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STUDIES IN URALIC ETYMOLOGY IV: OB-UGRIC ETYMOLOGIES

Abstract. This paper is the fourth part in a series of studies that present additions to the corpus of etymological comparisons between the Uralic languages, drawing data from all the major branches of the language family. It includes both previously unnoticed cognates that can be added to already established Uralic cognate sets, as well as a few completely new reconstructions of Uralic word roots. In this fourth part new Uralic etymologies for 18 Ob-Ugric (Khanty and Mansi) words are discussed. The etymologized words are Proto-Mansi (PMs) *äyt 'channel, head of a river' (< PU *wiksi/*wiski), Proto-Khanty (PKh) *čüγ 'mist' (< PU *čäki), PKh *čijj, PMs *šäl 'true, truth' (< PU *čodī), PKh *čōp, PMs *šup 'piece, block of wood' (< PU *čyppa- 'cut, notch (wood)'), PKh *jiγ, PMs *jäγ 'father' (< PU *ekä), PKh *jil- 'go, visit', PMs *jäl- 'go, walk' (< PU *elä- 'live, visit'), PKh *jēm 'taboo' (< PU *jemä), PKh *jipə! 'shadow' (< PU *eji 'night' + *pälä 'side'), PKh *küüč- 'track, follow' (< PU *küji-), PKh *kājəm, PMs *kul'mə 'ashes' (< PU *kada- 'leave'), PMs *kär- 'cut, be sharp' (< PU *kirä-), PKh *Länt 'corn, grain' (< PU *sewi- 'eat'), PMs *lūp-luw 'shoulder-blade' (< PU *lapa 'shoulder' + *luvi 'bone'), PKh *mūγət 'anabranch, side channel of a river' (< PU *mūtka), PKh *pāγəl- 'forge' (< PU *peksä-), PMs *tim- 'turn soft', PKh *tintəl-, PMs *tintəl- 'soften (skins)' (< PU *tejmi-), PKh *tam 'trapping pit', PMs *tam 'hunting fence' (< PU *tuma), and PKh *wīč 'border' (< PU *woča 'fence'). The principles of reconstruction and the citation of lexical material are explained in the first paper of the series (Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2013).

Keywords: Uralic languages, Ob-Ugric languages, Khanty language, Mansi language, etymology, historical phonology.

1. PMs *äyt (> Ms VN äyt, LL εγt, LM LU äyt 'head of a river, channel between two lakes or between a lake and a river')

< PU *wiksi/*wiski

There is a noun in Komi that comes semantically very close to the Mansi word cited above: *vis* (*visk-*) 'channel or brook through which a lake drains into a river; weir set up in such a place'. The Udmurt cognate of the Komi word shows a semantic abstraction: Udm *vis* (*visk-*) 'way, distance or time between something'. Local case forms of the Udmurt noun are also used as postpositions: *viskin* INESS 'between', *viskiš* ELAT 'from between', *viski* ILL

'(to) between'. The Proto-Permic form of the Permic words is **vřsk-* according to Sammallahti's (1988) system of Proto-Permic vocalism.

There is no surface similarity between PMs **äγt* and PPerm **vřsk-*, but the sound correspondence between the words is nevertheless completely regular. As regards vocalism, PMs **ä* ~ PPerm **ř* implies PU **i—i*. Permic points to initial **w-*, and this was regularly lost in Mansi before the vowel **i*: cf. PU **witti* 'five' > PMs **ät* > T *et*, KL KM KU *ät*, P VN VS *ät*, LU So *at* 'five' (UEW 577), PU **widi-* 'hit, kill' > PMs **äl-* > T *el-*, KL KM KU P VN VS *äl-*, LU So *al-* 'kill; catch (fish, game)' (UEW 165—166; Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2013 : 165—166). As for the medial consonant cluster, PMs **γt* and PPerm **sk* can reflect earlier **ks* and **sk*. In Permic there has been a regular metathesis of PU **ks*: cf. PU **mįksa* 'liver' > PPerm **mřsk-* > Komi, Udm *mus* (*musk-*) (UEW: 264). In Ob-Ugric, on the other hand, PU **sk* was metathesized to **ks* (> **γř* > PMs **γt*): cf. PU **soski-* 'chew' > PMs **tayt-* > T *tawt-*, KL KM *tawt-*, P *tęyt-*, VN VS *tayt-*, LU *tówt-*, So *tawt-* 'chew' (UEW 448—449). Hence, it cannot be decided whether the word originally had **ks* or **sk*; the proto-form can be reconstructed as **wiksi/*wiski*.

The word does not appear to have reflexes in branches other than Permic and Mansi. However, in light of the sound correspondences between PPerm **vřsk-* and PMs **äγt* the word must be old: there is a regular sound correspondence but no surface similarity between the two forms, and borrowing can thus be ruled out.

2. PKh **čüγ* (> Kh VVj *čüγ*, Sur *čiy^w*, Irt *čiw*, Ni *řřγ*, Kaz *řřw*, O *siw* 'mist')¹

< PU **čäki* 'mist, fog'

In UEW (59) the Khanty word is considered cognate with Ms KL *řēχ^w*, *řēηk^w*, KU *sēk^w*, P *řęχ*, VN *řäχ*, VS LL *řeχ^w*, LU So *sēηk^w* 'mist, fog' (< PMs **řřηk^w*), Komi *čjn*, Udm *čjn*, *čjn* 'smoke' (< PPerm **čřj*). This comparison is, however, not plausible as it presupposes a completely irregular consonant development **ηk* > **γ* in Khanty. Probably, however, the Mansi and Permic words are cognate and reflect PU **čäj* 'smoke'. A further related form could be MdE *čenge-*, MdM *řäjə-* 'get burnt (e.g., of bread in the oven); wither; burn badly, smolder' (< PMd **čäjə-*).

Instead, PKh **čüγ* can be phonologically regularly compared to SaaN *ciēhka* 'mist (over mountains or on sea)', SaaI *ciēhā* 'cloud of haze', SaaSk *ciōkk*, SaaK *cigg*, SaaT *cigg* 'fog' (< PSaa **ciekē*). The Saami word presupposes PU **čäki*, and the change PU **-k-* > PKh **-γ-* is regular in intervocalic position. As regards vocalism, the normal reflex of PU **ä* is PKh **ä*, but there seems to have been a regular conditioned development PU **ä* > PKh **ü* before PU **k* in **i*-stems. Compare the following examples:

- PU **läkti-* 'leave, go out' > PKh **lüγät-* (> VVj *lüγät-*, Sur *liγ^wät-*, Irt *tiwät-* 'go out') (UEW 239—240)
- PU **mäki* 'hill/tussock' > PKh **müγ* (> VVj *müγ*, Sur *miγ^w* 'tussock') (UEW 266)

¹ The theory of Proto-Khanty vocalism applied here follows Zhivlov (Живлов 2006), which is slightly modified from Helimski 2001; there are major differences to the theory of Proto-Khanty vocalism proposed by Honti (1982).

- PU **näki-w-* 'be seen' > PKh **nū(γ)-* (> Sur *ni-*, *nü-*, Irt *nüw-* 'be visible', Kaz *nī-*, O *ni-* 'be visible (of something distant)') (UEW 302)
- PU **šákši* 'osprey' > PKh **sūγās* (> VVj *süγās*, Sur *siγ^wās*, Irt *siwās*, Ni *siγās*, Kaz *šwās*, O *siwās* 'osprey') (UEW 469–470)

This rule has one exception: PU **wäki* 'strength, power' > PKh **wäγ* > VVj *wöγ*, Sur *wöγ^w*, Irt *wey*, Ni Kaz *wew*, O *wej* 'strength, power' (UEW 563). This appears to be a result of a conditioned development: no PKh words with initial **wū-* can be reconstructed. Hence, the change was probably blocked by a preceding **w-*. In any case, in light of the four parallels listed above the match between PSaa **cieke* and PKh **čūγ* is phonologically regular, and a PU noun **čäki* 'mist, fog' can be reconstructed. This etymology serves as the fifth example of the conditioned vowel change PU **ä* > PKh **ū*.

