

LINGUISTIC CHARACTERIZATION OF OLD MEN IN TERENCE

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FROM the time of Cicero the plays of Terence have been renowned for their purity of diction.¹ But emphasis on the refinement of Terence's writing, as contrasted with the more exuberant style of Plautus, has perhaps led critics to underestimate an important aspect of his work. It has generally been assumed, for example, that the same refined Latin is spoken by all Terence's characters in all situations. The traditional view is well represented by J. Marouzeau: "Son ton est celui de la bonne compagnie. . . . Le langage de ses personnages ne varie guère: hommes ou femmes, vieillards ou jeunes gens, maîtres ou esclaves, matrones ou courtisanes s'expriment dans la langue de l'auteur."² Similarly, G. P. Shipp states: ". . . all his characters, old and young, bond and free, speak a uniform Latin."³

More recently, it has been recognized that within the bounds of his refined style Terence is in fact capable of varying his language according to context and meter.⁴ The aim of the present paper is to set out evidence which suggests that Terence may also have aimed at some kind of linguistic characterization of individuals. In particular, the language of his old men contains a number of pet expressions and long-winded turns of phrase, not normally used by other characters, as well as certain distinctive archaic and elevated lexical features. The term "archaic" in this context denotes words and phrases which were no longer in current use, whereas "elevated" refers more generally to any features, including archaisms, which were regularly restricted to formal language.

To begin, I offer for consideration two passages from the *Eunuch*:

- (a) 971-75 (*senex*) ex meo propinquo rure hoc capio commodi:
 neque agri neque urbis *odium* me umquam *percipit*.
 ubi *satias* coepit fieri commuto locum.
 sed estne ille noster Parmeno? et certe ipso est.
 quem *praestolare*, Parmeno, hic ante ostium?
- (b) 403-5 (*Thraso*) . . . tum sicubi eum *satietas*⁵
 hominum aut negoti siquando *odium ceperal*
 requiescere ubi volebat, quasi . . . nostin? . . .

1. At Suet. *Vit. Ter.* 7, Cicero speaks of his *lectus sermo* and Caesar refers to him as *puri sermonis amator*.

2. *Térence, Comédies*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1942), p. 47.

3. *Terence's "Andria"* (Oxford, 1960), p. 55.

4. On differentiation of character through use of figurative language and imagery, see W. G. Arnott, "Phormio Parasitus," *G&R*, n.s. 17 (1970): 32-33. On variation of language with meter, see H. Haflter, *Untersuchungen zur altlateinischen Dichtersprache* (Berlin, 1934), pp. 10-125.

5. Corrected to unmetrical *satias* in the second hand of some later MSS.

Both passages are written in iambic senarii and both contain similar ideas, but the words used to express them are slightly different. The first point of interest is the variation between the forms *satias* in (a) and *satielas* in (b). In Classical Latin the normal form was *satielas*, while *satias*, which was restricted mainly to the nominative singular, was probably archaic.⁶ This distinction also holds good for Plautus, who normally uses *satielas*.⁷ The only certain occurrence of *satias* is found in the context of formal religious language spoken by the young man Calidorus at *Pseudolus* 334: "ut hodie ad litationem huic suppetat satias Iovi." This is probably an intentional archaism.⁸ Given that such a distinction in tone between *satias* and *satielas* existed both for Plautus and for classical writers, it seems unlikely that Terence alternated between the two simply for metrical convenience. But, before drawing any conclusion about the precise effect of *satias* in (a), let us first turn to a number of other peculiarities in the old man's speech.

The verb *percipit* (972) in its original sense (= *occupat*) is here a Terentian hapax. Elsewhere the use of the word in this sense is restricted to Plautus⁹ and Lucretius¹⁰ and was probably archaic in the classical period. Plautus *Truculentus* 467 and Lucretius 3. 80 provide parallels for the present phrase with *odium* as subject, but elsewhere, as in our "control" passage (b), Terence prefers to use *odium capil*.¹¹

Another word which occurs in Terence only in this old man's speech is *praestolare* (975, 977). *Praestolor* meaning "wait for" (syn. *opperior*, *expecto*) occurs six times in Plautus,¹² but the archives of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* show that it is rare in the classical period (when it is constructed + dative)¹³ and becomes common again only in Apuleius,¹⁴ a writer well known for his archaizing tendencies.

