THE DISTRIBUTION OF GREEK LOAN-WORDS
IN TERENCE

The aim of this paper is to discuss Terence's use of Greek loan-words and to examine their distribution by plays and by characters. How far are they used for stylistic effect and what relationship do they have to the themes of different plays? Is there any evidence for the concentration of these words, which often tend to be colloquial in tone, in the mouths of slaves and characters of low social status for the purposes of linguistic characterisation? Finally, does Terence's use of these words develop in the course of his short career? The usefulness of a previous note on this subject by J. N. Hough[1] is limited by the absence of any comprehensive list of occurrences, so that its objectivity is difficult to check. A more helpful discussion by P. Oksala[2] gives a fuller list, but concentrates mainly on a comparison with Plautine usage in the type and frequency of these words and does not discuss their distribution within the Terentian corpus.

The question of characterisation by linguistic means, particularly in the field of New Comedy, has received considerable attention in recent years.[3] The doctrine that a character's speech should be appropriate to his or her age, sex or social status, is well attested in the ancient world,[4] with reference both to the theatre[5] and to the law-courts.[6] The ancient scholia on Aristophanes,[7] as well as the fourth-century commentary on Terence that goes under the name of Donatus,[8] contain comments on the appropriateness of particular words and phrases to particular character types. Leo, commenting long ago on the distribution of Greek words in Plautus, observed that they were used predominantly by slaves and characters of low social standing,[9] a point made earlier by N. Tuchhaendler.[10] More recently M. E. Gilleland has produced detailed statistical evidence for both Plautus and Terence which tends to back up these observations.[11] Gilleland's work is the first to set the subject on a sound statistical basis. He makes the important point, seemingly obvious, but ignored by previous studies, that simple totals of Greek words (or any other feature) used by different character-types are in themselves meaningless, unless related to the length of the character's role. The present

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[1] 'Terence's Use of Greek Words', *CW* 41 (1947), 18–21.

[2] *Die griechischen Lehnwörter in den Prosaschriften Ciceros* (Helsinki, 1953), 24–35.

[3] See especially: A. G. Katsouris, *Linguistic and Stylistic Characterisation, Tragedy and Menander* (Ioannina, 1975) and M. E. Gilleland, *Linguistic Differentiation of Character Type and Sex in the Comedies of Plautus and Terence* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1979). Cf. F. H. Sandbach, 'Menander's Manipulation of Language for Dramatic Purposes', *Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique* 16 (1969), 113–43; W. G. Arnott, 'Phormio Parasitus', *G & R* n.s. 17 (1970), 32–3; R. Maltby, 'Linguistic Characterisation of Old Men in Terence', *CP* 74 (1979), 136–7.

[4] See H. Steinmann, *De Artis Poeticae Veteris Parte Quae Est Περὶ Ἠθῶν* (diss. Göttingen, 1907), 32–3; Katsouris, op. cit. 22–32; Gilleland, op. cit. Ch. 1, pp. 1 f.

[5] E.g. Plutarch, *Comp. Arist. et Menand. Compend.* 1–2, 853d–f, Hor. *AP* 112–18.

[6] E.g. Arist. *Rhetoric* 1390a24 ff.

[7] Examples quoted in Gilleland, op. cit. 5.

[8] V. Reich, 'Sprachliche Charakteristik bei Terenz, Studien zum Kommentar des Donat', *WS* 51 (1933), 72–94.

[9] *Plautinische Forschungen*[2] (Berlin, 1912), i. 106, *Gesch. der röm. Lit.* (Berlin, 1913), 140; cf. *Hermes* 18 (1883), 566.

[10] *De Vocabulis Graecis in Ling. Lat. Translatis* (diss. Berol. 1876), 70.

[11] Op. cit. Ch. 2, 84–178.

paper will follow his approach by relating total occurrences of Greek words in a character's speech to the length of his role in lines.[12] The main weakness of Gilleland's study is its failure to distinguish between different types of Greek loan-word. Words such as *lacrimo* and *guberno*, which had long been naturalised in Latin by Terence's time, are lumped together in his statistics with words such as *symbola* and *patrisso*, whose foreign flavour would still have been apparent. Although absolute precision in this area can never be guaranteed, the present paper will attempt to define more clearly which words were chosen by the poet as a deliberate source of Greek colouring.

Table 1 sets out the number of lines spoken in each play by each character-type (excluding prologues).[13] Characters have been divided into 'high' and 'low' on the basis of their social status. In the 'high' group I include only the freeborn citizens *senex*, *adulescens*, *matrona* and *virgo*; all the rest are 'low'.

Table 1. *Number of lines spoken by character-types*
in the plays of Terence

	Andr.	*Hec.*	*H.T.*	*Eun.*	*Phorm.*	*Adelph.*	*Tot*
male high							
senex	385·5	286	518·5	15·5	284	557·5	204'
adulescens	217·5	182	171·5	363	165	133·5	123:
female high							
matrona	0	75	39·5	0	36	27	17?
virgo	1	0	4·5	0	0	1	(
total high	604	543	734	378·5	485	719	346?
male low							
leno	0	0	0	0	19	60·5	79
servus	279	172	249	191·5	336	184	1411
miles	0	0	0	69	0	0	69
parasitus	0	0	0	125	162·5	0	287
female low							
meretrix	0	96·5	31	143·5	0	0	271
ancilla	62	0	0	141	0	0	203
anus	0	11·5	0	0	0	8·5	20
obstetrix	9	0	0	0	0	0	9
nutrix	0	0	1	0·5	18·5	0	20
total low	350	280	281	670·5	536	253	2370·
total lines (excl. prols.)	954	823	1015	1049	1021	972	5834

male high	3279·5	male low	1847·5	total male	5127
female high	184	female low	523	total female	707

As mentioned above, not all Greek loan-words in Terence are the result of deliberate stylistic choice by the poet. Some, for example *guberno*, had become naturalised in Latin long before Terence's time and would have lost their foreign flavour. Others, such as monetary terms of the type *mina* and *talentum*, were simply a necessary part of the play's Greek background. Similarly certain theatrical technical terms such as *comoedia* or *scaenicus*, restricted mainly to the prologues, had no Latin equivalents

[12] Gilleland gives the role lengths in words.

