

Once more Greek τολύπη

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B. Joseph (1982) has argued that Ancient Greek τολύπη 'ball of spun wool, ball of wool to be spun; type of globular cake' is a loanword from Anatolian — specifically that it is based on the Hittite verb *tarupp-* 'assemble, gather, unite'. E. B a r e r (1991: 269) seconds Joseph's suggestion, noting that the usage in Greek for a kind of cake supports the idea that τολύπη does refer to a clew or ball of wool based on its shape. No satisfactory inner-Greek source for the word has yet been presented'. M a u r i c e (1991)² makes a number of useful observations on the use of τολύπη and its derivatives, but her attempt to rehabilitate the old idea of Fick (a connection with τόλος 'callus, knot, knob' and τόλη 'swelling, callus; pad, cushion') fails to convince. The semantic connection is satisfactory, but hardly compelling, while the formal gymnastics required remain egregiously *ad hoc*. It thus seems worthwhile to reconsider Joseph's idea of an Anatolian origin.

As he himself concedes, there are two obstacles to the connection he proposes. First, there is the discrepancy between the *-r-* of Hittite *tarupp-* and the *-λ-* of τολύπη. Second, there is the modest but still real gap between an athematic Hittite verb and a first-declension Greek noun. Joseph offers plausible solutions for both of these difficulties, but a more direct Anatolian source would be desirable. One is readily available in the Luvo-Hittite noun *taluppa-/taluppi-*. The word means 'lump, clod' of clay or dough and is attested chiefly in purification rituals where the cleansing material is pressed against the client's body and absorbs the afflicting sickness or other evil. A typical occurrence is *KUB 32.9 + Ro 1—4* (the ritual action is in Hittite, the conjuration in Luvian): [(*nu=za MUNUSŠU.GI išnāš parkui(n taluppin dāi n=an=šan ANA BEL ŠISKUR ANA R)AMANI=ŠU anda tam[(ašzi nu MUNUSŠU.GI tezzi)] zawí(y)=aš wišita ḫalāiš taluppi[(š arimmi(y)=aš=ta kurammi)] karšammiš nawa=[(aš=ta gu)llušia[(mni karšammiš)]*]. 'The old woman takes a pure lump of dough and presses it against the body of the client. The old woman says: "Here it has been pressed, the pure clod. It has been cut from the cut arimma. It has not been cut from the *gullustant*".'

We also find in Hittite context forms of an *a*-stem *taluppa-*: see acc. sg. *dāluppan* at JCS 24.37 (62) Rev.¹ 7. We cannot be certain, because non-direct case forms are lacking, but it is likely that Luvian *taluppiš/taluppin* shows the "mutation-*i*" discovered by S t a r k e (1990: 54f.) and that the underlying stem in Luvian is also *taluppa-**. The word is not yet attested referring to wool, but this may easily be an accidental gap, given our extremely limited knowledge of this area of the lexicon, not only for Luvian but even for Hittite. In any case, as M a u r i c e (1991: 162) correctly emphasizes, the core notion of τολύπη lies in its shape, not in its materi-

¹ See the discussions in B o i s a c q (1938: 974f.), F r i s k (1955—72: 2.909), and C h a n t r a i n e (1968—80: 1124).

² I am indebted to Michael Weiss for this reference.

al (recall the use for a kind of cake). I would not entirely exclude the possibility that the application to wool is a Greek innovation (but see further below).

Luvo-Hittite *taluupa-* 'lump, clod' obviously makes a perfect formal fit with $\tau\omicron\lambda\upsilon\pi\eta$. It has the required *-l-* and is an *a*-stem noun: cf. Hittite *kaḱka-pa-* (a kind of fowl) and Greek $\kappa\alpha\kappa\kappa\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta$ 'partridge' (see Neuman 1961: 60f.) or the place-name *Parjā* > Περγί (Oten 1988: 37, with reference to Hounkaten 1977: for the phonology). The fact that the word is Luvian as well as Hittite also makes a borrowing into Greek all the more plausible in terms of both time and space.

