

# Samoyedic

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Foundations of Uralic etymology

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# From Proto-Uralic to Proto-Samoyed 1 (consonants)

- PU \*s, \*š > PSam \*t (in all positions)

PU \*pesä 'nest' > PSam \*petä (SW \*pitä) > NenT *pid'a*, Ngan *hiṭi*, SlkTaz *piti*

PU \*meksa 'liver' > PSam \*miṭə̂ > NenT *mid*<sup>ə</sup>, Ngan *mitə*, SlkTaz *miṭi*

PU \*sunji 'summer, thaw' > PSam \*tə̃ŋ ~\*tə̃ŋə̂ > Ngan *tə̃ŋə*, SlkTaz *taŋi*

PU \*sala- 'to steal' > PSam \*tälä- > NenT *tal'e-*, Ngan *tolj-*, SlkTaz *teji-*

PU \*koska 'aunt, grandmother' > PSam \*kâtâ > NenT *χada* 'grandmother', Ngan *kotu* 'mother's or father's older sister'

PU \*kupsa- 'to extinguish' > PSam \*kə̃ptâ- > NenT *χə̃pta-*, Ngan *kə̃btu-*, SlkTaz *qapti-*

## From Proto-Uralic to Proto-Samoyed 2 (consonants)

- PU \*ś > PSam \*s (in all positions)

PU \*śaḍa- ‘to fall, rain’ > PSam \*sårå- > Ngan *soru-*, SlkTaz *seṛi-* ‘to rain’, derivative  
PSam \*sårö ‘rain’ > NenT *saío*, Ngan *sor<sup>u</sup>a*

PU \*śälä- ‘to cut open’ > PSam \*sälä- ‘to sharpen, grind’ > NenT *šelə-* ‘to grind the antlers against a tree (of reindeer)’, Ngan *šeli* ‘sharpness’, *šel’i-* ‘to sharpen’, SlkTaz *sɛli-* ‘to sharpen’

PU \*moški- ‘to wash’ > PSam \*māsə- > NenT *masə-* ‘to wash’, (derivative) SlkTaz *musijti-* ‘to wash’

# From Proto-Uralic to Proto-Samoyed 3 (consonants)

- PU \**ḍ* > PSam \**r* (in all positions)

PU \**eḍi* 'front' > PSam \**eri/ə* > NenT *ji<sup>ə</sup>há* 'next to, opposite to', Ngan *hírini* 'opposite to, in front of', SlkTaz *īrj* 'earlier, long ago'

PU \**nüḍi* 'handle, stem' > PSam \**nir* > SlkTaz *nir* 'stem'

PU \**kuḍa* 'morning' > PSam *kəṛə̃* > SlkTaz *qarj* 'morning'

PU \**piḍi* 'high, long' > PSam \**pirə̃* 'height' > NenT *pi<sup>ə</sup>*, Ngan *hirə*, *hirəḍi?*

- PU \**ḍ'* > PSam \**j* (in all positions)

PU \**ḍ'emi* 'bird-cherry' > PSam \**jeṃ* > SlkTaz *čejm*

PU \**kaḍ'a-* 'to leave' > PSam \**kâjă-* > NenT *χaje-*, Ngan *koi-*, SlkTaz *qəčj-*

PU \**muḍ'a* > PSam \**məjâ* 'earth' > Ngan *mou* 'earth' (if the vowel assimilation is not noted, *məu*), SlkTaz *mači* 'tundra, forest', Kam *mija* 'mountain'

# From Proto-Uralic to Proto-Samoyed 4 (consonants)

- PU \*/ > PSam \*j (word-initially, syllable-finally / remains a lateral preceding PU \*e)

PU \**lämpi* ‘warmth’ > PSam \**jämpə* ‘clothing, clothes’ (SW \**jempə*) > NenT *jempə*- ‘to get dressed, dress’, Ngan *d’ənh’a* ‘clothing’, *d’embiʔ*- ‘to get dressed, dress’

PU \**šilmä* ‘eye’ > PSam \**səjmä* > NenT *sæwə*, Ngan *šejmi*, SlkTaz *saji* (!)

PU \**talwa*- ‘to lead, bring’ > PSam \**tåjwâ*- ~ \**tåjwê*- > NenT *tæwə*- ‘to reach, catch up, overtake’, Ngan *tojbu*- ‘to transport’

PU \**lemp̄i* ‘pond, swamp’ > PSam \**lijmp̄ə* > NenT *limp̄ə*<sup>ə</sup> ‘bog’, Ngan *l’ün̄hə*, SlkTaz *lijmbj* ‘muddy place’

- word-internally, the development depends on the stem (vowel):

PU \**pala*- ‘to eat up’ > PSam \**pālâ*- > NenT *pal’e*-, SlkTaz *pōlj*- ‘to swallow’

