

PROTO-PERMIAN AND VOTYAK LOAN-WORDS  
IN CHUVASH<sup>+</sup>

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The Bulgar-Turkic, or Chuvash loans in the Permian languages fall into three groups: a/ loan-words taken from Middle Bulgarian (= MB) in the Proto-Permian period (20-22 words); b/ MB loan-words in the Permyak (= P) dialect of Syryan borrowed through Votyak mediation (9 words); c/ Chuvash loan-words in Votyak. These words, according to Wichmann (1903) amount to about 130, but the actual number of the Chuvash elements in Votyak is considerably larger. On the first two groups of loan-words see Rédei--Róna-Tas (1972, 1975). An up-to-date study of the Chuvash elements in Votyak is still to be done.

Both Chuvash and the Permian languages borrowed words from each other, although the Chuvash loans in Votyak outnumber the Votyak ones in the former. Some words (23, 12, 20) were taken from PP as early as the MB period. After the splitting up of the Permian languages Chuvash took loan-words only from Votyak. We cannot reckon with Syryan → Chuvash borrowings both because of their distant geographical location and for historical reasons. The number of Permian loan-words in Chuvash

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amounts to 16 certain and 6 uncertain etymologies. The relatively large number of uncertain etymologies is due to the fact that in four cases the possibility of Cheremis → Chuvash, and in one case Proto-Hungarian → Chuvash borrowings cannot be excluded. In one case (21) the etymology of the Chuvash word is uncertain for other reasons.

Word-list

1. Chuv. (Ahlqvist) an 'nicht (Verneinungswort im Imperativ)', (Ašmarin) an 'particula negativa fennica, quae additur imperativo': urây an turt 'bol'še ne kuri', (Egorov), an kala 'ne govori', an sir 'ne piši'.

← Voty. (Munk.) Sz. K en 'ne; nicht (the imperative of the negative verb)~(Syr. en, in).<sup>x</sup>

Ramstedt (1952, p.83 and see also Poppe 1974, p.146) derives this word from the second person imperative form ending in -n of the "Altaic" (in fact, Mongolian--Manchu--Tungus) negative copulative verb e-. Kononov (1967, p. 107) explains the word from a gerundial form ending in -n of the copulative verb e-. Ramstedt's, Poppe's and Kononov's opinions can hardly be accepted, as the negative copulative verb e- has no other traces in the Turkic

<sup>x</sup> Abbreviations which are not explained at the end of this volume can be found in MSzFE I, pp. 47-68 and III, pp. 707-727.

languages. On the other hand, there is a structural-morphological parallel between the Chuvash and Permian data, which cannot be only by coincidence.

The Votyak phoneme e is very often an open ɛ (Munk. ä) phonetically in the initial position. On this phenomenon see E. Itkonen 1954, p. 304. The ɛ allophone of the Votyak phoneme e changed to a in Chuvash.

The Tat. anšarla 'schweigel!' was taken from Chuvash: an šarla 'muck dich nicht!' (Räsänen, 1969, p. 20).

Ašmarin 1898, p. 297, 317; Wichmann, 1903, p. 148; Egorov 1964, p. 26.

2. Chuv. (Ašmarin IV, p. 78, V, p. 336, XVI, p. 371) štär, Viryal ötör 'vodjanaja krysa?', vätär, Viryal vötör 'nazv. životnogo (pomen'še krysy, s korotkim hvostom)', jetör 'vydra', (Paasonen 1908), štär 'pézsmás patkány; Bisamratte, Bisamspitzmaus', (Egorov 1964, Sirotkin 1961) štär, vätär 'vodjanaja krysa, rečnaja vydra'.

←? Voty. (Wied.) udor 'Biber (Castor)', (Munk.) Sz. K vudor 'vidra; Fischotter, Flussotter' ~ (Syr. vurd 'Fischotter').

The Permian words may be loans from Middle Iranian, the Voty. udor, vudor derive from an Iranian form containing the combination -dr- (Cf. Avestan udrō, Pehlevi udrag, Old Indian udrah 'Otter, Fischotter'), and the

Syr. vurd derives from the Iranian form with an -rd- combination (Cf. Ossetic ŭrd, urda 'id.', Joki 1973, p. 347). According to the ESK, the Votyak word goes back to PP <sup>x</sup>vurd, and the recent forms vudor, udor are results of folk-etymology (Cf. vu-dor, vu-dur 'bank, riverside'). The word there occurs also in Cheremis (Ramst.) KHġdġr 'Maulwurf', (PS) B udġr 'Wühlmaus'. The Cheremis word can also be an Iranian loan, but its Baltic origin cannot be excluded either. Cf. Lithuanian ŭdra, ŭdras, Lettish ŭdr/i/s and Old Prussian udro 'Fischotter' (see Joki 1973, p. 348).

