

**The Morphophonology and Semantics of Latin Diminutives
and Names of Personifications**

by

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Abstract

This doctoral dissertation investigates, synchronically and diachronically, the morphophonology and semantics of the categories of Latin diminutives and structurally similar non-diminutives, two categories that have long been in urgent need of reanalysis. It aims to answer questions relating to these words' grammatical terminations, the phonetics that might affect their terminations, the semantics that might affect the particular suffixes, and the reasons we should classify these words into diminutive words or words that serve some other functions. These questions derive from our essential unfamiliarity with the structure and meaning of these words, a product of our lack of engaged synchronic and diachronic analysis of not only the words but the category itself, over centuries of Latin as a living and a literary language.

Chapter I introduces the issues surrounding the problems arising from this unfamiliarity. Much of the content of this chapter derives from an examination of Latin diminutives which yielded lists of all such words appearing in the works of selected Roman authors ranging from around 200 BCE to around 200 CE. Chapter II reviews the accumulated results, the scholarly consensus, and the areas remaining to be developed on the topic of such words. Chapter III explains a formal definition of "diminutive" in the context of the Latin language and offers a system for classifying these words according to their morphophonology and semantics. Chapter IV features diachronic and synchronic analyses of the suffixes of these words. Chapters V, VI, and VII contain analyses of different types of diminutives and non-diminutives. Chapter VIII is devoted to the semantic and morphological analysis of Names of Personifications. Chapter IX is

the concluding chapter. There is a Bibliography and there are several appendices composed of lists of the words from the works of the selected Roman authors.

The three conclusions which this dissertation draws are: 1) Latin diminutives can denote literal or imputed smallness, and they regularly imitate their base words as much as possible morphophonologically and they usually imitate their base words semantically in some sense; 2) the major categories of diminutive-looking non-diminutives are nouns and adjectives that derive from verbs, nouns, and adjectives; 3) the Names of Personifications employ the suffixes of certain types of non-diminutive words, and the "Personification-forming suffix" which this dissertation proposes is a specialized application of these non-diminutive suffixes.

The four implications of this dissertation are: 1) the formation procedures for the creation of diminutives suggest that we need to amend the grammar books and other such sources; 2) the morphological resemblance between diminutives and diminutive-like terms which indicate personified figures suggests that there may be a natural yet nuanced link between diminutives and personification; 3) these diminutives and non-diminutives make the point that linguistics is dynamic in general, persistent and constantly evolving; 4) modern users of Latin typically use grammar books and other such sources for the creation of new words, and this dissertation can provide them with the knowledge to avoid misapprehensions involving the creation of diminutives.

Preface

Elements of the material from this dissertation were published as “The Formation of Latin Diminutives of Nouns and Adjectives,” ResearchGate.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323534846_The_Formation_of_Latin_Diminutives_of_Nouns_and_Adjectives. 2012. The article presents a simple collection of instructions for the formation of Latin diminutive nouns and adjectives. While this article begins with a very brief explanation of what diminutive words are, contains a general summary of the diachronic formation of the suffix sets, and gives attested examples of the formation of diminutive words, there is no attempt to justify the accuracy of the information within the instructions other than the attested examples.

Dedication

amātissimae Melissae
uxorculae, amīculae, adiūtrīculae

Acknowledgments

The work which you are about to read would never have come into existence without the knowledge, expertise, and—I will not mince words—patience of my supervisors, Adam Kemezis and Selina Stewart. Adam especially has been kindly yet firmly nudging me in the direction of a final product throughout the years, and after a number of unsuccessful starts in the writing of this dissertation, he managed to trigger some kind of philological *daimonion* of inspiration within me to write the actual bulk of the work of this dissertation within five months.

John Harris, who is also the third member of my committee, read a draft of this dissertation and promptly gave me a lot of much-needed advice on everything from simple formatting to the necessary inclusion of comparative material from other languages. Yes, John, I am indeed taking your criticisms in the spirit intended!

I would also like to acknowledge the extremely helpful comments and suggestions of Jack Zupko and Siobhán McElduff, my external examiners. Dr. Zupko's proofreading and Dr. McElduff thorough analysis were extraordinarily useful, and I have incorporated the suggestions of both in this final draft.

It would be a mistake not to mention my former supervisor Christopher S. Mackay here as well. His interest in, and brief comments (and mild criticisms) on, my old “The Formation of Latin Diminutives of Nouns and Adjectives” article ended up being part of my initial impetus to look more into the content of that article and try to expand the content with newer, better arguments and sources.

I have also talked to a number of intelligent people online about the topic of diminutives over the years. These were mostly students of Latin and scholars outside the field of linguistics who also took an interest in word formation in general and diminutives in particular. Most notable among these is geneticist Laura Sansum, whose questions on the rules of the formation of diminutives and fascination of *gjjinka* only contributed to my wishing to fulfil the goal of exploring these subtopics thoroughly.

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Lists of Abbreviations

- A&G *Allen and Greenough's New Latin Grammar*
- alt. altered
- ba. base
- CGL *Cambridge Greek Lexicon*
- L&S *A Latin Dictionary* by Lewis and Short
- LSJ *A Greek-English Lexicon*, by Liddell, Scott, and Jones
- L.V. long vowel
- nom. sing. nominative singular
- OLD *Oxford Latin Dictionary*
- orig. original
- put. putative
- rt. root
- S.C. some consonant that is not *l*, *n*, or *r*
- st. stem
- s.v. *sub verbo, sub voce*¹
- TLL *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*

In addition to these abbreviations is the abbreviated citation information appearing in footnotes for sources which I cite especially often: e.g., "Weiss, 66."

¹ When this appears in a footnote without further information (e.g., "TLL, s.v."), the reader should infer the relevant dictionary entry from the main text which is associated with the footnote. More information appears if needed.

Lists of Symbols

- > becomes by regular phonological development²
- < derives from by regular phonological development
- → 1) becomes by synchronic process of word formation; 2) is borrowed as
- ← 1) derives from by synchronic process of word-formation; 2) is borrowed from
- *X a reconstructed item of a proto-stage

² These symbols and descriptions derive from: Michael Weiss, *Outline of the Historical and Comparative Grammar of Latin* (Ann Arbor: Beech Stave Press, 2009), xv.

Glossary of Terms

This investigation uses several special terms:

- *Bahuvrihi*:³ A type of compound word which can be paraphrased “whose Y is X” or “having a Y that is X.”⁴ In such compounds, the non-final part modifies the final part, and neither part alone conveys the intended meaning. *Bahuvrihi* are also known as possessive or exocentric compounds: e.g., Greek adjective ῥοδοδάκτυλος, “rosy-fingered,”⁵ from the noun ῥόδον, “rose,” and the noun δάκτυλος, “finger”; Modern Latin genus name *Triceratōps*, substantive use of the adjective **triceratōps* (*τρικεράτωψ), “with a three-horned face,” from adjective τρεῖς, “three,” noun κέρας, “horn,” and noun ὤψ, “face”; English noun *bonehead*, “thick-skulled, ‘boneheaded,’ person,” from noun *bone* and noun *head*.
- Base:⁶ That part of a word which is unchanged in inflection before the case and person endings. Technically, *base* is not a formal term in linguistics in the way that *root* and *stem* are, and yet it is often convenient to learn a word’s case or person forms by simply dividing it up into 1) its base and 2) its case or person endings: e.g., the base of *puella* is *puell-*, hence *puellam* as in *puell-am* (= base *puell-* + case ending *-am*), *puellīs* as in *puell-īs* (= base *puell-* + case ending *-īs*);

³ From Sanskrit *bahuvrihi-*, “having much rice.” (Weiss, 262)

⁴ Weiss, 262.

⁵ Epithet of Eos (CGL, s.v. “Ἠώς”), the Greek goddess of the dawn. Eos is not a rosy finger. She has rosy fingers. Similarly, a Triceratops is not a “three-horned face” (many “literal” translations in Dinosaur books and related sources are misleading) but an animal with that sort of face, and a bonehead is not a head of the bone variety but an individual with that kind of head. I even mention a *bahuvrihi* in a song which I sing to my cats: “I call him Mr. Fuzzybutt because he has a fuzzy butt.”

⁶ For the sake of consistency and preciseness and transparency of morphology, I distinguish the terms *root*, *stem*, and *base* according to Sections 24-27 of A&G. Other sources (such as *Classical Latin: An Introductory Course* by J. C. McKeown and *Botanical Latin* by William T. Stearn) either use the terms *stem* and *base* interchangeably or use one of the terms for another.

the base of *amāre* is *am-*, hence *amō* as in *am-ō* (= base *am-* + person ending *-ō*), *amās* as in *am-ās* (= base *am-* + person ending *-ās*). Sometimes the base and the stem of a word are the same, as in *vōc-*, which is the stem and base of *vōx*, "voice," but very often they are different, as in *puell-*, which is the base of *puella*, and *puellā-*, which is the stem of *puella*.⁷

- Base Word: The word from which another word derives: e.g., *hortus* is the base word of the diminutive *hortulus*; *bibere* is the base word of *bibulus*.
- Bonus-Adjective: A Latin adjective which inflects according to that of the word-set *bonus* (masculine), *bona* (feminine), *bonum* (neuter). A diminutive and its base word can both be *Bonus-Adjectives*: e.g., *albus* (masculine), *albula* (feminine), *album* (neuter), "whitish," from *albus* (masculine), *alba* (feminine), *album* (neuter), "white."
- Classical Latin: 1) In the strict sense, this term refers to the form of the Latin language which scholars typically consider begins during the first century BCE and ends during the third century CE⁸; 2) in a very loose sense, I use this term in various places (especially in Chapter IV) to differentiate it from Late Latin (i.e., the form of the language extending from the third or fourth century CE to the fifth or sixth century CE), *sermō plēbēius* (i.e., the speech of the common people, at Rome and in the provinces⁹), Vulgar Latin (i.e., "common" or "Spoken

⁷ This distinction is especially crucial because any lack of acknowledgement of its existence can generate much confusion, and this can manifest itself in a situation where a student asks a perfectly valid question in reference to inconsistent terminology: "If you remove the genitive singular ending to find the 'stem' of a noun, why on earth is *ignis*/*ign-* considered an i-stem but *cōnsilium*/*cōnsili-* is not?"

⁸ Weiss, 23.

⁹ Frederic Taber Cooper, *Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1895), xvi.

Latin¹⁰), and the various inferred Proto-Italic and pre-literary stages of the language, and therefore it serves as a shorthand, catch-all term to refer to forms of literary Latin shown in the works of Plautus to Apuleius, wherein we find the types of words (notably diminutives) which relate most to my dissertation.

- Denominative: Deriving from nouns or adjectives: e.g., denominative adjective *anniculus*, “one year old,” from the noun *annus*, “year.”¹¹
- Deverbative: Deriving from verbs: e.g., deverbative instrumental noun *curriculum*, “the action of running,” from the verb *currere*, “to run.”
- Diminutive: A word that expresses literal smallness or imputed smallness (i.e., indicating various ideas such as affection, pity, and contempt), and has the morphosyntactic diminutive relation to its base word: e.g., *hortulus*, “small garden,” from *hortus*, “garden,” where *hortulus* received its meaning and shape from *hortus*; *crumilla*, “your damned little purse,” from *crumēna*, “purse,” where *crumilla* received its meaning and shape from *crumēna*. More thorough definitions of “Diminutive” appear in Chapter III.
- Hyponym and Hyperonym: A hyponym is a term denoting a particular semantic subtype within an umbrella term, called a hyperonym, and so there is an “X is a kind of Y” relationship between the two, where the X represents the hyponym, and the Y represents the hyperonym.¹² Thus, for example, in the sentence *A car*

¹⁰ Weiss, 504.

¹¹ In accordance with the usage of Sihler (e.g., 328) and Weiss (e.g., 308), I use this word to mean not just “producing a noun from a verb or adjective,” but also “producing a noun from another noun.” D. G. Miller (e.g., 36) uses the variant term *denominal* but in the same sense as *denominative* as defined here.

¹² Sebastian Feller, “Teaching and learning as explorative action games. Guidelines for the design of dialogic educational technology,” in *Educating in Dialog: Constructing meaning and building knowledge*

is a vehicle with four wheels, the “car” is the hyponym while the “vehicle” is the hyperonym. A car is a kind of vehicle.

- Non-Diminutive: A word whose structure resembles a diminutive, but has neither actual diminutive force, either literal or imputed, nor the morphosyntactic diminutive relation to its base word: e.g., *bibulus*, “fond of drink, eager to drink,” from *bibere*, “to drink,” where *bibulus* looks like a diminutive because of the *-ul-* element, but lacks the diminutive meaning of the particular diminutive relation to its base word. Non-diminutives may have morphological elements which are diminutive suffixes, and they may have etymological elements which have diminutive force, but their present forms, through the use of additional suffixes, no longer retain any diminutive force: e.g., *nucleus*, “kernel,” from *nucula*, “small nut,” the diminutive of *nux*, “nut,” where *-eus* is a non-diminutive suffix.
- Morphophonology: The study and description of the phonological alternations that occur when morphemes are combined together into words.¹³ When the diminutive suffix *-lo-* attached to the stem *agro-*,¹⁴ the result was the diminutive stem *agello-*.¹⁵ The elimination of the stem vowel *o* of *agro-*, the assimilation of the *r* in the stem *agr-* to *l* to match the *l* in *-lo-*, and the insertion of the *e* between *g* and *ll* are all types of morphophonological phenomena.

with dialogic technology, edited by Sebastian Feller and Ilker Yengin (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2014), 228.

¹³ Kenneth R. Beesley, “Computational Morphology and Finite-State Methods, in *Language Engineering for Lesser-studied Languages*, ed. Kemal Oflazer (Amsterdam: IOS Press, 2003), 64.

¹⁴ The stem of *ager*, “field.”

¹⁵ The stem of *agellus*, “small field.”

- Morphosyntax: The combination of morphology and syntax. It is the analysis of the internal structure of utterances, both above the word level and below it.¹⁶ When we talk about the morphosyntactic features of the Latin diminutive *hortulus*, we are referring to elements such as its gender (masculine), number (singular), case (nominative), declension (second), and termination (-*us*).
- Root: The simplest form attainable by analysis of a word into its component parts: e.g., the root *voc-* does not mean “to call,” or “I call,” or “calling,” but merely expresses vaguely the idea of calling, and cannot be used as a part of speech without terminations. Sometimes the root of a word or group of words is not obvious, and so thorough analysis is required to determine it: e.g., the root of *trahere*, “to drag,” and *trāctōrius*, “of or for drawing,” is *tragh-*, but we must infer this *tragh-* by looking at the *trah-* element of *trahere* (i.e., *trah-* + *-ere*) and the *trac-* element of *trāctōrius* (i.e., *trāc-* for *trag-* + *-tōrius*).
- Stem: The body of a word to which the basic inflectional terminations are attached.¹⁷ The stem contains the idea of the word without case or person

¹⁶ William Croft, *Morphosyntax: Constructions of the World's Languages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 3.

¹⁷ The basic inflectional terminations are variously modified by combination with the final vowel or consonant of the stem, and thus the various forms of declension and conjugation developed. (A&G, Section 28) It is vitally important to understand that these basic inflectional terminations are different from case/person endings. The case/person endings are the products of the combinations of the basic inflectional terminations and stems. Most of the case/person endings, as given in Latin, contain also the final letter of the stem and some traces of the basic inflectional terminations. While basic inflectional terminations and case/person endings may have the same form in certain situations, this is entirely accidental. Thus, the stem *puellā-* originally combined with the basic inflectional termination *-īs* to produce the case form *puellis*, but subsequently this *puellis* can be divided up such that we have the base *puell-* and the case ending *-īs*, and this case ending happens to have the same form as the basic inflectional termination *-īs*. But *puellā-* originally combined with *-m* to get *puellam*, which subsequently can be divided up as *puell-* and *-am*, and this case ending *-am* is different in form from the basic inflectional termination *-m*. In *amō*, the *-ō* is both the basic inflectional termination and the person ending. In *amās*, however, the *-s* is the basic inflectional termination but the *-ās* is the person ending.

relations: e.g., the stem of *puella*, "girl," is *puellā-*, whence the case forms *puellam* (= stem *puellā-* + basic inflectional termination *-m*), *puellis* (= stem *puellā-* + basic inflectional termination *-īs*); the present stem of *amāre*, "to love," is *amā-*, whence the person forms *amō* (= present stem *amā-* + basic inflectional termination *-ō*), *amās* (= present stem *amā-* + basic inflectional termination *-s*).

Chapter I: Introduction

For a set of words often neglected and chiefly denotative of “smallness,” diminutives cast a long shadow—not only over Latin morphology and phonology, but also that of the Romance languages and even modern English.

Diminutives in Latin came about from the union of base words and diminutive suffixes. The diminutive suffixes in Latin are among the so-called “evaluative” suffixes which represent a special class of suffixes which can be added to nouns, adjectives, and verbs without affecting either the category or the morphological features of the base, but simply adding a semantic nuance. A derivative word formed from one of these suffixes differs from its base word in meaning, and the meaning which this derivative word has is one which has been modified from the meaning of its base word.¹⁸ Further explanations of the formation patterns of diminutives appear later in this study.

I.A. Purpose and Aim

I herein investigate the morphophonology and semantics of Latin diminutives and words which have only the appearance and not the significance of Latin diminutives. The specific questions relate to these words’ grammatical terminations, the phonetics that might affect their grammatical terminations, the semantics that might affect the particular suffixes, and the reasons we should classify these words into diminutive words or words that serve some other functions.

My investigation is tripartite. First, I generate a list of all the Latin diminutives and diminutive-looking forms found in the works of Roman authors within a range of

¹⁸ Renato Oniga, *Latin: A Linguistic Introduction*, trans. Norma Schifano (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 158.

the history of Latin literature. Second, I create a system for classifying those forms, both in terms of their morphophonology and their semantics. Such a classification will clearly mark the distinction between diminutives and diminutive-like words. Finally, I draw conclusions about the patterns that emerge and the morphophonological or semantic processes that might have led to those patterns.

I.B. Background and Synopsis of the Issues

My investigation partly derives from a noticeable deficiency in the understanding of the morphosyntactic structure of Latin diminutives and their application. That structure derives partly from the morphophonological processes inherent in the Latin language and partly from the connection between morphology and syntax.

Ancient Latin grammarians such as Priscian have commented on the form and function of diminutive words. Priscian himself, for instance, classifies¹⁹ diminutives semantically as a form of comparison between sets of words, where a diminutive appears either by itself without an explicit reference to its base word, or with some reference to its base word and denoting some sort of comparison to something. Varro, however, believes²⁰ that the diminutive forms of nouns and adjectives are comparable to the plural number of nouns and adjectives, where an individual denoted by a diminutive is simply the individual denoted by a base word but “small,” just as individuals denoted by a plural form are simply the individual denoted by the base word but “more than one.” The ancient grammarians also observe that a diminutive as a rule retains the gender of its base word, and yet still offer us some counterexamples of that

¹⁹ 3.102.3

²⁰ *L.* 8.14

rule. The observations that these ancient Latin grammarians made on the nature of diminutives provided the basis for further assessments of diminutives in modern scholarship.

The traditional Latin grammar textbooks and the older resources devoted to Latin word formation provide the rudimentary and cursory guidelines for the formation of Latin diminutives. These guidelines do little more than introduce some of the variants of the Latin diminutive-forming suffixes and then briefly indicate the procedure for determining which variant should be attached to which stem characteristic of a base word. For example, one guidebook²¹ shows the word *equulus*, "little horse," which derives from the combination of the diminutive suffix *-ulus* and the base word *equus*, "horse," whose stem characteristic is *equo-*. The presentation of the procedures in word formation gives this basic information, but the exact detail of that presentation varies from resource to resource. Some resources offer brief descriptions of diminutives and short lists of examples,²² while others contain lengthier lists of rules and examples.²³ There is a noticeable lack of detailed explanations and overviews of rationale for the terminations that these diminutives take. When the resources do offer such explanations, they point out that diminutives take the genders of their base words.²⁴ One source, Schmitz's grammar,²⁵ also specifically assigns gender to the terminations: masculine diminutives must end in *-ulus* and *-culus*, feminine ones must end in *-ula* and

²¹ John Tahourdin White, *White's Latin Suffixes* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858), 59.

²² E.g., Joseph Henry Allen and James Bradstreet Greenough, *Allen and Greenough's New Latin Grammar*, 2001 ed. (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1903), Section 243.

²³ E.g., White, *White's Latin Suffixes*, 57-65.

²⁴ E.g., A&G, Section 243.

²⁵ Leonhard Schmitz, *Grammar of the Latin Language* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 2004), 165.

-cula, and neuter ones must end in *-ulum* and *-culum*. The source does not offer any rationale for this gender-termination assignment, but the reader can infer that Schmitz believes that determining what termination a diminutive substantive must take is as simple as linking the masculine, feminine, or neuter gender with the termination *-us*, *-a*, or *-um*, respectively: e.g., *hortulus* must have the termination *-us* because *hortulus* is masculine and we have already linked the masculine gender with the termination *-us*. It is, however, crucial to understand that while that is a very common gender-termination assignment among substantives, the rigidity of such an assignment is seen only in adjectives which behave like *bonus*. Among substantives, that assignment is the default, but among adjectives which decline like *bonus*, that assignment is the rule.

We must not forget that the rules regulating the morphological and gender-relevant information of a substantive do not apply to an adjective. In Latin, nouns cannot simply take any termination or gender, or change their already existing termination or gender, from one context to another in a way analogous to the terminations and genders of adjectives. Moreover, the form that an adjective takes depends on the morphological and gender-relevant information of its associated noun and not the other way around: e.g., *magnus* takes that masculine form *magnus* when it agrees with the masculine noun *hortus* in the nominative singular, but a feminine form *magna* cannot force that masculine *hortus* to a feminine **horta*. These nuances in the difference of gender-termination assignment among the substantives and the adjectives are easily overlooked, and it is a simple matter to assume that *-us* is the "masculine termination," *-a* is the "feminine termination," *-um* is the "neuter termination," and

hence any derivative word must employ this gender-termination assignment. Such a misapprehension therefore ultimately derives from the notion that these derivatives behave essentially like those *Bonus-Adjectives*, and the reader who has gained such a misapprehension can take the information from Schmitz's grammar and infer further that determining what termination a diminutive substantive must take is analogous to determining what an adjective must take in order to agree with its noun: e.g., *magnus*, a masculine adjective, has the "masculine termination" *-us* which derivatives must have, and the base word *hortus* is masculine, therefore the masculine diminutive of *hortus* must be *hortulus*. This misapprehension violates the gender-termination assignment rules for Latin substantives which I have discussed above. Due to the weakness of this theory concerning such an assignment, we must seek a better explanation for determining the morphological and gender-relevant information which a Latin diminutive should take.

An adequate explanation of the morphosyntactic structure of diminutives and even non-diminutives requires a detailed and comprehensive series of synchronic and diachronic investigations of the morphophonological processes which brought about both the recognizable variants of the relevant suffixes in the first place and the subsequent words which arose from the addition of suffixes to base words. An investigation of specifically the morphophonology of diminutives and other such words is necessary because, in Latin, word formation of this type essentially entails the interaction of different types of stems,²⁶ and with that interaction comes, naturally, a

²⁶ A&G, Section 232, Note 2.

change in morphological structure in words, and, less intuitively, changes in sounds. Thus, strictly speaking, the diminutive *hortulus* did not arise simply from adding *-ulus* to the base *hort-* or the nominative singular form *hortulus* itself, but rather it arose from the interaction between the *-ulo-*, the stem of the diminutive suffix, and *horto-*, the stem of the noun, and this produced the new stem *hortulo-*.

My investigation also specifically deals with the semantics, or range of significance, which we typically classify as “diminutive.” One of the ultimate goals of my investigation is to stress the point that diminutive words in Latin denote both literal smallness (e.g., *prātulum* is a small *prātum*, “meadow”) and figurative, putative, or conceptual reduction—or more simply imputed smallness (e.g., *Graeculus*, “a mere Greek,” from *Graecus*, “a Greek”). Examples such as *Graeculus* show that such words can be applied not just to inanimate objects but also to living beings. Moreover, not only nouns can produce diminutives, but adjectives can also (e.g., *forticulus*, “rather brave,” from *fortis*, “brave”). Furthermore, a diminutive may be used as a proper name (e.g., *Caligula* from *caliga*, “army boot”; *Corculum* from *cor*, “heart”; *Scaevola* from *scaeva*, “left hand”).

The major difficulty which one must deal with when studying the range of significance of these diminutives is the fact that misconceptions have accumulated concerning these words. These misconceptions come about when attempting to analyze words which are structurally similar to diminutives but are not actually diminutives.

One of these misconceptions deals with meaning and the change of termination and gender, and so it pertains directly to both morphophonology (in the form of the

morphosyntactic structure of words) and the semantics. This misconception arises where there is the assumption that a diminutive can 1) freely take a gender and termination different from its base word to fit the nature of its referent, 2) connote some vague yet obligatory idea of smallness related to that base word by virtue of a suffix which has the structure of a diminutive suffix, and yet 3) denote appurtenance to the individual identified by the base word as opposed to denoting a perceptible or inferable element of literal or virtual smallness, and has an adjectival meaning either together with, or in lieu of, the nominal meaning. Not only do Latin diminutive words indicate smallness rather than general appurtenance (i.e., they can indicate smallness but they do not typically mean “pertaining to,” or “associated with”), but they typically retain the gender of the words from which they derive.²⁷ The examples of Latin diminutives mentioned in the previous paragraphs also demonstrate the tendency of diminutives to retain the termination of their respective base words whenever possible. So, for example, *porculus*, “little pig,” comes from *porcus*, “pig,” and while the idea of smallness might be difficult to perceive when that diminutive word is, for example, the technical term for a hook of an oil-press, such a meaning fits within the range of semantics of diminutives in relation to their base words, and such a morphosyntactic form fits within the range of forms of diminutives in relation to their base words. But that form cannot freely change while at the same time having both noun and adjectival meanings. Thus, *porculus* cannot simply become *porculum* to refer to an object, have a vague meaning of “little pig,” and yet effectively mean little more than “little individual

²⁷ William T. Stearn, *Botanical Latin*, Fourth Edition (Portland: Timber Press, 2004), 281.

pertaining to a pig.” This example of an actual diminutive and its use (and non-use) helps to illustrate such misconceptions.

Another such misconception involves the relationship between the name of the city of Rome itself, *Rōma*, which is feminine, and the legendary founder of the city, Romulus. According to this misconception, *Rōmulus* is a masculine diminutive word from the feminine base word *Rōma*, and so it should mean “Little Rome”²⁸; *Rōmulus* has a different termination and gender from *Rōma*, and the name somehow connotes a vague idea of smallness in connection with the original word *Rōma* while also denoting some sort of connection with the city. And yet, diminutives are not known to behave in such ways. First, if this *Rōmulus* were a diminutive, it would not be able to indicate smallness and such connection at the same time; *Rōmulus* as a diminutive could never mean “small one pertaining to Rome,” and the reason for this is that a diminutive noun does not have the freedom of changing its basic meaning and status as a noun into an adjective without modification. Second, we would expect the diminutive of *Rōma* to be the feminine *Rōmula*. Third, Romulus, the legendary founder of Rome, was not a “Little Rome” in a sense that, for example, a *prātulum* (“small meadow”) is a diminutive of *prātum* (“meadow”). Finally, as far as we can see, Romulus was not named after something called *rōmula* similarly to how Caligula was named after a *caligula*, or Corculum was named after a common word *corculum*, or *Scaevola* was named after a common word **scaevola*. This means that there is a problem with viewing *Rōmulus* as an example of a diminutive: the idea is that *-ul-* words which obviously refer to small

²⁸ Christopher S. Mackay, *Ancient Rome: A Military and Political History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 13.

things regularly retain the gender of the base word, and keep their appropriate termination where applicable, so that there is a reliable connection between semantics and morphology; whereas *Rōmulus* does not have the gender of its base word, nor its expected termination, so it is best not try to pretend there is any idea of smallness there. Thus, to respond to this misconception effectively, we must be aware of the relationship between diminutives and their base words in terms of meaning and terminations, and we can do that by introducing a distinction between diminutives and words that are morphologically and phonologically analogous to diminutives but semantically different.

One other misconception deals with the assumption that a word with a diminutive-like suffix is itself likely to be a diminutive word. Scholars such as Strodach²⁹ have shown that words which belong to certain semantic groups and have forms that resemble diminutives have no actual diminutive force. Specific types of these non-diminutive words (e.g., adjectives from verb stems as *bibulus*, “fond of drink, eager to drink,” nouns from verb stems as *pōculum*, “cup”) appear very often in the various Latin resources which we have.³⁰ Among these words without diminutive force are miscellaneous words that do not fit in any general category (e.g., *oculus*, “eye”). Making such distinctions in these non-diminutive words is important because our understanding of the morphophonology and semantics of Latin word-formation, and of

²⁹ George Kleppinger Strodach, *Latin Diminutives in -ello/a- and -illo/a-*, Doctoral Dissertation (University of Pennsylvania, 1933), 61.

³⁰ E.g., White, A&G.

these kinds of words in particular, will not advance without re-categorization of words with such forms or even the creation and elaboration of new categories.

Fortunately, more recent developments in the understanding of these words show that the current state of scholarship is heading in the right direction. While scholars tend to add little in terms of what is already known about the relationship between diminutives and their base words in terms of gender,³¹ they fortunately do not take a hard stance on the gender-termination assignment as seen in Schmitz. Moreover, scholars have recognized a unique property of the diminutive suffixes which has significance for the morphological and semantic relationship between a diminutive and its base word.³² Some scholars, such as Hanssen, have dedicated studies to the semantics of diminutives which appear in a limited range of Latin authors.³³ Still other scholars, such as Gow, Fruyt, Gaide, and Jurafsky, have investigated the semantics of diminutives by digging deeper into the nuances of the ranges of meanings which diminutives can be expected to have.³⁴ Nevertheless, this new understanding has not been applied sufficiently to that older information we have on diminutives. We have yet to see a more thorough synthesis between the morphological knowledge which the ancient authors have offered us in centuries past and the semantic knowledge which modern authors elucidated in more recent years.

³¹ D. Gary Miller, *Latin Suffixal Derivatives in English: and Their Indo-European Ancestry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 58.

³² Oniga, *Latin: A Linguistic Introduction*, 158.

³³ Jens S. Hanssen, Th. *Latin Diminutives: A Semantic Study* (Bergen: John Grieg, 1952), 1951.

³⁴ Michèle Fruyt, "Étude sémantique des diminutifs latins *-ulus*, *-culus*, *-ellus*, *-illus*... dé-substantivaux et dé-adjectivaux," in *Actes du Vème Colloque de Linguistique Latine*, ed. M. Lavency et D. Longrée (Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters, 1989), 1989.

My investigation into the morphophonology and semantics of diminutives and non-diminutives will show that the grammar books and other manuals of that type understate the complexity of the morphology of diminutive nouns and its relation to the fundamental difference between noun and adjective inflection. It will also further develop the more recent semantic-related understanding of these words by stressing the importance of these new ideas and testing them by citing illustrative examples.

Early in my investigation of the morphophonology and semantics of both diminutives and non-diminutives, I began to recognize a subset of these non-diminutives which contain diminutive-looking words denoting anthropomorphic entities which have special associations with the words from which these non-diminutives derive. Along with the other goals that I have stated above, this dissertation will identify these words, note their features, and give them their own formal category.

I.C. Research Methodology

My research methodology is directly linked to the construction of a list of Latin diminutives and diminutive-like forms, which I refer to as my database. The construction of this database involved four tasks. First, I used two online databases, a Latin lexicon at the Perseus Digital Library and a text search tool prepared by the Packard Humanities Institute, to find all the words which tentatively fit my criteria. Second, I compared this tentative list with the lists of words already provided by F. T. Cooper,³⁵ which include diminutives (organized into diminutive nouns and adjectives) and diminutive-looking words, all grouped according to author and author's work. Third,

³⁵ Cooper, 164.

I confirmed the literary reality (i.e., the word's actual occurrence in Latin literature), the basic semantic functions, and the orthographic features of members of this list by finding their corresponding entries within the current version of the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, which is much more up-to-date than Cooper's work, and has the advantage of giving full definitions of the words. Fourth, I used that version of the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* to make notes on the specific meanings of these words and the respective references of these words in Latin literature. Fifth, I looked at these references of these words in the actual literature in order to get a much better sense of the nuances of the meanings in context. Sixth, and finally, I categorized all these words in terms of their morphophonology and semantics, with the result that I have two major parts of my database: 1) Diminutives and 2) Others.

The break-down of the two parts is as follows:

- Diminutives
 - Adjectives
 - Diminutive Adjectives in *-lus*
 - Adverbs
 - Diminutive Adverbs in *-le*
 - Diminutive Adverbs in *-lum*
 - Nouns
 - Diminutive Nouns in *-lus*
 - Diminutive Nouns in *-la*
 - Diminutive Nouns in *-lum*

- Others
 - Ambiguous Adjectives
 - Ambiguous Adjectives
 - Ambiguous Nouns
 - Ambiguous Nouns
 - Ambiguous Verbs
 - Ambiguous Verbs
 - Denominative Adjectives
 - Non-Compounds
 - ❖ Non-Compound Denominative Adjectives in *-lus*
 - Compounds
 - ❖ Compound Denominative Adjectives in *-lus*
 - Deverbative and Denominative Abstracts
 - Deverbative and Denominative Abstracts in *-ēla*
 - Deverbative Adjectives
 - Adjectives
 - ❖ Deverbative Adjectives in *-lus*
 - Substantive Adjectives
 - ❖ Substantive Deverbative Adjectives in *-lus*
 - ❖ Substantive Deverbative Adjectives in *-la*
 - ❖ Substantive Deverbative Adjectives in *-lum*
 - Deverbative Instrumentals

- Deverbative Instrumental Nouns
 - ❖ Deverbative Instrumentals in *-bula*
 - ❖ Deverbative Instrumentals in *-bulum*
 - ❖ Deverbative Instrumentals in *-cula*
 - ❖ Deverbative Instrumentals in *-culum*
- Adjectives from Deverbative Instrumentals
 - ❖ Adjectives from Deverbative Instrumentals in *-bulus*
 - ❖ Adjectives from Deverbative Instrumentals in *-culum*
- Diminutives with Adjectival Suffix
 - Diminutive Substantives with Adjectival Suffix *-uleus*
- Incomplete Resemblance
 - Words in *-aster* Indicating Incomplete Resemblance
 - Words in *-astra* Indicating Incomplete Resemblance
 - Words in *-astrum* Indicating Incomplete Resemblance
- Names of Personifications
 - Early and Classical Latin
 - ❖ Names of Personifications in *-cius*
 - ❖ Names of Personifications in *-la*
 - ❖ Names of Personifications in *-lus*
 - ❖ Names of Personifications in *-na*
 - ❖ Names of Personifications in *-nus*
 - Later Latin

- ❖ Names of Personifications in *-lus*
- ❖ Names of Personifications in *-na*
- ❖ Names of Personifications in *-nus*
- Other Adjectives
 - Other Adjectives in *-illus*
 - Other Adjectives in *-ulus*
- Other Nouns
 - Other Nouns in *-illus*



Two features will be readily apparent from the foregoing: the “Others” category is much greater in both magnitude and variety than the category of “Diminutives.” It therefore is obvious that diminutive words in Latin make up just one of the several kinds of words which have the general shape that I have specified above.

I.D. Chronological and Literary Range of Authors

My project broadly and for the most part takes into consideration the diminutives and diminutive-looking words which are found in the works of notable authors within a chronological range of the history of Latin literature extending from the beginning, around 200 BCE, to around 200 CE. My study begins chronologically with the works of the playwright Plautus, who offers many examples of words that scholars have long identified as diminutives,³⁶ and ends with the works of Apuleius, who flourished in the

³⁶ Cooper, 173.

latter part of the second century CE. As I point out in my Glossary of Terms, I refer to these forms of literary Latin loosely as "Classical Latin."

Different elements of my study will focus on different periods of this Classical Latin. The morphophonological element will focus on examples from the works of Plautus and Apuleius as well as the works of Roman writers in the intervening years such as Cato the Elder, Varro, Cicero, Petronius, Vitruvius, Martial, Juvenal, and Pliny the Elder. The semantic element, however, will focus on a narrower range of authors, namely from Vergil (c. 40 BCE) to Apuleius (c. 200 CE). I also make note of the differences in the types of words found between prose and poetry, on the one hand, and among different genres, on the other. The reason for this choice in the semantic study of works of Latin literature is that Hanssen has already done an impressive amount of work on the study of the semantics of the diminutives which appear in notable Latin works ranging from those of Plautus and Terence (c. 200 BCE) to those of Caesar, Sallust, and Cicero (c. 40 BCE).

There is a practical reason for selecting examples of words from Latin literature: when it comes to the works of the authors ranging from Plautus to Apuleius, one can acquire the primary sources and associated lexical material readily and on a consistent basis; words and lexical material from elsewhere (e.g., subliterate and epigraphic Latin) are difficult to come by, partly because some of that material is unpublished and not readily available. Moreover, the chronological and literary range which I have selected is the same as that used for the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*.

I.E. Treatment of the Lengths of Vowels and a Note on Dictionaries

Throughout my dissertation, I handle the marking of the length of vowels in Latin words in two main ways. In my main text, I mark long vowels with macrons (as in *ā*) and leave short vowels unmarked (unless I need to emphasize the shortness of the vowel, in which case I use a breve, as in *ă*, or a vowel which can be long or short, in which case I use a combination of a breve and a macron, as in *ă̄*). In quoted text and in the titles of works which are in Latin, however, I leave vowels unmarked.

Many Latin dictionaries have incorrect, misleading, inconsistent, or apparently arbitrary methods for indicating whether a vowel is long or not.³⁷ Notable among these dictionaries is the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, for which its editors have made the conscious choice of never marking hidden quantity even if the vowels in question are definitely known to be long. This means that, for example, *rēx*, *rēgis*, “king,” appears in the dictionary as “rex rēgis” in the respective entry of this dictionary. The upshot to this is that many Latin textbooks (e.g., *Classical Latin: An Introductory Course* by J. C. McKeown and *Disce! An Introductory Latin Course* by Kenneth F. Kitchell, Jr. and Thomas J. Sienkewicz) show indications that their authors have consulted the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* for the information on the lengths of vowels, namely OLD notations such as the “rex rēgis,” which is unnecessarily confusing and inconsistent, and it is difficult to tell whether the authors of these textbooks are aware of the origin of this discrepancy.

³⁷ The website “Vowel Quantity – where your Dictionary is Wrong” (<https://alatius.com/latin/quantity.html>) brings up this important fact and tries to clear up some of the confusions.

Since I have decided that I wish to maintain consistency in the marking of long vowels according to the most accurate information that I can acquire, I have looked elsewhere for information of this type and found sources which fit my criteria. The sources which I have consulted for the lengths of vowels are:

- The online search function of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*³⁸;
- The Hidden quantity page³⁹ on alatus.com (which includes a verbatim copy of chapter 3 of *The Latin Language – a historical outline of its sounds, inflections, and syntax* by Charles E. Bennett);
- Hans H. Ørberg's *Lingua Latina per Se Illustrata, Pars I: Familia Romana* along with its ancillary materials such as *Lingua Latina per Se Illustrata: Colloquia Personarum*;
- *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages* by Michiel de Vaan.

I.F. Treatment of Translations

In many cases, I use the Loeb translations of the original Latin and Greek texts, and while I specifically cite the names of the individual translators of these translations in footnotes of this dissertation, I will simply cite the Loeb Classical Library homepage in the Bibliography of this dissertation. Most of these Loeb translations will appear without change, but sometimes I will make what I find are appropriate changes to the translations and I will specifically indicate such changes.

³⁸ *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, "Lemma," accessed July 19, 2023, <https://publikationen.badw.de/en/thesaurus/lemmata>.

³⁹ Johan Winge, "Hidden quantity, by Charles E. Bennett," accessed July 19, 2023, <https://alatus.com/latin/bennetthidden.html>.

In other cases, the English translations of the Latin and Greek texts come from other translators, and I will cite the names of the individual translators of these translations in both the footnotes and the Bibliography.

In the remaining cases, apart from the two types of cases I already specified, I will give my own translations of passages and indicate that fact.

Chapter II: The *Status Quaestionis* of Diminutives and Non-Diminutives

This chapter is a literature review with commentary. It deals with the accumulated results, the scholarly consensus, and the areas remaining to be developed on the topic of diminutives and non-diminutives. Specifically, the sections of this chapter contain summaries of notable ancient and modern works which treat the types of words relevant to my investigation and my commentary on how well and to what extent they contribute to scholarly understanding of the words in question.

These sources try to answer a number of questions and it turns out that these questions are rather broad. Many of the questions that they try to answer deal with questions which relate to the formation procedures of diminutive words and the range of meanings that the Romans attached to such words. One crucial question that one should ask about the formation of diminutives is the relationship between gender and termination: do diminutive nouns behave like *Bonus*-Adjectives in terms of gender-termination assignment, that is, do all masculines end in *-us*; do all feminines end in *-a*; do all neuters end in *-um*? Another question: what constitutes a diminutive? How can we distinguish between real diminutives and words we deem to be non-diminutives which yet have the shape of diminutives?⁴⁰ Yet another question: How has the understanding of diminutives and non-diminutives developed throughout the years, not only for such words in Latin only, but even for analogous words in other languages?

⁴⁰ One source which I cite in this chapter (Gow's) puts much work into trying to define diminutives, and in the chapter which I deal with the definition of diminutives (Chapter III), I wish to address that source's attempt to define diminutives and expand upon this attempt in order to propose a more robust definition.

II.A. Ancient Studies

The following authors discussed diminutives in Latin in antiquity, from the perspective of speakers of Latin as a living language.

II.A.a. Varro

Marcus Terentius Varro (116-27 BCE) the polymath was Rome's greatest scholar. His writings covered nearly every branch of inquiry: history, geography, rhetoric, law, philosophy, music, medicine, architecture, religion, and more.⁴¹

Varro's philological work *De Lingua Latina* includes comments on diminutives. At L. 8.14, in the book that deals with the arguments against the operation of analogy (i.e., regularity of language rules),⁴² Varro gives us a lengthy description of the function of diminutives in relation to other types of words with derivative suffixes:

In sua discrimina declinantur aut propter ipsius rei naturam de qua dicitur aut propter illius <usum> qui dicit. Propter ipsius rei discrimina, aut ab toto <aut a parte. Quae a toto, declinata sunt aut propter multitudinem aut propter exiguitatem. Propter exiguitatem>, ut ab homine homunculus, ab capite capitulum; propter multitudinem, ut ab homine homines...

Quae a parte declinata, aut a corpore, ut a mamma mammosae, a manu manubria, aut ab animo, ut a prudentia pruden<te>s, ab ingenio ingeniosi.

To show differences in themselves [nouns] are varied in form either on account of the nature of the thing

⁴¹ Oxford Classical Dictionary, "Terentius Varro, Marcus," accessed July 19, 2023, <https://oxfordre.com/classics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.001.0001/acrefore-9780199381135-e-6699>.

⁴² This work was part of wider debates on coining words and how that might have affected Varro's linguistic theories. There is the notion that a conflict between analogism and anomalism was a dominant feature of Roman grammatical thought in Varro's day (Zetzel, 42), where analogists like Julius Caesar faced off against anomalists like Varro. It appears, though, that whatever actual debate existed was philosophical rather than grammatical (Zetzel, 42), where there were disagreements on the precise roles of simple observation of language usage and broad principle of analogical word formation.

itself about which mention is made, or on account of the use to which the speaker puts the word. On account of differences in the thing itself, the variation is made either with reference to the whole thing, or with reference to a part of it. Those forms which concern the whole are derived either on account of plurality or on account of smallness. On account of smallness, *homunculus* 'manikin' is formed from *homo* 'man,' and *capitulum* 'little head' from *caput* 'head.' On account of plurality, *homines* 'men' is made from *homo* 'man'...

Those which are derived from a part, come either from the body, as *mammosae* 'big-breasted women' from *mamma* 'breast' and *manubria* 'handles' from *manus* 'hand,' or from the mind, as *prudentes* 'prudent men' from *prudentia* 'prudence' and *ingeniosi* 'men of talent' from *ingenium* 'innate ability'.⁴³

Varro here seems to be dividing the variations of nouns in terms of whether these words refer to either instances of individual, entire entities or parts of an individual, entire entity, and that diminutives and grammatical number are examples of the former category. The distinction is one that deals with answers to the questions "what are the members of the same umbrella term?" and "what does the entity possess?" Thus, a diminutive noun is a particular thing, but just smaller (e.g., *capitulum* is a small *caput*), and a plural form of a noun is a particular thing, but just more than one (e.g., *hominēs* are entities of which each is a *homō*). *Ingeniōsī*, however, are not an *ingenium* in any sense, but rather these individuals possess *ingenium*.

Later, in the same book at 8.79, Varro give us this comment:

Magnitudinis vocabula cum possint esse terna, ut cista cistula cistella, in <aliis> media non sunt, ut in his macer macricolus macellus, niger nigricolus nigellus. Item minima in quibusdam non sunt, ut avis avicula av<i>cella, caput capitulum capitellum. In hoc genere

⁴³ This was translated by Roland G. Kent. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Varro, *On the Latin Language*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/varro-latin_language/1938/pb_LCL334.383.xml.

vocabulorum quoniam multa desunt, dicendum est non esse in eo potius sequendam quam consuetudinem rationem. Quod ad vocabulorum genera quattuor pertinet, ut in hoc potius consuetudinem quam analogias dominari facile animadverti possit, dictum est.

Whereas there can be a set of three words to indicate size, like *cista* 'casket,' *cistula*, *cistella*, in some the middle terms do not exist, as in these: *macer* 'lean,' *macricolus*, *macellus*, and *niger* 'black,' *nigricolus*, *nigellus*. Likewise in certain words the terms for least size do not exist, such as *avis* 'bird,' *avicula*, *avicella*, and *caput* 'head,' *capitulum*, *capitellum*. Since in this class of words there are many forms lacking, we must say that in it theory must not be followed rather than usage. As to the four classes of common nouns, I have said enough; and it can easily be observed that here usage governs rather than Regularities.⁴⁴

Here he presents one of the arguments against the existence of analogy ("Regularity") which happens to use several diminutives as examples. In order to set up the rationale behind the argument, Varro comments on the recursivity of the formation of diminutives by citing several double and triple diminutives, and so for example, *cista*, "casket," yielded *cistula*, "small casket," which itself yielded *cistella*, "very small casket." While *cista* and many other words yielded multiple stages of diminutive forms in this fashion, not every word in the language did so. The argument states that while words can produce multiple stages of diminutive forms like we see with *cista*, *cistula*, and *cistella*, analogy cannot give a proper account of Latin vocabulary in this instance because it yields a series of forms (e.g., *avicella*) that do not exist in real life.

⁴⁴ This was translated by Roland G. Kent. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Varro, *On the Latin Language*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/varro-latin_language/1938/pb_LCL334.435.xml.

In the next book of his philological work, Book 9, Varro deals with the arguments in favor of the existence of analogy. At 9.74 he brings up the subject of diminutives again and makes this point:

Item ab huiuscemodi <dis>similitudinibus reprehenditur analogia, quod cum sit anus cadus simile et sit ab anu anicula anicilla, a cado duo reliqua quod non sint propagata, sic non dicatur a piscina piscinula piscinilla. Ad <haec respondeo> huiuscemodi vocabulis analogias esse, ut dixi, ubi magnitudo animadvertenda sit in unoquoque gradu eaque sit in usu co<m>muni, ut est cista cistula cistella et canis catulus catellus, quod in pecoris usu non est. Itaque consuetudo frequentius res in binas dividi partis ut maius et minus, ut lectus et lectulus, arca et arcula, sic alia.

Similarly, Regularity is found fault with on account of unlikenesses of this sort, that although *anus* 'old woman' and *cadus* 'cask' are like words, and from *anus* there are the diminutives *anicula* and *anicilla*, the other two are not formed from *cadus*, nor from *piscina* 'fish-pond' are *piscinula* and *piscinilla* made. To this I answer that words of this kind have the Regularities, as I have said, only when the size must be noted in each separate stage, and this is in common use, as is *cista* 'box,' *cistula*, *cistella*, and *canis* 'dog,' *catulus* 'puppy,' *catellus* 'little puppy'; this is not indicated in the usage connected with flocks. Therefore the usage is more often that things be divided into two sets, as larger and smaller, like *lectus* 'couch' and *lectulus*, *arca* 'strong-box' and *arcula*, and other such words.⁴⁵

Unlike previously, here Varro argues that, although *anus* and *cadus* are alike (in the sense that they both end in *-us*), *anus* however yields *anicula* and *anicilla*, whereas neither *cadus* nor *piscina* have their own sets of diminutives having the *-ul-* and *-ill-*

⁴⁵ This was translated by Roland G. Kent. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Varro, *On the Latin Language*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/varro-latin_language/1938/pb_LCL334.497.xml?readMode=reader.

elements, but they would have them if regularity of rules were valid. Varro's own rebuttal to this argument is that regularity of rules is valid only when there needs to be an overt indication of the difference in size on each stage, and such a phenomenon most often happens when there are sets comprising a small thing and a big thing. Varro appears to suggest that people somehow think of old women as coming in distinct sizes in a way that casks, flocks, and fish-ponds do not.⁴⁶

In sum, Varro believes that diminutives are analogous to grammatical number in nouns (i.e., a diminutive noun is a particular thing, but just smaller, and a plural form of a noun is a particular thing, but just more than one), and that not all base words will have all of the possible degrees of diminution.

II.A.b. Charisius

Flavius Sospater Charisius, a Greek almost certainly working in Constantinople, flourished about the middle of the 4th century CE. His *Ars Grammatica*, originally in five books, is valuable as containing excerpts from the earlier writers on grammar.⁴⁷

We find another fragment of Varro in Charisius' works (Fr. 10⁴⁸):

"Hypocorismata semper generibus suis und<e oriuntur consonant, pauca dissonant, velut haec rana> hic ranunculus, hic ung<u>is haec ungula, h<oc glandium. haec glandula, hic panis hic pastillus et> hoc pastillum," ut Varro dixit: "haec beta hic betace<us, haec malva hic malvaceus>, hoc pistrinum haec pistrilla, ut Terentius in Ad<elphis, hic ensis haec ensicula et hic ensiculus>: sic in Rudente Plautus."

"Diminutives always agree in gender with the words from which they come: a few differ, such as fem., *rana*

⁴⁶ Cf. English *little old woman*.

⁴⁷ James E. G. Zetzel, *Critics, Compilers, and Commentators: An Introduction to Roman Philology, 200 BCE-800 CE* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 287-288.

⁴⁸ *Charisius, Instit. Gram.* i. 37. 13-18 Keil.

'frog,' diminutive masc. *ranunculus* 'tadpole'; masc. *unguis* 'nail (of finger or toe),' fem. *ungula* 'hoof, talon'; neut. *glandium* 'kernel of pork', fem. *glandula* 'tonsil'; masc. *panis* 'loaf of bread,' masc. *pastillus* and neut. *pastillum* 'roll,'" as Varro said; "fem. *beta* 'beet,' masc. *betaceus* 'beet-root'; fem. *malva* 'mallow,' masc. *malvaceus* 'mallow-like vegetable'; neut. *pistrinum* 'pounding-mill,' fem. *pistrilla* 'small mill,' as Terence says in *The Brothers*; masc. *ensis* 'sword,' fem. *ensicula* and masc. *ensiculus* 'toy-sword': so Plautus in *The Rope*."⁴⁹

This provides us with a rule of thumb for the gender of diminutives, with, of course, several exceptions. It is odd, however, that *bētāceus* and *malvāceus* appear here because they are not properly diminutives, but derivative words with the *-āceus* suffix which indicates resemblance.⁵⁰ Also, these words appear to be quoted as diminutives only in the grammarians.⁵¹

II.A.c. Pompeius the Grammarian

Pompeius Grammaticus was the author of a detailed commentary on Donatus' *Ars Maior*, which was written in Africa before the 7th century CE⁵² and is one of the very few grammatical texts that actually demonstrates classroom technique.⁵³

We find a fragment of Varro in the works of Pompeius (Fr. 9⁵⁴), transferred via one of the Plinies (from what work of that Pliny is unknown):

Ait Plinius Secundus secutus Varronem: "Quando dubitamus principale genus, redeamus ad diminutionem,

⁴⁹ This was translated by Roland G. Kent. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Varro, *On the Latin Language*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/varro-latin_language/1938/pb_LCL334.607.xml?readMode=reader.

⁵⁰ Cooper, 116.

⁵¹ The TLL quotes Dositheus and Priscian for *bētāceus* as a diminutive; Souter quotes Charisius for *malvāceus* (in the form "maluacius") as a diminutive.

⁵² Zetzel, *Critics, Compilers, and Commentators: An Introduction to Roman Philology, 200 BCE-800 CE*, 208-209.

⁵³ Weiss, 57.

⁵⁴ *Pompeius, Commentum Artis Donati*, v. 164. 13-18 Keil.

et ex diminutivo cognoscimus principale genus. Puta arbor ignoro cuius generis sit: fac diminutivum arbuscula, ecce hinc intellegis et principale genus quale sit. Item si dicas columna, cuius generis est? facis inde diminutivum, id est columella, et inde intellegis quoniam principale feminini generis est."

Plinius Secundus says, following Varro: "When we are in doubt about the gender of a main word, let us turn to the diminutive form, and from the diminutive we learn the gender of the main word. Suppose that I do not know the gender of *arbor* 'tree'; form the diminutive *arbuscula*, and lo! from this you observe as well the gender of the word from which it comes. Again, if you say, What is the gender of *columna* 'column'?, make from it the diminutive, that is, *columella*, and therefrom you understand that the word from which it comes is of the feminine gender."⁵⁵

According to this, the rule that diminutive words retain the gender of their base words is so reliable that one can look at the gender of a diminutive if unsure about the gender of the base word of that diminutive. It is strange, though, that Pliny or Varro seems to think that the ending of the word *columella* is a secure indication of gender even though the ending of the common word *columna* is not.

Unfortunately, there is no further discussion on the relationship between gender and termination. The idea attributed to Varro seems to take it as given that masculine diminutives end in *-us*, feminines end in *-a*, and neuters end in *-um*. Nevertheless, with this source we can cite at least one place in the ancient literature that makes an explicit statement about the reliability of the rule of gender retention.

⁵⁵ This was translated by Roland G. Kent. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Varro, *On the Latin Language*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/varro-latin_language/1938/pb_LCL334.605.xml?readMode=reader.

II.A.d. Priscian

Priscianus Caesariensis, mostly known in English as Priscian, was a grammarian who probably came from Caesarea in Mauretania and was active as a grammarian in Constantinople. His chief opus is an *Ars Grammatica*, written in 526-527 CE. It is generally called the *Institutiones Grammaticae* in modern times,⁵⁶ and, unlike most works of the Latin grammarians, gives attention to syntax.⁵⁷ In this work, Priscian primarily focuses not on contemporary Latinity but on the Latinity of the works of Terence, of the authors of the first century BCE (e.g., Cicero, Sallust, Vergil, and Horace), and of the first and second centuries CE (e.g., Lucan, Persius, and Juvenal).

Priscian in the *Institutiones Grammaticae* devotes a lengthy section to a discussion on the use and formation procedures of diminutives. I will not quote the entire section, but I will instead present specific parts which are relevant to my work.

At 3.101.3 Priscian begins his discussion on diminutives this way:

Diminutivum est, quod diminutionem primitivi sui absolute demonstrat: 'rex regulus', id est 'parvus rex'. [...] quamvis in his quoque [comparativis] inveniuntur quaedam diminutiva apud Latinos, ut superius docuimus, non possunt tamen esse absoluta, cum a comparativis sint derivata et ipsa quoque comparationem significant, ut 'plusculus', 'maiusculus', 'minusculus': necesse est enim, ad aliquid ea comparari [...]

It is the diminutive which shows the diminution of its base word by itself: *rex regulus*, that is, 'small king'. [...] although certain diminutives are found in these comparatives also among the Latins, as we have pointed out above, nevertheless they cannot be absolutes, since they were derived from comparatives

⁵⁶ Zetzel, *Critics, Compilers, and Commentators: An Introduction to Roman Philology, 200 BCE-800 CE*, 209.

⁵⁷ Weiss, 57.

and they themselves also signify the comparison, as *plusculus, maiusculus, minusculus*: for it is necessary that they be compared to something [...] ⁵⁸

He distinguishes between absolute comparison of diminutives, where they can appear by themselves without explicit reference to their base words (i.e., *rēgulus* from *rēx*, but there is no need for one to specifically say *rēx* along with it), and relative diminution conveyed via comparatives, where the diminutives appear with some reference to their base words (i.e., *māiusculus* from *māius*, as in Terence, *Eu.* 527: *Thais quam ego sum maiuscula est*, "Thais is a bit older than I am").

Not long after this, at 3.101.17, Priscian says:

Solent autem diminutiva vel necessariae significationis causa proferri [...] vel adulationis, et maxime puerorum, ut 'Catulaster', 'Antoniaster', 'patriciolus', 'Sergiolus'. derivantur igitur pleraque ab appellativis, pauca etiam a propriis, et servant genera primitivorum plerumque et saepe inveniuntur diminutivorum diminutiva in diversas desinentia formas, ut 'homo, homuncio, homunculus, homellus, homullulus'.

Moreover, diminutives normally are spoken either because of the meaning that is demanded of them [...] or for the sake of praise and especially for the praise of boys, as *Catulaster, Antoniaster, patriciolus, Sergiolus*. Therefore a large part of them are derived from common nouns, also a few from proper nouns, and they for the most part retain the genders of their base words and diminutives of diminutives are often found with various forms, as *homo, homuncio, homunculus, homellus, homullulus*. ⁵⁹

⁵⁸ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: Google Books, "Grammatici Latini: Libros I - XII," accessed September 26, 2023, https://books.google.ca/books?id=RbdGAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA101&dq=%22inveniuntur+quaedam+diminutiva+apud+Latinos,+ut+superius+docuimus%22&hl=en&newbks=1&newbks_redir=1&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiHy9e-kMmBAxWXHjQIHQYcDC4Q6AF6BAgaEAI.

⁵⁹ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: Google Books, "Grammatici Latini: ex recensione Henrici Keilii," accessed September 26, 2023, https://books.google.ca/books?id=x_IUAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA102&dq=%22derivantur+igitur+pleraque+ab+

Priscian gives us much information here. First, diminutives can indicate pure smallness, but they can indicate “smallness” in the sense of endearment, that is, praise, and such diminutives especially refer to boys. Diminutives can also come from common nouns and proper names. Priscian mentions the rule of the retention of gender, but he is more cautious than Varro by adding “for the most part.” Finally, Priscian points out that diminutives can come from diminutives, an idea that we have seen in Varro’s diminutive-related arguments as well.

Immediately after this (3.103.5), then, Priscian gives some examples of diminutive of the three genders. In the masculine section, he gives us not just examples of masculine-gender diminutives, but also forms which he believes are forms of the diminutive suffix:

*'culus', 'ulus' absque c, 'olus', 'ellus', 'xillus',
'illus' absque x, 'ullus', 'cio', 'aster', 'leus',
'tulus'...*

*culus, ulus without c, olus, ellus, xillus, illus
without x, ullus, cio, aster, leus, tulus...⁶⁰*

Many of these suffixes do appear in diminutives. There are, however, reasons not to consider *-aster* and *-uleus* diminutive suffixes (see below, Chapter VII). The suffix *-tulus* does not fit here because Priscian has misconstrued the division between base and suffix in his example: *nepōtulus* comes from *nepōs*, “grandson,” with base

appellativis,+paucā+etiam+a+propriis,+et+servant+genera+primitivorum%22&hl=en&newbks=1&newbks_redir=1&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj2t9OGksmBAxWoLzQIHc2Qct4Q6AF6BAgcEAI.

⁶⁰ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: Google Books, “Grammatici Latini: ex recensione Henrici Keilii,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Grammatici_Latini/x_IUAAAAQAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=%22Sunt+igitur+formae+diminutivorum+masculini+generis+hae%22&pg=PA102&printsec=frontcover.

nepōt-, and the suffix *-ulus*, not *nepō-* and *-tulus* (i.e., the *t* is part of the word *nepōs*, not part of the suffix).

The portion from 3.103.4 to 3.114.13 gives rules on the formation of diminutives from base words of the various declensions. Priscian is very thorough in his descriptions on the formation of diminutives and at (3.105.12) we see a typical set of rules:

In 'is' vero vel in e desinentia omnia vel in 'ns' monosyllaba vel in 'rs' dativo corripientia i assumunt supra dictas syllbas et faciunt diminutivum, ut 'ignis [igni] igniculus', ... 'rete [reti] reticulum', ... 'pars [parti] particula'...

But all [base words] ending in *is* or *e* or the monosyllabic ones in *ns* or *rs* take the syllables mentioned above [i.e., *-culus/a/um*] while shortening the *i* in the dative, and make diminutives, as *ignis* [dative *igni*] *igniculus*, ... *rete* [dative *reti*] *reticulum*, ... *pars* [dative *parti*] *particula*...⁶¹

Priscian gives several other examples here which reflect such criteria. He is also cautious about noting the form of the words. At 3.115.3, he says:

Inveniuntur multa propria sive appellativa, quae cum non sint diminutiva, formas tamen diminutivorum habent, ut 'cuniculus', 'anniculus', 'Metellus', 'Camillus', 'Tibullus', 'frivulus frivola frivolum', 'Camilla', 'tabula', 'vinculum', 'periculum'.

There are found many proper nouns or common nouns which, although they are not diminutives, nevertheless have the forms of diminutives, as *cuniculus*, *anniculus*, *Metellus*, *Camillus*, *Tibullus*, *frivulus frivola frivolum*, *Camilla*, *tabula*, *vinculum*, *periculum*.⁶²

⁶¹ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: Google Books, "Grammatici Latini ex recensione Henrici Keilii," accessed September 26, 2023, https://books.google.ca/books?id=vnTcBuP1YI8C&pg=PA105&dq=%22vero+vel+in+e+desinentia+omnia+vel+in%22&hl=en&newbks=1&newbks_redir=1&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj_hNTJksmBAXWxJTQIHWvgDSMQ6AF6BAgHEAI.

⁶² This is my translation. The Latin text source is: Google Books, "Grammatici Latini: Prisciani Institutio vniuersalis grammaticarum," accessed October 1, 2023,

There are certain words which have forms resembling diminutives, but the words themselves are not diminutives, as Priscian rightly notes. *Anniculus*, for instance, comes from *annus* and means “one year old,” not something like “little year.” *Vinculum*, “bond,” from *vincĭre*, “to bind,” does not serve as a diminutive to any noun, nor does it have any discernible diminutive meaning. A more thorough discussion of words of this type appears in Chapter VII.

Finally, at 3.115.6, Priscian ends his discussion on the subject of diminutives by mentioning the diminutives which do not retain the gender of their base words:

et sciendum, quod pauca inveniuntur diminutiva, quae non servant genera primitivorum, ut [haec]⁶³ 'rana' [hic] 'ranunculus', [hic] 'canis' [haec] 'canicula', 'scutum' vel 'scuta' [id est rotunda forma] 'scutula', 'scutella' [...] 'hic qualus hoc quasillum', 'pistrinum pistrilla', 'haec acus hic aculeus', et praeterea 'anguis anguilla', 'unguis ungula', 'nubes nubillum', quae magis denominativa sunt existimanda quam diminutiva, quippe non habent diminutivorum significationem, sed formam tantum. praeterea 'panus panucula'. [...] Probus etiam ponit 'hoc glandium, haec glandula' [pars est intestinorum], 'ensis ensiculus, ensicula', praeterea 'haec beta', 'malva', 'hic betaceus', 'malvaceus'.

And it should be known that a few diminutives are found which do not retain the genders of their primitives, as [feminine] *rana* [masculine] *ranunculus*, [masculine] *canis* [feminine] *canicula*, *scutum* or *scuta* [that is, with a round shape] *scutula*, *scutella* [...] [masculine] *qualus* [neuter] *quasillum*, [neuter]

https://books.google.ca/books?id=JXsKAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA115-IA2&dq=%22Inveniuntur+multa+propria+sive+appellativa%22&hl=en&newbks=1&newbks_redir=1&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj6SA-NeBaxUXADQIHdsuAhEQ6AF6BAGPEAI.

⁶³ I assume the text with which the editor was working does not include the pronouns which indicate the gender along with the associated nouns. The “haec” and “hic” appear in “haec acus hic aculeus,” but the “rana” and “ranunculus” lacked their gender-indicating pronouns, hence the “[haec]” and “[hic].” The convention is to use square brackets to denote editorial insertion, and yet I make the previous points in this footnote in order to show that these brackets are not mine but those of the editor.

pistrinum [feminine] *pistrilla*, [feminine] *acus* [masculine] *aculeus*, and besides *anguis anguilla*, *unguis ungula*, *nubes nubilum*, which have been deemed to be denominatives rather than diminutives, since they do not have the meaning of diminutives, but the form only. Probus also cites [neuter] *glandium*, [feminine] *glandula* [it is the part of the entrails], *ensis ensiculus*, *ensicula*, besides [feminine] *beta*, *malva*, [masculine] *betaceus*, *malvaceus*.⁶⁴

Priscian here gives us the most comprehensive descriptions of diminutives that we can find among writers of Latin antiquity. He gives us the general meanings of the words, the regular formation procedures according to declension, the various forms of what he considers diminutive suffixes, the rule of the retention of grammatical gender, and a few of what he considers counterexamples of that rule.⁶⁵

Priscian's presentation of examples of masculine diminutives, feminine diminutives, and neuter diminutives suggests that he believes that masculine words end in *-us*, feminines end in *-a*, and neuters end in *-um*.

We can see a better confirmation of this at 3.102.5, where he says:

Sunt igitur formae diminutivorum masculini generis hae: 'culus'...
feminine autem generis hae: 'cula', 'ula'...
neutorum quoque sunt formae hae: 'culum', 'ulum'...

Therefore, these are the forms of diminutives of the masculine gender: *culus*...

But these are of the feminine gender: *cula*, *ula*...

These forms are of neuters also: *culum*, *ulum*...⁶⁶

⁶⁴ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: Google Books, "Grammatici latini: Prisciani Institutio grammaticarum," accessed September 26, 2023, https://books.google.ca/books?id=JXsKAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA115-IA2&dq=%22et+sciendum,+quod+pauca+inveniuntur+diminutiva%22&hl=en&newbks=1&newbks_redir=1&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiYrZCEk8mBAxXPGDQIHytEDxkQ6AF6BAgcEAI.

⁶⁵ Priscian gives many of the counterexamples to the rule of gender retention which Charisius cites, along with others including *quāsillum*, *aculeus*, *nūbilum*.

⁶⁶ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: Google Books, "Grammatici Latini: ex recensione Henrici Keilii," accessed September 26, 2023,

He does not further elaborate on this point, however, nor does he give examples of diminutives which do not agree with that gender-termination assignment, such as (masculine) *scurrula* and (feminine) *vallus*.

II.B. Modern Studies

The studies which I cite in this section come from times starting from the later part of the nineteenth century all the way to the most recent times. The authors of most of these studies discuss diminutives in Latin in various contexts, but they are dealing with Latin as a language that is no longer anyone's living language. A few of the authors which appear in this section have written studies which discuss diminutives generally across languages in general or specifically in languages other than Latin.

These sources appear in chronological order in order to show how the later sources build upon the overall scholarly knowledge derived from earlier ones.

II.B.a. Weinhold, "Genuswechsel der Deminutiva"⁶⁷

The aim of this article is to review the evidence showing that diminutives in Latin do as a rule retain the genders of their base words and then account for exceptions to that rule. Some of the words that the author deals with are diminutives falsely so called, e.g., words in *-uleus* (as in *aculeus*), *-culum*, *-bulum* (as in instrumentals and words indicating means like *curriculum* and *vocābulum*). The author gives various types of reasons for the altered genders of diminutives: 1) words wrongly attributed to certain

https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Grammatici_Latini/x_IUAAAAQAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=%22Sunt+igitur+formae+diminutivorum+masculini+generis+hae%22&pg=PA102&printsec=frontcover.

⁶⁷ Weinhold, A. "Genuswechsel der Deminutiva." In *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, 4, 169-188. B.G. Teubner: Leipzig, 1887.

base words; 2) words preserving older genders; 3) words whose meanings have changed significantly; 4) words with senses that demand a particular gender; 5) words which appear in Late Latin and reasons for their altered genders are not given.

Weinhold's article addresses the issues with diminutives with altered genders in a very thorough way. The major deficiency of the article itself, however, is that it does not explore how the diminutive terminations relate to the three genders, and whether one gender must have one particular set of terminations. Weinhold seems to assume that all masculine diminutives end in *-us*, all feminines end in *-a*, and all neuters end in *-um*. An updated version of Weinhold's article would require a review of the same material with an understanding that the gender-termination correlation is not always straightforward. There are some minor areas in the article where Weinhold should have given more thorough explanations. For instance, his "second-stage diminutive gender change" idea for *armilla* from *armus* is plausible, but I am not especially clear as to why he believes the gender changed. (Strodach believes that *armilla* should be *armilla*, from the feminine of an adjective *armīnus* with perhaps *spīrae* or *lāminae* to be supplied.⁶⁸)

Weinhold's work has become the basis of further study of the forms of Latin diminutives in the scholarly literature; most if not all later sources cite it.

II.B.b. Cooper, Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius⁶⁹

In this book, the author focuses on word formation and aims to trace the development of the classes of words which have been regarded by the leading

⁶⁸ Strodach, 39. A more thorough discussion of this appears in Chapter IV.

⁶⁹ Cooper, Frederic Taber. *Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1895.

authorities as characteristic of the Roman *sermō plēbēius*, with special reference to their position in post-classical literature and their relation to the Romance languages. The author dedicates the introduction to defining what is meant by *sermō plēbēius* (i.e., the speech of the common people, at Rome and in the provinces), indicating the differences in the attitudes toward the formation of words between Classical Latin and the *sermō plēbēius* (the latter was much more tolerant toward the formation of new words), mentions the literary sources for Plebeian vocabulary, and mentions some characteristics of Plebeian vocabulary. For the main body of the work, the author has given us two major sections, one for derivation (i.e., the formation of words via suffixes and base words) and the other for composition (i.e., the formation of compound words from discrete words). Each of these two major sections contains subsections devoted to individual suffixes or types of composition, in which there is first a thorough description of the word-formation type of element in question and then a list of authors (from Plautus to Isidore of Seville) with corresponding sublists of specific words which first appear in the respective author. In the first major section there is the subsection on diminutives, where the author talks about diminutives in general, then provides lists of first diminutive nouns and then diminutive adjectives.

Cooper's biggest contribution is the collection of lists which appear in this work. These lists show which Latin authors first use these individual words along with specific areas in the works of the authors indicated. As helpful as these lists are, they suffer from one major problem: they do not show the base words from which the diminutives derive. This is an issue not only because of the lack of a handy reference for such

information, but also because we cannot always see what base word Cooper believed in each case corresponds to what diminutive. Moreover, Cooper has individual lists for general diminutives in *-ulus* and diminutives in *-uncula* from verbal substantives; he does not offer other types of subdivisions (e.g., words in *-illus* and *-ellus*). Cooper mentions Weinhold's article, and while Cooper does mention the standard rule of the retention of gender of diminutives, he does not spend any time discussing the relationship between gender and termination.

II.B.c. Gow, "Diminutives in Augustan Poetry"⁷⁰

Gow lists the diminutives which appear in Augustan poetry (namely, in the works of Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, and Manilius), and indicates how often these individual words appear in the relevant works. He then classifies the words mostly according to semantics: 1) doubtful diminutives of which no base word exists (e.g., *stēlla*, "star"); 2) diminutives which diverge in sense from their primitive words (e.g., *lapillus*, "small stone (for games or voting)"); 3) diminutives which had ousted or were ousting their base words (e.g., *asellus*, "young ass," from *asinus*, "ass"); 4) diminutives denoting articles of dress or household use (e.g., *corōlla*, "small garland," from *corōna*, "garland," "crown"); 5) diminutives denoting parts of the body (*ocellus*, "small eye," from *oculus*, "eye"); 6) diminutives denoting young animals (e.g., *būcula*, "young cow," from *bōs*, "ox"). The most important points from the author's conclusion are: 1) Vergil and Horace generally avoid diminutives (sticking to around 4 in any given work); 2) Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid (in his elegiac poetry) use diminutives which would seem

⁷⁰ Gow, A. S. F. "Diminutives in Augustan Poetry." *The Classical Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 3/4 (Jul. - Oct., 1932): 150-157.

strange in Vergil (e.g., *libellus*, never in Vergil, once in Tibullus, seven times in Propertius, and 52 times in Ovid); 3) in the hexameters of Ovid and Manilius, diminutives are about as frequent as what we find in Vergil's *Aeneid* (sticking to around 4). Gow helpfully provides a chart of the relevant information, and this chart includes the authors which I mentioned in the previous sentence.

One striking feature of Gow's study is that it provides explicit clarification of what the author considers diminutives, and the study places them into three types: 1) diminutives which represent their base words plus an adjective of size or quality (e.g., *agellus*, a small or poor or favorite field); 2) diminutives with special meanings that appear only to be diminutives only in terms of etymology; 3) words suspected of being diminutives though their base words are no more to be found. He even includes in his list words which he doubts are diminutives (e.g., *stēlla*, *capillus*, and *curriculum*) and he indicates his uncertainty with an asterisk in each case. When he provides his description of the second type of diminutives, the author makes a very interesting statement:

There is, however, a second class of diminutives which have taken to themselves special meanings and risen to positions scarcely dependent, except etymologically, upon their positives [i.e., base words]; no mere adjective attached to *os* will give it the meaning of *osculum* or of *oscillum*.⁷¹

According to Gow, a diminutive in its "simplest form" is one which contains both the meaning of the base word plus some diminutive-indicating modifier, so e.g., *agellus* = *ager parvus* or *ager miser* or *ager cārus*, while diminutives not in their "simplest form," like *ōsculum*, do not form such equivalences. An *ōsculum* is a kiss, not an *ōs*

⁷¹ Gow, 150.

parvum, etc., so Gow might have been as uncertain about the status of *ōsculum* as an actual diminutive as that of *curriculum*, which is not a diminutive at all but a deverbative instrumental noun.

Gow neither mentions the rule concerning the retention of gender of diminutives nor does he provide his views on the relationship between gender and termination in the formation of diminutives.

II.B.d. Strodach, Latin Diminutives in -ello/a- and -illo/a-⁷²

This study examines the phonetic origin of the Latin diminutive suffixes in *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-*, and traces the lines of their analogical extension as independent formative elements. Specifically, the author attempts to show: 1) that the diminutive suffix *-ello/ā-* arose by phonetic processes from *-(e)r-elo/ā-* (e.g., *agellus* [**ag(e)r-elo-*] from *ager*), *-en-elo/ā-* (e.g., *asellus* [**asen-elo-*] from *asinus*), and *-el-elo/ā-* (e.g., *ānellus* [**ān-el-elo-*] from *ānulus* [**ān-elo-*], itself from *ānus*); that the suffix *-illo/ā-* arose phonetically from *-no/ā-* plus diminutive *-elo/ā-* (e.g., *pugillus* [**pug(i)n-elo-*] from *pugnus*), and also from stems in *-l-* plus *-elo/ā-* (e.g., *pōcillum* [**pōcel-elo-*] from *pōculum*); and that the ending *-[L.V.]/lo/a-* was the phonetic product of *-[L.V.]n-elo/ā-* and *-[L.V.]r-elo/ā-* (e.g., *anguilla* [**anguīn-elā-*] from *anguīnus*; *hilla* [**hīr-elā-*] from *hīra*; *catēlla* [**catēn-elā-*] from *catēna*; *corōlla* [**corōn-elā-*] from *corōna*); 2) that the “double” suffix *-(c)ello/ā-* originated by analogical processes from such words as *catellus* and *vitellus* (derived from the non-diminutives *catulus* and *vitulus*), where *-ello/ā-* is strictly the “single” diminutive ending (i.e., *-ellus/ā-* was extracted from

⁷² Strodach, George Kleppinger. *Latin Diminutives in -ello/a- and -illo/a-*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1933.

catellus and placed onto words like *novus* to get *novellus*); and that the “double” suffix *-(c)illo/ā-* was analogical in formation (i.e., *-illus/a* was extracted from *pugillus* like how *-ellus/a* was extracted from *catellus*, and this *-illus/a* was placed onto words like *tōnsa* to get *tōnsilla*). The author devotes roughly half of the dissertation to discussing these points, and the other half to lists of words that demonstrate the word-formation categories as discussed in the first part (e.g., List 1 deals with diminutives in *-ello/ā-* from base words in *-ro/ā-*, as *agellus* and *austellus*, and List 2 deals with diminutives in *-ello/ā-* from base words in *-eno/ā-*, with Latin forms in *-ino/ā-* extant, as *asellus* and *bellus*).

The lists of words not only include the diminutive words themselves, but also references to each of the diminutives’ base words, along with additional commentary about the etymologies of the words when necessary.

Strodach, however, focuses entirely on the origins and uses of the forms of the bases of the diminutive suffixes, namely the *-ell-* and *-ill-* elements, so we get virtually no indication of his ideas on the relation between terminations and gender. The closest that we have is his note⁷³ on the word *vatillum* from *vannus*, where he states that *vannus*, a feminine word in Latin, probably was not originally feminine, and that its diminutive *vallus* is also feminine, “having been made after the base word acquired its new gender.” By inference, we can say that Strodach does not find anything unusual about *vallus* having the termination *-us* while being feminine.

⁷³ Strodach, 37.

II.B.e. Hakamies, *Études sur l'origine et l'évolution du diminutif en latin et sa survie dans les langues romanes*⁷⁴

The main goal of this study is to show how Latin diminutives evolved into their modern Romance-language counterparts. Part of the subject requires some consideration of the forms and functions of the diminutives in Latin. The author argues for the idea that these *-ulus/-culus* suffixes originally indicated metonymic or metaphorical meanings, and the words which they created indicated resemblance or "belonging to," without any sign of reduction or emotion. Such an idea could account for the imputed smallness that very many diminutive words in Latin denote, as within the category of "imputed smallness" are the diminutives which have a metonymic or metaphorical meaning. The second chapter includes a list of diminutives of the "imputed smallness" type and diminutive-like words (e.g., *aculeus*, *armilla*, *capreolus*) which the author takes as examples of the suffixes having their original "belonging to" significance. The author also argues that some diminutives like *ancilla*, *puella*, *sacerdōtula* are comparable to feminine words like *gallina* and *rēgina* in that their suffixes indicate "belonging to" and gender. The majority of this book deals with actually attested and unattested or implied forms of diminutives from all levels and periods of Roman antiquity, and cites the instances of forms of words appearing in the modern Romance languages (e.g., French *soleil* comes not directly from Latin *sōl*, but from an unattested diminutive form **sōliculus*). The author concludes that the substitution of the diminutive for the primitive takes place in most cases over a more or

⁷⁴ Hakamies, R. *Études sur l'origine et l'évolution du diminutif en latin et sa survie dans les langues romanes*. Helsinki: Finnish Academy, 1951.

less restricted linguistic area, so that as a general rule, it is the primitives which, in the Romance languages, remain by far the most prevalent words.

The author mentions words like *nucleus* and considers them diminutives, as there is no distinction made between them and words that I would consider actual diminutives (e.g., *corōnula*). This is to be expected because of one of the main points that the author wishes to make (i.e., the original meaning of the suffixes, according to the author). Diminutive-looking words functioning as names of gods such as *Arculus* do not appear at all. Such an exclusion is surprising because such words have no apparent diminutive function and seem to have the sort of significance that the author wishes to give as the original one for the suffixes (i.e., *Arculus* = the god "pertaining to chests").

II.B.f. Hanssen, Latin Diminutives: A Semantic Study⁷⁵

The author examines specific examples of the semantic meanings of diminutives by dividing the first part of this monograph into chapters which focus on particular authors. Hanssen starts from the works of Plautus and Terence, moves on to the works of Cato the Elder and Varro, shows examples of words from Lucretius and a few of the historians of the Roman republic, and ends this first part with the works of Cicero. The chapters primarily deal with sets of authors, but there are collections of themes as well, so, for example, the Plautus and Terence chapter deals with the comic uses of diminutives, while the Cato and Varro chapter deals with the technical, farm-related uses. The second part of the article contains a section which provides conclusions for the material which the author discussed in the previous section, but also some

⁷⁵ Hanssen, Jens S. Th. *Latin Diminutives: A Semantic Study*. Bergen: John Grieg, 1952.

discussion of how these uses of diminutives compare to diminutives and diminutive-like words in Indo-European languages, especially words in Greek.

Hanssen does not consider words ending in *-uleus* as diminutives at all, therefore there is no discussion on words like *eculeus* or *nucleus*. Nor does he include any of the words in *-aster*, etc. Hanssen does, however, mention *Arculus*, *Tigillus*, *Caeculus*, *Forculus*, *Sterculus*, *Partula*, and *Patellāna*/*Patella*, saying that these names are of “diminutive form in Latin.”⁷⁶ Moreover, Hanssen calls (Iuppiter) *Tigillus* the “personification of the *tigillum*.” The author also includes *Partula*’s name in the list of the words demonstrating the development of the diminutive suffix in the Italic languages,⁷⁷ and that implies that he believes that such words are diminutives.

As Hanssen points out in the Preface, he deals with Republican Latinity, adding that later periods would preferably be the concern of Romance philologists. Hanssen claims that Silver Age Latinity has its own “problems,” but does not elaborate. Nevertheless, he points out that he has read most of the authors of the Silver Age and other important authors down to the bulk of Christian Latinity with an eye to his book. What I infer from this statement is that there is a certain continuity in the general uses of diminutives which is manifest even in these later periods, and for that reason I believe that specifically Latin philologists, and not primarily Romance philologists, can produce worthwhile and useful material concerning diminutives from these periods.

⁷⁶ Hanssen, 202-203.

⁷⁷ Hanssen, 257.

II.B.g. Loicq, "Calculus et la formation des diminutifs en latin"⁷⁸

This article aims to explain the etymology of the Latin word *calculus*, "small rock." The author begins by pointing out that there has been some dispute about the etymology of the word and then proceeds to discuss several common theories thereof. First, there is a discussion of the traditional idea the word is the diminutive of *calx* ("lime," "limestone"), where the author notes the problems with the idea that *calculus* is a diminutive of *calx*: 1) *calx* does not mean "stone" in general, but specifically "limestone," while *calculus* means "small rock" and not "small limestone," and 2) since *calx* is feminine and not masculine, we would expect a feminine diminutive *calcula* instead of a masculine *calculus*. Then, the author brings up an etymology according to which the word derives from Greek χάλιξ,⁷⁹ an idea which the author rejects because the connection does not account for why *calculus* does not reflect the Greek word (i.e., why there is a no *ch* and *i* to correspond to the Greek χ and ι). The author then dedicates a lengthy part of the article to examine not just how the Romans use the words *calculus* and *calx* in the literature, but how the rules for the formation of diminutives work in Latin (i.e., the rules concerning the retention of gender and the forms that diminutive suffixes take when they attach to the different stems in the language). Starting with a mention of the Sanskrit word *sarkarā* or *sarkarah*, which has the same meaning as *calculus*, the author makes the case that *calculus* is an

⁷⁸ Loicq, Jean. "Calculus et la formation des diminutifs en latin." *L'Antiquité classique* 29(1) (January 1960): 30-50.

⁷⁹ "gravel rubble," CGL, s.v.

independent formation from a pre-Indo-European word element **kala/kara*, numerous traces of which appear in various words used in Europe, such as *chalet* and *chalanche*.

This article is helpful because the author cites Roman authors (e.g., Cicero, Vergil) to show the differences in the use and meaning of *calx* and *calculus*, but also cites the Latin grammarians (e.g., Priscian, Charisius) to show the typical rules for the formation of diminutives. We see that the author is aware of the complications of the etymology and wishes to give some nuance to arguments against the idea that *calculus* is a diminutive of *calx*. There is an indication of the fact that in Lucilius, *calx* can be masculine instead of feminine,⁸⁰ and Loicq mentions the Charisius passage which I cited above to show that while diminutives as a rule do retain the gender of their base words, that is not always the case. Nevertheless, the author rightly mentions that *calculus* could come from a masculine *calx*. (We can imagine that a feminine *calcula* and a masculine *calculus* each existed at some point in the past, and it is possible that both coexisted at the same time.)

This article does spend some time with the rules pertaining to the gender retention between base word and diminutive, but there is no specific discussion about the relationship between termination and gender. As with other authors that have appeared in this chapter, Loicq seems to take it for granted that there is a fixed link between the terminations and gender (i.e., *-us* is masculine, *-a* is feminine, etc.).

⁸⁰ Loicq, "Calculus et la formation des diminutifs en latin," 38.

II.B.h. Zucchelli, Studi sulle formazioni latine in -lo- non diminutive e sui loro rapporti con i diminutivi⁸¹

The author in this monograph aims to point out the relationships between Latin non-diminutives and Latin diminutives, and make some points about the origins of these words and to discuss areas where the different words can have analogous meaning.

The monograph has three main sections. In the first section, the author analyzes the meaning and formation of non-diminutives derived from denominative and deverbative *-l-*suffixes, an example of the former being *bubulus* and an example of the latter being *anniculus*. In the second section, the author identifies analogous words in Indo-European and the Romance languages. The final major section focuses on the semantic interference between the diminutives and the non-diminutives. After the final major section, there are word lists where the author presents examples of verbal and denominative derivatives along with their origins and their sources.

One of the most important ideas that the author wishes to argue for is the notion that the original significance of the *-l-*suffixes in Latin is either the diminutive one or one which has the meaning of "belonging to." Moreover, the author wishes to connect both meanings with patronymic formations, and in this connection, the author, on the one hand, argues that the starting point of the Latin diminutives are patronymic formations, and on the other hand, cites the names of gods, such as *Forculus* and *Sterculus*, and Roman cognomina, such as *Vestilla* and *Silvanilla*, as examples of the result of the development from old patronymic uses of diminutive-like suffixes to the later uses of

⁸¹ Zucchelli, Bruno. *Studi sulle formazioni latine in -lo- non-diminutive e sui loro rapporti con i diminutivi*. Parma: Università degli studi, Istituto di lingua e letteratura Latina, 1969.

suffixes for non-diminutives. Furthermore, according to the author, the diminutive meaning and the meaning “belonging to” can account for feminine derivatives, and in addition feminine words have an affinity toward diminutives, since they can denote affection and frequently refer to women and show up in the speech of women. Moreover, words like *sanguiculus*, “blood-sausage,” named from their material, show some affinity toward the “belonging to” meaning of non-diminutives. What I think the author is trying to say here is that: between the *-l*-suffixes in Latin which can have the diminutive meaning or the meaning of “belonging to,” the diminutives are the majority, and yet some of these diminutives still have element of the “belonging to” meaning to them even if they are diminutive; there are some “belonging to” words which have no diminutive meaning, and yet some of them have a patronymic use, and that patronymic use is the origin of diminutives.