PU \**kala* ‘fish’ > PSam \**kālâ* > NenT *χal’a*, Ngan *kolj*, SlkTaz *qeļj*

PU \**kali*- ‘to die’ > PSam \**kâê*- > NenT *χa*-, Ngan *kuo*-, SlkTaz *qu*-

# From Proto-Uralic to Proto-Samoyed 5 (consonants)

- PU \*x disappears

PU \**tuxə* 'lake' > PSam \**to* > NenT *to*, Ngan *turku* (derivative < PSam \**to-rkå*),  
SlkTaz *to*

# From Proto-Uralic to Proto-Samoyed 6 (consonants)

- Several different simplifications, \*k disappears in all clusters: PU \*ks, \*sk, \*kt, \*tk > PSam \*t, \*kś > PSam \*s, \*čk > PSam \*c:

PU \*meḵsa 'liver' > PSam \*miṭə̂ > NenT *mid*<sup>o</sup>, Ngan *mitə*, SlkTaz *miṭi*

PU \*poski 'cheek' > PSam \*pāt- > (derivations) NenT *padu*, Ngan *hotuo*, SlkTaz *putij*

PU \*eḵta- 'to hang' > PSam \*iṭā- > NenT *ḡida-*, Ngan *ḡiti-*, SlkTaz *iṭi-*

PU \*meṭka 'passage' > PSam \*miṭā > SlkTaz *miṭi* 'way, track'

PU \*pučki 'hollow stalk' > PSam \*pucə̂ 'insides, interior' > NenT *pud*<sup>o</sup>, *ḡam pud*<sup>o</sup> 'core of a tree', *pudo* 'spinal cord', EnF *puḡuj* 'spinal cord', *puḡoḡo* 'body; the person himself', Ngan *hütəḡə* 'body', *hüḡəku* 'spinal cord', SlkOb Tym *puž*, Ket *puča* 'inside, interior; soul; stomach; navel; seed; core; pipe (instrument); barrel (of a gun)', Mat *hudu* 'self'

- note that PSam \*t and \*č have remained separate in some Selkup dialects, elsewhere in Samoyed the reflexes often coincide



# From Proto-Uralic to Proto-Samoyed 7 (vowels)

- PU \**a-a* > PSam \**â-â* / PSam \**â-ä* (following a lateral and \**δ'*), also PSam \**a-(ə)*

PU \**kaja* 'sun, dawn' > PSam \**kâjâ* 'sun' > Ngan *kou* 'sun', SlkTaz *qečj* 'heat'

PU \**kanta-* 'to carry' > PSam \**kântâ-* > NenT *χana-*, Ngan *kontu-*, SlkTaz *qeŋti-* 'to carry (away), take'

PU \**sala-* 'to steal' > PSam \**tâlâ-* > NenT *tal'e-*, Ngan *tolj-*, SlkTaz *teŋj-*

PU \**wančaw* 'root' > PSam \**wâncō* > NenT *wano*, Ngan *bəntu*, SlkTaz *qontj*, Ket *qonžə*

PU \**kama* 'skin, shell' > PSam \**kamə̂* (SW \**kämə̂*) > NenT *śaw<sup>ə</sup>* 'scale', SlkTaz *qə̄mj*

- PU \**a-i* > PSam \**a-(ə)*

PU \**aŋti* 'spear, blade' > PSam \**aŋtə̂* > NenT *ńant<sup>ə</sup>* 'blade, point', SlkTaz *ə̄ŋti* 'blade'

PU \**kari* 'skin, bark' > PSam \**kar* (SW \**kär*) > NenT *śar* 'surface, skin'

## From Proto-Uralic to Proto-Samoyed 8 (vowels)

- PU \**e-ä* > PSam \**e-ä* (can be distinguished from the reflexes of PU \**i:n* and \**ü* only based on Nganasan, SW reconstructed invariably PSam \**i*)

PU \**čečä* ‘uncle’ > PSam \**cecä* (SW \**cicä*) > NenT *t'ída* ‘uncle (mother’s younger brother)’, Ngan *tijid'a* (derivative), SlkKet *čiče, čiča*

PU \**pesä* ‘nest’ > PSam \**petä* (SW \**pitä*) > NenT *pid'a*, Ngan *hiṭi*, SlkTaz *piti*

PU \**elä-* ‘to live’ > PSam \**elä-* ~ \**jelä-* (SW \**ilä-* ~ \**jilä-*) > NenT *jil'e-*, Ngan *ńilṭ-*, SlkTaz *ilṭ-*

- PU \**e-i* > PSam \**e*

PU \**meni-* ‘to go’ > PSam \**men-* (SW \**min-*) > NenT *min-* Ngan *mijn-*

PU \**weti* ‘water’ > PSam \**wet* (SW \**wit*) > NenT *jiʔ*, Ngan *biʔ: biḏə* (acc/gen), SlkTaz *ün, üt*, Kam *bu*

