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STUDIES IN URALIC ETYMOLOGY III: MARI ETYMOLOGIES

Abstract. This paper is the third 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 third part new Uralic etymologies for the following Mari words are discussed: MariE *jə̑me-*, MariW *jəme-* 'go numb' (< PU **jämä-*), MariE *jičke-*, MariW *jəčke-* 'pick, pluck, pull' (< PU **ńičkä-*), MariE *wüt-kowə̑*, MariW *koe*, *ko* 'wave' (< PU **kompa*), MariE *lewe*, MariW *liwe* 'warm' (< PU **lämpi*), MariE *nöńča-* 'shape, form' (< PU **ńi̯nča-*/**ńanča-* 'stretch'), MariE *lüδa-*, MariW *lüδä-* 'be afraid' (< PU **li̯d*V-), MariE *pə̑ze-*, MariW *pəze-* 'hold, cling to' (< PU **pitä-*), MariE *šuma-*, MariW *šə̑ma-* 'become tired, languish' (< PU **śoma-*), MariE *šüδa-*, MariW *šüδä-* 'clear (wood, road, field, etc.)' (< PU **si̯nti-*), MariE *tüž*, *tüjüž*, MariW *tüž* 'pregnant (of animals)' (< PU **tejniš*). The principles of reconstruction and the citation of lexical material are explained in the first paper of the series (Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte 2013). The reconstruction of Proto-Mari vocalism applied in this paper is argued in more detail by Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (2014).

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

1. MariE *jə̑me-*, MariW *jəme-* 'go numb (of a body part); be blinded (of the eyes); hide (intr.)' < PU **jämä-* 'go numb, get stiff'

MariE *jə̑me-*, MariW *jəme-* 'go numb; be blinded; hide' (< PMari **jĭme-*) bears a strong resemblance to a Finno-Saamic verb root **jämä-*. The Saami reflexes (SaaN *jápmit*, etc.) mean 'die', whereas the Finnic cognates are derived adjectives such as Fi *jämeä* and *jämäkkä* with meanings such as 'stiff' and 'sturdy'. The Saami and Finnic words have been first equated by Koponen (2002), and despite the difference of meaning the etymology appears quite plausible. The common Saami verb **jāmē-* 'die' is in any case secondary, as Saami is the only branch of Uralic where this meaning is not expressed by a reflex of the PU verb **kali-* 'die' (UEW 173; on the phonological reconstruction of the verb see Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte 2012 : 245—247). Moreover, there are traces of an original meaning of 'stiffness' in Saami: cf. SaaS *jaemedh* 'die; go numb (of a body part)' and SaaN *jápmit*

'die; solidify (of mercury)'. Also the SaaU derivative *jaamàlgit* means 'go numb (of body parts)', whereas its cognates SaaN *jámálgit* and SaaI *jámálgiđ* mean 'faint'.

Earlier PSaa **jāmē-* 'die' has been compared to MdE *joma-*, MdM *jomə-* (< PMd **jomə-*), MariE *joma-*, MariW *jama-* (< PMari **jåma-*) 'disappear, get lost' and NenT *jaʔmə-* 'be sick; be unable' (UEW 89). This etymology is unacceptable due to irregular sound correspondences, however. PMd **o* ~ PMari **å* is in itself an irregular correspondence, so borrowing from Mordvin to Mari or vice versa has probably taken place. Neither PMd **o* nor PMari **å* is a regular correspondent of PSaa **ā*. NenT *jaʔmə-* has a cluster *-ʔm-* which points to an original obstruent (**t*, **k*, **c* or **s*) preceding the nasal, which makes the comparison to any of the other verbs impossible.

MariE *jə̑me-*, MariW *jəme-*, however, can be straightforwardly equated with PSaa **jāmē-*, as the same meaning 'go numb (of body parts)' is attested in both Mari and Saami. The meaning 'get blinded (of the eyes)' in Mari is a rather transparent extension of the meaning 'go numb'. In addition, the Mari verb has the meaning 'hide (intr.)', the development of which is less clear. Phonologically the equation is regular. The vowel development PU **ä* > PMari **ĭ* is also found in two other cases after **j-*: PU **jäntiŋ* 'bowstring' > PMari **jĭdäŋ* > MariE *jə̑δaŋ*, MariNw, MariW *jəδäŋ* (UEW 92) and PU **jäsin* 'joint' > PMari **jĭžəŋ* > MariE *jə̑žəŋ*, MariNw *jəžəŋ* (but MariW irreg. *ježəŋ*!) (UEW 95). There is also one example of the change after the palatalized nasal **ń-* (> **j-*): PU **ńälmä* 'tongue' > PMari **jĭlmə* > MariE *jə̑lme*, Nw, MariW *jəlmə* (UEW 313—314). The change **ńĭ-* > **jĭ-* in **jĭlmə* 'tongue' appears to be regular (see the next etymology).

Saarikivi (2007 : 337) has suggested that Finno-Saamic **jämä-* also has a cognate in Permic: Komi *jam-* 'fall (of water level)'. While an etymological connection of verbs meaning 'die' and 'fall' is in itself possible, this etymology is difficult to combine with the fact that the original meaning of Saami **jāmē-* 'die' is rather connected with numbness and stiffness. As also Komi *a* would be an exceptional reflex of PU **ä*, it seems unlikely that Komi *jam-* belongs in this cognate set.