3. PKh **čijj̄* (> VVj *čäj̄j-* 'right', Sur Irt *čäj̄ə* 'truth, true'), PMs **šäl'* (> P *šöl'*, LU *sōl'*, So *sōl'* 'truth, true')

< PU **čodī* 'truth, true'

DEWOS (245) considers PKh **čijj̄* 'truth, true' probably cognate with PMs **šäl'* 'truth, true'. This etymology is flawless. PKh **j̄* is the high ablaut grade of original **a*, the ablaut being triggered by the suffix **-j̄*. An underlying root **čaj-* can thus be reconstructed, and the correspondences PKh **č* ~ PMs **š*, PKh **a* ~ PMs **ā* and PKh **j* ~ PMs **l* are fully regular. The only reason for uncertainty would be the strangely irregular East Mansi forms (KL KM KU *sōj* 'truth, true'), which show a final *-j* in place of expected *l*; moreover, in KL one would expect *š-* instead of *s-*. It is not clear what this irregularity results from, but in any case it does not prevent us from recognizing the regular connection between the Khanty item and the West and North Mansi forms; a similar irregularity with a more limited distribution is found Ms KL *kōäj* ~ KM KU *kōäl'*, P *koäl'*, So *kāl'* 'female' (< PMs **käl'* < PU **kädwä*; UEW 116). In addition to the comparison to PMs **šäl'*, DEWOS (245) also mentions Russian *чәү* 'probably, maybe, perhaps' and some Turkic words (cf. e.g. Tatar *шәүд* 'probably, maybe, perhaps') in connection with PKh **čijj̄* 'truth, true'. This resemblance must be coincidental, as neither the Russian nor the Turkic word can offer any explanation to the Mansi cognate.

The sound correspondences between PKh **čijj̄* and PMs **šäl'* implies a PU form of the shape **čodī*. According to Sammallahti (1988 : 504), though, the vowel correspondence PKh **a* ~ PMs **ā* occurs as a reflex of the PU vowel combination **o—i* only in closed syllables (i.e., in roots of the shape **(C)oCCi-*); he maintains that reflexes of PU roots of the type **(C)oCi-*, in turn, show the vowel correspondence PKh **ū* ~ PMs **u*. However, the latter claim is supported by no more than three examples. All of these involve the intervocalic consonant **-j-*, which can thus be analyzed as the factor conditioning this vowel development:

- PU **koji* 'dawn' > PMs **kuj* (> VS LL *kuj* 'dawn') (UEW 167)
- PU **koji* 'male' > PKh **kūj* (> VVj Sur *kuj*, Irt *χuj*, Ni Kaz *χūj*, O *χuj* 'male'), PMs **kuj* (> KL KM *kāj*, P *kuj*, So *χuj* 'male') (UEW 166–167)
- PU **soji* 'sound' > PKh **sij* (> VVj Sur *sōj*, Irt *sej*, Ni Kaz *šij*, O *sij* 'sound, voice, noise'), PMs **suj* (> T *soj*, KL KM KU *sāj*, P VN VS LL LM LU So

suĵ 'sound, voice, noise') (UEW 482—483). The irregular front vowel in Khanty probably developed under the influence of following **j*

There is one example of the development PU **o*(—*i*) > PKh **a*, PMs **ā* before a single intervocalic consonant other than **j*: PU **woli-* 'be' > PKh **wal-* (> VVj *wäl-*, Sur *wäl-*, Irt Ni *ut-*, Kaz *wǫL-*, O *ol-* 'live, be'), PMs **āl-* (> T *āl-*, KL KM KU P *ōl-*, VN VS LL *ō-*, LU *ōl-*, So *āl-* 'be, live') (UEW 580—581). In this case Sammallahti (1988 : 551) reconstructs two alternative proto-forms, **wali-* and **woli-*, but this turns out to be unnecessary. We may assume this development to be regular, and accordingly project PKh **čĵĵ* and PMs **šāl* 'truth, true' back to the PU form **čodi*.

The reconstruction of PU **čodi* would of course remain a mere speculation, were it not that this form is perfectly matched by Fi *tosi* (: *tote-*) 'truth, true', with cognates in all Finnic languages (e.g., Veps *tozi*, Est *tõsi*, Liv *tuõž*). The etymology involves the regular consonant changes PU **d*' > PFi **t* and PU **č*' > PFi **t*. Subsequently the change **ti* > **ci* > **si* took place, but the stop remains visible in the oblique stem (*tote-*). The regular match between the Finnic and Ob-Ugric forms has two implications. First, the corresponding Saami item (SaaL SaaN *duohta*, SaaI *tuotâ*, SaaSk *tuõtt* 'true') must be a loan from Finnic **tosi*, or more precisely from the Finnic oblique stem **tote-*, because an inherited cognate of PU **čodi* would have the shape PSaa **cuoðe* > SaaN **cuodda*. Second, we must reject the Indo-European loan etymologies suggested for Finnic **tosi*. The comparison to Proto-Germanic **stōdiz* 'standing' (> Old Norse *-stæðr* in *einsteðr* 'standing alone') (Kylstra, Hahmo, Hofstra, Nikkilä 1991—2012 : 305—306) is quite problematic due to the mismatch in vowel length. On the other hand, Koivulehto (1983 : 120—122) has suggested that that Finnic **tosi* goes back to **tomti* and was borrowed from Indo-European **d̥m̥to-* 'tamed', but this is implausible because PU **mt* is not regularly reflected as PFi **t*.

The Uralic etymology presented here presupposes that the sound law PU **č*' > PFi **t* is valid also in word-initial position. Traditionally it has been assumed that this law applied only word-medially, whereas in initial position there was a change **č-* > PFi **h-*. Sammallahti (1999 : 76), however, has argued that the reflex of PU **č*' is PFi **t* also in word-initial position. It seems, indeed, that the evidence claimed to support the development PU **č-* > PFi **h-* is invalid in its entirety. Six examples of the development are considered certain by UEW, but none of these etymologies can be accepted:

- Fi *hama*, an intensifying attribute expressing remoteness (e.g. *hama tulevaisuus* 'the remote future', *hamaan loppuun saakka* 'until the very end') ~ PKh **čĵmā* (> VVj *čāma*, Sur *čāmə*, Irt *čāma*, Ni Kaz *šōma*, O *sāmmi* 'straight'), PMs **šamāγ* (> T *šamaw*, KL *šāmə*, KM KU *sāmə*, P *šəmeγ*, VN *šəmi*, LU So *sōma* 'upright, straight') < PU **čama* (UEW 52). — The vowel correspondence between Finnic and Ob-Ugric is completely irregular.
- Fi *häntä* 'tail' ~ PKh **čĵiñč* (> V Vj Sur *čöñč*, Irt *čěñč*, Ni Kaz *šās*, O *sās* 'back'), PMs **šĵš* (> T *šĵš*, KL *šəš*, KM KU *səs*, P VN VS LL *šĵš*, LU So *sis* 'back, back side') < PU **čänčä* (UEW 56). — The vowel correspondence is entirely irregular; even the Ob-Ugric forms do not correspond to each other in a regular manner.
- Fi *henki* 'breath; life; spirit' ~ Udm *žog* 'very warm, sweltering, sultry', PKh **čĵiñk* (> Sur Irt *čěñk*, Ni Kaz *šāñk*, O *sāñk* 'hot, heat'), PMs **sāñk*

(> T *seχ*, KM KU *sòāχ*, P VN VS LL *sax*, LU So *sānjē* 'sultriness, warmth, heat') < PU **čēŋki* (UEW 57). — Udm *žog* cannot have anything to do with the other words, as it goes back to PPerm **rig-*, also reflected in the Komi derivative *regjd* 'quickly, soon'; the change PPerm **r-* > Udm *ž-* in initial position is regular. Mansi **s-* (< PU **ś-*) also excludes any connection of PMs **sānjē* to the other words. The vocalism of PKh **činjē* would match that of Fi *henki*, but semantically the comparison fails to convince.

- Fi *hinta* 'price' ~ Mde *čando* 'dowry' < PU **čanta* (UEW 618). — The vowel correspondence is completely irregular, which UEW explains away by postulating an ad hoc dissimilation **a—a* > *i—a* in Finnic. Moreover, even if the comparison was correct, there would be no reason whatsoever to reconstruct **č-*; PU **š* regularly changed to *h* in Finnic, and initial **š-* and **č-* are reflected identically in Mordvin (Mde *č-*, Mdm *š-*).
- Karelian *hoavo* 'sack' ~ Mde *čava*, Mdm *šava* 'bowl' < PU **čava* (UEW 619). — The Karelian long vowel *-oa-* (< **-ā-*) is anomalous, and the semantic match is not very good either. Furthermore, just as in the previous case, the initial consonant could be reconstructed as **š-* instead of **č-*.
- Fi *hupa* 'quickly diminishing, short-lived' ~ Mde *čova*, Mdm *šova* 'thin, fine', Hung *sovány* 'thin, lean, meagre' (< PU **čupa*) (UEW 63). — This is the only example of the development PU **č-* > PFi **h-* which is accepted by Sammallahti (1988). It seems, however, obvious that the Finnic and Mordvin words must instead be cognate with MariE *šue* 'sparse, rare', Nw *šue*, W *šoe* 'sparse', an etymology that has been overlooked so far. Because this implies the reconstruction **šupa* and the regular reflex of PU **š* is Hung *Ø*, the appurtenance of Hung *sovány* must be rejected.

Thus, there is no valid evidence for the assumed sound law PU **č-* > PFi **h-*. This being the case, we can assume that the regular development in initial position was the same as word-internally, i.e. PU **č* > PFi **t*, as maintained by Sammallahti (1999 : 76). The word *tosi* 'truth, true' (< PU **čodī*) provides an important piece of evidence supporting this assumption.