# From Proto-Uralic to Proto-Samoyed 9 (vowels)

- PU \**e*-*a* > PSam \**i*

PU \**ekta*- 'to hang' > PSam \**jtâ*- > NenT *ŋida*-, Ngan *ŋiti*-, SlkTaz *jt̪i*-

PU \**eja*- 'under' > PSam \**ij̥ə̂-nâ* 'under' > NenT *ŋil<sup>ə</sup>na*, enM *iron*, Ngan *ŋil'ənu*

PU \**meksa* 'liver' > PSam \**mij̥ə̂* > NenT *mid<sup>ə</sup>*, Ngan *mitə*, SlkTaz *mjt̪i*

- note that Mansi and Samoyedic play a key role in distinguishing PU \**a* and PU \**e*, that have largely coincided in the more Western languages.
- PU \**e*-*i* > PSam \**e* (\**i* before clusters beginning with a nasal)

PU \**lempi* 'pond, swamp' > PSam \**lij̥mpə̂* > NenT *limpəd<sup>ə</sup>* 'bog', Ngan *l'üŋhə*, SlkTaz *limbj̪i* 'muddy place'

PU \**nej̪i* 'arrow' > PSam \**nej̪* > Mat *nej*, *nej̪*

PU \**seŋi* 'sinew, vein' > PSam \**ceŋ* > NenT *teʔ*, Ngan *taŋ*, SlkTaz *teŋ*, Tym *čat*, Ket *čän*, *čeŋ*

# From Proto-Uralic to Proto-Samoyed 10 (vowels)

- PU *\*i-ä* > PSam *\*ə-ä*

PU *\*šilmä* ‘eye’ > PSam *\*səjmä* > NenT *sæwə*, Ngan *šejmi*, SlkTaz *sajl* (!)

- PU *\*i-i* & *\*ü-i* > PSam *\*i(-ə)*

PU *\*nimi* ‘name’ > PSam *\*nim* ~ *\*nüm* > NenT *num*, Ngan *nim*, SlkTaz *nim*

PU *\*šüδ'i* ‘charcoal’ > PSam *\*sijə* > NenF *tŭn šijə* ‘glowing coal (*tŭn* ‘fire.GEN’), SlkTaz *siči*, Kam *siʔ*, Mat *ki* ‘glowing coal’

- NB! PU *\*wi-* > PSam *\*wü-*

PU *\*witti* ~ *\*wijti* ‘5’ > PSam *\*wüət* ‘10’ > NenT *juʔ*, Ngan *biiʔ*, SlkTaz *kön*, *köt*

# From Proto-Uralic to Proto-Samoyed 11 (vowels)

- PU \**o-a* > PSam \**â-â*

PU \**kompa* ‘wave’ > PSam \**kâmpâ* > NenT *χampa*, Ngan *koŋhu* (singular) (strong grade, open syllable): *kombu?* (plural) (weak grade, closed syllable), SlkTaz *qõmpj*

PU \**ojwa* ‘head’ > PSam \**âjwâ* > NenT *ŋæwa* ‘head’, Ngan *ŋojbu* ‘chief, top, leader’, Mat *ajba* ‘head’

PU \**ńoma* ‘hare’ > PSam \**ńâmâ* > NenT *ńawa*, Ngan *ńomu*, SlkTaz *ńoma*

PU \**šoď’a* ‘war’ > PSam \**sâjâ(-râ)* > Ngan *souru* ‘warrior’, PSam \**sâjo-mê* > NenT *saju*<sup>ø</sup>, *sajuw*<sup>ø</sup> ‘soldier, warrior, enemy; army’

- but:

PU \**kopa* ‘skin’ > PSam \**kopâ* > NenT *χoba*, Ngan *kuhu*, SlkTaz *qopj* ‘skin, hide’

# From Proto-Uralic to Proto-Samoyed 12 (vowels)

- PU \**o-i* > PSam \**â-ə̃*

PU \**koški-* ‘to dry, be dry’ > PSam \**kâsə̃-* > NenT *χasə-*, Ngan *kosə-* ‘to dry’, SlkTym (3rd person singular) *kūzəra* ‘to lower (water level)’

PU \**ponči* ‘tail’ > PSam \**pāncə̃* > NenT *pan<sup>ə</sup>*, Ngan *hontəə*, SlkTym *pōnčar* ‘hem’

- PU \**u-a* > PSam \**ə̃-â*

PU \**juka* ‘river’ > PSam \**jə̃kâ* > NenT *jəχa*, SlkTaz *čaqi* (Also North Saami *johka* clearly points to PU \**u*, although to an \**i*-stem)

PU \**kupsa-* ‘to extinguish’ > PSam \**kə̃ptâ-* > NenT *χəpta-*, Ngan *kəbtu-*, SlkTaz *qapti-*

PU \**muna* ‘egg’ > PSam \**mə̃nâ* > Ngan *mənu* ‘egg’, SlkTym *man* ‘penis’, Ket *manne*

