

LUOBBAL SÁMMOL SÁMMOL ÁNTE (ANTE AIKIO) (Oulu)

STUDIES IN URALIC ETYMOLOGY I: SAAMI ETYMOLOGIES

Abstract. This paper is the first 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 first part new Uralic etymologies for the following Saami words are discussed: North Saami *báhtarit* 'flee, escape' (< PU **pätäri-*), *cáhkeit* 'put (into), stick into' (< PU **čäkä-*), *čoska* 'block of wood' (< PU **čučki*), *fadđut* 'beat, lash, slap' (< PU **widi-*), *guodja* 'flower stalk or seed shell of a sedge' (< PU **kaji*), *guolmmas* 'soft, white inner bark of conifers' (< PU **kolmis*), *vuoddu* 'bottom, foundation' (< PU **ad'i-*), and South Saami *muhtsies* 'slovenly, untidy, messy' (< PU **muča*) and *viekedh* 'grab, take hold of' (< PU **wexi-*), and Ter Saami *cāχped* 'make corner joints (in building logs)' (< PU **čippa-*).

Keywords: Uralic languages, Saami languages, etymology, historical phonology.

Introduction

During the 1980s there have been significant advances in Uralic phonological reconstruction, especially due to the studies conducted by Janhunen (1981) and Sammallahti (1988). The prerequisites for these developments were provided by E. Itkonen's studies on vowel correspondences between Finno-Permic languages (esp. 1946; 1954), as well as successive studies on phonological reconstruction in the central and eastern lower-level branches: Permic (Лыткин 1964), Samoyed (Janhunen 1977) and Ob-Ugric (Honti 1982). As a result of this work, the highly complex vowel correspondences between branches of Uralic had become much clearer by the end of the 1980s. On the other hand, this progress required a critical reexamination of the etymological stock, and numerous Uralic lexical comparisons that had been considered reliable in earlier etymological references were rejected by Janhunen (1981) and Sammallahti (1988).

The framework of Uralic sound laws established during this phase of research has well endured critical examination. While there is ongoing debate concerning many details of phonological reconstruction (e.g., Häkkinen 2007; Reshetnikov, Zhivlov 2011; Aikio 2012), the differences of opinion do not encompass basic sound correspondences and the major outlines of

Proto-Uralic phonological structure. Further confirmation for Janhunen and Sammallahti's results has been reached through the discovery of new etymological comparisons that abide by the proposed sound laws, especially in the case of Samoyed (e.g., Aikio 2002; 2006), but also in more western branches (e.g., Saarikivi 2007).

The present paper is the first part in a series of studies which put forward new etymological explanations for various Uralic words. In addition to the self-evident purpose of etymologizing individual word-roots in the Uralic languages, there is a more general aim: it will be shown that the adherence to a strict framework of regular sound correspondences has a significant predictive value in the etymological study of all Uralic languages, and it is possible to establish previously undiscovered Uralic etymologies for word roots from every branch of Uralic. In order to demonstrate this, new etymologies will be presented for many words from lower-level branches of Uralic, i.e. Saami, Finnic, Mordvin, Mari, Permic, Khanty, Mansi, and Hungarian; a number of new Samoyed etymologies have been presented by Aikio (2002; 2006). In this first part of the series of papers, etymologies for Saami words are discussed.

The sound correspondences on which the etymologies are based are, for the most part, identical to those assumed by Janhunen (1981) and Sammallahti (1988). Some modifications to their framework of vowel correspondences, in particular with regard to the Finno-Permic or Finno-Ugric long vowels supposedly reflecting a Proto-Uralic sequence *-Vx-, have recently been suggested by Aikio (2012). In the interpretation of sound correspondences there will be some minor differences to Sammallahti 1988; these will be explained in the connection of the individual etymologies. In the case of already established or proposed Uralic etymologies, the "Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch" (UEW) is referred to, but the phonological reconstructions do not necessarily accord with those presented in this dictionary. The sources of lexical data are not separately referred to, but the dictionaries used are listed among the references. A list of the abbreviations for the names of languages is provided at the end of the paper.

**1. SaaN *báhtarit* 'flee, escape' ~ MsN *pātər-* 'disappear'
< PU **pätäri-* < Aryan **patar-***

SaaN *báhtarit* has cognates in all Saami languages except for Ter Saami: cf. e.g. SaaS *baataridh* ~ *baateridh*, SaaL *báhtarit*, SaaI *patârid*, SaaK *padd.ređ*. In Skolt Saami the verb has an irregular vowel (*puát'tred* < **poatęę-*), but this is evidently secondary, as all the other forms point to PSaa **ā*; an irregular change **ā* > **oa* in Skolt was probably caused by the labializing influence of **p-*. The meaning is the same in all languages: 'flee, escape, run away'. In North Saami also a noun **báhtu* occurs in adverbs that are fossilized local case forms: LOC *báđus* 'in flight', ILL *báhtui* 'escaping, taking flight'. These are best explained as retrograde formations of the verb *báhtarit*, as no other Saami language shows forms based on a shorter root **pātV-*.

No etymology has been proposed for the Saami verb. However, there is a strikingly similar verb in Mansi: MsN *pātər-*, MsE *pöätər-*, MsW *pōtər-* 'disappear', MsS *pätur-* 'hide' (< PMs **pātər-*). While the meanings are not exactly the same as in Saami, the link between 'escaping', 'hiding' and 'disappearing' is self-evident. The consonantism of the Saami and Mansi words

is identical, and the first-syllable vowel correspondence PSaa $*\bar{a}$ ~ PMs $*\bar{a}$ is the regular outcome of the Uralic vowel combination $*\bar{a}-\bar{a}$ (Sammallahti 1988 : 504). A minor phonological problem, however, is caused by the second syllable vowel in Saami: most of the forms presuppose PSaa $*p\bar{a}t\bar{e}r\bar{e}-$, and the PSaa vowel combination $*a-\bar{e}$ is unetymological — i.e., it generally does not appear in word-roots of Uralic origin. In this case, however, the unstressed vowel $*\bar{e}$ is in all likelihood the result of secondary development: in South Saami also the form *baataridh* is found, and this presupposes a PSaa reconstruction $*p\bar{a}t\bar{a}r\bar{e}-$, which is exactly the regular cognate of PMs $*p\bar{a}t\bar{a}r-$. Hence, the Uralic proto-form can be reconstructed as $*p\bar{a}t\bar{a}r-$.

