* according to Festus p. 292 L

Praeciamitatores dicuntur, qui flaminibus Diali, Quirinali, Martiali, antecedent\<es\> exclamant feriis publicis, ut homines abstineant se opere, quia his opus facientem uidere

religiosum est.

Praeciamitatores are called those who going before the Flamens of Jove, Quirinus and Mars, shout out at public festival that men should abstain from work because it is taboo for these priests to see someone working.

where the transmitted *praeciamitatores* must be emended to *praeclamitatores.*
Suet. *De poet.* 8

tasetur is equivalent to Lat. *taciti.* In Sabellic the PIE thematic nom. pl. *-ōs* is retained unlike Latin (and Greek, and Tocharian and Balto-Slavic) where it has been replaced by *-*oi̯* of deictic pronominal origin which becomes *-ei* and then *-ī* in Latin. In Umb. the younger Tables beginning already with V have final rhotacism whereby *-Vs > -Vr.*

The form *tasetur* is interesting in two other regards. First, the vowel of the suffix is *-e-* consistently. This points to a Proto-Italic *-etos* not *-itos* in the ppp. of 2ⁿᵈ conjugation verbs. Second, we see that Umbrian has palatalization of a *k* before a front vowel anticipating by centuries the development we see in most Romance. In the Umbrian alphabet this segment is written with a special character ƀ transcribed as ç. so **taçez** = Lat. *tacitus*. In the Latin alphabet the sound is sometimes written with an s with what looks like a grave accent above it but often just plain s is used. This suggests that the sound in question was originally something like tʃ (church) or ʃ (shush) but was on its way to merging with /s/. This takes us back to Plautus. In the *Amphitruo* where Mercury is pretending to be Sosia. Mercury has been threatening and gaslighting Sosia since he (Mercury) claims to be Sosia. Mercury and a now cowed Sosia have this dialogue (383–4):

Mer. *Amphitruonis te esse aiebas Sosiam*
Sos. *peccaueram, nam Amphitruonis socium memet esse uolui dicere*

Merc. Were you saying that you aere Amphitruo's Sosia?
Sos. I made a mistake, for I want to say that I am Amphituo's *socius.*

This pun certain could work with /sōsia/ ~ /socius/ but it would be a bit better if it was /sōsia/ ~ /soʃius/ as it would in an Umbricized pronunciation.

persnimumo 2/3p. mid. fut. ipv. The fut. mid. ipv. in Umbrian ends in *-mu* in the singular and *--mumo* < *-*mō-mā* in the plural. In Oscan we have a related form *censamur* 'let the census be conducted' which has been characterized by the addition of the ending *-r* which has become a distinctive middle marker in Italo-Celtic. These forms must be related to the Lat. fut. mid. ipv. *-minō.* In Old Latin we find:

antestāminō 'call as witness' (XII, in Porph. in Hor. *Serm.* 1.9.76), *arbitrāminō* 'think' (Plaut. *Epid.* 695), *prōgrediminō* 'proceed' (Plaut. *Pseud.* 859), *opperīminō* 'wait' (Plaut. *Truc.* 197; Apul. *Met.* 1.22), *praefāminō* 'speak as preface' (Cat. *Agr.* 141), *fāminō, dīcitō* (Paul ex Fest. p. 77L)

Inscriptions: ꜰʀᴠɪᴍɪɴᴏ, (CIL 1².584, 117 bce, Genua); ᴘʀᴏꜰɪᴛᴇᴍɪɴᴏ (4x, CIL 1².593, 45 bce, Pisticci)

As in Umbrian, these forms are always derived from deponent verbs and have singular reference. They occur in parallel with fut. ipv. in *-tō* (XII *si in ius uocat ito, ni it antestamino*), they are future (Plaut. *Epid.* 695 *facto opera, arbitramino* "once the job has been done, then think about it!"; Plaut. *Merc.* 787 *quoquo hic spectabit, eo tu spectato simul; si quo hic gradietur, pariter progredimino; si iste ibit, ito; stabit, astato simul*; Plaut. *Truc.* 196–7 *i intro amabo, vise illam atque illam atque opperimino iam exibit* "Please go inside and see her. But wait she will soon come out"). The forms in literature are 2s, the forms in inscriptions are 3s

