

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE 14TH AND 15TH PROTO-SAMOYEDIC VOWELS

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ABSTRACT

Proto-Samoyedic vowel system has been studied for more than a hundred years, since the relation between the Samoyedic languages was discovered. The first, as far as we know, publication of this system was in [12].

This is what it looked like:

**i *ü *j *u*

**e *ö *ê *ę *o*

**ä *å*

Later, after analyzing modern Nganasan data, E. Helimski [7] proposed adding two more phonemes to the system (see analysis of these additions for relevance in [1]):

**i *ü *j *u*

**e *ö *ə *ê *ę *o*

**ä *a *å*

On the base of the analyses of the Taz-Selkup vocalism system and Narym, Ket and Middle-Ob' dialects' field and archival audio materials was noticed some additional series of regular correspondences between the Selkup dialects and Northern Samoyedic languages such as Nenets, Enets and Nganasan. Further analysis of these series showed correspondences in Kamassian, which reliably denotes their Proto-Samoyedic nature, as well as in the Finno-Ugric languages:

1. Proto-Selkup **o/*ō* < Proto-Samoyedic **å*
(> Kamassian *a*) < Proto-Uralic **a // *o* (> Saami N *oa*)

2. Proto-Selkup **uə/*uō* < Proto-Samoyedic **v*
(> Kamassian *u, o*) < Proto-Uralic **a* (> Saami N *uo*)

3. Proto-Selkup **u/*ū* < Proto-Samoyedic **ʌ* (> Kamassian *u, o, uu*) < Proto-Uralic **o, *u*.

Keywords: *Vowel system, Samoyedic languages, Historical-comparative analysis*

INTRODUCTION

Proto-Samoyedic vowel system has been studied for more than a hundred years, since the relation between the Samoyedic languages was discovered. The first, as far as we know, publication of this system was in [12].

This is what it looked like:

**i *ü *j *u*

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Later, after analyzing modern Nganasan data, E. Helinski [7] proposed adding two more phonemes to the system (see analysis of these additions for relevance in [1]):

**i *ü *j *u*

**e *ö *ə *ê *e *o*

**ä *a *å*

At the same time he proposed reinterpreting the quality of Janhunen's phonemes in the following way (according to [1]):

[9], [14]

**i > *i (> Nganasan *i*), *e (> Nganasan *ɨ*)*

**e > *ä*

**ä > *a*

Still, when studying the Selkup vocalism system and analyzing Narym, Ket and Middle-Ob' dialects' field and archival audio materials on LingvoDoc system <http://lingvodoc.ispras.ru/> we noticed some additional series of regular correspondences between the Selkup dialects and Northern Samoyedic languages such as Nenets, Enets and Nganasan. Further analysis of these series showed correspondences in Kamassian, which reliably denotes their Proto-Samoyedic nature, as well as in the Finno-Ugric languages. Results of this analysis are presented in Table 1:

Table 1

Proto-Uralic according to [16]	<i>*a / *o</i> (> Saami N <i>oa</i>)	<i>*a</i> (> Saami N <i>uo</i>)	<i>*o, *u</i>
Proto-Samoyedic	<i>*ǎ</i> (*ǎ [12])	<i>*v</i> (*ǎ [12])	<i>*ʌ</i> (*ǎ [12])
Northern Samoyedic languages Here and below the Northern Samoyedic languages are cited according to the following sources: Nenets as in [15], Enets as in [8], Nganasan as in [9].	Nenets <i>a</i> , Enets <i>a</i> , Nganasan <i>o</i>	Nenets <i>a</i> , Enets <i>a</i> , Nganasan <i>o</i>	Nenets <i>a</i> , Enets <i>a</i> , Nganasan <i>o</i>
Selkup dialects Here and below Selkup dialects are cited according to the following sources: Middle Taz as in [10]; Narym and Togur as in the field and archival materials at http://lingvodoc.ispras.ru ; if the word is missing from these sources, it is cited according to the dictionary [5], or [12] (two latter sources are marked in the text, the rest are used by default)	Proto-Selkup <i>*o/*ō</i> (Selkup <i>o/ō</i> [3]) > Taz, Middle-Ob' <i>o/ō</i> , Narym <i>ɔ</i> , Ket <i>o</i>	Proto-Selkup <i>*uə/*ū</i> (Selkup <i>uə</i> [3]) > Taz <i>ɛ/ē</i> , Narym <i>vɛ</i> , Middle-Ob', Ket <i>vɛ</i> in the beginning of the word Taz <i>wɛ</i> , Narym <i>va</i>	Proto-Selkup <i>*u/*ū</i> (Selkup <i>u/ū</i> [3]) > Taz, Middle-Ob' <i>u/ū</i> , Narym, Ket <i>u</i> ,
Kamassian Kamassian forms are cited according to the dictionary [6].	Kamassian <i>a</i>	Kamassian <i>u, o</i>	Kamassian <i>u, o, u</i>

One can see from Table 1 that there are three different vowels in Proto-Selkup which correspond to the Proto-Samoyedic **ǎ* according to the reconstructions [9], [14], and that these three vowels have specific correspondences in Kamassian and Proto-Uralic. From that one can deduce that Proto-Samoyedic vowel system has to be modified by adding two more phonemes: Proto-Samoyedic **v*, **ʌ*. The resulting inventory should look like this:

**i *ü *j *u*

**e *ö *ə *â *ɛ *o*

*ä *a *v *â *A

Moreover, based on the two series of correspondences for Proto-Uralic *a: 1) Saami N *oa* – Proto-Selkup **o*/**ō*, Kamassian *a*; 2) Saami N *uo* – Proto-Selkup **uə*/**uā*, Kamassian *u*, *o* it can be assumed the existence of two *a in proto-Uralic language, but this question needs further study.

Below are some examples to illustrate these oppositions.

Proto-Selkup **o*/ō* < Proto-Samoyedic **â* (> Kamassian *a*) < Proto-Uralic **a* (> Saami N *oa*)**

With Uralic etymologies

1. Taz *qossy* ‘offering, sacrifice; present’ (Here and below the diagnostic forms for establishing the oppositions are marked as bold.) – Narym *kə:z* ‘gift’ < Proto-Samoyedic (The Proto-Samoyedic form and the forms from modern Samoyedic languages are cited from [12]) **kāsəj* ‘payment’ (> Nenets T *xaco*) [14: 61] < Proto-Uralic **kačV* ‘present’ [24: 111];

2. Taz (*ima*)*qota* ‘old woman’ < Proto-Samoyedic **kātā* ‘old woman’ (Nenets T *xada*; Enets *kaða?* ‘mother’s sister’; Nganasan *kodu?a* ‘old woman of kin’) [14: 62] < Proto-Uralic **koska* ‘elder woman of kin’ [24: 189], but the initial syllable vowel reconstruction which the authors of [24: 189] propose does not occur to be reliable, as the reflexes of **koska* do not point reliably at the reconstruction of the Proto-Uralic **o* (cf. [13]). One can surmise that the reconstruction for this word is Proto-Uralic **kaska* > (Saami N *goas’ke -sk-* ‘mother’s sister’);

3. Taz *n’oma* ‘hare’ – Narym *n’evá* ‘hare’ (The Proto-Samoyedic form and the forms from modern Samoyedic languages are cited from [12]) < Proto-Samoyedic **ńāmā* (Nenets T *нява*; Enets *naba*, Nganasan *ńomu*) < Proto-Uralic **ńoma(-IV)*; in this word, Proto-Uralic **ńama(-IV)* (> Saami N *njoammel*), can be reconstructed, as was mentioned before, according to [13] Mordvinic *u* (Erzya *numolo*, Moksha *numol*) don’t necessarily mean Proto-Uralic **o* in the first syllable; they might as well descend from Proto-Uralic **a* in an unstressed Proto-Finno-Volga position;