The trisyllabic form of the verb $*p\bar{a}t\bar{a}r-$ is anomalous in regard to Uralic root structure. One would expect a trisyllabic verb stem to be a derivative of some disyllabic root, but no such derivational suffix as $*-r-$ is known. In Saami the verb is even synchronically unusual: *báhtarit* is one of only three North Saami verbs with a stem-final $-r-$, the others being *guohkkárit* 'get nicks (of a knife blade)' and *nimmorit* 'grumble, whine about something'. These two others look like recent formations, as their only cognates are found in Inari Saami. There is a straightforward explanation for the non-canonical shape of the verb *báhtarit*: it appears to be borrowed from Aryan $*patar-$, cf. Sanskrit *pataráh*, *patáruḥ* 'flying, shooting through the air', Avestan *patarə-ta-* 'flying' (related to Sanskrit *pátram* 'wing, feather' ~ English *feather*, etc.; Mayrhofer 1986–2001 : 71).

2. SaaN *cáhkit* 'put (into), stick into' ~ MariE *čije-* 'dress, put on (clothes)' < PU $*čäkä-$ 'put, stick in'

Cognates of SaaN *cáhkit* are attested in all Saami languages (Lehtiranta 1989 : 73). The basic meaning of the Saami verb is 'put into, stick into', but also the sense 'dress, put on (clothes, a piece of clothing)' is widely attested. The verb would regularly reflect PU $*čäkä-$, and hence MariE *čije-*, MariW *čie-* 'put on (clothes)' (< PMari $*čie-$) can be analyzed as its cognate. The vowel shift PU $*\bar{a}$ > PMari $*i$ is regular in Mari $*CV(V)$ -type stems: cf. PU $*j\bar{a}n\bar{i}$ 'ice' > PMari $*i$ > MariE *ij*, W *i* (UEW 93), PU $*t\bar{a}j\bar{i}$ 'louse' > PMari $*ti$ > MariE *tij*, MariW *ti* (UEW 515), PU $*w\bar{a}k\bar{i}$ 'strength' > PMari $*wi$ > MariE *wij*, MariW *wi* (UEW 563). Also the loss of intervocalic $*k$ is regular in Mari, cf. PU $*ik\bar{a}$ 'year, age' > PMari $*i$ > MariE *ij*, MariW *i* 'year' (UEW 98), PU $*luk\bar{a}$ 'ten' > PMari $*lu$ > MariE, MariW *lu* (UEW 253). Note that MariE $-j-$ in *čije-* is a secondary hiatus-filling glide, not a direct reflex of PU $*k$.

Semantically the equation of SaaN *cáhkit* and MariE *čije-* is flawless, as the meaning 'dress, put on (clothes)' is attested in both branches. The original meaning of the verb is probably 'put into, stick into', from which the meaning 'dress, put on (clothes)' secondarily developed.

3. SaaT *cāx̄ped* 'make corner joints (in building logs)' ~ Mde *čapo-*, Komi *čup-*, Udm *čupj-* 'make a cut or notch (in wood), make corner joints (in building logs)'

< PU $*čjppa-$ 'make corner joints'

SaaT *cāx̄pe-* would go back to a PSaa form $*c\bar{a}pp\bar{e}-$. Despite the lack of cognates in other Saami languages, the verb can be equated with the

following already established Uralic cognate set: MdE *čapo-*, MdM *šapə-* 'make a cut or notch (in wood), make corner joints (in building logs)', MdE *čapo*, MdM *šap* ~ *šapa* 'cut, notch (in wood)', Komi *čup-*, Udm *čupi-* 'make a cut or notch (in wood), make corner joints (in building logs)' (UEW 618—619). The proto-form of these words can be reconstructed as PU **čjppa-*. The vowel **-j-* (as opposed to PU **-a-*) is suggested by the Komi cognate, as the regular reflex of PU **-a-* is Komi *-o-* instead of *-u-* (Sammallahti 1988 : 530—533). According to Reshetnikov's and Zhivlov's recent theory (2011) the vowel reflexes subsumed by Janhunen (1981) and Sammallahti (1988) under PU **a* and **j* can be explained as developments of a single phoneme (PU **a*) under different phonological environments; for Komi they assume a development PU **a* > Komi *o* before palatalized consonants and clusters of the type **-Cj-*, whereas in other contexts the development would have been PU **a* > Komi *u*. If this is correct, the original form could be reconstructed as **čappa-*, but the question has no bearing on the validity of the comparison.

Previously the Mordvin and Permic verbs mentioned above have been compared to SaaN *cáhpát* 'chop', but the equation has been considered uncertain (UEW 618). This suggestion must be rejected, as SaaN *cáhpát* (< PSaa **cāpē-*) shows the unetymological vowel combination **ā—ē* which does not normally occur in roots of Uralic origin, and moreover its single stop **-p-* does not match the geminate **-pp-* presupposed by the Mordvin and Permic forms. SaaT *cāχped*, in contrast, shows a phonologically straightforward match, and the equation is also semantically more exact. It is true, the fully regular reflex of PU **čjppa-* (or **čappa-*) would be PSaa **cuoppē-* instead of **cāppē-*, but there are a few cases where the regular development Pre-PSaa **a* > PSaa **uo* did not take place, but the reflex of Pre-PSaa **a* (< PU **a*, **j*) is PSaa **ā* instead; all of these cases involve Uralic **a*-stems (Korhonen 1981 : 90—91; Sammallahti 1998 : 183). Previously known examples include, e.g., PU **wanča-* 'move cautiously' > PSaa **vāncē-* > SaaN *vázžit* 'walk' (UEW 557; Aikio 2002 : 36—38), PU **kačka-* 'bite' > PSaa **kāckē-* > SaaN *gáskit* (UEW 641), and PU **wara* 'hill, mountain' > PSaa **vārē* > SaaN *várri* (Aikio 2006 : 27). Also SaaT *cāχped* may be counted in this group of exceptions. As the equation is otherwise both semantically and phonologically precise, it would be difficult to classify it as a chance correspondence. Some of the proposed exceptions to the development **a* > **uo* result from borrowing from Finnic (e.g. SaaN *báhti* 'caldron' < PSaa **pātē* < Fi *pata* 'caldron' < PU **pata* 'pot'; UEW 358), but this cannot be the case with SaaT *cāχped* due to its initial affricate *c-*. Moreover, no reflex of PU **čjppa-* is attested in Finnic.