PU \**mura* ‘cloudberry’ > PSam \**mə̃rāŋkâ* > NenT *məraŋka*

## From Proto-Uralic to Proto-Samoyed 13 (vowels)

- PU \**u-i* > PSam \**u(-ə)*

PU \**tuli* ‘fire’ > PSam \**tuj* > NenT *tu*, Ngan *tuj*, SlkTaz *tü* ‘campfire, fire’

PU \**tumti-* ‘to feel, know’ > PSam \**tumtə̄-* > NenT *tumtə̄-* ‘to recognize’, Ngan *tumtə̄-* ‘to remember’

PU \**ukti* ‘passage, way’ > PSam \**ut* ~ \**utə̄* > NenT *ηuʔ* ‘track’, Ngan *ηutə̄* ‘way, road’

- but, PU \**u-i* > PSam \**o* or PU \**o* > PU \**u* elsewhere?:

PU \**kusi-* ‘to cough’ > PSam \**kot* ‘cough’ > NenT *χoʔ*, Ngan *kuʔ*, SlkTym *kot* ‘cough’

PU \**lumi* ‘snow’ > PSam \**jom-* ‘to snow’ > Ngan *d'üm* ‘snow’, SlkTym *t'om-na* (3rd person singular) ‘it snows’

# From Proto-Uralic to Proto-Samoyed 14 (vowels)

- PU \*ä-ä > PSam \*ä-ä (SW \*e-ä)

PU \*äjmä 'needle' > PSam \*äjmä > NenT *ńt̄ba*, Ngan *ńejmj*, Mat *ime*

PU \*päjwä 'sun, heat' > PSam \*päjwä > Ngan *hejbj* 'heat'

PU \*pälä 'half' > PSam \*pälä > NenT *pel'a*, Ngan *helj*

- PU \*ä-i > PSam \*ä

PU \*käri- 'to wrap, tie, thread' > PSam \*kär- ~ \*kärə- (SW \*ker- ~ \*kerə-) 'to dress, put on (clothes)' > NenT *serə-* 'to dress', Ngan *serə-*, Slk. *šer-*, Kam *šēr-*, Mat *ker-*

PU \*lämi 'broth' > ?PSam \*jämejə > NenT *jeweja* 'broth', Ngan *d'eməə* 'porridge made of blood, meat, flour and water'



# From Proto-Uralic to Proto-Samoyed 15 (lexicon)

- a few lexical isoglosses separating Samoyedic from other Uralic languages:

body parts:

PSam \**kem* ‘blood’ > NenT *χem*, Ngan *kam*, SlkTaz *kem* pro PU \**weri* ‘blood’

PSam \**kəŋā* ‘(finger)nail’ > NenT *χəda*, Ngan *kətu*, SlkTaz *qatj* pro PU \**künči* ‘(finger)nail’

PSam \**pəŋā* ‘gall’ > NenT *pəđə*, Ngan *hotj*, SlkTaz *patj* pro PU \**säppä* ‘gall’

PSam \**temä* ‘tooth’ > NenT *t’iġa*, Ngan *čimi*, SlkTaz *timj* (possibly a derivative of \**sewə-* ‘to eat’ → \**se(w)-mä*) pro PU \**piŋi* ‘tooth’

PSam \**utā* ‘hand’ > NenT *ŋuda*, Ngan *d’ütü* (< \**jutā!*), SlkTaz *utj* pro PU \**kāti* ‘hand’

# From Proto-Uralic to Proto-Samoyed 16 (lexicon)

numerals:

PSam \**nakur* '3' (SW \**nakə̄r* ~ \**nakə̄jr*) > NenT *ńaxər*, Ngan *nagür*, SlkTaz *noqır*,  
Ob *nagur* pro PU \**kolmi*/*\*kulmi*

PSam \**tättə̄* '4' > NenT *t'etə̄*, Ngan *četə̄*, SlkTaz *tettj* pro PU \**neljä*

PSam \**sə̄mpə̄lan̄kə̄* '5' > NenT *sə̄mpə̄l'an̄kə̄*, Ngan *sə̄nhəl'an̄kə̄*, (cf. *sə̄mbə̄mtj*  
'fifth'), SlkTaz *sompjla* pro PU \**wijti* ~ \**witti* '5' (> PSam \**wüt* '10')

# From Proto-Uralic to Proto-Samoyed 17 (lexicon)

others:

PSam \**mat* ‘hut, dwelling’ > NenT *maʔ* ‘hut’, Ngan *maʔ*, SlkOb, Ket, Tym *mād* ~ *māt* ‘house’ pro PU \**kota* ‘hut’

PSam \**pi* ‘night’ > NenT *pi*, Ngan *hii* pro PU \**eji* / \**üji* ‘night’

PSam \**təmã* ‘mouse, rat’ > Ngan *təmuŋku*, SlkTaz Tym *tama* ‘mouse; lemming’ pro PU \**šinjiri* ‘mouse’