4. Taz *pōliqo* ‘ingest’ – Narym *pəlgu* ‘swallow, ingest’ < Proto-Samoyedic **pālā-* (Nenets T *палесь* ‘swallow’; Enets *pari?* ‘sky’; Nganasan *holiə*, *holi?ə* ‘sky, top of the head’; Koibal *поолдола* ‘gulp’) < Proto-Uralic **pala* (> Saami N *buole*, *boaldet* [4], fin. *pala* ‘кусок’) [24: 350];

5. Vas *поняар* ‘hem’ [6: 192] < Proto-Samoyedic **pāncə* ‘lower edge’ (Nenets T *пан*; Enets *padi*; Nganasan *hontəlir*, *hontəə*; Kamassian *phandr* ‘hem’) < Proto-Uralic **pančV* ~ **pačV* (**pončV* ~ **počV*) [24: 353];

6. Taz *kontj* ‘root, float cord (from cedar roots)’ – Narym *kəntz* // *kandz* ‘root’ < Proto-Samoyedic **wāncə* (Nenets T *вано*; Enets *badu* ‘root, snag’; Nganasan *bəntu* ‘root’; Kamassian *тоһă*, *твһă* [7: 41]; Koibal *мына*; Taigi *мондо*) [14: 171] < Proto-Uralic **wačV* ~ **wančV* [24: 548].

Without Uralic etymologies

7. Taz *on-* ‘oneself; one’s’ – Narym *онд* ‘himself’ < Proto-Samoyedic **ānə* (Nganasan *ηonənə*) [14: 18];

8. Taz *kopti* ‘bed, bedstead; place’ – Narym *қopt* ‘bedstead, place, bed’ < Proto-Samoyedic **wāt³wə* (Nenets T *ва’’ав*; Enets *baʔa* ‘place’; Nganasan *bəbə* ‘place, bed’; Kamassian *bāpu* ‘place, bed’ [7: 8]) [14: 173];

9. Taz *porqi* ‘clothes’ – Narym *pərg* ‘overcoat’ < Proto-Samoyedic **pārka* (Nenets T *парка*; Enets *page*; Kamassian *p’āryā*, *p’āryā* [7: 52]; Koibal *pyrga*; Mat. *harga* [8: № 262]) [14: 116];

10. Taz *cōpty* ~ *cōptyl’* ‘thin’ – Narym *т’э’ptiga* ‘flat, thin’ < Proto-Samoyedic **jāptā* (Nenets T *япта*; Enets *data*; Nganasan *dobtəʔlikü*; Mat. *čabtəmbuj* [8: № 163] ‘thin’) [14: 38];

11. Ob’ *қожэ* ~ *қожэ* ~ *қочэ* ‘snowstorm, blizzard’ [6: 87] < Proto-Samoyedic **kācə* ‘snow-blast’ (Nenets T *хад*; Enets *kaɖum-* ‘blizzard is starting’; Nganasan *koduʕ* ‘snow-blast’) [14: 57];

12. Taz *qōptyŋqo* ~ *qoptyŋqo* ‘castrate’ – Ket *қонмангы, қонмэнгы* ‘castrate’ [6: 91] < Proto-Samoyedic **kāptə-* ‘castrate’ (Nenets F *χāptā*; Enets *katur-*; Nganasan *kəbtərkus’a*) [14: 60];

13. Taz *pōry* ‘pile warehouse, planking for fish drying’ < Proto-Samoyedic **pārz* ‘warehouse’ (Nenets *nape*; Enets *pare*) [14: 116];

