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WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

Linguistics Program

**A Generative Approach to Oscan Syntax:  
Towards an Analysis of the Conditional Construction**

by

Jennifer McLish

A thesis presented to the  
Linguistics Program  
of Washington University in  
partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the  
degree of Bachelor of Arts  
with honors

May 2020

Saint Louis, Missouri

## **Abstract**

This thesis presents an analysis of some aspects of the syntax of Oscan, a dead language from the Italic family, with a focus on the conditional construction. Drawing on modern approaches to the syntax of Oscan's sister language Latin, I show that deviation from the default SOV word order of Oscan can be described in terms of discourse-marking focus and topic movement. Due to the frequent appearance of imperatives in conditional constructions, I address the syntax of imperatives in some detail. Applying current generative theories of the imperative to the Oscan consequent clause, I conclude that the Oscan imperative is raised to the CP layer of the clause only at the level of logical form. The noticeable absence of negated imperatives in the Oscan corpus is also discussed. I argue that the negated imperative is not ruled out syntactically or semantically and is most likely absent due to pragmatic or stylistic concerns. I put forward an analysis of Oscan subordinate clauses, focusing on relatives and conditionals. The internal syntax of the Oscan subordinate clause is shown to involve phonetically null operator movement to ForceP and subordinator movement to the lower FinP, with the result that topics and foci can precede the subordinator. Oscan conditional clauses are argued to be centrally located in the matrix consequent clause.

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## List of Abbreviations

Adj	Adjective
CA	Cippus Abellanus
Cond	Conditional
EPP	Extended Projection Principle
Fin	Finite
Foc	Focus
I	Inflection
Imp	Imperative
Inscr	Inscription
Instr	Instrumental
LEF	Left Edge Fronting
LF	Logical Form
N	Noun
Neg	Negation
O	Object
Op	Operator
P	Phrase
PP	Prepositional phrase
Ptcpl	Participle
S	Subject (as in SOV)
Scr	Scrambled

Sub	Subordinating conjunction
Subj	Subject (as in subject phrase)
T	Tense
TB	Tabula Bantina
Top	Topic
V	Verb

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 A Brief History of Oscan

For almost five hundred years, the Oscan language coexisted with Greek, Latin, and a handful of contemporaneous sister languages in the southern Italian peninsula. Oscan belongs to the Indo-European language family, and to the Italic branch specifically.

Within the Italic branch, Oscan is a member of the Oscan-Umbrian (also known as the Sabellian) group. It closely resembles many of the other Sabellian languages belonging to the smaller tribes of ancient Italy. Of these other languages, we have the most surviving evidence from Umbrian. Classicists have traditionally studied them as a pair, although as we will see, the languages differ in significant ways. In addition, although Latin belongs to a different branch of the Italic language family, Oscan and Latin are extremely similar, especially with regard to syntax.

According to Buck (1904:4), the Roman exonym ‘Oscan’ comes from the name of a pre-Roman tribe located in the Campanian region. However, the majority of Oscan speakers were actually members of the related but independent Samnite group. The Samnites resisted Roman expansion but were eventually incorporated into the Roman republic.

Oscan remained an important local language throughout much of the Roman Republican era. Bilingualism with Greek, and later with Latin, was probably the norm (see McDonald 2015 for a comprehensive discussion of Oscan bilingualism). Eventually, as Latin’s expansion paralleled Rome’s, the use of Oscan began to erode. By the end of the first century A.D., Oscan had all but vanished. If it was used at all as a spoken



language after this time, we have no records of it, since Latin had become the sole written language of the Italian peninsula. As a result, all of the extant Oscan writings were produced prior to 100 A.D.

## **1.2 Overview of the Oscan Corpus**

The surviving textual evidence of Oscan is very limited, although it far surpasses the evidence for many of the other Sabellian languages. It consists of three longer texts, of which one is extremely fragmented, along with several hundred shorter inscriptions, most only a few words long. Written Oscan was mostly unstandardized. There was a unique Oscan alphabet, which strongly resembled the pre-existing Etruscan alphabet. Although Etruscan is not an Indo-European language, its orthography served as the basis for both the Latin and the Oscan writing systems. Some Oscan inscriptions were also written in a modified Greek alphabet, although none appear in this thesis, and the use of the Latin alphabet was common.

Boldface indicates text that has been transliterated from the Oscan alphabet to the Latin alphabet, following Buck's transliteration scheme (1904:22). Translations from Oscan are generally my own; translations that come from another source are indicated by footnotes. The interlinear glosses themselves are original, although I reference Buck (1904) and others (mentioned in footnotes) for the identification of many word-forms.

### **1.2.1 Longer Texts**

The lengthiest of the Oscan texts is the Tabula Bantina. The Tabula Bantina is a fragment from a longer text, which was inscribed on a bronze tablet using the Latin alphabet

sometime in the second century B.C. Like all the longer texts, its content is legal in nature, codifying some local laws and procedures. The text is six paragraphs long, and the sentences are relatively well-preserved and legible.

The shorter of the two most complete texts is the Cippus Abellanus. The Cippus Abellanus is written in the Oscan alphabet. According to Buck (1904), it was probably composed several decades earlier than the Tabula Bantina. It consists of 58 lines of text arranged in two columns on a limestone tablet. Its subject is the establishment of regulations for the use of a temple situated between two cities, Nola and Abella.

The oldest and least well-preserved text is the Roccagloriosa bronze. The Roccagloriosa text consists of 25 lines written in the Greek alphabet. None of the sentences are complete, but some phrases are legible. Due to its fragmentary nature, the Roccagloriosa text features less prominently in this analysis than the other two surviving texts.

### **1.2.2 Shorter Writings**

In addition to the three longer legal works, we have access to a much larger corpus of shorter texts, which mostly take the form of curse tablets, dedications, and graffiti. Many of these shorter writings follow conventional formulas, which makes it difficult to generalize about Oscan as a whole from their language. However, the inscriptions provide us with the majority of declaratives in the corpus, and their straightforward style gives us insight into aspects of Oscan syntax that are less clear in the legal texts.

Curse tablets or *defixiones* are inscriptions on pieces of thin lead. Common in ancient Greece as well as ancient Italy, curse tablets usually involve a formulaic request

for some divine power to influence or cause harm to another person. There are fourteen Oscan curse tablets extant today. Most are fragmentary and some consist only of the names of individuals or gods (see McDonald 2015:133–135). They contain several examples of imperative and conditional clauses, making them useful for our purposes.

Another major group of shorter Oscan writings consists of the dedications of temples and other public works, as well as dedications of objects left as offerings to various gods. Some inscriptions were written on columns or the stones of buildings, as well as on the bases of statues or on the dedicated object itself. Most dedications consist of the name of the person who made the offering or sponsored the construction of the monument, a verb, and the name of the god to whom the dedication is being made (McDonald 2015:104).

In addition to the religious inscriptions, we have some miscellaneous Oscan writings that do not fit neatly into the categories given above. In Pompeii, directions to residences in the city that were painted on street corners have been recorded. These navigational aids furnish us with some further examples of imperatives.

Examples of Oscan in this paper are generally drawn from Buck 1904. For examples from the *Tabula Bantina* or *Cippus Abellanus*, I indicated both the section number according to the division of the text in Buck 1904 and the page number. For inscriptions, I have given the example number assigned by Buck and the page number.

### **1.2.3 Limitations of the Corpus**

In an ideal world, we would be able to consult native speakers of Oscan. Since we cannot, this paper will come with all the caveats that accompany the study of a dead

language. In addition, compared to languages such as Latin for which we have a large body of written evidence, the corpus for Oscan is relatively small. The limited nature of the data poses obvious problems for a complete analysis of Oscan syntax. In order to avoid generalizing too much from a small dataset, I have restricted the scope of my research to only those syntactic constructions that appear most frequently in the texts, that is, imperative and conditional clauses. If further textual evidence for Oscan is discovered in the future, a more detailed analysis may be possible.

### **1.3 Overview of the Thesis**

The ultimate goal of this thesis is to present an analysis of the Oscan conditional construction, which I take to include both the condition (the *if*-clause or protasis) and consequent (then-clause or apodosis). To accomplish this, it will be necessary to describe the various syntactic structures involved in the conditional construction.

Section 2 of the thesis establishes subject-object-verb as the default or neutral word order of Oscan. Next, in section 3, I discuss commands and prohibitions (the most common forms of the consequent clause), paying special attention to the grammaticality of negated imperatives in Oscan. Addressing the fact that verbs with imperative morphology are never negated in Oscan, I argue that Oscan imperative verbs are raised to the complementizer phrase at logical form, with the result that negated imperatives are not syntactically disallowed. Section 4 lays the groundwork for an analysis of the condition by establishing the internal structure of subordinate clauses in Oscan, with a focus on left edge fronting (LEF) in relative and conditional clauses. Finally, section 5

discusses the external structure of the Oscan conditional clause and combines our earlier analyses into a proposal for the overall structure of the Oscan conditional construction.

## 2 Word Order

Before discussing the structure of Oscan imperatives and conditionals, we need to establish the language's underlying word order. This task is made somewhat difficult by the fact that Oscan, for the most part, has free word order. Subjects, verbs, objects, and most other grammatical types can appear in any order, with a few restrictions. For an example of the characteristically loose order of Oscan, see (1) below:

- (1) *ionc suae-pis her-e-st medd-is molt-aum*  
him if-any wish-PRS-3SG magistrate-NOM.SG fine-INF  
'if any magistrate wishes to fine him' (TB 17, Buck 1904:232)

The direct object of the infinitive, *ionc*, appears first in the sentence, while the infinitive *moltaum* comes last. The determiner *pis* is separated from its noun, *meddis*, by the verb, *herest*, which takes an infinitival clause as an object. To simplify this description, the order can be described as:

Direct object of the infinitive clause – Conditional conjunction – Determiner –  
Verb – Subject – Infinitive

The categorization of this phrase's word order is difficult, since the object of the main verb (the infinitive clause) is split into segments that appear both before and after the verb. Contrast the very similar phrase in example (2).

- (2) *in. suae-pis ionc fortis medd-is molt-aum her-e-st*  
and if-any him instead magistrate-NOM.SG fine-INF wish-PRS-3SG

‘and if any magistrate wishes to fine him instead’ (TB 12, Buck 1904:232)

This phrase is almost identical to example (1) above. However, in this case the direct object pronoun *ionc* appears in front of the conditional conjunction and the infinitive *herest* appears before the main verb rather than afterwards. Clearly, the word order of Oscan is extremely flexible.

Oscan allows at least three word order permutations: SOV, VSO, and OSV. If we were to assume, as scholars generally have, that Oscan word order is as free as Latin word order, all other word orders could potentially occur as well. However, just as linguists have argued for a ‘neutral’ Latin word order, we can see a default pattern in Oscan: namely, subject-object-verb. The argument for Oscan’s SOV default rests on two main pieces of evidence: first, on the preponderance of simple declaratives and other constructions in Oscan that have the form SOV, and second, by analogy to Oscan’s closely related sister language Latin.

## 2.1 Support for SOV from Textual Evidence

In the inscriptions, SOV order predominates over other arrangements in the sentences that contain a subject, object, and verb, as in the example below.

(3) Nv.	Vesulliaís Tr.	m.	t.
Nuvellus	Vesulliais	Trebius	magistrate.NOM.SG public.NOM.SG
<b>ek-ík</b>	<b>sakaraki-úm</b>	<b>Búvaian-úd</b>	<b>aíkdaf-ed.</b>
this-ACC.SG	temple-ACC.SG	Bovianus-ABL	decree-PST.3SG

‘Nu. Vesulliais Tr., people’s magistrate, decreed<sup>1</sup> this temple for Bovianus.’

(Inscr. 46, Buck 1904:256)

Due to the nature of the inscriptions, these sentences are unfortunately rare. Many of the graffiti instead involve intransitive statements.