The context of (a) is not one which in itself calls for high style or archaic diction. It is tempting to conclude that the effect of such forms as *percipit*, *satias*, and *praestolare* is to characterize the old man's speech in some way, perhaps as pompous or old-fashioned. One further piece of evidence seems to back up this conclusion. Whereas the classical *satielas* is used by a soldier (b) and a young man (*Phorm.* 834), the only other occurrence of *satias* is in the speech of the old *matrona* Sostrata (*Hec.* 594). It is perhaps no coincidence that the archaic form is restricted to the speech of old persons. Terence's choice of *satias* in both passages could have been motivated by the desire to give a realistic portrayal of their archaizing speech patterns.¹⁵

6. Restricted in prose to occasional occurrences in historical writing (Sallust [*Hist.*], Livy, and, later, Tacitus) and in verse mainly to Lucretius; cf. B. F. B. Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter* (Lund, 1945), p. 27.

7. *Amph.* 472 (acc.), *Cist.* 70 (acc.), *Most.* 196 (abl.), *Poen.* 215 (nom.).

8. As possibly in a legal context at *Cist.* 502, where the text is unsound.

9. *Amph.* 1118, *Men.* 921, *Stich.* 341, *Truc.* 467.

10. *Lucr.* 3. 29, 3. 80, 5. 605.

11. So at *Hec.* 219, 580.

12. *Cas.* 578, *Epid.* 217, 221, *Most.* 1066, *Poen.* 1173, *Truc.* 336.

13. E.g., *Cic. Cat.* 1. 24, *Att.* 2. 15. 3; *Caes. BC* 2. 23. 3.

14. *Apul. Met.* 3. 3. 8, 4. 10. 1, 5. 4. 4, 5. 20. 6, 10. 20. 1.

15. In the case of Sostrata this effect is reinforced by the frequent use of abstract verb subjects, e.g., *mea praesentia* (587) and *mea longinquitas aetatis* (597), giving the impression of long-winded, rather elevated style. But this greater elaboration may be determined by the different verse medium (iamb. oct.); see Hafter, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 86-100.

Cicero's remarks about Crassus' mother-in-law in the *De oratore*¹⁶ suggest that in real life the speech of old women, in particular, was characterized by archaism, and it is not difficult to imagine that this could also have been a feature of the language of more conservative old men.

We now turn from the two *Eunuch* passages to consider in more detail exactly what linguistic features are restricted mainly to old men. These may conveniently be discussed under four headings: archaisms, long-winded expressions, words linked semantically with the role of old men in the plot, and pet expressions of individual old men.

I. ARCHAISMS

In addition to the *satias/satielas* pair, a second example in Terence of an Early Latin (EL) form alongside its Classical Latin (CL) alternative is provided by the perfects *tetuli* and *tuli*. In this case the EL reduplicated form is the norm in Plautus,¹⁷ and the simple form—which was to become regular in CL—occurs only rarely in his work.¹⁸ Neither form appears to be restricted to particular characters or to particular contexts in Plautus, nor does the CL form occur only in what are generally considered to be the later plays.¹⁹ In Terence it is the CL *tuli* which is regular;²⁰ the EL *tetuli* occurs only twice. Once again, as with *satias*, both examples of the earlier form occur in the speech of old men: *Andria* 807–8 (Crito) “. . . haud auspicato huc me appuli; / nam pol, si id scissem, numquam huc tetulissem pedem” (iam. sen.); and *Andria* 832 (Chremes) “impetrasti: incepti, dum res tetulit. nunc non fert: feras” (troch. sept.). Donatus comments to the effect that the reduplicated form in each line is too elevated for the comic style: 808 “sed critici adnotant altius esse caractere comico ‘tetulissem pedem’ ” (perhaps the reference here is to the whole phrase); 832 “compositum pro simplici est ‘tetulit.’ et altius quam decet comicum characterem dictum videtur.” This clearly would not apply to Plautine comedy, where, as we have seen, *tetuli* is regular,²¹ but by Terence's time this form could indeed have sounded archaic and have acquired an elevated tone.²² The presence of other elevated features in the speech of Crito and Chremes suggests that Terence could be using the reduplicated forms here as a further means of characterizing their language as pompous. Crito's phrase “haud auspicato huc me appuli” is a clear example. The ablative participle *auspicato* used adverbially (= “auspiciously,” lit. “the omens having been

16. *De or.* 3. 45: “equidem cum audio socrum meam Laeliam—facilius enim mulieres incorruptam antiquitatem conservant . . . eam sic audio, ut Plautum mihi aut Naevium videar audire.”

17. *Amph.* 716, 800, *Bacch.* 482, 811, *Cist.* 650, *Men.* 381, 591, 630, *Most.* 471, *Rud.* 68, 893, 1040; also in Caecil. frag. 75 Ribbeck.

18. *Aul.* 433 (?), *Curc.* 644, *Poen.* 1076.

19. For an approximate chronological order of Plautus' plays, see K. H. E. Schutter, *Quibus annis comediae Plautinae primum actae sint quaeritur* (Groningen, 1952); cf. W. B. Sedgwick, “The Dating of Plautus' Plays,” *CQ* 24 (1930): 102–6.