4. PKh **čōp* (> VVj *čow*, Sur *čop*, Irt *čup*, Ni *šup*, Kaz *šop*, O *sop* 'piece (of something), block of wood cut off from something, short timber; half (e.g., of a tree trunk cut in two)'), PMs **šup* (> KL *šōp*, KM *sōp*, P VN *šup*, LU So *sup* 'half (of something divided crosswise in two parts), piece, part')

< PU **čjppa-* 'cut, notch (wood), make corner joints (in building logs)'

The Ob-Ugric nouns generally mean 'piece, part, half', but in Khanty also a more specific meaning 'block of wood (cut off from something), short timber' is found. Assuming the word originally referred to some kind of piece of wood or timber, and its denotation was secondarily extended to 'part, piece' in general, this gives reason to compare it to the reconstructed PU verb **čjppa-/čappa-* 'cut, notch (wood), make corner joints (in building logs)'. The verb is reconstructed on the basis of SaaT *cāχped* 'make corner

joints (in building logs)', MdE *čapo-*, MdM *čapə-* 'do timberwork, carpentry', Komi *čup-*, Udm *čupj-* 'make a cut or notch (in wood), make corner joints (in building logs)' (Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2013 : 163–164; cf. UEW 618–619).

The main complication in the etymology is that the Ob-Ugric forms are nouns that presumably originally referred to some kind of cut block of wood or timber, whereas the forms in the other languages are verbs. However, this can hardly be seen as a serious obstacle to the etymology. First, it is well-known that the Proto-Uralic lexicon included many roots of the nomenverbum type. These, however, usually involve intransitive verbs like PU **sula-* 'melt; unfrozen place, hole in the ice' (UEW 450–451) and **kunši-* 'urinate; urine' (UEW 210), even though transitive verbs are also occasionally attested, such as **kajwa-* 'dig; spade' (Aikio 2002 : 41–42; cf. UEW 170–171). On the other hand, as second-syllable vocalism is in general poorly preserved in Ob-Ugric, it also seems possible that the Ob-Ugric nouns were simply derived from the verb root **čippa-/čappa-* with a deverbal noun suffix that was later lost (e.g., a cognate of the Finno-Saamic deverbal noun suffix **-o*). Moreover, in Mordvin the root is attested not only as a verb but also a noun: E *čapo*, M *šapa*, *šap* 'cut, notch'.

Also the vowel correspondence requires closer scrutiny. The normal reflex of PU **j* is PKh **ā* ~ PMs **j̄*, whereas PU **a(–a)* is reflected as PKh **ā* ~ PMs **ū*. However, there is a parallel for the development **j(–a) > PKh *j̄ ~ PMs *u* before the geminate **pp*: PU **jppi* 'father-in-law' > PKh **j̄p* (> Sur *op*, *up*, Irt *iip*, Ni Kaz *ŭp*, O *up* 'father-in law'), PMs **up* (> LU So *up* 'father-in-law') (UEW 14).² Hence, the vocalism of PKh **čj̄p* and PMs **šup* can be explained as the result of a conditioned development.

5. PKh **jiγ* (> VVj Sur Irt *jěγ*, Ni *jŷγ*, Kaz *jŷw*, O *jij* 'father'), PMs **jäγ* (> Ms TJ *jũ*, TCh *jɛw*, KL *jeγ*, KM KU *jäγ*, P *jɛγ*, VN VS *jã*, LL *jē*, LU S *jáy* 'father')

< PU **ekä* 'an older male relative: paternal uncle/father/grandfather'

The Ob-Ugric languages share the cited common word for 'father', which has no established etymology so far. The word can be phonologically regularly compared to SaaN *eahki* 'paternal uncle (older than father)' (< PSaa **eakē*); this word has cognates in all Saami languages. The Saami word presupposes a PU form **ekä*, from which also the Ob-Ugric words can be regularly derived. PKh **i* and PMs **ä* are the regular reflexes of the PU vowel combination **e(–ä)*; compare the following cases:

PU **elä-* 'live; go' > PKh **jil-*, PMs **jäl-* 'go' (see etymology 6 below)

PU **peljä* 'ear' > PKh **pil*, PMs **päl'* (UEW 370–371)

PU **perä* 'back, rear' > PKh **pirtäγ*, PMs **pärəγ* 'back (= zurück)' (UEW 373)

PU **čečä* 'uncle' > PMs **šäšəγ* 'maternal uncle' (UEW 34–35)

² In Khanty only Sur *op* directly reflects PKh **j̄p*. The other forms suggest PKh **ūp*, which was analogically extracted from umlauted possessive forms (e.g., PKh **ūp-əm* 'my father-in-law' < Pre-PKh **j̄p-jm*); note that Khanty kinship terms differ from other nouns in that they display I-umlaut instead of U-umlaut in possessive forms. In Mansi the LU and So forms continue the expected form **up*, whereas T *apa* (? < **apā*) shows entirely obscure vocalism.

Also the consonant correspondences are quite regular. The initial *j- is a prothetic consonant that was added before the initial front vowel in Ob-Ugric, cf. PU *elä- above. The spirantization *k > *γ in intervocalic position is regular as well.

Previously PSaa *eakē has been equated with another Ob-Ugric word: PKh *ikī (> Kh VVj Sur *iki*, Irt *ikə*, Ni *ikə*, Kaz *iki*, O *iki* 'old man'), PMs *āki (> Ms T KL KM KU P VN VS LL *āk*, LU S *aki* 'a respected older male relative or in-law: e.g., father-in-law, father's or mother's older brother, wife's older brother') (UEW 72–73; Sammallahti 1988 : 541). This equation is not acceptable, however, due to the irregular sound correspondences. PSaa *eakē presupposes PU *ekä, and the PU single intervocalic stop *-k- is regularly reflected as PKh and PMs *-γ-, not as *-k-; the latter would presuppose an original geminate stop *-kk-, as in PU *lūkkä- 'shove' > PKh *lūkəmtə- (> Sur *lökəmtə*- 'push, shove'), PMs *lūkə- (> KL KM KU P *lāk^w*- 'heap up, pile up') (UEW 248–249). Moreover, the vowel correspondence between Saami and Ob-Ugric is irregular. In fact, even the Khanty-Mansi vowel correspondence is not regular, and Honti (1982 : 124) reconstructs the Ob-Ugric proto-form of these words with undefined vowels (*škə).³ Hence, the reconstruction of a PU word *ekä on the basis of PSaa *eakē, PKh *ikī and PMs *āki is untenable, and the earlier irregular comparison must be rejected in favor of the new regular one presented here.

It can be added that PU *ekä also appears to have a so far unnoticed reflex in Samoyed, namely EnF *dīsi* 'grandfather'. This can regularly reflect PSam *jekä (but theoretically also PSam *jesä would be possible). The initial consonant d' (< *j-) can be explained as a secondary prothetic consonant, exactly as in Ob-Ugric. The phonological development of the word in respect to vocalism and the prothetic j- is entirely parallel to the well-known case of PU *elä- 'live' > PSam *jelä- (~ *elä-) > EnF *dīri-ś* 'live'.

As a semantic parallel to the comparison one can mention Fi *isä* and SaaI *eeči* 'father', which are cognate with MdM *očä* 'paternal uncle (older than father)', MariE *iža*, MariW *əzä* 'older brother', Ms KU KM KU P VN LL *ās* 'grandfather (mother's father)' (< PMs *äčə), and Hung *ős* 'ancestor, forefather' (< PU *ičä ~ *iča) (UEW 78). The original meaning of PU *ekä cannot be exactly reconstructed, but as in the case of PU *ičä ~ *iča, the uniting factor is that the cognates refer to a male relative of an older generation that can be assumed to hold a particular position of authority and respect (father, father's older brother, grandfather). Obviously, change in the denotations of kinship terms occurs in the context of change in the organization of the kinship system, but comparative studies on Uralic kinship systems are currently insufficient for such questions to be examined in detail.

³ A part of the problems in vocalism, however, stem from the fact that Honti (1982) also includes Kh Ni *akə*, Kaz *aki*, O *āki* 'uncle (father's or mother's older brother)' (< *āki) in the Ob-Ugric cognate set. This form is anomalous, as the relationship between PKh *ikī and *āki would suggest an ablaut relationship where *ī represents the I-grade of an original *ā. However, because second-syllable *-i triggered I-grade ablaut in Pre-Proto-Khanty, the North Khanty form *āki cannot be an inherited word. As pointed out by Helimski (2001 : 73), North Khanty *āki seems to be a case of quasi-ablaut, and the word is actually a borrowing from North Mansi *āki (> *aki*).

