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Words of Civilization

Emergence and Productivity of Latin Terminologies until the Eve of Humanism

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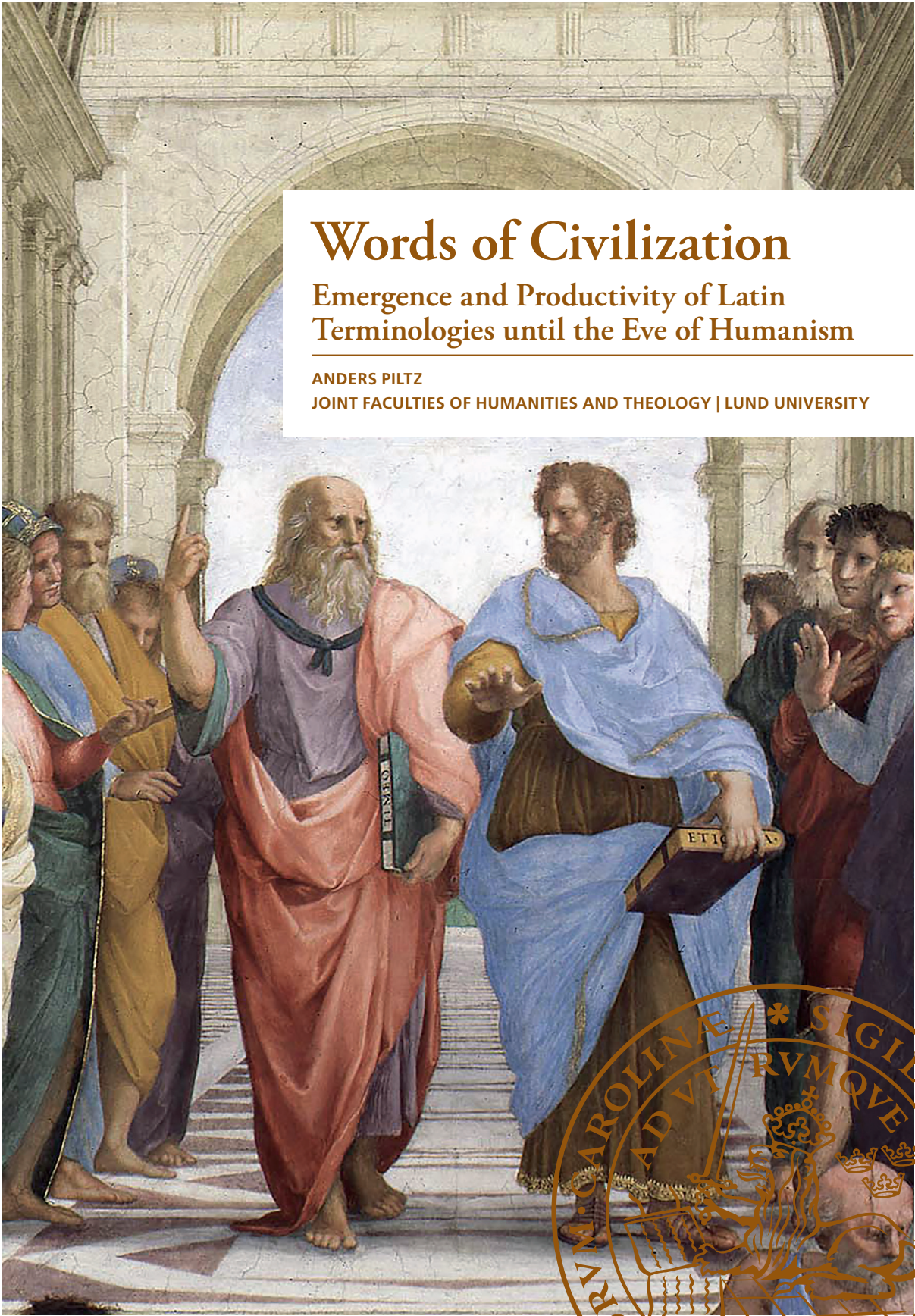
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A detail from Raphael's fresco 'The School of Athens' showing Plato and Aristotle walking towards the viewer. Plato, on the left, is an older man with a long white beard, wearing a red robe over a purple tunic. He holds a book labeled 'TENO' and points his right index finger towards the sky. Aristotle, on the right, is a younger man with a brown beard, wearing a blue robe over a brown tunic. He holds a book labeled 'ETIC' and gestures with his right hand, palm facing down. They are surrounded by other figures in classical attire, and the background shows a grand architectural setting with arches and columns.

Words of Civilization

Emergence and Productivity of Latin Terminologies until the Eve of Humanism

ANDERS PILTZ

JOINT FACULTIES OF HUMANITIES AND THEOLOGY | LUND UNIVERSITY



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Emergence and Productivity of Latin
Terminologies until the Eve of Humanism

Anders Piltz



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Coverimage: Raffaello Sanzio, *Scuola di Atene* (c. 1510)

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MADE IN SWEDEN 

Nec me animi fallit Graiorum obscura reperta
difficile inlustrare Latinis versibus esse,
multa novis verbis praesertim cum sit agendum
propter egestatem linguae et rerum novitatem.

Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, 1.136-139

On avait souhaité de n'être pas technique. À l'essai, il est apparu que, si l'on voulait épargner le lecteur les détails précis, il ne reste que des généralités vagues, et que toute démonstration manquait.

Antoine Meillet, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine*, 1928.

Das Fundament aller Geschichtsforschung ist die Philologie. Sie bedeutet für die Geisteswissenschaften dasselbe wie die Mathematik für die Naturwissenschaften. Die Geometrie demonstriert an Figuren, die Philologie an Texten. Sie muß Ergebnisse liefern, die verifizierbar sind.

Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, 1953.

Il latino è un tesoro di sapere e di pensiero, una chiave per accedere ai testi classici che hanno forgiato il nostro mondo. Rappresenta le radici della civiltà occidentale e, in molti modi, la nostra stessa identità. È una lingua che abbraccia la filosofia, la scienza, l'arte e la politica, dimostrando così il suo valore intrinseco di strumento di riflessione e di dialogo, quanto mai necessario in un mondo frammentato come il nostro.

Francesco, 23 ottobre 2024

Preface

What the Swedish language calls *lånord* (English *loan words*, German *Lehnwörter*, French *mots d'emprunt*) or *främmande ord* (*foreign words*, *Fremdwörter*, *mots étrangers*), new acquisitions imported from another language whenever the vernacular lacks a good equivalent, the Finns style *sivistyssanat*, which literally means 'words of civilization'.

'Words of civilization' could perhaps serve as a relevant description of any linguistic acquisition. Why does a certain language at any given time span acquire so many new items which were not there some years earlier? Because new social institutions, mental habits and associations, new religions or convictions, novel matters of course, innovations, and inventions were craving for an increasing stock of words covering new, ever finer distinctions. The dictionary of a language is the protocol of such development, or evolution, of linguistic capacities of expression. "We could almost write the history of civilization merely from linguistic evidence."¹

The origins of this book were the Latin lecture notes from the medieval University of Uppsala, founded in 1477. I was commissioned by the University to make a critical edition and an analysis of representative texts, as a cross-section of its activities in its first years. These studies were collected in *Studium Upsalense. Specimens of the oldest lecture notes taken in the mediaeval University of Uppsala* and published in 1977, the fifth centennial of its existence.

I grew ever more fascinated by the similarities between scholastic terminologies in the late medieval universities and the intellectual lexicon of modern languages, in their formative centuries, to a great extent modelled and permeated by Latin in a kind of linguistic osmosis. The present study does not aim so much to follow the history of concepts (*Begriffsgeschichte*) and their developments, which is not a linguistic undertaking, nor of etymologies. The translational *principles* followed by Cicero and other architects of the Latin intellectual lexicon have been studied closely by others.² The scope of this investigation is primarily the *process of word-formation* and the phenomenon of *productivity*: the emergence and development of those types of word-formation that were most apt to serve the need for new words for new things, once making the Latin language the foremost toolbox of intellectual exchange in Europe. It is my contention that those categories of word-formation that proved to be the most productive in Latin have kept their productivity even in the modern European languages.

Students of philology have since then been provided with digital resources of which we only could have dreamed half a century ago. With the help of Brepols' *Library*

¹ Baugh & Cable, 300-301; cf. Helander, 8.

² Above all by Hartung 1970 and Dowson 2023; see the survey on translation methodology in Dowson, 25-44.

of *Latin Texts* one can now verify the occurrence of a lexeme or a form of it anywhere in Latin literature in a matter of seconds.

In this way it was possible to establish how and when the stock of *internationalisms*, to use a term of modern philology, was shaped in the history of Latinity. By this term is intended a class of words which – to put it simply – are parts of more than one language and in forms more or less identical and immediately understandable carry the same denotation everywhere (with local nuances). Many of the Latin lexemes treated in this study would qualify for that designation.

Since the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) contains excellent surveys of most of the relevant affixes inherited in English from Latin (often via French) treated here, it has seemed appropriate to give a summary of that information successively and succinctly, with diverse typography (smaller point).

This study is a sketch, limited to philosophy and theology. It could be further extended, expanded to other fields of language conquests, and perfected with modern digital technology.

During the academical year 2005-2006, I received a grant from the *Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation* (*Riksbankens Jubiléumsfond*).

My sincere thanks are due to the members of the Greek-Latin Seminar, University of Lund, for constructive criticism and stimulating new perspectives on the European linguistic exploration, from its origin on the steppes of today's Ukraine, through Antiquity, medieval Scholasticism, and until the great revolutions of the sixteenth century – another story, but entirely dependent on these beginnings.

Lund, June 2025

Anders Piltz

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Chapter I

General Introduction

1. 'Words of civilization'

1.1 Patterns of word formation

Modern research has detected a remarkable degree of persistence in economic activity: the magnificent network of Roman roads, as of the year 117 CE, shows a striking correspondence to the average nightlight intensity in Europe, registered by satellites in 2013-2020.³ This may serve as a metaphor. In an analogous way, the intellectual network, built by the Roman empire in its schools of rhetoric, has left an ineffaceable imprint, a characteristic and persistent genetic code, as it were, in today's European languages. The present study is an attempt to trace some great lines of development in the international intellectual lexicon, from the beginnings of organized rational and scholarly intercourse until the end of medieval scholasticism – mapping not primarily the history of terminologies, nor of etymologies, but rather the patterns of Latin word-formation, which proved so successful that they even served as blueprints in derivative Romance languages and in English and, in no small measure, even in other tongues spoken everywhere in the world.

Philology is a strict scientific method, the fundament of every historical investigation, the archaeology of language, the equivalent of mathematics in natural science. Geometry demonstrates with the help of figures, philology with texts. "Mathematics can justly pride itself upon exactness. Likewise, philology is capable of cogency. It must provide results that are verifiable."⁴ To make a meticulous stocktaking of pioneering authors' vocabularies could at best be a contribution even to philosophy.

³ Carl-Johan Dalgaard, Nicolai Kaarsen, Ola Olsson, Pablo Selaya, "Roman roads to prosperity: Persistence and non-persistence of public infrastructure", in *Journal of Comparative Economics*, vol. 50/4, December 2022, 896-916.

⁴ *Die Mathematik darf sich mit Recht ihrer Exaktheit rühmen. Aber auch die Philologie ist der Strenge fähig. Sie muß Ergebnisse liefern, die verifizierbar sind.* Curtius, 10.

1.2 The field of research: the Latinate 'words of civilization'

What is generally called "classical" Latin was a creation of literate men in schools, serving as informal academies regulating *le bon usage* in writing and oratory. That comparatively small corpus of texts, the approved, canonical authors during the duration from the end of the "archaic" period ca 80 BCE to the death of Augustus in 14 CE, has a comparatively restricted word-list. Later writers, considered as "post-classical", use a considerable number of words, not found in classical authors, but in fact at home in the previous so called "pre-classical" period, a fact that cautions against any conclusions concerning the actual linguistic competence (*parole*) of common people in these times. The "unclassical" language of the street and in graffiti did not appear in literature, unless perhaps in satirical poetry, but it thrived and survived, something which is proven by some basic preclassical words absent in "golden" Latin prose: *fricare* 'rub', *labium* 'lip', *lucta* 'wrestling-match', *meiere* 'urinate' (Romanic *meiare*), *mussare* 'mutter', *nodare* 'tie', *primitiae* 'first-fruits', *strena* 'lucky gift', *tussire* 'cough', *vacivus*, *vocivus* 'empty'.⁵

This must mean that words and colloquialisms, used also during the classical age in ordinary language but avoided by the "best" authors, prospered in ordinary language, and new ways of expression were invented, according to established laws of productivity: new affixations appeared, and loan-words or calques were imported from the Greek language.

Such concepts as "Late Latin" (in common parlance meaning Latin used in the period from the third to the sixth centuries CE), or "Low Latin" for the language used during the following period until the eve of Renaissance, are misleading (just like German "Spätjudentum") as a term for the Latinity of late antiquity, and there is no scholarly consensus about exactly when classical Latin ends or medieval Latin begins. However, "Late Latin" is a received term for the Latinity between those periods and characterized by an identifiable style – even if this somehow implies that languages have Golden Ages from which the resulting development is a history

⁵ A lexicon of Romanic etymology will give a wealth of words not instantiated in literary sources but necessary to posit, as **abbiberare* 'water, sprinkle', **æqualiare* 'make even', **alluminare* 'lighth', **arripere* 'reach the bank, arrive', **assimulare* 'assemble', **aviolus* 'grandfather', **biberaticum* 'beverage', **calceare* 'put on shoes', **cepulla* 'onion', **cominitiare* 'begin', **consutura* 'seam', **directiare* 'address', **disdignare* 'disdain', **disieiunare* 'have breakfast', **dispensa* 'expense', **excambiare* 'change', **excappare* 'escape', **exvigilare* 'wake up', **fratellus* 'brother', **oblitare* 'forget', **passare* 'to pass', **perdonare* 'forgive', **pettia > pecia* 'piece', **precaria* 'prayer', **quæsta* 'tribute', **securare*, **sequitare* 'follow', **similiare* 'resemble', **sortire* 'come out', **subdiurnare* 'spend the day', **superanus* 'sovereign', **taleare*, **taliare* 'cut (trees)', **traginare* 'pull', **traiectare* 'cross over', **trepaliare* 'travail, toil', **volvitare* 'vault'.

of distortion, corruption, and decadence.⁶ The history of any language is less simplistic than that, and far more interesting.

In successive periods, after the fall of the Western Empire, dialects of *spoken* Latin developed freely in various regions within the old Roman sphere of influence, without the constraint of elitist taste or accepted standards. Accepted standards of *literary* style prevailed no longer, except in short “renaissance” periods, which hampered inventiveness and aimed at restoring fixed standards of ancient. Latin became less and less the mother tongue of anybody and was more and more a language that had to be learned in schools. The literary and liturgical activities in monasteries and cathedrals, the new centres of learning and education, were highly traditional and not likely to encourage the coining of new formations. During the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, Latin productivity diminished, since, by then, the different Romanic languages were perceived as more and more independent of their historical origins.

The emergence of a new intellectual and linguistic community, the universities of the high Middle Ages, liberated Latin from strict allegiance to classical stylistic ideals. The Scholastic revival thrived on literal translations made from Greek and Arabic.⁷ Latin was used as a means of spoken communication among the new learned class, less interested in ancient literature, but eager to recuperate and revive ancient philosophy, law and medicine.

1.3 The concept of terminology

The least studied area of the Latin language appears to be technical terminologies. In a paper read at the fourth *International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics* in Cambridge in 1987, David Langslow presented the programmatic proposal that these fields be treated with greater attention. Langslow himself started with an interim report on some examples of the medical terminology in the first and second century CE with particular stress on word-formation: diminutives and technical terms, abstracts and concretes in *-or* as used to describe symptoms and conditions, and the present participle and formations on *-torius* used to describe patients and their treatment.⁸ Langslow has since published his magisterial study on *Medical Latin in the Roman Empire* in 2000.

⁶ This terminology undoubtedly owes much to Charles du Fresne, sieur du Cange, and his *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis*.

⁷ R. Sharpe, “Vocabulary, word formation and lexicography”, in Mantello & Rigg, *Medieval Latin*, 93 ff.

⁸ Langslow 1991, 187.

Technical authors in Latin have long since been recognised as important exponents of “Late Latin”, but emphasis was placed rather on vulgarisms than on technical language. Some general surveys on specific languages and terminologies, especially medical terms, have appeared in the twentieth century.⁹ Investigations of the vocabulary of certain special fields or technical areas have also been conducted by Saint-Denis 1943, André 1956 (botany), André 1956 (medicine, Cassius Felix and Caelius Aurelianus), Ernout 1957 (botany), Bruno 1969 (agriculture), Leitner 1972 (zoology), Adams 1982 (human sexuality), and de Meo 1983 (general survey). The history of botanical latin is treated by William T. Stearn in his manual *Botanical Latin. History, grammar, syntax, terminology and vocabulary* (1966), which is, to my knowledge, the most comprehensive treatise on the whole business of naming things in a scientific manner: unambiguous, commonly recognised terms, established among scientists as an agreed *nomenclatura* – a word invented by Pliny the Elder in his *Historia naturalis*.¹⁰ Helander made a general survey of Greek and Latin in natural sciences (medicine, pharmacology, biology, chemistry, geology, astronomy and physics) in 2021. It goes without saying that the history of scientific terminologies now used were formed mainly after the scientific revolution in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The hybrid formation *Terminologie* was coined and introduced in the German language in 1726. ‘Terminology’, since long an international word in various languages, was established as a commonly used concept, in the modern sense of the word, in the nineteenth century in the European languages.¹¹

The first component, *term* (in the sense ‘technical expression’, German *Term*, French *terme*, Spanish and Italian *termine*, etc) is known in English in the sense of ‘technical term’ since Chaucer,¹² in Italian since 1308, and in French since 1361 (Oresme).

It was forged from the Latin *terminus*, meaning originally ‘a stone marking the boundary of a property; limit, end’. It took on the sense of ‘technical term’ in the translations of Greek philosophy made by Boethius (d. 524 CE).¹³ It was then a calque on the Greek noun ὄρος, which also had the primary meaning ‘boundary, landmark’, employed as a technical expression by Aristotle (d. 322 BCE) with at least two different denotations: 1. ‘that into which the premises of a syllogism can

⁹ Cf Langslow 1991, note 3.

¹⁰ 21.52: *Nostris maiore ex parte huius nomenclaturae defuit cura.*

¹¹ E. W. Orth, “Terminologie”, *HWPh. Fr. terminologie* 1802, *It. terminologia* 1820.

¹² Cf. *I ne kan no termes of Astrologye*, Chaucer, Prol. 639, c. 1386.

¹³ Cf *sive de pluribus unus terminus praedicetur, sive plura de uno praedicentur, idem modus est; In librum Aristotelis Peri hermeneias commentarii* (editio prima), 2.11.

be analysed, namely the predicate and the subject',¹⁴ and 2. 'definition', the subject to which the sixth book of his *Topics* was devoted. To Aristotle, the ὅρος, in this respect, meant that which defines the essence (τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι) of a thing.¹⁵

That was not yet, however, the sense of the concept 'term' in modern usage, which is a constituent of a specific generally accepted technical word-list.

When medicine became an established τέχνη – treated systematically as such by Galen (2nd c. CE) – the need for precise terms (in the modern sense) was felt. Mistakes and misunderstandings are especially risky in the medical trade. To Galen, a medical term (λόγος) must make clear the 'notion' of a thing and be unambiguous.¹⁶

A *terminology*, then, is an undetermined number of agreed terms forming an open list of concepts established within a certain ἐπιστήμη or τέχνη, a field of science, trade, knowledge, or art. The definition of the terms included in such a list is agreed upon by many or all practitioners of that science, knowledge, trade, or art.

"The date when a new word enters the language is in general the date when the object, experience, observation, or whatever it is that calls it forth had entered [a person's] consciousness."¹⁷ Furthermore, in the case of *scientific* terminology, it must be granted that any term included in a certain word-list was introduced by somebody at a given speech situation in a scholarly discussion, whether one can establish that moment or not, when some phenomenon had occurred and was not covered by any established term. A novel term pinpoints some semantic contrast, however small, discovered by scientific observations or detected in philosophical discussions.

As to "scientific", suffice it, for the present purpose, to define that qualification as applicable to anything taught from a lecturer's desk within any established "science" at a given point of time and in a certain "academic" milieu of persons who represent the acme of learned debate at that particular period. If such a learned discussion continues and some technical terms do recur in repeatedly similar speech situations, the usage of that terminology constitutes and consolidates a group of learned speakers as a specific linguistic community. "I will therefore", says Quintilian, "define usage (*consuetudo*) in speech as the agreed practice of educated men."¹⁸

¹⁴ *Analytica priora* 24b16: ὅρον δὲ καλῶ εἰς ὃν διαλύεται ἡ πρότασις.

¹⁵ *Topica* 101b39: ἔστι δ' ὅρος μὲν λόγος ὃ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι σημαίνων,

which was rendered in Latin: *est autem terminus quidem oratio, quid-est-esse significans*.

¹⁶ Galen, 19.638: Λόγος ἐστὶν ἔννοια τοῦ πράγματος δεικνύων τε καὶ σαφηνίζων.

¹⁷ Baugh & Cable, 301, Helander 54 f.

¹⁸ *Institutio oratoria*, 1.6.45: *ergo consuetudinem sermonis vocabo consensum eruditorum*.

Every term in a terminology has to be, to the greatest possible extent, self-interpreted, precise, unambiguous, convertible with its definiendum, part of a system, stylistically neutral, and well suited to its purpose.¹⁹

A technical term may be stated as "a referring expression which is used in a standard conventional way by the relevant community of specialists and which unambiguously (and often uniquely) names an object or a concept of the discipline, and therefore, because of this attachment, lends itself to absolute synonymy and total translation."²⁰

A terminological vocabulary is principally and potentially open to expansion, i.e., it admits the possibility of an indefinite number of new coinages on given patterns. "From the linguistic point of view, the technical languages seem to offer good ground on which to ask the question: What are the *possible*, and what are the *preferred*, responses in Latin to a specific new *Benennungsbedarf*?" asks Langslow, and raises the question of how important *word-formation* might be as compared with *borrowing* and with *reusing* an already established Latin word.²¹

Concerning Latin, one may add *calques* on Greek patterns to that list,²² among them also *syntagmas* others than just free paraphrases of a Greek concept.²³

1.4 The need for, and emergence of, terminologies

One aspect of the theme 'terminology' is the fact that every culture, and cultural environment, shapes its lexical categories in its own language(s). Or is it the other way around? Does language mirror reality or shape it? It is a bone of contention among philosophers to what extent language itself constrains its speakers even to *think* in predetermined fashions. According to the famous Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, language affects already the way the speaker *looks* at reality. In a well-known passage, Whorf stated:

We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages. The categories and types that we isolate from the world of phenomena we do not find there because they stare every observer in the face; on the contrary, the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized by our minds – and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our minds. We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this

¹⁹ According to the definition given by Reinhart, 14 f.

²⁰ Langslow 2000, 25.

²¹ Langslow 1991, 188 f.

²² As for instance '*percepta*' *appello quae dicuntur Graece θεωρήματα*, Cicero, *De fato* 6.11.

²³ Langslow, 1991, 190. Cf *λογική, quam 'rationem disserendi' voco*, Cicero *De fato* 1.1. As an example of a free paraphrasis may serve *id est vel summum vel ultimum vel extremum bonorum (quod Graeci τέλος nominant)* Cicero, *De finibus bonorum et malorum*, 42.

way – an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language. The agreement is, of course, an implicit and unstated one, BUT ITS TERMS ARE ABSOLUTELY OBLIGATORY; we cannot talk at all except by subscribing to the organization and classification of data which the agreement decrees.²⁴

Whorf's philosophical theory gave birth to the famous "principle of linguistic relativity", which in its extreme version holds that all thinking and behaviour is determined by language (the "prison of language"). Whorf compared the Hopi language with English, and one of the more frequently cited examples of such linguistic determinism was his study of the language of the Inuit and their allegedly numerous words for 'snow'. The multiplicity of words related to 'snow' modifies the worldview of the Inuit, according to Whorf. The linguist George Pullum has later attacked this thesis in an essay titled "The great Eskimo vocabulary hoax", which resulted in the commonly accepted opinion among academics that the many words for 'snow' among the Inuit is but an urban legend.²⁵

Whatever the truth about Greenlanders and their feeling for snow, more recently, and quite independently of this scholarly discussion, the Swedish author Yngve Ryd, after having interviewed the Sami reindeer herdsman Johan Rossa (1921-2014) from Jokkmokk in Swedish Lapland, presented his findings in a study called *Snö – en renskötare berättar*. Here, the reader can form his/her personal opinion on the issue. Those unfamiliar with reindeer keeping in northern Scandinavia must be reminded of the fact that the coexistence of man and reindeer is the prerequisite of existence of both species among the Sami population. Snow is both the great obstacle to food-finding, and a means of transportation. To the reindeer as well as to their keepers, life depends entirely on weather conditions, and snow is undisputedly the single most important meteorological factor. The informant Rossa, who lived as a herdsman well into the nineteen-sixties, has equal command of the Sami and the Swedish language. According to Ryd, Rossa possesses an exceptional analytic ability of analysing any particular Sami term and giving it an adequate and comprehensive definition in the Swedish language.²⁶

The most frequently used terms for the "state of aggregation" of snow used in this book are the following:

<i>gálav</i>	loose consistence of snow making the skis sink deep
<i>guolldo</i>	snow storm
<i>habllek:</i>	light airy snow-powder
<i>muohta</i>	snow (in general)
<i>njáhtso</i>	humid snow
<i>ridne</i>	snow fallen on tree branches

²⁴ Whorf 1956, 213-214; emphasis in original.

²⁵ G. K. Pullum, *The Great Eskimo Vocabulary Hoax and Other Irreverent Essays on the Study of Language*, Chicago 1991.

²⁶ I refer to a telephone conversation with Yngve Ryd 20 March, 2006.

<i>ruohkadagá</i>	patches in the mountains above the tree timberline where snow uses to be absent (depending on wind conditions)
<i>siebla</i>	heavy snow, saturated with humidity (in spring season)
<i>sjálkkå</i>	trampled, hard, smooth snow
<i>soavlle</i>	water mixed with snow on the ice of a lake
<i>suohpa</i>	bridge of snow over a creek (in summer)
<i>tjarvva</i>	frozen crust on snow (= Sw. <i>skare</i>)
<i>tjiegár</i>	area where reindeer dig holes in the snow in order to find food
<i>tsievve</i>	snow too hard for a reindeer to dig through
<i>vahtsa</i>	very tiny amount of recently fallen snow
<i>åppås</i>	untouched soft snow ²⁷

In the final index of his book, Ryd counts no less than 323 different potential states of snow or ways of experiencing snow. The rein-keepers started early in the twentieth century using gasoline motors. To what extent this abundance of terms for snow prevented the bilingual informant Johan Rossa, who later led a sedentary life in a modern apartment, from adapting himself to cars, air planes, radio, television, micro ovens, the internet, or smart phones, nothing is said in the study. It is not too daring a guess, however, that Rossa found himself perfectly well at home in both environments. One might surmise that he kept a keen feeling for “imperceptible” weather changes, in which most other people in his present surroundings took no interest.

If the Inuit language possesses less numerous terms for ‘snow’ than the Sami, this could be explained, according to Ryd, by the fact that the Inuit use dog sledges, and when the effort is done by somebody else (in this case the dogs), there is not the same necessity as for the Sami people of knowing exactly the current quality of the snow for skiing or as an obstacle to finding food (dogs are fed by man).²⁸

My point is: a modern Scandinavian-speaking person does not normally have to operate with more than a handful of words for ‘snow’, whereas a person who has dedicated his life to the keeping and caring of reindeer acquires a highly developed sensibility for even the finest weather shifts. If somebody decides to become a reindeer keeper in Lapland, that person has to acquire at least part of the rich snow terminology, in order to do the job well, but also to succeed to find food and to avoid dangers to the herd’s well-being.

Mutatis mutandis, the same goes for *every* specialist. A fanatic football freak has an incomparably more sophisticated wordlist concerning football, along with a sense for its

²⁷ Y. Ryd, *Snö – en renskötare berättar*, Stockholm 2001, 15 f (two terms omitted here by me due to typographical inconveniences).

²⁸ In an analogous way, the homepage of *Sveriges ornitologiska förening* claims that the following designations for *ejder* (common eider) belong to Standard Swedish: *guding* (old eider cock), *åda* (old eider hen), *hålsing* (biennial eider cock) and *skröja* (biennial eider hen). *Svenska Dagbladet* 15 May, 2008.

dynamics, risks and odds, than people not particularly interested or just modestly knowledgeable in the field of sports.

In like manner, the rise and development of terminologies is tantamount to the emergence and successive differentiation of specialties in every organized society. Ever since the first specialists (hunters, collectors and sharpeners of flint-stone, warriors, food collectors, tanners, extractors of mineral from ore, smiths, fortune-tellers, bards, priests, scribes) formed a distinguishable group within a given community, terminologies, partly unfamiliar (or even concealed) to the community at large, have been devised and propagated among the initiated – and later, in some rare cases, also among the population at large.

2. Terminology and productivity

2.1 Technical terminologies proper

In his monograph on medical Latin in the Roman Empire, D. R. Langslow has made a systematic account and comparison of the terminologies of two medical writers, Celsus (1 c. CE) and Cassius Felix (5 c. CE), with additional material from other medical writers.²⁹ Although the object of his pioneer study is medical language, the operational principles of the formation of terms in medicine are very much the same in other types of technical language. Langslow introduces the term 'term-formation' as contrasted with 'word-formation', and he states that no more than seven means of term-formation account for all *modern* technical (medical) terms:

- 1) borrowing
- 2) the use of proper names
- 3) semantic extension, especially of non-technical words in technical usage
- 4) compounding and suffixal derivation
- 5) the formation of lexicalized phrases
- 6) Greek- and Latin-based neologisms
- 7) the use of abbreviations and formulae

Langslow contends that each of these linguistic means, with the probable exception of (6) and (7), played a part in the formation of Latin medical terms in antiquity as well. Derivatives made to a Latin stem with a Greek suffix (e.g. *iecoriticus* 'a sufferer from a disease of the liver', *vaporizare* 'to apply, treat with, steam') are probably the closest one can come to (6); there are, in a medical or on the whole any

²⁹ Mainly Scribonius Largus (1st c. CE), and Theodorus Priscianus (4-5th c. CE); Langslow 2000, vii.

ancient text, of course abbreviations in the manuscripts, but none of these are likely to have been vocalized.³⁰ In the examination below of *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, I will follow Langslow's terminology.³¹

Words or expressions *borrowed* from another language – something that normally indicates that the lending language is considered in *some* sense superior to the borrowing language – automatically takes on a special status, some otherness which sets it off in its context. Simultaneously, its semantic reference is drastically restricted, compared to what is the case in the lending language: so, for instance, when the English verbal noun *strike* was taken over in Swedish in the nineteenth century (first attested in the plural, with English spelling and within quotes, in 1846), it was used exclusively as a technical term to denote the (legal or illegal) concerted cessation of work. In some quarters the borrowing was pronounced according to its English spelling, as it was adopted so by Swedish speakers with no knowledge of English. *Strike* was adopted early on as a domestic Swedish word and was accordingly spelt *strejk* (cf Danish *strejke*, Norwegian *streik*, German *Streik*, etc). Today, most Swedish-speaking persons never regard the word as a borrowing. Furthermore, the noun *strejk* in Swedish has no discernable connection with the corresponding English verb *strike*. Such a relation is, on the other hand, obvious to every English-speaking person. In Swedish, it cannot be used in the same way as in English compounds like *air strike*, *nuclear strike*, *strike force*, *strike zone*. Again, the verb *strejka* has no connotations whatsoever of brickmaking, plumbing, measuring, fishing, mining, oil veins, baseball, printing, coining, or soap-making, as contrasted to what is (or was) the case with the verb *strike* in English.³²

Other languages, like French or Italian, did not adopt *strike*, when this kind of collective pressure became a normal weapon and needed naming in the social struggle on the nineteenth century political scene. Instead, the Italians had recourse to semantic extensions, method (3): they took a word with a more general denotation and used it in a new, more precisely determined sense: the noun *sciopero* (since 1866; from *scioperare* < medieval Latin *exoperare*, 'cease to work'). The French use *grève* (since 1805; from medieval Latin *grava*, 'sand, gravel'; unemployed workers gathered on *la place de Grève* on the shore of the Seine in Paris), thus a formation on a proper name, method (2).

³⁰ Langslow 2000, viii-ix.

³¹ Below, 165 ff.

³² To take another example: a list of anglicisms in Swedish related to sports and collected by Gunnar Tingbjörn in newspapers contain the following items under letter A: *allround*, *allroundmässig*, *allroundskap*, *all square*, *all star*, *announcer*, *apprentice*, *A-side*, *assist*, *association football soccer*. <http://spraakbanken.gu.se/sporting/>, November 2020.

2.2 The efficient causes of term-production

A technical term presupposes some kind of regularity in nature and/or in the object discussed; most conspicuously, this holds true in natural sciences, as often as some discovery calls for a new term (and cluster of terms) to set the object discovered apart from something or everything else:³³ *blood circulation* (1656), *bacteria* (1847), *chromosomes* (1890), *hormones* (1906), *deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA)* (1944), *quark* (1964, an arbitrary formation inspired by James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake*), *DNA profile* (1971), *ozon hole* (1986), or even some postulated entity, attested later than its naming, like *Higgs boson*, a particle described by S. N. Bose and P. Higgs and named after them in the twentieth century, but not actually discovered until 2012; in the year of the *coronavirus*, terms like *Covid-19* and *spike protein* were added to the word-list of the well-informed (2020).

So do technical or social inventions of tools or technical devices need naming: the *clock* (medieval English), *parliament* (c. 1300), *gun* (15th century), *sextant* (1596), *telescope* (1648), *microscope* (1656), *guillotine* (1793), *telegraph* (1805), *bicycle* (1858), *telephone* (1879), *computer* (1897), *flying machine* (heavier-than-air dependent on motor power, so styled in 1848, i.e. long before the first successful flight staged by the Wright brothers in 1903), *personal computer* (1959), *byte* (1964, with the subsequent formations *megabyte* 1965, and *gigabyte* 1973), *cell(ular) phone* (1984), *DNA fingerprinting* (1985), *chat* ('online exchange of messages' 1985), *SMS* (1991), *cyber safety* (1994), *blogosphere* (1999), *social media* (interacting about a topic online, 2000), *i-Pod* (2001), *podcast* (2004), *twitter* (2006), *hash-tag* (2012), *non-fungible token* (data certifying a digital asset as unique, 2021). And so forth in an ever increasing and never ceasing pace, and with ever more diversified fields of specialization.

The same goes for mental constructs, abstractions, figures of thought, categories of people or things; theories and ideologies, not seldom with a controversial charge. They may be invented in esoteric discussions among colleagues, for instance in an informal conversation or in a letter or in an essay published among peers. Later, it can happen that they are introduced tentatively in a lecture, a speech or more officially published in print and so become destined to be read by most or all of the practitioners of the science or art or the members of a social community. They are prompted by the need to distinguish something new or striking/disastrous from everything else, or some opposite: *prowess* 'act of brawery' c. 1300, from Anglo-Norman *pruesce* c. 1100, (originally from Lat. *prode* 'profitable' + the suffix -ess); *melancholy* (14th c); *popery* (?1536); *nonjuror* (1691); *baroque* (1765); *rococo* (1836); *kulak* (1877); *nazi* (1930); *taxflation* (1976); *cancel culture* (2016),

³³ Years within brackets indicate the first attested occurrence in English of the concept in question.

deplatforming (blocking a person on a website, 2018). Here belong the *-isms* of all epochs (2718 entries in *OED* by June 2025).

2.3 The proliferation of terminologies outside their original linguistic communities

In some cases, theories and terms prove to have such an explanatory potential that they are considered indispensable in everyday conversation. They are used more widely and loosely in public discussions, in political debates, in newspaper articles and in the electronic media: radio, television, the World Wide Web, social media. Many such mental constructs may become part of everyday language, given that it proves advantageous to use them outside their proper setting rather than some colloquial and more undetermined alternative, so as to avoid misunderstandings, regardless of the user's linguistic or cultural background.

The creation of a terminology is an undisputed necessity within any particular science (etc.). It is part of its characteristics that a terminology must take on a certain non-sensual, abstract quality, a flavourless technicality that normally detaches it from common, colloquial parlance – even if in some cases a word can be used at the same time as a technical term and as a common word with no such denotation. The very word *ὄρος*, 'landmark' as well as 'term' in Greek, is in itself a good example of that.

Few concepts have been as successful as *substance, accident, category, relation, quantity, quality, situation, difference, general, specific*, etc. From the start they were strictly aristotelian, highly technical terms in scholastic philosophy. In that context, they had a very determined reference. They can now be used both in their original meaning in philosophical manuals and in everyday language, and even on a sports page in a newspaper, and they are understood by everyone, even by those who have no philosophical training. They have become part and parcel of all modern languages, due to the once exceptional influence of Aristotle on Western philosophy in the Middle Ages. To take another obvious, more recent, example: few authors in the twentieth century influenced people's thinking on human character, behaviour and relations as much as did Sigmund Freud (d. 1939). He styled his special field of psychology *psychoanalysis*, a term introduced by him in 1896 in order to name the theory and practice of his method of treating psychopathic disorders by analysis of the unconscious mind through free association, to quote the definition offered by *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*. The term appeared in English in 1898, in Italian (*psicoanalisi* 1908) and in French (*psychanalyse* 1914).

"Psychoanalysis" yielded a host of new "psychological" terms. In the beginning, the professional expressions were intelligible only to Freud and to his close collaborators, and later on to his readers. After the Second World War they gained

citizenship in all modern languages, at least among people with average academic training and cultural interests: *frustration, trauma, neurosis, penis envy, superego, death-wish, defence mechanism, rationalizing, sublimation, projection, regression, inferiority complex, transfer, and libido*, and even *Freudian*, as in *Freudian slip*.

A sure indication that concepts like those borrowed from Freud have acquired the status of fixed terms is that they can be used with advantage as metaphors in semantic fields other than psychology proper: “The death wish of interwar Europe”.

In the history of ideas, philosophies and sciences, the vast majority of such construed terms did not survive, or succumbed to the success of others, more adapted to their purposes. Successive theories and discoveries made the primordial expressions fade away or turn obsolete, or they were conceived as far too blunt, or else they were contested or downright rejected by the majority of scholars. Take for instance *Mesmerism* (1802, from F. A. Mesmer, an Austrian physician deceased in 1815), a doctrine according to which a hypnotic state can be induced by an influence exercised by an operator over the patient’s will and nervous system. This controversial theory, which has been long since sent off to the rubbish-heap of medical history, still survives in the verb *mesmerize* (1829) and in the compounded noun *animal magnetism*, both of which can perfectly well be used today as metaphors, even by those who know nothing about Dr. Mesmer.

The professional discussions never cease, and old words lose their relevance as old worlds collapse when new views emerge and new concepts have to be invented. And so the terminological landscape changes constantly.

3. The emergence of Greek abstract terminologies

Innumerable subtle philosophies and complicated religious systems were devised and forgotten long before the introduction of scripture in the third millennium BCE. But a systematic creativity yielding new concepts and terms started in classical antiquity. The indispensable prerequisite for their general success was, of course, the art of writing.

The pre-Socratic philosophers were poets, or they coined proverbs. When Heraclitus said that “you cannot step twice into the same river”, a modern philosopher would rather say that “nothing is static”, or “alteration is only apparent”. One would then expect from a philosopher a strict definition of terms like “static” or “alteration”. The sensuality, graphicness and other palatable qualities of pre-Socratic philosophy would be gone, but one would meet the expectations and requirements honoured in an academic seminar today: strict method, precise definitions, impeccable logic, etc.

According to Alfred North Whitehead, “the safest general characterization of the European philosophical tradition is that it consists of a series of footnotes to Plato”.³⁴ Plato himself, though, has been called the last amateur. In many cases, so it seems, he was the first one to formulate the great philosophical questions with the astonishment of a child – and the astonishment of a genuine philosopher and scientist.³⁵ In Plato’s view, most people mistake the shadows of reality for reality itself. The real world is mathematic in nature and consists of forms, states and principles, which may or may not become materialized, that is, capable of being noticed by the five senses.³⁶

But the Greeks did recognize the need for technical terms. Plato introduced the concept ποιότης, ‘howness’, begging excuse for an ἀλλόκοτον ὄνομα, ‘a strange word’.³⁷ This neologism paved the way for similar never-heard-of formations, such as ἀνθρωπότης, ‘humanity’,³⁸ and ἵππότης, ‘horseness’.³⁹ Diogenes Laertius (2-3 c. CE) claims that Plato, in a conversation with the Cynic philosopher Diogenes, used the abstract nouns τραπεζότης and κυαθότης, ‘tablehood’ and ‘cuphood’, which, however odd they appeared to the first addressee, were nevertheless understood by him (and by the readers) without any further explanations.⁴⁰ Plato was the first to employ the terms ἀντιπόδες (antipodes), στοιχεῖον (element), διαλεκτική (dialectic),⁴¹ ποιότης (quality), προμήκης ἀριθμός (‘a number made up of uneven factors’), ἐπίπηδος ἐπιφάνεια (‘plane surface’), and θεοῦ πρόνοια (‘divine providence’).⁴² He even introduced “a variety of terms in order to make his system less intelligible to the ignorant”.⁴³ Diogenes Laertius also explains that Plato used different terms to express the same thing (πολλάκις δὲ καὶ διαφέρουσιν ὀνόμασιν

³⁴ *Process and Reality. An Essay in Cosmology*. New York 1979, 39.

³⁵ Cf. Aristotle, *Metaph.*, A 2, 982b12: διὰ γὰρ τοῦ θαυμάζειν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ νῦν καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἤρξαντο φιλοσοφεῖν.

³⁶ The essay “Om de filosofiska terminologiernas historia” by S. Nordin (Lychnos 1996, 211-216) was a great help to me when writing this introduction.

³⁷ *Theaetetus* 182 A: τὸ γὰρ ποιοῦν οὔτε θερμότης οὔτε λευκότης, θερμὸν δὲ καὶ λευκὸν γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οὕτω, “for the active element becomes neither hotness nor whiteness, but hot or white, and other things in the same way.”

³⁸ Philo Mechanicus (3-2th century BCE), and others.

³⁹ Simplicius (5 c. CE), in his commentary on Aristotle’s *Categories* 208.30.32, states that this word was used by Plato and Antisthenes.

⁴⁰ See below, p. 287

⁴¹ Dialectic is defined by Diogenes Laertius τέχνη λόγων, δι’ ἧς ἀνασκευάζομεν (dismount, confute) ἐξ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως τῶν προσδιαλεγόμενων, 3.48.

⁴² 3.24.

⁴³ 3.63: ὀνόμασι δὲ κέρηται ποικίλοις πρὸς τὸ μὴ εὐσύνοπτον (not clear and lucid) εἶναι τοῖς ἀμαθέσιν τὴν πραγματείαν.

ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημαινομένου χρήται). He warns his readers that Plato's favourite concept 'idea' was not used by Plato himself but replaced by 'form' (εἶδος), 'genus' (γένος), 'archetype' (παράδειγμα), 'principle' (ἀρχή), or 'cause' (αἰτίον) in his writings.⁴⁴ This is not completely correct. The noun ἰδέα in fact occurs in some places in Plato,⁴⁵ but it had not yet become an established technical term, there and then. This fact reminds us that we must not read the famous originator of a philosophical or ideological movement only through the glasses of his followers and their subsequent schools. The latter had more refined linguistic repertoire at their disposal. A primordial text is necessarily more undetermined than its interpretations, a fact valid in every hermeneutic disambiguation – and the necessary prerequisite of every adequate translation to another language. In the texts of Plato's disciple Aristotle there is a clear tendency towards *lexicalisation* of abstract entities. Aristotle regrets the lack of proper terms for, among other things, the unknown causes of colours or for the phenomenon that we would call phosphorescence.⁴⁶ He speaks of the necessity to manufacture new words that express relations between things; thus he introduces πηδαλιωτός, 'ruddered' (from πηδάλιον, 'rudder'): a rudder is the rudder of the ruddered boat. He calls such a procedure of improving the Greek language ὀνοματοποιεῖν.⁴⁷

Somewhere in the history of Greek philosophy, a point was reached where one was not satisfied with treating things in an essayistic, heuristic form. The need for a fixed and ever more sophisticated terminology was felt. That is one important aspect of the need for exactness, intelligibility, communicability, and repeatability in every scientific endeavour.

When Plato, in his dialogues, tries to define certain words, he determines their denotation by narrowing it to a certain semantic field while leaving other instances of actual usage out of sight: so e.g. in using ἀγαθός, καλός and δίκαιος in a moral sense and almost synonymically, and also when he confers the sense of 'desire' to ἔρως. When Aristotle adopts or creates words like κατηγορία ('accusation' > 'judgement' > 'predication' > 'category of predication'), ὄργανον ('tool' > 'means of reasoning'), ἠθικός ('having to do with habits' > 'moral'), ἐντελέχεια ('efficient energy' > 'inherent potentiality', the opposite of δύναμις, 'power' > 'full realisation'), or κίνημα ('movement' > 'alteration'), he gave these (already existing)

⁴⁴ 3.64.

⁴⁵ *Res publica* 507b, 596b (in the plural); cf *Protagoras*, 315 e (meaning 'form').

⁴⁶ I refer to the examples given by M. Stephanides in "La terminologie des anciens", *Isis*, vol. 7, No. 3 (1925), 468-477.

⁴⁷ *Categories*, 7a5 ff.

words a new, specified meaning which they have kept since in philosophic word-lists, and in most cases with a meaning not etymologically transparent.⁴⁸

In other cases, existing semantic clusters were expanded and firmly established, such as the binary opposites like ψυχή-σῶμα, ζωή-θάνατος, ὕλη-εἶδος, etc.

The rich and flexible Greek language furnished the philosophers with these resources for abstract thinking, which had been impossible in another less developed language (take Latin for one), just like Hegel and Heidegger seem to be unthinkable in any other language than German — or maybe in Greek.

3.1 Greek word-formation and its developments

While the other languages, including Latin, developed a scientific terminology as a continuation, adaptation, and expansion of what the Greeks had invented, the Greeks, as far as we can judge from accessible sources, had to create everything from the very start.⁴⁹ This sets the Greek language apart from the other European languages. Not as if no other language of science had ever existed: astronomy was developed in Babylonia, grammar in India. But the Greeks aimed at systematisation. Modern scientific terminology is all dependent on Greek science and philosophy, in some cases even in its original form and sense, or as calques. When we say *con-science* or any of its cousins in other languages (*Ge-wissen*, *sam-vete*, etc), we translate the Greek συν-εἶδησις. Greek literature, starting with the pre-Socratics and the Ionian prose, represents a remarkable impetus towards a more abstract, systematic thinking. Both poetry and everyday language were the basis of such a development towards taxonomy and terminology. New abstract nouns, new semantic clusters⁵⁰, a new style developed, including syntax and composition rules typical of the scientific style.

Adrados lists the following features of this development:

- semantic specialization of the poetic and Ionic vocabulary: αἰὼν, δίκη, νόμος, τὰ ὄντα, φύσις, etc.
- formation of new words through derivation or composition, especially the formation of new abstracts in the neuter of an adjective, with or without article: Anaximenes: τὸ δίκαιον; Anaxagoras: τὸ θερμόν; Democritus: τὰ

⁴⁸ The examples taken from Adrados 2001, 163.

⁴⁹ Cf. the survey in Adrados 2001, 157 ff. There is no fundamental monograph about the Greek scientific language as of yet.

⁵⁰ I will use this term to render Adrados' "net" metaphor, meaning a cluster of terms of several word classes formed on a common base: ζητέω-ζήτησις-ζητητής-ζητητικός-ζητητικῶς, etc. Orlando & Torre 1991 use the term *word-family*.

καλὰ, τὸ δέον; Anaximander: τὸ ἄπειρον, Xenophanes, Parmenides, Empedokles: νόημα.

- construction of opposites, partly formalized (one of the opposites could be marked with the prefixes ἄ-, δυσ-, αὐτο-, etc.), partly not: εἰμί-γίγνομαι, γένησις-φθορά, βίος-θάνατος, etc.
- formation of clusters consisting of noun/adjective/verb/adverb.

The pre-Socratics preferred abstracts on -ίη against -μα. The binary opposites or semantic clusters introduced by them did not always survive, due to variances between different authors. Adjectives on -ικός (characteristic of the Sophists) were still rare.

Later, the terminological language was both simplified, specialized, and multiplied: the number of nominalizations of neuters increased, the suffixes were established. The Homeric and Ionian -ίη, -μα, -σις, -ος, -σύνη, -τητ- became staple commodity. Sometimes they were used as synonyms (πάθος-πάθημα), sometimes as opposites (δίδαγμα and διδάξις, ποίημα and ποίησις). Poets preferred -σύνη, philosophers -τητ-, medical authors -σις (for diseases and their symptoms).⁵¹ The most successful suffix was -ικός, 'belonging to', which was to have a great influence on the Latin language.⁵²

The first Hippocratics created a terminology of their own. The terminology of medicine was the first real specialist language, and medicine was also the first discipline to produce scientific treatises. Medical authors had a predilection for -μός.

Adrados takes one example, the verb νοέω and its derivatives, to illustrate the development of the intellectual vocabulary in Greek. It appears in five shapes in Homer: νοέω, 'notice, think', προνοέω, 'think in advance, foresee', νόος, 'mind', νόημα, 'thought', and ἄνοος, 'unthinkable'. From there an explosion of new formatives followed:

- different prefixes are attached, among which ἄ-, ἀμφι-, ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-, δυσ-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, κατα-, παρα-, περι-, προ-, προσ-, ὑπερ-, ὑπο-.
- derivatives are formed which tend to complete the semantic cluster: nouns need verbs and adjectives to be complete, and adjectives crave for corresponding adverbs.

Thus the philosophical lexicon is expanded through the following types:

⁵¹ P. Chantraine, *La formation des noms en grec ancien*. Paris 1933, 212 f.; Adrados 2001, 164.

⁵² Below, 277-279.

- Pre-Socratics, Plato, Aristotle νοερός 'intellectual', νοερός 'intelligible'.⁵³
- Ionic and Attic prose, Plato, Aristotle: διάνοια, 'intellect', διάνοημα, 'notion', διανόησις, 'thinking', παράνοια, 'madness', πρόνοια, 'foresight', ἐννοέω, 'consider', ἐπινοέω, 'contrive, design', κατανοέω 'perceive, understand', ὑπονοέω, 'suspect, guess'.
- Attic prose, sporadically since Gorgias and Antiphon, regularly in Plato and Aristotle: ἔννοια, 'intent, design', ἐπίνοια, 'purpose, design', δύσνοια, 'dislike', ὑπόνοια, 'suspicion, guess', δύσνοος, 'ill-affected' (the latter not in Aristotle).
- Diogenes of Apollonia, Plato, Aristotle: νόησις 'intelligence', διανοέομαι 'have in mind'.
- Plato, Aristotle: ἐννόησις, 'consideration', κατανόημα, 'purpose', κατανόησις, 'observation', περίνοια 'thoughtfulness', διανοητικός, 'intellectual', παρανοέω, 'misunderstand, go mad', ἀνοηταίνω, 'be stupid'.
- Aristotle: ἔκνοια, 'loss of one's senses', ἐννόημα, 'notion, concept', νοητικός, 'intelligent', διανοητός, 'thinkable'.
- Hellenistic and later: ἔκνους, 'senseless', περίνους, 'very intelligent'; and many adjectives on -νοήμων, -νοητικός and -νοηματικός; nouns on -νόησις, -νοητής, and the verbs ἀνοητεύω, ἀνοητέω, etc.

In this way an ever more complex vocabulary developed with ever finer classifications of nouns (abstracts, marking action or agent) and adjectives, through a sophisticated system of affixation.⁵⁴

In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the semantic clusters were expanded still more *through analogy* into systems which tended to form *complete sets* of nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs, like λογίζομαι, 'count, calculate' / λόγισμα, 'reckoning' / λογισμός, 'calculation' / λογιστής 'calculator' / λογιστεύω, 'administer as calculator' / λογιστικός, 'skilled in calculating' / λογιστικῶς, 'in a calculating manner' / λογιστεία, 'office of a calculator' / λογικός, 'rational' λόγιμος, 'notable'. Furthermore, some prefixes (ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, κατα-, παρα-), proved highly productive, along with other types of initial elements in compounds (ἀ/άν-, αὐτο-, εὐ-, φιλο-, ἀρχι-, etc.).

Adrados gives the following list of the most frequent suffixes used in a constantly increasing number during the history of the Greek language:

-ιος, -ιος

12.000

⁵³ One could add ἀμφι-νοέω 'be in doubt', and ἀμφι-νοος, 'looking at both sides'.

⁵⁴ Adrados 2001, p. 165 f.

-ία, -ίη, -ία	7.500
-μός, -μόν, -σμός, -ισμός	4.000
-μα, -ασμα, -ισμα	3.300
-της (gen. -τητος)	500
-τής, -τοῦ	5.400
-σις, -χίς, -ψίς, -τις	5.400
-κός, -κόν, -ιακός, -तिकός	7.200 ⁵⁵

Torre has exemplified the rich potentialities of Greek in the field of ancient astronomy/astrology in three tables. Table I offers a synthetic survey of the numerous derivatives of nouns denoting 'light' and formed on φάος (contracted φῶς; it is the contracted form which is the base of most technical terms). Several new coinages, not present in everyday language, came into being, e.g. the adjectives ἀνχίφωτος and λειψίφωτος, 'waxing in light' and 'waning' respectively, which in turn generated the denominatives ἀνχιφωτέω and λειψιφωτέω, and the verb φωσφορέω, all devised to express waxing and waning. Another great word family was created on the base ἀγλή, 'ray, beam, splendour' (Table II). All the members of that family have something to do with the irradiation of light from a celestial body. Further, Table III displays the astronomer's usage of the base φαίνω, 'shine' or 'show', especially as it appears in the complex τὰ φαινόμενα (ἄστρα), the celestial phenomena *tout court*, and φάσις, 'phase', always related to the rising, culmination and setting, and so the foundation of the *epicycle* theory, the ancient way of explaining the paradoxical movements of the planets. She also demonstrates the almost endless possibilities to use the prefix συν- to forge new technical terms from common bases, thus giving them a specific and precise astronomic valence (Table IV).⁵⁶

3.2 The case of -(τ)ικός

Creating adjectives ending in -(τ)ικός had been typical of the Ionian sophists. They were to be an immense success even later: they occur no less than 347 times in Plato's dialogues and between six and seven hundred times in Aristotle.⁵⁷ Normally

⁵⁵ These numbers were extracted from the reverse index of Buck-Petersen 1944, Adrados 2001, p. 196 ff.

⁵⁶ Torre 1991, 294 ff.

⁵⁷ E. Fraenkel, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Adjektiva auf -τικός", *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* (45), 1913, 205-224; Kühner-Gerth, I, § 417,9; Schwyzer, I, 497 f., Piltz 1985. How this excessive productivity influenced Latin, see below 272-279.

they were formed from transitive verbal stems, thus having, at least potentially, a verbal noun or/and an agent-noun as complement: κρίνω-κριτικός-κρίμα-κριτής.

The popularity of such coinages with generations of Greek thinkers in search of the general truths about reality and language was due to their aptness to express, in a standardized way, a permanent quality or aptitude of a thing to exert the verbal action in question. It perfectly suited the Greek philosophy of inherent “forms”, cherished by both Plato and Aristotle, although with different accents. Such technical language had an abstract, detached, academic flavour.

They could furthermore take an objective genitive as complement: τὸ ἐπιστήμης δεκτικόν (Aristotle, *Categories* 7a37), ‘receptivity of knowledge’ = ‘the capacity of learning new things’. These syntagms normally occur in a periphrasis: μάλιστα δὲ ἴδιον τῆς οὐσίας δοκεῖ εἶναι ... τῶν ἐναντίων εἶναι δεκτικόν (ibid., 4a10 ff), “what is most characteristic of substance appears to be ... that it is capable of being the recipient of contrary qualifications”.⁵⁸ Aristotle has δεκτικός no less than 23 times in his *Topics*, with the genitives ἐπιστήμης, γραμματικής, ἐναντίου, or ἐναντίων. Later on this feature came to be a distinctive mark of scholastic philosophy and theology.⁵⁹

3.3 Greek influences on Latin term-formation

Latin literature was from the very beginning dependent on Greek prototypes, both as far as genres are concerned and in smaller details. In all phases of its development, the Latin language has absorbed a considerable mass of Greek vocables and syntactical patterns, in the beginning through direct contact or Etruscan mediation, later as a sequel of the Roman military and political penetration of the Mediterranean regions. The culmination coincides with the christening of the Roman Empire.

The original Latin alphabet did not comprise the letters *y* and *z*. The aspirates *χ θ φ* were transcribed *c*, *t*, and *p* until the beginning of the second century BCE. So *cumba* (κύμβη) and *purpura* (πορφύρα) are archaic loan-words; *cymba* came later and reveals a learned origin.⁶⁰

Among numerous loans, the following examples may serve as evidence: in the field of navigation *gubernare*, *pelagus*, *phaselus*, *lembus*, *scapha*, *prora*, *ancora*, from meteorology and astronomy *eurus*, *notus*, *zephyrus*, *aethra*, *aer*, *astrum*. But equally notable are the calques, like *casus* (πτῶσις), *ac-centus* (προσ-φῶδία), *punctum*

⁵⁸ In the translation of H.P. Cooke; Loeb edition of 1908.

⁵⁹ Below, 258-260.

⁶⁰ C. De Meo, *Lingue tecniche del latino*, Bologna 1983, 15 f.

(στιγμή), *ad-iectivum* (ἐπί-θετον), *loci communes* (τόποι κοινοί), *ratio* (λόγος),⁶¹ *pro-videntia* (πρό-νοια), *medietas* (μεσότης), *qualitas* (ποιότης), etc.

The earliest examples of Roman literature were translations from Greek (e.g. Livius Andronicus, who arrived in Rome in 272 BCE), or written in Greek. Almost all literary genres were taken over from the Greek world of culture and learning. The contact with Greek civilisation led to an overall hellenization of Rome. Greek became the language of the cultural élite. Latin was influenced in innumerable ways, through Greek expressions, words and syntactic patterns, which testify the actual diglossia of Roman society. Cicero was an excellent representative of this, but he exercised a considerable self-restraint when introducing Greek quotations, and loanwords normally only as a characterization, and with slight irony.⁶² Not all authors welcomed the Greek influence with enthusiasm.⁶³

Only in the fields of law, warfare and agriculture, Latin kept the lead. This situation lasted until the end of the Roman Empire. As the Roman hegemony collapsed, the knowledge of Greek also disappeared slowly in the West. Authors like Hilary of Poitiers (d. 367), Macrobius (c. 400), Chalcidius (the translator of *Timaios*, c. 400), Ausonius (d. c. 495), Claudian (c. 400), Jerome (d. 420), Dracontius (d. c. 500), and Boethius (d. 525) still had a complete mastery of Greek, whereas Augustine (d. 430) relied on the authority of Jerome in order to interpret certain passages in the Bible. Boethius was prevented by death from realizing his great project: to translate the complete corpuses of Plato and Aristotle into Latin, so as to compensate this regrettable development.⁶⁴

This means that the influx of Greek words as well as the frequency of Graecisms increased steadily during the whole of Latinity.⁶⁵ Several composita were forged after Greek patterns, such as *alti-sonus* (Ennius, Juvenal), *terri-sonus* (*δειματο-εχής, Claudian), *alti-tonans* (Lucretius, Cicero), *herbi-gradus* (Lucilius), *tardi-gradus* (βραδύ-πους, Pacuvius, Cicero), *levi-animus* (adduced as an example by Marius Victorinus together with *biduanculus*, diminutive of *biduanus*), otherwise not attested, remained highly rare and were restricted to poetical language.⁶⁶ Other

⁶¹ *ratio*, from *reor* 'think, suppose', originally meant 'calculation' and only later, through the influence of λόγος, also 'reason'.

⁶² Szantyr 761.

⁶³ Quintilian warns for compounding in Latin and recommends moderation in using uncommon words and formations, 1.5.65-71

⁶⁴ Adrados 2001, 206 ff.

⁶⁵ Szantyr 759 ff.

⁶⁶ Cf. Th. Lindner, *Morphologische und lexikalische Studien zu den lateinischen Komposita*, Salzburg 1999. The Latin language is otherwise alien to the Greek easiness to combine nominal and verbal elements to completely new words like *flexi-pes*, *tri-saecli-senex*, etc. Szantyr 759. Cf. Greek ιατρό-μαντις, 'physician-soothsayer', ἀκρό-πολις 'upper city', etc., a capacity that could

compounds had greater success: *indigena* (cf. αὐτό-χθων, used since Plautus, occurs 285 times in the Teubner texts and might well have served as the model of the rest), and *alienigena* (ἄλλο-εθνής, ἄλλο-γενής), and other possible patterns, 78 times in Teubner). Compare the following:

Cadmi-gena (Καδμο-γενής, Nonius Marcellus, 4 c. BCE)

caeli-gena 'heaven-born' (Varro, Apuleius, Ausonius)

flucti-gena 'born in the waves' (Martianus Capella)

Graiu-gena 'a Grecian by birth' (Pacuvius, Lucretius, Virgil)

Latini-gena 'one born in Latium' (recommended by Priscian)

Marti-gena 'begotten by Mars' (Ovid, Silius Italicus, Statius)

musi-gena 'son of a muse' (Aphthonius, Rufinus grammaticus)

Nili-gena 'an Egyptian' (Macrobius)

ruri-gena 'a countryman' (Ovid)

terri-gena 'earth-born' (γη-γενής, Cicero, Ovid, Statius, etc.)

Troiui-gena 'Trojan' (Catullus, Lucretius, Virgil)

uni-gena 'only-begotten; born of one parent' (μονο-γενής, συγ-γενής Catullus, Cicero)

This formative remained productive into the Middle Ages: *Franci-gena*, *Scoti-gena*, *Angli-gena*.⁶⁷

A parallel development was the use, inspired by Greek models, of prefixes and preverbs: ἄ-/in-, ἐπι- and ὑπερ-/super-, περι-/circum-, etc. The possibility of free compounding with such prefixes seems to have existed from the very start of the literary period:

incredibilis imposque animi, inamabilis inlepidusque vivo⁶⁸

be used excessively by Aristophanes to obtain comic effects (τορνευτο-λურ-ασπιδο-πηγός, 'lyre-turner-and-shield-maker', *Av.* 491, σκοροδο-πανδοκευτρι-αρτό-πωλις, 'garlic-bread-selling hostess', *Ly.* 458); Schwyzer 428 ff.).

⁶⁷ The grammarian Tatuinus (d. 734) in his *Ars grammatica* makes this class of nouns (*astrigena*, *blandigena*, *castigena*, *doligena*, *florigena*, *glutigena*, *hortigena*, *ignigena*, *lucigena*, *morbigena*, *nigrigena*, *ortigena*, *pastigena*, *ratigena*, *satigena*, *torrigena*, and *umbrigena*) synonymous with adjectives on -gera: *astrigera*, etc. It is a matter of doubt whether all these examples are real, or rather nonce-words invented by the author.

⁶⁸ Plautus *Bacchides* 614

superlatio (ὑπέρθεσις) est oratio superans veritatem alicuius augendi minuendive causa⁶⁹

sedens in cella circumtectus tegetibus⁷⁰

Some examples of the later development deserve mention here. The medical author Celsus (1 c. CE) seems to be the first to have introduced the adjective *rationalis* (λογικός). Its opposite *ir-rationalis* (ἄ-λογος) had to wait till Tertullian (c. 200 CE, cf. *ir-rationalis* in Apuleius). The emphatic prefix ὑπερ- (which in Latin occurred originally almost only in the loan-words *hyper-baton* and *hyper-bole*), enhancing the force of an adjective, induced later formations on *super*-⁷¹, the first one being *super-caelestis* (ὑπερ-ουράνιος) in Tertullian⁷², where the prefix keeps some imaginative force ('being over the heavens'), *super-mundialis* or *super-terrenus* (ὑπερ-κόσμιος, Tertullian),⁷³ and *super-lativus* (ὑπερ-θετικός, Marius Victorinus, Charisius).⁷⁴ This new formative was also used to render other prefixes in Greek: *super-inducticius* (παρ-είσακτος, Tertullian)⁷⁵, *super-substantialis* (ἐπιούσιος, Jerome).⁷⁶

Likewise, περι- produced its counterpart *circum*- (a primordial prefix in Latin, *circum-tectus*, *circum-venio* Naevius, etc), as in *circum-scribo* (περι-γράφω), *circum-scriptor* (περι-γραφεύς) and *circum-scriptio* (περι-γραφή), all in Cicero (who even writes *circum-scripte*).

Greek prefixes occur from the beginning and frequently in all periods: in loans like *epi-stula* (ἐπι-στολή, Plautus), *epi-logus* (ἐπί-λογος, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*), *eu-geneus*, *eu-genius* 'of noble stock' (εὐ-γενής, Cato), *eu-odes* (Celsus, τὸ εὐ-ᾠδες, 'ointment'), *eu-angelium* (Tertullian, εὐ-αγγέλιον); *cata-pulta* (Plautus, κατα-πέλτης), *cata-plasma* ('poultice' Cato, κατά-πλάσμα), *cath-edra* (Horace, καθ-

⁶⁹ *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.33.44.

⁷⁰ Naevius *Comoediarum fragmenta* 99. Or should it be written *circum tectus*?

⁷¹ The earliest attested compound is *super-stitio*, 'state of religious exaltation'. In Ovid, *super*- serves as preverb occasionally (*superemineo*, *superiniectus*, *superpositus*), whereas *supervacaneus* and *supervacuius* (Ovid, *Tristia* 3.13.1, a favorite word with Seneca philosophus) do not denote any excessive vacuity, but it is more likely that they are based on *super* and *vagor*, 'going beyond'.

⁷² *De anima* 23, *De resurrectione mortuorum* 52.

⁷³ *De resurrectione mortuorum* 49.

⁷⁴ *Explanationes in Ciceronis Rhetoricam* 1.12.

⁷⁵ *Adversus Marcionem* 5 (3x), *De monogamia* 1x.

⁷⁶ *Commentarii in evangelium Matthaei* 6.11.

ἔδρα),⁷⁷ *ep-odos* ('longer verse followed by a shorter one', Horace, ἐπ-ὀδός)⁷⁸, *episcopos* ('overseer, bishop' Tertullian, ἐπί-σκοπος), but also in an hybrid: *epi-togium* ('garment worn over the toga' Quintilian, and well into the Middle Ages).

The Greek influence on Latin syntax does not belong to the present investigation.⁷⁹

4. Term-formation in Latin

4.1 Abstraction and metaphor

At least from the seventh century, Latin-speaking inhabitants of Latium recorded in writing the simplest messages: an invitation upon a wine cup to drink, an artisan's signature, a religious prohibition on a gravestone. There are Latin inscriptions in the Greek alphabet and *boustrophedon* writings. Since most of the writing in these early times was made on non-durable materials, graffiti and inscriptions form important sources of knowledge. Gradually, the use of the Latin alphabet asserted itself. Writing was indispensable for preservation of oracles, religious formulas and prescriptions, lists of magistrates and priests, statutes, laws, and treaties. Civil officials, priests and military men had to have written records. At the end of the third century, a guild of *scribae* was recognized by the Roman state. Literacy seems to have been extensive even before the advent of literature, in the times of Livius Andronicus (c. 280/260-c. 200 BCE) and Plautus (c. 254-c. 184 BCE).⁸⁰

Latin culture in general is poor in texts with scientific ambitions, and it did not favour technical prose. The prestige of rhetoric prevented the creation of a language striving at precise terminology and rigorous argumentation, and so did the strong tradition of didactic poetry (Lucretius, Manilius). Notable exceptions were Vitruvius (*De architectura*, 27-23 BCE), Celsus (*De medicina*, before 47 BCE), Scribonius Largus (*Compositiones*, c. 47 BCE), Columella (*De re rustica*, 1st c.

⁷⁷ The preposition *cata* was introduced in Late Latin, probably due to the habit of naming the gospels *cata Lucan*, etc., in some medical texts, in *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* as well as occasionally in the Vulgate: *cata mane mane* in Hezechiel 46,14 means 'every morning' (E. Löfstedt, *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache*, Uppsala 1911, p. 175). In the Romanic **cata unum* 'one by one' has merged with **quisque-unus* into *ciascuno* in Italian and *chacun* in French (and *chaque*, a regressive derivate, rare until the 15th century).

⁷⁸ *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 1.4.6.

⁷⁹ Cf. Adrados 2001, p. 211 f.; G. Calboli, "Latin syntax and Greek", in Ph. Baldi & P. Cuzzolin, *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax*, vol. 1: *Syntax of the Sentence*, 65-193.

⁸⁰ Conte, 14 ff.

BCE), Pomponius Mela (*Chorographia*, c. 43 CE), and Apicius (*De re coquinaria*, 4th c. CE), and the legal literature, the foremost specifically Roman contribution to the intellectual heritage of Europe.⁸¹

The general scope of the present investigation is to show some stages in the development of Latin from a dialect used by peasants and soldiers into an instrument of intellectual exchange that totally dominated Western Europe during almost two millennia, well into the eighteenth century. For practical reasons, and due to the sheer and overwhelming wealth of texts, a limit has been set at CE 1500, i.e. approximately when "humanist" ideals began to overshadow the university jargon predominant until then among scholars and students.

It is not unjust to say that the whole of this development of the Latin language matches a constant search for further, ever more sophisticated, systems of conceptual abstraction. One might dispute eternally whether universals exist independently of things, or are mere reflexions of the propensity of mind to group them together – or, alternatively, maintain that universals do exist in things but not independently of them.⁸² Universals are at least, and this is an indisputable fact, the reason for why we make words of them, and have to do so, very often by using some concrete noun figuratively. These novel nouns can then form the bases of corresponding adjectives and verbs.

This is a matter of fact, and above all else a linguistic fact. Here is no place for delving in the eternal philosophical question of universals. A universal is a property or relation that can be instantiated by any number of particular things. Each yellow thing is an instance of yellowness. Each good thing provides an example of goodness, virtuousness, decency, honesty, integrity, good, or righteousness, and goodness is the antonym of badness, evilness, wickedness, immorality, evil, depravity, unscrupulousness, ruthlessness, mercilessness, or cruelty.

Abstraction is the core of scientific discourse. A farmer does not have to use as many abstractions as the medical man or the philosopher. A society of nomads, hunters, or shepherds will likely create abstractions, such as personal qualities: courage, audacity, perseverance, wit, smartness, honour, generosity, love, etc. Poetry in such a society deals with such topics. Poetry may also develop into collections of sayings, handed down by bards, observations on (human) nature, etc., and if, and when, the sociological and economical foundations exist, a class of citizens with sufficient leisure will emerge, and eventually write down what we call wisdom literature, and a philosophy will be born, craving for its terminology.

⁸¹ Conte, 387 ff.

⁸² The different stands taken in this question are called realism (position of Plato), conceptualism or nominalism (e. g. William Ockham), and moderate realism (e. g. Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas) respectively, S. Blackburn, *The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy*, Oxford 2008, 374.

As George Lakoff and Mark Johnson have showed convincingly in their well-known study on metaphors, thinking and speaking in metaphors is not only a device of poetic invention or rhetorical ornamentation. Metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not only in language, but also in thought and action.⁸³ Conceptualization is the abstraction of a universal form from real concrete particulars, perceived by the senses. Even the most abstract terms used in strictly “clinical” philosophical argumentation is imaginative, starting in mental pictures, as can be seen in the very concept of *abstraction* (ἐξ ἀφαιρέσεως). It is a process of eliminating (περιαιρεῖν, χωρίζειν) everything else to reach to a single attribute, usually done by mathematicians abstracting the quantitative by eliminating all the sensible qualities (like weight, lightness, hardness, etc.). What is *abs-tract* is what is “taken, drawn, dragged from” the concrete, material object, namely the form, as when “snubness” is “dragged away from” the concrete nose and made what we call an abstraction.⁸⁴ Even such a merely mental operation cannot be expressed unless a (once) vivid, corporeal image is used, however faded and unsensualized in the minds of today’s practitioners of the language.

4.2 Cato: down to earth

Let’s start in a text as far from philosophy as possible: *De agri cultura*, written by Marcus Porcius Cato, called Cato censor (234-149 BCE), the decided enemy of Greek philosophy, and the icon of the conservative Roman spirit, who disdained the seductiveness of pleasure and everything that called the validity of traditional Roman ethics into doubt. Cato wrote the earliest Latin prose text that has come down to us in its entirety. The book consists of a preface and 170 short chapters, sententious precepts, in a style dear to him, with a patina of archaism: alliteration, homoeoteleuton, and repetition. There are otherwise no literary ornaments or philosophical reflections in it.⁸⁵ It is thus as unlike abstraction as can be desired. It is a series of precepts for land- and slaveowners, written in a dry, schematic fashion. Here it will serve only as the background of the subsequent examination on Latin word formation.

There is no consent as to the authenticity of each part of the text. It has likely been revised and interpolated. The question whether a paragraph is genuine or not does not affect the result of the exploration into the earliest forms of Latin prose preserved. Some nominal formatives, later favoured by philosophers for forging abstract nouns, *-itas*, *-tio*, *-antia*, *-entia*, and *-ura*, have rather concrete denotation:

⁸³ Lakoff & Johnson 1980.

⁸⁴ Aristotle, *De anima* III, 4, 429b18: “in the case of abstract objects, what is straight is analogous to what is snub-nosed”; *Metaphysics* VII, 5, 1030, 19.

⁸⁵ Conte, 88 f.

olivitas 'olive harvest', *vicinitas* 'people living as neighbours', even if *autumnitas* means 'the autumn season', which is an abstraction, as well as *caritas*, 'deariness'. The words *adulescentia* and *diligentia* are admittedly abstract, but mark the following formations on *-tio* (*-sio*), which mean something which can be registered by the senses: *cantio* 'incantation', *habitatio* 'place to live in', *potio* 'drink, potion', *purgatio* 'emptying of bowels', *sorbitio* 'liquid food', *unctio* 'ointment'. Even if the rest of these formations could be called abstractions, they can all be seen as something taking place in front of the observer: *accessio* 'additional payment', *auctio* 'auction', *deportatio* 'carrying', *lotio* 'act of washing', *lucubratio* 'work by lamplight', *propagatio* 'reproduction of a plant', *ratio* 'calculation of accounts, figures obtained', *satio* 'act of sowing', *sumptio* 'act of laying hold/taking', *usio* 'consumption'. The formations on *-ura* denote concrete things exclusively: *commissura* 'joint, juncture, seam', *commixtura* 'mixture', *compostura* 'commixture', *cultura* 'tilling, cultivation', *fractura* 'fractured place', *vectura* 'carriage, transport'.

These examples show the utterly concrete, literally earth-bound, character of Cato's language.

4.3 *Patrii sermonis egestas*: apologies for inventiveness

No craftsmen can avoid expressions known only to their colleagues, and the same goes, according to Cicero, for farmers, who are otherwise hardly known for their elegant language.⁸⁶ Every art (dialectic, physics, geometry, music, grammar) has to entertain a parlance of its own. Rhetoricians, whose enterprise is eminently public, have to use esoteric terms when teaching their professional skills to others. The first attempts of Latin authors to invent abstract, technical terminologies were (not concerted) projects undertaken in order to create domestic equivalents to the overwhelmingly rich Greek repertoire of discourses in different arts and sciences. In his didactical poem *De rerum natura*, Lucretius (d. 55 BCE) three times complains of the poverty of Latin. He is aware of the difficulty to express in Latin verses the abstruse discoveries (*obscura reperta*) of the Greeks, especially since it is very often necessary to employ neologisms to describe theories never discussed earlier.⁸⁷ The poverty of his native speech does not allow him to translate Anaxagoras' term *homoeomeria* (ὁμοιομέρεια), 'homogeneousness', in an adequate fashion, but he admits that the reality itself is rather easy to account for even in

⁸⁶ *De finibus* 3.3 f.

⁸⁷ 1.136-139 *Nec me animi fallit Graiorum obscura reperta / difficile inlustrare Latinis versibus esse, / multa novis verbis praesertim cum sit agendum / propter egestatem linguae et rerum novitatem.* Cf. 3.258-261..

Latin.⁸⁸ It seems that the complaints do not so much mean that there are things which cannot be said in Latin, but that Latin does not have the habit and easiness of the Greek language to combine two components into one word, that is: to form compounds.

The poverty (*egestas*, *inopia*, *paupertas*) of Latin is a commonplace in Roman literature.⁸⁹ Cicero concedes that the Greek language generally has greater resources, but sometimes the opposite is true: the Greeks boast of their rich vocabulary but have only one word, *πόνος*, for *labor* and *dolor*.⁹⁰ He discusses at length the problem of translation in his essay *De finibus*. The Stoics, like Zeno, use a recondite terminology, which is hardly intelligible even to the Greeks, although they are familiar with such habits. For a Latin-speaking author it is all the more difficult to reproduce the contents of Greek philosophical neologisms.⁹¹ Even more urgently, such a need was felt among professional philosophers, and Cicero himself had to cope with this challenge by creating new expressions. He ventured the assertion that Latin is superior to Greek in some respects. The Romans had taken over many terms (*philosophia*, *rhetorica*, *dialectica*, *grammatica*, *geometria*, *musica*) without translating them, even if that had been perfectly possible, and those foreign terms were in Cicero's days considered perfectly at home in the Latin language. The Latin-speaking philosophers, according to him, must enjoy the same privilege of creating new words.⁹² He did not refrain from creating calques when necessary.⁹³ It was by no means mandatory to render the Greek word by word (*verbum e verbo*); Cicero himself often translated one Greek word with several Latin words, if it was impossible to reproduce the meaning intended in any other way.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ 1.830-833. *Nunc et Anaxagorae scrutemur homoeomerian, / quam Grai memorant nec nostra dicere lingua / concedit nobis patrii sermonis egestas, / sed tamen ipsam rem facilest exponere verbis.*

⁸⁹ "First detected in Lucretius, the notion of linguistic *egestas* or 'poverty' in Latin philosophical vocabulary persisted into Latin literature as late as the works of Boethius", Dowson 288, and 28 f.

⁹⁰ *Tusc.* 2.15.35. *O verborum inops interdum, quibus abundare te semper putas, Graecia!*

⁹¹ *De finibus*, 3.2.5.

⁹² *quod ἡθος illi vocant, nos eam partem philosophiae de moribus appellare solemus, sed decet augmentem Latinam linguam nominare moralem, De fato* 1.

⁹³ *adsequerbar ut ... exprimerem quaedam verba imitando, quae nova nostris essent, dummodo essent idonea, De oratore*, 1.155.

⁹⁴ Cf. *De finibus* 3.16.52: cf. *De finibus* 3.3-5; 15, and *Orator* 204 and 208: *in ... circuitu illo orationis, quem Graeci περίοδον, nos tum ambitum, tum circuitum, cum comprehensionem aut continuationem aut circumscriptionem dicimus ... haec vel circumscriptio vel comprehensio vel continuatio vel ambitus, si ita licet dicere. Academica priora* 17: *κατάληψις* > *cognitio perceptio comprehensio*.

He did not consider it his duty to render the original text literally; he acted not as a translator but as an orator, using his own language and its peculiarities.⁹⁵

Often one searches in vain for an exact equivalent of a Greek word; an obvious exception to that rule is *voluptas*, which in Cicero's opinion is absolutely the same thing as ἡδονή.⁹⁶ Sometimes it is legitimate to keep a Greek word untranslated. It is conducive to clarity to leave an expression like the Stoic expression προηγμένα – meaning things which are neither good nor bad but "promoted" or "advanced" above the zero point of indifference; synonymous with ἀδιάφορα – as it stands, even if it could be rendered *producta* or *promota* or *remota* or *praeposita* or *reiecta*.⁹⁷ Also, aesthetic considerations may sometimes inhibit the translator: Cicero preferred *formae* to *species* in rendering εἶδη, since otherwise one would be forced to say *specierum* and *speciebus*, which is an offence to good Latin taste.⁹⁸ He feels obliged to excuse himself for harsh innovations like *iuridicialis*⁹⁹ or *comprehendibile*.¹⁰⁰

Neologisms can be devised through analogies, new inflexions, or new combinations of existing words.¹⁰¹ Cicero came close to a definition of what we would call 'notion' ('Begriff') when he introduced *notio*, advanced as the equivalent of both ἔννοια and πρόληψις: something which is planted in the mind and pre-conceived there. Such a new word required, however, commentaries to be understood properly.¹⁰²

Seneca (d. 65 CE), in his epistle 58, mentions the *verborum nobis paupertas, immo egestas* and the *angustiae Romanae* which he had become aware of when speaking with his friends about Plato and about "thousand things" without Latin names but in need for naming. Seneca cannot even translate adequately οὐσία, τὸ ὄν and εἶδος. He suggests the word *essentia* for the first of these three, and he claims that Cicero

⁹⁵ *De optimo genere oratorum*, 14: *nec converti ut interpres sed ut orator, sententiis isdem et earum formis tamquam figuris, verbis ad nostram consuetudinem aptis.*

⁹⁶ *De finibus* 2.4.12: *egone non intellego, quid sit ἡδονή Graece, Latine voluptas?*

⁹⁷ The same arguments are advanced in *Academica* 1.24-25, where Cicero points at his own calque *qualitas* < ποιότης, a term which according to him was not in common use among the Greeks. See below, Cicero translator, below, 150 ff.

⁹⁸ *Topica* 30: *quas Graeci εἶδη vocant, nostri ... species appellant ... Nolim enim, ne si Latine quidem dici possit, specierum et speciebus dicere; et saepe his casibus utendum est; at formis et formarum velim.*

⁹⁹ *Topica* 92: *quamvis molestum hoc nomen sit.*

¹⁰⁰ *Academica posteriora* 1.41: *feretis haec?*

¹⁰¹ *Partitiones oratoriae* 16: *reperta, quae ex eis facta sunt et novata aut similitudine aut imitatione aut inflexione aut adiunctione verborum.*

¹⁰² *Topica* 31: *est insita et animo praecepta cuiusque cognitio enodationis indigens;* cf Chrysippos Stoicus 3.17 ἔμφυτοι πρόληψεις.

lends his authority for this: “How otherwise can we find a word for that which the Greeks call οὐσία, something that is indispensable, something that is the natural substratum of everything?”¹⁰³ He is forced to translate the small Greek noun ὄν by *quod est*, but he feels that solution to be very unsatisfactory.¹⁰⁴ The Greeks possess more words than the Latins to distinguish different kinds of wrath.¹⁰⁵ There is no Latin expression corresponding to the Greek καυρία, the ‘north-east wind’.¹⁰⁶ The geographical term ὀρίζων has been differently rendered, *finitor* or *finiens*.¹⁰⁷ In rendering εὐθυμία with *tranquillitas*, he explains that there is no need to transpose the form of Greek word, just to find some word that has the same meaning, if not the same shape.¹⁰⁸

Quintilian (d. 95 CE) reports that there was a mutual borrowing going on between Greek and Latin; it is unclear whether he really has technical terms in mind or just any words.¹⁰⁹ Generally speaking it is easier to coin new words in Greek than in Latin.¹¹⁰ He admits that it is difficult to render those *praecepta, quae καθολικά vocitant, id est, ut dicamus quo modo possumus, universalia vel perpetua*. These adjectives were his own creations; one of them proved to have a successful future.¹¹¹

Quintilian had nothing against those who had tried to create equivalents of established Greek terms, in order to enrich the Latin language. So, for instance, had some rendered ῥητορικὴ by *oratoria* och *oratrix*, both of which were, in Quintilian’s opinion, at least as hard to accept as *essentia* et *entia*.¹¹² Neither of them was really

¹⁰³ *Quomodo dicetur οὐσία res necessaria, natura continens fundamentum omnium? Ep. 58.6.*

¹⁰⁴ *Sed multum interesse video: cogor verbum pro vocabulo ponere. Ep. 58.7.*

¹⁰⁵ *Cetera, quae pluribus apud Graecos nominibus in species iram distinguunt, quia apud nos vocabula sua non habent, praeteribo, etiam si amarum nos acerbumque dicimus, nec minus stomachosum, rabiosum, clamosum, difficilem, asperum, quae omnia irarum differentiae sunt; inter hos morosum ponas licet, delicatum iracundiae genus; De ira 1.4.2.*

¹⁰⁶ *Naturales quaestiones*, 5.16.4. Cicero, *De divinatione* 2.92: *qui a Graecis ὀρίζοντες nominantur, a nobis finientes rectissime nominari possunt.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 5.17.3; *finitor*, cf. Lucanus 9.496.

¹⁰⁸ *De tranquillitate animi*, 2.3: *nec enim imitari et transferre verba ad illorum formam necesse est; res ipsa, de qua agitur, aliquo signanda nomine est, quod appellationis Graecae vim debet habere, non faciem.* Blatt, 39 ff.

¹⁰⁹ *confessis quoque Graecis utimur verbis, ubi nostra desunt, sicut illi a nobis nonnumquam mutantur, Institutio oratoria* 1.5.58.

¹¹⁰ *feliciores fingendis nominibus Graeci, ib.* 1.5.32.

¹¹¹ *Institutiones*, 2.13.14.

¹¹² *Institutiones* 2.14.2. The noun *entia*, in some manuscripts *queentia* (probably a scribal distorsion), is a hapax, if it ever existed; whereas *essentia*, first mentioned here by Quintilian, was to have a successful history. Cf 8.3.33, where the same argument recurs: *multa ex Graeco formata nova ac plurima a Verginio Flavo, quorum dura quaedam admodum videntur, ut 'ens' et 'essentia', quae*

adequate: better alternatives would be *elocutoria* or *elocutrix*, but best of all is *eloquentia* (a word well in circulation since Terence, one might add).¹¹³

There is no need for purism, still according to Quintilian: the noun *grammaticae* is well established and does not need any *litteratrix* or *litteratoria* to replace it, especially considering the fact that Cicero, the greatest of all speakers, had not refrained from giving his own books Greek titles.¹¹⁴ In the absence of a domestic word one has to use a foreign: there is no Latin word for 'illegitimate, born out of wedlock', so the Latins use the Greek *nothus*, a fact which even Cato had admitted.¹¹⁵ There is a good Latin word for πάθος, which is rightly and properly translated *affectio*, but the same does not go for ἥθος, for which the Latin language lacks a proper word. The Latins speak of *mores*, but the part of philosophy styled ἠθική is not about 'habits' as such but about the quality of habits (*morum quaedam proprietas*), and this observation is followed by a detailed analysis of all those various moral qualities which might be understood under the concept ἥθος.¹¹⁶ Quintilian pleads, in other words, for the keeping of at least some Greek terms as loans in Latin. Some such expressions are not easily replaceable, since they carry a considerable weight of meaning, acquired through constant usage for centuries. Simply translating them with a Latin word would be to betray their rich and highly specified semantic content. It would thus be difficult to translate εἰρωνεία (some had tried *dissimulatio*) without sacrificing some of its content; so it is better just to keep it in its Greek shape – here and elsewhere.¹¹⁷

The easiness with which the Greek language can express a complicated semantic content in just one word was discussed by Aulus Gellius (*Noctes Atticae* 11, chapter 16; c. 165 CE). Meditating on a book title, Plutarch's Περὶ πραγματοσύνης ('On meddlesomeness'), Gellius rejects the translation *De negotiositate*; indeed every translation trying to compress the notion into one Latin word (presumably beginning *multi-*) would sound ridiculous. After some hesitation he denies that any such solution is possible and resolves that the Greek title stands for *ad multas ... res adgressio earumque omnium rerum actio*, but he admits that his own verbosity fails to render what was said plainly by Plutarch in one word. On the other hand, Gellius commends Cn. Matius (early 1st c. BCE) who had coined *recentatur* corresponding to ἀνανεοῦνται – *id est, denuo nascitur atque iterum fit recens*; also the same Matius

cur tantopere aspernemur nihil video, nisi quod iniqui iudices adversus nos sumus ideoque paupertate sermonis laboramus.

¹¹³ 2.14.1-2. Terence, *Phormio* 629.

¹¹⁴ 2.14.3-4.

¹¹⁵ 3.6.97.

¹¹⁶ 6.2.8-24.

¹¹⁷ 9.2.44: *sicut in plerisque erimus Graeca appellatione contenti.*

ventured *edulcare* as a perfectly practicable substitution of *dulcius reddere*.¹¹⁸ These were two examples of deadjectival verbs, in an effort to make the Latin language more pliable, but with little success, as it would seem.

Gellius also devotes a passage in his *Noctes Atticae* to the fact that there are far more nuances of colours that the eye can perceive than there are words in any language to express them. This deficiency is at first sight more evident in Latin than in Greek, but the difference is not all that evident, if one studies carefully the Latin colour-words at the speaker's disposal.¹¹⁹ Certain types of numerical expressions, like ἡμιόλιος, 'consisting of one-and-a-half time as much' and ἐπίτριτος, 'having the ratio 4:3' have no Latin counterparts. For this reason, those who write about mathematics in Latin keep the Greek terms. It would be absurd to create domestic ones instead of those firmly established. If the reader does not understand them, he would not be able to follow the subtleties of certain philosophical writings either.¹²⁰

A treatise *De interpretatione* was attributed to Apuleius (2 c. CE) by Cassiodorus (6 c. CE). Its authenticity has been disputed, which makes it no less interesting in the history of terminology. Contrary to what one might expect, it does not discuss the art of translation but is a commentary on Aristotle's Περὶ ἑρμηνείας, the short dissertation on rhetorics, and it starts with different types of propositions (categorical, conditional, etc.). The most important of all propositions, and the only one implying truth-value, is the categorical, containing a statement. It was called by Aristotle λόγος ἀποφαντικός, and by the Stoics τὸ κατηγορικόν,¹²¹ having a subject combined with a predicate¹²² ('predication' in modern English). It was, according to (Ps-?)Apuleius, best called in Latin *propositio pronuntiabilis* ('proposition stating something'). The author says succinctly that what the Greeks called πρότασις or ἀχίωμα had been rendered in various ways by his Latin predecessors: *effatum* by Sergius,¹²³ *proloquium* by Varro, *enuntiatum* by Cicero. Personally, he would prefer the calque *protensio* or *rogamentum*, although *propositio* sounded more at home.¹²⁴

One of the great grammarians of the fourth century CE, Flavius Sospater Charisius, represents the theory that the Greek is in some way an atavistic stage of the Latin language. Syntactical differences, like divergent case syntax, is due either to some

¹¹⁸ Ibid. 15.25.1.

