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THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, PH.D., 1978

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DIMINUTIVES IN APULEIAN LATINITY

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Frank Robert Abate, A.B., M.A.

* * * * *

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
1978

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Citations from the text of the Metamorphoses are drawn from the edition by Helm in the Teubner series. Reference is recorded by book and chapter, followed by the page and line number in that edition. References to the Apology and Florida are by chapter, followed by the page and line numbers from Helm's editions.

For verification of individual words and their attestations, I have used the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (hereafter TLL), v. I through v. IX, pt. 2, fasc. 5 (through oppugnatio) and the Oxford Latin Dictionary (OLD), v. I through v. VI (through qualitercumque). For the latter part of the alphabet not yet published in these two sources, I have used Forcellini's Lexicon and Lewis and Short. For general grammatical points I have used Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr (L-H-S).

I wish to express my sincerest thanks to Professor Carl C. Schlam, who freely offered his critical insights, tireless patience, and steady encouragement from the inception of my research. I am also indebted to Professors
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PREFACE</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. THE MORPHOLOGY OF DIMINUTIVES</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. DIMINUTIVE MEANING AND CONNOTATION</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. DIMINUTIVES IN APULEIAN STYLE</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. CONCLUDING REMARKS</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

This study of diminutives in Apuleian Latinity concentrates on the Metamorphoses. The prose artistry of this comic romance is an important part of its perennial appeal, and the diminutives therein are one aspect of its artistry. The successive chapters will treat the formation of diminutives, the range of their meaning, and their role in the style of the Metamorphoses.

We will begin by placing our study against the background of modern scholarship on Apuleius.

Biographical information on Apuleius can be gleaned from his own works, primarily the Apology and the Florida. He was born in Madaura, a town in the province of Africa, today Mdaurusch in Algeria. He used a sizable inheritance to travel widely, studying at Carthage and Athens, and spending some time at Rome. He speaks candidly of his broad literary accomplishments both in Latin and Greek, and of his reputation as an orator, achievements which led to his being honored with a statue and priesthood at Carthage.
The Apology is the published version of Apuleius' defense given when he was charged at Sabrata, in North Africa, with having used magic to woo a rich widow, Pudentilla. The trial was held before the proconsul of Africa, Claudius Maximus, whose term of office has been dated most probably to 158/9 A.D. This is our only secure date for Apuleius. One can only speculate on his birth date by estimating his age at the time of the Apology; it is generally placed about 125 A.D.

Of his career after the Apology we know from the Florida, a collection of oratorical prologues or excerpts dated to the 160s A.D., that he gained high repute as an orator at Carthage. Further information, including his date of death, is lacking.

In addition to the Metamorphoses, Apology, and Florida, there are five philosophic works attributed to Apuleius, preserved in a manuscript tradition separate from the three major works. Of these only the De deo Socratis is generally accepted as authentically Apuleian. The authorship of the De Platone et eius Dogmate and De Mundo remains in dispute, while the Peri Hermeneias and Asclepius, are usually regarded as spurious. The philosophic works are not treated in this dissertation. Lost works of Apuleius include a wide range of subjects and genres; some of these may have been written in Greek, but all the extant works are in Latin.
The Metamorphoses, which can roughly be dated to the third quarter of the 2nd Century A.D., is the longest work, and the only fictional one, in the corpus. It differs from the rest in content and tone. Although similar stylistic tendencies can be seen in all three major works, the degree of verbal exuberance and playfulness is by far greatest in Metamorphoses.

The unique style of the work has been called Apuleius' "most original contribution to literature." Apuleius, who styled himself a student of philosophy and was a renowned orator, lived in the age of the Second Sophistic, a movement in which orators gained high reputation for their effusive rhetorical skill. The idiosyncratic style of the Metamorphoses reflects the freewheeling tendencies of this movement in its use of a great range of rhetorical techniques. Apuleius displays his virtuosity and abandons the classical standards of restraint, freely employing the technical richness of the sophists, as well as archaic vocabulary advocated by Fronto, and poetic and popular elements. It is this stylistic richness which makes the Metamorphoses a masterpiece of Latinity and a fertile ground for study.

The diminutive is one linguistic phenomenon which becomes a stylistic feature in the creative hands of Apuleius. Diminutives are present in great abundance in the Metamorphoses, where we find about two hundred
distinct words of this form, and a total of over six hundred uses in all. The use of diminutives is proportionally much less in Apuleius' other works; hence I will concentrate on the function diminutives have in the Metamorphoses.

At the beginning of the Metamorphoses Apuleius acknowledges that his novel is based on a Greek source: fabulam Graecaniciam incipimus (1.1/2,3). The ninth-century Byzantine patriarch Photius describes the now lost Greek Metamorphoseis, attributed to one Lucius of Patrae. Photius compares this romance to the still extant Loukios e Onos, preserved in the corpus of Lucian, which he calls an abridged version of the lost work. Photius notes that the Metamorphoseis has a style that is lucid and correct, avoiding affectation in the use of words. The lost Greek source was, in the best estimate of modern scholars, much shorter than the Apuleian Metamorphoses. The Onos, not now considered Lucian's work, is much briefer and stylistically unadorned when compared to the Metamorphoses. Further, it shows a minimal use of diminutives in sections parallel to the Metamorphoses in content, so this feature seems to have been added by Apuleius. It is then legitimate to study the use of diminutives in the Metamorphoses as a feature of Apuleian Latinity not dependent on his probable Greek source.
The first modern study to deal at length with Apuleius' style was that of Koziol in 1872. His work is primarily a collection of various linguistic and stylistic data with some comments. He provides a brief discussion of diminutives, and includes a list of these forms found in the extant corpus.17

Koziol observes that Apuleius' use of diminutives was copious and playful, but feels that they impart a tasteless coloring to his style. Koziol concluded from the abundance of diminutives that they had for the most part lost their proper meaning and were often substituted for the primitive. His list of diminutives is not quite complete; it does not include diminutive verbs, common diminutives, such as ancilla and puella, and derivatives of diminutives.18 Moreover several individual diminutives are not cited and references given not always complete. The discussion of diminutives by Bernhard, in his Der Stil des Apuleius von Madaura (1927), the principal modern study of Apuleian style, is essentially an adaptation of the attitudes of Koziol towards the use of diminutives and the list which he presents. Their evaluation has become standard in the subsequent scholarship, and Koziol's list has remained the standard reference.19

Diminutives in the Metamorphoses are copious and playful, but their significance cannot be diminished because of a negative judgment concerning their use and the
assumption that they have lost their semantic force. Several have suggested that their abundance can be attributed to a general weakening of diminutives.

This view is overly simplistic for two reasons: 1) it neglects the possibility that diminutives were used for stylistic reasons, and 2) it is based upon the evidence of diminutive devaluation in the popular language. The Metamorphoses is a showpiece of Latin prose artistry, and any feature of its prose so much in evidence as is the use of diminutives must receive due consideration on literary grounds.

Norden, in his monumental study Die Antike Kunstprosa (1898), briefly treats the style of the Metamorphoses. Although he does not specifically mention diminutives, he points to the similarities between Apuleian style and that of the sophists in the use of the shocking and the piquant, seen especially in figures of speech for sound effect, and the employment of poetic expressions, neologisms, and archaisms. Norden shares a negative view of Apuleius' style, finding it bombastic and affected; he says that Apuleius has debauched the language. This judgment should not prejudice or restrain our consideration of the sophistic techniques employed in the Metamorphoses. Diminutives, as we will see, participate in the stylistic phenomena, the sophistic character of which Norden emphasized.
Bernhard's study of Apuleian style is a comprehensive collection of observations and analyses covering a broad range of stylistic features contained in the extant works. In his treatment of diminutives in Apuleius he shows that they are most abundant in the Metamorphoses, and states that Apuleius surpassed his forerunners in the use and creation of diminutives. Bernhard, as we have noted, bases the statistics he presents for the diminutives on Koziol's incomplete list, and shares the view that Apuleius' use of diminutives is excessive. Despite the limitation of these aspects of Bernhard's work, it remains fundamental for further study of Apuleian style.

The work of Médan (1926) is less thorough and significant. He mentions the lost of diminutive force and the influence of popular language in a brief section treating diminutives. His main concern is with diminutive neologisms, which he lists without comment. He does observe, however, that a few diminutives express nuances of affection, irony, and disdain.

Some of the more recent work on the style of Apuleius has approached the study without a prejudice in favor of the classical standards of Kunstsprache. Eicke's dissertation, published in 1956, demonstrates the stylistic variations within the Metamorphoses itself. Eicke, following an idea first suggested by Norden, analyzes the language and word choice in seven selected
passages. He shows that Apuleius varied his style according to the context. In doing so Eicke has effectively countered the position of Bernhard, who attempted to demonstrate that Norden's suggestion was unfounded. Eicke's discussion of diminutives is brief and limited to a few individual examples, but he does note their subjective nuances of tenderness and scorn, and the creation of euphonic effects through diminutives. Eicke believes that the use of diminutives in the Metamorphoses reflects in part the influence of Umgangssprache, but that it may also be attributed to the stylistic playfulness of the Second Sophistic. He speaks of Apuleius' colorful vocabulary, and his fondness for verbal experimentation. Eicke's observations suggest the literary and stylistic significance of diminutives in the Metamorphoses, an aspect generally ignored in earlier studies.

Callebat, in a study published in 1968, has shown that the influence of linguistic sources cannot be overlooked when discussing the style of the Metamorphoses. He notes that the term "familiar" cannot be arbitrarily assigned to all the diminutives in the Metamorphoses, as has often been done. Callebat demonstrates that while some diminutives, along with other aspects of diction, reflect sermo cotidianus, others reveal a purely artistic tendency marked by the influence of Plautus, Catullus, and the new poets. In the most extensive examination
to date on diminutives in the Metamorphoses, he treats a number of them specifically, distinguishing between those of the common language and those perhaps attributable to previous literary use, particularly in Plautus. He also believes that the diminutives in the Metamorphoses contribute vivacity and intensity to the narrative, as literary and not simply vulgar elements. Their suffix provides diminutive and depreciative value which allows for more precise and picturesque coloring.

Callebat's study of literary influence raises the whole question of how much the use of diminutives in Apuleius was affected by previous literature. While the relative concentration of diminutives in the Metamorphoses is greater than in the great majority of earlier Latin literature, certain authors prior to Apuleius have made significant stylistic use of them. In Plautus we find a great number of diminutives, some of which provide a popular flavor, others a sense of tone and pattern of sound. Conrad has studied the Plautine diminutives, and counts 309 diminutives used a total of 824 times. He says that about two-thirds have an affective nuance. The semantic effects produced by diminutives in Plautus have been studied in depth by Hanssen. A few examples will illustrate both the sonic and tonal significance.

In Stichus 689-691 diminutives are used in a vivid enumeration of food at a feast:
In two passages of an erotic nature we note the effects of both emotional feeling and word play in the use of diminutives. In *Casina* 835-837 the senex Lysidamus asks his slave Olympia if his wife is gone; he wishes to make love to Casina:

**Ly.** iamne apscessit uxor? 0l. domist, ne time.  
Ly. euax!  
nunc pol demum ego sum liber.  
mem corculum, melculum, verculum.

**Verculum,** "little spring," is only attested here, and may well have been created for the context. Word play is evident in a passage of dialogue between Alcesimarchus, his mistress Selenium, and the *lena* Melaenis in *Cistellaria* 449-452:

**Sel.** molestus es.  
Al. meae issula sua aedes egent. ad me sine ducam.  
Sel. aufer manum.  
Al. germana mea sororcula. Sel. repudio te fraterculum.  
Al. tum tu igitur, mea matercula. Me. repudio te puerculum.

Catullus also uses diminutives in concentration for emphasis and sound potential. In a recent study of Catullus' diminutives, Ronconi has suggested that they add a musical quality to his poetry, aside from their semantic coloring. In 3.15-19 the diminutives used
of Lesbia's dead pet bird have both a mock-serious and an erotic flavor:


tam bellum mihi passerem abstulistis.
o factum male! o miselle passer!
tua nunc opera meae puellae
flendo turgiduli rubent ocelli.

In 25, 1-2 and 9-11 there are diminutives used for a depreciating intent:


cinaede Thalle, mollior cuniculi capillo
vel anseris medullula uel imula oricilla...
quae nunc tuis ab unguibus reglutina et remitte,
ne laxeum latusculum manusque mollicellas
inusta turpiter tibi flagella conscribilent...

These examples show that the use of diminutives for stylistic effect did not originate with Apuleius, although it is fully exploited by him. Hakamies, in his general study of diminutives in Latin, concludes that the use of diminutives is not in itself a sign of popular influence, but a means of style that is adapted or rejected by authors at will. Diminutives are not so common in authors such as Vergil, Horace and Propertius, who even in their less serious work were restrained in the use of diminutives. The tendency to avoid diminutives is a general characteristic of the classical period, although in less formal style they are more often admitted. For example, the Letters of Cicero, many of which are written in an easy, colloquial tone, have a greater proportion of diminutives than do his rhetorical and philosophic works. The Metamorphoses indicates a recognition of
this stylistic discrimination, as it exploits the diminutives in certain contexts, but avoids them in others.\footnote{37}

Besides those authors we have mentioned, Petronius in his Satiricon makes use of diminutives with some profusion.\footnote{38} This work is often compared to the Metamorphoses, since both are rare examples of comic fiction. The language of Petronius, however, employs diminutives as an aspect of colloquial atmosphere and speech, without the same verbal and stylistic exuberance for artistic effect that is evidenced in the Metamorphoses.\footnote{39} That both works are termed Roman novels and share in the relative abundance of one linguistic feature, the diminutive, is not then necessarily indicative of Petronian influence on Apuleius. The nature and style of the two works are vastly different, and the diminutives used in each have, to some degree at least, a different purpose.

I would conclude that the use of diminutives in works prior to the Metamorphoses suggested the direction which Apuleius took in their use, but the wide and varied function of diminutives in the Metamorphoses as an aspect of style is distinct from that found in previous literature, particularly in prose. Where diminutives do appear in the Metamorphoses, very often they exhibit the stylistic playfulness which is particularly characteristic of Apuleius. Both in manner and abundance of use of diminutives the Metamorphoses is innovative in Latin literature.
In order to understand the significance of the diminutives in the Metamorphoses we must treat them under several aspects. In Chapter II I will discuss the morphology of diminutives and consider the unusual and the new formations that are found in the Metamorphoses. Chapter III will examine the range of meaning of the Latin diminutives in general, and to what extent diminutives in the Metamorphoses exploit these meanings. Therein also is a discussion of diminutive devaluation as evidenced in the Metamorphoses. In Chapter IV the role of diminutives in Apuleian style is examined in detail. We will consider the distribution of diminutives and the ways in which diminutives are used for evoking tone, sound, and word play.
NOTES TO CHAPTER I

Notes following each chapter, as here, refer to modern sources by author's name and page number. The full references listed alphabetically by author's name are given in the bibliography. When two or more works by a single author were consulted, each work was numbered in the bibliography under that author's name. In the notes, references to such authors will be followed by the appropriate number of the specific work in parentheses, then the page reference.

1 For a general treatment of Apuleius' biography as adduced from the Apology and Florida, see Butler and Owen, vii - xix. The Metamorphoses may be reliable in providing information on the initiation of Apuleius into the cult of Isis. In Apology 55/62,20 Apuleius says that he has taken part in a number of initiation ceremonies in Greece. The account in the Metamorphoses, Book Eleven, may well have been based on first-hand experience. For discussion of recent scholarship on this, see Schlam, 287f.

2 This date has been confirmed by inscriptional records for the African proconsuls, see Guey and Syme.

3 See Walsh, 248.

4 On the later date of the Florida in relation to the Apology see Walsh, 248 and Griffiths, 11. Recent scholarship on both works is discussed by Schlam, 304f.

5 See Schlam, 286.

6 The three philosophic works have recently been edited and discussed by Beaujeu, who notes the unquestioned Apuleian authorship of De deo Socratis. His discussion of authorship for De Platone et eius Dogmate and De Mundo concludes that they are works of Apuleius' youth. See Beaujeu, ix-xxix.

7 See Perry, 238.

The range of genres in which Apuleius says he composed is given in Florida 9 and 20: lyric and dramatic
poetry, satire, hymns, philosophical dialogues, and various histories. Perry, 38 and 78, maintains that prose romances could have been referred to as histories by the ancients, and thus the historias varias rerum mentioned by Apuleius as a genre (Florida 9/13, 19-20) would include the Metamorphoses. This speculation is opposed by Griffiths, 11, who points out that Apuleius calls the Metamorphoses a fabula in 1.1 and 6.25. In any case, the Metamorphoses is never specifically referred to in the other extant works.

8 Because of the absence of any positive internal or external evidence, there has been much speculation over the date of the Metamorphoses. The issue has turned on whether to regard it as an early work of Apuleius' youth, or one written after the Apology. If it were early and known as Apuleius' work, it is surprising that it was not used in the charge of practicing magic brought against him. Neither is it mentioned in the Florida, although many other genres are discussed, cf. n. 7. I am in accord with the recent views which favor a date in the 170s; cf. Griffiths, 7ff. and Walsh, 249ff. Walsh does not exclude the possibility of a date as late as 190 A.D.

9 On the unique style of the Metamorphoses in relation to the Apology and Florida, see Norden, 603 and Bernhard, 355. Bernhard gives a chart characterizing the use of various linguistic and stylistic features in the extant works, and shows that only the Metamorphoses possesses all these features in abundance.

10 Perry, 239.

11 Apuleius' pride and success in his oratorical career is clear from much that is found in Florida, particularly in 9, 18, and 20. His being honored with a statue at Carthage (Florida 16) indicates that his success and popularity was recognized in a manner similar to other orators of the time who are considered part of the Second Sophistic movement. On this movement see Bowersock's study.