14. Taz *qopty-* ‘drown smb’ – Tym *қонмэргы* ‘drown smb’ [6: 91] < Proto-Samoyedic **wāptā* ‘pour’ (Nenets T *вабтаць*; Enets *bata-* ‘pour, pour out’; Nganasan *bobtu-* ‘pour into, pour our’; Kamassian *ba’ptəl’am* ‘I am pouring’; Mat. *bahtə-* [8: № 92]) [14: 172];

15. Taz *topy* ‘leg; paw’ – Narym *təb* ‘leg’ < Proto-Samoyedic **tāpз* (Enets *tabu* ‘root, base’; Nganasan *tohi* ‘base, trunk, stem’), **tāpз* ‘tree trunk’ (Kamassian *tāb*) [14: 152];

16. Taz *sompy-* ‘shamanic’ – Ket *сомбаргы, Об’ сомбэргы* ‘shamanize’ [6: 213] < Proto-Samoyedic **sāmpə-* (Nenets *самбэць*; Enets *sabodir-* ‘do magic’; Kamassian *sāmol’am, sāməl’am* ‘I am shamanizing’ [7: 57]) [14: 135].

Exception (non-standard reflex of the Proto-Samoyedic **ā* in Selkup dialects):

Taz *tūšy* ‘lizard’ – Vas *mōua, mōue*, Tym *mjuu, mjuua*, Tur *mјсы*, El *тјосэү* ‘lizard’ [6: 242] < Proto-Samoyedic **t^lānsə* ‘lizard’ (Nenets T *танз*; Enets *tađu* ‘lamprey, worm-bait’, Kamassian *t’vnzə, t’onzə* [7: 69]; Koibal *танза*; Mat. *танже*) [14: 151] < Proto-Uralic **sVŋéV* (**sVŋéV-IV*).

Proto-Selkup **uə*/uə̄* < Proto-Samoyedic **v* (> Kamassian *u, o*) < Proto-Uralic **a* (> Saami N *uo*)**

With Uralic etymologies

1. Taz *c̣ətaḷịqo* ‘meet, run into’ – Narym *tevédaʃpugu* ‘meet’ < Proto-Samoyedic **jātə* ‘walk’ (Nenets Т ядăсь; Enets *daɖata-*; Nganasan *dotu-* ‘meet’; Taigi *dschadim* ‘I walk’; Karag. *джадашинь*) [14: 38-39]. In [24: 106] a Proto-Uralic **juta-* is reconstructed, but, as is stated in A. Aikio’s thesis [2] (“However, the comparison is irregular: Mordvin -*t-* presupposes an original geminate **-tt-*, and the vocalism of the Samoyed forms does not match Proto-Samoyedic **jotē* < Pre-Saami **juta-*). Instead, the Saami verb could be regularly explained as a Baltic loanword: cf. Lithuanian *judėti* ‘to move’” [2]), the Saami forms in this etymology do not correspond regularly to the Mordvinian and Samoyedic ones and are probably a Baltic loan. Mordvinian reflexes, as shown in [13], can point to any back vowel in a non-stressed position;

2. Taz *q̣ēlj̣i* ‘fish’ – Narym *kvél* ‘fish’ < Proto-Samoyedic **kālā* (Nenets Т халя; Enets *kare*; Nganasan *koli*; Kamassian *k’ō, л̣*; Koibal *кола*; Mat. *kālā* [8: № 461]) [14: 59] < Proto-Uralic **kala* (> Saami N *guolle -l-*, Fin. *kala*) [24: 119];

3. Taz *ṭēlịqo* ‘to have stolen’ – Narym *tvē’lagu* ‘to have stolen’ < Proto-Samoyedic **tālā* (Nenets Т талесь ‘to steal’; Enets *tarir-* ‘I steal’; Nganasan *толар-* ‘to steal’; Kamassian (C) *thol’erl’im*, (D) *t’ạ̄ərl’ām*, *t’ọ̣ərl’ām* ‘I steal’; Mat. *tāler-* [8: № 975]) [14: 150] < Proto-Uralic **sala* (> Saami N *suolâ -llâg-* ‘thief, thievish’, Fin. *sala* ‘secret’) [24: 430];