Another point that the author makes is in the final major section, where we learn that there are places where there is interference between diminutives and non-diminutives. A word like *bibulus* is not diminutive, and yet if the word is taken as pejorative (i.e., “drinking too much”), it begins to have a meaning which has much in common with the pejorative meaning of diminutives.

Zucchelli’s article offers several implications for my study. One of the most notable implications is the fact that the author has recognized that there are indeed distinctions in the various uses of the *-l*-suffixes in Latin, and that there are clear distinctions in basic meanings between diminutives and words of the *bibulus*-type. Another important point of the article is that Zucchelli specifically mentions the divine

names *Forculus* and *Sterculus*, having realized that such words are definitely not diminutive words. Yet another implication is the acknowledgement of the existence of a class of *-aster*-suffixes which have neither the diminutive meaning nor the *bibulus*-type meaning but a “belonging to” meaning. I explore words of this type further in Chapter VII.

Zucchelli’s article does not discuss the relationship between termination and suffix of Latin diminutives.

II.B.i. Rybolt, “-Aster, a Latin Suffix”⁸²

In this article the author has attempted to give as complete a listing of words formed with *-aster* as possible. To this word list are added remarks on etymology, history of use, meaning, word-formation and types of words using this suffix. The author also provides us with indications of his ideas of the semantics of the term “diminutive,” and I should state now that his understanding is much broader than mine.

The author notes: 1) that school grammars either do not mention the suffix at all, or at most have brief notices, and 2) the most extensive treatment of this suffix, according to the author, was done by F. Seck, with “Das lateinische suffix *aster, astra, astrum*” in *Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie und Grammatik*, and yet that study does not include many entries from DuCange nor Neo-Latin terms in scientific usage.

Rybolt points out that Priscian classes the suffix with other diminutives, but to say that *-aster* is merely a diminutive or merely a pejorative is insufficient. Rather, analysis of the terms shows that the suffix *-aster* denotes restricted similarity: the

⁸² Rybolt, J. E. “-Aster, a Latin Suffix.” In *Classical Folia* 25(2), 303-319. New York, Catholic Classical Association, 1971.

derived word refers to something similar and dissimilar to the thing denoted by the base word, and resembling it only imperfectly. According to the author, the dissimilarity falls under two headings: diminutive and augmentative, the second being much less common. Rybolt, therefore, like Priscian, believes that the suffix primarily has a diminutive force. Rybolt classifies words with the suffix into various subtypes: 1) "pseudo-" (e.g., *Antōniaster*, "pseudo-Antonius," from *Antōnius*); 2) the "wild variety of (as of plants and animals)" (e.g., *pīnaster*, "wild pine," from *pīnus*); 3) "younger than" (e.g., *porcaster*, "young pig," from *porcus*); 4) "incompleteness" (e.g., *nigellaster*, "blackish," from *nigellus*); 5) "worse than" (e.g., *parasitaster*, "a low, sorry (ragged) parasite," from *parasītus*). As noted above, Rybolt and Priscian have a much broader understanding of "diminutive" than I do: the various meanings of the words which use the suffix might or might not coincide with the various meanings of the diminutives which have the *-ulus*-type suffixes, but these coincidences mostly relate to non-literal meanings of smallness, and, most significantly, none of these words he cites has the most literal meaning of "small" or "little."⁸³ We can see 3) as a subtype of diminutives with a type of literal meaning (i.e., "young" rather than actually "small"), and 1), 5) and perhaps 4) as subtypes of diminutives with a non-literal meaning, but 2) does not accord with my understanding of "diminutive." Furthermore, the author neither explains nor defends the "diminutive" significance of the suffix, nor tries to link this particular suffix in terms of meaning with the *-ulus*-type suffixes of diminutives that are more typical in Latin.

⁸³ I further elaborate on these points in Chapter VII.

And while the author points out that the suffix forms mostly nouns and adjectives (and a few verbs), and indicates that the words which use the suffix typically end in *-er/-ra/-rum*, he does not explain what determines whether the derivative word is of one of the three genders, and whether it ends in *-er*, *-ra*, or *-rum*.

II.B.j. Fruyt, "Étude sémantique des 'diminutifs' latins: les suffixes *-ulus*, *-culus*, *-ellus*, *-illus* désubstantivaux et déadjectivaux"⁸⁴

The aim of this article is to examine specific semantic functions of diminutives. After pointing out that diminutives do not change grammatical category between base word and derivative, the author analyzes nouns and adjectives semantically. The main points are: 1) among nouns, there are certain relationships between diminutive and base word (i.e., real smallness, resemblance, metonymy, partitive notions, and quasi-synonyms), and these relationships stem from an opposition between referential and differential usage (words defined by external objects [referential] and words defined by other words in the language [differential]), where we can, on the one hand, point to an object and its small counterpart (e.g., *arca*, "chest," and *arcula*, "small chest"), and on the other hand, link two objects lexically, the name of one being a diminutive, that of the other, the base word (e.g., *castra*, "camp," and *castellum*, "stronghold (of public brigandage [i.e. stronghold])"⁸⁵); 2) emotive use/illocutionary forces (conveying either the feelings of the speaker or certain actions performed by virtue of speaking such words, e.g., in an affectionate tone); 3) among adjectives, suffixes have a gradable

⁸⁴ Fruyt Michèle. "Étude sémantique des diminutifs latins *-ulus*, *-culus*, *-ellus*, *-illus*... dé-substantivaux et dé-adjectivaux." In *Actes du Vème Colloque de Linguistique Latine*, edited by M. Lavency et D. Longrée, 127-138. Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters, 1989.

⁸⁵ OLD, s.v.

quality (e.g., a *maiuscula* is a woman who is a little older than another, while a *minuscula* is a woman who is a little younger).

The aspect of this article which concerns my study the most is the fact that the author not only discusses real smallness, but also explains the relations pertaining to, and gives examples of, the diminutives which indicate resemblance, metonymy, partitive notions, and quasi-synonyms. These sections point to more specific types of meanings than simply the “imputed smallness” so far discussed.

This article does not deal with words like *nucleus* or like *Arculus* at all, nor does it discuss the relationship between termination and suffix.

II.B.k. Dressler & Barbaresi, Morphopragmatics: Diminutives and Intensifiers in Italian, German, and Other Languages⁸⁶

According to the authors, this book is devoted to the affixes and other morphological devices whose meaning appears to be primarily located in pragmatics. Morphopragmatics is the study of the interrelationship between morphology and pragmatics; it deals with the forms and shapes of words in particular contexts. One way to understand this field of study is to understand the difference between the two sentences *Go get 'em* and *Go get them*. The study of morphopragmatics helps us to explain why someone might say “em” in one place but “them” in another.

The authors of this study point out that the aforementioned affixes and other morphological devices exhibit no stable semantic value and their meaning seems to be often elusive. Morphologists, the authors claim, have struggled with such formations

⁸⁶ Dressler, W. U., and L. M. Barbaresi. *Morphopragmatics: Diminutives and Intensifiers in Italian, German, and Other Languages*. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter, 1994.

and have given vague and impressionistic descriptions of their meanings. On the other hand, pragmaticists have largely disregarded the pragmatic value of productive morphological operations. With their book, the authors aim to investigate how pragmatics and morphology meet and become mutually relevant. The authors wrote their work because they were dissatisfied with the state of research concerning phenomena which pertain to morphology and pragmatics at the same time.

It turns out that the authors wish not to focus on morphopragmatics in general, but specifically on certain types of words in few modern languages. This becomes clear in how they structure their work. First, they give a lengthy introduction which explains what their field of study focuses on and how the study evolved over time. In the second chapter, the authors discuss morphopragmatics in inflection, including how such features manifest in Japanese addressee honorifics and the Huichol prefix. Their third chapter then deals with the morphopragmatics of diminutives in Italian, German, and English. Then, in the fourth chapter, they focus on the morphopragmatics of Italian intensification. Chapter five deals with Italian and German interfixes. Finally, in chapter six, the authors discuss the German excessive.

In their conclusion, the authors make the following points: The Italian elative has a clear semantic meaning but only secondary pragmatic meaning; Italian juxtapositional reduplication conveys a less precise semantic intensification than the elative does, but has some autonomous pragmatics; diminutives and augmentatives have a rather abstract semantic meaning and a complex pragmatic meaning; the German excessive and Japanese *-masu* have little semantic but considerable pragmatic meaning; Italian

antesuffixal interfixes have no semantic but an “intensifying” pragmatic meaning; German interradaical interfixation is semantically empty and pragmatically nearly so, and this seems to be the case with interfixation in other languages as well.

In the chapter which deals specifically with diminutives, the authors propose a maximalist view whereby there are pragmatic regularities applying to diminutives only: the feature “non-serious” is more appropriate than the feature “small” for explaining the pragmatics of diminutives in many areas of the authors’ research. Whereas the feature “non-serious” can account for all factors, the feature “small” cannot account for familiarity and playfulness. In many places, “non-serious” appears to be more adequate than “small,” e.g., for pet-centered speech situations, insofar as diminutives are used not only for young and small dogs but for old and big ones as well.

Dressler’s and Barbaresi’s book does not focus on diminutives in Latin specifically, but it does have some implications for the study of diminutives which appear in Latin. There is reason to believe that the idea of “not serious” is a pragmatic feature, even in Latin. The implication is the seemingly simple point that the literal idea of “small” is more of a semantic feature while non-literal ideas of it are pragmatic ones. If the basic meaning of diminutives is “small,” then we need to look outside pragmatics and to context to find out to what extent speakers stretch and transform the idea of “small.” The author’s work also should inspire us to ask whether pragmatics dictates the shapes of diminutives in Latin. In Chapter IV, I show that the shapes of diminutives in Latin are determined by sound laws and the need to distinguish old and new diminutives, and not by specific uses of diminutives in particular situations.

II.B.I. Jurafsky, *Universal Tendencies in the Semantics of the Diminutive*⁸⁷

In this article, the author proposes to model the synchronic and diachronic semantics of the diminutive category with a radial category, which explicitly models the different senses of the diminutive and the metaphorical and inferential relations which bind them. The main reason for this model is to account for the extraordinary and often contradictory range of the senses of the diminutive synchronically, and the difficulty of proposing a coherent historical reconstruction for these senses. The sort of senses that the author wishes to account for include small size itself, affection, approximation, intensification, imitation, and the female gender.

The author introduces the many different meanings that a diminutive may take in various languages, and then spends some time discussing previous attempts to account for the various meanings, indicating that these previous attempts to characterize semantics synchronically or diachronically have often retreated to vague abstractions.⁸⁸ Throughout this discussion of previous work on the meaning of diminutives, the author points out that the literature supports two research paradigms, namely, 1) descriptions of the polysemy⁸⁹ of diminutives in particular languages and 2) studies of the direction of meaning change. The author then uses these two paradigms to build a radial category, which is a graphical representation of a polysemous category.

⁸⁷ Jurafsky, Daniel. "Universal Tendencies in the Semantics of the Diminutive." In *Language*, Sep., 1996, Vol. 72, No. 3 (Sep., 1996), pp. 533-578.

⁸⁸ This is rather like Dressler's and Barbaresi's claim that Morphologists have given vague and impressionistic descriptions of the meanings of certain affixes and other morphological devices.

⁸⁹ I.e., a sign's capacity to have multiple related meanings.

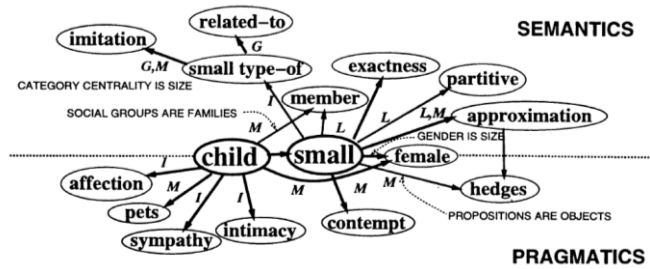


Figure 1. Jurafsky's graphical representation of diminutives.

This graphical representation is split between the two major categories of semantics and pragmatics, which represents the first research paradigm. Straddling on the line between the two categories are the basic ideas of "child," "small," and "female," with an arrow direction going from the first of these, then the second, and then the third. This directional representation represents the second research paradigm. Moreover, in the figure, "M" stands for metaphor, "G" for generalizations, "I" for inference, and "L" for lambda-abstraction (respecification). The radial category aims to bring together different uses of diminutives in a unified structure and explains the relations between all the uses of diminutives as a polysemous category.

The author then spends the rest of the article defending the details of this graphical representation, especially the central idea that the search for both the pragmatic and semantic sources of the diminutive has led the author to the origin "child," suggesting a universal tendency, namely that "child" gave rise to "diminutive" and diminutives arise from semantic or pragmatic links with children.

The author introduces several mechanisms for semantic change: metaphor, inference or context-induced reinterpretation, and generalization or bleaching. The first of these, metaphor, is especially interesting because metaphors of centrality and

marginality can also account for paradoxical diminutive uses marking intensification, approximation, the center or prototype of a social category, and the socially marginal by pointing out that such notions are various extensions of the core "child" sense: social groups are families, the group member in the source domain corresponds to the child in the target domain, peripheral or marginal members of a category correspond to small size, and where the augmentative is used as a general intensifier, the diminutive is used for intensification only via particular metaphors motivated directly by the sense "small."

The author concludes that by offering a theory of polysemy that includes pragmatics as well as semantics, the radial category provides an explanation for the prevalence of pragmatic connotations of affection and sympathy, and hedges on forms with other diminutive meanings, like approximation and quantification.

Jurafsky's article does not focus on diminutives in Latin specifically, but it does have some implications for the study of diminutives across languages generally. First, the author gives us something resembling a general model of development of the meanings of diminutives across languages in general, and this model attempts to account for all of the meanings which diminutives appear to have in many different languages. Second, the article makes it clear that while diminutives ultimately come from the idea of "small," exactly how the power of diminution manifests itself depends on the meanings of words (i.e., semantics) and context (i.e., pragmatics). Third, the article shows that it is not merely a feature of Latin diminutives that connect the idea of intensification with the central idea of "small." In Chapter V, I point out how a word like *parvulus* appears to function more as an intensifier than a diminutive. Fourth, as it does

for the idea of “intensification,” the article explains why even in Latin diminutives can function essentially as feminizing suffixes. In Chapter VI, I explain the relationship between the masculine word *puer* and the feminine word *puella*. Fifth, the author provides a model of the development of the uses of diminutives which one could test out through the survey of examples of diminutives in various languages. In Chapter III, I explain how such a test would be exceedingly difficult to conduct with the available evidence which we can find in Latin.

II.B.m. Gaide, “Les dérivés ‘diminutifs’ en *-lus, -la, -lum*”⁹⁰

This article discusses the major semantic and morphological information concerning diminutives in Latin. The three major sections of the article are: 1) a synchronic study of diminutives (first, a section discussing how the various diminutive suffixes came about according to the phonetics of the language, then there are some words said about the preservation of diminutives of the genders of their base words, along with examples of exceptions); 2) an analysis of the semantic meanings of diminutives, both literal and imputed, which includes words which indicate partitive notions (e.g., *lānula*, “lock of wool,” from *lāna*, “wool”), references to subdivisions (e.g., *digitulus*, “fingertip,” from *digitus*, “finger”), the *Motionssuffix* (as seen in *puella*, “girl,” from *puer*, “boy” or “girl”), and various types of relational uses as metonymy and metaphor; 3) the last section gives a diachronic overview of the origin of diminutives (discussing the Indo-European **-lo-* formations, which had a variety of adjectival functions, and showing corresponding formations in various languages).

⁹⁰ Gaide, F. “Les dérivés ‘diminutifs’ en *-lus, -la, -lum*.” In *Grammaire fondamentale du latin, Tome IX*, edited by Chantal Kircher-Durand, 111–123. Leuven-Paris: Peeters, 2002.

The scope is wide, but the article itself is short. Nevertheless, it does discuss most of the general topics which are most relevant to my study, by providing specific types of imputed smallness. The author brings up the idea of the *Motionssuffix*, which allowed me to attach a particular name to the suffix use in question. Unfortunately, however, this article does not bring up words like *nucleus* and *Arculus*, nor does it actually mention the relationships between termination and gender.

II.B.n. D. G. Miller,⁹¹ Latin Suffixal Derivatives in English: and Their Indo-European Ancestry⁹²

This book gives brief summaries of the Latin suffixes that have been transmitted as the endings of cognate English words, and then lists the English words with their Latin equivalents along with etymologies. There is a major section dedicated to diminutives along with a diachronic and synchronic description of the histories of the suffixes. The author points out that the Indo-European had **-lo-* formations in a variety of adjectival functions, including hypocoristics, then diminutives. D. G. Miller also mentions that diminutives generally retain the gender of their base words, and further discusses the origin of the *-cul-* diminutive suffix types: essentially, it arose from reanalyzing the suffix appearing in words like *cornīc-ula* (from *cornīx* + *-ula*) rather than in words like *porc-ulus* (from *porcus* + *-ulus*).

D. G. Miller, like Weiss below, seems to believe that the basic **-lo-* serves as the origin of both diminutives and adjectives like *crēdulus* (see below). The section on the

⁹¹ For the sake of avoiding possible confusion, I will refer to this author as D. G. Miller to distinguish him from myself, I. A. Miller.

⁹² Miller, D. Gary. *Latin Suffixal Derivatives in English: and Their Indo-European Ancestry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

origin of *-cul-* form of the diminutive suffix is well argued, and the explanation (i.e., that it came from words like *cornīc-ula* rather than from words like *porc-ulus*) strikes me as more reasonable than the traditional one. D. G. Miller, however, does not discuss the relationship between gender and termination, nor does he mention names like *Arculus* and *Caeculus*.

II.B.o. de Vaan, Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages⁹³

The main aim of this dictionary is, according to the author, to describe which roots and stems of the vocabulary of Latin and the other Italic languages are likely to have been inherited from Proto-Indo-European. The author points out right away that there are no claims that this book is a complete etymological dictionary of Latin.

After an introduction explaining the aim of the book, the author provides a definition of Italic, an explanation of his research method, some comments on the journey of Latin from Proto-Indo-European, a justification for the entries which he has selected for his dictionary, and finally a classification of the periods of the Latin language.

The general format of each entry of de Vaan's dictionary follows a structure of: the headword in the nominative singular form, an abbreviated version of its genitive singular form, an indication of its gender and stem type in brackets, and a note on which Roman author in whose work the word is first attested. After this is a Derivatives section which shows derivatives of the headword. Next are reconstructions of the Proto-

⁹³ de Vaan, Michiel. *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages*. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

Indo-European and Proto-Italic versions of the word, a list of Indo-European cognates, and finally a general discussion on the etymology of the headword, often in relation to some of the words which appear in the aforementioned list of cognates.

de Vaan's book naturally does not focus on diminutives and non-diminutives specifically, and yet the book has practical utility in the study of such words. The range of words which de Vaan has selected for his entries is very wide, and the Derivatives section of each headword entry is always a good place to look for examples of the types of words which are relevant to my study. For instance, in the "nux, -cis" entry, the Derivatives section lists, among other words, the diminutive *nuc(u)leus* along with its definition ("kernel, stone (of fruit)") and the author in whose work the word first appears (Plautus). In the etymology explanation section of the entry, de Vaan tells us that "[Latin] *nuc(u)leus* presupposes a diminutive **nuculus*/-a." Moreover, in the Derivatives section of the "ōrō, -āre 'to pray to, beseech'" entry, de Vaan provides the non-diminutive example "orāculum 'divine utterance, oracle'."

What is especially helpful about de Vaan's dictionary is that it contains both his own opinions and the opinions of other scholars of the etymologies of certain diminutive words in Latin. He has a lengthy discussion of the diminutives *vallus* and *vatillum* in the "vannus 'winnowing-basket'" entry. It is especially this material which I cite extensively in the chapters of this dissertation which focus on the semantic analyses of diminutives and non-diminutives.

II.B.p. Weiss, *Outline of the Historical and Comparative Grammar of Latin*⁹⁴

This is a compendium of the historical and comparative grammar of Latin, with explanation of the phonological and morphological details of Latin's development from Proto-Indo-European. The author provides a small section on diminutives in the first section on suffixes, specifically the suffix *-lo-*, which he argues has two synchronically distinct functions in Latin: 1) deverbative adjectives with agentive force (e.g., *crēdulus*, "believing," from *crēdere*, "to believe"), and 2) denominative and deadjectival diminutives. The author here lists words according to general formation procedures: 1) basic suffix element *-lo/ā-* as in *lapillus*, "pebble," from *lapis*, "stone" (i.e., the diminutive suffix being added to consonant stems); 2) *-ul-* as in *rēgulus*, "chieftain," from *rēx*, "king"; 3) *-ol-* after certain letters as in *filiolus*, "little son," from *filius*, "son"; 4) *-cul-* used for many words of the third, fourth, and fifth declensions as in *aedicula*, "small room," from *aedēs*, "abode"; 5) the formation of *-ll-* as in *agellus*, "little fields," from *ager*, "field" (i.e., the diminutive suffix being added to the bases of the first- and second-declensions); 6) the suffixes attaching to adjectives in analogous ways to nouns as in *prīmulus*, "earliest," from *prīmus*, "first."

Although the section on diminutives in this book is relatively small, Weiss does give some helpful information about the origin and creation of the suffixes in Latin. Weiss seems to be of the opinion that the old suffix *-lo-* is the ancestor of both the adjectival suffix found in words like *crēdulus* and the diminutives in Latin. Weiss gives

⁹⁴ Weiss, Michael. *Outline of the Historical and Comparative Grammar of Latin*. Ann Arbor: Beech Stave Press, 2009.

more specific details about the formation of diminutives like *agellus* in a footnote,⁹⁵ but does not elaborate further. The author does not provide any commentary on the relationship between gender and termination in the formation of diminutives, nor does he mention names like *Arculus* and *Caeculus*.

II.B.q. I. A. Miller, "The Formation of Latin Diminutives of Nouns and Adjectives"⁹⁶

This article presents a simple collection of instructions for the formation of Latin diminutive nouns and adjectives. My article begins with a very brief explanation of what diminutive words are, followed by a general summary of the diachronic formation of the suffix sets. The main body of the article, however, contains sections divided on the basis of stem and declension, and follows a purely synchronic approach for instructions on the formation of diminutives. Accompanying these instructions are detailed charts showing base words, formative word elements (i.e., stems and suffixes), and the

⁹⁵ Weiss, 281.

⁹⁶ Miller, Ian Andreas. "The Formation of Latin Diminutives of Nouns and Adjectives." ResearchGate. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323534846_The_Formation_of_Latin_Diminutives_of_Nouns_and_Adjectives. 2012.

attested examples of diminutives themselves. The “I. Diminutive Adjectives: Regular Procedures” section shows this particular example:

Primitive				Diminutive		
Declension	Stem Vowel	Word	Gender	Word	Gender	Declines Like
Second	-o-	aureus	Masculine	aureolus	Masculine	bonus
First	-ā-	aurea	Feminine	aureolua	Feminine	bona
Second	-o-	aureum	Neuter	aureolum	Neuter	bonum
Second	-o-	miser	Masculine	misellus	Masculine	bonus
First	-ā-	miserā	Feminine	misella	Feminine	bona
Second	-o-	miserum	Neuter	misellum	Neuter	bonum
Second	-o-	brevis	Masculine	breviculus	Masculine	bonus
First	-ā-	brevis	Feminine	brevicula	Feminine	bona
Second	-o-	breve	Neuter	breviculum	Neuter	bonum

Figure 2. A typical example of the charts which appear in my article.

I make no attempt, however, to justify the accuracy of the information within the instructions other than those attested examples. There are, consequently, no specific references to the ancient literature itself. I used the online versions of the L&S and Elem. Lewis dictionaries of the Perseus Digital Library website. The last section shows examples of diminutive words created for the sake of demonstration.

One of my goals is to show that the relationship between gender and termination in the formation of Latin diminutives has more nuance than one might suppose, and therefore we should not assume that even diminutive nouns behave like the *Bonus-Adjectives*. The example diminutives are meant to reflect this nuance. For instance, for the hypothetical diminutive of *vīrus*, a second-declension neuter noun ending in *-us*, I have *vīrulus* (and not *vīrulum*), which retains the base word’s gender, declension, and termination. This is completely in line with the reasons for the forms of attested diminutives such as *scurrula* and *vallus*.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ So, if *scurrula* and *vallus* retain the terminations (*-a* and *-us*) of their respective base words (*scurra* and *vannus*) then *vīrulus* retains the termination (*-us*) of its base word.

My article does not mention names like *Arculus* and *Caeculus*. While I was writing this article, I had not entirely realized the possible significance of these words.

II.B.r. Makarova, "Rethinking diminutives: A case study of Russian verbs"⁹⁸

The author of this dissertation ultimately aims to demonstrate that there are indeed verbal diminutives in Russian. A key point that the author argues for in order to support the main claim is that diminutives can be analyzed as "reference point constructions," and such an analysis holds across languages and parts of speech.

Chapter 1 is where the author discusses general issues concerning diminutives and reference points in order to set up that aforementioned key point. In Chapter 2, the author discusses the system of diminutives in Russian in general. Chapter 3 has a discussion which further investigates the category of Russian diminutives, and specifically focuses on words of the *bain'ki*-type. Chapter 4 is where the author proposes an analysis of Russian attenuatives as verbal diminutives. In Chapters 5 to 8, the author explores various issues concerning the Russian attenuative markers *pri*- and *pod*-. The Concluding chapter summarizes the major points of the dissertation. These concluding remarks detail with diminutives in general, diminutives in Russian, cognitive linguistics, and Russian linguistics.

The basis of the entire discussion is dependent on the key point which I mentioned above, namely the notion that diminutives can be analyzed as "reference point constructions," and therefore the author begins the dissertation with defining what reference point constructions are and builds a case why we should consider

⁹⁸ Makarova, Anastasia. *Rethinking diminutives: A case study of Russian verbs*. PhD Dissertation, University of Tromsø, 2014.

diminutives as having such properties. The author explains the idea of reference point by giving the example of “the dog’s tail,” where the dog serves as a reference point for the tail (the target), in that it locates the tail, and “dog” helps us identify the tail in question as opposed to other tails.⁹⁹ The author further points out that in diminutives, we are dealing with a reference point (the standard of comparison), a target (diminutive), and a predicate (a diminutive suffix) that indicates that there is a reference point relationship.¹⁰⁰

After discussing the basics of the diminutives as reference point constructions, the author cites Jurafsky and the analysis of diminutives which Jurafsky presented, including the graphic which I cited above. The author’s analysis is based on Jurafsky’s approach, but differs from it in that she 1) focuses not on multiple nodes of radial category but merely on metaphor and metonymy, 2) does not assume the kind of unidirectional relationship which Jurafsky’s graph suggests, and 3) does not draw a clear-cut boundary between semantics and pragmatics.

Makarova’s study does not focus on diminutives in Latin specifically, but it does have some implications for the study of diminutives which appear in Latin. First, Makarova’s dissertation gives us a modified model of development of the meanings of diminutives across languages in general. Unlike Jurafsky, however, Makarova is not interested in accounting for all of the various meanings of diminutives throughout the various languages which have such words. Makarova’s focus is more on the use of diminutives in specifically Russian, and specifically on how how metaphor and

⁹⁹ Makarova, 6.

¹⁰⁰ Makarova, 14.

metonymy relate to Russian diminutive verbs. This narrowing and modification of the model of diminutives for one particular language is relevant to me because such a method will be required for me when developing my definitions for Latin diminution. Second, and most significantly, Makarova's study inspired me to find out what parts of speech are liable to acquire diminutive-forming word elements, and, specifically, whether Latin verbs can become diminutive verbs. In Chapter VII, I show that such words really do not exist in Latin despite the claims made by the authors of several of my typical sources.

II.C. Conclusions

The sources from both antiquity and from modern times give us several sorts of descriptions of the nature of diminutives and non-diminutives in Latin. This section summarizes how views on major questions relevant to my study have evolved.

On the question of classifying diminutives vs. non-diminutives, several views have evolved as follows. Varro considers diminutives of nouns and adjectives as comparable to the plural forms of nouns and adjectives, the difference being that of change in size versus change in number. Priscian points out that there are many words, common nouns and personal names, which look like diminutives but are not actually so (e.g., *cuniculus* and *vinculum*). Zucchelli has noted the difference in meaning in the various words in Latin which have the *-/-* suffixes, and has noted points of interference between diminutives and non-diminutives.

On the morphology of diminutives (including gender), views have evolved as follows. Varro points out that a base word can produce multiple stages of diminutive

forms, and not all base words have the corresponding multiple stages of diminutive forms. Multiple stages arise when their use is needed. Charisius, quoting Varro, introduces the rule that diminutives take the gender of their base words. He also shows some words which he considers exceptions. Pompeius the Grammarian, also quoting Varro, mentions the rule that diminutives take the gender of their base words, a rule so reliable that one can look at the form of the diminutive to find the gender of the base word itself. In Priscian's work there are some examples of exceptions to the rule of the retention of gender, most of which appear also in the fragment of Varro which Charisius cites. Weinhold meticulously reviews the rules of the retention of gender among diminutives, cites examples which violate that rule, and provides arguments and explanations for the altered genders. Gaide offers a diachronic overview of the origin of diminutives. Loicq deals with etymology of the Latin word *calculus*, "small rock," first by reviewing the general rules for the formation of diminutive words in Latin, and then indicating that *calculus* is not a diminutive of *calx*. The author concludes that *calculus* actually derives from some word element **kala/kara*. Cooper studies word formation and traces the development of words which are characteristic of the Roman *sermō plēbēius*, and has a lengthy section for diminutives, beginning with a general description of diminutives followed by lists of diminutives arranged according to author. Strodach examines the phonetic origin of the Latin diminutive suffixes in *-ello/ā-* and *-illo/ā-*, and traces the lines of their analogical extension as independent formative elements. He accomplishes that goal by giving a lengthy discussion on the issues surrounding the formation of the suffixes, and gives lists of diminutives and non-

diminutives together with the respective base words and additional commentary. D. G. Miller gives brief summaries and lists of the Latin suffixes corresponding to English words. The section of his book which deals with diminutives begins with a discussion of the origin of the suffixes, along which is a notable description on the origin of the *-culus* form of the diminutive suffix. Weiss explains the phonological and morphological detail of Latin's development from Proto-Indo-European, with a section devoted to diminutives, containing a brief description of the origin of the various types of the diminutive suffix, and a list of diminutive words according to general formation procedures. I have noted the nuanced relationship between gender and termination among diminutives.

Finally, on the question of the semantics of diminutives, the most notable views have evolved as follows. Priscian makes a distinction between the absolute comparison of diminutives and the relative comparison of diminutives derived from comparative forms of adjectives. He also shows that there are various types of diminutive suffixes (e.g., *-ulus* and *-unculus*), some of which do not necessarily indicate diminution (e.g., *-aster* and *-uleus*). Hanssen deals with the semantics of the diminutives which appear from Plautus and Terence to Cicero. The major sections of the work deal with individual or groups of Latin authors, and specific types of meanings (e.g., affectionate use, words for agricultural implements) appear within these sections. Fruyt studies the specific semantic functions of the diminutives. Diminutives derived from nouns and the base words themselves have relationships stemming from an opposition between referential and differential usage. These diminutives can also convey ideas not so much

said as how they are said. Diminutives derived from adjectives may have a gradable quality (reminiscent of the relative comparison that Priscian talks about). Gaide deals with the major semantic and morphological information concerning diminutives in Latin, focusing on the synchronic study of diminutives, and the semantic meanings of diminutives (one of which involves the *Motionsuffix*, a kind of feminizing suffix). Rybolt studies the etymology, history of use, meaning, word-formation and types of words using the suffix *-aster*, and provides as complete a listing of words formed with this suffix as possible. The author classifies the words in terms of their meaning, but it turns out that none of the meanings specifically denote smallness. Gow lists and discusses the diminutives which appear in Augustan poetry, as well as their frequency. He also gives a rudimentary definition of Latin diminutives. Finally, Jurafsky provides a general model for the classification and historical development of diminutives appearing across multiple languages.

While all of these sources contribute much about the nature and significance of diminutives, there are some significant omissions. None sufficiently explains the relationship between gender and termination. In fact, almost all appear to assume that one termination type relates only to one gender (e.g., diminutives in *-us* are masculine). Moreover, few give much material concerning the meaning and status of words like *Arculus*. Zucchelli mentions such words and rightly distinguishes them from diminutives, but he neither attempts to catalog these words extensively nor does he try to contextualize them within the overall framework of word formation in Latin.

Chapter III: Definition of Diminutives

The words in my study appear in several overall categories which consist of all the words that I have in my database. These categories are defined first in morphological terms (i.e., having shapes of diminutives), and second in terms of meaning. The words in the main category, the category comprising diminutives, are defined as all nouns and adjectives (and corresponding adverbs) that bear any of a defined set of derivative suffixes, with the respective ranges of meanings. I will explain the shapes and meanings of those suffixes in the sections of this chapter.

III.A. Definition of the Morphological Shapes of Diminutives

Diminutives have morphological shapes which contain the basic element *-l-*, but this is very often expanded to any of the following seven suffix elements¹⁰¹:

- *-ul-*
- *-ell-*
- *-cul-*
- *-cill-*
- *-ol-*
- *-ill-*
- *-cell-*

The initial hyphen in each of these represents the remaining parts of the diminutives, e.g., the initial *-* in *-ul-* represents the *cist* in *cistula*; the initial *-* in *-cill-* represents the *ōs* in *ōscillum*. Such remaining parts of the diminutives, which the *-* represents, are usually the bases or stems of those diminutives' base words, as we see in the *cistula* example. Sometimes the stem of the word, which that *-* represents, happens to have the form of the nominative singular form of a word, as we see in the *ōscillum* example. In a few other situations the remaining parts are truncated parts of words.

¹⁰¹ A more detailed explanation of the histories and forms of diminutives suffixes appears in Chapter IV.

The terminal hyphen in each of these represents one of the various case endings which can appear there,¹⁰² and so *-ul-* represents *-ulus*, *-ula*, *-ulum*, *-ulī*, *-ulae*, *-ula*, etc.

III.B. Definition of the Ranges of Meanings of Diminutives

Defining the meanings of diminutives requires a detailed explanation.

It would seem obvious at first that the task of determining the meaning of Latin diminutives would involve an initial step where we look to a general model of the semantics and pragmatics of diminutives which should apply to diminutives across many languages. This is clearly the route that Makarova took in her dissertation where she cites Jurafsky's radial category to develop her own system of classifying the meanings of diminutives in Russian. It is very easy indeed to identify the meanings of Latin diminutives and then find a corresponding meaning on Jurafsky's graphic: "small" (e.g., *cistula*, "small box"), "child" (e.g., *puella*, "girl"), "female" (e.g., *ancilla*, "maid"¹⁰³), "contempt" (e.g., *vetulus*, "too old to be of any use"). It turns out, however, that the works of Jurafsky and Makarova will prove to offer limited or little aid to the task of defining Latin diminutives. The main reason for this relates to how we lack a means to study the meanings of Latin diminutives from a purely diachronic approach. In the introductory paragraphs of Chapter IV, I make the case that the development of the formation of diminutives was complete by Plautus' time, and here I point out that the development of meanings of these diminutives was complete by that time as well.

¹⁰² Namely, terminations of the first and second declensions: e.g., *-us*, *-a*, *-um*, *-ī*, *-ae*, and *-a*, etc.

¹⁰³ The OLD uses the English word "servant" where the Latin is referring to slaves, so I have removed all instances of "servant" from the quoted definitions from the OLD and replaced them with "slave."

When we study the diminutives in the works of Plautus, we are working with a morphology- and semantics-related system of words as a finished product. This ultimately means that it is not possible to perform reliable tests on whether notions of “child,” “small,” and “female” are indeed basic ideas of Latin diminutives, or whether Latin diminutives can be graphed into the essential categories of semantics and pragmatics. Even a cursory glance at the examples of Plautian diminutives which appear in the III.D. (e.g., *cistula*, *ventulus*, *parvulus*, *digitulus*) and III.E. (e.g., *homunculus*, *puella*, *aedicula*, *crumēna*) sections shows that these words had at the very least an extremely extensive range of meanings by the Roman playwright’s stage of the language. While it is the case that Plautus uses the word *puella*, which is the basic Latin word for “girl” and is structurally a diminutive, we nevertheless do not have the material to say that this word is somehow diachronically a more semantically basic diminutive than *cistula*, *aedicula*, or *crumēna*.

We must look to other sources to fulfill the task of defining “diminutive” in the context of Latin. The majority of the sources which I have reviewed in the previous chapter fail to define “diminutive,” with Gow being a notable exception. The works of Gow and Fruyt are actually helpful because they offer us the relevant definitional material, which in turn gives us the opportunities to develop a set of criteria for determining the morphological and semantic characteristics of Latin diminutives.

III.B.a. Quantitative and Qualitative Differences in Meanings of Diminutives

Gow’s “base word + adjective of size or quality” criterion (as we see with *agellus* = *ager parvus*, etc.) points to a way in which we can account for the collection of

essential semantics of Latin diminutives. Specifically, Gow's understanding of a "small, or poor, or favourite field" shows that his understanding of diminutives recognizes both quantitative differences in diminution (i.e., "small") and qualitative differences (i.e., "poor or favourite field"). In simpler terms, the distinction is one between literal smallness and imputed smallness, and so an *agellus* can be a term which refers to something that is, on the one hand, literally 1) a field or plot of land (*ager*) and 2) literally small (*parvus*), or, on the other hand, in some sense 1) a field or plot of land and 2) figuratively "small" in the sense of "poor" (*miser*), "dear" (*cārus*), and so on.

This method of accounting for the semantics of diminutives seems fairly straightforward, and yet there is a hidden difficulty which we must address.

III.B.b. Scope of Meanings of the Base Words of Diminutives

Although it is true that we can understand the meanings of many diminutives according to Gow's "base word + adjective of size or quality" criterion, nevertheless such a criterion seems not to account for the various meanings which Latin diminutives can have. Gow is ostensibly correct in pointing out that no mere adjective when attached to *ōs* will give it the meaning of *ōsculum*. It seems plain to me, though, that the issue here is not so much with Latin's power of diminution as our insistence on creating a narrow range of meanings of the base words themselves. Gow's criticism of the relationship between *ōs* and *ōsculum* stems not from the "adjective of size or quality" part of his criterion but from the "base word" part. We need, then, a means of understanding these base words such that their meanings can combine with the power of diminution within the suffixes to produce the meanings of our diminutives.

A powerful means with which we can account for the meanings of the base words is Fruyt's observation that the relationship between base words and diminutives stems from an opposition between "referential vs. differential usage." According to a referential usage, *agellus* = *ager parvus* or *ager miser* or *ager cārus*, where external entities denoted by the base word define these words: there is a field or plot of land, and it has characteristics which one can describe as "small" or "unfortunate" or "valued." But according to a differential usage, *agellus* = *ager parvus* or *ager miser* or *ager cārus*, where the definition of the base word is understood not by external entities but through its relationship to other words in the language. Amid such relationships of words are terms referring to entities within groups having the same label, and yet some members are seen as proper specimens of the label in question while others are not. When we speak of proper specimens with a label, we appeal to referential usage, and when we speak of the improper specimens, we appeal to the differential usage. Thus, for example, the entity that we refer to as an *ager* and defined according to the label of "*ager*" may or may not be strictly a proper specimen of an *ager*. The term *ager* can refer metonymically to the inhabitants of a territory, so these individuals are not properly an *ager* (i.e., they are not fields or plots of land) but are an "*ager*" (i.e., they get that label because of their particular relation to the word). The label becomes the measuring stick with which to judge the perceived status of the members of the group regardless of whether they are proper or improper specimens.

According to the Latin framework of diminution, then, the base word serves as that measuring stick, while the diminutive can refer to members of that group (i.e., all

of the members which have the label in question, whether or not one member is an actual specimen) together with the power of diminutive. The diminutive then depends on the base word not just etymologically, as Gow suggests, but also on other ways of interpreting the meanings of base words which produce diminutives. Therefore, the *ōs* that brought about the word *ōsculum* is not a proper specimen of an *ōs* (i.e., the result of an action done with the mouth, analogous to “speech”¹⁰⁴), but still holds a label “*ōs*.” According to this “measuring stick” paradigm for interpreting the base words of diminutives, a mere adjective when attached to *ōs* will indeed give it the meaning of *ōsculum*, provided that we have a relevant understanding of the base word *ōs*.

III.B.c. Scope of Meaning of the Power of Diminution of the Suffixes

The adjectives of size and quality from Gow’s criterion, which represent the element within diminutives imparting the power of diminution, are of course also subject to interpretation according to the referential and differential types of usage. It is possible to develop proper and improper understandings of *parvus*, *miser*, and *cārus*. The difference between the words representing the power of diminution and the base words to which they are joined is that the meanings of the former are not relegated to, or derived from, the referential or differential usages of any particular word. Since diminutives embody diminution and denote “smallness,” one would assume that certain differential usages of *parvus*, “small,” appropriated the meanings of *miser* and *cārus* and put such words under the label of “*parvus*,” but this does not reflect what we know about the meanings of diminutives in Latin. As Gow rightly indicates, diminution in Latin

¹⁰⁴ OLD, s.v.

can indicate various ideas which we can denote by *parvus*, *miser*, and *cārus*, where *miser* and *cārus* are discrete notions which are linked to, and yet separate from, the *parvus*. It turns out that the meanings of *parvus* did not appropriate the meanings of *miser* and *cārus* and put such words under the label of "*parvus*," but instead *parvus* may or may not have the complementary, additional meanings of *miser* and *cārus*. The distinction here, then, is the distinction between quantitative differences in diminution (i.e., *parvus*, "small") and qualitative differences (i.e., *miser* or *cārus*, "poor or dear").

III.B.d. Diminutives as Morphosemantic Hyponyms of their Base Words

A Latin diminutive and its own base word have a hyponym-hyperonym relationship between one another, but the kind of hyponym-hyperonym relationship which exists between these two involves not just the semantics of the words in question, but also some other features of the words as well. A Latin diminutive is a word which functions as a morphosemantic hyponym to its base word because: 1) the diminutive is the X in the "X is a kind of Y" relationship, the Y is the base word (which is a "label" according to how I use this term above), and what makes X a kind of Y depends on the distinction between the quantitative difference in diminution or a qualitative difference (e.g., the diminutive *cistula*, a hyponym, holds the "label" of its base word, *cista*, a hyperonym, and *cistula* is a kind of *cista* based on a quantitative difference in diminution, since *cistula* is literally a small *cista*);¹⁰⁵ 2) the diminutive has obtained its applicable morphology-related¹⁰⁶ information from that hyperonym, its base

¹⁰⁵ Hence the "hyponym" and "-semantic" elements of "morphosemantic hyponym."

¹⁰⁶ Specifically, morphosyntactic information. A more thorough explanation of this concept appears in Chapter IV.

word (e.g., the diminutive *cistula*, obtained its gender, termination, declension, and choice of diminutive suffix variant from the base word *cista*).¹⁰⁷

III.C. Categorization of the Meanings of Diminutives

In this study I will categorize diminutives in terms of the quantitative and qualitative conceptions of “smallness” which I have discussed in the previous several sections. In simpler terms, I see diminutives as denoting either literal small size (i.e., quantitative comparison) or imputed small size (i.e., qualitative comparison).

III.D. Definition of the Literal Small Size or Quantitative Comparison

By literal small size or quantitative comparison,¹⁰⁸ I mean the kind of diminution we see in the diminutives which fulfill the “base word + adjective of size” portion of Gow’s criterion of word formation, provided we understand “adjective of size” to mean either any of the quantitative adjectives like *parvus*, *brevis*, *medius*, and *reliquus*,¹⁰⁹ or some adjunct which derives from any of such quantitative or analogous adjectives.¹¹⁰

This category is on the same level as “Imputed Small Size or Qualitative Comparison” and is parallel to it; on the one hand, we have the “Imputed Small Size” category and, on the other hand, the “Literal Small Size” one.

III.D.a. Physical Smallness

These diminutives indicate physical smallness.¹¹¹ So, *cistula* (Plautus), “small box,” from *cista*, “box.” Notable among these words are those which refer to the young

¹⁰⁷ Hence the “morpho-” element of “morphosemantic hyponym.”

¹⁰⁸ Which Fruyt (1989, 128) refers to as “La vraie diminution.”

¹⁰⁹ Which we typically see in diminutive nouns: e.g., *ōrātiuncula*, “brief oration.”

¹¹⁰ Which we typically see in diminutive adjectives: e.g., *trīsticulus*, “rather sad.”

¹¹¹ Gaide, 117.

of animals. So, *anaticula* (Cicero), "duckling," from *anas*, "duck." The young of an animal need not be physically smaller than a non-young version of said animal, and therefore the ancillary idea "youth" can be categorized under the "qualitative comparison." Nevertheless, I am placing this under "quantitative" and specifically "Physical Smallness" because diminutives of this type refer to youthful animals which are always (or at least typically) smaller than their older counterparts.

III.D.b. Attenuation

These diminutives refer to a shorter or lighter or more attenuated version of something or some quality.¹¹² They convey the idea of "this thing or this quality, but not entirely according to the typical version, but rather a lesser version." There are three types of these words, and these types correspond to specific uses which reflect different types of understanding of the description "shorter, lighter, more attenuated."

III.D.b.i. Attenuation: In General

These words convey the "shorter, lighter, more attenuated" meanings in general without further nuance in meaning. Such words can be nouns or adjectives. So, *ōrātiuncula* (Cicero), "brief oration," from *ōrātiō* "oration," "speech"; *ventulus* (Plautus), "a light wind," from *ventus* "wind"; *trīsticulus* (Cicero), "rather sad," from *trīstis*, "sad."

III.D.b.ii. Adjectives Indicating Magnitude

Diminutive adjectives indicating magnitude have features which put them in the "Attenuation" category of diminutives, they also have special features that are not intuitive when compared to other diminutives of the same category. Our understanding

¹¹² Gaide, 115.

of the description “shorter, lighter, more attenuated” must be qualified for these words because 1) the notions of “shorter, lighter, more attenuated” themselves pertain to degrees of magnitude, and 2) the base words which provide the diminutives are words pertaining to magnitude. The upshot to such combinations of meanings in the formation of such diminutives is that these words need to resolve the apparent redundancies or contradictions that seem to arise because of the interaction between the meanings of diminutive suffixes and the essential meanings of “bigness” or “smallness” or “greatness” denoted by the base words.

Adjective base words indicating small magnitude or “smallness,” when used with diminutive suffixes, produce diminutive adjectives which have their small magnitude or “smallness” meaning attenuated in such a way that the notion of “smallness” is intensified. So, *parvulus* (Plautus), “very small,” from *parvus*, “small,” where this *parvulus* means “very small” instead of “somewhat small” or “smallish”—in other words, it does not simply indicate a lighter or toned-down version of “small.”¹¹³ Moreover, this *parvulus* differs from *minor* and *minimus* in that the diminutive is an intensification of specifically *parvus*¹¹⁴ rather than a comparative¹¹⁵ or superlative¹¹⁶ version of it, and so it has effectively the force of the prefix *per*, making *parvulus* have a meaning that is closer to that of the adjective *perparvus* than to that of *minor* and *minimus*.

¹¹³ Fruyt, 1989, 133.

¹¹⁴ It has the “label” of *parvus* and imparts its power of diminution on specifically that word.

¹¹⁵ A somewhat analogous set of differences arises when we might find ourselves wishing to make a distinction between “more good” (intensified version of *good*) and “better” (comparative of *good*).

¹¹⁶ *Minimus* can mean “smallest” or “very small,” but *parvulus* can mean only “very small.”

Adjective base words indicating large magnitude or “bigness,” when used with the diminutive suffixes, produce diminutive adjectives which have their large magnitude or “bigness” meaning attenuated to such a degree that it is effectively or completely cancelled out. So, *quantulus* (Plautus), “how small,” from *quantus*, “how great,” where this *quantulus* means “how small” instead of “how rather great”—in other words, it does not simply indicate a lighter or toned-down version of “how great.”¹¹⁷ What also happens in the creation of such a diminutive is that the diminutive has a meaning that is the opposite of the meaning of its own base word. Thus, *quantulus* is both the diminutive and opposite of its base word *quantus*.

III.D.b.iii. Comparative Forms of Adjectives

These diminutive adjectives have the particular meaning of “slightly” in reference to the comparative form of the adjective: not just a smaller or lesser or less sufficient quality, but one that is slighter, in the direction of the meaning of the comparative. So, a *māiuscula* (Plautus) is a woman “slightly older” than another rather than a woman who is “not quite in a state denoted by [this diminutive’s base word] *māior*,” while a *minuscula* (Plautus) is a woman “slightly younger” than another rather than a woman who is “not quite in a state denoted by [this diminutive’s base word] *minor*.”¹¹⁸

III.D.c. Specific Parts of a Whole

These indicate specific parts of a whole,¹¹⁹ and convey the idea of “this thing, but not the entire whole of it, but rather a small subdivision of it.” These words are

¹¹⁷ Fruyt, 1989, 133.

¹¹⁸ Fruyt, 1989, 134.

¹¹⁹ Fruyt, 1989, 128; Gaide, 117.

always nouns. So, *digitulus* (Plautus), "fingertip" (rather than "little finger"), from *digitus*, "finger"; *auricula* (Varro), "the outer ear" (rather than "little ear") from *auris*, "ear."

III.D.d. Small Quantity of a Whole

These indicate different-sized quantities of an indefinite amount of available substance (indicated by the diminutives) that is the whole (indicated by the base word),¹²⁰ and convey the idea of "some mass, but not the entirely all of it, rather a smaller instance of it." These words are always nouns. So, *aquula* (Plautus), "small quantity of water," from *aqua*, "water"; *harēnula* (Pliny), "grain of sand," from *harēna*, "sand."

III.E. Definition of the Imputed Small Size or Qualitative Comparison

By imputed small size or qualitative comparison, I mean the kind of diminution we see in the diminutives which fulfill the "base word + adjective of quality" portion of Gow's criterion of word formation, provided we understand "adjective of quality" to mean an adjective like *parvus* or *brevis* retaining the labels (in accordance with my "measuring stick" paradigm) of "*parvus*" or "*brevis*," and having complementary additional meanings of words or phrases like *miser* and *cārus* and *sed differens*. In certain words, though, even the idea of *parvus* or *brevis* is essentially obsolete, leaving only the now "stranded" meanings of *miser* and *cārus* and *sed differens*, and yet the *miser* and *cārus* and *sed differens* meanings which these words have are meaningful only in contradistinction to the now obsolete meanings of *parvus* or *brevis*.

¹²⁰ Fruyt, 1989, 128.

Diminutives of this category thus have meanings which are based on metaphor, value judgment, emotional attachment, and other notions. So, *muliercula* (Plautus), "A (little, weak, foolish, etc.) woman," from from *mulier*, "woman," where the woman in question could be either literally small or thought of as "weak" or "foolish."

This category is on the same level as "Literal Small Size or Quantitative Comparison" and is parallel to it; on the one hand, we have the "Literal Small Size" category and, on the other hand, the "Imputed Small Size" one.

III.E.a. Relational

Diminutives of this subcategory are relational¹²¹ in that they denote metaphorical comparisons of resemblance, metonymy, and synecdoche.

III.E.a.i. Resemblance

These diminutives pertain to the metaphorical comparison of resemblance,¹²² where the individual referred to by the diminutive has the appearance of the individual referred by the base word. So, *apriculus* (Ennius), "a fish which looks like a wild boar" as a "small wild boar," from *aper*, "wild boar."

These words might have come about by extension of the "shorter or lighter or more attenuated version of something or some quality" idea, that is, "this thing or this quality, but not entirely according to the typical version." So, for example, the "small wild boar" that is the fish is like a "regular" wild boar, but not quite.

¹²¹ Gaide, 117.

¹²² Fruyt, 1989, 128.

III.E.a.ii. Metonymy

These diminutives pertain to the metaphorical comparison of metonymy,¹²³ where the individual referred to by the diminutive is very closely connected with the individual referred by the base word. So, *umbrella* (Martial), “umbrella” as a “little shadow,” from *umbra*, “shadow.”

These words might have come about as an extension of the idea of “this thing, but not the entire whole of it, but rather a small subdivision of it.” So, for example, the “little bit of the shadow” which the object generates becomes the name of the object because of the very close connection.

III.E.a.iii. Synecdoche

These diminutives pertain to the metaphorical comparison of synecdoche,¹²⁴ where the diminutive denotes a whole and that whole is designated according to a part denoted by the base word. So, *sanguiculus* (Pliny), “blood pudding” as a “little blood,” from *sanguis*, “blood.”

We can see these words as the inverse of an extension of the idea of “this thing, but not the entire whole of it, but rather a small subdivision of it.” So, for example, a *sanguiculus* is the entire whole of a substance, but the important part of that substance is the “small yet particular part of it,” that is, “a small bit of a blood.” Let us also contrast this kind of diminutive meaning with the meaning of *auricula*, a certain part of the ear (*auris*) rather than the whole of the ear itself.

¹²³ Fruyt, 1989, 129; Gaide, 118.

¹²⁴ Fruyt, 1989, 128.

III.E.a.iv. Emphatic Differential

These diminutives denote various types of emphatic differential, that is, “diminutive by contrast,”¹²⁵ where the diminutive denotes an entity which is very much different from another, and that difference is highlighted in some way. Such words seem to mean “this as opposed to that and very much in opposition.”

III.E.a.iv.a. Implied Comparison

These diminutives pertain to the emphatic differential of comparison, where the diminutive technically refers to the same individual as its base word, but the diminution arises from the contradistinction between the individual to which the diminutive refers and some other entity which is at least implied by context (or even sometimes distinctly expressed¹²⁶). So, *homunculus* (Plautus), “a mortal,” “a human being,” from *homō*, “human being,” where the diminutive makes reference to the comparison between the *homō* and *deī*, the gods; *servulus* (Plautus), “a (mere) slave,” from *servus*, “slave,” where the diminutive makes reference to the comparison between the *servus* and *liberī hominēs*, free people; *amātorculus* (Plautus), “a lover,” from *amātor*, “lover,” where the diminutive makes reference to the comparison between the *amātor*, who does not bother with his appearance, and *fēminae*, the women, who put a lot of work into maintaining their appearance with makeup, etc.

One might suppose that this use of the words has come about as an extension of the idea of literal smallness, where, for example, the *homunculus* is a “mere human” or

¹²⁵ Hanssen, 14.

¹²⁶ Hanssen, 7.

a “small and helpless” human being¹²⁷ whom an author mentions in the same context as powerful beings like gods. Such a theory may have some merit to some extent, but it does not fully account for the use of words of this type like *amātorculus*, who is not necessarily any more literally small than the women with whom the lover is compared. Either way, any idea of literal smallness of the diminutive is at best deemphasized, and the new emphasis is the comparison between a base word and some other entity.

III.E.a.iv.β. *Motionssuffix*

These diminutives pertain to the emphatic differential, stipulated by Gaide¹²⁸ as those having the *Motionssuffix*,¹²⁹ essentially a feminizing suffix.¹³⁰ So, *ancilla* (Livius Andronicus), “maid” as a “small slave,” from *anculus*, “male slave”; *puella* (Plautus), “girl,” as a “small boy/child,” from *puer*, “boy,” “child.” These words have a suffix which is comparable to the English suffix *-ette*, which not only has a diminutive significance (e.g., *kitchenette* ← *kitchen* + *-ette*; *diskette* ← *disk* + *-ette*), but a *Motionssuffix* one (e.g., *bachelorette* ← *bachelor* + *-ette*; *Smurfette* ← *smurf* + *-ette*).

III.E.a.iv.γ. *Virtual Synonyms*

These diminutives pertain to the emphatic differential which relates to virtual synonyms or enlarged forms (of the base words), used to highlight the individual and pique the reader’s or listener’s interest. Hanssen refers to diminutives of this type as “emphatic forms.”¹³¹ A diminutive of this type refers to the same entity as that denoted

¹²⁷ Hanssen, 14.

¹²⁸ Gaide, 116.

¹²⁹ Gaide, 116.

¹³⁰ *Motion* here is a German term that refers to the inflection for gender. (Collins, “English to German: motion”)

¹³¹ Hanssen, 16.

by the base word, but "with a difference."¹³² So, *ancillula* (Terence), "not just any maid but one specifically from Ethiopia" as a "small maid," from *ancilla*, "maid." Following Hanssen I am also including the titles of comedies as examples of diminutives of this type.¹³³ So, *Poenulus* (Plautus), "the Phoenician (i.e., Carthaginian) man who is a key character in the play and not just any Phoenician man" as a "small Phoenician (i.e., Carthaginian)," from *Poenus*, "a Phoenician (i.e., Carthaginian)," which is used as one of Plautus' titles, and yet while the diminutive *Poenulus* does not appear in the text of the play itself, the base word *Poenus* does.¹³⁴

Sometimes, however, it is difficult to tell exactly how diminutives of this type really differ from their base words other than "with a difference." It could be that such diminutives have an essentially demonstrative function, so they would either make sense only in the presence of the thing being indicated or aim to mention a term rather than use it. The first option seems to describe Terence's use of *ancillula*¹³⁵ while the second option seems to describe Plautus' use of *Poenulus*.¹³⁶

¹³² Hanssen, 83.

¹³³ Hanssen, 82.

¹³⁴ Writers of Neo-Latin (i.e., Modern Latin) have taken the use of diminutives in the titles of works even further. Blondell and Cumming have written the short Plautus-inspired play *Auricula Meretricula*, which narrates the story of a young prostitute named Auricula. The main character may indeed be a *meretricula*, "little whore" (55), but the term is clearly following the convention of titles like *Poenulus*. The Tunbergs translated the title *How the Grinch Stole Christmas* into Latin as *Quomodo Invidiosulus Nomine Grinchus Christi Natalem Abrogaverit*, which contains the Neo-Latin diminutive adjective *invidiosulus*. Although *invidiosulus* could mean "rather envious" (vel sim.), from *invidiosus*, "envious" (OLD, s.v.), it can just as easily be following that same convention of diminutives in titles.

¹³⁵ I.e., the diminution of the word merely points to the Ethiopian maid.

¹³⁶ I.e., the diminution of the word serving as the title aims merely to mention a term denoting the Phoenician, but the play itself has the term which actually denotes said Phoenician.

III.E.b. Illocutive or Emotive

These diminutives relate to various sorts of illocutive uses,¹³⁷ and they denote value judgments and functions of emotional expression.

III.E.b.i. Positive Use

These diminutives pertain to the illocutive use which is positive, often in the form of a hypocoristic or pet name. So, *Tulliola* (Cicero), "dear Tullia," as a pet name, from *Tullia*, "Tullia." Such a use may come from the idea that something is metaphorically "small" because it is near and dear to the heart of the one using the diminutive.

III.E.b.ii. Neutral or Ambiguous Use

These diminutives pertain to the illocutive use which is neutral or ambiguous, sometimes in the form of modest expressions of requests and appeals. So, *aedicula* (Plautus), "chamber that is not too expensive," from *aedēs*, "dwelling." Such a use may come from one's attempt to tone down the negative aspects of a thing without at the same time necessarily emphasizing the positive aspects, either.

III.E.b.iii. Negative Use

These diminutives pertain to the illocutive use which is negative, often in the form of pejoratives or slurs. So, *crumilla*, "your damned little purse," from *crumēna* (Plautus), "purse"; *vetulus* (Plautus), "too old to be of any use," from *vetus*, "old." Such a use may come from the idea that something is metaphorically "small" because it is not worth much to the individual who is using the word.

¹³⁷ Fruyt, 1989, 131.

III.E.b.iv. Ironic or Understated Use

These diminutives pertain to the illocutive use which expresses irony or understatement. So, *Pulchellus* (Cicero), "Little Beauty" as a sarcastic nickname from *Pulcher*, "Publius Clodius Pulcher"; *longulus* (Cicero), "rather long" when it really means "too long," from *longus*, "long." This use is akin to meiosis, especially with words like *longulus*, which has the effect of being an ironic "magnifier" instead of a diminutive!

III.E.c. Specialized or Technical

These are diminutives which are used in a specialized or technical sense. Such uses might come from the various metaphorical uses of diminutives.

III.E.c.i. Technical Terms

These diminutives are applied to technical terms which appear in particular professional fields. So, *sextula* (Varro), "one-sixth of an *uncia*, one seventy-second of an *as* or other unit," from *pars sexta*, "sixth part," from *sextus*, "sixth." Such uses might come about from the "resemblance" or "metonymy" use of diminutives.

III.E.c.ii. Tools or Instruments

These diminutives are applied to inanimate objects such as tools or instruments. So, *porculus* (Cato), "hook on a wine- or oil-press," from *porcus*, "pig." Such uses might come about from the "resemblance" use of diminutives.

III.E.c.iii. Animate Entities

These diminutives are used in the specialized descriptions of animate objects such as types of animals, plants, trees, etc. So, *novellus* (Cato & Varro), "young" plants

and animals, from *novus*, "new"; *vetulus* (Cato & Varro), "old" animals, from *vetus*, "old." Such uses might come about from the "metonymy" use of diminutives.

III.E.c.iv. Proper Names

These diminutives are applied to individuals and used as proper names. So, *Scaevola* (Livy), "C. Mucius Cordus (after burning his right hand)," from *scaeva*, "left hand"; *Caligula* (Tacitus), "Emperor Gaius," from *caligula*, "small boot." Such uses might come about from the "metonymy" or "illocutive" uses of diminutives.

III.F. Conclusion

This is a summary of my categorization of the semantics of diminutives in Latin:

- 1) Literal Small Size or Quantitative Comparison
 - a) Physical Smallness
 - b) Attenuation
 - i) Attenuation: In General
 - ii) Adjectives Indicating Magnitude
 - iii) Comparative Forms of Adjectives
 - c) Specific Parts of a Whole
 - d) Small Quantity of a Whole
- 2) Imputed Small Size or Qualitative Comparison
 - a) Relational
 - i) Resemblance
 - ii) Metonymy
 - iii) Synecdoche

- iv) Emphatic Differential
 - A) Implied Comparison
 - B) *Motionssuffix*
 - C) Virtual Synonyms
- b) Illocutive or Emotive
 - i) Positive Use
 - ii) Neutral or Ambiguous Use
 - iii) Negative Use
 - iv) Ironic or Understated Use
- c) Specialized or Technical
 - i) Technical Terms
 - ii) Tools or Instruments
 - iii) Animate Entities
 - iv) Proper Names



I will devote Chapter V to the semantic analysis of the diminutives which indicate literal small size, and then I will devote Chapter VI to the semantic analysis of the diminutives which indicate imputed small size. The subsections in each of the two chapters will have the order and names which appear in the list above.

Chapter IV: The Diachronic and Synchronic Analyses of the Suffixes

This chapter mainly concerns the investigation of the morphophonological processes of Latin diminutives in the form of diachronic and synchronic analyses of the diminutive suffixes in Latin, whereby I first explain and discuss the origin of the various types of diminutive suffixes which appear in the language and then show how those suffixes, once they have become separate and functional word components themselves, interact with various word elements to form the diminutives which appear in our Latin texts. Another part of the chapter concerns also the diachronic and synchronic analyses of the non-diminutive suffixes in Latin and this part contains explanations and discussions analogous to those which I have already provided for diminutives.

A synchronic approach to language study refers to linguistic analyses of the texts of a certain era such as Classical Latin. The semantic component of my study is synchronic because it is limited to beginning with Vergil and ending with Apuleius. A diachronic approach, however, denotes a study of linguistic changes that have led to a certain language system or developed it further.¹³⁸ A diachronic approach is also necessary in order to trace the developments of the base words and suffixes from Proto-Indo-European to Latin, as well as their developments within Latin itself. Such an approach necessarily deals with undocumented prehistory, which can be inferred, on the one hand, by tracing the developments within Latin itself, and, on the other hand, by comparing Latin to other Indo-European languages.

¹³⁸ Malte Liesner, *Latin Historical Phonology Workbook* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2014), 4.

The playwright Plautus is the earliest Latin author who provides us with a significant number of examples of Latin diminutives, and so modern scholars¹³⁹ have started with him. From a comparison of the diminutives which first appear in Plautus' works to those which appear in later authors,¹⁴⁰ we may conclude that the development of the formation of diminutives was complete by Plautus' time. Even without the help of later authors, we can infer the rules and procedures for the formation of diminutives simply by studying Plautus. For example, a diminutive which he introduces (e.g., *secūricula* from *secūris*) implies the same sort of formation procedures as a diminutive which Cicero introduces (e.g., *classicula* from *classis*). On the other hand, the fact that many diminutives show overt signs of phonetic changes that were in progress long before Plautus¹⁴¹ indicates that significant elements of their development occurred at a preliterate period. This necessitates both a diachronic and a synchronic analysis of the diminutive. The diachronic analysis in this chapter focuses primarily on certain aspects of early Latin morphophonology which produced the various sets of diminutive suffixes that became independent formative word elements in Classical Latin. The synchronic analysis, however, shows how the Roman writers themselves employed these fully formed diminutive suffixes according to the typical and atypical procedures by which these suffixes interact with noun and adjective stems to produce diminutive words.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Cooper, 173; Hanssen, 5; Weiss, 279.

¹⁴⁰ Cooper (173) offers lists of examples of diminutives and arranges them by author in whose works they first appear. According to Cooper's list, Plautus introduces 74 different diminutives.

¹⁴¹ e.g., *corpusculus*, from *corpus*, which demonstrates the phenomenon called rhotacism. Weiss (151) points out that the change from [z] to r must have happened before the middle of the fourth century BCE when Papirius, dictator of 339 BCE, was the first in his *gens* no longer to be called *Papisius*.

¹⁴² General synchronic note on word formation regarding Latin stems and bases: If an uncompounded word 1) has a stem which is monosyllabic and ends in a vowel, and 2) has a base which lacks that terminal vowel, then that vowel is retained (i.e., undergoes no elision) in the process of word formation

For the sake of comparison, I have included a brief collection of diachronic and synchronic analyses of several different types of non-diminutive suffixes, along with synchronic lists of individual examples of words built on the suffixes.

In the section which deals with the diachronic analyses of diminutives and non-diminutives, I include chronologically early examples mainly from Plautus. In other sections, however, I normally exclude any example later than Cicero.

IV.A. Diachronic and Synchronic Analyses of the Diminutive Suffixes

Although I refer to these two approaches as different avenues of research, they do have some commonalities. Both, of course, deal with how various words, real and hypothetical, are related to each other, but the relevant commonality is the various ways that word stems interact with one another. A diachronic approach looks strictly at the stems and the mechanical procedures whereby purely phonetic or analogical changes occur in the interactions of these stems, while a synchronic approach looks at the products of these phonetic or analogical changes, and then attempts to “reverse engineer” these mechanical procedures (often incorrectly) in order to formulate rules for their creation.

and is subject to the appropriate kind of vowel transformation, e.g.: *triangulus* ← *trēs*, st. *tri-*, ba. *tr-*; *rēcula* ← *rēs*, st. *rē-*, ba. *r-*; *reus* ← *rēs*, st. *rē-*, ba. *r-*; *violētus* ← *vīs*, st. *vī-*, ba. *v-*. There are, however, special monosyllabic word elements which are manifestations of un-compounded words of the aforementioned type and are unable to stand alone outside compound words. These special word elements are not subject to the vowel-retaining rule which applied in the formation of *triangulus* and *rēcula* and the other two words, and such special word elements may lose their final vowel when combined with other word elements because the resulting compound is always polysyllabic, e.g., *prōditor* ← *prōdere* ← *-dere* representing *dare*, st. *da-*, ba. *d-*; *manipulāris* ← *manipulus* ← *-pulus* representing *plēre*, st. *plē-*, ba. *pl-*. (It should go without saying that the statements in the previous two sentences do not apply to medial contracted vowels, e.g., *praetor* for **praiitor* ← *īre*, st. *īre* for **eire*, ba. *e-*.)

Both approaches are necessary to account for the development (via linguistic diachrony) and use (via linguistic synchrony) of important groups of diminutive suffixes. There are nine fully realized synchronic sets of variant forms (or allomorphs) of the diminutive suffix which appear in our Latin sources, and these derive from a reconstructed, basic suffix, which we must deduce and analyze through diachronic analysis.

The nine allomorphs of the diminutive suffix are:

- nom. sing. *-ulus, -ula, -ulum*, st. *-ulo-, -ulā-, -ulo-*
- nom. sing. *-olus, -ola, -olum*, st. *-olo-, -olā-, -olo-*
- nom. sing. *-ellus, -ella, -ellum*, st. *-ello-, -ellā-, -ello-*
- nom. sing. *-illus, -illa, -illum*, st. *-illo-, -illā-, -illo-*
- nom. sing. *-lus, -la, -lum*, st. *-lo-, -lā-, -lo-*
- nom. sing. *-culus, -cula, -culum*, st. *-culo-, -culā-, -culo-*
- nom. sing. *-cellus, -cella, -cellum*, st. *-cello-, -cellā-, -cello-*
- nom. sing. *-cillus, -cilla, -cillum*, st. *-cillo-, -cillā-, -cillo-*
- nom. sing. *-unculus, -uncula, -unculum*, st. *-unculo-, -unculā-, -unculo-*



For the sake of brevity and convenience, I refer to each of these variant forms (e.g., *-ulus, -ula, -ulum; -olus, -ola, -olum*) as a "suffix set." Moreover, I sometimes use the notation "*-(c)ulo-*" throughout the various sections of this dissertation to refer to these diminutive suffix sets collectively. I also use the notation "*-(c)ulo-*" to refer to non-diminutive suffix sets which have the same general shape as diminutives.

These nine diminutive suffix sets act in Classical Latin as independent formative word elements which interact with the various stem types to produce diminutives. My diachronic investigation looks at the processes through which these sets came about as the basic suffix combined with other word elements, and my synchronic investigation looks at how the Latin authors employed these suffix sets.

Both approaches acknowledge and explore how diminutive formations can interact with stems which themselves are diminutives. The diachronic approach is necessary to account for the formation of certain diminutive suffix sets which arose from the interaction between a basic diminutive suffix and the stems of existing diminutives. The synchronic approach is necessary to illustrate how diminutives in Classical Latin form new diminutives. For instance, if we add *-ula* to *cista*, "box," we get the diminutive *cistula*, "little box," and if we add *-la* to *cistula*, we get the "double" diminutive *cistella*, "smaller box," and finally if we add *-ula* to *cistella*, we get the "triple" diminutive *cistellula*, "tiny little box." A more thorough explanation of the formation procedures appears in IV.A.b.i.a.1. below.

IV.A.a. Diachronic Analysis of the Diminutive Suffixes

Linguistic historians believe that Proto-Indo-European had a suffix **-lo-* which had various, distinct functions, but these scholars differ on what those functions were, and how they relate to each other. D. G. Miller¹⁴³ believes that they included hypocoristics, then diminutives, citing, among other examples, Latin *porculus*, "small pig," along with Lithuanian *paršėlis*, "piglet." Weiss¹⁴⁴ thinks that Latin may have

¹⁴³ D. G. Miller, 57.

¹⁴⁴ Weiss, 279.

inherited from Proto-Indo-European two distinct functions for the suffix, namely, deverbative adjectives with agentive force, and denominative (and specifically deadjectival) derivatives, often with diminutive force, and cites examples from various languages such as Greek τυφλός, “blind,” and Latin *bibulus*, “absorbent,” for the former type, and Lithuanian *ratėlis*, “little wheel,” and Latin *lapillus* “pebble,” for the latter type. A&G¹⁴⁵ even claim that *-ulus* is the same suffix as in diminutives, but attached to verb-stems. Hakamies, however,¹⁴⁶ argues that the suffixes originally indicated metonymic or metaphorical meanings, and the words created indicated resemblance or “belonging to,” without any sign of reduction or emotion.

Having considered these opinions, I now argue that the suffix **-lo-* had a number of functions in the ancestral language, three of which show up in the daughter languages including Latin, and of these three, two of them, “agentive force” and “diminution” appear most often in those daughter languages, while the third, “belonging to,” shows up sporadically, at least in Latin. In addition to that point, I argue that these three functions have remained distinct in Latin. I will examine the semantics of the Latin representations of these functions in other chapters, but at this point I focus specifically on the history of the diminutive suffixes in Latin.

Modern scholars¹⁴⁷ have determined that the diminutive suffix started out in early Latin or Proto-Italic as a reconstructed **-elo-*, **-elā-*, where the vowel *e* before the consonant *l* reveals itself because it shows up in cognates from other languages,

¹⁴⁵ A&G, Section 251.

¹⁴⁶ Hakamies, 128.

¹⁴⁷ de Vaan, 30; Gaide, 121; D. G. Miller, 58; Andrew L. Sihler, *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 209; Strodach, 86; Weiss, 280.

and the *o* and *ā* represent the stem vowels of the second and first declensions, respectively.

Sections IV.A.a.i.-IV.A.a.v. use the diachronic approach to show the development of the nine fully realized synchronic sets of variant forms of the Latin diminutive suffix from that reconstructed **-elo-*, **-elā-*.

IV.A.a.i. Diminutive Suffix Set *-ulus*, *-ula*, *-ulum*

The suffix **-elo-*, **-elā-*, became attached to substantive and adjectival *o-* and *ā-* stems, which forced the elision of those stem vowels (i.e., *o* and *ā*). Then, at an early stage, if a consonant appeared before the medial *e* which is before the *l-pinguis*¹⁴⁸ of the suffix, that medial *e* became first *o* and then *u*, and this vowel change yielded diminutives which in Classical Latin end in *-ulus*, *-ula*, *-ulum*,¹⁴⁹ e.g.:¹⁵⁰

- *albulus*¹⁵¹ < **albo-elo-* ← *albus*, st. *albo-*;
- *arcula*¹⁵² < **arcā-elā-* ← *arca*, st. *arcā-*;
- *posticum*¹⁵³ < **postico-elo-* ← *posticum*, st. *postico-*.

There are *o-* and *ā-* stems which have a palatal or dental stop consonant (e.g., *c*, *t̪*) before their stem vowels. When their stem vowels suffered elision, these modified stems resembled those of the third declension ending in palatal or dental stop consonants. Since these *o-* and *ā-* stems always yielded diminutives which in Classical

¹⁴⁸ There are two versions of the *l* sound in Latin, and that difference influences the development of adjacent vowels. The Roman grammarians termed them *l pinguis*, "fat *l*," and *l exilis*, "thin *l*." (Sihler, 174)

¹⁴⁹ So, e.g., *albulus* < **alb-olo-* < **alb-elo-* < **albo-elo-* ← *albo-* + *-elo-*.

¹⁵⁰ The definitions which appear in the footnotes associated with the words in this list and the other lists (e.g., "White, pale" (Var. *R.* 3.14.4)) derive from the respective words' entries of the OLD.

¹⁵¹ "White, pale" (Var. *R.* 3.14.4).

¹⁵² "A small chest, box, casket" (Pl. *Mos.* 248).

¹⁵³ "A small back shed or outhouse" (Pl. *Trin.* 194).

Latin ended in *-ulus*, *-ula*, *-ulum*, when the suffix **-elo-*, **-elā-* attached to stems of the third declension ending in palatal or dental stop consonants, they yielded diminutives which in Classical Latin also ended in *-ulus*, *-ula*, *-ulum*, e.g.:

- *caliculus*¹⁵⁴ < **calic-elo-* ← *calix*, st. *calic-*;
- *merētrīcula*¹⁵⁵ < **merētric-elā-* ← *merētrīx*, st. *merētric-*;
- *capitulum*¹⁵⁶ < **capit-elo-* ← *caput*, st. *capit-*.

Diminutives of these types yielded the Classical Latin suffix set *-ulus*, *-ula*, *-ulum*.

IV.A.a.ii. Diminutive Suffix Set *-olus*, *-ola*, *-olum*

The suffix **-elo-*, **-elā-*, became attached to substantive and adjectival *o-* and *ā-* stems, which forced the elision of those stem vowels. Then, at an early stage of Latin, if a vowel¹⁵⁷ appeared before the medial *e* which is before the *-pinguis* of the suffix, that medial *e* became only *o* and did not change to *u*, and this vowel change yielded diminutives which in Classical Latin end in *-olus*, *-ola*, *-olum*,¹⁵⁸ e.g.:

- *filiolus*¹⁵⁹ < **filio-elo-* ← *filius*, st. *filio-*;
- *lusciniola*¹⁶⁰ < *lusciniā-elā-* ← *lusciniā*, st. *lusciniā-*;
- *linteolum*¹⁶¹ < *linteo-elo-* ← *linteum*, st. *linteo-*.

Diminutives of this type yielded the Classical Latin suffix set *-olus*, *-ola*, *-olum*.

¹⁵⁴ "A small cup, goblet" (Cato *Agr.* 108).

¹⁵⁵ "A courtesan (often w. derogatory force)" (Pl. *Rud.* 63).

¹⁵⁶ "A (little) head" (Pl. *Cur.* 293).

¹⁵⁷ Gaide, 111; D. G. Miller, 59; Sihler, 62; Weiss, 119. All of my examples, however, show either *e* or *i*.

¹⁵⁸ So, e.g., *filiolus* < *fili-olo-* < **fili-elo-* < **filio-elo-* ← *filio-* + *-elo-*.

¹⁵⁹ "A little son" (Pl. *Capt.* 876).

¹⁶⁰ "A nightingale" (Pl. *Bac.* 38).

¹⁶¹ "A piece of strip of linen (esp. as used in medicine)" (Pl. *Epid.* 230).

IV.A.a.iii. Diminutive Suffix Sets *-ellus, -ella, -ellum* & *-illus, -illa, -illum* & *-lus, -la, -lum*

The suffix **-elo-*, **-elā-* became attached to substantive and adjectival o- and ā-stems, which forced the elision of those stem vowels, but if these stems without their stem vowels ended in a liquid or nasal (*l, n, or r*), there often was syncope of the initial vowel of the suffix **-elo-*, **-elā-*,¹⁶² and so there was contact between the terminal liquid or nasal of the stem of the base word and the initial *l* of the suffix, resulting in assimilation of these consonants, and this yielded diminutives which in Classical Latin end in *-llus, -lla, -llum*. In this formation process, however, other types of phonetic changes might or might not have also occurred, and these phonetic changes, or lack thereof, led to the production of several of the diminutive suffix sets.

IV.A.a.iii.a. Diminutive Suffix Sets *-ellus, -ella, -ellum* & *-lus, -la, -lum*

If the suffix **-elo-*, **-elā-*, came into contact with stems originally ending in **-elo-*, **-elā-* (Classical Latin *-ulo-*, *-ulā-*), or **-eno-*, **-enā-* (Classical Latin *-ino-*, *-inā-*), or **-ero-*, **-erā-* (Classical Latin *-ero-*, *-erā-*), or *-[S.C.]*ro-*, *-[S.C.]*rā-* (Classical Latin *-[S.C.]ro-*, *-[S.C.]rā-*), there was syncope of the *e* of the suffix and elision of the stem vowel of the base word, and then assimilation of consonants wherever applicable (i.e., *nl* and *rl* became *ll*), the result being diminutives

¹⁶² "A short vowel following an *r, l* or *n* may be syncope in an open syllable. The *r, l* or *n*, if postconsonantal, became a secondary syllabic consonant $\underset{\cdot}{r}_2, \underset{\cdot}{l}_2, \underset{\cdot}{n}_2$." ("The subscript 2 is meant to indicate that these syllabic consonants are to be distinguished from the syllabic consonants of Proto-Indo-European origin.") (Weiss, 123)

which in Classical Latin end in *-ellus*, *-ella*, *-ellum*, where the *e* is either originally part of the stem or an anaptyctic vowel,¹⁶³ e.g.:

- *agellus*¹⁶⁴ < **agro-elo-* ← *ager*, st. *agro-*;
- *agnellus*¹⁶⁵ < **agnelo-elo-* ← *agnulus*, st. *agnulo-*, orig. st. **agnelo-*;
- *asellus*¹⁶⁶ < **aseno-elo-* ← *asinus*, st. *asino-*, orig. st. **aseno-*;
- *bellus*¹⁶⁷ < **dueno-elo-* ← *bonus*, st. *bono-*, orig. st. **dueno-*;
- *tenellus*¹⁶⁸ < **tenero-elo-* ← *tener*, st. *tenero-*;
- *puella*¹⁶⁹ < **puero-elā-* ← *puer*, st. *puero-*;
- *tabella*¹⁷⁰ < **tabelā-elā-* ← *tabula*, st. *tabulā-*, orig. st. **tabelā-*.

In some cases in the formation of diminutives according to the descriptions which appear in IV.A.a.iii.β., since *e* appears very commonly in other diminutives which have *ll*, *e* appears before *ll* instead of a proper *i* due to analogy, e.g.:

- *columella*¹⁷¹ < **columnā-elā-* ← *columna*, st. *columnā-*;
- *scabellum*¹⁷² < **scabno-elo-* ← *scamnum*, st. *scamno-*, orig. st. **scabno-*.

Diminutives of the *agellus* types (through pure phonetic change) and *columella* types (through analogy) yielded the Classical Latin suffix set *-illus*, *-illa*, *-illum*.

Moreover, these types of diminutives, along with the types of diminutives which I

¹⁶³ So, e.g., *agnellus* > **agnel-elo-* > **agnelo-elo-* ← **agnelo-* + *-elo-*, *agellus* > **agl₂-lo-* > **agr₂-lo-* > **agr-elo-* > **agro-elo-* ← **agro-* + *-elo-*.

¹⁶⁴ "A small plot of land" (Ter. *Ad.* 949).

¹⁶⁵ "A little lamb, lambkin" (Pl. *As.* 667).

¹⁶⁶ "An ass, donkey" (Var. *R.* 2.6.5).

¹⁶⁷ "Pretty, handsome, charming" (Pl. *As.* 676).

¹⁶⁸ "Physically soft or tender, delicate" (Pl. *Cas.* 109).

¹⁶⁹ "A female child, girl" (Pl. *Cist.* 124).

¹⁷⁰ "A flat piece of wood, board" (Var. *L.* 5.115)

¹⁷¹ "A small upright post or column" (Cato *Agr.* 20.1). There is no phonologically regular **columilla*.

¹⁷² "A low stool" (Var. *L.* 5.168). The phonologically regular *scabillum* does exist (see below).

discuss in IV.A.a.iii.β. and IV.A.a.iii.γ., yielded the Classical Latin suffix set *-lus, -la, -lum*.

IV.A.a.iii.β. Diminutive Suffix Sets *-illus, -illa, -illum* & *-lus, -la, -lum*

If the suffix **-elo-*, **-elā-*, came into contact with stems originally in **-[S.C.]/o-*, **-[S.C.]/ā-* (Classical Latin *-[S.C.]/o-*, *-[S.C.]/ā-*), or **-[S.C.]no-*, **-[S.C.]nā-* (Classical Latin *-[S.C.]no-*, *-[S.C.]nā-*), there was syncope of the *e* of the suffix and elision of the stem vowel of the base word and then assimilation of consonants wherever applicable (i.e., *n/* became *l/*), the result being diminutives which in Classical Latin end in *-illus, -illa, -illum*, where the *i* is an anaptyctic vowel,¹⁷³ e.g.:

- *tāxillus*¹⁷⁴ < **tacslo-elo-* ← *tālus*, st. *tālo-*, orig. st. **tacslo-*¹⁷⁵;
- *quāsillus*¹⁷⁶ < **quatslo-elo-* ← *quālus*, st. *quālo-*, orig. st. **quatslo-*¹⁷⁷;
- *pugillus*¹⁷⁸ < **pugno-elo-* ← *pugnus*, st. *pugno-*;
- *pōcillum*¹⁷⁹ < **pōclo-elo-* ← *pōc(u)lum*, st. *pōc(u)lo-*, orig. st. **pōclo-*;

¹⁷³ So, e.g., *pōcillum* > **pōcl₂-lo-* > **pōcl-elo-* > **pōclo-elo-* ← **pōclo-* + *-elo-*, *sigillum* > **sig₂-lo-* > **sign-elo-* > **signo-elo-* ← **signo-* + *-elo-*.

¹⁷⁴ "A (small) die; a cube" (Pompon. *com.* 190).

¹⁷⁵ There is a small number of stems which originally ended in **-cslo-*, **-cslā-*, but in Classical Latin they dropped that *cs* element and lengthened a preceding single vowel (so, e.g., *tālus* < *tālo-* < **talo-* ← **tacslo-*). When the basic diminutive suffix came in contact with these stems originally ending in **-cslo-*, **-cslā-*, there was not only the typical syncope and elision and assimilation, but also the *cs* showed up as *x*, there was a lengthening of a preceding single vowel, and an anaptyctic vowel *i* appeared immediately after *x*, the result being diminutives in *-xillus, -xilla, -xillum* (so, e.g., *tāxillus* < **tāx₂-lo-* < **tax₂-lo-* < **tacs₂-lo-* < **tacs₂-elo-* < **tacslo-elo-* ← **tacslo-* + *-elo-*).

¹⁷⁶ "A small wicker basket, esp. one used to hold wool for spinning" (Cato *Agr.* 133.4).

¹⁷⁷ Another small number of stems, this time originally in **-tslo-*, **-tslā-*, in the development of their Classical Latin forms and diminutives underwent nearly the same sort of development as those which were originally in **-cslo-*, **-cslā-*, the only difference being that they appear without the *ts* element in Classical Latin instead of *cs* (so, e.g., *quālus* > *quālo-* > **qualo-* ← **quatslo-*), and their diminutives retain the element *s* instead of *x*, ending in *-sillus, -silla, -sillum* (so, e.g., *quāsillus* > *quās₂-lo-* > **quās₂-lo-* > **quats₂-lo-* > **quats₂-elo-* > **quatslo-elo-* ← **quatslo-* + *-elo-*).

¹⁷⁸ "What can be held in the fist, a handful" (Cat *Agr.* 158).

¹⁷⁹ "A little cup; a small cupful" (Cato *Agr.* 156).

- *scabillum*¹⁸⁰ < **scabno-elo-* ← *scamnum*, st. *scamno-*, orig. st. **scabno-*;
- *sigillum*¹⁸¹ < **signo-elo-* ← *signum*, st. *signo-*;
- *tigillum*¹⁸² < **tigno-elo-* ← *tignum*, st. *tignum-*;
- *vēxillum*¹⁸³ < **vecslo-elo-* ← *vēlum*, st. *vēlo-*, orig. st. **vecslo-*.

In some cases in the formation of diminutives according to the descriptions which appear in IV.A.a.iii.a., *i* appears before // instead of a proper *e* due to analogy,¹⁸⁴ e.g.:

- *quantillus*¹⁸⁵ < **quantelo-elo-* ← *quantulus*, st. *quantulo-*, orig. st. **quantelo-*;
- *scortillum*¹⁸⁶ < **scortelo-elo-* ← *scortulum*,¹⁸⁷ st. *scortulo-*, orig. st. **scortelo-*.

