Yukaghir-Uralic comparison:
Kinship and social terminology

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Dedicated to the memory of Eugene Helimski (1950–2007)

The present minicorpus consists of 25 terms which can be divided into three sets:

Kinship terms of the *VCV*-pattern, typical *Lallwörter*: PY **awa* 'elder female relative', **eče:* 'father', **eme-* 'mother', **eńe* 'mother', **epe:* 'grandfather's or grandmother's sister', plus once *CVCV*: **ča:ča:* 'elder brother, uncle' (Σ 5+1).

Broader family: PY **e:nte:/*i:nte:* 'wife of the father's brother', **jeńča* 'husband; Yukaghir', **kel-* 'brother-in-law', **ńaj-/*ńa:-* 'daughter/sister-in-law', **pulej* 'son-in-law; brother-in-law' (Σ 5).

Human society and its representatives: PY **ant-* 'child', **či:* 'people', **jeŋe* 'an ancient tribe; ghosts', **köj* 'young man', **köntə* 'person, human being', **qaľm-/*qajm-* 'girl', **ńo:nt-* 'descendants', **(w)olma* 'people', **omo* 'people', **pel-* 'old man', **poj* 'orphan; slave', **soromə* 'man', **waŋqə-* 'ancestor; indigenous, native', **wont-* 'Yukaghir' (Σ 14).

The minicorpus covers all basic kinship and social relations. If the six terms with the *(C)VCV* structure are eliminated, the remaining 19 terms can be better explained as a common heritage shared with Uralic than borrowings (from whom?).

In the present study the Proto-Yukaghir reconstructions proposed by Irina Nikolaeva (2006 = HDY) are used as the first approximation. For the future it is a great task to verify them, supplement them, or make many of them more accurate. It could be a long-distance-track. Let us compare the situation in Uralic. The basic correspondences between consonants and their clusters were already mapped by Paasonen (1913–1917, 1918) and Toivonen (1928), but the vocalized reconstructions were introduced only by Collinder (1957, 1960). The reconstructions used in *Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1986f) became rather outdated with respect to the progress in the field of Samoyedic reconstruction (Janhunen 1977; Sammallahti 1979; Helimski/Xelimskij 1997, 2007; Anikin & Xelimskij 2007), implying a new approach to the Uralic reconstructions in general (Janhunen 1981; Sammallahti 1988; Aikio 2020). On the other hand, the attempt of Steinitz (1964) to base his Fenno-Ugric reconstruction of the protolanguage vowels on the Ob-Ugric data was not successful, since there was no satisfactory reconstruction of the Proto-Ob-Ugric

vocalism. Partially on the basis of Steinitz' data, Honti (1982) offered his version of the Proto-Ob-Ugric vocalism, but it was limited to the first syllable, without taking in account the umlaut-effect of the vowel of the second syllable. It was criticized by Xelimskij (1985), cf. also Helimski 2000, 2001. His follower Živlov (2006) brings already a very convincing study of the Proto-Ob-Ugric vocalism, where all vocalic reconstructions are made with respect to their sequence. Any comparable study for Proto-Yukaghir is naturally lacking and so the Uralic-Yukaghir vocalic correspondences remain open, at least for the present.

1. PY *ant- 'child' ~ FU$_R$ *sente 'to be born' = FPe$_S$ *sünti- 'to grow'

K *adil* 'youth; fellow; boyfriend'; KK *ad-*; KJ *adil, a:dil*; KD *adil*; SD *adil, adyl*; T *adil*; TK *adil*; TJ *adil*; TD *adil, adil'*; SU *adylloi*; RS *ady*; MC *apdyla* [rect. *andyla*]; B *andel-*; ME *antil-* id.; K *ad-ö:* 'son' = 'youth child'; KK *ad-uo*; KJ *ad-uo*; KD *ad-uo, ad-u*; SD *adi-orpa-*, *ad-io-*; T *ad-uo*; TK *ad-uo*; TJ *ad-uo*; RS *ad-o*; M *ád-o*; KL *and-ogi*; B *ant-oó*; ME *anth-u*; MK *ánd-uo* id.; K *adimuńe:-* 'to grow younger' (HDY 110, n. 99).

   Fenno-Ugric *sente 'to be born' (UEW 439) ~ Fenno-Permic *sünti- 'to grow' (Sammallahti 1988, 553) > Finnish *synty-* 'geboren werden; entstehen' (> Saami N *šâd'dât -dd-*, L *sjaddat*, K T *šantĭ-*, Kld *šonte-*, Not. *šøtte-*, A *šøndo-*), Estonian *sündi-* 'sich ereignen; entstehen, geboren werden'; Komi *sod-* (S P), *su͏d-* (PO) 'sich vermehren'; Hungarian *ell-* 'Junge werfen', Old Hungarian *edl-elmes* 'coniunx mea'.

   Note: The regular correspondence between Uralic *s- and Yukaghir ø was identified by Collinder (1957, 124). Let us mention that the analogous zero-continuant of Uralic *s- appears also in Hungarian.

2. PY *awa 'elder female relative' ~ U$_R$ *apȝ 'elder female relative'

K *abo:-* 'elder'; KJ *abuo-* id.; KD *abuo-* 'elder sister'; SD *abu-* id.; K *abu:j* 'elder'; KJ *abuj* 'elder sister or elder female cousin'; KD *abui* id.; MC *aua* 'sister'; BO *áwo* 'sister'; MK *awá* 'elder sister'; T *abučie* 'grandmother; mother-in-law'; TK *abučie* 'grandmother, mother-in-law'; TJ *abučie* 'grandmother; grandfather's or grandmother's sister, father's elder sister or elder cousin'; TD *-abučie* id.; MU *awutscha* 'sister'; KJ *abud'a* 'elder sister, elder female cousin' (HDY 115, n. 139).

   Uralic *apȝ 'elder female relative; aunt, elder sister' (UEW 15) > Komi *ob* (VU) 'Vatersschwester'; Khanty *opi̯* (Trj.), *ăpə, ăpi* (C) 'ältere Schwester' (Trj. C O), 'jüngere Schwester des Vaters' (Trj. O), 'Base, älter als ego' (Trj.), 'Tochter (älter als ego) des Bruders des Vaters' (C) (> Mansi N *ōpi* 'Tante'; Nenets Lj. *āppā*, P *āppa* 'ältere Schwester; Mutter'), Mansi *wūp* (P) 'Schwägerin, Tante; Frau des jüngeren Bruders des Mannes', *ūp* (So.) 'Frau des jüngeren Bruders der Mutter'.

   Samoyedic *äpå 'ältere Schwester' (Janhunen 1977, 21; Helimski 1997, 373, n. 1115; Alatalo 2004, 4) > Nenets *ńāba* (O) 'Stiefmutter, zweite Frau des Vaters, Frau des älteren

Bruders', Enets *óba* 'ältere Schwester', Nganasan *ŋafu*, gen. *ŋabu*, *ŋaba*; Selkup *abà·m* (VjV.), *aвa̍* (Ča), *appa*, *áppɑ* (Ke.), *apà*, *ăpà*, *ăbà* (N), *ăpà* (Čl.), besides (Ke.) *ǫр̀рǫ*, (KM) *oppom* '{my} older sister' (Alatalo 2004, 4–5); Mator *ühem* '{my} older sister', Karagas *uhàm*, Taigi *ÿhèm* id., 'Abakan' *yhä* 'sister',

Lit.: Nikolaeva, HDY 115, n. 139: Y+U.

3. PY *ečε:* 'father' ~ U_R *äćä* 'father' = U_A *aćća/*eć(ć)a/*ić(ć)a/*ajća

K *ečε:* 'father'; KK *et'ie*, *eśie*; KJ *ečie*, *ačie*; KD *ečie*; SD *eco*; RS *eče*, *ečé*; M *ete*; MC *jete*; MO *jezem*, B *etčea:*, ME *aittsche*; MK *otsché*; W *otjé* id. (HDY 150, n. 403).