The Votyak -d- was substituted by the Chuvash -t- (= ḍ). Chuvash borrowed the Voty. udor as ġtġr, and the Voty. vudor as vġtġr. The initial v- of the Chuvash form vġtġr may have arisen under the influence of the Russian vydra 'Otter, Fischotter'. However, it is also possible that the Chuvash forms are loans from Cheremis. On principle, the v- can be of Chuvash origin: Votyak or. Cheremis → Chuv. <sup>x</sup>udra > vġtġr. As no word there exists in the other Turkic languages similar in form and meaning to the Chuv. ġtġr, vġtġr, Egorov (1964, p. 44) considers it of Indo-European origin. However, it is hardly possible that the word was borrowed from an Indo-European language directly.

Räsänen 1920, p. 234 (Chuv. ← Cher.); Egorov

1964, p. 44 (← IE).

3. Chuv. (Ašmarin VII, p. 222) kâšmi 'brjukva, bušma'  
( < MB <sup>x</sup> yüşmi).

← ? PP <sup>x</sup> kožm3 > Svr. (Wied.) P komiz' 'Lauch (Allium)',  
(Lytk.) Ja. ku'mić 'pero luka, zelenyj luk', Voty. (Wied.)  
kumuž, kumiz' 'Knoblauch', (Munk.) Sz. kumiz (!) 'id.',  
(URSl.) kumiz' 'dikij česnok'.

The recent Permian forms have arisen from PP <sup>x</sup> kožm3  
( > <sup>x</sup> kožim ) by the way of metathesis. In case the Chuv.  
kâšmi would be a loan from Permian, it could have only be  
borrowed from PP in the MB period, at which time the  
metathesis did not take place in the Permian words. The  
PP sound ž appears as š in MB (Cf. also 12 and 16). In  
the case that this word would be a loan from Ancient  
Hungarian, we would have to reckon with the same possi-  
bility. Namely, the MB <sup>x</sup> yüşmi may be an Ancient Hungarian  
loan (kožm3 < Ugric <sup>x</sup> kočm3 or kačm3). On the Hungarian word  
see MSzFE (under hagyma, on the etymology of the Chu-  
vash word see Rédei--Róna-Tas 1975, p. 32, 1976, p. 142.

4. Chuv. (Ahlqvist) kigen' 'Nieswurz; Čeremica',  
(Ašmarin VI, p. 197, 199) kiken, kikken 'čeremica belaja',  
(Paasonen 1908) kiken 'hunyor, Nieswurz; Čeremica'.

← Voty. (Wichmann 1903, p. 148) G kekon, J  
kekon-turim kekon-viži 'Nieswurm; veratrum' ~ (Syr. P.  
koka'n 'id.').

The word was taken from Chuvash by Cheremis:  
(Ramst.) KH kikān 'die weisse Nieswurz', (PS) B keken  
'Nieswurz'.

Wichmann 1903, p. 148; (Voty. → Chuv., Chuv.  
→ Cher.); Gombocz 1912, p. 101; Räsänen 1923, p. 85  
(Chuv. → Cher.), 1969, p. 248; Egorov 1964, p. 112;  
Fedotov 1968, p. 201.

5. Chuv. (Ašmarin) kätmel 'brysnika, černik'  
kätmäl 'kljukva' (Paasonen 1908) kätmel 'vörös áfonya;  
Preiselbeere'.

← Voty. (Munk.) Sz. kudi-muli 'a fekete áfonya  
bogyója; Heidelbeere (als Frucht)', (Wichm.) G kudŕ-mulŕ  
'Heidelbeere, Blaubeere'.

The Votyak -d- was substituted by -t- in Chuvash.

The Bashk. kürtmäli 'Preiselbeere' can also be a  
loan from Votyak.

Wichmann 1903, p. 149; Ašmarin VII, p. 321; Fedotov  
1968, p. 201.

