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Two roots *H₂bhel-

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2. ὀφέλλω, Myc. *opero* I

ὀφέλλω 'increase' has, it would seem, a yod-present and a sigmatic aorist. The noun ὀφελος neut. 'use, gain' must then be the later continuation of the lexeme seen in Myc. *opero* I, which thereby is not to be glossed 'debitum'.³⁾ The negative of this s-stem is well known as ἀνωφελής 'useless', formed like ἀνήκουστος or ἀνήνυ(τ)τος: ἀνώ. These are known to be analogically revised privatives formed by prefixing ἀ- to produce a surface privative ἀν- preceding a vowel. The original outcome is seen undisturbed in νηλεής, νήνεμος, νήστες, νώδυνος. It is more than likely that νώδός 'toothless' is perhaps of a fair age but not a direct descendant of an original formation; see E. P. Hamp, *MSS* 37, 1978, 59 ff. Rix has analyzed (*Hist. Gr.* 73; partly already Forssman, *Untersuchungen zur Sprache Pindars* 145 ff.) these formations correctly and precisely as: *ν-α₂gr-el-os > νήγετος, *ν-α₂merl-ēs > νημερτής, and *ν-α₂b^hel-es- > Myc. *no-pe-re-ha* *νωφέ-λεα ἀνωφελής.

We must now note ὀφελέω 'help, be of use' and ὀφέλεια 'help, service'. Leumann *Homeric Wörter* (1950) 120 ff. cited Wackernagel's account of οἰκωφελίη as the result of lengthening caused by compounding. Leumann had ὀφελία and other words in ω- as the outcome of decompounding from such forms, especially based on compounds in -ής. It is possible that some forms were ultimately generated in this fashion, but we must seek a more principled source for the model. Wyatt has correctly seen that forms such as ὀφέλεια could have been extracted directly from the negative documented in Myc. *no-pe-re-ha*, i.e. Rix's *no-pe-re-ha*.

It is now perfectly clear that we have a Greek base for 'gain, increase' *H₂bhel-, which formed a noun *H₂bhel-es- > ὀφελος Myc. *opero* I → *no-pe-re-ha* → ἀνωφελής → ὀφέλεια ὀφελέω.⁴⁾

In light of this, and because of the ablaut grade of the base, it seems likely that instead of a yod-present we should see in ὀφέλλω a pre-form *H₂bhel-s-.

An exact match for our root is seen in Armenian *awel-i af-awel* 'more' and *y-awel-um af-awel-um* 'increase', giving *awel-* < *H₂bhel-. Here we have an excellent example of syllabic *H₂ > a- to place

³⁾ The debate rehearsed by Chantraine *DELG* 841-2 who offers a good account of the derivatives of this lexeme, as to whether 'gain' may be related to 'lack' is therefore unnecessary.

⁴⁾ Mayrhofer *KEWA* 2.393-4 is quite correct in branding a relation with Skt. *phalati* 'coagulates' "ganz unsicher". It is excluded; see below.

beside *akn* 'eye' < **H₂l^w*- (with reassigned voicing in final position of a root noun). This equation also yields one more exact Helleno-Armenian agreement.

These two roots **H₂bhel*- escaped being homophonous by virtue of their different morphologies. A third root, in the stem form **H₂bhel-u*- represented by the equation *φέλλω* = Arm. *awelum* 'sweep' (discussed by me in *REArm.*, in press), is further to be distinguished.

The Source of Ancient Greek *τολύπη**)

By BRIAN D. JOSEPH, Columbus (Ohio)

Ancient Greek *τολύπη* 'ball of wool ready for spinning, ball of spun yarn' (LSJ, s. v.), attested for instance in *Lysistrata* 586:

*δέυρο ξυτάγειν καὶ συναθροίζεῖν εἰς ἐν κἀπειτα ποιῆσαι
τολύπην μεγάλην κἀτ' ἐκ ταύτης τῷ δήμῳ χλαῖναν δάφηναι*

is a word with no clear lexical connections within Greek, except for derivatives like *τολυπέω* 'wind off (carded wool) into a clew (for spinning)', and no obvious relations outside of Greek. Various suggestions, such as a connection with *τόλος* 'swelling, pad, knot' (and thus a development **τολ-υπ-* to *τολ-υπ-*), have all rightly been rejected by both Chantraine (1968: 1124) and Frisk (1960: II.909), who respectively declare *τολύπη* to be a "terme technique sans etymologie" and "nicht sicher erklärt".