4. Тым *ṭiwer* ‘pimples’ [14: 38] < Proto-Samoyedic **jār* (Nenets Т яр’) [14: 38] < Proto-Uralic **jarV* ‘nodules, growths on a tree’ (> Fin. *jaarun* ‘нарост на дереве’) [24: 90];

5. Taz *q̣ērịqo* ~ *qerịqo* ~ *qerqo* ‘to call, to invite, to name’ – Narym *kvérgu* < Proto-Samoyedic **kā-* ‘to call, to ask’ (Nenets Т ханзь; Enets *ка̣жадо?* ‘попросил’; Mat. *ка̣η* ‘I ask’ [8: № 424]) [14: 56] < Proto-Uralic **kanV* (**ка̣ηV*) [24: 125];

6. Taz *q̣ēcj̣i* ‘hot weather’ – Тым *квычэк* ‘hot’ [6: 41] < Proto-Samoyedic **kājā-* ‘sun’ (Nenets Т хаерась; Enets *kaja*; Nganasan *kou*; Kamassian (D) *k’ụja*, *k’ụja*, *k’ụjo* [7: 33]; Koibal *күяж*) [14: 58]. In [24: 167] these words are proposed to be the reflexes of the Proto-Uralic **koje*, but we, together with the authors of [22: 383] think this comparison to be not useful;

7. Taz *q̣ēcịqo* ‘to have left smth’ – Narym *kvédzegu* < Proto-Samoyedic **kājā-* ‘to leave smth’ (Nenets Т хаесь ‘to leave smth’; Enets *kae-*; Nganasan *koi-* ‘to have left smth’; Kamassian *ḳọjol’ām* ‘I leave smth’ [7: 31]; Mat. *kojo* [8: № 531]) [14: 58] < Proto-Uralic **kaδ’a* (> Saami N *guodde -d-* ‘to leave smth’, Fin. *katoa-*) [24: 115];

8. Taz *q̣enqo* ‘to depart, to go, to ride, to leave, to go away’ – Narym *kvéngu* < Proto-Samoyedic **kān* ‘to go’ (Nenets *ханăць* ‘to depart’; Enets *kanus-* ‘to go away’; Nganasan *konịkə-* ‘to start to leave’; Mat. *kan-* [8: № 413]; Koibal *кандагамъ* ‘I ride’) [14: 59] < Proto-Uralic **kanta* (> Saami N *guod’de- -dd-* ‘to carry, to bring’, Fin. *kanta* ‘base, leg’) [24: 124];

9. Taz *kētikū* ‘left-handed; left; from the left, to the left, leftward’ – Tым *квыдыге*, Ob’ *квѣтэкэ*, Ket *квэдыгей*, Tur *кыдыгä* ‘left’ [6: 41] < Proto-Samoyedic **wātz* ‘left’ (Nenets T *вадуцей*; Nganasan *bätid’i* ‘left’) [14: 172] < Proto-Uralic **wasa* [24: 559].

10. Taz *wenti* ‘nelma’ – Narym *vandz* < Proto-Samoyedic **āncz* (Nenets F *һанды* ‘nelma’) [14: 18] < Proto-Uralic **ončV* (> Fin. *vasen* ‘left’)[24: 339];

Without Uralic etymologies

10. Taz *sēriqo* ‘to rain; to soak by rain’ – Narym *fē’r* ‘rain’ < Proto-Samoyedic **sārā-* ~ **sārə-* (Nenets T *сарэ* ‘rain’; Enets *sare* ‘rain’; Nganasan *copya* ‘rain’; Kamassian *surno*, *su, rno* ‘rain’ [7: 60]; Mat. *sörüh* [8: № 908]) [14: 135];

