

Spanish and Italian Diminutives Compared: Two Alternatives of a Single Diasystem

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*The relexification of diminutives has been one of the most productive ways to create new words in the Romance languages. The phenomenon is defined as the historical reanalysis of a lexical item composed of root plus diminutive suffix, whereby the original semantic value of the suffix is bleached over time and its combined form is subsequently reanalyzed as part of a new single morphological root carrying new meaning. This study provides a quantitative lexicographic analysis of the entirety of diminutives that have relexified in the history of Italian. When compared to results for Spanish by Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016), data of this study suggest that Italian followed a very different trajectory of diminutive relexification from Latin than that for Spanish. Specifically, Italian appears to have developed a preference for the alternate *ad hoc* diminutive suffixes *-ino/a* and *-etto/a* (based on non-diminutive Latin forms) at a much earlier period than did Spanish, allowing for greater absorption and the time necessary for relexification. Contrastively, lexicographic data for Spanish suggest that Spanish instead continued to favor reflexes of the original Latin diminutive suffixes. The reasons proposed for this divergence is the relatively early colonization of the Iberian Peninsula and continued preference for traditional Latin diminutive endings over innovative endings that were being adopted Empire-wide, beyond Castile, including other regions of Hispania*

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Introduction

According to Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016), diminutives come in two forms: 1) the *ad hoc* diminutive, transparent in meaning and formed by simply combining a root (e.g., Italian *ragazzo* ‘boy’) with a diminutive suffix (*-ino* ‘little’) to form a derived word that means the combination of its constituent parts (e.g., *ragazzino* ‘little boy’); and 2) the relexified diminutive, less transparent in meaning and initially formed like the *ad hoc* type, but over time has come to be reanalyzed to mean something other than the combination of its constituent parts, (e.g., Italian *occhiello* ‘eyelet’ or ‘buttonhole’, formed historically from the combination of *occhio* ‘eye’ plus the diminutive suffix *-ello* ‘little’. The resultant word no longer means ‘little eye’, but instead, has evolved to mean a specialized type of hole, reminiscent in shape of the human eye. Further evidence of the relexification process lies in the fact that *occhiello* has earned its own entry in the dictionary, not as a subcategory of *occhio*. Even more important is the fact that the original base word *occhio* is not mentioned in any of the six definitions that are

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listed for this word¹. Not all *ad hoc* diminutives relexify, but many, particularly those with the *-ino/a*, *-etto/a*, and *-ello/a* endings in Italian, have done so because they are older and have had the extended time necessary for the meaning of the root plus suffix combination to shift from greater to less transparency.

Purpose

The purpose of this paper is to conduct a comprehensive lexicographic analysis of diminutive relexification in Italian that draws on data compiled from three dictionaries: 1) Merz's online *Dizionario inverso dell'italiano moderno* (2004) for isolation of potential diminutive forms; 2) the state-of-the-art digital online *Grande dizionario Garzanti della lingua italiana* (2018) (hereafter abbreviated as *Dizionario Garzanti*) to examine the semantic variation of each entry and to eliminate from the count words that do not originate in diminutives (e.g., *clandestino* 'clandestine' or *benedetto* 'blessed'); and 3) Pharies's *Diccionario etimológico de los sufijos españoles y otros elementos finales* (2002), supplemented by Rohlfs's *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti. Sintassi e formazione delle parole* (1969), to assess the approximate timing of entry of the variety of diminutive forms, both *ad hoc* and relexified, into the Italian lexicon. This study is the second phase of a much larger ongoing project that examines relexification across the Romance languages more generally.² Objectives of this paper are: 1) to analyze lexical data (i.e., definitions, usage and etymologies) for 7,308 words that were identified as forms to have potentially undergone the relexification process, utilizing as a corpus the *Dizionario Garzanti* (2019); 2) to identify from the data collected, relative timing, forms and frequency distribution of relexified and *ad hoc* diminutive words in Italian; and 3) to compare findings of the Italian data collected for this study with those previously collected and reported for Spanish in Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016) for phase one. These comparisons provide a better understanding of the nuances behind how both languages have evolved in terms of relexification. Moreover, both Italian and the Spanish studies demonstrate how and why dictionaries are arguably the best concrete representations of the current state of our mental lexicons, and that these can and should be used as reliable corpora for projects that analyze forms which bridge morphology and the lexicon.

Prior Research

Previous Work on Italian and Post Latin Diminutivization

Research on diminutive suffixation in Italian has been approached from varying viewpoints, including a more traditional functional/semantic approach,

¹*Grande dizionario Garzanti della lingua italiana* 2018.

²The first phase focused on the relexification of diminutives in Spanish and was funded by a 2014 University of Northern Colorado New Project Program award and a 2015 Summer Support Initiative award.

morphopragmatic analysis, diachronic studies based on corpus data, and generative theory. Work such as that of Rohlfs (1969) or Maiden (1995) during the 20th century focused on categorizations at the level of the word, typical of structural analysis of the time, yielding traditional categorizations of smallness (e.g., *casetta* ‘little house’), endearment (e.g., *nonnina* ‘grandma’), or political correctness/politeness (e.g., *grossetto* ‘chubby’). Dressler and Barbaresi (1994) would expand the analysis of these suffixes beyond the level of the word with their theory of morphopragmatics, namely, an account of diminutive use that incorporates the role of context in addition to meaning. Contexts studied included playfulness, pet-centered situations, emotion, sympathy and empathy, sarcasm, downgrading of illocutionary strength, euphemism and understatement. In the course of this work, certain observations were made about *ad hoc* diminutive suffixation, particularly in regard to the suffix *-ino/a*. Napoli and Reynolds (1994) asserted that *-ino/a* is much more productive than *-etto/a*, and that *-ino/a* appears to have a default value as opposed to *-etto/a* in terms of freedom of distribution, number of neologisms, and frequency of use. Dressler and Barbaresi observed that *-ino/a* allows recursiveness and is the diminutive which is most preferred by children. Moreover, Dardano (1978) observed that *-ino/a* conveys more affection than do the other suffixes.

Other work like that of Butler (1971) has had less to do with the functional/semantic use of diminutives like those previously mentioned and more with their historical origins or development. Mayerthaler (1981) suggests that *-ino/a* was the most adopted during Italian medieval times because of the sound-iconic vowel [i], and in that sense it is more natural as compared to others. Also worth noting is the work by Rainer (1994) on *-etto/a*, Weidhase (1967) on reflexes of Latin *-(C)ULU/A*, as well as Meyer-Lubke (1895), Leumann (1977), Kühner and Holzweissig (1912), Väänänen (1967), and Ettinger (1980) on reflexes of *-ELLU/A*. Also, although studies by Pharies (2002) and González Ollé (1962) focused on Spanish, their compendious nature makes them suitable for consultation for Italo Romance as well. Moreover, Rohlfs (1969), though now dated, also serves as an excellent review of dialectal usage of the different forms throughout the Italian peninsula.

Despite the value of the studies mentioned heretofore in contributing to the overall knowledge base of the usage and history of diminutives in Italian, as well as those enumerated in Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016) for Spanish, one of the criticisms that inspired Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo to conduct their study of Spanish was the surprising lack of quantitative studies with regard to the phenomenon of relexification, particularly because of the advent and availability of reverse dictionaries that isolate words by their endings, many of which are now electronic and searchable. This, coupled with the notion that relexified diminutive words are entirely new lexemes that have earned their own entry in dictionaries, appeared to

be the perfect incentive to undertake such a project³. Hence, phase one of the Romance Relexified Diminutive Project was born.

