

Permic

Community of Practice in Uralic Studies (COPIUS)
Foundations of Uralic etymology

www.copius.org

Version 1.4 (last updated 30 November 2021)



Co-funded by the
Erasmus+ Programme
of the European Union

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Permic languages: general

- Permic languages, Udmurt and Komi (further divided into Zyrian, Permyak and Jažva)
- several reductive sound changes word-internally, loss of voiceless stops, simplification of most clusters as a result many of the originally 2-syllabic stems have become monosyllabic and originally 3-syllabic stems (such as many derivations) 2-syllabic
- the following gives a general outline of how Proto-Uralic developed into Permic languages, the list of developments is not exhaustive
- several different Proto-Permic vowel reconstructions (E. Itkonen, Lytkin, Rédei, Sammallahti, Csúcs, Zhivlov) have been proposed, this treatment follows mainly Zhivlov 2010, 2014 and Metsäranta 2020, it should be noted that the main difference between the systems concerns the Proto-Permic value of vowel phonemes, not the Uralic background of these vowels and they are based on more or less the same vowel correspondences between Udmurt and Komi

From Proto-Uralic to Permic 1 (consonants)

- loss of voiceless stops PU *k, *p and *t as well as PU *ð, *w and *x between vowels:

PU **jexi-* 'to drink' > PP **ju-* > Udm *juj-* Komi *ju-*

PU **kopa* 'skin' > PP **ku* 'husk' > Udm Komi *ku*

PU **kuða-* 'to weave' > PP **kj-* > Udm. *kuj-* Komi *kj-*

PU **käti* 'hand' > PP **ki* > Udm Komi *ki*

PU **luki-* 'to count, read' > PP **lijd* 'number, count' > Udm Komi *lijd* (notice that the Permic word is formally a derivation PU **luki-nta*, not just the stem)

PU **luwi* 'bone' > PP **lj* > Udm Komi *lj*

PU **mexi* 'earth' > PP **mu* > Udm Komi *mu*

PU **sükiś(i)* 'autumn' > PP **sjžij* > Udm *sižij*, *śižij*

PU **weti* 'water' > PP **vâ* > Udm *vu*, Komi *va*

From Proto-Uralic to Permic 2 (consonants)

- loss of PU *k after a liquid

PU **koδ'ka* 'spirit' > PP **kul'* > Udm *kij'* 'severe fever, typhoid', Komi *kul'* 'evil spirit'

PU **kulki-* 'to go, flow' > PP **kijl-* > Komi *kijal-* 'to float downstream'

PU **kärki* 'black woodpecker' > PP **kijr* > Udm Komi *kijr*

PU **tulka* 'feather, wing' > PP **tijl* > Udm *tijlj*, Komi *tijl*

PU **worka-* 'to sew' > PP **vur-* > Udm *vurj-*, Komi *vur-*

- doesn't seem to occur in *Rp or *Rt:

PU **mertä* 'human, man' > PP **mört* > Udm *murt*, Komi *mort*

PU **turpa* 'lip' > PP *tjrp* > Udm *tjрпи*, Komi *tjrp*

From Proto-Uralic to Permic 3 (consonants)

- PU sibilants (*s, *ś and *š) and affricates (*č and *ć) coincide and are voiced between vowels (note that the original quality of the PU sibilants is easily recovered from Permic evidence):

PU *čečä ‘uncle’ > PP *čož > Udm *čuž-* ‘maternal relative’, *čužmurt* ‘maternal uncle’ (*murt* ‘human, man’), Komi *čož* ‘maternal uncle’

PU *kaća- ‘give as gift’ > PP *kož- > Udm *kužim* ‘gift’, Komi *kožin* ‘dowry’

PU *pesä ‘nest’ > PP *poz > Udm *puz* ‘egg, testicle’, Komi *poz* ‘nest’

PU *wiša(-ra) ‘green’ > PP *vež > Udm *vož*, Komi *vež*

From Proto-Uralic to Permic 4 (clusters)

