

Extra-grammaticality and neoformations in Petronius' linguistic exaggeration: from *nesapius* to *gaudimonium*

Paola Cotticelli-Kurras - Francesca Cotugno

ABSTRACT

Although the literature on the language of Petronius is manifold and highly detailed, it emphasizes rather the socio-cultural uses of the author's language, intending to present an articulated picture of that society. Our analysis, on the other hand, has attempted to combine both particular word formations with the so-called *vis comica* in Petronius; for this purpose, the *Cena Trimalchionis* offers one of the best opportunities. Under the premise that nominal word formation follows clear morphological rules, even in ancient languages, it is possible to highlight some cases of so-called extra-grammatical formation. Previous research in a similar direction was carried out by Fruyt (2000), using, however, different terminology and a slightly differing framework.

1. THE THEORETICAL FRAME ON EXTRA-GRAMMATICAL FORMATIONS

The extra-grammaticality concept falls within so-called 'marginal morphology' (Dressler 2000). It has been explained from different perspectives and theoretical frameworks over the last 30 years, mainly concerning modern languages and sectoral vocabulary. The concept has been labeled by various synonymous terms, such as 'morfologia minore' (Scalise 1994) or 'expressive morphology' (Zwicky – Pullum 1987). The essay by Dressler (2000) is beneficial for defining the term 'extra-grammaticality' for a first discussion, a theoretical distinction between grammatical and non-grammatical formation processes being provided

in a study by Dressler – Merlini Barbaresi (1994: 36-41) within the frame of natural morphology¹.

1.1. Strategies in extra-grammatical word formations

Extra-grammatical word formation applies both to derivation and composition strategies.

The techniques of extra-grammatical derivation are represented by formations with prefix(oid)es, confix(oid)es, and suffix(oid)s. Affix-like or semi-affixes are initially lexemes whose semantics are bleached out and used in the function of affixes in derivation processes. Examples from modern languages, partially circulating through so-called internationalisms, are *auto-*, *-light(-)*, *-bio(-)*, *-free*, among others. They are later used in serial formations showing a word segment that is between a free morpheme and a bound morpheme (see Ronneberger-Sibold's 2010 'pseudo-bound forms').

Extra-grammatical composition consists of several strategies: blendings and pseudo-compounds, on the one hand, and abbreviations and alienations (according to existing models), on the other (see Mattiello 2013).

In the case of blends or crossings (or fusions)², one can usually recognize that they are composed of two elements. One of them may be a

¹ For academic evaluation purposes only, § 1-2.1.3. are attributed to Paola Cotticelli-Kurras, § 2.2-4. to Francesca Cotugno.

² From Seaberg (2019: 5-6): «Cannon 1986 broadly claims that 'the process of blending seems to occur in all languages, to be very common in them, and to occur in every stage of the individual language's development'». In the footnote 7, Seaberg refers to Bertinetto (2001), who relativized blends in all languages and claimed that Spanish has none, against Piñeros (2000; 2004), who provided some valuable examples, and Cannon himself. Corresponding to Cannon's assertion that blending seems to occur at each stage of a language's development is his claim that «[b]lends are a very old kind of word formation, occurring in many of the world's languages as early as Vedic Sanskrit, Attic Greek, Latin, and Old High German» (956). Frustratingly, he cites no sources for blends in these old languages and offers only one

full word, the other (or both) is a morpheme-like fragment called ‘splinter’ (see Mattiello 2018: 6f.). Splinters can be recognized in relation to the original word from which they are derived, e.g. the Engl. element (-)tastic from *fantastic*.

We aim to show how such strategies could be applied in specific extralinguistic contexts and genres and to explain for which goals they apply also in ancient languages.

1.2. Strategies in extra-grammatical word formations

In our paper, we tried to describe some word formations and expressions we found in Petronius, whose prose is – together with Plautus’ poetry – one of the best candidates for this kind of research. The selected material has been interpreted according to the following schemes, illustrating the different strategies in extra-grammatical (from now on EG) word formation.

Given that the results of such strategies have undergone word creation, the following scheme, Fig. 1, provides an overview of the overall taxonomy that describes the EG word formation for modern languages. It covers both “extra-grammatical” word derivation and word composition within the following types: based on linguistic input, further creation without an existent input, containing forms derived from sound symbolism, or completely free creations. The following scheme is adapted from Ronneberger-Sibold (2013).

unsatisfactory example from Latin: *te decora* (Plaut. *Mil.* 619), a syntactic rather than lexical blend of, he claims, the syntagms *te decet* and *tibi decus*.