Results of Phase I: Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016)

Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016) explored the distribution and history of diminutive forms in Spanish as identified in the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (hereafter abbreviated as *DRAE*). The forms analyzed were those previously identified by Lázaro Mora (1999), namely, *-(V)jo/a*, *-ulo/a*, *-uelo/a*, *-illo/a*, *-ete/a*, *-in/a*, *-ito/a*, *-in/a*, and *-ico/a*. Table 1 illustrates the resultant frequencies of these forms observed for Spanish:

Table 1. *Percentage Distribution of Relexified Diminutives as Found in the DRAE for Spanish by Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016)*

Source	<i>-(V)jo/a</i>		<i>-ulo/a</i>		<i>-uelo/a</i>		<i>-illo/a</i>		<i>-ete/a</i>		<i>-ito/a</i>		<i>-in/a</i>		<i>-ico/a</i>		Totals	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Spanish:	36	4.31%	50	5.99%	80	9.58%	469	56.17%	100	11.98%	52	6.23%	36	4.31%	12	1.44%	835	100.00%
Latin:	27	10.84%	124	49.80%	20	8.03%	78	31.32%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	249	100.00%
Other:	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	91	98.91%	0	0.00%	1	1.09%	0	0.00%	92	100.00%
	63	5.36%	174	14.79%	100	8.50%	547	46.51%	191	16.25%	52	4.42%	37	3.15%	12	1.02%	1,176	100.00%

Source: Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo 2016.

Table 1 shows that, according to the *DRAE*, the Spanish diminutive endings *-illo/a* were found to significantly dominate all relexified diminutives (n = 1,176) at a rate of 46.51% (n = 547/1,176). Following in decreasing order were *-ete/a* at 16.5% (n = 191/1,176); *-ulo/a* at 14.79% (n = 174/1,176); *-uelo/a* at 8.5% (n = 100/1,176); *-(V)jo/a* at 5.36% (n = 63); *-ito/a* at 4.42% (n = 52/1,176) and *-ina* at 3.15% (n = 37/1,176). These quantitative results corroborate both Pharies (2002) and González Ollé (1962) in that *-illo/a*'s Latin predecessor, *-ELLU/A*, was the preferred *ad hoc* diminutive during Latin's post-classical period, having replaced the previously predominant *-(C)ULU/A*. It would make sense that during that time, starting in Classical Latin with relexified words like *PUELLA* 'girl' from *PUER* 'boy,' throughout the post Classical period with words like *CASTELLU* 'castle' from *CASTRU* 'camp', and into Medieval Spanish with *hiermaniella* 'little sister' from *hermana* 'sister', that *-ELLU/A*, along with its historically derived forms *-iello* and *-illo*, all continued to be used very productively up until the fifteenth century when *-ito* began ousting *-illo* as an *ad hoc* diminutive, much in the same way *-ELLU/A* began to replace *-(C)ULU/A* in post Classical Latin (Pharies 2002). Another noteworthy observation includes maintenance of *-(V)jo/a* *-(C)ULU/A* and a slight increase in forms ending in *-uelo/a* (reflex of *-EOLO/A*) into the Spanish period, but loss of *-ULO/A* entirely. Another important factor is the introduction of *-ete/a*, *-ito/a*, *-in/a* and *-ico/a* as new *ad hoc* diminutivizing forms in Spanish in the fifteenth century. Of these, *-ete/a* was the one that has been

³Although Gaeta and Ricca (2003) have conducted some lexicographic work on frequency and productivity in Italian derivation, they did not include diminutive forms in their analysis.

relexified the most, followed by *-ito/a*, then *-ín/a*, and *-ico/a*. Furthermore, a Latin non-diminutive, *-ITTU/A*, would produce both *-ete/a* and *-ito/a* suffixes in Spanish. According to the DRAE, almost as many relexified *-ete/a* forms (n = 91) were borrowed from other languages, which included French, Catalan, and Italian, as were relexified in Spanish itself.

Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo concluded that, historically, present-day relexified diminutives in Spanish have witnessed multiple origins: Classical Latin, Post-Classical Latin, other Romance languages, with the process continuing into Spanish today. Another important observation was that not all present-day diminutive forms in Spanish, particularly the extremely productive *ad hoc* suffix *-ito/a*, have originated in other historically diminutive forms, as was the case of hypocoristic *-ITTU*. These findings suggest that the future of relexified diminutivization will continue the recycling path, perhaps at first with words ending in *-ito/a*, becoming the very next common relexified diminutive in the near future (already evident in such forms as *burrito*), much like *-illo/a* and *-ELLU/A* were previously, and as *V-(C)ULU/A* had been before that.

Methodology

Source of Project Data

After careful consideration of several possible data sources, the *Grande Dizionario Garzanti della lingua italiana* was chosen as this project's corpus because of its comparably abundant digitized lexical information. It is one of the five *dizionari dell'uso* recognized by the *Accademia della Crusca*, and unlike the two separate dictionaries that were required for the previous Spanish component of the project⁴, it includes all necessary information within a single resource, necessitating half the search time that was required for the Spanish component. Another benefit to using the online version was that it is revised in real time, ensuring access to the latest updates at the time of data collection and analysis.

Project Design and Methodology

In order to remain consistent with the overall goals of the larger project, all work conducted on this Italian component of the project employed the same methodology that was used for the previously completed Spanish component in Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016), consisting of the following four steps.

Step 1: Identification of Potential Forms with Use of a Reverse Dictionary

A critical precursory step was the employment of the *Dizionario inverso del italiano moderno* (Merz 2004), an online reverse dictionary of Italian⁵, in order to

⁴Online *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (2016) and Corominas and Pascual (1980–1991).

⁵Reverse dictionaries are a useful tool for linguists interested in word formation because they list words alphabetically according to the ending of a word (instead of the beginning, as is done

isolate all possible Italian words whose endings correspond to all 24 known Italian diminutive endings⁶. This yielded a total of 7,308 words that the authors pasted into 24 individual spreadsheets of an Excel[®] workbook, and with which they employed the AutoSum[®] function to create a preliminary frequency distribution report of tokens found to correspond to all potential diminutive suffixes, as provided in Table 2⁷.

Table 2. *Frequency Distribution of Words with Diminutive-Like Endings before Data Cleaning*

	totals	
	n	%
1) <i>-ino/a</i>	2,822	38.62%
2) <i>-olo/a</i>	1,724	23.59%
3) <i>-etto/a</i>	996	13.63%
4) <i>-ello/a</i>	938	12.84%
5) <i>-otto/a</i>	353	4.83%
6) <i>-ulo/a</i>	250	3.42%
7) <i>-(V)cchio/a</i>	164	2.24%
8) <i>-uccio/a</i>	61	0.83%
	7,308	100.00%

Source: Merz 2004.

The "totals" columns of Table 2 show that prior to cleaning of the data, among the 7,308 words in the reverse dictionary, those ending in *-ino/a* and *-olo/a* were the two largest groups, making up over 62% of the total. These were subsequently followed by the two groups ending in *-etto/a* and *-ello/a* for a combined total of over 26%. Finally, the last group, consisting of the remaining four endings (i.e., *-otto/a*, *-ulo/a*, *-(V)cchio/a* and *-uccio/a*) totaled to under 12% of all occurrences.

Step 2: Data Retrieval, Entry, Sorting and Removal of Non-diminutive Forms

All 7,308 words produced in Step 1 were searched using the *Dizionario Garzanti* to determine which did and did not originate in diminutive combinations, enabling removal of the latter from the overall count. One such example of an ineligible word is *benedetto* 'blessed', the *-etto* of which is not based on a diminutive but rather the morpheme *detto* meaning 'said'. After removal of all non-diminutive words, Table 2 was revised to reflect the more accurate frequency distribution of "true" diminutives, as in Table 3.

in "regular" dictionaries), thus, providing easy access to all words that end with the same suffix (Merz 2004, Guerrero Salazar 2002). For the Spanish component Stahl and Scavnicky (1973) was employed for this task.

⁶The 24 Italian diminutive suffixes of this study are *-ello/a*, *-etto/a*, *-ino/a*, *-olo/a*, *-otto/a*, *-ulo/a*, *-uccio/a* and *(V)cchio/a*, where (V) represents any of the five vowels (e.g., *-acchio/a*, *-icchio/a*, etc.).

⁷It is understood that this preliminary step isolates all known Italian words whose endings are homophonous with diminutive suffixes, whether originating in diminutive forms or not. Step 2 is necessary to eliminate any such words that are in fact not of diminutive origin.