My claim that the direct source of Greek $\tau\omicron\lambda\upsilon\pi\eta$ is the Luvo-Hittite noun *taluupa-* 'lump, clod' does not mean that Joseph's original connection with the Hittite verb *tarupp-* is false. In 1982 he was able to offer only suggestive parallels for sporadic *r/l* alternation in Hittite. Thanks to new evidence we can now do better: cf. 1 ^{TUG}*kureššar taluupan* 'one plaited headscarf' (KBo 11.11 iii 8) with 3 ^{TUG}*kureššar* 1 *BABBAR* 1 *SA₅* 1 *ZA.GIN anda taruupanzī*. They plait three headscarves, one white, one red, one blue' (KUB 10.91 ii 3–4). Compare further *nu=za išuuzzin* *SĪG BABBAR* *SĪG SA₅* *anda taluupandan dāi* 'he takes for himself a belt plaited of white and red wool' (KUB 2.6 iv 8) with *GAL LÜ.MEŠ.UŠ.BAR SĪG BABBAR SĪG SA₅* *anda imniya ta išuuzzin ANA GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL pāi* 'the chief of the weavers "mingles together" white and red wool and gives the belt to the chief of the palace officials' (KUB 11.20 i 9–12). We will return to the use of *anda imniya-* below, but the first example cited leaves no doubt that there is a real variant *taluup-* beside *tarupp-* in the technical sense of 'plait, braid' (thread and other suitable materials).³

A close connection between *tarupp-/talupp-* and the noun *taluupa/i-* thus seems unavoidable, and the formal relationship is straightforward: the latter is a deverbative animate action/result noun of a type that is moderately productive in Hittite (at least a dozen examples) and also in Luvian (for the latter compare HLuvian (LINGERE)*ḫasa-* 'satiety, abundance' from an unattested verb cognate with Palaic *ḫaš-* 'be satiated').⁴ It remains striking that the verb shows almost exclusively *r*-consonantism, while the noun has only *-l-*. *S t a r k e* (1990) has shown that Luvian influence on Hittite is both earlier and more profound than previously admitted. One certainly could take *tarupp-* to be native Hittite and all examples of *taluupa/i-* to be loanwords from Luvian, attributing the rare instances of the verb stem *talupp-* either to the influence of a missing Luvian cognate verb **talupp-* or to that of the noun *taluupa/i-* in an untested usage with wool. However, current evidence merely permits such a scenario and in no way imposes it. Furthermore, assigning the forms with *-r-* to Hittite and those with *-l-* to Luvian merely projects the problem of the alternation back to an earlier prehistoric stage. So far as I can see, such an assumption in no way helps in determining which variant is original, a point to which I will return.

A more immediate and serious problem is the discrepancy in meaning between the attested verb *tarupp-/talupp-* and its putative result noun *taluupa/i-*. *J o s e p h* (1982: 231) calls attention to the use of (*anda*) *tarupp-* with wool thread. However, as indicated in the translations of the citations given above, the verb has a quite specific technical meaning in this usage: to braid or plait individual strands of yarn or other suitably pliable materials together to make cords, belts, and such. See among other passages *IBoT* 2.96 v 8–13 (*Güterbock* & *Hoffner* 1980–89: 360 sub *nāi-5a.1.a*), *KUB* 29.7 rev. 35–36 (*Güterbock* & *Hoffner* 1980–89: 2), and *KBo* 11.11 i 2 (used of 'sinew' and 'cord'). A clew or ball of

³ See already *Tischler* (1993: 242f.) with reference to Otten-Siegelová, correcting his earlier erroneous lemma **taluupā(i)-*.

⁴ See the remarks of *Oettinger* (1986: 18f.). An example like Hittite *gūl(aš)ša-* 'fauc' < *gūl(aš)š-* 'sketch, draw, inscribe' confirms the productivity of the class, since this example clearly takes its root vocalism from the synchronic verb stem (reflecting a zero-grade **k^h/š-* or **g^h/š-*), not the historically expected *o*-grade of the "τόμος-type".

wool, either already spun or ready to be spun (*taluupa/i-* as the source of $\tau\omicron\lambda\upsilon\pi\eta$), is not the product of plaiting or braiding.

As noted by Joseph, the verb *tarupp-* is more commonly used to mean 'gather, unite', most often of people: *KBo* 3.53 Ro 10 (troops), *KUB* 33.66 iii 18–19 (cows, sheep, and humans), *KUB* 29 i iii 4 (gods), *KUB* 5.4 i 28 (birds). There is often, but not always, a particular connotation of 'united so as to be inseparable'. The idealized solidarity of the earlier kings' family, inlaws, allies, and troops is expressed in the Edict of Telipinu by *taruupantes* 'united' (*KBo* 3.1 i 15 and *passim*).⁵ Consideration of all the available evidence suggests a semantic development from the more general to the more particular.

