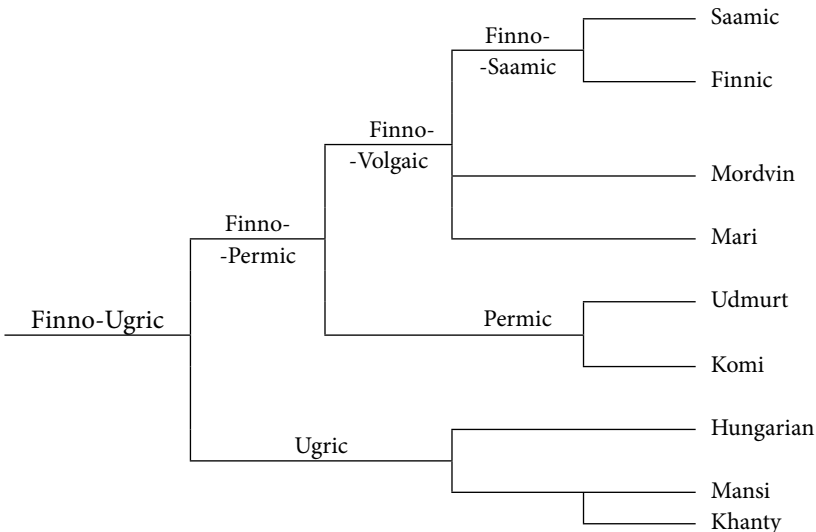


## Was there a Volgaic unity within Finno-Ugric?

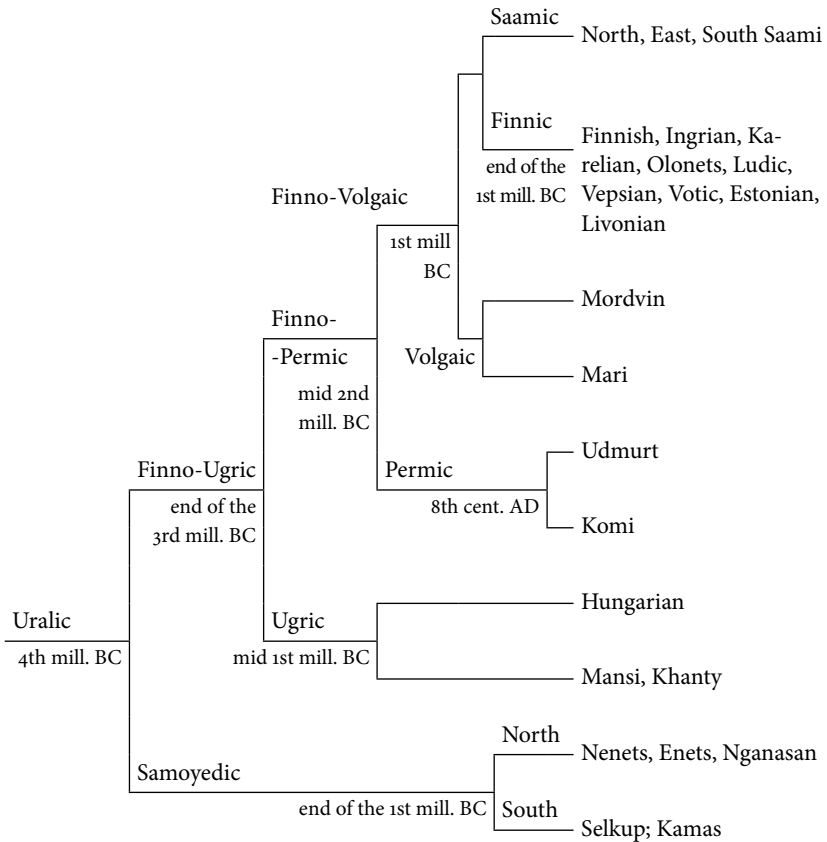
The purpose of the present study is to determine if the Volgaic branch (consisting of Mordvin and Mari) represents a real taxonomic unit in terms of the genetic classification of the Finno-Ugric/Uralic language family.

The following scenarios have been proposed for the classification of the Finno-Ugric/Uralic family. The main differences appear in the position of Mordvin and Mari.

1. Mari, Mordvin and Finno-Saamic are coordinate subbranches (see Setälä 1890, 1926, repeated in OFUJ 1974, 38; similarly Napoľskih 1997, 260, scheme 3.)



2. Traditionally Mordvin and Mari have been included in a single group, called “Volgaic” (see e.g. Collinder 1960, 11; Hajdú 1962, cited from the Russian translation Hajdu 1985, 173; see also OFUJ 1974, 39.)



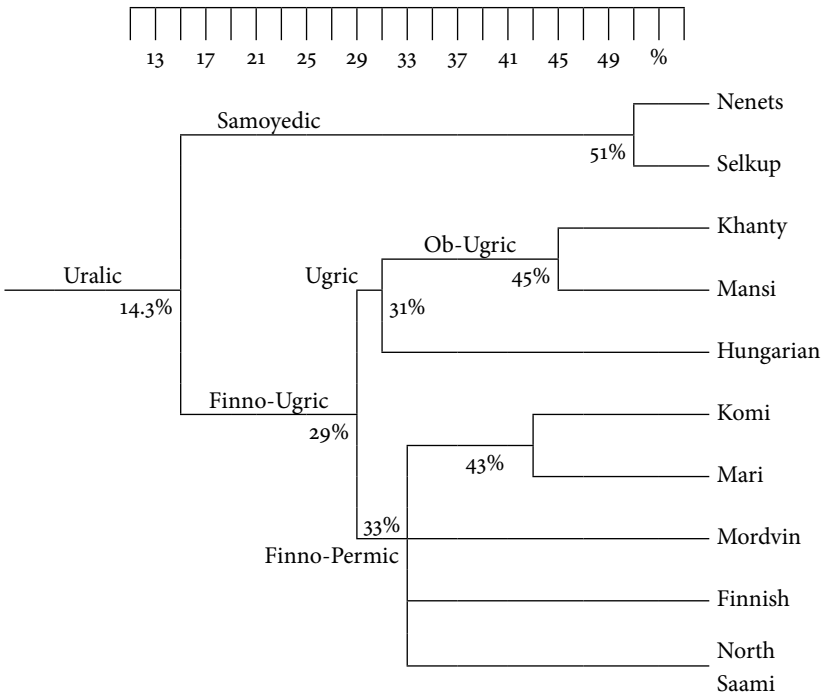
3. The first attempt to apply the lexicostatistic approach was carried out by Eeva Kangasmaa-Minn and Alo Raun (1956, 152–153). Their results were discussed in detail by Evgenij Helimskij (1982, 11–14). A new attempt was carried out by Juhani Lehtiranta (1982, 114–118). Unfortunately all of these authors published only figures, without interpretation in the form of diagrams and without lexical data.

On the basis of the standard Swadesh 100-word list, Lehtiranta (1982, 115) calculated the following percentages expressing the mutual relations between the main Uralic languages:

## Was there a Volgaic unity within Finno-Ugric?

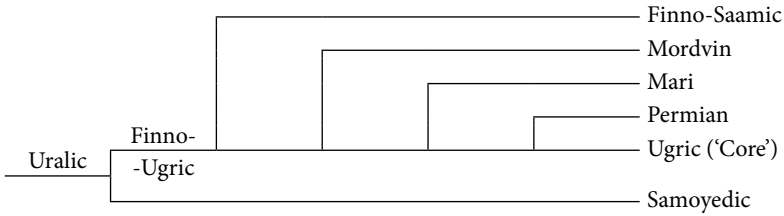
language	N.Saami	Mordvin	Mari	Komi	Hung.	Khanty	Mansi	Nenets	Selkup
<b>Finnish</b>	33	34	37	33	31	29	32	14	17
<b>N.Saami</b>		32	32	24	23	24	19	11	10
<b>Mordvin</b>			37	30	26	26	22	14	16
<b>Mari</b>				43	32	27	29	19	17
<b>Komi</b>					31	26	27	12	19
<b>Hung.</b>						28	34	10	12
<b>Khanty</b>							45	14	15
<b>Mansi</b>								13	15
<b>Nenets</b>									51

Using the method of balanced averages, Lehtiranta's figures can be projected into the following tree diagram 3:

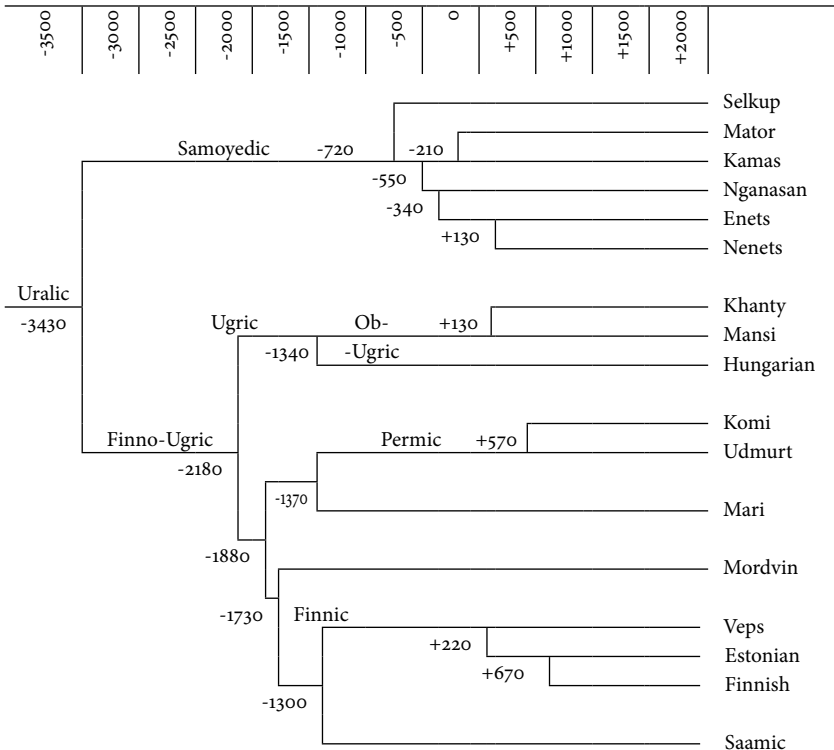


As is apparent, the closest relative of Mari is Komi, while Mordvin represents one of the coordinate subbranches of Finno-Permic. The remaining subbranches are also represented by individual languages, Saamic by North Saami, Finnic by Finnish.

4. A model of a series of sequential separations was proposed by Tiit-Rein Viitso (1996, 261–266). According to him, Mordvin and Mari represent different separations from the mainstream, formed by Ugric. Viitso accepts only a closer Finno-Saamic relationship.



5. The first application of a so called “recalibrated” glottochronology for the Uralic languages was carried out by the team of Sergei Starostin in 2004; let us mention that the method was developed by Starostin himself at the end of the 1980s.

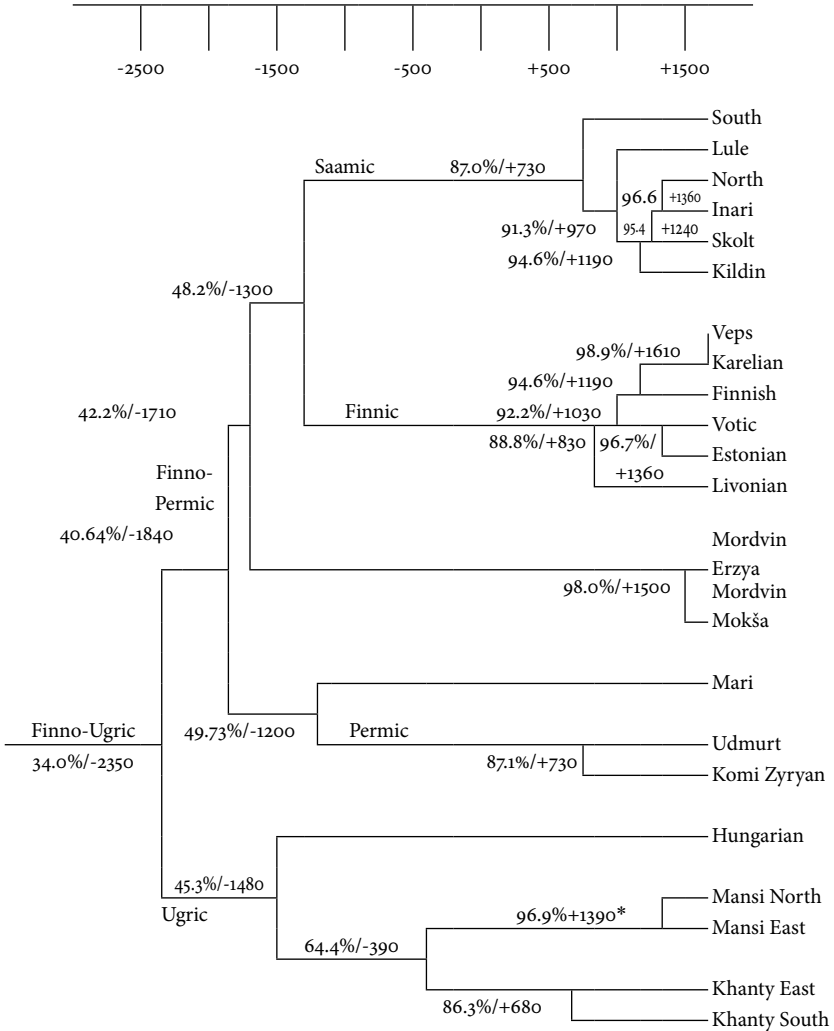


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6. In the present study the “recalibrated” glottochronology was also used. For this reason the word-lists of 16 Fenno-Ugric languages/dialects were collected and etymologically analyzed.

%	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	
<b>1. South Saami</b>	75/85 =88.24	72/84 =86.71	44/87 =50.57	40/86 =46.51	42/86 =48.84	36/89 =40.45	36/89 =40.45	40.5/86 =47.21	32.5/89 =36.52	34.5/89 =38.76	26/86 =30.23	26.5/91 =29.12	27.5/90 =30.56	27/87 =31.03	28/89 =31.46	
<b>2. North Saami</b>		81/85 =95.29	43/85 =50.59	39/84 =46.43	39/85 =45.88	36/89 =40.45	36/89 =40.45	37.5/87 =43.10	31.5/89 =35.39	34.5/89 =38.76	27/86 =31.40	27.5/91 =30.22	27.5/90 =30.56	28/87 =32.18	29/89 =32.58	
<b>3. Skolt Saami</b>			43/84 =51.19	39/83 =46.99	40/85 =47.06	35/87 =40.23	35/87 =40.23	38.5/86 =44.77	31.5/87 =36.21	33.5/87 =38.51	26/84 =30.95	25.5/89 =28.65	26.5/88 =30.11	27/85 =31.76	28/87 =32.18	
<b>4. Finnish</b>				84/93 =90.32	82/92 =89.13	41/92 =44.57	42/92 =45.65	39.5/91 =43.41	41/92 =44.57	41/92 =44.57	35/89 =39.33	36.5/93 =39.25	36.5/93 =39.25	30/90 =33.33	31/91 =34.07	
<b>5. Estonian</b>					82/92 =89.13	40/91 =43.96	41/91 =45.05	36.5/89 =41.01	41/91 =45.05	41/91 =45.05	35/89 =39.33	35.5/92 =38.59	35.5/93 =38.17	29/89 =32.58	31/90 =34.44	
<b>6. Livonian</b>						38/91 =41.76	39/91 =42.87	36.5/89 =40.86	38/91 =41.76	36/91 =39.56	33/89 =37.08	32.5/97 =35.33	32.5/93 =34.94	27/88 =30.68	29/91 =31.87	
<b>7. Mokša Mordvin</b>							96/98 =97.96	38/93 =40.86	36.5/97 =37.63	35.5/98 =36.22	31/92 =33.70	31.5/97 =32.47	31.5/97 =32.47	31/93 =33.33	32/95 =33.68	
<b>8. Erzya Mordvin</b>								38/93 =40.86	37.5/97 =38.66	35.5/98 =36.22	31/92 =33.70	31.5/97 =32.47	31.5/97 =32.47	31/93 =33.33	32/95 =33.68	
<b>9. Mari</b>									46/93 =49.46	46.5/93 =50.00	31/90 =34.44	38/94 =40.43	37/94 =39.36	28/92 =30.43	31/93 =33.33	
<b>10. Udmurt</b>											84.5/97 =87.11	38/92 =41.30	35.5/97 =36.60	34.5/97 =35.57	32/93 =34.41	33/95 =34.74
<b>11. Komi Zyryan</b>												35/92 =38.04	33.5/97 =34.54	33.5/97 =34.54	33/93 =35.48	34/95 =35.79
<b>12. Hungarian</b>												44/94 =47.81	43/94 =45.74	39/92 =42.39	42/93 =45.14	
<b>13. North Mansi</b>														95/98 =96.94	66/95 =69.47	58.5/96 =60.94
<b>14. East Mansi</b>															62/95 =65.26	59.5/96 =61.98
<b>15. South Khanty</b>																82/95 =86.32
<b>16. East Khanty</b>																-

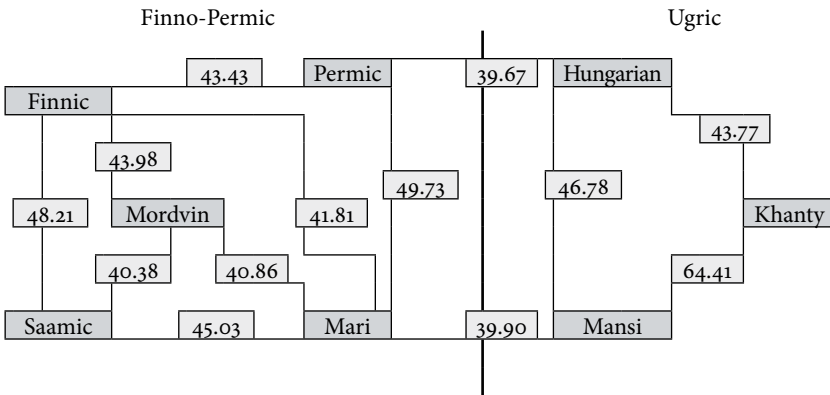
These figures can be transformed into a tree diagram whose topology is practically identical with the model of the Starostin team, and not very far from the results of Lehtiranta (in the construction of diagram 6 Saamic and 6 Finnic languages were included (see Novotná & Blažek 2008–09[2010]), whose word-lists are given in Appendices 1 & 2:



\*Note: The lexical data were collected at the end of the 19th century by Paasonen (Mordvin) and Munkácsi (Mansi); thus the calculated dating of disintegration should be shifted back into the past by about a century.

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Alternatively, the mutual relationships of the Finno-Ugric languages can be depicted in the form of a net. The figures represent percentages of the common basic lexicon. The highest values identify neighbours.



## Conclusion

According to our results, Mordvin stands closer to Finnic (43.98%; to Finno-Saamic 42.18%) and Mari closer to Permic (49.73%), than Mordvin to Mari (40.86%). Two other independent studies (Lehtiranta 1982; Starostin 2004), applying a quantitative approach based on a comparison of core lexicons, give analogous results. Yet more significant figures are obtained if the numbers of all exclusive lexical isoglosses are compared: Finnic-Mordvin: c. 110 isoglosses, Mari-Permic: c. 150, but Mordvin-Mari: 20 (Bereczki 1977, 57–77; 1978–79[1982], 88; 1988, 314). These lexicostatistical results may be supported by results of historical phonetics and morphology, as seriously discussed by Bereczki (1974; 1978–79[1982]; 1988). Mordvin agrees with Finno-Saamic for example in the differentiation of reflexes of long and short vowels, as opposed to Mari (cf. Itkonen 1969, 90–91; Bereczki 1974, 83). Serebrennikov (1967, 32–33) has found two exclusive morphological isoglosses between Mordvin and Mari: (i) Mordvin comitative in *-šek/-ček* vs. Mari temporal adverbs in *-sek/-šek*; (ii) Mordvin comitative in *-ńek* vs. Mari suffix of collective numerals and essive in *-nek/-ńek*. Bereczki (1974, 82–83; 1978–79[1982], 86–87) has convincingly demonstrated the separate origins of both Mordvin and Mari suffixes. As regards other morphological parallels, cognates from other branches confirm that they represent archaisms, not common innovations indicating a closer genetic relationship.

On the other hand, there are numerous morphological correspondences between Finnic and Mordvin, including some exclusive ones (Bereczki 1978–79[1982], 88–89). All these arguments confirm that the concept of the ‘Volgaic’ unity as a genetic taxon is invalid.

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## Appendix 1: Finnic word-lists and etymologies

(see Novotná &amp; Blažek 2010)

Gloss	Finnish	Karelian	Veps	Estonian	Livonian	Votic	Etymology / Source
1a. all	<i>kaikki</i>	<i>kaikki</i>	<i>kaik</i>	<i>kõik</i>		<i>keikki</i>	< ?B: Li <i>kiek</i> how much (S 141)
1b.	( <i>tykkä-nään</i> totally)			(E <i>tükiis</i> )	<i>tikkiž</i>		BF * <i>tükki</i> - S 1447-48
1c.				( <i>amma</i> till)	<i>amà</i>		FU * <i>čama</i> R 52; S 53
2a. ashes	<i>tuhka</i>	<i>tuhka</i>	<i>tuhk</i>	<i>tuhk</i>	<i>tù'g ãD</i>	<i>tuhka</i>	BF * <i>tuška</i> /* <i>tučka</i> S 1375
3a. bark	<i>kuori</i>	<i>kuori</i>	<i>koí</i>	<i>koor</i>	<i>kuoí</i>	<i>koori</i>	FV/FU * <i>kõre</i> R 184
4a. belly	<i>vatsa</i>	<i>vačča</i>	<i>vac</i>	<i>vats</i>	<i>vaṣ</i>	<i>vattsa</i>	FU * <i>wača</i> R 547
4b.			<i>koht</i>	<i>kõht</i>			FP * <i>koht</i> R 670; S 206
5a. big	<i>iso</i>						U * <i>ičä</i> R 78
5b.		<i>p/buabo</i>					< R <i>baba</i> grand-mother S 448
5c.	<i>suuri</i>	<i>šuuuri</i>	<i>suí</i>	<i>suur</i>	<i>sūr</i>	<i>sūri</i>	?FV * <i>šure</i> R 779
6a. bird	<i>lintu</i>	<i>lintu</i>	<i>lind</i>	<i>lind</i>	<i>lind</i>	<i>lintu</i>	FU * <i>linta</i> R 249, FU * <i>lunta</i> R 254
7a. bite	<i>purra</i>	<i>purra</i>	<i>purda</i>	<i>purema</i>		<i>purra</i>	U * <i>pure</i> - R 405, S 655-56
7b.	( <i>jämsätä</i> scratch)				<i>jamstõ</i>		BF * <i>jämsä</i> - S 130
8a. black	<i>musta</i>	<i>musta</i>	<i>must</i>	<i>must</i>	<i>muštà</i>	<i>mussa</i>	BF * <i>musta</i> S 353
9a. blood	<i>veri</i>	<i>veri, vefi</i>	<i>vefi</i>	<i>veri</i>	<i>ver</i>	<i>veri</i>	FU * <i>wire</i> R 576
9b.		( <i>čakka</i> mos-quito)	<i>čak</i>				S 951
10a. bone	<i>luu</i>	<i>luu</i>	<i>lu</i>	<i>luu</i>	<i>lü</i>	<i>lū</i>	U * <i>luwe</i> R 254
10b.	( <i>kontti</i> shin, leg)			<i>kont</i>			?FU * <i>konte</i> S 216
11a. breast	<i>rinta</i>	<i>rinta</i>	<i>řind</i>	<i>rind</i>	<i>rinda</i>	<i>rinta</i>	< Sc. * <i>strinda</i> - S 803-04
12a. burn tr.	<i>polttaa</i>	<i>polttoa</i>	<i>palā-da</i>	<i>põleta-ma</i>	<i>palattaa</i>	<i>polottaa</i>	FU * <i>pala</i> R 352
13a. claw	<i>kynsi</i>	<i>kynsi</i>	<i>küüs</i>	<i>küñz</i>	<i>kintš</i>	<i>tšūsi</i>	FU/U * <i>künče</i> R 157
14a. cloud	<i>pilvi</i>	<i>pilvi</i>	<i>pilf</i>	<i>pilv</i>	<i>pila</i>	<i>pilvi</i>	FU * <i>pilwe</i> R 381

