Ob-Ugric

Community of Practice in Uralic Studies (COPIUS)

Foundations of Uralic etymology

www.copius.org

From Proto-Uralic to Khanty 1 (vowels)

- PU *a-i* > PKh *a* (→ I-umlaut *i̯*)

PU *aδi-* 'to sleep' > PKh *i̯lā-* > KhE *ăla-*, S *ăt-*, N (Kaz) *ŏɬ-*

PU *kali-* 'to die' > PKh *ki̯lā-* > KhE *kăla-*, S *χăt-*, N (Kaz) *χăɬ-*, (Obd) *χăl-*

PU *śali* 'gut, intestine' > PKh *sal* > KhE *sol*, S *sut*, N (Kaz) *sǫɬ*, (Obd) *sol*

PU *wari* 'hill' > PKh *war* > KhE *wor* 'ridge, range of hills'

From Proto-Uralic to Khanty 2 (vowels)

- PU *a-a* > PKh *ā* (→ I-umlaut *į̆*)

PU *aδma* 'sleep, dream' > PKh *ālǝm* > KhE *alǝm*, S *otǝm*, N (Kaz) *ɔɬǝm*, (Obd) *alǝm*

PU *kaδ'a-* 'to leave' > PKh *kĭj-* ~ *kij-* > KhE *kăj-*, S N *χăj-*

PU *kanta-* 'to carry' > PKh *kāntǝm-* > KhE *kantǝm-*, S *χontǝm-* 'to carry on one's back'

- Also PKh *ū* (regularly after a labial consonant, PU *kala* is apparently purely irregular. It's perhaps noteworthy that in Mansi PU *a-a* > PMs *ū* is fully regular)

PU *kala* 'fish' > PKh *kūl* > KhE *kul*, S *χut'*, N (Obd) *χul*

PU *pala* 'piece (of food)' > PKh *pūḷ* > KhE *puḷ*, S *pül*, N (Obd) *pul*

PU *panča-* 'to open' > PKh *pūņč-* > KhE *puņč-*, S *püņč-*, N (Obd) *pus-*

144

From Proto-Uralic to Khanty 3 (vowels)

PU *e* > PKh *i*

PU *meni-* 'to go' > PKh *min-* > KhE S *mĕn-*, N (Kaz) *măn-*, (Obd) *mań-*

PU *neljä* '4' > PKh *ńilə* > KhE *ńĕlə*, S *ńĕtə*, N (Kaz) *ńăł*

PU *peli-* 'to fear' > PKh *pil-* > KhE *pĕl-*, S *pĕt-*, N (Kaz) *păł-*, (Obd) *pał-*

PU *pesä* 'nest > PKh *pil* > KhE *pĕl*

- Also note that sometimes PU *e* > PKh *ā̆* (→ I-umlaut *ī*) (conditions unknown)

PU *keri* 'tree bark' > PKh *kā̆r* > KhE *kär*, S *kȧr*, N (Kaz) *kar*, (Obd) *kär*

PU *śepä* 'neck' > PKh *sā̆pəl* (derivation) > KhE *säwəl*, S *sȧpət*, N (Kaz) *sapəł*, (Obd) *sȧpəl*

From Proto-Uralic to Khanty 4 (vowels)

- PU * e̝ > PKh *ā (→ I-umlaut *i̯)

PU *ńe̝li 'arrow' > PKh *ńāl > KhE ńal, S ńot

PU *ńe̝rka 'cartilage' > PKh *ńārəɣ > KhE ńarəɣ, S ńorə, N (Obd) ńar

PU *se̝ni 'sinew, vein' > PKh *lān > KhE (V) lan, (Vj) jan, S ton

PU *se̝ksa 'Siberian pine' > PKh *li̯ɣəl > KhE (V) li̯ɣəl, (Vj) ji̯ɣəl, S teχət

PU *śe̝ṭa '100' > PKh *sāt > KhE N sat, S sot

- Also PKh *ū

PU *me̝ksa 'liver > PKh *mūɣəl > KhE muɣəl, S muχət, N (Obd) mǎχəl

From Proto-Uralic to Khanty 5 (vowels)