6. Chuv. (Ašmarin VIII, pp. 22, 23, 25, 34, 35, 36,  
37, 38, 110) lap 'loščina, ložbina, nizkoe mesto, nizmen-  
nost', ravnina', lapa 'nizkoe mesto, nizmennost'', lapâ  
'nizmennost', ložbina, loščina', laptak 'ploskij', laptâk  
'ploskij; plašmja', lapša 'ploskij, nizkij', lapšaka  
'ploskij', lâp 'nizina, loščina', (Paasonen 1908) lap 'sík',  
sík hely, róna; Ebene, flache Stelle', lap-sâr 'id.'.

← Voty. (Munk.) K lap 'alacsony; niedrig', (Wichmann 1907, p. 42) MU lap: lap inti 'Niederung, niedrige Fläche' (inti 'Platz, Stelle').

According to Räsänen (1920, p. 249) the Chuvash word is a loan from Cheremis (Cf. Cher. lap 'niederig; Niederung'). The Chuv. (Ašmarin) lapčäk 'platt, gedrückt (z. B. Nase)' is, no doubt, of Cheremis origin Cf. Cher. J lapcaka, U lapčaka 'platt, dünn und breit' (Wichmann 1907, p. 42). Some of the derivatives seem to be Chuvash forms. The Bashk. lapak 'nizkij' is a loan from Votyak, Cf. (Munk.) Sz. lapeg, K lapek 'alacsony kis növésű, törpe; niedrig, klenwüchsig'. The word there occurs in Tatar as well and, perhaps, is a loan from Votyak: lap 'rovnyj', läp-läpäg 'nizkij, napr. o nečennom hlebě', läpšek 'kurnosyj'.

Munkácsi 1887-90a, p. 122 (Cher. → Chuv.); Wichmann 1903, p. 149 (Voty. → Chuv.); Räsänen 1920, p. 249 (Cher. → Chuv.); Egorov 1964, p. 125; MSzFE (under lap: Voty. or Cher. → Chuv., Voty. → Bashk.); Fedotov 1968, p. 202.

7. Chuv. (Ašmarin VIII, p. 75) lenkes 'nazv. dolbljonoj derevjannoju posudy', (Paasonen 1908) lenges 'kis veder; Eimerchen'.

← Voty. (Wied.) langes, lanes, lanes 'Gefäss, kleiner Eimer', (Munk.) Sz. lanez 'vizhordó kártus nyír-

héjból; Wasserbüttel aus Birkenrinde'~(Syr. SSKD Lu. Le. íanes 'podojnik').

We can consider the Voty. langes, íanes or íanez as a lending form. Both the Voty. -s, and -z are substituted by -s in Chuvash.

The word got into Tatar: längäz, längäs, längez 'Eimerchen' and into Russian: ljangás 'dolgiy burak, vysokij tues'. The Misher əlängäč 'Eimerchen' may be a loan from Cheremis because of its final -č, Cf. Cher. (Ramst.) KH längəš 'Eimer aus einem ausgehöhlten Baumstamme', (PS) B lenəš 'ausgehöhlte hohe Bütte'.

Räsänen 1920, p.252 (Cher. → Chuv.); 1969, p. 316; Fedotov 1968, p.203; ESK.

8. Chuv. (Ašmarin VIII, p.124) ləs 'razvesistye vetvi dereva; razvesistyj, kudrjavyj; hvoja, igly'. (Paasonen 1908) ləs 'bojtos, sūrđ, dúslombú; buschig, dicht, dicht belaubt'.

← Voty. (Munk.) Sz. lis, K les 'túlevél; Nadelblatt, Tangel', (Wichm.) G lŷs, MU lis 'id.'~(Syr. lis 'id.')

The etymologically corresponding form to these Permian words occurs in Cheremis as well: (Wichm.) U lūs, M lújús 'Tangel, Nadel (U), Tannen- od. Fichttenzweig (M), (PS) B lújěš 'Nadel od. Stachel des Nadelbaums' (see ESK). The Chuv. ləs cannot be



a borrowing of the Cheremis word because of its sound â.

The Votyak word got into Tatar and Bashkir in the form ilis.

Fedotov 1968, p.203.