**4. SaaN *čoska* 'block of wood' ~ MdE *čočko* 'timber, log' ~ ? SlkTa *totj* 'pole'
< PU **čučki* 'log'**

SaaN *čoska* has cognates in almost all Saami languages, e.g. SaaL *tjásská* 'piece of firewood', SaaI *čuskâ* 'log', SaaSk *čockk* 'block of wood' (Lehtiranta 1989 : 25). The Proto-Saami form of the words was **čockēg*, which would regularly reflect a PU form **šučki* or **čučki*. This closely resembles MdE *čočko*, MdM *šočka* 'timber, log', which would presuppose a Uralic

form **čučki*. The correspondence between the Saami and Mordvin initial affricates is not regular, but the Saami representation can be quite naturally explained as due to a dissimilation of two identical affricates: PU **čučki* >> Pre-PSaa **čučki*. This change even has an exact parallel, PU **čēcä* 'uncle' >> **čēcä* > PSaa **čēcä* > SaaN *čeahci* 'paternal uncle (younger than father)' (Janhunen 1981 : 225). The same dissimilation is attested in the Finnic cognate: cf. Fi *setä* 'paternal uncle' < Pre-PFi **čēcä*. Notably, UEW 34–35 reconstructs the PU form as **čēcä*, and assumes that the forms with two identical affricates arose through assimilation; this does not seem plausible, however, as in that case an identical assimilation process would have to be postulated for Mordvin, Mari, Udmurt, Mansi and Samoyed.

Previously SaaL *sässä* 'beam (for hanging nets to dry on)' and PSIk **čōčō* (SlkTa *totj*, SlkTy *čōž*, SlkK *čōžō*) 'pole' have been presented as possible cognates of MdE *čočko*, MdM *šočka* (UEW 61). SaaL *sässä* would presuppose a PSaa form **sosg*, which renders the comparison entirely impossible: PSaa **s* developed from PU **s* and **š*, and it does not reflect an earlier affricate. The vowel of the Selkup word is also slightly irregular: PSIk **čōčō* would presuppose a PSam form **cocə*, but PSam **-o-* is not a regular reflex of PU **-u-*; one would expect a PSam form **cucə*. However, the correspondence is otherwise quite precise; the development PU **čk* > PSam **c* is regular, cf. PU **pučki* 'tube; Angelica plant' > PSam **pucə* (UEW 397–398; Janhunen 1981 : 236). Hence, it seems plausible that also PSIk **čōčō* belongs in this cognate set despite its deviant vowel.

5. SaaN *faddut* 'beat, lash, slap' ~ Komi *vi(j)-*, Udm *vijj-*, KhE *wel-*, MsE *äl-*, Hung *öl* 'kill'
 < PU **widi-* 'beat; kill'

The Saami verb **vġdō-* is attested in North Saami and in the Eastern Saami languages; in more western languages no cognates are found. The *f-* in SaaN *faddut* is a secondary development motivated by foreign influence; the phoneme /f/ became established in North Saami through Scandinavian borrowings, and has since spread to many native words as well through an irregular change **v-* > *f-* (Korhonen 1981 : 132). The original *v-* is preserved in Eastern Saami, e.g. SaaSk *vââđđad* 'beat, lash, slap'. The meaning of the verbs is the same in all Saami languages: 'beat (with a supple object), lash, whip; slap (with the hand)'.

The Saami word can be analyzed as a reflex of PU **widi-* 'kill'. The previously known members of this cognate set are Komi *vi(j)-*, Udm *vijj-*, KhE *wel-*, *wăL-*, KhS, KhN *wet-* (< PKh **wăl-*),¹ MsN *al-*, MsE, MsW, MsS *äl-* (< PMs **ăl-*), and Hung *öl*, all with the meaning 'kill' (UEW 566–567). Sammallahti (1988 : 551) has reconstructed the PU form as **wilä-* and proposed another Saami cognate for these words, SaaN *fallehit* 'attack'. This comparison needs to be abandoned for phonological reasons, however, as the Permic forms show that the verb must have originally had the consonant **-d-*; intervocalic **-l-* is preserved as such in Permic, whereas **-d-* > \emptyset is a regular development. Moreover, this etymology is not even semanti-

¹ The Proto-Khanty vocalism applied in this paper follows Zhivlov's reconstruction (Живлов 2006), which is slightly modified from that of Helimski (2001); there are major differences to the Proto-Khanty vowel system proposed by Honti (1982).

cally satisfying, as *fallehit* 'attack' is a causative derivative of *fallet* 'jump up, leap up', which in turn is a derivative of *falli* 'fast (runner, skier, etc.)'. Sammallahti (1998 : 124) has later abandoned the comparison.

Some of the verbs meaning 'kill' also display other meanings which come very close to the Saami word family. In Komi dialects the verb *vi(j)-* also has the meanings 'hit' (Sysola, Luza, Letka), 'thrash, give a thrashing' (Letka, Ižma). As for Udm *viĵ-*, the meaning 'whip' has been attested in the Jelabuga dialect. In Mansi the verb also has the meanings 'hunt, fish, catch (game, fish); hit, wound, torment'. Hence, the comparison of PSaa **vedō-* to the words discussed above is semantically quite precise. It can be added that an etymological connection between verbs meaning 'kill' on the one hand and 'hit, strike, beat' on the other is very common. Parallels could be cited almost endlessly, beginning with English *slay* ~ German *schlagen*, Swedish *slå* 'hit, beat'. Other examples discovered through a quick search are Fi *tappa-* 'kill; (dial.) thresh' ~ MdE, MdM *tapa-* 'beat, crush, trample' (UEW 509); MdE *keřa-* 'hit, chop off, fell down; (dial.) kill' (< PU **kirä-* 'hit'; UEW 666); MdE *čavo-*, MdM *šavə-* 'strike, hit, beat; kill' (< PU **čanja-*; UEW 53–54; Aikio 2002 : 11–12); Tok Pisin *kil-im* 'hit, beat' (< English *kill*; *-im* is a marker of transitive verbs); Hawaiian *pepehi* 'beat; kill' (Pukui, Elbert 1986 s.v.). Numerous further examples from Oceanic languages are cited by Ross, Pawley and Osmond (1998 : 267–273).

The equation is also phonologically straightforward. The predictable reflex of PU **widi-* is PSaa **vedġ-*, and the second-syllable labial vowel in the form **vedō-* is a derivational suffix that forms frequentative verbs. UEW 566 reconstructs the proto-form as **wedV-* instead of **widi-*, but the reason for postulating **-e-* remains unclear, as none of the reflexes actually point to this vowel. The regular reflexes of PU **e* in Permic and Ugric are entirely different from those attested in this cognate set; the vowels in this cognate set clearly point to an original **i* instead (Sammallahti 1988 : 504, 530–533).