(4) **Herentat-eís súm**

Venus-GEN be.PRS.1SG

‘I belong to Venus’ (Inscr. 41, Buck 1904:253)

Since an overt subject is not required in Oscan, we also find constructions in which there is an object and a verb, but no overt subject; the agent is instead expressed as a suffix on the verb. In these cases, the object usually precedes the verb, as in example (5) below.

(5) **íussu ví-a Púmpaiian-a teremnatt-e-ns**

likewise road-ACC.SG Pompeiian-ACC.SG define-PST.PRF-3PL

**perek. III. ant kail-a Iúveís Meeílikii-eís**

rod.ACC.PL 3 until shrine-ACC.SG Jupiter Meilichios-GEN.SG

‘Likewise they marked off the Pompeian road up to 3 rods<sup>2</sup> away from the shrine of Jupiter Meilichios.’ (Inscr. 3, Buck 1904:239)

In a sample of 57 Oscan inscriptions, SOV order occurs 13 times, while the one other permutation found in the data (OSV) appears only once. Although SOV is clearly the most common order, it may be that this effect is limited to the inscriptions. Many inscriptions from antiquity are formulaic in nature; it is possible that the SOV order is the

---

<sup>1</sup> The translation for Oscan **aikdafed** is uncertain. The word most likely means something like ‘decree’ or ‘determine.’ See Buck 1904:312.

<sup>2</sup> Oscan *perekais*, Latin *pertica* is a unit of length roughly the equivalent of 10 feet.

product of convention and not the underlying grammar. In order to generalize SOV to Oscan as a language, I will examine some other sources of data in addition to the inscriptions.

### **2.1.1 Support for SOV from Longer Texts**

In the longer sentences of the Oscan legal texts, SOV is also the most common word order. In the Tabula Bantina, SOV occurs 11 times, excluding equative constructions. VSO occurs once, OVS occurs once, and OSV occurs 3 times. In the shorter Cippus Abellanus, SOV occurs 3 times, while OSV occurs once. Taking into account the inscriptions and both texts, SOV appears at a rate more than six times that of the other orders combined. The dominance of SOV in the surviving text suggests that Oscan is a Subject-Object-Verb default language. Bolstering our confidence in this assumption is the fact that we have considerable evidence that Oscan's sister language Latin is also SOV.

## **2.2 Support for SOV by Analogy to Latin**

Devine and Stephens (2006:79) identify the default word order of Latin as Subject – Direct Object – Indirect Object or Oblique argument – Adjunct – Goal or Source argument – Nonreferential Direct Object – Verb. For the most part, however, Latin is a *discourse configurational* language, in which the order of constituents is determined by their pragmatic or thematic role rather than their syntactic category.

This analysis of Latin word order presented in Devine and Stephens 2006 is language-specific, but many of the authors' observations hold true for Oscan as well. In

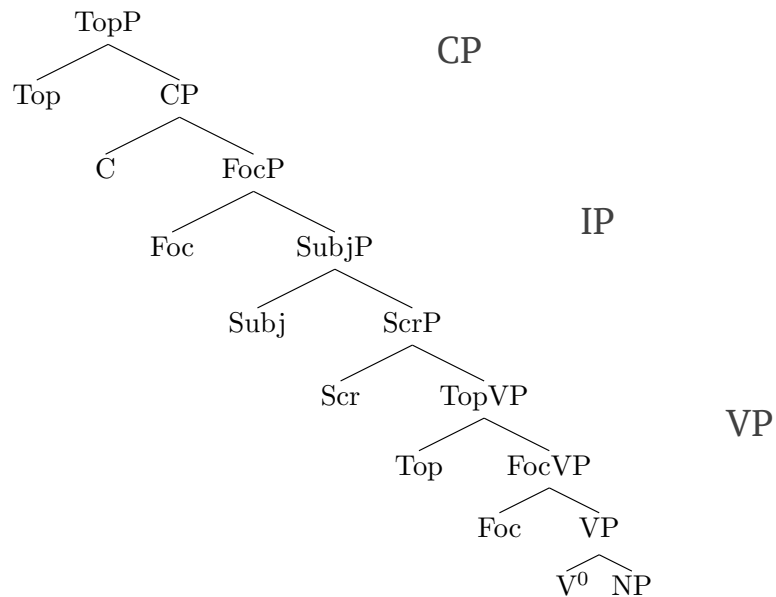


addition, as we will see later in this paper, many of the syntactic processes they employ in their discussion of Latin syntax are highly useful for Oscan.

### 2.2.1 Latin Word Order

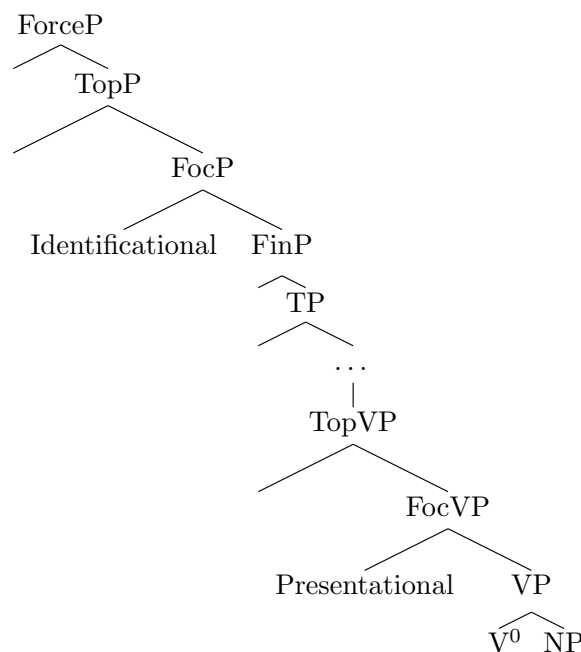
Devine and Stephens (2006) describe many of the cases where Latin deviates from its discourse-neutral order as examples of topicalization or focalization. In these operations, constituents move leftward based on their pragmatic role. According to this model, the hierarchical structure of a Latin sentence can be broken down into three layers, illustrated in (6) below from Devine and Stephens (2006:29). The topic phrase (TopP), the complementizer phrase (CP), and the focus phrase (FocP) make up the CP layer. The subject phrase (SubjP) and the scrambled phrase (ScrP) make up the inflectional layer (IP). The topic verb phrase (TopVP), the focus verb phrase (FocVP), and the verb phrase (VP) make up the VP layer.

(6)



Topicalization involves movement to the TopVP or TopP, and focalization involves movement to FocVP or FocP. There can be multiple topic phrases or focus phrases in a sentence, and topics and foci regularly co-occur. Topics typically represent ‘old’ information that has already been introduced in the discourse. Topics can be either weak or strong; strong topics are usually contrastive, and can move to TopP, while weak topics stay lower in the clause. Foci can also be strong or weak. Weak foci are informational and do not overwrite previous information. The information presented as a weak focus can be interpreted as exhaustive (i.e., providing all relevant information), or not exhaustive. Strong foci always imply exhaustivity and may have a contrastive or contradictory meaning. In Devine and Stephens’ analysis, only strong topics and strong foci can move to the CP layer.

(7)



Danckaert (2012) takes a somewhat different approach. He follows Kiss (1998) in distinguishing between identificational focus, which is exhaustive or contrastive, and

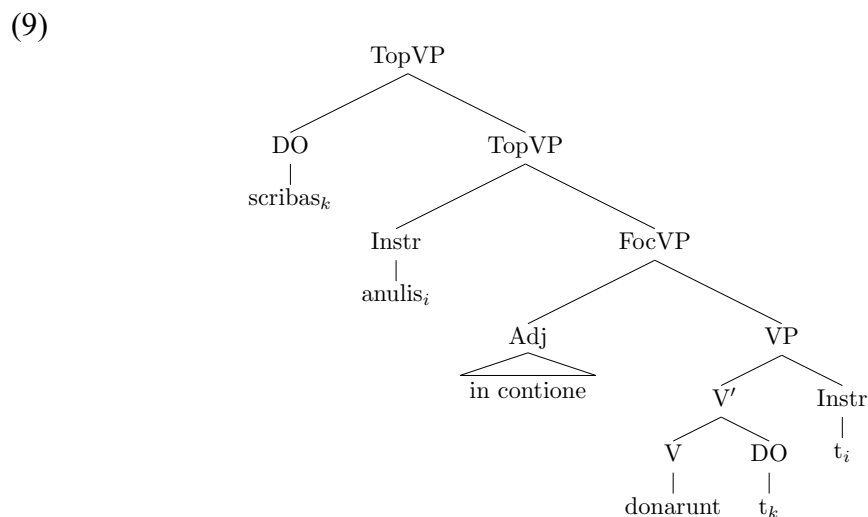
presentational focus, which is neither exhaustive nor contrastive. Belletti (2004) shows that an identificational focus and a presentational focus cannot both appear in the same clause. According to Kiss (1998), there can also only be one identificational focus per clause, and only identificational foci can appear in FocP, the focus phrase in the CP layer, as illustrated in example (7) from Danckaert 2012:280. Danckaert, however, makes the case that presentational foci can also sometimes appear in CP.

Devine and Stephens (2006) postulate a third operation in addition to focalization and topicalization, scrambling. Scrambling refers to movement of arguments within the verb phrase to a position outside the VP and within the IP layer. The scrambled constituent is represented as part of the scrambled phrase, or ScrP. Scrambling is usually a syntactic process and is less pragmatically conditioned than topicalization or focalization.

Subjects are generated in the verb phrase and can move to the typical subject position in the IP layer or to a focus or topic position. Note that in the tree in figure 1 above, the direct object NP follows the verb. This arrangement seems to conflict with the argument that Latin is an SOV default language. However, recent studies in Latin syntax, including Devine and Stephens (2006) and Danckaert (2012), have followed Kayne (1994) in assuming that the universal base word order underlying all languages is SVO. The language-specific default word order is then derived by constituent movement. The main consequence of Kayne's theory for Latin and Oscan is that the direct object is taken to be generated to the right of the verb and then to move at an early stage of the derivation.

As Devine and Stephens (2006:86) note, this movement operation has the added benefit of avoiding certain issues presented by a verb-final analysis of Latin. For one, a deep structure in which the direct object precedes the verb results in an ‘antimirror’ order of composition. That is, when the constituent parts of the verb phrase are assembled during semantic interpretation, the verb and its adjuncts would compose before the verb and the direct object, leading to an incorrect derivation of the meaning. Instead, the authors posit a specifier-based analysis of Latin argument raising, in which verbal arguments are generated post-verbally but are raised to occupy specifier positions of topic or focus phrases c-commanding the verb. The rightmost of these arguments appears in the specifier of FocVP. See example (9) below for a visualization of this movement.

- (8) scrib-as          anul-is          in contio-ne          donar-u-nt  
 scribe-ACC.PL ring-ABL.PL in assembly-ABL.SG present-PERF-3PL  
 ‘they presented the scribes with rings in the assembly’<sup>3</sup> (Devine and Stephens 2006:87)



<sup>3</sup> The translation is based on Devine and Stephens 2006:81; the gloss is mine.

Since Oscan is very similar to Latin with respect to word order, I will adopt their analysis of the structure of the VP clause and their usage of topicalization and focalization. These processes will appear in the discussion of prohibitions in section 3.3 below.

### 3 Commands and Prohibitions

Commands feature heavily in the extant Oscan text, and conditionals in Oscan very often include a command or prohibition in the apodosis. This section discusses the form of Oscan imperatives, focusing mostly on prohibitions, which at a first glance represent a significant difference between Oscan and Latin.

#### 3.1 Positive Commands

Positive Oscan commands usually take the form of what Zanuttini (1997:105) refers to as a true imperative. A true imperative has its own distinct morphological form that does not correspond to another verb form in the language. The distinguishing morphology of Oscan imperatives is the suffix *-tud*, representing the future imperative in the third person, the most common form in the corpus. Third person imperatives can be translated loosely as ‘let him...’, much like the translation of the jussive or hortatory subjunctive.

- (10)      fac-tud                      pous tout-o                      deiuat-uns  
                  make-FUT.IMP.3SG      that      people-NOM.SG      swear-PRF.PASS.PTCP.NOM.PL  
                  tangin-om                      deic-ans

judgment-ACC.SG say-PRS.SBJV.3PL

‘let him make it so that the people having sworn pronounce judgment...’