However, some light can be shed on this word if it is taken to be of non-Greek origin¹⁾, for a good loan-word source for *τολύπη*, *τολυπέω*, etc. exists, namely the Hittite verb *tarupp(p)*-. Except for the *r* in Hittite as opposed to the *-l-* in Greek in this word, a problem to be discussed further below, *tarupp-* and *τολυπ-* represent a

*) I would like to thank John Greppin of Cleveland State University for his helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

¹⁾ This possibility was first suggested apparently by Hubschmid, with regard to the suffix *-(u)π-* at least; Hubschmid's work was not available to me, but Frisk (1960: II.909, s. v. *τολύπη*) cites his work as "Hubschmid *Theos. Praenom.* 1.54" (sic; recte *Praenom.*: J. Hubschmid, *Thesaurus Praeromanicus*. 1. Bern 1963).

good formal match,²⁾ especially since the fairly consistent double writing *-pp-* in the Hittite form³⁾ suggests a voiceless (or fortis) stop [p].

The basic meaning of *tarupp-* seems to be 'assemble, gather, unite'. However, in ritual passages involving wool thread, especially with the preverb *anda* and a direct object such as *durita* 'twine, ball' (as at KBo V 1 III 55f.) or something similar, *tarupp-* has the more specialized meaning of 'twist or wind together'⁴⁾. Similarly, with a different preverb, *arha*, the meaning is 'unwind'. In these uses, *tarupp-* comes closer to the general sense of *τολύπη* and its derivatives in Greek. Thus treating *τολύπη* as an Anatolian loan word is well-motivated from both a formal standpoint and a semantic standpoint. Moreover, there are several instances of Anatolian loan words in Greek, for example *θέραψ* and *θεράπιον*, both meaning 'attendant, companion in arms', which have been linked by van Brock (1959) with Hittite *tarpašša-* and *tarpan-alli-* 'substitute, replacement (especially of a ritual nature)', probably through another Anatolian language, and *καυρός* 'dark-blue enamel, lapis lazuli' which has been connected, indirectly at least, with Hittite *kuwaššanna(š)-* 'lapis lazuli, copper', to name just a few.⁵⁾

Admittedly there are a few problems with the connection proposed here between *τολύπ-* and *tarupp(p)*-, but all can be resolved. Primary among these is the lack of correspondence in the liquid consonants in the two words; even for loan words, an *-r-* would be expected to appear in Greek as *-ρ-*, not *-λ-* (compare *θεράπιον* above). This could simply be the result of independent borrowing by Greek and Hittite from some other Eastern Mediterranean, probably

²⁾ The fact that Hittite *tarupp-* is a verb and *τολύπη* is a noun poses no problem. It may be that the verb *τολυπέω* is the direct result of borrowing, Hellenized with the *-εω-* suffix, and *τολύπη* is a derivative from it, or else that an unattested Anatolian noun was the source of the Greek noun. Alternatively, the borrowing may have involved a deverbal adjective (or participle) serving as a modifier to a noun, understood or overt, that is, "the wound-up (thread or ball)".

³⁾ See Oettinger (1979: 227-8) for a listing of most of the attested forms of *tarupp-*; only a small percentage occur with a single *-p-* graphically and these all seem late and are unsystematic in their occurrence — thus they are probably not indicative of a phonetic difference of any sort from the *-pp-* forms.

⁴⁾ This meaning was first proposed by Goetze (1930: 223) and is now generally accepted (see, for example, Friedrich (1952: s. v.) and Kronasser (1966: 410)).

⁵⁾ See Szemerényi (1974), especially pages 152-155, for other examples of Anatolian loan-words in Greek plus numerous references.

Anatolian, language,⁶) or of borrowing by Greek through an intermediate language, but there is also an inner-Hittite explanation. Interchanges of *r* and *l* are to be found sporadically in Hittite; for example, the word *ši-ja-at-ta-ri-i-e-iz-zi* 'he secures by charter' (*Laws*, article 41) is written as *ši-ja-at-tal-li-ja-az-zi* in one manuscript (Siglum C of Friedrich 1959), *ḫattaliyatar* 'heroism' has a variant *ḫattariyatar* (KUB XXIV 12 II 31), and *ḫa-pal-zi-ir* 'a type of pot' has a variant *ḫa-pal-zi-el* (e.g. at KUB II 13 II 45). Whatever the exact cause of these fluctuations—whether sporadic assimilations (*l* . . . *r* → *r* . . . *r*), morphological reshapings (-*zir* to -*zīl* due to -*zēl* nominalization suffix), or simply due to errors of perception (*ḫiyatar*- heard by a scribe as *ḫiyatal*-)—they do suggest that the phonetic realizations of *r* and *l* respectively may not have been completely distinct for all speakers of Hittite, a phenomenon which could have resulted in an -*l*- occurring in the Greek version of this word.

