CHAPTER 5

Reflexes of *ᵣ in καρτερός, κράτος and Related Forms

Introduction

Among the evidence for the regular outcome of *ᵣ in Ionic-Attic, the root of καρτερός, κρατός, κράτος and related forms is of crucial importance. Several formations have doublets, the most prominent ones being καρτερός ~ κρατερός, κράτος ~ κάρτος, and κράτιστος ~ κάρτιστος. In chapter 1, we have seen that the forms with -αρ‑ are troublesome for accounts arguing for a regular development *ᵣ > -ρα‑ in Proto-Ionic, in view of the full grade attested in Aeol. κρέτος and Ion. κρέσσων. Indeed, by a process familiar from chapter 4, forms like κράτος have secondarily introduced an analogical zero grade κρατ‑ from a related adjective, replacing the original full grade κρετ‑. This is a very important argument for viewing -αρ‑ as the regular reflex.

However, the analysis of doublets like καρτερός ~ κρατερός is complicated by two issues that must be clarified before we draw this conclusion. One approach to such doublets has been to claim that κρατ‑ and καρ‑ were freely interchangeable allomorphs. This is in my view an ad hoc strategy designed to save the idea of a regular development *ᵣ > -ρα‑. For one thing, it does not explain why doublets are attested only for a subset of the attested formations. For instance, the adjective κραταιός has no by-form *καρταιός, in spite of the fact that using κραταιός in hexametrical Greek necessitated the use of muta cum liquida scansion, an uncommon phenomenon in Homer. Moreover, some variants appear to be limited to specific genres: for example, κρατερός never occurs in prose.

Apparently, then, doubles with καρ‑ beside κρα‑ could be created only under certain conditions. One main goal of this chapter is to show, by a fresh etymological analysis of the evidence, in which respective formations the root shapes κρα‑ and καρ‑ originated and by which mechanisms they spread. This analysis is reinforced by a close consideration of synchronic derivational relations: once we take the lexical meanings of base form and derivative into account, we may infer with more plausibility that certain formations were analogically or even artificially created in the epic language. For instance, we will see that the epic form κάρτος is only used as an adjectival abstract meaning

1 For instance, Lejeune (1972: 196) invokes a “mobilité générale” of liquids within the syllable; Strunk (1975: 286) remarks that “inlautendes -αρ‑ < *ᵣ‑ vor Konsonant (...) auch sonst gelegentlich statt oder neben -ρα‑ vorkommt”.

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‘strength, violence’ (i.e. the fact of being καρτερός ~ κρατερός), and that it never means ‘power’ or ‘superiority’, the default meanings of κράτος. This strengthens the idea that κάρτος was derived from καρτερός within Epic Greek.

A second question is: how certain are we about the original shape of the full grade? Two different etymologies have been proposed. The mainstream view holds that κράτος is related to the Indo-Iranian noun meaning ‘will-power’ (Ved. krātum- m.); an alternative proposal (Lamberterie 1990: 346–353) compares Goth. hardus ‘hard’ and derives the Greek and Germanic words from PIE *kert- ‘cut’. The second proposal is problematic in view of the root shape of forms like Aeol. κρέτος, but Benveniste (1969: 11, 71–83) suggested that the Greek group may be a conflation of both roots, and thus have a dual etymological origin. Benveniste based this suggestion on the semantics of καρτερός (and its doublet κρατερός), the adjective that seems to have served as the derivational basis of most other attested formations.

If Benveniste’s thesis were correct, it could be assumed that the vocalization of *r̥ (and hence the emergence of two root allomorphs καρτ- and κρατ-) took place at a time when these roots were still lexically distinct. Thus, if we wish to utilize forms like καρτερός as evidence for the regular reflex of *r̥, we must be able to exclude a dual etymological origin as proposed by Benveniste, or at least to render this idea unlikely. For this purpose, a careful study of the semantics of the attested forms will be necessary.

5.1 Semantics and Etymology

In this section, I will first review the existing etymologies and their problems, and explore the semantics of καρτερός ~ κρατερός in more depth. The analogical spread of κρατ- and καρτ- across the attested formations will be studied in section 5.2.

5.1.1 The Competing Etymologies

There is no generally accepted etymology for κρατερός and related forms. Since the early days of Indo-European studies, the Greek lexical family has been compared to two different formations.2 On the one hand, the epic adjective κρατύς has been equated with Goth. hardus ‘hard’ and its Germanic cognates,

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2 As far as the Greek evidence is concerned, previous treatments include Trümpy (1950: 202 ff.), Frisk (GW s.v. κράτος), Benveniste (1969), Strunk (1975), Breuil (1989), Lamberterie (1990: 323–353). For an overview of the older literature, see Strunk (1975: 265–266).
the root of which is PIE *kert-. On the other hand, it has been compared to an isolated Indo-Iranian masculine noun, Ved. krátu- m. ‘will-power, resolve’ and Av. xratu - ‘id.’, a u-stem to a different PIE root of the shape *kret-.3

The connection with Goth. hardus is advocated by Lamberterie (1990: 323–350). On the basis of an extensive discussion of the Greek attestations and their semantics, he claims that the basic meaning of χρατερός and χρατύς can be reconstructed as ‘hard, firm, solid’.4 He proposes (1990: 349) to derive the Greek and Germanic forms from the verbal root PIE *kert- ‘to cut’.5 The semantic development would lead from ‘cutting’ to ‘sharp’ and then, independently in Greek and Germanic, to ‘hard’.6 However, there are serious problems with this etymology. For one thing, the root of the Germanic adjective (quasi *körtu-) has a different full grade slot compared to Aeol. κρέτος, Ion. χρέσσων.7 Moreover, as I will argue below, it is unlikely that ‘hard, solid, firm’ is the basic meaning of the Greek group.

The second etymology, a comparison of the adjective χρατύς with Ved. krátu-, has been advocated by Strunk (1975). In the framework of internal derivation, this proposal is nowadays accepted without hesitation.8 It is to be noted, however, that χρατύς is attested only in the epic formula χρατύς Ἀργεῖ-φόντης, the meaning of which cannot be determined with certainty (the widely-used translation ‘strong’ may well be off the mark). Strunk (1975: 269–270) argued that χρατύς in this formula must have referred to a characteristic trait of Hermes, such as cleverness, quick wits, or dexterity, and he claims that an older meaning of PIE *krétu- was ‘magical power’. However, even if we suppose

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3 The meaning of the Indo-Iranian word has been much discussed; the best rendering seems to be ‘will-power, resolution, resolve’ (German Entschlossenheit), which is close to a basic meaning of δύναμις in Homeric Greek. The connection with χρατύς is accepted by Mayrhofer (EWAia s.v. krátu-), Risch (1974), and also (with some hesitation) by Frisk (GEW s.v. κράτος).
4 Lamberterie (1990: 326) concludes that “les emplois de χρατερός concordent avec ceux de χρατύνω: l’un comme l’autre amènent à restituer pour χρατύς, par reconstruction interne, le sens de « dur, ferme, solide ».”
5 Attested as a verbal root in Hitt. kartae- ‘to cut off’, Ved. kart ‘to cut (off), split, break’ (pres. kpnttāti, them. aor. krtā-, both RV+), Lith. kūšti ‘to hew, hit, cut’ (pres. 1sg. kertū), and PSlav. *čersti ‘to carve, slash’ (ORu. čьrsti), and probably in Hom. ἕκερσε ‘cut (off)’.
6 Lamberterie convincingly derives Lith. kortūs ‘bitter’ from the same root, from earlier ‘sharp, biting’ (comparing Lith. kūštas ‘sharp’, of persons). The Germanic and Baltic forms agree in having o-vocalism of the root; but as Strunk (1976) remarks, o-vocalism of the root can be old in neuter nouns (cf. δόρυ, γόνυ), but hardly in an adjective. According to Lamberterie (1990: 349) it was secondarily adopted from a related action noun of the type φόρος, attested in Lith. karštas, OCS krato ‘once, time’ < *kört-o- (*cutting).
7 This problem is not discussed by Lamberterie.
8 For example Nussbaum (1998: 147), Widmer (2004: 123 ff.).
that magic played a role in Indo-Iranian *krátu-, this is rather implausible for the Greek concept of κράτος.9

There is also a morphological problem: the side-by-side existence of an adjective (κρατύς) and a derivationally isolated noun (Ved. krátu-) requires an explanation. Strunk envisaged two possible ways to connect them. On the one hand, he considers the possibility that the Indo-Iranian noun was originally an adjective. He deems this unlikely, because Ved. krátu- is inflected according to a different accent and ablaut paradigm (gen. kratváḥ, ins. kratvá) compared to the adjectives in -ύς (gen. -έος). Strunk therefore suggested that κρατύς may have originally been an abstract noun. Assuming that the formula κρατύς Ἀργεϊφόντις is comparable to cases like βίη Ἡρακληείη “the Heracleid force” (for ‘Hercules’) and that it had the meaning “the Argos-killing power”, he suggests that κρατύς could be reinterpreted as an adjective in such instances. However, since we do not really know the underlying synchronic meaning of κρατύς Ἀργεϊφόντις, this is mere speculation at best. Moreover, it would be highly problematic for the entire ‘Caland system’ of κρατερός, the most extensive of its kind in Greek, to be based on one single form which is itself seen as the product of a reanalysis.

Nowadays, the similarity between κρατύς and Ved. krátu- is often accounted for within the framework of internal derivation, under the assumption that Ved. krátu- reflects a so-called acrostatic paradigm, *krót-u- / *krét-u-.10 However, κρατύς beside Ved. krátu- is in reality one of the very few examples for the supposed derivational scheme. Moreover, the semantic connection between these two items, though possible, is not as clear-cut as some scholars make us believe. It therefore seems best to suspend judgment on this point.

In Van Beek 2013: 151–155, I have proposed a new etymology according to which κρατερός ~ κρατερός ‘powerful; firm’ is related to Vedic śrathi ‘to loosen’, śithirá- ‘loose’. Semantically, the idea is that in the Rigveda, śithirá- still means ‘loose’ in the sense ‘agile, moving freely’. While śithirá- may refer to the unbridled motion of horses and the Maruts, κρατερός in Homer often denotes the powerful motion of warriors, animals or weapons, and hence their capacity to have impact or to deal damage. Thus, ‘loose, unrestrained, unbridled’ would have developed into ‘fierce, violent’ and hence ‘powerful, firm’ (see below for further discussion of the semantic developments in Greek). In terms of phonology and morphology, the etymology is attractive because the Greek and Vedic

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9 The same problem applies to the proposal of Benveniste (1969): see below. It is true that κράτος is often granted by a god in Homer, but that does not make it a magical force.

10 See e.g. Nussbaum (1998: 154 n. 189), who refers to κρατύς as an “item (…) that is demonstrably an internal derivative of an acrostatic substantive”.

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adjectives can both directly derive from the same PIE pre-form *krth₁-ró-.11 In this way, we may account not only for the suffix -φός (instead of -ύς) but also for its extended form -ερός: as we will see, *krteró- is reflected in three different dialect groups.

Although I still consider this etymology to be at least as attractive as the connection with Vedic krátu-, I will not insist on its correctness here, as the present argument does not depend on it. Instead, since our main task is to establish that the only full grade of the root was PGr. *kret-, let us turn to the arguments advanced by Benveniste (1969). Benveniste based his etymological analysis on the polysemy of various lexemes in Homer. Since he was unable to reconcile the different meanings of κρατερός ~ καρτερός under one overarching concept, he concluded that this adjective is a conflation of two etyma, the one meaning ‘hard’ and related to Goth. hardus, the other meaning ‘superiority, prevalence’ and related to Ved. krátu-.12 According to Benveniste, the original difference between these groups is preserved faithfully in the semantics of most Greek formations. For instance, he claims that the abstract κράτος means only ‘superiority, prevalence’ (and that it is related to Vedic krátu-), while the adjective κραταιός would mean only ‘hard, harsh, cruel’ (and is supposedly related to Goth. hardus). The two sets of meanings are supposed to coexist only in κρατερός.13

11 The outcome šithirá- is the result of a regular dissimilation of *śr̥thirá- (see Lubotsky 1994: 96, with reference to Narten). I accept the view that aspiration of a preceding stop in Indic could be caused not only by *h₂, but also by *h₁ (see Lubotsky 2011: 115). The most important piece of evidence is Ved. spháyate ‘to become fat’ < PIE *sph₁-o-e/o-, which belongs with Hitt. īšpái (3sg. pres.) ‘eats to satiation’ < *sph₁-o-ei; the color of the laryngeal is proven by OCS spěťi ‘to succeed’, Ru. spet’ ‘to ripen’, Lith. spė́ti ‘to be in time’, OE spōwan ‘to prosper’ as well as by Lat. spēs ‘hope’ (see Kloekhorst, EDHIL s.v. īšpāi¹). The root *sph₁- also formed an adjective *sph₁-ró-, reflected in Ved. sphirá- ‘fat’ and Lat. prosperus ‘prosperous’.

12 Lallot has summarized Benveniste’s chapter about κράτος as follows (Benveniste 1969: 11, 71): ‘Krátos ne signifie ni « force physique » (iskhús, sthénos) ni « force d’âme » (alké), mais « supériorité, prévalence », soit au combat, soit à l’assemblée. Ce sens, constant pour krátos, est confirmé par une partie des emplois du dérivé kraterós qui signifie alors « sans égal », notamment au combat. Mais, dans d’autres emplois, kraterós se rapproche, pour le sens, de krataiós « dur, cruel », krattús « dur ». L’étymologie rend compte de cette situation singulièere: krátos est à rapprocher de l’i.-ir. kratu- qui désigne la « vertu (magique) du guerrier »; krattús se rattache à un groupe tout différent, celui de got. hardus qui signifie exclusivement « dur ».”

13 “Dans les emplois de kraterós coexistent, sans se confondre, les deux notions que les autres termes en krat- permettent de distinguer: d’une part, la notion abstraite de « prévalence, dominion », de l’autre, la qualité physique de « dur ».” (1969: 11, 81).
Various objections must be made to this analysis (the details will be elaborated in the sections that follow). First of all, it remains unclear why the original semantic difference would have been preserved only in καρτερός ~ κρατερός, and why, for instance, only one of the roots formed an abstract. Given the system of derivatives attested in Greek, the default assumption must be that we are dealing with just one etymon, and the burden of proof is on Benveniste. Moreover, several of the semantic claims made by Benveniste appear to be incorrect or incomplete once we consider them more closely:

- κράτος ~ κάρτος does not only mean ‘power, superiority’ (as claimed by Benveniste 1969, 11: 77), but it may also mean ‘fierceness, violence’ or ‘endurance’ (see section 5.2.6).
- κράτος ~ κάρτος refers not only to human warriors (Benveniste, o.c. 78), but also to animals (Od. 3.370, the endurance of horses) and iron (Od. 9.393).
- it is unlikely that κραταιός means ‘hard, cruel’ when occurring as an epithet of sons in the formula έξε κραταιό ‘strong sons’, or when Odysseus applies the term to himself (Od. 18.383).

Finally, it is difficult to account for the assumption that two originally different etyma independently made an adjective in -ερός.

As we have seen, the proposed etymological connections with Indo-Iranian and Germanic both have their own morphological and semantic issues. There is also widespread disagreement on the meaning of the Homeric formations. For instance, κράτος is translated as ‘strength, force’ by some scholars, but as ‘superiority, prevalence’ by others;14 again others stress that κράτος seems to refer to the hardness of iron in one Homeric passage.15 Indeed, given this wide range of meanings, Benveniste’s proposal of a dual etymological origin may seem less surprising. We therefore have to ask how the various meanings of all derivatives can be derived from a single, more basic meaning. In sections 5.1.2–3, I will first deal with this question for the adjective καρτερός ~ κρατερός in Homer. After that, it will be possible (in section 5.2) to combine semantics and derivational morphology in our analysis of the root allomorphy in other formations like κράτος ~ κάρτος.

14 The translation ‘strength, force’ is traditionally accepted, see e.g. LSJ (s.v. κράτος; “strength, might, in Hom. esp. of bodily strength”) and LfgE (s.v. κράτος; “überlegene Kraft (...) beruht im wesentlichen auf Körperkraft, Stärke”). For ‘superiority, prevalence’, see e.g. Benveniste (1969).
15 Trümpy (1950: 202–206), Lamberterie (1990: 329).
5.1.2 The Semantics of κρατερός ~ κρατερός in Epic Greek

Classical scholars have traditionally posited ‘strong’ as the basic meaning: see e.g. *LSJ* (s.v. κρατερός): “strong, stout, mighty, in Hom. mostly of bodily strength (…)”. This rendering is not incorrect, but it needs further qualification. First of all, considering the Homeric evidence, there is every reason to think of more specific translations than ‘strong’. As a general qualification of warriors or monsters, κρατερός means ‘fierce, violent’, and when qualifying concrete motion or applied strength, it means ‘mighty, impetuous, overwhelming’ (cf. also κρατέω ‘to be rampant’ and ἐπικρατέως ‘impetuously’). While κρατερός occasionally qualifies “bodily strength”, to use the words of *LSJ*, it more often denotes a propensity towards violence or an applied force. In addition, it means ‘solid, firm’ when qualifying e.g. shields, bonds, or oaths. Thus, although the translation ‘strong’ may serve as a common denominator, it is often inexact and not sufficiently specific.

