GRECO-LATIN BILINGUALISM. LEXICAL ASPECTS OF THE BIRTH OF LITERARY LATIN

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ABSTRACT

There is a prehistory and a history of the relations between the Greek and Latin languages, with consequences persisting up to the present day. The flow of this influence is predominantly from Greek to Latin. Greek represented for Latin the absolute model of evolution which few could contest, in spite of the purists' efforts to avoid or reduce borrowing from the first in order to stimulate the internal resources of their own language. Struggling to find a comfortable equilibrium between the nationalists' hellenophobia and the pedants' hellenomania, writers as well as political and social actors involved in the creation process of literary Latin succeeded to create one of the most performant instruments of communication which became in turn the model of all the modern languages. Due to the theoretic writings on Greek neologisms and the strongly viable lexical creations he brought about, Cicero's contribution to upgrading the standards of the Latin language is remarkable.

Key words: *bilingualism*, *Latin*, *Greek*, *borrowing*, *neologism*

0. The interaction between the Greek and the Roman worlds stretches over a considerable length of time and starts several centuries before Rome was founded. Paradoxically, Greek influence on Latin appears ahead of the latter even taking shape as a language. Archaeological and linguistic findings reveal the "prehistoric"[1] relation between Greek and Latin and prove at the same time that the Mycenaeans, or Achaeans, Homer's name for the Greeks, had already made contact with the Italic Peninsula at the moment the first Indo-European migrators descended in the region. The Mycenaean presence had left enduring traces in the Italic linguistic substrate, which in turn constitutes the basis for the formation of Latin. Such an example is the Latin form of the ethnonym *Achīuī*, originated from the old Greek form *Ἀχαι□οί and lost in the Ionic-Attic at the given date, leading to the conclusion that it must have penetrated the Latin language prior to the loss of □, *digamma*, in this Greek dialect; but in Latin there is also the parallel form of *Achaeī*, without *digamma*, a loanword from the same Ionic-Attic dialect. Another example is the name of the olive, *olīua*, which preserves the archaic Ω, while in Greek its form is □λαία without *digamma*, in contradiction with the form *□λαί□α.

[1] Fr. Biville, *Les emprunts du latin au grec*. *Approche phonétique*. Tome I, *Introduction et consonantisme*, Louvain-Paris, Peeters, 1990: 22-23.

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Roman mythography supports this chronology in its legends about the travels of famous Greek heroes, for instance that of Heracles in the region of Hesperia, the old name for the Italic peninsula. And also in the myth of Aeneas' founding of Rome, when upon his arrival in Italy (right after the Trojan war, in the 12th century as most commonly accepted) he finds here the Arcadian king Evander. The relations between the Greek and Italic worlds went through a remission period, following the comprehensive colonisation process conducted by the Greeks in Sicily and in the south of Italy from the 8th century on. But afterwards the Greek influence on the Latin civilisation, language and culture enters a new era, more intense, more constant and with permanent consequences.

1.0. One of the aspects of this new relation is the linguistic interference. The phenomenon is not unusual for the Ancient societies and is due to the contact between languages brought about by various causes of extra linguistic nature. Greco-Latin bilingualism is the most important of the numerous such phenomena, of greatly local character, that influenced the Latin language. It was recognized as such even in Antiquity and thus needs no further demonstration.

At a certain point, the tendency to limit the Greek influence in the official use from the Latin language represents in itself an indication of the real extent of the phenomenon of the Greco-Latin bilingualism.

1.1. There are a few fields in the cultural life where Latin tried to resist the Greek influence. In its pre-literary phase, the Latin language was a mobile dialect, opened to influences from other idioms it encountered, but in particular Sabin and Praenestin, which shared the same rural character. Hence the image of a peasant language[2] that Latin could not shed for a long time.

1.2. The linguistic fields specific to Roman occupations, with their own terms, like in agriculture, cattle-breeding, home industry and partly in martial art and law, were the most resistant to lexical borrowings from Greek. The legal language, based on the pastoral-agricultural relations dominating the social life in the archaic period as the oldest legal texts indicate, and the religious vocabulary are also dominated by terms used by the Romans in their daily life.