Diminutives of these types yielded the Classical Latin suffix set *-illus, -illa, -illum*.

Moreover, these types of diminutives, along with the types of diminutives which I discuss in IV.A.a.iii.a. and IV.A.a.iii.γ., yielded the Classical Latin suffix set *-lus, -la, -lum*.

IV.A.a.iii.γ. Diminutive Suffix Set *-lus, -la, -lum*

If the suffix **-elo-*, **-elā-*, came into contact with an *o-* or *ā-* stem which, without its stem vowel, had a long vowel immediately before its terminal liquid or nasal, there was syncope of the *e* of the suffix and elision of the stem vowel of the base word and then assimilation of consonants wherever applicable (i.e., *nl* and *rl* became *ll*), but

¹⁸⁰ "A low stool" (Cato *Agr.* 10.4).

¹⁸¹ "A statuette" (Var. *Men.* 4)

¹⁸² "A small plank or beam" (Pl. *Aul.* 301).

¹⁸³ "A military standard, consisting usu. of a piece of cloth suspended from a cross-piece at the head of a pole, the ensign firstly of an *ala* and then of other detachments" (Pl. *Trin.* 888).

¹⁸⁴ Strodach, 54: "In no one of these words was the suffixal *-i-* phonetic."

¹⁸⁵ "How small in amount, size, etc.?" (Pl. *Poen.* 1167). There is no **quantellus*.

¹⁸⁶ "A young prostitute" (Catul. 10.3).

¹⁸⁷ Strodach, 54: "Not attested until Late Latin."

the long vowel immediately before the newly formed // element did not change, the result being diminutives in $[-[L.V.]]//us$, $[-[L.V.]]//a$, $[-[L.V.]]//um$,¹⁸⁸ e.g.:

- *catillus*¹⁸⁹ < **catīno-elo-* ← *catīnus*, st. *catīno-*;
- *ūllus*¹⁹⁰ < **ūno-elo-* ← *ūnus*, st. *ūno-*;
- *corōlla*¹⁹¹ < **corōnā-ela-* ← *corōna*, st. *corōnā-*;
- *hīlla*¹⁹² < **hīrā-elā-* ← *hīra*, st. *hīrā-*;
- *pīstrilla*¹⁹³ < **pīstrīnā-elā-* ← *pīstrīna*, st. *pīstrīnā-*;
- *vīllum*¹⁹⁴ < **vīno-elo-* ← *vīnum*, st. *vīno-*.

If the suffix **-elo-*, **-elā-*, came into contact with an *o-* or *ā-* stem which, without its stem vowel, had either an *a* or a *u* (not representing an earlier *e*) immediately before its terminal liquid or nasal, there was syncope of the *e* of the suffix and elision of the stem vowel of the base word and assimilation of consonants wherever applicable, but the *a* or *u* immediately before the newly formed // element did not change, the result being diminutives in *-allus*, *-alla*, *-allum*, and *-ullus*, *-ulla*, *-ullum*, e.g.:

- *satullus*¹⁹⁵ < **saturo-elo-* ← *satur*, st. *saturo-*;
- *vallus*¹⁹⁶ < **vanno-elo-* ← *vannus*, st. *vanno-*.

¹⁸⁸ So, e.g., *catillus* > **catin-lo-* > **catin-elo-* > **catino-elo-* ← *catino-* + *-elo-*.

¹⁸⁹ "A bowl or dish" (Cato *Agr.* 84).

¹⁹⁰ "Any at all" (Pl. *Cas.* 858).

¹⁹¹ "A small wreath of flowers, etc., garland" (Enn. *var.* 25).

¹⁹² "A small intestine; a length of intestine stuffed with meat, etc., sausage, or sim." (Laber. *Com.* 22)

¹⁹³ (Ter. *Ad.* 584), diminutive of *pistrina*, "A mill/bakery."

¹⁹⁴ "A small quantity of wine" (Ter. *Ad.* 786).

¹⁹⁵ "Sated, replete" (Var. *R.* 2.2.15).

¹⁹⁶ "An implement for winnowing corn" (Var *Men.* 578b). Notice that the *nn* of the base word simplified to *n*, which assimilated to the *l* of the suffix: *vallus* > **van-lo-* > **vann-lo-* > **vann-elo-* > **vanno-elo-* ← *vanno-* + *-elo-*.

If, however, the suffix **-elo-*, **-elā-*, came into contact with an *o-* or *ā-* stem which, without its stem vowel, had an *o* immediately before its terminal liquid or nasal, there was syncope of the *e* of the suffix and elision of the stem vowel of the base word and assimilation of consonants wherever applicable, but the *o* immediately before the newly formed //element became *u*, the result being diminutives in *-ullus*, *-ulla*, *-illum*, e.g.:

- *ampulla*¹⁹⁷ < **amp(h)orā-ela-* ← *amp(h)ora*, st. *amp(h)orā-*.

These types of diminutives, along with the types of diminutives which I discuss in IV.A.a.iii.α. and IV.A.a.iii.β., yielded the Classical Latin suffix set *-lus*, *-la*, *-lum*.

IV.A.a.iv. Diminutive Suffix Set *-culus*, *-cula*, *-culum*

Modern scholars have proposed several theories about the origin of this diminutive suffix set. Before I discuss the details of the formation of particular diminutives, I will discuss several of these theories and endorse one of them.

A&G¹⁹⁸ claim that the suffix set *-culus*, *-cula*, *-culum*, came about by the addition of *-lus* to adjectives formed from *n-* and *s-* stems like *iuvencus* (from *iuvenis*¹⁹⁹), *Auruncus* (or *Āverruncus*, "A Roman deity who averted evil"²⁰⁰), apparently implying a noun **āverrō*, from the verb *āverrere*, "to ward off"²⁰¹, and *priscus* (from a form **prīs*²⁰²), and so the *cu* became part of the suffix, and this diminutive suffix set appears elsewhere and mostly with *n-* and *s-* stems. There are some major weaknesses to this

¹⁹⁷ "A globular or pear-shaped bottle or flask for holding oil, ointment, wine, or other liquids" (Pl. *Per.* 124).

¹⁹⁸ A&G, Section 243, Note 1.

¹⁹⁹ Weiss, 295.

²⁰⁰ OLD, s.v.

²⁰¹ de Vaan, 666.

²⁰² Weiss, 288.

theory, however: 1) The three examples of n- and s-stems which the authors offer us do not straightforwardly imply real diminutives: While we can infer a diminutive of *Auruncus* from the name *Aurunculēius*, *prīscus* has no diminutive (according to the TLL), and *iuvenculus* (the diminutive of *iuventus*) does not appear until the time of Tertullian²⁰³; 2) the o- and ā-stem adjectives *iuventus*, *Auruncus*, and *prīscus* are supposedly major players in the formation of this suffix set, and yet o- and ā-stems themselves mostly make diminutives which show the *ul*, *ol*, and *ll* elements (e.g., *albulus*, *filiolus*, *agnellus*) rather than *cul* ones; 3) the suffix set does not in fact appear mostly with n- and s-stems, but it does appear frequently with various stems of the third declension and mostly with stems of the fourth and fifth declensions. Essentially, this theory cannot explain why we do not see forms like **prīsculus* (from *prīscus*), on the one hand, and **albiculus* (from *albus*), on the other hand, but we do see many words like *vulticulus* (from *vultus*) and *spēcula* (from *spēs*).

A newer theory states²⁰⁴ that the suffix set is a composite **-c-elo-*, **-c-elā-*, comprising the original form of Latin's diminutive suffix **-elo-*, **-elā-*, and a *c* element representing either a suffix *-cus* with a supposed diminutive function²⁰⁵ or a suffix *-cus* denoting emphasis. This has its share of weaknesses as well: 1) While it is the case that Latin has a few diminutive words in *-(c)iō* like *homunciō*,²⁰⁶ that is not the same as simply *-cus*, and I should add that D. G. Miller claims that there are no unequivocal

²⁰³ TLL, s.v.

²⁰⁴ D. G. Miller, 58-59.

²⁰⁵ Weiss, 280.

²⁰⁶ I talk more about this suffix in IV.A.b.i.η.

simple diminutives in *-cus* in Latin²⁰⁷; 2) if, however, *-culus*, *-cula*, *-culum*, were originally an emphatic diminutive suffix comprising the basic diminutive suffix and the emphasis-indicating *-us*, we would expect diminutives in *-culus*, *-cula*, *-culum*, to differ from diminutives with the *ul*, *ol*, or *ll* versions of the diminutive suffix, in that the former have typically both a diminutive meaning and an emphatic significance, while the latter have only the diminutive meaning, and yet we see no such difference²⁰⁸; 3) we are again stuck with the conundrum of why *o*- and *ā*-stems do not normally take *-culus*, *-cula*, *-culum*, to form diminutives while many stems of the third declension, and most stems of fourth and fifth declensions, do take them. So, not only is this theory unable to explain the lack of an **albiculus* and the presence of *vulticulus* and *spēcula*, but also it seems to suggest an unjustified distinction between an emphatic *mūnusculum*, “very small gift,” and an unemphatic **mūnerulum*, “small gift.”

The theory which I endorse here comes from Heidermanns, and an explanation requires some background information.

Proto-Indo-European had what scholars today call the *devī* inflection (named after the Sanskrit stock example of inflection, where *devī* means “goddess”), which is a derivative feminine stem which forms both nouns and adjectives and appears in the linguistic literature as **-ih2-* or **-yeh2-*.²⁰⁹ Now, the fate of the *devī* inflection in Italic as a whole is obscure, but we can point to occurrences of it in Latin. The clearest Latin version of the *devī* inflection appears in the feminine forms of Latin’s agent noun, *-trīx*.

²⁰⁷ D. G. Miller, 58.

²⁰⁸ So, e.g., *mūnusculum*, from *mūnus*, means “A small gift or favour” (OLD, s.v.) and not something like “A very small gift or favour.”

²⁰⁹ Sihler, 275-276.

Vedic *jānitṛī-*, “mother,” next to *jānitar-*, “father,” correspond to Latin’s *genetrīx* and *genitor*, where that *ī* in the *-īx* ending element corresponds to the *ī̄* of the feminine Vedic word.²¹⁰ At some early point in Latin or Proto-Italic, this agent noun suffix had the form *-ih₂* (corresponding to *-trī̄*), ending in the *devī̄* inflection, and was in the process of being extended by a suffix **-c_i*,²¹¹ meaning that Latin *genetrīx*, for example, would have been alternating between the stems **gena-tr-ih₂-* and **gena-tr-ih₂-c_i*.²¹² Normally in Latin, an agent noun in *-trīx* derives from a verb (e.g., *amātrīx*, “lover,” from *amāre*, “to love”), but the situation of *nūtrīx* (“nurse,” stem *nūtrīc-*, old/*devī̄* stem **nou-tr-ih₂-*) is unique in that, although *nūtrīx* and the verb *nūtrire* are related, as we would expect, *nūtrire* was actually derived from *nūtrīx*’s old stem **nou-tr-ih₂-* before this acquired that “extender”²¹³ suffix **-c_i*.²¹⁴ Other words which seem to show Latin’s version of the *devī̄* inflection are words indicating or describing (at least etymologically) female animate beings like *cornīx* (“crow,” stem *cornīc-*, old stem **corn-ih₂-*²¹⁵) and *fēlīx* (“fruitful,” stem *fēlīc-*, old stem **fel(w)-ih₂-*, from *fēlāre*, “to suckle”²¹⁶). Furthermore, *nātrīx* (“water-snake,” stem *natric-* or *natrīc-*, old stem **(s)na-tr-ih₂-*), from either *nēre*, “to spin,”²¹⁷ or *nāre*, “to swim” (and therefore meaning “one who spins itself” if from the former or “swimmer” if from the latter), has its *i* as both long and short,²¹⁸ and that fact suggests that Latin’s version of the *devī̄* inflection normally appears as *ī* but could also

²¹⁰ Sihler, 277.

²¹¹ de Vaan, 209.

²¹² D. G. Miller, 92.

²¹³ This is my term, not de Vaan’s.

²¹⁴ de Vaan, 420.

²¹⁵ D. G. Miller, 59.

²¹⁶ Weiss, 306.

²¹⁷ de Vaan, 402; TLL, s.v.

²¹⁸ TLL, s.v.

appear as *i* instead. So, again, all of these words with stems in *c* of Classical Latin would have been alternating between being *devī*-inflection *ih₂*-stems and c-stems (**nou-tr-ih₂*-/**nou-tr-ih₂-c-*, **corn-ih₂*-/**corn-ih₂-c-*, **fel(w)-ih₂*-/**fel(w)-ih₂-c-*, *(*s*)*na-tr-ih₂*-/*(*s*)*na-tr-ih₂-c-*) at some early stage of Latin or Proto-Italic.

Heidermanns' argument for the origin of the diminutive suffix set *-culus*, *-cula*, *-culum*, goes as follows. When these c-stems were still undergoing that alternation of stem forms, the basic suffix **-elo-*, **-elā-*, attached to their c-stem forms to bring about diminutives, and since the "extender" suffix **-c* had yet not become a proper member of the stems of these words, this seemingly complementary or redundant word element provided the extraction of the **-c-elā-* element of the resultant diminutives. So, for example, **corn-ih₂-c-elā-* (Classical Latin, *cornīcula*) technically came from the union of **corn-ih₂-c-* and *-elā-*, but since the *c* allowed the division between the stem of the base word and the suffix to appear ambiguous, one could just as easily see the diminutive come from the union of **corn-ih₂-* and a *-c-elā-*, which has the form of a word where some suffix **-c-elā-* simply attached to the stem **corn-ih₂-*.

Naturally this theory means that, by the time of Classical Latin when so many diminutives from third-declension stems use the diminutive suffix set *-culus*, *-cula*, *-culum*, words like *cornīcula* look like the odd ones out among diminutives derived from words of the third declension since *cornīx* and the others settled on their new c-stem forms, obscuring the origin of the diminutive suffix

set *-culus*, *-cula*, *-culum*,²¹⁹ and their diminutives ostensibly appear to have come about by the use of the suffix set *-ulus*, *-ula*, *-ulum* instead. But that obscuration would not have been a problem when the extraction of the new composite diminutive suffix took place, because that extraction happened early, as indicated by a word like *homunculus* (stem *homunculo-*, older stem **homōn-c-elo-*, from *homō*), which shows that the suffix attached to the stem *homin-* when that stem was still in the form of **homōn-*.²²⁰ Nor should we be especially surprised that the c-stems were the origin of the composite suffix set when we remember that the majority of Classical Latin diminutives derived from stems ending in those four stop consonants derive from specifically the c-stems.²²¹

The crucial fact about this theory, however, is that this composite suffix **-c-elo-*, **-c-elā-* was extracted from what appeared to be non-thematic²²² stems (e.g., **corn-ih₂-*) and attached to other non-thematic stems. There are then several benefits to this theory: 1) It makes third declension words, and specifically c-stems, the locus of diffusion of the composite suffix set; 2) it explains the frequency of the composite suffix form on third-, fourth-, and fifth-declension words²²³; 3) it points to and gives a reason for the difference between the formation of diminutives from the c-, d-, g-, and t-stems and diminutives from other non-thematic stems of the third declension²²⁴; 4) it shows

²¹⁹ This should not surprise us when we also consider how, e.g., *tālus* and its diminutive *tāxillus* obscure the original stem **tacslo-*.

²²⁰ Weiss, 310.

²²¹ Many of these c-stem words comprise the fairly productive (Weiss, 305) deverbative adjective-forming suffix *-āx* and the feminine agent-noun suffix *-trīx*.

²²² I.e., neither o- or ā-stem.

²²³ D. G. Miller, 59. D. G. Miller also cites Ettinger in the number of the various diminutives which use that suffix set: 140 *-un-culus* formations, 117 *-i-culus*, and 63 *-(u)s-culus*.

²²⁴ Since it implies why, say, **corn-ih₂-c-* took the **ela-* suffix in the first place.

why the terminal consonant of l-, n-, and r-stems almost never²²⁵ assimilated to the initial consonant of the basic diminutive suffix form *-lo²²⁶; 5) it implicitly makes the o- and ā-stem adjectives *iuvencus*, *Auruncus*, and *prīscus* relevant to this discussion, not as major players in the formation of the composite suffix, but as subtle indicators of how n- and s-stems would interact with a c-initial suffix, showing the changes associated with that union; 6) it gives an indication²²⁷ of why certain feminine nouns²²⁸ have a long *i* before the composite suffixes—that *ī* serves as a repurposed connecting vowel that was formerly the *ī* in the c-stems which produced the composite suffixes in the first place (the *ī* of the c-stems in turn directly derives from the Latin representation of the *devī* inflection), hence e.g., *cutīcula*, where *-īcula* attached to *cuti-*.

This composite suffix *-c-elo-, *-c-elā-, attached to various stems of the third, fourth, and fifth declensions yielding diminutives which in Classical Latin end in *-culus*, *-cula*, *-culum*, e.g.:

- *breviculus*²²⁹ < **brevi-c-elo-* ← *brevis*, st. *brevi-*;
- *foricula*²³⁰ < **fori-c-elā-* ← *foris*, st. *fori-*;
- *rēticulum*²³¹ < **rēti-c-elo-* ← *rēte*, st. *rēti-*;

²²⁵ But there is the *homullus*, where assimilation did take place.

²²⁶ Since the assimilation occurred among mostly the thematic stems with bases ending in *l*, *n*, and *r*, while the composite suffix was appearing on athematic stems instead.

²²⁷ I should add that the feminine diminutive *canīcula* points to a base word **cvanih₂-c-* (corresponding to a Classical Latin **canīx*), which would be a distinctly feminine form of *canis*, containing a composite extension *-īx* derived from the *devī* inflection and the *-c* suffix. The composite extension *-īx* actually appears in *mātrīx*, “female breeding animal,” from *māter* (D. G. Miller, 92).

²²⁸ Specifically: *canīcula*, *cutīcula*, *crātīcula*, and *tegetīcula*.

²²⁹ “Very (rather) short or small” (Pl. *Mer.* 639).

²³⁰ “A window-shutter” (Var *R.* 1.59.1).

²³¹ “A (small) net, or mesh-work bag, for holding, confining, etc.” (Cic. *Ver.* 5.27).

- *ponticulus*²³² < **pont(i)-c-elo-* ← *pōns*, st. *pont(i)-*;
- *sēdēcula*²³³ < **sēdēi-c-elā-* ← *sēdēs* (orig. nom. sing. **sēdēi-s*²³⁴), st. *sēd(i)-*;
- *homunculus*²³⁵ < **homōn-c-elo-* ← *homō*, st. *homin-*, orig. st. **homōn-*;
- *melculum*²³⁶ < **mell-c-elo-* ← *mel*, st. *mell-*;
- *flōsculus*²³⁷ < **flōs-c-elo-* ← *flōs*, st. *flōr-*, orig. st. **flōs*²³⁸;
- *corpusculum*²³⁹ < **corpos-c-elo-* ← *corpus*, st. *corpor-*, orig. st. **corpos*²⁴⁰;
- *amātorculus*²⁴¹ < **amātōr-c-elo-* ← *amātor*, st. *amātōr-*;
- *būcula*²⁴² < **gvou-c-elā-* ← *bōs*, st. *bou-*, orig. st. **gvou*²⁴³;
- *sūcula*²⁴⁴ < **sū-c-elā-* ← *sūs*, st. *sū-*;
- *articulus*²⁴⁵ < **artu-c-elo-* ← *artus*, st. *artu-*;
- *geniculum*²⁴⁶ < **genu-c-elo-* ← *genū*, st. *genu-*;
- *rēcula*²⁴⁷ < **rē-c-elā-* ← *rēs*, st. *rē-*.

Diminutives of these types yielded the suffix set *-culus*, *-cula*, *-culum*.

Diminutives from stems in *-in* or *-ōn* yielded the suffix set *-unculus*, *-uncula*, *-unculum*.

²³² "A little bridge" (Cic. *Tusc.* 5.59).

²³³ "A little seat" (Cic. *Att.* 4.10.1).

²³⁴ The *-ēs* of the nominative singular forms of these words may be the regular outcome of **-ēi* + *-s*. (Weiss, 243).

²³⁵ "= homullus" (Pl. *Capt.* 51).

²³⁶ "(as a term of endearment) Sweetheart, honey" (Pl. *Cas.* 837).

²³⁷ "A (small) flower, floweret" (Cic. *Off.* 2.43).

²³⁸ de Vaan, 227.

²³⁹ "A small body" (Pl. *Cas.* 843).

²⁴⁰ de Vaan, 137.

²⁴¹ "A little lover" (Pl. *Poen.* 236).

²⁴² "A young cow, heifer" (Cic. *Ver.* 4.135).

²⁴³ de Vaan, 74.

²⁴⁴ "A windlass" (Cato *Agr.* 12.1)

²⁴⁵ "A point where two or more bones are flexibly connected, a joint" (Cato *Agr.* 157.8).

²⁴⁶ "A (small) knee" (Var. *L.* 9.11).

²⁴⁷ "A small amount, property, possession, etc." (Pl. *Cist.* 377).

IV.A.a.v. Diminutive Suffix Sets *-cellus, -cella, -cellum* & *-cillus, -cilla, -cillum*

Once the composite diminutive suffix **-c-elo-*, **-c-elā-*, completed its development and spread throughout the stems of the third, fourth, and fifth declensions to yield diminutives, it in turn was subject to the addition of the basic suffix **-elo*, **-elā-*. If that suffix **-elo*, **-elā-* came in contact with a diminutive which itself came about through the union of the composite suffix **-c-elo-* and a stem of the third, fourth, or fifth declension, this new union of **-elo-* and the diminutive produced the same phonetic changes which I describe in the production of *agnellus* from *agnulus*,²⁴⁸ yielding so-called “double” diminutives in Classical Latin ending in *-cellus, -cella, -cellum*, but in other times *i* appears instead of *e* due to analogy, yielding “double” diminutives in Classical Latin ending in *-cillus, -cilla, -cillum*.

Some examples of such “double” diminutives from their base words are:

- *mollicellus*²⁴⁹ < **molli-celo-elo-* ← *molliculus*, st. *molliculo-*;
- *ōricilla*²⁵⁰ < **auri-celo-elā-* ← *auricula*, st. *auriculā-*.

These double diminutives yielded the two suffix sets *-cellus, -cella, -cellum*, and *-cillus, -cilla, -cillum*.

IV.A.b. Synchronic Analysis of the Formation of Diminutives

This section functions analogously to that in a typical Latin reference grammar, listing the language’s “rules” based on what we can infer from the primary literary material.

²⁴⁸ Since, of course, the diminutive’s stem was itself a stem in **-elo-*, **-elā-* (Classical Latin *-ulo-*, *-ulā-*).

²⁴⁹ “Soft, tender” (Catul. 25.10).

²⁵⁰ “A little ear” (Catul. 25.2).

IV.A.b.i. Interactions of Diminutive Suffix Sets and Stems

This section focuses on the various ways that four²⁵¹ of the nine synchronic diminutive suffix sets interact with the various nominal stems to produce diminutives.

IV.A.b.i.a. First and Second Declensions (o- and ā-Stems)

IV.A.b.i.a.1. With Bases Not Ending in *e*, Vocalic *i*, *qu*, *u*, or *v*

The diminutive suffix set *-ulus*, *-ula*, *-ulum*, normally appears in diminutives formed from any o- and ā-stem which does not have a base ending in *e*, vocalic *i*,²⁵² *qu*, *u*, or *v*. Each of the members of the suffix set attaches to the bases of the base words, e.g.:

- *albulus*²⁵³ (*alb-ulus*) ← *albus*, st. *albo-*, ba. *alb-*;
- *catīnulus*²⁵⁴ (*catīn-ulus*) ← *catīnus*,²⁵⁵ st. *catīno-*, ba. *catīn-*;
- *mundulus*²⁵⁶ (*mund-ulus*) ← *mundus*, st. *mando-*, ba. *mund-*;

²⁵¹ 1) *-ulus*, *-ula*, *-ulum*, 2) *-olus*, *-ola*, *-olum*, 3) *-lus*, *-la*, *-lum*, 4) *-culus*, *-cula*, *-culum*.

²⁵² I cannot cite an example of any member of any diminutive suffix set attaching to the base of an o- or ā-stem base word ending in consonantal *i*, and yet I believe it is safe to infer that the members of the suffix set *-ulus*, *-ula*, *-ulum*, would attach to the base of an o- or ā-stem base word ending in consonantal *i* because 1) the members of that set typically attach to the bases of o- and ā-stem base words ending in consonants and the consonantal *i* is indeed a consonant (the bases ending in the consonantal *qu* and *v* which I cite in IV.A.b.i.a.2. below do not refute this because even they at some point start taking the expected *-ulus*, *-ula*, *-ulum*, which means that eventually the members of that set have the option of attaching to any o- or ā-stem base word ending in any consonant), 2) the form of the verb *ēiulāre*, which means "To utter cries of anguish, shriek, wail" (OLD, s.v.) and derives from the interjection *ei*, indicates that a suffix with an initial *u* does not change that *u* to *o* after a consonantal *i*, and 3) words like *Pompēius* (which have bases ending in consonantal *i*) are not comparable to words like *servus* and *equus* (which have bases ending in consonantal *qu* and *v*) because the words like *servus* and *equus* ended in *-os* until the time I specify in IV.A.b.i.a.2., the words like *Pompēius* ended in *-us*, and that fact indicates that the relevant irregularities pertaining to consonantal *qu* and *v* do not apply to consonantal *i*. So, I expect that a diminutive of, say, *Pompēius* would be *Pompēiulus* and not *Pompēiolus*.

²⁵³ I have already defined this word and the next word above. From now on, I will define a word when I first mention it in a list, and when I mention it again in a list, I will not define it again.

²⁵⁴ " = catillus" (Var. *gram.* 16)

²⁵⁵ "A bowl or dish" (Cato *Agr.* 84).

²⁵⁶ "Elegant, spruce" (Pl. *Truc.* 658).

- *miserulus*²⁵⁷ (*miser-ulus*) ← *miser*,²⁵⁸ st. *miserō-*, ba. *miser-*;
- *porculus*²⁵⁹ (*porc-ulus*) ← *porcus*, st. *porco-*, ba. *porc-*;
- *scurrula*²⁶⁰ (*scurr-ula*) ← *scurra*, st. *scurrā-*, ba. *scurr-*;
- *torulus*²⁶¹ (*tor-ulus*) ← *torus*, st. *toro-*, ba. *tor-*;
- *vernula*²⁶² (*vern-ula*) ← *verna*, st. *vernā-*, ba. *vern-*;
- *arcula* (*arc-ula*) ← *arca*, st. *arcā-*, ba. *arc-*;
- *cellula*²⁶³ (*cell-ula*) ← *cella*, st. *cellā-*, ba. *cell-*;
- *cērulea*²⁶⁴ (*cēr-ula*) ← *cēra*, st. *cērā-*, ba. *cēr-*;
- *cistula*²⁶⁵ (*cist-ula*) ← *cista*, st. *cistā-*, ba. *cist-*;
- *fōrmula*²⁶⁶ (*fōrm-ula*) ← *fōrma*, st. *fōrmā-*, ba. *fōrm-*;
- *lūnula*²⁶⁷ (*lūn-ula*) ← *lūna*, st. *lūnā-*, ba. *lūn-*;
- *pallula*²⁶⁸ (*pall-ula*) ← *palla*,²⁶⁹ st. *pallā-*, ba. *pall-*;
- *plagula*²⁷⁰ (*plag-ula*) ← *plaga*, st. *plagā-*, ba. *plag-*;
- *crustulum*²⁷¹ (*crust-ulum*) ← *crustum*, st. *crusto-*, ba. *crust-*;
- *postīculum* (*postīc-ulum*) ← *postīcum*, st. *postīco-*, ba. *postīc-*.

²⁵⁷ "Dim. of miser" (Laev. *poet.* 19).

²⁵⁸ "That is to be pitied, poor, wretched, unfortunate."

²⁵⁹ "A little pig, piglet" (Pl. *Men.* 315).

²⁶⁰ "A joker, wag" (Apul. *Met.* 10.16).

²⁶¹ "A thong, cord, or sim." (Pl. *Am.* 144).

²⁶² "A young slave born in the master's household" (Sen. *Con.* 10.4.16).

²⁶³ "A small room or cell" (Ter. *Eu.* 310).

²⁶⁴ "A *miniata* (-ula), a red crayon, red pencil" (Cic. *Att.* 14.4).

²⁶⁵ "A (small) box or chest" (Pl. *Am.* 792).

²⁶⁶ "A pretty appearance, prettiness" (Pl. *Per.* 229).

²⁶⁷ "A crescent-shaped ornament" (Pl. *Epid.* 640).

²⁶⁸ "A (little) *palla*" (Pl. *Truc.* 52).

²⁶⁹ "A rectangular mantle, worn esp. as an outdoor garment by women" (Pl. *As.* 929).

²⁷⁰ "A piece of material" (Var *L.* 9.79).

²⁷¹ A small cake or pastry (Pl. *St.* 691).

IV.A.b.i.a.2. With Bases Ending in *e*, Vocalic *i*, *qu*, *u*, or *v*

The diminutive suffix set *-olus*, *-ola*, *-olum*, normally appears in diminutives formed from any *o*- and *ā*-stem which does have a base ending *e*, vocalic *i*, *qu*, or *v*. But by around the middle of the first century BCE,²⁷² the set *-ulus*, *-ula*, *-ulum* began to appear in diminutives formed from base words with bases ending in *qu* or *v*. Each of the members of the suffix sets attaches to the bases of the base words, e.g.:

- *clāvulus*²⁷³ (*clāv-ulus*) ← *clāvus*, st. *clāvo-*, ba. *clāv-*;
- *equolus*/*equulus*²⁷⁴ (*equ-olus*/*-ulus*) ← *equus*, st. *equo-*, ba. *equ-*;
- *filiolus* (*fili-olus*) ← *filius*, st. *filio-*, ba. *fili-*;
- *parvolus*²⁷⁵/*parvulus* (*parv-olus*/*-ulus*) ← *parvus*, st. *parvo-*, ba. *parv-*;
- *servolus*²⁷⁶/*servulus* (*serv-olus*/*-ulus*) ← *servus*, st. *servo-*, ba. *serv-*;
- *aquola*²⁷⁷/*aquula* (*aqu-ola*/*-ula*) ← *aqua*, st. *aquā-*, ba. *aqu-*;
- *clāvula*²⁷⁸ (*clāv-ula*) ← *clāva*, st. *clāvā-*, ba. *clāv-*;
- *lusciniola* (*luscini-ola*) ← *luscinia*, st. *lusciniā-*, ba. *luscini-*;
- *linteolum* (*linte-olum*) ← *linteum*, st. *linteo-*, ba. *linte-*.

The diminutive suffix set *-ulus*, *-ula*, *-ulum*, appears in diminutives formed from stems with bases ending in *u* (not *qu* or *v*) where that *u* suffers elision. Moreover, sometimes the same diminutive suffix set appears in diminutives formed from stems

²⁷² Sihler, 66. The change of *uo/vo* to *uu* shows up in other places as well (e.g., *servos*, later *servus*).

²⁷³ "A small nail" (Cato *Agr.* 21.3).

²⁷⁴ "A colt, foal" (Var. *R.* 2.7.13).

²⁷⁵ "Small in size, little, tiny" (Ter. *Ad.* 274).

²⁷⁶ "A young (mere, worthless, small, etc.) slave" (Pl. *Men.* 339).

²⁷⁷ "A small quantity of water" (Pl. *Cur.* 160).

²⁷⁸ "A graft or cutting" (Var. *R.* 1.40.4).

with bases ending in *qu* where that *qu* changes to *c*. Each of the members of the suffix set attaches to the altered bases of the base words, e.g.:

- *eculus*²⁷⁹ (*e-c-ulus*) ← *equus*, st. *equo-*, ba. *equ-*;
- *cernulus*²⁸⁰ (*cern-ulus*) ← *cernuus*, st. *cernuo-*, ba. *cernu-*;
- *dēliculus*²⁸¹ (*dēlic-ulus*) ← *dēlicuus*, st. *dēlicuo-*, ba. *dēlicu-*;
- *acula*²⁸² (*a-c-ula*) ← *aqua*, st. *aquā-*, ba. *aqu-*;
- *lingula*²⁸³ (*ling-ula*) ← *lingua*, st. *linguā-*, ba. *lingu-*;
- *silicula*²⁸⁴ (*sili-c-ula*) ← *siliqua*, st. *siliquā-*, ba. *siliqu-*.

IV.A.b.i.a.3. With Bases Ending in *l*, *n*, or *r*

While the diminutive suffix set *-ulus*, *-ula*, *-ulum*, sometimes appears in diminutives formed from *o-* and *ā-*stems which have bases ending in *l*, *n*, and *r* (as seen in IV.A.b.i.a.1.), it turns out that the diminutive suffix set *-lus*, *-la*, *-lum*, more typically appears in diminutives formed from *o-* and *ā-*stems which have bases ending in *l*, *n*, and *r*. When these base-terminal consonants and the initial *l* of the members of the suffix set come together, they undergo assimilation wherever applicable, the result being *ll*, and often there are additional phonetic changes. Those phonetic changes, or lack thereof, seem to follow neither rhyme nor reason synchronically,²⁸⁵ and therefore

²⁷⁹ "A colt, foal" (Var. *R.* 2.7.13).

²⁸⁰ "Head foremost" (Var. *gram.* 151).

²⁸¹ "Having a (small) defect, blemished" (Cato *Agr.* 2.7).

²⁸² "A small quantity of water; a small stream" (Pl. *Cur.* 160).

²⁸³ "A tongue-shaped projection or flap" (Cato *Agr.* 18.2).

²⁸⁴ "A (small) pod" (Var. *R.* 1.23.3).

²⁸⁵ If we attempted to explain synchronically why, e.g., *tālus* yielded *tāxillus*, we would be at a loss to explain the *xil* element. We would be stuck with following Priscian (3.101.22/3.102.1) by saying there is a suffix set *-xillus*, *-xilla*, *-xillum*, and then from there we could say that each member of that set attaches to certain words in [L.V.]/*lus*, [L.V.]/*la*, and [L.V.]/*lum*, where that member of the suffix set replaces the final *-lus*, *-ula*, or *-lum*. And yet, since the *x* element seems to appear out of nowhere for no apparent

are explicable only according to the descriptions which I provide in sections IV.A.a.iii.d., IV.A.a.iii.β., and IV.A.a.iii.γ above, e.g.:

- *catillus* (*catī-l-lus*) ← *catīnus*, st. *catīno-*, ba. *catīn-*;
- *pugillus* (*pug-i-l-lus*) ← *pugnus*, st. *pugno-*, ba. *pugn-*;
- *quāsillus* (*quā-s-i-l-lus*) ← *quālus*, st. *quālo-*, ba. *quāl-*;
- *satullus* (*satu-l-lus*) ← *satur*, st. *saturo-*, ba. *satur-*;
- *tāxillus* (*tā-x-i-l-lus*) ← *tālus*, st. *tālo-*, ba. *tāl-*;
- *ūllus* (*ū-l-lus*) ← *ūnus*, st. *ūno-*, ba. *ūn-*;
- *ampulla* (*amp-u-l-la*) ← *amp(h)ora*, st. *amp(h)orā-*, ba. *amp(h)or-*;
- *corōlla* (*corō-l-la*) ← *corōna*, st. *corōnā-*, ba. *corōn-*;
- *hilla* (*hī-l-la*) ← *hīra*, st. *hīrā-*, ba. *hīr-*;
- *pīstrilla* (*pīstrī-l-la*) ← *pīstrīna*, st. *pīstrīnā-*, ba. *pīstrīn-*;
- *vallus* (*va-l-lus*) ← *vannus*, st. *vanno-*, ba. *vann-*;
- *pōcillum* (*pōc-i-l-lum*) ← *pōc(u)lum*, st. *pōc(u)lo-*, ba. *pōc(u)lo-*;
- *scabillum* (*sca-b-i-l-lum*) ← *scamnum*, st. *scamno-*, ba. *scamn-*;
- *sigillum* (*sig-i-l-lum*) ← *signum*, st. *signo-*, ba. *sign-*;
- *tigillum* (*tig-i-l-lum*) ← *tignum*, st. *tigno-*, ba. *tign-*;
- *vēxillum* (*vē-x-i-l-lum*) ← *vēlum*, st. *vēlo-*, ba. *vēl-*;
- *vīllum* (*vī-l-lum*) ← *vīnum*, st. *vīno-*, ba. *vīn-*.

reason in these diminutives when compared to their base words, and since the members of this putative suffix set never actually attach to real stems or bases in ways that the other suffix sets do, it is impossible to determine whether the *-xillus*, *-xilla*, or *-xillum*, in any given diminutive is a natural element of the base word or a real independent suffix if we follow Priscian. Furthermore, by using this theory we cannot account for either the lack of diminutives like **catixillus*, **ūxillus*, **tālulus*, **pālulus*, **vēlulum*, **tāllus*, **pāllus*, and **vēllum*, or the existence of forms like *catīnulus*, *catillus*, and *ūllus*.

IV.A.b.i.β. Third Declension (Consonant-, i-, "Mixed i-," ū-, or ou-Stems)²⁸⁶

IV.A.b.i.β.1. Stems Ending in Palatal or Dental Stop Consonants

The diminutive suffix set *-culus, -cula, -culum*, appears in diminutives formed from stems ending in palatal or dental stop consonants. Each of the members of the suffix set attaches to the stems/bases of the base words, e.g.:

- *caliculus* (*calic-ulus*) ← *calix*, st./ba. *calic-*;
- *dicāculus*²⁸⁷ (*dicāc-ulus*) ← *dicāx*, st./ba. *dicāc-*;
- *ferōculus*²⁸⁸ (*ferōc-ulus*) ← *ferōx*, st./ba. *ferōc-*;
- *nepōtulus*²⁸⁹ (*nepōt-ulus*) ← *nepōs*, st./ba. *nepōt-*;
- *rēgulus*²⁹⁰ (*rēg-ulus*) ← *rēx*, st./ba. *rēg-*;
- *valentulus*²⁹¹ (*valent-ulus*) ← *valēns*, st./ba. *valent-*;
- *appendicula*²⁹² (*appendic-ula*) ← *appendix*, st./ba. *appendic-*;
- *filicula*²⁹³ (*filic-ula*) ← *filix*, st./ba. *filic-*;
- *mercēdula*²⁹⁴ (*mercēd-ula*) ← *mercēs*, st./ba. *mercēd-*;

²⁸⁶ The most basic "rule" for determining whether a third-declension word combines with a member of the diminutive suffix set *-ulus, -ula, -ulum*, or a member of the diminutive suffix set *-culus, -cula, -culum*, is: If the stem ends in a palatal or dental stop consonant (e.g., *c* or *t*), it combines with a member of the set *-ulus, -ula, -ulum*, but if that stem ends in any other letter (e.g., *r, s*, a vowel, vel sim.), it combines with a member of the set *-culus, -cula, -culum*. (Essentially, this means that the set *-ulus, -ula, -ulum*, really only regularly combined with third-declension stems ending in palatal or dental stop consonants, leaving the set *-culus, -cula, -culum*, to combine with anything else in the third declension.) As the various subsections of IV.A.b.i.β. show, however, there are many complications to this basic "rule." One notable complication is the tendency for certain words to have altered their original stem type (e.g., *corpus*, a former *s*-stem).

²⁸⁷ "Talkative, glib" (Pl. *As.* 511).

²⁸⁸ "(in a contemptuous sense) Fierce, ferocious" (Turp. *com.* 107).

²⁸⁹ "A grandson" (Pl. *Mil.* 1413).

²⁹⁰ "A king ruling over a small territory, petty king, chieftain, or sim." (Var. *R.* 3.16.18).

²⁹¹ "Sturdy, robust" (Pl. *Cas.* 852).

²⁹² "A small addition or appendix" (Cic. *Rab. Post.* 8).

²⁹³ "A small kind of fern, app. polypody" (Cato *Agr.* 158.1).

²⁹⁴ "A wage, fee" (Cic. *de Orat.* 1.198).

- *merētrīcula* (*merētrīc-ula*) ← *merētrīx*, st./ba. *merētrīc-*;
- *capitulum* (*capit-ulum*) ← *caput*, st./ba. *capit-*.

IV.A.b.i.β.2. n-Stems Formerly Ending in *-ōn* Actually or Putatively

The stem of the word *carō* (i.e., *carn-*) originally ended in *-ōn*,²⁹⁵ and there is a large collection of stems in *-ōn* and *-in* which all originally ended in *-ōn*.²⁹⁶ The diminutive suffix set *-culus*, *-cula*, *-culum*, appears in diminutives formed from both these n-stems and other stems which were putatively conceived as stems formerly ending in *-ōn*. Each of the members of the suffix set attaches to the (actual or putative) original stem forms of the base words, which ended in *-ōn*, and this *ō* weakens to *u*,²⁹⁷ e.g.:

- *curculiunculus*²⁹⁸ (*curculi-u-n-culus*) ← *curculiō*, st./ba. *curculiōn-* (orig. st. **curculiōn-*);
- *homunculus* (*hom-u-n-culus*) ← *homō*, st./ba. *homin-* (orig. st. **homōn-*);
- *latrunculus*²⁹⁹ (*latr-u-n-culus*) ← *latrō*, st./ba. *latrōn-* (orig. st. **latrōn-*);

²⁹⁵ de Vaan, 94.

²⁹⁶ Weiss, 310.

²⁹⁷ I cannot cite an example of any member of any diminutive suffix set attaching to either an *ēn*-stem (properly conceived as such) or an m-stem. As I point out in IV.A.a.iv., the adjective *iuvencus*, from *iuvenis* and the suffix *-cus*, is a subtle indicator of how an n-stem would interact with a c-initial suffix, showing the changes associated with that union. If the attested diminutives *curculiunculus* and the others of this formation imply that the diminutive suffix set *-culus*, *-cula*, *-culum*, is the one which most likely attaches to nasal stems, then we can infer that this set would attach to either an *ēn*-stem (properly conceived as such) or an m-stem, and the letter which appears immediately before the stem-terminal nasal would be *ē*, in accordance with the sound laws which Sihler (60-61) gives. So, I expect that diminutives of *flūmen* ("A river or stream"), *hiems* ("Winter; winter weather"), *liēn* ("The spleen"), *senex* ("An old man"), and *tībīcen* ("A performer on the *tibia*, piper") would be *flūmenculum*, *hiemcula*, *liēnculus*, *senculus* (next to attested *seniculus*), and *tībīcenculus*. I was delighted when I received multiple hits for the first three of these inferred diminutives when I searched for them at Google Books. In any event, in IV.A.a.iv., I argue against the idea that words like *iuvencus* were major players in the formation of the diminutive suffix set *-culus*, *-cula*, *-culum*, and at one point I mention that *iuvenculus*, the diminutive of *iuvencus*, does not appear until the time of Tertullian, but it turns out that *iuvenculus* is precisely what I think the diminutive of the en-stem *iuvenis* would be, and I have made that judgment after taking into consideration the rationale which I have provided in the previous sentences.

²⁹⁸ "A small weevil" (Pl. *Rud.* 1325).

²⁹⁹ "A robber, brigand, bandit (usu. in contemptuous sense)" (Var. *L.* 10.22).

- *pectunculus*³⁰⁰ (*pect-u-n-culus*) ← *pecten*, st./ba. *pectin-* (put. orig. st. **pectōn*³⁰¹);
- *pūgiunculus*³⁰² (*pūgi-u-n-culus*) ← *pūgiō*, st./ba. *pūgiōn-* (orig. st. **pūgiōn-*);
- *sermunculus*³⁰³ (*serm-u-n-culus*) ← *sermō*, st./ba. *sermōn-* (orig. st. **sermōn-*);
- *cantiuncula*³⁰⁴ (*canti-u-n-cula*) ← *cantiō*, st./ba. *cantiōn-* (orig. st. **cantiōn-*);
- *caruncula*³⁰⁵ (*car-u-n-cula*) ← *carō*, st./ba. *carn-* (orig. st. **carōn-*);
- *imāguncula*³⁰⁶ (*imāg-u-n-cula*) ← *imāgō*, st./ba. *imāgin-* (orig. st. **imāgōn-*);
- *occāsiuncula*³⁰⁷ (*occāsi-u-n-cula*) ← *occāsiō*, st./ba. *occāsiōn-* (orig. st. **occāsiōn-*);
- *quaestiuncula*³⁰⁸ (*quaesti-u-n-cula*) ← *quaestiō*, st./ba. *quaestiōn-* (orig. st. **quaestiōn-*).

IV.A.b.i.β.3. l- or r-Stems

The diminutive suffix set *-culus*, *-cula*, *-culum*, appears in diminutives formed from l-stems. It also appears in diminutives formed from original r-stems (including stems in *-tr*, *-ēr*, and the r-stem masculine agent nouns such as *amator*) or stems ending in *-er* but originally ending in *-es*. Each of the members of the suffix set attaches to the nominative singular forms of the base words, e.g.:

- *amātōrculus* (*amātōr-culus*) ← *amātor*, st./bas. *amātōr-*;
- *frāterculus*³⁰⁹ (*frāter-culus*) ← *frāter*, st./bas. *frātr-*;

³⁰⁰ "A small scallop" (Var. *L.* 5.77).

³⁰¹ White (89) presents the suffix *-en* as a variant of the agent noun suffix *-ō*. For that reason, I believe *pecten* was putatively conceived as a variant of a **pectō* (stem **pectōn-*, older stem **pectōn-*), where the *-ō* is the agent noun suffix (used to refer to an object instead of a person as in *pūgiō*) and the *pect-* came from *pectere*, "To comb (hair)" (OLD, s.v.).

³⁰² "A small dagger" (Cic. *Orat.* 224).

³⁰³ "A piece of gossip, tittle-tattle" (Cic. *Diot.* 33).

³⁰⁴ "A (mere) song" (Cic. *Fin.* 5.49).

³⁰⁵ "A small piece of flesh" (Var. *Men.* 31).

³⁰⁶ "A small image, statuette" (Cic. *Att.* 6.1.25).

³⁰⁷ "An opportune or critical moment, the (very) nick of time" (Pl. *Trin.* 974).

³⁰⁸ "A small problem, puzzle" (Cic. *de Orat.* 1.102).

³⁰⁹ "A little brother" (Pl. *Cist.* 452).

- *laterculus*³¹⁰ (*later-culus*) ← *later*, st./bas. *later-*;
- *pauperculus*³¹¹ (*pauper-culus*) ← *pauper*, st./bas. *pauper-*;
- *mātercula*³¹² (*māter-cula*) ← *māter*, st./bas. *mātr-*;
- *muliercula*³¹³ (*mulier-cula*) ← *mulier*, st./bas. *mulier-* (orig. st. *mulies*³¹⁴);
- *sororcula*³¹⁵ (*sorōr-cula*) ← *soror*, st./bas. *sorōr-*;
- *melculum* (*mel-culum*) ← *mel*, st./bas. *mell-*;
- *vērculum*³¹⁶ (*vēr-culum*) ← *vēr*, st./bas. *vēr-*.

IV.A.b.i.β.4. r- (Formerly s-Stems Actually or Putatively) or s-Stems

The diminutive suffix set *-culus*, *-cula*, *-culum*, appears in diminutives formed from actual s-stems, r-stems which formerly were s-stems, or actual r-stem which were putatively conceived as former s-stems. The exact form that the base word takes before the suffixes depends on various conditions: 1) an actual s-stem appears in its nominative singular form³¹⁷; 2) an r-stem which was formerly an s-stem and now ends in *-s* in the nominative singular appears in its nominative singular form; 3) certain r-

³¹⁰ "A small brick, tile" (Pl. *Poen.* 325).

³¹¹ "(usu. affectively) Poor" (Pl. *Aul.* 171).

³¹² "(Affectionate term for [*mater*])" (Pl. *Cist.* 452).

³¹³ "A (little, weak, foolish, etc.) woman" (Pl. *Cist.* 131).

³¹⁴ de Vaan, 393.

³¹⁵ "A little sister" (Pl. *Cist.* 451).

³¹⁶ "A little spring" (Pl. *Cas.* 837).

³¹⁷ *Far* ("A kind of husked wheat, *triticum dicoccum* or emmer") lacks a diminutive in Classical Latin (*farriculum* appears in later Latin (Souter, 144) and it obviously was formed by means of the procedure explained in IV.A.b.i.ζ.5. below), and there are particularities of its history which complicate attempts to infer the form of its diminutive. De Vaan (201) and Sihler (211, 306) agree that its stem, *farr-*, was originally **fars-*, and therefore was an s-stem. A Latin diminutive would have been **fars-c-elo-* early on, and yet a **farsculum* would have been impossible in Classical Latin because the *rsc* sequence of consonants was not allowed due to sound laws (Sihler, 221), so the *r* would have been dropped, producing a **fasculum*. This **fasculum* has a form which is very different from any form of *far* that has come down to us, and the various derivatives of *far* such as *farīna* ("flour") would contribute their forms to the reshaping of an early **farsculum* to a more *far*-looking Classical Latin *farriculum*, which would be the form we would get anyway if we followed procedure section 1) of IV.A.b.i.β.4. and interpreted "actual s-stem" as "original s-stem which does not fit the criteria of procedure section 2)."

stems which were formerly s-stems and now end in *-or* in the nominative singular (viz., *arbor*, the abstract masculine nouns in *-or*, and the comparative forms of adjectives), change the *-or* in their nominative singular forms to *-us*; 4) actual r-stems which end in *-ōr* or *-ur* in the nominative singular and bases in *-ōr* were putatively conceived as former s-stems, and change the *-ōr* or *-ur* in the nominative singular form to *-us*³¹⁸; e.g.:

- *flōsculus* (*flōs-culus*) ← *flōs*, st./ba. *flōr-* (orig. st. **flōs*³¹⁹);
- *lepusculus*³²⁰ (*lepus-culus*) ← *lepus*, st./ba. *lepor-* (orig. st. **lepos-*);
- *liquidiusculus*³²¹ (*liquidī-us-culus*) ← *liquidior*, st./ba. *liquidīōr-* (orig. st. **liquidīōs*³²²);
- *pulvisculus*³²³ (*pulvis-culus*) ← *pulvis*, st./ba. *pulver-* (orig. st. **pelavis*³²⁴);
- *rūmusculus*³²⁵ (*rūm-us-culus*) ← *rūmor*, st./ba. *rūmōr-* (orig. st. **rūmōs*³²⁶);
- *arbuscula*³²⁷ (*arb-us-cula*) ← *arbor*, st./ba. *arbor-* (orig. st. **arbōs*³²⁸);
- *corpusculum* (*corpus-culum*) ← *corpus*, st./ba. *corpor-* (orig. st. **corpos*³²⁹);
- *iecusculum*³³⁰ (*iec-us-culum*) ← *iecur*,³³¹ st./ba. *iecōr-* (put. orig. st. **iecos-*);

³¹⁸ The idea here is that, for at least the purposes of the formation of diminutives, there existed the apprehension of viewing these actual r-stems as being in the same inflectional category of words with stem types whose characteristic element shows up in Classical Latin as the base-terminal *-ōr*, as seen in words like *aequor*, *aequōris*, and *arbor*, *arbōris*, and *corpus*, *corpōris*, and *marmor*, *marmōris*.

³¹⁹ de Vaan, 227.

³²⁰ "A (small) hare" (Var. *Men.* 385).

³²¹ "Milder, more gentle" (Pl. *Mil.* 665).

³²² Weiss, 355.

³²³ "Dust; a powder" (Pl. *Rud.* 8.45).

³²⁴ de Vaan, 498.

³²⁵ "A piece of petty gossip or scandal" (Cic. *Clu.* 105).

³²⁶ de Vaan, 529.

³²⁷ "A small or young tree, shrub, sapling" (Var. *R.* 1.23.6).

³²⁸ de Vaan, 50.

³²⁹ de Vaan, 137.

³³⁰ "Dim of [*iecur*]" (Cic. *Div.* 2.33).

³³¹ *Iecur* and *femur* are the two r/n-stems in Latin with nominative singular forms in *-ur*. (Weiss, 241) A nominative singular form **iecus* does not appear, but a nominative and accusative singular form *femus* appears in Apul. *Met.* 8.5 and 8.31 (OLD, s.v.). Since *femur* has this *femus*, and since both words have

- *iūsculum*³³² (*iūs-culum*) ← *iūs*, st./ba. *iūr-* (orig. st. **iūs*-³³³);
- *vāsculum*³³⁴ (*vās-culum*) ← *vās*, st./ba. *vās-*.

IV.A.b.i.β.5. Normal i-Stems

The diminutive suffix set *-culus*, *-cula*, *-culum*, appears in diminutives formed from normal i-stems. Each of the members of the suffix set attaches to the stems of the base words, e.g.:

- *breviculus* (*brevi-culus*) ← *brevis*, st. *brevi-*, ba. *brev-*;
- *canāliculus*³³⁵ (*canāli-culus*) ← *canālis*, st. *canāli-*, ba. *canāl-*;
- *lintriculus*³³⁶ (*lintri-culus*) ← *linter*,³³⁷ st. *lintri-*, ba. *lintr-*;
- *pisciculus*³³⁸ (*pisci-culus*) ← *piscis*, st. *pisci-*, ba. *pisc-*;
- *trīsticulus*³³⁹ (*trīsti-culus*) ← *trīstis*, st. *trīsti-*, ba. *trīst-*;
- *classicula*³⁴⁰ (*classi-cula*) ← *classis*, st. *classi-*, ba. *class-*;
- *foricula* (*fori-cula*) ← *foris*, st. *fori-*, ba. *for-*;
- *rudicula*³⁴¹ (*rudi-cula*) ← *rudis*, st. *rudi-*, ba. *rud-*;
- *secūricula*³⁴² (*secūri-cula*) ← *secūris*, st. *secūri-*, ba. *secūr-*;

multiple forms in the nominative singular and genitive singular (OLD, s.v.), and again since each word has a genitive singular form in *-oris*, the existence of a nominative singular **iecus* is not outside the realm of possibility. Such a **iecus*, with a genitive singular form *iecoris*, would behave like *corpus*, *corporis*, hence a diminutive *iecusculum*.

³³² "Broth, soup" (Cato *Agr.* 156.7).

³³³ de Vaan, 316.

³³⁴ "A small vessel or container" (Pl. *Aul.* 270).

³³⁵ "A small channel or duct" (Var. *R.* 3.5.14).

³³⁶ "Dim. of *linter*" (Cic. *Att.* 10.10.5).

³³⁷ "A small light boat" (Cic. *Mil.* 74).

³³⁸ "A little fish" (Ter *An.* 369).

³³⁹ "Rather sad, somewhat depressed" (Cic *Div.* 1.103).

³⁴⁰ "A small fleet" (Cic. *Att.* 16.2.4).

³⁴¹ "An instrument used for stirring ingredients, a kind of spatula or ladle" (Cato *Agr.* 93.1).

³⁴² "A small axe or chopper; an amulet or ornament in the form of an axe" (Pl. *Rud.* 1158).

- *rēticulum* (*rēti-culum*) ← *rēte*, st. *rēti-*, ba. *rēt-*.

IV.A.b.i.β.6. "Mixed i-Stems" (Formerly i-, r-, or s-Stems)

The diminutive suffix set *-culus*, *-cula*, appears in diminutives formed from members of the group of "mixed i-stem" substantives which formerly were normal i-, r-, or s-stems.³⁴³ The exact form that the base word takes before the suffixes depends on various conditions: 1) words ending in *-s* (but not *-ns*) in their nominative singular forms and not having bases ending in *-r* or *-tāt* or *-nt*³⁴⁴ use their bases but prefix an *i*; 2) words ending *-ēs* in their nominative singular forms use their bases but prefix an *ē*; 3) words ending in *-s* in their nominative singular forms and having bases in *-r* appear in their nominative singular forms; e.g.:

- *mūsculus*³⁴⁵ (*mūs-culus*) ← *mūs*, st. *mūr(i)-* (orig. st. *mūr-*), ba. *mūr-*;
- *ponticulus* (*pont-i-culus*) ← *pōns*, st. *pont(i)-* (orig. st. *ponti-*), ba. *pont-*;
- *fartacula*³⁴⁶ (*fart-i-cula*) ← *fars*,³⁴⁷ st. *fart(i)-* (orig. st. *farti-*), ba. *fart-*;
- *inerticula*³⁴⁸ (*in-ert-i-cula*) ← *in-* + *ars*, st. *art(i)-* (orig. st. *arti-*), ba. *art-*;
- *particula*³⁴⁹ (*part-i-cula*) ← *pars*, st. *part(i)-* (orig. st. *parti-*), ba. *part-*;
- *plēbicula*³⁵⁰ (*plēb-i-cula*) ← *plēbs*, stem *plēb(i)-* (orig. st. *plēbi-*), ba. *plēb-*;

³⁴³ Hence the use of the suffix set *-culus*, *-cula*, *-culum* (cf. *breviculus* from *brevis*, *flōsculus* from *flōs*).

³⁴⁴ Many of the words of this type have their particular nominative singular forms because their stem vowel *i* dropped out after a [sonorant consonant] + *t* or [L.V.] + *t* combination in their nominative singular forms, which in turn made the *t* drop out as well (e.g., *ars* > **arts* ← **artis*, *gēns* > **gents* ← **gentis*, *pōns* > **pōnts* ← **pōntis*). (Weiss, 316)

³⁴⁵ "A mouse or similar small rodent" (Pl. *Rud.* 298).

³⁴⁶ "(app.) A small dish of stuffing" (Titin. *com.* 90).

³⁴⁷ "Stuffing, mincemeat" (de Vaan, 202). The nominative singular form **fars* does not appear anywhere, but accusative singular *fartim* and ablative singular *farte* appear in Plautus.

³⁴⁸ "The designation of a variety of vine and grape" (Col. 3.2.14).

³⁴⁹ "A (usu. small) part, piece, section, etc. (of anything, whether abst. or concr.)" (Var. *gram.* 40).

³⁵⁰ "The populace, mob, common people" (Cic. *Att.* 1.16.11).

- *sēdēcula* (*sēd-ē-cula*) ← *sēdēs*, stem *sēd(i)-* (orig. st. *sēdi-*), ba. *sēd-*;
- *vīriculae*³⁵¹ (*vīr-i-culae*) ← *vīrēs*,³⁵² stem *vīr(i)-* (orig. st. *vīri-*), ba. *vīr-*;
- *vulpēcula*³⁵³ (*vulp-ē-cula*) ← *vulpēs*, stem *vulp(i)-* (orig. st. *vulpi-*), ba. *vulp-*;
- *ossiculum*³⁵⁴ (*oss-i-culum*) ← *os*, stem *oss(i)-* (orig. st. *oss-*), ba. *oss-*.

IV.A.b.i.β.7. "Mixed i-Stems" (Formerly Stems Ending in Palatal or Dental Stop Consonants)

The diminutive suffix set *-ulus*, *-ula*, appears in diminutives formed from members of the group of "mixed i-stem" substantives which were formerly stems ending in palatal or dental stop consonants.³⁵⁵ Such words are of the following types: 1) words with bases in *-tāt*; 2) words which have *-x* in the nominative singular and bases ending in palatal or dental stop consonants; 3) words which are substantive participles; 3) other polysyllables in *-ns* in the nominative singular. Each of the members of the suffix set attaches to the bases of the base words, e.g.:

- *adulēscētulus*³⁵⁶ (*adulēscēt-ulus*) ← *adulēscēns*, st. *adulēscēt(i)-*, ba./orig. st. *adulēscēt-*;
- *clientulus*³⁵⁷ (*client-ulus*) ← *cliēns*, st. *client(i)-*, ba./orig. st. *client-*;

³⁵¹ "Slender resources" (Apul. *Met.* 11.28).

³⁵² I cannot cite an example of any member of any diminutive suffix set attaching to *vī-*, the stem of *vīs* ("Physical strength exerted on an object"), the only *ī*-stem in the Latin language and the word which serves as the singular form of *vīrēs* ("Physical powers, strength or vigour of body"). If the attested diminutives which I cite in this section (IV.A.b.i.β.6.), in IV.A.b.i.β.5., and in IV.A.b.i.β.8. imply that the diminutive suffix set *-culus*, *-cula*, *-culum*, is the one which most likely attaches to vocalic stems of the third declension, then we can infer that this set would attach to the stem *vī-*. So, I expect that diminutive of *vīs* would be *vīcula*.

³⁵³ "A (little) fox" (Cic. *N.D.* 1.88).

³⁵⁴ "A (small) door" (Col. 8.14.1).

³⁵⁵ Cf. diminutive *caliculus* from *calix*, which ends in a palatal stop consonant (i.e., *c*), and diminutive *capitulum* from *caput*, which ends in a dental stop consonant (i.e., *t*).

³⁵⁶ "A young man, mere youth" (Pl. *Ps.* 871).

³⁵⁷ "(term of contempt for 'client') A mere client; a petty vassal" (Tac. *Dial.* 37.1).

- *īnfantulus*³⁵⁸ (*īnfant-ulus*) ← *īnfāns*, st. *īnfant(i)-*, ba./orig. st. *īnfant-*;
- *adulēscēntula*³⁵⁹ (*adulēscēnt-ula*) ← *adulēscens*, st. *adulēscēnt(i)-*, ba./orig. st. *adulēscēnt-*;
- *aetātula*³⁶⁰ (*aetāt-ula*) ← *aetās*, st. *aetāt(i)-*, ba./orig. st. *aetāt-*;
- *falcula*³⁶¹ (*falc-ula*) ← *falx*, st. *falc(i)-*, ba./orig. st. *falc-*;
- *īnfantula*³⁶² (*īnfant-ula*) ← *īnfāns*, st. *īnfant(i)-*, ba./orig. st. *īnfant-*;
- *lancula*³⁶³ (*lanc-ula*) ← *lanx*, st. *lanc(i)-*, ba./orig. st. *lanc-*.

IV.A.b.i.β.8. ū- or ou-Stems

The diminutive suffix set *-culus*, *-cula*, *-culum*, appears in diminutives formed from ū- or ou-stems³⁶⁴. Each of the members of the suffix set attaches directly to ū-stems, and to ou-stems but only after that *ou* becomes *ū*, e.g.:

- *būcula* (*bū-cula*) ← *bōs*, st. *bou-*, ba. *bov-*;
- *sūcula* (*sū-cula-*) ← *sūs*, st. *sū-*, ba. *su-*.

IV.A.b.i.γ. Fourth Declension (u-Stems)

IV.A.b.i.γ.1. With Bases Not Ending in *-īc̄*

The diminutive suffix set *-culus*, *-cula*, *-culum*, appears in diminutives formed from u-stems which do not have bases ending in *-īc̄*. Each of the members of the suffix set attaches to the stems of the base words, but the stem vowel *u* becomes *i*,³⁶⁵ e.g.:

- *articulus* (*arti-culus*) ← *artus*, st. *artu-*, ba. *art-*;

³⁵⁸ "A baby boy" (Apul. *Met.* 8.15).

³⁵⁹ "A young woman" (Ter. *An.* 118).

³⁶⁰ "Early time of life, tender age, youth" (Pl. *Cist.* 49).

³⁶¹ "A pruning-knife, bill-hook" (Cato. *Agr.* 11.4).

³⁶² "A baby girl" (Apul. *Met.* 10.28).

³⁶³ "A broad dish, plate; the pan of a steel-yard" (Var. *L.* 5.120).

³⁶⁴ These are: *grūs* (stem *grū-*), *sūs* (stem *sū-*), *bōs* (stem *bou-*), and *Iuppiter* (stem *Iou-*).

³⁶⁵ "In a non-initial open syllable, all short vowels merge with *i*" (Weiss, 116), in accordance with one of Latin's basic rules of vowel weakening.

- *staticulus*³⁶⁶ (*stati-culus*) ← *status*, st. *statu-*, ba. *stat-*;
- *anicula*³⁶⁷ (*ani-cula*) ← *anus*, st. *anu-*, ba. *an-*;
- *manicula*³⁶⁸ (*mani-cula*) ← *manus*, st. *manu-*, ba. *man-*;
- *geniculum* (*geni-culum*) ← *genū*, st. *genu-*, ba. *gen-*.

IV.A.b.i.γ.2. With Bases Ending in *-īc*

The diminutive suffix set *-ulus*, *-ula*, *-ulum*, appears in diminutives formed from u-stems which do have bases ending in *-īc*.³⁶⁹ Each of the members of the suffix set attaches to the bases of the base words, e.g.:

- *fīcula*³⁷⁰ (*fīc-ula*) ← *fīcus*, st. *fīcu-|fīco-*, ba. *fīc-*;
- *porticula*³⁷¹ (*portic-ula*) ← *porticus*, st. *porticu-*, ba. *portic-*.

IV.A.b.i.δ. Fifth Declension (*ē*-Stems)

The diminutive suffix set *-culus*, *-cula*, appears in diminutives formed from *ē*-stems. Each of the members of the suffix set attaches to the stems of the base words, e.g.:

- *diēcula*³⁷² (*diē-cula*) ← *diēs*, st. *diē-*, ba. *di-*;
- *plēbēcula*³⁷³ (*plēbē-cula*) ← *plēbēs*, st. *plēbē-*, ba. *plēb-*;
- *rēcula* (*rē-cula*) ← *rēs*, st. *rē-*, ba. *r-*;

³⁶⁶ "A pose" (Pl. *Per.* 824).

³⁶⁷ "An old woman" (Ter. *An.* 231).

³⁶⁸ "A small hand" (Pl. *Rud.* 1169).

³⁶⁹ Apparently to avoid a combination *-īcic-*. Not one of the diminutives in my database contains such a combination before a member of any of the diminutive suffix sets.

³⁷⁰ "A fig" (Pl. *St.* 690).

³⁷¹ "A small portico or colonnade" (Cic. *Fam.* 7.23.3).

³⁷² "A brief day (of respite)" (Pl. *Ps.* 503).

³⁷³ "The populace, mob, common people" (Cic. *Att.* 1.16.11).

- *spēcula*³⁷⁴ (*spē-cula*) ← *spēs*, st. *spē-*, ba. *sp-*.

IV.A.b.i.ε. “Double” and “Triple” Diminutives

We have seen above that the basic diminutive suffix and the diminutive suffix sets can interact with words which are themselves diminutives, yielding “double” diminutives. There is a recursivity of diminutive formation, so not only can we cite “double” diminutives, but even “triple” diminutives. Diminutive suffixes seem to “stack” on top of each other. The changes from *cista*, “box,” to *cistula*, “little box,” to *cistella*, “smaller box,” and to *cistellula*, “tiny little box” demonstrate Varro’s point³⁷⁵ that new diminutives arise when there is the need for an overt indication of the difference in size on each stage. This point and the descriptions of the phonetic changes of diminutives which I discuss earlier in this chapter show that the shapes of diminutives in Latin are determined by sound laws and the need to distinguish old and new diminutives, and not by specific uses of diminutives in particular situations.³⁷⁶ In theory, there should be no limit to this recursivity of diminutive formation, but in reality, we do not find anything more than three degrees of diminution.³⁷⁷ So, we find diminutives with bases ending in *-ellul* like *cistellula*, but not any ending in, say, **-ellell* or **-ellulell*.

Cista and its various degrees of diminution demonstrate the several ways to form these “double” and “triple” diminutives with certain diminutive suffix sets, and while they serve as a convenient visual demonstration of the formation processes, there is a need to give further explanation to what happens during such processes.

³⁷⁴ “A slight hope, a ray or hope” (Pl. *Cas.* 306).

³⁷⁵ Vide II.A.a.

³⁷⁶ So, their shapes are determined by morphophonology and semantics, not by morphopragmatics.

³⁷⁷ D. G. Miller, 58.

1) The diminutive suffix set *-lus, -la, -lum*, appears in “double” diminutives formed from diminutives with bases ending in *-ul*. When each of the members of the suffix set attaches to the bases of those diminutives, they are subject to the phonetic changes which I discussed in IV.A.a.iii.a., yielding “double” diminutives with bases ending in *-ell*, but sometimes *i* appears instead of *e* before the *ll*, e.g.:

- *agnellus* (*agn-e-l-lus*) ← *agnulus*, st. *agnulo-*, ba. *agnul-*;
- *quantillus*³⁷⁸ (*quant-i-l-lus*) ← *quantulus*, st. *quantulo-*, ba. *quantul-*.

2) The diminutive suffix set *-ulus, -ula, -ulum*, appears in “double” and “triple” diminutives formed from diminutives and “double” diminutives with bases not ending in *-ul*. Each of the members of the suffix set attaches to the bases of those diminutives or “double” diminutives, yielding “double” or “triple” diminutives with bases ending in *-ul*, e.g.:

- *bellulus*³⁷⁹ (*bell-ulus*) ← *bellus*, st. *bello-*, ba. *bell-*;
- *tenellulus*³⁸⁰ (*tenell-ulus*) ← *tenellus*, st. *tenello-*, ba. *tenell-*;
- *lā mellula*³⁸¹ (*lā mell-ula*) ← *lā mella*, st. *lā mellā-*, ba. *lā mell-*;
- *flā bellulum*³⁸² (*flā bell-ulum*) ← *flā bellum*, st. *flā bello-*, ba. *flā bell-*.

There are several points of caution that we must be mindful of when we study the ways of forming these “double” and “triple” diminutives.

³⁷⁸ “How small in amount, size, etc.?” (Pl. *Poen.* 1167). There is no **quantellus*.

³⁷⁹ “Pretty, nice (little)” (Pl. *Cas.* 848).

³⁸⁰ “Tender, delicate” (Larv. *poet.* 4).

³⁸¹ “A small sum of money” (Petr. 57.6).

³⁸² “A small fan” (Ter. *Eu.* 598).

Of course, not all words with bases in *-ul* are diminutives, nor are all words with bases in *-ell* or *-ill* “double” diminutives, nor again are all words with bases in *-ullul*, *-ellul*, or *-illul* “triple” diminutives. *Oculus* and *pōculum*, for instance, are not diminutives, but they have the diminutives *ocellus* and *pōcillum*, which have the shape of “double” diminutives, despite not being so. The diminutive suffix *-ulus* could have attached to the base of *ocellus* to yield **ocellulus*, but this word is a “double” diminutive, not a “triple” one. We can ask what a “triple” diminutive from *oculus* would look like, and while we could speculate that it would be **ocellellus*, we cannot say for certain because diminutives with bases in *-ellell* do not appear.

Not all words with corresponding diminutives closely follow the recursion process that we see with *cista* and its derivatives. In various sections of IV.A.b.i.ζ., we see examples of words which take members of diminutive sets like *-ellus*, *-ella*, *-ellum*, instead of the typical *-ulus*, *-ula*, *-ulum*, to produce diminutives. *Novellus*, for instance, came about by the union of *-ellus* and the base of *novus*, and yet there is not an intervening typically formed diminutive **novulus*, formed by the union of *-ulus* and the base of *novus*. The diminutive suffix *-ulus* can attach to the base of *novellus* and yield **novellulus*, but naturally this new word is a “double” diminutive and not a “triple” one.

Complicating things further is the fact that a particular diminutive can be a morphological “double” or “triple” diminutive from the point of view of another word on a different step in the recursion process, and yet that diminutive is not a semantic “double” or “triple” diminutive to the other word on the other step. *Puella*, for instance, is a diminutive of *puer*, but it has only the specialized meaning of “girl,” and *puella* has

the diminutive *puellula*. From the point of view of *puer*, this *puellula* is a morphological “double” diminutive, being two steps removed from it in terms of morphology, and yet it is not a semantic “double” diminutive to *puer* at all, since in terms of meaning, a *puellula* is a small *puella*, not some sort of small *puer*. Similarly, *flābellulum* is a morphological “double” diminutive but not a semantic “double” diminutive from the point of view of *flābrum*, since it refers to a small *flābellum* and not a small *flābrum*.

IV.A.b.i.ζ. Irregularities in the Interactions of Diminutive Suffix Sets and Stems

Sometimes the interactions between the diminutive suffix sets and stems differ from the typical patterns which I have described above. Irregularities come in various forms. For instance, there may be a case where a diminutive suffix set interacts with a stem which more typically interacts with another set. For instance, the *-culus, -cula, -culum*, set typically interacts with certain stems of the third, fourth, and fifth declensions, and yet there are a few instances where it interacts with stems of the first and second declensions. In such cases, the first and second declensions are “atypical” as far as the use of the *-culus, -cula, -culum*, set is concerned. In other cases, a diminutive suffix set or a base word has some sort of atypical modification.

This section lists some notable types of irregularities in the interactions of diminutive suffix sets and stems in the production of diminutives.

IV.A.b.i.ζ.1. *-ulus, -ula, -ulum* with Atypical Stems

This suffix set *-ulus, -ula, -ulum*, occasionally interacts with stems it typically does not to yield diminutives. When that happens, each of the members of this suffix

set attaches to the bases of the base words. The base words of this type come from the third declension, e.g.:

- *praedōnulus*³⁸³ (*praedōn-ulus*) ← *praedō*,³⁸⁴ st./ba. *praedōn-* (orig. st. *praedōn-*);
- *corbula*³⁸⁵ (*corb-ula*) ← *corbis*, st. *corbi-*, ba. *corb-*;
- *lancula*³⁸⁶ (*lanc-ula*) ← *lanx*, st. *lanc(i)-*, ba. *lanc-*.

IV.A.b.i.ζ.2. *-olus, -ola, -olum* with Atypical Stems

This suffix set *-olus, -ola, -olum*, in a very few instances interacts with stems it typically does not to yield diminutives. When that happens, each of the members of this suffix set attaches to the stems of the base words. The base words of this type come from i-stems of the third declension, e.g.:

- *rēgāliolus*³⁸⁷ (*rēgāli-olus*) ← *rēgālis*, st. *rēgāli-*, ba. *rēgāl-*;
- *rētiolum*³⁸⁸ (*reti-olum*) ← *rēte*, st. *rēti-*, ba. *rēt-*.

IV.A.b.i.ζ.3. *-ellus, -ella, -ellum & -illus, -illa, -illum*

Diminutives in *-ellus, -ella, -ellum*, and *-illus, -illa, -illum*, are so common that they became separate suffix sets on their own. Once that separation occurred, they began in a few instances to interact with various types of stems. The base words which interact with the members of these suffix sets either do not have simpler diminutives in *-ul-* (e.g., *novus* does not have a diminutive **novulus* which would then yield *novellus*) or do not typically interact with the suffix sets which lack the *-c-* element (i.e., t-stems

³⁸³ "(Dim. of PRAEDO)" (Cato *Ep.* 1 (J) (Fest. p. 242 M)).

³⁸⁴ "One who lives by robbery, a brigand; a pirate" (Cic. *Ver.* 1.9).

³⁸⁵ "A (small) basket; also, the contents of such, a basketful" (Pl. *Aul.* 366).

³⁸⁶ "A broad dish, plate; the pan of steel-yard" (Var. *L.* 5.120).

³⁸⁷ "A bird, the wren" (Suet. *Jul.* 81.3).

³⁸⁸ "A (small) hunting-net" (Apul. *Met.* 8.4).

like *turtur* and *murmur* would more typically interact with the members of the suffix set *-culus, -cula, -culum*). When the members of these suffix sets interact with stems, each of the members of these suffix sets attaches to the bases of the base words. The base words of this type come from the first, second, and third declension, e.g.:

- *novellus*³⁸⁹ (*nov-ellus*) ← *novus*, st. *novo-*, ba. *nov-*;
- *tōnsilla*³⁹⁰ (*tōns-ella*) ← *tōnsa*, st. *tōnsā-*, ba. *tōns-*;
- *helvella*³⁹¹ (*helv-ella*) ← *helvus*, st. *helvo-*, ba. *helv-*;
- *turbella*³⁹² (*turb-ella*) ← *turba*, st. *turbā-*, ba. *turb-*;
- *turturella*³⁹³ (*turtur-ella*) ← *turtur*,³⁹⁴ st./ba. *turtur-*;
- *murmurillum*³⁹⁵ (*murmur-ellum*) ← *murmur*, st./ba. *murmur-*.

IV.A.b.i.ζ.4. *-lus, -la, -lum* with Atypical Stems

This suffix set *-lus, -la, -lum*, in a very few instances interacts with stems which do not typically interact with it to yield diminutives. When that happens, each of the members of this suffix set attaches to the bases (or old versions of the bases) of the base words, and so they are subject to the phonetic changes which I discussed in IV.A.a.iii.a., yielding diminutives with bases ending in *-ell, -ill, or -ull*. The base words of the diminutives of this type come from consonant-stems of the third declension, e.g.:

- *homullus*³⁹⁶ (*hom-u-l-lus*) ← *homō*, st./ba. *homin-* (orig. st. **homōn-*);

³⁸⁹ "Young, tender" (Var. *R.* 1.20.2).

³⁹⁰ "A mooring-stake" (Enn. *Ann.* 499).

³⁹¹ "A pot-herb" (Titin. *com.* 163).

³⁹² "A (petty) disturbance or commotion" (Pl. *Bac.* 1057). This has the unusual form *turbēla*.

³⁹³ "(Dim. of [turtur]; transf. applied to an unadventurous person)" (Pol. *orat.* 39).

³⁹⁴ "A turtle-dove" (Var. *R.* 3.57).

³⁹⁵ "A faint mutter" (Pl. *Rud.* 1404).

³⁹⁶ "A human being, mere man" (Var. *Men.* 92).

- *lapillus*³⁹⁷ (*lapi-l-lus*) ← *lapis*, st./ba. *lapid-*;
- *lēnullus*³⁹⁸ (*lēn-u-l-lus*) ← *lēnō*, st./ba. *lēnōn-* (orig. st. **lēnōn-*).

IV.A.b.i.ζ.5. *-culus, -cula, -culum* with Atypical Stems

This suffix set in a few instances interacts with stems which do not typically interact with it to yield diminutives. When that happens, each of the members of this suffix set usually adds a connecting vowel *i* before it and attaches to the bases of the base words. Four feminine words take the connecting vowel *ī* instead. The base words of the diminutives of this type come from the first, second, and third declensions, e.g.:

- *apriculus*³⁹⁹ (*apr-i-culus*) ← *aper*, st. *apro-*, ba. *apr-*;
- *hilariculus*⁴⁰⁰ (*hilar-i-culus*) ← *hilarus*,⁴⁰¹ st. *hilaro-*, ba. *hilar-*;
- *lecticulus*⁴⁰² (*lect-i-culus*) ← *lectus*, st. *lecto-*, ba. *lect-*;
- *denticulus*⁴⁰³ (*dent-i-culus*) ← *dēns*, st. *dent(i)-*, ba. *dent-*;
- *seniculus*⁴⁰⁴ (*sen-i-culus*) ← *senex*, st./ba. *sen-*;
- *taurulus*⁴⁰⁵ (*taur-i-culus*) ← *taurus*,⁴⁰⁶ st. *tauro-*, ba. *taur-*;
- *cutīcula*⁴⁰⁷ (*cut-ī-cula*) ← *cutis*, st. *cuti-*, ba. *cut-*;
- *canīcula*⁴⁰⁸ (*can-ī-cula*) ← *canis*, st./ba. *can-*;

³⁹⁷ "A small stone, pebble" (Var. *R.* 3.16.27).

³⁹⁸ "A pander" (Pl. *Poen.* 471).

³⁹⁹ "An unidentified fish" (Enn. *var.* 38).

⁴⁰⁰ "(Affected dim of HILARVS)" (Sen. *Ep.* 23.4).

⁴⁰¹ "Cheerful, light-hearted, buoyant, gay" (Pl. *Am.* 961).

⁴⁰² "A bed" (Cels 2.12.2.E).

⁴⁰³ "A little tooth or fang" (Apul. *Apol.* 8).

⁴⁰⁴ "A (little) old man" (Apul. *Met.* 1.25).

⁴⁰⁵ "(Colloq. dim. of [*taurus*])" (Petr. 39.6).

⁴⁰⁶ "A bull" (Pl. *Ps.* 200).

⁴⁰⁷ "The skin" (Pers 4.18).

⁴⁰⁸ "A bitch" (Pl. *Cur.* 598).

- *crātīcula*⁴⁰⁹ (*crāt-ī-cula*) ← *crātis*, st. *crāti-*, ba. *crāt-*;
- *mammīcula*⁴¹⁰ (*mamm-i-cula*) ← *mamma*, st. *mammā-*, ba. *mamm-*;
- *pyxīdīcula*⁴¹¹ (*pyxīd-i-cula*) ← *pyxīs*, st./ba. *pyxīd-*;
- *tegetīcula*⁴¹² (*teget-ī-cula*) ← *teges*, st./ba. *teget-*;
- *galēriculum*⁴¹³ (*galēr-i-culum*) ← *galērum*, st. *galēro-*, ba. *galēr-*.

In even fewer cases, each of the members of this suffix set attaches to the nominative singular forms of the base words.⁴¹⁴ The base words of the diminutives of this type come from the third and fourth declensions, e.g.:

- *lacusculus*⁴¹⁵ (*lacus-culus*) ← *lacus*, st. *lacu-*, ba. *lac-*;
- *domuscula*⁴¹⁶ (*domus-cula*) ← *domus*, st. *domu-|domo-*, ba. *dom-*;
- *corculum*⁴¹⁷ (*cor-culum*) ← *cor*, st./ba. *cord-*.

IV.A.b.i.ζ.6. -cellus, -cella, -cellum & -cillus, -cilla, -cillum

Once these parts of diminutives became separate suffix sets on their own, they began in a few instances to interact with a few types of stems. Each of the members of the suffix set follows the same (typical and atypical) procedures as each of the

⁴⁰⁹ "A grid-iron" (Cato *Agr.* 13.1).

⁴¹⁰ "A little breast" (Pl. *Ps.* 1261).

⁴¹¹ "A small box" (Cels 6.6.5.B).

⁴¹² "A small piece of matting" (Var. *R.* 2.11.8).

⁴¹³ "A skin or leather cap; a wig" (Mart. 14.50).

⁴¹⁴ On the analogy of words like *amātorculus*, from *amātor*, and *corpusculum*, from *corpus*.

⁴¹⁵ "A small pit or hollow; a small trough" (Col. 4.8.2).

⁴¹⁶ "(affectionate dim.) One's home" (Apul. *Met.* 4.26).

⁴¹⁷ *Corculum* actually stands for **cord-c-elo-*. (de Vaan, 135, Weiss, 180.) The *rdc* sequence of consonants was not allowed due to sound laws, so the *d* was dropped. The resulting diminutive *corculum* has the appearance of coming from an r-stem with a nominative singular in *-or*, just as *amātorculus* comes from the r-stem *amātor*.

members of the suffix set *-culus, -cula, -culum*. The base words of the diminutives of this type come from the second and third declensions, e.g.:

- *mōscillus*⁴¹⁸ (*mōs-cillus*) ← *mōs*,⁴¹⁹ st./ba. *mōr*;
- *blandicella*⁴²⁰ (*bland-i-cella*) ← *blandus*, st. *blando-*, ba. *bland-*.

IV.A.b.i.ζ.7. -unculus, -uncula, -unculum

Once these parts of diminutives became a separate suffix set on its own, it began in a few instances to interact with stems of base words which are not stems ending in *-in* or *-ōn*. When such an interaction occurs, each member of the suffix set attaches to the bases of the base words. The base words of the diminutives of this type come from the first, second, and third declensions, e.g.:

- *avunculus* (*av-unculus*) ← *avus*,⁴²¹ st. *avo-*, ba. *av-*;
- *fūrunculus* (*fūr-unculus*) ← *fūr*, st./ba. *fūr-*;
- *petasunculus* (*petas-unculus*) ← *petasus*, st. *petaso-*, ba. *petas-*;
- *rānunculus* (*rān-unculus*) ← *rāna*,⁴²² st. *rānā-*, ba. *rān-*;
- *domuncula* (*dom-uncula*) ← *domus*, st. *domo-|domu-*, ba. *dom-*.

⁴¹⁸ (Dim. of MOS) (Paul. Fest. P. 159 M).

⁴¹⁹ An established practice, custom, or usage (Pl. *Am.* 198).

⁴²⁰ "Flattering words" (Pl. fr. inc. voc.).

⁴²¹ There is the idea that the base word is actually an early **avō*. (Cooper, 183)

⁴²² There is the idea that the base word is actually an early **ranō*. (Cooper, 183)

IV.A.b.i.ζ.8. Diminutive Suffix Sets Interacting with Truncated or Augmented Stems

There is a small number of diminutives which show that their base words, when they interacted with the members of the sets of diminutive suffixes, have either been unusually truncated (i.e., they suffered unusual losses of letters), e.g.:

- *lēnunculus*⁴²³ (*lē-n-unculus*) ← *lembus*, st. *lembo-*, ba. *lemb-*;
- *utriculus*⁴²⁴ (*ut-r-i-culus*) ← *uterus*, st. *utero-*, ba. *uter-*;
- *vetulus* (*vet-ulus*) ← *vetus*, st./ba. *veter-*;
- *scutula* (*scut-ula*) ← *scutra*, st. *scutrā-*, ba. *scutr-*;

or unusually augmented (i.e., they gained letters), e.g.:

- *manciola* (*man-ci-ola*) ← *manus*, st. *manu-*, ba. *man-*.

IV.A.b.i.η. An Obscure Suffix *-(c)iō*

For the sake of completeness, I have decided to include a suffix *-(c)iō*.

Priscian at 3.101.17 cites the diminutives *homunculus*, *homellus*, and *homullulus*, all from *homō*, but he includes in this list a word *homunciō*. The OLD⁴²⁵ has an entry for *homunciō*, and, instead of giving a definition, this entry equates this *homunciō* with the diminutive *homullus*. There is also an entry for this word in the TLL,⁴²⁶ which recognizes the diminutive nature of the word (as indicated by the definitions which this entry gives, that entry's citations of several grammatical works including those by Charisius and Priscian, and that entry's citation of a glossary which equates the Latin word *homunciō*

⁴²³ "A small boat, skiff" (Caes. *Civ.* 2.43.3).

⁴²⁴ "A sac (in the body); (spec., perh.) the uterus" (Plin. *Nat.* 11.31).

⁴²⁵ OLD, s.v.