Table 3. Revised Diminutive Frequency Distribution after Data Cleaning

	totals	
	n	%
1) <i>-ino/a</i>	514	31.85%
3) <i>-etto/a</i>	455	28.19%
4) <i>-ello/a</i>	324	20.07%
2) <i>-olo/a</i>	181	11.21%
5) <i>-otto/a</i>	48	2.97%
6) <i>-ulo/a</i>	40	2.48%
7) <i>-uccio/a</i>	27	1.67%
8) <i>-(V)cchio/a</i>	25	1.55%
	1,614	100.00%

Source: *Dizionario Garzanti* 2018.

Step 3: Further Disambiguation of Data According to Diminutive Category

Reduced to 1,614 words based on true diminutive forms, Table 3 still does not differentiate between *ad hoc* and relexified types. Step 3 is the point at which we draw on usage, definitional and etymological information from the *Dizionario Garzanti* to further disambiguate the data into *ad hoc* or relexified categories according to the information retrieved. To illustrate how this was done, one must explain the different ways the dictionary specifies diminutive information. Consider how each word entry within the *Dizionario Garzanti* includes a series of definitions as well as etymological information at the end of each entry.

Ad Hoc Diminutive Information

The *Dizionario Garzanti* has three ways of providing information related to *ad hoc* diminutive use, all of which appear within the definition section of a word's entry: 1) If the entry word is itself a diminutive form (e.g., *gattino* 'kitten'), the dictionary will usually state in the very first definition for the word that it is a diminutive of some other base word (e.g., "1. diminutivo di *gatto*." or '1. Diminutive of *cat*.'); 2) If the entry word is not a diminutive form (e.g., *cane* 'dog'), the dictionary may specify at the end of a particular definition and preceded by the abbreviation "dim.": one or more diminutive forms that correspond to that particular definition of the word (e.g., "dim.: *cagnetto*, *cagnolino*", i.e., 'small dog' or 'puppy'); and 3) If the entry word is itself a diminutive form (e.g., *cartoncino* 'thin cardboard/poster board') and in its definition expresses "smallness" or a diminished state of the base word (e.g., *cartone* 'cardboard') that is specified within the definition (e.g., "tipo di cartone leggero e sottile" or 'a type of light and thin cardboard').

Relexified Diminutive Information

The *Dizionario Garzanti* also specifies diminutive use of the relexified type for a given word; however, since the diminutive meaning in such cases is not

transparent but rather historical and needs to be pointed out as such, relexified diminutive information is instead indicated within the "etimologia" or etymological information section that typically follows the definition section at the very end of a word's overall entry within the dictionary. The fact that this information appears in the "etimologia" section and NOT in the definition section of the entry confirms that the modern Italian word itself no longer has a diminutive meaning but rather has relexified as a new single root word whose overall meaning is no longer simply the sum of its original parts.

In all such cases, the etymology specifies that the word originated in a former diminutive combination, whether this is in Italian, Latin, or other languages. As such, etymologies appear as follows: 1. Words relexified in Latin (e.g., *castello* 'castle') whose etymology specifies, "Lat. Castellu(m), dim. di castrum 'fortezza, luogo fortificato,'" or 'Latin Castellu(m) diminutive of castrum 'fortress, fortification.' In some cases, an etymology will specify the Latin variety (e.g., Vulgar Latin, Scientific Latin, etc.); 2. Words relexified in Italian (e.g., *santino* 'holy card') whose etymology specifies, "Propr. dim. di santo" or 'diminutive proper of santo'; and 3. Words relexified in other languages and subsequently borrowed into Italian (e.g., *gabinetto* 'toilette' whose etymology specifies "Dal fr. *cabinet*, dim. di *cabine* 'cabina'" or 'from the French *cabinet* diminutive of *cabine* 'booth.').

One final note on words that are reported to have relexified from Italian words, The *Dizionario Garzanti* does not specify the relative point in Italian history at which a given diminutivized word relexified, so we do not get a sense whether the combination was an earlier or later process historically; however, as will be pointed out in the conclusions of this study, this becomes less important when considering the overall comparative situation between Italian and Spanish.

Step 4: Data Analysis, Interpretation and Comparison to Previously Analyzed Spanish Data

Once the data were sorted among the different categories, frequency, distribution and historical analyses were conducted, and subsequently compared with those for Spanish in Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016).

Research Questions

- 1) What do lexicographic data reveal in terms of the distribution, frequency and history of relexified diminutives in Italian?
- 2) How do lexicographic data for Italian compare to those found for Spanish in terms of timing, usage and frequency of both *ad hoc* and relexified diminutive forms?
- 3) What might the reasons be for variation (big or small) in timing, usage or frequency between Italian and Spanish results? and
- 4) What do the lexicographic data of both studies suggest more generally about the process of diminutive relexification across the Romance languages?

Results

Frequency Distribution of Diminutive Forms

This section of the paper presents the data of this study. Table 4 shows the individual frequencies of the 1,614 words and their origins according to *ad hoc* and diminutive classification based on definitional and etymological information retrieved in the *Dizionario Garzanti*.

Frequencies and Distribution of Italian Ad hoc Diminutives⁸

Table 4 suggests that words ending in *-etto/a* (44%) and *-ino/a* (38%) combined (82%) are the most productive of all Italian *ad hoc* diminutive endings. All other endings, totaling together a mere 18% in frequency, appeared in the data in the following order, from highest to lowest: 1) *-ello/a* (13%); 2) *-otto/a* (2%); 3) *-olo/a* (2%); and 4) *-uccio/a* (1%). No cases of either *-(V)cchio/a* or *-ulo/a* were found among suffixes used for *ad hoc* diminutivization.

Predominance of *-etto/a* and *-ino/a* among other *ad hoc* suffixes in the dictionary data confirms Rohlf's (1969) anecdotal observations that these are the most used for purposes of *ad hoc* diminutivization in modern Italian. The third most used suffix *-ello/a*, as suggested by Pharies (2002) and as will be seen in the historical analysis later in this paper, owes its continued use to its previous predominance as the *ad hoc* suffix stemming back to Latin times. *-uccio/a* (1%), *-otto/a* (2%) and *-olo/a* (2%) are the least used *ad hoc* forms for purposes of diminutivization, but according to the *Dizionario Garzanti*, *-uccio/a* and *-otto/a* are those most used for other appreciative purposes, with *-otto/a* used for augmentatives (50%) and *-uccio/a* (30%) split almost equally between meanings of pejoration and endearment.

⁸The authors remind the reader to exercise caution when interpreting the frequency and percentage of *ad hoc* diminutives as reported by any dictionary since by their very nature, *ad hoc* diminutive endings are productive and therefore, at least theoretically, most can be used in free variation. Following this logic, it is assumed that not all possible *ad hoc* diminutive forms are counted here. Rather the number of *ad hoc* diminutives here are those that are listed as lemmas or headwords in the *Dizionario Garzanti*. One of the reasons an *ad hoc* diminutive may be listed as a headword is that the particular base word in question is only diminutivized with a particular ending and so, as with our mental lexicons, the form may appear as its own entry or as a subentry to a particular lemma.

