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

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

The Source of Ancient Greek τολύπη*)

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

δεῦρο ξυνάγειν καὶ συναθροίζειν εἰς ἓν κἄπειτα ποιῆσαι
τολύπην μεγάλην κᾆτ᾽ ἐκ ταύτης τῷ δήμῳ χλαῖναν ὑφῆναι

is a word with no clear lexical connections within Greek, except for
derivatives like τολυπεύω ʻwind off (carded wool) into a clew (for
spinning)ʼ, and no obvious relations outside of Greek. Various
suggestions, such as a connection with τύλος ʻswelling, pad, knotʼ
(and thus a development *τυλ-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 origin[1]), for a good loan-word source for τολύπη,
τολυπεύω, etc. exists, namely the Hittite verb *tarup(p)*-. Except for
the *r* in Hittite as opposed to the -λ- in Greek in this word, a prob-
lem to be discussed further below, *tarupp*- and τολυπ- represent a

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*) 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.* τολύπη) cites his work as "Hubschmid
Thes. Praenom. 1.54" (sic; recte Praerom.: J. Hubschmid, Thesaurus Prae-
romanicus. 1. Bern 1963).

good formal match,[2]) especially since the fairly consistent double writing -*pp*- in the Hittite form[3]) 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 *šurita*- '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, *arḫa*, 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 ϑεράπων, 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 κυανός 'dark-blue enamel, lapis lazuli' which has been connected, indirectly at least, with Hittite *kuwanna(n)*- 'lapis lazuli, copper', to name just a few.[5])

Admittedly there are a few problems with the connection proposed here between τολύπ- and *tarup(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 ϑεράπων above). This could simply be the result of independent borrowing by Greek and Hittite from some other Eastern Mediterranean, probably

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[2]) The fact that Hittite *tarupp*- is a verb and τολύπη is a noun poses no problem. It may be that the verb τολυπεύω is the direct result of borrowing, Hellenized with the -ευ- 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.

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Anatolian, language,[6]) or of borrowing by Greek through an inter-
mediate 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-ia-at-ta-ri-i-e-iz-zi* 'he secures by charter'
(*Laws*, article 41) is written as *ši-ia-at-tal-li-ia-az-zi* in one manu-
script (Siglum C of Friedrich 1959), *ḫaštaliyatar* 'heroism' has a
variant *ḫaštariyatar* (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). What-
ever the exact cause of these fluctuations—whether sporadic as-
similations (*l* ... *r* → *r* ... *r*), morphological reshapings (*-zir* to
-zil due to *-zēl* nominalization suffix), or simply due to errors of
perception (*šiyatar-* heard by a scribe as *šiyatal-*)—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 *-λ-* occuring 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 repre-
sented in Greek and Greek could just as easily have borrowed an
Indo-European Anatolian word as a non-Indo-European one. How-
ever, certain of the suggested etymologies, if correct, would make
the otherwise good phonetic match between *τολυπ-* 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 etynom for *tarupp-*, which would then be
from *dhru̯p-. 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

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[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 ά-θρόος,[10]) an equally good (or even better) etymology is available which does not entail any problems for a contact-link between τολύπη and *tarupp*-. This is the etymology proposed by Tischler (1975: 214, fn. 6) in which *tarupp*- derives from PIE *(s)treu̯ with a *-p- enlargement, comparable to *(s)treu̯-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

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[8]) For example—and these suggestions do not exhaust the possibilities—one could adopt one of these etymologies and use τολύπη 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 *sm̥-dhrou̯o- (such as would be required if the connection with *taru-pp*- 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 τολυπ- seems decidedly non-Greek; thus it is more likely that these two forms are in a loan-word relationship.

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

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