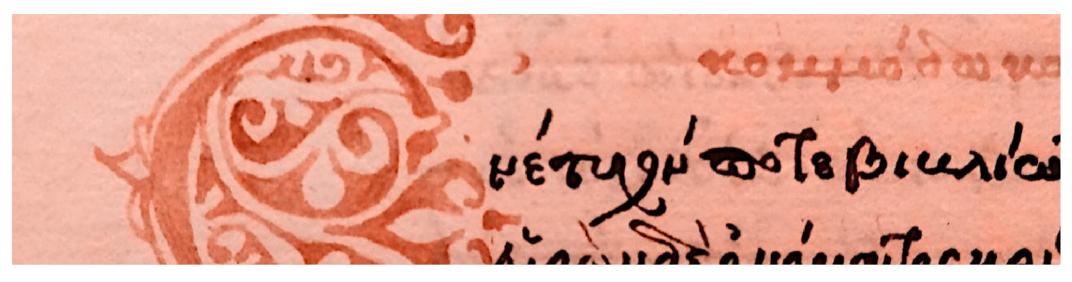




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Lexicographic entries

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εἰσιέτω, ἰέτω (Phryn. *Ecl*. 141)

A. Main sources

(1) Phryn. *Ecl.* 141: εἰσιέτω· καὶ περὶ τούτου οὕτως ἔσχεν. Λολλιανὸς ἀκούσας, ὅτι χρὴ σὺν τῷ ε εἰσιέναι λέγειν, εἶθ' ὑπέλαβε καὶ τὸ εἰσίτω εἰσιέτω δεῖν λέγειν.

εἰσιέτω: It was the same (i.e. as *Ecl.* 140) in this case too. Upon hearing that one should say εἰσιέναι with ε , Lollianus then assumed that one should also say εἰσιέτω for εἰσίτω.

B. Other erudite sources

(1) Σ i 150 (= Cyr. (S) it 18 and Cyr. (g) it 6; cf. Σ^{b} 264 = Phot. i 270 = Su. i 748, cf. [Zonar.] 1132.6): itw iétw, épxétbu.

ἴτω: Like ἰέτω, ἐρχέσθω.

C. Loci classici, other relevant texts

(1) Hp. Morb. 2.15: καὶ ἀλουτεἑτω καὶ περιπατείτω ἀπὸ τῶν σιτίων καὶ ὄρθρου, φυλασσόμενος τὸν ἄνεμον καὶ τὸν ἥλιον, καὶ πρὸς πῦρ μὴ προσίτω.

προσίτω Μ : προσιέτω Θ.

Do not let him take a bath and let him walk after the meals and in the morning, avoiding wind and sun, and do not let him go near fire.

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(2) Α.Ιο. 31: 'εί δέ τι τοιοῦτον ὁποῖον ἀκούω' ἔλεγεν 'ἔχειν, τὸ δημόσιον θέατρον ἀνεῷγὸς εἰσιέτω γυμνός'.

But if [he is able to do] any such thing like those I hear [him] being able to do, let him enter naked into the public theatre, when it is open.

(3) Origenes Or. 23.2: ἀπιέτω τοίνυν 'πρὸς τὸν πέμψαντα' αὐτὸν ἀφεὶς τὸν κόσμον ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος.

Therefore, let the God's Word leave towards the one who sent it, abandoning the world.

(4) Chrys. In illud: Si esurierit inimicus MPG 51.176.121–2: καὶ μετὰ τοῦ μέλους ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰσιέτω.
 And let everyone enter the church with a family member.

(5) Chrys. In Genesim MPG 53.170.54–6: ὁ τοίνυν βουλόμενος θᾶττον πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἐπανελθεῖν [...] μετὰ νήψεως προσιέτω.
Whoever wants to return to health quickly [...] let him go (i.e. to a doctor) with a sober mind.

(6) [Dion.Ar.] *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* 69.14–5: καί μοι μηδεὶς ἀτέλεστος ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν ἰέτω.
 And no-one who is uninitiated should go to the revelation (i.e. of the symbols of divine birth).