6. PKh **jil-* (> VVj *jěl-* 'go, wander, visit, meet'), PMs **jäl-* (> N *jal-*, KU KL P V L *jäl-*, TJ *jil-* 'go, walk, walk around, wander')
< PU **elä-* 'live; go, visit'

This semantically very basic verb in the Ob-Ugric languages has no good etymology so far. A comparison to Hung *üldöz* 'chases, pursues' has been proposed; this is considered uncertain by UEW (850), and due to the irregular vowel correspondence and the different meanings the etymology fails to convince. It has been overlooked, however, that PKh **jil-* and PMs **jäl-* are phonologically exactly the expected outcomes of PU **elä-* 'live' (UEW 73). As already established, this PU verb is reflected in Ob-Ugric derivatives: PKh **jilpāylə-* (> VVj *jělwäyylə-* 'come alive again', Kaz *jǐlpalə-*, O *jilpälə-* 'recover (from an illness)'), PMs **jält-* (> T *ilt-*, KL KM KU P VN VS *jält-*, LL *jelt-*, LU So *jalt-* 'get healthy, recover'), PMs **jälpət-* (> VN LL *jelpt-*, VS *jälpt-* 'heal, make healthy'). Thus, we can present the hypothesis that PKh **jil-* and **jäl-* are the underived reflexes of PU **elä-* 'live'.

At first sight, an etymology connecting verbs meaning 'go, wander, visit, meet' and 'live' might appear semantically problematic. However, the Saami reflexes of PU **elä-* 'live' show a polysemy which bridges the semantic gap: SaaN *eallit*, SaaI *eellid*, SaaSk *jiē'lled*, SaaK *jielle*, SaaT *jielled* mean both 'live' and 'visit (some place), go (and come back)'. In North Saami the latter meaning is only found dialectally (e.g., in Várjjat), whereas other dialects use the verb *fitnat* or *mannat* in the same sense. Exactly the same sense is attested in Khanty, too, and of course the more general Ob-Ugric meanings 'go', 'walk', 'wander' also come very close; cf. SaaN *mannat* 'go; (dialectal) visit (some place), go (and come back)' (< PU **meni-*; UEW 272).

Thus, the Khanty and Mansi verbs can be without doubt considered reflexes of PU **elä-* 'live'. As the meanings of the type 'visit, go (and come back)' and 'go, walk' are found in both Saami and Ob-Ugric, it appears reasonable to reconstruct a polysemy 'live; go, visit' back to Proto-Uralic already. The exact origin of this polysemy remains unclear and probably beyond the limit of reconstruction, but a plausible background for the semantic duality is provided by the close concepts of 'being alive' and 'moving, being in motion'. This brings to mind English *quick* from Old English *cwic* 'living, alive', which in turn is a derivative of Proto-Indo-European **gwhi₃-* 'be alive'.

7. PKh **jēm* (> Kh Sur *jim*, Ni *jem*, Kaz *jem*, O *jem* 'religious or social taboo'), PKh **jēməŋ* (> VVj *jiməŋ*, Irt Niz *jeməŋ*, Kaz *jeməŋ*, O *jeməŋ* 'sacred')
< PU **jemä* 'sacred, supernatural?'

The Khanty words for 'taboo' and 'sacred' can be compared to Finno-Saamic **imiš* 'strange; wonder', reflected in Fi *ihme*, Est *ime* 'miracle, wonder' (< PFi **imeh*) and SaaN *amas* 'foreign, unknown, strange, odd' (< PSaa **gmgs*). Cognates are known in nearly all Finnic and Saami languages. It has not been earlier pointed out, however, that **imiš* is a derivative of a noun root **imä*, which is reflected in SaaS *ipmie* 'uncertainty, something to be wondered about' (< PSaa **gmē*); a parallel adjective derivative of the same root is SaaS *ipmies* 'strange, causing wonder, difficult to understand' (<

PSaa **gmēs*). It must be noted that SaaS *ammes* and SaaU *ammas* 'strange, unknown', which Lehtiranta (1989 : 10–11) lists as cognates, are obviously loans from more northern Saami languages. The nasal geminate *-mm-* is irregular, and also the SaaS first-syllable vowel does not match; the expected inherited reflex of PSaa **gmēs* would be SaaS **īpmes*.

Finno-Saamic **imä* and its derivative **im-iš* 'strange, wonder' can be semantically quite naturally compared to PKh **jēm* 'taboo', **jēməŋ* 'sacred'. As regards phonology, the comparison appears problematic at first glance due to the correspondence Finno-Saami **i-* ~ PKh **jē-*. The normal reflex of PU **i* is PKh **ä*. However, the same correspondence is found in one well-established etymology: Finno-Saamic **ilma* 'air, sky' (Fi *ilma* 'air, weather', SaaN *albmi* 'sky') ~ PKh **jēləm* (> Irt (KoP) *itəm*, (Keu) *jetəm*, Kaz *jeləm*, O *iləm* 'world, weather'). In this case the Obdorsk dialect and Kamenskie subdialect of Konda show an irregular *i-* instead of expected *je-*, but the form **jēləm* nevertheless appears securely reconstructed; in any case, it is much more plausible to assume an irregular change **je-* > *i-* in these varieties rather than an opposite change **i-* > *je-* in the other varieties. A similar irregularity is also found in a couple of other lexical items: VVj *ilim*, Sur *ilem*, Irt *item* (!), *ētim*, Ni *jetem*, Kaz *jelēm*, O *jelem* 'shame' (< PKh **jēlim*); VVj *inəl*, Sur *inəl*, Irt *int*, *jint* (!), *ənt*, Ni *jentəl*, Kaz *jenəl*, O *inəl* 'blade' (< PKh **jənəl*); VVj Sur Irt *itən* (!), Ni Kaz *jetən* 'evening' (< PKh **jētən*).

As the correspondence Finno-Saamic **i-* ~ PKh **jē-* occurs in two lexical items, it must be a product of some sort of regular development. A plausible solution is offered by Pystynen (2013), who argues that Finno-Saamic **ilma* 'sky, air, weather' ~ PKh **jēləm* 'world, weather' should be reconstructed with initial **je-* (PU **jelma?*), with a subsequent development **je-* > **ji-* > **i-* in Finno-Saamic. As a partial parallel he presents PFi **jüvä* (> Fi *jyvä* 'grain'), borrowed from Indo-European **yewo-* 'grain' (> Sanskrit *yáva-* 'grain, barley', Avestan *yava-* 'grain'). This would have been adopted as **jewä*, then undergoing the change **jewä* > **jivä*, but the loss of **j-* did not occur because **i* changed to **ü* before **-w-* before the sound change **ji-* > **i-* applied. However, to Pystynen's analysis one must add that there actually is also a form **ivä* in Finnic, attested in Vot *ivä* and Est *iva* 'grain'. Thus, there seems to have been a dialectal split in this word in Pre-Proto-Finnic, with both **jivä* (> **ivä*) and **jüvä* surviving in modern Finnic languages. This is reminiscent of the duality between PFi **süvä* (> Fi *syvä* 'deep') and **tüvä* (> Liv *tövä*), reflecting Finno-Saamic **tivä* 'deep' (> PSaa **tēvē* > SaaN *davvi* 'north; deep water'). The variant **tüvä* must have undergone the labialization **i* > **ü* before the change **ti* > PFi **ci* (> **si*): the development was **tivä* > **tüvä*. The variant **süvä* must, however, have survived as **tivä*, which then regularly changed to PFi **civä*, and only after that was labialized to **cüvä* (> **süvä*).

As regards PKh **jēm* 'taboo' and **jēməŋ* 'sacred', the equation of these words with Finno-Saamic **imä* and **imiš* provides a crucial additional piece of evidence of the development **je-* > **ji-* > **i-* in Finno-Saamic. In light of the previously known phonological parallel PKh **jēləm* 'weather, world' ~ Finno-Saamic **ilma* 'sky, air, weather' the etymology can be considered phonologically regular. It should be noted that Koivulehto (1999 : 323–328) has previously suggested another etymology to Finno-Saamic **imiš*,

deriving it from Pre-Proto-Baltic **ǵn-m-* > Lithuanian *žymė* 'mark, sign'. The etymology appears, however, phonologically highly complicated and cannot be maintained in light of the discovered Khanty cognate.

8. PKh **jipəl* (> Kh Sur *jěpəl*, Irt *jěpəl*, Ni *jřpəl*, Kaz *jăpəl* 'shadow')
 ← PKh **jij* 'night' (< PU **eji*) + **pəl* 'side' (< PU **pälä*)

This Khanty word for 'shadow' can be rather straightforwardly etymologized as an obscured compound: **ji-* is a reduction of PKh **jij* (> V *jěj*, Vj *ěj*, Sur *jěj* 'night') which reflects PU **eji* 'night' (UEW 72), and **pəl* is a reduction of PKh **päl*, the reflex of PU **pälä* 'half, side' (UEW 540). The latter word is otherwise attested in Khanty only in a derived form: PKh **pələk* (> VVj *pelək*, Sur *pələk*, Irt *pelək* 'half, side', Ni *pelək*, Kaz *pelək*, O *pelək* 'half, side, direction'). The irregular phonological reductions assumed to have taken place are rather small, and can be understood as a natural consequence of the monomorphemization of the word.

