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LIVONIAN *kõps* 'HARE' AND FINNIC **korva* 'EAR'

1. Finnic languages seem to have substituted the Uralic stem **noma* for **jānis* : **jānikse-* already at the Proto-Finnic stage. Livonian as spoken in Kurland lacks the reflex for **jānis* having *kõps* (nominative plural *kõpsūd*) instead; in West Livonian (i.e. in Lūž and Pizā) *õ* [e] has merged with *i*, therefore the word has the shape *kips* in West Livonian. Livonian spoken in Livonia, however, had *jens* which apparently comes from **jānis*. Hence one can well advocate that *kõps* is a Kurland Livonian innovation.

There is no direct source for *kõps* in modern Livonian. But *kõps* being an *ū*-stem, as evidenced by the nominative plural form, it is possible to speculate that the stem vowel *-ū-* may well have come from the former **o*. The stem vowel **o* in nouns is often a deverbal derivational suffix. Although there are several sources of *õ* in the first syllable in Livonian (cf. Viitso 1978), *õ* in *kõps* may, at least theoretically, have come from either **e* or **o*. The fact that Livonian has the verb *kopsõ* 'to peel off', which is incompatible with the noun *kõps*, does not exclude entirely a protoform with **o*.

1.1. Hence one can look for possible cognates, first of all from Estonian where there are both *õ* and a series of descriptive verbs of the pattern *kVps-* (and, for the most part, the corresponding series of descriptive nouns derived by means of the suffix *-u* < **-o*). Cf. (1) *kapsata* 'to jump (usually over something)'; (2) *kepselda*, *kepsutada* 'to caper, e.g. a lamb, kid, calf, foal, or a child'; fig. 'to dance a quick dance')' whereas the corresponding noun (a) occurs in the verb phrase *kepsu lüüa* 'to cut a caper', and (b) has specialized to denote certain moving objects, first of all (i) connecting rods that transmit power from a rotating parts of a machine to some other part or vice versa, and (ii) figuratively ones legs; (c) *kopsata* 'to strike', *kopsida* 'to strike repeatedly with a light instrument, stick or stone against a hard substance (e.g. as a shoe-maker when repairing a boot with a hammer and nails)'; (d) *kõpsutada* 'to make a series of light short noise when walking on the hard soil or floor (iV)' and the noun *kõps* (gsg *kõpsu*) that refers to any single sound of such a series.

In Estonian, a hare can *kepselda* and *kapsata*. Maybe it can also *kõpsutada* (I am not aware of the condition of its nails). Therefore, at least at a glance, the idea of connecting the Livonian *kõps* with the Estonian onomatopoeitic root *kõps-* is conceivable if it comes from an earlier **keps-*. Note that in view of the completeness of the Estonian sound symbolic series *kaps-* : *keps-* : *kops-* : *kõps-* one cannot identify the origin of the vowel *õ* in *kõpsutada*: *õ* [e] in Estonian comes first of all from the former **o* (in the majority of cases) or from **e* (in stems with the

former back vocalism). Such an ambiguity caused by the completeness of the system is not unique in Estonian descriptive verb stems. This circumstance makes a serious argument for the age of the Estonian system and, hence, one must not be too enthusiastic in connecting the Livonian noun with the Estonian verb stem.

1.2. Curiously enough, there exists in two Finno-Ugric languages a stem with the meaning 'hare' that bears a certain similarity to the Livonian *kõps*, notably Komi *keč* and Kukmor (or Kazan) Udmurt *keč*. Beginning with Yrjö Wichmann (1903 : 73) the Komi and Kukmor Udmurt stem for hare has been univocally identified with the Udmurt stem *keč* 'goat'. The Proto-Permic stem proposed on the basis of the identification has been considered an Old Bulgarian borrowing (cf. also Räsänen 1920 : 38; 1923 : 93; Uotila 1933 : 152; Лыткин 1964 : 155; Федотов 1968 : 108; КЭСК 143; Rédei, Róna-Tas 1983 : 8—9). More exactly, according to Rédei and Róna-Tas, the Permic words come from Late Old Bulgarian (about 750—800) **kăci* 'goat'. Hence, the semantic shift 'goat' > 'hare' must have occurred in Komi and in Kukmor Udmurt. I suppose that the assumption or, rather, the claim for the shift was based on the idea of the similarity of the hare's long ears and the goat's long horns in the minds of the predecessors of Komis and Kukmor Udmurts. Consequently, the widespread Udmurt term for 'hare', *lud keč*, has been explained as having the original meaning 'meadow goat'.