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Gloss	Finnish	Karelian	Veps	Estonian	Livonian	Votic	Etymology / Source
15a. cold	<i>kylmä</i>	<i>kylmä</i>	<i>külm</i>	<i>külm</i>	<i>kilma</i>	<i>tšülmä</i>	FP * <i>külmä</i> R 663
15b.	( <i>vilu</i> arch.)	<i>vilu</i>	<i>vilu</i>				BF * <i>vilu</i> S 1770-71
16a. come	<i>tulla</i>	<i>tulla</i>	<i>tuuda</i>	<i>tulema</i>	<i>tülda</i>	<i>tulöa</i>	U * <i>tule-</i> R 535
17a. die	<i>kuolla</i>	<i>kuolla</i>	<i>koŋda</i> , -uda	<i>koolma</i>	<i>küölö</i>	<i>koollaa</i>	U * <i>kola-</i> R 173
17b.				<i>surema</i>			FU * <i>šure-</i> R 489
18a. dog	<i>koira</i>	<i>koira</i>	<i>koir</i>	<i>koer</i>		<i>koira</i>	U * <i>koj(e)-ra</i> R 168
18b.					<i>piņ</i>		?FU/FP * <i>pene</i> R 371
19a. drink	<i>juoda</i>	<i>juuva</i>	<i>ǵöda</i> / <i>ďöda</i>	<i>jooma</i>	<i>jüodö</i>	<i>joo</i>	FU * <i>juye-</i> R 103
20a. dry	<i>kuiva</i>	<i>kuiva</i>	<i>kuiv</i>	<i>kuiv</i>	<i>köuv</i> / <i>köväz</i>	<i>kuiva</i>	FU * <i>kujwa</i> R 196
21a. ear	<i>korva</i>	<i>korva</i>	<i>korv</i>	<i>körv</i>	<i>küora</i>	<i>körva</i>	U * <i>käwä</i> H 538
22a. earth	<i>maa</i>	<i>mua</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>maa</i>	<i>mö</i>	<i>maa</i>	U * <i>maye</i> R 263
23a. eat	<i>syödä</i>	<i>syvvä</i>	<i>söda</i>	<i>sööma</i>	<i>siedö</i>	<i>söö</i>	FU * <i>sewe-</i> /* <i>seye-</i> R 440
24a. egg	<i>muna</i>	<i>muna</i>	<i>muna</i>	<i>muna</i>	<i>muna</i>	<i>munö</i>	U * <i>muna</i> R 285
25a. eye	<i>silmä</i>	<i>šilmä</i>	<i>süüm</i>	<i>silm</i>	<i>silma</i>	<i>silmä</i>	U * <i>silmä</i> R 479
26a. fat n.	<i>rasva</i>	<i>rasva</i>	<i>razv</i>	<i>rasv</i>	<i>razā</i>	<i>razva</i>	BF * <i>rasva</i> S 742
27a. feather	<i>sulka</i>	<i>šulka</i>	<i>sug</i>	<i>sulg</i>		<i>sulka</i>	FS * <i>sulka</i> S 1102 ?U * <i>tulka</i> R 535-36
27b.	<i>höyhen</i>	<i>heühen</i>	<i>hüüneh</i>	? <i>ehme</i>		<i>evē</i>	?BF * <i>š/čewš/čem-</i> or * <i>š/čewmeš/č-</i> S 101
27c.					<i>kēratāb</i> <i>türgōz</i>		
28a. fire	<i>tuli</i>	<i>tuli</i>	<i>tuli</i>	<i>tuli</i>	<i>tuʹl</i>	<i>tuli</i>	U * <i>tule</i> R 535
28b.			<i>leskus</i>				
29a. fish	<i>kala</i>	<i>kala</i>	<i>kala</i>	<i>kala</i>	<i>kalā</i>	<i>kala</i>	U * <i>kala</i> R 119
30a. fly v.	<i>lentää</i>	<i>lentyä</i>	<i>leta</i>	<i>lendama</i>	<i>lindö</i>	<i>lentää</i>	BF * <i>lentä-</i> S 287
31a. foot	<i>jalka</i>	<i>jalka</i> , <i>jalgu</i>	<i>ǵaug</i>	<i>jalg</i>	<i>jälga</i>	<i>jalka</i>	FU * <i>jalka</i> R 88
32a. full	<i>täysi</i>	<i>täysi</i>	<i>täuž</i>	<i>täis</i>	<i>täuž</i>	<i>täüz</i>	FU * <i>täwde</i> R 518
33a. give	<i>antaa</i>	<i>antua</i>	<i>antta</i>	<i>andma</i>	<i>andö</i>	<i>anna</i>	FU * <i>amta-</i> R 8
34a. good	<i>hyvä</i>	<i>hyvä</i>	<i>hüvä</i>	<i>hea</i>	<i>jövä</i>	<i>üvä</i>	FV/?FU * <i>šewä/šenä</i> R 499
35a. green	<i>vihreä</i>	<i>vihrie</i>	<i>vihand</i>			<i>viher</i>	FP * <i>wiša</i> R 823
35b.	( <i>haljas</i> light)			<i>haljas</i>	<i>ālaz</i>	<i>allaz</i>	< B * <i>žalias</i> S 51
35c.				<i>roheline</i>			
36a. hair	<i>hapsi</i>						U * <i>apte</i> R 14

Gloss	Finnish	Karelian	Veps	Estonian	Livonian	Votic	Etymology / Source
36b.	<i>hius</i>	<i>hivuš</i>	<i>hibus</i>	<i>juus</i>	<i>ibūks</i>	<i>ivuz</i>	BF *(š/č)iwus/š- S 78
36c.	<i>tukka</i>	<i>tukka</i>	<i>tuk</i>	<i>tukk</i>			FS * <i>tukka</i> S 1386
37a. hand	<i>käsi</i>	<i>käsi</i>	<i>käzi</i>	<i>käsi</i>	<i>kež</i>	<i>tšäsi</i>	FU * <i>käte</i> R 140
38a. head	<i>pää</i>	<i>piä</i>	<i>pä</i>	<i>pea</i>	<i>pā</i>	<i>pā</i>	U * <i>pānje</i> R 365
39a. hear	<i>kuulla</i>	<i>kuulla</i>	<i>kuuḡa</i>	<i>kuulma</i>	<i>kūlō</i>	<i>kūllua</i>	FU * <i>kule-</i> R 197
39b.			<i>heḡḡ</i>				
40a. heart	<i>sydän</i>	<i>südän</i>	<i>süda</i>	<i>siida</i>	<i>sidām</i>	<i>siüä</i>	U * <i>siüdām</i> R 477
41a. horn	<i>sarvi</i>	<i>šarvi</i>	<i>sarvi</i>	<i>sarv</i>	<i>saru,</i> <i>sōra</i>	<i>sarvi</i>	FU * <i>šorwa</i> R 486 < Iran
42a. I	<i>minä</i>	<i>mie</i>	<i>mina</i>	<i>mina,</i> <i>ma</i>	<i>minā /</i> <i>ma</i>	<i>miä</i>	U * <i>mun</i> J 232; R 294
43a. kill	<i>tappaa</i>	<i>tappua</i>	<i>tapta</i>	<i>tapma</i>	<i>tappō</i>	<i>tappā</i>	U * <i>tappa-</i> R 509
43b.			<i>řikta</i>				S 797-98
44a. knee	<i>polvi</i>	<i>polvi</i>	<i>polv</i>	<i>pōlv</i>	<i>pūola</i>	<i>pōlvi</i>	U * <i>polwe</i> R 393
45a. know	<i>tietää</i>	<i>tietyä</i>	<i>feta</i>	<i>teadma</i>	<i>tiedō</i>	<i>tāitā</i>	BF * <i>tētā-?</i> S 1285
45b.	<i>tuntea</i>	<i>tuntie</i>	<i>tu(n)tta</i>	<i>tundma</i>	<i>tundō</i>	<i>tundō</i>	U * <i>tumte-</i> R 536
46a. leaf	<i>lehti</i>	<i>lehti</i>	<i>lehtez</i>	<i>leht</i>	<i>lēḡ</i>	<i>lehto</i>	FV * <i>lešte</i> R 689
47a. lie	<i>maata</i>	<i>muata</i>	<i>magatta</i>	<i>magada</i>	<i>magātō</i>	<i>magata</i>	BF * <i>maka-</i> S 326
47b.	( <i>levätä</i> rest)	( <i>lebäü-</i> <i>düö</i> )	( <i>lēbgi-</i> <i>tazē</i> )	<i>lebama</i>			BF * <i>lewä-</i> S 289
48a. liver	<i>maksa</i>	<i>makša</i>	<i>maks</i>	<i>maks</i>	<i>maḡsà</i>	<i>mahsa</i>	U * <i>maksa</i> R 264
49a. long	<i>pitkä</i>	<i>pitkä</i>	<i>pitk</i>	<i>pikk</i>	<i>pitkā</i>	<i>pittšä</i>	U * <i>piðkā</i> R 377
50a. louse	<i>täi</i>	<i>täi</i>	<i>täi</i>	<i>täi</i>	<i>tei</i>	<i>täi</i>	FU * <i>täje</i> S 515
51a. man	<i>mies</i>	<i>mieš</i>	<i>mež</i>	<i>mees</i>	<i>miez</i>	<i>meez</i>	BF * <i>mēce</i> S 345 :: Ug * <i>mañčz</i> R 866
51b.			<i>mužik</i>				< R <i>mužik</i>
52a. many	<i>paljon</i>			<i>palju</i>	<i>pāḡiḡ</i>	<i>palljo</i>	U * <i>paljə</i> R 350-1
52b.		<i>äijä(n)</i>	<i>äi</i>				FP * <i>äje</i> R 609
52c.					<i>jennō</i>		U * <i>enä</i> R 74-75; S 40
53a. meat	<i>liha</i>	<i>liha</i>	<i>lihä</i>	<i>liha</i>	<i>lejà</i>	<i>liha</i>	FS * <i>likša</i> S 292
53b.					<i>vōzā</i>		?FU/FV * <i>oñca</i> S 333
54a. moon	<i>kuu</i>	<i>kuu</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>kuu</i>	<i>kū</i>	<i>kū</i>	U * <i>kunje</i> R 211-12
55a. moun- tain	<i>vuori</i>	<u><i>vuori</i></u> < Fi					U * <i>wöre</i> R 571; S 1821
55b.	( <i>mäki</i> hill)	( <i>mägi</i> hill)	<i>mägi</i>	<i>mägi</i>	<i>mä'g</i>	( <i>mäci</i> hill)	FU * <i>mäke</i> R 266; S 358

Was there a Volgaic unity within Finno-Ugric?

Gloss	Finnish	Karelian	Veps	Estonian	Livonian	Votic	Etymology / Source
56a. mouth	<i>suu</i>	<i>suu</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>suu</i>	<i>sū</i>	<i>sū</i>	U * <i>śuwe</i> R 492
57a. name	<i>nimi</i>	<i>ńimi</i>	<i>ńimi</i>	<i>nimi</i>	<i>ni'm</i>	<i>nimi</i>	U * <i>nime</i> R 305
58a. neck	<i>kaula</i>	<i>kakla</i>	<i>kagɫ</i>	<i>kael</i>	<i>ka'ggāl</i>	<i>kagla</i>	< B: Li <i>kāklas</i> , La <i>kakls</i> S 173
59a. new	<i>uusi</i>	<i>uusi</i>	<i>uz</i>	<i>uus</i>	<i>ūž</i>	<i>ūsi</i>	FU * <i>wuδ'e</i> R 587
60a. night	<i>yö</i>	<i>yö</i>	<i>ö</i>	<i>öö</i>	<i>īe</i>	<i>i</i>	FU * <i>ūje</i> R 72
61a. nose	<i>nenä</i>	<i>ńenä</i>	<i>ńenä</i>	<i>nina</i>	<i>nanā</i>	<i>nenä</i>	FS * <i>ńenä</i> S 372-73
62a. not	<i>ei</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>ii</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>ä'B</i>	<i>ei</i>	FU * <i>e</i> /* <i>ä</i> R 68; S 32
63a. one	<i>yksi</i>	<i>üksi</i>	<i>üks</i>	<i>üks</i>	<i>ikš</i>	<i>ūhsi</i>	FU * <i>ükte</i> R 81
64a. person	<i>ihminen</i> d. <i>inehmo</i>	<i>inėhmińe</i>	<i>inėhmoi</i>	<i>inimeme</i>	<i>imi</i> (Sal.)	<i>inehmīn</i>	FV * <i>inše</i> R 627 Sm: Enets <i>ennefe</i> S 102
64b.					<i>rištīng</i>		< OR <i>krvstō</i> S 813
64c.			<i>mež</i>				= #51
65a. rain n.	<i>sade</i>			( <i>sadu</i> arch.)	<i>sa'd</i>	<i>sato</i>	FS * <i>śada</i> - S 979-81 < U * <i>śādā</i> - H 530
65b.	( <i>vihma</i> driz- zling)	<i>viima</i>	<i>vihm</i>	<i>vihm</i>			BF-L * <i>wiřma</i> S 1738
66a. red	<i>punainen</i>			<i>punane</i>	<i>pu'nni</i>		FU * <i>puna</i> hair R 402
66b.	( <i>ruskea</i> arch.)	<i>ruskie</i>	<i>rusked</i>				FS * <i>ruskeða</i> < B: La arch. <i>ruřks</i> ash- colored S 880-82
66c.						<i>kauniz</i>	< G * <i>skauiz</i> nice
67a. road	<i>tie</i>	<i>tie</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tee</i>		<i>tē</i>	FP * <i>teje</i> R 794
67b.	( <i>retki</i> arch.)				<i>reķ</i>		BF * <i>retke</i> S 773 < Iran
68a. root	<i>juuri</i>	<i>juuri</i>	<i>juř</i>	<i>juur</i>	<i>jūr</i>	<i>jūri</i>	?FP/FV * <i>jure</i> R 639
69a. round	<i>pyöreä</i>	<i>pyörie</i>	<i>pörüdä</i>				FU * <i>peńerä</i> R 372; S 678
69b.	( <i>ympyräinen</i> arch.)			<i>ümmar</i>	<i>immār-</i> <i>goutlimi</i>	<i>ümmār-</i> <i>ķein</i>	BF * <i>ümpärä</i> / * <i>ümpärä</i> ? S 1862-63
69c.	( <i>kehkerä</i> convex)		<i>ķehkar</i>				FV * <i>keķkerä</i> U 655; S 176
70a. sand	<i>hiekkä</i> , <i>hiukka</i>				<i>jēugō</i>		?BF * <i>č/šiwkkä</i> S 78

Gloss	Finnish	Karelian	Veps	Estonian	Livonian	Votic	Etymology / Source
70b.	(liete mud)	lieto	lete	(leede sand-rock)	(liedōG ajo-hiekka)		FS *lēt₃ S 291
70c.		čuuru	čur				FS ?*šiw₃ : Mansi sir S 1076
70d.				liiv		liiva	FU *liiva R 250; S 294
71a. say	sanoa	s/šanoa	sanuda				BF *sana word S 964-65
71b.	(jutella talk)			ütlema		juɛɫa	FU/FV *jukta-R 104; S 126
71c.	(kiittää praise)	(kiittä-id.)	(kiitta id.)	(kiita id.)	kitō	(tšittā id.)	BF *kitt₃ S 192
72a. see	nähdä	nähä	nähta	nägema	nā'dō	nähä	FU *nāk₃ R 302
73a. seed	siemen	š/siemen	š/semen	seeme	siemgōz	seemee	< B *sēmen- S 1008
74a. sit	istua	istuo	ištta	istuma	ištō	issua	FV *is₃ R 629; S 109
75a. skin	iho	(iho face)		ihu		iho	FP *(j)iša R 636
75b.	nahka	nahka	nahk	nahk	nō'gō	nahka	?FU *nāč₃ R 311; S 364
75c.				kōba			U *kopa R 180 = *kopā H 537
76a. sleep	nukkua	(nukkuo dream)	(nukta dream)			nukkua	FS *nukku- S 397-98
76b.		moata	magatta	magama	ma'ggō	magata	= 47
77a. small	pieni	pieni	peñ, piñ	(peen fine)	(piɛn thin)	pēni	BF *pēn₃ S 539
77b.	pisku			pisut, g. pisku	piški		S 578: Ud pići; Hu pici (descript.)
77c.	pikku	pikkañe				pikka-rain	S 557: hypocorist. pisku
77d.	vähä, -inen	vähä	vähä, -iñe	vähene	vā'kki < *vähäk-käinen	vähä	FV *wāšā R 818; S 1830-31
78a. smoke n.	savu	s/šavu	savu		so'u	savvu	FV *sawe R 754
78b.	(suitsu arch.)			suits			FS *šuijč₃ S 1092-93
79a. stand	seisoa	šeisuo	seišta	seisma		sejzoa	FU *sañca R 431; S 990-91
79b.					pilō		
80a. star	tähti	t(e)ähti	tähtaz	täht	tēḑ	tähti	FV *täštā R 793; S 1472-73

Was there a Volgaic unity within Finno-Ugric?

Gloss	Finnish	Karelian	Veps	Estonian	Livonian	Votic	Etymology / Source
81a. stone	<i>kivi</i>	<i>kivi</i>	<i>kivi</i>	<i>kivi</i>	<i>kiv</i>	<i>tšivi</i>	FU <i>*kiwe</i> R 163
82a. sun	<i>päivä</i>	<i>päivä</i>	<i>päiväine</i>	<i>päike</i>	<i>pāva</i>	<i>päivikko</i>	FU <i>*päjwä</i> R 360; S 680-81
82b.	<i>aurinko</i>						FV <i>*ajre/*amre</i> S 29
83a. swim	<i>uida</i>	<i>uija</i>	<i>ujuda</i>	<i>ujima</i>	<i>võjgô</i>	<i>ujua</i>	U <i>*uje-/*oje-</i> R 542; S 1518-19
84a. tail	<i>häntä</i>	<i>händä</i>	<i>händ</i>	( <i>händ</i> arch.)		<i>äntä</i>	FU <i>*čänčä</i> S 98
84b.	<i>pyrstö</i>	<i>puršto</i>					< G <i>*burstö</i> S 657
84c.				<i>saba</i>			< B <i>*stabas</i> S 969
84cd.					<i>tabār</i>		< B <i>*stabara-</i> S 969
85a. that	<i>tuo</i>	<i>tuo</i>		<i>too</i>	<i>t(u)oi</i>	<i>tò</i>	U <i>*to</i> R 526; S 1403-04
85b.			<i>nakka-laiñe</i>				cf. Veps <i>nakkalo</i> there
86a. this	<i>tämä</i>	<i>tämä</i>	<i>tämä</i>				U <i>*tä</i> R 513-14
86b.	( <i>se</i> that/ this)		<i>se</i>	<i>see</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>se</i>	U <i>*će / *či</i> R 33
87a. thou	<i>sinä</i>	<i>sie</i>	<i>sina</i>	<i>sina, sa</i>	<i>sinà, sa</i>	<i>siä</i>	U <i>*fun</i> J 232; R 539
88a. tongue	<i>kieli</i>	<i>kieli</i>	<i>kel', k'el</i>	<i>keel</i>	<i>kēl'</i>	<i>tšēli</i>	U <i>*kēle</i> R 144
89a. tooth	<i>hammas</i>	<i>hammas</i>	<i>hambaz</i>	<i>hammas</i>	<i>āmbaz</i>	<i>ammaz</i>	< B <i>*zambas</i> id. S 54
90a. tree	<i>puu</i>	<i>puu</i>	<i>pū, puu</i>	<i>puu</i>	<i>pū</i>	<i>pū</i>	U <i>*puwe</i> R 410
91a. two	<i>kaksi</i>	<i>kakši</i>	<i>kakś</i>	<i>kaks</i>	<i>kakš</i>	<i>kahsi</i>	U <i>*kakta/*käktä</i> R 118
92a. walk	<i>kulkea</i>	<i>kulge-</i>					U <i>*kulke-</i> R 198; S 233
92b.	( <i>astua</i> marsh)	<i>aštuo</i>	<i>astta</i>	<i>astuda</i>	<i>aštô</i>		BF <i>*ast3</i> S 27
92c.	<i>mennä</i>	<i>mäne-</i>	<i>mändä</i>	<i>minna</i>		<i>mennä</i>	U <i>*mene-</i> R 272; S 340
92d.	<i>käydä</i>	<i>kävvä</i>	<i>kävuda</i>	<i>käima</i>	<i>kä'uvvô</i>	<i>tšävvä</i>	FV <i>*käwe-</i> R 654; S 264
93a. warm	<i>lämmän</i>	<i>lämmän</i>	<i>läm(b)</i>		<i>lem</i>		FV <i>*lämp3</i> R 685; S 320
93b.	<i>suoja</i>			<i>soe</i>		<i>sōja</i>	FP <i>*saja</i> shadow R 748; S 1111
94a. water	<i>vesi</i>	<i>vesi</i>	<i>vezi</i>	<i>vesi</i>	<i>ve'iz</i>	<i>vesi</i>	U <i>*wete</i> R 570
95a. we	<i>me</i>	<i>müö</i>	<i>mö</i>	<i>me, meie</i>	<i>mēG</i>	<i>mõ</i>	U <i>*me/*mä</i> J 268; R 294

Gloss	Finnish	Karelian	Veps	Estonian	Livonian	Votic	Etymology / Source
96a. what	<i>mikä</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>mis</i>	<i>mis</i>	<i>mikä</i>	U * <i>mi</i> R 296; S 343
97a. white	<i>valkea</i>	<i>valkie, -gie</i>	<i>våuged</i>	<i>valge</i>	<i>vālda</i>	<i>valķeā</i>	FU * <i>walks</i> R 554; S 1621
98a. who	<i>kuka</i>	<i>ku</i>					U * <i>ku</i> /* <i>ko</i> R 191; S 230
98ab.	<i>ken</i>		<i>ken</i>			<i>tšen</i>	U * <i>ke</i> /* <i>ki</i> R 140; S 181
98ac.				<i>kes</i>	<i>kis</i>		U * <i>ke</i> /* <i>ki</i> R 140; S 181
99a. woman	<i>nainen</i>	<i>naine</i>	<i>naine</i>	<i>naine</i>	<i>nai</i>	<i>nain</i>	FU * <i>naje</i> R 297-98; S 364
100a. yellow	<i>kelta, -inen</i>	<i>keldarñe</i>	<i>kelñd, keud</i>	<i>koldne, kollane</i>		<i>kelten</i>	< B * <i>geltas, *geltānas</i> S 180
100b.					<i>vīri</i>		= #35

**Abbreviations of languages:** B Baltic; BF (Balto-)Finnic; FP Finno-Permic; FS Finno-Saamic; FU Finno-Ugric; FV Finno-Volgaic; G Germanic; Hu Hungarian; La Latvian; Lithuanian; N North; O Old; R Russian; Sm Samoyedic; U Uralic; Ud Udmurt; Ug Ugric.

## Appendix 2: Saamic wordlists and etymologies

(see Novotná & Blažek 2010)

Gloss	South	Lule	North	Inari	Skolt	Kildin	Etymology
1a. all	<i>gaajhke</i>	<i>gájjka</i>					< F <i>kaikki</i> (S 141)
1d.			<i>buot</i>	<i>puoh</i>	<i>puk</i>	<i>pugk</i>	* <i>pöhken/-k</i>
2b. ashes	<i>govne</i>	<i>gudna</i>	<i>gutna</i>	<i>kunnâ</i>	<i>kunn</i>	<i>kunn</i>	* <i>kunę</i> < FP * <i>kunV</i>
3b. bark	<i>baarh- koe</i>	<i>bárkko</i>	<i>bárku</i>	<i>párkku</i>	<i>párkk</i>	<i>párrk</i>	* <i>párkkö</i> < Sc * <i>barku-</i>
4c. belly	<i>tjæjjie</i>	<i>tjoajvve</i>	<i>čoavji</i>	<i>čuávji</i>	<i>čäu'jj</i>	<i>čuejiv</i>	* <i>čöwjë</i> < U * <i>čowja</i> /* <i>čojwa</i>
5d. big	<i>stoere</i>	<i>stuores</i>	<i>stuoris</i>	<i>styeres</i>			* <i>störē</i> < G * <i>stōra-</i>
5c.					<i>šurr</i>	<i>šurr</i>	< F <i>suuri</i>
6ab. bird	<i>ledtie</i>	<i>lädde</i>	<i>loddi</i>	<i>lodde</i>	<i>lädđ</i>	<i>loannöt</i>	* <i>lonDē</i> < FU * <i>lunta</i>
7c. bite	<i>gaets- kedh</i>	<i>gássket</i>	<i>gáskit</i>	<i>käskid</i>	<i>käč'k'- k'ed</i>	<i>käč'ke</i>	* <i>käckē</i> < FV * <i>kačka</i>
8b. black	<i>tjääh- pehke</i>	<i>tjähppat</i>	<i>čáhppat</i>	<i>čappád</i>	<i>čappád</i>	<i>čoa'pe</i>	* <i>čäppe</i>
9a. blood	<i>virre</i>	<i>varra</i>	<i>varra</i>	<i>vorrâ</i>	<i>vörr</i>	<i>vërr</i>	* <i>veri</i> < FU * <i>weri</i>
10c. bone	<i>máaroe</i>						
10d.		<i>dákte</i>	<i>dákti</i>	<i>táhti</i>	<i>tä'htt</i>	<i>täxx't</i>	* <i>täktē</i> < FU * <i>täktä</i>
11b. breast	<i>njam- mah</i>			<i>njamah</i>			cf. Komi <i>nima-v-</i> suck (R 83)



Was there a Volgaic unity within Finno-Ugric?