Thus, PKh **jipəl* goes back to **jij-päl* which literally meant 'night-side', referring to the shady northward side of hills and mountains. The word has an exact counterpart in Mansi which preserves the compound structure transparent: Ms KL KM *jə-pöäl*, P *jī-poäl*, VN *ī-püöl*, LL *ī-poäl* 'north', literally 'night-side' (< PMs **jī-päl*). Similar compounds formed of the reflexes of PU **eji* 'night' and **pälä* 'side' are attested also elsewhere in Uralic: cf. SaaN *ijabealli*, Fi *yöpuoli* 'shady northward side of hills or mountains', Mde *ven pelks* 'north, midnight'.

9. PKh **küć-* (> V Vj Sur *köt'-*, Irt *köt'-*, Ni Kaz *küş-* 'track, follow')
 < PU **küj-tV-*, derived from PU **küji-* 'track, follow'

The Khanty verb has been previously compared to Hung *kísér* 'goes along with, accompanies' (UEW 856). PKh **ü* ~ Hung *í* is not a regular correspondence, however, so it is in order to look for another etymology. PKh **küć-* 'track, follow' closely resembles the PU verb **küjV-*, which can be reconstructed on the basis of Komi *kij-* 'catch, trap', *kijed-* 'follow tracks; lurk, lie in wait, secretly watch', PMs **küj-* (> T *küj-*, KL KM P VN VS LL *k^wüj-*, LU So *koj-* 'track, follow, hunt') and Hung *követ* 'follows, goes after'.

The equation is otherwise straightforward, but PKh **-ć-* of course cannot be a reflex of PU **-j-*. The affricate can, however, be explained by assuming that the verb reflects a derived form **küj-tV-*. A similar case is PKh **ṽć-* (> VVj *ot'-*, Irt *ut'-*, Ni *uš-*, Kaz *wos-*, O *oš-* 'swim'), which seems to reflect PU **uj-tV-* (cf. PU **uji-* 'swim'; UEW 542). Also, as shown in Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2014a : 1–2, there are three etymologies which demonstrate the regularity of the change **jt* > PKh **ć*:

- PKh **āć* (> VVj *at'*, Sur *āt'*, Irt *ot'*, Ni Kaz *os'* 'fence, enclosure') < PU **ajta* / **jta*, cognate with Fi *aita* 'fence'
- PKh **kūć-* (> VVj Sur *kut'-*, Irt *χut'-*, Ni Kaz *χüş-*, O *χuš-* 'lure, tempt') ~ PMs **kujt-* (> KL *χujt-*, KM *kojt-*, KU P VS LL *kujt-*, LU S *χujt-* 'entice, agitate, lure, tempt')
- PKh **wēćəŋ* (> VVj Sur *witəŋ*, Irt *wetəŋ*, Kaz O *wesəŋ* 'beautiful') ~ PMs **wajt* (> TJ *wajt* 'beautiful')

To this it can be added that apparently also a secondary **jt*, which arose from **-d'-t-* via the regular change PU **d' > PKh *j*, is reflected as PKh **ć*. This is evident from PKh **kĭć-* (> VVj Sur *kĭt-*, Irt *χet-*, Ni *χĭś-*, Kaz *χĭś-*, *χăś-*, O *χĭś-* 'stay, remain'), which goes back to **kad(a)-tV-* and is cognate with PMs **kult-* (> T *kol't-*, KL KM KU *kəlt-*, P VN VS LL *kult-*, LU So *χult-* 'stay, remain, be left over'). The underived root, PU **kada-*, is reflected as PKh **kĭj- ~ *kĭj-* (> VVj *kăj-*, Sur *kĭj-*, Irt *χăj-*, Ni *χĭj-*, Kaz O *χăj-* 'leave (behind, over)') and PMs **kūl'-* (> T *kōl'-*, LL LM *kūl'-*, LU So *χūl'-* 'leave (behind, over)') (UEW 115–116).

Previously another Khanty verb has been proposed as a reflex of PU **kĭjV-* 'track, follow': UEW (155) includes Kh V *kěj-* 'run around, fuss' in the cognate set. This verb, however, is a hapax only known from one dialect, and it is best interpreted as the same verb as V *kěj-* 'mate (of birds)' (~ Sur *kěj-*, Irt *kej-*, *kăj-*, Ni Kaz *kej-* 'mate (of birds)', O *koj-* 'sing a shamanic song' < PKh **kăj-*); as for the semantics, cf. German *läufig* 'in heat' ← *laufen* 'run', Fi *juoksu* 'running; rut, heat' ← *juokse-* 'run'. The Khanty verb reflects PU **kixi-* and is cognate with SaaN *gihkat* 'mate (of birds)', Komi *koj-* 'mate (of birds)' and PMs **kăj-* (> T *kĭj-*, KL KM KU P VN VS LU *kăj-*, LU So *kaj-* 'mate (of birds); sing a shamanic song'). Moreover, KhV *kěj-* would not even phonologically suit as a reflex of PU **kĭjV-*, because the regular reflex of PU **ü* is PKh **ü > V ö*.

10. PKh **kăjəm* (> Vj *kajəm*, Sur *kăjəm*, Irt *χojəm*, Ni Kaz *χojəm* 'ashes'), PMs **kūl'mə* (> T *kōl'əm*, KM KU P VS LL *kul'əm*, LU So *χūl'əm* 'ashes') (~ Hung *hamu* 'ashes')

< **kad(a)ma* ← PU **kada-* 'leave' + deverbial noun suffix **-ma*

The Ob-Ugric words above have traditionally been considered cognate with Hung *hamu* 'ashes'. UEW (194–195) reconstructs the proto-form as **kuδ'mə* (= **kud'mV* in the present notation), and includes MdE *kulov*, *kuloŋ*, MdM *kulu* 'ashes' (< PMd **kuləŋ*) as a further uncertain cognate. The comparison of the Ugric and Md forms is, however, entirely impossible because of the mismatch in consonant correspondences. Moreover, UEW's reconstruction of the vocalism of the Ugric form is evidently erroneous, because the correspondence PKh **ā ~ PMs *ū ~ Hung a* points to PU **a—a*. Hence, one can reconstruct the proto-form as **kadma* (as is done by Sammallahti 1988 : 518), or perhaps **kadama*.

It has remained overlooked that Ugric **kad(a)ma* 'ashes' can be analyzed as a deverbial noun consisting of the PU verb **kada-* 'leave over, leave behind' (discussed in connection with etymology 9 above) and the deverbial noun suffix **-ma*. The verb has very widespread reflexes in Uralic, e.g., SaaN *guoddit*, MdE *kado-*, MariE *kođe-*, Komi *kol-*, KhSur *kĭj-*, MsT *kōl-*, Hung *hagy*, NenT *χaje-*, Ngan *koi-*, SlkTa *qĕčĭj-* 'leave (trans.), leave behind, leave over'. The original sense of the noun **kad(a)ma* has thus been 'remnant', 'leftover', 'something left behind', and from this there has been a semantic shift to 'ashes' — i.e., the substance left over when fire has burned out.

11. PMs *kär- (> Ms T *kgr-* '(be able to) cut, be sharp enough (to cut something; of a knife)')

< PU **kirä-* 'hit/cut'

This verb root is only attested in Tavda Mansi, where it also has several derivatives: e.g., *kgrlt-* 'stick (e.g., of a wood splinter)', *kgrp* 'sharp'. The verb can reflect PMs **kär-*, which in turn would presuppose a PU form **kirV-* or **kerä-*. Thus, it is evidently a previously unnoticed reflex of the PU verb **kirä-* 'cut/hit', and thus cognate with MdE *ke'ra-*, MdM *ke'ra-*, *kerə-* 'hit, beat, cut', MariE *kəre-* 'hit, forge, hammer, thresh', Komi *keral-*, Udm *kora-* 'cut (wood), chop' (cf. UEW 666). The semantic development 'cut' > 'be sharp enough (to cut something)' is rather self-evident, and it suffices to point out that also English *cut* has both meanings: cf. *this knife cuts well*.

