

A note on καρπάλιμος ‘swift’

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ABSTRACT

The adjective καρπάλιμος ‘swift’ (H.+) is argued to be based on a reduplicated adjective $*k^w[h_1]-k^w[h_1]-o-$ ‘turning’ from PIE $*k^welh_1-$ ‘to turn’, dissimilated to $*kalk^walo-$ and further to $*karpalo-$. The form in *-imo-* can derive from the corresponding abstract noun in *-i-* and/or be extracted from compounds with $*karpali-$ as first member following models like καλλιπλόκαμος : κάλλιμος.

KEYWORDS

Caland system, dissimilation, etymology, reduplication, word formation

1. DOXOGRAPHY AND SEMANTICS

The adverb καρπαλίμως (H. 42×) and the adjective καρπάλιμος (3× dat. pl., *Il.* 16.342 ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι#, 16.809 πόδεσσί τε καπραλίμοισι#, 22.166 #καρπαλίμοισι πόδεσσι) have not so far received a satisfactory explanation. The traditional accounts connect these forms either with κάλπη ‘trot’, assuming a suffixation with *-αλιμο-* and a dissimilation of the two /l/s,¹ or with καρπός ‘wrist’ (H.+) and Gmc. $*hwerf/ba-$ ‘to turn’.² The reserve with which these proposals have met seems justified if one compares the attestation and use of these words.

a) Κάλπη is attested rather late in Plu. (1st/2nd c. CE) and Paus. (2nd c. CE) and is a technical term for the trotting race that was part of the Olympics for some time. A denominal verb καλπάζω ‘to trot’ is probably attested earlier, being found in a fragment attributed to Aeschylus (fr. 414.5 Mette):

(1) εἶδον / **καλπάζοντας** ἐν αἰχμαῖς
“I saw them **trotting** among the spears.”

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- 1 Cf. Chantraine (1933: 154): “Καρπάλιμος «prompt» (Homère, poètes) doit être dérivé de κάλπη «trot» avec dissimilation des deux l.”, but the same author is sceptical in his dictionary, Chantraine (2009: 480): “La moins mauvaise explication part de κάλπη ‘trot’, pose $*καλπάλιμος$, puis une dissimilation.” Cf. already Meyer (1884: 1.950), Bechtel (1914: 187).
 - 2 Cf. Schrader (1890: 473), Arbenz (1933: 28): “Vielleicht ist es aus diesem Worte gebildet worden, nur nicht in der obigen Bedeutung, sondern etwa im Werte von ‘Wirbel’, ‘(schnelle) Drehung’,” but this meaning is not found with καρπός. See also Frisk (1960–1972: II.791), Chantraine (2009: 480), Beekes (2010: 648), van Beek (2022: 510): “καρπός ‘wrist’ (Hom.+) and καρπάλιμος ‘agile, swift’ (Hom.+ , epic) might reflect zero grades of a PIE root $*k^werp-$ ‘turn’, but this is not certain.”



However, it seems unlikely that καρπάλιμος derives from a meaning ‘as (nimble as) in the trotting-race’ *vel sim*. There is no textual relation between καρπάλιμος and κάλπη, as may be seen from the examples below.³

- (2) Paus. 5.9.1 τῆς δὲ ἀπήνης καὶ **κάλπης** τὸν δρόμον ... ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν θήλεια ἵππος, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἀποπηδῶντες ἐπὶ τῷ ἐσχάτῳ δρόμῳ συνέθεον ταῖς ἵπποις εἰλημμένοι τῶν χαλινῶν
 “The races for mule-carts and the **trotting-races** ... The trotting-race was for mares, and in the last part of the course the riders jumped off and ran beside the mares, holding on to the bridle.”
- (3) Plu. *Moralia (Quaestiones convivales)* 675c πολλὰ δὲ καὶ θέντες ἔπειτ’ ἀνεῖλον, ὡσπερ τὸν τῆς **κάλπης** ἀγῶνα καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀπήνης
 “Many events were added and then dropped, for instance the **trotting race** and the four-wheeler.”

b) καρπός ‘wrist’ occurs in stative contexts, mostly ἐπὶ καρπῷ ‘at the wrist’. Synchronically, there is no indication that it relates to quick motion.