(TB 9, Buck 1904:231)

Suppletive imperatives, in contrast, take the form of a subjunctive or indicative verb, or an infinitive, although they have the semantic force of an imperative. Occasionally Oscan commands employ a suppletive form to convey imperative meaning, usually the passive subjunctive.

- (11) esuf comen-ei lamat-ir  
himself.NOM assembly-LOC beat-PASS.PRF.SBJV.3SG  
‘let him be beaten in the assembly’ (TB 21, Buck 1904:233)

### 3.2 Prohibitions

Although either an imperative or a subjunctive may appear in positive commands, Oscan never uses true imperatives in prohibitions. McDonald (2015:174–193) demonstrates that this rule holds true not only in the Tabula Bantina and the Cippus Abellanus, but also more fragmentary texts like the Roccagloriosa bronze. To express negative commands, Oscan uses a negative marker followed by the perfect form of the subjunctive.

- (12) izic eiz-eic zicel-[ei] common-o ni  
he.NOM that-LOC.SG day-LOC.SG assembly-ACC.SG not  
hip-id  
have-PRF.SBJV.3SG  
‘let him not have held his assembly on that day’ (TB 7–8, Buck 1904:231)

There are two possible explanations for Oscan's use of subjunctives instead of true imperatives in prohibitions. The first explanation is that the absence of true imperatives in the surviving text is the result of stylistic factors— that is, both true and suppletive imperatives are available in Oscan prohibitions, and the surviving evidence only includes subjunctive prohibitions because of literary preference or convention. Alternatively, it may be the case that Oscan never negates true imperatives because the construction is ungrammatical. As Zanuttini (1997) notes, there are many Romance languages that never negate true imperatives, instead employing suppletive forms— infinitives, indicatives, or subjunctives.

Because of the small size of our dataset and the lack of access to native speakers of Oscan, it may be impossible to definitively say whether negated imperatives are ungrammatical in Oscan or simply absent from the corpus. It would be easy to attribute the lack of negated imperatives in Oscan to style due to the language's overall similarity to Latin and Umbrian. Buck (1904:215) notes that Umbrian is much more likely to use a negation plus an imperative than another form in prohibitions. In Latin, the most common form of the prohibition is the suppletive construction *noli* followed by an infinitive.<sup>4</sup> However, prohibitions may also be formed by combining the negative marker *ne* with a true imperative. This version of the negative command is more commonly associated with early and legal texts, making it more directly parallel to Oscan usage. Although we might expect Oscan to behave like Umbrian and Latin, there are cases of other very closely related languages (e.g. old Italian and modern Italian) that differ in whether they

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<sup>4</sup> *noli* comes from the negative marker *ne* combined with the verb *volo*, meaning 'to wish,' so that Latin prohibitions literally translated mean 'do not wish to...'

negate imperatives. In addition, there are some reasons to doubt that the negated true imperative is absent due to stylistic choice.

If we accept that either form of prohibition is grammatical, it seems likely that the subjunctive is the stylistically preferred form, since the true imperative never appears in the text. It would be highly unlikely for two equally favored forms to appear at such different rates by random chance. Given that most of the surviving long-form Oscan text is of a legal nature, we could attribute the avoidance of the negated imperative to legal style. However, the idea that style drives the exclusion of true imperatives is complicated by other facts of the language.

First, Oscan almost exclusively employs the true imperative in positive commands, so it seems odd that it would completely avoid imperatives in negative commands for stylistic reasons. A single sentence may contain a positive command with an imperative followed by a negative command with a subjunctive. For example, we find the following sequence in the Tabula Bantina:

- (13)        Petiopert, neip mais pomtis, com preiuatud actud pruter pam  
              medicatinom didest, in. pon posmom con preiuatud urust, eisucen ziculud  
              zicolom XXX nesimum comonom ni hipid. (TB 15, Buck 1904:232)  
              ‘Let him argue with the accused four times, and not more than five times,  
              before he will give the decision, and after he will have spoken with the  
              accused for the last time, let him not have the assembly for thirty days  
              from that day.’

In this excerpt, the true imperative *actud* is used in the positive command but is immediately followed by the perfect subjunctive *hipid* in the prohibition (*ni hipid*). The



sequence of imperative followed by subjunctive is strange because it subverts a stylistic expectation of parallel structure. In fact, there seems to be a stylistic motivation for using an imperative rather than a subjunctive in negative commands, rather than the reverse.

Second, Oscan's avoidance of the negated imperative is striking in the context of its sister languages Latin and Umbrian. Earlier, Oscan's similarity to Latin and Umbrian was mentioned as a reason to think the lack of negated imperatives was due to style. However, Oscan legal style is in fact very close to Latin legal style, to the point that several Oscan phrases and constructions have direct parallels in Latin. For example, Buck (1904:235) notes that the phrase in (14a) below from part 1 of the Tabula Bantina is almost identical to the Latin legal construction in (14b).

(14)

- a. pieisum                      brat-eis      auti    cad-eis  
anyone.GEN.M.SG    favor-GEN.SG or    hostility-GEN.SG  
amnud  
cause.NOM.SG (TB 6, Buck 1904:231)
- b. cuiuspia                      grati-ae      aut    inimicit-ae  
anyone.GEN.M.SG    favor-GEN.SG or    hostility-GEN.SG  
caus-a<sup>5</sup>  
cause-NOM.SG  
'the cause of favor or ill-will towards anyone'

---

<sup>5</sup> The example gives the general form of this expression; see *Digesta Iustiniani* 22.5.1 for an example of the phrase's use in a legal text.

Strikingly, as was noted earlier, the Latin form *ne* + the true imperative is strongly associated with legal writing,<sup>6</sup> yet it never occurs in Oscan. Oscan and Umbrian are also very close in syntax and style. However, as Buck (1904:215) points out, Umbrian utilizes imperatives almost exclusively in prohibitions. Compared to this overall stylistic similarity, the absence of negated imperatives in Oscan is conspicuous, and may be too sharp to result solely from a stylistic quirk of the Oscan writers. We therefore must consider the possibility that Oscan diverges so sharply from Latin and Umbrian with regard to prohibitions because Oscan's grammar rules out certain constructions that would otherwise mirror Latin and Umbrian usage.

Taking into account the above considerations, we do not have any compelling reason to assume that the true imperative would be less frequent because of literary style. Therefore, we must consider the possibility that the reason imperatives do not appear in prohibitions is because of grammatical and not stylistic constraints. If the negated imperative is ungrammatical in Oscan, then it is also necessary to identify where specifically Oscan syntax diverges from Latin and Umbrian syntax. Without further data from Oscan to examine, it will be useful to consider some theoretical approaches to the problem of what makes negated imperatives ungrammatical cross-linguistically, and to see whether Oscan does or does not fit that pattern. I will show that in many Romance languages, negated imperatives are disallowed due to syntactic and semantic factors; however, we cannot group Oscan along with these languages. It seems more likely that

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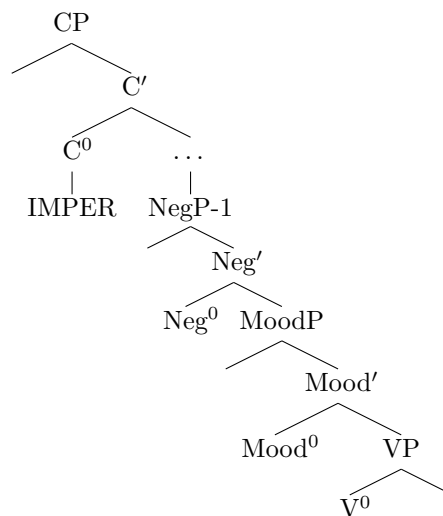
<sup>6</sup> See 'Imperative,' Meagan Ayer. *Allen and Greenough's New Latin Grammar for Schools and Colleges*.

the absence of negated imperatives in Oscan is the result of stylistic or pragmatic considerations.

### 3.2.1 Zanuttini 1997

Zanuttini (1997) seeks to explain the ungrammaticality of negated true imperatives in many Romance languages by arguing that in languages that do not allow negated imperatives, the pre-verbal negative marker in imperative clauses ‘activates’ a subsequent mood phrase. Here, ‘pre-verbal negative marker’ refers only to those forms of negation that can negate a clause on their own. This stipulation excludes languages like French, in which the pre-verbal marker *ne* must be accompanied by the post-verbal marker *pas*, and in which negated imperatives are allowed. Zanuttini argues that in languages where negated imperatives are unavailable, there are two negative markers: one is used in non-imperative clauses, and does not license a mood phrase, and one appears in all clauses with imperative force, and does license a mood phrase (1997:126-129).

(15)



Example (15) above (Zanuttini 1997:146) demonstrates the structure of a clause with MoodP-licensing negation. The head of the MoodP activated by the negative marker contains a mood feature that must be checked. The checking requirement can be satisfied by either an auxiliary form of an imperative or a verb with overt mood.

Zanuttini argues that imperative auxiliaries act as “the realization of the syntactic category mood” (1997:128). This analysis accounts for data like that from the Italian Romance language Friulian, where only the true imperative forms of auxiliaries may be negated.

(16)

a. \*No sint!

NEG listen.IMP.SG

‘Don’t listen!’

b. No sta (a) crodi!

NEG AUX believe.INF

‘Don’t believe that!’<sup>7</sup> (Zanuttini 1997:121)

In addition to imperative auxiliaries, any verb that exhibits overt morphological mood can check the mood feature. As a result, subjunctives, indicatives, and infinitives<sup>8</sup> can all satisfy the requirements of MoodP. True imperatives, however, are not marked for mood, and are unable to check the features of MoodP. Therefore, a true imperative cannot grammatically follow negation.

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<sup>7</sup> The translations for (16a) and (16b) are Zanuttini’s; I have altered her original gloss somewhat.

<sup>8</sup> Han (1998) argues that if infinitives are said to have overt mood, there is no reason imperatives cannot be marked for mood as well; this is one motivator for his alternate analysis, presented here in section 3.2.2.

Zanuttini, like many others, assumes that there is an imperative feature in  $C^0$  that must be checked, meaning that the head of CP must be filled. She argues that  $C^0$  can be filled and have its features checked by verbs, complementizers, and pre-verbal negative markers. In positive clauses with true imperatives, the imperative moves to  $C^0$  and checks its features. It cannot check the features of MoodP, but when there is no pre-verbal negative marker present, MoodP is not activated and its features do not need to be checked. When the clause contains the imperative form of an auxiliary verb, the negative marker checks the imperative feature in  $C^0$  while the auxiliary checks the mood features in Mood $^0$ . In clauses with negated suppletive imperatives, the negative marker moves to  $C^0$  and checks the imperative feature, while the suppletive verb moves to the head of MoodP to check the mood feature.

Zanuttini's analysis has the benefit of explaining why we do not find negated imperatives in Oscan. The Oscan negative markers *ne*, *ni*, and *nep* are all both pre-verbal and capable of negating the clause on their own. According to Zanuttini's theory, this type of pre-verbal negative licenses a mood phrase whose features cannot be checked by an imperative. Therefore, we would predict that imperatives may not be negated. However, the analysis presented in Zanuttini (1997) has some shortcomings. Zanuttini (1997:150) identifies several languages that seem to violate her assumptions: in the Italian Romance dialects spoken in Romagnolo and Cortina, pre-verbal negative markers that are able to negate the clause by themselves co-occur with true imperatives. Latin and Umbrian also seem to be exceptions to the rule. That is, although Zanuttini's approach would explain the behavior of Oscan, it does not help us identify why Oscan differs from

Latin and Umbrian. According to her argument, all three languages should not allow negated imperatives.

Zanuttini does not try to solve the problem posed by these exceptions, although she does suggest, following Rivero and Terzi (1995), that the defining feature of these exceptions may be their clitic behavior. For further exploration of the implications of clitic behavior on imperatives, I turn to Han (1998).