In my view, two basic sets of meanings must be distinguished for Homeric κρατερός ~ κρατερός:

1. ‘fierce, mighty, vehement, violent’ (e.g. of warriors, arrows, winds);
2. ‘steadfast; enduring, firm, solid’ (e.g. of warriors, chains, oaths, shields).

First, these lexical meanings will be illustrated with examples. After that, I will argue that 1. ‘fierce’ is the oldest meaning of the root that we can reconstruct within Greek, and then show how 2. ‘steadfast; firm’ secondarily developed. Those interested only in the last-mentioned point may flip over to section 5.1.3.

Sense 1. ‘fierce, mighty’ is frequently attested as a qualification of warriors (or violent mythical beings). I will limit myself here to a brief discussion of two telling instances. In the first instance, the Trojan Helenus refers to Diomedes, who is at the summit of his aristeia at this point, as:

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16 The lemma runs, in slightly condensed form: “κρατερός, epic variant of καρτερός. 1. strong, stout, mighty, in Homer mostly of bodily strength; with collational notion of stern, harsh, of Hades; 2. of things, conditions, etc. mighty, fierce, hard; 3. of passions strong, vehement; of acts and words, harsh, rough. 11. Adv. strongly, stoutly, dashed roughly, refused sternly.”

17 Breuil (1989) forcefully translates κρατερός as ‘prévalent’. In doing so, he gravely oversimplifies the Homeric situation, for instance when speaking of the “dents prévalents” of a lion (1989: 34), or translating κρατερὴ ὑσμίνη as “lutte prévalente” (o.c. 35).

18 When appropriate or necessary, I will adduce examples of other derivatives such as κράτος, but the focus is on determining the basic meaning of the adjective.

19 Cf. Nordheider, *LfgrE* s.v. (shortened and slightly modified): “stark, kraftvoll, von Krieger (gelegentlich Götern, Tieren), Kräften, Sachen: überlegen, überwältigend, unwiderstehlich, unbändig, oder defensiv unannahmig, unbeugsam, hart, fest, gelegentlich mit Konnotation ‘überschiessend, hemmungslos’: zu stark, oder mächtig.”
Diomedes is called κάρτιστος Ἀχαιῶν even in comparison with Achilles because of the routs which he causes at this very moment. In the *Iliad*, only Hector (once) and Diomedes (twice) are called κρατερὸν μήστωρα φόβοι ‘fierce deviser of rout’. These routs are ascribed, here as elsewhere, to a μένος ‘drive’ which is so vehement (λίην μαίνεται) that no one present is able to vie with Diomedes in this respect. He can no longer be contained by mere human effort. Likewise, if Achilles is repeatedly called κρατερός, this is primarily because of his fierce fighting spirit. When, during his own aristeia, he fights the river god Scamander, the latter calls his brother Simoeis for help:

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ἵνα παύσομεν ἄγριον ἄνδρα
ός δὴ νῦν χρατεῖ, μέμονε δ’ ὅ γε ἴσα θεοῖσι
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*Il.* 21.314–315

so that we may stop the wild man who is now rampant; this man’s rage is equal to that of the gods

Some hundred lines earlier, Scamander has directly addressed Achilles as follows:

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ὦ Ἀχιλεῦ, περὶ μὲν κρατεῖς, περὶ δ’ αἰσυλα φέξεις ἄνδρῶν
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*Il.* 21.214–215

20 Similarly, Phobos (personified Rout) is called ἅμα κρατερὸς καὶ ἀταρβής “both κρατερὸς and fearless” (*Il.* 13.299).

21 For the μένος of κρατερός Διομήδης, cf. *Il.* 5.135–143 and 239–256.
of all men you are the most violent, and you do the most abominable deeds

The violent deeds of Achilles are characterized in exactly the same terms as the berserk battle rage of Diomedes: both are rampant and know of no restraint.\(^{22}\) Note, in particular, the verbal correspondences ἄγριον ἄνδρα ~ ἄγριον αἰχμητήν and μαίνεται / μένος ~ μέμονεν. In the case of Achilles, this almost elemental force is explicitly related to his divine descent. Only the forces of nature can contain his fierce might, here described with the verb κρατέει.\(^{23}\)

The examples adduced here can easily be multiplied.\(^{24}\) They show that κρατερός and related words are consistently applied to warriors that are fierce or mighty, either as a general characteristic, or at a specific moment. Moreover, κρατερός is not only applied to human warriors, but also, more generally, to fierce or violent mythical beings. Polyphemus, whose κράτος is said to be greatest among the Cyclopes (Od. 1.70), is characterized by his unrestrained use of violence and ferocity when he (or his force) is called κρατερός.\(^{25}\) In Hesiod, κρατερός qualifies the Giants (Th. 50), the Erinyes (Th. 185), Cerberus (Th. 312), the Chimaera (Th. 320, cf. 322), the Hundred-Arms (Th. 670), and the feet of

\(^{22}\) Later in the same book, during the episode relating his encounter with Agenor, Achilles and his rage receive the qualification κρατερός on three occasions: λύσσα ... κρατερή (Il. 21.542–543), ὑπὸ κρατεροῦ Ἀχιλῆος (21.553), λίην γὰρ κρατερὸς περὶ πάντων ἔστ’ ἀνθρώπων (21.566).

\(^{23}\) When applied to a champion, the sense of κρατεω is ‘to be rampant’, cf. also Il. 5.175 (Diomedes) and Il. 16.124 (Patroclus). Earlier in book 21, Achilles remarks about his Trojan opponent Lycaon that he did not expect him to appear in battle anymore, because he had taken him captive earlier on and sold him overseas to Lemnos. In Achilles’ words, the sea was apparently not able to keep Lycaon in check (οὐδέ μιν ἔσχε, 21.58), and he adds: “Let us see whether the grain-growing earth will hold him back, which restrains even the fierce [warrior]” (ὕ τε κατὰ κρατερόν περ ἐρύκει, 21.63). Once again, only the elemental forces of water and earth are considered capable of restraining a mighty warrior.

\(^{24}\) Two other telling passages are the following. In Il. 17.206–213, Zeus takes pity on Hector and decides to grant him μέγα κράτος. As a consequence, a violent battle spirit (personified as Ares) enters Hector, and his limbs are filled with fighting spirit and might, ἀλκῆς καὶ σθένεος. Very close to this is Il. 13.59–61, when the two Aiantes are filled with fierce battle rage by Poseidon (πλῆσεν μένεος κρατεροῖο). The effect is that they get “light hands and feet”. In two short character speeches (Il. 13.73–80), both warriors express this effect in almost identical terms: they are full of eagerness to fight (their θυμός or μένος is aroused) and their limbs are eager (μαιμώωσι). These two passages (and several others) show us that κράτος is a combination of physical might and mental prowess.

\(^{25}\) On four occasions: Od. 9.407 and 446 of Polyphemus, 9.476 and 12.210 of his βίη. Cf. also O’Sullivan (1990: 14–15).
Typhoeus (Th. 824). For all these monstrous creatures, the translation ‘fierce, violent’ is more pertinent than ‘strong’.

Not only fierce warriors are called κρατερός. In Homer, the compound καρτερόθυμος ‘with impetuous spirit’ qualifies Diomedes, Achilles, and Heracles, but in Hesiod (Th. 378) it appears as an epithet of the three winds. The frequent phrase κρατερὸν μένος qualifies not only the fierce battle spirit that Poseidon puts into the Aiantes (Il. 13.60), but also the destructive elemental force of the fire that consumes a corpse (πυρὸς κρατερὸν μένος αἰθομένοι, Od. 11.220). Arrows, spears, and thrown stones receive the epithet κρατερός on various occasions, e.g. κρατερὸν βέλος ‘powerful missile’ (Il. 5.104), βολάων τε κρατεράων (Th. 683, thrown by the Hundred-Arms and Titans). In such instances, κρατερός denotes the momentum and destructive impact of the missiles. It is conceivable that this use of κρατερός originated in its application to heavenly missiles, notably the thunderbolt, the weapon by means of which Zeus ensures his supremacy (κράτος).

In another set of instances, κρατερός ‘vehement, violent’ qualifies a powerful movement, drive or emotion. Very frequent in formulae is κρατερὴ ύσμίνη, where the epithet refers to the ardor or fervor of battle. The same sense can be recognized in the phrases κρατερὸς τρόμος ‘vehement trembling’ (Il. 6.137), κρατερὴ λύσσα ‘vehement rage’ (Il. 9.239, 21.543), κρατερὸν δέος ‘vehement fear’ (Od. 14.88), κρατερὸν μένος ‘fierce drive’ (passim) and κρατερ’ ἄλγεα ‘vehement suffering’ (passim). Finally, when κρατερός describes the physical qualities of a warrior or his body parts, it underlines the extreme nature of an applied force or violence, e.g. κρατερὴ γίγαντα βήσι (Il. 21.501, Od. 9.476, 12.210), cf. also κάρτεϊ χειρῶν ‘vigor of the arms’ (Il. 8.226 and 11.9).29

26 Nordheider (LfgrE s.v. κρατερός) recognizes this use when he speaks of “… Sachen ... die kraftvoll, wuchtig sind und kraftvoll zupacken, schlagen, treffen”. More similar examples can be found in Pindar and the tragedians, e.g. κρατερώτατον βέλος (Pi. Ol. 1.112), χερμάδας κραταιβόλους (E. Ba. 1096), ἐκ χερὸς μεθέντα καρτερὸν λίθον (E. fr. 1044 Nauk).

27 The κράτος which Zeus possesses and wields (ὁ τε κράτος ἐστι μέγιστον, Od. 5.4) is repeatedly referred to in connection with the destructive physical powers of lightning (e.g. Il. 2.118, 9.25, where his power to destroy the “crowns of many cities” is mentioned), and he is called κάρτιστος in comparison with the other gods (Il. 8.17). His victory over the Titans, which yielded him lasting dominion (κράτος), was ensured by his possession of the thunderbolt. Homer does not qualify the lightning bolt as κρατερός, but the post-Homeric evidence suggests that this may be an old collocation: cf. Hes. fr. 343, Pi. Isthm. 8.34, fr. 70b.15 and 155.1, A. PV 922–923, S. OT 201.

28 Cf. Trümpy (1950: 162): “Neben den Substantiven μένος, δεσμός und ἀνάγκη bedeutet κρατερός zweifellos ‘gewalttätig’. Ebenso sicher aber drückt das Adjektiv neben anderen Wörtern einfach eine Intensitätssteigerung aus und ist mit ‘gewaltig’ oder ‘wuchtig’ zu übersetzen.”

29 From post-Homeric poetry, cf. κρατερῶν σθένος (B. Dith. 4.40), κρατερὰ ... ἵσχυ (B. Epin. 5.21, of Zeus’ eagle), χειρῶν ὑπὲ κρατερον (Pi. Pyth. 11.18, of the hands of Clytemnestra).
In its second sense, κρατερός ~ καρτερός means ‘steadfast, enduring, tough’ or ‘firm, solid’. In the following examples it refers to the stamina or resilience of warriors: ἑστάμεναι κρατερῶς ‘to stand one’s ground firmly’ (Il. 11.410, 13.56, 15.666), ἀλλ’ ἔχει κρατερῶς, ὅτ’ ἤρθε δὲ λαὸν ἄπαντα “but hold on firmly, and encourage all your men” (Il. 16.501 and 17.559), ἀμφίσον κρατερήν ‘tough defense’ (Il. 5.623), φάλαγγες κρατεραί ‘steadfast phalanxes’ (Il. 5.591–592, 13.126–127), κρατέρας ... φάλαγγας (Il. 13.90) and κρατεραί στίχες ἀσπιστάων (Il. 4.90, 201) ‘the steadfast ranks of the shield-bearers’. This meaning is shared by Homeric Greek and the Classical language. Benveniste and Lamberterie have argued that phalanxes were called κρατεραί because they were ‘hard, massive, solid’ like a wooden log. However, I agree with Strunk (1975: 270–275) that κρατερὰς ... φάλαγγας must refer to the firm spirit of the warriors that form a phalanx:

Das homerische ἐκαρτύναντο φάλαγγας meint ein festigen der Schlachtreihen auch oder gerade unter Wiederherstellung des Abwehr- und Angriffsgeistes oder -willens. Dieser Kampfgeist heisst ἀλκή (...). Bezeichnenderweise wird in einer an Agamemnon gerichteten Schmährede des Diomedes die ἀλκή als “das grösste κράτος” bezeichnet. Die von Benveniste gelegnete semantische Brücke zwischen κράτος und καρτύνεσθαι is damit zumindest in der homerischen Sprache (...) greifbar: mit ἀλκή, “kämpferischer Gesinnung”, haben beide Wörter zu Tun.

STRUNK 1975: 273–274

The sense ‘firm, tenacious’ can also be recognized in the following cases: κρατερῷ ἐνὶ δεσμῷ ‘in a firm bond’ (Il. 5.386), χερσὶ πίεζε νωλεμέως κρατερῇσι “he tenaciously checked (his mouth) with his firm hands” (Od. 4.287–288, Odysseus seals the mouth of Anticlus as they lie in ambush in the Trojan horse), κρατερῇ δ’ ἔχειν ἦς Ὀδυσσῆος (Il. 23.719–720, Odysseus puts a check on Menelaus during their wrestling match) and κρατερὸν ὅρκον ‘firm oath’. In several cases we are dealing with a force that continues to be applied, and this meaning may well be more original than ‘hard, solid’ as a qualification of materials.

In fact, examples where κρατερός qualifies a material as solid or hard do occur in Homeric Greek, but they are rare: ἀνεγνάμφθη δέ οἱ αἰχμὴ / ἀσπίδ / κρατερῇ ‘the point of his spear was bent away in the tough shield’ (Il. 3.349 =

30 It is reflected in LSJ’s translation stout (as in the archaizing English expressions stout resistance and stout supporter); in present-day English it could be rendered as ‘tough’.
31 Cf. also καρτερὰ δεσμὰ (h. Herm. 409), κρατεραῖς ἐν γυνιτίδας ([A.] PV 168). It is possible that κρατερῆς has a similar meaning when qualifying ἀνάγκη ‘coercion, constraint’ (κρατερῆς ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης Hes. Th.; Cypr.; Parm.).
17.45) and ἡώρηκες χραταιγύαλοι ‘harnesses with hard breastplates’ (II. 19.361). This sense remains current after Homer, but various alleged instances in early Greek epic are ambiguous at best. For example, βαίστηρα κρατερήν (II. 18.477) is not a ‘hard hammer’, but rather the ‘powerful hammer’ of the smith Hephaestus (note that βαίστηρ is an old agent noun to βαίω ‘to smash to pieces’). Similarly, in σίδηρον ... χράτος (Od. 9.393) and σίδηρος ὅ περ κρατερώτατός ἐστιν (Th. 864), it is not certain that the hardness of iron is intended, rather than its fierce or violent qualities in action. Finally, the traditional epithet χρατερώνυξ (of horses and mules) is normally understood as ‘with hard hooves’, but ‘with fierce hooves’, referring to the violent kick of a horse’s leg, would be at least as appropriate.

A special case is the verse-end χραταίπεδον οὖδας (Od. 23.46). This is normally translated as ‘ground with hard soil’, assuming that the second member is πέδον ‘ground’, but that assumption is not obvious. In my view, it would be more attractive to assume that the second member reflects πέδη ‘shackle, hobble’, so that χραταίπεδον means ‘which has firm shackles’, to be compared with the phrase κρατερῷ ἐνὶ δεσμῷ. Moreover, Hades is regularly called the ‘firm gate-keeper’ (πυλάρταο κρατεροῖο) of the Netherworld, Achilles refers to the Earth as restraining even men who are χρατερός (ἤ τε κατὰ κρατερόν περ ἐρύκει, Il. 21.63); and Moira is said to ‘shackle’ warriors when they are killed (verse-final Μοῖρα πέδησε, passim). In the episode containing χραταίπεδον, the suitors have just been killed by Odysseus: “they are lying all around him, the one over the other, occupying the χραταίπεδον οὖδας”. It would make excellent sense if the poet referred to the earth as having fetters that will restrain the suitors forever.