2. MariE (Bolshoj Kiľmez) *jičke-***, MariW** *jəčke-* **'pick, pluck, pull' < PU** **ńičkä-* **'tear, pull'**

The Mari verb can be compared to the PU verb root **ńičkä-* 'tear' (Sammallahti 1988 : 546), which is reconstructed on the basis of Saami, Permic and Hungarian: cf. SaaS (Røros) *njektjiestijh* 'scratch insect bites', SaaN *njaskut* 'nibble', Komi *ńeč-*, *ńečkį-* 'tear, pull out', and Hung *nyes* 'prunes, lops off, trims, cuts'. UEW (314) does not mention the Saami word and considers Hung *nyes* an uncertain cognate, but includes KhE *ńĕť-*, *ńăť-* 'pluck, pick, tear' in the cognate set. However, the Khanty verb shows an irregular palatalized stop and an irregular vowel, so it is uncertain whether it belongs in this etymology. The equation of the Saami, Komi and Hungarian verbs is phonologcially fully regular, though.

The Mari verb reflects PMari **jĭčke-*, which shows a remarkable similarity to the reconstructed PU form **ńičkä-*. The vocalism as well as the medial consonant cluster match exactly, and the only unexpected detail is the initial **j-* in the Mari verb. However, there is one other well-established

etymology where PU **ń-* is reflected as PMari **j-*: MariE *jə̑lme*, MariW *jəlmə* 'tongue' < PMari **jĭlmə* < PU **ńälmä* (> SaaN *njálbmi* 'mouth', KhE *ńäləm*, MsE *ńiləm*, Hung *nyelv* 'tongue'; UEW 313—314). In this case, too, the following vowel is PMari **ĭ*. A regular change **ńĭ-* > **jĭ-* can thus be postulated for Proto-Mari. It must be noted that MariE *nə̑l*, MariNw MariW *nəl* 'four' (< PMari **nĭl*) is not a counterexample to this change, because this numeral originally had **n-* instead of **ń-* (PU **neljä*). The unpalatalized nasal is preserved in Hung *négy* and several Saami languages (e.g., SaaU *neľja*, SaaI *nelji*). The initial *ń-* of some cognates (e.g., SaaN *njeallje*, Komi *ńoľ*, KhE *ńĕlə*, MsN *ńila*) seems to have developed due the assimilatory influence of word-internal **-j-*.

3. MariE *wüt-kowə̑*, **MariW** *koe*, *ko* **'wave'**
< PU ****kompa* **'wave'

PMari **kowə* 'wave' can be reconstructed on the basis of MariE *wüt-kowə̑* (*wüt* 'water') and MariW *koe* ~ *ko* 'wave'. The MariW form shows an irregular loss of intervocalic **w*. The Mari word bears a notable resemblance to the reconstructed PU noun **kompa* 'wave', attested in KhE *kump*, MsE *kop*, *kump* 'wave', Hung *hab* 'surf, foam', NenT *χampa*, EnF *kaba*, Ngan *koŋhu*, SlkTa *qōmpi̯* 'wave' (UEW 203). In more western languages the word is attested in derivatives: Fi *kummuta* : *kumpua-* (the vowel *-u-* is irregular) and MdE *kumboldo-* 'rise in waves'.

The comparison is otherwise straightforward, but the assumed development PU **mp* > PMari **w* needs to be accounted for. While no generally accepted previous examples of such a change are known, it does have an obvious parallel in the next etymology (4): PMari **lewə* ~ **liwə* 'warm' < PU **lämpi* 'warm'. The development can be explained as a result of denasalization **mp* > **b* > **w*. Note that there was no phoneme */b/* in Proto-Mari; the voiced labial stop in words like MariE *lombo*, MariW *lombə̑* 'bird-cherry' is merely a postnasal allophone of */w/*: PMari **lombə* = */lomwə/*. The development PU **mp* > PMari **w* is probably entirely regular, as there seem to be no plausible counterexamples, and even a parallel case can be presented (see etymology 4). The cluster **mb* in **lombə* 'bird-cherry' is evidently secondary, as the word is an obscured compound consisting of PMari **lom* (< PU **ďi̯mi* 'bird-cherry') and PMari **pu* 'tree'. There are also several examples of the denasalization **nd* > **d* (> *δ*) in Mari; see the discussion and examples under etymology 10. The assumption of the denasalization of the PU cluster **mp* accords well with the already known development of the PU cluster **nt* in Mari.

4. MariE *lewe*, **MariW** *liwe* **'warm'; MariE** *lewe-*, **MariW** *liwe-* **'become warm, thaw'**
< PU ****lämpi* **'warm, warmth'

A root **lämpi* 'warm' can be reconstructed on the basis of Fi *lämmin* : *lämpimä-* 'warm', *lämpö* 'warmth', and MdE *ľembe*, MdM *ľämbä* 'warmth'. As shown by Aikio (2002 : 13), the word also has a Samoyed cognate which shows a semantic innovation: Ngan *ďeŋhʲa* 'clothes', NenT *jempᵊʔ-*, EnF *ďebiś* 'get dressed', SlkTa *čęmpi̯t-* 'gird' (< PSam **jämpə-*). Furthermore, it

has remained overlooked that the original meaning of 'warmth' is also found in Samoyed: Kamas *ďēm-* 'warm (tr.)'.

