

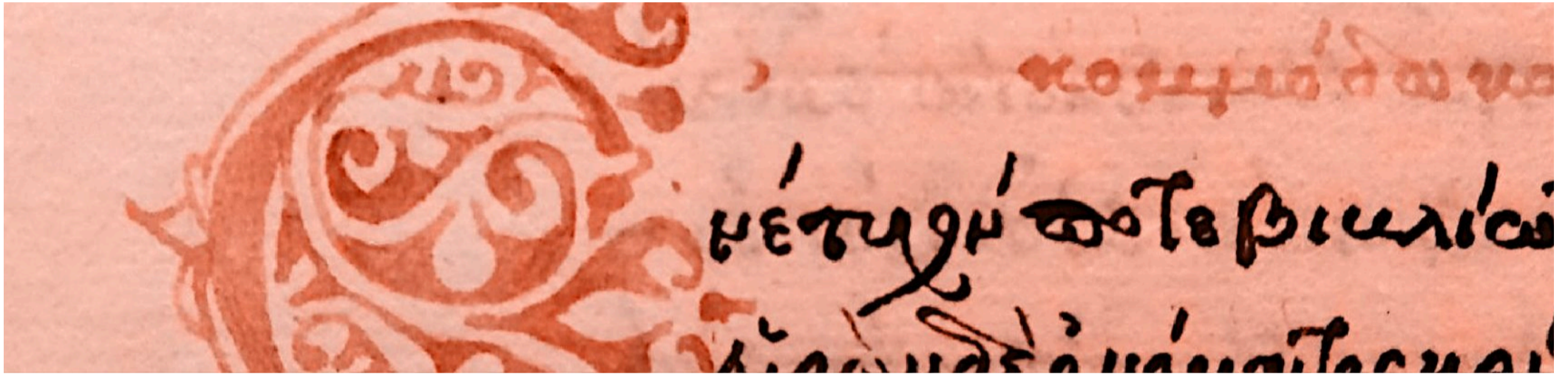


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The **Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism** is one of the research outputs of **PURA**, a five-year ERC Consolidator project (grant agreement no. 865817), which began in January 2021 at Ca' Foscari University of Venice. PURA investigates the theories of **linguistic purism** that were developed in ancient Greek culture, and the way in which they were received in later periods. The focus of our analysis is **Atticist lexica**, ancient 'dictionaries' that collect linguistic features to be cultivated or avoided in correct Greek.

DEA contributes to the three main objectives of PURA:

1. to provide a comprehensive mapping of **Atticist purism** by analyzing the linguistic theories of Atticist lexica;
2. to study the intellectual and cultural **legacy** of Atticism in antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the early modern age by charting the history both of the lexica as **books** and of their authors;
3. to make the theories of these specialist and intricate texts more approachable and **accessible** outside the traditional format of critical editions.

To fulfil these objectives, the three sections of DEA, all of which are **open-access**, collect our work on the lexicographic entries in the Atticist lexica and their linguistic history; the major scholars and works of the ancient and Byzantine Atticist debate; and the transmission of the lexica in the medieval and early modern periods. Visit [About DEA](#) for more information.

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PURA. *Purism In Antiquity: Theories Of Language in Greek Atticist Lexica and their Legacy*

## Lexicographic entries

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### ᾠτοις

(Phryn. *Ecl.* 182)

#### A. Main sources

(1) Phryn. *Ecl.* 182: ᾠτοις μὴ λέγε, ὡς τινες τῶν γραμματικῶν, ἀλλ' ὡσίν.

Do not use ᾠτοις, like some of the grammarians [regard as correct], but ὡσίν.

(2) [Hdn.] Περὶ τῶν ζητουμένων\* 252.28–253.4: ὁμοίως ζητεῖται καὶ ἡ δοτικὴ πῶς ῥηθήσεται τοῖς ᾠτοις, ἢ τοῖς ὡσί. πάλιν γὰρ σφάλλονται τινες τῆ ὁμοιότητι. ὡσπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὰ πλήκτρα τῶν πλήκτρων, τοῖς πλήκτροις, οὕτω φασὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὰ ᾠτα, τῶν ᾠτων, τοῖς ᾠτοις· ἀμαρτάνουσι δὲ, δέον ἀπιδεῖν εἰς τὴν ὀρθὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλήλοις ὅμοια· ὅθεν οὐδὲ ὅμοιαν ἔχειν ὀφείλει τὴν κλίσην, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς τὸ πλήκτρον εὐθείας, τοῖς πλήκτροις ἢ δοτικὴ γίνεται, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς οὔς, τοῖς ὡσίν.