PSam \**węn* ‘dog’ > NenT *weʔ*, ( → *weńeko*, *weńako*), Ngan *baŋ*, SlkTaz *kanak* pro PU \**penä(ji)* ‘dog’ (however, the Ugric language have a different word for ‘dog’ as well, cf. MsN *aamp*, Hung *eb* ‘dog; pooch, mutt’)

# From PSam to Tundra Nenets 1 (consonants)

- prothetic nasal in words beginning with a vowel (a similar development is found in Nganasan)
- PSam \*V- > NenT *ŋV-* (preceding a (historical) back vowel and *ə*), *ńV-* (preceding a front vowel)

PSam \**eptə̂* 'hair' > NenT *ŋebtə̂*

PSam \**ɲə̂pə̂* 'father-in-law' > NenT *ŋɲə̂bə̂*

PSam \**äjmä* 'needle' > NenT *ńɪ́ba*

PSam \**ämä* 'mother' > NenT *ńéba*

## From PSam to Tundra Nenets 2 (consonants)

- palatalization of consonants preceding a front vowel

PSam \**pälä* ‘half’ > NenT *pel'a*

PSam \**petä* ‘nest’ > NenT *pidá*

PSam \**päpä* ‘younger sibling’ > NenT *peba*

PSam \**tälä-* ‘to steal’ > NenT *tal'e-*

## From PSam to Tundra Nenets 3 (consonants)

- PSam \**k* > NenT *χ* (preceding a back vowel)

PSam \**kâmpâ* 'wave' > NenT *χampa*

PSam \**kâtâ* 'grandmother' > NenT *χada*

PSam \**kopâ* 'skin' > NenT *χoba* 'skin, hide'

- PSam \**k* > NenT *ś* (preceding a front vowel, word-initially), *ć*

PSam \**käjmä* 'female' > NenT *śibako*

PSam \**kälü* 'brother-in-law' > NenT *śel<sup>ø</sup>*

PSam \**pirkä* 'high' > NenT *pirća* 'high, long (vertically)'

## From PSam to Tundra Nenets 4 (consonants)

- note the difference between Janhunen's and Helimski's reconstructions, Helimski reconstructs PS *\*a* instead of Janhunen's *\*ä*:

PSam *\*kär* (Janhunen, SW) / PSam *\*kar* (Helimski) > NenT *śar* 'surface, skin'

PSam *\*kät* (Janhunen, SW) / PSam *\*kat* (Helimski) > NenT *śaʔ* 'face'

PSam *\*pä* (Janhunen, SW) / PSam *\*pa* (Helimski) > NenT *pa* 'tree'

# From PSam to Tundra Nenets 5 (consonants)

- PSam \**t*, \**č* > NenT *ʔ* (word/syllable-finally) / *d* (between vowels)

PSam \**ut* ‘passage, way’ > NenT *ɲuʔ* ‘track’ / PSam \**utå* ‘hand’ > NenT *ɲuda*

PSam \**wåc* ‘fence’ > NenT *waʔ*

- PSam \**-m-* > NenT *-b-*, *-w-* (V\_V)
- PSam \**-nt-*, \**-nc-* (> \**-nt-*) > NenT *-n-*

PSam \**påncə* ‘hem’ > NenT *pan<sup>ə</sup>*

PSam \**kåntå-* ‘to carry’ > NenT *χana-* ‘to carry (away)’

PSam \**kuntə* ‘length’ > NenT *χun<sup>ə</sup>*

PSam \**wånco* ‘root’ > NenT *wano*

PSam \**juntå* ‘horse’ (← Old Turkic *yuntǎ*) > NenT *juna*, *juno*



## From PSam to Tundra Nenets 6 (consonants)

- PSam \*-ń- > NenT -j-

PSam \**įńa* 'tame' > NenT *ɲijə*

- PSam \*w- (preceding a front vowel) > NenT j-

PSam \**wet* 'water' > NenT *jiʔ*

PSam \**wäsa* 'iron' > NenT *ješa* 'iron, metal, money, jewellery'

## From PSam to Tundra Nenets 7 (vowels)

- PSam \**a*, \**ǎ*, \**ǎ̃* > NenT *a*

PSam \**kar* ‘skin, bark’ > NenT *śar* ‘surface; skin’

PSam \**tak(ə)* ‘behind’ > NenT *t'aχə-*

PSam \**kǎ̃* ‘to die’ > NenT *χa-*

PSam \**kǎlä* ‘fish’ > NenT *χal'a*

PSam \**tǎrkǎ* ‘branch’ > NenT *tarka* ‘fork, branch’

PSam \**ǎjǎ* ‘meat, body’ > NenT *ŋaja* ‘skin, body’

# From PSam to Tundra Nenets 8 (vowels)

- PSam \*e, \*i > NenT *i*

PSam \**enäkkå* (← \**enä*) > NenT *rińeka* ‘older brother; father’s younger brother’