20. *An.* 142, 178, 188, 443, 496, *Phorm.* 520, 579, *Hec.* 87, 128, 333, 568, 594, 685, 709, *Eun.* 82.

21. For the phrase *tetuli pedem*, cf. *Men.* 381 and 630, where no attempt at high style seems to be intended.

22. After Terence the reduplicated form occurs only as an intentional archaism at Lucr. 6. 672 and Catull. 63. 47, 63. 52, 66. 35.

taken") is a feature of formal religious language.²³ This one word ablative absolute construction, which except for a few common types²⁴ is rare in CL outside Livy, appears to be another characteristic of old men's language in Terence. Five out of six Terentian examples occur in the speech of old persons,²⁵ whereas the proportion of normal ablative absolutes used by this group is only 13/31.²⁶ The phrase *huc me appuli* probably means nothing more than "brought myself here"²⁷ and, like *tetulissem pedem* in the next line, is simply an elevated way of saying "I came." A similar fullness of expression is to be detected in Crito's words "dictast . . . atque habitast soror" in 809. Chremes' speech at 829–33 also contains elevated features. Shipps²⁸ points to the EL poetic device in 832 of repeating the same verb *fero* in two different senses: "allow" and "put up with." Similarly, the balanced phrases in 829 "in alio occupato amore, abhorrenti ab re uxoria," 830 "in seditionem atque in incertas nuptias," and in the medical metaphor at 831 (where the effect is reinforced by assonance) "eius labore atque eius dolore" are reminiscent of Crito's rather elevated and long-winded manner of speech at 807–9. Of course, other characters, slaves for example,²⁹ may, in certain circumstances, speak in an elevated tone, but the adoption of this tone outside contexts which would normally call for it as well as specifically archaic features of the type *satias* and *tetuli*³⁰ seem particularly characteristic of Terence's old men.

In view of such cases in which an EL form is given to old men, and its CL equivalent to other characters, one is less likely to look upon the restriction to old persons of other EL features, for which there is no exact CL equivalent in Terence's work, as purely fortuitous. That such restrictions are not

23. Cf. Plaut. *Persa* 607 in a mock military context of going into battle and Cic. *Rep.* 2. 5 of founding a city (= "under good omen").

24. E.g., *auspicato, optato*.

25. *An.* 533 (Chremes) *optato*, *An.* 807 (Crito) *auspicato*, *Phorm.* 756 (Sostrata) *composito*, *Hec.* 737 (Laches) *peccato*. The only exception is *Hec.* 94 (Philotis—meretrix) *praeфинито*.

26. Examples from C. E. Bennett. *Syntax of Early Latin*, vol. 2 (Boston, 1914), pp. 367–68.

27. It is true that in CL *appello* has the meaning "bring (a ship) to shore," "put in at (a port)" and that this sense would fit the context here, where Crito has just arrived by sea from Andros; see E. Fantham, *Comparative Studies in Republican Latin Imagery* (Toronto, 1972), pp. 42–43. But: (1) in all its Plautine occurrences the word has its original meaning of "drive" with personal objects: *Asin.* 633 *me ad mortem*, *Bacch.* 378 *amicos ad probrum*, *Rud.* 1043 *(me) ad ignotum arbitrum*. There seems to be little reason, then, for rejecting this original meaning—"drive," "direct"—in Terence, even in the metaphorical examples with *animus* at *An.* 1 and 446, in favor of a specialized nautical sense, which is not attested until Afranius (137 Ribbeck). (2) The reflexive *me* argues against this specialized sense, where *navem* (even when not expressed as, e.g., in Caes. *BC* 2. 3. 21) must always be understood as the object of *appello* (unless one were to understand an ablative *nave*, as in the passive construction *propulsi navigiis* at Cic. 2 *Verr.* 5. 145; but there is no other example of the reflexive used with this construction). On the other hand, I see no reason to reject the majority reading in favor of *me atuli*, attested in Priscian 2. 68.

28. Terence's "*Andria*," p. 187.

29. E.g., Syrus in his parody of Demea at *Ad.* 364–430.

30. It could be objected that the presence of the *tetuli* forms in the *Andria* simply reflects the early date of the play. Other EL forms found in the *Andria* are rejected by Terence in later plays, e.g., *medicor* at 831 and 944 (contrast *medeor* at *Phorm.* 822), *qui* for *ut* with verbs of striving at 6, 307, and 334, and *qui ne* for *ne* at 335. But, whereas these forms are not restricted to particular characters, the *tetuli* forms are used only by the old men Crito and Chremes, while all the other characters in the play use the normal CL *tuli*: 142 (Sosia), 178 (Davos), 188 (Simo), 443 (Davos), 496 (Simo).