Uralic *äćä* 'father' (UEW 22) ~ *aćća/*eć(ć)a/*ić(ć)a/*ajća* 'father' (Aikio 2020, 30–32) > Fenno-Ugric *iśä* (Sammallahti 1988, 541) > Saami *ač'če -čč-* (N), *ahttjē* (L), *a̮i̮čč* (T Kld.) 'father'; Khanty *ät̜i* (Trj.), *äśi* (O), Mansi *ā̆ćī* (TJ), *ɔ̄ś* (KU), *ās* (P LO) 'Vater des Vaters' (TJ KU P), 'Vater der Mutter' (TJ), 'Vater' (N).

Samoyedic *ajsa* ~ *jasa*? (Aikio, l.c.) ~ *ejsä* 'father' (Janhunen 1977, 22) > Nenets T *ńíśa*, Enets F *eśi* 'father', Nganasan *d̜esi̮* 'father; male'; Selkup *ɛsǝ* (Ta *ɛsi̮*, Ty *āzǝ*, K *ɛssǝ*) 'father'. Nenets *ŋāćeʔ* 'father!' (child.), Enets *ačaʔ* (K) are probably the *Lallwörter*.

Lit.: FUV₁ (1955), 1 & FUV 24 & Collinder 1957, 113, n. 1: Y+U.

Note: Bouda (1940, 72, n. 6) connected Y + Selkup *aʒa* 'father' and/or *ača* 'younger uncle' (Castrén) < Common Selkup *aćća* (Alatalo 2004, 29).

4. PY *eme-* 'mother' ~ U_RS *emä* 'mother, female' = U_JA *emä/*ämä

K *emej* 'mother'; KK *emej*; KJ *emei*; KD *emei*; SD *emej*; RS *emei*, *-óma*; KL *amej*; MK *oméi*; K *emme:* 'mummy; address used by a young husband to his older wife'; KK *emme*; KJ *eme*; KD *eme*; T *emmuo* 'affectionate address to a girl or young woman'; MC *eme*; MO *emom*; B *amea*; ME *a:me*; MU *omé* (HDY 158, n. 451).

Uralic *emä* 'mother, female' (UEW 74; Sammallahti 1988, 536) ~ *emä/*ämä* (Janhunen 1981, 257, n. 110; Aikio 2020, 44–45) > Finnish *emä* 'Weibchen; Mutter; Gebärmutter' (> Saami *jìèmie* 'Gebärmutter'), *emäntä* 'Hausmutter, Wirtin', *emäsika* 'Sau', Estonian *ema* 'Mutter; Gebärmutter'; Saami *æmest* (N) 'von der Geburt an', *æme-lii'ke* 'die Haut des neugeborenen Kindes', *iemē* ~ *āmē* (L) 'von Anfang an, von Natur'; Hungarian *eme* (*emét*) dial. 'Sau', Old Hungarian 'Weibchen', *em-bēr* 'Mensch', dial. 'Mann', *em-se* dial. 'Sau'.

Samoyedic *emä* (Janhunen 1977, 23) > Nenets *ńebe* (O), *ńeḿe* (Nj.) 'mother', Enets *ā* (Ch.), Nganasan *ńame*; Selkup *ämä* (TaU), *awa* (Ke.), *äwä* (Ty.), *ēmi̮* (Tur.); Koibal *umaдa*; Motor *ima-m* (Px1Sg.); Taigi *emme*, *ima-m* (Px1Sg.)

Lit.: Collinder 1940, 76: Y+U.

5. PY *eńe 'mother' ~ FPeR *enä 'mother'

KK eńie 'mother'; KD eńa:; T eńie 'mother'; TK eńie; TJ eńie, eńe; TD enie- id. (HDY 161, n. 467).

Fenno-Permic *enä 'mother' (UEW 624–25) > ?Finnish enne 'Mutter'; Saami æd'ne -dn-
(N), L iednē ~ ädnē, K T jienne (ea), Kld. Not. ienn, A jeinn id.; Komi eń (SM SO V) 'самка',
I P PO iń 'Weibchen' (I), 'Frau' (P), 'Weib' (P PO), S eńka, P ińka 'Mutter des Mannes' (S);
'Frauenperson, Frau, Weib' (P).

Lit.: Nikolaeva (HDY 161, n. 467): Y+FPe *enä, but alternatively, Y+Tg *eńi- (TMS 2, 456).

Peiros (2014, §1.23): Y + U *ańa (UEW 10) ~ *ańi 'sister-in-law' (Aikio 2020, 18).

6. PY *e:nte:/*i:nte: 'wife of the father's brother' < PY *ejn- 'brother' ~ PSm *inä 'elder brother' & UR *natɜ 'younger sister of husband or wife, sister-in-law; younger brother of husband or wife, brother-in-law' = US *nåtiw

K je:de: 'elder brother's or elder male cousin's wife'; KJ iedie, edie, jedie; KD edie; SD jodie
id.; T iidie 'wife of the father's younger brother'; TK iidie; TJ idie id. (HDY 162, n. 477).

It could be a compound of PY *ejn- > MO (j)einim '{my} brother' (HDY 154, n. 430;
Tailleur 1959b, 92, n. 106, plus p. 106: Samoyedic *inä 'elder brother'; see Janhunen 1977,
27) and the Yukaghir counterpart of Uralic *natɜ 'younger sister of husband or wife, sis-
ter-in-law; younger brother of husband or wife, brother-in-law' (UEW 299–300) ~
*nåtįw/*nåtåw (Janhunen 1981, 259, n. 118) ~ *nåtiw (Sammallahti 1988, 539) > Finnish
nato 'Schwägerin; Schwester des Mannes od. der Frau, Frau des Bruders', Estonian nado,
gen. nao, nado, besides nadu, gen. nau, nadu 'Schwägerin'; Saami nôłɛ (S) '(jüngere) Schwes-
ter der Frau'; Mari nuδɘ̂ (KB), nudo (U B) 'jüngere Schwester der Frau oder des Mannes'.

Samoyedic *nåt¹ɘ̂(j) 'Schwager' (Janhunen 1977, 98) > Nenets nādū (O), nātū (Lj.)
'jüngerer Bruder der Frau oder des Mannes', ńen-nātū 'jüngere Schwester der Frau oder
des Mannes; Tochter des älteren Bruders der Frau od. des Mannes'; Kamass nado 'Schwa-
ger, Bruder des Mannes oder der Frau'.

Note: The hypothetical pre-Yukaghir compound could represent the genitive construction
*ejnent-nati- 'brother´s wife'. The process of syncopation has analogy e.g. in T ńoronda: 'plover',
analyzable as the transparent compound consisting of ńoril 'marsh' & nada 'bird' (Kurilov 1977, 106).

7. PY *epe: 'grandfather's or grandmother's sister' ~ UA *eppi = UJ *ippi = US *ippi 'fa-ther-in-law' > FUR *appe 'father-in-law'

K epe: 'grandmother, father's elder sister;' KK epie id.; KJ epie 'id., grandfather's or grand-
mother's sister; father's elder sister or elder female cousin'; KD epie; SD epo; T epie;
TK epie 'grandmother, older sister of father'; KD epie-mei 'great-grandmother'; TK epiep
'husband's elder sister' (HDY 162, n. 482).