In this cognate set one can also include MariE *lewe*, MariW *liwə* 'warm', MariE *lewe-*, MariW *liwe-* 'become warm, thaw', as hesitatingly suggested by UEW (685). As argued in the previous etymology (3), the correspondence PU **mp* ~ Mari *w* results from denasalization (**mp* > **b* > **w*). The only detail requiring further comment is the vowel correspondence. The Mari word for 'warm' belongs to the small group of words which display the unusual vowel correspondence between MariE *-e-* and MariW *-i-*. Other examples of this correspondence include MariE *peče* ~ MariW *pičə* 'fence', MariE *šem* ~ MariW *šim* 'black', MariE *šen*, MariW *šin* 'tinder', MariE *ter* ~ MariW *tir* 'sled', MariE *wele-* ~ MariW *wile-* 'spill, strew', MariE *wem* ~ MariW *wim* 'marrow', MariE *weŋe* ~ MariW *wiŋgə* 'son-in-law'. The proto-Mari form can be reconstructed as **liwə*; in East Mari there has been a change **i* > *e*, the conditioning factor probably being the following sonorant (Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte 2014 : 138—139). There are at least two examples of such words reflecting a PU form with **ä* in the first syllable: PU **śänä* 'bracket fungus' > MariE *šen*, MariW *šin* 'tinder' (UEW 494), PU **wäŋiw* 'son-in-law' > MariE *weŋe*, MariW *wiŋgə* (UEW 565). On account of these parallels MariE *lewe*, MariW *liwə* 'warm' (< PMari **liwə*) can be derived from PU **lämpi* 'warm'.

5. MariE *nöńča-* **'shape, form', MariE** *nöńčə̑k***, (Birsk)** *nönçök***, MariW** *nünčək* **'dough'**

< PU ****ńi̯nča-/*ńanča-*** **'stretch'**

The Mari word for 'dough' can be reconstructed as PMari **nünčək*. In MariE there has been a change **ü* > *ö* in this word (Itkonen 1954 : 222; Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte 2014 : 133). This is a deverbal derivative: the underived root is MariE *nöńča-* 'shape' (= Fi 'muovailla') (< PMari **nünčä-*). This verb is not found in the dialect dictionary by Moisio amd Saarinen (2008), but it is mentioned as the root of *nöńčə̑k* 'dough' by Alhoniemi (1985 : 156). These Mari words can be added to the following cognate set: SaaN *njuozzit* 'hammer flat and thin; roll out (dough)', Komi *ńužal-*, Udm *ńuža-*, KhE *ńi̯nč-*, KhS *ńinč-*, KhN *ńǐš-* (< PKh **ńi̯nč-*), MsN, MsE *ńūns-*, MsS *ńōnš-* 'stretch (intr.)' (< PMs **ńūnš-*). The proto-form of the verb has been reconstructed as **ńanča-* (Sammallahti 1988 : 546).

Semantically the equation is rather self-evident; the Saami cognate has the meaning 'roll out (dough)', which makes the connection to the Mari derivative meaning 'dough' straightforward. Also the verbal meaning 'shape' is close to the meaning 'hammer flat and thin' in Saami. Presumably the original meaning was 'stretch' as in Permic and Ugric, and this gave rise to a more specific meaning 'stretch or otherwise work something flat and thin'.

As regards consonant correspondences, the match is precise. An unusual feature is, however, the labial front vowel *ü* ~ *ö* (< PMari **ü*) in Mari; normally PU **a* is reflected as PMari **å* or **o*. However, there are also several examples of PU **ä* being reflected as PMari **ü*. It must be noted that we can reconstruct PMari **ü* also for words which now show the vowel *ö* in all dialects, as such cases seem to be restricted to the position before

**r*, and in the same environment *ü* is not attested. Apparently, there has been a regular change PMari **ü* > *ö* / *_r* in all varieties of Mari. As this complementary distribution is acknowledged, no distinct phoneme **ö* can be reconstructed to Proto-Mari (Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte 2014 : 131—135), contrary to what is claimed by Itkonen (1954 : 213—215).

MariE, MariW *üp* 'hair on the head' < PMari **üp* < PU **i̯pti* (UEW 14—15)
MariE *ülö-*, MariW *ülə-* 'under-' < PMari **ülə-* < PU **i̯la* (UEW 6)
MariE, MariW *šüm* 'scale' < PMari **šüm* < PU **si̯mi* (UEW 476)
MariE *šün*, *šön*, MariW *šün* 'vein, sinew' < PMari **sün* < PU **si̯ni* (UEW 441)
MariE *šüδö*, MariW *šüδə* 'hundred' < PMari **šüdə* < PU **śi̯ta* (UEW 467)
MariE (Morki) *nölə pikš* 'arrow with a bone head' < PMari **nülə* < PU **ńi̯li* 'arrow' (UEW 317)
MariE, MariW *mör* 'strawberry' < PU **mi̯rja* 'berry' (UEW 264—265)
MariE *nörö*, MariW *nörə* 'flexible, pliable' < PMari **nürə* < PU **ńi̯ri* (Aikio 2006 : 20—21)
MariE *nörγö*, MariW *nörγə* 'cartilage' < PMari **nürgə* < PU **ńi̯rki* (UEW 317)

Also new examples of this development seem to be found; see etymologies 6 and 10 below. Thus, MariE *nöńča-* 'shape' and *nöńčək* 'dough' could be derived from PU **ńi̯nča-*. Sammallahti (1988 : 546) reconstructs the verb as **ńanča-*, apparently on the basis of the Mansi reflex **ńūnš-*, which would rather seem to point to an original **a*. Despite this discrepancy in the vowel correspondences, the match between the Mari words and the Uralic cognate set is otherwise so precise that the etymology seems highly plausible, even though the reconstruction of the first-syllable vowel (PU **a* or **i̯*) remains ambiguous.