5.1.3 Reconstruction of the Semantic Developments

In the view of Lamberterie (1990), ‘hard, solid’ was the basic meaning of χρατύς before this form went out of use. One piece of evidence in support is the post-Homeric factitive verb χρατύνω ‘to harden, solidify, confirm’. He also claims that the original meaning of χρατερός is ‘hard, firm, solid’, and that this adjec-

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32 As we will see, χραταί‑ functions as an allomorph of χρατερο‑ (see section 5.2.11).
33 After Homer: Hermes leads the cows he has stolen χώρων ὄνα κρατερόν “over solid ground” so that they will leave no footprints (h. Herm. 354), χραταίσκες ‘consisting of solid rock’ (A., E., containing λᾶας ‘stone’ as its second member), χραταῖρυς ‘with a hard shell’, of a turtle (oracle in Hdt. 1.47), κρατερόν τέιχος ‘solid defense wall’ (Class. prose).
34 Cf. ‘strong-hoofed, solid-hoofed’ (LSJ) and also Delebecque 1951: 148–150.
35 Cf. Nordheider (LfgrE s.v. χραταιπτοὺς) for different suggestions: “kann auf Trittsicherheit, Ausdauer oder harte Hufe gehen” (emphasis in original).
36 Lamberterie (1990: 328–331) stresses that χρατύνω belongs to the technical vocabulary of medicine, metallurgy and warfare, where archaic meanings may be preserved.
tive is a replacement of κρατύς. Finally, he shows that κραταιός is semantically equivalent to κρατερός, and analyzes it as reflecting the old feminine of κρατύς (1990: 337–343). This allows him to derive all meanings of κρατερός ~ κρατύς directly from the root meaning of PIE *kert- ‘to cut’: ‘cutting, sharp’ would have developed to ‘severe’ and ‘violent’ on the one hand, and to ‘hard, solid’ on the other.

Lamberterie’s assessment of the different meanings and their relations is intriguing, but as remarked above, the wrong vowel slot of *kert- ‘to cut’ with respect to Aeol. κρέτος and Ion. κρέσσων remains an insurmountable objection to the etymology he defends. As a matter of fact, the meanings ‘enduring, steadfast’ (of animate beings) and ‘firm, solid’ (of inanimate entities) may well be secondary with respect to ‘fierce, mighty’, as the Homeric material allows us to retrace possible intermediate stages. For instance, the traditional phrase κρατερὸν μένος can be translated as ‘fierce energy’ when it refers to the destructive ardor of fire that consumes a corpse (πυρὸς κρατερὸν μένος αἰθομένοις, Od. 11.220). Fire is a prototypical example of a fervent energy that cannot be stopped once it has been released. On the other hand, κρατερὸν μένος can also qualify an arduous stamina, as in the following passage. Menelaus and Meriones carry the corpse of Patroclus towards the ships as they are protected by the Aiantes from the assault of the Trojans. They are compared to a pair of mules that draw heavy wooden logs from the mountains:

οἳ δ᾽ ὡς θ’ ἡμίονοι κρατερὸν μένος ἀμφιβαλόντες ἔλκωσ’ ἐξ ὄρεος κατὰ παιπαλόεσσαν ἀταρπόν ἢ δοκὸν ἢ δόρυ μέγα νῆιον ἐν δὲ τε θυμὸς τείρεθ’ ὁμοῦ καμάτῳ τε καὶ ἱδρῷ σπευδότεσσιν ὡς ὦ γ’ ἐμμεμαῶτε νέκυν φέρον.

Il. 17.742–746

Like mules that have put on enduring spirit drag forth from a mountain down a rugged path a beam or a large piece of ship-timber; as they struggle, their spirit is distressed by toil and sweat alike: in a similar way the two struggled to bear away the corpse.

In this passage, we are no longer dealing with the fierce energy of a warrior, but with the untiring pull of draught animals. In the same way, fierce attackers and stout defenders can be qualified as κρατερός. Common to both uses is the arduous nature of the energy and its unrestrained operation. Examples of this meaning ‘enduring’ also occur with derived formations. Athena tells Nestor to provide his guest Telemachus with horses that are ἐλαφρότατοι θείειν καὶ κάρτος
άριστοι (Od. 3.370), ‘swiftest in running and best in stamina’. A beautiful testimony for χραταιός in the meaning ‘enduring, tough’ is Od. 18.383 (see section 5.2.11).

Concerning the possible pathways of semantic development, it is not difficult for ‘enduring, steadfast’ (as a qualification of animate beings) to develop into ‘firm, tenacious’ (of an applied corporeal force) and ‘durable, lasting’ (of inanimate entities such as bonds). The latter meaning may then have developed to ‘solid, hard’ (e.g. of an impenetrable shield).

A clear parallel for these semantic developments is found in Lat. dūrus. There can be no question that the original meaning of the adjective PIE *duh₂-rób- was ‘long-lasting, enduring’, as reflected in Gr. ἡρὸν ‘for a long time’, Arm. erkar ‘long-lasting’. In Latin, the denominative verb dūrō, -āre means ‘to last, persevere; endure’ (thus mostly in Plautus), which may well reflect the older root meaning. As for dūrus, many of its lexical meanings are similar to those of χρατερός. For instance, it may mean ‘tough, hardy, vigorous’ in a military sense, and ‘harsh, rough’ as a qualification of human behavior or words (cf. Hom. χρατερῶς ἀποειπέν). And, of course, dūrus also qualifies hard materials, but not yet in Plautus. Thus, this example shows that a ‘physical’ sense like ‘solid, hard’ is not necessarily the more original meaning.

Concerning the two etymologies traditionally proposed for the group of χρατερός, it appears that the lexical meaning shared with Goth. hardus ‘hard’ may have come into being by a series of secondary semantic developments. Given that the root of the Germanic word-group has a different full grade slot, the comparison must be rejected. A connection with Ved. krátu- and Av. xratu- ‘determination, resolve’ remains conceivable, but it requires that Indo-Iranian underwent the same development from ‘fierce, mighty’ to ‘enduring, steadfast’ as in χρατερός. I have proposed an alternative etymology deriving χρατερός ‘fierce, mighty’ and Ved. śithirá- ‘loose’ from the same pre-form PIE *kṛth₁-ró-. This is less straightforward semantically, but it has the advantage that the suffix -ερός (instead of -ρός) can be easily accounted for. In any case, even if the comparison with Ved. krátu- is correct (which is not certain), it is unlikely that the complete system of ‘Caland’ derivations in Greek arose from the adjective

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37 Thus also Lamberterie (1990: 346): “qualité physique de force et d’endurance”.
38 The meaning of Ved. dūrā- ‘far’ is easily understood as secondary, e.g. as a qualification of journeys.
39 Pace de Vaan, who apodictically states that “The meaning of dūrāre must have evolved from ‘be hard’ to ‘endure, last’” (EDL s.v. dūrus).
40 E.g. fortes et duri Spartiatae, Cic. Tusc. 1.43; Ligures, durum in armis genus Liv. 27.48.
κρατύς: the suffix -ερός is hard to account for in this scenario, and as we will see, both καρτερός and κρατύς are old within Greek.

5.2 The Allomorphy of κρατ‑ and καρτ‑ in Homer and Classical Greek

In dealing with the origins of the root allomorphs κρατ‑ and καρτ‑, we may now start from one single etymological origin: a Proto-Greek root *kret‑ meaning ‘fierce, mighty’. Before analyzing the derivational relations between different formations and the genre distinctions between the different allomorphs, let us consider the dialectal evidence in more detail.

5.2.1 Dialectal Reflexes and Proto-Greek Reconstruction

Evidence from Aeolic and Arcado-Cyprian shows without a doubt that the original root shape was *kret‑. The Lesbian poet Alcaeus uses the neuter κρέτος, a present ἐπικρέτει, and an aorist κρέτησαι. The same vocalism is preserved in onomastic material: Cypr. ti-mo-ke-re-te-se /Timokretēs/ (ICS² 361, 5th–4th c. BCE), Arc. Δ.κρέτης (Dubois 1988, i: 111–112), Lesb. Δ.κρετης (Hodot 1974: 116).

The original full grade is also preserved in the Ionic-Attic comparative (Hom. κρέτων, Ion. κρέσσων, Att. κρείττων). Lesbian personal names such as Ικερτης have been adduced as evidence for an alternative full grade κερ‑, but as Hodot (1974) has shown, these forms are not only of late attestation, but probably have nothing to do with -κρετης (see section 5.2.9 below).

In Central Cretan, the positive is reflected as καρτερος ‘having right of say’ (over property, Lex Gortyn), ‘firm, trustworthy’ (of a witness, IC IV 63.4, Gortyn, late 6th or early 5th c.). The comparative κάρρων ‘better’ in literary Doric reflects a pre-form *krt-i̯os‑, with a zero grade root introduced from the positive.41 The same form is found as καρτων ‘more trustworthy’ (as a witness) in the Lex Gortyn.42 In fact, as far as our evidence goes, Central Cretan has generalized

41 E.g. Alcm. fr. 105 Page, Epich. fr. 163, Sophr. fr. 59; for further attestations see LSJ (s.v. κάρ‑ρων) and Forssman (1980: 194 n. 77).
42 It is commonly accepted that -τ‑ was analogically restored in Cretan καρτων from the stem of the positive καρτερος and the neuter καρτς (Bile 1988: 181, following DELG s.v. κράτος; Forssman 1983: 194–195 n. 83, following Lejeune 1972: 111). However, since -σν‑ is not a comparative suffix, we must ask whether -τ‑ does not rather represent the outcome of *-ti‑ after a consonant (thus already Seiler 1950: 54). For the outcome of intervocalic *‑τ‑ in Cretan, cf. the overview in Bile (1988: 145–146); in Gortyn, it is regularly spelled *‑τ‑ in the 5th c. BCE, as against -θθ‑ in the 4th c. and later. It could be objected to this that *‑τ‑ may not have had an affricate outcome after -r‑ if Forssman’s derivation (1980) of ἐρρω from *u̯ert‑i̯ō (PIE root *u̯ert‑ ‘to turn’) is correct. We could assume, however, that the regular outcome...
the root shape καρτ- in all derived forms: καρταιποδα ‘cattle’, καρτος ‘violence’ (Lex Gortyn), personal names in -καρτης, and a stative verb καρτεω.43 Since the comparative form (which is shared by other West Greek dialects) points in the same direction, it looks as if most of West Greek generalized the zero grade root of PGr. *ktērō- in all derivations.44 Another dialectal reflex of PGr. *ktērō- is attested as κριτερά· κρατερά, ἰσχυρά (Hsch.).45 This form is judged by lsj to be “prob. Aeolic”, but since the regular vocalization of *γ in the Aeolic dialects was -ρο- (see section 3.3), it is more likely that κριτερά was taken from Arcadian or even Cyprian; the Aeolic outcome of *ktērō- is unattested.46

Thus, genuine dialectal reflexes of the adjective *ktērō- are found for Ionic-Attic, West Greek, and probably Arcado-Cyprian. This strongly suggests that *ktērō- was inherited from Proto-Greek. An additional argument for a high antiquity of *ktērō- is the semantic divergence between Cretan κριτερος and Ionic-Attic κριτερος: the former is used to qualify witnesses as ‘firm’ or owners of property as ‘having right of say’. In Attic, the normal way to say the same thing is κύριος, a lexical archaism. Moreover, in Cretan καρτων functions as the comparative of κριτερος, which is not the case for Classical κρείττων (or even Homeric κρείσσων, as we will see below). On the other hand, the neuter καρτος means ‘violence’ in Cretan; this meaning is also attested for Ionic-Attic κράτος, but diverges from the meaning of κριτερος in Cretan. Thus, the Cretan word group cannot have been borrowed wholesale from Ionic-Attic, but the dual sense of ‘violence, might’ beside ‘firm, authoritative’, attested for both Ionic-Attic and Cretan, may well have been inherited from Proto-Greek.

Three important conclusions can be drawn. First, the full grade form of the root was certainly *kret- in Proto-Greek, and reflexes of this root are found in three Greek dialect groups. Secondly, Proto-Greek had an adjective *ktērō-, the meaning of which probably at least included ‘steadfast, firm’ and ‘fierce, violent’. Since κριτυς cannot have been secondarily created within Greek, Proto-Greek must have had two adjectives *ktū- and *ktērō-, with forms of compar-

43 The last-mentioned verb is attested in SEG 35.991 (Lyttos, early 5th c.): pres. καρτει (line 3), aor. καρτησαι (line 4–5).
44 On evidence for the development of *γ in West Greek dialects, see section 3.2.
45 This gloss corroborates the meaning found in Classical prose, where both κριτερος and ἰσχυρος ‘strong’ are used to qualify walls and fortresses.
46 The form κριτερον (Alc. fr. 302c.8, cf. also καρτε [Alc. fr. 119.19) may be an epicism or a borrowing from Ionic (see section 3.3.5). In both instances, the meaning of the context is unclear.
ison *krētios- and *krētisto-.

Thirdly, there is a dichotomy between dynamic meanings (e.g. ‘violent, vehement, mighty’) and state-oriented meanings (e.g. ‘power, control’), which may well hark back to Proto-Greek.

5.2.2 Adjectives in -υς, -ρός and -ερός

The root vocalism of the adjectives in -υς has been discussed in chapter 4. As for the adjectives in -ρός, they derive from a thematic formation whose root was normally in the zero grade, cf.:48

– μακρός ‘tall, long’, Lat. macer ‘meagre’ < *mh2k-ró‑ beside μήκιστος ‘longest’;
– ἔρυθρός ‘red’, Lat. ruber ‘id.’ < *h1rudh-ró‑ beside ἔρευθο ‘to redden, make red’.

A zero grade root is also found in PGr. *kr̥teró‑ ‘fierce; firm’ and its reflexes. However, why do we find two different adjectives, καρτερός ~ κρατερός and κρατύς?

Clearly, κρατύς is a relic form, as adjectives in -υς are unproductive in Greek generally. Another example where Greek may preserve two inherited adjectival formations to the same root is ἐλαφρός ‘nimble’ (cf. OHG lungar ‘fast, cheerful’) beside ἐλαχύς ‘small’ (cf. Ved. raghú‑ ‘fast’). We might therefore leave it at this and assume that both καρτερός ~ κρατερός and κρατύς were inherited from PIE. However, this does not yet explain why the former has a suffix -ερός rather than simply -ρός. It is therefore reasonable to ask how PGr. *κρτερό‑ (or its predecessor in PIE) may have been created.

A fair number of *ro-formations in Greek and Indo-Iranian are inherited from PIE, but in addition deverbal ro-adjectives were productive. In Indo-Iranian, many instances occur beside state-oriented verbs or verbs of motion (Rau 2009: 163, with tables on pp. 164–167). In Greek too, “the vast majority of ro-stems are made to roots that make primary verbs” (Rau 2009: 168), and

47 For the reconstruction of the root vocalism of the comparative and superlative, see section 4.1.2.

48 There are only few possible exceptions, the most notable one being δηρόν ‘long-lasting’, Arm. erkar ‘id.’, which is often reconstructed as *duh2-ro‑ (cf. e.g. Nussbaum 1976: 13). However, in view of obviously cognate formations like Ved. dāru‑ ‘far’ and Lat. dārus ‘hard; harsh; enduring’, one wonders whether the Greek and Armenian forms can after all be explained from *duh2-ro‑, as claimed e.g. by Olsen (2009). See also the elaborate discussion of full grade ro-formations by Vine (2002), who concludes that e-grade ro-formations are “essentially substantival”.

49 The root of μαχρός is sometimes reconstructed as *mak-, but this is unsatisfactory because the Greek forms show ablaut. Avestan mas‑ ‘big’, on the basis of which a reconstruction PIE *mh2k‑ is sometimes excluded, has been analyzed as a crossover between this root and that of Skt. māhi, Gr. μέγα < *mēj-h2 (see NIL 478–481), but Kümmel (2018: 165) has convincingly argued that mas‑ is a devoiced allomorph of maz‑ conditioned by the following laryngeal. For the development of word-initial *RHC‑, see Beekes (1988b).
again, they pair either with activity verbs or state-oriented verbs. In my view, this implies that the PIE ‘Caland suffix’ *-ro- was deverbal tout court.\textsuperscript{50} This may explain why different Indo-European languages sometimes used different adjectival suffixes for the same root: Hitt. tēpu- ‘small, little’ beside Ved. dabhrā- ‘id.’ and Hitt. daššu- ‘strong, etc.’ beside Ved. dasrā- ‘artful; skilled’, OAve. daŋra- ‘id.’. Since the verbal root is still attested in Indo-Iranian, it is attractive to assume that the Anatolian u-stem adjectives preserve something older and that the forms underlying Ved. dabhrā- and dasrā- are deverbal innovations of Nuclear PIE or Proto-Indo-Iranian.\textsuperscript{51} Likewise, the meaning of ἐλαχρός ‘nimble’ is relatively close to that of the verbal root *h₁lengwh- (which is not attested in Greek, but cf. Ved. ráṃhate ‘to move without effort’) while ἐλαξχός ‘small, little’ is completely lexicalized.

