

**aja-* ‘to drive; to flee’

- Saami *S vuejedh, U vüejjeet, L vuodjet, N vuodjit, I vyeijid, Sk vue'jjed ~ vuejjad* (K T) ‘to drive’ (< PSaa **vuojē-*)
- Finnic *Fi ajaa, Kar ajoa, Lud ajada, Veps ajada, Est ajada, Liv a'ijjə* ‘to drive; to chase’ (< PFi **aja-*)
- Mordvin (?) *M ajdams* ‘to spur on (a horse); to drive; to row (a boat). — This seems to reflect a causative formation **aj-ta-*, with formal correspondents in Mansi and Samoyed. However, the regular reflex of Pre-Md **-jt-* is Md *-d-* instead of *-jd-*: cf. *M vaj* ‘fat, butter, oil’ ~ *vadams* ‘to grease, lubricate’ (< Pre-Md **vaj, *vaj-ta-*) (► **wayji* ‘fat’). Perhaps *-jd-* can be explained by assuming that the derivative was only later created from an unattested Md word **ajams*, and hence did not participate in the Pre-Md sound change **-jt-* > **-d-*.
- Mari *oje-* ‘to bolt (of horses)’. — A similar semantic development is found in the Komi cognate.
- Permic Komi *voj-* ‘иметь норы, не слушаясь повода, очень быстро слускаться с горы’, Udm *uji-* ‘to drive, chase, pursue; to catch up with’ (< PPerm **uji-*). — As for the semantics of the Komi cognate, cf. the Mari item above.
- Mansi E *vujt-* in *jit-vujt-* ‘to hunt, pursue’ (*jit* ‘running fast’) (< PMs **wūjt-* < **ūjt-*). — This reflects a causative formation **aj-ta-*, cf. the Mordvin and Samoyed cognates.
- Samoyed NenT *ngæda-* ‘to release, let free, let go’, Ngan *nočidi* (der.?) ‘to be released, be let free’, Slk *ūtə-* ‘to send, release’, *ūti-* (der.) ‘to run’, Mat *astə-* ‘to send’ (also an auxiliary with a perfective meaning) (< PSam **ajtā-*). — This is a causative derivative (< U **aj-ta-*); cf. the Mordvin and Mansi cognates. Note, though, that there is another etymology displaying a different vowel development in the same environment: U ► **kajwa-* ‘dig; spade’ > PSam **kajwā* ‘spade’.

The U verb **aja-* is generally assumed to be a (Proto-)Indo-European borrowing, cf. PIE **h₂ag-* ‘to drive’ > Old Indic *ájati*, Latin *agō*, Swedish *åka*. The sound substitution PIE **g* > U **j* is predictable: the palatal glide **j* was presumably the phonetically closest Uralic substitute for a voiced palatal stop.

Some of the Uralic cognates point to a meaning ‘to flee, escape’ rather than ‘to drive’, but this may be secondary. This meaning underlies also the Samoyed causative formation: **aja-* ‘flee, escape, run away’ → **aj-ta-* ‘let run away, let go, release’.

There is also another Mansi item that has been occasionally included in this set: S *aj-* ‘to be freed, set free; to free oneself; to run away’, N *oj-* ‘to run away’, (causative) W *ōjt-* ‘to untie, release’ (< PMs **ōj-*, **ōj-t-*). The semantics match perfectly, but the vowel correspondence is irregular: PMs **ō* is not a regular reflex of U **a*. Hence, the word is more likely a borrowing from another branch – possibly Proto-Samoyed, even though only the derived form **aj-ta-* is attested in this branch. On the other hand, this Mansi word has also been compared to Hung *ajtó* ‘door’, but such a connection is not semantically plausible; on the Hungarian word see ► **aŋi-* ‘to open; to take off’.

KESKJa ***vojny*** (Perm ~ Fi Ms **ōj-*) || FUV 140 (Fi Saa Perm Ms, two separate Ms cognates; ? < IE) || UEW 4 (Fi Saa Perm Ms **wūj-t-*; ? < IE), 901 (Ms **ōj-* ~ Hung *ajtó*) || Sammallahti 1988: 542 (Fi Saa Perm ?Ms < **aja-*) || SSA s.v. *ajaa* (Fi ~ Saa Perm Ms; two separate Ms cognates; ? < IE)

**ajŋi* or **ajwi* ‘brain’

Saami 1) L *vuojnam* ‘brain’ (< PSaa **vuojŋe-m*), N *vuoiŋašat* id. (< PSaa **vuojŋeš-ek*, pl.)

2) I *vuoivažn*, Sk *vuōivášn* (K T) ‘brain’ (< PSaa **vuojvešn*).

The functions of the suffixal elements in Saami are not clear. On the irregular variation **-ŋ-* ~ **-v-* see below.

Finnic Fi *aivot* (pl.), dial. *aju*, Kar *aivot* (pl.), Veps *aiv* ~ *aivod* (pl.), Vot *aju*, Est *aju*, EstS *.aivõq* (pl.) ‘brain’ (< PFi **aivo*; a derivative?)

Hungarian *agy* ‘brain’

The reconstruction of the consonant cluster is problematic, as forms pointing both to **-jŋ-* and to **-jw-* are attested in Saami. The Finnic and Hungarian forms are ambiguous, as in Finnic postconsonantal **ŋ* and **w* have merged into PFi **v*, and in Hungarian both **ŋ* and **w* would have been lost after **j*. It is difficult to determine which of the Saami forms is primary. The eastern Saami forms with **-jv-* might have developed through contamination with PSaa **vuojves* ‘liver’; but on the other hand, eastern Saami **vuojvešn* could also reflect the original form, in which case the forms with **-ŋ-* would result from contamination with PSaa **vuojŋe-* ‘breath, spirit, life; to breathe’ > N *vuoiŋa*, *vuoiŋat*. (► **wajŋi-* ‘breath; to breathe’)

Md M *uj* ‘brain; marrow’ has been frequently cited as a possible member of this cognate set. However, Md *u* cannot derive from U **a* in this kind of environment. On phonological grounds the word more likely derives from U ► **ojwa* ‘head’.

