

## *αίει, ἄριστον, Albanian herë, heret*

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Henry M. Hoenigswald has properly raised<sup>1)</sup> the neglected problem of the accentuation of Greek *αί(φ)εί*. This cannot reasonably be a syntactic dative, as Klingenschmitt would have it, when *αίέν* and Dor. *αίές* are visibly locatives. If, then, we have an *s*-stem here, the vocalism should be \**e*; therefore \**H<sub>2</sub>eyw-es-i*, or \**H<sub>2</sub>eiw-es-i*. The accentuation \**H<sub>2</sub>eiuesí* must date to after the general oxytonesis of polysyllables, as Hoenigswald has stated.

Now the evidence of Brugmann's Law in Indic *áyu* and the equation made by Cowgill with Greek *οὐ(κί)* and Armenian *o-č'* show us that we have to do with \**H<sub>2</sub>oiu*, with no colouring of the vowel \**o* to [*a*]. For me this means that we have here the fourth laryngeal, \**hoiu*. I therefore write \**heiu-es-í*.

We pass now to *ἄριστον*: *ἦρι* < \**H<sub>2</sub>éi(e)r* (with nominative vocalism) + *i*. I have analyzed the noun *ἄριστον* as \**ἀερίστον* < \**H<sub>2</sub>íer + i + H<sub>2</sub>d-to*.<sup>2)</sup>

Let us now turn to the Albanian evidence, where we find two forms which must reflect homonymic stems: *herë* 'time, fois, Mal; bestimmte Zeit' and *heret herët* 'early' (an ancient locative in *-t*) or *i hershëm* 'early (adj.), ancient'. The first of these must be \**h(o)i-ro-*, collective \**h(o)irā*, related to \**hoiu*. The stem of 'early' must be the same as *ἦρι*.

We therefore have *ἄριστον* < \**h<sub>2</sub>ieri-'d-to*.

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<sup>1)</sup> *Studies in Memory of Warren Cowgill (1929-1985)*, ed. Calvert Watkins, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987, pp. 51-2.

<sup>2)</sup> *Glotta* 59, 1981, 157.