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### A NOTE ON LITH. *su* ‘WITH’

In standard Lithuanian the Common Baltic etymological sequences *\*an*, *\*en*, *\*in*, *\*un* retained their original final nasal consonant before stop consonants, but before other consonants (i.e., those that were not stop consonants) and in word-final position they became nasal vowels and then lost their nasality and became simple long vowels. Although still written as *a*, *e*, *u*, *i* (with the hook which denotes nasality) they are now pronounced as *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ū* respectively (Zinkevičius 1980, 70 f.).

Loss of a nasal consonant and lengthening of the preceding vowel in position before a consonant seems to me to be quite a natural process and I have proposed various monophthongizations for Indo-European among which is the passage of *\*-oN* > *ō* (*N* = any nasal consonant) in preconsonantal position (Schmalstieg 1980, 43–45). In sentence sandhi, of course, this would lead to the occurrence of final *\*-oN* (in case the following word began with a vowel) and *-ō* (in case the following word began with a consonant). The generalization of these sandhi variants had numerous morphological consequences, some of which are discussed in Schmalstieg 2004.

I propose here that in Indo-European there was a preposition and prefix *\*soN(-)* ‘with, concomitant’, which retained its original form *\*soN(-)* if the following morpheme began with a vowel or developed into *\*sō(-)*, if the following morpheme began with a consonant. The form *\*soN(-)*, originally restricted to prevocalic position, was generalized back to preconsonantal position giving *san-* (with eventual variants *sā-*, *sán-* and *sám-*). Etymological preconsonantal *suo-* < *\*sō(-)* is represented in Lith. *súo-kalbis* ‘conspiracy, plot’ and furnishes the basis for *su* ‘with’. Since Proto-Baltic *\*an* and *\*ō* merged as Latv. *uo* it is impossible to determine whether Latv. *suo-* derives from *\*soN(-)* or *\*sō(-)*. Latv. *sa-* and Lith. dialect *sa-* probably derive from Indo-European *\*so*, a sandhi variant of *\*soN* where the final nasal has been lost as a result of the reanalysis of the syllable boundary as in Russian where *с ним* ‘with him’ derives from etymological *\*сън имь*.

Perhaps it would seem unusual if several etymologically related variants of a single morpheme were inherited only by a single language family, but in Old Indic we seem to have evidence of the variants *\*soN(-)* and *\*sō(-)* also, cf. the preposition and prefix *sám(-)* ‘with, together’ and the adverb *sākām* ‘together, with, jointly’ possibly originally from an adjective *\*sāká-* according to Mayrhofer (1956, 454). I suggest an etymological root *\*sō-* with a suffix *\*-k-*.

According to M a y r h o f e r (1956, 434) the relationship between Old Indic *sam/ sa<sup>o</sup>* ‘with’ and *sa<sup>o</sup>* ‘one’ (as in Old Indic *sakṛt* ‘once, all at once’) and the semantic spheres ‘someone; anyone’ and ‘like’ (as in Old Indic *samāḥ* ‘equal, like, the same’) is inherited. Further connections with Slavic *самъ* ‘oneself’, Gothic *sums* ‘someone’, etc. are also posited (M a y r h o f e r 1956, 436). According to a comment added by Trubačev (V a s m e r 1971, 552) Machek proposed that the Slavic word shows expressive lengthening of original *\*sōmos*. Machek’s proposal certainly is possible, although the Slavic lengthening could derive from a contamination of *\*soN(-)* and *\*sō(-)* giving *\*sōN(-)*. The lengthening of this root is also encountered in Pali *sāmam*, Panjabi *sāmañ* ‘equal, even’ (M a y r h o f e r 1956, 437).

#### PASTABA DĖL LIE. *su-*

##### *Santrauka*

Ide. prokalbėje iš prielinksnio / priešdėlio *\*som(-)* atsirado alomorfai *\*sō(-)* (iš pradžių prieš priebalsį). Laikui bėgant abu variantai tapo nepriklausomi, ir šiandien turime priešdėlį *san-* < *\*som-*, prielinksnį / priešdėlį *su-* ir priešdėlį *suo-* < *\*sō(-)*.

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