⁴²⁶ TLL, s.v.

with the Greek word ἀνθρωπάριον, “(derog) little man” (CGL, s.v.). Andrews and Stoddard⁴²⁷ group *homunciō* with another word, *seneciō*, from *senex*, “old man,” and while the OLD has an entry for *seneciō*, that entry has only the definitions “An old man” and “The name of a pappus-bearing plant, prob. groundsel.”⁴²⁸ Hanssen⁴²⁹ cites both *homunciō* and *seneciō*, and he considers both of these words diminutives.⁴³⁰

While we can easily agree that these words are diminutives, it is more difficult to determine the nature and actual form of the suffix which imparts the diminution, and such a difficulty becomes clear once I have explained the diversity of opinion which exists among my sources. Hanssen⁴³¹ simply says that this formation has not been productive in Latin and yet he does not provide an explanation of that formation. A&G⁴³² gives the suffix as *-ciō* and claims that this suffix is added to stems in *-n*, has the same diminutive force as the typical diminutive suffixes, but is used with masculine words only. Andrews⁴³³ gives the suffix as simply *-iō*. The TLL and the OLD both claim that *homunciō* derives from a suffix *-iō* and a hypothetical word **homuncus*, but neither lexicon explains what this hypothetical word signifies. I am assuming that the writers of these entries of the respective lexica believed that the *-cus* suffix of **homuncus* was a diminutive suffix, but as I point out earlier in this chapter, D. G. Miller claims that there are no unequivocal simple diminutives in *-cus* in Latin. The OLD claims that *seneciō*

⁴²⁷ E. A. Andrews and S. Stoddard, *A Grammar of the Latin Language for the Use of Schools and Colleges* (Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company, 1878), Section 100.C.1.

⁴²⁸ OLD, s.v.

⁴²⁹ Hanssen, 15.

⁴³⁰ Hanssen compares *seneciō* with the Greek word γερόντιον, “feeble or wretched old man” (CGL, s.v.).

⁴³¹ Hanssen, 15.

⁴³² A&G, Section 243.a.

⁴³³ Andrews and Stoddard, Section 100.C.1.

derives from a suffix *-iō* and the word *senex*, which indicates that this word *seneciō* was probably coined at a period when the stem of *senex* was still *senec-* and not *sen-*.⁴³⁴

The one definite idea that I can take from this disagreement among my sources is that the two words *homunciō* and *seneciō* were irregularly formed.

Since there are so few examples of diminutives which end in *-(c)iō*, and because my sources do not agree on the nature and actual form of the diminutive suffix, I hesitate to provide a firm statement on said nature and form myself and prefer simply to provide a suffix form *-(c)iō*, which, on the one hand, shows up in both of the words, and on the other hand, has a shape that resembles the *-(c)ul-* diminutive suffixes.

IV.A.b.i.θ. Diminutive Adverbs

There are approximately twenty words which we could classify as diminutive adverbs. Most of these are actually the e-terminal adverbs which derive directly from diminutive adjectives. Others are neuter diminutive adjectives with adverbial functions.

- *altiuscule*⁴³⁵ ← *altiusculus*, st. *altiusculo-*, ba. *altiuscul-*;
- *belle*⁴³⁶ ← *bellus*, st. *bello-*, ba. *bell-*;
- *blandicule*⁴³⁷ ← *blandiculus*, st. *blandiculo-*, ba. *blandicul-*;
- *mundule*⁴³⁸ ← *mundulus*, st. *mundulo-*, ba. *mundul-*;
- *prīmulum*⁴³⁹ ← *prīmulus*, st. *prīmulo-*, ba. *prīmul-*.

⁴³⁴ Contrast *senectūs*, "The condition of old age" (OLD, s.v.), which shows the older *senec-* stem, with *senātus*, "the senate" (OLD, s.v.), which shows the newer (and "standard") *sen-* stem.

⁴³⁵ "At a fairly high level, rather high" (Apul. *Met.* 2.7).

⁴³⁶ "In an agreeable manner, nicely" (Pl. *Truc.* 290).

⁴³⁷ "Charmingly" (Apul. *Met.* 10.27).

⁴³⁸ "Smartly, neatly" (Acc. *trag.*).

⁴³⁹ "For the first time" (Naev. *com.* 137).

From these diminutive adverbs came individual suffixes *-cule* and *-culum*, and these suffixes attach to adverbs, either with or without a connecting vowel *i*.

- *clanculum*⁴⁴⁰ (*clan-culum*) ← *clam*;
- *saepicule*⁴⁴¹ (*saep-i-cule*) ← *saepe*.

IV.A.b.ii. Assignments of Genders and Terminations of Diminutives

These diminutive suffixes are of the first and second declensions, and they can be any of the three genders, but what determines which gender a diminutive has, and under what declension it should be placed (and by extension what its termination is) depends on certain important aspects relating to the relationship between a diminutive and a base word. This section explains those aspects in detail, gives examples thereof, and provides additional information on various complications and difficulties.

In the introduction I pointed out that the diminutive suffixes in Latin are among the so-called “evaluative” suffixes which represent a special class of suffixes which can be added to nouns, adjectives, and verbs without affecting either the category or the morphological features of the base, but simply adding a semantic nuance. A derivative word formed from one of these suffixes differs from its base word in meaning, and the meaning which this derivative word has is one which has been modified from the meaning of its base word.⁴⁴² The morphosyntactic structure of the resulting word element arises from word-formation procedures defined by both the morphophonological processes inherent in the Latin language (via the interaction of

⁴⁴⁰ “Secretly, by stealth” (Pl. *Am.* 523).

⁴⁴¹ “Often, frequently, repeatedly” (Pl. *Cas.* 703).

⁴⁴² Oniga, *Latin: A Linguistic Introduction*, 158.

stems and the phonetic changes due to that interaction) and the connection between morphology and syntax. What this means in terms of the features of a diminutive is that the diminutive inherits as much of the morphosyntactic information of its base word as possible and then exhibits analogous gender-specific syntactic features and also morphological features in its termination if applicable. When, however, a diminutive cannot exhibit some particular piece of information through the sort of aforementioned morphosyntactic inheritance phenomenon because the base word lacks such information, a system of gender-termination connection fills in the gap.

IV.A.b.ii.a. System of Gender-Termination Connection of Diminutives

This system of gender-termination connection of diminutives mostly relates to a synchronic study of the production of diminutives, but before I fully focus on that study, I must first make a brief comment on the diachronic development of that system.

In section IV.A.a.i. above we have seen that the basic diminutive suffix **-elo-*, **-elā-*, started its journey of diminutive creation and development in the first and second declensions, and then, together with augmentations, spread to the other three declensions. Along the way, the suffix, in its capacity as an “evaluative” suffix, created diminutives which reflect the morphosyntactic natures of their base words. This means that the suffix first established a gender-termination connection among diminutives which came about from base words of the first and second declensions: A masculine like **albo-s* typically yielded a diminutive type **albo-elo-s*, a feminine like *arca* typically yielded a diminutive type **arcā-elā-*, and a neuter like **postīco-m* typically yielded a diminutive type **postīco-elo-m*. Thus, *-os* became the general termination for masculine

diminutives, *-a* became the general termination for feminine diminutives, and *-om* became the general termination for neuter diminutives. This feature of the productivity⁴⁴³ of the diminutive suffix established a gender-termination connection which became the "default" one. The nature of adjectives having the same sort of connection between gender and termination helped to develop this "default" gender-termination connection among diminutives. When the suffix moved from the first two declensions to the other three, it took with it that "default" gender-termination connection, and so just as the neuter **postīco-m* yielded the diminutive type **postīco-elo-m*, so a neuter like **corpos* yielded the diminutive type **corpos-c-elo-m*. Thus, from a diachronic standpoint, this system of gender-termination connection of diminutives behaves this way: When a diminutive could take first- or second-declension morphosyntactic information directly from its base word, it would do so, and when that was not possible because the base word was not of the first two declensions, the diminutive would resort to using that "default" gender-termination connection.

Let us now turn our attention to the synchronic approach. The reason that this system mostly relates to a synchronic study of the production of diminutives is that the kind of morphosyntactic information which is vitally necessary for what determines the forms of diminutives becomes apparent in the empirical comparison between the diminutives and the base words which we have in the sources of Latin writers. We can identify a diminutive not only from its meaning in relation to its base word, but also from the gender and, if applicable, the termination that it has taken from its base word.

⁴⁴³ Productivity refers to how freely some derivational word elements may be added to a base or stem of the appropriate word class. Word elements with such freedom are called productive. (Weiss, 268)

Even a cursory investigation of these diminutives with their corresponding bases shows that masculine diminutives generally take the termination *-us*, feminine diminutives generally take the termination *-a*, and neuter diminutives generally take the termination *-um*. When we are fully cognizant of the diminutive suffix sets' status as "evaluative" suffixes which retain morphosyntactic information from their base words, we should understand that the diminutives from base words of the first and second declensions have their gender and terminations not because masculine nouns of the second declension generally end in *-us* and feminine nouns of the first declension generally end in *-a* and neuters generally end in *-um*, but indeed because they inherited that information from their base words. But the fact that masculines generally end in *-us*, feminines generally end in *-a*, and neuters generally end in *-um*, is important because, again, that feature⁴⁴⁴ of the productivity of the various diminutive suffixes establishes a gender-termination connection which became the "default" one, and again, the fact that adjectives have that same sort of gender-termination connection reinforces the development of that gender-termination connection for diminutives. So, for example, the diminutive *postīculum* has its morphosyntactic features because of its base word *postīcum*, while the diminutive *corpusculum* has its morphosyntactic features because of both its base word *corpus* and a precedent set by the typical relationship between diminutives and base words. Thus, from a synchronic standpoint, this system of gender-termination connection of diminutives behaves this way: When a diminutive could take first- or second-declension morphosyntactic information directly from its base word, it

⁴⁴⁴ I.e., "masculine nouns of the second declension generally end in *-us*," etc.

would do so. But when that was not possible (because the base word was not of the first two declensions), the diminutive would resort to using that “default” gender-termination connection (i.e., *-us* = masculine, *-a* = feminine, *-um* = neuter).

In sum, according to both approaches, the nature of the system of gender-termination connection is the same, but each approach places the origin of this system in different places: Diachronically, the system derives from the first and second declensions; synchronically it derives from features common to all diminutives.

This system of gender-termination connection can mislead because, although many masculine diminutives end in *-us*, many feminine diminutives end in *-a*, and many neuter diminutives end in *-um*, there is no rule that such gender-termination assignment must be true for all diminutives. This is because not all nouns or adjectives inflect like *Bonus-Adjectives*, where a particular termination has a fixed gender. On the contrary, each of the *-us*, *-a*, and *-um* terminations can also be assigned to genders different from what the typical gender-termination connection gives it, and this list shows various examples of words with the specified genders and terminations:

- masculines in *-a* and *-um*: *nauta*, *poēta*, *Scaevola*, *scurra*, *verna*, *rūricola*, *Paegnium*;
- feminines in *-us* and *-um*: *humus*, *Nerthus*, *vannus*, *puer* for *puerus*, *Aegyptus*, *Erōtium*;
- neuters in *-a* and *-us*: *rūricola*, *pelagus*, *vīrus*, *vulgus*.

Of course, not all the gender-termination-atypical words cited above have diminutives, but those which do actually reflect the “evaluative” property of the suffixes. In other words, they retain that gender-termination-atypicality of their base words and

do not resort to using that “default” gender-termination connection. Specific examples of the relevant phenomenon appear in the sections below.

That “evaluative” property of the suffixes, where there is the tendency for a diminutive to inherit and exhibit features common to its base word, has even yielded terminations that typically are not used for diminutives. For instance, feminine *vallus*, the diminutive of feminine *vannus*, has typical second-declension inflected forms (genitive singular *valli*, accusative singular *vallum*, etc.), but since the base word *vannus* also has fourth-declension forms, the diminutive has inherited those fourth-declension forms and sometimes uses them: nominative and accusative plural *vallūs*. If diminutives like *vallus* resorted to using that “default” gender-termination connection in the production of diminutives from gender-termination-atypical words like *vannus*, then not only would the diminutive be a feminine, first-declension **valla*, but also it would never have the fourth-declension nominative and accusative plural form *vallus*.

IV.A.b.ii.β. Regular Assignment of Genders and Terminations

IV.A.b.ii.β.1. Gender of a Diminutive

A diminutive regularly retains the gender of its base word. A more specific statement is: A diminutive substantive or a substantive adjective regularly retains the gender of its base word; a diminutive adjective regularly inherits from its base word the adjectival property of potentially agreeing with its noun (adjectives which do not follow this are indeclinables like numerals, e.g., *quattuor*).

These statements agree with 1) the observations made by several of the ancient grammarians (Varro in Charisius, Varro in Pompeius), 2) Weinhold's conclusions,⁴⁴⁵ and 3) the information of diminutives from my database. In IV.A.b.ii.γ.3., I list a number of exceptions to this rule of gender and provide commentary on, and explanations for, all of them.

IV.A.b.ii.β.2. Termination of a Diminutive

A diminutive regularly retains the morphological features of its base word. More specific statements are: A substantive or a substantive adjective base word of the first declension yields a diminutive of the first declension and takes the nominative termination *-a* or else *-ae* if a plural form should be required; a base word of the second declension yields a diminutive of the second declension and takes the nominative diminutive termination which matches its base word, if applicable, otherwise it takes *-us* if masculine or *-um* if neuter, or else *-ī* or *-a*, respectively, if a plural form should be required; a base word of any of the other three declensions yields a diminutive of the first two declensions, and takes *-us* if masculine, *-a* if feminine, and *-um* if neuter, otherwise *-ī* or *-ae* or *-a* if a plural should be required. An adjective base word of any type and declension, provided that it is declinable (e.g., *bonus, bona, bonum; levis, levis, leve; atrōx, atrōx, atrōx*), yields a diminutive which inflects like *bonus*.

⁴⁴⁵ Weinhold, "Genuswechsel der Deminutiva," 170.

IV.A.b.ii.β.3. Lists of Examples of Diminutives and their Morphosyntactic Information

These lists show examples of diminutives with their morphosyntactic information, demonstrating the regular assignment of genders and terminations.

Examples of nouns and substantive adjectives:

- *hortulus* inherited the masculine gender and the termination *-us* from *hortus*;
- *vallus* inherited the feminine gender and the termination *-us* from *vannus*;
- *scurrula* inherited the masculine gender and the termination *-a* from *scurra*;
- *vernula* inherited the masculine gender and the termination *-a* from *verna*;
- *prātulum* inherited the neuter gender and the termination *-um* from *prātum*;
- *scortillum* inherited the neuter gender and the termination *-um* from *scortum*;
- *blandicella* inherited the neuter gender and the termination *-a* from *blanda*;
- *corpusculum* inherited the neuter gender from *corpus*, but the termination *-um* was used because of the “default” gender-termination connection;
- *sāvillum* inherited the neuter gender from *suāve*, but the termination *-um* was used because of the “default” gender-termination connection.

Examples of adjectives:

- *albus* inherited the adjectival property of potentially being any of the three genders and ending in any of those three terminations because its base word *albus* has that property;

- *forticulus* inherited the adjectival property of potentially being any of the three genders from its base word *fortis* and gained the potentiality of ending in any of those three terminations because of the “default” gender-termination connection.

IV.A.b.ii.γ. Irregular Assignment of Genders and Terminations

Around two dozen or so diminutives appear to assume irregular assignment of genders and terminations. Among the ancient grammarians, Varro and Priscian list words of this type, but neither attempts to explain the irregularities. Among modern scholars, Weinhold accounts for exceptions to the general rule that diminutives retain the gender of their base words. As ambitious as Weinhold’s work on diminutives is, it deserves an update which I provide in IV.A.b.ii.γ.2.

IV.A.b.ii.γ.1. Weinhold’s Five Reasons for Altered Genders

Weinhold gives five reasons why diminutives differ from their base words:

- 1) diminutives connected to the wrong base words (e.g., feminine *ungula*, “a hoof,” comes from the feminine of the substantive adjective *uncus*, “curved around at the extremity, hooked,” and not from the masculine *unguis*, “a finger-nail”);
- 2) diminutives that preserve older genders of their base words (e.g., neuter *gladiolum*, “small sword,” comes from neuter *gladium*, an older form of masculine *gladius*, “sword,” which itself has the diminutive masculine *gladiolus*);
- 3) diminutives whose meanings have changed significantly from their base words (e.g., feminine *armilla*, “bracelet,” from masculine *armus*, “shoulder or upper arm,” where there was a change in gender because of a change in meaning

between the first-stage diminutive **armulus* and the second-stage diminutive *armilla*),

- 4) diminutives whose senses demand a particular gender (e.g., feminine *passercula*, “little sparrow (as a term of endearment applied to a girl),” comes from masculine *passer* (although, according to the TLL, Probus and Charisius indicate that *passer* can be feminine and yet neither provides a citation),
- 5) diminutives appearing in Late Latin without a discernible answer as to why they have altered genders (e.g., masculine *arbusculus* instead of feminine *arbuscula*, “a small or young tree,” from feminine *arbor*, “tree,” and masculine *corpusculus* instead of neuter *corpusculum*, “a small body,” from *corpus*, “body”⁴⁴⁶).



My study is not concerned with diminutives from Late Latin, so I will respond at this point only to the parts of Weinhold’s article which deal with Classical Latin.

I believe Weinhold is correct about 1) and 2), but I think his classification of 3) and 4) are less easily defended. It is difficult to determine how much the meaning of a word must change before a change in gender and termination is necessary. I also noticed that Weinhold’s explanation of *armilla* still leaves its gender unexplained

⁴⁴⁶ We should note, however, some particular aspects of the words *arbor* and *corpus*. First, they have terminal letter combinations that would be more often associated with one gender rather than another: *-or* more often appears at the ends of abstract words like *rūmor* and of agent nouns like *amātor*, both of which are masculine; *-us* is very common at the ends of words of the second declension, almost all of which are masculine. Second, that Romance cognates of both *arbor* (e.g., French *arbre*, Spanish *árbol*) and *corpus* (French *corps*, Spanish *cuervo*) are masculine, and one could speculate that the gender-altered, masculine diminutives *arbusculus* and *corpusculus* reflect the gender-altered, masculine base words *arbor* and *corpus* in Late Latin (the TLL cites masculine forms of both). Nevertheless, all of these facts do not specifically indicate the reason for the change from *arbuscula* and *corpusculum* to *arbusculus* and *corpusculus* when there is otherwise no particular change in gender of the base words themselves.

(Strodach⁴⁴⁷ appears to have made the same observation). Furthermore, the notion that the gender of a diminutive can change when it has a sense which demands a particular gender only sporadically accounts for the changes that we see.

Another weakness that I have noticed with Weinhold's article is that it does not account for a diminutive's change of termination along with the change in gender. Weinhold seems to take it as a given that *-us*, *-a*, and *-um*, are, respectively, definitively masculine, feminine, and neuter terminations for diminutives, and these diminutives have gender-termination assignments which match that of the *Bonus*-Adjectives. Thus, Weinhold's 3) certainly explains why a neuter *corculum* became a masculine *Corculum* when applied to a man, but it cannot explain why *Corculum* is not *Corculus*, nor can it explain the masculine term *Corculi* to refer to men like the original man *Corculum*.

IV.A.b.ii.γ.2. A Revamp of Weinhold's Types of Reasons for Altered Genders

It seems clear that an updated version of Weinhold's five reasons for altered genders is required. In this section, I provide a revamp of such types.

My revamp is as follows:

- 1) words which are not actually diminutives, at least not in their present forms:
 - a) actual non-diminutives;
 - b) diminutives but with derivative suffixes:
 - i) with suffixes homonymic to diminutive terminations;
 - ii) with suffixes non-homonymic to diminutive terminations;
- 2) diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words;

⁴⁴⁷ 39.

- 3) diminutives with different genders and terminations, unrelated to the formation process:
- a) older or alternate genders;
 - b) vulgar variations in gender;
 - c) separate masculine and feminine words;
- 4) diminutives with just different genders, unrelated to the formation process.



These groupings require explanations and elaborations:

- 1a) (“actual non-diminutives”) includes various classes of non-diminutive words such as deverbative and denominative instrumentals in *-culum* as in *curriculum*, and deverbative and denominative abstracts in *-ēla* as in *tūtēla*.
- Words under 1b) (“diminutives but with derivative suffixes”) are of two types.
 - The 1bi) (“with suffixes homonymic to diminutive terminations”) category especially needs clarification. Cooper⁴⁴⁸ and Strodach⁴⁴⁹ believe these diminutives are attracted to the gender of a closely related word: e.g., Late Latin masculine *fōrmellus*, the diminutive of the feminine *fōrma*, takes its form from the masculine *cāseus*.⁴⁵⁰ This is certainly an attractive idea, but it is difficult to account for because substantives do not typically change their morphosyntactic information in the way that adjectives do. I suggest that the words take on an adjectival function by gaining an actual adjectival termination which turns out to be homonymic to the termination

⁴⁴⁸ Cooper, 172.

⁴⁴⁹ Strodach, 34 et passim.

⁴⁵⁰ Strodach, 70.

of the diminutive. Each of these “de-denominative” adjectives functions as a substantive adjective which indicates resemblance or appurtenance (by virtue of the power of the suffix) and retains the relevant meaning of the diminutive (by virtue of the power of the diminutive). This explanation accounts for this word’s attraction of gender to other words closely connected such as synonyms, synecdoches, correlatives, or analogues. Thus, feminine *faba*, “a bean-plant, bean,” normally would have the feminine diminutive **fabula*, but it has instead the masculine *fabulus*, “a bean,” functioning as its diminutive, and this substantive adjective *fabulus*, “the one just like the **fabula*,” retains the relevant meaning of the diminutive **fabula*, and the gender of masculine synonym κύαμος, “bean”⁴⁵¹; neuter *pīlum*, “a pestle or sim. instrument,” has the normal neuter diminutive *pistillum*, “a pestle,” but it also has the masculine *pistillus* functioning as its diminutive, and this substantive adjective *pistillus*, “the one just like the *pistillum*,” retains the relevant meaning of the diminutive *pistillum* and the gender of the masculine synonym ἀλοτρίβανος, “pestle”⁴⁵²; masculine *vitulus*, “the young of cattle, a calf,” has the normal masculine diminutive *vitellus*, which has the special meaning of “the yolk of an egg,” but there is the neuter *vitellum* which has the same special meaning, and this substantive adjective *vitellum*, “the one just like the *vitellus*,” retains the relevant meaning of the

⁴⁵¹ LSJ, s.v.

⁴⁵² LSJ, s.v.

diminutive *vitellus* and the gender of the neuter synecdoche *ovum*, “an egg”; neuter *cor*, “the heart,” has the neuter diminutive *corculum*, “a (little) heart,” and from *corculum* came the masculine *Corculum* as the name of a man, and from the name *Corculum* came the masculine term *Corculi*, and finally, this substantive adjective *Corculi*, “the ones just like *Corculum*,” has a meaning deriving from the diminutive *Corculum* and retains the gender of *Cati*, a word which appears along with *Corculi* in the same context.

- These words within 1bii (“with suffixes non-homonymic to diminutive terminations”) are slightly more straightforward. These are substantive adjectives which derive from diminutives, but their adjective suffixes are not homonymic to diminutive terminations. Moreover, these words as a class do not have diminutive meanings. Thus, there is the masculine non-diminutive *nucleus*, which comes from *nucula* and the adjectival suffix *-eus*, and *nucula* is itself a diminutive of *nux*.
- My category 2) (“diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words”) is mostly the same as Weinhold’s, but I include also diminutives deriving from base words with different forms which could affect the decision to use one diminutive suffix set or another. Thus, feminine *ungula* comes from the feminine substantive form of the adjective *unculus* and not from the masculine *unguis*, just as Weinhold states; masculine *rānunculus* comes from a masculine **rānō* and not directly from *rāna*; feminine *ficula*, if that is the proper form of the

diminutive, comes from masculine or feminine, second-declension or fourth-declension *ficus* as a fourth-declension feminine, not as a second-declension feminine; but feminine *ficulus*, if that is the proper form of the diminutive, comes from *ficus* as a second-declension feminine just like *vallus* from *vannus*, and again, masculine *ficulus*, if proper form, comes from *ficus* as a second-declension masculine.

- My category 3) (“diminutives with different genders and terminations, unrelated to the formation process”) isolates certain diminutives that do not seem to retain the gender of their base words, not because of a change in the diminutive-forming process, but because the change reflects unrelated variations in gender and termination. I subdivide this category into three.
- 3a) (“older or alternate genders”): As Weinhold points out, a diminutive might have inherited the gender of an older form of a word, and so: *gladiolum* comes from *gladium*, an older version of *gladius*. But it is possible that a diminutive takes the less typical gender of its base word. Thus, there is the masculine diminutive *lintriculus*, which comes from *linter*, and yet while *linter* is typically feminine, it can even be masculine.
- 3b) (“vulgar variations in gender”): Certain features of Vulgar Latin appear in literary Latin works written during the Empire, most notably in Petronius’ *Satyricon*. The two relevant features pertain to Vulgar Latin’s tendency to deviate from Classical Latin in terms of gender and termination:

- first declension feminine for the neuter of the second declension (e.g., Vulgar feminine singular *trīclīnia* for Classical neuter plural *trīclīnia*);
- neuter for the first declension feminine as a form of hypercorrection (e.g., Vulgar neuter *margarītum* for Classical feminine *margarīta*, which looks like a neuter plural *margarīta*, which actually appears at Tac. *Ag.* 12.6).⁴⁵³

Thus, feminine *statua* has not the feminine diminutive *statula* but the neuter diminutives *staticulum* and *statunculum*, which, just like the aforementioned *margarītum*, have that gender and termination because of the Vulgar change in gender and declension.⁴⁵⁴

- 3c) (“separate masculine and feminine words”): Latin has very many pairs of words referring to a male or a female living beings, i.e., separate words for separate sexes, and the gender of each corresponds to the sex of the individual.⁴⁵⁵ Thus, we have *equus*, “male horse,” and *equa*, “female horse” or “mare.” Such words are different from words called *epicene*, which have one gender for both sexes: e.g., feminine *vulpēs* refers to male and female foxes. A third type is called *common*, which refers to a word, either masculine or feminine, depending on the sex of the individual: common-gender *canis* is masculine if it refers to a male dog or feminine if it refers to a female one. It

⁴⁵³ Gilbert Lawall, *Petronius: Selections from the Satyricon* (Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci, 1995.), 242-243.

⁴⁵⁴ J. N. Adams, *Social Variation and the Latin Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 423.

⁴⁵⁵ Weinhold (184) points out that since many animal terms are separate male-female words (like *equus/equa*), it is difficult to tell whether a real change of gender took place with the creation of the diminutive or the diminutive came from one of the (then available) members of the pair of male-female words, taking its respective gender. I would add that there is also the issue of how much some of the epicene words are tenacious of their epicenity in the creation of their diminutives.

turns out that diminutives from common words mostly retain the genders of their base words, but epicene diminutives are not absolutely bound by the epicenity of their base words, and can form diminutives from the other gender to refer to individuals of the other sex. Such Diminutives follow the Latin rule of “separate words for separate sexes.” Thus, from *equus* we have the masculine diminutive *equulus* and from *equa* we have the feminine diminutive *equula*; *puer* once could refer to female children and not just male ones, and so it was at one point epicene or gender-common, and from *puer* came the feminine diminutive *puella* on the one hand and the masculine *puellus* on the other; masculine epicene *passer* yielded the masculine *passerculus* and the feminine *passercula*.

- My category 4) (“diminutives with just different genders, unrelated to the formation process”) covers diminutives used as names, and differs from both the typical use of the diminutive and the base word. Thus, *caligula* inherited the feminine gender and the termination *-a* from *caliga*, but when *Caligula* was used for the name of a man, its gender changed to masculine but the termination was retained.

IV.A.b.ii.γ.3. Using the Revamp to Account for Such Irregular Diminutives

In this section, I use my revamp to account for the diminutives which have irregular assignments of their genders and terminations. First, I set out the whole section in a list with the appropriate categories so the reader can see at a glance where each anomaly fits. Then I follow up with the individual explanations.

This is the list of words and the appropriate categories:

- *aegyptilla*: "diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words";
- *anguilla*: "diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words" or "separate masculine and feminine words";
- *armilla[e]*: "diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words";
- *Caligula*: "diminutives with just different genders, unrelated to the formation process";
- *canicula*: "separate masculine and feminine words";
- *Corculi*: "with suffixes homonymic to diminutive terminations";
- *Corculum*: "diminutives with just different genders, unrelated to formation process";
- *ēnsicula*: "with suffixes homonymic to diminutive terminations";
- *fabula, fabulus*: "diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words";
- *ficulus, ficula*: "diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words";
- *glandula*: "diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words";
- *lintriculus*: "older or alternate genders";
- *mellilla*: "diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words";
- *passercula*: "separate masculine and feminine words";
- *pānicula*: "older or alternate genders";
- *pāstillum*: "diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words";
- *pistillus*: "suffixes homonymic to diminutive terminations";
- *pīstrilla*: "diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words";
- *quāsillum*: "diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words";
- *rānunculus*: "diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words" or "separate masculine and feminine words";

- *Scaevola*: “diminutives with just different genders, unrelated to the formation process”;
 - *scrūtillus*: “suffixes homonymic to diminutive terminations”;
 - *staticulum*: “vulgar variations in gender”;
 - *vallum, vatillum*: “diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words”;
 - *valvolī, valvolae*: “suffixes homonymic to diminutive terminations”;
 - *verētilla*: “vulgar variations in gender”;
- 6) *ungula*: “diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words.”



These are the individual explanations:

aegyptilla, “a precious stone found in Egypt (applied to sardonyx and nicolo)”

According to the OLD, *aegyptilla*, “a precious stone found in Egypt (applied to sardonyx and nicolo),” is a diminutive of *Aegyptus*, “Egypt.” If that is true, then we seem to have a case where the termination changed from *-us* to *-a*. It is obvious, however, that the stone in question is not at all a “little Egypt,” but something along the lines of “the little Egyptian one” as in a “little Egyptian stone.” The base word of the diminutive would be an adjective **aegyptīnus*, which is implied by the noun *Aegyptīnī*, “Egyptians,” a word which we can find in Plautus (*Poen.* 1290).⁴⁵⁶ The diminutive suffix form *-lus* attached to the base of this **aegyptīnus*, which initiated the assimilation of the consonants, producing the diminutive adjective **aegyptillus*, which gives us **gemma aegyptilla* and that shortened to the present *aegyptilla*.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁶ TLL, s.v.

⁴⁵⁷ I was delighted to find out that this is exactly Strodach’s (67) and the TLL’s (“f. scil gemma,” *aegyptilla* section of the *Aegyptus* entry) way of accounting for the form of the word.

I place *aegyptilla* under “diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words.” Its base word is **aegyptinus* and not *Aegyptus*.

anguilla, “An eel”

Anguilla is one of the words which Priscian (at 3.115.6) gives as an example of what others deem to be a denominative rather than a diminutive because of its meaning, but he does not give any details on the etymology of the word. Its diminutive has two likely explanations. The first one involves a formation procedure that is the same as the one for *aegyptilla* above, i.e.: adjective *anguinus* with the suffix *-lus*, with the usual assimilation of consonants, which yields **anguillus*, and from there came a phrase like **vīperā*⁴⁵⁸ *anguilla*, which shortened to simply *anguilla*.⁴⁵⁹ The other explanation involves the gender of *anguis* itself, which is typically masculine but can be feminine as well,⁴⁶⁰ and that means an *anguilla* is possible from *anguis* as a base word.

I would place *anguilla* under “diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words,” where the base word for it should be the adjective **anguillus*, and yet since I am not entirely certain what substantive the adjective **anguillus* would be dependent on, I am more inclined to place it under “separate masculine and feminine words.”

armilla[e], “An arm-band, bracelet”

As I mentioned above, Weinhold’s explanation of the change of gender from *armus* to *armilla* does not explain why the gender is specifically feminine. I accept

⁴⁵⁸ Strodach, 8.

⁴⁵⁹ de Vaan (42) agrees that *anguilla* comes from *anguinus* and a suffix *-la*, but he does not indicate whether or not he believes that suffix is a diminutive suffix.

⁴⁶⁰ OLD, s.v.

Strodach's explanation⁴⁶¹ of the etymology of the word, however, i.e., the diminutive suffix *-lus* which attached to the adjective **armīnus*, "of the (upper) arm," yielding **armīllus*, and was in some phrase like **spīrae armīllae*, which shortened to *armīlla*.

I place *armīlla* under "diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words." Its base word is **armīnus* and not *armus*.

Caligula, "Cognomen of the Emperor Gaius," and *caligula*, "A military boot"

The feminine diminutive *caligula* retains its gender from its base word *caliga*, but then the diminutive became used as a nickname for Emperor Gaius, making it masculine instead of feminine while the termination stays the same. This is hardly surprising, when we consider that the Greek-derived words which appear as proper names in Plautus (like *Erotium*⁴⁶²) have genders relevant to the sexes of the individuals but without change in terminations.

I place *Caligula* under "diminutives with just different genders, unrelated to the formation process."

canīcula, "A bitch"

Varro in Charisius gives the feminine *canīcula*, the diminutive of *canis*, as a counterexample to the rule of gender retention. He implies that the base word *canis* is strictly masculine, and the inference is that the diminutive of such a word should be *canīculus*. But *canis* is of common gender, and so either masculine or feminine. Therefore, a feminine *canīcula* is a permissible diminutive.

I place *canīcula* under "separate masculine and feminine words."

⁴⁶¹ Strodach, 39.

⁴⁶² *amicam ... eram meam hanc Erotium*, Pl. *Men.* 300.

Corculum, "a nickname of P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica," and Corculī, referring to people who are "wise or shrewd," and corculum, "A (little) heart," from cor, "heart"

The neuter diminutive *corculum* retains its gender from its base word *cor*, so there is no problem with it in terms of its gender.

Once, however, the diminutive *corculum* became a nickname for P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, consul in 155 BCE, its gender became masculine but its termination stayed the same. But Pliny *Nat.* 7.118⁴⁶³ uses *Corculī* as a nickname for wise or shrewd people like the original *Corculum*, together with the nickname *Catī*, referring to clever people like the original *Catus* in question, namely Sextus Aelius Paetus *Catus*, consul in 198 BCE. As I mentioned above, from the masculine *Corculum* came the masculine substantive adjective *Corculī*, and finally this *Corculī*, "the ones just like *Corculum*," retains the relevant meaning of the diminutive *Corculum* and also retains the gender of the correlative *Catī*.

I place *Corculum* under "diminutives with just different genders, unrelated to formation process," and *Corculī* under "with suffixes homonymic to diminutive terminations."

ēnsicula, feminine version of *ēnsiculus*, "a small sword"

Varro in Charisius and Priscian use feminine *ēnsicula* as an example of a diminutive which does not retain the gender of its base word, the masculine *ēnsis*. This

⁴⁶³ *Reliquis animi bonis praestitere ceteros mortales: sapientia, ob id Catī, Corculī apud Romanos cognominati*, "Persons who have surpassed the rest of mortal kind in the remaining gifts of the mind are: in wisdom, the people who on this account won at Rome the surnames of Wise and Sage." (This was translated by H. Rackham. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*," accessed September 30, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pliny_elder-natural_history/1938/pb_LCL352.583.xml?mainRsKey=yNDuY9&result=1&rskey=YD4uUu.)

ēnsicula, however, is quoted only in the grammarians.⁴⁶⁴ Even if *ēnsicula* existed outside the works of the grammarians, we could still explain its form and gender by calling it a substantive adjective from *ēnsiculus*, with gender assimilated to the base word's synonym μάχαιρα.⁴⁶⁵

I place *ēnsicula* under "with suffixes homonymic to diminutive terminations."

fabula or *fabulus*, "A bean, (collect.) beans"

Since there are some issues surrounding the actual form and gender of the word in question, I include here both *fabula* and *fabulus*.

Dictionaries such as the OLD⁴⁶⁶ and the TLL⁴⁶⁷ show this diminutive as the masculine *fabulus*, with its base word being the feminine *faba*. Cato *Agr.* 70.1 does show a form⁴⁶⁸ that implies the masculine second-declension word *fabulus*. And yet a passage in Plautus, *St.* 690, the same one which contains the ambiguous form *fīculīs*, also has the ambiguous form *fabulīs*. Thus, we have an unambiguous attestation of a masculine diminutive *fabulus* and an attestation which can suggest a masculine or feminine *fabulus* or *fabula*. On the gender of the word *fabulus* the OLD has the comment "nom. *fabula* has been assumed, but the fem. gender is not proved,"⁴⁶⁹ and L&S⁴⁷⁰ has the comment "where [referring to the Plautus passage] a nom. *fabula* is sometimes unnecessarily assumed." Nevertheless, it seems clear that the OLD and L&S

⁴⁶⁴ TLL, s.v.: "*mera vox gramm.*"

⁴⁶⁵ *Not. Tiron.* 77, 53: "ἄορ, μάχαιρα, ξίφος, ῥομφαία."

⁴⁶⁶ OLD, s.v.

⁴⁶⁷ TLL, s.v.

⁴⁶⁸ "*fabulos albos.*"

⁴⁶⁹ This is a strange comment because the writers of the OLD entry for *valvoli* have no trouble assuming a feminine-gender form *valvolae* even though the feminine gender for that diminutive is equally not proved.

⁴⁷⁰ L&S, s.v.

are too hasty in dismissing a feminine *fabula*. Since the gender, declension, and nominative singular forms of both *ficulis* and *fabulis* are ambiguous in the Plautus passage, and the base word *faba* is indeed feminine, we cannot entirely rule out a feminine *fabula* parallel with the unambiguous masculine *fabulus*.

Let us now explore how we can account for the *fabulus* in the Cato passage. As I mentioned above, feminine *faba* normally would have the feminine diminutive **fabula*, but it has instead the masculine substantive adjective *fabulus* functioning as its diminutive, and this *fabulus*, “the one just like the **fabula*,” retains the relevant meaning of the diminutive **fabula* and the gender of masculine synonym κύαμος, that Gellius specifically associates with the diminutive at 4.11.10.

I place the *fabulus* form of the diminutive under “diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words.”

ficulus or *ficula*, “A fig”

The feminine *ficus*⁴⁷¹ has a diminutive which typically appears as the feminine *ficula* in the dictionaries. We are not, however, aware of the termination and declension of the diminutive because it appears only at Pl. *Stich.* 690 where we see the ablative plural form *ficulis*. We do not even know the nominative singular form of this word. It could just as well be *ficulus*. The entry for the word in the TLL rightly indicates this uncertainty: “**ficul(-a an -us?) f.**” And yet, since the word *ficus* is of the second and

⁴⁷¹ Here is some important information about the word *ficus*. L&S, s.v.: “*ficus*, i and *ūs* (I.dat. sing., gen., dat., and abl. plur., always of second decl.; in other cases of second or fourth; v. Neue, *Formenl.* 1, 532 sq.—Masc., Mart. 1, 65, 4; 7, 71, 6; Macr. S. 2, 16. The declension and gender were disputed even among the ancients” [the emphasis with the underline is mine]; OLD, s.v.: *ficus* ~*ī* and ~*ūs*, *f.* (*m.*). ... Forms: 4th decl.: Var.*gram.*72, Cic.*de Orat.*2.278, Hor.*S.2.2.122*, Sen.*Suas.*2.17, Larg.190, *CIL* 4.1820, 8.25902; cf. Mart.1.65. Gender: masc. Cato *Agr.*42, Lucil.198, Mart.1.65.4. TLL, s.v.: *ficus*, -*ī* *vel* -*ūs* *f.* (*raro m.*).

fourth declensions,⁴⁷² both putative forms, *ficula* and *ficulus*, can be accounted for in the following ways: 1) *ficula* comes from *ficus* following the procedures of diminutive suffixes with a fourth-declension feminine base word (as *porticula* from *porticus*); 2) *ficulus* comes from *ficus* following the procedures of diminutive suffixes with a second-declension feminine base word (as *vallus* from *vannus*).

Either way, I believe we have a word which falls under “diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words.”

glandula, “A gland”

Varro in Charisius and Priscian use feminine *glandula* as an example of a diminutive which does not retain the gender of its base word, the neuter *glandium*. It seems to me that they are mistaken about the base word, however. *Glandula* appears to be a diminutive of the feminine *glāns* and not *glandium*, a diminutive of which we would expect to be the neuter *glandiolum*.

I place *glandula* under “diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words.”

lintriculus, “Dim. of LINTER [A small light boat]”

We would expect feminine *linter* to have the feminine diminutive **lintricula*, and yet we have *lintriculus* instead. It turns out that *linter* is typically feminine, but it also can be masculine.⁴⁷³ This accounts for the masculine diminutive.

⁴⁷² Kay (320), in a discussion on Martial’s use of *ficus* at 1.65, mentions Citroni’s survey of the (written) evidence which finds little systematic distinction between either or both second and fourth declension, and masculine and feminine gender, *ficus* in reference to 1) anal sores and 2) the fruit of the fig tree, and concludes that Martial uses the word for humor purposes, and that the comment has more bite if contemporary upholders of “correct” Latin were arguing there was, or should be, some distinction.

⁴⁷³ OLD, s.v., as seen in Tib. 2.5.34 and Vell. 1.107.2.

I place *lintriculus* under "older or alternate genders."

mellilla, "(as a term of endearment) Sweetheart, honey"

Mellilla, a feminine diminutive, appears to come from the neuter word *mel*, but is actually a diminutive of *mellina*, a substantive form of the adjective *mellinus*, from *mel*. The word *mellina*, being technically a substantive adjective, is feminine and of the first declension because it is dependent on the feminine genders of *vīta* and *fēstivītās* at Pl. *Cas.* 135, or the *vīta* and *dēlicia* at Pl. *Ps.* 180.

I place *mellilla* under "diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words."

passercula, "A little sparrow (as a term of endearment)"

Masculine epicene *passer* yielded the masculine *passerculus*, which is entirely regular in terms of gender and formation, but since diminutives do not retain the strict epicenity of their base words, a feminine *passercula* is entirely possible (even if in the passage in question,⁴⁷⁴ the word is a term of endearment applied to a girl).

I place *passercula* under "separate masculine and feminine words."

pānicula, The spiked or feather head of certain reeds and grasses, panicle

The OLD distinguishes between two words with the form *pānicula*. This discussion focuses mostly on the first entry. According to that entry, feminine *pānicula* has the masculine base word *pānus*, "a spool wound with thread; a kind of superficial abscess; the peduncle or main stalk of a panicle." The *pānus* entry in the TLL cites a feminine form *pāna* at Plin. *med.* 3. A diminutive of this can be *pānicula*.

⁴⁷⁴ Aur. Fro. I. p.182 (70 N).

The second *pānicula* entry in the OLD shows "(app.) A strip of dough," and claims that this feminine *pānicula* is a derivative of *pānis*, citing Fest. p.310M. The TLL, however, quotes this passage in its *pānicula* (diminutive of *pānus*) entry, and has this additional note: *vix recte quidam de voce a panis derivanda cogitant*, "Some people hardly correctly think about a word derived from *pānis*." A strip of dough sounds more to me like a *pānus* (a clump) than a *pānis* (a loaf).

I place *pānicula* under "older or alternate genders."

pāstillum, "A form of sacrificial cake"

Varro in Charisius shows neuter *pāstillum* as the diminutive of masculine *pānis*, "bread." If *pāstillus* and *pāstillum* derive from *pānis*, then there needs to be a way to account for the *st* element which appears in the diminutives but is absent in the base word. According to de Vaan,⁴⁷⁵ the diminutives suggest that *pānis* derives from **pāst-ni-*, where the scholars have connected the first part to the root **peh₂-s-*, "to graze." Although de Vaan is skeptical, because he is unable to see how the change from "graze" to "bread" can be made with only the suffix **-ni-*, he offers no alternative etymology. I share de Vaan's skepticism of this etymology, and I am uncertain whether this suffix is supposed to be noun-forming or adjective-forming.

Nevertheless, for the sake of argument, let us tentatively agree with Varro in Charisius that the diminutive *pāstillum* derives from *pānis*, and that we can account for the form of the diminutive by postulating the existence of the etymological **pāst-ni-*.

⁴⁷⁵ de Vaan, 443.

The masculine *pānis* has a neuter form *pāne* at Pl. *Cur.* 367, and this can account for the neuter form *pāstillum*.

I place *pāstillum* under “diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words.”

pistillus, “A pestle”

Neuter *pīlum*, “a pestle or sim. instrument” (representing an older **pis-tlo-*, where *tlo-* represents the instrumental suffix⁴⁷⁶) has the normal neuter diminutive *pistillum*, “a pestle,” (representing **pis-tlo-elo-*).⁴⁷⁷ But *pistillum* has the masculine form *pistillus*, and we can explain this masculine *pistillus* by calling it a substantive adjective from *pistillum*, with gender assimilated to its synonym ἀλοτριβανός.⁴⁷⁸

I place *pistillus* under “suffixes homonymic to diminutive terminations.”

pīstrilla, “A small mill/bakery”

Varro in Charisius and Priscian also use feminine *pīstrilla* as an example of a diminutive which does not retain the gender of its base word, the neuter *pīstrīnum*, which would yield *pīstrīllum* instead. *Pīstrilla*, however, appears more to be a diminutive of feminine *pīstrīna* than neuter *pīstrīnum*.⁴⁷⁹

I place *pīstrilla* under “diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words.”

⁴⁷⁶ de Vaan, 467.

⁴⁷⁷ So, basically, *pīlum* is like *tālus* and *quālus* in that it lost certain letters, but its diminutive kept them.

⁴⁷⁸ Char. *gramm.* p. 458, 23.

⁴⁷⁹ The OLD (s.v.) and Strodach (40) agree.

quāsillum, "A small wicker basket"

Varro in Charisius and Priscian also use neuter *quāsillum* as an example of a diminutive which does not retain the gender of its base word, the masculine *quālus*, which would yield *quāsillus* instead. *Quāsillus*, of course, exists, and indeed has *quālus* as its base word. *Quāsillum*, however, appears more to be a diminutive of neuter *quālum* than masculine *quālus*.

I place *quāsillum* under "diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words."

rānunculus, "A little frog"

Varro in Charisius and Priscian also use masculine *rānunculus* as an example of a diminutive which does not retain the gender of its base word, the feminine *rāna*. The diminutive *rānunculus* is unique not only because of its change in gender from its base word, but also in its formation because of the uncommon augmented diminutive *-unculus* attaching to a first-declension word. *Rānula*, regularly formed from *rāna*, appears later in Apul. *Met.* 9.34.

Cooper⁴⁸⁰ mentions the idea of the word coming from a **rānō* while Weinhold⁴⁸¹ rejects it. Weinhold's argument against this is that a **rānō* is unnecessary because there are other words like *avunculus* (from *avus*) that have the *-uncul-* diminutive form even though their base words are not n-stems. But nearly all the *-uncul-* words which do not come from n-stems (24 out of 28) appear after Cicero⁴⁸²; of the other four,

⁴⁸⁰ Cooper, 183.

⁴⁸¹ Weiss, 185.

⁴⁸² Cooper, 183-184.

avunculus appears first in Plautus, *rānunculus* and *mendāciunculum* (perhaps a scribal error for *mendaciolum*) appear in Cicero, and *lemunculus* (for **lembunculus* from *lembus*) appears in Caesar. Moreover, Weinhold's rejection of the **rānō* idea leaves the gender of *rānunculus* unexplained. And de Vaan is confident that in fact *avus* comes from an n-stem (i.e., something like **avō*), which seems to strengthen the **rānō* idea if we are to compare *rānunculus* to *avunculus*. Moreover, the masculine **rānō* could be analogous to the masculine *būfō*, "toad."⁴⁸³

I am, however, more attracted to the simpler idea that *rānunculus* is the masculine noun to a feminine noun **rānuncula* which comes from the epicene *rāna*.

On the one hand, I place *rānunculus* under "diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words" if its actual base word is **rānō*, but I am much more inclined to place it under "separate masculine and feminine words."

Scaevola, "the name adopted by C. Mucius Cordus"

The feminine diminutive **scaevola* retains its gender from its base word (*manus*) *scaeva*, but then the diminutive became part of the name of the legendary C. Mucius Cordus, making it masculine instead of feminine while the termination stays the same.

While the name *Scaevola* is different from *Caligula* and *Corculum* in that it is heritable and not a nickname like the latter two, and there were many other Scaevolae, I do not think that ultimately changes the essential point that I am making with the genders of the diminutive when they appear as elements of Roman nomenclature. If

⁴⁸³ I myself am introducing this "*būfō*" idea here. I think we can find a Roman conflation of frogs and toads by looking at the term *rubēta*, which is short for *rāna rubēta*, "bramble-bush frog," and refers to a supposedly poisonous toad. (OLD, s.v.)

there were many people who had heritable names based on *Caligula* and *Corculum*, the existence of the Scaevolae and the use of *Scaevola* instead of a masculine-looking *Scaevulus* suggest that there could have been Caligulae and Corcula⁴⁸⁴ as well.

I place *Scaevola* under "diminutives with just different genders, unrelated to the formation process."

scrūtillus, "A kind of sausage"

The OLD gives neuter *scrautum*, "skin used for storing arrows, quiver,"⁴⁸⁵ as the base word of masculine *scrūtillus*, but de Vaan gives it as a derivative of the neuter plural *scrūta*, "discarded goods, junk."⁴⁸⁶ Strodach,⁴⁸⁷ however, thinks that the base word is the Late Latin word *scrūtulus*, itself a diminutive of the neuter *scrautum*, but does not provide an explanation of the change of gender (and change of vowel sounds) from *scrautum* to *scrūtulus*. If Strodach is right, then we can suggest that the change of gender is due to *scrūtulus* becoming a substantive adjective form to *scr(a)utulum*, like *fabulus* to **fabula*, attracting to the gender of *botulus*.

I place *scrūtillus* under "suffixes homonymic to diminutive terminations."

staticulum, "A little statue, figurine," and *statunculum*, "A little statue, statuette"

I list these two diminutives together because they are synonyms and because I believe that they differ from their base word, *statua*, for the same reason.

The semi-Greek *libertus* Trimalchio gives a pretentious speech in the *Satyricon* at Petr. 50.6 where he explains how he came to possess genuine Corinthian ware, and

⁴⁸⁴ Different from the Corculi, who are men like the aforementioned Corculum.

⁴⁸⁵ de Vaan, 548.

⁴⁸⁶ de Vaan, 548.

⁴⁸⁷ Strodach, 54.

among the relevant items that he mentions are these *statuncula*. The term *statunculum*, I think, is like *margaritum* elsewhere in Petronius' work, where we have a Vulgar neuter for the first declension feminine as a form of hypercorrection. The feminine base word *statua* looks exactly like a hypothetical—"fancy-sounding"—fourth-declension neuter **statū*, which corresponds to the real masculine word *status*. The diminutive also appears on monuments, and at *CIL* 8.2601 we have the form *statunculīs*, which is an ambiguous form. While the intended nominative singular form could be *statunculum* just like in the Petronius passage, we cannot rule out a feminine *statuncula*.

Pliny the Elder uses the neuter plural *staticula* twice: *Nat.* 34.163 and 37.140. In the first instance, Pliny uses the neuter diminutive when talking about silver and gold statuettes, and it is entirely possible that this *staticula* is a substantive adjective from a feminine **staticula*, and the gender of this *staticula* was attracted to the terms *aurea* and *argentea*, and Pliny continued to use this *staticula* elsewhere in his work. But if it is the case that Trimalcho's use of *statuncula* reflected a general Vulgar tendency to use the neuter plural instead of the feminine singular for diminutives of *statua*, this likely would have affected even the synonym of *statuncula* with the *-icul-* element, hence the form that Pliny decided to use. There is an epigraphic attestation for *statunculum*, *CIL* 8.2601, but again it is not helpful since the word appears as *statunculīs*, which could just as easily be a form of a feminine *statuncula* instead.

I place *staticulum* and *statunculum* under "vulgar variations in gender."

vallum, "an implement for winnowing corn," and vatillum, "a (small) shovel or pan"

I discuss these two words together because they are essentially two forms of the same word. They seem to be diminutives of the feminine *vannus*, and therefore we should expect the feminine forms *vallus*, which actually exists, and *vatillus*. de Vaan⁴⁸⁸ cites the notion that *vannus* derives from a **vantno-*, where the *vant* element is the ancestor of *ventus*, "wind," and the *no-* element is an adjectival suffix, which would make *vannus*, or even a neuter form **vannum*, mean etymologically something like "the one of the wind." The notion here is that *vallus*, *vallum*, and *vatillum* all have the same ancestor, namely **vantno-elo-*, and while *vallus* and *vallum* show assimilation of the consonant cluster *ntn-l*, and *vatillum* shows that the *t* did not undergo assimilation, *vallus* retained the gender of the Classical base word *vallus*, but *vallum* and *vatillum* retain the gender of a neuter form **vannum*.

I place both *vallum* and *vatillum* under "diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words." The form of *vannus* from which these diminutives derive is a much older form.

valvolī or *valvolae*, "The shell or husk of a bean or other legume (splitting into two valves)," from *valvae*, "A double or folding-door"

The form *valvolī* appears in Fest. p. 375 M, and all the other appearances of the word show only the ambiguous form *valvolīs*. On the gender and form of this diminutive of *valvae*, the OLD has this note: "other exx. are ambiguous and may well belong to a fem. form *ualuolae ~ārum*." This is a strange statement because they are reluctant to

⁴⁸⁸ de Vaan, 653.

assume a feminine form *fabula* as the diminutive of *fabā* even when a feminine form is just as much unproved. In any event, I agree with the implication that we cannot rule out a feminine form *valvulae* in any of the passages with the ambiguous form.

We can explain *valvulī* by calling it a substantive adjective from *valvulae*, and its gender was assimilated to its synonym *λοβοί*.⁴⁸⁹

I place *valvulī* under “suffixes homonymic to diminutive terminations.”

verētilla, “An unidentified kind of fish, so-called from its resemblance to the male sexual organ”

The form *verētillam* appears in Apul *Apol.* 34, implying the feminine form *verētilla*, and the base word of this word is *verētrum*. Strodach, however, gives⁴⁹⁰ a neuter plural diminutive *verētilla*, citing Apuleius (without a specific passage), and the neuter plural base word *verētra*. He justifies these neuter plural forms by citing the neuter plural *verenda*, “privates.” If Strodach indeed has that Apuleius passage in mind, then I think he is assuming, without any indication, that the feminine *verētilla* in that passage is the result of a Vulgar change in gender from a neuter plural **verētilla* to the feminine singular of the attested diminutive. If this is his reasoning, then I accept it and therefore place *verētilla* under “vulgar variations in gender.”

ungula, “A hoof,” “A bird’s claw or talon”

The etymology of this word is difficult. If it comes from masculine *unguis*, as Varro in Charisius and Priscian think, then not only did the gender change in the

⁴⁸⁹ Google Books, “Onomasticon Vocum Latino-Graecarum,” accessed July 21, 2023, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Onomasticon_vocum_latino_graecarum/vVdLAAAACAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=Onomasticon+vocum+valvuli&pg=PA157&printsec=frontcover: “Valvuli; λοβοί”

⁴⁹⁰ Strodach, 66.

production of *ungula*, but the base word took an unusual diminutive suffix set, since we would have expected masculine *unguiculus* as the regular diminutive from *unguis*.

While Weinhold does provide an attractive explanation that the feminine diminutive *ungula* comes from the feminine of the adjective *uncus*, "Curved round at the extremity, hooked,"⁴⁹¹ rather than from the masculine *unguis*, he does not explain why the diminutive took on specifically the feminine form. Strodach⁴⁹² claims that *ungula* acquired the feminine gender in order to avoid homonymity with *ungulus*, "finger-ring." de Vaan, however, believes⁴⁹³ that *ungula* comes from a Proto-Italic form **onglā-*, where the **ong-* element serves as the ancestor of *unguis*, but he does not provide an explanation for what that *lā-* element represents.

I believe that Weinhold's explanation works if we consider *ungula* an abbreviation of a phrase like **falcula unguis*, where the *falcula* refers to the curved claw of an animal.⁴⁹⁴ This would account for the feminine gender.⁴⁹⁵

For that reason, I place *ungula* under "diminutives linked to the wrong base word/forms of base words."

IV.B. Diachronic and Synchronic Analyses of the Other Suffixes Not

Diminutive

In Chapter II, I pointed out that Priscian and several of the modern scholars, most notably Hakamies and Zucchelli, have identified and listed various sorts of Latin

⁴⁹¹ OLD, s.v.

⁴⁹² Strodach, 73.

⁴⁹³ de Vaan, 641.

⁴⁹⁴ OLD, s.v.

⁴⁹⁵ The minor weakness to this theory is that the meaning "curved claw of an animal" does not appear until Plin. *Nat.* 8.41.

words which have the shapes of diminutives but neither morphologically nor semantically relate to their base words in the way that actual diminutives do. So, the adjective *anniculus*, from *annus*, “year,” means “one year old,” not something like “little year”; the noun *vinculum* from *vincire*, “to bind,” means “bond,” and is not a diminutive to any word at all.

The next sections feature my diachronic and synchronic analyses of the various suffixes which I have noted to be non-diminutive. Each subsection begins with a general description of the basic or typical meanings of that particular set of suffixes.

IV.B.a. Deverbative (and Denominative) Instrumental Suffixes

The deverbative and sometimes denominative instrumentals in *-culum* and *-cula*, or even *-bulum* and *-bula*, can indicate means and location⁴⁹⁶ and even a container or vessel.⁴⁹⁷ So, *curriculum* (Plautus), “a race-track,” from *currere*, “to run”; *pābulum* (Plautus), “the proper food for cattle, horses, etc.,” “fodder,” from *pāsci*, “to feed”; *mīrāculum* (Cato), “an amazing object or sight,” “a marvel,” from *mīrārī*, “to be amazed”). In addition, there are adjectives which derive from these deverbative instrumentals. So, *mīrāculus* (Plautus), “freakish,” “deformed,” from *mīrāculum*, “an amazing object or sight,” “a marvel”).

Modern scholars⁴⁹⁸ have determined that there were several deverbative instrumental suffixes in early Latin or Proto-Italic, two of which are relevant to the discussion of diminutives because their form started out as reconstructed **-tlo-* and

⁴⁹⁶ D. G. Miller, 84.

⁴⁹⁷ Michèle Fruyt, “Word Formation in Classical Latin,” in *A Companion to the Latin Language*, ed. James Clackson (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2011), 161.

⁴⁹⁸ de Vaan, 360; D. G. Miller, 84; Weiss, 281.

*-*dʰlo-*. These appear in our sources as the synchronic suffix sets *-culum| -clum* and *-bulum*, respectively, where the *tl* of the first became *cl*, and the *dʰ* of the second became *bl*, and then the anaptyctic *u* arose (after *c* sometimes, after *b* always) because the *l* of the suffix was *pinguis*.⁴⁹⁹ They yield neuter nouns, having a gender correlated with the inanimate feature of the denoted entity, which may be a tool, a place, etc., used by people for their activities.⁵⁰⁰ Thus, *ōrāculum* meant originally “a place for prayer,”⁵⁰¹ and *vocābulum*, typically means “name,” but literally means “a means for calling.”⁵⁰² Both of the basic suffixes, however, have the variant forms *-*tleh*₂- and *-*dʰleh*₂-, which appear in the Latin sources as *-cula* and *-bula*, respectively.⁵⁰³

From some of these deverbative instrumentals came a few deverbative instrumental adjectives which have the basic meaning of “having the property of [some deverbative instrumental].” Thus, *rīdiculus*, “capable of arousing laughter,” means literally “having the property of a *rīdiculum*, that which causes laughter.”⁵⁰⁴

Each of the members of the synchronic deverbative instrumental suffix sets *-culum| -clum* and *-bulum* mostly attaches to the stems or bases of verbs, with or without a connecting vowel, but sometimes they attach to roots without corresponding

⁴⁹⁹ Weiss, 164.

⁵⁰⁰ Fruyt, 2011, 160.

⁵⁰¹ D. G. Miller, 89; Weiss, 283.

⁵⁰² D. G. Miller, 89; Weiss, 86.

⁵⁰³ Weiss, 281.

⁵⁰⁴ The writers of the OLD who wrote the etymology section for the word *rīdiculus* believe that *rīdiculum* is simply the neuter of the adjective, and yet their strange etymological notation “*-culus (-CVLVM²)*” suggests that they are uncertain about the relationship between the two words. D. G. Miller (89), however, takes the noun as basic, giving the reconstruction *-*rīdi-tlo-*. I concur with D. G. Miller here, and I am working with the idea that the neuters in *-culum* are basic while the adjectives in *-culus* are denominative since 1) most of the words in my list with the Latin version of *-tlo-* are instrumental nouns, 2) 4 out of the 5 relevant adjectives actually have corresponding instrumental nouns which exist (e.g., *mīrāculus* to *mīrāculum*, *rīdiculus* to *rīdiculum*), and 3) none of the modern scholars I am referring to have a separate category for adjectives in *-culus* apart from the instrumentals in *-culum*.

verbs in Latin, and other times they attach to the bases of nominals, with a connecting vowel. The deverbative instrumental adjectives come about by changing a neuter deverbative instrumental termination *-um* to the adjective terminations *-us*, *-a*, *-um*.

These are some examples of these deverbative instrumentals in *-culum*/*-clum*:

- *curriculum*⁵⁰⁵ (*curr-i-culum*) ← *currere*, st. *curre-*, ba. *curr-*;
- *ferculum*/*fericulum*⁵⁰⁶ (*fer-(i)-c(u)lum*) ← *ferre*, st./ba. *fer-*;
- *mīrāculum*/*mīrāclum*⁵⁰⁷ (*mīrā-c(u)lum*) ← *mīrāre*, st. *mīrā-*, ba. *mīr-*;
- *ōrāculum*/*ōrāclum*⁵⁰⁸ (*ōrā-c(u)lum*) ← *ōrāre*, st. *ōrā-*, ba. *ōr-*;
- *pōculum*/*pōclum*⁵⁰⁹ (*pō-c(u)lum*) ← rt. **pō-*/**peh₃*⁵¹⁰;
- *vehiculum*/*vehiculum*⁵¹¹ (*veh-i-c(u)lum*) ← *vehere*, st. *vehe-*, ba. *veh-*.

These are some examples of these deverbative instrumentals in *-cula*:

- *indūcula*⁵¹² (*indū-cula*) ← *induere*, st. *indu-*, ba. *ind-*;
- *subūcula*⁵¹³ (*sub-ū-cula*) ← **subuere*,⁵¹⁴ st. *subue-*, ba. *subu-*.

These are some examples of these deverbative (and Denominative) instrumentals in *-bulum*:

- *acētābulum*⁵¹⁵ (*acēt-ā-bulum*) ← *acētum*, stem *acēto-*, ba. *acēt-*;

⁵⁰⁵ "The action of running; a race-track" (Pl. *Mer.* 932).

⁵⁰⁶ "A frame or stretcher for carrying things (Cic. *Pis.* 61).

⁵⁰⁷ "An amazing object or sight, a marvel" (Cato *orat.* 24).

⁵⁰⁸ "A divine utterance; the agency or mouthpiece of a divine utterance; the place where it was given" (Pl. *Men.* 840).

⁵⁰⁹ "A drinking-vessel, cup, bowl" (Pl. *St.* 272).

⁵¹⁰ de Vaan, 485.

⁵¹¹ "A wheeled vehicle for the conveyance of passengers or goods, waggon, cart, etc." (Pl. *Aul.* 168).

⁵¹² "A woman's garment" (Pl. *Epid.* 223).

⁵¹³ "An under-tunic worn by both sexes" (Var. *L.* 5.131).

⁵¹⁴ Weiss, 283.

⁵¹⁵ "A small cup (orig. used for vinegar)" (Cato *Agr.* 102).

- *conciliābulum*⁵¹⁶ (*conciliā-bulum*) ← *conciliāre*, st. *conciliā-*, ba. *concili-*;
- *incūnābulā*⁵¹⁷ (*in-cūnā-bula*) ← *in-* + *cūnae*,⁵¹⁸ st. *cūnā-*, ba. *cūn-*;
- *latibulum*⁵¹⁹ (*lat-i-bulum*) ← *latēre*, st. *latē-*, ba. *lat-*;
- *pābulum*⁵²⁰ (*pā-bulum*) ← *pāsci*, st. *pāsce-* (orig. st. **pā*⁵²¹), ba. *pāsc-*;
- *stābulum*⁵²² (*stā-bulum*) ← *stāre*, st. *stā-*, ba. *st-*;
- *vocābulum*⁵²³ (*vocā-culum*) ← *vocāre*, st. *vocā-*, ba. *voc-*;

These are some examples of these deverbative instrumentals in *-bula*:

- *fābulā*⁵²⁴ (*fā-bula*) ← *fāri*, st. *fā-*, ba. *f-*;
- *fībulā*⁵²⁵ (*fī-bula*) ← *fīgere*/*fīvere*, st. *fīge-|fīve-*,⁵²⁶ ba. *fīg-|fīv-*.

These are some examples of these deverbative instrumental adjectives in *-culus*:

- *mīrāculus*⁵²⁷ (*mīrā-cul-us*) ← *mīrāculum*, st. *mīrāculo-*, *mīrācul-*;
- *rīdiculus*⁵²⁸ (*rīd-i-cul-us*) ← *rīdiculum*, st. *rīdiculo-*, ba. *rīdicul-*.

⁵¹⁶ "A place of assembly, meeting-place, esp. as the administrative centre of a district" (Pl. *Bac.* 80).

⁵¹⁷ "The apparatus of a cradle, incl. the bands or straps used to hold the baby in" (Ol. *Am.* 1104).

⁵¹⁸ D. G. Miller (86) and de Vaan (153) seem allergic to the possibility of the existence of a verb **incūnāre*, "to lay in a cradle."

⁵¹⁹ "A hiding-place" (Cic. *Flac.* 31).

⁵²⁰ "The proper food of cattle, horses, etc., fodder" (Cato *Agr.* 4.6).

⁵²¹ de Vaan, 448.

⁵²² "A building for sheltering domestic animals, birds, etc., stable, shed, stall, food" (Pl. *Mil.* 304).

⁵²³ "A word used to designate a thing or idea, a term, name, etc." (Pl. *Epid.* 235).

⁵²⁴ "Talk, conversation; a thing said; a fictitious story or report; a story for entertainment" (Pl. *Ps.* 754).

⁵²⁵ "(in mechanics, for holding beams, etc., in place) A bolt, peg, bar, pin; A pin, clasp, brooch (often ornamental)" (Cato. *Agr.* 3.5).

⁵²⁶ de Vaan, 219.

⁵²⁷ "Freakish, deformed" (Pl. *Cist.* 407).

⁵²⁸ "Capable of arousing laughter, funny, comic, amusing" (Pl. *As.* 14).

IV.B.b. Deverbative Adjectival Suffix

The deverbative adjectives indicate propensity⁵²⁹ and they function as *nōmina agentis* or verbal adjectives:⁵³⁰ a person or thing has a propensity to engage in some activity; an individual is not so much engaging in some activity at some point in time (as a participle may denote) as being prone to do it. So, *garrulus*, “garrulous,” denotes a person who is not simply someone who talks a lot but someone who tends to do so. These words also indicate quality or tendency.⁵³¹ So, *bibulus* (Lucretius), “fond of drinking,” “absorbent,” from *bibere*, “to drink”; *iaculus* (Plautus), “used for throwing, casting,” from *iacere*, “to throw”). Their function as *nōmina agentis* when applied to objects and used as substantives allowed such words to have an instrumental function as well. Thus, *coculum*, “a (bronze) cooking vessel,”⁵³² is literally “that which is prone to be engaged in the activity of cooking.” This use of the neuter deverbative adjectival suffix *-ulum* makes it essentially synonymous with the deverbative instrumental suffix *-culum*. But the gendered forms of the suffix can be substantives with an instrumental function as well. Thus, *dēcipula* means “a device serving to deceive.”⁵³³

Modern scholars⁵³⁴ have determined that the deverbative adjectival suffix started out in Latin or Proto-Italic as a reconstructed **-lo-*, **-lā-*, which appears in our sources of Latin as the synchronic suffix set *-ulus*, *-la*, *-lum*, where the *u* partly derives from the

⁵²⁹ D. G. Miller, 196.

⁵³⁰ D. G. Miller, 196; Weiss, 279.

⁵³¹ A&G, Section 251.

⁵³² OLD, s.v.

⁵³³ OLD, s.v.

⁵³⁴ de Vaan, 221; D. G. Miller, 196; Weiss, 279.

stem vowel *e* of the stems of verbs and partly arose phonologically by anaptyxis,⁵³⁵ and the *o* and *ā* represent the stem vowels of the second and first declensions, respectively.

There are nouns which are substantive versions of adjectives brought about by the deverbative adjectival suffix. So, *iaculum* (L. Cornelius Sisenna) “a throwing-spear,” “javelin,” from *iaculus*, “used for throwing, casting.” It is often the case, however, that the substantive version of the adjective is in use while the adjective does not exist having that function in Latin. Thus, the noun *iaculum* comes from the adjective *iaculus*, but *capulus*, which comes from the adjective **capulus*, appears as that noun while the adjective from which it derives does not function as an adjective in the Latin sources.

It is usually the case that each of the members of the synchronic deverbative adjectival suffix sets *-ulus*, *-ula*, *-ulum*, attaches to the base of a verb. In other cases, each of the members of the suffix sets attaches to the root of a verb.

These are some examples of these deverbative adjectives:

- *bibulus*⁵³⁶ (*bib-ulus*) ← *bibere*, st. *bibe-*, ba. *bib-*;
- *crēdulus*⁵³⁷ (*crēd-ulus*) ← *crēdere*, st. *crēde-*, ba. *crēd-*;
- *garrulus*⁵³⁸ (*garr-ulus*) ← *garrīre*, st. *garrī-*, ba. *garr-*;
- *iaculus*⁵³⁹ (*iac-ulus*) ← *iacere*, stem *iace-*, ba. *iac-*;
- *patulus*⁵⁴⁰ (*pat-ulus*) ← *patēre*, stem *patē-*, ba. *pat-*;

⁵³⁵ Weiss, 279. The *e* before *-pinguis* underwent the same sort of *e*-to-*o*-to-*u* vowel change that the basic diminutive suffix did.

⁵³⁶ “Fond of drink, eager to drink” (Lucretius 2.376).

⁵³⁷ “(of persons) Prone to believe or trust, credulous, trustful” (Cicero *Font.* 23).

⁵³⁸ “Talkative, loquacious, chattering, garrulous” (Pliny *Cur.* 477).

⁵³⁹ “(of a net) Used for throwing, casting” (Pliny *As.* 100).

⁵⁴⁰ “(of apertures, esp. the mouth, nostrils, etc.) Wide-open gaping” (Lucretius 5.1076).

- *pendulus*⁵⁴¹ (*pend-ulus*) ← *pendere*, stem *pendē-*, ba. *pend-*;
- *rēiculus*⁵⁴² (*rēic-ulus*) ← *rēicere*, st. *rēice-*, ba. *rēic-*;
- *tremulus*⁵⁴³ (**trem-ulus*) ← *tremere*, st. *treme-*, ba. *trem-*.

These are some examples of the substantive deverbative adjectives:

- *cingulus*⁵⁴⁴ (*cing-ulus*) < **cingulus* ← *cingere*, st. *cinge-*, ba. *cing-*;
- *gerulus*⁵⁴⁵ (*ger-ulus*) < **gerulus* ← *gerere*, st. *gere-*, ba. *ger-*;
- *legulus*⁵⁴⁶ (*leg-ulus*) < **legulus* ← *legere*, st. *lege-*, ba. *leg-*;
- *tumulus*⁵⁴⁷ (*tum-ulus*) < **tumulus* ← *tumēre*, st. *tumē-*, ba. *tum-*;
- *copula|copla*⁵⁴⁸ (*c-o-p-(u)-la*) < **coplus* ← *com-* + rt. **ap*⁵⁴⁹;
- *decipula*⁵⁵⁰ (*decip-ula*) < **decipulus* ← *decipere*, st. *decipe-*, ba. *decip-*;
- *tēgula*⁵⁵¹ (*t-ē-g-ula*) < **tēgulus* ← *tegere*, st. *tege-*, ba. *teg-*;
- *amiculum|amiclum*⁵⁵² (*amic-(u)-lum*) < **amiclus* ← *amicīre*, st. *amicī-*, ba. *amic-*;
- *coculum*⁵⁵³ (**co-c-ulum*) < **coculus* ← *coquere*, st. *coque-*, ba. *coqu-*;
- *iaculum*⁵⁵⁴ (*iac-ulum*) < *iaculus* ← *iacere*, st. *iace-*, ba. *iac-*;
- *vinculum|vinclum*⁵⁵⁵ (*vinc-(u)-lum*) < **vinclus* ← *vincīre*, st. *vincī-*, ba. *vinc-*.

⁵⁴¹ "Hanging down, drooping, sagging, pendulous" (Var. *R.* 2.9.3).

⁵⁴² "Discarded as worthless" (Var. *R.* 2.1.24).

⁵⁴³ "(of persons, parts of the body, etc.) Trembling, shaking (from illness, weakness, etc.)" (Pl. *Cur.* 160).

⁵⁴⁴ "A belt or band" (Cic. *Rep.* 6.21).

⁵⁴⁵ "A bearer, carrier, porter" (Pl. *Bac.* 1002).

⁵⁴⁶ "A (fruit-) picker" (Cato. *Agr.* 64.1).

⁵⁴⁷ "A rounded hill, knoll (sts. forming part of a range)" (Acc. *trag.* 409).

⁵⁴⁸ "A bond, fastening" (Pl. *Epid.* 617).

⁵⁴⁹ de Vaan, 47.

⁵⁵⁰ "A device serving to deceive, trap, snare" (Laev. *poet.* 29).

⁵⁵¹ "A roof-tile" (Pl. *Mos.* 109).

⁵⁵² "An outer garment, mantle, cloak" (Pl. *Cist.* 115).

⁵⁵³ "A (bronze) cooking vessel" (Cato. *Agr.* 11.2).

⁵⁵⁴ "A throwing-spear, javelin" (Sis. *hist.* [*Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae*, Peter T 1914, 1904] 70).

⁵⁵⁵ "A bond or chain confining a prisoner's limbs, a fetter, shackle" (Pl. *Rud.* 476).

There are some scholars who believe that some of the words in this category are properly deverbative instrumentals derived from unions containing the suffix *-tlo- or *-tleh₂-. D. G. Miller⁵⁵⁶ gives the etymology of *vinculum* as *vinc-tlo-*, where the *t* of the suffix first became *c* and then dropped out between *c* and *l*. de Vaan⁵⁵⁷ shows *(s)teg-*lo-*, implying that he believes that *tēgula* is a substantive deverbative adjective, but nevertheless thinks⁵⁵⁸ it is probably the case that *speculum* reflects a deverbative instrumental *spek-tlo-. D. G. Miller⁵⁵⁹ also displays some uncertainty about whether *speculum* is a deverbative instrumental or a deverbative adjective, and therefore ultimately puts it into both categories. D. G. Miller⁵⁶⁰ is, however, very confident that *cingulum*, *rēgula*, and *tēgula* are all instrumentals, pointing out that a *teg-tl-eh₂- > *tēg(c)la > *tēgula*, with compensatory lengthening of the vowel from the elision of the *c*, would explain the unusual length of the *e*. Leumann⁵⁶¹ considers *baculum*, *speculum*, *vinculum*, *sarculum*, *amiculum*, and *torculum* examples of the -tlo-/-culum instrumentals.

The view that these words are *-tlo- instrumentals offers us several advantages, namely that it accounts for the long vowels in *rēgula* and *tēgula*, and that it even does away with the need to postulate hypothetical deverbative adjectives like *rēgulus and *tēgulus. Nevertheless, even in light of these attractive advantages, I will not be adopting it for my study for several reasons: 1) Proponents of the view do not cite a

⁵⁵⁶ D. G. Miller, 90.

⁵⁵⁷ de Vaan, 608.

⁵⁵⁸ de Vaan, 579.

⁵⁵⁹ D. G. Miller, 198.

⁵⁶⁰ D. G. Miller, 198.

⁵⁶¹ Manu Leumann, Johann Baptist Hofmann, and Anton Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik, Volume 3* (München: C.H. Beck, 1977), 313.

sound law or principle to account for the truncated consonant *c* needed to produce *cingulum*, *speculum*, and *tēgula*, such that we do not have **cincculum* (for **keng-tlo-*), **specculum* (for **spec-tlo-*), and **teccula* (for **teg-tleh₂*), where the *g* in the first and third words would have to assimilate to the *c* of the suffix instead of dropping out;⁵⁶² 2) there seems to be no reliable test to distinguish these instrumentals from the synonymous and homonymous substantive deverbative adjectives, and so we cannot determine whether any of these words are instrumentals instead of substantive deverbative adjectives with the instrumental function; 3) while the view does indeed obviate the need to postulate hypothetical deverbative adjectives to account for feminine and neuter substantives, we still must postulate hypothetical deverbative adjectives anyway to account for the masculine substantives with instrumental functions (e.g., the purely adjectival **capulus* is still needed to account for the noun *capulus*); 4) the view works in explaining *e* in *rēgula* and *tēgula* only if we accept that a *gc* cluster would leave a single *g* while lengthening the preceding vowel⁵⁶³; 5) Weiss,⁵⁶⁴ who represents more recent scholarship,⁵⁶⁵ places words of this type into the group of

⁵⁶² I do provide a principle to account for the truncated consonant *c* in names like **Caec-clo-*. Vide VIII.C.a.iii.a.

⁵⁶³ Weiss (46) gives *tēgula* as an example of the *ē*-grade of the root **(s)teg-*, “cover,” the *e*-grade of which is the verb *tegere*. He does not mention *rēgula* in a similar context, but I am inferring that he would have a similar explanation for it in terms of the grades of roots. In any event, we should note that there are substantive participles of *regere* and *tegere* which have a long *e* and can have similar meanings to, or the same meanings as, those two *-ula* words: *rēgula* (moral rectitude [Cic. *Off.* 3.74]) = *rēctum* (moral rectitude [OLD, s.v.]); *tēgulae* (roof [Pl. *Mil.* 284]) = *tēctum* (roof [OLD, s.v.]). (Unfortunately, neither the OLD [s.v.] nor L&S [s.v.] accurately shows the lengths of the *e* in these participles, and that information must be derived elsewhere: 1) <https://alatius.com/latin/bennetthidden.html>; 2) available entries of various forms of compounds of the two verbs at TLL such as “*dīrēctus*” and “*prōtēctus*.”)

⁵⁶⁴ Weiss, 280.

⁵⁶⁵ The latest version of his book was published in 2020.

substantive deverbative adjectives,⁵⁶⁶ and lists *rēgula*,⁵⁶⁷ *speculum*, *torculum*, and *vinculum* as examples. In short, I find that if I put such words (i.e., words like *rēgula*, *speculum*, *torculum*, and *vinculum*) into the deverbative instrumental section instead of this one, I would be at a loss to account for the phonetic analyses of their forms and then explain precisely how these words differ from the deverbative instrumentals.

IV.B.c. Denominative Adjective Suffix

There are about a half dozen denominative adjectives in *-ulus* (*-uleus*) and *-culus* which generally mean “connected with,” “involved with,” or even “possessing.” A few of these words are compound words. So, *foriolus* (D. Laberius), “suffering from diarrhoea,” from *foria*, “diarrhoea”; *ēdentulus* (Plautus), “toothless,” from *dēns*, “tooth”; *torculus* (Cato), “of or belonging to a wine- or olive-press,” from *torculum*, “a wine- or olive-press”).

Modern scholars recognize the forms of these words, but they do not provide more thorough analyses on the words, nor do they consider them a separate class. De Vaan (80) recognizes that *caerulus/caeruleus* has dissimilated from **caelulus*, meaning “sky-colour,” but does not explain what he believes the *-ulus* part is. Both the OLD and the TLL give the etymology of *anniculus* as the diminutive form of an obsolete adjective **annicus*.

Hakamies, however, argues for the idea that the diminutive suffixes *-ulus/-culus* suffixes originally indicated metonymic or metaphorical meanings, and the words which

⁵⁶⁶ Weiss’ terminology is actually “Deverbal forms,” “Substantivized as instrument nouns.”

⁵⁶⁷ In a footnote relevant to the long vowel in *rēgula*, Weiss mentions *tēgula*, and I am making the inference that he counts this word as another example of the substantive deverbative adjectives.

they created indicated resemblance or “belonging to,” without any sign of reduction or emotion,⁵⁶⁸ and points out that there are traces of that original significance in Latin,⁵⁶⁹ citing *anniculus* and several other words. If these denominative adjectives are diachronically not different morphologically from the diminutive suffixes and differ only in that they are retaining the original significance of the suffix, then what I said above about the diachronic development of the various forms of the diminutive suffix applies to these denominative adjectives as well. It would also be a mistake, though, to consider these words diminutives; the group of words which we know as diminutives branched off into their separate group, leaving the group of denominative adjectives.

Hakamies’ way of accounting for the function of the denominative adjectives works well enough, and yet I believe we could make an equally good case that these denominative adjectives developed from extended applications of the deverbative adjectival suffix (as in *bibulus*) and the deverbative instrumental adjective suffix (as in *rīdiculus*): 1) The notion of “propensity” is noticeable in *foriolus*, “suffering from diarrhoea,” from *foria*, which is a noun instead of a verb, and yet the word has at the very least a stative verb meaning (pointing to a verb **foriāre*), and here we can see the connection between the denominative adjectives and the deverbative adjectivals; 2) *-culum* has a locative significance, and because “locative” can mean both literally “place where” and metaphorically “time when,” *anniculus* (deriving from **anniculum*, “period of one year”) would strictly mean “pertaining to, or having the property of, a span of one year,” and *vernāculus* (deriving from **vernāculum*, “the place where a

⁵⁶⁸ Hakamies, 128.

⁵⁶⁹ Hakamies, 26.

verna lives and works”) would strictly mean “pertaining to, or having the property of, the place where a *verna* lives and works,” and here we can see the connection between the denominative adjectives and the deverbative instrumental adjectives.

There are indications that such connections exist. One thing which may indicate the status of some of these words as built from the deverbative instrumental adjective suffix is that they sometimes lack the *u* between the *c* and the *l* of the suffix, a feature that we see often among the instrumentals but not among the diminutives: e.g., *būblus* and *vernāclus* for *būbulus* and *vernāculus*. Furthermore, these two suffixes are specifically adjective-forming, and unlike the diminutive suffixes, the parts of speech of the words they produce are not carried over from their base words. In other words, diminutives do not have parts of speech different from their respective base words, but the denominative adjectives (just like the deverbative adjectivals and the deverbative instrumental adjectives), must have their parts of speech different from their respective base words.

Each of the members of the denominative adjective suffix sets *-ulus*, *-ula*, *-ulum*, and *-olus*, *-ola*, *-olum*, usually attaches to the bases of substantives in the same way that the corresponding diminutive suffix sets do,⁵⁷⁰ while those of the suffix set *-culus*, *-cula*, *-culum*, usually takes the connecting vowel *i* and then attaches to the bases of substantives, although they can attach to a stem without taking that connecting vowel.

⁵⁷⁰ The formation patterns of these words have much in common with the formation patterns of diminutives, but that coincidence is due to the similarity in the actual sounds in question. The sound laws which shaped these different kinds of suffixes were morphopragmatically blind to the meanings of the resultant words.

These are the examples of the denominative adjectives:

- *anniculus*⁵⁷¹ (**ann-i-culus*) ← *annus*, st. *anno-*, ba. *ann-*;
- *būbulus*/*būblus*⁵⁷² (**būb-(u)-lus*) ← *bōs*, st. *bou-*, ba. *bov-* (alt. ba. **būb*⁵⁷³);
- *caeruleus*/*caerulus*⁵⁷⁴ (**cae-r-ul-(e)-us*) ← *caelum*, st. *caelo-*, ba. *cael-*;
- *foriolus*⁵⁷⁵ (**fori-olus*) ← *foriā*, st. *foriā-*, ba. *fori-*;
- *Iānulus*⁵⁷⁶ (**Iān-ulus*) ← *Iānus*, st. *Iāno-*, ba. *Iān-*;
- *scirpiculus*⁵⁷⁷ (**scirp-i-culus*) ← *scirpus*, st. *scirpo-*, ba. *scirp-*;
- *vernāculus*/*vernāclus*⁵⁷⁸ (**verna-c-(u)-lus*) ← *verna*, st. *vernā-*, ba. *vern-*.

These are the examples of the compound⁵⁷⁹ denominative adjectives:

- *bicōdulus*⁵⁸⁰ (*bi-c-ō-d-ulus*) ← *bi-* + *cauda*, st. *caudā-*, ba. *caud-*;
- *ēdentulus*⁵⁸¹ (*ē-dent-ulus*) ← *ex-* + *dēns*, st. *dent(i)-*, ba. *dent-*.

There is a complication here because *vernāculus* in a few cases appears as a diminutive of *verna* instead of an adjective deriving from that word. I present further discussion on the status and meaning of the *vernāculus* in Chapter VII.

⁵⁷¹ "One year old, yearling (Cato *Agr.* 17.2).

⁵⁷² "Belonging to, or connected with, cattle, bull's, cow's, ox-" (Cato *Agr.* 36).

⁵⁷³ de Vaan (75) says that the origin of the stem variant *būb-* is unclear. Weiss (248) points out that the stem form of *būbum*, a genitive plural form of *bōs*, was extracted from the dative and ablative plural form *būbus*, and compares these forms to *būbulus*.

⁵⁷⁴ "(of the sky) Blue; of or connected with the sky, celestial" (Enn. *Ann.* 385)

⁵⁷⁵ "Suffering from diarrhoea" (Laber. *com.* 66).

⁵⁷⁶ "Of or connected with Janus" (Paul. *Fest.* p.3.M). In addition to this is *Iāniculum* and *Mōns Iāniculus*, the hill on the west side of the Tiber, which appears to have a name that means "Hill of Janus," where we have a similar type of adjective: *Iāniculus*.

⁵⁷⁷ "(of a billhook) Used for dealing with bulrushes" (Cato *Agr.* 11.4).

⁵⁷⁸ "Of or belonging to one's household, domestic" (Pl. *Poen.* 927).

⁵⁷⁹ Since 1) both of these words are *bahuvrihi* compounds, and 2) the suffix can indicate possession, and 3) these *bahuvrihi* would more typically appear as **bicōdus* and **ēdēns* in Latin (cf. *bifurcus* [← *bi-* + *furca*], *bidēns* [← *bi-* + *dēns*]), the suffix *-ulus* in these words is essentially pleonastic.

⁵⁸⁰ "Having two tails" (Laev. *poet.* 27.5).

⁵⁸¹ "Toothless" (Pl. *Cas.* 550).

IV.B.d. Deverbative and Denominative Abstract Suffix *-(t)ēla* or *-(t)ella*

The deverbative and denominative words in *-(t)ēla* or *-(t)ella* are mostly abstract nouns, but some of them function as concrete nouns. So, *clientēla* (Terence), "clientship," from *cliēns*, "client"; *loquēla* or *loquella* (Plautus), "speech," "utterance," from *loquī*, "to speak"; *candēla* (Varro), "a tallow candle or taper," from *candēre*, "to shine."