merely statistical freaks is suggested, furthermore, by the fact that EL forms are not concentrated in the same way in the speech of other characters (except for rare examples of colloquial EL features being restricted mainly to slaves³¹). In general, EL features in Terence are either restricted to old persons or spread evenly throughout the characters. Evenly spread EL features (except for the examples from the *Andria* mentioned in n. 30) were probably not yet felt to be archaic in Terence's time. Examples of this second category include the verb *proviso* and the use of *postulo* + infinitive in the sense "intend doing."³² Among the EL features restricted mainly to old persons, the following are worthy of note:

(1) *aio* imperfect (ten examples, eight by old persons). The verb *aio* (= "say") was already obsolescent in Terence, where it occurs, as in CL, mainly in the forms *ais* (*ain*), *ail*, *aiunt*. Table 1 shows that these forms are more frequent in Terence than they were in Plautus, whereas all other forms of the verb, except *ai(e)bant*, are less frequent than they had been in the earlier author. The imperfect tense is clearly one of the uses which is dying out by Terence's time, and eight of its ten occurrences in this author are to be found in the speech of old persons: *aibas*, *Adelphoi* 561 (Demea); *aiebas*, *Hautontimorumenos* 924 (Menedemus); *aibat*, *Andria* 932 (Chremes), *Adelphoi* 717 (Demea); *aiebat*, *Andria* 930 (Crito); *aibant*, *Andria* 534, 572 (Chremes), *Hecyra* 238 (Sostrata). (Note that *ai-* and *aie-* forms are used indiscriminately by both authors.) No such restriction is found in Plautus, where this tense is more common. There are two exceptions to this restriction in Terence. The first is the use of *aibas* at *Hautontimorumenos* 960 by the young man Clitipho. Here it may be significant that Clitipho is in conversation with the old man Menedemus. The second is the use of *aibat* at *Phormio* 480 by Geta. Here the slave may be adopting the tone of the old man Demipho, to whom he is referring, for humorous purposes: "ut aibat / de

TABLE 1

	Frequency ^a	
	Plautus	Terence
<i>ais</i>	108	43
<i>ain</i>	33	14
<i>ail</i>	45	25
<i>aiunt</i>	22	23
<i>aio</i>	23	1
<i>ai(e)bas</i>	13	3
<i>ai(e)bat</i>	32	4
<i>ai(e)bant</i>	9	3
<i>aiam</i>	1	0
<i>aias</i>	2	0
<i>aiant</i>	1	0
<i>aibatis</i>	1	0

^a Terentian figures must be multiplied by 3.5 to compensate for the greater bulk of the Plautine corpus (20,959 lines to 6,074).

31. E.g.: *edormisco*, *Ad.* 786 (Syrus); *beo*, *An.* 106 (Sosia), *Eun.* 279 (Gnatho—parasite); *volup est*, *Hec.* 857 (Bacchis), *Phorm.* 610 (Geta).

32. See H. Bléry, *Syntaxe de la subordination dans Térence* (Paris, 1909), p. 23.

eius consilio sese velle facere." It may also be relevant that Geta himself, like the slave Syrus in the *Adelphoi*,³³ is portrayed as an old man.

(2) *propediem* (three examples, all by old men). *Propediem* (= "in a short time," lit. "at an early day") does occur in CL, but in contexts which suggest it is being used as an intentional archaism (e.g., Sall. *Cat.* 56. 4; Livy 1. 48. 7; Cic. *Div.* 1. 47; but also once in a letter at *Att.* 2. 1. 11). All three Terentian occurrences are restricted to the line-end, which suggests it was felt as archaic.³⁴ In all cases the speaker is an old man: *Hautontimorumenos* 160, 868 (Chremes) and *Adelphoi* 888 (Demea). The word occurs only three times in Plautus (again twice at the line-end), but there is no restriction on the characters using it: *Asinaria* 817 (*adulescens*), *Persa* 295 (*puer*), *Persa* 837 (*servus*).

(3) *uspiam* (two examples, both by old persons). The word occurs seven times in Plautus and probably already had an archaic or elevated ring about it as it is used mainly in mock epic passages, e.g., *Miles* 597 (*servus*). Its occurrence in Terence is restricted to the old man Micio, who uses it twice in the opening speech of the *Adelphoi* (28, 37).

(4) *faxim* (two examples, both by old men). Similarly, the EL subjunctive form *faxim* is restricted in Terence to the old man Demea, who twice uses the formula *lubens bene faxim* in his determined effort to be gracious (*Ad.* 887, 896).

II. LONG-WINDED EXPRESSIONS

Other linguistic phenomena restricted to old men in Terence are not specifically archaic in coloring. One group of such phenomena consists of particularly imposing or long-winded forms of expression, which would be well suited for characterizing the language of old persons as slow or ponderous.

