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GREEK \**g<sup>w</sup>hoitos*

P. Hr. Ilievski has related<sup>1</sup> Myc. *qo-te-wo* as a genitive to \**Qo-te-u*, to later Greek φοῖτος, φοιτάω, -φοίτης, ἕεροφοῖτις, φοιταλέος, and in so doing has settled the identity of the initial of this Greek stem in its relation to IE. The etymon of φοῖτος must then be \**g<sup>w</sup>hoito-*. It is reasonable then to speculate on the prior pre-Greek history of such a complex configuration.

The shape of φοῖτος suggests a nominalization of the type of νόστος, κοῖτος, etc.,<sup>2</sup> a formation which was productive in Balto-Slavic in giving nomina instrumenti, e.g. *dlato* 'chisel', and as I have argued<sup>3</sup> which was less successful in Latin, leaving however an important trace in the name of *Vesta*. Thus φοῖτος might earlier have meant something like 'a journey', or even 'a path'.

Since such formations had a limited productivity in earlier Greek, it might seem that a base \**g<sup>w</sup>hei-* is called for. However, as Ruijgh has made clear, prehistoric Greek productively formed secondary *o*-grade ablauts in the presence of *a*-colouring laryngeals which might have been expected to yield *a*-vocalisms. Thus we may hypothesize \**g<sup>w</sup>h<sub>a</sub>oi-to-*, formed in turn on an extended root \**g<sup>w</sup>H<sub>a</sub>i-*.

If this is so, we are in the presence here of a frozen nominalization formed on a root shape extended in \*-*i-* which in turn contained the familiar IE root \**g<sup>w</sup>eH<sub>a</sub>-* = *g<sup>w</sup>ā-* well known in the Greek lexicon as βᾶ-.

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<sup>1</sup> *Živa Antika* 29, 1979, 250.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from more specialist literature, see for example A. Meillet, *Introduction* 269.

<sup>3</sup> *Ériu* 25, 1974, 253 ff.