¹¹⁹ *Noctes Atticae*, 2.26.5, 7 and 20-23.

¹²⁰ *Noctes Atticae*, 18.14; 17.19.

¹²¹ Sextus Empiricus, Πυρρώνειοι ὑποτυπώσεις 2.163.

¹²² *Peri hermeneias* 17a (ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἀληθεύειν ἢ ψεύδεσθαι ὑπάρχει); Kneale & Kneale, 45 f.

¹²³ No such passage is preserved by Sergius.

¹²⁴ Apuleius (?), *De interpretatione*, 1 (ed. C. Moreschini 1991).

author's conscious license in the past or to the *proprietas* of the Latin language. Grammatical deviances from Greek standards in Latin are called *idiomata*.¹²⁵

The need for a special word list and a simplified syntax was at times scorned by the literate élites, who were offended by the artless style of the Christian sacred Scriptures. Augustine speaks about the seeming absurdity of Biblical language, which had struck and offended him before becoming a Christian believer.¹²⁶ Another Latin Church Father before Augustine, Hilary of Poitiers, complained that the Latin Psalter does not do full justice to the Hebrew and Greek versions: *proprietatem verbi sive hebraici sive graeci latinitas, uti in multis, non elocuta est*.¹²⁷

The defense of such a Christian *Sondersprache* became a commonplace among translators from Greek to Latin. Jerome was famous for his bad conscience: he was reproached by Christ himself in a dream for being a Ciceronian rather than a Christian.¹²⁸ He was also renowned (as well as carped at) for his revisions and translations of the sacred texts. Certain people, he says, appreciate mundane rhetoric but despise the novelty and the unsophisticated character of Biblical language.¹²⁹ He recommends them to go to Cicero's philosophical works and look for themselves: even the great master was compelled to introduce word-monsters: *tanta verborum portenta, quae numquam Latini hominis auris audivit*.¹³⁰ Jerome discusses translational problems at length in his letter to Pammachius. Accused of not rendering the Greek original of some dogmatic treatise exactly enough (so for instance he had translated αἰδεσιμότητος *carissimus* instead of *honorabilis*), with his usual bad temper he rejects such objections as ridiculous nonsense: nothing had been changed, added, or distorted by his writing so. He did not intend to translate *verbum e verbo sed sensum de sensu*: not literally but with a still greater fidelity to the original meaning. Such had also been the point of Horace, who had censured the overly literal translator, *fidus interpres*.¹³¹ In the same manner, Terence and Plautus

¹²⁵ *Ars grammatica* 5, 380: *cum ab omni sermone Graeco Latina lingua pendere videatur, quaedam inveniuntur vel licentia ab antiquis vel proprietate linguae Latinae dicta praeter consuetudinem Graecorum, quae idiomata appellantur*. This is repeated by Diomedes, *Ars grammatica*, 1, 311.

¹²⁶ *Confessiones* 6.8. Cf. Arnobius *Adv. nat.* 1,58.59; Lactantius *Div. inst.* 5.1.15-20.

¹²⁷ *Tractatus super psalmos* 54.11; cf. *ibid.* 65.12, 65.18, *De Trinitate* 11.17.

¹²⁸ *Ep.* 22.30

¹²⁹ *Ep.* 53.10.

¹³⁰ *Ad Galatas*, 1.348.

¹³¹ *Nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus / interpres, nec desilies imitator in artum*, *Ars poetica* 133 f.

had transposed Menander and other Greek models into elegant and witty Latin, not verbally but rendering the meaning faithfully: *non verba sed sententias*.¹³²

Some exception must however, according to Jerome, be made for the sacred Scriptures, the very word of God. There, even the word-order expresses a divine mystery.¹³³

4.4 A case study: the Latin grammatical terminology

A special case of Latin terminology are the grammatical terms, most of which are still used. This is a nomenclature within a relatively limited and clearly defined realm of technical languages, very well represented among Latin authors of late Antiquity. The *Grammar* (Τέχνη γραμματική) of Dionysios Thrax, a Greek grammarian (c. 170-c 90 BCE) is the earliest surviving systematic treatment of the subject. Its brevity and clarity guaranteed its success as a schoolbook for more than 1000 years, and it served as a model for the Latin grammatical studies of Varro, Remmius Palaimon, and later scholars. Modern European grammatical terminology is largely based on the work of Dionysios.¹³⁴ Among the most important works on grammar are *Ars grammatica* in five books by Flavius Sospater Charisius (4th century CE), and the *Ars grammatica* by Diomedes (same period) in three books, on morphology, stylistics, and metrics. The grammatical terminology is a domain that has been thoroughly studied by Jeep¹³⁵ and Schad.¹³⁶ The following concise list may illustrate the Latin dependence of the Greek forerunners in this field. The formations on *-ivus* (mostly rendering a Greek original on *-(τ)ικός*) deserve special attention, here as in many other branches of technical terminology, not least by their sheer number. The list of authors is by no means complete but exhibit important examples. For details, see Schad.

4.4.1 Grammatical formations on *-ivus*

ablativus Quintilian ἀφαιρετικός (probably a later coinage to match the Latin term)

abnegativus Priscian ἀναιρετικός, ἀποφατικός

absolutivus Charisius Diomedes

accusativus Varro αἰτιατικός

activus Charisius Diomedes ἐνεργητικός

¹³² *mentiris, ait, ciceronianus es, non christianus; Ep. 22. 30.*

¹³³ *Ep. 57, 5: absque scripturis sanctis, ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est.*

¹³⁴ "Dionysios Thrax", in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, I, 1991, 630.

¹³⁵ L. Jeep, *Zur Geschichte der Lehre von den Redetheilen bei den lateinischen Grammatikern*, Leipzig 1893.

¹³⁶ S. Schad, *A Lexicon of Latin Grammatical Terminology. Studia erudita*, 6. Pisa-Rome, 2007.

additivus Priscian έπιταγματικός
adiectivus Charisius Donatus Priscian έπιθετικός
adiunctivus 'subjunctive' Diomedes έπιζευτικός
adversativus Priscian έναντιωματικός
appellativus Charisius προσηγορικός
appositivus 'appositional' Priscian έπιταγματικός
approbativus Priscian διαβεβαιωτικός
causativus Chalcidius Martianus Capella Priscian αίτιολογικός, αίτιατικός
collativus Plautus Charisius
collectivus Seneca Quintilian Priscian συλλογιστικός
comparativus Cicero Charisius Priscian συγκριτικός
completivus 'filling in' Marius Victorinus Boethius Priscian παραπληρωματικός
complexivus Marianus Capella Diomedes συμπλεκτικός
concretivus Charisius
coniunctivus Charisius Diomedes συμπλεκτικός, συνζευτικός
continuativus Priscian συναπτικός
copulativus 'connective' Charisius Diomedes συμπλεκτικός
dativus Quintilian Charisius δοτικός
defectivus Quintilian Charisius Diomedes Priscian έλλειπής, έλλειπτικός
deliberativus Cicero Quintilian συμβουλευτικός
deminutivus Tertullian Charisius Diomedes ύποκοριστικός
demonstrativus Cicero Diomedes δεικτικός, έπιδεικτικός, έγκωμιαστικός
derivativus Charisius παράγωγος
derogativus Diomedes στερητικός
disertivus 'expressing a preference' Priscian διασαφητικός
disiunctivus Gellius Charisius Priscian διαζευκτικός
dubitativus Tertullian Priscian διστατικός
effectivus Boethius Priscian άποτελεσματικός
finitivus 'definite; indicative' Quintilian Marius Victorinus Diomedes όριστικός
frequentativus Gellius Priscian συνεχής
genetivus Suetonius Charisius Diomedes γενικός, έγγινόμενος, πατρικός

habitivus 'intransitive' οὐδέτερος
hortativus Quintilian Priscian προτρεπτικός, συμβουλευτικός,
imperativus Macrobius Charisius Diomedes προστακτικός
impositivus 'appositional' Priscian ἐπιταγματικός
inceptivus 'inchoative' Charisius Diomedes ἀρκτικός
inchoativus Charisius Diomedes Priscian ἀρκτιός, ἀρκετός, ἐναρκτικός
incusativus 'accusative' Charisius Diomedes αἰτιατικός
indicativus Diomedes Priscian μηνυτικός, ὀριστικός
infinitivus Charisius Diomedes Priscian ἀπαρέμφατος
interrogativus Donatus Diomedes Porphyrios ἐρωτηματικός, πευστικός
intransitivus Priscian ἀμετάβατος, ἀδιαβίβαστος
iterativus Charisius Diomedes
nominativus Varro Quintilian Charisius ὀνομαστικός
optativus Charisius Diomedes Priscian εὐτικός
passivus Tertullian Charisius Diomedes παθητικός
possessivus Quintilian Charisius Priscian κτητικός
praepositivus 'placed in front' Charisius Diomedes Priscian προτακτικός
praesumptivus 'anticipatory' προληπτικός
promissivus (*promissivum* 'future tense') Charisius Diomedes Donatus
pronuntiativus 'indicative' Charisius Diomedes
relativus Seneca Priscian ἀναφορικός, πρὸς τι ≠ *absolutus* Cicero RH ἀπολελυμένος, αὐτοτελής
separativus Diomedes Priscian διαζευτικός
subcontinuativus 'indicating consequence, necessary sequence' Priscian παρασυναπτικός
subdisiunctivus 'type of conjunction, e.g. *sive, vel*' Priscian
subiunctivus Charisius Diomedes Priscian ὑποτακτικός, ὑποζευτικός?
superlativus Charisius Priscian ὑπερθετικός
suppletivus 'supplementary' Charisius ἀναπληρωματικός, παραπληρωματικός
transitivus Priscian μεταβατικός, διαβατικός
usurpativus 'gerund' Diomedes Macrobius
vocativus Gellius Charisius Diomedes κλητικός

4.4.2. Further basic grammatical terms

adverbium Quintilian Priscian ἐπίρρημα

articulus Cicero RH Quintilian Charisius ἄρθρον

attributum Cicero προσνηγμένον

causalis Charisius Diomedes αἰτιολογικός

condicionalis Gaius Tertullian Charisius ὑποθετικός

coniunctio Cicero RH Quintilian Diomedes σύνδεσμος

dualis Quintilian Charisius Diomedes δυϊκός

femininus Varro Quintilian Charisius θηλυκός

finitus 'definite; indicative' Cicero Varro Charisius Diomedes ὁρισμένος

futurum Varro Charisius Diomedes ὁ μέλλον χρόνος

gerundium Charisius Diomedes Priscian

interiectio, lacks Greek equivalent, but cf. σχετλιασμός

masculinus Quintilian Charisius ἄρρενικός, ἄρσενικός

neutrum Cicero Varro Charisius οὐδέτερον

participium Varro Charisius Priscian μετοχή

persona Varro Charisius Diomedes πρόσωπον

personalis Varro Charisius Diomedes προσωπικός

pluralis Varro Quintilian Charisius πληθυντικός

praedicatum Boethius κατηγορούμενον

praepositio Cicero Quintilian Charisius πρόθεσις

praesens (tempus) Varro Charisius ὁ παρὼν (ἐνεστὼς) χρόνος

praeteritum Varro Charisius ὁ παρελθὼς χρόνος

pronomem Varro Quintilian Charisius Diomedes ἀντωνυμία

singularis (numerus) Varro Quintilian ἐνικός

subiectum ≠ *praedicatum* Boethius

supinus (supinum 'the supine' or 'the gerund') Charisius Diomedes Priscian ὕπτιος

verbum 'verb' Quintilian Charisius Diomedes ῥῆμα

4.5 Literal vs. literary translations

Jerome's reverence for the original Biblical text would serve as a pattern for later translators of Greek philosophy.

Boethius (Roman senator and minister under Theoderic, but executed in 524) undertook the task of translating Greek philosophy into Latin in the years 510-522. He managed to complete almost half of Aristotle. It was his conviction that the very compact prose of Aristotle must be transposed into Latin as exactly as possible, in order not to miss the slightest nuance of the original, the very method adopted by the first Bible translators. In his preface to his second translation of Porphyry's *Ἐισαγωγή* to the *Categories*, Boethius makes an important policy statement, which was to have a decisive influence on later generations of translators from the Greek. He had made up his mind to sacrifice literary ambition to the principle of translating the intricate and compact prose of Aristotle' and his disciples as literally as possible:

I fear that I will incur the censure passed on the *fidus interpres* if I render each word with a fix equivalent. The point of this project is that rhetorical delight is not the value aimed at in those writings, where knowledge and authentic truth must be expressed. I will therefore seem to have achieved much if I, through a perfectly faithful translation, leave nothing to be desired in philosophical treatises composed in Latin, compared to the literature of the Greeks.¹³⁷

How far such accuracy could go is shown by the following concordances, restricted to Greek particles and conjunctions only. The table shows Boethius' method of translation, compared to James of Venice, a scholar active in Byzantium in the second quarter of the twelfth century and known as the translator of Aristotle's logical works directly from Greek. James' options are those written within brackets:

ἄρα	ergo, igitur (itaque)
ἤρα	putas, putasne (numquid, utrum)
γάρ	enim, nam (namque)
δέ	autem, <i>seldom</i> vero (sed)
δή	autem, ergo (igitur, itaque)
εἴπερ	siquidem, si (si vero)
εἴτα, ἔπειτα	deinde (postea)

¹³⁷ ... vereor ne subierim fidi interpretis culpam, cum verbum verbo expressum comparatumque reddiderim. Cuius incepti ratio est quod in his scriptis in quibus rerum cognitio quaeritur, non luculentae orationis lepos, sed incorrupta veritas exprimenda est. quocirca multum profecisse videor, si philosophiae libris Latina oratione compositis per integerrimae translationis sinceritatem nihil in Graecorum litteris amplius desideretur. In Porphyrii Isagogen commentorum editio secunda, 1,1. Cf. Horace, *Ars poetica*, 133 f., and Jerome, *Ep.* 57.5.

ἐπεὶ	quoniam
ἔτι	amplius, <i>seldom</i> adhuc, iam
ἢ	aut, vel
καθάπερ	quemadmodum, <i>seldom</i> sicut, velut
καίτοι	quamvis (et tamen, et etiam)
οἷον	ut
ὅταν	quando, <i>seldom</i> cum
ὅτι	quoniam (quod, quia)
οὐδέ	nec, neque
οὖν	ergo <i>almost always</i> (igitur)
πάλιν	rursum (iterum)
πῶς	aliquo modo, quodammodo
τε	et, <i>sometimes omitted</i> (-que)
τις	aliquis, quis, quidam
ὥσπερ	quemadmodum ¹³⁸

Later translators like William of Moerbeke (second half of the thirteenth century) leave an even more revealing fingerprint:

ἄρα	ergone
ἄν	utique
δέ	autem
δή	itaque, utique
εἴτε	sique
μέν, γάρ, οὖν	quidem, enim, igitur
ὅτι	quod
πλήν	verumptamen
πῶς	aliquaqualiter
τις	aliquis

The medieval translators of Aristotle were to follow the same literal method, even with the Greek word order retained and strictly keeping this concordance principle. These Latin translations, with their excessive respect for the original text, are

¹³⁸ This survey was made by Bernhard G. Dod in his introduction to *Aristoteles Latinus, Sophistici elenchi*, p. xiii f.

generally no less intelligible than the Greek original. Rather, they make a careful exegesis possible down to the finest detail.¹³⁹ With the help of such precision modern scholars can sometimes reconstruct lost Greek passages from the Latin versions.¹⁴⁰

The translators were not always to blame if the text did not immediately appeal to the reader, owing to its lack of perspicuity. Just one example may suffice, taken from the *Analytica posteriora*, 72a25 ff.:

Ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖ πιστεύειν τε καὶ εἰδέναι τὸ πρᾶγμα τῷ τοιούτῳ ἔχειν συλλογισμὸν ὃν καλοῦμεν ἀπόδειξιν, ἔστι δ' οὗτος τῷ ταδὶ εἶναι ἐξ ὧν ὁ συλλογισμὸς, ἀνάγκη μὴ μόνον προγινώσκειν τὰ πρῶτα, ἢ πάντα ἢ ἓνια, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον· αἰεὶ γὰρ δι' ὃ ὑπάρχει ἕκαστον, ἐκεῖν μᾶλλον ὑπάρχει, οἷον δι' ὃ φιλοῦμεν, ἐκεῖν φίλον μᾶλλον.

In the recension made by William of Moerbeke (and used by Thomas Aquinas):

Quoniam autem oportet credere et scire rem in huiusmodi habendo sillogismum quem vocamus demonstrativum, est autem hic in esse hec ex quibus est sillogismus, necesse est non solum precognoscere prima, aut omnia, aut quedam, sed et magis; semper enim propter quod est unumquodque, illud magis est, ut propter quod amamus, illud magis amicum.¹⁴¹

One of the greatest achievements of the medieval intellectual culture was formal logic. It is not to be expected from a treatise on logic that it should be palatable for its artistic and literary qualities. Its beauty resides somewhere else. The language of a Middle Age logician was highly formal and could just as well have been replaced by formulas of the kind which we today think indispensable in the practice of logic. In fact, alphabetical devices were used to replace terms, and the Romanic article 'ly' regularly marked off words used as terms,¹⁴² or was used to render the Greek article τοῦ.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ B. G. Dod, "Aristoteles Latinus", in N. Kretzmann, A. Kenny, J. Pinborg (edd.), *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, Cambridge 1982, 45-79.

¹⁴⁰ B. P. Copenhaver, "Translation, terminology and style in philosophical discourse", in Ch. B. Schmitt (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, 1988, 87.

¹⁴¹ *Aristoteles Latinus, Analytica posteriora*, edd. L. Minio-Paluello et B. G. Dod, 287. The same text runs like this in the English translation by E. S. Forster: "Now since the required condition of our knowledge or conviction of a fact consists in grasping a syllogism of the kind which we call demonstration, and since the syllogism depends upon the truth of its premisses, it is necessary not merely to know the primary premisses – either all or some of them – beforehand, but to know them better than the conclusion. For that which causes an attribute to apply to a subject always possesses that attribute in a still greater degree; e.g., that which causes us to love something is itself dearer to us."

¹⁴² Copenhaver 1988, 104.

¹⁴³ IJsewijn 1998, 385 f, Sjöberg 2005, 43 f.

In most European countries, logic practiced in the medieval style came to an end during the sixteenth century. Renaissance Humanism triumphed in the English universities, whereas there was a new spring for logic in France between 1490 and 1520. One of the most renowned logicians in Paris was Petrus Tartaretus, who will be studied here from a merely linguistic point of view (below 287).¹⁴⁴

5. Renaissance humanism as a reactionary movement

In this way, Latin was resuscitated as a living language among intellectuals from every corner of Western Europe. Renaissance humanism would some centuries later slowly try to suffocate this development of precise terminologies and strict logical reasoning, and it eventually lead to the extinction of scholastical Latin. Humanism, in this sense, is defined by Kristeller as "a movement, rooted in the medieval rhetorical tradition, to revive the language and literature of classical antiquity. Humanists were not philosophers, but men and women of letters".¹⁴⁵ The Renaissance humanists attempted, with some success, to imitate and restore Classical Latin as a living language and to bring about a kind of linguistic and literary revolution that discredited and gradually abolished many, if not all, features of Medieval Latin.

The metaphors commonly used by the humanists themselves to characterize their own endeavour suggested restoring from ruins, awakening from sleep, returning from exile, being reborn to the Golden Age.¹⁴⁶ Their reform project affected spelling, prosody and punctuation, vocabulary and phraseology, inflection and syntax, and the whole structure and rhythm of sentences.¹⁴⁷ The Latin language, which had never ceased to live and therefore had undergone many of those innovations that belong to every living system of human communication, received thereby the *coup de grace* "by those very men who imagined that they raised it from the dead and transformed it into an international cultural medium. The *history* of the Latin language ceases, and instead the *study* of its history begins."¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ E. J. Ashworth, "The decline of medieval logic", in N. Kretzmann, A. Kenny, J. Pinborg (edd.), *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, Cambridge 1982, 787 ff.

¹⁴⁵ J. Arnold, *The Great Humanists. An Introduction*, London-New York 2011, 2, with further references.

¹⁴⁶ B. L. Ullman, *Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Roma: Storia e letteratura, 51, 1955), 11-25.

¹⁴⁷ P. O. Kristeller, "Humanism", in Charles B. Schmitt (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, Cambridge 1988, 113-137, here 121-122.

¹⁴⁸ "Die Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache hört damit endgültig auf, an die Stelle tritt die Geschichte ihres Studiums", Eduard Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*, II (Leipzig-Berlin: Teubner, 1915; reprint Darmstadt:

The range of humanist Latin was defined and made finite by a classical authority that resisted terminological growth. The scholastics had constructed a professional language capable of formalism, abstraction and analysis. The humanists denounced the scholastic method of analysis by distinction as an invitation to sophistry and rancour. The advances of later medieval logic was to them an affront to the 'natural' Latin and syntax of the *summi auctores*. A tradition since Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374) found the speech of medieval philosophers bizarre and ugly. Juan Luis Vives (Spanish humanist, philosopher and educationalist, 1493-1540) made fun of the logica moderna and its analysis of syncategorematic terms (*tantum, alter, alius, uterque, incipit, desinit, immediate*) and proscribed the entire system of terminology, categories, transcendentals, modal propositions and the whole class of abstractions on *-itas*.¹⁴⁹ Both Thomas More (1478-1535) and his friend Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536) derided scholastic terminology, with terms like *restrictio, amplificatio, suppositio; idea, universalia, forma separata, prima materia, quidditas, haecceitas, syllogismi maiores, minores, conclusiones, corollaria*, and Erasmus deemed the disputative method employed by the universities to be an *inexplicabilis inter ipsos digladiatio*.¹⁵⁰ Much of this condescension amounts to sheer anti-intellectualism, especially considering the great achievements accomplished in formal logic by schoolmen of the fourteenth century.¹⁵¹

Thomas More says that the inhabitants of the fictitious island Utopia had good insights in music, logic, mathematics and geometry, equal to the European classical heritage, but they knew almost nothing of the more recent developments in logic. They had not invented any rules for restriction, amplification and supposition, neither did they know anything of the *secundae intentiones* and the universals. More seems however have had a greater appreciation of astronomy than Erasmus, since the Utopians are reported to have invented instruments that measure the solar, lunar and planetary movements. But faithful to the ancient philosophers they rejected all arguments recently advanced concerning the causes of rain, winds and other weather variations, as well as the currents and salinity of the sea, and no consensus is ever reached.

Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1974), 767. This is to a great extent true as far as literature and poetry are concerned, not, however, with reference to the scientific use of Latin, but that is another story. Concerning the idea of Latin as a dead language, see J. Eskhult, "Vulgar Latin as an emergent concept in the Italian Renaissance (1435-1601)", in *Journal of Latin Linguistics*, vol. 17, nr 2, (2018) 1 ff.; A. Piltz, "Accessit latinitas, recessit pietas: Pope Urban VIII Barberini and the Vicissitudes of Latin Hymnography", in C. J. Berglund, B. Crostini & J. Kelhoffer (edd.), *Why We Sing. Music, Word, and Liturgy in Early Christianity*. Festschrift Anders Ekenberg, Leiden-Boston 2023, 469.

¹⁴⁹ Copenhaver, 104-106.

¹⁵⁰ Thomas More, *Utopia*, II; Erasmus, *Laus Stultitiae*, 52-53.

¹⁵¹ *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy* in its entirety might serve as a rebuttal of the humanist derision of sharp thinking; see also Kneale & Kneale, 246-297.

Renaissance humanism was a reactionary project in the domains of philosophy, language, literature and poetry, and it took little, if any, interest in science. However, pre-modern Europe was the scene of such fundamental transformations that there is reason to call the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries a completely new era. The emergence of national states, the discovery of India and the Americas, the Renaissance, the religious reformations, the discovery of the heliocentric system, and the invention of printing revolutionized the whole intellectual world. Language was the vehicle of these new ideas and learning. Latin was the only international medium complex enough, through its precision and its vocabulary, to convey such a paradigm shift. In this respect, Latin kept its position well into the nineteenth century.¹⁵² The whole immense new terminology and nomenclature in Latin – or Greek, mediated through Latin – invented during these centuries is a process which has not ceased to prosper to this day, even if nobody writes scientific papers in Latin anymore.¹⁵³

5.1 Humanist criticism of medieval learning and language

The idea of a distant perfect zenith, when only pure, correct Latin was spoken and written, has persisted since Antiquity and has governed grammar instruction until now.¹⁵⁴ The Renaissance humanists blamed the logic curriculum for its supposed barbariousness. They did not accuse it of false conclusions but of its unattractive style, as compared with the rediscovered literature of antiquity. “Who but a dullard would devote his life to the *proprietates terminorum* when he might read the newly found poem of Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* or learn Greek and study Plato.”¹⁵⁵

Francesco Petrarca (cf. above) had placed Cicero’s prose and Virgil’s poetry above the works of all other authors. But it is easier to copy the patterns of great forerunners than to grasp their spirit. The ideal of *imitatio* or *interpretatio* or *aemulatio* of Cicero was propagated by influential teachers like Gasparino da Barzizza (1360-1431) and Guarino da Verona (1374-1460), it was taught in schools and developed into a scrupulous observation of vocabulary, tropes and the rhythmical flow of clause endings of Cicero and Caesar. Lorenzo Valla (1406-

¹⁵² Helander, 19-21.

¹⁵³ Helander, 35.

¹⁵⁴ An instance of this is Hermann Menges (1841-1939) *Repetitorium der lateinischen Syntax und Stilistik*, published in 1873 and later in 13 editions and used by generations of students; it was revised and reedited by Thorsten Burkard and Markus Schauer in 2000: *Lehrbuch der lateinischen Syntax und Semantik*, fifth edition 2012. Its corpus consists of Caesar and Cicero, i.e. the period between 80 and 43 BCE, considered as the canonical guiding rule of “correct” Latinity.

¹⁵⁵ W. Kneale & M. Kneale, 300.

1457), famous for his exposure of *Donatio Constantini* as a forgery, contributed to this canonization of Cicero.

The controversy between Ciceronians and their adversaries culminated in 1512-1513. Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola (1469-1533, nephew of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola) pleaded for a freely eclectic, personal style; his opponent, cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) represented an extreme Ciceronianism. Bembo's thesis that the reading of other authors than Cicero would jeopardize the unity of style in the Republic of Letters was remarkable in a time when correct Latin had to be learned from books, and learned men of all quarters normally argued that anything whatsoever could be expressed in good Latin – possibly with the exception of Christian dogmatics. The greatest scholar among the humanists, Erasmus, devoted a dialogue, *Ciceronianus*, to this controversy and concluded that the imitative principle was untenable: Cicero could not even have dreamt about thousands of things that we must speak about daily.¹⁵⁶

Manuel Chrysoloras (c. 1350-1415) was one of the pioneers in the renaissance of Greek studies in the West, famous as translator into Latin of Homer and Plato. He taught that translation into Latin *ad verbum* was worthless and a complete perversion of the original meaning. It is the *sententia* (meaning 'meaning' as well as 'sentence') that should be translated. In other words, the authority of Jerome was invoked. Another of the Renaissance theorists, Leonardo Bruni (c. 1370-1444, "the first modern historian", chancellor of Florence) described his own method in translating from Greek: if he could, he gladly rendered the text word by word, but otherwise he departed from it to avoid absurdities. A great obstacle was, according to Bruni, that a word such as λόγος cannot be translated by one specific Latin equivalent, but a choice must be made depending on the context between *verbum*, *sententia*, *dispositio*, *ratio*, etc. A single Greek word like αἰσθητά must be rendered by a periphrasis (*ea quae sensibus percipiuntur*).¹⁵⁷ Bruni accepted Cicero's neologisms and paraphrases but condemned the same solutions if introduced by medieval translators. Cicero had a perfect command of Latin, whereas the medievals were ignorants.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ *Quot milia sunt rerum, de quibus nobis frequenter dicendum est, de quibus M. Tullius ne somniavit quidem? Ciceronianus sive de optimo dicendi genere*; Erasmus von Rotterdam, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 7, Darmstadt 1995, 100; cf. the introduction of Theresia Payr, *ibid.* xxxiii-liv.

¹⁵⁷ Copenhagen 1988, 87 f. Bruni exemplifies the problem posed by different idioms: a Latin phrase like *gero tibi morem* ('I regulate my conduct in accordance with your wishes, I humour you' is not the sum of *gero* + *tu* + *mos*; and cannot be translated literally into any other language); Copenhagen, *ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ L. Bruni, *Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften*, ed. H. Baron, Leipzig-Berlin 1928 (repr. Wiesbaden 1969), 1, 95.

Logic, even for rhetorical use, was neglected by the humanists. Logic is concerned with certainty, whereas rhetoric deals with probability and persuasion and tackles the practical problems of the law-courts.¹⁵⁹ Lorenzo Valla (c. 1497-1457) established that *usus*, *sermo communis* and *consuetudo* should be the criterion for philosophical diction and for elegant, correct Latin generally.¹⁶⁰ The study of grammar should therefore be based on the language of the golden period, a period identified by Valla himself, and so called by him. Such a puristic attitude obviously did not approve of scholastic terminology.

An example from Juan Luis Vives might serve as a good illustration of the same frame of mind:

A Petro isto Hispano, quamlibet nostrati, seu ab eo qui nobis hanc tam elegantem dialecticam peperit – nam sunt qui putent haec primum in Britannia aut Hibernia orta, deinde Parisiis alita atque aucta – ab illo igitur, quisquis tandem fuit, pervelim audire, cur, cum ipse suppositiones et expositiones illarum enuntiationum, atque horum similia, quae traduntur in parum logicalibus, numquam a Boethio acceperit, Aristoteles ipse non praecipiat, tam impudenter illa confinxerit et praescripserit sensus praefatorum contra rationem omnem sermonis latini.¹⁶¹

Vives holds against the scholastics (in the person of Peter of Spain, author of the most popular textbook in logic, *Parva logicalia*, here travestied *Parum logicalia*) the introduction both of new stuff and new technical terms into the curriculum, counter to the very nature of the Latin language.

Vives had several sympathizers. Erasmus himself (in a sophisticated form of anti-intellectualism) derides philosophers for their interest in natural phenomena, such as planetary orbits and solar eclipses, thunderstorms and winds and “the causes of other inexplicable things”. They further play about with concepts which have no counterpart in the real world: ideas, universals, separated forms, first matters, quiddities, hecceities. The theologians address their subjects with thousands of conclusions, magisterial definitions, corollaries, explicit and implicit propositions, instances, notions, relations, formalities, *subtilissimas subtilitates subtiliores*,¹⁶² an allusion to John Duns Scotus, famous as *doctor subtilis*.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ L. Jardine, “Humanism and the teaching of logic”, in N. Kretzmann, A. Kenny, J. Pinborg (edd.), *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, Cambridge 1982, 797 ff.

¹⁶⁰ Copenhagen 1988, 101.

¹⁶¹ *Adversus pseudodialecticos*, printed in 1520.

¹⁶² *Encomium Moriae*, 52-53.

¹⁶³ The fact that σκοτός means ‘darkness’ was also exploited by anti-scholastic satirists: *nam cum me scotistam appellas, si recte censeo, me σκοτιῶ et obscure insimulas male locati studii*. Erasmus, *Ep.* II 576.

The point of this criticism is that the scholastic training had proven irrelevant and cumbersome and should be replaced by the study of the classical authors, rhetoric, history and moral philosophy. Renaissance humanism was basically retrospective. Hardly any inventiveness was welcomed by its champions, as far as language was concerned, "with an emphasis on a smooth literary style and vague phraseology at the expense of the conceptual precision needed for an adequate philosophical discourse" (Kristeller).¹⁶⁴

The medieval achievements were not acknowledged as intellectual conquests, but rather as a decline, a distortion of the heritage bequeathed by the Ancients of the Golden Age.

5.2 In defense of the schoolmen

Such a criticism was not without its critics. Alonso (Alfonso) de Cartagena, Spanish humanist, diplomat, historian, and bishop of Burgos (1384-1456), objected to the idea that the rigorous search for knowledge (*scientia*) should be subject to the rules of rhetoric. He most decidedly advocated the use of a strict and meticulous vocabulary:

Crede enim mihi: qui scientiarum districtissimas conclusiones eloquentiae regulis subdere vult, non sapit, cum verba addere et detrahare ad persuasionis dulcedinem pertinet, quod scientiae rigor abhorret. Multis ergo erroribus pateat oportet, qui scientiam sub eloquentia tradere nititur; sed sapienti viro illud congruum iudico, sub restrictis et propriissimis verbis, quae scientifica sunt, discutere, post vero ad eliminata documenta et purificatas doctrinas persuadendo verbis eloquentibus acclamare.¹⁶⁵

Alonso contended that Latin would be impoverished if closed within such limits as the humanists wanted to impose on the scientific debate. The potential of the Latin language is almost infinite if it is just allowed to adopt freely, and be enriched by, Greek and various vernacular words.¹⁶⁶ It is often better to leave a foreign word

The brand *Duns man*, a follower of Scotus, synonymous with 'a subtle reasoner', has paradoxically yielded *dunce*, 'a cavilling sophist, dull pedant, blockhead': *A Duns man would make xx. distinctions*, Tindale. *Par. Wicked Mammon* 1527 (printed in 1573).

¹⁶⁴ Kristeller, "Humanism", 122.

¹⁶⁵ Quoted from Birkenmajer's edition 1922, 175 (reprint 1971, 451).

¹⁶⁶ *inops namque esset et prorsus egena, si certis finibus clauderetur. Sed ingens et paene infinita est potentia eius, et nedum a Graecis, sed a barbaris et universis mundi nationibus quicquid ei libet licet accipere*. Quoted from Birkenmajer 1922, 168 (reprint 1971, 444).

untranslated, adapt it to Latin morphology and let the context explain it, than to blur the content through circumlocutions.¹⁶⁷

Like Alonso, Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494, most known for his oration on the dignity of man) mastered both discourses, the scholastic and the humanist. He advocated a strict distinction between literature and “scientific” parlance. Inasmuch language is completely arbitrary, nothing prevents philosophers from agreeing on a specific terminology, within the boundaries of academic discourse. In response to Ermolao Barbaro (1454-1493), he called such a language *Romana*, and it must have the same right of citizenship as golden Latinity:

Si dicendo incurrat exempli causa a sole hominem produci, 'causari' hominem nostrates dicent. Clamabis actutum: “Hoc non est Latinum!” Huc usque vere, non est Romanae dictum. “Hoc vero verius, ergo non recte” – peccat argumentum. Dicet Arabs eandem rem, dicet Aegyptius, non dicent Latine, sed tamen recte. Quid prohibet hosce philosophos, quos nuncupatis barbaros, conspirasse in unam dicendi normam, apud eos non secus sanctam ac habeatur apud vos Romanae? Illam cur rectam non appellatis, appelletis vestram, nulla est ratio. Si haec impositio nominum tota est arbitraria, quod si dignari illam Romani nominis appellatione non vultis, Gallicam vocetis, Britannicam, Hispanam, vel, quod vulgares dicere solent, Parisiensem.¹⁶⁸

Some later translators of philosophy in the fifteenth century praised the literal method for its precision and for its terminological continuity with the medieval tradition.

Even a contemporary of Bruni, George of Trebizond (1395-1486), explicitly preferred to render philosophical texts word for word, “as far as Latinity permits”, a principle which seems to have governed Marsilio Ficino’s work as well.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ *Nonne melius fuit illa, ut iacebant, dimittere, ut sub nostris regulis declinata inter Latina haberemus, significatione eorum per descriptiones et sequentia plene percepta — quam circumlocutionibus totam scripturae seriem perturbare?* Quoted from Birkenmajer 1922, 169 (reprint 1971, 445).

¹⁶⁸ Text in *Corpus Reformatorum*, IX, 178-87. Cf. Q. Breen, “Giovanni Pico della Mirandola on the Conflict of Philosophy and Rhetoric”, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 1952, 384-412.

¹⁶⁹ Copenhaver 1988, 87.

6. Internationalisms: the development of an international vocabulary

Neologisms mirror progress. The attempts of the hardcore Ciceronians to freeze Latin in its ancient forms would have killed the language and made it a beautiful embalmed body, the Mandarin of the educated classes. In their eyes, a text was considered acceptable and appropriate in as much as it was a successful imitation of set patterns established in a presumed golden age. With such principles (*lexikalische Erstarrung*) there could be no acceptance of neologisms; according to the hardliners, new concepts could be translated to "good" Latin, not with one word but only by way of periphrases or possibly with the help of Greek components (as *sphaeromachia* for football), although with the disadvantage that you had to guess what had been the origin of it in normal spoken languages.

Latin continued to be the preferred language of rhetoric and poetry, a medium of publicity and propaganda, at least until the beginning of the eighteenth century. State absolutism was one side of Renaissance humanism. Royal control needed Latin. The rulers had use for it in marketing of their claims, and poetry could demonstrably be more perennial than bronze. A good poem was a political act, comparable to a painted portrait or a newbuilt castle, and well paid for. Latin poets were part of the princely courts, functionaries fully aware of their own importance. Their poetry glorified the virtues current in the ruling classes in all countries and reached an international public in an era prior to the creation of newspapers.¹⁷⁰

Classical Latin grammar and the basic vocabulary remained intact, but there were no restrictions concerning the coining of new and more apposite terms, *vocabula artis*, in all branches of science. Latin oratory and poetry grew ever more marginalized. Scientists wrote in Latin in order to reach their colleagues everywhere, with continuously increasing nomenclature systems, to a great extent still workable, and interminably open to further development.¹⁷¹

In the early eighteenth century, these conditions changed under the pressure of the French Enlightenment: laudatory poetry became antiquated and ridiculous. Men of letters turned their attention to their own national cultural tradition, its history, language, poetry, and literature, and they tended to successively abandon Latin.

But Latin had still its important mission in the history of Western civilization: natural scientists kept it, for obvious practical reasons. In the turbulent pre-modern era of great progress and upheaval, Latin was the one and only linguistic vehicle of intellectual intercourse, ideologically neuter, and apt to traverse political and

¹⁷⁰ Tengström, 49; Lindberg, 71.

¹⁷¹ Helander, 27-35.

religious borders, and the sole medium that could accurately express and communicate novel and complex ideas.¹⁷² This had been made possible precisely because of scholastic philosophy – aiming at exactitude, not literary beauty – that had cultivated and improved those expressive (and sometimes excessive) models that could be further exploited infinitesimally in new terminological systems in all the various natural sciences. Statistics proves that the number of books printed in the vernaculars was constantly increasing, but as far as philosophy, theology and natural sciences were concerned, Latin kept its dominant position well into the eighteenth century, and academical dissertations were normally written in Latin at least until the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹⁷³

And the latinisms survive. The Council of Constanz (1414-1418) opened England to the spirit of Renaissance Humanism. As early as in the beginning of the 15th century, the influx of Latin loan-words increase. In Skelton's translation of Diodorus Siculus (c. 1485), there are more than 800 latinisms instanced for the first time. The Renaissance latinisms contributed to the English written language with more than 10 000 more neologisms. From the 15th to the 17th centuries, the loans cause the formations of word families. The adjective *apt* (< *aptus*) occurs in 1398, and it generated successively dozens of derivatives: *aptness* (1538), *adaptation* (1610), *adapt* (1611), *aptitude* (1633), *adaptability* (1661), *adaptedness* (1698), *adaptable* (1800), *adapter* (1801), *adaptive* (1824), *adaptitude* (1842), *adaptive* (1857), etc., until *disadapt* (1970). Almost 70 percent of all Latin verbs were introduced in late mediaeval English, and most of them have survived. In early modern English this development continues with duplicates of infinitive and participial derivatives with differentiation of meaning: *abduce* (1537), *abduct* (1834), *adduce* (1616), *adduct* (1836), *confer* (1528), *collate* (1558), *convince* (1530), and *convict* (1340), etc.¹⁷⁴

From the 16th century on, several loan-words occur in morphologically unchanged forms: *apparatus*, *arena*, *data*, *formula*, *minimum*, *specimen*, *status*, *auditorium*, *extra*, *inertia*, *herbarium*, *locus*, *maximum*, *propaganda*, *prospectus*, *ultimatum*, *animus*, *aquarium*, *duplex*, *ego*, *excursus*, *sanatorium*, *referendum*, or even in inflected form: *requiem*, *folio*, *limbo*, *proviso*, *omnibus*, *via*, *veto*, *imprimatur*, etc.¹⁷⁵

The vast influence of Latin affixes is another aspect of the the same fact. In German, one can note the following *Lehnpräpositionen* (loaned prepositions): *ad*, *exklusive*, *inklusive*, *kontra*, *minus*, *per*, *plus*, *pro*, *puncto*, *in puncto*, *qua*, *versus*, *via*.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² Helander, 20 f.

¹⁷³ Lindberg, 75-86; Helander, 21.

¹⁷⁴ These data are taken from Scheler 1996, 157 f.

¹⁷⁵ Scheler 1996, 161.

¹⁷⁶ Schmidt 1996, 71-79.

With good reason, every such word can be called an *internationalism*, defined as

- 1) a word
- 2) with the same origin
- 3) and with the same denotation
- 4) occurring in the lexicon of different languages
- 5) and understandable without translation.¹⁷⁷

Many of the Latin lexemes treated in this study would qualify for that designation.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Volmert 1995, 220. The concept *internationalism* seems to have been introduced in the DDR in the sixties.

Chapter II

Affixation and productivity in Greek and Latin

1. How PIE took over the world

Ancient-genomics researchers have recently pinpointed the homelands of a nomadic tribe that transformed the culture and genetics of Europe and Asia, the source for the Indo-European language family, spoken by much of the world. Genomes from more than 400 individuals suggest that the Yamnaya – Bronze Age herders from the steppes of present-day Russia and Ukraine – emerged along the northern shores of the Black Sea. Nearly half of the world’s population speaks at least one of the roughly 400 Indo-European languages. These include nearly all European and Central Asian languages, as well as those from South Asia and Iran.¹⁷⁸

The Proto-Indo-European (henceforth PIE) language is the reconstructed common ancestor of this language family. No direct record of PIE exists. Its features have been derived by linguistic reconstruction from documented Indo-European languages. PIE is hypothesized to have been spoken as a single language from approximately 4500 BCE to 2500 BCE during the Late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age, in a pastoral and patriarchal culture. PIE had an elaborate system of morphology, including inflectional suffixes as well as ablaut and accent.

The following outline deals with one seminal trait of the Indo-European (IE) languages, already present in the PIE matrix: affixation, a specific proclivity to combine prefixes and suffixes to roots and bases in order to form concepts (words or syntagms) of a primarily concrete visual, sensual, spatio-temporal nature, but even serviceable as abstracts.

Today’s abstractions are mostly faded metaphors. One can sometimes, by extrapolation, follow their history along the timeline back, even beyond their historical usages and functions, instanced in writing. This fact justifies a brief and concise survey here of some PIE adpreps. Millennia later, they became building bricks in the word-formation process behind our common and ever-increasing treasure of “words of civilization”. Even the most abstract, de-sensualized concepts,

¹⁷⁸ A. G. Nikitin *et al.*, *Nature*, February 5, 2025: <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-024-08372-2> (2025).

international terms now in general use in European languages, are descendants of Latin or, at least in some sense, Greek ancestors.

2. PIE adpreps

The PIE language made extensive use of suffixation in the formation of words but had few prefixes.¹⁷⁹ Position in space was expressed through adpreps, i.e., words that may function as both adverbs and prepositions. Although PIE could indicate position through its nominal case endings, clearly there was need to employ individual words as well to indicate the more precise nuances of location. Some of these words clearly reveal the specialized use of nominal case forms, e.g. **h₂ent-* 'face' > *h₂enti* 'against, in front of, before' > Gr. ἀντί and Lat. *ante*.¹⁸⁰

Obviously, the protolanguage provided a pattern which proved exceedingly productive in later phases of IE linguistic development.¹⁸¹ Adpreps often fused with verbs to form single words in many Indo-European (IE) groups. The extensive use of adprep preverbs¹⁸² (as Latin *ad-*, *con-*, *de-*, *ex-*,¹⁸³ German *an-*, *bei-*, *ent-*, *er-*, *ge-*, *hin-*, *her-*, *um-*, etc.)¹⁸⁴ and nominal prefixes in modern European languages can be verified principally as developments of individual language groups, after the breakup of the original PIE linguistic community.¹⁸⁵ Almost all IE languages have

¹⁷⁹ In a well-known passage, Ferdinand de Saussure (*Cours de linguistique général*, Lausanne-Paris 1916, p. 288) stated that prepositions and preverbs were non-existent in the PIE, cf. Bader, 49. Such a categorical affirmation has been questioned, García Hernández, 123, with references.

¹⁸⁰ Mallory & Adams, 304. Early Irish seems to have delighted in compounding prepositions before verbs, e.g. *do-opir* 'takes away' < **di+uss+ber-*, 'from-away-carry', *ibid.*

¹⁸¹ García Hernández, 123.

¹⁸² The notion 'preverb' is a traditional descriptive notion in Indo-European linguistics. It refers to morphemes that appear in front of a verb, and which form a close semantic unit with that verb. In many cases, the morpheme that functions as a preverb can also function without a preverbal context, often as an adverb or an adposition. Geert Booij & Ans Van Kemenade, "Preverbs: an introduction", in *Yearbook of Morphology*, 2003, 1-11, here 1.

¹⁸³ The particles *dis-* and *re(d)-* in Latin can only function as preverbs, not as prepositions, Szantyr, 215.

¹⁸⁴ All those (Low) German prefixes mentioned above were overtaken in the Swedish language in the Middle Ages, Tamm, 9 ff. For prefix formations in German generally, see Henzen, 98-108.

¹⁸⁵ Watkins, *ibid.*, Beekes 220 ff., Hirt 4, 54 ff. The prefix *be-* (< Proto-German *bi-*, from PIE *h₁epi*), whose main function is to make an intransitive verb transitive, is still moderately productive in English, German, and Swedish (*be-dazzle*, *be-forschen*, *be-flyga*).

developed a rich spectrum of such verbal compounds, several of the Latin examples had their counterparts in the Oscan-Umbrian and other ancient languages.¹⁸⁶

The semantic categories of space and time are fundamental to any language. With the help of adverbs, which originally indicated the location of a thing in a space or the moving of a thing in a space, the IE languages have created ways of expressing abstractions. An extensive wealth of PIE adpreps indicating spatial relations were basic and are well preserved in the IE languages: position (before, in front, across, between, in, toward, beside, beyond), distance (back, behind, after, around), or direction (up, down, towards), etc.¹⁸⁷ Bound to a verb, the adprep indicates the aspect (duration, instantaneity, inception, completion, and boundedness) of the activity, event, or state itself.¹⁸⁸ Such adpreps, originally exceedingly concrete, were later to become transformed into prefixes, constituents (determinators) in innumerable verbal and nominal compounds expressing abstract concepts, the necessary tools in the process of conceptualizing the world.

But to speak of "prepositions" strictly in the PIE has no real sense: they cannot be distinguished from postpositions, nor from preverbs and postverbs.¹⁸⁹ Their connection with verbs was not firmly established: they could be separated from the verbs, a phenomenon usually called *tnesis* (as still is the case in German languages), even if there were preverbs in IE that could not be separated from their verbs.¹⁹⁰

In PIE, such compounds did in fact occur but represented two independent words, a situation reflected in Hittite and the older Sanskrit of the Vedas, and surviving in isolated remnants of Greek and Latin.¹⁹¹ In the Hittite, the preverbs were still written separately, and in Rigveda and Homer "distant compounds" are common, like in *Odyssey* 9.150 ἐκ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ βῆμεν, 'we ourselves disembarked', which

¹⁸⁶ G. E. Dunkel, *Lexikon der indogermanischen Partikeln und Pronominalstämme*, I-II, Heidelberg 2014, here I, p. 14 ff., abbr. *LIPP*.

¹⁸⁷ Mallory & Adams, 288-293.

¹⁸⁸ Paul Friedrich, "The Proto-Indo-European adpreps (spatio-temporal auxiliaries)", in *Festschrift for Henry Hoenigswald*, Tübingen 1987, 131-142.

¹⁸⁹ Bader, 49-60. For an overview of "prepositions" in the PIE, see Hirt, 3, 15 ff.

¹⁹⁰ Hirt, 4, 54. The "particle verbs" in the German language family, like English, German, and the Scandinavian languages, consist of a verb and a stressed particle (normally an adverb or a preposition). Some of them can be compounded as one word, while others suffer changes of signification if separated: to *hold up* is not the same as *uphold*, and the noun *hold-up* means something quite different. Cf. Henzen, 85 ff. ("Feste und unfeste Komposita").

¹⁹¹ Watkins, p. xx.

corresponds to Attic ἐξέβην. That compounds could be "lexicalized" early is apparent from PIE **ni-sdos* (Latin *nidus*, 'nest') < **ni-sed*, 'sit down'.¹⁹²

Prepositions and preverbs were originally indeclinable local adverbs, most likely petrified case forms functioning as independent words in free positions in the phrase, determining nouns or verbs but not particularly connected with either. Later, some such semantical items started to influence the case rection (adnominal use) or formed compounds with verbs (as preverbs), thereby losing their independence. An indication of the original free position are the postpositions in Greek (e.g. μετά, by anastrophe μέτα), which can be placed after its substantive in Homer through tmesis.¹⁹³

3. Verbal composition: preverbs in Greek

Accordingly, the adpreps were often fused with verbs to form single words in IE groups. The following survey¹⁹⁴ of preverbs in Greek is limited to the primary, concrete denotations of some basic verbs, even if it is hard at times to distinguish neatly between concrete and metaphorical use. The semantic determinative (originally spatial) function of preverbs, and their close relationship with the corresponding prepositions, is eminently transparent in some Greek verbal compounds denoting:

presence, existence:

EINAI 'be, exist, live, continue, dwell'

*ἄντ-εἰμι ?

ἄπ-εἰμι 'be away/absent/wanting'

δί-εἰμι 'be continually'

ἐν-εἰμι 'be within/in/on/at, be present, extant'

ἐξ-εἰμι 'come from'

ἐπ-εἰμι 'be upon/at, be fixed upon, be at hand'

*κάτ-εἰμι ?

μέτ-εἰμι 'be among/between/near'

¹⁹² Leumann, 557 ff.

¹⁹³ For a summary of the IE preverbs, see Hirt, 4, 55 ff.

¹⁹⁴ I refrain from noting all those compounds in the future and aorist tense which are formed on others than the present stems: ἀνθ-οράω ἀντ-όψομαι *ἀντ-εἶδον, etc. Courtesy of Prof. Jerker Blomqvist.

πάρ-ειμι 'be by/present/near, stand by, assist: be exstant/at hand'
 περί-ειμι 'be around, surpass'
 πρό-ειμι 'be before'
 πρόσ-ειμι 'be near/by/at, be added, be there, belong to'
 σύν-ειμι 'be/live together, be united'
 *ὑπέρ-ειμι ?
 ὑπ-ειμι 'be under, lie at bottom, be at hand' (cf ὑπ-άρχω 'come into being, exist')

position/location/relation in space (Befindlichkeit):

ΕΧΕΙΝ 'to have, hold, hold fast'

ἀν-έχω 'hold/lift up, support, exalt'
 ἀντ-έχω 'hold against object, keep off, bear, sustain'
 ἀπ-έχω 'hold off, prohibit, be far'
 *δι-έχω ?
 εἰς-έχω 'stretch into, reach; shine into'
 ἐν-έχω 'keep within, entertain'
 *ἐξ-έχω ?
 ἐπ-έχω 'have/hold upon, place upon, present'
 κατ-έχω 'keep down/back, check, delay'
 μετ-έχω 'have a share of, partake, enjoy with'
 παρ-έχω 'hold in readiness, offer, supply'
 περι-έχω 'hold around, encompass, embrace'
 προ-έχω 'hold before, have before'
 προσ-έχω 'hold to, bring to, direct to'
 συν-έχω 'hold/keep together, contain, comprise'
 ὑπ-έχω 'hold under, put under, hold out (under)'
 ὑπερ-έχω 'hold over'

ΚΕΙΣΘΑΙ 'be laid down, lie, be situated'

ἀμφί-κειμαι 'lie around, embrace'
 ἀντί-κειμαι 'be opposed'
 ἀπό-κειμαι 'lie appart/in store, be ready'
 διά-κειμαι 'be in a certain condition/disposition, be affected/disposed, be settled'
 ἐγ-κειμαι 'lie in/on, be placed in, press on'

εἶς-κειμαι 'lie in; be put on board of a ship'
 ἔκ-κειμαι 'be exposed, lie there at large'
 ἐπί-κειμαι 'be laid/lie upon/in/at/near'
 κατά-κειμαι 'lie down/at table, lie hid/still/sick'
 *μετά-κειμαι ?
 παρά-κειμαι 'lie beside, be ready/at hand'
 περί-κειμαι 'lie around, embrace, be put around'
 πρό-κειμαι 'lie before/exposed, be proposed'
 πρόσ-κειμαι 'lie near, be joined with, be added/imposed'
 σύγ-κειμαι 'lie with, be together'
 ὑπέρ-κειμαι 'lie over/beyond'
 ὑπό-κειμαι 'lie under/below, be laid down'

motion from a place/state to another, walking, going, coming:

IENAI 'go, come, wander, travel, drive, sail, fly, march, progress, advance'

ἄν-ειμι 'go up, rise, return'
 *ἄντ-ειμι ?
 ἄπ-ειμι 'go away, leave, go over'
 δί-ειμι 'march through'
 εἶς-ειμι 'come/go into, enter; visit, seize'
 *ἔν-ειμι ?
 ἔξ-ειμι 'go out/away, march out'
 ἔπ-ειμι 'go/come to/upon, approach, attack'
 κάτ-ειμι 'go/come down, fall/flow down'
 μέτ-ειμι 'go between/among, go after, follow'
 πάρ-ειμι is replaced by παρ-έρχομαι 'go forth, advance'
 περί-ειμι is replaced by περι-έρχομαι 'go round/about'
 πρό-ειμι is replaced by προ-έρχομαι 'go forth, on'
 πρόσ-ειμι is replaced by προσ-έρχομαι 'go, come up, to'
 σύν-ειμι is replaced by συν-έρχομαι 'go together, with, meet'
 *ὑπέρ-ειμι is replaced by ὑπερ-έρχομαι 'pass over, cross'
 ὕπ-ειμι 'come on secretly, withdraw gradually'

BAINEIN 'take strides, walk, go, step, mount'

ἀμφι-βαίνω 'walk around, encompass'
 ἀντι-βαίνω 'set one's foot against'

ἀνα-βαίνω 'ge up, mount, ascend'
 δια-βαίνω 'stride, cross, go over'
 εἰς-βαίνω 'go/come into'
 ἐμ-βαίνω 'step in/into, enter, embark'
 ἐκ-βαίνω 'step/go/come out, disembark, leave'
 ἐπι-βαίνω 'walk upon, go up, ascend, attack'
 κατα-βαίνω 'go/come down'
 μετα-βαίνω 'pass to another place'
 παρα-βαίνω 'go by the side of/beyond, transgress, pass over, omit, neglect'
 περι-βαίνω 'go round, sound round'
 προ-βαίνω 'step forward, advance, go on, elapse'
 προς-βαίνω 'go towards/to, come near, attack'
 συμ-βαίνω 'go/come together, agree'
 ὑπο-βαίνω 'go under/down, stand under'
 ὑπερ-βαίνω 'step/pass over'

ΕΡΧΕΣΘΑΙ 'come, arrive at, march, travel'

*ἀντ-έρχομαι ?

ἀν-έρχομαι 'go up, rise, come (back), return, come home'

ἀπ-έρχομαι 'go away, depart, go over, return'

δι-έρχομαι 'go/walk/drive/pass through, arrive at'

εἰς-έρχομαι, replaced by εἶς-εἰμι

*ἐν-έρχομαι ?

ἐπ-έρχομαι 'go/come up forward/on, attack, occur, go over, visit'

κατ-έρχομαι is replaced by κάτ-εἰμι 'go/fall down, come back'

*μετ-έρχομαι is replaced by μέτ-εἰμι 'go between/among, go away, go after'

παρ-έρχομαι 'go by/beside/past/beyond, come to, come forward'

περι-έρχομαι 'go round/about, rotate, revolve, travel about'

προ-έρχομαι 'go forward, appear in public, go first'

προς-έρχομαι 'come/go forward, approach, advance'

συν-έρχομαι 'go together with, meet, make agreement, meet in battle'

ὑπερ-έρχομαι 'go beyond'

ὑπ-έρχομαι 'go/come under, creep into, advance slowly'

seeing, watching, perceiving:

ΟΠΑΝ 'see, look, have sight'

*ἀν-οράω ?

ἀνθ-οράω 'look straight at'

ἀφ-οράω 'look away from, look from afar, behold'

δι-οράω 'see through'

εἰς-οράω 'look into/on/at, behold; perceive, consider'

ἐφ-οράω 'look on, oversee, inspect'

*ἐξ-οράω (occurs in passive ἐξ-οράομαι) is replaced by ἐξ-εἶδον 'look out, see far'

καθ-οράω 'look down, see from afar, behold'

*μεθ-οράω ?

παρ-οράω 'look on, notice, look past, overlook'

περι-οράω 'look around for, neglect'

προ-οράω 'look forward from afar, foresee'

συν-οράω 'see together, see at once'

ὕφ-οράω 'look askance, look with suspicion'

ὕπερ-οράω 'look over, survey, overlook, disregard'

ΒΛΕΠΕΙΝ 'look at/on, see, regard, observe'

ἀντι-βλέπω 'look straight at'

ἀνα -βλέπω 'look up/back, regain sight'

ἀπο -βλέπω 'look at, regard'

δια-βλέπω 'look through, look straight on'

εἰς-βλέπω 'look at'

ἐμ-βλέπω 'look at'

ἐκ-βλέπω 'look'

ἐπι-βλέπω 'look at/upon, regard'

κατα-βλέπω 'look down at'

μετα-βλέπω 'look after/at'

*παρα-βλέπω (cf. παρα -βλώψ 'looking sideways, squinting')

περι-βλέπω 'look around/about, gaze upon' (cf περίβλεπτος 'gazed at, famous')

προ-βλέπομαι 'provide for'

συν-βλέπω 'observe at the same time'

ὕπο-βλέπω 'look askance/scornfully/suspiciously/angrily: glance at'

ὕπερ-βλέπω 'overlook, neglect'

transient (transitive) action on a person or an object (or both) within the same space (or temporal space) as the agent: taking, carrying, leaving, placing, arranging:

ΑΓΕΙΝ 'lead away/off/on/towards, conduct, drive, take along'

*ἀντ-άγω does not exist, but cf. ἀντ-ανάγω 'lead up against'

ἀν-άγω 'lead/bring up/back'

ἀπ-άγω 'lead/carry on/away, remove, go away'

δι-άγω 'lead through/over/across, pass'

εἰς-άγω 'lead into/up, import; admit; summon before a court'

ἐν-άγω 'lead in/on/to, urge, incite, promote'

ἐξ-άγω 'lead out/away, export, expel'

ἐπ-άγω 'lead/bring/drive to/on, add, impel, cause'

κατ-άγω 'lead/bring/carry down, bring back'

μετ-άγω 'convey to another place, march after'

παρ-άγω 'lead beside, bring forward, lead astray'

περι-άγω 'lead round/about'

προ-άγω 'lead on/forward, carry forward'

προσ-άγω 'bring on, add, introduce'

συν-άγω 'lead/bring together, summon, admit'

*ὕπερ-άγω ?

ὕπ-άγω 'lead/bring under, draw from under'

ΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙΝ 'take, seize, grasp, capture, obtain'

ἀνα-λαμβάνω 'take/lift up, take into one's service'

ἀντι-λαμβάνω 'take/receive in turn/return, take part with, hold fast'

ἀπο-λαμβάνω 'take away/apart, separate, retain, hinder'

δια-λαμβάνω 'take asunder, separate, take apart'

*εἰς-λαμβάνω ?

ἐκ-λαμβάνω 'take out of, chose, receive'

ἐπι-λαμβάνω 'take/seize besides, lay hold of, catch'

κατα-λαμβάνω 'seize, lay hold of, take possession of, occupy'

μετα-λαμβάνω 'get a share, partake in exchange'

παρα-λαμβάνω 'receive from another, succeed to [an office], seize'

περι-λαμβάνω 'seize around, embrace, surround'

προ-λαμβάνω 'take (away) beforehand, obtain first, anticipate'

προσ-λαμβάνω 'take hold of, take to oneself, receive in addition'

ὕπο-λαμβάνω 'take from below, take on one's back, receive'

ΛΕΙΠΕΙΝ 'leave (behind), abandon, desert'

*ἀντι-λείπω ?

ἀνα-λείπω 'leave (behind), relinquish, omit'

δια-λείπω 'leave an interval/gap, let pass, desist, lie between'

*εἰς-λείπω ?

ἐλ-λείπω 'leave behind, leave out, omit, neglect, forsake, abandon'

ἐπι-λείπω 'leave behind, omit, fail, be gone'

κατα-λείπω 'leave behind, bequeath, forsake, abandon'

*μετα-λείπω ?

παρα-λείπω 'leave remaining/unnoticed, neglect'

περι-λείπω 'left (behind), remaining' (cf περίλοιπος 'left behind')

προ-λείπω 'leave, forsake, omit'

*προς-λείπω ?

*συλ-λείπω ?

ὑπο-λείπω 'leave remaining/behind', ὑπο-λείπομαι 'be inferior'

*ὑπερ-λείπω ?

ΦΕΡΕΙΝ 'bear, carry (away), suffer, endure'

ἀνα-φέρω 'carry, bring up, lift up, offer'

ἀντι-φέρω 'set against, oppose'

ἀπο-φέρω 'carry off/away, bring back/up, transmit'

δια-φέρω 'carry across/different ways, differ'

εἰς-φέρω 'carry/bring into/in; contribute, pay; propose'

ἐμ-φέρω 'hold up to, object to'

ἐκ-φέρω 'carry out/away, bury'

ἐπι-φέρω 'bring/carry/put upon, cause, impose'

κατα-φέρω 'carry/bring down'

μετα-φέρω 'carry to another place, transfer, change, alter'

παρα-φέρω 'carry along, bring forward, produce, remove'

περι-φέρω 'carry/move round, divulge'

προ-φέρω 'bring forward, produce, proclaim'

προς-φέρω 'carry to/near, offer, provide'

συν-φέρω 'bring together, collect, contribute, bear jointly'

ὑπερ-φέρω 'carry over, be superior'

ὑπο-φέρω 'carry away, save, rescue, pretend, endure'

ΤΙΘΕΝΑΙ 'put, place, lay, set'

ἀντι-τίθεμι 'set against, oppose, compare'
ἀπο-τίθεμι 'put away/aside/down'
δια-τίθεμι 'put asunder, dispose, arrange'
εἰς-τίθημι 'put/place into/on'
ἐν-τίθεμι 'put in, inspire, put over/on'
ἐκ-τίθεμι 'put out/outside'
ἐπι-τίθεμι 'put/lay upon'
κατα-τίθεμι 'place/put down, deposit'
μετα-τίθεμι 'place among/differently, alter'
παρα-τίθεμι 'place beside/before, supply, provide'
περι-τίθεμι 'put/place round/about, put on'
προ-τίθεμι 'place before, prefer, propose, expose'
προσ-τίθεμι 'put to/upon/in front'
συν-τίθεμι 'put/place together, compose, unite'
ὕπερ-τίθεμι 'commit, entrust, delay'
ὕπο-τίθεμι 'put/place under, substitute'

ΙΕΝΑΙ 'send/let off, let go, throw'

*ἀντ-ίημι ?
ἀν-ίημι 'send up, raise, produce, relax'
δι-ίημι 'send/thrust/shoot through'
εἰς-ίημι 'send/put into'
ἐν-ίημι 'send/drive/let into'
ἐξ-ίημι 'send out/away/forth'
*ἐπ-ίημι ?
καθ-ίημι 'send/let down, let return'
μεθ-ίημι 'let lose/go, release, forgive, send away, abandon'
παρ-ίημι 'let fall at the side, let by/past/through'
*περι-ίημι ?
προ-ίημι 'send before/on/forward'
προσ-ίημι 'admit'
συν-ίημι 'seat/bring together, perceive'
ὕφ-ίημι 'send down, put under, lower'
ὕπερ-ίημι 'throw beyond'

4. Adpreps and preverbs in Latin, and some other languages

Again, prepositions and preverbs were originally indeclinable local adverbs in free position in the sentence. On basis of comparative studies, it seems likely that both prepositions and preverbs appeared in the last period of the IE linguistic unity. Traces of that stage are left in Latin. The PIE adprep **en* had originally the same function as *intus* in Plautus *Cas.* 763 *omnes festinant intus totis aedibus*, namely to support the local ablative adverbial and make it clearer. In pre-classical and classical Latin, many prepositions could still function even as adverbs, and prepositions used in anastrophe and tmesis witness of late stages of that development.¹⁹⁵ The adverbial function of some such adpreps in Latin do only occur in fixed formulas like *deque susque, praeter propter, satis superque*, etc. Some PIE adpreps remain in Latin only as prefixes, not as prepositions, like *dis-* and *re(d)-*.¹⁹⁶

Other traces of such a free position are detectable in archaic formulas in Latin like *sub vos placo* (= *vos supplico*, cited by Festus p. 190M, 309 M), and in tmesis, as in Plautus *Trin.* 833 *disque tulissent* (= *et distulissent*), Lucr. 6, 394 *inque peditur, complexa meant inter se conque globata*, *ibid.* 2.150, and in anastrophe, such as Plautus *Trin.* 1145 *thensaurum tuom me esse penes*¹⁹⁷ (*penes* 'under the control of, in the charge of, at the house', cf *penus, penitus, penetro*).

In a later stage, some such semantical items started to influence regularly the case rection (adnominal use) or formed compounds with verbs (as preverbs), thereby losing their independence.

In Latin many prepositions kept their function as adverbs, and prepositions used by anastrophe and tmesis witness of earlier stages of development.¹⁹⁸ The function of such particles were adverbial, as can be seen from some traces left in Old Latin of *prae* and *pro(d)* with the imperative of *ire*:

Plaut. *Cist.* 773 i *prae*, iam ego te sequar

Plaut. *Amph.* 551 age i tu *secundum*

Plaut. *Curc.* 487 i tu *prod'*

¹⁹⁵ Szantyr, 214 ff,

¹⁹⁶ Szantyr, 215.

¹⁹⁷ Szantyr, *ibid.*, Leumann, 271.

¹⁹⁸ Szantyr, 214 ff. Cf. German *zweifelsohne* 'undoubtedly', Swedish *vänner emellan* 'among friends'.

Some monosyllabic adverbs have been transformed into preverbs and prepositions, *post(e)* was however less productive as a preverb. The bisyllabics continued to function as adverbs as well as preverbs: *ante, circum, contra, intro, retro, subter, super*.

A preposition or a preverb can have spatial, temporal and/or notional function. It is reasonable to assume that the spatial function was the original. So, for instance, the adverb *extra* had the basic meaning 'outside'. From there, it developed the notional meanings of 'apart from, except', and 'not in accordance with'. A similar procedure can be followed concerning the other preverbs as well.

The use of preverbs (originally spatial) in Latin is thus a development in one individual IE language long after the break-up of the common language. A verbal stem is preceded by a preverb, which determined more closely the verbal action, most effectively so with verbs denoting spatial movement: *ad-venio, con-venio, de-venio, e-venio, in-venio, inter-venio, ob-venio, per-venio, prae-venio, pro-venio, re-venio, sub-venio, super-venio, trans-venio* – or in German: *an-kommen, aus-kommen, be-kommen, ge-kommen, draus-kommen, davon-kommen, durch-kommen, ein-kommen, empor-kommen, her-kommen, mit-kommen, nach-kommen, nahe-kommen, über-kommen, um-kommen, unter-kommen, ver-kommen, vor-kommen, weg-kommen, wieder-kommen, zu-kommen, zurück-kommen, zusammen-kommen*, with equals in other German languages.¹⁹⁹

4.1 Abstractions

The same fact can be established in IE languages that have reached a certain level of *abstraction*.²⁰⁰ This is to say that most abstractions that we use are originally orientational metaphors of a concrete, bodily, spatial, or temporal character.²⁰¹ The very word 'abstraction' is in itself an instance of this: it means the process of separation from matter, an operation that cannot take place materially, only mentally, as Aristotle has it: "Since according to common agreement there is nothing outside and separate in existence from sensible spatial magnitudes, the objects of thought are in the sensible forms, viz. both the abstract objects and all the states and affections of sensible things [---] and when the mind is actively aware of anything, it is necessarily aware of it along with an image, for images are like

¹⁹⁹ Henzen, 98 ff. Less so in English, but cf. *be-get, be-come*.

²⁰⁰ The term is coined by Boethius, who translated the Aristotelian syntagm ἐξ ἀφαίρεσεως, "[things] drawn from, removed" by the plural *abstracta*, a concept used mainly about mathematical entities, without sensual qualities, cf. *De anima* I, 1, 403b14, *Metaphysica* K, 3, 1061a28.

²⁰¹ Cf. Lakoff & Johnson, 14-21.

sensuous contents except in that they contain no matter.”²⁰² Accordingly, if you think of the quality ‘flat-nosed’ (τὸ σιμόν, *simum*) you have to think of a nose (since that quality can only be predicated of a nose), but if you call the nose ‘hollow’ (κοῖλον, *curvum*), than you can separate the nose from its form, since ‘hollowness’ is a mere abstraction, applicable to any material object, just like you can think of mathematical entities as such, even if they cannot exist as such, like ‘two-ness’, but only in their objects.²⁰³

5. The fate of some PIE adpreps in Greek and Latin (and descended languages)

The following overview is intended to show the respective development in two separate IE language families, Greek and Latin, as far the use of adpreps is concerned, in their function to qualify, determine, restrict, or enhance further the meaning of verbs, or, in some cases, substantives and adjectives.

In transcribing the reconstructed PIE forms, I follow the simplified method of Pokorny, Friedrich and Watkins. The information about their subsequent fate in English and other modern languages are taken from OED. The numbers of their occurrence in Latin were established by García Hernández (p. 128, ff.), without a more precise estimation of the time limits of the words included in his study, but he uses the conventional periods *preclasico*, *clasico*, *postclasico* and *tardío*, i. e. the Latinity up to 600 CE. In some cases, it is hard to decide whether an adprep is a preverb or an adverb (one or two words?). However, the numbers give an impression of the relative productivity of the formation in question.

The informations on post-Latin use of these lexemes are mostly taken from *OED*.

5.1 **ád*

(local adverb, often with acc. or loc.) ‘to, towards, by’

ON *at*, OE *æt*, Sw. *åt*²⁰⁴

Cognate with Teut. **at*, but did not survive in **Gr.**

²⁰² De anima Γ, 8, 432a3-11 ἐπει δὲ οὐδὲ πρᾶγμα οὐδέν ἐστι παρὰ τὰ μεγέθη, ὥς δοκεῖ, τὰ αἰσθητὰ κεχωρισμένον, ἐν τοῖς εἶδεσι τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς τὰ νοητὰ ἐστι, τὰ τε ἐν ἀφαιρέσει λεγόμενα καὶ ὅσα τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἔξεις καὶ πάθη [---] ὅταν τε θεωρῇ, ἀνάγκη ἅμα φάντασμα τι θεωρεῖν. τὰ γὰρ φαντάσματα ὥσπερ αἰσθήματά ἐστιν, πλὴν ἄνευ ὕλης. Translation J. A. Smith.

²⁰³ Cf. *De anima* Γ, 7, 431b13-17.

²⁰⁴ *LIPP* II, 8 ff.

Lat. *ad(-)*, preposition and prefix, but not an adverb, is usually combined with verbs or verbal derivatives and adds one or more senses of the preposition:

1. motion to/against: *ad-eo*, *ag-gredior*, *ac-cipio*, 2. direction towards: *at-tendo*, 3. placing on/against: *ac-clino*, *al-ligo*, 4. reaching: *ad-venio*, *at-tingo*, *ad-eo* 'to the point where', 5. nearness/presence: *ad-sum*, *al-luo*, attention, response: *ad-mirror*, *ad-nuo*, 6. adjustment: *ad-apto*, *as-suesco*, 7. inception: *ad-ēdo* 'eat into', *ad-ūro*, 8. intensification: *ad-amo*, *ap-prime* 'to the highest degree'.

As a preposition, *ad* indicates motion/direction, limit, position/situation, response/opposition/dealing with, accordance/comparison/standard, or function/purpose/result.

As preverb c. **320** instances.

From early in the documented history of Old French, but with increasing frequency in Middle French, forms are found which show remodeling under classicizing influence, e.g. *adorer*, *adornier*. In later Middle English and especially in early modern English this classicizing trend was often carried further than in French, and in some cases classicizing forms were found which are not paralleled in French, while in others the classicizing form was ultimately selected as the standard form in modern English but not in French (compare French *adresser* beside English *address*, French *avertissement* beside English *advertisement*).

5.2 **anb^{hi}*, **nb^{hi}*

'around, on both sides', (< **ant-bi*?)

OHG *umbi*, OE *ymb(e)*, ON *um*, *om*, Sw. *om*²⁰⁵

Gr. ἀμφί, ἀμφώ 'both, on both sides'. Adv. 'on both sides, around, about', prep. 'round, near, about'.

Position: in poetry, it sometimes follows its case but never suffers anastrophe.

As adverb 'about, around, on both/all sides': ἀμφὶ δὲ λειμῶν 'round about (is) a meadow' *Od.* 6.292.

In composition: ἀμφί-στομος 'doublemouthed' (of a tunnel), ἀμφι-βάλλω 'throw/put round'.

With clear spatial (local) reference: ἀμφί-κειμαι 'lie around', ἀμφ-ίσταμαι 'stand around', ἀμφι-βαίνω 'walk around', ἀμφι-τίθημι 'put round'.

²⁰⁵ *LIPP* II, 35-40.

Metaphorically: ἀμφι- 'in both directions', as for instance in compounds with -γνοέω in aor. ἤμφ-εγνόησα 'I was doubtful'.

Lat. *amb(i)-, amb-, am-, an-*, not productive in classical Latin, and hardly considered a prefix but adding the meaning 'round, about', it kept its concrete sense in *amb-io* 'visit in rotation', *amb-ulo* (*amb-ul-o*, **-ul-* uncertain, as in *ex-ul*?) 'walk (around)', *amb-ages* 'roundabout, meanderings', *amb-edo* 'eat at, consume', *ambiguus* 'doubtful'. Metaphorically *amb-ages* 'circumlocution', and *amb-igo* 'to dispute, be uncertain'.

As preverb **8** instances.

5.3 **áno*, **anu*, **no*

'into/over a sloping surface, up, upwards, along',

Goth. *ana*, **OHG** *ana*, **ON** *á*, **OE** *an, on, a*, **Sw.** *å*²⁰⁶

Gr. *ἀνά* adv. 'upwards, above', prep. 'up, upwards, back, backwards, again', in temporal use 'throughout'.

Position: often in tmesis in Homer (ἀνὰ δ' ἔσχετο, ἀνὰ δ' ὄρτο, ἀνὰ τεύχε ἀείρας). With anastrophe ('up!'), although never so as a preposition.

As temporal adverb 'thereupon' in Homer and other poets.

In composition, it keeps its clear 'upward' reference (as opposite to *κατά*) in e.g.: *ἀν-έχω* 'hold/lift up, support, exalt', *ἀνα-λαμβάνω* 'take/lift up, take into one's service', *ἀνα-φέρω* 'carry, bring up, lift up, offer', *ἀν-έρχομαι* 'go up, rise', *ἀν-άγω* 'lead/bring up', *ἀν-εἶμι* 'go up, rise', *ἀνα-τίθημι* 'set up', *ἀν-ίημι* 'send up, raise', *ἀνα-βαίνω* 'go up, mount, ascend', *ἀν-ίσθημι* 'set up, erect, build, raise' – whence the sense of increase, as in *ἀνα-κρίνω* 'examine, judge'. The denotation 'throughout' yields a sense of repetition/improvement, as in *ἀνα-βλαστάνω* 'shoot up again', *ἀνα-βιόω* 'return to life'. The meaning 'back, backwards', as in *ἀνα-χορέω* 'retire', *ἀνα-νεύω* 'deny, refuse', may result from *ἀνὰ ρόον*, 'up = against the stream', whence another, distinctly temporal function, as in: *ἀν-έρχομαι* 'come (back), return, come home', *ἀν-άγω* 'bring back', *ἀνα-τίθημι* 'set up, put/lay on, put back, remove', *ἀνα-βλέπω* 'regain sight', *ἀνα-τάσσομαι* 'arrange again, rehearse'.

In **Lat.**, the only rest seems to be *an-helo* (< **an-anslo*) 'breathe hard', and *an-testor* 'call as a witness'.

²⁰⁶ *LIPP* II, 50-54.

5.4 *anti

inflected form (*h₂énti*, locative singular) 'facing, opposite' < **h₂ent* 'face'

Goth. *and* (prep.), ON *and-*, OHG *ant-*, *ent-*²⁰⁷

Gr. *ἀντί* 'opposite, over against, before, instead of, for'.

Position: in Homer, and some other rare cases, postpositional.

In composition: 1. in locative sense: *ἀντ-έχω* 'hold against object, keep off, bear, sustain', 2. 'against, in opposition to': *ἀντι-φέρω* 'set against, oppose', *ἀντί-κειμαι* 'be opposed', *ἀντι-βαίνω* 'set one's foot against', *ἀνθ-ίστημι* 'set against, oppose', *ἀντι-τάσσω* 'range in battle against', 3. 'in return', as in *ἀντι-λαμβάνω* 'take/receive in turn/return', *ἀντι-βοηθέω* 'assist in return', 4. 'instead of' *ἀντι-βασιλεύς* 'interrex', 5. 'equal to, like' *ἀντί-θεος* 'equal to a god', *ἀντί-παις* 'like a child', 6. 'corresponding' *ἀντί-τυπος* 'image'.

In **Lat.** *ante* as adverb and adprep, c. **15** instances, 'in front of, first, previously, before, earlier, before in quality'. As a prefix, it is used with the senses of the adverb: spatially, as in *ante-eo*, 'walk in front of', *ante-cursores*, 'leading troops, vanguard', or temporally, as in *ante-capio* 'seize beforehand', *anti-cipo* 'occupy beforehand, anticipate', *ante-cedens*, 'previous, preceding', *ante-cenium* 'dinner taken earlier than the *cena*', *ant-ea*, *ant-hac*, *ant-erior* (analogous to *post-erior*), *anti-cus*, *-quus*, metaphorically *ante-habeo* 'prefer', *ante-pono* 'esteem more highly'.

As preverb c. **15** instances.

Examples adopted in English directly or through French have since 1600 served as models for formations as *ante-temple*, *ante-nuptial*, *ante-* has acquired a separable character and is prefixed to other words, as *ante-room*, *ante-diluvian*, *ante-date*. Adj. of this type are formed at will, either with or without adj. endings, as *ante-baptismal*, *ante-Norman*, *ante-reformational*, and *ante-communion*, *ante-reformation*, *ante-war*.

In English of position (after 1600): *ante-cavern*, *-closet*, *-garden*, *-hall*, *-porch*, *-portico*, *-stomach*, *ante-bath*, *ante-church*, *ante-chapel*, *ante-nave*, *ante-number* 'preceding number'. Of time or order: *ante-dawn*, *-disposition*, *-luminary*, *-occupation*, *-predicament*, *-spring*, *-taste*, *ante-eternity* 'quality of having existed from all eternity', *ante-noon*. Of position, 'in front of': *ante-consonantal* 'preceding a consonant', *ante-pectoral* 'in front of the breast'. 19th century. Of time or order, with adj. ending: *ante-Babylonish*, *-Gothic*, *-historic*, *-human*, *-natal*, *-revolutional*, *-revolutionary*. 19th century.

²⁰⁷ LIPP II, 306-311.

5.5 *άp, *άpo

'away, off, back, again, behind, after'

Skr. *apa*, OHG *af*, OE *of*, E *of*, *off*, G *ab*, Sw *av*²⁰⁸

Gr. *άπό* adv. 'off, away, back', prep. 'from, away from, far from, since, after, because of'.

Position: in Homer frequent with verbs in tmesis.

As preverb motional/temporal, it has kept its local/spatial force of removing something from (an original) place or state, in e.g. *άπ-έχω* 'hold off, prohibit, be far', *άφ-οράω* 'look away from, look from afar, behold', *άπο-λαμβάνω* 'take away/apart, separate, retain, hinder', *άπο-φέρω* 'carry off/away, bring back/up, transmit', *άπ-έρχομαι* 'go away, depart, go over, return', *άπ-ειμι* 'be away/absent/wanting', *άπο-τίθημι* 'put away/aside/down', *άπό-κειμαι* 'lie appart/in store, be ready', *άφ-ίσθημι* 'put away, remove, depose', intr. 'stand aloof', *άπο-βλέπω* 'look at (away from other objects at one), regard, gaze', *άπο-τάσσω* 'range apart, assign specially'.

Other functions in composition: 1. 'asunder, apart': *άπο-κόπτω*, *άπο-τέμνω* 'cut off', 2. 'completing': *άπ-εργάζομαι* 'finish off', *άπ-ανδρόομαι* 'become a man', 3. 'ceasing from': *άπ-αλγέω* 'feel no more pain from', *άπ-ανθέω* 'finish blooming', 4. 'back again': *άπο-δίδωμι* 'give back, return', *άπο-τίνω* 'pay back, repay', 6. privative function: *άπ-αγορεύω* 'forbid, deny, dissuade', *άπο-νοέομαι* 'be desperate', so mostly with adjectives, as *άπό-τιμος* 'put away from honour', stronger than *ά-τιμος*.

In **Lat., *ab(s)*** as prefix yields the sense 1. 'from, away from': *ab-duco*, *ab-eo*, 2. 'off' *ab-rumpo*, *abs-cido*, 3. 'at a distance': *ab-nocto* 'spend the night away from home', *ab-sum*, 4. 'completely, thoroughly': *ab-sorbeo*, *ab-surdus*, *ab-utor* 'consume entirely', 5. 'different in quality': *ab-similis*, 6. 'deprived of quality': *ab-sonus*, *a-mens*, 7. 'more remote degree': *ab-avus*, *ab-nepos*.

As preposition, *ab(s)* indicates motion away/distance/separation, or point of origin/source/agency.

As preverb c. **80** instances.

Classical Latin *ab-* developed into Old French *av-* before vowels (compare e.g. *avorter*, < classical Latin *abortāre* 'bring forth prematurely', and *avant* < classical *abante*), but remained *ab-* before consonants. Words which were borrowed or reborrowed from Latin within the Old French period retain *ab-* even before vowels (compare e.g. *abus* < classical *abūsus*). Classical Latin *abs-* developed into Old French *as-* (*astenir* and *asoudre*) but was

²⁰⁸ LIPP II, 66-86.

subsequently remodelled after Latin. In words borrowed later, the prefix remains *abs-*. In English borrowings from French or Latin, the prefix is usually *abs-* in such cases.

5.6 **dis*, **dwis*, **dwis-a*

'asunder, into two parts, through' (adv., local), related to **dwo*, 'two', and **dus-* 'bad, un-, miss-' (prefix only)

Goth. *twis-*, *dis-*, OHG *za-*, *zi-*, ON *twis-*²⁰⁹

Gr. *διά*, adv. 'asunder, through, throughout', prep. 'through, during, because of'.

Position: never anastrophe.

As adverb: *διά δ' ἄμπερές* 'clean through' *Il.* 11.377.

In composition spatial/motional/temporal ('asunder, make separate' or 'through, all the way through'): 1. spatial: 'through' *δι-όραω* 'see through', *δια-βαίνω* 'stride, cross, go over', *δι-έχω* 'reach through', *δι-ἵπτεύω* 'ride through', 2. 'in different directions': *δια-τίθημι* 'put asunder, dispose, arrange', *διά-κειμαι* 'be in a certain condition/disposition, be affected/disposed, be settled (when all the parts lie in their respective position)', or disagreement: *δια-φέρω* 'differ', reciprocity: *δι-αγωνίζομαι* 'fight against', 3. preeminence: *δια-πρέπω* 'be prominent/conspicuous', 4. completion, intensifying: *δι-εργάζομαι* 'ruin, kill', *δια-πράσσω* 'finish, kill', 5. leaving interval: *δια-λείπω* 'leave a gap'.

Gr. *δυσ-* (≠ *εὖ-*), prefix only, marks destroying the good or enhancing the bad sense of a word: *δυσ-θυμέω*, 'be disheartened', *δύσ-οδμος* 'ill-smelling', *δυσ-εξαπάτητος* 'hard to deceive', *δύσ-ιππος* '(terrain) unfit for cavalry'.

Latin *dis-* (prefix only) represents both of these two distinct PIE roots. The corresponding double semantical function becomes clear from the diverse types of compounding: 1. negative/privative: *dis-par*, *dif-ficilis*, *dis-similis*, *dis-pliceo*, whence the intensifying *dis-* in *dis-pudet*, *dis-cupio*, *dis-taedet*, 2. separation/dispersal: *dis-solvo*, *di-vello*, *dif-fugio*, *dir-imo*, *dis-cedo*, *dis-cors*, including reversal of a previous process: *dis-tingo*, *dis-iungo*, *dis-socio*, whence the nuance of accurate discernment, as in *di-ligo*, *dis-cerno*, *di-spicio*, *dis-sero*.

In compounds in *dis-* were frequently the opposites of those in *com-*, *con-*, e.g. *concolor* 'of the same colour' ≠ *discolor* 'of different colours', *concordia* ≠ *discordia*, *coniunctio* ≠ *disiunctio*, *compendium* ≠ *dispendium*, *consentio* ≠ *dissentio*. In classical Latin, *dis-* was rarely prefixed to another prefix, though *disconduco* 'be unprofitable' is used by Plautus, and *disconvenio* 'disagree' by Horace.

²⁰⁹ *LIPP* II, 145-147.

As preverb, *dis-* has some 170 instances.

In later Latin and Romance compounds in *discon-*, expressing the separation of elements of which *com-*, *con-* expressed the junction, became very numerous, many words of this type have come down through French into English, where others have been formed after them: cf. *discoherent*, *discomfit*, *discomfort*, *discommend*, *discompose*, *discompound*, *disconnect*, *disconsolate*, *discontent*, *discontinue*. Regular Romanic form of Latin *dis-* in Old Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Provençal, Old French, in modern French retained (as *dés-*) before a vowel or silent *h* (*déshabillé*), otherwise reduced to *dé-* (Old French *descharge*, modern *décharge*). In some cases apparently representing a late Latin *de-ex-*, for Latin *ex-*. Early Old French words passed into English with the prefix in the form *des-* (*descharge*, Middle English *descharge*), here it was sometimes, in conformity with later Old French pronunciation, reduced to *de-* (Old French *desmembre* > *demembre*, Middle English *demembre*), but usually the *s* was retained, and the prefix at length changed back to the Latin type *dis-* (*discharge*, *dismember*, also spelt *dys-*) as was also done to some extent in French itself (*descorde*, now *discorde*).

5.7 *ég^h, *eg^hs, *h₁eg^h(s)

‘from, out of’ (adv., local, often with abl.)²¹⁰

In **Gr.** ἐκ, ἐξ ‘out of, from, since’, etc.

Position: frequently separated from case, takes accent in anastrophe.

When prefix, the sense of removal prevails: ‘out, away, off’, but it can also express completion: ‘utterly’ ἐκ-διψάω, ἐκ-πικρός. It keeps its local/motional spatial sense in instances like ἐκ-λαμβάνω ‘take out of, chose, receive’, ἐκ-λείπω ‘leave out, omit, forsake, abandon’, ἐκ-φέρω ‘carry out/away, bury’, ἐξ-άγω ‘lead out/away, export, expel’, ἐξ-εἶμι (-ιέναι) ‘go out/away/forward, march out’, ἐκ-τίθημι ‘put out/outside’, ἐξ-ίημι ‘send out/away/forth’, ἐκ-κειμαι ‘be cast out/exposed, lie there at large’, ἐκ-βαίνω ‘step/go/come out, disembark, leave’, ἐξ-ίστημι ‘put out/away, change, alter’, ἐκ-τάσσω ‘arrange, draw out in order’.

Semantically more obscure is ἐξ-εἶμι (-εἶναι) ‘originate from, extant’, with some exceptions only in the impersonal ἐξ-εστί ‘it is allowed/possible’.

In **Lat.** *ex(-)*, *e(-)*, adprep.

As prefix: 1. ‘out, away’: *ex-eo*, *ex-clamo*, *e-venio*, 2. ‘throughout’: *e-dormio*, *e-poto*, *ex-pavesco*, 3. ‘achievement’: *ex-oro*, *ex-pugno*, 4. ‘up’: *ex-aggero*, *ex-struo*, 5. privative: *ex-pers*, *ex-sanguis*, *ex-animus*, *-animis*, *ex-pectoro* ‘banish from the mind’, *ex-auctoro* ‘release from military service’, *ex-heres* ‘disinherited’, *ex-lex*, ‘not bound by the law’.

²¹⁰ LIPP II, 204-208.

As preposition 'out of, from, in accordance with', etc., and 'change of state, office' (*ex gladiatore imperator*). Also attributively, without verb or verbal noun: *huic decet statuum statui ex auro* Pl. *Bac.* 640.

As preverb c. **400**, surpassed only by *con-*, *com-*.

On the analogy of forms of expression like *ex exsule consul* 'that has become a consul from an exile', the phrases *ex consule*, *ex magistro equitum*, were in the Latin of the empire added as titles to the names of men who had filled the offices of consul, master of the horse, etc. At a later periode these phrases gave rise to the compounds *exconsul*, *exmagister*, in the same manner as *proconsul*, *propraetor* had been developed from the older *pro consule*, *pro praetore*. In medieval Latin this usage was greatly extended, such forms as *ex-Augustus* being of frequent occurrence. Some words of this formation (*exprofessor*) passed in adapted forms into Italian and French, and on the analogy of these *ex-* was prefixed to Romance words. There are many formations even on English words, e. g. *ex-wife*. The English use, imitated from French, seems to have first become common towards the end of the 18th c.