Uralic *ęppi 'father-in-law' (Aikio 2020, 56–57) ~ *ịppị (Janhunen 1981, 236–37, n. 71) ~ *ịppɨ 'father-in-law' (Sammallahti 1988, 536) > Fenno-Ugric *appe 'father-in-law' (UEW 14) > Finnish *appi*, gen. *apen*, dial. *apin*, 'Schwiegervater'; Saami *vuop'pâ -pp-* (N), *vuohppa* (L), *vĭhp* (T), *vūhp* (Kld.), *vuøhp* (Not.); Mari *owə̑* (KB), *owo* (J); Khanty *up*, *op* (Trj.) 'Schwiegervater; Sohn des Schwiegervaters; Bruder des Vaters der Frau; älterer Bruder der Frau', *üp* (DN), *up* (O) 'Schwiegervater'; Mansi *apā* (TJ), *up* (So.) 'тесть', *up*, *op* (N) 'Schwiegervater; Schwager, der ältere Bruder der Frau', Hungarian *ipa* (dial.) 'Schwiegervater', *apa* 'Vater', dial. 'Schwiegervater', *após* 'Schwiegervater'.

Samoyedic *-ə̑ppə̑ (Sammallahti 1988, 536; cf. Id. 1979, 26, n. 2) in *ịnə̑ppə̑ 'father-in-law' (Janhunen 1977, 24–25; Helimski 1997, 254, n. 348; UEW 9–10) > Nenets *ŋinab* (O) 'Vater der Frau, älterer Bruder der Frau', *ń́e-ŋinab* 'Schwiegermutter' (O), Enets *inobo* 'Schwiegervater; älterer Bruder der Frau', Nganasan *ŋinaba*; Kamass *ə̑mbi*, *ə̑mbə̑* 'Schwiegervater, Stiefvater', Koibal имдетъ 'тесть', Motor иникемъ id.

Note 1: 'Grandmother' is automatically 'mother-in-law' in relation to the wife of her son.

Note 2: Peiros (2015, 189, §1.24) compared PY *epe with U *apɜ 'elder female relative; aunt, elder sister' (UEW 15).

8. PY *(w)olma 'people' ~ FV_SKES *ulmɜ 'man'

T *voɫma* 'Menschen, Leute' = *omni* (Angere 1957, 249).

Fenno-Volgaic *ulmɜ 'man' (SKES 105–06) > ?Finnish *ilminen* 'man' with *i-* explainable via contamination with *ihminen*; PSaami *olmō* 'man' > *olmuš* (N), *ålmeñž* (Kildin) etc. (Lehtiranta 1989, 90–91, n. 805); East Mari *uľmo*, *ulmo* 'husband, man' (Paasonen 1948, 163).

Note: The initial *v-* in T *voɫma* can be prothetic, cf. PNY *werwə- 'strong' which can be borrowed from or related to Samoyedic *orɜm 'strong, strength' (Helimski 1997, 331, n. 823). An anonymous referee offers an alternative cognate, viz. North Samojedic *weə̑rwə̑ 'Fürst' > Nenets *jier(w)u*, Nganasan *bârba* (Castrén), although the meaning is more distant.

9. PY *omo 'people' & *omo- 'good' ~ FPe_R *oma 'own'

K *omo* 'people, tribe'; KJ *omo*, *omei*; KD *omo*; SD *omик*; T *omo*; TK *omo*, *ome*; TD *omo-*; B *ommo*; ME *omo*; K *omni:* people; KK *omń́i-*; KJ *omni*; KD *omni*; SU *omni*; RS *omnik*, M *omní*, *omnipa*, *omńípańe*; MC *omne* id. (HDY 372, n. 1642).

K *omo:-* 'good, nice; healthy'; KK *omo-*; KJ *omo-*, *omo:-*; KD *omo-*; SD *omo-*; T *amaj-*, *amuj-*, *amuo-*; TK *amaj-*, *amo-*, *amu-*; TJ *omoče*; TD *omoč*; SU *ómoč*; RS *omoča*, *omóča*, *omočad-*; M *omót'*, *omótá*, *omóča*, *omóooŋi*; MC *omoč-*; BO *omoč'*; KL *omoč'*; MK *omótschi-* (HDY 372, n. 1643).

Fenno-Permic *oma 'own; property' (UEW 717) > Finnish *oma* 'eigen; Eigentum', *omaisuus* 'Eigentum, Besitz', Estonian *oma* 'eigen; Eigentum'; Saami *åme* 'res', *oabme* (Friis)

'res, pecus, proprietas', *oabme -m-* (N) 'property', *åpmē* 'Gut, Besitztum; Ding, Sache', *oami* (I) 'eigen, Eigentum'; Udmurt *umoj* (S K) 'gut; tauglich, zweckmäßig', *umoj* (G) 'gut'.

    Lit.: Nikolaeva, HDY 327, n. 1643: Y+FPe.

10. PY *ča:ča:* 'elder brother, uncle' ~ U_R *ćečä* 'uncle' = U_JS *cecä*

K *ča:ča:* 'elder brother; uncle'; KK *t'a:t'a*, *t'a:t'a:*, *t'aśa:*, *t'at'a:*, *t'at'a*; KJ *čača*, *čače* id.; KD *čača*, *tyečya* 'elder brother; uncle; elder male cousin'; SD *caca*; RS *čača*; M *čača*; KL *čača*; B *tshátsha*; ME *tschatscha*; MU *tschátscha* id. (HDY 121, n. 189).

    Uralic *ćečä* 'uncle' (UEW 34–35) ~ *cecä* (Janhunen 1981, 225, n. 26; Sammallahti 1988, 536) > Finnish *setä* 'Onkel, Oheim (väterlicherseits)', Estonian *sedi* (dial.) 'Onkel mütterlicherseits' (< Finnish?); Saami *čácce -ā̄ʒ-* (N) 'father's brother, paternal uncle, younger than the father', *tjiehtjē*, *tjāhtjē* (L) 'Vaterbruder, Onkel väterlicherseits', *čiecce* (T), *t́śieṆṭṣ^E* (Klk.), *t́śieʌṭṭṣ^E* (Not.) 'jüngerer Bruder des Vaters'; Mordovian *čiče* (E) 'der Mann der Schwester, der älter ist als ich', *ščava*, *śćava* (M) 'Großmutter mütterlicherseits', *ščät́a*, *ščät́a* 'Großvater mütterlicherseits', *śćenä*, *śćinä* 'Mutterbruder'; Mari *čəčə* (KB), *ćüčö* (U), *čüčö*, *tüčü* (B) 'Oheim, Mutterbruder' (KB U), 'jüngerer Bruder der Mutter' (B); Udmurt *čuž* (S K J) 'Verwandte mütterlicherseits', Komi *ćož* (S), *čož* (V) 'Mutterbruder' (S), 'Oheim, Onkel' (V), *ćož* (PO) 'дядя (брат матери)'; Mansi *šäš* (KU), *sasiɣ* (SO) 'Onkel', *šäššəm* (P) 'mein Oheim'.

    Samoyedic *cicä* (Janhunen 1977, 33) > Nenets *t́íde* (O) 'Onkel, jüngerer Bruder der Mutter', Nganasan *t̮it̮ída*; Selkup *citca*, *cica* (Ke.) 'Schwager', *četčeka*, *četšeka* (N) 'Oheim, Mutterbruder'.

    Lit.: Collinder 1940, 85–86: Y+U.

11. PY *či:* 'people' ~ U_R *ča(n)čɜ* 'to be born; to grow' > FPe_S *čečɜ-* 'to grow'

K *-d'i:* 'people'; SD *-si*; T *čii*; TK *t'i:*, *-d'i:*; TJ *či:*; TD *čipe* id.; T *čiin-solqo* 'crowd', lit. 'gathering of people', *čiiče* 'crowded place' (HDY 131, n. 267).