(7) Gp. 6.11.4 καὶ εἴ τις ἀνάγκη γένοιτο ἀπελθεῖν, μὴ γυμνοῖς τοῖς ποσὶν ἀπιέτω.

And if there is any need to leave, let him not leave barefooted.

(8) Theodorus Studites Epistulae 449.51–2 Fatouros: εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰσιέτωσαν εὐχόμενοι.

They must enter the church praying.

D. General commentary

Phrynichus (<u>A.1</u>) reproaches the sophist Publius Hordeonius Lollianus for using the analogical imperative $\epsilon i\sigma i\epsilon \tau \omega$ in place of $\epsilon i\sigma i\tau \omega$. The analogical forms $i\epsilon \tau \omega/-i\epsilon \tau \omega$ and $i\epsilon \tau \omega \sigma \alpha \nu/-i\epsilon \tau \omega \sigma \alpha \nu$ are the product of hypercorrection, presumably triggered, as Phrynichus plausibly suggests, by the expansion of the analogical infinitive $i\nu \alpha i$ at the

expense of the correct form ἰέναι (see ἴναι^L).

The analogical forms of the imperative of $\varepsilon i \mu i$ are sub-standard throughout the history of Ancient Greek, and they are almost unattested in classical and post-classical texts (literary and documentary). Thus, Lobeck (1820, 16) concluded that the few instances found in the manuscript tradition should be removed. Such an approach is surely advisable for classical texts. Editors of Xenophon's *Anabasis* rightly emend the variant reading lét $\omega \sigma \alpha \nu$ in *An*. 1.9 into literary. In the case of the Hippocratic treatise *De morbis* 2 (<u>C.1</u>), Littré alone does not emend the transmitted $\pi \rho \sigma \sigma i \epsilon \tau \omega$, while Jouanna (1983, 150) and Potter (1988, 194) correctly restore $\pi \rho \sigma \sigma i \tau \omega$ and regard $\pi \rho \sigma \sigma i \epsilon \tau \omega$ as a Byzantine slip. Not only are the analogical forms of the imperative entirely absent in classical literary sources, but they are also unattested in extant documentary texts, such as papyri and inscriptions. The thirdperson imperative, singular or plural, is mostly used in official texts: an element of vernacular language such as

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iέτω/-ιέτω and iέτωσαν/-ιέτωσαν would have been inadmissible in such contexts. Phrynichus' prescription (<u>A.1</u>) that iέτω is unacceptable in higher Greek is therefore confirmed by the available documentation, although the question of what use Lollianus may have made of εἰσιέτω is destined to remain unsettled (see <u>F.1</u>). Things become more complicated when we move to later Christian sources, where the normalisation of the analogical iἑτω/-ιἑτω and iἑτωσαν/-ιἑτωσαν into regular forms is not always recommendable. For instance, the occurrence of εἰσιἑτω in a text such as the apocryphal *Acts of John* (<u>C.2</u>) is acceptable, in that it is likely to be an element of genuinely informal and vernacular language fully in keeping with the linguistic register of this writing. On the other hand, Origenes is a more complicated case. In his corpus, the analogical form of the imperative (<u>C.3</u>) occurs only once, whereas the regular forms occur 11x. Since Origenes is a highly erudite author, one may be tempted to normalise the one isolated analogical form of the manuscript tradition into ἀπίτω, thus considering ἀπιέτω a Byzantine slip.

To conclude, while $i \epsilon \tau \omega / -i \epsilon \tau \omega$ and $i \epsilon \tau \omega \sigma \alpha \nu / -i \epsilon \tau \omega \sigma \alpha \nu$ are out of place in classical and post-classical mid- to highbrow texts, be they literary or documentary, the analogical imperatives should be retained in the sources for which there is evidence of a more vernacular register, such as early Christian literature. It remains, however, unclear where one should draw the line, and whether the alternation of regular and analogical imperatives can be allowed for in the work of educated Christian writers or whether one should normalise the analogical forms, restoring the regular conjugation. Such a problem also remains unresolved in some of the Byzantine sources (see <u>E.</u>).