- PU *i* > PKh *ä (in East Khanty rounding to ö when preceding a velar consonant)

PU *kiwi* 'stone' > PKh *käγ > KhE köγ, S N kew

PU *nimi* 'name' > PKh *näm > KhE S N nem

PU *piŋi* 'tooth' > PKh *päŋk > KhE pöŋk, S N peŋk

PU *śilmä* 'eye' > PKh *säm > KhE S N sem

PU *wiδi-* 'to strike, kill' > PKh *wäl- > KhE wel-, S wet-, N wel-

From Proto-Uralic to Khanty 6 (vowels)

- PU *o-i > PKh *a

PU *koɣsi/*kowsi 'spruce' > PKh *kal > KhE kol, S χol, N (Kaz) χǫɫ

PU *oŋti 'hollow (in a tree)' > PKh *aŋət > KhE oŋət, N (Kaz) ǫŋət

PU *ponči 'tail, hem' > PKh *pač > KhE poč 'occiput'

PU *soski- 'to chew' > PKh *laɣəl- > KhE (V) loɣəl-, (Vj) joɣəl-, S toχət-, N (Kaz) ɫoχəɫ-

From Proto-Uralic to Khanty 7 (vowels)

- PU *o-a* > PKh *ā*

PU *kojra* 'male animal' > PKh *kār* 'reindeer bull' > KhE *kar*, S *χor*, N (Obd) *χar*

PU *kota* 'hut' > PKh *kāt* 'house, dwelling' > KhE *kat*, S *χot*, N *χat*

PU *śoδka* 'common goldeneye (bird)' > PKh *sāj* > KhE *saj*, S *soj* (note the palatal assimilation *ś-δ > *ś-δ′*)

PU *woča* 'fence, fishing weir' > PKh *wāč* 'village, town' > KhE *wač*, S *woš*, N *woš*

- Also PKh *ū*

PU *kompa* 'wave' > PKh *kūmp* > KhE *kump*, S *χump*, N (Kaz) *χŏmp*, (Obd) *χump*

149

From Proto-Uralic to Khanty 8 (vowels)

- PU *u* > PKh *ɔ̄/ *u / *a (considerable unexplained variation)

PU *kulki-* 'to go, flow' > PKh *kɔɣəl-* 'to step, run' > KhE kɔɣəl-, S χoχət-, N (Kaz) χǫχət-

PU *kuwli-* 'to hear' > PKh *kɔ̄l-* > KhE kɔl-, S χut-, N (Obd) χol-

PU *kuńa-* 'to close one's eyes' > PKh *kuń-* > KhE kŏń-, S N χŏń-

PU *muna* 'egg' > PKh *maṇ* > KhE moṇ 'penis', N (Obd) mon

PU *mura(-kka)* 'cloudberry' > PKh *marək* > KhE morək, S murəχ, N (Obd) morəχ

PU *sula-* 'to melt' > PKh *lulā-* > KhE (V) lŏla-, (Vj) jŏla-, S tăt- N (Obd) lăl-

PU *suŋi* 'summer, thaw' > PKh *luŋ* > KhE (V) lŏŋ, (Vj) jŏŋ, S tŏŋ, N (Kaz) łŏŋam 'snowless spot on the ground'

PU *tulka* 'feather, wing' > PKh *tuɣəl* > KhE tŏɣəl, S tŏχət, N (Obd) tŏχəl

From Proto-Uralic to Khanty 9 (vowels)

