

3. Adolescent girls, and such they seem to have been, cf. *παρθένος ἀδμής*, line 145, clearly show signs of growth.

It is therefore certainly possible that the original sense of *ἄνθος* was by no means forgotten, and the cumulative force of the above arguments would suggest that is in fact likely to be the correct sense in Hymn to Demeter 108. The line should therefore be rendered, '... like goddesses, with the growth of girlhood upon them', *vel sim.* That need not mean that the new sense of *ἄνθος* was entirely absent. It is clearly present in lines 6 and 425¹⁰).

We have already noted that *κουρήϊον ἄνθος* may correspond to *ἄνθος ἥβης*, which is clearly related to manifestations of growth. Two further uses of *ἄνθος* in the Hymn may also show the 'growth' or 'plant' meaning. At line 178 the girls' hair is described as *κροκῆτ' ἄνθει ὁμοῖαι*, where growth, or a comparison with vigorous plant growth, seems more appropriate than comparison to a flower, an interpretation which might be supported by reference to line 279, *ξανθαὶ δὲ κόμαι κατενήνοθεν ὤμους*, that is if a connection between the verb and *ἄνθος* was felt by poet and audience¹¹). Line 178 is of course similar to the Homeric line which compares hair to an *ἄνθος*, this time *ὑακίνθινον*, Od. 6.231 (= 23.158), a line which has caused much trouble to commentators, and where a meaning other than the colour of a flower has long been suspected¹²). If 'flower' is not correct here, this Homeric instance should be transferred to the larger group of Homeric occurrences where *ἄνθος* does not have that meaning.

Two roots **Hobhel-*

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1. *ὀφείλω ὀφλισκάνω, εὐρίσκω*

ὀφείλω (Attic, Ionic, Iliad) = *ὀφέλλω* (Aeolic, Arcadian, Hom.) = *ὀφήλω* (Cretan, Arcadian, Argolic), with the second aorist *ὤρελον*, 'owe, ought' must show a nasal present **ὀφέλ-ν-ω*. The nasal, trans-

¹⁰) Less clearly in 401; in 472 it could again mean 'what grows'.

¹¹) On the possible relationship of these words see Aitchison, 273f.; Richardson, *ad loc.*, accepts 'grew down' as a possible meaning here.

¹²) See already Eustathius, *ad loc.*

ferred by contamination, emerges overtly in *ὀφλισκάνω* which Frisk *GEW* 2.451 correctly compares to *τέμνω ἔτεμον*. The *-αν-* is of course the post-consonantal equivalent of *-ν-* which originally developed by Sievers' Law after heavy syllables. Therefore the analysis is **ὀφλ-(ι)σκ-(ν-)ω*. This verb is to be equated with Myc. *opero* II 'qui debet', *ὀφελος*.¹⁾ The relation of *ὀφλισκάνω* to the second aorist *ὀφλεῖν* is that of *ἐύρίσκω* to *ἐύρεῖν*; the future *ὀφλήσω* and perfect *ὤφληκα* likewise match *ἐύρήσω* and *εὔρηκα*, which last is seen as genuinely old by Frisk (*GEW* 1.591). Now Thurneysen (*A Grammar of Old Irish* 428), followed by Frisk (*GEW* 1.592), has seen that the Greek *η* is reflected in the Old Irish aorist (preterite) passive *·fríth*, with *ī* < **ē*. In relation to *εὔρηκα* note also the compounding *ἐύρησι-*, as well as *εὔρεσις*, *εὔρετρα*, *ἐύρετής*, *ἐύρετός*. Our base here is clearly **H_eur-H_e-*, with the possibility of two Benveniste vocalisms.

Now besides comparing the stems of *εὔρη-κα* and OIr. *·frí-th*, we may equate *ἐύρ-εῖν* with the Old Irish *·fuar*. Chantraine (*Grammaire homérique* I 394) has *ἐύρεῖν* a simple thematic in *-e-*. But because of the clear testimony of OIr. *·fuar* < **_he-ur-* and the aspiration of *εὔ-*, it is surely better to accept as a solution an original reduplicated aorist. We therefore assume **H_eue-H_eur-e-* > **F_hηυρ-εεν* > *·(F)ευρ-εῖν*. Peters in his dissertation (*Untersuchungen zur Vertretung der indogermanischen Laryngale im Griechischen* 22) proposes equating the Old Irish with *ἐπανρίσκομαι*, but that is unnecessarily complicated.

We now recognize two matching paradigms:

| | | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|------------------------------------|---|
| Arm. <i>gerem</i> | < <i>*(H_e)_her-e-</i> | = | <i>ὄφελον</i> (: <i>ὀφέλ-ν-ω</i>) | < <i>*H_obhel-e-</i> |
| OIr. <i>·fuar</i> | < <i>*H_e_he-H_eur-e-</i> | : | <i>ὀφλεῖν</i> (→ <i>ὀφλ-ισκ-</i>) | < <i>*H_obhl-e-</i> |
| | <i>εὔρεῖν</i> | | <i>ο-πο-ρο ὄφλον</i> ²⁾ | |
| OIr. <i>·fríth</i> | < <i>*H_eur-eH_e-</i> | = | <i>ὤφλη-κα</i> | < <i>*H_oe-H_obhl-eH_e-</i> |
| | <i>εὔρη-κα</i> | | Arcad. <i>Φοφληκοσι</i> | |

The Greek *εὔρηκα* can of course readily be **H_e(u)e-H_eur-eH_e* while OIr. *·fríth* is in origin an unreduplicated verbal adjective.