Also various Samoyed cognates have been proposed, but all of them are demonstrably false:

1) NenT *ngæway*^o ~ *ngæwey*^o, EnT *ebe* ‘brain’. — These reflect PSam **ajwã-jə*, which is a derivative of PSam **ajwã* ‘head’ (► **ojwa* ‘head’).

2) Ngan *dīa* ‘brain; intelligence’. — This word has no known cognates, but in any case it shows no regular sound correspondence whatsoever with U **ajŋ/wi*.

3) Slk “*kōu*”. — This represents PSlk *kū̄mā* ‘marrow; brain’ and is cognate with NenT *xæwa*, Ngan *kojmu* ‘marrow’ (< PSam **kājmā*). Due to the **k-* and **-m-* the comparison to U **ajŋ/wi* is rejectable.

4) Slk “*kū̄uŋ*”. — This represents PSlk *kū̄ŋ* ‘marrow; brain’. Its relationship to PSlk *kū̄mā* ‘marrow; brain’ (see above) is obscure, but in any case the *k̄-* (< **k-*) excludes any connection to U **ajŋ/wi*.

FUV 24 (Saa Fi Md Hu En Ngan Slk; an uncertain comparison) || SW: 58 (PSam **kājmā*) || UEW 5 (Fi Saa ?Md ?Hung) || Sammallahti 1988: 542 (Saa Fi Md Hung < **ajŋi*) || YSS 1452 (Fi *aivo* ~ PSaa **vuojŋe-* ‘breathe’) || SSA s.v. *aivot* (Fi = Saa ?Md ?Hung ?Sam) || SlkWb 1868 (Slk *kū̄m* < PSam **kājmā*), 2155 (Slk *kū̄ŋ*? ~ Kam)

**äktä-* ‘to cut’

Saami *S aektedh* ‘to separate the vertebrae on the neck and the back when slaughtering’, N *ávttahat* (der.) ‘slaughtering-place in winter’, I *ähtiđ* ‘to slaughter’, Sk *ä’htted* (K T) ‘to slaughter, skin’ (< PSaa **äktē-*)

Permic Komi *ektini* ‘to reap, gather’, Udm *oktini* ‘to reap, gather, take out, take away’ (< PPerm **öktī-*). — A semantic shift took place in Permic: ‘to cut’ > ‘to reap, gather crops’ > ‘to gather (in general)’.

Khanty N *ewät-*, E *öyät-*, S *ewät-* ‘to cut’ (< PMs **öyät-*)

Mansi N *jakt-*, E *jäxt-*, W (M/LL) *jäxt-*, S *jikt-*, *jäkt-* ‘to cut’ (< PMs **jäkt-*). — The initial **j-* and the short vowel are not clear; the regular reflex of U **ä* is PMs **ǟ*. Compare ► **äskə-* ‘to believe’, which likewise shows an unexpected short **ä* in PMs.

Komi *okti-* ‘to fell, cut a tree’ has usually been presented as the Permic member of this cognate set. This is inconvincing, though, because Komi *o* is not a regular reflex of U **ä*, and there are no parallels even for an irregular development of U **ä* into Komi *o*. Sammallahti (1988) presents Komi *ektī-* and Udm *okti-* as Permic cognates; this follows regular sound correspondences.

Hung *üt* (~ dial. *it*) ‘to hit, strike’ cannot belong in this cognate set due to the irregular vowel correspondence: the regular reflex of U **ä-* is Hung *e-*.

FUV 88 (Saa Komi *okti-* Obugr) || UEW 23 (also ??Hung) || Sammallahti 1988: 542–543 (Saa Komi *ektī-* Udm *okti-* Obugr)

****imta-*** ‘to feed, let drink’

Saami	U <i>vüeb'teet</i> , L <i>vuobddet</i> , N <i>vuovdit</i> , I <i>vyebedid</i> ‘to sell’ (< PSaa * <i>vuomtē-</i>).
Finnic	Fi <i>antaa</i> , Kar <i>antoa</i> , Lud, Veps <i>anta</i> , Vot <i>antā</i> , Est <i>anda</i> , Liv <i>andə</i> ‘to give; to let’ (< PFi * <i>anta-</i>)
Mordvin	E <i>andoms</i> , M <i>andəms</i> ‘to feed’
Mari	<i>omde-</i> ‘to become filled with milk (of udder)’, <i>omdākte-</i> (causative) ‘to suckle (a calf)’. — This cognate has usually been rejected without good reason; the sound correspondence is regular and the semantic connection is quite transparent: cf. the meaning ‘to let drink’ in Permic.
Permic	Komi <i>ud-</i> ~ <i>udj-</i> ‘to let drink, give to drink; to feed and water (animals)’, Udm <i>ud-</i> ~ <i>udj-</i> ‘to let drink, give to drink’
Hungarian	<i>ad</i> ‘to give’

As the oldest meaning seems to be ‘to feed, let drink’, one could think that this is originally a causative derivative **im-ta-* of a U root **imi-* ‘to be satiated (?)’. This underived stem would then be reflected in Komi *um-* ‘to tire with something’, Udm *imj-* ‘to tire with (a particular food)’ (< PPerm **ūmj-*, with illabialization in Udm). However, this assumption remains uncertain, as no reflexes of the assumed root **imi-* appear to be found outside Permic.