5.8 *én, *eni

'in, inside, within' (adv. local, often with acc., loc.)

Goth. *in*, **ON** *ī*, **OE** *in*, **Sw.** *i*, *in*, *inne*, *innan*, extended form *endo-, *indo-²¹¹

In **Gr.** ἐν-, adv. 'within, besides', prep. 'in, at, on, between, among, during'.

Position: frequently between its noun and an adjective.

As adverb 'and therein/among them, and moreover'.

In composition: 1. 'being in': ἐν-εἶμι 'be within/in/on/at/present', ἐν-voέω, 'have in mind, consider', 2. with adjectives: a) modified degree: ἔμ-πικρός 'rather bitter', b) possession of quality: ἔμ-ψυχός 'animate', ἔν-voμος 'in accordance with law'.

In the basic concrete sense, ἐν- can refer to both location/situation in, and direction into something: ἔγ-κειμαι 'lie in/on, be placed in, press on', ἐν-έχω 'keep within, entertain', ἐν-ίστημι 'put/place in/on', med. 'enter, be present', ἐν-οράω 'look at, see, observe', ἐλ-λείπω 'leave in/behind/out, omit, neglect', ἐμ-φέρω 'bear/bring in', ἐν-άγω 'lead in/on/to', ἐν-τίθημι 'put in, inspire, put over/on', ἐν-ίημι 'send/drive/let into', ἐμ-βαίνω 'step in/into, enter, embark', ἐμ-βλέπω 'look at', ἐν-τάσσω 'range in, enrol'. Cf. adprep. ἐντός (cf. Lat. *intus*), ἔν-δον 'within, at home', adv. ἐνδο-θεν 'from within'.

In **Lat.** *in* (archaic *en*, with extended forms *indu-*, *endo-*). As preposition, it can appear after its noun and in tmesis. Constructed originally with accusative after

²¹¹ *LIPP* II, 221-236.

words expressing motion or change, with ablative after words denoting rest. Cf. *in-tus*, *in-tes-tinus* (*intus*-+*-tinus*), 'inward, internal, intestine'.

In composition, *in-* combines the senses of the preposition. It is the incomparably most productive prefix in Latin. 1. location/existence: *in-colo*, *in-sum*, 2. motional: *in-ambulo* 'walk to and fro', *im-pono*, 'towards, to, into' *im-pugno*, *in-cedo*, *in-cuso* 'lay the blame on', *in-crepo* 'make a loud noise against', 3. inchoative: *in-cipio*, 4. 'achievement': *im-petro*, 5. 'intensifying': *in-surgo*, *in-calesco*.

As preverb c. 320 instances, less characteristic than *ad-* but equally productive.

Since German *in-* and Latin *in-* are identical in form and to a great extent in sense, they came in later use to be felt as one and the same prefix, and it is this resulting prefix which appears in many words of later formation.

5.9 **en-tér*, **n-ter*

[sonantic *n*] 'in (into) the middle, between' (adv., local, often with acc., loc.), OHG *untar*, G *unter*, Sw. *under*²¹²

Comparative of **en*. In Gr. it remains only in ἔντερον, -α, mostly plural, 'intestines', thus ἔντερο- is not a prefix but the (nominal) first part of some compounds: ἔντερο-ειδής 'like intestines', ἔντερο-πονέω 'suffer from intestinal pains', etc.

In Lat. *in-ter* 'between, inside', *in-tro*, *in-tra*, *in-trin-secus*, *in-terus*, *in-terior*, superlat. *in-timus*.

As preposition, *inter* often follows the noun, or the first of two nouns, and it can occur in tmesis. As an adverb, *inter* means 'in between'.

In composition, it is combined with verbs and verbal derivatives: 1. being/motion between two places: *inter-cedo* 'intervene, oppose, obstruct', *inter-cido* 'fall between', *inter-cipio* 'seize in transit', *inter-chudo* 'shut off, hinder, blockade', 2. completion: *inter-ficio* 'murder'. In the case of *inter-morior* 'become extinct, fall unconscious', there is a durative nuance²¹³, 3. difference: *inter-nosco* 'recognize the difference between, distinguish', *intel-lego* 'recognizing by collecting different elements > perceive, grasp mentally' (cf. *neg-lego* 'be indifferent to, disregard, ignore').

in-tro 'on the inside', when in compounds, implies motion 'inside, indoors, in(to)': *intro-duco*, *intro-eo*, *intro-spicio*. It can often be treated as a separate word.

²¹² LIPP II, 237-240.

²¹³ García Hernández, 171.

As a preposition, it can follow its substantive, or the first of two substantives: Hor. Ep. 1.4.12 *timores inter et iras*, Ovid P. 1.8.61 *minimum quos inter et hostem*.

As preverb, *inter-* has some **110** instances and is thus much more productive than *ante-* and *post-*.

The French form of the prefix is *entre-*, and it was with *entre-* or *enter-*, as in *entrechange*, *entercourse*, *enterfere*, that these words were taken into Middle English, and new compounds formed in English itself. Between the 15th and 17th centuries, *entre-*, *enter-* gradually yielded to the Latin *inter*, *entertain* and *enterprise*, with their derivatives, being now the only relics of the earlier form. On the pattern of the words from Latin, many new derivatives have been formed from Latin (or Greek) elements (*inter-change*, *inter-continental*, *inter-kinesis*, *inter-neuronal*).

5.10 **épi*, **ópi*, **pi*

'close to, on, since, afterwards, after, behind' (adv., local, often with loc.)²¹⁴

In **Gr.** *ἐπί* as adv. 'on/at/to it, afterwards, besides', as prep. with acc. 'extending over, towards, up to, against, until, during', with genitive 'on, upon, at, by, near', with dat. 'on, in, at, near, beside, until, during' etc., *ὀπί-σθεν* 'behind'.

Position: may suffer anastrophe or follow its case *Il.* 1.162, or follow its verb, *Od.* 24.20 *ἦλυθ' ἐπὶ ψυχῇ* 'then the soul approached', in poets, it may follow two nouns and still govern both.

As adverb in poets 'as well, and besides'.

In composition it is locational, motional or temporal. 1. place: *ἐπί-κειμαι* 'be laid/lie upon/in/at/near', *ἐπί-γαιος* 'upon the earth', 2. motion upon, to, or towards: *ἐπι-βαίνω* 'walk upon, go up, ascend, attack', *ἐπ-έρχομαι* 'go/come up forward/on, attack, occur, go over, visit', or 'up to a point', *ἐπι-τελέω* 'accomplish', doing something over a place/at something: *ἐπι-τίθημι* 'put/lay upon', *ἐφ-οράω* 'look on, oversee, inspect', *ἐπι-γελάω* 'laugh at/about', *ἐπί-χρυσος* 'overlaid with gold', 3. accretion, intensification, or addition of something: *ἐπ-αυξάνω* 'increase, enlarge', *ἐπ-εισυναγωγή* 'bringing in in addition', *ἐπί-κτητος* 'newly acquired', 4. temporal: *ἐπι-γίγνομαι* 'live after'.

In **Lat.**, the preposition **ob** (< **op-**, **obs-**, **os-**) means 'towards, in front of, with a view to, on behalf of/opportunity of', etc., in compounds, *ob-* conveys a sense of opposition/confrontation: *ob-do* 'place as a hindrance', *ob-eo* 'meet face to face', *ob-vio* 'go against', *ob-icio* 'throw in the way > lay to one's charge', *of-fero* 'bring intentionally in a person's path/to a place, cause to be encountered', *operio* (< **op-uerio*) 'shut, cover', 'completely' *obduro*, *obdulco*.

²¹⁴ *LIPP* II, 244-253.

As preverb c. **200** instances, with decreasing productivity after the archaic period (many of the old formations did not survive: *ob-vigilo*, *ob-moveo*, etc.).

Rarely in English on Latin elements, e.g.: a. *obedience*, *obversion*, b. *object*, *occur*, *opponent*, *opposite*, c. *obduce*, *occident*, d. *obdulcorate*, *obdurate*.

5.11 **kát*

'down(wards)' (adv., local, often with gen., loc.), related to **kmta* [sonantic *-m-*], **km*, **kmth*₂, **kmti* 'beside, near, by, with'²¹⁵

In **Gr.** *κατά* 'beside, alongside, downwards' is a motional/temporal adprep with a many-faced function: adv. 'downwards, down', prep. with acc. 'downwards, down, over, among, throughout, along, near, opposite to, during about, in relation to', etc., with gen. 'from above, down from, against'.

Position: may follow its case (in anastrophe *κάτα*).

As adverb ('downwards, from above, down') it is frequent in Homer.

In composition: 1. 'downwards, down': *κατά-κειμαι* 'lie down/at table', *κατα-βαίνω* 'go/come down', *καθ-ίστημι* 'set/put down, place, establish', *καθ-οράω* 'look down', 2. 'in answer to, against': *κατα-κρίνω* 'condemn', 3. motion back, back again: *κάτ-εμι* and *κατα-πορεύομαι* 'come back', 4. intensifying: *κατ-εσθίω* 'eat up, devour', *κατά-δηλος* 'very manifest'.

No traces in **Lat.**, but cf. **cum**, **con-** below.

5.12 **so*, **sóm*, **ksu(n)*

'together, with, same, the same' (adv., loc., often with instr.)

PG **sama*²¹⁶

Gr. *ζύν*, *σύν* adprep. As adv. 'together, at once', prep. with dat. 'with, together with, in connection with', etc. Locational/temporal, and, in the case of *συν-έρχομαι*, motional: 'go together with, meet'.

The preposition sometimes follows its case, in Homer frequently in tmesis.

²¹⁵ *LIPP* II, 419-422.

²¹⁶ *LIPP* II, 717-729.

In composition: 1. 'with, along, together, at the same time': σύν-εἰμι 'be/live together', συν-οράω 'see together, at once', συμ-βαίνω 'go/come together, agree', 2. 'altogether, completely': συμ-πληρόω 'fill completely'.

No traces in **Lat.**, but cfr. *sim-ilis*.

5.13 *mé, *mé^hi, *meta

'in the midst of, among, including, with'

PG *meda, *medi, **OHG** mittil, **OE** mid, **Goth.** and **G** mit, **Sw.** med²¹⁷

In **Gr.** μετά adv. 'among them, besides, afterwards', prep. with acc. 'into the middle (of), after, behind, next to/after', with gen. 'among, between, with'. etc. In composition it expresses community, participation, succession in time, etc. Locational/motional, or (with acc.) temporal 'after'.

Position: can occur after its noun (written μέτα), and in tmesis: *Iliad* 8.94. μετὰ ᾧτα βάλλον 'planting (a sword) in the back'.

In composition: 1. participation: μετ-έχω 'have a share of, partake', μετ-δίδωμι 'give a share of', 2. 'in the midst of, between': μέτ-εἰμι 'be among/between/near', μετ-δήμιος 'native', μετ-πύργιον 'wall between two towers', 3. succession in time: μετ-αὐτίκα 'just after', 4. pursuit: μετ-διώκω 'pursue', 5. of change in space or state: μετ-βάλλω 'change, alter', μεθ-ιστάνω, μεθ-ίσθημι 'transpose, change, remove', μετ-τάσσω 'arrange differently', μετ-νοέω 'changes one's mind'.

Of particular interest is its function to signify a change or transition from a state to another. The oldest instances of μετά + acc. implies motion 'into the middle of/among a number of persons', which might explain why μετ- (as prefix) can indicate the end/objective/target of a motion/process.²¹⁸

In **Lat.** there are no traces, but cf. the related *medius* < *medh-io-.

5.14 *pér, *péra, *péram, *pérti

'before, earlier, beside, along', instr. of *per, 'earlier, before, beside' (adv. local, often with acc.)

PG *fer, **G** ver-²¹⁹

²¹⁷ LIPP II, 494-501.

²¹⁸ This explanation was suggested to me by Prof. Jerker Blomqvist, Lund.

²¹⁹ LIPP II, 607-614.

In Gr. *παρά* adv. 'near, beside, along', prep. with acc. 'along, beside, toward, during, against' etc., with gen. 'from beside', with dat. 'beside'. Locational/situational/motional/temporal.

Position: may be postpositional (written *πάρα*).

As adverb 'near, together' in Homer.

In composition: 1. 'alongside of, beside' *παρά-κειμαι* 'lie beside, be ready/at hand', *πάρ-εμι* 'be by/present/near, stand by, assist, be exstant', *παρ-ίημι* 'let fall at the side', *παρ-έρχομαι* 'go by/beside/beyond', 2. 'to the side of = amiss, wrong': *παρα-βαίνω* 'go by the side of/beyond, transgress, pass over, omit', *παρ-οράω* 'overlook', 3. comparison: *παρα-βολή*, 'simile', 4. change or alteration: *παρα-λλάσσω* 'change, alter', *παρα-τεκταίνομαι* 'transform, alter'.

In **Lat.** no traces, but ***pera** is related to the following:

5.15 **péri*

(loc. of the root **per*) 'ahead, forward, through, throughout' (adv. loc., often with acc., intensifying prefix)²²⁰

In Gr. *περί* adv. 'around, about, exceedingly', prep. with acc. 'about, around, near', etc., with gen. 'around, about, for the sake of', with dat. 'around, about, near'.

Locational/situational/temporal.

Position: may follow its noun (written *πέρι*).

As adverb: 'around, near, before, above, exceedingly', etc.

In composition: 1. 'all around', or 'to the return of the same point': *περι-οράω* 'look around', *περι-άγω* 'lead around', *περί-κειμαι* 'lie around, embrace', *περι-βαίνω* 'go around', *περι-φέρω* 'carry round, divulge', 2. going beyond, above, before: *περι-γίγνομαι* 'excel, be superior', *περι-εργάζομαι* 'be a busybody', 3. strengthening the simple notion: *περι-δίδω* 'fear much', *περι-ούσιος* 'having more than enough', *περι-καλλής* 'very beautiful'.

The **Lat. per** (unclear whether < PIE **per* or **peri*) as a preposition takes on various nuances of 'through' or 'by' (pregnantly in oaths, entreaties, and adjurations: *per deos atque homines*).

Position: can be placed after its noun.

The prefix **per-** has developed the function 'through' of the preposition: 1. local/temporal: *per-curro*, *per-sono*, *per-vagor*, *per-vigilo*, 2. thoroughness,

²²⁰ LIPP II, 617-621.

completion: *per-ago*, *per-ficio*, *per-venio*, 3. upset: *per-do*, *per-verto*, 4. intensification: *per-cupio*, *per-doleo*, especially in adjectives and adverbs: *per-absurdus*, *per-breviis*, *per-turpis*, *per-bene*.

As preverb c. **290** instances, and it retains its productivity throughout the ages.

The chief uses in English reflect those in Latin. Classical compounds with *per-* have descendants in all Romance languages. In French, the reflex is often *par-*, *par-* also occasionally acts as a prefix forming words within Middle French, but no longer in modern French. The earliest examples in English come from words borrowed from French in the late 13th and early 14th centuries (*perish*, *perfect*, *perform*), loans directly from Latin appear in the 15th cent. (*perplex*).

5.16 **pr-*, **pro*

'ahead, before, towards the front' (adv., loc., temp., often with acc.)²²¹

In Gr. *πρό* adv. and prep. with gen.: 'before, in front, beforehand, sooner, outside, instead of, in comparison with', etc. Spatial/temporal.

Position as preposition: does not follow its case but admits words between itself and its case.

As adverb 'before, in front: forth, forward, before' (temp.)

In composition: 1. position before, in front: *προ-φέρω* 'bring forward, produce', *προ-έρχομαι* 'go forward, appear in public', 2. priority in time: *πρό-εμι* 'be before', *προ-άγων* 'preliminary contest', *προ-πάτωρ* 'ancestor', 3. proximity, readiness: *πρό-χειρος* 'at hand, ready', *πρό-θυμος* 'willing, eager'.

In **Lat.** *pro* adprep.

As preposition with abl. 'in front of, before, on behalf of, instead of, equivalent of, in view of', etc.

In composition (-o long or short) ***pro(d)-***: 1. movement forward: *prod-eo*, *pro-clivis*, 1. action in front: *pro-pugno*, *pro-tego*, 3. prominence: *pro-mineo*, *pro-pendeo*, 4. bringing into the open: *pro-clamo*, *pro-mo*, *pro-les*, *pro-gigno*, 5. priority in time: *pro-rogo*, *pro-avus*, 6. advantage: *pro-curo*, *pro-sum*, *pro-ficio*.

As preverb c. **115** instances, less than *re-* and *ob-*.

Frequent use forming terms of relationship, as *proavus*, *proamita*, *progener* granddaughter's husband, *pronepos*, *proneptis*. A second type is the sense 'for', 'instead of', 'in place of', prefixed to a noun, apparently originally in prepositional construction, as *pro consule* ('acting for a consul'), afterwards combined with the noun, as *proconsul*, so *proflamen*

²²¹ LIPP II, 633-649.

'deputy flamen' flamen', *promagister*, *propraetor*. Also in a few names of things, as *pronomēn* 'pronoun', *protutela* 'deputy-guardianship'.

The modern sense 'for, in favour of, on the side of' (*pro-life*, *pro-choice*, *Pro Trump*) has no precedent or analogy in Latin and was comparatively rare up to the end of the 19th cent.

5.17 **prai*, **perh₂i*, **prh₂*

'in front of, beside' (dative of direction of **per*? adv. local, often with abl., loc.)

PG **fura*, **furi*, E *for*, Sw *för*²²²

In Gr. *παράι*, poetic for *παρά*, as in *παράι-βαδον* adv. 'in going beside/near to', *παράι-θεναρ* 'hand from little finger to wrist', *παράι-φασις* = *παρά-φασις* 'encouragement', *πρίν* 'before'.

Old Lat. *pri* (< **prei*) = *prae*, *pri-mus* (< **pris-mos*), *pris-cus*, *pris-tinus*.

Lat. *prae* adprep. As adv. archaic (originally locative?) 'ahead' (*i prae, iam ego te sequar* Plautus *Cist.* 773). The preposition means 'in front of before, compared with, under the pressure of'.

In composition with verbs or deverbatives: 1. local: *prae-cedo*, *prae-uro* 'scorch at the extremity', *prae-acutus* 'sharpened at the end', 2. temporal: *prae-cox* 'precocious', 3. preeminence: *prae-altus*, *prae-clarus*.

As preverb c. **250** instances, mostly post-classical.

Borrowings and adaptations of words either directly from Latin or via French are found from the Middle English period onwards (*pre-eminence*, *prejudice*). Formations within English are apparently first found late in the Middle English period and are numerous from the 16th cent. onwards (*prepetition*, *preclose*, *preordinate*).

The prepositional construction, in which *pre-* governs the second element, which was so rare in Latin, has in English received vast extension (as also in French), *pre-* being preferred to *ante-* as the opposite of *post-* in new formations, as in *pre-Christian*, *pre-historic*, *pre-Darwinian*, *pre-reformation* instead of *ante-Christian*, *ante-historic*, *ante-Darwinian*, *ante-reformation*, probably in order to avoid confusion of *ante-* with *anti-* in the spoken language.

5.18 **proti*, **preti*

'over against, opposite, back'²²³

In Gr. *πρό*, *πρότί*, *πρός*, *πρόσθ(εν)*, adv. 'besides, over and above', prep. 'towards, to, upon, against, from, on the side of' etc. Motional/temporal.

²²² LIPP II, 650-655.

²²³ LIPP II, 655-660.

Position: in poetry sometimes after its case or in tmesis.

As adverb 'besides, over and above'.

In composition: 1. motion towards προσ-έρχομαι 'come/go forward, approach' προσ-οράω 'look forward', προσ-έχω 'hold/bring/direct to', 2. addition προσ-κτάομαι 'gain besides', 3. being on/at/by/beside πρόσ-ειμι 'be near/by/at, be there', πρόσ-ειμι 'attach oneself to another'.

No supervival in **Lat.**, but associated with *prētium* 'reward, recompense, requital, price'.

5.19 *upér, *uperi

'over, out'

Skr *upari-*, **G** *über-*, **OE** *ofer-*, **Sw** *över*-²²⁴

In **Gr.** *ὑπέρ* (archaic *ὀπέρ*, epic *ὑπείρ*) as prep. with gen. 'over, above, across', with acc. 'beyond, exceeding', etc. Spatial/motional.

Position: may follow its case (with anastrophe ὕπερ).

As adverb 'over-much, above measure'.

In composition: 'over, above' 1. in place: ὑπερ-άνω 'above' (≠ ὑπο-κάτω), ὑπερ-βαίνω, ὑπέρ-βατος 'pass over, to be passed over', 2. 'over, in defence of': ὑπερ-μαχέω 'fight for', ὑπερ-αλγέω 'feel pain over', 3. 'above measure': ὑπερ-βριθής 'exceedingly heavy', ὑπερ-δικής 'more than just'.

Lat. *super* (the *s-* being unclear) 'above, over (to cover it), in addition to'.

As preposition sometimes (rarely) placed after its noun.

In composition: 1. doing in addition: *super-addo*, *super-dico* 'say in addition', *super-induo* 'put on over one's other clothes', *super-vacaneus* 'additional, superfluous', 2. (from) position superior to: *super-gredior* 'pass over or beyond', *super-pono* 'place over', 3. remaining: *super-sum* 'remain', *super-vivo* 'remain alive', *super-stes* 'remaining alive'.

Important compounds, chiefly verbs, belong to the classical period, but the great majority are of later date, and many are recorded first from Christian writers.²²⁵

²²⁴ *LIPP* II, 835-838.

²²⁵ Cf. below. pp. 224-226, 233-234.

Extremely productive in the medieval period (*super-affluens*, *super-amenus*, *super-anxius*, *super-eminencia*, *super-stupendus*).²²⁶

As a living prefix in English, *super-* first appears about the middle of the 15th c., it became frequent in Elizabethan times, and in the 17th c. it was very widely used. In more recent times it has been extensively introduced into the nomenclature of chemistry and other sciences as a correlative to *sub-*. In technical language it sometimes varies with *supra-* (strict correlative *infra-*), e.g. *super-local* and *supra-local*, *super-orbital* and *supra-orbital*, *super-lapsarian* and *supra-lapsarian*. It continues to be an important formative element in English, especially in the senses 'higher in rank, quality, amount, or degree' and 'in or to the highest degree, in excess, superabundantly'.

5.20 **súp*, **súpo*

'under, up from under, over'

OHG *oba*, *uf*, ON *upp*²²⁷

Gr. *ὐπό* (arch. *ὀπό*, ep. *ὐπαί*) adprep, 'towards and under, towards, under, from under', etc. Spatial/motional/temporal.

Position: can follow its case (with anastrophe ὕπο) or be separated from its noun by intervening words.

As adverb: 'under, below, beneath, behind'.

In composition: 1. ὑπο-λαμβάνω 'take from below', ὑπ-έρχομαι 'go/come under, deceive', ὑπό-γαιος 'underground', 2. of agency or influence: ὑπο-δάμναμαι (τινί) 'submit oneself (to sb)', 3. small degree: ὑπο-κινέω 'move gently', 3. 'underhand, secretly' ὕπ-ειμι 'come on secretly', ὑπο-μίγνυμι 'approach secretly'.

In Lat. *sub* with abl. 'under', with acc. 'to a position underneath, immediately before, directly after'. Superlativ **supmos* > *summus*, cf. *sub-ter*, *subtus*, Gr. ὕπατος.

In composition: 1. position underneath: *sub-struo*, 2. movement down/under: *sub-labor*, *sub-sero*, 3. movement from below: *sub-duco*, *sub-silio*, *sus-tento*, 4. subsequent removal: *sum-moveo*, 5. position/movement close to: *sub-ungo*, *sub-sequor*, 6. substitution *sub-stituo*, *suf-ficio*, *sur-rogo*. With nouns or adjectives: 1. position under/close to: *sub-terraneus*, *sub-urbium*, *suc-cessor*, 2. reduced intensity: *sub-rideo*, *sub-dolus*, *sub-niger*, *sub-absurdus*, or 3. subordinated rank: *suc-centurio*, *suc-centor*.

As preverb c. 225 instances.

²²⁶ Stotz, VI 17.5 (verbal compounds), VI 138 (nominal compounds).

²²⁷ LIPP II, 746-751.

6. Latin adprep formations in the (pre)classical period

The following formations are the results of a specific Latin development.

6.1 *circum*

circum is attested as adverb ('around, round about') since Pacuvius (*circum supraque*), Aen. IV.416 *litore circum*). It is the accusative of the noun *circus* ('circle or zone in the sky, circular space', probably from Gr. κῑκός, in Homer κῑκός 'ring'). As preposition, meaning 'round, in the vicinity of', it has temporal sense 'about' and is frequently placed after its noun. As such, it occurs in Cato, Ennius, and the comedians. Its derivate **circa** (adverb and preposition) is of younger date (e.g. Cicero, Livy, Horace, Virgil) and formed on the pattern of *supra*, *extra*.²²⁸

As preverb c. **140** instances.

It is one of the most productive bisyllabic preverbs, mostly in post-classical times, much used in compositions with verbs, and hence with the nouns and adjectives, formed from them, as in *circum-ambulo*, *circum-flecto*, *circum-flexus* 'bent around', *circum-flexio* 'bending round'. Only few survived in OF (*circonscrire*), but a large number were adopted from or formed even to native or naturalized verbs: *circum-bind*, *-flow*, *-zoned*.

A much rarer Latin use (common in Gr. with περι-) in parasyntetic derivatives *circum* + n. *circum-padanus*, *circum-muranus*, *circum-foraneus*, *circum-cordialis* (Tertullian, < περικάρδιος 'around the heart')²²⁹. Analogies in modern compounds like *circum-polar*, *-littoral*. Adjectives in which *circum* prepositionally governs a noun implied in the second part of the compound: *circum-arctic*, *circum-basal*, *circum-columnar*, *circum-umbilical*, etc.

6.2 *cis*

cis (< ***ki**) 'before, within, on this side of', **citro** 'to this side, on both sides', **citra** 'on the hither side of' are developments of the PIE ***kó-**, ***kí-** 'this' (deictic pronominal stem).²³⁰ The OL adj. **citer** 'on this side' (< ***ki-tero-**) is most frequent in comp. **citerior**.

²²⁸ Leumann, § 238, 1b, § 260 A, Szantyr 225.

²²⁹ Below, 195.

²³⁰ LIPP II, 405-415.

6.3 *cum, con-, com-, co-*

cum, con-, com-, co- (< **ko, *kóm* 'together, near, by, with', local adv., often with instr.).²³¹ PL **kom-* preverb 'together', L *co-*. Cf. *curia* < **ko-u(i)ria* 'assembly of men'. In Latin, *com-* was shortened *co-* before vowels and *h* and *gn*: *coalesco, coerceo, cohaereo, cognatus*. This *-o-* became a long vowel, partly from the readiness to form compounds: *coequalis, coadiutor, coepiscopus, cohaeres, cooperator, coopto*. As prefix and pre-/post-position 'beside, near, by, with', as enclitic postposition after some pronouns (*me-cum*). In composition: 1. local/temporal, collocation, simultaneity: *con-venio, col-lega, com-minus*, 2. joint action: *col-loquor, con-viva*, 3. connection/partnership: *com-milito, com-mercium*, 4. enclosure/containing: *con-cavus, con-tineo*, 5. intensity: *con-tueor, co-nitor*, 6. completeness: *com-pleo, con-ficio, com-muto*.²³²

As preverb the most productive preverb throughout the whole of Latinity, with some **500** instances.

In English a living formative, not any more restricted to words beginning with a vowel. General sense 'together, in company, in common, joint(ly), reciprocally, mutually', with verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and nouns. Can be prefixed to words already compounded with *com-*: *co-connexion, co-conspirator, co-constituent*. Agent nouns (and derivatives of function, adjectives used substantively): *co-actor, -ambassador, -emperor, -inmate, -fisher, -presbyter*. In the phraseology of law 'joint, fellow': *co-heir, -executor, -defendant, -delinquent, -plaintiff*.

6.4 *contra*

contra (*con-* plus Italic comparative *-t(e)ro-*), adprep, 'in front of, opposite, against, in return, on the contrary, otherwise'.²³³ Position: often anastrophe, especially in poetry and with pronouns: Ovid Pont. 1.1.26 *deos contra*, Plaut. Persa 208 *Feminam scelestam te astans contra contuor*. In composition rarely: *contra-dico, contra-pono* (often in two words), *contra-scriptor* 'checking-clerk', *contro-versus* 'debatable'. *contrā*, construed adverbially with certain verbs, tended at length to be written in combination, as *contrā dīcere*, later *contrādīco*, 'to speak on the opposite side', hence 'to speak in opposition (to a statement or person)', and so 'to contradict', *contrā-pōno* 'to place on the opposite side, to counterpose', *contrā-scribo* 'to write opposite, to countersign', *contrā-venīo* 'to come in the opposite direction'.

Did not establish itself as preverb till the imperial period, with some **10** instances.

²³¹ LIPP II, 422-428.

²³² Cf. Claude Moussy, "La polysémie du préverbe *com-*", *Lingua latina* 8 (2005).

²³³ LIPP II, 426.

The adprep *contra* in compounds, a use rare in classical Latin, was much extended in late Latin and Romanic. In the modern languages, the prefix retains the Latin form, except in French, where it has become *contre-*. Verbs and esp. verbal derivatives of this type are numerous in English: *contra-acting*, *contra-distinguish*, *contra-rotation*.

6.5 *de*

de < PIE **dó* 'towards', **dé-h₁*, PL **de*, preverb/prep. 'from, out from, away from, (down) from, starting with, from, out of, concerning'.²³⁴ Verbal compounds: 1. 'motion from' (sometimes with a downward motion implied): *de-flecto*, *de-labor*, *de-gredior*, 2. 'removal' *de-spolio*, *de-squamo*, *de-onero*, *de-ascio* 'cut smoothly', *de-tego*, 3. 'reversal of process' *de-cresco*, *de-sipio*, *de-doleo*, *de-spero*, 4. 'completeness/intensifying' *de-amo*, *de-oscuro*, *de-fleo*, *de-miror*, *de-monstro*, *de-narro*. In nominal formations it has negative/privative function: *de-gener*, *de-honestamentum*, *de-mens*, *de-mutatio*.

As preverb productive in all periods, with some **200** instances.

The function of undoing or reversing the action of a verb (*armare* ≠ *dearmare*) and forming verbs of a similar type from nouns (*de-collare*, *de-florare*, *de-corticare*) was usually expressed by the prefix *dis-* (*cingere* ≠ *discingere*, *convenire* ≠ *disconvenire*, *iungere* ≠ *disiungere*, *discalceātus* 'unshod'), in post-classical Latin the preferred form, and although some Latin words in *dē-* lived on, or were by scholars adopted into the Romance languages, all new compounds were formed with *des-*, and many even of the Latin words in *dē-* were remodelled in the Romance languages with *des-*: thus Old French *desarmer*, *descharner*, *descorchier*, *desdaigner*, *deformer* and *desformer*, *decapiter*, *descapiter*. In later French *des-* became, first in speech, and finally in writing, *dé-*, in which form it was identical with the *dé-* of learned words from Latin *dē-*.

6.6 *intro*

intro (< **en-tro*), as adverb and preverb denotes 1. 'motion inside': *intro-duco*, *intro-eo*, *intro-spicio*, or 2. 'action inside, within' *intro-curro* 'run inside'. When it occurs immediately before a verb, it can often be treated as a preverb, and there is no clear borderline between composition and two distinct words: Plautus *Andria* 590 *te intro ire iussi*. Rare in Medieval Latin (*intro-ductio*, *intro-missio*).

Hence in English words derived from Latin or formed of Latin elements: *intro-ductory*, *intro-spection*, *intro-vert*.

²³⁴ LIPP II, 148-156.

6.7 *intra*

intra (*in-* + comparative *-ter-* + *-a*, 'yet more within', cf. Gr. ἔν-τερ-α 'entrails')²³⁵ adv. 'inside, within', and preposition 'within, inside', seldom functions as prefix: *intra-muranus* 'within the walls'.

This use of *intra-* does not occur in classical Latin, and only a few examples appear in late and medieval Latin: *intra-clausus*, *intra-iaceo*, *intra-muralis*. But it is largely used in modern times, esp. in medical terms, where it is often naturally opposed to *extra-*: *intra-cellular*, *intra-cutaneous*, *intra-dermal*.

6.8 *ne-*

ne- < PIE **ne*, **nei*, **mé* 'not' (adv., prohibitive) negates a whole clause but functions in Latin even as prefix in *ne-fas*, *ne-cesse* (possibly < **ne-cezd-tis* 'it cannot be avoided'²³⁶), *ne-mo*, *ne-scio*, *ne-uter*, *n-unquam*, *n-ullus*, *non* (< **n-oinom*), *ne-que*.²³⁷ Archaic, non-productive in historic times, neither in subsequent periods of Late and Medieval Latin.

Both *ne-* and *in-* privativum (< sonantic *n-*) are of PIE origin, even if *ne* in Latin as autonomous negation of a word or a phrase was preserved in negative or privative compounds only. The same goes for privative *in-* (*il-*, *im-*, *ir-*): *in-felix*, *in-ops*, *in-utilis*, *in-nocens*, *in-doctus*. (Even *ab-*, *de-* and *ex-* could have the same privative function: *a-mens*, *de-bilis*, *ex-pers*).

in- privativum had two original functions: it added to a nominal stem it formed adjectival compounds like *i(n)-gnarus*, *i(n)-gnosco*, *in-ops*, *in-ers*, *im-munis*, and it could negate a word: adjectives, like *in-felix*, *in-noxius*, *in-glorius*, or participles, like *in-victus*, *i(n)-gnotus*, *in-ritus*. Later it was compounded with verbal abstracts: *inapparatio* (RH), *immoderatio* (Cicero).

Of the same IE base as English and German *un-*, hence also cognate with Greek ἀν-, ON *u-*, Sw *o-*. In a few OF words, Latin *in-* became *en-*, e.g. Latin *inimicus* > OF *enemi*, Latin *invidia* > OF *envie*. But most French words containing this prefix are of learned formation, and retain Latin *in-*, as is the case also in English with words derived either through French, or directly from Latin.

²³⁵ LIPP II, 232.

²³⁶ Pokorny, 887.

²³⁷ LIPP II, 530-549.

6.9 *por-*

por- < **pr* (sonantic *-r-*), a variant of **per*, **peri*, 'forwards' in *por-tendo*, *por-rigo*, *pol-liceor*. Archaic, non-productive in historic times, neither in subsequent periods of Latinity. Cf. MHG *vort*, G *fort* 'further', Sw *fort* 'fast, rapidly'.²³⁸

6.10 *post, poste*

post, poste < **po(s)*, 'immediately after, behind', variant of **apo* + *ti*, adprep and prefix, 'after, behind, next in sequence', with the derivate adj. *post-erus*. In composition *post-liminius* 'resumption of civic rights, recovery', *pos(t)-meridianus*, *pos-tergum* 'behind one, in one's rear'. Prefixed adverbially to verbs, as *post-habeo* 'treat as less important, subordinate', *post-pono* 'put off, defer, treat as of secondary importance, place after', also to participles, verbal nouns, and other verbal derivatives, as *post-genitus* 'begotten after, created after', and post-classical Latin *post-positio*. More rarely showing the preposition and a nominal object, e.g. *post-scaenium* '(the space) behind the scenes'.

In English the prefix is used more generally than in Latin, especially in the prepositional relation. Originally, compounds were mainly formed with second elements ultimately of Latin origin. In scientific terminology, second elements ultimately of Greek origin are also used from the early 19th cent. (e.g. *post-climacteric*, *post-apostolic*, *post-cosmic*), although many of these elements are transmitted via Latin. Formations with second elements not of Latin or Greek origin are first found in the 17th or 18th centuries (e.g. *post-talmudical*, *post-law*, *post-Kantian*), such formations become particularly common in the 20th cent.

In German, compounds borrowed from Latin are attested from the 18th cent. (e.g. *Post-skript*), and formations within German are chiefly found from the 20th cent., often under the influence of English (*post-impressionistisch*, *post-modern*, *Post-humanismus*), or of scientific Latin (*post-pubertär*).

6.11 *praeter*

praeter (< **prh₂ih₁-ter*) 'passing the line: across, past, contrary to, in addition to, other than, except for' (the comparative of *prae-*) adprep, adv., and conjunction.²³⁹ As preverb it yields the sense 'past' or 'by': *praeter-ago*, *praeter-eo*, *praeter-navigo*. In classical Latin *praeter-* was prefixed only to verbs and their derivative nouns and adjectives, as e.g. *praeter-curro*, *praeter-gredior*, *praeter-eo*, *praeter-vectio*, *praeter-itus*.

²³⁸ Pokorny, 813.

²³⁹ LIPP II, 652.

As preverb moderately productive in classical times.

In post-classical Latin, adjectives began to be formed after classical Latin phrases with *praeter* prep. + noun, e.g. *praeter-naturalis*, after classical Latin *praeter naturam*, and *praeter-necessarius* after *praeter necessarium*. The number of English words which are adaptations of such Latin adjectives is small, the earliest example being *preter-natural*. This type is more important as a model for a large number of (chiefly rare and ad hoc) formations within English, such as *preter-intentional*, *preter-seasonable*, *preter-human*.

6.12 *re(d)-*

re(d)- 'turned back' (?), highly productive preverb, conceivably from PIE **wret-*, metathetical variant of **wert-* 'turn, turned back'.²⁴⁰ With reduplicated forms syncopated: *reddo* (< **reddido*), *repperi* (< **repeperi*). Denoting 1. movement back or in reverse: *red-eo*, *re-vertō*, *re-voco*, 2. withdrawal: *re-condo*, *re-ligo*, *re-ticeo*, 3. reversal of previous process: *re-frigero*, *re-solvo*, *re-tego*, 4. restoration: *re-novo*, *re-valesco*, 5. response or opposition: *re-bello*, *red-arguo*, *re-spondeo*, 6. separation: *re-moveo*, and 7. repeated action: *re-peto*, *re-pleo*. Prefix in back-formations: *re-dux*, *re-clinis*.²⁴¹

As preverb c. 365.

In English with the general sense 'back' or 'again', directly or indirectly adopted from Latin or of later Romanic origin, and on the model of these freely employed in English as prefix of verbs, and of nouns or adjectives derived from these. Prefixed to ordinary verbs of action and to derivatives of these, denoting that the action is performed a second time, or to reverse or restore: *re-propose*, *re-orchestrate*, *re-initialize*. Prefixed to verbs and nouns which denote 'making a certain kind or quality', 'turning or converting into', esp. those formed on adjectives by means of the suffix *-ize*, *re-Americanize*, *re-centralize*. In modern English formations, *re-* is almost exclusively employed in the sense 'again': *re-elect*, *re-examine*, *re-export*.

6.13 *retro*

retro (< **re-ter-o*) adv. and prefix, which in the post-Augustan language appears in combination with various verbs and verbal nouns: 'towards the rear, backwards, behind one, back, in reverse order, backwards in time'. In composition *retro-ago*, *retro-cedo*, *retro-do*, *retro-duco*, *retro-eo*, *retro-gradior*, which are treated as single entities, although more often written as two words. Together with *intro*, *contro*,

²⁴⁰ Wackernagel, 168 f., Watkins, 69.

²⁴¹ Leumann, § 418 A b β.

citro, *ultra* an example of derivate of prepositions (originally local adverbs) plus IE *-tero-* (cf πρότερος, ὕστερος).²⁴²

As preverb **less than 10**.

Widely extended in medieval Latin (*retro-ambulo*, *retro-curro*, *retro-dorsum*, *retro-fluxus*, *retro-scriptum*). In English mostly modelled on classical types. Formations from the 17th cent.: *retro-aspect*, *retro-calculation*, *retro-gression*.

6. 14 *sē(d)*

sē(d) < **s(w)e* pronoun of the third person and reflexive 'without, apart, aside', sometimes privative: *sēd-itio*, *sē-cludo*, *sē-ligo*, *sē-cedo*, *sē-orsum*, *sō-cors*.²⁴³ Perhaps is the preverb *sēd-* 'away' originally the abl. *sēd*, *sē* 'away from oneself' and subsequently through proclitic abbreviation the conjunction *sēd* 'but'.

As preverb **13** cases (including *solvo* < **se-luo*, albeit doubtful)²⁴⁴ and well established in the classical period, not productive later.

In English occurring only in Latin derivatives in adapted forms: *se-ceed*, *se-cern*, *se-clude*, *se-duce*, *se-gregate*, *se-parate*, the form *sed-* occurs in *sedition*.

6.15 *subter*

subter (<**sup-*, *súpo*) adv. and prep., *sub* + an element analogous to *prae-ter*, *prop-ter*: 'at a lower level/position'.²⁴⁵ Used in compounds with adverbial force (*subter-fluo*) or with prepositional force (*subter-cutaneus*), or in the sense 'secretely' (*subter-fugio*).

As preverb **22** instances, mostly late.

In English in rare adoptions of Latin words (*subter-fuge*) or English formations (*subter-human*, *subter-sensuous*).

²⁴² Leumann, § 288.

²⁴³ Leumann, § 418 A b β.

²⁴⁴ Leumann, *ibid*.

²⁴⁵ *LIPP* II, 746.

6.16 *trans*

trans (original base PIE < **tr*, *trh₂ó*, *trh₂i*, *trh₂*, (adv., local, often with acc. 'through, across, over, beyond'), possibly participle of the verb **trare* 'cross over'.²⁴⁶ Compounded with verbs: *trans-eo*, *trans-fero*, with denominative adjectives, 'beyond': *trans-marinus*, *trans-padanus*, *trans-tiberinus*.

Continued productivity in medieval Latin: *trans-accidento* 'to transpose to accidents', *trans-substantio* 'to transmute the substance', *trans-fero*, *trans-figuro*, *trans-lato*, *trans-sumo*, *trans-vertō*.

As preverb **75** instances, productive in all periods.

In present-day English, *trans-* is highly productive and occurs in compounds representing those already in use in Latin, or formed analogously, even on non-Latin words: *trans-bay*, *trans-mogrify*, *trans-gender*, *trans-load*, *trans-person*.

6.17 *ultra*

ultra adprep, 'on the far side, beyond' (< **ul-ter-a*, cf *extra*) < *uls* 'on the far side of, beyond' < **al-*, **ol-* 'beyond'.²⁴⁷ Postclassical: *ultra-mundanus*, *ultra-marinus*, *ultra-montanus*.

The further development, signifying an excessive degree of the quality or condition in question apparently originated in French with the terms *ultra-révolutionnaire* and *ultra-royaliste* and has become prolific in English as well as in Romanic languages, German, and the Scandinavian languages: *ultra-conservative*, *ultra-liberal*, *ultra-orthodox*, and corresponding formations.

²⁴⁶ Leumann, § 418 A 2 γ. LIPP II, 802 suggests PL **trants*, OL *transque*, L *trans*, cf. Umbrian *traf*.

²⁴⁷ Leumann, § 288, LIPP II 592.

Chapter III

Latin rhetoric in its beginnings

Oratory was since long invented as an art, and brought to consummation, by the Greeks.

The Romans were aware of their cultural and linguistic inferiority in this respect.²⁴⁸ According to Suetonius, the introduction of rhetoric to Rome was similar to that of grammar, and it took place in the first half of the second century BCE.²⁴⁹ The rhetoricians did not establish themselves without difficulty: in the year 161 BCE, the senate decreed that all philosophers and rhetoricians be expelled from Rome.²⁵⁰ That decision was perhaps taken under the influence of Cato Censor. He opposed all Greek influence, although he wrote himself a treatise (now lost) on rhetoric. But Greece, superior culturally, was to conquer Roman society from within, and the first information about rhetoric taught in Latin appeared in 92 BCE.²⁵¹ That is to say: the need for a Latin technical terminology must have made itself felt in the schools where this training was given to the Roman students.

1. An exploratory endeavour

1.1 *Rhetorica ad Herennium*

The treatise *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (henceforth *RH*), which could not have been written before 86 nor later than 82 BCE, is the earliest manual in Latin on the art of rhetoric, but also one of the most mysterious ancient texts. The real author, as well as the addressee, were unknown even to contemporary Romans, and *RH* seems to have later fallen into oblivion until the fourth century, and then once again until the ninth. During the Middle Ages, *RH* was well known and widely used, and falsely

²⁴⁸ *De finibus* 3.2.5. *Philosophia* is attested in L. Cassius Hemina in the second century BC, *rhetorica* in Ennius, *musica* in Terence, but *dialectica*, *grammatica* and *geometria* not before Cicero himself.

²⁴⁹ *De rhetoribus*, 1, *De grammaticis*, 1.

²⁵⁰ Clarke 1996, 11.

²⁵¹ Clarke 1996, 11; H. Funke, "Grammatik, Rhetorik und Dialektik (Trivium) und ihre Fachsprachen: eine Übersicht", in *Fachsprachen. Languages for Special Purposes*, 1999, 2255-2260.

attributed to Cicero.²⁵² It consists of very general precepts on the art of making a speech. *RH* is the earliest extant Latin treatise on oratory, contemporary with Cicero's *De inventione*.²⁵³ It seems to be the earliest extant text written in the still recalcitrant Latin idiom with a professedly academic ambition to summarize the art of eloquence, in theory and practice, and in a ready and accessible handbook.

In Greek rhetoric, the coining of novel words was allowed, if intended to reach certain effects.

The author of *RH* must have had a thorough knowledge of Greek and its rhetorical terminology.²⁵⁴ In the introductory passage to Book 4, the author states that the terms he had translated from Greek are unfamiliar to his Latin public²⁵⁵ – *nomina rerum Graeca quae vertimus, ea remota sunt a consuetudine* (4.10) – a passage which seems to suggest that his was a pioneer work. Evidently, *RH* was based on Greek models, but it also drew much material from Roman culture and oratory.²⁵⁶ The author's professed method to create a specific terminology, for the most part from scratch, and remote of everyday parlance and intended for a very precise purpose, makes *RH* the obvious starting point in this study of how a Latin technical terminology was established, in the early stages of a formalized Latin art of rhetoric.

1.2 Cicero, originator and artisan

Furthermore, Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BCE) was the uncontestedly most influential originator and artisan of a Latinity workable and smooth as a medium of intellectual and abstract discourse.²⁵⁷ In several places, Cicero made remarks about his intentions behind his endeavour to provide Rome with a philosophical literature. The aim of his philosophical works was to provide a solid intellectual, ethical, and political base for the dominant class, whose national tradition (*mos maiorum*) should not hinder the absorption of Greek culture, under the headings of *otium* and

²⁵² Leidl, 214 ff.; Bolgar, 37, and passim.

²⁵³ Guy Achard, the editor of *Rhetorica* (Budé edition of 1989, ix), infers from all the available evidence that both works date from the period 86-82.

²⁵⁴ *De oratore* 3.205, *Orator* 138.

²⁵⁵ *Rhetorica* 4,10: *nomina rerum Graeca quae vertimus, ea remota sunt a consuetudine. Quae enim res apud nostros non erant, earum rerum nomina non poterant esse usitata. Ergo haec asperiora primo videantur necesse est idque fiet rei, non nostra difficultate.* Cf Clarke 1996, 167, n. 18.

²⁵⁶ Conte, 120.

²⁵⁷ On Cicero as translator, see Hartung 1970, Poncelet 1973, and Dowson 2023; Maurach, p. 5, note 10. Maurach ascribes to Cicero *die Vereinheitlichung der Terminologie*, the unification of the terminology, and the merit of giving several different Greek terms one set Latin equivalent, *ibid.* This affirmation is highly questionable, his contribution was far more complex.

humanitas.²⁵⁸ His philosophical works were in no sense original. They are but compilations from Greek sources. But Cicero created an informational system which could be elaborated and amplified infinitely. In his youth, he had begun, but not completed, a small treatise on rhetoric, the *De inventione* (*inventio* here meaning the discovery and storing of material by the orator). Whether or not he was dependent on *Rhetorica ad Herennium* is a matter of dispute.²⁵⁹ It ought to have been composed in the period 84-82.

Both the author of *RH* and Cicero faced the same need to use technical language. To a certain extent, such a terminology must have been already established in Rome. But it is not always identical in both treatises: *divisio* and *confutatio* in *RH* are called *partitio* and *reprehensio*, respectively, in *De inventione*,²⁶⁰ and Cicero does not use *licentia* to translate παρρησία, but instead circumlocutions: *vox quaedam libera*,²⁶¹ and *ut liberius quid audeat*.²⁶²

Several other works treating the *ars dicendi* were written in the nineties and the eighties BCE.²⁶³ The more precise circumstances of this development do not interest us here, neither philosophy nor doctrines, but exclusively the linguistic aspect: word formation. The phenomenon of productivity in his writings is therefore of primary importance for understanding all subsequent development of this precise and indispensable toolbox for the practitioners of philosophy, theology, and science – a process still very much in progress.²⁶⁴

1.3 "Semantic underdetermination" of translated terms

The noun περίοδος in Greek (used since Herodotos in the sense 'going round', or 'way round') had an imaginative quality. The noun was adopted in rhetoric to mean 'period',²⁶⁵ a complete sentence. Such a reference is in no way evident even to those

²⁵⁸ Conte, 177 f.

²⁵⁹ Conte, 186, thinks that he had drawn extensively on it, whereas Guy Achard, in the introduction to his Budé edition of *De inventione*, contends that there are no traces of influence from *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, or vice versa; rather, both authors are dependent on a common source, or they had studied in the same school. Achard 1994, 20, with note 45.

²⁶⁰ *Rhetorica* 1.4 and *De inventione* 1.30 and 1.19, respectively; Achard, xvii.

²⁶¹ *De oratore*, 3.202.

²⁶² *Orator*, 137.

²⁶³ I resume the conclusions of Achard.

²⁶⁴ Helander, *passim*.

²⁶⁵ Possibly introduced by Aristotle, *Rhetorica* 1409a35, who defines it λέχης ἔχουσα ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν αὐτὴ καθ' αὐτὴν καὶ μέγετος εὐσύνοπτον, "a sentence that has a beginning and end in itself and a magnitude that can be easily grasped".

to whom its etymology is transparent, unless complementary information is provided. Cicero suggested no less than five different translations of this term, as a rather helpless way to express a grammatical 'sentence', a series of words that form together and in unbroken continuity a complete unity, leaving nothing to be desired syntactically.²⁶⁶

Many, if not all, technical terms *translated* from a language to another must, at least initially, become less precise in the receiving language. I would call that phenomenon 'semantic underdetermination'. Hence, untranslated *loanwords* are often preferable to translations, if misunderstandings are to be avoided. This can be clearly verified in the case of *RH*. Due both to the greater flexibility of the Greek language, and its supreme facility to compound new formations – and to the comparatively poor wordlist of the Latin language, which had not yet built up an intellectual tradition of its own – a swarm of unprecise new terms was introduced into Latin. It had been more conducive to clarity if the Greek terms had simply been taken over, in Latin transcription. Such had been the case with *philosophia*, *rhetorica*, *dialectica*, *grammatica*, *geometria* and *musica*, words which in Cicero's times were regarded as fully naturalized in Latin.

To implement his ambition to reduce the lead of the Greek language, the author of *RH* had to wrestle with his undertaking. Take *argumentum* as one example: it stands for 'circumstantial evidence (Fr. *indice*)', 'evidence' in a more general sense, 'comparison', or 'fictitious story'. Likewise, *conclusio*, *coniunctio*, *comparatio*, *contentio*, *continuatio*, *contrarium*, *definitio*, *demonstratio*, *dignitas*, *dissolutum*, *locus*, and *narratio* all labour under the task of sustaining several different denotations. Most of those novel Latin terms were much less transparent to their first readers than were their Greek models.

The Greek geographer and philosopher Strabon (64 or 63 BCE-c. 24 CE) called the enterprise of coining novel terms ὀνοματοποιία, 'word-making',²⁶⁷ and Quintilian mentions this word when warning his readers against too hazardous inventiveness.²⁶⁸ According to him, it is safer to use trite expressions, even if it is sometimes necessary with a certain boldness, since, as Cicero has it, what is hard to accept the first time you hear it, is softened by usage. But word-making, the creation of words never heard of, is not allowed.²⁶⁹ The author of *RH* contented himself by inventing the bleak *nominatio* for 'finding a term for a new thing with no suitable

²⁶⁶ Cicero, *Orator* 204 [*circuitus ille orationis*], *quem Graeci περίοδον*, *nos tum ambitum, tum circuitum, tum comprehensionem aut continuationem aut circumscriptionem dicimus*.

²⁶⁷ Strabon, 14.2.28.

²⁶⁸ Quintilian, 1.5.72: *ut Cicero ait, etiam quae primo dura visa sunt, usu molliuntur, sed minime nobis concessa est ὀνοματοποιία*.

²⁶⁹ Quintilian, 1.5.71-72, citing *De natura deorum* 1.34.95.

name'.²⁷⁰ What else could he have done, considering the Latin reluctance towards compounds? Could he have written **nominificatio*? The comedian Caecilius Statius (2 c. BCE) had introduced *verbificatio*,²⁷¹ possibly with a slightly ludicrous ring, but that could have served as a pattern.²⁷² Later translators would perhaps not have refrained from such a solution.

To *nominatio* one should compare *adnominatio* (*RH*, 4.29), which renders παρανομασία, 'wordplay' (παρα- meaning 'beside' the proper usage). It is hard to see what *ad-* does here: it has neither the function of inception nor intensification, but it is explained *cum ad idem verbum et nomen acceditur commutatione vocum et litterarum, ut ad res similes similia verba accommodentur*.

1.4 Greek compounded prefixes in *RH*

The Greek language had an extensive capacity of compounding by doubling prefixes into new constellations, something which provides rich opportunities to distinguish between nuances. Among such Greek terms which occur in *RH*, one may note the following:

ἀντι-μεταβολή / *commutatio* (4.39). If μεταβολή means 'change, transition, variety', the additional prefix ἀντι- modifies the meaning into something like 'interchange, reciprocal change'. Latin *commutatio* does not render that reciprocity properly. How would that be achieved? By **inter-commutatio*? Only Neo-Latin allowed formations like *interdependentia* or *intersubjectivitas*.

ἀντι-παραβολή / # *comparatio peccatorum* (2.49). Here, παραβολή, 'juxtaposition, comparison' is expanded through ἀντι- to mean 'rebuttal by contrasting'. This nuance is rendered by *RH* with a syntagma.

ἀντ-εν-αντίωσις / # *de-minutio* (4.50). The noun ἐναντίωσις, meaning 'opposition, disagreement' (on the base ἐναντίος, 'opposite'), is a compound of ἐν- and ἀντι-; there is however no possibility to analyse it further into ἐν- and **ἀντιωσις*, even if ἀντίος 'set against, opposite' exists. It is expanded by ἀντ(ι)- to mean 'reciprocal opposition = litothes, negation of opposites'. The Latin translator makes it mean 'making smaller', which is far too imprecise. The prefix *de-* in this context marks thoroughness or completeness.

²⁷⁰ *RH*, 4.42: *cuius rei nomen aut non sit aut satis idoneum non sit, eam nosmet idoneo uerbo nominemus*.

²⁷¹ *Comoediarum palliatarum fragmenta*, 62: *de meo amore verbificatio*.

²⁷² Formations on *-ficatio* were abundant in the first century CE: *ludificatio*, *significatio*, *amplificatio*, *pacificatio*, *testificatio*, *velificatio*.

προ-έκ-θεσις / # *ex-positio* (2.32). The simple ἐκθεσις 'exposure, exhibition' is qualified by προ- to mean 'previous description', a sense which is amiss in *expositio*.

συν-εκ-δοχή / # *intellectio* (4.44). The term συνεκδοχή 'understanding one thing with another' is an expansion of ἐκδοχή 'receiving, understanding, interpreting'. Nothing in *intellectio* helps the reader to grasp the very specific meaning 'pars pro toto'. *Intellectio* seems to be the first nominalization of *intellego*, the other being *intellectus*, which is attested from Seneca philosophus onwards.

It would seem that the author or *RH*, much unlike Cicero, avoided compound or doublet translations, aiming at a succinct style that prefers one word to many, even at the cost of perspicuity.

2. Productivity in Cicero

The lexemes listed in the following section occur in Cicero (and in *Rhetorica ad Herennium* abbreviated *RH*) as constituents of a rhetorical and philosophical terminology in the making. In most cases it is impossible to establish with certainty whether such a term was a fresh invention or just the first instance preserved in writing of a usage already established. Whenever there is reason to believe that such an item is a translation of, or a calque on, or otherwise inspired by a Greek model, its plausible or possible Greek origin is suggested.

2.1 Nominal productivity

Words marked with the sign # (hashtag), here and elsewhere in this book, indicate the first attested occurrence of that lexeme in Latin literature. The figures after each lexeme indicate the number of occurrences in Marcus Tullius Cicero's authentic writings (i.e., not in fragments, nor in quotations ascribed to him by later authors).

Many of these Latin terms are still in frequent use in Romance languages and in English, or even as international loan-words in other languages, with the same, or similar, or related denotations.²⁷³

²⁷³ To take just one example demonstrating that terms, like all other words, undergo semantic shifts, which are recorded by the branch of philosophy that the Germans call *Begriffsgeschichte*: the noun *propositio* was launched by Cicero, but in a much narrower sense than in later Latin. In his terminology, it means the major premiss of an argument (τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν λήμμα), and is used to make a contrast with *assumptio*, which means the minor premiss (ἡ πρόσληψις). But already Quintilian, before the end of the first century C.E., used *propositio* in the more general sense of

2.2 Deverbative and deadjectival abstracts on *-tio*, *-sio*

The primary meaning of nouns on *-tio* and *-sio* was 'state or condition of what the corresponding past participle imports': the action or process of relating, completing, suspending, etc., and sometimes quasi concretely, as in *dictio*, 'the condition of being said', *natio* 'birth, brood, nation', and *oratio* 'mode of speaking, oration'. Leumann, § 324. Cf. below, 226.

Extremely common formation from verbs, typically on the past participial or supine stem (in *-t-*, *-s-*, *-x-*), e.g. *damnatio*, *completio*, *monitio*, *munitio*, *notio*, *solutio*, *actio*, *mansio*, *missio*, *conexio*.

Sometimes also found in formations on the main verb stem, as *alluvio*, *condicio*, *legio*, *oblivio*, *opinio*.

Formations are rarely found from adjectives or nouns, as *communio*, *portio*, *talio*.

The closest Greek counterpart (and formative pattern) were feminine nomina actionis on *-τι-* and *-σι-*: cf. in Homer compounds like *ἀνά-πνευσις* 'breathing again', *ἐκ-βασις* 'disembarking', *ξύν-εσις*, 'joining', etc. Verbal abstracts on *-σις* in scientific prose amount to more than 5000 in the material used by Schwyzler, pp. 504-506.

In Cicero and *RH*, this formation was the singular most productive pattern for making new abstracts, often calques on Greek models. It has kept its massive productivity in Latin and derivative languages ever since: in Old French *-cion*, in Middle English with various spellings (*-cioun*, *-tiun*, etc.), later normalized *-tion* (*-ation*, *-ition*), etc. Cf below, pp. 212-217.

The following instances of *-tio* and *-sio* formations in Ciceros writings were already in circulation:

alienatio Edicta praetorum 'transference of ownership; estrangement' ἄλλοτρίωσις, ἐκποίησης **6**

cavillatio Plautus 'raillery' σκῶμμα, διασυρμός, in Cicero σοφίσμα 'captious argument' **1**

circumitio Terence 'circumlocution; orbit, circumference', in Cicero and *RH* περίοδος 'circumlocution' **3**

collatio Plautus 'juxtaposition', in Cicero παραβολή, σύγκρισις 'comparison' **17**

commutatio Accius 'change', in Cicero ἀντάλλαγμα 'change, reversal, substitution' **38**

contentio Hemina *RH* 'effort, intensification, conflict; contrasting' ἔντασις, σύντασις, πάθος **246**

deprecatio Plautus 'invocation; suing for pardon' δέησις, ἱκεσία **24**

dubitatio Sisenna *RH* 'hesitation, (simulated) indecision' ἀπορία, διαπόρησις, ἀμφιβολία **90**

interpellatio 'interrupting' Plautus ὀχλησις **7**

iudicatio CIL *RH* 'point at issue; forming of opinion' κρίμα, κρινόμενον **36**

legatio Gracchus 'deputation, embassy; office of *legatus*' πρεσβεία **136**

any 'statement' or 'indicative sentence', capable of truth or falsity, which it has retained ever since. Kneale & Kneale, 177 f.

mutatio Plautus Terence 'change, alteration' ἀλλοίωσις, ἀλλαγή **52**
narratio Terence 'narrative, story; facts of a case' κατάστασις, διήγησις **49**
notio Plautus 'idea, conception, notion' ἔννοια, νόησις, πρόληψις **39**
oppressio Terence 'overpowering; suppression' ἀδικία, ὕβρις **3**
pronuntiatio Valerius Maximus 'proclamation; oratorical delivery' ἀνακήρυξις, ὑποφορά, ὑπόκρισις **4**
purgatio Terence 'exoneration' κάθαρσις **11**
quaestio Plautus 'inquiry, investigation, issue' ζήτημα, θέσις **288**
ratio Plautus 'reckoning; reason, etc.' λόγος, νοῦς **1822**
responsio Plautus 'answering, replying' ἀπόκρισις **7**
reversio Plautus 'return' ἐπιστροφή, ἀναστροφή **9**
rogatio Asellio 'request, questioning; bill' ἐρώτησις, ἐρώτημα **69**

But the number of cases of this category first attested in Cicero (and *RH*) is considerable:

absolutio RH 'finishing, completeness, perfection; completion; acquittal' ἀπόλυσις, ἀπόδοσις **19**
abusio RH 'use of wrong synonym, catachresis' κατάχρησις **1**
accubitio 'reclining (at meals)' κατάκλισις **3**
accuratio RH 'exactness' ἀκρίβεια **2**
accusatio RH '(speech of) accusation; indictment' κατηγορία **123**
actio RH 'legal process, action; activity' ἀγωγή, πράξις, ἐνέργεια **271**
adhortatio 'persuasive speech' προτροπή **1**
adiunctio RH 'union; limiting qualification; placing of verb first or last in sentence' ἐπίξενσις, συνεζευγμένον, ζευγμα **10**
adoptio 'adoption into a family' εἰσποίησις **10**
adumbratio 'sketching; draft' σκιαγραφία **1**
advocatio 'body of advisers; pleading; adjournment' πρόσκλησις, συνηγορία **9**
affectio 'mood, emotion; disposition; relationship' ἔξις, διάθεσις, πάθος **33**
affirmatio 'affirmation, assertion' διαβεβαίωσις, ἐπίδειξις, κατάθεσις **5**
altercatio 'series of exchanges with an opponent; debate, repartee' **7**
amissio RH 'loss, deprivation' ἀποβολή **10**
amplificatio RH 'amplification, enlarging upon' αὔξησις **27**
animadversio 'attention, mention; punishment' προσοχή, ἐπιστροφή, τιμορία, κόλασις **29**
antecessio 'going in front or forward; pl. antecedents' **2**
anteoccupatio 'anticipation of adverse argument' προκατάληψις, πρόληψις **1**
appetitio RH 'desire, appetite; impulse' ὁρμή, ὄρεξις, ἐπιθυμία **31**

- # *approbatio RH* 'approval, assent; proof' απόδειξις, δοκιμασία **49**
- # *argumentatio RH* 'arguing, line of argument' απόδειξις τεκμηρίων, υπόθεσις
- # *assensio RH* 'approbation, assent; assent to natural impulses' συναίνησις, συγκατάθεσις **36**
- # *circumscriptio* 'circumference; limit; periphrasis; periodic sentence' περιγραφή, περίοδος **13**
- # *coacervatio* 'heaping of arguments' ἄθροισις **1**
- # *cogitatio RH* 'thinking, thought, idea; intention' λογισμός, ἐνθύμησις, ἔννοια **211**
- # *cohortatio RH* 'exhortation' παράκλησις **26**
- # *collocatio RH* 'arrangement of words in speech' **21**
- # *commendatio* 'recommendation' σύνστασις, ἔπαινος **129**
- # *comminatio* 'threatening, menacing' ἀπειλή **1**
- # *commiseratio RH* 'rousing of pity' οἰκτιρμός **2**
- # *commoratio RH* 'dwelling on a point' ἐπιμονή **5**
- # *commotio* 'excitement; arousing of emotion' κίνησις **8**
- # *communicatio* 'consultation with audience or adversary; sharing' κοινωνία, ἀνακοίνωσις **5**
- # *communio* 'mutual participation; possession of common qualities' κοινωνία, κοινότης **12**
- # *commoratio RH* 'stay, delay; dwelling on a point' ἐπιμονή **5**
- # *compensatio RH* 'counterbalancing' ἀντεισαγωγή, συνσταθμία **3**
- # *complexio RH* 'knitting together; combination; summary; dilemma' συμπλοκή **22**²⁷⁴
- # *compositio RH* 'mixture, arrangement; agreement' σύνθεσις, σύνταξις **18**
- # *compotatio* 'drinking together' συμπόσιον, σύνδειπνον **2**
- # *comprehensio* 'comprehensive statement/argument/dilemma; grouping, classifying; understanding' σύλληψις, κατάληψις, περίοδος **29**
- # *concenatio* 'eating dinner together' σύνδειπνον **2**
- # *concertatio* 'controversy, dispute' ἡ ἐριστική τέχνη, τὰ ἐριστικά **10**
- # *concessio RH* 'yielding, admission of argument/guilt' συγχώρησις, συγγνώμη **18**
- # *conciliatio* 'conciliation; making a person inclined' οικείωσις, προξένησις, φιλοποίησις **10**
- # *conclusio RH* 'peroration; close of sentence; inferred conclusion' ἐπίλογος, συμπέρασμα **59**
- # *concurso RH* 'hiatus; coincidence; repetition of word(s)' συνδρομή, συμπλοκή **9**

²⁷⁴ Cf. Kneale & Kneale, 178.

- # *confirmatio RH* 'confirmation, corroboration, proof' βεβαίωσις, επικύρωσις, πίστις **35**
- # *conformatio RH* 'formation of mental pictures/ideas/notions; personification; figure of speech' προσωποποιία, ειδωλοποιία **17**
- # *confusio* 'combination; confusion, disorder' σύγχυσις, ταραχή **10**
- # *coniugatio* 'etymological connexion' συζυγία **2**
- # *coniuratio* 'plot, conspiracy' συνωμοσία **74**
- # *coniunctio RH* 'joining together, association, combination' σύνδεσμος, συζυγία, συναφή **123**
- # *conscensio* 'embarkation' εἴσβασις **1**
- # *consecutio RH* 'consequence' ἀκολούθησις **12**
- # *consensio* 'agreement, consent' συνκατάθεσις, ὁμοφροσύνη **27**
- # *conservatio RH* 'preservation; observance; maintenance' διατήρησις, τήρησις, εὐταξία **22**
- # *consolatio* 'consoling, consolation' παραμυθία, παρηγορία, παράκλησις **79**
- # *conspiratio* 'harmony, concord; conspiracy' ὁμόνοια, σύμπνοια, συνωμοσία **9**
- # *constitutio RH* 'constitution, situation, settlement' διάταξις, σύνταγμα **105**
- # *constructio RH* 'construction; arrangement of words' σύνταξις **8**
- # *continuatio RH* 'continuous sentence, period; concatenation' συνάφεια **17**
- # *versio RH* 'rotation, inversion; repetition, transposing' ἀντιστροφή, μεταστροφή, ἀντιμεταβολή, ἐπιφορά, περιφορά **34**
- # *copulatio* 'combining, uniting' δεσμός, συναφία **3**
- # *correctio RH* 'amendment, correction' ἐπανόρθωσις, ἐπιδιόρθωσις, μετάνοια **9**
- # *criminatio RH* 'accusation, charge, indictment' διαβολή, ἔγκλησις **17**
- # *damnatio RH* 'condemnation' καταδίκη, κατάκρισις **47**
- # *decisio* 'settlement, agreement' διάκρισις, διάλυσις **8**
- # *declinatio* 'deviation, inclination; avoidance, digression' παρέκβασις, παρέγκλισις **17**
- # *dedicatio* 'dedication (to sacred purposes)' καθιέρωσις **12**
- # *defatigatio RH* 'exhaustion; tiredness' καταπόνησις **5**
- # *definitio RH* 'definition, specification' ὀρισμός, διορισμός, ὅρος **101**
- # *deliberatio RH* 'deliberation, deliberative speech' βουλή, σκέψις **61**
- # *demonstratio RH* 'showing, definition, exposition; epideictic oratory' ἀπόδειξις, δήλωσις **20**
- # *deminutio, diminutio RH* 'subtraction, diminution' μείωσις, ὑφαίρεσις, ἐλάττωσις **8**

- # *depopulatio* 'plundering, pillaging' καταλύμανσις 7
- # *depulsio* 'averting, repelling; rebuttal' αποτροπή, ψόγος 24
- # *descriptio RH* 'drawing of plan; indictment; description' διαγραφή, απογραφή, χαρακτήρ 35
- # *devotio* 'consecration (by a general) to infernal gods' καθοσίωσις, καθάρα 4
- # *digestio* 'arrangement of speech' μερισμός, διαίρεσις 1
- # *digressio* 'departure; digression' απόβασις, παράβασις 9
- # *di(s)iunctio RH* 'separation; disjunctive proposition; distinguishing of clauses' διαστολή, διάξευξις, αντίζευγμα, διεζευγμένον 14
- # *dimissio* 'dispatching, discharging' αποστολή, αποπομπή, ἄφεσις 2
- # *dinumeratio* 'counting, calculation; enumerating' ἀπαρίθμησις, ἐξαρίθμησις, συναθροισμός 2
- # *direptio* 'plundering, pillage' διαρπαγή, καθαρπαγή 22
- # *disceptatio* 'dispute, debate' διάγνωσις, διάσκεψις, διάλεξις 49
- # *dispensatio* 'administration, management' οἰκονομία, διοίκησις 4
- # *dispositio RH* 'arrangement' διατύπωσις, διαταγή, διάθεσις, οἰκονομία 5
- # *disputatio RH* 'discussion, disputation' διάλεξις, διάλογος 190
- # *disquisitio RH* 'investigation, inquiry' ἐξέτασις, ζήτησις 2
- # *dissensio* 'disagreement, dissension; discrepancy' διχόνοια, διχοστασία, ἀμφισβήτησις 86
- # *dissimulatio RH* 'dissimulation, concealment of purpose' εἰρωνεία, προσποίησης, ὑπόκρισις 17
- # *dissipatio* 'scattering, dispersal; distribution' διασπασμός 5
- # *dissolutio RH* 'disintegration, collapse; disconnection; refutation' διάλυσις, λύσις, ἀσύνδετον 11
- # *dissuasio RH* 'advising against a proposed action' αποτροπή 2
- # *distinctio RH* 'distinction, classifying; distinctive quality' παραδιαστολή, διαστολή, διαίρησις 26
- # *distributio RH* 'distribution, division, classification' διανομή, διαίρησις, διαμερισμός 16
- # *divisio RH* 'division, distribution, distinction' διαίρησις, προκατασκευή, προέκθεσις 29
- # *dominatio RH* 'paternal authority; dominion, despotism' ἡγεμονία, κράτος, τυραννίς 35
- # *efflagitatio* 'importune demanding' ἀπαίτησις 2
- # *effrenatio* 'giving rein to passions' ἀκολασία 2
- # *effusio* 'unrestrained expression; expenditure' ἔγχυσις (?) 8

electio 'choise, chosing, selecting' αἵρεσις, ἐκλογή, ἐπιλογή 2
 # *elocutio RH* 'expression in words' φράσις, λέξις 2
 # *enumeratio RH* 'listing, enumeration, recapitulation' ἀνακεφαλαίωσις 27
 # *ereptio* 'robbery' ἀρπαγή 1
 # *eruditio* 'instruction, learning' διδασκαλία, παιδεία, παίδευσις 11
 # *eversio* 'destruction' ἐπιστροφή 8
 # *excisio* 'destruction' ἐκκοπή 2
 # *exclamatio RH* 'exclaiming' ἐκφώνησις, σχετλιασμός 4
 # *exercitatio RH* 'exercise; cultivation' μελέτη, ἄσκησις 123
 # *exornatio RH* 'embellishment' ἐκκόσμησις 7
 # *explanatio RH* 'exposition' ἀφήγησις, διασάφησις, ἐξήγησις, σαφήνεια, κτλ. 5
 # *explicatio* 'explaining, solution; exposition' διάπτυξις 24
 # *expolitio RH* 'elegance, elaboration' ἐξεργασία 8
 # *expositio RH* 'statement, description' διήγησις 11
 # *exsecratio* 'cursing, imprecation; curse' ἄρά, κατάρα 2
 # *extenuatio* 'belittlement, meiosis' ἐλάττωσις, μείωσις, ἐξουθενισμός 1
 # *flexio* 'bending, curving; inflexion, modulation of voice' 4
 # *frequentatio RH* 'concentration, assembling' ἀθροισμός, συλλογή, συναγωγή, ἀνακεφαλαίωσις 2
 # *geminatio* 'doubling, repetition' ἀναδίπλωσις, ἐπαναδίπλωσις 1
 # *gradatio RH* 'series of propositions with increasing force' κλίμαξ 1
 # *gratulatio* 'thanksgiving; congratulation; satisfaction' σύγχαρμα, εὐχαριστία, ἀγαλλίασμα 53
 # *gubernatio* 'pilotage; direction, control' κυβέρνησις, διοίκησις, ἡγεμονία 12
 # *iactatio* 'boasting, showing off' ἀλαζονεία, μεγαληγορία 12
 # *illusio* 'making game, ridicule' ἐμπαιγμός, διασυρμός, χλευασμός, μυκτηρισμός 1
 # *imitatio RH* 'imitating, mimicking' ἠθοποιία, μίμησις, χαρακτηρισμός 36
 # *imminutio* 'disparagement, meiosis; impairing' ἐλάττωσις, μείωσις 1
 # *immutatio* 'changing, alteration; metonymy' ἐναλλαγή, ὑπαλλαγή, μετονυμία 6
 # *impressio* 'push; impressed mark; emphatic pronunciation' ἐντύπωσις, τύπωσις 5
 # *improbatio RH* 'rejection, discrediting' ἀνατροπή 2
 # *impugnatio* 'armed assault' 1
 # *impulsio* 'push, stirring, impulse' χαριεντισμός 9
 # *incensio* 'setting on fire' ἔμπρησις 2

- # *inclinatio* 'tendency, inclination; change; lowering of voice' ἔγκλισις, εὐεμπτωσία **14**
- # *inclusio* 'confinement' σύλληψις **1**
- # *inductio RH* 'leading in; inducement; focusing; arguing by analogy' ἐπαγωγή, εἰσαγωγή **16**
- # *infinitio* 'infinitude' ἀπειρία **1**
- # *infitiatio RH* 'denial, repudiation' ἄρνησις, ἀπόφασις **2**
- # *inflammatio* 'setting ablaze, kindling' φλόγωσις, φλεγμονή **2**
- # *inflexio* 'bending, curving; modification' ἔγκαμψις **5**
- # *informatio* 'formation (of idea), conception' πρόληψις **5**
- # *ingressio* 'entry, entering upon; advancing' ἐμβιβασμός **4**
- # *insinuatio RH* 'indirect captation of favour' ἔφοδος **7**
- # *intentio RH* 'attention, concentration' προσοχή, ἔνστασις **26**
- # *intermissio* 'intermission, pause' διάλειψις **10**
- # *interpretatio RH* 'explaining, exposition; signification' ἐρμηνεία, συνονυμία **25**
- # *interrogatio RH* 'question, questioning; dialectic argument' πεῦσις, ἐρώτησις, συλλογισμός **12**
- # *interspiratio* 'pause for breath' διαπνοή **2**
- # *inventio RH* 'finding (out); devising of arguments' εὔρησις, εὔρημα **25**
- # *inversio RH* 'conveying another meaning' ἀλληγορία, εἰρωνεία, ἀναστροφή **1**
- # *irrisio RH* 'mockery, derision' μυκτηρισμός, εἰρωνεία **7**
- # *iteratio RH* 'repetition, reiteration' ἀναδίπλωσις, ταυτολογία, δευτέρωσις, παλλογία **2**
- # *iugatio* 'trellising' συζυγία **1**
- # *laesio* 'injury to opponent's case' βλάβη, βλάβος **1**
- # *lapsio* 'falling into error' εὐεμπτωσία **1**
- # *largitio RH* 'distribution, bribery; bribe' διανομή, δώρημα **60**
- # *laudatio* 'commendation, eulogy, panegyric' ἔπαινος, αἶνησις, ἐγκώμιον **83**
- # *mensio* 'measuring' μέτρησις **1**
- # *missio* 'release; discharge; sending, dispatch' πομπή, ἀποστολή **10**
- # *moderatio RH* 'moderation, restraint; curbing, control' ἡνιοχεία, σωφροσύνη, κοσμιότης **80**
- # *motio* 'movement, motion' κίνησις, φορά, ἐνδελέχεια **6**
- # *nominatio RH* 'designation, appointment' **1**
- # *notatio RH* 'marking, noting; defining; etymology' σύμβολον, γνώρισμα, ἐτυμολογία, ἡθοποιία **15**

- # *nundinatio* 'trading; trafficking' ἀγόρασις, καπηλεία **4**
- # *obiurgatio* 'reproving, reprimand' ἐπιτίμησις, ἐπίπληξις **16**
- # *obsecratio* 'entreating; prayer, supplication' δέησις, λίτη, κατευχή **8**
- # *occultatio RH* 'hiding, concealment; ignoring' κατάλειψις, παράλειψις, κρύψις **4**
- # *offensio* 'setback, detriment; offence' πρόσκρουσις **77**
- # *opinatio* 'belief, fancy' οἷσις **7**
- # *optatio* 'wish' εὐχή, ἐπιθυμία **4**
- # *partitio RH* 'division, distinction' μερισμός, διαίρησις **64**
- # *percontatio RH* 'questioning, interrogation' ὑποφορά, ἀνθυποφορά **4**
- # *percursio* 'rapid review' ἐπιτροχασμός **2**
- # *permissio RH* 'surrender; permission, leave' ἐπιτροπή **2**
- # *permotio* 'arousing; passion' παρόρμησις **16**
- # *peroratio* 'summing up, peroration' ἐπίλογος, ἀνακεφαλαίωσις **14**
- # *pertractatio* 'detailed examination' ἐγχείρησις **2**
- # *perturbatio RH* 'agitation; passion' ταραχή, πάθος **153**
- # *pervestigatio* 'careful investigation' ἐξιχνευσις, ἐξιχνιασμός **2**
- # *petitio RH* 'verbal attack; suit, claim; candidature' δέησις, ἐπίπληξις, αἵτησις **68**
- # *praemunitio* 'strengthening of a case in advance' προκατασκευή **2**
- # *praeparatio* 'preparation, building up of a case' παρασκευή, ἐτοιμασία **2**
- # *procreatio* 'procreation' γέννησις, γένεσις, γένους καταγωγή **5**
- # *progressio* 'advance, progress' σύγκρισις, προκοπή **10**
- # *promissio* 'promise (that proof is forthcoming)' ὑπόσχησις, προέκθεσις, ἐπαγγελία **7**
- # *propositio RH* 'imagination; statement; major premiss' προέκθεσις, πρόθεσις, πρόβλημα **24**²⁷⁵
- # *ratiocinatio RH* 'reasoning, calculation, theorizing' λογισμός, διαλογισμός **20**
- # *recordatio* 'recollection' ἀνάμνησις **43**
- # *reformidatio* 'fear, dread' φόβος **1**
- # *refutatio* 'refutation' διάλυσις, ἀνασκευή **1**
- # *relatio RH* 'balancing; retorting, recrimination' ἀντέγκλημα **13**
- # *remissio RH* 'slackening, relaxation, abatement; remission' ἄνεσις, ἄφεσις, πάρεσις, συγχώρησις **17**
- # *remotio (criminis) RH* 'shifting of a charging' μετάθεσις, ἀποκίνησις **10**

²⁷⁵ Cf. note 273.

- # *repetitio RH* 'repetition, recapitulation' ἀναφορά, επαναφορά, επανάληψις **1**
- # *reprehensio RH* 'censuring; self-correction; refutation' επιτίμησις, επίπληξις **56**
- # *retractatio* 'drawing back, retraction' ἀναμεταχείρισις **2**
- # *revocatio* 'summoning back; transference back; defining more exactly' ἀνάκλησις **4**
- # *rogatio* 'request, questioning; bill' ἐρώτησις, ἐρώτημα, εἰσήγησις, ψήφισμα **69**
- # *scriptio* 'art of writing; composition; drafting' γράμμα **11**
- # *seiunctio* 'marking off of one topic from the next' διάξευξις **1**
- # *significatio RH* 'expression (of feeling), meaning, sense; intimation' σημείωσις, ἐπισημασία, ἔμφασις **52**
- # *stipulatio RH* 'demanding of guarantee; contract (entered using a symbolic straw?)' **12**
- # *subiectio RH* 'placing under mental vision' ὑπόθεσις **1**
- # *superlatio RH* 'intensification' ὑπερβολή (*not* in Cicero)
- # *tractatio RH* 'treatment, handling; consideration, discussion' μεταχείρισις **20**
- # *traductio RH* 'passage of time, action of transferring' διαγωγή, ἀντανάκλασις **3**
- # *traiectio RH* 'hyperbole; crossing over' ὑπερβολή, διάβασις **6**
- # *transgressio RH* 'crossing, transition; inversion, hyperbaton' διάβασις, ὑπέρβατον **2**
- # *translatio RH* 'shifting of case/charge/situation/word/idea; translation' μεταφορά, μετάληψις **21**
- # *vitatio RH* 'avoiding' εὐλάβεια, ἐκφυγή **6**

2.3 Deadjectival abstracts on *-(i)tas*

The suffix *-(i)tas* (Leumann, § 328) expresses state or condition, the *-i-* being originally either the stem vowel of the radical (*suavi-tas*) or its weakened representation (*puri-tas*), rarely a mere connective (*auctor-i-tas*). The last became more frequent in medieval Latin, even in abstracts from comparatives (*minor-itas*, *superior-itas*, *inferior-itas*, *interior-itas*; see below, 304; cf. also *ent-itas* and *ident-itas*, 301). It was well established in the fragments of the eldest literary sources, Pacuvius, Livius Andronicus, Ennius. In Cato, the formation was used to denote seasons (*autumnitas*, *ole(i)tas*). Accius exhibits 19 examples, among which some (*angustitas*, *dulcitas*, *nitiditas*, *ponderitas*, *solitas*, *vicissitas*) have later fallen in disuse and were replaced by other types of abstraction. Plautus has more than 50 instances.

The etymologically identic Greek equivalent is the suffix *-τατ-* (Jonian, Attic *-τητ-*), exceedingly exploited in philosophy (in the form *-ότης* or *-ύτης*); in the plural earliest in Sappho (κακοτάτων), in Homer e.g. κακότης, νεότης, φιλότης. According to Schwyzler, pp. 528-529, there are as many as 658 instances of abstract formations on *-τητ-* registered in the material used by him.

The usual form in which the suffix (-*tās*, -*tātem*, expressing state or condition) appears, the *i-* being originally either the stem vowel of the radical (e.g. *suāvi-tās* suavity), or its weakened representation (e.g. *puro-*, *pūri-tās* purity), rarely a mere connective (e.g. *auctōr-i-tās* authority). The last became more frequent in medieval and modern Latin, and the modern languages, in abstract nouns from comparatives, as *majority*, *minority*, *superiority*, *inferiority*, *interiority*.

The following abstracts in Cicero and *RH* were in general circulation already:

- atrocitas* Accius 'dreadfulness, savageness, wickedness' δεινότης, ἀγριότης, χαλεπότης **23**
auctoritas Lex XII Plautus Gracchus 'right of ownership; authorisation, authority' **873**
bonitas Plautus Terence 'moral excellence, kindness; good quality' ἀγαθότης, ἀγαθοσύνη **55**
brevitas Lucretius 'shortness, smallness'; in Cicero *RH* 'short duration, brevity' βραχύτης, συντομία **63**
calliditas (Terence pl.) 'skill, shrewdness' πανουργία **11**
caritas ('dearness' Cato τιμιότης); in Cicero 'love, affection, esteem' ἀγάπησις, ἀγάπη **98**
commoditas Plautus 'timeliness'; in Cicero and *RH* 'aptness, suitability, advantage' λυσιτέλεια, ωφέλεια, χρησιμότης **26**
difficultas Plautus Terence 'difficulty; want of amenability' δυσχολία, δυσχέρεια **53**
facultas Turpilius Accius Plautus 'capacity, skill' εὐχέρεια **272**
festivitas Plautus *RH* 'humour, pleasantness' εορτασμός, φαιδρότης **9**
gravitas Lucilius, Lucretius 'heaviness; dignity, importance, gravity' βαρύτης, σεμνότης **237**
ignobilitas Lucilius 'obscurity, humble origin' δυσγένεια **7**
immanitas (cf. *mānus* 'good') Quadrigarius 'brutality, barbarity, enormity' ἀγριότης **22**
iniquitas Quadrigarius 'unfairness' ἀδικία **49**
propinquitas Plautus 'proximity, kinship' ἐγγύτης, οικειότης, συνάφεια **16**
sanitas Plautus 'health; soundness' ὑγίεια, σωφοσύνη **24**
segnitas Accius 'sloth' νόθεια **1** (*segnities* never in Cicero, albeit *segnitia* **3**)
venustas Plautus Terence 'charm, grace, attractiveness' ἐπαφροdisία, ὠρία, εὐσχημοσύνη, χαριεντισμός **41**
veritas Terence *RH* 'reality, truth, sincerity' ἀλήθεια **174**
voluntas Livius Andronicus Plautus 'will, option, intention' βουλή, θέλημα **660**
voluptas Ennius Pacuvius 'pleasure' ἡδονή **661**

The following formations occur for the first time in Cicero and *RH*, often used to describe personal characteristics:

- # *acerbitas* 'harshness, distress, bitterness' πικρότης, πικρία, τραχύτης, δριμύτης **57**
admirabilitas 'remarkableness; admiration' θαυμασιότης **3**
aedilitas '(term of) aedilship' ἀγορανομία **41**
aequabilitas 'equability, equity, equality' ἀναλογία **17**
aequalitas 'equality, evenness' ισότης, ὁμοιότης, ὁμαλότης **8**

- # *aequitas* RH 'equanimity; fairness, equity' εὐψυχία, ισότης **194**
- # *aeternitas* 'eternity; immortality (of fame)' αἰών, αἰωνότης (cf. Leumann, § 328 1a) **40**
- # *alacritas* 'enthusiasm, zeal' σφοδρότης, φαιδρότης, προθυμία **16**
- # *ambiguitas* 'ambiguity' ἀμφιβολία, ὁμωνυμία **3**
- # *Appietas* 'the rank of an Appius' **1**
- # *asperitas* 'sharpness, ruggedness; harshness, severity' τραχύτης, ἀγριότης **16**
- # *caecitas* 'blindness; lack of discernment' τυφλότης, τύφλωσις **16**
- # *celebritas* 'being busy, crowding; reputation, fame' πυχνότης, ἔπαινος, δόξα **31**
- # *celeritas* RH 'speed, swiftness, nimbleness' ταχύτης, τάχος **96**
- # *communitas* 'partnership, fellowship, society' κοινότης **33**
- # *concinnitas* 'elegance (of style), refinement, grace' κομψότης (?) **15**
- # *crebritas* 'frequency, closeness' πυχνότης **4**
- # *deformitas* 'ugliness, disgrace, inelegance' ἀμορφία, δυσμορφία, κακομορφία **13**
- # *dicacitas* 'mordant raillery' **7**
- # *diuturnitas* 'long period/lapse of time, durability, longevity' χρονιότης **29**
- # *divinitas* 'divinity, divineness; divine being' θειότης, θεότης **15**
- # *extremitas* 'border, outline, perimeter' ἔσχατον, ἐσχατία **4**
- # *facilitas* 'ease, readiness, fluency' ῥαστώνη, εὐκολία, εὐγλωττία **33**
- # *frugalitas* 'self-restraint, steadiness of life' σωφροσύνη **14**
- # *gentilitas* 'relationship of a gens' οικειότης **2**
- # *habilitas* 'aptitude' ἐπιτηδεϊότης **1**
- # *hilaritas* RH 'cheerfulness' ἰλαρότης **22**
- # *humanitas* RH 'human nature; civilization, kindness' ἀνθρωπότης, γενναιότης, φιλανθρωπία **33**
- # *imbecillitas* RH 'weakness, powerlessness' ἀσθένεια, ἀδυναμία **23**
- # *immensitas* 'vastness, immensity' ἄπειρον (?) **2**
- # *immortalitas* RH 'immortality, indestructibility, divinity' ἀθανασία **55**
- # *immunitas* 'exemption, immunity' ἀτέλεια **15**
- # *improbitas* 'unscrupulousness, presumption' πονηρία **97**
- # *impunitas* 'exemption, impunity' ἀθώωσις **35**
- # *incolumitas* RH 'freedom of injury' ἀβλάβεια **30**
- # *indignitas* RH 'not being worthy' ἀπρέπεια, ἀείκεια **20**
- # *inhumanitas* 'want of civility, heartlessness' ἀπανθρωπία **10**
- # *insulitas* 'unattractiveness, stupidity' ἀπειροκαλία **5**

- # *integritas* 'soundness, purity, probity' ἀδιαφθορσία (?), ὁλοκληρία (?) 72
- # *Latinitas RH* 'correct Latin; Latin rights', cf. ἑλληνισμός 2
- # *Lentulitas* 'being a Lentulus' 1
- # *lēvitas* 'lightness, inconstancy' κουφότης 84
- # *lēvitas* 'smoothness' λειότης 7
- # *longinquitas* 'remoteness; duration' διάστημα, μακροχρονιότης 15
- # *loquacitas* 'talkativeness' πολυλογία, μακρολογία 8
- # *maturitas* 'ripeness, maturity, due time' πέπανσις, ἀδρότης 22
- # *mediocritas RH* 'moderateness, the mean; mediocrity' μετριότης, μέσον 29
- # *mulierositas* 'fondness for women' φιλογυνία 2
- # *obscenitas RH* 'obscenity' αἰσχρότης, ἀσέλγεια 7
- # *obscuritas* 'obscurity' ἀμαύρωσις, σκοτεινότης 30
- # *paucitas* 'scantiness, paucity' ὀλιγότης 15
- # *perpetuitas* 'continuity, permanence' αἰδιότης, διηνεκότης, αἰωνότης 12
- # *perspicuitas* 'clarity, lucidity' σαφήνεια, ἐνάργεια, λαμπρότης, περιφάνεια 9
- # *posteritas* 'future (generation, fame)' οἱ ἐσόμενοι, ἀπόγονοι, εὐκλεία 42
- # *probabilitas* 'probability' πιθανότης 5
- # *proprietas* 'propriety' ιδιότης 4
- # *qualitas* 'quality' ποιότης 6
- # *sagacitas* 'keenness of senses, acuteness' ἀγχίνοια 5
- # *sedulitas* 'attention, assiduity' ἐπιμέλεια 7
- # *societas RH* 'partnership, society' κοινωνία, τὸ κοινωνικόν, σύστασις 257
- # *stabilitas* 'stability, firmness' βεβαιότης, στερεότης 17
- # *sterilitas* 'barrenness, infertility' στειρώσις 4
- # *suavitas RH* 'pleasantness' γλυκύτης 91
- # *subtilitas* 'subtlety, precision' λεπτότης 26
- # *tarditas* 'slowness, dullness' βραδύτης 31
- # *urbanitas* 'urbanity, refinement' ἀστειότης, ἀστεισμός 23
- # *varietas RH* 'variety, diversity; divergence' ποικιλία, ποικιλμός 135
- # *viriditas* 'greenness, vigour' χλωρότης 5
- # *vitiositas* 'defective character' κακία, κακότης, ἀκαθαρσία 4
- # *volubilitas* 'rotundity, instability; fluency' εὐτροχία, εὐμάρεια 6

2.4 Denominative abstracts on *-mentum*

The suffix *-mentum* (Leumann, § 326.A.2), forming nouns from verbs to denote the result or product of the action, such as *frag-mentum*, or the means or instrument of the action, like *ali-mentum*, *orna-mentum*, has its origin in an IE base, a variant with *-t*-extension, represented in Latin by *-men* and in Greek by *-μα*. It was formed on primary verbs like *in-cre-mentum*, *mo-*, *fo-*, *to-*, *calcea-*, *vela-mentum*, or from denominative verbs *impedi-*, *muni-*, *pavi-*, *vesti-mentum*, or from secondary denominative verbs in *-amentum*, denoting tools: *arm-*, *ferr-*, *atr-*, *tabul-amentum*. The metaphorical use of such formations offered possibilities to invent further abstractions. It survived in Anglo-Norman and Old French and later in French as the suffix *-ment*, forming nouns from verbs denoting result or product of the verb action (*garnement*, *habillement*) or the action itself (*abridgement*, *commencement*). In English, it could be attached to verbs of German (*acknowledgement*, *atonement*) or Romance origin (*chastisement*, *enhancement*). From the 17th century onwards, it was often formed with the prefixes *en-*, *em-*, *be-* (*embodiment*, *enlightenment*, *bewilderment*, *bemusement*). It is still productive (*upliftment*).