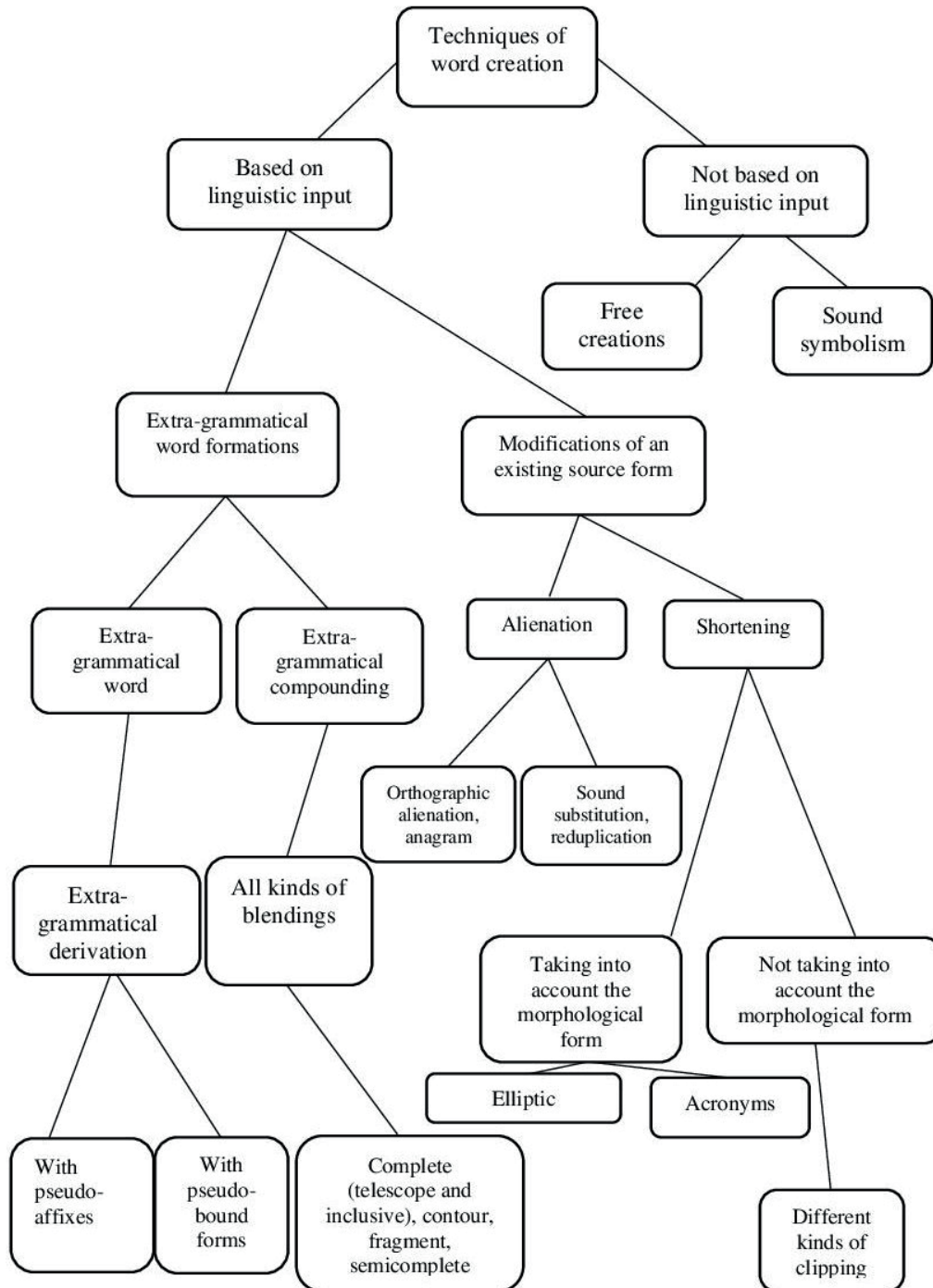


Fig. 1: Techniques of word creation adapted and simplified from Ronneberger-Sibold, 2010: 209.

In the following sections, we will tackle the EG word formations according to existing inputs (section 2., EG Derivation 2.1, EG Composition 2.2.), then we will present creations without input (section 3., onomatopoeic creations 3.1., and free creations 3.2.); subsequently, the status and taxonomy of hybrids and their formation (section 4.), and finally their rhetorical and textual purpose and meaning (section 5.).

2. EXTRAGRAMMATICAL WORD FORMATIONS IN LATIN

The taxonomy described applies to word formations used in modern languages and advertising, as stated above (section 1), which show many cases of extra-grammaticality. Even if it is not possible to find in the Ancient languages (see FN 3) examples of each type of possible extra-grammatical formation, a number of those strategies can also be accounted for in some Latin formations.

In such cases, though most resulting neoformations or word creations have an existing model, they apply derivation or composition strategies against the productive rules. In rare cases, alienation and shortening are applied (see section 3). In some instances, we also have creations *ex nihilo*, that is, free creations, to which regular derivation morphemes are applied (s. below section 3 *uauatonem* based on sound symbolism, according to Fig. 1).