Gloss	South	Lule	North	Inari	Skolt	Kildin	Etymology
11c.		<i>njittje</i>					* <i>nínice</i> < FS * <i>nínšä</i> S 386
11d.			<i>čiččit</i>				* <i>čínžē</i> < U * <i>šünšä</i>
11e.			<i>miel'gá</i>	<i>miel'ka</i>			* <i>mēlke</i> < FU * <i>mālye</i>
11a.	<i>rāddie</i>	<i>raddē</i>	<i>rādde</i>	<i>radde</i>	<i>rââdd</i>	<i>ranət</i>	* <i>rentē</i> < FS * <i>rinta</i> < Sc * <i>strinda-</i>
12a. burn tr.	<i>boâl- dēdh</i>	<i>buollet</i>	<i>buollit</i>	<i>pyelliđ</i>	<i>pue'lled</i>	<i>pülle</i>	* <i>pōlDē</i> < *FV * <i>polta-</i> from U * <i>pala-</i>
13a. claw	<i>gadtse</i>	<i>gadtša</i>	<i>gazza</i>	<i>kozzá</i>	<i>kōz̄z̄</i>	<i>kēnnc</i>	* <i>kēnzē</i> < FU * <i>künči</i>
14a. cloud	<i>balve</i>	<i>pältēt</i>	<i>boaldet</i>	<i>poaldiđ</i>	<i>puā'ld- ded</i>	<i>pue'ľded</i>	* <i>pēlve</i> < FU * <i>pilwi</i>
15a. cold	<i>galmes</i>	<i>galmas</i>	<i>galm- mas</i>	<i>koolmäs</i>	<i>kōölmäs</i>	<i>kemas</i>	* <i>kēlmē</i> < FP * <i>külmä</i>
16b. come	<i>bātedh</i>	<i>boahtet</i>	<i>boahtit</i>	<i>puáttid</i>	<i>pue'tted</i>	<i>puedte</i>	* <i>pōtē-</i>
17c. die	<i>jae- medh</i>	<i>jábmet</i>	<i>jápmit</i>	<i>jääm- mid</i>	<i>jää'm- med</i>	<i>jämme</i>	* <i>jāmē-</i> < FV * <i>jama-</i>
18b. dog	<i>bienje</i>	<i>bena</i>	<i>beana</i>	<i>peenuv</i>	<i>piännai</i>	<i>pjēnne</i>	* <i>peanē</i> < FP * <i>penä</i>
19a. drink	<i>jovh- kedh</i>	<i>juhkat</i>	<i>juhkat</i>	<i>juuhād</i>	<i>juukkād</i>	<i>jugke</i>	* <i>jukē-</i> < FU * <i>juxi-</i>
20b. dry	<i>gejhkie</i>	<i>gājkes</i>	<i>goikkis</i>	<i>koškes</i>	<i>kääš- k'es</i>	<i>koašš'k</i>	* <i>koške-</i> < U * <i>koški-</i>
21b. ear	<i>bieljie</i>	<i>biellje</i>	<i>beallji</i>	<i>pelji</i>	<i>pe'llj</i>	<i>pellj</i>	* <i>pealē</i> < FU * <i>peljä</i>
22b. earth	<i>jáarta</i>						< ON <i>jarð</i> earth
22c.		<i>ednam</i>	<i>eanan</i>	<i>eennâm</i>	<i>jânnam</i>	<i>jēm'm'- ne</i>	* <i>eanemē</i> < FU * <i>enä-</i> big
23b. eat	<i>byöp- medidh</i>						
23c.		<i>bârrät</i>	<i>borrat</i>	<i>puurrād</i>	<i>poorrād</i>	<i>pörre</i>	* <i>porē-</i> < U * <i>pori-</i>
24a. egg	<i>munnie</i>	<i>månne</i>	<i>monni</i>	<i>mane</i>	<i>mää'nn</i>	<i>mannə</i>	* <i>monē</i> < U * <i>muna</i>
25a. eye	<i>tjelmie</i>	<i>tjalmmē</i>	<i>čalbmi</i>	<i>čalme</i>	<i>čä'lm̄m</i>	<i>čällm̄</i>	* <i>čālmē</i> < U * <i>šilmä</i>
26b. fat n.	<i>voeje</i>	<i>vuodja</i>	<i>vuodja</i>	<i>vuojá</i>	<i>vuōjj</i>	<i>vüjj</i>	* <i>vōje</i> < FU * <i>woji</i>
26c.	<i>bāedvie</i>						* <i>pōdvē</i> < FS * <i>pođva</i> (Sammallahti 1998, 200)
26d.	<i>buöjdie</i>	<i>puoi'tēt</i>	<i>buoi'de</i>	<i>pyejdi</i>	<i>pui'idd</i>	<i>pū'jd</i>	* <i>pōjtē</i> < ON <i>feitr</i>
27d. feather	<i>badtse</i>		<i>boz'zâ</i>	<i>puz̄z̄a</i>	<i>poz̄z̄</i>	<i>pōnnc</i>	* <i>ponce</i>
27a.		<i>dälge</i>	<i>dolgi</i>	<i>tolge</i>			* <i>tolGē</i> < FU * <i>tulka</i> < U * <i>tuxlġ</i>
28a. fire	<i>dälle</i>	<i>dällä</i>	<i>dolla</i>	<i>tullä</i>	<i>toll</i>	<i>töll</i>	* <i>tolē</i> < U * <i>tulġ</i>
29a. fish	<i>guelie</i>	<i>guolle</i>	<i>guolli</i>	<i>kyeli</i>	<i>kue'll</i>	<i>küll'</i>	* <i>kōlē</i> < U * <i>kala</i>
30b. fly v.	<i>haelie- tidh</i>	<i>háledit</i>					* <i>älē-</i>

Gloss	South	Lule	North	Inari	Skolt	Kildin	Etymology
30c.			<i>girdit</i>	<i>kirded̥</i>	<i>k'ir̥d-ded</i>	<i>kyrr' te</i>	* <i>kirDē</i> - < FS * <i>kiri</i> - + - <i>tä</i> -
31a. foot	<i>juelkie</i>	<i>juolgge</i>	<i>juolgi</i>	<i>jyelgi</i>	<i>jue 'lǧǧ</i>	<i>jüllök</i>	* <i>jölGē</i> < FU * <i>jilka</i>
32b. full	<i>dieves</i>	<i>dievas</i>	<i>dievva</i>	<i>tievás</i>			* <i>tēvǧ</i> < FU * <i>tāwi</i>
32bb.					<i>tiiuđás</i>	<i>tivtas</i>	* <i>tēvDǧ</i> - < FS * <i>tāwti</i>
33a. give	<i>väd-dedh</i>	<i>vaddēt</i>	<i>addit</i>	<i>adelid̥</i>	<i>ädded</i>	<i>annöte</i>	* <i>entē</i> < F <i>anta</i> -
34b. good	<i>buerie</i>	<i>buorre</i>	<i>buorre</i>				* <i>pörē</i> - < FP * <i>pa/gra</i>
34a??				<i>šiev</i>	<i>šiögg</i>	<i>šig</i>	
35d. green	<i>kruana</i>	<i>ruonas</i>	<i>ruonas</i>	<i>ruonás</i>	<i>ruônás</i>	<i>ruenn</i>	*( <i>k</i> ) <i>rōnǧ</i> < ON <i>grœnn</i>
36a. hair	<i>voepte</i>	<i>vuobd-da</i>	<i>vuokta</i>	<i>vuoptá</i>	<i>vuoptt</i>	<i>vüppt</i>	* <i>vöp'tǧ</i> < U * <i>ipta</i>
37a. hand	<i>giete</i>	<i>giehta</i>	<i>giehta</i>	<i>kietá</i>	<i>kiött</i>	<i>kidt</i>	* <i>kētē</i> < FU * <i>kāti</i>
38b. head	<i>äejjie</i>	<i>oajvve</i>	<i>oaivi</i>	<i>uáivi</i>	<i>vueivv</i>	<i>vuejiv</i>	* <i>öjvē</i> < U * <i>ojwa</i>
39a. hear	<i>govledh</i>	<i>gullat</i>	<i>gullat</i>	<i>kuullád</i>	<i>kuullád</i>	<i>kulle</i>	* <i>kulǧ</i> - < FU * <i>küli</i> -
40b. heart	<i>vaaj-moe</i>	<i>vájmmo</i>	<i>váibmu</i>	<i>váimu</i>			* <i>vájmo</i> < FV * <i>wajma</i>
40c.					<i>čááđ</i>		* <i>čǧđǧm</i> < U * <i>šüđä</i> -
40d.						<i>küttök</i>	
41a. horn	<i>tjäervie</i>	<i>tjoarvve</i>	<i>čoarvi</i>	<i>čuárvi</i>	<i>čuár'rv</i>	<i>čuer'rv</i>	* <i>čörvē</i> < FU * <i>šorwa</i>
42a. I	<i>manne</i>	<i>mân</i>	<i>mun</i>	<i>mun</i>	<i>mon</i>	<i>munn</i>	* <i>mon</i> < U * <i>mun</i>
43c. kill	<i>buv-vedh</i>						* <i>puvē</i> choke < FU * <i>puwǧ</i> / * <i>puŋǧ</i> R 411
43d.		<i>gáddet</i>	<i>goddit</i>	<i>kodded</i>	<i>ká'dded</i>	<i>koannöte</i>	* <i>konDē</i> - < FU * <i>kunta</i>
44a. knee	<i>boelve</i>	<i>buolvva</i>			<i>puölv</i>	<i>püllv</i>	* <i>pölvǧ</i> < U * <i>polwi</i>
44b.			<i>čibbi</i>				
44c.				<i>iidá</i>			
45c. know	<i>daej-redh</i>	<i>tai'tēt</i>	<i>dai'det</i>	<i>täidid̥</i>	<i>täidded</i>		* <i>tájđē</i> < F <i>taita</i> -
45a.		<i>diehtet</i>	<i>diehtit</i>	<i>tiettid</i>	<i>tie'tted</i>	<i>tidtē</i>	* <i>tētē</i> < F <i>tietä</i> -
45b	<i>dáb-dedh</i>	<i>táb'tát</i>	<i>dow'dát</i>	<i>tubdad̥</i>	<i>tobddád</i>	<i>tomdeđ</i>	* <i>tomDǧ</i> - < U * <i>tumtǧ</i> -
46a. leaf	<i>laste</i>	<i>lassta</i>	<i>lasta</i>	<i>lostá</i>	<i>löstt</i>	<i>lǧsst</i>	* <i>lǧstǧ</i> < FV * <i>lešti</i>
47c. lie	<i>gælla-sjidh</i>						
47d.		<i>vellahit</i>	<i>veallát</i>	<i>viállád</i>			* <i>vǧllǧ</i>
47e.					<i>liáššád</i>	<i>lǧšše</i>	* <i>lǧššǧ</i> < Ru <i>ležáf</i> S 322
48b. liver	<i>librie</i>	<i>librre</i>					* <i>liBrē</i> < ON <i>lifr</i>
48c.			<i>vuovivas</i>	<i>vuovás</i>	<i>vuovás</i>	<i>vújvas</i>	* <i>vójvǧ</i>
48a.	<i>muöksie</i>						* <i>möksē</i> < U * <i>maksa</i>
49b. long	<i>guhkie</i>	<i>guhkke</i>	<i>guhkki</i>	<i>kukke</i>	<i>ku'k'k'</i>	<i>ku'k'</i>	* <i>kuhkē</i> < FU * <i>kawka</i>

Was there a Volgaic unity within Finno-Ugric?

Gloss	South	Lule	North	Inari	Skolt	Kildin	Etymology
50a. louse	<i>dihkie</i>	<i>dihkke</i>	<i>dihkki</i>	<i>tikke</i>	<i>te'k'k'</i>	<i>tyhk'</i>	* <i>tikkē</i> < FU * <i>täji</i>
51c. man	<i>kaarre</i>						
51d.		<i>älmäj</i>	<i>alm-mäi / olmmäi</i>	<i>almai</i>	<i>olma</i>	<i>oalma/ olma</i>	* <i>elmäj</i> : * <i>elmē</i> air, world < FU * <i>ilma</i> air, wind; cf. F <i>ilminen</i> man
51e.			<i>dievdu</i>				< ON <i>þjóð</i>
52c. many	<i>jijnjh</i>					<i>jenne</i>	* <i>eanē</i> - < FU * <i>enā</i> - big
52d.		<i>mánnga</i>	<i>mánnga</i>	<i>mangá</i>	<i>mängg</i>		< Sc. * <i>manga</i> -
53c. meat	<i>äedtjie</i>	<i>oadtje</i>	<i>oažži</i>	<i>uážži</i>	<i>vuá'žž</i>	<i>vuennč</i>	* <i>onžō/ē</i> < FU * <i>onsa</i>
54a. moon	<i>aske</i>						cf. Farch./d. <i>ehtä / ehkä</i> new moon (S 34-35)
54b.		<i>mánno</i>	<i>mánnu</i>	<i>máánu</i>	<i>määnn</i>	<i>männ</i>	* <i>mānō</i> < Sc * <i>mānan</i> -
55c. moun-tain	<i>tjahke</i>						* <i>čokke</i> < FS * <i>sokka</i> S 1062
55d.	<i>vaerie</i>	<i>várre</i>	<i>várri</i>	<i>vääri</i>	<i>vää'rr</i>		* <i>vārē</i> ; cf. F <i>vaara</i>
55e.						<i>pá'k'</i>	
56b. mouth	<i>njalmie</i>	<i>njálme</i>	<i>njálbmi</i>	<i>njálmi</i>	<i>njä'lmm</i>	<i>njallm</i>	* <i>nálmē</i> < FU * <i>nálmä</i>
57a. name	<i>nomme</i>	<i>namma</i>	<i>namma</i>	<i>nommâ</i>	<i>nōmm</i>	<i>nēmm</i>	* <i>nemę</i> < U * <i>nimi</i>
58b. neck	<i>tjovrese</i>						
58c.		<i>niehkke</i>	<i>niehkki</i>	<i>niekki</i>			* <i>nēkkē</i> < Sc
58d.					<i>njisk'k'-madd</i>	<i>njisk</i>	* <i>nēškkē</i> < F <i>niska</i> nape of neck (S 385)
58e.	<i>tjeä-buoh</i>	<i>tjiepēt</i>	<i>čæbēt</i>	<i>čeve</i>	<i>čæppat</i>	<i>čäbbeð</i>	* <i>čeaBē/öttē</i> < FU * <i>šepä</i>
59a. new	<i>orre</i>	<i>ādās</i>	<i>ođas</i>	<i>uudās</i>	<i>oodās</i>	<i>ōdt</i>	* <i>oðę</i> < FU * <i>wuð'i</i>
60a. night	<i>ijje</i>	<i>idja</i>	<i>idja</i>	<i>ijjá</i>		<i>ijj</i>	* <i>ię</i> < FU * <i>üji</i>
60ab?					<i>inn</i>		
61a. nose	<i>njuenie</i>	<i>njunne</i>	<i>njunni</i>	<i>njune</i>	<i>njuu'n</i>	<i>njunno</i>	* <i>nōnē</i> < FS * <i>hēnā</i>
62a. not	<i>ij</i>	<i>ij</i>	<i>ii</i>	<i>ij</i>	<i>ij</i>	<i>ejj</i>	* <i>ij</i> < U * <i>ejV</i>
63a. one	<i>akte</i>	<i>akta</i>	<i>okta</i>	<i>ohtâ</i>	<i>ōhtt</i>	<i>ēxxt</i>	* <i>ektę</i> < FP * <i>ükti</i>
64d. person	<i>almetje</i>	<i>ulmusj</i>	<i>olmmoš</i>	<i>olmooš</i>	<i>ääлмаž</i>	<i>olma</i>	* <i>elmeńšē</i> , - <i>unšē</i> : * <i>elmē</i> air + dimin. * <i>nšē</i>
65c. rain n.	<i>ebrie</i>		<i>arvi</i>	<i>arve</i>	<i>á'br</i>	<i>abb'r</i>	* <i>eBrē</i> < II * <i>ab'ra</i> -
65d.	<i>raassjoe</i>	<i>rásso</i>	<i>rášsu</i>				
66c. red	<i>rääp-sehke</i>	<i>ruopp-sat</i>	<i>ruoksat</i>	<i>ruopsád</i>	<i>ruōps-sád</i>	<i>rüppse</i>	* <i>rōpse</i>
67c. road	<i>baalka</i>	<i>bálges</i>	<i>bálggis</i>	<i>päälgis</i>	<i>pää'ljes</i>	<i>poalkas</i>	* <i>pälke</i> > F. <i>palas</i> S 472
68b. root	<i>roehtse</i>	<i>ruoht-sas</i>	<i>ruohtas</i>	<i>ruotás</i>			< ON <i>rót</i>

Gloss	South	Lule	North	Inari	Skolt	Kildin	Etymology
68c.	<i>vieddie</i>	<i>ättēs</i>	<i>væd'de</i>	<i>veddi</i>	<i>vue'ddes</i>	<i>vuenmōt</i>	*ōntē / *veantē < FV *ontV
69d. round	<i>jor-pehke</i>	<i>jårbbåt</i>	<i>jorbbas</i>	<i>juurbås</i>	<i>joorbås</i>	<i>jorpas</i>	*jorpē : *jorę go round
69e.	<i>b'ijre</i>	<i>pirra</i>	<i>birrâ</i>	<i>pirra</i>	<i>pirr</i>	<i>pîr</i>	*pirē < FV *pîri
70e. sand	<i>saedtie</i>	<i>sáttoj</i>	<i>sáttu</i>				*sentē/ō; cf. F <i>santa</i> id. < ON <i>sandr</i>
70f.				<i>čunoi</i>			
70g.					<i>vuōddás</i>	<i>vūntas</i>	*vōntę
71d. say	<i>jiehtedh</i>						
71e.		<i>javllat</i>					
71f.			<i>lohkat</i>				*lokē < *FU <i>luke</i> S 307
71g.			<i>dadjat</i>				
71h.				<i>ettâd</i>			
71i.					<i>ceä'lk' - k'ed</i>	<i>cēļ'ke</i>	*cealhke-
72b. see	<i>vuej- nedh</i>	<i>vuojn- net</i>	<i>oaidnit</i>	<i>uáiniđ</i>	<i>vuei'n- ned</i>	<i>ujjne</i>	*ojnē- < II *vaina-
73b. seed	<i>saajoe</i>	<i>sádjo</i>					< ON <i>sáđ</i> & <i>sæđi</i> seed
73a.			<i>siepman</i>	<i>siemâ</i>	<i>siôm</i>	<i>sēm</i>	*sēmēn < F < B *sēmen-
74b. sit	<i>tjahka- sjidh</i>	<i>tjâhk- káhit</i>	<i>čohkkát</i>	<i>čokkáđ</i>			*čokē-
74c.					<i>išttdâđ âârrad</i>	<i>iššte oerre</i>	< F <i>istu-</i>
75d. skin	<i>njaltja</i>						
75e.		<i>lijkke</i>	<i>liiki</i>	<i>liške</i>	<i>lešk'k'</i>	<i>liššk</i>	*liške < FS *likša
76c. sleep	<i>âeredh</i>	<i>oadet</i>	<i>oaddit</i>	<i>uáđđiđ</i>	<i>vueđ- đed</i>	<i>vuedtē</i>	*oadē- < FU *oda-đed
77e. small	<i>onne</i>	<i>unne</i>	<i>unni</i>				*uhcē
77ee.				<i>ucce</i>	<i>u'cc</i>	<i>udc'</i>	*uhcē; cf. FU *učä id.?
77f.	<i>smaave</i>	<i>smavvē</i>	<i>smāves</i>	<i>smaa- vas</i>	<i>smaa- vâs</i>	<i>māavv</i>	*māvē < Sc.: Sw <i>smâ</i>
78a. smoke n.	<i>soeve</i>	<i>suovva</i>	<i>suovva</i>	<i>suovâ</i>	<i>suōvv</i>	<i>suvv</i>	*sōvę < FV *sawe
79a. stand	<i>tjâad- tjodh</i>	<i>tjuod- tjot</i>	<i>čuožžut</i>	<i>čuážžuđ</i>	<i>čuežžad</i>	<i>čuennče</i>	*čōňžō < FU *šanši-
80a. star	<i>naestie</i>	<i>násste</i>	<i>násti</i>				*nāstē < *tāsnē
80aa.				<i>tāsni</i>	<i>tāšnn</i>		*tāsnē
80aaa.	<i>daastaa</i>				<i>tāstt</i>	<i>tāss't</i>	*tāstē < FV *tāštä
81b. stone	<i>gierkie</i>	<i>giergge</i>	<i>geađgi</i>	<i>keđgi</i>	<i>keäđgğ</i>	<i>kēđdøk</i>	*keadGē
82a. sun	<i>biejjie</i>	<i>biejvve</i>	<i>beaivi</i>	<i>peivi</i>	<i>pei'vv</i>	<i>pējivv</i>	*peajvē < U *päjvä
83a. swim	<i>voejedh</i>	<i>vuodjat</i>	<i>vuodjat</i>	<i>vuoijâđ</i>	<i>vuōjjâđ</i>	<i>vüje</i>	*vōję- < U *uji-/ *oji-

## Was there a Volgaic unity within Finno-Ugric?

Gloss	South	Lule	North	Inari	Skolt	Kildin	Etymology
84e. tail	<i>siejpie</i>	<i>siejbbe</i>	<i>seaibi</i>	<i>seibi</i>	<i>sei'bb</i>	<i>sějpp</i>	* <i>seajpē</i> < U * <i>sejpā</i>
85a. that	<i>dohte</i>	<i>duot</i>	<i>duot</i>	<i>tuot</i>	<i>tut</i>	<i>tudt</i>	* <i>tuo-tē</i> < FU * <i>tō-</i>
86a. this	<i>daate</i>	<i>dát</i>	<i>dát</i>	<i>táát</i>	<i>tät</i>	<i>tâdt</i>	* <i>tā-</i> < U * <i>tā-</i>
87a. thou	<i>datne</i>	<i>dân</i>	<i>don</i>	<i>tun</i>	<i>ton</i>	<i>tōnn</i>	* <i>ton</i> < U * <i>tun</i>
88b. tongue	<i>njoek-tjeme</i>	<i>njuov-tjav</i>	<i>njuovč-ča</i>	<i>njuovčâ</i>	<i>njuhč-čâm</i>	<i>njujxx-č'em'</i>	* <i>nuok<sup>h</sup>č'em</i> < FU * <i>nókčimi</i>
89b. tooth	<i>baenie</i>	<i>bádne</i>	<i>bátni</i>	<i>pääni</i>	<i>pää'nn</i>	<i>pännö</i>	* <i>pänē</i>
90b. tree	<i>moere</i>	<i>muorra</i>	<i>muorra</i>	<i>muorâ</i>	<i>muör</i>	<i>mürr</i>	* <i>mörē</i> < FU ? * <i>morV</i>
91a. two	<i>göökte</i>	<i>guokta</i>	<i>guokte</i>	<i>kyehti</i>	<i>kuõ'tt</i>	<i>kū't</i>	* <i>kök<sup>h</sup>tē</i> < U * <i>ka/ektä</i>
92e. walk	<i>vaedt-sedh</i>	<i>vádtset</i>	<i>vázzit</i>	<i>vázzid</i>	<i>vá'zjed</i>	<i>vännöce</i>	* <i>vänzē-</i> < FU * <i>wanča-</i>
92c.	<i>m'in-nedh</i>	<i>mannat</i>	<i>männât</i>	<i>moon-nađ</i>	<i>mōōn-nâđ</i>	<i>meņened</i>	* <i>meņē-</i> < U * <i>meni-</i>
93c. warm	<i>baahkes</i>	<i>báhkas</i>	<i>báhkas</i>	<i>paahâs</i>		<i>poakas</i>	* <i>pähkēs</i> < FS * <i>pakka-</i>
93d.					<i>puõ'lli</i>		
93e.	<i>liēgges</i>	<i>liekkas</i>	<i>lieggâs</i>	<i>liegas</i>	<i>liöggâs</i>	<i>liņgas</i>	* <i>lēņke</i> ; cf. F <i>lenkä</i> breath
94b. water	<i>tjaetsie</i>	<i>tjâhtje</i>	<i>čâhci</i>	<i>čâäci</i>	<i>čâäcc</i>	<i>čâdc'</i>	* <i>čâcē</i> < FU * <i>šâčâ</i>
95a. we	<i>mijjeh</i>	<i>mij</i>	<i>mii</i>	<i>mij</i>	<i>mij</i>	<i>myjj</i>	* <i>mij</i> < U * <i>me-</i> + pl. * <i>-j</i>
96a. what	<i>mij</i>	<i>mij</i>	<i>mii</i>	<i>mii</i>	<i>mii</i>	<i>mī</i>	* <i>mī</i> /* <i>mē</i> < FU * <i>mi</i>
97a. white	<i>vyöl-kehke</i>	<i>vielggat</i>	<i>vielgat</i>	<i>vielgâd</i>	<i>viölggâd</i>	<i>villke</i>	* <i>vēlGēDē</i> < FU * <i>wälki-</i> / * <i>wilki-</i>
98abc. who	<i>gie</i>	<i>gij</i>	<i>gii</i>	<i>kii</i>	<i>k'ii</i>	<i>kē</i>	* <i>kea-</i> ~ * <i>ki-</i> < FU * <i>ke-</i>
99b. woman	<i>nyjsene</i>		<i>nisu</i>	<i>nissoon</i>	<i>neezzan</i>	<i>nyzan</i>	* <i>nisōn</i> / * <i>nisunē-</i> < FV * <i>nisV</i> (R 708)
99c.		<i>gujnna</i>					
100c. yellow	<i>vys-kehke</i>	<i>visskat</i>	<i>fiskat</i>	<i>viskâd</i>	<i>viskkâd</i>		* <i>viskē</i>
100d.						<i>ručēke</i>	* <i>ručkē</i> brown & BF * <i>ruškēda</i> id. < B.; cf. La. <i>ruškis</i>

**Abbreviations:** B. Baltic; BF (Balto-)Finnic; F Finnish; FP Finno-Permic; FS Finno-Saamic; FU Finno-Ugric; FV Finno-Volgaic; G. Germanic; II Indo-Iranian; La. Latvian, Li. Lithuanian, ON Old Nordic; Ru Russian; Sc Scandinavian; Sw. Swedish; U Uralic.