After Old Latin and in traditional legal language until the 1st cent. BCE these forms were not correctly understood. Cicero used *appellāminō* 'let them be called' in his archaizing laws incorrectly as a passive 3p. (Cic. *Leg.* 3.8) and in grammatical exemplifications Sacerdos gives *amāminō, docēminō, scrībiminō, mūnīminō* and Diomedes gives *amāminō, docēminō, audīminō, legiminō* which are evidently thought to be passive imperatives.

In Latin it is evident that these forms are related to the 2nd plural mid.-pass. ending *-minī*, which is of obscure origin. On the analogy 2p ipv *-te* : 2/3 fut. ipv. *-tōd*. The Romans created *-minō(d)* from *-minī*. If this is correct the Sabellic peoples must have done something quite similar from which we can infer that they too had a 2p mid.-pas. ending beginning with *-m*. This would be a significant shared innovation of Italic.

But we don't have *persnimu* but *persnimumo*. What is the *-mo*? This is the special plural imperative middle marker and this is the only instance of it. This form too is created on the analogy of the active future ipv. forms wich have a singular *-tu* and a plural *-tuto*. The *-to* of the plural must be the 2nd plural pres. ipv. ending added to the singular. So on the analogy *-tu* is to
-tu-to they created *-mu* : *-mumo*! But they must have felt bad about it because they only use it this one single time. Otherwise we find that *-mu* occurs for what must be the plural in the forms **armamu**/*arsmahamo* 'gather in order' and **kateramu**/*caterahamo* 'gather in troops'. The first might be haplology from **ařmāmumo* and the second form which is conjoined has gone along for the ride.
The 2p iv. ending -**ta**, -**tu**, *-to* is also interesting in that it continues **-tā* which does not match with Lat. *-te*. It may continue an old dual form (cf. OCS Lith. 2du *-ta*) which has been reassigned to the plural.

The addressees
serfe martie	O Śerfs Martis
prestota śerfia śerfer martier	O Prestota Śerfia of Śerfs Martis
tursa śerfia śerfer martier	O Tursa Śerfia of Śerfs Martis

In Sabellic religious language we find that the names of gods are sorted into circles of appertanence. In this instance the chief god is *Śerfs* who belongs to the circle of Mars, he is Martian Śerfs. The second two gods addressed are both Śerfian but specifically of the Martian avatar of Śerfs. Hence, they are Śerfian Prestota and Śerfian Tursa of Martian Śerfs. Note that genitival adjectives are not piled up but instead a genitive is used. From Paeligian cf. *Ioviois puclois* 'to the Jovian sons', i.e. the Dioscuri and Campanian Latin VENUS IOVIA
 (CIL 10.3776, 3777 Capua) probably of Oscan inspiration: Vestinian dat. HERCLO IOVIO. AFAIK Latin doesn't do this nor any other IE language?

The divine name *Śerf(o)-* could continue **kereso-* (because r plus sibilant clusters arising by syncope become *-rf-*) and be connected with Lat. *Cerēs*, but in fact there are no theological points of contact between Ceres and *Śerf(o-).* *Śerf(o)-* belongs to the circle of *Mars Śerf(o)- Marti(o)-* is, in turn, the superordinate deity for the gods *Prestota* 'the one stationed in front' and *Tursa* 'terror'. This little circle of gods, as we shall see, are asked to destroy the enemy and to guard the Iguvines. *Çerfo- Marti(o)-* is a martial god in charge of warding off enemies and protecting the homeland. A potential proto-form*$\hat{k}erd^ho$- (as already suggested by Giacomo Devoto) would match Ved. *śárdha-* 'troop, force,' especially of the Maruts, and the meaning 'god of (military?) troop' would be consistent with the profile of the Iguvine divine circle.