The inclusion of SaaSk *uv'dded* ‘to give’ in this cognate set is not acceptable; the origin of this word is unknown, but it would presuppose a PSaa form **uvtē-*, and cannot be connected with the reflexes of PSaa **vuomtē-* ‘to sell’.

FUV 88 (Saa Fi Md ?Mari Perm Hung) || UEW 8 (Saa [including Sk *uv'dded*] Fi Md Perm Hung < **amta-*; Mari cognate rejected) || Sammallahti 1988: 541 (a.a.) || SSA *antaa* (Saa Fi Md Perm Hung)

****kätki-*** ‘to wrap up’

Saami	U <i>geädhkat</i> ‘to bear a child’, L <i>gierkkat</i> ‘id.; to wrap up a child and lay it in its cradle’, N <i>gietkat</i> , I <i>kietkad</i> , Sk <i>kiōtkkâd</i> (T) ‘to wrap up a child and lay it in its cradle’ (< PSaa * <i>kietke-</i>); S <i>gierhkeme</i> ~ <i>gietkeme</i> , U <i>geädhkama</i> , L <i>gierkav</i> , N <i>gietkka</i> , I <i>kietka(m)</i> , Sk <i>kiōtkâm</i> (K T) ‘Saami cradle’ (< PSaa * <i>kietkem</i> , der.)
Finnic	Fi, Kar <i>kätkeä</i> , Est <i>kätkeda</i> , EstS <i>.käkämä</i> ‘to hide (tr.)’ (< PFi * <i>kätke-</i>); Fi, Kar <i>kätkyt</i> , Lud <i>kätküd</i> , Veps <i>kättut</i> , Vot <i>čäčüd</i> , Est <i>kätki</i> ‘cradle’ (< PFi * <i>kätküt</i> , der.)

- Permic ? Udm *kęki* ‘birch-bark cradle’. — The vowel correspondence is irregular: Udm *ę* is not an expected reflex of U **ä*.
- Samoyed NenT *syedə-* ‘to lay a child in the cradle and tuck him up with fur blankets; to give birth; to rear, feed’, *syed^oq* (der.) ‘a blanket made of reindeer hide for a cradle-child’, Ngan *šetädi* ‘to load’, *šetätäsi* (der.) ‘to load (things in a sledge)’, Mat *kedə-* ‘to wrap up’ (< PSam **kätə-*)

Finnic **kätke-* ‘to hide (tr.)’ has also been considered cognate with Md E *kekšems*, M *käšäms* ‘to hide (tr., intr.)’, but this comparison is rejectable due to the irregular consonant correspondence PFi **tk* ~ PMs **kš*. UEW (649) reconstructs the form **käčke-* and postulates a development **čk* > **šk* > Md **kš*, but this is *ad hoc*: the regular reflex of U *-*čk-* is Md *-*čk-*, and there are no parallels for the alleged change.

SKES s.v. *kätkeä* (Fi ~ Md), *kätkyt* (Fi ~ Saa ?Udm) || UEW 649 (Fi *kätke-* Md < **käčke-*), 654 (?Saa ?Fi *kätkyt* ?Udm) || SSA s.v. *kätkeä* (~ Saa; Md rejected), *kätkyt* (← *kätkeä*) || Aikio 2002: 20–21 (Fi Saa ~ NenT Mat)

**kuđi* ‘morning’

- Permic ? Komi *kija* ‘the red of dawn; sunset’ (? < PPerm **kĭ-*). — On both phonological and semantic grounds this word can equally well reflect U ► **koji* ‘dawn’. The ending *-a* is not clear – an obscured derivational suffix?
- Khanty E *költəγ*, N (der.) *käləwət* ‘morning’ (< PKh **koltəγ*, der.)
- Mansi S *khul*, W *kol*, E, N *χol* ‘morning’ (< PMs **kəl*)
- Hungarian *holnap* ‘morning’ (comp., *nap* ‘day’)
- Samoyed Slk *karə* ‘morning’, Kam *karəlden* ‘tomorrow’ (der.) (< PSam **kərə*)

In addition to the Slk and Kam forms above also other Samoyed forms have been included in this set. These, however, represent two distinct word families which due to phonological reasons can have no connection to PSam **kərə*:

- 1) NenT *xúw^oh* ‘in the morning’, Mat *kūman* ‘tomorrow’ (< PSam **kuəmən*).
- 2) En *kiduduo*, *kururuo*, Ngan *kiđüatu* (?) ‘morning’ (derivatives of PSam **kitä-* ? ~ **kütä-* ‘to wake up’).

FUV 36 (Kh Ms Hung Nen En Ngan Slk Kam) || SW: 72 (En Ngan < **kitä-* ‘wake up’) || UEW: 193 (as in FUV) || Helimski 1997: 292–293 (Mat NenT < **kuwm-*) || Aikio 2002: 42–43 (Ugr ~ Slk Kam; the other Sam cognates are incorrect)

***kulta-** ‘to fish with a drift-net’

- Saami *S geltedh*, *L gälldet*, *N goldit*, *I kolded* ‘to fish with a drift-net; to scoop (e.g. meat from a soup-kettle)’, *Sk ká’ldded* (T) ‘to dig, scoop (for something in the bottom of water)’ (< PSaa *koltē-); *S galtege*, *U gälldege*, *N goldda* ‘drift-net’ (< PSaa *koltek, der.)
- Khanty *N χol-*, *S χuttä-* ‘to fish’; *E kəltə joyəlpon* ‘drift-net’ (< PKh *kəlt-, in N with irregular loss of *-t-)
- Mansi *N χult-* ‘калыданом промыслять’, *χultne pon* ‘калыдан’ (der.), *W (ML) khult-* ‘to seek with the beak (of goose)’ (< PMs *kult-)

The word is an obscured consonant-stem causative of U ►*kulki- ‘to go, flow’: *kulk-ta- > U *kulta- (P. Sammallahti, p.c.). An exact semantic and word-formational parallel is provided by SaaN *golgadit* ‘to fish with a drift-net’, which shows identical morphology but is based on the vowel stem (< PSaa *kolke-tē-, a causative of PSaa *kolke- ‘to flow’ < U *kulki-). The morphophonological rule *k > Ø /C_ is well-attested before the suffix *-tA-; see the discussion under ►*aški-(li-) ‘step’.