All this is not meant to exclude that some adjectives in *-ro- are very old, but merely to sketch a possible scenario for the rise of PGr. *kr̥teró-. If the etymological connection with Ved. sīthirā- ‘loose, relaxed’ and the verbal root šrathi- ‘to loosen’ (proposed in Van Beek 2013) is correct, we may posit an adjective PIE *kr̥th₁-ró- ‘loose, unbridled’, whence in Greek ‘fierce, mighty, overwhelming’. The root-final laryngeal would immediately account for the extended shape of the suffix -ερός in καρτερός (PGr. *kr̥teró-), which remains unexplained in other scenarios. There must have been a semantic split between *kr̥th₁-ró- and *kr̥th₁-ú-, but it is hard to recover the details as χρατός occurs only in a single formula. If the meaning of χρατός was ‘solid, hard; firm’ (as proposed by Lamberterie 1990: 327–331), this would make sense within the above scenario: the adjective in -ύς would be more lexicalized, while the meaning of χαρτέρός ‘enduring, persevering’ would be closer to that of the verb χρατέω.

5.2.3 Synchronic Description of the Classical Prose Forms

Before analyzing the variation χρατ- ~ χαρτ- in Epic Greek, let us first consider the situation in Classical times, for clear distributions between both root variants can be found there. Table 7 shows all word-forms with χρατ- and χαρτ- attested in Classical Ionic-Attic. Forms that are exclusively attested in poetry are marked as such, but forms exclusively attested in hexameter poetry are not included. Unless otherwise indicated, prose forms are attested both in Attic and in Ionic.

\textsuperscript{50} This is argued in more detail in Van Beek 2021a.

\textsuperscript{51} It has been suggested (e.g. Nussbaum 1976: 14) that there was a productive rule to use *-ro- instead of *-u- when the root already contained *-u- (as in ἐρυθρός, λυγρός, ὑγρός). However, this does not account for archaisms in Greek such as εὐθύς ‘straight’ and PIE *sueh₂d-u- ‘agreeable, sweet’, nor for the occurrence of PIE *-ro- in roots not containing *-u- (e.g. *m₃h₂k-ró-).
**Table 7: χρατ- versus καρτ- in Classical Ionic and Attic**

| Forms with χρατ- | Forms with καρτ- |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| χρατερός (poetic only) | καρτερός |
| χραταιός (poetic only) | καρταιός (poetic only) |
| χραται- (poetic only) | καρται- (poetic only) |
| Κρατι- (in PN’s only) | Καρτι- (in PN’s only) |
| κράτος | κάρτος (poetic only) |
| compounds in -κρατής | |
| κρατέω | |
| κρατύνω | καρτύνω (poetic only) |
| κράσσων, κρείττων (-σσ-) | κάρτιστος (poetic only) |
| κράτιστος | κάρτα |

52. The occurrence of Κραται- in epigraphically attested onomastic material may be due to epic influence.

53. καρται-ποδ- is only attested once in Pindar (*Ol.* 13.81) in the meaning ‘bull’, and in Cretan in the meaning ‘cattle’.

54. Meissner (1998: 244–245) thinks that the names in Καρτι- and Κρατι- are secondary creations on the model of names in Καλλι-, but this is difficult to prove, and in my view unlikely. Interestingly, names with a first member χρατερο- are not found, except in Thessaly (Bechtel 1917: 260–261).

55. Outside of Epic Greek, κάρτος is securely attested only in Simon. fr. 15.1.2 and B. *Epin.* 5.114, authors where the form may be an epicism. In Hdt. 8.2, κάρτος is only a v.l. (codd. AB) for κράτος (all other mss.). Trümpy (1950: 202) claimed that κάρτος is the Ionic form, as against Attic κράτος, referring to Bechtel (1921–1924, ii: 111: 86) and Smyth (1894: 132). In reality, Smyth and Bechtel merely remark that the variation in the adjective χρατερός ~ χρατερός is also occasionally encountered in personal names, where we sporadically find -κρατης instead of -κρατης. Bechtel mentions only three instances, but in the first two his reading differs from that given by other editors: Μνεσικαρτες (Styra [Euboea], where the edition *IG* xii,9 56.283 reads Μνεσικαρίες); Καρτιες (ibid. 393), and Ευθυκαρτιδης ... hο Ναξσιος (Delos, *SGDI* 5419), which also occurs on a stone found on Naxos (*IG* xii Supp. 192.28). For the latter name, a derivation from κείρω ‘to cut’ cannot be excluded: the literal meaning of the name would be ‘who cuts straight incisions’. The name Σωκαρτης which occurs twice on an inscription from Miletus (*SEG* 13.498) belongs to new citizens that emigrated from Crete, where the regular root shape was καρτ-. Finally, a patronymic genitive Πολυκαρτεος is encountered once in a 5th c. inscription from Lycia (TAM 11, 1184), but it is unknown whence the bearer of this name came. In view of the abundant evidence for names in -κρατης, no conclusions can be based on these examples. I conclude that κράτος was the only form of the neuter noun in Ionic, as in Attic.

56. The only instance of καρτύνω in Classical poetry is Pi. *Ol.* 13.95, which may reflect a generalization of the license to substitute ρ for ρα: cf. the use of δράσος and δάρας as variants in Pindar, and the compound καρταιποδ- beside the epic first member καρται-.

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The forms κάρτος, καρται-, καρτύνω, and κάρτιστος are attested only once or twice each, and always in poetry; they did not belong to the Ionic-Attic vernacular. Moreover, καρτερός is the only regular prose form; κρατερός is only found occasionally, but always in poetry. Thus, Classical prose has the following forms:

- adjective καρτερός ‘fierce; firm, solid; persevering, steadfast’
- comparative κρείττων ‘better, prevailing, stronger’
- superlative κράτιστος ‘most powerful, supreme; best’
- adverb κάρτα ‘very, heavily; surely’
- neuter κράτος ‘power, control’
- compounded adjectives:
  - ἐγκρατής ‘tenacious; in control’
  - ἀκρατής ‘powerless’
- denominative verb κρατέω ‘to prevail, conquer’
- factitive verb κρατύνω ‘to make solid, fortify; be in charge’

The single most striking fact about the forms attested in prose is that there are no doublets with ‑αρ beside ‑ρα‑. Moreover, a number of forms have been lexicalized and are no longer derivationally associated with their etymological relatives. First of all, the comparative κρείττων and the superlative κράτιστος no longer belong with the adjective καρτερός. This appears not only from the respective lexical meanings, but also from the creation of new forms of comparison καρτερώτερος, καρτερώτατος. Instead, it is commonly believed that Attic κρείττων and κράτιστος are the comparative and superlative belonging with ἄγαθος ‘good’, in the specialized sense ‘strong’. This can be contrasted with the situation in Cretan (see 5.2.1) and in Homer (see below). Secondly, there is no synchronic derivational relation between καρτερός and the abstract κράτος. Again, this is not only shown by the distinct lexical meanings of both groups.

57 Only in an epigram ascribed to Simonides (AP 7.344.1).
58 Cf. lsj (s.v. κρατερός): “Epic form of καρτερός”. Note that κρατερός is rare after Homer, and that most attestations are found in meters with dactylic rhythm. It is attested in Pindar (3 ×), Bacchylides (5 ×), Corinna (1 x), and among the tragedians only in Aeschylus (2 ×, both times in lyrical parts). In Herodotus, κρατερός only occurs twice, both times in oracles (1.67 and 8.77); Xenophon (Mem. 3.2.2, cf. also Symp. 4.6) quotes the form from Homer. The only attestation in Classical Attic prose seems to be Pl. Tim. 75b, which speaks of a σφικτή … καὶ νευρώδη κρατεράν τε κεφαλήν, a “head … fleshy and sinewy and tough”. Since classical καρτερός never refers to physical toughness, this may again be an epicism. The same goes for the compound κρατερώτατος (Pl. Phdr. 253e).
59 See e.g.Bornemann and Risch (1978: 55): “… ἄριστος (…) heisst oft ‘tüchtigster’, βελτ‑ bezeichnet besonders den ‘sittlich besserer’, κρείτ‑ /κρατ‑ (vgl. κράτος) eigentlich den ‘stärkeren.” See also Kühner-Gerth ii, 565.
and their different root shapes καρτ- versus χρατ-, but also by the existence of a denominative verb καρτερέω ‘to persevere’ and a derived abstract καρτερία ‘perseverance’. Finally, the adverb and particle κάρτα and the factitive verb χρατύνω (in the sense ‘to harden’ attested in prose) are synchronically isolated.

We are now in a position to draw an important conclusion: the classical Ionic-Attic forms καρτερός and κάρτα must be the regular reflexes of their respective pre-forms with *kr̥t- because their vowel slot is aberrant with respect to the full grade *kret-. In all non-poetic forms containing χρατ- (χράτος and its derivatives -χρατής, χρατέω; superlative χράτιστος; χρατύνω), this root variant can be explained as replacing an older form with κρετ- (cf. Lesbian ἐπικρέτει, κρέτησαι, and personal names in -κρέτης) or as having an analogically influenced vocalization.

The question remains where the root allomorph χρατ- originated. The most natural form to have influenced χράτος, χρατύνω, and χράτιστος would be the positive of the adjective. This positive cannot have been κρατερός, however, because the only form (and regular outcome) in Ionic-Attic prose was, as we have just seen, καρτερός. I see only one possible scenario: the allomorph χρατ- originated in the adjective χρατύς, and was thence secondarily introduced, at an early date, in other ‘Caland’ derivations. This introduction did not take place in καρτερός and κάρτα because these forms had already diverged semantically at the relevant time.

We have already encountered a potential argument for the antiquity of χρατύς (Lamberterie 1990: 328–330): in its sense ‘to harden’, the verb χρατύνω can be understood as a factitive derived from χρατύς if the latter had the meaning...

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60 In order to illustrate the claim that the lexical meanings of καρτερός and κράτος are different in classical times, I have considered all attestations in Herodotus (Ionic prose) and Thucydides (Attic prose). It appears that in Thucydides, καρτερός is used in a marginal way: it either refers to places as ‘strong’, referring to their security in a military sense, or it qualifies a battle or military action as ‘mighty, violent’. On the other hand, κράτος either means ‘power, rule, supremacy’, or appears in the phrase κατά κράτος ‘with all one’s might, in a powerful way’ or ‘by force’ (often qualifying verbs referring to military action). In Herodotus, καρτερός has a slightly wider usage: apart from the two uses found in Thucydides, we find the phrase κατά τὸ καρτερόν, equivalent to κατὰ κράτος in Thucydides; moreover, the claws of the crocodile are referred as ‘fierce’, ὄνυχας καρτερούς (2.68). On the other hand, κράτος only appears in the socio-political meaning ‘power, rule, command’. Thus, the meanings ‘fierce, mighty’ and ‘solid, enduring’ of epic κρατερός ~ καρτερός are only marginally attested for καρτερός in Classical prose, where all these meanings have in fact been taken over by ἰσχυρός (which is post-Homeric). It thus seems that καρτερός is sometimes used as an archaizing stylistic variant of ἰσχυρός: Herodotus, for instance, uses κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρόν ‘by force’ and κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν without any apparent lexical difference.
‘hard, solid’.\(^{61}\) However, while the abstract κράτος indeed never means ‘hardness’ in classical Greek, it could be objected that κρατύνω ‘to harden’ may have been derived from κράτος somewhere between Homer and the late 5th century, as the meaning ‘hardness’ may in fact be attested for κράτος in Homer\(^{62}\) and may have fallen into disuse only later. Having said this, it remains probable that κρατύς was more frequent in Ionic until not too long before Homer, as this is the only way to account for the analogical spread of κρατ-.

### 5.2.4 Synchronic Description of the Homeric Forms

Table 8 shows the forms with κρατ- and καρτ- attested in Homeric Greek.

| Forms with κρατ- | Forms with καρτ- |
|------------------|------------------|
| κρατύς\(^{63}\) | καρτέρος |
| κρατερός         | καρτερός         |
| κρατερό-φρων, -ώνυξ | καρτερό-θυμος |
| κραταίος         |                 |
| κραταί-πεδος, -γύαιλος |                 |
| κράτος                 | κάρτος\(^{64}\) |
| ἐπικρατέως               | καρτύνω         |
| (ἐπι-)κρατέω\(^{65}\)   |                 |
| κρέισσω                   |                 |
| κάρτιστος                 |                 |
| κρέισσω                   |                 |

\(^{61}\) The derivation of κρατύνω is complicated by the fact that this verb has two meanings. The normal usage in prose is factitive, as historically expected for a verb in -ύνω: ‘to harden, make solid’ (e.g. bones, metal), ‘to strengthen, fortify’ (a place, position, or dominion). Besides, the tragedians attest an intransitive meaning ‘to rule, gain control’ (+ gen. ‘over’). In the opinion of Lamberton (1990: 328–330), it is difficult to derive κρατύνω ‘to harden’ from κράτος, because the neuter does not mean ‘hardness, solidity’ synchronically in Classical Greek. In the meaning ‘to rule’, however, κρατύνω was certainly derived from κράτος (cf. Lamberton 1990: 328 n. 4 with literature).

\(^{62}\) In the phrase τὸ γὰρ αὖτε σιδήρου γε κράτος ἐστίν Od. 9.393 (on which see below).

\(^{63}\) Only in κρατύς Ἀργεϊφόνης, name-epithet formula of Hermes.

\(^{64}\) Apart from early Greek epic, only in Tyrt. fr. 4.9 and twice in Classical poetry (see the previous section); in Hellenistic poetry, κάρτος is used a few times by Call. and Theoc.

\(^{65}\) Present stem only; aor. κρατήσατε may have been avoided for metrical reasons (section 5.2.6).
As has been noted in the previous section, a number of the specifically epic forms occur occasionally in other poetic genres. Among the Homeric formations there are only two doublets: κρατερός ~ καρτερός and κράτος ~ κάρτος. Furthermore, in κάρτιστος and καρτύνω, Homeric Greek has καρτ- as opposed to a classical form with κρατ-. How did the doublets come into being, and which variants are older?

In the following sections, I will argue that the forms restricted to epic are not the regular outcome of *kr̥t- in some vernacular, but arose within the traditional language of hexameter poetry. It is well-known that epic poets could apply normal mechanisms of linguistic change (e.g. proportional analogy) in order to adapt word-forms to metrical circumstances.66 Indeed, it appears to be possible to indicate a concrete model and motive for the creation of most of the variant forms just listed. By accounting for the mechanisms by which these variant forms came into being, we may further corroborate the insight that καρτ- is the regular Ionic-Attic outcome of *kr̥t-.

Another striking fact is that three different adjectives are attested in Homer: κρατύς, κρατερός (with variant καρτερός), and κραταιός. In compounds, too, different stem-forms are used as a first member: κρατερο-, καρτερο-, and κραται-. To what extent are these stems metrical variants of each other? Is καρτερός really lexically equivalent to κρατερός, or are there perhaps subtle differences in usage? Does κραταιός have the same lexical meaning as the former two? In order to answer these questions, we will have to pay close attention to philological details. For purposes of reconstruction, it is also important to know more about the historical origin of the different formations. For instance, what does -αιός in κραταιός represent?

Let us start with the epic doublets κρατερός ~ καρτερός and κράτος ~ κάρτος. Given that καρτερός and κράτος are the regular prose forms, it is reassuring to find that κρατερός and κάρτος can be analyzed as analogical creations of the epic language.

5.2.5 καρτερός and κρατερός in Homer
Attempts to establish a clear-cut semantic difference between καρτερός and κρατερός within Epic Greek turn out to be futile. Both forms can be used to qualify the same noun, as in φάλαγγες καρτεραί (II. 5.591–592, 13.126–127) which is mirrored by κρατερὰς … φάλαγγας (II. 13.90, cf. also κρατεραὶ στίχες, 2 × II.).67

66 Cf. among other works Meister 1921, and the illustrative examples in Hackstein 2010.
67 Furthermore, κρατηρή ὑψίνη ‘fierce battle’ is mirrored in Classical prose by κρατήρη μάχη ‘id.’; Achilles and Diomedes are both qualified as καρτερός and κρατερός.
Furthermore, the first members of κρατερόφωρον and καρτερόθυμος are clearly metrical variants.

The Homeric numbers and distributions are as follows:
- κρατερός (162 times): 68 normal in all case forms;
- καρτερός (28 times): mainly -ός, -όν (mostly after |B), rarely -οί, -αί, -ά.

The fact that κρατερός is almost six times as frequent as καρτερός is partly due to its occurrence in a number of frequent formulae and set phrases: κρατερὸς Διομήδης (or a metrically equivalent PN), κρατερὸν μήστωρ φόβοι (3 ×), κρατερὸν μένος (6 ×), κρατερῆφι βίηφι(ν) (3 ×), ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ύσμίνῃ (11 ×), κατὰ κρατερὴν ώσμίνην (8 ×), etc. The form was easy to use due to its metrical structure. On the other hand, καρτερός was awkward for epic poets because it could not be used in a hexameter line in a large number of case forms: the dat. and gen. pl. of all genders and most case forms of the feminine contain a cretic sequence. It was easy to handle only in the neuter plural (cf. καρτερὰ ἔργα) and before a vowel-initial heavy syllable (cf. καρτερὸς ἄνηρ).