- consonant clusters and geminates are often simplified resulting in simple voiceless stops/sibilants/affricates (for some reason simplification is more prevalent in nouns, less so in verbs), in PU *kS clusters also a metathesis occurs:

PU **ipsi* ‘smell’ > PP **is* > Komi *is* (*is-*, *isk-*)

PU **kočka* ‘eagle’ > PP **kuč* > Udm Komi *kuč*

PU **kupsa-* ‘to extinguish’ > PP **kjs-* > Udm *kjsj-* Komi *kus-*

PU **küpsi-* ‘to ripen’ > PP **kiś-* > Udm *kiśmal-*, Komi *kiśmj-*

PU **käski-* ‘to order, command’ > PP **käs-* > Udm *kosj-* ‘to order, wish’, Komi *kešj-* ‘to promise’

PU **läkti-* ‘to leave’ > PP **lijkt-/*lokt-* ‘to come’ > Udm *lijktj-*, Komi *lokt-*, J *lok(t-*)

PU **meksa* ‘liver’ > PP **mus* > Udm *mus*, Komi *mus* (note that the word is a so-called k-stem in Komi, for example relative *muskiś*)

From Proto-Uralic to Permic 5 (clusters)

PU **moški-* ‘to wash’ > PP **mjšk-* > Udm *mjški-*, *miški-*, Komi *mjški-*

PU **oksi-* ‘to vomit’ > PP **ošk-* > Udm *ęski-*, Komi *vos-*, Jažva *ws-*

PU **pučki* ‘hollow stalk’ > PP **pič(k-)* ‘insides’ > Udm *puš(k-)*, *puč(k-)*, Komi *pič*

PU **sakka*/**sejka* ‘thick’ > PP **suk* > Komi *suk* ‘thick (of liquids), thick, dense (of forest etc.)’

PU **seksa* ‘Siberian pine’ > PP **susj* > Udm *susj-pu*, Komi *sus*

PU **se(w)ptä-* ‘to feed, bait’ > PP **soč-* ‘to burn (transitive)’ > Udm *suti-* Komi *sot-*

PU **säppä* ‘gall’ > PP **säp* > Udm *sep*, Komi *sep*

PU **tukti* ‘crossbar (in a boat)’ > PP **tjk* > Komi *tjk*

From Proto-Uralic to Permic 6 (denasalization)

- denasalization, consonant clusters consisting of a nasal consonant and a stop/affricate/sibilant become voiced and lose their nasal element, PU **mt*, **nt* > PP **d*, PU **mp* > PP **b*, PU **ŋk* > PP **g*, PU **nč* > PP **ž*, **ž*, PU **nś* > PP **ž*, **ž*

PU **ampa-/*eŋpa-* 'to shoot' > PP **ub-* > Udm *ibj-*

PU **amta-* 'to feed, give to drink' > PP **ud-* 'give to drink' > Udm *udj-*, Komi *ud-*

PU **jäŋkä* 'bog' > PP **jeg-/*jäg* > Komi *jegjr*, *jegjr* 'boggy forest'

PU **leŋti/*lanta* 'lowland' > PP **lud* 'meadow' > Udm Komi *lud*

PU **luki-nta* 'number, count' > PP **lijd* 'number, count' > Udm Komi *lijd*

PU **kunśi(-)* 'urine, to urinate' > PP **kjž* > Udm *kjž*, *kiž*, Komi *kuž*

PU **künči* '(finger)nail' > PP **gijži* > Udm *gijži*, Komi *gijž*

PU **ponči* 'tail; hem' > PP **bož* > Udm *biž*, Komi *bež*

PU **wanƙaw/*weŋkaw* 'handle' > PP **vugi* > Udm *vugi*, Komi *vug*

From Proto-Uralic to Permic 7 (miscellaneous)

- PU * δ > \emptyset (V_V), / (in clusters)