Weiss⁵⁸² claims that this suffix has become productive in Latin, but it would be more accurate to say that the words which it creates are rare and are confined to early and late Latin, and that classical writers avoided using such words.⁵⁸³ Modern scholars seem to have little to say diachronically about these words, and indeed they barely say much about them at all. Leumann⁵⁸⁴ says little more than that they are not productive (thus, contradicting Weiss). D. G. Miller does not mention them at all, nor does de Vaan, and Cooper gives only a short synchronic commentary before offering a list of examples. Weiss classifies these words in the "*eh₂-stem Suffixes*" category, and after he makes the aforementioned commentary about the productivity of the suffix in Latin, he states that its further analysis is unclear, yet he offers us the Greek word that might be related: *θηγή*, "part of a victim offered in burnt-sacrifice," from *θύω*, "I sacrifice." One interpretation of this is that there was either a Proto-Indo-European or post-Proto-Indo-European suffix which we can reconstruct as **-ēleh₂*, denoting primarily abstract verbal actions and then the results of or products for such actions. Thus, *θηγή* would mean

⁵⁸² Weiss, 301.

⁵⁸³ Cooper, 31.

⁵⁸⁴ Manu Leumann et al., *Lateinische Grammatik, Volume 3*, 744.

“sacrifice” in the abstract and then “what was or is to be used for a sacrifice.” Likewise, in Latin, we have *querēla*, “complaint,” from *querī*, “to complain,” which clearly shows the abstract action of the verb in question, but then we have *candēla*, from *candēre*, “to shine,” and means not “a shining” in the abstract but “a tallow candle or taper,” which is “what was or is to be used for a shining.”

The deverbative and denominative abstract suffix *-ēla* mostly attaches to the present-stem bases of verbs, but more rarely it attaches to the bases of nominals. It also seems to have attached to the bases of perfect participles of verbs, and yet the words which came about through this union have meanings which relate not to the meanings of the participles specifically but to the basic meanings of the verbs. Thus, on the one hand, *cautēla* means “carefulness,” has some relationship to *cavēre*, “to be careful,” and seems to have come from the participle *cautus*, “careful.” On the other hand, *suādēla* means “persuasiveness,” and comes from the stem of *suādēre*. Both these words in *-ēla* here have meanings that relate to their corresponding verbs in the same way. This indicates that the suffix in *cautēla* has somehow joined to the verb *cavēre* without making a specific connection to the participle *cautus*. Lane⁵⁸⁵ proposes the idea that the suffix in such a situation is a composite suffix *-tēla* (for **-t-ēleh₂*). This accounts for the additional *t* in such words. Such a suffix thus attaches to a verb stem or root in the same way that the other t-initial deverbative suffixes do.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸⁵ George Martin Lane, *A Latin Grammar for Schools and Colleges*. 1903 ed. (New York: American Book Company, 1898), Section 229.

⁵⁸⁶ Such as the participle-forming suffix *-tus* (e.g., **cau-* + *-tus* → *cautus*), the abstract-noun-forming suffix *-tiō* (e.g., **cau-* + *-tiō* → *cautiō*), or the agent-noun-forming suffix *-tor* (e.g., **cau-* + *-tor* → *cautor*). These t-initial deverbative suffixes make up a “family” of suffixes which attach to the same verb stem or root to produce words and word forms like *cautus*, *cautiō*, and *cautor*. The compositive suffix *-tēla* then is a member of that “family.”

Sometimes the suffix appears in the form *-ell-*, and therefore the words produced are liable to be mistaken for diminutives. But their identity becomes clear when we observe that they are always feminine, and have an easily inferable relation to the verb stems from which they derive. When the suffix attaches to nominals, the denominative abstracts end in *-ēl-* and not *-ell-*.

These are some examples of the deverbative and denominative abstracts:

- *candēla*⁵⁸⁷ (**cand-ēla*) ← *candēre*, st. *candē-*, ba. *cand-*;
- *cautēla*⁵⁸⁸ (**cau-tēla*) ← *cavēre*, st. *cavē-* (rt. **cau-*), ba. *cavē-*;
- *clientēla*⁵⁸⁹ (**client-ēla*) ← *cliēns*, st. *client(i)-*, ba. *client-*;
- *cūstōdēla*⁵⁹⁰ (*cūstōd-ēla*/*cūstōd-ella*) ← *cūstōs*, st./ba. *cūstōd-*;
- *fugēla*/*fugella*⁵⁹¹ (*fug-ēla*/*fug-ella*) ← *fugere*, st. *fuge-*, ba. *fug-*;
- *loquēla*/*loquella*⁵⁹² (*loqu-ēla*/*loqu-ella*) ← *loquī*, st. *loque-*, ba. *loqu-*;
- *querēla*/*querella*⁵⁹³ (*quer-ēla*/*quer-ella*) ← *querī*, st. *quere-*, ba. *quer-*;
- *suādēla*⁵⁹⁴ (*suād-ēla*) ← *suādēre*, st. *suādē-*, ba. *suād-*;
- *sūtēla*⁵⁹⁵ (*sū-tēla*) ← *suere*, st. *sue-* (rt. *su-*), ba. *su-*;
- *tūtēla*⁵⁹⁶ (*tū-tēla*) ← *tuērī*, st. *tuē-* (rt. **tu-*), ba. *tu-*.

⁵⁸⁷ "A tallow candle or taper" (Var. *L.* 5.119).

⁵⁸⁸ "Caution, carefulness" (Pl. *Mil.* 603).

⁵⁸⁹ "The relationship, status, or position of a client, clientship" (Ter. *Eu.* 1039).

⁵⁹⁰ "The keeping, charge, custody (of a person or thing)" (Pl. *Mer.* 233).

⁵⁹¹ "The action of fleeing, flight" (Cato *Orat.* 81).

⁵⁹² "Speech, utterance" (Pl. *Cist.* 741).

⁵⁹³ "An expression of grievance, complaint, protest" (Pl. *Cas.* 188).

⁵⁹⁴ "Persuasion, persuasiveness; (in pl.) methods or means of persuasion" (Pl. *Cist.* 566).

⁵⁹⁵ "A cunning device, stratagem" (Pl. *Cas.* 95).

⁵⁹⁶ "(in general) Guardianship, protection, custody, tutelage (of persons or things)" (Pl. *Trin.* 1058).

IV.C. Conclusion

A diachronic study of the Latin suffixes allows us to compare similar suffixes in other languages and then work with that information to determine how the basic Latin diminutive suffix interacted with the various nominal stems to produce the sets of diminutive suffixes which become normal formative elements. A synchronic study of these suffixes shows us how the Romans themselves conceived how these sets of diminutive suffixes interacted with the words to produce the attested diminutives. From this study, we can determine the various "rules" or general formation procedures which the Latin writers, from Plautus to Apuleius, seemed to have employed for creating such words. It also shows that the Romans mostly adhered to these formation procedures, and that there are so few deviations from such procedures that grammarians in later periods, when commenting on the retention of the genders of diminutives from their base words, make comments on the consistency in adhering to those procedures while tending to cite the exact same deviations. These deviations and the others that we might happen to find are not entirely inexplicable. It is possible to come up with plausible explanations for them, and I have attempted to do so in this chapter.

There are several suffix types which have the general shape of diminutive suffixes, but, whether we analyze these suffixes diachronically or synchronically, it becomes clear that they do not produce words which have any diminutive meaning. One set produces words indicating instrumentals (e.g., *curriculum*), while another set produces certain kinds of adjectives (e.g., *bibulus*), and a third produces words which denote abstract words (e.g., *clientēla*). Yet another set makes words which have the

exact form of diminutive words (e.g., *anniculus*), but simply have an adjectival meaning. While it is difficult to determine whether these particular suffixes are diachronically the same as those of the diminutives or the same as the instrumentals, I do believe that their use and meaning differ significantly from their original function, and that they ought to be recognized as a separate category.

Chapter V: Semantic Analysis: Diminutives Indicating Literal Small Size

This chapter deals with diminutives which denote literal small size (i.e., quantitative comparison). I will first present the word types of this category and examples thereof, then present a description of the overall makeup of this category, give examples of usage patterns of the words, and then finally offer my conclusions of my study concerning words of this category.

V.A. Word Types and Examples

This is an overview of the types of words of this category:

- 1) Physical Smallness: e.g., *cistula*, "small box," from *cista*, "box"; *anaticula*, "duckling," from *anas*, "duck");
- 2) Attenuation:
 - a) Attenuation: In General: e.g., *ventulus*, "a light wind," from *ventus*, "wind"; *trīsticulus*, "rather sad," from *trīstis*, "sad");
 - b) Adjectives Indicating Magnitude: e.g., *tantulus*, "so small," from *tantus*, *minūtulus*, "very small," from *minūtus*, "small";
 - c) Comparative Forms of Adjectives: e.g., *altiusculus*, "rather higher than the normal," from *altior*, "higher";
- 3) Specific Parts of a Whole: e.g., *digitulus*, "finger tip," from *digitus*, "finger"; *auricula*, "the outer ear," from *auris*, "ear";
- 4) Small Quantity of a Whole: e.g., *aquula*, "small quantity of water," from *aqua*, "water"; *harēnula*, "grain of sand," from *harēna*, "sand."

V.B. Overall Makeup of This Category

Here I will give some sense of the overall makeup of the category, how large it is, and what sorts of base nouns are used.

Type or Subtype	Total Number
Physical Smallness	243 (only nouns)
Attenuation: In Total	62 (21 nouns, 41 adjectives)
Attenuation: In General	43 (21 nouns, 22 adjectives)
Adjectives Indicating Magnitude	8 (only adjectives)
Comparative Forms of Adjectives	11 (only adjectives)
Specific Parts of a Whole	11 (only nouns)
Small Quantity of a Whole	15 (only nouns)
All Types and Subtypes Together	374 (290 nouns, 84 adjectives)

Table 1. Diminutives Indicating Literal Small Size: Numbers of Words.

My study has identified a total of 374 words in this category, 290 different nouns and 84 different adjectives. The majority of the nouns and adjectives are of the “Physical Smallness” category, with a total of 243 instances (65%), all nouns, and the next largest group are of the “Attenuation: In Total,” with a total of 62 instances (17%), 21 nouns and 41 adjectives.

The base words of the diminutives of the “Physical Smallness” category unsurprisingly are almost universally words which have a tangible existence, and this includes common objects (e.g., *arcula*, “small box”), people (e.g., *filiola*, “young daughter”), part of the body (e.g., *gingivula*, “small gums of the mouth”), food (e.g., *bācula*, “little berry”), and animals (e.g., *vulpēcula*, “young fox”). Words of the “Attenuation: In Total” category are most of the adjectives (e.g., *acidulus*, “slightly sour”) and abstract qualities (*spēcula*, “a ray of hope”).

Diminutives of this category appear in both prose (e.g., Seneca) and poetry (e.g., Martial), and in various genres (e.g., Apuleius, Suetonius, and Columella).

V.C. Examples of Usage Patterns

The clusters of meaning relate to the four main types which I have identified which make up the “quantitative” use of diminutives. I have mentioned those four main types in the overview above in the Word Types and Examples section (V.A.). Below are specific examples of interesting cases listed under the clusters of meaning.⁵⁹⁷

V.C.a. Physical Smallness

There are 243 of these words.

arcula, “little box,” “little chest,” from *arca*, “box,” “chest”⁵⁹⁸

Arcula appears 6 times.

Seneca (Ep.92) and Martial (2.46.4) use the diminutive in reference to a container for clothing. Elsewhere Quintilian uses it for a container for weapons:

*qui velut ad arculas sedent et tela agentibus
subministrant*

those who as it were sit at the little chests and
provide weapons to the pleaders⁵⁹⁹

Elsewhere, at 12.47.5, Columella tells us what these objects can be made of rather than what they are used for:

*arculae faginae vel etiam tiliagineae ... praeparari
debent*

⁵⁹⁷ Almost all the examples of diminutives of this category are *hapaxes* or at least appear very seldom, and I will make an indication of which individual words are used more often than usual.

⁵⁹⁸ Unless otherwise indicated, these definitions derive from their respective entries of the OLD.

⁵⁹⁹ This was edited and translated by Donald A. Russell. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Quintilian, *The Orator’s Education*,” accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/quintilian-orators_education/2002/pb_LCL494.239.xml.

small chests of beech or linden-wood ... ought to be prepared⁶⁰⁰

Due to the use of the word *praeparārī* and the reference to the material, it is possible that in cases like this, *arcula* has simply become a standard word for certain items and does not necessarily indicate that this particular individual is actually small.

būcula, "heifer," "young cow," from *bōs*, "ox"

and

vaccula, "small female ox," "heifer," "young cow," from *vacca*, "cow"

Būcula appears 4 times my authors, *vaccula* 3 times.

These two words seem like they would refer to the same sort of animal (viz., the young female bovine animal). If there is a difference, then theoretically a *būcula* would be a young animal in reference to a *bōs*, while a *vaccula* would be a young animal in reference to a *vacca*. But let us see how the Romans themselves use it.

Vergil uses *būcula* once, while Pliny uses it twice, first at *Nat.* 8.114:

ut equo aut bucula accedente propius hominem iuxta venantem non cernant

so much so that when a horse or a heifer is approaching they do not notice a huntsman close to them⁶⁰¹

and then at *Nat.* 34.57:

bucula maxime nobilitavit

⁶⁰⁰ This was translated by E. S. Forster, Edward H. Heffner. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Columella, *On Agriculture*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/columella-agriculture/1941/pb_LCL408.289.xml.

⁶⁰¹ This was translated by H. Rackham. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pliny_elder-natural_history/1938/pb_LCL353.83.xml?readMode=recto.

[Myron] was specially famous for his statue of a heifer⁶⁰²

But Apuleius at *Met.* 7.25 uses *vaccula*, saying:

*Pastores enim mei perditam sibi requirentes vacculam
variasque regiones peragrantes occurrunt nobis
fortuito*

For my herdsmen were looking for a lost heifer, and in wandering round various places they ran into us by mere chance⁶⁰³

What could be the reason for the difference in terminology? Perhaps the difference is one of register: *būcula* for formal poetry and technical manuals, *vaccula* for more casual audiences. It seems that *vacca* is found in poets and technical writers and *bōs* is the more common word. Moreover, *bōs* is not metrically equivalent to *vacca*, so poets have a reason to vary between the two.

filiolus, "young son," "little son," from *filius*, "son"

and

filiola, "young daughter," "little daughter," from *filia*, "daughter"

Filiolus appears twice in my authors, *filiola* 3 times.

At 1.5.3, Valerius Maximus talks about the daughter of the consul L. Paullus:

*et domum e curia regressus filiolum suam nomine
Tertiam, quae tum erat admodum parvula, osculatus
tristem animadverteret*

⁶⁰² This was translated by H. Rackham. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pliny_elder-natural_history/1938/pb_LCL394.169.xml?readMode=recto.

⁶⁰³ This was translated by J. Arthur Hanson. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/apuleius-metamorphoses/1989/pb_LCL453.41.xml.

Returning home from the senate house, he noticed that his little daughter called Tertia, a very small child at the time, seemed sad when he gave her a kiss⁶⁰⁴

The same author talks about small sons of Socrates at 8.8:

Socrates, ideoque non erubuit tunc cum interposita harundine cruribus suis cum parvulis filioliis ludens ab Alcibiade risus est.

And so Socrates was not embarrassed when he was laughed at by Alcibiades as he played with his little children with a reed between his legs.⁶⁰⁵

We should notice that in both cases, the author uses forms of the diminutive *parvulus*. Perhaps the author wishes to reinforce the diminutive force of *filiolus* and *filiola* by using another diminutive in the same context.

hinnulus, "young hinny," from *hinnus*, "hinny," "young mule"

Hinnulus appears twice in my authors.

At *Nat.* 8.172 Pliny talks about the young offspring of asses and horses:

equo et asina genitos mares hinnulos antiqui vocabant

Male foals of an ass by a horse were in old days called hinnies⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰⁴ This was translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/valerius_maximus-memorable_doings_sayings/2000/pb_LCL492.57.xml.

⁶⁰⁵ This was translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/valerius_maximus-memorable_doings_sayings/2000/pb_LCL493.243.xml.

⁶⁰⁶ This was translated by H. Rackham. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pliny_elder-natural_history/1938/pb_LCL353.121.xml?readMode=recto.

This word is also used as an alternative form of *hinnuleus*, "fawn," "young stag."

This is a surprising fact when we consider that *hinnuleus* looks like a diminutive of *hinnus*, which refers not to a stag but to a young mule.

Scribonius Largus at 13.188 says:

Hoc remedium qui monstravit, dixit ad rem pertinere occidi hinnuleum tinctorio, quo gladiator iugulatus sit.

He who showed this remedy said that it is pertinent to the matter that the young deer be killed by means of the blood-soaked thing with which a gladiator was slaughtered.⁶⁰⁷

The equation seems to be the result of the actual diminutive *hinnulus* and the unrelated non-diminutive *hinnuleus* having almost the same form. A more thorough discussion of *hinnuleus* appears in Chapter VII.

nucula, "small nut," from *nux*, "nut"

Nucula appears once in my authors.

Pliny at *Nat.* 15.87 says this about walnuts:

tinguntur cortice earum lanae et rufatur capillus primum prodeuntibus nuculis ... pinguescunt vetustate

The shell of the walnut is used for dyeing wool, and the young nuts while just forming supply a red hair-dye ... Age makes them oily⁶⁰⁸

The "young nuts" I think can be compared to the young of animated beings.

⁶⁰⁷ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum, "Scribonius Largus: Compositiones," accessed September 26, 2023, http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/scribonius_largus/compositiones.html.

⁶⁰⁸ This was translated by H. Rackham. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pliny_elder-natural_history/1938/pb_LCL370.349.xml?readMode=recto.

This *nucula* should be distinguished from *nuculeus*; *nucula* is regularly formed and refers to a smaller form of a nut, while *nucleus* means “kernel of a nut.” A more thorough discussion of *nuculeus* appears in Chapter VII.

patella, “small dish,” small plate,” from *patina*, “dish,” “plate”

Patella appears 9 times.

This word appears a few times in the works of Varro and Cicero, but interestingly most of the instances of this word appear in the works of authors later than these.

The poets were especially fond of this word, for Ovid, Juvenal, and Martial all use it. At 5.78.7, Juvenal talks about the huge lobster that a master, a rich patron, gets on a plate, while his addressee, a client, gets something else:

*sed tibi dimidio constrictus cammarus ovo
ponitur exigua feralis cena patella.*

But you are served with crayfish hemmed in by an egg cut in half, a funereal supper on a tiny plate.⁶⁰⁹

Here, the poet is reinforcing the power of the diminutive with the *exigua*.

puellus, “small boy,” from *puer*, “boy”

and

puellula, “small girl,” from *puella*, “girl”

Puellus appears twice, *puellula* once.

One important thing to keep in mind about the diminutive *puellus* is that it is not simply a male version of *puella*, “girl.” The *puella* might be morphologically a diminutive

⁶⁰⁹ This was translated by Susanna Morton Braund. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Juvenal, *Satires*,” accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/juvenal-satires/2004/pb_LCL091.221.xml.

of *puer*, but it has been lexicalized such that its semantic meaning refers to specifically a girl without overt literally diminutive meaning. This is different, however, from, say, *arca* and *arcula*, because while the Romans would use *arca* in its various uses, they completely ousted *puera* even though they kept on using *puer*. When *puer* was diminutivized to *puellus*, one could not simply change the termination and gender to get *puella* and use that as the corresponding diminutive. The female counterpart of *puellus* is actually *puellula*, which has an additional diminutive suffix appearing on it.

Suetonius actually makes a point of the lack of morphological agreement at *Cal.*

8.3:

*et qualiscumque partus sine ullo sexus discrimine
puerperium vocetur, quod antiqui etiam puellas pueras,
sicut et pueros puellos dictitarent*

and any childbirth, regardless of sex, is called *puerperium*, since the men of old called girls *puerae*, just as they called boys *puelli*⁶¹⁰

Suetonius has to make this clear because while the ancient pair of words (i.e., *puer* and *puera*) made the etymology of the word *puerperium* obvious to the ancient Romans, the etymology was more obscure to the “modern” Romans of Suetonius’ time, since they do not take *puerī* and *puerae* as collateral counterparts, nor do they use *puellī* and *puellae* as collateral counterparts.

⁶¹⁰ This was translated by J. C. Rolfe. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars 4. Gaius Caligula*,” accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/suetonius-lives_caesars_book_iv_gaius_caligula/1914/pb_LCL031.429.xml?readMode=recto.

rānunculus, "little frog," from *rāna*, "frog"

and

rānula, "little frog," from *rāna*, "frog"

Rānunculus appears twice in my authors, *rānula* once.

Rānunculus has some interesting properties: it is irregularly formed in that it has the unusual *-uncul-* suffix instead of *-ul-*, its gender is masculine instead of feminine as expected from its base word *rāna*. A further discussion on the morphological features of this word appears in Chapter IV. Another notable feature of this word, though, is that its meaning is more than just "little frog," but also "batrachion" (a type of plant).

But Gellius at 14.1.31 talks about actual small frogs:

*ut aut ranunculis quoque et culicibus nascendi fata
sint de caelestium siderum motibus adtributa*

so that to small frogs also and small gnats either the same fates are assigned at birth by the movements of the constellations⁶¹¹

Rānula, which first appears later than *rānunculus*, is also "little frog," and it is regularly formed. Apuleius at *Met.* 9.34 says:

*de ore pastoricii canis virens exsiluit ranula,
ipsumque canem, qui proximus consistebat, aries
appetitum unico morsu strangulavit*

a little, green frog jumped out of the mouth of one of the sheep-dogs, and the same dog was attacked by a ram standing near him, who strangled him with a single bite⁶¹²

⁶¹¹ This was translated by J. C. Rolfe. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Gellius, *Attic Nights*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/gellius-attic_nights/1927/pb_LCL212.17.xml.

⁶¹² This was translated by J. Arthur Hanson. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/apuleius-metamorphoses/1989/pb_LCL453.157.xml?readMode=reader.

We should notice the lack of diminutive suffixes for the names of the other animals which are mentioned here. Could it be that the author wants to point out that that such a small animal caused so much commotion?

tabella, "small board," "flat piece of wood," from *tabula*, "board"

This word is fairly common: 49 places in my authors.

The base word itself, *tabula*, is not a diminutive, and indeed the etymology of the word is uncertain. A more thorough discussion of *tabula* appears in Chapter VII.

We see in the various authors that this *tabella*, "small board," has various uses.

Vitruvius at 4.2.2 talks about how these "small boards" are instrumental in the construction of columns:

ne quis liminis obseret tabellam

that no one may bar the panel of your threshold⁶¹³

It could be, however, that *tabella* here, like *arcula* above, has simply become a standard word or possibly a technical term for certain items and does not necessarily indicate that this particular individual is small.

Martial at 7.19.6 uses the word to refer to a fragment of the Argo:

*sed quamvis cesserit annis
sanctior est salva parva tabella rate*

But though it has succumbed to the years, the small plank is more venerable than the ship intact⁶¹⁴

⁶¹³ This was translated by F. W. Cornish, J. P. Postgate, J. W. Mackail, revised by G. P. Goold. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Catullus, *Poems*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/catullus-poems/1913/pb_LCL006.39.xml.

⁶¹⁴ This was translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Martial, *Epigrams*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/martial-epigrams/1993/pb_LCL095.89.xml?readMode=recto.

The *parva* here reinforces the diminutive force of *tabella*.

V.C.b. Attenuation

There are 62 of these words in total.

V.C.b.i. Attenuation: In General

There are 43 of these words.

This group typically consists of abstract nouns, and since many of the base words of the diminutives are feminine abstracts, almost all of these diminutives are feminine. What follows are representative examples among nouns and adjectives.

V.C.b.i.a. Nouns

There are 21 nouns.

mōtiuncula, "a slight attack of fever," from *mōtiō*, "shivering," "ague"

Mōtiuncula appears 3 times in my authors.

The meaning of the diminutive word comes from a special meaning of the base word: "shivering ague."⁶¹⁵

Seneca at *Dial.* 9.2.1 says:

*qui ex longa et gravi valetudine expliciti motiunculis
levibusque interim offensis perstringuntur*

who after being released from a long and serious illness, are sometimes touched with small fits of fever and slight disorders⁶¹⁶

⁶¹⁵ OLD, s.v.

⁶¹⁶ This was translated by John W. Basore. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Seneca the Younger, *De Tranquillitate Animi*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/seneca_younger-de_tranquillitate_animi/1932/pb_LCL254.213.xml.

He indicates the slight nature of the *mōtiuncula* when he pairs that word with the phrase *levibus offēnsīs*.

diēcula, "a brief day (of respite), from *diēs*, "day"

Diēcula appears once.

Apuleius at *Met.* 1.10 explains what this can mean:

*At ego gratias agebam bono puero, quod saltem mortuus
unam carnificinae meae dieculam donasset*

For my part I was grateful to that fine boy, because
in death he had at least granted my execution one
short day's postponement⁶¹⁷

In other words, the word is not simply a "small day" but a shortened "day"
period with a special purpose.

operula, "small service," from *opera*, "service"

Operula appears once.

In the plural *operulae* means "slender earnings." Apuleius at *Met.* 1.7 says:

*operulas etiam quas adhuc vegetus saccariam faciens
merebam*

and even the scant wages I earned as a sackcarrier
while I was still vigorous⁶¹⁸

It seems that this comes from one of the meanings of the base word *opera*:
"rendering of service."

⁶¹⁷ This was translated by J. Arthur Hanson. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/apuleius-metamorphoses/1989/pb_LCL453.43.xml.

⁶¹⁸ This was translated by J. Arthur Hanson. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/apuleius-metamorphoses/1989/pb_LCL044.15.xml.

tussicula, "slight cough," from tussis, "cough"

Tussicula appears 3 times.

Naturally, this would be important in the medical profession. Celsus at 3.22.9 tells us what one ought to do at the early stages of a particular illness:

os obtegendum; fauces velandae; tussicula suis remediis finienda

the mouth should be covered, the neck wrapped up, any slight cough put a stop to by its appropriate remedies⁶¹⁹

One deals with such a light cough by performing the specified actions.

viriculae, "slender resources," from virēs, "strength," "resources" (not vīs)

Viriculae appears once.

At *Met.* 11.28 Apuleius says this about the speaker's slender resources:

Ad istum modum desponsus sacris, sumptuum tenuitate contra votum meum retardabar. Nam et viriculas patrimonii peregrinationis attriverant impensae

Although I was thus pledged to be initiated, I was delayed against my wishes by the meagreness of my funds. The cost of my travelling had used up my modest inheritance⁶²⁰

The base word is *virēs*, and the "physical strength" comes in the form of money.

V.C.b.i.β. Adjectives

There are 22 adjectives.

⁶¹⁹ This was translated by W. G. Spencer. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Celsus, *On Medicine*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/celsus-medicine/1935/pb_LCL292.331.xml?mainRsKey=Hpiud0&readMode=reader.

⁶²⁰ This was translated by J. Arthur Hanson. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/apuleius-metamorphoses/1989/pb_LCL453.289.xml.

lividulus, "inclined to envy," from *lividus*, "envious"

Lividulus appears once.

The meaning of this diminutive needs some explanation. It means "somewhat envious" in the sense of being less envious than someone typically *lividus*. Juvenal at 11.110 puts this into practice:

*argenti quod erat solis fulgebat in armis.
omnia tunc quibus invidias, si lividulus sis*

What silver they had, they kept to make their armor gleam. All this you might envy them—if you are of a somewhat envious disposition⁶²¹

That is, if the listener happens to be inclined to have such feelings toward such people. Of course, I do not think it is not impossible to suggest even that the diminutive conveys the pettiness of this level of envy; it is a small amount of envy because its object is small.

nigellus, "blackish," from *niger*, "black"

and

rubellus, "reddish," from *ruber*, "red"

Both *nigellus* and *rubellus* appear twice.

The diminutives from adjectives of colors tend to have the meaning of "-ish," "somewhat-."

Lucius Ampelius at 8.21 says this about Cyrus' house:

domus... aedificata lapidibus candidis et nigellis

⁶²¹ This was translated by Susanna Morton Braund. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Juvenal, *Satires*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/juvenal-satires/2004/pb_LCL091.409.xml.

a home built with white and blackish stones⁶²²

An interesting point here is that the author gives an unqualified word for “white” but a qualified one for “black.”

V.C.b.ii. Adjectives Indicating Magnitude

There are 8 such adjectives.

parvulus, “very small,” from *parvus*, “small”

Parvulus appears 18 times.

Here we have an adjective base word indicating small magnitude or “smallness” and its diminutive adjective having its small magnitude or “smallness” meaning attenuated in such a way that the notion of “smallness” is intensified.

Pliny at *Ep.* 2.6.2 says:

Nam sibi et paucis opima quaedam, ceteris vilia et minuta ponebat. Vinum etiam parvolis lagunculis in tria genera discripserat, non ut potestas eligendi, sed ne ius esset recusandi

The best dishes were set in front of himself and a select few, and cheap scraps of food before the rest of the company. He had even put the wine into tiny little flasks, divided into three categories, not with the idea of giving his guests the opportunity of choosing, but to make it impossible for them to refuse what they were given⁶²³

The tininess of the little flasks is the point. They are very small indeed.

⁶²² This is my translation. The Latin text source is: LacusCurtius, “Lucii Ampelii Liber Memorialis,” accessed September 26, 2023,

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/I/roman/texts/ampelius/liber_memorialis*.html.

⁶²³ This was translated by Betty Radice. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Pliny the Younger, *Letters*,” accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pliny_younger-letters/1969/pb_LCL055.95.xml?readMode=reader.

quantulus, "how small," from *quantus*, "how great"

Quantulus appears 4 times.

Here we have an adjective base word indicating large magnitude or "bigness" and its diminutive adjective having its large magnitude or "bigness" meaning attenuated to such a degree that it is effectively or completely cancelled out.

Apuleius at Apol.101 says:

*quantulo pretio mulier locuples agellum suum
praestinarit*

how low a price my wealthy wife paid for her little
plot⁶²⁴

"How rather large" would make little sense here.

V.C.b.iii. Comparative Forms of Adjectives

There are 11 of these words.

graviusculus, "slightly deeper," "slightly lower," from *gravior*, "deeper"

Graviusculus appears once in my authors.

While *graviusculus* means "slightly deeper," "slightly lower," a **graviculus* would mean "rather deep."

At 1.11.13 Gellius tells us:

Sed qui hoc compertius memoriae tradiderunt, stetit in circumstantibus dicunt occultius, qui fistula brevi sensim graviusculum sonum inspiraret ad reprimendum sedandumque inpetus vocis eius effervescentes

But more reliable authorities declare that the musician took his place unobserved in the audience and at intervals sounded on a short pipe a deeper note, to

⁶²⁴ This was translated by Christopher P. Jones. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Apuleius, *Apologia*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/apuleius-apologia/2017/pb_LCL534.235.xml.

restrain and calm the exuberant energy of the orator's delivery⁶²⁵

The comparison seems to be between the noise of the musical instrument and the sound of the orator. The diminutive here seems to indicate that the note was low enough to contrast with his voice, but only slightly so.

V.C.c. Specific Parts of a Whole

There are 11 words of this type.

clausula, "the concluding passage (of a letter, etc.), from *clausa*, "closed part"

Clausula appears 6 times.

It refers neither to the letter *in toto*, nor to a small letter, but rather to the ending of the letter, etc. Valerius Maximus at 5.10.2 talks about the end of a speech:

quem casum quo robore animi sustinuerit orationi quam de rebus a se gestis apud populum habuit hanc adiciendo clausulam nulli ambiguum reliquit

With what strength of mind he bore this calamity he made plain to all by adding these final words to his speech to the people concerning his achievements⁶²⁶

flōsculus, "remains of a flower on a fruit," from *flōs*, "flower"

Flosculus appears 10 times.

While Pliny can use this word to mean "little flower" at *Nat.* 25.85, it has a particular meaning, which we see Columella indicate at 12.47.5:

poma sic componi ut flosculi sursum pediculi deorsum spectent

⁶²⁵ This was translated by J. C. Rolfe. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Gellius, *Attic Nights*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/gellius-attic_nights/1927/pb_LCL195.57.xml.

⁶²⁶ This was translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/valerius_maximus-memorable_doings_sayings/2000/pb_LCL492.543.xml.

the apples already mentioned should be so arranged that the "floweret" faces upwards and the pedicle downwards⁶²⁷

In this case, the word refers to the bits of the flower on the fruit, not the whole of the flower itself.

habēnula, "a small strip of skin," from *habēna*, "a strip"

Habēnula appears once.

At 7.4.4.D Celsus says:

Igitur in haec genera demisso specillo duabus lineis incidenda cutis est, ut media inter eas habenula tenuis admodum eiciatur

In these kinds of fistulae, therefore, when the probe has been inserted, the skin is to be cut through along two lines so that between them a very fine strip of skin may be taken out⁶²⁸

The word refers to a piece of the skin, and not a small skin.

pannulus, "scrap of cloth," from *pannus*, "cloth"

Pannulus appears once.

Apuleius at *Met.* 7.8 says:

Et diloricatis statim pannulis in medium duo milia profudit aureorum

At this he ripped open his corselet of rags and poured out before their eyes two thousand gold-pieces⁶²⁹

⁶²⁷ This was translated by E. S. Forster, Edward H. Heffner. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Columella, *On Agriculture*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/columella-agriculture/1941/pb_LCL408.291.xml.

⁶²⁸ This was translated by W. G. Spencer. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Celsus, *On Medicine*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/celsus-medicine/1935/pb_LCL336.313.xml.

⁶²⁹ This was translated by J. Arthur Hanson. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/apuleius-metamorphoses/1989/pb_LCL453.15.xml.

The word refers to a piece of the cloth, not a small cloth.

V.C.d. Small Quantity of a Whole

There are 15 of these words.

pōtiuncula, "a quantity of a drink," from *pōtiō*, "drink"

Pōtiuncula appears twice.

Suetonius at *Dom.* 21 says:

ut non temere super cenam praeter Matianum malum et modicam in ampulla potiunculam sumere

so that at dinner he rarely took anything except a Matian apple and a moderate amount of wine from a jug⁶³⁰

This refers to a little bit of the entire drink, not a small drink.

lānula, "small piece of wool," from *lāna*, "wool"

Lānula appears once.

Celsus at 6.9.6 says:

Sed id tamen involutum in lanula demitti commodius est, quia sic dente servato dolorem levat

But nevertheless it is better to insert this wrapped up in a flake of wool, for it thus relieves the pain whilst preserving the tooth⁶³¹

This flake of wool is not so much "small wool" as "a small quantity of wool."

⁶³⁰ This was translated by J. C. Rolfe. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars* 8.3. *Domitian*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/suetonius-lives_caesars_book_viii_domitian/1914/pb_LCL038.367.xml.

⁶³¹ This was translated by W. G. Spencer. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Celsus, *On Medicine*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/celsus-medicine/1935/pb_LCL304.251.xml?mainRsKey=Hpiud0&readMode=reader.

sermunculus, "a bit of gossip," from *sermō*, "speech," in the sense of "gossip"

Sermunculus appears once.

"Small talk" can be one way to interpret this, as seen said by Pliny at *Ep.* 5.8.4:

Sunt enim homines natura curiosi, et quamlibet nuda rerum cognitione capiuntur, ut qui sermunculis etiam fabellisque ducantur.

Humanity is naturally inquisitive, and so factual information, plain and unadorned, has its attraction for anyone who can enjoy small talk and anecdote.⁶³²

This "small talk," a relatively small quantity of the collective group of things which people say, has the function of conveying bits of information.

pēnsiuncula, "a small payment," from *pēnsiō*, "payment"

Pēnsiuncula appears once.

Columella at 10.per.1 says:

Faenoris tui, Silvine, quod stipulanti spoponderam tibi, reliquam pensiunculam percipe

Accept, Silvinus, the small remaining payment of interest which I had promised when you demanded it⁶³³

The speaker is referring to a small quantity of a payment. This is obvious from the *reliquam*, "remaining," which points out the small payment's relation to the whole.

⁶³² This was translated by Betty Radice. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Pliny the Younger, *Letters*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pliny_younger-letters/1969/pb_LCL055.359.xml.

⁶³³ This was translated by E. S. Forster, Edward H. Heffner. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Columella, *On Agriculture*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/columella-agriculture/1941/pb_LCL408.3.xml.

V.D. Conclusion

The various types of literal uses of diminutives earlier discussed generally follow the categories proposed by Gaide and Fruyt have (e.g., smaller young of animals, a small quantity of a whole). But I have refined and expanded upon their classifications, and then provided examples of this new classification system.

Chapter VI: Semantic Analysis: Diminutives Indicating Imputed Small Size

This chapter deals with diminutives which denote imputed small size (i.e., qualitative comparison). I will first present the word types of this category and examples thereof, then present a description of the overall makeup of this category, give examples of usage patterns of the words, and then finally offer my conclusions of my study concerning words of this category.

VI.A. Word Types and Examples

This is an overview of the types of words of this category:

1) Relational:

a) Resemblance: e.g., *apriculus*, "a fish which looks like a wild boar," from *aper*, "wild boar";

b) Metonymy: e.g., *umbella*, "umbrella" from *umbra*, "shadow";

c) Synecdoche: e.g., *sanguiculus*, "blood pudding," from *sanguis*, "blood";

d) Emphatic Differential:

i) Implied Comparison: e.g., *homunculus*, "human being (as opposed to gods and the elements)," from *homō*, "human being";

ii) *Motionssuffix*: e.g., *ancilla*, "maid," from *anculus*, "male slave";

iii) Virtual Synonyms: e.g., *ancillula*, "the very maid talked about," from *ancilla*, "maid";

2) Illocutive or emotive:

a) Positive Use: e.g., *Tulliola*, "dear Tullia," from *Tullia*, "Tullia";

- b) Neutral or Ambiguous Use: e.g., *aedicula*, "chamber that is not too expensive," from *aedēs*, "dwelling";
 - c) Negative Use: e.g., *crumilla*, "your damned little purse," from *crumēna*, "purse"; *vetulus*, "too old to be of any use," from *vetus*, "old";
 - d) Ironic or Understated Use: e.g., *Pulchellus*, "Little Beauty" as a sarcastic nickname from *Pulcher*, "Publius Clodius Pulcher"; *longulus*, "rather long" as in "too long," from *longus*, "long";
- 3) Specialized or technical:
- a) Technical Terms: e.g., *fōrmula*, "a specimen plea in the praetor's *album*, serving as a model for the wording of a particular official document,"⁶³⁴ from *fōrma*, "form";
 - b) Tools or Instruments: e.g., *porculus*, "hook on a wine- or oil-press," from *porcus*, "pig";
 - c) Animate Entities: e.g., *novellus*, "young" plants and animals, from *novus*, "new"; *vetulus*, "old" animals, from *vetus*, "old");
 - d) Proper names: e.g., *Scaevola*, "the name adopted by C. Mucius Cordus after he deliberately burnt his right hand when brought before Porsenna,"⁶³⁵ from *scaeva*, "left hand").

VI.B. Overall Makeup of This Category

Here I will give some sense of the overall makeup of the category, how large it is, and what sorts of base nouns are used.

⁶³⁴ OLD, s.v.

⁶³⁵ OLD, s.v.

Type or Subtype	Total Number
Relational: In Total	45 (only nouns)
Resemblance	29 (only nouns)
Metonymy	11 (only nouns)
Synecdoche	5 (only nouns)
Emphatic Differential: In Total	178 (142 nouns, 36 adjectives)
Implied Comparison	2 (only nouns)
<i>Motionssuffix</i>	5 (only nouns)
Virtual Synonyms	173 (137 nouns, 36 adjectives)
Illocutive or Emotive: In Total	66 (60 nouns, 6 adjectives)
Positive Use	18 (16 nouns, 2 adjectives)
Neutral or Ambiguous Use	11 (only nouns)
Negative Use	35 (31 nouns, 4 adjectives)
Ironic or Understated Use	2 (only nouns)
Specialized or Technical: In Total	116 (110 nouns, 6 adjectives)
Technical Terms	65 (62 nouns, 3 adjectives)
Tools or Instruments	33 (only nouns)
Animate Entities	9 (6 nouns, 3 adjectives)
Proper Names	9 (only nouns)
All Types and Subtypes Together	405 (357 nouns, 48 adjectives)

Table 2. Diminutives Indicating Imputed Small Size: Numbers of Words.

My study has identified 405 words in this category, 357 different nouns and 48 different adjectives. The majority of the nouns and adjectives are of the “Emphatic Differential: In Total” type, with a total of 178 words (44%), 142 nouns and 36 adjectives, and the next largest group are of the “Virtual Synonyms,” with a total of 173 words (43%), 137 nouns and 36 adjectives.

The base words of the diminutive nouns of this category are typically concrete nouns, and this includes common objects (e.g., *lineola*, “a (little) line,” which can refer to a little line or just a line in a particular context), people (e.g., *infantulus*, “baby boy”), part of the body (e.g., *mamilla*, “breast,” “nipple”), food (e.g., *lactūcula*, “a (small) lettuce,” which can refer to a little lettuce or just a lettuce in a particular context), and

animals (e.g., *lepusculus*, "a (small) hare," which can refer to a little hare or just a hare in a particular context).

The base words of the diminutive adjectives of this category are of various types, but there are several words which denote colors (e.g., *albulus*, "white," "pale"), expressions of character (e.g., *audāculus*, "bold," "courageous"), material (e.g., *corneolus*, "resembling horn"), animals (e.g., *bovillus*, "of or consisting of cattle"), and words which have a prefix (e.g., *perastūtulus*, "very artful"). These diminutives differ from those of the "literal" category since it is not easy to tell whether these refer to the small version of the thing denoted by the diminutive or not.

The base words of the diminutive nouns of the "Specialized or Technical" category are also mostly concrete nouns, where the diminutives are metaphorical, and include common objects (e.g., *ānsula*, "a loop of a sandal" which is in some special sense a "small handle"), a special part of a machine (e.g., *denticulus*, "a small tooth or cog of a machine" which is in some special sense a "small tooth"), part of the body (e.g., *mūsculus*, "a muscle" which is in some special sense a "small mouse"), parts of plants (e.g., *spongiola*, "a matted tuft of asparagus roots" which is in some special sense a "little sponge"), plants themselves (e.g., *digitellum* or *digitellus*, "houseleek" (i.e., "Any of various perennial plants constituting the genus *Sempervivum* (family Crassulaceae), comprising succulents native to southern Eurasia and North Africa, with a basal rosette of leaves and red, pink, or yellow flowers"⁶³⁶) which is in some special sense a "little finger").

⁶³⁶ Oxford English Dictionary, "houseleek," accessed July 20, 2023, <https://www.oed.com/search/dictionary/?scope=Entries&q=houseleek>.

The base words of the diminutive adjectives of the “specialized or technical sense” category mostly denote animals or parts of (e.g., (*carō*) *suilla*, “pork”) and plants or part of plants (e.g., *vināciolus*, the name of a variety of vine).

Diminutives of this category appear in both prose (e.g., Quintilian) and poetry (e.g., Ovid, Martial, Juvenal), and in various genres (e.g., very often in Pliny the Elder, occasionally in Petronius, Columella).

VI.C. Examples of Usage Patterns

The clusters of meaning relate to three main types which make up the “qualitative” use of diminutives. I have mentioned those three main types in the overview above in the Word Types and Examples section (VI.A.). Below are specific examples of interesting cases listed under the clusters of meaning.⁶³⁷

VI.C.a. Relational

There are 45 of these words.

VI.C.a.i. Resemblance

There are 29 such diminutives.

anguilla, “an eel,” from *anguis*, “snake”

Anguilla appears 5 times in my authors.

The diminutive *anguilla* would literally mean “little snake,” and yet none of my instances have this meaning. Pliny (Nat.9.4) makes this clear:

*quippe ubi locustae quaterna cubita impleant,
anguillae quoque in Gange amne tricenos pedes.*

⁶³⁷ Almost all the examples of diminutives of this category are *hapaxes* or at least appear very seldom, and I will make an indication of which individual words are used more often than usual.

in fact in those regions lobsters grow to 6 ft. long, and also eels in the river Ganges to 300 ft.⁶³⁸

The meaning of “eel” clearly comes from the resemblance between snakes and eels. We cannot be sure whether Pliny shares the modern taxonomic distinction between eels (fish) and snakes (reptiles), but we can tell from elsewhere how the ancients seemed to have thought of that nature. Juvenal at 5.103, when talking about how sea creatures for consumption are being taken from undesirable places, says:

*vos anguilla manet longae cognata colubrae
aut glaucis sparsus maculis Tiberinus [...]*

What’s waiting for you is an eel, cousin of the long snake, or a Tiber fish spattered with grey blotches [...]⁶³⁹

The *cognāta* indicates an individual related to another one by birth, and so implies that snakes and eels are related but not necessarily the same.

dracunculus, “a fish resembling a weever,” from *dracō*, “weever-fish”

Dracunculus appears twice.

Dracō typically means “serpent” or “snake.” The diminutive *dracunculus* can mean “little serpent” or “little snake,” and actually has that meaning at *CIL* 12.354, but otherwise has another meaning entirely as Pliny shows us at *Nat.* 32.148 where he gives a catalog of fish that belong to the sea:

*cucumis, cynops, cammarus, cynosdexia, draco—quidam
aliud volunt esse dracunculum; est autem gerriculae
amplae similis*

⁶³⁸ This was translated by H. Rackham. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*,” accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pliny_elder-natural_history/1938/pb_LCL353.167.xml.

⁶³⁹ This was translated by Susanna Morton Braund. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Juvenal, *Satires*,” accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/juvenal-satires/2004/pb_LCL091.223.xml?readMode=recto.

sea-cucumber, "cynops," shrimps, "dog's right-hand," weever-fish; (certain people want the [*dracunculus*] to be regarded as a different animal; in fact it is like a large "gerricula"⁶⁴⁰

Some clarification is needed here. First, the translator actually has "little weever" for the *dracunculum* in the original Latin text. The *dracō* in this passage is also the name of a certain type of fish. According to Pliny, some people think a *dracunculus* is a different species of fish from a *dracō*. We can infer that other people think the *dracunculus* is just a small version of the relevant *dracō*. For this second group, the *dracunculus* would be a small *dracō*, the diminutive then being used in a literal sense. But context does not specifically say that the second group thinks that the distinction is simply one of smaller size. The last part of the passage has Pliny insisting that the *dracunculus* is a different animal from the *dracō*, comparable to another fish, a *gerricula*, which has a name that is itself a diminutive, and this diminutive comes from *gerrēs*, which the OLD simply defines as "an inferior kind of fish." *spīculum*, "sharp part of a weapon," "sting of a bee," from *spīcum*, "spike of a plant," a form of *spīca*, "an ear of corn"

Spīculum appears 29 times.

The word *spīculum* is very common in Latin, but interestingly, nowhere does it appear to mean "small spike of a plant," from the base word *spīcum*, "spike of a plant." The instances I cite all have meanings pertaining to objects which resemble the

⁶⁴⁰ This was translated by W. H. S. Jones, translation adapted. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pliny_elder-natural_history/1938/pb_LCL418.555.xml.

relevant parts of a plant, and it is hardly surprising to see Ovid linking the weapons strongly associated with the god of love at *Ars* 2.708:

*Invenient digiti, quod agant in partibus illis,
In quibus occulte spicula tingit Amor.*

Their fingers will find what to do in those parts
wherein Love secretly dips his darts.⁶⁴¹

Vergil uses the diminutive to refer to the stingers of bees at *G.* 4.237:

*[...] et spicula caeca relinquunt
adfixae venis, animasque in vulnere ponunt*

and fastening on the veins leave there their unseen
stings and lay down their lives in the wound⁶⁴²

My examples show that the diminutive has entirely shed its "literal smallness" meaning and now has only the metaphorical meanings of resemblance.

VI.C.a.ii. Metonymy

There are 11 words in this category.

aegyptilla, "a precious stone found in Egypt (applied to sardonyx and nicolo)," from

aegyptinus, "of Egypt"

Aegyptilla appears once.

In Chapter IV, I point out that the OLD claims that this diminutive *aegyptilla* derives directly from *Egyptus*, "Egypt," but I show why this etymology is mistaken. It

⁶⁴¹ This was translated by J. H. Mozley. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/ovid-art_love/1929/pb_LCL232.115.xml?readMode=recto.

⁶⁴² This was translated by H. Rushton Fairclough, revised by G. P. Goold. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Virgil, *Georgics*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/virgil-georgics/1916/pb_LCL063.235.xml?readMode=reader.

turns out that also the actual use of the word shows that such an etymology is mistaken, as seen in this passage by Pliny at Nat.37.148:

Aegyptillam Iacchus intellegit per album sardae nigraque venis transeuntibus, volgus autem in nigra radice, caerulea facie. nomen a loco.

By the 'Aegyptilla,' or 'little Egyptian stone,' Iacchus understands a stone in which the white layer is traversed by bands of carnelian and black, but the term is commonly applied where there is a black ground and an upper layer of blue. It is named after the country where it is found.⁶⁴³

Such an error is understandable once we consider the metonymic use of the diminutive. The stone in question is not at all a "little Egypt," but something along the lines of "the Egypt one" as in a "little Egyptian stone." A thorough discussion of the morphology of the word *aegyptilla* appears in Chapter IV.

cerebellum, "the brain as the seat of the intellect and the senses, from *cerebrum*, "brain"

Cerebellum appears 4 times.

The diminutive itself ought to mean "little brain," but I cannot cite an instance where it has such a meaning. Petronius at 76.1 gives it a particular significance:

ceterum, quemadmodum di volunt, dominus in domo factus sum, et ecce cepi ipsimi cerebellum.

Then just as the gods willed it, I became the real master in the house, and I captured my master's heart and soul.⁶⁴⁴

⁶⁴³ This was translated by D. E. Eichholz. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pliny_elder-natural_history/1938/pb_LCL419.285.xml?mainRsKey=yNDuY9.

⁶⁴⁴ This was translated by Gareth Schmeling. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Petronius, *Satyricon*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/petronius-satyricon/1913/pb_LCL015.177.xml.

Here, this so-called “little brain” is not a little brain at all, but a word connoting the thinking and feeling element needed to be in control not only of one’s senses, but also of the house which the speaker has inherited from the master.

flābellum, “fan,” from *flābrum*, “blast or gust of wind”

Flābellum appears once.

Flābellum ought to mean literally “small blasts or gusts of wind,” but in fact does not. Martial at 3.82.11 shows how the Romans actually used this term:

*et aestuanti tenue ventilat frigus
supina prasino concubina flabello,*

while a concubine, lying on her back, makes a gentle breeze with a green fan to relieve his heat⁶⁴⁵

In other words, the diminutive simply means “fan,” the object representing the source of the small gusts of artificially produced wind.

VI.C.a.iii. Synecdoche

There are 5 words in this category.

pugillus, “what can be held in the fist,” from *pugnus*, “fist”

Pugillus appears once.

This word ought to mean “small fist,” but once again does not. Pliny at *Nat.*

20.242 tells us:

*cum farris pugillo decoctum addito exiguo olei et
salis*

⁶⁴⁵ This was translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Martial, *Epigrams*,” accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/martial-epigrams/1993/pb_LCL094.247.xml?mainRsKey=4FW7Jt.

boiled down with a handful of emmer to which a little oil and salt has been added⁶⁴⁶

In other words, the diminutive refers to what can be held in the fist. The word refers not to the fist itself or a "little fist" or even some portion of the fist, but rather to the contents of the fist, which are thought of as part of a whole comprising the fist and contents, since the contents compelled the hand to become a fist in the first place.

māxilla, "the lower part of the face," from *māla*, "cheekbone," "jaw"

Māxilla appears 12 times.

Māxilla literally means "little jaw," and while it has the meaning of "jaw" (and therefore can in such cases be classified under "Virtual synonyms or enlarged forms"), it also has the following meaning, as pointed out by Columella at 7.6.2:

Caper, cui sub maxillis binae verruculae collo dependent, optimus habetur

The points of the best type of he-goat are two excrescences which project downwards from its throat below its jaws⁶⁴⁷

The word refers not to the jaws themselves or "little jaws" or even some portion of the jaws, but rather to some certain portion of the face where the jaws represent a significant portion of the whole area, that is, the lower portion of the face.

sangunculus, "blood pudding," from *sanguis*, "blood"

Sangunculus appears once.

⁶⁴⁶ This was translated by W. H. S. Jones. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pliny_elder-natural_history/1938/pb_LCL392.141.xml.

⁶⁴⁷ This was translated by E. S. Forster, Edward H. Heffner. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Columella, *On Agriculture*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/columella-agriculture/1941/pb_LCL407.277.xml.

Sangunculus is essentially a variant of the aforementioned *sanguiculus*. This time we find it within Petronius 66.2:

habuimus tamen in primo porcum botulo coronatum et circa sangunculum et gizeria optime facta

First we had pork topped with sausage, and around this was black pudding, and giblets very nicely done⁶⁴⁸

Both this and the variant that we find in Pliny ought to mean “small blood,” and yet none of my sources suggest such a meaning. In both cases we have a synecdochal significance: this “little blood” is not a portion of blood, but the name of the substance in which the blood is a part.

VI.C.a.iv. Emphatic Differential

There are 178 of these words.

VI.C.a.iv.a. Implied Comparison

There are 2 of these words.

ancillula, “slave girl” (as opposed to ladies),” from *ancilla*, “slave girl”

Ancillula appears 4 times.

An *ancillula* may be a “little slave girl,” but Ovid at *Rem.* 639 clearly means something other than that:

*Et soror et mater valeant et conscia nutrix,
Et quisquis dominae pars erit ulla tuae.
Nec veniat servus, nec flens ancillula fictum
Suppliciter dominae nomine dicat “ave!”*

Bid farewell to mother and sister, and to the nurse her confidant, and to whoever will be any part of your mistress. Nor let her slave come, nor her handmaid

⁶⁴⁸ This was translated by Gareth Schmeling. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*,” accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/petronius-satyricon/1913/pb_LCL015.149.xml.

with feigned tears greet you imploringly in her mistress' name.⁶⁴⁹

In this case, the diminutive suffix is not semantically distinguishing the *ancillula* from its base word *ancilla*, but rather from the social milieu to which speaker and addressee belong.

On the one hand, the negative connotation of this diminutive can be derived from its context, *flēns fictum*, the crocodile tears of the dishonest "little slave girl." But there is a more important issue here. There is a striking contrast between, on the one hand, the mother, sister, and *domina*, whom one obviously should not welcome, and, on the other hand, the lower handmaid, who should also not be welcomed, yet might be allowed to come through the deceit of her crocodile tears.

cerebellum, "the brain," from *cerebrum*, "brain"

Cerebellum appears four times.

We come to *cerebellum* again, but this time we are dealing with yet another use of it. Pliny at Na.30.112 gives these hints on how to deal with epistaxis or nosebleed:

*e naribus fluentem cocleae contritae fronti inlitaе,
aranei telae, gallinacei cerebellum vel sanguis
profluvia ex cerebro, item columbinus ob id servatus
concretusque.*

but when there is severe epistaxis it is stayed by snails beaten up and applied to the forehead, and also by spider's web; by the brain or blood of a cock are arrested fluxes from the brain, [Loeb translator's

⁶⁴⁹ This was translated by J. H. Mozley, revised by G. P. Goold. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Ovid, *Remedia Amoris*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/ovid-remedies_love/1929/pb_LCL232.221.xml?readMode=reader.

footnote: "I.e. from the skull"] also by pigeon's blood.⁶⁵⁰

"Little brain" from the "brain" makes little sense, and "brain... from the brain" does not make much sense either, so the translator added that additional comment about the latter word (i.e., *cerebrum*) referring to the skull. Pliny is also not making a distinction similar to how we use *cerebellum* to refer to a very specific part of the brain. There is indeed a contrast here, but an intuitive one: the *cerebellum*, a diminutive word, refers to the brain itself while the *cerebrum*, the base word, refers to the skull. Using the word *cerebrum* to refer to the skull instead of the brain is not completely strange since Horace uses it that way at *Carm.* 2.17.27 as does Juvenal at 3.269.

VI.C.a.iv.β. *Motionssuffix*

There are 5 of these words.

īnfantula, "a baby girl," from *īnfāns*, "baby"

īnfantula appears once.

An *īnfāns* could be a male or female baby. The diminutive *īnfantula* should mean "little (female) baby," but the sources do not use it to mean a smaller version of an *īnfāns*. Instead, at *Met.* 10.28 Apuleius says:

*Habebat filiam parvulam de marito quem nuper
necaverat. Huic infantulae quod leges necessariam
patris successionem deferrent sustinebat aegerrime*

She had a baby daughter by the husband whom she had just murdered. She was furious that the laws awarded

⁶⁵⁰ This was translated by W. H. S. Jones. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pliny_elder-natural_history/1938/pb_LCL418.351.xml.

the father's inheritance by natural right to this baby girl⁶⁵¹

It is hardly difficult to see *infantulae* ("baby girl [which here belongs to the man in question]") as a synonym here for *filiam parvulam* ("[the man's] baby daughter"). Apuleius, when referring to the baby in the second sentence, could have simply used the two-word phrase, but instead he used a shorter term, *infantula*, instead. He could have used the term *infāns*, but that would have been a vague term. Using a diminutive with a feminizing suffix matches the semantics of the previous phrase, and it conveniently has an ending that visually resembles one of the words of that phrase, namely *parvulam*. But the *parvulam* in *filiam parvulam* itself seems to exhibit what I would put into the category of "Implied Comparison," since it seems to connote, on the one hand, the disdainful attitude of the murderous mother, and, on the other hand, the small and innocent young daughter.

puella, "girl," from *puer*, "boy," "child"

Puella appears 36 times.

I must explain the meanings and relationships of these two terms. The term *puer* is the typical word for "boy" (i.e., male child) while the term *puella* is the typical word for "girl" (i.e., female child). In older Latin *puer* was of common gender and could refer to children of either sex, and in fact it could refer specifically to a girl (as seen at Andr. *poet.* 14(15) and Naev. *poet.* 29(31)⁶⁵²). But within Classical Latin and beyond, such a

⁶⁵¹ This was translated by J. Arthur Hanson. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/apuleius-metamorphoses/1989/pb_LCL453.221.xml?readMode=reader.

⁶⁵² OLD, s.v.

usage had become completely obsolete. The term *puella* certainly is a morphological diminutive of *puer*, and while it might look like it should mean “small female child,” it actually has been lexicalized such that it semantically refers to the female counterpart of the *puer* without a literally diminutive meaning. In other words, a non-diminutive is used for the male child while a diminutive-in-form word is used for the female child. Since *puer* and *puella* are the paired terms, and since the only real semantic difference between the two relates to sex, the diminutive suffix has a feminizing force. At that point, *puer* and *puella* become the basic lexical terms for the two kinds of children, regardless of the fact that the latter is morphologically a diminutive while the former is etymologically the base word. And yet the feminizing force of the diminutive suffix does not apply to any related words outside the *puer-puella* pair even if such words are derivatives of those paired words. Thus, we have the diminutives *puellus* (in, e.g., Apul. *Met.* 7.21 and Suet. *Cal.* 8.3) and *puerulus* (in, e.g., Sen. *Con.* 7.5.13 and Suet. *Dom.* 4.2), but each is meant to represent a small *puer*, not a “regular” male child, just as *puella* represents a “regular” female child, and so a *puellus* cannot be the male version of a *puella*. Nor can a **puerula* be a female version of a *puerulus*. When the Romans wanted to indicate a small *puella*, they had to add another diminutive suffix to *puella* and get *puellula* (in, e.g., Catul. 57.9). Although **puellulus* does not exist, were it to, again it would not be the male version of *puellula*, but a diminutive of *puellus*, as well as a diminutive two steps removed from the semantically basic word *puer* (i.e., *puer* + *-lus* + *-ulus*), whereas *puellula* is just one step removed from the semantically basic word *puella* (i.e., *puella* + *-ula*).

ancilla, "maid," from *ancus* or *anculus*, "male slave"

Ancilla appears 9 times.

Servus and *ancilla* are paired terms, where the former refers to a male slave while the latter refers to a female slave. One should note that *servus* is not a diminutive while *ancilla* is. *Ancilla* means literally "small female slave" (i.e., a small female *ancus* or *anculus*), but the two masculine words *ancus* and *anculus* are quite rare and do not typically appear as masculine counterparts of *ancilla*. Instead, Ovid at *Am.* 1.87 shows us a more common pairing:

servus et ad partes sollers ancilla parentur

Have slave and handmaid skilled to act their parts⁶⁵³

The literal smallness of the term *ancilla* does not apply when paired with the masculine word *servus*, and since the main semantic distinction between the words pertains to sex, and since neither *ancus* nor *anculus* is paired with *ancilla*, the diminutive suffix in *ancilla* serves as a feminizing suffix of *ancus* and *anculus*, but only morphologically. The feminizing power of the suffix, however, applies in this situation because the diminutive *ancilla* has become the default word "female slave," serving as the counterpart to *servus*, and for that reason we cannot simply apply the feminizing diminutive suffix collaterally to each one of the *servus-ancilla* pair of words to make male or female versions of the paired terms. A *servula* is not a female *servus* and an *ancillulus* not a male *ancilla*.

⁶⁵³ This was translated by Grant Showerman, revised by G. P. Goold. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Ovid, *Amores*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/ovid-amores/1914/pb_LCL041.353.xml.

VI.C.a.iv.γ. Virtual Synonyms

There are 173 of these words.

rūfulus, "reddish," "tinged with red," from *rūfus*, "red," "reddish"

Rūfulus appears once.

Rūfulus seems like a fairly simple case of a diminutive adjective, where the meaning is "reddish" or "slightly red," but there is a problem which arises due to complications in how the base word relates to its diminutive and how those two words relate to other words denoting colors in Latin. Pliny at *Nat.* 25.147 says this about the various kind of mandrake (*mandragora*):

duo eius genera; candidus qui et mas, niger qui femina existimatur, angustioribus quam lactucae foliis, hirsutis et caulibus, radicibus binis ternisve rufulis, intus albis, carnosis tenerisque, paene cubitalibus.

There are two kinds of it: the white, which is also considered male, and the black, considered female. The leaves are narrower than those of lettuce, the stems hairy, and the roots, two or three in number, reddish, white inside, fleshy and tender, and almost a cubit in length.⁶⁵⁴

It is very difficult to see what difference is being made between, on the one hand, the diminutive *rūfulus* and its base word (which the OLD translates as "reddish"), and the diminutive *rūfulus* and the non-diminutive colors words like *albus* and *niger*. Appealing to pure empiricism to study the plant in question to determine which colors

⁶⁵⁴ This was translated by J. Arthur Hanson. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pliny_elder-natural_history/1938/pb_LCL393.241.xml?readMode=reader.

Pliny means will not help us much,⁶⁵⁵ but fortunately that is not necessary for our purposes here. The suffix *-ish* simply means that, compared to something clearly red through and through, anything “ish-y” does not quite live up to that standard. This point is good and fine, but it does not really show me how *rūfulus* and *rūfus* differ, either in general or in the Pliny passage. What, then, is the difference? I suggest that there might be a difference between the reddish and fleshy appearance on the outside and the more solid white color inside, and perhaps the idea of a less-solid color is the point that the author wishes to make with the diminutive suffix.

scurrula, “a joker” or “buffoon,” from *scurra*, “joker” or “buffoon”

Scurrula appears once.

The masculine first-declension diminutive *scurrula* ought to mean something like “small buffoon,” but the issue is not so simple because of what Apuleius offers us at

Met. 10.16:

Quidam denique praesens scurrula “Date” inquit “sodali huic quippiam meri.”

Then one buffoon who was present said, “Give your friend here a little wine.”⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁵⁵ Latin color terms are notoriously difficult for modern readers to get a sense of because of their vagueness (Stearn, 236) and that vagueness is due to the origin of colors out of dyestuff and pigments. The colors of minerals vary, and dyes produce different effects according to the mode of preparation and the materials dyed (Traupman, 252). The potential problem is made worse because Latin color terms make distinctions between bright, dark, and neutral hues, and because it is difficult in some cases to determine which of a number of chromonyms (i.e., terms which refer to the same or similar colors) was the core term (Dworkin, 10). On a personal note, though, I use *caeruleus* as my basic term for “blue” (i.e., the hue), with the understanding that it is etymologically related to *caelum*, “sky,” and that it can mean “dark-colored” (i.e., a shade rather than a hue) (OLD, s.v.). I would use it to refer to things other than the sky (e.g., sapphires, blueberries) and almost never to dark things (e.g., black cats, darkness of the night), and we could have a serious discussion of whether Cicero would have been surprised at my general and broad use of the term for only the hue.

⁶⁵⁶ This was translated by J. Arthur Hanson. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*,” accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/apuleius-metamorphoses/1989/pb_LCL453.203.xml.

It is difficult to see how this diminutive differs much from its base word. The diminutive possibly draws attention to the buffoon who manages to get his audience to pay attention to him right when the banquet hall they were in was resounding with uproarious laughter. It may even further emphasize his comic or somewhat absurd character. If we want to push this idea further, then we can suppose that the author means to show that people are laughing at the buffoon derisively. There is then the possibility that the speaker means to convey contempt, and so the word can be classified under the "Negative" category below also (or instead).

vulpēcula, "a (little) fox," from *vulpēs*, "fox"

Vulpēcula appears twice.

The diminutive can mean "little fox," and Cicero at *N.D.* 188 even uses the word with that meaning. But while Phaedrus at 4.6 tells the story *Vulpes and Caper*, "The Fox and the Goat," we get this concluding sentence:

[...] *tum vulpecula
evasit puteo, nixa celsis cornibus,
hircumque clauso liquit haerentem vado.*

Then the little fox escaped from the well by planting his feet on the other's lofty horns, leaving the goat imprisoned in the walled pool.⁶⁵⁷

It is hardly surprising that the goat is here called a *hircum* instead of a *caper* (as in the title), but it is quite surprising that the fox is here called a *vulpēcula* instead of *vulpēs* (as in the title). If we consider these words in context, it is possible that

⁶⁵⁷ This was translated by Ben Edwin Perry. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Phaedrus, *Fables*," accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/phaedrus-fables/1965/pb_LCL436.317.xml?result=1&rskey=xwISSE&readMode=reader.

vulpēcula is a mere synonym of the regular word *vulpēs*, just as *hircus* is a mere synonym of *caper*. Another interpretation (under the head of “virtual synonym”) is that its use here was simply due to metrical constraints.

galēriculum, “a skin or leather cap,” from *galērum*, “a skin or leather cap”

Galēriculum appears twice.

A *galēriculum* ought to mean “little skin or leather cap,” but no source uses that meaning. Instead, Martial at 14.50 has this:

Galericulum

*Ne lutet immundum nitidos ceroma capillos,
hac poteris madidas condere pelle comas.*

Leather cap

Lest the dirty wrestlers’ mud soil your sleek locks,
you can hide your damp hair with this skin.⁶⁵⁸

Both the Loeb translator and the OLD entry for *galēriculum* (“a skin or leather cap; a wig”) do not suggest that the *galēriculum* is simply a small version of a *galērum*. Nor does the base word appear in the body of the poem. What then is the significance of the diminutive in the title here? Could Martial have not simply used *galērum* instead? I can concur with Hanssen’s suggestion for its use here. Hanssen talks about diminutives in titles, and gives a lengthy list of titles from the works of various early writers such as Naevius, Ennius, Pomponius, and Laberius. The words that concern us here are those which “lift a thing out of its prosaic daily surroundings, giving it a touch of interest and newness”⁶⁵⁹ and “attract attention” in that they “were the thing, but

⁶⁵⁸ This was translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Martial, *Epigrams*,” accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/martial-epigrams/1993/pb_LCL480.251.xml.

⁶⁵⁹ Hanssen, 82.

'with a difference', as the phrase is in modern advertisements."⁶⁶⁰ Hanssen even offers the word *Mōstellāria*, derived from a diminutive of *mōnstrum*, as an "emphatic title" of one of Plautus' plays.⁶⁶¹ I think that the *galēriculum* which appears in this Martial passage is a diminutive as an "emphatic title."

But if we wish to insist on a more literal meaning, we can argue as follows: the titles of Martial's *Apophoreta* are meant to evoke concrete objects in a way Plautus' titles are not, and that Martial's readers understood *galēriculum* as a particular thing distinct from a *galērum*, so that the cap is in some way a dainty or discreet item used by someone who is concerned about their appearance in an incongruously violent setting. Although an interesting argument, it hinges upon the idea that a *galēricum* is specifically different from *galērum*, and both are concrete objects, and yet this idea is an unverifiable one. Surely a *Poenulus* (a diminutive, from *Poenus*, "a Phoenician," and one used as one of Plautus' titles) is as concrete as a *galēriculum*.

VI.C.b. Illocutive or Emotive

There are 66 of these words.

VI.C.b.i. Positive Use

There are 18 of these words. I find this to be a somewhat surprisingly small number, but then again, we are dealing with a period with poets like Martial and Juvenal who are much more caustic than Plautus. I have not found any examples that are comparable to Cicero's nickname for his daughter, *Tulliola*.

⁶⁶⁰ Hanssen, 83.

⁶⁶¹ Hanssen, 81.

domuscula, "one's home (affectionately considered)," *domus*, "home"

Domuscula appears once.

Normally, a *domuscula* would be a "small home," but none of my sources have that as a meaning. (The other diminutive from *domus*, *domuncula*, does indeed have such a literal meaning, as seen in, e.g., Apul. *Met.* 4.9.) But Apuleius *Met.* 4.26 has:

*adultus individuo contubernio domusculae, immo vero
cubiculi torique*

We were inseparable playmates in our [dear house],
sharing even bedroom and bed.⁶⁶²

The context implies that the author is saying that the home is often fondly remembered as one's safe haven, and this use of a diminutive reflects positive, nostalgic feelings for the home.

VI.C.b.ii. Neutral or Ambiguous Use

There are 11 of these words.

casula, "a small or humble cottage," but also "applied to a burial chamber,"⁶⁶³ from
casa, "cottage," "hut"

Casula appears 4 times.

The "small or humble cottage" is a perfectly reasonable and expected meaning of the diminutive *casula*, but Petronius at 111.5 seems to be using it in a particular way when talking about the well-known story about the widow of Ephesus:

⁶⁶² This was translated by J. Arthur Hanson, translation adapted. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/apuleius-metamorphoses/1989/pb_LCL044.191.xml?readMode=reader.

⁶⁶³ OLD, s.v.

*cum interim imperator provinciae latrones iussit
crucibus affigi secundum illam casulam, in qua recens
cadaver matrona deflebat.*

At about this same time the governor of the province ordered that some thieves be crucified near the small building in which the woman was weeping over her late husband's body.⁶⁶⁴

Why would the author want to call a burial chamber a "little hut"? It is certainly possible that the structure is small, and yet the term Petronius used to refer to it previously, *hypogaeō*, does not necessarily point in that direction. For that matter, why would he want to call it a *cas(ul)a* ("hut") of any type? It seems reasonable that using a term like "hut" conveys a sense of sentimentality to the reader, but the diminutive suffix does not help in showing the exact nature of that sentimentality. On the one hand, the diminutive could be indicating a positive emotional expression, in that it shows the devotion of the woman (at that point). On the other hand, the diminutive could be indicating a negative emotional expression, in that the narrator is showing contempt and feigned pity toward the woman because he knows what that woman will eventually do with the husband's body.

VI.C.b.iii. Negative Use

There are 35 of these words.

muliercula, "a little, weak, foolish woman (also applied to an effeminate man)," from

mulier, "woman"

Muliercula appears 4 times.

⁶⁶⁴ This was translated by Gareth Schmeling. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Petronius, *Satyricon*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/petronius-satyricon/1913/pb_LCL015.271.xml.

A *muliercula* is literally a "little woman," and the sources do not always distinguish between a literal interpretation of the word (i.e., "small," "little") and a "imputed smallness" interpretation (i.e., "weak," "foolish," etc.). Nevertheless, Seneca at *Cl.* 2.5.1 gives a meaning to the word which is simple to determine:

Itaque pessimo cuique familiarissima est; anus et mulierculae sunt, quae lacrimis nocentissimorum moventur, quae, si liceret, carcerem effringerent.

And so it [i.e., pity, *misericiordiam*] is most often seen in the poorest types of persons; there are old women and wretched females who are moved by the tears of the worst criminals, who, if they could, would break open their prison.⁶⁶⁵

These *mulierculae* are among the "*pessimō cuique*," who, along with the *anūs*, or old ladies, are affected by pity to such an extent that they provide aid to criminals.

amāsiunculus, "a paramour," "a lover," from *amāsiō*, "lover"

Amāsiunculus appears once.

An *amāsiunculus* would be a "little lover," and yet none of my sources offer that meaning. Petronius at 45.7 give us this, instead:

iam Manios aliquot habet et mulierem essedariam et dispensatorem Glyconis, qui deprehensus est, cum dominam suam delectaretur. videbis populi rixam inter zelotypos et amasiunculos.

He's already assembled some creatures capable of entertaining the crowd, and a woman gladiator on a chariot, and the steward of Glyco caught in the act of

⁶⁶⁵ This was translated by John W. Basore, translation adapted. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Seneca the Younger, *De Clementia*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/seneca_younger-de_clementia/1928/pb_LCL214.439.xml.

satisfying his wife. You'll see brawls in the common crowds between jealous husbands and ladies' men.⁶⁶⁶

Some further context is necessary. Here the author is talking about people being punished in a public spectacle, and the "he" is the magistrate giving the games. The speaker seems to have a certain contempt for both the *zēlotypōs* and the *amāsiunculōs* in the prospective riot.

VI.C.b.iv. Irony or Understatement Use

I find only 2 such words, both occurring in the same context.

lectīcāriola, "humorous feminine diminutive applied to a woman committing adultery with litter-bearers," from *lectīcārius*, "litter-bearer"

and

ancillāriolus, "a pursuer of slave girls," from **ancillārius*, "man among slave girls"

Lectīcāriola appears once, *ancillāriolus* twice.

A *lectīcāriola* would normally mean "little litter-bearer" while an *ancillāriolus* would typically have the meaning of "small person connected with slave girls," and neither word has anything resembling such respective meanings. Martial at 12.58.2 gives us:

*Ancillariolum tua te vocat uxor, et ipsa
lecticariola est: estis, Alauda, pares.*

Your wife calls you one for slave girls and she herself is one for litter boys. You make a pair, Alauda.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶⁶ This was translated by Gareth Schmeling. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Petronius, *Satyricon*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/petronius-satyricon/1913/pb_LCL015.89.xml?print=&readMode=reader.

⁶⁶⁷ This was translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Martial, *Epigrams*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/martial-epigrams/1993/pb_LCL480.139.xml?readMode=reader.

The diminutive points to an ironical relationship: Martial identifies the wife as being so close to the "litter-bearers" that she practically becomes a member of that group, and invents the term *lecticāriola*. This corresponds to how the wife, the one credited for inventing the term *ancillāriolum*, identifies the husband with the "slave girls" in an analogous way.

VI.C.c. Specialized or Technical

There are 116 of these words in all.

VI.C.c.i. Technical Terms

There are 65 of these words.

sextula, "one-sixth of an *uncia*, one seventy-second of an *as* or other unit," from *pars*

sexta, "sixth part," from *sextus*, "sixth"

Sextula appears 4 times.

Sextula is a substantivized adjective and comes from the *sexta* in the phrase *pars sexta*. Martial at 10.55.3 gives an idea of what the word means here:

libras, scripula sextulasque dicit

she gives the weight in pounds, scruples, and sextules⁶⁶⁸

Similarly, Frontinus at *Aq.* 26 has this:

Digitus rotundus habet diametri digitum unum, capit quinariae septuncem et semiunciam sextulam.

⁶⁶⁸ This was translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Martial, *Epigrams*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/martial-epigrams/1993/pb_LCL095.369.xml.

The circular digit is 1 digit in diameter; and measures $\frac{7}{12}$ plus a $\frac{1}{2}$ twelfth plus $\frac{1}{72}$ of a quinararia in area.⁶⁶⁹

This "sextule" appears to be a technical term not only for money, but also for general measurements, such as weight and length. The diminutive suffix might have arisen simply to point to the fact that the unit which the diminutive refers to is a relatively small unit, and one that is not simply a "sixth" (*sexta*) of a part. On the other hand, it could be that a *sexta* means "x/6" whereas a *sextula* is "(x/12)/6."

VI.C.c.ii. Tools or Instruments

There are 33 of these words.

lecticula, "a bier (also applied to a hen's nesting-place)," from *lectica*, "litter"

Lecticula appears 7 times.

The diminutive *lecticula* literally means "small litter," and there are several sources where the word has such a meaning (e.g., Cic. *Fam.* 7.1.5), but the diminutive came to be applied more specifically to different types of objects. Tacitus at *Hist.* 3.67 has:

ferebatur lecticula parvulus filius velut in funebrem pompam

his little son was carried in a litter as if in a funeral procession⁶⁷⁰

⁶⁶⁹ This was translated by C. E. Bennett, Mary B. McElwain. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Frontinus, *Aqueducts of Rome*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/frontinus-aqueducts_rome/1925/pb_LCL174.379.xml.

⁶⁷⁰ This was translated by Clifford H. Moore. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Tacitus, *Histories*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/tacitus-histories/1925/pb_LCL111.443.xml.

In other words, the word has this technical term for “bier.” We should not think that the diminutive refers specifically to a small bier and therefore applies to that for a child (despite the *parvulus* in the previous quoted passage). Cornelius Nepos, when talking about the death of Titus Pomponius Atticus, best known as Marcus Cicero’s life-long friend, says at *Att.* 22.4:

Elatus est in lecticula, ut ipse praescripserat

He was carried to the grave in a [bier], as he himself had directed⁶⁷¹

The diminutive has a special use: a bier for the body of the deceased.

On the other hand, the word also appears to mean something in relation to animals, as seen at Apul *Met.* 9.33 when he talks about a particular portent:

gallina consuetae lecticulae spreto cubili ante ipsos pedes domini praematurum

the hen spurned the nest of her customary couch and laid her egg right at her master’s feet⁶⁷²

The idea that the word is used in some technical sense does work because the suffix has the power to indicate that, as in the Tacitus passage, this “litter” has a function that is atypical in relation to the normal types of *lectica* out there.

There are naturally other interpretations that one can have for the passage. One could argue that the diminutive here is diminutive because it has a negative connotation

⁶⁷¹ This was translated by J. C. Rolfe, translation adapted. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Cornelius Nepos, *Excerpt from the Book of Latin Historians*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/cornelius_nepos-excerpt_book_latin_historians_atticus/1929/pb_LCL467.327.xml?readMode=reader.

⁶⁷² This was translated by J. Arthur Hanson. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/apuleius-metamorphoses/1989/pb_LCL453.155.xml?readMode=reader.

from, at least, the perspective of the hen. Could it be that the term represents, instead, a comic miniaturization of human furniture to fit a chicken? It is certainly the case that the author is trying to portray a comic situation. He immediately makes the comment *magno prorsus futurum scrupulo prodidit partum* ("The delivery was premature but destined to cause very great anxiety"), which is not incompatible with such a situation.

VI.C.c.iii. Animate Entities

There are 9 of these words.

(carō) ovilla, "mutton," from ovīnus, "of or pertaining to sheep"

Ovillus appears 6 times.

Ovillus (instead of **ovīnulus*) is a diminutive of the adjective *ovīnus*,⁶⁷³ where the *-lus* form of the diminutive suffix was added to *ovīn-*, the base of *ovīnus*, and there was an assimilation of consonants (very much like what is seen in the formation of *aegyptilla* from *aegyptīnus*). This *ovīnus*, "of or belonging to sheep,"⁶⁷⁴ yields a diminutive adjective *ovillus*, and all my sources of this diminutive have a meaning that basically means the same thing as the base word (although, strictly speaking *ovillus* refers very often to foods deriving from sheep, where *ovīnus*, the more general, but the basic meaning of "of or belonging to sheep," pertains to both words), and not "pertaining slightly to sheep" or something along those lines. When the adjective combines with *carō*, there appears just the noun *ovilla*, seen at Petr. 56.5:

facinus indignum, aliquis ovillam est et tunicam habet

⁶⁷³ Strodach, 40.

⁶⁷⁴ L&S, s.v.

It's a terrible disgrace when someone eats sheep and then wears a woolen tunic⁶⁷⁵

The diminutive pertains to sheep, and that diminutive in and of itself seems to be a technical term for the animal itself (seen at e.g., *Cato Agr.* 36, *Var. R.* 1.38.2), but then there is a further use of the term such that the term also refers to the animal's flesh.

VI.C.c.iv. Proper Names

There are 9 of these words.

Furculae (Caudinae), "the Caudine Forks," from *furca*, "two-pronged fork"

Furculae (Caudinae) appears twice.

A *furcula* is literally a "small two-pronged fork," but none of my instances show the literal meaning of the word. We have a specific meaning at *Liv.* 9.2.6:

altera per furculas Caudinas, brevior

The other led through the Caudine Forks, and was shorter⁶⁷⁶

The diminutive here is only a proper name of this defile near the Samnite town of Caudium,⁶⁷⁷ and the description implies that the area might be a narrow pass or "fork in the road." It is interesting to note, though, that the Caudine Forks also had a name which uses the base word of the first word, *Furcae Caudinae*, as seen at *V. Max.* 5.1.ext.5. And yet the form *Furculae Caudinae* seems to be the form of the word that

⁶⁷⁵ This was translated by Gareth Schmeling. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Petronius, *Satyricon*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/petronius-satyricon/2020/pb_LCL015.175.xml.

⁶⁷⁶ This was translated by B. O. Foster. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Livy, *History of Rome 9*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/livy-history_rome_9/1926/pb_LCL191.167.xml.

⁶⁷⁷ OLD, s.v.

was used for the OLD entry, and I think it is thanks to Livy, who uses it at least a dozen times in Book 9.

Barbula, "Barbula (used as a cognomen)," from *barba*, "beard"

Barbula appears twice.

Barbula as an actual diminutive means "little beard," used as such by Cicero at *Cael.* 33. This word, however, has another use, as seen at Liv. 9.20.7:

*Teates quoque Apuli ad novos consules, C. Iunium
Bubulcum Q. Aemilium Barbulam, foedus petitum venerunt*

the Apulian Teates also came to the new consuls, Gaius Junius Bubulcus⁶⁷⁸ and Quintus Aemilius Barbula⁶⁷⁹

Here, *Barbula* has become the cognomen of a Roman. This is clearly comparable to the more obvious examples of diminutives becoming names of people (i.e., *Scaevola*, *Caligula*, from *scaeva* and *caliga*).

Acidula, *Acidulus*, "(proper name of springs)," from *acidus*, "sour"

Acidula appears once, *acidulus* once.

The literal meaning of *acidulus* is "slightly sour" or "slightly tart," and the word has that meaning at Pliny *Nat.* 2.230. But elsewhere, at *Nat.* 31.9, Pliny offers some other significances of the word, both in its masculine and feminine forms:

*in Aenaria insula calculosis mederi, et quae vocatur
Acidula ab Teano Sidicino IIII p. haec frigida, item
in Stabiano quae Dimidia vocatur, et in Venafrano ex
fonte Acidulo.*

⁶⁷⁸ At this point we might notice the *-ul-* element of the cognomen *Bubulcus* and wonder if that cognomen is also a diminutive word. The OLD has an entry for the cognomen and for the word itself, which means "ploughman," and while the entry for the latter shows an etymology section indicating that the word comes from *bōs*, there is no indication that the word is a diminutive, and we would be skeptical of it being one because it has an *-ulcus* rather than a *-ulus* or even *-ulicus*.

⁶⁷⁹ This was translated by B. O. Foster. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Livy, *History of Rome 9*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/livy-history_rome_9/1926/pb_LCL191.243.xml.

The waters in the island of Aenaria are said to cure stone in the bladder, as does also the water called Acidula—it is a cold one—four miles from Teanum Sidicinum, that at Stabiae called Dimidia, and the water of Venafrum from the spring Acidulus.⁶⁸⁰

Pliny does not bother to go into further detail about the names of these bodies of water, so I suppose he considers the naming scheme obvious. *Acidula* would be the proper name of the spring as a “water” (from, I suppose, *aqua acida*) while *Acidulus* would be the proper name of the spring (so, then, from *fōns acidus*).

VI.D. Conclusion

The various types of “imputed smallness” uses of diminutives generally follow the categories of diminutive words that Gaide, Fruyt, and Hanssen have proposed (e.g., illocutive or emotive uses, contrast). Moreover, I have provided examples which demonstrate a number of other categories which must also be considered.

Many of the diminutives of this type appear in my authors, only with the sense of “imputed smallness,” not that of “literal smallness.” This goes without saying for words like *ancilla* and *puella*, but I am referring to other words which I cite above. Other words, of course, have meanings both “literal” and “imputed.”

Most notable here is the fact that nearly all of these words, whether of the one type or the other, always appear in the diminutive forms which we would expect according to the typical rules of word formation. *Amāsiunculus*, for example, never appears in my sources as a diminutive with a “literal” meaning, but is absolutely

⁶⁸⁰ This was translated by W. H. S. Jones. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pliny_elder-natural_history/1938/pb_LCL418.383.xml?mainRsKey=yNDuY9.

recognizable as a diminutive form. The inference here is that words with only the "imputed" form either 1) could (semantics allowing) have been used in the "literal" sense, but for which there are no sources, or 2) never had the "literal" sense in the first place because the Romans skipped over well-trodden steps of word formation to create such diminutives, and it is only then that any sort of "literal" sense of the diminutives can be retroactively imposed on them. From this, we could say, for example, that *amāsiunculus*, on the one hand, could have meant "small lover" in a certain source, but that source never managed to come down to us, but on another hand, it might have never meant "small lover," and yet that does not mean a subsequent writer could not have given it such a meaning.

Chapter VII: Semantic Analysis: Non-Diminutive Word Types

Not all Latin words in *-(c)ulo-*, etc., are diminutives, and while these words are not the main focus of my study overall, they and their suffixes are what I will be focusing on now in order to explain how they differ from actual diminutives. In this chapter, I will present a description of the overall makeup of this category, devote the majority of the space to giving examples of usage patterns of the words, give my conclusion, and then finally show a full list of words of this group.

VII.A. Word Types and Examples

The types of non-diminutives in *-(c)ulo-*, etc., which I will be mainly analyzing in this chapter fit in various categories and subcategories of special meanings.

This is an overview of the types of words of these category and subcategories:

- Deverbative (and Denominative) Instrumentals and Their Derivatives:
 - Deverbative (and Denominative) Instrumentals: e.g., *curriculum*, "a race-track," from *currere*, "to run"; *pābulum*, "fodder," from *pāsci*, "to feed"; *mīrāculum* (Cato), "a marvel," from *mīrārī*, "to be amazed";
 - Adjectives from Deverbative (and Denominative) Instrumentals: e.g., *mīrāculus*, "freakish," from *mīrāculum*, "a marvel");
- Deverbative Adjectives and Their Derivatives:
 - Deverbative Adjectives: e.g., *bibulus*, "fond of drinking," "absorbent," from *bibere*, "to drink"; *iaculus*, "used for throwing, casting," from *iacere*, "to throw");
 - Substantive Versions of Deverbative Adjectives: e.g., *iaculum*, "javelin," from *iaculus*, "used for throwing, casting";

- Denominative Adjectives: e.g., *foriolus*, "suffering from diarrhoea," from *foria*, "diarrhoea"; *ēdentulus*, "toothless," from *dēns*, "tooth"; *torculus*, "of or belonging to a wine- or olive-press," from *torculum*, "a wine- or olive-press";
- Deverbative and Denominative Abstracts in *-(t)ēla* or *-(t)ella*: e.g., *clientēla*, "clientship," from *cliēns*, "client"; *loquēla* or *loquella*, "speech," from *loqui*, "to speak."