6. MariE *lüδa-*, MariW *lüδä-* 'be afraid' < PU **li̯d*V- 'be afraid'

Mari is the only branch of Uralic that has not preserved a reflex of the PU verb **peli-* 'be afraid' (UEW 370). The verb exhibiting this meaning is MariE *lüδa-*, MariW *lüδä-* (< PMari **lüdä-*), which has not been etymologized. The verb resembles the PSam root **le̯r*(*ə*)- ~ **ne̯r*(*ə*)- 'be afraid, be frightened', which can be reconstructed on the basis of NenT *leŕo-* 'be frightened, get frightened', *lerabta-* 'scare, frighten', SlkTa *le̯ri̯mpi̯-*, K *lari̯mpi̯-* 'be afraid', Kam *nerē-* 'get frightened', Mat *ne̯r-* 'frighten' (Janhunen 1977 : 83). The forms with *n-* apparently result from dissimilation: the first of two liquids changed into a nasal. Due to the close semantic and phonological similarity of PMari **lüdä-* and PSam **le̯r*V- it is in order to scrutinize whether they can be analyzed as cognate.

As regards the vowel correspondence, PSam **e̯* points to PU **i̯*. In Mari one can assume the development PU **i̯* > PMari **ü*, for which many parallels are known; see the discussion under the previous etymology (5). The correspondence Mari *δ* (< **d*) ~ PSam **r* can be explained by reconstructing PU **d*. However, one must note that also loss of intervocalic **d* is attested in Mari: cf. MariE *kue-*, MariW *koe-* 'weave' < PU **kuda-* (UEW 675), MariE *wem*, MariW *wim* 'marrow' < PU **widimi* (UEW 572). The reflexes of PU **d′* show the same kind of unexplained duality. The development PU **d′* > PMari **d* is attested in MariE, MariW *koδe-* 'leave behind' < PU **kad′a-*

(UEW 115—116), MariE *puδârte-*, MariW *pâδârte-* 'break' < PU **puďa-* (Aikio 2006 : 22) and MariE, MariW *šuδala-* 'scold, curse' < PU **šoďa-* (Aikio 2002 : 27), whereas loss occurred in MariE *šüj*, MariW *šü* 'charcoal' < PU **šüďi* (UEW 477—478) and MariE, MariW *u* 'new' < PU **wuďi* (UEW 587).

An unusual phonological feature is the initial **l-* in the Samoyed form, as a regular change **l-* > **j-* is assumed to have taken place in Samoyed: cf. e.g. PU **lumi* > PSam **jom* 'snow', PU **lupsa* 'dew' > PSam **jəptå* (Janhunen 1981 : 223), PU **lämpi* 'warm' > PSam **jämpə* 'clothes', PU **läśä-* 'cover' > PSam **jäsä-* (Aikio 2002 : 13). However, there are also other examples of the preservation of **l-* in Samoyed before PU **į* (> PSam **į*, **ę*):

- PSam **lę* 'bone' < PU **lįwi* ~ **luwi* (UEW 254—255). — This is the only Uralic etymology for a Samoyed word with initial **l-* that is accepted by Janhunen (1981 : 261—262). Probably the original form was **lįwi*, and the Finno-Ugric cognates pointing to **luwi* have undergone a sporadic labialization of the vowel that was caused by the following **w*.
- PSam **lįmpə* (> NenT *limpəd*^{ə} 'bog, swamp', EnT, EnF *lubo* 'mud', Ngan *l'üŋhə*, SlkK *lįmbį* 'boggy place'). — This word is cognate with Fi *lampi* 'pond, small lake' and SaaN *luoppal* 'small lake or lake-like widening along a river' (cf. UEW 235, where the comparison is regarded uncertain).
- PSam **lįntə* (> Ngan *lįntə* 'plain, valley'). — This is the previously unrecognized reflex of PU **lįnti* 'lowland', and thus cognate with Fi *lansi* 'lowland', MariW *landaka* 'small valley, depression (esp. in a forest)', Komi and Udm *lud* 'meadow'. UEW (235—236) cites other Samoyed cognates (NenT *ləmdo*, EnF *lodu*, SlkK *lamduka* 'low' < PSam **ləmto*), but these are rejectable because of irregular vocalism: PSam **ə* is a regular reflex of PU **u*, not of PU **a*. Also, PSam **ləmto* does not match MariW *landaka* because PU **mt* is reflected as MariW *mδ*. SaaN *luovdit* 'lie down, crouch down' and MdE, MdM *lańďa-* 'crouch down' must be excluded from this cognate set due to both phonological and semantic reasons; these reflect an etymologically distinct verb **lamt*V- 'crouch down'.

In one case, however, the shift **l-* > **j-* occurred before PSam **ę* in part of the Samoyed languages: cf. NenT *jebc*^{ə}, SlkK *ťopsə*, Kam *ďepsü*, Mat *čę̄bsę* ~ *sę̄bsę* 'cradle' (< **jępsə* < PU **lįpśi* 'cradle') ~ EnF *l'iču* and Ngan *labsə* 'cradle' (< PSam **lępsə*) (UEW 230). The change **l-* > **j-* in the word for 'cradle' is exceptional, and as also PSam **lęr*V- 'get frightened' is taken into account, there are altogether four examples demostrating that PU **l-* was regularly retained before PU **į* in Proto-Samoyed.[1]

7. MariE *pâze-*, MariW *pəze-* 'hold, cling to' < PU **pitä-* 'hold, cling to'

The meaning of MariE *pâze-*, MariW *pəze-* 'hold, cling to' comes very close to that of MdE *piďe-*, MdM *piďə-* 'stick to, cling to, adhere' and Fi *pitä-* 'hold; keep; like; (impers.) be necessary, have to' (< PU **pitä-*), which gives reason to examine their possible etymological connection. Even though the

[1] Michalove (2001) has suggested that the shift PU **l-* > PSam **j-* only took place before PU labial vowels. However, several examples of the shift before illabial vowels other than **į* have been later discovered.

vowel correspondence is regular, at first sight the comparison would seem problematic due to the voiced sibilant *z* as an assumed reflex of PU **t*. However, it appears that also this can be explained as a result of regular development.