    Uralic *čačɜ/*čančɜ* 'to be born; to grow' (UEW 52) > FP *čečɜ-* 'to grow' (Sammalahti 1988, 552) > Mordovian *šačo-*, *čačo-* (E), *šačo-* (M) 'geboren werden, entstehen, hervorwachsen'; Mari *šača-* (KB), *šoća-* (U), *šoča-* (B) 'geboren werden; wachsen'; Udmurt *čiži-viži* (G) 'Geschlecht, Stamm', Komi *ćuž-* (S P PO) 'geboren werden, wachsen; hervorsprießen'; Khanty *čäčə* (DN) 'hiesig, einheimisch', *săsi* (O) 'auf seiner eigenen Scholle wohnend; Pflegling (Haustier); Wohnort', Mansi *sasə* (KU), *šošəɣ* (P), *sossa* (So.) 'an einem Orte wohnend; heimisch'.

    Samoyedic *tɜnsə̂/*cɜnsə̂* (Rešetnikov) > Nenets *tenc* (O U) 'Art, Sorte; Stamm, Sippe', Enets *t̮ìdo* (Ch.), *tìso* (B), *t̮i̮z* (Mikola) 'Geschlecht', Nganasan *tansa* id.; Selkup *čaadš* (OM), *čadš*, *čaadš* (N), *tadše*, *taadše* (Cl.) 'Geschlecht', *taatjeä* (Čl.) 'Verwandter', *čatčeạk* (NP) 'nahestehend, naheliegend', although the Selkup forms can be derived from Common Selkup *čačä* 'near' (cf. Alatalo 2004, 155).

Note: Less probable is comparison with PY *čanmə > K čanma 'eldest'; KK t'anme 'elder brother'; KD čańma; T čanme 'elder brother'; TJ čanmed'e-; MC sonmo 'brother'; BO čóńmo 'brother'; MK tschánma 'brother'; K čanmo:-, čonmo:- 'eldest; big'; KJ čanmuol-; TD čanmo- id.; T čanmud'eŋ 'eldest brother' (HDY 123, n. 212). Let us mention that the Uralic forms, where the cluster *-nč- is reconstructible, are limited only to North Samoyedic.

12. PY *jeńčə 'Yukaghir; husband' ~ FMd_R *inše 'person'; NSm_J *ŋeneśśə̂ŋ or *ŋ́eneśśəŋ 'man'

MC jendže 'Yukaghir from the river Omolon'; BO néńže 'husband' (HDY 188, n. 675)

Fenno-Mordovian *inše 'person' (UEW 627–28) > Finnish ihminen, gen. ihmisen 'Mensch', dial. ihmeno, imehno, imeno, inehmo, inehminen, inęhmino, Old Finnish inhemi-nen, inhiminen, inihminen) (> Saami S innemi, innim: paha innim 'Teufel'), pl. ihmiset 'Leute' ~ (dial.) 'die Fremden', Estonian inemine, inimine, gen. inemise, inimise 'Mensch'; Mordovian inže (E), M inži 'гость, гостя', (Paasonen) M ińžiźä 'mein Gast'.

North Samoyedic *ŋeneśśə̂ŋ or *ŋ́eneśśəŋ (Janhunen 1975, 107, 111) > Nenets O U ńeneć́ʔ 'Mensch' (O), 'Mann' (O U), 'Samojede' (U); Enets enneťeʔ 'Mensch'; Nganasan ŋanasaŋ id. In SKES 102 it is connected with FM *inše 'person'. Janhunen (1975, 107) projected NSm *ŋeneśśə̂ŋ or *ŋ́eneśśəŋ into Uralic *ine-. Rédei (UEW 628) tried to explain this term from Nord Samoyedic *ŋen- 'right, real' (Janhunen 1975, 107) < Samoyedic *enåjə̂ 'right' (Janhunen 1977, 23) with regard to the common North Samoyedic expression: Nenets nenəj ńeneć́ʔ 'на-стоящий человек' = 'человек', (Castrén) njaenaej nienets 'Samojede', Enets enej eneć́ʔ 'на-стоящий человек' = 'энец', Nganasan ŋano ŋanasaŋ 'настоящий человек' = 'нганасан'.

Note: The semantic dispersion 'man' vs. 'guest, foreigner' is not exceptional, cf. Mordovian E M lomań 'Mensch' & 'Fremder, fremd'; Mari M jeŋ 'Mensch' vs. U jə̂ŋ 'Fremder, Fremdling'; Udmurt murt 'Mensch, Mann' & 'Fremder'. The semantic connection between 'guest' and 'foreigner' is re-flected e.g. in Finnish vieras 'fremd, Fremder' & 'Gast' (see UEW 627).

13. PY *jeŋe 'an ancient tribe; ghosts' ~ Mari: M jeŋ 'Mensch', U jə̂ŋ 'Fremder'

KJ jeŋe 'an ancient tribe; spirits'; KD yeŋa id.; KJ jeŋečuope ghosts' (HDY 188, n. 677).
Mari: M jeŋ 'Mensch', U jə̂ŋ 'Fremder' (UEW 627).

14. PY *kel- 'brother-in-law' ~ U_R *kälɜ(-wɜ) 'sister-in-law' = U_S *käläw = U_J *käliw = U_CX *kälü

T kel'il 'brother-in-law', i.e. 'the husband of the wife's sister or female cousin; the wife of the wife's brother or male cousin; the husband of the husband's sister or female cousin; the wife of the husband's brother or male cousin' (HDY 205, n. 780).

Uralic *kälз (?*kälз-wз) 'sister-in-law' (UEW 135–36) ~ *käläw (Sammallahti 1988, 538) ~ *käliw (Janhunen 1981, 238, n. 77) ~ *kälü (CG 406; Xelimskij 1976, 118, n. 59) > Finnish *käly* 'Schwägerin, Frau des Bruders, Schwester des Mannes od. der Frau', Estonian *käli*, dial. *kälü* 'Bruder des Mannes, Frau des Bruders des Mannes'; Saami *gālŏjædne -æn- ~ -ædnĕ -n-* (N) 'sister-in-law (of husband's brother's wife)', *kālōji(e)tnē* (L) 'Schwägerin (Frau des Bruders od. des Vetters des Ehemanns)'; Mordovian *kijalo, kijal* (E), *kel* (M) 'Schwägerin'; Udmurt *kaĺi* (G) 'Schwiegertochter', Komi *kel* (*kelj-*) (S), *kevja* (P), *kel, kelja* (PO) 'Schwägerin (Frau des Bruders des Mannes)'; Khanty *küli* (V), *kiʌi* (Trj.), *kitə* (DN Kr.), *kili* (O) 'jüngere Schwester der Frau; Tochter des jüngeren Bruders der Frau; Mann der Schwester der Frau', Mansi *kil* (LO) 'Bruder der Frau (свояк); die Schwester der Frau und der Mann der Schwester', (So.) 'Schwester der Frau'.

Samoyedic *kelậ* 'Schwager' (Janhunen 1977, 67) > Nenets *śel* (O U) 'Mann der Schwester der Frau' (O), 'Frau des Bruders des Mannes' (U), Enets *séđi* (Ch.), *séri* (B) 'Schwager', Nganasan *sáluŋ* 'Schwager (die Männer zweier Frauen)'; Selkup *šäl* (N) 'свояк; der Schwestermann, Schwager' (> Khanty Vj. *šeḻi* 'Mann der Schwester der Frau').

Lit.: Collinder 1940, 78–79, n. 163: Y+U.

