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PREHELLENICA

5. ἀλείφω

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

In the consonantism we may immediately equate the relation of ἀλείφω : λίπος (: λιπαρός¹ = Arm. *lirb*) with that of στῖφος : Lith. *stiprius*; cf. *Živa Antika* 33, 1983, 147—8. The vocalisation of ἀλείφω 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 lexeme², and the absence of a laryngeal explanation for the initial vowel is perfectly justified. I propose that we have here alongside ἀγείρω, ἀτευβω one more instance of the Western IE **ad-* (*IF* 90, 1985, 70). Therefore **ad-leip-*.

¹ Inadequately analyzed by Frisk *GEW* 2, 127.

² 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 dental *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. κεδρός), I propose that we have here a Hellenized descendant of Prehellenic **φάχθον* or **πάχθον* < IE **pok^w-to-m*, to the base **pek^w-* 'cook',