11. Taz *qētiqo* ‘to illuminate’ – Ket *квэдыгэ*, Ob’ *квэһиуу* ‘to start to shine; to shine for a long time’ [6: 82] < Proto-Samoyedic **kāt’ā* ‘light’ (Nenets F *kāttatat*; Enets *кададу?* ‘candle’; Nganasan *katəgə* ‘candle’; Mat. *kadabtə-* ‘to throw light’ [8: № 379]) [14: 62];

12. Taz *kētiqo* ‘to grow, to bring up’ < Proto-Samoyedic **wātā* ‘to grow, to feed’ (Nenets T *вадась*; Enets *бада-* ‘to grow’; Nganasan *bətu-* ‘to have grown’; Kamassian *bud’l’ām*, *bo, d’l’ām*; Koibal *быдла* ‘I feed’; Mat. *badə* [8: № 88]) [14: 172];

13. Narym *kvédəgu* ‘to swear’ – Ket *kuəp’le* ‘to swear’ [3: 276] < Proto-Samoyedic **kātə* ‘to swear’ (Enets *каду-* ‘to swear’; Kamassian *k, ud’l’ām* ‘to swear’);

14. Taz *tētipi* - El *məməne* ‘shaman’ [6: 251] < Proto-Samoyedic **cācūpū* (Nenets T *мадебя*; Enets *тадобе* ‘shaman’; Mat. *дядэ*) [14: 32]. There are also cited in [14: 32] as reflexes for this etymology Kamassian *t’ārb’* [7: 68] and Koibal *тапбэ*, but it is rightfully pointed out in [5: 180-181], that *rb* cannot be a reflex < **c*.

15. Taz *weci* ‘meat; flesh, body’ – Narym *vadz’* ‘meat, food’ < Proto-Samoyedic **ājā* (Nenets T *һая*; Enets *aja* ‘body, flesh, meat (as a body part)’; Kamassian *uḷa* ‘meat’ [7: 80]) [14: 17];

16. Taz *wēšiciqo* ‘to rise, to fly up’ – Narym *vazəgú* ‘to stand up, to rise, to fly up, to rise’ < Proto-Samoyedic **ānsū* (Nganasan *һансүтə-*, *һансүтəт* ‘to rise, to rise to one’s feet’) [14: 18];

17. Taz *werqi* ‘large; elder; magnitude, size’ – Narym *varg* ‘large, elder’ < Proto-Samoyedic **ārə* (Nenets T *һар* (*һарка*); Enets *arum-* ‘to increase, to grow up’; Kamassian *ury, o* ‘large’ [7: 81]; Koibal *урга* ‘large’; Mat. *opga* [8: № 816]) [14: 19];

18. Taz *wenil* ‘again’ – Tым *ванбар* ‘anew’ [6: 22] < Proto-Samoyedic **ānz* (Nenets T *һани*; Enets *āni* ‘other, one of the others’; Nganasan *һонə*) [14: 18].

Proto-Selkup **u*/ū* < Proto-Samoyedic **а* (> Kamassian *u, o, w*) < Proto-Uralic **o*, **u* (A Taz word *mulymryqo* — El *мулиқо* ‘to talk’ is not included in**

this group, because we agree with the hypothesis of [3: 133] that it is a loan from Khanty *mul-* ‘to pray’, and, as such, it shouldn’t be a reflex of Proto-Samoyedic **mā-* ‘to speak’ [14: 88].)

With Uralic etymologies

1. Taz *quntiqo* ‘to die, to be severely ill’ – Narym *kúgu* ‘to die, to be killed’ < Proto-Samoyedic **kãä-* (Nenets Т *хась* ‘to die, to be killed’; Enets *kaa-* ‘to die, to be killed’; Nganasan *kuəgu-* ‘to die’; Kamassian *kuul'em* ‘I am dying’; Koibal *кулягандамь* ‘I am dying’; Mat. *kā-* [8: № 367]) < Proto-Uralic **kola* ‘to die’ (> Fin. *kuole-* ‘to die’) [24: 173];