This characteristic of old men's speech in Terence was clearly recognized by Donatus. For example, on *Adelphoi* 68 (Micio) "mea sic est ratio et sic animum induco meum," Donatus notes, (3) "senilis μακρολογία"—the reference is to the virtual tautology of the phrases *mea . . . ratio* and *sic . . . meum*. On *Adelphoi* 646 (Micio) ". . . ego dicam tibi," Donatus' comment is (2) "seniliter: nam iam dicendum fuit." Similarly, on the old man's speech quoted at *Eunuchus* 338–41:

"scin quid ego te volebam?" "dic." "cras est mihi
iudicium." "quid tum?" "ut diligenter nunties
patri, advocatus mane mi esse ut meminerit."
dum haec dicit abiit hora.

Donatus notes: 338 (1) "hic ostenditur odiosa tarditas senis apud festinantem Chaeream"; 340 "non 'ut sit' sed 'ut esse meminerit': o prolixitas."³⁵ A clear indication that this was in fact Terence's intention here is given in the text by the words "dum haec dicit abiit hora" (341).

33. *Ad.* 563. Syrus, too, can use old men's language when it suits him; cf. n. 29.

34. The greater metrical restriction at this position in the line led to the retention of old-fashioned formulae; see P. W. Harsh, "The Position of Archaic Forms in the Verse of Plautus," *CP* 35 (1940): 126–42.

35. Cf. Demipho's pleonasm *quem ais fuisse* for *quis fuerit* at *Phorm.* 380.

As was the case with the archaic features, there are at least two examples where synonyms are distributed significantly between old persons and other characters. These are:

(1) *prohibeo*/*velo*. Both words are used regularly in CL; neither is particularly archaic or colloquial. In Terence, however, the longer, more imposing *prohibeo* is used mainly by old men (nine of twelve examples), whereas the shorter *velo* is restricted to low characters. Old persons use *prohibeo* (a) in the formula *di . . . prohibeant*: *Andria* 568 (Simo), *Hautontimorumenos* 1038 (Sostrata), *Hecyra* 207 (Laches); and (b) in other contexts: *Andria* 54 (Simo), *Andria* 140 (Simo—quoting the hypothetical words of his son), *Phormio* 425 (Demipho), *Hautontimorumenos* 573 (Chremes), *Hecyra* 266 (Laches). For Terence, *prohibeo* definitely seems to have had an elevated ring. When not being used by old persons, it occurs in an extended version of the usual *di . . . prohibeant* formula at *Adelphoi* 275 (*Aeschinus*—*adulescens*) “. . . deos quaeso ut istaec prohibeant,” and in the intentionally imposing language of the *miles gloriosus* figure, Thraso, at *Eunuchus* 808 “. . . tum me prohibeas / meam ne tangam?” picked up by the *adulescens* Chaerea at 809 “prohibeo inquam . . .” *Velo* is used by slaves (*Haut.* 378 [Syrus], *Phorm.* 709, 864 [Geta], *Hec.* 317 [Parmeno]) and by a parasite (*Phorm.* 417 [Phormio]).

(2) *sceleratus*/*scelestus*. In Plautus and Terence the most common form is *scelestus*. In CL and later Latin *sceleratus* becomes more frequent, and in Cicero it is always used, in place of *scelestus*, of persons. The longer form occurs only twice in Plautus, on both occasions in passages of abuse by slaves (*Epid.* 369 and *Persa* 275). In Terence the longer CL form *sceleratus* is restricted to old men (*An.* 159 [Simo], *Ad.* 553 [Demea]). All other characters in Terence use *scelestus*, which is never used by old men (*An.* 790 [Mysis], *Haut.* 312 [Clitipho], *Haut.* 790 [Syrus], *Eun.* 71, 668 [Phaedria], *Eun.* 817, 832 [Thais], *Ad.* 159 [Aeschinus]).³⁶

A number of other expressions restricted to old persons, for which there are no exact synonyms in Terence, may also characterize their speech as ponderous or long-winded:

(1) *non clam me (te) est*. This phrase is found mainly in Plautus and Terence,³⁷ where it is used as the equivalent of *non ignoro*, or simply *scio*, introducing an indirect question or statement. Its restriction to old persons in Terence may be due to the fact that it was an elevated expression (which may have sounded archaic by his time) or simply that it was a long-winded circumlocution. Three of the four examples occur in the *Hecyra* and are spoken by old persons: 261 (Laches), 568 (Myrrina—*matrona*), 577 (Sostrata—*matrona*). The exception to this restriction occurs at *Andria* 287. Here the speaker is the young man Pamphilus, who is quoting the deathbed appeal made to him by Chrysis. The tone of the language in this section with its balanced phrases (288 “. . . ad pudicitiam et ad rem tutandam . . .,” 289–90 “. . . per hanc te dexteram et genium tuom / per . . . fidem per-

36. The EL and post-CL form *scelerosus* (not found in Plautus) occurs in Terence only at *Eun.* 643 (Pythias).

37. *TLL*, 3:1247.

que . . . solitudinem . . .”) and the repeated “si . . . sive . . . seu” clauses at 292–94 is clearly elevated, and the use of the *non clam te est* construction at 287 probably adds to this formal effect.