On the other hand, one must conclude on the ground of Rédei and Róna-Tas that there are no reliable traces of **kăci* in Chuvash as the Chuvash *kačaka* 'goat' «is a loan because the *č* would regularly have become *-š-*». Similarly, Tatar *kăčä* 'goat' is considered a borrowing because on should expect *i* instead of *ä* in the first syllable. Rédei and Róna-Tas avoid the problem of the source(s) of borrowing of the Chuvash and Tatar words. But they compare the Udmurt *lud keč* and the Chuvash *mulkač* 'hare' and identify *-kač* with the Chuvash *kača*. Jegorov (Еропов 1964 : 135), however, explains the Chuvash *mulkač* as a borrowing from Udmurt: as 'hare' was in Udmurt *lud keč*, 'rabbit' could probably be called *mu lud keč*, i.e. 'ground hare', and after borrowing into Chuvash **mu lud keč* developed into **mulatkeč* > **mulkeč* > *mulkač*.

Still it is possible to speculate about the so-called preconditions for the exceptionality of the Chuvash and Tatar words assuming that they are inherited from a Turkic source. Firstly, one should expect the homonymy of reflexes of Proto-Turkic **kăč* 'evening', **kăč-* 'run away, to go by' and of **kăci* (whose Proto-Turkic origin is not so clear) in case of regular development of the stems in Chuvash and Tatar, cf. Chuvash (regular) *kaš* 'evening, night', *kaš-* 'to go by; spend (e.g. a day)' and Tatar (regular) *kič* 'evening', *kič-* 'to go by'. Secondly, *kačaka* is not unique among the genuine stems of Chuvash in having *č* for the expected *š*, cf., e.g., *kača* 'bitter' (cf. Turkish *kıçı*, Old Turkic *qiči* 'mustard'), *kača* in *kača pürne* 'small finger' (cf. Turkish *küçük* 'small', Old Turkic *kičig*, Qaračaj *kičče*).

However, no speculations can eliminate the complicated and maybe even contradictory problems concerning the Udmurt, Chuvash and Tatar terms for goat and hare. Moreover, one must realize that it is anything but evident that Komi *keč* is really related with the Udmurt word for 'goat'.

Probably in Udmurt two stems of the same shape but of different origin have met, one bearing the meaning 'hare', the other the meaning 'goat'. The second meaning won, except in Kukmor, because goats be-

came more important than hares. The Udmurt phrase for 'hare', *lud keć*, may well be conditioned from the need to distinguish the old term *keć* from the new expanding homonymic term *keć*: in order to leave the *keć* bred and milked at home as an unmarked one, whereas the *keć*, accidentally met outside, e.g. on the meadow, was marked with the attributive word *lud*. Goat-breeding in Komiland is a relatively late branch learned from Russians, so in Komi no conflict between the terms for the two mammals ever occurred. One must even ask whether goat-breeding really reached Udmurts and Chuvashes already in the 8th century. For me it remains a problem whether Udmurts learned the term for goat from Chuvashes or considerably later from Tatars. Similarly, it is conceivable that Chuvashes learned about goats from Udmurts only after those had learned about them from Tatars.

Last, not least, one cannot exclude the possibility that the Livonian, Komi and Kukmor Udmurt terms for hare are related. In that case their common protoform was **kepčs*, and one must ask which of the two stems **jānis* or the Livonian *kōps* is older. Note that up to now no stem with the original cluster **pč* is known in Permic. That Livonian exhibits some unique cognates of unique coincidental features with the other Finno-Ugric languages does not come as a surprise, cf. Livonian *umārš* 'apple': Moksha *umar* 'apple', the presence of dative in the case system both in Livonian and Mordvinian, a similar development of the stem for ice in Livonian and Mordvinian, cf. Livonian *jei*: Mordvinian *ej*.

2. The Finnic stem for 'ear' **korva* is attested in all Finnic languages, cf. Livonian *kūora* (psg *kuorrō*), Estonian *kõrv* (gsg *kõrva*), Votic proper *kõrva*, Coastal Estonian, Kukkuzi Votic, Ingrian, Finnic, North and South Karelian *korva*, Aunus Karelian *korvu* (gsg *korvan*), Lude Karelian *korvę* (gsg *korvan*), Kuujärvi Lude, Veps *korv* (gsg *korvan*); the stem is known also in most Sami dialects, cf. Lehtiranta 1989, no. 482 **kōrvē*; however, both SKES 221 and SSA 408, hesitatingly, consider it a Finnish borrowing in Sami despite of the bulk of very specific meanings of the stem in different Sami dialects, cf. North Sami *goar've* in *bæll'je-goar've* 'auditory passage', Swedish Sami *kårve* 'oarlock, a U-shaped device for holding an oar in place', Skolt Sami *koarv* 'a pole ending in a fork formed by two branches'. Although already Otto Donner has connected the Finnic stem with the Permic stem for 'leaf', notably with Udmurt *kwar*, cf. also Komi *kor*, **korva* is usually considered one having no firm cognates in other Uralic languages (cf. SKES 221; MSzFE 266; UEW 187), only SSA 408 treats this connection as a reliable one. Paul Ariste (1962 : 64) has considered it a Kunda or Proto-European substratum word.