Table 4. Distribution of All 1,614 Words Identified as Diminutives

	<u>-ino/a</u>		<u>-etto/a</u>		<u>-ello/a</u>		<u>-olo/a</u>		<u>-otto/a</u>		<u>-ulo/a</u>		<u>-uccio/a</u>		<u>-(V)cchio/a</u>		<u>Totals</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
ad hoc																		
indicated as diminutive	37	21.76%	95	55.88%	26	15.29%	2	1.18%	7	4.12%	0	0.00%	3	1.76%	0	0.00%	170	100.00%
diminutive as definition	218	42.91%	208	40.94%	59	11.61%	11	2.17%	5	0.98%	0	0.00%	7	1.38%	0	0.00%	508	100.00%
smallness in definition	18	48.65%	10	27.03%	5	13.51%	1	2.70%	3	8.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	37	100.00%
subtotal ad hoc	273	38.18%	313	43.78%	90	12.59%	14	1.96%	15	2.10%	0	0.00%	10	1.40%	0	0.00%	715	100.00%
relexified																		
historical diminutive (Italian)	237	42.25%	126	22.46%	132	23.53%	45	8.02%	12	2.14%	1	0.18%	8	1.43%	0	0.00%	561	100.00%
historical diminutive (Latin)	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	93	33.82%	121	44.00%	0	0.00%	39	14.18%	0	0.00%	22	8.00%	275	100.00%
historical diminutive (other)	4	12.12%	16	48.48%	6	18.18%	1	3.03%	6	18.18%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	33	100.00%
subtotal relexified	241	27.73%	142	16.34%	231	26.58%	167	19.22%	18	2.07%	40	4.60%	8	0.92%	22	2.53%	869	100.00%
other appreciative meaning																		
pejorative	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5	83.33%	1	16.67%	6	100.00%
endearment	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	42.86%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	57.14%	0	0.00%	7	100.00%
augmentative	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	15	88.24%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	11.76%	17	100.00%
subtotal other appreciative	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	10.00%	0	0.00%	15	50.00%	0	0.00%	9	30.00%	3	10.00%	30	100.00%
Grand totals	514	31.85%	455	28.19%	324	20.07%	181	11.21%	48	2.97%	40	2.48%	27	1.67%	25	1.55%	1,614	100.00%

Source: *Dizionario Garzanti* 2018.

Frequencies and Distribution of Italian Relexified Diminutives

In terms of frequencies among relexified diminutives, Table 4 shows that *-ino/a* once again takes the lead at 28% of all forms. This is followed closely by *-ello/a* (26%), *-olo/-ola* (19%), and *-etto/a* (16%). The remaining forms make up a mere 11% of relexified words, these being *-ulo/a* (5%); *-(V)cchio/a* (3%); *-otto/a* (2%) and *-uccio/a* (1%). The data in Table 4 also show the variety of origins among relexified forms, suggesting the relative period in which relexification took place, allowing for an overall roadmap indicating the timing of entry into the Italian lexicon. For example, Table 4 shows that all words that in the present end in the *-(V)cchio/a* suffix in Italian had endured relexification in Latin in their previous state as *-(V)CULU/A*. Also, words ending in *-ulo/a* almost exclusively relexified in Latin as well. Other suffixes, however, were found to have relexified during an intermediate period spanning both Latin and Italian, these being *-ello/a* and *-olo/a*, which are observed to be divided between Latin and Italian. Finally, a large number of words were found to relexify more recently, i.e., post Latin. The largest category, bearing the *-ino/a* suffix, was observed to have relexified almost exclusively in Italian, while those in *-etto/a* was more diverse, in that many of these have either relexified from earlier Italian words, but a small number of these words were also borrowed from already diminutivized forms in other languages.

Historical Trajectories of Latin Forms into Modern Italian

This section of the paper charts the origins and ultimate trajectories of each of the Italian diminutive forms by taking into account: 1) the trends and frequencies drawn from the *Dizionario Garzanti* as reported in the previous section; and 2) the additional insights provided by collective work of Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016), Rohlf's (1969) and Pharies (2002). Research suggests that there were two possible origins for modern-day diminutive forms in Italian, all of which were inherited from Latin, however, from two very different source types: 1) previously existing Latin diminutive forms; and 2) previously existing Latin non-diminutive forms, further specified by categories I and II below, respectively.

Category I. Latin diminutive (L-form) suffixes:'

- A. *-(C)ULU/A* > Italian *-(c)chio/a*, *-(c)olo/a*, or *-(c)ulo/a*
- B. *-ELLU/A* > Italian *-ello/a*
- C. *-EOLU/A* or *-IOLU/A* > Italian *-iolo/a*

Category II. Latin non-diminutive (non-L form) hypocoristic or adjectival suffixes, later adopted as diminutives:'

- A. *-INU/A* > Italian *-ino/a*
- B. *-ITTU/A* > Italian *-etto/a*
- C. *-UCEU/A* > Italian *-uccio/a* or *-uzzo/a*

Category I. Latin Diminutive (L form) Suffixes: -(C)ULU/A, -ELLU/A, and -EOLU/A or -IOLU/A

Throughout the period of the Roman Republic and into the early days of the Empire, there were three primary operational diminutive suffixes in Latin that appeared in complementary distribution with each other, depending on the endings of the word roots to which they combined (Pharies 2002 and González Ollé 1962). These were -(C)ULU/A, -ELLU/A and -EOLU/A or IOLU/A, among which -(C)ULU/A was the predominant form. Eventually, however, in the later Latin period, -ELLU/A began to replace -(C)ULU/A, as the primary diminutivizing ending, especially as a way to diminutivize forms that had already diminutivized and relexified from -(C)ULU/A. An example is the form OCELLU ‘little eye’ from the earlier combination OCULU ‘eye’. This would lead to -(C)ULU/A falling out of disuse and replaced by -ELLU/A entirely into early Italian. Following are descriptions of how these early diminutive endings further evolved into Italian:

A. Latin -(C)ULU/A > Italian -(c)chio/a, -(C)olo/a, or -(C)ulo/a

Throughout the early part of the Empire, -(C)ULU/A was the most productive Latin diminutive suffix. Because of its relatively early timing in terms of usage during the Empire, according to the frequency data in Table 3, -(C)ULU/A was the suffix that contributed to the largest number of relexified forms from that period (n = 188), and because it would soon be replaced in Latin by -(C)ELLU/A as the preferred diminutive form (see the following section), the data of this study indicate that all existing Italian reflexes of -(C)ULU/A are words that relexified during the Latin period. This form would eventually give rise to two possible reflexes in modern Italian, depending on the preceding consonant (indicated by (C)⁹), namely: 1) the -(c)chio/a type where if the preceding consonant (c) was an intervocalic voiceless velar stop [k], as in AURICULU ‘ear,’ the velar stop would geminate, as in *orecchio* ‘ear,’ or if the velar stop was not intervocalic, but preceded by some other consonant, such as -S- (as in MASCULU *maschio* ‘male’) or -N- (as in CARBUNCULU *carbonchio* ‘carbuncle’), it would not geminate; or conversely, 2) the -olo/a type in all other environments in which the preceding (C) was some consonant other than [k], as in CAPITULU > *capitolo* ‘chapter’, or GLANDULA > *ghiandola* ‘gland’. The -ulo variant of -olo is found in only a handful of words, such as OVULU > *ovulo* ‘ovum’.

B. Latin -ELLU/A > Italian -ello/a

According to the frequency data in Table 3, -ELLU/A would be the suffix that would eventually produce one of the largest groups of relexified diminutives (second only to -olo) during the Latin period. At first -ELLU/A had a limited sphere of influence, combining specifically with those words that possessed an -R in the root such as LIBER ‘book,’ PUER ‘boy,’ SOROR ‘sister, and FRATRE

⁹In this paper, upper case (C) represents any consonant and upper case (V) represents any vowel. Lower case (c) represents the letter "c".

'brother,' and removing the -R in the resultant form, yielding: LIBELLU 'little book,' PUELLU 'little boy,' SORELLA 'sister' and FRATELLU 'brother'. Many of these root-plus-suffix combinations already relexified in Latin and therefore already appeared in modern Italian as single roots, such as the case of CASTELLU from CASTRU > *castello* 'castle.' Into the late Classical period, -ELLU/A gained enough momentum so that it grew to be the most productive diminutive suffix even to the point of surpassing -(C)ULU/A. In addition to the many already relexified forms, -ELLU/A would continue to be employed as an *ad hoc* diminutive suffix during the post Classical period and then continue into Italo Romance and Italian, in the form of -ello/a. As further indicated in Table 3, -ello/a would eventually reach its highest degree of relexification in Italian, reportedly with a total of 132 words.