E. Byzantine and Modern Greek commentary

Byzantine texts tend to bring to an extreme the tendencies already discernible in Ancient Greek. While the analogical imperatives $\ell \tau \omega / \ell \tau \omega$ and $\ell \tau \omega \sigma \alpha / \ell \tau \omega \sigma \alpha \nu$ are entirely foreign to texts written in the higher register, they are extremely common in monastic regulations, as well as in juridical and didactic writings, which make no pretence to elevated language. Let us consider two exemplary cases. In the *Geoponica*, the analogical imperatives are attested three times (<u>C.6</u>, in addition to 12.20.5 εἰσιέτω and 17.13.1 προσιέτωσαν), while the regular forms iτω and čτωσαν are unattested. In Alexius Aristenus' commentary on the Synopsis canonum, the analogical forms are attested three times in the canons on which Alexius comments (Conc. 5, canon 22, line 2 $\dot{\alpha}\pi_1\dot{\epsilon}\tau\omega$; Conc. 11, canon 38, line 2 προσιέτωσαν; Conc. 13, canon 46, line 4 έξιέτω). The regular forms are also found, and they occasionally alternate with the analogical forms in the same text (Conc. 2, canon 19, line 2 $\pi \rho \sigma \sigma \tau \omega \sigma \alpha \nu$; Conc. 13, canon 41, line 2 εἰσίτω; Conc. 13, canon 41, line 3 ἐξίτω; Conc. 13, canon 48, line 2 εἰσίτω; schol. Basil. Magn. canon 75, line 1 εἰσίτω). In writings like the *Geoponica* and the *Synopsis canonum*, the analogical imperatives are an aspect of informal language that we should not regard as surprising or unwarranted. Even though the analogical forms occasionally alternate with the regular ones in the same writings, we may confidently retain both and allow for a lack of homogeneity. In support of this conclusion, one may note that in erudite sources the analogical form $i \epsilon \tau \omega$ is also used as the *interpretamentum* of $i\tau\omega$ (B.1), which confirms that, for the Byzantines, analogical forms like $i\epsilon\tau\omega$ had become an established, and surely more intelligible, alternative to the regular imperatives $i\tau\omega/-i\tau\omega$ and $i\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\nu/-$

ίτωσαν.

The situation becomes more complex when analogical imperatives occur in texts written in a higher variety of Greek (an early example being lé $\tau\omega$ in pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, <u>C.6</u>), and especially when they alternate with the regular forms. In such cases, it is doubtful whether the analogical forms are copyist slips or whether they are different forms that the writers saw as legitimate. Some instances are particularly noteworthy. Regarding John Chrysostom, Migne does not emend εἰσιέτω and προσιέτω into the regular forms (<u>C.4</u>, <u>C.5</u>), even though εἰσίτω and προσιέτω into the regular forms (<u>C.4</u>, <u>C.5</u>), even though εἰσίτω and προσιέτω into the regular forms (<u>C.4</u>, <u>C.5</u>), even though εἰσίτω and προσιέτω are attested 10x and 18x respectively in the rest of John Chrysostom's writings. Along the same lines, only one example of the analogical imperative is attested in the writings of Theodorus Studites (<u>C.8</u>), while the regular forms are attested 8x. Finally, Matthew Blastares alternates on more equal terms the standard and analogical forms

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of the imperative, and the distribution of these options apparently depends on the individual compounds ($\pi\rho\sigma\sigma'\tau\omega$ and $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma'\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\nu$ in *Syntagma alphabeticum* α .5.11, \varkappa .28.6, and \varkappa .28.97 Plotes–Ralles, ἐξιέτωσαν in *Syntagma alphabeticum* α .5.6 Plotes–Ralles and *Syntagma alphabeticum* ε .28.15 Plotes–Ralles). In these cases, modern editors generally avoid normalising the analogical forms, no matter how isolated, into the regular ones. However, the analogical imperatives represent a clear minority in John Chrysostom and Theodorus Studites. John Chrysostom and Matthew Blastares are learned, Atticising writers whom we would not expect to admit the unclassical léτω/- ιέτωσαν/-ιέτωσαν. Further investigation into the language of these writers may prove fruitful.

