Eric P. HAMP

LITHUANIAN árškus

The thoughtful account of Simas Karaliūnas (Blt XXIX (2), 1994, 166–171) can be simplified, I suggest, in one respect.

árškus, whether or not via **árž-šk-* or **árž-k-* or **árž-sk-*, would reflect **áržu-* >< *áiškus*. And *áržu-* would equal Indic *árju-na-*, Gr. άργυ-φος¹, and further Indic *rjrá-*, Gr. ἀργός (whether or not this is dissimilated from *ἀργρός), and to these the rulegoverned Caland *rji-* = ἀργι- (and the Old Irish compound *Airg-dig* 'White-house'² in the Táin Bó Cuailnge). Because of Hittite *har-ki-is*³ we reconstruct **h*₂(*e*)*rģ-*. We may add support to **áržu-* from Latin *arguō* and *argūtus*⁴.

With these points clear, there is no need for a special source for vowel lengthening. Before the media * \acute{g} , * $\acute{ar}\check{z}u$ - is exactly what we should expect from * $ar\acute{g}$ - \ddot{u} - < * $h_2 er\acute{g}$ - by W. Winter's lengthening. An initial laryngeal will not lengthen a following vowel.

I see no principled evidence for an IE lengthened grade $*\bar{e}$. The forms in $*er\check{z}$ -, if related, would have to come somehow from $*(h_2)ir\check{z}$ -.

¹ Compounded by rule as an s¹-stem $ev-\alpha \rho\gamma\eta\varsigma$.

² Later variant orthography Airgdhigh; therefore $arg\delta' \partial \gamma' < *arg\vartheta' \partial \gamma' < *arg'\vartheta' \gamma' < *argi+tigis < *argi+tegis < *argi+teges (dat. sg. s-stem).$

³ Frisk GEW I 132–133 implies erroneously (133) that *harkiš* cannot be Schwundstufe; but the rest of Frisk's account is very judicious and informative.

⁴ See IEW 64–65, which badly needs sifting and systematizing. We find this root now in Indo-Iranian, Helleno-Armenian, Italic, Celtic, Tocharian, Anatolian, and now in Baltic.