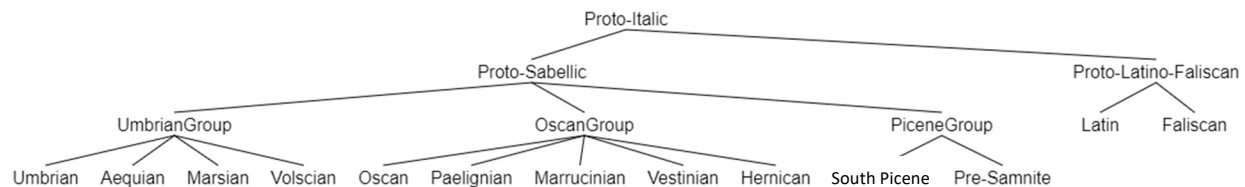


A Semantic Reappraisal of Umbrian *-nky- Perfects

A. Introduction

- 1 Recent scholarship is still divided on Umbrian *-nky- and Oscan -tt- perfect forms (see esp. Dupraz 2016, Willi 2010, Willi 2016)
- 2 I employ semantic analyses and a study of *facere* periphrases in Latin; these analyses provide further support for a proposal like Willi's (2010), wherein *-nky- perfects are the result of the univerbation of a periphrastic {nominal + perfect of *fak-}
- 3 The Ancient Languages of the Italic Branch (cf. Piwowarczyk 2011):



B. The Umbrian *-nky- Perfect: Present Stem with Perfect Endings?

- 4 Dupraz (2016: 334-337): *-nky perfect forms are built on a *-ye/o- present stem and are only marked as perfect by their secondary endings
- 5 This argument is predicated on the form **duvi(e)** (*Sabellische Texte* UM 21-22 = Ameria 1):

] **duvi. dun(u). dr**[-?-²-?-]

] **e. duvie. dunu. d**[-?-²-?-]

- a Dupraz' interpretation: **duvi(e)** is a perfect verb form built on a *-ye/o- present stem with perfect endings: [subj.] gave a gift [...]
 - b Meiser's interpretation: **duvi(e)** is an adjective form from the stem *dyow- (belonging to Jupiter) and the final incomplete word is the verb "to give:" ...gave a gift to Jupiter's [noun]
 - c All examples elsewhere in Sabellic (and elsewhere in Italic) of the *figura etymologica* *dōnom dō- occur with the noun preceding the verb
 - d Italic perfect forms tend to trace back to either aorist or perfect roots, not present roots; cf. Latin's reduplicated perfect form *dedī* "I gave"
- 6 Latin inscription CIL I² 364a (*dōnom dō- *figura etymologica*):

*Iovei Iunonei Minervai / Falesce quei in Sardinia
sunt / donum dederunt*

The Faliscans who live in Sardinia **gave**
(this) gift to Jove, Juno, and Minerva

C. The Umbrian *-nky- Perfect as a Univerbated *fak- Periphrasis

- 7 Willi 2010: *-nky- perfects result from the univerbation of a periphrasis {nominal + perfect of *fak-}

- 8 Such a formulation with an accusative nominal would syntactically preclude the verb from taking another Direct Object
- 9 The verb *combifans̄iust* takes a Direct Object (*Iguvine Tables* VIb 49; trs. Poultney):

<i>ape . angla . combifans̄iust .</i>	“When he has announced the divine messengers”
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D. *facere* Periphrases in Latin

- 10 Periphrases with *facere* are frequently attested throughout the corpus of the earliest Latin prose and poetry
- 11 Twelve Tables VIII 12 (trs. Courtney):

SI NOX FURTUM FACSIT, SI IM OCCISIT, IVRE CAESVS ESTO.	“If <A> commits theft by night, and kills him, let it be considered justifiable homicide.”
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- a The legal context and syntactic structure here are similar to the ritual context and syntactic structure of **-nky-* perfects in the *Iguvine Tables*
- 12 Cato’s *sanum facere* was replaced in later Latin by *sanare*

- a Cato *De Agricultura* 157.3:

<i>haec omnia ulcera purgabit sanaque faciet sine dolore.</i>	[Cabbage] will cleanse every ulcer and will make them healthy without pain.
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- b Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* 3.510-12:

<i>et quoniam mentem sanari, corpus ut aegrum, cernimus et flecti medicina posse videmus, id quoque praesagit mortalem vivere mentem.</i>	And since we recognize that the mind can be healed and altered by medicine, as is the case for a sick body, this fact also forbodes that the mind lives within the bounds of mortality.
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- 13 Univerbated verbal compounds with *facere* are attested as early as Cato (and even Ennius: see, e.g., *sacrificavit* ‘s/he sacrificed’ in *Euhemerus* VI = 62)
- a Cato *De Agricultura* 157.9 (*madēre* ‘to be wet’ > *ma-defacere* ‘to make wet’):