The targets of the curse

totam tarsinatem trifo tarsinatem	the Tadinate nation, the Tadinate community
tuscom naharcom iabuscom nome	the Tuscan, the Narcan, the Iapudic name,
totar tarsinater	of the Tadinate nation
trifor tarsinater	of the Tadinate community
tuscer naharcer iabuscer nomner	of the Tuscan, Narcan, Iapudic name
nerf śihitu anśihitu	the leaders girded and ungirded
iouie hostatu anhostatu	the youth armed with spear and not armed with spear

One obvious point about the targets: no Roma, no Latium!

The first people named are the inhabitants of Tadinum, probably near to present-day Gualdo Tadino 25 km southeast of Gubbio. The inhabitants of Tadinum get more detailed sociological description than peoples farther away. The nearest people are described as both a *tota* and as a *trifu-*. *Tota* refers to the people as a unit, and is cognate with the widespread West IE word for people seen in Ven. *teuta*, Goth. *þiuda*, OIr. *túath*, Lith. *tautà* 'nation'. The second word is cognate with Lat. *tribus.* In Latin *tribus* refers to a subdivision of a society and in archaic Rome there were three tribes: *Ramnes, Tities,* and *Luceres* (Var. *L.* 5.55 ; Liv. 10.6.7) and hence it has long been thought that *tribus* relates somehow to *trēs* 'three'. But then what does *trifo* mean in Umbrian? The *trifo* is evidently not a subdivision of the *tota* since it is mentioned in exactly parallel fashion with the same general ethnic epithets. I think the original meaning of **trifus* was 'threefold thing'. This could either refer to a totality made up of three parts or to one of the three parts. In Latin it was the second meaning which was generalized, but in Umbrian we find the totality meaning. The Tadinate *tota* had a threefold internal division. It was both a unity and a trinity.

The next targets are the Tuscans, i.e. the Etruscans living mainly to the west of Umbria (Perusia) and the Naharcans. These must be people living along the river Nar (modern Nera) which is in the southern part of the modern region of Umbria. The treatment of the Naharcans falls in with people beyond the borders of Umbrian. And finally we have the Iapuscans, whose identity is uncertain. The name varies between *Iapu-* and *Iabu-* (**Iapuzkum**). They have been compared to the *Iapyges* of the heel of Italy but more plausibly with the *Iapudes* who lived what is now Istria. So we have, roughly speaking, the

Tadinates to the southeast, the Etruscans to the west, the Naharcans to the south and the Iapuskans to the north.

Note that neither Rome nor the Latins are mentioned nor are the Senones, the Celtic people who settled the Ager Gallicus in the 4th century BCE. This suggests that this curse goes back to a time before the 4th century when the Umbrians were not separated from the Adriatic sea by the Senones and could think of the Iapudes as an immediate neighbor to the north.

 These three peoples are mentioned not as tribal entities but as names: *tuscom naharcom iabuscom nome.*

Next come three genitive noun phrases all with final rhotacism but offering the complete array of Umbrian possibilities.

totar tarsinater	of the Tadinate nation
trifor tarsinater	of the Tadinate community
tuscer naharcer iabuscer nomner	of the Tuscan, Narcan, Iapudic name

Umbrian like Oscan retains the gen. sg. *-ās* which has become *-ar*. In Classical Latin only kept in paterfamilias and in OL in a few instances (Livius Andronicus *escas, Monetas, Latonas*; Naevius *terras*; Ennius *vias*; none in Plautus).

The ending *-ei̯s,* originally proper to i-stems. (cf. Ved. *agnéḥ* 'of Agni' < *$h_1eg^wnei̯s$) was generalized to *o*-stems and consonant stems. We have no idea if Sabellic inherited the morpheme *-ī* which became the gen. sg. of *o*-stems in Latin and Celtic. In *tarsinater* we have an i-stem formed with the suffix *-ātis*, cognate with Latin *-ātis* later syncopated to *-ās* as in *Arpīnās* 'an inhabitant of Arpinum' or *nostrās* 'of our own (people)', which famously preserve the presyncope penultimate accent. In *tuscer, naharcer* and *iabuscer* we have thematic stems comparable to Latin *-cus* as in *Tuscus* and in *nomner* we have a consonant stem, specifically an n-stem.