To account for the sibilant *z* we first need to consider Mari morphophonological rules, according to which intervocalic /*z*/ alternates with an affricate: in syllable-final position /*z*/ is replaced by MariE /*č*/ and MariW /*c*/ (Alhoniemi 1985 : 35—36). The affricate /*č*/ is phonetically palatalized ([*č́*]) in MariE, and in parts of the East dialects (in Birsk, Kaltasy and Krasnoufimsk) also a palatalized sibilant /*ź*/ occurs instead of /*z*/, which can be regarded a more original sound value. While the alteration can be synchronically described as a rule of the type *z* > *č*, it is evident that historically the affricate represents the original sound, and in intervocalic position the affricate became assibilated (**ć* > **ʒ́* > *ź*, *z*). On the basis of the correspondence MariE *č* ~ MariW *c* the PMari affricate **ć* can be reconstructed. A different affricate, PMari **č*, underlies the correspondence MariE *č* ~ MariW *č*, and the reflexes of this affricate show no such morphophonological alteration. Also the Birsk, Kaltasy and Krasnoufimsk dialects of MariE preserve the two affricates distinct: PMari **č* is reflected as *ç* in these dialects.

The verb *pə̑ze-*, *pəze-* has an unalternating sibilant *z* because conjugation II verbs do not have consonant stems and thus the sibilant never ends up in syllable-final position in the paradigm (Alhoniemi 1985 : 105—107). Even so, there is of course no obstacle to assuming that *z* reflects an earlier **ć* in this verb, too. In fact, this seems to be true of all instances of *z* in inherited words, as MariW *c* and *z* are in complementary distribution in common Mari vocabulary: *c* occurs in consonant clusters and word-finally, whereas *z* is found in intervocalic position. Hence, a single phoneme, PMari **ć*, can be reconstructed as the source of both MariE *č* ~ MariW *c* and MariE *z* ~ MariW *z*. Younger loanwords such as MariE *teŋə̑z* 'sea' (< Tatar *deñiz*), however, do not follow the original distributional restrictions of *z*.

The PMari reconstruction of the verb *pə̑ze-*, *pəze-* can thus be written **pǐće-*. The Mari affricate **ć* seems to have two distinct sources, PU **ć* and **t*. There seem to be two reliable examples of the development PU **ć* > PMari **ć*: PU **e*/*ićä* > PMari **ǐćä* > MariE *iza*, MariW *əzä* 'older brother' (UEW 78) and PU **p*V*ć*(V)*l*/*r*V- > PMari **pǐćəlmə* > MariW *pəzəlmə* 'rowan' (UEW 376); note that the consonant cluster in MariE *pə̑zle*, *pizle* 'rowan' must have secondarily arisen through syncope, as in this form *z* unexpectedly occurs in preconsonantal position. On the basis of these words we can assume that PMari **ć* reflects the PU palatalized affricate **ć*. A probable third example is MariE *čə̑γə̑lte-*, MariW *cəγəlte-* 'tickle' (< PMari **ćǐgəlte-*), which would seem to be cognate with SaaN *čagalduvvat* 'tickle (intr.)', *čagalduhttit* 'tickle (tr.)' (< PU **ćikiltä-*). Mari *γ* in this verb is abnormal, however, as intervocalic **k* was regularly lost in Mari. It is also worth noting that in loanwords PMari **ć* appears as a reflex of **ć* in the donating language: cf. MariE, MariW *izi* 'small' < PMari **ići* < PPerm **ǐćǐ* (> Udm *ići* 'little').

However, there are also two word-roots which show PMari **ć* as the reflex of PU **t*(*t*): PU **kütki-* > PMari **kǐćke-* > MariE *kə̑čke-*, MariW *kəcke-* 'harness' (UEW 163, 903) and PU ?**wij*(*i*)*t*(*t*)*i* > PMari **wǐć*, **wǐć-ət* > MariE *wič*, MariW *wəc* 'five (attr.)', MariE *wizət*, MariW *wəzət* 'five' (UEW 577).

The feature common to these words is that in both cases the vowel **ĭ* (< **i*) precedes the stop **t*. Yet a third, somewhat more complicated instance of the same development is seen in the domain of inflectional morphology. The 2SG ending shows allomorphy between **-t* and **-ć* in the present and the past tense of conjugation I verbs: MariE *purat*, MariW *pə̑rat* 'you bite' (< PMari **pŭrat*) vs. MariE *purə̑č*, MariW *pə̑rə̑c* 'you bit' (< PMari **pŭrə̑ć*). The phonological development of these forms must have been approximately as follows: PU **puri-t* : **puri-ji-t* > **purə-t* : **pur-i-t* > **purə-t* : **pur-i-ć* > PMari **pŭra-t* : **pŭrə-ć* (cf. Bereczki 1994 : 40). Compare SaaN *borat* 'you eat' : *borret* 'you ate' and Fi *puret* 'you bite' : *purit* 'you bit' (< PU **puri-t* : **puri-ji-t*). Hence, we may assume that there was a sound change **t* > **ć* */i_* in Pre-PMari. MariE *pə̑ze-*, MariW *pəze-* 'hold, cling to' < PMari **pĭće-* < PU **pitä-* forms yet another example of this sound law.