[13] Attribution of lines according to the Oxford text of Kauer and Lindsay. Shared lines were counted as $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ etc. depending on whether 2, 3 or 4 characters shared them. Line totals are given to the nearest $\frac{1}{2}$.

and their use was not a matter of free choice. Finally certain Greek words connected with the plot of a single play and occurring frequently in that play only, e.g. *psaltria* in the *Adelphoe*, would give a distorted picture of the play's Greek content if included in the overall totals. As the choice of words to be excluded in this way cannot avoid being somewhat subjective, it would seem best to start by giving as wide a list as possible of Terence's Greek loan-words. Next the various categories to be excluded on the grounds discussed above can be weeded out under the following headings: (1) words naturalised in Latin by Terence's time; (2) monetary terms; (3) technical terms restricted to the prologues; (4) words linked to the plot of a particular play. This will leave the way open, finally, for a more detailed analysis of those words where some deliberate Greek colouring seems to have been intended.

There are in all some 457 occurrences of 93 Greek or Greek-based loan-words in Terence, as follows (number of occurrences in brackets):[14] 1. *apage* (2), 2. *arrabo*, 3. *astu*, 4. *asymbolus*, 5. *attat* (7), 6. *balineae*, 7. *bolus*, 8. *cetarius*, 9. *cistella*, 10. *citharistria* (2), 11. *colaphus* (2), 12. *collacrimo*, 13. *comissator*, 14. *comissor*, 15. *comoedia* (5), 16. *cyathus*, 17. *debacchor* (2), 18. *dica* (4), 19. *drach(u)ma* (2), 20. *ecastor* (5), 21. *edepol* (23), 22. *elephantus*, 23. *ephebus* (2), 24. *epistula* (2), 25. *eu* (4), 26. *eug(a)e* (3), 27. *eunuchus* (21), 28. *fucus*, 29. *gonger*, 30. *gubernatrix*, 31. *guberno*, 32. *gynaeceum*, 33. *heia* (7), 34. *hercle* (101), 35. *hilarus* (5), 36. *hora* (2), 37. *hymenaeus* (2), 38. *impune* (7), 39. *lacrima* (9), 40. *lacrimo* (14), 41. *lacrimula*, 42. *lampas*, 43. *logos*, 44. *mastigia*, 45. *mecastor* (2), 46. *meherc(u)le* (2), 47. *mina* (19), 48. *moechus* (4), 49. *musicus* (4), 50. *mussito*, 51. *nauta*, 52. *nummus* (2), 53. *obolus*, 54. *opsonium* (2), 55. *opsono(r)* (3), 56. *paedagogus*, 57. *palaestra* (2), 58. *papae* (4), 59. *parasitaster*, 60. *parasitus* (9), 61. *patina* (2), 62. *patrisso*, 63. *pax* (interj.) (2), 64. *percontor* (8), 65. *perperam*, 66. *pessulus* (2), 67. *phaleratus*, 68. *philosophus* (2), 69. *phy*, 70. *plaga* (2), 71. *platea* (6), 72. *poena* (2), 73. *poeta* (15), 74. *pol* (55), 75. *pompa*, 76. *prologus* (4), 77. *propino*, 78. *psaltria* (12), 79. *pytisso*, 80. *riscus*, 81. *sandalium*, 82. *satrapes*, 83. *scaenicus* (2), 84. *scopulus*, 85. *soccus*, 86. *stomachor*, 87. *sycophanta* (3), 88. *symbola* (3), 89. *talentum* (9), 90. *techina* (2), 91. *tessera*, 92. *thensaurus*, 93. *triumpho* (3).

It is often argued that Terence was more restricted in his use of Greek loan-words than Plautus,[15] but such arguments are rarely, if ever, supported by convincing statistical evidence. The most accurate comparable figures for Plautus[16] omit words occurring in prologues (except where spoken by a character in the play) and the commonly occurring oaths *ecastor* (*mecastor*), *hercle* (*mehercle*), and *pol* (*edepol*). This leaves Plautus with some 1,861 occurrences of 446 words. If the same two categories (i.e. prologue words and above-mentioned oaths) are omitted from our Terentian

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[14] This list is substantially the same as that of Oksala op. cit. (O) and Gilleland op. cit. (G), but differs in some points of detail. 14 words, mainly interjections, are included by me but omitted from one or both of the other lists: *ecastor* (omitted by G), *edepol* (G), *eu* (O), *heia* (O, G), *hercle* (G), *mecastor* (G), *meherc(u)le* (G), *papae* (G), *pax* (O), *perperam* (O; G), *phy* (O; G), *plaga* (G), *scopulus* (G), *techina* (G). 6 words, found in one or both of the other lists, are omitted by me on the grounds that their status as Greek loan-words is dubious: *aerumna* (found in O, G), *ganeo* (O), *ganeum* (O), *gerro* (G), *leno* (O), *macellum* (O, G). On *aerumna, ganeo* and *ganeum, leno* see A. Ernout, A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Latine*, 20–1, 475 and 625 respectively. On *macellum* in the sense 'market' as a probable loan-word from Latin into Greek see L. De Meyer, *Ant. Class.* 31 (1962), 148–9. On *gerro*, A. Sonny *ALL* 10 (1898), 377–8 suggests a connection with Gk. γέρρα = αἰδοῖα and a conjectured comic figure *Γέρρων, but the exact etymology remains uncertain; cf. Ernout–Meillet 488, Walde-Hofmann, i. 596.

[15] Hough, op. cit. 19 f.; Oksala, op. cit. 24 f.; Hofman–Szantyr, *Lat. Gramm.* 2.2.2. pp. 760 f.; J. Kramer, *Studii Clasice* 18 (1979), 130.

[16] Gilleland, op. cit. 92.

figures, this leaves Terence with 233 occurrences of 83 words. Expressed in terms of occurrences per line[17] this would give Plautus 1 : 10·88, Terence 1 : 25·03. Terence then, on these figures, is clearly more cautious in his use of Greek loan-words. Nor does he anywhere use pure Greek, which occurs in all but six of Plautus's plays.[18] Furthermore, the Greek words which do occur in Terence are, with few exceptions,[19] already to be found in Plautus, and two thirds of them occur later in Cicero.[20] This comparative scarcity of Greek in Terence is perhaps one aspect of the purity of diction which he claims for himself at *H.T.* prol. 46 *in hac est pura oratio* (cf. *Phorm.* prol. 5), and which was appreciated by later critics. At Suet. *vita Ter.* 7, for example, Cicero speaks of his *lectus sermo* and Caesar refers to him as *puri sermonis amator.* The terms *purus* and *lectus* are well attested from the time of Cicero with reference to a style which avoids barbarisms and foreign loan-words. Whether we are entitled to see in this aspect of Terence's style the influence of his aristocratic patrons (cf. *Adelph.* prol. 25 and Suet. *vita Ter.* 4) remains an open question, but it is perhaps not without significance that purity of diction was one of the characteristic features of the public orations of Scipio Aemilianus and his associates.[21]

To return to Terence's overall total of 93 Greek loans-words, the time has now come to weed out, under the headings mentioned above, those which may not have been the result of deliberate stylistic choice.