I suggest specifically that the original meaning of *tar/lupp-* was 'gather, collect', used of materials that easily self-adhere (dough, clay or moist earth, and arguably raw wool and even spun yarn). It was at this point that the result noun *taluupa/i-* was derived, used to refer to the roughly globular mass produced by such gathering. The verb was extended to apply to people and other objects, unsurprisingly with a particular sense of solidarity and cohesion. The final step was the technical use to refer to the technique of plaiting, braiding, or twisting strands of pliable material together. If this last development seems surprising, recall the use above (*KUB* 11.20 i 10) of *anda imniya-* in what in context must be the same specialized meaning, since the result is an *išmuzzi-* 'belt'. The verb *imniya-* means very generally 'mix' and typically refers to liquids and various wet and dry ingredients in preparing food (see for a convenient survey *P u h v e l* 1984: 361ff.). It seems an oddly imprecise choice for the very specific act of plaiting or twisting threads together, but there it is. I therefore see no obstacle in assuming a similar secondary usage for *tar/lupp-* 'gather, collect'. A common denominator of 'unite so as to be inseparable' seems to have been sufficient in both cases.

Luvo-Hittite *taluupa/i-* 'lump, clod' as an original result noun to *tar/lupp-* 'collect, gather (into a globular mass)' and as the source of Greek $\tau\omicron\lambda\upsilon\pi\eta$ 'clew; globular cake' thus seems reasonably secure. The question of the original shape of the verb stem (did it have *-r-* or *-l-*?) and its ultimate source (Indo-European or not?) remains a difficult one. As stressed by *J o s e p h* (1982: 233), the word need not be inherited in Hittite. In the absence of a specific suggestion for a source, however, this is effectively a non-solution. The athematic inflection of the verb also is not favorable to the idea of a loanword, though this argument is hardly decisive.

Joseph himself correctly rejects the earlier proposals that connected *tarupp-* with Latin *turba* 'tumult; crowd' or Greek $\theta\acute{\omicron}\rho\upsilon\beta\upsilon\varsigma$ 'noise of a crowded assembly' (see *T i s c h l e r* 1993: 240ff. for references). Neither connection is satisfactory, phonologically or semantically. Hittite geminate *-pp-* must reflect PIE **p*, not **b(h)*, and what evidence we have indicates that 'noise' was an essential part of the meaning in both the Latin and Greek words. *J o s e p h* (1982: 233) favors the derivation by *T i s c h l e r* (1993: 242 with ref.) from an extended root **(s)treu-p-*, seen e.g. in Latin *strupulis* 'short, fat man; short, round piece of wood'. This account, however, also faces both phonological and semantic problems. First, the only two cases we have for PIE initial **trV-* in Luvo-Hittite show anaptyxis: **trV-* > **térV-* > Hittite *tērV-* = Luvian *tarV-* (tēn = *tarri-* 'three' and *teripp-* = *itarupp-/plow*).⁶ A *treup-* should have led to Hittite *tērupp-* = Luvian *tarrupp-* (respectively *talluupp-*, in any case crucially with geminate sonorant). Second, Latin *strupulis* can hardly be separated from *strups/strupis* 'cut off, snub'.⁷ The sense of 'short, fat man; piece of wood' is thus surely derived via 'stump(y), sawed off', not from the **globular, lumpy* needed for a connection with *tar/lupp-*.

⁵ Hittite *taruup-* is also used to mean 'finish, complete', especially in the mediopassive *taruupa(r)i-* '(it) is finished'. Despite the striking parallel with English 'wind up' and Greek $\tau\omicron\lambda\upsilon\mu\epsilon\delta\omicron$ (see *M a u r i c e*, 1991: 163), all three usages are surely independent developments, and we should not be misled into thinking that Hittite *taruup-* means 'wind' (something around something else). The Hittite expression for the latter is apparently *anda nā(i)-*: see again *Güterbock* - *Hoffner* (1980–89: 360) on *IBoT* 2.96 v 8–13, where they carefully distinguish *taruup-* 'braid, plait' and *anda nā(i)-* 'wind around/on'.

⁶ See *Melchert* (1994: 58, 84 & 93f.) with references.

⁷ See *Fraenkel* (1955–65: 926) sub *strības*.

I therefore venture with all due caution the following alternative. Lydian appears to show a verbal prefix *da-*, even if a definitive analysis of any individual example is not yet possible (see G u s m a n i 1964: 94). Lydian *da-* suggests that Anatolian did inherit a preverb **to-* cognate with Old Irish *to-/do-* 'towards, to'.⁸ Our "root" may thus be analyzed as a univerbated **to-* *r/leup-*, where the preverb would reinforce the sense of bringing one thing up against another: cf. English 'to-gether' or German *zu-sammen*. However, I know of no PIE etymon of the shape **leup-* or **reup-* with the requisite meaning 'gather, collect'.