PU **ku δ a-* ‘to weave’ > PP **kj-* > Udm. *kuj-* Komi *kj-*

PU **näj δ i* ‘girl, daughter’ > PP **nij* > Udm *nij*, Komi *niv*, *nij*

PU **šo δ ka* ‘common goldeneye’ > PP **śul* > Udm *pestro-śulj*, Komi *śuv-čež*

- PU * δ' , **lj* > PP **l'*

PU **δ'e η mi* ‘bird-cherry’ > PP **l'e η m* > Udm Komi *l'e η m*

PU **ka δ 'a-* ‘to leave’ > PP **kol'-* > Udm *kij'j-*, Komi *kol'-*

PU **nelj δ* ‘4’ > PP **no l'* > Udm *nij'*, Komi *ńol'*

From Proto-Uralic to Permic 8 (miscellaneous)

- PU **lm* (also **ɔm*, which seems to imply that **ɔm* coincided with **lm* already in Pre-Permic) > PP **n(m)*

PU **aɔma* 'sleep' > PP **un(m-)* > Udm *um*, *un(m-)*, Komi *on(m-)*, *un(m-)*

PU **külmä* 'cold, frost' > PP **kijn(m-)* > Udm *kijn*, *kijn(m-)*, Komi *kijn*

PU **šilmä* 'eye' > PP **šin(m-)* > Udm Komi *šin(m-)*

- pre- and post-consonantal semivowels disappear

PU **kojra* 'male animal' (perhaps rather **kojira*) > PP **kijr* > Komi *kijr*

PU **kuwli-/kowlī-* 'to hear' > PP **kijl-* > Udm *kijl̥-*, Komi *kijv-*

PU **näjd̥i* 'girl, daughter' > PP **nijl* > Udm *nijl*, Komi *nijv*, *nijl*

PU **pilwi* 'cloud' > PP **pil* > Udm *pil'em*, Komi *piv*

PU **tälwä* 'winter' > PP **täl* > Udm *tol*, Komi *teɣ*

From Proto-Uralic to Proto-Permic 9 (miscellaneous)

- PU *ŋ > PP *ŋ (survives as a velar nasal in Udmurt dialects, otherwise has largely coincided with other nasals (*n* and *ń*))

PU *peŋä ‘head, end’ (traditionally *pǎŋi) > PP poŋ ‘end’ > Udm *pum*, (Kazan) *puŋ*, Komi *pon*, *pom*

PU *piŋi ‘tooth’ > PP *piŋ > Udm Komi *piń*

PU *tüŋi ‘stem’ > PP *diŋ > Udm *diń*, (Kazan) *diŋ*, Komi *din*

- in some inherited vocabulary we find voiced stops in word-initial position, it is unknown what are the exact conditions for this:

PU *küŋči ‘(finger)nail’ > PP *gǰi > Udm *gǰi*, Komi *gǰ*

PU *ponči ‘tail; hem’ > PP *bož > Udm *biž*, Komi *bež*

PU *tüŋi ‘stem’ > PP *diŋ > Udm *diń*, (Kazan) *diŋ*, Komi *din*

From Proto-Uralic to Permic 10 (vowels)

- second-syllable vowel has been a conditioning factor for some vowel developments in Permic, when this is the case vowels are handled as vowel combinations, e.g. *e-ä, syllable-structure has also had an impact, in monosyllabic words we often find different reflexes than in 2- or 3-syllabic words

From Proto-Uralic to Permic 11 (vowels)

- PU *a (except preceding a palatal consonant, where PP *o), *o-a, *e > PP *u > Udm *u, i* (typically next to palatal consonants, sometimes perhaps triggered by second syllable *i*) ~ Komi *u*

PU *kaδ'a- 'to leave' > PP *kol'- > Udm *kij'i-*, Komi *kol'*-

PU *kali- 'to die' > PP *kul- > Udm *kulj-*, Komi *kuv-*

PU *panča- 'to open' > PP *puž- > Udm *pužaltj-* 'to roll up, wrap up', Komi *puž-* 'to roll back, fold up'