9. Chuv. (Ašmarin VIII, p.163) majak 'veha, veška', (Paasonen 1908) majak 'útmutató(fa); Wegzeichen'.

← Voty. (Munk.) Sz. M majig, K majek, majik 'rúd; sövénykaró; útmutató oszlop; jelező pózna; Stange, Pfahl; Zaunpfahl; Wegweiser (Pfahl, Säule); Stange, die als Zeichen irgendwo aufgestellt ist', (Wichmann 1903, p. 86) G UF. majeg, J M majig, MU majik 'Pfahl, Stange, Spiess' (Syr. majeg 'Stange, Pfahl, Zaunpfahl').

In case the Chuvash word does not originate from a majik, majek and majik, but a majeg or majig form, we have to reckon with a -g > -k sound-substitution.

The Chuvash sound a, occurring in the second syllable may have been influenced by the Russian majak 'Feuerbake, Leuchtturm'.

The word can be found as a loan from Votyak in Tatar: majak 'Wegweiser (Pfahl, Säule)' and in Bashkir: majak 'Stange (als Zeichen)'. The Syr. majeg, Voty. majig, etc. are Iranian loan-words, Cf. Joki 1973, p.279.

Wichmann 1903, p.86 (Syr. -Voty. ←? Chuv.); Rédei-Róna-Tas 1975, p.40 (The authors reject the idea of originating the Permian words from Chuvash).

10. Chuv. (Ašmarin IX, p.27) nimər, mimər 'zavariha', (Paasonen 1908) nimər 'lisztből és vajból készített kása; von Mehl und Butter bereitete Grütze'.

← Voty. (Wichmann 1903, p.89) MU ńemri (<sup>x</sup>ńemeri or <sup>x</sup>ńemiri): barangi-ńemri 'Kertoffelsuppe' (barangi 'Kartoffel').

In the Chuvash form mimər an n>m assimilation took place under the influence of the Inlaut -m-. The word was borrowed preceding the time of the Chuvash <sup>x</sup>e>i sound-change, so it belongs to a relatively earlier layer.

The Chuvash word might be the adoption of the Cher. (Ramst.) KH ńemər 'Gerstengrütze', (PS) B ńemer 'Hafer- od. Erbsengrütze, die mit Butter gegessen wird'. The Cheremis word is a loan from Votyak.

Wichmann 1903, p.89 (Chuv. → Cher., Voty.); Räsänen 1920, p.256 (Chuv. = Cher.); Bereczki 1977, p.71 (Voty. → Cher. → Chuv.); Egorov 1964, p.140; Fedotov 1968, p.205.

11. Chuv. (Ašmarin VIII, p.325, X, p.181) məši 'olen'', pəši 'los', olén''.

← Voty. (Munk.) Sz. pužej, pužej 'rénszarvas; Rentier', (Wichmann 1903, p.150) Uf. G M J MU pužej 'id.', M kir-pužej 'Elentier' ~ (Syr. I pež: pež-ku 'Haut

des Rentierkalbes').

The sound š corresponds in Chuvash to the Votyak š. If the Chuvash word is an adoption of the Voty. pušej, it is possible that the Votyak sound š was substituted by the sound š, in Chuvash final -i is a regular development of an earlier -ey (Cf. Róna-Tas 1966, p. 332) and refers to a relatively early borrowing.

Besides Chuvash the Votyak word got into other Turkic languages as well: Tat. pyšy 'Hirsch, Wild; pušy, pöšöj, Bashk. myšy, Tobol Tatar miši. Of these words the Tobol Tatar miši cannot have been borrowed directly from Votyak but through Tatar or Bashkir mediation. The Russian pyž 'molodoj olen'', pyžik 'Rentierkalb' may be loans from Votyak or Tatar.

Paasonen 1902b, Note 107; Wichmann 1903, p. 151; Egorov 1964, p. 152; Räsänen 1969, p. 385; Fedotov 1968, p. 205.

12. Chuv. (Ašmarin IX, p. 209) pileš 'rjabina', (Paasonen 1908) pileš 'piros berkenye, madárberkenye; Vogelbeere'.

← PP <sup>x</sup>pelij or <sup>x</sup>peliz Syr. (WUo.) V AV Sz. Pecs. Lu. Le. pelis, I peliz 'Vogelbeere'. Voty. (Munk.) Sz. paleš, K palez 'vörös berkenye, barkóca; Vogelbeere, Spierlingsbeere, Eberesche' (Wichmann 1903, p. 90) Uf. pales, palez, G J palez, J M páwez 'Vogelbeere'.