1. *Words naturalised in Latin by Terence's time*

Under this heading an attempt will be made to identify those words which had been borrowed early into Latin, or had at least become well integrated in the language by Terence's time, and would no longer have retained their foreign colouring for him. In some cases we have literary evidence of early borrowing. This is true of *poena* and *triumpho.* The first of these, from Greek ποινή, is attested from the *Twelve Tables* and occurs in Terence at *H.T.* 728 (Bacchis, *meretrix*) and *Phorm.* 627 (Geta, *servus*); *triumpho,* derived ultimately from θρίαμβος, perhaps via Etruscan, is attested from the *carmen Arvale* and occurs at *H.T.* 672 (Syrus, *servus*), *Eun.* 394 (Gnatho, *parasitus*) and *Phorm.* 543 (Geta, *servus*). A second criterion for early borrowing is the presence in the loan-word of phonological modifications such as internal vocalic weakening, e.g. *balineae* < βαλανεῖον, or other initial or internal phonological changes, e.g. *lacrima* < δάκρυ. In this group I would include the following: *balineae* (βαλανεῖον) *Phorm.* 339 (Phormio, *parasitus*); *comissor* (κωμάζω) *Eun.* 442 (Gnatho, *parasitus*) together with its derivative *comissator Adelph.* 783 (Syrus, *servus*); *epistula* (ἐπιστολή) *Phorm.* 67 and 149 (Geta); *lacrima* (derived perhaps ultimately from δάκρυ, though the exact details remain unclear[22]) *And.* 126 and 558 (Simo, *senex*), *Hec.* 675 (Laches.

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[17] Total Plautine lines included in Gilleland's study I calculate to be 20,255; total Terentian lines, excluding prologues, are 5,834.   [18] Hough, op. cit. 18.

[19] Some 19 in all: *astu, asymbolus, cetarius, citharistria, comissator, collacrimo, debacchor, lacrimula, parasitaster, phaleratus, prologus, psaltria, pytisso, eunuchus, riscus, satrapes, scopulus, scaenicus, stomachor.*

[20] The non-Ciceronian words are: *apage, arrabo, astu, attat, bolus, cetarius, cistella, citharistria, colaphus, cyathus, debacchor, ecastor, mecastor, euge, hymenaeus, gonger, logus, mastigia, mussito, papae, parasitaster, patrisso, pax, pessulus, phaleratus, phy, platea, prologus, pytisso, riscus, sandalium, satrapes, sycophanta, symbola, asymbolus, techina.* The words *pol* and *edepol* occur in Cicero only in quotations.

[21] On Scipio's purity of style see A. E. Astin, *Scipio Aemilianus* (Oxford, 1967), 18 and notes 3 and 4.

[22] See A. Ernout, *Notes de Philologie latine* (Geneva and Paris, 1971), 61–3.

senex), *H.T.* 167 (Chremes, *senex*) and 306 (Syrus, *servus*), *Phorm*, 107 (Geta) and 975 (Phormio), *Adelph*. 335 (Geta, *servus*) and 536 (Syrus) together with its derivatives *lacrimo Hec.* 355 (Sostrata, *matrona*), 377, 379, 385, 405 (Pamphilus, *adulescens*), *H.T.* 84 (Chremes, *senex*), *Eun.* 659 (Phaedria, *adulescens*), 820, 829 (Thais, *meretrix*), *Phorm.* 92 (Geta), 522 (Dorio, *leno*), *Adelph*. 409 (Demea, *senex*), 472 (Hegio, *senex*), 679 (Micio, *senex*), *lacrimula Eun.* 67 (Parmeno, *servus*) and *collacrimo And.* 109 (Simo); *patina* (πατάνη) *Eun.* 816 (Sanga, *servus*), *Adelph*. 428 (Syrus); *pessulus* (πάσσαλος[23]) *H.T.* 278 (Syrus), *Eun.* 603 (Chaerea, *adulescens*); *phaleratus* (φάλαρα) *Phorm.* 500 (Dorio, *leno*); *scopulus* (σκοπέλος) *Phorm.* 689 (Antipho, *adulescens*); *soccus* (cf. σύκχοι, συγχίς) *H.T.* 124 (Menedemus, *senex*); *tessera* (from τέσσαρα, perhaps a short form of τεσσαράγωνος, although a root τέσσερα cannot be ruled out[24]) *Adelph*. 739 (Micio, *senex*). Absolute precision in determining well integrated loan-words on this criterion cannot be guaranteed and it could be that one or other of the words listed in this second group could still have been used by Terence for deliberate Greek colouring. This is more likely to be the case where the word in question occurs in close proximity with other, less ambiguous, examples of Greek colouring, e.g. Phormio's *balineae* at *Phorm.* 339 together with *asymbolus* in the same line, or Dorio's *phaleratus* at *Phorm.* 500, shortly after his use of *logos* at 493. Nevertheless, in the interests of objectivity, all words in this category displaying phonological changes will be excluded from the final list at the end of Section 4. A third group which should be treated as well integrated is that of Latin derivatives from Greek; loan-words, that is, that have been given Latin suffixes (or prefixes), e.g. *cistella* from κίστη with a Latin diminutive suffix. In this group I would include the following: *cetarius* (κῆτος) *Eun.* 257 (Gnatho, *parasitus*); *cistella* (κίστη) *Eun.* 753 (Thais, *meretrix*); *debacchor* (βακχεύω) *Adelph*. 184 (Aeschinus, *adulescens*) 185 (Sannio, *leno*); *elephantus* (ἐλέφας) *Eun.* 413 (Thraso, *miles*), *gubernatrix* (κυβερνήτης) *Eun.* 1046 (Chaerea, *adulescens*), *impune* (derived from the early *poena* < ποινή) *And.* 910 (Simo, *senex*), *Hec.* 464 (Phidippus, *senex*) *H.T.* 560 (Syrus), *Eun.* 852 (Thais), 942 (Pythias, *ancilla*), 1019 (Parmeno, *servus*), *Adelph*. 824 (Micio); *mussito* (μύζω) *Adelph*. 207 (Sannio); *parasitaster* (παράσιτος) *Adelph*. 779 (Syrus); *percontor* (κοντός)[25] *And.* 800 (Crito, *senex*), *Hec.* 77 and 104 (Parmeno), 111 (Philotis, *meretrix*), 810 (Bacchis, *meretrix*), *H.T.* 78 (Chremes), *Eun.* 294 (Chaerea), *Phorm.* 462 (Demipho, *senex*); *perperam* (probably from πέρπερος) *Phorm.* 745 (Chremes); *stomachor* (στόμαχος) *Eun.* 323 (Chaerea). As with the second group, we cannot exclude altogether the possibility that Terence could be using one or other of these words for deliberate stylistic effect. This could be true of *cetarius* in Gnatho's soliloquy at *Eun.* 257, where the word occurs in close proximity with *plaga* 244 and *philosophus* 263, of *parasitaster* and *comissator* occurring closely together in Syrus' drunken speech at *Adelph*. 779 and 783 respectively and of *debacchor* and *mussito* in Sannio's opening speech at *Adelph*. 207 and 185 in close proximity with *colaphus* at 200 and 245. Some Latin derivatives may have retained more of their Greek flavour than others, but again, in the interests of objectivity it would seem best to exclude all words of this type from the final list at the end of Section 4. This leaves a mixed bag of five words which occur commonly at all periods of Latin and were almost certainly not felt to be foreign by Terence. These are: *fucus* (derived from τὸ φῦκος with change of gender, attested from