I devote a final section of this chapter to three other types of words in order to explain their relation to the non-diminutives above and the diminutives already mentioned in previous chapters. This is an overview of these three types of words:

- Groups of Words Falsely Called Diminutives:
 - Words in *-uleus*⁶⁸¹;
 - Words in *-ēdula* Referring to Animals (Mostly Birds);
 - Words in *-aster*, *-astra*, *-astrum*;
 - Words in *-īna*;
 - So-Called "Diminutive Verbs" in *-illāre*
- Words with Both Diminutive and Non-Diminutive Meanings;
- Words Which Do Not Neatly Fall into the Above Classifications.

⁶⁸¹ I have decided to include these words here because they almost always have meanings that are distinctively non-diminutive even though they are built from a composite suffix which includes the diminutive suffix. The only word among these which can, but does not necessarily, have a diminutive meaning is *eculeus*.

VII.B. Overall Makeup of This Category

Here I will give some sense of the overall makeup of the category,⁶⁸² how large it is, and what sorts of base nouns are used.

Type or Subtype	Total Number
Deverbative (and Denominative) Instrumentals and Their Derivatives	68 (65 nouns, 3 adjectives)
Deverbative (and Denominative) Instrumentals	65 (only nouns)
Adjectives from Deverbative (and Denominative) Instrumentals	3 (only adjectives)
Deverbative Adjectives and Their Derivatives	39 (24 nouns, 15 adjectives)
Deverbative Adjectives	15 (only adjectives)
Substantive Versions of Deverbative Adjectives	24 (only nouns)
Denominative Adjectives	4 (only adjectives)
Deverbative and Denominative Abstracts	15 (only nouns)
Groups of Words Falsely Called Diminutives:	33 (24 nouns, 9 verbs)
Words in <i>-uleus</i>	5 (only nouns)
Words in <i>-ēdula</i> Referring to Animals (Mostly Birds)	5 (only nouns)
Words in <i>-aster, -astra, -astrum</i>	10 (only nouns)
Words in <i>-īna</i>	4 (only nouns)
So-Called "Diminutive Verbs" in <i>-illāre</i>	9 (only verbs)
Words with Both Diminutive and Non-Diminutive Meanings	4 (2 nouns, 2 adjectives)
Words Which Do Not Neatly Fall into the Above Classifications	22 (16 nouns, 6 adjectives)
All Types and Subtypes Together	173 (123 nouns, 51 adjectives)

Table 3. Non-Diminutive: Numbers of Words.

My study has identified 173 words in this category, 123 different nouns and 51 different adjectives. The largest subcategory of nouns is the collection of Deverbative (and Denominative) Instrumentals, 65 in all (38%), and the second largest is the collection of Deverbative and Denominative Abstracts, 15 in all (9%). The largest subcategory of adjectives is the collection of Deverbative Adjectives, 15 in all (9%), and

⁶⁸² This category is in contradistinction to the categories of words which I consider diminutives, and so it is a "category" in the same sense that all non-human mammals are a "category" besides humans.

the second largest is the collection of Denominative Adjectives, 4 in all (2%). Words under "Words Which Do Not Neatly Fall into the Above Classifications" are altogether a mixed bag and I am not counting them as a subcategory in the same sense as I do for the other groups.

Words of this category appear in both prose (e.g., Seneca, Quintilian, Gellius) and poetry (e.g., Juvenal, Martial), and in various genres (e.g., Pliny the Elder, Statius, often in Apuleius). Since this category contains words of very many types which are not diminutives, we should not be surprised at such a frequency.

VII.C. Examples of Usage Patterns

The clusters of meaning relate to various types of non-diminutives in *-(c)ulo-*, etc., which I have mentioned in the Word Types and Examples section. Below are specific examples of interesting cases listed under the clusters of meaning.

VII.C.a. Deverbative (and Denominative) Instrumentals and Their Derivatives

These are 68 nouns and the adjectives derived from them.

VII.C.a.i. Deverbative (and Denominative) Instrumentals

There are 65 words altogether in this category.

ientāculum, "a light early-morning refreshment, breakfast," from *ientāre*, "to breakfast"

Ientāculum appears 6 times in my authors.

This word came about by adding the deverbative-instrumental-forming suffix *-culo-* to *ientā-*, the stem of *ientāre*, which itself is a contraction of *ieientāre*, from the adjective *ieiūnus*, “fasting,” “hungry.”⁶⁸³

We can demonstrate a typical use of the word from Martial (14.223.1):

Adipata
Surgite: iam vendit pueris ientacula pistor
cristataeque sonant undique lucis aves.

Children’s Dainties
Rise. Already the baker is selling boys their
breakfast, and the crested birds of daybreak sound
from every side.⁶⁸⁴

The connection to the verb *ientāre* implies the meaning of “breakfast,” while the references to *Adipāta* (a rich dish⁶⁸⁵) and *lūcis* point to the meaning of “a light early-morning refreshment.” The instrumental notion here is not necessarily literal, but more likely one of means, and so *ientāculum* means “that which serves for having the early-morning meal.”

cūnābula (-ōrum), “a cradle,” from *cūnae*, “a cradle”

Cūnābula appears 13 times.

de Vaan⁶⁸⁶ and D. G. Miller⁶⁸⁷ do not support the idea that *incūnābula*, which is *cūnābulum* with a prefix added, and so a synonym, is denominative from a verb **incūnāre*, “to lay in a cradle,” and I think we can infer that the two scholars would

⁶⁸³ de Vaan, 296.

⁶⁸⁴ This was translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Martial, *Epigrams*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/martial-epigrams/1993/pb_LCL480.325.xml.

⁶⁸⁵ OLD, s.v.

⁶⁸⁶ de Vaan, 153.

⁶⁸⁷ D. G. Miller, 84.

agree that the same reasoning applies to the simple *cūnābula*, since there is no verb **cūnāre*. This, therefore, is a rare instance of a denominative instrumental, the word coming about by having the denominative-instrumental-forming suffix *-culo-* added to the nominal stem *cūnā-*. The general meaning of the word is “cradle,” not essentially different from the base word *cūnae*, and the suffix, giving a literal meaning of “cradle-instrument” or even “that which serves for laying a baby into a cradle,” seems redundant. And yet the suffix extends the new word’s semantic range. There is an important distinction between *cūnae*, “cradle,” and *cūnābula*, “that serves as a cradle.”⁶⁸⁸ In short, this use of *cūnābula* does not refer to any small version of a *cūnae*.

A more abstract idea of “the cradle (as a symbol of infancy),”⁶⁸⁹ deriving from “that serves as a cradle,” can be seen at Statius (*Silv.* 2.1.120):

*Scilicet infausta Lachesis cunabula dextra
attigit et gremio puerum complexa fovebat
Invidia; [...]*

Methinks that Lachesis touched the boy’s cradle with her ill-omened hand and Envy fondled him on her lap⁶⁹⁰

The idea here is that the goddess Lachesis is doing her duty of measuring the length of the child’s life not long after that child’s birth.

And yet, if we move from the realm of abstractions and back to more physical objects, we should notice that the word *cūnābula* may be applied as Pliny uses it (*Nat.* 10.99):

⁶⁸⁸ This follows White’s (33) reasoning on the interpretation of *tabernāculum*: “[that which serves for a hut], tent, where *taberna* is interpreted to mean “hut.”

⁶⁸⁹ OLD, s.v.

⁶⁹⁰ This was translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, revised by Christopher A. Parrott. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Statius, *Silvae*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/stadius-silvae/2003/pb_LCL206.113.xml.

Nec [aves] vero iis minor sollertia quae cunabula in terra faciunt corporis gravitate prohibitaē sublime petere.

Nor yet are those species less cunning which, because the weight of their body forbids their soaring aloft, make their nests on the ground.⁶⁹¹

The word can thus refer to birds' nests and not just to the furniture meant for infant humans.

remeāculum, "a return journey," from *remeāre*, "to go back," "to return"

Remeāculum appears once.

This word came about by adding the deverbative-instrumental-forming suffix *-culo-* to *remeā-*, the stem of *remeāre*.

The word should literally mean "an instrument for returning," and yet Apuleius at *Met.* 6.2 shows us a slightly different meaning:

et per famulorum tuorum draconum pinnata curricula, et glebae Siculae sulcamina, et currum rapacem et terram tenacem, et illuminarum Proserpinae nuptiarum demeacula et luminosarum filiae inventionum remeacula

and by the winged course of your dragon-servants, the furrows of the Sicilian soil, the ravisher's chariot and the grasping ground, Proserpina's return home [Loeb translator: "descent"] to a lightless wedding and your daughter's lamplit discovery and ascent⁶⁹²

Once again, we see an example of words of this type having non-physical senses, and yet the "that which serves for..." meaning does not fully explain what we

⁶⁹¹ This was translated by H. Rackham, translation adapted. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pliny_elder-natural_history/1938/pb_LCL353.355.xml?readMode=reader.

⁶⁹² This was translated by J. Arthur Hanson. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/apuleius-metamorphoses/1989/pb_LCL044.261.xml?result=2&rskey=4iNfhs&readMode=recto.

see here. The word seems to refer to the action rather than the means, and we can see how such a meaning can come about from the semantic range of the suffix. We can suggest that the word at some point meant something like “passageway to one’s home” (i.e., “that which serves for returning home”), and then metonymy took over to attach the action to the means.

crepitāculum, “an instrument for making a loud percussion,” “a rattle,” “the sistrum of Isis,” from *crepitāre*, “to rattle”

Crepitāculum appears thrice.

This word came about by adding the deverbative-instrumental-forming suffix *-culo-* to *crepitā-*, the stem of *crepitāre*.

Apuleius at *Met.* 11.4 mentions this object:

Nam dextra quidem ferebat aereum crepitaculum

In her right hand she held a bronze rattle⁶⁹³

This seems like a fairly straightforward use of the suffix to create a word for an object serving as an instrument to carry out the action of the related verb: “rattle-instrument” is a perfectly reasonable literal meaning of the word.

tomāculum, “a kind of sausage,” probably from the Greek word τομή, “the end left after cutting”⁶⁹⁴

Tomāculum appears thrice.

⁶⁹³ This was translated by J. Arthur Hanson. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/apuleius-metamorphoses/1989/pb_LCL453.245.xml.

⁶⁹⁴ OLD, s.v.

This is another rare instance of a denominative instrumental, and in this case, the word probably⁶⁹⁵ came about by adding the denominative-instrumental-forming suffix *-culo-* to the nominal Greek stem *τομα-*. I believe we are to understand the force of the suffix and the base word as “the container for the end left over after cutting,” where the “end left over after cutting” is the meat meant to make the sausage.

There are other theories of its etymology. Hakamies claims that it is a “pseudo-diminutive”⁶⁹⁶ but does not elaborate. In terms of meaning, the word could be a diminutive like *sangunculus*, “blood pudding,” from *sanguis*, “blood,” but in terms of morphology, a Latin diminutive of *τομή* with the *-cul-* form of the diminutive suffix would be *tomicula*, with the connecting vowel *i* instead of *ā* (as seen in *panniculus*, “a small piece of cloth,” from *pannus*, “a piece of cloth”⁶⁹⁷), and the termination *a* to match the declension and gender of *τομή* (which is an *ā*-stem as far as Latin morphology is concerned).

Juvenal uses the word at 10.355:

*ut tamen et poscas aliquid voveasque sacellis
exta et candiduli divina tomacula porci*

Yet, to actually give you something to ask for and some reason to offer the guts and little sacred sausages of a shining white piglet at the little shrines⁶⁹⁸

The meaning of the word seems certain enough according to this passage.

⁶⁹⁵ OLD, s.v.

⁶⁹⁶ Hakamies, 89.

⁶⁹⁷ L&S, s.v.

⁶⁹⁸ This was translated by Susanna Morton Braund. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Juvenal, *Satires*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/juvenal-satires/2004/pb_LCL091.397.xml.

VII.C.a.ii. Adjectives from Deverbative (and Denominative) Instrumentals

There are 3 of these words, all built on *rīdēre* or its compounds.

rīdiculus, "capable of arousing laughter," "funny," "comic," "amusing," from *rīdiculum*, "joke," "jest"⁶⁹⁹

Rīdiculus appears 15 times.

This word came about by adding the deverbative-instrumental-forming suffix *-culo-* to *ridē-*, the stem of *rīdēre*, "to laugh," with the final stem vowel changing from *e* to *i*, and then adding the denominative adjectival suffix *-us* to the resulting deverbative instrumental *rīdiculum*. The word resembles its English counterpart, *ridiculous*, both in terms of meaning and shape, yet there are some unusual uses.

For instance, Quintilian *Inst.* 6.3.6 uses the word:

*Adfert autem rei summam difficultatem primum quod
ridiculum dictum plerumque falsum est, saepe ex
industria depravatum*

A great difficulty in this is, first, that a joke [literally, "ridiculous thing said"] is commonly untrue, often deliberately distorted⁷⁰⁰

When the word is linked with a word like *dictum*, it becomes almost synonymous with the deverbative instrumental *rīdiculum* which yields the adjectival form. But a more interesting use of the adjective shows up at Martial 2.41.15:

*mimos ridiculi Philistionis
et convivia nequiora vita
et quidquid lepida procacitate
laxat perspicuo labella risu.*

⁶⁹⁹ D. G. Miller, 89.

⁷⁰⁰ This was translated by Donald A. Russell, translation adapted. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/quintilian-orators_education/2002/pb_LCL126.67.xml.

Avoid funny Philistion's mimes and parties of the naughtier kind and anything sprightly and saucy that loosens the lips in revealing laughter.⁷⁰¹

In this case, the word is a substantive referring to a jester or a buffoon.

dēridiculus, "utterly laughable or ridiculous," "absurd," "ludicrous," from *dēridiculum*, "a ridiculous thing or quality," "absurdity"

Dēridiculus appears twice.

This word came about by adding the deverbative-instrumental-forming suffix *-culo-* to *dēridē-*, the stem of *dēridēre*, "to deride," "to laugh at," with the final stem vowel changing from *e* to *i*, and then adding the denominative adjectival suffix *-us* to the resulting deverbative instrumental *dēridiculum*. The difference between *ridēre* and *dēridēre* is that the former can simply mean "to laugh"⁷⁰² (in general) while the latter means specifically "laugh at," "to deride."⁷⁰³ In other words, the latter is more specific and has more of a negative connotation.

That is what we ought to have in mind when we read Gellius at 11.13.10:

facie deridicula imitantur histriones et gestiunt.

with their ludicrous appearance imitate actors and play the buffoon.⁷⁰⁴

⁷⁰¹ This was translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Martial, *Epigrams*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/martial-epigrams/1993/pb_LCL094.157.xml?result=1&rskey=OWQc8d&readMode=verso.

⁷⁰² OLD, s.v.

⁷⁰³ OLD, s.v.

⁷⁰⁴ This was translated by J. C. Rolfe. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Gellius, *Attic Nights*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/gellius-attic_nights/1927/pb_LCL200.331.xml.

In other words, the appearance is not simply funny (as in *rīdiculus*), but in fact something which should be mocked and laughed at (implied by the verb from which the word *dērīdiculus* derives).

irīdiculus, "laughable," "ludicrous," from *irīdiculum*, "a laughing-stock"

Irrīdiculus appears once.

This word came about by adding the deverbative-instrumental-forming suffix *-culo-* to *irīdē-*, the stem of *irīdēre*, "to mock," with the final stem vowel changing from *e* to *i*, and then adding the denominative adjectival suffix *-us* to the resulting deverbative instrumental *irīdiculum*. *Irrīdere* is essentially a synonym of *dērīdēre*: "to laugh at, mock, make fun of."⁷⁰⁵ The difference in prefixes might indicate a very fine literal distinction (i.e., *ir-īdēre* = "to laugh at" versus *dērīdēre* = "to laugh (while looking down upon"), but I cannot specifically point to such a distinction in the literature.

We can see Pliny using the word at *Nat.* 28.20 when talking about how on walls are written prayers to avert fires, written with unexpected Latin words:

*verba [...] quae irridicula videri cogit animus semper
aliquid inmensum exspectans*

words, [...] which our mind forces us to consider
absurd, being always on the look-out for something
big⁷⁰⁶

⁷⁰⁵ OLD, s.v.

⁷⁰⁶ This was translated by W. H. S. Jones. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pliny_elder-natural_history/1938/pb_LCL418.15.xml?readMode=recto.

The idea seems to be that these Latin words appear silly when used to order fire not to burn down your house.

VII.C.b. Deverbative Adjectives and Their Derivatives

There are 39 of these words.

VII.C.b.i. Deverbative Adjectives

There are 15 of these words.

crēdulus, “prone to believe or trust,” “credulous,” “trustful,” from *crēdere*, “to believe”

Crēdulus appears 15 times.

This word came about by adding the deverbative-adjective-forming suffix *-ulo-* to *crēde-*, the stem of *crēdere*, with the final stem vowel elided before the *u*. The literal meaning of this deverbative adjective is something like “tending to believe.”

The English version of the word gives one an obvious clue to what the Latin word says, as we can see when Seneca at *Nat.* 4.b.4.1 says:

*qui me usque ad mendacia haec leviora in quibus os
percidi, non oculi erui solent, credulum praesto.*

and I am a man who shows himself credulous up to the limit of those trivial falsehoods for which the face is usually slapped but the eyes are not put out.⁷⁰⁷

This is a fairly common word, and it appears 15 times in all, mostly in the works of the poets (e.g., Hor. *Epod.* 16.33, Hor. *Carm.* 1.11.8).

⁷⁰⁷ This was translated by Thomas H. Corcoran. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Seneca the Younger, *Natural Questions*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/seneca_younger-natural_questions/1971/pb_LCL457.51.xml.

pendulus, "hanging down, drooping," "sagging," "pendulous," from *pendere*, "to hang down"

Pendulus appears 19 times.

This word came about by adding the deverbative-adjective-forming suffix *-ulo-* to *pendē-*, the stem of *pendēre*, with the final stem vowel elided before the *u*. The literal meaning of this deverbative adjective is something like "tending to hang."

Apuleius at *Met.* 2.9 gives a long description of a woman's hair:

*Uberes enim crines leniter emissos et cervice
dependulos ac dein per colla dispositos sensimque
sinuato patagio residentes paulisper ad finem
conglobatos in summum verticem nodus astrinxerat.*

Her luxuriant tresses were softly loosened to hang down over her neck, then they spread over her shoulders and momentarily rested upon the slightly curved border of her tunic; they were then gathered in a mass at the end and fastened in a knot to the crown of her head.⁷⁰⁸

In this passage, the word refers specifically to the hair, but beginning with that word also gives the reader a sense that the description is for the most part *pendulus* as well: we begin with hair and our focus hangs down from the hair to the tunic, and we are brought back up again with the tying of the knot.

rēiculus, "discarded as worthless," from *rēicere*, "to throw back"

Rēiculus appears thrice.

⁷⁰⁸ This was translated by J. Arthur Hanson. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/apuleius-metamorphoses/1989/pb_LCL044.65.xml?readMode=reader.

This word came about by adding the deverbative-adjective-forming suffix *-ulo-* to *rēice-*, the stem of *rēicere*, with the final stem vowel elided before the *u*. The literal meaning of this deverbative adjective is something like “tending to be thrown back.”

Seneca, at *Dial.* 10.7.7, when talking about how prosperous people complain about not being able to live because others constantly call them to themselves, says this:

Dispunge, inquam, et recense vitae tuae dies; videbis paucos admodum et reiculos apud te resedisse.

Check off, I say, and review the days of your life; you will see that very few, and those the refuse, have been left for you.⁷⁰⁹

Only the worst days are left for such people to devote to themselves. Such a meaning suggests that the word has moved away from a literal meaning of “tending to be thrown back” to something more like “rejected” or “to be thrown back.” Such later interpretations fit to a more technical use of the word, namely one in reference to a ewe or other animal culled out of a flock or herd on account of old age, etc.,⁷¹⁰ an example of which we see with Varro in *Non.* p. 168M, and yet I cannot cite an example of this among the authors I am dealing with. Nevertheless, I think it demonstrates the range of meanings that the word has acquired.

VII.C.b.ii. Substantive Versions of Deverbative Adjectives

There are 24 of these words.

⁷⁰⁹ This was translated by John W. Basore. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Seneca the Younger, *De Brevitate Vitae*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/seneca_younger-de_brevitate_vitae/1932/pb_LCL254.307.xml?readMode=reader.

⁷¹⁰ OLD, s.v.

capulus, "a sword-handle or hilt," from capere, "to take"

Capulus appears 12 times.

This word came about by adding the deverbative-adjective-forming suffix *-ulo-* to *cape-*, the stem of *capere*, with the final stem vowel elided before the *u*, and then using the masculine form of the resulting deverbative adjective as a substantive.⁷¹¹ (The resulting deverbative adjective, **capulus*, is not attested in literature, but it would mean something like "tending to be seized" or "grabbable," and such meanings are at least perceptible in the words we can cite.)

The meaning of the word is straightforward, and yet the connection between the etymon and that meaning can appear vague. And yet Seneca does use the word at *Phoen.* 480 in a way that is helpful to us here.

*Redde iam capulo manum,
astringe galeam, laeva se clipeo inserat:*

Then return your hand to the sword hilt, fasten on
your helmet, thrust your left arm into the shield.⁷¹²

The author's use of *redde ... manum* in connection with the word reinforces the notion concerning the way in which a person interacts with that part of the sword. A different verb appears (i.e., *reddere* instead of *capere*), but the synonymy is clear.

⁷¹¹ Weiss, 279; de Vaan, 90.

⁷¹² This was translated by John G. Fitch. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Seneca the Younger, *Phoenician Women*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/seneca_younger-phoenician_women/2002/pb_LCL062.317.xml?readMode=reader.

dilūculum, “dawn,” “daybreak,” from *dilūcēre*, “to be clear,” literally “to be light enough to distinguish objects apart”⁷¹³

Dilūculum appears thrice.

This word came about by adding the deverbative-adjective-forming suffix *-ulo-* to *dilūcē-*, the stem of *dilūcēre*, with the final stem vowel elided before the *u*, and then using the neuter form of the resulting deverbative adjective as a substantive. (The resulting deverbative adjective, **dilūculus*, is not attested in literature, but it would mean something like “tending to be light enough to distinguish objects apart,” and such a meaning is at least perceptible in the words we can cite.)

This word shows another way that we can interpret the suffix. At *Met.* 4.21

Apuleius gives us an example of how the word relates to time:

*Tanto tamen terrore tantaque formidine coetum illum
turbaverat, ut usque diluculum, immo et in multum diem
nemo quisquam fuerit ausus, quamvis iacentem, bestiam
vel digito contingere*

He had thrown that crowd into such a tumult of terror and fright that until dawn—no, even until full daylight—no one dared so much as to touch the beast with his finger⁷¹⁴

In other words, the *dilūculum* is the part of the day that has not yet gotten to full daylight (i.e., ...*multum diem*), the part of the day when it is light enough to distinguish objects apart.⁷¹⁵ This is a case where the suffix has a loose “locative” significance, but

⁷¹³ L&S, s.v.

⁷¹⁴ This was translated by J. Arthur Hanson. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/apuleius-metamorphoses/1989/pb_LCL044.183.xml?readMode=reader.

⁷¹⁵ The corresponding time of the day when night approaches is twilight.

instead of indicating a place (as in *curriculum*), it indicates a time. Fronto at *Aur.*

1.p.86(6N) shows a more overt use of that significance:

Nam neque domum vestram diluculo ventitat

For neither does he haunt your house at daybreak⁷¹⁶

Here we see an ablative-of-time-when use of *dilūculō*. Latin uses the local ablative of words which in themselves denote time, while using the preposition *in* with words which do not in themselves denote time, unless they are qualified by an adjective.⁷¹⁷ It seems that, in the minds of the Romans from at least the time of Fronto, *dilūculō* has fully become a word denoting specifically time despite the meaning of the suffix.

tēgula, "a roof-tile," from *tegere*, "to cover"

Tēgula appears 16 times.

This word came about by adding the deverbative-adjective-forming suffix *-ulo-* to *tege-*, the stem of *tegere*, with the final stem vowel *e* elided before the *u*, and then using the feminine form of the resulting deverbative adjective as a substantive. (The resulting deverbative adjective, **tēgulus*, is not attested in literature, but it would mean something like "tending to cover," and such a meaning is at least perceptible in the words we can cite.)

Ovid at *Ars* 2.622 gives us a wonderful passage:

Tum quoque, cum solem nondum prohibebat et imbrem

⁷¹⁶ This was translated by C. R. Haines. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Fronto, Marcus Cornelius, *Correspondence*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/marcus_cornelius_fronto-correspondence/1919/pb_LCL112.87.xml?readMode=verso.

⁷¹⁷ Mountford, *Bradley's Arnold Latin Prose Composition* (Bolchazy-Carducci: Wauconda, 2005), 188-189.

Tegula, sed quercus tecta cibumque dabat [...]

In those days too when sun and rain were not yet kept out by a roof, but an oak gave food and covering alike [...]⁷¹⁸

Here the poet plays with the etymology of the word using the related *tēcta* and the description of the sorts of things against which *tēgulae* are meant to protect.

gerulus, "a bearer," "carrier," "porter," from *gerere*, "to carry"

and

gerula, feminine of *gerulus*, "a bearer," "carrier," "porter," from *gerere*, "to carry"

Gerulus appears 7 times, *gerula* appears twice.

These words came about by adding the deverbative-adjective-forming suffix *-ulo-* to *gere-*, the stem of *gerere*, with the final stem vowel elided before the *u*, and then using the masculine and feminine forms of the resulting deverbative adjective as a substantive. (The resulting deverbative adjective, *gerulus*, is debatably in passages such as the one from Apuleius talked about below, and it can mean something like "tending to carry.")

At *Ep.* 2.2.72 Horace talks about the difficulty of writing his verses in the busy city of Rome, and includes the line:

festinat calidus mulis gerulisque redemptor

In hot haste rushes a contractor with mules and porters⁷¹⁹

⁷¹⁸ This was translated by J. H. Mozley, revised by G. P. Goold.. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/ovid-art_love/1929/pb_LCL232.109.xml.

⁷¹⁹ This was translated by H. Rushton Fairclough. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Horace, *Epistles*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/horace-epistles/1926/pb_LCL194.431.xml?readMode=reader.

This word does not necessarily refer to human beings. Perhaps the mules are the porters (where the *-que* is epexegetic⁷²⁰)! And yet Apuleius at *Met.* 11.16 does identify asses as *gerulī*:

*Iamque confecta bona parte mortiferae viae,
continaberis claudum asinum lignorum gerulum cum
agasone simili*

Now, when you have completed a good part of your deathly journey you will meet a lame ass carrying wood, with a driver lame as well⁷²¹

The Loeb translator here is taking the word as adjectival, but I think “a lame ass, a carrier of wood,” works well also. Elsewhere, at *Met.* 6.20, Apuleius uses the feminine version of the word:

*Et 'Ecce' inquit 'inepta ego divinae formositatis
gerula, quae nec tantillum quidem indidem mihi delibo,
vel sic illi amatori meo formoso placitura.'*

‘Look,’ she said to herself, ‘I am a fool to be a porter of divine beauty and not take out a tiny drop of it for myself. It might even enable me to please my beautiful lover.’⁷²²

We see here a more metaphorical use of the word. Yet another atypical use appears at *Nat.* 11.24 when Pliny says:

*[...] ideo aversa alvo favi eximuntur. gerulae
secundos flatus captant.*

⁷²⁰ OLD, s.v. “-que,” section 6.

⁷²¹ This was translated by J. Arthur Hanson. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/apuleius-metamorphoses/1989/pb_LCL044.283.xml.

⁷²² This was translated by J. Arthur Hanson. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/apuleius-metamorphoses/1989/pb_LCL044.287.xml.

[...] consequently the combs are taken out from the back of the hive. Carrier bees wait for favourable breezes.⁷²³

In other words, bees can be *gerulae* as well.

VII.C.c. Denominative Adjectives

There are 4 of these words.

caerulus or *caeruleus*, "blue," "dark-coloured," "of or connected with the sky,"

"celestial," from *caelum*, "sky"

Caerulus/caeruleus appears 76 times.

This word came about by adding the denominative-adjective-forming suffix *-ulo-* to *caelo-*, the stem of *caelum*, with the final stem vowel elided before the *u*. We should note that the word can end in either *-ulus* or *-uleus*. The latter suffix resembles the non-diminutives in *-uleus* like *nucleus*, and yet the actual, adjectival *-eus* element of *caeruleus* may be the same (and Hakamies supports this idea⁷²⁴).

An adjective from *caelum* with a meaning of "connected with," "involved with," should mean "of the sky" or "celestial," and indeed we find Seneca at *Her. F.* 132 using the word with that very meaning:

iam caeruleis evectus equis
Titan summa prospicit Oeta

Now, carried aloft by cerulean steeds,
the Titan looks out from the heights of Oeta⁷²⁵

⁷²³ This was translated by H. Rackham. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*;" accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pliny_elder-natural_history/1938/pb_LCL353.447.xml?mainRsKey=yNDuY9.

⁷²⁴ Hakamies, 27.

⁷²⁵ This was translated by John G. Fitch. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Seneca the Younger, *Hercules*;" accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/seneca_younger-hercules/2002/pb_LCL062.59.xml.

Context (*summa ... Oeta*) suggests that we are indeed seeing a “celestial” meaning here. Despite this, the Loeb translator uses “cerulean,” which means “blue like the sky,”⁷²⁶ reflecting a more typical meaning of *caeruleus*, as seen with Ovid’s verses at *Pont.* 4.10.62:

*quin etiam, stagno similis pigraeque paludi,
caeruleus vix est diluiturque color.*

Nay, like to a still pool or a stagnant swamp
its colour is scarce blue and is washed away.⁷²⁷

Here the word refers to a color associated with the sky, blue. Most of the meanings in this word’s entry in the OLD (i.e., 8 out of 11) relate to the color blue, rather than to the sky itself, so it seems that the literal meaning of the word became mostly obsolete in favor of a more specialized understanding of the term.⁷²⁸

anniculus, “one year old,” “lasting one year,” from *annus*, “year”

Anniculus appears 7 times.

This word came about by adding the denominative-adjective-forming suffix *-culo-* to *anno-*, the stem of *annus*, with the final stem vowel changing from *o* to *i*. de Vaan states that it has been explained as a derivative of **annicus*, but also points out that Leumann regards it as a back-formation to **bienniculus*, “only two years old.”⁷²⁹ There are problems with both these etymologies, however: 1) the two posited words, **annicus* and **bienniculus*, are not attested, nor are there similarly formed words using

⁷²⁶ Oxford English Dictionary, “cerulean,” accessed July 21, 2023, https://www.oed.com/dictionary/cerulean_adj?tab=factsheet#9739057.

⁷²⁷ This was translated by A. L. Wheeler, revised by G. P. Goold. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Ovid, *Ex Ponto*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/ovid-ex_ponto/1924/pb_LCL151.467.xml.

⁷²⁸ It is indeed the first word that I think of when I wish to render “blue” into Latin.

⁷²⁹ de Vaan, 44.

the base word *annus* (e.g., **biennicus* or **trienniculus*); 2) Hanssen considers **annicus* an emphatic diminutive which has shifted from a noun to an adjective, but cannot cite an *-icus* word that behaves that way (Hanssen's example *hystriculus*, "prickly, hairy, bearded,"⁷³⁰ is not relevant); 3) further explanation of **bienniculus* is needed, and I can only infer that this adjective is meant to be a diminutive of the rare adjective *biennis*, "two years old."⁷³¹

It seems reasonable that the suffix *-culo-* attached directly to *annus* without any intervening words (see above). It is likely that *-culus* here first came about when nominal instrumentals in *-culum* yielded derivative adjectives in *-culus*, but in some formation pattern comparable to the creation of *vernāculus* from *verna* (see below in its section), the suffix was reanalyzed to be a denominative suffix meaning "of" or "pertaining to" or "belonging to," so *anni-culus* (from *annus*) would mean literally "belonging to one year," and *vernā-culus* (from *verna*) would mean literally "pertaining to a slave born in the master's household." Such an idea is plausible when we consider several ideas: 1) both Cato and Varro display a propensity for using various words in *-culum* (e.g., *incerniculum*, "a receptacle into which corn, etc., is sifted,"⁷³² *Cat Agr.* 1.3.1; *operculum*, "a lid, cap, or sim.,"⁷³³ *Cato Agr.* 104.2, *Var R.* 3.16.17); 2) Cato's and Varro's knowing how to come up with adjective forms for such words would be extremely helpful for their purposes and it seems reasonable that the adjectival suffix *-culus* was familiar to them (Varro specifically shows us that he knows about

⁷³⁰ L&S, s.v.

⁷³¹ OLD, s.v.

⁷³² OLD, s.v.

⁷³³ OLD, s.v.

words that use the suffix at Var *L.* 9.43 and *L.* 7.64); 3) since the exact history of the development of a suffix is not always transparent, a suffix *-culus* when looked at on its own can appear to mean “of” or “pertaining to” or “belonging to.” Both Cato and Varro use *anniculus* (e.g., Cato *Agr.* 17.2, Var *R.* 1.65.1) as well a word *scirpiculus*, “(of a billhook) Used for dealing with bulrushes”⁷³⁴ (at Cat *Agr.* 11.4, Var *L.* 5.137, *R.* 1.22.5), which has *scirpus*, “bulrush,” as the base word. Both *anniculus* and *scirpiculus* appear to come from their base words through the addition of this *-culus* suffix, and both Cato and Varro would have been familiar with their base words *annus* and *scirpus* just by the nature of the meanings of the respective derivative word. In any event, the power of the generalized adjective-forming suffix *-culus* would also be reinforced by “virtual synonym” diminutive words like *masculus*, “male, masculine,”⁷³⁵ which can easily be taken to be more adjectival than diminutive.

Columella at 7.9.2 has a passage that might be relevant to the previous comments on the etymology of the word:

*Ab annicula aetate commode progenerant, dum
quadrimatum agant*

They [pigs] are fit for breeding purposes from a year old until they are four years old⁷³⁶

Several things are important here. First, I do not perceive a particular diminutive sense like “only one year old” in this passage, and indeed, instead of some sort of

⁷³⁴ OLD, s.v.

⁷³⁵ OLD, s.v.

⁷³⁶ This was translated by E. S. Forster, Edward H. Heffner. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Columella, *On Agriculture*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/columella-agriculture/1941/pb_LCL407.291.xml?mainRsKey=DFZVlu.

deficiency that one could read from the “only” (i.e., “they are only a year old and not old enough”), I see a sufficiency in the sense these pigs have reached a point in their lives where they can engage in the relevant activity. Next, it is interesting that, for the phrase “four years old,” Columella uses a phrase which comprises a noun like *quadrīmātus*, “the age of four years,”⁷³⁷ which etymologically has no connection with *annus* (and really coming from *quadrīmus*, where the *-īmus* part is related to *hiems*, “winter”⁷³⁸), instead of some phrase using *quadriennium* (the OLD has the word *quadriennium* but not a *quadriennis*). Now, obviously, *quadriennium* and *quadrīmātus* are not exactly synonyms, nor is there any rule forcing Columella to use the former, but whatever the connection between *anniculus* and *quadriennium* might be (if one even exists), it was not strong enough for the writer to pair the words so as to convey the meanings of the two cut-off points of time.

This distinction between *anniculus* and *quadrīmus* is similar to the English word *yearling*, which has a diminutive suffix and refers to one-year-old horses or cows, without there being any cognate adjective for older animals. With this mind, we could extrapolate a diminutive meaning, then, from the word *anniculus* by pointing to the meaning “relating to young (small) animals.” This idea appears elegant on its surface, and we can certainly imagine that some Romans assume that the form of the suffix points to a diminutive meaning, but we must realize that: 1) *yearling* is a noun and *anniculus* is an adjective (if the latter were a noun, then the word might not be so confounding etymologically); 2) we really cannot say that the Latin word developed

⁷³⁷ OLD, s.v.

⁷³⁸ OLD, s.v.

from that particular kind of comparison (young, small animals versus older animals) and that the diminutive meaning is a product of it.

būbulus,⁷³⁹ "belonging to, or connected with, cattle," from *bōs*, "ox"

Būbulus appears 11 times.

This word came about by adding the denominative-adjective-forming suffix *-ulo-* to *būb-*, a form of *bov-* (seen in inflection forms like *būbus*), the stem of *bōs*.

We can find a fairly standard meaning for such a word when Pliny at *Nat.* 23.127 says:

bubulas carnes additi caules magno ligni conpendio percoquunt.

Beef can be boiled soft with a great saving of fuel if the stalks be added to the water.⁷⁴⁰

In other words, it refers not just to the living animal itself, but even to its flesh, or even its hide, as Pliny again indicates to us at 6.176:

quin et commercia ipsa infestant ex insulis Arabes Ascitae appellati, quoniam bubulos utres binos insternentes ponte piraticam exercent sagittis venenatis.

moreover actual goods conveyed for trade are exposed to the depredations of an Arabian tribe living on the islands: who are called the Ascitae because they make rafts of timber placed on a pair of inflated oxhides and practise piracy, using poisoned arrows.⁷⁴¹

⁷³⁹ I find it amusing that Henry Beard in the comedy book *X-Treme Latin* (58) translates "bullshit" as *būbulum stercus*. Sure, *būbulum* is not exactly "bull," but the Latin translation gives a neat abbreviation "B.S."

⁷⁴⁰ This was translated by W. H. S. Jones. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pliny_elder-natural_history/1938/pb_LCL392.499.xml.

⁷⁴¹ This was translated by H. Rackham. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pliny_elder-natural_history/1938/pb_LCL352.469.xml?mainRsKey=yNDuY9.

The term shows up commonly in technical terms, as in plant names such as *lingua bŭbula*, which Cato mentions at *Agr.* 40.4. Elsewhere Pliny gives us another related use at *Nat.* 8.98:

Femur bubulum appellatur herba nervis et ipsa utilis recens in aceto ac sale trita.

Femur bubulum ("ox thigh") is the name given to a plant which, applied fresh and beaten up in vinegar and salt, is one of the remedies beneficial for the sinews.⁷⁴²

According to the OLD, this is an unidentified plant. For that reason, I cannot guess exactly what is so "ox-like" about the plant. At best, at this point, we can only speculate. Perhaps oxen have a particular preference for eating the plant. Or perhaps the plant is shaped like an ox thigh.

Lest we consider this a technical term confined to the more technical literature, we should see how Martial uses it at 14.68(71):

*Muscarium bubulum
Sordida si flavo fuerit tibi pulvere vestis,
colligat hunc tenui verberere cauda levis.*

Ox-tail fly swat
If your clothes are soiled with yellow dust, let the light tail collect it with a little flap.⁷⁴³

Specifically, Martial is talking about the tail of the ox.

VII.C.d. Deverbative and Denominative Abstracts

There are 15 of these words.

⁷⁴² This was translated by W. H. S. Jones, A. C. Andrews. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pliny_elder-natural_history/1938/pb_LCL393.439.xml?mainRsKey=yNDuY9.

⁷⁴³ This was translated by J. Arthur Hanson. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Martial, *Epigrams*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/martial-epigrams/1993/pb_LCL480.259.xml.

sequella or *sequēla*, "a follower," "attendant," "a consequence," "corollary," from *sequī*, "follow"

Sequella/sequēla appears 5 times.

This word came about by adding the deverbative-abstract-forming suffix *-ēla-* to *seque-*, the stem of *sequī*, with the final stem vowel elided before the *e*.

The word has various abstract meanings related to the action of *sequī*. But those abstract meanings eventually produced a meaning that refers to something more physical. Frontinus uses the term at *Str.* 2.4.8 this way:

M. Marcellus, cum vereretur, ne paucitatem militum eius clamor detegeret, simul lixas calonesque et omnis generis sequellas conclamare iussit atque hostem magni exercitus specie exterruit.

Marcus Marcellus on one occasion, fearing that a feeble battle-cry would reveal the small number of his forces, commanded that sutlers, servants, and camp-followers of every sort should join in the cry. He thus threw the enemy into panic by giving the appearance of having a large army.⁷⁴⁴

The meaning here is "follower" or "attendant" (not necessarily women, even if the word itself is feminine), and such an individual would be the physical representation of the abstract action of the verb. We can see a similar use with the word *corruptēla*, "a source of corruption," "corrupting influence"⁷⁴⁵ in, for instance, Ter *Ad.* 793 in reference to a person. Elsewhere, however, Gellius at 7(6).1.9 gives us another use:

eaque non per naturam, sed per sequellas quasdam necessarias facta dicit, quod ipse appellat κατὰ παρακολούθησιν.

⁷⁴⁴ This was translated by C. E. Bennett, Mary B. McElwain. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Frontinus, *Stratagems*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/frontinus-stratagems/1925/pb_LCL174.129.xml.

⁷⁴⁵ OLD, s.v.

and he declared that these were not due to nature, but to certain inevitable consequences, a process that he himself calls κατὰ παρακολούθησιν.⁷⁴⁶

Here, we have a more typical use of words in *-ēla*, that is, an abstract notion.

tūtēla, "guardianship," "protection," "custody," "tutelage (of persons or things)," "a source of safety, a defense, protection," from *tuērī*, "to look at," "to protect"

Tūtēla appears 44 times.

This word came about by adding the deverbative-abstract-forming suffix *-tēla* to *tu-*, the root of *tuērī* (cf. *tūtus* from *tu-* and *-tus*).

The word has several meanings, which have various relationships to the same base meaning of *tūtus*, "safe," "protected," "watched over." One of these is used by Seneca at *Dial.* 6.17:

Videbis portum quietis-simum omnium, quos aut natura posuit in tutelam classium aut adiuvit manus

You will see a harbour, of all havens the most peaceful—whether those that Nature has set to give shelter to ships or that man's hand has improved⁷⁴⁷

Here, we have an example of the meaning "protection". Here the ships are "protected" (*tūta*) by the power of nature. Elsewhere, Horace at *Carm.* 4.14.43 says this while speaking of Augustus:

*te Cantaber non ante domabilis
Medusque et Indus, te profugus Scythes
miratur, o tutela praesens*

⁷⁴⁶ This was translated by J. C. Rolfe. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Gellius, *Attic Nights*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/gellius-attic_nights/1927/pb_LCL200.93.xml.

⁷⁴⁷ This was translated by John W. Basore. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Seneca the Younger, *De Consolatione ad Marciam*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/seneca_younger-de_consolatione_ad_marciam/1932/pb_LCL254.55.xml?readMode=reader.

Italiae dominaeque Romae.

You are the one whom the Cantabrian, hitherto invincible, the Mede and the Indian and the retreating Scythian all regard with awe, yes, you, the ever-present defender of Italy and Rome.⁷⁴⁸

In this case, the *tūtēla* is an actual source of safety, a defense, protection. The OLD states that in this sense it is usually applied to persons, which is what we see here. So here the people are “watched over” (*tūtī*) by Augustus. Valerius Maximus uses the word in yet another way at 7.15:

et unum aut alterum iugum boum facilis tutelae quam exercitus et arma et equitatum voracibus impensis onerosum

one or two yokes of oxen easy to tend rather than armies and weapons and cavalry burdensome with voracious expenses⁷⁴⁹

In this case, the word refers to maintenance or support of animals.

VII.D. Other Words

The following words do not fit nicely with the previous groups. Some are indeed not diminutives and so require explanation. There are 59 of these words in all.

VII.D.a. Groups of Words Falsely Called Diminutives

Certain authors, notable among whom is Priscian, refer to certain groups of words as diminutives, but such categorization is erroneous since these words generally do not have clear diminutive meanings, either contextually (i.e., they are not used as

⁷⁴⁸ This was translated by Niall Rudd. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Horace, *Odes*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/horace-odes/2004/pb_LCL033.259.xml.

⁷⁴⁹ This was translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/valerius_maximus-memorable_doings_sayings/2000/pb_LCL493.105.xml.

diminutives in the relevant appearance) or morphosyntactically (i.e., they have word forms which preclude such diminutive meanings), or both.

There are 33 of these words.

VII.D.a.i. Words in *-uleus*

The grammarian Priscian believes that words ending in *-uleus* are diminutives.

He says (*Gramm.* 3.102.10):

*Sunt igitur formae diminutivorum masculini generis
hae: 'culus', 'ulus' absque c, 'olus', 'ellus',
'xillus', 'illus' absque x, 'ullus', 'cio', 'aster',
'leus', 'ulus': [...] 'leus', 'eculeus', 'aculeus'*

Therefore, these are forms of diminutives of the masculine gender: *culus*, *ulus* without *c*, *olus*, *ellus*, *xillus*, *illus* without *x*, *ullus*, *cio*, *aster*, *leus*, *ulus* [...] *leus*, *eculeus*, *aculeus*⁷⁵⁰

Later, he writes at 3.115.12:

*Invenientur etiam diminutiva quaedam quae non servant
genera primitivorum, ut [...] 'haec acus hic aculeus'*

There also are found certain diminutives which do not keep the genders of their base words, as [...] [feminine] *acus* [masculine] *aculeus*⁷⁵¹

Still later, at 3.259.17, after talking about the gender of *acus*, "needle," he adds:

*diminutio tamen a masculino fit 'aculeus' teste Probo,
quomodo ab equo 'equuleus'*

⁷⁵⁰ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: Google Books, "Grammatici Latini: ex recensione Henrici Keilii," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Grammatici_Latini/x_IUAAAAQAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=%22Sunt+igitur+formae+diminutivorum+masculini+generis+hae%22&pg=PA102&printsec=frontcover.

⁷⁵¹ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: Google Books, "Grammatici latini: Prisciani Institvtionvm grammaticarvm," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Grammatici_latini_ex_recensione_Henrici/JXsKAAAAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=%22non+servant+genera+primitivorum%22&pg=PA115-IA2&printsec=frontcover.

yet a diminutive form *aculeus* comes about from the masculine gender, on the authority of Probus, how *equuleus* comes about from *equus*⁷⁵²

To sum up: Priscian believes that *-uleus* is a diminutive suffix and that at least one of the words which uses that suffix does not retain the gender of its primitive.

Unfortunately, the OLD does not help us with the origin or basic identity of the suffix because its entry for the suffix simply says that it is “[o]f obscure origin.”

The reason I have decided that this suffix is not a diminutive suffix depends on my analyses of the specific words which use it.

There are the 5 of these words in my list:

aculeus, from *acus*, “needle”

Aculeus appears nineteen times with three main meanings: 1) The sting, telson, proboscis (of insects or other animals); (in fishes) a spine or ray, the sharp point (of a fowl’s spur); (in plants) a sharp point, thorn, stinging hair, etc. (as, e.g., Plin *Nat.* 16.176); 2) the barb (of an arrow); a pointed implement, spike (as, e.g., Plin *Nat.* 19.17); 3) (in various fig. and semi-fig. uses) which relate to weapons and pangs of anxiety, etc. (as, e.g., Cic *de Orat.* 3.138 and Plin *Ep.* 1.20.18). At no point, however, does it have a diminutive meaning. The base word of *aculeus*, *acus*, does have a normal diminutive, feminine *acula* (as, e.g., Cledon. *Gramm.* V 41, 13).

⁷⁵² This is my translation. The Latin text source is: Google Books, “Grammatici Caesariensis Institutionum grammaticarum,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Grammatici_Caesariensis_Institutionum_gr/D3NfAAAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=%22diminutio+tamen+a+masculino+fit%22&pg=PA259&printsec=frontcover.

eculeus or *equuleus*, from *equus*, "horse"

Eculeus or *equuleus* appears 5 times and has two main meanings: 1) a young or small horse, a foal or pony (as, e.g., Cic *Ver.* 4.42); 2) an instrument of torture, probably a form of rack (as, e.g., Sen *Ep.* 19.9). The first meaning appears to be a diminutive one. The base word of *eculeus* or *equuleus*, *equus*, does have a normal diminutive, masculine *eculus* or *equulus* (as, e.g., Var *R.* 2.7.13 and 2.8.6). It is possible that someone called the torture device a "pony" as in "thing like a pony," where one starts with the typical diminutive *eculus* or *equulus*.

hinnuleus, etymology uncertain (see below)

Hinnuleus appears thrice.

This has one main meaning: The young of the deer, a fawn (as, e.g., Larg. 13). According to the OLD, the word apparently comes from Greek ἔνελος, "fawn," and its form might have been influenced by *hinnus*, "mule" (which, of course, is an entirely different animal). The writers of the TLL believe that the word should be *inuleus* and seem to be more confident about the word coming from ἔνελος, and they point out that the *hinn-* element came about from an association with *hinnus* (which is strange because, as I mentioned above, this is a different animal). If *hinnuleus* derives from ἔνελος, then that means the *u* is not the *u* of the suffix *-uleus* but an altered version of the Greek letter ε, and therefore *hinnuleus* does not belong in the same category as *aculeus* and *eculeus*. In any event, the meaning of the word points to a semantic force which is not diminutive in relation to a base word but indicative of a small animal.

manuleus, from *manus*, "hand"

Manuleus appears thrice.

This has one meaning: A long sleeve (as, e.g., Fro *Aur.* 1.p.10 (65N)). At no point, however, does the word have a diminutive meaning, and yet the etymology of the word seems transparent enough: a feminine diminutive **manula* and *-eus*. Although no feminine **manula* exists, we can easily infer such a form in this way: If a fourth-declension feminine *acus* can yield feminine *acula*, then a fourth-declension feminine *manus* can yield feminine **manula*.

nucleus or *nuculeus*, from *nux*, "nut"

Nucleus or *nuculeus* appears twelve times and has three main meanings: 1) The inside of a nut, kernel, also the nut itself; *nucleus pīneus* or *nucleus pīnī*, one of the seeds in a pine-cone (as, e.g., Plin *Nat.* 14.193); 2) The hard seed in a fleshy or pulpy fruit, stone or pip (as, e.g., Larg. 184); 3) A hard rounded mass or nodule, the central part of anything; especially a central layer in a pavement (i.e., that immediately below the surface layer) (as, e.g., Plin *Nat.* 36.187). While one could certainly see the kernel inside a *nux* as a smaller version of the *nux*, the word *nucleus* itself otherwise does not have diminutive meaning. The base word of *nucleus* or *nuculeus*, *nux*, however, does have a normal diminutive, feminine *nucula* (as, e.g., Plin *Nat.* 15.87).

VII.D.a.i.a. Summary of All 5 of the Words in *-uleus*

Out of the 5 words in *-uleus*, therefore, we should note these points: 1) Only one appears to be able to have a diminutive meaning which has a relationship to its base word comparable to normal diminutives (i.e., *eculeus*); 2) one word actually indicates

bigness instead of smallness (i.e., *manuleus*); 3) three of the words do not retain the gender of their base words (i.e., *aculeus*, *manuleus*, and *nucleus*); 4) one of these words not only has a doubtful etymology but also has a meaning which is not so much diminutive to a base word as just denoting a small entity (i.e., *hinnuleus*). If this group of words is meant to designate diminutives, then there are semantic or morphological irregularities in every single word, and each word would have to fall into its very own subcategory.

How can we account for these irregularities? Weinhold cites Schwabe, *Demin. Grk et Lat.*, Paucker, *Latin Demin.*, and Mitau, 1876,⁷⁵³ who make the case that the *-eus* element of the suffix is an adjectival suffix denoting resemblance. Moreover, Pokrowskij⁷⁵⁴ claims that these five words are substantive adjectives deriving from diminutives (e.g., *aculeus*, noun, from adjective **aculeus*, itself from *acula*, the diminutive from *acus*), and that the *-eus* element in these words is used similarly to how the *-eus* element is used in the formation of *urceus*, "a vessel used for containing or pouring out liquids," from ὑρχη, "jar for pickles,"⁷⁵⁵ and *alveus*, "tub" or "hollow," from *alvus*, "belly." I can think of a similar use in *calceus*, "shoe" or "foot,"⁷⁵⁶ from *calx*, "heel." This suffix, then, forms nouns which denote some perceived similarity of shape, form, function, or use between two different objects, indicated by the derivative word on the one hand and the base word on the other: e.g., an *alveus* is the sort of thing

⁷⁵³ Weinhold, "Genuswechsel der Deminutiva," 175.

⁷⁵⁴ Pokrowskij, "Glossographisches und Linguistisches zum Thesaurus glossarum emendatarum von G. Goetz," in *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, 11 (B.G. Teubner: Leipzig, 1900), 352.

⁷⁵⁵ LSJ, s.v.

⁷⁵⁶ L&S, s.v.

that can be filled up like a *alvus* can; a *calceus*, a foot-shaped object, goes on the feet; an *urceus* is a container for liquids in general instead of pickles.

If we apply these ideas to the words in *-uleus*, the reasoning would be this: the *-uleus* is a composite suffix comprising the diminutive suffix *-ul-* and the resemblance-indicating substantive-adjective suffix *-eus*, and so the five words developed in these ways: 1) *acus* yielded *acula*, "a small needle or pin," and from that came about *aculeus*, a sting or a thorn, a "little-pin-ish sort of object" (*acula* + *-eus*) that animals (etc.) have and use; 2) an *eculeus* is a torture device that is a "little-horse-ish sort of object" (*eculus* + *-eus*) visually; 3) a *manuleus* hangs down on a garment much like a hand might hang from a person's body, so it is a "little-hand-ish sort of object" (*manula* + *-eus*); 4) a *nucleus*⁷⁵⁷ is the "nut of the nut," so to speak, or the inner part of an inner part, the "little-nut-ish sort of object" (*nucula* + *-eus*).

But this reasoning fails to account for the diminutive meaning of *eculeus*, the non-diminutive-yet-still-indicating-a-small-entity meaning of *hinnuleus*, and even the meaning of *nucleus* that means "the nut itself." It turns out that the "resemblance" significance which this nominal *-eus* suffix introduces can either weaken altogether or become self-referential (e.g., an *alveus* looks like an *alvus*, which itself looks like an *alveus*) such that both the derivative and base words are synonymous. Both *alveus* and *alvus* can mean "beehive" and "hold or hull of a ship."⁷⁵⁸ *Urceus* is flexible enough to have the same meaning as ὕρχη when it means "jar." This lets us explain the meanings of *eculeus*, *hinnuleus*, and *nucleus*: 1) *eculeus* and *hinnuleus* can mean the same things

⁷⁵⁷ Let us make a botany and physics analogy: The kernel is to the nut as the nucleus is to the atom.

⁷⁵⁸ L&S, s.v.

as the *-eus*-less words *eculus* (diminutive, “little horse”) and ἔνελος⁷⁵⁹ (non-diminutive, “fawn”)⁷⁶⁰; 2) *nucleus*, when it means “nut,” is synonymous with the actual diminutive *nucula*, but then in this case that diminutive is in turn a virtual synonym of *nux* (i.e., *nucula* = “the nut itself!”), the base word of the diminutive. What we can also infer here is that the diminutive force which we can detect in certain meanings of *eculeus* and *nucleus* comes not from the composite suffix *-uleus* but actually from the semi-suppressed element *-ul-*, which is part of one form of the diminutive suffix.

In the end, therefore, these five words do not provide enough material for us to infer a general diminutive meaning which arises from a discrete suffix *-uleus*.

VII.D.a.ii. Words in *-ēdula* Referring to Animals (Mostly Birds)

The etymologies of these words appear to have some relation to each other, and so I will discuss them as a set instead of individually.

There are 5 of these words.

ficēdula, monēdula, querquēdula, acrēdula, nītēdula

A small number of names of animals (mostly birds) end in *-ēdula* containing a word element, *-ēd-*, which Chase⁷⁶¹ indicates derives from *edere*, “to eat”:

- *agrēdula*, which is⁷⁶² a form of *acrēdula*, “an unknown beast or bird” (“acc. to some, the thrush or the owl”⁷⁶³), first part perhaps from *acer*, “maple”;

⁷⁵⁹ If, of course, we assume this is the correct etymon of *hinnuleus*.

⁷⁶⁰ This explanation makes *eculeus* or *equuleus* functionally orthographical variants of *eculus* or *equulus*.

⁷⁶¹ George D. Chase, “The Form of Nominal Compounds in Latin,” in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* Vol. 11 (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1900), 65.

⁷⁶² TLL, s.v.

⁷⁶³ L&S, s.v.

- *ficēdula*, "a small bird esteemed a delicacy in autumn when it feeds on figs and grapes," "beccafico," "fig-pecker,"⁷⁶⁴ first part from *ficus*, "fig";
- *monēdula*, "the jackdaw, first part from *monēta*, "money" ("Acc. to the myth, the nymph Arne was turned into a daw, for having betrayed her country for gold,"⁷⁶⁵ and Ovid at *Met.* 7.468 tells about this: *mutata est in avem, quae nunc quoque diligit aurum*, "she was turned into a bird, which also now has a fondness for gold");
- *nītēdula*,⁷⁶⁶ which actually refers to a dormouse and not a bird, and this *nītēdula* contains an element that de Vaan derives from *nītēla*, a word referring to a kind of rodent⁷⁶⁷;
- *querquēdula*, "a kind of water-fowl, prob. the teal," first part perhaps from *quercus*, "oak."

After giving list of examples of Latin nominal compound words which includes the aforementioned words, Chase gives the meaning of *ficēdula* as "little fig eater," and while the *fic-* element works for "fig," and the *-ēd-* element can mean "eat," and the *-ula* does well to serve as a diminutive meaning "little," it is difficult to see where the "-er" of "eater" would fit in. "Little fig eater" would be plausible if we took the *-ula* as the diminutive suffix and then supposed that it attached to an intervening feminine form of a substantive adjective **ficēdus*, "fig-eating" → "fig-eater,"⁷⁶⁸ but Chase makes

⁷⁶⁴ OLD, s.v.

⁷⁶⁵ L&S, s.v.

⁷⁶⁶ Chase also includes this word.

⁷⁶⁷ de Vaan, 410.

⁷⁶⁸ I.e., *fic-ēd-us* like other "Verbal governing compound" (Weiss, 263) words such as *magni-fic-us* ("great-making" → "great-maker") and *nāvi-frag-us* ("ship-breaking" → "ship-breaker") and *vāni-loqu-us*

no mention of such a hypothetical form, nor can I find another example of an “eat” compound in Latin which ends in *-ēdus*.⁷⁶⁹ Chase in fact presents the *-ēdula* element as a formative part separate from *fīc-*, etc., and if the *-ēd-* derives from *edere*, then the *-ula* cannot be the diminutive suffix, since the diminutive suffix is denominative and not deverbative.

Since we have the verbal *-ēd-* element, the *-ula* of *-ēdula* can indeed be the suffix found in deverbative adjectives like *crēdulus*. A deverbative adjective from *edere* used substantively would be *ēdulus*, and indeed the TLL cites such a word meaning “consumptor, comestor,” so I believe that the *-ēdula* in these names of animals represents this deverbative adjective. Thus, among the birds, *fīcēdula* would actually then mean “fig-eater” (or “fig-pecker” in English), *monēdula* would mean “money-eater” (or “money-pecker”), *querquēdula* “oak-eater” (or “oak-pecker”), *acrēdula* “maple-eater” (or “maple-pecker”), and when it comes to the non-bird animal, we have *nītēdula* “rodent-eater” (“rodent-pecker”).

It is entirely natural, though, to interpret these words in *-ēdula* as diminutives, since many of the animals in question are in fact small, and since words with such shapes could actually be diminutives if they were indeed hypothetical words in **-ēdus* plus the diminutive suffix *-ula*. In fact, Plautus uses *monēdula* as a term of endearment at *As.* 694 next to several words which are undeniably diminutives: *aneticulam*, *columbam vel catellum*, *hirundinem*, *monēdulam*. But I would be cautious in taking

(“vain-speaking” → “vain-speaker”) and Russian *medv-ed*, (“honey-eating” → “honey-eater,” that is, “bear”).

⁷⁶⁹ Something like **melēdus*, a Latin version of the Russian *medv-ed* mentioned above.

monēdula as a diminutive, since Plautus could have been playing around with these words by using *monēdula* for its diminutive-looking form even if it were not a real diminutive. We could suggest that it is possible that by Plautus' time Latin speakers commonly thought of the word as diminutive even if etymologically that wasn't correct, or that the use of diminutive words as endearments extended to usages that are not really diminutive. While the first of these suggestions is not outside the realm of possibility, the second one is not so easily defended. One of the issues that I wish to convey in this chapter is that diminutives and the non-diminutives which I describe above do not typically interchange in the way that the second suggestion describes.

In any event, I do not think one debatably possible use of just one word within a group is sufficient to describe the words of that group as diminutive.

VII.D.a.iii. Words in *-aster*, *-astra*, *-astrum*

There are 10 of these words.

Priscian believes that words in *-aster* are also diminutives. At *Gramm.* 3.101.22-3.102.1 he tells us the significance of diminutive words in general:

Solent autem diminutiva vel necessariae significationis causa proferri [...] vel adulationis, et maxime puerorum, ut 'Catulaster', 'Antoniaster', 'patriciolus', 'Sergiolus'

Moreover, diminutives normally are brought up either because of the meaning that is demanded of them [...] or for the sake of praise and especially for the praise of boys, as 'Catulaster', 'Antoniaster', 'patriciolus', 'Sergiolus'⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁷⁰ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: Google Books, "Grammatici Latini: ex recensione Henrici Keilii," accessed September 27, 2023, https://books.google.ca/books?id=x_IUAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA102&dq=%22derivantur+igitur+pleraque+ab+appellativis,+pauc+etiam+a+propriis,+et+servant+genera+primitivorum%22&hl=en&newbks=1&newbks_redir=1&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj2t9OGksmBAXWoLzQIHc2QCt4Q6AF6BAgcEAI.

This suggests that Priscian considers diminutives to be literal (“the meaning that is demanded of them) or non-literal in some sense (“praise of boys”).

At 3.102.10 he also says:

*Sunt igitur formae diminutivorum masculini generis
hae: 'culus', 'ulus' absque c, 'olus', 'ellus',
'xillus', 'illus' absque x, 'ullus', 'cio', 'aster',
'leus', 'ulus': [...] 'aster', 'parasitaster'*

Therefore, these are forms of diminutives of the masculine gender: 'culus', 'ulus' without c, 'olus', 'ellus', 'xillus', 'illus' without x, 'ullus', 'cio', 'aster', 'leus', 'ulus' [...] aster', 'parasitaster'⁷⁷¹

Priscian not only believes that words in *-aster* are diminutives,⁷⁷² but also that they are masculine and can express praise toward the person denoted by the base words of these diminutives. But I found words ending not just in *-aster*, but even in *-astra* (all feminine) and *-astrum* (all neuter). In my list, there are 10 words in *-aster*, 2 words in *-astra*, and 6 in *-astrum*. Only one of these words, *Antōniaster*, really is attached to a name, while the word *Catulaster* or *catlaster* (these are variant forms⁷⁷³), comes from the common noun *catulus* and simply means “a young man.”⁷⁷⁴

Is Priscian correct to say that the words with these suffixes are diminutives? Only three (perhaps four) out of these 18 *-aster*, *-astra*, *-astrum*, words in my list have meanings that can be interpreted as diminutive in one way or another: *catlaster*, “a

⁷⁷¹ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: Google Books, “Grammatici Latini: ex recensione Henrici Keilii,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Grammatici_Latini/x_IUAAAAQAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=%22Sunt+igitur+formae+diminutivorum+masculini+generis+hae%22&pg=PA102&printsec=frontcover.

⁷⁷² Indeed, he seems to define *diminūtivum* as including any words with these particular suffixes.

⁷⁷³ TLL, s.v.

⁷⁷⁴ OLD, s.v.

young man"; *surdaster*, "somewhat deaf"; *palliastrum*, "a poor cloak"; and perhaps also *alicastrum*, "an early-ripening variety of emmer."

How can we account for the fact that only about 20% of these words have diminutive meanings? It turns out that the suffixes have particular nuances in meaning.

Cooper⁷⁷⁵ cites the Priscian passages, and after acknowledging that the Latin grammarian considers these words diminutives, points out that:

Generally, however, the suffix has a contemptuous or derogative force, which is especially important as being the prevailing one in the modern languages.

But Rybolt,⁷⁷⁶ reacting to the comments made by the Priscian (and implicitly Cooper), is more careful about describing these words:

It is incomplete to say that -aster is merely a diminutive, or merely a pejorative. Rather, analysis of the terms shows that the suffix -aster denotes restricted similarity. In other words, the compound is both similar and dissimilar to the root, and resembling it only imperfectly.

Moreover, Stearn⁷⁷⁷ does not seem to think of these words as diminutives, and says that the suffix group

indicates inferiority or incomplete resemblance

From what I have seen in my studies, the ideas of "restricted similarity" and "incomplete resemblance" accurately describe the meanings of these words.

⁷⁷⁵ Cooper, 192.

⁷⁷⁶ Rybolt, "-Aster, a Latin Suffix," 305.

⁷⁷⁷ Stearn, *Botanical Latin*, 297.

And yet, despite their carefulness not to classify these words categorically as diminutives, both Cooper and Rybolt, like their ancient predecessor, still consider it appropriate to think of these words as diminutives, or potentially so.

My conception of "diminutive" is more narrowly defined than that of Priscian, Cooper, and Rybolt. With my conception of the term in mind, I can show why the *-aster*, *-astra*, *-astrum*, words differ from typical Latin diminutives. First, none of these words has a literal meaning of "small" or "little." These *-aster*, *-astra*, *-astrum*, words mostly fall under an "imputed smallness" category only, and although we have *catlaster*, which can mean "a young man," it never means specifically "a small man." Second, these words do not behave like diminutives because while masculines in *-aster* and neuters in *-astrum* typically retain the genders of their base words, feminines almost never do: *fōrma* ("shape"), *olea* ("olive"), and *pīnus* ("pine tree") are feminine, but *fōrmaster* ("perhaps a kind of pastry"), *oleaster* ("the wild olive"), and *pīnaster* ("the maritime pine") are masculine; *alica* ("emmer"), *menta* ("mint"), *salix* ("willow"), and *siliqua* ("pod") are also feminine, but *alicastrum* ("an early-ripening variety of emmer"), *mentastrum* ("any wild species of mint"), *salicastrum* ("an unidentified climbing plant"), and *siliquastrum* ("a plant which may be pepperwort") are neuter.

Rybolt also claims that these words mostly have what he calls a "diminutive" meaning, and he lists five categories under the head of "diminutive":

- 1) "Pseudo-," as in *Antōniaster*, "An imitator of M. Antonius (the orator)," so a "Pseudo-Antonius";
- 2) "The wild variety of," as in *oleaster*, "the wild olive," from *olea*, "olive";

- 3) "Younger than," as in *catlaster*, "a young man," from *catulus*, "The young of any land mammal"⁷⁷⁸;
- 4) "Incompleteness," as in *surdaster*, "somewhat deaf," "hard of hearing," from *surdus*, "deaf";
- 5) "Worse than," as in *parasitaster*, "a low, sorry (ragged) parasite," from *parasitus*, "parasite."⁷⁷⁹

To that I would even add two other categories:

- 1) "Step-," *filiaster*, "a step-son," from *filius*, "son";
- 2) "Food resembling other things," as in *luculentaster*, "perhaps a kind of confection," apparently a comic conflation of *lucuns*, "a kind of confection," and *luculentus*, "excellent."



Here is my revamped classification along with examples of each:

- 1) "Pseudo-": *Antōniaster* (1 word);
- 2) "The wild variety of": *oleaster*, *pīnaster*, *alicastrum*, *apiastrum*, *mentastrum*, *salicastrum*, *siliquastrum* (7 words);
- 3) "Younger than": *catlaster* (1 word);
- 4) "Incompleteness": *surdaster* (1 word);
- 5) "Worse than": *parasitaster*, *palliastrum* (2 words);
- 6) "Step-": *filiaster*, *patraster*, *filiastra*, *mātrastra* (4 words);
- 7) "Food resembling other things": *fōrmaster*, *luculentaster* (2 words).

⁷⁷⁸ OLD, s.v.

⁷⁷⁹ Rybolt, "-Aster, a Latin Suffix," 305.

According to the information that we can see in this list, if we go simply by numbers, we would conclude that if the *-aster/-astra/-astrum* words have any particular meaning, that meaning is “wild version of some plant” instead of a diminutive one.⁷⁸⁰

VII.D.a.iv. Words in *-īna*

There are 4 words of this type which are relevant to my study.

Cooper points out that *-īnus* acquired a diminutive force in later Latin, where the idea of “resemblance merging in that of not quite equaling, and so of being inferior to, or smaller than, the object of comparison.”⁷⁸¹ Cooper also mentions that in the modern Romance languages the prevailing force of the suffix is diminutive. What Cooper means exactly by “later” is not clear, but he does mention the word *mollicīna (vestis)*, quoted from the comedy writer Quintus Novius by Nonius Marcellus,⁷⁸² and the phrase “*geminus, gemellus, geminīnus*” from the *Not. Tiron.* (i.e., *Commentarii Notarum Tironianarum*). Elsewhere, Adams mentions how *-īnus* in later Latin developed a diminutive “or affection use,” but also adds that the suffix seems to have developed out of one of the functions of the suffix in the formation of *gentīlicia*.⁷⁸³ Nevertheless, the suffix *-īnus* had not acquired such a significance in the periods with which I am working in my study, but instead makes denominative genitival adjectives mainly from o-stems and *ijō*-stems (e.g., *equīnus*, “equine,” from *equus*, “horse”; *Latīnus*, “Latin,” from

⁷⁸⁰ The feminine word *philosophastra* appears in the title *Philosophastra Illustrans* on a card associated with the *Negima!* Japanese manga and anime series, and while someone might translate that as “a bad philosopher” (L&S, s.v.) (category 5)) because of the use of the masculine *philosophaster* at Aug. Civ. 2, 27 p. 93, 19, I thought the context called for “philosopher in training” (category 4)).

⁷⁸¹ Cooper, 141.

⁷⁸² Who was writing in the fourth century CE. (Zetzel, 98)

⁷⁸³ Adams, *Social Variation and the Latin Language*, 566.

Latium, "Latium").⁷⁸⁴ There are even some pairs of words in *-īnus* and *-īna* referring to males and females, respectively: e.g., *sobrīnus* and *sobrīna*, referring to male and female second cousins; *libertīnus* and *libertīna*, which refer to a freedman and a freedwoman.

And yet there is one place where the actual diminutive suffixes and the *-īnus* suffix intersect. As Hakamies points out,⁷⁸⁵ diminutives such as *ancilla* and *puella* are comparable to words like *gallīna*, "hen," from *gallus*, "cock," and *rēgīna*, "queen," from *rēx*, "king," but the difference is that the suffix of the latter two words in *-īna* indicates relationship and sex.⁷⁸⁶ In other words, the *-īna* here is a *Motionssuffix* just like the diminutive suffix can be a *Motionssuffix* as seen in words like *ancilla* and *puella*,⁷⁸⁷ but that is where the similarities between the diminutive suffix and this *-īna* suffix end. The uses of the *-īnus*, *-īna*, *-īnum*, set of suffixes are not particularly or actually diminutive since a genitival meaning does not really imply smallness.

Now, of course, someone could argue that the rationale of using suffixes like *-īna* as derivatives of masculine words in order to refer to a hen or a queen comes from the notion that, at least in the minds of the Romans, femininity was of lower status than masculinity, and therefore Cooper's "resemblance merging into that of not quite equaling, and so of being inferior to, or smaller than, the object of comparison" is applicable to at least these two feminine words even before the later periods of Latin,

⁷⁸⁴ Weiss, 288.

⁷⁸⁵ Hakamies, 128.

⁷⁸⁶ *Gallīna* and *rēgīna* are technically substantive adjectives meaning "meant for a cock," "meant for a king." (de Vaan, 522)

⁷⁸⁷ We see it in English as well. With *gallīna* in mind I automatically think of L. Frank Baum's book *Ozma of Oz* in which our heroine Dorothy does not want to call a hen "Bill" and uses the name "Billina" because: "Putting the 'eena' on the end makes it a girl's name, you see." (Baum, 12)

and therefore the *-īna* is diminutive in these situations. I would respond by pointing out that such an argument follows all the way up to roughly the “resemblance merging in that of not quite equaling” part but then becomes weak after that. It takes a certain sort of inference to go from “not quite equaling” to “and so of being inferior to...,” and that inference cannot be taken as a given in light of what we know about the meaning of the *-īnus*, *-īna*, *-īnum*, set of suffixes overall and of the *-īna* suffix in particular.

One could further argue that a genitival meaning could imply inferiority in that the genitive denotes a relationship between an owner (in the superior position) and an “ownee” (in the inferior position), but of course “genitival” could mean something like “pertaining to...” rather than strictly “belonging to...”

Finally, someone could make the case that a diminutive is implied in *Agrippīna* and *Messalīna* (from the masculine *Agrippa* and *Messalla*), but I suggest that the *-īna* suffix serves the dual function of 1) making names meaning “one related to Agrippa” and “one related to Messala,” and 2) giving specifically feminine forms to male names that happen to end in *-a*. In other words, the suffix indicates relationship and sex as in the two words *gallīna* and *rēgīna*.

In the period with which I am working, then, the *-īna* suffix has some similarities to the diminutive suffixes just as the non-diminutive *-aster*, *-astra*, *-astum*, suffixes do, but it would be just as wrong to classify these *-īna* suffixes as diminutive suffixes.

VII.D.a.v. So-Called "Diminutive Verbs" in *-illāre*

A&G⁷⁸⁸ and White⁷⁸⁹ have identified a group of verbs which they refer to as "Diminutives" and "Diminutive Verbs," respectively. Such words supposedly denote "a feeble or petty action" (according to A&G), or else signify doing something "in a slight" or "insignificant manner" or "in a slight degree" (according to White). A&G indicate that such verbs contain a suffix *-illāre* while White indicates that the suffix of such verbs appears as either *-lāre* or *ilāre*. Strodach does not identify a class of verbs with such suffixes, but he does refer to several verbs which he refers to as "diminutive in formation and either diminutive or 'relational'⁷⁹⁰ in function." Except for certain unusual comments made in the etymology sections of the entries of certain words within OLD (which I discuss in detail below), none of my other sources mention or even imply the existence of such a class of words.

Collectively,⁷⁹¹ A&G, White, and Strodach list 9 of these words:

- *cantillāre*, "to sing (songs)," from *cantāre*, "to sing (songs, etc.)";
- *cavillārī*, "to jest, from *cavilla*, "jesting, banter";
- *cōnscrībillāre*, "cover with scribbling," from *cōnscrībere*, "to cover with writing";
- *fōcilāre*, "cherish," supposedly from *fōculum*, "(app.) a device for warming";
- *murmurillāre*, "to mutter faintly," from *murmurillum*, "a faint mutter";
- *obstrigillāre*, "to stand in the way," perhaps from *obstringere*, "bind";
- *occillāre*, "to smash up," from *occāre*, "to break up ground";

⁷⁸⁸ A&G, Section 263.3.

⁷⁸⁹ White, *White's Latin Suffixes*, 132.

⁷⁹⁰ This is Strodach's own catch-all term for diminutives which indicate imputed smallness.

⁷⁹¹ Not one of these sources lists all nine words together.

- *sorbillāre*, “to sip,” from *sorbēre*, “to drink”;
- *sūgillāre*, “to beat black and blue,” apparently from *sūgere*, “to suck.”

One striking feature of these words that becomes apparent is that nearly all of them have meanings that differ little from that of their base words. White noticed this fact and points out that the diminutive force of such words is hardly to be traced. Thus, *cantillāre* and its etymon *cantāre*, for instance, are synonyms. The only verb of the 9 in the list that differs significantly from its base word semantically, or even has any noticeable diminutive meaning in relation to that base word, is *sorbillāre*.

It is also immediately clear that some of these words are transparently denominative verbs from diminutives or non-diminutives. *Murmurillāre* simply came about from the union of the diminutive *murmurillum* and the typical denominative suffix *-āre*, and *cavillārī* comes from the non-diminutive *cavilla* and the aforementioned suffix. While the sources claim *fōcilāre* comes directly from *fōculum*,⁷⁹² it is clearly a denominative verb from a **fōcillum*, an otherwise unattested diminutive of *fōculum*.

The writers of the OLD’s etymology sections of some of these words appeared to have been very uncertain about the status of the existence of these words as a group. The first thing to notice is that there is no entry in the OLD for a diminutive-verb-forming suffix *-illāre*, which suggests that the writers of the etymology sections did not recognize it as an independent suffix. Another thing to note is the fact that the etymology sections of some of these words give confusing descriptions. In the etymology section of the entry for the word *cōnscrībillāre*, there is the formula “CON- +

⁷⁹² Specifically, White claims that *fōcilāre* came from *fōculum* and the suffix *-lāre* with assimilation.

**scribillum* (SCRIBO + -ILLVM) + -O." There is no indication of what the writer of this entry thought this "*scribillum*" is supposed to signify (a diminutive? a non-diminutive?), but it is clearly a nominal word element. The etymology section of the entry for the word *sorbillāre* has "dim. of SORBEO; for the suffix cf. CONSCRIBILLO," which implies that the writer of this etymology section, at least, saw the **scribillum* in the *cōnscribillāre* entry as a diminutive. Furthermore, the etymology section of the entry for *occillāre* shows just "dim. of OCCO" without further comment. According to the etymologists for the OLD, are we to understand *-llāre* as a real suffix or not?

What, then, are we to make of these words? Some pieces of information suggest to me that these so-called "Diminutive Verbs" are all actually denominative verbs:

- Near the end of his monograph, Strodach gives a list of verbs in *-ellō* and *-illō*, and after that he concludes that almost all of these words are denominative verbs. He gives five exceptions, all of which turn out to be five of the 9 *-illāre* words which I have listed above: *cōnscribillāre*, *sorbillāre*, *obstrigillāre*, *occillāre*, and *sūgillāre*. Strodach then goes on to say that the *-illāre* element of such verbs may have originated in the denominatives *murmurillāre* and *scīntillāre*. This description suggests the essentially denominative nature of these words.
- In a note for the section which introduces the verbs which they call Diminutives, A&G state that the words are formed from verb stems which are derived from real or supposed diminutive nouns. This description is a roundabout way of indicating the essentially denominative nature of these words.

- The **scribillum* which appears in the etymology section of OLD's entry for *cōnscrībillāre* is clearly nominal, and this **scribillum* has the form of a diminutive of a deverbative adjective **scribulus*, "tending to write." The etymology section of OLD's entry for *sorbillāre* considers this word's form comparable to that of the form of *cōnscrībillāre*, which would mean that *sorbillāre* implies the existence of a nominal **sorbillum*, itself a diminutive of a deverbative adjective **sorbulus*, "tending to drink." We can even infer this diminutive **sorbillum* independently by looking at the adverb *sorbil(l)ō*, "a sip at a time," which would be the ablative singular form of that diminutive. These descriptions imply that the writers were indicating the essentially denominative nature of these words.



I propose that these 9 verbs are all denominative verbs and not diminutive verbs. All of them derive directly from real or supposed nominals. This neatly explains *cavillārī*, *fōcilāre*, and *murmurillāre*. The other six verbs all imply some diminutive nouns or adjectives in *-illus* or *-illum*, which themselves derive from deverbative adjectives in *-ulus*. Each implied diminutive noun or adjective, being a diminutive, can denote literal or imputed smallness, and once this diminutive becomes a denominative verb, we

have a way to account for, on the one hand, the ostensibly diminutive meaning of *sorbillāre*,⁷⁹³ and, on the other hand, the synonymity between *cantillāre*⁷⁹⁴ and *cantāre*.

If we insisted on considering *-illāre* a dependent deverbative suffix, and we wished to attach some kind meaning to it based on observations of how the relevant verbs relate to their base words, we should probably say that the suffix functions not as a diminutive verb suffix but instead as a verb augmentation, yielding collateral derivative verbs with meanings that do not differ significantly or at all from their base words. Thus, *cantillāre* is a longer version of *cantāre* and little more than that.

VII.D.b. Words with Both Diminutive and Non-Diminutive Meanings

For various reasons, I consider the following 4 words as either diminutives or non-diminutives, depending on their use and, if applicable, their optional forms.

conspicillum, 1) "a place for spying out," "look-out post"⁷⁹⁵; 2) "a watching," "an observation" [my interpretation]

Conspicillum appears in none of my authors.

Strodach makes the surprising claim that diminutive suffixes readily attach not only to nominal stems but even to verbal stems, but only gives *conspicillum* and *specillum* ("an instrument for examining wounds and for other medical purposes," "a

⁷⁹³ I.e., *sorbēre* yielded **sorbulus*, which yielded the diminutive **sorbillus*/**sorbillum* denoting literal smallness, which itself yielded *sorbillāre*. And yet I cannot fault anyone for insisting that *sorbillāre* is the one real example of a Latin verb which appears to be a "diminutive verb" in the sense that it seems to derive directly from a verb (since the implied intermediate adjective **sorbulus* does not exist at all), has a diminutive-looking shape, and conveys a clearly diminutive meaning.

⁷⁹⁴ I.e., *cantāre* yielded **cantulus*, which yielded the diminutive **cantillus*/**cantillum* denoting imputed smallness, which itself yielded *cantillāre*.

⁷⁹⁵ OLD, s.v.

probe⁷⁹⁶) as examples in support of that claim.⁷⁹⁷ He regards both words as diminutives and yet insists that both come from base words which are not nouns but verbs, namely *conspicere*, “to observe,”⁷⁹⁸ and *specere*, “to see.” (He does not think that *specillum* is a diminutive of *speculum*, “mirror,” which itself comes from *specere*⁷⁹⁹). According to Strodach, the formation of *conspicillum*, and by extension of *specillum* (“morphologically cf. *cōnspicillum*, to *cōnspiciō*”⁸⁰⁰), are comparable to the formation of *specula*, “watch-tower,” which I count⁸⁰¹ as a substantive version of a deverbative adjective. He also says⁸⁰² that *conspicillum* varies between a verbal meaning, e.g., Plaut. *Cist.* 90:

*dum redeo domum,
conspicillo consecutust clanculum me usque ad fores*

While I was returning home he spied on me and followed me secretly up to the door⁸⁰³

and diminutive meaning (e.g., Plaut. fr. 99):

*in conspicillo asseruabam pallium,
opseruabam.*

I looked at the mantle from a [small] watching place,
I observed it.⁸⁰⁴

⁷⁹⁶ OLD, s.v.

⁷⁹⁷ Strodach, 59.

⁷⁹⁸ Strodach, 57.

⁷⁹⁹ Strodach, 58.

⁸⁰⁰ Strodach, 58.

⁸⁰¹ I.e., verb *specere* + suffix *-ulus* = adjective **speculus*, substantive *specula*. (See IV.B.b.)

⁸⁰² Strodach, 57.

⁸⁰³ This was translated by Wolfgang de Melo. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Plautus, *The Casket Comedy*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/plautus-casket_comedy/2011/pb_LCL061.145.xml.

⁸⁰⁴ This was translated by Wolfgang de Melo. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Plautus, *Fragments*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/plautus-fragments/2013/pb_LCL328.455.xml.

A reading of both passages shows that the latter refers to a place, a look-out post or watching place, while the former to something more abstract, “a watching,” “an observation.” de Vaan, however, cites Kümmel for the notion that *conspicillum* is a neologism on the basis of *specillum* as a diminutive of *speculum*.

How can we unweave this mess of contradictory opinions? First, Strodach has not sufficiently demonstrated that the diminutive suffixes readily attach to verbal stems, since he argues circularly.⁸⁰⁵ *Speculum*,⁸⁰⁶ like *specula*, is a substantive version of a deverbative adjective with an instrumental meaning. *Specillum* (for **specul-lo-m*), then, is the diminutive from *speculum*, and has a technical sense: “a little mirror” for the investigation of examining wounds. Kümmel thinks that *conspicillum* came about through extracting the suffix of *specillum*—essentially a composite suffix comprising a diminutive suffix built upon a non-diminutive suffix⁸⁰⁷—and attaching it onto the verb stem *conspicere*. In other words, it is a formation by analogy. The *conspicillum* is therefore really an “imputed smallness” diminutive of **conspiculum*, a substantive version of a deverbative adjective **conspiculus*, but the formation procedure has skipped over that **conspiculum* and **conspiculus*. Such a formation by analogy is based on *specillum*, where the *specillum* is an “imputed smallness” diminutive of *speculum*, a substantive version of the deverbative adjective **speculus*. The formation of *conspicillum* was allowed to skip over the unattested word **conspiculum* because of the existence of the analogous, already existing word *speculum*, which yielded *specillum*.

⁸⁰⁵ He assumes that feature of the suffixes and uses seemingly problematic words as examples.

⁸⁰⁶ Vide IV.B.b.

⁸⁰⁷ E.g., *-illo-*, *-illus* > *-il-lo-*, *-ul-l-um* ← substantive deverbative adjective suffix *-ulo-*, *-ulum* + diminutive suffix *-lo-*, *-lum*.

How does that relate to the actual uses of the word, though? The two Plautus passages cited above show that *conspicillum* has two different meanings, one diminutive and the other verbal. This is how it works: 1) the passage demonstrating the diminutive meaning links to the diminutive force and element of the composite suffix of *conspicillum* (i.e., *conspic-ul-lo-*); 2) the passage demonstrating the verbal meaning links to the etymologically non-diminutive, deverbative-adjective-forming element of the compositive suffix (i.e., *conspic-ul-lo-*) and so has a meaning that is closer to **conspiculum*. Thus, while I consider *conspicillum* properly a diminutive, occasionally its etymologically verbal force puts aside that diminutive force.

lingula or *ligula*, 1) "a kind of spoon"; 2) "a tongue-shaped projection or flap"

Lingula or *ligula* appears 19 times.

The two spellings often correspond to the meanings and etymologies of the words. The "kind of spoon" meaning mostly relates to the *ligula* spelling, which is a substantive version of a deverbative adjective **ligulus* (i.e., root **leig^h*⁸⁰⁸ as *lig-* + *-ulus*), "that tends to lick," from *lingere*, "to lick"). People in antiquity made the connection as well, since Martial at 14.120 condemns the *lingula* form in this sense. The "tongue-shaped projection or flap" meaning, however, mostly relates to the *lingula*, which is a diminutive from *lingua*, "tongue."

miscellus, 1) "rather small" (in phrases referring to an inferior type of grape and the vine producing it); 2) "of mixed type or breed," "miscellaneous"

Miscellus appears twice.

⁸⁰⁸ de Vaan, 478.