- (4) Pl. 24.671 “Ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας ἐπὶ **καρπῷ** χεῖρα γέροντος ἔλλαβε δεξιτερήν, μή πως δείσει’ ἐνὶ θυμῷ.
 “When he had thus spoken, he clasped the old man’s right hand by the **wrist**, lest he should take fright in his heart.”
- (5) Od. 24.397 ὡς ἄρ’ ἔφη, Δολίος δ’ ἰθὺς κίε χεῖρε πετάσσας ἀμφοτέρας, Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ λαβῶν κύσε χεῖρ’ ἐπὶ **καρπῷ**
 “So he spoke, and Dolius ran straight toward him with both hands outstretched, and he clasped the hand of Odysseus and kissed it on the **wrist**.”
- (6) E. *Ion* 1009 κάπὶ **καρπῷ** γ’ αὐτ’ ἐγὼ χερὸς φέρω.
 “I carry them [sc. golden chains] upon my **wrist**.”

c) In contrast, καρπάλιμος and the more frequent adverb in -ως are used in contexts describing a quick motion, e.g., said of quick, agile feet:

- (7) Pl. 16.342 Μηριόνης δ’ Ἀκάμαντα κιχείς **ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι**
 “And Meriones **with swift strides** overtook Acamas.”
- (8) Pl. 16.808 Πανθοῖδης Εὐφορβος, ὃς ἠλικίην ἐκέκαστο ἔγχετ’ ὅ’ ἵπποσύνη τε **πόδεσσί τε καρπαλίμοισι**
 “Panthous’ son, Euphorbus, who excelled all men of his years in casting the spear and in horsemanship and **in speed of foot**.”

³ Translations of Greek and Latin texts are taken from the Loeb Classical Series (Harvard University Press).

It is compared with the movement of horses and mules in the following Homeric passages:



- (9) *Il.* 22.162 ὡς δ' ὄτ' ἀεθλοφόροι περὶ τέρματα μώνυχες ἵπποι
ρίμφα μάλα τρωχῶσι· τὸ δὲ μέγα κεῖται ἄεθλον,
 ἢ τρίπος ἢ ἔ γυνή, ἀνδρὸς κατατεθνηῶτος·
 ὡς τὼ τρὶς Πριάμοιο πόλιν πέρι δινηθήτην
καρπαλίμοισι πόδεσσι

“And as single-hoofed horses that are winners of prizes **gallop lightly** about the turning points, and some great prize is set out, a tripod perhaps or a woman, in honor of a warrior who has been killed, so these two circled thrice with **swift feet** about the city of Priam.”

- (10) *Il.* 20.188 ἤ οὐ μέμνη ὅτε πέρ σε βοῶν ἄπο μοῦνον ἐόντα
 σεῦα κατ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων **ταχέεσσι πόδεσσι**
καρπαλίμως;

“Do you not remember when you were alone and I made you run from the cattle **with swift steps** down quickly from Ida's hills?”

- (11) *Il.* 24.324
 πρόσθε μὲν ἡμίονοι ἔλκον τετράκυκλον ἀπήνην,
 τὰς Ἰδαῖος ἔλαυνε δαίφρων· αὐτὰρ ὀπισθεν
 ἵπποι, τοὺς δ' γέρων ἐφέπων μᾶστιγι κέλευε
καρπαλίμως κατὰ ἄστυ

“In front the mules drew the four-wheeled wagon driven by wise Idaeus, and behind came the horses that the old man ever plying the whip drove **swiftly** through the city.”

A different interpretation of the epic passages is given by Führer in the *Lfgre*, who assumes a meaning ‘powerful, strong, energetic’ (“kräftig, kraftvoll, energisch, voller Elan”) from which ‘swift’ would have developed. He takes the meaning ‘swift’ to be assured only for *Il.* 16.809 (cf. ex. 8) and *Od.* 8.122 *καρπαλίμως ἐπέτοντο*, while when used with *χαίρω* he assumes it to mean ‘to be very happy’ (‘sich kräftig freuen’). But this may be an illicit transfer of the German phrase, in which *kräftig* is an intensifier like *sehr* ‘very’, onto Greek, where adverbs meaning ‘strongly’ are not used with *χαίρω*; there is apparently no collocation **χαίρω καρτερώς/ισχυρώς*, etc.⁴ In all these instances *καρπαλίμως* may mean ‘fast’ > ‘soon’, as in the following passages from *Od.* referring to Odysseus's attempts at a speedy return to Ithaca:

4 The phrase *μάλα χαίρω* need not be a counterexample, if *μάλα* is related to *μέλω* (*μέλει μοι*) ‘be concerned with, be an object of care’ and developed from ‘dear(ly)’ > ‘much’ (PIE **mel-*, Lat. *melius* ‘better’, *multus* ‘much’, *μᾶλλον* ‘more’).