Preclassical examples in Cicero are the following:

adiumentum Plautus *RH* 'means of aid' βοήθεια **56**

blandimentum Plautus 'blandishment, allurements' κολακεία **3**

(*calciamentum* Cato 'shoe' **1**)

detrimentum Cato *RH* 'reduction; damage' βλάμμα, ζημία, ἀπότριμμα **33**

documentum Plautus 'example, teaching' **8**

emolumentum Plautus *RH* 'advantage, benefit' ὠφέλημα, ὠφέλεια **36**

(*fragmentum* Lucilius 'fragment' κλάσμα **2**)

fundamentum Plautus *RH* θεμέλιον **53**

impedimentum Plautus *RH* 'hindrance, impediment' ἐμποδισμός **18**

instrumentum Cato *RH* 'equipment, instrument' παρασκευή, ὄργανον **31**

liniamentum Valerius Maximus 'outline of figures, face' γραμμή, ὑπογραφή, διατύπωσης **14**

ornamentum Plautus *RH* κόσμος, κόσμησις **209**

pigmentum Plautus 'colouring of style' χρώμα **5**

testamentum Plautus *RH* 'will, testament' διαθήκη **145**

whereas the following lexemes are not attested earlier:

additamentum 'additional element' προσθήκη **1**

allevamentum 'alleviation' ῥαστώνη **1**

argumentum *RH* 'argument; subject, theme' τεκμήριον, σημεῖον **250**

auctoramentum 'terms of employment' **1**

complementum 'something that completes' συμπλήρωμα, παραπλήρωμα **1**

firmamentum *RH* 'that which supports (an argument)' συνέχον **22**

fomentum 'poultice; remedy' θαλπτήριον **2**

- # *incitamentum* 'incentive' παρόρμησις, παροξυσμός **1**
 # *incrementum* 'increase' αύξησις **2**
 # *levamentum* 'relief, alleviation' κουφισμός **1**
 # *sacramentum* 'oath (of allegiance)' ὄρκος, ὀρκωμόσιον **7**
 # *tormentum* *RH* 'engine for hurling missiles; instrument of torture, pain'
 στρεβλωτήριον, βάσανος **38**

2.5 Abstracts on *-tudo*

Leumann, § 325 A, 2. Chiefly formed on adjectival bases, as *alti-tūdo*, *forti-tūdo*, *hebe-tūdo*, less commonly from participles, as *consuē-tūdo*, *habi-tūdo*, or verbs, as *valē-tūdo*.

The IEU base is probably **-tu-*, extended by a suffix **-din-*; cf. German *-nis*, English *-ness*, from Germanic **-in-assu-*; Watkins 93 f.

Occurring in English in many words derived from Latin, either directly, as *altitude*, *hebetude*, *latitude*, *longitude*, *magnitude*, or through French, as *amplitude*, *aptitude*, *attitude*, *consuetude*, *fortitude*, *habitude*, *plenitude*, *solitude*, etc., or formed (in French or English) on Latin analogies, as *debilitude*, *decrepitude*, *exactitude*, or occasionally irregularly, as *dispiritude*, *torpitude*.

This formation was firmly established in preclassical Latin. The following instances are recorded in Cicero and/or *RH*:

- aegritudo* Plautus *RH* 'sickness, distress' ἀρρωστία, ἀσθένεια, νόσος **163**
altitudo Cato 'hight, highness; depth' ὕψος, βάθος **18**
consuetudo Plautus *RH* 'usage, intercourse' συνήθεια, ἔθος **378**
crassitudo Plautus 'thickness, density' πάχος, παχύτης **2**
firmitudo Plautus *RH* 'firmness, constancy' **7**
fortitudo Terence *RH* 'strength, fortitude' ἀνδρεία, ἀρετή, ἰσχύς, ρώμη **72**
habitus Terence *RH* 'condition, habit' σχέσις, ἔξις (*not* in Cicero)
latitudo Cato 'breath, largeness' πλατύτης, πλάτος **6**
lenitudo Pacuvius Turpilius 'mildness' πραότης **2**
lippitudo Plautus 'inflammation of eyes' ὀφθαλμία, ἐπιφορά **7**
longitudo Plautus *RH* 'length, duration' μήκος, μακρότης **13**
mollitudo Pacuvius *RH* 'softness, leniency; weakness' ἀπαλότης, μαλακότης **5**
multitudo Cato *RH* 'numerousness, multitude' πλῆθος, πολυπληθία **315**
necessitudo Asellio *RH* 'connection; constraint' συγγένεια, ἀνάγκη **153**
pulcritudo Plautus *RH* 'beauty' κάλλος, ὠραιότης **66**
similitudo Pacuvius *RH* 'similarity, likeness' ὁμοιότης **185**
solitudo Terence *RH* 'loneliness; solitude' ἐρημία **81**
sollicitudo Plautus Terence *RH* 'uneasiness, worry' μέριμνα, ἐπιμέλεια **71**

suavitus Plautus *RH* ἡδός, γλυκύτης (*not* in Cicero)

turpitude Plautus *RH* 'ugliness; disgrace' αἰσχρότης **136**

valetudo, validus Plautus *RH* 'soundness, health' διάθεσις, ὑγία, εὐεξία **156**

vicissitudo Terence 'vicissitude, alternation; reciprocation' ἀμοιβή, μεταβολή **21**

The following cases seem to be innovations in Cicero and/or *RH*:

amplitudo 'size; prestige' πλατύτης, μέγεθος, πλεονασμός, ὕψος **53**

beatitudo 'blessedness' μακαρία, μακαρισμός **1**

concinnitudo 'neatness, elegance' **1**

dissimilitudo 'difference; contrast' ἀνομοιότης **44**

dulcitus 'sweetness' γλυκύτης **2**

magnitudo 'magnitude, size; greatness' μεγαλειότης, μέγεθος, ὑπερβολή **266**

mansuetudo 'civilization, mildness' ἐπιείκεια, ἡμερότης, πραΰτης **33**

plenitudo *RH* 'fullness, plenitude' πλήρωμα (*not* in Cicero)

2.6 Deverbative/denominative (from adjectives, participles) abstracts on *-ent-ia*, *-ant-ia*

Leumann, § 274 1 b. The *-ia* formation on adjectival present participles of verbs in *-ā-* and *-ē-* was highly productive; later deverbative abstracts were added (*valent-ia*, *confident-ia*), usually of quality, rarely of action. In Greek, cf. the abstracts ending in *-ία*, formed (since Homer onwards) on adjectival and substantival stems: ξενία, σοφία, ἐλευθερία, ἡγεμονία, etc; Schwyzler, p. 468 f.

Borrowings from Latin into French in MA or later usually retain the vowel of the Latin ending (*elegance*, *prudence*). Borrowings in English directly from Latin occur in the 15th century (*assistance*, *significance*). The suffix *-ance* could even form nouns based on Germanic verbs (*utterance*, *hindrance*).

Cicero and *RH* used the following well established nouns:

adulescentia, adolescentia Plautus *RH* 'youth, youthfulness' νεότης **91**

benivolentia Terence *RH* 'good-will, benevolence' ἀγαθότης, καλοθέλεια **211**

clementia Terence *RH* 'calm, tranquillity; mildness, clemency' ἐπιείκεια, φιλανθρωπία **50**

confidentia Naevius Plautus *RH* 'trust, confidence; boldness, audacity' **6**

continentia Terence 'self-control' ἐγκράτεια **51**

diligentia Plautus *RH* 'carefulness, care' **270**

eloquentia Terence *RH* 'eloquence, rhetorics' ἀστειότης, εὐλωττία, λογιότης **241**

innocentia Scipio *RH* 'innocence' ἀβλάβεια **53**

imprudencia Terence *RH* 'imprudence, inadvertence' ἀπειρία **20**

inscientia Caecilius 'ignorance' ἄγνοια **15**

insolentia Turpilius 'unfamiliarity, strangeness; immoderation, insolence' ἀήθεια, αὐθάδεια **34**
intellegentia Terence *RH* 'understanding, intelligence' σύνεσις **51**
intemperantia Gracchus *RH* 'lack of restraint, immoderation' ἀκρασία **23**
licentia Plautus Lucilius *RH* 'freedom, wantonness, licence' ἄνεσις, παρρησία **79**
magnificentia Caecilius Terence 'nobility, generosity; magnificence' μεγαλοπρέπεια **24**
malevolentia Plautus 'ill will, malevolence' κακοθυμία, κακοθέλεια, κακοήθεια **9**
neglegentia Plautus *RH* 'carelessness, neglect' ἀμέλεια **48**
patientia Plautus 'endurance, patience, passivity' ὑπομονή **38**
reticentia Plautus 'avoidance of speech; leaving a point unfinished' ἀποσιώπησις **5**
sapientia Plautus *RH* 'discretion, wisdom' σοφία **305**
sententia Plautus *RH* 'thought, idea, meaning' διάνοια, γνώμη, νόημα, ἐνθύμημα **959**
violentia Plautus 'violence, aggressiveness' βία **2**

This formation proved highly functional in creating new philosophical and rhetorical abstractions:

absentia 'absence, lack' ἀπουσία, ἀποδημία **2**
abstinentia 'self-control, restraint' ἐγκράτεια, ἀποχή **15**
abundantia 'overflow, superabundance, affluence' εὐθηνία, πλησμονή **18**
appetentia 'desire, appetite' ὄρεξις **2**
arrogantia *RH* 'haughtiness, presumption' ἀγερωχία, ὑπερηφανία **48**
beneficentia 'beneficence, kindness' εὐεργεσία **14**
breviloquentia 'conciseness' βραχυλογία **1**
cohaerentia 'organic structure' σύναψις **4**
conscientia *RH* 'consciousness, conscience; complicity' συνείδησις, κακοβουλία **75**
consequentia *RH* 'consequence, sequence' ἀκολουθία, ἀκολούθησις **19**
constantia *RH* 'invariability, firmness, consistency' εὐστάθεια **176**
convenientia 'harmony, consistency' ὁμολογία, συμφωνία **15**
decentia 'becomingness' εὐπρέπεια **1**
despicientia 'contempt for, indifference to' καταφρόνησις **6**
differentia 'difference, distinguishing characteristic' διαφορά **13**
diffidentia 'distrust' ἀπιστία **2**
efficientia 'efficient power' ἐνέργεια **4**
eminentia 'quality of standing out' ἐξοχή, ὑπεροχή **3**
evidentia 'obviousness, evidence' ἐνάργεια **3**
excandescencia 'eruption of anger' θύμωσις **2**
excellencia 'superiority, excellence' ἐξοχή, ὑπεροχή **12**

- # *experientia* 'trial, experiment' έμπειρία **2**
- # *exsuperantia* 'superiority' ύπεροχή **2**
- # *fidencia* 'self-confidence' φρόνημα **5**
- # *frequentia RH* 'dense mass; populousness, large attendance, frequency'
πυχνότης, πλήθος, συνέχεια **58**
- # *haesitantia* 'hesitancy, stammering' ψελλισμός **1**
- # *ignorantia* 'ignorance' άγνοια **1**
- # *inconsiderantia* 'recklessness, absent-mindedness' άβλεψία **1**
- # *incontinentia RH* 'inability of restraining one's desires' άκρασία **1**
- # *indigentia* 'need' ένδεια **7**
- # *indolentia* 'freedom from pain, insensitiveness of pain' αναλγησία, άλυπία,
άπάθεια **33**
- # *indulgentia* 'leniency, kindness' άφεςις, συγχώρησις **15**
- # *intolerantia* 'impatience' άδυνατία, ανεπιείκεια **15**
- # *magniloquentia* 'grandiloquence' μεγαλορρημοσύνη **2**
- # *oboedientia* 'obedience' ύπακοή, πειθαρχία **2**
- # *observantia* 'attention, observance' παραφυλακή **33**
- # *perseverantia* 'persistence, steadfastness' έπιμονή, ύπομονή, έπιβεβαίωσις **12**
- # *perspicientia* 'clear perception' άγχίνοια, θεωρία **1**
- # *pestilentia* 'insalubrity' λοιμός **9**
- # *potentia RH* 'power, influence, potency' δύναμις, κράτος **78**
- # *profluentia* 'fluency of speech' **2**
- # *providentia RH* 'foresight, provision; providence' πρόγνωσις, πρόνοια **22**
- # *prudentia RH* 'practical wisdom, providence, proficiency' φρόνησις, πρόνοια **270**
- # *reverentia* 'awe, reverence' εύλάβεια, αιδώς **1**
- # *scientia RH* 'knowledge, understanding; learning' έπιστήμη **251**
- # *suaviloquentia* 'agreeableness of speech' ήδυεπία **1**
- # *temperantia RH* 'self-control' σωφροσύνη **70**
- # *tolerantia* 'patience, fortitude' καρτερία, άνοχή, ύπομονή, τλήσις **1**
- # *vinolentia* 'excessive drinking' οίνοφλυγία **5**

2.7 Deverbative and denominative abstracts on *-tura*, *-sura*, *-ura*

Leumann, § 287. Verbal abstracts were formed on *-to*-participles (*cult-ura*), or *-tu*-abstracts (*natu-ra*), denoting action or process, hence result of such process, office, etc. After further development in French, the use was extended to English, and denoted action or process or result (*enclosure*, *scripture*), or a collective body (*legislature*). It was added to English stems of Latin origin (*exposure*) or to true Latin stems (*vomiture*, *unigeniture*).

The following lexemes in Cicero and *RH* were traditional:

coniectura Ennius *RH* 'conjecture' στοχασμός **1**

cultura Cato 'cultivation' γεωργία **19**

dictatura Sisenna 'dictatorship' **15**

figura Terence *RH* 'form, shape, quality' σχῆμα, χαρακτήρ, ιδέα, τύπος **84**

mensura Cato 'measure, quantity' μέτρον **8**

natura Terence *RH* 'nature, natural constitution' φύσις **1531**

pictura Plautus *RH* 'painting' **17**

praefectura Plautus 'prefecture' ἐπαρχία, προστατεία, ἐπαρχότης **20**

praetura Plautus 'praetorship' στρατηγία **71**

scriptura Terence 'writing' *RH* γράμμα **22**

statura Plautus *RH* 'height, size, stature' μέγεθος, ηλικία **5**

whereas these seem to be innovations:

architectura 'art of building' ἀρχιτεκτονική **1**

censura 'censorship, (harsh) judgement' τιμεία, τιμητική ἀρχή **15**

iactura 'throwing away, loss, expense' ἀποβολή, ζημία **27**

litteratura 'writing, grammar, philology' γράμματα, παιδεία **1**

litura 'smearing, erasure' ἀπαλοιφή, ἄλειψις, ἐξάλειψις **14**

quaestura 'quaestorship' ταμεία **39**

sepultura *RH* 'burial' ταφή, τυμβεία **19**

structura 'adaptation, construction, arrangement' κατασκευή **3**

2.8 Non-productive deverbative abstracts in Cicero

2.8.1 *-ela*

Leumann, § 284 B. The deverbative nomina rei actae *custodela*, *loquela*, *obsequela*, *suadela*, *sutela*, *turbela* (Plautus) do not occur in Cicero, whereas the following do:

clientel(l)a Terence *RH* προσφυγή **14**

corruptela Plautus φθορά, διαφθορά **12**

querel(l)a Plautus μομφή **46**

tutel(l)a Plautus, Terence έπιτροπή **38**

2.8.2 *-itia*

In Cicero, all formations (most of which denote personal qualities) on *-itia* belonged to the current vocabulary:

amicitia Plautus Terence *RH* φιλία **400**

avaritia Plautus Terence *RH* φιλαργυρία, πλεονεξία **119**

blanditia Plautus, Terence κολακεία, κωτιλία **4**

duritia Plautus Cato σκληρότης **5**

iniustitia Terence άδικία **15**

inscitia Plautus Terence άγνωσία **16**

iustitia Terence *RH* δικαιοσύνη **171**

laetitia Plautus Terence Cato *RH* εύφροσυνή, άγαλλίασις **131**

maestitia Plautus Accius λύπη, σκυθρωπότης **19**

malitia Ennius Plautus Terence *RH* πονηρία, κακία **51**

militia Plautus Terence στρατεία, στρατηγία **41**

mollitia Plautus Terence μαλακία, μαλακότης **10**

nequitia Plautus *RH* άχρειότης **41**

notitia Terence *RH* γνώσις, έννοια **14**

pigritia Plautus όκνία **8**

pudicitia Plautus *RH* σωφροσύνη **35**

pueritia Terence Afranius *RH* παιδιά **44**

saevitia Terence Turpilius άπήνεια, ώμότης **2**

segnitia Plautus Terence όκνος, άργία **3**

stultitia Plautus Terence *RH* μωρία, άνοια **87**

tristitia Terence Pacuvius Turpilius *RH* άθυμία, άηδία, σκυθρωπότης **16**

2.9 Nomina agentis

2.9.1 Nomina agentis on *-ista*

Leumann, § 365, 3 E. Forming agent nouns from verbs on *-ίζειν*, the agentive suffix *-τής* was added to the verbal stem. The massive productivity of this suffix-formation had not yet started in Cicero (cf. below, 292 ff.). One similar formation was in common use:

ballista Plautus 'machine discharging stones' < *βαλλιστής ? cf. βαλλίζω 'dance, jump about' (in Sicily and Magna Graecia) **1**

while the following are first attested in his writings:

citharista 'lyre-player' κιθαριστής **3**

sophistes, sophista 'sophist' σοφιστής **9**

lanista 'trainer of gladiators' (Etruscan; 'a *laniando*', according to Isidore) **6** seems to be of a different origin.

2.9.2 Nomina agentis on -tor, -sor

The suffix -tor- and -sor- (*can-tor, cen-sor*) in nomina agentis is frequent in the beginnings of written Latin and in all authors from that period. It is etymologically related to Greek -τηρ and -τωρ, and with the same function. In the Ionic and Attic dialects, those suffixes were replaced by -της, Schwyzer, p. 530 f.

accusator Mancia RH 'prosecutor, accuser, plaintiff' κατήγορος **275**

actor Plautus RH 'performer' πράκτης, πρακτήρ **58**

adiutor Plautus RH 'helper, accomplice, supporter' βοηθός, ἀντιλήπτωρ **69**

agitator Plautus 'driver, charioteer' ἡνίοχος, ἐλατήρ **2**

aleator Plautus 'gambler' κοττιστής, κυβευτής, κυβιστής **8**

amator Plautus RH 'lover' ἐραστής, φιλητής **12**

apparitor Cato 'servant, clerk' ἐκβιβαστής, ταξιώτης **12**

auditor Plautus RH 'listener, disciple' ἀκροατής **87**

balneator Plautus 'bath-keeper' βαλανεύς **3**

bellator Plautus 'warrior' πολέμιος, πολεμιστής **5**

cantor Plautus 'singer' ᾠδός, ᾠστής **3**

cavillator Plautus 'jester' διασύρτης **1**

censor Elogium Scipionis Cato RH 'censor; critic' **95**

coactor Cato 'collector' εἰσπράκτωρ, πράκτης **2**

collusor Lucilius 'play-fellow, fellow gambler' **4**

comissator Terence 'carouser' ἐπικωμαστής, καταφαγᾶς **2**

conductor Plautus Cato 'employer' μισθωτής **4**

conietor Plautus 'soothsayer' στοχαστής, ὄνειροκρίτης **14**

conquisitor Plautus 'inspector; recruiting officer' **2**

corrector Terence 'corrector' διορθωτής **3**

corruptor Plautus 'perverter' φθορεύς, ὑποφθορεύς **4**

cultor Plautus Cato 'inhabitant; cultivator; observer, keeper' **5**

curator Plautus 'keeper, curator' ἐπιμελετής **5**

dator Plautus 'giver, donor' δώτωρ, δωτήρ, δώτης **2**

defensor 'protector, defender, supporter' Terence RH ἔκδικος, σύνδικος **120**

depopulator Caecilius 'plunderer' **1**

dictator Ennius 'magistrate with plenary power' **43**
disceptor Plautus 'arbitrator' διαγνώμων, διαγνωστής **11**
emptor Plautus 'purchaser' ὠνητής **29**
fartor Plautus 'poulterer' σιτεντής **1**
fautor Plautus 'promoter, supporter' σπουδαστής **20**
fenerator Cato 'money-lender' δανειστής **2**
fictor Ennius 'one who devices; attendant of a priest; sculptor' πλάστης **2**
finitor Plautus 'who marks out boundaries, surveyor' ὀρίζων, γεομέτρης **5**
genitor Ennius 'father, creator' γενετήρ **3**
gladiator Cato *RH* 'gladiator; assassin' μονομάχος **92**
gubernator Plautus 'pilot; one who directs' κυβερνήτης **26**
hortator Ennius 'inciter; one who urges on horses in a race' **11**
ianitor Plautus 'porter, door-keeper' πλωρός **6**
imperator, induperator Ennius Plautus *RH* 'commanding officer; title of victorious general' **340**
impulsor Plautus 'instigator' στασιώτης **3**
inventor Ennius *RH* 'originator, inventor, author' εὐρετής **30**
liberator Plautus 'deliverer' σωτήρ **9**
mercator Plautus 'merchant' ἔμπορος, ἀγοραστής **25**
moderator Naevius 'one who guides, restrains, controls' ἡνίοχος **13**
monitor Terence 'counsellor; prompter, nomenclator' **5**
nugator Plautus 'one who plays the fool, teller of stories' φλύαρος **3**
obsessor Plautus 'one who occupies, besieger' πολιορκητής **1**
orator Ennius Plautus Cato *RH* 'envoy, ambassador; orator' πρεσβευτής, ῥήτωρ **633**
pastor Ennius 'shepherd' ποιμήν **18**
petitor Scipio 'candidate for office' **13**
pictor Plautus 'painter' γραφεύς **26**
piscator Plautus 'fisherman' ἄλιεύς **3**
pistor Plautus 'miller and/or baker' μαγεύς, σιτοποιός **3**
portitor Plautus 'customs-officer' τελώνης **4**
praeceptor Plautus *RH* 'teacher, tutor' καθηγητής, διδάσκαλος **12**
praedator Plautus 'plunderer' ἄρπακτήρ **2**
provocator Plautus 'challenger' προκλητής **1**
quadruplator Plautus *RH* 'bringer of accusation' **5**
rector Plautus 'helmsman; ruler, governor, controller' ἰθυντήρ, κυβερνήτης **8**
recuperator, reciperator Plautus 'assessor' **45**
redemptor Cato 'contractor' ἐργολάβος **15**
servator Plautus 'saviour, preserver' σωτήρ **6**

spectator Plautus Cato 'spectator, witness' θεάτης **10**
tutor Terence 'guardian of a minor; protector' επίτροπος **43**
ultor Accius 'avenger; person avenged' ἔνδικος, τιμωρός **16**
vector Lucilius 'transport horse; passenger on a ship' ἐπιβάτης **7**
veterator Terence 'experienced practitioner, old hand' πανούργος **10**
victor Ennius Plautus RH 'victor' νικητής **101**

adiunctor 'one who adds' **1**
administrator 'director, manager' διοικητής **1**
aemulator 'imitator' ἐφάμιλλος, ζηλωτής **1**
aestimator 'valuer, appraiser' διατιμητής **1**
altor 'nourisher, sustainer' τροφεύς **1**
amplificator 'increaser, enlarger' **3**
animadversor 'observer' **1**
arator 'farmer of ploughland' ἀροτήρ, ἀρότης **208**
ascriptor 'supporter, seconder' **4**
assecator 'follower, companion' ἀκόλουθος **2**
assensor RH 'one who approves' **1**
assentator 'flatterer' κόλαξ **14**
auctor 'originator' RH αὐθέντης, αὐτουργός **338**
auscultator 'listener' ἐπακροατής **1**
caelator 'engraver' τορευτής **2**
calumniator RH 'false accuser' συκοφάντης, διάβολος **8**
cessator 'idler' σχολαστής, ἀργός **3**
circumscriptor 'defrauder' περιγραφεύς **1**
clamator 'shouter' **4**
cognitor RH 'guarantor of identity; attorney' διαγνώμων **23**
competitor 'fellow candidate or rival' ἀνταγωνιστής **23**
compositor 'writer, composer' συγγραφεύς, μελοποιός **1**
compotor 'drinking companion' συμπότης **2**
compransor 'table-companion' σύνδειπνος **1**
comprobator 'approver' **1**
concitator 'instigator' παροξύντης **3**
confector 'one who conducts or finishes' συνεργός **4**
confirmator 'guarantor' βεβαιωτής **1**

conservator 'saviour' σωτήρ 27
consessor 'one who sits near; fellow juror' συγκάθεδρος 4
consponsor 'joint surety' 2
consultor 'lawyer' σύμβουλος 14
consumptor 'spendthrift' φιλαναλώτης 1
creator 'father, creator, founder' κτίστης, δημιουργός 2
creditor 'creditor' δανειστής 25
debtor 'debtor' όφειλέτης 9
decempedator 'landsurveyor' 1
decessor 'retiring magistrate' προηγησάμενος 1
declamator 'one who composes or delivers a set speech' 5
decoctor 'insolvent person' χρεοκόπος, φυρατής 2
delenitor, delinitor 'appeaser, soother' 1
deliberator 'one who deliberates' 1
demonstrator 'one who points out' 1
deprecator 'one who pleads' 11
depulsor 'averter' αλεξίκακος 1
deversor, devorsor 'lodger, guest' 1
direptor 'plunderer, pillager' άρπαξ 3
diribitor 'sorter of votes; distributor of food' 2
dispensator 'administrator, treasurer' οικονόμος 2
disputator 'arguer, disputant' διαλεκτικός 1
dissuasor 'one who advices against' 8
divisor 'one who divides into parts or shares' διαιρέτης, διαμεριστής 16
doctor RH 'teacher' διδάσκαλος 47
domitor 'one who tames, trainer; subduer' δαμαστής 3
ductor 'commander' όδηγός 1
educator 'foster-father' τροφεύς 2
effector 'author, originator' ένεργός 5
emendator 'corrector, reformer' διορθωτής, επανορθωτής 3
ereptor 'robber, depredator' ληστής 5
eversor, evorsor 'one who destroys' ανατροπεύς, διαφθορεύς 5
excursor 'courier, emissary' 1
existimator, existumator 'judge, critic' 9
exornator 'one who embellishes' 1

explanator 'expositor, interpreter' ἐξηγητής, ἑρμηνεύς **2**
explicator 'expositor' ἐξηγητής **2**
expulsor 'one who drives out' **2**
exstinctor, extingtor 'one who extinguishes; one who wipes out completely'
 σβεστήρ **6**
fabricator 'maker, fashioner' δημιουργός, ποιητής **1**
fraudator 'swindler' ἀποστερητής, πλεονέκτης **2**
habitator 'inhabitant' ἔνοικος, κάτοικος, οἰκιστής **4**
imitator 'one who imitates, copies' μιμητής **9**
immolator 'one who makes a sacrifice' θύτης, ἱεουργός **1**
infitiator 'who disavows a liability' ἄρνητής **3**
inquisitor 'investigator, inspector' ἐκζητητής **1**
insidiator RH 'who lies in wait, sets traps' ἐνεδρευτής **9**
instimulator 'who provokes, incites' ἐγκεντριστής **1**
institor 'shop-keeper' κάπηλος **1**
instructor 'one who equips, arranges' κατασκευαστής **1**
intercessor 'one who interposes a veto; mediator' βραβευτής, βοηθός, ἐπιγνώμων **17**
interfector 'murderer' φονεύς, μαιφόνος **6**
interpellator RH 'one who interrupts, intrudes' ἐντευκτής, προσαγγελτής **3**
investigator 'investigator' ἐξιχνευτής **2**
irrisor 'mocker' χλευαστής **1**
lapidator 'one who throws stones' λιθοβόλος, λιθαστής **1**
largitor 'briber' δαψιλής **1**
lator 'proposer (of law), voter' **14**
laudator RH 'one who praises; character witness' ἐπαινετής, ἐγκωμιαστής **29**
licitator 'bidder at an auction' **1**
litigator 'engaged in lawsuit, litigant' δικαζόμενος **1**
machinator 'contriver of plots' *μηχανητής, μηχανιώτης **3**
ministrator 'attendant' διοικητής, ὑπερέτης **3**
narrator 'narrator' **2**
negotiator 'trader, dealer' πραγματευτής, ἔμπορος **37**
nomenclator 'slave informing of names, or announcing dishes' **3**
obiurgator 'one who reproves, critic' ψέκτης, ψεκτικός **5**
obsignator 'one who affixes a seal' **6**
obtrectator 'detractor' ἀντικείμενος, ἀντίδικος **12**

occultator 'one that conceals' **1**
opinator 'one given to conjecture' **1**
oppugnator 'one who assaults' **3**
pacificator 'peacemaker' ειρηνοποιός **4**
pactor 'one who makes an agreement' **1**
peculator 'embezzler of public money' **1**
percussor 'hired assassin' φονεύς **4**
perditor 'one who destroys' διαφθορεύς **4**
peregrinator 'one who travels abroad' **1**
pignorator 'mortgagee' ένεχυριαστής **1**
possessor 'one who holds land or property' κτήτωρ **20**
praecursor 'forerunner' πρόδρομος **1**
praediator 'official dealing with a *praedium*' **4**
praegustator 'taster' προγευστής **1**
praevaricator 'advocate in collusion with his opponents' καθυφητήρ **5**
probator 'one who approves' επικριτής **3**
procurator 'person in charge of property, keeper' επίτροπος **71**
proditor RH 'traitor' προδότης **28**
pronuntiator 'one who makes known' κήρυξ **1**
propagator 'one who extends (in time or space), enlarger of boundaries' **1**
propugnator 'defender, protector, champion' πρόμαχος **17**
quaesitor RH 'investigator, judge in a criminal case' ζητητής **15**
receptor 'harbourer' **1**
recitator 'reciter' ανάγνωστής **3**
reprehensor, reprehensor 'one who finds fault' ψέκτης, ψεκτικός, φιλόσογος **3**
repressor 'one who represses' κατασταλτής, κατασταλτικός **1**
restitutor 'one who restores' **1**
rogator 'one who records, supervises voting' **8**
saltator 'dancer' όρχηστής **11**
sator 'sower; founder' φυτευτής **2**
scriptor RH 'scribe, drafter, writer' γραπτήρ **94**
sector 'one who cuts; who buys confiscated property' **18**
seminator 'begetter; propagator' σπορεύς **2**
senator 'senator' γερουσιαστής **182**
speculator 'scout, spy, sentinel' πρόσκοπος **9**

sponsor 'one who guarantees the good faith of another' ἐγγυητής 12
 # *stator* (< *sisto*) 'servant messenger; upholder' [Ζεὺς] ὀρθώσιος, στήσιος 9
 # *stipator* 'bodyguard' σωματοφύλαξ 4
 # *structor* 'maker, mason' 2
 # *suasor* 'one who advises, recommends or advocates' εἰσηγητής 13
 # *subiector* 'one who introduces documents fraudulently' ὑποβολεύς 1
 # *subscriptor* 'assistant prosecutor' 11
 # *successor* 'one who succeeds' διάδοχος 9
 # *temperator* 'one who exercises moderate control' ἄρμοστήρ 1
 # *tortor* 'torturer' βασανιστής 7
 # *traductor* 'one who transfers' 1
 # *transactor* 'negotiator' διαπράκτωρ 1
 # *translator* 'one who transfers' 1
 # *ustor* 'one who burns dead bodies' καντήρ 1
 # *venditor* 'seller, vendor' πωλητής, πρατήρ, πράτης 23
 # *vexator* 'one who harasses' ἐπηρεαστικός 9
 # *viator* 'traveller; agent on official errands' ὁδίτης, ὁδιοπόρος 11
 # *vituperator* 'detractor' ψέκτης 4

2.9.3 Nomina agentis (and adjectives) on *-trix*

The feminine counterpart of *-tor-* and *-sor-* in Latin was *-trix*, corresponding to Greek *-τρίς* and *-τρια*, Schwyzler, p. 531. In Latin, these formations often served as adjectives. They are absent in *RH*.

adiutrix Plautus Terence 'helper; adj. helpful' βοηθός 11
altrix Pacuvius 'nurse' θρέπτειρα, τιθή 3
conciliatrix Plautus 'go-between; promoter of relationship' προξενήτρια 3 (cf. # *conciliatricula* 1)
fautrix Terence (adj.) 'promoting, fostering' 2
fictrix Lucilius (adj.) 'that fashions' 1
genetrix Ennius 'mother' γενέτειρα 1
moderatrix Plautus 'one who controls, restrains, regulates' ἐπιστάτις 6
nutrix Plautus Terence 'nurse'; (adj.) 'that gives support' τιθήνη 8 (cf. # *nutricula* τιθή 2)
oratrix Plautus 'suppliant' 1
servatrix Terence 'protectress' σώτειρα 1
victrix Plautus '(adj.) prevailing, victorious' νικήτρια 12

This formation proved to be an expedient way of effortless expansion of the vocabulary, something that is attested by the notable amount of hapax legomena in Cicero:

- # *bellatrix* 'that wages war; (adj.) martial' πολεμική 1
- # *commendatrix* 'one who recommends' 1
- # *competitrix* 'fellow candidate; rival' 1
- # *consectatrix* (adj.) 'that strives after' 1
- # *conservatrix* 'protectress' 2
- # *consultrix* 'who takes thought for' 1
- # *cultrix* 'who promotes' 1
- # *deletrix* (adj.) 'causing destruction' 1
- # *disceptatrix* 'arbitrator' 1
- # *dominatrix* 'arbitrary ruler' κυρία, δέσποινα 1
- # *effectrix* 'originator, author' ἐνεργήτρια 4
- # *emendatrix* 'corrector, reformer' 2
- # *explicatrix* (adj.) 'revealing' 1
- # *expultrix* (adj.) 'that drives out' 1
- # *imitatrix* 'who imitates, copies' 3
- # *indagatrix* (adj.) 'that searches, tracks down' 1
- # *inventrix* (adj.) 'that devises' εὐρέτρια, εὐφετική 4
- # *laudatrix* (adj.) 'one that praises' 1
- # *ministratrix* 'servant' ὑπηρέτις 1
- # *perturbatrix* (adj.) 'that throws into confusion' 1
- # *procreatrix* (adj.) 'that creates' γεννήτρια 1
- # *receptrix* (adj.) 'that harbours' 3
- # *speculatrix* 'observer, spy' 1
- # *spoliatrix* (adj.) 'that plunders, despoils' σκυλεύτρια 1

3. Adjectival productivity

3.1 *-(i)alis* (most notable)

The adjectival suffix *-alis* (Leumann, § 313, 3) joined to any kind of stems, to denote association, affiliation, or affinity, and well established in preclassical Latin, is so frequent in Cicero that it would have no real significance to record them all. The following lexemes in his writings are not attested earlier:

animalis 'living, vital; of air' ψυχικός, ἔμψυχος 12
 # *auguralis* 'augural' οἰωνοσκοπικός 7
 # *confatalis* 'fated by implication' συνειμαρμένος 2
 # *coniecturalis* RH 'based upon conjecture' στοχαστικός 19
 # *contionalis* 'proper to public meetings' δημηγορικός 2
 # *curialis* (sb.) 'member of the same curia' βουλευτικός 1
 # *fatalis* 'fateful, fated; deadly' μοιρίδιος 31
 # *furialis* 'Fury-like, avenging, causing madness' μανιώδης 5
 # *generalis* 'of universal application; concerned with nature of thing' γενικός 9
 # *infitalis* 'consisting in denial' ἄρνητικός 1
 # *iudicialis* RH 'judicial, forensic' δικαστικός 23
 # *iuridicialis* RH 'relating to justice' δικαιολογικός 93
 # *municipalis* 'belonging to the *municipium*' 7
 # *naturalis* RH 'natural' φυσικός 112
 # *negotialis* 'concerned with affairs' πραγματικός 8
 # *pastoralis* 'connected with animal husbandry' ποιμενικός 1
 # *pontificalis* 'pontifical, belonging to a pontifex' 3
 # *principalis* 'basic, primary' ἄρχικός, πρωτεύων 7
 # *provincialis* 'provincial' ἐπαρχιώτης 24
 # *ritualis* 'ritual' νόμιμος, θεσμοθετικός 1
 # *triumphalis* 'associated with a triumph' θριαμβευτικός 3
 # *vocalis* RH 'able to speak' φωνήεις 7

3.2 Deverbative passive or instrumental/active *-bilis*

Leumann, § 312. This formation is usually passive, denoting possibility or desirability, less often instrumental or active, of quality. Cf. the Greek verbal adjectives on -τός, -τέος in active and passive function, to express a state or condition achieved (like past participles) but also ability, possibility (especially negative: ἀνίκητος, *invictus*, *invincibilis*), or passive necessity: ποιητέος, τλητός *faciendus*, *tolerabilis*), Schwyzer, p. 501 ff.

In Anglo-Norman and French, *-ble* was added to Latin verbs in *-are*. The French *-able* was attached to French or Latin stems (*capable*, *mirable*, *potable*) from the 12th century. The vast majority is deverbial. In Middle English, the suffix occurs in many loanwords and adaptations, like *perdurable*, *movable*, *measurable*, *agreeable*. Later the suffix was extended to hybrid formations on English or German stems: *speakable*, *takable*, etc., and ultimately to denominal adjectives: *saleable*, *marriageable*, a development encouraged by the numerous cases where a formally identical noun existed alongside a verb which was the base of a formation in *-able*: *changeable*, *debateable*. In French, all present participles in *-ant*

may give rise to an adjective in *-able, -ible* being a fossil survival from Latin: *horrible, possible, visible*. In English, there is a tendency of retaining *-ible* wherever there might have been a Latin *-ibilis*, while *-able* is used for words of distinctly French or English origin.

The following cases in Cicero were already in general use:

- credibilis* Plautus 'credible, probable' πιστός, πιθανός **25**
- exitiabilis* Plautus 'fatal, deadly' ὀλέθριος **1**
- exorabilis* Plautus 'capable of being moved by entreaty' ἐξιλεωτός **4**
- flebilis* Accius 'lamentable, plaintive; tearful' πένθιμος **11**
- habilis* Ennius 'easy to handle, adaptable' **3**
- horribilis* Accius 'terrifying, dreadful' φρικτός, φοβερός **32**
- immutabilis* Plautus 'unchangeable' ἀναλλοίωτος **2**
- incredibilis* Plautus RH 'incredible, unbelievable' ἄπιστος, δύσπιστος **252**
- inexorabilis* Terence Pacuvius RH 'inexorable, relentless' ἀπαραίτητος **3**
- impetibilis* 'unbearable, insupportable' Accius ἀπαθής, ἀνεπιξείρητος **1**
- mirabilis* Plautus 'causing wonder, remarkable' θαυμαστός **83**
- optabilis* Plautus 'desirable' αἰρετός, ἔπευκτος **31**
- placabilis* Terence RH 'placatory; quick to forgive' ἐξιλεωτός **3**
- praestabilis* Terence 'outstanding, preeminent' ἐκπρεπής **18**
- probabilis* Afranius RH 'worthy of approval, plausible, probable' πιθανός, δόκιμος **134**
- tolerabilis* Terence (act.) 'capable of enduring' τηλότης – (pass.) 'bearable, acceptable' εὐφόρητος **60**
- volubilis* Pacuvius RH 'rolling, unstable, rotating' εὐστροφος, ἐπίτροχος, ἐλικός **17**

while the following were probably invented afresh, in need for greater philosophical precision. Mark the high number of hapax legomena, something that indicates the expediency of this formation in Cicero's assessment:

- # *accusabilis* 'reprehensible' μεμπτός, ἐπίμεμπτος **1**
- # *admirabilis* RH 'remarkable, admirable' θαυμαστός **88**
- # *aspectabilis* 'visible' ὁρατός **1**
- # *commutabilis* 'variable, reversible, plastic' ἀστάθμητος, ἀλλοιωτός, σφαλερός **8**
- # *comparabilis* 'similar, comparable' παράβλητος, συμβλητός **1**
- # *comprehensibilis, comprehendibilis* 'able to be grasped' καταληπτός, ἐπιλήψιμος **1**
- # *congregabilis* 'gregarious' **1**
- # *consolabilis* 'consolable' παραμυθητέος **1**
- # *detestabilis* 'detestable' ἀποτρόπαιος **15**
- # *dissipabilis, dissipabilis* 'that may be scattered' σκεδαστός **1**
- # *dissolubilis* 'destructible' λυτός, σκεδαστός **2**

elamentabilis 'very doleful' οἰκτρός, ἐλεεινός, ἄθλιος **1**
flabilis 'airy' αἰθέριος **1**
flexibilis 'easily bent, flexible, adaptable; pliable' εὐκαμπτος **11**
habitabilis 'inhabitable' οἰκήσιμος, οἰκητός **3**
honorabilis 'honorific' τίμιος, ἀξιότιμος **1**
imitabilis 'capable of being imitated' μιμητός **1**
immobilis 'unmoving, motionless' ἀκίνητος **1**
implacabilis 'that cannot be placated' δυσάρεστος **4**
inexpiabilis 'that cannot be atoned for; implacable' ἀν(εξ)ύλαστος, ἀποτρόπαιος **10**
inexplebilis 'insatiable, of which one cannot have enough' ἀνεκπλήρωτος **3**
inexplicabilis 'inextricable, that cannot be solved' ἀπέραντος, ἀδιάλυτος **6**
inexpugnabilis 'unassailable; indestructible proof of persuasion' ἀμάχητος, ἀκαταμάχητος **1**
inhabitabilis 'uninhabitable' ἀοίκητος **1**
innumerabilis RH 'countless, numberless' ἀνάρριθμος, ἀναρίθμητος **150**
insanabilis 'irreparable, irremediable' ἀνίατος, δυσίατος, ἀθεράπευτος **2**
insatiabilis 'insatiable; with which one cannot be sated' ἀκόρεστος, ἀχόρταστος, ἀπλήρωτος **7**
insaturabilis 'that cannot be sated' ἀκόρεστος **1** (*# insaturabiliter* **1**)
irritabilis 'easily provoked' εὐερέθιστος, ὀξύχολος **1**
laetabilis (act.) 'gladdening, welcome' χαρίεις, ἡδύς, τερπνός **5**
lamentabilis (act.) 'full of sorrow'; (pass.) 'deplorable' θρηνώδης, ὀδυρόμενος **2**
laudabilis RH 'praiseworthy, laudable' αἰνετός, ἐπαινετός **65**
miserabilis 'sad; pitiable, lamentable' ἐλεεινός, οἰκτρός **20**
multiplicabilis 'manifold, multiple' πολλαπλοῦς, πολλαπλάσιος, πολύπλοκος **1**
mutabilis 'liable to change, unsteadfast' εὐμετάβλητος **7**
notabilis 'remarkable, outstanding' ἐπίσημος, ἀκατάλληλος **1**
opinabilis 'based on opinion' δοξαστός **7**
parabilis 'obtainable' εὐπόριστος **4**
patibilis (act.), 'able to feel or suffer' παθητικός, αισθητικός, τλητός – (pass.) 'supportable' ἀνεκτός, τλητός **2**
perflabilis 'permeable to the wind, transparent' διαπνευστικός, διαφανής **1**
plausibilis 'deserving applause' κροτητικός, ἐπαινετός **2**
praedicabilis 'praiseworthy' διαβόητος, περιβόητος **2**
spirabilis 'respirable' ἔμπνευστος **5**

tractabilis 'tangible, amenable' άπτός, εύμεταχείριστος **2**

vendibilis 'marketable; acceptable to public taste' ώνητός, τιμαλής **du**

vituperabilis 'worthy of censure' μεμπτός, έπιώγος **1**

3.3 Denominal or deverbative *-ivus*

For the historic background of this formation, see Leumann, § 281. A passive *-to-* participle (*captus, passus, natus*) becomes an adjective of characteristic quality (*captivus, passivus, nativus*), sometimes corresponding to a noun on *-tio* or abstracts on *-ia, -ion, -ium, -ies*. In Cicero, the terminologization of this suffix has started: *comparatio, definitio, deliberatio, demonstratio, ratiocinatio* and *translatio* correspond to adjectives on *-ivus*; Leumann, § 281 b. (For later developments, see below, 250 ff.).

The suffix is largely used in modern languages, e. g. French *-if, -ive*, Italian and Spanish *-ivo*, meaning 'having a tendency to, the nature, character, quality of, given to': *expansive, aggressive, productive, impulsive*, etc., and corresponding formations worldwide.

The following adjectives in Cicero were traditional:

adoptivus Scipio 'adoptive' εισποιητός, υιοποίητος **1**

festivus Plautus 'excellent, fine' άστείος **32**

fugitivus Plautus Terence 'runaway, fugitive' δραπέτης, φυγός **47**

intempestivus Plautus 'untimely' άκαιρος **4**

lascivus Livius Andronicus 'unruly, mischievous' άκόλαστος, άσελγής **1**

subditivus Plautus 'supposititious, spurious' ύπόβλητος, ύποβολμαίος **1**

tempestivus Cato 'seasonable; timely' καίριος, εύκαίριος **15**

The following are first attested in Cicero (*RH*):

assumptivus RH 'based on extraneous arguments' προσληπτικός **3**

comparativus 'pondering of possible actions' συγκριτικός **2**

definitivus 'involving definition' όριστικός **9**

deliberativus RH 'deliberative' συμβουλευτικός **14**

demonstrativus RH 'epideiktic' έπιδεικτικός, έγκωμιαστικός **8**

insitivus 'grafted on' ένθετος **2**

instaurativus '(ceremony) repeated' **1**

internecivus 'fought to the death; devastating' πανώλεθρος **2**

lucrativus 'profitable' κερδαλέος **1**

nativus 'natural, native' γνήσιος **7**

praerogativus 'voting first', cf. πρόκριμα, πρόλημα **10**

ratiocinativus 'concerned with reasoning, syllogistic' λογιστικός **1**

stativus 'stationary' στατός 2

subsecivus, subsicivus 'spare (time)', cf. σχολή 3

translativus 'relating to change in plea' μεταστατικός 6

votivus 'offered in fulfilment of a vow' εὐκτός 6

3.4 Deadjectival or deverbative *-ficus*

In the preclassical period, *-ficus* assumed the function of a quasi-suffix (*beneficus* = *bene faciens*); the matrix seems to have been *bene-volus* = *bene volens* (Plautus Cicero Suetonius). In the case *magni-ficus*, there might have been an intermediary stage in the adv. *magni-fice*; cf. *regi-fice* (βασιλικῶς) Ennius (Leumann, § 336, 2 c; 5). The Greek final compound -ποιός, with much the same function, is likely to have been a pattern as well.

In classical Latin *-ficus* formed adjectives (1) from nouns, with the sense 'making, causing, producing', as in *honōrificus, pācificus*, or 'performing', as *sacrificus*; (2) from adjectives, with the sense 'performing actions of a certain kind', as *magnificus*, and in post-classical Latin with the sense 'bringing into a specified state', as *beātificus*; (3) from verbs, with the sense 'causing to', as *horrificus, terrificus*; (4) from adverbs, only in *beneficus, maleficus*, adjectives corresponding to the phrases *bene, male facere*. In English the suffix probably first occurred in adoptions from French, like *magnific* and was in earlier use frequently spelt *-fique*.

In post-classical and scientific Latin new formations with *-ficus* (also *-ificus*) were common, and many of them have passed, in adapted forms, into the Romance languages and English, e. g. *prolific, scientific*. In scientific nomenclature new words are still sometimes formed by the addition of the representative of *-ficus* (or *-ificus*) to Latin stems; it is often uncertain in which language they were first used.

beneficus Plautus 'kind, generous' ἀγαθοποιός 6

hostificus Accius 'hostile, bitter' 1

laetificus Ennius 'luxuriant; gladdening, joyful' χαροποιός 1

largificus Pacuvius 'bountiful, lavish' 1

magnificus Plautus 'splendid, excellent; boastful; sumptuous' μεγαλοεργής, μεγαλοπρεπής 40

maleficus Livius Andronicus 'evil-doing, wicked' κακοποιός 3

mirificus Terence, Accius 'causing wonder, amazing' θαυματοποιός, θαυμαστοποιός 46

munificus Plautus Cato Lucilius 'dutiful; bountiful, generous' χαριστικός, μεγαλόδωρος, φυλότιμος 5

Cicero expanded the repertoire with the following formations:

honorificus 'conferring or showing honour; honorific' τιμητικός, ἔντιμος 13

luctificus 'dire, calamitous' θρηνοποιός 1

pacificus 'peace-making' εἰρηνοποιός, εἰρηναῖος 1

perhonorificus 'conveying great honour' 5

tabificus 'causing decay' φθισικός 1

tristificus 'causing despondency' ἀλγύνων, φοβερός, δεινός 2

veneficus 'poisonous; poisoner' φαρμακώδης, φαρμακεύς 6

3.5 Deverbative or denominative *-orius*

Leumann, § 278. Denominative adjectives were formed on nomina agentis on *-tor*, cf. Greek *-τήριος*, along with *σωτήρ*. Some such adjectives were introduced in republican times (*navis mercatoria*, *praedatoria* Plautus, *piscatoria cumba* Afranius). Two types of development: real deverbatives like *meritorius*, *tectorius*, and denominatives on names of offices, like *legatorius*, *praefectorius*.

The suffix *-ory* came to be the normal English representation of Latin *-ōria*, *-ōrium*, French *-oire*. The most numerous of these are adaptations of neuter nouns in *-ōrium*, from adjectives in *-ōrius*. The earliest examples date from Middle English, e.g. *purgatory* (13th cent.), *oratory* (14th cent.), *dormitory* (15th cent.); borrowings continue to be numerous down to about 1700.

Loanwords from Latin adjectives (sometimes via French) with this terminal element are first attested from the Middle English period to around 1700, e.g. *accusatory* (14th cent.), *peremptory* (15th cent.), *desultory* (16th cent.), *contradictory* (17th cent.).

Cicero (and *RH*) used older formations:

censorius Pacuvius 'of a censor; austere, moral' 44

gladiatorius Caecilius Terence *RH* '(typical) of gladiators' μονομαχικός 17

but contributed further with the following:

accusatorius 'of a prosecutor, denunciatory' 4

aleatorius 'connected with gambling' 1

amatorius 'of lovers, amatory' ἐρωτικός 4

candidatorius 'belonging to candidate for office' 1

concertatorius 'concerned with disputes, controversial' 1

consolatorius 'consoling, consolatory' 1

damnatorius 'that involves condemnation' 1

declamatorius 'belonging to a rhetorician, rhetorical' 2

dictatorius 'of a dictator' μοναρχικός 1

imperatorius 'belonging to commanding officer' αὐτοκρατορικός 13

nugatorius *RH* 'futile, insignificant' φλυαρώδης 5

obiurgatorius 'reproachful, critical' ἐπιτιμητικός 1

oratorius *RH* 'oratorical, suitable for an orator' ῥητορικός 52

- # *pacificatorius* 'concerned with making peace' ειρηνικός **1**
- # *praetorius RH* 'belonging to a praetor' **67**
- # *quaestorius* 'belonging to a quaestor, of quaestorian rank' **12**
- # *recuperatorius, reciperatorius* 'belonging to an assessor' **2**
- # *senatorius* 'proper to a senator, of senatorial rank' βουλευτικός **41**
- # *sutorius* 'of the rank of shoemakers' ραπτικός **2**
- # *veteratorius* 'of acquired experience, adroit' πανουργικός **3**

Chapter IV

Cicero translator and inventor of philosophy: an overview

Again, the present study is not another analysis of translational principles but focused on *productivity*: the types of word-formation that offered possibilities of further unrestrained creativity in periods to come, until the humanistic Renaissance and the scientific revolutions in modernity, which is another story. We will deal with the prerequisites of that evolution in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages.

The *patrii sermonis egestas* was a common topic in the first unsophisticated attempts to integrate the rich (and already mature, as it were) Greek terminologies into the Latin language.²⁷⁶ The *egestas* trope has been discussed by many,²⁷⁷ and several studies have been made trying to pinpoint the principles adopted by Roman authors in rendering Greek philosophy in Latin.²⁷⁸ Cicero, Varro, and Lucretius tried to make it available to their readers, "to educate the a-philosophical Latin world ... the Roman authors themselves think of the Latin world as purely receptive – it is a passive intellect, a *tabula rasa* that must receive the imprint of the Greek intellect".²⁷⁹

Therefore it is problematic, or even ineffectual, to discern different methodologies applied by different authors in this respect. The settlers of a new continent, what methodology did they use in order to find and make new lands habitable? They did not pose such questions before claiming the vast and virgin expanses ahead. Their "method" is necessarily heuristic: they go further and see what prospects they find, and which unexpected problems they meet, and which solutions must be tried out. If they had known the answers in advance, they would have made completely different and more rational choices when they set out.

Likewise, in its beginnings, this enterprise was utterly provisional: fumbling efforts, an exploration of the possibilities and potentialities of a vernacular never tested so far with such high ambitions. The "method" was tentative: some classes of word formation proved functioning for coining neologisms, others less so. Several words

²⁷⁶ Above, 41 ff.

²⁷⁷ Most recently by Dowson, 28 f.; cf. above, General introduction, 4.3.

²⁷⁸ Dowson, *passim*.

²⁷⁹ S. Ebbesen, *Greek-Latin Philosophical Interaction. Collected Essays of Sten Ebbesen*. Volume 1. Hampshire-Burlington VT, 2008, 9.

were picked and invested with different and wavering denotations until they finally settled as accepted and precise terms, a process that could take centuries.

Take for instance the different attempts to express the equivalent of what we now mean by the noun “judgement” – Greek ἀξιωμα, French *jugement*, German *Urteil*, *Aussage*, Swedish *omdöme*, *utsaga*: *proloquium* (Varro), *effatum* (Sergius), *pronuntiatum*, *enuntiatum*, *enuntiatio* (Cicero), *assertum* (Martianus Capella), *propositio* (Apuleius and Boethius). The noun *iudicium* did obtain its established technical sense only in the Middle Ages.²⁸⁰

In Lucretius, we find the first instances of some concepts that would later become part and parcel of philosophical discourse: *elementa*, *experientia*, *forma*, *materia*, *moles et machina mundi*; among the adjectives *concretus* ‘composed, constructed’ (not, however, in the later philosophical sense), *confusus* ‘indistinct’, *generalis*, *naturalis*, and *vitaliter*. The atoms are named in several ways: *principia*, *semina* (*rerum*), *minima naturae*, *corpuscula*, *corpora prima*, *elementa*, etc.²⁸¹

This was a pioneer undertaking, and it marked the inauguration of an intellectual conquest that would finally make the Latin language a precise and clear-cut medium of theoretical analysis and debate, and centuries later the necessary instrument of philosophy, theology, and sciences, the prerequisite of renaissances, revolutions, reformations and transformations of Western civilization, as well as its scientific conquests, still in progress.

The following overview is just a reminder of the linguistic struggle necessary in the first efforts in Cicero’s writings to create a philosophical language. The foreign terms could be translated literally or rendered by circumlocution, not seldom with an excuse for the novelty of a word. One example: the Stoic concept προηγμένα – meaning such things that are preferred but are morally indifferent, e.g. health rather than sickness – was rendered *producta* by Cicero and Seneca; a passage from *De finibus* witnesses to the difficulties to find an adequate equivalent in Latin:

ea quae secundum locum obtinent προηγμένα, id est *producta*, nominentur; quae vel ita appellemus – id erit verbum e verbo – vel *promota* et *remota* vel, ut dudum diximus, *praeposita* vel *praecipua*. *De finibus* 3.16.52.

The Greeks had produced a wealth of novel terms and words, something that the Romans could not compete with, due to the poverty of their language:

cum uteretur [Zeno] in lingua copiosa factis tamen nominibus ac novis, quod nobis in hac inopi lingua non conceditur (ibid.).

²⁸⁰ Prantl I, 519, 580; Eucken 50.

²⁸¹ Eucken, 51.

Cicero was a great neologist, both as inventor of novel formations, and when charging existing words with new denotations.²⁸² Crassus speaks, lending his voice to Cicero:

Postea mihi placuit, eoque sum usus adulescens, ut summorum oratorum graecas orationes explicarem. Quibus lectis hoc assequebar, ut, cum ea, quae legerem graece, latine redderem, non solum optimis verbis uterer, et tamen usitatis, sed etiam exprimerem quaedam verba imitando, quae nova nostris essent, dummodo essent idonea. De oratore 1.55.

Cicero points out that the Greek Stoics faced the same need for a vocabulary of their trade:

Stoicorum autem non ignoras quam sit subtile vel spinosum potius disserendi genus, idque cum Graecis tum magis nobis, quibus etiam verba parienda sunt inponendaque nova rebus novis nomina. quod quidem nemo mediocriter doctus mirabitur cogitans in omni arte, cuius usus vulgaris communisque non sit, multam novitatem nominum esse, cum constituentur earum rerum vocabula, quae in quaque arte versentur. itaque et dialectici et physici verbis utuntur iis, quae ipsi Graeciae nota non sint, geometrae vero et musici, grammatici etiam more quodam loquuntur suo. ipsae rhetorum artes, quae sunt totae forenses atque populares, verbis tamen in docendo quasi privatis utuntur ac suis. atque ut omittam has artis elegantes et ingenuas, ne opifices quidem tueri sua artificia possent, nisi vocabulis uterentur nobis incognitis, usitatis sibi. quin etiam agri cultura, quae abhorret ab omni politiore elegantia, tamen eas res, in quibus versatur, nominibus notavit novis. quo magis hoc philosopho faciendum est. ars est enim philosophia vitae, de qua disserens arripere verba de foro non potest. Quamquam ex omnibus philosophis Stoici plurima novaverunt, Zenoque, eorum princeps, non tam rerum inventor fuit quam verborum novorum. De finibus 3.1.3

Cicero's role in Latin term production could not be overestimated. He vindicates his right to forge new words and syntagms. Although his Latin is under the overwhelming influence of Greek rhetoric, philosophy, astronomy, and other specific professional terminologies, he affirms the possibility to express everything in Latin – at times even a richer idiom than Greek:

Iis igitur est difficilior satis facere, qui se Latina scripta dicunt contemnere. In quibus hoc primum est in quo admirer, cur in gravissimis rebus non delectet eos sermo patrius, cum idem fabellas Latinas ad verbum e Graecis expressas non inviti legant. De finibus 1.4.

quae autem de bene beateque vivendo a Platone disputata sunt, haec explicari non placebit Latine? Quid si nos non interpretum fungimur munere, sed tuemur ea ... quid habent cur Graeca anteponant eis, quae et splendide dicta sint neque sint conversa de Graecis? De finibus 1.2.5.

ita sentio et saepe disserui, Latinam linguam non modo <non> inopem, ut volgo putarent, sed locupletiore etiam esse quam Graecam. Quando enim nobis, vel dicam aut oratoribus

²⁸² A process called semantic augmentation by Dowson (356): "when the meaning of an established Latin word is (usually) narrowed to apply to a specific Greek philosophical concept, e.g. *materia* to translate Plato's οὐσία".

bonis aut poetis, postea quidem quam fuit quem imitarentur, ullus orationis vel copiosae vel elegantis ornatus defuit? De finibus 1.3.10.

si enim Zenoni licuit, cum rem aliquam invenisset inusitatam, inauditum quoque ei rei nomen inponere, cur non liceat Catoni? Nec tamen exprimi verbum e verbo necesse erit, ut interpretes indeserti solent, cum sit verbum, quod idem declaret, magis usitatum. Equidem soleo etiam quod uno Graeci, si aliter non possum idem pluribus verbis exponere. Et tamen puto concedi nobis oportere ut Graeco verbo utamur, si quando minus occurret Latinum, ne hoc *ephippiis* et *acratophoris* potius quam *proegmenis* et *apoproegmenis* concedatur: quamquam haec quidem *praeposita* recte et *reiecta* dicere licebit. De finibus 3.4.15.

maiores accubitionem epularem amicorum, quia vitae coniunctionem haberet, *convivium* nominaverunt melius quam Graeci, qui hoc idem tum *compotationem* [= συμπόσιον] tum *concentrationem* [= σύνδειπνον] vocant, ut quod eo genere minimum est, id maxime probare videantur. Cato maior de senectute 45.

The relation between the Greek models and the resulting novel formations is various and in no way systematic. One and the same Latin lexeme can serve different purposes: so *comprehensio* renders κατάληψις as well as περίοδος, *modestia* corresponds to ἐνταξία or σωφροσύνη, *morbis* is πάθος, or νόσημα in another context; *species* signifies εἶδος as well as ἰδέα, and *notio* covers ἔννοια and νόησις as well as πρόληψις.²⁸³ The lack of established translation standards and practices is evident from his difficulty (or anguish) to find equivalents in his own language:

in ... *circuitu* illo orationis, quem Graeci περίοδον, nos tum *ambitum*, tum *circuitum*, tum *comprehensionem* aut *continuationem* aut *circumscriptionem* dicimus. Orator 204.

postea quam est nata haec vel *circumscriptio* vel *comprehensio* vel *continuatio*, vel *ambitus*, si ita licet dicere. Orator 208.

In other contexts, in the same *Orator*, he renders περίοδος *complexio*, *conclusio*, *conglutinatio*, or *orbis*. Not seldom he must have recourse to several Latin words to narrow down exactly what is meant:

qui sit *temperans* – quem Graeci σώφρονα appellant eamque virtutem σωφροσύνην vocant, quam soleo equidem tum *temperantiam*, tum *moderationem* appellare, non numquam etiam *modestiam*; sed haud scio an recte ea virtus *frugalitas* appellari possit, quod angustius apud Graecos valet, qui frugi homines χρησίμους appellant, id est tantum modo utilis; at illud est latius; omnis enim *abstinentia*, omnis *innocentia* (quae apud Graecos usitatum nomen nullum habet, sed habere potest ἀβλάβειαν, nam est innocentia adfectio talis animi quae noceat nemini) reliquias etiam virtutes frugalitas continet. Tusc. disp. 3.8.16.

Sequitur illa divisio, ut bonorum alia sint *ad illud ultimum pertinentia* (sic enim appello, quae τελικὰ dicuntur; nam hoc ipsum instituamus, ut placuit, pluribus verbis dicere, quod uno non poterimus, ut res intellegatur), alia autem *efficientia*, quae Graeci ποιητικὰ, alia utrumque. De finibus 3.16.55

²⁸³ Ch. Nicolas, "La néologie technique par traduction chez Cicéron et la notion de 'verbum ex verbalité'", in M. Fruyt & Ch. Nicolas (edd.), *La création lexicale en latin*. Paris-Sorbonne 2000, 109-146, here 110, note 4.

sentis enim, credo, me iam diu, quod τέλος Graeci dicunt, id dicere tum *extremum*, tum *ultimum*, tum *summum*; licebit etiam finem pro extremo aut ultimo dicere. De finibus 3.7.26.

A Latin calque (verbum-ex-verbo translation)²⁸⁴ will be underdetermined compared to its Greek equivalent:

quam ille [Xenocrates] φαντασίαν, nos *visum* appellemus licet, et teramus hoc quidem verbum, erit enim utendum in reliquo sermone saepius – sed ad haec quae visa sunt et quasi accepta sensibus assensionem adiungit animorum, quam esse vult in nobis positam et voluntariam. Acad. Post. 1.40.

cum ex vi nominis argumentum elicitur; quam Graeci ἐτυμολογίαν appellant, id est verbum ex verbo *veriloquium*; nos autem novitatem verbi non satis apti fugientes genus hoc *notationem* appellamus, quia sunt verba rerum notae. Itaque hoc quidem Aristoteles σύμβολον appellat, quod Latine est *nota*. Sed cum intellegitur quid significetur, minus laborandum est de nomine. Topica 35.

Some Greek terms however were since long part of the Latin vocabulary, as loan-words:

quamquam ea verba, quibus instituto veterum utimur pro Latinis, ut ipsa *philosophia*, ut *rhetorica*, *dialectica*, *grammatica*, *geometria*, *musica*, quamquam Latine ea dici poterant, tamen, quoniam usu percepta sunt, nostra ducamus. De finibus 3.2.5.

quem ad modum *soriti* [σωρίτη]²⁸⁵ resistas (quem, si necesse sit, Latino verbo liceat *acervalem* appellare; sed nihil opus est; ut enim ipsa philosophia et multa verba Graecorum, sic *sorites* satis Latino sermone tritus est). De divinatione 2.11.

Infinita vis innumerabilium volitat *atomorum*. De natura deorum 1.54.

There are exceptions to this rule; some expressions need no definitions in either language and could be translated word-to-word, since they have equal denotation:

primum idem esse dico *voluptatem* quod ille ἡδονήν. Et quidem saepe quaerimus verbum Latinum par Graeco et quod idem valeat; hic nihil fuit, quod quaereremus. Nullum inveniri verbum potest quod magis idem declaret Latine, quod Graece, quam declarat *voluptas*. De finibus 2.4.13.

Cicero's wrestling to find the *le mot juste* – the ideal translation – in spite of the unescapable indistinctiveness and ambiguity of circumlocutions is evident from many passages, where he cannot dispense with the original Greek terms in order to avoid misunderstandings. The following examples are taken (in chronological order) from his philosophical writings of a Latin proto-terminology in the making.

In his dissertation *Ciceros Methode bei der Übersetzung griechischer philosophischer Termini* (Hamburg 1970), Hans-Joachim Hartung reaches the conclusion that Cicero adopted a fix method, well-known to himself and at least to his friend Atticus. This method consists mainly in rendering the Greek verbal abstract suffix -σις with *-tio* (*-sio*), and the

²⁸⁴ Nicolas, 111-116.

²⁸⁵ The "heap" fallacy: how many grains does it take to make a heap?

verbal adjective -τόν (καταληπτόν) with *-bile* (*comprehendibile*, pages 182-183). Hartung's study is however limited to mainly eighteen terms. As he admits himself, Cicero had difficulties with Greek double prefixes and the negative prefix ἀ-, due to the limitations of the Latin language in this stage of development, and therefore he had to find (or improvise) various solutions in individual cases in a less systematic way, as becomes clear from the following examples.

De oratore (55/54 BCE):

neque enim te fugit laudandarum artium omnium procreatricem quandam et quasi parentem eam quam φιλοσοφίαν Graeci vocant ab hominibus doctissimis iudicari. 1.9.

alterum genus est, quod habet *parvam verbi immutationem*, quod in littera positum Graeci vocant παρονομασίαν, ut "nobiliorē mobiliorem" Cato 2.256.

hunc Aemilianum dicit fuisse *egregium* [uncertain reading] et Graeco eum verbo appellat εἴρωνα; sed, uti ei ferunt, qui melius haec norunt, Socratem opinor in hac εἰρωνείᾳ *dissimulantiaque* longe lepore et humanitate omnibus praestitisse. 2.270.

De re publica (54-51 BCE)

dominus populi quem Graeci *tyrannum* vocant. 2.47.

De legibus (52/51 BCE)

divinationem, quae Graeci μαντικὴν appellant, esse sentio. 2.32.

percepta appello quae dicuntur Graece θεωρήματα. 6.11

non omnis *enuntiatio* (quod ἀξίωμα dialectici appellant) aut vera aut falsa erit. 10. 20

Brutus (early 46 BCE):

Πειθὼ quam vocant Graeci, cuius effector est orator, hanc *Suadam* appellavit Ennius. 59

ornari orationem Graeci putant, si *verborum immutationibus* utantur, quos appellant τρόπους et *sententiarum orationisque formis*, quae vocant σχήματα. 69.

σχήματα enim quae vocant Graeci, ea maxime *ornant* oratorem eaque non tam *in verbis pingendis* habent pondus quam in *inluminandis* sententiis. 141.

comprehensio et *ambitus* ille verborum, si sic περίοδον appellari placet, erat apud illum contractus et brevis, et in *membra* quaedam, quae κῶλα Graeci vocant, dispertiebat orationem libentius. 162.

verborum et sententiarum illa *lumina*, quae vocant Graeci σχήματα. 275.

Paradoxa Stoicorum ad M. Brutum (46 BCE)

Admirabilia contraque opinionem omnium (ab ipsis etiam παράδοξα appellantur). 4.

Orator (summer of 46 BCE):

Has rerum *formas* appellat ἰδέας ... Plato easque gigni negat et ait semper esse ac ratione et intelligentia contineri. 10.

in omni re difficillimum est *formam*, qui χαρακτηρ Graece dicitur, exponere optimi quod aliud aliis videtur optimum. 36.

plura sunt orationum genera ... absunt a forensi contentione, eiusque totius generis quod Graece ἐπιδεικτικὸν nominatur. 37.

haec igitur *quaestio* a propriis personis et temporibus ad universi generis rationem traducta appellatur θέσις ... idemque [Aristoteles] *locos* [= τόπους] (sic enim appellat) quasi argumentorum notas tradidit. 45.

Graece ab eloquendo ῥήτωρ et Latine *eloquens* dictus est. 61.

numerus vocatur, qui Graece ῥυθμός dicitur. 67.

Πρέπον appellant hoc Graeci, nos dicamus sane *decorum*. 70.

circuitus (= περίοδος) *conglutinationioque* verborum. 78.

iis luminibus quae Graeci quasi aliquos *gestus orationis* σχήματα appellant. 83

hanc ὑπαλλαγὴν rhetores, quia quasi *summutantur verba pro verbis*, μετωνομίαν grammatici vocant, quod *nomina transferuntur*. 93.

Aristoteles autem tralationi et haec ipsa subiungit et *abusionem*, quam κατάχρησιν vocat ... iam cum fluxerunt continuae plures translationes, *alia* plane fit *oratio*; itaque genus hoc Graeci appellant ἀλληγορίαν: nomine recte, genere melius ille qui ista omnia *tralationes* vocat. 94.

sunt maxume luminosae et quasi actuosae partes duae: quarum alteram in *universi generis quaestione* pono quam, ut supra dixi, Graeci appellant θέσιν, alteram in *augendis amplificandisque rebus* quae ab isdem αὔξησης est nominata. 125.

illud in quo *quasi certamen est controversiae*, quod Graece κρινόμενον dicitur. 126.

quorum alterum est quod Graeci ἠθικὸν vocant, ad *naturas* et ad *mores* et ad *omnem vitae consuetudinem* accommodatum; alterum quod idem παθητικὸν nominant, quo *perturbantur animi* et *concitantur*, in quo uno regnat oratio. 128.

Sed iam *forma* ipsa restat et χαρακτηρ ille qui dicitur. 134.

Plato ... in iis *sermonibus* qui διάλογοι dicuntur. 151.

haec, quae Graeci ἀντίθετα nominant, cum *contrariis* opponuntur *contraria*. 166.

in oratione iudiciali et forensi *numerus* Latine, Graece ῥυθμός inesse dicitur. 170.

orationis quasi *formae et lumina*, quae, ut dixi, Graeci vocant σχήματα. 181.

nescio cur, cum Graeci κόμματα et κῶλα nomenclant, nos non recte *incisa* et *membra* dicamus. 211.

illa duo quae κόμματα Graeci vocant, nos *incisa* dicimus; deinde tertium – κῶλον illi, nos *membrum*. 223.

eorum *motus*, quos ἀπαλαίστρους Graeci vocant, talis horum mihi videtur oratio *qui non claudunt numeris* sententias. 229.

Academica priora sive Lucullus (45 BCE)

cum aliud diceret [Socrates] atque sentiret, libenter uti solitus est ea *dissimulatione* quam Graeci εἰρυνείαν vocant. 15.

nec definiri aiebant necesse esse quid esset *cognitio* aut *perceptio* aut, si verbum e verbo volumus, *comprehensio*, quam κατάληψιν illi vocant nihil esset clarius ἐναργεία – ut Graeci, *perspicuitatem* aut *evidentiam* nos si placet nominemus fabricemurque, si opus erit, verba. 17.

Cum enim ita *negaret* quicquam esse *quod comprehendere posset* – id enim volumus esse ἀκατάληπτον – si illud esset, sicut Zeno definiret, *tale visum* – iam enim hoc pro φαντασίᾳ verbum satis hesterno sermone trivimus. 18.

ἐννοίας enim *notitias* appellare tu videbare. 22.

appetitus – eam enim volumus esse ὁρμήν – qua ad agendum impellimur. 24.

Igitur argumenti *conclusio*, quae est Graece ἀπόδειξις, ita definitur: ratio, quae ex rebus perceptis ad id, quod non percipiebatur, adducit. 26.

neque de se ipsa dubitare debet neque de suis *decretis*, quae philosophi vocant δόγματα. 27. *notitiae rerum*, quas Graeci tum ἐννοίας tum προλήψεις vocant. 30.

istam κατάληψιν, quam ut dixi verbum e verbo exprimentes *comprehensionem* dicemus. 31.

de *adsensione* atque *adprobatione*, quam Graeci συγκατάθεσιν vocant. 37.

non adpetere *id quod adcommodatum ad naturam* adpareat (Graeci id οικείον appellant). 38.

ea dico incerta, quae ἄδηλα Graeci. 54.

singularum rerum singulas proprietates esse [ιδιότηας or ιδιώματα]. 56.

necessario nata est ἐποχή, id est *adsensionis retentio*.²⁸⁶ 59.

contorta et aculeata quaedam σοφίσματα: sic enim appellantur *fallaces conclusiunculae*. 75.

Dialecticam inventam esse dicitis, veri et falsi quasi *disceptatricem et iudicem*. 91.

cum gradatim interrogetur, verbi causa, tria pauca sint anne multa, aliquanto prius quam ad multa perveniat *quiescere*, id est, quod ab his dicitur, ἡσυχάζειν. 93.

Nempe fundamentum dialecticae est, quidquid enuntietur – id autem appellant ἀχίωμα, quod est quasi *ecfatum* – aut verum esse aut falsum. 95.

Anaxagoras materiam infinitam, sed ex ea *particulas, similis inter se minutas* [ὁμοιομερῆ], eas *primum confusas, postea in ordinem adductas* a mente divina [πάντα χρήματα ἦν ὁμοῦ, νοῦς δὲ ἐλθὼν διεκόσμησεν αὐτά, the opening words of Anaxagoras]. 118.

Neque enim ortum esse umquam *mundum*, quod nulla fuerit novo consilio inito tam praeclari operis inceptio, et ita esse eum undique aptum, ut nulla vis tantos queat motus

²⁸⁶ The verb ἐπέχειν, part and parcel of the Stoic philosophy, is rendered *sustinere se ab omni adsensu* Acad. prior. 2.48; *retinere adsensum* ib. 59; *ab utraque parte adsensionem sustinere* 1.45; *adsensionem cohibere* ND 1.1; *adsensus cohibere* Acad. 2.68.

mutationemque moliri, nulla senectus diuturnitate temporum existere, ut his *ornatus* [κόσμος]²⁸⁷ umquam dilapsus occidat.²⁸⁸ 119.

Huic summum bonum est in his rebus *neutram in partem moveri*, quae ἀδιαφορία ab ipso [Zenone] dicitur. Pyrrho autem *ea ne sentire* quidem sapientem, quae ἀπάθεια nominatur. 130.

Socratica pleraque mirabilia Stoicorum, quae παράδοξα nominantur. 136.

comprehensionem illam esse dicebat [Zeno], qua ex similitudine etiam nomen ei rei, quod ante non fuerat, κατάληψιν imposuit. 145.

ut intellegat se opinari sciatque nihil esse quod comprehendendi et percipi possit: qua re ἐποχὴν [the refusal to state any opinion] illam omnium rerum comprobans, illi alteri sententiae, nihil esse quod comprehendendi et percipi possit, vehementer adsentior. 148.

Academica posteriora (fragmentum maximum; 45 BCE)

qualitates igitur appellavi quas ποιότητας Graeci vocant, quod ipsum apud Graecos non est vulgi verbum sed philosophorum, atque id in multis. 1.25.

Ergo illa *initia* [ἀρχαί] et, ut e Graeco vertam, *elementa* [στοιχεῖα] dicuntur, e quibus aer et ignis movendi vim habent et efficiendi, reliquae partes accipiendi et quasi patiendi, aquam dico et terram. 1.26.

hanc illi ἰδέαν appellant, iam a Platone ita nominatam, nos recte *speciem* possumus dicere. 1.30.

Itaque hanc omnem partem rerum *opinabilem* [δοξαστήν] appellabant. Scientiam autem nusquam esse censebant nisi in *animi notionibus* [ἐννοίαις] atque rationibus. 1.31.

Verborum etiam *explicatio* probabatur, id est, qua de causa quaeque essent ita nominata, quam ἐτυμολογίαν appellabant.²⁸⁹ 1.32.

comprehendibile – feretis haec? Nos vero, inquit [Xenocrates], quonam enim alio modo κατάληπτον diceres? Sed cum acceptum iam et approbatum esset, *comprehensionem* appellabat, similem is rebus quae manu prenderentur; ex quo etiam nomen hoc duxerat [at] cum eo vero antea nemo tali in re usus esset, plurimisque idem novis verbis (nova enim dicebat) usus est. 1.40.

Errorum autem et *temeritatem* [ἀβουλίαν] et *ignorantiam* [ἄγνοιαν, ἀπειρίαν] et *opinationem* [οἴησιν or δόξαν] et *suspicionem* [ὑποψίαν, υπόληψιν] et uno nomine omnia, quae essent aliena firmatae et constantis adhesionis, a virtute sapientiae removebat. 1.40.

²⁸⁷ A double rendering of κόσμος: the world and its ordered beauty.

²⁸⁸ Cf. *Academica priora* 125, and *De natura deorum* 2.58, below.

²⁸⁹ It should be observed that Cicero proposed in *Top.* 35 *veriloquium* ... but rejected it in favour of *notatio*; Quintilian 1.6.28 mentions *originatio* as a translation offered by some, among whom we may probably reckon Varro; Reid ad loc.

De finibus bonorum et malorum (May-June 45 BCE)

infininitio ipsa, quam ἀπειρίαν vocant. 1.6.21.

in altera philosophiae parte, quae est *quaerendi ac disserendi*, quae λογική dicitur. 1.7.22.

vel *summum bonorum vel ultimum vel extremum* (quod Graeci τέλος nominant). 1.12.42.

iucundum motum, quo sensus hilaretur; Graece ἡδονήν, Latine *voluptatem* vocant. 2.3.8.

quis enim vestrum non edidicit Epicuri κυρίας δόξας, id est quasi *maxime ratas*, quia gravissimae sint ad beate vivendum breviter enuntiatae sententiae. 2.7.20.

egone non intellego, quid sit ἡδονή Graece, Latine *voluptas*? 2.4.12.

Aestimabile esse dicunt – sic enim ut opinor appellemus ... quod aliquid pondus habeat dignum *aestimatione*, quam illi ἀξίαν vocant, contraque *inaestimabile*, quod sit superiori contrarium. 3.6.20.

ut ea, quae *secundum naturam sunt*, ipsa propter se sumenda sint contrariaque item reicienda, primum est officium – id enim appello καθήκον – ut se conservet in naturae statu, deinceps ut ea teneat, quae secundum naturam sint, pellatque contraria. 3.6.20.

intellegentiam vel notionem potius, quam appellant ἔννοιαν illi ... quod ὁμολογίαν Stoici, nos appellemus *convenientiam*. 3.6.21.

appetitus animi, quae ὁρμή Graece vocatur. 3.7.23.

quae autem nos aut *recta* aut *recte facta* dicamus, si placet, illi autem appellant καθορθώματα, omnes numeros virtutis continent. 3.7.24.

sentis enim, credo, me iam diu, quod τέλος Graeci dicunt, id dicere tum *extremum*, tum *ultimum*, tum *summum*; licebit etiam finem pro extremo aut ultimo dicere. 3.7.26.

Sed in ceteris artibus cum dicitur artificiose, *posterum* quodam modo *et consequens* putandum est, quod illi ἐπιγεννηματικὸν appellant. 3.9.32.

Ego adsentior Diogeni, qui bonum definierit id quod esset natura absolutum. Id autem sequens *illud quod prodesset* (ὠφέλημα enim sic appellemus), motum aut statum esse dixit e natura absoluto. 3.10.33.

Nam cum *aestimatio*, quae ἀξία dicitur, neque in bonis numerata sit nec rursus in malis, quantumcumque eo addideris, in suo genere manebit. 3.10.34.

Nec vero *perturbationes animorum*, quae vitam insipientium miseram acerbamque reddunt, quas Graeci πάθη appellant – poteram ego verbum ipsum interpretans *morbos* appellare, sed non conveniret ad omnia; quis enim misericordiam aut ipsam iracundiam morbum solet dicere? at illi dicunt πάθος. Sit igitur *perturbatio*, quae nomine ipso *vitiosa* declarari videtur. 3.10.35.

libido quamque Stoici communi nomine corporis et animi ἡδονήν appellant, ego malo *laetitiam* appellare, quasi *gestientis animi elationem voluptariam*. 3.10.35.

Quas enim κακίας Graeci appellant, *vitia* malo quam *malitias* nominare. 3.11.39.

et quem ad modum *oportunitas* – sic enim appellemus ἐνκαιρίαν – non fit maior productione temporis – habent enim suum modum, quae oportuna dicuntur – , sic *recta effectio* –

κατόρθωσιν enim ita appello, quoniam *rectum factum* κατόρθημα, recta igitur effectio, item *convenientia*, denique ipsum bonum, quod in eo positum est, ut naturae consentiat, crescendi accessionem nullam habet. 3.14.45.

quod Zeno προηγμένον, contraque quod ἀποπροηγμένον nominavit, cum uteretur in lingua copiosa, factis tamen nominibus ac novis, quod nobis in hac inopi lingua non conceditur; quamquam tu hanc copiosiore etiam soles dicere ... ea quae secundum locum obtinent προηγμένα, id est *producta*, nominentur; quae vel ita appellemus – id erit verbum e verbo – vel *promota* et *remota* vel, ut dudum diximus, *praeposita* vel *praecipua*, et illa *reiecta*. 3.15.51-52.

quod enim illi ἀδιάφορον dicunt, id mihi ita occurrit, ut *indifferens* dicerem. 3.16.53.

illa divisio, ut bonorum alia sint *ad illud ultimum pertinentia* (sic enim appello, quae τελικὰ dicuntur; nam hoc ipsum instituamus, ut placuit, pluribus verbis dicere, quod uno non poterimus, ut res intellegatur), alia autem *efficientia*, quae Graeci alia ποιητικά, alia utrumque. 3.16.55.

quam enim appellant εὐδοξίαν, aptius est *bonam famam* hoc loco appellare quam *gloriam*. 3.17.57.

Ut vero conservetur omnis homini erga hominem societas, coniunctio, caritas, et *emolumenta et detrimenta*, quae ὀφελήματα et βλάμματα appellant, communia esse voluerunt; quorum altera prosunt, nocent altera ... *Incommoda* autem et *commoda* (ita enim εὐχρηστήματα et δυσχρηστήματα appello) communia esse voluerunt, paria noluerunt. 3.21.69.

eum locum, quem *civilem* recte appellaturi videmur, Graeci πολιτικόν, graviter et copiose esse tractatum. 4.2.5.

illud enim *rectum* est (quod κατόρθωμα dicebas) contingitque sapienti soli. 4.6.15.

Naturalem enim *appetitionem*, quam vocant ὁρμὴν, itemque officium, ipsam etiam virtutem volunt esse earum rerum quae secundum naturam sunt. 4.14.39.

valere, locupletem esse, non dolere, bona non dico, sed dicam Graece προηγμένα, Latine autem *producta* (sed *praeposita* aut *praecipua* malo, sit tolerabilius et mollius) illa autem, morbum, egestatem, dolorem, non appello mala, sed, si libet, *reiectanea*. 4.26.72.

haec παράδοξα illi, nos *admirabilia* dicamus. 4.27.74.

appetitum animi, quem ὁρμὴν Graeci vocant. 5.6.17.

Democriti autem securitas, quae est *animi* tamquam *tranquillitas*, quam appellant εὐθυμίαν. 5.3.23.

quiddam ingenitum quasi *civile* atque *populare*, quod Graeci πολιτικόν vocant. 5.23.66.

Id enim ille [Democritus] summum bonum εὐθυμίαν et saepe ἀθαμβίαν appellat, id est *animum terrore liberum*. 5.29.87.

Tusculanae disputationes (autumn of 45 BCE)

quarum altera, quam nos incolimus ... altera australis, ignota nobis, quam vocant Graeci ἀντίχθονα [not translated]. 1.28.68.

itaque dierum *scholas* ut Graeci appellant, in totidem libros contuli. 1.4.7.

haec enim fere sunt eius modi, quae Graeci πάθη appellant; ego poteram *morbos* (id verbum esset e verbo, sed in consuetudinem nostram non caderet). Nam misereri invidere gestire laetari, haec omnia *morbos* Graeci appellant, motus animi rationi non obtemperantes, nos autem hos eosdem motus concitati animi (recte ut opinor) *turbationes* dixerimus, *morbos* autem non satis usitate. 3.4.7.

quem nos furorem, μελανχολίαν illi vocant quasi vero *atra bili* ... mens ... moveatur. 3.5.11.

qui sit *temperans* – quem Graeci σώφρονα appellant eamque virtutem σωφροσύνην vocant, quam soleo equidem tum *temperantiam*, tum *moderationem* appellare, non numquam etiam *modestiam*; sed haud scio an recte ea virtus *frugalitas* appellari possit, quod angustius apud Graecos valet, qui frugi homines χρησίμους appellant, id est tantum modo *utilis*; at illud est latius; omnis enim abstinentia, omnis innocentia (quae apud Graecos usitatum nomen nullum habet, sed habere potest ἀβλάβειαν, nam est innocentia *adfectio* talis animi *quae noceat nemini*) – reliquas etiam virtutes frugalitas continet. 3.8.16.

hoc propemodum verbo Graeci omnem animi perturbationem appellant; vocant enim πάθος, id est *morbum*, quicumque est *motus* in animo *turbidus*. 3.10.22.

vocant enim πάθος, id est *morbum*, quicumque est *motus* in animo *turbidus*. 3.10.23.

quae Graeci πάθη vocant nobis *perturbationes* appellari magis placet quam *morbos*. 4.5.10.
excandescencia ... *ira nascens* et modo existens, quae θύμωσις Graece dicitur. 4.9.21.

mulierositas, ut ita appellem eam quae Graece φιλογυνία dicitur. 4.11.24.

vitiositas (sic enim malo quam *malitiam* appellare, quam Graeci κακίαν appellant, nam *malitia* certi cuiusdam vitii nomen est, *vitiositas* omnium). 4.15.34.

Platonis Timaeus Cicerone interprete (June 45 BCE)

id optime adsequitur, quae Graece ἀναλογία, Latine (audendum est enim, quoniam haec primum a nobis novantur) *comparatio proportione* dici potest. 13.

globosum ... quod σφαιροειδές Graeci vocant. 17.

(vix enim audeo dicere *medietates*, quas Graeci μεσότητας appellant sed quasi ita dixerim intellegatur, erit enim planius). 23.

est autem unus ex omnibus *rationis concentionisque*, quae ἁρμονία, sempiternarum rerum et sub intellegentiam cadentium compos et particeps. 27.

quos Graeci δαίμονας appellant, nostri opinor *lares*. 38.