**Note:** It is not excluded that Saamic #40b \**wājmō* 'heart' is a Finnic loan (Aikio, p.c., April 2008).

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## Appendix 3: “Volgaic” word-lists and etymologies

Gloss	Mord Moksha	Mord Erzya	Mari	Etymology
1a. all	šém'bä	šém'bä		(P IV, 2110)
1b. all		v'ěsemě		U *we(ń)ćɜ (R 568; P IV, 2627-28; E v'ěše ganz, all, alle)
1c. all			čġla	FP *ćilɜ (R 613)
2a. ashes	kulu	kulov,-ŋ		FU *kuδmɜ (R 194; P II, 945)
2b. ashes			lomžž	FU *lomɜ (R 250)
3a. bark	kuva	kuvo		U *kopa (R 180; P II, 989)
	sud	sud		FP *sodɜ (R 763)
		(kěf ~ kār Linden- rinde)		FU *kere (R 148; LG 133) = kerī/ä (S 543)
3b. bark			šüm	FU/U *šöme (R 476)
4a. belly	pěkä	pěkě		FU *pikkä/*pakkä (R 379; P III, 1592)
4b. belly			müškār	FP *müškɜ (R 703)
5a. big	otšu	očuv		cf. U *ičä father (R 78; P III, 1416)
5b. big			kuyu	FV *kokɜ (R 670)
6a. bird	narmoń	narma, -uń		(P III, 1327; RMS 477); cf. E narvams hatch (chicken) (ERS 145)
6b. bird			kajäk	< Chuv kajäk wildes Tier, wilder Vogel (Räs 139-40); perhaps better than Komi Zyryan kaj id.; cf. U *kaja(-ka) Larus (R 117) or FU/U *kājɜ young bird (R 133)?
7a. bite	suskoms	suskoms		U *soske- (R 448-49; P IV, 2066)
7b. bite			puraš	U *pure- (R 405) = FU *puri-    Sm *por- < U *pori- (S 539)
8a. black	ravža, ravʹžä	ra(v)užo		(P III, 1887)
8b. black			šem	FP *simɜ (R 758)
9. blood	v'ěr ~ v'ēr	v'ěr ~ v'är	wür	FU *wire (R 576) = *weri (S 551; P IV, 2622)
10a. bone	lovaža	lovaža	lu	U *luwe (R 254; P II, 1066); FU *luxi    Sm *lé' < U *lixī- (S 538)
10b. bone	pakař	pakař		(P III, 1504)
11a. breast	mäl'kä	měl'kě		FU *mälye (R 267; P II, 1235) = *mäłki (S 546)
11b. breast			oŋ	< Chuv om, um Brust; vorn (Räs 166; OT 83)
12a. burn	pālta-ms	pultams		FU *pala (R 352; P III, 1840)
12b. burn			jülem	(OT 30: < Chuv súłm)
			koyartem	(OT 42)
13. claw	kěňžä	kěnze	küč	FU *küńče (R 157; LG 84; P II, 700; ) = *küńci (S 544)
14a. cloud			pāl	FU *pilwe (R 381)

Gloss	Mord Moksha	Mord Erzya	Mari	Etymology
14b. cloud	<i>kovəl</i>	<i>kovol</i>		FU * <i>kum</i> ₃ (R 204; LG 151; P II, 885) = * <i>kumä</i> - ( <i>lä</i> ) cloudy (S 544)
15a. cold	<i>kəlmä</i>	<i>kəlme</i>		FP * <i>kiülmä</i> (R 663; P II, 693)
15b. cold	<i>jakšamä</i>	<i>jakšamo</i>	<i>jüšta</i>	FU * <i>jäkšə</i> (R 90-91; P I, 488); cf. FV * <i>jakša</i> (R 631)
16a. come	<i>sajams</i>	<i>sams</i>		U * <i>saye</i> - (R 429; P IV, 1944-45)
16b. come			<i>tolaš</i>	U * <i>tule</i> - (R 535)
17. die	<i>kulöms</i>	<i>kuloms</i>	<i>kolem</i>	U * <i>kola</i> - (R 173; P II, 942) = U * <i>köle</i> - (LG 143) = FU * <i>kooli</i> -    Sm * <i>kāš</i> < U * <i>kāxli</i> - (S 538)
18. dog	<i>p'inä</i>	<i>p'ine</i>	<i>pij</i>	FU * <i>pene</i> (R 371; LG 224-25; P III, 1671) = FP * <i>penä</i> (S 553)
19a. drink			<i>jüaš</i>	FU * <i>juye</i> - (R 103) = * <i>jüye</i> - (LG 335) = * <i>juxi</i> - (S 543)
19b. drink	<i>šiməms</i>	<i>šiməms</i>		FV * <i>šeme</i> (R 773; P IV, 2154)
20. dry	<i>koškä</i>	<i>koške</i>	<i>kukšö</i>	U * <i>kuška</i> /* <i>koška</i> (R 223) FP * <i>koksə</i> (R 670; P II, 872) = * <i>koksə</i> (LG 134) = * <i>koksə</i> (S 552)
21. ear	<i>p'ilē</i>	<i>p'ile</i>	<i>pälš</i>	FU * <i>peljä</i> (R 370; LG 218; P III, 1660) = * <i>peljä</i> (S 547)
22a. earth	<i>mastār</i>	<i>mastor,-ur</i>		(P II, 1186)
			<i>müländə</i>	U * <i>maye</i> (LG 177) = * <i>mäxi</i> (S 546) + U * <i>lamte</i> (R 235-36)
22b. earth	<i>moda</i>	<i>moda</i>		FV * <i>muđa</i> (R 705; P II, 1270)
23a. eat	<i>jarcams</i>	<i>jartsams</i>		cf. Fi <i>järsiä</i> ; Udm <i>jirjini</i> , Komi <i>jirnj nagen</i> (Ker 44; P I, 497; R 635 connects Fi <i>jyrsi</i> - + Perm < FP * <i>jüre</i> - nagen)
23b. eat			<i>kočkaš</i>	FP * <i>kačka</i> - (R 641)
24a. egg	<i>al</i>	<i>al</i>		(P I, 20); cf. Md E & M <i>al</i> das untere (R 6)
24b. egg			<i>munə</i>	U * <i>muna</i> (R 285)
25. eye	<i>šəlmə</i>	<i>šəlmä</i>	<i>šinča</i>	U * <i>šilmä</i> (R 479; LG 256; P IV, 2128) = FU * <i>šilmä</i>    Sm * <i>šəjmä</i> < U * <i>šilmä</i> (S 540)
26a. fat n.			<i>šel</i>	FP * <i>silə</i> (R 758); cf. Perm * <i>sül</i> ; Mari <i>šel</i> id. (LG 267)
26b. fat n.	<i>kujä</i>	<i>kuja</i>	<i>koja</i>	FU * <i>kuje</i> (R 195; P II, 933)
26c. fat n.	<i>vaj</i>	<i>oj</i>	<i>üj</i>	FU * <i>woje</i> (R 578; P III, 1430)
27a. feather	<i>tolga</i>	<i>tolga</i>		U * <i>tulka</i> (R 535; LG 292; P IV, 2309) = FU * <i>tulka</i>    Sm * <i>tuđj</i> < U * <i>tuxli</i> - (S 540)
27b. feather			<i>pun</i>	FU * <i>puna</i> (R 402)
27c. feather			<i>pəstəl</i>	(cf. R 536)
28. fire	<i>tol</i>	<i>tol</i>	<i>tul</i>	U * <i>tule</i> (R 535; LG 292; P IV, 2306) = FU * <i>tuli</i>    Sm * <i>tuj</i> < U * <i>tulä</i> (S 540)



## Was there a Volgaic unity within Finno-Ugric?

Gloss	Mord Moksha	Mord Erzya	Mari	Etymology
29. fish	<i>kal</i>	<i>kal</i>	<i>kol</i>	U * <i>kala</i> (R 119; P II, 574)
30a. fly v.	<i>lijəms</i>	<i>lijems</i>		FU * <i>loŋe-</i> (R 251; P III, 1133) ≠ Hu. <i>lebegni</i> (LG 165) < FU * <i>lempɜ-</i> (R 245)
30b. fly v.			<i>čoŋeštem</i>	(OT 154)
31a. foot	<i>piłgä</i>	<i>piłgè</i>		FU * <i>piłkɜ</i> (R 364; P III, 1664)
31b. foot			<i>jol</i>	FU * <i>jalka</i> (R 88)
32a. full	<i>päškšä</i>	<i>pěškše</i>	( <i>pěškəðə hart, geizig</i> )	Md-Mari * <i>päškɜ</i> (Ker 111; Ber 48; P III, 1625)
32b. full			<i>tič</i>	FU * <i>täwðe</i> (R 518)
33a. give	<i>maksəms</i>	<i>maksoms</i>		FV * <i>maksa-</i> (R 698; P II, 1162)
33b. give			<i>puem</i>	(OT 97)
34a. good	<i>parä</i>	<i>paro</i>	<i>puro</i>	FP * <i>para</i> (R 724; P III, 1545); cf. Udm <i>bur right</i> (LG 42) < FP * <i>pé'ra good</i> (S 553)
34b. good			<i>saj</i>	< Chuv <i>sajə</i> id. (OT 107)
35a. green	<i>pižä</i>	<i>piže</i>		U * <i>piša</i> (R 384-85; P III, 1697)
35b. green			<i>užar</i>	FP * <i>wiša</i> (R 823; LG 49; S 554)
36a. hair	<i>šajär/r, šär</i>	<i>tšer, čer</i>		*č-/*š- (P I, 240; cf. R 886: not with Ug * <i>säγɜɜ</i> < *š-) <i>pona</i> <i>pona</i> <i>pun</i> FU * <i>puna</i> (R 402)
36b. hair			<i>üp</i>	U * <i>apte</i> (R 14)
37a. hand	<i>käd'</i>	<i>k'ed'</i>	<i>kið</i>	FU * <i>käte</i> (R 140; LG 123; P II, 672) = * <i>käti</i> (S 545)
38a. head	<i>p'jä</i>	<i>p'ja ~ pi'ra'</i>		FU * <i>perä</i> (R 373; P III, 1796)
38b. head			<i>wuj</i>	U * <i>ojwa</i> (R 336)
39. hear	<i>kuləms</i>	<i>kulems</i>	<i>kolaš</i>	FU/U * <i>kule-</i> (R 197) = FU * <i>küle-</i> (LG 149) = * <i>kuuli-</i> (S 544)
40. heart	<i>šedi</i>	<i>šedej,-ej</i>	<i>šüm</i>	U * <i>šüdämɜ</i> (R 477; LG 270; P IV, 2118) = FU * <i>šüdämi</i> / * <i>šedmi</i> (S 549)
41a. horn	<i>šurä</i>	<i>šuro</i>	<i>šur</i>	FU * <i>šorwa</i> (R 486; P III, 2201) = * <i>šorwä</i> (S 549) < II * <i>šřwä</i>
41b. horn			<i>tükə</i>	< Chuv <i>təgə</i> (OT 149)
42. I	<i>mon</i>	<i>mon</i>	<i>məj</i>	U * <i>mš</i> (R 294; P II, 1279; cf. LG 170)
43a. kill	<i>šavəms</i>	<i>čavoms</i>		FU * <i>čanɜ</i> (R 53; P I, 225-26)
43b. kill			<i>puštam</i>	(OT 100)
44. knee	<i>pəłma-nižä</i>	<i>pulmanžä</i>	<i>pulwuj</i>	U * <i>polwe</i> (R 393; P III, 1833)
45a. know	<i>sodams</i>	<i>sodams</i>		(P IV, 1999)
45b. know			<i>palem</i>	< Chuv <i>palla</i> (Räs 174; OT 89)
45c. know			<i>šinčem</i>	: <i>šinča eye</i> (#25; OT 121-22)
46a. leaf	<i>lopa</i>	<i>lopa</i>		FU * <i>lepɜ</i> (R 259; P II, 1055)
46b. leaf			<i>lōstaš</i>	FV * <i>lešte</i> (R 689)
47b. lie	<i>madəms</i>	<i>madəms</i>		FV * <i>maða-</i> (Ker 85; P II, 1156)

Gloss	Mord Moksha	Mord Erzya	Mari	Etymology
47a. lie			<i>kijaš</i>	FU <i>*kujɜ</i> (R 197) = <i>*kšijlV</i> (LG 144)
48. liver	<i>maksä</i>	<i>makso</i>	<i>mokš</i>	U <i>*maksä</i> (R 264; LG 179; P II, 1162) = FU <i>*miksä</i>    Sm <i>*mitä</i> < U <i>*miksä</i> (S 538)
49a. long	<i>käva-ka</i>	<i>kuvaka</i>		FU <i>*kawka</i> (R 132; P II, 983)
49b. long			<i>kužu</i>	U <i>*ko(ri)čɜ</i> (R 180); cf. Perm. <i>*kuž</i> ; Hu. <i>hosszú</i> (LG 144) = FU <i>*käsi(w)</i> long (S 545)
50a. louse	<i>ši</i>	<i>ši</i>		(P IV, 2147)
50b. louse			<i>tij</i>	FU <i>*täje</i> (R 515; LG 280) = <i>*täji</i> (S 550)
51a. man	<i>lomañ</i>	<i>lomañ</i>		(P II, 1051, also “anderer, fremd, Fremder”) < Indo-Iranian <i>*aryaman-</i>
51b. man	<i>alä</i>	<i>ala</i>		(P I, 35; primarily elder brother; husband etc., also “fremd”) < Indo-Iranian <i>*arya-</i>
		<i>čora</i>		< Chuv <i>čoro</i> , <i>čuru</i> Knecht, Diener (Räs 233; ERS 240)
51c. man			<i>pörjeñ</i>	(OT 96: <i>pört</i> Zimmer < Chuv < Russ); cf. #64 <i>jeñ</i> person, human being
52a. many	<i>lamä</i>	<i>lamo</i>		FV <i>*lama</i> (R 684; P II, 1007)
52b. many			<i>jana</i> adj.	U <i>*enä</i> (R 74-75) = FU <i>*enä</i> / <i>*inä</i> (S 541)
52c. many			<i>šukä</i> adv.	FP <i>*sakka</i> (R 750)
53a. meat	<i>šivəl'</i>	<i>siv'el'</i>	<i>šäl</i>	VP <i>*siwəlɜ</i> (R 763; P IV, 1989; cf. Perm. <i>*sil-</i> < <i>*siwəlɜ</i> (LG 258) = FP <i>*silɜ</i> meat (S 553)
53b. meat	<i>pal</i>	<i>pal</i>		U <i>*pala</i> (R 350; P III, 1510)
54a. moon	<i>kov</i>	<i>kov ~ koñ</i>		U <i>*kuñe</i> (R 211-12)
54b. moon			<i>tälzä</i>	< Perm <i>*tölščä</i> , pres. participle from the verb in Udm <i>dolal-</i> glänzen, Komi <i>dəlal-</i> id., leuchten (Ber 111)
55a. mountain	<i>pandä</i>	<i>pando</i>		(P III, 1522: Berg, Anhöhe, Hügel)
55b. mountain			<i>kurək</i>	FP <i>*kurɜ(-ka)</i> Hügel, Landrücken or FP <i>*korkɜ</i> hoch (R 677, 672)
56a. mouth	<i>kurgä</i>	<i>kurgo</i>		VP <i>*kürkɜ</i> (Ker 72; P II, 965)
56b. mouth			<i>umša/ ušma /upša/ ašma</i>	(OT 164)
57. name	<i>läm</i>	<i>lem</i>	<i>lüm</i>	U <i>*nime</i> (R 305; LG 191; P II, 1104) = FU <i>*nimi</i>    Sm. <i>*nim</i> < U <i>*nimi</i> (S 538)
58a. neck	<i>k'irga</i>	<i>k'irga</i>		FV <i>*kurk(k)ɜ</i> (R 676; P II, 764)
58b. neck			<i>šüj</i>	FU <i>*sepä</i> (R 473-74) = <i>*sepä(IV)</i> (LG 271) = <i>*sepä</i> (S 548)
59. new	<i>od</i>	<i>od</i>	<i>u</i>	FU <i>*wud'e</i> (R 587; P III, 1420) = <i>*(w)ud'e</i> (LG 72) = <i>*wud'i</i> (S 551)

Was there a Volgaic unity within Finno-Ugric?

Gloss	Mord Moksha	Mord Erzya	Mari	Etymology
60a. night	<i>v'è(j)</i>	<i>v'è ~ v'ä</i>		FU <i>*üje</i> (R 72; LG 60; P IV, 2580) = <i>*üji</i> (S 542)
60b. night			<i>jüð</i>	U <i>*jüt3</i> (R 99)
61a. nose	<i>šal'ka</i>			(P IV, 2213)
61b. nose		<i>sudo</i>		(P IV, 2045)
61b. nose			<i>ñer</i>	U <i>*nëre</i> (R 303; LG 197)
62. not	<i>af</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ok</i>	U <i>*e/*ä</i> (R 68-70; P I, 1); cf. Perm <i>*ob-</i> + <i>*vel</i> nicht sein (W 54-55) < <i>*epä-(v)ole</i> (LG 29)
63. one	<i>fkä</i>	<i>v'èjkè</i>	<i>ik</i>	FU <i>*ükte</i> (R 81; P IV, 2594); cf. FP <i>*ükti</i> (S 552)
64a. person	<i>lomañ</i>	<i>lomañ</i>		P II, 1051; cf. #51; < Indo-Iranian <i>*aryaman-</i>
64b. person			<i>jeñ</i>	(OT 25)
			<i>ademe</i>	< Chuv <i>εDem</i> < Tat <i>ädäm</i> < Arab (Räs 111; OT 1)
65a. rain n.	<i>p'izem</i>	<i>p'izemè</i>		FV <i>*pisa-/*piša-</i> (R 732; P III, 1694; cf. E <i>p'izi</i> regnend)
65b. rain n.			<i>jür</i>	(OT 30: Md <i>ir?</i> ); cf. OUG <i>*jürt</i> rain n.
66a. red	<i>jakst'or</i>	<i>jakst'ere</i>	<i>jöškaryä / jokšarye</i>	pMd <i>*jakčarə</i> + pMari <i>*jokšaryä</i> (Ker 42-43; Ber 12; P I, 486)
67a. road	<i>k'i</i>	<i>k'i</i>		P II, 745
67b. road			<i>kornâ</i>	FU <i>*kurña</i> (R 216)
68a. root	<i>jur</i>	<i>jur</i>		FP <i>*jure</i> (R 639; P I, 543)
68b. root			<i>vož</i>	U <i>*wa(n)č3</i> (R 548) = <i>*wanč3</i> (LG 69-70) = FU <i>*wāncā</i>    Sm. <i>*wāncā</i> < U <i>*wāncā</i> (S 541)
69a. round	<i>k'ev'or</i>	<i>k'ev'ir</i>		(P II, 734; in RMS 232 the Moksha equivalent is missing)
69b. round	<i>šari</i>	( <i>čari</i> kreisend)		P I, 213-14: from M <i>šarōms</i> , E <i>čarams</i> schwan-ken, wanken < pMd <i>*čara-/*šara-</i> ; cf. Komi <i>šurgan</i> Wirbel, Strudel (Ker 154)
69c. round		<i>k'ir'eni koñdamo</i>		FU <i>*kerä</i> (R 147; P II, 779; cf. E <i>k'ir'e</i> , M <i>koñä</i> -Bündel, Rolle)
69d. round	<i>kruglaj</i>	<i>krugloj</i>		(P II, 896: < Russ.)
69e. round			<i>j'ryeške</i>	(OT 31: <i>j'ör</i> um)
70a. sand	<i>šovar</i>	<i>tšovar</i>		(P I, 288)
70b. sand			<i>ošma</i>	(OT 86)
71a. say	<i>azōms</i>	<i>azoms</i>		(P I, 98: also opfern, versprechen, widmen, weihen, fluchen, erklären, schelten etc.)
71b. say	<i>joftams</i>	<i>jovtams</i>		FU <i>*jukta-</i> (R 104; P I, 533)
71c. say			<i>manaš</i>	U <i>*mon3</i> (R 290)

Gloss	Mord Moksha	Mord Erzya	Mari	Etymology
71d. say			<i>kalasem</i>	(Räs 140; OT 34: < Chuv <i>kala</i> to say, speak; but cf. Komi <i>kil-vor</i> Aussprache - W 313)
72a. see	<i>ńäjəms</i>	<i>ńejems</i>		FU * <i>näke-</i> (R 302; P III, 1385)
72b. see			<i>užam</i>	FV * <i>wača-</i> (R 809)
			<i>onče</i>	FP * <i>ańčə</i> (R 607; LG 30)
73a. seed	<i>v'idmä</i>	<i>v'idmè</i>		(P IV, 2646; E <i>v'idems</i> , M <i>v'idəms</i> säen < FU * <i>wettä-</i> werfen - R 570)
73b. seed			<i>nöšmō</i>	(OT 78)
73c. seed			<i>p̄rčō</i>	< Chuv <i>p̄rčō</i> (Räs 177; OT 103)
73d. seed			<i>urluk</i>	(OT 164: < Tat <i>örlök</i> )
74a. sit	<i>ozams</i>	<i>ozams</i>		FV * <i>isə</i> (R 629; P III, 1480)
74b. sit			<i>šinčaš</i>	FU * <i>saŋča-</i> stehen (R 431); cf. #79
75a. skin			<i>kowašte</i>	(OT 42: < Chuv?; R 180 excludes it from U * <i>kopa</i> bark, skin)
75b. skin	<i>keď</i>	<i>keď ~ käd'</i>		FU * <i>keď'e</i> (R 142; P II, 678)
76a. sleep	<i>udəms</i>	<i>udoms</i>		FU * <i>oda-</i> (R 334; P IV, 2432)
76b. sleep			<i>malem</i>	(OT 69)
77a. small	<i>jolma ~ mla</i>			(P I, 518)
77b. small	<i>ańcej</i>			(P I, 47: from Tk?)
77c. small		<i>v'iška</i>		FV * <i>wäšä</i> (R 818; ERS 54)
77d. small		<i>maľen'koj</i>		(P II, 1169 < Russ)
77e. small			<i>izi</i>	FU * <i>üčä</i> (R 78)
78a. smoke n.	<i>kačam</i>	<i>katšamo</i>		FP * <i>kačkə</i> (R 641; P II, 560)
78b. smoke n.			<i>šikš</i>	(OT 121)
79a. stand	<i>stado aštəms</i>	<i>stada aštəms</i>		FU * <i>saŋča-</i> stehen (R 431; P IV, 2180; E <i>štado</i> , M <i>štada</i> stehend, in stehende stellung + P I, 81; E <i>aštəms</i> , M <i>aštəms</i> sich befinden)
79b. stand			<i>šoyem / šolgem</i>	FU * <i>salkə</i> (R 431; OT 122)
80a. star	<i>täštä</i>	<i>tešte</i>		FV * <i>täštä</i> (R 793; P IV, 2393)
80b. star			<i>šüđōr</i>	(OT 131: < Chuv <i>šältär</i> - see Egorov 1964, 206)
81b. stone	<i>kəv'</i>	<i>kəv ~ käv</i>	<i>kü</i>	FU * <i>kiwi</i> (R 163; P II, 730; cf. Komi <i>iz-ki</i> mill-stone, Udm. <i>kō</i> id. - LG 123) = * <i>kiwi</i> (S 543)
82a. sun	<i>ši</i>	<i>tši, če, čä</i>	<i>kečō</i>	FU * <i>kečä</i> Kreis, Ring (R 141; P I, 249); cf. Komi Zyry <i>kjč</i> Ohrring; Mondhof, Sonnenring
83. swim	<i>ujəms</i>	<i>ujems</i>	<i>ijaš</i>	FU * <i>uje-/oje-</i> (R 542; LG 296; P IV, 2440) = FU * <i>uji-</i>    Sm * <i>u-</i> < U * <i>uxi-</i> (S 536)
84a. tail	<i>pulä</i>	<i>pulo</i>		FU * <i>poľa</i> (R 393-94; P III, 1833)
84b. tail			<i>poč</i>	FU * <i>pončə</i> / * <i>pančə</i> (R 353; LG 40) = FU * <i>ponci</i> (S 547)

## Was there a Volgaic unity within Finno-Ugric?

Gloss	Mord Moksha	Mord Erzya	Mari	Etymology
85a. that	šä	še	seðe	U *še/*ši (R 33-34; P IV, 2102)
85b. that	tona	tona	tuðð	U *to (R 526-28; P IV, 2297)
86. this	tä	te	tiðð	U *tä/*te/*ti (R 513-14; P IV, 2367)
87. thou	ton	ton	täj	U *tš (R 539; P IV, 2314); Perm *teñ < U *tinä/*tunä (LG 293-94)
88a. tongue	keł	kél		U *kéle- (R 144-45; LG 149; P II, 683) = FU *keeli    Sm. *keðj < U *käxli (S 538)
88b. tongue			jəlmə	FU *jálmä (R 313-14)
89. tooth	pěj	pěj ~ pėv ~ pėŋ	püj	FU *piŋe (R 382; LG 222; P III, 1586) = *piŋi (S 547)
90a. tree	šuftä	tšufto, čuvto		FV *šukta (R 788; P I, 308)
90b. tree			pu	U *puwe (R 410; LG 230) = FU *puxi    Sm. *pä < U *pu/o/äxi/i (S 539)
91. two	kaftä	kavto, kafto	kok	U *kakta/*käktä (R 118-19; P II, 656; FU *kektä    Sm. *kitä < U *kektä (S 537)
92a. walk	jakams	jakams		FU *j akka- (R 88; P I, 480)
92b. walk			koštam	(OT 47); cf. Udm koškinj id.?
93a. warm	lämbä	lem'bė		FV *lämpə (R 685; P II, 1108)
93b. warm			šokšo	(OT 123)
94. water	vėd' ~ väd'	vėd'	wüð	U *wete (R 570; P IV, 2585) = FU *weti    Sm *wit < U *weti (S 541)
95. we	m'ih	m'ih	me	U *mš (R 294-95; P II, 1263)
96. what	mėžä	mėže	mo	U *mə (R 296; P II, 1209-10)
97a. white	akšä	ašo	oš	FU *ačka (R 3; P I, 76)
98. who	k'i ~ k'ijä kona	k'i ~ k'ije kona	kö kuðo	U *ke/*ki (R 140; P II, 750) U *ku-/*ko- (R 191; P II, 805)
99a. woman	ava	ava		(P I, 89)
99b. woman			kuwa	(OT 49)
100a. yel- low	tuzä	tuzė		MdPerm *čoša (R 621; P IV, 2422); cf. Perm *čúž (LG 305)
100b. yel- low	ožð	ožo		FP *wiša (R 823; P III, 1492); cf. #35 green
100c. yel- low			<u>narənce</u>	< Chuv nar (OT 76)

**Abbreviations of languages:** Arab Arabic, Chuv Chuvash, E Erzya, FP Finno-Permian, FU Finno-Ugric, FV Finno-Volgaic, M Moksha, M(or)d Mordvin, Perm Permian, Sm Samoyedic, Tat Tatar, U Uralic, VP Volga-Permian.