The OLD, D. G. Miller,⁸⁰⁹ de Vaan,⁸¹⁰ and Weiss⁸¹¹ all agree that this word stands for a diminutive form **minuscellus* and derives from *minusculus*, “somewhat smaller,”⁸¹² which itself is a diminutive of *minor*, “smaller.” In older Latin before Varro, this word appeared in a phrase, *ūva miscella* or *vītis miscella*, which referred to an inferior type of grape and the vine producing it.⁸¹³ From Varro’s time on, however, the Romans started to associate the word with *miscēre*, “to mix,” hence the “of mixed type or breed” meaning of the word. This meaning came about from the apprehension that this *miscellus* is not a diminutive but a deverbative adjective,⁸¹⁴ suggesting a passive-verb meaning “tending to be mixed” (cf. *iaculus*).

vernāculus, 1) “of or belonging to one’s household”; 2) “(masculine or feminine forms as substantives, as diminutives of *verna*)”

Vernāculus appears 17 times.

The main (non-diminutive) meaning and the shape of this word show that it is an adjective from a denominative instrumental in *-culum*, namely **vernāculum*, “the place for the *verna* [i.e. slave born in the master’s household].” And yet, colloquial and non-literary uses (e.g., Apul *Met.* 1.26, *CIL.* 6.24168, 6.37913, 8.9375) suggest that, because *vernāculus* and *vernācula* describe male and female slaves, and because the word has a *-cul-* element that resembles the real diminutive suffix, speakers in normal conversation actually began to regard *vernāculus* and *vernācula* as diminutives of

⁸⁰⁹ D. G. Miller, 68.

⁸¹⁰ de Vaan, 381.

⁸¹¹ Weiss, 123.

⁸¹² OLD, s.v.

⁸¹³ OLD, s.v.

⁸¹⁴ I.e., adjective *miscello-*, *miscellus* ← verb *miscē-*, *miscēre* + some kind of compound suffix *-ello-*, *-ellus*.

verna, making it synonymous in that sense with the already existing real diminutive *vernula*. It is a mistake to think of *vernāculus* and *vernācula* as actual diminutives, though, because the diminutive suffix would use the *i* connecting vowel instead of the *ā* (as seen in *panniculus*, “a small piece of cloth,” from *pannus*, “a piece of cloth”⁸¹⁵), and that the denominative-adjective-forming suffix would most likely take the *i* as well, as seen in *anniculus*, from *annus*.

It could be that those who saw the pair of words as diminutives thought that the words could be broken down like *vern-āc-ulus* through folk etymology into a diminutive from some adjective in *-āx* or *-ācus*, behaving like diminutives such as *merāculus*, “pretty pure,” from *merācus*, “pure,” which itself is from *merus*, “pure,”⁸¹⁶ and *audāculus*, “a little bold,” from *audāx*, “bold.”⁸¹⁷

VII.D.b.i. Summary of these Four Words

Conspicillum is strictly speaking a diminutive (with a base word being the substantive deverbative adjective **conspiculum*), but the etymologically non-diminutive meaning which it has (indicated by that **conspiculum*) shows through, nevertheless.

Lingula or *ligula* are forms of a singular word, and yet the *lingula* form tends to have the etymologically correct diminutive meaning while the *ligula* form has the etymologically correct non-diminutive meaning.

Miscellus is strictly speaking a diminutive, but because of its unusual form, the Romans connected it to a verb and so thought of it as a non-diminutive.

⁸¹⁵ L&S, s.v.

⁸¹⁶ L&S, s.v.

⁸¹⁷ L&S, s.v.

Vernāculus is strictly speaking not a diminutive, but because of its unusual form, and because of the *-ulus* ending, the Romans sometimes thought of it as a diminutive.

VII.D.c. Words Which Do Not Neatly Fall into the Above Classifications

This is a catch-all category which includes compounds of diminutive words, words with etymologies which are known but make reference to cognate words of other languages (such that the diminutive-like element of the word may be part of the word root), and words with etymologies that are simply doubtful or uncertain.

I cite the OLD, de Vaan, and the TLL extensively in this section, and when I directly mention any of them in the list of words below, that means I have taken the relevant information from the relevant word entry of the OLD, de Vaan's dictionary, or the TLL. In such cases, I mostly do not provide individual footnotes. When I cite other sources, however, I do include the individual footnotes.

There are 22 of these words.

angulus, "an angle or apex of a triangle or other plane rectilinear figure"

Angulus appears 6 times.

The OLD states that the word has the cognates Umbrian *anglom-e* and Armenian *ankiun*, and should be compared to Latin *ancus*, "with crooked arms." de Vaan says that the word represents Proto-Italic **ang(e)lo-*, from Proto-Indo-European **h₂eng-(e)lo-*, meaning "corner" and having some kind of suffix *-(e)lo-*, and mentions how the root of the word is suspiciously close in form and meaning to the root **h₂nk-* of *ancus*, yet there is no regular way to derive one from the other. de Vaan does not specify what *-(e)lo-* is.

Angulus has the diminutive *angellus*, "a small or barely perceptible angle."

capillus, "the hair on the head"

Capillus appears 22 times.

The OLD considers the etymology dubious. de Vaan rejects the idea that the word is a diminutive of *caput*, saying that the diminutive from *caput* would be **capullus* (for **capul-lo-* from **caput-lo-*) and would mean "little head" (and de Vaan adds: "which hardly amounts to 'hair'"), but both ideas are actually plausible since 1) *-ull-* typically becomes *-ill-* as seen in the diminutive *pōcillum* (for **pōcul-lo-m*), "small cup," from *pōculum*, "cup," so **caput-lo-* to **capul-lo-* to *capillo-*, and 2) diminutives can refer to specific parts or pieces or subdivisions of a whole as seen in *digitulus*, "finger tip," from *digitus*, "finger," so a *capillus* could be specific element of the head, namely the hair on the head. The real problem with *capillus* being a diminutive of *caput* is the change of gender from the neuter *caput* to the masculine *capillus* (and yet the TLL does cite some instances of *caput* being masculine instead of neuter: e.g., Gloss. III 112, 50 and *Cod. Iust.* 12, 37).

corulus or *corylus*, "a hazel-tree, hazel-wood"

Corulus/corylus appears 5 times.

The OLD states that the word should be compared to Old Irish *coll* and Anglo-Saxon *hæsel*. de Vaan says that the word represents Proto-Italic and lists various Indo-European cognates like the aforementioned Old Irish *coll* and Old Welsh *coll*, "hazel."

cuniculus, "a rabbit," "a subterranean passage," "a conduit for water"

Cuniculus appears 14 times.

The OLD states that it is possible that the word is from Iberian and should be compared to what Pliny says at *Nat.* 8.217: *leporum generis sunt et quos Hispania cuniculos appellat*, "The animals in Spain called rabbits also belong to the genus hare." This explanation certainly accounts for the first meaning, but not the origin of the two other meanings. Perhaps the "subterranean passage" meaning derives from the tunnels which the animal is known to create, and the idea of "passage" yielded the meaning of "conduit of water."

famulus, "slave," "attendant"

Famulus appears 9 times.

The OLD states that the word should be compared to Oscan and Paelignian *famel*, and Oscan *famelo* (which corresponds to Latin *familia*). de Vaan talks about an idea that the Proto-Italian **famelo-* is a back-formation to **famelia*, "household," a form of of an adjective **famelio-*, "basic; of the house," which could belong to the pre-form Proto-Indo-European **dʰh₁-m-elo-*, "fundament." *Famulus* has a feminine form *famula*.

interulus, "inward," "inner"⁸¹⁸

Interulus appears twice.

The OLD and L&S⁸¹⁹ both state that the word comes from the preposition *inter*, "between," "among," with the former indicating that the word appears in either the phrase *tunica interula* or *interula* alone to refer to a kind of undergarment worn by both sexes. Since the suffix of *interulus* is really only imparting an adjectival force onto the

⁸¹⁸ L&S, s.v.

⁸¹⁹ L&S, s.v.

preposition (i.e., "of or pertaining to that which is between"), the suffix here is analogous to the one appearing in denominative adjectives.

macula, "a stain," "spot," "speck"

Macula appears 35 times.

The OLD considers the etymology dubious, but de Vaan⁸²⁰ says that the word comes from a Proto-Italian **smatlo-*, and suggests a Proto-Indo-European **smh₁tlo-*, "wiping." He also gives Greek σπᾶν, "to cleanse, wipe clean," and σμῆμα, "ointment," as cognates, then points out that the connection with the Greek verb is possible if **smHtlo-* would yield Latin *(*s*)*matlo-* > **makulo-*, and cautiously points out that, semantically, an etymology of "stain" as "smearing" is not compelling but conceivable.

mūlus, "a mule"

Mūlus appears 6 times.

The OLD states that the word should be compared to μυχλός, "stallion" and Albanian *mušk*. de Vaan says that the word is probably a loanword which entered Europe from Asia Minor in the form **musk-* or **muks-*. *Mūlus* has the feminine form *mūla*.

nebula, "mist," "fog"

Nebula appears 17 times.

The OLD states that the word should be compared to Greek νεφέλη, "cloud," and Welsh *nyfel*, and Old High German *nebul*. de Vaan says that the word represents Proto-Italic **nefelā* and Proto-Indo-European **neb^h-e-lo-*.

⁸²⁰ de Vaan, 358.

oculus, "eye"

Oculus appears 97 times.

The OLD states that the word comes from an older form **oquelos*, which should be compared to Greek ὄσσομαι, ὄψομαι, "to see,"⁸²¹ to Sanskrit *ákṣi*, and to Gothic *augo*. *Oculus* has the shape of a substantive version of a deverbative adjective like *capulus*, but the suffix somehow attached to a word element that turns out to be the root instead.

The word has the diminutive *ocellus*, "a (little) eye (especially in tender or emotional language)."⁸²² From the diminutive came the Roman cognomen, *Ocella*, containing a suffix that denotes a male person (cf. *agricola*, *planēta*).

sibilus, "making a hissing or similar sound"

Sibilus appears 15 times.

The OLD states that the word is an onomatopoeia and should be compared to Greek σίζω, "to hiss"⁸²³ and ψίθυρος, "whispering," "slanderous".⁸²⁴ There is no specific indication of what the *-i-* element represents, however. One could speculate and suggest that the element represents the deverbative adjective suffix *-ulus* with vowel change, and while this would certainly satisfy the semantics, I cannot suggest why the *u* became *i* when other similar deverbative adjectives did not undergo such a change. de Vaan does not mention the word at all.

⁸²¹ LSJ, s.v.

⁸²² OLD, s.v.

⁸²³ LSJ, s.v.

⁸²⁴ LSJ, s.v.

squālus, "(of dress) unkempt," "dirty"

Squālus appears in none of my authors.

The OLD derives the word from a **squa-los*, which should be compared to *squāma*, "a scale (of a fish, reptile, etc.)"⁸²⁵ (and it is likely the case that the etymologists of the dictionary are referring to the etymology of *squāma* which was posited by Gellius), while de Vaan has literally "No etymology." There does not seem to be any particular explanation of the *-l-* element.

squalus, "an unidentified sea-fish"

Squalus appears once.

The OLD considers the etymology dubious and de Vaan also does not offer a definite etymology, and instead rejects the idea that the word is cognate with the German words for "whale," Old Prussian for "catfish," and Uralic for "fish." de Vaan also adds that the word only occurs in prose, so the quantity of the first vowel is unknown, and so the word might as well be the same word as the *squālus* just mentioned.

stimulus, "goad (for urging on animals)"

Stimulus appears 21 times.

The OLD states that the word probably comes from the Indo-European root **stei-*, "to prick," which is also found in *sli-lus*, "a long, sharply pointed piece of metal, etc., a spike or similar," and *in-stī-go*, "to incite, urge, impel, drive (to an action)." de Vaan mentions a root *sti-*, "sharp object," and **stig-*, "to sting," and Avestan *staera*,

⁸²⁵ One would think that the word would be related to the *squalus* in the next entry instead because of the connection between scales (of fish) and a kind of fish.

taera, "mountain-top," but seems unconvinced by any of these etymologies. None of these etymologies, however, seem to be sufficient in explaining the *-ul-* element.

substillus, "falling in separate drops"

Substillus appears once.

The OLD states that this word comprises the prefix *sub-*, the verb *stillāre*, "fall in drops," and the adjectival termination *-us*. This statement on the etymology and meaning of the word indicate that the word itself is an adjective deriving from a verb and having participial meaning (cf. *fidus*, "trusting," *parcus*, "sparing," *vīvus*, "living," and *congruus*, "agreeing," from *fidere*, "to trust," *parcere*, "to spare," *vivere*, "to live," and *congruere*, "to agree") from *stillāre*, and the *sub-* denoting a subdued trickling.

succrotillus, "(of the voice, probably) rather tremulous or quavery (like the sound of a rattle)"⁸²⁶; "lean, puny (?)"⁸²⁷

Succrotillus appears once.

The OLD cites this word from only comic fragments (of Titinius and L. Afranius) and Paul's lexicon. It does not occur in any non-lexicographical authors of my period. The OLD states that this word is apparently from *sub-*, the *crot-* of *crotalum*, "a kind of castanet used to accompany a dance," and some suffix *-illus*, and also says that the word should be compared to a word *crocotilus*, "(app.) Very thin,"⁸²⁸ and suggests that this *crocotilus* represents another word, *crotillus*, which they never define or explain. Strodach considers *succrotillus* a form of *cro[co]tillus*, and suggests the meaning "lean,

⁸²⁶ OLD, s.v.

⁸²⁷ Strodach, 61.

⁸²⁸ OLD, s.v.

puny,” which mostly coincides with the OLD’s definition of *crocotilus*.⁸²⁹ The TLL shows the form *crocotillum*, defining it as “valde exile” (“a very small thing”), but does not provide an etymology of the word at all.

I believe the main difficulty with determining its nature and etymology is simply in trying to interpret what the word even means. Both definitions seem appropriate in the two comic fragments. So, we should ask which definition better fits the etymology. Are *succrotillus* and *crocotillus* indeed variants of the same word? Neither the OLD nor Strodach give a convincing argument that they are. The OLD, Strodach, and the TLL all seem to agree that at least *crocotillus/crocotillum* means “very thin”/“a very thin thing,” so let us separate this from *succrotillus*. We are then left with the “(of the voice, probably) rather tremulous or quavery (like the sound of a rattle)” of the OLD and its etymology which makes reference to the word *crotalum*. Let us think about the strange *crot-* element which the OLD believes is a representative of *crotalum*. There is no reason given for why that element appears instead of the full base form *crotal-*, but I can see the deverbative-adjective suffix *-ulus* linking up with the Greek verb κροτέϊν, “to make a rattle”⁸³⁰ (the etymon of *crotalum*), to get an adjective **crotulus*, “tremulous or quavery (like the sound of a rattle).” A diminutive suffix *-lo-* could then be added to this adjective, yielding a diminutive *crotillus*. This diminutive could mean “rather tremulous or quavery.” But the *sub-* could just as easily produce the “rather” element of the meaning. The diminutive suffix and the prefix may simply have a pleonastic

⁸²⁹ Strodach tries to make sense of the word in a footnote, where he makes a number of speculations, but it seems to me that he is mostly confounded with the difficulty of connecting his idea of the word’s meaning with his etymology of the word.

⁸³⁰ LSJ, s.v.

relationship to the rest of the word, or they are mutually reinforcing, not unlike what D. G. Miller suggests what is happening with *parvibibulus*, "little-drinking" (appearing in later Latin by Caelius Aurelianus), where the *parvi-* and the *-ulus* are mutually reinforcing.⁸³¹

tabula, "board"

Tabula appears 75 times.

The OLD considers the etymology dubious and de Vaan calls it uncertain, noting that the *ta-* is a form of the same root as in Latin *stāre*, "to stand," which would mean that the *-bula* is the instrumental suffix.

Tabula has the diminutive *tabella*, "board."

tardigenuclus, "having sluggish joints"

Tardigenuclus appears in none of my authors.

Tardigenuclus is strictly speaking a *bahuvrihi* compound comprising the adjective *tardus*, "sluggish," and the diminutive noun *geniculum*, "(small) joint." In other words, *tardigenuclus* is itself not a diminutive but a compound comprising one.

tranquillus, "calm," "still"

Tranquillus appears 22 times.

The OLD states that this word comprises the prefix *trāns* and a word element **quil-nos* (as in *quies*, which should be compared to Gothic *tueila*). de Vaan says such an etymology is semantically vague, and specifically, the meaning of *trāns* does not fit.⁸³² He adds that the assumed development of **-nsk^w*- > *-nqu-* (which Weiss

⁸³¹ D. G. Miller, 196.

⁸³² de Vaan, 627.

advocates for⁸³³) is disputed. Furthermore, he points out that the suffix is unclear. In my opinion, the only element of the proposed etymologies that fits with the semantics of the Latin word is the notion that this word and *quies* share a root **k^wih_i*, meaning “be quiet.”⁸³⁴

tutulus, “a conical top-knot (or woollen cap of similar form) worn in religious ritual by women (especially a flamen’s wife) and priests”

Tutulus appears twice.

The OLD considers the etymology dubious and de Vaan does not mention the word at all. *Tutulus* has the vague shape of a diminutive from either *tūtus*, a rare form of the perfect participle of *tuērī*, “to look at,” or *tūtus*, which in this case is the common adjective that is a version of that participle, or a deverbative adjective from *tūtārī*, “to watch,” “to protect,” which itself is derived from *tuērī*.⁸³⁵ Varro in *L.* 7.44 attempts to connect the word with *tuērī*:

*sive ab eo quod id tuendi causa capilli fiebat, sive
ab eo quod altissimum in urbe quod est, Arcs,
tutissimum vocatur*

whether named from the fact that this was done for the purpose of *tueri* ‘protecting’ the hair, or because that which is highest in the city, namely the Citadel, was called *tutissimum* ‘safest’⁸³⁶

Both etymologies suggest that the word is a deverbative adjective, but the first one points to a typical formation procedure where the suffix attaches to the verb while

⁸³³ Weiss, 181.

⁸³⁴ de Vaan, 627.

⁸³⁵ L&S, s.v.

⁸³⁶ This was translated by Roland G. Kent. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/varro-latin_language/1938/pb_LCL333.311.xml.

the second one points to an atypical situation where the suffix attaches to the participle *tūtus* instead. In any event, the connection between *tutulus* and any of the aforementioned forms of *tuērī* is problematic because of the discrepancy in the lengths of the vowels: *tutulus* has a short *u* while the forms of the verb have a long *u*.

Bonfante⁸³⁷ says that according to "some etymologies,"⁸³⁸ this word *tutulus* indicates the swelling shape, connected with *tumere*, and that Festus and Varro emphasize this feature in describing the *tutulus*, with Varro in the aforementioned passage (*L.* 7.44) comparing the *tutulus* to a *mēta*.

vidulus, "a kind of bag used for carrying one's belongings"

Vidulus appears in none of my authors.

The OLD considers the etymology dubious but suggests that the word perhaps can be compared with *viēre*, "to plait." de Vaan agrees with the connection between this word and *viēre*, as indicated by including it in the "Derivatives" section of the *vieō* entry. If the theory behind the connection between the two words is correct, then *vidulus* is a substantive version of the deverbative adjective *vidulus*.

vitulus, "the young of cattle, a calf"

Vitulus appears 19 times.

The OLD states that the word has the cognate Umbrian *vitlu* and should be compared to Sanskrit *vatsáḥ* and Greek ἔταλον, "yearling." de Vaan says that the word represents Proto-Italic **wet-elo-*, "yearling," "calf."

⁸³⁷ Larissa Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress*, Updated Edition (The Johns Hopkins University: Baltimore, 2003), 142.

⁸³⁸ Whatever those are.

Vitulus has the diminutive *vitellus*, "a little calf."

VII.E. Conclusions

Not all Latin words in *-(c)ulo-*, etc., are diminutives, and in fact there is a small number of groups of words with diminutive-looking suffixes that have specific or particular meanings that have nothing to do with diminutives. While the diminutive suffix is strictly denominative (e.g., *arcula*, noun, from *arca*, noun, and *trīsticulus*, adjective, from *trīstis*, adjective), these non-diminutive suffixes can be denominative or deverbative. A few of them are both, although they tend to be more one or the other (e.g., the denominative instrumentals in *-culum*, which are mainly deverbative).

Words within the "denominative adjective" group are especially interesting for several reasons. First, they are all denominative, just as diminutives are. Next, there are so few of these words that one is liable to assume that they are indeed diminutives, especially when their exact etymologies are not entirely certain (e.g., *anniculus*). And yet their meanings do not fit nicely into any typical use of the diminutives. Above, I said that the suffix denotes "connected with," "involved with," or even "possession," but the suffix seems to do little more than what other "pertaining to" "of" suffixes like *-ānus* and *-ālis* and *-estis* do. In terms of such suffix logic, there is not much difference between *caerul(e)us* and *caelestis*.

These various groups existed in the period before Augustus, and I have shown that the existence of such types endured after that time as well.

Some other words have diminutive-like endings and do not have diminutive meanings, and yet they do not fit into the main groups of words. Words like *nuc(u)leus*

have an element that is technically the diminutive suffix, but almost all words in *-uleus* never have any diminutive meaning at all. Grammarians have classified words in *-aster*, etc., as diminutives, but while such words have meanings that certain diminutives can have in particular situations, the idea of “incomplete resemblance” better fits these words. Still other words either have etymologies which are unknown or uncertain, or have etymologies which are certain but their diminutive-like suffixes cannot be classified as either diminutive or of the special meanings which I have discussed in the sections above.

Finally, there is no clear, unconditional overlap between the diminutives and the non-diminutive words with the aforementioned special meanings. Despite having the *-(c)ulo-* suffixes, words of the two major groups never regularly become interchanged. An *arcula* cannot simply be a diminutive of *arca* in one instance, and then a non-diminutive word comparable to *tēgula* (a substantive version of a deverbative adjective) in another instance. The only overlap that I can cite are the words like *vernāculus* which can be diminutive or non-diminutive in special situations. But all of these words have conditions, and the diminutive/non-diminutive uses are not entirely commutable: *conspicillum* is strictly a diminutive, but its unique analogical formation from *specillum* implies a nonexistent base word which provides one of its meanings; the spelling of *lingua* or *ligula* that we find in a given situation reflects the intended etymology; *miscellus* is an irregularly formed diminutive that the Romans in a later period interpreted as a deverbative adjective because of its form; *vernāculus*, which probably normally would be **vernīculus*, is really a denominative adjective, but it

apparently can have diminutive meanings in certain areas of non-literary speech. What all of these examples show clearly is the surprising fact that such interchange between the meanings of diminutives and the meanings of non-diminutives comes about, not when diminutive and non-diminutive formation patterns happen to converge, but when new words are irregularly formed.

Chapter VIII: Semantic and Morphological Analysis: Names of Personifications

There is a small class of Latin nouns in *-(c)ulo-*, etc. (with or without phonetic change and additional suffixes), which form the names of Roman deities, and certain scholars have taken these words as diminutives. I, however, believe such words are indeed non-diminutives despite their diminutive-like forms.

In this chapter I will focus on these words by identifying them, by stating the overall makeup of the category which comprises them, by providing explanations of their formation procedures, by analyzing their morphological features and semantic significance in the works of the various Roman authors, and finally, by comparing them to another Latin name which seems to have the same shape and kind of significance.

VIII.A. Background of the Names of Personifications

In a section dealing with diminutives in religious expressions,⁸³⁹ Hanssen brings up a number of names of gods "in diminutive form in Latin": *Arculus*, *Tigillus*, *Caeculus*, *Forculus*, *Sterculus*, *Partula*, and *Patellāna*/*Patella*. Hanssen calls (Iuppiter) *Tigillus* the "personification of the 'tigillum,'" and for that reason I have decided to refer to words of this type as "Names of Personifications." Other than that comment about *Tigillus*, Hanssen does not talk much about these names, apparently because "our knowledge is so uncertain and fragmentary,"⁸⁴⁰ and yet Hanssen's inclusion of *Partula*'s name in the list of the words demonstrating the development of the diminutive suffix in the Italic languages⁸⁴¹ implies that he believes that such words are diminutives.

⁸³⁹ Hanssen, 202-203.

⁸⁴⁰ Hanssen, 202.

⁸⁴¹ Hanssen, 257.

Zucchelli mentions the names *Arculus*, *Forculus*, *Partula*, *Statilinus*, and *Sterculus* as examples of the result of the development from old patronymic uses of diminutive-like suffixes to the later uses of suffixes for non-diminutives. He links these particular words with the obscure word *armillum*, "vās vīnārium"⁸⁴² ("vessel for wine"), which he sees as a denominative word in *-illo* without further comment.⁸⁴³ In any event, Zucchelli overall argument points to the idea that he sees these words as non-diminutive.

Such names of deities should bring to mind the name Romulus, the name of the legendary founder of Rome. Hanssen does devote a few sentences to the relationship between *Rōmulus* and *Rōma*, the name of Rome itself. He cites⁸⁴⁴ Schulze for the notion that Roman tradition ought to have given the name "Romus" to the founder of the city, and yet Hanssen thinks that the name *Rōmulus* is an "emphatic form" (and therefore a diminutive form) of *Rōmus* and the individual named Romus would have been called Ῥώμος in Greek.⁸⁴⁵ Hanssen, however, does not give his own explanation of the connection between the name of the legendary founder and the name of the city.

Despite the idea that Romulus named his city *Rōma*, it is nevertheless very tempting to interpret *Rōmulus* as coming directly from *Rōma* itself, being a diminutive of the name of the city. We can even cite scholars who have made such a suggestion. Warden, for instance,⁸⁴⁶ claims that the name *Rōmulus*, according to Latin convention,

⁸⁴² TLL, s.v.

⁸⁴³ Zucchelli, *Studi sulle formazioni latine in -lo- non-diminutive e sui loro rapporti con i diminutivi*, 145.

⁸⁴⁴ Hanssen, 101.

⁸⁴⁵ Later, I will explore what the ancients had to say about such a character.

⁸⁴⁶ Michael Warden, *Remember to Rule - Book One* (Morrisville: Lulu Press, 2017), 12.

would be the masculine diminutive of *Rōma*, and a translation of the name *Rōmulus* would read “young boy of Roma.”

My analysis of the morphology and semantics of names like *Partula*—Names of Personifications—has led me to believe that there is a class of words in Latin with diminutive-like suffixes which are not actually diminutive because they do not follow the conventional formation procedures and meanings of actual diminutive words. It has also inspired me to take a position on the relationship between *Rōmulus* and *Rōma*. Moreover, I wish to make a comparison between the relationship between these Names of Personifications and diminutives in Latin and that of a very different language.

VIII.B. Overall Makeup of This Category

Here I will give some sense of the overall makeup of the category.

Type or Subtype	Total Number
Names from Vergil to Apuleius	13
Names before Vergil, after Apuleius	4
All Types and Subtypes Together	17

Table 4. Names of Personifications: Numbers of Words.

In total throughout the ancient Latin sources (i.e., Varro, the Augustan authors, and the later authors), there are 17 different words which I consider forming a cohesive group of Names of Personifications using a derivative-forming suffix *-(c)ulo-*, etc., with or without phonetic change and additional suffixes.

There are in total 8 names of Personifications in *-(c)ulo-*, etc. (without phonetic change and additional suffixes), 5 masculines in *-us* and 3 feminines in *-a*. Of these 8, 4 appear in the works from the time with which I am working, 3 masculine, and 1 feminine. Many of the references come from Varro. The 8 words are:

- *Arculus*, a god of chests;
- *Caeculus*, a god who causes blindness;
- *Opitulus*, one who brings help (as a title of Jupiter);
- *Partula*, a goddess presiding over childbirth;
- *Rediculus*, a god associated with the retreat of Hannibal from Rome;
- *Stimula*, a goddess associated with Bacchic rites or the goddess who pricks on, excites, stimulates to action or pleasure⁸⁴⁷;
- *Sterculus*, a god who supposedly invented manuring;
- *Vitula*, a goddess of joy and exultation and holds life-sustaining power.

In addition to these 8 are words which employ the same suffixes as these names of Personifications in *-(c)ulo-*, etc., but with an additional suffix *-īnus*, *-īna*, or *-ānus*, *-āna*, or *-cius*. There are 5 in all, 3 masculines in *-us* and 2 feminines in *-a*. Of these 5, none appears in the works from the time with which I am working. The references all come from fragments of the works of Varro except for *Opitulus*, which comes from Paul. Fest.

The 5 words in *-(c)ulo-*, etc., with phonetic change and additional suffixes are:

- *Fābulīnus*, a god of speech;
- *Patelāna*, a goddess who presided over the opening of ears of grain;
- *Patulcius*, a cult-title of Janus (whose temple was open in time of war);
- *Statilīnus*, a god associated or to be identified with the god Statanus who apparently presided over the standing of infants;

⁸⁴⁷ L&S, s.v.

- *Tūtulīna*, a goddess giving protection to harvested grain.

We find additional names in works from periods after that with which I am working. Augustine gives us two names of Personifications in *-(c)ulo-*:

- *Forculus*, a god who presides over the doors;
- *Tigillus*, an epithet of Jupiter, who sustains and holds the world like a beam.

Augustine also gives us additional words with the additional suffix *-īnus*, *-īna*, or *-ānus*, *-āna*:

- *Aesculānus*, a god of copper or copper money;
- *Hostilīna*, a goddess that promotes the growth of corn in equal ears.

One of the words which Augustine gives us, however, is a word which I do not include in this group of Names of Personifications:

- *Edūlia*: a goddess presiding over a child's meals.

In a section below, I will explain the reasoning for that exclusion.

VIII.C. Morphological and Semantic Analyses of the Names of Personifications

These words have forms that appear at first to comprise either diminutive suffixes or diminutive suffixes with the additional adjective suffixes *-īnus*, *-īna*, or *-ānus*, *-āna*, or *-cius*, and yet there are reasons to believe that these words in fact are not diminutives and the suffixes which they have are non-diminutive suffixes.

VIII.C.a. General Morphological and Semantic Analyses

In this section I discuss generally the morphological makeup of these words and their semantic significance. I discuss these together because different suffixes interact in different ways with, and impart different types of meanings to, their base words.

VIII.C.a.i General Morphological Analysis (Contrasting Diminutives)

One of the first things that we should notice about these Names of Personifications is their morphological relationships to their base words. Although the base word of a Name of a Personification and the suffix interact with each other in generally the same way as do the base word of a diminutive and the diminutive suffix, the gender and termination of the Name of a Personification does not always match the morphological information of its base word. Thus, the rules for the formation of diminutives tell us that a diminutive of *vīta* would be **vītula* (i.e., stem *vītā-* + diminutive suffix *-ulā-*), and we have the word *Vītula*, the name of a goddess. However, *arca*, "chest" and the suffix *-ulo-* interacted to create a base *Arcul-* in *Arculus* much as we see how *arca* and the diminutive suffix *-ula-* interacted to create a base *arcul-* in *arcula*, but while the real diminutive *arcula* retains its morphological information from its base word *arca*, the Name of the Personification from *arca* is the masculine second-declension *Arculus*. Similarly, *Partula*, the name of a goddess, comes from the masculine fourth-declension noun *partus*, "birth," and yet the rules for the formation of diminutives tell us that a diminutive from *partus* would be **particulus* (i.e., stem *partu-* + diminutive suffix *-culo-*), which is masculine and has the termination *-us*. It turns out, then, that Names of Personifications take the gender of the deity. The morphological

information of their base words does not contribute to the morphological information of the Names of the Personifications themselves, and any similarity between the two is a matter of coincidence.

Moreover, Names of Personifications include not only denominative words but also deverbative words. As I pointed out before, diminutive nouns derive from nominal stems⁸⁴⁸ (i.e., a diminutive word in Latin must have its nominal base word to provide its nominal morphological information), which means that while we can get a diminutive noun from, say, *arca*, we cannot get a diminutive noun from a verb, say, *crepitāre*, "to rattle." At best, we must use an intervening deverbative noun-forming suffix, such as the deverbative-instrumental-forming *-culum* in the deverbative instrumental *crepitāculum*, "rattle," from the verb *crepitāre*,⁸⁴⁹ and once we have this *crepitāculum*, we can have the diminutive *crepitācillum*. We would not expect a diminutive coming directly from a verb for several reasons: 1) there is a fierce insistence of the diminutive suffix on being denominative; 2) there are no real citable examples of diminutives of that type;⁸⁵⁰ 3) the resulting meaning of the conversion between a regular verb and a diminutive noun is difficult to determine without good models elsewhere; 4) a verb naturally cannot provide the nominal morphological information which a diminutive word requires. We come back again to the idea that the morphological information of

⁸⁴⁸ Fruyt, 2011, 161; D. G. Miller, 198.

⁸⁴⁹ While this is technically true from a phonetic point of view, we could appeal to analogy to create diminutive forms seemingly directly from verbs. We could make a diminutive **amācillum* from *amāre* without making an **amāculum*, but this word was formed from the analogy of a word like *crepitācillum*, and such a word **amācillum* does imply the existence of the intervening **amāculum*. Nevertheless, these analogical forms do not refute the claim that the diminutive suffix is denominative and not deverbative.

⁸⁵⁰ Contrary to what Strodach tells us (vide VII.D.b.).

the base words of the Names of the Personifications does not contribute to the morphological information of the Names of the Personifications themselves.

A third way that these types fundamentally differ from diminutive words morphologically is their refusal to “stack” diminutive suffixes or create double diminutives typical for the latter. For instance, *puella*, “girl,” with the addition of *-ula* becomes *puellula*, “little girl,” but *tigillum*, “small beam,” does not add any overt diminutive-like suffix to yield *Tigillus*. It may be that the *-lo-* was attached to the stem *tigillo-* to get a full **Tigillo-*, and that third *l* was assimilated to the second *l*, but a diminutive of *tigillum* itself would have been **tigillulum* (cf. *lapillulus* from *lapillus*, itself from *lapis*, “stone”) or something similar which overtly indicated that it is a diminutive. A diminutive of the masculine *stimulus* would be the masculine **stimellus* (for **stimul-lo-s* ← *stimulo-* + *-lo-s*), but we have the feminine *Stimula*, the name of a goddess. It appears, then, that when a base word has a diminutive suffix or an apparent diminutive-suffix, that suffix can function as a Personification-forming suffix even if its letters belong strictly to the base word (i.e., the *-ulus* in *stimulus* is diminutive-looking, yet can be repurposed as the Personification-forming suffix, hence *Stimula*). While its base word does not provide the morphological information of the Name of the Personification, it can provide the letters of the suffix. Neither situation happens in the formation of diminutive words.

One last difference between the morphological nature of the Names of Personifications and that of diminutives is that the latter do not take additional suffixes like *-īnus* or *-ānus* as augmentations as do the former. In a previous chapter, I pointed

out that these adjectival suffixes do not have diminutive significance. Words in *-īnus* functioning as diminutives begin to show up only in the works of grammarians (e.g., *Commentarii Notarum Tironianarum*) and not in the literature of authors themselves.⁸⁵¹ And even at that point in the history of Latin, they do not have any sort of augmentation power. If we create, for example, a word *puellulānus* from *puellula*, this new word is an adjective meaning something like “of a small girl” or “pertaining to a small girl,” and in no way is it a noun which contains a suffix that somehow reinforces the diminutive suffix. *Puellulānus* cannot be simply another way to write *puellula*. The Names of Personifications, however, can use those suffixes as augmentations, as seen in *Sterculīnus*, a form of the name *Sterculus*. In other words, *Sterculīnus* is indeed another way to write *Sterculus*. Both forms of the name show that, like the *-(c)ulo-*, etc., of the names of Personifications, the augmenting suffixes do not take the morphological information of their base words.

VIII.C.a.ii. General Semantic Analysis (Contrasting Diminutives)

Let us also examine how the Names of Personifications differ from diminutives semantically. One way is that, while certain meanings of the *-aster* group of suffixes can indicate inferiority as diminutives sometimes can, there are no uses of diminutives which similarly coincide with the uses of Names of Personifications. The Names of Personifications do not indicate smallness either in a literal or imputed sense. *Arculus*, the god who serves as the personification of chests, for instance, is not a “small chest” in a real or metaphorical sense: he is not a part of a chest nor is a chest a part of him;

⁸⁵¹ Cooper, 170.

the chest is not exactly bits of the god; while *Arculus* might be strictly a technical term from religion, the god himself is not a "small chest" in a technical sense; the god is not at all a mundane version of the chest (if anything, it is the other way around). One could argue that the diminutive meanings coincide with the meanings of the Names of Personifications at the point which relates to the notion of metonymy, since *Arculus* "stands in" for chests, but the problem there is the fact that references to *Arculus* are references to the god himself and not necessarily to chests as a whole. The suffixes of the Names of Personifications have more in common with the *-īnus* suffix in that the latter have a genitival meaning which we could easily discern in the latter, as *Arculus*, the god of ("*-ulus*") the *arcae*, the divine representative of ("*-ulus*") the chests. All of this seems to mean that diminutives have a (hard or loose) "type-of" relationship with their "umbrella term" base words, but the Names of Personifications are separate "umbrella term" words themselves in relation to their base words.

Yet another area where we should notice the difference between the Names of Personifications and diminutives lies in how the Latin writers themselves did not regularly attempt to interpret the former as members of the latter. I cannot cite a Latin writer who counts the suffixes of these Names of Personifications as diminutive in a way that Priscian counted the *-aster* suffix as appearing in words which are diminutives.⁸⁵²

⁸⁵² Only one of these Names of Personifications (*Caeculus*) appears in a description where the Roman writers link it to a diminutive, but that is only because of the coincidental form of the name. A more thorough exploration of this name appears later in this chapter.

The Names of Personifications also differ from diminutives just as non-diminutive-yet-similarly-used suffixes make up the names of other deities alongside the Names of Personifications. These Names of Personifications mostly appear in lists of names of gods (called *Indigitamenta*), with etymologies involving their base words. If we analyze the names of gods which came about through the union of base words and suffixes, we would not be able to distinguish which suffixes should have diminutive meanings. So, for example, several Latin writers tell us that Cardea is the goddess of the door hinge while Forculus is the god of the door itself, but they do not indicate that, on the one hand, the *-ulus* of *Forculus* is a diminutive suffix, but, on the other hand, the *-ea*⁸⁵³ of *Cardea* is not a diminutive suffix. Moreover, the names of deities generally are compound words (e.g., *Domidūcus*, "A title of Jupiter as god of marriage, who brings the bride to her husband's home,"⁸⁵⁴ from *domus*, "home," and *dūcere*, "to bring," so roughly "Bringer Home"), agent nouns (e.g., *Occātor*, "Harrower" ["as the name of a god"⁸⁵⁵], from *occāre*, "to harrow (ground)"⁸⁵⁶ and *-tor*), terms using stock suffixes (e.g., *Orbōna*, "a goddess invoked by parents who had lost a child, or were in danger of losing one,"⁸⁵⁷ from *orbus*, "bereaved (of)"⁸⁵⁸ with *-ōna*, so roughly "Lost Child Goddess"), or combinations of these (e.g., *Intercīdōna*, "a functional deity involved in rites to avert evil spirits after childbirth,"⁸⁵⁹ from *intercīdere*, "to sever," and *-ōna*, so roughly "Severing Goddess"; *Ossipāgīna*, "*bone-fastener*, the goddess who caused the

⁸⁵³ This is really another sort of genitival suffix. (Weiss, 273)

⁸⁵⁴ OLD, s.v.

⁸⁵⁵ OLD, s.v.

⁸⁵⁶ OLD, s.v.

⁸⁵⁷ OLD, s.v.

⁸⁵⁸ OLD, s.v.

⁸⁵⁹ OLD, s.v.

bones of children to become firm and solid,"⁸⁶⁰ from *os*, "bone," and *pangere*, "to fasten," and *-īna*). A plain reading of these lists of deities suggests that the relevant suffixes are standard ones which happened to be used in the naming of the deities, some, like *Forculus* and *Cardea*, having a genitival sense (i.e., the deity "of..."), while others having suffixes that mean "doer of..." or simply "god/goddess of..." The etymologies of some of the other names of deities which appear in the *Indigitāmenta* are no doubt more opaque than these examples which I have cited, but the point here is that we would be at a loss to find diminutive meanings in them.

VIII.C.a.ii.α. General Semantic Analysis (Clarification of the Term

"Personification")

I should make a clear distinction between these Names of Personifications and the diminutives which Hanssen believes have the purpose of personifying some entity. By "Name of a Personification," I am referring to words that signify beings that represent some objects or entities and have some specialized function relating to those objects or entities. Hanssen, however, claims that one of the uses of diminutives is to inspire the reader to think of a non-human entity as a human entity, with the ability to think and speak like a human, and that such uses of diminutives appear in fables and fairy-tales.⁸⁶¹ He cites a passage from Gellius which tells of a Aesopian fable:

Avicula [...] est parva, nomen est cassita. Habitat nidulaturque [...] pulli tremibundi, trepiduli circumstrepere orareque matrem[...]

There is a little bird, [...] it is called the lark.
It lives in the grainfields, and [...] builds its nest

⁸⁶⁰ L&S, s.v.

⁸⁶¹ Hanssen, 20-21.

[...] the lark returned, the chicks, frightened and trembling, twittered about their mother and implored her [...]

Hanssen believes it was only natural that a small bird should be named with a diminutive, and that its nest is a *nīdulus*, but he does not suppose that the chief reason for the diminutives is that the bird is small: "The reason is that diminutives bring the bird nearer to us, their purpose is to personify."⁸⁶² In other words, the diminutive in the passage functions as a kind of lexical character introduction, indicating that the bird will have a speaking role in the story, and once that word has introduced her, the narrator will then continue the story by referring to the bird as simply *avis*.

The obvious difference between this "personifying" diminutive and the Names of Personifications is that the base word and the diminutive denote the same entity, while the base word and the Name of a Personification by necessity refer to two different entities entirely (namely, the god and the entity which the god is in charge of).

VIII.C.a.iii. Qualifying and Identifying the Suffixes

The previous two subsections (VIII.C.a.i. and VIII.C.a.ii.) explain the various morphological and semantic features of the Names of Personifications which differ from actual diminutives to show that it would be a mistake to include the former as members of the latter. They focus on what the suffixes of the Names of Personifications are not. This subsection instead shows what the suffixes actually are and whence they come.

If we want to better understand the nature of these Personification-forming suffixes, we should first analyze their relation to the other kinds of suffixes that form

⁸⁶² Hanssen, 21.

the names of other gods appearing in the *Indigitāmenta*. In a previous section, we saw that the names of deities often come about through the use of several suffixes including *-tor*, *-eus*, and *-ōna*. Even compound words appear as divine names. These names typically fall into three groups: 1) those with elements denoting relation or association (e.g., *Cardea*), 2) those with elements denoting agents or individuals instrumental in performing some activity (e.g., *domidūcus*, *Orbōna*), and 3) those with a combination of the two due to augmented word elements (e.g., *Ossipāgīna*). Given such information, we should thus infer that the Personification-forming suffixes, at least when used for our names of Personifications, function analogously to the suffixes *-tor*, *-eus*, and *-ōna*.

Now that we have established a relation between the Personification-forming suffixes and the suffixes that appear in other names of gods appearing in the *Indigitāmenta*, we can narrow down the identity of the Personification-forming suffixes. We must begin to search throughout Latin's catalog of formative suffixes which 1) happen to resemble diminutive suffixes but are not diminutive and 2) can denote "relation," "agent," "instrumental entity," etc. Fortunately, we have to look no further than the previous chapter which features such suffixes.

The candidates for suffixes which satisfy those criteria are 1) *-culum*, which forms deverbative and denominative instrumentals and their derivatives (e.g., *mīrāculum*, "miracle," and *mīrāculus*, "miraculous," i.e., meaning something like "being or having the character of a miracle"), 2) *-ulus*, which forms deverbative adjectives and their derivatives which are *nōmina agentis* or verbal adjectives⁸⁶³ with the primary

⁸⁶³ Weiss, 279.

function of denoting propensity⁸⁶⁴ (e.g., *iaculus*, “for throwing,” and *iaculum*, “throwing-spear,” i.e., a noun pertaining to an object which is for throwing, the sort of thing that one tends to throw), and 3) denominative adjectives which generally mean “connected with,” “involved with,” or “possession” (e.g., *caerulus*, “celestial,” “the color blue,” i.e., the color we associate with the sky).

Coming up with these suggestions for candidates is relatively simple, but we have a much more difficult task when faced with trying to narrow down which of these suffixes specifically appears in these Names of Personifications because, as I show above, we can make good cases for all three groups of suffixes.

VIII.C.a.iii.a. *-culum* & *-culus*, etc.

In discussing the Latin suffixes *-cro-*, *-cri-*, *-culo-*, Osthoff⁸⁶⁵ mentions the god *Rediculus* and suggests that the name stands for **Red-i-tlo-*, the “returning-causing” god. Osthoff here reconstructs a form comprising *red-ī*, representing *redīre*, a compound verb meaning “return,” and the instrumental suffix **-tlo-*, which appears in Latin in various forms including the deverbative and denominative *-culum*, which itself yields adjectives in *-culus* (i.e., *red-i-* + **-tlo-* = **Red-i-tlo-* = **Red-i-clo-* = *Rediculus*). According to this suggestion, *Rediculus* has the same formation as the similar-looking word *rīdiculus*, “ridiculous,” from *rīdēre*, “to laugh,” and therefore signifies a male entity (hence the masculine adjectival termination *-us*) relating to the means (hence the

⁸⁶⁴ D. G. Miller, 196.

⁸⁶⁵ Hermann Osthoff, *Forschungen im Gebiete der indogermanischen Nominalen Stammbildung* (Jena: Herman Costenoble, 1876), 62.

instrumental suffix *-culum*) for returning (i.e., the retreat of Hannibal from Rome).⁸⁶⁶ This seems plausible enough when we are dealing with a name which comes from a verb, but how well does this suggestion work for denominative names? Radke⁸⁶⁷ goes further than Osthoff by suggesting that both *Caeculus* and *Forculus* came about through the use of the instrumental suffix **-tlo-*. The **-tlo-* is attached directly to the bases of the words *foris*, "door," and *caecus*, "blind," without intervening connecting vowels, and the *t* of the suffix became the *c* in *Forculus* or assimilated to the second *c* in *Caeculus* (i.e., *fori-* + **-tlo-* = **For-tlo-* = **For-clo-* = *Forculus*, *caeco-* + **-tlo-* = **Caec-tlo-* = **Caec-clo-*⁸⁶⁸ = *Caeculus*). We have seen that the *-culum* suffix can be denominative (e.g., *tabernāculum* from *taberna*), but since the suffix is more typically deverbative and its use in these two names is analogous to its use in the name *Rediculus*, we would better see the semantics behind *Forculus* and *Caeculus* with implied verbal notions: *Forculus*, the one relating to the means for "dooring" (as if there were a verb **forcāre*), that is, "sitting at watch at the door," and *Caeculus*, the one relating to the means for blinding (cf. *caecāre*, "to blind").

Several other Names of Personifications come from nominal base words with bases which end in *c* or *t* (which would induce the assimilation and deletion of the first

⁸⁶⁶ Greenough (7) even asserts that it is difficult to see how *Rediculus*, the name of the god, can be separated in formation from other adjectives in *culus*, *-a*, *-um*. The OLD even compares the termination of the name *Rediculus* to the word *rīdiculus*.

⁸⁶⁷ Gerhard Radke, *Die Götter Altitaliens* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1965), 15.

⁸⁶⁸ The deletion of the first *c* in the suffix in **Caec-clo-* can be accounted for by appealing to an analogy: *Caeculus* has suffix that seems to be the same as that in *Forculus*. Contrast this hypothetical form with the **cincculum*, **specculum*, and **teccula*, which I discuss in IV.B.b.

consonant of the suffix⁸⁶⁹ as in **Caec-tlo-* = **Caec-clo-* = *Caeculus*), and we can apply verbal notions together with the addition of the suffix, so it is not difficult to determine the formation of *Arculus*, *Partula*, *Sterculus*, *Vītula*, and at least the *Aescul-* part of *Aesculānus*: *Arculus* (from **Arc-tlo-*) relates to the means for sitting at watch at chests, *Partula* (from **Part-tlo-*) relates to the means for birth, *Sterculus* (from **Sterc-tlo-* for **Stercor-tlo-*) relates to the means for manuring, and so on.

VIII.C.a.iii.β. *-ulus, etc.*

Several of the Names of Personifications come from verbs, so we are dealing here with words which come about through the use of the deverbative-adjective-forming suffix *-ul-*, etc., which forms deverbative adjectives, which are *nōmina agentis* or verbal adjectives, and their derivatives. The surprising thing about the Names of Personifications of this small group is that each of these words uses one of the augmenting suffixes *-īnus* and *-ānus* and *-cius*, and these augmenting suffixes can easily obscure the identity of the intervening suffix *-ul-*, etc.: *Patelāna* and *Patulcius*, from *patēre* or *patēscere*, *Tūtulina*, from *tūtārī*, and *Hostilīna*, from *hostīre*.

Tūtulina, fortunately, is simple because it overtly shows that it implies a deverbative adjective **tūtulus*, “tending to protect” (cf. *crēdulus*) or “protecting” (cf. *tremulus*) or as a noun “protector” (cf. *figulus*), from *tūtārī*.

Hostilina, however, has a more difficult form because of the *-il-*, but the name does imply a deverbative adjective **hostulus*, “tending to equalize” or “equalizing” or

⁸⁶⁹ See the previous footnote. I think the deletion of the letter is allowable here (and not in forms like **cincculum*, **specculum*, and **teccula*) partly because of the aforementioned analogy involving *Forculus*, and mostly because of how transparently related these Names of Personifications are to their base words.

"equalizer," but there is phonetic change. Once the *-īna* attached itself to that adjective, the *-ul-* became *-il-* due to the *ī* in *-īna* (i.e., *l pinguis* becoming *l exilis*, cf. *Siculus* but *Sicilia*),⁸⁷⁰ a phenomenon seen also in *Tūtīlīna*, a form of *Tūtulīna*.

Patelāna and *Patulcius* have forms which are more difficult to explain, in terms of both form and meaning. Let us first look at the name *Patelāna* and its forms first.

Patelāna appears to be simply a shortened version of *Patellāna*, another form of the goddess' name, and both technically imply an adjective **patellus*,⁸⁷¹ itself from *patulus*, "wide-open, gaping,"^{872, 873} which has a middle sense. But since these suffixes on the Names of Personifications have the same sort of vowel-and-*l*-type of phonetic changes associated with the suffixes on diminutives, we can explain the *e* in *Patelāna* analogously to changes in diminutives. Among diminutives, in some cases the diminutive suffix form *-ello-* has spread at the cost of **-illo-*, so e.g., phonologically regular *scabillum* (for **skab-n-lo-*), "little bench," appears beside analogical *scabellum*. Furthermore, the vowel before the geminate *ll* of diminutives appears as *i* (e.g., *sigillum*), *e* (e.g., *agellus*), or *u* (e.g., *ampulla*).⁸⁷⁴ According to this notion, since the suffixes of the Names of Personifications have the same sort of vowel-and-*l*-type of phonetic changes associated with the suffixes on diminutives, and since *Patelāna* appears to have the same sort of relationship to its associated verb as *Tūtulīna* and

⁸⁷⁰ Weiss, 62.

⁸⁷¹ Fr. Stolz, "Zur Bildung und Erklärung der römischen Indigeten-Namen," in *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik mit Einschluss des älteren Mittellateins*, Volume 10 (Teubner: Leipzig, 1898) 167.

⁸⁷² OLD, s.v.

⁸⁷³ Hanssen believes that these Names of Personifications are generally diminutives, and yet he believes that specifically *Patella/Patellāna* is "best explained as coming from *patulus*." (203)

⁸⁷⁴ Weiss, 281.

Hostilīna have to their own verbs, then we can infer that *Patelāna* is a form of **Patilāna*, with the *-el-* appearing at the cost of **-il-*, which would make the vowel before the non-geminate *l* in these Names of Personifications appear as *i* (e.g., *Hostilīna*), *e* (e.g., *Patelāna*), or *u* (e.g., *Tūtulīna*). A **Patilāna* is indeed reasonable, from either a **Patulāna* (cf. *Tūtīlina* from *Tūtulīna*), or a longer **Patillāna*, from **patillus*, itself from the aforementioned **patellus*.

Now let us look at the meaning of the deverbative adjective which the name *Patelāna* implies. As mentioned earlier, *patulus*, “wide-open, gaping,” has a middle sense to match the intransitive verb from which it derives, *patēre*, “to be open.” And yet, the references to the transitive verb *patefacere* (“To make visible, reveal, uncover, lay bare” and “to open”⁸⁷⁵) in the Arnobius passage which I look at in detail below, and the fact that this suffix can form deverbative *nōmina agentis* from the verbs, seem to point to a **patulus*⁸⁷⁶ that has an active meaning: “(the one who is) opening, laying bare, keeping open.”

Patulcius also seems to point to a *patulus* that has an active meaning. The difference is that there is no vowel-and-*l*-type phonetic change, and there is an augmenting suffix *-cius*.

We can say, then, that the Names of Personifications which derive from verbs and use of the deverbative-adjective-forming suffix *-ul-*, etc., imply deverbative adjectives which have the meaning of “tending to X” or “Xing” or “Xer,” where the X

⁸⁷⁵ OLD, s.v.

⁸⁷⁶ Perhaps technically being **patefaculus* because of the semantics of the verb *patefacere*.

represents the verb from which the name derives. Thus, for example, *Tūtulīna* is a protecting goddess, and that role reflects the verb which yielded her name.

VIII.C.a.iii.γ. -ulus & -culus, etc.

The denominative adjectives meaning “connected with,” “involved with,” or even “possession” (e.g., *caerulus*, “celestial,” from *caelum*, “sky,” and *Iānulus*, “of or connected with Janus,” from *Iānus*, “Janus”) can easily account for any of the Names of Personifications which derive from nouns and have *-ulo-*, etc. These Names of Personifications are simply substantive adjectives: e.g., *Arculus* (i.e., *Arc-ulo-*) is *Deus Arculus*, the god “connected with” or “involved with” chests, and *Partula* (i.e., *Part-ulā-*) is *Dea Partula*, the goddess “connected with” or “involved with” birth.

In Chapter VII, I made the case that *-culus*, an adjectival suffix from instrumentals in *-culum*, was at one point reanalyzed to be a non-diminutive denominative suffix meaning “of” or “pertaining to” or “belonging to,” hence the non-diminutive adjectives *anniculus* (from *annus*) and *vernāculum* (from *vernā*). And yet, whatever the true origin of this adjectival suffix *-culus*, we have a denominative suffix which has meanings of “connected with,” “involved with,” or even “possession.” With that suffix, we can easily account for any of the Names of Personifications which derive from nouns and have (or contain) *-culo-*, etc. Once again, these Names of Personifications are simply substantive adjectives: e.g., *Forculus* (i.e., *For-culo-*) is the name of the god “connected with” or “involved with” doors, and *Aesculānus* (i.e., *Aescul-āno*) is the name of the god “connected with” or “involved with” copper or copper money.

VIII.C.a.iii.δ. *-ānus & -īnus & -cius, etc.*

In a previous section I noted that a number of Names of Personifications contain the augmenting suffixes *-īnus* or *-ānus* or *-cius*, which indicate appurtenance (i.e., relation or connection).⁸⁷⁷ The *-īnus* or *-ānus* are common enough in derivative words, but the *-cius* requires further explanation. It comprises the suffixes *-io-* and *-(i)co-*, both of which are other suffixes which denote appurtenance.⁸⁷⁸ These augmenting suffixes, when they appear, have the added effect of making an overt distinction between a Name of a Personification and diminutive of a base word. For instance, if Tutulina's name appeared as *Tūtula*, it could be either a Name of a Personification or a diminutive of the adjective (or purely participial) *tūtus*, but the augmenting suffix after the Personification-forming suffix shows that the name is specifically a Name of a Personification. Unfortunately, not all Names of Personifications have these augmenting suffixes even when they might have benefited from their use. Caeculus has a name that could be taken as either a Name of a Personification or a diminutive because of its form. **Caeculīnus* or **Caeculānus* would have made an overt indication that the name is specifically the former.

The suffixes *-īnus*, *-īna*, or *-ānus*, *-āna*, or *-cius* appear after the common Personification suffix *-(c)ulus*, etc., and the letters of that Personification suffix may or may not have undergone phonetic change. Thus, *Fābulīnus* (i.e., *Fābul-īno-*) derives from *fābula*, "Talk, conversation,"⁸⁷⁹ and the *-ul-* did not change to *-li-* before the suffix

⁸⁷⁷ Lane, Sections 302-319.

⁸⁷⁸ Lane, Sections 302-319.

⁸⁷⁹ OLD, s.v.

-īnus, *Statilīnus* (i.e., *Stat-il-īno-* for **Stat-ul-īno-*) derives from *status*, “a particular way of standing, stance, posture,”⁸⁸⁰ and the *-ul-* did change to *-li-* before the suffix *-īnus*.

VIII.C.a.iii.ε. Repurposed Suffixes

In a previous section I pointed out that when a base word has a collection of letters which either make up a diminutive suffix or a diminutive-looking non-diminutive suffix, that collection of letters can function as a part of a Personification-forming suffix even if that letter combination belongs strictly to the base word. I am identifying this mode of word formation after taking into consideration the meaning of the individual word and the resemblance of these suffix elements to more typical uses of the Personification-forming suffix. In this situation the collection of letters of the base word is reanalyzed and repurposed as a part of a different and distinct suffix which serves as the Personification-forming suffix. Thus, *Stimula* derives from *stimulus*, where the non-diminutive letter combination *-ulus* was repurposed as the Personification-forming suffix *-ula*; *Tigillus* derives from *tigillum*, where the diminutive suffix *-illum* was repurposed as the Personification-forming suffix *-illus*; *Fābulīnus* derives from *fābula*, where the non-diminutive letter combination *-ula* was repurposed as the Personification-forming suffix *-ulīnus*; *Opitulus* is a compound word, but its *-ulus* was repurposed as the Personification-forming suffix *-ulus*.

VIII.C.a.iii.ζ. Mixed Combinations

The various suffixes and the various types of phonetic change which I discuss in VIII.C.a.iii.α.-VIII.C.a.iii.ε. above can appear in any number of combinations in the

⁸⁸⁰ OLD, s.v.

Names of Personifications. Thus, *Arculus*, from *arca*, has only the Personification-forming suffix *-ulus*; *Fābulinus*, from *fābula*, has both the repurposed suffix *-ul-* and the augmenting suffix *-īnus*; *Aesculānus*, from *aes*, has the Personification-forming suffix *-cul-* and the augmenting suffix *-ānus*; *Statilinus*, from *status*, has the Personification-forming suffix *-ul-* with phonetic change (*-u-* to *-i-*), and the augmenting suffix *-īnus*.

VIII.C.a.iii.η. Exclusion of *Edūlia*

This section presents my reasoning for excluding the name *Edūlia* from the group of *Arculus*-type Names of Personifications in *-(c)ulo-*. This is because that form of the word hinders the existence of a Personification-forming suffix. *Edūlia*, along with its other forms *Edūsa* and *Edūlica* and *Edūla*,⁸⁸¹ have a *u* which is long. Since the *u* is long, it has the form of neither the deverbative-adjective-forming suffix nor the diminutive-forming suffix. Appealing to analogy or phonetic change cannot help us here, so we must approach its forms in another way. According to L&S,⁸⁸² the name and its various forms come from *edere*, "eat," but since the *-u-* there is long, it seems more reasonable that the word derives from *edūlia*, "eatables, foodstuffs,"⁸⁸³ which contains a long *u*. Thus, *Eduilia* is not the "eating goddess," as a name from the deverbative adjective might suggest, but is the goddess connected with the eatables, the deity relating to the foodstuffs, as a name from *edūlia* and the adjectival suffix *-ia* (indicating relationship or connection) does suggest.

⁸⁸¹ As shown in L&S, s.v.

⁸⁸² L&S, s.v.

⁸⁸³ OLD, s.v.

VIII.C.a.iv. Definition of the Morphological Shapes of Names of Personifications

Now that I have qualified and identified the suffixes of the Names of Personifications, I can formally present the morphological shapes of these words.

The use of the Personification-forming suffix, whether used directly or repurposed, yielded a number of forms of this suffix which morphologically match the various forms of the diminutive suffix. The Names of Personifications have morphological shapes which contain the basic element *-l-*, but this is very often expanded to any of the following seven suffix elements:

- *-ul-*
- *-ill-*
- *-cill-*
- *-ol-*
- *-cul-*
- *-ell-*
- *-cell-*

These forms either appear in the attested Names of Personifications or are implied by those attested forms and the sound laws which produced them, so: *Arculus* has the *-ul-* form, *Aesculānus* has the *-cul-* form, *Patella* has the *-ell-* form, and *Tigillus* has the *-ill-* form. The majority of the Names of Personifications use the *-ul-* form, several use the *-il-* form, and a few use the *-cul-* or *-el-* forms. The *-ol-*, *-cell-*, and *-cill-* forms are unattested but nevertheless possible.

There are two types of word elements which can appear after the terminal hyphen in each of these seven suffix elements: 1) one of the various case endings which can appear there,⁸⁸⁴ or 2) one of these three augmenting suffix elements:

⁸⁸⁴ Namely, *us* or *-a*.

- *-ān-*
- *-īn-*
- *-ci-*

These forms appear in the attested Names of Personifications, so: *Aesculānus* has the *-ān-* form, *Fābulīnus* has the *-īn-* form, and *Patulcius* has the *-ci-* form.

The terminal hyphen in each of these three augmenting suffix elements represents one of the various case endings which can appear there.⁸⁸⁵

VIII.C.a.v. The Personification-Forming and Augmenting Suffix Sets

There are eight realized synchronic sets of variant forms (or allomorphs) of the Personification-Forming Suffix which appear in our Latin sources or are inferable from the sound laws which govern the letters in question. These suffix sets are:

1. nom. sing. *-ulus, -ula, st. -ulo-, -ulā-*
2. nom. sing. *-olus, -ola, st. -olo-, -olā-*⁸⁸⁶
3. nom. sing. *-ellus, -ella, st. -ello-, -ellā-*
4. nom. sing. *-illus, -illa, st. -illo-, -illā-*
5. nom. sing. *-lus, -la, st. -lo-, -lā-*
6. nom. sing. *-culus, -cula, st. -culo-, -culā-*
7. nom. sing. *-cellus, -cella, st. -cello-, -cellā-*
8. nom. sing. *-cillus, -cilla, st. -cillo-, -cillā-*

There are three augmenting suffix sets which may subsequently attach to the bases of any one of the eight Personification-forming suffix sets. These three are:

1. nom. sing. *-ānus, -āna, st. -āno-, -ānā-*
2. nom. sing. *-īnus, -īna, st. -īno-, -īnā-*

⁸⁸⁵ So, the terminal - in *-ān-* represents *-us* or *-a*.

⁸⁸⁶ Allomorphs such as *-olus, -ola* are unattested but are possible.

3. nom. sing. *-cius, -cia*, st. *-cio-, -ciā-*

These sets act in Classical Latin as independent formative word elements which interact with the various stem types to produce diminutives.

For the sake of convenience, I will refer to the eight Personification-forming suffix sets collectively as “*-(c)ulo-, -(c)ulā-*, etc.” or simply “*-(c)ulo-*, etc.”

VIII.C.a.vi. Formation Procedures for the Names of Personifications

These are the formal formation rules of the Names of Personifications:

- 1) The Personification-forming suffix sets are *-(c)ulo-, -(c)ulā-*, etc.,⁸⁸⁷ and these suffix sets use the appropriate termination: a) *-us*, etc.,⁸⁸⁸ for male entities, and b) *-a*, etc.,⁸⁸⁹ for female entities;
- 2) A member of these suffix sets attaches to stems of nominals and verbs mostly in the same way that the diminutive suffix sets *-(c)ulo-, -(c)ulā-*, etc., and the non-diminutive suffixes *-(c)ulo-, -(c)ulā-*, etc., do. Examples are:

- *Arculus* [*Arc-ul-u-s* ← *arcā-* + *-ulo-*] from *arca*,
- *Caeculus* [*Caec-ul-u-s* ← *caeco-* + *-ulo-*] from *caecus*,
- *Forculus* [*For-cul-u-s* ← *fori-* + *-culo-*] from *forēs*,
- *Partula* [*Part-ul-a* ← *partu-* + *-ulā-*] from *partus*,
- *Patella* [*Pat-ell-a* ← *patē-* + *-ellā-*] from *patēre*,
- *Rediculus* [*Red-i-cul-u-s* ← *redī-* + *-culo-*] from *redīre*,

⁸⁸⁷ See the previous subsection, VIII.C.a.v., for an explanation of this.

⁸⁸⁸ I.e., terminations of the second declension typical of masculine nouns like *hortus*.

⁸⁸⁹ I.e., terminations of the first declension typical of feminine nouns like *puella*.

- Sterculus [*Sterc-ul-u-s* ← *stercor-* + *-culo-*] from *stercus*,
- Vītula [*Vīt-ul-a* ← *vītā-* + *-ulā-*] from *vīta*;

3) But words already with bases ending in letters that resemble the diminutive suffix or the Personification-forming suffix (*-(c)ul-*, *-(c)ell-*, *-(c)ill-*, etc.) can use that as the repurposed Personification-forming suffix and then simply change their termination to the appropriate form, if applicable. Examples are:

- Opitulus [*Opit-ul-u-s* ← as if *opit-* + *-ulo-*] from *opitulus*,
- Stimula [*Stim-ul-a* ← as if *stim-* + *-ulā-*] from *stimulus*,
- Tigillus [*Tig-ill-u-s* ← as if *tig-* + *-illo-*] from *tigillum*;

4) The suffix sets *-īnā-*, *-īno-*, or *-ānā-*, *-āno-*, or *-ciā-*, *-cio-*, may attach to a word formed from the Personification-forming suffix, producing a compound suffix (with the appropriate termination in accordance with the rule shown in 1)), then:

a) The element of the word representing the Personification-forming suffix remains unchanged. Examples are:

- Aesculānus [*Aes-cul-ān-u-s* ← *aer-* + *-culo-* + *-āno-*] from *aes*,
- Fābulīnus [*Fāb-ul-īn-u-s* as if *fāb-* + *-ulo-* + *-īno-*] from *fābula*,
- Patellāna [*Pat-ell-ān-a* ← *patē-* + *-ello-* + *-ānā-*] from *patēre*,
- Patulcius [*Pat-ul-ci-u-s* ← *patē-* + *-ulo-* + *-cio-*] from *patēre*,
- Sterculīnus [*Sterc-ul-īn-u-s* ← *stercor-* + *-culo-* + *-īno-*] from *stercus*,
- Tūtulīna [*Tūt-ul-īn-a* ← *tūtā-* + *-ulo-* + *-īnā-*] from *tūtārī*;

b) The element of the word representing the Personification-forming suffix appears as *-el-*. Examples are:

- Patelāna [*Pat-el-ān-a* ← *patē-* + *-el-* + *-ānā-*] from *patēre*,
- Tūtelīna [*Tūt-el-īn-a* ← *tūtā-* + *-el-* + *-īnā-*] from *tūtārī*;

c) The element of the word representing the Personification-forming suffix appears as *-il-*. Examples are:

- Hostilīna [*Host-il-īn-a* ← *hostī-* + *-il-* + *-īnā-*] from *hostīre*,
- Statilīnus [*Stat-il-īn-u-s* ← *statu-* + *-il-* + *-īno-*] from *status*,
- Tūtilīna [*Tūt-il-ān-a* ← *tūtā-* + *-il-* + *-īnā-*] from *tūtārī*.



Thus, a god of, for instance, cheese might have been called *Cāseolīnus*, whose name would have come from *cāseus*,⁸⁹⁰ “cheese,” and *-olo-*, a form of the Personification-forming suffix used immediately after vowel sounds, and *-īnus*.⁸⁹¹ The form *Cāseolus* might also have been used, but that happens to look exactly what a diminutive of *cāseus* would be. Again, a goddess of grapes might have been called *Uvella*, whose name would have come from *ūva*, “grape,” and *-ella*, the Personification-forming suffix,⁸⁹² but she might also have been called *Ūvulīna* instead.

VIII.C.b. Case Studies on Each of the Names of Personifications

The first section explains the morphological and semantic features of the Names of Personifications which function as names of deities. The second section covers those passages from Vergil to Apuleius which mention Names of Personifications, while the

⁸⁹⁰ Cf. English *cheese*, Spanish *queso*, German *Käse*. (Tunick, 7)

⁸⁹¹ *Cāseus* has the diminutive *cāseolus* (TLL, s.v.).

⁸⁹² *Ūva* has the diminutive *ūvula*, which is used in English to refer to the fleshy prolongation on the soft palate. (OLD, s.v.)

other subsection covers those from authors before Vergil and after Apuleius which mention such words.

Aesculānus

1) Morphological and Semantic Discussion

This is the god of copper money (*aes*) whose son is Argentinus, the god of silver money. This relationship reflects the fact that bronze money came into use before silver money. As far as we know, the Romans did not have an Aurinus, a god of gold money and son of Argentinus because gold coins came later than silver ones.

The base word is *aes*, "copper," "money," and derives either from **Aes-tlo-*, with the instrument-forming suffix, or **Aes-culo-*, with the denominative-adjective-forming suffix, along with the adjectival suffix *-āno-*, and the *-ul-* was retained even before the suffix. If a diminutive of neuter third-declension *aes* existed, it would be the neuter third-declension **aesculum* (cf. *corpusculum*, *ōsculum*). There does not seem to be any connection between *aes* and *aesculus*, "variety of oak-tree, perh. either durmast or Hungarian oak."^{893, 894}

2) Discussion on the Literary References

a) Usage Patterns before Vergil and after Apuleius

The OLD does not have an entry for Aesculanus, but L&S⁸⁹⁵ do:

the god of copper or copper money

The entry cites only the first of the two Augustine passages below.

⁸⁹³ de Vaan (28) connects *aesculus* with the Proto-Germanic root **aik-*, "oak."

⁸⁹⁴ OLD, s.v.

⁸⁹⁵ L&S, s.v.

We come to Augustine at *Civ. Dei* 4.21, where he has his list of deities who presided over the development of infants:

[commendare] [...] deo Aesculano et filio eius Argentino, ut haberent aeream argenteamque pecuniam? Nam ideo patrem Argentini Aesculanum posuerunt, quia prius aerea pecunia in usu coepit esse, post argentea. Miror autem, quod Argentinus non genuit Aurinum, quia et aurea subsecuta est. Quem deum isti si haberent, sicut Saturno Iovem, ita et patri Argentino et avo Aesculano Aurinum praeponerent.

[Would they commend them to] [...] the god Aesculanus and his son Argentinus that they might have bronze and silver money (aes, argentum)? They made Aesculanus the father of Argentinus because bronze money came into use first and silver later. But I am surprised that Argentinus didn't beget a son Aurinus, for gold coins (aurum) came a little later. And if they had had a god Aurinus, they would have set him above his father Argentinus and his grandfather Aesculanus, just as they put Jupiter above Saturn.⁸⁹⁶

So, we have a god Aesculanus who has a divine son named Argentinus. It is interesting that the Romans apparently did not have a god Aurinus. But perhaps Augustine could have just as easily invented the form *Aurulānus*, like *Aesculānus*, and yet we can presume that he is patterning this *Aurīnus* on *Argentīnus* because these names are next to each other in his sequence.

Later, Augustine at *Civ. Dei*, 4.28 says:

Sicut autem potuerunt auream pecuniam habere Romani, quamvis deum Aurinum non colerent; sic et argenteam habere potuerunt et aeream, si nec Argentinum nec eius patrem colerent Aesculanum, et sic omnia quae retexere piget.

⁸⁹⁶ This was translated by William M. Green. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/augustine-city_god_pagans/1957/pb_LCL412.77.xml.

But just as the Romans might have had gold money without worshipping a god Aurinus, so they could have had silver and bronze money without worshipping Argentinus and his father Aesculanus, and so for all the rest, which it would be irksome to repeat in detail.⁸⁹⁷

In other words, the Romans did not have to have particular gods for particular things. Augustine means that the Romans did in fact have gold money without worshipping Aurinus, which means that they would still have had bronze and silver, even if they had not worshiped the other two gods. They did just fine without an Aurinus and would have done just fine without the two money-related gods that they did have.

Arculus

1) Morphological and Semantic Discussion

This was the god of chests (*arcae*). Our only reference to him says that he “was thought” (*putābātur*) to be a god of chests, but we simply cannot say by whom.

The base word is *arca*, “chest,” and derives either from **Arc-tlo-*, with the instrument-forming suffix, or **Arc-ulo-*, with the denominative-adjective-forming suffix. Feminine first-declension *arca* has the feminine first-declension diminutive *arcula*. L&S⁸⁹⁸ mention a first-declension *arcellula*, “a very little box,” which comes from the diminutive *arcella*, “a square landmark,” itself from the typical diminutive *arcula*.

2) Discussion on the Literary References

a) Usage Patterns before Vergil and after Apuleius

⁸⁹⁷ This was translated by William M. Green. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/augustine-city_god_pagans/1957/pb_LCL412.105.xml.

⁸⁹⁸ L&S, s.v.

The OLD entry for Arculus' name simply has

(see quot.)

and refers to:

Paul. Fest. p. 16M

*Arculus putabatur esse deus, qui tutelam gereret
arcarum*

Arculus was thought to be the god who was in charge of
the protection of chests⁸⁹⁹

This is the only reference to Arculus in the literature.

Caeculus

1) Morphological and Semantic Discussion

There was, on the one hand, a Caeculus, the legendary founder and king of Praeneste who had tiny eyes (*caecus*); and, on the other hand, another Caeculus, the Roman god who caused blindness (*caecāre*). The Romans never connected the two explicitly, and while we can reconstruct a mythology which makes these two one and the same, their names demonstrate two different interpretations of the name.

The base word is *caecus*, "blind," and derives either from **Caec-tlo-*, with the instrument-forming suffix, or **Caec-ulo-*, with the denominative-adjective-forming suffix. *Caeculus* is interesting because the diminutive of *caecus* would also be **caeculus*, which is relevant to some of the passages which mention the god. Hanssen insists that an adjective **caeculus* certainly existed (yet does not indicate whether he

⁸⁹⁹ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: monumenta.ch, "Paulus Diaconus, Excerpta ex libris Pompei Festi de verborum significatu," accessed July 20, 2023, http://www.monumenta.ch/latein/text.php?tabelle=Paulus_Diaconus&rumpfid=Paulus%20Diaconus&level=&domain=&lang=0&links=1&inframe=1&hide_apparatus=1%C2%AC_first_frame=.

believes this word is supposed to be a diminutive or not), and cites *Caeculī* as the title of a mime by Laberius, and *caecula* as the name of a snake (with a “cf. τυφλῖνος,” which refers to a “blind snake, perh. *Pseudopus pallas*”⁹⁰⁰).

2) Discussion on the Literary References

a) Usage Patterns from Vergil to Apuleius

The OLD has two subentries for Caeculus’ name:

1 Son of Vulcan, the founder of Praeneste.

2 A god who causes blindness.

For the first subentry, the OLD cites the two Vergil passages which I discuss below. For the second, the OLD cites Varro *Gram.* 183. Are these the same character? Is the son of Vulcan also this god of blindness? We can look at the Latin references among these authors and authors in other periods, and then suggest an answer.

Vergil mentions Caeculus at *A.* 7.681, who is one of the leaders and an ally of Turnus:

*Nec Praenestinae fundator defuit urbis,
Volcano genitum pecora inter agrestia regem
inventumque focus omnis quem credidit aetas,
Caeculus. [...]*

Nor was the founder of Praeneste’s city absent, Caeculus, the king who, as every age has believed, was born to Vulcan among the royal herds, and found upon the hearth.⁹⁰¹

Later, Vergil at *A.* 10.544 tells us this:

Instaurant acies Volcani stirpe creatus

⁹⁰⁰ LSJ, s.v.

⁹⁰¹ This was translated by H. Rushton Fairclough, revised by G. P. Goold. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Virgil, *Aeneid*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/virgil-aeneid/1916/pb_LCL064.49.xml?readMode=reader.

Caeculus et veniens Marsorum montibus Umbro.

Caeculus, born of Vulcan's race, and Umbro, who comes from the Marsian hills, repair the ranks.⁹⁰²

These two passages do align well with the first subentry. The first passage also makes the offhand comment about the god being found at the hearth.

So far, we have not had any references to the god who causes blindness.

b) Usage Patterns before Vergil and after Apuleius

Later writers give more information about Caeculus. The *Scholia Veronensia ad Verg. Aen. 7.681*:

Cato in originibus ait Caeculum virgines aquam petentes in foco invenisse ideoque Vulcani filium eum existimasse et, quod oculos exiguos haberet, Caeculum appellatum

Cato in the *Origines* says that maidens who were seeking water found Caeculus in a hearth and for that reason thought that he was a son of Vulcan, and since he had tiny eyes, he was called Caeculus⁹⁰³

Again, we get a reference to Caeculus being found in a hearth, but here we also learn that "Caeculus" refers to his tiny eyes.

Here is the *Scholia Veronensia ad Verg. Aen. 10.183*:

Hic [Caeculus] collecticiis pastoribus Praeneste fundavit. Hunc Varro a Depidiis pastoribus educatum ipsique Depidio nomen fuisse et cognomentum Caeculo tradit [...]

This one [Caeculus] founded Praeneste after shepherds were collected from various places. Varro relates that

⁹⁰² This was translated by H. Rushton Fairclough, revised by G. P. Goold. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Virgil, *Aeneid*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/virgil-aeneid/1916/pb_LCL064.211.xml?readMode=reader.

⁹⁰³ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: Internet Archive, "Roman history and mythology," accessed July 20, 2023, https://archive.org/stream/cu31924028271207/cu31924028271207_djvu.txt.

this one was raised by the shepherds Depidii and was himself named Depidius and had the surname Caeculus [...]⁹⁰⁴

Does this mean that Varro thinks that "Caeculus" is not the child's real name?

That the real name is Depidius? That "Caeculus" is simply a nickname? In any event, we can say that this is an easy way to make sense of the story.

Martial at *Cap.* 6. § 642. says:

*Praeneste ab Ulixis nepote Praeneste, licet alii
velint Caeculum conditorem*

Praeneste by the grandson of Ulysses, although others wish Caeculus to be the founder⁹⁰⁵

So, we have several different ideas of the founder of Praeneste, including Caeculus (as we have seen already) and Ulysses (i.e., Odysseus).

Servius, at *Comm. in Verg. Aen.* 7.678, has this to say:

*erant etiam illic duo fratres, qui divi appellabantur.
horum soror dum ad focum sederet, resiliens scintilla
eius uterum percussit, unde dicitur concepisse. [...] virgines
aquatum euntes iuxta ignem inventum sustulerunt, qui a fonte
haud longe erat: unde Vulcani dictus est filius. Caeculus autem
ideo, quia oculis minoribus fuit: quam rem frequenter efficit
fumus.*

There were there [Praeneste] also two brothers, who were called divine. While the sister of these two was sitting near a hearth, a spark jumping off it struck her womb, by which it is said that it came to produce a child. [...] Maidens going out to fetch water picked him up after finding him near a fire, which was not far from a fountain: and because of that he was called

⁹⁰⁴ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: Eduard Norden, *Kleine Schriften zum Klassischen Altertum* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter), 1966.

⁹⁰⁵ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: monumenta.ch, "Martianus Capella, De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, LIBER VI DE GEOMETRIA," accessed July 20, 2023, http://www.monumenta.ch/latein/yyy.php?tabelle=Martianus_Capella&linkname=cec0193&prefix=&bildnummer=259&suffix=&column=&row=0&nach=&string=&from_year=&to_year=&binary=&satz=&domain=&lang=0&msize=x-large&inframe=1&hide_apparatus=1&hide_links=&hide_links_per_word=1.

the son of Vulcan. He was called Caeculus because he had rather small eyes: and smoke frequently brings about such a situation.⁹⁰⁶

This time the maidens found the boy not in a hearth but near a fire not far from a fountain. We also learn that Caeculus had small eyes because of smoke.

In talking about the Roman enthusiasm to worship constellations, abstractions, and places as gods, Tertullian at *Ad Nat.* 2.15 says:

item Caeculus, qui oculos sensu exanimet, item Orbana, quae in orbitatem semina extinguat. et ipsius mortis dea est.

Likewise Caeculus, who deprives eyes of their power, likewise Orbana, who sends seeds into a state of sterility. And there is a goddess of death itself.⁹⁰⁷

We finally have a reference to the god who causes blindness! One may suggest that the references to "Caeculus" then seem to refer to two very separate individuals, as described by the two subentries of OLD. But scholarly opinions differ. Wissowa insists that the founder of Praeneste and the eyesight-depriving god have nothing to do with one another, saying that the only common element is the name.⁹⁰⁸ Bremmer and Horsfall⁹⁰⁹ are neutral concerning the identification, referring to the latter as an "otherwise totally obscure Roman god." Hanssen⁹¹⁰ thinks that the two are "probably

⁹⁰⁶ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: Perseus Digital Library, "Maurus Servius Honoratus, Commentary on the Aeneid of Vergil," accessed July 20, 2023, <https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0053%3Abook%3D7%3Acard%3D678>.

⁹⁰⁷ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: The Latin Library, "TERTULLIANI AD NATIONES LIBER SECUNDUS," accessed July 20, 2023, <https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/tertullian/tertullian.nationes2.shtml>.

⁹⁰⁸ Georg Wissowa, *Religion Und Kultus Der Römer, Volume 5, part 4* (München: C.H. Beck, 1912), 231.

⁹⁰⁹ Jan N. Bremmer and Nicholas Horsfall, *Roman Myth and Mythography* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1987), 52.

⁹¹⁰ Hanssen, 203.

identical," but gives no rationale. Ginzburg⁹¹¹ asserts that their identity "is beyond doubt," and seems to have based that idea partly on the opinion of Otto,⁹¹² who takes it for granted.

Since the ancient authors never connect the founder-king with the god, their identification or lack thereof depends on whether scholars are willing to take the sameness of a name as the sameness of the individual. Nevertheless, there is more to it than that, and I argue that the two are for all intents and purposes identical. First, the ancient sources may not connect the two, but neither do they deny their identity, and indeed speak of non-conflicting elements of a single individual: his origin, his involvement in a particular set of situations, and his general function. Second, their attempts to connect the founder-king's name with blindness may seem very weak, but this is easily accounted for: 1) there is no actual reference to Caeculus being blind in any capacity (he simply has tiny eyes, apparently due to smoke), but the leap from "small eyes" to blind is not big; 2) the references to his eyes appear offhanded compared to the details of his birth and his involvement in the *Aeneid*, and yet they do sound like explanations of his name. Third, Bremmer and Horsfall⁹¹³ point out that Caeculus' myth can be divided into two: 1) Servius's version, in which Caeculus is miraculously born from a hearth and has a mother related to brothers who are "divine,"

⁹¹¹ Carlo Ginzburg, *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 234.

⁹¹² W. F. Otto, "Romische Sondergotter," in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 1909, *Neue Folge*, 64. Bd. (Bad Orb: J.D. Sauerländers Verlag, 1909), 453.

⁹¹³ Bremmer and Horsfall, 52.

and 2) Cato's version, in which Caeculus is found in or near a fire. The two authors make this point⁹¹⁴:

The whole of the myth can evidently only be reconstructed by putting together the various versions.

Consequently, reconstructing Caeculus' mythology is relatively straightforward. Bremmer and Horsfall⁹¹⁵ mention the parallels between Caeculus' story and that of Romulus and Remus: divine parentage, raised by shepherds, growing up to found a city with a band of shepherds. From this we can say that Caeculus, once born, convinces others that he is a son of Vulcan due to his association with fire (in a hearth or in a fire), later founds his city, fights alongside Turnus, is raised to heaven by his divine father in a way parallel to Romulus' being raised to heaven by his own father Mars,⁹¹⁶ and becomes the divine spirit who brings about blindness. This "reconstruction" neatly addresses several issues: 1) where Caeculus comes from, 2) what he does on Earth, 3) what eventually happens to him, 4) what can serve as an account on which Cato and Varro draw, and 5) specifies how he is "Caeculus," that is, how he relates to blindness. Even if my "reconstruction" has no real basis in reality, it would not be surprising to learn (if it were possible) that there were Romans who conflated the founder-king and the god and found that there was a natural connection between the two because of thematic connection deriving from *caecus*. Even Bremmer and Horsfall, uncertain and

⁹¹⁴ Bremmer and Horsfall, 52.

⁹¹⁵ Bremmer and Horsfall, 51.

⁹¹⁶ Liv. 1.16.

skeptical of the link between the king and god, admit that the association with *caecus* “must have been irresistible to Praenestines and Romans.”⁹¹⁷

Regardless of their true connection, the Caeculus of Praeneste and the Caeculus of the *Indigitāmenta* represent two different ways to interpret the name *Caeculus* on the basis of the putative etymology of the name. On the one hand, there is the founder-king Caeculus, whose name is supposed to mean “small eye” in reference to ocular size. In this case, we have a name based on an actual diminutive, *caeculus*, “rather blind,” and this *caeculus* would derive regularly from *caecus*, “blind.” On the other hand, there is the eyesight-depriving god Caeculus, whose name I consider one of the Names of Personifications. This is a very rare situation where the diminutive and the non-diminutive Name of Personification happen to have the same form.⁹¹⁸ Both the diminutive *caeculus* and the non-diminutive *caeculus* are strictly speaking adjectives, and have their masculine forms in *-us* because each refers to an individual man, but have different meanings and relationships to their base words: “he who is rather blind” versus “he who relates to someone or something blind.”

Fābulinus

1) Morphological and Semantic Discussion

This was a deity of speech (*fābula*) who helped children learn to talk and to whom the parents of these children sacrificed when they, the children, started speaking.

⁹¹⁷ Bremmer and Horsfall, 52.

⁹¹⁸ Another potential situation is *Vītula*, which can be both the diminutive of *vīta* and a Name of Personification deriving from *vīta*.

The base word is *fābula*, “talk,” “conversation,” and derives from **Fāb-ul-īno-*, with the adjectival suffix *-īno-*, and the original form of the repurposed suffix *-ul-* was retained even before the suffix. Feminine first-declension *fābula* has the feminine first-declension diminutive *fābella*.

2) Discussion on the Literary References

a) Usage Patterns before Vergil and after Apuleius

The OLD has this for Fabulinus’ name:

The god of speech.

The entry cites the Varro passage.

Varro at *gram.* 106 (Non p.5 532M) gives this description:

*sic cum primo fari incipiebant, sacrificabant divo
Fabulino*

Thus when they [infants] used to began to speak, they [their parents] would sacrifice to the deity Fabulinus⁹¹⁹

The OLD describes the god as the god of speech, and yet Varro’s description is more relevant to the description of the god in L&S: “a deity that helped children learning to talk.”