Likewise, it must also be investigated how to say the dative, [that is, whether] τοῖς ᾠτοις or τοῖς ὡσί. For, once again, some are led astray by analogy. Just as from τὰ πλήκτρα τῶν πλήκτρων [one gets the dative] τοῖς πλήκτροις, thus they also say that from τὰ ᾠτα, τῶν ᾠτων [one also has the dative] τοῖς ᾠτοις. But they are wrong, for it is necessary to consider the nominative of the noun, because [these forms] are not like one another; hence, it is not necessary that they have the same declension either. But rather, from the nominative τὸ πλήκτρον one has the dative τοῖς πλήκτροις, but from [the nominative] οὔς [one has the dative] τοῖς ὡσίν.

## B. Other erudite sources

(1) Choerob. *in Theodos.* GG 4.1.361.14–24: τῷ φωτί, τῷ ὄτι· τὸ φῶς, τὸ ὄς· ὦ φῶς, ὦ ὄς. τὼ φῶτε, τὼ ὄτε· τοῖν φῶτιν, τοῖν ὄτιν· ὦ φῶτε, ὦ ὄτε. τὰ φῶτα, τὰ ὄτα· τῶν φώτων, τῶν ὄτων. ἰστέον ὅτι ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς λαμπηδόνης τῶν φώτων λέγομεν βαρυτόνως, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν φωτῶν λέγομεν περισπωμένως. τοῖς φωσί, τοῖς ὄσιν. εἴρηται ὅτι πᾶσα εὐθεία ἐνικῶν εἰς λήγουσα μετὰ μακρᾶς περιπτοσυλλάβως κλινομένη καὶ μὴ συναιρουμένη κατὰ τὴν γενικὴν προσθέσει τοῦ ι ποιεῖ τὴν δοτικὴν τῶν πληθυντικῶν, <οῖον> Αἴας Αἴαντος Αἴασι, λέβης λέβητος λέβησι, Τρώς Τρωός Τρωσίν· οὕτως οὖν καὶ φῶς φωτός φωσί καὶ ὄς ὄτός ὄσιν. τὰ φῶτα, τὰ ὄτα· <ὦ φῶτα>, ὦ ὄτα.

[The dative singular is] τῷ φωτί, τῷ ὄτι. [The nominative singular is] τὸ φῶς, τὸ ὄς. [The vocative singular is] ὦ φῶς, ὦ ὄς. [The nominative/accusative dual is] τὼ φῶτε, τὼ ὄτε. [The genitive/dative dual is] τοῖν φῶτιν, τοῖν ὄτιν. [The vocative dual is] ὦ φῶτε, ὦ ὄτε. [The nominative plural is] τὰ φῶτα, τὰ ὄτα. [The genitive plural is] τῶν φώτων, τῶν ὄτων. One must know that we pronounce τῶν φώτων, with a barytone accent, for the lamp, but τῶν φωτῶν, with a perispomenon accent, for men. [The dative is] τοῖς φωσί, τοῖς ὄσιν. It is said that all nominatives singulars which end in sigma after a long syllable, which are declined with an additional syllable in the genitive and are not contracted, form the dative plural with the addition of iota [i.e. to the final sigma of the nominative], like Αἴας Αἴαντος Αἴασι, λέβης λέβητος λέβησι, Τρώς Τρωός Τρωσίν. In the same way, therefore, [behave] also φῶς φωτός φωσί and ὄς ὄτός ὄσιν. [The accusative plural is] τὰ φῶτα, τὰ ὄτα. [The vocative plural is] ὦ φῶτα, ὦ ὄτα.

## C. *Loci classici*, other relevant texts

(1) Sor. *Fasc.* 7: λαγῶδες σὺν ὄτοις.

Bunny bandage with ears.

(2) Orib. 48.27: λαγῶδες σὺν ὄτοις.

Bunny bandage with ears.

(3) Benedictus Tzankarolus Ἐξορκισμοί 65.21 Barbounes–Papathomopoulos: ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἐν ὄτοις, ἐν μυκτῆρσιν, ἐν στόματι, ἐν φάρυγγι.

In the eyes, in the ears, in the nostrils, in the mouth, in the throat.

(4) Phlp. *in de An.* 325.35–7 (CAG vol. 15): πρὸς δὲ τοῦτό φαμεν, ὅτι εἰ μὴ αὐτοῖς τοῖς οὐρανίοις προσβάλλει ἡ ὄψις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς φῶτοις τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐξιούσι, πόθεν ἴσασι οἱ ἀστρονόμοι τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἀστρων;

To this we reply that if the sight does not reach to the heavenly bodies themselves, but rather to the lights which come out of them, how do the astronomers know the size of the stars?

(5) Germanus I *Orationes* 6 MPG 98.368.40–3: αἴρουσιν οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν ὤμοις τὸ κλινάριον· ὕμνοις καὶ φῶτοις τὸ σῶμα τῆς Παρθένου πρὸς τὸ μνήμα τιμίως καὶ εὐλαβῶς ἐξοδεύοντες.