PSam \**pirə* ‘height’ > NenT *pir<sup>ə</sup>*

- PSam \**e* > NenT *e*

PSam \**jepsə* ‘cradle’ > NenT *jebc<sup>ə</sup>*

PSam \**keɲ* ‘blood’ > NenT *χem*

- PSam \**i* > NenT *i*

PSam \**jlə-nå* ‘under’ > NenT *ɲil<sup>ə</sup>na*

PSam \**miɲə* ‘liver’ > NenT *mid<sup>ə</sup>*

# From PSam to Tundra Nenets 9 (vowels)

- PSam \**o* > NenT *o*

PSam \**kopå* 'skin' > NenT *χoba* 'skin, hide'

PSam \**korå* 'male animal' > NenT *χora* 'male animal, reindeer bull'

PSam \**opå* 'glove' > NenT *ηoba* 'mitten'

- PSam \**u* > NenT *u*

PSam \**jumpə̂* 'moss' > NenT *jumpə* 'lump, peat, turf'

PSam \**ut* 'passage, way' > NenT *ηuʔ* 'track'

- PSam \**ü* > NenT *u*

PSam \**jür* '100' > NenT *jur*

PSam \**wüt* '10' > NenT *juʔ*

# From PSam to Tundra Nenets 10 (vowels)

- PSam \*ä > NenT e

PSam \**kätə*- ‘to wrap up (a child)’ > NenT *śedə*- ‘to wrap up a child, lay a child in its cradle’

PSam \**kälü* ‘brother-in-law’ > NenT *śel*<sup>ə</sup>

PSam \**ämä* ‘mother’ > NenT *ńeá*

- PSam \*ə̂ > NenT ə

PSam \**kəťá* ‘(finger)nail’ > NenT *χəda*

PSam \**kə̂ncə̂* ‘sled’ > NenT *χən*<sup>ə</sup>

PSam \**mə̂râ* ‘beach’ > NenT *məra* ‘(sand)beach’

# From PSam to Tundra Nenets 11 (vowels)

- vowel contractions and long vowels (emerging from combinations of vowel + semi-vowel)
- PSam \**āj* (in closed syllables) > NenT *æ* (*äe*)

PSam \**āj* 'foot, leg' > NenT *ηæ*

PSam \**kājkẽ* 'spirit' > NenT *χæχ<sup>o</sup>* 'protecting spirit, idol'

PSam \**kājma* 'marrow' > NenT *χæwa*

PSam \**kājto* 'sickness' > NenT *χædo* 'epidemic'

PSam \**ājwå* 'head' > NenT *ηæwa*

- PSam \**əj* > NenT *æ* (*äe*)

PSam \**pəj* 'stone, rock' > NenT *pæ*

PSam \**səjmä* 'eye' > NenT *sæw<sup>o</sup>*

# From PSam to Tundra Nenets 12 (vowels)

- PSam \*aj/\*äj/\*ej > NenT *ī*

PSam \**kajwå* 'spade' > NenT *śīwa*

PSam \**käjmä* 'female' > NenT *śībako*

PSam \**pajmå* 'boot' > NenT *πίwa*

PSam \**pej-* 'to fear, be afraid' > NenT *πί-*

PSam \**äjmä* 'needle' > NenT *ńība*

PSam \**ajsä* 'father' > NenT *ńīsa*

- PSam \**uj* > NenT *u*

PSam \**uj* > NenT *ηu* 'tent pole'

PSam \**jutə̂* 'to dream (about something)' > NenT *jude-*

# From PSam to Nganasan 1 (general)

a few general remarks:

- in old literature also Tavgi (not to be confused with Taigi (Mator))
- minimal dialectal differences, that are not usually referenced in etymological studies
- in Samojedischer Wortschatz C = Castrén, some archaisms like noting *f-* instead of *h-*



## From PSam to Nganasan 2 (consonants)

- PSam \**w* > Ngan *b*

PSam \**tājwā-* > Ngan *tojbu-* ‘to transport’

PSam \**wālā* ‘song’ > Ngan *bəlj* ‘song’

PSam \**wārā* ‘edge, ridge’ > Ngan *bəru* ‘mountain, cliff’

PSam \**ājwā* ‘head’ > Ngan *nojbu* ‘chief, top, leader’ (fairly typical semantic change, cf. Latin *caput* ‘head’ > French *chef* ‘chief, leader, Spanish *jefe*), there exists also Ngan *nojbuo* ‘head’ (< PSam \**ājwājə*)

## From PSam to Nganasan 3 (consonants)

- PSam \**j-* > Ngan *d'-* (Castrén still had *j-*, dialectally also *jali* 'day')

PSam \**jàə* 'earth, land, place' > Ngan *d'üo* 'sand, powder' (C *jua* 'sand, ashes')