2.1. No matter whether the Komi *keć* 'hare' and Udmurt *keć* 'goat' are related or not, one cannot reject the underlying idea of that hypothesis, namely that of the similarity of ears and horns. In the light of this idea the ridiculous Finnic stem **korva* can be treated as a borrowing from an early Indo-European language where its original meaning was 'horn, antler'. Some of the meanings of the Sami cognates of the Finnic stem are not very far from that meaning and even some Finnish and Karelian derivatives of the stem, e.g. *korvakk*, 'a branched pole used to support e.g. a haystack' and Karelian *korvakeh* id. denote objects that resemble antlers. (In addition, it is possible that Lude Karelian *korv*, *korvę* 'ear; a pole used to support the end of a haystack', cf. SKES 221, originally means just 'a branched pole', and not 'a side pole'.) The semantic change 'horn' > 'ear' was probably conditioned by the humorous use of the word, perhaps only in Finnic. In Finnic there is a related bor-

rowing from Indo-European with the meaning 'horn, antler', namely **sarvi* / **sarva* (Livonian *sōra* : psg *sarrō*; Estonian *sarv* : gsg *sarve*; Votic *sarvi* : gsg *sarvōō*; Ingrian, Finnish *sarvi* : gsg *sarven*) that is believed to be a Proto-Aryan borrowing in Proto-Finno-Ugric (Joki 1973 : 311; Rédei 1988 : 657; UEW 486—487). According to Rédei the corresponding Proto-Finno-Ugric stem was **śorwa* and the Proto-Aryan stem **śrva-*. Although I feel that etymologists have lumped together separate loanwords of different Finno-Ugric languages to get the Proto-Finno-Ugric form, the initial consonant **s-* of **sarva* / **sarvi* is still a substitute for the Aryan **ś-* from the Proto-Indo-European **k̑-*. In other words, if **korva* is related with **sarva* / **sarvi*, the Indo-European donor language must have had preserved the PIE palatalized velar stop **k̑* when **korva* was borrowed.

2.2. The above hypothesis leads to interesting problems, such as (a) which stem was borrowed earlier: **korva* or **sarvi* < **śorwa* and (b) which was the Indo-European donor language for **korva*. The set of the Indo-European languages where the PIE root **k̑er-* (cf. Pokorny 1959 : 574) has the extension **-ǵ-* is restricted to Latin, Celtic and Balto-Slavic, Aryan and Hittite. Except in Aryan (cf. Avestan *srū-* 'horn', *srvā-* 'finger or toe nail') and Hittite (cf. *karva-ǵar* 'horn'), the stem means some horned animal, cf. Latin *cervus* (< **k̑ereǵ-o-*) 'stag'; Cymric *carw* (< **k̑rǵ-o-*) 'stag'; Lithuanian *kárvė* 'cow', Russian Church Slavic *кpавa*, Russian *коровa* (the Balto-Slavic words come from **k̑ōrǵ-ā-*). Hence there are three possible explanations of the case: (1) in the case of **korva* there has been an unknown IE donor language that underwent neither the satemization of the PIE palatalized velars nor the semantic shift 'horn' > 'a horned animal', (2) the stem **korva* was borrowed from (Pre-)Balto-Slavic before the semantic shift 'horn' > 'a horned animal' in the western IE languages, (3) **korva* (or **korwa*) was borrowed into Finnic and Sami from Pre-Aryan before satemization and **śorwa* into Proto-Finno-Ugric from Proto-Aryan after satemization.

All these explanations are applicable to Finnic and Sami. Apparently one should avoid, whenever possible, claiming contacts with unknown languages, as for explanation (1).

The Pre-Balto-Slavic origin of **korva*, cf. explanation (2), is an unlikely possibility because the occurrence of the semantic shift 'horn' > 'a horned animal' in different Indo-European branches points to very close contacts between the corresponding ancient communities at that time, and hardly any contacts of Finno-Ugrians and Balto-Slavs can be traced back to a still older period.