1.3. The evolution of Latin is closely linked to the rural life, however "ce n'est pas à dire que la langue latine était inculte"[3]. Rome's initial history is in fact that of an agricultural population[4] The great Roman families had rural roots and were preoccupied by agricultural activities, as it appears in the historical tradition. Landownership was the condition and the guaranty

[2] Cf. J. Marouzeau, «Le latin langue de paysans», in *Mélanges linguistiques* offerts à J. Vendryes, Paris, 1925.

[3] A. Meillet, 1928: 117.

[4] J. Marouzeau, *Quelques aspects*…, cap. *Aspects du latin ancien*, *Latinitas-Urbanitas-Rusticitas*: 7.

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for the citizen's status in the traditional societies and, next to politics and military, good administration of one's property was a most honourable occupation: "le citoyen romaine est à la fois *miles* et *colōnus*"[5]. Cato the Elder's well-known phrase in the foreword to the treaty *De agricultura* renders best the moral profile of the traditional Roman citizen: *uirum bonum quom laudabant*, *ita laudabant: bonum agricolam bonumque colonum*. The most important change in the traditional mentality of the old rural aristocracy took place under the influence of the Etruscan civilization during its domination of Rome.

1.4. The lack of a long tradition of cultivating the spirit, of intellectual speculation, of a refined urban life, of literary and artistic creativity presented many difficulties to most authors of the early period, who tried to adapt Latin to the level Greek had reached after centuries of evolution. In time, the founding efforts of the first generation of "purist" authors, represented by Livius Andronicus and Naevius, were regarded as very laudable monuments of the beginnings and remarkable deeds of literary history. But soon, only after a few generations, they were perceived as obsolete and odd, they became more quoted than read and in the end only a few disparate fragments of their works survived. How different is the fate of Plautus' works which, although richly parsed with Greek words, are fully preserved. The comedy-loving public, already familiar with the Greek language, was more open and alert to the artistic performance and comic virtues of the plays than to observing the authenticity and purity of the Latin language on stage.

2.0. From the 2-nd century B.C. on, the more cultivated borrowings from Greek had a decisive influence on the development of the Latin language and culture towards the superior level it eventually attained. Surely, the role of the fertile ground of the general knowledge of Greek in the Roman society as a whole cannot be neglected. The oscillations between conservatism and innovation, sometimes in the same person, were caused by the desire of the elite to build up the Roman cultural identity. They principally emerge at the moment when Latin becomes aware of its individuality and potential, when it begins to emancipate and to exercise its capacity of instrument for exquisite thinking or for original literature. In an effort to surpass itself, the Latin culture tries to avoid yet another period with only the Greek language as vehicle for its thinking, as for instance occurred in historiography, where the first phase is defined by *historia Graeca* since the events were described in Greek.

2.1. After the second half of the 2-nd century B.C., following the ouverture towards the Greek world promoted by the Scipiones and their famous cultural circle by the same name, Rome sees the birth of a philhellene intellectual elite. From now on for Roman writers and thinkers

[5] *Ibidem*: 8.

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Greece is the place to learn Greek, in unbiased contact with the environment which produced the great cultural values, with the elites, the great texts and consequently with the traditions installed by established authors.

2.2. In contrast with the spoken, common Greek language the ordinary people got in touch with, the elite practiced the Greek based on the Attic language of the classical literature, written, homogenous and codified: "Les lettrés comme Cicéron, qui allaient parfaire leurs études en Grèce, avaient une connaissance savante et approfondie de l'attique classique; le grec qu'ils maniaient était une langue homogène, codifiée et fixée, pour laquelle la référence à la forme écrite était fondamentale, une langue de culture et de prestige, jugée supérieure au latin"[6].

2.3. The Greco-Latin cross links have been the object of predominantly lexical and less syntactical studies, while the phonetic and phonological aspects of the loanwords occupy the larger part of a more recent work[7]. With these elements it is possible to draw a rather complete map of the evolution of the cultivated borrowings, in an approach from various angles of the linguistic investigation and starting with the first literary texts.