In view of these facts, one might well ask: why did καρτερός exist at all? The answer is, as we have seen, that καρτερός was the form of the spoken language, while κρατερός is all but restricted to Epic Greek. It became so frequent because it supplied for impracticable case forms of καρτερός, and perhaps also of moribund κρατύς. Thus, the epic evidence confirms the conclusion reached on the basis of the classical forms: καρτερός regularly reflects Proto-Ionic *kr̥terô‑.

It remains to indicate how exactly κρατερός came into being. One possibility would be that its root was based on that of κρατύς before the latter lost its currency. I will further pursue this question in section 8.4.1. On the complicated relation between κρατερός and κρατύς in Epic Greek, see also section 5.2.10.

5.2.6 The Neuter Abstract Nouns (and Derivatives) in Homer
The oldest form of the neuter noun in Ionic-Attic is clearly κράτος, with introduction of the root vowel of κρατύς (cf. Aeol. κρέτος). As we have seen, this is also the only form attested in prose. But why and how was κάρτος created?

Let us start from the assumption (which will have to be nuanced later on) that no semantic difference existed between κράτος and κάρτος, just as with κρατερός and καρτερός. Table 9 contains the numbers for both Homeric variants.

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68 Including the adverb κρατερώς and the comparative κρατερώτερος.
69 Its forms could be used in any foot of the verse, without any noteworthy restrictions on the preceding or following word.
of the doublet, in all attested case forms. For comparison, I have added the figures for σθένος ‘force’, which is semantically close and metrically equivalent to κράτος.70

Forms of κράτος ~ κάρτος are only found in the nom.-acc. and dat. sg.71 In the nom.-acc. κράτος is by far the most frequent form, but in the dat. sg., κάρτεϊ (5 × Il., 2 × Od.) is more frequent than κράτεϊ. This is a natural distribution given that κράτεϊ consists of three consecutive short syllables (though cf. ὅ τε κράτεϊ προβεβήκῃ, Il. 16.54).72 It is therefore plausible that the dative κάρτεϊ was introduced, on the model of the already-existing doublet καρτερός ~ κρατερός, to supply for the ill-practicable form κράτεϊ. Subsequently, a new nominative-accusative κάρτος was created.

This scenario is corroborated by the lexical semantics of κάρτος and κράτος. In Homer, κράτος has two primary meanings.73 The first is ‘fierceness, overpower...
ering force, preponderance, predominance' in concrete violent confrontations. The power in question is typically granted to warriors by Zeus or another divinity (cf. formulaic μέγα κράτος ἐγγυαλίξω and inflected forms).

The second sense is 'supremacy, power, dominion', of a military leader or ruler over his subjects.

On the other hand, κάρτος appears to be used only in the first set of meanings of κράτος, 'fierceness, preponderance'. In βίῃ καί κάρτεί εἰκών 'yielding to violence and brute force' (Od. 13.143 and 18.139, both about criminal or violent deeds) and κάρτεί χειρών 'relying on the might of their hands' (Il. 8.226 = 11.9), κάρτος denotes an unrestrained, brute force. This meaning is also attested in κράτος ... κτείνειν 'the power to kill' (Il. 11.192–193 = 207–208), as well as in Od. 1.70 where the κράτος (physical strength, brute force) of Polyphemus is said to be greatest among the Cyclopes. A second nuance is 'strength' in the sense of endurance or the ability to persevere. This is attested e.g. in Il. 16.524 for κράτος (the wounded Lycian hero Glaucus asks Athena for strength), and in e.g. Il. 17.561–562 for the variant κάρτος (Menelaus is oppressed by enemies and asks Athena for the strength to hold on). There is no place where κάρτος clearly means 'political power, dominion'.

been stressed that κράτος has the meaning 'hardness' in Od. 9.393. However, the context (a simile, Od. 9.391–394) is not unambiguous: ὡς δ’ ὅτ’ ἀνὴρ χαλκεὺς πέλεκυν μέγαν ἠὲ σκέπαρνον / εἰν ὕδατι ψυχρῷ βάπτῃ μεγάλα ἰάχοντα / φαρμάσσων· τὸ γὰρ αὖτε σιδήρου γε κράτος ἐστίν· / ὣς τοῦ σίζ’ ὀφθαλμὸς ἐλαϊνέῳ περὶ μοχλῷ. “As when a bronze smith dips a large axe or an adze into cold water to temper it, and it hisses loudly: for of iron that is the κράτος; likewise did his [the Cyclops’] eye hiss around the stake of olive wood.” Here, the poet could just as well refer to the hissing sound of the water vapor as characteristic for, or indicative of, the violent qualities of iron.

Several scholars (e.g. Benveniste 1969, followed by Strunk 1975; Breuil 1989) have stressed that κράτος is often of a volatile and temporary character: it changes sides between Achaeans and Trojans according to the will of Zeus. They go too far, however, when denying that it may also mean 'force, might': for this meaning, see Lamberterie (1990: 345–346) and O’Sullivan (1990: 14–15). Both meanings, 'force' and 'supremacy', must be admitted for Homeric Greek. Besides, the word may denote the lasting authority which allows a leader to control and direct a body of subjects. An appropriate German equivalent is Gewalt, which denotes both an applied physical force and the authority of a ruler or an institution.

For κάρτει χειρών 'might of the hands/arms', we may compare certain Homeric instances of θάρσος with a close (but not identical) meaning, and especially the formula δραστείαν ἀπὸ χειρών.

O’Sullivan (1990: 14) rightly criticizes Kirk’s view that κράτος would here denote sociopolitical power. The sense ‘brute force’ is preserved in Classical Ionic-Attic in the prepositional expression κατά κράτος ‘with all one’s might’ (e.g. in Thucydides).

δὸς δὲ κράτος, ὄφρι’ ἑτάροισι κεκλόμενοι Λυκίοισιν ἐποτρύνω πολεμίζειν, αὐτὸς τ’ ἀμφὶ νέκυι κατατεθνῆτι μάχωμαι “Give me strength, so that I may call my Lycian fellows and encourage them to do battle, and that I myself may fight over the dead body [of Sarpedon]” (Il. 17.181–183).
Crucially, then, the abstract κάρτος could only be used when its meaning corresponded to that of the base form, κρατερός ~ καρτερός. In the meaning ‘power, dominion’, κράτος was used: cf. also the denominative verbs κρατεώ ‘to rule; be rampant’ and ἐπικρατέω ‘to hold sway’, which have no variant with κάρτ-. Thus, κάρτος was derived from καρτερός ‘impetuous, violent; enduring’ on the model of κράτος beside κρατερός. It is not a true doublet of κράτος.

Having explained the origin of κάρτος, it remains to briefly discuss the other forms derived from κράτος. Homer has only one compound in -κρατής, which occurs as an adverb: ἐπικρατέως ‘impetuously’.

A by-form in -καρτής* does not exist, perhaps because there was no metrical incentive to create it. An adjective *ἐπικρατής is also presupposed by the denominative stative verb ἐπικρατέω ‘to have the upper hand; to be master, rule (over)’ (7 × Hom.). Frequent is κρατέω (13 ×), which in Homer means ‘to have κράτος’ in both senses of the noun: ‘to be violent/rampant’ or ‘to dominate, be in control, rule’. On three occasions, κράτεω is modified by the adverb μέγαν; it is therefore derivationally linked with κράτος (cf. μέγα κράτος 6 × Hom.).

The aorist of κρατέω, κρατῆσαι ‘to obtain victory’, is unattested in Homer; this form, usual in Classical Greek, was probably avoided in Epic Greek for metrical
reasons. In theory, the metrical problem could have been solved by creating an artificial form *καρτῆσαι, based on a proportion like κράτος : κρατήσαι (both spoken Ionic) = κάρτος : X (Epic Greek). One reason for the absence of *καρτῆσαι may be that, in the meaning ‘be victorious, prevail’, it would have been metrically equivalent to its synonym νικῆσαι, and therefore of little use. Furthermore, as we have just seen the variant κάρτος did not mean ‘victory, predominance’ but ‘strength, brute force’, so it may have diverged too much semantically to serve as a base form.

5.2.7 The Forms of Comparison in Homer
Homeric grammars and lexica generally state that κρείσσων and κάρτιστος are the forms of comparison corresponding to the positive κρατύς. This true from a historical perspective, but not synchronically. Apart from the fact that the precise meaning of κρατύς cannot be determined, there are two problems, as we will presently see: in Homer κάρτιστος does not function as the superlative of κρατύς, and κρείσσων is paradigmatically isolated, i.e. it remains without a corresponding positive or superlative.

Let us start with the superlative. As a form, Homeric κάρτιστος is artificial and probably due to the avoidance of the normal Ionic form κράτιστος for metrical reasons. The root allomorphy that existed in the positive καρτερός ~ κρατερός ‘fierce’ was extended to the superlative. This can be backed up by the semantics. While Classical κράτιστος means ‘most powerful, supreme’, Homeric κάρτιστος (11 ×) usually means ‘fiercest, mightiest’. In other words, κάρτιστος actually functions as the superlative of κρατερός ~ καρτερός, as the following two examples illustrate:

ἄγριον αἰχμητὴν κρατερὸν μῆστωρα φόβοι,
δὲν δὴ ἐγὼ κάρτιστον Ἀχαιῶν φημι γενέσθαι
Il. 6.98–99

82 The vocalism of Aeol. ἐπικρέτει and κρέτησαι may suggest that the pre-form of κρατήσαι never contained a syllabic liquid. Therefore, using κρατήσαι would require the application of the muta cum liquida license, which in Homer is not yet very frequent with original plosive plus liquid onsets (see chapter 6).
83 As in Hom. καρτύνω for κρατύνω, which could be reanalyzed as derived from κάρτος ~ κράτος after the adjective κρατός had become obsolete. See below.
84 For instance, LfgrE has one single entry “κρατύς (κρείσσων, κάρτιστος)”; cf. also Chantraine (1958: 255–256).
85 See section 4.1.2 for the reconstruction of a full grade root *kret-isto-, and chapter 6 for the avoidance of McL scansion before original full vowels.
86 Cf. Cunliffe 1924 (s.v. κάρτιστος).
[Diomedes] that savage spearman, a fierce causer of rout who, in my view, is definitely the mightiest of the Achaeans.  

καρτίστην δὴ τὴν γε μάχην φάτο δύμεναι ἀνδρῶν
Il. 6.185

this battle of men, he said, was the fiercest that he ever took part in

Compare the phrases κρατερὴ ὑσμίνη ‘fierce battle’ (frequent in Homer) and καρτερὴ μάχη ‘id.’ (Hdt., Th.). In eight of the remaining nine attestations, the being qualified as κάρτιστος is the fiercest or strongest of its group or class. Warriors may be ‘fiercest’ in comparison with other men, and Zeus calls himself θεῶν κάρτιστος ἁπάνων (Il. 8.17) when he threatens the other gods that he will subdue them and throw them into murky Tartarus (cf. also Il. 20.243). The eagle is called ἅμα κάρτιστός τε καὶ ὤκιστος πετεηνῶν (Il. 21.353) “the strongest and also the swiftest of birds”.

There is only one place in Homer where κάρτιστος allegedly means ‘best’ (which is also the superlative’s only occurrence in the Odyssey). Circe instructs Odysseus how to evade the monstrous Scylla:

Od. 12.118–124

She is not mortal, you know, but an immortal evil: terrible, difficult, wild and not to be fought with. There is no resistance: you must flee from her with all your might (κάρτιστον). For if you tarry arming yourself by the cliff,
I fear that she will attack again and reach you with as many heads [as before], and catch as many men. No, you should row with all your might (...).

Line 120 is commonly translated as: "there is no defense: fleeing from her is [the] best [thing to do]." Instead of this, I propose to interpret φυγέειν as an infinitivus pro imperativo, and to take κάρτιστον as an adverbially used accusative. This yields the interpretation "you must flee from her with all your might". This is attractive, because it allows us to view φυγέειν κάρτιστον as syntactically parallel to μάλα σφοδρῶς ἔλααν in line 124.

The second (and more complicated) issue is the paradigmatic status of the comparative κρείσσων 'stronger, superior; better' in Homer (17 ×). In West Greek dialects, as we have seen, the root shape of the positive καρτερός has spread to all derivationally connected forms, including the comparative κάρρων (literary Doric), καρτων (Gortyn). In Ionic-Attic, however, the zero grade root was introduced in κράτιστος but not in κρείσσων. This remarkable difference would be explained if κρείσσων no longer functioned as the comparative corresponding to κράτιστος when the latter was reshaped. Can this conjecture be backed up by the semantics of these forms?

In Classical Greek, the core meaning of κρείττων (Ionic κρέσσων) is 'better, stronger'. In most Homeric attestations, κρείσσων means 'more powerful, superior', in a violent confrontation or a duel of main force. It occurs either with or without a genitive complement, depending on whether a concrete duel is thought of or whether someone is said to be superior in general. Although the genitive complement betrays its origin as a comparative, κρείσσων may almost function as a plain adjective, not only in Classical Greek but already in Homer. 

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89 Cf. "the best course is to flee from her" (tr. Dimock 1995); similarly LfgrE s.v. κρατύς.
90 This is the only occurrence in Homer of the prose adjective σφοδρός 'vehement, impetuous, fierce, energetic'. It is hard to tell why μάλα σφοδρῶς was preferred here to μάλα κρατερῶς, which would fit the meter and occurs several times in Homer; there may have been a subtle semantic or stylistic difference.
91 Cf. Cunliffe 1924 (s.v. κρείσσων). Only the adverbially used neuter κρεῖσσον, attested just once (Od. 6.182), has the bleached meaning 'better' that is also found in Classical Greek.
92 In one passage in the Odyssey, κρείσσων has the meaning 'having right of say (over)' (+ gen.): μήτερ ἐμή, τόξον μὲν Ἀχαίων οὐ τις ἐμεῖο κρείσσων, ὃ κέ̂ ἐθέλη ἄμεναι τι καὶ ἄρνησασθαι (...) τὸν οὗ τις μ’ ἄκοντα βιήσεται, αἱ κέ̂ ἐθέλωμι καὶ καθάπαξ ἐξεινω δόμεια τάξε πάλαι, κέ̂ φέρεσθαι "Mother of mine, as for the bow, no one of the Achaeans has right of say over me (οὗ τις ἐμεῖο κρείσσων), that I may give or deny it to whoever I wish to: (...) No one of them shall force me against my will, even if I should wish to give this bow once and for all to the stranger to carry it away with him." (Od. 21.344–345 and 348–349). Here, κρείσσων seems to function as the positive of an adjective corresponding to the abstract κράτος in the sense
There is an interesting restriction in the use of κρείσσων: almost without exception, it refers to the result of a future conflict that can still be avoided.\footnote{LfgrE gives the following translations: "aktuell sich im Zweikampf als der stärkere erweisen ~ siegen (...); dauernd stärker (...); mächtiger (...); mit Angabe des Bereichs überlegen in/an (...); besser (...)." On the basis of II. 3.71 νικήσῃ κρείσσων τε γένηται, Trümpy asserted that victory is a prerequisite for being κρείσσων: "... für κρείσσων ist ein Sieg Voraussetzung" (1950: 205–206). However, this formulation fails to take into account that κρείσσων never qualifies actual victors in Homer (these are referred to with the ptc. νικήσας, and their victory with νίκη). I would therefore modify Trümpy’s words as follows: "für κρείσσων ist ein gedachter Sieg Voraussetzung".} This is neatly illustrated in the first book of the Iliad. The seer Calchas is afraid of Agamemnon’s wrath and asks Achilles for protection before he interprets the dire situation of the Achaeans. His motivation for this request is as follows:

κρείσσων γὰρ βασιλεύς ὅτε χώσεται ἀνδρὶ χέρηι
ei περ γὰρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτήμαρ καταπέψη,
ἀλλὰ τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον, ὃφρα τελέσῃ,
ἐν στήθεσσιν ἑοῖσι: σὺ δὲ φράσαι εἰ με σκώσεις.

Il. 1.80–83

For a king prevails when he gets angry with a lower-ranked man. For even if he swallows down his wrath for that day, afterwards he will cherish resentment in his heart, until he will turn it into action. So tell me whether you will safeguard me.\footnote{Another illustrative case is Il. 19.216–219, where Odysseus addresses Achilles: ὦ Ἀχιλεῦ Πηλῆος υἱὲ μέγα φέρτατ’ Ἀχαιῶν, κρείσσων εἰς ἐμέθεν καὶ φέρτερος οὐκ ὀλίγον περ ἔγχει, ἐγὼ δὲ κε σεῖο νοήματι γε προβαλόιμην πολλόν, ἐπεὶ πρότερος γενόμην καὶ πλείονα οἶδα, Ἀχιλλε, son of Peleus, by far the best of the Achaeans, stronger are you than I am and better not a little with the spear. But I would beat you by far in counsel, because I was born earlier and know more." As Breuil (1989: 44) notes, "… la prévalence d’Achille sur Ulysse ne s’actualise que de manière indirecte". For the same typical use of κρείσσων, cf. also II. 23.334 and II. 23.578. When the νόος ‘mind’ of Zeus is qualified as κρείσσων (II. 16.688, 17.176), the idea is that his will (the Δίς βουλή) will prevail eventually, no matter what another god or a human being may devise.}

These lines illustrate well how Agamemnon’s political power (κράτος) is based on the principle that the threat is stronger than its execution.