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## Appendix 4: Permic word-lists and etymologies

Gloss	Udmurt	Komi Zyr.	Komi Per.	Etymology
1a. all	<i>voř</i>			U <i>*we(ń)ćz</i> ; cf. Komi <i>vař</i> ganz und gar (W 324; LG 48; R 568)
	<i>dolak</i>		<i>dòl</i>	FU <i>*tãwðe</i> full (R 518)
1b. all	<i>ńar</i>			
1c. all	<i>iřó</i>			< Russ <i>vsě</i> ? (W 67)
1d. all	<i>vań, vańm-</i>			Perm <i>*olz</i> < U <i>*elz</i> leben (R 73, 580)
1e. all		<i>biden</i>	<i>biden</i>	Cf. Udm. <i>bïd/bid</i> ganz vollständig (W 22-23) - #5
1f. all	( <i>kotkin</i> every)	<i>kod'</i>		Cf. Komi <i>kod</i> who, which & Udm. <i>kot-kin</i> every (LG 127) < U <i>*ku-/*ko-</i> (R 191)
2. ashes	<i>peń</i>	<i>pejïm</i>	<i>pejïm</i>	FP <i>*pelme</i> (LG 228; R 728)
3ae. bark	<i>kur/kîr</i>	<i>kor</i>		FU <i>*kere</i> (LG 133; R 148-49) = <i>keri/ä</i> (S 543)

## Was there a Volgaic unity within Finno-Ugric?

Gloss	Udmurt	Komi Zyr.	Komi Per.	Etymology
3a. bark		<i>kjrs</i>		Hu <i>hárs</i> Linde; Fi <i>kuori</i> < FU <i>*kōre</i> (LG 154; R 184)
3g. bark	<i>kəm/köm</i>			U <i>*kama</i> (R 121-22)
3d. bark	<i>sul/sul'</i>	<i>səl-kər</i>		Perm <i>*səl</i> ; Md. <i>sud</i> < FP <i>*suδə</i> (LG 260; R 763)
4a. belly	<i>kət/köt</i>			FP <i>*koktə</i> (R 670); cf. Komi <i>kōta</i> trächtig (W 104)
4b. belly	<i>puš/puš</i>	<i>pjš</i>		Perm <i>*pučk-/pučk-</i> < U <i>*pučkə</i> (LG 237; R 398)
4c. belly		<i>kjñöm</i>	<i>kjñöm</i>	FU <i>*kunə</i> (R 208); cf. Kh <i>kōñ</i> , Hu <i>jonh-</i> < <i>*johon</i> (LG 152)
5a. big	<i>bīdzj̄m/ bud'zj̄n</i>			Cf. Udm <i>bīd/bid</i> ganz vollständig (W 22-23)
5b. big	<i>j̄l̄s</i>			Cf. Komi <i>ul̄s</i> wet, full, raw; Fi <i>ylys</i> adj. fat < <i>*elə</i> (LG 296; R 73-74)
5c. big	<i>zək/zök</i>			
5d. big		<i>išj̄d</i>	<i>išj̄d</i>	Perm <i>*uš-</i> < Md-Perm <i>*üčə</i> (R 627); cf. Md E <i>ečke</i> , M <i>ečkä</i> dick (LG 328; Fi. <i>isa</i> big); Fi <i>isa</i> + Md M <i>ocü</i> < U <i>*icä</i> father (R 78)
6a. bird	<i>papa</i>			onom.
6b. bird		<i>lebač</i>		(L 397); cf. FU <i>*lempə/*lämpə</i> to fly (LG 165; R 245); see #30 fly
		<i>kai</i>	<i>kai</i>	U <i>*kājə</i> (R 133)
7a. bite	<i>kurtšj̄m̄i</i>	<i>kurččav̄ni</i>	<i>kurččav̄ni</i>	FU <i>*karə/*korə</i> (R 129)
7b. bite	<i>purinj̄i</i>	<i>pur̄ni</i>		FU <i>*pure-</i> (LG 233; R 405-06) = FU <i>*puri-</i>    Sm. <i>*por-</i> < U <i>*pori-</i> (S 539)
8a. black	<i>kjrs/kjrs</i>			cf. Udm <i>kj̄r</i> Schwarzspecht? (R 230: <i>*kšrə</i> eine Art Specht)
8b. black	<i>šed/šed</i>	<i>šed</i>	<i>šed</i>	Perm <i>*šöd</i> (LG 269; not with FP <i>*sonta</i> Kot, Mist - see R 265)
9. blood	<i>vir</i>	<i>vir</i>	<i>vir</i>	FU <i>*wire</i> (R 576; LG 57) = FU <i>*weri</i> (S 551)
10a. bone	<i>l̄i/l̄i</i>	<i>l̄i</i>	<i>l̄i</i>	U <i>*luwe</i> (R 254) = FU <i>*luxi</i>    Sm. <i>*lé'</i> < U <i>*l̄ixi-</i> (S 538)
10b. bone			<i>koska</i>	cf. Md-Perm <i>*kaskə</i> Kreuz (R 648)
11a. breast	<i>gad'</i>	<i>gad'</i>		(LG 74; R 178)
11b. breast	<i>m̄j̄l/m̄j̄l</i>			FU <i>*mälye</i> (R 267) = <i>*mäiki</i> (S 546)
11c. breast		<i>moreš</i>	<i>moros</i>	U <i>*msrə</i> (R 293) or VP <i>*merə</i> (R 703; LG 174)
12a. burn	<i>džuàni</i>			cf. Udm <i>ž̄u, ž̄u</i> glühende Kohle (R 420)
12b. burn	<i>sut(i)ni</i>	<i>sotni</i>	<i>sotni</i>	FP <i>*s̄tiš</i> (LG 262); cf. Fi <i>sytyä</i>
12c. burn	<i>š̄šukàni</i>			

Gloss	Udmurt	Komi Zyr.	Komi Per.	Etymology
13. claw	<i>gīžī</i>	<i>gīž</i>	<i>gīž</i>	FU/U * <i>künče</i> (R 157-58; LG 84) = * <i>künci</i> (S 544)
14a. cloud	<i>pilem</i>	<i>piv/pī</i>		FU * <i>pilwe</i> (R 381)
14b. cloud		<i>kīmör</i>	<i>kīmör</i>	FU * <i>kumə</i> (R 204; LG 151) = * <i>kumä-(lä)</i> cloudy (S 544)
15a. cold	<i>kežīt</i>	<i>keđžīd</i>		FP * <i>käčə</i> (R 648) = * <i>käčə</i> (LG 139) = * <i>käsV</i> (S 552)
15b. cold	<i>keđi</i>			cf. Hung <i>hideg</i> cold?
15c. cold	<i>kīn/kīm</i>	<i>kīn</i>		Perm * <i>kün(m-)</i> < FP * <i>külmä</i> (LG 152; R 663; S 552)
16a. come	<i>liktīnj</i>	<i>loknj</i>	<i>loknj</i>	FU * <i>läkte</i> (R 239-40; LG 160) = FP * <i>läkti-</i> to depart (S 552)
16b. come		<i>vonj</i>	<i>vonj</i>	Perm * <i>vo-</i> (LG 63) < FP * <i>wäke</i> (R 817)
17. die	<i>kul(i)nj</i>	<i>kulnj</i>	<i>kulnj</i>	U * <i>kola-</i> (R 173) = * <i>köle-</i> (LG 143) = FU * <i>kooli-</i>    Sm * <i>kāā</i> < U * <i>kāxli-</i> (S 538)
18a. dog	<i>kufša</i>	<i>kīšān</i>		Perm * <i>kučə</i> / * <i>küčə</i> (LG 155) < Iran * <i>kuti-</i> > Sogd <i>'kwty</i> , Yaghn <i>kud, kut</i> , Ossetic pl. <i>kwitae</i> (Sasse 1993, 351-52; Abaev I, 605)
18b. dog	<i>punj</i>	<i>pon</i>	<i>pon</i>	FU * <i>pene</i> (R 371; LG 224-25) = FP * <i>penä</i> (S 553)
19. drink	<i>juīnj</i>	<i>junj</i>	<i>junj</i>	FU * <i>juye-</i> (R 103) = * <i>jūye-</i> (LG 335) = * <i>juxi-</i> (S 543)
20. dry	<i>keš/kös</i>	<i>kos</i>	<i>keš</i>	FP * <i>koksə</i> (R 670; LG 134) = * <i>koksV</i> (S 552)
21. ear	<i>peļ</i>	<i>peļ</i>	<i>peļ</i>	FU * <i>peljä</i> (R 370; LG 218) = * <i>peljä</i> (S 547)
22. earth	<i>mu</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>mu</i>	U * <i>maye</i> (R 263; LG 177) = * <i>māxi</i> (S 546)
23. eat	<i>šījni</i>	<i>šoīnj</i>	<i>šoīnj</i>	FU * <i>seye-</i> (R 440; LG 252) = * <i>sewi-</i> (S 548)
24a. egg	<i>koko</i>			onom.?
24b. egg	<i>puz/piz</i>	( <i>poz</i> nest)		U * <i>pesä</i> (R 375) = FU * <i>pesä</i>    Sm. * <i>pitä</i> < U * <i>pesä</i> nest (S 539)
24c. egg		<i>kolĸ</i>	<i>kolļ</i>	FP * <i>kalkə</i> (R 644)
25. eye	<i>šin/šim</i>	<i>šin</i>	<i>šin</i>	U * <i>šilmä</i> (R 479; LG 256) = FU * <i>šilmä</i>    Sm. * <i>šjämä</i> < U * <i>šilmä</i> (S 540)
26a. fat n.		<i>sjiv</i>		FP * <i>silə</i> (R 758; LG 267)
26b. fat n.	<i>keji/köj</i>			FU * <i>kuje</i> (R 195)
26c. fat n.		<i>gos</i>	<i>gos</i>	FU * <i>kaswa-</i> wachsen (R 129-30; without Komi); cf. Fi <i>kasvaa</i> to grow; Md <i>kasoms</i> id.; Hu <i>haszon</i> profit (LG 79)
26d. fat n.		<i>tšeg</i>		Cf. Mari <i>čoga</i> muscles (LG 290)
27a. feather	<i>tīli/tij</i>	<i>tij</i>		U * <i>tulka</i> (R 535; LG 292) = FU * <i>tulka</i>    Sm * <i>tuđj</i> < U * <i>tuxli-</i> (S 540)



# Was there a Volgaic unity within Finno-Ugric?

Gloss	Udmurt	Komi Zyr.	Komi Per.	Etymology
27b. feather		<i>gen</i>	<i>gen</i>	Cf. Udm <i>gon</i> hair of body < Iran * <i>gauna</i> - (Joki 1973, 262; LG 80: Perm + Fi <i>kynä</i> feather)
28a. fire	<i>t̄l̄/tj̄l̄</i>	<i>t̄j̄v</i>		U * <i>tule</i> (R 535; LG 292) = FU * <i>tuli</i>    Sm * <i>tūj</i> < U * <i>tul̄i</i> (S 540)
28b. fire		<i>bi</i>	<i>bi</i>	FU * <i>pājwä</i> (R 360; LG 40) = FP * <i>pājwä</i>    Sm * <i>pejwä</i> < U * <i>pājwä</i> sun, warmth (S 540) or FU * <i>pājä</i> (R 359)
29. fish	<i>t̄šorig</i>	<i>t̄šeri</i>	<i>t̄šeri</i>	Perm * <i>č̄erig</i> < FU * <i>č̄r̄š</i> (LG 303-04)
30a. fly v.	<i>đurga-</i>			
30b. fly v.	<i>lob(i)n̄j</i>	<i>l̄əbn̄j</i>	<i>l̄əbn̄j</i>	FU * <i>l̄emp̄</i> / <i>*l̄ämp̄</i> (LG 165; R 245); cf. Hu <i>lebegni</i>
31a. foot	<i>pid</i>	<i>pod</i>		< Indo-Iranian (LG 223; Joki 1973, 303)
31b. foot	( <i>kuk paw</i> )	<i>kok</i>	<i>kok</i>	Perm * <i>kok</i> (LG 129)
32a. full	<i>t̄j̄r/t̄j̄r</i>	<i>t̄j̄r</i>	<i>t̄j̄r</i>	FU * <i>t̄j̄re</i> (R 524; LG 293)
32b. full	<i>b̄ides</i>			Udm <i>b̄id</i> ganz vollständig = Komi <i>b̄id</i> (W 22), cf. #1, 5
33. give	<i>šot(i)n̄j</i>	<i>šetn̄j</i>	<i>šetn̄j</i>	Perm * <i>šet-</i> (LG 251; Paas., s-Laute 101: Kh N <i>soyoptalem</i> to pay)
34a. good	( <i>bur right</i> )	<i>bur</i>	<i>bur</i>	FP * <i>para</i> (R 724; LG 42) = FP * <i>pé'ra</i> good (S 553)
34b. good	<i>des/džet's</i>			Mari-Perm * <i>reč(k)ɜ</i> (R 744)
34c. good	<i>umōj</i>			FP * <i>oma</i> eigen (R 717)
35a. green	<i>vož</i>	<i>vež</i>		FP * <i>wiša</i> (R 823; LG 49) = * <i>wiša</i> (S 554)
35b. green			<i>zel̄ən̄öi</i>	< Rus
36. hair	<i>ši</i>	<i>ši</i>	<i>ši</i>	Perm * <i>ši</i> < FU * <i>s̄ǟne</i> (R 471) = * <i>s̄ǟje</i> (LG 254)
37a. hand	<i>ki</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ki</i>	FU * <i>käte</i> (R 140; LG 123) = * <i>käti</i> (S 545)
37b. hand	<i>suj</i>	<i>soj</i>	<i>soj</i>	Perm * <i>soj</i> < U * <i>soja</i> (R 445; LG 260)
37c. hand		<i>k̄ir̄im</i>		Perm * <i>k̄ur̄im</i> < FP * <i>kurm̄</i> (R 677), cf. Hu. <i>köröm</i> fingernail (LG 154)
38. head	<i>j̄j̄r/d̄j̄r</i>	<i>jur</i>	<i>jur</i>	FP * <i>jure</i> (R 639) = * <i>jüre-</i> (LG 335)
39. hear	<i>k̄j̄l̄(i)n̄j</i>	<i>k̄j̄ln̄j</i>	<i>k̄j̄ln̄j</i>	FU * <i>kule-</i> (R 197) = * <i>küle-</i> (LG 149) = * <i>kuuli-</i> (S 544)
40. heart	<i>šulem</i>	<i>šələm</i>	<i>šələm</i>	U * <i>šüdäm̄š</i> (R 477; LG 270) = FU * <i>šüdämi</i> / * <i>šedmi</i> (S 549)
41. horn	<i>šur</i>	<i>šur</i>	<i>šur</i>	Perm * <i>šur</i> < FU * <i>šorwa</i> (R 486) = * <i>šorwä</i> (S 549) < II * <i>š̄rvä</i>
42. I	<i>mon</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	U * <i>mš</i> (R 294; LG 170)
43. kill	<i>vij̄n̄j</i>	<i>vin̄j</i>	<i>vij̄n̄j</i>	FU * <i>wed̄</i> (R 566-67; LG 59) = * <i>wilä-</i> (S 551)
44. knee	<i>pidžes</i>	<i>pidžes</i>	<i>pidžes</i>	FU * <i>püč̄</i> (R 376); Cf. Mansi <i>pisi</i> , <i>päs</i> elbow (LG 221)
45. know	<i>tod(i)n̄j</i>	<i>tədn̄j</i>	<i>tədn̄j</i>	U * <i>tumte-</i> (R 536) = FU * <i>tumti-</i>    Sm. * <i>tumt̄</i> - < * <i>tumt̄i-</i> (S 541)

Gloss	Udmurt	Komi Zyr.	Komi Per.	Etymology
46. leaf	<i>kyar</i>	<i>kor</i>	<i>kor</i>	Perm * <i>kwor</i> ; Fi. <i>korva</i> ear (LG 133; R 187) < FP * <i>kovra</i>    Sm * <i>kâw</i> < U * <i>kâwi</i> ear (S 538)
47. lie	<i>kijlĭni</i>	<i>kuļĭni</i>	<i>kuļĭni</i>	FU * <i>kuj3-</i> (R 197) = * <i>kĭjIV</i> (LG 144)
48. liver	<i>mus</i>	<i>mus</i>	<i>mus</i>	FU * <i>maksa</i> (R 264; LG 179) = FU * <i>mĭksâ</i>    Sm. * <i>mĭtô</i> < U * <i>mĭksâ</i> (S 538)
49. long	<i>kuž/kudž</i>	<i>kuž</i>	<i>kuž</i>	U * <i>ko(ri)č3</i> (R 380; LG 144) = FU * <i>kâšĭ(w)</i> long (S 545)
50. louse	<i>teĭ</i>	<i>toj</i>	<i>toj</i>	FU * <i>täje-</i> (R 515; LG 280) = * <i>täji</i> (S 550)
51a. man	<i>murt</i>			Md-Perm * <i>mertä</i> (R 702)
51b. man	<i>vorgo-ron/m</i>			
51c. man	<i>kart</i>			< Tat (W 94)
		<i>mužik</i>	<i>mužik</i>	< Rus
52a. many	<i>uno/ĭno</i>	<i>una</i>	<i>una</i>	U * <i>enä</i> (R 74-75) = * <i>enä</i> / * <i>inä</i> (S 541)
52b. many	<i>tĭros</i>			Cf. <i>tĭr</i> full (W 262-63)
52c. many	<i>ešto/eško</i>			
52d. many	<i>dan</i>			< Tat? (W 30)
53a. meat	<i>sil'</i>			Perm * <i>sil-</i> < FP * <i>siw3l3</i> (R 763; LG 258) = FP * <i>sil3</i> meat (S 553)
53b. meat		<i>jaj</i>	<i>jaj</i>	Cf. Udm <i>jajtem</i> weak; Sm: Nenets <i>ġaaja</i> body, muscles, etc. (LG 337)
54. moon	<i>tolĭž</i>	<i>teļiš</i>	<i>teļiš</i>	Perm * <i>töļšöš</i> , pres. participle from the verb in Udm <i>dolal-</i> glänzen, Komi <i>dġal-</i> id., leuchten (Ber 111)
55a. mountain	<i>gurež</i>	<i>gor</i>		Perm * <i>gor</i> mountain, hill (LG 79: Komi <i>goruv</i> foot of mountain : <i>uv</i> down)
55b. mountain		<i>keręs</i>	<i>keręs</i>	(LG 122; R 647: not from FP * <i>karke</i> gross, grob); cf. Komi <i>kĭr</i> shore, slope, mountain < * <i>kur-</i> (LG 153)
55c. mountain		<i>čoj</i>	<i>čoj</i>	Cf. Kh <i>č'jw</i> (slope of a) hill (LG 309)
56. mouth	<i>ĭm</i>	<i>vom</i>	<i>ęm</i>	U * <i>aje</i> (R 11; LG 62) = FU * <i>äġi</i> (S 542)
57. name	<i>ĭnim/ĭġim</i>	<i>ĭnim</i>	<i>ĭnim</i>	U * <i>nime</i> (R 305; LG 191) = FU * <i>nimi</i>    Sm * <i>nim</i> < U * <i>nimi</i> (S 538)
58a. neck	<i>tšĭrtĭ</i>			
58b. neck	( <i>šĭl'sör</i> nape of neck)	<i>šĭli</i>		Perm * <i>šü-l</i> < FU * <i>šepä(l3)</i> (LG 271; R 473-74) = * <i>šepä</i> (S 548)
58c. neck	<i>gulo</i>	<i>gola</i>	<i>gola</i>	Perm * <i>golš</i> (LG 78) < ?Iran: Middle Persian / <i>galög</i> /, Persian <i>gulō</i> throat, Old Indic <i>gala</i> id. (EWAI I, 476)
59. new	<i>vil/vĭl'</i>	<i>vĭl'</i>	<i>vĭl'</i>	FU * <i>wud'e</i> (R 587; LG 72) = * <i>wudĭ</i> (S 551)
60. night	<i>uj</i>	<i>voj</i>	<i>oj</i>	FU * <i>ĭje</i> (R 72; LG 60) = * <i>ĭji</i> (S 542)

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Gloss	Udmurt	Komi Zyr.	Komi Per.	Etymology
61. nose	<i>nĭr/nĭr</i>	<i>nĭr</i>	<i>nĭr</i>	FV * <i>nĕre</i> (R 303-04; LG 197)
62. not	<i>evĕl/övöl</i>	<i>abu</i>	<i>abu</i>	* <i>ob-</i> + * <i>vĕl</i> nicht sein (W 54-55) < * <i>epä-</i> ( <i>v</i> ) <i>ole</i> (LG 29) < U * <i>e/*ä/*a</i> (R 68-70)
63. one	<i>og</i>	<i>et/ĕk</i>	<i>et/ĕk</i>	FU * <i>ükte</i> (R 81) = FP * <i>ükti</i> (S 552)
64. person	<i>murt</i>	<i>mort</i>	<i>mort</i>	FP * <i>mertä</i> (R 702; S 552) < Iran (LG 174-75; Joki 1973, 281-82)
65. rain n.	<i>zor</i>	<i>zer</i>	<i>zer</i>	Perm * <i>zĕr</i> ; cf. Nenets <i>sarĕ</i> id. (LG 108)
66a. red	<i>gord</i>	<i>gerd</i>	<i>gerd</i>	Perm * <i>görd</i> < * <i>gürd</i> ; cf. Komi <i>gird</i> blood (LG 80)
66b. red	<i>ťšĭžĭt</i>			
67a. road	<i>šures/šĭres</i>			Cf. Komi <i>mu-šur</i> lange Strecke Weges (W 240) < FU * <i>šorĭ</i> (R 487)
67b. road		<i>tuj</i>	<i>tuj</i>	FP * <i>teje</i> (R 794; LG 285)
68. root	<i>vižĭ</i>	<i>vuž</i>	<i>vuž</i>	U * <i>wa(n)čĭ</i> (R 548; LG 69-70) = FU * <i>wāncā</i>    Sm * <i>wāncā</i> < U * <i>wāncā</i> (S 541)
69a. round	<i>bigilĭ</i>			Cf. Komi <i>bigilmi</i> wälzen (W 23)
69b. round	<i>kotĭres</i>			Cf. Udm <i>kotĭr</i> ringsherum, Komi <i>kotĭr</i> Haufe, Schar, Familie (W 123-24)
69c. round		<i>gegres</i>	<i>gegres</i>	cf. Komi <i>geger</i> around < Perm * <i>gög-</i> : * <i>gögĭ</i> navel (LG 79)
70. sand	<i>luo</i>	<i>lĭ(v)a</i>	<i>lĭ(v)a</i>	FU * <i>liwa</i> (R 250; LG 163)
71a. say	<i>šujni</i>	<i>šuni</i>	<i>šuni</i>	Perm * <i>šu-</i> < FP * <i>šoke-</i> (R 786; LG 324)
71b. say	<i>važĭni</i>			
71c. say	<i>verāni</i>			Cf. Komi <i>kĭl-vor</i> Aussprache (W 313), Komi <i>kĭv-vor</i> speech < Perm * <i>vgr</i> speech (LG 63)
72a. see	<i>adđžini</i>	<i>adđžini</i>	<i>adđžini</i>	FP * <i>ańčĭ-</i> (R 607; LG 30)
72b. see	<i>nallāni</i>			FU * <i>nāke-</i> (R 302)
73a. seed	<i>ťš</i>	<i>tuš</i>	<i>tuš</i>	Perm * <i>tuš</i> ; Mari <i>tuš</i> < Chuv <i>tüš</i> (LG 288)
73b. seed	<i>ju</i>			FP * <i>jewā</i> (R 633-34); cf. Komi <i>ji, jĭ</i> in <i>ji-ki, jĭ-kĭ</i> Spreu, Kleie, Spelze, Granne (W 81) < Indo-Iranian * <i>yawa-</i>
73c. seed	<i>kidĭs</i>	<i>keĭdĭs</i>	<i>keĭdĭs</i>	Cf. Udm <i>kižni</i> säen, Komi <i>keĭžni</i> < Perm * <i>köž-</i> (LG 138-39; R 664: not to FP * <i>kšntĭ</i> (R 681) nor * <i>künčā-</i> (R 663-64)
73d. seed	<i>kižon</i>			Cf. Udm <i>kižni</i> säen, Komi <i>keĭžni</i> < Perm * <i>köž-</i> (LG 138-39)
74. sit	<i>puk(i)ni</i>	<i>pukni</i>	<i>pukni</i>	Perm * <i>puk-</i> ; Hu. <i>fekszik</i> lie < FU * <i>pākkĭ</i> (R 361; LG 232)
75a. skin	<i>ku</i>	<i>ku</i>		* <i>kopa</i> (R 180; LG 143)
75b. skin	<i>kudsi</i>	<i>kutš</i>	<i>kučik</i>	Perm * <i>kuč'-</i> ; Saami <i>gačče</i> ~ <i>gače</i> < * <i>kšč'ĭ-</i> (LG 148)
76. sleep	<i>ĭž(i)ni</i>	<i>užni</i>	<i>užni</i>	Perm * <i>už-</i> (LG 296)
77a. small	<i>pišĭ/peťši</i>			cf. Fi <i>pisku</i> id.