**6. SaaN *guodja* 'flower stalk or seed shell of a sedge' ~ Komi, Udm *kj* 'awn' ~ MsE *kōj* 'hair (on the head), tuft of hair, mane', Hung *haj* 'hair' ~ SlkTa *qu* 'slender object'
< PU **kaji* 'grass, stalk?'²**

SaaN *guodja* has the following cognates in other Saami languages: SaaS *goeje* 'sedge with a seed shell; leaf-bud', SaaP *guojjâ* 'cottongrass (*Eriophorum*)', SaaL *guodja* ~ *guovva* 'sedge with a seed shell', SaaI *kuojâ* 'sedge' (< PSaa **kuojġ*).

SaaS *goeje* (along with the verb *gojedh* 'strip tree bark') has been equated with Fi (dial.) *koja* 'tree bark', Komi *keĵa* 'bracket fungus', KhE *kōj* 'skin on the face or on the forehead (of an animal; used for making shoe soles)', and Hungarian *héj* 'skin, shell, rind, crust'; the proto-form of the words has been reconstructed as **koja* (UEW 166). This etymology must, however, be rejected due to the irregular sound correspondences: the vowels of PSaa **kuojġ* could not regularly reflect the reconstructed proto-form **koja*, and the Permic and Ugric forms cannot be regularly derived from such a

² This etymology was briefly suggested in Aikio 2012 : 245, but without detailed semantic and phonological argumentation.

form either (Sammallahti 1988 : 504, 530–531). Moreover, the semantic correspondences are not satisfying either, especially regarding the Saami noun for which the primary meaning 'sedge' or 'seed shell of a sedge' must be assumed.

Instead, the Saami words can be further equated with Komi and Udm *kj* 'awn', and a proto-form **kaji* or **koji* can be reconstructed for the words. The phonological development is the same as in PU **ka/oji* 'dawn' > Komi *kja* ~ *kjva* and PU **koji-ra* 'male' > Komi *kjr* 'male dog' (Aikio 2002 : 235–236; UEW 168–169). Formerly the Permic word meaning 'awn' has been compared to Fi *käpy* 'cone' (SSA s.v.), but this equation is not phonologically satisfying: Finnish *ä* does not regularly correspond to Komi and Udmurt *j* in this kind of environment (Sammallahti 1988 : 530–533; Aikio 2012 : 240).

The word seems to have reflexes in the Ugric languages as well; one can derive from this form Hung *haj* 'hair (on the head)' and MsE *kōj* 'hair (on the head), tuft of hair, mane' (cf. UEW 854). The Mansi cognate demonstrates that the Uralic form was **kaji*, as MsE *ō* (< PMs **ā*) is the regular reflex of PU **a* in an **i*-stem (Sammallahti 1988 : 504). From the sequence **-oji-* a different vowel developed in Mansi: cf. MsE *kuj-* 'male' < PU **koji* (UEW 166–167) and MsE *suĵ* 'sound, noise' < PU **śoji* (UEW 482–483).

Even though the difference between meanings such as 'sedge', 'awn' and 'hair' may seem substantial, this kind of semantic development has many parallels. A quite exact parallel is provided by Irish *folt* 'hair', which corresponds to Old Prussian *wolti* 'ear (of corn)', Lithuanian *váltis* 'ear (of oats)', Russian *волоть* 'fibre; blade of grass; ear (of corn)' (< PIE **walti-*). Also Russian *волос* and Avestan *varəsa-* 'hair' are derived from the same Indo-European root, and their exact cognate is Sanskrit *valśa-* 'branch, bough' (Vasmer 1953–1958 s.v. *волос, волоть*); Fi *verso* 'shoot, sprout' and KhE *wārəs* 'horse-hair', KhN *warəs* 'thin rod, shoot of a leaf-bearing tree' have been borrowed from this Aryan word (Parpola 1999 : 201; Joki 1973 : 336). Another good semantic parallel is provided by the creole language Tok Pisin, where the word *gras* 'hair; grass' (< English *grass*) is used in such expressions as *gras nogut* 'weed' (*nogut* 'bad'), *gras bilong het* 'hair on the head' (*het* 'head'), *gras bilong fes* 'beard' (*fes* 'face'), *gras bilong pisin* 'feathers' (*pinis* 'bird') (Romaine 2003 : 600). Yet another example is Icelandic *hár* 'hair', which also has the secondary meaning 'blade of grass', and a closely resembling semantic development is also encountered in Hawaiian *oho* 'hair (on the head); leaves (of plants); fronds (of ferns)' (Pukui, Elbert 1986 s.v.).

Moreover, the etymology also has a Samoyed cognate which bridges the semantic gap between Saami-Permic and Ugric: PSlk **qū* > SlkTa *qu* 'stalk, stem, slender object'. The word is used in reference to both 'hair' and 'grass' as well as other kinds of slender objects: *nūtjt qu* 'a blade of grass' (*nūtj* 'grass'), *ōptjt qu* '(a single) hair on the head' (*ōptj* 'hair on the head'), *pōl qu* 'beam, timber' (*pō* 'tree, wood'), *tūlpot qu* 'conifer needle' (*tūlpo* 'conifer branch'). The Selkup word apparently reflects PSam **kāā*; the phonological development of the word in Samoyed is discussed in Aikio 2012 : 245.

7. SaaN *guolmmas* 'soft, white inner bark of conifers' ~ MariE *kuməž* 'birch bark'

< PU **kolmis* 'tree bark'

Cognates of SaaN *guolmmas* are found in all Saami languages except for Ter Saami. The meaning is nearly everywhere the same — the word refers to the soft and white inner bark of conifers from which a kind of flour substitute used to be formerly made. Only SaaS *goelmese* shows a divergent meaning 'peel (e.g., of potatoes)'. No etymology has been proposed for the Saami word. However, there is a noun in Mari that can be analyzed as cognate: MariE *kuməž*, MariW *kəm̄əž* 'birch bark' (< PMari **kūməž*). Semantically the match is straightforward. The development **lm* > **m* is regular in Mari at least after back vowels, cf. PU **ko/ulmi* 'three' > PMari **kūm* > MariE *kum*, MariW *kəm* (UEW 174). After front vowels the cluster **lm* was preserved, though, as in PU **külmä* > PMari **kilmə* > MariE, MariW *kəlmə* 'frozen' (UEW 313—314), PU **nälmä* > PMari **jilmə* > MariE, MariW *jəlmə* 'tongue' (UEW 663).

