

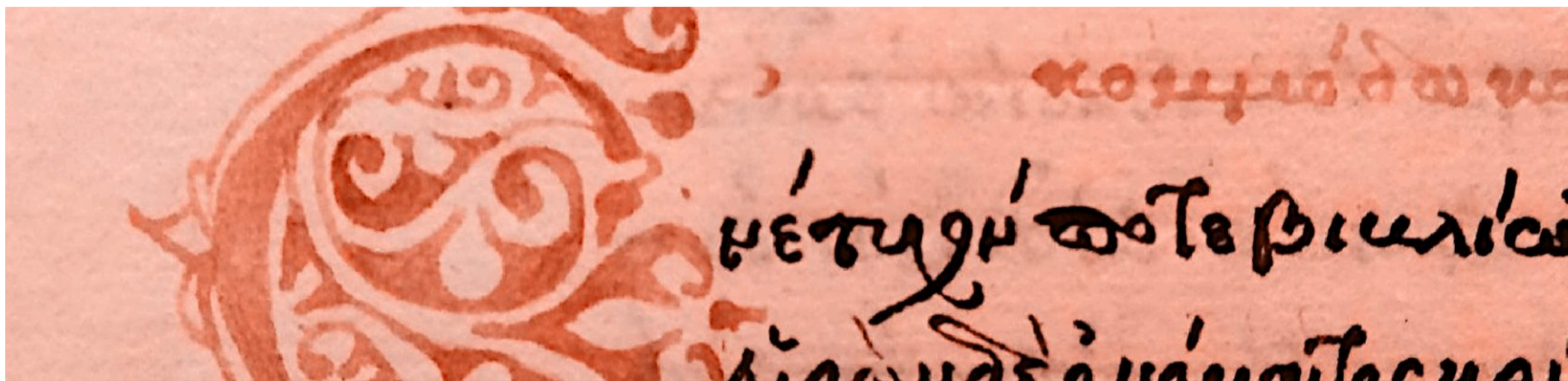


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Contacts

For information about DEA, please email dea_editor@unive.it. For information about the PURA project, please contact the Principal Investigator: Prof. Olga Tribulato, Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici, Università Ca' Foscari

Venezia, Dorsoduro 3484/D, 30123 Venezia, Italia. olga.tribulato@unive.it.



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Lexicographic entries

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καμύω

(*Antiatt.* κ 54, *Phryn. Ecl.* 316)

A. Main sources

(1) *Antiatt.* κ 54: καμύειν· οὐ φασι δεῖν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καταμύειν.

καμύειν: They say that one should not say [this] but [rather] καταμύειν.

(2) *Phryn. Ecl.* 316: καμύειν· τοσαύτη κακοδαιμονία περί τινάς ἐστι τῆς βαρβαρίας, ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ Ἄλεξις κέχρηται τῷ καμύειν ἡμελημένως ἐσχάτως, αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ αὐτοὺς οὕτω λέγειν, δεόν ὡς οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν ἀρχαίων καταμύειν.

καμύειν: So great the folly about barbarous Greek is in some people that, since Alexis uses [the form] καμύειν (fr. 320 = [C.1](#)) with extreme carelessness, they choose to speak thus also, even though one ought to [say] καταμύειν, as the best of the ancient [authors do].

B. Other erudite sources

(1) *Apoll.Dysc. Synt.* 4.36 (= *GG* 2,2.465.1–5): δεύτερον, εἶπερ καθὸ προθέσεις εἰσίν, διὰ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἔξωθεν τι προσγίνεται αὐταῖς, τί δὴ ποτε ἐπ' ἐνίων προσεγένετο, ἦνεπε, 'παρηνόχλησθε', ἦναντιούμην; ἵνα μὴ λέγω καὶ κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν κεκάμμυκα, κεκάθικα.

In the second place, if it is just because [prepositions] are prepositions that nothing can be added in front of them, then how does it happen that exactly this does take place with some verbs, e.g. ἦνεπε, παρηνόχλησθε (*D.* 18.51), or ἦναντιούμην, not to mention current forms such as κεκάμμυκα and κεκάθικα? (Transl. Householder 1981, 239, with slight modifications.)