Gloss	Udmurt	Komi Zyr.	Komi Per.	Etymology
77b. small	<i>poktši/pektši</i>			
		<i>poñi</i>		< BF: Fi <i>pieni</i> , Est <i>peen</i> (LG 225)
77c. small	<i>tširj</i>			FP *čšrз (R 615; LG 306-07; W 286)
77d. small		<i>ičetik</i>	<i>učetik</i>	FU *učä (R 78)
77e. small		<i>dzola</i>		< *č'ol-, Est <i>till</i> id. (LG 92)
78. smoke n.	<i>tšij</i>	<i>tšin</i>		Perm *čüj < FU *čüjз (R 59; LG 292)
79. stand	<i>sil(i)nj</i>	<i>sulalnj</i>		Perm *sul- < FU *salkз- (R 431; LG 265) = FP *sé'lkV- (S 553)
80. star	<i>kizili</i>	<i>kožzul</i>		FU *ku(ñ)čз (R 210-11; LG 126) = FU *kunsā    Sm *kñsV < U *kunsā (S 537)
81a. stone	<i>iz</i>	<i>iz</i>	<i>iz</i>	Perm *iz- (LG 109)
81b. stone		<i>-ki in iz-ki</i>		Komi <i>iz-ki</i> millstone, Udm <i>kö</i> id. (LG 123) < FU *kiwe (R 163-64) = *kiwi (S 543)
82. sun	<i>šundj</i>	<i>šondi</i>	<i>šondi</i>	Perm *šondi; Cf. Udm <i>šunjt</i> , Komi <i>šonjd</i> warm (W 253) < FP *šonз (R 787) or *ššñe- (LG 322)
83. swim	<i>ujànj</i>	<i>uñnj</i>	<i>uñnj</i>	FU *uje-/ *oje- (R 542; LG 296) = FU *uji-    Sm *u- < U *uxi- (S 536)
84. tail	<i>bjž/bjž</i>	<i>bež</i>	<i>bež</i>	FU *pončз / *pančз (R 353; LG 40) = FU *ponci (S 547)
85a. that	<i>so</i>	<i>sj</i>	<i>sija</i>	Perm *sü < FU *šš' / *sš' (R 453; LG 258)
85b. that	<i>tu</i>	<i>tj</i>		U *to (R 526-27; LG 292)
86. this	<i>ta</i>	<i>ta, taję</i>	<i>etija</i>	Perm *ta < U *tä (R 513-14; LG 277)
87. thou	<i>ton</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>	Perm *teñ < U *tinä/ *tunä (LG 293-94)
88. tongue	<i>kjł</i>	<i>kjł</i>	<i>kjv</i>	U *kēle (R 144; LG 149) = FU *keeli    Sm. *keđj < U *kāxli (S 538)
89. tooth	<i>piñ</i>	<i>piñ</i>	<i>piñ</i>	FU *piñe (R 382; LG 222) = *piñi (S 547)
90. tree	<i>pu</i>	<i>pu</i>	<i>pu</i>	U *puwe (R 410; LG 230) = FU *puxi    Sm. *pä < U *pu/o/äxi/i (S 539)
91. two	<i>kjк, kjkt-</i>	<i>kjк</i>	<i>kjк</i>	U *kakta / *käktä (R 118) = FU *kektä    Sm *kitä < U *kektä (S 537)
92a. walk	<i>koškijñ</i>			
92b. walk	<i>mjñ(i)nj</i>	<i>munñj</i>	<i>munñj</i>	U *mene- (R 272; LG 178) = FU *meni-    Sm *mñn- < *meni-
92c. walk	<i>vetlñj</i>	<i>vetlñj</i>		(LG 54)
93a. warm	<i>peš/pöš</i>	<i>peš</i>		FP *pošз (R 738; LG 230)
93b. warm	<i>šunjt</i>	<i>šonjd</i>	<i>šonjt</i>	Perm *šonjt < FP *šonз (R 787) or *ššñe- (LG 322); cf. #80: sun
93c. warm		<i>pim</i>		U *päwe (R 366); cf. Kh <i>päm</i> id. (Hu <i>fény</i> light, lightning quoted in LG 236 does not belong here, see R 367)
94. water	<i>vu</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>va</i>	U *wete (R 570) = FU *weti    Sm *wit < U *weti (S 541)

## Was there a Volgaic unity within Finno-Ugric?

Gloss	Udmurt	Komi Zyr.	Komi Per.	Etymology
95. we	<i>mi</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>mi</i>	U * <i>mš</i> (R 294-95; LG 171)
96. what	<i>ma</i>	<i>mij</i>	<i>mij</i>	U * <i>mз</i> (R 296; LG 181)
97a. white	<i>təđi/tödĭ</i>			
97b. white		<i>ješĭd</i>		(L 219)
97c. white			<i>čočkom</i>	cf. Saami N <i>čæskis niveus</i> , <i>čæskat</i> albescere (LG 310; Affr 132)
98. who	<i>kin/kiñ</i>	<i>kin, kod(i)</i>	<i>kin</i>	U * <i>ke/*ki</i> (R 140-41)
99. woman	<i>nĭlkjšno</i>	<i>nĭybaba</i>		U * <i>nejde</i> (R 302; LG 196)
			<i>jiñka</i>	cf. <i>jiñ-</i> female (LG 109)
100a. yellow	<i>ťšuž</i>	<i>čĭž</i>		Perm * <i>čūž</i> (LG 305) < Md-Perm * <i>čoša</i> (R 621-22)
100b. yellow		<i>vež, viž</i>	<i>vež</i>	FP * <i>wiša</i> (R 823-24; LG 49); cf. #35 green
100c. yellow		<i>čal</i>		Cf. Mari <i>čal</i> grey < Chuv <i>čal</i> желтизна, седина (LG 200)

**Abbreviations:** BF (Balto-)Finnic, Chuv Chuvash, E Erzya, Est Estonian, Fi Finnish, FP Finno-Permic, FV Finno-Volgaic, Hu Hungarian, Iran Iranian, Kh Khanty, M Moksha, Md Mordvinian, N North, OI Old Indic, Perm Permic, Rus Russian, Sm Samoyedic, Sogd Sogdian, Tat Tatar, U Uralic, Udm Udmurt, VP Volga-Permic, Yaghn Yaghnobi.

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## Appendix 5: Ugric word-lists and etymologies

Gloss	Hungarian	Mansi		Khanty		Etymological remarks
		North	East: Konda	South: K (+ DN)	East: Vy (+ S, V, Y)	
1a. all	<i>mind(en)</i>					H <i>mi</i> what < U * <i>m3</i> (R 296)
1g.		<i>sōχ</i>	<i>soχ, sokh</i>			(Mu 553)
1h.		<i>pusén</i>	<i>pōsén</i>			M N <i>pus</i> , K <i>pōs</i> gesund, heil, ganz (Mu 484)
1i.		<i>jěmt-ke</i>				(Mu 153)
1l.		<i>akwäŋʷ</i>				<i>akw</i> one (Mu 30)
1m.					Y <i>əjɲám</i>	<i>əj</i> one (P 21)
1n.				<i>pərtā, patlā</i>		< Tat. <i>bərdā</i> (P 179)
2a. ashes	<i>hamu</i>	<i>χulēm</i>	<i>khulēm</i>	<i>χōiəm</i>		FU * <i>kuδʷm3</i> (R 194)
2b.					<i>pär, Y (näj-)pär</i>	: <i>näj</i> fire (P 171)
2c.					Y <i>(näj-)rew</i>	<i>rew</i> zerstückeln (P 201)
2d.				<i>tüm</i>		cf. Bolčarovo <i>lüm</i> (P 267)
3ae. bark	<i>kéreg</i>	<i>χar; kēr</i>		<i>kār</i>	<i>kār</i>	FU * <i>kere</i> (R 148-49); Mu 210
3b.	<i>héj</i>					FU * <i>koja</i> bark/skin (R 166)
3c.		<i>sāw</i>	<i>sāu</i>	<i>soχ</i> (+ Fell)	( <i>söy</i> Fell)	FU * <i>šuka</i> (R 488; P 220)
3a.		<i>χurp</i>	<i>khurép</i>			FU * <i>kōre</i> (R 184; Mu 129)
3f.		<i>sām</i>	<i>sōm</i>		( <i>sam</i> Schup- pe)	FU/U * <i>sōme</i> (R 476; Mu 523)
4a. belly	<i>has</i>					FU * <i>kač3</i> (R 114)
4b.				<i>χon</i>	<i>kōŋ</i>	FU * <i>kun3</i> (R 208; P 56)
4c.		<i>kaxēr</i>	<i>kaxr</i>			(Mu 187)
4d.			<i>mokh</i>			N <i>mok</i> Kind (Mu 410)
4e.		<i>puki</i>			( <i>pōki</i> Kropf)	FU * <i>pikkä</i> /* <i>päkkä</i> (R 379; Mu 472)
4f.		<i>sōriy</i>				(Mu 562)
5a. big	<i>nagy</i>					FU * <i>nsńć3</i> strong (R 310)
5b.		<i>jāniy</i>	<i>jāni</i>	<i>ē-n3</i>	( <i>eŋə</i> dick)	U * <i>enā</i> (R 74-75; P 17; Mu 146)
5c.		<i>kapaj</i>	<i>kāpi</i>			(Mu 192)
5d.			<i>šāpēr</i>			(Mu 600)

Was there a Volgaic unity within Finno-Ugric?

Gloss	Hungarian	Mansi		Khanty		Etymological remarks
		North	East: Konda	South: K (+ DN)	East: Vy (+ S, V, Y)	
5e.				<i>t/Ló-wà-ttá</i>		(P 263)
5f.					<i>əʃə</i>	
6a. bird	<i>madár</i>					B 919: unbek. Urspr.
6b.		<i>tâulij-uj</i>	<i>tâulêj-vuj</i>			geflügelt Tier (Mu 668, 689)
7a. bite	<i>harap</i>					FU * <i>kará</i> / * <i>korá</i> (R 129)
7b.	<i>mar</i>					U * <i>mura</i> Stück; zerbrechen (R 288)
7c.	<i>csíp</i>					FU * <i>cšppá</i> (R 49)
7d.		<i>χâméspi</i>				(Mu 102)
7e.		<i>puri</i>	<i>p̄ri</i>	<i>porôm</i>	Y <i>porrəm</i>	U * <i>pure-</i> (R 405; P 189; Mu 483)
7f.		(towt-chew)		DN <i>toχət-+ chew</i>	<i>joyâlta</i>	U * <i>soske-</i> (R 448-49)
7g.		<i>sasyi</i>	<i>säs̄yi</i>			(Mu 533) < Komi <i>sęski-</i> chew
7h.				<i>ńonχrəm</i>	Y <i>juŋkrəm</i>	cf. Fi <i>nakerta-</i> (P 153, 48)
7i.		<i>tâumi</i>		<i>toχməm</i>	Y <i>tawməm</i>	OUG * <i>tōγəm-</i> (LH #625; P 257; Mu 669)
8a. black	<i>fekete</i>	<i>piti</i> < Kh		<i>pəytá</i>	<i>pəytá</i> , Y °ə	Ug * <i>pškká-ttá</i> (R 882; Mu 444)
8b.		<i>ēlāŋ</i>				(Mu 65)
8c.		<i>sēmēl</i>	<i>sēmēl</i>			FU * <i>simá</i> (R 758; Mu 541)
8d.		<i>šoräs</i>				(Mu 601)
9a. blood	<i>vér</i>	<i>w̄ir</i>	<i>w̄ir</i>	<i>wər</i>	<i>wər</i>	FU * <i>wire</i> (R 576)
9b.		<i>kēlp</i>	<i>kēlp</i>			U * <i>kälá</i> (R 134; Mu 204: + rot)
9c.		<i>nērp</i>				(Mu 338: also „color”)
9d.				<i>táj</i>		U * <i>säje</i> Eiter (R 434; P 236)
10a. bone	<i>csont</i>					FU * <i>čutte</i> Knöchelbein (R 45)
10b.		<i>lu(w)</i>	<i>l̄o</i>	<i>tów</i>	<i>löy</i> , Y <i>Low'</i>	U * <i>luwe</i> (R 254-55; P 263)
11a. breast	<i>mell</i>	<i>māyl</i>	<i>māul</i>	<i>mēyat</i>	<i>möyäl</i> Y <i>māwwäl</i>	FU * <i>mälye</i> (R 267)
11b.	<i>kebel</i>					B 716: unbek. Urspr (AD1186: .PN <i>Keleb?</i> ; 1230 <i>kebeil</i> )

Gloss	Hungarian	Mansi		Khanty		Etymological remarks
		North	East: Konda	South: K (+ DN)	East: Vy (+ S, V, Y)	
11c.		<i>šakw ~ šäkww</i>	<i>šäkww</i>			(Mu 585)
12a. burn	<i>ég, éget</i>					FU * <i>äh3-</i> (R 26)
12b.		<i>isti</i>				FU * <i>šč3-</i> (R 592; Mu 137)
12c.		<i>jāswé</i>	<i>jāsau</i>			(Mu 179; intr. : N <i>jāsi</i> intr.)
12c.		<i>kwoterti kwošér- tawé</i>		<i>kõtər- tə-m</i>		(P 92; Mu 242, 740)
12d.		<i>šäriti</i>	<i>säriti</i>			FU * <i>čärke-</i> (R 32-33; Mu 589)
12e.		<i>vort(ti)</i>				(Mu 737)
12f.				<i>sačəm</i>		(P 207)
12g.				<i>täptəm</i>	Y <i>Liptəm</i>	(P 239)
13a. claw	<i>karom</i>					?cf. <i>köröm</i> nail (R 175; U * <i>komVrV</i> hohle Hand; R 677: FP <i>kurmV</i> Handvoll)
13b.		<i>kwons</i>	<i>kwäns</i>	<i>kóntš</i>	<i>kõñč</i>	U * <i>künče</i> (R 157; P 89; Mu 239)
13c.				<i>pänktə</i>		Huf, Klaue (P 171)
14a. cloud	<i>felhő</i>			pl. <i>pətyət</i>	<i>pələŋ</i> Y <i>pəlləŋ</i>	FU * <i>pilwe</i> (R 381)
14b.		<i>tul</i>	<i>təl</i>			(Mu 675); cf. FP * <i>tule</i> wind (R 800)
15a. cold	<i>hideg</i>					B 557: ? (AD1138 ON <i>Hedegcut</i> )
15b.		<i>ašerəm</i>	<i>ašerəm</i>			(Mu 53)
15c.		<i>pöləm</i>	<i>pöləm</i>			FU * <i>pala</i> (R 352; Mu 451)
15d.					Y <i>iáyli</i>	FU * <i>jákšə</i> (R 90; P 31)
15e.				<i>ətək</i>	<i>ətəγ</i>	(P 22)
16a. come	<i>jön</i>	<i>jiw</i>	<i>jiw,</i> imp. <i>jixw</i>	<i>iəwə-m</i>		FU * <i>jšyV</i> /* <i>jšyV</i> (R 109)
16b.		<i>joxtéli</i>		<i>ioxtəm</i>		Ug * <i>juktə-</i> (R 851; P 41; Mu 164)
16c.		<i>jēmti</i>	<i>jēmti</i>		<i>jöntä</i>	(Mu 154)
16d.		<i>kwāli</i>	<i>kwali</i>			(Mu 228: + „gehen”); cf. #92



Was there a Volgaic unity within Finno-Ugric?

Gloss	Hungarian	Mansi		Khanty		Etymological remarks
		North	East: Konda	South: K (+ DN)	East: Vy (+ S, V, Y)	
17a. die	<i>hal</i>	<i>χōli</i>	<i>khōli</i>		<i>kōlata</i>	U *kola (R 173)
17b.				<i>pōsəm</i>		cf. M (is-)pīsuls (P 179)
17c.		<i>sori-māli</i> , cf. <i>sorēm</i> death		<i>sarəm</i>		(P 209), FU *šurema death : *šure- to die (R 489-90)
17d.					<i>tewərsäy jəntä</i>	<i>tewər</i> Splitter
18a. dog	<i>kutya</i>					B 855; MansiN <i>kūtūw</i> , Komi <i>kičan</i> , Est <i>kutsikas</i> (onom.?): Sasse 1993, 351-52; Abaev I, 605: all from Iran *kuti- > Sogd 'kwty, Yaghn <i>kud</i> , <i>kut</i> , Ossetic pl. <i>kwitae</i>
18b.		<i>āmp</i>	<i>oāmp</i>	<i>āmp</i>	<i>ämp</i>	Ug *āmp₃ (R 836; P 11; Mu 38)
19a. drink	<i>i-szik</i>	<i>aji</i>	<i>äji</i>	<i>jäjtə-m</i>	S <i>jindem</i>	FU *juyə-/ *juke- (R 103)
20. dry	<i>száraz</i>	<i>sūr</i>	<i>šur</i>			FU *šar₃ (R 466)
20b.		<i>tōsam</i>	<i>tōsəm</i>	<i>sasəm</i>	V <i>sos-</i>	(P 210) Ug *θas₃- (R 844)
21. ear	<i>fül</i>	<i>pał</i>	<i>pāl</i>	<i>pət</i>	<i>pəl</i> , Y <i>pəL</i>	FU *peljä (R 371)
22a. earth	<i>föld</i>					< Gothic?/Gepidic? (G 451)
22b. earth	<i>talaj</i>					B 1472: <i>talp</i> Fusssohle
22c.		<i>mā</i>	<i>mō</i>	<i>məy</i>	<i>məy</i>	U *māye (R 263)
23. eat	<i>ēv-, ē-(sz-ik)</i>	<i>tēy</i>	<i>tēiy</i>	<i>tēwəm</i>	<i>i-ntä</i> , V <i>li-</i>	FU *sewe-/ *seye- (R 440)
24a. egg	<i>tojás</i>					<i>toj-</i> Eier legen < ?U *toye- geben (R 529)
24b.		<i>muŋi</i>	<i>moŋ</i>			U *muna (R 285; Mu 320; 312: N <i>mōn</i> , K <i>mān</i> Hode)
24c.				<i>kārə-mo-χ</i>		(P 73), cf. <i>mox</i> , Y <i>mok</i> child,
24d.					Y <i>Lokkŋ-mok</i>	(P 113, 127), M <i>moxi</i> Sprössling
25. eye	<i>szēm</i>	<i>sam</i>	<i>sām</i>	<i>sem</i>	<i>sem</i> , Y <i>sām</i>	U *šilmä (R 479)
26a. fat n.	<i>háj</i>					U *kuje (R 195)
26b.	<i>faggyú</i> Talg			<i>puł</i>	<i>polł</i> , Y <i>poLł</i>	Ug *pslč₃ (R 881)
26c.	<i>zsír</i>					< Slk. <i>žir</i> Fett, Schmer
26d.		<i>vōj</i>	<i>vuoj</i>		<i>woj</i>	FU *woje (R 578)

Gloss	Hungarian	Mansi		Khanty		Etymological remarks
		North	East: Konda	South: K (+ DN)	East: Vy (+ S, V, Y)	
27a. feather	<i>toll</i>	<i>tâul</i>	<i>tâul</i>	<i>toχ̣ət</i>	<i>töyəl</i> Y <i>towwəl</i>	U * <i>tulka</i> (R 535)
27b. feather				<i>ńōrə</i>		(P 154)
27c. feather		<i>pun</i>	<i>pən ~ pun</i>		<i>pun</i>	cf. #36
28a. fire	<i>tűz</i>		<i>tâut</i>	<i>tüt</i>	<i>töyət</i> Y <i>tə,wwət</i>	Ug * <i>tüyə-tə</i> /* <i>tüwə-tə</i> (R 895)
28b.		<i>nāj</i>		<i>näj</i>		OUG * <i>nāj</i> (LH #423; P 134; Mu 326; cf. R 297)
28c.		<i>ulä</i>				(Mu 694)
29. fish	<i>hal</i>	<i>khul</i>	<i>khul</i>	<i>χuf</i>	<i>kul</i> , Y <i>kuL</i>	U * <i>kala</i> (R 119)
30a. fly v.	<i>repül</i>	<i>roplaxti</i>				FU * <i>ršppə</i> - (R 428; MU 503)
30b.	<i>száll</i>					B 1387: oldest „sich setzen“
30c.		<i>jäli</i>	<i>jäli</i>			Ug * <i>jälə</i> - (R 850; Mu 143); #92
30d.		<i>tjēli</i> <i>täulä-l</i>	<i>tējeli</i> <i>täulä-l</i>	<i>təytəm</i>	Y <i>Ləyləm</i> V <i>lēyəl-</i>	FU * <i>šülkə</i> (R 500; P 249; Mu 645)
30e.					<i>jajisälta</i>	
31a. foot	<i>láb</i>					U * <i>luwe</i> Knochen (R 254) or U * <i>lmpə</i> Fläche (der Hand, des Fusses) (R 255)
31b.		<i>laʷil</i>	<i>nəl, läjl-</i>			Ug * <i>lškə</i> (R 865; Mu 245)
31c.				<i>kór</i>	<i>kör</i>	(P 90)
32a. full	<i>teli</i>	<i>taʷil</i> <i>tēli vb.</i>	<i>taʷil / tayəl</i> <i>tēli vb.</i>	<i>tet</i>	<i>tel</i> Y <i>tälləL</i>	FU * <i>täwde</i> /* <i>tälkə</i> (R 518)
32b.		<i>man̄tiŋ</i>	<i>māntiŋ</i>			(Mu 300: + ganz, bis)
33a. give	<i>ad</i>					FU * <i>amta</i> (R 8)
33b.		<i>miy</i>	<i>měj(ʷ)</i>	<i>məjəm</i>	V <i>mě-</i>	U * <i>miye-</i> (P 124; R 275)
34a. good	<i>jó</i>	<i>jámés</i>	<i>jámés</i>	<i>jam</i>	<i>jəm</i>	Ug * <i>jomə</i> /* <i>jamə</i> (R 850) P 36: Mari <i>jem</i> vergnügen
34b.			<i>lōń</i>			(Mu 265: < Komi)
35a. green	<i>zöld</i>					B 1666: Alanic, cf. Ossetic <i>zældæ</i> grass
35b.		<i>ńār</i>	<i>ńoār</i>			(Mu 356: + fresh, raw, wet)
35c.				<i>wastə</i>		(P 287)