When we see the parallelism of these two verbal paradigms we easily grasp the source of the non-original, analogical initial *F* of Arcadian *Φοφληκοσι*, anomalies of which have been discussed by Strunk, *Glotta* 66, 1978, 209f. It must lie in the **F* of *ἐύρεῖν εὔρηκα*.

¹⁾ Chantraine *DELG* 841 adduces Myc. 3 pl. ind. *operosi*, pple. pl. *operote*, pple. fem. *operosa*, but otherwise scarcely adds anything to Frisk.

²⁾ It is now seen that Szemerényi's syncope of *φλ* < *οπί* + *έλ-* is unnecessary as well as unlikely.

2. *ὀφέλλω*, Myc. *opero* I

ὀφέλλω 'increase' has, it would seem, a yod-present and a sigmatic aorist. The noun *ὄφελος* 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 *ἀνήκονστος* or *ἀνήνῃ(σ)τος* : *ἀνύω*. 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*, *νηστις*, *νώδυνος*. It is more than likely that *νωδός* 'toothless' is perhaps of a fair age but not a direct descendant of an original formation; see E. P. Hamp, *MSS* 37, 1978, 59ff. Rix has analyzed (*Hist. Gr.* 73; partly already Forssman, *Untersuchungen zur Sprache Pindars* 145ff.) these formations correctly and precisely as: **n₁-a₁gr-etos* > *νήγρετος*, **n₁-a₂mert-ēs* > *νημερτής*, and **n₁-a₃b^hel-es-* > Myc. *no-pe-re-ha* **νωφέ-λέα ἀνωφελής*.

We must now note *ὀφελέω* 'help, be of use' and *ὀφέλεια* 'help, service'. Leumann *Homerische Wörter* (1950) 120ff. 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-a₂*, i.e. Rix's *no-pe-re-ha*.

It is now perfectly clear that we have a Greek base for 'gain, increase' **H_obhel-*, which formed a noun **H_obhel-es-* > *ὄφελος* 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 **H_obhel-s-*.

An exact match for our root is seen in Armenian *awel-i aṙ-awel* 'more' and *y-awel-um aṙ-awel-um* 'increase', giving *awel-* < **H_obhel-*. Here we have an excellent example of syllabic **H_o* > *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' < **Hokw-* (with reassigned voicing in final position of a root noun). This equation also yields one more exact Helleno-Armenian agreement.

These two roots **Hobhel-* escaped being homophonous by virtue of their different morphologies. A third root, in the stem form **Hobhel-u-* represented by the equation $\delta\phi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$ = Arm. *awelum* 'sweep' (discussed by me in *REArm.*, in press), is further to be distinguished.

The Source of Ancient Greek $\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\pi\eta$ *)

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Ancient Greek $\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\pi\eta$ 'ball of wool ready for spinning, ball of spun yarn' (LSJ, s.v.), attested for instance in *Lysistrata* 586:

$\delta\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\omicron$ $\xi\nu\acute{\nu}\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\sigma\nu\nu\alpha\theta\rho\omicron\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\kappa\tilde{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$ $\pi\omicron\iota\eta\tilde{\sigma}\alpha\iota$
 $\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\pi\eta\nu$ $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\nu$ $\kappa\tilde{\alpha}\tau'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\tau\tilde{\omega}$ $\delta\acute{\eta}\mu\omega$ $\chi\lambda\alpha\iota\nu\alpha\nu$ $\ddot{\upsilon}\phi\eta\tilde{\nu}\alpha\iota$

is a word with no clear lexical connections within Greek, except for derivatives like $\tau\omicron\lambda\nu\pi\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ 'wind off (carded wool) into a clew (for spinning)', and no obvious relations outside of Greek. Various suggestions, such as a connection with $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ 'swelling, pad, knot' (and thus a development ** $\tau\upsilon\lambda$ - $\upsilon\pi$ -* to *$\tau\omicron\lambda$ - $\upsilon\pi$ -*), have all rightly been rejected by both Chantraine (1968: 1124) and Frisk (1960: II.909), who respectively declare $\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\pi\eta$ to be a "terme technique sans etymologie" and "nicht sicher erkl rt".

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 $\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\pi\eta$, $\tau\omicron\lambda\nu\pi\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, etc. exists, namely the Hittite verb *tarup(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 *$\tau\omicron\lambda\nu\pi$ -* 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 *-(v) π -* at least; Hubschmid's work was not available to me, but Frisk (1960: II.909, s.v. $\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\pi\eta$) cites his work as "Hubschmid *Thes. Praenom.* 1.54" (sic; recte *Praerom.*: J. Hubschmid, *Thesaurus Praeromanicus.* 1. Bern 1963).