(2) Apoll.Dysc. *Synt.* 4.42 (= GG 2,2.469.3–7): ἐκείνοις μέντοι συγκατατιθείμην τοῖς σχήμασι, λέγω τοῖς κατὰ τὰς προθέσεις κλιθείσι. τὴν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνεστώτος γενομένην διαφορὰν κατὰ τοὺς παρωχημένους παρεδέξαντο αἱ προθέσεις, ὡς ἔχει παρὰ τὸ ἐνέπω τὸ ἤνεπον· ὁμοιον γὰρ ἐστὶ τῷ ἤλαυνον· καμμύω – ἐκάμμυον· ὁμοιον γὰρ τῷ ἔκαμπτον.

I would also accept those forms which take an augment or reduplication before the prepositional prefixes. These prepositions have accepted (i.e. as prefixes) the elements (i.e. the augment and reduplication) which distinguish the [perfects and] past tenses from the present, as in the case of ἤνεπον from ἐνέπω: for it is similar to ἤλαυνον. [Thus also] καμμύω [and] ἐκάμμυον: for they are similar to ἔκαμπτον. (Transl. Householder 1981, 241, with modifications.)

(3) Phot. ε 1641: ἐπιμύειν καὶ καταμύειν· τὸ δὲ καμμύειν Λεσβιακὸν δοκεῖ εἶναι.

[One must say] ἐπιμύειν and καταμύειν. The form καμμύειν seems to be Lesbian.

(4) Eust. *in Il.* 1.316.24–317.10: τὸ δὲ ἐπενήνοθεν [...] σημαίνει δὲ τὸ ἐπέθεε καὶ ἐπέτρεχεν. ὡσπερ δέ, φασίν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄχος ῥέειν ποταμὸς ἐν Ἄιδου Ἀχρέων καὶ κατὰ μετάθεσιν τοῦ ε Ἀχέρων, οὕτω καὶ τὸ θέω, τὸ τρέχω, ὑπερβιβασθὲν καὶ γενόμενον ἔθω πεποίηκε τὸ ἐπενήνοθεν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ χρόνου μέσου παρακειμένου. ἔστι γὰρ ἔθω καὶ μετὰ προθέσεως ἐνέθω, οὗ μέσος παρακείμενος ἦνοθα, ἐξ οὗ τὸ ἐπενήνοθα τῆς πρώτης ἐκείνης προθέσεως τῆς ἐν τῷ ἐνεστώτι αὐξηθείσης καὶ μὴ προσλογισθείσης εἰς πρόθεσιν διὰ τὸ καθ' ἕξιν συγκεῖσθαι, ὁποῖόν τι καὶ ἐν τῷ καμμύω γέγονε. κἀνταῦθα γὰρ ἢ κατὰ πρόθεσις καθ' ἕξιν σύγκειται καὶ οὐ λογίζεται παρακεῖσθαι τῷ μύω ῥήματι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λογιζόμενον ὡς ἀπλοῦν οὐκ αὐξάνει ἔσωθεν ὡς τὰ ἐκ προθέσεως συγκείμενα ῥήματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔξωθεν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον κατέμυσε φαμεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκάμμυσεν.

The [verb] ἐπενήνοθεν [...] means ἐπέθεε ('it ran over') and ἐπέτρεχεν ('it spread over'). Just as, they say, the river in Hades [is called] Ἀχρέων from ἄχος ῥέειν ('pain flows') and [then] Ἀχέρων with metathesis of ε; thus also the [form] θέω, [which means] τρέχω ('to run'), after having its letters transposed and becoming ἔθω, has created ἐπενήνοθεν, which [is a form of] the middle perfect. For there is ἔθω and, with initial addition [of a preposition], [there is also] ἐνέθω, whose middle perfect is ἦνοθα. From this [comes] ἐπενήνοθα with the augment in that first syllable which is added in the present and is not counted as far as the initial addition [of the preposition] is concerned, because [the initial preposition ἐν] is composed in the [very] body [of the verb], the kind of thing which has also happened in [the form] καμμύω. For in this case the addition [of the preposition] κατὰ is composed in the [very] body [of the verb] and is not counted as being added to the [simple] verb μύω – for this [reason], since it (i.e. μύω) is reckoned as a simple verb, it is not expanded externally like the verbs which are made up of an [initial] addition (i.e. a preposition) – but [on the contrary], [the verb καταμύω/καμμύω is also expanded] externally; for we say not only κατέμυσε but also ἐκάμμυσε.