Also Fi *kultaa* ‘to fish with a drift-net’, *kulle* ‘drift-net’ and Kar *kuultoa* ‘to fish with a drift-net’ have been included in this cognate set. However, these are only attested in the northernmost dialects and are hence best interpreted as loanwords from Saami. It has also been proposed that the Finnic words are derivatives of Fi and Kar *kuulla* ‘to hear; to feel’ (< U ►*kuyl-), and that the Saami words were borrowed from Finnic (Posti 1978). This is not plausible because the word is attested throughout Saami, whereas the Finnic attestations are limited to the northernmost dialects of Finnish and Karelian.

Mari *kelde* ‘a kind of large fishing net’, Komi *kəlt-*, Udm *kaltj-* ‘to fish with a drift-net’ have often been included in this cognate set, but this is erroneous; instead they reflect U *käl-tä-, a causative of U ►*kälä- ‘to wade’.

Also Slk (Tas) *qoltäj-* ‘to scoop’ has been compared to U *kulta-, but this is not phonologically acceptable: U *kulta- would predictably have developed into PSam *kəjtä- and further to Slk *kütä-. The Selkup item might instead be a loanword from Ob-Ugric.

FUV 46 (Saa Perm Kh Ms Slk; Fi < ? Saa) || E. Itkonen 1970 (Fi Kar < Saa; Mari Permic < U *käl-tä-) || Posti 1978 (Fi Kar *ku(u)lta-* ← *kuulla*; Saa < Fi) || Sammallahti 1979: 29 (FU ~ Slk) || UEW 198–199 (Saa Kh Ms ??Slk < *kulta-; Fi < Saa); 649 (Mari Perm < *käl-tä-) || Sammallahti 1988: 544 (Saa Fi Mari Perm Kh Ms < U *kulta-) || SSA s.v. *kultaa* (Fi = Saa ?Kh ?Ms; possibly Fi </> Saa) || Sammallahti, p.c. (U *kulta- is a causative of *kulki-)

**lomi*- ‘snow’

- Saami *S lopme* ‘snow’ (< PSaa **lome*). — UEW suggests that this word is a Finnic loan, but there is no phonological or other reason for this interpretation.
- Finnic Fi, Kar, Lud, Veps, Vot, Est, EstS *lumi*, Liv *lu^ˈm*, *lu^ˈim* ‘snow’ (< PFi **lumi*)
- Mordvin (?) E *lov*, dial. *loŋ*, M *lov* ‘snow’ (< PMd **loŋ*). — The change **m* > **ŋ* is irregular and has no clear parallels.
- Mari *lâm*, *lum* ‘snow’
- Permic Komi *lijm* ‘snow’, Udm *lijmi* ‘snow’ (< PPerm **lijm(i)*). — The final vowel in Udm has not been satisfactorily explained; one would expect a syncope to have taken place after intervocalic **m* already in Proto-Permic.
- Hungarian *lom* (dial.) ‘slush; (arch.) rime, hoar-frost’
- Samoyed Ngan *dum* ‘snow’, Slk *ćom-* ‘to snow’ (< PSam **jom(-)*); NenT *yomcyah* ‘thin snowfall’, Slk *ćopsaŋ* ‘freshly fallen snow’ (< PSam **jomsaŋ*, der.)

The inclusion of SaaT *lāmmad* ‘to fill with snow (e.g. a kettle)’ (UEW: 253) in this cognate set is incorrect. The word would reflect PSaa **lāme-*, and the vocalism is incompatible with U **lomi*; the Saami vowel combination **ā-ē* is unetymological and does not appear in underived word-roots of Uralic origin.

NenT *yomcyah* has also been compared to SaaT *līž* (GenSg *līččige*) ‘thin crust of ice (on trees and on the ground in autumn)’ (< PSaa **luoček*) and KhN *las*, (Kaz) *лос* : *лос-*, (Ni) *лос*, S (DN) *лонт* ‘snow’ (< PKh **lāńć*). This etymology is on both morphological and phonological grounds rejectable: the NenT item is a derivative of PSam **jom-*, and the Saami, Khanty and Samoyed words show no regular sound correspondence with each other.

Janhunen 1981: (+ Sam, < U **lomi*) || UEW 253 (without Sam; Saa ? < Finn; also SaaT *lāmmad*), 261 (NenT *yomcyah* ~ ?SaaT *līž*, Kh) || SSA *lumi* (Saa Fi Md Mari Perm Sam)

**lupsa* ‘dew’

- Saami *S lepsie*, U *lap'see*, N *laksi*, I *lapse*, Sk *lá'pss* (K T) ‘dew’ (< PSaa **lepsē*). — The predictable reflex would actually be PSaa **lopsē*, but a labial dissimilation **o* > **ē* took place next to the labial consonant **p*. While this change is not regular, it has many

parallels, e.g. the Saami reflexes of U ▶ **kupsa-* ‘to extinguish’, ▶ **muna* ‘egg’, ▶ **puša-* ‘to squeeze’, ▶ **puna-* ‘to plait’.