Forculus

1) Morphological and Semantic Discussion

This was the god of the door leaves (*forēs*), the blanks or boards that fit in the doorway. He was just one member of a group of deities presiding over elements of a

⁹¹⁹ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: Projekt Gutenberg-De, “Ludwig Preller, Römische Mythologie,” accessed July 20, 2023, <https://www.projekt-gutenberg.org/preller/roemmyth/chap085.html>.

doorway: Janus the god of passageways (*iānuae*), Limentinus the god of the threshold (*līmen*), and Cardea or Carna the goddess of the door hinges (*cardinēs*).

The base word is *foris*, "door," and derives either from **For-tlo-*, with the instrument-forming suffix, or **For-culo-*, with the denominative-adjective-forming suffix. Feminine third-declension *foris* has the feminine third-declension diminutive *foricula*.

2) Discussion on the Literary References

a) Usage Patterns before Vergil and after Apuleius

The OLD does not have an entry for Forculus, but L&S⁹²⁰ do:

a deity who presides over the doors

Tertullian, at *Idol.* 15, while discussing festivals in honor of emperors, victories, and such, says this:

Certi enim esse debemus, si quos latet per ignorantiam litteraturae saecularis, etiam ostioram deos apud Romanos, Cardeam a cardinibus appellatam et Forculum a foribus et Limentinum a limine et ipsum Ianum a ianua

For we ought to be sure if there are any whose notice it escapes through ignorance of this world's literature, that there are among the Romans even gods of entrances; Cardea (Hinge-goddess), called after hinges, and Forculus (Door-god) after doors, and Limentinus (Threshold-god) after the threshold, and Janus himself (Gate-god) after the gate⁹²¹

Each of the major parts of a doorway has its own deity. We see here that Forculus and Janus are two different deities for two different things: the former of the

⁹²⁰ L&S, s.v.

⁹²¹ This was translated by Sydney Thelwall. From: The Tertullian Project, "On Idolatry," accessed July 20, 2023, <https://www.tertullian.org/anf/anf03/anf03-07.htm>. The Latin text source is: The Tertullian Project, "Tertulliani liber De Idololatria," accessed July 20, 2023, https://www.tertullian.org/latin/de_idololatria.htm.

forēs, “a double door (or the two leaves which comprise it),”⁹²² and the latter of the *īānua*, “The door of a house or other building, doorway.”⁹²³

Again, Tertullian at *Coron. Mil.* 13, when discussing the practice of citizens being crowned with laurel crowns, has this to say about doors and their gods:

At enim christianus nec ianuam suam laureis infamabit, si norit quantos deos etiam ostiis diabolus adfinxerit: Ianum a ianua, Limentinum a limine, Forculum et Carnam a foribus atque cardinibus, etiam apud Graecos Thyraeum Apollinem et Antelios daemonas.

But indeed a Christian will not even dishonour his own gate with laurel crowns, if so be he knows how many gods the devil has attached to doors; Janus so-called from gate, Limentinus from threshold, [Forculus] and Carna from leaves and hinges; among the Greeks, too, the Thyraean Apollo, and the evil spirits, the Antelii.⁹²⁴

We see here that Forculus is specifically the god of the leaves of the door while Janus is the deity of the door itself. This mostly lines up with what Tertullian says before about the parts of the doorway and their individual deities, except Cardea is called Carna here.⁹²⁵

Elsewhere Augustine at *Civ. Dei* 4.8 shows that he is also very interested in pointing out the various deities associated with doorways:

Unum quisque domui suae ponit ostiarium, et quia homo est, omnino sufficit: tres deos isti posuerunt, Forculum foribus, Cardeam cardini, Limentinum limini.

⁹²² OLD, s.v.

⁹²³ OLD, s.v.

⁹²⁴ This was translated by Sydney Thelwall. From: The Tertullian Project, “The Chaplet, or De Corona,” accessed July 20, 2023, https://www.tertullian.org/anf/anf03/anf03-10.htm#P1106_457990. The Latin text source is: The Latin Library, “TERTVLLIANI LIBER DE CORONA MILITIS,” accessed July 20, 2023, <https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/tertullian/tertullian.corona.shtml>.

⁹²⁵ *Carna* looks like it derives from *carō*, “meat” (i.e., as if from *carn-* + *-a*). L&S (s.v.) link the name to a name “Crane” and give references to Ovid and Macrobius.

Ita non poterat Forculus simul et cardinem limenque servare.

Everyone has a single doorkeeper for his house, and since he is a man, that is quite sufficient. But they put three gods there: Forculus for the doors (fores), Cardea for the hinges (cardo) and Limentinus for the threshold (limen). Thus Forculus was not competent to guard both the hinge and the threshold along with the door.⁹²⁶

This also lines up with what Tertullian says in the first passage, with the possibility that Augustine is in fact getting this from Tertullian.

Once again Augustine at *Civ. Dei* 6.7 talks about these deities:

Cur Forculus, qui foribus praeest, et Limentinus, qui limini, dii sunt masculi, atque inter hos Cardea femina est, quae cardinem servat? Nonne ista in rerum divinarum libris reperiuntur, quae graves poetae suis carminibus indigna duxerunt?

Why are Forculus, who presides at the door, and Limentinus at the threshold, male gods, while between them Cardea, who guards the hinge, is female? Are not these matters found in the books "On Divine Things," matters that serious poets have judged unworthy of poetic treatment?⁹²⁷

Here Augustine asks why such deities are male and female. Can we conclude that the reasons for the gender of deities were not entirely explored by the myths of the Romans? That is not necessarily the case. Even if such explanations existed, they would not have served Augustine's argument when referring to them.

⁹²⁶ This was translated by William M. Green. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/augustine-city_god_pagans/1957/pb_LCL412.33.xml?readMode=recto.

⁹²⁷ This was translated by William M. Green. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/augustine-city_god_pagans/1957/pb_LCL412.325.xml.

Hostilina

1) Morphological and Semantic Discussion

This was the goddess in charge of making the grain stand level (*hostīre*) in the field with ears newly formed.

The base word is *hostīre*, “to make level,” and derives from **Host-ul-īna*, with the deverbative-adjective-forming suffix, with the adjectival suffix *-īno-*, and the *-ul-* became *-il-* before the suffix. The intervening adjective **hostulus*, “tending to make level” or “making level,” is not used in Latin, but Marchesini⁹²⁸ claims that the Latin *gentilicium Hostilius* is based on a **Hostulus*, but without further explanation. de Vaan⁹²⁹ cites Eichner in suggesting that that *hostīre* was derived directly from *hostus*, “the yield of olive from a single pressing,” and explains *hostia* as the substantivized feminine form of an adjective **hostius*, “substitute” (e.g., in **hostia ovis*), which was formed on the basis of *hostus*. A **hostulus* could be either the intervening deverbative adjective *hostulus* or a diminutive of *hostus*.

2) Discussion on the Literary References

a) Usage Patterns before Vergil and after Apuleius

The OLD does not have an entry for Hostilina, but L&S⁹³⁰ do:

a goddess that promotes the growth of corn in equal ears

⁹²⁸ Simona Marchesini, *Prosopographia Etrusca: II, Studia, 1, Gentium Mobilitas* (“L’Erma” di Bretschneider: Roma, 2007), 25.

⁹²⁹ de Vaan, 292.

⁹³⁰ L&S, s.v.

In a chapter where Augustine attacks Roman polytheism and how the gods, being busy, could not have given Rome their empire, *Civ. Dei* 4.8, he says:

*Praefecerunt [...] cum segetes novis aristis
aequantur, quia veteres aequare hostire dixerunt, deam
Hostilinam*

When the grain stood level in the field with ears newly formed, they put the goddess Hostilina in charge (for the ancients used *hostire* to mean, "make level")⁹³¹

This seems to be the source of L&S's information.

Opitulus

1) Morphological and Semantic Discussion

This is a title of Jupiter in his role as the god who brings help to the needy (*opem indigentibus ferre*) or is the bringer of help (*opitulātor, opis lātor*).

Opitulus is, according to current scholarly understanding of the name,⁹³² a compound word which means "bringing help,"⁹³³ and derives from **Opi-tul-o-*, comprising the noun *ops*, "help," and a verbal word element *-tul-*, as seen in some of the forms of the verb *ferre* (e.g., *tulī*, "I brought"). The *-ulus* of the word functions as a repurposed Personification-forming suffix replacing part of that verbal word element. The Personification-forming suffix did not undergo assimilation typically seen in the formation of diminutives. If a diminutive of *Opitulus* existed, it would be the

⁹³¹ This was translated by William M. Green. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/augustine-city_god_pagans/1957/pb_LCL412.33.xml?readMode=recto.

⁹³² José L. García Ramón, "Religious Onomastics in Ancient Greece and Italy: Lexique, Phraseology and Indo-European Poetic Language," in *Poetic Language and Religion in Greece and Rome*, ed. J. Virgilio García and Angel Ruiz (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 75.

⁹³³ I.e., what Weiss (263) calls a "Verbal governing compound," like *nāvifragus*.

masculine second-declension **opitellus* (cf. *botellus* and *popellus* from *botulus* and *populus*).

2) Discussion on the Literary References

a) Usage Patterns before Vergil and after Apuleius

The OLD has this for *Opitulus'* name:

One who brings help (in quot., as a title of Jupiter)

The "quot." refers to the Paul. Fest. passage below.

Augustine dedicates *Civ. Dei* 7.11 to the many titles of Jupiter:

Dixerunt eum Victorem, Invictum, Opitulium, Impulsorem, Statorem, Centumpedam, Supinalem, Tigillum, Almus, Ruminum et alia quae persequi longum est. Haec autem cognomina inposuerunt uni deo propter causas potestatesque diversas, non tamen propter tot res etiam tot deos eum esse coegerunt: quod omnia vinceret, quod a nemine vinceretur, quod opem indigentibus ferret [...]

[The pagans] have called Jupiter by the titles Victor, Invictus, Opitulus, Impulsor, Stator, Centumpeda, Supinalis, Tigillus, Almus, Ruminus, and still others which it would be tedious to enumerate. They have applied all these names to one god for various reasons and because of his various powers. But they have not, though there are so many functions, compelled him to become as many different gods. The functions are that he is victor over all, and invincible, and brings help to the needy [...]⁹³⁴

This includes another one of the Names of Personifications, Tigillus.

The Paul. Fest. p. 184M passage simply says:

Opitulus Iuppiter et Opitulator dictus est, quasi opis lator

⁹³⁴ This was translated by William M. Green. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/augustine-city_god_pagans/1957/pb_LCL412.415.xml.

He was called *Opitulus* Jupiter and *Opitulator*, as if “bringer of help”⁹³⁵

Opitulātor, “he who helps,” is the agent noun of *opitulārī*, “to help, bring relief,”⁹³⁶ roughly the meaning of *opis lātor*, “bringer of help.”

Patelāna (*Patellāna*, *Patella*)

1) Morphological and Semantic Discussion

This was the goddess in charge of hulls or husks when they open (*patescunt*) so that the ears of grain may emerge. She is associated or to be identified with the goddess *Patella*, the one in charge of things having been disclosed (*patefactīs*), the other in charge of things to be disclosed (*patefaciendis*).

Patelāna also has the forms *Patella* and *Patellāna*. The base word of these three forms is *patēre*, “to be open” (or *patescere*, “to open,” if we consider also its appearance in the relevant Augustine passage). *Patelāna* stands for *Patellāna*, which derives either 1) from an adjective **patello-*, itself from **patulus* (with an active sense: “opening up”), with the deverbative-adjective-forming suffix, along with the adjectival suffix *-ānā-*, or 2) from that **patulus*, with the adjectival suffix *-ānā-*, and the *-ul-* became *-el-* before the suffix. *Patella* is the same except it lacks the adjectival suffix *-ānā-*.

2) Discussion on the Literary References

a) Usage Patterns before Vergil and after Apuleius

⁹³⁵ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: ALIM, “PAG 201,” accessed July 20, 2023, [http://www.alim.dfl.univr.it/alim/letteratura.nsf/\(testiID\)/498AAEC18C3022CFC1257EF00059535F!opendocument](http://www.alim.dfl.univr.it/alim/letteratura.nsf/(testiID)/498AAEC18C3022CFC1257EF00059535F!opendocument).

⁹³⁶ de Vaan, 431.

The OLD has this for Patelana's name:

A goddess who presided over the opening of ears of grain.

The entry cites the passage Var. *gram.* 167.

L&S⁹³⁷ have *Patella* and *Patellāna* in a single entry, with *Patelāna* in parentheses, and the entry shows:

a goddess that presided over the shooting of grain

The Dictionnaire Gaffiot⁹³⁸ also includes those forms of the name. Both this and L&S cite the Arnobius passage below.

Arnobius at 4.7, where he explores whether the Romans believe abstract ideas are actually divine or simply call them divine because they are seen as desirable and virtuous, mentions the name of this goddess along with the names of deities Puta, Peta, Nemestrinus, Nōdūtis, Nōduterēnsis, Upibilia, Orbāna, Naenia, Ossilāgō, and Mellōnia:

Patellana numen est et Patella, ex quibus una est patefactis, patefaciendis altera praestituta

[Patellana is a deity, Patella also] [There is a deity, Patellana and Patella], of which one has been placed over things which have been disclosed, the other has been placed over things which are to be disclosed⁹³⁹

There is some ambiguity with identity in this passage. Is the author describing two separate goddesses with contrasting functions or a single goddess with two titles describing those different functions? Gaffiot and L&S, who cite this passage, interpret

⁹³⁷ L&S, s.v.

⁹³⁸ DicFro, "Patella," accessed September 27, 2022, <http://micmap.org/dicfro/search/gaffiot/Patella>.

⁹³⁹ This is my translation. The Latin text source is Hanssen, 203.

Arnobius' words to mean the latter. I am inclined to agree because of 1) the singular "numen est," 2) the failure to specify who does what and how that duty relates exactly to the individual name, and 3) the fact that Arnobius is listing names of deities one by one and their functions.

Augustine at *Civ. Dei* 4.8, (in the same passage where he mentions also *Hostilina*), says:

Praefecerunt [...] cum folliculi patescunt, ut spica exeat, deam Patelanam.

They put in charge [...] the goddess Patelana when the sheaths open so that the ears may emerge.⁹⁴⁰

This appears to be the passage upon which Gaffiot and L&S (and perhaps also the writers of the OLD) base their information about the goddess.

Patulcius

1) Morphological and Semantic Discussion

This is one of the two (or three) titles of Janus which relate to whether the doors of his temple are open or closed. When the doors are open, Janus is *Patulcius* (*patēre*), and when the doors are closed, Janus is either *Clūsivius* or *Clūsivius* (*claudere*).

The base word is *patēre*, "to be open," and this name *Patulcius* derives from **Pat-ul-cio-*, with the deverbative-adjective-forming suffix, with the adjectival suffix *-cio-*, and the *-ul-* was retained even before the suffix. There exist the adjectives *hiulcus*, "having a mouth wide open" or "greedy," "insatiable,"⁹⁴¹ and *petulcus*, "(of

⁹⁴⁰ This was translated by William M. Green. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/augustine-city_god_pagans/1957/pb_LCL412.31.xml?readMode=recto.

⁹⁴¹ OLD, s.v.

animals, etc.) butting or inclined to butt,⁹⁴² both of which can have meanings which denote faulty or aggressive tendency.⁹⁴³ Fruyt⁹⁴⁴ thinks that these words suggest earlier deverbative adjectives **hiulus*, from *hiāre*, “to be wide open,” and **petulus*, from *petere*, “to seek.” The writers of the OLD believe that *Patulcius* is comparable to *hiulcus*. All of this points to the notion that *Patulcius* can be connected to some adjective **patulcus*, formed just like *hiulcus* and *petulcus*. This **patulcus* would mean something like “aggressively wide-open” or “deliberately wide open,” and when the relational suffix *-io-* attaches to it, a resulting title *Patulcius* would be a suitable one for the relevant god.

2) Discussion on the Literary References

a) Usage Patterns from Vergil to Apuleius

The OLD has this for *Patulcius*' name:

A cult-title of Janus (whose temple was open in time of war).

The entry cites the Ovid passage below.

Ovid at *Fast.* 1.129, within the section of this January 1: Kalends section which has Janus as the central role, says:

*inde vocor Ianus. cui cum Ceriale sacerdos
imponit libum mixtaque farra sale,
nomina ridebis; modo namque Patulcius idem
et modo sacrifico Clusius ore vocor.*

Hence Janus is my name; but when the priest offers me a barley cake and spelt mingled with salt, you would

⁹⁴² OLD, s.v.

⁹⁴³ In this case the *-cus* is not unlike the *-x* (i.e., *-c- + -s*) of the suffix *-āx*, which has such a meaning (A&G, Section 251).

⁹⁴⁴ Michèle Fruyt, *Problèmes méthodologiques de dérivation à propos des suffixes latins en ...cus* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1986), 167.

laugh to hear the names he gives me, for on his sacrificial lips I'm now Patulcius and now Clusius called.⁹⁴⁵

The god with two faces here has two titles: Patulcius and Clusius. I have already discussed the etymology of *Patulcius*. *Clūsivius* appears to be composed simply of *clūsus*, a participial form of *claudere*, "to close," and the suffix *-ivus*. One may wonder why the name is not *Claudulcius* to match the *Patulcius*. If the latter does come from an active **patulus*, then perhaps the difference in the forms of the name imply different participants: *Patulcius* is the one who opens (**patulus*) and *Claudulcius* is the one who is associated with (suffix *-ivus*) what is closed (*templum clūsum*).

b) Usage Patterns before Vergil and after Apuleius

A speech in Macrobius at *S.* 1.9.15, in a section dedicated to the discussion of the origins of the festivals of Janus, says:

'In sacris quoque invocamus "Janum Geminum," "Ianium Patrem," "Ianium Iunonium," "Ianium Consivium," "Ianium Quirinum," "Ianium Patulcium" et "Clusivium."

'In our rituals, too, we call upon "Two-fold Janus," "Father Janus," "Junonian Janus," "Janus Consivius," "Janus Quirinus," "Janus Patulcius," and "Janus Clusivius."⁹⁴⁶

Here, Janus has the title *Clūsivius* instead of *Clūsivus*. This *Clūsivius* has the appearance of a bahuvrihi compound meaning "having a closed road," from *clūsus* and *via*.

⁹⁴⁵ This was translated by James G. Frazer, revised by G. P. Goold. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Ovid, *Fasti*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/ovid-fasti/1931/pb_LCL253.11.xml?result=5&rskey=A8SPKV&readMode=reader.

⁹⁴⁶ This was translated by Robert A. Kaster. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Macrobius, *Saturnalia*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/macrobius-saturnalia/2011/pb_LCL510.97.xml?readMode=recto.

Not long after, *S.* 1.9.16, Macrobius adds:

*"Patulcium" et "Clusivium" quia bello caulae eius
patent, pace clauduntur.*

We call him "Patulcius" and "Clusivius" because his temple's doors are open [*patere*] during war and closed [*cludere*] in peace.⁹⁴⁷

We have the same forms of the two titles, but while the explanations of the etymology are plain enough, they do not explain the forms of the name.

Partula

1) Morphological and Semantic Discussion

This is a goddess who presided over childbirth (*partus*).

The base word is *partus*, "birth," and *Partula* derives either from **Part-tlo-*, with the instrument-forming suffix, or **Part-ula-*, with the denominative-adjective-forming suffix. If a diminutive of masculine fourth-declension *partus* existed, it would be masculine second declension **particulus* (cf. *staticulus*, *versiculus*) or masculine second declension **partulus* (cf. *arculus*, *cornulum*).⁹⁴⁸

2) Discussion on the Literary References

a) Usage Patterns before Vergil and after Apuleius

The OLD has this for Partula's name:

A goddess presiding over childbirth

The entry cites the passage Var. *gram.* 146.

⁹⁴⁷ This was translated by Robert A. Kaster. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Macrobius, *Saturnalia*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/macrobius-saturnalia/2011/pb_LCL510.99.xml?readMode=reader.

⁹⁴⁸ The Romans might have wanted to avoid the regular **particulus* and used **partulus* instead because some of the forms of the former would be the same as that of *particula*, "small part," the diminutive of *pars*, "part."

Tertullian, at *Anim.* 37, where he discusses the formation and state of the human embryo, says:

Haec aestimando, etiam superstitio [...] finxit [...] et Partulam, quae partum gubernet

Even the superstition of Rome, by carefully attending to these points, imagined [...] also Partula, to manage and direct parturition⁹⁴⁹

This does not differ in any significant way from what the OLD entry tells us.

Rediculus

1) Morphological and Semantic Discussion

This is a god who had a temple outside the Porta Capena because that was the spot where Hannibal, while approaching Rome, turned back (*redire*) after being alarmed at certain portentous visions.

The base word is *redire*, "to return," and *Rediculus* derives from **Red-i-tlo-*, as one of the adjectives which was formed from instrumental nouns ending in the suffix *-culum*. The implied instrumental noun **rediculum* would mean "means of returning home" or "return home" in the abstract as in *remeāculum*, "a return journey."

2) Discussion on the Literary References

a) Usage Patterns from Vergil to Apuleius

The OLD has this for *Rediculus'* name:

A Roman god, associated with the retreat of Hannibal of Rome

⁹⁴⁹ This was translated by Peter Holmes. From: The Tertullian Project, "A Treatise on the Soul," accessed July 20, 2023, <https://www.tertullian.org/anf/anf03/anf03-22.htm>. The Latin text source is: Documenta Catholica Omnia, "TERTULLIANUS," accessed July 20, 2023, http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/1003/1001/Z_082_111_109_097_110_097.html.

The entry cites Cornificius Longus' *Gram.* 10, Plin. *Nat.* 10.122, and Paul. Fest. p.

283M. It seems that a version of the Paul/Festus passage quotes Cornificius Longus.

When talking about the "funeral" of a talking raven, Pliny at *Nat.* 10.122 says:

*qui constructus dextra viae Appiae ad secundum lapidem
in campo Rediculi appellato fuit.*

which had been erected on the right hand side of the Appian Road at the second milestone on the ground called Rediculus's Plain.⁹⁵⁰

This gives us an indication of a location relating to the god and little else.

Fortunately, we have an explanation of the significance of the god at Paul. Fest. p.

283M:

*Rediculi fanum extra portam Capenam fuit, quia
accedens ad Urbem Hannibal ex eo loco redierit
quibusdam perterritus visis.*

The temple of Rediculus was outside the Porta Capena, because Hannibal, while approaching the City, turned back on that spot, having been alarmed at certain portentous visions.⁹⁵¹

This links the verb *redire* (in the form of *redierit*) with the name of the god.

Another version of this⁹⁵² seems to be:

*Rediculi fanum extra portam Capenam Cornificius ait
fuisse, quia accedens ad Urbem Hannibal ex eo loco
redierit.*

⁹⁵⁰ This was translated by H. Rackham. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pliny_elder-natural_history/1938/pb_LCL353.371.xml?readMode=recto.

⁹⁵¹ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: Gallica - BnF, "De la signification des mots," accessed July 20, 2023, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k236582/texteBrut>.

⁹⁵² John Henry Parker, *The Archaeology of Rome, Volumes 9-10* (James Parker and Co.: London, 1877), 25.

Cornificius says that the temple of Rediculus was outside the Porta Capena, because Hannibal, while approaching the City, turned back on that spot.⁹⁵³

The main differences here are that the passage is being attributed to Cornificius Longus and there is the lack of the *quibusdam perterritus visis* section of the Latin.

Statilinus (Statānus)

1) Morphological and Semantic Discussion

This god was one member of a group of deities presiding over the development of children. To him the Romans entrusted infants who were beginning to assume an upright posture (*status*). He was associated or to be identified with the god Statanus.

The base word is *status*, "the position taken up by a person or thing," and *Statilinus* derives from **Stat-ul-īno-*, with the adjectival suffix *-īno-*, and the *-ul-* became *-il-* before the suffix. L&S cite a form *Statulinus* (without giving a specific source), where the *-ul-* was retained even before the adjectival suffix. Masculine fourth-declension *status* has the masculine second-declension diminutive *staticulus*. Another possible form of the diminutive of *status* is the masculine second-declension **statulus* (cf. *arculus*, *cornulum*). Radke⁹⁵⁴ suggests that *Statilia*, the name of the Roman *gēns*, derives from this diminutive **statulus*.

2) Discussion on the Literary References

a) Usage Patterns before Vergil and after Apuleius

The OLD has this for Statilinus' name:

A god associated or to be identified with STATANVS

⁹⁵³ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: Vicifons, "Fragmentum de significatione verborum," accessed July 20, 2023, https://la.wikisource.org/wiki/Fragmentum_de_significatione_verborum.

⁹⁵⁴ Radke, *Die Götter Altitaliens*, 16.

The OLD's entry for Statanus has this:

A god who app. presided over the standing of infants

Both entries cite the following Varro passage.

Var. *gram.* 106 (Non p.5 532M) says:

alii Statano et Statilino, quorum nomina habent scripta pontifices.

Others to Statanus and Statilinus, whose names the pontiffs have written down.⁹⁵⁵

At *Civ. Dei* 4.21, Augustine has a list of various deities who presided over the various points of development of infants (e.g., associating the newborn child with the goddess Opis, the crying child with the god Vaticanus), and there is also:

quid necesse erat ... commendare ... deo Statilino stantes

what need is there to entrust ... those who stand to the god Statilinus?⁹⁵⁶

This must be the passage from which the OLD derives its information.

Sterculus (Stercūtus, Sterculīnus)

1) Morphological and Semantic Discussion

This was the god of manuring (*stercorātiō*, from *stercus*). His name appears in several forms including *Stercūtius* and *Sterculīnus*. According to one story, Stercutus, as

⁹⁵⁵ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: Projekt Gutenberg-De, "Ludwig Preller, Römische Mythologie," accessed July 20, 2023, <https://www.projekt-gutenberg.org/preller/roemmyth/chap085.html>.

⁹⁵⁶ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: monumenta.ch, "Augustinus, De Civitate Dei, Liber 4, XX," accessed July 20, 2023, http://www.monumenta.ch/latein/text.php?tabelle=Augustinus&rumpfid=Augustinus,%20De%20Civitate%20Dei,%20Liber%2004,%20%2021&level=4&domain=&lang=0&links=1&inframe=1&hide_apparatus=1.

son of Faunus and originally a mortal, introduced the practice of manuring in Italy. Sterculus was apparently an important deity, since he was credited as one of the gods who advanced the Roman Empire, and because many men in the Senate worshipped him even in later times when Christianity was gaining popularity. According to another story, *Sterculinus* was the title of one of two divine brothers who introduced important agricultural practices.

Sterculus also has the forms *Sterculinus*, *Sterculius*, *Stercūtius*, and *Sterquilinus*⁹⁵⁷. The base word of all these forms is *stercus*, "manure." *Sterculus* derives either from **stercor-tlo-*, with the instrument-forming suffix, or **stercor-ulo-*, with the denominative-adjective-forming suffix. *Sterculinus* is the same except it has the adjectival suffix *-īno-*, and the *-ul-* was retained even before the suffix. *Sterculius* is also the same except it has *-io-*, an adjectival suffix, and the *-ul-* was retained even before the suffix. *Stercūtius* has a suffix *-ūtio-* which was reanalyzed from some other name of a god like *Locūtius* (i.e., *Aius Locūtius*, the name of the god who warned the Romans of the approach of the Gauls in 389 BCE⁹⁵⁸), which also contains the adjectival suffix *-io-*. *Sterquilinus* is the same as *Sterculinus* except *c* was changed to *qu*,⁹⁵⁹ and the *-ul-* became *-il-* before the suffix *-īno-*. The final *-or* of *stercor-*, the stem of *stercus*, was cut out in all these forms of the god's name in a way that is also seen in various compound words and derivatives like *vulnificus* (for **vulnerificus*), "causing wounds,"⁹⁶⁰ and

⁹⁵⁷ Smith (725) shows the final three without giving specific sources; the OLD shows the first and cites Varro.

⁹⁵⁸ OLD, s.v.

⁹⁵⁹ Cf. the formation of diminutives according to the information in IV.A.b.i.a.2.

⁹⁶⁰ OLD, s.v.

(h)olitor (for **(h)oleritor*), “vegetable-grower.”⁹⁶¹ If a diminutive of neuter third-declension *stercus* existed, it would be the neuter second-declension **stercusculum* (cf. *corpusculum, ōsculum*).⁹⁶²

2) Discussion on the Literary References

a) Usage Patterns from Vergil to Apuleius

The OLD shows the forms *Sterculīnus* and *Sterculus*, and it indicates that these names are a variant of *Stercūtus*.

This entry cites Var. *gram.* 178 and Tertullian *ad Nat.* 2.9.20. For the *Stercūtus* entry the OLD has:

A deity supposed to have invented manuring (elsewhere regarded as father of Picus, hence often identified with Saturn); see also STERCVLINVS.

Pliny at *Nat.* 17.50 shows the *Stercutus* form of the name and gives the god’s significance when talking about who came up with the practice of manuring:

Augeas rex in Graecia excogitasse traditur, divulgasse vero Hercules in Italia, quae regi suo Stercuto Fauni filio ob hoc inventum immortalitatem tribuit.

The invention of this procedure is traditionally ascribed to King Augeas in Greece, and its introduction in Italy to Hercules, though Italy has immortalized [its own king] Stercutus son of Faunus on account of this invention.⁹⁶³

⁹⁶¹ OLD, s.v.

⁹⁶² The diminutive (“dim. de *stercus*”) *stercusculum* and its expected meaning (“petit excrément, petite fiente”) are cited in René Hoven’s *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance* (342).

⁹⁶³ This was translated by H. Rackham, translation adapted. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pliny_elder-natural_history/1938/pb_LCL371.35.xml.

Pliny tells us that Sterculus, or Stercutus here, was the son of Faunus. Vergil, though, at *A* 7.48 tells us that Latinus was the son of Faunus, Faunus himself was the son of Picus, and Picus himself was the son of Saturn. The OLD does not indicate who regards Stercutus as the father of Picus (and so also Saturn).

The implication in the Pliny and Vergil passages is that Sterculus, or Stercutus, was an actual king who became immortal after death. This notion gives some support to a “reconstruction” of the mythology of Caeculus which I explain above: A legendary king of Italy living and dying to become a tutelary deity.

b) Usage Patterns before Vergil and after Apuleius

Tertullian at *apol.* 25, in a section where he addresses the idea that Roman prosperity is due to Roman piety, says:

Scilicet ista merces a Romanis deis pro gratia expensa est. Sterculus et Mutunus et Larentina provexit imperium.

So we are to understand that this reward was paid forsooth out of gratitude to the Romans by the gods: [Sterculus] and Mutinus and Larentina advanced the empire!⁹⁶⁴

We see the *Sterculus* form of the name here.

According to the OLD, Mutinus was a phallic deity worshipped by Roman brides, and Larentina, or Larentia, was the reputed foster-mother of Romulus and Remus.

⁹⁶⁴ This was translated by T. Herbert Bindley. From: The Tertullian Project, “T.H. BINDLEY, The Apology of Tertullian,” accessed July 21, 2023, https://www.tertullian.org/articles/bindley_apol/bindley_apol.htm. The Latin text source is: The Tertullian Project, “Tertulliani Liber Apologeticus,” accessed July 21, 2023, <https://www.tertullian.org/latin/apologeticus.htm>.

Later in the same section, after mentioning that many of the Romans deities once reigned on Earth, he wonders who, if these deities possess the power of conferring empire, gave them their empire when they reigned, and then asks:

Quem coluerat Saturnus et Iupiter? Aliquem, opinor, Sterculum. Sed postea Romani cum indigitamentis suis.

Whom did Saturn and Jupiter worship? Some Sterculus, I suppose. But subsequently the Romans honoured them at Rome along with their own native gods.⁹⁶⁵

Tertullian seems to reason as follows: kingly power must be passed from one to another by means of a power of conferring empire which is derived from gods, and that such a practice was in place before any god was worshipped (that is, at a time when worshippers had not yet begun to worship Saturn and Jupiter and even gods like Sterculus), and so Saturn and Jupiter must have worshipped some deity themselves, a deity from whom they themselves had received that power to rule.

Elsewhere, Prudentius at *Perist.* 2.449, in a hymn in honor of the Passion of the Most Blessed Martyr Lawrence, says:

*confundit error Troicus
adhuc Catonum curiam,
veneratus occultis focus
Phrygum penates exules.
Ianum bifrontem et Sterculum
colit senatus (horreo
tot monstra patrum dicere)*

The superstition which came from Troy still confounds a senate of Catos, doing homage at secret altars to the Phrygians' exiled Penates. The senate worships

⁹⁶⁵ This was translated by T. Herbert Bindley. From: The Tertullian Project, "T.H. BINDLEY, The Apology of Tertullian," https://www.tertullian.org/articles/bindley_apol/bindley_apol.htm. The Latin text source is: The Tertullian Project, "Tertulliani Liber Apologeticus," <https://www.tertullian.org/latin/apologeticus.htm>.

Janus of the two faces and Sterculus (I shudder to name all these monstrosities our Fathers own)⁹⁶⁶

The complaint seems to be that while the people of the world are generally coming to Christianity, part of Rome has not, and people still worship Janus and Sterculus.

Servius at *Comm. in Verg. Georg.* 1.21 says:

Quod autem dicit, 'studium quibus arva tueri', nomina haec numinum in indigitamentis inveniuntur, id est in libris pontificalibus, qui et nomina deorum, et rationes ipsorum nominum continent, quae etiam Varro dicit. Nam, ut supra diximus, nomina numinibus ex officiis constat imposita, verbi causa ut ab occatione deus Occator dicatur, a sarritione Sarritor, a stercoratione Sterculinus, a satione Sator.

As to the words 'whose love guards our fields', the names of these deities can be found in invocation formulas, that is to say, in the books of the priests that contain both the names of the gods and the aspects of their divinity, as Varro too says. For, as we have said earlier, it is quite obvious that names have been given to divine spirits in accordance with the function of the spirit. For example, Occator was so named after the word *occatio*, harrowing; Sarritor, after *sarritio*, hoeing; Sterculinus, after *stercoratio*, spreading manure; Sator, after *satio*, sowing.⁹⁶⁷

This time we have the *Sterculinus* form of the name. The author links the name not in a strict etymological sense to *stercus*; he is using the word *stercorātiō* instead to designate the god's area of competence.

⁹⁶⁶ This was translated by H. J. Thomson. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Prudentius, *Crowns of Martyrdom*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/prudentius-crowns_martyrdom/1953/pb_LCL398.135.xml.

⁹⁶⁷ This was mostly translated by Matthew Dillon and Linda Garland; the first few lines were translated by David Bauwens. From: Crambe Repetita, "Indigitamentis," accessed July 20, 2023, <https://cramberepetita.com/tag/servius/>. The Latin text source is: Wikisource, "RE:Indigitamenta," accessed July 20, 2023, <https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/RE:Indigitamenta>.

The Second Vatican Mythographer, quoting Servius at *Comm. in Verg. Aen. 9.4*,

says:

Pilumnus et Pitumnus fratres fuerunt dii. Horum Pitumnus usum stercorandorum invenit agrorum unde et Sterculinus dictus est, Pilumnus vero pinsendi frumenti et a pistoribus colitur et ab ipso pilum dictum est.

Pilumnus and Pitumnus were divine brothers. Of these Pitumnus invented the practice of manuring the fields and because of that was also called Sterculinus, but Pilumnus invented the practice of pounding grain and is worshipped by millers and from this very one the pestle got its name.⁹⁶⁸

The *Sterculinus* form of the name appears here as well. Instead of being linked to Saturn or some other member of Saturn's family, Sterculinus is the title of one member of a pair of gods. The OLD, under the entry "Picumnus," says that this Picumnus and Pitumnus are a pair of gods who perhaps originally associated with Mars.

Stimula

1) Morphological and Semantic Discussion

This is the goddess who goaded (*stimulus*) people to excessive action or abnormal activity. The nocturnal rite of the Bacchanalia happened in a grove which was sacred to either her or Semele. Ovid simply says that there is doubt as to whom the grove is sacred and does not specifically identify Stimula with Semele.

The base word is *stimulus*, "a goad,"⁹⁶⁹ and derives from **Stim-ulā-*, with the *-ulā-* functioning as a repurposed suffix replacing the base word's *-ulo-*. If a

⁹⁶⁸ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: digilibLT, "Mythographus Vaticanus II," accessed July 20, 2023, <https://digiliblt.uniupo.it/xtf/view?query=&brand=default;docId=dlt000566/dlt000566.xml>;

⁹⁶⁹ OLD, s.v.

diminutive of masculine second-declension *stimulus* existed, it would be the masculine second-declension **stimellus* (cf. *botellus*, *popellus*).

2) Discussion on the Literary References

a) Usage Patterns from Vergil to Apuleius

The OLD has this for Stimula's name:

A Roman goddess associated with Bacchic rites (sts. identified with Semele).

This does not give any real indication of the etymology of the name.

Livy at 39.12.4 tells of the consul Albinus who commands the freedwoman

Hispala to divulge to him

quae in luco Stimulae Bacchanalibus in sacro nocturno solerent fieri.

what usually went on at the nocturnal rite of the Bacchanalia in the grove of Stimula.⁹⁷⁰

This must be where the OLD derives the "associated with Bacchic rites" element of its entry.

Ovid at *Fast.* 6.503, when giving a narrative about Ino and her son running from

Juno, tells us about a grove:

lucus erat; dubium Semelae Stimulaene vocetur: maenadas Ausonias incoluisse ferunt.

There was a sacred grove; it is doubtful whether it should be called the grove of Semele or the grove of Stimula: they say that it was inhabited by Ausonian Maenads.⁹⁷¹

⁹⁷⁰ This was translated by J. C. Yardley. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Livy, *History of Rome 39*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/livy-history_rome_39/2018/pb_LCL313.239.xml.

⁹⁷¹ This was translated by James G. Frazer. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Ovid, *Fasti*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/ovid-fasti/1931/pb_LCL253.357.xml.

Perhaps this is where the OLD entry derives its comment “sts. identified with Semele.” If so, then there might be a mistake in linking the goddesses together because the Latin does not necessarily mean that the two goddesses are the same.

b) Usage Patterns before Vergil and after Apuleius

At *Schol. Iuven. 2. 3*, we have:

Nam Sacra Bacchanalia ex iis condemnata sunt, cum probatum esset Senatui honestissimas feminas ad Stimulae Deae lucum foede adulterari.

For the Bacchic rites were condemned on those counts, when the Senate made the judgment that the most honorable women were shamefully committing adultery near the grove of the Goddess Stimula.⁹⁷²

This is apparently the same grove which was supposed to be sacred to either Stimula or Semele, and yet this time the only goddess mentioned is Stimula.

Augustine at *Civ. Dei 4. 11*, in a section where he discusses the various gods who others believe are forms of Jupiter, says:

de stimulis, quibus ad nimium actum homo inpellitur, dea Stimula nominetur

from the goads (stimuli) by which a man is goaded to excessive action let his name be Stimula⁹⁷³

We finally have a link between goads and the goddess' name!

⁹⁷² This is my translation. The Latin text source is: Internet Archive, “Legis duodecim tabularum reliquiae,” accessed July 20, 2023,

https://archive.org/stream/legisduodecimta02schgoog/legisduodecimta02schgoog_djvu.txt.

⁹⁷³ This was translated by William M. Green. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/augustine-city_god_pagans/1957/pb_LCL412.47.xml.

Not long after this, at *Civ. Dei* 4. 16, when complaining about how the Romans assigned a special god to every object and to almost every movement, Augustine says:

deam Stimulam, quae ad agendum ultra modum stimulare

the goddess who was to stimulate men to abnormal activity the name Stimula⁹⁷⁴

Here he is simply reiterating the function of the goddess.

Tigillus

1) Morphological and Semantic Discussion

This is a title of Jupiter in his role as the god who maintains and sustains the world like a beam (*tigillum*).

The base word is *tigillum*, "a small plank or beam,"⁹⁷⁵ and derives from **Tig-illo-*, with the *-ulo-* functioning as a repurposed suffix replacing the base word's *-ulo-*.

Tigillum itself is a diminutive of *tignum*, "a piece of timber, beam, board, plank, etc."⁹⁷⁶

If a diminutive of neuter second-declension *tigillum* existed, it would be the neuter second-declension **tigillulum* (cf. *ancillula* and *lapillulus* from *ancilla* and *lapillus*).

2) Discussion on the Literary References

a) Usage Patterns before Vergil and after Apuleius

The OLD does not have an entry for Tigillus, but L&S⁹⁷⁷ do:

an epithet of Jupiter, who sustains and holds the world like a beam

⁹⁷⁴ This was translated by William M. Green. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/augustine-city_god_pagans/1957/pb_LCL412.61.xml?readMode=reader.

⁹⁷⁵ OLD, s.v.

⁹⁷⁶ OLD, s.v.

⁹⁷⁷ L&S, s.v.

This entry cites the Augustine passage mentioned below.

We return to Augustine at *Civ. Dei* 7.11 where he lists the many titles of Jupiter:

Dixerunt eum Victorem, Invictum, Opitulum, Inpulsorem, Statorem, Centumpedam, Supinalem, Tigillum, Almus, Ruminum et alia quae persequi longum est. Haec autem cognomina inposuerunt uni deo propter causas potestatesque diversas, non tamen propter tot res etiam tot deos eum esse coegerunt: quod omnia vinceret, quod a nemine vinceretur, quod opem indigentibus ferret, quod haberet impellendi, statuendi, stabiliendi, resupinandi potestatem, quod tamquam tigillus mundum contineret ac sustineret [...] nec tamen propter haec opera duo tam longe inter se vi et dignitate diversa duo dii esse compulsi sunt; sed unus Iuppiter propter illud Tigillus, propter illud Ruminus appellatus est.

The pagans have called Jupiter by the titles Victor, Invictus, Opitulus, Impulsor, Stator, Centumpeda, Supinalis, Tigillus, Almus, Ruminus, and still others which it would be tedious to enumerate. They have applied all these names to one god for various reasons and because of his various powers. But they have not, though there are so many functions, compelled him to become as many different gods. The functions are that he is victor over all, and invincible, and brings help to the needy, and has the power of impelling, of causing to stand, of stabilizing, and of laying flat; because he maintains and sustains the world like a beam [...] However, there was no necessity for having two gods even for two tasks so different from each other in display of power and dignity; the one god Jupiter was called Tigillus for the one task and Ruminus for the other.⁹⁷⁸

This must be the passage on which L&S based their definition.

Tūtūlīna (Tūtēlīna, Tūtīlīna)

1) Morphological and Semantic Discussion

⁹⁷⁸ This was translated by William M. Green. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/augustine-city_god_pagans/1957/pb_LCL412.415.xml.

This was the goddess who guarded (*tūtārī*) the grain safely when it was harvested and stored away. A fragment suggests that goddesses could be invoked during a siege. There was some location associated with the goddess.

Tūtulīna also has the forms *Tūtilīna* and *Tūtelīna*. The base word of these three forms is *tūtārī*, “to preserve from harm, protect, watch over.”⁹⁷⁹ *Tūtelīna* is an alteration of **Tūtellīna* (cf. *Patelāna* for *Patellāna*), which derives either 1) from an adjective **tūtello-*, itself from **tūtulus*, with the deverbative-adjective-forming suffix, along with the adjectival suffix *-īnā-*, or 2) from that **tūtulus*, with the adjectival suffix *-īnā-*, and the *-ul-* became *-el-* before the suffix. *Tūtilīna* derives from **tūtulus*, with the adjectival suffix *-īnā-*, and the *-ul-* became *-il-* before the suffix. Georges’ Latin-German dictionary⁹⁸⁰ lists the name as coming from *tuērī*,⁹⁸¹ “to look at, scan, view” or “to protect (objects, etc.) from damage, deterioration, etc.”⁹⁸² and yet, if the deverbative-adjective-forming suffix attached to *tue-*, the stem of *tuērī*, the resulting the adjective would be **tuulus*, which leaves the second *t* in the name unexplained.⁹⁸³ Gaffiot’s Latin-French dictionary⁹⁸⁴ and L&S show the forms *Tūtilīna* and *Tūtēlīna* with a long *i* and a long *e* between the *t* and the *l*, and therefore connect the name to *tūtēla*, “guardianship, protection, custody, tutelage,”⁹⁸⁵ and I cannot explain where they got that information, nor can I explain why the long *e* in *tūtēla* became long *i* in the

⁹⁷⁹ OLD, s.v.

⁹⁸⁰ LSJ, “Tutilina,” accessed September 27, 2022, <https://lsj.gr/wiki/Tutilina>.

⁹⁸¹ As opposed to via *tūtārī* as an intermediate form.

⁹⁸² OLD, s.v.

⁹⁸³ Unless of course the base word of the name is *tūtus*, a participle form of *tuērī* which is not as common as *tuitus*, to which attached the denominative-forming suffix *-ulus*.

⁹⁸⁴ DicFro, “Tutolina,” accessed September 27, 2022, <http://micmap.org/dicfro/search/gaffiot/Tutolina>.

⁹⁸⁵ OLD, s.v.

* *Tūtīlīna* form. If * *Tūtīlīna* and * *Tūtēlīna* came from *tūtēla*, then Tutulina would have been the “goddess relating to protection.”

2) Discussion on the Literary References

a) Usage Patterns before Vergil and after Apuleius

Varro at *L.* 5.163 says:

<quam re>ligionem Porcius designat cum de Ennio scribens dicit eum coluisse Tutulinae loca.

. . . which worship Porcius means when, speaking of Ennius, he says that he dwelt in the locality of Tutulina.⁹⁸⁶

This really only tells us that there is some location associated with the goddess.

Varro at *Men.* 216, says this, although it is a fragment:

non Tutulinam, quam ego ipse invoco, quod meae aures abs te obsidentur.

Not Tutulina, whom I myself am invoking, that my ears are being besieged by you.⁹⁸⁷

Apparently, the goddess could be invoked during a siege.

Macrobius at *S.* 1, 16 says:

sunt singulorum, uti natalium fulgurumque susceptiones, item funerum atque expiationum. apud veteres quoque qui nominasset Salutem Semoniam Seiam Segetiam Tutulinam ferias observabat, item flaminica quotiens tonitrua audisset feriata erat donec placasset deos.

⁹⁸⁶ This was translated by Roland G. Kent. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Varro, *On the Latin Language*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/varro-latin_language/1938/pb_LCL333.153.xml?readMode=reader.

⁹⁸⁷ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: digilibLT, “Nonius Marcellus De compendiosa doctrina libri XX,” accessed July 20, 2023, <http://digiliblt.lett.unipmn.it/xtf/view?docId=dlt000368/dlt000368.xml;query=;brand=default>.

There are holidays proper to individuals, to mark birthdays or lightning strokes, and similarly funerals and acts of expiation. Among the ancients, too, anyone who spoke the name of Salus, Semonia, Seia, Segetia, or Tutulina used to keep a day of rest; so too, whenever the wife of a flamen heard thunder she observed a period of religious retirement until she had appeased the gods.⁹⁸⁸

This goddess was one of many whose followers could keep a day of rest.

Tertullian at *Spect.* 8.3 mentions how every ornament of the circus is a temple by itself, and includes the following passage:

*delphines Neptuno vomunt, columnae Sessias a
sementationibus, Messias a messibus, Tutulinas a
tutela fructuum sustinent*

The dolphins vomit forth in honor for Neptune, the pillars support their Sessiae, from the sowing of seed, their Messiae, from the harvests, and their Tutulinas, from the protection of fruits⁹⁸⁹

Here we have a connection between Tutulina and *tūtēla*. This must be the passage that inspired Gaffiot and L&S to consider that the name of the goddess came from *tūtēla* and to take the *e* in *Tūtēlina* as long. We have seen in Sterculus' section, however, that an ancient author need not mention the strict etymon of the name of a god to make a point about the function of that god. Servius mentions *stercorātiō* for *Sterculus* instead of *stercus*, so Tertullian here can just as easily wish to mention *tūtēla* for the name of the goddess instead *tūtārī*.

⁹⁸⁸ This was translated by Robert A. Kaster. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Macrobius, *Saturnalia*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/macrobius-saturnalia/2011/pb_LCL510.189.xml.

⁹⁸⁹ This is my translation. The Latin text source is: Perseus Digital Library, "Tertullian, *De Spectaculis*," accessed July 20, 2023, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0571%3Achapter%3D8%3Asection%3D1>.

We have Augustine speaking again at *Civ. Dei* 4.8:

frumentis vero collectis atque reconditis, ut tuto servarentur, deam Tutulinam praeposuerunt.

and when the grain was harvested and stored away, they gave the goddess Tutulina the job of guarding it safely.⁹⁹⁰

This seems like a straightforward description of the function of the goddess.

Vitula (Vitellia)

1) Morphological and Semantic Discussion

This was the goddess of joy (*laetitia*), of the singing of the songs of victory (*vitulārī*), and of life-sustaining power (*vīta*). She was associated with or to be identified as the goddess Victoria. Sacred rites were performed for her in return for the harvest, and because of this function of the goddess there was a pun pointing to her name which involved the words for "calf" (*vitula*) and "exuberant rejoicing" (*vitulātīō*).

Vitula also has the form *Vitellia*.⁹⁹¹ The base word of these two forms is *vīta*, "life." *Vitula* derives either from **Vīt-tla-*, with the instrument-forming suffix, or **Vīt-ula-*, with the denominative-adjective-forming suffix. *Vitellia* derives either from **Vīt-tla-*, with the instrument-forming suffix, or **Vīt-ula-*, with the denominative-adjective-forming suffix, with the adjectival suffix *-iā-*, and the *-ul-* became *-el-* before the suffix, and then *-ell-*.⁹⁹² de Vaan⁹⁹³ suggests that the name of the goddess derives from *vītāre*,

⁹⁹⁰ This was translated by William M. Green. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/augustine-city_god_pagans/1957/pb_LCL412.31.xml.

⁹⁹¹ DicFro, "Vitellia," accessed September 27, 2022, <http://micmap.org/dicfro/search/gaffiot/Vitellia>.

⁹⁹² Cf. the variation between *l* and *ll* in *Patelāna* and *Patellāna*.

⁹⁹³ de Vaan, 684.

“to avoid,” but does not provide a rationale. Georges’ dictionary⁹⁹⁴ connects the name to *vītulārī*, “to utter a cry of joy or exultation,” and yet de Vaan⁹⁹⁵ is uncertain whether there is any connection between this word and *vītāre* and *Vītula*. The connection between *vitula*, “calf,” and the name of the goddess is not strong because one has a short *i* while the other has a long *i*. If a diminutive of feminine first-declension *vīta* existed, it would be the feminine first-declension **vītula* (cf. *arcula*).

2) Discussion on the Literary References

a) Usage Patterns from Vergil to Apuleius

The OLD has this for Vitula’s name:

A goddess of joy or exultation

Suetonius at *Vit.* 1.2 gives the *Vitellia* form of the name when giving the origin of the Vitellii (among whom was the emperor Aulus Vitellius):

Exstat Q. Elogi ad Quintum Vitellium Divi Augusti quaestorem libellus, quo continetur, Vitellios Fauno Aboriginum rege et Vitellia, quae multis locis pro numine coleretur, ortos toto Latio imperasse.

We have a book of Quintus Elogius addressed to Quintus Vitellius, quaestor of the Deified Augustus, in which it is written that the Vitellii were sprung from Faunus, king of the Aborigines, and Vitellia, who was worshipped as a goddess in many places; and that they ruled in all Latium.⁹⁹⁶

⁹⁹⁴ LSJ, “Vitula,” accessed September 27, 2022, <https://lsj.gr/wiki/Vitula>.

⁹⁹⁵ de Vaan, 684.

⁹⁹⁶ This was translated by J. C. Rolfe. From: Loeb Classical Library, “Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars* 7.3. *Vitellius*,” accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/suetonius-lives_caesars_book_vii_vitellius/1914/pb_LCL038.239.xml.

Unfortunately, this does not give us much information about the goddess, other than the notion that on some conceptual level, the emperor and his family are distantly related to this goddess.

b) Usage Patterns before Vergil and after Apuleius

Varro at *L.* 7.107 tells us:

"vitulantes" a Vitula;

vitulantes ['singing songs of victory'], from *Vitula* ['Goddess of Joy and Victory']⁹⁹⁷

According to this, *vītulārī* derives from the name of the goddess.

Macrobius at *S.* 3.2.11, has much to say about *Vitula* in this commentary on

Vergil. It would be best to quote the entire section:

13. *et ut huic vocabulo diutius immoremur, Hyllus libro quem de dis composuit ait Vitulam vocari deam quae laetitiae praeest.*

14. *Piso ait Vitulam Victoriam nominari. cuius rei hoc argumentum profert, quod postridie nonas Iulias re bene gesta, cum pridie populus a Tuscis in fugam versus sit—unde Populifugia vocantur—post victoriam certis sacrificiis fiat vitulatio.*

15. *quidam nomen eius animadversum putant quod potens sit vitae tolerandae, ideo huic deae pro frugibus fieri sacra dicuntur, quia frugibus vita humana toleratur. unde hoc esse animadvertimus quod ait Vergilius,*

cum faciam vitula pro frugibus, ipse venito, ut "vitula" dixerit pro vitulatione, quod nomen esse sacrificii ob laetitiam facti superius expressimus.

16. *meminerimus tamen sic legendum per ablativum, cum faciam vitula pro frugibus, . . .*

⁹⁹⁷ This was translated by Roland G. Kent, translation adapted. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Varro, *On the Latin Language*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/apuleius-metamorphoses/1989/pb_LCL453.41.xml.

id est cum faciam rem divinam non ove, non capra, sed vitula, tamquam dicat "cum vitulam pro frugibus sacrificavero" [quod est cum vitula rem divinam fecero].

13. And to dwell on this word a bit longer: in his book *On the Gods* Hyllus says that the goddess of joy is called Vitula;

14. Piso says (fr. 45) that Victory is named Vitula, and in proof adduces the fact that—when the Roman people enjoyed a success on 8 July, after the Etruscans had put them to flight the day before (hence that day's name, 'Flight of the People')—there was exuberant rejoicing [vitulatio] after the victory, accompanied by specific rites.

15. Some people reckon that the goddess' name suggested itself because she has life-sustaining power, and for this reason sacred rites are said to be performed for her in return for the harvest, since it is through the harvest that human life is sustained. It is for this reason, we remark, that Virgil says,⁹⁹⁸

When I make an offering with a calf [vitula] for the harvest, may you come,

using "a calf" [vitula] in place of "exuberant rejoicing" [vitulatio], which as I explained previously is the name of the sacrifice performed for some joyous reason.

16. Still, let us bear in mind that we should read this phrase with the ablative case,

When I make an offering with a calf [vitula] for the harvest, . . ."

that is, when I perform the religious rite not with a sheep, not with a goat, but with a calf, as though to say "when I shall sacrifice a calf for the harvest."⁹⁹⁹

⁹⁹⁸ Verg. *Ecl.* 3.77.

⁹⁹⁹ This was translated by Robert A. Kaster. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Macrobius, *Saturnalia*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/macrobius-saturnalia/2011/pb_LCL511.15.xml.

This shows that much punning happened with the name of the goddess. Some people connected Vitula with Victory, but others believed that her name came from *vīta*. There is also a link between the word *vītulātiō* and *vitula*, "calf," in Vergil's works.

It is difficult to see how the *Vītula* can come from *victōria*, "victory." A name coming from *victoria* and the Personification-forming suffix would be *Victōriola*. It turns out that this is not an issue because Macrobius is simply saying that Victoria is called "Vitula," not necessarily that one of the names comes from the other.

Macrobius does, however, point out that certain individuals connect Vitula's name to *vīta*, and this etymology works much better in terms of word formation.

There does not appear to be any direct link between the goddess and the passage from Vergil. According to Macrobius, Vergil used *vitula* ("a calf") in place of *vītulātiō* ("exuberant rejoicing"), and I believe we are supposed to understand that the similar-sounding word *vitula* and the etymologically-related *vītulātiō* was meant to have the name of the goddess Vitula appear in the reader's mind.

VIII.C.c. Concluding Remarks on the Names of Personifications

These names almost always appear in situations where the author wishes to list names of deities along with brief summaries of their duties and functions. The authors mostly offer descriptions of characteristics rather than discussions of active participation. The major exceptions involve Caeculus (if of course we wish to agree that the two Caeculi are the same individual) in the two Vergil scholia and Caeculus' background mythology which Servius gives us, and Janus who speaks in the Ovid passage.

The more typical situations where these Names of Personifications show up is in the works of the Church Fathers which serve as attacks on the old Roman religion. Tertullian and Augustine seem to be especially annoyed about the various deities associated with doorways; presumably they find them the simplest targets for ridicule. The frequent mention of Sterculus also gives the impression that the writers (especially Tertullian) were mocking the perceived absurdity of a manuring god having such a vaunted position of importance among the Romans.

VIII.D. Romulus

The discussion concerning the Names of Personifications should eventually lead us to the discussion of *Rōmulus*, the name of the legendary founder of Rome. First, I will present what some of the ancient authorities said about the significance of the name, next I will indicate what modern scholarship has to say about it, and then finally I will offer a case for how the name relates to the Names of Personifications.

Livy at 1.7 gives us this information about Romulus after he (Romulus) killed his brother Remus in a dispute concerning who would govern the new city:

Ita solus potitus imperio Romulus; condita urbs conditoris nomine appellata.

Thus Romulus acquired sole power, and the city, thus founded, was called by its founder's name.¹⁰⁰⁰

That is, *Rōma* came from *Rōmulus*. It is interesting to note that Livy does not specifically indicate that Romulus himself gave the city that name.

¹⁰⁰⁰ This was translated by B. O. Foster. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Livy, *History of Rome 1*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/livy-history_rome_1/1919/pb_LCL114.25.xml.

The Greek biographer Plutarch, writing in late first and early second century CE, dedicated one of his *Parallel Lives* to Romulus, and begins the work by pointing out that there was disagreement about who named the city of Rome and for what reason. He gives¹⁰⁰¹ several theories behind the origin of the name of the city including:

- 1) a Trojan woman named Roma,
- 2) a daughter of Italus and Leucaria named Roma,
- 3) a granddaughter of Heracles named Roma who married either Aeneas or Ascanius the son of Aeneas,
- 4) a son of Odysseus and Circe named Romanus,
- 5) a Trojan named Romus who was sent from Troy by Diomedes the son of Emathion, and
- 6) Roma, a daughter of the Trojan woman who was wedded to Latinus the son of Telemachus and bore him Romulus.

Plutarch finally reveals¹⁰⁰² the most widely believed version of the naming and founding of the city, which he attributes to Diocles of Peparethus and Fabius Pictor, and it turns out that what Plutarch actually tells us is a story which agrees for the most part with Livy's account. In his narrative, Plutarch gives us this information:

κληθῆναι δὲ καὶ τοὺτους ἀπὸ τῆς θηλῆς ἱστοροῦσι
Ῥωμύλον καὶ Ῥῶμον, ὅτι θηλάζοντες ὠφθησαν τὸ θηρίον.

Moreover, we are told that they were named from "teat"
[i.e., "ruma," the Latin word for teat], Romulus and

¹⁰⁰¹ Plu. Rom. 1-2.

¹⁰⁰² Plu. Rom. 3.

Romus (or Remus), because they were seen sucking the wild beast.¹⁰⁰³

This etymology attempts to connect their names to the she-wolf who found the infant twins near the river and suckled them. Plutarch then tells us that before the brothers began to have their famous fight, they were putting together plans to found a city and selecting names for the area:

Ῥωμύλος μὲν οὖν τὴν καλουμένην Ῥώμην κουαδράτην, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τετράγωνον, ἔκτισε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐβούλετο πολίξειν τὸν τόπον, Ῥῶμος δὲ χωρίον τι τοῦ Ἀβεντίνου καρτερόν, ὃ δι' ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὠνομάσθη Ῥεμώνιον, νῦν δὲ Ῥιγνάριον καλεῖται.

Romulus, accordingly, built Roma Quadrata (which means square), and wished to have the city on that site; but Remus laid out a strong precinct on the Aventine hill, which was named from him Remonium, but now is called Rignarium.¹⁰⁰⁴

Rōma (Quadrāta) was the name that Romulus invented for the city. Like Livy, Plutarch does not specifically indicate that Romulus named the city after himself. What Livy and Plutarch do seem to be saying is that the name *Rōmulus* came first and the name *Rōma* came next (whether Romulus came up with it or someone else did).

Modern scholarship has analyzed the name *Rōmulus* in various ways. While Warden believes *Rōmulus* is a masculine-gender diminutive of *Rōma*, and Hanssen suggests that *Rōmulus* is a diminutive of *Rōmus* (the name that Plutarch suggests as

¹⁰⁰³ This was translated by Bernadotte Perrin. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Plutarch, *Lives. Romulus*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/plutarch-lives_romulus/1914/pb_LCL046.103.xml.

¹⁰⁰⁴ This was translated by Bernadotte Perrin. From: Loeb Classical Library, "Plutarch, *Lives. Romulus*," accessed September 27, 2023, https://www.loebclassics.com/view/plutarch-lives_romulus/1914/pb_LCL046.115.xml.

the name for Remus), other scholars settle on another idea, as seen in the "Romulus and Remus" entry¹⁰⁰⁵ of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*:

The name of Romulus means simply 'Roman', cf. the two forms *Sicanus* and *Siculus*

This is further elaborated by Beyer¹⁰⁰⁶ who says:

The name Romulus is a back-formation from the name of city itself, and simply means *Roman*.

In other words, *Rōma* came first and then came *Rōmulus*.¹⁰⁰⁷

Oxford Classical Dictionary's and Beyer's claims are reasonable. According to my rationale behind the origins of the Personification-forming suffixes, the Names of Personifications that derive from nouns may in actuality be the denominative adjectives which generally mean "connected with," "involved with," or "possession." Thus, *arculus*, for instance, literally means "of chests," and *Arculus* would strictly speaking stand for some phrase like *Deus Arculus*, "the God of Chests." What the writers of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* and Beyer mean by "Romulus simply means 'Roman'" is that the word is the same type of adjective as the attested adjective *caerulus* and the implied **arculus*. In other words, just as *Rōmulus* simply means "Roman," so *caerulus* (etymologically) means "celestial" and **arculus* means "of chests."

Although *Rōmulus* seems not to have been cataloged with other Names of Personifications in the *Indigitāmenta* and other lists of that kind, nevertheless, in accordance with my rationale behind the origins of the Personification-forming suffixes,

¹⁰⁰⁵ Oxford Classical Dictionary, s.v.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Brian Beyer, *Legends of Early Rome* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2015), 40.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Carter (21) rightly agrees that *Romulus* is not a diminutive, but then says that it is merely the eponym of the gens *Romulia*.

and following the typical mythological motifs of legendary mortal heroes becoming divine, I should classify *Rōmulus* as one of the Names of Personifications.

VIII.E. Conclusions

In this chapter I have grouped the names of deities under the rubric “Names of Personifications,” which have word-formation characteristics and semantic significances differing in various and significant ways from those of real diminutives.

The suffixes which serve as Personification-forming suffixes appear to be really three types of non-diminutive suffixes: 1) the adjectival suffix *-culus* deriving from the nouns which use the deverbative- and denominative-instrumental-noun-forming suffix *-culum*, 2) the deverbative-adjective-forming suffix *-ulus*, and 3) the denominative-adjective-forming suffix *-(u)lus*. In addition to the three types of suffixes functioning as Personification-forming suffixes are the three augmenting suffix types *-ānus*, *-īnus*, and *-cius*, which may or may not appear in the names.

The name *Caeculus* with its two distinct interpretations (i.e., a diminutive of *caecus* and Name of a Personification from *caecus*), and the lack of any diminutives being freely interchanged with Names of Personifications (e.g., *arculus* cannot simply be a diminutive of *arca*, nor can *arcula* simply be interchanged with the Name of Personification *Arculus*), suggest that, while the Romans never actually equated these two distinct uses of similar-looking suffixes, they could easily have found themselves on the path toward equating the two and allowing them to be used interchangeably.

These Names of Personifications appear relatively seldom in the ancient literature, and where they do appear, they do so in lists of deities, describing their functions or critiquing Roman religious ideas.

The ancients derive the name *Rōma* from *Rōmulus*. But this has it backwards. *Rōmulus* actually derives from *Rōma*, and literally means "Roman." Furthermore, *Rōmulus* is not a diminutive of *Rōma*. I would even suggest that *Rōmulus* ought to be included as one of the Names of Personifications, even if the Romans did not specifically list this name with others like *Patellāna* and *Arculus*.

Moreover, many places have eponymous founders that were clearly invented to account for the name: e.g., Tros for Troy and Hellen for the Greek people. What is interesting here is the morphological route that the Romans took to get from *Rōma* to *Rōmulus*, and so from this fact an interesting question that we may ask is: "Why is the city's founder named 'Romulus' and not, say, 'Romus'?"

Chapter IX: Conclusion

My investigation has shown the following three points. First, if we examine the works of authors from Plautus to Apuleius, we will find multiple examples from Latin literature which support the assertion that Latin diminutives can denote literal or non-literal smallness. Moreover, Latin diminutives regularly imitate their base words as much as possible morphophonologically (specifically morphosyntactically) and they usually imitate their base words semantically in some sense. Furthermore, these base words are nouns and adjectives and not verbs.

Second, the major categories of diminutive-looking non-diminutives are nouns and adjectives that derive from verbs, nouns, and adjectives: deverbative (and denominative) instrumentals and their derivatives, deverbative adjectives and their derivatives, denominative adjectives, deverbative and denominative abstracts, and Names of Personifications. Along with these words are words of miscellaneous types.

Third, Names of Personifications employ the suffixes of certain types of non-diminutive words, and the "Personification-forming suffix" which I am proposing is ultimately a specialized application of these non-diminutive suffixes.

There are four implications which arise directly from these conclusions.

First, the formation procedures for the creation of diminutives suggest that we need to amend the grammar books and other such sources. We should not suppose that they are entirely wrong, but rather that they are incomplete and require amendment.

Second, my conclusions have cultural implications. The morphological resemblance between diminutives and diminutive-like terms which indicate personified figures in Latin suggests that there may be a natural yet nuanced link between diminutives and personification. While in Latin there still requires the semantic leap from “individual seen as small, approachable, and personable”¹⁰⁰⁸ to “individual seen as representing a particular thing,” there could be languages in which such a leap has occurred because of, or in tandem with, a comparable link between diminutives and personification. I encourage other researchers to look at other languages, analyze their procedures for using diminution and personification, and see whether any links exist in those languages. I would not be surprised to discover that such links do indeed exist.

Third, these diminutives and non-diminutives make the point that linguistics is dynamic in general, persistent and constantly evolving, and we can track the tendency to use such words from Plautus to at least Augustine. My work focuses on the morphophonological processes relevant to the natures of diminutives and non-diminutives appearing within 400 years between 200 BCE and 200 CE, and on the semantic nature of diminutives appearing within the years between 40 BCE to 200 CE, and yet, Augustine’s list of names of Personifications shows that diminutive-looking forms have been used throughout the entire existence of Latin. I encourage researchers therefore to make comparisons with, and build upon, my work by looking at such words found within works of the later Latin authors, especially Augustine.

¹⁰⁰⁸ As Hanssen argues and expands upon several times throughout his study.

Fourth, since some people today actively use Latin, and coin new words all the time according to the procedures employed by the ancients,¹⁰⁰⁹ my conclusions also have importance for Modern Latin. New Latin words appear all the time in the sciences, especially botany, and in the translations of modern literature¹⁰¹⁰. Since nomenclators and wordsmiths typically use grammar books and other such sources, they are liable to create new words according to misapprehensions such as those involving the creation of diminutives. So, for example, while *Insula Thesauraria*, Arcadius Avellanus' Latin translation of *Treasure Island*, rightly has the diminutive *nautula*,¹⁰¹¹ from *nauta*, the title of book *Piso Ille Poetulus* does not use the expected *Poētula*,¹⁰¹² from *poēta*.

My research has inspired me to formulate questions that will allow for much more material than what I have already covered on the diminutives, non-diminutives, and the Names of Personifications. Such questions include: How are diminutives and non-diminutives used colloquially in literary and epigraphical texts? How conscious were Latin speakers of the fact that the words which they used all the time without diminutive force still had forms that suggest diminutives? Did the Romans typically think

¹⁰⁰⁹ Several sources show procedures for the creation of words, along with ancient examples, for the use as models for modern wordsmiths: e.g., "Chapter XX: Formation of Names and Epithets in Latin" in Stearn, Nybakken's *Greek and Latin in Scientific Terminology*, and Brown's *Composition of Scientific Words*.

¹⁰¹⁰ An obvious example of new words being created in modern literature is the "Hamaxostichus Rapidus Hogvartensis" on the cover of Peter Needham's translation of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*. *Hamaxostichus* here means "train," coming from Greek ἄμαξα, "wagon," and στίχος, "file or soldiers/line of poetry," and appears to be a substantive *bahuvrihi* compound adjective with an apparent literal meaning "possessing carriages [i.e., railroad cars] and lines [i.e., rails]." *Hogvartēnsis* is an adjective meaning "of or pertaining to the Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry," containing the suffix *-ensis* and a Latinization of "Hogwarts."

¹⁰¹¹ Robert Louis Stevenson, *Insula Thesauraria*, trans. Arcadius Avellanus (Scotts Valley: Createspace Independent Pub, 2009), 117.

¹⁰¹² Lance Piantaggini, *Piso Ille Poetulus: A Latin Novella* (Baltimore, MD: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2016), 5. This word *poētulus* came about because of the gender-termination-assignment misapprehension which I discussed on page 5 of this work.

of their founder's name, Romulus, in terms of its being a Name of a Personification in reference to their city, or were they more likely to think of it as an actual diminutive even if that idea is inaccurate? Can these last two questions even be answered through analysis of literary and epigraphical texts? (What we have seen with *Caeculus* can give us clues.) How can information of this sort clarify aspects of Roman culture such as gender identities and gender roles, and how can that information shed light on how the Romans thought of the function of grammatical gender in their language? As we ask these questions, we must be fully cognizant of the distinctions of forms and meanings which exist among these diminutives, non-diminutives, and Names of Personifications.

In the end, it is amazing that it has taken so long for us to notice the stark distinction between Latin words which denote small things like pebbles and similar-looking but ultimately different words which denote great entities like gods.

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Appendix I: Full List of Diminutives Indicating Literal Small Size

Physical Smallness

- adulēscētulus
- agellulus
- agellus
- anserculus
- arcula
- asserculus
- avicula
- axiculus1
- axiculus2
- barbula
- botellus
- buccella
- bullula
- bācula
- bāsiolum
- būcula
- būcula
- būculus
- caliculus
- cant(h)ēriolus
- canālicula
- canāliculus
- capsella
- capsula
- carbunculus
- caruncula
- casula
- catella
- catēlla
- cauliculus, cōliculus
- cavernula
- cellula, cellola
- cicercula
- cicātrīcula
- cistella
- cistula
- clipeolum
- clīvulus, clīvolus
- colliculus
- columbula
- columella
- conchula, concla
- conventiculum
- corbula
- corculum
- corniculum
- corticulus
- corōlla
- crepidula
- cristula
- crūstulum
- cucumula
- cultellus
- cumbula
- cymula
- cāseolus
- cēnula
- cēnātiuncula
- cīvītātula
- cūpula, cuppula
- denticulus
- domuncula
- fenestrula
- filicula, felicula
- fiscella
- flammula
- flucticulus
- flōsculus
- focus
- fonticulus
- fossula
- frāterculus
- filiola
- filiolus
- fūsticulus
- gemmula
- gingīvula
- gladiolus
- globulus
- glēbula, glaebula
- grabātulus
- grūmulus
- gustulum
- haedulus
- (h)āl(l)ēcula
- (h)astula
- herbula
- hinnulus
- hirculus
- horiola
- hospitolum
- hāmula
- hāmulus
- hērēdiolum
- hīlla
- igniculus
- imāguncula
- lactūcula

- lacusculus
- laguncula
- lapillus
- laterculus, latericulus
- lectīcula
- lepusculus
- libellus
- lumbulus
- lāmella
- lēnunculus
- līmula
- līneola
- lōdīcula
- lūculus
- mammula
- manciola
- massula
- membrānula
- morsiuncula
- mēnsula
- mētula
- naevulus
- nucula
- nīdulus
- nōdulus
- ocellus
- ofella
- offula, offla
- oppidulum
- orbiculus
- ossiculum, ossuculum
- pallula
- parmula
- passerculus
- patella
- pectunculus
- pecūiolum
- pediculus
- pennula
- petasunculus
- pilleolus
- pilula
- pinnula
- pisciculus
- plōstellum
- plūmula
- ponticulus
- porcellus, porcillus
- porculus
- portiuncula
- postīcula
- prūnulum
- puellula
- puellus
- puerulus
- pulvillus
- pyxidicula
- pāxillus
- pērula
- pōcillum
- pūntulum
- pūpula
- ridicula
- rotula, rotulus
- rādīcula
- rāmulus
- rānula
- rānunculus
- rāpulum
- rētiolum
- rīmula
- rīvulus, rīvolus
- rōstellum
- rūsculum
- saccellus
- sagittula
- sarcinula
- scalpellum, scalpellus
- scamillum, scamillus
- scrobiculus
- scutula
- scōpula
- secūricula, secūricla
- sellula
- seniculus
- serrula
- servola, servula
- servulus, servolus
- socculus
- spongiola
- sportella
- sportula
- spīnula
- squāmula
- staticulum
- statunculum
- strigilēcula
- strophium
- surculus
- sāviolum
- sēriola
- tabella
- tabernula, tabernola
- taeniola
- tegeticula
- tessella
- testula
- thermulae

- tigillum
- trabēcula, trabricula
- tubula
- tubulus
- tuguriolum
- tunica
- turbella
- turbula
- turricola
- tāleola
- tāxillus
- tūberculum
- ulcusculum
- urnula
- utriculus
- vaccula
- varicula
- vatillum
- vericulum
- vermiculus
- vernula
- verrūcula
- villula
- virgula
- vulnusculum
- vulpēcula
- vāsculum
- vēnula
- vīculus
- vītacula
- vōcula
- zōnula
- ānellus
- ōllula, aulula
- ōrātiuncula
- ōstiolum

- ūvola

Attenuation: In General:

Nouns

- āctiuncula
- ālicula
- audītiuncula
- dēclāmātiuncula
- dēlectātiuncula
- diēcūla
- disputātiuncula
- exceptiuncula
- indignātiuncula
- litterula
- mōtiuncula
- narrātiuncula
- operula
- perfrictiuncula
- pūnctiuncula
- quaesiuncula
- spēcūla
- spōnsiuncula
- tussicula
- vīriculae
- quaesticulus

Attenuation: In General:

Adjectives

- acidulus
- aureolus, auriolus
- austērus
- breviculus
- improbulus
- līvidulus
- misellus
- miserulus

- nigellus
- oblongulus
- pinguiculus
- pressulus
- pūtidulus
- rubellus
- rūfulus
- rubicundulus
- rūsticellus
- subargūtulus
- succinctulus
- vagulus
- vastulus
- vetulus

Adjectives Indicating

Magnitude

- adulescētulus
- longulus
- minūtulus
- pauxillulus
- quantulus
- tantillulus
- tantillus
- tantulus

Comparative Forms of

Adjectives

- altiusculus
- ampliusculus
- dūriusculus
- frīgidiusculus
- graviusculus
- lautiusculus
- longiusculus
- māiusculus

- meliusculus
- minusculus
- plūsculus

Specific Parts of a Whole

- auricula
- clausula
- corbula
- fenestella
- habēnula
- lenticula

- plagula
- flōsculus
- pannulus
- trunculus
- linteolum

Small Quantity of a Whole

- chartula
- harēnula
- inaudītiuncula
- lāmellula

- lānula
- membrānula
- pēnsiuncula
- pōtiuncula
- summula
- sermunculus
- ūnctulum
- aliquantum
- quantulum
- tantillum
- tantulum

Appendix II: Full List of Diminutives Indicating Imputed Small Size

Resemblance

- anguilla
- apricula
- palmula
- rādīcula
- scutula
- secūricula, secūricla
- turricula
- vāgīnula
- verētilla
- vītīcula
- alveolus
- apriculus
- caliculus
- calyculus, caliculus
- canāliculus
- cauliculus, cōliculus
- cervolus
- denticulus
- dracunculus
- hinnulus
- igniculus
- lacertulus
- lapillus
- mūsculus
- pēdiculus
- porculus
- corniculum
- geniculum
- spīculum

Metonymy

- aegyptilla

- aetātula
- sarcinula
- sportula
- umbella
- circulus, circlus
- cerebellum
- conventiculum
- corcillum
- flābellum
- ōsculum

Synecdoche

- māxilla
- viriola
- pugillus
- sanguiculus
- sangunculus

Implied Comparison

- ancillula
- cerebrum

Motionssuffix

- ancilla
- capella
- īfantula
- passercula
- puella

Virtual Synonyms: Nouns

- accentiuncula
- ancillula
- anicula

- ansula
- anucella
- ardiola, ardeola
- argūtiola
- asella
- auricula
- bratteola
- camella
- cannula
- captiuncula
- catēlla
- cēnula
- cervīcula
- cistula
- cīvītātula
- corbula
- cornīcula
- cōtīcula
- crātīcula
- cucurbitula
- cucumula
- cutīcula
- fābella
- facula
- falcula
- fenestrula
- flammula
- fōrmula
- forficulae
- formīcula
- fornācula
- gallīnula
- gerricula

- glandula
- horiola
- invītātiuncula
- lactūcula
- lenticula
- līneola
- litterula
- mamilla, mammilla
- matella
- māxilla
- mēnsula
- mercēdula
- merētrīcula
- mīcula
- mitella
- muliercula
- nūtrīcula
- offula, offla
- ōrātiuncula
- pallula
- palmula
- papilla
- parmula
- patella
- plēbēcula
- postīcula
- prōcūrātiuncula
- puellula
- pulticula
- pūpilla
- pūpula
- rotula, rotulus
- saepicula, sēpicula
- saltātrīcula
- scurrula
- servola, servula

- spīnula
- tāleola
- tubula
- ungula
- vītīcula
- vulpēcula
- zōnula
- ancillāriolus
- aureolus
- calyculus, caliculus
- cancellus
- catīllus
- cauliculus, cōliculus
- circulus, circlus
- fabulus
- fasciculus
- fiscellus
- flōsculus
- folliculus
- grossulus
- ĩnfantulus
- latrunculus
- lecticulus
- lectulus
- lepusculus
- lūculus
- manipellus
- mannulus
- mūsculus
- nīdulus
- nōdulus
- orbiculus
- panniculus
- pēdiculus
- perniunculus
- pilleolus

- popellus
- puellus
- pullulus
- pulvisculus
- scopulus
- scrūpulus
- seniculus
- servulus, servolus
- sparsulus
- tāxillus
- testiculus
- togātulus
- torulus
- unguiculus
- utriculus
- cerebellum
- claustrum, clōstrum
- conventiculum
- corculum
- crepitācillum
- dēliciolum
- flammeolum
- frūstulum
- galēriculum
- ōsculum
- ossiculum, ossuculum
- ōstiolum
- pondusculum
- rētiolum

Virtual Synonyms:

Adjectives

- albulus
- argenteolus
- argūtulus
- astūtulus

- audāculus
- beātulus
- blandulus
- bovillus
- candidulus
- cēreolus
- cernulus
- complūsculī
- corneolus
- dicāculus
- flammeolus
- frigidulus
- glabellus
- Graeculus
- ligneolus
- nūdulus
- ovillus
- pallidulus
- pauperculus
- perastūtulus
- rancidulus
- rūfulus
- rubicundulus
- sēmiadopertulus
- sordidulus
- suillus
- tābidulus
- tenellus
- trepidulus
- trīmulus
- ūmidulus
- vetusculus

Positive Use: Nouns

- amāsiuncula
- amīcula

- apicula
- buc(c)ula
- comula
- domnula
- domuscula
- filiola
- mellītula
- puella
- amīculus
- igniculus
- ocellus
- palumbulus
- pullulus
- corculum

Positive Use: Adjectives

- hilariculus
- pauperculus

Neutral or Ambiguous

Use: Nouns

- casula
- catella
- cellula, cellola
- dammula
- puella
- amāsiunculus
- puellus
- rēgulus
- taurulus
- palliolum
- sēstertiolum

Negative Use: Nouns

- āctiuncula
- ancilla

- cellula, cellola
- cīvitātula
- dēlectātiuncula
- disputātiuncula
- glēbula, glaebula
- lupula
- merētrīcula
- muliercula
- offula, offla
- opella
- prōcūrātiuncula
- puella
- togula
- turbella
- turturella, turturilla
- unciola
- uxorcula
- vōcula
- adulēscentulus
- amīculus
- clientulus
- culicellus
- homunculus
- latrunculus
- libellus
- sensiculus
- servulus, servolus
- holusculum
- vulnusculum

Negative Use: Adjectives

- acūtulus
- arietillus
- Graeculus
- pulchellus

Irony or Understatement

Use: Nouns

- lectīcāriola
- ancillāriolus

Technical Terms: Nouns

- āreola
- auricula
- buc(c)ula
- caruncula
- cellula, cellola
- cervīcula
- clausula
- crētula
- faecula
- fōrmula
- (h)astula
- lenticula
- litterula
- pilula
- plagula
- pūpilla
- rādīcula
- serrātula
- sertula
- sextula
- spīniola
- spongiola
- sterilicula
- tunicula
- ungula
- valvolae, valvulae
- vīnāciola
- virgula
- vōcula
- alveolus

- aurītulus
- cancellus
- carbunculus
- circulus, circlus
- fasciculus
- flōsculus
- folliculus
- forulī
- fūrunculus
- gladiolus
- hirculus
- lapillus
- laterculus, latericulus
- latrunculus
- libellus
- lucuntulus, lucunculus
- nōdulus
- ocellus
- pediculus
- pulvillus
- rēgulus
- scrūpulus
- surculus
- torulus
- tubulus
- unguiculus
- cicerculum
- corniculum
- digitellum, digitellus
- dulciolum
- ōscillum
- tūberculum
- vāsculum

Technical Terms:

Adjectives

- helveolus
- inerticulus
- vīnāciolus

Tools or Instruments

- ansula
- arcula
- columella
- cōticula
- cucurbitula
- dolābella
- falcula
- fiscella
- furcilla
- lancula, langula
- lectīcula
- libella
- matella
- mēnsula
- mitella
- rudicula
- scutella
- sitella
- spatula
- tabella
- tessella
- tesserula
- canāliculus
- cultellus
- denticulus
- orbiculus
- pāstillus, pāstillum
- saccellus
- verticillus

- fundulum, fundolum
- geniculus
- linteolum
- scamillum, scamillus

Animate Entities: Nouns

- ancilla
- nūtrīcula
- mūsculus
- puerulus

- rānunculus
- vermiculus

Animate Entities:

Adjectives

- arietīllus
- ovīllus
- suīllus

Proper Names

- Acidula
- Barbula
- Caligula
- Furculae
- Scaevola, Scaevula
- Corculī
- Mercuriolus
- Regīllus
- Corculum

Appendix III: Full List of Non-Diminutives

Deverbative (and Denominative)

Instrumentals

- fābula
- fibula
- sūbula
- acētābulum
- conciliābulum
- cūnābula
- exōrābulum
- incitābulum
- infundibulum,
infidibulum
- incūnābula
- latibulum
- medicābulum
- mendīcābulum
- natābulum
- pābulum
- patibulum
- prōstibulum
- pulsābulum
- rutābulum
- sessibulum
- stabulum
- tintinnābulum
- trībulum
- tūribulum
- vectābulum
- vēnābulum
- vocābulum
- verticula
- cēnāculum

- conceptāculum
- cooperculum
- crepitāculum
- cubiculum
- curriculum
- dēmeāculum
- dērīdiculum
- dēverticulum
- discerniculum
- ēverriculum
- ferculum
- gubernāculum
- habitāculum
- hibernāculum
- ientāculum
- incerniculum
- meāculum
- memorāculum
- mīrāculum
- obstāculum
- obtūrāculum
- occursāculum
- offendiculum
- offensāculum
- operculum
- ōrāculum
- perpendicularum
- piāculum
- remeāculum
- reverticulum
- signāculum
- temperāculum
- tomāculum

- torculum
- tūtāculum
- vehiculum

Adjectives from Deverbative (and Denominative) Instrumentals

- dērīdiculus
- irridiculus
- rīdiculus

Deverbative Adjectives

- anteventus
- bibulus
- crēdulus
- dēpendulus
- ēminulus
- garrulus
- gemulus
- patulus
- pendulus
- querulus
- rēiculus
- strāgulus
- strīdulus
- tinnulus
- tremulus

Substantive Versions of Deverbative Adjectives

- cingula
- cōpula

- dēcipula
- discipula
- gerula
- pergula
- serpula
- rādula
- scālae
- specula
- tēgula
- capulus
- convolvulus
- discipulus
- figulus
- gerulus
- legulus
- sacrificulus
- tumulus
- amiculum
- cingulum
- dīlūculum
- iaculum
- vinculum

Denominative Adjectives

- anniculus
- būbulus
- caerulus, caeruleus
- masculus

Deverbative and Denominative Abstracts

- candēla
- cautēla
- cicindēla
- clientēla
- corruptēla

- cūstōdēla
- fugēl(l)a
- loquēla, loquella
- mandātēla
- medēla, medella
- nitēla
- sequella, sequēla
- suādēla
- turbēlae
- tutēla

Words in *-uleus*

- aculeus
- eculeus, equuleus
- hinnuleus
- manuleus
- nucleus

Words in *-ēdula* Referring to Animals (Mostly Birds)

- ficēdula
- monēdula
- querquēdula
- acrēdula
- nītēdula

Words in *-aster,* *-astra, -astrum*

- Antōniaster
- catlaster
- oleaster, oleastrum
- pīnaster
- alicastrum
- apiastrum
- mentastrum
- palliastrum

- salicastrum
- siliquastrum

Words in *-īna*

- Agrippīna
- gallīna
- Messalīna
- rēgīna

So-Called "Diminutive Verbs" in *-illāre*

- cantillāre
- cavillārī
- cōnscribillāre
- fōcilāre
- murmurillāre
- obstrigillāre
- occillāre
- sorbillāre
- sūgillāre

Words with Both Diminutive and Non- Diminutive Meanings

- conspicillum
- ligula, lingula
- miscellus
- vernāculus

Words Which Do Not Neatly Fall into the Above Classifications

- angulus
- capillus
- corulus, corylus
- cūniculus

- famulus
- interulus
- macula
- mūlus
- nebula
- oculus

- sībilus
- squālus
- squalus
- stimulus
- substillus
- succrotillus

- tabula
- tardigenucus
- tranquillus
- tutulus
- vidulus
- vitulus

Appendix IV: Full List of Names of Personifications

- Aesculānus
- Arculus
- Caeculus
- Fābulīnus
- Forculus
- Hostilīna
- Opitulus
- Partula
- Patelāna
- Patulcius
- Rediculus
- Rōmulus
- Statilīnus
- Sterculus
- Stimula
- Tigillus
- Tūtulīna
- Vītula