The vowel correspondence between Saami and Mari requires closer scrutiny. The Mari word shows the correspondence East *u* ~ Volga/Upša *ũ* ~ Northwest *ö* ~ West *ô*: MariE *kuməž*, MariV/U *kūmūž*, MariNw *kömöž*, MariW *kəm̄əž* 'birch bark'. This correspondence reflects PMari **ũ*, which is normally a reflex of PU **u*. PU **o*, in turn, is normally reflected as PMari **u* (> *u* in all dialects) or **o* (> *o* in all dialects). Compare the following examples:

PU **u*:

- PU **kunsí-* 'urinate' > PMari **kūža-* > MariE *kuža-*, MariV/U *kūža-*, MariNw *köža-*, MariW *kəža-* (UEW 210)
- PU **lupsa* 'dew' > PMari **lūpš* > MariE *lupš*, MariV/U *lūpš*, MariNw *löpš*, MariW *ləpš* (UEW 261)
- PU **muna* 'egg' > PMari **mūnə* > MariE *muno*, MariV/U *mūnə*, MariNw *mönö*, MariW *mən̄ə* (UEW 285)
- PU **purki* 'blizzard' > PMari **pūrgəšte-* > MariE *purγəšte-*, MariNw *pörγöšte-*, MariW *pərgəšte-* 'cover with snow; whirl' (UEW 406)
- PU **sula-* 'melt' > PMari **šüle-* > MariE *šule-*, MariV/U *šüle-*, MariNw *šöle-*, MariW *šəle-* (UEW 450)
- PU **tuli* 'fire' > PMari **tül* > MariE *tul*, MariV/U *tül*, MariNw *töl*, MariW *təl* (UEW 535)

PU **o*:

- PU **kota* 'tent, house' > PMari **kudə* > MariE *kudo*, MariW *kudə* 'Mari summer house' (UEW 190)
- PU **ora* 'squirrel' > PMari **ur* > MariE, MariW *ur* (UEW 343)
- PU **oksi-* 'vomit' > PMari **ukšəncə-* > MariE *ukšəncə-*, MariW *ukšəncə-* (UEW 716)
- PU **soksi* 'worm' > PMari **šukš* > MariE, MariW *šukš* (UEW 764)
- PU **šorwa* 'horn' > PMari **šur* > MariE, MariW *šur* (UEW 486)
- PU **šoda-* 'war' > PMari **šudala-* > MariE, MariW *šudala-* 'curse' (UEW 777)

However, there seems to be a conditioning factor which accounts for PMari **ũ* as a reflex of PU **o*. There are three examples of the develop-

ment PU **o* > PMari **ũ* in contexts where the labial stop **p* followed the vowel:

- PU **kopa* 'skin' > PMari **kũwə* > MariE *kuwo*, MariV/U *kũwo* (UEW 180)
- PU **koppala* 'wood grouse hen' > PMari **kũwəlcə* > MariE *kuwəlcə*, MariV/U *kũwülzö* (UEW 181)
- PU **koppi-* 'get mouldy' > PMari **kũp-a* 3SG > MariE *kupa*, MariV/U *kũpa*, MariW *kəpa* (UEW 680)

The case of PMari **kũməž* is similar, as there is a labial nasal **m* following the vowel. Hence, we may assume that the development PU **o* > PMari **ũ* took place before **p* and **m*; there do not seem to be any counterexamples to this sound law.

8. SaaS *muhtsies* 'slovenly, untidy, messy' ~ Komi *mjž* 'guilt, sin, crime', Udm *mjž* 'an evil spirit', KhE *məč* 'sickness; fault', MsE *məš* 'hole; injury' < PU **muča* 'fault, defect, sickness'

SaaS *muhtsies* has no cognates in other Saami languages, but it would regularly reflect a PSaa form **mocēs*. The final **-s* can be interpreted as an adjective suffix, even though the root **mocē-* is otherwise unattested. This suffix is very common in Saami adjectives, and it has been secondarily attached to many adjectives of Uralic origin: cf. SaaN *njuoskkas* 'wet' < PU **úački* (> MdE *načko*, MariW *načkəδ* 'damp, wet', KhN *ńăšaχ* 'raw'; UEW 311), SaaN *odas* 'new' < PU **wud'i* (> Fi *uusi*, MdM *od*, Komi, Udm *vjl'*, Hung *új* 'new'; UEW 587), SaaN *vuonjas* 'tame (of birds)' < PU **jíni* (> KhE *áńj* 'tame (of birds)', NenT *ńj*³ 'tame'; UEW 340).

The PSaa root **mocē-* presupposes a Uralic proto-form **muča-*. Such a word-stem has, in fact, been reconstructed on the basis of other branches. This form is reflected in Komi *mjž* 'guilt, sin, crime', Udm *mjž* 'an evil spirit that brings sickness; sickness (caused by an evil spirit)', KhE *məč*, KhN *muš*, *mos* 'sickness; fault (in an object)' (< PKh **məč*),³ MsE *məš*, MsN *mos* 'hole; physical injury', MsW *mošəŋ* 'sick' (< PMs **maš*) (UEW 283). The Saami word can be semantically quite naturally included in this set: the previously attested cognates show meanings related to some kind of weakness, defect, fault or sickness, and also the meaning 'slovenly, untidy, messy' can be counted in the same semantic field.

MariE *mužo*, MariW *məž* 'sickness; an evil spirit that causes sickness' (< PMari **mũžə*) has been equated with the Permic and Ob-Ugric words cited above (UEW 283). This equation is phonologically irregular, however, as PU **č* has been regularly preserved as an affricate in Mari. Instead, the Mari word must have been borrowed from Permic, where an assibilation of the affricate (**č* > **č̣* > **ž*) had occurred. Also Hung *-máz* in the compound *hagy-máz* 'typhoid, severe fever (with hallucinations)' has been mentioned as an uncertain reflex of PU **muča* (UEW 283). This comparison is, however, also irregular because the development **č* > Hung *z* would contradict known sound laws. The origin of Hung *-máz* remains unclear.

³ The PKh vowel **ə* is not a regular reflex of PU **u* (Sammallahti 1988 : 504), but the expected PKh vowel **a* (= **ō* in Sammallahti's reconstruction) occurs in V Vj *məčəγlə-*, Trj *məčəγlə-* 'be sick; cry for someone (e.g. a child for mother)' (< PKh **mačəγlə-*).