Mordvin ? E *lovco* ~ *lovso*, M *loftsa* ‘milk’. — The E form *lovso* would be a regular reflex of U **lupsa*. However, the semantic shift ‘dew’ > ‘milk’ lacks clear parallels, and hence the connection remains speculative. Moreover, there is also a similar word in Finnic: Finnish *lypsää* ‘to milk’, which may be related via irregular palatovelar alteration (? **lupsa-* ~ **lüpsä-* ‘milk; to milk’).

Note also that previously a different Mordvin cognate has been proposed (see below).

Mari *lâpš*, *lupš* ‘dew’

Permic Komi *līs-va*, Udm *līs-vu* ‘dew’ (< PPerm **līs-vü*). — These are compounded with Komi *va*, Udm *vu* ‘water’ (▶ **weti* ‘water’).

Samoyed NenT *yōbta*, En *đota*, Ngan *đebtua* (der.), Slk *ćaptu* (der.), Kam *te?pta*, Mat *чибталъ* (der.; phonologization unclear) ‘dew’ (< PSam **jəptā*)

Md E *lekš* ~ *lakš*, M *lakš* ~ *leš* ‘hoar-frost, rime’ has also been considered a member of this cognate set, but this seems unlikely due to the completely irregular consonant correspondences (**p* vs. **k*, **s* vs. **š*); note that the vocalism is not regular either. The Mordvin item has been used as an argument for reconstructing the proto-form of the word as U **lupša*, but this does not solve the phonological problems. First, Md *-k-* would still remain unexplained; UEW (261) maintains that the reflexes of U **-kš-* and **-pš-* merged in Md, but this is *ad hoc*, because no other examples of a development U **p* > Md **k* are known. Second, the Permic form **līs-* falsifies the reconstruction of **l-* and **-š-*. For this reason the Permic cognates have been rejected by UEW, but as Md *lekš* ~ *lakš* is the only form pointing to **-š-* and because it also shows other unexplained irregularities, the proper solution is to exclude it from the cognate set instead.

FUV 50 (Saa Md *lekš* Mari Sam) || KESKJa **lysva** (Perm ~ Mari) || Sammallahti 1979: 31 (FU **lūpšä* ~ Sam) || Janhunen 1981: 223 (U **lupsa*; the *l* and *š* in Md are interpreted as secondary) || UEW 261 (Saa Md *lekš*, Mari Sam; Permic rejected) || Sammallahti 1988: 538 (Saa Md *lekš* Mari Sam)

**nolkə* (?) ‘slime, sweat, snot’

Saami S *snoelke*, U *snuall'ga*, L *snuolgga*, N *snuolga* ‘snot’, Sk *nuōlgg* ~ *njuōlgg* ~ *snuōlgg* ‘snot; a throat sickness of reindeer caused by a parasitic gadfly larva’ (< PSaa **nuolke* ~ **nuolke* ~ **snuolke*). —

The widely attested irregular *sn-* is apparently an expressive modification.

- Finnic Kar *nolki* ‘drool, spit; snot; slime (of a fish)’, Lud *nolġ* ‘drool; slime (of a fish)’, Est *nõlg* ‘snot’, Liv *nolġ* ‘slime’ (< PFi **nolki*). — The change **n-* > *n̄-* in northeastern Finnic is typical of affective vocabulary.
- Mordvin E *nolgo*, M *nolga* ‘snot’
- Permic Komi *n̄ilem*, Udm *n̄ulem* ‘sweat’ (< PPerm **n̄ilem* or **n̄ilem*). — The vowel correspondence is slightly irregular; the Permic word would presuppose either U **n̄ulkə* or **n̄olka*, depending on which of the Permic languages has preserved the original vocalism in this word. PPerm **ĩ* is the regular reflex of U **u*, and PPerm **ũ* of U **o(-a)*.
- Hungarian *nyál* ‘drool, spit, slime’
- Samoyed NenT *nyoxa-* ‘to sweat’, *nyoxol* (der.) ‘dirt; slime (e.g. at birth)’, Slk *nelcu-* ‘to sweat’ (irreg.?), Kam *nogo*, Mat *n̄öjgö ~ n̄öjgö* (? ~ *n̄üjgü ~ n̄üjgü*) ‘sweat’ (< PSam **nojka*).

There is slight irregularity in the sound correspondences, which probably results from the affective semantics of the word. Certain SaaSk dialects point to *n-*, but Permic, Hungarian and Samoyed presuppose **n̄-*, which is also found in the SaaSk variant *njuõlġg*; the initial cluster *sn-* in the rest of the Saami forms is in any case secondary.

Samoyed and possibly also Permic point to an **a*-stem (**nolka*) instead of an **i*-stem (**nolki*) attested in Finnic and Saami. However, one would expect the lowering **o* > **ɑ* in PSam in a Uralic **a*-stem.

FUV 117 (Fi Saa Md ?Hung) || UEW 322 (Saa Finn Md Hung) || Sammallahti 1988: 546 (ibid.) || Schrijver 1997: 298 (FU ~ PSam **nojka*) || SSA s.v. *nolki* (Saa Finn Md Hung; “descriptive”) || SlkWb no. 1719 (Slk < PSam)

**päjwä* ‘sun, warmth’

- Saami S *biejje*, U *bäivee*, L *biejvve*, N *beaivi*, I *pejvi*, Sk *pei’vv* (K T) ‘day; sun’ (< PSaa **peajvē*)
- Finnic Fi, Kar *päivä*, Lud, Veps *päiv*, Vot *päivä*, Est *päev*, Liv *pāva* ‘day; sun’ (< PFi **päivä*)
- Permic ? Komi *bi* ‘fire; light’ (< PPerm **bĩ* ?)
- Samoyed Ngan *hejbi* ‘warmth, heat’, Slk *pū* ‘warm’, *põt-* (der.) ‘to warm oneself’ (< PSam **päjwä*).