Next come the head nouns of the genitive

nerf śihitu anśihitu	the leaders girded and ungirded
iouie hostatu anhostatu	the youth armed and unarmed

nerf is the accusative plural of the consonant stem **nēr* (Osc. **níír**) '(manly) man' = Gk. ἀνήρ
This form was eliminated in Latin in favor of vir, but Roman sources were familiar with the meaning:

Suetonius Tib. 1 *inter cognomina autem et Neronis adsumpsit, quo significatur lingua Sabina fortis ac strenuus*
Aul. Gellius 13.23 *id autem, sive Nerio sive Nerienes est, Sabinum verbum est, eoque significatur virtus et fortitudo*
Lydus de Mens. 4, 42 νερίκη γὰρ ἡ ανδρία ἐστὶ καὶ νέρωνας τοὺς ἀνδρείους οἱ Σαβῖνοι καλοῦσιν

The *-f* is the regular outcome of final **-ns* in Sabellic, but the accusative plural form of consonant stems is not entirely phonological. A preform **nern̥s* should have given > **neref* but the nom. pl. would have

been *neres and then by final syllable syncope *ners. On the model of the *o*-stems which had nom. pl. *-ōs : acc. pl. *-ōf a new accusative *nerf* was created.

nerf and *iovie* in the next line are modified by an adjective plus a negated form of the same adjective. *śihitu* is often compared Latin *cinctus* 'girded' . This works phonologically *kinkto- > kinxto- > śīto-*, but we have no precise parallel for. Another possibility *kūtos* 'with power' < *$\hat{k}uh_2$- (Ved. *śū́ra-* 'heroic').

iouie for *iouief* 'the youths'. The root etymology seems clear. Cf. Lat. *iuuenis* 'young' etc. but the exact morphology is unclear. It looks like a fifth declension *aciēs* type noun. Possibly *i̯ou̯i̯ēs* 'youth' was concretized like PDE youth and we are here seeing the plural.

hostatu anhostatu usually compared to Lat. *hastātus* 'armed with a spear'. The *hastati* were a class of infantry men in the early Roman army armed with a spear and later a sword. But there is no convincing explanation for the *o*-vowel of the root.

The idiom N Adj neg-Adj is also found elsewhere in Umbrian, e.g. VIa 28

uirseto auirseto uas 'ritual fault seen and unseen'
in Old Latin, e.g. Cat. *Agr.* 141

uti tu
morbos uisos inuisosque
uiduertatem uastitudinemque
calamitates intemperiasque
prohibessis defendas averruncesque.

And in Vedic

AV 2.31.2: *dṛṣṭám adṛ́ṣṭam (krímim) atṛham átho kurū́ram atṛham*
I crushed the seen and unseen worm. Then I crushed the *kurū́ra*.[58]

The actions of the curse

tursitu tremitu	Frighten, terrify!
hondu holtu	Humble, cut down!
ninctu nepitu	Remove, Annihilate!
sonitu sauitu	Do bad thing X Do bad thing Y [*sunitu* VIIa 49]
preplotatu preuilatu	Trample under foot, Bind!

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[58] This stylistic turn survives in the Nicene Creed of 325 CE: Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα ποιητὴν **ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων**. "We believe in one god, all-powerful father, creator of all things seen and unseen"

[*preplohotatu preuiślatu* VII a 49]

Plautus ex Umbria Sarsinas Romae †moritur: qui propter annonae difficultatem ad molas manuarias pistori se locaverat, ibi quotiens ab opere vacaret scribere fabulas solitus ac vendere

Plaut. *Most.* 770
Simo: (...) nec mi umbra hic usquamst, nisi si in puteo quaepiamst.
Tranio: Quid, Sarsinatis ecqua est, si Vmbram non habes? ()