Furthermore, it is remarkable that κρείσσων never means ‘more violent, fiercer’. Within Epic Greek, it is therefore paradigmatically unrelated to κρατερός ~ καρτερός and κάρτιστος, which refer to the might or fierceness of a combat-
Table 10 Homeric forms of comparison with the root *κρε‑, κρα‑, κα‑

|        | ‘Superior’; ‘better’ | ‘Fierce’ |
|--------|----------------------|----------|
| Positive | –                    | κρατερός ~ καρτερός |
| Comparative | κρείσσων | κρατερώτερος |
| Superlative | not attested | κάρτιστος and κρατερώτατος |

ant in a concrete situation, or to being fierce as a characteristic or permanent property. If the Proto-Ionic precursor of Homeric κρείσσων was already an isolated comparative formation, just like superior in English, this would explain why the e-grade of the root was preserved exclusively in this form.95

Finally, the paradigmatic isolation of κρείσσων is also suggested by existence of a comparative form κρατερώτερον ... ἄεθλον ‘[no] fiercer contest’ (Od. 11.624), which mirrors μάχη καρτερή (Hdt., Th.) and κρατερὴ ύσμινη (Hom.). Morphologically, this κρατερώτερος is the regular comparative of κρατερός in Homeric Greek.96 As we have just seen, the usual Homeric superlative of κρατερός ~ καρτερός is κάρτιστος, but in Hesiod (Th. 864), the productive form κρατερώτατος is predicated of σίδηρος ‘iron’ in the sense ‘the hardest, fiercest’.97

The conclusions of this discussion are summarized in Table 10.

5.2.8 κρατύς and καρτύνω in Homer
In Homer, καρτύνω is attested only in the phrase ἐκαρτύναντο φάλαγγας “they filled their ranks with battle spirit”, in a repeated battle scene where a phalanx is formed.98 Its different vowel slot in comparison with κρατύς and Classical

95 A different question is to what extent κρείσσων and κράτιστος are part of the same paradigm in Classical Attic (it is normally thought that both forms belong to the positive ἀγαθός).
96 Cf. also κρατερώτερον ἄλλο κεραυνοῦ “[no] fiercer [weapon] than lightning” (Hes. fr. 343.8).
97 σίδηρος, ὅ περ κρατερώτατός ἐστιν (Hes. Th. 864).
98 After Homer, ἐκαρτύναντο is attested once in Hesiod (Th. 676) and in two epic fragments (Antimachus fr. 42.1 Wyss, also fr. 64.4 Lloyd-Jones & Parsons). Furthermore, the active present καρτύνειν is attested once in Pindar (Ol. 13.95). It is difficult to pinpoint the meaning of καρτύνω with absolute certainty on the basis of one single formula. Strunk (1975) points out that the line preceding ἐκαρτύναντο φάλαγγας, in all three Homeric attestations, depicts an army leader arousing the fighting spirit (ἄλχη) of his men: the consequences of the leader’s call “bestehen nicht nur im blossen zusammenrücken der φάλαγγες, sondern auch darin, dass diese neuen Anlass zum Kampf sehen und frischen Mut fassen.” (1975: 273). The idea that φάλαγγες καρτεραῖ conveys the image of a solid and massive wooden log (Benveniste 1969, 11: 80, Lamberterie 1990: 332) is in my view less likely.
κρατύνω requires an explanation. It is unlikely that καρτύνω is a relic form whose vowel slot was not affected by that of the base form κρατύς.

Fortunately, it is not difficult to find a motive for creating καρτύνω: like κράτιστος, the expected form κρατύνω may have been avoided in Homeric Greek for metrical reasons. But what was the linguistic model? At first sight, it seems difficult to indicate an adequate proportional analogy. Whereas other analogical forms with καρτ- (κάρτος, κάρτιστος) are derivationally connected with καρτερός ~ κρατερός and semantically akin to it, καρτύνω cannot be derived from καρτερός for morphological reasons. It cannot be derived from κρατύς either, because no by-form *καρτύς exists. The best solution is to assume that καρτύνω was derived from epic κάρτος in its sense ‘endurance, strength to persevere’. Apart from the pair κράτος : κρατύνω in the spoken language, another model may have been the semantically close θαρσύνω ‘to encourage’ beside θάρσος ‘perseverance, courage’. As argued in section 4.5, θαρσύνω could be reanalyzed as based on θάρσος after the original form *θαρσύς had been ousted by θαρσαλέος.

Thus, καρτύνω ‘to strengthen, make firm’ is a by-form of the form κρατύνω current in prose. It can be viewed as an inner-epic analogical creation meaning ‘to provide with κάρτος’ (in its sense ‘endurance in battle’).

5.2.9 κάρτα
The adverb and particle κάρτα ‘very, much; vehemently; surely, indeed’ is relatively well-attested in Classical Greek: it is frequently used by Herodotus, in the Hippocratic corpus, and in the tragedians. It is not found, however, in inscriptions, Thucydides, Xenophon, or the orators, only a few times in Aristophanes, and it is almost entirely shunned in hexameter poetry. Its only occurrence in Plato (Tim. 25d) is in the story about Atlantis, which is said to be due to the

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99 The Ionic vernacular form κρατύνω may have been derived from the u-stem adjective κρατύς after the vocalization of the syllabic liquids and the subsequent spread of the allomorph κρατ- (see section 4.3.3). Lamberterie (1990: 328) stresses that the meaning of κρατύνω in later prose is “to harden, consolidate, reinforce” in a material sense, but it also had the sense ‘to strengthen one’s defense / fortifications’ (cf. LSJ s.v.), which is close to the Homeric meaning.

100 Strunk (1975: 296) gives the same derivation, but does not account for the peculiar variations κρατ- ~ καρτ- and θρασ- ~ θαρσ-. Remember that θρασύς ‘reckless’ has not only the wrong vowel slot, but also a different lexical meaning as compared to θαρσύνω.

101 In the words of Strunk (1975: 273–274), “Die von Benveniste gelegnete semantische Brücke zwischen κράτος und καρτύνεσθαι (κρατύς) ist damit zumindest in der homerischen Sprache (...) greifbar: mit ἀλκή, »kämpferischer Gesinnung«, haben beide Wörter zu tun.”

102 In pre-Classical poetry only in Aristeas Epicus fr. 5.2, Empedocles fr. 4.4; Protagoras fr. 9, Epich. fr. 113.1.13.
elder Critias, who is supposed to have heard it from Solon (ὑπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ Κριτίου κατ’ ἀκοὴν τὴν Σόλωνος), who in turn was informed by an Egyptian priest. The word therefore probably belongs to a high register in Classical Attic. On the other hand, κάρτα remained alive in Eastern Ionic: this is shown by its occurrence not only in Herodotus, but also in Hipponax (fr. 32.2), the poet from Ephesus and Clazomenae reputed for his use of low register vocabulary. Thus, an adverb κάρτα existed in Proto-Ionic; it was replaced in Attic by other adverbs such as σφόδρα.

The semantic relation between κάρτα and κρατερός ~ καρτερός in the sense ‘fierce, vehement’ is clear, and they are surely related.103 The adverbs in -α are a relic formation. The reconstruction of the suffix -α itself is unclear and debated,104 but the root vocalism is usually identical to that of the corresponding adjective, cf.:

- λίγα ‘loudly’ λιγύς ‘sonorous’
- μάλα ‘very’ μάλλον ‘more’, μάλιστα ‘most’
- πύκα ‘closely; frequently’ πυκινός, πυκνός ‘close’
- ἄκα ‘swiftly’ ἀκύς ‘swift’
- τάχα ‘quickly’ ταχύς ‘fast’, comp. θάσσων, superl. τάχιστος
- ἡκα ‘softly, lightly’ ἡσσων ‘worse’, ἥκιστος ‘least’, adv. ἥκιστα

Thus, forms like τάχα and λίγα may have been influenced by the adjectives ταχύς and λιγύς. In the case of κάρτα, however, such influence was only possible as long as the root was still *kr̥t‑ (contrast the different root shape of κρατός). Hence, κάρτα must be the regular reflex of a pre-form *κρτα.

This conclusion is at odds with the widely-shared assumption of a regular development *r̥ > ‑ρα‑. Illustrative for the embarrassment of previous scholarship is the treatment of Ruijgh (1980: 563 n. 10):

Noter que *κράτα est le résultat phonétique de *κρτη (cf. ἔδρακον : δέρκωµαι). Il faut donc expliquer κάρτα par une métathèse due au modèle de *κέρτος (attesté par l’anthroponyme Ἰ‑κέρτης), doublet de κρέτος; cf. la substitution de δαρτός à δρατός d’après δερ‑. (…) La métathèse se retrouve dans καρτερός, κάρτιστος, κάρτος, καρτύνω et lac. κάρρων < *κάρσων, doublets de κρατερός etc.

103 The similarities between κάρτα and Lat. certus ‘certain’ (adv. certe ‘certainly, surely’) are superficial: the Latin word derives from *kritó‑ ‘sifted, distinguished’ (cf. EDL s.v. certus).
104 Nussbaum (1976: 122 n. 37) proposes to reconstruct *‑nt, the neuter form of a Caland nt-adjective. For a discussion with further literature, see Meissner (2006: 63–64), who prefers *‑h2. For the Homeric instances, see Risch 1974: 363.
Here, Ruijgh ascribes the variation between -αρ- and -ρα- to a similar hesitation concerning the full grade slot in the abstract noun κρέτος ~ *κέρτος. This assumption is completely unfounded, as there is no evidence whatsoever for *κέρτος anywhere in Greek. Hodot (1974) has shown that the name Ικερτής, which occurs only in Lesbian, is unrelated to -κράτης. The normal Lesbian counterpart of Ionic names in -κράτης is -κρέτης, which is attested from the 5th c. BCE onward; on the other hand, names in -κέρτης first appear in the 2nd c. BCE and must therefore be considered an innovation. Hodot convincingly suggests that this late Lesb. -κέρτης is the regular outcome of -κρίτης.105

Ruijgh also misses the mark when suggesting (1980: 562 n. 8) that κάρτα could be the result of a post-Homeric analogy μάλα : μάλιστα = X : κάρτιστα. The problem is, as we have seen, that κάρτιστος is an artificial Homeric form unattested in the Ionic vernacular, whereas κάρτα is, conversely, unattested in Homer. Moreover, an adverbial form κάρτιστα is unattested in Homer.106

Since an convincing analogical explanation of κάρτα is hard to find, I conclude that it probably reflects *kr̥ta, thus representing a valuable piece of evidence for the regular development of *γ in Proto-Ionic.

5.2.10 From Proto-Ionic to Attic and Ionic

On the basis of our comparison between the Homeric and Classical Ionic-Attic forms in the preceding sections, it is possible reconstruct the following situation for Proto-Ionic, directly after the vocalization *γ > -αγ- and the levelling in κρατύς, but before -ρα- was generalized to other full grade forms:

– adj. kratús

forms of gradation *krétjōn, *krétistos
→ factitive verb kratū́nō

– n. *krétos

→ stative verb *kretéō
→ compounds in *-kretés

105 According to Meissner (2006: 68–69), names in -κράτης / -κρέτης are recent creations because no examples are found in Homer or Mycenaean.

106 Alternatively, one could think of a proportion μάλα : μαλερός = X : καρτερός, as I did in Van Beek 2013:140. However, this would require that μαλερός was current in spoken Ionic-Attic in the meaning ‘vehement’ when the analogy was applied. This is not evident, as μαλερός is exclusively poetic and its exact meaning is debatable. Cf. Gew s.v. μαλερός, *wegen der unbestimmten Bedeutung ohne überzeugende Etymologie*. Blanc (Delg, Supp. s.v. μαλερός) has argued that μαλερός originally referred to the brilliant splendor of light, and that the form arose by dissimilation from *μαρ-ερ-, with the root of μαρμάρω ‘to glitter’. This seems unlikely to me, but if it is correct, it would imply that μαλερός cannot play a role in accounting for κάρτα.
adj. *karterós
adv. *kárta.

Homerian Greek and Classical Ionic-Attic agree in having the forms *krátos, -*krát-ής, and *kratéω. Moreover, the superlative *krátiστος is found in both Attic and Ionic, and was probably avoided in Homer for metrical reasons. This suggests that as early as Proto-Ionic, -*ρα‑ was introduced from the adjective in these forms, but not in *kretiōn. This introduction led to the following situation:

- *krétos ‘powerful, fierce; firm’
  - *krétistos ‘most powerful’ > ‘best’
  - *kratúnw ‘to make firm, harden’
- *kretiōn ‘superior’
- *krátos ‘fierceness; power’
  - *kratéω ‘to be rampant; be in control’
  - -*kratής ‘having power’
- *karteros ‘fierce, strong; steadfast, enduring; firm’
- *kárta ‘vehemently, firmly’ (> ‘very’).

The root variant *krat‑ first arose in the adjective *kratύς. Whereas this form is a relic already in Homer, it must have been alive in Proto-Ionic because the introduction of a-vocalism in *kratός and *krátiστος started out from this form.

It is impossible to assume influence of *karteros on the vocalism of *krétos, *kretiostos. First of all, the forms *karteros and *kratός have different vowel slots. If the vocalized zero grade had been levelled, the result would have been *kár‑

107 In this overview, I leave aside the precursors of *krataios and *kratai- because these forms were limited to Epic poetry.

108 The same holds for the argument that Class. *kratúnw in the sense ‘to make firm, harden’ cannot have been derived from *kratός.
5.2.11 The Reconstruction of κραταιός and κρατσιμ-
It is generally agreed that κραταιός, κραται- and κραταιΐς (ΡΝ Κράταιϊς) had pre-
forms with a zero grade root \(^*\)kr̥t-, but their precise morphological reconstruc-
tion and the origin of -α- have been a topic of debate. I will first summarize and
criticize previous accounts of κραταιός and κραται-, and then propose my own
scenario accounting for both forms. Concerning κραταιϊς (Κράταιϊς), this form
is derived from κραταιός, as I will argue in the next section.

The meaning of κραταιός is more or less identical to that of κρατερός ~ καρτερός.\(^{109}\) A broadly shared assumption is that the masculine κραταιός is a
back-formation from the feminine attested in the formula Μοῖρα κραταιή.\(^{110}\)
It is supposed that κραταιή somehow continues an archaic motional femi-
nine \(^*\)kr̥th₂u̯ih₂ of the u-stem adjective κρατύς, where the second -α- would be
the vocalization product of \(^*\)h₂. This reconstruction is inspired by that of the
toponym Πλάταια, which is analyzed similarly as the direct outcome of the old feminine \(^*\)pl̥th₂u̯ih₂ of πλατύς ‘wide’.\(^{111}\) That Πλάταια (pl. Πλαταιαί) is indeed a
relic u-stem form is corroborated by its pattern of accentuation, which recurs
only in a few archaic motional feminines of Greek u-stem adjectives: λίγεια,
θάλεια, λάχεια and the pluralia tantum ταρφειά, θαμειά. The root-final laryn-
geal of PIE \(^*\)pleth₂- is corroborated by the voiceless aspirate of Indo-Iranian
(Ved. \(prath^i\)) and the Greek noun πλαταμών ‘flat surface’.

Severe problems arise, however, when this explanation is extended to κρα-
tαιός. First of all, there is no independent evidence that the root ended in \(^*\)h₂.
Meissner (2006: 62), accepting the etymological connection with Ved. krátu-
and Av. \(xratu^-\) (which exclude root-final \(^*\)h₂-), assumes that an extended form
\(^*\)h₂u- of the suffix \(^*\)u- somehow became productive in Proto-Greek. Lambert-
erie (1990: 352–353), while deriving κρατύς from \(^*\)kert- ‘cut’, is forced to assume a
contamination of that root with \(^*\)(s)kerH- ‘cut’ (which would have given rise to

\(^{109}\) See Lamberterie (1990: 337); to his list of examples proving this equivalence, I would add
Od. 18.383, where κραταιός occurs in a speech by Odysseus. Still in disguise as a beggar, he
addresses the suitor Eurymachus and warns him that Odysseus would beat him in any con-
test of endurance, be it in mowing the grass from morning till evening, in ploughing a field
all day long, or in full war. Thus, in the verse καὶ πού τις δοκέεις μέγας ἠδὲ κραταιός
(Od. 18.383) “you think you are some big and tough guy”, κραταιός refers to the physical
condition (fitness) which the suitor Eurymachus is lacking, according to Odysseus. Thus,
apart from the sense ‘impetuous, fierce’ (which is likely in the other Homeric instances),
kραταιός also means ‘steadfast, tough’ on at least one occasion. At least the poet of this line
considered κραταιός and κρατερός ~ καρτερός to be semantically interchangeable.