Also NenT *píw*^o ‘warm and dry summer wind’ and Kam *pide-* ‘to warm’ have been compared to the Ngan and Slk words cited above. As for the Nen form, the vocalism does not match: the regular reflex of PSam **päjwä* would be NenT **pyíbya*. The Kam word, in turn, derives from PSam **pi-tä-*, which is a causative of PSam **pi-* ‘to cook (intr.)’ (< U ► **peyi-* ‘to cook’).

The proposed equation of PSam **päjwä* with SaaN *bivvat* ‘to stay warm, feel warm enough’ and Komi *pim* ‘warmth, heat; boiling water; hot; glowing’ is incorrect: while vaguely similar in form, these words show no regular sound correspondence at all. The comparison of Komi *bi* to SaaN *baján* ‘thunder’ and KhS *páj* ‘thunder, lightning’, KhE *päj*, KhN *páj* ‘thunder’ (< PKh **pāj*) is likewise unacceptable due to the irregular vowel correspondence. Moreover, the Saami word is a transparent derivative of the PSaa spatial noun root **pejē-* ‘up, above’.

FUV (Saa *bivvat* ?Komi *pim* Nen Ngan Slk Kam) || SW: 120 (Ngan Slk < PSam **pejwä*, NenT *píw*^o not included) || Sammallahti 1979: 34 (Saa Fi ~ Sam) || Janhunen 1981: 224 (ibid) || UEW 359 (Komi *bi* ? ~ SaaN *baján*, Kh **pāj*), 360 (Saa *beaivi* Finn *päivä* ??Komi *bi* ??Kh **pāj*), 366 (SaaN *bivvat* ?Komi *pim* NenT *píw*^o Ngan Slk < **päwe-*) || Sammallahti 1988: 540 (Saa Fi Komi Sam) || SSA s.v. *päivä* (Fi ~ Saa ??Komi Sam)

**piδmi-* (?) ‘to be dark’

- | | |
|---------|--|
| Finnic | Fi <i>pimeä</i> , Kar <i>pimie</i> , Lud, Veps <i>pimed</i> , Vot <i>pimiä</i> , Est <i>pime</i> , Liv <i>pi`mdə</i> ‘dark’ (< PFi <i>*pimedä</i>). — On the loss of <i>*-δ-</i> see below. |
| Permic | Komi <i>pemid</i> , Udm <i>pel`mit</i> ~ <i>pe`nmit</i> ~ <i>pejmit</i> ‘dark; darkness’ (< PPerm <i>*pel`mit</i> ?) |
| Samoyed | NenT <i>pæwø-</i> ‘to be dark’, <i>pæw^odya</i> (der.), En <i>feide</i> (der.), Ngan <i>hojməgə</i> (der.) ‘dark’, <i>hojminsi</i> (der.) ‘to be dark’ (< PSam <i>*pəjmə-</i>). |

The correspondence between Finnic **-m-*, PPerm **-l̥m-* and PSam **-jm-* is unique to this cognate set, and varying reconstructions have been proposed to account for the correspondence. UEW assumes a proto-form **pil̥mə-* with a palatalized lateral, but this does not provide a genuine explanation, as there seem to be no satisfactory etymologies supporting the reconstruction of a U phoneme **l̥* in the first place. On the other hand, Janhunen (1981: 237) and Sammallahti (1988: 539) reconstruct the proto-form as **pilmi-* with an unpalatalized lateral. Against this solution one can point out that in all other cases the cluster **lm* has been regularly preserved in Finnic, and that the reconstruction of U **lm* is not supported by Permic either, where its regular reflex is PPerm **nm*.

Udmurt dialectal forms seem to point to PPerm **l̥m*; the single consonant **m* in the Komi form is obviously secondary. PPerm **l̥m* could be interpreted as the reflex of U **δm*, as the development U **δ* > PPerm **l̥* is a well-established sound law. The

reconstruction of U * δ suits also the Samoyed form **päjma-*, U * δ > PSam **j* being the regular development. While the loss of * δ in Finnic has no known parallels, the reconstruction of **δm* instead of **lm* is a better solution even from this perspective. The development U **lm* >> PFi **m* would be completely irregular and without parallels, whereas no other examples are known of the development of the cluster **δm*. While U * δ normally developed into PFi **t*, the cluster **tm* does not occur in Proto-Finnic vocabulary, which gives some support to the idea that **δm* could have developed to PFi **m*.

The Finnic and Permic forms reflect an adjectival derivative with the suffix *-*tä*, and an analogous formation in found is Samoyed (NenT *pæw°dya*, En *feide*). If these were not separately formed, one can also reconstruct a U adjective **piδmi-tä* ‘dark’.

FUV 68 (a.a., and also an erroneous Slk cognate) || Janhunen 1981: 237 (a.a., < U **pilmi-*, **pilmitä*; the Slk form does not belong here) || UEW 380–381 (a.a., < **pilmə*) || Sammallahti 1988: 539 (a.a., < U **pilmitä*) || SSA *pimeä* (a.a., loss of **l* in Finnic unexplained; possibly connected with U **pilwi* ‘cloud’)

**säwni* (?) ‘ide’

- Saami L *sēuna* ~ *seu'na* ~ *siuna*, Sk *siōun*, K *sivn* ‘ide’ (< PSaa **sievnek*, der.). — The N form “*sævnjad*” ‘ide’ cited by Qvigstad (1904) is phonologically obscure: if correct, this represents modern orthography *seavdnjat*, which is an entirely irregular reflex of PSaa **sievnek*. (Note the homonymous word *seavdnjat* ‘dark’.)
- Finnic Fi *säyne*, *säynäs*, *säynävä*, *säynäjä*, Kar *säyneä*, Lud *šäünäg*, Veps *säune*, Vot *säünäjä*, Est *säinäs* ‘ide’ (< PFi **säinə-*; the suffixal elements vary)
- Mordvin E *señej*, M *señi* ‘ide’ (< PMd **señəŋ*, der.)
- Permic Komi *šin* ‘ide’, Udm *son-čorig* ‘ide; roach’ (comp.; *čorig* ‘fish’) (< PPerm **sən* [**sôn?*])
- Hungarian *őn* ‘asp’