12 Sophistic influence on Apuleius is discussed by Norden, 602. For the features shared with Fronto, see discussion in Scobie (1), 21-22. Bernhard, 188-255 analyzes the use of poetic and rhetorical techniques. Popular elements in the Metamorphoses are extensively treated by Callebat.
13 These numbers can only be approximated, since several words of doubtful etymology (oculus, capillus, etc.) may or may not be diminutives. See the Appendix for a complete list of all the diminutives and derivatives of diminutives in the Metamorphoses, Apology, and Florida.

14 For the text of Photius' comments (Bibl. Cod. 129) see Robertson's Budé edition, vi; also see Perry, 213f.

15 Perry discusses the length of the lost Greek Metamorphoses, see esp. 216 and n. 5. He assigns a length of fifty Teubner pages to the work, but mentions other estimates. Various scholars have speculated on the question, cf. Junghanns and Lesky. That it is much shorter than Apuleius' Metamorphoses seems clear from Photius' testimony.

16 On the non-Lucianic authorship of the Onos see Griffiths, 1, where its stylistic differences from the Apuleian Metamorphoses are also discussed.

In all the parallel incidents one finds Apuleius employing far more diminutives than are present in the Onos. For an analysis of parallel sections from the Onos and Metamorphoses see van Thiel and Junghanns. van Thiel's work conveniently prints the parallel sections on facing pages.

17 Koziol, 260-266.

18 His reasons for not treating common diminutives are not stated, but undoubtedly stem from a judgment that they are not longer functional as diminutives.

19 Bernhard, 136 gives his statistics, based on Koziol: 136 different diminutive substantives, of which 92 are previously attested, 44 are new formations, 20 of these hapax legomena; 50 diminutive adjectives and adverbs, 26 previously attested, 24 new formations, 19 of these hapax legomena. These statistics are cited by Steynen, p. 46. As noted above, Koziol's list does not cite all diminutive forms nor all references for each. See Appendix.

20 Norden, 600-605.

21 On the relative frequency of diminutives in Apuleius' various works see Bernhard, 355. An earlier section of his work is specifically devoted to diminutives, 135-138.
See Médan, 129-131. Médan's list of neologisms is not exhaustive; for full list see Chapter II, 29ff.

Norden, 603.

See further Chapter IV, 68, n. 5.

Eicke, 27.

Eicke, 7.

Eicke, 116ff.

Callebat, 10.

Callebat, 31, 508ff, and 520.

Callebat, 371-380, discusses quite a few diminutives whose semantic value contributes artistically to the vivacity and intensity of the narrative.

A bibliography of the literature dealing with diminutives is given in L-H-S, v. 2, 776f.

Conrad, 74.

Hanssen, 5-102, passim. Hanssen also treats the semantic effect of diminutives in other Republican authors.

Ronconi, 7. A previous study by De Labriolle has shown some of the affective potential of diminutives in Catullus. Platner's study tended to discount the significance of diminutives in Catullus, which the later scholars have corrected.

On Propertius' use of diminutives see Hakamies, 35-36. On Horace, who avoids diminutives in the Odes and Epodes, but is more free in their use in the Satires and Epistles, see Hakamies, 39. L-H-S, v. 2, 775, notes that Vergil makes more frequent use of diminutives in the Georgics than in the Georgics and Aeneid.

The general question of diminutive propriety in the poetry of the classical period is discussed by Axelson, 38-45.

On diminutives in Cicero's Letters see Hakamies, 36-38. Laurand, 246-270 lists and briefly discusses diminutives in the Orations.
37 See further, 65ff. It is also noteworthy that among Apuleius' other works diminutives are less common than in the Metamorphoses.

38 Swanson, 84-92 and 151, discusses the diminutives in the Satiricon. His study focuses on the types of formation, number of forms, and semantic use. Swanson characterizes Petronius' use of 95 diminutive forms as quite high in comparison to previous authors and to later writers of the Silver Age, and notes 8 diminutives in Petronius that are hapax legomena. However, he does not compare Apuleius, nor does he treat the possible stylistic significance of diminutives in the Satiricon.

39 An article by Roncaioli studies the semantic range of diminutives in Petronius. He suggests, 27, that diminutives in Apuleius have an artistic intent not found in Petronius. I have not been able to obtain two other studies of diminishitives in Petronius: A. dell'Era. "L'uso del diminutivo in Petronio," Quaderni Urbinati di cultura classica 3 (1967), 95-123 and G. Traditti, I diminutivi nel Satyricon del Petronio, Genoa: 1951.
CHAPTER II
THE MORPHOLOGY OF DIMINUTIVES

The Latin diminutive was formed by the addition of a specialized suffix to the stem of a noun, adjective, adverb, or verb. The suffixes -(e)lo/a and -culo/a account for the vast majority of Latin diminutives, and are the typical diminutive suffixes for classical and post-classical Latin. Our discussion will concentrate on the use of these two suffixes, although we shall note also the use of other suffixes.

Each of these suffixes will be treated separately to establish its regular pattern of formation. With this general data as a guide we can examine the morphology of Apuleius' diminutives. I will note atypical formations, the use of unusual verbal formations with diminutive suffixes, and the large group of diminutives which are first or only attested in Apuleius.

-(e)lo/a

The suffix -(e)lo/a had several functions in Latin. When attached to a verbal root it formed nouns of agent
and instrument, e.g. *legulus, "picker" > lego and *vinculum "bond" > vincio, and adjectives such as *pendulus, "hanging" > pendo. When attached to the stems of nouns and adjectives (principally), it formed diminutives and some words without diminutive function. This suffix is distinct from the suffix *-ela with long e which formed deverbatives such as loguela, querela, and custodela.

The original form of the suffix is unclear; it is either -elo/a or simply -lo/a. In many situations the first form seems more likely as the change or loss of the e can be explained through standard phonological principles. So in *arcula > arca, we can posit a change from *arcela, the medial e changing to u before l in an unaccented syllable, and in *puella > puer we could assume a loss of e in *puerela by syncope. However in a case such as *lapillus > *lapid-los > lapis, it would appear that no e intervened. The suffix is inherited from Indo-European, its use documented in Sanskrit, Greek, and Gothic, although not as a diminutive forming suffix.

As a diminutive suffix, -(e)lo/a is used primarily for nouns with a- and o-stems. It can be attached to a stem of a non-diminutive e.g. mensula > mensa, anulus > anus, forming thereby a diminutive, or to the stem of a diminutive itself to form a "double diminutive," e.g. puellula > puella > puer. Occasionally the suffix is used to form diminutives of words of another stem: e.g.
adulescentulus > adulescens, aetatula > aetas. The use of the suffix is not restricted to substantives, and is also used with adjective stems, e.g. parvulus > parvus. The adjectival use may have been an extension arising from an attraction of form, i.e., an adjective assuming diminutive form when used with a diminutive substantive which it modifies.  

The combination of stem plus -(e)lo/a is not always as easy to discern as in the examples I have given. Diminutives in -(e)lo/a formed from primitives whose final syllable contains r, n, or l show an ending in -ello/a or -illo/a. Thus from ager, stem *agro- arises agellus, from asinus, stem *aseno, arises asellus, and from non-diminutive fabula arises fabella; all the resulting diminutives show a termination in -ello/a wherein the doubled l was formed by assimilation of the consonant of the stem to that of the suffix. The -illo/a suffix appears in diminutive sigillum > signum and in bacillum > baculum. At an early period these suffixes, which originated through phonological processes in specialized cases, became independent suffixes that were attached to other stems, hence famella > fama, mellilla > mel, stem *mell.  

The general morphological pattern of use of the suffix -(e)lo/a can be summarized as follows:
DIMINUTIVE FORMS BASED ON THE SUFFIX -(e)lo/a

1. Stem ending in a consonant, + suffix, yields diminutive in -ulo/a.
   
   arcula > arca  
   digitulus > digitus

2. Stem ending in a vowel, + suffix yields diminutives in -olo/a.
   
   horiola > horia  
   filiolus > filius  
   argenteolus > argenteus

3. Stem ending in -ro/a, or short vowel followed by -no/a, -lo/a, + suffix, yields diminutives in -ello/a.
   
   agellus > ager (stem *agro-): asellus > asinus
   fabella > fabula  
   cistella > cistula

4. Stem ending in -no/a, -ni, -lo/a, -ino/a, + suffix yields diminutives in -illo/a.
   
   sigillum > signum  
   pastillus > panis (stem *pastni-)
   axilla > ala (stem *agsla-)
   villum > vīnum

-culo/a-, -ko-

The diminutive suffix -culo/a is a combination of the Indo-European and Italic suffix -ko- with -(e)lo/a-; the use of this composite is documented only in Italic dialects. The -ko- suffix functioned separately in Latin in forming adjectives of the type anticus > ante, and bellicus > bellum. The reason for its use in combination with -(e)lo/a as a diminutive suffix is not entirely clear. The suffix -ko had a diminutive function in Indo-European, but such use in Latin is neither widely nor certainly attested. Another explanation of the origin
of **-culo/a** is given by Ernout, who suggests that the suffix was abstracted from such **-(e)lo/a** diminutives as **nutricula > nutrix, porculus > porcus**, where the primitive stem contains a **c**. Ernout demonstrates that a good many Latin words had stems in **c**, and could have, when made into diminutives, yielded a model for a new **-culo/a** suffix.\(^{11}\) The evidence which Ernout presents explains the generalization of the **-culo/a** suffix without discounting the diminutive function of the **-co** element within it.

The composite **-culo/a** is a common diminutive-forming suffix in Latin, used especially with substantives and adjectives of **i**, **u-**, and **e-** stems, and with several consonant stems: e.g., **aedícula > aedes** (**i**-stem), **articulus > artus** (**u**-stem), **dieícula > dies** (**e**-stem), **fratérculus > frater**, **melcículum > mel**, **carbunculus > carbo**, and **flosculus > flos** (all consonant stems).\(^{12}\) The use of **-culo/a** suffix with **a-** or **o**-stem nouns was rare and generally post-classical.\(^{13}\) Such forms are not present in Apuleius.

**-culo/a** should not be confused with the suffix of words such as **cubiculum** and **vehiculum**, whose suffix, though similar in appearance, is used with verbal roots, is non-diminutive, and arises from Indo-European **-tlo**.\(^{14}\)
-aster, -ino/a

I mention these suffixes briefly because they do possess a diminutive character in their few appearances in the *Metamorphoses*. Their importance as diminutive suffixes is primarily confined to the Romance languages, especially in the case of -ino/a, which becomes a common diminutive suffix in Italian. 15

Aster is of uncertain etymology, though it is thought to be related to the comparative -tero, and was probably influenced analogically by the instrumental -strum. It is a pejorative suffix, and thus shares in one aspect of the semantic range of the diminutives suffixes. 16 The diminutive function of -ino/a is attested in Greek, Slavic, and Celtic, but its early history is also unclear. 17

In Apuleius aster is found only in the hapax palliastrum "shabby mantle" > pallium, with a pejorative sense (1.6/5,14). -ino is present in the pejorative adjective paupertinus (3.13/61,16) and 4.12/83,19), which is a rare word generally. Cf. the nouns gallina, feminine of gallus, and regina, feminine of rex, where the function of -ino/a parallels that of -(e)lo/a in puella > puer.

The great majority of diminutives in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* follow the regular patterns of formation for the suffixes -(e)lo/a and -culo/a. Exceptional forms
include both previously attested diminutives and a number of diminutives not found before Apuleius.

Five peculiar diminutive forms in the *Metamorphoses* are previously attested: *maniculus* > *manus* and *morsiuncula* > *morsus*. *Maniculus* is unusual in that there is a shift of gender from the feminine of the primitive to the masculine of the diminutive, which violates the general rule in Latin that diminutives have the same gender as their primitives. It is previously attested in Seneca. *Morsiuncula* also involves a gender shift (masculine of the primitive to feminine of the diminutive), and shows as well an intrusive *un* that is etymologically peculiar. The word is also found in Plautus. Three other diminutives, *adulescentulus/a* > *adulescens*, *aetatula* > *aetas*, and *civitatula* > *civitas* are unusual in that they are all from third declension nouns which should have diminutives in *-culo/a*. Apparently the *t* of their stems took the place of the usual *c* in the suffix, although one other form in the *Metamorphoses* *lucunculus* > *lucuns*, *lucuntis*, does have the usual suffix. In any case, the words are all attested prior to Apuleius, the first two widely so while *civitatula* is used but once before, in Seneca.

More significant are the three irregular diminutives found only in Apuleius: *rescula* > *res*, *domuscula* > *domus*, and *gustulum* > *gustus*. The diminutive of *res* would regularly be *recula*, with the *s* of the stem
excluded, although this form is previously attested only in a fragment of Plautus quoted by Priscian. The form resculas is read by Helm and Robertson, both of whom note in their apparatus a correction to reculas by a scribe (4.12/83,19).

The regular diminutive form from domus is domuncula, which in fact is found in Metamorphoses 4.9/81,20. But in 4.26/94,25 the form with s is read without comment by both Helm and Robertson; it is attested only in this place. Gustulum > gustus (2.10/33,8 and 9.33/228,11) shows a shift of gender from masculine to neuter and a form in -(e)lo for a fourth declension noun, where we would expect gisticulus.

Unusual diminutives in the Metamorphoses which are previously attested indicate merely the use of a form established in the language. However the Apuleian diminutives of irregular form may reflect the author's fondness for verbal experimentation, if we can assume that the readings of the manuscripts are accurate, which I would question in the cases of rescula and domuscula.

Several words in the Metamorphoses are verbal forms which possess a diminutive function: sorbillo, semi-adopertulus, succinctulus, subrideo, and substrepens.

Sorbillo is a diminutive verb proper, formed by the addition of the suffix -illo to the verb sorbeo "I drink
down." It is one of only a few verbs in extant Latin that exhibits the use of the diminutive suffix in a manner similar to substantives. Terence uses the verb once, in Adelphi 591, in the meaning "sip," and it is otherwise found only in the Metamorphoses, in 2.16/38,1 and as a present participle in 3.14/62,23, both times in erotic contexts.

Semiadopertulus is different in nature, as it is a diminutive formed from an unattested past participle form. Its only extant use in Latin is in Metamorphoses 3.14/62,22, where it is in close proximity to sorbillo mentioned above. It is one of two examples of a diminutive of a past participle in the Metamorphoses; the other is succinctulus (2.7/30,20).

The compound verb forms subrideo and substrepens can be classed as diminutives in the sense that the prefix sub- diminishes their full meaning; subrideo "I smile" (cf. rideo, "I laugh"), substrepens "barely sounding" (cf. strepeo "I make a noise"). This function of sub- is widely attested in Latin among adjectives; the verbal prefix parallels the use and function of the adjectival one in providing a diminutive character, although the alteration in the verbal significance might also be explained in terms of verbal aspect.

The extent to which Apuleius was inventive with the use of diminutive suffixes is indicated by the sheer
number of forms first or only attested in Apuleius that possess the suffix, many of which may be neologisms. I have included all such forms from the *Metamorphoses*, *Apology*, and *Florida* in the following lists. Both diminutives proper and words that are derived from diminutives are given. All forms are substantives unless otherwise noted.
Diminutives and Derivatives of Dims.
Attested Only in Metamorphoses

* Derivative

altiuscule - adverb, adjective in -us in Suetonius
astutulus - adjective
aulula - ollula is also found in Apology, which is an equivalent; also cf. Plautine title Aulularia
blandicule - adverb
* capreolatim - adverb, > * capreola, cf. capreolus
curiosulus - adjective
dicacule - adverb, adjective in -us in Plaut.
domuscula - perhaps an error for regular form domuncula
dulciola
* farinulentus - adjective > farinula
fenestrula
gurgustiolum
gustulum
incrementulum
lacertulus
lautiusculus - adjective
palliastrum
palumbulus
* paullulatim - adverb
perastutulus - adjective
* pocillator
posticula
pressule - adverb; adjective pressulus is in Florida
punctulum
rescula - perhaps for regular form recula
saepicule - adverb
sagittula
scitule - adverb
semiadopertulus - adjective
seniculus
sepicula
succinctulus - adjective
tantillulus - adjective
timidule - adverb; adjective timidulus is in Apology
unctulum
vastulus - adjective
viriculae
Diminutives and Derivatives of Diminutives Attested First in the Metamorphoses

cannula
clanculo - adverb; adverb clanculum in Plantus
dammula
formicula - also in Fronto
fusticulus
gallinula
gemmula - also in Fronto
glabellus - adjective
grabatulus
infantulus/a
lanceola
lupula

*maculo - verb
mellitula
operula
ovicula
pannulus
ranula
retiolum
scurrula
spinula
suffusculus - adjective
tuguriolum
turbula
viaticulum
xeniolum

Diminutives and Derivatives of Dims. Attested Only in the Apology

*emasculator > masculus
flucticulus
Mercuriolus
muriculus - used in a quotation from Ennius
timidulus - adjective; adverb timidule in Metamorphoses
veretillum

Diminutives and Derivatives of Dims. Attested First in Apology

ampliusculus - adjective; adverb in -e in Plautus,
Most. 967
apriculus - used in a quotation from Ennius
aquariolus
gingivula
sudariolum

Diminutives and Derivatives of Dims.
Attested Only in Florida

austerulus - adjective
lacullo - verb
*lenticularis - adjective > lenticula
pressulus - adjective
strigilecula

Diminutives and Derivatives of Dims.
Attested First in Florida

interulus - adjective
procerulus - adjective
*tubulatio > tubula
The diminutives in the Metamorphoses are, in the main, morphologically regular according to the usual patterns of formation for the Latin diminutive suffixes. The notable peculiarity of diminutive forms in the Metamorphoses is the number of possible neologisms as indicated on the previous lists. The creation of new forms with the diminutive suffix is indicative of Apuleius' general tendency to verbal innovation. Moreover, many of the new words created, as we shall see in succeeding chapters, were used in semantically and stylistically imaginative ways, and were not unintentionally formed.
On these functions of the suffix see Lindsay, 331 (from which the examples are taken) and L-H-S, v. I., 217. Lindsay mentions that this suffix is seen in the same agent function in English shovel, literally "shover." See also the more recent work of Zucchelli (1), esp. 29ff., and my discussion in Chapter III, 39ff.