C. Latin -EOLU/A or -IOLU/A > Italian -(i)olo/a

Another diminutive suffix in Latin was -EOLU/A or -IOLU/A, which would give rise to -iolo/a in Italian. According to Pharies (2002) and González Ollé and Casado-Velarde (1992), -IOLU/A, -EOLU/A were the suffixes used in complementary distribution when the root word ended in I- or E-. Most of the Italian reflexes of these words have resulted in palatalized root endings, such as -gl- (e.g., *famigliola* 'little family'), -gn- (e.g., *castagnola* 'little chestnut'), or -ggi- (e.g., *seggiola* 'little chair') that were created by the effects of yod in Vulgar Latin.

Table 5 shows the historical trajectory of original Latin diminutive forms into modern Italian.

Category II: Latin Non-Diminutive (non-L) Hypocoristic or Adjectival Suffixes, Later Adopted as Diminutives

According to Pharies (2002), González Ollé (1962), Rohlfs (1969), a second important source of diminutive forms in early Romance had their origins in adjectivizing suffixes of Latin, including -INU/A, -ITTU/A, and -UCEU/A.

A. Latin -INU/A > Italian -ino/a

According to Pharies (2002) and Butler (1971), -in(o)/a entered Romance languages directly from the Classical Latin non-diminutive, categorial adjectivizing suffix -INU, -INA, meaning 'of or belonging to' (e.g., CAPITOLINUS, DIVINUS). González Ollé (1962) suggests that -INU/A might have developed into a diminutive in early Romance by extension of the idea of "belonging to XX" to that of "son or daughter of XX", and in turn "little XX" (e.g., AGRIPPINA, SECONDINUS). This assertion is supported by the relatively high frequencies of both *ad hoc* and relexified diminutives found for -ino/a in the *Dizionario Garzanti* and reported in Table 3. Making up a full 28% of all relexified diminutives in Italian, the table also shows that the great majority of these were formed in Italian, and not in Latin.

Table 5. Historical Trajectory of Modern Italian Diminutives Derived from Original Latin Diminutive (L form) Suffixes

		← Period of relexification →					
Latin form	Italian reflex	Classical Latin	Vulgar Latin	Late Latin	Scientific Latin	Italian of unspecified period	
A. -(C)ULU/A	1) -(V)cchio/a:	-(V)CULU/A (e.g., AURICULA > <i>orecchia</i> 'dog ear')					
	2) -(C)chio/a:	-(C)CULU/A (e.g., MASCULU > <i>maschio</i> 'male,'or CARBUNCULU <i>carbonchio</i> 'carbuncle')					
	3) -(C)olo/a:	-(C)ULU/A (e.g., CAPITULU > <i>capitolo</i> 'chapter', or GLANDULA > <i>ghiandola</i> 'gland')		-(C)ULU/A (e.g., MATRICULA > <i>matricola</i> 'register')			
	4) -(C)ulo/a:				-(C)ULO/A (e.g., OVULU > <i>ovulo</i> 'ovum')		
B. -(C)ELLU/A	A) -ello/a	-ELLU/A (e.g., CASTELLU > <i>castello</i> 'castle')	-ELLU/A (e.g., FRATELLU > <i>fratello</i> 'brother')			-ello/a (e.g., <i>porcino</i> 'non-venomous mushroom')	-ello/a (e.g., <i>asinello</i> 'little donkey')
	B) -(C)ello/a	-(C)ELLU/A (e.g., FABICELLA > <i>favagello</i> 'celandine')	-(C)ELLU/A (e.g., RAMOSCELLU > <i>ramoscello</i> 'twig')	-(C)ELLU/A (e.g., AVICELLU > <i>uccello</i> 'bird')		-(c)ello/a (e.g., <i>latticello</i> 'buttermilk')	-(c)ello/a (e.g., <i>monticello</i> 'small mountain')
C. -EOLU/A	-iolo/a	-EOLU/A (e.g., PHASEOLU > <i>fagiolo</i> 'bean,' or -IOLU/A (e.g., GLADIOLU > <i>gladiolo</i> 'gladiolus')	-IOLU/A (e.g., OSTIOLU > <i>uscio</i> 'trap door')			-iolo/a (e.g., <i>sedio</i> 'two-wheeled cart')	

Source: *Dizionario Garzanti* 2018.

B. Latin *-ITTU/A* > Italian *-etto/a*, *-otto/a* and *-atto/a*

Another relatively recent, yet highly productive suffix that was added to Italian's repertoire of diminutive suffixes is *-etto/a*, which is believed to have its origin in the Latin forms *-ITTU/A* and likely not diminutive at all, but rather hypocoristic in function. Hypocoristic suffixes attach to names to form nicknames as a means of endearment (e.g., *JULLITTA* or *CARLITTU*). It is said that the Italian ending *-etto/a* and its variants *-otto/a* and *-atto/a* may indeed come from *-ITTU*, used originally in a strict hypocoristic sense, but later spreading to a more generalized diminutive meaning. Another more circuitous way in which *-etto/a* entered Italo Romance and early Italian was not directly from Latin, but rather through other Romance languages such as French (e.g., *gabinetto* 'toilet') and even other Italo Romance languages such as Sicilian (*picciotto* 'little').

In many cases, either *-etto* or *-ino* can be used indiscriminately to form *ad hoc* diminutives, as in *ometto* or *omino*, both forms meaning 'little man'. However, not all Italian base words may allow such an arbitrary selection, being that one of the two forms may have relexified and acquired a more figurative, or particular meaning. Maiden (1995) provides an excellent example of this phenomenon with the pair *poverino* and *poveretto*. Although both words could be translated loosely as meaning 'poor (dear) guy' in English, the first case would only refer to a person who is figuratively "poor", in other words, deserving our sympathy, while the second case refers to the person who is financially insolvent. Still in other cases, neither of the two preeminent *ad hoc* suffixes serves to diminutivize the base word, as found in the case of the pair *fiorino* and *fioretto*. According to the online *Dizionario Garzanti*, *fiorino* is defined as the currency used in Florence in the Middle Ages, i.e., 'florin;' while *fioretto* is a "small devotional act" (our translation). The preferred word for 'little flower' is *fiorellino*.

C. Latin *-UCEU/A* > Italian *-uccio/a* or *-uzzo/a*

Another Latin adjectivizing suffix that made its way into the modern Italian diminutive repertoire was *-UCEU/A*, yielding *-uccio/a* or *-uzzo/a* in modern Italian. According to Table 3, the *Dizionario Garzanti* shows that it is the least common diminutive suffix in standard Italian in both *ad hoc* (1%) and relexified (1%) senses, but according to Rohlf's (1969) it is used more regularly among some of the southern dialects.

Table 6 shows the historical trajectory of original Latin non-diminutive into modern Italian.

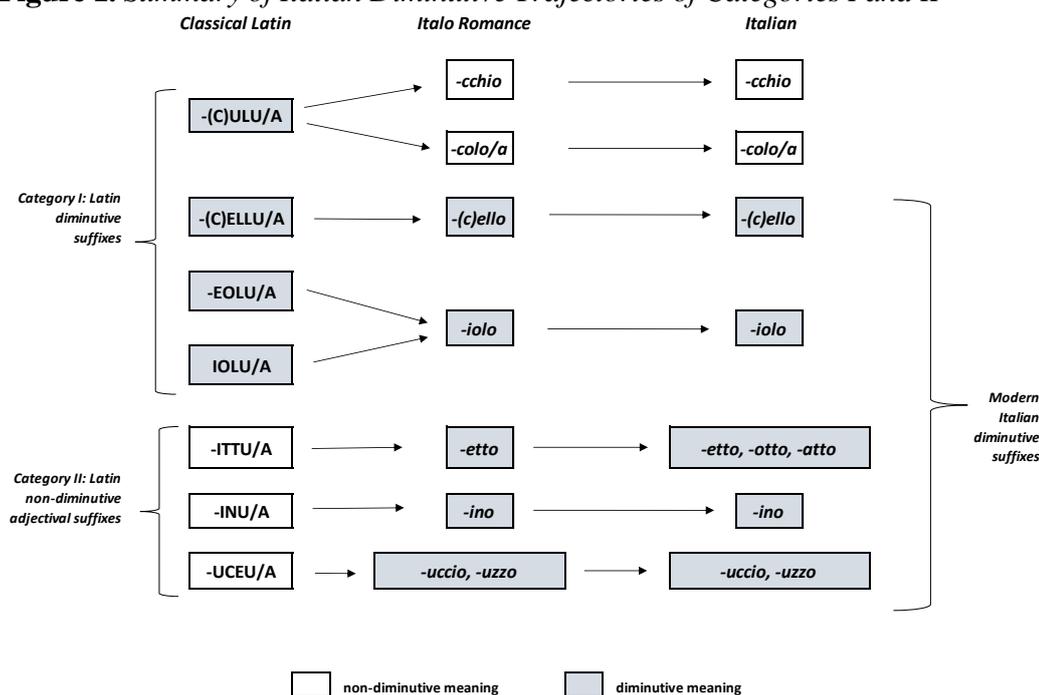
Table 6. Historical Trajectory of Modern Italian Diminutives Derived from Latin Non-Diminutive (Non-L Form) Suffixes