P
Table Va–b 1-13 gives regulations for the Atiedian Brethren

1. **esuk . frater : atiieřiur :**
   eitipes plenasier : urnasier : uhtretie:
   t : t : kastruçiie : ařfertur : pisi : pumpe
   fust : eikvasese atiieřier ere : ri : esune :
5. **kuraia : prehabia : piře : uraku : ri esuna :**
   si : herte : et pure : esune : sis : sakreu
   perakneu : upetu : revestu : puře teřte :
   eru emantur : herte : et pihaklu : pune
   tribřiçu : fuiest : akrutu : revestu :
10. **emantu : herte : ařfertur : pisi : pumpe :**
    fust erek esunesku : vepurus : felsva :
    ařputrati fratru atiieřiu prehubia :
    et : nuřpener : prever : pusti : kastruvuf :

     1. esuk frater atiieřiur eitipes plenasier urnasier uhtretie t. t. kastruçiie
esuk 'thus'. Cf. VIb 25 *esoc persnimu* "pray (2/3sfutmidipv) thus". The Latin alphabet form *esoc* tells us that the vowel is /o/ not /u/ which would have been written <u> in the Latin alphabet (henceforeward LA). The intevocalic *s* must have been geminate once since otherwise it would have undergone rhotacism which affects single intevocalic *s* in Umbrian as in Latin (an areal phenomenon). Geminate *-ss-* can come from the assimilation of stop plus *s* clusters as well as dental plus dental sequences (cf. Lat. *sessum* < *sed-tu*). The final **k** is also ambiguous in the Umbrian alphabet (henceforward UA) but the ambiguity is resolved by the Latin script *esoc*. Together these forms point to /esok/. This must be a form of the paradigm of the deictic pronoun *eso-* 'this' < *ekso-*. **esuk** could reflect

- an abl. sg. f. *eksād*. Final *-ā* became a rounded vowel in Proto-Sabellic, maybe <u>ǫ</u>. In the UA this is written either **a** or **u** but not at random. In IIa and Va where **esuk** occurs (IIa 3 and Va 1, Va 13) this vowel is written consistently **u**.
- a neut. acc. s. *eso* < *eksod* + the particle *ke* (cf. OLat. *hice, haece,* etc.)

The abl. sg. masc. *eksōd*, on the other hand, is ruled out because *ō* became *ū* in Umbrian which would have been shortened to u in a final syllable and this would have been written †*esuc* in the Latin alphabet. The neut. nom.acc. pl. would probably have been *eksai*, cf. Osc. **paí**, Lat. *quae*, *haec* etc. so that is also ruled out.

Which of the two phonologically possible origins is better? I think the meaning 'thus' is better derived from an ablative, i.e 'in this (way)'. In Latin the normal words for 'thus' are *ita* and *sīc,* but in the context of making a decree, as we have here, the norm is *ita decreuit* or *ita decreuerunt, ita decretum* (e.g. Cic. *in Pis.* 35: *de me senatus ita decreuit*; Cic. *ad Att.* 4.2.3 *Cum pontifices decressent ita*). Beside *sīc* there is also a little evidence for *soc* glossed as *ita* in CGL 5 p. 245, l. 9. *ita* might be a word equation with Ved. *íti* 'thus' < *i-th_x*. Umbrian has a related form **itek** (IV 31 **ap itek fakust** 'when he will have done thus'). This is probably from **ita-i-ke* which would regularly become /itȩk/.