The morphology of non-diminutive words in -(e)lo/a is not different from that of the diminutives with the suffix. Hence we will treat the non-diminutive words in -(e)lo/a in the discussion of semantics in Chapter III, 39ff.

Lindsay, 331 notes that the original form may be -lo, -elo, or -ulo. But the presence of u in diminutive forms can be explained also by the typical insertion of a parasitic vowel before l or r to facilitate pronunciation; see Lindsay, 93.

Examples from each language are provided in L-H-S, v. I., 215. For its function in other languages, see below, Chapter III, 37ff.

L-H-S, v. I., 215; Hakamies, 10; Cooper, 168.


The origin and extension of the suffixes -ello/a and -illo/a is treated in detail by Strodach, who gives ample lists of forms arising from the various stems. He has summarized the theories to his time, 13-25, and states the accepted explanation of the phonological processes at work on 26f. and 86. I have drawn examples from these pages, and from 56-58 for uses of these suffixes independently. See also L-H-S, v. I., 215 and Sommer-Pfister, 71.


Lindsay, 336f.
On the diminutive function of -ko in IE see L-H-S, 216. The presence of the suffix in a diminutive function in Latin has been discussed by Hanssen, 90-102, who suggests that a number of words in -co/a, not usually considered diminutives, may have a diminutive sense nonetheless; e.g. unicus is explained as an emphatic diminutive, originally, of unus. The combination would then have resulted from a strengthening of the -co/a element by the addition of -(e)lo/a. So in homuncio, derived from the unattested *homuncus according to L-H-S, 239, we see the traces of the co-suffix in this pejorative word. If *homuncus did exist, the attested form homunculus would exhibit the strengthening of the word in -co by adding -(e)lo/a.

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1. See Ernout, (4) especially 104 and 112.

2. L-H-S, v. 1, 216, Cooper, 168, and Hanssen, 257f. Of the examples given, carbunculus shows the regular change of o to u before agma, i.e., before the combination of nasal and guttural consonants. See Kent, 84.


4. On this suffix and its accidental similarity see L-H-S, v. 1, 217-218 and Lindsay, 333f.

5. Hakamies, 11, characterizes the use of these two suffixes as rare and sporadic in Latin.

6. For the fuller discussion of the background and use of -aster, see Rybolt, 303-319. On the pejorative uses of diminutives, see below. Chapter 11, 50ff.

7. On the suffix -ino/a and its diminutive function, see Hanssen 90f.


9. Neither Waide-Hofmann nor Ernout-Meillet offer any clear explanation. Possibilities include an intervening hypothetical substantive *morsio(n), and the explanation of OLD, which gives the etymology mordeo + -tio + -cula.

10. Diminutives of fifth declension nouns such as specula > spes and diecula > dies, both in Apuleius and elsewhere, do not have the s before the suffix.

11. Funck has studied the Latin verbs in -illare, and concludes that only three are properly diminutives:
conscribillare, occillare, and sorbillare, see 223-226 in his article. Also note the discussion in Cooper, 243-245, and Lindsay, 487.

22 The use of these two words, one rare, the other a neologism, is a clear example of Apuleian playfulness; see below, Chapter IV, 74.

23 It is used in the Metamorphoses in the adjectives subdolus "somewhat crafty" (6.20/143,18 and 9.15/214,15) and sublucidus, a hapax meaning "somewhat light" (6.3/130, 27). For a full discussion of the diminutive force of sub- with adjectives, see Cooper, 256-258. Note also the adjective suffusculus (Metamorphoses 2.13/35,14), which has both prefix and diminutive suffix, and is called a double diminutive in L-H-S, v. II, 772. Subluteus "somewhat yellow" is found in Florida 12/16,22).

24 Kuhner-Holzweissig, v. I, 958 offer the examples sub- bibere and sub- ridere; compare Greek ὑπο-πίστευε ν and ὑπο-μετίτειν.

25 Exact locations for all words in these lists can be found in the Appendix. All forms were verified, when possible in TLL. For those words not yet covered by TLL, verification was made in Lewis and Short, Forcellini, and OLD (only through quatercumque).

26 On the subject of Apuleian verbal innovation, see Norden, 602 and Bernhard, 138-143. Bernhard has tallied 233 words in the Metamorphoses that are used only there in Latin, of which 39 are diminutives; cf. 68 and Appendix.

27 Diminutive neologisms used in passages of diminutive concentration for stylistic effect are listed in Chapter IV, n. 6. Individual diminutive neologisms are discussed in Chapter III and IV, passim.
The main purpose of this chapter is to discuss the range of meanings of the Latin diminutives, and to show that diminutives in the *Metamorphoses* exhibit this range. It will be useful to begin with a consideration of the development of the diminutive function of the suffixes -(e)lo/a and -culo/a. Comparative study of Indo-European languages, as well as Latin evidence itself, seems to indicated that the suffix -(e)lo/a originally had a non-diminutive function. At some pre-literary stage the diminutive function developed, so that already in Plautus the suffix -(e)lo/a exhibits the full range of diminutive meanings, as does -culo/a, which is considered semantically parallel and functionally derivative.1 A review of the important theories on the origins of -(e)lo/a will lead to a discussion of non-diminutive functions of -(e)lo/a in Latin. Both of these issues will clarify the termini of our major topic.

There is much dispute over the original function of -(e)lo/a, primarily because the suffix has a number of
functions in Latin, as well as non-diminutive function in other Indo-European languages. A certain determination is difficult owing to the scarcity of early evidence from cognate languages, and to the variety of uses of the suffix in those languages. A recent study of the question by Zucchelli reviews the most important theories to date on the original function of the suffix -(e)lo/a with reference to a wealth of comparative evidence from other languages. My summary of the question is drawn from his work, in which he speaks of the suffix in its simplest form, -lo.

Brugmann formulated a theory of development which posits that the diminutive value of -ulus (a variation of -(e)lo/a) developed in the Indo-European period from a function which denoted "membership in a class," therefore, something similar to the primitive but not entirely equal. Thus a word such a porculus > porcus would have indicated at first "something like a pig" or a "kind of pig," then "a little pig." The theory is tempting because it offers a feasible line of development based on non-diminutive functions of -(e)lo/a that are attested in other languages, although its validity is not documentable.

The theory has opened a range of discussion over the exact line of development from Indo-European. The supposition that -(e)lo/a developed the diminutive function from an earlier one denoting "belonging" or "resemblance"
can be supported by the fact that a similar line of development occurs for other diminutive suffixes in cognate languages, e.g. Sanskrit, Greek, and Baltic. However, the -lo suffix itself is not commonly used in this way; rather, in many languages it is used in forming proper names. In Sanskrit, Greek, Gallic, Irish, Prussian, Serbian, and Hittite the -lo suffix is found in many proper names, but does not show a regular diminutive function. This evidence suggests a somewhat different line of development for the suffix. Zucchelli tentatively posits a development from an original function of belonging, which became commonly used in the creation of patronymics, for which there is evidence in Latin as well as in several other Indo-European languages. The suffix could then have developed a use in forming terms of endearment, and become generalized in Latin to form all types of words with both diminutive and hypocoristic functions. Zucchelli observes, however, that this theory is likewise unverifiable. It offers a clearer line of development than Brugmann's theory, but evidence to demonstrate its validity is insufficient.

The general view is that the -lo suffix had an originally non-diminutive function, probably that of "belonging," from which there developed, by some process, the diminishing and hypocoristic functions in Latin. The development may have occurred in the period of Indo-
European unity, but this too is uncertain. From the earliest period however, the Latin suffix shows a diminutive function of wide scope, so it clearly had had this potential for some time.

In the Latin language itself the suffix -(e)lo/a has a number of functions. Among the clearly non-diminutive types in -(e)lo/a are the following primary formations:

1. Deverbatives in -(e)lo/a, e.g., sella > *sedia, cf. sedeo; pendulus > *pendelas, cf. pendo.

2. Deverbatives in -ēla, e.g. candēla > candeo; the suffix -ēla was generalized for other verbs, cf. loquēla > loquor, querēla > queror.

The suffix -(e)lo/a was also productive of secondary formations, some of which are non-diminutive, and indicate the original value of the suffix: bubulus "pertaining to cattle" > bos (alternate stem *bub-), caerulus "blue, as the sky" > caelum (from a hypothetical *caelolos with regular dissimilation of the first l). The suffix -culo/a also seems to have a non-diminutive function in some words, e.g. masculus "pertaining to the male" > mas and sanguiculus "blood-pudding" > sanguis.

Other secondary formations in -(e)lo/a and -culo/a are primarily diminutive in nature, and will be treated as such. Qualification is necessary, however, for certain forms of doubtful etymology (capillus, oculus) and words which have come to be used as the standard term for an object (puella, ancilla). These and other words in the
Metamorphoses of possibly non-diminutive value are treated below. It is important to keep in mind with such words that their similarity to actual diminutive forms resulted in semantic interaction, i.e. that the broad use of -(e)lo/a and -culo/a as diminutive suffixes contributed to a generalization of this function in some non-diminutive words that possess the suffixes.\textsuperscript{11}

Hence many non-diminutive secondary formations in -(e)lo/a can participate in the diminutive value of the suffix, and we must then consider nearly all such forms in our study.

The theories proposed to explain the development of diminutive function in the suffix -(e)lo/a and its semantic cognate -culo/a suggest the variety of uses for which we use the general term diminutive. This range of functions falling under the heading "diminutive" are outlined below:\textsuperscript{12}

1. Diminutives proper
   - denoting smallness

II. Hypocoristic diminutives
   - expressing admiration, endearment
   - expressing pity or sympathy

III. Deteriorative-pejorative diminutives
   - expressing contempt, sometimes hatred
   - expressing contempt through irony
   - expressing poor quality
The first category includes all diminutives whose suffix denotes small quantity or quality in relation to the primitive. These are the diminutives proper, from which the whole class derives its name. The diminutives proper simply denote smallness, e.g., agellus > ager, "little field" and parvulus > parvus, "very or rather small." In a somewhat specialized use they diminish the size of an amount or request, an attempt on the part of the asker to downplay the burden on a potential giver, or simply a means of expressing modestly what is in fact quite sizable: one might ask for nummuli rather than nummi, just as in English a request for "a few bucks" could mean a substantial amount.

Hypocoristic diminutives illustrate the emotional or affective nuance that underlies a great many diminutives. Hence Cicero frequently calls his daughter Tulliola, with a sense of endearment. These forms are very common in love language to address or speak about one's sweetheart as in Plautus; Casina 835, where the senex Lysidamus calls Casina meum corculum, melculum, verculum. Diminutives of this nature emphasize the endearment or admiration that the speaker feels for a person or object. The hypocoristic function could be developed from that of the diminutive proper; something small, as a child, could easily be felt as dear. It is not clear, however, whether the hypocoristic developed
from the diminutive proper or vice versa; it seems most likely that the two senses developed almost simultaneously. 15

With a slightly different nuance developing from the notion of admiration, the hypocoristic diminutive is used to express pity or sympathy for an admired person or object in an unfortunate state. Catullus, though somewhat mockingly, addresses Lesbia's dead pet sparrow as miselle passer, a notable use of the pathetic hypocorism. Similarly, in erotic language generally, the downcast lover is misellus when his once blissful romance is recalled.

The emotional nuance expressed by the hypocoristic diminutive is reversed in the case of those diminutives denoting contempt. These too indicate the affective attitude of the speaker, but in a pejorative or deteriorative sense. From the idea of "small" there is an easy development to that of "weak, of no value, contemptible." 16 The diminutive suffix can make a neutral term pejorative, cf. Graeculus, Juvenal 3.78, or it can emphasize the negative quality inherent in a word as in horridulus > horridus. In other senses, a pejorative diminutive can simply be a hypocoristic diminutive used with an ironic twist, or to denote not so much contempt or hatred but the poor quality of a person or thing.

This presentation of range of diminutive values is not necessarily exhaustive, but covers the most significant
types. In any question of words which are so expressive of emotion and sentiment as the diminutives, one can distinguish fine shades of meaning that vary in different contexts. We should also be quick to add that a categorization such as we have given does not imply stringent labelling of individual diminutives. Any single diminutive may partake of several different nuances in a single context. Examples that have or will be given for certain types do not deny the possibility that another significance may be present as well.

With the general semantic possibilities of the Latin diminutive in mind, we can representatively illustrate, through specific diminutives in the Metamorphoses, the wide range of diminutive values in the work.

Some diminutives in the Metamorphoses connote small bodily size. The size of the boar which Tlepolemus and Thrasyllus hunt is emphasized by means of comparison (8.4/179,5-7):

\[
\text{nec ull a caprea nec pavens dammula nec praen ceteris feris mitior cerva, sed aper immanis...}
\]

The boar is much larger and more dangerous than a pavens dammula (damma), "frightened little doe," and the diminutive form serves as a contrasting element to stress the size and ferocity of this particular boar. The diminishing nuance reinforces the effect created by mentioning other
weak animals in the contrast: *caprea... prae certis feris mitior cerva.*

The talking ant (6.10/135,19-20) which comes to Psyche's aid on one of her tasks is a *formicula parvula* (*formica; parvus*), a "very tiny little ant."

Ironically, it is this diminutive creature and his fellows who easily separate out the pile of confused seeds for Psyche, accomplishing in a short time a seemingly laborious task. Their size is an advantage to them in this, and the two diminutives point up this feature.

Diminutives also serve to designate objects smaller than a perceived normal. Lucius comments that it is not remarkable to him that a lamp flame can prophesy, an idea which Milo has ridiculed (2.12/34,23):

> Nec mirum, licet modicum istum igniculum... memorem tamen illius maioris et caelestis ignis velut sui parentis...

The origin of the *modicum igniculum* (*ignis*), from the celestial fire which is all-knowing, gives it special properties, despite its small size.

Both Venus' five-line indictment of Psyche which is given to Mercury for public announcement and the two-line oracle of the false priests are written on small objects. In *Metamorphoses* 6.7/133,14, Venus hands Mercury a *libellus* (*liber*) from which he reads the brief description of Psyche in several towns. Similarly, the terse and variously interpreted oracle of the eunuch priests requires only a small bit of paper -- the single
In two separate examples a small portion drunk or eaten is described by diminutives. Fotis snatches a cup of wine from Lucius and daintily drinks from it seductively (2.16/38,1): 

poculum ... clementer invadit ac relictum paullulatim labellis minuens meque respiciens sorbillat dulciter.

The verb sorbillat ( > sorbeo) describes her sipping, not draining, of the cup. On the other hand, small bites are referred to in Metamorphoses 8.22/194,19-20, in describing the grotesque torture of an unfaithful slave. The man is smeared with honey and tied to a tree, then picked clean to the bone, gradually, by the numerosae et continuæ morsiunculæ ( > morsus) of ants - an exquisite torture indeed.

A space of time can also be lessened in significance by means of a diminutive. For instance, the efficacy of magic is highlighted by describing the brief time in which Medea’s sorcery came to work. In the one day allotted to her she destroyed Creon and his household (1.10/9,14-17): 

ut illa Medea unius dieculæ a Creone impetratis indutiis totam eius domum filiamque cum ipso sene flammis coronalibus deusserat.
The mere lack of time - *unius dieculae* (> *dies*) - did not thwart Medea in her plans.

These examples are characteristic of the use of diminutives in Apuleius to connote small size. This can be accomplished by adding the diminutive suffix to a noun, or by modifying a noun with a diminutive adjective. The adjectives most frequently used in this way are *parvulus*, *pauculus*, and *tantillus*, which are among the most widely used diminutive forms in all of the *Metamorphoses*.

*Parvulus*, used eighteen times in the *Metamorphoses*, can denote smallness generally, e.g. *Cupido parvulus*, "a little bit of desire" (10.2/237,15). In a majority of its uses, however, it is specialized to designate small children, either as a modifier or absolutely, in place of a substantive. The adjective appears in 8.31/202,6-7, *filio suo parvulo* and 10.28/258,23, *filiam parvulam*; it is used as a substantive referring to small children also in the following passages: 3.8/57,18 and 26, 5.12/113,9, 5.13/113,23, 8.20/192,16, 8.22/194,12, 10.28/258,23, 10.32/263,2.

The adjective *pauculus*, "just a few" is found five times in the *Metamorphoses*. In one case it modifies the diminutive noun *capellae*, hence the meaning "just a few little goats" (10.30/261,7). But in its other uses it is restricted to time expressions, modifying either
tempus or dies, and designating a short period of time or a very few days: see 6.2/130,15, 9.8/208,4, 11.29/290,5, 11.30/291,7.