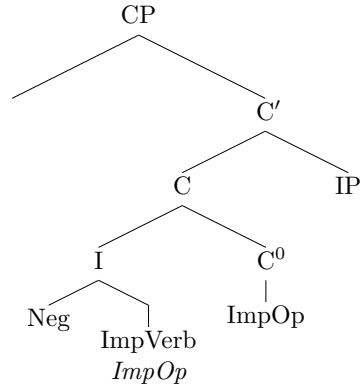
### **3.2.2 Han 1998**

Han, working within Minimalist Program and the Principles and Parameters framework, proposes that the CP of imperative clauses contains an operator that encodes directive force. This operator attracts the imperative verb, which takes over the function of the operator once it adjoins to the head of CP.

Some languages do not allow pre-verbal negation because their syntax would result in a situation where negation has scope over the imperative operator; that is, directive force would be negated. Han argues that the negation of directive force is disallowed semantically: ‘don’t call’ must be interpreted as ‘you are required not to call’ and not ‘you are not required to call’ (1998:40).

Since negation cannot have scope over directive force, ungrammaticality results when the negative marker c-commands the imperative operator. In languages where negation obligatorily and directly precedes the verb (that is, where negation is a clitic on the verb), the movement of the negative marker and the verb to CP results in the structure of (17) from Han 1998:42.

(17)



Note that in the above figure, the imperative verb has assumed the role of the imperative operator (ImpOp), and since Neg c-commands ImpVerb, Neg also c-commands the imperative operator. When negation does not precede the verb, no ungrammaticality results.

### 3.3 Implications for Oscan

Han's analysis is focused on clitic-like negative markers. She assumes that when negation moves to CP along with the verb, it is because the negative marker is acting as a clitic. In Oscan, however, the negative markers do not exhibit clitic behavior, as the negation may be separated from the verb.

- (18)    nep    censt-ur            fu-i-d  
         not    censor-NOM.SG    bePRF-ACT.SBJV-3SG  
         'Let him not be censor' (TB 28, Buck 1904:234)

Since negation is not a clitic on the verb, it may seem like Han's theory predicts that negated imperatives *should* be grammatical in Oscan. I will argue that in fact, clitic-like negation is not the only type of negative marker that can have scope over the imperative operator and therefore result in ungrammaticality.

In the languages Han cites as examples of grammatical negated imperatives—French, German, and English—negation follows the verb in prohibitions. In English prohibitions, the imperative is negated by the addition of ‘do not’; for example, ‘do not run.’ In this case, Han treats *do* as the imperative verb over which negation must not have scope. Since the negative follows *do*, it never c-commands it, and no ungrammaticality results. French seems like an exception in that the particle *ne* precedes the verb in the negative construction *ne + verb + pas*. As Han demonstrates, however, the actual negative force is expressed by *pas*, and *ne* cannot negate the verb (and by extension, the imperative operator) on its own. Conversely, in Oscan, Umbrian, and Latin, negation precedes the verb even if it does not act as a clitic.

We can describe the negation-verb ordering as an independent property of these languages, since it holds true in non-imperative clauses as well. However, even if negation does not move to C<sup>0</sup> together with the verb, in order to precede it in the linear order, it must end up in a c-command relationship with the verb. Because an imperative verb is present, the imperative operator in C<sup>0</sup> must be checked, and the verb is raised to C<sup>0</sup>. This movement results in the verb assuming the function of the imperative operator, but since it is c-commanded by the negative marker, the resulting construction should be ungrammatical. Take as an example the Latin prohibition in (19).

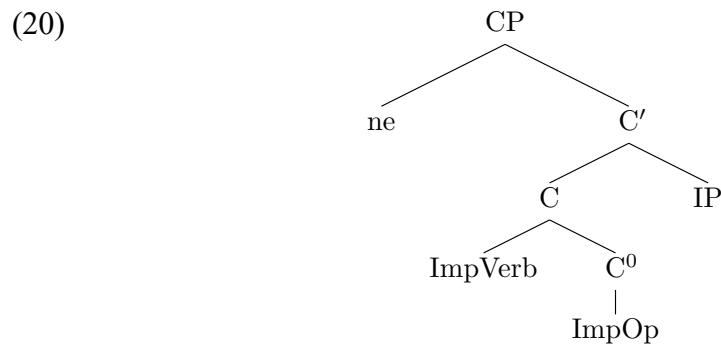
- (19)      Equ-o      ne cred-ite  
                  horse-DAT not trust-IMP.PRS.2PL  
                  ‘Do not trust the horse’<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Vergil’s Aeneid 2.48 via Ayer 2014



If we were to assume that *credite* is raised to C<sup>0</sup> and that *ne* is raised to the specifier of CP in order to precede the verb (leaving aside the question of where the object *equo* appears in the structure), the following structure in (20) in which *ne* c-commands the imperative operator would result.



If we assumed instead that for some reason *ne* does move to C<sup>0</sup> along with *credite*, the c-command relationship Han identifies above results. The impossibility of raising both the negative marker and the verb without violating the constraint against c-command suggests that even when negation is not a clitic, it should result in ungrammaticality if it precedes the verb.

Since I have now established that languages with pre-verbal negation behave like those with clitic-negation, it may be possible to apply Han's explanation for the grammaticality of negated imperatives in Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian to Oscan, Umbrian, and Latin. In Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian, negation is a proclitic on the verb, but negation of imperatives is allowed. Han (1998) accounts for these languages by arguing that their imperatives do not move to C<sup>0</sup> in the overt syntax. Instead, the [Imp] feature of the verb moves to C<sup>0</sup> at logical form to satisfy the requirements of the imperative operator. Following Chomsky (1995), Han argues that when features move at LF, they do not bring along interpretive features, and so the interpretive feature of the

negation that would lead to an impossible semantic interpretation does not move with the verb. In essence, Han is arguing that in some languages, the imperative feature is weak and therefore (feature) movement can take place at LF, and in others, the feature is strong, and movement must take place before LF.

As evidence for this theory, Han cites the fact that positive imperatives in Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian appear low in the clause, rather than in C<sup>0</sup>. There is some evidence that Latin imperatives can also appear low in the clause. Devine and Stephens (2006:150) note that Latin imperatives *can* move to the level of the complementizer phrase, but do not always do so. The authors demonstrate that the imperative is sometimes raised to precede the focus, as in example (21a) below, and sometimes remains lower in the structure as in (21b):

(21)

- a. per ver *seri-to* in loc-o ubi terr-a  
 through spring.ACC sow-IMP.FUT in place-ABL where earth-NOM  
 tener-rim-a eri-t  
 tender-SUPERL-NOM be.FUT-3SG  
 ‘throughout spring sow in a place where the earth will be very soft’ (Cato 151.2, Devine and Stephens 2006:150)
- b. Circum coron-as et circum vi-as ulm-os  
 around wreath-ACC.PL and around road-ACC.PL elm-ACC.PL  
*seri-to*  
 sow-IMP.FUT

‘plant elms around the hills and around the streets’ (Cato 6.3, Devine and Stephens 2006:150)

The fact that the imperative does not obligatorily move to C<sup>0</sup> suggests that it has the weak version of the [Imp] feature; if so, movement does not have to take place in the overt syntax.

Oscan likely behaves the same way. The imperative can occur in sentence-initial position, as in (22a). In (22a), there is no overt subject, so we do not know whether the verb has moved to a position above SubjP. Since it seems that clausal objects are not raised to pre-verbal position in Oscan, unlike lexical objects, we have no way to tell whether or not the verb has moved to C<sup>0</sup>. However, imperatives also appear sentence-finally, as in (22b).

(22)

- a. *fac-tud*                      *pous tout-o*                      *deiuata-ns*  
 make-FUT.IMP.3SG    that    people-NOM    sworn-NOM  
*tangin-om*                      *deic-ans*  
 judgment-ACC.SG    say-PRS.SBJV.3PL.

‘let him make the people pronounce judgment having sworn...’ (TB 9, Buck 1904:231)

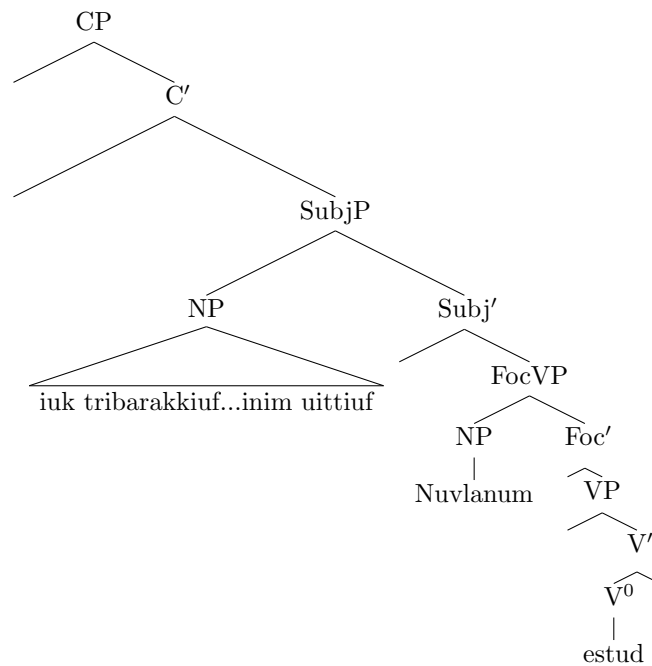
- b. ***íním íúk***                      ***tríbarakk-iuf***                      ***pam***                      ***Núvlan-ús***  
 and    that.NOM.SG    building-NOM.SG    which.NOM.SG    Nolani-NOM.PL  
***tríbarak-attus-et***    ***íním úítt-iuf***                      ***Núvlan-úm***                      ***es-tud***  
 build-FUT.PRF-3PL    and    use-NOM.SG    Nolani-GEN.PL    be-FUT.IMP.3SG

‘and let that building which the Nolans built and its use belong to the

Nolans' (CA 37, Buck 1904:227)

It is likely the structure of (22b) resembles (23) below, with the subject phrase in SubjP and the predicate genitive **Núvlanúm** in the specifier of the focus verb phrase. For the moment, I will follow Devine and Stephens (2006), Danckaert (2012), and Kiss (1998) in assuming that only strong or identificational foci (which have contrastive and exhaustive meaning) can move to the CP layer cross-linguistically.

(23)



There is a chance that the subject and the predicate in (22b) are contrastive, since they are placed in opposition to **tríbarakkiuf** and **Abellanúm** in the sentence that immediately follows:

(24) **Ekkum svaí píd Abellanús tríbarakattuset íúk tríbarakkiuf íním  
úittiuf Abellanúm estud**

‘Likewise if the Abellans build anything, let that building and its use belong to the Abellans.’ (CA 41, Buck 1904:227)

However, as we will see in section 5.2 of this thesis, the sentence-initial position of the conditional clause in (24) suggests that the subject is lower than CP, and therefore that the imperative verb is low in the clause.

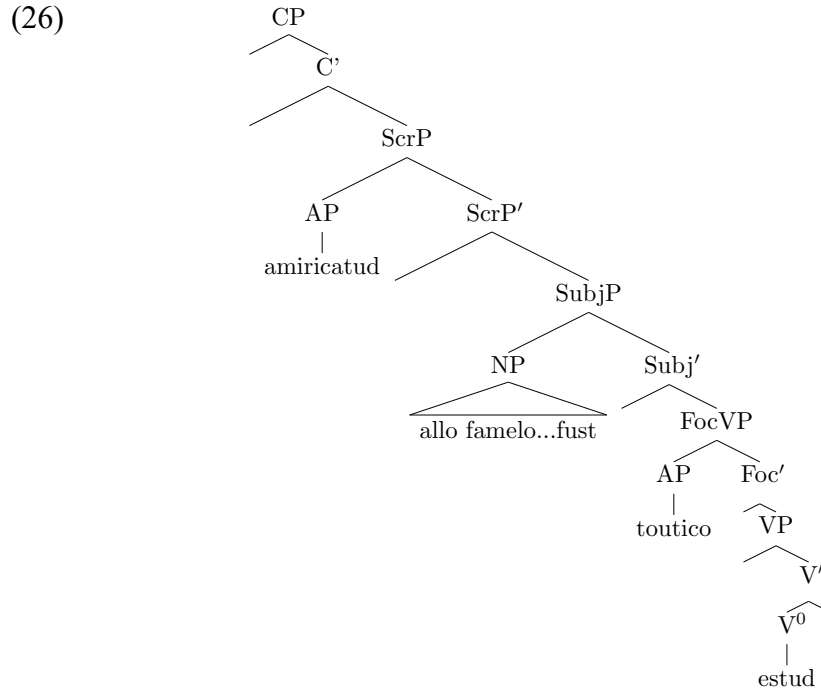
Further evidence that the Oscan imperative verb can remain in the VP comes from part 4 of the Tabula Bantina. In example (25) below, the verb follows an adverb, *amiricatud*, a subject phrase, and a predicate adjective, *toutico*, none of which are exhaustive or contrasted explicitly or implicitly.