The remaining apostles lift the couch on their shoulders, with hymns and lamps bringing out the body of the Virgin to the tomb, honourably and piously.

(6) *Vita Nicephori archiepiscopi Mileti* 17.9–11 Delehaye: ἔτι γὰρ διάγων αὐτόθι, καθὰ προείρηται, τῆς μονῆς ἀπορούσης ἐλαίου, τῷ κελλαρίτῃ προσέταξεν – Ἐφραΐμ τούτῳ τοῦνομα – παρασχεῖν ἔλαιον· εἴτε τινὶ τῶν αἰτούντων εἴτε τοῖς φώτοις εἴτε καὶ τοῖς ἐψήμασι, λέγειν οὐκ ἔχω.

For as he was still there, as it was said earlier, since the monastery was lacking olive oil, he ordered the cellarman – whose name was Ephraim – to provide olive oil, whether for one of the beggars or for the lamps or the food, I cannot say.

(7) Constantinus Hermoniacus *Metaphrasis Iliadis* 13.64.125–6 Legrand: ἔν τε τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ | ἀγρυπνοῦσαν ἐν τοῖς φώτοις.

That night they remained awake among the lamps.

(8) Macarius Macres *Miracula et translationes sanctae Euphemiae* 10.40–5 Halkin: καὶ ὁ παναγιώτατος ἐν πατριάρχαις παρῆν Ταράσιος μετὰ γε πλείστων ὄσων ἀρχιερέων καὶ τοῦ κλήρου παντός· καὶ οὕτως ὑπὸ μυρίοις φώτοις καὶ μύριοις δορυφορούμενόν τε καὶ προπεμπόμενον τὸ σεβάσμιον τῷ ἰδίῳ ναῶ κατατίθεται καὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ τραπέζῃ ὑποθησαυρίζεται.

And Tarasius, the most holy of the patriarchs, was present with most of the archpriests and the whole of the clergy. And thus, flanked by tens of thousands of lamps and perfumes and carried in procession, the venerable (body) is laid down in its own shrine and is kept on the sacred table.

## D. General commentary

Phrynichus ([A.1](#)) and pseudo-Herodian ([A.2](#)) contest the opinion of unspecified grammarians who thought that the metaplasm ὄτοις was a legitimate form of the dative plural of οὖς in place of standard ὡσί(ν). In line with his general practice, Phrynichus does not provide any argumentation against this view, and probably only aims to indicate that the dative ὄτοις finds no confirmation whatsoever in canonical writers. Pseudo-Herodian spells out why any justification of ὄτοις based on analogy would be ill-founded: one cannot simply compare a noun from the thematic declension, like τὰ πλῆκτρα, with a third-declension noun like τὰ ὦτα. (On the grammatical doctrines against which Phrynichus and pseudo-Herodian polemicise, see further [F.1](#).)

The few extant occurrences of ὄτοις in Ancient Greek appear in lower koine texts such as the medical writers Soranus ([C.1](#)) and Oribasius ([C.2](#)), where they form part of an idiomatic expression indicating a type of bandage (see [F.2](#)). Rather than being medical jargon, ὄτοις is more likely a colloquialism used to nickname this type of bandage. As far as morphology is concerned, the creation of the metaplasm ὄτοις may have been favoured by analogy with the plural forms of the diminutive ὠτίον ('ear'). This diminutive is well-documented in Post-classical Greek, where it generally appears in lower koine texts (the Septuagint, the New Testament, imperial medical writers, early Christian writers, etc.). In most instances, ὠτίον has lost its original diminutive or hypochoristic function and adopts the same value as the positive (one may compare παιδίον 'small child' > 'child', as in Modern Greek παιδί). Thus, it overlaps in meaning with οὖς, ὠτός. In the plural, the presence of couplets such as ὦτα and ὠτία, ὠτων and ὠτίων, may have led to the creation of analogical ὄτοις in place of ὡσί, based on ὠτίοις.

The metaplasm ῶτοις is not isolated. A very similar example is the use of the dative φῶτοις in place of the expected φωσί(ν) ([C.4](#), [C.5](#), [C.6](#), [C.7](#), [C.8](#); this metaplasm is registered in *LBG* s.v. φῶς; on the origin of the declension φῶς, φῶτος as a τ-stem see Egli 1954, 60–1). In the case of φῶτοις, we are in a different situation compared to the one we find with ῶτα and ῶτία: we have no evidence of a diminutive \*φωτίον that may have worked as a model form for the creation of the metaplasm φῶτοις. However, considering the evident similarities between the plural forms of the declension of ῶτα and φῶτα, the metaplasm ῶτοις may have been the model for the formation of φῶτοις. The available evidence for φῶτοις is also late. This form is attested only once in late antiquity, in John Philoponus' commentary on the Aristotelian treatise *De anima* ([C.4](#)), a highly technical piece of writing that makes no attempt to use elevated language and therefore where such informal language does not look quite so surprising. However, it is not impossible that φῶτοις too, like ῶτοις, may have existed already in Imperial Greek. The fact that these forms were limited to lower or technical Greek is a convincing justification for their rarity.