Other diminutive adjectives that denote smallness are not as frequently used in the Metamorphoses. The adjective tantillus, "so little" is used three times adjectivally, appearing eight times as a substantive in the sense "trifle." In 3.6/56,18 the adjective is used: Lucius, on trial, explains his innocence by saying he is an upright citizen who has never been arraigned on the slightest charge, qui ne tantillo quidem umquam crimen postulatus. Tantillus can also serve to designate a short time, nec tamen tantillum ... spatium datum (7.27/174,26). Its substantival uses can be exemplified by 2.32/51,16: tres quidam ... ne praesentia quidem nostra tantillum conterriti, "three men, not frightened even a little by our presence." Other substantival uses are in 4.26/95,13, 5.15/115,14, 6.20/144,6, 8.5/179,24, 9.36/230,2, 9.41/235,10, 10.7/242,12, and 10.16/248,9. One should note the use of this word with ne ... quidem in two of the examples given. It is similarly used in 4.26 and 6.20, and is found after nec in negative clauses six times besides the example in 7.27: 5.15, 8.5, 9.36, 9.41, 10.7 and 10.16. Tantulus is used once (4.26/94,23); the unusual "triple" diminutive tantillulus also once in 2.25/45,19, its only attestation in Latin.21 The adjective paululus, twice found in Florida, is not in the Metamorphoses,
but the adverb formed from it, paululum "very little, somewhat" is found eleven times in the Metamorphoses.

Several examples of diminutives used to diminish an amount can be found in the Metamorphoses. These words are treated here under the category of diminutives denoting smallness although their real significance is subtly different. In Metamorphoses 7.8/160,11, Tlepolemus in disguise pays his way into the band of robbers with two thousand aurei. He describes this sizable amount as a sportula, a word used to describe the gift of a patron to his clients. Although the word is common in this specialized sense, the effect of the diminutive is to give the impression that the size of the gift is modest in Tlepolemus' eyes. A similar case occurs in 9.39 where, the gardener who owns Lucius the ass, seeing a soldier commandeering his only beast of burden, attempts to downplay the ass' usefulness. He says with some exaggeration that the ass, iners asellus, (233,18) can barely manage to haul a few handfuls of vegetables, paucos holerum maniculos (233,19) before becoming thoroughly tired. The diminutives, used as much for modesty as deceit, are intended by the gardener to lend credibility to his unfavorable description of the ass.\(^{22}\)

Hypocoristic diminutives denoting both admiration or endearment as well as pity or sympathy are well attested in the Metamorphoses. The best example of a hypocoristic
diminutive denoting admiration occurs in Book Six. The old woman has just finished relating the story of Cupid and Psyche. Lucius the ass states (6.25/147,4-6):

\[\text{sed astans ego non procul dolebam mehercules, quod pugillares et stilum non habebam, qui tam bellam fabellam praeotaretam.}\]

The use of bellam fabellam in this situation can be more clearly seen as an example of a diminutive of admiration if we compare 9.4/205,24, where fabula describes the much shorter tale of the tub. If the primitive fabula can be used in reference to a story of two pages in length, certainly the fabella in 6.25 cannot mean that the story of Cupid and Psyche, comprising more than fifty pages, is short. The diminishing sense is not felt in fabella here, rather Lucius' admiration and, perhaps, surprise at the beauty of the woman's story is emphasized.\(^\text{23}\)

Other examples of hypocoristic diminutives include herbula, used twice in scenes where the recently transformed Lucius sees the salvific rose: 3.29/73,24 and 4.2/75,11. Several diminutives denoting endearment are used in erotic dialogue, cf. mellitula (3.22/68,26), nidulum and nodulum (3.23/69, 8 and 10), pulchellum, pullulum, and palumbulis (8.26/197,16 and 25-26), and palumbulum (10.22/254.1).\(^\text{24}\)

The adjective misellus is the diminutive most frequently used by Apuleius to denote pity or sympathy, another nuance of the hypocoristic diminutive. Psyche is
so described seven times in the course of the tale of Cupid and Psyche. Aristomenes also uses misellus of the unfortunate Socrates in 1.19, and similarly distraught individuals in other stories are also called misellus. Other words possessing a note of sympathy are parvulus in 8.20/192,16 and 8.31/202,7, used of children in peril, and pauperculus in 9.31/226,24, which describes the destitute but decent gardener who buys the ass and treats him well.

Pejorative diminutives, the last category, carry emotional force when they denote disparagement stemming from contempt. In the story of Cupid and Psyche, Venus is jealous and vindictive because of Psyche's surpassing beauty, and she verbally assaults the girl frequently, using the diminutive pupula, a term of endearment, with an ironic twist in 6.16/140,16, as she derides her.

Another example of an ironic usage occurs in 9.27/223;26-27, where a cuckolded husband mocks his boy rival, calling him tam venustum tamque pulchellum puellum. These superficially flattering words have a pejorative intent in the mouth of the slighted husband. Similarly, the ass-narrator imagines the reader mocking him with the words tu, astutule asine (9.30/225,11) "you, know-it-all ass," when his powers of omniscient narration in one story seem too much for belief. Astutulus, an Apuleian word, in this context as in its other uses, (6.27/149,5 and 9.1/203,9),
has a pejorative sense which is present in the literal meaning of the primitive, but emphasized by the diminutive suffix.

Strictly pejorative diminutives are also found in passages of dialogue: Psyche's wicked sisters are termed *perfidae lupulae* by Cupid (5.11/112,5), the ass is maligned by an auctioneer as *vetulum et extritis ungulis debilem* (8.23/195,15-16), and elsewhere mockingly called an *asellus* (6.26/147,21 and 9.39/233,18). Such abuse in dialogue inflicted by means of diminutives may well reflect a tendency of the popular language.

Diminutives denoting poor or shabby quality are pejorative in fact, although they do not convey as strong an emotional quality as the words just cited. Ragged clothing is described by *palliastrum* (1.6/5,14); *centunculus* (1.6/6,7, 9.12/212,3 and 9.30/225,19), and *pannus* (9.12/212,6), poor living conditions by *cellula* (4.8/81,5 and 9.5/206,18), *casula* (9.32/227,11 and 9.35/229,14 and 15), *domuncula* (4.9/81,20) and *paupertinas pannosasque resculas* (4.12/83,19). These diminutives are not used disparagingly out of contempt, and may sometimes contain a note of sympathy. Less sympathetic perhaps are diminutives referring to the meanness of Lucius' miserly host Milo, whose dining couch is an *exiguus grabattulus* (1.22/20,17) and his dining fare *concin ratio mensula* (2.11/34,9). Yet none of these diminutives emanate from
a deep-felt sense of contempt, and hence can be distinguished from the strongly emotional pejoratives mentioned above.

It would seem clear from our analysis of individual diminutives in the *Metamorphoses* that their semantic range was vital, diverse, and subtle. The fact remains, however, that Apuleius' exuberant use of diminutives has suggested to some a weakening of their force. This assumption is based on the fundamentally sound notion that Latin diminutives gradually lost their semantic and emotive value through overuse, especially in the popular language.

It is misleading, however, to apply observations based upon popular evidence without qualification to a work of literature. The following section will examine the question of diminutive devaluation in the *Metamorphoses* in some detail.

Bernhard gives as evidence of his claim to diminutive devaluation in the *Metamorphoses* examples showing diminutive nouns being modified by 1) contrary adjectives and 2) adjectives, some of them diminutives, which themselves denote smallness. I have added to his examples several others in the following lists:

1) offulam grandiorem (1.4/3,23)
   fortes pinnulae (3.21/68,16)
   tantum incrementulum (5.12/112,21)
   non parvas summulas (10.19/251,19)
   flammulam largiorem (11.10/274,6)

2) brevis posticula (2.23/44,6)
   paupertina cenula (3.13/61,16)
   paupertinae cenulae (4.12/83,19)
brevis punctulus (5.12/112,21)
tenue membranulum (6.26/148,18)
tener puellus (7.21/170,2)
plane tenuis specula (10.29/260,7)
tantillum scrupulum (3.13/62,5)
scitulae formulae (3.15/63,18)
plumulae tenellae (5.22/120,20)
formicula parvula (6.10/135,19)
pulchellum puellum (9.27/223,26)
casulæ parvulæ (9.35/229,15)
capellæ pauculæ (10.30/261,7)

Superficially it would appear that the modification of a diminutive by a contrary or diminishing adjective indicates a loss of the essential force of the noun's suffix. But other factors must be taken into account. To understand a phrase such as offulam grandiorem, literally "a rather large little morsel," we cannot discount the factor of Apuleian jeu de mots. The same applies to the other phrases in the first list. To say that these oxymoronic combinations are indicative of diminutive devaluation overlooks the likely possibility that Apuleius, whose verbal playfulness is well known, consciously created these phrases for stylistic effect. The diminutive force is felt, and makes possible a striking word play.29

Fortes pinnulae shows a different aspect. The adjective refers not to the size of the wings, but their quality; they are "strong little wings," a perfectly legitimate notion. We must be careful to recognize such shades of distinction, which also explain the use of paupertina cenula and tener puellus.
A third factor has been well explained by Hanssen in reference to phrases wherein a diminutive noun is modified by a diminutive adjective. He says that such combinations indicate the "seeds" of devaluation, but should be considered as "emphatic diminutions" sometimes carrying emotional force. In phrases such as scitulae formulae and plumulae tenellae (with erotic overtones), the emotional aspect is clear, while in other combinations of diminutives, and in brevis posticula, tenue membranulum, etc., I would suggest that the effect of emphasis by repetition must be considered. The context in which these phrases are used often indicates that their use is meant to be intensive. I do not imply that the tendency to diminutive devaluation is thoroughly absent from the pages of the Metamorphoses. The essential point is that diminutives must be viewed as affective words different from their primitives. We must consider the force they possess, not deny it without good reasons.

Finally I must mention a small and heterogeneous group of secondary formations found the the Metamorphoses, which, despite their suffixes, cannot be considered diminutives in the fullest sense. Only in particular contexts is it legitimate to say of them that they are used with a diminutive force.
Capillus and oculus are two words in -(e)lo whose exact origins are doubtful. Moreover, both words designate common items, and are widely used in all periods and levels of the language. Since primitives for these words are not attested, it is likely that they were not felt as diminutives, although the relationship of capillus to caput in both sound and meaning may have suggested a diminutive value, albeit by way of folk etymology.

The other words to be considered do possess primitives, but for a variety of reasons they do not function as typical diminutives. Each of these is treated below:

Ancilla > Ancula

Ancilla is the popular and generally standard literary word for a female servant. It is first cited in Livius Andronicus, is very frequent in Plautus and Terence, and is regularly used by the satirists and elegists. As the feminine equivalent for servus, it all but replaces serva, which is mostly ante-classical, although frequent in Horace. Plautus uses serva only seven times, Terence never. Another synonym, famula, is preferred over ancilla primarily by the epic poets.

Its etymology is not fully clear. That ancilla is a diminutive of ancula (feminine form of anculus, which is attested in Paulus Diaconus' epitome of the grammarian Festus) is certain, but the origin of the latter word is
disputed. It is at least possible that ancilla is a double diminutive.

In Apuleius ancilla is used twelve times, all in the Metamorphoses. In some cases it seems to possess a pejorative quality, perhaps due more to the significance of the word than to its diminutive suffix. However, the suffix could certainly strengthen the pejorative force when the word is so used (cf. 5.10, 6.8, 6.9, 6.10). Famula is found but three times, and serva never.

Articulus > Artus

This diminutive can simply mean "joint" as does its primitive, but it was also specialized to refer to small limbs, and was applied primarily to fingers, while artus remained a general word for "limb." Articulus also took on two other specialized meanings not attested for its primitive, "part" or "division" and "point in time." It had different applications from the primitive, with the typical diminutive connotations distant if not absent.

In the Metamorphoses, articulus is used twice in reference to a finger (5.23/121,3), and once with meaning of "joint" (4.11/82,19). In Florida 16.26, 11 and 14, it is used twice in reference to the ankle, and in Florida 15/20,16, it refers to the fingers of the hand. Its use in Apuleius seems to be divided then between that reflecting the sense of the primitive, and the developed meaning of "finger."
**Circulus > Circus**

In this case the diminutive retained the original sense "circular figure," while the primitive came to be specialized in reference to structures where games were held. Circulus becomes then the regular term for "circle" in both literal and figurative senses while circus is primarily a concrete term. Circulus is found four times in the *Metamorphoses* and twice in *Florida*. Circus is not used by Apuleius.

**Lectulus > Lectus**

There seems to be at least a partial loss of force in the diminutive. Both words are common since Plautus, and have a very close range of meaning. In Apuleius lectulus is found fifteen times in the *Metamorphoses*, once in *Florida*, while lectus is five times in the *Metamorphoses*, once in *Apology*, and twice in *Florida*. The distinction in meaning is not always clear, and in one case both lectus and lectulus are used to describe the same bed (10.34-35; 265,12 and 23). Although the diminutive form is more frequent, the choice of it over the primitive does not seem to be significant.

**Osculum > Os**

The diminutive has taken on the specialized meaning "kiss" and is thus semantically distinct from the
primitive. It is used seven times in the *Metamorphoses*; in erotic scenes its diminutive suffix may possess some emotional force. Other words for "kiss" in the *Metamorphoses* include *savium*, used nine times, its diminutive *saviolum*, used once, and *basiolum*, also used once. The primitive *basium* is not attested in Apuleius.

**Palmula > Palma**

Both diminutive and primitive refer to the palm of the hand. Any semantic distinction to be made can only be connotative and dependent on the tenor of the passage. In Apuleius *palmula* is used eight times in the *Metamorphoses* compared to seven for *palma*, while both are found once in *Florida* and *palma* twice in *Apology*. In several cases the use of *palmula* over *palma* seems to be intended to create a rhythm in a phrase (3.1/52,10) or emotional value (2.7/30,20 and 8.9/184,5), but there are other places (11.10/274,12 and 5.20/118,12-13) where there seems to be no special force imparted by the diminutive.

**Papilla > Papula**

The primitive has a specialized sense of "pimple," while the diminutive carries the meaning "nipple" or "breast." The diminutive is a common word used since Plautus. Synonyms are *mamma* and *mamilla*. In Apuleius *papilla* is found seven times, all the *Metamorphoses*. 
Neither mamma nor mammilla is used by Apuleius; the use of papilla is not so much the use of a diminutive as it is an employment of what was the standard term for a part of the body.

Puella > Puer

Puella is by far the most regular word for "girl;" a form puera is rare, occurring sporadically in literature, but never in Apuleius.

In origin puella is a diminutive of puer with feminine termination and came to be favored as making a clear gender distinction from the masculine form. It has then taken on a new meaning distinct from its primitive, and does not retain much if any diminutive value.

The word is very frequent in Apuleius, used 62 times. The double diminutive puellula is not attested. We should note, however, the use of puella with the rare puellus in the phrase puelli puellaeque (10.29/260, 20), which may show the author's consciousness of puella as a diminutive. The form puellus, apparently a true diminutive, is found four other times in the Metamorphoses.

These words, though formally diminutive, have lost their diminutive value to some degree in the course of their semantic history and usage. At times some of them are used by Apuleius for conscious effect, in the manner of other diminutives. They are included, both because
of this and their form, in the overall number of diminutives counted in the Metamorphoses, though frequently their diminutive value is weakened or absent.

The unusually high number of diminutive forms in the Metamorphoses should not force us to assume a devaluation of their force, or to label them as excessive. The evidence presented in this chapter suggests, rather, that the diminutives in the Metamorphoses maintain their inherent semantic potential to quite a strong degree. As we study the use of diminutives for their sonic and stylistic potential, it will become clearer that Apuleius' recourse to the diminutive as one element of the Latin language was neither accidental nor without artistic intent.
NOTES TO CHAPTER III

It is generally believed that there was semantic syncretism of -lo/a and -culo/a at an early stage, see Zucchelli (1), 23, n. 1; L-H-S, v. 1, 216, also Petersen, 434. The article by Petersen proposes a semantic distinction for the two suffixes in an early period, but his evidence is scanty, see 434ff. Since -culo/a is an Italic suffix, comparative data is unavailable, and conclusions based solely on Italic evidence are open to question. Hence scholars have concentrated on the suffix -lo/a, for which comparative material does exist, in studying the origin of diminutive function.

Peterson, 65, asserts that Plautus' diminutives show every important variation of use in both substantives and adjectives. Cf. also Hanssen's study, who bases his wide-ranging list of diminutive nuances primarily on Plautus.

Zucchelli (2), published in 1969.

Zucchelli (2), 1075-1076.

Zucchelli (2), 1079-1083.

Zucchelli (2), 1095-1096.

Zucchelli (2), 1096 offers the example of Romulus. In his later study, he gives many examples of proper names in -lo attested in the Republican period, see 181-198 in Zucchelli (1).

Zucchelli (2), 1099.

This is the feeling of Petersen (2), 426ff., and Zucchelli (2), 1094 adds that this view is held by a majority of linguists.

See above, Chapter II, 20.

Zucchelli (1) outlines the use of the suffix, both primary (when attached to verb stems) and secondary. He provides a useful list of non-diminutive formations of both types, 151-198.
This schema is adapted from Petersen's article on Latin diminution of adjectives, but applies generally to both substantives and adjectives.

In calling words of this category "diminutives proper," I do not imply that such words carry the original value of the suffix, which, as we have seen, was probably not to denote relative smallness. Rather, these words reflect the literal meaning of the term "diminutive."

Deminitivum was used by grammarians such as Donatus and Macrobius, and is first found as an adjective in the phrase vox deminitiva, Tertullian Apologia 32. The Greek term hypokorismos refers specifically to endearing terms. Neither term covers the whole range of meaning for the suffixes -lo/a and -culo/a, though "hypocorism" might be a bit broader in scope than "diminutive." The change of e in Latin deminitiva to i (seen in the English equivalent) occurred in the Late Latin period.

For such uses see Hanssen, 39ff. and 215ff.

Petersen, 432f., believes that both values arose simultaneously from the use of the suffix in patronymics, see above, 38. Hanssen derives the spread of the diminutive as a popular artifice from the language of the family, wherein again both values could be felt in a father calling his son puerulus, cf. 232ff. Hakamies, 8, also feels that the hypocoristic and diminutive proper developed in parallel.

Petersen, 436, thus explains the origin of the deteriorative and pejorative diminutive. Another influence on this development was the use of the hypocoristic with ironic feeling. See below, 50.