3.0. In his preoccupation to enrich the Latin vocabulary with elevated terms, Cicero indicates in *Academica Posteriora*, 1, 27, 25 three possibilities to achieve this: transfer the Greek word as such, reattribute a new meaning to a Latin word or create of a new Latin word to express a Greek concept: *[…] quin etiam Graecis licebit utare*, *cum uoles*, *si te Latina forte deficient […]. Dialecticorum uero uerba nulla sunt publica*, *suis utuntur. Et id quidem commune omnium fere est atrium*; *aut enim noua sunt rerum nouarum facienda nomina aut ex aliis transferenda. Quod si Graeci faciunt*, *qui in his rebus tot iam saecula uersantur*, *quanto id nobis magis concedendum est*, *qui haec nunc primum tractare conamur*[8]. A century later Quintilian pleads for the same thing in *Institutio oratoria*, 1, 5, 58: *confessis quoque Graecis utimur uerbis*, *ubi nostra desunt*. Both of them restrict the borrowings to the situation where there is no acceptable Latin word for the Greek term: *si te Latina forte deficient* ("if by chance you lack the Latin word") and *ubi nostra desunt* ("when our own words are missing"). In conclusion, the Latin language rejects the abuse of Greek words and generally speaking, of foreign words.

3.1. Although deeply indebted to the Greek patterns, since some of their works were mere translations and adaptations from Greek, Rome's first generation writers strive to use a minimum possible of foreign terms.

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[6] *Ibidem*: 30.

[7] Frédérique Biville, *Les emprunts du latin au grec*, Tome I, *Introduction et consonantisme*, Louvain-Paris, Peeters, 1990 şi Tome II, *Vocalisme et conclusion*, Louvain-Paris, Peeters, 1995.

[8] Apud Fr. T. Cooper, *Word Formation*…, *Introducere*: XXXIII.

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The fragments preserved from the adaptation of *Odyssey* by the father of Latin literature, Livius Andronicus, show that he uses only a few direct borrowings from Greek, actually three: *nympha* "nimf", in Greek νύμφη; *anclō*, verb, "to take out", i.e. *ūnum anclāre*, which according to Festus, is related to □ντλ□, a sailing term meaning "to take the water out from the bottom of the boat"; *carchesium* "drinking bowl; a platform on top of the mast", in Greek καρχήσιον. In the three literary genres he practiced, epic, tragic and comic, Naevius appears not to resort excessively to Greek vocabulary either. As a matter of fact in the fragments which survived from his works, there are six: *thesaurus*, *percontor*, verb created on Latin substrate from the Greek root κοντός "rowing pole", *summussi* ~ *murmuratores*, derived from *mussō* "to murmur", indicating the influence of μ□ξω with the same meaning[9]. The other loanwords are *theātrum*, *chorus* and *pallium*. All six of them are not elevated, they belong to the common and technical language. The authors of this first period, although very diverse, rendered an admirable service to the Latin language, by trying to introduce indigenous literary genres, styles and vocabulary. They kept as much as possible to what the Latin inventory had to offer, by ennobling the meanings or creating new words on the Greek mould through lexical calque.

The first method is illustrated in Livius Andronicus, who attributes to the old Italic term *Cāmēnae* the meanings of the Greek word *Musa*, and the second by the creation of the word *quinquertium* (*quinque* "five" and *ars* "craft, art, trades") as the equivalent of πένταθλον, also attributed to Livius Andronicus by A. Ernout and A. Meillet[10], which generated the derivation *quinquertiōnes*, with a suffix for trade names[11].

The creation of the word *uersutum* is also due to Livius Andronicus, who used it for the translation of πολ□τροπον. In the initial period of the Latin literature, the word for poet was the ancient *uātēs*, by lack of semantic load in the Greek term ποιητής. The desire to nationalize the epic led to the formal adaptation of Andronicus' translation by making use of the traditional Italic verse, the Saturnian.

3.2. But with the next generation, with Ennius and particularly Plautus, Greek gains so much ground that: "[…] le grec a réussi à détrôner les vieux mots défendus par la fiérté nationale, depuis ceux qui désignent le poète et le poème (*uātēs* et *carmen*, concurrencés par *poeta* et *poesis* ou *poema*) jusqu'à celui en qui se personnifiait l'art national de la parole (*orātor* supplanté par *rhetor*)"[12], and the Saturnian meter makes room to the hexameter. Naevius' own epitaph can be seen as an example of aperture to innovation: on one hand, it preserves the Saturnian meter and the Italic

[9] A. Meillet, *op. cit.* : 115; A. Ernout, A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique…*: 647.
[10] A. Meillet, *op. cit*.: 843.
[11] I. Fischer, *Vocabularul latin*: 52.
[12] J. Marouzeau, *op. cit*.: 132.