[23] On *pessulus* see B. Friedmann, *Die ionischen und attischen Wörter im Altlatein* (Helsingfors, 1937), 59 f., 66 ff., 98 f.

[24] On *tessera* see B. Friedmann, op. cit. 59 f., 66, 117.

[25] The spelling *percunctor*, attested from Livy, by popular etymology on *cunctor*, argues for its complete latinisation, at least by the Classical period.

Plaut.)²⁶ *Eun.* 589 (Chaerea); *guberno* (an early nautical loan-word from κυβερνῶ, attested from Enn., Plaut.) *Phorm.* 576 (Chremes); *hilarus* and adv. *hilare* (derived from ἱλαρός, attested from Plaut.)²⁷ *Eun.* 731 (Pythias), *Adelph.* 287 (Ctesipho), 756 and 842 (Micio); *hora* (from ὥρα, attested from Plaut.) *Eun.* 341 (Chaerea), *Phorm.* 514 (Phaedria); *nauta* (from ναύτης, like *guberno*, an early nautical term, attested from Enn., Plaut.) *Phorm.* 576 (Chremes, *senex*).

The 77 occurrences of these words are distributed between the various character-types as shown in Table 2, while their distribution between plays is given in Table 3.

Table 2. *Distribution between the various character-types of the 77 occurrences of words naturalised in Latin by Terence's time*

high characters			low characters		
	total	frequency		total	frequency
male					
adulescens	15	(1 : 82·2)	*leno*	4	(1 : 19·9)
senex	21	(1 : 97·5)	*parasitus*	6	(1 : 47·9)
Total	36	(1 : 91·1)	*servus*	20	(1 : 70·5)
			miles	1	(1 : 69)
			Total	31	(1 : 59·6)
female					
virgo	0	(0 : 6·5)	*ancilla*	2	(1 : 101·5)
matrona	1	(1 : 177·5)	*meretrix*	7	(1 : 38·7)
Total	1	(1 : 184)	*obstetrix*	0	(0 : 9)
			anus	0	(0 : 20)
			nutrix	0	(0 : 20)
			Total	9	(1 : 58·1)
overall total	37	(1 : 93·6)	overall total	40	(1 : 59·3)

average frequency (1 : 75·8)

Two tendencies are to be noted: (1) the words are more frequent in the mouths of 'low' characters, both male and female; (2) the variety and frequency of these words increases in the last three plays (five of the *Hecyra*'s apparently high total of twelve occurrences being accounted for by the single word *lacrimo*). It remains to be seen whether these tendencies will be more clearly marked in the distribution of those words whose Greek colour is less ambiguous (see below, Table 6).

Also to be included in this category of naturalised Latin words, but differing from those above in their colloquial tone and distinctive character distribution, are a group of commonly occurring oaths, derived ultimately from the Greek Κάστωρ, Ἡρακλῆς and Πολυδεύκης. These are *ecastor* and *mecastor*, *hercle* and *meherc(u)le*, *edepol* and *pol*.²⁸ The distribution of these oaths by character is a special case as only women in

²⁶ On *fucus* and *gubernator* as early borrowings see B. Friedmann, op. cit. 86.

²⁷ The later appearance of the form *hilaris*, modelled on *tristis*, argues for its complete latinisation, at least by the Classical period.

²⁸ Hercules and the Dioscuri had been worshipped at Rome long before Plautus' time, and the latinised form of these expressions argues for early borrowing. For further discussions see F. W. Nicolson, 'The Use of Hercle (Mehercle), Edepol (Pol), Ecastor (Mecastor) by Plautus and Terence', *HSCP* 4 (1893), 99 f.; A. Ganger, *De hercle mehercule ceterisque id genus particulis priscae poesis latinae scaenicae* (diss. Greifswald, 1920); J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinische Umgangssprache* (Heidelberg, 1926), 29 f.; B. L. Ullman, 'By Castor and by Pollux', *CW* 37 (1943–4), 87 f.; E. Bickel, 'Mehercules in Frauenmund', *RhM* 93 (1950), 190 f.; Gilleland, op. cit. 179 f.

Terence swear by Castor and only men by Hercules.[29] Whereas *edepol* and *pol* are used by both sexes, women are the most frequent users of both in Terence, this preference being particularly marked in the case of *pol*. The figures are as follows: *edepol* men 13 (1 : 394·4 lines), women 10 (1 : 70·7); *pol* men 10 (1 : 512·7), women 45 (1 : 15·7). Gilleland's figures from Plautus[30] show that while *pol* is also used more frequently by women in that author (men 1 : 876 words, women 1 : 270 words), *edepol* is used more frequently by men 1 : 409 words, women 1 : 897 words). The overall distribution of these words by character in Terence is given in Table 4.

Table 3. *Distribution of the 77 words between plays of Terence*

Play	Year	words	occurrences	frequency
And.	166	4	5	1 : 190·8
Hec.	165*	4	12	1 : 68·5
H.T.	163	8	9	1 : 112·8
Eun.	161†	16	20	1 : 52·4
Phorm.	161‡	12	15	1 : 68·1
Adelph.	160	10	16	1 : 60·7

* First performance.
† Ludi Megalenses.
‡ Ludi Romani.