- (25) in. amirica-tud                      all-o              famel-o  
           and uncompensated-ADV other-NOM household-NOM  
       in. ei.            siuom            paei            eiz-eis            fust,  
           and money wholly.ADV which.NOM that-GEN.SG be.FUT.PRF.3SG  
       pae            an-censt-o            fust,            toutic-o  
           which.NOM un-counted-NOM be.FUT.PRF.3SG public-NOM  
       es-tud.  
       be-FUT.IMP.3SG

‘and the remaining household and all his money which will not have been counted, let it become public property without compensation’ (TB 22, Buck 1904:233)

The most likely structure for this sentence is given in (26) below. The adjective *amiricatud* is new information, so it cannot be in TopP. It also cannot be focalized, since FocVP is filled and FocP and FocVP cannot co-occur. Since it appears above SubjP, I take it to be scrambled. Recall from section 2.3 that the scrambled phrase does not move to the CP layer. The fact that the verb is in VP here suggests that Oscan imperatives at

least have the option of staying low in the clause. If the verb does not obligatorily move to  $C^0$ , we can classify Oscan as similar to Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, and Latin in that the imperative verb only moves at LF.



Given that the imperative does not obligatorily move to CP in the overt syntax, there is no reason to think that negative imperatives should be ungrammatical. Therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that negative imperatives are absent in Oscan due to style. As discussed in section 3.2 above, there are reasons to doubt the idea that this absence is due to legal style specifically. However, preference for the subjunctive in prohibitions it may be a stylistic feature of Oscan literary style overall, or of Oscan speech overall. Latin usage eventually shifted to favor the suppletive construction *noli* + infinitive, so it is also possible that this movement away from the negated imperative simply took place earlier in Oscan. I will leave further exploration of the motives behind the absence of the negated imperative for future research.

### 3.3.1 Structure of the Oscan True Imperative and Prohibition

Since I have established that imperatives only move to  $C^0$  at LF, the structure of the Oscan positive imperative is simple. I will assume that it stays low in the clause as in (25) above unless it is topicalized or focalized.

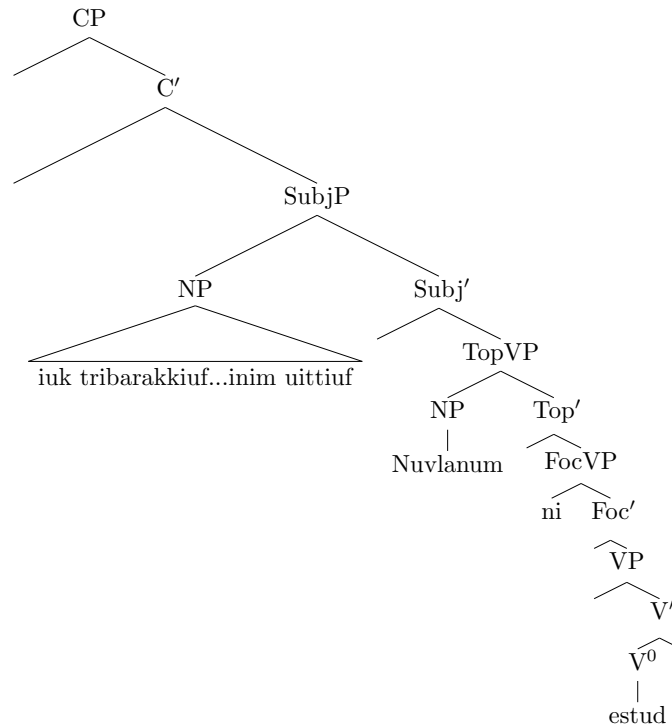
The structure of the unattested negated imperative is likewise simple, since it resembles the positive imperative except for the addition of a pre-verbal negative marker. I will follow Devine and Stephens (2006:88) in assuming that the negative marker is in the specifier of the focus phrase and directly c- commands the verb. At LF, the imperative is raised to  $C^0$ , while the negative marker stays low in the clause.

The sentence in (27) contains a hypothetical negated form of the positive imperative in example (22b) on page 28 above. Although we do not find sentences like this in the corpus, we can extrapolate a possible construction based on the above analysis.

- (27)      ? **Íním íúk**              **tríbarakk-iuf**      **pam**              **Núvlan-ús**  
                 and that.NOM.SG building-NOM.SG which.NOM.SG Nolani-NOM.PL  
**tríbarak-attus-et** **íním úítt-iuf**      **Núvlan-úm**      **ni es-tud.**  
                 build-FUT.PRF-3PL and use-NOM.SG Nolani-GEN.PL not be-FUT.IMP.3SG  
                 ‘And let that building which the Nolans built and its use *not* belong to the  
                 Nolani.’

A possible structure for the hypothetical Oscan negated true imperative is given in (28) below.

(28) ?



### 3.3.2 Structure of the Oscan Suppletive Imperative

All that remains is to formulate the structure of the rare Oscan suppletive imperative and the more typical suppletive prohibition. Following Han (1998), I will assume that there is a subjunctive operator in  $C^0$ . The operator gives the clause an irrealis interpretation— the action described by the clause has not taken place or the state has not been realized.

Subjunctives do not move to  $C^0$ , but the operator and the verb form a chain and are co-indexed.

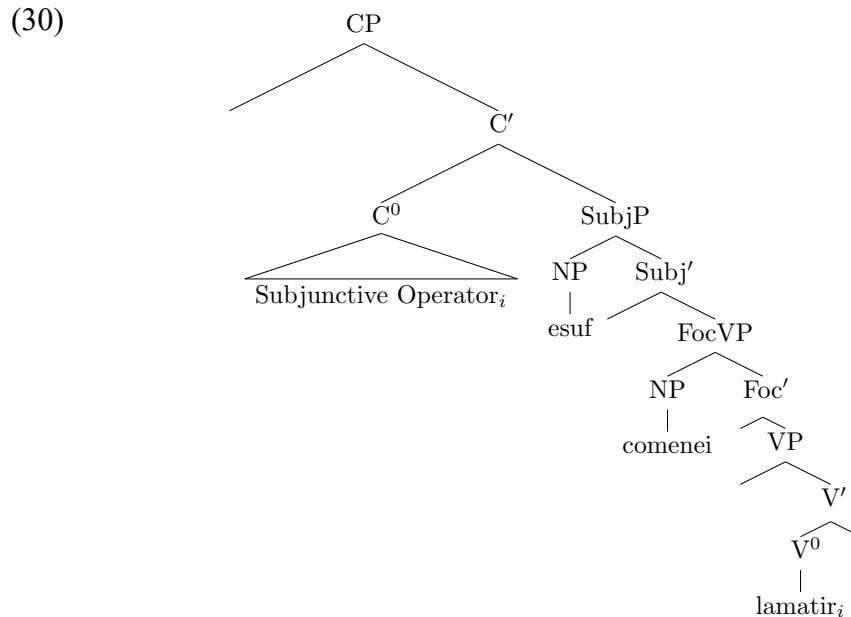
As was mentioned briefly in section 3.1 above, Oscan occasionally employs a suppletive imperative, usually a passive subjunctive as in example (29).

(29)      esuf              comen-ei          lamat-ir  
            himself.NOM    assembly-LOC    beat-PASS.PRF.SBJV.3SG



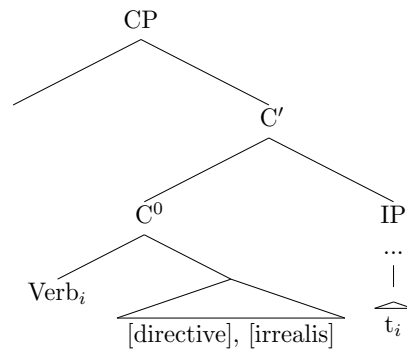
‘let him be beaten in the assembly’ (TB 21, Buck 1904:233)

The structure of these subjunctive clauses resembles the syntax of declaratives except for the presence of a subjunctive operator in C<sup>0</sup>.

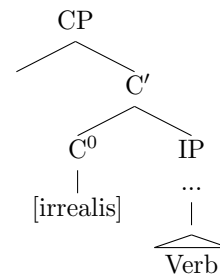


Suppletive prohibitions in Oscan are likewise structurally simple, but more complex with respect to theory. The question of how and why negated subjunctives can carry directive meaning is explored in more detail in Han 1998, but I will briefly summarize her reasoning here. Han (1998:110) argues that the imperative operator has both [directive] and [irrealis] features. Only the [directive] feature requires verb movement (overt or covert) to C<sup>0</sup>. When the imperative operator that includes both [directive] and [irrealis] features is not available for some reason, the syntax selects an operator with a proper subset of its features. This ‘backup’ operator is the subjunctive operator (or the infinitival operator, in languages that employ infinitives in suppletive prohibitions), that only contains the [irrealis] feature. The contrast between these two forms is illustrated by the trees in (31) below from Han 1998:120.

(31) Imperatives



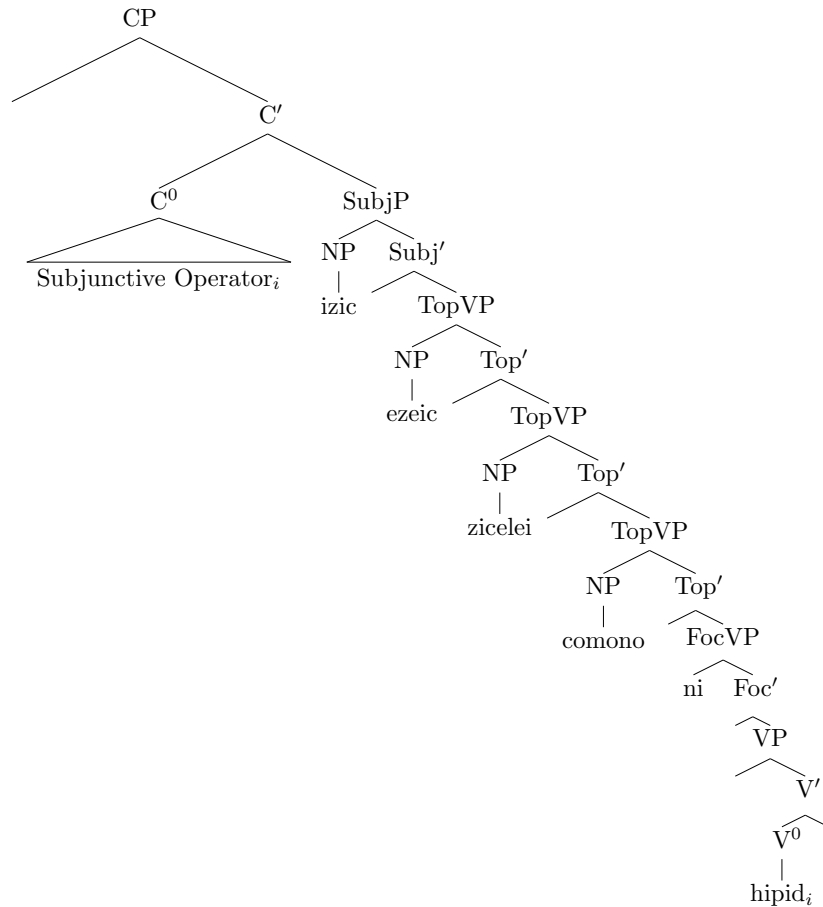
Subjunctives/Infinitives



In the context of negated prohibitions, the imperative operator is ruled out in some languages because its use would result in direct force being negated. Therefore, the subjunctive or infinitive operator takes its place and selects the appropriate suppletive form. Han argues that this construction encodes directive force despite the absence of the [directive] feature via pragmatic inference. Directive force can be derived from the [irrealis] feature because the action or state involved in a command is necessarily unrealized (at least in the judgment of the speaker). When the [irrealis] feature is present and the context indicates that an utterance is a command, listeners interpret the utterance as conveying imperative meaning.