15. PY *köj 'young man' ~ U_R *koje 'man, person' > FU_S *koji 'male'

K *köj* 'fellow, boy; young man'; KK *koj*; KJ *koj*; KD *koi*; SD *kioj*; T *köj*; RS *koi, koid-*; B *-goin*; ME *-gon* id.; MU *ketegé* 'boy; son'; K *köjpə, köwpə* 'young man'; KJ *kojpe*; SD *-kiojpe-*; T *köjpe, kejpe*; TK *kojp-, kojpe, kejp-*; TJ *koipe-*; TD *keipe*; SU *keipa* id.; K *köjd'ade:* 'teenage boy'; KJ *kojd'adie* id.; K *köjd'ed-ö:* 'boy' = 'man child'; T *kuod'i:d-uo, kod'ed-uo*; TK *kuod'ed-u, ko:d'ed-uo*; TJ *kod'ed-uo'*; TD *kod'ed-uo* id.; KL *kojenžende*; B *koindzshenda* 'unmarried'; T *köjdie* 'elder brother'; TJ *koidie* 'id., elder male cousin'; TD *koidie* 'elder'; T *kuod'e-ile* 'herd of male reindeer' = 'male reindeer'; T *köjii* 'drake'; T *köj-ńolol* 'drake, male of a bird' = 'male duck'; TD *koi-nolol* id.; K *köjbunnu-* 'to brag (of a man)'; KK *kojbunubo-, kojbunnu-*; TD *koimunubo-*; RS *koimonnui* id. (HDY 216, n. 855).

Uralic *koje* 'man, person' (UEW 167–168; FUV 34; CG 112, 406) ~ Fenno-Ugric *koji* 'male' (Sammallahti 1988, 543) > Saami *kîjj* (T), *kuj* (Kld. A), *gújj* (Kola) 'husband', Tornio *kuojetem* 'unmarried (of a woman)', where the suffix *-tem* means 'without'; Khanty *ku* (*kuj-*) (V), *χoj* (DN O) 'male (of animals), man, husband' (> Mansi So. folk. *χū*), Mansi *χoj* (KU), *kuj* (P), *χuj* (So.) 'male (of animals)'.

Samoyedic: Nenets *χājūpā-* (O) 'verheiratet, verehelicht sein (eine Frau)', Forest Nenets *kõõjihpæ-* 'to be brought to the bridegroom, to the husband' (CG 112).

Lit.: Bouda 1940, 76, n. 26: Y+Mansi; Collinder 1940, 80–81, n. 165: Y+FU.

16. PY *köntə 'person, human being' ~ U_R *kunta 'kin, community' > FU_S *kuntå 'hunting party'

T *köde* 'person, human being'; TK *köde*; TJ *kode*, -*göde*; TD *kode*, *gode*; MC -*konda*; BO *końdo*, -*kondo*; MU *koónschi* id.; KJ *kode* 'me, with me'; T *kedel* 'body; oneself; ash'; TK *kedel* 'oneself'; T *köden-mooje* 'soul' = 'holder of the man'; TD *koden-moiye* 'host'; T *könpe* 'people'; TK *könpe*; TJ *konpe-*; TD *konpe-* id.; T *ködeńe-* 'married (of a woman)'; TK *könne-*; TD -*gońne-* id.; T *könde-* 'to get married (of a woman)'; *könńe* 'relatives' (HDY 220, n. 891).

Uralic *kunta 'kin, community' (UEW 206) ~ *kuntå 'hunting party' (Sammallahti 1988, 544) > Finnish *kunta*, gen. *kunnan* 'Gemeinschaft', *kymmenkunta* 'about ten', *maakunta* 'province', Estonian *kond*, gen. *konna* 'Gesellschaft, Gemeinschaft' (> Saami R *kunde*); Saami *gǫd'de* (N) 'family, relations', *ko_int* (T); Mordovian *końdä*, *kuńdä* (M) 'Freund, Kamerad'; Khanty *kăntəɣ jaɣ* (V) 'Khanty people', *χăntə* (DN), *χănti* (O) 'Khanty, Mensch', Mansi *khånt* (T), *χǻnt* (N) 'Heer, Armee; Krieg', *χǫnt* (KU), *kōnt* (P) 'Krieg, Kriegsheer', Hungarian *had* 'Heer; Krieg', Old Hungarian 'Sippe, Geschlecht'.

?Samoyedic: Enets *kode* 'Stamm, Geschlecht'.

Lit.: Collinder 1957, 120, n. 26: Y+FU.

17. PY *qaĺm-/*qajm- 'girl' ~ U_A *käδ'wä 'female'

MC *qajda*, *qainda* 'girl, daughter'; MO *qaim-o*, *kal'm-o* id. (HDY 374, n. 1978: *qaj-/*qaĺ-).

Uralic *käδ'wä 'female' (Aikio 2002, 16–17, n. 1.6) > Fenno-Ugric *käδ'wä (Sammallahti 1988, 545) ~ *kaδwa (UEW 116) > Saami *gaðfe* (N) 'mustela erminea femina', *kả'ṗ̣ʈ^E* (Ko.), *kả'ʈ̣ṗ^E* (Not.), *kȧ̀ṗ̣ʈ^E* (Kld.) 'Weibchen eines kleineren Pelztieres'; Mari *koĺá* 'mouse'; Khanty *köjəŋ* (V), *kĕj* (DN), *kej* (Kaz.) 'Weibchen (bes. vom Zobel, Fuchs)', Mansi *kāĺ-śēś* (P) 'Wolfsweibchen', *kāĺ-sǝ̄wǝr* (So.) 'Häsin', *kaĺ* (N) 'женщина; самка некоторых животных', Hungarian *hölgy* 'Dame', Old Hungarian 'Braut, Liebste; Hermelin'.

Samoyedic *kejwä ~ *kijwä (Helimski 1997, 272, n. 456) or *kejmä ~ *kijmä 'Weibchen' (Janhunen 1977, 66–67; accepted also by Helimski) > Nenets *śīḇekū* (O) 'Vogelmutter'; Selkup *šyyma* (Ta.), *syywa* (Ke.), *šöua*, *šöwa* (N) 'Auerhehne', *sūmä* (Tur.) 'Birkhuhn'; Kamass *šejmu*, *šejma* 'Weibchen, Stute', *šuje*, *šujiu* 'Auerhehne, Tierweibchen'; Koibal *sjuima* 'Stute'; Motor *keibe*; Taigi *kéibe*.

Lit.: Tailleur 1959b, 106: Omok + Samoyedic {& Saami *kiev*}.

Note: In UEW the Samoyedic data are compared with Fenno-Saamic *keewe 'female animal' (UEW 152) > Livon *kēu*, *kēv* 'Stute' (> Latvian *ķêve*, Lithuanian *kévė*); Saami *kieu̯v^a* (I) 'Rentier weiblichen Geschlechts', *kiev* (T) id., *kievv^(a)* (T Kld.), *ki̯evv^a* (Not.) 'wilde Rentierkuh', which can be of Baltic origin, cf. Prussian *kaywe* 'mare'.

18. PY *ńaj-/*ńa:- 'daughter/sister-in-law' ~ FU_R *naje 'woman, wife' or U_JS *näxi id.

K *ńe:l* 'daughter-in-law, sister-in-law (wife of a younger brother or son)'; KJ *nial* 'daughter-in-law, sister-in-law wife of the younger sibling's son'; SD *mel* [rect. *nel*]; T *ńaajl* 'daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, son-in-law; TK *ńajpe-* 'parents-in-law'; TJ *nial* '(one of the) parents-in-law, daughter's husband, younger sister's husband, wife's elder brother, husband of the younger sibling's daughter, husband's elder brother, wife of the younger sibling's son'; T *ńaajn-gönme* 'brother's wives in relation to each other' = 'daughter-in-law friend'; ?*ńaal'uol-* 'to become lovers' (HDY 283, n. 1337).