Table 4. *Distribution of oaths by characters*

oaths	high characters			low characters						
	men		wom.	men			women			
	sen.	adul.	matr.	serv.	para.	leno	anc.	mer.	anus	obst.
ecastor	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	3	—	1
mecastor	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
hercle	21	29	—	42	7	2	—	—	—	—
meherc(u)le	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
edepol	6	—	3	7	—	—	3	3	1	—
pol	7	2	14	1	—	—	17	13	1	—
total	34	31	19	51	8	2	20	19	3	1
frequency	1:60	1:40	1:9	1:28	1:40	1:40	1:10	1:14	1:7	1:9

total high	84	frequency	1:41*
total low	104	frequency	1:23
total male	126	frequency	1:41
total female	62	frequency	1:11

* to nearest line

As one might expect with colloquial oaths, these are more frequent in the mouths of low (1 : 23) than of high (1 : 41) characters. But more striking is the distinction between the sexes. All female characters, including *matrona*, use these oaths more frequently than any male character (overall frequency male 1 : 41, female 1 : 11). Given this distribution it is hardly surprising that those plays which have the greatest number of lines spoken by women (*Eun.* 285 lines and *Hec.* 183 lines) also have the greatest

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[29] Aul. Gell. 11.6.1 *in veteribus scriptis neque mulieres Romanae per Herculem deiurant neque viri per Castorem*; cf. Don. Ter. *And.* 486; Charis. Gramm. i.198.17 (K).
[30] Gilleland, op. cit. 184 f.

number of these oaths.[31] The remaining four plays have shorter female roles (*And.* 72, *H.T.* 76, *Phorm.* 54·5, *Adelph.* 36·5) and correspondingly fewer oaths. The figures are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. *Distribution of oaths by plays*

oaths	*And.*	*Hec.*	*H.T.*	*Eun.*	*Phorm.*	*Adelph.*	total
ecastor	1	3	0	0	1	0	5
mecastor	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
hercle	15	7	15	25	19	20	101
meherc(u)le	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
edepol	2	11	1	3	1	5	23
pol	11	15	4	14	8	3	55
total	29	38	20	44	29	28	188
frequency	1:32·8	1:21·6	1:50·7	1:23·8	1:35·2	1:34·7	1:31·1

2. *Monetary terms*

The second group to be omitted from further consideration are the Greek monetary terms *drach(u)ma* (2 occurrences), *mina* (19), *nummus* (2) – already, in any case, a naturalised Latin word –, *obolus* (1) and *talentum* (9). These are a necessary part of the plays' Greek background, and their presence in, or (in *Hec.*) absence from, a play is determined not so much by stylistic considerations as by the demands of the plot. Similarly the use of these words by particular character-types has more to do with their role in the plot than with their speech characteristics. Their distribution, for the sake of completeness, is as follows: (a) plays – *And.* 4, *Hec.* 0, *H.T.* 9, *Eun.* 3, *Phorm.* 11, *Adelph.* 6; (b) characters – *servus* 13 (1:470·5), *senex* 11 (1:186), *adulescens* 3 (1:410·8), *matrona* 2 (1:88·7), *parasitus* 2 (1:143·7), *meretrix* 1 (1:271), *miles* 1 (1:69).

3. *Technical terms in prologues*

Occurrences of Greek loan-words (excluding play titles) in Terence's prologues are for the most part restricted to technical theatrical terms (*comoedia, musicus, poeta, prologus* and *scaenicus*) and to the names of character-types (*parasitus* and *sycophanta*). The only exception to this is the use of *thensaurus* at *Eun.* 12 in an explanation of the plot of the play *Thensaurus* (mentioned at *Eun.* 10). The frequency of these terms, for which there is often no Latin equivalent, differs little from prologue to prologue (*And.* 4, *Hec.* 8, *H.T.* 7, *Eun.* 7, *Phorm.* 7, *Adelph.* 3) and as most of them do not occur again in the body of the plays,[32] they can be omitted from further discussion. A single occurrence each of *comoedia* (*Hec.* 866) and *musicus* (*Eun.* 477) and two of *sycophanta* (*And.* 815, 919) may be used for deliberate Greek colouring in their specific contexts, and they are included in the overall totals below at the end of Section 4.[33]

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[31] In the *Eunuchus* the total is increased further by the greater frequency of the male only *hercle* (*mehercle*).

[32] *poeta, prologus, scaenicus, thensaurus* occur only in the prologues.

[33] The use of the character designation parasitus at *Eun.* 228, 264, 347 and *Phorm.* 122 is unlikely to have been deliberate Greek colouring and is excluded from the list at the end of Section 4.

4. Words linked to particular plays

Finally certain Greek words connected with the plot of one single play, and occurring frequently in that play only, are omitted from further consideration as their inclusion in the final totals would disadvantage those plays which have no such 'theme word'. These are: in the *Eunuchus* 18 examples of *eunuchus*; in the *Phormio* 4 examples of *dica*; in the *Adelphoe* 12 examples of *psaltria*.[34] In all three plays the words in question are used by both high and low character-types.

The exclusion of the above four categories leaves a total of 86 occurrences of 42 Greek loan-words. The only words included in this group are simple transliterations from the Greek, with or without modification of the ending. This is the group which is most likely to have retained its foreign flavour and which Terence is most likely to have used for deliberate stylistic effect. The examples are as follows:

(1) **apage** (ἄπαγε) *Eun.* 756 (*adul.*), *Eun.* 904 (*anc.*); (2) **arrabo** (ἀρραβών) *H.T.* 603 (*serv.*); (3) **astu** (ἄστυ) *Eun.* 987 (*sen.*); (4) **asymbolus** (ἀσύμβολος) *Phorm.* 339 (*para.*); (5) **attat** (ἀτταταῖ) *And.* 125 (*sen.*), *Hec.* 449 (*adul.*), *Eun.* 228 (*serv.*), 727 (*adul.*), 756 (*adul.*), *Phorm.* 600 (*serv.*), 963 (*para.*); (6) **bolus** (βόλος) *H.T.* 673 (*serv.*); (7) **citharistria** (κιθαρίστρια) *Phorm.* 82 (*serv.*), 144 (*serv.*); (8) **colaphus** (κόλαφος) *Adelph.* 200 (*leno*), 245 (*leno*); (9) **comoedia** (κωμῳδία) (excluding prologues) *Hec.* 866 (*adul.*); (10) **cyathus** (κύαθος) *Adelph.* 591 (*serv.*); (11) **ephebus** (ἔφηβος) *And.* 51 (*sen.*), *Eun.* 824 (*anc.*); (12) **eu** (εὖ) *Eun.* 154 (*serv.*), *Phorm.* 398 (*serv.*), 478 (*adul.*), 869 (*para.*); (13) **eug(a)e** (εὖγε) *And.* 345 (*serv.*), *H.T.* 677 (*serv.*), *Adelph.* 911 (*sen.*); (14) **gonger** (γόγγρος) *Adelph.* 377 (*serv.*); (15) **gynaeceum** (γυναικεῖον) *Phorm.* 862 (*serv.*); (16) **heia** (εἶα) *Hec.* 250 (*sen.*), *H.T.* 521 (*sen.*), 1063 (*sen.*), *Eun.* 1065 (*para.*), *Phorm.* 508 (*adul.*), 628 (*serv.*), *Adelph.* 868 (*sen.*); (17) **hymenaeus** (ὑμέναιος) *Adelph.* 905 (*adul.*), 907 (*sen.*); (18) **lampas** (λαμπάς) *Adelph.* 907 (*sen.*); (19) **logos** (λόγος) *Phorm.* 493 (*leno*); (20) **mastigia** (μαστιγίας) *Adelph.* 781 (*sen.*); (21) **moechus** (μοῖχος) *And.* 316 (*serv.*), *Eun.* 957 (*anc.*), 960 (*serv.*), 992 (*serv.*); (22) **musicus** (μουσικός) (excluding prologues) *Eun.* 477 (*serv.*); (23) **opsonium** (ὀψώνιον) *And.* 360 (*serv.*), *Adelph.* 286 (*serv.*); (24) **opsono** (ὀψωνέω) *And.* 451 (*serv.*, quoting *adul.*), *Adelph.* 117 (*sen.*), 964 (*sen.*); (25) **paedagogus** (παιδαγωγός) *Phorm.* 144 (*serv.*); (26) **palaestra** (παλαίστρα) *Eun.* 477 (*serv.*), *Phorm.* 484 (*serv.*); (27) **papae** (παπαῖ) *Eun.* 229 (*serv.*), 279 (*serv.*), 317 (*serv.*), 416 (*para.*); (28) **patrisso** (*πατρίζω for πατριάζω; cf. ματρίζω) *Adelph.* 564 (*sen.*); (29) **pax** (πάξ) *H.T.* 291 (*serv.*), 717 (*serv.*); (30) **philosophus** (φιλόσοφος) *And.* 57 (*sen.*), *Eun.* 263 (*para.*); (31) **phy** (φῦ) *Adelph.* 412 (*serv.*); (32) **plaga** (πληγή cf. Dor. πλᾱγά) *Eun.* 244 (*para.*), *Phorm.* 781 (*serv.*); (33) **platea** (πλατεῖα) *And.* 796 (*sen.*), *Eun.* 344 (*adul.*), 1064 (*adul.*), *Phorm.* 215 (*serv.*), *Adelph.* 574 (*serv.*), 582 (*serv.*); (34) **pompa** (πομπή) *H.T.* 739 (*serv.*); (35) **propino** (προπίνω) *Eun.* 1087 (*para.*); (36) **pytisso** (πυτίζω) *H.T.* 457 (*sen.*); (37) **riscus** (ῥίσκος) *Eun.* 754 (*mere.*); (38) **sandalium** (σανδάλιον) *Eun.* 1028 (*para.*); (39) **satrapes** (σατράπης) *H.T.* 452 (*sen.*); (40) **sycophanta** (συκοφάντης) (excluding prologues) *And.* 815 (*sen.*), 919 (*sen.*); (41) **symbola** (συμβολή) *And.* 88 (*sen.*, quoting *serv.*), *Eun.* 540 (*adul.*), 607 (*adul.*); (42) **techina** (τέχνη) *H.T.* 471 (*sen.*), *Eun.* 718 (*anc.*).

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[34] In *Eun.* and *Phorm.* Terence uses the Latin equivalent *fidicina*, which is the only word used by Plautus. See R. H. Martin, *Terence Adelphoe* (Cambridge, 1976), 164.

Exactly half (21) the 42 words in this list are hapaxes. Of these, 14 are spoken by low characters (*arrabo, asymbolus, bolus, cyathus, gonger, gynaeceum, logos, musicus, paedagogus, phy, pompa, propino, riscus, sandalium*), 7 by high characters (*astu, comoedia, lampas, mastigia, patrisso, pytisso, satrapes*). Of the words occurring more than once 8 are spoken by low characters only (*citharistria, colaphus, moechus, opsonium, palaestra, papae, pax* and *plaga*), 3 by high characters only (*hymenaeus, sycophanta* and *symbola*) and 10 by both high and low, half the words in this mixed category being commonly occurring interjections (*apage, attat, ephebus, eu, eugae, heia, opsono, philsophus, platea* and *techina*). Table 6 analyses the distribution of their 86 occurrences between the various character-types:

Table 6. *Distribution of the 86 occurrences between various character types*

high characters			low characters		
	total	frequency		total	frequency
male					
adulescens	12	(1:102·7)	*leno*	3	(1:26·5)
senex	22	(1:93)	*parasitus*	9	(1:31·9)
total male	34	(1:96·4)	*servus*	35	(1:40·3)
			miles	0	(0:69)
			total male	47	(1:39·3)
female					
virgo	0	(0:6·5)	*ancilla*	4	(1:50·7)
matrona	0	(0:177·5)	*meretrix*	1	(1:271)
total female	0	(0:184)	*obstetrix*	0	(0:9)
			anus	0	(0:20)
			nutrix	0	(0:20)
			total female	5	(1:104·6)
overall total	34	(1:101·9)	overall total	52	(1:45·5)

average frequency (1:67·8)

What emerges clearly from these figures is the fact that Greek loan-words in Terence occur more frequently in the mouths of those characters who in real life would be more likely to use them. The tendency noted above (Table 2) for less clear-cut examples of Greek loan-words to be used more frequently by low characters becomes more marked. The most frequent users are male characters of low social status: *leno, parasitus* and *servus*. The difference in average frequency between this group and males of high social status (*senex* and *adulescens*) is notable: low 1:39·3, high 1:96·4. The least frequent users are female characters of both high and low social status. The only female character with an above average frequency is *ancilla*. The roles of *virgo, obstetrix, anus* and *nutrix* are too small for the absence of Greek loan-words from their speech to be statistically significant, but the low frequency of these words in the speech of *meretrix* (1:271) and *matrona* (no occurrences in 177·5 lines) is striking. Cicero's remarks about Crassus' mother-in-law in the *de Oratore* suggest that in real life the speech of women was more conservative than that of men,[35] and this conservatism may have led them to avoid new foreign importations. Comparable figures from Plautus suggest that the low frequency of these words in the mouth of *meretrix* is not

[35] Cic. *de orat.* 3.45: 'equidem cum audio socrum meam Laeliam – facilius enim mulieres incorruptam antiquitatem conservant... eam sic audio, ut Plautum mihi aut Naevium videar audire'.

a peculiarity of Terence and should not be connected with any presumed attempt by him to 'ennoble' her character. In both authors *meretrix* is one of the least frequent users. Gilleland's analysis of Greek words in Plautus lists the users in descending order of frequency as follows:[36] *parasitus, miles, leno, servus*, average, other male, *senex, lena, adulescens, ancilla*, other female, *meretrix, matrona, virgo*. The Plautine pattern, then, is remarkably similar to that found later in Terence. Low male characters are the most frequent users, followed by high male, low female and high female in that order. The only difference between the two is that in Terence *miles*, whose role has been cut back considerably, descends to below average frequency and *ancilla* rises from well below to somewhat above average.