- (12) *Od.* 6.310 (Nausikaa recommends Odysseus to seek the protection of her mother):

τὸν παραμειψάμενος μητρὸς περὶ γούνασι χεῖρας
βάλλειν ἡμετέρης, ἵνα νόστιμον ἡμᾶρ ἴδῃαι
χαίρων **καρπαλίμως**, εἰ καὶ μάλα τηλόθεν ἐσσί.

“Pass him by, and throw your arms about my mother’s knees, that you may **quickly** see with rejoicing the day of your return, though you have come from never so far.”

“An ihm mußt du vorübergehen und unserer Mutter die Arme um die Knie werfen, damit du den Tag der Heimkehr siehst, freudig, **in Eile**, wenn du auch von sehr weit her bist.” (Schadewaldt)

- (13) *Od.* 7.191

ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ περὶ πομπῆς
μνησόμεθ’ ὡς χ’ ὁ ξεῖνος ἄνευθε πόνου καὶ ἀνίης
πομπῆ ὑφ’ ἡμετέρῃ ἦν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἵκηται
χαίρων **καρπαλίμως**, εἰ καὶ μάλα τηλόθεν ἐσσί.

“After that we will take thought also of his conveyance, that without toil or pain the stranger may under our conveyance come to his native land **speedily** and with rejoicing, though he come from never so far.”

- (14) *Od.* 19.459

τὸν μὲν ἄρ’ Αὐτόλυκος τε καὶ υἱέες Αὐτολύκοιο
εὔ ἰησάμενοι ἡδ’ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα πορόντες
καρπαλίμως χαίροντα φίλως χαίροντες ἔπεμπον
εἰς Ἰθάκην.

“And when Autolycus and the sons of Autolycus had fully healed him, and had given him glorious gifts, they **quickly** sent him rejoicing back to his native land, to Ithaca.”⁵

Finally, the Mycenaean PN *ka-pa-ri-jo* (KN U 4478.14, Vc 72, V 77,1) has been part of the discussion, as it has been interpreted by most scholars as */Karpaliōn/*.⁶ Ruijgh (1967: 192 with n. 465) explains the form as a patronymic based on a personal name **Kárpalos*, which could mean ‘the swift one’.⁷ In contrast to this, Perpillon (1992) derives the name from *καρπός* ‘wrist’ and compares *Πυγμαλίων* from *πυγμή* ‘fist’, *Δρακαλίων* from *δράξ* ‘id.’; cf. also the short forms *Πυγμαῖς* and *Καρπαῖς*, which might speak in favour of a PN **Καρπαλίων* like *Πυγμαλίων*. If so, and if, as assumed here, *καρπάλιμος* is unrelated to *καρπός*, the name is not part of our dossier.

⁵ Cf. also Latacz (1966: 51, 70).

⁶ Cf. e.g. Ventris and Chadwick (1973: 550); Aura Jorro (1985: I.317). In principle, a form */Kalpalíōn/* without dissimilation cannot be excluded.

⁷ Furthermore, he assumes (p. 274) *ka-pa-ra₂* to represent a male personal name */Karpaliās/* and to be connected to *ka-pa-ra₂-de* (PY Aa 788; An 292,2, nom.pl.), *ka-pa-ra₂-do* (PY Ad 679, gen.pl.), a noun in *-άς, -άδος* denoting a group of women (probably cloth-workers).

2. HYPOTHESIS

2.1. A DISSIMILATED REDUPLICATED FORM

If one sticks to the assumption that καρπάλιμος is a dissimilated form of *kalpali-mos — cf. for this process ἄλγος ‘pain’ → *ἀλαλέος > ἀργαλέος ‘painful’⁸ — it may be interpreted as a reduplicated form *kal-pal-imos from an earlier *k^ual-k^ualimos in which the labial articulation of the first stop was dissimilated due to the following labiovelar, i.e., *k^ual-k^ualimos > *kal-k^ualimos > *kalpalimos > καρπάλιμος.⁹ Similar cases of the context *{k^u, k_u}a/o() {k^u, p} resulting in *{k}a/o() {k^u, p} could be the following:

- (15) *κμαρπο- ‘smoke’ > καπνός, cf. Lith. kvāpas ‘breath, smell’;
 *arto-k^uopo- ‘baker’ (< *⁻rok^uo-) > ἀρτοκόπος,¹⁰
 *k^uolpo- > κόλπος ‘bosom’, cf. ON hvalf, OE hwealf [f.] ‘vault’;
 *k^uarpos > καρπός ‘wrist’, cf. Goth. hvarban ‘to go around’, OHG (h)werban ‘to go/turn back’, ON hverfa ‘to turn’, etc.;
 *g^ulb^huro- > γλαφυρός ‘hollow’, cf. Δελφός ‘womb’, Ved. gārbha- ‘womb’.¹¹

2.2. ROOT ETYMOLOGY

The supposed basis *k^ual- might be connected with PIE *k^uelh₁- ‘to turn’, a root well-known to form reduplicated stems of various shapes: beside the PIE word for ‘wheel’, *k^ue-k^ul_h1-o-, Gk. κύκλος etc., there is Lith. kāklas ‘neck’ < *k^uo-k^ul-o-¹² and the “intensive” present in Vedic carcarīti ‘moves to and fro’, ptcp. carcūryāmaṇa-:¹³

- (16) AV 20.127.4
 vācyasva rébha vacyasva vṛkṣé na pakvé śakúnaḥ
 niṣ ṭe [mss. nāṣṭe] jihvā carcarīti kṣuró ná bhurījoriva
 “Disport thyself, O chanter, disport thyself as a bird upon a flowering tree ;
 thy tongue **glides quickly** over the lips as a razor over the strop.” (Bloomfield 1897; cf. RVKh 5.9.1b niṣ ṭe jihvā carcarīti kṣuró ná bhurījor iva)

⁸ On the dissimilation of sequences with two /l/ cf. also Kölligan (2018).

⁹ The form is not treated in Skoda (1983) and Tichy (1983).

¹⁰ Cf. also Le Feuvre (2015: 326). Myc. a-to-po-qa /artopok^wos/ (PY Fn 50.7, etc.) could show that the loss of the labial feature had not yet happened in all words (cf. against this ka-pi-ni-ja, if /kapniia/ ‘chimney’ (PY 3x) related to καπνός) or that it was restored based on the verb (Alphabetic Gk. πέσσω, πέττω).

¹¹ Cf. Schwyzler (1939: 302), Lejeune (1972: §72 n. 3), Beekes (2010: 740 s.v. κόλπος), Kölligan (2017), van Beek (2022: 465–466); N.B. not in κύκλος, which has a different vowel (PIE *e, *k^ue-k^ul[h]1-o-). Cf. also τεπικέραυνος, which could be from *k^uerpi-^o ‘lightning in hand’ (Kölligan 2017).

¹² Doubts in Hock (2020: s.v.) due to the different vowels (“ohne eindeutige Etymologie”).

¹³ Cf. Schaefer (1994: 111), LIV² 387.



- (17) RV 10.124.9cd
*anuṣṭúbham ánu **carcūryámāṇam***
índraṁ ní cikyuḥ kaváyo manīṣā
 “Die Seher erkennen durch Nachsinnen den Indra, der nach der Anustubh **hin und her zieht.**” (G)
 “The one **roaming hither and yon** in pursuit of the verse of praise have the sage poets discerned to be Indra through their inspired thought.” (J/B)

Furthermore, there are the reduplicated adjectives *carācará-/carācārā-* ‘mobile’ (RV+), *calācalá-* ‘waving’ and *ávicācali-* ‘unwavering’:¹⁴

- (18) RV 10.85.11d *divi pánthāḥ **carācarāḥ***
 “The path to heaven meandered **back and forth.**” (J/B)
 “Die Straße **zieht sich** am Himmel **hin.**” (G)
- (19) RV 1.164.48cd (riddle about the chariot-wheel of the Sun).
tásmin sākám trīsatā ná śaṅkávō
*arpitāḥ ṣaṣṭír ná **calācalāsaḥ***
 “They [=the days] **that wander on and on** are fitted together on that, like three hundred pegs, like sixty (more).” (J/B)
- (20) RV 10.173.1 *dhruvāḥ tiṣṭha **ávicācaliḥ***
 “Steh fest **ohne zu wanken!**” (G)
 “Stand firm **without wavering!**” (J/B)
- (21) RV 10.1703.2 *párvataḥ iva **ávicācaliḥ***
 “wie der Berg **nie wankend**” (G)
 “**unwavering** like a mountain” (J/B)