Hanssen's study is particularly given to analyzing many finely distinguished nuances of various diminutives.

The word cartulis in this context possesses a pejorative quality as well. Another small object described by a diminutive is the statue of Mercury in Apology 63/71, 10, called a Mercuriolus.

The erotic tone of the passage may also affect the use of diminutives, although sorbillo is still specifically different in meaning from its primitive. See further, Chapter IV, 74.
For further comment on the combinations of diminutive nouns with diminutive adjectives see below, 52f.

The morphology of this rare type can be summarized as follows: tantillulus > tantillus > tantulus > tensus. Other examples are cistellus and pauxillulus from Plautus, cf. Ernout (1), 191.

The pejorative force is present in the word asellus. Other examples of the diminutive used to diminish an amount are found in the Apology with herediolum and agellus, as Apuleius tries to show that his inheritance will be insignificant. Cf. also Hanssen, 39ff. and 215ff. on this diminutive nuance.

There is also a sound play at work in tam bellam fabellam; see below, Chapter IV, 86.

On the use of diminutives in erotic scenes, see Chapter IV, 68ff.

Metamorphoses 4.34, 5.5, 5.18 (with tenella), 5.21, 6.9, 6.13, and 6.21.

Cf. 2.26, 7.4, 7.27, 8.1, 9.19, 9.22.


This principle applies to many vogue words and is still operative today. On the weakening of the diminutive see Hakamies, 49ff.; Lofstedt (2), 337, Hofmann, 140ff. This weakening led to the replacement of primitive forms by their diminutive counterparts in the popular language, a fact documented by the appearance of Romance derivatives based upon Latin diminutives: e.g. Fr. oreille, lt. orecchio, aucicula, not auris; Fr. Soleil, soliculum, not sol. For more on this, see Hakamies, 42ff., Ernout (1), 191ff.

On word play with diminutives, see Chapter IV, 85ff.

Hanssen, 123ff. and 45ff.

In other studies of diminutives in specific authors a similar grouping is made. De Labriolle, 279ff. cites pupula, gemellus, papillae, codicillii, pusillus, flagellum, palmula, sigillum, mentula from Catullus, saying that they
have already passed into the current usage of the language. Laurand, 265, excludes eculeus, formula, papilla, pupillus, tabella from his consideration of diminutives in Cicero's orations and adds that libellus and castellum seem sometimes to have lost their diminutive force.

32 See below, Chapter IV, 87.

33 Note Apuleius' awareness of the diminutive suffix, and perhaps its significance, in the phrases caput capillumque (2.8/31,14 and 32,1) and puelli puellaeque (10.29/260,20). Such words also have the same sonic potential as do regular diminutives.
CHAPTER IV

DIMINUTIVES IN APULEIAN STYLE

In studying the role of diminutives in the style of the *Metamorphoses*, we will examine first the distribution of diminutives, showing that while they are frequent and concentrated in some contexts, they are all but absent in others. This discrimination is not accidental; rather, the employment or avoidance of diminutives is in accord with other aspects of style and tone in particular passages.

We will then observe the specific effects which Apuleius achieves through the use of diminutives by analyzing passages wherein diminutives are concentrated, as well as other contexts where several or even single diminutives are used for stylistic purposes.

The diminutives in the *Metamorphoses*, although numerous overall, are not distributed evenly throughout the work. Diminutives tend to be used more frequently in some contexts and forms of discourse, while they are almost completely absent in others.

One area in which diminutives frequently occur with a high level of concentration is in description. Listed
below are passages of extended description which occur in
the narrative of Lucius or another character. Some of
them contain the highest ratio of diminutives per line of
any passages in the whole of the *Métamorphoses*:

1. **Less formal descriptions:**

   3.21 Pamphile's metamorphosis (12;6)
   3.24 Lucius' metamorphosis (13;5)
   9.12 Slaves at the mill (10;4)
   10.13 The ass eats the treats (6;4)

2. **Ekphraseis:**

   a. Erotic
      2.7 Lucius describes Fotis (6;8)
      2.8 Encomium on Hair (33;2)
      2.16-17 Love-making of Lucius and Fotis (17;7)
      5.22 Sleeping Cupid (13;4)
      10.20-22 Love-making of ass and matrona (13;4)
      10.29-32 The mime spectacle (82;20)

   b. Non-erotic
      2.4 Byrrhenna's atrium (29;2)
      2.19 Byrrhenna's meal (13;2)
      4.6 Robber's cave (18;1)
      4.31 Marine Venus (13;3)
      5.1-2 Cupid's palace (33;0)
      6.6 Aerial Venus (15;1)
      6.24 Psyche's wedding (14;1)
      11.3-4 Vision of Isis (40;3)
      11.8-13 Procession for Isis (119;13)

Diminutives are more highly concentrated in the pas-
sages of less formal description, and in ekphraseis of a
forthright erotic nature. The ekphraseis in the *Méta-
morphoses*, as rhetorically elaborate set pieces of vivid
description, are not apt to have a great many diminutives,
except when their subject matter is overtly erotic. In
the latter cases, the affective nuances diminutives
provide are useful in establishing the tone of the passage.

Next to be considered are passages of direct address, in which there is either dialogue or the recorded words of a single character:

1. Dialogue and informal address:
   1.23 Lucius and Milo (20;3)
   2.7 Lucius and Fotis (9;5)
   3.19 Lucius and Fotis (7;3)
   3.22-23 Lucius and Fotis (33;9)
   4.26-27 Charite and the old woman (39;5)
   8.26 The sham priests (4;4)
   9.39-40 Gardener and soldier (7;4)

2. Formal oratorical deliveries:
   6.2 Psyche prays to Ceres (12;1)
   6.4 Psyche prays to Juno (11;0)
   6.23 Jupiter addresses the assembled gods (8;0)
   6.28-29 Charite's prayer (26;0)
   6.31-32 Speech in robber's mock assembly (25;0)
   8.12-13 Charite's monologue and last words (25;0)
   10.33 Ass's denunciation of judges (21;1)
   11.2 The ass prays to Isis (22;0)
   11.15 Priest addresses Lucius (26;1)
   11.25 Lucius prays during initiation (23;0)

In these passages the discrimination in the use of diminutives is very clear. In dialogue and informal address diminutives are common and sometimes quite concentrated, especially in erotic language. Addresses of oratorical pretention, however, even those of some length, do not show the penchant for diminutives which is thought to be characteristic of the Metamorphoses.

Although diminutives are numerous in the Metamorphoses as a whole, we can see that they are used discriminately,
and are all but absent from passages of a serious, formal, or even mock-formal style. This distribution of diminutives supports the contention that there are stylistic variations within the *Metamorphoses*, that Apuleius adjusted his technique in certain contexts. While diminutives are avoided in some passages, they are deliberately chosen and quite abundant elsewhere, particularly in descriptions within narrative sections and in dialogue, and more especially in any passage of an erotic nature. That diminutives are consciously so used is indicated by the fact that in the diminutive-laden passages there are many such terms first or only attested in the *Metamorphoses*.

By analyzing several of the concentrations of diminutives mentioned above we can see what kinds of stylistic effects are created. I have selected a number of passages cited above which best demonstrate the effects of sound and word play, as well as showing hypocorisms and neologisms. Diminutives are particularly common in erotic scenes, and these will be examined first as a group, followed by an analysis of several other descriptive passages.

Especially noteworthy for the use of diminutives in erotic contexts are passages which depict, through description and dialogue, the relationship of Lucius and the slave girl Fotis. When Lucius first sees her, he expresses his interest in her, describing Fotis with the words
adulescentula (1.22/20,5) and ancillula (1.23/21,18). These diminutives have a hypocoristic nuance indicating Lucius' favorable initial judgment of Fotis' appearance.\(^7\) When he decides to woo her, in 2.6, she is called argutula, and said to have forma scitula (30/5-6); the diminutives are once again hypocoristic.\(^8\) Diminutives are used more explicitly to create a vivid description, filled with sonic effects and erotic overtones, in the narrative of Fotis' appearance as Lucius encounters her preparing a meal (2.7/30,18-23):

\begin{verbatim}
ipsa linea tunica mundule amicta et russea fasceola praenitente altiuscule sub ipsas papillas succinctula illud cibarium vasculum floridis palmulis rotabat in circulum et in orbis flexibus crebra succuliens et simul membra sua leniter inlubricans, lumbis sensim vibrantibus spinam mobilem quamens placide decenter undabat.
\end{verbatim}

The first half of this remarkable sentence contains eight diminutives, their proximity creating a pattern of assonance that is enhanced by other words and continued in the rest of the sentence. Included in this number is the hapax, succinctula, as clear an example of an Apuleian neologism as one might hope to find.\(^9\)

Hanssen cites the passage in his discussion of diminutives by enallage, that is, where the emphatic quality of a passage leads to the multiplication of diminutive forms. The process may lead to diminutives being used in a whole passage, as Petersen states, "because the mind is so full of the emotion that it spreads it out over the
whole passage and may add a hypocoristic suffix to any word capable of taking it. 10 The process is at work in this erotic description and helps to explain the concentration of the diminutives, their hypocoristic effect, and the reason behind the creation of succinctulus.

Following the description, Lucius addresses Fotis in words replete with double entendre (2.7/31,1-5):

"quam pulchre quamque festive... Fotis mea, ollulam istam cum natibus intorques. quam mellitum pulmentum apparas. felix et certo certius beatus cui permiseris illuc digitum intingere."

The diminutive ollulam, literally a "little pot," is in the erotic sense the focus of the sentence and Lucius' attention. This is the only use of this rare word in Apuleius, and its suffix reflects the erotic tone established by the preceding diminutives.

Fotis then replies (2.7/31,6-10):

"Tunc illa lepida alioquin et dicacula puella: 'discede,' inquit, 'miselle, quam procul a meo foculo discede. nam si te vel modice meus igniculus afflaverit, ureris intime nec ullus extinguet ardorem tuum nisi ego, quae dulce condiens et ollam et lectulum suave quatere novi.'"

She too is capable of double entendre, and the use of six diminutives shows that she fully understood Lucius' intent, and is not disinterested. Her characterization as a dicacula puella 11 is proved by her words. She employs a burning metaphor, common in erotic language, while warning Lucius, on the literal plane, to stand clear of the hearth. She expresses two senses with the diminutives focula (the
hearth fire, and her passion) and igniculus (the spark of the literal fire and of love), using the same verbal trick as in Lucius' ollulam. What began as an apparent refusal (cf. discede ... discede) ends with her acknowledgement of Lucius' advance; in the last clause she refers to her sexual competence, albeit maintaining the cooking imagery, and speaks of this with the diminutive lectulum. Ollam is used by Fotis, not ollulam, since she is speaking literally of the pot she stirs, and to contrast with the other object of the phrase expressed by lectulum. The contrast takes her reply out of the realm of double entendre, makes her intentions known, and contributes to the effect of word play contained in her final phrase.

In this passage diminutives are artfully employed in the creation of fine shades and levels of meaning, including hypocorism, ironic pejoration (cf. miselle), and proper diminutive sense (cf. igniculus). Also present, and enhanced by diminutives, are sonic patterns and word play. The overall effect is the characterization of a passage of description and informal dialogue through the morphological, semantic, and stylistic tones provided by diminutives.

Diminutives are similarly employed, though not so profusely, in later erotic scenes involving Lucius and Fotis. That night the two lovers meet in Lucius' bedroom, where Fotis is described (2.16/37,18 - 38,2):
Commodum cubueram et ecce Fotis mea, iam domina
cubitum reddita, laeta proximat rosa serta et
rosa soluta in sinu tuberante. ac me pressim
deosculato et corollis revincto ac flore persperso
adripit poculum ac desuper aqua calida injecta
porrigit bibam, idque modico prius, quam totum
exsorberem, clementer invadit ac relictum
paullulatim:labellis minuens meque respiciens
sorbillat dulciter.

Deosculato, a verb form describing the action of
kissing, is a compound formed from the diminutive osculum,
and has an intensive quality here and in its other uses
in the Metamorphoses. The diminutive corollis is used
of the garlands which Fotis brings, contributing a
hypocoristic flavor which the primitive corona would
not. In the final words Fotis daintily and seductively
sips a cup of wine, and in this description three diminu­
tives, paullulatim, labellis, and sorbillat, continue the
hypocoristic tone, as well as emphasizing the delicacy
of her actions, further enhanced by the adverbs clementer
and dulciter. Also noteworthy is the sound pattern in the
final phrase, playing on m and the similar endings of
minuens and respiciens, all bracketed by the assonance of
l- sounds in which the three diminutives participate along
with clementer, relictum, and dulciter, and by the
similar endings of the adverbs which begin and end the
phrase.

The choice of these diminutives for this context
seems deliberate. Paullulatim is only in Apuleius, and
is found also modifying minuens, 5.20/118,20-21, where
Psyche's sisters tell Psyche how to sneak up on her sleeping husband. *Labellum*, the use of which in erotic contents is attested in the love elegists, is used only here in the *Metamorphoses*. Finally *sorbillo*, used once again in 3.14/62,23 in an erotic scene, is previously attested once in Terence. The close combination of three diminutives of such limited and special use indicates a deliberate selection by Apuleius to intensify the vivid erotic character of this scene.

Several lines below Fotis disrobes (2.17/38,15 - 39,1):

Nec mora, cum omnibus illis cibariis vasculis raptim remotis laciniis cunctis suis renudata crlnibusque dissolutis ad hilarem lasciviam in speciem Veneris, quae marinos fluctus subit, pulchre reformata, paulispe
er etiam glabellum feminal rosea palmula potius obumbrans de industria quam tegens verecundia....

She is compared to an image of Venus, shading her femininity intentionally *(de industria)* and not from modesty *(verecundia)*. This picture of the paragon of female beauty and wile centers around the phrase *glabellum feminal rosea palmula*, wherein we see two diminutives highlighting this erotic physical reference. *Glabellus* is first attested in Apuleius, its hypocoristic force adding a note of affection and admiration to the word it modifies, *feminal*, which is itself Apuleian. The concealing hand, *palmula*, also with the hypocoristic suffix, closes the phrase. These four words of three-
syllables each are in interlocking order, are alliterative, and are bracketed by the two diminutives, which further suggests careful composition for effect through the use of diminutives.

Other passages in Book Three deal with the erotic relationship between Lucius and Fotis, and in these too diminutives are used for effect. Lucius kisses dry the tearful eyes of Fotis, who has just confessed her part in the trick played upon him at the Risus festival, and describes it thus (3.14/62,21-24):

*Cum isto fine sermonis oculos Fotidis meae udos ac tremulos et prona libidine marcidos iamiamque semiadopertulos adnixis et sorbillantibus saviis sitienter hauriebam.*

We noted above the rare word *sorbillo*, here used as a present participle; *semdiopertulus* is an Apuleian creation found only here. Not only do the hypocoristic diminutives function here semantically, but also sonically. *Semidopertulus* is the last and longest word in a series of words having a *los-dos* rime scheme: *oculos, udos, tremulos, marcidos, semiadopertulos*. The non-diminutive -lo- suffixes in *oculos* and *tremulos* rime with the diminutive suffix of the final word. In the second half of the sentence both diminutives contribute to the marked assonance of s-sounds. The metaphor of drinking further enhances the striking effect of this brief description.

In erotic dialogue later in this episode, diminutives lend both a semantic and sonic quality to the style.
Lucius is telling Fotis why he finds her attractive (3.19/66,16 - 67,3):

\[
\text{scio istud et plane sentio, cum semper alioquin spretorem matronalium amplexum sic tuis istis micantibus oculis et rubentibus bucculis et renidentibus crinibus et hiantibus osculis et fraglantibus papillis in servilem modum addictum atque mancipatum teneas volentem.}
\]

Lucius employs three diminutives of a clear hypocoristic function in his flattery, while all three, along with the non-diminutive oculis, are part of the alternating homoioteleuton of -ibus and -lis endings. 18

After the metamorphosis of Pamphile, Lucius desperately requests Fotis' aid, calling her mea mellitula, "my little honey-pot." The word may well have been common as an affectionate diminutive, although it is first attested here (3.22/68,26). After his request is made, Fotis expresses fear that if Lucius becomes a bird as Pamphile did, he may fly away and never return. Lucius dispels her fear by saying he will return to his nest (nidulum; 3.23/69,8), and swearing to it by the knot of hair on her head (capilli tui nodulum; 3.23/69,10). These diminutives are not only apt in the erotic sense, but also, because of their close proximity, create a clever word play which is strengthened by the addition of the diminutive suffix to both.

Two other erotic scenes are notable for the use of several diminutives, although not with the same degree of concentration as we have seen above. In the first of
these the ass is introduced to the company of debauched priests. Philebo, their leader, says (8.26/197,16-17):

puellae, servum vobis pulchellum en ecce mercata perduxì.

The priests appear, expecting from Philebo's words a handsome slave who can satisfy their homosexual desires. They are disappointed at seeing an ass instead of a man; nevertheless they advise Philebo to share with them (8.26/197, 24-26):

'heus,' aiunt, 'cave ne solus exedas tam bellum scilicet pullulum, sed nobis quoque tuis palumbulis nonnunquam inpertias.'

They too want the advantages of the ass, whom they call tam bellum pullulum, "such a pretty little chicklet."

They use palumbulus "little dove" of themselves, a word which is only attested in the Metamorphoses. Its only other use is also in erotic dialogue, where the matron who is making love to the ass says (10.22/253,23 - 254,1):

'teneo te,' inquit, 'teneo, meum palumbulum, meum passerem.'