Though the Chuvash v correspondence of the PP or Votyak palatalized affricate (č, č̣ and č̣̣) needs further investigation, the parallel data support each other and make these etymologies undoubtedly correct (Cf. nos 3 and 16).

The Permian words, opposing to Wichmann (1903, p. 90) are not loans from Chuvash, but of Finno-Ugric origin (Toivonen 1928, p.202, FUV, SKES, ESK, etc., see also Rédei--Róna-Tas 1975, p.41).

Because of its first-syllabic i, the Chuv. piles cannot originate from the Voty. paleẓ, but it can be explained from its PP proto-form. The fact, that the word is widespread among the Turkic languages (Tat. miläṣ, Bashk. miläš, Trkm. meleş, etc. 'Vogelbeere') supports the supposition that the word was borrowed at an early date. The Tobol Tatar micār and the Bashk. myšar 'Eberesche' are loans from Ob-Ugric languages, Cf. Vogul (WV 27) TJ picār, AK päsər, Szo. pašar 'Ebereschenbeere', Ostyak (OL 182) Vj. pətər, DN pətár 'id.' (see SKES under pihlaja).

Wichmann 1903, p. 90; Egorov 1964, p.160, Räsänen 1969, p. 338.

13. Chuv. (Ašmarin X, p.166, 167) päčärt- 'sžat'', päčārta- 'davít, sžimat''.

← Voty. (Munk.) Sz. pižirt-, J pižirt- 'kifacsarni,

kicsavarni (pl. a ruhát); kisorítani, kinyomni (pl. a gyümölcsnek a levét); ausringen, auswinden (z.B. die Wäsche); ausdrücken, auspressen (z.B. den Saft von Früchten)', (Wichmann 1903, p.150) Uf. přzřirt-, MU J M pižirt- 'ausdrücken, auspressen'~(Syr. pižirt- 'id.').

The Voty.  $\frac{\check{z}}{j}$  → Chuv.  $\frac{\check{c}}{j}$  sound-substitution -- that is different from the Votyak  $\frac{\check{z}}{j}$ ,  $\frac{\check{c}}{j}$  and  $\frac{\acute{c}}{j}$  Chuvash  $\frac{\check{c}}{j}$  correspondence occurring in etymologies nos 3, 12 and 16 -- refers to the fact that here we have to reckon with a later borrowing. Egorov (1964, p.151) originates the word from an onomapoeic stem pâčâr; still this Chuvash onomapoeic word seems to be a back-formation from the verb (Cf. pâčâr 'podr. zvuku, polučajuščemujsja pri vyžimanii židkosti' Ašmarin X, p.165). The word has also a dialectal form pâzârda (Ašmarin X, p.167), but this form is probably used only by Cheremis-Chuvash bilingual speakers.

The Votyak word got into Cheremis as well: (Wichm.) KH pazare-, pazart -. U pâzâre-, M pižare- 'zudrücken, zusammendrücken, pressen' (Bereczki 1977, p.64).

According to Bereczki (loc. cit.) the Chuvash word is a loan from Cheremis. This opinion, however, because of the Chuvash  $\frac{\check{c}}{j}$  Cheremis  $\frac{z}{j}$ ,  $\frac{\acute{z}}{j}$  sound-correspondence, is hardly plausible.

Wichmann 1903, p.150; MSzFE (under facsar):

Egorov 1964, p.151.

14. Chuv. (Ašmarin IX, p.256) pukan, Viryal pokan 'čurban, obrubok dereva; stul, taburetka; skameečka, kotoraja stavitsja pod nogi (tak u mnogih); girja (u vesov i časov); krjuk u dverej; motok' (Paasonen 1908) pukan 'fatuskó (melyen ülnek); Klotz (zum Sitzen)\*.

← Voty. (Munk.) Sz. K pukon 'szék, ülés, ülöhely; Stuhl, Sitz', (Wichmann 1903, p.150) G M J MU Uf. pukon 'Stuhl' (Cf. Syr. pukal-, Voty. puk- 'sitzen').

The word there occurs in Cheremis as a loan from Votyak (Bereczki 1977, p.72) P B MK U CÜ püken, CK pökön, ČN pöken, etc. 'Stuhl'. The Chuv. pögön, pögen, pöken (Ašmarin 1898, p.349) are loans from Cheremis. These data represent the dialect of Malo-Karačkino, which has strongly been influenced by Cheremis.

The Votyak word got into both Tatar (bükän 'Klotz, Holzblock, Sitz, Stuhl') and Bashkir (bükär 'id.').