2.1. Extragrammatical derivation

Here we illustrate only a couple of examples of the employment of (possible) affixoides in derivation, though they are often explained as “compound elements” in the traditional literature.

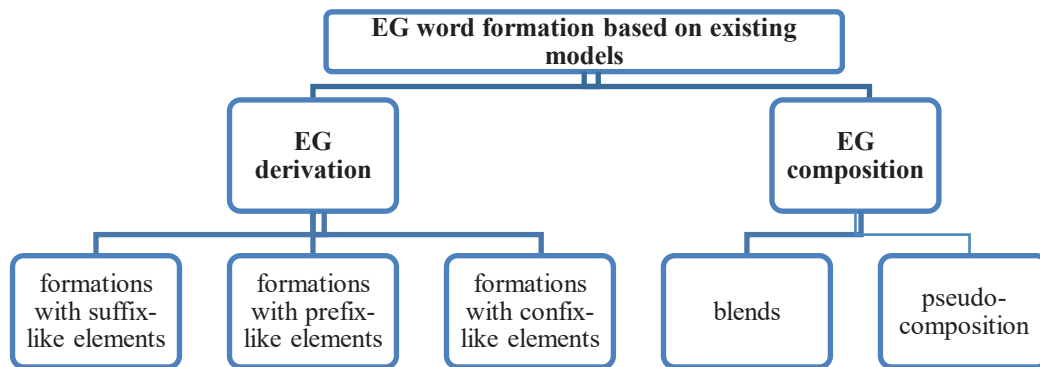


Fig. 2. Adapted from Cotticelli-Kurras (2013: 267).

2.1.1 Derivations with prefixoides

The following two examples of derivation with prefixoides are reinterpretations of foreign technical words (Greek ones, in this case):

(1) *Sat.* 50, 1:

plausum post hoc automatum familia dedit et Gaius feliciter conclamavit.

For this new find the slaves burst into spontaneous applause and shouted, “God bless Gaius!”.

The word is a loan from Greek *αὐτόματον/ς* ‘self-moving (machine)’ in which *auto-* is used according to the meaning of the reflexive pronoun; this is not found before Petronius. See also *Sat.* 54,4: *itaque totum circumspicere triclinium coepi, ne per parietem automatum aliquod exiret* “So I began to look all around the dining room in case some surprise trick should come out of the wall”. It seems to be an integrated loanword, or maybe a word creation in the literal meaning “self-making”, while the pl. *automata* in *Sat.* 140 (*dum frater sororis suae automata per clostellum miratur* “while the brother marvels at his sister’s ‘stunts’ through the closet”) means “stunts” in an ironic sense (*TLL* 1600, *Gloss.* II 251, 46; see recently Re 2020: 296f.). The linguistic analysis depends,

of course, on the new meaning of the lexemes, in the sense that the element *auto-* may have acquired a new meaning as “self-moving/functioning”, which is a connotation of the intended sense in both “stunts” and “mechanical device”.

The same element *auto-* occurs in *auto-pyrus* (TLL 1601), also used as an adjective to *panis* ‘bread’:

- (2) *Sat.* 66:
panem autopyrum de suo sibi quem ego malo quam candidum.
 self-baked bread of his own, which I prefer to white.

The phrase *panem autopyrum*, to be understood as “whole grain bread”³ – in contrast to white bread –, has opaque semantics since the meaning of the adjective based on the underlying Greek word from *auto-* “self-moving/ functioning” + *pyr* “fire” + the ending *-os* (“self-cooking [bread]”) is not immediately transparent.

- (3) *Sat.* 40, 5:
barbatus ingens fasciis cruralibus alligatus et alicula subornatus
polymita
 (there came) a big bearded man with bands wound round his legs, and a spangled hunting-coat of damasked silk.

Polymitus (TLL 2582) means “fabric in various colors, damask” (< *poly-* + *mitos* = Lat. “*filum*”)⁴.

³ According to Pliny’s explanation in *Nat. Hist* 22, 138, the meaning of *autopyrus* is *fermentatus*. The corresponding Greek phrase is *autopyros artos*, and the corresponding Greek adjective is *autopyrites*, “whole flour not sieved, containing the bran”.

⁴ See Lutterotti (2012: fn. 56). Other compounds identified by Lutterotti are derived from Greek; here, we give an incomplete list, which may only be partially relevant to our work. Nominal compositions are: *chor-aules* (*Sat.* 53, 13), *hydr-aules* (*Sat.* 36, 6), *tricliniarches* (*Sat.* 22); *oxy-comina* “olives in brine”; *spatalo-cinaedus* “dissolute”; *xero-phagiae* “dry fodder”; (*Sat.* 50, 1; 54, 4; 140, 11). Lutterotti also claims that «ironically characterises the *alicula* of the brawny servant charged with the evisceration of the boar».