		← Period/origin of relexification →			
Latin form	Italian reflex	Original Latin use	Italian of unspecified period		Borrowed from other languages
A. -INU/A	-ino/a:	-INU/A (categorical--non-diminutive--adjectival suffix) (e.g., DIVINA 'of or relating to a god')	-ino/a (e.g., <i>bianchino</i> 'glass for white wine')	-ino/a (e.g., <i>gattina</i> 'small cat')	-ino/a (e.g., <i>manichino</i> 'mannequin' from French <i>mannequin</i>)
B. -ITTU/A	1) -etto/a:	-ITTU/A (anthroponymous suffix) (e.g., BONITTU anthroponym of the male name <i>BONU</i> or JULITTA anthroponym of the female name <i>JULIA</i>)	-etto/a (e.g., <i>vaporetto</i> 'steamship')	-etto/a (e.g., <i>nuvoletta</i> 'small cloud')	-etto/a (e.g., <i>gabinetto</i> 'toilette', from French <i>cabinet</i> , dim. of <i>cabine</i> 'small room.')
	2) -otto/a:	(See preceding)	-otto/a (e.g., <i>barilotto</i> 'bullseye')	-otto/a (e.g., <i>cucinotto</i> 'small kitchen')	-otto/a (e.g., <i>picciotto</i> from Sicilian <i>picciottu</i> 'small')
	3) -atto/a:	(See preceding)			
C. -UCEU/A	-uccio/a	-UCEU/A (non diminutive--adjectival suffix) (e.g., PANNUCEU 'ragged')	-uccio/a (e.g., <i>quartuccio</i> '1/4 liter of wine')	-uccio/a (e.g., <i>castelluccio</i> 'little castle')	

Source: *Dizionario Garzanti* 2018.

To summarize, the two categories of Latin forms essentially correspond to earlier and later periods respectively, with Category I: Latin diminutive forms corresponding to an earlier period in which the oldest Latin diminutive endings fell into disuse while others continued into early Italian. Those of the second category, although these too drew upon Latin forms, they were not diminutives originally and were not adopted as diminutives themselves until a diminutive "renaissance" that began around the fifteenth century. New forms such as *-ino/a* and *-etto/a* began replacing older Latin *ad hoc* diminutive forms, and furthermore, would become highly productive as new *ad hoc* varieties. Figure 1 summarizes the trajectories of both categories.

Figure 1. Summary of Italian Diminutive Trajectories of Categories I and II

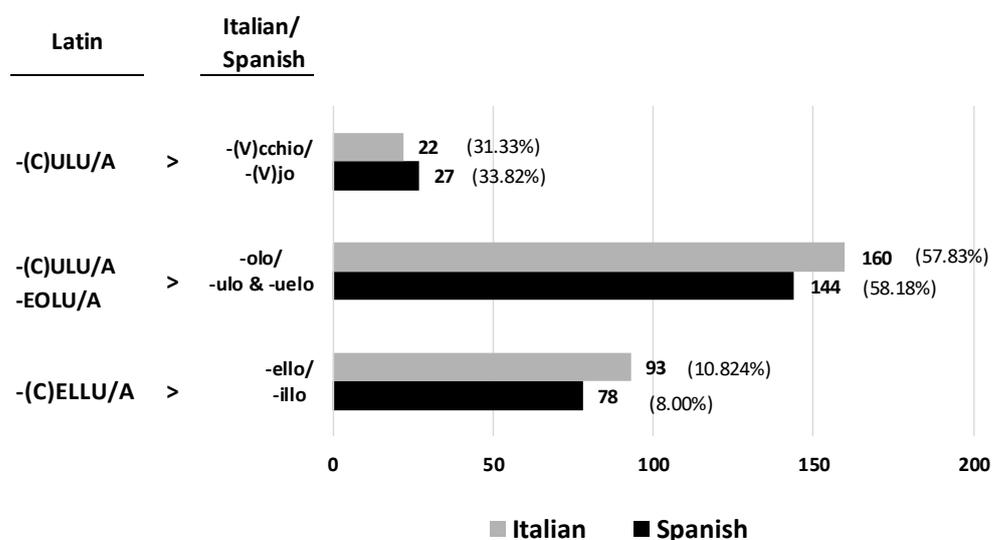


Discussion

Italian and Spanish Relexification of Diminutives. What's the Same? What's Different?

Relexification of Diminutives in Latin

In terms of its diminutives, it is no surprise that Italian would have shared a similar early historical trajectory with that of Spanish in the sense that both would inherit and continue to implement in a similar fashion, at least early on, the -(C)ULU/A, -ELLU/A and -EOLU/A system from Latin. Figure 2 shows how words that were relexified during the Latin period (e.g., CASTELLU 'castle' > *castillo* (Sp)/*castello* (It)) evolved into both languages.

Figure 2. Italian and Spanish Words that were Diminutives but Relexified in Latin

Source: *Dizionario Garzanti* 2018 and *DRAE* 2016.

Figure 2 shows that according to the *Dizionario Garzanti* for Italian and the *DRAE* for Spanish, the total number of words that were originally diminutive forms but were relexified during the Latin period was 275 for Italian and 249 for Spanish, respectively. It makes perfect sense that these totals are not equal given the large distance between Tuscany (upon which standard Italian is based) and the Iberian Peninsula, as well as the unlikelihood that the same relexified words would persist into both languages at the same rate over two millennia. However, what in fact is surprising about these data, as Figure 2 further illustrates, is the proximity in percentage distribution for both languages. For Latin words ending in -(C)ULU/A and evolving into -(V)cchio or -(V)jo, both languages relexified between 31 and 34%. For those ending in -(C)ULU/A or -EOLU/A and evolving into -olo or -ulo and -uelo, both languages relexified at a rate of around 58%. Words ending in -ELLU/A relexified between 8 and 11%. The similarity in rates between the two languages in terms of words that had relexified during the Latin era makes sense if one considers the notion that such words would have been common to both regions