- PU *ü > PKh *ü

PU *künči '(finger)nail' > PKh *küṇč > KhE kǒṇč, S kǒṇč, N (Obd) kus

PU *śüδʹi 'charcoal' > PKh *süj > KhE sŏǰ

PU *sükiś(i) 'autumn' > PKh *süɣəs > KhE sŏɣəs, S sĕwəs, N (Obd) sus (sibilant assimilation in Khanty *sükəś > *śükəś, cf. Hung ősz 'autumn', in Finnish syncope. cf. Estonian sügis)

From Proto-Uralic to Khanty 10 (vowels)

- PU *ä > PKh *ä (in East Khanty rounding to ö preceding a velar consonant)

PU *käli 'language, tongue' > PKh *käl 'word, news' > KhE köl, S ket, N (Kaz) keł

PU *käti 'hand' > PKh *kät > KhE köt, S ket, N (Kaz) kaŧəł 'front paw of a bear'

PU *pälä 'half' > PKh *peḷək > KhE peḷək, S N pelək

PU *sälä- 'to get in (a boat, a sled)' > PKh *läl- > KhE (V) lel-, (Vj) jel-, S tet-, N (Obd) lel-

PU *wäki 'strength' > PKh *wäɣ > KhE wöɣ, S weɣ, N (Obd) wej

- PU *ä-i > PKh *ū̄ (preceding a velar)

PU *läkti- 'to leave, get out' > PKh *lū̄ɣət- > KhE lüɣət-, S tiwət-

PU *mäki 'hill' > PKh *mū̄ɣ > KhE (Vj) müɣ, S miɣ^w 'hummock, hillock'

From Proto-Uralic to Khanty 11 (ablaut)

- the development of Khanty vowels is complicated by a phenomenon known as ablaut and/or umlaut
- morphophonological alternation, in which a first syllable open vowel alternates with either a mid vowel or a close vowel
- triggered usually by an inflectional or a derivational suffix that has not always survived, zero suffixes triggering the high ablaut/umlaut also occur
- the original conditioning factors are sometimes possibly obscured by morphological leveling and generalization and/or by the loss of the word representing the original ablaut grade

From Proto-Uralic to Khanty 12 (ablaut)

I grade, high ablaut grade

for example, PKh suffixal *ā ja *ī̮ trigger the high ablaut grade

- PKh *a → PKh *i̮

PU *kali- 'to die' > PKh *ki̮lā- > KhE kăla-, S χăt-, N (Kaz) χăɬ-, (Obd) χăl-

PU *śali 'gut, intestine' > PKh *sal > KhE sol, S sut, N (Kaz) sǫɬ, (Obd) sol

→ PKh *si̮lā > KhE sălə, N (Kaz) sŏɬ-keɬ 'belt in a reindeer harness'

PU *ańi 'sister-in-law' > PKh *i̮ńkī̮ > KhE (V) ăńəki̮, (Vj) ăńki̮, S ăńəxə, N (Kaz) ăńxi 'wife of a male relative of an older generation; stepmother'

From Proto-Uralic to Khanty 13 (ablaut)

- PKh *ā → PKh *ĭ̠

PU *woča 'fence, fishing weir' > PKh *wāč 'village, town' > KhE wač, S woš, N woš

→ PKh *wĭ̠č 'border' > KhE (Sur) wĭ̠č, S wič, N (Kaz) wŭš

PU *kanta- 'to carry > PKh *kāntəm- > KhE kantəm-, S χontəm- 'to carry on one's back'

→ PKh *kĭ̠nt 'basket for carrying on the back' > KhE kĭ̠nt, S χent, N χĭnt

- PKh *ä → PKh *i

PU *jäŋi 'ice' > PKh *jäŋk 'ice' > KhE jöŋk, S jeŋk, N (Kaz) jɛŋk, (Obd) joŋk

→ PKh *jiŋk 'water' > KhE S jĕŋk, N (Kaz) jĭŋk, (Obd) jiŋk

PU *iskä- 'to believe' > PKh *äγəl- > KhE öγəl, S ewət-, N (Kaz) ewəɬ-

→ PKh *iγlä (imperative) > KhE ĕγlä mänä 'believe me'