12. PKh *Lānt (> V *länt*, Vj *jänt*, Sur *Lánt*, Irt *tánt* 'corn, grain', Ni *tant* Kaz *Lant*, O *lant* 'flour')

< PU **sewi-* 'eat' + nominalizer *-*ntä*

PKh **Lānt* 'grain' has traditionally been considered cognate with the following words: MariE *šədan*, MariW *šädängə* 'wheat', Komi *šobdi*, *šogdi* 'corn, grain', and possibly old Hungarian (1380–1410) ? *ed* ~ ? *éd* 'corn, grain'. UEW (496–497) reconstructs **šüntV* and regards the comparison certain; Häkkinen (2009 : 29) reconstructs **šənti* and claims that the word is possible evidence of Proto-Uralic agriculture. However, this etymology features numerous problems. First, the Mari word is internally irregular: the MariE and MariW forms show completely irregular vowel correspondence suggesting that they are not even of Proto-Mari origin. Second, the Komi word shows a non-canonical sound structure with its consonant cluster *-bd-* ~ *-gd-* and final *-i*, which strongly suggests that it is not of Uralic origin either. Third, the old Hungarian form is so scarcely attested that neither its form nor its meaning can be securely established (UEW 497). When combined, these problems leave no reasonable alternative to rejecting the etymology.

Hence, it is in order to seek another origin for PKh **Lānt* 'grain'. Its shape implies a Pre-Proto-Khanty form **sentä*, which can be analyzed as reflecting a derivative **sew-ntä*, consisting of the consonant stem of PU **sewi-* 'eat' and the deverbal noun suffix *-*ntä*. The verb root is reflected as PKh **Lēγ-* (> V *li-*, Vj *i-*, Sur *Li(γ^w)-*, Irt Ni *te(w)-*, Kaz *LE(w)-*, *Le(w)-*, O *li(w)-* 'eat'). A semantic parallel for the etymology of **Lānt* 'grain' is provided by PKh **Lēt* (> Irt *tet* 'grain'; V *lit-ot*, Sur *Lit-öt*, Irt *tet-ät*, Kaz *let-öt* 'food'), another derivative of PKh **Lēγ-*. Another parallel occurs in Mansi: PMs **tīp* (> T *tīp*, KL KM KU P VN VS LL So *tēp* 'food, grain, barley'), a derivative of PMs **tī-* 'eat' (< PU **sewi-*). As regards old Hungarian ?*ed* ~ ?*éd* 'corn, grain', if this form is correctly interpreted, it can also reflect the derivative **sew-ntä*. The Mari and Komi words previously connected with PKh **Lānt* must, however, be of another origin.

**13. PMs **lūp-luw* (> Ms KL KM KU *lūplâ* 'shoulder blade')
< PU **lapa-luwi* 'shoulder blade'**

The Konda Mansi forms meaning 'shoulder blade' reflect PMs **lūp-luw*, which shows a remarkable similarity to Fi *lapaluu* 'shoulder blade'. Both words are compounds, and have Fi *luu* and PMs **luw* 'bone' (< PU **luwi*; UEW 254–255) as their second member. The first part of the compound is Fi *lapa* 'shoulder (of an animal), back part of the shoulder; blade (of an oar, etc.)'. The word has cognates throughout Finnic (e.g., Est *laba* 'blade of an oar', *labaluu* 'shoulder blade') and in Eastern Saami languages (e.g. SaaI *lyepi*, SaaSk *lue'pp* 'shoulder, shoulder blade' < PSaa **luopē*). In Mansi **lūp-* is not attested as an independent noun, but it is precisely the regular reflex of PU **lapa*, which can be reconstructed on the basis of the Finnic and Saami forms: cf. e.g. PU **kala* 'fish' > PMs **kūl* > Ms KL KM KU *kūl*. It is possible that PFi **lapa-lū* and PMs **lūp-luw* are direct reflexes of a PU compound **lapa-luwi*, even though they may of course have also been independently formed in the two branches.

Previously another Mansi cognate has been suggested for Finno-Saamic **lapa* 'shoulder, shoulder blade'. Both UEW (236) and SSA (s.v. *lapa*) compare it to Ms P *koät-löp*, So *kāt-lop* ~ *kāt-lup* 'breadth of the palm' (< PMs **kāt-lap*), a compound consisting of PMs **kāt* 'hand' (< PU **kāti*; UEW 140) and an otherwise unknown word **lap*; the equation is considered uncertain. This comparison must be rejected, because **lap* is not a regular correspondent of Finno-Saamic **lapa* in terms of its vocalism, and even semantically the match with PMs **lūp-luw* 'shoulder blade' is much more precise. UEW and SSA also suggest a rejectable Samoyed cognate: NenT *lāba*, EnF *lobe*, SlkTa *lapj*, Mat *lähä* 'oar' (< PSam **lapä*). The front vocalism does not match and also the initial consonant is irregular: the expected regular development is PU **l-* > PSam **j-*. UEW also mistakenly includes SaaN *lähpi* and SaaL *lähpe* ~ *slähpe* 'a flat, protruding part (e.g., a forefoot, a blade of an oar, the teeth of a hay rake)' in the cognate set. Because of their vocalism these are obviously Finnish loanwords and cannot have any direct connection to East Saami **luopē*. The initial consonant cluster in the SaaL variant *slähpe* is probably a result of secondary expressivization.

**14. PKh *mūγət* (> Kh VVj Sur *muyət*, Kaz *mōχət*, O *măχət* 'anabranch, side channel of a river')
< PU **mįtka* 'way, detour?'**

The Khanty word above could be regularly traced back to a PU form **mįtka* or **mįtka*. The vowel correspondence is the same as in Kh VVj *muyəl*, Sur *muyəl*, Irt Ni *muxət*, Kaz *mōχəl*, O *măχəl* 'liver' < PKh **mūγəl* < PU **mįksa* 'liver' (UEW 264; Sammallahti 1988 : 538). A metathesis *-*tk-* > *-*kt-* (> PKh *-*γ(ə)t-*) has regularly occurred in Khanty, cf. PU **tütki-* 'spread out, open wide' > PKh **tūγət-* > Irt *těwət-*, *tōwət-* 'stretch out (a hide to dry)' (Aikio 2006 : 26).

In Saami and Finnic there is a noun which suits phonologically perfectly as a cognate of the Khanty word: SaaN *muotki* 'isthmus or way by land (over which the boat must be hauled when travelling by boat)', Fi *matka* 'trip, journey, distance'. These reflect a proto-form **matka*, which can further

go back to PU **mjtka*, suiting exactly as the cognate of PKh **mūγət* 'anabranched, side channel'. A further verification for the reconstruction of PU **mjtka* is found in Samoyed: SlkTa *mjtj* 'way, track' is a fully regular reflex of PU **mjtka*. The PSam form can be reconstructed as **mjtā*, showing the expected loss of PU **k* in clusters with obstruents. The meaning of the Selkup word shows an abstraction similar to the Finnic cognate (Fi *matka* 'trip, journey, distance').

The meanings of the Khanty word differs from that of the other cognates, but on the basis of Saami and Khanty one could postulate the approximate original meaning of some kind of 'detour'. In any case, the cognation of the words is not in doubt because there is another Uralic cognate set which offers an almost completely exact semantic parallel: PU **ukti* > PKh **γət* (> Kh VVj *γət*, Sur *oγət*, Irt *oχət*, Ni *uχət*, Kaz *oχət*, O *oχət* 'isthmus between two lakes or rivers over which boats are hauled'), PMs **jkt* (> KL *aχt*, KM *ēkt*, KU *ekt*, P *ēkt*, LL *εγt*, LU *αγt* 'channel (e.g. connecting two lakes or a lake to a river), creek between a river and an oxbow lake'), Hung *út*, Ngan *ηtə* 'way, road', NenT *ηu?* (*ηud-*), EnF *u?* 'track' (< PSam **ut* ~ **utδ*) (UEW 542).

15. PKh **pāγəl-* (> Kh VVj *pāγəl-*, Sur *pāγəl-*, Irt *pāγət-*, Ni *pawət-*, Kaz *pawəl-*, O *pājəl-* 'forge')
 < PU **peksä-* 'beat'

The Khanty verb can be added to the following well-established Uralic cognate set: Fi *pieksää*, Est *peksma* 'beat', MdE *pivse-*, M *piksə-* 'beat, thresh', Komi *pes-* 'hit, knock, prepare skins', Udm *posj-* 'rub, crumble, prepare skins', NenT *pid'el-*, Ngan *hjt-*, SlkTa *pit-* 'soften a hide' (< PU **peksä-*) (UEW 368–369). The semantic connection between 'forging' and 'beating' is self-evident. The consonant correspondence is quite regular; the development PU **ks* > PKh **γ(ə)l* is a regular sound law, cf. PU **mjksa* 'liver' > PKh **mūγəl* (> VVj *muγəl*, Sur *muγəl*, Irt Ni *muχət*, Kaz *mōχəl*, O *māχəl*) (UEW 264), PU **sjksa* 'Siberian pine' > PKh **Līγəl* (> V *līγəl*, Vj *jīγəl*, Sur *līγəl*, Irt *teχət*, Ni *tīγət*) (UEW 445–446).