- (32)    izic        eiz-eic        zicel-[ei]    common-o        ni  
         he.NOM    that-LOC.SG    day-LOC.SG    assembly-ACC.SG    not  
         hip-id  
         have-PRF.SBJV.3SG  
         ‘let him not hold an assembly on that day’ (TB 7, Buck 1904:231)

(33)



We can formulate a structure for the Oscan suppletive prohibition based on Han's analysis. The structure given in (33) above corresponds to the prohibition given in example (12) on page 15 above, repeated here as (32) for convenience.

### 3.4 Conclusion

As we have seen, there is little reason to believe Oscan syntax rules out negated imperatives. The evidence suggests that Oscan imperatives can stay low in the clause rather than raising to  $C^0$  in the overt syntax, so negation should never have scope over the imperative operator. As a result, the absence of negated imperatives in the corpus can likely be attributed to some stylistic preference for subjunctives in prohibitions. I have

also posited structures for Oscan positive and negative imperatives based on this observed behavior. Finally, I arrived at an analysis of subjunctive prohibitions in Oscan based on Han (1998)'s argument for subjunctive operators with an [irrealis] feature.

I have now established the 'default' structure of Oscan (see section 2.3) and the structure of imperatives and prohibitions. There is one other construction I need to discuss before we can present an analysis of Oscan conditionals. In order to understand the Oscan conditional clause, I should make a few remarks on the structure of the Oscan subordinate clause in general.

#### 4 The Subordinate Clause and Left Edge Fronting

Oscan exhibits a behavior known as Left Edge Fronting, or LEF. The movement of strong topics and foci to the CP layer is a form of LEF. Left Edge Fronting is highly relevant to our analysis of subordinate clauses in Oscan because it can result in constituents preceding the subordinating conjunction or the relativizer, as in example (34) below.

- (34)        [[**prai**    **Mamertt-iais**]<sub>i</sub> [**pas**    *t<sub>i</sub>*            **set**]]  
               before   Martian-ABL.PL    which.NOM.F.PL    be.PRS.IND.3PL  
               'which are before the Martian [festivals]' (Inscr. 27, Buck 1904:251)

In (34), the prepositional phrase *prai Mamerttiais* has moved from the relative clause introduced by *pas* to the left periphery of the clause. The left periphery corresponds loosely to what Devine and Stephens (2006) term the CP layer. For an

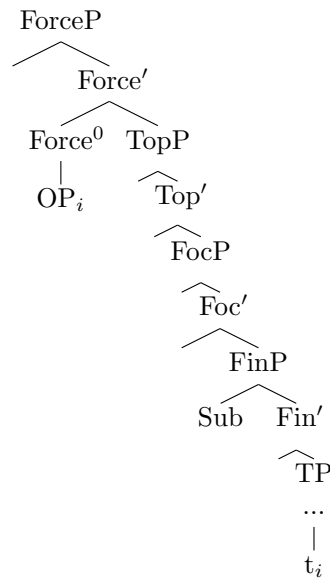
analysis of movement to the left periphery in Latin that may help us formulate a structure for Oscan, I turn to Danckaert (2012).

#### 4.1 Danckaert (2012)

Danckaert identifies the left periphery with Rizzi (1997)'s split-CP hypothesis, which breaks up the complementizer phrase into multiple projections. The highest of these projections is the ForceP, which hosts a clause's illocutionary force; ForceP is followed by multiple instantiations of TopP, which can appear on either side of a single ForceP, and finally by FinP, which distinguishes between finite and non-finite clauses.

According to Rizzi (1997), the complementizer appears in ForceP and acts, in Danckaert's terminology, as a *clause typer*, since it determines whether the clause is declarative, interrogative, relative, etc. However, since many languages undergo LEF and front constituents before the complementizer, Rizzi (2001) and Danckaert (2012) argue that some complementizers, including some subordinating conjunctions, do not act as clause typers. Instead, the clause typer can be a silent element and the phonological complementizer can occur in a lower projection within the left periphery. According to Danckaert (2012:107), the clause typing operator ( $OP_i$  in (34) below) is generated lower in the clause and moves to the specifier of ForceP. The phonologically overt subordinating conjunction (Sub) appears in the specifier of FinP. His proposed structure is shown in (35) below. Danckaert's theory should not present any serious problems for our earlier adoption of the analysis in Han (1998). Han argues that the imperative operator is hosted in  $C^0$ ; I will specify that it appears in  $Force^0$ .

(35)

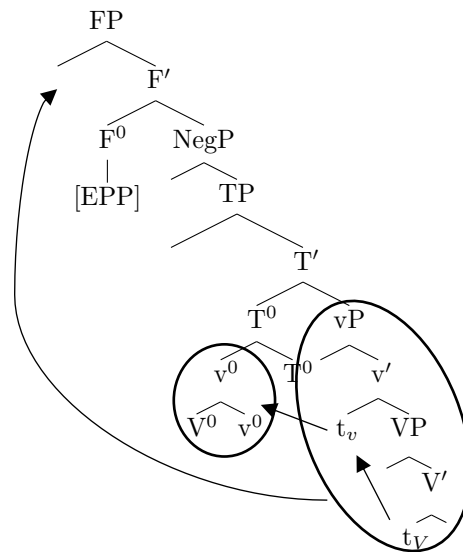


Danckaert (2012) analyzes two discrete types of Left Edge Fronting in Latin, the second of which is most relevant to Oscan. LEF2 is a specific type of focalization in which presentational foci move to the specifier of FocP. Recall from section 2.3 that typically only strong or identificational foci are raised to FocP; weak or presentational foci move to FocVP. In example (34) on page 37 above, *prai Mamerttiais* is a presentational focus. The phrase represents new information, so it is not a topic. It precedes the relative pronoun *pas*, so it cannot be in FocVP, where presentational foci are assumed to be located. Danckaert (2012:323–324) argues that presentational foci can move to FocP if they have already been raised above FocVP due to an independent syntactic operation. This operation *smuggles* the presentational focus past FocVP by raising the entire extended verb phrase (*vP*, in Danckaert’s terminology).

Danckaert attributes Latin’s SOV word order to this same operation; the verb in  $V^0$  moves to  $T^0$ , and subsequently the remaining *vP* moves to an intermediate projection (FP) above TP (2012:324). From there, foci are attracted to the nearest possible host,

which is now FocP since they have already moved past FocVP. Danckaert (2012:312) argues that V to T movement is motivated by the need to check the verbal feature of the tense phrase. The remainder of the *v*P moves to the specifier of FP (a functional projection of TP and the rough equivalent of Devine and Stephens (2006)'s SubjP) in order to satisfy the Extended Projection Principle (EPP). The EPP is the parameter stating that every clause must have a subject; Danckaert, following Chomsky (2001) and Travis (2006), stipulates that a verbal projection (*v*P), which is pied-piped by the targeted subject constituent, can satisfy the EPP. The derivation of LEF2 is illustrated in (35) below from Danckaert 2012:324.

(36)



## 4.2 Against Danckaert's LEF2 Analysis

Danckaert's analysis provides an explanation for the appearance of presentational foci in FocP. However, there are some major drawbacks to adopting Danckaert's theory. For one, it would require us to all but rule out pre-verbal FocVP, since the *v*P moves past FocVP in order to produce the neutral SOV word order. There is robust cross-linguistic

evidence for two distinct focus positions, one higher and one lower (see Belletti 2001, Cruschina 2006). Devine and Stephens (2006) argue strongly for a pre-verbal FocVP as the default focus position in Latin. I see the same need for a lower focus-hosting site in Oscan. Take as an example the sentence in (22b) on page 28, repeated here as (37).

- (37)      **Íním íúk**            **tríbarakk-iuf**      **pam**            **Núvlan-ús**  
                  and that.NOM.SG building-NOM.SG which.NOM.SG Nolani-NOM.PL  
                  **tríbarak-attus-et** **íním úítt-iuf**      **Núvlan-úm**      **es-tud**  
                  build-FUT.PRF-3PL and use-NOM.SG Nolani-GEN.PL be-FUT.IMP.3PL  
                  ‘And let that building which the Nolans built and its use belong to the  
                  Nolani.’ (CA 37, Buck 1904:227)

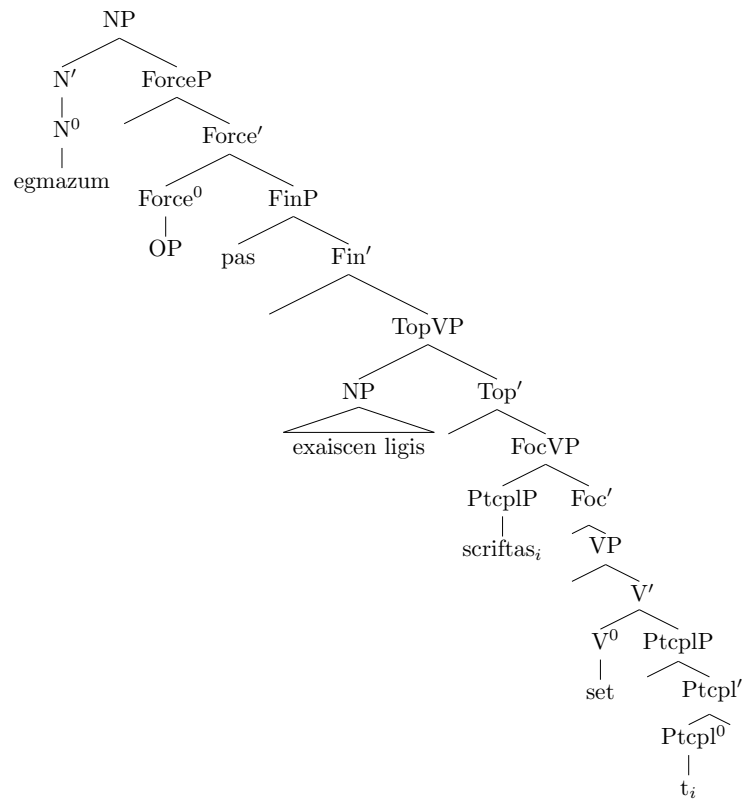
Without FocVP, the position of the predicate **Núvlanúm** becomes much more difficult to explain. For it to appear where it does linearly, it must be structurally lower than the subject phrase but higher than the verb. Since it is old information and not a topic, the only feasible position for it to occupy is FocVP. In addition, I see no reason to stipulate that the entire *v*P is raised to satisfy the EPP when the same result can be accomplished by movement of the subject alone.

Danckaert’s argument for V to T movement rests mainly on the fact that Latin (like Oscan) exhibits Verb – Inflection ordering. Only synthetic verbs (with inflection represented on the verb itself) and auxiliaries move to T. Danckaert then uses *v*P raising to FP to account for the observed participle-auxiliary order. However, I do not see any real need to explain participle-aux order in these terms. We could just as easily adopt the proposal in Devine and Stephens (2006) that auxiliaries are generated in  $V^0$  and take participles as arguments.