Fenno-Ugric *naje* 'woman, wife; to marry' (UEW 297–98) > Finnish *nainen*, gen. *naisen* 'Frau, Weib; Mädchen, Jungfrau', *nai-* 'heiraten' (> Saami N *nai'te- -it-* 'to marry'), Estonian *naine*, gen. *naise* 'Weib', *naita-* 'verheiraten'; Khanty *näj* (V VK), *nȧj* (O DN), *naj* (Šerk.) 'Dame (im Kartenspiel)' (V DN), 'Gattin (von Beamten)' (VK), 'Frau oder Tochter eines Helden, Fürsten; weiblicher Schutzgeist' (Šerk.); Mansi *näjī* (TJ), *nɔ̆j* (KU), *naj* (P), *nāj* (So.) 'Edelfrau, Dame (im Kartenspiel), Göttin'.

Lit.: Nikolaeva 1988, 238 & HDY 283, n. 1337: Y + FU.

Note:, Janhunen (1981, 245–46, n. 94) and Sammallahti (1988, 539) reconstructed Uralic *näxi, comparing Finnish *nainen* with Saami *niei'dâ*; Mordovian *ńi* (E) 'Frau, Weib, Gattin'; Mari *-nȫ*; Khanty *ni* (V), *neŋ* (DN), *niŋ* (ō) 'Weib', Mansi *nī* (TJ), *nē* (KU P SO) 'Weib, Frau; Weibchen', Hungarian *nő* (Px3Sg. *neje*) 'Frau, Weib, Ehefrau', Old Hungarian 'Weibchen'; plus Samoyedic *ne* 'Frau' (Janhunen 1977, 100; Helimski 1997, 315, n. 727) > Nenets *ńe* (O) 'Weib, Frau', voc. *ńeŋe*, Enets *nā̆* (Ch.) 'Frau, Weib', Nganasan *nē* 'Weib, Eheweib'; Selkup *neä* (Čl.) 'Frau', *neu* (Ča.) 'meine Frau', *näl-gum* (Ta.), *näije-gum*, *näi-gum*, *näie-gom* (Ke.), *näl-gop* (N) 'Weib'; Kamass *nē*, *ne* 'Weib, Frau'; Karagas *ne* 'uxor'; Koibal нэ; Motor *ne* 'Weibs Person'. On the other hand, Rédei (UEW 305–06) reconstructed Uralic *niŋä* 'woman, female', excluding Saami *niei'dâ*; Mari *-nȫ*, but adding Saami *njiŋŋalâs ~ njiŋŋĕlâs -ss-, -s-* (N) 'female animal, a female', *niŋŋēlis, njiŋŋēlis, njinnjēlis, njunnjēlis* (L) 'Tierweibchen', *ńiññelas, ńeññelas* (T), *ńiñløs* (Kld.) 'zum weiblichen Geschlechte gehörend'; ?Komi *ńin* (*ćeri*) (Vm.) 'женская особь семги'.

19. PY *ńo:nt- 'descendants' < PY *ńə- 'reciprocal marker' ~ PSm *ńä 'companion, sibling' & U_R *natɜ 'younger sister of husband or wife, sister-in-law; younger brother of husband or wife, brother-in-law' = U_S *nåtiw

KJ *ńuoduope* 'descendants' (HDY 305, n. 1478: *ńo:δ-/*ńo:nt-) can be analyzed as PY *ńə- 'reciprocal marker' & counterpart of Uralic *natɜ 'younger sister of husband or wife, sister-in-law; younger brother of husband or wife, brother-in-law' (UEW) ~ *nåtiw (Sammallahti):

PY *ńə- > K *ńə-, ń-* 'reciprocal marker'; KK *ń-*; KJ *ńe*; KD *ńe, nie, ni-, n-*; T *ńe-, ńi-, ńiŋ-*; TK *ńi-*; TJ *ńe-*; TD *ńe-, nie-, nieŋ-, nio* id., frequently used in the kinship terminology, cf. T *ńi-d'anmijiľ* 'brothers'; TK *ńi-d'anmijilpe* id.; K *ń-emd'ə, ń-emd'e:, ń-amd'ə* 'siblings'; KJ *ń-emd'ie, n-imdie* 'id., mother's younger sister'; KD *ni-emd'epki* 'younger siblings' (HDY

292–93, n. 1393), with the attractive parallel in Samoyedic *ńä 'companion, brother, sister' (Janhunen 1977, 106) > Tundra Nenets (T) ня 'друг друга, one another', не ня 'сестра', Nganasan (C) ńâ 'Nganasan'; Selkup (Pr) ńa, (C) njee 'Sippenschwester', (Pr) ńänti̯, ńantä 'together', neńa/ńeńa/neńńa 'sister' < *ne 'woman' & *ńä; timńa 'brother' < *tipä 'man' & *ńä.

Uralic *natɜ 'younger sister of husband or wife, sister-in-law; younger brother of husband or wife, brother-in-law' (UEW 299–300) ~ *nåti̯w/*nåtåw (Janhunen 1981, 259, n. 118) ~ *nåtiw (Sammallahti 1988, 539) > Finnish nato 'Schwägerin; Schwester des Mannes od. der Frau, Frau des Bruders', Estonian nado, gen. nao, nado, besides nadu, gen. nau, nadu 'Schwägerin'; Saami nôi̯ɛ (S) '(jüngere) Schwester der Frau'; Mari nuδǯ̌ (KB), nudo (U B) 'jüngere Schwester der Frau oder des Mannes'.

Samoyedic *nåt¹ô̂(j) 'Schwager' (Janhunen 1977, 98) > Nenets nādū (O), nātū (Lj.) 'jüngerer Bruder der Frau oder des Mannes', ńen-nātū 'jüngere Schwester der Frau oder des Mannes; Tochter des älteren Bruders der Frau od. des Mannes'; Kamass nado 'Schwager, Bruder des Mannes oder der Frau'.

20. PY *pel- 'old man' ~ FPe_R *pälä 'time'

K pulut 'old man, husband; bear'; KK peldek, pulut; KJ polut (Angere 1957, 211 added the meaning 'Greis, Alter'); KD polut; SD pulut id; T pelur 'bridegroom'; TK pelur; TJ pelur-; TD pelur-keine-, pelur; RS polud-; MO -pullun [rect. -pullut], -pullup; B pallad, polud id.; K pulunde: 'old man'; T peldudie; TK peldudie, paldudie, -beldudie; TJ peldudie; TD peldudie; RS polundé id.; K pulut-možu: 'bridegroom'; TD pelur-merou id.; TD polurde-, polurdieče- 'to get married (of a woman)' (HDY 346, n. 1772: the following changes are assumed for K: *-e- > -ö- by labialization after p- and further > -u- by assimilation to -u- in the second syllable).

Fenno-Permic *pälä 'time' (UEW 726) > Saami bale (N) 'tempus, aetas', balle -āl- '(definite) time, duration', pā̮ille (T), pā̮ill (Kld.) 'Zeit'; Udmurt pol (S K G) '-mal', Komi pel̦ (S), pe̮v (V P), pùl (PO) 'Mal', or Permic *pôl̦ or *pўl̦ > Komi pel̦ 'grandfather' (KESK 227–28).

Note 1: Traditionally PY *pel- has been compared to Uralic *pälä 'half' (UEW 362–353) by e.g. Bouda (1940, 78, n. 44), Nikolaeva (HDY 346, n. 1772).

Note 2: The semantic difference can be compared with Avestan zruuan- 'time', Persian zervān, zerbān, zermān 'time, age', Ossetic zærond 'old', Vedic jarant- 'old, decayed', járati 'grows old', Greek γέρων 'age; old' etc. (Pokorny 1959, 390–91).

21. PY *poj 'orphan; slave' ~ FU_S *poji = FU_R *pojka 'son, boy'

K po: 'orphan, widow(er); worker; slave'; KJ po:; KD po:ŋo-; SD po; B poa- 'servant'; ME poo, nont- [rect. pont-] 'servant'; MK poc; ?TD pai-kode, pai-xamul 'servant' (HDY 353, n. 1821: *po:).