Prior to these words of the matron the scene is set for the encounter, and several scattered diminutives provide their usual tone in the erotic context. In other scenes of an erotic nature diminutives are similarly used for their affective nuances, although, as here, not with the same degree of concentration, and with a more limited use of sound effect and word play.
A number of descriptive passages, some with erotic undertones, do deserve closer scrutiny; these are the two scenes of metamorphosis in 3.21 and 24, the description of the sleeping Cupid in 5.22, and the descriptions of slaves in 9.12, of food in 10.13, of the mime in 10.29-32 and the profession for Isis in 11.8-11.

In Book Three the metamorphosis of Pamphile into an owl and Luclus into an ass show close verbal parallels, including the use of several diminutives:

iam primum omnibus lacinii se devestit Pamphile et arcula quadam reclusa pyxides plusulas inde depromit, de quis unius operculo remoto atque indidem egesta unguedine duque palmulis suis adfricta ad imis ungibus sese totam adusque summos capillos perlinit multumque cum lucerna secreto conlocuta, membra tremulo succussu quatit. quis leniter fluctuantibus promicant molles plumulae, crescent et fortes pinnulae, duratur nasus incurvus, cognuntur ungues adunci. fit bubo Pamphile. (3.21/68,4-13).

Haec identidem adseverans summa cum trepidatione inrept cubiculum et pyxide depromit arcula. quam ego amplexus ac deosculos prius utque mihi prosperis faveret volatibus deprecatus abiectis propere lacinii totis avide manus immersi et haucito plusculo uncto corporis mei membra perfricui. iamque alternis conatibus libratis brachii in avem similem gestiebam: nec ullae plumulae nec usquam pinnulae, sed plane pili mei crassantur in setas et cutis tenella duratur in corium et in extimis palmulis perdito numero toti digiti coguntur in singulas ungulas et de spinae meae termino grandis cauda procedit. iam facies enormis et os prolixum et nares hiantes et labiae pendulae; sic et aures inmodicis horripilant auctibus. (3.24/70,3-16).

Five diminutives from the first passage are repeated in the second: arcula, plusculus, palmula, plumula, and
pinnula. Lucius, ardently curious about magic, is thoroughly transfixed by Pamphile's metamorphosis (cf. 3.22/68,18ff), and the diminutives used to describe it heighten the sense of amazement which both Lucius and the reader feel. The striking quality of the passage is further enhanced by the use of archaisms (succusus, promico) and a neologism (unguedo), as well as by the well-balanced tetracolon which contains the words plumulae and pinnulae. The diminutives in the second passage help to bring out the parallels in subject and tone. Since Lucius is trying to repeat Pamphile's performance, the verbal repetition has a comic effect, as the same transformation does not occur. Plumulae and pinnulae are particularly apt since they emphasize what Lucius expected to happen, but did not, to his misfortune. Once again the sentence in which they occur is full of sound effects, including the homoioteleuton of the phrase in singulas ungulas, the alliteration of p-sounds, assonance with ł, and the balanced phrase nec ullae plumulae, nec usquam pinnulae. Singuli and ungula, which possess the -lo- suffix, but with non-diminutive function, contribute to the effect of assonance by their proximity to the diminutives (including tenella) and other words with ł. The presence of the diminutives and the effects in which they participate serve to enliven the style of these two passages, which come at a crucial turning point in the narrative; Lucius' curiosity
for magic has caused, albeit accidentally, the asininity
with which he is afflicted until Book Eleven.

In 5.22/120,13-23, Psyche views with amazement the
body of the sleeping Cupid:

videt capitis aurei genialem caesariem ambrosia
temulentam, cervices lacteas genasque purpureas
pererrantes crinium globos decoriter impeditos,
alis antependulos, alios retropendulos, quorum
splendore nimio fulgurante iam et ipsum lumen
lucernae vacillabat; per ueros volatilis dei
pinnae roscidae micanti flore candidant et quamvis
alis quiescentibus extimae plumulae tenellae ac
delicateae tremule resultantes inquieta lascivium;
ceterum corpus glabellum atque luculentum et quale
peperisse Venerem non paeniteret.

There are only three diminutives in this vivid and
beautiful description, but they occur in a context rife
with alliteration and assonance, particularly of l-sounds,
which is established by other words, some possessing the
non-diminutive -io suffix; these include the neologisms
ante- and retropendulos and tremule. The phrase plumulae
tenellae shows the modification of a diminutive noun by
a diminutive adjective for emphasis: the feathers on the
tips of Cupid's wings are so very fine that they waver
even while he is at rest. The combination of diminutives
does not indicate loss of semantic force, but rather ex­
presses a small detail of description. Although the diminutive
glabellus "hairless," which was discussed above, effecti­
vely brings out the contrast between Cupid's downy
wings (plumulae tenellae) and his smooth body (ceterum
corpus glabellum). The expressive detail of this ecphrastic
description, enhanced by the diminutives, emphasizes the
delicate beauty of Cupid, and suggests the feeling of
Psyche as she views him. This descriptive passage sets
the stage for her passionate advance; several lines later
Psyche pricks her finger on the point of one of Cupid's
arrows, and is sent into a paroxysm of erotic desire (cf.
5.23).

In Book Nine the ass graphically describes the
pitiable appearance of the slaves at the flour mill (9.12/
212; 2-11):

dii boni, quales illic homunculi vibicibus lividis
totam cutem depicti dorsumque plagosum scissili
centunculo magis inumbrati quam obtecti, nonnulli
exigo tegili tantum modo pubem iniecri, cuncti
tamen sic tunicati, ut essent per pannulos manifesti,
frontes litterati et capillum semirasi et pedes
anulati, tum lurore deformes et fumosis tenebris
vaporosae caliginis palpebras adesi atque adeo male
luminati et in modum pugillum, qui pulvisculo perspersi
dimicant, farinulentu cinere sordid candidati.

The shabby state of appearance and dress of these wretched
men is pointed up through the use of several pejorative
diminutives that express poor quality: homunculi,
centunculus, pannulus. They are compared to boxers covered
with the dust (pulvisculum) of the arena, but what soils
them is the floury powder (farinulentu cinis) from the
mill. The use of the depreciating diminutives along with
other words of similar nature paints a vivid picture of
the men's horrid lot. That the stylization of the passage
was deliberate is seen by the use of rare words, including
tegile, pannulus, and farinulentus.
Diminutives are also involved in the description of the delicacies which the ass consumes at the home of the cook and baker, 10.13/246,15-22:

nam vespera post opiparas cenas earumque splendidissimos apparatus multas numero partes in cellulum suam mei solebant reportare domini: ille porcorum, pullorum, piscium et cuiusce modi pulmentorum largissimas reliquias, hic panes, crustula, lucunculos, hamos, lacertulos et plura scitamenta mellita. qui cum se refecturi clausa cellula balneas petissent, oblatis ego divinitus dapibus adfatim saginabar.

The scraps which the cook (ille) brought are described in a ringing phrase (porcorum ... reliquias), while those of the baker (hic) are also specifically mentioned in a phrase whose sound pattern depends on the diminutives crustulum, lucunculus, and lacertulus. All three describe types of pastry. The semantic effect of the combined diminutives is to characterize the delight which the ass takes in naming and then devouring this food; it is the first time he has an opportunity in all his travels to eat like the man he really is.

The descriptions of the mime spectacle in 10.29ff. and of the procession for Isis in 11.8ff. are noteworthy for the number of diminutives to be found in them, although they do not exhibit the degree of concentration of diminutives as do other sections we have examined. In several places, however, the description of the mime spectacle reveals a use of diminutives for sonic effect and hypocoristic coloring, as noted below:
Nam puellaeque virenti florentes aetatula, forma conspicui, veste nitidi, incessu gestuosi...

This phrase (10.29/260,20f.) characterizes the youth and attractiveness of the boys and girls in the spectacle. The combination of puelli and puellae plays on the diminutive suffix of puella. The youthful tone is reinforced by the words which follow, virenti florentes aetatula, the last of which is again a diminutive.

A few lines below this is described the stage representation of Mount Ida, where the goats of the mime are mentioned (10.30/261,7):

capellae pauculae tondebant herbulas ...

The three diminutives have both a proper and a hypocoristic sense. The quality of small size is brought out by the combination of diminutive noun and adjective, capellae pauculae, "tiny young goats," who feed on herbulas, "little herbs." The diminutives also add a connotation of tenderness to this detail of the description.

The senuousness of the mime Venus is also enhanced by diminutives, first in 10.31/262,1-4:

quam quidem laciniam curiosulus ventus satis amanter lasciviens reflabat, ut dimota pateret flos aetatulae, nunc luxurians aspirabat ut adhaerens pressule membrorum voluptatem garifice liciniaret.

Here the wind, described with the word curiosulus, a hapax, takes on a human quality, intent to press closely against the mime Venus (adhaerens pressule) and thus reveal her youthful beauty (flos aetatulae). The erotic tone is
borne out also by the phrase *amanter lasciviens*, again describing the wind as a human-like agent. In another touch of detail, the Cupids who accompany her are described (10.32/263,3-8):

\[ illos teretes et lacteos puellas diceres tu \\
Cupidines veros de caelo vel mari commodum \\
involasse; nam et pinnulis et sagittulis et \\
habitu cetero formae praeclare congruebant... \]

The young boys in the drama are *puelli*, with the same effect as we saw before in the mime, and their accoutrements correspond to their size—*pinnulis et sagittulis*—a balanced phrase that creates a pleasing sound as well as a hypocoristic nuance. *Sagittula*, was probably coined for this context; it is attested only here in Latin.

When the mime Venus performs her seductive dance in 10.32, her mobile spine and threatening eyes are brought to our attention by the diminutives *spinula* (263,15) and *pupulis* (263,18), which have both hypocoristic and erotic overtones:

\[ quibus spectatorum pectora suave mulcentibus, longe \\
suavior Venus placide commoveri cunctantique lente \\
vestigio et leniter fluctuante spinulas et sensim \\
adnutante capite coepit incedere mollique tibiarem \\
sono delicatis respondere gestibus et nunc mite \\
coniuentibus, nunc acre comminantibus gestire pupulis \\
et nonnunquam saltare solis oculis. \]

The diminutives focus on and emphasize the sensuality of her bodily gestures.

In Book Eleven the procession for Isis, described by the ass, now hopeful of salvation after hearing Isis' words, is colored in details by the use of hypocoristic
diminutives at several points. *Flosculus* is used to refer to the flowers that are strewn about the path of the procession (11.9/272,27), the music in the air is played by *fistulae tibiaeque* and creates *modulis dulcissimis* (11.9/273,8-9). The priests in 11.10 who take part carry various sacred emblems: one bears a lamp with a *flammula largior* burning (274,6), another has an *aureum vasculum* (274,14f.), while a third carries a golden fan that is heaped with *laureae ramulae* (274,16-17). The overall effect of these several diminutives is to characterize certain details of the scene; they also reveal the admiration of the narrator, who is in awe of the proceedings and fervently expects his return to humanity to occur soon, thanks to the grace of Isis, whose ritual he is describing. Overall the diminutives contribute to the frolicsome air of this springtime procession, which, despite the religious context, has a playful and lively tone that fits well with the delight that Lucius will feel after his retransformation. The presence of diminutives here in the last book suggests that the sacred subject does not prohibit the use of stylistic techniques found in Books One through Ten; moreover, the avoidance of diminutives in formal passages is observed in Book Eleven, as elsewhere, in several prayers and addresses (see above, 67).
It is clear from our analysis that diminutives in concentration are a significant feature of style in the *Metamorphoses*. Their use in close proximity displays not only the range of tone, meaning, and characterization of contexts, but also serves to create a number of sonic effects which can be further enhanced by non-diminutive words. The neologisms and rare words contained in these passages of diminutive concentration, considered along with the sheer number of such passages themselves, suggests that the diminutive was deliberately so used as a stylistic technique.

We have seen how diminutives participated in the creation of sonic effects in some of the selected passages above. Their potential in this regard cannot be fully appreciated, however, without a more general survey. Diminutives are used often and throughout the *Metamorphoses* in the creation of a variety of sound patterns. The diminutive suffixes are particularly convenient for this because they can easily be attached to primitives to give them a similar final sound. The diminutive suffix can also lengthen a word to give it a like or different number of syllables from another, and thus be used in the establishment of rhythm. Furthermore, the presence of the _ in the two most common Latin diminutive suffixes makes them a convenient means of creating assonance. All of these sonic effects can be illustrated by examining various
phrases in the Metamorphoses wherein diminutives play a role. In many of these examples there is also alliterative effect, but this fact cannot be attributed to the selection of a diminutive instead of a primitive, since both words would have the same initial sound.

I shall concentrate on rhetorical features in which diminutives participate: assonance, rhythm, homoioteleuton, and word play. Listed below are phrases not already discussed which exhibit the use of diminutives in the Metamorphoses for these sound effects:

1. Homoioteleuton

grabatulus alioquin breviculus et uno pede mutilus; 1.1 (10, 24f.)
scitulae formulae; 3.15 (63, 18)
paupertinas pannosasque resculas; 4.12 (83, 19f.)
misella ... tenella; 5.18 (117, 11)
tam bellam fabellam; 6.25 (147, 5f.)
casulae parvulae; 9.35 (229, 15)

In these phrases the use of diminutives establishes a likeness of ending of either one or two syllables. In the case of scitulae formulae and casulae parvulae the diminutives enhance the effect of homoioteleuton more so than the primitives would have. The use of resculas in 4.12 provides an -as termination not possible with the primitive that matches with the endings of the two other words preceding it. The phrase misella ... tenella used of Psyche contributes no more effect than the equivalent primitives would have had, however, misella is used six other times to describe Psyche, so tenella here
matches the sound of her epithet. A similar situation explains *grabatulus* in 1.11, which is the word always used, nine times in all, to refer to Aristomenes' shoddy bed at the inn; when it is used here its sound is echoed by the two adjectives which modify it.

2. Rhythm or balance of syllables

   pedibus ac palmulis; 3.1 (52,9)
   casula cannulis; 4.6 (79,10)
   conditis calculis; 10.8 (243,5)
   gemmulis floridis; 10.29 (260,4)

   For each of these combinations the presence of a diminutive gives the phrase a rhythm, in that both words have a like number of syllables. In the first three examples, the overall sound effect is enhanced by alliteration.

3. Word play

   caput capillumque ... caput capillo; 2.8
   (31,14 and 32,1)
   parula ... perula; 5.14 (114,17f.)
   sepiculae ... saepicule; 8.20 (192,18-20)

   A punning effect is created by the diminutives in these phrases. *Capillus* in the first example is not, etymologically, a certain diminutive, but its semantic and sonic relationship to *caput* creates the effect of an etymological word play. In all three examples we see again the added effect of alliteration.

   The following examples are similar to those above, except that two figures are operative within the phrases, and in several cases alliteration also plays a part:
4. Homoioteleuton and rhythm

nam et forma scitula et moribus ludicra et
prorsus argutula; 2.6 (30, 5f.)
puella scitula; 5.25 (122,28)
formicula illa parvula atque ruricola; 6.10
(135,19f.)
paucis casulis atque castellis aberratis;
9.4 (205,20)
o bona ancilla et satis fecunda; 9.33 (228,8f.)

5. Homioteleuton and assonance

iam misellam puellam parturibam; 7.4 (156,22)
tam bellum scilicet puellum; 8.26 (197,25)
capellae pauculae; 10.30 (261,7)

6. Rhythm and assonance

melleis modulis; 6.6 (132,25)
pulchellum puellum; 9.27 (223,26f.)

The number of phrases shows that diminutives were
used widely to participate in the creation of a variety
of sonic effects in the Metamorphoses, a fact which
strengthens the supposition that Apuleius made conscious
use of diminutives for this purpose.29

Diminutives in the Metamorphoses, whether used in-
dividually or in concentration, show a variety of
stylistic functions going beyond the mere semantic content
of their suffixes. The amount of evidence for this sug-
gests that Apuleius was aware of the stylistic potentials
inherent in diminutives. They are one of the resources
of Apuleian diction and stylistic technique. Our analysis
in this chapter has shown that diminutives are an integral
part of the verbal intensity, playfulness, and preciosity
which are so characteristic of Apuleian style throughout the *Metamorphoses*. At the same time, diminutives are employed with discretion. They are both an important stylistic device when they are present, and significant in their absence in other passages. Thus the employment of diminutives in the *Metamorphoses* reveal two things about Apuleian style: it is opulent and exuberantly playful often, but also variable in its use of techniques, which are consciously altered to suit the context.
NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1 Each citation here and in the table below is followed by two number in parenthesis; the first represents the number of lines in the passage in Helm's edition, the second gives the number of diminutives in those lines. All words of secondary formation with suffixes -lo/a and -culo/a are included, excepting etymologically doubtful forms.

2 The term ekphrasis describes all types of rhetorically elaborate description, whether or not they reflect actual works of art. See Bernhard, 280ff.

3 Bernhard, 135 and Eicke, 27, n. 1 have mentioned that diminutives are particularly common in erotic scenes. Besides those mentioned, cf. 2.9-10, 3.14, 3.19, 3.22-23, 8.26, all of which show some concentration of diminutives in dialogue or description; several of these are discussed below.

4 It is worthy of note that diminutives are also absent in the prologue of the Metamorphoses (1.1), as well as in the introduction of the longest inserted story, the Cupid and Psyche (4.28).

5 Norden, 603ff., suggested that Apuleius style varied within the Metamorphoses. Bernhard, 3f, and 255ff., argued against this, saying that the style is throughout "apulejanisch" and does not show variations in the speech of characters or in scenes of different content. In a sense Bernhard is correct; there is not a great deal of variation in the dialogue of different characters, such as we find in Petronius. However, the evidence he discusses to show stylistic similarities in passages of different content is limited to a few examples where he shows the same sort of poetic coloring. Eicke's thesis is based upon Norden's view, see Eicke, 111-111. He shows that Bernhard did not sufficiently consider style of language and word selection, and demonstrates that these vary in different passages. Although Eicke does not discuss diminutives at great length, the observations he makes
about variation in word selection in seven different passages not paralleled in the Onos are further supported by the fact which I have pointed out, that diminutives are used or avoided with stylistic discrimination in the Metamorphoses.