\(^{110}\) Risch (1974: 74), Nagy (1999: 85–89 and 349–354), Lamberterie (1993: 337–343), Meissner
(2006: 62–63).

\(^{111}\) This toponym may have originally been an epithet denoting a wide or flat area (e.g. \(^*\)πλά-
tαυα χώρα). Of course, the normal feminine πλατεία has analogical -εία.
"kertho\"-) in order to account for κραται- and κραταιός. Both ideas are designed specifically in order to explain κραταιός, and neither is supported unambiguously by further evidence.\textsuperscript{112}

A second problem concerns the inner-Greek developments assumed to lead to κραταιός. The expected feminine of a u-stem adjective would be *κράταια, but this form is unattested, and Homer already has the archaic formula Μοῖρα κραταιή. Both the quantity of the final vowel of κραταιή and its oxytone accentuation are problematic, and there would have been no motive for replacing *κράταια in Μοῖρα κραταιή, as petrified formulae cannot be expected to undergo unmotivated analogical morphological changes. Finally, the creation of a secondary masculine κραταιός beside κραταιή (Lamberterie 1990: 339) is not without problems: most of the parallels adduced by Lamberterie to explain this process are post-Classical, and their similarities with κραταιός are weak.\textsuperscript{113}

In view of these objections, the reconstruction of κραταιός remains problematic. Before presenting my new account, let us consider the reconstruction of the first member κραται-. A number of details remain puzzling: what is the origin of -αι-? Is there a derivational relation between κραται- and κραταιός? And how do personal names with Καρτι-, Κρατι- fit into the picture?

A brief digression about Caland’s rule for replacing adjectival suffixes with -i- in first compound members (cf. section 4.1) will be in order here. This rule may have been productive until not too long before Homer. The most important examples of first compound members in -ι- are the forms shown in Table 11 (next page).\textsuperscript{114} Several of these forms co-occur with adjectives in -ρό- or -νό-, just as in the Indo-Iranian examples: ἐρυσι˚ : ἐρυθρός, κυδι˚ : κυδρός, λαθι˚ : λάθρῃ, πυκι˚ : πυκνός, perhaps ἄργι : ἄργος (if one accepts Wackernagel’s idea of a dissimilation from *argró-), and cf. also δαϊφρων < *dn̥s-i˚ beside Ved. dasrá-‘capable, skilled’ < *d̥ns-ro-<. In all cases where more than one ablaut variant exists, the first member in -ι- has a zero grade root: λαθι-, πυκι-, δαϊ-, ἐρυσι-, just like the corresponding adjectives.

\textsuperscript{112} In Van Beek 2013, section 5.3 I have argued that κρατερός ~ καρτερός corresponds directly to Ved. śithirá- ‘loose’. If this is correct, the root did have a final laryngeal, but its form was *kreth1- in view of the -e- in Ion.-Att. καρτερός. It is not possible to start from *kret\textsubscript{2}h- and assume a reshaping of *καρταρός to καρτερός (for instance after ἱερός, which was close in meaning), as Cretan has καρτερος beside ιαρος.

\textsuperscript{113} The only clearly Homeric case mentioned by Lamberterie is ἑταῖρος ‘companion’, which he views as a backformation from ἑταίρη. Here, however, metrical pressure may have been at work, since the older form of the masculine seems to be ἑταρος. Moreover, it remains unclear whether an older athematic feminine ever existed.

\textsuperscript{114} See Risch (1974: 219) and the table in Meissner (2006: 19) for a few more uncertain items.
Several examples suggest that the basis for deriving first compound members in -ι˚ has been extended to include s-stems, both abstract nouns and second compound members. The relic first member θερσι˚ (retaining the e-grade) seems to have been formed beside θέρσος (the older form of θάρσος) and ˚θέρσης.120 Likewise, καλλι˚ with its geminate mirrors not the simplex καλός, but the noun καλλός and compounds in ˚καλλής, and we may also compare ἀργι˚ : ˚αργής and κυδι˚ : ˚κυδής.

Another indication that Caland’s replacement rule had ceased to be operative is the use of κρατερο˚ as a first compound member, instead of the outcome of *kr̥ti˚ or, for that matter, unattested *κρατυ˚.121 This brings us back to the origins of κραται˚. Interestingly, as remarked by Meissner (2006: 18), κρατατ˚ beside

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**Table 11** Greek ‘Caland’ first members in -ι‑ compared with related forms

| First compound member | Related formations |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| ἀργι-κέραυνος, -ποδες (Hom.) | ἀργής ‘bright’, ἀργός ‘swift; white’ |
| δαϊ-φρων ‘clever’ (Hom.)| δήνεα ‘wiles’, ἀδηνής, πολυδήνης |
| καλλι-γύναικα (Hom.) | κάλλος ‘beauty’, περικαλλής |
| κυδι-ἀνείρα (Hom.) | κυδρός ‘stately’, κύδος ‘glory’, ἐρικυδής |
| λαθι-κηδής (Hom.) | λάθρας adv. ‘secretly’, Hom. λάθρῃ |
| πυκι-μήδης (Hom.) | πυκνός, πυκνίνος ‘close; sharp-witted’ |
| ρά-θυμος ‘light-hearted’ (Att.) | ῥεία (< *ῥῆα) ‘easily’ |
| ἐρυσί-πελας (Hp.+) | Αεολ. θέρσος; names in “θέρσης (Hom.+)) |
| θερσι-επής (B.) | κρατερός, καρτερός ‘violent, firm’ |

115 From *dus-i-.
116 From *urāhi- beside adv. *urāha, see Wackernagel (1897); ῥήθιος (already Homeric) may also be an original compound with first member *urāhi-, as I argue in Van Beek 2020.
117 Name of the skin disease erysipelas; cf. perhaps also ἐρυθρή ‘red blight’. Note the unproductive assimilation of /th/ (for which cf. Myc. ko-ri-si-jo /Korinsios/ ‘from Corinth’).
118 The use in appellatives is post-Homeric, but the same first member is already attested in PNS such as Θερσίλοχος (Hom.+) and perhaps also in Θερσίτης (see section 2.3.1).
119 Meissner (1998: 244–246) claims that names with Κρατι‑, Καρτι‑ are late, analogical formations.
120 Contrast Meissner’s view (2006: 22) that δέρσι- might be an archaism to be compared with Av. darši-.
121 Note that adjectives in -ύς do not change their shape when appearing as a first compound member: cf. e.g. βαρύκτυπος, βαθυδίνης, θρασυκάρδιος.
κρατερός is the only instance in Homer where adjectiveal -ρο‑ is not replaced by -ι‑ in a first compound member. Is it possible that κραται‑ somehow reflects *kr̥t‑?

Let us first reconsider the existing opinions on the origin of -αι‑ in κραται‑. Meissner (2006: 62), citing γεραιός ‘old’ beside the comparative γεραίτερος as a parallel, argued that κραται‑ is a remodeling of κραταιο‑.122 This is unlikely: it remains unclear why the thematic vowel would be dropped; the assumed influence of γεραιός on κραταιός lacks a clear motivation; and γεραίτερος is not a compound but a comparative. Reconstructing a pre-form *kr̥th₂‑ does not really help: between two consonants, PIE *-h₂i‑ is expected to yield -ι‑ rather than -αι‑ (cf. Nagy 1999: 86–87 with n. 5).

Nagy therefore assumed that κραται‑ arose within Greek as a crossover of the adverb *kr̥t-a (>*κάρτα) and the inherited first member *kr̥ti‑. He follows a suggestion by Nussbaum that adverbs in -α could also appear in place of a first member in -ι‑, as in the names Ἀλκάθοος (Il. 12.93) and Ἀλκαμένης (Bechtel 1917: 35) beside ἀλκιφρῶν. Indeed, a first member Κρατι‑ is also found in personal names, but one would have to assume that the adverb *kr̥ta could be used as the first member of a compound, and that it was then contaminated with *kr̥ti‑. This is not impossible, but difficult to substantiate.

Although the existence of κάρτα lends some support to this scenario, it remains difficult to indicate a motive for creating *kr̥tai‑. Why not simply retain *kr̥ti‑ if this already existed anyway? Turning around our perspective, if we were to assume that *kr̥tai‑ is old, a motivation for its retention is readily available. In Epic Greek, κραται‑ functions as an allomorph of κρατερο‑, as is clearly illustrated by personal names with Κραται‑ corresponding to noun phrases with κρατερός (cf. Lamberterie 1990: 337):
- Κραταιμένης (Th., inscr.)123 – Hom. κρατερόν μένος;
- Κραταίβιος (inscr. Delos)124 – Hom. κρατερήφι βιῆφι.

Another crucial form is κραταίποδ‑, attested both in Pindar (qualifying a bull in Ol. 13.81) and in Cretan inscriptions (in the meaning ‘cattle’). Its variant κραταίποδες ‘with strong feet’ appears as an epithet of ἡμίονοι ‘mules’ in the

122 See also Meissner (1998: 244–246).
123 The oldest attestation is the name of an Achaean victor in Olympia (SEG 22:345, appr. 600 BCE). Further attested (mostly late) in Κραταιμένου SEG 19:108 1117 (Attica, cf. SEG 23:124,2), Κραταιμένης IG v,1 127,4 and 211 11.34 (Laconian), also IG v,2 419,8 (Arcadian, 2nd c.), Eὐδήμος Κραταιμένου Ἐρετριεύς IG xii,9 91,4 (Euboea). Cf. also Κραταιμένη[5], IG xi,11 (Supp.) 312 111,31 (Tenos, Ionic Cyclades, 2nd c.).
124 Κραταίβιος IG x,1,2 287 A.146 passim (Delos). The form Κραταίβιος (with -αρ‑) is also attested as the name of a Cretan in Miletus (Bechtel 1917: 256).
Herodotean Life of Homer. This must surely be compared with the Homeric epithet κρατερόνυξ, which (with one exception) qualifies horses or mules. In other words, κραταίποδες “whose πόδες are κρατεροί” is parallel to κρατερώνυξ “whose δύναμες are κρατεροί”.

What determined the choice between κραταί and κρατερο? It is true that κραταί also occurs in non-dactylic meters, but I think the underlying principle is best sought within the epic language. The only two Homeric compounds with a first member κραταί are the hapax eiremena κραταιγύαλος and κραταίπεδον, whose second member has a light first syllable starting with a single consonant. The same applies to the post-Homeric personal names Κραταιμένης and Κραταίβιος, which may well be of epic origin, and to post-Homeric κραταίποδες. In this phonological context, κρατερο and καρτερο were both excluded for metrical reasons in Epic Greek. We do find κρατερο before second members starting with two consonants or a vowel-initial heavy syllable (κρατερόφρων, κρατερώνυξ), while καρτερο was used if the second member started with a heavy syllable with a single initial consonant (cf. καρτερόθῡμος).

If the alternation of *krtai- with *krtaro- as first compound members represents something old and structural, then the same must hold for *krtai- itself. But how old is this form? Lamberterie (1990: 343) proposes the following explanation:

Dans les composés, le système de Caland fait attendre un premier membre καρτι-, κρατι-, attesté effectivement dans l’onomastique; une fois constitué l’adjectif κραταιός (…), on conçoit qu’il ait pu fournir aux aèdes un modèle pour faire entrer dans l’hexamètre des formes amétriques comme *κρατιπεδός ou *κρατιγύαλος.

This is attractive, but I would prefer to view formulate the details slightly differently. An inherited first compound member *krti- is expected on comparative grounds as a counterpart of *ktero-. In Epic Greek, it was problematic to use *krti- before a single consonant followed by a light syllable. This may have initially been resolved with a metrical lengthening, *krtipedo- >> *kritispedo-. At

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125 Vita Herodotea 14.9.
126 The exception is λύκοι κρατερώνυχες ἠδὲ λέοντες (Od. 10.218), where it means ‘with fierce claws’.
127 In χραταϊρίνοις ‘hard-shelled’ (oracle in Hdt. 1.47, hexameter), the allomorph χραται- is used before a heavy syllable starting with a single consonant, but note that the prosodic behavior of initial ρ- varies. The compound χραταίλεως ‘consisting of hard rock’ (trag.), containing λᾶας ‘stone’ as a second member, is a relatively recent formation (note the application of quantitative metathesis).
some point, *kr̥ṭi- was for some reason (perhaps because it had become isolated) reshaped as *kr̥tai- under the influence of *kr̥taṃo-, the pre-form of kr̥taioś.

In his immediately following remark, however, Lamberterie expresses his doubts about this explanation:

Il reste que l’existence de καρταῖπος en Crète interdit de voir dans les composés en κραται- une création littéraire artificielle; ils ont bel et bien une réalité linguistique.

The Cretan word καρταιποδ- is indeed highly relevant, as it shows that compounds in *kr̥tai- existed before the vocalization of *r̥ in this dialect.\(^{128}\) I would hesitate, however, to view καρταιποδ- as a compound of vernacular origin. On the face of it, it looks like a poetic form: an epithet which replaced or supplemented an older word for ‘cattle’ such as τετραποδ-. In fact, the Cretan form could show that a compound *kr̥tai-pod- (reflected in post-Homeric κραταίποδες) was created in an early form of the Greek poetic tradition, probably epic, and that it was borrowed thence into an early form of Cretan. One is tempted to think of an ‘Achaean’ relic form.

The question still remains how the compounds with κραται- relate to personal names with Καρτι- and Κρατι-, which at first sight may contain the expected outcome of *kr̥ti-.\(^{129}\) Meissner (1998: 244–245, cf. also gew s.v. κράτος) objects to this idea that the attestations are not very early: one example possibly dates from the fifth century, and the rest is from the fourth century or younger. For this reason, he claims that these names could be innovations of the classical period, when first members in -ι- enjoyed a certain productivity. Concerning the Homeric evidence, he views the absence of καρτι- ~ κρατι- in Homer as an argument against its antiquity.\(^{130}\) However, this absence is not necessarily remarkable given that κραται- occurs only twice. It is also relevant that Κρατέρο- ~ Καρτέρο- is unattested as a first member in Ionic and Attic per-

\(^{128}\) For a critique of the assumption of liquid metathesis in Cretan, see chapter 3.

\(^{129}\) The evidence consists of Κρατ-ερμος, Κρατ-ιππιδας, Κρατ-η-θμος; Καρτι-δαμας, Καρτι-νικος, Καρτι-θένης (cf. Bechtel 1917: 256). Of these names, Καρτιθένης is attested in Cyrene, while Καρτινικος and Καρτιδαμας are from Thera, and it is exactly in these two dialects that αρ is the regular reflex of *r̥. Κρατιθήμος is attested in Ionic territory (Erythrae). Obviously, Κρατι- may have the root shape of κράτος, or alternatively it may be an epicism.

\(^{130}\) “das Fehlen von κρατι- bei Homer [ist] nicht auf metrische Gründe zurückzuführen. (...) Ein καρτι- bzw. κρατι- wäre metrisch vielseitig verwendbar. Sein vollständiges Fehlen ist also auffällig.” (Meissner 1998: 245).
sonal names. It therefore seems plausible that *kṛti- once existed, whether or not the personal names with Krati- and Kṛti- directly reflect this form.\textsuperscript{131}

Let us now return to the reconstruction of kṛṣṭi-ς. In view of its oxytone accentuation, a derivation with the unaccented all-purpose appurtenance suffix -ις- can be excluded. Three other adjectives are of special interest as possible parallel formations: παλαίος ‘of the past’, γεραίος ‘old’, and δηναίος ‘long-lived’.\textsuperscript{132}

Among these, δηναίος occupies a special position because it probably derives from a compound *duṃ-aiu̯-ō- ‘(one) having a long life-span’, with the adverb δήν as a first member.\textsuperscript{133} On the other hand, the adjective παλαίος is already attested in Myc. pa-ra-jo, thus excluding a compound with *-aiu̯-.\textsuperscript{134} Clearly, παλαίος is an adjectivization of the adverb πάλας ‘in times before, for some time now’, which also occurs as the first member of compounds (e.g. παλαιογενής ‘born in the past’, παλαίφατος ‘said/hit some time ago’). Later, παλαίος may have induced the creation of γεραίος.\textsuperscript{135}

Thus, kṛṣṭi-ς might either be a ‘genitival’ derivation like παλαίος, or a possessive compound like δηναίος. Concerning the former option, as remarked by

\textsuperscript{131} In Epic Greek, the replacement of *kṛti- by *kṛtero- must have occurred before the vocalization of the syllabic liquids, which would have altered the metrical structure of *kṛti-.

\textsuperscript{132} Other words which contain final -aiο- are: अराइoς ‘thin, slender’ (no etymology), βαος ‘small, slight’ (no etymology), γηραίoς (probably a younger variant of γεραίος), ἀλαιoς (Hsch., a by-form of ἥλιος ‘crazed’), λαος ‘left’ = Lat. laevus etc. (an old formation < PIE *lehu-u̯-, cf. θετζoς ‘on the right’), σκαιος ‘left, western’ = Lat. scaevus (likewise old, < PIE *skeh2i-u̯-). One may also perhaps compare the ethnic Αχαιοί, on which see Nagy (1999: 349–354). The common classical adjective ἀρχαίος ‘ancient’ does not occur in early epic, except in Hes. fr. 322. As the accent shows, this form was derived productively from the noun ἀρχή ‘beginning’; its suffix goes back to PGr. *-i(i̯)o-.