In Oscan the pronominal cognate of this Umbrian form shows suppletion. In the direct cases the stems is *ek-* but in the oblique cases the stem is *eks-*, but in Umbrian the *eks*-stended (😊) stem has been generalized. Interestingly the Oscan semantic equivalent to **esuk** is **ekss** showing the *s*-extended form, though further analysis is uncertain. The usual theory is that **eko-* ~ **ekso-* <**eke-so-* has been built on the model of the pronoun i- (Osc. *izic*, Umb. **erek** < **is-i-ke*, cf. Lat. *is*) which has an oblique stem **eis-*, e.g. Osc. gen. sg. **eíseís**, Umb. *erer*). The stem *eis-* was probably extracted from the gen. pl. **ei̯sōm* (Osc. **eisunc**, Umb. **eru**, cf. Ved *éṣām*). The stem **eko-* is an agglutination of deictic particles, comparable to Gk. ἐκεῖνος 'that' < **e-ke-(i̯)eno-*.

frater nom. pl. /fra:tȩ:r/ < **frāteres*, in the meaning 'member of a fraternal organization', cf. Lat. *frāter* in the *frātrēs Arvālēs,* quite a rare meaning in Latin, but the only meaning of Gk. φράτηρ. Sabellic unlike Latin preserves the expected athematic nominative plural **-es* which has been syncopated by final syllable syncope a change which eliminates a short vowel before final *-s*. Latin has generalized the i-stem nom. pl. *When the preceding consonant is the cluster assimilates and apparently the preceding vowel is lengthened to judge from the spelling *frateer* (Vb 16) where the geminate spelling of the vowel is used to indicate length. Whereas Lat. frā-tr-ēs has generalized the zero-grade of the suffix *-ter-*, Umbrian has preserved the e-grade of the suffix. We can also see that from this form that final syllable syncope precedes medial syllable syncope. That is, **frāteres* > **frāters*> *frātȩr.* If the ordering had been the reverse the vowel of the medial syllable would have been syncopated in an open syllable.

atiieřiur /atii̯eřur/ < **atii̯edi̯ōs* nom. masc. pl. of *o*-stem of the name of the priestly organization. The name has the form of a Sabellic gentilic name. Sabellic has a complex of related gentilic suffixes:

- *-idio-*: **Fuvfdis**, (Cm14) **fufíḍ[iis]** (tSa30), cf. Lat. *Fūfidius* < **fuu̯Vfidii̯o-* ← *Fufius*; *P. Ovidius Nasō* (from Sulmo of the Paeligni)← *Ovius*
- *-edio-*: Mars. *Anaiedio*, cf. *Annaedius* ← *anaes,* Lat. *Annaeus*; *Staiedius* ← *Staius*

    Cf. variation in Latin versions: *Camedius ~ Camidius, Titedius ~ Titidius*

- *-iedio-*: *Vibiedius* ← *Vībius. Allius* : *Alliedius*; The *-iedius* forms are most characteristic of the territory of the North Sabellic peoples (Marsi, Paeligni, Umbri etc.). They are less common in the Samnite heartland (Schulten 1902:36). These are about 1/3 as common as *-idius* forms overall.

The original morpheme was probably *-idiịo-. In Sabellic the suffix -iịo- (Lat. -ius) was desyllabified to become -iịo-. The desyllabification preceded medial syllable syncope and hence the short i of this suffix was not syncopated since it was in a closed syllable. On the other hand, in the nom. *-idiịos was syncopated to -idiịs and so i in the medial open syllable was syncopated. Hence, we find both **Fuvfdis** with syncope and **Fufíḍ**- without syncope with various levelings. After a base in -iịo- we might have expected *-īdịo- since *-iịe+idiịo- would have to produce ī. There is slight evidence for such a form in the derived form SALVIDIENA with i longa CIL 6.4816, but actually the i longa is quite uncertain in this form.

The Latin metrical evidence is unanimously in favor of -ĭdius. [59] This suggests instead that these forms were produced after disyllabification of *iịe. Hence *i̯-idị- with deletion of i̯ before i gave -idịo-. Alternatively we may get dissimilation leading to *-i̯edịo-. We have some evidence for a non-syllabic i̯ in Latin forms like *Brutus Bruttedius*, a rhetor mentioned by Seneca the Elder (*Contr.* 6.5.9) The gemination of the t is the effect of yod on a preceding consonant, frequently observed in Oscan. The form -edịo- may have been extracted from these cases to become an independent suffix.

Returing to **Atiieřiur** we may note the following facts.