UEW (386) gives also Ob-Ugric cognates for Fi *pitää* and MdE *peďe-*: KhE, KhS *pit-*, KhN *pĭt-* 'end up in, come somewhere; begin' (< PKh **pīt-*) and MsS, MsW *pät-*, MsE *pǟt-*, MsN *pat-* 'fall, moult' (< PMs **pät-*). However, the vowel correspondece is not regular: the expected reflex of PU **i* is PKh and PMs **ä*. As these verbs remain also semantically very distant from PU **pitä-* 'hold, cling to', they cannot be included in the cognate set.

8. MariE *šuma-***, MariW** *šə̑ma-* **'become tired, languish' < PU** **śoma-* **< Proto-Aryan** **śāmya-* **(> Sanskrit** *śā́myati* **'becomes quiet, fatigues, ceases')**

MariE *šuma-* and MariW *šə̑ma-* 'become tired, languish' reflect PMari **šŭma-*. This verb can be compared to the following two reconstructed roots: PU **śoma-* 'hunger, thirst' (> Komi *śumal-*, Udm *śuma-* 'be hungry', Hung *szomjas* 'thirsty') and PU **śom*V*-r*V- (> MdE *śumoŕďe-*, MdM *śumərdə-* 'worry, grieve, mourn', Hung *szomorú* 'sad', *szomorít* 'worries, distresses') (UEW 485). These two word groups have also been considered members of the same cognate set; Sammallahti (1988 : 549) reconstructs the root as **śoma/i-* 'worry'. Honti (2013 : 30) considers Sammallahti's solution semantically unfounded, and postulates two separate cognate sets. However, 'hunger', 'thirst', 'worry' and 'grief' all involve some kind of suffering, either bodily or mental. The previously unnoticed Mari cognate supports the idea that the words for 'worry, grief' and 'hunger, thirst' are etymologically related: both meanings can be derived from the sense of 'becoming tired, languishing' found in Mari. Compare, e.g., Fi *nääntyä* 'languish; starve' and English *languish* 'become feeble, weak, or enervated; become dispirited; assume an expression of grief or emotion appealing for sympathy' (borrowed from Old French *languir* 'be listless, grieve, fall ill').

As regards phonology, the match is regular. While the normal reflex of PU **o* is PMari **o* or **u*, the development PU **o* > PMari **ŭ* is attested before following labial consonants (**p* and **m*) (Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte 2013 : 168—169). Thus, we can reconstruct a PU verb **śoma-* 'get tired, languish'. This reconstruction is further confirmed by an external loan etymology: the verb was obviously borrowed from Proto-Aryan **śāmya-* > Sanskrit *śāmyati* 'becomes quiet, fatigues, ceases'. The substitution of **-m-* for Aryan **-my-* is accounted for by the fact that the cluster **-mj-* was prob-

ably not permitted in Uralic; there is no etymology suggesting such a cluster in Proto-Uralic or even in those later proto-languages which have generally preserved clusters well (Proto-Saami, Proto-Finnic and Proto-Samoyed). As regards vocalism, there are several parallels for the substitution of PU **o* for Proto-Aryan **ā* and **a* (Koivulehto 1999), for example PU **ora* 'awl' (> SaaI *uári*, Fi *ora*, MdE *uro*, Hung *ár*) < Proto-Aryan **ārā-* > Sanskrit *ā́rā* 'goad; awl'.[2] Aryan **śāmya-* derives from PIE **ḱemh$_2$-*, and is related to Greek κάμνω 'be tired, work hard at' and Middle Irish *cuma* 'grief, sorrow' (Mayrhofer 1986—2001 II 611). Note that the meaning of the Irish form fits well with the semantics of MdE *śumoŕďe-* and Hung *szomorú*.

9. MariE *šüδa-*, MariW *šüδä-* 'clear (wood, road, field, etc.)' < PU **sinti-* 'cut, clear (wood)'

The verb **santi-* 'cut; clear (wood)' is reconstructed on the basis of Saami and Mordvin: cf. SaaS *soedtedh* 'trim (branches of trees); cut down trees (to clear the way)', SaaN *suoddat* 'chop (meat or fish for cooking); clear (wood), make a clearing in forest' (< PSaa **suontę-*), MdE *sańďe- ~ sańďa-*, MdM *sańďə- ~* (irreg.) *seńďə-* 'clear (wood)' (UEW 751). These words show a resemblance to MariE *šüδa-*, MariW *šüδä-* 'clear (wood, road, field, etc.)', but the equation has not been proposed in etymological dictionaries. Paasonen's East Mari dictionary (Siro 1948 : 131), however, mentions Md "*śańďi-*" (sic) as the cognate of MariE *šüδa-*; the initial palatalized sibilant *ś-* is apparently a typing or printing error.

MariE *šüδa-* and MariW *šüδä-* go back to PMari **südä-*; the initial **s-* instead of **š-* can be reconstructed on the basis of the Bolshoj Kilmez dialect form *śüδa-*. This corresponds to the reconstructed verb **santi-* quite regularly. Traditionally PMari **ü* has not been considered a regular correspondent of a Uralic back vowel (Itkonen 1954), but there nevertheless seem to be numerous examples of PMari **ü* as the reflex of PU **į̑*; see the discussion under etymology 5. The proto-form can thus be written as **sį̑nti-* (> **santi-* in Saami and Mordvin), and the Mari verb *šüδä-* can be recognized as yet another example of the development **į̑* > PMari **ü*. The correspondence of the second-syllable vowels is also regular: both Saami **ę* and Mari **ä* are regular reflexes of PU **i*-stems, and an original **i*-stem is also implied by the palatalized consonant cluster *-ńď-* in Mordvin.