2. Tым *k'ūb'dä* [3: 261], El *консэ* ‘fish bladder’ (The vowel of the first syllable is not quite clear in El *o*. It could be due to non-perfect recording of the southern and central dialects in the [5] dictionary, as there are several writing variants for a number of words) [6: 51] < Proto-Samoyedic **kãpãtãjãj-* ‘fish bladder’ [14: 60] (Nenets Т *хабдө*) < Proto-Uralic **kupe(-na)* ‘fish bladder’ (> Fin *kupinas*) [24: 212];

3. Ket *kuuska* [14: 60] < Proto-Samoyedic **kãsä* ‘dry’ (Nenets Т *хасыӱ*; Enets *kasuo*; Nganasan *kos'üä* ‘dry’) [14: 60] < Proto-Uralic **kuška* (**koška*) (> Saami N *gõikes -i'ka(s)-* ‘dry’) [24: 223];

4. Taz *muŋkynз* ‘bosom’ – Ob' *музым* ‘bosom’ [6: 131] < Proto-Samoyedic **mã-* ‘breast’ (Enets *magu?* ‘breast’) [14: 88] < Proto-Uralic **mOlV* (**mOljV*, **mOlkV*) ‘breast’ [24: 289];

5. Taz *musyltygo* ‘to wash; to have a wash’ – Ob' *мулэжугу, мулэжэгу* [6: 132] < Proto-Samoyedic **mãsä-* ‘to wash’ (Nenets Т *масць*; Enets *masu-* ‘to lick off, to wash away, to wash smb, to wash smth’; Kamassian *bezel'am, bãzãl'am, buzãl'o, m* ‘I wash’; Koibal *бызла* ‘he washes’; Mat. *masä-* [8: № 642]) < Proto-Uralic **muške* (**moške*) [24: 289];

6. Taz *n'ütj* ‘grass; hay’ – Narym *n'udž* ‘grass, hay’ < Proto-Samoyedic **ñãc*, **ñãcã* (Nganasan *n'otã* ‘grass’), **ñãcã* (Nenets Т *няда*; Enets *nadiudo* ‘light-colored Icelandic moss, which the reindeers don’t eat’; Kamassian *no'd*, Koibal *но* ‘hay’, *ноть* ‘grass’) < Proto-Uralic **ñãcV* ‘grass’ (> Saami N *njuõcco-rasse* ‘equisetum’) [24: 311], this word’s reflex is presented in Saami, Komi and Samoyedic languages, but these words might as well be a reflex of Proto-Uralic **ñočV*, as shown in [16];

7. Taz *n'ūgo* ‘to lick, to lick smth, to lick oneself’ – Narym *n'ugl'εpigu* ‘to lick, to lick smth’ < Proto-Samoyedic **ñã-* (Nenets Т *нянзць*; Enets *nadiõ-*; Nganasan *n'ond'ã'tã* ‘to lick’; Kamassian *nulãm* ‘I lick’ [7: 47]) < Proto-Uralic **ñõla* [24: 321] (> Fin. *nuole-* ‘to lick’);

8. Taz *pütjil* ‘cheek’ – Narym *püdal* ‘cheek, cheeks’ < Proto-Samoyedic **pãt* (Kamassian *pũ'ma*; Koibal *putmo*; Mat. *ho'lo* ‘cheek’ [8: № 306]), **pãtz* (Nenets Т *пайдь*; Enets *paede* ‘cheek’; Nganasan *hotuã* ‘cheek’) < Proto-Uralic **poske* [24: 396] (> Fin. *poski* ‘cheek’);

9. Taz *sūrimʒ* ‘animal; beast; bird; game, furs’ – Narym *χúrup* ‘big animal, beast, cattle’ < Proto-Samoyedic **sārmā* (Nenets Т *сармик*; Enets *same* ‘wolf’, Mat. *sarma* ‘hazel-grouse’ [8: № 853]) < Proto-Uralic **śurme* [24: 490];