The **ř** from *d applies in intervocalic position. Since post-consonantal yod is desyllabified before a vowel a sequence *-edịo- might not have undergone the *d to ř change if that change was after desyllabification. Desyllabification seems to be an earlish shown change since it is shared by Oscan. But in the nom. sg. final syllable syncope would have created *-iịs< *iịos and in this form the *d to ř would have been regular.

The spelling of **Atiieřiur** in the UA consistently uses double **i**. This is not the normal spelling for Cị V sequences which typically use just a single **i**. These spelling are probably trying to indicate a syllabic sequence iịV. The few instances of **ii** are in gentilic names (**Kastruçiie**), in the neuter plural of the number three **triia**, in the perfect **purtiius** 'will have offered', and in the form **iiuvina** intentionally modified after iuve 'Jove' for **ikuvina** 'Iguvine'. The gentilics with **ii** suggest that Umbrian inherited the double -iịo- gentilic suffix found in Oscan. When a praenomen in -iịo- made a gentilic by adding -iịo-, the result in Oscan was īị(o-), e.g. **Lúvkiís** from the praenomen equivalent to Lat. *Lūcius*. So the base of **atiieřiur** may be *a(t)tīịo- and we may infer that ī before another vowel was not desyllabified.

The *atīịediịo- is part of a constellation of related forms. Latin literature knows only the form *Atidius* (Cic., Tac.); *A(t)tiedius* is attested in inscriptions from Umbria (Assissium, Spoletum), Frentani (Ortona), Paeligni (Corfinium, Interpromium), Vestini (Furfo, Peltuinum) and Aequi (Alba Fucens). There is also an Umbrian town whose inhabitants are known as *Attidiates* mentioned by Pliny *N.H.* 3.14 which is thought be located near the site of modern *Attigio*.

The ending -**ur** directly continues the expected thematic (o-stem) nom pl. ending *-ōs (Ved. *devā́ḥ* 'gods' Goth. *dagos* 'days'), which has been replaced in Latin (and independently in Greek and many other branches) by the pronominal ending -oị > eị > -ī . **frater atiieřiur** is doubly archaic in terms of inflectional morphology compared to Lat. *frātrēs Attiediī*.

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[59] The suffix -idius has a short i in Latin verse, e.g. Hor. *S.* 2.4.24 at the start of a hexameter *Aufidius forti miscebat mella Falerno.*

-**ur** also illustrates final rhotacism. In the Iguvine Tables a final -*s* becomes -*r* on Tables V, VI and VII but is retained as -*s* (maybe really -*z*) on Tables I, II, III and IV. This is a pretty good indication of the relative chonology of the Tables which is supported by the alphabets (UA: I-Vb 7; LA Vb 8–VII).

eitipes 'decreed' 3p past. Context tells us that this must be a past tense 3rd plural verb form and the ending -es for /-ens/ is the expected secondary 3p ending in Oscan and Umbrian, but the formation of the rest of the verb is obscure. One striking oddity of the form is the presence of an **ei** diphthong. This cannot be a Proto-Italic *$e\mathrecover{i}$ diphthong because all Proto-Italic diphthongs were monophthongized in Umbrian to ē̜, e.g. **etu** *eetu* < *$e\underline{i}t\bar{o}d$. But there is a new source for the *Vi* diphthong. A sequence of a vowel followed by velar consonant followed by a front vowel followed by a stop yield a new i-diphthong

*(kom)u̯exetōd >**kuveitu** 'convey'
deiketōd > deitu 'say'
*agetōd > **aitu** 'drive'

If the syncopate vowel was *i* then the root vowel was umlauted to *e*

*fakitōd > **feitu** 'sacrifice', lit. 'do'