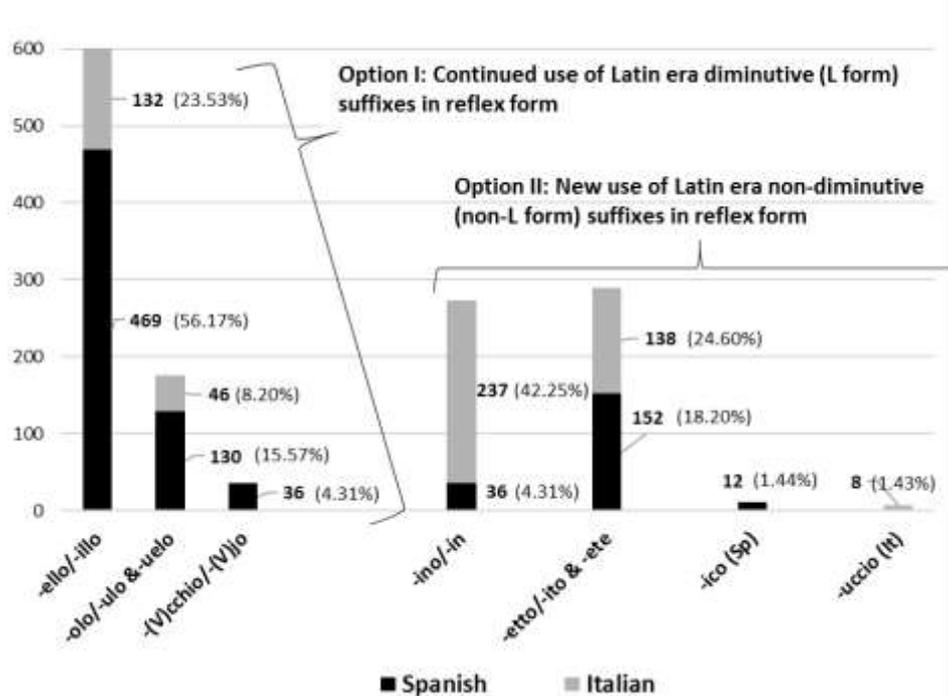
Post Latin Diminutive Relexification

As the data of the previous section show, both diminutivization and relexification were common during the Latin period, and as the data of this section will also show, such processes would continue to be productive into both Spanish and Italian. Figure 3 compares the trends for diminutive suffixes in Italian and Spanish that according to the *Dizionario Garzanti* and the *DRAE* have been relexified in those languages beyond the Latin era. In other words, both dictionaries indicate that these were forms resulting from diminutives of Italian, and not Latin. Hence, unlike Figure 2 whose words relexified when a given form was in the -(C)ULU/A, -ELLU/-A or -EOLU/-A form, by the time words were

diminutivized and relexified during the period of Figure 3, modern continuant forms such as *-(V)cchio* for Italian and *-(V)jo* for Spanish, were now in use.

The data in Figure 3 are grouped according to one of two possible Latin origins: 1) the first (on the left-hand side of the figure) corresponds to modern reflexes of Latin era diminutive suffixes that continued to be used for diminutivization and subsequently, relexification. The second type (on the right-hand side of the figure) corresponds to modern reflexes of Latin NON-diminutive forms that began to supplement those of the first category, for purposes of diminutivization and relexification, such as *-ino/a*, *-etto/a*, etc.¹⁰

Figure 3. Italian and Spanish Words that were Relexified in the Post Latin Era



Source: *Dizionario Garzanti* 2018 and *DRAE* 2016.

Figure 3 suggests a more complicated array and distribution among diminutive suffixes during the post Latin period. Unlike the case of Latin-era relexification of diminutives that showed strikingly similar patterns for Italian and Spanish in terms of both forms and percentage frequencies, the comparison of Italian and Spanish relexification data for the post Latin period shows quite a different scenario.

¹⁰The purpose of this paper is not to specify precisely when *ad hoc* diminutive words in Spanish or Italian relexified within the language. Although both the *Garzanti* and *DRAE* dictionaries do specify older forms among some of their entries (e.g., *castella* ‘castles’ as a former feminine plural form of *castello* ‘castle’), such information is not consistently provided and neither dictionary specifies such information for diminutives.

Option 1: Continued Use of Latin-Era Diminutive Suffixes in Modern Reflex Form

The most striking difference one observes between the two languages is the extent to which Spanish and Italian continued to relexify words beyond the Latin period using continuants of the Latin diminutive suffixes. As Figure 3 suggests, Spanish continued to use these beyond the Latin period in a much more overwhelming fashion (total n = 635), making up a total of 76.5% of all relexified diminutives in the language, as compared to Italian (total n = 178) for which only 31.73% of all relexified words are based on these forms.

As might be expected, Spanish *-illo/a* and Italian *-ello/a*, continuants of Latin (C)ELLU/A, respectively, were the most relexified of the continued Latin era diminutives, in part due to the long period of time during which -ELLU/A was preferred as both *ad hoc* and relexified suffix, stretching all throughout later Latin and into Romance. A particularly interesting observation here is that Spanish continued to relexify with *-illo/a* (n = 469), a full 56.17% of all post Latin era relexified diminutives in Spanish, to a much greater extent than Italian would (n = 132) with *-ello/a*, a mere 23.53% of all post Latin era relexified diminutives for that language. The larger extent to which Spanish relexified using *-illo/a* than did Italian is supported by both Pharies (2002) and González Ollé (1962) who asserted that it would not be until the fifteenth century when *-ito/a* began ousting *-illo/a* as an *ad hoc* diminutive in Spanish, much in the same way -ELLU/A replaced -V-(C)ULU/A in post Classical Latin.

One finds a similar pattern in distribution when one compares the relexification of words ending in *-olo* (It) and *-ulo/-uelo* (Sp), for which Spanish (n = 130) again outpaces Italian (n = 46) as with the Italian non-diminutivized form *avi* ‘grandparents’ versus Spanish diminutivized form *abuelos* ‘grandparents.’ Finally, only Spanish has continued to relexify with the *-(V)jo/a* suffix, during the post Latin era, albeit to a small extent (n = 36), while no words ending in its *-(V)cchio/a* Italian counterpart relexified during this time.

Option 2: New Use of Latin Era Non-Diminutive Suffixes in Modern Reflex Form

The fact that Italian did not relexify to the same extent as Spanish in drawing upon reflexes of Latin diminutive suffixes does not mean that it did not relexify in its own right. Instead, according to the data of this study, Italian would depend to a much greater extent (total n = 383) on reflexes of Latin era non-diminutive suffixes, making up a total of 68.27% of all post-Latin era relexified diminutives in the language, as compared to Spanish (n = 200) for which only 23.95% of all relexified words are based on these new suffixes.

Another way in which Italian’s system diverged from that of Spanish was that *-etto/a* (the reflex of Spanish *-ito/a*, both from -ITTU/A) is only one of two productive endings used for *ad hoc* diminutivization, with Italian speakers also using *-ino/a*, the reflex of -INU/A. Moreover, although *-ino/a* and *-etto/a* are found in many cases to be interchangeable, *-ino/a* would eventually become what some have observed to be a primary *ad hoc* form over *-etto/a* in terms of achieving default status and greater overall productivity (Napoli and Reynolds 1994) or

being the suffix that allows recursiveness and is most preferred by children (Dressler and Barbaresi 1994). In similar fashion, the data of this study also indicate the prominence of *-ino/a* over *-etto/a* in terms of historically relexified forms. This correlation between *ad hoc* and relexified forms would stand to reason from a historical point of view in that only an *ad hoc* form with preferred status, such as that which *-ino/a* is suggested to have had, would have been able to generate the sheer quantity of relexified forms necessary (42.25% of all historically relexified diminutives according to Figure 3) in order to achieve the substantial lead of 17.65% that it has attained over its *-etto/a* competitor (24.60% of all historically relexified diminutives according to the same figure). Another observable difference between the two languages is that both *-etto/a* and *-ino/a* already appear to have been relexifying to a much larger degree in Italian to the point of exceeding those of the -(C)ELLU/A type, while Spanish *-ito/a* has relexified so only minimally.

Unlike Spanish, Italian appears to not have incorporated –ICCU/A as part of its diminutive repertoire, lending support to the theories of either Celtic or African origins of this suffix (González Ollé 1962). Italian has also undergone a similar replacement of -ELLU/A with new primary *ad hoc* forms. Yet another modern Italian diminutive form that is not very productive is the suffix *-uccio/a*. According to Rohlfs (1969), this form originates in the Latin adjectival suffix -UCEU/A more or less meaning ‘made from’. According to Pharies (2002) the reflex *-uzo/a* does not exist in modern Spanish except in a few rare cases, and in some dialects such as Aragonese.