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name for muzes, *Cāmēnae* and tries to dissimulate the Greek influence under Latin forms, when translating θνητός and θάνατος, the standard terms in Greek epic and tragedy, by *mortalis* and *immortalis*, and on the other hand, it abandons the old *uātēs* for the Greek *poeta*: *Immortalis mortalis si foret fas flere*, / *Flerent diuae Camenae Naeuium poetam*[13]*.* The first verse of Ennius' epic poem is another example for the two substitutions, one in form, the hexameter, and the other in content, where *Camenae* became *Musae* and reside on the sacred mountain of the Greeks: *Musae quae pedibus magnum pulsatis Olympum*.

3.3. From now on, the purist tendencies will be strongly thwarted by the innovative currents imposed by the real and objective need to modernize the whole of the Roman society. The impressive abundance of the Greek cultural contribution and its absolute priority in all areas compared to the Roman culture made Terence remark that *nullum est iam dictum quod non sit dictum prius*.

Only later, in the second half of the last century of the old age, an author of strong creative personality like Horace could claim originality in some lyrical genres and especially in satire, which made Quintilian attribute to the Romans the intellectual property of the satire: *Satira tota nostra est*. As for the rest, even after a rather long apprenticeship, the Romans could do nothing more than imitate, be it in the emulative, more creative sense.

3.4. From Lucilius, satiric poet contemporary of Terence, with whom he shared the liberal ideas from the Scipiones Circle, there is a quote where poetic terms directly borrowed from Greek coexist with more or less adapted forms:

> ***Epistula*** *item quaeuis non magna* ***poema*** *est*
> *Illa* ***poesis*** *opus totum*, *ut tota Ilias una est*,
> *Una* **θέσις** *sunt Annales Enni atque* **πος** *unum*,
> *Et maius multo est quam quod dixi ante* ***poema***,
> *Quapropter dico: nemo*, *qui culpat Homerum*,
> *Perpetuo culpat*, *neque quod dixi ante* ***poesin****:*
> *Versum unum culpat*, *uerbum*, ***enthymema***, *locumque*.[14]

3.5. According to a study on the language of Cato[15], well-known for his obstinate nationalism in all circumstances, his works introduce numerous hellenisms, which for the greater part belonged to the specific agricultural terminology and had already been integrated into Latin, but others, like: *cataplasma*, *diadema*, *magira*, *parastata*, *pharmacopola*, *poeticus* are of much recent date.

3.6. Some Roman writers made real efforts to maintain the balance between philhellenism and hellenophobia. They strived to emphasize the

[13] A. Meillet, 1928: 115.
[14] *Apud* I. Fischer, *op. cit*.: 54.
[15] R. Till, *Die Sprache Catos*, Leipzig, 1935, apud Jean Cousin in *Structure et évolution*…: 123.

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resources of their native Latin in order to achieve a strong instrument of expression and realized that this could only happen under the pressure of a superior model. This is what Cicero means in his *Academica Posteriora*, 1, 5: *enitar ut Latine loquar*, *nisi in huiusmodi uerbis ut philosophiam aut rhetoricam aut physicam aut dialecticam appellem*, *quibus ut aliis multis consuetudo iam utitur pro Latinis* and in *De finibus*, 3, 3-5: *quamquam ea uerba quibus instituto ueterum utimur pro Latinis*, *ut ipsa philosophia*, *ut rhetorica*, *grammatica*, *geometria*, *musica quamquam Latine ea dici poterant*, *tamen*, *quoniam usu percepta sunt*, *nostra ducamus*[16].

3.7. The specific vocabularies created by the Greeks in various areas of theoretical knowledge could not find an equal correspondent in the Latin language, much less exercised in philosophical speculations or intellectual virtuosity. For this reason for Cicero the inclusion as such of some of these terms is justified, if it is not possible to find suitable corresponding forms. But Lucretius clearly exercises linguistic virtuosity in his attempt to avoid as much as possible the original terms of the Epicurean philosophy and puts it into verse, using Latin words for the key-concepts, but at the same time includes *homoeomeria* and *harmonia* from a different school[17]. The names of the Greek schools of philosophy were respected by the authors, as well as certain doctrinarian terms impossible to replace such as: *Academici*, *Epicurei*, *Stoici*, *Peripatetici*, *Sophistae*, *dialectica*, *physica*, *ethica*, *logica*, *atomus*.