PSam \**jəpto* 'goose' > Ngan *d'ebtu*

PSam \**jalä* 'light, day, sun' > Ngan *d'ali* 'day'

- PSam \**-t* > Ngan *ʔ* (also transcribed as " ")

PSam \**wet* 'water' > Ngan *biʔ*

## From PSam to Nganasan 4 (consonants)

- PSam \**jC* > Ngan *jC* (Nganasan is the only language where syllable-final PSam \**j* has mostly been preserved, although PSam \**jt* > Ngan *č, t'*)

PSam \**kajwâ* 'spade' > Ngan *kajbu*

PSam \**kâjkə̂* 'spirit' > Ngan *kojkə* 'idol'

PSam \**kâjtə̂* 'sickness' > Ngan *kočə*

PSam \**kâjmâ* 'marrow' > Ngan *kojmu* 'brain'

PSam \**səjmä* 'eye' > Ngan *šejmĭ*

# From PSam to Nganasan 5 (consonants)

- PSam \*V- > Ngan usually *ŋV-* (preceding a back vowel), *ɲ-* (preceding a front vowel)

PSam \**amtə* 'horn' > Ngan *ŋamtə*

PSam \**opā* 'glove, mitten' > Ngan *ŋuhu*

PSam \**äjmä* 'needle' > Ngan *ɲejmɨ*

PSam \**enä* > Ngan *ɲinj* 'older brother; father's younger brother, older male cousin'

- PSam \**p* > Ngan *h* (Castrén *f*)

PSam \**kämpā* 'wave' > Ngan *korhu: kombu-*

PSam \**lempä* 'eagle' > Ngan *lijhɨ*

PSam \**petä* 'nest' > Ngan *hiɲi*

PSam \**pa* 'wood, tree' > Ngan *h<sup>u</sup>aa*

PSam \**päjwä* 'sun, heat' > Ngan *hejbi* 'heat'

## From PSam to Nganasan 6 (consonants)

- PSam \**k*- > Ngan *ś*- (preceding PSam \**ä*, \**e* and \**i*)

PSam \**kitä* '2' > Ngan *śiti*

PSam \**käəj* 'language, tongue' > Ngan *śiəd'ə* (derivative?)

PSam \**känkə*- 'stay overnight' > Ngan *śenəkə*-

PSam \**kärə*- 'to get dressed, dress' > Ngan *śerə*-

- PSam \**c* > Ngan *t* (like in most Samoyed languages)

PSam \**cecä* 'uncle (mother's younger brother)' > Ngan *tijid'a* (derivative)

PSam \**wāncō* 'root' > Ngan *bəntu*

# From PSam to Nganasan 7 (vowels)

- Nganasan is essential in reconstructing Proto-Samoyed vowel sequences
- first syllable developments

PSam \**ãə̂* > Ngan *uo*

PSam \**kãə̂* 'to die' > Ngan *kuo-*

PSam \**wãə̂ʔã* 'word' > Ngan *buoɔu*

PSam \**a* > Ngan *a*

PSam \**ã* > Ngan *o*

PSam \**o* > Ngan *u*

PSam \**e* > Ngan *ɨ, i*

## From PSam to Nganasan 8 (vowels)

PSam \* $e$  > Ngan  $a$

PSam \* $i$ , \* $ü$  > Ngan  $i$

PSam \* $j$  > Ngan  $i$

PSam \* $u$  > Ngan  $u$

PSam \* $ä$  > Ngan  $e$

PSam \* $\hat{e}$  > Ngan  $\emptyset$

- NB! Note that there are context-dependent exceptions to many of the general developments outlined here, for example PSam \* $w\hat{a}$ - > Ngan  $b\emptyset$ -, PSam \* $\hat{e}$  > Ngan  $e$  (preceding or succeeding \* $j$ )

# From PSam to Nganasan 9 (vowels)

- second syllable

PSam \**ǎ* > Ngan *u*

PSam \**ǣ* > Ngan *j*

PSam \**ǣ̂* > Ngan *ə*



# From PSam to Selkup 1 (general)

a few general remarks:

- in earlier literature also Ostyak-Samoyed
- Selkup dialects form a continuum, where differences between neighbouring dialects are negligible, but at the ends the difference between the dialects has been compared to the difference between Komi and Udmurt
- North dialects: TazM, TazU, Baikha & Turukhan, Karasino, Yelogui (Helimski) / ел. туп. (Bykonja)
- Middle dialects: Тым, Нарым (Helimski) / тым, вас, об. Ч. (Middle Ob Чумылкуп) (Bykonja)
- South dialects: ObM, ObU, (Chaya, Chulym) (Helimski) / об. С., Ш (Bykonja)
- Ket dialects: KetM, KetU

## From PSam to Selkup 2 (consonants)

- PSam \*j- > PSIk \*t'- > SlkTaz č-, Tym. č́-, Ob t'- (word-internally voiced in part of the dialects)