The element *poly-*, representing a well-known type of compound in Greek (πολυ-μαθής, πολύ-μητις, πολύ-τροπος), is also recognized by Lutterotti (2012) as “already fossilized as a prefix”. However, Lutterotti lists it among the ‘compounds,’ not the derivational forms. The prefix-like element *poly-* is lexicalized and does not maintain the whole original/etymological meaning, though it is interesting that it is used as synonymous for *multicoloris*.⁵

2.1.2 Prefixed forms from hybrids

We consider here only one form, *bi-lychnis* (Lat. *bi+* *λυχνίς/ος or Lat. *lychnus*, TLL 1990) “a two wick-lamp”:

(4) Sat. 30, 3:

sub eodem titulo et lucerna bilychnis de camera pendebat.

under the same text, also a *bilychnis*-lamp with two wicks hung from the chamber⁶.

The derivational *-is*-suffix applied in *bilychnis* is employed in deriving different forms from various stems, such as *in-ermis*⁷.

⁵ The word *poly-mitus* is uncommon and taken up later by Martial (14.150) and Isidore (*Orig.* 19, 22, 21: *-us enim textus multorum colorum est, ‘multicoloris’*).

⁶ *ex-catarisso* (Lat. *ex* + Greek καταρίζω); *per-colopo* (*per* + **colopare* from Greek κόλαφος): we do not consider here superficial hybridizations due to the mere Latinisation of suffixes or desinences, nor hybrids resulting from the application of Latin suffixes to Greek roots, for which please see the morphological analysis below. In general, we remark that two of the suffixes used in Grecisms (*-icus, -inus*) are expected in both languages, while others are typical of Latin (*-atus, -ianus, -arius, -is, -osus*) and combine to form true suffix hybrids.

⁷ In compounded adjectives, the Latin type *in-ermis* is inherited, i.e., *i*-suffix or *i*-inflection of possessive compounds with prefix or numeral as first member and noun of any stem form as second member (see Leumann – Hofmann – Szantyr 1977: 393ff., esp. 397-398, ‘*Besitzkomposita*’). Examples are e.g. *im-berbis, bi-tri-*

According to Lutterotti (2012: 450), who quotes Cavalca (2001: 46 n. 55), the compounds or prefixed forms with *bi-* sometimes represent ancient words, while others resume Greek terms in $\delta\iota-$, still others are hybrids; finally, a certain number falls under the label of technical terms.

2.1.3 Derivations with suffix-like elements

An example of a Latin suffix-like element is the *gaudimonium* “joy”:

(5) *Sat.* 61, 3:

Niceros delectatus affabilitate amici: ‘omne me’ inquit, ‘lucrum transeat, nisi iam dudum gaudimonio dissilio, quod te talem video’.

Niceros was delighted by his friend’s affable request and said: “May I never make another profit, if all this time I’ve not been fairly bursting with joy to see you in such good form” (Transl. Schmeling Loeb 2020).

Gaudimonium is derived by a formation analogical to *tristimonium*, “sadness”, the morphological model of which is *matrimonium* “wedding”, analogical to *patrimonium*, “estate, inheritance from father”, thus with an asymmetrical meaning compared with *matrimonium*, and showing the original compound form (***patris(-)*munia*)⁸.

Gaudimonium, in which *-monium* is used as a suffix-like element to realize the sense of “state or condition of X”, losing the original meaning and becoming a suffixoid, preserves the exact meaning of *gaudium* (“(condition of) joy”). It is a *hapax* in Petronius. As a suffixoid, it occurs later in literary neoformations like *Pandemonium* by John Milton, who gave this name to the capital of Hell in his *Paradise Lost* (1667).

ennis, later with a preposition as antecedent, also creating other types as *Rektionskomposita*, like *ab-e-normis*. After that, back-formations from verbs in *-are* may occur, such as *effrenis*, *transformis*, *rebelli*.

⁸ Leumann – Hofmann – Szantyr (1977: 297). Thanks to one of the anonymous reviewer, we refer to Vallini (2005-2006: 43-44), who rejected an analogical derivation of *matrimonium* from *patrimonium*.

Other possible extra-grammatical creations show proper derivation morphemes attached to incompatible bases, as in the case of *nesapius*.

(6) *Sat.* 50, 5 / 11-12:
et ne me putetis nesapium esse...
 so that you do not think that I am ignorant⁹.

Here, Trimalchio uses the compounded derivative form *nesapius* in the meaning of ‘ignorant, idiot’ instead of the expected *nescius* or *in-sciens*. *Nesapius* or, according to Terentius Scaurus (*GLK* 7,12,4), *nesapus* (*‘nesapus, qui non sapit’*) has often been discussed and controversially interpreted in the previous literature¹⁰.

Among the more recent studies, we recall the most recent ones by Oniga (1988; 2000: 162); and Fruyt (2000: 24 = 2009, 7-54, esp. 21f.)¹¹.