**9. SaaS *viēkedh* 'grab, take hold of' ~ KhE *wě(j)-*, MsE *wi(γ)-* : *wäj-*, Hung *vész* 'take'
< PU **wexi-* 'take, grab'**

SaaS *viēkedh* has no cognates in other Saami languages, but it would regularly reflect a PSaa form **viekę-*, which would further presuppose PU **wāki-*, **wāxi-* or **wexi-*. The last of these forms gives reason to compare the word with a semantically very close Ugric etymological set: KhE, KhS *wě(j)-*, KhN *wū-* 'take (= nehmen); buy' (< PKh **wi(j)-*), MsN *wi(γ)-* : *woj-*, MsE *wi(γ)-* : *wäj-*, MsW *wi-* : *wäj-*, MsS *wū-* (< PMs **wi(γ)-* : **wāj-*) 'take', Hung *vész* (*věv-*) 'take (= nehmen); buy'. The proto-form of the Ugric verbs can be reconstructed precisely as **wexi-*; the Ob-Ugric vocalism is the same as in KhE, KhS *mě(j)-*, KhN *mā-*, *mij-* (< PKh **mi(j)-*), MsN *mi(γ)-* : *maj-*, MsE *mi(γ)-* : *māj-*, MsW *mi-* : *māj-*, MsS *mā(j)-* 'give' (< PMs **mi(γ)-* : **māj-*) < PU **mexi-* (> SaaSk *miōkkâd*, Fi *myy-*, MdM *mijâ-* 'sell', Ngan *mīši* 'give') (UEW 275). Hence, one can reconstruct a PU verb **wexi-* 'take, grab', rhyming with **mexi-* 'give, sell'.

Previously the Ugric verbs have been included in a different but both semantically and phonologically very close Uralic cognate set. They have been considered the reflexes of PU **wixi-* 'take (= wegbringen, führen)' and thus cognate with SaaSk *viikkâd*, Fi *vie-*, MdE *vije-*, MdM *vijâ-* 'take (= wegbringen, führen)', Hung *visz* (*viv-*) 'take (= wegbringen, führen), carry, transport' (UEW 573). However, there seem to have been two phonologically and semantically close but distinct Uralic verbs: PU **wexi-* 'take (= nehmen)' and **wixi-* 'take (= wegbringen, führen)'. This is most clear in the case of Hungarian, where both verbs have been retained: Hung *vész* 'take (= nehmen), buy' (< PU **wexi-*) vs. *visz* 'take (= wegbringen, führen), carry, transport' (< PU **wixi-*). Contrary to what is maintained by etymological dictionaries (e.g., UEW 573; Benkő 1992–1997 s.v. *visz*; SSA s.v. *viedä*), there seems to be no obvious reason to assume that these two distinct Hungarian verbs reflect the same Uralic proto-form. In order to advance such a hypothesis, it should at least be explained how the assumed split into two entirely distinct verbs has come about in Hungarian. UEW merely obscurely states that Hung *vész* is a variant of *visz*, and Benkő 1992–1997 speaks of lexical split ('Wortspaltung'), but neither statement actually provides any explanation as to how the difference between two such semantically very basic verbs would have arisen.

It is easier to assume that Hungarian has preserved an original Proto-Uralic lexical distinction in the verbs *visz* and *vész*. Further evidence for this interpretation is found in Saami. Even though both verbs are not attested in the same modern Saami language, there is a clear phonological distinction between these two Uralic items: SaaS *viēkedh* 'grab' (< PSaa **viekę-* < PU **wexi-*) vs. SaaSk *viikkâd* 'take (= wegbringen, führen)' (< PSaa **viekę-* < PU **wixi-*). Moreover, in the old South Saami literary language there still was a verb *wiike-*, *wijke-* 'take (= wegbringen, führen)'; this is a regular cognate of SaaSk *viikkâd* (< **viekę-*), and would correspond to **vijkedh* in modern South Saami.

Due to their phonological and semantic closeness it is not surprising that the PU verbs **wexi-* 'nehmen' and **wixi-* 'wegbringen, führen' have become intermixed in etymological references. However, there is a consis-

tent semantic difference between the reflexes of **wexi-* 'nehmen' and **wixi-* 'wegbringen, führen' in nearly all attested cognates. The only exception is Mansi, where the same verb has both meanings. However, this has a straightforward phonological explanation. PMs **wi(γ)-* : **wäj-* belongs to a small group of verbs which show morphophonological alteration between a high and a low vowel. The verbs showing the alteration **i* : **ä* regularly developed from Uralic verb stems of the shape **Cexi-*: cf. PMs **mi(γ)-* : **mäj-* 'give' < PU **mexi-* (UEW 275), PMs **li(γ)-* : **läj-* 'throw, shoot' < PU **lexi-* (UEW 247). However, the reflex of Uralic verb stems of the shape **Cixi-* appears to be an unaltering PMs **Cäj-*-stem: cf. MsN *kaj-*, MsE, MsW *käj-*, MsS *kij-* 'court (of birds); shamanize' < PMs **käj-* < PU **kixi-* 'be in heat' (UEW 143). Hence, the expected developments would have been PU **wexi-* > PMs **wi(γ)-* : **wäj-* 'nehmen' and PU **wixi-* > PMs **wäj-* 'wegbringen, führen'. As regular development would have caused the paradigms of the two verbs to partially merge in Proto-Mansi, it is only natural that they analogically fused into a single verb which exhibits both meanings.

It can be added that PU **wexi-* and **wixi-* may have distinct reflexes in Samoyed as well. The latter of these developed into PSam **ü-* (< Pre-Proto-Samoyed **wü-* < **wi-*), which is reflected in SlkTa *ü-* 'pull, drag' (Helimski 1999). However, there is also a PSam verb **i-* 'take' (> SlkTa *ī-* 'take (= nehmen)', Kam *ī-* 'take (= nehmen), take away; get, receive'). This could perhaps be the reflex of PU **wexi-* 'nehmen', but this is uncertain because the loss of **w-* without a labialization of the following vowel remains problematic; cf. also PU **weti* 'water' > PSam **wet* > SlkTa *üt*, Kam *bü*.

**10. SaaN *vuodđu* 'bottom; layer (under something), foundation; sole (of a shoe)' ~ ? Fi *vuode* 'bed', Komi *vol'* 'reindeer hide', Udm *wal'j-* 'spread; make the bed', MsS *al'ät*, Hung *ágy* 'bed'
< PU **ad'i-* 'bed; spread'**

SaaN *vuodđu* has cognates in all Saami languages (Lehtiranta 1989 : 150), all of which show the same basic meaning. The PSaa form can be reconstructed as **vuodō*. This can be further analyzed as a reflex of the previously reconstructed PU stem **ad'i-* 'bed; spread',⁴ which is reflected in Komi *vol'* 'reindeer hide (for sleeping on it)', Udm *wal'j-* 'spread out; make (the bed)', MsS *al'ät*, Hung *ágy* 'bed' (UEW 4). Also Fi *vuode* 'bed' may be of the same origin, unless it is instead a derivative of *vuota* 'hide', which is a Baltic loan (cf. Lithuanian *óda* 'skin, hide'). SSA (s.v. *vuode*) supports the latter alternative, but it seems difficult to exclude either of these etymologies, as both are semantically and phonologically quite impeccable.