\textsuperscript{133} As recognized by delg (s.v. δήν), there is no reason to doubt this reconstruction of δηναίος, because its meaning is consistently ‘long-lived’ in both Homer and Aeschylus. Frisk (gew s.v. δήν) has issues with this etymology, presumably because of the use of an adverb as a first member. He thinks that δηναίος could be an artificial formation influenced by παλαίος and ἀρχαίος (‘vielleicht sogar nach ihrem Vorbild direkt aus δήν erweitert sein’), but ἀρχαίος cannot be compared in view of its different accentuation. Note that Homer uses δήν predicatively in nominal sentences (e.g. οὐδὲ γὰρ … δὴν ἦν ‘for he [Lycurgus] did not live long’, Il. 6.130–131).

\textsuperscript{134} As Chadwick (1976) has shown, παλαίος originally referred to the recent past: “the length of a period does not normally extend beyond a lifetime, and may be much shorter”. In the Mycenaean tablets, pa-ra-jo qualifies wine and is used in opposition to ne-wo ‘young’. Nothing excludes that γεραίος (30 × Hom.) is also an old formation. An adverb *gerai is not attested, but it would not be unthinkable that the precursor of γεραίος was somehow reshaped under the influence of παλαίος, in view of their close meanings. Alternatively, one might consider a compound PGr. *ger-aiu̯-ō- ‘belonging to an old lifetime / generation’.
Nagy (1999: 353),\textsuperscript{136} κραται‐ (unlike πάλαι) is not found as a simplex. Moreover, even if we were to explain κραταιός from a proportion based on κραται‐ beside πάλαι‐ in compounds (cf. \textit{gew} s.v. κράτος), the form κραται‐ itself remains in need of an explanation. The best solution is, therefore, to assume that κραται‐ was reshaped from metrically lengthened *\textit{kt}ti‐ under the influence of an already existing κραταιός, perhaps aided by πάλαι beside παλαιός.

Most problems can be resolved by deriving κραταιός from a compound PGGr. *\textit{kr}̥ti-\textit{aiu̯o}‐ ‘having powerful vital force’, in which *-\textit{aiu̯o}‐ continues the PIE u-stem *\textit{h}_2\textit{ói}-\textit{u}, *\textit{h}_2\textit{éi}-\textit{u}‐ (cf. Ved. \textit{āyu}(s)‐ n. ‘life, lifetime, vital force’) or even the thematic derivative *\textit{h}_2\textit{eim}_2o‐ reflected in Lat. \textit{ae}\textit{vum} ‘lifetime, age’, Goth. \textit{a}i\textit{w}s ‘id.’ Note that in Homer \textit{a}i\textit{w}ô does not only mean ‘life, lifetime’, but is also used as an equivalent of μένος in the sense ‘vital force’ (cf. \textit{Lfg}rE s.v. \textit{aiw}ô), a sense which may also be attested for the Vedic cognate just cited. The first member of *\textit{kr}̥t-\textit{aiu̯o}‐ could be the bare root or, alternatively, a prevocalic variant of the ‘Caland’ allomorph *\textit{kt}ri‐ (with elision of -\textit{i}‐). This reconstruction receives support from the existence of traditional phrases κρατερόν μένος and κρατερή βίη and the corresponding personal names Κραταιμένης, Κραταίβιος.\textsuperscript{137}

\section*{5.2.12 Κράταιϊς and κραταιΐς}

The enigmatic form κραταιϊς (PN Κράταιϊς) occurs twice in Homer, both times in the \textit{Odyssey}. The first occasion is in the description of the sinner Sisyphus in the \textit{Nekuia}:

\begin{quote}
\textit{ὁ μὲν σκηριπτόμενος χερσίν τε ποσίν τε λᾶαν ἄνω ὤθεσκε ποτὶ λόφον· ἀλλ’ ὅτε μέλλοι ἀκρον ὑπερβαλέειν, τότ' ἀποστρέψασκε κραταιΐς· αὖτις ἔπειτα πέδονδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδής.}
\end{quote}

\textit{Od. 11.595–598}

\textsuperscript{136} A similar scenario had already been proposed in \textit{DELG} (s.v. κράτος). I disagree with Nagy’s proposal to reconstruct κραταιός as the feminine of a compound *\textit{kr}ta\textit{ai}-\textit{ui}(H)-\textit{(e)}\textit{h}₂ ‘having strong force’ (Gr. ἑς, Lat. \textit{vis}). The pre-form would first have lost the laryngeal in its second member, and then removed its suffixal ablaut to yield *\textit{kr}ta\textit{ai}-\textit{yi}ā. This would, finally, have given rise to a secondary masculine form. Apart from the fact that assuming laryngeal loss in a compound is slightly \textit{ad hoc}, the objections to the other two points are the same as for Risch’s derivation from the feminine of a \textit{u}-stem adjective discussed above.

\textsuperscript{137} An objection to reconstructing a compound is that κραταιός has a motional feminine κραταίας, but there are other archaic-looking compounds in Homer with a motional feminine (cf. e.g. νυξ ἀβρότη). Furthermore, it cannot be excluded that κραταιός was reanalyzed as a simplex early on, as all other adjectives in -\textit{aiōs} (παλαιός, γεραιός, λαίος, σκαιός) were \textit{simplicia}.  

\footnotesize{Lucien van Beek - 9789004469747}

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... he [Sisyphus] would brace himself with hands and feet, and thrust the stone up toward the crest of a hill, but as often as he was about to throw it over the top, [a] \( \kappa r \ \tau \alpha i \zeta \) would turn it back, and then the ruthless stone would come rolling down to the plain again.

In this episode, many commentators translate \( \kappa r \ \tau \alpha i \zeta \) as ‘overwhelming weight, preponderance’ (e.g. “das Übergewicht, seine Wucht”, Ameis-Hentze ad loc.). Editors like von der Mühll and van Thiel print \( \kappa r \ \tau \alpha i \zeta \), but personal names normally do not have oxytone accentuation. Moreover, a personal name \( \kappa r \ \tau \alpha i \zeta \), with retracted accent, is ascertained by the second attestation, when Odysseus is warned by Circe about the monstrous Scylla:

\[
\text{οὐδὲ τις ἔστ' ἀλκή· φυγέειν κάρτιστον ἀπ' αὐτῆς.}
\text{ἂν γὰρ δηθύνῃσθα κορυσσόμενος παρὰ πέτρῃ,}
\text{δεῖδω μὴ σ' ἐξαὐτίς ἐφορμηθεῖσα κίχησι}
\text{τόσησιν κεφαλῆσι, τόσους δ' ἐκ φώτας ἔληται.}
\text{ἀλλὰ μάλα σφοδρῶς ἐλάαν, βωστρεῖν δὲ Κράταιϊν,}
\text{μητέρα τῆς Σκύλλης, ἥ μιν τέκε πῆμα βροτοῖσιν·}
\text{ἥ μιν ἔπειτ' ἀποπαύσει ἐς ὕστερον ὁρμῆναι.}
\]

\[\text{Od. 12.120–126}\]

There is no resistance: you must flee from her with all your might. For if you tarry arming yourself by the cliff, I fear that she will attack again and reach you with as many heads [as before], and catch as many men. No, you should row with all might, and call upon Crataeis, the mother of that Scylla, who bore her to be a bane to mortals. She will then keep her from leaping forth again.

Aristarchus held the opinion that lines 124–126 in this passage were later additions. However, the fact that line 124 contains both the \textit{hapax} \( \beta ωστρεῖν \) and the rare \( \kappa r \ \tau \alpha i \zeta \) strongly advises against athezing it. Indeed, the idea has been mostly abandoned in more recent scholarship (see Heubeck, \textit{Comm. Od.} ad loc.), but Merkelbach (1951) still argued that lines 125–126 (not 124) are late additions. Given that the two lines seem to contain general explanatory statements, this is a definite possibility. In fact, in view of the preceding \( \mu \alpha \lambda a \ \sigma φοδρῶς \ \gamma λάαν\)

\[138\] Cf. also the comment by Heubeck in \textit{Comm. Od.}, ad loc.: “[W]e would expect to find a personal subject for ἀποστρέψασκε, e.g. a mythical figure \( \kappa r \ \tau \alpha i \zeta \), homonymous with the mother of Scylla.”

\[139\] For this translation, see the discussion of the superlative \( \kάρτιστον \) above (section 5.2.7).
‘you should row very quickly’, the two lines bring up a question: why would Odysseus and his team have to row so quickly if they can also call upon Scylla’s mother to restrain her daughter?\textsuperscript{140} In any case, it seems best to retain at least line 124 as authentic.

The correct morphological analysis of \( \chi \rho \tau \alpha \iota \zeta \) and \( \text{Κράταιϊς} \) has also yielded problems from antiquity onwards; see Lamberterie (1990: 340–343) for a clear summary of the issues. The following proposals are insufficient:

- Aristarchus analyzed \( \chi \rho \tau \alpha \iota \zeta \) as an adverb in -\( \iota \zeta \). This cannot be correct, as the transitive verb \( \alpha \pi \sigma \tau \tau \rho \varepsilon \alpha \varsigma \varepsilon \) ‘pushed back (repeatedly)’ (\textit{Od.} 11.597) is in need of a subject, and the only candidate to fulfill this role is precisely \( \chi \rho \tau \alpha \iota \zeta \).

- Chantraine (\textit{DELG}) analyzed \( \chi \rho \tau \alpha \iota \zeta \) as an adjective: an anomalous feminine of \( \chi \rho \tau \alpha \iota \zeta \) which in his view qualifies \( \lambda \alpha \varsigma \) ‘stone’ in the next line. For the formation, he compared the Homeric feminine \( \theta \omicron \upsilon \iota \varsigma \) , belonging to \( \theta \omicron \upsilon \rho \omicron \varsigma \) ‘fierce’. However, as Lamberterie (l.c.) remarks, \( \lambda \alpha \varsigma \) is always masculine in Homer.

- The idea of an irregular elision in an underlying \( \chi \rho \tau \alpha \iota \zeta \) \( \iota \zeta \) cannot be maintained either, in view of the long -\( \eta \) as well as the initial digamma of \( \iota \zeta \) ‘force’. Lamberterie’s proposal (l.c.) to reconstruct a noun phrase *\( \chi \rho \tau \alpha \iota \varsigma \alpha \varphi \varepsilon \varsigma \), which would have developed to \( \chi \rho \tau \alpha \iota \zeta \) by haplology, remains pure speculation.

- Nagy (1999: 349–350) analyzed \( \chi \rho \tau \alpha \iota \zeta \) as a possessive compound *\( \chi \rho \tau \alpha \iota \varsigma \iota \varsigma \) “whose force has \( \chi \rho \alpha \tau \zeta \varsigma \)”, which would make sense from a semantic point of view.\textsuperscript{141} However, the phonological problems remain. If the second member was indeed \( \iota \zeta \) ‘force’, with a long vowel from PIE *\( \mu \iota \varsigma \) , this would be contradicted by the accentuation of the name \( \text{Κράταιϊς} \), which presupposes a short final syllable.\textsuperscript{142} It would be unmotivated to assume a secondary shortening of the *\( \iota \).

\textsuperscript{140} Given the new interpretation proposed for \( \phi \gamma \xi \epsilon \iota \nu \xi \alpha \tau \beta \iota \zeta \sigma \tau \iota \rho \omicron \nu \) ‘flee with all your might’ (section 5.2.7), it would be attractive to view \( \text{Κράταιϊς} \) as a personified force which grants impetus to the boat, just like \( \chi \rho \tau \alpha \iota \zeta \) in \textit{Od.} 11.597 is a force which accelerates a stone. Therefore, the idea that \( \text{Κράταιϊς} \) was Scylla’s mother (lines 125–126) could conceivably be due to a post-Homeric reinterpretation of the passage; the lines may have been added after the meaning of the word (and name) had been forgotten.

\textsuperscript{141} In a number of Homeric instances, \( \iota \zeta \) refers to the impetus of natural forces (wind, river). In my view, a translation “whose force is \( \chi \rho \alpha \tau \zeta \varsigma \)" would be preferable: as we have seen, \( \chi \rho \tau \alpha \iota \zeta \) functions as a relic allomorph of \( \chi \rho \alpha \tau \zeta \varsigma \).

\textsuperscript{142} In fact, all analyses of the form as a compound (or noun phrase) with \( \iota \zeta \) ‘force’ suffer from the same problem.
As was already seen by Wackernagel (1914: 111), the most natural analysis of κραταιός ~ Κράταιός is to view it as a feminine substantivization of the type νυκτερίς ‘bat’ < "(creature) of the night".143 As we have seen, the context in which κραταιός occurs suggests that it means something like ‘overwhelming force’. Nagy objects to Wackernagel’s analysis that the adjectives corresponding to νυκτερίς and ἡμερίς ‘cultivated vine’ (νύκτερος ‘nightly’ and ἥμερος ‘tame, cultivated’) retain their feminine in -ος, whereas κραταιός has a feminine in -ή. However, I fail to see why the possibility to derive a substantivization in -ίδ‑ would be affected by the presence or absence of explicit feminine marking in the adjective, as -ίδ‑ is a derivational suffix making substantivizations, not a flexional suffix creating feminine forms of an adjective.144 We may therefore conclude that κραταιός was derived directly from κραταιός, and that both forms reflect a pre-form with *ᵽ.

5.3 Conclusions on the Vocalization of *ᵽ

Although various proposals for the etymology of κρατύς and καρτερός have been made, we are clearly dealing with a homogeneous group of words, pace Benveniste (1969). The lexical meanings of the root are ‘powerful, overwhelming’ and ‘steadfast, firm’, and we have seen possibilities to connect these by semantic developments. The original full grade was *kret‑ (cf. Ion. κρέσσων), and there is no convincing evidence for positing a variant *kert‑. This means that καρτερός and κάρτα show a regular reflex of the zero grade, and that the reflex of κρατύς must be analogical after the full grade *kret-, as in other u-stem adjectives, by the scenario discussed in chapter 4.

Both adjectives *ktú‑ and *ktéro‑ must be reconstructed for Proto-Greek. A secondary creation of *ktú‑ > κρατύς would be difficult to justify in view of the unproductive status of this category in Greek. On the other hand, *ktéro‑ must also be old because this form is reflected in three different dialect groups. Early on, possibly already in Proto-Greek, it underwent a semantic development to ‘persevering, steadfast’, and was thereby dissociated from forms like *krétos ‘might; power’ and *ktēta ‘vehemently’. To be sure, the original semantic

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143 In Van Beek 2013, I presented this solution as originating with Nagy (1999: 349), without knowing that Wackernagel had made the same proposal a century before. Nagy does not refer to Wackernagel either.
144 Moreover, if the analysis of κραταιός as an original compound is correct (see the previous section), this problem disappears.
differences remain difficult to reconstruct, but it is plausible that a nuance between *kr̥teró‑ and *kr̥tú‑ existed early on.

Our analysis of the derivational history of forms with κρατ‑ and καρτ‑ has corroborated the conclusions reached in previous chapters. Starting from κρατύς, the analogical zero grade reflex was introduced in κράτιστος, κράτος (whence -κρατής) and the stative verb κρατέω. None of these forms can therefore be used as evidence for the regular vocalization of *γ. Itself, κρατύς was retained only in the name-epithet formula Ἰ ἱκρατύς Ἀργειφόντης and was apparently eliminated relatively early (though after the splitting up of Proto-Ionic). In Epic Greek, the role of κρατύς was taken over by κρατερός. It is possible to view κρατερός as a cross-over between κρατύς and the older form *kr̥teró‑ in the epic tradition.

Once the doublet κρατερός ~ καρτερός existed, analogies within Epic Greek could lead to the creation of further doublet forms: κάρτος (beside κράτος), κάρτιστος (beside κράτιστος); καρτύνω (beside κρατύνω). These forms are artificial in the sense that they arose by inner-epic analogies. Classical prose did not develop such by-forms: it only has καρτερός (whence καρτερέω), κράτος, κράτιστος, and κρατύνω.

The epic forms κραται‑, κραταιός and κραταιΐς also reflect a pre-form with *γ. Since it is difficult to account for their root shape as analogical, they seem to contradict the conclusion reached on the basis of καρτερός and κάρτα. However, we must also take into account that κραται‑, κραταιός and κραταιΐς are found mainly in Epic Greek and occasionally in later poetry. Moreover, using these forms in hexameter verse entailed a tautosyllabic scansion of muta cum liquida, which is relatively rare in Homer. In the next chapter, I will deal with these issues in more detail, and propose that the reflex -ρα‑ < *γ in these and other forms evolved not in a vernacular dialect, but in the epic tradition. This means that καρτερός and κάρτα are the only formations belonging to this root to display the regular vocalization of *γ in Ionic-Attic.