The vowel correspondence requires closer scrutiny, however. The normal reflex of PU **e* is PKh **i*, as in the following cases:

PU **eji* 'night' > PKh **jij* (> V *jěj*, Vj *ěj*, Sur *jěj*) (UEW 72)

PU **ekä* 'father/uncle' > PKh **jiγ* (> VVj Sur Irt *jějγ*, Ni *jījγ*, Kaz *jǐw*, O *jij*) (see etymology 5)

PU **elä-* 'live/go' > PKh **jil-* (> VVj *jěl-*) (see etymology 6)

PU **epik* 'eagle owl' > PKh **jipəγ* (> VVj *jěwəγ*, Sur *jěpəγ*, Irt *jěpə*, Ni *jǐpə*, Kaz *jǐpi*, O *jipi*) (UEW 98)⁴

PU **meni-* 'go' > PKh **min-* (> VVj Sur Irt *měn-*, Ni Kaz *mǎn-*, O *mǎn-*) (UEW 272)

PU **mexi-* 'give/sell' > PKh **miγ-* (> VVj Sur *měj(j)-*, Irt *měj(j)-*, *mǎ-* : *mīj-*, Ni Kaz *mǎ-* : *mīj-*, O *mǎ-* : *mij-*) (UEW 275)

⁴ Also PFi **hūpiä* (> Fin *hyypiä*, *hyypiö*, Kar *hyypie*, Veps *hūbj*, Est *hüüip* 'eagle owl') is usually included in this cognate set; presumably for this reason Sammallahti (1988 : 542) reconstructs the PU form as **ūpi*. However, due to its completely irregular shape the appurtenance of the Finnic word is not plausible: both the initial **h* and the long vowel **ū* are obscure, and also the cluster **pj* is unusual.

PU **neljä* 'four' > PKh **nilə* (> VVj *ńělə*, Sur *ńělə*, Irt *ńětə*, Ni *ńítə*, Kaz *ńál*, O *ńil*) (UEW 315–316)

PU **pelii* 'be afraid' > PKh **pil-* (> VVj *pěl-*, Sur *pěl-*, Irt *pět-*, Ni *păt-*, Kaz *päl-*, O *päl-*) (UEW 370)

PU **peņärä* 'round' > PKh **piņəγə-* (> Sur *pěņəγə-* 'roll') (UEW 372)

PU **perä* 'back side' > PKh **pirtäγ* (> VVj *pěrtäγ*, Sur *pěryi*, Irt *-pěrtä*, Kaz *pärta*, O *pärtä* 'back (= zurück)') (UEW 373)

PU **pesä* 'nest' > PKh **pil* (> VVj *pěl*) (UEW 375)

PU **weri* 'blood' > PKh **wir* (> VVj Sur Irt *wěr*, Ni *wür*, O *wur*) (UEW 576)

PU **wexi* 'take' > PKh **wiγ-* (> VVj Sur *wě(j)-*, Irt *wě(j)-*, Ni Kaz *wű(j)-*, O *wu(j)-*) (Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2013 : 170–171; cf. UEW 573)

However, there is a smaller number of cases where PU **e* is reflected as PKh **ä*. The conditioning factors of this development are at present unknown, but nevertheless the correspondence is a recurring one:

PU **keri* 'tree bark' > PKh **kär* (> VVj *kär*, Sur *kär*, Irt *kär*, Ni Kaz *kar*, O *kär*) (UEW 148–149)

PU **šepä-* 'neck' > PKh **säpəl* (> VVj *säwəl*, Sur *sápəl*, Irt *sápət*, Ni *sápət*, Kaz *sapəl*, O *sápəl*) (UEW 473–474)

PU **lewl-tä-* 'breathe' > PKh **lält-* (> VVj *lält-*, Sur *Lält-*, Irt *tättə-*, *tät-*, Ni *tatt-*, Kaz *LAlt-*, O *lält-*). The parallel derivative **lewli-w* 'breath' (cf. Fi *löyly* 'steam in sauna') shows a high ablaut grade: PKh **lil* (> VVj *lil*, Sur *LiL*, Irt *tit*, Ni *tīt*, Kaz *LlL*, O *lil* 'breath, soul, life') (UEW 247–248).

PU **sew-ptä-* 'feed' > PKh **Läpət-* (> V *läwət-*, Vj *jäwət-*, Sur *Lápət-*, Irt *tápət-*, Ni *tapət-*, Kaz *Lapət-*, O *läpət-*), PU **sew-ntä* 'eating, food' > PKh **Länt* (> Irt *tet* 'grain'; V *lit-ot*, Sur *Lit-öt*, Irt *tet-ät*, Kaz *Let-öt* 'food') (see etymology 12). The root verb **sewi-* 'eat' shows a mid ablaut grade: PKh **Lēγ-* (> V *li-*, Vj *i-*, Sur *Li(γ^w)-*, Irt Ni *te(w)-*, Kaz *Le(w)-*, *Le(w)-*, O *li(w)-* 'eat').

Thus, we may count also PKh **päγəl-* 'forge' (< PU **peksä-*) in this group of exceptions to the development **e* > PKh **i*, even though the vowel development remains unexplained so far.

16. PMs **tim-* (> KM KU *təm-* 'turn soft (e.g., skin, leather); get cooked, become tender (of meat)'), PKh **tintəl-*, PMs **tintəl-* (> KL KM *täntl-*, P VS VN LL LU So *tintl-* 'soften (skins, leather)')

< PU **tejmi-* 'soft; turn soft'

The Mansi verb **tim-* 'turn soft; become cooked' shows a very restricted distribution, being attested only in the Middle and Upper Konda dialects. However, it must be of at least Proto-Ob-Ugric age, as it clearly underlies the derivative PMs **tintəl-* ~ PKh **tintəl-* 'soften (skins, leather)'. These consist etymologically of the verb root **tim-* 'turn soft', the causative suffix **-t-* and the frequentative suffix **-l-*. The assimilation of the consonant cluster (**mt* > **nt*) is regular in Ob-Ugric. This assimilation also proves the high age of the derivative; causatives that have been later formed from roots of the shape

*CVm- retain the cluster *-mt-* in Khanty and Mansi, as in the case of Ms KM KU *təmt-* 'soften', formed from the verb *təm-* 'turn soft' at a later date.

In Saami there is a verb showing exactly the same meaning and consonantism as PMs **tim-*, namely SaaS *dijmedh*, SaaL *dibmat*, SaaN *dipmat* 'turn soft; get cooked, become tender (meat)' (< PSaa **timē-*). The same root also functions as an attribute adjective (SaaL *dibma*, SaaN *dipma*, SaaI *timâ* 'soft; cooked (of meat)' < PSaa **timē-*); the predicative form is suffixed (SaaL *dimes*, SaaN *dimis*, SaaI *times* < PSaa **timēs*). Also an archaic consonant-stem causative formation is found in SaaL *dibddet* 'soften (meat by cooking; snow, of the sun)' (< PSaa **timtē-*); cf. Ob-Ugric **tint-* in the verb **tintəl-*. The correspondence between the Saami and Ob-Ugric would otherwise be straightforward, but the PSaa first-syllable vowel **i* is anomalous. Projected back to Uralic level of reconstruction, the Ob-Ugric forms would imply PU **temi-* and **tem-t-ili-*, and the PU vowel combination **e—i* is regularly reflected as PSaa **ē—ē*.

PSaa first syllable **i* has no known PU source. It corresponds to PFi long **ī* in a very small number of words (e.g., SaaN *birra* 'around' ~ Fi *piiri* 'circle'), but none of these words have an extensive distribution in Uralic except for the numeral 'five' (SaaN *vihtta* ~ Fi *viisi*), which shows highly obscure correspondences. However, as suggested in Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) (2012 : 241—243), the correspondence PSaa **i* ~ PFi **ī* may reflect a fusion of a front vowel with a following preconsonantal **j*. As regards Finnic, there are two Indo-European loan etymologies that show PFi **ī* as a reflex of an earlier sequence **-ej-*: Fi *tiine* 'pregnant (of animals)' < Proto-Indo-European **d^heinyah₂-* and Fi *piimä* 'sourmilk', Est *piim* 'milk' < Proto-Indo-European **peimen-* (Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2014b : 90—91). As PSaa **i* corresponds to PFi **ī*, this offers indirect evidence for the idea that also PSaa **i* can reflect an earlier sequence **-ej-*.