Historical Reasons for Differences between Italian and Spanish Diminutives and the Case for a Pan-Romance Diminutive Diasystem

Now that Italian data have been collected, analyzed and compared to those of Spanish, some additional insights can be drawn from both historical and linguistic records that might help elucidate reasons for why the two languages would have diverged in the ways of diminutive relexification as they did. Two important historical and geographical facts to consider were the relatively early timing of the colonial settlement of Hispania in 218 BCE, along with its considerable distance from the Italian mainland. These two factors have been cited previously by scholars as what has been suggested to be the more archaic nature of the Iberian Latin lexicon (Tovar 1968).

Latin, being a dynamic language in its own right, would undergo changes, before, throughout, and after the imperial era. It follows that the variety of Latin arriving on Iberian shores in 218 BCE, would take hold and begin its own gestation, one that would eventually be separate from the evolution that took place in Italy, France, Romania, etc. Scholars have pointed out that the Spanish lexicon exhibits a variety of lexemes that have derived from a Latin that was spoken at the time of colonization. Words like *comer* ‘to eat’ (from COMEDERE) correspond to words that would later be replaced in Italy *mangiare* ‘to eat’ (from MANDUCARE). Along these same lines, it would make sense that Latin diminutive endings such as -ELLU/A, -IOLU/A, and -(V)CULU/A, popular at the time, would likewise arrive on Iberian shores and be utilized just as productively

as they were in other parts of the empire, including Italy. However, the Latin of Italy would have started to use other suffixes, such as *-ITTU/A* or *-INU/A*, in order to diminutivize as well. Given the large discrepancy in numbers between Italian and Spanish, it appears that although both regions drew on these new endings, it was the Latin of Italy, again, evolving in its own separate way from that of Castile, would prefer the newer forms, with Spanish maintaining in an overwhelming fashion the original forms. Additional evidence that the newer suffixes were also taking hold in Iberia is the preferences by other regions for other forms over *-ito/a*, such as *-ino/a* in the western side of the Peninsula in such places as Extremadura, and *-ico/a* in the east.

These facts taken together suggest a universal process taking place within an overall Pan-Romance diminutive diasystem. Wright (2002) proposes that early Romance was actually quite uniform in the sense that all Roman colonies drew upon the same repertoire of possibilities of expression, hence the Pan Romance approach, and would only eventually adopt the variation specific to that locality. To illustrate this very notion, one such example of the wide variety of options available to speakers is that of Romance plurals, which would ultimately differ in two possible ways across the empire, either of which depending upon the particular tolerance for final consonants. Depending on the declension to which a particular noun or adjective belonged, as well as the case form it embodied for a particular function in the sentence, the pluralization of nouns in Classical Latin could occur in three possible ways, namely, via the final vowels *-A* or *-I*, the diphthong *-AE*, or word-final *-S*.

It has been suggested that over time the overall degradation of the CL case system contributed to the adoption across the empire of what appears to have been the accusative form as the single case form that would be used thereafter for all functions within the sentence, with some limited variation. Relevant to the discussion here is the fact that the ending of the plural accusative was almost always with final *-S*, except in the case of neuters, which was final *-A*. Because the type of Romance that was developing in the Italian Peninsula exhibited a strong intolerance for word final consonants, including *-S*, Italian and other Italic varieties would retain the final *-S* for the plural accusative, but, as has been proposed by Rolfs (1966) and others, would eventually vocalize this *-S*, which would then cause further phonological change to the forms we have today, all of which are final vowels. In contrast, Ibero and Gallo Romance exhibited greater tolerance for final consonants and therefore retained the final *-S* for plurals and would even extend this form for words that formerly ended in *-A* as well. In either case, the point is that both forms were available in Classical Latin, but only one of the two would be adopted system-wide by and for particular languages.

Aside for two minor outlier suffixes (such as the cases of *-uccio/a* for Italian or *-ico/a* for Spanish), neither of which was common to both languages, nor which became productive in either language, the data illustrate that both languages drew upon the same panoply of endings, but in different distributions. Rather, two important themes that are repeated in the histories of both languages are: 1) A direct cause-and-effect relationship between only certain preferred *ad hoc* diminutive suffixes and resultant relexified forms; and 2) a process of eventual

replacement of earlier preferred *ad hoc* diminutives by newer ones. Furthermore, in the diminutive histories of both languages, not all *ad hoc* suffixes ended up having the same popularity, and only one or two over time became "preferred" over all others for purposes of relexification.

Conclusion

This lexicographic study has revealed important patterns among present-day Italian words that have relexified from previous *ad hoc* diminutive combinations over the last two millennia. The first is that these have done so at different times, either earlier on in either Classical or Post-Classical Latin, or more recently in Italian, or borrowed from other Romance languages. Also important was the finding that not all current Italian *ad hoc* diminutive suffixes, particularly the extremely productive *-etto/a* and *-ino/a*, have originated in what were historically diminutive forms, these being derived instead from the hypocoristic *-ITTU/A* or categorial/adjectivizing suffix *-INU/A*. This study also revealed that Italian continued relexification of diminutive forms beyond Latin in ways differing greatly from Spanish. For example, whereas Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016) observed that Spanish favored the continued application of all three Latin era diminutive suffixes in modern reflex form (*-illo/a*, *-(V)jo/a*, and *-uelo/a*) for purposes of relexification, Italian instead turned to innovation, with the application of the two newly adopted suffixes above. Although both languages were observed to exercise both options to some degree, a marked difference was found to exist in the extent to which either language preferred a given method.

The results of this study also shed light on the timing and transition of *ad hoc* and relexification processes of diminutives. As stated earlier in this paper, neither Spanish nor Italian dictionaries specified at what point during the history of these languages did relexification take place, making it difficult to gauge whether words evolving from one type to another did so at a relatively earlier or later time. However, since relexification as a process in and of itself requires the passage of time in order for it to take place (i.e., a root word plus *ad hoc* diminutive suffix combination must theoretically first be utilized with more transparent meaning during a period of sufficient length to allow for its meaning to eventually shift), this leads to the logical conclusion that relexified words are necessarily older than words that are mere combinations of roots plus *ad hoc* suffixes. As the data of this study show, Italian words ending in *-ino/a* and *-etto/a* are not only those which have relexified the most out of all possible historically diminutive combinations in Italian, but both suffixes continue to be used overwhelmingly today to diminutivize words in the *ad hoc* sense as well. These facts suggest that for Italian, *-ino/a* and *-etto/a* are still at the midpoint of a long period of innovation, one that began with replacement of *-ello/a* by two new suffixes, and for which both processes are still very much alive.

On the other hand, Spanish data from Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016) suggest that *-illo/a*, because of its comparably large number of relexified forms, sustained a much longer presence and use in the Iberian Peninsula than its *-ello/a*

counterpart had in Italy. And although Spanish has also innovated by using other diminutive forms over time, including both *-ito/a* and *-ete/a*, both of which evolved from the same Latin *-ITTU/A* suffix that would render *-etto/a* in Italian, in time *-ito/a* alone has become the favored modern variant for *ad hoc* diminutivization, and according to the data, unlike its Italian *-etto/a* reflex, appears to be only in the incipient stages of relexification, based on *DRAE* data. Further support for this claim is that the large number of relexified words ending *-ete/a*, in fact, have not relexified in Spanish, but rather were first relexified in other such languages as French, Old French, or Catalan, and only subsequently, borrowed into Spanish.

In terms of the Pan-Romance diminutive diasystem proposed in this paper, one might extrapolate from both language trajectories a common path for the process of Romance diminutivization consisting of three phases; the first was that which corresponded to the later days of the empire up until the early fifteenth century, during which some of the Latin-era diminutive suffixes remained in play and others were either retired or in the process of being retired. A second phase begins around the mid-fifteenth century and continues until the seventeenth, when both languages of the study witness widespread integration of new suffixes into the previously existing repertoire of possible diminutive endings, thereby creating a virtual panoply of potential *ad hoc* diminutive suffixes, a virtual diminutive renaissance, if you will. The last phase, resuming with the seventeenth century, involves a type of replacement of longstanding previously productive *ad hoc* suffixes with new ones, along with the relegation of those previous suffixes to only relexified words or as the diminutive of choice in certain dialects.

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