There is slight inconsistency in the vowel correspondences: Saami and Finnic point to U **-ä-*, MdM to **-e-*. The intra-Permic vowel correspondence is irregular; Udmurt *-o-* (regularly from < PPerm **-ö-*) would support the reconstruction of U **-ä-*, but in this case Komi *-j-* (instead of regular *-e-*) is irregular. Hungarian *-ő-* could reflect either **-äw-* or **-ew-*.

KESKJa **syn** (a.a.) || FUV 127 (a.a.) || Sammallahti 1988: 548 (without Komi) || UEW 437–438 (a.a.) || SSA *säynävä* (a.a.)

**soski-* ‘to chew’

Saami	S <i>soeskedh</i> , U <i>suasskat</i> , L <i>suosskat</i> , N <i>suoskat</i> , I <i>suoskađ</i> , Sk <i>suõskkâd</i> (K T) ‘to chew’ (< PSaa * <i>suoske-</i>)
Mordvin	E <i>suskoms</i> , M <i>suskams</i> ‘to bite’
Permic	Komi <i>seski-</i> , Udm <i>sjski-</i> ‘to chew’ (< PPerm * <i>sjski-</i>)
Khanty	N <i>loχal-</i> , E <i>loγal-</i> , <i>joγal-</i> , S <i>toχat-</i> ‘to chew’ (< PKh * <i>Lōγal-</i>)
Mansi	N, E <i>towt-</i> , W <i>täyt-</i> , S <i>tawt-</i> ‘to chew’ (< PMs * <i>tayt-</i>)
Samoyed	Slk <i>tutu-</i> , Kam <i>tudō-</i> ‘to chew’ (< PSam * <i>tutu-</i> , der.?). — The vowel * <i>-u-</i> has been considered irregular, but there is a parallel case suggesting that the development U * <i>o</i> > PSam * <i>u</i> (instead of * <i>ā</i>) is actually regular in this particular environment: U ► * <i>totki</i> > Slk <i>tutu</i> ~ <i>tuto</i> ‘crucian carp’.

Also En *toʔa-*, *tuʔa-* has been erroneously included in this set; however, it derives from PSam **tətwā-* (> NenT *təqwanə-* (der.), Ngan *tubuda*, Mat *toʔbə-* ‘to chew’). Despite the close resemblance to Slk *tutu-* and Kam *tudō-*, the words seem to be unrelated: one would expect PSam **-tw-* to have developed into Slk *-pt-* and not *-t-*, cf. PSam **wātwa* ‘place, bed’ > Slk *kōptə* ‘place, sleeping place’ (~ NenT *waqw°* ‘bed, hide (for sleeping on it)’, Ngan *bəbə* ‘place; bed’).

Sammallahti 1979: 35 (FU ~ Sam) || Janhunen 1981 (U **soski-* / **suski-*, also Permic irregular) || UEW 448–449 (also En *toʔa-*) || Sammallahti 1988: 527–531 (Permic forms regular) || Helimski 1997: 362 (Slk Kam probably < PSam **tətwā-*)

**śolmi-* ‘knot; to tie’

Saami	S <i>tjoelme</i> , U <i>tjual'bma</i> , L <i>tjuolmma</i> , N <i>čuolbma</i> , I <i>čuolma</i> , Sk <i>čuõlmm</i> (K T) ‘knot’; S <i>tjoelmedh</i> , L <i>tjuolmmad</i> , N <i>čuolbmat</i> , I <i>čuolmađ</i> , Sk <i>čuõlmmád</i> (K T) ‘to tie with a knot, with knots’ (< PSaa * <i>čuolme(-)</i>)
Finnic	Fi, Kar <i>solmi</i> ~ <i>solmu</i> , Lud, Veps <i>solm</i> , Vot <i>selmu</i> , Est <i>sõlm</i> , Liv <i>suolm</i> ‘knot’ (< PFi * <i>solmi</i> ~ * <i>solmu</i>)
Mordvin	E <i>śulmo</i> , M <i>śulma</i> ‘knot; bundle’; E, M <i>śulmams</i> ‘to tie’
Hungarian	? <i>csomó</i> ‘knot, gnarl, bundle, pile, group’

The initial affricate *cs-* in Hungarian is unclear; this has usually been explained by postulating initial **ć-* in the proto-form, even though Sammallahti (1988) reconstructs **śolmi* and apparently considers the affricate secondary. Neither of these explanations is entirely satisfactory. The reconstruction of **ć-* can be considered *ad hoc*, as there are no clear parallels for the development **ć-* > Hung *cs-*

, and the rest of the cognates are ambiguous and could equally well reflect *ś-; moreover, there are very few good etymologies to support the reconstruction of a U phoneme *ć in the first place (see the discussion under ► **ńjkćimi* ‘gill’). On the other hand, there are no known parallels for an irregular affrication *ś- >> Hung *cs-* either. Therefore, it remains uncertain whether Hung *csomó* belongs in this cognate set.