From Proto-Uralic to Khanty 14 (ablaut)

- PKh **ā̆* → PKh *ī̆*

PU *keri* 'tree bark' > PKh *kā̆r* > KhE *kär*, S *kȧr*, N (Kaz) *kar*, (Obd) *kär*

→ PKh *kīr* 'snow-crust' > KhE W *kir*, N *ker*

PU *lewl-tä-* (< PU *lewli-w*) > PKh *lā̆lt-* > KhE *lält-*, W *tȧttə-*, *tȧt-*, N (Kaz) *łaⱡt-*, (Obd) *lȧlt-* 'to breathe'

→ PKh *līl* > KhE *lil*, S *tit*, N (Kaz) *ⱡ̆ĭⱡ*, (Obd) *lil* 'breath, spirit, life'

PKh *ā̆mp* 'dog' > KhE *ämp*, S N (Obd) *ȧmp*, N (Kaz) *amp*

→ PKh *īmpəm* 'my dog' > KhE *impəm*

From Proto-Uralic to Khanty 15 (ablaut)

U grade

typical, for example, of possessive forms

- PKh *$\bar{a}$ → PKh *$\bar{o}$

PU *$a\delta ma$ 'sleep, dream' > PKh *$\bar{a}l\partial m$ > KhE $al\partial m$ 'sleep'

→ PKh *$\bar{o}lm\partial m$ > KhE $ulm\partial m$ (1st person singular) 'my sleep'

PU *$kota$ 'hut' > PKh *$k\bar{a}t$ 'house, dwelling' > KhE kat, S χot, N χat

→ PKh *$k\bar{o}t\partial m$ > KhE (V) $kut\partial m$ 'my house', cf. (Vj) $kat\partial m$, infrequently also $kut\partial m$ (leveling)

From Proto-Uralic to Khanty 16 (ablaut)

PU *aδma 'sleep, dream' > PKh *āləm > KhE aləm 'sleep', S otəm, N (Kaz) ɔɬəm, (Obd) aləm

→ PKh *ōləm 'dream' > KhE uləm, N (Kaz) wǫɬəm, (Obd) wulem

PU *ara(w) 'old riverbed, oxbow lake' > PKh *ōrəj > KhE uri̬, S urə, N (Kaz) wǫri, (Obd) wuri

PKh *ɔ̄γ 'head' > KhE ɔγ, S uχ, N ŏχ

→ PKh *ūγəm > KhE uγəm 'my head'

From Proto-Uralic to Khanty 17 (consonants)

- many of the main consonant changes have been mentioned already in the previous section that dealt with shared innovations in Ugric languages

- PU *δ′ > PKh *j

PU *kaδ′a- 'to leave' > PKh *kĭj- ~ *kij- > KhE kăj-, S N χăj-

- PU *δ > PKh *l

PU *nüδi 'handle, stem' > PKh *nül > KhE nöɬ, S nĕt, N (Obd) naɬ

PU *wiδi- 'to strike, kill' > PKh *wäl- > KhE wel-, W wet-, N wel-

From Proto-Uralic to Khanty 18 (consonants)

- in consonant clusters metathesis and epenthesis are common

- PU *ks, *kš > PKh *ɣəl

PU *mek̦sa 'liver' > PKh *mūɣəl > KhE muɣəl, S muχət, N (Obd) măχəl

PU *wokši 'thin' > PKh *waɣəl > KhE woɣəl, N (Kaz) o̦χəɬ

- PU *sk > PKh *ɣəl

PU *soski- 'to chew' > PKh *laɣəl- > KhE (V) loɣəl-, (Vj) joɣəl-, S toχət-, N (Kaz) ɬoχəɬ-

From Proto-Uralic to Khanty 19 (consonants)

- PU *kt* > PKh *γət*

PU *ękta-* 'to hang' > PKh *ị̄γət-* 'to set a trap' > KhE *iγət-*, S *eχət-*, N (Kaz) *ĭχət-*