The hypothetical form **k^ual-k^ual-* could thus be understood as **k^ul[h₁]-k^ul[h₁]* and represent a form either with full reduplication of the root in the zero-grade and subsequent loss of the first laryngeal or with incomplete reduplication of the root omitting the final consonant. As for the syllabification *καρ-παλ-*, one might expect /la/ as the regular outcome.¹⁵ *-al-* could be analogical to the full grade **k^uel(h₁)-* seen, e.g., in *πέλωμαι*; cf. cases such as *ἀμαλδύνω* ‘to corrode’ derived from the adj. **m₁ld-ú-* ‘soft, weak’ (*βλαδύς*), with *μαλδ-* after *μέλδομαι* ‘to melt’.¹⁶

14 The meaning of *cararā-* in RV 10.106.8 is unclear. The stanzas 5–8 of this difficult hymn are left untranslated by both Geldner and Jamison/Brereton. Cf. also MS 3.13.1 *ní calcaliti* ‘moves in (repeatedly)’.

15 Cf. van Beek (2022).

16 Cf. van Beek (2022: 507).

2.3. NOMINAL REDUPLICATION IN GREEK

Synchronically similar reduplicated stems in Greek are: (a) *κάρχαρος* ‘biting, sharp, raw’; (b) the group of *γάργαρα* ‘multitude’, (Hesych.) *γάργαλα* · *πλήθος, πολλά* ‘a multitude, many’, *γαργαρίς* · *θόρυβος* ‘noise, clamour (especially of a crowded assembly)’, and *γέργερα* · *πολλά, γέργερος* · *βρόγχος* ‘windpipe’; (c) *τάρταρος* ‘underworld’; (d) *μάρμαρος* ‘rock’; and (e) with dissimilation of the first lateral, *Τάνταλος*. These will be discussed in turn below.

- (a) *Κάρχαρος* (Alcm.+) is explained by Blanc (1994: 686–693) as belonging to *χάραξ* ‘pointed pole’ and *χαράσσω* ‘to sharpen, engrave, etc.’.¹⁷ The underlying root **k^har-* might be connected to Arm. *gir* (o) ‘writing’ (whence *grem* ‘to write’, etc.) < PIE **g^her-* ‘to scratch, sharpen’.¹⁸
- (b) For *γάργαρα* (Aristomen., Alc. Com. 19.3, Trag. Adesp. 442) and *γέργερα* one might assume a connection with PIE **ǵer/ǵar-* ‘to shout’ (LIV² 161), found in OIr. *-gair* ‘shouts’, Oss. *zæl-* ‘to sound’ (**ǵr̥-ǵe/o-*), *zar-* ‘to sing’, NP *zār-* ‘to shout’ (**ǵor-ǵie/o-*), i.e., **ǵr̥-ǵr̥-o-* and **ǵer-ǵer-o-* meaning ‘shouting, agitated crowd’; cf. for similar semantics Ved. *krándas-* (n.) ‘din of battle; [du.] opposing armies’ and ON *svarmr* ‘tumult’ next to NE *swarm*. Since these forms are usually thought to be related to *γῆρυς*, Dor. *γᾶρυς* (f.) ‘voice’ from a virtual **ǵāru-*, one has assumed a root shape **ǵeh₂r-*,¹⁹ which would however not serve to explain the reduplicated forms and whose shape itself seems problematic. Cheung (2007: 470) posits a root **ǵerh₂-* ‘to bewail the deceased’ but does not explain the long vowel of *γῆρυς/γᾶρυς*. One might hypothesize that an earlier form **ǵrh₂-ro/eh₂-* or **ǵreh₂-ro/eh₂-* > **grāro-* was dissimilated to **gāro-*, from which in turn **gāru-* was built; the dissimilation would be as in Arg., Arc. *φᾶτρᾶ* vs. Hom. *φρήτρῆ*, Att. *φράτρα* ‘brotherhood’ or Dor. (Hesych.) *τᾶρόν* · *ταχύ* beside *τᾶρόν* · *τ[ρ]αχύ*, cf. *τρη[λ]ρόν* · *ἐλαφρόν* [...], schematically *CrV.(C)rV* > *CV.(C)rV*.²⁰ A comparable instance of derivation of a stem in *-u-* from one in *-o-* could be *θρᾶνος* (m.) ‘bench’: *θρῆνυς* (m.) ‘footstool’. Morphologically, this could be a full-grade **-reh₂-* formation like Gk. *ἔδρα* ‘seat’, *τέφρα* ‘ashes’, *λέπρα* ‘leprosy’, etc., a type discussed by Vine (2002). The reduplicated forms *γάργαρα* and *γέργερα* could then either show early loss of the laryngeal in the reduplication syllable, **ǵrh₂-ǵrh₂-o-* > **ǵr̥-ǵr̥h₂-o-* > *γάργαρ-o-* and **ǵerh₂-ǵerh₂-o-* > **ǵer-gerh₂-o-* > *γέργερο-*, or have been formed after loss of the laryngeal in the corresponding simplicia: **ǵ(e)rh₂-o-* > **ger-o-/gar-o-* → *γέργερο-*, *γάργαρο-*.