According to our frame, Fruyt (2000) provided a further interpretation suitable to be resumed in this context.

The analyses of the word morphologically presuppose various stages as follows:

- a kind of composition with an input (i.e., compounds with a prefix *ne-*) for the first compound element, which occurs only in *ne-fas*, *ne-*

⁹ The translation of *nesapius* in the Loeb edition is: «Do not imagine that I am an *ignoramus*», in Schmeling’s translation (2020: 162f.): «But in case you think I’m an *ignoramus*, I know perfectly well how Corinthian bronze came into the world.’

¹⁰ Schmeling (2011: 211), in her commentary, adds: «§5 *nesapium*, ‘know-nothing’. Hapax (Alessio 1967, 319), formed from *ne* + *sapio* as *nescius* is from *ne* + *scio*; Marbach (1931) 109-10; Terentius Scaurus (KGL vii. 12. 4) uses the form *nesapus*. **sapius/ne-sapius* must have been the original form that could explain the French *sage*; Stefenelli (1962) 103-4. T.’s account of the discovery of Corinthian bronze is incredible but wildly amusing». Already Leumann – Hofmann – Szantyr (1977: 290; 395) gave the following interpretation in the paragraphs dedicated to compounds: «Zusätze: α) *-sci-us* (zu *scīo scīre*) in *cōn-in-scius*; danach statt *-sciēns* auch *ne-scius* (von *ne-scio*), *plūs-scius* Petr. 63, 9, Simplex *scius* Lucil. Pacuv. Petr. Lact. – Nach *ne-scius* (*scio*) auch *ne-sapius* (*sapio*) Petr. 50, 5, woraus vulglat. **sapius* (frz. *sage*, Leumann, Ling. Posn. 8, 8, f.)».

¹¹ See here in detail the analysis by Fruyt (2009: 21).

fastus, ne-fandus, ne-frens, ne-sapius Petron., *ne-scius* (and also in *ne-sciō, ne-queō*);

- an unexpected derivational morpheme, since we might analyze the bound morpheme as a deverbal one in *-ius*, which was not productive in Latin since it occurs in derivations from verbs with prefixes like: *ex-im-ius* < *eximere*, *in-fer-ius* < *ferre*; and also from simplicia: *gen-ius, pluv-ius* (see the explanation by Leumann – Hoffmann – Szantyr 1977: 290). The possible sources for the formal derivation are consequently:
- *nescius*, with *ne-scio* and *ne-scienter*, according to which model the form *ne-sapius* could be generated. We underline that the suffix *-ius* could be explained as a deverbal one (maybe in agentive function) or as a compositional suffix. It is found especially in prepositional compounds such as *ob-noxius* or *ne-farius*, among others applied in adjective formations, – rather than *-us* – as regarded from *sapere* (see Leumann – Hoffmann – Szantyr 1977: 290 C.).

A further step for the formation of *nesapius* could have been the substitution of the root for ‘know’ *scio* (*ne-scire* : *scius*) with *sap-io* : *sapere*, with the expected form *ne- + sap-ere* > *ne-sap-us* as in the case of *cap-ere* > *urbi-cap-us*, and of *scire* : *ne + sc-i-re* > *ne-sc-ius*.

In any case, the underlying intention of such a creation is to highlight, with an ironic expression, the ignorance of Trimalchio, since the regular form should be *ne-sapus*.

2.2. Extragrammatical composition

In terms of “extra-grammatical” composition, in Latin, the best-represented types are blends, univerbations, serial constructions, and particular types of pseudo-composition, which can be extended to the contamination of non-canonical use of univerbated cases and prepositions, and periphrastic forms (see Fig. 3 below). We do not find any proper

blends for the Latin corpus under consideration¹², construed according to the following taxonomy in detail:

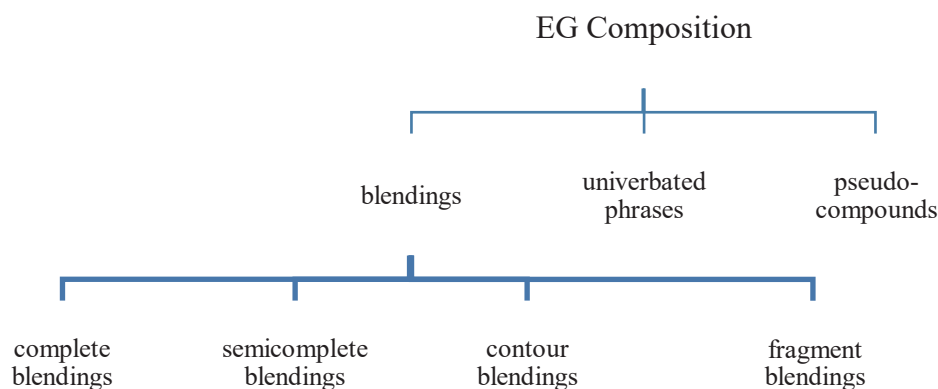


Fig. 3: Adapted from Cotticelli-Kurras (2013: 267, 268, 270).