C. *Loci classici*, other relevant texts

(1) Alex. fr. 320 = *Antiatt.* κ 54, Phryn. *Ecl.* 316 re. καμμύω ([A.1](#), [A.2](#))

(2) X. *Cyr.* 8.3.27–8: καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπε· 'καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ δεῖξαί σοι θέλω ἔνθα κἂν μύων βάλῃς, οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοις ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ'. 'πάντως τοίνυν', ὁ Σάκας ἔφη, 'δεῖξόν μοι· ὡς βαλῶ γε ταύτη τῇ βάλῳ', ἔφη ἀνελόμενος. καὶ ὁ μὲν Κύρος δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ ὅπου ἦσαν πλείστοι τῶν φίλων· ὁ δὲ καταμύων ἴησι τῇ βάλῳ καὶ παρελαύνοντος Φεραύλα τυγχάνει.

κἂν μύων is the reading of codd. VHAB (family z), while codd. WDF (family y) have κἂν καμμύων.

‘Very well, then’, said Cyrus, ‘I want to show you where, even if you were to throw with your eyes shut, you would not miss a brave man’. ‘Very well then’, said Sakas, ‘show me, so that I may throw this clod of earth’. [So] he said, picking [a clod] up. And Cyrus shows him where most of his friends were. The other, with his eyes shut, throws the clod of earth and hits Pheraulas as he is riding by.

(3) Eus. *PE* 5.33.16: δεινὸν γάρ, ὦ σοφώτατε ἀνδρῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ θεῶν, εἰ μήτε ὅπου τῆς γῆς ἐξέθορεν τῆς μητρὸς εἰδείη ὁ ὄλβιος μήτε ὅπου καταμύσας κείσεται.

For it is terrible, oh wisest of men or rather of gods (i.e. Homer), if this blessed man knows neither where on earth he sprang from the mother’s [womb] nor where he will lie when he has closed his eyes.

(4) Theophylactus *Epistulae* 17.1–6: νῦν ἔγνωμεν οἶον ἥλιον ἔχοντες κατεμύομεν. νῦν ἡμῖν γλυκεῖαι αἱ τοῦ ἔαρος χάριτες. ἔστρεψας γάρ σου τὸ πρόσωπον, καὶ τεταραγμένοι σύμπαντες ἐγενήθημεν. ποθοῦμέν σου τὴν πραότητα· ζητοῦμέν σου τὸ μέτριον τοῦ φρονήματος, τὸ πρὸς πάντας ὁμιλητικόν τε καὶ εὐχαρι· βαβαί, πόσον ἀνακλαιόμεθα.

Now we know we closed our eyes having [you] as the sun. Now the graces of spring [are] sweet for us. For you turned your face, and all of us became troubled. We miss your gentleness. We search for the balance of your judgement, [your] affable and graceful [manner] towards everyone. Bless me, how much we weep!

D. General commentary

The entries in the *Antiatticist* ([A.1](#)) and in Phrynichus’ *Eclogue* ([A.2](#)) are concerned with καμμύω, the variant form of καταμύω with apocope of the preverb. This form is increasingly common in Post-classical Greek, but its status as a classical form is dubious. While the *Antiatticist* defends it (Latte 1915, 379 n. 2 advances the hypothesis that the *Antiatticist*’s discussion derives from Aristophanes of Byzantium), Phrynichus contests those who justify a dubious form on account of a single occurrence in Alexis ([C.1](#)), since ‘the best of the ancient authors’ (οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν ἀρχαίων) use καταμύω. Although the *Antiatticist* entry is poorly epitomised, the reference to Alexis in Phrynichus makes it most likely that Alexis’ fragment was the *locus classicus* used by the *Antiatticist* to defend καμμύω. In fact, this is one of several cases where a gloss in Phrynichus is a direct response to one in the *Antiatticist* (see Latte 1915, 378–9; for a comparable though not identical case, see [Λάκαινα](#)²). Looking at the grammatical tradition more broadly, καταμύω and καμμύω also attracted consideration from Apollonius Dyscolus, who identifies καμμύω as the common form ([B.1](#)) and regards it as acceptable ([B.2](#)). Notice that at *Synt.* 4.43 = *GG* 2,2.469.9–470.10, Apollonius offers other general arguments to defend these cases against the opinion of those who regard them as ἄλογα ‘contrary to reason’ (see further [F.3](#)).