PU *saxi- 'to arrive; get' > PP *su- > Udm *suti-* 'to catch up with' (a derivative PU *saxi-pta-), Komi *su-* 'to catch up with, meet, arrive'

PU *śali 'gut' > PP *śul > Udm *śul*, Komi *śuv*

PU *wančaw 'root' > PP *vužj > Udm *vižj*, Komi *vuž*

From Proto-Uralic to Permic 12 (vowels)

PU **kočka* 'eagle' > PP **kuč* > Udm Komi *kuč*

PU **ođ'a* 'raw, meat' > PP **ul'* > Udm *ij'* 'moist, wet, raw', Komi *ul'*

PU **ora(-p/wa)* 'squirrel' > PP **ur* > Komi *ur*

PU **wosa* 'merchandise' > PP **vuz-* 'to sell' > Udm *vuza-*, Komi *vuzav-*

PU **eja-* 'under, below' > PP **ul-* > Udm Komi *ul-*

PU **meḵsa* 'liver' > PP **mus* > Udm *mus*, Komi *mus*

PU **teḗka* 'crane' PP **turi* > Udm Komi *turi*

From Proto-Uralic to Permic 13 (vowels)

- PU **e̊-i* > PP **e̊* (when succeeded by a single sonorant (*N (examples of mainly **m* and **n*), *R (**l*, **r*)), otherwise can't be told apart from **a* or **o-a*)
- rather than being an innovation, this could and probably should be regarded as an archaism as Permic seems to have preserved the original quality of the PU vowel)

PU **δ'e̊mi* 'bird-cherry' > PP **l'e̊m* > Udm Komi *l'e̊m*

PU **se̊ni* 'sinew, vein' > PP **se̊n* > Udm Komi *se̊n*

PU **śe̊mi* 'scale' > PP **śe̊m* > Udm Komi *śe̊m*

From Proto-Uralic to Permic 14 (vowels)

- PU *e-ä > PP *ɔ > Udm *u* (uniformally) ~ KomiZ *o*, SysU (Upper Sysola of Komi Zyrian) *o*, J *o*

PU *elä- 'to live' > PP *ɔl- > Udm *ulj-*, Komi *ov-*, J *ol-*

PU *pečä 'pine' > PP *pɔžejm > Udm *pužjm*, Komi *požejm*

PU *pesä 'nest' > PP *pɔz > Udm *puz* 'egg, testicle', Komi *poz* 'nest', J *poz*

- PU *e-i > PP *o > Udm *u*, (dial. also *u*, *ø*) ~ KomiZ *o*, SysU *o*, J *ú* (stressed)

PU *keri 'bark' > PP *kor > Udm *kur* (Beserman *kər*), Komi *kor*, SysU *koɹ*

PU *lewli 'spirit, soul' > PP *lolj > Udm *lul*, (SW *lul*), Komi *lov*, SysU *loɹ*, J *lúl*

PU *peli- 'to fear, be afraid' > PP *pol- > Udm *pulj-*, Komi *pov-*, SysU *poɹ-*, J *púl-*

- Notable irregular exception:

PU *meni- 'to go' > PP *mu/iŋ- > Udm *mijj-*, Komi *mun-*

From Proto-Uralic to Permic 15 (vowels)

- PU **i-i* > PP **i*

PU **nimi* 'name' > PP **ńim* > Udm Komi *ńim*

PU **pilwi* 'cloud' > PP **pil* > Udm *pil'em*, Komi *piv*

PU **witti* ~ **wijti* '5' > PP **vit* > Udm *vit'*, Komi *vit*

- PU **i-ä*, **i-a* > PP **e*

PU **iskä-* 'to believe' > PP **eskj-* > Udm *oskj-*, Komi *eskj-*

PU **kirä-* 'to beat, hit' > PP **ker-* > Udm *kora-*, Komi *kerav-*

PU **wiša(-ra)* 'green' > PP **vež* > Udm *vož*, Komi *vež*

- Notable exception:

PU **šilmä* 'eye' > PP **šin(m-)* > Udm Komi *šin(m-)*

From Proto-Uralic to Permic 16 (vowels)

- PU **o-i* > PP **o* (several exceptions: when preceded by **m*, already **mo-* > **mu-* in Pre-Permic, PU **oji* results in a contracted vowel **j̥*) > Udm *j̥*, *e̥* ~ KomiZ *vo-* word-initially and *o* following **k-*, *e̥* elsewhere, in Permyak *e̥* and Jaźva *ω*

PU **koji* ‘dawn’ > PP **kj̥* > Komi *kja*

PU **kowsi* ‘spruce’ > PP **kqz* > Udm *kjz*, Komi *koz*, P *kez*

PU **oksi-* ‘to vomit’ > PP **ošk-* > Udm *eškj̥-*, Komi *vos-*, P *eš-* Jaźva *ws-*

PU **moški-* ‘to wash’ > PP **mjšk-* > Udm *mjškj̥-*, *miškj̥-*, Komi *mjškj̥-*

PU **ponči* ‘tail; hem’ > PP **bož* > Udm *bjž*, Komi *bež*

PU **soski-* ‘to chew’ > PP **soškj̥-* > Udm *sjškj̥-*, Komi *seškj̥-*

From Proto-Uralic to Permic 17 (vowels)

- PU **u* and **ü* largely coincide resulting in PP **i* (dialectally fronting to *i* often happens in palatal contexts, unexplained rounding to *u* in some cases)

PU **kunśi*(-) ‘urine, to urinate’ > PP **kiž* > Udm *kiž*, *kiž*, Komi *kuž*

PU **lumi* ‘snow’ > PP **lijmi* > Udm *lijmi*, Komi *lijm*

PU **puna-* ‘to spin, twist’ > PP **pijn-* > Udm *puni-*, Komi *pijn*

PU **sula* ‘thaw, to thaw’ > PP **sij* > Udm *sij-mi-*, Komi *sij-*

PU **tuli* ‘fire’ > PP **tij* > Udm *tij*, Komi *tij-kerť* ‘tinderbox’ (literally “fire-iron”)

From Proto-Uralic to Permic 18 (vowels)

PU **küji* 'snake' > PP **kij* > Udm *kij*, Komi *kij* 'river lamprey (a fish)'

PU **külmä* 'cold, frost' > PP **kijn(m-)* > Udm *kijn*, *kijn(m-)*, Komi *kijn*

PU **küpsi-* 'to ripen' > PP **kiś-* > Udm *kiśmal-*, Komi *kiśmi-*

PU **kütki-* 'to tie' > PP **kitki-* > Udm *kitki-* 'to harness'

From Proto-Uralic to Permic 19 (vowels)

- PU **ä* > PP **ä* > Udm *o/e* and *a* (preceding *l*) ~ Komi *e*, PP **i* (in CV words)

PU **käski*- ‘to order, command’ > PP **käs*- > Udm *kosj*- ‘to order, wish’, Komi *keşji*- ‘to promise’

PU **käti* ‘hand’ > PP **ki* > Udm Komi *ki*

PU **lämä* ‘scab’ > PP **läm* > Udm *lom*, Komi *leṃ*

PU **pälä* ‘half’ > PP **päl* > Udm *pal*, Komi *peṃ*

PU **sälä*- ‘to get in (a boat, a sled)’ > PP **säl*- > Komi *seṃ*-

PU **säppä* ‘gall’ > PP **säp* > Udm *sep*, Komi *sep*

From Proto-Uralic to Permic 20 (vowels)

- PU **ä-i* > PP **i* (preceding a single sonorant, both primarily and secondarily single)