Wichmann 1903, p.150; Räsänen 1969, p.92; Egorov 1964, p.163.

15. Chuv. (Ašmarin X, p.233) pärne 'kuzov', (Ašmarin II, p.42) 'kovš, t. e. jaščik, v kotoryj nasypaetsja zerno dlja razmola ili dlja obdiranija', pärme 'pletenka, korzina, kuzov', (Paasonen 1908) pärne 'kosárka; Körbchen', pärme 'garatfiók, garateregetó; Mühltrichter'.

← Voty. (Wichmann 1903, p.148) Uf. M J berno

'Braukufe (Uf.), Mühltrichter (M I)', ~ (Syr. V Sz. I burná  
'Tschetwerik (ein Getreidemass) (V); grosses, rundes  
Gefäss aus einem Stück Espenholz, bes. zum Schütten des  
Getreides od. auch zum Aufbewahren von allerlei Sachen  
(nicht als Mass) (Sz.); Brunnen (I)').

The Votyak initial b- was substituted by p- in Chuvash.  
The Votyak rn' sound-combination corresponds partly to rn  
= [rn'], partly to rm in Chuvash.

The Cher. (Wichm.) J JU pürná 'Korb aus Linden- od.  
Birkenrinde' is a loan from Proto-Permian or Votyak.  
(Bereczki 1977, p. 64).

Wichmann 1903, p. 148 (Voty. → Chuv.); Räsänen  
1920, p. 258 (Cher. → Chuv.); Egorov 1964, p. 157 (Voty.  
or Cher. → Chuv.); ESK (Permian → Chuv.); Fedotov  
1968, p. 205.

16. Chuv. (Ašmarin X, p. 232) pəraš, Viryal pöröš  
'orudie v rode pešni, no s bolee širokim koncom'.

← Voty. (Munk.) Sz. piriča, M piriča 'vájó, vésó,  
a teknó v. méhkas kivájásánál alkalmazott szerszám;  
Hohleisen (zum Aushöhlen eines Troges od. Rienenstockes  
gebrauchtes Werkzeug)', (Wichmann 1903, p. 91) J pirič  
'Brecheisen, Brechstange' (Syr. V AV Pecs. pirič, Sz. Ud.  
pirič 'lange Brechstange, Eishaue (die Spitze aus Eisen,  
der Schaft aus Holz)').

On the Votyak č Chuvash š correspondence see the

etymologies nos 1, 3 and 12.

The form piric<sup>↓</sup>, or perhaps the hypothetical form <sup>x</sup>piric<sup>↓</sup> can be considered as the Votyak lending form for the Chuvash word. From Votyak the word also got into Tatar: börös 'Stemmeisen mit langem Stiel, zum Aushöhlen der Bienenstöcke' and into Bashkir: böröz 'id.'. The Votyak i Turkic ö correspondence can be due to its occurrence after the sound b.

Wichmann 1903, p. 91 (Chuv. → Syr. - Voty.);  
Räsänen 1969, p. 387 (Chuv., Tat., Bashk. = Syr., Voty.);  
Rédei--Róna-Tas 1975, p. 41 (loan from a Finno-Ugric language).

17. Chuv. (Ašmarin XI, p. 104, 124, 125, 233) sij 'struja, sloj zemli', sija 'plenka, kožura na dereve', si, sij, sâj 'sloj', (Paasonen 1908) si, si 'évgyűrd (fán); Jahresring an einem Baum'.

←Voty. (Wichmann 1914, p. 102) J si 'Jahresring an Bäumen', (URSl) si 'sloj' (Syr. FV FSz. Lu. Le. Şzkr. Ud. si 'volokno').

The Chuvash forms sij and sij can originate from Votyak only in case the Votyak word still had the assumed <sup>x</sup>sij < <sup>x</sup>sij proto-form at the time of the borrowing.

The etymological correspondences of the Permian words there occur in Cheremis as well: (Wichm.) KH sâj, sâja, U sija 'Jahresring an Bäumen (KH U), Fleisch -



schicht, Fleischfaser (KH)', (Tr.) š̂i 'Baumschicht' (see SKES under syj). For this reason, the possibility that the Chuvash forms sij, si, sij and ŝaj had been borrowed from Cheremis preceding the time that the Cheremis s>š̂ sound-change took place, cannot be excluded. The Chuvash word ŝaj 'sloj, volokno' (Egorov 1964) is rather unreliable, as it cannot be found neither in Ašmarin's, nor in Sirotkin's dictionaries. If there exists such a word at all, in all probability, it must originate from a Cher. š̂aj (<<sup>x</sup> ŝaj) form. (The Chuv. si>š̂i>š̂ development, of chronological considerations, must be excluded.)