17 Cf. also Schwyzler (1939: 423); Leumann (1950: 156), who assumed that *κάρχαρος* was abstracted from Hom. *καρχαρόδοντες*; Tichy (1983: 173 n. 20). There is a variant without aspirated stops in Hesych. *κάρκαροι* · *τραχεῖς καὶ δέσμοι*.

18 Cf. Kölligan (2019: 248–249).

19 Cf. Beekes (2010: 271).

20 Cf. for more details Vine (2011), Kölligan (2018).



- (c) As discussed in Kölligan (2013), τάρταρος could be a reduplicated noun based on PIE **terh₂-*, i.e., **t_r[h₂]-t_rh₂-o-* ‘the place of crossing, boundary’.²¹
- (d) If, as argued by Frisk (1960–1972: s.v.), μάρμαρος ‘crystalline rock; marble’ (H.+) belongs with μάρναμαι ‘fight; break, crush’ < PIE **merh₂-* (LIV² 440), one might assume the same development here, i.e., **m_r[h₂]-m_rh₂-o-* > *mar-mar-o-*. For the meaning, cf. Lat. *rumpere* ‘break, crush’ : *rūpēs* ‘rock, cliff, chasm, abyss’.
- (e) If one assumes a dissimilation of the first lateral in Τάνταλος (*Od.* 11.582+), the form may be traced back to a virtual **t_l[h₂]-t_lh₂-o-* > **tal-tal-o-* > Τάνταλος ‘carrying (a burden, a punishment)’.²²

These forms may allow the assumption that Greek had a productive process of forming reduplicated nouns with a double zero-grade and the suffix *-o-*, especially for roots of the shape *CeR(H)-*, i.e., **CR₃(H)-CR₃(H)-o-*. Καρπάλιμος < **kal-k^ual-* < **k^ual-k^ual-* < **k^u[h₁]-k^u[h₁]-* could then go back to another example of this type.

2.4. THE SUFFIX *-IMO-*

There are two competing accounts of the suffix *-imo-*. Arbenz (1933: 10–11) took the Homeric adjectives κύδιμος, κάλλιμος, φαιδιμος, and ἄλκιμος as the oldest layer of this formation and argued that *-ιμο-* arose from short forms of compounded personal names with initial *-m-* in the second element, his *Paradebeispiel* being Ἄλκιμέδων, which occurs together with Αὐτομέδων in *Il.* 17.467ff., while the couple reappears in 19.392, 24.474, 574 as Αὐτομέδων and Ἄλκιμος. This explanation was accepted e.g. by Risch (1974: 105) (“ursprüngliche Kurznamen”), who noted that ἄλκιμος and φαιδιμος also occur as personal names in Homer.²³ But the question remains how likely it is that personal names are secondarily used as adjectives; the opposite development seems to be much more common.²⁴

The alternative view, already proposed in *nuce* by Wackernagel (1897: 11), connects the forms in *-i-mo-* with what came to be called the Caland system encompassing among other forms *-i-*stems as first members of compounds beside simplex adjectives in *-ro-*, e.g., κυδιάνειρα : κύδιμος, καλλιπλόκαμος : κάλλιμος, ἐχθρός : ἔχθιμος (Hesych. ἐχθίμα · μισήματα. Σοφοκλῆς Τυροῖ α’), φαιδρός : φαιδιμος, etc., which, as Wackernagel states, allows the assumption of earlier compounds with ἐχθι- and φαιδι-. This line of argument has been taken up e.g. by Nussbaum (1976):²⁵ *-mo-* was

²¹ Slightly differently, Ronzitti (2022) assumes a meaning ‘perforated / crossed space’ related to **terh₁-* ‘to bore, drill’.