- (38) egm-azum pas exa-iscen lig-is  
 thing-GEN.PL which.NOM.F.PL these-ABL.F.PL law-ABL.PL  
 script-as set  
 write-PRF.PASS.PTCPL.NOM.PL be.PRS.IND.3PL  
 ‘the matters which have been written about in these laws’ (TB 24–25,  
 Buck 1904:233)

(39)



When participles precede auxiliaries, I will assume that the participle has been raised to focus or topic position, as in (39) above. After all, not all languages require verbs to move to T in order to check T’s verbal feature—English, for example. Since I am not convinced by the evidence of V to T movement in Latin or Oscan, I will follow Devine and Stephens (2006) in assuming that V to T movement is not obligatory.

If we reject Danckaert's analysis, however, we still need to explain why presentational foci can appear in the left periphery. As Danckaert notes, presentational foci move to the CP layer in several languages. Given that this phenomenon is cross-linguistic, I would argue that the distinction between strong/identificational and weak/presentational foci is not as clear cut as we have been assuming. The analysis of foci up to this point has treated the different kinds of foci as having qualitatively distinct features. Identificational foci are specifically attracted to FocP, and presentational foci are specifically attracted to FocVP. However, it may be a mistake to treat strong and weak foci as separate categories with completely divergent patterns of behavior.

As Zimmerman and Onea (2011) note, there are very few languages in which the type of focus reliably predicts the structural position of the focused constituent. The authors instead argue that there is a tendency for languages to use syntactically marked structures to represent more pragmatically marked foci, but there is not a strict rule or binary distinction. Contrast is pragmatically salient, so it typically receives a more marked syntactic or phonological realization. In the context of Latin and Oscan, more marked structural position corresponds to a position in the left edge of the clause, that is, FocP.

Given that there is no perfect correspondence between type of pragmatic focus and type of syntactic focus, I see no need to establish a separate operation for the movement of presentational foci to FocP. We can say that weak/presentational foci typically move to FocVP but may optionally be raised to FocP by the same process as strong/identificational foci. Bolstering my confidence in this assumption is the fact that, as Danckaert (2012:286) argues, presentational focus can be indicated by stress in place

of syntactic movement. If foci do not possess some feature that necessitates movement, there is little reason to conclude that they possess features that dictate which positions they are able to occupy.

If a weaker distinction between identificational and presentational foci is assumed, I can present a relatively straightforward account of LEF in Oscan subordinate clauses. Section 4.3 below will apply this approach to the Oscan relative clause, followed by a description of LEF in the conditional clause in section 4.4.

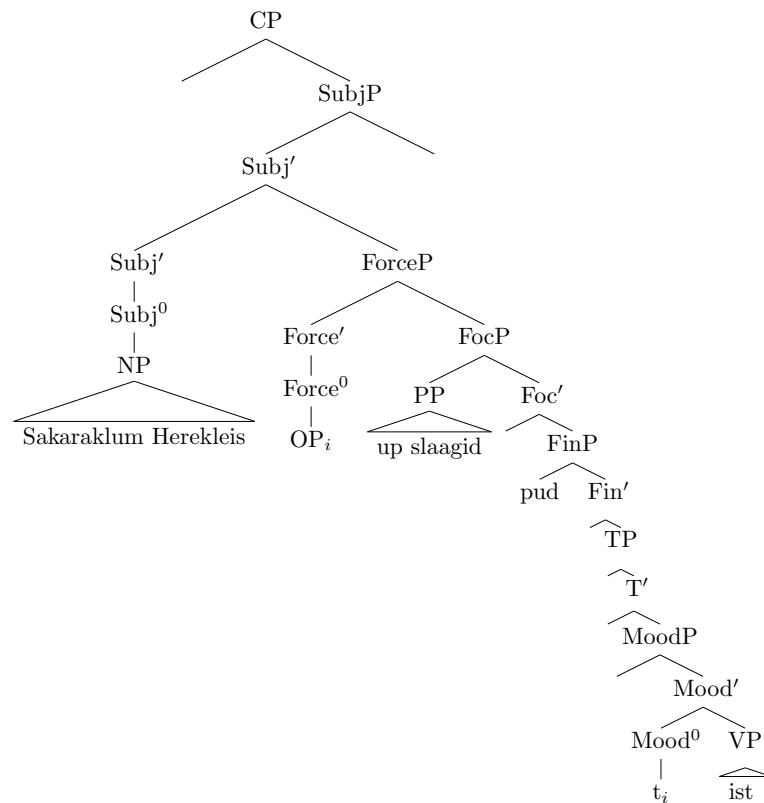
### 4.3 LEF in Oscan Relative Clauses

Following the account of Left Edge Fronting presented above, in which presentational foci move to the left edge of the clause by the same process as identificational foci, the structure of fronted elements in relative clauses is essentially the same as focalized elements in matrix clauses. The major difference is that the clause itself is embedded in a superordinate CP.

- (40)            [CP1 **sakaraki-úm**    **Herekl-eís** [CP2 [PP *úp slaag-id*]    **púd**  
                          temple-ACC.SG Hercules-GEN            at border-ABL which.NOM.SG  
                          **íst]]**  
                          be.PRS.3SG  
                          ‘the temple of Hercules which is at the border’ (CA 11, Buck 1904:226)

In example (40) above, the prepositional phrase [*úp*] *slaagid* has moved out of the relative clause introduced by *púd* and into focus position. I assume that the relative pronoun has moved to FinP and the clause-typing operator has moved to ForceP, as described in Danckaert (2012).

(41)



#### 4.4 LEF in Oscan Conditional Clauses

There are also several probable examples of Left Edge Fronting in Oscan conditional clauses.

(42)

a. [sagr-im      [svai puh aflaku-s]]

enemy-ACC.SG if    or    drive.against.FUT.PRF-2SG

‘or if you will have driven against an enemy’<sup>10</sup> (Inscr. 19, Buck 1904:244)

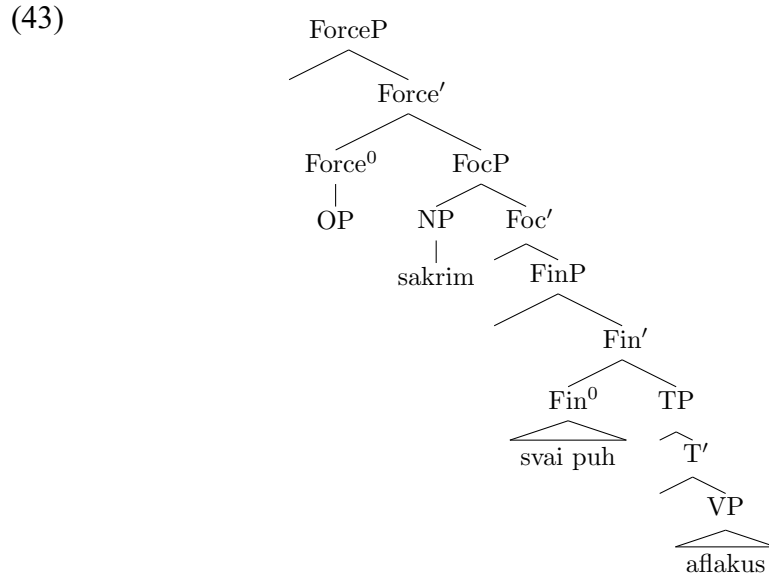
b. [ionc      [suae-pis    her-e-st      medd-is      molta-um]]

him.ACC.SG if-anyone wish-PRS-3SG magistrate.NOM fine-INF

<sup>10</sup> Crawford (2011) translates ‘if ever you shall have offered a sacrifice.’ I follow the word identifications in Buck (1904) and Janssen (1949).

‘if any magistrate wishes to fine him’ (TB 17, Buck 1904:232)

The structure of example (42a), given in (43) below, resembles that of the relative clause in example (40) on page 44.



However, I have not yet established the position the conditional *suae*-clause occupies in the syntax. This issue, and the final derivation of the Oscan conditional construction, will be discussed in the next section.

## 5 Conditionals

In the last section of this paper, I will review the general form of the Oscan conditional construction and discuss the conditional clause’s external syntax. The completion of this final step will allow us to assemble the analyses I have discussed so far into a detailed description of the Oscan conditional construction.

## 5.1 Overview of the Oscan Conditional Construction

Oscan conditionals are introduced by the subordinating conjunction *suae*, ‘if.’ In the Oscan legal texts, *suae* is very often followed by the relative pronoun *pis*, meaning ‘anyone,’ in which case the conjunction and pronoun may be written as one word, *suaepis*. In the condition, the verb is usually an indicative in the future or future perfect.

- (44)        *suae pis*                      *pert-emu-st...*  
              if    anyone.NOM.SG   prevent-FUT.PRF-3SG  
              ‘if anyone will have prevented’ (TB 4, Buck 1904:231)

Buck (1904: 220) notes that the conditional verb may also take the form of a present indicative with future force, like *vincter* in example (45a) below, or a perfect subjunctive with future force, as in (45b).

- (45)
- a. *suae-pis    cens-t-om-en    nei    cebn-u-st                      in.    eiz-eic*  
              if-anyone   census-ACC-in   not   come-FUT.PRF-3SG   and   that-LOC.SG  
              *vinct-er*  
              convict-PRS.PASS.IND.3SG  
              ‘if anyone will not have come to the census and is found guilty of it’ (TB  
              20, Buck 1904:233)
- b. ***svai neip dad-i-d***  
              if    not    give-PRF.SBJV-3SG  
              ‘if he will not give’ (Inscr. 19, Buck 1904:244)

In the apodosis or consequent, the verb is almost always a command or prohibition. As was discussed at length in section 3, commands are usually represented

by a true imperative and otherwise by a subjunctive. Prohibitions always take the form of a negated subjunctive in the corpus, although as we have seen, that does not mean negated imperatives are grammatically unavailable.

## 5.2 External Syntax of the Oscan Conditional

In section 4.3, I established the internal structure of Oscan conditional clauses. However, we still need to determine the position of the clause itself. Haegeman (2003) distinguishes between two types of conditional clauses: event conditionals and premise conditionals. Event conditionals are subordinate clauses that relate to the event of the main clause. Premise conditionals, in contrast, relate to the discourse and often echo a previous statement. Haegeman gives (46a) as an example of an event conditional and (46b) as an example of a premise conditional.

(46)

- a. If it rains we will all get terribly wet and miserable.
- b. If [as you say] it is going to rain this afternoon, why don't we just stay at home and watch a video? (Haegeman 2003:317)

Haegeman argues that the two types of conditionals are located at two distinct places in the syntax. Event conditionals are central and occur within the domain of the matrix clause, somewhere below the CP layer. Premise conditionals are peripheral and adjoined to the matrix CP.<sup>11</sup> The conditionals we find in the Oscan corpus are universally

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<sup>11</sup> Others, including Danckaert (2012), assume that peripheral adverbial clauses surface inside the split-CP, below ForceP. Since it is not relevant to our discussion of Oscan, I will not pursue the question further.

event conditionals, so I will restrict my focus to Haegeman's discussion of this clausal type.

The analysis of event conditionals as centrally located is supported by the fact that unlike premise conditionals, they do not tolerate Main Clause Phenomena (MCP). Main Clause Phenomena like the preposing of verb phrases and argument topicalization are typically not licensed in embedded clauses. Danckaert (2012) follows Haegeman and Ürögdi (2010a,b) in assuming that in most cases, argument raising to topic or focus position is ungrammatical in embedded clauses because a topic or focus would block movement of the clause-typing operator to ForceP. Employing the Relativized Minimality framework, the operator cannot move past foci and topics because its feature composition is poorer— that is, it has a subset of the features of foci and topics.

Given that argument fronting is clearly available in Oscan embedded clauses, this explanation seems problematic. However, the solution to this problem has already been hinted at in section 4.2.1 above. In Danckaert's analysis (2012:323), identificational topics and foci are assumed to have the feature [+ Wh] in addition to features marking them as topics or foci. The clause-typing operator is also taken to have the feature [+ Wh]; presentational foci and weak topics do not. Danckaert proposes that [+ Wh] is the feature that drives movement to the left periphery (i.e., to FocP or TopP). However, as I discussed above, the fact that Oscan presentational foci can appear in FocP suggests to me that assigning the [+ Wh] feature to identificational foci feature is unnecessary. If we assume that foci do not have this feature,<sup>12</sup> then its feature set is not a superset of the

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<sup>12</sup> Whether or not strong topics have the [+ Wh] feature is less important for our purposes, since only foci seem to undergo this kind of embedded-clause argument raising in the Oscan corpus.



operator's feature set. Therefore, operator movement is not blocked, and argument fronting is correctly predicted to be grammatical and a non-MCP in Oscan.