Following this reasoning we can postulate the PU reconstruction **tejmi-* instead of **temi-*, and assume a development **tejmi-* > **tijmi-* > **timi-* > **time-* in Saami. In Ob-Ugric preconsonantal **j* was lost before **m*. This loss has a parallel in PMs **kum* (> T *kom*, KL KU *kâm*, P VN VS LL *kum*, LU So *χum* 'man, husband'), which is evidently an obscured derivative of PU **koji* 'man, male' > PMs **kuj* (> KL KM *kâj*, P *kuj*, So *χuj* 'male'). The Hungarian cognate *hím* 'male' preserves an effect of the lost **j* in its high front vowel. Another parallel is provided by PMs **suməl-* (> KL KM *sâml-*, P LL *suml-*, LU So *suməl-* 'be heard, sound, ring; crack'), an obscured derivative of PMs **suj* (> T *soj*, KL KM KU *sâj*, P VN VS LL LM LU So *suj* 'sound, voice, noise') < PU **soji* 'sound' (UEW 482—483).⁵

Thus, even though no exact parallels for the vowel correspondence PSaa **i* ~ PMs **i* are known, there is evidence which indicates that PSaa **time-* and PMs **tim-* are the expected outcomes of a PU root of the shape **tejmi-*, and the identical consonantism and meanings of the Saami and Mansi verbs strongly suggest they are cognate.

⁵ PMs **suməl-* also has a Khanty cognate: Kh Ni *sîmət-*, Kaz *sîməl-* 'be heard' < PKh **sîməl-*. These verbs are a derivative with **-l-* of a root PMs **sum-* ~ PKh **sîm-*, which corresponds to Ngan *sojmü*, SlkTa *sîmî* 'sound, noise' (< PSam **sâjmâ*) and PFi **soima-* in Fi *soimata* 'reproach'; thus, one can also reconstruct a PU derivative **soj-ma* 'sound, noise', which consists of the verbal root **soji-* 'be heard, make a sound' and the deverbal noun suffix **-ma*.

17. PKh **tam* (> Kh VVj *tom*, Sur *tõm*, Irt Ni *tum* 'trapping pit'), PMs **tam* (> T *tam* 'knife used in an opening of a moose hunting fence', KL KU *tâm* 'hunting fence for moose or wild reindeer', LM *tam* 'hunting fence for moose')

< PU **tuma* 'hunting fence'

The Khanty and Mansi forms presuppose a PU form **tuma*. This form also has a regular reflex in Komi *tjm-*, attested in the derivative *tjmed* 'hunting fence, barrier'. On the basis of the Mansi and Komi forms the original meaning can be reconstructed as 'hunting fence', and in Khanty there was a semantic shift to 'trapping pit'. The change is understandable, as hunting fences and trapping pits are parts of a single structure designed to capture large animals such as wild reindeer or moose: the fences led the animals to the pits, which had been placed in openings in the fence.

The word also seems to have a further verbal cognate in Udmurt: *tjmj-* 'to dam'. Here there seems to have been a semantic shift from 'setting up a fence' to 'damming a river'. In both cases there is a reference to a structure blocking the passage of something. According to Csúcs (2005 : 386) the Udmurt verb could also be cognate with Komi *dəm-* 'set up a weir', *dəmed*, *dəmət* 'weir'. However, the initial consonant correspondence Komi *d-* ~ Udm *t-* is irregular, which does not support the etymology. Moreover, the Komi verb is likely etymologically identical with Komi *dəm-* 'patch', showing a semantic development 'patch' > 'block up' > 'block the river with a fish weir'.

18. PKh **wǰč* (> Sur *wjč*, Irt *wič*, Ni Kaz *wüş* 'border (of an area, a piece of land)')

← **wāč* 'village, town' (< PU **woča* 'fence')

PKh **wǰč* 'border' is formally comparable to PKh **wāč* (> VVj *wač*, Sur *wāč*, Irt *woš*, Ni Kaz *woš*, O *was* 'village, town'). The vowel **ǰ* is the high ablaut grade of **ā*, and in Khanty there are denominal nouns which show exactly this ablaut relationship, while the suffix which originally triggered the ablaut was itself lost. Consider the following examples:

PKh **jǎŋk* 'ice' (> VVj *jöŋk*, Sur *jǎŋk^w*, Irt Ni *jenk*, Kaz *jenk*, O *jonk*)

→ PKh **jinke* 'water' (> VVj Sur Irt *jěŋk*, Ni Kaz *jñk*, O *jinke*)

PKh **kār* 'tree bark' (> VVj *kār*, Sur *kār*, Irt *kār*, Ni Kaz *kar*, O *kār*)

→ PKh **kēr* 'snow-crust' (> VVj Sur Irt *kēr*, Ni Kaz O *ker*)

PKh **jērt* 'rain' (> Irt Ni *jert*, Kaz *jert*, O *jert* 'rain')

→ PKh **jirt* (> V *jirt*, Vj *irt*, O *jirt* 'cloudy weather in summer')

PKh **Lǰj* 'finger' (> V *lǰj-*, Vj *jǰj*, Sur *loj*)

→ PKh **Lūj* 'thimble' (> V *luj*, Vj *juj*, Sur *luj*)

The function of this lost derivational suffix that triggered the ablaut seems to have been roughly similitive. Thus, we can assume that PKh **wǰč* 'border' was formed from **wāč* 'village, town' via the same derivational process. The semantics can be explained by the fact that PKh **wāč* goes back to PU **woča* 'fence' (UEW 577), and the meaning 'village, town' is secondary; the same development has occurred in English *town* (~ German *Zaun* 'fence, enclosure', Old Norse *tún* 'enclosure, courtyard, homestead, field,

town'). The sense of 'border' is thus derived from 'something resembling a fence', a straightforward connection as fences mark the borders of yards, meadows, towns, and the like.

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Abbreviations

EnF — Forest Enets; **Fi** — Finnish; **Hung** — Hungarian; **Kh** — Khanty; **V** — Vakh; **Vj** — Vasjugan; **Sur** — Surgut; **Irt** — Irtysh; **Ni** — Nizyam; **Kaz** — Kazym; **O** — Obdorsk; **MariE** — East Mari; **MariW** — West Mari; **Mat** — Mator; **MdE** — Erzya Mordvin; **MdM** — Moksha Mordvin; **Ms** — Mansi; **T** — Tavda; **KL** — Lower Konda; **KM** — Mid Konda; **KU** — Upper Konda; **P** — Pelymka; **VN** — North Vagilsk; **VS** — South Vagilsk; **LL** — Lower Lozva; **LU** — Upper Lozva; **So** — Sosva; **NenT** — Tundra Nenets; **Ngan** — Nganasan; **Pfi** — Proto-Finnic; **PKh** — Proto-Khanty; **PMd** — Proto-Mordvin; **PMs** — Proto-Mansi; **PSaa** — Proto-Saami; **PSam** — Proto-Samoyed; **PU** — Proto-Uralic; **SaaI** — Inari Saami; **SaaK** — Kildin Saami; **SaaL** — Lule Saami; **SaaN** — North Saami; **SaaS** — South Saami; **SaaT** — Ter Saami; **SaaU** — Ume Saami; **SikTa** — Taz Selkup; **Udm** — Udmurt.

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ЛУОББАЛ САММОЛ САММОЛ АНТЕ (АНТЕ АЙКИО) (Каутокейно)

ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ УРАЛЬСКИХ ЭТИМОЛОГИЙ IV. ОБСКО-УГОРСКИЕ ЭТИМОЛОГИИ

Эта статья — четвертая из серии исследований, в которых предлагаются дополнения в корпус уральских этимологических сопоставлений. Она содержит как ранее не замеченные родственные связи, которые можно добавить в уже сформировавшиеся гнезда родственных уральских слов, так и некоторые совсем новые реконструкции уральских основ. Рассматриваются новые уральские этимологии следующих обско-угорских слов: манс. *äyt 'проток (между двумя реками или между рекой и озером), верховье реки' (< праур. *wiksi/*wiski), хант. *čüγ 'туман' (< праур. *čäki), хант. *čjĵĵ, манс. *šāl 'правда, истина' (< праур. *čodī), хант. *čэр, манс. *šup 'кусок, деревяшка' (< праур. *čjppa-), хант. *jiγ, манс. *jäy 'отец' (< праур. *ekä), хант. *jil-, манс. *jäl- 'идти, ходить где-то' (< праур. *elä-), хант. *jēm 'табу' (< праур. *jemä), хант. *jipəl 'тьма' (< праур. *eji 'ночь' + *pälä 'сторона'), хант. *kājəm, манс. *kūl'mə 'зола' (< праур. *kada- 'оставлять' + суффикс *-ma), хант. *küć- 'преследовать, следовать за' (< праур. *küji-), манс. *kär- 'быть острым' (< праур. *kirä-), хант. *Lānt 'плод' (< праур. *sewi- 'есть, кушать' + суффикс *ntä), манс. *lūr-luw 'лопатка (кость)' (< праур. *lapa 'лопатка' + *luwi 'кость'), хант. *mūγət 'приток реки' (< праур. *mitka), хант. *pāγəl- 'бить, ударять' (< праур. *peksä-), манс. *tim- 'смягчать' (< праур. *tejmi-), хант. *tam 'ловушка, ловчая яма', манс. *tam 'охотничий загон' (< праур. *tuma), and хант. *wĵč 'граница' (< праур. *woča 'изгородь, забор').