Regardless of whether Fi *vuode* belongs in this Uralic cognate set, the Saami word **vuodō* can be added to it as a new member. The comparison is phonologically quite unproblematic. PSaa **vuodō* can be interpreted as a nominal derivative of a lost verb stem **vuodg-*, which would be the regular reflex of PU **ad'i-*. Semantically the Komi derivative *vol'gs* 'shoe sole' comes especially close, as the same meaning is widely attested in Saami. Parallels

⁴ Sammallahti (1988 : 542) reconstructs a Finno-Ugric long vowel for this word (**ōd'i*), but as argued by Aikio (2012), Finnic long vowels can be analyzed as a result of secondary development, and there are not sufficient grounds for reconstructing long vowels into proto-languages older than Pre-Proto-Finnic.

for the assumed development 'bed' > 'bottom, foundation' are found in Germanic: cf. English *layer* ~ German *Lager* 'camp; storeroom; bed', Gothic *ligrs* 'bed' (Kluge s.v. *Lager*), and English *bed*, which also has the meanings 'bottom (of a body of water)', 'foundation, base', 'layer, stratum'.

Address

Ante Aikio
University of Oulu
E-mail: ante.aikio@oulu.fi

Abbreviations

Fi — Finnish; **Hung** — Hungarian; **Kam** — Kamas; **KhE** — East Khanty; **KhN** — North Khanty; **KhS** — South Khanty; **MariE** — East Mari; **MariNw** — Northwest Mari; **MariV/U** — Volga/Upša Mari; **MariW** — West Mari; **MdE** — Erzya Mordvin; **MdM** — Moksha Mordvin; **MsE** — East Mansi; **MsN** — North Mansi; **MsS** — South Mansi; **MsW** — West Mansi; **NenT** — Tundra Nenets; **Ngan** — Nganasan; **PKh** — Proto-Khanty; **PMari** — Proto-Mari; **PMd** — Proto-Mordvin; **PMs** — Proto-Mansi; **Pre-PFi** — Pre-Proto-Finnic; **PSaa** — Proto-Saami; **PSam** — Proto-Samoyed; **PSlk** — Proto-Selkup; **PU** — Proto-Uralic; **SaaI** — Inari Saami; **SaaK** — Kildin Saami; **SaaL** — Lule Saami; **SaaN** — North Saami; **SaaP** — Pite Saami; **SaaS** — South Saami; **SaaSk** — Skolt Saami; **SaaT** — Ter Saami; **SlkK** — Ket Selkup; **SlkTa** — Taz Selkup; **SlkTy** — Tym Selkup; **Udm** — Udmurt.

SOURCES OF LEXICAL DATA

- Alatalo, J. 2004. Sölkupisches Wörterbuch aus Aufzeichnungen von Kai Donner, U. T. Sirelius und Jarmo Alatalo, Helsinki (LSFU 30).
- Bergsland, K., Mattsson Magga, L. 1993. Åarjelsaemien-daaroen baakoegærja — Sydsamisk-norsk ordbok, [Lakselv].
- Fokósfuchs, D. R. 1959. Syrjänisches Wörterbuch, Budapest.
- Grundström, H. 1946–1954. Lulelappsk ordbok, Uppsala (Skrifter utgivna genom dialekt- och folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala. Ser. C:1).
- H. Paasonens Mordwinisches Wörterbuch. Zusammengestellt von Kaino Heikkilä. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Martti Kahla, Helsinki 1990–1999 (LSFU 23. Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja 59).
- Helimski, E. 1997. Die matorische Sprache. Wörterverzeichnis, Grundzüge der Grammatik, Sprachgeschichte. Unter mitarbeit von Beáta Nagy, Szeged (Studia Uralo-Altica 41).
- Herrala, E., Feoktistov, A. 1998. Mokšalais-suomalainen sanakirja, Turku (Turun yliopiston suomalaisen ja yleisen kielitieteen laitoksen julkaisuja 58).
- Itkonen, E. 1986–1991. Inarilappisches Wörterbuch, Helsinki (LSFU 20).
- Itkonen, T. I. 1958. Koltan- ja kuolanlapin sanakirja, Helsinki (LSFU 15).
- Kai Donners Kamassisches Wörterbuch nebst Sprachproben und Hauptzügen der Grammatik. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von A. J. Joki, Helsinki 1944 (LSFU 8).
- Lehtisalo, T. 1956. Juraksamojedisches Wörterbuch, Helsinki (LSFU 13).
- Maksimov, S., Danilov, V., Saarinen, S. 2008. Udmurtilais-suomalainen sanakirja, Turku (Turun yliopiston suomalaisen ja yleisen kielitieteen laitoksen julkaisuja 79).
- Mikola, T. 1985. Morphologisches Wörterbuch des Enzischen, Szeged (Studia Uralo-Altica 36).
- Moisio, A., Saarinen, S. 2008. Tscheremissisches Wörterbuch, Helsinki (LSFU 32).
- Niemi, J., Mosin, M. 1995. Ersäläis-suomalainen sanakirja, Turku (Turun yliopiston suomalaisen ja yleisen kielitieteen laitoksen julkaisuja 48).

- Országh, L., Magay, T. 2006, *Angol-magyar nagyszótár*, Budapest.
- Sammallahti, P., Morottaja, M. 1993, *Säämi-suomâ sänikirje — Inarin-saamelais-suomalainen sanakirja*, Ohcejohka.
- Sammallahti, P. 1989, *Sámi-suoma sátnegirji — Saamelais-suomalainen sanakirja*, Ohcejohka.
- Steinitz, W. 1966–1993, *Dialektologisches und etymologisches Wörterbuch der ostjakischen Sprache 1–15*, Berlin (= DEWOS).
- Suomen sanojen alkuperä. Etymologinen sanakirja 1–3, Helsinki 1992–2000 (SKST 556; Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja 62) (= SSA).
- Uotila, T. E. 1942, *Syrjänischer Wortschatz nebst Hauptzügen der Formenlehre*. Aufgezeichnet von Yrjö Wichmann, Helsinki (LSFU 7).
- Wogulisches Wörterbuch. Gesammelt von Bernát Munkácsi, geordnet, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Béla Kálmán, Budapest 1986.
- Wotjakischer Wortschatz. Aufgezeichnet von Yrjö Wichmann. Bearbeitet von T. E. Uotila & Mikko Korhonen. Herausgegeben von Mikko Korhonen, Helsinki 1987 (LSFU 21).
- Быконя В. В. 2005, *Селькупско-русский диалектный словарь*, Томск.
- Костеркин Н. Т., Момде А. Ч., Жданова Т. Ю. 2001, *Нгансанско-русский и русско-нгансанский словарь*, Санкт-Петербург.
- Сорокина И. П., Болина Д. С. 2001, *Энецко-русский и русско-энецкий словарь*, Санкт-Петербург.
- Терещенко Н. М. 1965, *Ненецко-русский словарь*, Москва.
- Хелимский Е. 2007 [unpublished manuscript], *Северноселькупский словарь*.