The Tat. zyj 'sloj, volokno' (Zolotnickij 1875) must be a loan from Votyak.

Räsänen 1920, p.260 (Cher. → Chuv.), 1969, p.420; Egorov 1964, p.190; SKES; Fedotov 1968, p. 206.

18. Chuv. (Ašmarin XII, p.63) š̂ar̂ək 'repa', (Paasonen 1908) š̂ar̂ək 'répa; Rûbe'.

← Voty. <sup>x</sup>š̂arik, <sup>x</sup>š̂arik, Cf. (Munk.) Sz. š̂art̂ci, K č̂ar̂če 'répa; Rûbe', (Wichmann 1903, p.97) G Uf. š̂arĉȳ, M. MU š̂ar̂ci, J š̂art̂ci 'id.' (Syr. V Ud. š̂ork̂ni, V. Pecs. Le. I š̂ort̂ni, Sz. Lu. P š̂ort̂ni 'id.').

The Chuvash word, which has no cognates in the Turkic languages, can be well explained from a Votyak <sup>x</sup>š̂arik or <sup>x</sup>š̂arik forms. The present-day Votyak words carry the denominal nomen suffix -ci. We have to reckon

with a Votyak <sup>x</sup> śarikci > śarkci > śartci > śarci, and a Syryan <sup>x</sup> śorikni > śorkni > śortni > śortni development. On the Syryan o Votyak a sound-correspondence Cf. E. Itkonen 1954; p. 320.

Wichmann 1903, p. 97 (Chuv. → Syr., Voty.); Rédei --Róna-Tas 1975, p. 42 (the Permian words are not loans from Chuvash).

19. Chuv. (Ašmarin XII, pp. 79, 80) śem 'melodija, motiv; garmonija, podhodnost', to, čto pod silu', śemə 'motiv, melodija, garmonija, stroj, lad; porjadok, sposob, sootvetsvie', śemən 'po mere togo, kak'.

← Voty. (Munk.) Sz. śam 'szokás, tulajdonság; mód, természet, minőség; Sitte, Gewohnheit, Eigenschaft; Art, Natur, Beschaffenheit', (Wichmann 1903, p. 151) G J śam 'Sitte, Gewohnheit, Art, Charakter, Temperament', (Munk.) Sz. śamen 'szerint, módjára, hasonlón mint; gemäss, so wie...', (Wichmann, loc. cit) G śamen, sam̃n, MU śamen 'während, unterdessen, als'~(Syr. śam 'Verstehen, Fähigkeit, Geschicklichkeit, Charakter').

According to Levitskaja (1976, p. 10) the Chuvash postposition śemən is, in fact, the word śemə carrying the Turkic instrumental suffix -n. This view can hardly be plausible, as the Chuvash form śemən cannot be separated from the lending Votyak postposition śamən. The Chuvash form -śem 'po mere togo, kak' (Ašmarin XII,

p. 79) has become a suffix and lost the -n instrumental case-ending.

The Cher. śem 'Melodie, Ton', śemən 'gemäß', semən 'während' (Räsänen 1920, p. 190) are loans from Chuvash (Räsänen, loc. cit.).

Paasonen 1902a, p. 266; Wichmann 1903, p. 151 (Voty. → Chuv.); Egorov 1964, p. 209.

20. Chuv. (Ašmarin XII, p. 270) śurəm, Viryal śorəm 'pučok l'na, konopli, snop l'nu', (Paasonen 1908) śurəm 'két háncsal összekötött kender- vagy lenkötég; zwei Bündel Flachs od. Hanf mit Bast zusammengebunden'.

← PP <sup>x</sup>śorəm > Syr. (SSKD) Lu. Pecs. Szkr. KSz. śorem, FV śorem, Le. śorom 'skird, skirda, dolgaja klad' hleba' (see Voty. Munk. Sz. śur-, K śur- (asztagot v. boglyát/rakni, hányni; (Schober) errichten, machen', URSl, śuri- 'skirdovat').

