## Eric P. HAMP

## ON LITHUANIAN o : INDO-EUROPEAN \*õ

VGBS (p. 41) adduces, with a certain amount of discomfort, Lith. vókas as cognate to Slavic věko. Of course the Lith. *o* points to Baltic  $*\bar{a}$ , and on the Indo-European plan, this goes poorly with Slavic  $*\bar{e}$ . In fact, Albanian vetullë f. 'eyebrow, -lid' <  $*u\bar{o}kl\bar{a}$  (>  $*u\bar{o}t(V)l\bar{a}^{1}$  fits perfectly with věko, showing  $*\bar{o}$  :  $*\bar{e}$  in ablaut. Naturally, Lith. uo might be expected.

It must then be that the Lith.  $o < *\bar{a}$  presents a neo-lengthening from \*a, which in turn is best here regarded as the outcome of \*a, i.e. a vocalized laryngeal. Thus we have  $*v\bar{a}kas$  or  $*vaHkas \leftarrow *uakas$  or  $*uHkas^2$ .

Slavic věko then is \*uelk-o-m, Albanian shows \*ol, and Baltic \*ulk-.

Another form troubled Stang (VGBS 42),  $*d\bar{a}$ - 'give'. Again, we must have a lengthening of a < \*a, and this time it seems plausibly to be Winter's lengthening, i.e. from the reduplicated forms, before \*d (media). This would give a relative chronology for vowel quality, since Albanian shared with Balto-Slavic in Winter's lengthening.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For the treatment of post-tonic velar + *l* in Albanian see E. P. Hamp, Studia Albanica 8(2), 1971, 155; AJP 75, 1954, 186–9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> J. E. Rasmussen, Some additional examples of PIE \*- $\bar{e}h_2$ - and \*- $h_2\bar{e}$ -, ~ Copenhagen Working Papers in Linguistics, I, 1990/91, 87–100, proposes \* $\mu ah_2k$ - $a-h_2$ , but that would tequire Alb. vot-.