2.2.1 Univerbation from prepositional phrases

For extra-grammatical composition, we can account for the following examples via the univerbation of a preposition + a noun, as in the case of *depraesentiarum*.

It is used only twice as a frozen form in the function of an adverb that arises from the lexicalization of the phrase *de praesentia rerum* (> **de praesentia (re)rum*), a structure without an immediate model for the apocope, of the first syllable of *rerum*. *TLL* 594 explains that it was modeled according to *impraesentiarum* with adverbial meaning (s. *TLL* 673).

¹² Some blends are found in Plautus, according to Seaberg (2019: 40ff. and *passim*), such as *madulsa* (Plaut. *Ps.* 1252), which evokes *mulsum*, *madere*, *madidus*, and maybe even *insulsus*. See also footnote 2.

(7) Sat. 58, 7-10:

Curabo, iam tibi Iovis iratus sit, et isti qui tibi non imperat. Ita satur pane fiam, ut ego istud conliberto meo dono alioquin iam tibi depraesentiarum reddidissem.

I will call down the wrath of Jupiter at once on you and the fellow who cannot keep you in order. I want to feel tired of eating bread if I ignore this offense only out of consideration for our guests. Otherwise, I would have returned it to you immediately.

2.2.2 Univerbation from adverbial uses

Benemoria used as an appellative to a proper name is an example of univerbation.

(8) Sat. 61, 7:

noveratis Melissam Tarentinam, pulcherrimum bacciballum, sed ego non mehercules corporaliter aut propter res vene[ra]rias curavi sed magis quod benemoria fuit.

you should know Melissa from Tarentum, a very beauty-butt. However, I did not care for her physically or because of sexual matters, but rather because she was good-natured.

Benemoria is a second appellative for Melissa, the hostess; it is a univerbation of the adverb *bene* and the root of *memoria*, with syncope, used as an adjective in *-ia*. As in other cases, its strange formation is worthy of discussion. In Latin, some examples of compounds with *bene* (and *male*) occur, as those quoted in the grammar by Leumann – Hofmann – Szantyr (1977: 395) already mentioned above. The authors underline that the adjectival forms and their derivatives with *bene* and *male* are very rare, (e.g. *benedicus*, *benevolus*, *benevolentia*, *beneficus* from the corresponding verbal forms *bene dicere*, *bene volens*, *bene facere*, etc.). The use of the first element *bene-* could be a calque from Greek adjectival formations with εὖ- (and the opposite κακο-).

As far as *benemoria* “of a benign disposition” is concerned, its interpretations are manifold: one of them is a derivation in *-ia* from the genitive phrase *boni moris* or *bonorum morum*, as *bene* + *moris* + *-ia*. For

the interpretation of male *benemorius* *Sat.* 61,7 from *bene* + *mos/moris*, “a person who has good manners”, a calque from gr. εὐήθης we may refer to Re (2020: 297), with further discussion of the previous literature (Heraeus 1937: 104 ff.).

However, this interpretation is still not clear since, later, the female appellative is attested in some inscriptions:

TLL s.v. *bonememorius*, vol. 2, 2072: “*de mulieribus*: CORP. VIII 21683 (a. 395) *Saturina benemoria* (sic). X 7762 *hic iacet bene memoria Maria*. XIII 2480 *benemoria* (sic) *Dananta*. 7320 *benememoria Roteldis*. INSCR.christ. *Hisp.* 186 *benememoria Meliosa*”.

In such texts, the different forms occur: *benemoria*, *benememoria*, and *bene memoria*, of which the two last do not explain the syncope but the univerbation form *bene* + *memoria*.

Despite the presence of *bene-* (and *male*) in further univerbations with verbs + *dicere* + *facere* (*suadere*, *volens*, *olens*) – but not with nouns –, the forms are not productive and possibly constructed according to *beneficus* and *beneficium*, but not in the same formation. The form with the derivational morpheme *-ia* and *benemoria* remains as a hapax.

(9) *Sat.* 43, 8:
noveram hominem olim oliorum.
I have known that man since the ‘time of time’.

olim oliorum is a particular adverb form with an inflectional ending. This adverbial expression is a mix between reduplication and a frozen phrase consisting of an adverb + a non-existent genitive form of the adverb itself, *olim* (‘once upon a time’), used as a partitive genitive.

2.2.3 Univerbation of phrases deriving from Greek

The creation of new words derived from a foreign basis is a further strategy. The syntactic process of composition of neologisms can even

be realized through the insertion of interjections deriving from nominal phrases with article in the Greek original form (*g'euge* = οἱ γ'εὖ-γε) or through nominalizations of original adverbs in nominal (or verbal) composition (*babae-cali* = οἱ βαβαὶ καλῶς), as the following examples show:

(10) *Sat.* 37:

babae babae... ad summam, quemvis ex istis babaecalis in rutae folium coniciet.