De natura deorum (before the Ides of March 44 BCE)

nos habere sive *anticipationem*, ut ante dixi, sive *praenotionem* deorum (sunt enim rebus novis ponenda nomina, ut Epicurus ipse πρόληψιν appellavit, quam antea nemo eo verbo nominarat). 1.44.

ut primum non sensu sed mente cernatur, nec soliditate quadam nec ad numerum, ut ea quae ille [Epicurus] propter *firmitatem* στερέμνια appellat, sed imaginibus similitudine et transitione perceptis. 1.49.

confugis ad *aequilibritatem* (sic enim ἰσονομίαν, si placet, appellemus). 1.109.

cumque duae formae praestantissimae sint, ex solidis *globus* (sic enim σφαίραν interpretari placet), ex planis autem *circulus* aut *orbis*, qui κύκλος Graece dicitur. 2.47.

stella Veneris, quae Φωσφόρος Graece, *Lucifer* Latine dicitur. 2.53.

Talis igitur mens mundi cum sit ob eamque causam vel *prudentia* vel *providentia* appellari recte possit (Graece enim πρόνοια dicitur). 2.58.

Κρόνος enim dicitur, qui est idem χρόνος, id est *spatium temporis*. 2.64.

facibus visis caelestibus tum stellis is quas Graeci κομήτας, nostri *cincinnatas* [var. lect. *crinitas*] vocant. 2.13.

principatum autem id dico quod Graeci ἡγεμονικὸν vocant, quo nihil in quoque genere nec potest nec debet esse praestantius. 2.29.

natura mundi omnis *motus* habet *voluntarios*, *conatusque* et *adpetitiones*, quas ὁρμὰς Graeci vocant. 2.58.

providentia ... haec potissimum providet et in is maxime est occupata, primum ut mundus quam aptissimus sit ad permanendum, deinde ut nulla re egeat, maxime autem ut in eo sit eximia *pulchritudo* sit atque omnis *ornatus* [= κόσμος]. 2.58.

non *qualitate* aliqua (quam ποιότητα Graeci vocant). 2.94.

consilium illud *imperatorium* fuit, quod Graeci στρατήγημα appellant. 3.15.

iste quasi *consensus*, quam συμπάθειαν Graeci vocant. 3.28.

demus tibi istas duas *sumptiones* (ea quae λήμματα appellant dialectici, sed nos Latine loqui malumus), *adsumptio* tamen (quam πρόληψιν iidem vocant) non dabitur. 2.108.

De divinatione (shortly before the Ides of March 44 BCE)

divinationem quam Graeci μαντικήν appellant, id est *praesensionem et scientiam rerum futurarum*. 1.1.1.

naturae rationem, quam φυσιολογίαν Graeci appellant. 1.90.53.

ex *coniunctione naturae* et quasi *concentu atque consensu*, quam συμπάθειαν Graeci appellant. 2.34.

vim quandam esse aiunt *signifero* in orbe, qui Graece ζοδιακὸς dicitur. 2.89.

continuatio coniunctioque naturae, quam, ut dixi, vocant συμπάθειαν. 2.142.

Nec vero *perturbationes animorum*, quae vitam insipientium miseram acerbamque reddunt, quas Graeci πάθη appellant – poteram ego verbum ipsum interpretans *morbos* appellare, sed non conveniret ad omnia; quis enim misericordiam aut ipsam iracundiam morbum solet dicere? 3.10.35.

De fato (May-June 44 BCE)

λογική, quam *rationem disserendi* voco. 1.

pertinet ad *mores*, quod ἥθος illi vocant, nos eam partem philosophiae de moribus appellare solemus, sed decet augentem linguam Latinam nominare *moralem*, explicandaque vis et ratioque *enuntiationum*, quae Graeci ἀχιώματα vocant ... deque eo, *quod possit fieri aut non possit*, quam vim habeant, obscura quaestio est, quam περὶ δυνάτων philosophi appellant, totaque est, quae est λογική, quam *rationem disserendi* voco. 1.

non omnis *enuntiatio* (quod ἀξίωμα dialectici appellant) aut vera aut falsa erit. 20.

percepta appello quae dicuntur Graece θεωρήματα. 11.

Nec nos impedit illa *ignava ratio* quae dicitur; appellatur enim quidam a philosophis ἀργὸς λόγος, cui si pareamus, nihil omnino agamus in vita. 28.

Topica (July 44 BCE)

Haec verborum *coniugatio* συζυγία dicitur. 12.

Itaque Graeci talis argumentationes ἀτέχνους vocant, id est *artis expertes*. 24.

Notionem appello quod Graeci tum ἔννοιαν tum πρόληψιν. Ea est insita et animo praecepta cuiusque cognitio enodationis indigens. 31

cum de *ornamentis verborum sententiarumve* praecipitur, quae vocant σχήματα, non fit idem. 34.

ex *coniugatione*, quam [Graeci] συζυγίαν vocant. 38.

Haec ex pluribus perveniens quo vult appellatur *inductio*, quae Graece ἐπαγωγή nominatur. 42.

ut aliquid quod fieri nullo modo possit *augendae rei gratia* dicatur *aut minuendae*, quae ὑπερβολή dicitur. 45.

Sunt enim alia contraria, quae *privantia* licet appellemus Latine, Graeci appellant στερητικά. Praeposito enim 'in' privatur verbum ea vi, quam haberet si 'in' praepositum non fuisset, dignitas indignitas, humanitas inhumanitas, et cetera generis eiusdem. 48.

Sunt enim illa valde contraria quae appellantur *negantia*; ea ἀποφατικά Graeci, contraria aientibus: Si hoc est, illud non est. 49.

Definitum est quod ὑπόθεσιν Graeci, nos *causam*; infinitum quod θέσιν illi appellant, nos *propositum* possumus nominare. 79.

descriptio, quam χαρακτήρα Graeci vocant. 83.

Refutatio autem accusationis, in qua est depulsio criminis, quoniam Graece στάσις dicitur, appelletur Latine *status*. 93.

sed quae *ex statu contentio* efficitur, eam Graeci κρινόμενον vocant. 95.

De officiis (October-December 44 BCE)

perfectum *officium rectum* opinor vocemus, quoniam Graeci κατόρθωμα, hoc autem *commune officium* καθήκον vocant. 1.3.8.

hoc loco continetur id quod dici Latine *decorum* potest, Graece enim πρέπον dicitur. 1.27.93.

una pars in *appetitu* posita est quae est ὁρμή Graece, quae hominem *huc et illuc rapit*,²⁹⁰ altera in ratione, quae docet et explanat quid faciendum fugiendumque sit. 1.28.101.

multaque multorum *facete dicta*, ut ea quae a sene Catone collecta sunt, quae vocantur ἀποφθέγματα. 1.29.104.

haec autem scientia continentur ea quam Graeci εὐταξίαν nominant, non hanc quam interpretamur *modestiam*, quo in verbo modus inest, sed illa est εὐταξία in qua intellegitur *ordinis conservatio* ... *locum autem actionis opportunitatem temporis* esse. 1.40.142.

dicunt, tempus autem actionis opportunum Graece εὐκαιρία, Latine appellatur *occasio*. 1.40.142.

illa *sapientia* quam σοφίαν Graeci vocant, *prudentiam* enim quam Graeci φρόνησιν dicunt aliam quandam intellegimus quae est *rerum expetendarum fugiendarumque scientia*. 1.43.153.

²⁹⁰ The noun ὁρμή means 'attack, impulse'; cf. ὀρμαίνω, ὀρμάω, 'rouse, stir up'.

Chapter V

Neologisms in *Rhetorica ad Herennium*

Among *all* the listed terms, whether seemingly new formations or already existing words adopted here as terms, the following, at least, seem to be translations of or calques on Greek patterns. The terms are listed by Achard in alphabetical order:²⁹¹

abscisio 4.67 translates ἀποσιώπησις (the Greek term first attested in Quintilian 8.3.85: *Abscuditur* [vox] *per* ἀποσιώπησιν) but is rendered > **praecisio** in 4.41, the deliberate 'breaking off' in the midst of a sentence; in Cicero it is rendered *reticentia* (*De oratore* 3.205), which better corresponds to the etymology of the Greek noun (base σιωπάω 'be silent').

absoluta (*pars iuridicialis constitutionis*, 'unqualified') 1.24, the first attested instance of *absolutus* as an adjective, < κατ'ἀντίληψιν, contradistinguished from ≠ **adsumptiva** (ibid), < κατ'ἀντίθησιν ('related to circumstances'). Quintilian (7.4.4-7) remarks that these Latin terms are no real translations but equivalents.

There was, on the other hand, no direct equivalent to *absolutus* in Greek. The reality intended is rendered by expressions like αὐτὸ ἐφ'ἑαυτό (Plato, *Theaitetos* 152 b), αὐτὸ καθ'αὐτό (ibid. 157a), ἀπλοῦς (Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1149a2, often translated *absolutum*), or ἄκρατον, ἀνυπόθετον, etc.²⁹²

abusio 4.45 translates κατάχρησις 'misuse, excessive use or consumption', esp. the mixture of different images or categories. Also in Cicero, *Orator* 94.

accusator (passim, = κατήγορος 'one who speaks against, accuser') is reported by Valerius Maximus (1.6.2, 1 CE early) to have been used by Helvius Mancius Formianus (1 BCE early) in the sense 'accuser, prosecutor in criminal cases', and it seems to have been established early. A prosecutor in civil cases was called *petitor*.²⁹³

²⁹¹ Achard p. 246-255; Greek patterns p. 256-259. Some few entries which do not seem to be rhetorical terms proper have been omitted (e.g. *consilium*, *contio*, *corpus*, *delectatio*, *disciplina*, *dissimulatio artis*, *iudex*, *ius*, etc., or not actually used by RH, like *deformatio*). I have profited from Achard's references to Greek sources, and from Ernesti, which is still indispensable.

²⁹² The information given in HWP that *absolutus* is contrasted with *relativus*-*relative* in Cicero is not correct; the latter pair does not appear until the 4 c. CE (but cf. above, p. 49).

²⁹³ *possumus petitoris personam capere, accusatoris deponere?* Cicero, *Quinct.* 45.

actio 2.18 in the sense 'legal process', or more precisely 'the right to bring a suit'.

adiunctio 4.38 < συνεζευγμένον 'the placing of the predicate in the beginning or the end of a clause'. Did not survive in this sense.

adnominatio 4.21, 4.22 < παρονομασία, 'wordplay', a translation taken over by Quintilian (9.3.66). Cicero, the first to mention the Greek term, translates it *parva verbi immutatio* (*De oratore* 2.256), cf. *levis immutatio verbi ac nominis*, Martianus Capella, 5.532.

adprobatio 2.3 < βεβαίωσις 'confirmation', the last part of the *constitutio*.

adsiduitas eiusdem litterae 4.18 'the recurrence of the same letter' < σύγκρουσις φωνηέντων, 'collision of vowels, hiatus', considered an error to be avoided; cf. **concurso vocalium**.

adsimulatio 4.50 'a feigning, pretence' = προσποίησις.

adsumptiva (*pars iurisdicialis constitutionis*) 1.24 ≠ **absoluta**.

adtentum; docilem benivolum adtentum facere 1.7, Aristotle's προσεκτικὸν εὖνουν εὐμαθὴν ποιεῖν (*Rhet.* 1415a35), the challenge of a speaker.

adtenuata figura > figura

aequum et bonum 2.19, 'equity' (Ennius), a juridical formula.

ambiguum 1.10 et passim, 'something ambiguous' < τὸ ἀμφίβολον, cf. Aristotle, *Topica* 160a29.

amphibolia 2.16, 'ambiguity', ἀμφιβολία, an established Greek term, as is evident from the fact that it is declined as a Latin noun: *cognitionem amphiboliarum eam quae a dialecticis proferatur*, cf. *ibid. amphibolias aucupantur*.

amplificatio 2.46 et passim, < αὐξησις, 'enlarging upon, making the most of a circumstance'. 27x in Cicero.

animus (*pars laudis, vituperationis*) 3.10 in this context means 'moral character', the displaying of the four cardinal virtues prudence, justice, fortitude, and moderation, or their opposites. The semantically undetermined noun is probably an attempt to render θυμός (often in the plural) or ὁρμή.

apologus 1.10, ἀπόλογος (Plautus) 'short moral fable', a term also used by Cicero, e.g. *De inv.* 1.25.

argumentatio 1.34, < ἐνθύμημα, ἐπιχείρημα, ἀπόδειξις; on the base *argumentum* (Plautus), 'piece of evidence, proof': *argumentationes quas Graeci epicheiremata appellant* 2.2.

argumentari 'adduce arguments' 2.9, 46; 4.47 < ἐπιχειρέω, συλλογίζομαι.

argumentum (Ennius, Plautus, here *pars coniecturalis constitutionis*) 2.3 < τεκμήριον, 'circumstantial evidence', German *Indiz*, French *indice*.

argumentum (*ratio*) 2.11 et passim, 'evidence' > **signum**.

argumentum (*pars permutationis*) 4.46 is obviously chosen in lack of better alternatives to express a kind of comparison with something bigger or lesser: *cum aliqua similitudo augendi aut minuendi causa ducitur*. > **permutatio**.

argumentum (*fabula*), 'fictitious story' in 1.13, here obviously < πλάσμα. This passage draws on Sextus Empiricus (*adv. gr.* 263 ff.) who speaks of διήγησις κατὰ πράγματα, an 'account of acts committed', consisting of three possible items: ἱστορία, μῦθος, πλάσμα, 'legend, historical example, fictional story'.

aridum (*genus elocutionis*) 4.16 < ξερόν, ταπεινόν, 'dry'; the same qualifications in Demetrios *On style* 4.236.

articulus 4.26 (Cato) < κόμμα, 'fragmentation'. Demetrius makes it the favorite figure of the vehement style (*On style*, 1.9, 5.241). Cicero calls it *incisio*, a more faithful rendering of the Greek verbal noun (base κόπτω, 'cut in pieces, chop'). In his parlance, κόμμα means 'short clause in a sentence', *Orator* 211.

auctoritas (*locus ab auctoritate*) 2.47, 4.32 (*auctoritas dicendi*), 10x in *RH*. This typically Latin term (*Lex XII tabularum* and onwards) does not have any manifest counterpart in Greek; it could sometimes be translated αὐθεντία ('power, absolute sway, authorship') or ἐξουσία ('power, magistracy', etc). In the theory of topics it is the first > **locus communis** and refers to the authority of religion, tradition, usage, law, wise men, or the senate, used as an argument in a debate. Cicero treats it in *De inventione* 1.101 and 2.68. It was much later defined *iudicium sapientis in sua scientia*.²⁹⁴

auditor 1.2, 45 x (Plautus) can be considered a term in as much as the audience is the protagonist of the rhetorical art, those who are to be convinced, and it corresponds in this sense to ἀκροατής (Plato).

barbarismus < βαρβαρισμός (Aristotle *Poetica* 1458a26), *est cum verbum aliquod vitiose effertur* 4.17.

benivolentia (Accius), in 1.6 < εὔνοια, the listener's 'goodwill' to be won by the speaker (Aristotle, *Rhetorica* 1378a).

brevitas < βραχυλογία, συντομία, 1.14 and passim, is a quality required in the *narratio* along with clarity and credibility, according to the school of Isocrates (Quintilian 4.2.31), or even earlier.

²⁹⁴ Peter of Spain, *Tractatus*, (13th century) ed. L. M. de Rijk 1972, 5.36. Cf. Piltz 1984.

cadens exornatio, < ὁμοιόπτωτον, 4.28 *cum in eadem constructione verborum duo aut plura sunt verba quae similiter isdem casibus efferantur*.

causa (Naevius; here *in coniecturali constitutione*) *est ea quae induxit ad maleficium commodorum spe aut incommodorum vitatione* 2.3, the 'motive' or cause of, the incentive for an act < αἰτία, or possibly < κέρδος 'advantage, profit' (*Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*).

circumitio 4.43 < περίφρασις (Dionysios of Halicarnassos, 1 c. BCE), cf Terence's *Andria* 202 *ita aperte rem ipsam modo locutus, nil circum itione usus est*, where most editors analyze *itio* as a lexeme of its own, 'circumlocution'. In Cicero (*De inv.* 1.15.20): *insinuatō est oratio quadam dissimulatione et circumitione obscure subiens auditoris animum*. This translation had no success: Quintilian, even if hesitantly, translates it *circumlocutio* 8.6.61 (reproduced by Aulus Gellius 3.1.5).

cohortatio (*pars amplificationis*) *est oratio quae aliquod peccatum amplificans auditorem ad iracundiam adducit* 3.24. > **amplificatio**.

commoratio 4.58 < ἐπιμονή (Longinus 12.2) and/or διατριβή (Aristotle *Rhetorica* 1418a27, in the plur.), 'lingering, dwelling' on a subject.

commutatio (Accius b. 170 BCE) 4.39 < ἀντιμεταβολή (Quintilianus 9.3.85, with the example *non ut edam vivo sed ut vivam edo*) and/or < ἀντιμετάθεσις (? Alexander *De figuris*, 2 c. CE), σύγκρισις, πλοκή, ἀναστροφή, 'interchange' of same words with different endings.

comoedia (Plautus) 1.13 (*com<o>ediarum* edd., various distorted lessons in the mss) = κωμῳδία (Aristophanes).

concessio (3x) 'reluctant confession of guilt' as in 1.24, < συγνώμη (Hermogenes 2 c. CE). > **remotio criminis**, > **translatio criminis**, > **comparatio**.

conclusio (19x): (*pars orationis*), *artificiosus terminus orationis* 1.4, 'ending of speech'.

conclusio (exornatio) < συμπέρασμα (Aristotle, *Analytica Priora* 30a5) *quae brevi argumentatione ex iis quae ante dicta sunt aut facta conficit quod necessario consequatur*; 4.41, 'conclusion in a syllogism'.

concurso # **vocalium** < σύγκρουσις φωνέντων (Demetrios 4th BCE) 4.18. Cicero calls it *concurso vocalium* (*Orator* 77), an expression reproduced by Quintilian (9.4.37). Here is the first instance of *vocalis*, sc. *littera*, 'vowel' (from Greek γράμματα φωνήεντα). Its opposite noun *consonans* (< σύμφωνος, συνηχῶν) does not appear before Varro (c. 43 BCE).

conduplicatio (Plautus) 4.38 obviously < ἀναδίπλωσις (Demetrios), also called παλλιλογία, ἐπανάληψις, 'duplication of a word in the beginning of a sentence'.

confirmatio (*pars orationis*), 21x in *Rhet. Her.*, 35x in Cicero; < πίστις (in Aristotle the opposite of ἀπόδειξις, *Rhet.* 1355b35, in the plur.), e. g. in 1.18. The opposite of *confutatio*.

conformatio 4x < προσωποποιία (Philodemus 1 BCE), as in 4.66 *cum aliqua quae non adest persona confingitur quasi adsit*.

confutatio 11x (*pars orationis*), < ἀνασκευή (Sextus Empiricus; Quintilian 2.4.18 *opus destruendi confirmandique ... quod ἀνασκευή et κατασκευή vocatur*), as in 1.18 *confutatio est contrariorum locorum dissolutio*. This term was otherwise adopted only by Donatus and Marius Victorinus in the 4th century CE but seems to have regained ground in the MA.

coniecturalis (*constitutio*) 1.18 'examination of facts, whether something has happened or not', < (σύστασις) στοχαστική, base στοχάζομαι 'aim at' (Plato, also metaphorically, e.g. *Leges* 635a). In Latin, *coniectura* means 'conjecture, guesswork, interpretation of dreams' ever since Pacuvius and Ennius, and it has been used in the stricter sense of 'inferring of one fact from another' since Plautus. *RH* uses *coniectura* or its derivate *coniecturalis* 20 x,

Cicero no less than 167 x.

coniunctio 4.38 *cum interpositione verbi et superiores partes orationis comprehenduntur et inferiores*, < συνεζευγμένον (συζεύγνυμαι in the sense 'be closely united', cf. Galen 16.535 συνεζευγμένοις συμπτώμασι), to be carefully distinguished from the following.

coniunctio 4.41 *coniunctionibus verborum e medio sublatis*, 'conjunction' < σύνδεσμος (Aristotle *Rhet.* 1406a20).

conlatio (Plautus) 2.13 (7 x), probably also 1.12 (where the manuscripts read *collectione*) < σύγκρισις, 'comparison' (Aristotle *Topica* 102b15).

conlocatio 3.30, 3.31 'the placing of mental images' as part of mnemotechnics, < σύνθεσις, συνθήκη. It is used by Cicero 10x.

conmiseratio 3x 2.50 'compassion', to be stirred in the audience, *si variam fortunarum commutationem dicemus*, < ἔλεος or οἶκτος (Homer, cf. οἶζω, 'lament'; Appolonius Dyscolos 2 c. CE).

conpar (Plautus; here a noun) 4.27 *membra orationis ... quae constant ex pari fere numero syllabarum*, < ισόκωλον, Demetrios; also called πάρισον, παρομοίωσις, Quintilian 9.3.80 *ισόκωλον est et ὁμοιόπτωτον habet*.

comparatio 10x, < ἀντίστασις, 'alternative', the least evil of two evil things, e.g. 1.25 *cum dicimus necesse fuisse alterutrum facere et id quod fecimus satius fuisse facere*. > **concessio**, > **remotio criminis**, > **translatio criminis**, > **comparatio**.

comparatio peccatorum 2.49 < ἀντιπαβολή Aristotle *Rhet.* 1414b10, 1419b34 'reply by comparison or contrast', *cum dicemus maius esse maleficium stuprare ingenuum quam sacrum legere*.

compellatio 1x < ἀποστροφή (Philodemos 1 BCE; Quintilian 9.2.38 *aversus ... a iudice sermo, qui dicitur apostrophe, mire movet*) 'apostrophe, turning away to address somebody or something, present or absent'. In Cicero, *compellatio* means 'reproof'.

complexio (*in argumentatione*, 8x) *conligens partes orationis* 2.28, 'resumé, summing-up', and used in that sense generally, but in 4.20 and 4.29 meaning 'repetition of the same word in the beginning and the end of a sentence'; most likely a calque on συμπλοκή (Dionysios of Halicarnassos). Quintilian 9.3.31 mentions this rhetorical figure as a kind of *adiectio*, 'duplication'.

complexio is used also of an ornament in 4.10 *ut repetatur idem verbum saepius*, which better corresponds to συμπλοκή.

compositio 4.18 (3x) < ἁρμονία (Homer), technical term in rhetoric: Plato 'due arrangement of words', base *compono* (Accius, seemingly in the sense 'concoct'; Cato 'arrange in order').

conquestio (*pars amplificationis*) in non-technical sense 2.22, but in 3.24 part of *amplificatio*, it is contrasted with *cohortatio* and defined (*pars amplificationis*) *est oratio quae incommodorum amplificatione animum auditoris ad misericordiam perducit*; translated by Achard 'le pathétique'.

consecutio 2.8 *est cum quaeritur quae signa nocentis et innocentis consequi soleant* < σύμπτωση.

consequentia < ἀκολουθία 4.67 *cum res quae sequantur aliquam rem dicuntur, ex quibus tota res relinquitur in suspicione*.

constitutio (*causae*) 1.18-26 (32x), an extraordinary important and frequent term in rhetorics, < στάσις, the state of question, also translated > *status*. Cicero uses the lexeme *constitutio* 79x.

consuetudo (Plautus), 2.45 perhaps not a term in the strictest sense here, 'usage' in language, as *usus* in Horace, *Ars poetica* 72.

contentio (Plautus) 3.23 *est oratio acris ad confirmandum et ad confutandum adcommodata*, 'debate'.

contentio (*exornatio*) 4.21 'using opposites': *contentio est cum ex contrariis rebus oratio conficitur*, < ἀντικείμενα κῶλα, ἀντίθεσις.

continuatio 3.23 (*in contentione*) *est orationis enuntiandae acceleratio clamosa*.

continuatio (*exornatio*) < περίοδος *est densa et continens frequentatio verborum cum absolute sententiarum* 4.27. Cicero says *quem Graeci περίοδον, nos tum*

ambitum, tum circuitum, tum comprehensionem aut continuationem aut circumscriptionem dicimus (Orator 204), whereas Quintilian (9.4.22) suggests various translations: περίοδον, *quae est vel ambitus vel circumductum vel continuatio vel conclusio*. A good example of the uncertainty of the Latin translators long before the establishment of a set grammatical terminology.

contrarium (noun) 4.24 *est quod ex rebus diversis duabus alteram breviter et facile confirmat* < ἐνθύμημα (which in Aristotle's logic means 'rhetorical syllogism drawn from probable premises' as opposed to strict demonstration, *Analytica Priora* 70a10). The adjective *contrarius* occurs in *RH* as much as 50x, mostly as a substantive, including expressions like *per contrarium*, *e/in contrario*. One can isolate the following entry as denoting 'irony':

contrarium (*pars permutationis*) 4.46 < εἰρωνεία, 'intending the opposite of what is said', which in Cicero is a loanword: *ironiam illam quam in Socrate dicunt fuisse* (*Brutus* 292).

controversia (Ennius) 22x, a forensic case debated.

conversio 4.19 < ἀντιστροφή, ἐπιφορά, 'repeating of the last word'.

correctio 4.36, 'correction' (2x) *quae tollit id quod dictum est et ... magis idoneum ... reponit* < ἐπιδιόρθωσις, ἐπανήρθωσις, μετάνοια.

criminatio 1.12 (2x, in Cicero 17x), 'charge, accusation' (< ἔγκλημα ?)

crinomenon, 1.26, hapax of a Greek term: *nos iudicationem, Graeci crinomenon appellant*, 'the point of issue in a dispute'.

declamatio, 3.20 < μελέτη, 'declamation' as a rhetorical exercise, here mentioned for the first time in Rome.

defensio, 1.2 (16x) < προστατεία, ἀπολογία, 'defence', used 236x by Cicero.

defensor (Terence) 18x, in Cicero 120x, 'advocate for the defence' or 'defending party'.

definitio (8x; in Cicero 98x), *pars legitimae constitutionis* < ὅρος, 1.19.

definitio 4.35 (*exornatio*) < ὀρισμός, what Quintilian calls *finitio* (9.3.55).

deliberativum (*genus*), 1.2 (5x), a noun, one of the three genres of eloquence, < συμβουλευτικόν. Aristotle *Rhetorica* 1358b7. > **demonstrativum**, > **iudiciale**.

deliberatio (5x), the essential part of *genus deliberativum*, treated mainly in book III.

deliberativa causa, 3.1.

deminutio 4.50, < ἀντ-εν-αντί-ωσις, what was later commonly called λιτότης. Cicero (*De partitionibus oratoriis* 22) and Quintilian (10.1.12) deal with this figure without having a name for it.

demonstratio (*pars sermonis*) 3.23, 'explanation'.

demonstratio (*exornatio*) 4.68 < ἐνάργεια, ὑποτύπωσις, 'description', *cum ita verbis res exprimitur ut geri negotium et res ante oculos esse videatur*.

demonstrativum (*genus*) 1.2 (4x) < ἐπιδεικτικόν, Aristotle *Rhetorica* 1358b8. > **deliberativum**, > **iudiciale**.

denominatio 4.43 'metonymy' < μετωνυμία, Cicero Orator 93: *hanc ὑπάλλαγην rhetores, quia quasi summutantur verba pro verbis, ὑπάλλαγην grammatici vocant, quod nomina transferuntur*; Quintilian 8.6.23 μετωνυμία, *quae est nominis pro nomine positio*.

deprecatio (Plautus) 2.25 (8x) < παραίτησις (Polybius), 'apology', *cum fatebimur nos peccasse*.

derogatio 2.15, 'partial abrogation of a law'.

descriptio 4.51 *quae rerum consequentium continet perspicuam et dilucidam cum gravitate expositionem* < ὑποτύπωσις (Quintilian 9.2.40 ὑποτύπωσις dicitur ... *quae futura sint aut futura fuerint imaginamur*), treated by Cicero (*De partitionibus oratoriis* 55 and *Topica* 67) without any attempts to give it a name.

dialecticus 2.16 < διαλεκτικός, 'logician'. Cicero 61x uses forms of *dialectic-* and says that it belongs to the established stock of Greek terms in Latin (*De finibus* 3.41).

dignitas (Accius) *exornationum* 3.23, 4.59 (meaning *d. sermonis*), 'dignity of style', *oratio cum aliqua gravitate et vocis remissione*. The word *dignitas* is used 823x by Cicero.

dignitas (*elocutionis*) 4.18 *est quae reddit ornatam orationem varietate distinguens* < ἐκλογή ? 'beauty'.

dilucida (*narratio*) 1.14 (cf. *dilucide* Terence, Pomponius Bononiensis). Lucidity is one of three qualities required in a *narratio*, corresponding to σαφήνεια, according to a rule ascribed by Quintilian (4.2.31) to Isocrates. > **brevitas**, > **veri similis**.

disiunctio or, more probably, # **disiunctum** 4.37 (the manuscripts differ) < διεzeugμένον (something which makes *disiunctum* the more likely reading), a series of different verbs employed to express related meanings.

dispositio 1.3 < τάξις or οἰκονομία, one of the five *officia oratoris*. > **inventio**, > **elocutio**, > **memoria**, > **pronuntiatio**.

dissolutum (*genus*) (the verb *dissolvo* being used since Plautus) 4.16 < ἐκλελυμένον, 'loose style', failing to keep up the attention of listeners, cf. Horace

Ars poetica 26-27 *sectantem levia nervi / deficiunt animique*. Should be carefully distinguished from the following:

dissolutum 4.41 (type of *exornatio*) < ἀσύνδετον, διάλυσις, 'asyndeton', recommended by Aristotle in controversies (*Rhetorica* 1413b); Cicero *De oratore* 3.207, Quintilian 9.3.50.

dissuasio 1.2 < ἀποτροπή 'dissuasion'. > **suasio**.

distinctio 3.32, perhaps not to be considered as a term here: *idoneorum locorum commodissimam distinctionem comparare*, 'to get easily accessible places, distinguishable from each other'.

distributio This lexeme is used here 9x, by Cicero *De inventione* 3x. It serves to render μερισμός, 'the division of subjects' in 1.17; or it is defined in *contentione frequens cum raris et brevibus intervallis acri vociferatione*, 'staccato' tone used in polemics, 3.23; or it stands for a kind of *exornatio*, 'assignment of different roles to different things or persons': *cum in plures res aut personas negotia quaedam certa dispertiuntur* 4.47, < διαίρεσις, μερισμός (Lausberg 306).

divisio (*causarum*) 1.17 < διαίρεσις, 'the distinction between what one agrees with the adversary about, and what not', not to be confused with the following figure:

divisio 4.52 *rem semovens ab re utramque absolvit* < διλήμματος, προσαπόδοσις, which corresponds to *complexio* in Cicero, *De inventione* 1.45.

dociles auditores facere 1.6, one of three challenges of a speaker, to render the listener *docilis* (Plautus) < εὐμαθής. > **attentos**, > **benivolos a. f.**

doctrina (Plautus) 3.28 here means 'formal instruction' < διδασκαλία, as opposed to innate docility.

dolus (*in causa deliberativa*) is a loanword = δόλος (since Plautus), one kind of > **utilitas tuta**, the other being **vis**.

dubitatio 4.40 (4x) 'feigned hesitation', *cum quarere videtur orator utrum ... dicat*, < ἀπορία, διαπόρησις. Cicero uses the lexeme abundantly (90x); Martianus Capella translates διαπόρησις *addubitatio* (5.523).

dubium (*genus causae*) 1.5. The adjective *dubius* (Livius Andronicus, from the IEU root **du-bho-s* = *duo*) = ἀμφίβολος, is certainly older than Latin literature. Here it stands for (γένος) ἀμφίδοξον, *cum habet in se causa et honestatis et turpitudinis partem*; in Cicero *anceps*.

effictio 4.63 *hapax*, *cum ... effingitur verbis corporis cuiuspiam forma*, < χαρακτηρισμός, εικονισμός.

elegantia (Plautus) 4.17 (2x), 'clarity', is distributed into > **Latinitas** and > **explanatio**.

elocutio (17x) 1.3 *est idoneorum verborum et sententiarum ad inventionem adcommodatio* < λέξις, ἑρμηνεία, φράσις.

enumeratio is used 13x. As a *pars distributionis*, like 1.17 < καταρίθμησις, *cum dicemus numero quot de rebus dicturi sumus*. As *pars conclusionis*, 'recapitulation' 2.47 *per quam colligimus et commonemus quibus de rebus verba fecerimus*, < ἀνάμνησις, ἀνακεφαλαίωσις.

epichieremata 2.2, *argumentationes quas Graeci e. appellant*, one of the rare untranslated terms, ἐπιχειρήματα, 'dialectical proofs', as opposed to demonstrative.

epilogus, 2.47, ἐπίλογος, another Greek term: *conclusiones, quae apud Graecos e. nominantur*.

exceptio, 1.22 'objection', 1x here, in Cicero 35x.

exclamatio 4.22 (4x) < ἀποστροφή, ἐκφώνησις, σχετλιασμός, *quae conficit significationem doloris aut indignationis*. Cicero has the same term (*De oratore* 3.207, *Orator* 135), whereas Quintilian calls it *apostrophe* (e. g. 9.2.27).

exemplum (from **ex-em-lom*, 'something taken out, sample', Ennius, Plautus), is used both in a more general sense (3.46 'example') and 4.62 in the specific terminological function < παράδειγμα, as in Aristotle's *Rhetorica* 1393a, where 'example' is one kind of induction (ἐπαγωγή).

exercitatio < ἄσκησις or γυμνασία (15x, Cicero *De inventione* 6x), 'exercise', is one of three ways to become an accomplished speaker, along with theory and imitation. The end of book IV insists on its necessity. > **ars**, > **imitatio**.

exordium (Ennius, Plautus) 1.4 (21x) from *ex-ordior*, a weaving metaphor, 'laying the warp of, begin'; in Cicero *De inventione* 14x, < προοίμιον ('prelude, preamble', from οἶμος, 'way, path, stripe, course, strain, esp. strain of song'), Aristotle *Rhetorica* 1414b19.

exornatio is employed no less than 45x, in different functions: 2.28 as 'embellishment' in the argumentation, 4.16 (in the plural) as a kind of 'intensification' figure, 4.18 as a general class of different figures (σχήματα) enhancing the beauty of words or sentences.

expeditio (Naeivius, in the military sense) 4.40 means 'elimination' of all plausible reasons but one. Quintilian calls it *remotio* (5.10.66), a case of διαίρεσις in Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1398a).

explanatio 4.17 (4x) < σαφήνεια, 'clarity, lucidity' *est quae reddit apertam et dilucidam orationem*, together with correct Latin, > **Latinitas**.

expolitio 4.54 as a term does not seem to have any direct counterpart in other rhetorical treatises, even if the 'polishing' metaphor is current in Greek (ἀποξέω, ἀπεξεσμένος 'polished, precise' Suidas) and Latin literature: *ignarus ... faciundae*

et poliendae orationis, Cicero *De oratore* 1.63; *politis versibus* Lucretius 6.82; *cur ... poliam mea carmina* Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto*, 1.5.61; *ut in structuris lapidum inpolitum loco quo convenit quodque ponendum* Quintilian 8.6.63. Dionysios of Halicarnassos (*De Thucydide*, 24) used ῥινάω in this sense 'file, fine down'.

expositio 32x, is used in e.g. 1.17 < πρόθεσις, προέκθεσις, a short account of what the speaker intends to prove. In 3.16, it is called > **propositio**, same sense.

exsuperatio, 4.67, < ὑπερβολή 'hyperbole, exaggeration', *cum plus est dictum quam patitur veritas*. It is called > **superlatio** in 4.44 (*oratio superans veritatem*).

exsuscitatio 4.55 < ἀνάστημα, 'eruption', *cum nos commoti dicere videamur et auditoris animum commovemus*. 3x here, and nowhere else.

extenuata (*oratio*) 4.11 < ἰσχνόν, the simple style, colloquial though polished.

externae res (*pars laudis, vituperationis*) 3.10 *externarum rerum sunt ea quae casu aut fortuna secunda aut adversa accidere possunt* < τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀγαθὰ, τὰ ἐπικτήτα, the opposite of τὰ φύσει ὄντα or σύμφυτα. Here and elsewhere, the versatile noun *res* operates as substitute of the Greek article.

fabula (Naevius, Ennius, Plautus; here with the epithet *veri similis*), < ἱστορία, μῦθος, πλάσμα, in 1.10 one of several ways of eliciting laughter, or in 1.13 one of three parts of > **expositio**.

festivitas (Plautus) 6x (*in narratione*), 'agreeable style' (1.13) or one kind of *exornatio* as in 4.21 'refinement', much the same as Cicero's *urbanitas*, < ἀστεϊότης (cf *Brutus* 177).

fides (Ennius) 10x, < πίστις, 'trustworthiness, probity'.

figura (Pacuvius) 4.11 'type of style' < χαρακτήρ, πλάσμα. What is now called (rhetorical) 'figure of speech' (σχῆμα) is named here > **exornatio**.

firmamentum (Afranius) 1.26, < τὸ αἴτιον, *id quod continet accusationem*.

firmitudo (Plautus 1x) *vocis*. 3.20. The quality of voice (μέγεθος, ἁρμονία, ῥυθμός) is mentioned by Aristotle, *Rhetorica* 1403b, without direct mentioning the firmness. > **magnitudo**, > **mollitudo**.

fluctuans (*genus*), 4.16, a synonym for < *dissolutum*, ἐκλελυμένον.

forma (Naevius) 4.28, 'beauty'.

fortitudo (Pacuvius) *est rerum magnarum appetitio et rerum humilium contemptio et laboris cum utilitatis ratione perpessio* 3.3. One of the "cardinal" virtues, < ἀνδρεία > **iustitia**, > **modestia**, > **prudentia**.

fortuna (Naevius), 1.24 '(unhappy) circumstances' as excuse, τύχη, > **inprudentia**, > **necessitas**, > **purgatio**.

frequentatio 4.52 < συναθροισμός, 'accumulation', the summing-up of the main facts of a case.

genera (*causarum*) < γένη.

gestus (Plautus), 7x, σχῆμα, 'gesture' in delivery of a speech.

gradatio, 1x, < κλίμαξ, ἐπιπλοκή, 'gradation', repeating of a word as the next step in reasoning. Cicero *De oratore* 3.207, Quintilian 9.3.54.

gravitas (Accius), a favorite Roman virtue (the word used 237x in Cicero and here 11x). Here in a looser sense, referring to an elevated, earnest style, than βαρύτης, in Apsines *Ars rhetorica* p. 331 H, 'the adoption of an injured tone'.

hians oratio, vocalium concursio, σύγκρουσις φωνηέντων, 'hiatus', 4.17.

historia, an early loanword in Latin (Plautus, 85x in Cicero), adopted here 4x, 'a story of something which has happened in the past'.

histrio (Plautus), 3.26, 1x, an Etruscan loanword, generally with a depreciative sense (as 'histrionic' in English): *ne ... histriones ... videamur esse*.

honesta res (*pars utilitatis*), 3.3, *res* being the substitute of the Greek article (τὸ καλόν or τὸ ἔνδοξον).

honestas (Plautus), 1.5 the opposite of > **turpitude**.

honestum (*genus causae*), 1.5. The stem *honest-* is attested since Ennius, and its original abstraction was *honestitudo*. It translates τὸ ἔνδοξον.

humile (*genus causae*) 1.5 < ἄδοξον, 'case dealing with insignificant things'.

imago (*exornatio*) < εἰκών, 4.61 *est formae cum forma cum quadam similitudine conlatio*.

imagines memoriae, 3.40, 'mental images' as implements in the art of memory.

imitatio < μίμησις, one of three ways of attaining proficiency in oratory. > **ars**, > **exercitatio**.

imitatio depravata 1.10 'caricature'. Same designation in *De oratore* 1.242: *ex quadam imitatione depravata*.

indignatio 4.22, 4.51 'indignation' < δεινῶσις (Aristotle *Rhet.* 1417a7).

inductio 1x, 3.18, here not in the later sense 'induction, inferring' < ἐπαγωγή) but 'instruction, introduction' (< εἰσαγωγή).

iniuria (Naeivius) 15x, 'loss, detriment'.

inprudencia (Terence), 9x, ἄγνοια, (exculpating) 'ignorance, inadvertency' of fact, absence of intention, *pars purgationis*. > **fortuna**, > **necessitas**, > **purgatio**.

inrisio 1x, 'ridicule'.

insinuatio 7x (*insinuo* Plautus) 'winning the favour with indirect means' (cf. ἐγκεκολπῶσθαι, 'have in one's pocket'). The term is used also to render ἔφοδος, a type of *exordium*, 1.6.

intellectio 4.44 1x, 'pars pro toto' < συνεκδοχή.

interpellatio (Plautus) 1.10 'apostrophe, exclamation' < ἀποστροφή.

interpositio (*verbi*) 4.38 > παρένθεσις, 'the insertion of a word'.

interpretatio 2x *non iterans verbum idem redintegrat verbum* = συνωνυμία (cf. *interpretor* Pacuvius).

interrogatio < ἐρωτησις, ἐρωτημα 2x (*rogatio* in Cicero), a question summing up the evidence against the adversary.

inventio 17x < εὔρησις, 'collecting of facts and probabilities', the first of five *officia oratoris*, > **dispositio**, > **elocutio**, > **memoria**, > **pronuntiatio**.

inversio (*verborum*) 1.10, 'reversal of word order', < ἀναστροφή.

iocatio 3.23 = τὸ γελοῖον, one of four parts of > **sermo** along with > **dignitas**, > **demonstratio**, > **narratio**. It is good-natured, εὐτράπελος in Aristotle's sense, *Ethica Nicomachaea* 1128a.

iudicatio, > **crinomenon**.

iudicatum 2.19 < κεκριμένον, 'precedent', *de quo sententia lata est aut decretum interpositum*.

iudiciale (*genus causarum*), < δικανικόν, Aristotle *Rhetorica* 1358b8. > **deliberativum**, > **demonstrativum**.

iuridicialis (*constitutio*) 9x, < δικαιολογικόν, 'the formulation of a case according to legal rules'.

iustitia, 3.3 < δικαιοσύνη, one of the cardinal virtues 3.3. > **fortitudo**, > **modestia**, > **prudentia**.

Latinitas 1x 4.17 *est quae sermonem purum conseruat, ab omni vitio remotum*, obviously the equivalent of ἑλληνισμός in Theophrastos, 'correct language'.

laudabile 3.3. < ἐπαινετόν, '*est quod conficit honestam ... commemorationem*'. One of the rare examples of nominalized neutral adjectives. > **rectum**.

legitima (*constitutio*) 12x, the same as > **iuridicialis**, < δικαιολογικόν.

lepos (Plautus) 4.32, 'elegance, beauty' of language, καλλιέπεια.

licentia (Plautus) < παρρησία, 'candour, frankness', *cum ... aliquid ... dicimus ... quo ... reprehendere videamur*; in Cicero *vox quaedam libera atque etiam effrenatio augendi causa*, De oratore 3.205.

locus (*pars signi*), one of six parts of > **signum**.

locus (*memoriae*), a tool in the art of memory, 3.29.

locus communis 1.24 < τόπος κοινός.

magnitudo (*vocis*) 3.20 < μέγεθος, 'volume' of voice, cf. Aristotle *Rhetorica* 1403b.

mediocris (*figura elocutionis*) 4.11, the 'middle' type of style, < μέσον.

membrum (*orationis*), a 'member' of a phrase, < κῶλον.

memoria (*verborum, rerum*), < μνήμη, one of five *officia oratoris*, > **dispositio**, > **elocutio**, > **inventio**, > **pronuntiatio**.

misericordia < ἔλεος, οἶκτος, 2.50 'compassion' of the listeners, to be stirred by the speaker.

modestia, 5.5 'mastery of passions', one of the cardinal virtues, < σωφροσύνη. > **fortitudo**, > **iustitia**, > **prudentia**.

mollitudo (Pacuvius) (*vocis*), 3.20, 23, 'the tuning of voice according to circumstances' < ῥυθμος in Aristotle *Rhetorica* 1403b. > **magnitudo**, > **firmitudo**.

mos, 1.16, 'usage, custom', = *usus*.

motus corporis, part of > **pronuntiatio**.

mutatio litterarum, 1.10 'word-play'.

narratio (Plautus) (*pars orationis*), 1.4 'part of speech which sets out the facts of a case', < πρόθεσις, one of six parts of speech: > **divisio**, > **confirmatio**, > **confutatio**, > **conclusio**, > **exordium**. Cf Aristotle *Rhetorica* 1414b.

narratio (*in sermone*), *rerum gestarum expositio*, 3.23 one of four tones in conversational style, 'exposition of facts'.

natura (Accius) 29x (*pars iuris*) 2.19, 'natural law', *ius est quod cognationis aut pietatis causa observatur*, the first time this concept is mentioned in Rome.

naturalis (Ennius) 5x (*memoria*), memory as innate asset.

necessitas (Plautus), **necessitudo** (Asellio, 2 c. BCE) (*pars purgationis*) 'force majeur', < ἀνάγκη, one of three exculpating facts to adduce by the defence, > **inprudentia**, > **fortuna**, > **purgatio**.

negatio, 4.59 'negative comparison', used as demonstration.

nemonica 3.30, an adaptation to the Latin phonotaxis of < μνημονικά 'mnemonics'.

nomen 2.45: meaning 'name', 'term', or 'designation'; the boundaries are vague and the meaning depends on the context.

nominatio, 4.42, the introduction of a new word as an *exornatio*, < ὀνοματοποιία. Cicero (*De oratore* 3.152) recommends using *aut inusitatum verbum aut novatum aut translatum* and adduces as examples *versutiloquus* and *expectorare* (ib. 154). Neologisms, archaisms and forced metaphors are discussed in *ad Herennium* 4.15; the author considers them as temptations to be resisted by unexperienced speakers.

> **notatio**, 4.63, < ἡθοποιία, 'description of a person's character', cf. > **effictio**.

novitas 1.10 (3x, in Cicero 20x), < καινότης.

numerus (*poeticus*) ῥυθμός, 'rhythm' 4.44. The first attested instance of *numerus* in this sense.

obrogatio 2.15, 'invalidation of a law'; the reading is a conjecture (*abrogatio* mss).

occultatio 4.37, the deliberate 'leaving out' of a point in order to emphasise it, < παράλειψις.

oratorius, 'rhetorical', < ῥητορικός, 3x.

pactum 2.20 (Plautus) < συνάλλαγμα, 'contract': *ex pacto ius est si quid inter se pepigerunt*.

partes orationis: > **exordium**, > **narratio**, > **divisio**, > **confirmatio**, > **confutatio**, > **conclusio**.

permissio 4.39 < ἐπιτροπή 'leaving the judgement to somebody else'.

permutatio 4.46 < ἀλληγορία, *oratio aliud verbis aliud sententia demonstrans*.

perversio < ἀναστροφή 4.44, 'reversal of word order', like *virtute pro vestra*.

philosophia 1.1, 2.35, 4.69, a loanword first attested in Hemina, 2 c. BCE, in *iis libris scriptae erant philosophiae Pythagoricae*; In Cicero 255x.

poema ποίημα (Ennius) 6x.

poeta ποιητής (Ennius) 15x.

praecisio 4.41 < ἀποσιώπησις, 'breaking off' something which was begun. Should be distinguished from > **occultatio**, above.

praeter expectationem 1.10, < παρὰ προσδοκίαν.

principium 1.6 < προοίμιον, one type of *exordium*, the other being > **insinuatio**.

prisca verba 4.15 'archaisms', > nominatio.

probabile 2.3 < εἰκός, nominalized adjective in the neuter. The impersonal phrase *probabile est* with acc. cum inf. (Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.43 *probabile est ... intellegentiam in sideribus esse*) corresponding to εἰκός or ἔνδοξόν ἐστι + inf. may have paved the way.

pronominatio 4.42 < ἀντονομασία, 2x, 'antonomasia', the substitution of an epithet or title for a proper name, to avoid repetitive use of it.

pro(o)emion, 1.6, < προοίμιον, > principium.

propositio 2.28 (4x) *per quam ostendimus summam quid sit quod probari volumus*, < πρόθεσις.

prudencia, 3.3, one of four cardinal virtues, < σοφία or φρόνησις. In Cicero 270x. > **iustitia**, > **fortitudo**, > **modestia**.

purgatio (Terence) 1.24 (6x), < κάθαρσις, 'defence, exoneration'.

quaestio (Plautus) 2.10, ἐχέτασις, βασανισμός, 'interrogation' (of slaves under torture).

ratio (154x) 1.26 < τὸ συνέχον, 'justification', 2.28 'proof, evidence', 4.24 (*vivendi*) 'way of life'.

rationatio (5x) 1.19, one of six parts of *constitutio*, 'reasoning' < συλλογισμός, or a figure, 'reasoning by questioning' < αἰτιολογία.

rectum 3.3 (Terence) < ὀρθόν, another case of nominalized adjectives in the neuter.

remotio criminis 1.24 < μετάστασις, 'disavowal of guilt'. > **concessio**, > **translatio criminis**, > **comparatio**.

repetitio 4.19, ἀναδίπλωσις, 'anaphora' of same word in the beginning of successive clauses.

reprehensio 2.31 (5x, in Cicero), 'refutation, correction'.

rhetor 3.23 only here 1x, otherwise **orator** (Naevius) 35x.

rhetorica (Ennius), a noun, 10x, but cf. > **oratorius**.

sententia 4.24 *est oratio sumpta de vita quae aut quid sit aut quid esse oporteat in vita breviter ostendit*, < γνώμη, 'maxim'.

sermo 3.23 'tone in conversation'.

sermocinatio 4.55 (4x), *cum alicui personae sermo adtribuitur*, < διάλογοι.

significatio (6x) 4.67 *est res quae plus in suspitione relinquit quam positum est in oratione*, < ἔμφασις, 'allusion'.

signum (Ennius) 2.6 < σημεῖον, 'circumstantial evidence' (Fr. *indice*). > **argumentum**.

simile 2.46, 4.56, 4.60 'comparison', < παραβολή. Nominalized neuter, possibly due to impersonal phrases like *simile est* and *veri simile est*. The noun seems to be the same thing as > **similitudo**.

similiter cadens (*exornatio*), 4.28 < ισόκωλον, πάρισον, 'subsequent clauses with same endings'. Nominalized neuter, like the following.

similiter desinens 4.28 'subsequent words with same endings', < ὁμοιοτέλευτον. Nominalized neuter.

similitudo (Pacuvius) 4.59 < παραβολή, εἰκόν, cf. > **simile**.

soloecismus (Lucilius) 4.17 *cum in verbis pluribus consequens verbum superiori non accommodatur*; σολοικισμός, Aristotle *Sophistici elenchi* 173b17, 'incorrectness' of speech.

suasio 1.2 'persuasion', προτροπή. > **dissuasio**.

suavitas (Plautus) 4.69, **suavitus** (Plautus) 3.22 (*orationis*) = γλυκύτης, 'pleasantness of voice'.

subiectio 4.33 < ὑποφορά, ἀνθυποφορά, 'asking what can be said for or against, and then evaluating the answer'.

sufflata (Plautus) (*figura*) 4.15, 'conceited style' to be avoided, < φυσώδης, ὑπερβάλλον.

superlatio 4.44 'exaggeration', *oratio superans veritatem alicuius augendi minuendive causa*, < ὑπερβολή.

syllaba (Plautus) 4.28, συλλαβή, 'syllable'.

tractatio, tractare 3.7 ἐξεργασία, 'handling of a case, treatment of a subject'.

traductio 4.20 'transposition; repetition of a word to create concinnity', < ἀντιμετάθεσις.

transgressio 4.44 'change of word-order' for stylistic reasons, < ὑπέρβατον.

transiectio 4.18, the same as > **transgressio**.

transitio 4.35 'transition', a summary of what has been said, followed by a statement of the consequences thereof.

translatio (*criminis*) 1.25 'avowal of crime which one was forced to commit by circumstances; transferral of responsibility', < ἀντέκλημα.

translatio 4.45 'metaphor', *rei ante oculos ponendae causa*.

turpe (*genus causae*) 1.5 'charge involving scandalous conduct', < ἄδοξον.

veri similis (Pacuvius) (*narratio*) 1.14, < πιθανότης, τὸ πιθανόν, 'plausible, plausibility'.

vis, one kind of > **utilitas tuta**, the other being > **dolus**.

vocabulum (Terence) 2.45 apparently in the sense 'term': *vitiosum est de nomine* (word) *et vocabulo* (term) *controversiam struere*.

usitata verba 4.17 'ordinary colloquial language'.

utilitas tuta ≠ **utilitas honesta** 3.3 'interest, advantage': *tuta* through violence or ruse, *honesta* through what is righteous and laudable = τὸ χρήσιμον and τὸ καλόν.

Chapter VI

Tertullian and Christian Latin

1. The Christian influence on the Latin language

Every ideological change or transculturation must needs involve a linguistic transformation. The Christian message, formulated in *koinē* Greek, and eventually called the New Testament, was first formulated, diffused, and rooted in Jewish Greek-speaking communities, and presented as a prolongation of the Old Testament in its Hellenistic version, the *Septuagint* (in abbreviation LXX), compiled in Alexandria in the third century BCE. The Hebrew Bible is the only piece of ancient Oriental literature that was translated already in Antiquity into Greek and Latin. Without this translation, the Jewish religion would never have become universal.²⁹⁵

The different books of the Old and New Testament were collected successively and canonized by the Christian Church, a process which was completed in the fourth century, and the whole of it was called τὰ Βιβλία, "The Scriptures", a concept taken over in Latin as a singular, *Biblia*, and considered more or less as *one* book, which in due time would become a text of incomparable influence on the European civilization.

In the literature of the primitive Church in Rome (Clement, Hermas, Hippolytos), as well as in Lyon (Irenaeus), the Greek language was universally prevailing well into the third century. In the liturgy in Rome, Greek was substituted by Latin only in the second half of the fourth century, a process considered completed with the death of pope Damasus in 384. Latin Christian epitaphs appear in the third century, most frequently in Africa.

As long as the Roman Empire existed, Christianity and its holy Scriptures (and their excentric linguistic habits) had no profound effect on the Latin language at large. The sermons of Saint Augustine (354-430) would have been perfectly comprehensible to Cicero, as far as the systems of case, flexion, and conjugation are concerned, and apart from changes in pronunciation and grammar, and apart from the fact that Cicero probably would have had his doubts about many words and

²⁹⁵ Timothy Michael Law, *When God Spoke Greek. The Septuagint and the Making of the Christian Bible*, Oxford University Press, 2013; Ludger Schwienhorst-Schönberger, "Die Septuaginta – ein jüdischer und christlicher Text", in *Communio* 50, July-August 2021.

expressions,²⁹⁶ let alone about the central message delivered – his was a totally different world.²⁹⁷

Following the expansion and triumph of Christianity in the Roman Empire, Latin became increasingly used as the *lingua franca* in place of Greek, first in North Africa – in fact, it was there that a Christian literature in Latin first evolved in the second century – and then in Spain, England, Gaul and Germany. The widely dispersed Latin-speaking Christian congregations in the West had recourse to *ad hoc* translations of different parts of the Greek Old and New Testament. An array of translations appeared, and an immense mass of fragments (with the designation *Vetus Latina*) has been collected and systemized by the Vetus-Latina Institute in Beuron, Germany.

This Old Latin Bible is a very diverse collection. For obvious reasons, there could be no complete standard translation of the Bible, until pope Damasus in 382 commissioned the scholar and philologist Jerome (Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus, c.345–420) to revise the Vetus Latina Gospels used by the Roman Church. Later, of his own initiative, Jerome extended this work of revision and translation to include most of the books in the Bible, and based on the original Hebrew and Greek texts. His work became progressively adopted as the Bible text of the Western Church, the Latin standard version (and by the 13th century called the *versio vulgata*) of the Scriptures. By the Carolingian era, the variety of Old Latin texts had been completely superseded.

In the biblical translations and their vocabulary a number of novelties emerged and were soon adopted as fully naturalized terms, especially the lexical Hellenisms, like *ecclesia*, *evangelium*, *propheta*, *apostolus*, *haeresis*, *apostata*, *anathema*, along with liturgical terms like *baptisma*, *eucharistia*, *exomologesis*, *pascha*, *pentecoste*. Even more conspicuous are Hellenisms not directly connected with doctrine but suggested by fidelity to the scriptural origin: *plasmare*, *abyssus*, *blasphemia*, *scandalum*, *brabium*, *exstasis*, *zizania*, etc.

Another category of neologisms are those forged as calques rendering new ideas and notions. To translate δικαιῶν ('justify, deem and pronounce righteous') and to express with the greatest exactitude possible the biblical notion of *iustitia*, one invented *iustificare*. In the same manner, *resurrectio* was introduced for ἀνάστασις, *salvator* for σωτήρ, *regeneratio* for παλιγγενεσία, *revelatio* for ἀποκάλυψις, *sanctificare* for ἀγιάζειν, *beatificare* for μακαρίζειν, *magnalia* for μεγαλεῖα. Already existing words could be loaded with a new content: *mediator*, attested once in pagan literature (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 9.36.1, 'intermediary in a juridical

²⁹⁶ According to Antoine Meillet in his famous *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine*, Paris 1948, 273.

²⁹⁷ René Braun, "L'influence de la Bible sur la langue latine", in *Le monde latin antique et la Bible*, 129-142.

process'), was chosen to render μεσίτης, Christ's function as mediator between God and mankind. A new wordlist of basic concepts was shaped.²⁹⁸ Many of these words continued to live outside the biblical texts and could be enriched further with Latin suffixation: *plasmator*, *plasmatio* ('creator, creature'); σωτηρία ('salvation') translated *salus*, was expanded to a semantic cluster: *salvare*, *salvator*, *salvatio*.

2. Tertullian: inventiveness and productivity

In the beginning of the third century, a provisional theological terminology had already developed, the core of later Christian Latin.²⁹⁹ Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus (c. 155 – c. 220), a Christian apologist and polemicist in Roman Africa, was a scholar of eminent education, with a complete mastery of the Greek language. He was possibly a lawyer, even if that cannot be established with certainty. Traditionally he is considered as the originator of the Latin theological vocabulary, the foremost contribution being his innovation *trinitas*, a term expressing the Christian notion of the Godhead.³⁰⁰ Tertullian became the theological master of Cyprian (c. 210–258), as well as of Jerome (c. 345–420), and Augustine of Hippo (354–430). The citations of the Bible in Tertullian are many and highly personal, and in the edition av *Vetus Latina* prepared by the Beuron Institute, his quotations has been attributed a siglum of its own.³⁰¹ A number of lexemes were either created or first attested in his writings. It is not possible to establish, in the individual case, whether Tertullian was the originator of a neologism or just one of the first writers to use it.

His contribution to the Latin language has since long been the object of research. The latest study to my knowledge is Matthias Wellstein's thesis, with a most relevant title: *Nova Verba in Tertullians Schriften gegen die Häretiker aus montanistischer Zeit* (1999). After a thorough analysis, Wellstein concludes that a great many of the words first attested in Tertullian were not invented by himself,

²⁹⁸ René Braun, "L'influence de la Bible sur la langue latine", in *Le monde latin antique et la Bible*, 137-138.

²⁹⁹ Matthias Wellstein, *Nova Verba in Tertullians Schriften gegen die Häretiker aus montanistischer Zeit*, Stuttgart-Leipzig 1999, 330-333.

³⁰⁰ To what extent Tertullian was the creator of ecclesiastical Latin, or just an early witness of it, is a question much discussed ever since Eduard Norden's *Die antike Kunstprosa* II, 1918 (reprint Darmstadt 1974), 606 ff. For an overview of existing opinions, see Vincenzo Loi, "Origini e caratteristiche della latinità cristiana", *Supplemento n. 1 al Bollettino dei classici*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Roma 1978, 5-58, here 27-30.

³⁰¹ Jean Gribomont, "Les plus anciennes traductions", in *Le monde latin antique et la Bible*, 43-65.

but the number of Tertullian's own creations is nonetheless impressive. Many of these novel terms and verbs were designed in a very conscious stylistic intention (alliteration, rhythmical considerations, etc.) and several among them were translations of an identifiable Greek original, either etymologically exact calques, or free periphrases. The new vocables were to a great extent formed with a set of productive prefixes and suffixes, something that resulted in neologisms, easily and immediately understandable to the reader and listener. Markedly productive were *-tor*, *-trix*, *-tio* (*-sio*), and *-us* (second declension) among substantival suffixes, and *-(i)alis*, *-orius*, and *-bilis* among the adjectives. Only as a matter of exception Tertullian had recourse to suffixes otherwise not used in Late Antiquity.³⁰² Most of his new terms did not find an overall reception among Roman Christians, but they are often found in Augustine and Jerome, who are known for their intense reading of Tertullian.³⁰³

General remark: that a lexeme used by Tertullian already existed previously does not necessarily imply that it had the same denotation there as in Tertullian's writings. He often adopted an existing word but provided it with a new and very specific semantical content. The meaning of a Latin word chosen to express a biblical notion does not necessarily correspond to the profane signification of the (Greek or Latin) vocable in question. In a biblical context, a Latin lexeme could be charged by Tertullian with a denotation completely alien to its profane sense. Accordingly, *sacramentum*, 'oath, solemn obligation', has taken on a meaning corresponding to the Greek μυστήριον in its polysemic function in biblical and Christian Latin: 'arcane truth not attainable without divine revelation', 'God's plan with the creation', 'Christian instruction', 'typological prefiguration', 'ritual celebration', or even 'sacrament' in the modern understanding.

Other instances of the same phenomenon are e.g. *testamentum*, *confiteri*, *praedicare*, *praedicatio*, *passio*, *advocare*, *claritas*.³⁰⁴

The following survey comprises Tertullian's use of already existing vocables (noting the author who first employed the lexeme in question) as well as his neologisms (marked with the sign #). The abbreviation VL implies that the word appears in the *Vetus Latina* versions of the Bible.

Greek words following the entry indicate a potential, probable or verified Greek original of the Latin word in question.

³⁰² Wellstein, 331.

³⁰³ In his *Approches de Tertullien*, Paris 1992, René Braun ("Etat des travaux sur la langue de Tertullien") treats the use or introduction of some suffixes, like *-mentum/-tio*, *-bulum*, *-culum*, *-bundus*, etc. See also the tables and the index in Wellstein, 345 ff.

³⁰⁴ V. Loi, *Origini e caratteristiche della latinità cristiana*, 41 f.

2.1 Verbal formations

2.1.1 -*izo*

Loans in Latin of Greek verbs on -ίζειν were numerous in late Antiquity (Stotz, VI 104.2; see below, 277). In Tertullian, this development had only started: some instances were previously well established in biblical Latin (and sometimes rendered -*izo*, corresponding to -έω):

allegorizo 'to speak in allegories' ἀλληγορέω **3** (NT Gal 4,24 ἀλληγορούμενα)

baptizo VL 'to baptize' βαπτίζω **9** (**4** in LXX, **59** in NT)

catechizo VL 'to catechize' κατηχέω **3** (**7** in NT)

colaphizo VL 'to box on the ear' κολαφίζω **3** (**3** in NT)

evangelizo VL 'to evangelize' εὐαγγελίζω, εὐαγγελίζομαι **30** (**20** in LXX, **52** in NT)

sabbatizo 'to observe the sabbath' σαββατίζω **9** (**8** in LXX; in NT Heb 4,9 σαββατισμός)

scandalizo 'to cause to stumble' σκανδαλίζω **24** (**3** in LXX, **25** in NT).

2.1.2 -*fico(r)*

The factitive formations on -*ficare* were numerous in ante-classical Latin. The verbal element -*fico* was often added to the same substantival or adjectival stems as -*ficus* and -*fex*. This formation was exploited significantly in Christian Latin (Stotz, VI 110), not seldom in rendering Greek factitives, a tendency that in the MA would generate thousands of neologisms. This development was clearly manifested in its beginnings in Tertullian's writings.

In English: Latin verbs in -*ficare* may be divided into three classes, all of which are represented by adapted words: (1) verbs < nouns, with the sense 'to make, produce', as *pacifico* (originally intransitive 'to make peace') 'pacify', *aedifico* 'edify', or 'to make or convert into something', as *deifico* 'deify'; (2) < adjectives, with the sense 'to bring into a certain state', as *santifico* 'sanctify'; (3) < verb-stems, with causative sense, as *horrifico* 'horrify'. It is now used as the regular rendering of Latin -*ficare* in new words adopted from Latin or formed on assumable Latin types, and is also freely added to English adjectives and nouns to form verbs, mostly somewhat jocular or trivial, with the senses: 'to make a specified thing', as *specify*, 'to assimilate to the character of something' (chiefly in past participle, as *countrified*); 'to invest with certain attributes', as *frenchify*. A large proportion of these verbs are from nouns and adjectives ending in -y or -ey, the suffix then having the form -fy instead of the usual -ify. An early example is *beautify*, but the analogy on which this word was formed is not clear. In a few cases the suffix has been quite irregularly added to verb stems, but the words are either obsolete, as *dedify*, *hindrify*, *ornify*, or merely jocular or nonstandard, as *argufy*.

aedifico Plautus VL 'build' οἰκοδομέω **49**

carnifico Livius 'to torture, execute' **1**

castifico Seneca philosophus VL 'purify' ἀγνίζω **2**

fructifico Columella VL 'to bear fruit' καρποφορέω **2**, *fructificationes* **2**
lucrifico Seneca VL 'to gain, win' κερδαίνω **1**
ludifico Plautus 'to make a fool of; delude' ἐμπαίζω, διαπαίζω **1**
magnifico Plautus VL 'praise, glorify' μεγαλύνω **10**
purifico Pliny the elder VL 'cleanse, purify' ἀγνίζω, καθαροποιῶ **4**
sacrifico Plautus VL 'sacrifice' θύω **26**
significo Plautus 'signify, indicate' δηλόω **53**
testifcor Cicero 'attest, testify' μαρτυρέω **3**
velifico Afranius 'sail' ἱστιοδρομέω **2**
angelifico 'make similar to angels' **1**
clarifico VL 'make illustrious' δοξάζω, λαμπρύνω **2**
concorporifico 'unite in one body, incorporate' συσσωματοποιέω **1**
conglorifico VL συνδοξάζω **2**
contestifcor 'bear joint witness' συμμαρτυρέω **1**
glorifico VL 'to glorify' δοξάζω **23**
humilifico 'to make humble' ταπεινός **1**
iustifico VL 'to do justice to' δικαιώω **18**
mortifico VL 'kill, destroy, mortify' θανατόω **12**
multifico VL 'to increase' πληθύνω **1**
naturifico 'bring into being' φυσιόω **1**
nullifico 'to despice' ἐξουθενέω **1**
reaedifico VL 'to rebuild' ἀνοικοδομέω **5**
revivifico 'to restore to life' ἀναζωοποιέω **1**
salutifico* 'to save' (*salutificator* = σωτήρ **6, cf σωτηριοποιός)
sanctifico VL 'to sanctify' ἀγιάζω **29**
superaedifico VL 'to build upon' ἐποικοδομέω **1**
vivifico VL 'to restore to life' ζωοποιέω, ζωογονέω **31**

2.2 Adjectival suffixation

2.2.1 *-tōrius*

Leumann, 278; Stotz VI, 80. Adjectives on *-torius* (*-sorius*) could be deverbative (*piscatorius*) or denominative (*senatorius*); they functioned much like corresponding formations on *-τικός* in Greek. The substantivized neuter on *-orium* were in most cases deverbative, meaning rooms or receptacles (*deversorium*, *unctorium*), corresponding to Greek nouns on *-τήριον*. In Tertullian, such formations could denote a psychical faculty: *actorium*, *cogitatorium*, *motorium*. Mark the fact that most of these neologisms were used

once only, as if they were devised ad hoc, with recourse to an established pattern. This formation was exploited abundantly in the centuries to come.

On the analogy of early borrowings from Anglo-Norman, *-ory* came to be the normal English representation of classical Latin *-oria*, *-orium*, French *-oire*. The most numerous of these are adaptations of classical Latin neuter nouns in *-orium*, from adjectives in *-orius*, or formations of the same type. A few reflect Latin agent nouns in *-or* with the ending *-ia*, *-y*, e.g. *curatory n*. The earliest examples date from Middle English, e.g. *purgatory* (13th cent.), *oratory* (14th cent.), *dormitory* (15th cent.). Since 1700 few such words have appeared.

Some nouns with this element have doublets (generally more frequently used) in which the Latin form in *-orium* is retained, e.g. *auditory*, *crematory*, besides the more frequent *auditorium*, *crematorium*.

ambulatorius Bellum Alexandrinum 'movable' 1

meritorius Cicero 'that brings in money' μίσθιος 2

motorius Terence 'stirring' > *motorium* (below) 1

senatorius Livy 'senatorial' βουλευτικός 1

aedificatorius 'building up' 2

corruptorius 'perishable' 2 ≠ *incorruptorius* 1

dehortatorius 'dissuasive' 1

expugnatorius 'conquering' 1

generatorius 'relating to generation' 1

incorruptorius 'imperishable' 1

insultatorius 'scornful' 1

invitatorius 'inviting' 1

interpretatorius 'functioning as an interpretation' ἐρμηνευματικός 1

litteratorius 'grammatical' γραμματικός 1

pacatorius 'peace-promoting' εἰρηνικός 1

praemonitorius 'premonitory' προοιμακός 1

receptorius 'fit for receiving' δεκτικός 1

revelatorius 'belonging to revelation' ἀποκαλυπτικός 1

significatorius 'significatory' σημαντικός 1

structorius 'belonging to building' 1

triumphatorius 'triumphing' θριαμβευτικός 1

vocatorius 'invocatory' ἐκλητικός 1

2.2.1.1 *-tōrĭum*

conditorium Curtius Petronius 'repository' ἀποθήκη 1

opertorium Seneca philosophus VL 'enclosure, veil, cloak' περιβόλαιον 1

actorium n. 'faculty of action' τὸ δραστικόν, τὸ πρακτικόν 1
 # *cogitatorium* n. 'faculty of thinking' τὸ διανοητικόν, τὸ φροντιστήριον 3
 # *consistorium* 'place of assembly' συνέδριον 3
 # *motorium* 'faculty, power of motion' τὸ κινητικόν 1
 # *praemediatorium* 'place for preparation' τὸ παρασκευαστικόν 1
 # *sequestratorium* 'depository' κατάσχεσις 1

2.2.2 -ivus

Adjectives on *-ivus* had much the same function as those on *-torius* (-τικός in Greek). Originally formed on a passive *-to-* participle (*capt-ivus*), its use was extended to form adjectives of quality or belonging, often with a corresponding abstract noun on *-tio*. In Tertullian, the substantivized neuter can denote a psychical faculty, just like *-torium*: *concupiscentivum, indignativum*. Stotz, VI § 86. See below, 268 ff.

abortivus Horace VL 'born prematurely' ἔκτρωμα 2
adoptivus Cicero 'adoptive' υἱοθετός, εἰσποιητός 2
aestivus Cato 'pertaining to summer' θερινός 4
captivus Naevius 'captive' αἰχμαλωτός 9
conceptivus Varro 'received from elsewhere' 1, ≠ *substantivus* 10
definitivus Cicero 'definite' ὁριστικός 2
fugitivus Plautus 'fugitive, runaway' φυγὰς, δραπέτης 7
festivus Ennius 'festive, joyous' ἀστεῖος, ὠραῖος 2
furtivus Plautus 'hidden, invisible' κλεπτικός 5
lascivus Livius Andronicus 'licentious, lascivious' ἀκόλαστος, ἀσελγής 7
nativus Cicero 'native, inborn' ἔμφυτος, σύμφυτος 2
passivus (< *pando*) Apuleius 'general, common' 10
praeceptivus Seneca philosophus 'hortatory, didactic' 2
stativus Cicero 'stationary' στατός 2
subsicivus Lucilius Cicero 'of second order, inferior' 1
tempestivus Plautus 'timely, fitting; beautiful' ὠραῖος 8
comminativus 'threatening, menacing' ἀπειλητικός 1
confirmativus 'confirmative' ἐδραστικός 2
consubstantivus 'consubstantial' ὁμοούσιος 2
dubitativus 'doubtful' 2
imputativus 'imputative' 1
inenarrativus 'non adapted for relation' ἄρρητος 1
insubditivus 'not subject to' ἀπαθής 1
interrogativus 'interrogative' ἐρωτηματικός, πευστικός 1

- # *ordinativus* 'signifying order' 1
- # *potestativus* 'denoting power' 1
- # *recidivus* 'returning, recurring' 4
- # *putativus* 'putative' 10
- # *substantivus* 'self-existent, substantive' ὑπαρκτικός 10

2.2.2.1 -*ivum*

- donativum* Tacitus, Suetonius 'largesse, donative' 7
- # *concupiscentivum* 'the faculty of desiring' τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν 3
- # *indignativum* 'the irascible instinct' τὸ θυμικόν 4
- # *corruptivum* 'corruptible, perishable' τὸ φθαρτόν 10
- # *distantivum* 'that which constitutes a distance' τὸ διαστατόν 1
- # *incentivum* 'that excites, attracts' 1
- # *recidivum* 'returning, recurring' (*de recidivo* 'anew') 4

2.2.2.2 -*iva*

- praerogativa* Cicero 'prerogative, privilege' 20

2.2.3 -(i)*ālis*

In classical Latin, secondary adjectives in *-ālis* were formed on other adjectives (especially when these were used as nouns), e.g. *aequalis*, *annualis*, *perpetualis*, *vernalis*.

In Tertullian there was a beginning towards a clear terminologization with the help of the highly established suffix *-(i)ālis*, which was easily added to nominal stems, often of abstract nouns, also with a tendency to form corresponding adverbs, abstracts and antonyms (*corporalis*, *-iter*, *itas*; ≠ *incorporalis*, *-iter*, *-itas*). Mark: *agnit-ionalis*, *condicionalis*, *passionalis*, *portionalis*, *rationalis*, a type of formation which would be utilized extensively in later Latinity. Stotz, VI § 75, counts it among the *Modesuffixen* in the Middle Ages.

The regular development of the reflex of classical Latin *-ālis* in Old French and Anglo-Norman was *-el*, but from an early date *-al* is also found, owing to classicizing influence. This variation is also reflected in Middle English, compare e.g. *mortal*. In modern French both *-el* and *-al* are found (both in words formed on French bases, e.g. *mondial*, *fonctionnel*, and in words borrowed from Latin or formed in French on Latin bases, e.g. *matrimonial*, *paternel*).

Borrowings and adaptations of French and Latin adjectives are found from early in the Middle English period, e.g. *capital*, *general*, *special*. Formations in *-alis* were increasingly common in scientific Latin. Following this model, the suffix has become highly productive in English (as in French), being added very freely either directly to Latin nouns or to English nouns ultimately of Latin origin, e.g. *basal*, *circumstantial*, *constitutional*, *denominational*, *documental*, *longitudinal*, *providential*. In English *-al* is also suffixed freely to nouns ultimately of Greek origin, as in *microcosmal*, *octagonal*, *podagral*.

Such formations became common in French, e.g. *celestial, eternal, infernal, paternal*. This process has been greatly extended in English, where *-al* (like *-ous*) is freely applied to Latin adjectives in *-eus, -is, -ius, -rnus, -uus*, and other endings, as e.g. in *aerial, corporeal, funereal, magnificent, terrestrial*. This probably originated in the desire to give a more distinctively adjectival form to borrowed adjectives, the selection of *-al* being determined by its frequency in post-classical Latin. Suffixation in *-al* is very frequent in English borrowings of Latin adjectives in *-ōrius*: *-ory* and, especially, Latin adjectives in *-icus*: *-ic* (ultimately of Greek origin), examples of which are found already in late Middle English, e.g. *philosophical, poetical, prognostical*.

Nouns in *-ālia* (neuter plural) which survived into Old French became *-aille* (feminine singular) with plural *-ailles*, adopted in Middle English as *-aylle, -aille, -aile*, and finally assimilated completely to *-al*, e.g. classical Latin *sponsalia*, Anglo Norman *esposailles, esposalles, spousailles*, English *spousal*. The noun *arrival* is an analogous formation in Anglo-Norman.

- aequalis* Ennius 'equal, like' ἴσος, πᾶρισος **5**, ≠ *inaequalis* **6**, *aequaliter* **4**, *aequalitas* **6**
animalis Pacuvius 'animate, living' ψυχικός, ἔμψυχος **138**, ≠ *inanimalis* **12**
annalis Lucilius 'annual' ἐνιαυσιαῖος **5**
bacchanalis Plautus 'relating to Bacchus' **1**
capitalis Naevius 'capital, pre-eminent' κεφαλικός **6**
cerealis Virgil 'pertaining to Ceres, agriculture' **1**
coaequalis Columella 'coequal' **6**
coniugalis Valerius Maximus 'conjugal' ὁμόζυγος **2**
Consualia Livy 'festival of Consus' **2**
corporalis Seneca philosophus 'corporeal' σωματικός **113**, ≠ *incorporalis* **49**, *corporaliter* **9**, *corporalitas* **10**
dotalis Plautus 'dotal' **4**
exitialis Lucretius 'fatal, deadly' ὀλέθριος **1**
fabalis Cato 'bean-' **1**
fatalis Lucretius 'ordained by fate, deadly' μοιρίδιος, εἰμαρμένος **1**
floralis Ennius 'pertaining to Flora' **1**
formalis Pliny the Elder 'formal' **1**
generalis Cicero 'generic, general' γενικός **21**, ≠ *specialis* **10**, *generaliter* **10**
genitalis Ennius 'generative, genital' γεννητικός **13**, ≠ *sterilis* **12**
hospitalis Plautus 'hospitable' ξένιος, ξενικός **4**
immortalis Ennius 'immortal, imperishable' ἀθάνατος **55**, *immortalitas* ἀθανασία **34**
inaequalis Livy 'unequal' ἄνισος **6**, *inaequalitas* ἀνισότης **5**
inanimalis Seneca philosophus 'inanimate' ἄψυχος **12**
incorporalis Seneca philosophus 'incorporeal, bodiless' ἀσώματος **49**, *incorporaliter* **2**, *incorporalitas* **2**
irrationalis Seneca philosophus 'irrational' ἄλογος **19**, *irrationaliter* **3**

legalis Quintilian 'legal' νομικός **9**
liberalis Naevius 'magnificent, liberal' ἐλευθέριος **14**, *liberalitas* **21**
litoralis Catullus 'belonging to a sea-shore' ἀκταῖος **1**
localis Varro? Scaurus 'local' τοπικός **7**, *localiter* **2**
manualis Sisenna 'for washing hands' **1**
maritalis Ovid 'nuptial, conjugal' γαμικός **3**
matronalis Livy 'belonging to matrons' **2**
medicinalis Celsus 'medical, medicinal' ἰατρικός **2**
meridialis Aulus Gellius 'of mid-day' μεσημβρινός **1**
minervalis (*Minervalia*) Varro 'belonging to Minerva' **2**
minutalis Petronius 'small, insignificant' **3**
modialis Plautus 'containing a *modius*' **1**
moralis Cicero 'moral' ἠθικός **4**, *moralitas* **1**
mortalis Naevius 'mortal' θνητός, βροτός **66**, ≠ *immortalis* **55**, *mortalitas* **11**
municipalis Cicero 'municipal' **4**
natalis Plautus 'natal' γενέθλιος **12**
naturalis Ennius 'natural' φυσικός **86**, *naturaliter* **12**, *naturalitas* **2**, ≠ *extranaturalis* **2**
neptunalis Ennius 'Neptunian' **1**
nuptialis Plautus 'belonging to a marriage, nuptial' γαμικός **7**
officialis Apuleius 'belonging to duty, official' **4**
orientalis Aulus Gellius 'oriental' ἀνατολικός **4**
originalis Apuleius 'primitive, original' ἀρχικός **8**
parricidalis Petronius 'parricidal, murderous' φονικός **1**
pedalis Cato 'of a foot' ποδιαῖος **1**
personalis Gellius 'personal' προσωπικός **5**, *personaliter* **2**
poenalis Pliny the Elder 'penal' **3**
principalis Cicero 'original, primitive, principal' **63** ἡγεμονικός, *principaliter* **11**, *principalitas* **5**
provincialis Cicero 'provincial' ἐπαρχεϊτικός **2**
quirinalis Cicero 'belonging to Quirinus' **1**
rationalis Celsus 'reasonable, rational' **55** λογικός, *rationaliter* **6**, *rationalitas* **1**, ≠ *irrationalis* **19**
regalis Naevius 'royal, regal' βασιλικός **2**
rivalis Naevius 'rival' **1**, *rivalitas* **1**
sacerdotalis Velleius Paterculus 'sacerdotal, priestly' ἱερατικός **10**
saturnalis 'belonging to Saturn' Novius **6**
seminalis Columella 'seminal' σπερματικός **2**

specialis Columella 'particular, special' ειδικός **10**, *specialiter* **14** ($\neq$ *generaliter* **12**),
specialitas **1**
sponsalis Cicero 'spousal, sponsal' νυμφικός **5**
subdivalis Pliny the Elder 'that is in the open air' ὑπαιθρος, υπαίθτριος **2**
temporalis Varro 'temporary, temporal' επικαιρός, ἔγχρονος **39**, *temporaliter* **1**,
temporalitas **2**
terminalis Cicero 'belonging to boundaries' **1**
triumphalis Cicero 'triumphal' θριαμβευτικός **2**
universalis 'of the whole, universal' καθολικός Quintilian **5**
venalis Plautus 'for sale, venal' ὄνιος **4**
vitalis Ennius 'vital' βιώσιμος **10**
vocalis Cicero 'endowed with speech, vocal' φωνήεις **5**, *vocaliter* **1**
aeditualis 'pertaining to a temple-keeper' **1**
aeternalis VL 'enduring forever' αἰώνιος **1**
agnitionalis 'cognizable, cognitive' **1** $\neq$ *substantialis*
carnalis VL 'carnal' σαρκικός **48**, *carnaliter* **12** $\neq$ *spiritaliter* **16**, $\neq$ *spiritalis* **152**
censualis 'pertaining to a census' **1**
circumcordialis 'around the heart' περικάρδιος **2**
concubitalis 'pertaining to sexual intercourse' **1**
condicionalis 'conditional' ὑποθετικός **10**, *condicionaliter* **3**
conformalis VL 'conformable, like, similar' σύμμορφος **3**
consubstantialis VL 'consubstantial' ὁμοούσιος **1** (cf Marius Victorinus, below)
contemporalis 'contemporary' ὁμόχρονος, σύγχρονος **5**
decurialis 'belonging to a *decuria*' **1**
extranaturalis 'beyond nature' **2**
flaturalis 'containing air' **1**
imperialis 'imperial' αὐτοκρατορικός **1**
incendialis 'fire-' **1**
intellectualis 'intellectual, related to understanding' νοερός, νοητός **15**,
intellectualitas **1**
magnalia VL 'mighty works or words' τὰ μεγάλα, μεγαλεῖα **1**
massalis 'that constitutes a mass' **2**, # *massaliter* **2**
materialis 'material' ὑλικός $\neq$ *animalis* ψυχικός Pacuvius, $\neq$ *spiritalis*
πνευματικός Vitruvius **13**
mundialis VL 'wordly, mundane' κοσμικός **10**
Nudipedalia 'barefoot festival' γυμνοπόδια **2**

- # *partualis* 'belonging to bearing or birth' 1
- # *passionalis* 'susceptible of passion' παθητικός 3
- # *portionalis* VL 'partial' μερικός 4
- # *primogenitalis, primigenitalis* 'original' πρωτοτοκεῖος 1
- # *primordialis* 'first of all, primordial, original' 7
- # *sapientialis* 'belonging to wisdom' 2
- # *sensualis* 'sensitive, sensual' αἰσθητός 10, ≠ *intellectualis* 15, *sensualitas* 2
- # *spiritalis* 'spiritual' πνευματικός 152, ≠ *carnalis* 48, *spiritualiter* 16 ≠ *carnaliter* 12
- # *substantialis* 'essential, substantial' οὐσιώδης 1, *substantialiter* 2 ≠ *personaliter* 1
- # *substantivalis* 'substantial' ὑπαρκτικός 1
- # *superficialis* 'superficial' 1
- # *supermundialis* 'above the world, supermundane' ὑπερκόσμιος 1
- # *testimonialis* 'serving as evidence' 1
- # *umbilicalis (umbilicaris?)* 'umbilical' 1

2.2.4 -*ābilis, -ibilis*

Leumann, § 312 (and cf above, p. 143 ff.); Stotz, VI, § 85. The suffix *-bilis* is one of the most productive in Latin; Cicero has 63 such formations. Tertullian used 70 formerly known items and added 73, possibly invented by himself, many of them having a Greek corresponding verbal adjective on -τός. They are almost always passive, expressing a possibility or aptitude or fitness to undergo the verbal action (exceptions are *debilis, favorabilis, flebilis, placibilis, stabilis, terribilis*). In the vocabulary of Tertullian, this formation creates a rich spectrum of attributes; *-bilis* could apparently lend itself to formalization and, in principle and if need were, be combined infinitely with any transitive verbal stems (*strangulabilis*!), and it could be transformed easily into antonyms by means of the negative prefix *in-*. This seemingly infinite formability was to be exploited massively in periods to come, in Latin and its derivative languages (in English *-able* or *-ible*), to express potentiality, capacity for, capability of, or being subject to, or performing the action implied by the verbal compound. Adjectives with the negative prefix *in-* (*il-, im-, ir-*), corresponding to the Greek privative ἀ- (ἀν-, δυσ-) form a conspicuous group.

The French suffix *-able* occurs in a great number of adjectives, both in formations within French and in loans from Latin (e.g. *capable, mirable, potable*); both types are found from the 12th cent. The vast majority of formations within French (including all modern French formations) have always been deverbal. From verbs belonging to the first French conjugation in *-er* (< Latin *-āre*), the suffix was extended in French at an early date to form adjectives from verbs of all other conjugations; compare e.g. *nourissable, périssable* (from verbs in *-ir*), *mouvable* (from a verb in *-oir*), *défendable, vendable* (from verbs in *-re*).

From the Middle English period onwards, the suffix is found in a large number of adjectives borrowed from French, apparently earliest in the early 13th cent. in *merciable*, and subsequently in many other loanwords and adaptations, e.g. *perdurable, movable*,

measurable, agreeable, changeable, pleasurable, etc. Less numerous are adjectives borrowed immediately from Latin, e.g. *passionable*, and adjectives borrowed from both Latin and French, e.g. *profitable*.

From these types, the suffix was soon extended to the derivation of deverbal adjectives within English, as shown clearly by hybrid formations on bases ultimately of Germanic origin (e.g. *unspeakable, takable*, etc.), and probably also by formations on bases of Romance origin which are not paralleled in French (e.g. *praisable, prayable*). Formations within English became very numerous during the early modern English period (e.g. *bearable, breakable, wearable*, etc.), and further loans from French and Latin continued unabated.

Subsequently the suffix was extended to form denominal adjectives such as *saleable* (first half of the 16th cent.), *marriageable, carriageable* (both second half of the 16th cent.), etc.