The apocope of preverbs and prepositions is relatively well attested in tragedy, while it is foreign to prose writers and is only used in comedy in paratragic passages or in scenes which involve foreign speakers (for a general overview and a collection of examples, see Rutherford 1886, 427, K–B vol. 1, 176–80, and Kretschmer 1909, 51–2; a previously unnoticed comic occurrence is Pherecr. fr. 211 [= Phryn. *PS* fr. † *67 = Σ^b α 310, Phot. α 287, *ex* Σ’’]). Regarding the preverb κατα- in particular, the apocope is attested abundantly in epic, lyric, and tragedy, as well as in dialogues (a supplementary list of examples, which complements that of K–B, can be found in Arnott 1996, 803–4).

The verb *καταμύω* ‘to close the eyes’ (LSJ s.v.) is not a common word. It is one of the comparatively rare cases in which the preverb *κατα-* has a telic function (i.e. indicates the completion of an action; see Hernández Socas 2020, 176 n. 111). The compound *καταμύω* has the specialised meaning of having the eyes closed, as opposed to the simple verb *μύω*, which can also indicate closing the mouth or closing an object. As regards classical sources, *καταμύω* only occurs in Herodotus (4.71.2), Aristophanes (*V.* 92), Hippocrates (*Epid.* 7.1.83), Xenophon ([C.2](#), *Cyn.* 5.11), Alexis ([C.1](#)), and Menander (*Dysc.* 113, on which see Handley 1965, 151).

Alexis’ fragment ([C.1](#)) is the first (indirect) evidence for *καμμύω*, but it remains unclear what use he may have made of this form – whether as a parody of high language or foreign speech, or perhaps as an imitation of popular speech (see Arnott 1996, 804; Lüttel 1981, 175 argues in favour of seeing *καμμύω* as an element of colloquial language). It is an intriguing possibility that *καμμύων* may already occur in a passage of Xenophon’s *Education of Cyrus* ([C.2](#)), but the matter is difficult to settle (see [F.1](#)). After the Hellenistic period, *καμμύω* becomes more common. What makes *καμμύω* a special case is the fact that apocope is not a typical development of koine Greek. This raises the question of how *καμμύω* became so popular in post-classical times. One possibility is that, as evidenced by Alexis (and possibly Xenophon) and as argued by Lüttel (1981, 175), *καμμύω* had already developed in 4th-century Attic, perhaps at a colloquial or popular level and possibly as an *Allegroform*. This is an intriguing scenario, but, given the lack of supporting evidence, it must remain speculative. Alternatively, *καμμύω* may be regarded as an import from a different dialect, e.g. Ionic, but the fact that we have no evidence for *καμμύω* in Ionic texts makes this explanation no more compelling.