Fenno-Ugric *poji (Sammallahti 1988, 547) ~ *pojka 'son, boy' (UEW 390) > Finnish poika 'Sohn, Knabe' (> Saami L påihka 'Junge, Bursche'); poja, poju 'Kindchen', Estonian poeg, gen. poja 'Sohn; Junges'; Mordovian bujo, pijo (E) 'Enkelkind'; Mari pü-erɣə (KB JU) 'Manns-person, Knabe'; Udmurt pi (S G) 'Kind, Junges; Sohn, Bursche', Komi pi (S) 'Sohn, Knabe', piaˑn (PO) 'Junges'; Khanty păɣ (V), păχ (DN O) 'Knabe, Sohn', Mansi püw (TJ KU P), piɣ (Sö.) 'Sohn, Knabe; Junges', Hungarian fiú, fi, acc. fiút, PxSg3P fia) 'Sohn, Knabe, Kind, Junges'.

Note 1: The proposed semantic connection can be compared with the situation in the Slavic languages, where e.g. Russian otrok 'boy, youth' corresponds to Czech otrok 'slave'.

Note 2: Krejnovič (1958, 249) and Nikolaeva (HDY 353, n. 1821) connected it with Tungusic *bogi:- 'to bear a bastard; to suffer a miscarriage' (EDAL 366).

22. PY *pulej 'son-in-law; brother-in-law' ~ FV *pula 'half, side'

K pulej 'son-in-law; brother-in-law'; KJ pulei 'elder sister's or elder female cousin's husband, husband's or wife's younger brother'; T pulije 'elder sister's husband, husband of the father's younger sister'; TK pul'ie, pul'ije 'husband of the elder sister'; TJ puleje 'elder sister's or elder female cousin's husband, husband's or wife's younger brother' (HDY 369, n. 1930).

Fenno-Volgaic *pula 'half, side, part' UEW 740) > Finnish puoli, gen. puolen 'Seite; Gegend; Hälfte; Teil; halb', puoliso 'Gatte, Gattin', Estonian pool, gen. poole 'halb; Hälfte; Seite', poolik 'Hälfte, halbes Faß; halb, unvollkommen', pooli- 'teilen, halbieren'; Mordovian pola (E M) 'Gatte, Gattin; Teil', polavto-, polafto- (E), polafto- (M) 'tauschen, vertauschen'.

Note: The meanings 'husband, wife' and 'son-in-law, brother-in-law' are transparently compatible.

23. PY *soromə 'man' ~ FU_R *śur(e)-ma 'death' = FU_A *ćurma, from FU_R *śure = FU_A *ćuri 'to die'

K šoromə 'man'; KK šoromo; KJ šoromo, romo; KD coromo, coro, romo-; SD šoromo; TD -soromo; SU čoróma; RS -šoroma; M soróma, sorómaga; MC -torym; KL šoroma, soromo; B toromma, -toromma; ME torroma, -schoromok; MK tschrróma id.; K šoromońul 'relative'; SD šoromopul id. (HDY 415, n. 2297).

Fenno-Ugric *śur(e)-ma 'death' (UEW 489–90) ~ *ćurma (Aikio 2020, 44) > Finnish surma 'Tod' (> Saami N sǫr'bme -rbm- 'accidental death'), surmaa- 'töten', Estonian surm, gen. surma 'Tod, Sterben'; Khanty sŏrəm (Trj. Kaz.), sărəm (DN O) 'Tod' (> Komi сурымъ, siṛim 'смерть'), Mansi sorém (N) 'Tod', sorəm (So.) (< Khanty?). It is the derivative from the verb attested in Fenno-Ugric *śure 'to die' (UEW 489) ~ *ćuri- (Aikio 2020, 43–44) > Finnish sure- 'trauern, betrauern; für etwas sorgen; schmerzen, absterben, sterben' (> Saami L surra- 'infolge Mangels an Schlaf verdrießlich sein'), suru 'Trauer, Kummer; Sorge', Estonian sure- 'sterben, absterben, ohnmächtig werden'; Khanty sur- (V), suraл- (Trj.), surat- (DN) 'sterben'.

Note 1: The semantic difference corresponds e.g. to Samoyedic *kåê̂-så 'Mann, Mensch' = 'Sterblicher' vs. *kåê̂- 'sterben' (Janhunen 1977, 61) or Sanskrit márta-, Avestan maša-, Greek (Hesych.) μορτός 'Mensch, sterblich', all from the verb *mer- 'to die' (Pokorny 1959, 735).

Note 2: Collinder (1957, 127, n. 72) mentioned similarity of KK šoromo 'man' (etc.) and Korean saram id.

24. PY *waŋqǝ- 'ancestor; indigenous, native' ~ U_R *wäŋe 'son-in-law, bride-groom' = U_JS *wäŋiw/*weŋiw

KJ ba:γaril 'the Yukaghir Betil clan'; T waγariil, waγariil', waγirel 'an ancient Tundra Yukaghir clan'; 'ancestor, forefather; indigenous, native'; TD vahaharil 'the Qaŋaji clan'; T waγane, waγine 'one's own' (HDY 450, n. 2571: *waŋqǝ-/*waγa-).

Uralic *wäŋe 'son-in-law, bride-groom' (UEW 565) ~ *wäŋiw/*weŋiw (Janhunen 1981, 258, n. 114; Sammallahti 1988, 541) > Finnish vävy, (arch.) väy 'Schwiegersohn', Estonian väi, gen. väi, väia 'Schwiegersohn, Eidam'; Saami vivvâ -v- (N) 'son-in-law', vivva (L) 'Schwiegersohn, Eidam', vîvv (T Kld.), vivv (Not.) (< Finnish); Mordovian ov (M), ov, ova (MoRS) 'Schwiegersohn'; Mari wiŋγǝ (KB), weŋe (U B) 'Schwiegersohn; Schwager = der Mann meiner Schwester, die jünger ist als ich'; Khanty woŋ (V), wŏŋ (J), weŋ (DN) 'Schwiegersohn; Bräutigam', Hungarian vő (Px3Sg. veje, vője) 'Schwiegersohn, Tochtermann, Eidam', vő-fely 'Brautführer', vő-legény 'Bräutigam'.

Samoyedic *wiŋê̂/*wijê̂ 'Schwiegersohn' (Janhunen 1977, 176) ~ *wiŋü (Helimski 1997, 305, n. 671) > Nenets jīj (O), wij (Lj.) 'Schwiegersohn', Enets bī 'Schwager, Mann der Schwester', Nganasan biŋi, biŋi-n 'Schwiegersohn'; Selkup kuenä (Ta.), ḳuenek, kûenek, -ng (B), kenek (Ty.) 'Schwager, Schwägerin'; Motor мйюгмэ '{мой} зять' /mińūh/.

Note: The semantic dispersion 'forefather' vs. 'son-in-law' can be compared with the Tungusic kinship term *īnan, covering the kinship terms from 'father-in-law' (= 'forefather') through 'brother- & son-in-law' to 'nephew' > Evenki īnan 'husband's younger brother; father of husband = father-in-law', Even iṇn 'son '(younger) brother-/sister-in-law', Negidal iṇa 'sister's children', Orok iṇa 'son-in-law', Nanai iṇā 'husband's younger sister', Spoken Manchu inā 'sister's son (nephew); son of fater's or moter's sister (cousin)' (TMS I, 315).