PU **čäŋi* ‘smoke’ > PP **čijŋ* > Udm *čijn*, *čijŋ*, Komi *čijn*

PU **käli* ‘language; tongue’ > PP **kijl* > Udm *kijl* ‘language; word, speech’, Komi *kijv*

PU **lämi* ‘broth’ > PP **lijm* > Udm *lijm* ‘(fish)soup, broth’

PU **näjdi* ‘girl, daughter’ > PP **nijl* > Udm *nijl*, Komi *nijv*, *nijl*

PU **näri* ‘nose’ > PP **nijr* ‘nose, snout’ > Udm Komi *nijr*

- Notable exceptions:

PU **jäŋi* ‘ice’ > PP ? > Udm *je*, Komi *ji* (irregular loss of **ŋ* and atypical vowel correspondence)

PU **tälwä* ‘winter’ > PP **täl* > Udm *tol*, Komi *teŋv* (Komi reflex is to be expected, Udmurt *o* in lieu of *a* (preceding *l*) is unexpected)

Exercise 1: Permic

List the possible reconstructions for these Permic words (these are inherited words and as such do have actual Uralic reconstructions, but ignore them for the time being and list all the forms that are theoretically possible based on Permic)

Udm *in*, *in(m-)* 'sky', Komi *jen(m-)* 'god'

Komi *keṃ* 'footware'

Udm *muš*, KomiJ (*mal'a*) *múš* 'bee'

Udm *ńeł*, Komi *ńeṽ* 'arrow'

Udm Komi *śur* 'horn'

Udm Komi *tug* 'tassel'

Udm *tj*, Komi *tj* 'lake'

Udm *vižj-*, Komi *vuž-* 'to cross'

Udm *al* 'lap, knees', Komi *el-ež* 'lap'

Udm *punj*, (Beserman *pəne*), Komi *pon*, SysU *pəŋ*, J *pún* 'dog'

Udm *kertti-*, Komi *keṛt-* 'to tie'

Komi *tom*, SysU *toṃ*, J *túm* 'young'

Exercise 2: Permic

Jažva Komi has a number of unstressed vowels, vowels *i* (~ *í*), *u* (~ *ú*) and *u* (~ *ú*) can be either stressed or unstressed (accent marks stress here, assume the vowels without an accent in Jažva are unstressed), *ə* (an open-mid illabial back vowel IPA /ʌ/) is always unstressed, by comparing the Komi Zyrian and Jažva forms given below, try to determine the rule for when the vowels are stressed or unstressed in Jažva:

i ~ *í*

Z *čer* 'axe' ~ J *ćír* Z *eža* 'lawn' ~ J *íža* Z *id* 'barley' ~ J *id* Z *iz* 'stone' ~ J *iz*

Z *jem* 'needle' ~ J *ím* Z *ńim* 'name' ~ J *ńim* Z *vež* 'green' ~ J *víž*

u ~ *ú*

Z *jur* 'head' ~ J *jur* Z *kol'*- 'to leave' ~ J *kúl'*- Z *kuv*- 'to die' ~ J *kul*-

Z *mus* 'liver' ~ J *musk* Z *pon* 'dog' ~ J *pún* Z *śur* 'horn' ~ J *śur*

Z *tom* 'young' ~ J *túm*

Exercise 2: Permic

ω ~ ú

Z *koz* 'spruce' ~ J *kúz*

Z *kul'* 'evil spirit' ~ J (va) *kul'*

Z *męd* 'second, another' ~ J *múđ*

Z *muž-* 'to get tired' ~ J *muž-*

Z *ńęv* 'arrow' ~ J *ńúł*

Z *tev* 'wind' ~ J *túł*

Z *ul'* 'moist, wet, raw' ~ J *ul'*

ə

Z *gįž* '(finger)nail' ~ J *gęž*

Z *kįv* 'language; speech, word' ~ J *kęł*

Z *lijm* 'snow' ~ J *lęm*

Z *niž* 'dull' ~ J *nęž*

Z *pįdeš* 'bottom' ~ J *pędés*