PU *ukti* 'passage, way' > PKh *ɔ̄γət* 'isthmus between two lakes or rivers over which boats are hauled' > KhE *ɔγət*, S *oχət*, N (Kaz) *ǫχət*

PU *tukti* 'crossbeam' > PKh *tuγət* > KhE *tŏγət*, S N *tŏχət*

note PU ?*kektä* '2' > PKh ?*kā̄t* (attributive) > KhE *kät*, S *kět*, N (Obd) *kȧt*

- PU *tk* > PKh *γət*

PU *mętka* 'passage' > PKh *mūγət* 'anabranch' > KhE *muγət*, N (Kaz) *mŏχət*

From Proto-Uralic to Khanty 20 (consonants)

- PU *pt* > PKh *pət*

PU *apta-* 'to bark' > PKh *āpət-* > KhN (Kaz) ɔpət-, (Obd) *apət-*

PU *ɛpti* 'hair (on the head)' > PKh *āpət* > KhE *awət* ~ PKh *ɔ̄pət* > hntE *upət*, N (Kaz) *ǫpət*, (Obd) *opət*

- PU *lk* > PKh *ɣəl* (note metathesis > epenthesis)

PU *mälkə* 'breast' > PKh *mäɣəl* > KhE *möɣəl*, S *meɣət*, N (Obd) *mewəl*

PU *tulka* 'feather, wing' > PKh *tuɣəl* > KhE *tŏɣəl*, S *tŏχət*, N (Obd) *tŏχəl*

From Proto-Uralic to Khanty 21 (consonants)

Other:

- PU *jt* > PKh *ć*

PU *ajta* / *ejta* 'fence > PKh *āć* 'fence, enclosure' > KhE *at′*, S *ot′*, N (Kaz) ɔś

Exercise: Khanty

Which PU proto-forms the Khanty words can reflect? (try finding all the possible PU reconstructions)

PKh *čį̆čį̄m > KhE čį̆čį̄m 'bear cub'

PKh *į̄ɣət- 'to set a trap' > KhE įɣət-, S eχət-, N (Kaz) īχət-, (Obd) eχət-

PKh *küč- > KhE köč-, S kŏč-, N (Obd) kus- 'to glow, smoulder'

PKh *lär 'root fiber, thin root, stripe' > KhE (V) ler, (Vj) jer, S ter, N (Obd) ler

PKh *sām 'scale' > KhE sam, S som, N (Obd) sam

From Proto-Uralic to Mansi 1 (vowels)

- PU *a-i* > PMs *ā*

PU *ańi* 'sister-in-law' > PMs *āńəγ* > MsS *āńi* 'paternal uncle's wife', E *oń*, N *ɔ̄ńįγ* 'stepmother, older brother's wife'

PU *kali-* 'to die' > PMs *kāl-* > MsS *kāl-*,E *χōl-*, W *kōl-*, N *χɔ̄l-*

PU *waji* 'grease' > PMs *wāj* > MsS *wāj*, W *wōj*, N *wɔ̄j*

From Proto-Uralic to Mansi 2 (vowels)

- PU *a-a* > PMs *ū̆* / *ï̮̄ (preceding a velar that is in turn labialized)

PU *aδma* 'sleep, dream' > PMs *ūləm* > MsS ōləm, E (KndL) uləm, W (Pel) wuləm, N ūləm

PU *aŋa-* 'to open, take off' > PMs *ïŋ̆kʷə-* > MsS ā̮ŋk-, E (KndL) aŋxʷ-, (KndU) e̮ŋkʷ-, W (LozL) e̮ŋk-, N āŋkʷ-

