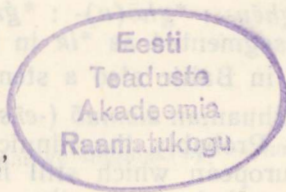


TIIT-REIN VIITSO (Tartu)



LIVONIAN *i'gmōd* 'GUMS'

1. The Livonian word *i'gmōd* 'gums' had cognates in all other Finnic languages, cf. Estonian *ige* 'gum', npl *igemed*; Votic *iċee*, npl *iċemed*, in plural also 'gill (as of fish)'; Finnish *ien*, usually pl *ikenet* 'gums', *ikumet*, *ikuset*, *ikusimet* 'gill'; Soikkola Ingrian *ien* 'gum', npl *ikkeenet*; South Karelian *ijen*, npl *igenet*, *igimet*; Lude *igeñ*, npl *igenet*, *igimet*; Lude *igeñ*, npl *igeñed*; Veps *igeñ*, *igiñeh*, cf. SKES 101; SSA 220.

The Finnic words are considered those of Finno-Ugric origin, cf. the following article from UEW 80—81 (cf. also SKES and SSA):

ike(ñe, -ne) 'Gaumen, Zahnfleisch' FU

Finn. *ien* (Gen. *ikenen*) 'Zahnfleisch'; est. *ige* (Gen. *igeme*) 'Gaumen', (Pl.) *igemed* 'Zahnfleisch' | ? [wotj. (Munk.: AkĖrt. 1916 : 74) S K

aη (viltis aη) 'iny, szájpadrás; Zahnfleisch, Gaumen' | syrj. S *an*, *piñ-an* 'Zahnfleisch', Pr. *an* 'id., Gaumen'] | ung. *íny* (dial. *én, ény, in, ín*) 'id.; Gaumen; Geschmack; (altung.) Rachen; Kinnbacken, Kiefer'.

Das FU Ableitungssuffix **ńz* trat vielleicht schon in FU Zeit an den Stamm.

Actually, one cannot even rule out that certain Ob-Ugric stems are somehow connected with the Finnic and Hungarian stems. Thus, according to Y. H. Toivonen (SKES 101) also Mansi TC *in*, KM KO *ēn*, KU *iγan*, LO So *ēḡan*, and Hanti V, Vj. *āγan*, Trj. *āγan*, DN KoO *āḡan*, Ni Kaz *āḡan* 'chin' (cf. Honti 1982, no. 14) may belong here; it is likely that in some neighboring Mansi and Hanti dialects *η* owes its appearance to folk etymology.

The Finno-Ugric reconstruction in UEW is apparently based on those North Finnic dialects that expose the vocalic stem *ikene-* or *igene-*; when hybridized with the Hungarian stem it yields **ikeñe-*. Livonian, Estonian (including South Estonian), Votic and a part of Finnish dialects, insist, however, that the Proto-Finnic form was rather **ikume-*. (Actually it is symptomatic to Uralistics that Estonian is rarely taken seriously and Livonian is completely ignored when reconstructing Proto-Uralic, Proto-Finno-Ugric or even Proto-Finnic.) Note that Livonian has preserved the difference of **me-* and **ne-*stems, cf. (a) nsg *sidām* 'heart', *sōrmōs* 'nostril', gsg *sōrmō*, where, **m* has been retained and even reintroduced to nominative singular forms, and (b) *a'bbōnz* 'a hair of the beard', pl. *a'bbōnd* 'beard', where **n* has been retained, and *kim* (< **kūmmen*) 'ten' and *kīmgōz* (< **kšmene- + -gōz*) 'caraway', where **n* was assimilated by the preceding **m* already before the rise of the Livonian grade alternation. In other words, despite the similarity of the

Finnic and Hungarian stems, attested already by Martin Fogel and János Sajnovics, we must reject Károly Rédei's reconstruction because it cannot recover the stem variability in Finno-Ugric.

In addition to the variability exposed in Finno-Ugric, certain stems for 'gums' and some related concepts show a similar variability, cf. Old High German *giumo* 'gum' (≪ PIE **g^hh₂ǵ^h-mon-*), Old Norse *gómi* 'palate', Anglo-Saxon *gōma* (≪ **gōman* < *g^hh₂ǵ^h*), cf., e. g. Rasmussen 1991 : 95, 98. In Pokorny 1959 (I 449) one finds the stem alternation **ghēu-* : **ghō(u)-* : **ǵau-* 'gähen, klaffen', where the stem **ghō(u)-* is resegmented as **ik* in Finnic or, more exactly, the consonant palatalization in Baltic also a stem with **ǵ^h* that has undergone satemization, cf. Lithuanian *žiomuō* (-*eñs*, -*enū*) 'jaws'.

Probably the Finnic stem was borrowed from some kind of Indo-European which still had preserved the initial palatalized velar stop. In that case the Indo-European palatalized velar stop was resegmented as **ik* in Finnic or, more exactly, the consonant palatalization was segmentalized as **i*. The different stems with *m* vs. *n* in North Finnic may have resulted from different ways of adaptation of the IE stem or from analogy of stems with the suffixal **n*. Moreover, one cannot entirely rule out the possibility that the similar Hungarian and Ob Ugric, and maybe even the Permic stems may result from borrowing of some related stems from other IE source languages.