Many adjectives in *-able* have negative counterparts in *un-*, and some of these are attested much earlier than their positive counterparts, the chronological difference being especially great in the case of *unthinkable*.

commendabilis Livy 'commendable' 2

comprehensibilis Celsus Seneca philosophus 'conceivable' κατάληπτος (cf *comprehendibilis* Cicero) ἐπιλήψιμος 3, ≠ *incomprehensibilis* 5

credibilis 'credible' Plautus πιστός 19, ≠ *incredibilis* 18

culpabilis Apuleius 'worthy of blame' 1

debilis Plautus 'feeble, frail, weak' ἀσθενής 6, *debilitas* 1

detestabilis Cicero 'abominable' ἀποτρόπαιος, στυγητός 1

dissolubilis Cicero 'dissoluble' διαλυτός 5, ≠ *indissolubilis* 2

docibilis Seneca philosophus VL 'teachable' εὐδίδακτος, εὐμαθής 1

donabilis Plautus 'that deserves to be presented with' χαριστικός 1

exoptabilis Plautus 'desirable, desired' αἰρετός 1

explicabilis Seneca philosophus 'explicable' 1

expugnabilis Livy 'expugnable' εὐάλωτος, εὐκαταμάχητος 1

exsecrabilis Accius 'exsecrable' ἐπάρατος, κατάρατος 1

favorabilis Velleius Paterculus 'pleasing, agreeable' 1

flebilis Accius 'tearful, doleful' πένθιμος, κλάυσιμος 1

formidabilis Ovid 'terrible, formidable' ἐπίφοβος 1

habilis Ennius 'fit, proper for' ἐπιτήδειος 7, ≠ *inhabilis* 1

habitalis Cicero VL 'habitable' οἰκητός 2

honorabilis Cicero 'honorable' τίμιος, ἔνδοξος 7

ignobilis Livius Andronicus 'undistinguished, obscure' ἄ-γνωστος, ἄ-σημος 9, *ignobilitas* 5

ignorabilis Cicero 'unknown' ἄ-γνωστος 2

ignoscibilis Aulus Gellius 'excusable' συγγνωστός 1

im-mobilis Cicero 'immovable' ἀ-κίνητος 10

im-possibilis Quintilian 'impossible' ἄ-δύνατος 9
in-aestimabilis Cicero 'that cannot be estimated' 3
in-comparabilis Pliny the Elder 'incomparable' ἄ-σύγκριτος 3
in-comprehensibilis Celsus Seneca philosophus 'incomprehensible, inconceivable' ἄ-κατάληπτος 5
in-credibilis Plautus 'incredible' ἄ-πιστος, δύσ-πιστος, ἄ-πειθής 18
in-dissolubilis Cicero 'indissoluble' ἄ-λυτος 2
in-eluctabilis Virgil 'unavoidable, inevitable' ἄ-καταμάχητος, δυσ-καταγώνιστος 1
in-enarrabilis Livy 'indescribable' ἄν-εκδιήγητος, ἄ-διήγητος 2
in-exorabilis Pacuvius Terence 'inexorable' ἄ-παραίτητος 1
in-explicabilis Cicero 'inexplicable' ἄ-διάλυτος, ἄ-πορος 2
in-exstinguibilis Varro VL 'unextinguishable' ἄ-σβεστος 2
in-extricable Varro Virgil 'inextricable' ἄ-κατάτριπτος, ἄν-εξερεύνητος 1
in-fatigabilis Valerius Maximus 'indefatigable' ἄ-σκυλτος, ἄ-κοπίατος 1
in-habilis Livy 'unfit, incapable' ἄ-θετος, ἄν-επιτήδειος 1
in-nominabilis Apuleius 'that cannot be named, nameless' ἄν-ωνόμαστος, ἄ-κατωνόμαστος 1
in-numerabilis Cicero RH 'countless, innumerable' ἄν-αρίθμητος 1
in-satiabilis Cicero 'insatiable' ἄ-κόρεστος, ἄ-χόρταστος 1
in-sensibilis Aulus Gellius 'insensible, inperceptible' ἄν-αίσθητος 2
in-stabilis Pacuvius 'unstable, unsteady' ἄ-βέβαιος, ἄ-σταθής 4
in-superabilis Virgil 'unsurmountable, unavoidable, inevitable' ἄ-δάμαστος 1
in-tolerabilis Plautus 'insupportable, intolerable' ἄ-τλητος, δύσ-οιστος 4
in-visibilis Celsus 'invisible' ἄ-όρατος 82, *invisibiliter* 2
ir-rationabilis Quintilian 'irrational' ἄ-λογος 2, *irrationabiliter* 1
ir-revocabilis Lucretius 'irrevocable' ἄν-απότρεπτος 1
lacrimabilis Virgil 'lamentable' δακρυτέος, πολύδακρυς 1
laudabilis Cicero RH 'laudable' αἰνετός 1
memorabilis Plautus 'memorable, remarkable' ἀξιομνημόνευτος, λόγιμος 2
mirabilis Plautus 'marvellous, admirable' θαυμαστός 2
miserabilis Catullus 'miserable, pitiable' ἐλεεινός 6
mobilis Plautus 'moveable, changeable' εὐκίνητος 8, *mobilitas* 3, ≠ *immobilis* 10
mutabilis Virgil 'changeable, mutable' μεταβλητικός, εὐμετάβολος 5
optabilis Livius Andronicus Plautus 'desirable' αἰρετός, ἔπευκτος 2
penetrabilis Virgil 'penetrable' πόριμος, διαπρύσιος 1
placabilis Cicero RH 'placable, that can be appeased' δεκτός 1
placibilis VL 'that can please, pleasing' εὐάρεστος 3
possibilis Quintilian 'possible' δυνατός 3, ≠ *impossibilis* 9
probabilis Lucius Afranius 'credible, probable' πιθανός 8

propitiabilis Ennius 'propitiable, easy to appease' εὐύλατος, εὐπαραιμύθητος **1**
remeabilis Aratus Latinus Statius 'that comes back, returning' **1**
revocabilis Ovid 'revocable' **2**
revolubilis Ovid 'that may be rolled back' ἑλικός, ἐπίτροχος **2**
sensibilis Lucretius 'sensible, perceived by the senses' αἰσθητός **2**
stabilis Plautus 'durable, stable' βέβαιος **3**, ≠ *instabilis* **4**
terribilis Ennius 'dreadful, terrible' φοβερός **3**
tolerabilis Terence 'bearable, tolerable' εὐφώρητος **7**
visibilis Pliny the Elder 'visible' ὁρατός **46**, *visibilitas* **2**, ≠ *invisibilis* **82**
acceptabilis 'acceptable' εὐπρόσδεκτος **4**
accessibilis 'accessible' εὐπρόσιτος **1**, *accessibilitas* **1**, ≠ # *inaccessibilis* **2**
agnoscibilis 'that can be known, cognizable' γνώριμος **1**
apprehensibilis 'intelligible' κατάληπτος **3**, ≠ # *inapprehensibilis* **3**
blasphemabilis 'that deserves reproach, censurable' **1**
commiscibilis 'that can be mingled' **1**, ≠ # *incommiscibilis* **1**
concussibilis 'that can be shaken' **1**
conservabilis 'that can be preserved' **1**
contemptibilis VL 'contemptible' ἐξουθενημένος **5**, ≠ # *incontemptibilis* **2**
contradicibilis 'that may be contradicted' ἐναντιωτικός **2**, ≠ # *incontradicibilis* **1**
contrectabilis 'that may be felt' **1**
convertibilis 'changeable' ἀλλοιωτός **4**, ≠ # *inconvertibilis* **3**
coodibilis 'likewise hateful' συνταλαίπωρος, συμμισούμενος **2**
corruptibilis VL 'corruptible, perishable' φθαρτός **2**, *corruptibilitas* **1**, ≠ # *incorruptibilis* **3**
demutabilis 'changeable' μεταβλητικός, εὐμετάβολος **3**, ≠ # *indemutabilis* **4**
determinabilis 'that has an end, finite' **1**, ≠ # *indeterminabilis* **1**
dispartibilis 'divisible' διαιρετός **2**
divisibilis 'divisible' διαιρετός **2**, ≠ # *indivisibilis* **4**
expiabilis 'that can be atoned for' **1**
ex(s)pectabilis 'to be expected, expected' **1**
fastidibilis 'loathsome, disagreeable' **1**
fatigabilis 'that may be wearied' **1**
il-laesibilis 'invulnerable' ἀ-κράτητος **1**
im-marcessibilis VL 'unfading' ἀ-μάραντος, ἀ-μαράντινος **1**
im-mundabilis 'that cannot be cleansed' **1**
im-passibilis 'incapable of passion' ἀ-παθής **5**, ≠ # *passibilis* **10**

im-portabilis VL 'insupportable' δυσ-βάστακτος 2
 # *in-accessibilis* VL 'inaccessible, unapproachable' ἄ-βατος, ἄ-πρόσιτος 2
 # *in-apprehensibilis* 'incomprehensible' ἄ-κατάληπτος 3
 # *in-commiscibilis* 'that cannot be mixed' ἄ-μικτος 1
 # *in-concessibilis* 'inadmissible' ἄ-θέμιστος 1
 # *in-congressibilis* 'unapproachable' ἄ-πρόσιτος 1
 # *in-contaminabilis* 'that cannot be defiled' ἄ-χραντος 2
 # *in-contemplabilis* 'that cannot be looked upon' 2
 # *in-contemptibilis* 'not contemptible' 1
 # *in-contradicibilis* 'that cannot be contradicted' ἀν-αντίρρητος 1
 # *in-convertibilis* 'unchanged' ἄ-τρεπτος 3
 # *in-corruptibilis* VL 'incorruptible' ἄ-φθαρτος 3, *in-corruptibilitas* 10, # *corruptibilis* 2
 # *incusabilis* 'blameworthy' 1
 # *in-demutabilis* 'unchangeable' 4
 # *in-determinabilis* 'indeterminable' 1
 # *in-divisibilis* 'indivisible' ἄ-διαίρητος 4, *indivisibiliter* 1
 # *in-emeribilis* 'that cannot be merited' 1
 # *in-enatabilis* 'from which one cannot swim out' 1
 # *in-excogitabilis* 'inconceivable' ἀν-εννόητος 1
 # *in-formabilis* 'insusceptible of form' ἀν-είδεος 1
 # *in-interpretabilis* VL 'inexplicable' ἀν-ερμήνευτος, δυσ-ερμήνευτος 1
 # *in-inventibilis* 'inscrutable' ἀν-εξερεύνητος 1
 # *in-investigabilis* 'unsearchable' ἀν-εξεραύνητος 4
 # *in-nascibilis* 'that cannot be born' ἄ-γέννητος 1
 # *in-obscurabilis* 'that cannot be obscured' 1
 # *ir-recuperabilis* 'irrecoverable, irreparable' 1
 # *ir-reformabilis* 'unalterable' 3
 # *ir-remissibilis* 'unpardonable, irremissible' 7
 # *ir-respirabilis* 'in which one cannot breathe' 1
 # *inter-emptibilis* 'that can be destroyed' 1
 # *inter-ibilis* 'perishable, mortal' φθαρτός 5
 # *in-terminabilis* VL 'endless, interminable' ἄ-πέραντος 2
 # *in-vestigabilis* VL 'that cannot be searched into' ἀν-εξιχνίαστος 2
 # *in-vincibilis* VL 'invincible' ἀν-υπέρβλητος 1

in-vituperabilis VL 'unblamable' ἄ-μωμος **5**
ir-reprehensibilis VL 'irreprehensible' ἀν-επίλημπτος **2**
iterabilis 'that may be repeated' **1**
nascibilis 'that can be born' γενητός **2**
noscibilis 'knowable' γνώριμος, γνωστός **1**
passibilis 'capable of suffering' παθητός **10**, *passibiliter* **1**, ≠ *# impassibilis* **5**
pollucibilis 'sumptuous, magnificent' **1**
properabilis 'hasty, rapid' **1**, ≠ *# tardabilis* **1**
recusabilis 'that should be rejected' **1**
remissibilis 'pardonable, remissible' **5**, ≠ *# irremissibilis* **7**
revincibilis 'that may be disproved' **1**
strangulabilis 'that can be strangled' **1**
tardabilis 'that renders slow' **1**
temptabilis 'liable to temptation' **1**
transfigurabilis 'transfigurable, transformable' **1**
usurpabilis 'that may be used' **1**

2.2.5 -*ēus*

Leumann, 271. Stotz VI, § 72. This suffix indicates normally what material an object consists or is made of. It could sometimes be part of a loanword (*araneus*, *balneum*, *teloneum*, below), or denote the origin of a person. It was very moderately productive in the Middle Ages (*instantaneus*, *capitaneus*).

aeneus Naevius 'of bronze' **3**
araneus Plautus 'spider' ἀραχνός, ἀράχνη **3**
balneum, *balneae* Varro 'bath' βαλανεῖον **16**
coccineus Petronius 'scarlet-coloured' **2**
consanguineus Pacuvius 'related by blood' σύναιμος, ὄμαιμος **1**
corneus Cato VL 'of horn' κεράτινος **3**
eburneus Cicero 'of ivory' ἐλεφάντινος **1**
erroneus (< *erro* 'person absent without leave') Seneca rhetor 'wandering about, straying' πλάνης, πλάνος **1**
ficulneus Cato VL 'of the fig tree' **2**
idoneus [unexplained] Plautus 'suitable, apt' δόκιμος **33**
igneus Laevius 'fiery, ardent' ἔμπυρος, πυρώδης **10**
ligneus Plautus 'wooden' ξύλινος **3**
niveus Naevius RH 'snow-white, snowy' νιφόεις **1**, *nivesco* **1**
spineus Virgil 'thorny' ἀκάνθινος **1**

carneus VL 'of flesh, carnal' 20

teloneum VL 'custom-house' τελώνιον 2

2.2.6 -*ānēus*

This formation occurs as deverbative (*supervacaneus*, *consentaneus*), from past participles (*conditaneus*, *reiectaneus*), formed on temporal or local adverbs and adverbials (*subitaneus*, *praesentaneus*, *momentaneus*, *temporaneus*; *subterraneus*), etc. Leumann, § 272, 3.

In English attested earliest in the 15th and 16th centuries in borrowings from Latin, e.g. *momentaneous*, *membraneous*, *cutaneous*. Formations within English are very rare.

coaetaneus Apuleius VL 'of the same age, contemporary' συνηλικιώτης 7

collactaneus VL 'foster-brother' σύντροφος, συγγάλακτος 1

consentaneus Plautus 'agreeing, according' ακόλουθος, συγγνώμων 5

extraneus Cicero RH 'extraneous, foreign' ἀλλότριος, ἐξώτικος, 122

ianeus? 'janitor' θυρωρός 1

miscellaneous Petronius 'mixed; a writing on miscellaneous subjects' 1

subterraneus Cicero 'underground, subterranean' 6

calcaneum VL 'heel' πτέρνα 1

consecraneus 'initiated in the same mysteries' συμμύστης 1

momentaneus VL 'of brief duration' πρόσκαιρος 7

subaqueaneus 'subaqueous' 1

temporaneus 'timely; early' πρόιμος 1

transfretaneus 'transmarine' 1

2.2.7 -*icus* (of Greek origin, except proper names and adjectives of origin)

Stotz, VI, 69. Adjectives on -*icus* could be of Latin (*civicus*, *classicus*, *erraticus*, *publicus*, *domesticus*, *aquaticus*) or of Greek origin. In Tertullians writings, all formations are based on Greek stems, as parts of a theological terminology meaning 'after the manner of, pertaining to'. For an extensive discussion, see below, 249 ff.

academicus Cicero 'relating to the Academy' 4

climactericus Pliny the Younger 'pertaining to a critical epoch' κλιμακτηρικός 1

comicus Plautus 'pertaining to comedy' κωμικός 6

cynicus Scribonius Largus 'Cynic' κυνικός 2

dialecticus Cicero 'belonging to disputation, dialectical' διαλεκτικός 3

grammaticus Bibaculus RH 'grammatical, grammarian' γραμματικός 6

gymnicus Cicero 'gymnastic' γυμνικός 1

historicus Cicero 'historical, historian' ιστορικός 2

hydraulicus Vitruvius 'hydraulic, belonging to water-organ' υδραυλικός **1**
magicus Verg Horace 'magic' μαγικός **2**
mathematicus Cicero 'mathematical; astrologer' μαθηματικός **5**, *mathematice* **1**
metallicus Scribonius Largus 'metallic' μεταλλικός **1**
methodicus Quintilian 'methodical' μεθοδικός **1**
musicus Plautus 'belonging to music or poetry' μουσικός **3**
nauticus Cicero 'belonging to ships or sailors, nautical' ναυτικός **2**
palaestricus Plautus 'belonging to the palaestra' παλαιστρικός **2**
paralyticus Scribonius Largus 'paralytic' παραλυτικός **11**
peripateticus Cicero 'Peripatetic' περιπατητικός **2**
phreneticus Cicero 'delirious, frantic' φρενητικός **1**
physicus Cicero 'natural, physical' φυσικός **17**
plasticus Vitruvius 'belonging to modelling, plastic' πλαστικός **5**
philosophicus Cicero 'philosophic' φιλοσοφικός **3**
poeticus Cato 'poetic, poetical' ποιητικός **9**
pompaticus Apuleius 'pompous, splendid' (cf πομπικός 'stately, magnificent, impressive') **2**
pythagoricus Livy 'Pythagorean' πυθαγορικός **7**
scaenicus Cicero 'scenic, theatrical' σκηνικός **7**
scholasticus Quintilian 'belonging to a school, teacher' σχολαστικός **1**
stoicus Cicero 'Stoic' στωικός **25**
tragicus Plautus 'belonging to tragedy, tragic' τραγικός **4**
tyrannicus Cicero 'tyrannous, tyrannical' τυραννικός **2**
agonisticus 'relating to public games' αγωνιστικός **2**
allegoricus 'allegorical' αλληγορικός **16**, # *allegorice* **4**
angelicus 'angelic' αγγελικός **20**
apologeticus 'suitable for defence, apologetic' απολογητικός **1** (book title)
apostaticus 'relating to apostacy' αποστατικός **1**
apostolicus 'apostolic' αποστολικός **44**, *apostolice* **1**
authenticus 'original, genuine' αυθεντικός **5**
catabolicus 'possessed person' καταβολικός **1**
catharticus 'cathartic, purifying' καθαρτικός **1**
catholicus 'universal, relating to all' καθολικός **8**, *catholice* **1**
choicus 'of earth or clay' χοϊκός **18**
daemonicus 'demoniac' δαιμονικός **6**
ecclesiasticus 'ecclesiastical' ἐκκλησιαστικός **14**
ethnicus 'pagan' ἐθνικός **100**, *etnice* **1**

evangelicus 'evangelical' εὐαγγελικός 10
 # *gnosticus* 'gnostic' γνωστικός 3
 # *haereticus* 'haeretical' αἰρετικός 191, # *haeretice* 6
 # *idioticus* 'uneducated, ignorant' ἰδιωτικός 1
 # *laicus* 'lay, layman' λαϊκός 13
 # *leviticus* VL 'belonging to the levites' λευιτικός 8
 # *mythicus* 'fabulous, mythical' μυθικός 8
 # *physiologicus* 'belonging to physiology' φυσιολογικός 1, # *physiologie* 1
 # *platonicus* 'Platonic' πλατωνικός 19
 # *propheticus* VL 'prophetic, prophetic' προφητικός 29, # *prophetic* 3
 # *pseudopropheticus* 'pseudo-prophetic' ψευδοπροφητικός 1
 # *psychicus* 'animal, carnal, carnally inclined' ψυχικός 23
 # *pythonicus* 'magical' πυθωνικός 2
 # *typicus* 'typic, symbolic, allegoric' τυπικός 1
 # *xysticus* 'belonging to a xystus (a covered portico)' ξυστικός 4

3 Substantival formations

3.1 *-tor, -sor*

Deverbative nomina agentis on *-tor, -sor* were formed in large numbers throughout all of Latinity, including the Renaissance, and it remained productive in Romance: it. *-tore*, sp. *-dor*, fr. *-eur*, etc.; Leumann, § 365, 3 E; Stotz, VI § 33; above, 133 ff. Tertullian multiplied the formations on *-tor* for different aspects of God as an agent. He had an essentialistic predilection for such nouns and contributed considerably to this group; many of his novelties seem to have been nonce words (*furator, praesumptor, transfigurator*), whereas other have come to stay (*peccator, persecutor, salvator*). This formation pretty much corresponds to Greek formations on *-εύς*, common since the beginning of written tradition, and meaning male persons occupied with some profession in a certain place (ἱππέυς, κεραμεύς, χαλκεύς, ἱερέυς) or *-της* as nomen agentis, or more seldom *-τώρ* (γονεύς, γενήτης, ῥήτωρ); Schwyzler, p. 476 f., and 530 f.

This suffix is not productive in English but is present in the following classes of nouns: (1) In agent nouns representing classical or post-classical Latin agent nouns other than those with a vowel preceding the *-tor* suffix, as *actor, assessor, censor, confessor, doctor, elector, factor, inventor, oppressor, pastor, possessor, rector, sculptor, sponsor, successor, transgressor, tutor, victor*, etc. (2). In agent nouns borrowed from Anglo-Norman and Old French, descended from classical Latin nouns in *-ātor, -ētor, -ītor, -ūtor*, or formed in Anglo-

Norman and Old French, as *barrator*, *conqueror*, *donor*, *emperor*, *governor*, *purveyor*, *surveyor*, *tailor*, *warrior*, etc. (3) In agent nouns from classical Latin nouns ending in *-ātor*, *-ētor*, *-ītor*, *-ōtor*, *-ūtor*, adopted in later times in French or in English: *administrator*, *agitator*, *auditor*, *creator*, *curator*, *editor*, *executor*, *gladiator*, *imitator*, *janitor*, *orator*, *procurator*, *senator*, *servitor*, *spectator*, *translator*, *vindicator*.

adulator Seneca rhetor 'flatterer' κολακευτής 1

aedificator Cato 'builder' οικοδόμος 1, *aedificatorius* 2

aemulator Cicero 'imitator' ἀμιλλήτης, ζηλωτής 5

antecessor Bellum Africanum 'who goes before, predecessor' 14

antecursor Caesar 'forerunner' πρόδρομος 6

assentator Cicero 'flatterer' κόλαξ 2

assessor Seneca philosophus 'assessor, aid' πάρεδρος 1

bellator Plautus 'warrior, soldier' πολεμιστής 12

castigator Plautus 'corrector, reprover' ἐπιπλήκτης 2

cavillator Plautus 'jester, caviller' διασύρτης 1

censor Elog. Scipionis 'censor, censurer, critic' 7

cognitor Cicero 'who knows' γνώστης 1

collusor Lucilius 'playmate; one secretly conspiring' 1

commentator Apuleius 'inventor, interpreter' 10

comprobator Cicero 'approver' 1

condemnator Tacitus 'condemner' 1

confirmator Cicero 'who confirms' βεβαιωτής 3

conquisitor Plautus VL 'debater' συζητητής 1

constitutor Quintilian 'orderer, arranger' 1

contemplator Cicero 'observer, contemplator' 1

corruptor Plautus 'corrupter, seducer' φθορεύς 3, *corruptorius* 2

creator Cicero VL 'creator, author' κτίστης, δημιουργός 680

cultor Plautus 'cultivator, worshipper' θεραπευτής, θρησκεύων 27

damnator Cicero 'who condemns' δαμηστής 3

debellator Virgil 'conqueror, subduer' 2

deductor Cicero 'guide, teacher' καθοδηγός 6

defensor Cicero VL 'defender, protector' 4

delator Livy 'accuser, informer, denouncer' συκοφάντης 6

demonstrator Cicero 'indicator, exhibitor' 3

derisor Plautus 'mockers' ἐμπαικτής 1

desertor Cicero VL 'runaway, deserter' ἀποστάτης 14, *desertor* > # *condesertor* 1

dilector Apuleius 'lover' 2

dominator Cicero VL 'ruler, lord' κύριος, δεσπότης 9

emendator Cicero 'corrector, amender' διορθωτής 4
eversor Cicero 'subverter, destroyer' καταστροφεύς 3
exactor Caesar 'enforcer, executioner' 6
exorator Terence 'who obtains by entreaty' 2
explorator Plautus 'examiner, explorer' κατάσκοπος 3
expugnator Cicero 'conqueror' 4
factor Plautus VL 'performer, perpetrator' ποιητής 19
fautor Plautus 'favourer, promoter, patron' σπουδαστής 4
fraudator Cicero 'deceiver, defrauder' αποστερητής 4
inductor Plautus 'who stirs up' εισακτήs 1
inspector Seneca philosophus 'inspector, examiner' έποπτής 2
interfector Cicero 'slayer, murderer' φονεύς 2
invitator Martial 'inviter' κλήτωρ 4, # *invitatorius* 1
lator Cicero 'proposer of law' εισηγητής 3
librator Cato 'one who maintains' 1
litterator Catullus 'scribe' γραμματεύς 1, *litteratorius* Quintilian 1
mediator Apuleius VL 'mediator' μεσίτης 1
negotiator Cicero VL 'trader, tradesman' πραγματευτής, έμπορος 1
obtrector Cicero 'detractor' έπιτιμητής, διασύρτης 2
perditor Cicero 'ruiner, destroyer' φθορεύς 2
plausor Horace 'applauder' 2
possessor Cicero 'possessor' κτήτωρ 3
potator Plautus 'drinker' πότης 4
praeceptor Plautus 'teacher, preceptor' έπιστάτης, καθηγητής 3
praedicator Cicero 'proclaimer, preacher' κήρυξ, προήγορος 21
probator Cicero VL 'approver, examiner' δοκιμαστήs 3
professor 'professor, teacher' διδάσκαλος, καθηγητής 7
prospector Apuleius 'provider' 3
pulsator Valerius Flaccus 'beater, striker, one who knocks at the door' 2
punitor Valerius Maximus 'punisher' κολαστής 1
purgator Apuleius 'cleanser, purger' καθαρθής 1
redemptor Cato VL 'redeemer' λυτρωτής, αντίλήμπτωρ 6
reformer Pliny the Younger 'reformer' αναπλαστήs 2
regnator Naevius 'ruler, sovereign' 1
restitutor Cicero 'restorer, builder' 3
sectator Lucilius 'follower, adherent' ακόλουθος, αίρετιοτής 12
secutor Juvenalis 'follower' ακόλουθος 1
somniator Seneca rhetor VL 'dreamer' ένυπνιαστήs 4

sponsor Cicero 'sponsor, godfather' ἐγγυητής 6
subministrator Seneca philosophus 'abettor, promoter' χορηγός 1
successor Cicero 'successor' διάδοχος 4
temptator Horace VL 'tempter, one who attacks' πειραστής 6
tonsor Cicero 'barber' κορεύς 2
vitiator Seneca rhetor 'violator, corrupter' φθορεύς 1
absconditor 'who conceals' 1, ≠ *# revelator* 1
acceptator 'who approves of' 4
adorator VL 'worshipper' προσκυνητής 4
afflator 'who breathes into' 1
afflictator 'who causes suffering' θλιβόμενος 1
animator 'who animates' 2
baptizator VL 'baptizer' βαπτιστής 2
castrator 'who castrates' εὐνουχιστής 2
circumductor 'who leads about, who converts' μεταγωγεύς 1
circumlator 'who carries about, herald' 2
collocutor 'who talks with another' 1
comesor 'eater, gourmand' καταφαγᾶς 1
commemorator 'who mentions, commemorates' 1, ≠ *# obliterator* 1
comminator 'threatener' 3
compossessor 'joint-possessor' συγκτήτωρ 1
concussor 'extorter' 3
condesertor 'fellow deserter' 1
confessor 'confessor, martyr' ὁμολογητής 7
consummator 'completer, finisher' 1, ≠ *# initiator* 3
contaminator 'defiler, polluter' 2
dedecorator 'reviler, blasphemer' 1
dedicator 'founder, author' ἀρχηγός 2
depretiator 'depreciator' 1
derogator 'detractor, depreciator' 2
destructor 'destroyer' 21, ≠ *aedificator* 1
detestator 'who execrates' 5
dimissor 'forgiver, pardoner' 1
enodator 'explainer' 1
evangelizator 'preacher of the Gospel' 7

exhortator 'exhorter, encourager' 1
 # *exorbitator* 'deviator, transgressor' 2
 # *factitator* 'maker' δημιουργός 5
 # *frequentator* 'frequent visitor' 1
 # *furator* 'thief' κλέπτης 1
 # *illuminator* 'enlightener' λαμπρύνων 2
 # *illusor* 'mocker' έμπαίκτης 2
 # *indultor* 'favourer' έλεήμων 1
 # *informator* 'who fashions, instructor' εισαγωγεύς, παιδαγωγός 3
 # *initiator* 'originator, founder' μυσταγωγός, άρχηγός 3
 # *inquietator* 'disturber' θορυβοποιός 1
 # *institutor* 'founder, creator' 19
 # *integrator* 'restorer' 1
 # *interdictor* 'forbidder' 3
 # *interpolator* 'polisher; corrupter, spoiler' 7
 # *mandator* 'who gives a commission, mandator' 4
 # *manumissor* 'emancipator' έλευθερωτής 1
 # *miserator* VL 'who pities, commiserator' έλεήμων, οϊκτίρων 2
 # *negator* 'denier' άρνητής 17
 # *obliterator* 'obliterator' 1, ≠ *commemorator* 1
 # *obsecutor* 'keeper, observer' 3
 # *operator* 'worker, operator' 6
 # *ostensor* 'shower, exhibiter' δείκτης 1
 # *peccator* 'sinner, transgressor' άμαρτωλός 89
 # *permissor* 'permitter' 2
 # *persecutor* VL 'persecutor' διώκτης 17
 # *plagiator* 'kidnapper' άνδραποδιστής 1
 # *plasmator* VL 'fashioner, creator' πλάστης 2
 # *potentator* 'ruler, potentate' δυνάστης 1
 # *praeclusor* 'hinderer, precluder' 1
 # *praecursor* Cicero 'forerunner; scout, spy' πρόδρομος 6
 # *praeformator* 'that arranges beforehand' 1
 # *praelator* 'one who prefers' προκρίνων 1
 # *praeparator* 'preparer' έτοιμαστής, παρασκευαστής 2
 # *praesumptor* 'presumptuous person' καθυφετήρ, αυθάδης 3

praevaricator VL 'sinner, transgressor; apostate' παράνομος, παραβάτης 6
 # *profusor* 'squanderer' 1
 # *prosector* 'cutter up, anatomist' 1
 # *recreator* 'restorer, reviver' 1
 # *redintegrator* 'renewer, restorer' 2
 # *remediator* 'healer, curer' 2
 # *remunerator* VL 'rewarder, recompenser' μισθοποδότης 4
 # *repromissor* VL 'who promises in return, guarantor' ἔγγυος 1
 # *repudiator* 'rejecter, contemner' 1
 # *resuscitator* 'resuscitator' 5
 # *retributor* 'recompenser, retributer' 2
 # *revelator* 'revealer' 1
 # *salutificator* 'bringer of safety, saviour' σωτήρ 6 (cf σωτηριοποιός)
 # *salvator* VL 'saviour' σωτήριον, σωτήρ 3
 # *suscitator* 'resuscitator' 1
 # *traditor* 'traitor' προδότης 11
 # *transfigurator* 'transformer, transfigurer' 1
 # *transgressor* 'transgressor' παραβάτης 5
 # *vivificator* 'quickener, vivifier' 3
 # *vociferator* 'crier, vociferator' 1
 # *vorator* 'devourer' φάγος 4

3.2 Feminine nouns, or predicative adjectives, on *-trix* (equivalent to participles)

Notable in Tertullian is the frequent predicative (attributive, adjectival) use of formations on *-trix*, the feminine equivalent of the nomen agentis *-tor*; cf *Traditio tibi praetendetur auctrix et consuetudo confirmatrix et fides observatrix* (De corona, 4); *pati mortem dissolutricem corporis et peremptricem sensus* (De anima 42). Cf Szantyr, § 92 a; Stotz, VI, § 34.6.

In English formerly used in many words, as in *corruptrice*, *directrice*, *genetrice*, *imperatrice*, *mediatrice*, *oratrice*, *salvatrice*, *victrix*, also (from *deserter*) *desertrice*. Modern English prefers the form *-trix* esp. in legal and learned words; but, in others, generally substitutes the compound suffix *-tress*. Several nouns were adopted in English from ancient or medieval Latin, in the 15th cent. and later, as *administratrix*, *consolatrix*, *creatrix*, *executrix*, *mediatrix*, *persecutrix*, *testatrix*, etc.; and others formed on the analogy of them, as *inheritrix*, *narratrix*, *perpetratrice*, etc. In geometry, words in *-trix* denote straight lines (*linea* being understood), as *bisectrix*, *directrix*; more rarely curves or surfaces, as

indicatrix, tractrix. The suffix has occasionally been loosely used to form nonce-feminines to agent-nouns in *-ter*, as *paintrix* instead of the regular *paintress*.

- adiutrix* 'that helps' Plautus βοηθός 4
- cantrix* Plautus, Varro 'singer' 1
- captatrix* 'straining after' Apuleius 1
- conditrix* 'foundress' Apuleius 3
- conservatrix* 'that preserves' Cicero 2
- dominatrix* 'that tames' Cicero 3
- educatrix* 'who brings up' Cicero 2
- ianitrix* 'door-keeper' Plautus θυρωρός 2
- matrix* 'source, origin, cause' Varro μήτρα 13
- meretrix* 'prostitute' Afranius, Plautus πόρνη, εταίρα 3
- nutrix* 'nurse' Afranius, Plautus τιθήνη 11
- repertrix* 'inventress' Apuleius 1
- servatrix* 'that preserves, saves' Terence σώτειρα 1
- ultrix* 'that avenges' Virgil ἀμύντειρα 2
- # *adulatrix* 'flatterer' 1
- # *affectatrix* 'that strives for a thing' 1
- # *animatrix* 'that animates' 1
- # *arbitratrix* 'mistress, ruler' 1
- # *argumentatrix* 'that adduces proof' 1
- # *auctrix* 'that originates, author, seller, surety' 8
- # *aversatrix* 'that turns away from, abominates' 1
- # *avocatrix* 'that calls away' 1
- # *cessatrix* 'loiterer, idler' 1
- # *confirmatrix* 'that confirms a thing' 1
- # *conflictatrix* 'who afflicts' 1
- # *debellatrix* 'that conquers' 3
- # *debitrix* 'debtor' 2
- # *defectrix* 'defective, imperfect' 1
- # *defraudatrix* 'one who defrauds' 1
- # *deprecatrix* 'intercessor' 1
- # *desertrix* 'that neglects' 1
- # *despectrix* 'that despises' 2
- # *desultrix* 'who jumps from one horse to another, unstable' 1
- # *dissolutrix* 'that destroys' 1

divinatrix 'prophetic, divining' 2
 # *enecatrix* 'murderous, killing' 1
 # *expectatrix* 'that expects' 1
 # *formatrix* 'who forms' 1
 # *fraudatrix* 'who defrauds' 1
 # *frictrix* 'that rubs' 2
 # *fugatrix* 'putting to flight' 1
 # *initiatrrix* 'foundress, who originates' 1
 # *interemptrix* 'who kills' 1
 # *interpolatrix* 'falsifier, spoiler, corrupter' 1
 # *iustificatrix* 'one that justifies' 1
 # *modulatrix* 'that regulates' 1
 # *negatrix* 'denying' 1
 # *negotiatrrix* 'who carries on a business, who brings about' 1
 # *observatrix* 'that observes' 1
 # *operatrix* VL 'that effects, produces' ενεργής 2
 # *peccatrix* VL 'sinful' ἀματωλός 28
 # *perditrix* 'destroying' 1
 # *peremptrix* 'that kills' ὀλεθρία 1
 # *pollicitatrix* 'that promises' 1
 # *praedicatrix* 'that makes known' 1
 # *purgatrix* 'cleansing, purifying' 1
 # *reliquatrix* 'that is in arrears' 1
 # *reprobatrix* 'that condemns, reprobates' 1
 # *resignatrix* 'that unseals, opens' 1
 # *seductrix* 'that seduces' 1

3.3 -entīa, -antīa

F. A. Demmel, *Die Neubildungen auf -antia und -entia bei Tertullian. Eine sprachgeschichtliche Untersuchung*. Immensee, 1944. Stotz, VI, § 44. Markedly in Christian writings, this was a productive category. Tertullian exploited this possibility, even if his novel words, with some exceptions, did not survive. This formation found its continuation in Romance languages: it. -anza, -enza, sp. -anza, -encia, -ancia, fr. -ence, -ance.

The nouns in -entia (like those in -ia generally) denoted primarily qualities or states; but some of them came by development of sense to be nouns of action or process, and in late

Latin and in Romance the formation of nouns of action became the normal function of the suffix. Consequently the English nouns in *-ence* (which are adaptations of Latin types in *-entia* either through French or according to French analogies) have very frequently the sense of action or process, either in addition to, or to the exclusion of, that of quality or state.

The nouns in *-ency*, on the other hand, being purely English adaptations of the Latin types, have properly only the sense of quality or state, and concrete senses thence developed. As exemplifying this difference of use between the two suffixes, compare *recurrence* and *currency*, *confluence* and *fluency*, *residence* and *presidency*.

When the same word exists in both the *-ence* and the *-ency* forms, the tendency is (where the sense of the verbal etymon permits) to restrict the former to action or process (i.e. to connect its meaning rather with that of the verb than with that of the adjective), while the latter is used to express quality; compare *coherence* and *coherency*, *persistence* and *persistency*.

In a few instances both forms of a word have equally the sense of quality or condition; in most of these cases the one or the other of the forms has become obsolete or archaic; where they are both in current use, the distinction usually is that *-ency* has a more distinct reference to the sense of the related adjective or noun in *-ent*, considered as the predicate of some particular subject; compare for example, '*sentience* is an attribute of animals' with 'some maintain the *sentientcy* of plants'.

Borrowings (chiefly from Latin) become more common in the 16th cent., as *infancy*, *instancy*, *constancy*, *ignorancy*, *temperancy*, *abundancy*. New formations within English are found from at least the 15th cent., e.g. *pregnancy*. In early use there appears to be little distinction in use between *-ancy* and *-ance*, and in many cases parallel formations occur in each suffix (as e.g. *constancy* and *constance*, *ignorancy* and *ignorance*, *temperancy* and *temperance*, etc.). In later use, formations in *-ancy* are largely restricted to denoting a quality, state, or condition, rather than an action or process, while formations in *-ance* continue to have a wider semantic range. This (partial) distinction is an innovation in English; Latin has only the suffix *-antia* in this full range of functions, and French has only *-ance* (with the exception of occasional formations in *-ancie*, chiefly in Anglo-Norman, as *lieutenancie*, *remembrancie*).

absentia Cicero 'absence' ἀπουσία 7

abstinentia Cicero 'restraint, self-control' ἐγκράτεια, ἀποχή 31

abundantia Cicero 'overflow, large amount' εὐθηνία, πλησμονή 6

adulescentia, adolescentia Plautus 'youth, youthfulness' 4

amentia Accius Terence 'madness' ἄνοια 13

audientia Cicero 'attention, heed' 1

benevolentia Terence 'goodwill, benevolence' εὐνοια 2

circumstantia Seneca Quintilian 'details, circumstances' ἀντιπερίστασις, περίστασις 7

clementia Terence 'clemency, leniency' πραδότης 15

cohaerentia Cicero 'organic structure' σύναψις 5

concupiscentia Curtius 'concupiscence, eager desire' ἐπιθυμία 59

congruentia Suetonius 'agreement, harmony' ὁμολογία 3

conscientia Cicero 'consciousness, conscience' συνείδησις **109**
consonantia Vitruvius 'agreement, harmony' συμφωνία **6**
constantia Cicero 'steadiness, constancy' εὐστάθεια **26**
continentia Terence 'continence, moderation' ἐγκράτεια **59**
convenientia Cicero 'agreement, conformity' ὁμολογία **6**, ≠ # *disconvenientia* **1**
corpulentia Pliny the Elder 'corpulence' εὐσαρκία, πολυσαρκία **14**
dementia Terence 'insanity, madness' ἀφροσύνη **10**
differentia Cicero 'difference, diversity' διαφορά **46**
diffidentia Cicero 'mistrust, diffidence' ἀπιστία **6**
diligentia Plautus 'attentiveness, diligence' ἀκρίβεια **16**
distantia Lucretius Cicero 'distance, remoteness' διάστημα, διάστασις **12**
elegantia Terence 'refinement, elegance' γλαφυρότης, κομψότης **1**
eloquentia Terence 'eloquence' ἀστειότης, εὐγλωττία, λογιότης **3**
eminentia Cicero 'prominence, excellence' ἐξοχή, ὑπεροχή **5**
exsuperantia Cicero 'pre-eminence, superiority' ὑπεροχή **1**
fidencia Cicero 'confidence, boldness' φρόνημα **1**
frequentia Cicero, Caesar 'numerous assembly, multitude' πυκνότης **9**
ignorantia Cicero 'ignorance' ἄγνοια **49**
impatientia Suetonius 'impatience' ἀτλησία **42**
imprudentia Terence 'want of foresight, imprudence' ἄγνοια **2**
impudentia Plautus Cicero 'shamelessness, impudence' ἀναίδεια **13**
inconsiderantia Cicero 'want of reflection, inconsiderateness' ἀβλεψία **1**
inconstantia Cicero 'inconstancy, fickleness' ἀστασία **6**
incontinentia Cicero 'lack of restraint, incontinence' ἀκρασία **7**
indigentia Cicero 'need, want, indigence' ἔνδεια **3**
indulgentia Cicero 'remission' ἄνεσις, συγγνώμη **23**
infantia Cicero 'infancy, childhood' ἀλαλία, νηπιότης **26**
innocentia Cicero 'blamelessness, innocence' ἄβλάβεια, ἀκακία **31**
insipientia Plautus 'senselessness, folly' ἀνοησία **2**
insolentia Cicero 'arrogance, insolence' ἀήθεια **2**
instantia Cicero 'force, importunity, urgency' ἔνστασις, σπουδή **11**
intellegentia Cicero 'discernment, understanding, intelligence' ἔννοια, νόησις **14**
irreverentia Tacitus 'disrespect, irreverence' ἀναίδεια **2**
licentia Plautus 'licentiousness' ἄδεια, ἐξουσία **47**
magnificentia Cicero 'magnificence, grandeur' μεγαλοπρέπεια **3**
munificentia Suetonius 'bountifulness, munificence' μεγαλοδωρία, φιλοτιμία **1**
neglegentia Cicero 'carelessness, negligence' ἀμέλεια **7**
oboedientia Cicero 'obedience' ὑπακοή **1**

observantia Cicero 'regard, reverence, observance' παραφυλακή **1**
opulentia Plautus 'wealth, opulence' εὐπορία **1**
paenitentia Livius 'repentance, penitence' μετάνοια **160**
patientia Cicero 'patience, endurance' ὑπομονή **112**
perseverantia Cicero 'steadfastness, constancy, perseverance' ἐπιμονή, ὑπομονή, ἐπιβιβαίωσις **16**
pestilentia Caesar, Cicero 'plague, pestilence' λοιμός **2**
petulantia Plautus 'wantonness, petulance' ὕβρις **9**
potentia Cicero 'might, force, power' δύναμις **10**
praepotentia Apuleius 'superior power' **1**
praesentia Terence 'presence' παρουσία **9**
praestantia Cicero 'eminence, superiority, excellence' ἐξοχή **14**
providentia Cicero 'foreknowledge, providence' πρόγνωσις, πρόνοια **20**
prudentia Cicero 'foreseeing, prudence, discretion' πρόνοια, φρόνησις **24**
redundantia Cicero 'superfluity, excess, redundancy' πλεονασμός **15**
sapientia Terence 'good sense, discretion, prudence, wisdom' φρόνησις **116**
scientia Cicero 'knowledge, science' ἐπιστήμη **39**
sententia Caesar Cicero 'opinion, judgment' γνώμη **165**
significantia Quintilian 'force, significance, signification' σημασία, ἔμφασις **2**
substantia Quintilian 'substance, essence' οὐσία, ὑπόστασις **394**
temperantia Cicero 'moderation, temperance' σωφροσύνη **1**
tolerantia Cicero 'endurance' καρτερία, ἀνοχή, ὑπομονή **19**
valentia Naevius 'strength, vigor' ἰσχύς **14**
vigilantia Terence 'watchfulness, vigilance' ἀγρυπνία **1**
vinolentia, vinulentia Cicero 'intoxication' μέθη, οἰνοφλυγία **4**
violentia Cicero 'vehemence, ferocity' βία **15**
accidentia 'casual event' **4**
aequiparantia, aequiperantia 'comparison' σύγκριμα **1**
apparentia 'appearance' ἐπιφάνεια **2**
defetiscentia 'weariness' κόπος **2**
delinquentia VL 'crime, delinquency' ἁμαρτία **30**
discentia 'a learning' μάθησις **2**
disconvenientia 'inconsistency' ἀσυμμετρία **1**
erubescencia 'blushing for shame' ἐρυθρία **1**
immoderantia 'intemperance' ἀκράτεια **1**
impraescientia 'want of prescience' **1**
improvidentia 'want of foresight' **5**

- # *incongruentia* 'incongruity' 4
- # *inconvenientia* 'inconsistency' ασυμμετρία 1
- # *inexperientia* 'inexperience' άπειρία 1
- # *inobaudientia* 'disobedience' παρακοή 2
- # *insufficientia* 'insufficiency' 1
- # *iurulentia* 'the fluids in flesh' 1
- # *multinubentia* 'polygamy' πολυγαμία 2
- # *multivorantia* 'gluttony' πολυφαγία 1
- # *nocentia* 'transgression' 2
- # *nolentia* 'unwillingness' 1
- # *offerentia* 'presenting, offering' 1
- # *olentia* 'smell' 1
- # *praecellentia* VL 'excellence' ύπεροχή 1
- # *praescientia* VL 'foreknowledge, prescience' πρόγνωσις 5
- # *purulentia* 'pus' τὸ πυῶδες 1
- # *refrigescentia* 'alleviation, mitigation' 1
- # *reminiscentia* 'recollection, remembrance' ανάμνησις 3
- # *renidentia* 'smile' 1
- # *subtililoquentia* 'elegant language' λεπτολογία 3
- # *sufferentia* VL 'enduring, toleration' ύπομονή 4
- # *sufficientia* 'sufficiency' ικανότης 1
- # *turbulentia* 'trouble, turbulence' ταραχή, θόρυβος 3

3.4 -(i)tās, -iētās

Deadjectival abstracts on *-tās*, expressing characteristics, were created through the whole history of Latinity. Stotz, VI, § 50; cf above, 121 ff. This formation was greatly exploited by Tertullian, and a preferred tool in the philosophical and theological debates in the centuries to come. In the MA, it met the scholastic and scientific propensity towards a *Nominalstil*, a substantivization, Stotz I, § 46.

Its productivity has remained in Romance: It. *-(i)tà*, Sp. *-edad* and *-idad*, Fr. *-ité*. It has retained its remarkable productivity in Latin and derivative languages (and turns up in loanwords in many other languages). The termination was often added to another adjectival suffix, e.g. *-āci-*, *-āli-*, *-āno-*, *-āri-*, *-ārio-*, *-bili-*, *-eo-*, *-idi-*, *-ido-*, *-ili-*, *-īli-*, *-ino-*, *-īno-*, *-io-*, *-īvo-*, *-ōci-*, *-ōso-*, *-ui-*, *-uo-*, etc., whence the English endings *-acity*, *-ality*, *-anity*, *-arity*, *-ariety*, *-bility*, *-eity*, *-idity*, *-ility*, *-inity*, *-iety*, *-ivity*, *-ocity*, *-osity*, *-uity*, some of which, as *-bility* (*-ability*, *-ibility*) attain almost to the rank of independent suffixes. The earlier popular

French form was *-eté*, in English *-ety* and *-ty*, as in *safety, bounty, plenty*. In German loans, the ending is *-(i)tät* (*Qualität, Universität*).

- aequalitas* Cicero 'equality' ισότητα, ομοιότητα, ομαλότητα **6**, ≠ *inaequalitas* **5**
aeternitas Cicero 'eternity' αιωνιότητα **38**
ambiguitas Cicero 'ambiguity, uncertainty' αμφιβολία **13**
anxietas Cicero 'anxiety' όδύνη, άχθος, δυστηνία **6**
asperitas Lucretius 'harshness, asperity' τραχύτης **6**
assiduitas Cornelius Sisenna 'constant attendance, assiduity' **1**
atrocitas Accius 'savageness, atrocity' δεινότητα, άγριότητα, χαλεπότητα **15**
austeritas Columella Seneca philosophus 'severity, austerity' αύστηρότης **5**
benignitas Plautus 'benevolence, benignity' αγαθότητα, αγαθοσύνη, χρηστότης **20**
bonitas Plautus 'goodness, benignity, affability' αγαθότητα, αγαθοσύνη **104**, ≠ *inbonitas* **1**
caecitas Cicero 'blindness' τυφλότητα **20**
callositas Scribonius Largus 'hardness, hardening' **2**
capacitas Cicero 'capacity' χώρησις, χώρημα, δοχεϊόν **4**
castitas Livy Horace 'chastity' άγνότητας, άγνεία **22**
claritas Decimus Laberius 'brightness, perspicuity, celebrity' λαμπρότης **22**
communitas Cicero 'community, society' **1**
consanguinitas Livy Virgil 'consanguinity' συγγένεια **1**
curiositas Cicero 'knowledge, curiosity, inquisitiveness' **31**
densitas Livy 'density' **1**
diuturnitas Cicero Caesar 'durability, long duration' αιωνιότητα **2**
diversitas Seneca rhetor 'diversity, difference' διαφορά **90**
divinitas Cicero 'divinity, divine nature' θειότητας, θεότητας **155**
ebrietas Cicero 'ebriety' μέθη, παροιμία **9**
edacitas Plautus 'voracity, gluttony' άδηφαγία **2**
enormitas Seneca philosophus Quintilian 'irregularity, enormous size' άρρυθμία, άταξία **10**
exiguitas Cicero Caesar 'littleness, shortness, scarcity' έλαχιστότης **1**
exilitas Cicero 'thinness, weakness' λεπτότης **2**
extremitas Cicero 'extremity, end' έσχατία **8**
facilitas Terence 'facility, easiness' εύμάρεια, εύχέρεια **8**, ≠ *difficultas* **9**
familiaritas Terence 'familiarity, friendship' οικειότητας, συνήθεια **12**
feritas Cicero 'wildness, fierceness, savageness' άγριότητας **5**
formositas Cicero 'beauty' εύμορφία **1**
generositas Columella Pliny the Elder 'nobility, excellence' εύγένεια **6**
gentilitas Cicero 'paganism; the heathens' **3**
germanitas Cicero 'brotherhood, similarity' γνησιότητας, άδελφότητας **1**
habilitas Cicero 'aptitude, ability' έπιτηδειότητας, εύαρμοσσία **2**

hospitalitas Cicero 'hospitality' ξενία, ξενισμός, ξενοδοχία, φιλοξενία **2**
humanitas Cicero RH 'human nature, humanity, education' ανθρωπότης, φιλανθρωπία **15**
ignobilitas Lucilius 'obscurity, low birth' άτιμία, δυσγενεσία **5**
imbecillitas Afranius 'weakness, feebleness, impotency' ασθένεια, αδυναμία **12**
impietas Plautus 'want of reverence, disloyalty' ασέβεια **17**
importunitas Bellum Africum Cicero 'incivility, insolence' άκαιρία **3**
impossibilitas Apuleius 'impossibility' αδυναμία **1**
improbis Cicero 'dishonesty, depravity' αναίδεια **3**
impuritas Cicero 'impurity' άκαθαrsία **3**
inaequalitas Seneca rhetor 'unevenness, inequality' ανισότης, άνωμαλία **5**
inanitas Cicero 'emptiness, inanity' εικαιότης, κενότης **5**
inconcinnitas Aulus Gellius Apuleius 'inelegance, impropriety' **1**
indignitas Cicero RH 'vileness, unbecoming behaviour, indignity' άπρέπεια **8**
infirmis Terence 'weakness, infirmity' ασθένεια, άρρωστία **58**
ingenuitas Cicero 'being freeborn, noble-mindedness' ευγένεια **3**
iniquitas Cicero, Caesar 'injustice' άνομία, άδικία **54**
insuavis Aulus Gellius 'unpleasantness, disagreeableness' **2**
integritas Cicero 'unimpaired condition, integrity' άκεραιότης, άδιαφταrsία **32**
iucunditas Afranius Cicero 'agreeableness, delight' ήδύτης **1**
lenitas Terence 'mildness, gentleness, lenity' πραότης, ήπιότης **16**
liberalitas Terence 'generosity, liberality' έλευθεριότης **21**
malignitas Plautus 'malignity, malice' κακοήθεια **12**
medietas Cicero 'middle, moiety, medium' μεσότης **4**
mendicis Plautus 'mendicity, indigence' πτωχεία **2**
mobilitas Lucretius 'mobility, inconstancy' ευκινησία **3**
morositas Cicero 'moroseness, pedantry' δυσκολία **4**
mortalitas Cicero 'mortality' **11**
nimietas Apuleius 'redundancy, excess' περισσειά **1**
novitas Lucretius 'novelty, newness' καινότης **42**
operositas Quintilian 'elaborate workmanship' περιεργία **3**
opimitas Plautus 'plentifulness, abundance' άβροσύνη, άβρότης **5**
opportunitas Plautus 'convenience, opportunity, ευκαιρία **2**
orbitas Pacuvius 'orphanage' όρφανία **3**
parilitas Aulus Gellius 'equality' ισότης **5**
parvitas Plato latinus 'smallness, littleness' μικρότης **1**
peregrinitas Cicero 'condition of a peregrinus' **4**
perpetuitas Cicero 'continuity, perpetuity' άιδιότης, διάρκεια **9**
pietas Naevius 'dutiful conduct, loyalty, affection' ευλάβεια, ευσέβεια **23**

popularitas Plautus 'popular favour' **3**
posteritas Cicero 'posterity' οἱ ἀπόγονοι **28**
pretiositas Apuleius 'preciousness' **2**
procacitas Columella 'boldness, impudence' ἀθάρδεια **1**
proceritas Quadrigarius 'tallness, length' Cicero **3**
propinquitas Pacuvius 'nearness, propinquity' ἐγγύτης **3**
proprietas Cicero 'peculiarity, quality' ιδιότης **76**
qualitas Cicero 'quality' ποιότης **89**
raritas Cicero 'small number, rarity' ἀραιότης, μανότης, σπανιότης **5**
religiositas Apuleius 'religiousness' ὁσιότης **2**, ≠ *irreligiositas* **3**
rotunditas Vitruvius 'roundness, rotundity' στρογγυλότης **1**
salacitas Columella 'salaciousness' **1**
sanctitas Cicero 'sacredness, sanctity' ἀγιότης, ὁσιότης **51**
saturitas Plautus 'fullness, satiety' κόρος, πλησμονή **6**
scrupulositas Columella 'scrupulosity, over-nicety' ὑπερακριβεία **7**
scurrilitas Quintilian 'scurrility' βωμολοχία **1**
sedulitas Cicero 'application, sedulity' ἐπιμέλεια **2**
siccitas Plautus 'dryness, drought, siccity' ξηρότης **2**
sobrietas Valerius Maximus 'temperance, moderation' νήψις **9**
societas Ennius 'fellowship, community, society' κοινωνία, εταιρία **31**
soliditas Cicero 'solidity, firmness' στερεότης **3**
solitas Accius 'loneliness, solitude' μονότης **1**
stabilitas Ennius 'stability, firmness' βεβαιότης, στερεότης **1**
sublimitas Columella 'loftiness, sublimity' ὑψηλότης **30**, ≠ *profunditas* **3**
summitas Apuleius 'highest part, summit' **3**
tempestivitas Cicero 'timeliness, appropriate quality' ὠραιότης, εὐκαιρία **6**
teneritas Cicero 'softness, tenderness' ἀπαλότης **4**
timiditas Pacuvius 'cowardice, timidity' δειλία **9**
unitas Varro 'oneness, unity' ἐνότης **33**, *unitas* ≠ *trinitas* **18**
universitas Cicero 'the universe, the whole' τὸ πᾶν, τὰ πάντα **45**
utilitas Plautus 'usefulness, utility, advantage' ὠφέλεια, εὐχρηστία **15**
varietas Pacuvius 'diversity, variety' ποικιλμός **18**
vastitas Accius 'empty place, desert' ἔρημος **3**
veritas Accius 'truth, verity, integrity' ἀλήθεια **359**
viduitas Plautus 'bereavement, lack' χηρεία, χήρευσις **22**
virginitas Catullus 'maidenhood, virginity' παρθενία, κορεία **24**
vivacitas Valerius Maximus 'vigour, vivaciousness' εὐζωΐα, μακροβιότης **3**
accessibilitas 'accessibility' **1**

cavositas 'hollow, cavity' **3**
contrarietas 'opposition, contrariety' **12**
corporalitas 'corporality' **10**, ≠ *# incorporalitas* **2**
corruptibilitas 'corruptibility' τὸ φθαρτὸν **1**, ≠ *# incorruptibilitas* ἀφθαρσία **10**
duplicitas 'doubleness' **1**
famositas 'ill fame, ignomy' **1**
gratiositas 'agreeableness' **1**
hostilitas 'enmity, hostility' ἔχθρα **2**
imbonitas 'inconvenience' **1**
immobilitas 'immovableness, immobility' ἀκίνησις **1**
incorporalitas 'incorporality' ἀσωματότης **2**
incorruptibilitas 'incorruptibility' ἀφθαρσία **10**
individuitas 'indivisibility' **6**
informitas 'deformity' ἀμορφία, δυσμορφία **3**
infructuositas 'unfruitfulness, uselessness' ἀκαρπία **1**
intellectualitas 'understanding' νόησις, νόημα **1**
irreligiositas 'impiety' ἀσέβεια **3**
lanositas 'woolliness' **1**
lapidositas 'stony hardness' **1**
malitiositas 'wickedness' κακία **2**
mendacitas 'falsehood, mendacity' ψευδολογία **1**
moralitas 'character, morality' δικαιοσύνη, δικαιοπραγία **1**
mulieritas 'womanhood' γυναίκισις **3**
naturalitas 'naturalness' **2**
novellitas 'newness, novelty' **2**
noxietas 'guilt, crime' **1**
nuditas 'nakedness' γυμνότης **5**
numerositas 'great number, multitude' **1**
optimitas 'excellence' **1**
passivitas (< *pando*) 'confused condition, promiscuousness' **9**
postremitas 'extremity' **1**
principalitas 'superiority, excellence' ἡγεμονικόν **5**
profanitas 'profanity' **1**
profunditas 'depth' βαθύτης **3**
pusillitas 'littleness, smallness' **11**

- # *rationalitas* 'reasonableness, rationality' φρόνησις **1**
- # *romanitas* 'the Roman manner' **1**
- # *rugositas* 'rugosity' **1**
- # *sensualitas* 'sensibility' **2**
- # *singularitas* 'singleness' μονάς **12**
- # *specialitas* 'particularity, peculiarity' **1**
- # *speciositas* 'beauty' κάλλος **1**
- # *supernitas* 'highness, height' **2**
- # *temporalitas* 'temporality, present fashion' **2**
- # *tortuositas* 'crookedness, prevarication' **2**
- # *trinitas* 'trinity' τριάς **16**
- # *uniformitas* 'uniformity' **1**
- # *utensilitas* 'fitness, usefulness' **2**
- # *vinositas* 'flavour of wine' **1**
- # *visibilitas* 'visibility' **2**
- # *visualitas* 'the faculty of sight, vision' ὄραμα, ὄρασις **3**, ≠ *caecitas* **20**

3.5 Abstracts on *-tūra*, *-sūra*, *-ūra*

This suffix originally formed verbal abstracts, but also, in a specific development, terms for profession or office (Leumann, 287, Stotz, VI, § 54).

A suffix, representing French *-ure*, Latin *-ūra* (hence Italian, Spanish, Portuguese *-ura*), occurring in many words of French or Latin origin. In Latin *-ūra* primarily denoted action or process, hence result of this, office, etc.; after further development in French, the use was extended in English, and denoted action or process, the result or product of this (e.g. *enclosure*, *figure*, *picture*, *scripture*), function, state, rank, dignity, or office (e.g. *judicature*, *prefecture*, *prelature*), a collective body (e.g. *legislature*), that by which the action is effected (e.g. *clausure*, *closure*, *ligature*, *nouriture*), etc. Many words were adopted from French at an early date, as *figure* (a1225), *scripture* (a1300), *nouriture* (c1374), *censure*, *closure*, *investiture*, *junction*, *pressure*, *tonsure* (1380–), *fissure*, *scissure* (c1400–), etc.; while a few others, as *clausure* (1398), *plicature* (1578), *mercature* (a. 1620), *aperture* (1649–), were directly adapted from Latin. The suffix was also added to English stems of Latin origin, giving *composure* (1599–), *disposure* (1569–), *exposure* (1605–), or to true Latin stems, whence *vomiture* (1598), *beneplaciture* (1662), *ructure* (1657–69), *unigeniture* (1659–); and was further used with stems of Romance origin, as in *bankrupture* (1617–22), *disembogure* (1653), *praisure* (1622), and with native or other bases, as in *clefture* (1545, 1596), *raisure* (1613, 1677), and *wafture* (1601–). To this form various French suffixes (as *-eure*, *-ir*, *-or*, *-our*) have been assimilated in English, as in *pleasure*, *soilure*, *treasure*, *velure*.

Tertullian's contribution to this group was modest:

- armatura* Cicero 'armour, equipment' πανοπλία **3**
capillatura Pliny the Elder έμπλοκή τριχών **1**
censura Cicero 'rigid judgement, severity' αυστηρότης **16**
coniectura Ennius 'conjecture' εικασία, στοχαστική τέχνη **11**
cultura Cato '(culture, cultivation), worship' λατρεία **7**
factura Pliny the Elder VL 'making, formation' ποίησις **5**
figura Terence 'form, shape, prefiguration' τύπος, σχήμα **81**, *figuro* **52**, *figurate* τυπικῶς **15**,
figuraliter **1**, *figuratio* **1**
genitura Manilius 'generation, creature' γενεσις **12**
litteratura Cicero 'writing(s), grammar, learning' γράμματα, γραμματική **19**
mensura Cato 'measure, proportion' μέτρον **8**
natura Plautus 'nature' φύσις **288**
pictura 'painting, picture' ζωγραφία **4**
praefectura Plautus 'prefecture' έπαρχεία, προστατεία **2**
pressura 'pressure, oppression' πίεσις, θλίψις **22**
scriptura 'scripture' γραφή **225**
sepultura 'burial' ταφή **36**
statura 'stature' ήλικία **1**
strictura Virgil 'stricture, torment' **1**
structura Cicero 'fitting together, building, structure' κατασκευή **3**
temperatura Varro 'temperament, temperature' κρᾶσις **3**
usura Accius 'interest, usury' τόκος **5**
creatura VL 'creation' κτίσις, κτίσμα, πλάσμα **7**
fervura 'inflammation, burn' φλεγμονή **1**
paratura VL 'preparing, preparation' έτοιμασία **31**
piscatura 'fishing' άλιεία **1**
praestructura 'foundation, preparation' **2**

3.6 Abstracts on -īo, -tīo, -sīo

Leumann, 324; Stotz, VI, § 55; above, pp. 108-116. The etymological meaning of this exceedingly productive suffix (mostly verbal abstracts) was primarily 'the state or condition of being what the past participle imports', but it was also used for the action or process of the verb in question, or, concretely or quasi-concretely, as in *dictio*, 'the condition of being said, the saying of something, saying, word'; so *natio*, 'birth, brood, nation'; *oratio*, 'mode of speaking, oration'. In Romance inherited forms like Sp. -zón and Fr. -aison/-ison coexist with loans, such as in It. -zione, Sp. -ción, and Fr. -tion.

There are occasional pre-Conquest borrowings from Latin in Old English, e.g. *passion*, *procession*. Borrowings either directly from Latin or (typically) via French are found very frequently in Middle English. These are most typically words ending in *-tion*, *-sion*, *-xion*, ultimately reflecting Latin formations on the past participial or supine stems of verbs (see above, and compare *-tion*).

Formations within English (chiefly on verbs ultimately of Latin origin) become common from the 16th cent. onwards; for frequent patterns (ultimately reflecting formations on Latin verbs in *-āre* and in *-ere* or *-īre*) see *-ation* and *-ition*.

Tertullian contributed considerably to this formation, which proved useful in the theological debates:

- accusatio* Cicero 'complaint, accusation' κατηγορία, αἰτίασις **7**
adoptio Cicero 'adoption' υἰοθεσία, εἰσποίησις **6**
aemulatio Cicero 'striving to equal, emulation' ζήλος, ζήλωσις **38**
aestimatio Cincius Catullus 'valuation, appraisal' διατίμησις **6**
affectatio Seneca philosophus VL 'striving, affectation; hypocrisy' ἐπιχείρησις, ὑπόκρισις **7**
affirmatio Cicero 'affirmation, declaration' διαβεβαίωσις, ἐπίδειξις **1**
agnitio Hyginus mythographus Seneca rhetor 'recognition, acknowledgement' ἐπίγνωσις **54**
ambitio Plautus 'suing for office, desire for popularity, display' περιδρομή **29**
amissio Cicero RH 'loss' ἀποβολή **11**
animadversio Cicero 'consideration, attention; chastisement' προσοχή, τιμωρία, κόλασις **10**
appellatio Cato 'appeal; naming' ἐπικλήσις, προσηγορία **38**
argumentatio Cicero RH 'adducing of proof, argumentation' ὑπόθεσις **48**
caesio Columella 'cutting down, killing' **1**
commendatio Publilius Syrus Cicero 'commendation, recommending' **5**
comparatio Cicero RH 'comparing, comparison; parable' σύγκρισις, παραβολή, ἀναλογία **40**
concussio Columella Seneca philosophus 'shaking, concussion, upheaval; extortion' θόρυβος **18**
confessio Cicero 'confession, acknowledgement' ὁμολογία, ἐξομολόγησις **65**
congressio Claudius Quadrigarius 'attack, contest; copulation' συμβολή, συγκοίμησις **20**
coniuratio Terence 'alliance, conspiracy' συνωμοσία **2**
consecratio Cicero 'consecration, dedication' ἐγκαινισμός, τελετή **18**
contemplatio Cicero VL 'considering, contemplation, consideration' θεωρία, κατανόησις **12**
conversatio Vitruvius VL 'conversation; life style' ἀναστροφή, διαγωγή **44**
damnatio Cicero RH 'condemnation' καταδίκη, κατάκρισις **28**
defectio Livy VL 'desertion; failing, disappearance' ἀπόλειψις, ἔκλειψις **13**
defensio Cicero RH VL 'defence' ἀπολογία, ἐκδίκησις **32**
demutatio Cicero 'alteration' τροπή **39**
dispositio Cicero RH 'disposition, arrangement' διάθεσις, οἰκονομία **123**

disputatio Cicero RH 'reasoning, argument, dispute' διάλεξις, διαλογισμός **10**
dissensio Cicero 'disagreement, discord' διχοστασία, ἀμφισβήτησις **9**
distributio Cicero RH VL 'division, distribution' διανομή, διαμερισμός **9**
dominatio Cicero RH VL 'rule, dominion, despotism' δεσποτεία, τυραννίς, κυριότης **24**
enumeratio Cicero RH 'enumerating' **1**
eruptio Sisenna Cicero 'breaking out, eruption' ἔκρηξις **6**
eversio Cicero 'overthrowing, subversion' ἀνατροπή **13**
exaggeratio Cicero 'cumulation, exaggeration' ἐπισώρευσις **4**
exercitatio Cicero Caesar Livy 'exercise, management, administration' γυμνασία **5**
exhibitio Gellius 'sustenance, maintenance' **16**
exquisitio Valerius Maximus 'inquiry, investigation' ἐξέτασις **2**
frumentatio Caesar 'foraging, distribution of corn' σιτολογία, ἐπισιτισμός **1**
generatio Celsus Pliny the Elder 'begetting, generation' γένεσις, γέννησις, γενεά **6**
indignatio Cicero Livy Horace 'displeasure, indignation' ἀγανάκτησις **18**
inquisitio Cicero Livy 'seeking for, examination, inquisition' ἐπιζήτησις, ἐκζήτησις **11**
inspectio Celsus 'looking into, inspection' ἐποψία, ἐπιθεώρησις **4**
institutio Cicero RH 'disposition, arrangement; education, instruction' κατασκευή, εἰσαγωγή **48**
interpretatio Cicero RH 'explanation, interpretation' ἐρμηνεία, ἐρμηνευμα **67**
investigatio Cicero 'inquiring into, investigation' ἐξέτασις, ζήτησις **2**
locatio Cicero Livy Varro 'disposition, arrangement; hiring, lease' ἵδρυσις, ἐκμίσθωσις **1**
mixtio Vitruvius 'mixing' κρᾶσις **1**
negatio Cicero RH 'denial, negation' ἄρνησις, ἐξάναρνησις **30**
obstinatio Cicero 'firmness, obstinacy' **14**
passio Columella VL 'suffering, passion; affection' πάθος **146**
persecutio Cicero VL 'persuing; persecution' διωγμός, δίωξις **85**
persuasio Cicero RH 'persuasion, opinion' πίστις **6**
positio Hyginus astronomus 'placing, proposition, state of mind' θέσις **6**
praesumptio Seneca philosophus 'anticipation, presumption; audacity' αὐθάδεια **49**
praevaricatio Plinius the Younger VL 'violation of duty, transgression' παράβασις **7**
precatio Cicero VL 'praying, prayer' ἱκεσία **4**
proditio Cato 'discovering, betraying, treason' προδοσία **1**
professio Cicero 'declaration, profession' ὁμολογία, ἀπολογία **21**
propositio Valerius Antias Cicero RH 'determination, theme, statement' πρόθεσις, πρόβλημα **16**
ratio Accius Plautus Terence 'reason, understanding' λόγος, λογισμός **364**
reciprocatio Pliny the Elder 'alternation, reciprocation' **2**
recordatio Cicero 'recollection' ἐνθύμημα, ἀνάμνησις, μνήμη **9**

recusatio Cicero 'refusal, objection' ἀπολογία, παραίτησις **5**
relatio Cicero RH 'report, relation' ἀναφορά **7**
responsio Plautus 'answer, refutation' ἀπόκρισις **18**
sponsio Plautus 'promise, stipulation' ἐπάγγελμα **7**
statio Volcaci Sedigitus 'standing, station, position; assembly' στάσις, σύναξις **44**
successio Cicero 'succession' διαδοχή **5**
superstitio Cicero 'superstition, scrupulosity' δεισιδαιμονία **64**
temptatio Cicero 'temptation' πειρασμός **56**
tergiversatio Cicero 'declining, refusing; tergiversation' νωτισμός **3**
tractatio Cicero RH 'handling, management, treatment' μεταχείρισις **8**
transgressio Cicero RH 'transgression' παράβασις **26**
translatio Cicero RH 'transferring, translation' **17**
unctio Cato 'anointing' χρίσις, χρίσμα **15**
veneratio Cicero 'reverence, respect' σέβασμα, αἵδεσις **8**
vociferatio Afranius Cicero RH 'clamour, vociferation' κραυγή, βοή **1**
acceptatio 'acceptance' **2**
adagnitio 'knowledge' **1**
adimpletio 'completing, completion' πλήρωμα **5**
adnuntiatio 'announcement' ἀγγελία **2**
amentatio 'hurling of a dart' **1**
benedictio VL 'praising, lauding' εὐλογία **49**
circumcisio VL 'circumcision' περιτομή **52**
compassio 'compassion' συμπάθεια **2**
concorporatio 'union, harmony' (cf # *concorporifico*) **2**
consparsio (*conspersio* VL) 'paste, dough' φύραμα **5**
contesseratio (*hospitalitatis*) 'contracting of friendship' **1**
contribulatio VL 'anguish' συντριβή **1**
contristatio 'affliction, grief' **3**
dedecoratio 'disgrace, dishonour' ἀτιμία **6**
defloratio 'plucking of flowers' **1**
defraudatio 'defrauding' **1**
degustatio 'tasting' **1**
dehortatio 'dissuading' **3**
delibatio 'diminishing' **4**
deliniatio 'sketch' **2**
demandatio 'delivering with commendation, commending' **1**

despoliatio 'robbing, despoiling' ἀπέκδυσις **1**
despumatio 'skimming off' **1**
devoratio 'devouring' **2**
dimidiatio 'dividing into halves' **1**
dispectio 'viewing, considering' **1**
dispunctio 'investigation, testing' **5**
emundatio 'cleansing' καθαρισμός **2**
eradicatio 'rooting out' ἐκρίζωσις **2**
evacuatio 'evacuating' κένωσις **1**
fermentatio 'fermentation' ζύμωσις **1**
figulatio 'forming, fashioning' πλάσις, πλάσμα **2**
fornicatio VL 'fornication' πορνεία **48**
fructificatio 'bearing of fruit' καρποφορία **2**
humiliatio 'humiliation' ταπείνωσις **7**
illuminatio 'enlightening' φωτισμός **6**
inauguratio 'beginning' **1**
inclamatio 'calling out, exclaiming against' **3**
increpatio VL 'chiding, rebuking' ἐπιτίμησις **12**
incriminatio 'blamelessness, irreprehensibleness' **1**
infrenatio 'taming' **1**
inhabitatio 'dwelling, inhabitation' κατοίκησις **1**
interversio 'falsification, frustrating' **2**
mortificatio 'killing, death' νέκρωσις, θανάτωσις **5**
motatio 'frequent motion' **1**
nullificatio 'despising, contempt' ἐξουδένωσις **2**
offuscatio 'darkening, obscuring' σκοτασμός **2**
oppositio 'opposition, contradiction' ἀντίθεσις, ἀνθυποφορά **4**
perditio VL 'ruin, perdition' ἀνάθεμα, ἀπώλεια **36**
recorporatio 'restoration of the body' σωματώσις, σάρκωσις **1**
redanimatio 'restoring to life, reanimation' **2**
regeneratio VL 'being born again, regeneration' παλιγγενεσία, ἀναγέννησις **7**
reliquatio 'arrearage, arrears' **2**
reprobatio 'rejection, reprobation' **9**
rescissio 'annulling, rescission' **3**
resurrectio 'resurrection' ἀνάστασις **243**

- # *resuscitatio* 'raising again, resuscitation' ἔγερσις 4
- # *retributio* 'recompense, retribution' ἀντιδωρεά, ἀνταπόδοσις 15
- # *revelatio* 'revelation' ἀποκάλυψις 26
- # *revisceratio* 'restoring of the flesh' 1
- # *segregatio* 'parting, separation, segregation' 2
- # *sublectio* 'second choice' 2
- # *succensio* 'anger, irritation, indignation' 1
- # *suffectio* 'supplying, substitution' 1
- # *sumministratio* 'giving, furnishing, supplying' ἐπιχορηγία, χορηγία 2
- # *superaedificatio* 'building upon' ἐποικοδομή 1
- # *suscitatio* 'awakening, resuscitation' ἔγερσις 1
- # *transactio* 'completing, completion' συντέλεια 2
- # *unio* 'number one, oneness, unity' ἕνωσις 15

3.7 Formations on *-men*

Leumann, 326 B; Stotz VI, § 63. On the pattern of *solamen* 'consolation' (Virgil), a poetic alternative for *solacium*, Tertullian introduced some nouns, corresponding to Greek formations on -μα, in a conscious deviation from tradition (Wellstein, 67 ff.):

- certamen* Cicero 'contest, struggle' 19
- examen* (< **ex-ags-men*) Cicero 'swarm; examination' 9
- flamen* Cicero 'priest of a certain deity' 2
- libamen* Ovid 'offering, libation' 1
- medicamen* Cicero 'remedy, medicine' φάρμακον 7
- stamen* Varro 'warp' στήμων 2
- velamen* Virgil κάλυμμα, σκέπασμα 24
- # *ebriamen* VL 'intoxicating drink' μέθυσμα 1
- # *genimen* VL 'progeny, brood' γέννημα 7
- # *novamen* 'innovation, field ploughed for the first time' νέωμα 5
- # *nullificamen* 'despising, contempt' ἐξουδένημα 3
- # *ostentamen* VL 'show, display' ἔνδειγμα 1
- # *sputamen* 'spittle' ἔμπτυσμα 5

3.8 Formations on *-mentum*

Leumann, 326 A 2; Stotz VI, 64. The suffix *-mentum* (a development of *-men*) formed verbal nouns expressing activity, the result of an activity, or the means of it. It was very productive in ancient but less so in medieval Latin, but it was brought to life again in Romance (Sp. *-miento*, It. *-mento*, Fr. *-ment*) and in English from the 16th century, with formations from verbs of Romance origin, alongside with those of Germanic origin, like *acknowledgement*, *fulfilment*, *settlement*, etc.

Tertullians most famous contribution to this group was *sacramentum*, with a new denotation of an established vocable.

- additamentum* Cicero 'addition, increase' πρόσθεσις, ἐπίθεμα **2**
alimentum Plautus 'nourishment, food' τροφή, τροφεῖον **13**
argumentum Plautus 'argument, proof; subject matter' ἔλεγχος **77**
armentum Ennius 'cattle' **1**
atramentum Plautus VL 'ink' μέλαν, μελάνιον **1**
auctoramentum Cicero 'terms of employment' αὐθέντημα **1**
augmentum Varro 'increase, growth' αὔξησις **2**
blandimentum Plautus 'flattering words' κολακία **1**
caementum Ennius 'quarry-stone' χάλιξ **2**
calceamentum Cato VL 'shoe' ὑπόδημα **4**
capillamentum Columella VL 'hair' τρίχωμα, τρίχωσις **1**
cognomentum Plautus 'surname' προσωνυμία **3**
commentum Terence 'fiction, falsehood' τέχνασμα **8**
condimentum Plautus 'spice, seasoning' ἄρτυμα **5**
coronamentum Cato VL '(flowers for) crowns' στέφανος, στεφάνωμα **2**
crementum Varro VL 'growth, increase' αὔξησις **5**
decrementum Gellius 'decrease' **1**
detrimentum Cicero VL ἀπότρυμμα, βλάμμα, ζημία 'loss, detriment' **23**
documentum Plautus 'lesson, exemple, warning' παράδειγμα **45**
elementum Cicero VL 'first principle, element' στοιχεῖον **73**
emolumentum Plautus 'effort, advantage' ὠφέλεια, ὠφέλημα **10**
experimentum Livy VL 'proof, trial, experiment' πείρα **13**
exsecramentum VL 'exsecration' βδέλυγμα, ἐνόρκιον **1**
fermentum Plautus VL 'yeast, ferment' ζύμη **8**
ferramentum Plautus 'iron tool' σιδέριον, σκεῦος σιδεροῦν **2**
figmentum Aulus Gellius 'thing made, representation, image' πλάσμα **9**
firmamentum Afranius 'the firmament' στερέωμα **5**
fomentum Lucilius 'poultice, bandage; alleviation' θάλψις, θαλπήριον **1**
frumentum Plautus 'corn, grain' σίτος **7**

fundamentum Plautus VL 'foundation, basis' θεμέλιον **24**
impedimentum Plautus 'impediment, hinderance' ἐμπόδισμα, ἐμποδισμός **16**
incitamentum Cicero 'incitement, incentive' ὀρμητήριον, παροξυσμός **4**
incrementum Cicero VL 'increase, augmentation' αὐξησις, προσθήκη **2**
indumentum Gavius Bassus VL 'garment, clothing' ἔνδυμα **12**
inquinamentum Vitruvius VL 'filth' μόλυνσις, μολυσμός **21**
instrumentum Cicero 'tool, instrument' ὄργανον, ἐργαλεῖον **86**
irritamentum Livy 'incitement, incentive' ἐρέθισμα **1**
lineamentum Cicero 'line, stroke, feature' γραμμή, περιγραφή **8**
medicamentum Cicero VL 'medicine, drug, remedy' φάρμακον **2**
momentum Terence VL 'moment, motion' ῥοπή **18**, # *momentaneus* πρόσκαιρος **4**
monimentum, monumentum Plautus VL 'memorial, monument' μνημα, μνημεῖον, τάφος **14**
munimentum Cicero 'fortification, defence' ὀχύρωμα **7**
operimentum Cato VL 'covering, cover' σκέπασμα, ἐπίβλημα, κάλυμμα **1**
ornamentum Livius Andronicus VL 'equipment, ornament, decoration' κόσμος, κόσμησις **23**
pavimentum Cato VL 'floor, pavement' δάπεδον, ἔδαφος **1**
pigmentum Plautus 'pigment, colouring' χρῶμα **4**
pulmentum Plautus 'sauce, condiment' **1**
pulpamentum Plautus 'meat, tidbits' **1**
purgamentum Livy VL 'offscouring, dirt' περικόθαυμα, περίψημα **1**
rudimentum Livy 'beginning, commencement, first principles' προπαιδεία **5**
sacramentum Cicero VL 'oath, solemn obligation; mystery, sacrament' μυστήριον **134**
stramentum Plautus 'straw, litter' κάρφος **1**
supplementum, subplementum Cicero VL 'supply, supplement, reinforcement' πλήρωμα **6**
supplicamentum Appuleius 'public prayer' **2**
tegumentum Plautus VL 'defence, covering, cover' **2**
temperamentum Cicero 'due proportion, temperament, temperature' μῖξις, κρᾶσις **7**
testamentum Cicero VL 'will, testament' διαθήκη **58**
tormentum Cicero VL 'missile engine; torture instrument, pain' στρεβλοτήριον, βάσανος **47**
velamentum Livy VL 'cover, veil, concealment' κάλυμμα, σκέπασμα **9**
vestmentum Plautus VL 'garment, vestment' ἱμάτιον, ἐπίβλημα **9**
abominamentum 'detestable thing' βδέλυγμα **1**
aspernamentum 'despising' **5**
decoramentum 'ornament, decoration' **1**
devotamentum 'cursing, anathema' ἀνάθεμα **1**
expedimentum VL 'solution, explanation' **1**
factitamentum 'thing made, work' ποίημα **1**

- # *indigitamenta* 'ritual of invocations' 1
- # *iuramentum* 'oath' ὄρκος, ὀρκωμόσιον 1
- # *obligamentum* 'band, obligation' 4
- # *sputamentum* 'spittle' 1
- # *superindumentum* 'outer garment' 5

4 Prefixation, some conspicuous cases

4.1 *com-*, *con-*, *co-*

Leumann, 338, 4; Stotz, VI, 115. The prefix *com-* is the archaic form of the preposition *cum*, the spelling *com-* being retained before labials *b*, *p*, *m*, and before a few words beginning with vowels, as *comes*, *comit-*; the *m* was assimilated before *r* as in *corruptus*, in later times also before *l* as *collectus*; it was shortened to *co-* before vowels and *h*, also before *gn-*, e.g. *coalesco*, *coerceo*, *coortus*, *cohaereo*, *cognatus*; before all other consonants *com-* was changed to *con-*. The *o* became a long vowel, as *co-æqualis*, *co-adiutor*, *co-episcopus*, *co-haeres*, *co-operator*, *co-opto*. The sense is 'together, together with, contemporary, simultaneous, in combination or union with', as in *condiscipulus*, *convivo*, *coaeto*, but it has at times an intensive function, as in *condolesco*, 'feel severe pain', *convulnero* 'wound severely'. In several cases there are corresponding formations on συν- in Greek.

It has become a living English element in the form of the prefix *co-*. It has enjoyed an extensive productivity since the 17th century, expressing joint subject, or joint object of a verbal action, or, in nouns, 'joint' or 'fellow'.

In English, the use is no longer restricted to words beginning with a vowel, but extended to all words of analogous kinds, including native English or other words, as well as those from Latin. The general sense is 'together, in company, in common, joint(ly), equal(ly), reciprocally, mutually'. It combines (like Latin *com-*, *con-*, *co-*) with verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and nouns. It is sometimes prefixed to words of Latin origin which are already compounded with *com-* (*con-*), as *co-connection*, *co-conspirator*, *co-constituent*.

Tertullian uses the following inherited lexemes:

- coaequalis* Columella, Petronius 'of equal age, coeval' ἰσότημος 6
- coaequo* Cato 'make equal, equalize' ἐξίσω 1
- coaetaneus* Apuleius 'of the same age, contemporary' συνηλικιώτης 6
- coangusto* Bellum Hispaniense 'confine, compress, limit' στενοχωρῶ 2
- commorior* VL 'to die together with' συναποθνήσκω 2
- concalefacio* Cicero 'warm thoroughly' 1
- concalesco* Plautus 'become thoroughly warm' 2
- concilio* Plautus 'unite' 5

concinnatio Cato 'composition' συμπλοκή **1**
concorporatus Pliny the Elder 'incorporated' (cf συσσωματοποιέω Aristotle, σύσσωμος NT) **2**
condiscipulus Pomponius Bononiensis 'fellow disciple' συμμαθητής **1**
condolesco Plautus 'feel severe pain' συνάχθομαι **1**
conformo Afranius 'conform' συσχηματίζω **4**
confrequento Columella 'to frequent' **1**
congenitus Plinius the Elder 'born together' **2**
conглоbo Sisenna Cicero 'conglobate' συναθροίζω **1**
conglorifico VL 'glorify together with' συνδοξάζομαι **1**
coinquino Accius VL 'soil, stain' συμμαίνω, συμμολύνω **1**
coniectatio Pliny the Elder 'conjecture' στοχασμός **2**
coniecto Terence 'conjecture, guess' **1**
consanguinitas Virgil 'consanguinity, affinity' συγγένεια, όμαιμότης **1**
consero Cato 'plant with something' συσπείρω **4**
consimilis Plautus 'entirely similar' **10**
constabilio Plautus 'confirm, establish' **4**
constringo Cato 'bind together, restrain' **9**
constupro Cicero RH 'violate, defile' **4**
conterreo Cicero 'frighten' **1**
contremisco, contremesco Ennius 'tremble (at something)' **2**
contrucido Cicero 'cut to pieces, slay' **1**
convivo Quintilian 'live with' συζάω, συμβιώω **8**
convulnero Bellum Africum 'wound severely' **2**
corresuscito VL 'raise from the dead together' συνεγείρω **1**
 He introduces the following:
 # *coaegresco* 'become sick at the same time with' **1**
 # *coaeternus* 'coeternal' **1**
 # *coaetaneo* 'be of the same age' **1**
 # *coaetaneus* 'contemporary' **6**
 # *coaeto* 'be of the same age' **1**
 # *coelemento* 'composed of elements' **1**
 # *coimplicitus* 'involved together' **1**
 # *collaetor* 'rejoice together' συγχαίρω **1**
 # *commisero, -onis* 'companion in misfortune' συνταλαίπορος **1**
 # *compassibilis* 'suffering with one' **1**
 # *compator* 'to suffer with someone' συμπάσχω **9**

complaudo 'applaud together' επικροτέω 1
 # *compossessor* 'joint-possessor' 1
 # *concarnatio* 'incarnation' 1
 # *concarno* 'unite with flesh' 1
 # *concineratus* 'sprinkled with ashes' 1
 # *concolorans* 'of the same colour' 1
 # *concorporatio* 'union, harmony' 2
 # *concorporifico* 'united in one body, incorporated' συσσωματοποιέω 1
 # *condesertor* 'fellow deserter' 1
 # *condoleo* 'suffer greatly' 1
 # *confabulatio* VL 'conversation' όμιλία 1
 # *conflabello* 'fan violently, kindle' 1
 # *confoedero* 'unite by a league' 2
 # *conformalis* VL 'like, similar' σύμμορφος 3
 # *congaudeo* VL 'rejoice with someone' συγχαίρω 3
 # *congemesco, congemisco* 'sigh deeply' συστενάζω 1
 # *conglorifico* 'glorify together with' συνδοξάζω 2
 # *consacerdos* 'fellow-priest' συνιερέυς 1
 # *consero, consatus* 'plant(ed) together with' σύμφυτος 4
 # *consecraneus* 'initiated in the same mysteries' συμμύστης 1
 # *consepelio* VL 'bury with' συνθάπτω 4
 # *consparsio (conspersio* VL) 'paste, dough' φύραμα 6
 # *constricto* 'draw together' 1
 # *contemporalis* 'contemporary' 5
 # *contemporo* 'be contemporary' 1
 # *contenebro* VL 'make very dark, darken' σκοτίζω 4
 # *contesseratio* 'contracting a friendship' 1
 # *contessero* 'contract a friendship by means of the *tesserae*' 1
 # *conviscerō* 'incorporate, unite' 1
 # *convoro* 'devour simultaneously' 1
 # *coodibilis* 'likewise hateful' συνταλαίπωρος, συμμισούμενος 2
 # *cooperator* VL 'cooperator' συνεργός, συνεργάτης 1
 # *correcumbens* 'lying down with anyone' συνανάκειμαι 1
 # *corresupinatus* 'bent backwards at the same time' 1

4.2 *extrā-*

Two formations prefixed *extra-* where already in use:

extraneus (*extra* + *-aneus*) Cicero RH ἀλλότριος, ἐξωτικός **122**

extraordinarius 'out of the common order, extraordinary' Caesar Cicero **10**³⁰⁵

to which Tertullian added one:

extranaturalis 'beyond nature, not natural' **2**

4.3 *rě-, rěd-*

Leumann, 418, A 2 b β; Stotz VI, 123. The function of this preverb/prefix to express an action 'back, again', or 'restoring', was present already in Antiquity, and it was freely employed as prefix in verbs and nouns or adjectives in the MA. "The extent to which this prefix has been employed in English since the 19th cent., and especially from the latter half of it onwards, makes it impossible to attempt a complete record of all the forms resulting from its use" (OED).

Its practicality appears clearly in Tertullian.

recogitatus, *-ūs* 'thought, reflection' **9**

recompingo 'reunite' **1**

reconcludo 'shut up, enclose' **1**

reconsigno 'mark again' **1**

recorporatio 'restoration of the body' **1**

recorporo 'restore the body to former condition' **5**

recreator 'restorer, reviver' **1**

redaccendo 'rekindle' **3**

redanimatio 'reanimation' **2**

redanimo 'restore to life' **2**

redindutus 'clothed again, reclothed with' **1**

redintegrator 'renewer, restorer' **2**

redinvenio 'find again' **1**

redorno 'readorn' **1**

³⁰⁵ The military term *extraordinarius* was a Latinism taken over by the Greeks, cf Polybios (205-123 BCE) 6.26.6: ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς ἐκλέγουσι, τοὺς καλουμένους ἐξτραορδιναρίους, ὁ μεθερμηνευόμενον ἐπιλέκτους.

refrigescentia 'alleviation, mitigation' 1
 # *regeneratio* 'being born again, regeneration' 7
 # *reliquatio* 'arrearage, arrears' 2
 # *reliquatrix* 'that is in arrears' 1
 # *remediator* 'healer, curer' 2
 # *reminiscentia* 'recollection, remembrance' ανάμνησις 3
 # *remunerator* VL 'rewarder, recompenser' μισθοποδότης 4
 # *relumino* 'light up again, reillumine' 3
 # *renidentia* 'smiling, smile' 1
 # *repraesentator* 'representative' 1
 # *reprobatio* 'rejection, reprobation' 9
 # *reprobatrix* 'that condemns, reprobates' 1
 # *repudiator* 'rejecter, contemner' 1
 # *rescissio* 'annulling, rescission' 3
 # *restruo* 'erect again, restore' 6
 # *resurrectio* VL 'resurrection' ανάστασις 246
 # *resuscitatio* 'raising again, resuscitation' έγερσις 4
 # *resuscitator* 'resuscitator' 5
 # *retractatus*, -ūs 'repetition; hesitation, doubt' 19
 # *retributio* 'recompense, retribution' αντιδωρεά, ανταπόδοσις 15
 # *retributor* 'recompenser, retributer' 2
 # *revelatio* 'revelation' αποκάλυψις 26
 # *revelator* 'revealer' 1
 # *revelatorius* 'belonging to revelation' αποκαλυπτικός 1
 # *revestio* 'clothe again' 1
 # *revincibilis* 'that may be disproved' 1
 # *revisceratio* 'restoring of the flesh' 1
 # *revivifico* 'restore to life' 1

4.4 *super-*

Stotz, VI, 138. The prefix *super-* supplied the intellectual discourse with adjectives and nouns denoting 'situated over, above, higher than', or actions or conditions of higher quality or degree, or on a higher level, corresponding to Greek ἐπι- or ὑπερ-. This group was significantly expanded in the MA with many items formed on Greek patterns (ὑπερφύης > *supernaturalis*), especially through the translations of Pseudo-Dionysios and in the 12th

century expressing transcendental characteristics exceeding human abilities of comprehension: *superlocalis*, *-temporalis*, *-causalis*, *-finalis*, *-aeternus*, *-intellectualis*, *-essentialis*, etc. (below, 232 f). Losely connected with this development is the medieval tendency to enhance adjectives with this prefix: *super-gloriosus*, *-benedictus*, *-mirabilis*, *-simplex*, *-ineffabilis*, etc.

Earliest in borrowings and adaptations from Latin (in *superhumeral* in Old English but without continuity with later use, *superabundant*, *superplus*, *supervisor* in later Middle English) and from Latin and French (e.g., *superstition*, *superficial*, *superlative*).

The prefix is frequent in scientific and technical language, often as a correlative to *sub-*. In technical language it sometimes varies with *supra-* (of which the strict correlative is *infra-*), e.g. *super-local*, and *supralocal*, *superorbital*, and *supraorbital*, *superlapsarian*, and *supralapsarian*.