Explanation (3) clearly includes an interesting contradiction. Actually one can well claim that the Finnic stem **sarva* / **sarvi* is not inherited from Proto-Finno-Ugric **śorwa*, being either a separate borrowing from Aryan (not obligatorily from Proto- or Pre-Aryan!) into Finnic (note that the Finnic **a* of the first syllable is an irregular correspondence of the Proto-Finno-Ugric **o!*) or a Wanderwort. This possibility is an indication that similar problems may arise with several other borrowings which exhibit satemization in the Aryan donor language. Still the theoretical possibility of a separate borrowing from Aryan into Finnic does not make the borrowing of **korva* (or **korwa*) from Pre-Aryan directly into Finnic and Sami (or Proto-Finno-Sami) more probable and, therefore, there are good reasons to suppose that **korva* (or **korwa*) 'horn' has been borrowed into a considerably older Finno-Ugric protolanguage and to look for other possible reflexes of the stem.

2.3. In view of that we cannot ignore the old identification of the Permic stems for 'leaf', notably Komi *kor*, Udmurt *kwar*, and the Finnic stem **korva* 'ear': there could well occur the semantic change 'ear' > 'leaf' in Proto-Permic; i.e. the direction of the change was opposite to that assumed traditionally. This direction can be supported by the Estonian phrase *puud on hiirekõrvous* (~ *hiirekõroul*) 'there are young leaves in trees', literally: 'trees are in mouse ears'. Then the shift 'horn' > 'ear', discussed in 2.1, must have occurred in Finno-Permic.

Last, if the Sami-Finnic-?Permic stem had once the meaning 'horn, antler' then it is possible that a certain Ob Ugric and Samoyedic stems come from the same source, cf. Mansi **kēr* (Tavda *kār*, Pelym *kēr*, Sośva *χār*), Hanti **kār* (Vah-Vasjuga *kār*, Surgut *kār*, Kazym *χōr*) that have the meanings 'reindeer bull; bull; male of an animal'; Tundra Nenets *χōrv* 'reindeer bull; male of an animal', Enets *kuša, kura* 'reindeer bull', Nganasan *kuru*, Selkup *qorļ* 'male', Kamas *kora* 'bull; male' (cf. Honti 1982 : 156, no. 319; Janhunen 1977 : 74 sub **korā*). Here the stems may have first undergone the semantic shift 'horn' > 'a horned animal', known from Indo-European languages, and may have later participated in one or several changes from the shift chain 'a horned animal' > 'male of a horned animal' > 'male of an animal' > 'male'.

The Ob Ugric and Samoyedic stems have traditionally been connected with Finnic **koira* 'dog', **koiras* 'male', Ižma Komi *kir* 'male of the dog', Hungarian *herél-* 'to geld, castrate', etc. and considered to represent a derivative of the Proto-Uralic root **koje* 'man; human being' (cf. SKES 207; UEW 168—169 sub **koj(e)-ra* 'Männchen'; SSA 385). As the Ob Ugric and Samoyedic stems show no traces of the Proto-Uralic *-*j*-, they are ambiguous both phonetically and semantically. In other words, one cannot prove or refute neither of the two hypotheses about the origin of the Ob Ugric and Samoyedic stems.

Abbreviations

gsg — genitive singular, *iv* — intransitive verb, *npl* — nominative plural, *psg* — partitive singular.

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ТИИТ-РЕИН ВИИТСО (Тарту)

ЛИВСКОЕ *kõps* 'ЗАЯЦ' И ПРИБАЛТИЙСКО-ФИННСКОЕ **korva* 'УХО'

1. Ливское слово *kõps* не имеет соответствий в прибалтийско-финских языках. Однако оно может быть объяснено на базе эстонской серии дескриптивных глаголов типа *kVps-* как отглагольное существительное. Слабой стороной этого объяснения является относительно позднее формирование эстонской серии и неопределенность гласного первого слога исходной основы. С другой стороны, ливское существительное соотносимо с пермскими словами, имеющими то же значение, ср. коми *keč*, удм. (Кукмор) *keč*, и возводимыми к праформе **kerčs*. В таком случае следует отрицать тождество коми *keč* 'заяц' и удм. *keč* 'коза'.

2. Финно-саамская основа **korva* может представлять собой индоевропейское заимствование, имевшее первичное значение 'рог' (самые близкие к этому значения сохранились в саамских диалектах) и образованное от того же праиндоевропейского корня **ker-*, как и прафинно-угорское заимствованное из праарийского **sorwa* 'рог'. В таком случае основа **korva* или **korwa* заимствована из доарийского языка еще до сатемизации индоевропейских палатализованных велярных смычных. К той же основе восходят, вероятно, и коми *kor* и удм. *kwar* 'лист', причем в прапермском имел место семантический сдвиг 'ухо' → 'лист'. Кроме того, к этой основе могут восходить и определенные обско-угорские и самодийские основы со значением 'рогатый самец; самец', обычно предполагаемые как рефлексы прауральской основы **koj(e)-ra* 'самец'.