The earliest post-classical occurrences of *καμμύω* are in the Septuagint (3x in Isaiah) and the New Testament (Mark’s Gospel and the *Acts of the Apostles*) and then in several Christian authors, even in those who normally use a rather formal variety of Greek (e.g. Origen and Eusebius; although note that Synesius only uses *καταμύω*). Pagan writers regularly use *καταμύω* (to mention but a few: Strabo, Plutarch, Lucian, Philostratus, and Marcus Aurelius), which is also registered several times by Pollux (see esp. 2.67; other occurrences at 5.72, 9.113, and 9.117), who never comments on *καμμύω*. The variant *καμμύω* is used by technical writers, including Hero (*Aut.* 22.1), pseudo-Galen (19.439.4 Kühn), and Oribasius (*Syn.* 8.48.3). As regards writers who normally use a more formal language, the occurrence of *καμμύω* in two passages of Philo is noteworthy (*De somniis* 1.164 and *Fr.Ex.* fr. 31 Petit), all the more so since in the remaining cases Philo uses *καταμύω* form (9x) (at least in principle, one might envisage the possibility that these two occurrences are in fact Byzantine slips). However, Cyril of Alexandria similarly alternates between the two forms. Eusebius is an interesting case. In his corpus, *καμμύω* is standard (15x), and the only instance of *καταμύω* is in a passage of the *Praeparatio Evangelica* ([C.3](#)), where it is very likely a feature of marked language: it comes after a Homeric quotation and appears within a rhetorical question addressed to Homer, the tone is pathetic, and the passage is elaborately written. Adopting the classicising form *καταμύω* in place of the more common variant *καμμύω* would be, therefore, a means of heightening the tone.

E. Byzantine and Modern Greek commentary

Both *καταμύω* and *καμμύω* are in use in Byzantine Greek, although *καμμύω* remains far better attested than *καταμύω*. Learned writers sometimes alternate the two forms. To mention only three cases (and excluding poetic texts, where using one or the other form has a metrical motivation), *καμμύω* occurs 10x and *καταμύω* 6x in Photius, 1x and 1x in Arethas, and 7x and 4x in Eustathius. In such cases, the two forms seem to be treated as equally acceptable. Occasionally, using *καταμύω* may be a deliberate stylistic choice reminiscent one of the passages in Eusebius discussed above ([C.3](#), for which see [D.](#)). One example appears in a letter of Theophylact of Ohrid ([C.4](#)): although Theophylact uses *καμμύω* elsewhere in his writings (6x), his use of more classical form *καταμύω* in this case may be explained in the light of the rhetorically sustained style and language of the epistle (the form also

conveniently enables an interval of four syllables in clausula). Occasionally, *καταμύω* is the only attested form, e.g. in Symeon Metaphrastes and, much later, in Joseph Bryennius. Regarding the appraisal of these forms in Byzantine scholarship – Photius' entry (B.3) and Eustathius' commentary on the *Iliad* (B.4) – see respectively F.2 and F.3.

F. Commentary on individual texts and occurrences

(1) X. *Cyr.* 8.3.27–28 (C.2)

Xenophon is the only Attic prose writer who makes use of the apocopated form, although not all instances are unproblematic (for a list, see Gautier 1911, 77). This passage in the *Education of Cyrus* is a case in point. The manuscripts VHAB (the z family) have the reading *κᾶν μύων*, as opposed to *κᾶν καμμύων* in the remaining manuscripts WDF (the y family). All editors of the *Education of Cyrus* print *κᾶν μύων* (see Marchant 1900–1920 vol. 4, Gemoll–Peters 1968, Delebecque in Bizos–Delebecque 1971–1978 vol. 3). The participle *καταμύων* also occurs at close proximity in *Cyr.* 8.3.28, and all manuscripts share this reading. Thus, editors evidently consider *κᾶν καμμύων* as a Byzantine slip (possibly favoured by preceding *κᾶν*) and also seek to avoid the coexistence of *καμμύων* and *καταμύων*. That *καμμύω* may be a Byzantine slip is unproblematic (one may compare Philostr. *VA* 4.10.147, where, *teste* Lobeck 1820, 340, the manuscripts have the reading *καμμύνειν*). Nonetheless, *καμμύων* needs to be re-evaluated. Firstly, *μύω* semantically overlaps with *καταμύω*, but it is only the latter that properly indicates closing the eyes (see D.); hence, the inconsistency of this passage, whereby *μύω* is used first and then *καταμύω* second, raises some suspicions. Secondly, it is perhaps easier to postulate that *κᾶν καμμύων* was corrupted by haplography into *κᾶν μύων* than to argue that *κᾶν καμμύων* developed by dittography from *κᾶν μύων*. Thirdly, the coexistence of *καμμύων* and *καταμύων* is less surprising if one considers that the first occurs in Cyrus' dialogue, which is somewhat ironic and hyperbolic, while the second is part of the narrative. Thus, *καμμύων* may be an element of informal language which is meant as an expressive nuance in the dialogue scene.