2. In view of this suggestion it is interesting to note that Jorma Koivulehto (1992 : 79–82) has presented two etymologies where two Finnic and Mordvinian stems of the IE (Early Aryan, Early Germanic or Early Baltic) origin have **i* (~ **j*) as a substitute for the PIE initial *ǵ*, cf. (a) Finnish *inhimillinen* 'human', Erzya Mordvinian *inže* 'guest', Moksha Mordvinian *inži* and PIE **ǵ^hh₁-e/o* or **ǵ^hh₁-ye/o* and (b) Finnish *ihme* 'wonder' and PIE **ǵ^h (h₃)-m-*, PB **žin-m-* > **žim-*, Lithuanian *žymė* 'mark, feature', Latvian *zīme*. There is no doubt that here Koivulehto has once again discovered a hitherto unknown model of pattern correspondence in prehistoric borrowings from the Indo-European to Finno-Ugric.

However, Koivulehto's explanation of the initial vowel **i* in the Finnic and Mordvinian stems seems to be too straightforward. Most probably, **i* has not resulted from one-to-one substitution of a/the PIE palatalized velar stop but rather from resegmentation. Note that my former, apparently somewhat ill-formulated hesitations concerning the two etymologies presented by Koivulehto, especially the second one (Viitso 1992) were provoked by the circumstance that the two IE stems, both beginning with a consonant cluster, clearly contradicted the morpheme structure conditions of Uralic languages and hence should have been adapted by the insertion of a prothetic or epenthetic vowel rather than by substituting a vowel for IE consonant or by postulating a hitherto unknown dialect with **j*-colored reflexes of the PIE palatalized velars just in order to explain the Finnic and Mordvinian initial **i*-vowels in the two borrowings. This was the underlying idea when I proposed that the Finnish noun *ihminen* was borrowed from Baltic, cf. Old Lithuanian *žmuō* 'human being' (: accsg *žmunį*) from Pre-Baltic **ǵhm-ōn*.

In fact, the idea of segmentalization of the initial velar consonant palatalization in IE borrowings can be applied even to those cases. At least in the case of Koivulehto's idea of deriving Finnish *ihme* 'wonder', Estonian *ime*, Livonian *i'm* from PIE **ǵ^h (h₃)-m-*, cf. PB **žin-m-* > **žim-*, Lithuanian *žymė* 'mark, feature', Latvian *zīme*, it leads to the

most natural explanation. In that case one actually meets the task of explaining the cluster *hm* dictated by Finnish *ihme* (< ?**ihmeh*) and the *-*h*-less Livonian **i'm*, Estonian *ime* (< **imeh*; note that **ihmeh* would have yielded *i'm* in Livonian and *ihme* in Estonian instead of the correct outputs). In the case of resegmentation of initial palatalized velar stops the Finnish cluster *hm* can be derived from the cluster **šnm* via an intermediate stage **hnm* or **šm*. For Livonian and Estonian one must suppose that it was the initial consonant in the former triconsonantal cluster that was first dropped; later the unique cluster **nm* was simplified to **m*.

Abbreviations

gsg — genitive singular, ngsg — nominative and genitive singular, npl — nominative plural, pl — plural.

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ТИИТ-РЕЙН ВИИТСО (Тарту)

ЛИВСКОЕ i'gmōd 'ДЕСНА'

1. Ливское слово *i'gmōd* 'десна' имеет соответствия во всех прибалтийско-финских языках, ср. эст. *ige*, мн. ч. *igemed*; вод. *ičee*, мн. ч. *ičemed*; фин. *ien*, мн. ч. *ikenet*, *ikumet*, *ikuset*, *ikusimet*, иж. *ien*, мн. ч. *ikkeenet*; кар. *ijen*, мн. ч. *igenet*, *igimet*; люд. *igeñ*, мн. ч. *igeñed*; вепс. *igeñ*, *igineh*. Ливское, эстонское, водское и часть финских соответствий предполагают реконструкцию **ikeme* или **ikume*- и не допускают прафинно-угорскую реконструкцию **ikeñe* или **ikene*. Вероятно, прибалтийско-финская основа заимствована из индоевропейских языков, причем в прибалтийско-финском индоевропейский начальный палатализованный велярный смычный был пересегментирован как **ik*. Разные прибалтийско-финские варианты основы, а также возможные венгерские, обско-угорские и даже пермские соответствия обусловлены вариацией уже на индоевропейской почве.

2. Идея о сегментализации индоевропейского палатализованного велярного смычного в прибалтийско-финском позволяет пересмотреть существенные этимологии Й. Койвулехто, в которых предполагалась субституция индоевропейского начального палатализованного велярного смычного прибалтийско-финским **j*-. В частности, оказывается возможным более естественное объяснение развития фин. *ihme* и лив. *i'm*, эст. *ime* 'чудо', ср. праиндоевр. **ǵn*(*h*₃)-*m*-.