The figures for the distribution of these words by plays are given in Table 7.

Table 7. *Distribution by plays*

Play	Year	words	occurrences	frequency
And.	166	10	11	1:86·7
Hec.	165*	3	3	1:274·3
H.T.	163	9	11	1:92·3
Eun.	161†	18	28	1:37·5
Phorm.	161‡	11	16	1:63·8
Adelph.	160	13	17	1:57·2

    * First performance
    † Ludi Megalenses
    ‡ Ludi Romani

These figures show some evidence of a development in Terence's use of Greek words as his career progressed. Their use is more restricted in the first three plays than in the last three. This tendency was already noted above (Table 2) in the distribution of those loan-words whose Greek colouring may have been less apparent. In fact if the lists in Tables 3 and 7 are added together the picture remains the same (*And.* wds. 14, occs. 16, frequ. 1:59·6; *Hec.* wds. 7, occs. 15, frequ. 1:54·8; *H.T.* wds. 17, occs. 20, frequ. 1:50·7; *Eun.* wds. 34, occs. 48, frequ. 1:21·8; *Phorm.* wds. 23, occs. 31, frequ. 1:32·9; *Adelph.* wds. 23, occs. 33, frequ. 1:29·4). The difference between the *Eunuchus* and the *Hecyra* is particularly striking.[37] The *Eunuchus* is the only play of Terence to attain the same frequency of Greek words as that found in Plautus' plays.[38] Clearly the plot of the *Eunuchus*, Terence's most lively and farcical play, demanded stylistic embellishments that were more characteristic of the traditional comic writing of Plautus or Caecilius. At the beginning of his career, perhaps under the influence of his aristocratic patrons, Terence appears to have set out to challenge this traditional style by adopting a purity of diction which, among other things, would avoid the excessive use of Greek loan-words. His purest play in this respect was the *Hecyra*. As his career progressed, he may have moved towards a more traditional style, though still without approaching the verbal exuberance of Plautus, except perhaps in parts of the *Eunuchus*. It is notable that the use of Greek words to characterise the

[36] Op. cit. 158.

[37] The language of the *Hecyra* generally tends to be 'purer' than that of any other Terentian play, while the language of the *Eunuchus* tends to be the most 'Plautine'. Adding up the non-Classical forms in Terence cited by P. Tscherjaew, *Terentiana* (Kasan, 1900), 98–104 gives the following totals (as a rough indication): *And.* 112, *Hec.* 89, *H.T.* 157, *Eun.* 204, *Phorm.* 137, *Adelph.* 171.

[38] This varied between 1:37 and 1:15 lines. See Hough, op. cit. 18.

language of slaves and men of low social status is not a characteristic of the first two
plays. It makes its appearance for the first time in the language of Syrus in the *H.T.*
and thereafter becomes an established feature. The distribution of words to character-
types by plays is a follows:

Andria: *senex* 7 (1 : 55·1), *servus* 4 (1 : 69·7), others 0.
Hecyra: *adulescens* 2 (1 : 91), *senex* 1 (1 : 286), others 0.
H.T.:   *servus* 6 (1 : 41·5), *senex* 5 (1 : 103·7), others 0.
Eunuchus: *senex* 1 (1 : 15·5), *adulescens* 7 (1 : 51·8), *servus* 9 (1 : 21·2), *parasitus* 6 (1 : 20·8), *ancilla*
               4 (1 : 35·2), *meretrix* 1 (1 : 143·5), others 0.
Phormio: *servus* 11 (1 : 30·5), *parasitus* 3 (1 : 54·2), *adulescens* 2 (1 : 82·5), others 0.
Adelphoe: *servus* 6 (1 : 30·6), *leno* 2 (1 : 30·2), *adulescens* 1 (1 : 133·5), *senex* 8 (1 : 69·7),
               others 0.

It remains to look briefly at the function and distribution of the Greek loan-words
listed above within the context of individual plays. In the *Andria* 4 of the 11
occurrences are concentrated in Simo's opening speech (51 *ephebus*, 57 *philosophus*,
88 *symbola*, 125 *attat*). The intention here may be to reinforce the Greek setting of
the play. The same is probably true of *platea* in Crito's opening words at 796. Only
four of the words are spoken by slaves, 316 *moechus* (Byrria), 345 *eugae* (Davos), 360
opsonium (Davos), 451 *opsonor* (Davos – quoting Pamphilus), and of these only
Davos' *eugae* is particularly colloquial in tone. This leaves two examples of *sycophanta*:
the first in Crito's phrase at 814–15 *clamitent/me sycophantam*, which is proved true
by Simo's indignant outburst *sycophanta!* at 919.

The *Hecyra*'s grand total of 3 words is made up of the technical word *comoedia*
at 866 (Pamphilus), for which there is no Latin equivalent, and two relatively refined
interjections. These are Phidippus' *heia* (250) reinforced by *vero*, expressing amused
doubt (cf. Cic. *Rep.* 3.5), and Pamphilus' *attat* (449), reinforced by *ecce*, expressing
surprise. It is notable that slaves in the *Hecyra* are given no Greek words at all.