6 I will list below the diminutive forms first or only attested in the Metamorphoses which occur in passages having a concentration of diminutives. I think we can assume that a good number are neologisms, and this would reflect a deliberate attempt to characterize these passages:

a) Words only in A.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>altiuscule</td>
<td>2.7, 11.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curiosulus</td>
<td>10.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domuscula</td>
<td>4.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurgustiolum</td>
<td>1.23, 4.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lacertulus</td>
<td>10.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lautiusculus</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palumbulus</td>
<td>8.26, 10.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paullulatim</td>
<td>2.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pressule</td>
<td>10.21, 10.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punctulum</td>
<td>6.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rescula</td>
<td>4.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saepicule</td>
<td>9.39, 11.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sagittula</td>
<td>10.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scitule</td>
<td>10.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>succinctulus</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unctulum</td>
<td>3.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viriculae</td>
<td>11.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) Words first in A.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>glabellus</td>
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<td>grabatulus</td>
<td>2.17</td>
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<tr>
<td>lupula</td>
<td>3.22</td>
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<tr>
<td>mellitula</td>
<td>3.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pannulus</td>
<td>7.8, 9.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ranula</td>
<td>9.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuguriolem</td>
<td>4.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viaticulum</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms represent roughly 40% of the total of diminutive neologisms in the Metamorphoses, see above, Chapter II, 29ff. and Appendix.

7 Adulescentula is used only here in all of Apuleius, while ancillula, which shows a doubling of the diminutive suffix, is used here and in two other places, 1.21/19, 23 (of Fotis by the old woman who directs Lucius to Milo's house) and 2.24/45, 10 (of a slave girl in Thelyphron's story). Ancillula, although used also of Fotis by the old woman, may still have a hypocoristic nuance in Lucius' mouth. Cf. Callebat, 508, who calls adulescentula "un usage affectif imité de Plaute et Térence," and says, 372, that "une idée de jeunesse mais aussi de grâce spirituelle" is contained in ancillula.

8 Callebat, 511, points out that scitula evokes "avec mignardise le grâce physique" and is borrowed from Plautus. He cites Rudens 894: ambas forma scitula atque aetatula.
Succinctulus > succinctus > succingo. A diminutive of such specialized meaning would most likely not be part of the popular language. Although any generalization from a once-attested word must be made with reservation, given the haphazard condition of literary and popular evidence, I believe this word was strictly created for the context.

Petersen, 451. This quotation is also used by Hanssen, 212f., when he refers to enallage and gives Metamorphoses 2.7 as an example. The use of the term enallage in this sense was coined by Skutsch, 37.

Dicacula > dicax, "talkative, witty."

Callebat, 515, feels that deosculari maintains its intensive quality, which is denied by Bernhard, 121. For its other occurrences, see Appendix. Callebat sees its use as a Plautine influence, cf. Casina 136 and 453.

It is noteworthy that here Fotis is decked with roses and ready with garlands, while after Lucius' metamorphosis in Book Three she will not have the antidote of the roses needed to make Lucius a man again. Thus the corolla, now an aspect of erotic delight for Lucius, will be frustratingly inaccessible later: cf. 3.25, where Fotis says that she has not prepared corollas aliquas, as usual (71,3), and 3.27, where twice corollae is used (72,5 and 9) to refer to the garlands that the ass cannot reach to eat in the stable. When Lucius finally attains the salyific roses in Book Eleven, it is from a corona (11.12/275,19 and 11.13/275,30 and 276.1). The primitive form used in Book Eleven provides a fitting contrast to the corolla here, which is an aspect of Lucius' erotic life that he will spurn under the guidance of Isis.

Cf. Catullus: 8.18/80,1; Propertius: 2.13.29; Ovid Amores 2.5.57, 3.14.23; Pichon, 181 comments: Labra saepe a nostris poetis nominatur, qui tamen formam deminutivam labella habere potiorem videntur. Huic enim aliquid teneri et venusti inest....

Cf. Adelphoi 591, not an erotic scene, however. The word is one of the diminutive verbs proper in -illo, see Chapter 11, 26f. Callebat, 516-517, says of it: "Le mot est ici encore de caractère familier mais apparaît surtout comme une création affective de Terence reprise par Apulée."
Glabellus > glaber - "very smooth, hairless" is found here and in 5.22/120,21, modifying corpus, the naked body of Cupid which Psyche gazes upon. It is also in Florida 3/4,17, describing the naked beauty of Apollo. Feminal, "female pudendum," is read here by Helm and Robertson and is an emendation by Lipsius for the femina of the mss. The correction was based upon the use of feminal in Apology 33/29,20, where there is a similar meaning although not an explicitly erotic context. The word is not attested in any other extant author.

Cf. Ovid Amores 1.64, where semiadapertus, also a hapax, describes a half-opened door. Apuleius seems to have known Ovid's word, also used in an erotic context, changed it to opposite meaning, and added the diminutive suffix to heighten its effect in this passage. The word is an example of an Apuleian composite verb. Such verbs are a feature of Apuleius' style, as Bernhard, 120-122, discusses, suggesting the influence of Greek composite verbs on Apuleius' Latinity.

The combination hiantibus osculis is found in reverse order in 4.31/99,12, where Venus affectionately kisses her son Cupid.

The scene involving the ass and the matron (10.20-22/252.3 - 254,11) has the following diminutives: pulvillis, papillas, exosculata, pressule, basiola, unguiculis (of matron's fingernails), voculas. Similar hypocoristic diminutives in erotic contexts are the following: scitulam (1.7/7,10), aetatulam (1.12/11,13), scitulae formulae (3.15/63,18), saviolis (7.11/162,25), scitula mulier ... tener puellus (7.21/170,1-2).

Cf. van der Paardt, 160f. who notes these phenomena.

Van der Paardt, 179, notes both of these effects.

Bernhard, 137, cites this phrase as evidence of enhanced playfulness with diminutives made possible by a weakening of their force. I would reject this suggestion in this case. Callebat, 511, refers to tenellus as a diminutive of affective character borrowed from Plautus, cf. Casina 109: bellam et tenellam Casinam

See 73.

Other words of depreciating meaning which contribute to the overall effect are: vibicibus lividls, plagosum, scissili, exigu, tegili, lurore deiformes, adesi, sordide.
This is the only use of tegile in Latin. Guilemus proposed the reading tegillo, which would be a diminutive, but this is not accepted by Helm, while Robertson reads the tegili of F but says that tegillo may be correct. Pannulus is first attested in the Metamorphoses (other use in 7.5/158,8 and 7.8/160,10 also with depreciating nuance). Farinulentus, also a hapax, is notable in that it is formed from the rare diminutive farinula, found first in later Latin. The diminutive force may possibly be felt although it is disguised by the compound.

All three words are, not surprisingly, rare. Lacertulus is only attested here. Other food items in the Metamorphoses are described by means of diminutives, cf. offula (1.4/3.23), gustulum (2.10/33,8 and 9.33/228,10), gallinula (2.11/33,25), dulciola (4.27/96,11) and olusculum (8.29/200,19).

Griffiths, 59 points out that Apuleius' fondness for archaism and neologisms is evidenced as much in Book Eleven as elsewhere, along with the use of composite verbs, diminutives, abstractions, and Graecisms.

Cf. Bernhard, 219-255, where he discusses alliteration, assonance, rime, word play, repetition, oxymoron, irony, avoidance of hiatus, and rhythm in a general treatment to show the overall preponderance of them as features of Apuleian style.

Sound effects based upon diminutives and other forms in -lo/a are also found in Apologia 6/7,19f., 35/40,24-41,2, and Florida 3/4,19-20, 9/12,16 - 13,16, 12/16,23 - 17,1, 15/19,16 and 18/37,16-18.
CHAPTER V
CONCLUDING REMARKS

The diminutives in the Metamorphoses are but one aspect of Apuleian Latinity. My purpose has been to demonstrate that the use of diminutives sheds light on the broader question of linguistic and stylistic elements within the work. An examination of the morphology, semantics, and stylistic use of diminutives in the Metamorphoses leads to a number of conclusions.

The formation of diminutives in the Metamorphoses is on the whole very regular, following the established patterns for the use of diminutive suffixes. This is true not only for forms that are attested in literature prior to the Metamorphoses, but also for new words. To be sure, the numbers of diminutive neologisms and nonce-words indicates a striving for invention and freshness, but their formation is traditional with few exceptions. Thus the diminutive formations are in one sense within the standards of Latinity, and it is only in their abundance, and in the use of new formations, that Apuleius has created a striking verbal effect. The sheer number of diminutives first or only at-
tested in Apuleius leads to the supposition that many were created intentionally, a point which is strengthened by the general abundance of neologisms, diminutive and other. In this light diminutives can be viewed as an aspect of style in the Metamorphoses, not an indication of carelessness or debasement of Kunstsprache.

Diminutives in the Metamorphoses are used in a broad range of meanings. Their semantic potential in Latin, especially for the creation of affective nuances and subtle shades of meaning, was inherited and exploited by Apuleius. Once again the matter of stylistic intention is suggested. The abundance of diminutives is not necessarily a sign that their force is weakened. In many instances diminutives in the Metamorphoses add to the meaning of a word or the tone of a passage in a way that the corresponding primitive forms could not. This is especially clear when diminutives are used in concentration, particularly in erotic contexts and scenes of description. In such passages diminutives enhance the vivacity and intensity of the narrative, as they contribute their semantic and sonic potential. There too are found a good number of diminutive neologisms, which lend an air of novelty to the language.

It is important to note, however, that diminutives are used with some discrimination. Limits are observed in the use of diminutives in certain contexts where they do not
properly convey the intentions of the author. This tendency is in line with Apuleius' pride in his virtuosity. His aesthetic dictated, in keeping with the rhetorical practice of the period, a variety of styles, with techniques being managed and adjusted to display different artistic capabilities. The overall abundance of diminutives in the work gives the impression of unrestrained playfulness, but this is misleading. In fact, closer scrutiny reveals that diminutives are employed judiciously, sometimes appearing very freely, elsewhere not at all.

Another stylistic aspect in which diminutives participate is the creation of verbal music. Diminutives are used in conjunction with other non-diminutive forms for achieving patterns of sonic similarity and balance of syllables, since the diminutive suffixes themselves, easily attached to many words, possess the potential for creating or enhancing rhythm and consonance. Phrases displaying these effects can be found throughout the *Metamorphoses*, and are an aspect of Apuleius' fondness for composing "poetry in prose."

The multi-faceted usefulness of diminutives as a stylistic tool makes them a valuable resource in the rhetorical capabilities of an author such as Apuleius. We should not then find it surprising that they are so abundant in the *Metamorphoses*, given the nature of the tale and the
stylistic exuberance of its author. Apuleius chose to make use of the Latin diminutive in manifold ways and abundantly overall, though with some discrimination. Even in the more serene atmosphere of Book Eleven we find diminutives employed to contribute to the liveliness of the style, but only where appropriate, as in the colorful springtime procession for Isis. Diminutives are, then, an important element in the language and style of the Metamorphoses. In the various ways they are used, and in the fact that they are sometimes avoided, diminutives contribute to an understanding of Apuleian literary art. They enhance moreover, the qualities of Latin-ness in the Metamorphoses, turning this Greek tale, in a Greek genre and setting, into a vibrantly told Roman novel.
APPENDIX

These lists give the locations for all words in the Metamorphoses (215 distinct forms, 58 first or only attested in it), Apology (64;10), and Florida (39;6) that have a certain or possible diminutive function (cf. 5, and n. 19). Derivatives of diminutives are also listed, but not included in the above totals; these words are marked with an asterisk. All words are substantives unless otherwise noted.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF DIMINUTIVES AND DERIVATIVES OF DIMINUTIVES IN THE METAMORPHOSE

aculeus - 7.18/168,15
adulescentula - 1.22/20,5
adulescentulus - 2.13/36.1
aedicia - 3.27/72,4
aetadula - 1.12/11,13; 7.9/161,12; 10.29/260,20; 10.31/262,3; 11.15/277.8
altiuscule (adverb) - 2.7/30,19; 8.31/202,1; 11.11/275,10
ancilla - 1.26/23,22; 5.9/110,1 and 13; 5.10/111,16; 6.7/133,8; 6.8/133,20 and 134,2; 6.9/134,17 and 25; 6.10/135,11; 7.1/155,1; 9.33/228,8
ancillula - 1.21/19,23; 1.23/21,18; 1.24/45,10
anicula - 4.12/83,16; 4.24/93,9; 4.25/94,4; 6.25/147,4; 6.27/149,19; 6.30/152,17; 9.16/214,20; 9.22/219,15
ansula - 4.3/77,1; 11.4/269,7
*anulatus (adjective) - 9.12/212,7
anulus - 10.9/243,29; 10.10/244,19; 10.24/255,26 and 265,2
arbuscula - 2.4/27,19
arcula - 3.21/68,5; 3.24/70,4
argutulus (adjective) - 2.6/30,6
armillum - 6.22/145,2; 9.28/224,23
*articularis (adjective) - 5.10/110,18
articulus - 2.21/42,12; 4.11/82,19; 5.23/121,3
asellus - 6.26/147,21; 7.8/160,2; 8.29/200,27; 9.39/233,18
astutulus (adjective) - 6.27/149,5; 9.1/203,9; 9.30/225,11
aulula - 5.20/118,16
auricula - 9.36/230,8
avicula - 11.7/271,21
baccillum - 1.4/4,7
basiolum - 10.21/253,1
bellula (adverb) - 5.31/128,12; 10.16/249,3; 11.30/291,6

99
Bellus (adjective) - 4.5/77,23; 6.25/147,5; 7.23/171,10; 8.26/197,25
Blandicule (adverb) - 10.27/258,13
Breviculus (adjective) - 1.11/10,24; 6.25/147,15
Buccula - 3.19/66,18; 6.22/145,5
Calculus - 6.31/152,24; 7.9/160,16; 10.8/243,5 and 9; 10.32/263,24
Caliculus - 4.2/76,1; 9.10/210,4
Cannula - 4.6/79,10
Capella - 5.25/122,25; 8.19/191,30; 10.30/261,7; 10.34/265,2
*Capillamentum - 2.9/32,17; 3.16/64,9
*Capillatus (adjective) - 8.24/196,2
Capillitium - 2.2/26,7
Capillus - 2.8/31,14 and 32,1; 2.9/32,7 and 19; 2.10/33,5; 2.16/38,14; 2.26/47,1; 2.30/50,16; 3.6/56,11; 3.16/64,4 and 12; 3.17/64,21; 3.18/65,12 and 16; 3.21/68,8; 3.23/69,10; 6.9/134,8; 6.10/135,7; 7.6/158,26; 8.8/182,18; 9.12/212,6; 11.10/273,21; 11.30/291,18
*Capreolatim (adverb) - 11.22/284,19
Carbunculus - 7.19/169,2
Cartula - 9.8/208,7
Castellum - 7.8/160,9; 7.10/162,8; 8.15/188,23; 8.29/200,11; 8.30/201,6; 9.4/205,20; 9.10/210,14; 9.31/226,11; 9.39/233,11
Casula - 4.6/79,10; 7.20/169,22; 8.15/188,12; 8.27/198,20; 9.4/205,20; 9.32/227,11; 9.35/229,14 and 15; 9.36/230,9
Catellus - 8.15/188,16
Cellula - 4.8/81,5; 9.5/206,18; 10.13/246,17 and 21; 10.15/248,4
Centunculus - 1.6/6,7; 7.5/157,26; 7.9/160,18; 9.12/212,2; 9.30/225,19
Cenula - 2.18/39,16; 3.13/61,16; 8.29/200,15; 9.6/206,23; 9.23/220,19
*Circulator - 1.4/4,3
Circulus - 2.7/30,21; 2.13/35,20; 8.27/199,1; 11.26/288,1
Cistula - 9.40/234,18
Civitatula - 10.1/236,22
Clanculo (adverb) - 3.8/58,8; 3.16/64,5; 7.11/162,23; 9.9/209,18; 10.14/247,20
Clivulus - 4.5/78,14
Corolla - 2.16/37,20; 3.25/71,3; 3.27/72,5 and 3; 11.17/280,3
*Corollarium - 2.23/44,13; 3.20/67,16
Crustulum - 10.13/246,19
Curiusulus (adjective) - 10.31/262,1
Dammula - 8.4/179,6
*Deosculo(r) (verb) - 1.17/15,21; 1.24/22,14; 2.10/33,18; 2.16/37,20; 2.26/46,12; 2.28/48,10; 3.24/70,5; 4.11/83,3
dicacule (adverb) - 1.9/9,6; 8.25/196,22
 dicaculus (adjective) - 2.7/31,6; 3.13/61,22
diecula - 1.10/9,15; 6.16/140,20; 7.27/174,25
domuncula - 4.9/81,20
domuscula - 4.26/94,25
dulciola - 4.27/96,11

exosculo(r) - 2.13/36,2; 4.26/94,16; 7.9,160,19; 10,21,252,20;
 11,17,280,3

fabella - 6.25/147,6

farinulentus (adjective) - 9.12/212,10
 fasceola - 2.7/30,19; 8.18/191,26
 fenestrula - 9.42/235,25
 fistula - 6.24/146,24; 10.34/265,1; 11.9/273,8
 flagellum - 6.9/146,24; .9.36/230,16
 flammula - 11.10/274,6
 flosculus - 2.9/32,12; 11.9/272,27
 foculus - 2.7/31,7; 7.20/169,17
 forficula - 3.17/64,19
 formicula - 6.10/135,19
 formula - 3.15/63,18; 9.27/223,28
 forticus (adjective) - 8.24/196,6
 frustulum - 1.19/17,11
 funicus - 1.16/15,2; 6.30/152,15; 7.19/169,1; 8.22/194,11;
 8.31/202,7