PU *kačka-* 'to bite' > PMs *kūš-* 'sting (of nettles)' > MsS kōš-, N χūs-

PU *kaδ'a-* 'to leave' > PMs *kūl'-* > MsS kōl'-, W (LozL) kūl'-, N χūl'-

PU *pala* 'piece (of food)' > PMs *pūl* > MsS pōl, E (KndU) N pūl

166

From Proto-Uralic to Mansi 3 (vowels)

- PU *e* > PMs *i*

PU *meni-* 'to go' > PMs *min-* > MsS *miń-*, E W N *min-*

PU *peli-* 'to fear' > PMs *pil-* > MsS *pilʹ-*, E N *pil-*, W (Pel) *pil-*, *pilʹ-*

PU *pesä* 'nest' > PMs *pitʹi* > MsS *pitʹī*, W *pitʹ*, N *pitʹi*

PU *weti* 'water' > PMs *wit* > MsS *ütʹ*, E *witʹ*, W *wütʹ*, N *wit*

From Proto-Uralic to Mansi 4 (vowels)

- PU *e̬ > PMs *i̬ (Mansi is instrumental in distinguishing between PU *a and *e̬)

PU *e̬pti 'hair (on the head)' > PMs *i̬t > MsS ā̭t 'braid', E (KndM) W (Pel) e̬ṭ, N āt 'hair'

PU *me̬xi 'earth' > PMs *mi̬ > MsS mɛ̄, W mē̬ E (KndL) N mā

PU *me̬ksa 'liver' > PMs *mi̬t: *majt > MsS majt, E (KndM) me̬ṭ, måjtt (plural), W (LozL) me̬ṭ, majtt (plural), N majt

PU *ńe̬li 'arrow' > PMs *ńi̬l > MsE (KndM, KndU) ńe̬l, W ńēl, N ńāl

PU *se̬ni 'sinew, vein' > PMs *ti̬n > MsS tāṇ, E (KndM, KndU) te̬ṇ, W te̬ṇ, N tān

PU *śe̬ta '100' > PMs *ši̬t > MsS šā̭ᵉt, E (KndM) se̬ṭ, W še̬ṭ, N sāt (in addition to Mansi, also Mari *šüδə '100' points to PU *e̬)

From Proto-Uralic to Mansi 5 (vowels)

- PU *i* > PMs *ǟ*

PU *nimi* 'name' > PMs *näm > MsS *näm*, W (Pel) *nǟm*, N *nam*

PU *piδi* 'high, long' > PMs *päl- > MsE *pǟlt*, W *pǟlt*, N *palit*

PU *śilmä* 'eye' > PMs *šäm > MsS E (KndL) *šäm*, E (KndM, KndU) *säm*, W *šäm*, N *sam*

PU *wiδi-* 'to strike, kill' > PMs *äl- > MsS *äl-*, E W *ǟl-*, N *al-*

From Proto-Uralic to Mansi 6 (vowels)

- PU *o-a > PMs *ī̮ / *ū (word-initially)

PU *kojra 'male animal' > PMs *kī̮r > MsW keē̮r, N χār

PU *onśa 'meat, share' > PMs *ūńć > MsW wuńś, N ūś 'buttocks, ass'

PU *śoδka 'common goldeneye (bird)' > PMs *sī̮ḷ' > MsS sāḷ', E (KndL) sāl', E (KndM) W seḷ', N sāl' (note Mansi l' (< PU *δ', palatal assimilation *ś-δ > *ś-δ' already in Pre-Mansi)

From Proto-Uralic to Mansi 7 (vowels)

- also note the examples where the result of PU *o-a* seems to have been PMs *u* (no clear rule, in the examples below preceding a labial consonant, but the development is not exclusively found in this context)

PU *kompa* 'wave' > PMs *kump* > MsW *kup*, N *χump*

PU *śojma* 'sound, noise' > PMs *suməl-* 'to be heard, sound, ring, crackle' > MsE *sŏməl-*, W N *suməl-* (cf. PMs *suj* 'sound' > MsS *soj*, E *sŏj*, W N *suj* (< PU *śoji* 'sound'), the development PU *oj* > PMs *uj* is regular and has perhaps influenced the vocalism of the verb)