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Gloss	Hungarian	Mansi		Khanty		Etymological remarks
		North	East: Konda	South: K (+ DN)	East: Vy (+ S, V, Y)	
36a. hair	<i>szőr</i>					Ug *säy <sub>3</sub> -r <sub>3</sub> /*säkr <sub>3</sub> (R 886)
36b.	<i>haj</i>	<i>χāj</i>	<i>khōj</i>			Ug *kaj <sub>3</sub> (R 854)
36c.		<i>āt</i>	<i>ø:t</i>	DN <i>upət</i>	<i>awāt</i>	U *apte (R 14; Mu 56)
36d.		<i>pun</i>	<i>pøn</i>	<i>pün</i>	<i>pun</i>	FU *puna (R 402)
37a. hand	<i>kéz</i>	<i>kāt</i>	<i>kqät</i>	<i>ket</i>	<i>köt, Y kót</i>	FU *käte (R 140)
37b.		<i>jās</i>				(Mu 178: < Khanty)
38a. head	<i>fej, fő</i>	<i>puŋk</i>	<i>pāŋk</i>			U *päŋe (R 365)
38b.				<i>uχ</i>	<i>ɔγ, Y ow'</i>	U *uk <sub>3</sub> (R 542) (P 276: M äχ mountain)
38c.				<i>täj</i>	<i>Y toj'</i>	FU *tuδ' <i>ka</i> (R 533; P 250)
39a. hear	<i>hall</i>	<i>χāli ~ χōli</i>	<i>khōli</i>	<i>χūtōm</i>	<i>Y kullōm V kəl-</i>	FU *kule- (R 197)
39b.				<i>χunttə-m</i>		FU *kuntal <sub>3</sub> (R 207)
40. heart	<i>szív</i>	<i>sim</i>	<i>sēm</i>	<i>səm</i>	<i>səm</i>	U *süδä(-mV) (R 477)
41a. horn	<i>szarv</i>					FU *šorwa (R 486)
41b.	<i>kürt</i>					?
41c.		<i>ānt</i>	<i>ø:nt</i>	<i>ōŋət</i>	<i>ōŋāt</i>	U *aŋt <sub>3</sub> /*oŋt <sub>3</sub> (R 12)
42. I	<i>én</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>ām ~ om</i>	<i>mān</i>	<i>mā, Y mā</i>	U *mš (R 294)
43a. kill	<i>öl-</i>	<i>ali</i>	<i>äli</i>	<i>wētəm</i>	<i>Y walləm</i>	FU *wed <sub>3</sub> - (R 566-67; Mu 33)
43b.		<i>vayilti ~ välti</i>				(Mu 713)
44a. knee	<i>térd</i>					B 1506: O Bulg., cf. Chuv <i>čar</i>
44b.		<i>sāns</i>	<i>sānēs ~ sans</i>	<i>tšāntš</i>	<i>čāŋč</i>	U *šānč <sub>3</sub> (R 471)
45a. know	<i>tud</i>					*tumte- fühlen (R 536)
45b. know	<i>ismer</i>					B 626: unbekannte Urspr.; -r iterat.
45c.		<i>χāsi</i>	<i>khø:si</i>			FU *kač <sub>3</sub> -/*koč <sub>3</sub> - (R 114; Mu 88)
45d.		<i>vāj</i>	<i>vøj</i>	<i>ūjəm</i>	(V <i>wu-</i> see)	U *wəj <sub>3</sub> to see (R 588)
45e.					<i>onälttō</i>	
46. leaf	<i>levél</i>	<i>lāpēs lūptā</i>	<i>løptē ~ lāptē</i>	<i>līpət</i>	<i>līwāt Y løpət</i>	FU *lep <sub>3</sub> (R 259)

Gloss	Hungarian	Mansi		Khanty		Etymological remarks
		North	East: Konda	South: K (+ DN)	East: Vy (+ S, V, Y)	
47a. lie	<i>fek-</i>					FU (Perm-Ug) * <i>päkkä</i> -sitzen (R 361)
47b. lie	<i>hever</i>					B 555: unbek. Urspr.; -r iterat.
47c.		<i>χuji</i>	<i>khgji</i>	(Obdorsk: <i>χoj-</i> )		FU * <i>kujä</i> - (R 197; Mu 116: liegen, schlafen)
48d.				<i>panəm</i> legen	<i>pānta</i>	U * <i>pane-</i> legen (R 353)
48. liver	<i>máj</i>	<i>majt</i> ~ <i>mājt</i>	<i>mø:t</i>	<i>mūχōt</i>	<i>muγāl</i> Y muwL	U * <i>maksa</i> (R 264)
49a. long	<i>hosszú</i>	<i>χāsä</i>	<i>khwäisē</i>			U * <i>ko(n)čä</i> (R 180)
49b.		<i>palit</i>	<i>pält</i>			U * <i>piđe</i> (R 377; Mu 408)
49c.				<i>χow</i>	<i>koy</i> , Y <i>kow'</i>	FU * <i>kawka</i> (R 132)
50a. louse	<i>tetű</i>	<i>täkēm</i>	<i>tāχēm</i>	<i>tewtəm</i>	<i>töytəm</i>	FU * <i>täje</i> (R 515)
51a. man	<i>férfi, férj</i>					- <i>érj</i> < FU * <i>ürkä</i> (R 84)
51b.				<i>χuj</i>	<i>ku(j)</i> , Y <i>ko</i>	U * <i>koje</i> (R 166)
51c.		<i>χum</i>	<i>khqm</i>			U * <i>koj(e)-mä</i> (R 168; Mu 122: + Mensch)
52a. many	<i>sok</i>	<i>saw</i> ~ <i>sau</i>	<i>säu</i>			FU * <i>čukkä</i> /* <i>čokkä</i> thick (R 62)
52b.		(TJ <i>är</i> )		<i>är</i>	<i>är</i>	U * <i>erä</i> (R 75; P 13)
53a. meat	<i>hús</i>					B 590: ?Iran.: Yidgha <i>yuš</i> , <i>yüş</i> , Parachi <i>yüş</i> , Pashto <i>gwaša</i> , Khot <i>ggüštä-</i> , MPers <i>gōšt</i> (J 263-64)
53b.		<i>nāwēl'</i>	<i>noul</i> ~ <i>noul'</i>	<i>nōχō</i>	<i>nōγi</i>	(P 152; Mu 371)
53c.		<i>nōχi</i> < Kh				(Mu 364)
54a. moon	<i>hold</i>			( <i>χaw</i> month)		cf. <i>hó</i> month < U * <i>kunje</i> (R 211)
54b.				<i>tīlāš</i>		< Komi Zyry <i>teliš</i> , Udm <i>tolež</i> (P 253)
54c.		<i>jāñχēp</i>	<i>jōñkhēp</i>			Mu 173; 172: N <i>jāñχi</i> , K <i>jōñkhi</i> umgehen, sich umwandeln, 174: N <i>jāñχēpi</i> sich herumdrehen
54d.					<i>iki</i>	

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Gloss	Hungarian	Mansi		Khanty		Etymological remarks
		North	East: Konda	South: K (+ DN)	East: Vy (+ S, V, Y)	
55a. mountain	<i>hëgy</i>					FU <i>*kaća</i> end, tip (R 110)
55b.		<i>äχ</i>	<i>øχ</i>			U <i>*uk3</i> head (R 542; Mu 24); cf. #38
55c.		<i>ňār</i>	<i>ńor</i>			(Mu 368: + Ural; Stein)
55d.		<i>ur</i>	<i>vgr</i>			Ug <i>*ar3/*ur3</i> (R 833; Mu 701: + Gipfel, Wald)
55e.				<i>rep</i>	Y <i>rāp</i>	(P 201) < Indo-Iranian?
56a. mouth	<i>száj</i>	<i>sūp</i>				U <i>*śuwe</i> (R 492-93; Mu 578)
56b.				<i>tut</i>	<i>jul</i> , Y <i>LuL</i>	FU <i>*šule</i> (R 903)
56c.		<i>tūs</i>	<i>tus</i>			(Mu 685)
57. name	<i>név</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>nām</i>	<i>nem</i>	<i>nem</i> , Y <i>nām</i>	U <i>*nime</i> (R 305)
58a. neck	<i>nyak</i>					?U <i>*ńskkV</i> (R 328-29)
58b.	<i>torok</i> n., throat				( <i>tur</i> Kehle)	Ug <i>*tur3</i> (R 895)
58c.		<i>sip</i> , <i>sip-lu</i>	<i>sop-lø</i>	<i>sāpøt</i>	<i>sāwəl</i> Y <i>sāpəL</i>	FU <i>*šepä</i> (R 473)
59a. new	<i>új</i>					FU <i>*wuδ'e</i> (R 587)
59b.		<i>ilp ~ (j)</i> <i>ilpi</i> <i>lilpəl</i>	<i>jelpəl ~</i> <i>jä°</i>	<i>jätap</i>	<i>jələw</i> Y <i>jəlləp</i>	U <i>elä-</i> (R 73; P 38; Mu 135, 283; LH #190: OUG <i>*jiləp</i> )
60a. night	<i>éj(szaka)</i> , <i>éjjel</i>		<i>jè ~ ji</i>		<i>əj</i>	FU <i>*üje</i> (R 72; Mu 156)
60b.		<i>ēt</i>	<i>jət</i>	<i>ät</i>	( <i>ät</i> evening)	U <i>*jüt3</i> (R 99)
61a. nose	<i>orr</i>					FU/?U <i>*wöre</i> Berg (R 571)
61b.		<i>ńol ~</i> <i>ńāl</i>	<i>ńāl</i>	<i>ńat</i>	<i>ńöl</i> , Y <i>ńoL</i>	OUG <i>*ńäl/*ńöl</i> (LH #451; P 146; cf. R 875)
62a. not	<i>nëm</i>					FU (Perm-Ug) <i>*nä</i> (R 301: from U <i>*nä</i> this)
62b.		<i>ul</i>	<i>vəl</i>			(Mu 692)
62c.		<i>at, āfi</i>	<i>oāt, oāfi</i>	<i>əntā</i>	<i>əntə</i> , Y <i>əntə</i>	U <i>*e ~ *ä</i> (R 68-69; P 22; Mu 55, 58)
63a. one	<i>ëgy</i>			<i>eĭ</i>	<i>əj</i>	U <i>*e</i> this (R 67)
63b.		<i>akwa</i>	<i>äkwäy̆</i>			FU <i>*ükte</i> (Mu 29)
64a. person	<i>embër</i>					< U <i>*eme</i> Mutter, Weib + <i>-ër -</i> - see #51a: FU <i>*ürkä</i>
64b.		<i>χum</i>	<i>khəm</i>			U <i>*koj(e)-m3</i> (R 168; Mu 122: + Mensch)

Gloss	Hungarian	Mansi		Khanty		Etymological remarks
		North	East: Konda	South: K (+ DN)	East: Vy (+ S, V, Y)	
64c.		<i>χar</i>	<i>khâr</i>			(Mu 80: + etwas; Wesen)
64d.		<i>χãlès</i>	<i>khól(é)s</i>			(Mu 98: + jemand)
64e.				<i>χaiã-t</i>		(P 44: Kh + M <i>khól(é)s</i> ); but cf. EKh <i>χoiã</i> & <i>χoi-te-n</i> wer
65f.				<i>ãtã-mã</i>		< Tk <i>adam</i> < Arab (P 15: FUF II, 1902, 114)
65g.					<i>kãsj</i>	
64h.				<i>iaχ</i>	pl. <i>jay</i> , Y <i>jay</i>	cf. Mari <i>jeŋ</i>
64i.	<i>fő</i> p. = person	head				B 367
64j.	<i>személy</i>	person				B 1412: also “face”, from <i>szëm</i> eye
65a. rain n.	<i>eső</i>					U * <i>ećV-</i> fallen (R 71)
65b.		<i>rakw</i>	<i>rãχw</i>			(Mu 491)
65c.				<i>jom</i>		(P 41)
65d.				<i>iert</i>		(LH #208: OUG * <i>jirt</i> ; P 34: Mari <i>jür</i> )
65e.					<i>lãwãt'</i>	
66a. red	<i>vörös</i> , <i>vörös</i>	<i>vijyr</i> ~ <i>vj̄r</i>	<i>vj̄r</i>	<i>wãrtã</i>	<i>wãrtã</i> Y <i>wãrtã</i>	from FU * <i>wire</i> blood (R 576) (P 296; Mu 726: + Blut)
66b.	<i>piros</i>					B 1164-65: cf. <i>pirít</i> beschä- men, rösten, rot färben, (onom. or from Slavic <i>pyriti</i> to blush)
66c.		<i>kēlp</i>	<i>kēlp</i>			(Mu 204: + Blut)
66d.		<i>nērp</i>				(Mu 338: Farbe; Blut)
67a. road	<i>út</i>					U * <i>utka</i> (R 546)
67b.		<i>lãŋχ</i>	<i>lõŋkh</i>	DN <i>lok</i>	<i>l̄j̄k</i>	(LH #773; Mu 284)
67c.				<i>pãnt</i>		(P 177-78: M <i>patim</i> ) < II
68a. root	<i>gyökér</i>					Ug * <i>j̄kkkã-rã</i> (R 852; not related with FP * <i>jure</i> (R 852)
68b.		( <i>poréχ</i> Rumpf)	<i>pãrëkh</i>			(Mu 457)
68c.		<i>tãr</i>	<i>toãr</i>	<i>ter</i>		FU * <i>sãrã</i> (R 437; LH #155: * <i>θër</i> ; P 242)
68d.				<i>turt</i>	<i>jor</i> , Y <i>Lort</i>	(LH #157: * <i>θör</i> ; P 266; s-Laute 87; R 785)

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Gloss	Hungarian	Mansi		Khanty		Etymological remarks
		North	East: Konda	South: K (+ DN)	East: Vy (+ S, V, Y)	
69a. round	<i>kerek</i>					FU * <i>kerä</i> (R 147)
69b.	<i>gömbölyű</i>					back formation from <i>gombolyag</i> Kugel; (kugel) rund; cf. <i>gomb</i> Knopf, Kugel (B 466-67)
69c.		<i>jēnta</i> < Kh		<i>jaŋtä</i>		(P 31)
69d.		<i>lākwēŋ</i>				(Mu 247; 246: N <i>lākw</i> , K <i>lāχw</i> Kreis, Rundheit)
69e.		<i>pūyér</i> ~ <i>po°</i>	<i>pāwér</i>			FU * <i>pēnerä</i> (R 372; Mu 469)
69f.					Y <i>kəmrək</i>	(P 89)
69g.		<i>marawi</i>	<i>märwé</i>			(Mu 301)
70a. sand	<i>homok</i>					< Tk., cf. Chagat <i>qumaq</i> (B 572)
70b.	<i>fövény</i>					B 420: unbek. Urspr.
70c.		<i>jēm</i>	<i>jēm</i>			(Mu 153)
70d.		<i>χis</i> < Kh				(Mu 90)
70e.				<i>pān</i>		(P 170)
70f.		<i>sēi</i> ~ <i>sei</i>			Y <i>səi'</i>	(P 170; Mu 539: + Schlamm)
70g.			<i>sér</i>			(Mu 550)
70h.				<i>saŋχə</i>	Y <i>saŋχi</i>	(P 208)
71a. say	<i>mond</i>					U * <i>monV</i> (R 290-91)
71b.		<i>lātti</i>	<i>loātti</i>			(Mu 253: N <i>lātin</i> Wort, Rede)
71c.		<i>lāwi</i>	<i>lāwi</i> , inf. <i>lāuχ</i>			(LH #770; Mu 254)
71d.		<i>lāyi</i>				(LH #771; Mu 279: N <i>lā(ŋ)χ</i> , K <i>lāχ</i> Wort)
71e.				<i>jästə'm</i>	<i>jäsŋəltä</i>	(P 32: <i>iäsəŋ</i> Rede)
71f.		( <i>miryi</i> brüllen)	( <i>märyi</i> id.)	<i>neryəm</i>		(P 138: M <i>mārgə-</i> )
71g.				<i>noχməm</i>	Y <i>ńawməm</i>	(P 153)
71h.					<i>töləyta</i>	
72a. see	<i>lát</i>					U (Hu+S <sub>m</sub> ) * <i>lsttV-</i> (R 257)
72b.	<i>néz</i>					FU * <i>näke-</i> (R 302)

Gloss	Hungarian	Mansi		Khanty		Etymological remarks
		North	East: Konda	South: K (+ DN)	East: Vy (+ S, V, Y)	
72c.		χǎnti	khōnti			U *kunta (R 207; Mu 104)
72d.				ettī-təm		FU *itā (R 85; P 20)
72e.					Y Leələm	(P 113; Hu les to lurk for?)
72f.		vā'j	vɔj	ūjəm	Y uīəm (+ wissen)	U *wšjə to see (R 588) (P 276; Mu 711); cf. #45
73a. seed	mag					FU *munjV Körper (R 286) but cf. Ossetic!
73b.			toājəm			(Mu 617)
73c.			khomér			(Mu 102)
73d.		ūrlax	vorlɛx			(Mu 704: < Tat)
73e. seed				jem		(P 33; JSFOu 34.3, 5; cf. R 634)
73f.					Y panpət	(P 165)
74a. sit	ül					R 434-5 rejects the relation to U *säle- sich setzen
74b.				panəm (= 47)		U *pane- legen (R 353; P 165)
74c.		ūnli	vɔnli	omtəm Y ømləm	amātta	(P 158; Mu 695: sitzen; LH #729)
75a. skin	bőr					U *perV Haut, Rinde (R 374)
75b.				kār		U *kere (R 148-49; P 73: M kerep Schale); cf. #3
75c.		sāw	sāu ~ səu	soχ	söy Y sow'	FU *šuka (R 488; P 220; Mu 568: + fell) = #3
76a. sleep	al-			atəm	Y olləm, V äla-	FU *oda- (R 334; P 5)
76b.	hál					FU *kalV- übernachten (R 120-21)
76c.		χuji	kh(w)ɔji	(Ob- dorsk: χoj-)		FU *kujə- (R 197; Mu 116: + liegen; cf. #47)
77a. small	kicsi(ny)					< OBulg, cf. Chuv kəšən klein, jung, Kirgiz kičigine id. < *kičig-kine (B 749)
77b.	apró					< Tk.: Kašy oprak allmäh- lich < *oprā- zerstückeln (B 43)
		lai ~ laj	läi			Ug *lsjə (R 864; Mu 246)
		māń				(Mu 299)



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		North	East: Konda	South: K (+ DN)	East: Vy (+ S, V, Y)	
77c.		<i>aj</i> < Kh		<i>áj</i>	<i>äj</i>	Ug * <i>áj</i> (R 835)
77d.				<i>ńāχăt</i>		(P 143: + low, short)
77e.			<i>viś</i>	<i>wát</i>		Ug * <i>wā(ń)ć</i> (R 899; P 289; Mu 745; cf. Fi <i>vähä</i> < FV * <i>wäsä</i> - R 818)
77f.					<i>őkəm</i>	
77g.					<i>werəŋ</i>	
78a. smoke n.	<i>füst</i>	<i>posim</i>	<i>pásém</i>			Ug * <i>pićə</i> /* <i>pićə</i> (R 879; Mu 465)
78b.					Y <i>Ləpət</i>	(P 113)
78c.				<i>tšaxi-m</i>		(P 269: Komi <i>tšyn</i> , Udm <i>šyn</i> < FU * <i>čün</i> - R 59 with other OÜg cognates)
79a. stand	<i>áll</i>					FU * <i>salkə</i> - (R 431)
79b.		<i>lālī</i>		<i>tőtəm</i>	Y <i>Lulləm</i>	(P 102; FUF 8, 71; Beitr. 46)
79c.			<i>tuńśi</i>			FU * <i>saŋća</i> - (R 431; Mu 680)
80a. star	<i>csillag</i>					<i>csillog</i> glanzten < FU * <i>čslkV-</i> / * <i>čšlkV-</i> (R 46)
80b.		<i>sāv</i>	<i>sāu</i>			(Mu 567)
80c.		(TJ <i>kōńś</i> )		<i>χus</i>	<i>kos</i> , Y <i>kos</i>	U * <i>kuńć</i> (R 210-11; P 67)
81b. stone	<i>kő</i>	<i>kaw</i>	<i>kāu</i> ~ <i>kāw</i>	<i>kew</i>	<i>köy</i> , Y <i>kāw'</i>	* <i>kiwe</i> (R 163)
82a. sun	<i>nap</i> s., day					B 1015: unbek. Urspr.
82b.		<i>χā tāl</i>	<i>khotəl</i>	<i>χat</i>	<i>kotəl</i> , Y <i>katL</i>	U * <i>koje</i> (R 167; P 49)
82c.		<i>nāj</i>				(Mu 324: + Feuer)
82d.					<i>sünk</i>	
83a. swim	<i>úsz-ik</i>	<i>uji</i>	<i>vuji</i>	<i>ütəm</i>		U * <i>uje-/oje-</i> (R 543)
83b.		<i>nāti</i>	<i>nə:ti</i>	<i>nopət-</i>		OÜg * <i>nīpət-</i> (LH #434; Mu 332)
83c.		<i>χīuli</i> ~ <i>χīwli</i>				FU * <i>kupla</i> (R 212-13; Mu 91)
83d.					<i>ńorəyta</i> Y <i>ńaryəm</i>	(P 145)

Gloss	Hungarian	Mansi		Khanty		Etymological remarks
		North	East: Konda	South: K (+ DN)	East: Vy (+ S, V, Y)	
84a. tail	<i>far(o)k</i>					<i>far</i> Hintertail < U * <i>pur</i> V (R 407)
84b.		<i>kōk</i>				(Mu 218: + Vögelein; cf. R 172)
84c.		<i>l̄ē'i</i>		<i>təy</i>	<i>ləy, Y Ləy'</i>	(P 249; Mu 256)
84d.					<i>mäsəy</i> Y <i>messəy</i>	U * <i>māñč́</i> (R 268; P 123)
85a. that	<i>az(on); amaz</i>					U * <i>o</i> /* <i>u</i> (R 332)
85b. that	<i>ő</i>					FU * <i>sš</i> (R 453)
85c.		<i>ta ton</i>	<i>tə ton, tăt</i>	<i>tām</i>	V <i>tim</i> , Vy <i>temi</i>	U * <i>tā</i> /* <i>te</i> /* <i>ti</i> (R 513-14; Mu 608, 649; 654, 664; P 237)
85d.		<i>ań-ta</i>				(Mu 40)
85e.				<i>tə w</i>	Y <i>tū</i>	U * <i>čé</i> / <i>či</i> (R 33-34; P 100-01)
86a. this	<i>ez; az; emez</i>					U * <i>e</i> (R 67)
86b.		<i>ań-ti</i>	<i>äń-té</i>			(Mu 40)
86c.		<i>aj-té</i>	<i>äj-té</i>			(Mu 25)
86d.					V <i>tít</i> , Y <i>tí</i>	U * <i>čé</i> / * <i>či</i> (R 33-34; P 101)
87a. thou	<i>tě</i>					U * <i>tš</i> (R 539)
87b.		<i>naŋ</i>	<i>näŋ<sup>(v)</sup></i>	<i>nōŋ</i>	<i>nōŋ</i>	OÜg * <i>näy</i> /* <i>něy</i> (LH #423; P 141; Mu 328)
88a. tongue	<i>nyelv</i>	<i>ńelm</i>	<i>ńilēm</i>		<i>ńäləm</i>	FU * <i>ńälmä</i> (R 313; Mu 360)
88b.				<i>ket</i>	Y <i>kōL</i> ( <i>kōl</i> speech, language)	U * <i>kēle</i> (R 144; P 78)
89. tooth	<i>fog</i>	<i>puŋk</i>	<i>pāŋk</i>	<i>peŋk</i>	<i>pōŋk</i> Y <i>paŋ<sub>o</sub>k<sub>o</sub></i>	FU * <i>piŋe</i> (R 382)
90a. tree	<i>fa</i>	(- <i>pä</i> in comp.)				U * <i>puwe</i> (R 410)
90b.		<i>jiw</i>	<i>jiw</i>	<i>juχ</i>	<i>juy</i> , Y <i>juw'</i>	U * <i>juw3</i> (R 107; P 42)
91. two	<i>kettő, két</i>	<i>kit</i>	<i>kit</i>	<i>kātən</i>	<i>kāt</i> , Y <i>kātəŋ</i>	U * <i>kakta</i> / * <i>käktä</i> (R 118)