fuscula - 1.11/33,25
gemnula - 10.29/260,9

glomerus - 2.17/38,19; 5.22/120,21
 gladiolus - 2.18/40,9; 3.5/56,4
 glebula - 9.35/229,22
 grabatulus - 1.11/10,18 and 24; 1.12/11,7 and 19; 1.13/12,4
  and 24; 1.16/44,18 and 19; 1.16/15,3; 1.22/20,17;
 1.26/24,3; 2.15/37,13; 2.17/39,5
 grumulus - 6.10/135,10
 gurgustiolium - 1.23/21,11; 4.10/82,10
 gustulum - 2.10/33,8; 9.33/228,10

herbula - 2.28/48,19; 3.29/69,26; 3.29/73,24; 4.2/75,11;
 10.30/261,7
 homuncio - 9.7/207,17
 homunculus - 9.12/212,2
 hortulanus - 4.3/76,7; 9.31/226,24; 9.39/232,25 and 233,7
  and 9 and 14; 9.40/234,4 and 9 and 17; 9.41/235,4 and
 12; 9.42/236,4; 10.1/236,10
 hortulus - 2.25/45,22 (Helm); 3.29/73,22; 4.1/74,19 and
 4; 9.33/227,21; 9.39/233,20; 9.40,234,10

igniculus - 2.7/31,8; 2.12/34,23
inbecillus (adjective) - 10.2/237,15
incrementulum - 5.12/112,21
infantula - 10.28/258,24
infantulus - 8.15/188,15; 8.22/194,9
iugulum - 1.13/12,13; 1.15/14,15; 1.18/8 and 21; 1.19/18,5; 5.12/113,6; 9.38/232,21
labellum - 2.16/38,1
lacertulus - 10.13/246,20
lanciola - 8.27/198,15
lapillus - 2.5/29,3
lautiusculus (adjective) - 7.9/160,17
lecticula - 9.33/228,14
lecticulus - 1.7/6,19; 2.1/24,18; 2.6/30,7; 2.7/31,10; 2.29/48,24; 2.29/49,8; 3.8/57,21; 3.9/58,21; 4.12/83,16; 5.2/104,24; 5.22/120,23; 9.21/218,14; 9.27/223,30; 10.35/265,23; add 3.13/161,14
libellus - 6.7/133,14
linteolum - 2.30/50,18
loculus - 4.16/86,28
longule (adverb) - 9.15/214,19
lucunculus - 10.13/246,20
lupula - 3.22/69,2; 5.11/112,5
macula - 9.38/232,22; 10.33/264,19; add 3.18/66,2
* maculo (verb) - 10.29/260,4; 10.34/265,13; add 9.26/222,16
maniculus - 9.39/233,19
maxilla - 10.20/252,11
mellitula (adjective) - 3.22/68,26
membranulum - 6.26/148,18
mensula - 2.11/34,9; 2.15/37,13
misella (adjective) - 1.9/9,9; 2.26/46,11; 4.34/101,17; 5.5/107,2; 5.18/117,11; 5.26/123,21; 6.9/134,19; 6.17/141,13; 6.21/144,20; 7.4/156,22; 8.1/176,22; 9.22/199,17
misellus (adjective) - 1.13/12,11; 1.19/18,10; 2.7/31,7; 7.27/175,17; 9.19/217,4; add 4.27/96,2
mitella - 7.8/159,27; 8.27/198,13
* modulatus (adjective) - 11.9/273,12; add 5.3/105,14
modulus - 6.6/132,25; 8.30/201,21; 10.31/262,11; 11.9/273,9 and 16; 11.24/286,15; add 5.15/115,5
morsiuncula - 8.22/194,20
morule - additamentum
mundule (adverb) - 2.7/30,18
rusculus - 2.25/45,22 (Robertson); 8.27/199,2
ustela - 2.25/45,18; 9.34/229,1
nidulus - 3.23/69,8
nodulus - 3.23/69,10; 9.40/233,24; 11.3/268,22; 11.11/275,12
* nummularius - 4.9/81,17; 10.9/243,30
nummulus - 1.24/22,4; 2.13/35,24; 2.14/36,21
nutricula - 6.12/137,5
offula - 1.4/3,23; 6.19/142,20 and 28 and 143,5; 6.20/143,15 and 18 and 23
ollula - 2.7/31,2
olusculum - 8.29/200,19
operula - 1.7/7,18
*osculabundus (adjective) - 11.6/270,16
osculum - 2.2/25,18; 3.19/67,1; 4.1/74,12; 4.31/99,12; 5.6/108,1; 5.23/121,17; 11.25/287,15
ovicula - 8.19/192,6
palliastrium - 1.6/5,14
palmula - 2.7/30,20; 2.17/38,19; 3.1/52,10; 3.21/68,7; 3.24/70,12; 5.20/118,13; 8.9/184,5; 11.10/274,12
palumbulus - 8.26/197,26; 10.22/254,1
pannulus - 7.5/158,8; 7.8/160,10; 9.12/212,6
papilla - 2.7/30,20; 2.17/38,19; 3.1/52,10; 3.21/68,7; 3.24/70,12; 5.20/118,13; 8.9/184,5; 11.10/274,12
parvulus (adjective and substantive) - 1.23/21,15; 3.8/57,18 and 26; 4.31/99,19; 5.12/113,9; 5.13/113,23; 5.14/114,17; 5.23/121,4; 6.10/135,20; 8.20/192,16; 8.22/194,12; 8.31/202,7; 9.35/229,15; 10.2/237,15; 10.28/258,23 and 259,5; 10.32/263,2; 11.28/289,19
pauculus (adjective) - 6.2/130,15; 9.8/208,4; 10.30/261,7; 11.29/290,5; 11.30/291,7
*paulullatim (adverb) - 2.16/38,1; 5.20/118,20
paululum (adverb) - 1.11/10,21; 1.19/18,2; 4.5/78,6; 4.22/91,11; 4.26/94,18; 7.5/157,21; 7.19/168,19; 7.24/172,11; 8.18/191,21; 9.25/222,4; 11.27/288,20; add 1.2/2,18
pauperculus (adjective) - 9.31/226,24
paupertinus (adjective) - 3.13/61,16; 4.12/83,19
pauxillius (adjective) - 10.27/258,16
perastutulus (adjective) - 9.5/206,10
perula - 5.14/114,18
pinnula - 3.21/68,11; 3.23/69,19; 3.24/70,10; 10.30/261,13; 10.32/263,5
plumula - 3.21/68,11; 3.24/70,9; 5.22/120,20
pluscula - additamentum
plusculus (adjective) - 2.17/39,14; 2.19/40,19; 3.17/64,22; 3.21/68,5; 3.24/70,7; 4.29/97,11; 7.1/154,24; 9.41/235,12; 10.2/237,1; 10.13/246,12; add 4.33/101,8
*pocillator - 6.15/139,13; 6.24/146,17; 10.17/250,5
posticula - 2.23/44,7
pressule (adverb) 4.31/99,12; 10.21/252,20; 10.31/262,3
puella - recognition of diminutive suffix in 10.29/260,20
puellus - 5.16/116,4; 7.21/170,2; 9.27/223,27; 10.29/260,20
pulchellus (adjective) - 8.26/197,16; 9.27/223,26
pullulus - 8.26/197,25
pulvillus - 10.20/252,6 and 10
pulvisculus - 9.12/212,9
punctulum - 5.12/112,21; 6.21/144,19
pupula - 3.22/68,20; 6.14/139,3; 6.16/140,16; 8.12/186,22; 10.32/263,18
pusillus (adjective) - 5.9/110,16
quaestheticus - 8.29/200,12; 11.28/290,3
quantulus (adjective) - 9.35/230,1 (2x)
ramus - 1.4/4,11; 11.10/274,17
ranula - 9.34/229,3
rescula - 4.12/83,19
retiola - 8.4/179,13
rivulus - 4.4/77,12; 4.6/79,2; 4.23/92,12; 11.11/275,11
saccus - 8.28/200,7; 9.33/227,27; 10.9/243,29; 10.10/244,19
saepicule (adverb) - 1.12/11,4; 2.3/26,16; 6.28/149,24; 8.20/192,18; 9.30/226,1; 9.39/232,27; 11.28/289,18
saepicule (adverb) - additamentum
sagittula - 10.32/263,5
sarcinula - 1.14/13,21; 1.17/16,5; 1.23/21,18; 8.21/193,6;
11.26/287,21
saviolu - 2.10/33,11; 7.11/162,25
scitule (adverb) - 2.19/40,20; 7.11/162,20; 9.1/203,9;
10.30/261,18
scitulus (adjective) - 1.7/7,10; 2.6/30,5; 3.15/63,18;
5.25/122,28; 7.21/170,1
*scrupulose (adverb) - 5.8/109,8; 10.16/249,6
*scrupulosus (adjective) - 1.26/24,8 (scrupulosissime);
3.3/54,13; 9.30/225,10; 9.42/236,2 (scrupulosius)
scrupulus - 1.11/10,10; 3.13/62,5; 6.26/148,9; 9.33/228,15;
11.27/228,6
scurrula - 10.16/249,10
semitadopertulus (adjective) - 3.14/62,22
seniculus - 1.25/23,5 and 17
sepicula - 8.20/192,18
servulus - 3.27/72,10; 4.19/88,28; 8.22/194,13; 8.26/197,20;
9.17/215,23; 9.21/219,2; 9.30/225,27; 9.35/229,10;
9.36/230,9; 9.37/231,22; 10.1/236,24; 10.4/239,22;
10.8/243,14; 10.24/255,27
*sigillatus (adjective) - 2.19/40,16
sigillum - 10.9/244,4
*sigillatim (adverb) 7.28/176,2
sorbillus (verb) 2.16/38,1; 3.14/62,23 (sorbillantibus)
specula - 3.21/67,24; 6.5/132,9; 9.38/231,27; 10.29/260,8
spiculum + 8.16/189,28
spinula - 10.32/263,15
sportula - 1.24/22,22; 1.25/23,13; 7.8/160,11
succinctulus (adjective) - 2.7/30,20
suffusculus (adjective) - 2.13/35,14
summula - 10.19/251,19; 11.28/289,20

tabernula - 7.7/159,9; 9.40/234,17
tantillus (adjective) - 2.25/45,19
tantillus (adjective and substantive) - 2.32/51,16; 3.6/56,18; 3.13/62,5; 4.26/95,13; 5.15/115,14; 6.20/144,6; 7.27/174,26; 8.5/179,24; 9.36/230,1; 9.41/235,10; 10.7/242,12; 10.16/248,20

tantulus (adjective) - 4.26/94,23
tenellus (adjective) - 3.24/70,11; 5.18/117,11; 5.22/120,20
tigillum - 1.16/14,24; 9.30/226,6
timidule (adverb) - 4.8/81,4
torulus - 7.16/166,18
tuguriolum - 4.12/83,11
turbella - 3.29/73,15; 4.20/90,4; 7.1/154,14
turbula - 10.35/266,5; 11.6/270,14; 11.7/271,16
unctulum - 3.22/68,25
unguiculus - 10.22/253,19
unguiculus - 3.24/70,13; 4.4/77,11; 6.25/147,19; 6.26/148,4; 6.30/152,6; 7.16/166,17; 7.17/167,9; 7.21/170,16; 8.23/195,16; 9.13/212,18; 9.27/223,15; 10.22/253,16; 10.29/260,6; 11.13/276,7
urnula - 6.13/138,13; 6.15/140,2; 6.16/140,9; 11.11/275,8
utriculus - 1.13/12,14
uxorcula - 9.5/206,1
vaccula - 7.25/173,6
vastulus (adjective) - 2.32/51,14
vernula - 4.24/93,13; 5.29/126,24; 11.18/280,00
vetulus (adjective) - 8.23/195,15
vexillarius - 4.10/82,2
viaticulum - 7.8/160,9
villula - 1.21/19,7; 3.29/73,22; 7.19/169,2; 10.4/239,15; 10.24/255,29
virgula - 2.4/27,19; 10.30/261,15; 11.4/269,4
viriculae - 11.28/289,12
vocula - 4.7/79,23; 5.25/122,23; 6.28/149,25; 10.22/252,22
xeniolum - 2.11/33,25

Add:

*osculor - 2.6/30,8
puellus - add 10.32/263,4
*vexillatio - 7.7/159,24
ALPHABETICAL LIST OF DIMINUTIVES AND DERIVATIVES OF DIMINUTIVES IN
THE APOLOGY

aciclescentulus - 76/85,9; 77/86,12; 98/108,23; add 66/75,4
aetatula - 2/2,10
agellus - 18/22,22; 23/27,26; 101/112,7; 101/112,12
ampliusculus - 75/84,13
anulus - 75/84,18
apriculus - 34/40,13; 39/45,3
aquariolus - 78/86,24
arula - 42/49,5
asellus - 23/27,17; 40/47,8
assula - 35/41,1
avunculus - 2/3,4

bellus (adjective) - 44/52,1

calculus - 35/40,25; 35/41,9
caliculus - 35/41,1
capillus - 4/6,8; 34/40,12; 59/67,25; 63/71,23
centunculus - 13/15,21
clanculo - 40/47,5; 86/95,20
clausula - 84/92,18
conchula - 35/40,24
corculum - 40/47,19
denticulus - 8/9,15

*emaculo (verb) - 8/9,9
*emasculator - 74/83,15

flagellum - 74/83,8
flucticulus - 35/40,22
fornacula - 74/83,7

gingivula - 6/7,20

hamulus - 32/38,16
herediolum - 101/112,4; 101/112,16

*imbecillitas - 21/25,9
labellum - 6/7,23
lapillus - 31/37,16
libellus - 2/2,1; 57/65,4; 59/67,4; 59/67,17; 60/68,20; 63/71,5; 102/113,23
ligula - 35/41,1
linteolium - 53/59,26
loculus - 61/70,3; 61/70,6; 62/70,11
macula - 3/4,8; 57/65,1; 60/69,3
*maculatio - 50/57,4
*manticulor (verb) - 55/62,17
maxilla - 59/67,23
Mercuriolus - 61/70,8; 63/71,10
muriculus - 39/46,2
mustela - 39/44,20
*osculabundus (adjective) - 94/104,8
osculum - 7/8,14
particula - 36/41,25; 40/46,22
pauculus (adjective) - 17/20,13
perula - 22/26,1
pinnula - 63/71,24
pisciculus - 29/34,6; 40/47,3; 40/47,9
puerulus - 41/47,23; 45/53,4; 74/83,5; 85/94,20; 87/97,6
pulvisculus - 6/7,19; 6/8,4; 16/19,10
pupilla - 73/81,22
pupillus - 68/76,23
quantulus (adjective) - 101/112,11
quantuliscunque (adjective) - 21/25,5
radicula - 30/36,7
resticula - 35/41,2
*restipulor (verb) - 102/112,23
scripulus - 26/31,13; 48/55,30; 65/73,13; 69/77,11; 77/86,12; 99/109,24
sigillum - 53/60,13; 61/69,7; 61/69,14; 62/70,13
*singillatim (adverb) - 61/69,12
sportula - 87/97,3
stipula - 25/29,17
sudariolum - 53/59,18; 53/60,24; 55/62,5

tabella - 61/70,7
tantulus (adjective) - 59/67,20; 66/74,16; 73/82,12; 92/102,4; 102/113,11
timidulus (adjective) - 6/7,20
veretillum - 34/40,7
*vermiculatus (adjective) - 35/41,2
versiculus - 11/13,10
vetulus (adjective) 76/85,7
vexillum - 22/26,11

Add:
*scrupulosius - 26/31,10
ALPHABETICAL LIST OF DIMINUTIVES AND
DERIVATIVES OF DIMINUTIVES IN FLORIDA

aculeus - 18/37,5
ampulla - 9/13,1; 9/13,14
anulus - 9/12,16; 9/12,17; 9/13,12
articulus - 15/20,16; 16/26,11 - 2x
austerulus (adjective) - 20/41,4
cervicula - 12/16,24
*circulo (verb) - 9/12,17
circulus - 12/17,1; 18/37,21
clanculo (adverb) - 15/21,9
clavicula - 12/17,6
coliculus - 1/1,9
cymula - 9/13,4
digitulus - 12/17,12
diutule (adverb) - 2/1,15; 12/17,12; 16/24,14; 18/36,14;
21/42,17 - 2x
formula - 15/21,19
glabellus (adjective) - 3/14,17
herediolum - 11/16,12
interulus (adjective) - 9/12,9
labellum - 15/21,1
*lacullo (verb) - 15/20,12
lapillus - 9/13,13
lectulus - 16/25,14
*lenticularis (adjective) - 9/13,2
libellus - 16/28,23
ligula - 9/13,4
longule (adverb) - 2/2,8
macula - 9/10,11
orbitulus - 9/12,17
palliastrum - 14/19,9
palmula - 12/16,24
paululus (adjective) - 15/23,10; 16/27,17
plumula - 12/16,23
pressulus (adjective) - 9/13,3
procerulus (adjective) - 15/20,18
quantulumcunque (adjective) - 17/31,3
rivulus - 9/13,5
*sellularius (adjective) - 9/13,10; 15/21,10
servulus - 16/24,16
singillatim (adverb) - 9/13,23
strigilecula - 9/13,3
subula - 9/13,16
tabella - 9/11,12; 9/11,14
tantulus (adjective) - 16/23,23
*tubulatio - 9/13,4
vispillo - 19/40,15
*vocula - 4/5,13

Add:
fistula - 17/32,8
*modulator - 4/5,14
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