10. Taz *untj* ‘louse’ – Narym *undz* ‘louse, lice’ < Proto-Samoyedic **āncə* (? ~ **āmcə*) [14: 18] (Nenets Т *ηan*^o [14]; Enets *adu*; Kamassian *uñuu* [7: 82]; Koibal *yhē*) < Proto-Uralic **omča* [24: 338];

11. Taz *qētti* ‘town, village’ – Ob’ Vas *қвачч, қвач* ‘town’ [6: 79] < Proto-Samoyedic **wāc* ‘fence’ (Nenets Т *ва*’; Enets *baʔa* ‘temporary pen for domestic reindeers’; Nganasan *bəʔ* ‘pen for reindeers; purse’) [14: 171] < Proto-Uralic **woča* (> Saami N *oacce -ʒ-* ‘enclosure’, Fin. *ottava* ‘net for salmon fishing’).

Without Uralic etymologies

13. Taz *cūriqo* ‘to weep’ – Narym *teu'rəgu* ‘to start weeping, to weep’ < Proto-Samoyedic **jārə* (Nenets *яричь*; Enets *dīaro-* ‘to weep’; Kamassian *t'ōr'l'ām* ‘I weep’ [7: 79]) [14: 38];

14. Taz *tukyqo* ‘to scratch’ – Tym *tūg, əñnaB* [3: 176] < Proto-Samoyedic **jākkz* ‘to scratch oneself’ (Nenets Т *якць*; Enets *dīakude*; Nganasan *doʔku-* ‘to scratch oneself’; Mat. *čakmər-* ‘it itches’ [8: № 173]) [14: 37];

15. Taz *cumry* ‘long’ – Ob’ *чомб, чумб*, Vas, Tym *чюмб, чомбы*, Tur *чомпы*, Ob’ *чюббе*, Ket *чюмбу*, El *чюмбе* [6: 285] < Proto-Samoyedic **jāmpə* ‘long’ (Nenets Т *ямб*; Enets *dīabu*; Kamassian *num'o*, [7: 46]; Koibal *humo*; Mat. *n/ñambuh* ‘long, high’) [14: 37];

16. Taz *mūti* ‘large loop-like bend of a river; portage through the neck of such a bend’ – Tym, Tur *муч* ‘channel, former riverbed, portage’ [6: 133] < Proto-Samoyedic **mācə-* ‘reach’ (Nenets *мадор*’ ‘river bend with thick groves on the banks’) [14: 89];

17. Taz *mūtyqo* ‘to bark; to bark at smb; to croak’ – Ket *мымайзы* ‘to start barking’ [5] < Proto-Samoyedic **mātə-* ‘to bark’ (Nenets Т *mat*^o ‘barking’ [14]; Enets *maɖu* ‘barking’; Nganasan *muzar-* ‘to bark’; Kamassian *mo, 'dl'am* ‘I bark’ [7: 40], Koibal *mōɖla* ‘he barks’, Mat. *madə-* [8: № 670]) [14: 89];

18. Taz *u* ‘ptarmigan’ – Ob’, Vas, Tym *у* ‘ptarmigan’ [6: 257] < Proto-Samoyedic **āwā* (Enets *aba*). [24: 13] consider this word a reflex of Proto-Uralic **aŋV*, but E. Helimski points out that the «Phonetic resemblance between the Saami and Northern Samoyedic (Nenets) forms is so great, including the “correspondence” between the syllable boundary sign in syllable boundary sign in the overlong geminate in Saami and the ejective sign in Nenets, and so non-conforming to normal schemes of historical phonetics, that it can only be explained as parallel formations of onomatopoeic nature; which, however, doesn’t deny the possibility of a contact genesis of this resemblance» [11].

Exceptions (the first syllable vowel in Selkup dialects does not correspond to Kamassian using our correspondences):

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