Tertullian was an early exponent of this trend:

- superbibo* Pliny the Elder 'drink upon, after' **1**
- superduco* Quintilian 'lead, draw over; add, subjoin' **28**
- superferor* Pliny the Elder 'go, ride, fly, swim over' **1**
- superfluo* Cicero 'overflow' **2**
- supergridior* Columella 'pass over, surpass, exceed' **1**
- superinduo* Suetonius 'put on over' **17**
- supernato* Columella 'swim above, float' **1**
- superpono* Scribonius Largus 'place upon' **5**
- superscendo* Livy Columella 'climb over; surpass' **2**
- supersedeo* Cato 'be above; persevere in' **2**
- superstruo* Seneca rhetor 'build upon, over' **13**
- supersum* Ennius 'exist still, survive' **46**
- supervacuus* Horace 'superfluous, useless' **10**
- supervenio* Virgil, Horace 'come over, upon' **17**
- supervivo* Pliny the Younger 'outlive, survive' **2**
- supervolo* Virgil 'fly over' **1**
- # *superabundo* 'superabound' **3**
- # *superacervo* 'heap on, pile up' **1**
- # *superaedificatio* 'building upon' ἐποικοδομή **1**
- # *superargumento(r)* 'prove besides' **1**
- # *supercaelestis* 'super-celestial' ἐπουράνιος, ὑπερουράνιος **6**
- # *superdico* 'say in addition' **2**
- # *superextollo* 'exalt above' **1**
- # *superficialis* 'superficial' **1**
- # *superfrutico* 'sprout forth again' **1**

superinducticius 'supposititious' 4
superindumentum 'outer garment' 5
superinundo 'overflow' 1
supermetior 'mete out abundantly' 1
supermundialis 'supermundane' ὑπερκόσμιος 1
supernomino 'surname' 1
superordino 'appoint in addition' επιδιατάσσομαι 1
supersapio 'possess very good taste' 1
superseminator 'one who sows in addition' 1
supersemino 'sow in addition' επισπείρω 1
superterrenus 'superterrene' ὑπέργειος 1
supertexo 'weave over' 1
supervinco 'overcome, conquer' 1

Chapter VII

Other individual contributions to the intellectual lexicon

In the development of Latin as a evermore refined medium of intellectual discourse, some translators have played a pivotal role, not only by inventing novel terms but also by launching new types of formations, that could and would be models of potentially innumerable neologisms. The authors mentioned here are worthy of specific attention, because of their lasting influence on the later development.³⁰⁶

1. Gaius Marius Victorinus (c. 285–c. 362)

Of African origin, he was received into the senatorial order, and as *rhetoꝛ urbis Romae* he was in 354 honoured with a statue in the Trajan forum. Saint Augustine was deeply impressed by his conversion (*Confessiones*, 8.2). His works treating logic, grammar, and theology are still extant, whereas his own philosophical writings, of considerable importance to Boethius, Cassiodore, and Isidore, are now lost. He is regarded as the initiator of a Platonic Christianity. He made considerable contributions to Latin philosophy, theology, and terminology.

Among other formations, note the abstracts on *-(i)tas* and *-entia*:

alteritas 'otherness' ἑτερότης 10

essentialitas 'principle of being, reality' ὀντότης 2

essentitas 'essence' 4

existentialitas 'potentiality of existence' ὑπαρκτότης, ὀντότης 6

identitas 'identity' ταυτότης 8

intellegentitas 'understanding' νόησις 1

substantialitas οὐσιότης 'quality of being' 5

vitalitas ζωότης 'vitality' 9

exsistentia οὐσία, ὕπαρξις, ὑπόστασις 'being' 98, *existentialiter* 3

³⁰⁶ For a thorough analysis of translation methods of Lucretius, Cicero, Apuleius, Chalcidius, and Boethius, see Dowson 2023.

omnicognoscentia 'omniscience' 1
 # *omniexistentia* 'omnipresence' 2
 # *omniintellegentia* 'universal understanding' 1
 # *omniviventia* 'universal life' 2
 # *praecognoscentia* 'potential foreknowledge' 3
 # *praeintellegentia* 'knowledge before all intelligence' 5
 # *reviviscentia* 'revival' 2
 # *subsistentia* ὑπόστασις 'substance, reality' 20

He was the first with:

subiectum τὸ ὑποκείμενον 'that something which is not something else, or in anything else; subject (of a proposition)' 20

He also introduced the following adjectives, which would prove highly viable:

actualis 'of action, of active' 1
 # *exsistentialis* 'existential' 1
 # *potentialis* 'potential' 1 (*potentialiter* 'potentially' 12)
 # *significativus* 'signifying' σημαντικός 1

2. Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius (c. 480-524)

A Roman senator, consul, and *magister officiorum*, during the Ostrogothic kingdom, he was the personal advisor to Theoderic the Great but eventually he was imprisoned by Theodoric around the year 523. While jailed Boethius wrote *On the Consolation of Philosophy*, a treatise on fortune, death, and other issues, which became one of the most influential and widely reproduced works of the Early Middle Ages. He was tortured and executed in 524. He was also the most influential translator of the Greek philosophical classics into Latin, and a precursor of Scholasticism.³⁰⁷ Boethius sought to translate the entirety of the Greek classics for Western scholars. He published numerous transcriptions and commentaries of the works of Nicomachus, Porphyry, and Cicero among others, and wrote extensively on matters concerning music, mathematics, and theology. His translations of Aristotle's works on logic were the only significant portions of Aristotle available in Latin until the 12th

³⁰⁷ On Boethius and his translational principles, cf. "Boethius and the language of logic" in Dowson, 255-287, with a list of some of his lexical innovations, 341-355.

century.³⁰⁸ Though his translations were unfinished following an untimely death, it is largely due to them that the works of Aristotle survived into the Renaissance. His method of rendering the extremely concise original texts set the standard for later translators. Among his lasting contributions to the international wordlist are those listed below (from his translations of Aristotle, and of Porphyry's *Eisagoge*). It is worth noting that there is no need for translating them, since they are (with some exceptions) immediately comprehensible to an educated English-speaking person.

- # *aequivocatio* ὁμωνυμία **20**
- # *alteratio* ἀλλοίωσις **2**
- # *commensuratio* συμμετρία **3**
- # *reduplicatio* ἐπαναδίπλωσις **1**
- # *contiguïtas* σύναψις **3**
- # *affirmativus* κατασκευαστικός **96**
- # *communicativus* μεταδοτικός **1**
- # *congregativus* συγκριτικός **3**
- # *conservativus* φυλακτικός **3**
- # *constructivus* κατασκευαστικός **3**
- # *cooperativus* συνεργός **2**
- # *destructivus* ἀνασκευαστικός **4**
- # *determinativus* ὀριστικός **2**
- # *definitivus, diffinitivus* ὀρικός **4**
- # *disgregativus* διακριτικός **5**
- # *distributivus* διανεμητικός **3**
- # *divisivus* διαιρετικός **29**
- # *generativus* γενητικός **2**
- # *inductivus* ἐπακτικός **4**
- # *inquisitivus* ἐξεταστικός **1**
- # *speculativus* θεωρητικός **17**
- # *temptativus* πειραστικός **14**
- # *specificus* εἰδοποιός **52**, # *specifico(r)* εἰδοποιεῖσθαι **2**
- # *commensurabilis* σύμμετρος **8**, ≠ # *incommensurabilis* ἀσύμμετρος **11**
- # *infallibilis* ἀνεξαπάτητος **1**
- # *susceptibilis* δεκτικός **29**
- # *aequivoce* ὁμωνύμως **4**

³⁰⁸ Hundreds of manuscripts exist of his translations of Aristotle's works, see Dod, 74-79.

affirmative κατασκευαστικῶς 3

conservative φυλακτικῶς 1

contradictorie ἀντικειμένως 4

negative ἀνασκευαστικῶς, ἀποφατικῶς 3

praedicative κατηγορικῶς 3

privative στερητικῶς 3

significative σημαντικῶς 1

contingens 'something not necessary *per se*' ἐνδεχόμενον 86, # *contingenter* ἐνδέχεσθαι 17

continuum συνεχές 7

praedicatum κατηγορούμενον

Among several loanwords introduced or used by Boethius in Latin transcription, note *axioma*, *diaeta*, *diameter*, *ethicus*, *gymnasium*, *methodus*, *parallelus*, *poeticus*, *problema*, *syllaba*, *syllogismus*, *syllogisticus*, *syllogizo*.

3. Hilduin of Saint-Denis (d. c. 860)

was the abbot of the monastery Saint-Denis north of Paris. By emperor Louis the Pious he was commissioned to translate the writings of Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, a Syrian author of the early sixth century, but writing in Greek, who used Neoplatonic language to elucidate Christian theological and mystical ideas, with a wealth of new (types of) word-formations. His works are entitled *The Divine Names*, *The Celestial Hierarchy*, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, and *Letters*. Dionysios makes abundant use of composite words, tautologies, and antitheses; such an obscure style was meant to reflect the complexity and contradictions of the enigmatic world.³⁰⁹ His most well-known contribution to the international wordlist is the noun *hierarchy*.³¹⁰ His influence on Christian mysticism cannot be overestimated. Hilduin's translation (in many places almost unintelligible) did not find a large circulation, but what interests us here is his (exceedingly literal) method of translation, which stretched the possibilities of the Latin language to extremes, in order to equal the excentric Greek formations. Later translators were to follow him (John Scotus Eriugena, Robert Grosseteste, John Sarrazin, Marsilio Ficino, etc.)

³⁰⁹ "Dionysios the Areopagite, Pseudo-", in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, I, 1991, 629 f.

³¹⁰ Hierarchy, in its original Platonic meaning, is the ontological order of being, from the absolute Form down to the formless matter, through the serial subordination and mediation of angels (the celestial hierarchy) and the ecclesiastical ministries (the ecclesiastical hierarchy).

with similar or other types of translational methods. Here are but a few examples of Hilduin's pioneer work, taken from the edition *Dionysiaca*.

A specific trait of Dionysios and, consequently, Hilduin is the abundance of prefixes: ἄ-, προ-, συν-, θεο-, αὐτο-, ὁμο-, ἐνο-, πολυ-, παν-, ἱερο-, ἄει-, ὑπερ-, συν-, τρις-, etc.; rendered *ante-, prae-, con-, dei-, ipso-, uni-, multi-, omni-, per-, sacre-, semper-, super-, tri-*. The following are examples:

- # *ante-perfectus* 'beyond perfection' προ-τέλειος 4
- # *ante-aevalis* 'from before the ages' προ-αιώνιος 1
- # *ante-saeculariter* 'eternally, before the ages' προ-αιωνίως 1
- # *ante-essens* 1, # *ante-est* 'preexisting' πρό-ων 2
- # *ante-figuratus* 'first-formed' ἀρχήτυπος 1
- # *benigne-principalis* 'being the source of goodness' ἀγαθ-αρχικός 1
- # *benigne-decorus* 'befitting the good' ἀγαθο-πρεπής 1
- # *benigne-factrix* 'producing beauty' καλλο-ποιός 1
- # *con-substantiali-faciens* 'causing to be of the same substance' συν-ουσι-ούμενος 1
- # *con-tinentrix* 'conserving, preserving' συν-οχική 1
- dei-ferus* Mercator 'bearing God' θεο-φόρος 1
- # *dei-amator* 'loving God' φιλο-θεότατος 4
- # *dei-apparentia* 'divine manifestation' θεο-φάνεια 1
- # *dei-imitatus* 'imitating God' θεο-μίμητος 1, *dei-imitatio* θεομιμησία 4
- # *dei-iudicatio* 'divine judgement' θεο-κρισία 1
- # *dei-operatio* 'divine work' θε-ουργία 16
- # *dei-plasmatio* '(unworthy) representation of gods' θεο-πλαστία 3
- # *dei-similitudo* 'imitating God' τὸ θεο-μίμητον 1
- # *dei-speciosissimus* 'most Godlike' θεο-ειδέστατος 1
- # *dei-susceptibilis* '(capable of) receiving God' θεό-δοχος 6
- # *dei-visus* 'divine, godlike' θεο-ειδής 5
- # *erect-ialis* 'uplifting' ἀνα-τατικός 1
- # *formi-facturalitates* 'representations, assimilations' μορφο-ποιΐαι 2
- # *hierarchia* 'hierarchy' ἱερ-αρχία 151, # *hierarchicus* ἱερ-αρχικός 87
- # *im-participabiliter* 'having no share in' ἀ-μεθέκτως 1
- # *in-ascensibilis* 'inaccessible' ἄ-βατος 2
- # *in-formalitas* 'formlessness' ἀ-μορφία 2
- # *in-temptabilitas* 'incapability of being tempted' ἀ-πειρία 1
- # *ipso-super-substantialis* 'absolutely super-essential' αὐτο-υπερ-ούσιος 1

- # *ipso-specialiter* 'as identical in form' ταυτο-ειδῶς 1
- # *ips-operus* 'acting by oneself' αὐτ-ουργός 2
- # *ips-operatio* 'activity' αὐτ-ουργία 1
- # *ipsum-participatio* 'essential participation' αὐτο-μετοχή 1
- # *luci-ducī* 'be guided by light' φωτ-αγωγείσθαι 7
- # *multi-passibilis* 'exposed to numerous passions' πολυ-παθέστατος 1,
multipassibilitas πολυ-πάθεια 1
- # *multi-pedalis* 'with many feet' πολύ-πους 1
- # *multi-sermonalis* 'of many words' πολύ-λογος 1
- # *multi-verbalis* 'of many words' πολύ-λογος 1
- # *omni-castus* 'perfect in purity' πάν-αγνος 1
- # *omni-creatrix* 'having created all things' παγ-κτησία (read παγ-κτισία) 1
- # *omni-sapiens* 'all-wise' πάν-σοφος 5
- # *per-complebilis* 'perfectly satisfied, fulfilled' ἀπο-πληρωτικός 1
- # *per-plasmans* 'forming, moulding, fashioning' δια-πλάσσω 10
- # *perfect-operator* 'one who initiates into sacred things' ιερο-τελεστής 3
- # *prae-habeo* 'to have in advance' προ-έχω 6
- # *prae-intelligens* 'having understood in advance' προ-νοέω, προ-νευονηκώς 1
- # *re-accipio* 'accept again' ἀνα-λαμβάνω 4
- # *sacre-decenter* 'as becoming for the holy' ιερο-πρεπῶς 3
- # *sapienti-factiones* 'bestowals of wisdom' σοφο-ποιήσεις 1
- # *semper-mobilis* 'ever-moving' ἀει-κίνητος 1
- # *semper-motio* 'ceaseless motion' ἀει-κινησία 4
- # *substanti-factrix* 'bestowing being' οὐσιο-ποιός 2
- super-substantialis* Jerome, Augustine 'supraessential' ὑπερ-ούσιος 66
- # *super-arcane* 'in a manner that is more than effable' ὑπερ-ἀρρήτως 1
- # *super-coadunate* 'in a way supremely united' ὑπερ-ενωμένως 1
- # *super-constitutus* 'most elevated' ὑπέρ-τατος 17, # *super-constitute* 'in a sublime manner' ὑπερτάτως 1
- # *super-exstanter* 'in a learned manner' ἐπιστητῶς 3
- # *super-habens* 'transcending' ὑπερ-έχων 1
- # *super-iacenter* 'in a superior position' ὑπερ-κειμένως 1
- # *super-mundialiter* 'in a manner above that of this world' ὑπερ-κοσμίως 14
- # *super-naturaliter* 'supernaturally' ὑπερ-φυσῶς 2
- # *super-perfectus* 'supremely perfect' ὑπερ-τελής 3

- # *super-plenitudo* 'plenitude beyond plenitude' ὑπερ-πληρότης 1
 # *super-plenus* 'more than full' ὑπερ-πλήρης 9
 # *super-pulcher* 'supremely beautiful' ὑπέρ-καλος 1
 # *tri-personalis* 'of three persons' τρις-υπόστατος 2
 # *uni-alis* 'single, one' ἐν-ικός 29
 # *uni-aliter* 'singly' ἐνι-αίως 24
 # *uni-factrix* 'uniting' ἐνο-ποιός 2
 # *uni-intelligibilis* 'conducing to harmony' ὁμο-νοητικός 1
 # *uni-laetitia* 'unanimity' ὁμο-φροσύνη 1
 # *uni-mode* 'with the same disposition' ὁμο-τρόπως 1
 # *uni-modialitas* 'sameness of disposition or way of life' ὁμο-τροπία 2
 # *uni-principalis* 'being the principle of unity' ἐν-αρχικός 1
 # *uni-specialis* 'one in kind, unique' μονο-ειδής 2
 # *uni-specialiter* 'in a single form' ἐνο-ειδῶς 5
 # *uni-speciatim* 'in a single form, indicating unity' ἐνο-ειδῶς 2
 # *uni-visus* 'of single form, one only' ἐνο-ειδής 31
 # *uni-vocitas* 'unison, harmony' ὁμο-φωνία 1

4. William of Moerbeke (c. 1225-1286)

(Willem van Moerbeka, Guillelmus de Morbeka), a Flemish Dominican. He undertook a complete translation of Aristotle and of some other Greek philosophical texts, possibly at the request of Thomas Aquinas. His method was utterly literal (above, 53), which makes it a valuable witness of the Greek text he used. His neologisms were few. Since Boethius, the translators had applied an established way of rendering Greek philosophical terms and expressions. What is most characteristic of Moerbeke is his systematic consistency, which can be proved by the following examples, taken from his translation of Ammonius' *Commentary on the Peri hermeneias*.³¹¹ The regularity of his method appears especially when it comes to prefixes:

ἀπ-άγω

ab-duco

³¹¹ I rely on the edition and the indices in *Commentaire sur le Peri hermeneias d'Aristote*. Traduction de Guillaume de Moerbeke. Édition critique ... par G. Verbeke. Louvain & Paris 1961.

ἀπ-αρθρίζω, ἀπο-λύω
ἀπο-σπάω
σύ-στοιχος
συν-υπάρχω
συν-παρα-τείνω
συν-ανα-φαίνω, συν-εμ-φαίνω
συν-επι-νοῶ
συν-αναιρῶ
σύν-εργον
συν-τάττω, σύν-ταξις
συν-δύαζω
σύμ-μετρος
συν-πλέκω, συμ-πλοκή
συν-πλήρωσις
σύν-δρομος
συν-μετα-σχηματίζω
συν-αληθεύω
προ-λαμβάνω
πρό-οδος
προ-γινώσκω
προ-αίρησις
προ-τιμῶ
προ-εν-άγω
προ-επι-νοῶ
πρό-ρρησις
προ-καταβολή
προ-τάττω
πρό-θεσις
προ-ὑπο-κείμενος
προ-ὑπο-τίθεμαι
προ-ὑπο-κείμεαι
προ-τείνω
μετα-πίπτω
μετα-φέρω
μετα-σχηματισμός

ab-solvo
abs-traho
co-elementaris
co-exsisto
co-extendo
co-insinuo
co-intelligo
co-interimo
co-operatio
co-ordino, co-ordinatio
com-bino
com-mensurabilis
com-plecto, com-plexio
com-plementum
con-currens
con-figuro
con-verificor
prae-accipio
prae-cessus
prae-cognosco
prae-electio
prae-honoro
prae-infero
prae-intelligo
prae-nuntiatio
prae-ordinatio
prae-ordino
prae-positio
prae-subiectus
prae-suppono
prae-supponor
prae-tendo
trans-cido
trans-fero
trans-figuratio

μετά-βασις, μετά-θεσις	<i>trans-latio</i>
μετά-ταξις, μετα-τάττω	<i>trans-ordinatio, trans-ordino</i>
μετά-θεσις	<i>trans-positio</i>
μετά-ληψις	<i>trans-sumptio</i>
ὑπ-άλληλος	<i>sub-alternus</i>
ὑπ-εναντίος	<i>sub-contrarius</i>
ὑπο-κείμενος, ὑπο-κείμενον	<i>sub-iectus, sub-iectum</i>
ὑπό-στασις	<i>sub-sistentia</i>
ὑπό-θεσις, ὑπο-θετικός	<i>sup-positio, sup-positivus</i>

The negation ἀ(ν)- could be rendered through a syntagma, *sine X*: ἀ-παραλλάκτως *sine adiectione*, ἀ-προσ-δι-όριστος *sine determinationibus*.

The negation *non-* was introduced as a prefix:

ἀ-συν-δέτως	<i>non-copulativum, non-copulative</i>
ἀν-υπ-αρξία	<i>non-existentia</i>
ἀ-δια-νόητος	<i>non-intelligibilis</i>
ἀ-διά-κοπως	<i>non-intercise</i>
ἄ-σημος	<i>non-significativus</i>
ἀν-επί-δεκτος	<i>non-susceptivus</i>

This novelty proved useful. According to Latham, it was combined with the following nouns: *-accidens, -admissio, -adventus, -apparentia, -attenduntia, -causa, -celebrans, -celestia, -comparentia, -comparitio, -compassio, -corpus, -custodia, -ens, -entitas, -esse, -eternus, -executio, -exhibitio, -existentia, -finibilitas, -inceptio, -introitus, -motor*.

The earliest evidence in English for the noun *non-ability* is from 1477, in a translation by William Caxton, printer, merchant, and diplomat. It has later produced a host of formations with the sense 'not doing, failure to do, exemption from doing' (*non-acceptance, non-attendance, non-observance, non-payment, non-recognition*), or 'not being' (*non-violence*), or 'person or thing not of the kind designated' (*non-British, non-alcoholic*).

In the vast group of terms formed with the most frequent suffixes (*-itas, -tio, -ivus, -alis, -aris*), it is striking how most of them still survive in modern languages. This means that the intellectual lexicon of Western society was already present and serviceable in the academic circles of the thirteenth century.

5. Ramon Llull (Raimundus Lullus, c. 1235-1316)

was a philosopher, theologian, poet, missionary and apologist, a former knight from the kingdom of Majorca. He invented a philosophical system known as *Ars*, a system of universal logic based on a set of general principles activated in a combinatorial process. He proposed a list of notions as common to all disciplines, self-evident, and without which there could be neither science nor philosophy: *bonitas, magnitudo, aeternitas sine duratio, potestas, sapientia, voluntas, virtus, veritas et gloria; differentia, concordantia, contrarietas, principium, medium, finis, maioritas, aequalitas et minoritas. Et ex his principiis omnia entia implicata sunt aut explicata secundum eorum essentiam et naturam. Ac per ordinatam mixtionem ipsorum principiorum [...] significantur secreta et veritates naturae.*³¹² The rules which control all the possible combinations of those principles are a series of general questions applicable to all that is, for instance: what, why, how, which, when, where, etc.³¹³ He developed a system of Latin suffixes to express the correlatives, i.e. *bonitas, bonificans, bonificatus, bonificare*. His doctrine of correlatives stipulates that everything has a threefold structure: agent, patient, act: the divine principle "goodness" consists of "that which is good" (*bonificativum*), "that which receives good" (*bonificabile*), and "to do good" (*bonificare*). This system is open-ended: there is no limit to the possibilities to form new correlatives, as is shown by the examples below. Through his use of the Latin language, Llull dreamed of an all-comprehensive metaphysical grasp of reality.

Llull's *Art* was never adopted by mainstream academia of the thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries, but an early modern proponent of his was Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464). In Renaissance Italy his influence contributed to a development in metaphysics, from static Aristotelianism towards a notion of reality as a dynamic process. Llull's *Ars* was a decisive source of inspiration to the German mathematician and polymath Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) and his *De arte combinatoria*. Leibniz is credited with the development of the binary system, the number system in mathematics that uses only 0 and 1 to represent any number. The binary system is the language of computers.

The following few examples illustrate the potentialities of Llull's system. Totally independently of his philosophical outlook, it would later prove its expediency in the modern languages.

-(t)ivus (deverbative)

adcertitivus

³¹² *Declaratio Raimundi* (op. 80), prol.

³¹³ Gilson, 350-353.

aequalificativus
 # *aequativus*
 # *aequiparativus*
 # *aequoaequativus* (hapax), *aequoaequabile*, *aequoaequare*
 # *aerificativus*
 # *aeternativus*³¹⁴
 # *aeternificativus*
 # *affativus*³¹⁵
 # *angelificativus*³¹⁶
 # *aqueificativus*
 # *argumentativus*
 # *artificiativus*
 # *bonificativus*
 # *bonitivus*³¹⁷ (cf. *bonitivitas*) < # *bonitare*
 # *brancificativus*
 # *caelestiativus*³¹⁸
 # *calefactivus*
 # *certificativus*
 # *clarificativus*
 # *coadiutivus* (hapax)
 # *coadunativus* (hapax)
 # *coaequativus*
 # *complexionativus*
 # *concordativus*
 # *condicionativus*, *conditionativus*
 # *contrariativus*

³¹⁴ cum hoc toto ascendat ad aeternitatem diligendo, contemplans in ea aeternabundum, aeternosum, aeternativum, aeternantem, aeternare, aeternabilem et aeternatum (*Ars amativa boni*, dist. 2, c. 10)

³¹⁵ potentiae quidem sunt hae, videlicet tactiva, gustativa, odorativa, visiva, auditiva et affativa (*Ars brevis*, dist. 5)

³¹⁶ est in angelo relatio angelificativi, angelificabilis et angelificare? [---] non potest in angelo esse relatio antedicta (*Arbor scientiae*, 16,5).

³¹⁷ sub ratione divinae bonitatis, in qua diligit bonibundum, bonosum, bonitivum, bonientem, bonire, bonibile et bonitum (*Ars amativa boni*, dist. 2, cap. 10)

³¹⁸ quinque potentiae principales universi, scilicet caelestiativa, imaginativa, sensitiva, vegetativa et elementativa (*Liber novus physicorum* d. 1)

corporativus (hapax)
 # *deificativus*
 # *differentiativus*
 # *durativus*
 # *durificativus*
 # *elementativus*
 # *evacuativus*
 # *existimativus*
 # *florificativus*
 # *fortificativus*
 # *gloriativus*
 # *glorificativus*
 # *homificativus*
 # *humefactivus*
 # *immensivus*
 # *implurativus*
 # *impotestativus*
 # *instinctivus*
 # *instrumentativus*
 # *lucificativus*
 # *luminificativus*
 # *maiorificativus*
 # *malificativus*
 # *memorificativus*
 # *mensurativus*
 # *misericordiativus*³¹⁹
 # *obstinativus*
 # *occasionativus* < *occasionare*
 # *otiositivus*
 # *parvificativus*
 # *possificativus*
 # *posteriorativus*

³¹⁹ Ipsa misericordia de quo est? Et respondendum est, quod est de aeternativo, possificativo, misericordiativo, qui praecedunt in tempore misericordibile (*Ars compendiosa*, d. 30, 2).

praesentativus
propriativus
quantificativus
quietivus
rationativus
refluxivus
refrigificativus
saturativus
specificativus
substantiativus
temporificativus
terrificativus
transmissivus
unificativus
vacuativus
valentificativus
verificativus
virtuificativus
virtuosificativus
visitivus

-alitas

aeviternalitas
caelestialitas
illegalitas
innaturalitas
instrumentalitas
magnalitas
modalitas
paternalitas
quintalitas
ternalitas

-(t)ivitas, -ficativitas

aerificativitas
aeternativitas

aeternificativitas
 # amativitas
 # antiquitativitas
 # appetitivitas
 # auditivitas
 # bonificativitas
 # brancificativitas³²⁰
 # calefactivitas
 # causativitas
 # concordativitas
 # contemplativitas
 # delectativitas
 # durativitas
 # durificativitas
 # elementativitas³²¹
 # florificativitas
 # folificativitas
 # fructificativitas
 # gloriativitas
 # gustativitas
 # ignificativitas
 # ignitivitas
 # imaginativitas
 # immotivitas
 # infinitivitas
 # intellectivitas
 # iustificativitas
 # leonativitas (hapax)
 # magnificativitas

³²⁰ Actiones plantae sunt radicativitas, truncificativitas, brancificativitas, ramificativitas, folificativitas, florificativitas et fructificativitas (*De ascensu et descensu intellectus*, d. 4).

³²¹ Actiones [leonis] sunt hae: elementativitas, vegetativitas, sensitivitas, imaginativitas, leonativitas, visitivitas, auditivitas, odorativitas, gustativitas, tactivitas, rugitivitas; et istae sunt intrinsecae actiones. Sed extrinsecae sunt sicut venativitas, motivitas et huiusmodi (*De ascensu et descensu intellectus*, d. 5).

magnitivitas
 # *memorativitas*
 # *motivitas*
 # *obiectativitas*
 # *odorativitas*
 # *personativitas*
 # *possificativitas*
 # *possitivitas* 'ability to act'
 # *primitivitas*
 # *principiativitas*
 # *punitivitas*
 # *qualificativitas*
 # *quantificativitas*
 # *quintativitas*³²²
 # *radicativitas*
 # *ramificativitas*
 # *recolibilitas*
 # *rugitivitas*
 # *scitivitas*
 # *sensitivitas*
 # *spirativitas*
 # *superlativitas*
 # *tactivitas*
 # *truncificativitas*
 # *vegetativitas*
 # *venativitas*
 # *verativitas* 'veracity' (< **verare* 'be honest'?)
 # *virtuitivitas* 'virtuousness' (< **virtuire* 'be virtuous'?)
 # *visitivitas*

-(e)i-tas

perseitas
 # *absolutitas*

³²² Quia numeus perfectus est, postquam est in unitate et pluralitate, singularitate et paritate, propter hoc non indiget quaternitate nec quintativitate (*Liber de Deo* 1, qu. 5).

alienitas
 # angelitas
 # argenteitas
 # aureitas
 # bilitas³²³
 # compacitas
 # cupreitas
 # dieioveitas³²⁴
 # discontinuitas
 # extensitas
 # ferreitas
 # gloritas³²⁵
 # incontinuitas
 # instantaneitas
 # intraneitas
 # longinquitas
 # nocturnitas
 # planteitas
 # plumbeitas
 # pomeitas
 # prioritas
 # puncteitas, punctuitas
 # rosaitas
 # stagneitas³²⁶
 # triangularitas

³²³ Utrum generalis bilitas sit fons passionis? [Whether the general ability of suffering actions is the source of passivity?] (*Ars generalis ultima*, 11,6).

³²⁴ in Iove ... sic est devicta sua bonitas, stagneitas, et dieioveitas, masculinitas et diuturnitas (*Liber de regionibus sanitatis et informitatis*, d. 2).

³²⁵ Optimitas, maximitas, gloritas possunt esse eadem in numero essentia, substantia, natura (*Liber de divina habentia*, 1).

³²⁶ Actions Iovis sunt bonitas, stagneitas, masculinitas, diurnitas (*De ascensu et descensu intellectus*, d. 7).

-abilis, -ibilis

aequalificabilis

aerificabilis

aeternificabilis

affirmabilis

*assituabilis*³²⁷ 'placeable in the category *situs*'

bonificabilis **458**

calefactibilis ≠ # *incalefactibilis*

coaequabilis

complexionabilis

consumabilis

contrariabilis

deificabilis

*deitabilis*³²⁸

differentiabilis (< *differentiare*)

distinctionabilis

elementabilis

exterioritas

fortificabilis

gloriabilis

glorificabilis

habituabilis (cf. *assituabilis*) 'placeable in the category *habitus*'

homificabilis

ignificabilis

iustificabilis

lucificabilis

magnabilis

magnificabilis **199**

maiorabilis

malificabilis

materiabilis

³²⁷ *Assituabilis sive habituabilis (Liber de consilio, dist. 2).*

³²⁸ *Vocamus enim deitantes Patrem, deitabilem Filium, et deitare Spiritum sanctum per amare (De inuestigatione actuum diuinarum rationum, op. 116, dist. 2.1797).*

minorificabilis
negabilis
obiectabilis
partiabilis
possificabilis **69**
principiabilis, principiabilissimum
propriabilis
quiescibilis
quietabilis
recolibilis
secundioritas
simplificabilis
substantiabilis
temporificabilis
tertioritas
timibilis
tormentabilis
valentificabilis
valificabilis
verificabilis
virtuificabilis

-iare, -itare, -ionare, -izare (factitive)

actionare
anhelitare
assituare
caelestiarare
complexionare 'constitute'
condicionare, conditionare
consubstantiare 'make of one substance, identify'
contritionare
deitare (cf. *deitabilis*, above)
differentiare
distinctionare
essentiarare

filiare
finitare
foliare
habituare
infinitare
*instinctionare*³²⁹
magnare
metaphorizare
misericordiare, # *misericordiari*
passionare
perfectionare
propriare
prudentiare
rationare, *rationari*
syllabizare

³²⁹ Natura est ens habens instinctum, cui ... competit naturale instinctionare (*Liber novus physicorum et compendiosus*, op. 157, dist. 1.171)

Chapter VIII

The Principal Productive Categories of Latin Word-Formation on the Eve of Humanism

1 Introduction

In 1928, A. Meillet pointed to the strange fact that there was, so far, no thorough investigation concerning the role of Medieval Latin as the principal source and matrix of technical terms and abstract concepts in modern languages.³³⁰

In 1975, the Romanist Kurt Baldinger observed that the medieval Latin treatises on natural philosophy offer an extensive material permitting the conclusion that quite a lot of technical terms, emerging in fourteenth century French, are nothing but mere adaptations of existing Latin words to the morphological system of the French language, or calques of Latin expressions: *sophisticatio* > *sophistication*, *sophista* > *sophiste*, *geometricus* > *géométrique*, *spericus* > *spérique*, *theorica* > *théorique*, *dyaphanus* > *diaphane*, *eccentricus* > *excentrique*, *equedistans* > *equidistant*, *convexus* > *convexe*, *sesquialter* > *se(s)quialtère*, *mathematicus* > *mathématique*, *tropicus* > *tropique*, *producere effectum* > *produire un effet*, *zenith* > *cenith*, *polus* > *pol*, etc.³³¹

In fact, the study of medieval university text-books more than once reveals the missing links between modern technical terms and those words that are stated to be their ancestors by etymological dictionaries: Baldinger adduces as an example *géométricalement*, declared to be a derivate of *géométrique* in *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 4, 118 a, whereas the Latin adjective *geometricalis* had since long been used when *géométricalement* was recorded for the first time.³³²

The present study will not deal with etymology as its primary subject, but rather with the topic of word-formation. No student of late medieval philosophy and theology can fail to observe the certain categories of derivation are conspicuously more productive than others (cf. the definitions, below). Whereas the substantival

³³⁰ *Revue des études latines*, 6, p. 29; cf. M. Ph. Hubert, "Quelques aspects du latin philosophique aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles", *ibid.* 27, 1949, pp. 211-233, reprinted in "Mittelalterliche Philologie. Beiträge zur Erforschung der mittelalterlichen Latinität" = *Wege der Forschung* 292, Darmstadt 1975, pp. 283-312.

³³¹ "Zum Übergang von der lateinischen zur französischen Fachterminologie im 14. Jahrhundert". *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 91, 1975, pp. 485-490.

³³² *Ibid.* p. 486.

suffix *-ītia* did not add any derivatives to those existing in late antiquity³³³, the opposite is the case with *-(ī)tas*, that produced a never-ending line of novel abstract nouns. And the same goes for, say, *-īcius* compared to *-alis*, or *-sco* compared to *-izo* among the adjectival and verbal suffixes, respectively.

Now, if one considers the survival of these Latin suffixes in, say, modern English, the descendants of *-ītas* (*-ity*), *-alis* (*-al*), and *-izo* (*-ize*, *-ise*) are still highly productive of novel words, whereas the descendants of *-ītia*, *-īcius*, and *-sco* are not: *-ice* is inherited from Old French, whether there were Latin models as in *justice*, *avarice*, etc., or originally French, (like *cowardice* or *jaundice*), *-īcius* (in loanwords from Latin, like *fictitious*, or from Old French, like *novice*), and *-sco* (*coalesce*, from learned Latin).

The present study has the modest purpose of bringing up some material from the field of university instruction and intellectual tradition in the late Middle Ages, admitting some conclusions about Latin productivity.

1.1 Definitions

The principal productive categories. It goes without saying that there were other categories of word-formation in late medieval Latin than those accounted for in this study. Here, I have collected some instances of Latin derivatives not represented, in general, in *ThLL*. They are mainly excerpts from philosophical texts, and taken into account as far as they could be, together with similar formations, subsumed under a significant and well-defined group of words, owing their origin to the same process of word-formation.

Productivity, for the present purpose, means the capacity of a Latin affix of being joined to existing or novel words (with certain morphologic and semantic criteria), thus producing, by means of derivation, new words, normally belonging to another word-class. The number of such potential new lexemes (derivatives) is unlimited.³³⁴

Humanism, in this context, refers to the movement emerging in the fourteenth century Italy and culminating in the decades around 1500, and seeing as its task to

³³³ "hat in mal. Latein kümmerlich weitergelebt", Stotz, VI, § 48.1. General remark: Stotz, in his monumental *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters*, zweiter Band: *Bedeutungswandel und Wortbildung* (Munich 2000), on pages 270-482 "Wortbildung", given a thorough survey of medieval Latin word formation and suffixation. My present study builds on other sources, and is restricted to those parts of this development that have survived in modern languages, namely our common linguistic heritage that is still vital and operational.

³³⁴ Cf. S. Zepic, "Gedanken zur Wortbildungslehre", *Linguistische Berichte*, 11, 1971, pp. 1 ff.; J. Lyons, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*, Cambridge 1968, p. 195; W. Ulrich, *Wörterbuch linguistischer Grundbegriffe*, Kiel 1972, p. 93; W. Abraham, *Terminologie zur neueren Linguistik*, 1974, p. 82.

establish strict standards of linguistic accuracy and to purify contemporary Latin according to the ideals of classical usage, in the words of Leonardus Aretinus (d. 1444): *diligenter curabit ut quotiens ei loquendum sit aliquid vel scribendum, nullum ponat verbum quod non antea in aliquo istorum* (i.e., the classical authors) *reppererit*.³³⁵

The material will be presented in three main sections (adjectival, verbal, substantival suffixation). As far as possible, every section and subsection opens with a short history of the respective formation. I have not, however, judged it appropriate to divide the instances according to clearly defined historical periods, a procedure that would be necessarily arbitrary, given the distinctly retrospective and reproductive character of scholastic method. A figure like Boethius, in his capacity of connecting link between Antiquity and the schoolmen, belongs as much to the Middle Ages as to the sixth century. Terence, Cicero, Sallust and Augustine, to name a few, were omnipresent in medieval schools, and the intellectuals of that period did not think of themselves as speaking or writing a Latin essentially other than theirs.

When a Latin formation is followed by a date with no further qualification (e.g., *senioritas* 1415), this means that the lexical unit in question is listed in R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources*, London, 1965, where the date refers to the earliest attested occurrence of that item in the sources utilized. Since Latham's word-list is the only complete dictionary of late medieval Latin with a consistent system of chronological informations, including scholastic sources, it was used as a parameter indicating the relative chronology of the different formations. The date of an entry in Latham's word-list has no bearing whatsoever on the instances taken from other sources.

The sections 2.2.8. and 2.3.3.4. are digressions into the realm of Latin syntax. I have not considered it appropriate to sever the topic of *-ivus* and *-bilis* taking the objective genitive.

Now and then, some parallels in modern languages are suggested, without aiming at thorough consistency and completeness. The sole purpose of this study is to map out significant spots in the no man's land between late medieval Latin and the beginning of the intellectual vocabularies of modern languages.

³³⁵ "De studiis et literis", ed. H. Baron, *Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Leipzig 1928, vol I, p. 8; R.R. Bolgar, 265 ff. The texts exploited in this investigation emanate from a period previous to this movement, or from authors not influenced by it (hence the deliberately imprecise expression "on the eve of Humanism").

2 Adjectival suffixation

2.1 *-īcus* < *-ικός*

The Greek *-ικός*, whether attached to Latin noun stems (*civicus* Plautus) or imported with Greek loan-words (*politicus* Caelius, Cicero), coexisted with domestic *-icus* formations of more or less conspicuous derivation (denominal *puplicus*, deverbal *medicus*, doubtful origin *lubricus*).³³⁶ The adoption of Greek *-ικός* adjectives was to continue through the post-classical and medieval periods, especially in medicine and philosophy, whereas the forging of new hybrids was rather restricted, undoubtedly owing to the pullulation of the *-īvus* type (below, section 2.2.).

2.1.1 Denominal hybrids on *-īcus*

The latinizations *patronomicus* (πατρονομικός) and *matronomicus* (μητρονομικός), by analogy, brought even *avonomicus* into existence.³³⁷

Coined on the model *logista* > *logisticus*, and sim. (Cassiodore), were *obligista* > *obligisticus* 'concerned with Obligations (a branch of logic)',³³⁸ and, parodically, *artista* > *artisticus*, 'concerned with the Arts faculty'³³⁹; *elementicus*, 'specialist in the elements' c. 1300.

Probably in search of an analogy to *specificus* (*generalis* being too unspecified), the Scotists of the 15th century introduced *genericus*.³⁴⁰

2.1.2 *-īcus* on a pronominal base?

identicus c. 1300 'identic' can be explained either as a derivate on *idem* by affixation of *-ticus* (cf. *-τικός*) or rather based on *ident(-itās)*, cf. section 3.2. *identificare*. The formation is possibly influenced by *authenticus* 760.

³³⁶ Leumann, § 303 I A, B 1.

³³⁷ In Explan. in Don. gramm. (5th c. A.D.), IV 537, 7.

³³⁸ *Vtrum in arte obligistica omne possibile sit ponibile et admittendum*, SU, 95.

³³⁹ *non curat amplius facultatem artisticam*; EOVI, 63,29 f.

³⁴⁰ *ens ... dicitur unum unitate generica generalissima, Sirecti; difference siue sint generice siue specificice siue indiuiduales*, Ioannes Stobniczka, *Introductio in doctrinam Doctoris subtilis*, fol. a IV^b, 1519.

2.1.3 Parasynthetic formations on *-īcus*

posterioristicus and *prioristicus*³⁴¹ are to be regarded as derivatives from the base of the adverbial expressions *a posteriori* and *a priori*.³⁴² The superfluous affix *-ist-* can be attributed to the influence of nouns like *posteriorista* (below, 3.2.1) and numerous other adjectives on *-isticus* (*syllogisticus*, etc.), *perseicus*, 'self-subsistent' 1467, is derived from *per se*.

This modifies to some extent the judgement of OED: "Its use in Latin was much more restricted, and it ceased to be a living formative, except in the compound suffix *-āticus* (*-atic*, *-age*) and in words formed from Greek, or on Greek types. These were very numerous in late and medieval Latin, whence they passed into the modern languages; since the 16th cent. they have been taken directly from Greek, or formed upon Greek elements, and in some recent (esp. scientific) terms on words from Latin or other sources as *carbonic*, *oratoric*, *artistic*, *bardic*, *scaldic*, *felspathic*, *Icelandic*, *Byronic*."

2.2 *-(t)īvus*

The OL denominal *-īvus* (*tempestus* > *tempestivus* Plautus) does not concern us here. Apart from some rare exceptions, such as *comes* > *comitivus*,³⁴³ 'pertaining to a chief officer', it did not stay productive in the Middle Ages.

Novel adjectives on the OL deverbal (passive) type *-īvus* were formed on the base of passive *-to*-participles (*captus* > *captivus* Plautus).³⁴⁴ These "genuine" *-īvus* types did survive only in some isolated cases in the Romance languages.³⁴⁵

The predominantly active deverbal adjectives on *-tīvus*, a category increasingly productive since the classical period, were, originally, linked to the factual possibility of forming corresponding verbal abstracts (*instaurativi ludi* / *instauratio ludorum* Cicero). This factual correspondence was later understood as a

³⁴¹ Marsilius of Inghen, d. 1396, Prantl IV, 98: '*dici de omni*' est duplex: quoddam prioristicum ... aliud posterioristicum.

³⁴² Originally the Aristotelian binomy πρότερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς / πρότερον φύσει, *Analytica posteriora* I, 2, 71b33-72a5, the established binary opposition is ascribed to Albert of Richmersdorf (of Saxony, d. 1390; Prantl IV 78, Eucken 69 f., *HWP*, I, 462 ff.), but in fact it occurs earlier, e.g. in Thomas Aquinas, *In Anal. Post.* I, lect. 42, 374: *in disciplinis est necessitas a priori, in naturalibus autem a posteriori*.

³⁴³ *dignitas*, Vegetius, Mil. 2,9; *sedes* Cod. Th. 11,21.

³⁴⁴ Leumann, § 281.

³⁴⁵ Breitmeyer, 322.

morphological one. (This accounts for post-classical affixation of *-ivus* to abstract nouns on *-nt-* and *-tat-*.)³⁴⁶

The many Latin translations of Greek texts in the fields of philosophy, religion, rhetoric, and grammar brought several tides of new deverbal adjectives of a markedly technical character (German *Fachsprache*), equivalents of adjectives on *-τικός*. It was, in many cases, sufficient for the creation of a new term ending on *-tivus* on the model of an adjective on *-τικός* that the respective verbal stems represented the same notion in both languages.³⁴⁷

It should be pointed out that the host of new deverbal adjectives, with or without a known Greek model, most certainly were understood rather as the suffix *-ivus* being attached to perfect stems (cf. *conclusivus*, *mansivus*, and the denominal *-tat-ivus*, below).

Many of these adjectives were used already in Latin substantively; the same precedent is freely followed in modern languages and in English: e.g. *adjective*, *captive*, *derivative*, *expletive*, *explosive*, *fugitive*, *indicative*, *incentive*, *invective*, *locomotive*, *miss-ive*, *native*, *nominative*, *prerogative*, *sedative*, *subjunctive*.

2.2.1 *-nt-* + *-ivus*

absentivus 'absent', in Petron. 33, is a doubtful reading. Influential as a pattern was *substantivus* (ὕπαρκτικός) 'of independent existence', introduced by Tertullian,³⁴⁸ with followers like *insubstantivus* (ἀνυπόστατος Iren. 1,9,4; Ambrose), *consubstantivus* (συνυπόστατος, Ambrosiaster) and *supersubstantivus* (Rusticus Diaconus, 6th century); *instantivus* 'dealing with, containing an objection' < *instantia* = ἔνστασις, 'objection', Arist. Anal. Prior. B 26, 69a137; *dialecticus*, *propositivus et instantivus* (διαλεκτικός καὶ προτατικός καὶ ἐνστατικός), Boethius Top. 8,14; *instantia seu sillogismus instantivus*, Tataretus Log. fol. 84^{va}; cf. *instantive* 'by way of exception' 1250; *potentivus* Capit. Carol. Magn. p. 93,28; *subsistentivus* 'subsistent' 1427.

2.2.2 *-ntat-* + *-ivus*

representativus Bonaventure, Ockham; *experimentativus* Ockham.

³⁴⁶ Leumann, § 281.

³⁴⁷ Breitmeyer, 323.

³⁴⁸ E.g. Adv. Prax. 26.

2.2.3 -ntia- + -īvus

sententiativus Bonaventure; *quiditativum dicitur* ... *essentative* [< *essentiativus*, etc.] ... *constitutive* ... *specificative* ... *representative* ... *indicative* ... *predicative*, Sirecti; *differentiativus* Lullus.

2.2.4 -tāt- + īvus

There is a number of *-ivus* adjectives coined from the abstract nouns on *-tas*, *-tat-is*, a procedure seemingly initiated by Tertullian *potestativus* (*principii vocabulum quod est ἀρχή non tantum ordinativum sed et potestativum capit principatum*, adv. Hermog. 19); *voluntativus* (προαιρετικός) Prisc. III 224,25; [*caritativus* >] *caritative* Felix II epist. 1,18; *qualitativus* Cassiod. in psalm. 21,3; *quantitativus* Pierre Abélard;³⁴⁹ *auctoritativus* c. 1376 (*auctoritative* p. 1300)³⁵⁰; *entitativus* 'constituting existence' (Antonius Andreas, d. 1320),³⁵¹ *entitative* SU, 116: *Vtrum a motu entitatie tempus existens successuum separatim realiter dependeat causative ab anima; quid(d)itativus* 'essential' c. 1300: *dicitur simplex quod non habet conceptum quiditativum et qualitativum*, Sirecti.

2.2.5 -īvus appended to participial stems

2.2.5.1 Participial stems + -īvus in translated texts

Breitmeyer, who presents a dictionary of all recorded adjectives on *-īvus* from the times of Livius Andronicus up to the Capitularies of Charlemagne, gives a list (pp. 323-334) of 136 Latin adjectives on *-īvus*, having a known Greek model on *-τικός*, most of which are deverbative (exceptions, such as *ergativus* < ἐργατικός 'active, effective', are rare). The following examples show that the productivity of this type persisted throughout the Middle Ages.

With an Arabic model. Avicenna *De anima* prol. 11,44 ff: *æstimativus* < wahmī, *cogitativa* (sc. *virtus*) < mufakkira, *imaginativa* (sc. *virtus*) < mutakhayyila; *ibid.* V 183,93 *Videtur autem quod virtus æstimativa sit virtus cogitativa et imaginativa et memorialis; formativus* < musawwar; *ibid.* V 89,97, *intellectivus* < 'aqlī.

With a Greek model (-τικός): William of Moerbeke. The commentary of Themistios (d. c. 390) on *De anima*, translated in 1267 by William of Moerbeke, may serve as an example of his abundant use of already existing formations, as well as some novel ones, invented by himself; with these translations of Greek

³⁴⁹ Eucken, 65; Thes. Nov. Lat. (1123-1200), p. 288; Breitmeyer, 112.

³⁵⁰ Cf. Breitmeyer, 111.

³⁵¹ Prantl, III 280: *Licet materia sit ens in actu entitativo*.

philosophy, such formations became so well established that one can suppose that the pattern could be applied on past participle stems of almost any Latin verb:

activus < ποιητικός³⁵² (Seneca Philosophus; Boethius < πρακτικός)
(*aedificativus*) *aedificativa* n. < τεκτονική, sc. τέχνη (Ps-Dionysius Areopagita)
appetitivus < ὀρεκτικός (Aelred of Rivaulx, Avicenna Latinus)
auditivus < ἀκουστικός (Bonaventure, Ockham)
augmentativus < αὐξητικός (Ps-Dionysius Areopagita)
cognoscitivus < γνωστικός (Bonaventure)
conativus < ἐπιχειρητικός (Robert Grosseteste)
concupiscitivus < ἐπιθυμητικός (Hrabanus Maurus)³⁵³
conservativus < διατηρητικός (Boethius)
contemplativus < θεωρητικός (Seneca Philosophus)²⁴
contentivus < συνεκτικός (Boethius, Bonaventure)
destructivus < λυμαντικός (Boethius, Bonaventure; cf. *peremptivus*, below)
factivus < ποιητικός (Ps-Dionysius Areop.)
(*fistulativus*) *fistulativa* n. < αὐλητική, sc. τέχνη (Thomas Aquinas)
fugitivus < φευκτικός (Plautus, Terence)
generativus < γεννητικός (Dionysius Exiguus, Boethius)
gressivus < πορευτικός (Thomas Aquinas)
gustativus < γευστικός (Dionysius Areop., Eriugena)
incisivus < τμητικός (Petrus Comestor)
intellectivus < διανοητικός (Bonaventure)³⁵⁴
iudicativus < κριτικός (Bonaventure, Ockham)
(*meditativus*) *meditativa* n. < διανοητική, sc. ἀρετή (Marius Victorinus)³⁵⁵
nutritivus < θρεπτικός (Dionysius Areop.)

³⁵² Seneca philosophus introduced the binary *activa/contemplativa philosophia*, epist. 95.

³⁵³ Cf. Jerome, *In Ezech. 1,1 plerique, iuxta Platonem, rationale animae et irascentium et concupiscentium, quod ille λογικὸν et θυμικὸν et ἐπιθυμητικὸν uocat.*

³⁵⁴ (*Spiritus Sanctus*) *nostram irradiet intellectivam, inflammet affectivam, nostram dirigat intuitivam, nostram fecundet interpretativam, nostram revelet auditivam (potentiam)*, Sermo 241,1.

³⁵⁵ *Formae verborum quot sunt? Quattuor, meditativa, inchoativa, perfecta, frequentativa: meditativa, ut amaturio, inchoativa ut fervesco calesco algesco, perfecta ut ferveo caleo algeo, frequentativa ut ab algeo alsito, ex curro cursito.* De arte grammatica, p. 200. *meditativus* can render διανοητικός, μελετικός, or σκεπτικός.

odorativus < ὀσφραντικός (first instance here? Thomas Aquinas; Lullus³⁵⁶)
passivus < παθητικός (Apuleius, Tertullian)
perceptivus < καταληπτικός (Augustinus de Dacia, Bonaventure)
peremptivus < λυμαντικός (first instance, cf. *destructivus*; Thomas Aquinas)
rationcinativus < διανοητικός (Cicero, Quintilian)
respirativus < ἀναπνευστικός (first instance? Thomas Aquinas, Lullus)
retentivus < καθεκτικός (Alanus ab Insulis, Alcher of Clairvaux)
significativus < σημαντικός (Marius Victorinus, Augustine)
speculativus < θεωρητικός (Boethius < θεωρικός)
vegetativus < φυτικός (Augustinus de Dacia, Bonaventure)
visivus < ὁρατικός (Dionysius Areop.)

Furthermore, in his translation of Ammonius' commentary on Aristotle's *Peri hermeneias* (made in 1268), William of Moerbeke applied the following formations:

ambulatīvus < βαδιστικός (Ps-Dionysios Areopagita, Ockham)
coniectivus < εἰκαστικός (apparently novel)
consiliativus < βουλευτικός (novel)
declarativus < δηλωτικός (Marius Victorinus, Martianus Capella)
dictivus < φαντικός (hapax?)
disputativus < διαλεκτικός (Cassiodore)
dubitativus < ἐπαπορητικός (Tertullian)
expositivus < ἐξηγητικός and ἐκθετικός (Evrard de Béthune)
illuminativus < φωτιστικός (Ps-Dionysios Areopagita)
inquisitivus < πυσματικός (πύσμα n., 'question'; Boethius)
investigativus < πυσματικός (Bonaventure, Lullus)
locutivus < διαλεκτικός (Robert Grosseteste)
medicativus < ἱατρικός (Thomas Aquinas)
ordinativus < ἐπιτατικός (Tertullian)
praedicativus < κατηγορικός (Martianus Capella, Boethius)
principativus < ἀρχικός (Ps-Dionysios Areopagita, Bonaventure)
suppositivus < ὑποθετικός (Ps-Dionysios Areopagita)
vocativus < φωνητικός, κλητικός (Aulus Gellius, Augustine)

³⁵⁶ *Potentia uisiva, auditiva, odorativa, gustativa, tactiva, affativa, imaginativa, intellectiva, uolitiva et memorativa*, De virtutibus et peccatis, 5, 83.

The best proof of high productivity is that Moerbeke had recourse to the *-ivus* type even without Greek originals on *-ικός*: *consecutivus* < ἀκόλουθος, *defectivus* < ἐλλειπής, *infinitivus* < ἀπαρέμφατος, *mansivus* < μόνιμος, *pungitivus* < δριμύς, *imperceptivus* < ἀσύνετος, *per-se-motivus* < αὐτοκίνητος.

2.2.5.2 Further medieval coinage of *-īvus*, *-īvē* + past participle stems

I refrain from any attempts to qualify the following examples as original Latin or calques from Arabic or Greek:

abstractive 'abstractly' c. 1286, Alain de Lille, Sirecti.³⁵⁷

acquisitive Aelred of Rivaux, Andreas de Sancto Victore.

acquisitivus Bonaventure, Tataretus.³⁵⁸

divisive p. 1300 'distributively' (*divisivus* Boethius) Meister Eckehart.

complexive Cassiodore, Ps-Dionysius Areopagita, Hrabanus Maurus, Tataretus.³⁵⁹

elementativus (< *elementatus* 'composed of elements') Ps-Dionysius Areopagita, Lullus, 'characteristic of an element'.³⁶⁰

exclusive Alain de Lille, 1267.³⁶¹

inclusive Augustinus de Dacia.³⁶²

immobilitativus (< *immobilitare* 'immobilize, fixe'), c. 1270.³⁶³

integrativus, *constitutivus* 'considered as an integrated, constituent unit'.³⁶⁴

intuitivus c. 1300, Ockham.³⁶⁵

quietativus c. 1270 'bringing to rest', Bonaventure, Ockham.

³⁵⁷ *forma ... potest accipi pro forma totius, videlicet pro tota ipsa natura abstractiue sumpta.*

³⁵⁸ Log. fol. 119^{rb} *in processu acquisitivo et disciplinabili.*

³⁵⁹ Phil. fol. 7^{rb} *potest* (sc. the copula 'et') *teneri diuisiue vel complexiue*, 'can be understood as distributive or copulative'.

³⁶⁰ SU 41,38 *elementa elementata.*

³⁶¹ SU 22,151 *tota porcio mundi ab India exclusive.*

³⁶² SU 22,126 ff *recuperabunt ... omnes prouincias inter Constantiopolim et Iherusalem inclusive.*

³⁶³ Scotus, Exp. in Metaph. IX, S. 2, c. 2 *Dicit ... de omni principio motivo aut immobilitativo, id est, sive sit principium motivum, sive principium immobilitatis, puta quietis.*

³⁶⁴ Trombetta, Qu. de consideratis a methaphysico, fol. 17vb *totum est sue partes constitutiue et integratiue, quia partes integrant et constituunt ipsum totum.*

³⁶⁵ Ockham, cited by Prantl III 332 *Sola notitia intuitiva intellectiva non sufficit ad iudicium tamquam causa proxima.*

scandalizativus (parodically!) 'scandalous'.³⁶⁶

specificative c. 1300, Ockham 'as a means of specification'.³⁶⁷

2.2.6 *-ivus, -ive* in irregular formations

-ivus was early, by way of exception, and in some few cases, joined with a present stem like *nocivus, cadivus, recidivus, subsicivus, strictivus*, etc. (Leumann, § 281 d). Likewise, there exist some excentric formations: *existitivus* was forged on the model of ὑπαρκτικός in William of Moerbeke's translation of Ammonius: *oportet compositionem vel divisionem existitivam esse, hoc est insinuativam quod aliud alii insit vel non insit*. The variant *existivam* in two manuscripts is maybe simply due to haplography. (Cf SU p. 117 *magnitudo, motus et tempus non sunt condiiuisibilia exsistitive*.) More excentric are *paulativus, paulative* a. 1250 'gradual(ly)', on the base of *paulatim* (Bonaventure).

2.2.7 Substantivized *-iva, -ivum* on participial stems or nouns

As model may *donativum* have served, 'largesse given by the emperor to each soldier', recorded several times in Tacitus. Elliptical *invektivae* (sc. *orationes*) 'invectives' (Rufinus, Augustine, Ammianus), corresponding to Gr. στήλιτευτικός (sc. λόγος, cf. στήλιτεύω, 'inscribe on a stele, denounce') became a technical term in rhetoric. In a similar way, *praerogativa* (sc. *tribus* or *centuria*) 'the tribe or century that voted first in the comitia' became a genuine noun, 'the choice of the century that voted first', and since Pliny the Elder, especially in jurisprudential literature, it was understood as 'privilege, prerogative'.

Substantivized *incentiva* npl 'that provokes or incites' is recorded since Hilary of Poitiers,³⁶⁸ a singular *incentivum* 'incentive' in Tertullian.³⁶⁹ Its origin is *tibia incentiva* (< *incino*), corresponding to Gr. ἐπαυλητικός 'the right-hand tube in a pair of pipes', the left-hand being called *succentiva*. In a further semantic development, *incentivum* came to mean 'something apt to incite, an incentive', like the trumpet calling soldiers to fight (Tertullian, Cyprian, and so forth)³⁷⁰. In Tertullian, anim. 9,

³⁶⁶ EOVI, III 31 *faciunt libros scandalizativos*.

³⁶⁷ Trombetta, Qu. de vniuocatione entis, fol. 15vb ly 'inquantum' in ista auctoritate 'accidens, inquantum ens, diffinitur per substantiam' tenetur specificatiue.

³⁶⁸ *perfecta bonitas in nullo est, quia eam naturalium perturbationum incentiva demutent*, Super psalmos, 52, 11.

³⁶⁹ *si post incentivum quoque puellam perseverasset, potuit et nubere*, "if he had persisted in being a girl even after this incentive, he might as well have got married", De pallio, 4.

³⁷⁰ *incentivum autem ad operandum quod malum est aut iracundia aut cupiditas esse consuevit*, Ambrose, De paradiso 6, 34.

distantivum = διαστηματικόν seems to be formed on the noun *distantia*, like # *concupiscentivum* (ἐπιθυμητικόν) from *concupiscentia* (instead of **concupitivum*), which is the opposite of # *indignativum* (θυμικόν).³⁷¹ The noun *corruptivum* (τὸ φθαρτόν, I Cor 15:53) was used by Tertullian passim, whereas the variant *corruptibile* prevailed in the Vulgate.

Elliptical singular nouns on *-iva* are otherwise rare during the Middle Ages, cf. Moerbeke's *fistulativa* (sc. *ars*) = αὐλητική (τέχνη), above; *perspectiva* (sc. *scientia*) and *perspectivum* = ὀπτική, ὀπτικόν, attributed by Breitmeyer (p. 84) to Boethius, are in fact of considerably later origin: they occur in the Vulgate translation of Aristotle's Posterior Analytics, which is now recognized as the work of James of Venice (between 1125 and 1150).³⁷² The feminine noun *alternativa*, recorded in Latham's Dictionary (1527 *quod dicta alternativa super matrimonio ... Marie ... in personam ... ducis ... determinetur*), is of uncertain origin.³⁷³

On the other hand, the substantivized *-ivum* (apparently non-elliptical) formed on past participle stems of transitive verbs and denoting 'a means, a function, a faculty, a permanent capacity', was all the more productive. As a rule, such substantivized formations seem to have a genetic connection with corresponding Greek nouns on -*τικόν*, cf. Aristotle *De anima* B 3, 414a31 f.: δυνάμεις δ'εἵπομεν θρεπτικόν, ὀρεκτικόν, αἰσθητικόν, κινητικόν κατὰ τόπον, διανοητικόν. In the translation of William of Moerbeke, this passage runs *Potentias autem dicimus vegetativum, sensitivum, appetitivum, motivum secundum locum, intellectivum*.³⁷⁴ Of these designations of the faculties of the human soul, the one signifying the ability to move (the 'locomotive faculty', later usually named *locomotivum*) was simplified to *motivum*, soon invested with a wider denotation of 'cause, inducement, motive': *primum ponam opinionem sancti thome cum eius motivo et fundamento*.³⁷⁵

In the same manner, Themistius had called the five senses ἄπτικόν, ἀκουστικόν, ὀρατικόν, ὁσφραντικόν, and γευστικόν, which was rendered by Moerbeke *in quo primo qui vocatur tactus existit, vocare quidem tactivum convenit, sicut et auditivum et visivum et odorativum*,³⁷⁶ furthermore *gustativi quidem actus gustatio*.³⁷⁷ Similar

³⁷¹ *indignativum, quod appellant θυμικόν, et concupiscentivum, quod uocant ἐπιθυμητικόν*, *De anima*, 16.

³⁷² Cf. *Aristoteles Latinus*, vol. IV, p. XIX.

³⁷³ The adjective *alternativus* occurs in the acts of the Council of Lyon 1245: *vota conditionalia alternativa et incerta*, 'alternative and uncertain votes made on conditions'.

³⁷⁴ According to the Marietti edition (1959) of Aquinas' commentary on *De anima*, p. 73.

³⁷⁵ Trombetta, fol. 55^{rb}.

³⁷⁶ Them. 175,64 ff.

³⁷⁷ Ibid. 193,80.

Sausages seller: Οὔκουν καταδακτυλικός σὺ τοῦ λαλητικοῦ;

In B. B. Roger's translation:

- Sharp fellow, Phaeax; wonderful defence,
coercive speaker, most conclusive speaker,
effective, argumentative, incisive,
superlative against the combative.
- You're quite derisive of the talkatives.³⁸⁵

That stylistic feature, however attractive it may seem to metaphysicians, was bound to make an impression on satirists as well.

This syntactical pattern was taken over by Latin philosophers and scientific authors. Bendz, in his study on the physician Caelius Aurelianus, the last of the medical writers in the Western Roman Empire (5th c. AD), notes *mitigativus celeritatis*, *provocativus tumoris*, *temperativus rerum utilium*, and *recusativus rerum nocentium*.³⁸⁶

Concerning this construction in Latin texts, see Szantyr, p. 80. From among the wealth of examples in the Aristotelian translations, I quote the following:

Categories 5, 4a10 f. τῶν ἐναντίων εἶναι δεκτικόν, *esse ... contrariorum susceptible* (Boethius, cf. Szantyr, *ibid.*)/*susceptivum* (Moerbeke); Eth. Nic. Θ 7, 1158a4 ποιητικὰ φιλίας, *factiva amicitiae* (Moerbeke).

A specially significant text, read and commented upon through centuries, was the introduction (*Isagoge*) of Porphyry to the *Categories*. According to Busse's edition of Boethius translation (10.5 ff), a passage dealing with one of the five predicables, the *differentia*, runs like this: *ea quidem, quae est animati et sensibilis differentia, constitutiva* (συστατική) *est substantiae animalis ... ea vero, quae est mortalis et immortalis differentia et rationalis et irrationalis, divisivae* (διαίρετικά) *sunt animalis differentiae ... Sed hae quidem quae divisivae sunt differentium generum, completivae* (συμπληρωτικά) *fiunt et constitutivae specierum*, etc.

Even here, Moerbeke's translations of Ammonius and Themistius are instructive. Note the following instances:

conditivus < δημιουργικός (*eorum quae semper eodem modo se habent*)

conservativus < διατηρητικός (*naturae operantis*)

conservativus < φυλακτικός (*entis*)

destructivus < λυμαντικός (*operationis*)

³⁸⁵ The Loeb edition of 1924.

³⁸⁶ G. Bendz, *Caeliana. Textkritische und sprachliche Studien zu Caelius Aurelianus* (Lunds universitets årsskrift, I, 38, 4), p. 23; cf. *idem*, *Eranos*, 58, pp. 48 ff.

expositivus < ἐξηγητικός (*dictorum*)
iudicativus < κριτικός (*contrarietatis*)
ostensivus < δεικτικός (*veritatis et falsitatis*)
perceptivus < δεκτικός (*omnis scientiae*)
perfectivus < τελειωτικός (*materiae*)
receptivus < ἀντιληπτικός (*sensibilium*)
retentivus < καθεκτικός (*sensibilium*)
salvativus < σωστικός (*habentis*)
visivus < ὁρατικός (*similium et dissimilium*)

Moerbeke formed novel nouns on *-ivus* also in cases like ἀσυντετός and προαγωγός taking the genitive: (*passiones*) *imperceptivae rationis*, and *virtus productiva orationis*, respectively.

This Graecism was to prove highly successful in later Scholasticism, congenial as it was with its essentialistic philosophy (a present participle being less apt to express an inalienable potency). In some cases it appears to have lost its abstract stylistic value, as when the anonymous author of one of the legends of St. Sigfrid says: *vas sanctorum capitum contentivum*, meaning 'a vessel containing the (three) heads of the saints',³⁸⁷ most certainly without any ridiculous ring. It had become a trite construction, acceptable in all contexts, as can be seen in a hymn from Reichenau (14th c.): *Salve, Iesu, panis vivus, / pii cordis accensivus, / totus es inflammativus / et amoris stimulus*.³⁸⁸ In Guarino Nicolao Perotti's grammar *Dyasinthetica*, printed in Leipzig in 1499, under the heading *De regimine et constructione adiectivorum cum genitivis*, the following example is given: *Puer est cupidus ludi et timidus flagelli, studiosus virtutum, fugax litium, amativus honoris*. There is no need to multiply the examples to make the point clear. The grammarian Priscian (5th c. AD) could permit himself to write *nomina enim tertiarum sunt personarum indicativa*, and if this statement called for the gloss *id est tertias indicant personas*, such a remark was certainly superfluous in the late Middle Ages.³⁸⁹

This Graecism became an invasive pattern in modern languages and a distinctive mark of intellectual parlance: *un homme représentatif de son époque*; *ciascun uomo è come una pasta molle, suscettiva d'ogni possibile figura*; examples indicative of the influence of Greek philosophy.

³⁸⁷ Ed. T. Schmidt, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 60, Bruxelles 1942, 89.

³⁸⁸ Ed. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, I, 1853, n. 261.

³⁸⁹ Ed. H. Keil, III, 117, 11 (reprint Hildesheim 1961).

2.3 *-bilis*

A suffix forming verbal adjectives, *-bilis* denotes a capacity of being the subject of, or the object of a verbal action, meaning 'given to, tending to, like to, fit to, able to', as in *stabilis* 'like, fit to stand'. After consonant stems it is realised *-ibili-*, as *vendibilis*, *vincibilis*; after stems ending in *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, as *-ābilis*, *-ēbilis*, *-ībilis*, *-ōbilis*, *-ūbilis*: e.g. *honōrābilis*, *delēbilis*, *sepelībilis*, *nōbilis*, *volūbilis*. *-bilis* was attached to present stems of transitive verbs: passive *amabilis* (Cicero), *scibilis* (Tertullian), passive/active *flebilis* 'lamentable/tearful'. The active *-bilis* on intransitive stems in classical Latin is restricted to verbs denoting quiet or motion: *stabilis*, *labilis*, *durabilis*.³⁹⁰

The French suffix *-able* occurs in a great number of adjectives, both in formations within French and in loans from Latin (e.g. *capable*, *mirable*, *potable*); both types are found from the 12th c. The vast majority of formations within French (including all modern French formations) have always been deverbal. From verbs belonging to the first French conjugation in *-er* (< Latin *-āre*), the suffix was extended in French at an early date to form adjectives from verbs of all other conjugations; compare e.g. *nourissable*, *périssable* *mouvable*, *défendable*, *vendable*.

By far the most numerous of the *-ble* words in English are those in *-able*. In Latin, *-ābilis* adjectives arose only from verbs in *-āre*; but, in French, all present participles in *-ant* may give rise to an adjective in *-able*, and as *-ant* is now the universal form of present participle, *-able* is the universal form of the adjective suffix as a living element; *-ible* being only a fossil survival in words from Latin like *horrible*, *possible*, *visible*, not directly attached to a living French verb.

From the Middle English period onwards, the suffix is found in a large number of adjectives borrowed from French, apparently earliest in the early 13th c. in *merciabile* and subsequently in many other loanwords and adaptations. From these types, the suffix was soon extended to the derivation of deverbal adjectives within English, as shown clearly by hybrid formations on bases ultimately of Germanic origin (e.g. *likeable*, *unspeakable*, *takable*, etc.) and probably also by formations on bases of Romance origin which are not paralleled in French (e.g. *praisable*, *prayable*). Formations within English became very numerous during the early modern English period (*bearable*, *breakable*, *wearable*, etc.) and further loans from French and Latin continued. Subsequently the suffix was extended to form denominal adjectives.

2.3.1 Active *-bilis* on intransitive stems

In his translations, Boethius rendered one of the Aristotelian predicables, the *proprium* (Gr. ἴδιον), the specific trait that marks off one class of beings from other species of the same genus (*homo* as a species of the genus *animal*), by coinages on *-bilis* in the active sense, e.g. the human capacity of walking: *ambulabilis*

³⁹⁰ Leumann, 349.

(βαδιστικός), and, in the same sense, *gressibilis* (πεζός),³⁹¹ and *risibilis* (γελαστικός): *prædicatur risibile de homine*.³⁹²

2.3.2 Instrumental -*bilis*

The instrumental use of -*bilis* survived in a few cases in adjectives qualifying *dies* or the like: *dies operabilis* 1226 'working day', *dies prædicabilis* c. 1340 'preaching day', *dies disputabilis* c. 1350 'day on which disputations are held', *dies ieiunabilis* c. 1464 'observable as a fast'. Cf. the relevant section in Thornée Hammar, pp. 114 f., with medieval French examples as (*jour*) *chomable*, *fer(i)able*, *gardable*, *jeunable*, *ouvrable*, *plaidable*, *peschable* ('fishable, which may be fished in'). In Tataretus Logic. fol. 119rb, *disciplinabilis* seems to be an instance of the instrumental use: *in processu acquisitiuo et disciplinabili*, 'in the process of acquisition of knowledge'.

2.3.3 Passive -*bilis*

In the last centuries of the Middle Ages, -*bilis* was affixed to practically any transitive verb according to the morphological rules indicated above (introduction, section 2.3.). Some vacillation, although, is felt concerning the derivations from *acquirō*, *intellego*, *misceo*; cf. the formations on the -*ī*- stems of the third conjugation: *subicibilis*, but *subiectibilis*, and *factibilis* (after *perceptibilis*?).

abstrahibilis c.1250 'susceptible of abstraction'

acquisibilis 13 c. / *acquiribilis* c. 1362 'able to be acquired'

agibilis 'practicable, c. 1300

alterabilis c. 1200 'alterable'

augmentabilis a. 1233 'liable to increase'

communicabilis c. 1270 'communicable, able to be imparted'

conceptibilis c. 1250 'conceivable'

componibilis c. 1270 'capable of being compounded'

creabilis 12 c. 'able to be created'

dabilis 'admissible' c. 1360³⁹³

deducibilis a. 1361 'deducible'

³⁹¹ On Interpretation, 12, 21b15, and Categories, 5, 3a23.

³⁹² Isagoge 3.3. Cf *homini extranea sunt latrabile et hinnibile*, 'the capacities of barking and neighing are extraneous to man' (Greek original lost), *Analytica priora*, III 3, p. 313; *omne animal si est rudibile est asinus* ('capable of braying', 13 c.), Tataretus Summ. fol. 94^{vb}.

³⁹³ *non est dabilis aliqua sciencia que hoc facit* 'possible to think of, imaginable', SU 41, 87 f.

definibilis c. 1270 'definable'
dicibilis 1267 (λεκτός, ῥητός, William of Moerbeke, Ammonius passim)
 'expressible'
diminuibilis c. 1290 'capable of decrease'
distribuibilis p. 1347 'capable of distribution (logical term)' SU p. 94
discibilis c. 1361 'able to be learnt'
discibile-assuescibile-exercitabile (μαθητόν-ἐθιστόν-ἀσκητόν), William of
 Moerbeke, Eth. Nic. A 10, 1099b10 'that can be learnt, acquired by training,
 or cultivated'
factibilis a. 1233 'materiable, feasible' *tale ens operabile est duplex, scilicet*
agibile et factibile SU 44,179
phantasiabilis c. 1300 'imaginable'
informabilis c. 1286 'capable of receiving form'
intellectibilis 12 c. (Arab. 'aqlī) Avicenna De anima V 153,10 'apprehended by
 mind alone'
intelligibilis 1115 'trustworthy', 13 c. 'intelligible'
intensibilis 13 c. 'intensifiable'
mixibilis c. 1250, *mixtibilis* Tataretus Phil. fol. 94b 'miscible'
operabilis, see *factibilis*, above 'that can be produced by action'
ordinabilis Boethius De institutione arithmetica 2,25 'able to be placed in order'
ponibilis c. 1277 'supposable'
prosequibile (διωκτόν) William of Moerbeke Eth. Nic. A 5, 1097a30 'that should
 be attained'
reducibilis a. 1233 'reducible'
remissibilis 1344 'able to be made less intense'
reponibilis Sirectus 'able to be subsumed'
resolubilis Sirectus 'susceptible of analysis'
unibilis c. 1255 'capable of being united'

2.3.3.1 -īfīcā-bilis

The *-bilis* type of formations (corresponding to a potential factitive *-ificare*), originally in an active sense, has been productive ever since earliest times (*tabificabilis* 'consuming' and *horrificabilis* 'causing terror' Accius, *lucrificabilis* 'profitable' Plautus, *monstrificabilis* 'monstruous' Lucilius, *significabilis* 'significative' Varro, *luctificabilis* 'sorrowful' Persius) but reached its peak in Scholasticism, then always in a passive sense:

beatificabilis Bonaventure passim 'capable of beatitude'

infalsificabilis Tataretus Logic. fol. 22^{ra} 'that cannot be proven false'

modificabilis Franciscus de Marcia a. 1343 'capable of being modified'

(*in*)*plurificabilis* Franciscus de Marcia a. 1343 '(in)capable of differentiation into many instances'

verificabilis 'verifiable' a. 1323, *simul verificabiles* William of Moerbeke Ammon. 175,71 (συναληθεύοντες)

Lullus made this formation part of his metaphysics with a potentially limitless productivity; the following are but a selection of terms invented by him:

bonificabilis 'capable of improvement', *malificabilis* 'capable of deterioration', *possificabilis*, *virtuificabilis*, *minorificabilis*, *fortificabilis*, *prudentificabilis*, 'capable of power, virtue, decrease, fortitude, prudence', etc., see above, pp. 236-245.

In bonitate Dei sunt bonificans, bonificabilis et bonificare, et in magnitudine magnificans, magnificabilis et magnificare, et in aeternitate aeternificans, aeternificabilis et aeternificare, et in sua potestate possificans, possificabilis et possificare, et in sapientia intelligens, intelligibilis et intelligere, et in uoluntate amans, amabilis et amare, et sic de ceteris dignitatibus Dei. Lullus, *Arbor scientiae*, 8, 6.³⁹⁴

2.3.3.2 -izā-bīlis

There are some instances of *-bilis* affixed to factitive *-izare* verbs, mostly on Greek stems: *scandalizabilis* 'prone to be scandalized' Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum; *auctorizabilis* 'able to be made authoritative, authorized' Andreas a S. Victore a. 1175; *sylogizabilis* 'demonstrable by means of syllogism' Ockham; *paralogizabilis* 'easy to mislead' Moerbeke In Parmenidem Platonis; *ymnizabilis* (πολύμνητος, a word introduced by Pindar, *ibid.*); *virtuizabilis* 'receptive of virtue' Lullus; *organizabilis* 'apt to be organized' Thomas Aquinas Summa contra gentiles 2, 89; *practizabilis* 'practicable' Johannes Hus a. 1415.

2.3.3.3 Morphological innovation on -bīlis

Unprecedented are the *-bilis* affixations to irregular verbs like *volibilis* 'able to be object of volition' Bonaventure, Duns Scotus, *passim*, and the corresponding *nolibilis* 'unable to be the object of volition' Duns Scotus; cf. *nolubilis* 1344 'undesirable', perhaps after the model of *noluntas* 'unwillingness' Alanus ab Insulis a. 1202 (or rather a parallel of *solubilis*, *volubilis*?).

2.3.3.4 Adjectives on -bīlis taking objective genitive

The use of the active *-bilis* with the genitive is of the same Greek origin as *-ivus* + gen. (Szantyr, p. 80, cf. above, section 1.2.8.), but scarcely used in the Middle Ages apart from the Boethian *susceptibilis* (δεκτικός) 'admitting of', is still alive in

³⁹⁴ Above, 260 ff.

modern languages (*un texte susceptible de plusieurs interpretations, fact non susceptible of proof*, cf. Piltz 1985, p. 161). Exactly the same sense in *receptibilis* occurs in a translation from Arabic, Avicenna *Sufficientia*, fol. 26^{ra} *non dicimus subiectum nisi naturam speciei receptibilis accidentium*.

2.4 -*ficus*

The suffixe -*ficus* 'making, -doing' (< weakened root of *facere* 'to make, do') formed adjectives (1) from nouns with the sense 'making, causing, producing', as in *honorificus*, *mellificus*, *mirificus*, *munificus*, *pacificus*, or 'performing', as *sacrificus*; (2) from adjectives, meaning 'performing actions of a certain kind', as *magnificus*, also (in late and medieval Latin) in the sense 'bringing into a specified state', as *beatificus*; (3) from verbs, meaning 'causing to', as *horrificus*, *terrificus*; (4) from adverbs, as in *beneficus*, *maleficus*, adjectives of agency to the phrases *bene, male facere* 'to do good, do ill (to)'. Except in the two last-mentioned words, and in *veneficus* (contraction of **venenificus*), the suffix -*ficus* is always preceded by -*i-*, which is either the stem-vowel or a substitute for it, or a connecting vowel appended to a consonant-stem.

-*ficus* was originally joined to verbs of the second conjugation: *horri-ficus*, *luci-ficus* (Leumann, 336:5). The use was later expanded to nominal stems (*paci-ficus* 'making peace' Cicero, *dei-ficus* 'deifying' Tertullian). The latter formation was rather productive in Late Latin but ceased, on the whole, during the Middle Ages; among the exceptions is *scientificus* (ἐπιστημονικός) 'causing exact knowledge', falsely attributed to Boethius, in reality introduced by the translators of Pseudo-Dionysius and adopted by an anonymous translator (Ioannes) of *Analytica Posteriora* (sometime between 1125 and 1160), 75a17: *scientificae demonstrationes* (αἱ ἐπιστημονικαὶ ἀποδείξεις). James of Venice, contemporary translator of the same text, improvised, for want of a Latin equivalent, *demonstrative scientie*. Undoubtedly, *scientificus* was forged on the model of *specificus* 'constituting a species', a novelty invented by Boethius corresponding to εἰδοποιός, as in e.g. *Topica* Z 6, 143b7 f. *specifica differentia* (εἰδοποιὸς διαφορά).

The grammarian Tatuinus (d. 734) gives the following examples in a list of feminine adjectives ending in -*a*:

Haec in -fica, ut haec aurifica, beatifica, castifica, dapifica, fatifica, glorifica, honorifica, ignifica, lanifica, munifica, indifica, opifica, pacifica, rurifica, sacrificica, tremefica, uersifica.

Among the rare late Medieval formations are *animalifica* (ζωωδής) *qualitas* in Simplicius' commentary on the *Categories* 73,98 f., and *continentia identifica* ('identifying'), *qua scilicet aliquid continet aliud sibi realiter identificatum* in Taretus Phil. fol. 2^{ra}. Although Wyclif (*Sermones* vol. III, 3) cites the philosophers *cum omne animal prolificum tempore coitus sit bellicosum (ut dicunt philosophi)*, there seems to be no direct equivalent in Greek to this adjective.

With the exception of *magnifique* 1265 and *scientifique* 1370, the French adjectives on *-fique* still in use are not recorded earlier than the 15th century. Most of the Latin adjectives in *-(i)ficus* appear in French, the termination being adapted as *-(i)fique* (also in Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, the form being *-fico*). They have Latin preclassical (*benéfique*, *maléfique*, *mirifique*), classical (*honorifique*, *horrifique*, *mellifique*, *pacifique*), postclassical (*béatifique*, *calorifique*, *frigorifique*) or, as it would seem, domestic patterns (*prolifique*, *sudorifique*). OED.

2.5 *-ālis*

Through the whole Latinity, *-alis* was attached to any nominal stem, to denote connexion in a very wide sense ('of the kind of, relating to', Leumann, 313). Apart from archaic affixation to pronominal **to-* and *qu-* (*talis*, *qualis*), the production of adjectives on *-alis* to pronouns was to remain very restricted. Some affixations of *-alis* to a participle stem, like *accidentalis* 'accidental' c. 1160, and *attributalis* p. 1300 'of the nature of the attribute' are in fact based on the nouns *accidens* (τὸ συμβεβηκός), and *attributum*, respectively; further *neutralis* (Quintilian) on substantivized *neutrum* (Inst. 1,4,23 ἐπίκοινά ... *quae feminina positione mares aut neutrali feminas significant, qualia sunt* 'Murena' et 'Glycerium'); furthermore *aliqualis* a. 1230 'of some or any sort', cf. *aliqua-liter* a. 1250 'in some or any way'; *totalis* 1170, a retrograde formation on *totaliter*; in the translations of Aristotle and his Greek commentators, ὅλως is consistently rendered *totaliter* since the 12th century.

Medieval *-alis* formations are almost exclusively based on nouns. Mark the following examples:

astronomialis SU 23,6 in *libro astronomico*

fōcalis-aquealis Avicenna *Sufficiencia* fol. 25vb *non videtur ei quod subiectum recipiat formam focalem statim post aquealem*

radialis 1267, Avicenna *Parva naturalia* 27,63 *sunt linee radiales*

punctalis a. 1250 Avicenna *De anima* IV 3,39 f. *similitudo velocitatis mobilis punctalis*

quadripunctalis c. 1360 'of four points'

scientialis c. 1250, Trombetta Qu. de *consideratis a metaphysico* fol. 17rb *ergo deus haberet distinctos habitus scientiales*

virtualis 1153 Isaac de Stella PL 194,1876 *virtuales seu potentiales dicitur habere virtutes*

2.5.1 *-tiōn-ālis*

Adjectives ending in *-tiōn-ālis* are rare in antiquity: *coemptionalis* 'poor, worthless' Plautus, *contionalis* 'suitable for an assembly of the people' Cicero, *conceptionalis hora* 'time of conception' Augustine, *affectionalis qualitas* Julian of Aeclanum, *largitionalis* 'belonging to the imperial treasury' Cod. Theod., *scriptionalis* 'belonging to writing' Mart. Capella. Conspicuous exceptions are *rationalis* Celsus, Seneca, and *irrationalis* Seneca, Quintilian, in abundant use during all later periods of Latinity.

Medieval novelties were *proportionalis* and *conditionalis* Eriugena, *intentionalis* John Pecham, *distentionalis*, *electionalis*, *scientionalis* Moerbeke, *quaestionalis* Lullus, *comproportionalis* Grosseteste, and *perfectionalis* c. 1290.

2.5.2 *-tūdin-ālis*

The earliest instance seems to be *habitudinalis* (Eriugena, later adopted by Moerbeke), which paved the way to *consuetudinalis* Burgundius Pisanus, Rupert of Deutz (12th c.), *certitudinalis* (possibly a retrograde formation on *certitudinaliter* passim Moerbeke) Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas, and *aptitudinalis*, Ockham, Duns Scotus. It is brought on a formula by Wyclef in his *Logica* III,44 *quarum posicionum radix est triplex dyiameter mundi, scilicet longitudinalis, latitudinalis et altitudinalis*.

English *longitudinal*, *latitudinal* 1541, *altitudinal* 1742; cf. *attitudinal* (<It. *attitudine*) 1831.

2.5.3 *-ic-ālis*

Adjectives ending on *-ic-alis*, almost non-existing in classical Latin, are seemingly based on adjectives ending in *-icus*, and occur mostly with Greek loan-words or equivalents to Greek formations: *iuridicalis est, qui Graece dicitur δικαιολογικός* Quintilian Inst. 3,6,22, *dominicalis* (κυριακός): *omelia dominicalis* 'Sunday sermon', Caesarius of Arles. Exceptions from this rule are *matricalis*, 'belonging to the womb (matrix)' Veg. Vet. 1,10,7, *radicalis* Augustine. Cf further:

clericalis Sid. Ep. 6,7,2

ethnicalis Tertullian

laicalis Eutych. Pap. M. 5, c. 166

grammaticalis Marius Victorinus

dominicalis Caesarius Arelatensis < *dominica* (κυριακή) 'the Lord's day, Sunday' Maximus Taurinensis

They are more frequent in medieval treatises:

logicalis c. 1250 'pertaining to logic'

mathematicalis 13 c., *mathematicalia* npl. 1267

metaphysicalis Jean Gerson, Prantl VI 141

haereticalis 'leading to heresy' *Articulos ... fidei catholicae inimicos, haereticos et haereticales* John XXII (1327), Denzinger-Schönmetzer, n. 946

hypotheticalis SU, p. 83

There are 3234 lexemes ending in *-ical* in English, according to OED.

2.5.4 *-iv-ālis*

The first (seemingly redundant) formation on *-alis* added to an adjectival *-ivus* stem occurs in a translation of Origen by Rufinus (c. 400, the Greek original here is lost): *sanctificatio primitivialis*, 'the sanctification of the first-born', but this is in fact based on the noun *primitivatus*, 'the dignity of being first-born'. In the Vetus latina version of Genesis 38,14, *theristron* (θήριστρον LXX) in one manuscript is rendered *aestivalia* (npl., *deposuit vestimenta viduitatis ab se et induit se vestivalia* [sic], 'summer cloths', cf. θερνός, *aestivus*); obviously a need was felt to find a Latin equivalent to denote a 'garment', analogous to e.g. *focale* and *umerale*. Mulomedicina Chironis (4th c.?) has *potio aestivalis refrigeratoria*.

In late medieval instances, *aestivalis* (anonymous translation of Meteorologica) and *festivalis* (Lullus) replaces *aestivus* and *festivus* respectively, without any noticeable difference of connotation. Late Latin formations are based on *-ivum* nouns: *adiectivalis*, *substantivalis*, *obiectivalis* Tartaretus. In the sentence *potest intelligi tam de conceptu formali, qui est subiectiue in intellectu, quam obiectiuali, qui est inclusus in inferioribus*, the form *obiectiuali* seems to be chosen for reasons of concinnity only (Logic. fol. 24^{vb}).

In English *gerundival*, *gingival*, *archival*, *passival*, *possessival*, *datival*, *ablatival*, *relativ*, *nominativ*, *imperativ*, *accusativ*, *adjectival*, *nonadjectival*, *conjunctival*, *genitiv*, *infinitiv*, *substantiv*, *agentiv*, *estival*, *festival*, *diminutiv*. Lehnert.

3 Verbal suffixation

3.1 Denominal *-āre*

The intransitive use of *-are* joined to nouns or adjectives expressing occupation or profession (like *militare* Cicero; Leumann, 412 A 1) is rare in the Middle Ages: *episcopare* c. 1362 'to be bishop' (mark factitive *episcopare* 'make a bishop of' 1122), *papare* 15th c. 'to be pope', *principiare* 'to begin to speak' Augustine, but later 'to be the principle' Bonaventure Breviloquium 3,1: *nec aliquo modo malum principiare potest*. Equally rare are new intransitive verbs formed on a real noun denoting occupation with the respective noun (*cenare* Plautus; Leumann 412 A 2): *metaphysicare* Jean Gerson; *Subtilitas metaphysicantium, si vera sit, consistit in acuta resolutione entis* Prantl IV 147; *replicare* c. 730 'to repeat, recount'; Tartaretus Logic. fol. 11vb *Sed contra hoc replicatur* ('one might retort', impers.); *sententiare* 'to opine, maintain' 1267, Moerbeke Them. 188,91 f *iudicat de ipso et sententiat* (γνωματεύει).