There is a well-attested root **reup-* with the meaning 'tear, break', seen in Latin *rumpō* 'break', Old English *reofan* 'break, rend', and in Old Icelandic *reyfa* 'tear, pluck; rob' with the derived noun *reyfi* 'plucked wool'. See further German *raufen* 'tear' (one's hair or beard) but also 'pluck', in the latter sense synonymous with *rupfen* 'pluck'. The sense 'pluck, snatch' is also seen in the rich set of Germanic forms for 'to rob'. Parallels for a shift from 'tear, rip' to 'snatch, seize' are not hard to find. Compare German *reißen* 'tear, rip' but also 'seize, grasp' or OHG *raspōn* 'gather' vs. Old English *ge-hrespan* 'tear'.

We have good reason to believe that wool was originally plucked from molting sheep (see B a r b e r 1991: 261). In practical terms, if one snatches with the hand material which naturally self-adheres, such as clay, dough, or raw wool (for the last see B a r b e r 1991: 20), the immediate result is that one gathers a handful. The examples cited in the previous paragraph suggest that a connection between snatching or seizing and gathering or collecting need not even be restricted to "sticky" materials. Nevertheless, the likely application of our verb to dough, clay, and wool seems to me to increase the likelihood of a semantic shift from 'tear (off), snatch' to 'gather, collect'. As noted above, the preverb **to-* would reinforce the latter sense.

All cases of *r/l* alternation in Luwian attested thus far appear to reflect rhotacism of an original **l*, part of a widespread phenomenon: see M e l c h e r t (1994: 238) with references. The situation in Hittite is less clear. The examples *ašayur/ašayūl*, *ḫapazir/ḫapazil*, and *ḫaštarī-atar/ḫaštarīyatar* probably all show *r* for *l*, given the established noun classes in *-ul* and *-(z)il-li-ya-* (KBo 6.5 iv 3) for (*anda*) *šī-ya-(at)-ta-ri-ya-* 'obtain by sealed document' in the Hittite Laws surely is a case of *l* for *r*, but there is room to doubt that the alternation here is purely phonetic.⁹ The very limited evidence allows for the possibility that the various examples of *r/l* alternation are heterogeneous in origin. The heavy preponderance of *r*-forms in the case of *tarupp-/talupp-* cannot be entirely discounted. Our current knowledge permits derivation of *tarupp-/talupp-* and *taluppa/i-* from a putative **to-reup-*.¹⁰

The still doubtful status of a preverb **to-* or **do-* in Anatolian and the need to assume several hypothetical, if plausible, semantic shifts leaves the above etymological analysis in the realm of the speculative. I do believe that Luvo-Hittite *taluppa/i-* 'lump, clod' and the new evidence for a variant *talupp-* to the Hittite verb *tarupp-* 'gather, collect' fully vindicate Joseph's original proposal that Greek τολύπη is a loanword from Anatolian.

⁸ One could also consider alternatively a preform **do-* cognate with Slavic *do* and Latvian *dā* 'up to' and the Lithuanian perfectivizing prefix *dā-*. For the sake of simplicity, I will cite the preform below as **to-*.

⁹ See S t a r k e (1990: 204f.) who suggests with some plausibility that *šī-ya-tal-li-ya-* results from confusion in the reading of the sign 'R1/TAL'. It is also possible that the NH scribe of KBo 6.5 was influenced by the verb *šiyatal-li-ya-* 'throw a spear (at)', which is to be read thus, *pače* Starke. The example *kaiipten* for *kariipten* cited in M e l c h e r t (1994: 171) for definite *r > l* was based on my reading of the published autograph of KBo 3.1 ii 73 as showing a spelling *ka-al-ip-ten* (for clear *ka-ri-ip-ten* in the duplicate mss.). All authorities, however, read *ka-ri-ip-ten* also in KBo 3.1, and the "broken" spelling would be strange (one would expect in case of a true alternation rather **ka-li-ip-ten*). This alleged example should thus probably be deleted.

¹⁰ There is, of course, a PIE root **leu-p-*, seen in Sanskrit *lumpati* 'break; plunder', Lithuanian *lupti* 'peel', Russian *lupit* 'peel' and so forth. While I am not aware of any attested meaning among the reflexes of **leup-* as suggestive as that of Old Icelandic *reyfi* 'plucked wool' for **reup-*, this distribution may easily be accidental. There are enough obvious parallels between the two sets that I would not definitively rule out a preform **to-leup-* and secondary change **l > r*.

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