I will follow Haegeman (2003) in assuming that event conditionals appear somewhere in the middle of the superordinate CP. In Oscan, the condition (if-clause) tends to precede the consequent (then-clause), although there is no reason to assume that this order is obligatory. I will assume that the Oscan conditional clause is typically located in a specifier position below FinP and above SubjP of the matrix clause. The examples in (47) below demonstrate why this assumption is likely the best option available to us.

(47)

- a. Pr.,                   suae praefuc-us   pod post exac       Bans-ae  
 praetor.NOM if   prefect-NOM or   after this.ABL.SG Bantia-LOC  
 fust,                suae pis op       eiz-ois       com atr-ud  
 be.FUT.3SG if   any among   that-ABL.PL with other-ABL.SG  
 lig-ud           ac-um   her-e-st,       auti pru   medicat-ud  
 law-ABL.SG drive-INF wish-PRS-3SG or   before magistracy-ABL.SG  
 man-im           aser-um   eiz-azunc       egmazum  
 hand-ACC.SG claim-INF that-GEN.F.PL thing.GEN.PL  
 pas                exa-iscen   lig-is        scrift-as  
 which.NOM.F.PL these-ABL.F.PL law-ABL.PL write-PRF.PASS.PTCPL.NOM.PL  
 set,                ne phim           pruhip-i-d        mais  
 be.PRS.IND.3PL not which.ACC.M.SG prevent-PRF.SBJV-3SG more  
 zicol-ois    X nesim-ois.

day.ABL.PL 10 next.ABL.PL

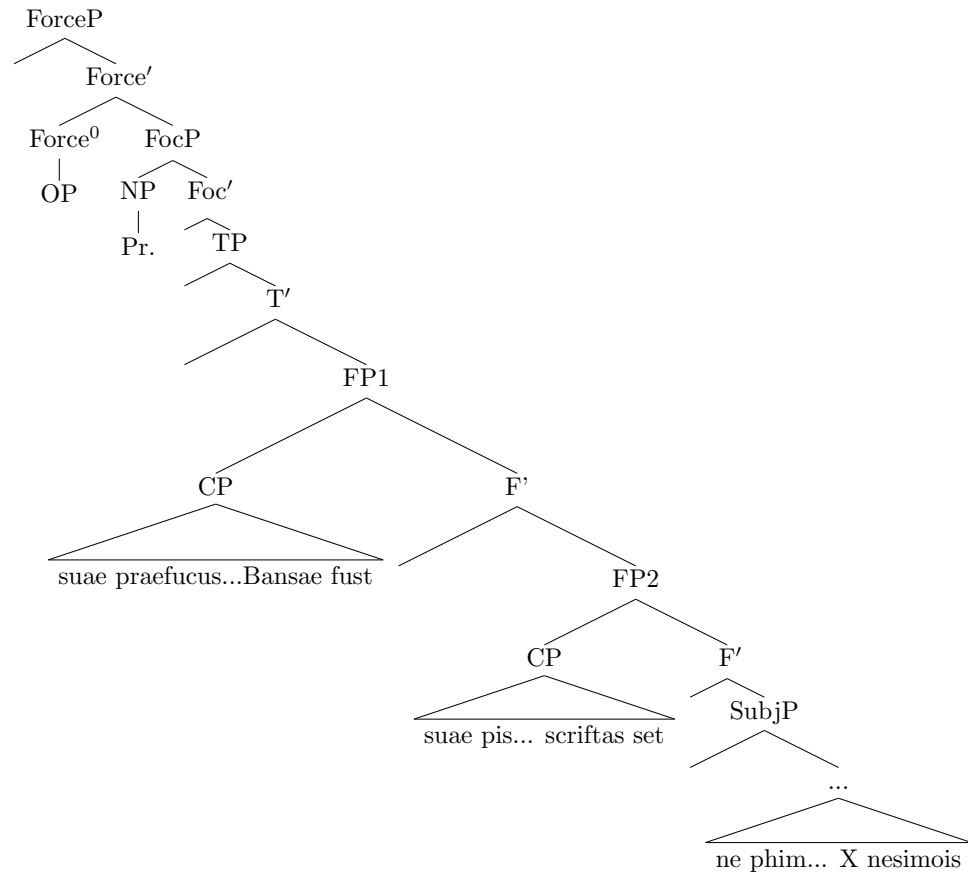
‘The praetor, or if there will be after this a prefect at Bantia, if anyone among them wishes to go to court with another, or to lay a claim before a judge regarding those things which are written in these laws, let him (the praetor) not prevent it for longer than the next ten days.’ (TB 24–25, Buck 1904:233)

- b. Suae pis contrud ex-eic pruhip-u-st, molto etanto  
if any against this-LOC.SG prevent-FUT.PRF-3SG much so  
es-tud: n. M.  
be-FUT.IMP.3SG sesterces 1000

‘If anyone will prevent it against this (law), let (the fine) be so much: 1,000 sesterces.’ (TB 25, Buck 1904:233)

In example (47a), the subject (*Pr.*, the abbreviation for *praetor*) appears before the sentence’s multiple conditional clauses. However, this subject position is the exception rather than the rule. The more typical pattern is the one in (47b), where the entire consequent follows the condition. The fact that all constituents of the consequent tend to appear after the *suae*-clause suggests that the condition attaches relatively high in the IP layer. I will assume that when matrix constituents precede the conditional clause as in (47a), they have moved into FocP or TopP.

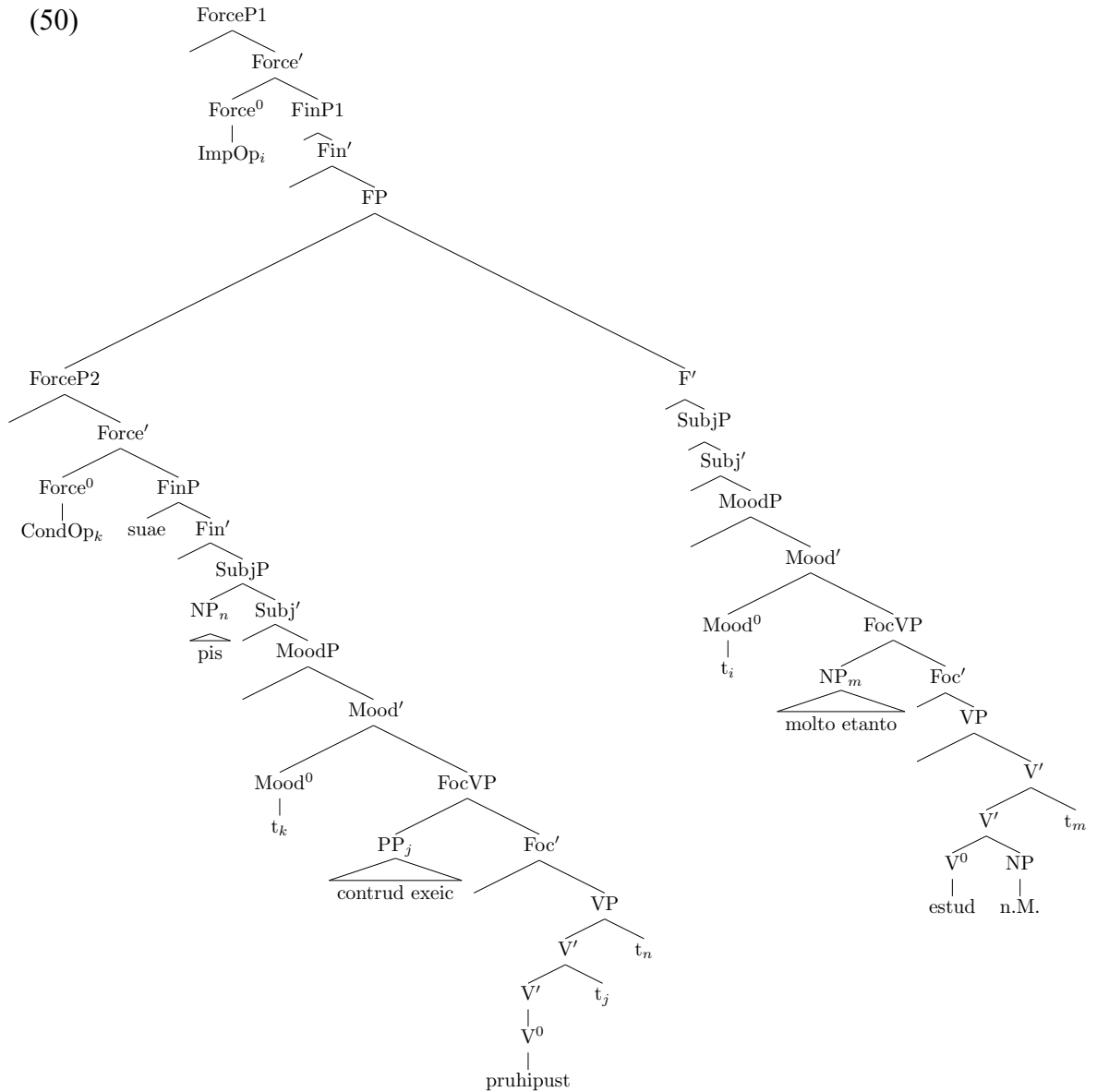
(48)



### 5.3 Detailed Structure of a Conditional Sentence

Let us consider one more Oscan conditional construction in detail. I will take (47b) on page 51 above as my example sentence, as it is a fairly standard instantiation of an Oscan conditional. I repeat (47b) as (49) for convenience.

- (49)      Suae pis    contrud ex-eic      pruhip-u-st,      molto etanto  
           if    any    against this-LOC.SG    prevent-FUT.PRF-3SG    much    so  
           es-tud:                    n.            M.  
           be-FUT.IMP.3SG    sesterces    1000  
           ‘If anyone will prevent it against this (law), let (the fine) be so much:  
           1,000 sesterces.’ (TB 25, Buck 1904:233)



In (50) above, ImpOp represents the operator that gives the matrix clause its imperative force; following Danckaert (2012), it moves to Force<sup>0</sup> from a position in MoodP. I assume that the imperative verb *estud* is raised to Force<sup>0</sup> at Logical Form (see the discussion in section 4).

As was established in this section, the subordinate clause beginning with ForceP2 attaches in the intermediate layer. I assume the position of this attachment to be above the

subject phrase. Rather than trying to establish the exact phrase to which the subordinate clause adjoins, I will use the functional projection FP as a stand-in. CondOp is an operator that marks the subordinate clause as a conditional. Following Devine and Stephens (2006), the subject phrase and the prepositional phrase move from post-verbal position.

## **6 Conclusion**

This paper arrives at a description of the Oscan conditional construction that draws on discourse-marking focalization and topicalization strategies, as well as theories of the syntax-semantics interface. In the process of establishing the structure of the Oscan conditional, I have argued for an analysis of Oscan imperatives involving verb movement to Force<sup>0</sup> at LF. Since the imperative stays low in the clause, as I demonstrated in section 3.3, negation does not have scope over the imperative operator and the negated imperative is not ruled out semantically. The absence of negated imperatives in the Oscan corpus is assumed to be the result of stylistic factors. I have also shown that pre-subordinator constituents in subordinate clauses are in focus position and argued for a weaker distinction between presentational and identificational foci; this approach allows us to posit that the raising of presentational foci to FocP is the result of an optional movement operation.

Finally, I argued that virtually all Oscan conditional clauses in our corpus are event clauses and are therefore centrally located in the matrix clause. Based on the typical arrangement of condition and consequent in Oscan, I have taken the typical site of

condition-clause attachment to be a functional projection above the subject phrase. When matrix constituents precede the condition, they are assumed to be in focus or topic position.

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