This suggests that the **eit**- part comes from a/eKi/e-. Another part of the puzzle is the South Picene form **aitúpas** (TE 5) in the phrase **pid aitúpas** 'whatever you may decree" (?) which looks like a root-based subjunctive to the same combination. If this is correct and the Umbrian phonology I have sketched above is correct, then the reconstruction must be *aKit-. This could be connected with the root of Latin aiiō and adagium. One's first thought would be to recognize a ppp but this should have the vowel -*et*- which by the phonology just suggested would only produce †**aitipes**. We would need instead *agit- which could be from *agi̯et-V a *t*-stem verbal abstract derived from the present stem. *t*-stem abstracts are derived originally for *temós* type and since the e-grade of these forms was identical to the e-grade of thematic verbs the t-stem abstracts were rederived from present stems. Cf. OIr. *cin* 'guilt' < *kʷinuts built to the present stem *kʷi-ne-u-.
The most widespread traditional view takes the -*ipes* part as the perfect of *hab*- 'have', but this interpretation has two difficulties. First, forms of the verb *hab*-, when they preserve their root-final consonant are always written with a *b* in Umbrian. Second the perfect stem of *hab*-, insofar as it is inferable from the future perfect, was *hab*-, not †*hēb*-. In addition, the acceptability of the *hab*- theory is helped along implicitly by the existence of the Latin *habeō* + past participle construction. But Sabellic has no trace of such a construction. On the other hand, deriving -**ipes** from *ēp-, the perfect stem of *apiō, as Lindeman 1982 was the first to suggest, is both phonologically and morphologically unobjectionable. Cf. Lat. *co-ēpī* 'began' and *adipīscor* 'reach'. Therefore we may take *eitipes* from *agit(om)ēpens 'they have achieved a statement'

Tabula Ia	Tabula VIa 1-11
Este persklum aves anzeriates enetu	*Este persclo aueis aseriater enetu*
	pernaies pusnaes
	parfa curnase dersua peiqu peica merstu
	Poei angla aseriato eest eso tremnu serse arsferture ehueltu
	angluto somo porsei nesimei uapersus auiehcleir est,
	eine angluto somo uapefe auiehclu todcome tuder
	angluto hondomu asame deueia todcome tuder seipodrupei
	seritu
	....
	uasor uerisco Treblanir porsi ocrer pehaner paca ostensendir
	eo iso ostendu
	pusi pir pureto cehefi dia.....
3 preveres Treplanes Iuve Krapuvi tre buf fetu	*22 pre uereir Treblaneir Iuue Grabovei buf treif fetu*
	Eso naratu uesteis:
	Dei Graboui, ocriper Fisiu, totaper Iiouina,
	erer nomneper erar nomneper
	fos sei pacer sei
	ocre Fisei tote Iiouine
	erer nomne erar nomne arsie tio subocau suboco
	arsier frite tio subocau suboco Dei Graboue. Di Graboie tio esu
	bue
	peracrei pihaclu
	31 Di Grabouie saluo seritu ocre Fisi salua seritu tota Iiouina.
	Di Grabouie saluo seritu ocrer Fisier totar Iiouinar nome nerf
	arsmo ueiro pequo castruo fri salua seritu
	prosesetir mefa spefa ficla arsueitu
4**. arvia ustentu**	*aruio fetu*
heris vinu heri puni	*este esono heri uinu heri poni fetu uatuo ferine fetu*
ukriper Fisiu tutaper Ikuvina feitu	*sevum kutef pesnimu ařepes arves*

The VIa recension continues as follows (divided into sense groups)

stiplo aseriaia

parfa dersua
curnaco dersua
peico mersto
peica mersta
mersta auuei mersta angla esona

Arfertur eso anstiplatu:
ef aserio
parfa dersua
curnaco dersua
peico mersto
peica mersta
aueif merstaf anglaf esona
mehe tote Iiouieine,
esmei stahmei stahmeitei.

Sersi pirsi sesust poi angla aseriato est, erse neip mugatu nep arsir andersistu, nersa courtust porsi angla anseriato iust

Sue muieto fust ote pisi arsir andersesust disleralinsust.

Uerfale pufe arsfertur trebeit ocrer peihaner erse stahmito eso tuderato est
angluto hondomu porsei nesimei asa deueia est
....

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(beginning lessons in Oscan!)