I. Fischer notes that “in general, there is a certain gradation regarding the interdiction to accept direct borrowings. The more a profession is highly appreciated or “liberal”, the greater the efforts to find a pure Latin terminology for it”[18].

Some hellenisms, like *sophia* and *philosophia* were stubbornly replaced by the partial equivalent *sapientia*: […] *sophiam*, *sapientiam quae perhibetur*, in Ennius and later even in Cicero: *quam philosophiam Graeci uocant* […][19]. Even more, the Greek word *aër* and *aether* in texts by Ennius and Pacuvius, are immediately twinned with their Latin correspondents *uentus* and *caelum*: *Vento*, *quem perhibent Graium genus aera lingua* (Ennius, *Ann*., II, 147) and *Id quod nostri caelum memorant*, *Grai perhibent aethera* (Pacuvius, *Trag*., 90)[20]. The writers adopted a moderate usage of the Greek neologisms and stressed their redundancy when Latin provided the synonyms.

3.8. The official style and the literary narrative were the most targeted by the purifying rigour of the authors. Often the rejection of Greek words in

[16] *Ibidem*.
[17] *Ibidem*: 55, nota 93.
[18] I. Fischer, *op. cit*.: 55.
[19] *Apud* J. Marouzeau, *Traité de stylistique appliquée au latin*, Paris, Société d'Édition Les Belles Lettres, 1935: 158.
[20] *Ibidem*.

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the public and official discourse was imposed by the nationalist imperial politics. For instance, Emperor Augustus regularly made use of the Greek language in his private conversations and correspondence, but he never did that at official functions, in political speeches or in his literary writings. Among the first officially to be accepted Greek terms is *aula*, in Greek α□λή, for "imperial court"[21].

This protective policy of the Latin language against the invasion by Greek terms in all areas of science and arts had some positive consequences as well, when the equivalents created by the Roman writers sometimes had better chances to be widely used than the Greek terms, so that later Latin will dominate the field of scholastic terminology.

4.0. In this respect the role played by Cicero was decisive[22]. He wisely used the *interpretation Romana* in his approach to the Greek philosophic vocabulary, in particular in *Academica*, *Topica*, *De natura deorum* and *De finibus*, introducing terms that are still in circulation today. For instance, *comprehensio* is the translation of κατάληψις, "knowledge about things", *notio* or *notitiae rerum* that of □ννοια, "knowledge, notions", *perspicuitās* and *euidentia* translate □νάργεια, *probabile* or *uerosimile* successfully substitute πιτανός, "plausible, probable", the same as *probabilitās*, exclusively the creation of Cicero; *opportunitās* and *occasio* are the equivalent of ε□καιρία; *essentia* (Quintilian attributed it to Sergius Flaccus) will replace ο□σία; □σονομία is rendered in *aequilibritas*; *conuenientia* appears as a synonym for □μολογία and *medietās* for μεσότης. By virtue of lexical calque Cicero produced the term *qualitās* based on *qualis*, the same way in Greek Plato and Aristotle created ποιότης starting from πο□ος. J. Marouzeau considers this term Cicero's most successful terminological creation and *prouidentia* as a synonym for πρόνοια as his most beautiful. There are more Latin terms which in time proved stronger than the Greek ones. Cicero did not always find a unique solution, that's why he put forward several alternatives, sometimes periphrastic, sometimes reassigning meanings to words from the common vocabulary. For instance, □πονία was successively *doloris uacuitās*, *liberatio*, *amotio*, *priuatio*, *detractio* before the creation of *indolentia*, "qui aura la fortune qu'on sait"[23], πρόληψις also went through several hesitant steps in Latin: *prima*, *adumbrata intelligentia*, followed by *innata uel insita cognitio*, before the terms *informatio* and *anticipatio* were created, the latter being the best received. In some cases we can follow Cicero's thoughts in the process, as

[21] I. Fischer, *op. cit*.: 55.

[22] M. O. Lişcu studied the contribution of Cicero and Seneca to the development of the philosophical terminology in a series of works, among them *L'expression des idées philosophiques chez Cicéron*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1937, *apud* Gh. Vlăduțescu, *Filosofia în Roma antică*, Bucureşti, Editura Albatros, 1991: 16-19.

[23] J. Marouzeau, *Quelques aspects*…, 1949: 139.