²² Cf. Pl. *Crat.* 395e, where an explanation from **Talantaos* ‘carrying a lot’ from τάλας ‘carrying’ is discussed.

²³ “Da z. B. φαιδρός sowohl Adjektiv als Eigennamen war [...], konnte auch Φαίδιμος (etwa zu **Φαιδίμαχος*, -μένης) als Adjektiv aufgefaßt werden.”

²⁴ This has rightly been remarked in the literature, cf. Meissner (2005: 26): “The problem ... is the development of a personal name to an adjective”; Probert (2006: 268): “The use of personal names as adjectives is a far less common phenomenon.”

²⁵ Quoted after Probert (2006: 268–269), cf. more recently Nussbaum (1999), Balles (2003), Rau (2009), Dell’Oro (2017: 18–19).



added to stems in *-i-* that occur as first members of compounds, similarly to the addition of *-mo-* to the *u-* stem adjective ἤδύς to yield ἥδυμος. These first members of compounds are in turn based on abstract nouns in *-i-* derived from corresponding thematic adjectives, e.g., **h₂ék-ró-* ‘sharp’ (Gk. ἄκρος) : **h₂ókrī-/h₂ékri-* ‘sharpness’ (Gk. ἄκρις, ὄκρις ‘jagged point; peak’).

In principle, such an account might also work for an adjective **kalpaló-* ‘swift’ : **kalpali-* ‘swiftness’ : καρπάλιμος. The word would thus fit the pattern of secondary derivation with *-mo-* often based on *i-* stems also seen in other ancient IE languages, e.g., Lat. *victima*, which could be based on the participle **victus* (Ved. *viktá-* ‘sifted, separated’) from which an abstract **victi-* was derived, etc.²⁶ As soon as the combination of *-i-+mo-* had become established, various analogies may have offered themselves to speakers for the direct derivation of adjectives in *-imo-* next to simple *-o-* and *-ā-* stems: pairs such as νόστος : νόστιμος and ἀλήκη : ἄλκιμος may have been sufficient to induce the creation of καρπάλιμος next to forms such as *κάρπαλος or *καρπάλη. In addition, one might suppose a compound with καρπαλι° as first member based on the phrase ‘swift (with regard to) feet’ that καρπάλιμος occurs in (see above, (7)–(11)) and that is the basis for other compounds with a similar meaning.²⁷ Pairs like καλλι-πλόκαμος : κάλλιμος could then have provided the model for the simple adjective.

phrase	compound/univerbation	<i>-i-mo-</i>
πόδας ὠκύς	ὠκύ-πους, ποδ-ὠκης	
πόδας ἀργοί	ἀργί-πους (cf. also ὀρσί-πους [AP])	
	καλλι-πλόκαμος	κάλλι-μος
	κυδι-άνειρα	κύδι-μος
πόδες *καρπαλοί	*καρπαλί-πους	→ καρπάλι-μος

2.5. SEMANTICS

As for the meaning of καρπάλιμος, the reduplicated form may have had an iconically iterative meaning ‘turning and turning’ > ‘moving in turns’, said of limbs, feet, etc. which came to mean ‘agile, nimble, swift’, cf. Germ. *wenden* ‘to turn’ : *wendig* ‘agile, flexible, versatile’, *kehren* ‘to turn’ : *kehrig* ‘adroit, quick’,²⁸ and Ved. *carcarīti* (§2.2, (16)). The meaning ‘soon’ that may be found in the *Odyssey* (see above, (12)–(14)) could show a semantic shift from ‘fast’ by the implicature “if something happens fast, it happens soon.”

²⁶ Cf. the overview in Vine (2021).

²⁷ Differently Arbenz (1933: 28), who assumes that καρπάλιμος originated in the phrase ποσι καρπαλίμοισι# formed after the model of equally verse-final ὑιάσι κυδαλίμοισι# and φρεσι πευκαλίμοισι#. However, he assumes that καρπάλιμος is based on καρπός ‘wrist’ and does not provide a clear model for the analogical formation, since he is hesitant to assume a neuter *κάρπος ‘swiftness’ (: κῦδος : κυδάλιμος :: *κάρπος : x = καρπάλιμος).

²⁸ Cf. Grimm *Wb.* s.v.



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