The Chuvash word can be a PP loan-word. Concluding from the Syr. śorem and the Votyak verbal form śuri-, we could consider a Votyak derivation <sup>x</sup>śurem, but no such word occurs in the relevant dictionaries. It would also be difficult to explain phonetically the Chuv. śurəm from an assumed Votyak derivation <sup>x</sup>śurem, since - according to the rare relevant examples - the sounds ê or ə correspond to the Votyak u in the Votyak loan-words in the Chuvash language. (Cf. the etymologies nos 2, 5 and

11; however, in the Votyak u).

The Votyak word got into some Russian dialects as well: šorómy 'sostavlennye v kozly žerdi dlja prosuški v pole goroha v kitinah', šorom 'skidra hleba' (ESK) -- It is possible that the Russian word is a loan from Chuvash.

The Syr. (SSKD) FSz. šorom 'skird, skirda', (WUo.) P šoro'm 'Getreidehaufen, Getreideschober' is a re-borrowing from Russian.

21. Chuv. (Ašmarin XIV, pp. 230, 331, XV, p. 13) târšă, târšăi, türšăi, tăššă 'obuh', (Paasonen 1908) târšă 'fejszefok, késfok; der Rücken einer Axt od. eines Messers' (Zolotnickij 1875) ? tuš 'Rücken v. Axt od. Messer'.

← Voty. (Munk.) tiš (tišk-): purt-tiš 'késfoka; Messerrücken', (Wichmann 1903, p. 152) J tiš (tišk-) 'Rücken v. Messer od. Axt' ~ (Syr. tiš (tišk-) 'Rücken der Axt od. des Messers').

The sound r in the Chuvash form târšă can be secondary in the position before the sound š. (On this problem Cf. Bereczki 1977, p. 66).

It cannot be excluded that the Chuv. târšă, tăššă might belong to the following words: türt, Viryal tört 'spina; oborotnaja, tyl'naja storona predmeta' (Ašmarin XIV, p. 228) and türtăš 'tylovaja storona; obuh' (op. cit., p. 229). If it is so, the suffixes -š, -šă and -ši are, in fact, the ancient third person possessive suffixes, which have sur-

vived only in kinship terms and some expressions. However, the problem is even more complicated, as the Chuv. türt has no clear etymology. It is also possible that we have to reckon with a convergent development of two words - a genuine Chuvash word and a Votyak loan. In the case that the word originates from Votyak, the above-mentioned third person possessive suffix could have influenced the development of the word-ending.

The Chuvash form tuš<sup>v</sup> - if this is a correct recording at all - can be the adoption of Cher. (Wichm.) KH U toš<sup>v</sup> 'Rücken des Messers, der Axt, der Sense usw.'.

Wichmann 1903, p. 152; Egorov 1964, p. 239.

22. Chuv. (Ašmarin V, pp. 197, 288) vij, věj 'sila, sredstva', (Paasonen 1908) věj 'erő; Kraft, Stärke'.

←? Voty. (Munk.) vi (vij-): Sz. kat-vi 'erő, tehetőség; Kraft, Vermögen', Sz. M joz-vi 'a test tagjai (összességükben értve); die Glieder des Körpers (in ihrer Gesamtheit)' ~ (Syr. vij, vi: Sz. jez-vij 'Gliedgelenk', V jez-vi 'Sehne, Fleischse'). On the meanings 'Kraft, Vermögen' and 'die Glieder des Körpers' in Votyak see SKES; MSzFE (under -val/-vel) etc.

It is possible, that the Chuv. věj is a loan from Cheremis, Cf. (Wichm.) KH U wi, M B wij 'Kraft' (Räsänen 1920, p. 273). Anyway, originating the word from Votyak or Cheremis is weakened by the fact that

the word can belong to the native word-stock of the Chuvash language: <sup>x</sup>uj Old Turkic, Uighur u- 'können'; <sup>x</sup>uj-uy (Räsänen 1969, p. 510). In this case we would expect a form <sup>x</sup>vâjê, such form, however, cannot be found in Ašmarin. The words with labial vowels in Ašmarin (V, p. 261) vuj and voj 'sila' cannot originate from Votyak. It is possible, that the Chuv. vij and vâj are of Votyak or Cheremis origin, and the form vuj and voj are independent words from the former.

Wichmann 1903, p. 153; Egorov 1964, p. 48; Fedotov 1968, p. 198.