F. Commentary on individual texts and occurrences

(1) Phryn. *Ecl.* 141 (<u>A.1</u>)

Phrynichus' main aim is to poke fun at Lollianus' (alleged) linguistic incompetence. Lollianus was a prominent and successful figure in Athenian political life and in the sophistic circles during Hadrian's time (see Philostr. *VS* 1.23 and Schissel 1927). Not only was Lollianus in charge of administering Athens' grain supply, but the emperor Hadrian also assigned to him one of the two recently founded chairs of rhetoric in Athens. Additionally, during his life Lollianus was a successful and well-paid teacher, and after his death he was honoured with two statues, one of which was inscribed with an honorary epigram ($IG \ 2^2.4211$ [Athens, 2nd century CE]). Phrynichus' teasing of Lollianus is paralleled by a scoptic epigram attributed to Lucian ($AP \ 11.274$), in which the sophist is depicted as a know-it-all who never stays silent and might even hyperbolically claim to be teaching Hermes how to do his duty as $\psi \upsilon \chi \circ \pi \circ \varphi$.

The analogical imperatives $i \epsilon \tau \omega / -i \epsilon \tau \omega$ and $i \epsilon \tau \omega \sigma \alpha \nu / -i \epsilon \tau \omega \sigma \alpha \nu$ are sub-standard in classical and post-classical texts (see <u>D</u>.). We should then ask how reliable Phrynichus' gloss may be regarding Lollianus' use of $\epsilon i \sigma i \epsilon \tau \omega$. Indeed, $\epsilon i \sigma i \epsilon \omega$ is a markedly different case compared to the other glosses in which Phrynichus reproaches Lollianus' mistakes, which are standard post-classical forms with a very large diffusion in high-register Greek (see *Ecl.* 140 on Lollianus' use of accusative $\tau \alpha \zeta \nu \eta \alpha \zeta$ in place of $\tau \alpha \zeta \nu \alpha \delta \zeta$ and *Ecl.* 152 on the pluperfect ending - $\epsilon \sigma \alpha \nu$ in $\epsilon \delta \epsilon \delta (\epsilon \sigma \alpha \nu)$.

We can envisage three possible scenarios: (1) Lollianus' εἰσιέτω is a learned but incorrect hypercorrection. This may sound odd, but one might compare, e.g., the gloss (*Ecl.* 182) in which Phrynichus criticises those who believed that, based on analogy, the metaplasm ὤτοις was a legitimate alternative to ὠσίν as the dative plural of οὖς, ὠτός (see slip ὤτοις^{\mathbf{L}}); (2) εἰσιέτω is an occasional slip of the tongue Lollianus makes, e.g., while giving a public speech, and his blunder becomes notorious. One may compare how the 5th-century Athenian actor Hegelochus famously mispronounced γαλῆν instead of γαλήν'(α), an episode mentioned several times in Old Comedy (see Ar. *Ra.* 303–4, Sannyr. fr. 8, Stratt. frr. 1 and 60); (3) Lastly, εἰσιέτω is a scribal mistake in one of Lollianus' writings, which Phrynichus took as though it were Lollianus' own. With (2) and (3) εἰσιέτω would be a sub-standard form and therefore a slip into vernacular language. The distribution of analogical imperatives in ancient literary and

documentary sources (see \underline{D} .) strongly suggests that (2) and (3) are the most likely alternatives.

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ABSTRACT

This article provides a philological and linguistic commentary on the analogical imperatives εἰσιέτω and ἰέτω discussed in the Atticist lexicon Phryn. Ecl. 141.

KEYWORDS

ſ	Analogy		Hypercorrection		Imperative		Lollianus		ΐναι		ἰ έναι
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