(2) (*in*) *animum inducere*. Attention has been drawn to Donatus’ remark about the “senilis μακρολογία” of Micio’s phrase “mea sic est ratio et sic animum induco meum” (*Ad.* 68). There the tautology obviously contributes to the effect; but, when ten out of twelve further occurrences of *animum induco* or *in animum induco* are also spoken by old persons, it seems possible that Terence could have used the phrase as a typically senile circumlocution. Alternatively, the sententious nature of the phrase could have led to its association with old men (cf. features discussed in III). The phrase is used by old persons at *Andria* 572, 834, 883, *Hautontimorumenos* 1028, *Hecyra* 264, 277, *Adelphoi* 68, 597, and occurs in prologues spoken by old men at *Hautontimorumenos* 41, 49 and *Hecyra* 50. The two exceptions occur in the *Hecyra*: 99 (Philotis—*meretrix*), 292 (Parmeno—*servus*).

(3) *comperio*. This common CL word³⁸ is not found in Plautus. It is used in Terence mainly in the perfect as a synonym for *scio*. As with *non clam me est*, a phrase of similar meaning, it is restricted mainly to old men. In all but one (*Haut.* 121) of its occurrences in old men’s speech, it introduces a complement clause in accusative + infinitive, whereas this construction is not found in the two exceptional uses by other characters. It is used by old men at *Andria* 90, 145 (Simo), *Phormio* 801 (Chremes), *Hecyra* 763, 779 (Laches), and *Hautontimorumenos* 121 (Menedemus), and by other characters at *Andria* 211 (Davos) “. . . primum iam de amore hoc comperit” (where the reference is to the old man Simo) and *Eunuchus* 825 (Pythias). The deponent form *comperior* (also found in the archaizing writers Sallust, Tacitus, and Apuleius) occurs only at *Andria* 902 in the speech of the old man Simo (on the significance of this, see n. 30).

III. WORDS LINKED SEMANTICALLY WITH THE ROLE OF OLD MEN IN THE PLOT

In all the restrictions discussed so far, the *form* of the word or phrase (e.g., archaic, long-winded) made it appropriate for the speech of old persons. There are cases, however, where the *meaning* of a word explains its restriction to one sort of character, since it fits in with some specific aspect of the character’s behavior (e.g., culinary terms to parasites, military terms to soldiers). In fact, as was pointed out in the case of *in animum induco*, there may be some overlap between these categories; *non clam me est* and *comperire*, for example, also belong to the semantic field of “finding out,” which is the traditional business of old men in plots of concealment. In this section, however, I list cases where the semantic value of the words alone leads them to be associated with old men. This is linguistic characterization in a wider sense than has been discussed so far.

38. Cicero was criticized for using this word too frequently in connection with the Catilinarian conspiracy (cf. *Att.* 1. 14. 5, *Fam.* 5. 5. 2), and he subsequently dropped it from his letters—but here the sinister implications of the word’s meaning (“to have discovered by devious means and without making one’s evidence plain”), not the tone of the word, was at issue.

(1) *paucis*. In view of the evidence for “senilis μακρολογία” discussed earlier, there is probably some intentional irony in Terence’s distribution of the phrase *paucis* (abl. sc. *verbis* = “in a few words”) in five of its six occurrences to old men. In the opening scene of the *Andria*, for example, after the promising “ades dum: paucis te volo . . .” at 29, Simo manages to exasperate Sosia (not to say the audience) by his long-winded exposition of the situation. Similarly, Simo’s request to Chremes at *Andria* 538–43, with its lengthy introduction “per te deos oro . . . perque unicum gnatum . . .,” is introduced by the phrase “ausculta paucis . . .” (536). Here the OCT editors read *pauca* on the evidence of one MS (codex Parisinus) and Donatus; but, in view of other examples with verbs of listening, especially *Adelphoi* 806, it seems best to keep the majority reading here (omitting *et* before *quid*). At *Adelphoi* 806, Micio introduces his long central argument to Demea with the words “ausculta paucis . . .” The other examples of this phrase in the speech of old men occur at *Hecyra* 510 (Laches) “ades: audi paucis” and *Hautontimorumenos* 10 (prologue spoken by the old man Ambivivus) “quam ob rem has partis didicerim paucis dabo.” When not being used by old men, the only occurrence of *paucis* is in the exaggeratedly elevated pronouncement by the parasite Gnatho at the end of the *Eunuch*: “prius audite paucis: quod quom dixero si placuerit / facitote” (1067), where the use of parallel subordinate clauses introduced by *quom* and *si*, together with the EL imperative form, is reminiscent of ancient legal language.³⁹