PSam \*jumpə̂ 'moss' > PSIk \*t'umpə > SlkTaz čumpi, Tym čumb(e), Ob t'umbe, t'ump, Ket čumbe, č́umbe, t'umbe

PSam \*juntə̂ 'horse' > SlkTaz čunti, Tym č́und(e)

PSam \*ǰǰa 'meat, body' > PSIk \*uət'ə > SlkTaz wečj, Tym wad', K wət't'ə

- PSam \*jw > PSIk \*l't'

PSam SW \*tǰjwǰ 'tail' (based on Nganasan \*təjwǰ?) > PSIk \*tal't'u > SlkTaz talči, Tym tald', Ket tald'u

## From PSam to Selkup 3 (consonants)

- PSam \**k* (preceding a front vowel) > PSIk \**ś-* > SlkTaz *š*, Tym *š*, Ob *s-*, Ket *s-*

PSam \**kājmä* 'female' > PSIk \**śūma* > SlkTaz *šūma* 'wood grouse hen', Tym *šūma*, Ob *sūm*, *sōw* 'female animal, mare, wood grouse hen', Ket *sūm(e)*

- PSam \**w-* > PSIk \**q-*

PSam \**wāncō* 'root' > PSIk \**qončə* > SlkTaz *qonti*, Ket *qonžə*

## From PSam to Selkup 4 (vowels)

- PSam \**a* > PSIk \**ā* > SlkTaz *ɔ̄*, Tym *ā*, Ket *ā*

PSam \**amtə* ‘horn’ > SlkTaz *ɔ̄mtj*, Tym *āmd*, Ket *āmdə*

- PSam \**āj* > PSIk \**ū* > SlkTaz *ü*, Tym *ö*, *ū*, Ket *ū*

PSam \**kājto* ‘sickness’ > PSIk \**qūtu* ‘sickness’ > SlkTaz *qūti*, Tym, *qöde*, Ket *qūdə*, *qötə*, *qūtu*

PSam \**kājma* ‘marrow’ > PSIk \**qūmə* > SlkTaz *qūmj*, Tym *qöwə*, Ket *qūwə*, *qū*

PSam \**sājma* ‘sound, noise’ > PSIk \**sūmə* > SlkTaz *sūmj*, Tym *sūw*, Ket *sūwə*

## From PSam to Selkup 5 (vowels)

- PSam \**ǎ* > PSIk \**uə* > SlkTaz *ē, e*, Tym *uə̂*, Ket *uə̂, ue, ö*

PSam \**kǎlä* ‘fish’ > PSIk \**quələ* > SlkTaz *qēj̄, qēj̄*, Tym *quə̂l*, Ket *quə̂l(ə)*, *qɔ̄l*

PSam \**sǎrǎ-* ‘to rain’ > PSIk \**suərə-* > SlkTaz *sēr̄j̄-*

- PSam \**ǣ* > PSIk \**a* > usually *a*

PSam \**mǣñǎ* ‘egg’ > slkTym *man*, Ket *mannē* ‘penis’

PSam \**pǣtä* ‘gall’ > SlkTaz *pat̄j̄*, Tym *pad(e)*

PSam \**tǣñǣ̂* ‘summer, thaw’ > SlkTaz *tan̄j̄*

- PSam \**uj* > PSIk \**ū*

# Exercise 1: Samoyed

Based on the Samoyedic cognates, reconstruct the PS and PU proto-forms (Proto-Uralic forms might be theoretical and there might be more than one possibility):

NenT *jińa*, Ngan *bjñj*, SlkTaz *ũñj* 'strap'

NenT *məχa*, Ngan *məku*, SlkTaz *moqal* 'back'

NenT *nara* 'spring (before the ice melts, while the snow-crust still supports walking)', Ngan *noru* 'spring'

NenT *num* 'sky', SlkTaz Ket *nom* 'sky'

NenT *śeŋkə-*, Ngan *śeŋkə-*, SlkTaz *šäqqj-* 'stay overnight'

NenT *wanjk<sup>ə</sup>* 'hole, cave, den', Ngan *bəŋgüʔtūo*

## Exercise 2: Samoyed

Based on the Tundra Nenets and Selkup words, reconstruct the PS proto-form and their theoretical reflexes in Nganasan:

NenT *jamp*<sup>ə</sup> ‘long (horizontally)’, SlkTaz *čumpi*

NenT *jəχa*, SlkTaz *čaqi* ‘river’

NenT *mería* ‘wind’, SlkTaz *merqi*

NenT *parka*, SlkTaz *porqi* ‘parka; a piece of clothing’

NenT *poŋka* ‘net’, SlkTaz *poqqi*

NenT *sampə-* ‘to conjure, perform magic’, SlkTaz *sumpi-*

NenT *śamdə-* ‘to be covered in soot’, SlkTaz *qčnti* ‘soot’, Ket *qāmdə*