The *H.T.*, as mentioned above, is the first play in which colloquial Greek loan-words
are used to characterise the language of a slave. Of 11 occurrences in this play 6 are
spoken by the slave Syrus. The interjection *pax*, apparently colloquial in tone,[39] is used
twice by Syrus in the *H.T.* at 291 and 717, but occurs nowhere else in Terence. Two
more colloquial words, *bolus* (637) and *euge* (677), are spoken by Syrus in close
proximity in a slave monologue (668–78) reminiscent of Plautus. Syrus' two other
Greek words are *arrabo* (603) and *pompa* (739). All 5 remaining Greek words are
spoken by the old man Chremes: in close proximity *satrapes* (452), *pytisso* (471) and
techina (471), followed by two examples of the interjection *heia* at 521 and 1063. In
this respect his language is characterised as being more colloquial than that of the staid
Menedemus, whose only possible example is *soccus* (see above, Section 1, not included
in the totals of the lists in Tables 3 and 7) in the opening scene of the play at 124.
This word may perhaps have been intended to establish the play's Greek setting
(cf. comments above on Simo's opening scene in the *Andria*).

The *Eunuchus* is the richest play in Greek loan-words, 10 of which occur only in
this play in Terence.[40] It is also a play in which Terence shows much skill in the
concentration of these words for effect in particular passages and in the use he makes
of them for the purposes of linguistic characterisation. Only 8 of the 28 occurrences
are spoken by high characters, and none of these is strikingly colloquial.[41] Only two

[39] Cf. Petron. 66.7 and see Hofmann, op. cit. 24.

[40] These are: from the list at the end of Section 4 *astu, papae, propino, riscus, sandalium* and
from the list in Section 1 *cetarius, cistella, comissor, elephantus, stomachor*.

[41] Chaerea 344 *platea;* Antipho 540 and 607 *symbola;* Chremes 727 and 756 *attat,* 756 *apage;*
senex 987 *astu;* Phaedria 1064 *platea*.

of these occur in close proximity: Chremes' interjections *attat* and *apage* at 756, which themselves occur only shortly after Thais' *riscus* at 754. By contrast the language of the parasite Gnatho and the slave Parmeno is enriched by numerous Greek borrowings (6 and 9 respectively), often colloquial in tone, and often concentrated in single passages. Gnatho's soliloquy 232–64 contains two such words in the space of 20 lines: *plaga* 244 and *philosophus* 263 (on *cetarius* at 257 see above, Section 1). The parasite uses a number of Greek words which occur only in this play: *papae* 416, *sandalium* 1028 and *propino* 1087. Finally his use of *heia* at 1065 comes shortly after Phaedria's *platea* at 1064. Parmeno is characterised by his love of Greek interjections: *eu* 154, *attat* 228 closely followed in 229 by *papae*, a favourite word of his occurring again at 279 and 317. At 477 he uses *palaestra* and *musicus* in close proximity. Finally his two uses of *moechus* at 960 and 992 pick up Pythias' earlier use of the word at 957. The Greek content of the other low characters' speech, while more marked than that of the high characters, is less concentrated than that of Gnatho and Parmeno. Thais' use of *riscus* at 754 has already been mentioned. Finally Pythias has four occurrences spread evenly through her speech: 718 *techina*, 824 *ephebus*, 904 *apage*, 957 *moechus*.

The tendency for Greek to be concentrated in the speech of low characters is taken even further in the *Phormio*. Only 2 of the 16 occurrences are spoken by a high character. These are the interjections *eu* and *heia* spoken by Antipho at 478 and 508. The most frequent user is the slave Geta, who accounts for half the occurrences. The terms which remind the audience of the play's Greek setting (*citharistria*, *platea*, *palaestra*, *gynaeceum*) all occur in Geta's speech. Greek nouns and interjections form a normal part of his language and are not concentrated in specific passages: *citharistria* 82, *platea* 215, *eu* 398, *palaestra* 484, *attat* 600, *heia* 628, *plaga* 781, *gynaeceum* 862. By contrast the Greek used by other low characters does tend to be concentrated for effect at particular points: so Davos at 144 *paedagogus* and *citharistria*; Phormio's *asymbolus* at 339 occurs together with *balineae* (not included in the play's final total; see above, Section 1); Dorio's *logos* 493 is followed closely by his use of *phaleratus* (again, not included in the total; see above, Section 1). The only exceptions to this are Phormio's interjections *eu* 869 and *attat* 963.

The majority of Greek words in the *Adelphoe* occur in the speech of the slave Syrus, but they are also used to great effect to characterise the language of the 'changed' Demea at the end of the play. To deal first with the low characters, some of Syrus' words are connected with his occupation: *opsonium* 286, *gonger* 377. His use of the interjection *phy* at 412 in an ironic expression of admiration is the only occurrence of this word in Terence. A number of his Greek words are concentrated for effect at the end of a humorous scene in which he misdirects the old man Demea: *platea* 574 and 582, *cyathus* 591. The words *parasitaster*, a unique disparaging diminutive from *parasitus*, and *comissator* used together in a drunken speech by Syrus at 779 and 783 respectively are not included in the play's total (see above, Section 1). Sannio, the slave dealer, in his short appearance at the beginning of the play uses Greek words on four occasions: *colaphus* at 200 and 245, and, not included in the play's total, *mussito* 207 and *debacchor* 185 (see above, Section 1). Aeschinus' only Greek word is *hymenaeus* 905, used in the wedding preparations at the end of the play and followed closely by Demea's *hymenaeus*, *lampas* and *euge*. The old man Micio uses only one Greek word, the not particularly striking *opsono* at 117. Demea, before his 'change of heart' speech at 855 f., is similarly sparing in his use of Greek, though the two words he does use are admittedly more colloquial than his brother's *opsono*. These are *patrisso* 564 and *mastigia* 781. From 868 onwards, however, a more jovial Demea uses no fewer than

five: *heia* 868, then in close proximity in the scene already mentioned *hymenaeus* 907, *lampas* 907, *euge* 911 and finally *opsono* 964.

To return to the questions posed at the outset of the paper, the findings of this survey may be summarised as follows. Greek loan-words in general are less frequent in Terence than they had been in Plautus, a reflexion, perhaps, of the stylistic influence of Terence's aristocratic supporters. A distinction can be made, in most cases, between those Greek words that had become naturalised in Latin or were an unavoidable part of the play's Greek background and those whose use was the result of deliberate stylistic choice. Words in the second category became more frequent in the last three plays and from the *H.T.* on were used to characterise the language of slaves and other male characters of low social standing. They occurred less frequently in the mouths of males of high social standing, and the least frequent users were females of all social classes, except *ancilla*. A similar pattern of linguistic characterisation, reflecting real-life speech habits, is to be found in Plautus. Linguistic characteristiation of this type is notably absent from Terence's first two plays, where purity of style seems to have been an important goal. As Terence's career progresses, the number of deliberate Greek words increases, as does his skill in their deployment. These words are most frequent in the *Eunuchus*, a play whose lively, farcical plot demanded a more traditional comic style.[42]

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