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UDC 807.5—541.2

## PREHELLENICA

## 5. ἀλείφω

Even Hovdhaugen (*NTS* 22, 1968, 118) has pointed to the adverse evidence for a laryngeal origin to account for the  $\alpha$ -.

In the consonantism we may immediately equate the relation of  $\alpha$ λείφω : λίπος (: λιπαρός<sup>1</sup> = Arm. *lirb*) with that of στίφω : Lith. *stiprus*; cf. *Živa Antika* 33, 1983, 147—8. The vocalisation of  $\alpha$ λείφω would be Hellenized, as in ἀγορά (*ŽA* 31, 1981, 83—4; see also 95—6).

This reasoning then suggests that we are here in the presence of a Prehellenic lexeme<sup>2</sup>, and the absence of a laryngeal explanation for the initial vowel is perfectly justified. I propose that we have here alongside ἀγείρω, ἀτεμβω one more instance of the Western IE \*ad- (*IF* 90, 1985, 70). Therefore \*ad-leip-.

<sup>1</sup> Inadequately analyzed by Frisk *GEW* 2, 127.

<sup>2</sup> As seen by V. I. Georgiev, *Introduction to the History of the Indo-European Languages*, Sofia 1981, 101.

## 6. φάκτον

Φάκτον 'cuve' has been mentioned by Ruijgh (*Lingua* 58, 1982 204) with his customary care. He notes that the form is not oxytone (e.g. like βο-τόν) and vessels are often Prehellenic. The dnal *pa-ko-to* provides an attestation which fits all the other observed facts.

In agreement with what has been assembled above with respect to *nomina instrumenti* in \*o-grade and -to- and with what we know of the Prehellenic fate of IE labiovelars (e.g. κεδνός), I propose that we have here a Hellenized descendant of Prehellenic \*φάχθον or \*πάχθον < IE \*pok<sup>w</sup>-to-m, to the base \*pek<sup>w</sup>- 'cook',