25. PY *wont- 'Yukaghir' ~ U_R *wantɜ 'related (through marriage)'

K odul 'Yukaghir'; KK odul; KJ odul; KD odul; SD odul; T wadul, odul; TK wadul; TJ odul id.; TD odul, wodu-, uodu-, -wodul 'Tungus'; RS odul, odún 'Yukaghir'; M odod-, odúlgat, odúlpagat, adúlŋin, odúlpa, odúlńe, odúlpańe, odúlpala, odüla, odúl, odúndle, odúndlepul, odun-; MC ondyn-; BO ońdý- id.; K odun-šal, on-ža: 'larch' = 'Yukaghir tree'; KK on-ra:, on-dar; KJ on-da; KD on-ža; SU odun-d'a; RS odun-ša; B ond-zsha id.; K odul-lebeidi: 'blueberry' = 'Yukaghir berry'; KD odun-lebejdi; SD odul-lebejdi id.; K odun-numö 'yurt' =

'Yukaghir house'; SD *adun-nume*; SU *odun-numa* id.; K *odul-ločil* 'northern lights' = 'Yukaghir fire'; T *wadul-laame* 'Yukaghir dog (a black dog with whitish eyes)' (HDY 458, n. 2620).

Uralic **wantȝ* 'related (through marriage)' (UEW 557; CG 137, 409) > Saami *vîntîm* (T), *vūntem* (Kld.), *vuøttem* (Not.), *vuntam* (A) 'Freier, Bräutigam'.

Samoyedic: Tundra Nenets (L) O *jānneʔ* 'verschwägert; Freund', Forest Nenets (L) Lj. *β´ĕànnĭ̮ᴴ* id.; Selkup (Pr) *qenį ira* 'father-in-law' (*ira* = 'grandfather'), der. (D) Ty. *kuəňnəG* 'svåger, svägerska' (**wänȝ̂* by Janhunen 1977, 173), while other forms included in CG 137 & UEW 557, namely Enets *maddu* 'Freiwerber'; Kamass *mono*, *muno* 'Heiratsvermittler, Freiwerber', are derivable from **mån²tȝ̂- ~ *måŋtȝ̂j*, with regard to Tundra Nenets *mando* 'Enets' (Janhunen 1977, 89; Helimski 1997, 308, n. 690).

Note: The Yukaghir forms correspond exactly to the Fenno-Ugric predecessor of the Saami counterparts, while the Samoyedic counterpart preserves the more archaic form without the dental extension. It is perhaps explainable by presence of the suffix **-nt-* (cf. Finnish *isäntä* 'master, head of the house' vs. *isä* 'father' - see CG 262, §785) in Fenno-Ugric and in Yukaghir with the following haplology (**wanȝntȝ > *wantȝ*) and its absence in Samoyedic.

Summary

1. PY **ant-* 'child' ~ FU_R **sente* 'to be born' = FPe_S **sünti-* 'to grow'
2. PY **awa* 'elder female relative' ~ U_R **apȝ* 'elder female relative'
3. PY **eče:* 'father' ~ U_R **äćä* 'father'
4. PY **eme-* 'mother' ~ U_RS **emä* 'mother, female' = U_J **emä/*ämä*
5. PY **eńe* 'mother' ~ FPe_R **enä* 'mother'
6. PY **e:nte:/*i:nte:* 'wife of the father's brother' < PY **ejn-* 'brother' ~ PSm **inä* 'elder brother' & U_R **natȝ* 'younger sister of husband or wife, sister-in-law; younger brother of husband or wife, brother-in-law' = U_S **nåtiw*
7. PY **epe:* 'grandfather's or grandmother's sister' ~ U_S **ippɨ* 'father-in-law' > FU_R **appe* 'father-in-8. PY **(w)olma* 'people' ~ FV_SKES **ulmȝ* 'man'
9. PY **omo* 'people' & **omo-* 'good' ~ FPe_R **oma* 'own'
10. PY **ča:ča:* 'elder brother, uncle' ~ U_R **ćečä* 'uncle' = U_JS **cecä*
11. PY **či:* 'people' ~ U_R **ča(n)čȝ* 'to be born; to grow' > FP_S **čĕčȝ-* 'to grow'
12. PY **jeńčȝ* 'husband; Yukaghir ' ~ FMd_R **inše* 'person'; NSm_J **ŋeneśŝəŋ* or **ŋeneśŝəŋ* 'man'
13. PY **jeŋe* 'an ancient tribe; ghosts' ~ Mari: M *jeŋ* 'Mensch', U *jȝ̂ŋ* 'Fremder'
14. PY **kel-* 'brother-in-law' ~ U_R **kälȝ(-wȝ)* 'sister-in-law' = U_S **käläw* = U_J **käliw* = U_CX **kälü*
15. PY **köj* 'young man' ~ U_R **koje* 'man, person' > FU_S **koji* 'male'
16. PY **köntə* 'person, human being' ~ U_R **kunta* 'kin, community' > FU_S **kuntå* 'hunting party'

17. PY *qaľm-/*qajm- 'girl' ~ U$_A$ *käδʹwä 'female'
18. PY *ńaj- /*ńa:- 'daughter/sister-in-law' ~ FU$_R$ *naje 'woman, wife' or U$_{JS}$ *näxi id.
19. PY *ńo:nt- 'descendants' < PY *ńə- 'reciprocal marker' ~ PSm *ńä 'companion, sibling' & U$_R$ *natɜ 'younger sister of husband or wife, sister-in-law; younger brother of husband or wife, brother-in-law' = U$_S$ *nåtiw
20. PY *pel- 'old man' ~ FPe$_R$ *pälä 'time'
21. PY *poj 'orphan; slave' ~ FU$_S$ *poji = FU$_R$ *pojka 'son, boy'
22. PY *pulej 'son-in-law; brother-in-law' ~ FV *pula 'half, side'
23. PY *soromə 'man' (*'mortal') ~ FU$_R$ *śur(e)-ma 'death', from FU$_R$ *śure 'to die'
24. PY *waŋqə- 'ancestor; indigenous, native' ~ U$_R$ *wäŋe 'son-in-law, bride-groom' = U$_{JS}$ *wäŋiw/*weŋiw
25. PY *wont- 'Yukaghir' ~ U$_R$ *wantɜ 'related (through marriage)'.

Acknowledgement

Abbreviations

1. Abbreviations of the sources of the Yukaghir lexical data:
B Billings (1787), BO Boensing (1781), KD Kolyma Yukaghir from Jochelson's manuscript dictionary, KJ Kolyma Yukaghir (Jochelson 1898, 1900), KK Kolyma Yukaghir (Krejnovič 1982), KL Klitschka (1781), M Maydell (Schiefner 1871b), MC Čuvan materials of Matjuškin (Wrangel 1841), ME Merck (1787), MK Kolyma materials of Mueller/Lindenau (1741), M U Ust'-Janskoe materials of Mueller/Lindenau (1741), MO Omok materials of Matjuškin (Wrangel 1841), RS Rajskij/Stubendorf (Schiefner 1871 a), SD Kolyma Yukaghir (Spiridonov 2003), SU Suvorov (Schiefner 1871a), TD Tundra Yukaghir from Jochelson' manuscript dictionary, TJ Tundra Yukaghir (Jochelson 1900), TK Tundra Yukaghir (Krejnovič 1958, 1982), W Witsen (1692)

2. Abbreviations of languages and language groups:
BF Balto-Fennic, FMd Fenno-Mordovian, FPe Fenno-Permic, FS Fenno-Saamic, FU Fenno-Ugric, FV Fenno-Volgaic, Md Mordovian, N North, P Proto-, PUg Permic-Ugric, Sm Samoyedic, SP Saami-Permic, U Uralic, Ug Ugric, VUg Volgaic-Ugric, Y Yukaghir.

3. Abbreviations of the authors of reconstructions:
A Aikio, C Collinder, H Helimski, Ho Honti, K KESK, J Janhunen, R Rédei (UEW), S Sammallahti, X Xelimskij.

Note: The abbreviations of various dialects of the concrete Uralic languages and their sources follow the cited references, usually UEW and Janhunen 1977, for Yukaghir it is Nikolaeva 2006 (= HDY).

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