REFERENCES

- Aikio, A. 2002, *New and Old Samoyed Etymologies*. — FUF 57, 9–57.
- 2006, *New and Old Samoyed Etymologies II*. — FUF 59, 5–34.
- 2012, *On Finnic Long Vowels, Samoyed Vowel Sequences, and Proto-Uralic *x*. — *Per Urales ad Orientem*. Iter polyphonicum multilingue. Festschrift tillägnad Juha Janhunen på hans sextioårsdag den 12 februari 2012, Helsinki (MSFOu 264), 227–250.
- Benkő, L. 1992–1997, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen*, Budapest.
- Häkkinen, J. 2007 [unpublished], *Kantauralin murteutuminen vokaalivastaa- vuuksien valossa*. (Graduate thesis, University of Helsinki. <https://www.doria.fi/handle/10024/7044>)
- Helimski, E. 1999 [unpublished], *Basic Vocabulary in PU and PFU — Remarks on Etymology and Reconstruction* [A handout delivered at the Budapest Uralic Workshop 2: Etymology, September 1999, organized by the Nyelvtudományi Intézet, Budapest].
- 2001, *Ablaut als Umlaut im Ostjakischen: Prinzipien und Grundzüge der lautgeschichtlichen Betrachtung*. — *Fremd und eigen. Untersuchungen zu Grammatik und Wortschatz des Uralischen und Indogermanischen in memoriam Hartmut Katz*, Wien, 55–76.
- Honti, L. 1982, *Geschichte des obugrischen Vokalismus der ersten Silbe*, Budapest.
- Itkonen, E. 1946, *Zur Frage nach der Entwicklung des Vokalismus der ersten Silbe in den finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen, insbesondere im Mordwinischen*. — FUF XXIX, 222–337.
- 1954, *Zur Geschichte des Vokalismus der ersten Silbe im Tscheremissischen und in den permischen Sprachen*. — FUF XXXI, 149–345.
- Janhunen, J. 1977, *Samojedischer Wortschatz*. Gemeinsamojedische Etymologien, Helsinki (Castrenianumin toimiteita 17).
- 1981, *Uralilaisen kantakielen sanastosta*. — JSFOu 77, 219–274.
- Joki, A. J. 1973, *Uralier und Indogermanen*, Helsinki (MSFOu 151).
- Kluge, F. 1995, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. Bearbeitet von Elmar Seebold. 23., erweiterte Auflage, Berlin–New York.
- Korhonen, M. 1981, *Johdatus lapin kielen historiaan*, Helsinki (SKST 370).
- Lehtiranta, J. 1989, *Yhteissaamelainen sanasto*, Helsinki (MSFOu 200).
- Mayerhofer, M. 1986–2001, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, Heidelberg.

- Parpola, A. 1999, Varhaisten indoeurooppalaiskontaktien ajoitus ja paikannus kielellisen ja arkeologisen aineiston perusteella. — Pohjan poluilla: suomalaisten juuret nykytutkimuksen mukaan, Helsinki (Bidrag till kännedom av Finlands natur och folk 153), 180—206.
- Puku, M. K., Elbert, S. H. 1986, Hawaiian Dictionary. Revised and Enlarged Edition, Honolulu.
- Reshetnikov, K., Zhivlov, M. 2011, Studies in Uralic Vocalism II. Reflexes of Proto-Uralic *a in Samoyed, Mansi and Permic. — Journal of Language Relationship / Вопросы языкового родства 5, 96—109.
- Romaine, S. 2003, Germanic Creoles. — The Germanic Languages, London—New York, 566—603.
- Ross, M. D., Pawley, A., Osmond, M. 1998, The Lexicon of Proto-Oceanic. Volume 1. Material Culture, Canberra.
- Saarikivi, J. 2007, Uusia vanhoja sanoja. — Sámit, sánit, sátnehámit. Riepmočála Pekka Sammallahti miessemánu 21. beaivve 2007, Helsinki (MSFOu 253), 325—347.
- Sammallahti, P. 1988, Historical Phonology of the Uralic Languages with Special Reference to Samoyed, Ugric and Permic. — The Uralic languages. Description, History and Foreign Influences, Leiden—New York—København—Köln, 478—554.
- 1998, The Saami Languages. An Introduction, Kárášjohka.
- Vasmer, M. 1953—1958, Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg.
- Живлов М. 2006 [unpublished], Реконструкция праобско-угорского вокализма. Диссертация на соискание ученой степени кандидата филологических наук, Москва.
- Лыткин В. И. 1964, Исторический вокализм пермских языков, Москва.

ЛУОББАЛ САММОЛ САММОЛ АНТЭ (АНТЭ АЙКИО) (Оулу)

ЭТИМОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ УРАЛЬСКИХ ЯЗЫКОВ I СААМСКИЕ ЭТИМОЛОГИИ

Статья представляет собой первую часть из серии, которая призвана познакомить с новыми этимологическими параллелями в уральских языках. В статьях серии будет рассмотрена лексика, относящаяся ко всем ветвям уральских языков, и выделены как новые соответствия уже известным этимологиям, так и совершенно новые основы, возводимые к праязыкам. В первой части серии приводятся этимологии следующих слов из саамских языков: северносаамские *báhtarit* 'убегать' (< ур. **pätäri-*), *cáhkit* 'вложить, всунуть, воткнуть' (< ур. **čäkä-*), *čoska* 'чурбан, кряж' (< ур. **čučki*), *faddut* 'ударить, бить, колотить' (< ур. **widi-*), *guodja* 'бутон цветка осоки; оболочка семени осоки' (< ур. **kaji*), *guolmmas* 'мягкая подкорка у хвойного дерева' (< ур. **kolmis*), *vuoddu* 'дно; слой (под чем-то); основа; подошва (обуви)' (< ур. **ad'i-*), южносаамские *muhtsies* 'нечистый, испачканный, беспорядочный' (< ур. **muča*), *viēkedh* 'захватить, задержать' (< ур. **wexi-*), и иокангско-саамское *sāḥped* 'обтесывать срубленное бревно, поперечную балку' (< ур. **čypra-*).