Nonsense... in short, whoever you take of these fools, he would wrap him in a cabbage leaf.

'*babai*' means "nonsense, rubbish", while the univerbation *babaecali* (from Greek οἱ βαβαὶ καλῶς), is rendered by the expression "one of these fools", in this occurrence without the demonstrative pronoun (*isti*).

We may also refer to *isti g'eu-ge* (οἱ γ'εὖ-γε):

(11) *Sat.* 58, 3:

*bene nos habemus, at isti *g'eu-ge*, qui tibi non imperant.*

And we have it well, these *g'eu-ge*, who do not command you.

Here we are dealing with a possible calque structure in which *isti* would represent the Greek article οἱ: "those which (are) well now". Not all the editors accepted the lexeme *geuge*: In some editions, *geuge* is substituted by *nugae*, e.g. *Bene nos habemus, at isti nugae, qui tibi non imperant* (ed. Schmelig 2020: 180). Buecheler (1862), in his edition, emended the text with *g'euge*. See also Lutterotti (2012: 467, 269).

2.2.4 Pseudo-compounds

Another interesting technique is the use of pseudo-compounds, such as:

(12) *Sat.* 61, 6:

noveratis Melissam Tarentinam, pulcherrimum bacciballum.

you should know Melissa from Tarentum, a very beauty-butt.

bacciballum is an imitation of a compound, not clearly a univerbation, created without a recognizable input. Its morphological analysis as a compound must also be clarified, since the meaning and etymology of the two elements are opaque. According to Becker (2017), the new formation could allude to the round curves of the landlady.

The first element could be derived from (Lat.) *bacca*, the second from *ballum*, or Greek *-ballos*.

There are also other formations with *-ballum* that are worth mentioning, such as *saraballum*, a variant of *sarabara*, ‘a kind of trousers’, and the original Greek word *aryballos*, which is a small spherical or globular flask or vessel for perfume or oil.

2.3. Modification of existing forms

Modifications of existing forms are realized through orthographic strategies, which render a word more similar to a foreign one, anagrams, sound extension or substitution, reduplication, or shortening, with clipping modifications, ellipse, and acronyms.

Among the cases of linguistic distancing, we found this sound substitution in exceptional cases of monophthongization. In particular, we may quote the (rare) example of *copo*, whose phonetic image does not correspond to the standard linguistic form *caupo*.

(13) *Sat.* 62, 13:

Haec ut audivi, operire oculos amplius non potui, sed luce clara Gai nostri domum fugi tanquam copo compilatus; et postquam veni in illum

locum, in quo lapidea vestimenta erant facta, nihil inveni nisi sanguinem.

Once I heard these words, I could not sleep any longer. At first light I fled the home of Gaius like an angry landlord. But once I came to the place where his clothing had turned into stone, I found nothing but blood.

The relevance of this word form for the diastratic and diaphasic classification of the language used by Nicerus is also less clear than one might think at first sight. We need to state whether the monophthongized forms were only used in lower speech registers while the educated people used forms with a diphthong.¹³

Tangomenas (faciamus) “drinking as a sponge” is an excellent example of complex word creation whose motivation is quite opaque. It could be a modification of a hybrid word or an invented Greek one. For this reason, we analyze it as a modification of an existing form.

¹³ As Becker (2017: 5ff.) writes on the other hand, the narrator, Encolpius, uses a form with a monophthong (Petron. 132 [*coliculus*]) in a poetic passage of all things. Although the jokingly parodistic context here – Encolpius reports in the high tone of the Virgil epic on his failed attempts at castration – may have influenced the choice of the more colloquial form, it is nevertheless shown in comparison with the non-monophthongized form *auriculas* used by Habinnas that there was a strict dichotomy of plebeian monophthongization and urban diphthongization. An explanation for this complex situation can be found in the dialectal origin of monophthongized word forms such as *copo* or *colis*. In the Italic languages, where the monophthongization of *au* was only partially established and probably quite late, the phenomenon can be observed very early in Umbrian and Faliscan, so it can be assumed that this phenomenon is a ‘dialectal infiltration’. According to the Pompeian inscriptions, the monophthongized form was particularly widespread in the case of *caupo/copo*. Therefore, it is not surprising that the freedman Nicerus uses precisely this form. However, given the dialectal origin of the monophthongization and its use in urban and literary language, the expressiveness of the form *copo* in assessing the Vulgar Latin character of the language of Nicerus remains limited. Nevertheless, Greek elements in the verbs *apoculare* and *exopinissare* indicate Nicerus’ origin and may also characterize him as a member of a particular social group.