(2) Phot. ε 1641 (B.3)

The Atticist origin of this gloss is very likely, but identifying the source behind it remains elusive. There are two options. The first is that the gloss in Phrynichus is the source of that in Photius, as Theodoridis (*ad loc.*) tentatively suggests. Should we then imagine a larger redaction of the *Eclogue* than the one we ourselves possess? The hypothesis that the surviving redaction of the *Eclogue* is actually an epitome has recently been explored in more in detail (see Tribulato 2022). In support of the argument that this particular gloss in Photius depends on Phrynichus' *Eclogue*, it is necessary also to consider the fact that Photius' *Λεσβιακόν* is sufficiently paralleled in Phrynichus; that is, the *Αἰολεῖς* (on this category as representing Eastern Aeolic *tout court*, see Tosi 1988, 174) are occasionally mentioned in the *Eclogue* as a polemical target (in *Ecl.* 272 the condemned form *νίτρον* is attributed to the *Αἰολεῖς*, in opposition to the approved Attic variant form *λίτρον*; in *Ecl.* 332, the *Αἰολεῖς* are mentioned among speakers of other varieties of Greek which contribute to the mixed and barbaric language that the aspiring Atticist must shun). This being the case, we might then postulate that Phrynichus initially described *καμμύω* as an example of Lesbian apocope and went on to say that Alexis' *καμμύω* provides insufficient justification for considering this to be an Attic form also. The description of *καμμύω* as a Lesbian apocope finds justification in the relative frequency of this development in Lesbian poetry (see K–B vol. 1, 178–9). Since Photius discusses *ἐπιμύω* and *καταμύω* together (for the association of these forms, see also Poll. 2.67, Hsch. ε 4991, *Su.* ε 2481, and *Et.Gud.* 506.20), we would also need to postulate that Phrynichus' entry originally compared *καταμύω* with *ἐπιμύω* as a way of explaining that *καταμύω* is a compound in order to prepare the ground for criticising Alexis' use of *καμμύω*. This interpretation requires a considerable amount of speculation. The alternative option, i.e. that Photius had access to other, unidentified and unspecified, Atticist sources discussing *καταμύω* and *καμμύω*, seems a more balanced possibility.

(3) Eust. *in Il.* 1.316.24–317.10 (B.4)

Eustathius explains that in compound verbs augment and reduplication are added internally, that is, between the preverb and the verbal stem. In the case of ἐπενήνοθα and καμμύω, however, the preposition has become part of the stem, and therefore the augment and reduplication may also be added before the preposition. The first part of this passage, which concerns the etymology of Ἀχέρων and the formation of ἐπενήνοθα, is well paralleled in the grammatical tradition (duly collected by van der Valk *ad loc.*). Yet, the source of the excursus on καταμύω and καμμύω is unknown. Van der Valk (*ad loc.*) aptly compares Apoll.Dysc. *Synt.* 4.43 = GG 2,2.469.9–470.10 (for which see also D.). Apollonius defends the legitimacy of adding prefixes (i.e. augment and reduplication) before the preposition in compound verbs on two accounts: (1) there is no rationale requiring that compound verbs such as καταμύω/καμμύω follow the same patterns as the other compound verbs; (2) the verb καθίζω does not admit of the internal addition of the augment (this is obviously incorrect, but Apollonius may be referring to the Greek of his own time period), and thus any other verb which is similarly formed behaves accordingly. To conclude, both Apollonius and Eustathius argue that, in forms like καμμύω, the preposition must be considered as an integral part of the verbal stem and not as an addition. Although Eustathius is not drawing from Apollonius directly, the doctrines that he had access to may represent a slightly simplified application of Apollonius' principles.

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ABSTRACT

This article provides a philological and linguistic commentary on the verb καμμύω, discussed in the Atticist lexica *Antiatt.* κ 54 and *Phryn. Ecl.* 316.

KEYWORDS

[Aeolic](#)[Apocope](#)[Colloquial language](#)[Lesbian](#)[Tragedy](#)

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Università
Ca' Foscari
Venezia

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