(2) *ades* (*imperative*). Except for the phrase *adeste aequo animo*, which occurs in Terence only in the prologues as part of the traditional *captatio benevolentiae* (*An.* 24, *Haut.* 35, *Phorm.* 30), the use of the imperatives *ades* and *adeste* (= “come [stay] here”) is restricted in all but one case to old men. It occurs twice in combination with *paucis*. Again, the reason for the restriction is likely to be a “behavioral” one, namely, that old men are more likely to be ordering other people around. Examples are found at *Andria* 29 (Simo; with *paucis*), *Hecyra* 495 (textually doubtful), *Hecyra* 510 (Laches; with *paucis*), and *Phormio* 350 (Demipho). The only exception occurs at *Andria* 344, where the young man Pamphilus is addressing the slave Davos.

(3) *diminutives referring to persons*. The use of diminutives generally is not a feature of old men’s speech. In fact, most diminutives in Terence’s plays are restricted to low characters. Terence may have considered such colloquial features more appropriate to their speech.⁴⁰ The only diminutive forms used by old characters are those which refer to people: a diminutive was perhaps an appropriate word for an old man to use when referring to a younger person, particularly a social inferior. The following forms are used mainly by old persons:

(a) *adulescentulus*. Only in the more colloquial *Eunuch* is this word used by all characters with little difference in sense from the simple *adulescens*.⁴¹

39. Cf. *Lex XII Tab.* 8. 12: “si nox furtum faxit, si im occisit, iure caesus esto.”

40. E.g., *Phorm.* 663, *Eun.* 284, 753, 531, *Phorm.* 36, 37, *Ad.* 585, 786, *An.* 369.

41. So in the *Eunuch* by a young man (539), a slave (931, 940), a soldier (423), and a maid (686, 943, 949, 1021).

Elsewhere the diminutive is restricted mainly to old men, usually with reference to their sons: *Hautontimorumenos* 51 (old man), *Hautontimorumenos* 93, 100, 113, 1045 (Menedemus; the first three expressing sympathy with the son he has wronged), *Hautontimorumenos* 477, 546 (Chremes), *Andria* 55, 910 (Simo), *Andria* 828 (Chremes), *Hecyra* 619 (Laches), *Adelphoi* 101 (Micio), 112 (Demea). Two exceptions occur in the *Phormio*, but in both cases the diminutive form is required by the sense. The first is in a slighting reference to a rival's play in the prologue: "quia nusquam insanum scripsit adulescentulum / cervam videre fugere et sectari canes" (6-7). In the second, the young man Phaedria, speaking to his father, is emphasizing the innocence of his young son Antipho: "... functus adulescentulist / officium liberalis ..." (281-82).

(b) *adulescentula*. This term is applied by old persons to their sons' mistresses (*virgines* as opposed to *meretrices*). It is used in this way by Simo of Glycerium at *Andria* 118 and by Sostrata of Antiphila at *Hautontimorumenos* 654. Syrus the slave also refers to Antiphila in this way at *Hautontimorumenos* 602.

(c) *muliercula*. This is used by old men to refer to younger women, perhaps with a stronger subsidiary idea of their social inferiority than with *adulescentula*. It is so used at *Hautontimorumenos* 444 by Chremes of Antiphila and at *Phormio* 1017 by Demipho of Chremes' mistress, though here the intention may be to stress the insignificance of the affair.⁴²

(d) *servolus*. This is used once by a slave to express self-pity at *Adelphoi* 566 (Syrus). Elsewhere it is used as a pejorative word for slaves, once by a young man at *Hautontimorumenos* 191 (Clitipho), but mostly by old persons: *Andria* 83 (Simo), *Hautontimorumenos* 471, 530 (Chremes), *Adelphoi* 27 (Micio), 480 (Hegio).

IV. PET EXPRESSIONS OF INDIVIDUAL OLD MEN

An individual old man in Terence may occasionally be given a pet expression as an idiosyncratic peculiarity of his speech. Such expressions need not belong to one of the categories already mentioned (though they often do), nor are old men the only characters to be given pet phrases.⁴³ This use by individual characters of a favorite phrase, which need not be lexically unusual, has already been detected in the plays of Menander,⁴⁴ so one should not perhaps be too surprised to find a similar device in his closest Roman imitator. The following examples are found in the speech of old men:

(1) *propterea quod*. This expression, which is not uncommon in CL, occurs in Terence only in the speech of the old man Simo at *Andria* 38 and 584. In both cases the simple *quod* (or *quia*) could be used, and the extended

42. See R. H. Martin, *Terence's "Phormio"* (London, 1959), ad loc.

43. Cf. Geta's preference for the adverb *modo* in the *Phormio* (59, 68, 93, 95, 109, 142, 149, 198, 221, 566, 624, 773, 859, 865 [2]) and, more understandably, Thais's use of *mi* + vocative in the *Eunuch* (86, 95, 144, 190, 455, 743); cf. Donatus on 95: (2) "vult enim Terentius velut peculiare verbum hoc esse Thaidis."