PU *śopa* 'piece of clothing' > PMs *šup* 'shirt' > MsS *šop*, N *sup*

From Proto-Uralic to Mansi 8 (vowels)

- PU *o-i* > PMs *ā* (preceding *γ* and *kt*), *oj* > PMs *uj*

PU *koγsi/*kowsi* 'spruce' > PMs *kaγt* > MsE N *χowt*, W (LozL) *kaγt*

PU *koji* 'male' > PMs *kuj* > MsE *χoj*, W *kuj*, N *χuj*

PU *korpi* 'woods' > PMs *kārəp* 'grove, forest' > MsS *kārp*, E *χōrəp*, W *kōrp*, N (LozU) *χōrp*

PU *ponči* 'tail, hem' > PMs *pānši* 'bird's tail' > MsE *ponš*, N *pōnši*

PU *soski-* 'to chew' > PMs *taγt-* > MsS *tawt*, E N *towt-*, W (Pel) *täγt-*

From Proto-Uralic to Mansi 9 (vowels)

- PU *u > PMs *a / *u / *å / *ū (there is significant and mostly unexplained variation in reflexes)

PU *kunśi(-) 'urine; to urinate' > PMs *kuńć- > MsS końć-, E χońś-, W kuńś-, N χuńś- 'to urinate; sting (of an ant)'

PU *kuńa- 'to close one's eyes' > PMs *kåń- > MsS koń-, E χʷoń-, N χoń-

PU *luka '10' > PMs *låw > MsS E W N low

PU *lunta 'goose' > PMs *lūnt > MsS lōnt, W (Pel) lunt, N lūnt

PU *muna 'egg' > PMs *man > MsS E (KndL) man, W (Pel), N (LozL) mon, N (So) mūŋi (!)

PU *suksi 'ski' > PMs *tåwt > MsS tōt, E (KndL) W (Pel) N towt

PU *suŋi 'summer, thaw' > PMs *tuj > MsS E (KndL) toj, N tuw

From Proto-Uralic to Mansi 10 (vowels)

- PU *ü > PMs *ä

PU *künči '(finger)nail' > PMs *kʷänš > MsS künš, E (KndL) kʷäš, N käš, N kos

PU *külä 'dwelling' > PMs *kʷäl 'house' > MsS kül, E (KndL) kʷäl, W (Pel) W kʷäl, käl', N kol

PU *nüδi 'handle, stem' > PMs *näl > MsS E (KndL), näl, W (Pel) nā̰l, N nal

- PU *ä > PMs *ā̄

PU *kälä- 'to wade' > PMs *kʷā̄l- 'to arise, go ashore' > MsS kʷā̄l-, E (KndL) kʷöäl-, N kʷāl-

PU *käti 'hand' > PMs *kā̄t > MsS kā̄t, E köät, W N kāt

PU *pälä 'half' > PMs *pā̄l > MsS pā̄l, E pöäl, N pāl

PU *säppä 'gall' > PMs *tā̆p > MsS tā̆p, E töäp, N tāp

PU *tälwä 'winter' > PMs *tā̄l > MsS tā̄l, E töäl, W N tāl

174

From Proto-Uralic to Mansi 11 (consonants)

- for many of the main consonant changes, see the first section about common Ugric sound changes

- PU *δ′ > PMs *l′

PU *δ′ęmi 'bird-cherry' > PMs *l′į̄m > MsS l′ēm, E (KndL) l′ām, E (KndU l′ę̄m, N l′ām

PU *kaδ′a- 'to leave' > PMs *kūl′- > MsS kōl′-, N (LozA) kūl′, N χūl′-

PU *koδ′ka 'spirit' > PMs *kul′ > MsW kul′ 'forest spirit', N χul′ 'sickness spirit'