## E. Byzantine and Modern Greek commentary

Most occurrences of the metaplasms ῶτοις and φῶτοις date to Byzantine and early modern times. While ῶτοις is attested only once in a 1627 treatise on how to perform an exorcism ([C.3](#)), the Byzantine and early modern evidence for φῶτοις is a little more substantial. These occurrences appear in hagiographical ([C.5](#), [C.6](#), [C.8](#)), legal (*Tipukeitos* 16.6.4–5 Dölger), and demotic texts ([C.7](#)), and they surface throughout the Byzantine millennium. The use of φῶτοις is a feature of lower language. In some cases, it is in line with the profile of the texts in which it appears. The occurrence of φῶτοις in Constantinus Hermoniacus' *Metaphrasis Iliadis* (14th century CE) ([C.7](#)) is precious evidence of the persistence of this dative form in the vernacular language (on Constantinus Hermoniacus' language, see also Legrand 1890, VII–IX). As far as the register is concerned, this appearance in a medieval Greek text can be compared with its use in the 11th-century CE *Tipukeitos* (16.6.4–5 Dölger), whose language, if seen from the point of view of classical Greek, contains innumerable oddities and deviances from the norm (see Ferrini, Mercati 1914, XXI). However, we must also point out that not all the authors and texts using ῶτοις have a generally low linguistic profile. The style of the homilies of Germanus I (7th/8th century CE), the patriarch of Constantinople, has recently been described as 'an elevated koine embellished with an unusual choice of vocabulary and even occasional *hapax legomena*' (Brubaker, Cunningham 2007, 243, with previous bibliography). The author of the 11th-century CE *Vita Nicephori archiepiscopi Mileti* ([C.6](#)) is described by Lemerle (1971, 243) as an educated man. Macarius Macres (14th/15th century CE) ([C.8](#)) is a man of letters, and in his *Miracula et translationes sanctae Euphemiae*, besides obvious scriptural allusions, he also quotes Pindar (10.3 Halkin) and classical proverbs (5.4–5 and 9.45–7 Halkin, on which see further Halkin 1965, 174 n. 4 and 180 n. 1). The fact that ῶτοις may occasionally represent a slip committed by more educated writers could then be evidence of its frequency in the colloquial language.

## F. Commentary on individual texts and occurrences

(1) Hdn. *De locut. prav.* AO 3.252.28–253.4 ([A.2](#))

Pseudo-Herodian says that those who justify ῶτοις are misled by analogy. He then explains the differences between the declension of οῦς, ῶτός and that of πλῆκτρον, πλῆκτρου. It seems somewhat puzzling, even by the standards of ancient grammarians, that analogy with a completely different form such as τὰ πλῆκτρα can be used to justify the metaplasm ῶτοις (for an attempt at a different explanation see [D.](#)). Thus, it is possible that by comparing an altogether different form such as τὰ πλῆκτρα, pseudo-Herodian is not referring to the actual doctrines that he condemns as faulty, but rather aiming only to point out that second- and third-declension nouns cannot simply

borrow one another's case endings. In terms of the doctrines challenged by Phrynichus ([A.1](#)) and pseudo-Herodian, then, they may have suggested defending ὄτοις based on analogy with the dative φώτοις. Not only are the similarities between these forms very apparent, but most importantly, Choeroboscus ([B.1](#)) discusses the declension of φῶς and οὔς side by side. Choeroboscus also explicitly comments on the correct form of the dative plural of these words and provides a rule to explain the dative forms φωσί and ὡσίν. This could be deemed implicit evidence of an earlier debate on these datives. Thus, it is reasonable that the grammarians criticised by Phrynichus and pseudo-Herodian thought that analogy between two nearly identical metaplasms such as ὄτοις and φώτοις could somehow justify one another.

(2) Soran. *Fasc.* 7 ([C.1](#)), Orib. 48.27 ([C.2](#))

The 'bunny bandage with ears' belongs to a typology of bandages together with the λαγῶδες ἐπίδεσμος ('bunny bandage', mentioned by Orib. 46.18.2, 46.26.2) and the λαγῶδες χωρὶς ὠτων ('bunny bandage without ears', mentioned by Orib. 48.26 and 48.43.1). A discussion of these bandages is provided by I. Bonati, *Medicalia online*, s.v. ὑδροκέφαλον at n. 31.

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### ABSTRACT

This article deals with the analogical dative plural ὄτοις, discussed in the Atticist lexicon Phryn. *Ecl.* 182.

### KEYWORDS

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