44. F. H. Sandbach, "Menander's Manipulation of Language for Dramatic Purposes," *Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique* 16 (1969): 113-43, esp. 122-24.

expression is probably intended to characterize Simo's language as long-winded.

(2) *ut tempus est diei*. This phrase, again perhaps a feature of long-winded speech, is used twice by Chremes at *Hautontimorumenos* 168 and 212 and occurs nowhere else in Terence.

(3) *inpuratus*. This EL and post-CL term of abuse is used only by the old man Demipho in the *Phormio* at 669 and 962 (in both cases as a substantive).

(4) *vostro (meo) impulsu*. The phrase occurs twice in Terence and is used only in the speech of the old man Laches in the *Hecyra*. The imposing "at my (your) instigation" fits in well with Laches' rhetorical style of speech. It is found in chiasitic arrangement at 242 "*ubi duxere impulsu vostro, vostro impulsu easdem exigunt*." The other example occurs at 687 "*impulsu duxisti meo*."

(5) *adeo*. A penchant for this adverb in all its uses is an idiosyncratic feature of Laches' language in the *Hecyra*. He uses it seven times in sixty lines between 201 and 261, and nine of the twenty occurrences of the adverb in this play are to be put down to him (cf. n. 44 for Geta's use of *modo* in the *Phormio*).

Before leaving the subject of linguistic peculiarities of particular old men, it is worth noting that within individual plays the language of two old men may be contrasted. In the *Adelphoi*, for example, twice as many of the old-fashioned or long-winded expressions discussed earlier are given to the rustic Demea (six) as to the urban Micio (three). E. Fantham suggests that Demea's coarse metaphorical use of *olfacere* (*Ad.* 397) may be intended to characterize his ἀγροικία.⁴⁵ Other Terentian hapaxes in his speech may have a similar effect: for example, the EL local use of *prae* at 980 in the phrase *prae manu* of cash "ready to hand," the Plautine verb *perrepto* at 715, and two EL (and post-CL) forms based on Greek at 564 *patrisso* (πατρίσω) and 78 *mastigia* (μαστιγίας). No such hapaxes are found in Micio's language. Similarly, the language of Chremes in the *Hautontimorumenos* contains more non-CL forms than that of Menedemus: for example, *gratulor* in its EL sense of *gratias agere* at 879, *resto* in its EL military sense of "make a stand" or "resist" at 1007, and Plautine features such as the comic formation *advorsatrix* at 1007 and the string of abuse at 1033–34 "*. . . gerro iners fraus helluo / ganeo's damnosus . . .*" Again, what is significant is not so much the individual features in themselves as their accumulation in the language of Chremes and their relative absence from the speech of Menedemus.

The evidence suggests that, at least in the case of his old men, Terence did concern himself with finding an appropriate manner of speech to suit particular characters. This is perhaps only to be expected in a playwright who was more interested in psychological realism than in the comic possibilities of caricature and farce. The extent of Terence's debt to Menander

in this area has yet to be fully assessed,⁴⁶ but the presence of such characterization in Terence can no longer be denied. The question of how far such characterization applies to types other than old men in Terence has been left open for the moment. There is some evidence that slaves and "low" characters generally may use more colloquial language than do "high" characters, but the question is complicated by variations in language brought about by the demands of context. Syrus in the *Adelphoi*, for example, adopts an elevated style of language when duping Demea (364–430), which contrasts with the highly colloquial language of his drunken scene (763 ff.). Furthermore, there is some variation in language between the different plays of Terence which may be related to the dates of their composition (see n. 30) or to their stylistic coloring (the *Eunuch*, for example, tends to be more "Plautine" than the rest of the Terentian corpus). The interrelation of these various elements is complex and deserves further investigation. In the meanwhile it is hoped that the evidence concerning the language of Terence's old men has at least put an end to the myth that all his characters in all situations speak the same uniform Latin.

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46. See Sandbach, "Manipulation," pp. 113–43; cf. J. Strauss, *Terenz und Menander: Beiträge zu einer Stilvergleichung* (Zurich, 1955); S. Zini, *Il linguaggio dei personaggi di Menandro* (Florence, 1938).