In addition, there is a potential problem with the etymology of *tarupp*-. While it may in part be of non-Hittite (and possibly non-Indo-European) origin (see footnote 6), several suggestions have been made giving it an Indo-European etymology. That in itself is not problematic, for many Indo-European words are not represented in Greek and Greek could just as easily have borrowed an Indo-European Anatolian word as a non-Indo-European one. However, certain of the suggested etymologies, if correct, would make the otherwise good phonetic match between *τολν-* and *tarupp*- difficult to maintain.

For instance, Sturtevant (1933: § 68b) connected *tarupp*- with Latin *turba* 'tumult, uproar; crowd, swarm', an etymology cited by Friedrich (1952: s.v.);⁷) also, Oettinger (1979: 229) suggested a connection with Greek *θόρυβος* 'the confused noise of a crowded assembly' and Čop (1959: 95f.) suggested Greek *ἀθρόος* 'in crowds, crowded together' as an etymon for *tarupp*-, which would then be from **dhru-p*-. The first two of these suggestions (*turba* and *θόρυβος*), if correct, would lead to the conclusion that the Hittite labial stop in this word is a [b]; in that case, though, it would be hard to see

⁶) In fact, Kronasser (1966: 409) suggests that *tarupp*- and other verbs like it with a root-final -*Vp*- sequence (e.g. *garup*- 'shear' or *terip*- 'plough') may contain nonnative, perhaps Hurrian, "root-complements" (though see below concerning possible Indo-European etymologies for *tarupp*-).

⁷) This etymology was apparently later given up by Sturtevant, though, and so is absent from Sturtevant and Hahn (1951).

why the Greek word would have been borrowed with a voiceless -*π*-. Similarly, if either of the latter two possibilities is correct, the initial consonant in the Hittite form should be a [d], which would not be expected to be borrowed as a Greek τ-.

While there are numerous ways around the potential problems posed by these etyma,⁸) it is perhaps easiest simply to reject these etymologies. This is possible because the consistent double writing -*pp*- makes it unlikely that the Hittite word has a [b], thus rendering both *θόρυβος* and *turba* untenable as etyma for *tarupp*-;⁹) furthermore, although nothing formally stands in the way of the connection with *ἀθρόος*,¹⁰) an equally good (or even better) etymology is available which does not entail any problems for a contact-link between *τολνπη* and *tarupp*-. This is the etymology proposed by Tischler (1975: 214, fn. 6) in which *tarupp*- derives from PIE *(s)treu- with a *-*p*- enlargement, comparable to *(s)treu-d- found in German *strotzen* 'abound in, teem with'; this etymology gives the Hittite word a phonetic shape which would yield Greek τ- and -π- directly.¹¹)

Still, as noted earlier, *tarupp*- may well be a nonnative word in Hittite, and even if it is an inherited item, Greek need not have borrowed it directly from Hittite. Nonetheless, these few problems notwithstanding, whatever the ultimate source of Hittite *tarupp*-, especially in the meaning 'twist together' a connection between it

⁸) For example—and these suggestions do not exhaust the possibilities—one could adopt one of these etymologies and use *τολνπη* as evidence for the phonetic reality of the Hittite outcome of Indo-European **dh* or **b*, as the case may be, or one could say that Greek borrowed the word through an intermediary language which altered the sounds of the Hittite word, and so on.

⁹) Both Čop (1959: 91) and Oettinger (1979: 229) mention this as a reason for giving up Sturtevant's suggestion. See also footnote 3 concerning the Hittite spelling of *tarupp*-.

¹⁰) Chantraine (1968: 28), though, practically does take issue with a preform like **ap-dhroṓ-* (such as would be required if the connection with *tarupp*- were accepted) on the grounds that it would have, in his opinion, an unlikely morphological analysis.

¹¹) If, based on the *r/l* interchanges elsewhere in Hittite, one were to posit an earlier form **talupp*- for *tarupp*-, then the Greek and Hittite words could form an etymological match, from (PIE?) **tolup*-. However, no variant forms of *tarupp*- with an -*l*- are to be found, the form *tarupp*- itself has a good etymology, and the disyllabic base *τολν-* seems decidedly non-Greek; thus it is more likely that these two forms are in a loan-word relationship.

and Greek *τολύπη*, even if only an indirect link, serves to clear up some of the obscurity which has enveloped the source of the Greek word.

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