(14) *Sat.* 73, 6:

itaque tangomenas faciamus et usque in lucem cenemus.

so let's drink like a sponge and dine until dawn.

The Greek-speaking Trimalchio takes the Latin verb *tangere* and applies his Greek inflection to it, like a slip of the tongue common to foreigners.

We know that the interpretations of the phrase *tangomenas faciamus* and the etymological identifications of *tangomena* are manifold.

It seems legitimate to hypothesize the deformation of a Greek expression played on the verb τέγγω (“I moisten, I bathe”, here below with wine) juxtaposed by paronymy to the Latin *tango* (“touch”). The ending in *-menas* suggests a medio-passive Greek participle in the feminine accusative plural. According to Alessio (1960-61: 354), the Grecism of reference would be τεγγομένη (sc. χώνη) = Lat. *imbutum* (sc. *infundibulum*) = “poor wood soaked in wine”; therefore the Petronian expression would mean “let us drink like a sponge”.

For integrated loans, we offer as an example *sa-plutus*, a formation particle + noun characteristic of Greek.

(15) *Sat.* 37:

ipse nescit quid habeat, adeo saplutus est

he himself does not know what he has, he is so rich.

As Lutterotti also points out, there are similar examples with the intensive prefix particle ζα-: ζα-μενής, ζα-πλήρης, ζα-ποτής, etc. (Lutterotti 2012: 450).

Another essential element to focus on is the interplay between rhetoric and grammar: it is used in antiphrastic or ironic meaning, such as *bellus* (*Sat.* 42, 3), *audaculum* (*Sat.* 63, 5), *sponsiunculam* (*Sat.* 58, 8), *cerebellum* (*Sat.* 76, 1).

3. NEOFORMATIONS WITHOUT INPUT

Using a third kind of word formation technique, we may classify neoformations as forms derived from sound symbolism or free creations.

As a case of sound symbolism or onomatopoeic creation, we can account for the word *uauatonem*, which metaphorically indicates a creature made of straw. The creation is derived from an onomatopoeic basis *uaua*, imitating a baby's cry, and the suffix *-ton/-tonis*.

(16) *Sat.* 63, 23-25:

Non cor habebat, non intestina, non quicquam: scilicet iam puerum strigae involaverant et supposuerant stramenticium vavatonem.

The heart was not throbbing, nor the bowels, nor anything: of course, the owls had already enveloped the child and had assumed the wretched straw.

4. FINAL REMARKS ON RHETORICAL AND TEXTUAL USES OF NEOFORMATIONS

The dialogues of the famous dinner of Trimalchio provide a picture of this sociolinguistic situation: the guests' speech is full of vulgarisms and loans from Greek, sometimes solecisms and grammar mistakes. The text depicts the everyday language with its sociolinguistic connotations, which finds correspondence in the parietal inscriptions of Pompeii, providing vital testimony of a middle-low spoken register of that time. The result is expressed through lexical neoformations in nominal and verbal systems, mirroring some hybrid forms with Greek derivational morphemes or derived from Greek bases as sign of an attitude and of the sociolinguistic value of the use of Greek(-like) forms. Of course, we cannot know with certainty to what extent these elements had already penetrated the target language.

Petronius's language and his style allow for some linguistic transgressions that may be analyzed within the proposed framework of extra-grammatical morphology, which is close to that of Dressler (2000) and to which Fruyt (2000) was also indirectly referring.

We share some methodological considerations with previous scholarship considering the morphological, phonetic (and prosodic, we might add) requirements of a given language towards neo-creations.

One of the most important premises for understanding the processes of neo-creations is the demonstration of the absence of boundaries between existing and newly created structures since, for it to take place, it is necessary that the foreign elements of word formation are already acquired or present in the target language, in their semantic field, or they have even become productive on a morpho-syntactic and lexical level¹⁴.

For a sociolinguistic characterization of the society depicted, it is helpful to divide the neologisms into denotational (denominative) and connotational types. From our point of view, the denotational neologisms are essential¹⁵, since they provide a link to the associations they evoke in the reader and listener, the linguistic registers, and the cultural coordinates that find ample characterization in the *Satyricon*. A further element is the awareness of the neoformations and creations present in the audience; such formations are activated from time to time through the creations *ex nihilo* and by the iconic neologisms, and from onomatopoeic creations, such as *vavatonem*. The use of hybrid forms is interesting because they show how naturalized certain Greek words may have become in the everyday language and the willingness and flexibility of Latin authors to integrate foreign words and phrases as they suit their needs.

Università di Verona
paola.cotticelli@univr.it
francesca.cotugno@univr.it

¹⁴ For the discussion on this word, see above § 2.1.3, especially Fruyt (2009: 11, 16). For other similar examples, see Oniga (2000: 165), especially concerning *olim oliorum* in Petronius.

¹⁵ See Fruyt (2009: 31).

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