<i>dato edit, si poterit, sine pane; si non, dato panem purum ibidem ma-defaciat.</i>	Give the patient cabbage to eat, if able, without bread; if not able, give the patient plain bread and soak it .
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E. **fak-* Periphrases in the Sabellic Data

- 14 Two examples of the Umbrian perfect form of **fak-* are clearly not periphrastic

- a** *Titulus loquens* inscription (*ST* Um 4 = CAERE 1):

setums: míom face	Septimus made me...
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- b** *Iguvine Tables* (*IT* IV 31-3; trs. Poultney):

ap : itek : fakust : purtitu / (32) futu :	“When he has done thus, (the ceremony) shall have been completed.”
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- 15** The limited data suggests that **fak-* periphrases in the Umbrian group may be used primarily in sacrificial contexts

- a** Boar sacrifice at *IT* VIIa 42-3 (cf. **apruf** : / **fakurent** : in *IT* Ib 33-4; trs. Poultney):

ape / (43) purdin̄siust . carsitu . pufe . abrons . facurent . puse . erus . dera . ape . erus .	“When the <i>porrectio</i> has been completed, the order shall be called to the place where they have sacrificed the boars , to distribute the <i>erus</i> .”
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- b** An obscure Volscian **fak-* periphrasis (Velitrae 1 = *ST* VM 2 = Ve 222; cf. Vine 1993:371-381):

deve: declune: statom: sepi: atahus: pis: velestrom / façia: esaristrom: se:	Dedicated to the goddess Decluna. If anyone removes/steals who may make/do/perform a velestrom , let there be a piaculum.
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- 16** There are some similar periphrases in early Latin (e.g., *votum facito* ‘make a vow,’ *eam rem divinam...faciat* ‘perform this offering,’ and *res divina facta erit* ‘the offering will have been performed’ in Cato *De Agricultura* 83)

- 17** Data from the Oscan group is even sparser than data from the Umbrian group and more difficult to interpret

- 18** A (reconstructed) Oscan periphrasis appears in a non-sacrificial context (BANTIA 1 VI 14 = *ST* Lu 1; trs. Crawford et al.):

suae pis [contrud exeic post exac medd]is <f>acus <f>ust izic amprufid facus estud.	“If anyone [hereafter] shall have been appointed [a magistrate] contrary to these rules] he is not to be validly appointed .”
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- a** Latin does not have a related periphrastic form with *facere*, although it does create periphrastic forms of a similar meaning with other verbs (e.g., *obtinere*, *creare*, *habere*, and *gerere*)
- b** This phrase may be an innovation of the Oscan branch and may provide another example of the productivity and innovation of periphrases with the **fak-* root in individual Italic languages.

F. The Chronology of the **-nky-* Perfect

19 If the univerbation theory is accepted, it is likely that the original periphrastic structure dates back at least to the earliest stages of Umbrian

- a The univerbation process requires some time itself, and the **-nky-* univerbated form would have to have become productive enough to justify its apparent analogical expansion
- b The earlier (Willi 2010:3-4 contra Buck 1928 and Poultney 1959) non-**-nky-* perfect form **purtius** occurs 5x with varying persons and numbers (e.g., *IT* Ia 27; trs. Poultney):

api : habina : purtius : suřum : pesuntru / (28) fetu :	“When you have made the presentation of the lambs, offer a pig- <i>pesondro</i> ...”
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- c The later **-nky-* perfect form *purdinsus* occurs 7x with varying persons and numbers (e.g., *IT* 23-24):

ape . habina . purdinsus . / (24) eront . poi . habina . purdinsust . destruco . persi . Vestisia . et . pesondro .	“When he has presented the lambs, the same one who has presented the lambs shall offer at his right foot a libation and a pig- <i>pesondro</i> .”
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- d There is no apparent semantic difference between the forms that is able to explain the introduction of the new perfect form

G. Conclusion and Implications

- 20 Given the productivity of periphrases with **fak-* in other Italic languages, it is tempting to posit another periphrasis with **fak-* for the Oscan *-tt-* perfect
- 21 Since such attempted reconstructions are largely unaccepted (cf. Dupraz 2016, Willi 2016), Willi posits the univerbation of a periphrastic with STAND
 - a A reconstruction involving a periphrastic of this type requires an explanation of how this periphrasis arose and blocked a **fak-* periphrasis
- 22 Periphrases with related roots (e.g., the periphrasis with PIE **d^heh₁-* ‘make, do’ that probably lies behind the Germanic weak preterite, on which see most recently Jasanoff 2019) may indicate that ‘make, do’ periphrases can be traced beyond Proto-Italic and Proto-Germanic to an earlier stage in the history of IE languages

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