Considerably more productive are factitive verbs on adjectival stems (*sanare* Cicero; Leumann, 412 A 3): *legitimare* 1220; *invalidare* 1449, Casus breves 1493 fol. 6^{ra} *Matrimonium consensus contrahitur nec invalidatur si consuetudo patrie non seruetur*; *univocare* = *univocum facere* Tartaretus Logic. fol. 22va *ordinabile, in quo decem predicamenta vniuocantur*; *alterari* (passive, Boethius Topica 145a8 ἀλλοιοῦσθαι), and *neutrare* c. 1225 'to make neuter' can also be assigned to this category.

The transitive *trans-substantiare* 'to change substance' (*transsubstantiatis pane in corpus, et vino in sanguinem potestate divina*, Denzinger-Schönmetzer, n. 782) seems to have been invented by a certain Robert Pullen in Oxford c. 1140: *nullius qualitatis fit transformatio, set huius substancie in illam, ut ita dicam, transsubstantiatio uel transmutatio*.³⁹⁵ It was forged on the model *transformare* (Virgil) or *transnominare* (Suetonius). It is to be placed on a line with other preverbal compounds: *ab-alienare* (Plautus, ἀπολλοτριώω); *an-nihilare*, *an-nullare* (rendering ἐξουθενεῖν; Jerome calls both *portenta verborum*), and *in-formare* (ὑποτυπώω, διαμορφώω) Varro, where the prefix serves to stress the verbal action and to indicate its direction.

Transitive *-are* suffixations denoting 'to provide, endow with, bestow upon' were not, originally, to be considered as denominative formations but rather as "verbal completions" ("verbale Vervollständigung", Leumann 412 A 5 a) of an *-atus*

³⁹⁵ Corpus Christi College, Oxford, ms. 32, fol. 122vb. Cf. "The Invention of Transubstantiation" av Joseph Goering, *Traditio* 46 (1991), s. 147-170. I owe this reference to Prof. Stephan Borgehammar.

participle indicating 'possession' (*armatus* Ennius > *armare* Cicero). In medieval Latinity they enjoyed considerable popularity, and they must be understood as real denominative verbs, even though the verb often exists only as a participial stem: *accidentare* 'to affect in relations to accidents' c. 1365; Wyclif 1371 *esse subiectum, esse quantum vel quomodolibet accidentatum presupponit ipsum esse quid; actuare* c. 1300 'to actualize, bring to perfected existence'; SU 52,14 f *anima secundum se non est operatiua ... licet secundum se actuat corpus; habilitare* a. 1250 (< *habilitas*) 'to enable, make fit, qualify' SU 31,38 f. *Naturalis (logica) est quedam industria vel habilitas naturalis, principia naturalia sua habilitans; habitulare* c. 1290 (< *habitus* 'habit'), EOVI XLVIII 51 f (parodically) *ita quod ero habituatus ad predicandum; habitulare* (< *habitus*, one of the ten categories) 'determine as to the habitus category' Tataretus Summ. fol. 26^{va} *eius quesituum est* (roughly 'answers the question') "*quomodo est hoc habituatum*"? Likewise codex Uppsala C 600, fol. 13^{vb} p. 1485 *substancia ... est ... habituata ...situata ...vbeitata ... quandeitata*, cf. *ubeitas* p. 1347, *quandeitas* p. 1347; *originare* c. 1290 'originate, give rise to' Sirecti (versus finem) *semper oportet quod sit distinctio realis inter originans et originatum, siue inter produciens et productum; infinitare* 'to make infinite or indefinite' Tataretus Summ. fol. 63^{rb} *terminus infinitatus ... homo infinitatur; materiare (materiatus Cicero)* c. 1180 'to make material or actual': Avicenna De anima II 118, 10 ff. *bonitas vero et militia et conveniens et inconueniens et his similia sunt in se res non materiales, quibus tamen accidit esse materiatas* (Arab. *māddī*, 'embodied in matter'); *mobilare* (Lucretius)-*immobilare* (Richardus Feribrigus (14th c.)), Prantl IV 58 *Quidquid mobilitat immobilitatum, immobilitat mobilitatum et e contra; naturare* 1344 'to produce naturally' Averroes In Physica II, commentum 11 *natura naturata*, Bonaventure In Sent. III, d. 8, dub. 2 *natura naturans*, SU 55,65 ff. *duplex est natura: quedam est natura naturans, et est Deus gloriosus, qui omnibus largitur naturas, alia est naturata, et est natura producta in esse; stilare* 'to get stalks' Columella, 'to acquire literary style': EOVI XXXIV 8 (parodically) *estis bene stilatus in latinisando; quotare* (< *quota* 'number') c. 1315 'to provide with number, to quote' Tataretus Logic. fol. 1ra *Questiones ... doctoris subtilis Scoti in suis locis quotare*.

It became the recognized method of englishing a Latin verb to take the participial stem of the Latin as the present stem of the English; so that English verbs were now formed on Latin past participles by mere analogy, and without the intervention of a participial adjective. In accordance with this, *fascinate*, *concatenate*, *asseverate*, *venerate*, and hundreds of others, have been formed directly on the participial stems of Latin *fascinare*, *concatenare*, *asseverare*, *venerari*, etc., without having been preceded by a cognate adjective. In the case of many words introduced in the 16th c., evidence is wanting to show whether the verb was preceded by, or contemporaneous with, the participial adjective in *-ate*. These English verbs in *-ate* correspond generally to French verbs in *-er* (< Latin *-āre*), as English *separate*, *create*, French *séparer*, *créer*: this in its turn gave an analogy for the formation of English verbs from French; as French *isoler* (< Italian *isolare* < Latin *insulāre*), English *isolate*; French *féliciter*, English *felicitate*.

3.1.1 Factitive usage of *-āre* on substantival stems

The transitive *-are* formations on personal nouns (*episcopare* 1122 'to make a bishop of', above 2.1.) are rare. This type was later used of 'taking an academic (etc.) degree': *magistrare*, *baccalauriare*, *doctorare* EOVI 50 ff. *quia magistrare significat magistrum facere et baccalauriare baccalaurium facere et doctorare doctorem facere, et hinc veniunt isti termini magistrandus, baccalauriandus et doctorandus*. Further: *licentiare* c. 1253 'licence', in a wider sense (French *se licencier* 'take leave'), Concilium Viennense 1312 (Denzinger-Schönmetzer n. 896) *perfecta anima licentiat a se virtutes*. Mediopassive *doctorari* 'to take a doctor's degree' 1311, *graduari* 'to take a degree' 1378.

There is a corresponding and distinct group of transitive (factitive) verbs based on real nouns, frequent in philosophical texts; they may all be translated 'to make a ... of, constitute as (the noun in question)': *analogare* 'to analogize' SU 35,25 f. *Modus autem equiuocus est alicuius termini communis, vt analogi aut puri equiuoci ad sua inferiora analogata vel equivocata*; *artificiare* 1267, Averroes De sompno et vigilia 202rb40 *proportio forme artificii ad artificiatum*; *elementare* (*istiqisī*) Avicenna De anima I 47,75 f. *de uno principio elementari*; *experimentare* p. 1300 'make the experience of, learn or know by experience', Averroes De sompno et vigilia 201vb28 f. *cum homo experimentaverit hoc, multociens videbit quod hoc non accidit casu sed essentialiter*; *individuari* c. 1250 'to be constituted as an individual', Averroes ibid. 202ra64 f. *ille forme universales non individuatur nisi propter materiam*, SU p. 98 *Vtrum principium indiuiduacionis sit quantitas vel materia signata quantitate vel condiciones indiuiduantes vel forma singularis et indiuidualis*; *persōnare* 13th c.; *suppositare* 1344 'hypostatize, constitute as a person or a suppositum (ὁπόστασις)' F. Cardinalis tituli S. Petri ad Vincula De sanguine Christi *Natura humana non suppositatur seu personatur per solam negacionem aptitudinalis comunicacionis ad alienum suppositum*; *reari* 'to be constituted as real' Sirectus (versus finem) *omnia essentialia et notitionalia essentie diuine vnica realitate reantur*; *substantiare* a. 1250 (οὐσιᾶν) Moerbeke Ammon. 442,93 f. *non discernentes actum a substantia sicut in compositis, sed substantiari ipsa ... pronuntiantes*; *summare* 'summarize' Casus breves A 3v *sic summatur* (sc. *casus*). The last example is formed on the base of *summa*, so it should not be identified with de desuperlative *summare*, below 2.1.3.

3.1.2 Decomparative transitive verbs on *-āre*

The point of departure seems to be the (transitive) use of *certiorare* (= *certiorem facere*) in jurisprudential texts (Ulp., Gai., Dig.), *meliorare* 'to improve' in the same contexts (and Cassiodore), *peiorare* ('to render worse' Paul. Sent.), and *minorare* 'to make smaller, lessen' in ecclesiastical Latin since Tertullian, cf. Ps 8,5 *minorasti* (ἡλάττωσας) *eum paulo minus ab angelis* Hbr 2,9 *eum ... qui ... minoratus est* (τὸν ... ἡλαττωμένον).

As a legal term, *certiorari* persisted, *Casus breves* Q^{4ra-b} *Cum quis certus est certiorari vltorius non oportet*; *meliorare* underwent semantical shifts: c. 730 'to cure', c. 1115 'to enrich', c. 1115 'to make safer'; likewise *peiorare* 1200 'to injure'; *minorare* 1086, Moerbeke Them. 257,64 *habentibus ipsam (potentiam) minoratur* (ἐλλατοῦται); *maiorare* 'to increase, enlarge' c. 1115, *Historia Compostellana* (s XII) *apostolicum altare maiorari debere pia consideratione consideravit*; in Lullus 18 x, e.g. *Ars compendiosa Dei*, dist. 8, lin. 82 *est invenire infinire et maiorare, hoc est maius infinitare*; Lullus *Ars compendiosa Dei* 2, 16-18 *Vbicumque divina aequalitas est necessitas, est dare maius maiorare sine minoritate*; 'to lengthen' (musical term) 1326; *Concilium Constantiniense* *Deus nihil potest annihilare nec mundum maiorare vel minorare*.

Other, analogous, formations were *anteriorare* 1344 'to advance' (transit.) Thomas Bradwardine 1344 *anime residue preter primam anteriorentur per unum gradum versus primam*; *inferiorare* 1344 'to lower', c. 1376 'to subordinate'; *posteriorare* c. 1267 'to outstrip', 1344 'to subordinate', 'to postpone, place as last' Avicenna *Metaph.* fol. 71^{va} *ex merito huius sciencie (metaphysice) in se est, vt ipsa sit altior omnibus scienciis, quantum vero ad nos posterioratur post omnes sciencias; superiorare* c. 1200 'to raise'.

Further examples:

- *deteriorare* *Psalterium Romanum* 37,6 *computruerunt et deterioraverunt* (intransitive, προσώξεσαν καὶ ἐσάπησαν) *cicatrices meae*; Ambrosius *epistulae* 1,3,6 *vinum facile corrumpitur et deterioratur*; Symmachus *epist.* 4,68, 3 *habita deterioratae rei aestimatione*; 'to damage' 8th c., 'to deteriorate' 1231.
- *indeteriorare* Dionysius Areopagita sec. Robertum Grosseteste, *De divinis nominibus* p. 425, c. 2 *Et immortales angelicarum unitatum vitas indeterioratas [ἀλωβήτους] custodit, et caelestes et illuminativas et sidereas substantias et ordines inalteratas*.
- *inferiorare* Burchardus abbas Bellevallis (d. 1163) *Apologia de barbis ad conversos sermo* 3 *ut barba que est illi (haedo) sub mento sapientiam incarnatam et inferioratam signaret*; 'to lower' 1344, 'to subordinate' c 1376.
- *priorare* *De generatione animalium* 2, 6 (Bekker 741b) *Quod autem dictum est accidit in plantis, priorare [προτερεῖν] generatione quod sursum kytos eo quod deorsum: radices enim prius producunt spermata quam germina*.

Cf. English *minorate* 1534, *deteriorate* (trans.) 1572, *certiorate* 1637, *pejorate* 1653. OED.

3.1.3 Desuperlative transitive verbs on -āre

Cf. E. Wölfflin, "Die Verba desuperlativa", ALL II, pp. 355 ff. (*ultimare, postremare, extimare, pessimare, summare, extremare, minimare, maximare*).

Tertullian uses *ultimare* (pall. 1 fin.) as an intransitive, 'to come to an end' (*Cum tamen ultimant tempora patriae*). In his paraphrase of *Analytica Priora*, built on an Arabic original, Gerhard of Cremona³⁹⁶ uses *ultimare* meaning 'to carry to extremes': *et ultimet* (sc. *demonstrationem*) *secundum hunc modum usquequo perveniat ad causam ultimam perducentem ad illud quod non precedit causa omnino* ('he shall carry his demonstration to the utmost')³⁹⁷; *ut ultimentur demonstrationes in infinitum*, corresponding to the original Greek εἰ αὖ ἀποδείξεις εἰς ἄπειρον ἔρχονται.³⁹⁸ Bonaventure has *habens ultimum et perfectum Dei cultum*.³⁹⁹ Latham records *ultimare* a. 1250 in the sense 'to oppose as extremes', cf. John Buridan (d. 1358), Prantl IV 27 *ultima significata*.

Later on, *ultimare* was used also outside the field of logic, cf. SU 47,69 *causa finalis extrinseca et vltimata* ('ultimate') *est humana felicitas*, and Thomas a Kempis, *De imitatione Christi* 3,9,1 *Fili, ego debeo esse finis tuus supremus et ultimus*.

Lullus is especially fond of this type of formation: *concordalissimare, gloriosissimare, intellectissimare, optimare, potentissimare, verissimare, virtuosissimare, volissimare; sequitur necessarie, quod Deus sit agens volissime, obiectando volissimum productum, et volissimare ab utroque processum* (*De participatione*, 2).

The verb *summare* 'to make something culminate' in Scholia Bob. to Cicero's orat. p. Mil. 10 *quod ita orationem summaverit* is essentially different as regards formation and meaning from the *summare* 'summarize', above, section 3.1.1.

3.1.4 Transitive verbs on *-iōn-āre*

The model of some transitive verbs based on feminine *-iōn-* stems ('to affect' somehow 'by the noun') seems to be *potionatus*, Suetonius Calig. 50,2 *creditur potionatus a Caesonia uxore* 'had a potion given to him'. Cf. *quaestionatus* 'questioned under torture' Cyprian ep. 69,6 *confessores quaestionati et torti; tortionare* 'to torture' Pelagon. veterin. 7; *proportionatus* 'proportioned' Firm. math. 4,13.

The past participle continues to be the primary form, it would seem, cf. Moerbeke Ammon. 445, 63 ff. *non enim quoniam embryo potentiā homo, iam necesse est ipsum et perfectum fieri secundum actum hominem; manifestant autem occasionata embryonem* (*occasionare*, ἀμβλίσκάνειν, 'to cause to miscarry'); Thomas Aquinas,

³⁹⁶ D. 1187; cf. I. Opelt, "Zur Uebersetzungstechnik des Gerhard von Cremona, *Glotta* 38, 1959, pp. 135-170; *Revue de synthèse*, III^e série, nn. 49-52, 1968).

³⁹⁷ Cf. *Analytica Posteriora* A 24, 85b 33 ff.

³⁹⁸ *Analytica Priora* A 19, 82a7 f.

³⁹⁹ *Collationes in Hexaemeron*, 4, 4, 14.

Summa theologica I, q. 99, a. 2, 1 *femina est mas occasionatus, quasi praeter intentionem naturae proveniens; conditionatus* 'conditioned' Tataretus Summ. fol. 95^{ra} *ad hoc quod propositio affirmatiua, in qua predicatur aliquod conditionatum, sit vera, non requiritur quod subiectum pro aliquo supponat.*

Finite use of this type (transitive passive): *proportionari* 'to be proportioned' (ἀναλογεῖν) Honorius III Ep. p. 209, 19 *proportionetur poena delicto*; Thomas Aquinas Summa theol. III, q. 35, a. 6, 2 *finis proportionatur principio; complexionari* 'to be constituted' Avicenna De anima V 115, 71 ff *corpus non est formatum forma animae rationalis, nec ad modum compositionis, nec ad modum simplicitatis, ad hoc ut aliqua pars corporis componatur et complexionetur aliqua compositione vel aliqua complexione* ('by a combination of supposed qualities determining nature of a body'), *in qua imprimatur anima.*

3.1.5 Transitive verbs on *-iv-āre*

-ivus adjectives admitting of substantivation (above, 1.2.5.) in late Medieval Latin could serve as a base of verbal formations: *directivare* c. 1376 'to regulate'; *adiectivare* 'qualify by means of an adjective' Thomas Netter Doctrinale antiquitatum fidei ecclesiae catholicae (1426-27) I, 503 c *Subvertisti sensum evangelii* (Lc 14,13 *voca pauperes debiles claudos caecos*), *quando tres tantum posueris invitandos, et adiectivari tantum eos per ly 'pauperes', cum quatuor sint.*

3.2 Factitive verbs on *-ī-ficāre*

Verbs on *i-ficare* (*aedificare* Plautus) coined up to c. 600 CE are, with few exceptions (such as *terrificare* Virgil, probably a derivate on *terrificus*) of a patently denominal origin. The verbs in *-ficare* were originally derivatives of adjectives ending in *-fic-us*, though subsequently the suffix could be used to form verbs without the existence of an adjective. Their transitive character is a matter of course (mediopassive *heredificare* = κληρονομεῖν 'receive as inheritance', Iren. 4,22,1 *finis humani generis heredificantis Deum* being a striking exception). The *-ficare* formations were favoured especially among Christian authors.⁴⁰⁰

Calques on the model *-ποιεῖν* (corresponding to *-ποιός/-ficus*, above, 1.4.) were, among others, *specificare* Boethius Isagoge 1.2 f. *earum quae sunt per se differentiarum aliae quidem sunt secundum quas haec quae divisa sunt specificantur* (εἰδοποιοῦνται); *unificare* Moerbeke Them. 83,48 *et continent haec et unificat* (ἐνοποιεῖ); *dignificare* c. 1240 'to dignify, deem worthy, exalt' was chosen by Moerbeke to render ἀξιοῦν 'lay down, hold, maintain', Ammon. 114,45 ff. *qui*

⁴⁰⁰ Chr. Mohrmann, *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*, I, Roma 1958, 60; X. Mignot, *Les verbes dénominatifs latins*, Paris 1969, 351 ff.

non dignificat partes orationis significativas esse ut affirmationes ... multo utique magis nequaquam dignificabit ipsas significare ut negationes. This was a natural option, considering the Scriptural usage of *-ficare* equivalents of Greek factitives ending in *-όω*: *iustificare* δικαιοῦν (37 times in the New Testament), *mortificare* θανατοῦν or νεκροῦν Col 3,5.

Eucken's opinion (p. 68) about Avicenna as the originator of *certificare* is not correct: it had been in use since long, by Augustine and other ecclesiastical authors, cf. Latham 799 meaning 'to inform, assume, certify', and 1267 'to make known, demonstrate'. Gundissalinus used it in the latter sense to render Arabic *haqqaqa*: Avicenna De anima prol. 9,7 *certificavimus dispositiones corporum*. It was furthermore used meaning 'to convince' by an anonymous author of the questions in SU, p. 96 *imposicio ... per quam respondens certificatur, est admittenda*; *plurificare* 1267 'to plurify, multiply' renders πληθύνω in Ammon. 260,12 *res partibiles impartibiliter et indistanter cognoscere ipsos est necessarium, et plurificata unitive et temporalia aeternaliter et generabilia ingenerabiliter*; *diversificare* c. 1150 'to diversify, differentiate' is found in Avicenna De anima V 5, 65 *quasi non diversificantur (res) in subiecto sed in forma*, even of persons, SU 58, 2 f. *Auctores enim sunt valde diuersificati de quid-nominis huius quod est suppositio*; *exemplificare* c. 1125 is used absolutely by Tataretus Logic. fol. 26rb *Deinde exemplificat de singulis*; judging from Latham, it could be even intransitivized, 'to serve as an example'.

rarificare a. 1250 'to rarefy, refine' (cf. *rarefacere* and *rareferi* in Lucretius); *ratificare* c. 1224 'ratify' (cf. *ratihabitio* Dig.); *sapientificare* (σοφοῦν) in Hilary (*Dominus sapientificat caecos*), a translation of Psalm 145,8 in LXX. An exuberant exploitation of the possibilities of this formation and a proof of its productivity is Pseudo-Lullus Kabb. *Non inest igitur aeterno nisi aeternificare ... esse potentificans, cuius proprium non est nisi potentificare ... esse sapientificans ... cuius proprium non est nisi sapientificare ... voluptuosificans ... virtuosificans ... gloriosificans*.

A distinct group of verbs on *-ficare* denotes the passing of a judgement, 'to examine as (an adjective of an adjectivized pronoun)'. Eucken (p. 57) and Blaise attribute such a *verificare* to Boethius' translation of Aristotle's Topica Δ 5, 127a11 f., where the reading *verificatur* (= ἀληθεύεται) is supposed. The genuine Boethian text, however, reads *verum est*. The verb *verificare* was coined by Medieval translators of the Aristotelian corpus. It occurs seven times in the translation from the Arabic of Analytica Posteriora by Gerhard of Cremona (d. 1187), e.g. A 9, 76a25 *ut verificemus nos iam scire rem*. As a logical term, it maintained its position ever since (SU 58,8 f. *termini illius pro nullo supponunt vel verificantur*). Its opposite *falsificare* occurs in Avicenna De anima IV 17,23 *falsificando eas (res)*, and it is cited by Latham with secondary denotations, 'to pervert' 1267, 'to maintain falsely' 1387 (but stated as an uncertain case).

Perhaps one can explain *identificare* c. 1300 morphologically as a derivate on *identi(-tat-)*, cf. Hofmann's hypothesis on the origin of *heredificare* from *heredi(-tat-)*, ThLL, s.v.; it would seem that it was formed in the 12th century, cf. Guibertus de Novigento (d. c. 1125) *personalis veritas, in quam refertur et identificatur significatum*.

Connected with the use of *qualis* as a genuine adjective ('invested with a quality') is *qualificare* c. 1270 'to qualify, modify, invest with a quality', Thomas Aquinas Summa theol. I^a II^{ae}, q. 7, a. 2, 1 *nihil qualificatur ... ab eo quod est extra ipsum, sed ab eo quod in ipso est*; cf. Aquinas In Metaphysica 5, lect. 16, n. 989 *Dicimus enim superficies esse quales, inquantum sunt quadratae vel triangulares*, ibid. 994 *qualitas sive quale dicitur ... secundum quod aliquid disponitur per virtutem et vitium*. Accordingly, the participle *qualificatus* was used as a synonyme with *graduatus*, 'graduated': EOVI X 26 f. *neque est promotus neque qualificatus in iure vel in artibus*, ibid. I XVI 15 f. *domine baccalaurie vel qualiter estis qualificatus*.

In the same manner, *quantificare* c. 1360 'to quantify, measure' should be compared to the analogous use of *quantus* as an adjective, Aquinas In Metaphysica 5, lect. 15, n. 985 *Ex eo enim quod illa magnitudo est quanta et motus est quantus* ('determined as to the category of quantity'). Quite as *quale*, it is substantivized *quantum* (= Aristotelian τὸ ποτὶόν and τὸ ποσόν, respectively). Beyond the technical sphere of natural philosophy, *quantificare* could appear even in poetry, cf. Walther 15682 a *Munera plorantis tristi vultu violantur / nam data per dantis effectum quantificantur*.

The older English verbs in *-fy* are adoptions of French verbs in *-fier*, which are either adapted from Latin verbs in *-ficāre* or formed on the analogy of verbs so originating. (The form *-fier* was used as the representative of Latin *-ficāre* on the analogy of words like *saintefier-santificāre*.) They may be divided into three classes (corresponding to three classes of adjectives in *-ficus*: see *-fic* suffix), all of which are represented by adapted words in English: (1) verbs < nouns, with the sense 'to make, produce', as *pācificāre* (originally *intransitive* 'to make peace'), *ædificāre*, or 'to make or convert into something', as *deificāre* deify; (2) < adjectives, with the sense 'to bring into a certain state', as *santificāre*; (3) < verb-stems, with causative sense, as *horrificāre*. In medieval Latin there was a tendency to substitute *-ficāre* for *-facēre* in the few Latin verbs so ending, and hence French and English verbs in *-fier*, *-fy* sometimes correspond to Latin verbs in *-facēre*; e.g. French *stupéfier* (but in past participle *stupéfait* as well as *stupéfié*), Old French *satisfier* (but modern French *satisfaire*), French *liquéfier*, French *rubéfier*, medieval Latin *caleficare*. Except in the case of these few verbs the ending has normally the form *-ify*. It is now used as the regular rendering of *-ficāre* in new words adopted from Latin or formed on assumable Latin types, and is also freely added to English adjectives and nouns to form verbs, mostly somewhat jocular or trivial, with the senses: 'to make a specified thing', as *speechify*; 'to assimilate to the character of something' (chiefly in past participle, as *countrified*); 'to invest with certain attributes', as *Frenchify*. (A large proportion of these verbs are from nouns and adjectives ending in *-y* or *-ey*, the suffix then having the form *-fy* instead of the usual *-ify*. An early example is *beautify*,

but the analogy on which this word was formed is not clear.) In a few cases the suffix has been quite irregularly added to vb. stems, but the words are either obsolete, as *dedify*, *hindrify*, *ornify*, or merely jocular or illiterate, as *argufy*. The noun of action related to verbs in *-ify* normally ends in *-ification*, though, by confusion of suffix, *petrification* is used in English where French has more correctly *pétrification*. The words in which *-fy* represents Latin *-facere* having their corresponding nouns of action ending in *-faction*.

3.3 Hybrid formations on *-iz-are* (*-is-are*)

In Greek. the suffix *-ίζειν* was, as a rule, joined to nominal stems (Schwyzer, I, pp. 741 ff.). This formative was amazingly productive: Kretschmer-Locker contains more than 2700 instances of it. It was taken over in Latin early, written *-iss-are*: *sicilissare* Plautus 'to imitate Sicilian manners' = *σικελίζειν*. Later, the spelling *iz-are* was generalized (*citharizare* Nepos 'to play on the cithara'). Its native productivity in Latin began with the many hybrids built on genuine Latin stems; the first example is attested in Plautus, *patrissare* 'to act like one's father', and no corresponding Greek **πατριζειν* is recorded;⁴⁰¹ of course the etymological and semantical identity of *πατήρ* and *pater* facilitated the birth of this hyperhellenism. An intermediary stage in this process of making *iz-are* a native Latin suffix was the extended coinage of *iz-are* verbs on Greek stems with no recorded corresponding Greek *-ίζειν* verbs. It is first attested also in Plautus (*drachumissare* 'to work for one drachm', *graecissare* 'to act like a Greek', *moechissare* (transitive) 'to act like a fornicator against, to ravish'.

The semantic functions of the hybride *iz-are* (written thus) verbs invented in the Late Latin period (Mignot, p. 337 f.) can be analyzed as follows:

- 'to treat with, expose to (noun)': *alapizare* (Jerome), *carcerizare*
- 'to make, render (adj.)': *hilarissare* Isid., *latinizare* Cael. Aurel., *sollemnizare* Aug. (factitive)
- 'to reduce to, to produce (noun)': *bullizare* 'boil up' Chir., *pulverizatus* Veg., *stercorizare* Chir (factitive)
- 'to grow': *amarizare* Plin. Val. (intransitive)
- 'to act as': *praeconizare* Iren. (intransitive)
- 'to act like, to sympathize with (adj. denoting persuasion, or proper name of originator of a doctrine)': *iudaizare* Bibl., *paganizare* eccl., *sabellizare* eccl. (intransitive)

⁴⁰¹ Leumann, Mélanges J. Marouzeau, Paris 1948, p. 372 (157). But cf *πατερίζω*, Aristophanes Aves 652.

- 'to play a musical instrument': *tibizare* (intransitive, "instrumentative")

Cf. the hybrid *singularizare* (ἰδιάζειν) Moerbeke Simplicius *singularizans multitudo* (ἰδιάζον πλῆθος) 'multitude made up by singular units'. Cf. below, 2.3.6.

For the ante-medieval materials, with ample discussion, I refer to Mignot, pp. 330 ff.⁴⁰² The following formations are found in *Library of Latin* texts:

-issare: *accissare, afrissare, amphibolissare, atticissare, boeotissare, cothonissare, cretissare, crotalissare, cyathissare, cymbalissare, dorissare, graecissare, hebraissare, hylarissare, luterissare, matrissare, missare, moechissare, omphacissare, paralogissare, patrissare, penicissare, pitissare, platonissare, potissare, pytissare, rhetorissare, sabathissare, sellisare, semissare, siculissare, soloecissare, syrarissare, tablissare, tympanissare, vibrissare.*

-izare: *abbatizare, agonizare, allegorizare, anathematizare, apoflegmatizare, aristarchizare, aromatizare, arrianizare, astronomizare, autorizare, baptizare, barbarizare, betizare, c(h)orizare, campanizare, canonizare, catechizare, characterizare, christianizare, citharizare, colaphizare, coreizare, corvizare, dogmatizare, echonizare, eraclizare, erarizare 'malleare', eunuchizare, evangelizare, exorcizare, florizare, formalizare, garentizare, genealogizare, geometrizare, heraclizare, herodizare, hierarchizare, hymnizare, inthronizare, iuda(e)izare, lachanizare, latinizare, ligonizare, monarchizare, moralizare, organizare, paralogizare, parsitionizare, poetizare, politizare, practizare, praeconizare, praeevangelizare, praesyllogizare, prologizare, prophetizare, rebaptizare, romanizare 'more quiritum se habere', sabbatisare, scandalizare, sillabizare, sollem(p)nizare, sophizare, stercorizare, stultizare, subgannizare, subtilizare, syllogizare, tetragonizare, the(n)saurizare, theologizare, tyrannizare, virtutizare, warrantizare (guarantizare).*

3.3.1 Hyperhellenistic *-iz-are* (*-is-are*)

In his translation of Themistius, Moerbeke four times resorts to the *-izare* model in order to render Greek verbs of other formation than those ending in *-ίζειν*, and lacking Latin equivalents (cf. Mignot, pp. 335-337): 128,55 f. *geometrizare* (γεωμετρεῖν), 85,12 f. *parabolizare* (παράβολον εἶναι), 49,96 *physiologizare* (φυσιολογεῖν), 61,13 *harmonizare* (ἁρμόζειν).

3.3.2 Intransitive denominal *-iz-are* (*-is-are*), 'to act like' ("imitative")

- 'to act like': The Plautinian model *patrissare* (Latham 1090, cf. Walther 10287 *Germen patrizat, lupus ut resonans ululizat*) was expanded (13th c.) with *impatrisso* 'to follow in father's footsteps'. Its counterpart *matrissare* was advanced by C.F.W. Müller in a conjectural emendation (*matrissem*) of *matrescam* in Nonius 137,5, quoting Pacuvius: *Utinam nunc matrescam*

⁴⁰² The reading *opere Dei singularizato, magnificae res necessaria definitione conclusae sunt* in Cassiodore, *Inst. lib. disc.*, is a misreading for *opere Dei singulares atque magnificae res*, etc.

ingenio, ut meum patrem ulcisci queam. In any case, *matrissare* existed in medieval Latin, Sedulius Scotus *sunt etiam frequentatiua de nomine uenientia, ut patrissat matrissat grecissat*; Walther 9497 *Filii matrizant, filie patrizant*; *ibid.* 14482 b *Matre meretrice nate pudet esse pudice / Matrissare studet, degenerare pudet.*

Further *stultizare* 1267 'to play the fool', and *puerizare* 'to act like a boy', Walther 15591 *Multum stultizat senior, quando puerizat; pauperizare* 13 c. 'to act the pauper'; *pigrizare* = *pigrum esse*? Walther 27240 *Sepe prophetizat servus, quicumque pigrizat.*

- 'to act like an animal': *caprizare* 'to behave like a goat', Walther 10757 *Heu, Plato caprizat pauper, dum dives asellus / in cathedra positus servat honoris onus; ranizare* 'to sound like a frog' Walther 1338 *Argueris verbis, vesice more tumescunt / Ranizare parant turgidior sono.*
- 'to resemble a certain person': *neronizare* c. 1270 'to play the Nero'; *paulizare* 14th c 'to imitate St. Paul'; *petrizare-simonizare* 'to be a good shepherd-exercise simony' Walther 21473 *Petrus obit, Simon vivit, modo nemo petrizat / Immo procul dubio totus clerus simonizat; satanizare* Walther 1042 *Angelicus iuvenis senibus satanizat in annis*, and Walther 20394 *Ortus angelicus senio satanizat iniquus; wipertizare-heinrizare* MGH, Lib. de lite (12th c.) *Papa wipertizas, regem heinrizare videmus: Nec te pro papa nec eum pro rege tenemus.*
- 'to act like a person from a certain place': *cretisare* (κηρτίζειν Plutarch) c. 1562 'to lie like a Cretan'.

3.3.3 Intransitive *-iz-āre* verbs on substantival stem

- profession (analogous to *rex* > *regnare*, *imperator* > *imperare*): *abbatizare* 'serve as an abbot' Latham c. 1095 *illuc abbatizante Uvio.*
- occupation: *aulizare* 'to serve at court' Walther 25324 *Quilibet aulizat, ut eum favor intitulizat* ('in order to be favoured with new titles').
- 'to act as': *patronizare* 15th c. 'to protect'
- 'to practice, exercise, be occupied with': *campanizare* 'to ring a bell' EOV II LV 54 f. *dictus ... Glockenheintz, quia libenter campanizat; chorizare* c. 1090 'to sing in a choir' (< *chorus*), 'to dance' (< *chorea*) Walther 16321 *Nemo chorizare valet abs pedibus, scio clare; crinizare* 'to pull a person's hair' EOV I XXXVI 25 *vellem vos crinisare et in stercus proicere; formalizare* 'to practice the Scotistic philosophy of *formalitates*' Jean Gerson Prantl IV 147 *Quae consideratio clavis est ad concordantiam formalizantium cum terministis; Sirecti quod illi vocant distinctionem rei rationabilis, formalizantes vocant distinctionem ex natura rei; leonizare* 'to

write in leonine verse' Walther 27160 *Sepe leonizat verbis cuius cor lepōrizat* (probably double meaning: 'is witty' (< *lepōr-*), and 'is cowardly' (< *lepōr-*); *sermonizare* 1378 'to preach' EOVI XLII 51 *incept magno praeludio sermonizare*; *latinizare* 'teach or speak Latin' EOVI XI 10 f. *qui sciunt tantum latinizare et dictamina componere*.

3.3.4 Intransitive *-iz-āre* verbs on an adjective or a proper name ('to sympathize with')

This formation is obviously modelled on the *sicilissare* type, denoting imitation, frequent in Greek, cf. Vulg. Gal. 2,14 *si tu cum Iudaeis sis gentiliter et non iudaice vivis, quomodo gentes cogis iudaizare* (ἰουδαΐζειν)? and Aristotle, Metaphysics Γ 1010a11 ἡρακλειτίζειν 'to be a professed follower of Heraclitus', *heraclizare* in the Latin translations. The late formation *paganizare* in Ioannes Diaconus Vita Gregorii (9th c.) survived the Middle Ages: 1380 'to become pagan', C.E. Bulaeus, Historia universitatis Parisiensis, V, 754 (in 1482): *Quicumque contradicit voluntati papae, paganizat*, John Colet De sacramentis ecclesiae, 7 *Nec erat timendum ne tota paganitas christianizet, quum nunc quoque ... maxima pars hominum paganizet*; *scotizare* 'to profess the teachings of Duns Scotus' was current in the university of Paris in the last decades of the 15th century, Prantl IV 199 *compilatum est ab eximio viro ... Nicolao Tintoris ... in alma universitate Parisiensi regente* ('exercizing the duties of a magister regens') *et scotisante* (book title, 1486); *ibid.* 271 *opinio scotisantium*; Tataretus Tractatum formalitatum scoticarum fol. 7rb *concludimus secundum istos scotizantes*.

3.3.5 Transitive *-iz-āre* verbs on substantival stems

Apart from a set of Greek verbs imported, and thus falling outside the scope of a study of Latin productivity, in Late Latin and in the Middle Ages (and used, at least in medieval Latin, as transitives: *dogmatizare*, *organizare*, *characterizare*), the verb *pulverizare*, attested in Vegetius as a past participle (*pulverizatus*, above 2.3.) was used in finite forms at least since Thomas Aquinas (e.g. Summa theol. III, q. 77, c. *si pulverizetur panis*); in a metaphorical sense in Thomas a Kempis, De imitatione Christi, 3,8,3 *Si autem me vilificavero ... atque sicut sum pulverizavero* (v.l. *spulverizavero*), *erit mihi propitia gratia tua*.

3.3.6 Transitive *-iz-āre* (*-is-āre*) verbs on adjectival stems

Tataretus Summ. fol. 80ra has *singularizare* 'denoting something singular' (in contradistinction to 'universal'): *signa vniuersalia vel particularia et singularisantia*; and a corresponding *particularizare* is recorded by Latham in the period preceding 1360; *universalizare* is attested in Jean Gerson, Prantl VI 147 *Res enim non ratiocinantur in se ipsis nec praescindunt nec universalizantur* ('they are

not made universals') *nec signantur nec abstrahunt nec abstrahuntur*; *moralizare* 1344 'to give a moral interpretation' can be compared with *allegorizare* 1144 'to speak in allegories', as in some book titles: (Hain 297-319) *Esopus moralizatus cum bono commento*, Hain 7723-7730 *Donatus moralisatus, scilicet per allegoriam traductus*, Hain 7734-7752 *Gesta Romanorum cum applicationibus moralisatis et mysticis*; of the same type is *theologizare*, Hain 7711 *Incipit tractatus in Trilogio Astrologie theologizate Ioannis de Gersona* (cf. intransitive *theologizare* c. 1270).

Related to the *scotizare* type (above 2.3.4.), indicating an ideological allegiance but used transitively, is *realizare*, SU 44,27 ff *istud aliquibus non placet magis logicam realizantibus, dicentibus logicam esse scienciam realem* ('dealing with reality', i.e., not merely with language). Purely factitive is *christianizare* c. 1150 'to make Christian', and *theutonizare* 'to translate into German': EOVI XLV 23 *quem libellum theutonizavit etiam*.

Judging from these examples, there is still a certain ambivalence as to the transitive and intransitive function of the *-izare* type in late Middle Ages. The material examined here does not permit any conclusions of a tendency to favour the transitive, factitive usage, pointing forwards to the almost exclusive factitive function of the *-izare* off-shoots in modern languages (*modernize, normalize, acclimatize, etc.*).

3.3.7 Irregular *-iz-āre*

The use of *tibizare* in a completely new sense 'to address someone with *tu*' (EOVI XIV 21 f. *dixit ei multa superba dicta, et tibiavit eum*) can be explained morphologically (< *tibi*) as a result of a desire to avoid the hiatus of its less deviating equivalent *tuisare* (Du Cange), cf. archaic Italian *tuizzare, tissare*, German *duzen*, and French *tutoyer*.

Many words are formed in French or English on Latin adjectives and nouns (esp. on derivative adjectives in *-al, -ar, -an, etc.*), mostly with the transitive sense 'to make (that which is expressed by the derivation)', as *actualize, authorize, brutalize, civilize, colonize, consonantize, devocalize, eternize, etherealize, familiarize, fertilize, formalize, fossilize, humanize, immortalize, legalize, memorize, nationalize, naturalize, neutralize, patronize, pulverize, realize, satirize, scrutinize, secularize, signalize, solemnize, spiritualize, sterilize, terrorize, vocalise*; trans. or intrans., as *cicatrize, extemporize, moralize, particularize*; less frequently only intransitive, as *temporize*.

4 Substantival suffixation

4.1 *-(i)tās*

The single most productive suffix in the Middle Ages was *-(i)tāt-*, a fact congenial to philosophic speculation and its need for abstract nouns, denoting inherent, permanent qualities. Originally, this formative was denominative, and IE forerunners are attested in Indo-Iranian, in Greek and in Italic dialects. In Latin, it was originally based on adjectival stems (*novitas*, *sanitas*), but also on personal nouns, thus producing new terms for offices, institutions, or social position (*civitas*, *societas* Ennius, *aedilitas*, *hereditas* Plautus; Leumann, 328). After consonant stems, it was realized as *-tat-* (*paupertas*, *ubertas*, *maiestas*), after stems ending in *-i-* as *-etat-* (*pietas* Plautus), Leumann 328 a.

In Cato's *De agri cultura*, these formatives express season, or state of the crop: *autumnitas*, *salubritas*, *oleitas* ('olive harvest'), *vetustas*; cf 141, 2 *uti tu* (Mars) ... *viduertatem* ... *calamitates* ... *prohibessis defendas averruncesque*. Cf. *olivitas* Varro, *ficitas* Novius.

Normally *-tas* denotes something abstract. Cf. the following instances in Plautus: *adfinitas*, *aedilitas*, *amoenitas*, *auctoritas*, *benignitas*, *bonitas*, *calamitas*, *civitas*, *comitas*, *commoditas*, *confirmatas*, *cupiditas*, *dignitas*, *facunditas*, *festivitas*, *fidelitas*, *firmitas*, *hereditas*, *ieiunitas*, *incommoditas*, *immortalitas*, *malignitas*, *mendicatas*, *necessitas*, *nobilitas*, *opportunitas*, *opulentitas*, *orbitas*, *pernicitas*, *propinquitas*, *saturitas*, *siccitas*, *sodalitas*, *suavitas*, *tranquillitas*, *utilitas*, *vacuitas*.

The following examples in Cicero seem to be novel, or recent, creations on adjectival stems: *acerbitas*, *aequitas*, *alacritas*, *asperitas*, *caecitas*, *celeritas*, *frugalitas*, *imbecillitas*, *immanitas*, *immunitas*, *improbitas* (πονερία), *incolumitas*, *inhumanitas*, *lēvitas*, *lēvitas*, *loquacitas* (πολυλογία), *posteritas*, *sagacitas*, *sedulitas*, *sterilitas*, *viriditas* (χλωρότης).

Hence English *-acity*, *-ality*, *-anity*, *-arity*, *-ariety*, *-bility*, *-eity*, *-idity*, *-ility*, *-inity*, *-iety*, *-ivity*, *-ocity*, *-osity*, *-uity*, some of which, as

-bility (*-ability*, *-ibility*) attain almost to the rank of independent suffixes. The earlier popular French form was *-eté*, in English

-ety and *-ty*, as in *safety*, *bounty*, *plenty*.

4.1.1 *-(i)tās* on adjectival bases

4.1.1.1 *-āl-ītās* and *-ār-ītās*

This pattern existed in archaic Latin (*immortalitas* Plautus) and was favoured or productive in medieval philosophic language. It was especially liked by the translator (c. 1150) of Avicenna, in a totally abstract sense:

- *animalitas* (Augustine) *Logica* fol. 5^{va} *animalitas sola est significatiua esse hominis et equi uniuscuiusque per se*;

- *causalitas* ibid. 2^{ra} *dispositio, identitas et unitas et causalitas et numerus*;
- *differentialitas* (cf. *differitas* Lucretius), with the following corresponding nouns:
- *generalitas* (Donatus) ibid. 10th *inter duos respectus, quorum vnus vocatur generalitas et alius differentialitas*;
- *dualitas* (Irenaeus latinus, δυνάς) Sufficientia fol. 18^{vb} *est forma dualitatis in illo esse*;
- *individualitas* (cf. *indivuiditas* Tertullian) ibid. 12^{va} *si ostenderetur Plato hora tertia, tunc non certificaretur tibi indiuidualitas illius*;
- *numeralitas* Sufficientia fol. 25^{rb} *numeralitas non est ternarietati secundum quod est dualitati, quia esse ternarietatis pendet ex esse dualitatis*;
- *particularitas* (Boethius) De anima V 95, 83 f. *nec est hic diversitas universalitatis et singularitatis*;
- *principalitas* (Tertullian) De anima V 144, 70 f. *Quod autem proprium est eius ex principalitate eius ad animam, est eius intellectibilitas in effectus*;
- *specialitas* Logica fol. 7^{ra} *propter hoc quod accidit ei habere supra se aliam communioem vocauerunt quod est sub communi huiusmodi specialitatem*;
- *spermalitas* Sufficientia. fol. 15^{ra} *dicitur quod ex spermate fit homo ... Causa autem eius quod dicitur 'ex spermate', hoc scilicet est quia expoliatur forma spermalitatis*;
- *substantialitas* (Marius Victorinus) ibid. fol. 5^{vb} *Sensibile etenim est sicut animal in substantialitate homini, equo et boui*;
- *totalitas* (anon. c. 1160) Sufficientia fol. 31^{vb}-32^{ra} *quia res cum sua totalitate esse in aliquo non est ipsam tangere illud sua totalitate*.

The translator of Averroes (first half of the 13th c.) revived *corporalitas* (Tertullian), Parva naturalia 66,5 ff *Forme autem facilis reductionis sunt ille que sunt apud virtutem ymaginativam et sensum communem, multe corporalitatis et pauce spiritualitatis*.

Duns Scotus invented *formalitas* (Eucken, p. 68, Latham c. 1300) Report. Paris. II, d. 12, q. 8 *formalitas specifica semper est simpliciter perfectior gradu vel formalitate generis*, and

realitas (Eucken, ibid.; Latham c. 1300) Report. d. 33, q. 1, n. 9 *essentia est una realiter, proprietates sunt plures realiter realitate relativa*, and ibid. q. 2, n. 8 *distinctio realitatum secundum quid*. Scotus did not, however, originate *actualitas*, as Eucken contends (p. 68); it is in fact found in Robert Grosseteste (d. 1253): *sua simplicitas non compatitur multitudinem ex actualitate provenientem* (ed. L. Baur, Beitr. Zur Gesch. D. Phil. des MA, IX, p. 122). Compare the following formations in Scotus:

- *accidentalitas* Quodl. q. 3, n. 15 *nec eadem est accidentalitas accidentis entis ad se et accidentis entis ad alterum*;
- *intellectualitas* 'faculty of understanding' Oxon. II, d. 1, q. 5, n. 5 *Intellectualitas angeli inquantum intellectualitas non differt ab intellectualitate animae humanae inquantum intellectualitas*.

Rather eccentric is the coinage *ambalitas* (1528, from *ambo*), which owes its origin rather to *neutralitas* 'neutrality' c. 1160 than to any adjective **ambalis*, suggested by Acta Tomiciana, X (ed. Z. Celichowski, Posnaniae 1899), p. 260: *vereorque plurimum, ne tali nostra neutralitate vel ambalitate* ('ambivalence, falling between two stools') *potius apud utramque ... partem ... amicitiam ... amittamus*. Latham records *anitas*, 'whetherness' c. 1270. William Ockham ridiculed such excesses of some philosophers, who ventured to create substantives like *aquoitās*, *aditas*, *abietas* and invented himself similar bizarre terms, based on conjunctions, to demonstrate the oddity of it: *dummitas*, *cummitas*, *tunctitas*, *iammitas*, *siitas*, *attitas*, *etitas*, *velitas*, *quaiatas*.⁴⁰³

4.1.1.2 *-bil-itas*

It would seem that any adjective on *-bilis* could give rise to a corresponding abstract noun on *-bil-itas*: *nobilitas* Plautus, *possibilitas* Arnobius, *rationabilitas* Boethius, *superincomprehensibilitas* Gerardus Moyses (d. 1046), *interminabilitas* Bonaventure.

Here are but a few instances of medieval productivity:

In the translations of Avicenna *intellectibilitas* ('*aqliyya*') De anima V 144, 71 *Quod autem proprium est eius (intelligentiae) ex principalitate eius ad animam, est eius intellectibilitas in effectu*; *intelligibilitas* (*ma'qūliyya*) De anima V 131, 7 ff. *intellectus non potest formare ea quae sunt in ultimo intelligibilitatis et abstractionis a materia*; *risibilitas-navigabilitas* Logica fol. 9^{va} *proprietas quae est vna de quinque est risibile, non risibilitas, et navigabile, non navigabilitas*.

In Duns Scotus: *appretiabilitas* 'capability of being estimated' Oxon. III, d. 26, n. 7 *Appretiabilitas in obiecto aut intelligitur aptitudinaliter aut actualiter*; *cognoscibilitas* Report. I, d. 36, q. 4, n. 29 *Quod repugnat alicuius entitati repugnat eius cognoscibilitati*; *communicabilitas* Quodl. q. 19, n. 19 *Potest intelligi triplex negatio communicabilitatis sive dependentiae*; *convertibilitas* De cognitione Dei q. 3, n. 4 *Est quaedam communicabilitas secundum universalitatem ... alia ... secundum identitatem ... alia ... secundum singularitatem*; *divisibilitas* Oxon. II, d. 2, q. 9, n. 17 *divisibilitas est passio quantitatis*; *incomprehensibilitas* Exposit. In Metaphysica Arist. I, S. 1, c. 2, n. 33 *incomprehensibilitas negat adaequationem actus ad obiectum*; *innascibilitas* 'the attribute of being independent of birth' Report. I, d. 28, q. 4, n. 6 *innascibilitas uno modo opponitur omni processioni ... alio modo non opponitur non omni processioni*; *mutabilitas* Oxon. I, d. 3, qs. 4, n.

⁴⁰³ *Guillelmi de Ockham Opera philosophica et theologica*, vol. X, (ed. C.A. Grassi), New York 1986, 3-85.

14 *Anima ... est mutabilis prima mutabilitate ... sed non est mutabilis secunda mutabilitate; imputabilitas-causabilitas* Quodl. q. 18, n. 20 *licet imputabilitas conveniat istis in ordine ad eandem voluntatem, tamen illa erit alia sicut est alia causabilitas, vel aliud subiacere potestati causae, licet causa sit eadem.*

In Jean Gerson, (*in*)*auferibilitas* means 'the (im)possibility to depose', in a book-title *De auferibilitate papae ab ecclesia vel potius de inauferibilitate Sponsi ecclesiae.*

In late medieval logical and metaphysical texts, especially of Scotistic origin, occur the following novelties: *conceptibilitas* Tractatus formalitatum scoticarum fol. 1^{rb} *distinctio formalis accipitur penes formalitatem ... ut illa dicantur habere distinctam formalitatem que habent distinctam conceptibilitatem; contrahibilitas* Nicolaus Bonetus, Prantl IV 194 *Termini contrahibilitatis substantiae sunt ipsae differentiae divisivae et constitutivae; definibilitas* SU 55, 47 *sub ratione difference speciei vel diffinibilitatis; dicibilitas* SU 35, 158 f. *ille res considerantur hic non vt sint aut esse habeant sed sub ratione dicibilitatis; risibilitas-hinnibilitas* Trombetta fol. 74^{ra} *passio est naturalis aptitudo a aliquem actum, sicut risibilitas ad actum ridendi, hinnibilitas ad actum hinniendi* (my conjecture; the printed text has *inhibitas* and *inhiendi*); *supponibilitas*, etc., the so called *proprietates terminorum*: Tataretus Summ. fol. 58^{va} *Iste est tractatus paruorum logicalium, in quo determinandum est de passionibus terminorum, et communiter assignantur quinque, scilicet supponibilitas, ampliabilitas, restringibilitas, appellabilitas et distribuibilitas.*⁴⁰⁴

4.1.1.3 -iv-ītās

The termination *-iv-itas* was productive ever since the archaic period (*festivitas* Plautus), although the use of this formative was rather moderate, considering the bulk of *-ivus* adjectives. Among the few examples are *captivitas* Seneca, *passivitas* 'confused condition' Tertullian, and *activitas-passivitas*, the active-passive sense in the grammarians from the second century CE onwards.

Medieval productivity: *effectivitas* c. 1270 'power of producing an effect' Sirecti *in omni ente fundatur respectus effectiuitatis seu dependentiae; motivitas* c. 1270 'motive power' Trombetta fol. 74^{ra} *motiuitas non est aliquid realiter differens ab ipsa (re motiua); causativitas* c. 1361; *conformativitas-directivitas* 'function of conforming-directing' Tataretus Logic. fol. 13^{va-b} *consistit talis extensio in duplici relatione aptitudinali, scilicet prioritatis et conformatiuitatis siue directiuitatis.*

⁴⁰⁴ These "properties" were among the favourite targets of renaissance humanists: Cf Erasmus, Methodus 155 (1516): *Ubi primarum et secundarum intentionum, ubi ampliationum ac restrictionum, ubi formalitatum aut quidditatum aut etiam ecceitatum ulla mentio, quibus nunc differta sunt omnia?* and Thomas More, Utopia II, 158 (1516): *Nam ne ullam quidem regulam inuenerunt* (the inhabitants of Utopia) *earum, quas de restrictionibus, amplificationibus, ac suppositionibus acutissime excogitatis in paruīs logicalibus passim hic ediscunt pueri.*

4.1.1.4 Decomparative *-ītās* formations (*-ōr-ītās*)

Once again, the pioneer, if not the inventor, of this striking formative was Dominic Gundissalinus, the translator of Avicenna: *maioritas-minoritas* (even if *maioritas* is recorded a. 1100 by Latham, as well as *melioritas* 'improvement') De anima IV 52, 49 f. *dissimilitudo in minoritate et maiortate*; Metaph. fol. 91^{ra} *per tantum ergo certificatur cognitio maioritatis et minoritatis*.

In order to render τὸ πρότερον and τὸ ὕστερον, respectively, Moerbeke created *prioritas* and *posterioritas*: Ammon. 138, 47 *secundum prioritatem et posterioritatem*; cf. Tataretus Phil. fol. 3vb *non debet intelligi quod in deo ... sit aliqua prioritas ... sed illa prioritas et posterioritas in cognitione diuina dicitur secundum denominationem extrinsecam a rebus cognitis*.

The use of this type was expanded by *notioritas* 'greater intelligibility' introduced by John of Jandun (d. 1328), cf. cod. Uppsala C 615, fol. 100^v *Explicit copia de notioritate vniuersalium data per magistrum johannem de genduno anno domini m^o ccc^o xiiij* (Z. Kuksewicz, "La 'Quaestio de notioritate universalium' de Jean de Jandun", Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum 14, 1970, pp. 87 ff).

Further examples:

- *anterioritas* Avicenna Sufficientia 34^{va} *Res ergo, que recipit hunc modum anterioritatis, habebit esse, non existente tempore*; Dante De vulgari eloquentia 1, 1, 10 *quod quondam anterioritatem erogare videtur Ytalis*.
- *interioritas* Guibertus de Nouigento (d. c. 1125) *Contra iudaizantem et Iudaeos carne discussa sanctae interioritatis estote capaces*; and a corresponding *exterioritas* is used by Lullus 11 times.
- *maioritas* ≠ *minoritas* are opposed by Guillelmus de Sancto Theodorico in Aenigma fidei: *Ubi vero principaliter hoc esse dicitur pater, non anteritas [sic] temporis, non precessio seu gradus intelligendus est dignitatis, non maioritas seu minoritas maiestatis*; Lullus Liber de divina unitate et pluralitate, dist. 3, *De veritate, maiortate et minoritate*; Ps.-Lullus De auditu kabbalistico *Tertius triangulus est triangulus maioritatis, aequalitatis et minoritatis*; Alpharabi Philosophia prima 91^{ra} *certificatur cognitio maioritatis et minoritatis*; Avicenna Metaphysica 91^{ra} *Maior enim est qui est tantus et aliquid plus, minor vero est cui de tanto aliquid deest: per tantum ergo certificatur cognitio maioritatis et minoritatis*; and in Ockham passim.
- *melioritas* Iohannes Olivi (d. 1298) *Lectura super Ecclesiasten 1,3 nota quod non prefert hanc illi quoad melioritatem virtutis aut quoad minoritatem culpe seu malicie*; Iohannes Hus *Quodlibet magistrorum*, series 54, p. 252 *melius est simpliciter esse quam non esse, igitur melioritas est inter esse et non esse*.

- *prioritas ≠ posterioritas* Tataretus Liber primus Phisicorum 3^{vb} *prioritas et posterioritas in cognitione divina*; Avicenna Sufficientia (printed 1508) 25^{rb} *res ... diversificantur secundum prioritatem et posterioritatem*; ibid. 33^{rb} *Removebis enim tempus esse aut ante aliquid aut post aliquid. Cum autem sic feceris, iam fecisti esse cum remotione eius prioritatem et posterioritatem.*
- *prioritas* (τὸ πρότερον) Themistius De anima 239,98 *tempore prioritatem habere*; Avicenna Philosophia prima 77ra *De prioritate forme super materiam*; Lullus Arbor scientiae, 16 *Prioritas est illud ens, ratione cuius unum ens est ante aliud.*
- *secundioritas* Lullus Arbor scientiae 1 *Secundioritas est in arbore una pars naturalis, ratione cuius radices se habent prius ad truncum quam ad brancas, et truncus se habet prius ad brancas quam ad ramos.*
- *tertioritas* Lullus Arbor scientiae 1 *Tertioritas est in Arbore elementali una pars generalis ad tertioritates arborum individuatarum, in quibus transeunt arbores in numerum tertium.*
- *senioritas* 'seniority' Du Cange 1085; DMLBS 1415 *in choro .. stent vicarii .. secundum senioritatem suam in collegio*
- *inferioritas* Bernhardus Clarevallensis Sermo 42,7 super Cantica *invenimus nos ... dignos omni extremitate et inferioritate*
- *superioritas* Avicenna latinus Liber de philosophia prima 9,5 *illa superficies est convenientior superioritati quam alia.*
- *superioritas ≠ inferioritas* c 1260, SU 24,59 *ordinacio planetarum adinvicem est sub certo ordine et statu superioritatis et inferioritatis.*

In modern English, apart from descendants of these nouns (and except *notioritas*, *secundioritas* and *tertioritas*) even *deteriority*, *juniority*, and *apriority* are used; the last example is a parasynthetic derivate of the adverbial *a priori*.

4.1.2 *-itās, -e-itās, and -itē-itās, on substantival bases*

The *-(i)tas* nouns formed on nominal bases constitute a distinct group denoting 'the essence', the "Platonic" abstract form, of a class of things or an individual thing, or person, e.g. the 'horseness' of all individual horses.

According to Simplicius (F.D. Caizzi, Antisthenis Fragmenta, Milan 1966, n. 50 A), ἵππότης was used by Antisthenes as a parodical allusion to the Platonic ποιότης, below, section 4.1.2.; cf. ibid. 50 B and 50 C ἀνθρωπότης, whereas Diogenes Laertius ascribes τραπεζότης 'tableness' and κυσθήτης 'cuphood', with exactly the same function, to Diogenes (Diog. Laert. 6.53; F.W.A. Mullach, Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum, n. 182). By the translator of Avicenna, 'horseness' was rendered *caballitas*, Sufficientia fol. 23^{rb} *perfectio humanitatis aut caballitatis non pendet ex essendo in potentia*; and further 'bedness' *lectitas*, Sufficientia fol. 14^{rb} *lectitas abstracta a lecto*.

Cicero invented *infinītas* (*in-*, *finis*), which was reanimated by Moerbeke facing the Greek abstracts ἀοριστία (Ammon. 342, 55) and ἀπειρία (Ammon. 431, 64). As could be expected, it was supplemented by *finītas*, Avicenna Sufficentia fol. 36^{vb} *Antequam loquamur de finitate corporum ... debemus prius loqui de eorum finibilitate et infinibilitate*. The concepts are contrasted also by Trombetta, Qu. De prima diuisione entis, fol. 11^{va} *ideo relatio diuina non potest esse quanta, quia sibi repugnat finitas aut infinitas intensiua*.

Even proper names could serve as bases: Avicenna Logica fol. 6ra *quod Egyptietas sit genus Egyptiorum*; *Cesarietas* *ibid.*; *Danielitas* c. 1310; Duns Scotus, Opera Omnia XVI (1960) 506 *Socrates .. per Socrateitatem suam distinguitur a toto universo*. This usage seems to have been introduced by Boethius, In Peri hermeneias 2, 7: *age enim incommunicabilis Platonis illa proprietas Platonitas appelletur; eo enim modo qualitatem hanc Platonitatem ficto vocabulo nuncupare possumus, quomodo hominis qualitatem dicimus humanitatem*; Bacon XV, 207 *ista nomina, humanitas, animalitas, asinitas, Socratitas, Platonitas ... non sunt concreta set abstracta*.⁴⁰⁵

A set of nouns of this category seem to have been influenced morphologically by adjectives ending in *-ēus*, cf. *idoneus* Plautus > *idoneitas* Augustine; *spontaneus* Minucius Felix > *spontaneitas* Ockham. Further: Avicenna Sufficentia fol. 16^{ra} *corpora ... generantur ... in aqueitate et carneitate et aeritate*; *ibid.* fol. 15^{ra} *etsi non fiant (ligna) absque forma ligneitatis*; De anima V 165, 95 f. *imaginatur mihi eius (corporis) esse tantum, sine corporeitate eius*. Albertus Magnus (In Sent. I, d. 46 E, a. 4) mentions a philosophic distinction between *voluntas* ('willing, volition') and *velleitas* ('inclination, velleity') *etiam impossibile est voluntas: et haec a quibusdam magis velleitas quam voluntas vocari consuevit*.

There is no reason to believe that there is a semantic difference between the *-itas* and the

-eitas type. The *-eitas* termination persisted in late medieval logical and metaphysical literature even when there was no *-eus* to explain it, cod. Uppsala C 632, fol. 5^r *figura xi predicamenti, quod ponit doctor subtilis* (Duns Scotus) *in sua logica: species specialissime, genereitas, specieitas, differenteitas, intencio proprii, intencio accidentis*.

It was added also to stems other than substantival ones and repeated infinitively in Pseudo-Lullus Kabb. fol. 44^v ff.: *substantietias, initieitas, causeitas siue causalitas, necesseitas siue necessitas, indiviseitas siue indivisibilitas, elementeitas, identitas, similitudineitas, primieitas (primitium, primitibile et primitare), potentieitas, actueitas (perfectio actuati), quantitas siue quantieitas est actus quanti, qualitas siue qualieitas, relatiuiteitas siue relatio, perfectieitas, finieitas, toteitas siue totalitas (habet sua correlatiua totatium, videlicet*

⁴⁰⁵ Cicero was probably the initiator of this habit: *Lentulitas* 'being a Lentulus', *Appietas* 'of the rank of an Appius'.

totabile et totare). Diuineitas. Genereitas siue generalitas (habet sua correlatiua generalificatiuum, videlicet generificabile et generalificare) ... personeitas siue personalitas. Hecheitas est actus huius, ratione cuius hoc non agit nisi hoc ... et habet hecheitatiuum, hecheitabile et haeceitare, quae sunt sua correlatiua. Alieitas, subsistentieitas, accidenteitas siue accidentalitas, agieitas, actueitas ... passiuieitas ... habitueitas ... situeitas, temporeitas ... loceitas ... vacueitas, instinctueitas ... attraheitas ... receptiuieitas, plenieitas, diffusieitas, digestieitas, expulsiuieitas, signieitas ... pulchrieitas ... antiquieitas ... noueitas ... ideieitas, mathemathiceitas ... punctieitas ... linieitas, triangulieitas, quadranguleitas, circuleitas, corporeitas, figureitas, rectiuieitas, monstrosieitas ... This breath-taking catalogue ends with a philological comment explaining why the -eitas has become -ieitas: et notandum est breuiter quod omnia abstracta cuiuscumque concreti ... formatur (sic) a genitio sui, v.g. vmbrosum, vmbrosi, addita -eitas formatur vmbrosieitas, quae est actus vmbrosi, ratione cuius vmbrosum nihil agit nisi vmbrosum.

The -eitas productivity is ridiculed by Jean Gerson (himself a nominalist) as characteristic of the Scotists, *Lect. II contra van. curios. (Prantl IV 144) Quot sibi prioritates, quot instantias, quot signa, quot modeitates, quot rationes aliqui ultra Scotum distinguunt!*

Ockham offers another example, *ubieitas*, 'the quality of being determined locally, the whereabouts of something' (see quotation above), and Tataretus has *coloreitas*, *Philos. fol. 1vb coloreitas est formalis ratio propter quam color est obiectum visus.*

The excessive productivity of this termination was noted (by William of Ockham?) in the 14th c. and exemplified thus: *Ex his potest advertere studiosus quod fingentes nomina vel voces ad modum nominum abstractorum de nominibus propriis, pronominiibus, adverbiiis, coniunctionibus, praepositionibus, interiectionibus ac etiam de verbis, nominibus, participiis, ubi non possunt aperte assignare res distinctas, de quibus constat quod sunt distinctae, cuiusmodi sunt talia quae putantur nomina, quae in nullo auctore reperiuntur: haecceitas vel haectitas, sorteitas, martineitas, quandalitas, ubieitas, enimitas, velitas, sieitas, aditas, initas, abeitas, quamobremetas, usquequaqueitas, albedineitas, animeitas, licetitas — de scientia facili scientiam difficillimam reddiderunt et difficultates inextricabiles, ubi nulla est vel parvissima, induxerunt. Elementarium logicae, 8, 5.*

The same phenomenon proliferated in English: hence such formations as *egoity*, with playful or pedantic nonce-words of domestic formation, as *between-ity*, *coxcumb-ity*, *cuppe-ity*, *table-ity*, *threadbar-ity*, *woman-ity* (after *humani-ty*), *youthfull-ity*. Lehnert notes the following formations: *haecceity*, *velleity*, *diaphaneity*, *contemporaneity*, *extemporaneity*, *simultaneity*, *instantanenity*, *momentaneity*, *consentaneity*, *spontaneity*, *allogeneity*, *homogeneity*, *heterogeneity*, *feminineity*, *(in)corporeity*, *aseity*, *gaseity*, *proseity*, *ipseity*, *perseity*, *multeity*.

4.1.3 -(e)-ītās on pronominal bases

The originator of -(i)tas formations on pronominal stems was no less than Plato, who excused himself for coining terms like θερμότης, λευκότης, and ποιότης, 'hotness, whiteness, quality', *Theaet. 182 A: ἡ ποιότης ἅμα ἀλλόκοτόν τε φαίνεται*

ὄνομα, καὶ οὐ μανθάνεις ἀθρόον λεγόμενον.⁴⁰⁶ Cicero latinized it *qualitas*, Ac. 1,25 *qualitates igitur appellavi, quas ποιότητος Graeci vocant, quod ipsum apud Graecos non est vulgi verbum sed philosophorum*. Its counterpart *quantitas* seems to have been introduced by Vitruvius, as the equivalent of the Aristotelian ποσότης, cf. above, 4.1.2.

Candidus (epist. 2, middle of 4th c. AD) invented *identitas*, corresponding to ταυτότης (Aristotle, *Analytica Priora* A 21, 45a22). J.B. Hofmann (*Philologus* 89, p. 451) posits a noun **entitas* as the plausible matrix of it (*entitas* was in any case called into existence in the 13th c., below, 3.1.5.). Candidus himself speaks about *essentitas* (gen. div. 1), and his friend Marius Victorinus (adv. Arrium 1, 25) feels impelled to forge *alteritas*, as the Greeks had their ἑτερότης (Porphyry). Both *identitas* and *alteritas* occur again in the translations of Avicenna, whereas *alietas* is attested in the translation of Averroes *Metaphysics* D 12, 6 f. *secundum quod narravimus de alietate substantiae*.

The *quid(d)itas*, the quality of something that answers the question "what it is", is found in Avicenna *Metaph.* fol. 80va *inquantum enim ipse (denarius) est decem, est vna quidditas et impossibile est vt eius quidditas sit nisi vna*. The *aliquitas* 'somethingness' was introduced by Duns Scotus, *Sent.* I, 3, 5, 7 *illud quod aliquid est dicitur ratitudo eius; quo autem ipsum est quod est vel aliquid dicitur aliquitas eius*, as well as the famous *haecceitas* (*hecceitas*, *ecceitas*) the incommunicable quality of the individual being to be 'this thing' (*haece res*) and nothing else. The consonant gemination is explained by F. Blatt ("Sprachwandel im Latein des Mittelalters", *Historische Vierteljahrsschrift* 28, p. 41, note 121) as being an attempt to avoid a distorting pronunciation (*haesitas*, *haetsitas*). The cause for the deictic *-ce-* was rather probably the general tendency towards *-eitas* formations, cf. above 3.1.2. An instance of the same development is *nihilitas* p. 1381, 'nothingness', returning as *nihileitas* (or, probably, *nichileitas* in the manuscript tradition) in Thomas a Kempis, *Imitatio Christi* 3,8,3 *omnis aestimatio, quantumcumque minima, in valle nihilitatis* (v.l. *nichileitatis*) *meae submergetur et peribit in aeternum*.

Finally, the pronominal adjective *nullus* engendered *nullitas* which is recorded by Latham in the sense 'nothingness, non-existence' a. 1242, and meaning 'nullity, invalidity' c. 1332, the latter being a derivate of *nullus* as pure adjective, 'invalid, of no value, illegal, null' (c. 1219), firmly established in juridical and logical texts, cf. SU 44, 318 *ergo illa opinio nulla* and frequent ever since the archaic period; cf. Cicero *Tusc.* 2, 5, 13 *Nullum vero id quidem argumentum est*.

⁴⁰⁶ In the Loeb edition: "perhaps quality seems an extraordinary word, and you do not understand it when used with general application".

4.1.4 *-(e)itās* on adverbial bases, and in parasyntetic compounds

The abstract *simultas*, whatever its original derivation (cf. LEW 2, p. 540), and used in classical and late Latin meaning 'hatred, animosity' and the like, was connected in late medieval Latin with the adverb *simul* to mean 'simultaneity' (c. 1267), Tataretus Philos. fol. 45^{va} *declarat ea que dicuntur esse simul simultate loci dicens, quod illa dicuntur esse simul, que sunt in eodem loco proprio, sicut materia.*

quandalitas a. 1361 et *quandolitas* 1427 were invented to denote a quality 'whenness, temporality', answering the question *quando* 'when?' (cf. the ingenious adverb *quandolificanter* 1427 'so as to produce temporal distinction').

adaliquaqualitas c. 1300 was used by Duns Scotus as a synonym of *relatio*, the category of relation (Aristotle, Categ. 7, 6a37 πρὸς τι, *ad aliquid*), Metaph. V, 11, p. 269 *relacio, comparacio, habitudo, unicio vel annotacio, respectus, adaliquaqualitas idem videntur significare.*

alietas, see *perseitas*, below.

perseitas, introduced by Duns Scotus (Eucken, p. 68, Pierre Michaud-Quantin, Études sur le vocabulaire philosophique du Moyen Âge, 1971) Qu. super Anal. Post. 15-40, is derived from *per se* (Aristotle, Anal. Post. 73b26 καθ' αὐτό), just like *perseicus* (above, 1.1.3.). Its opposite *alietas* occurs in translations of Avicenna and is employed by Scotus in Ordinatio I, d. 2, 2, q. 4. *licet posset ... distingui quod ibi esset alietas perseitatis vel perseitas alietatis.*

The analogous concept *aseitas* (< *a se*) seems to be a creation of post-Scholastic philosophy: *aseitatem istam deducamus ex aeternitate ejus*, A. Geulincx (d. 1669) Metaphysica.

ubiquitas seems to be a post-scholastic term: *prodigiosa ubiquitas* John Calvin Institutio christianae religionis (1536) 4.17.30.

4.1.5 *-(i)tās* on verbal bases

voluntas (Plautus) was completed by *noluntas* (1304, cf. *nolentia* Tertullian);

entitas, which, as we have seen, was hypothetically assumed to be the morphological matrix of *identitas* (above, 4.1.3.), was used by Robert Grosseteste c. 1235 in his translation of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, De divinis nominibus (Chevalier I, p. 332), where *temporum entitas* renders χρόνων ὀντότης. The original Greek ὀντότης (used this once by Ps.-Dionysius; Lampe s.v.) seems to have been an innovation of Alexander of Aphrodisias (3th c. BCE) in Metaph. 641, 47, there meaning 'reality'. In the Middle Ages, *entitas* denoted both the essence of a being, in the most general and abstract sense, and the same thing as an *ens*, 'a being', something at least potentially existing, 'an entity': SU, p. 105 *Vtrum genus et*

differentia sint entitates realiter eedem, formaliter et ex natura rei distincte, constituentes terciam entitatem preter operationem intellectus.

4.1.6 *-(i)tās*, other types

On the ordinal *primus* was coined *primitas* 1267 'priority'; Duns Scotus Oxon. I, d. 3., q. 3, n. 8 *In ente concurrunt duplex primitas, scilicet communitalis et virtualitatis*; Johannes Faber de Werdea (d. 1505, Prantl IV, 204) *logicae subiectum primum primitate principalitatis*.

To the *-mo-* superlatives (*extremitas* Cic., *infinitas* Ammian., *maximitas* Lucr., *optimitas* and *postremitas* Tert., *proximitas* Vitruv., Ovid, *summitas* Tert., *supremitas* Ammian.), Gundissalinus added *ultimus*: Avicenna, *De anima* V 172, 98 f. *ultimitas contrarietatis prohibet corpora elementaria recipere vitam*.

4.2 *-ista*

The Greek masculine suffix *-της*, when added to verbal stems, formed a vast group of *nomina agentis* (*-ιώτης*, *ί-της*, *-έτης*, etc., André, p. 73). Combined with the verbs on

-ίζειν, it resulted in *-ιστής*. It was imported into Latin in loan-words, adapted as *-ta* (more seldom unaltered *-tes*) in the archaic period (*clepta*, *nauta*, *poeta*, Plautus). Occasionally, it was used to form hybrides: *inanilogista*, Plautus Pseud. 255; André, p. 74, forged on *inanis* and *λογιστής*, as a jocular counterpart to Greek *κενολόγος* or *ματαιολόγος* in much the same way as the Plautinian verbal hybride *patrissare*, above 2.3.

Among the Latin loans of Greek *nomina agentis* on *-τής* up to c. 600 CE, the *-ιστής* group does not distinguish itself as particularly preferred to other formations: of the 197

-τής nouns taken over during that period, and registered by André (pp. 73-83), 42 belong to the group *-ισ-τής*, many of them lacking a recorded *-ίζειν* (*-ίξεσθαι*) verbal counterpart.

As an explanation of the development of a domestic Latin *-ista* suffix, admitting of affixation to pure Latin bases, and thus forming new compounds with no Greek models, it is sufficient to point to (1) certain series of Greek loans, where a noun (e.g. *cithara*) was the base of both a verb on *-izare* and a corresponding *nomen agentis* on *-ista* (cf. *agōn*, *allegor-ia*, *evangel-ium*, *psalm-us*, etc.; André pp. 91 f.), and (2) a set of *-istae* (originally only in the plural) compounds on the base of proper names of heresiarchs (*Apollinaris-tae* Cod. Iust., *Bardesanis-tae* Aug., *Donat-istae* Cod. Iust., *Iovinian-istae* Aug., *Marcian-istae* Cod. Iust., *Montan-istae* Cod. Iust., etc.), instances of a practice going back to the Greek type *πυθαγορίστης* in the 4th c.

BC (André, pp. 97 ff.). The latter category is to be connected with the -ίζειν/-izare verbs expressing ideologic allegiance, above, 2.3.4.

These two types of *-ista* compounds being current in Late Latin, especially in a Christian context, it is not hard to understand that *-ista* was analysed as one morpheme, characteristic of practitioners of a trade, or persons charged with an office, or followers of a sect, or adherents of a party. Only very seldom is there any correspondence in the medieval Latin between *-ista* and *-izare*, affixed to the same base; when that occurs, it seems to be limited to the semantic sphere of ideology: *formalista/formalizare*, *scotista/scotizare*. Conspicuous by its absence in medieval Latin is *-ismus*, denoting a 'doctrine'. Obviously, that category is secondary to *-ista*, and its development was not initiated before the advent of Humanism. All instances of

-ismus are loan-words before that era: *baptismus*, *embolismus*, *sylogismus*, *paralogismus*, *exorcismus*, etc. In the modern form and sense, *Judaisme* is found a.1500, and *christianisme* (a. 1500 in French) c. 1525 in English. From the 16th c. such formations were numerous.

4.2.1 *-ista* on substantival bases, denoting profession or speciality

A group of offices in the early Christian church were designated with Greek loan-words on *-ista*: *evangelista*, *psalmista*, *chorista*, *paraphonista* ('chanter'), *exorcista*, etc. In a similar way, *-ista* was later combined with Latin stems to signify a functionary of the church, and later, the school and the university. An early example of *-ista* meaning a stable profession (or even professionalism) is Venerable Bede's *computista* 'specialist in time-reckoning'.

Cf. the following examples:

- *sacrista* c. 1125 'sacristan'
- *legista* 12th c., 'student of law', Walther 285736 *Si legista forem, ferret mihi mundus honorem / sed quia sum logicus fertur honor modicus*
- *organista* c. 1200 'organ-player'
- *altarista* c. 1230 'attendant at altar, assistant priest'
- *campanista* 1252 'bell-man, crier'
- *portionista* 1380 'post-master' (at a university), Bulaeus, *Historia universitatis Parisiensis*, VI, 248 *cogant omnes vulgo portionistas dictos ad communem mensam venire*
- *pelvista* 'boys collecting money in basins', Viborg, Denmark; Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid, XV, col. 647
- *auctorista* 'student of the *auctores*' Conrad of Hirsay (12th c.) *Dialogus super auctores*, l. 60 f. (Collection Latomus, 17, 1955, pp. 14 f.) *In his inquisitionibus tuis auctoristam mihi depinxisse videris*

- *florista* 'student of *flores*', an anthology of quotations, Thurot p. 487
- *modista* 'student of *modi significandi*', a grammatical theory, *ibid.*
- *posteriorista* 'student of *Analytica Posteriora*' of Aristotle, *ibid.*
- *iurista* 1267 'student of law', Walther 5424 *Des iuriste confundantur, rogo, Christe / non sunt psalmiste, sed sunt sathane cithariste*
- *decretista* a. 1228 'student of canon law', Walther 29163 *Si sis causidicus, Ciceronis dogmate polle! / Quis decretista rhetoris arte viget?*
- *artista* c. 1250 'student in the Arts faculty', Prantl VI 192 *modernos artistas dicimus*
- *plantista* c. 1300 'botanist'
- *latinista* 1345, EOVI LXIII 87 *est, ut dicunt, bonus latinista*
- *summista* c. 1444 'writer of compendia'
- *copista* 1466 'copyist'
- *copulatista* 'specialist in the Copulata', a kind of compendia of logic written in the Arts faculty of Cologne, EOVI LXIV 36 f. *Coloniensis copulatista theologus*
- *obligista* 'practitioner of the Obligationes (Obligatoria)', a disputation format, SU, p. 95 *ad quem opus obligiste nititur ducere respondentem*
- *summulista* 1516 'student of the Summulae' (a textbook of logic) ascribed to Petrus Hispanus

4.2.2 *-ista* based on proper names, denoting ideological allegiance

Normally, the designation of a group of persons holding opinions not generally accepted are not invented or introduced by those same persons, but rather by their opponents. A sequel of that fact is that such designations are liable to incur a more or less depreciatory note (cf. André, p. 103). Such is the case with many ideologic *-ista* compounds (contrary to those accounted for in section 3.2.1.) created in the last centuries of the Middle Ages, when several new ideologic antagonisms were born, or old ones were aggravated. Here are some few examples of adherence to the authority, or the school, of a certain person:

- *urbanista* 1385 'Pope Urban VI' (d. 1389)
- *albertista* 'Albertus Magnus' (d. 1280) SU, p. 49
- *occamista* 'William of Ockham', Jean Gerson (d. 1429), Prantl IV, 144
- *scotista* 'John Duns Scotus' (d. 1308)

- *thomista* 'Thomas Aquinas' (d. 1274) 1480, SU, p. 49, 1485 Petrus Nigri, *Clipeus Thomistarum* (a book title)
- *bonetista-mar(r)onista* 'Francis of Meyronnes and Nicolaus Bonetus, respectively': Johannes Anglicus, Prantl IV, 196 *a bonetistis et a maronistis et scotistis*; Trombetta Hebdomades fol. 19rb *contra scotistam et marronistam*; Sirecti *concludunt contra adversarium licet non concludant contra scotistam vel contra marronistam*
- *fabrista* 'Jacob Faber' J. Dullaert, Prantl IV, 257
- *terminista*, see next example, and below, 3.2.3
- *paulista* 'Paul of Venice' Petrus Nigri, Prantl IV 222 (*afferam*) *Ioannem Catalanum atque ex alio genere alios paulistas, terministas ac nominales*
- *durandista* 'Durand of St. Pourçain' (d. 1334), according to Erasmus, below
- *reuchlinista* 'Johannes Reuchlin' (d. 1522) EOV II XIV 10 f. *quidam existens bonus Reuchlinista*
- *wiclifista* 'John Wiclif' (d. 1384) Walther 1955a *Begherdi, questores, wiclifiste, flagellatores / hec quatuor genera faciunt in populo fasma* ('spectre')
- *lutherista* 'follower of Martin Luther' (d. 1546) 1523

Such terms were censured as barbaric by Erasmus, *Antibarbari* (op. omn. I-1, 1969, p. 81, 16 ff.) *Tu tibi barbaras istas appellationes asciscas teque vel Albertistam vel Thomistam vel Scotistam vel Occanistam, vel Durandistam vocari gaudeas, dummodo a Christianis denomineris.*

4.2.3 *-ista* based of nominal stems, denoting ideological allegiance

Another category of *-ista* compounds are secondary to the two preceding ones and could be subsumed under the connotation 'believing in'. Examples:

- *universalista* 'believer in (the ontological reality of) universals'; later (c. 1620) 'supporter of papal claim to universal supremacy'
- *formalista-terminista* 'someone holding the formal distinction (*formalitas*) or the properties of logical terms, respectively, as the primary object of philosophical investigation', Jean Gerson Prantl IV 146 *non est nostrum inter formalistas et terministas tantam componere litem*
- *nominalista* 'nominalist' Paris 1474, F. Ehrle, *Der Sentenzkommentar Peters von Candia* (Franziskanische Studien, Beiheft 9) Münster i. W. 1927, pp. 305 ff.

- *conceptista* 'conceptualist', the opposite of universalist, Petrus Nigri 1475, Prantl IV 222 *Una opinio est eorum qui dicunt quod universale est conceptus mentis, et ipsi nominantur conceptiste*
- *conciliista* 'adherent of the conciliarist theory' *Epistola contra quendam conciliistam* by Henricus Institoris, book title 1482
- *papista* 'papal partisan' 1413, reintroduced by Luther 1520 in his pamphlet "Von den Neuen Eckischen Bullen" and immediately adopted by his followers, F. Lepp, Schlagwörter des Reformationszeitalters, in Quellen und Darstellungen aus der Geschichte des Reformationsjahrhunderts, VIII, Leipzig 1908, p. 70
- *novista, realista, suevista* 'philosopher believing in the extra-mental reality of universals' Sylvester de Prieria (d. 1523), Eucken, p. 70, Prantl IV 292; *Hinc obvia verborum portenta "novista, realista, suevista"* ('student of the Swabian nation'), J. H. Hottinger 1656, Prantl IV 188
- *terminista* 'logician focused on terms as the basic unit of analysis', SU, p. 36

4.3 Verbal nouns on *-tio*, and nomina agentis on *-tor*

In the late medieval period, any transitive verbal formation on *-are*, *-ific-are* and *-iz-are* (e.g. *activ-a-re*, *certi-fic-are*, *organiz-are*) could automatically, as it were, be expanded to form a corresponding verbal noun on *-atio* or a nomen agentis on *-ator*, and, in the latter case, provided that there were no logical repugnance implied. A verb denoting a state rather than an action, as for instance the essive *episcopare*, 'to serve as bishop', does not call for any nomen agentis, as would the factitive *episcopare* 'to make someone bishop', which could in principle engender **episcopator* and **episcopatio*. The verb *formalizo*, 'to profess the Scotist doctrine of the *formalitates*' did not, as far as I know, produce any **formalizator*, as *formalista* was nearer at hand.

These formations are amply attested in dictionaries, and they need no more extensive treatment here. Worth mentioning are the following deverbative nouns with a corresponding past participial form, like *combinatum* Zeno Veronensis, corresponding to *combinatio* Hilary, and easily used also in the plural:

- *combinatum/combinatio* Averroes Commentum medium Perihermenias *cum ergo multiplicaverimus has suas combinationes oppositionum in sex paria*
- *commensuratum* Irenaeus/*commensuratio* Boethius Topica 3, 1 *συμμετρία* *decor autem membrorum quaedam commensuratio videtur esse; commensurationes* Thomas Aquinas

- *illimitatum/illimitatio* p. 1300 Scotus
- *individuatum/individuatio* Albertus Magnus, *indivuationes* Lullus
- *minoratum* Tertullian/*minoratio* Petrus Chrysologus, and *minorationes* Pseudo-Dionysios Hilduini
- *situatum/situatio* Lullus, *situationes* Bonaventure
- *vigoratum/vigoratio* Thomas Aquinas

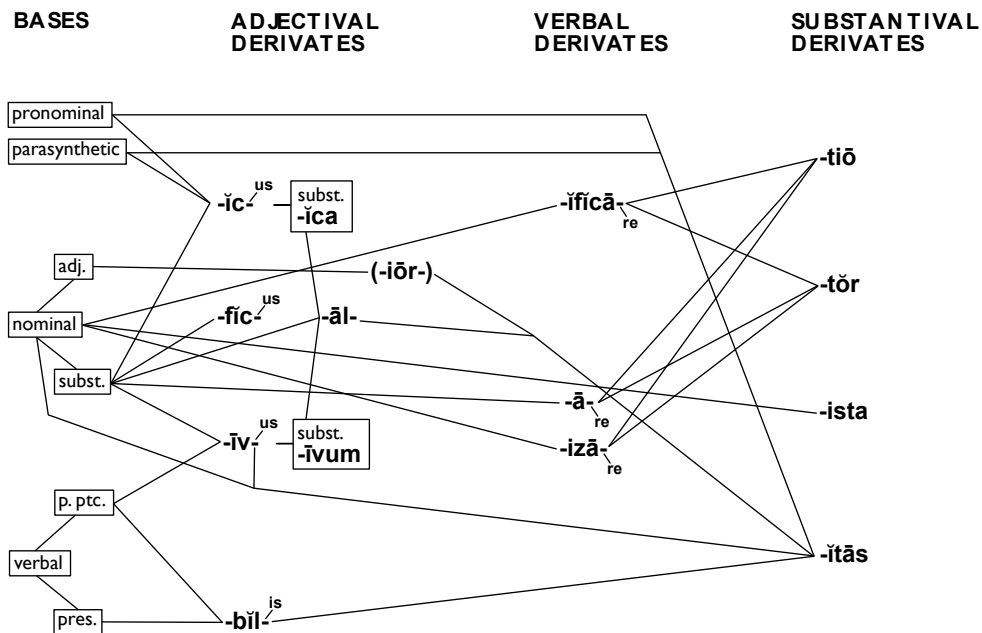
As always: the fact that most of the potentially existing formations were not actually realized, or at any rate not recorded, is a sequel of definition (2) in section 1.1.

4.4 -tūdo

-tūdo is a suffix of abstract nouns, productive since times immemorial, chiefly from adjectives, as *aritudo multitudo* (Ennius), *altitudo* (Cato) *fortitudo prolixitudo aegritudo, orbitudo anxitudo similitudo lassitudo* (Pacuvius), less commonly from participles, as *consuetudo* (Plautus), *habitudō* (Terence), or verbs, as *valetudo* (Plautus), *hebetudo* (Ambrosiaster).

It was not productive in the Middle Ages, with some exceptions: *ratitudo*, 'state or condition of being considered, valid, established, state of a being', a philosophical term used at least since Alexander of Hales (d. 1245), and explained thus by Duns Scotus, Ord. III, 184: *illud 'quo' aliquid est dicitur ratitudo eius, quo autem ipsum est 'quod est' vel 'quid' dicitur aliquitas eius.*⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. Stotz VI 51; VII 82.16; VIII 72.6. Henri Quellet, "Les dérivés en -tūdo. Étude lexicographique et statistique", *Museum Helveticum* 48, 1991, 281-295.



The principal productive categories of Latin word-formation on the eve of Humanism.

Sources and Literature

Sources referred to only once are normally indicated with full bibliographic data where mentioned.

No references are made to any particular edition of an ancient or medieval author, easily accessible in numerous different impressions, but merely by the standard way to indicate the locus in question (e.g. Cicero *De finibus* 3.4.15).

The Latin spelling is normalized, for the convenience of the general reader.

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Symbols and Abbreviations

<	with its origin in
>	the origin of
#	earliest attested instance of this lexeme
6x	the lexeme is attested six times in the text analyzed
=	identical with, the equivalent of
≠	antonym; the opposite of
*	reconstructed PIE form
acc	accusative
E	English
G	German
gen	genitive
Goth	Gothic
Gr	Greek
IE	Indo-European
instr.	instrumental
Lat	Latin
loc.	locative
LXX	The Septuagint
OE	Old English
OF	Old French
OHG	Old High German
ON	Old Norse
PG	Proto-German
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
Skr	Sanskrit
Sw	Swedish
VL	Vetus Latina

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Words of Civilization

The schools of rhetoric in the Roman empire have left an ineffaceable imprint in today's languages, a characteristic and persistent genetic code. The present study is an attempt to trace the great lines of development in the Latin (and gradually European and international) intellectual lexicon, from the beginnings of organized rational and scholarly intercourse in the last century BCE until the end of medieval scholasticism – mapping the patterns of Latin word-formation, which proved so successful that they served as blueprints in derivative Romance languages, in English and, in no small measure, even in other tongues spoken everywhere in the world.

This inquiry commences in the Proto-Indo-European beginnings and its almost unlimited possibilities to shape abstract compounds by combining prefixes, stems, and suffixes into ever new constellations. The protolanguage provided a pattern which proved exceedingly productive in later phases of the Indo-European linguistic development. The best examples were the Greek philosophical and scientific terminologies in classical Antiquity, as well as the subsequent exploratory projects of Cicero and other Latin-speaking intellectuals through the following centuries to create an equally workable conceptual lexicon in Latin – a process which is still in progress in the internationalisms generated and circulated in today's European languages – a toolbox inherited from Latin scholasticism and later taken over by the communities that invented the modern scientific terminologies and their replications in our every-day language.

Words of Civilization is a sketch, limited to philosophy and theology. It could be further extended to other fields of terminological invention and expansion, and perfected with modern digital technology.