- PU *δ > PMs *l

PU *aδma 'sleep, dream' > PMs *ūləm > MsS ōləm, E (KndL) uləm, W (Pel) wuləm, N ūləm

PU *nüδi 'handle, stem' > PMs *näl > MsS E (KndL), näl, W (Pel) nǟl, N nal

175

From Proto-Uralic to Mansi 12 (consonants)

- PU *č , *čk > PMs *š (in some Mansi dialects has developed further into *s* and can't be told apart from the reflexes of PU *ś)

PU *čęči 'wild duck' > PMs *šẹ̄š > MsE (KndM) sẹ̄s, W (Pel) šẹ̄š, N sās

PU *kačka- 'to bite' > PMs *kūš- 'to sting (of nettles)' > MsS kōš-, N χūs-

- PU *k > PMs *γ (has in many dialects developed further into a semi-vowel or has been altogether lost)

PU *luka '10' > PMs *låw > MsS E W N low

PU *soski- 'to chew' > PMs *taγt- > MsS tawt, E N towt-, W (Pel) täγt-

PU *suksi 'ski' > PMs *tåwt > MsS tōt, E (KndL) W (Pel) N towt (note also the metathesis!)

PU *wäki 'strength' > PMs *wǟγ > MsS wäw, E (KndL) wöä, N wāγ

From Proto-Uralic to Mansi 13 (vowels)

- PU *p* and *pp* > PMs *p, *pt* > PMs *t*

PU *śepä* 'neck' > PMs *šip* 'collar, neck' > MsE (KndL) *šəp*, E (KndM, KndU) *səp*, W (Pel) *šip̮*, N *sip*

PU *säppä* 'gall' > PMs *tāp̄* > MsS *tāp*, E *töäp*, N *tāp*

PU *ẹpti* 'hair (on the head)' > PMs *ı̄t̮* > MsS *ạt̮* 'braid', E (KndM) W (Pel) *et̮*, N *āt* 'hair'

Exercise 1: Mansi

Can these Mansi words be cognates with the Finnic words? Explain your reasoning:

MsS *küš-*, E (KndL) W *kā̄š-*, N *kos-* 'to smoulder' ~ Fi *kyteä* 'id.'

MsW (Pel) *kul'əm*, N *χul'əm* 'spawning bed of fish' ~ Fi *kutea* 'to spawn'

MsS *tā̄r*, E (KndL) *töär*, W N *tār* 'root; fiber' ~ PF **soorę* > Livonian *sūoṛ* 'tendon, fiber, vein'

MsS *pāl'-*, E (KndL) W *pōl'-*, N *pɔ̄l'-* 'to freeze' ~ PF **pala-* 'to burn', **palęlę-* 'to feel cold' > Fi *palaa*, *palella*

MsS *pät-*, E (KndL) *pā̄t-*, N *pat-* 'to fall, moult (of birds)' ~ Fi *pitää* 'to hold'

MsE (KndL) *äγt-*, N *aγt-* 'to believe' ~ Fi *uskoa* 'to believe'

Exercise 2: Mansi

Based on Finnic and Mansi cognates, should one reconstruct first-syllable *a* or *ẹ* for PU?

MsE (KndU) *ūp-*, W (Pel) *wūp-* 'to tear with teeth, bite (of a bear etc.)' ~ Fi dial. *appaa* 'devour, gobble', Veps *apta*, Estonian *apama* 'to drink (child language)' (→ Fi *ape* (genitive *appeen*) 'animal food')

MsW (Pel) *keᷓnt*, N *χānta* 'storehouse pillar' ~ Fi *kanto* 'tree stump'

MsS *lajl-kāᷓŋra*, E (KndU) *keᷓŋər* 'hollow of a knee' ~ Fi *kaari* 'curve, boat rib'

MsS *sāᷓm*, E (KndM, KndU) W (Pel) *seᷓm*, N *sām* 'scale' ~ Fi *suomu*