As regards consonant correspondences, PMari **s-* (> Bolshoj Kilmez *ś-*, other dialects *š-*) is a regular reflex of PU **s-* before front vowels, contrasting in this environment with PMari **š-* (> Bolshoj Kilmez *š-*) which is the regular reflex of PU **ś-*. The Mari spirant *δ* (< **d*) is not a fully regular representative of the PU cluster **nt*, but there are parallels for the denasalization of this cluster: cf. PU **jäntiŋ* 'bowstring' > PMari **jĭ̈däŋ* > MariE *jə̑δaŋ*, MariW *jəδäŋ* (UEW 92), PU **lunta* 'bird, waterfowl' > PMari **lŭdə* > MariE *luδo*, MariW *lə̑δə̑* 'duck' (UEW 254). Denasalization also occurred in some grammatical morphemes, such as derivational suffixes forming frequentative

[2] Note that UEW (342) reconstructs the word as Pre-Proto-Aryan **ōrā* < PIE **ōlā-*. This is, however, erroneous; the Aryan word is cognate with Proto-Germanic **ēlō-* 'awl' (> English *awl*, German *Ahle* 'awl'), which shows that Proto-Aryan **ārā-* must reflect earlier **ēlā-* (Kroonen 2013 : 117). Hence, the vowel **o* in PU **ora* 'awl' must be a substitute for Aryan **ā*.

verbs (cf. Alhoniemi 1985 : 160): MariE *-eδa-*, MariW *-eδä-* (< PMari **-edä-* < PU **-(i)nti-*, cognate with SaaN *-ad-*, *-adda-*, MdM *-ńďə-*, KhE *-nt-*) and MariE *-eδə̑la-*, MariW *-eδəlä-* (< PMari **-edəlä-* < PU **-(i)ntili-*, cognate with the Fi *-entele-*). On the other hand, counterexamples to the development are PU **kanta-* > PMari **kånde-* > MariE *konde-*, MariW *kande-* 'carry, bring' (UEW 124) and PU **lı̮nti* 'lowland' > MariW *landaka* 'small valley, depression (esp. in a forest)' (see the discussion under etymology 6). Even though the development PU **nt* > PMari **d* does not appear to be fully regular, the tendency of denasalization in clusters containing a nasal and an obstruent in Mari is a well-established phenomenon. Examples are known also of the developments PU **nś* > PMari **ž* (cf. PU **kunśi-* 'urinate' > MariE *kuža-*, MariW *kə̑ža-*; UEW 210) and PU **mp* > **b* > PMari **w* (see etymologies 3 and 4 above). Hence, PMari **südä-* can be quite naturally counted among the roots that have undergone denasalization in Pre-PMari.

10. MariE *tüž*, *tüjüž*, MariW *tüž* 'pregnant (of animals)'
< PU **tejniš* < Indo-European **d^heinyah$_2$-/*d^heinus* 'pregnant (of animals)'

SSA (s.v. *tiine*) compares Fi *tiine* and its Finnic cognates (Kar *tiineh*, Veps *t'ineh*, Est *tiine* < PFi **tīneh*) to MariE, MariW *tüž* 'pregnant (of animals)'. The comparison is regarded highly uncertain. The dictionary maintains that if *tiine* developed from earlier **teine-*, it may a loan from Indo-European **d^heinyah$_2$-* (> Lithuanian *dienì* 'pregnant (of animals)') or **d^heinus* (> Sanskrit *dhenú-* 'milking cow', Avestan *daēnu-* 'female animal'). As the semantic match between the Finnic, Mari and Lithuanian forms is precise, the etymology deserves further consideration.

Assuming that PFi **tīneh* goes back to Pre-PFi, it is clear that the vowel **ī* cannot be original, as the word has not participated in the Pre-PFi change **ti* > **ci*.[3] Aikio (2012 : 241—243) suggests that the PFi **ī* may have developed from combinations of various vowels and the glide **j*. In the case of **tīneh* we can postulate Pre-PFi **tejniš*, and assume a sound change **ej* > **ei* > ****ī*** which took place after the change **ti* > **ci*. There do not seem to be counterexamples to the assumed change **ei* > **ī*, as Finnish words with the diphthong *-ei-* reflect PFi **-ai-* in cases where the word has a Pre-PFi etymology: e.g., Fi *heinä* ~ Võro *hain* 'grass, hay' < PFi **haina* < **šajna* < Baltic **šainas* 'hay' (SSA s.v. *heinä*); Fi *seiso-* ~ Võro *saisa-* 'stand' < PFi **saisa/o-* < PU **saŋśa-* (UEW 431). Still, the reconstruction of the Pre-PFi form as **tejniš* would remain conjectural, were it not that it can be verified by its Indo-European loan original **d^heinyah$_2$-*, **d^heinus*. There is also another loanword that seems to have undergone the same vowel development: Fi *piimä* 'buttermilk', Est *piim* 'milk' < PFi **pīmä* < **pejmä* < Aryan **peimen-* > Avestan *paēman-* 'mother's milk' (cf. SSA s.v. *piimä*).