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in the case of σωφροσύνη, when he tries to pinpoint its meaning as accurately as possible: *quam soleo tum temperantiam*, *tum moderationem appellare*, *nonnumquam etiam modestiam*, *sed haud scio an recte ea uirtus frugalitas appellari possit* (*Tusc*., III, 8, 16-18)[24]. Another term is *hūmanitās* which Cicero found after several attempts to define the equivalent of the Greek concept of κοινωνία. He went from the explanatory periphrasis, *societās mortalium*, *humana societās*, to the contracted sense in one word, *communitās*, *consortio* or *consociatio*, and finally he found *hūmanitās*, which he semantically enriched and thanks to him "portera en lui un des aspects les plus beaux de la pensée antique"[25].

5.0. The grammar terminology, science created by the Greek, is almost entirely copied by the Romans[26]. Over a period of hundreds of years there are only a few directly borrowed terms, which today are commonly used in linguistics: *etymologia* şi *homonymia* in Quintilian, *apostrophus* in Donatus, *diphtongus* in Probus and a few more[27]. In other areas of the language and literary theory also created by the Greek, like rhetoric or poetics, which were somewhat less highly regarded than grammar, there was greater tolerance, certainly since they were taught in schools by Greek teachers.

6.0. But in this regard poetry was much more tolerant than narrative, in particular the alexandrine poetry, which made abundant use of exotic or unusual terms. Some statistics show an increased dynamics of the number of Greek words in Roman poetry starting from Cato, with a percentage of 10%, equalled by Tibullus and Ovid, and that goes on to 11% in Horace, 12% in Propertius, 14% in Virgil's *Bucolics*, 15% in Juvenal, nearly 20% in Persius, while in the thirty-eight verses of the little poem *Copa* there are twenty-three Greek words[28]. The different approach of Greek words in poetry compared to narrative becomes evident in the work of *Copa*'s author, Messalla Corvinus, a scholar and patron of a literary circle: profusion of Greek in his poetry, but purist in narrative. This gained him the praise of several authors, among them Horace, in *Satira*, I, 10.

7.0. The purist ideas could not apply to the vocabulary of the science or art either. In most cases the borrowed words had the advantage of being familiar to the people, thanks to the similar processes of derivation in Greek and in Latin, as is the case for words ending in *-icus*, respectively -ικός, which led to a mixture of words of different origins: *aulicus*, *barbaricus*,

[24] *Apud* J. Marouzeau, *op. cit*., 1949: 139.
[25] Id., *ibidem*: 140.
[26] Cf. Léon Basset et alii, *Bilinguisme et terminologie grammaticale gréco-latine*, Actes du Colloque International, Lyon, du 24 au 27 avril 2002, Peeters, 2007.
[27] I. Fischer, *op. cit*., 1965: 55.
[28] J. Marouzeau, *Traité de stylistique appliquée au latin*, 1935: 163.

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cenaticus, *comicus*, *exoticus*, *graphicus*, *historicus*, *magicus*, *mechanicus*, *muraticus*, *nauticus*, *patricus*, *toxicus*, *tragicus*, *uineāticus*, etc.

8.0. In conclusion, though minimized or simply avoided by the purists trying to strengthen the chances of the internal resources of their own language, the Greek influence on Latin represented the model of evolution only few could reject. A quote from Horace's tenth *Satira*, first book, clearly shows the different stages Latin went through before it became a literary language. It contains an imaginary conversation on the subject of the influence of Greek on Latin, related to Lucillius, the predecessor of the satiric genre: *At magnum fecit*, *quod uerbis Graeca Latinis/miscuit*. (*Sat.*I, 10, 20-21). Horace accepts the fact that at the beginnings of literary Latin the cuttings from Greek on the Latin trunk were needed and inevitable and, in order to render even more strength to this example, he uses a metaphor about the wine: *At sermo lingua concinnus utraquel suauior*, *ut Chio nota si commixta Falerni est*. (v. 24-25). He remembers that his own first verses were in Greek, *Graecos uersiculos*, but then he wonders, "Aren't there enough Greek poets?"

Having reached maturity, Latin must now emancipate and stop blindly imitating the Greek model, equalling and competing with it instead. This is particularly true in literature, where verbal creativity can and should manifest itself as freely as possible. In other areas, where Greek terms had long been adopted together with the notions and objects they defined, it was very difficult, if not impossible, to replace them with Latin ones.

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