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Gloss	Hungarian	Mansi		Khanty		Etymological remarks
		North	East: Konda	South: K (+ DN)	East: Vy (+ S, V, Y)	
92a. walk	<i>jár</i>					FU * <i>ʃor3</i> - rollen / * <i>ʃork3</i> drehen (R 102)
92b.		<i>jäli</i>	<i>jäli</i>		V, Vy <i>jël-</i>	Ug * <i>jäl3</i> - (R 850; Mu 143)
92c.		<i>jãmi</i>	<i>jõmi</i>			U * <i>jom3</i> - (R 100; Mu 171)
92d.		<i>kwali</i>	<i>kwãli/ kwali</i>			FU * <i>kälã-</i> (R 133; Mu 228)
92e.	<i>mën-</i>	<i>mini</i>	<i>mëni</i>	<i>mənəm</i>	Y <i>männəm</i>	U * <i>mene-</i> (R 272)
92f.				<i>jaŋχəm</i>	Y <i>jaŋk<sub>2</sub>əm</i>	(P 28; Beitr. 292)
92g.				<i>tšütšəm</i>	Y <i>suttšəm</i>	U * <i>ča(n)č3</i> (R 53; P 276; Beitr. 123, 130)
92h.	<i>gyalogol</i>					<i>gyalog</i> zu Fuss gehend < FU * <i>jalka</i> „Fuss, Bein“ (R 88-89)
93a. warm	<i>forró</i>					<i>forr-</i> sieden, kochen < U * <i>psrk/ʃ3</i> - drehen (R 414; G 410; B 412)
93b.	<i>meleg</i>	<i>mältip ~ maltip</i>	<i>moältép ~ maltép</i>	<i>mēlək</i>	Y <i>mälləŋk</i>	Ug * <i>mäl3</i> (R 868) (P 120; Mu 295)
93c.		<i>isëm</i>	<i>èsëm</i>			FU * <i>šč3-</i> (R 592; Mu 137), cf. #12
93d.		<i>rëvi</i>	<i>rèv'</i>			U * <i>ren/k3</i> (R 423; Mu 497)
93e.				<i>χötšəm</i>	Y <i>kättšəm</i> v. <i>kačča</i>	FU * <i>kač3</i> (R 114; P 63)
93f.				<i>ńāmək</i>	Y <i>ńāmək</i>	FU * <i>ńām3</i> weak (R 314; P 147)
93g.					<i>koŋək, Y kani</i>	(P 71)
93h.					<i>pəməŋ</i>	< Komi <i>pim</i> (R 366)
94a. water	<i>víz</i>	<i>vit</i>	<i>viť</i>	<i>wot</i>		U * <i>wete</i> (R 570; P 300)
94b.				<i>jaŋk</i>	<i>jaŋk, Y jaŋk</i>	FU * <i>jäŋe</i> ice (R 92; P 36)
95. we	<i>mi</i>	<i>man ~ mãn</i>	<i>mãn</i>	DN <i>mõŋ</i>	<i>məŋ, V mẽŋ</i>	U * <i>mš</i> (R 294; LH #399)
96a. what	<i>mi</i>	<i>man</i>		<i>mətã</i>	<i>mõyi</i>	U * <i>m3</i> (R 296)
96b.			<i>nãr</i>			(Mu 330)
96c.				<i>χot3</i>		U * <i>ku-/*ko-</i> (R 191)

Gloss	Hungarian	Mansi		Khanty		Etymological remarks
		North	East: Konda	South: K (+ DN)	East: Vy (+ S, V, Y)	
97a. white	<i>fehér, d. fejér</i>					FU * <i>pāj</i> <sub>3</sub> weiss; glänzem (R 360)
97b.				<i>nawwō</i>	<i>nāyi, Y newi</i>	(P 134)
97c.		<i>jāŋk</i>	<i>j(o)āŋk</i>			(Mu 148: + Eis)
97d.		<i>vojken</i>				(Mu 731)
97e.			<i>sājren</i>			(Mu 515)
98a. who	<i>ki(k)</i>	<i>χā</i>		<i>χoi</i> <sub>3</sub>	<i>Y koja(γ)</i> <sub>3</sub>	U * <i>ke/*ki</i> (R 140)
98b.			<i>khwān- nē</i>			(Mu 334: Kh <i>nē, ni</i> was < Tat)
99a. woman	<i>nő</i>	<i>nē</i>	<i>nē</i>	<i>neŋ</i>	<i>niŋ : ni</i> Weib <i>Y ne</i>	U * <i>niŋä</i> (R 305; P 137)
99b.	<i>asszony</i>	( <i>šān</i> Mutter Mu 855)				< Ossetic <i>aχsīn</i> Herrin, Fürstin < Alanic * <i>χšaiθni</i> (B 55; J 253)
99c.		<i>ēkwä</i>	<i>jēkw(é)</i>			FU * <i>ewkk</i> <sub>3</sub> (R 76; Mu 61)
100a. yellow	<i>sárga</i>					< OBulg * <i>šariŋ</i> gelb (B 1306)
100b.		<i>kasm</i>	<i>kāsēm</i>			(Mu 198; LH #222; cf. R 861)
100c. yellow					<i>Y wastə</i>	(P 287) yellow, green – cf. #35
100d. yellow				<i>wərki-m oχte-p</i>		cf. #66 (P 296)

**Abbreviations of languages:** Bulg Bulgarian, Chagat Chagatai, Chuv Chuvash, DN Upper Demyanka (Narygin), FU Finno-Ugric, Gmc Germanic, H Hungarian, II Indo-Iranian, Iran Iranian, Kašy Kašyari, Kh Khanty, Khot Khotanese, M Mansi, MPers Middle Persian, O Old, OUg Ob-Ugric, Sogd Sogdian, Tat Tatar, Tk Turkic, U Uralic, Ug Ugric, v. verb, V Vakh, Vy Vasyugan, Y Yugan, Yaghn. Yaghnobi.

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### Appendix 6: “Classical” and “recalibrated” glottochronology

o. The method called *glottochronology* represents an attempt to date the divergence of related languages in absolute chronology. Its author, Morris Swadesh, was inspired by the so-called radiocarbon method, used for dating organic remnants. Here we can reiterate the main steps in the deduction of the method. In the first place there was the discovery of the radiocarbon isotope  $C^{14}$ , existing in the atmosphere in the proportion  $1 : 10^{12}$  with the usual isotope  $C^{12}$ . Due to the food-chain this radioactive isotope occurs first in green plants and subsequently in the biological tissues of animals. After the death of any living organism the disintegration of the radioactive isotope takes place according to an exponential function. This exponential disintegration means that after a constant time period  $T$  (= half-time of disintegration) the concentration of the radioactive isotope is reduced by half, after  $2T$  by a quarter, etc. On the basis of this phenomenon, W.F. Libby developed the radiocarbon method (1947), serving to determine the age of organic remnants younger than 50 millennia. The method was recently defined with more precision (e.g. the change of the half-time from 5568 to 5730 years; correlation with dendrochronology, etc.), but its basic idea remains. Since M. Swadesh borrowed the mathematical apparatus from Libby, it is useful to repeat it here.

(1)  $\Delta N(t) = -\lambda \cdot N(t) \cdot \Delta t$  ... decrease  $\Delta N$  from  $N$  radioactive nuclei in the time interval  $\Delta t$ , where  $\lambda$  is a constant of proportion

(2)  $dN(t) = -\lambda \cdot N(t) \cdot dt$  ... approximation of discrete quantities by connected ones, allowing the integration

$$\int \frac{dN(t)}{N(t)} = \int -\lambda \cdot dt \quad \dots \text{leading to the solution}$$

$\ln N(t) = -\lambda \cdot t + C$ . After delogarithmization we reach  
 $N(t) = e^{-\lambda t + C} = e^{-\lambda t} \cdot e^C$ , where  $e^C = K$ . So we can write  
 $N(t) = K \cdot e^{-\lambda t}$ .

It remains to determine the function of the constant K. It is possible thanks to the initial conditions, i.e. in the time  $t = 0$ , when  $N(t) = N_0$ :

(3)  $N(t) = N_0 \cdot e^{-\lambda t}$ , where  $N_0$  represents the number of undisintegrated nuclei at the beginning of the process.

From the equation (3), which is a standard solution of the differential equation (2), we deduce the significance of the *half-time of disintegration* T, defined as the time interval, in which the number of the undisintegrated nuclei decrease in  $1/2$ :

$$(4) \quad N(T) = 1/2 N_0$$

$$1/2 N_0 = N_0 \cdot e^{-\lambda T}, \text{ after a reduction}$$

$$1/2 = e^{-\lambda T}, \text{ after logarithmization}$$

$$\ln 1/2 = -\lambda T, \text{ i.e. } \ln 2 = \lambda T, \text{ or}$$

$$(5) \quad T = \frac{\ln 2}{\lambda}$$

The half-time of disintegration of the radioactive isotope  $C^{14}$  was empirically established as 5730 years. This allows one to determine the value of the constant of disintegration  $\lambda$ .

For the purpose of practical calculations it is helpful to use the formula derived from the definition of the half-time of disintegration. If the number of the undisintegrated nuclei decreases by  $1/2$  after every time period T, we get:

$$(6) \quad N(t) = N_0 \cdot \left(\frac{1}{2}\right)^n,$$

where n means, how many periods T correspond with the age of the specimen. Hence

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$$\frac{N(t)}{N_0} = \left(\frac{1}{2}\right)^n, \text{ i.e. } \frac{N_0}{N(t)} = 2^n. \text{ Let us logarithmize it:}$$

$$\ln \frac{N_0}{N(t)} = \ln 2^n = n \cdot \ln 2 \text{ and we reach}$$

$$(7) n = \frac{\ln \frac{N_0}{N(t)}}{\ln 2}$$

From here we get the age of the specimen

$$(8) t = n \cdot T.$$

1. Around 1950 Libby's radiocarbon method inspired Morris Swadesh, an American anthropologist and specialist in Native American languages, to extend its application to the development of languages. His goal was the absolute dating of the time of divergence of related languages. Swadesh thought that the replacement of words in languages was determined by an exponential rule similar to the rate of disintegration of radioactive nuclei of isotope C<sup>14</sup>. To calculate the rate of this change he established a testing word-list, consisting first of 215, later of 200 semantic units, which had to be universal and immune from borrowing. Thanks to the cooperation of specialists in Sinology, Egyptology, Classical Philology and Romance and Germanic linguistics, he was able to determine the average constant of disintegration applied to one millennium, in 19.5% changes in the testing word-list; in other words, in the development of any given language an average of 80.5% of the units of the basic lexicon should be preserved during this period (see Swadesh 1952). Naturally, this is only true if the constant actually is universal. In 1955 Swadesh published a new study, reflecting the first critical reactions. He radically reduced and changed the testing word-list, now consisting of 100 semantic units. On the basis of the reduced "basic lexicon", the constant of disintegration was changed to 14% per millennium, i.e. 86% of the lexical units should be preserved in the development of one language after one millennium. The elementary postulates may be formulated as follows:

[1] In the lexicon of every natural language it is possible to identify a part which is more stable than others. This is commonly called the *basic lexicon*.

[2] It is possible to define a set of meanings expressed in every language by words from the *basic lexicon*. This can be designated the *basic testing list* (BTL). The symbol  $N_0$  will signify the number of distinct meanings included in the list.

[3] The share  $r$  of words from the basic testing list preserved after a constant period  $\Delta t$  is constant; in other words, it depends only on the length of the time interval, not on the specific language or choice of words.

[4] All words representing the basic testing list have an equal chance of being preserved during the same time interval.

[5] The probability of any unit from the basic testing list being preserved does not depend on the probability of the corresponding unit being preserved in the basic testing list of any other language.

To calculate the time elapsed between the existence of two languages A and B, where B is a descendant of A, Swadesh used the mathematical apparatus from the radiocarbon method. He began with equation (3):

(9)  $N(t) = N_0 \cdot e^{-\lambda t}$ , where  $\lambda$  represents the analogy to the constant of disintegration in equation (3). This is defined exactly as the share of the words in the basic testing list which are replaced during one millennium. Hence:

$$(10) \quad \frac{N(t)}{N_0} = e^{-\lambda t}, \text{ or } \ln \frac{N(t)}{N_0} = -\lambda t. \text{ From here}$$

$$(11) \quad t = \frac{\ln \frac{N(t)}{N_0}}{-\lambda} \text{ or } \ln \frac{\ln c}{-\lambda}, \text{ where } c = \frac{N(t)}{N_0}.$$

If the share  $r$  from postulate (3) is also related to the period of one millennium, it will represent the constant which is complementary to  $\lambda$ , i.e.

$$(12) \quad r = 1 - \lambda.$$

For the decrease of the words from BTS per millennium the equation  $\Delta N = N_0 - N(t_1) = N_0 - N_0 \cdot e^{-\lambda \cdot 1} = N_0 (1 - e^{-\lambda})$  is valid. The same value must be reflected in the product  $N_0 \cdot \lambda$ . From the comparison  $1 - e^{-\lambda} = \lambda = 1 - r$  (see 11) we reach



$$(13) r = e^{-\lambda}.$$

The same result is accessible from a comparison of the right sides of the equations expressing the shares of the preserved words in the BTL per millennium:  $N = N_0 \cdot e^{-\lambda \cdot 1}$  &  $N = N_0 \cdot r$ .

Consequently it is possible to rewrite the equation (10) by means of (13) in the form

$$(14) c = r^t, \text{ where } t \text{ indicates the time in millennia.}$$

Regarding postulate (5), the share  $c_2$  of the preserved lexicon from the BTL in two related languages, i.e. languages that developed from a common protolanguage, is equal to the square of the share of the words preserved in the individual development:

$$(15) c_2 = (r^t)^2 = r^{2t}. \text{ Logarithmizing it, we express } t:$$

$$\ln c_2 = \ln r^{2t} = 2t \ln r. \text{ From this we get}$$

$$(16) t = \frac{\ln c_2}{2 \ln r}$$

or with respect to equation (13)

$$(17) t = \frac{\ln c_2}{-2\lambda},$$

where  $c_2$  means the share of commonly inherited pairs of words in BTL in both of the languages analyzed.

In the application of glottochronology the formulae (16) or (17) are used most frequently. To illustrate the practical procedure, let us estimate the time of divergence of German and French. In the BTL of both languages there are 33 pairs of commonly inherited words. Both lists are complete, which means that  $c_2 = 0.33$ . Applying this to equations (16) or (17), we reach the time of divergence in millennia:

$$(16) t = \frac{\ln 0,33}{2 \ln 0,86} = \frac{-1,10866}{-0,30164} = 3,675$$

It is more advantageous to calculate a rich set of data with a corresponding share of preservation of BTL for one language ( $c_1$ ) or for two related languages ( $c_2$ ) – see Table 1:

$c_1$	0.99	0.97	0.95	0.90	0.85	0.80	0.75	0.70	0.65	0.60	0.55	0.50	0.45	0.40	0.35	0.30	0.25	0.20	0.15	0.10
$c_2$	0.97	0.94	0.90	0.81	0.72	0.64	0.56	0.49	0.42	0.36	0.30	0.25	0.20	0.16	0.12	0.09	0.06	0.04	0.02	0.01
t	0.03	0.20	0.35	0.70	1.10	1.50	1.90	2.40	2.90	3.40	4.00	4.60	5.30	6.10	7.00	8.00	9.30	10.7	13.0	15.3

The time of divergence for German and French is shown in line t, corresponding with  $c_2 = 0.33$ . This value may be located approximately between 3.40 and 4.00 millennia in Table 1. Thus it is concretely possible to estimate the age of the common ancestor of German and French as 3700 BP or 1700 BC according to the methodology developed by Swadesh.

The preceding steps are operative only with a pair of synchronous (contemporaneous) languages. It may also be necessary to estimate the divergence of nonsynchronous languages (i.e. if each of the compared languages was recorded at a different time). Let us designate the respective time spans from the disintegration of the common ancestor of the compared languages to the written records of each language as  $t_1$  and  $t_2$ . In this case equation (16) can be modified as

$$2t = \frac{\ln c_2}{\ln r},$$

and further

$$(18) t_1 + t_2 = \frac{\ln c}{\ln r}.$$

Since  $t_1$  and  $t_2$  are usually unknown, and only their subtraction  $\Delta t_{12}$  is at our disposal, it is possible to substitute the sum  $t_1 + t_2$  with  $t_1 + t_1 + \Delta t_{12} = 2t_1 + \Delta t_{12}$ , where  $t_1$  is shorter from both intervals  $t_1, t_2$ . Hence for two nonsynchronously attested languages the final formula appears as follows:

$$(19) t_1 = \frac{\ln c}{2 \ln r} - \frac{\Delta t_{12}}{2}, \text{ where } t_1 = \min(t_1, t_2).$$

2. Swadesh's glottochronology was welcomed by specialists studying languages without a lengthy written history. On the other hand, the sharpest negative reaction was from specialists in the Indo-European languages. This was understandable, since some glottochronological estimates of the time-depth of Indo-European languages strongly disagreed with well-known historical facts. More interesting than aprioristic rejection was criticism of the specific premises, postulates, and conclusions, especially if the critics offered alternative solutions. The most significant modifications, eliminating some of the weak points of the method, were formulated by the Canadian Sheila Embleton (1986) and the Russian Sergei Starostin (1989; English translation 1999). Both scholars agreed that the "classical glottochronology" of Swadesh was mistaken in that the replacement of words was not distinguished from borrowing. For example, one such innovation was Russian *glaz* 'eye', which replaced common Slavic \**oko*. On the other hand, it is possible to identify a borrowing, probably of Iranian origin, in Russian *sobaka* 'dog', besides the less frequent *pēs*, which reflects common Slavic \**pvsъ* 'dog'. Starostin offered a simple solution: eliminate all borrowings before any calculation. Applying this procedure to the testing languages used for the estimation of the constant of disintegration  $\lambda$ , we reach a lower value of the constant and its significantly smaller dispersion (table 3).

Starostin compared the proportions of inherited lexicon in histories of the same languages during various times of divergence, as related to millennial time spans, specifically in some Romance languages versus Vulgar Latin from the middle of the first mill. AD and versus early classical Latin from the time of Plautus, c. 200 BC. The values of  $c$  in table 2 are now calculated without loans; time is expressed in millennia:

Table 2 Language	$c = \frac{N(t)}{N_0}, t = 1.5$	$\lambda = \frac{\ln c}{-t}, t = 1.5$	$c = \frac{N(t)}{-t}, t = 2.2$	$\lambda = \frac{\ln c}{-t}, t = 2.2$
<b>French</b>	88/99 = 0.89	0.07	75/97 = 0.77	0.12
<b>Spanish</b>	90/98 = 0.92	0.06	79/97 = 0.80	0.10
<b>Rumanian</b>	87/96 = 0.91	0.06	76/95 = 0.80	0.10

For the differences between the results in the third and fifth columns Starostin finds the only explanation: formula (11), implying

$\lambda = \frac{\ln c}{-t}$ , is not valid.

The empirical figures from Table 2 confirm that the optimal approximation is the function

$$(20) \quad \lambda^* = \frac{\lambda}{t} = \frac{\ln c}{-t^2}$$

The preceding ideas are based on the data in Table 3:

Language	age t [millennia]	$\lambda$ after Swadesh	$\lambda$ without loans	$\lambda^* = \lambda / t$
English	1.3	0.14	0.10	0.08
German	1.2	0.08	0.05	0.04
Norwegian (Riksmål)	1.0	0.20	0.05	0.05
Icelandic	1.0	0.06	0.06	0.06
French	1.5	0.09	0.07	0.05
Spanish	1.5	0.07	0.06	0.04
Rumanian	1.5	0.09	0.06	0.04
Japanese	1.2	0.11	0.06	0.05
Chinese	2.6	0.10	0.10	0.04

It is apparent that the dispersion of the “constant of disintegration”  $\lambda$  according to Swadesh is very high, from 6 to 20%. After the elimination of borrowings, the dispersion of this value for the nine languages analyzed tapers off to 5–10%. The interval will be narrower still in the case where  $\lambda$  is a function of time. Abstracting specifically from the data on English, this value oscillates from 4 to 6%. These results led Starostin to a new value for the “constant of decrease”:  $\lambda = 0.05$  per millennium. The situation of English is more complex, since its development is apparently faster than is usual in other languages. This phenomenon is undoubtedly connected with the massive influence of Old Norse in the period 800-1100 and that of

Old French in the following five centuries, causing, according to Starostin, certain pidgin-like features in English. But even the new value of  $\lambda = 5\%$  does not prevent the tendency to reach a more recent date of divergence, especially in the case of longer time periods. Starostin seeks a solution in the following idea. It is empirically proven that individual words in the lexicon of every language, including BTL, are replaced unevenly. If the words in any language were to be ordered from least stable to most stable, the words with the lowest stability would be replaced most quickly, while more stable words would have a longer life. This means that the speed of lexical change decreases over time. Summing up, “c” is not a constant but a function of time,  $c = c(t)$ , and formula (9) should be modified as follows:

(21)  $N(t) = N_0 \cdot e^{-\lambda \cdot c(t) \cdot t^2}$  for the development of one language, where

$$c(t) = \frac{N(t)}{N_0}, \text{ and}$$

$$(22) N(t) = N_0 \cdot e^{-2\lambda \cdot \sqrt{c(t)} \cdot t^2}$$

for the divergence of two languages, developed from a common protolanguage.

From this it is possible to deduce for the time of development of one language (23), or for the time of divergence of two languages (24):

$$(23) t = \frac{\sqrt{\ln c}}{\sqrt{-\lambda c}}$$

$$(24) t = \frac{\sqrt{\ln c}}{\sqrt{-2\lambda\sqrt{c}}}$$

The result is a transcendental function, since  $c = c(t)$ . The easiest way of determining of the time of divergence for the empirically investigated values is offered in Table 4, calculated by Sergei Starostin:

$c_1$																					
$c_2$	0.97	0.94	0.90	0.81	0.72	0.64	0.56	0.49	0.42	0.36	0.30	0.25	0.20	0.16	0.12	0.09	0.06	0.04	0.02	0.01	
t	0.3	0.8	1.0	1.5	2.0	2.4	2.8	3.2	3.7	4.1	4.7	5.3	6.0	6.8	7.8	9.0	10.7	12.7	16.6	21.5	

Now we can return to the question of the time of divergence between German and French. In both languages there are three loans in the BTL and 33 common cognates.

Hence

$$c_2 = \frac{3}{100-3-3} = \frac{33}{94} = 0.351 = 35.1\%.$$

The corresponding time of divergence is *c.* 4220 years. Naturally, it is an exaggeration to conclude that two languages were separated within a single specified decade. It is better to use the formulation that their common protolanguage disintegrated in the 23rd century BC.

2.1. The situation of two asynchronously attested languages is solved by Starostin differently from Swadesh. Starostin's strategy consists of projecting the historical data to the present level; only after this synchronization is the same approach applied to them as for living languages. It is useful to demonstrate this procedure on specific idioms, for example Classical Latin (e.g. that of Caesar: 1st cent. BC) and the Gothic of Wulfila's translation of the New Testament (4th century AD). The Latin corpus (i.e. the 100-word-list) is complete, while in the Gothic list 18 units are missing (if Crimean Gothic *ada* 'egg' is included). This means that there are 82 common semantic pairs from the BTL, and of these 39 cognates (i.e. etymologically related forms) inherited from a common protolanguage. The proportion  $39/82 = 47,6\%$ . A language recorded at a time interval  $\Delta t$  ago would preserve till the present *c*-times fewer words from BTL. For Latin recorded 20.5 centuries ago it is *c.* 0.845. If Gothic had existed down to the present, in its hypothetical descendant the share of the preserved BTL would be 0.892 (see Table 4). The common protolanguage of Latin and Gothic projected into the present would preserve  $c_{LG} \cdot c_L \cdot c_G = 0.476 \cdot 0.842 \cdot 0.892 = 0.357$ , i.e. 35.7% common words. We may recall that the comparison of German and French gave the

a share of 0.351. This means that the dating of the divergence of the representatives of modern Germanic and Romance languages is practically the same as the dating of the divergence of Latin and Gothic, the 23rd century BC. This seems quite natural, but for “classical glottochronology” it was an unattainable goal.

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## Acknowledgement

The present study was prepared in cooperation with the Centre for Interdisciplinary Research of Ancient Languages and Older Stages of Modern Languages (MSM 0021622435), and thanks to a grant from the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic, P406/12/0655. The Komi word-lists were also compiled with the help of lexical data from Sergej Belyh, kindly mediated to the author by Vladimir Napol'skih. The author would like to express his gratitude to John D. Bengtson for help with the correction of the English.