The remaining question is whether also Mari *tüž* 'pregnant (of animals)' can be derived from the same proto-form **tejniš*. This indeed seems to be the case. Crucial forms for phonological reconstruction are dialectal MariE *tüjüž* (Birsk) and *tü̮üž* (Kaltasy), which demonstrate that *tüž* must go back to an earlier disyllabic form with a vowel sequence (PMari **tüəž*); the glide

[3] Traditionally a change **ti* > **si* has been assumed for Pre-PFi. Kallio (2007 : 235–236, 241–242), however, has shown that Võro has often preserved an affricate as a reflex of Pre-PFi **t* before **i*.

-j- in the form *tüjüž* is a secondary hiatus-filling sound. The vowel sequence, in turn, implies the earlier presence of an intervocalic consonant that became lost in Mari. There is no obstacle to assuming that this consonant was **n*, as the loss of intervocalic **n* is regular after front vowels in PU **i*-stems: cf. PU **meni-* 'go' > PMari **mie-* > MariE *mije-*, MariW *mie-* (UEW 272), PU **peni* 'dog' > PMari **pi* > MariE *pij*, MariW *pi* (UEW 371), PU ?**ńijni* 'bast' > **ńini* > PMari **ni* > MariE *nij*, MariW *ńi* (UEW 707).

The only remaining issue is the labial front vowel **ü* as a reflex of PU **e* in PMari **tüəž*. There are many parallels for the development PU **e* into PMari **ü* or **ŭ̈*: cf. e.g. PU **keji-* 'cook, boil' > PMari **küä-* > MariE *küjä-*, MariW *küä-* 'ripen; roast, cook' (UEW 143—144); PU **śepä* 'neck' > PMari **šü* > MariE *šüj*, *šü*, MariW *šü* (UEW 473—474); PU **čečä* 'uncle' > PMari **čŭ̈čə* > MariE *čüčü*, *čüčö*, MariW *čəčə* 'maternal uncle' (UEW 34—35); PU **keri* 'tree bark' > PMari **kŭ̈r* > MariE *kür*, MariW *kər* (UEW 148—149); PU **terä* 'blade, edge' > PMari **tŭ̈r* > MariE *tür*, MariW *tər* (cf. UEW 522, 795); PU **weti* 'water' > PMari **wŭ̈t* > MariE *wüt*, MariW *wət* (UEW 570—571). The difference between **ü* and **ŭ̈* results from the consonant environment: Proto-Mari initial-syllable reduced vowels could only occur in preconsonantal position, but in final position and before another vowel separated by a hiatus, a full vowel must occur (Itkonen 1954). Hence, we can assume that also in PMari **tüəž* 'pregnant (of animals)' the vowel **ü* reflects PU **e*. Thus, the word turns out to be a regular cognate of PFi **tīneh* 'pregnant (of animals)' and a loan from Indo-European **$d^h einah_2$-* or **$d^h einus$*.

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Abbreviations

EnF — Forest Enets; **EnT** — Tundra Enets; **Fi** — Finnish; **Hung** — Hungarian; **Kam** — Kamas; **KhE** — East Khanty; **KhN** — North Khanty; **KhS** — South Khanty; **MariE** — East Mari; **MariNw** — Northwest Mari; **MariW** — West Mari; **Mat** — Mator; **MdE** — Erzya Mordvin; **MdM** — Moksha Mordvin; **MsE** — East Mansi; **MsN** — North Mansi; **MsS** — South Mansi; **MsW** — West Mansi; **NenT** — Tundra Nenets; **Ngan** — Nganasan; **PFi** — Proto-Finnic; **PIE** — Proto-Indo-European; **PKh** — Proto-Khanty; **PMari** — Proto-Mari; **PMd** — Proto-Mordvin; **PMs** — Proto-Mansi; **PSaa** — Proto-Saami; **PSam** — Proto-Samoyed; **PU** — Proto-Uralic; **SaaI** — Inari Saami; **SaaN** — North Saami; **SaaS** — South Saami; **SaaU** — Ume Saami; **SlkK** — Ket Selkup; **SlkTa** — Taz Selkup; **Udm** — Udmurt.

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ЛУОББАЛ САММОЛ САММОЛ АНТЕ (*АНТЕ АЙКИО*) (Оулу)

ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ УРАЛЬСКИХ ЭТИМОЛОГИЙ III. МАРИЙСКИЕ ЭТИМОЛОГИИ

Эта статья — третья 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 марийских слов: марВ *jə̑me-*, марЗ *jəme-* 'отупеть' (< праур. **jämä-*), марВ *jičke-*, марЗ *jəčke-* 'нарвать, дергать' (< праур. **ńičkä-*), марВ *wüt-kowə̑*, марЗ *koe*, *ko* 'волна' (< праур. **kompa*), марВ *lewe*, марЗ *liwe* 'теплый' (< праур. **lämpi*), марВ *nöńča-* 'формировать, оформлять' (< праур. **ńjnča-*/**ńančа-* 'тянуть'), марВ *lüδa-*, марЗ *lüδä-* 'бояться' (< праур. **lid*V-), марВ *pə̑ze-*, марЗ *pəze-* 'застрять, зацепиться' (< праур. **pitä-*), марВ *šuma-*, марЗ *šə̑ma-* 'устать, истомиться' (< праур. **śoma-*), марВ *šüδa-*, марЗ *šüδä-* 'чистить, прореживать, убирать (деревья, дороги, поля и т. д.)' (< праур. **sjnti-*), марВ *tüž*, *tüjüž*, марЗ *tüž* 'беременная (о животных)' (< праур. **tejniš*).