FUV 128 (Saa Fi Md Hung) || UEW 38 (ibid) || Sammallahti 1988: 549 (ibid) || SSA *solmu* (ibid)

**tuli* ‘fire’

Saami	S <i>dälle, dalle, dolle</i> , U <i>dälla</i> , L <i>dállå</i> , N <i>dolla</i> , I <i>tulla</i> , Sk <i>toll</i> (K T) ‘fire’ (< PSaa * <i>tole</i>)
Finnic	Fi, Kar <i>tuli</i> , Lud <i>tul'i</i> , Veps, Vot, Est <i>tuli</i> ‘fire’, Liv <i>tu'l</i> ‘fire; light’ (< PFi * <i>tuli</i>)
Mordvin	E, M <i>tol</i> ‘fire; (pl.) sparks’
Mari	<i>tul</i> ‘fire’
Permic	Komi <i>tīl-kert</i> ‘steel (for making fire)’ (comp., <i>kert</i> ‘iron’), Udm <i>tīl</i> ‘fire, flame’ (< PPerm * <i>tīl</i>)
Samoyed	NenT <i>tu</i> , En <i>tū</i> , Ngan <i>tuj</i> , Slk <i>tū̄</i> , Kam <i>šuu</i> , Mat <i>tuj</i> ‘fire’ (< PSam * <i>tuj</i>)

FUV (a.a., except Kam uncertain) || Sammallahti 1979: 37 (FU ~ Sam) | Janhunen 1981: 233 (ibid) || UEW 535 (a.a.) || SSA *tuli* (a.a.)

**tuni-* ‘to get used to, learn’

Mordvin	E <i>tonadoms</i> , M <i>tonadəms</i> ‘to learn, get used to’, E <i>tonavtoms</i> , M <i>tonaftəms</i> ‘to teach, make used to’ (derivatives)
Mari	<i>tunema-</i> , <i>tâmena-</i> (< * <i>tânema-</i> , metathetic) ‘to learn, practice, get used to’, <i>tunəkte-</i> ‘to teach, make used to’ (derivatives)
Permic	Komi <i>tun</i> ‘seer, soothsayer’, <i>tunal-</i> ‘to predict, foretell; to play grown-ups (of children)’, Udm <i>tuno</i> ‘soothsayer, sorcerer’, <i>tuna-</i> ‘to predict, foretell; to conjure’ (< PPerm * <i>tŭn(-o)</i> , * <i>tŭn-al-</i>). — One would expect PPerm * <i>-ŷ-</i> , but an irregular retention of labiality (Pre-Perm * <i>u</i> > PPerm * <i>ŭ</i>) is attested in several other words as well (cf. U ► * <i>pori-</i> ‘to bite’, ► * <i>puwi</i> ‘tree, wood’, ► * <i>šowi</i> ‘throat, mouth’, ► * <i>šura</i> ‘narrowing’, ► * <i>uji-</i> ‘swim’). The semantic development is fairly transparent: ‘to learn’ > ‘to obtain knowledge by magical means’.

- Hungarian *tanul-* ‘to learn, study’, *tanít* ‘to teach’ (derivatives)
- Samoyed NenT *tönyo-* ‘to learn, start behaving well (due to punishment)’, *tönara-* (der.) ‘to train, teach (by punishing), to tame’, En *tadda-* ‘to teach, train’, Slk *tan(t)̲mt̲-* ‘to learn, get used to’ (der.), (Tas) *tanti-* ‘to learn’ (< PSam **təntā-* ‘to teach’, **tənt-ö-* ‘to learn’). — These forms reflect a Uralic consonant-stem causative **tun-ta-*.

On phonological grounds, Fi *tottua* ‘to get used to’ does not belong in this cognate set. Instead, this verb is a derivative of **tot-ta-* ‘to train, make used to’, which in turn is a factitive formation of Fi *tosi* : *tote-* ‘true’ (< **‘tame’* ?). Compare also Fi *totella* ‘to obey’ (< **tot-t-ele-*).

KESKJa ***tunavy*** (Perm ~ Fi Mari Hung) || FUV (?Fi Md Mari ?Perm Hung Sam) || UEW 537 (Md Mari ??Perm Hung Sam) || Sammallahti 1988 (Md Mari Hung < **toni-*) || SSA *tottua*, *totella* (← *tosi*) || Aikio 2002: 42–43 (U **tuni-*; Sam < **tun-ta-*)

****woča-*** ‘obstacle, fence; to wait’

- Saami 1) N *oahci* ‘obstacle, barrier (in nature); reef’, *oazis* ‘barrier across a river (used in drift-net fishing)’, I *ozes* ‘net in a weir’ (< PSaa **oacē*, **oacē-s*).
- 2) obsolete “Swedish” Saami *ådsotit* ‘to wait’ (< PSaa **oacōttē-*). — This word reflects a derivative **(w)očotta-* and has an exact cognate in Finnic, see below.
- Finnic 1) ? : Fi *ota* ‘thorn, edged weapon’, Veps *odeg* (der.) ‘striking weapon’, Est *oda* ‘spear, thorn’, Liv *vuoda* ‘spear, bayonet’ (< PFi **ota*). — These words would regularly reflect the underived noun root **woča*, but the semantic correspondence is not clear: perhaps ‘fence’ > ‘fence post’ > ‘sharp pole, spear’? This Finnic word has also been compared to Mari *undo* ~ *umdo* ‘spear, thorn’, PKh **ōηtəγ* ‘spear’, PMs **aγtā* id., but this is not acceptable due to the completely irregular consonant correspondence.
- 2) Fi *otava* ‘salmon net; Big Dipper’, Kar *otava*, Lud *adam* (irreg.), Vot *otava*, Est *odamus* (dial.), *odav* (arch.) ‘Big Dipper’ (< PFi **otava*; in Lud and Est with a different suffix)
- 3) Fi *odottaa*, Kar *vuottaa*, Veps *vottatada*, Vot *ōtella* (der.), Est *oodata*, Liv *vuodlā* (der.) ‘to wait’ (< PFi **odotta-*). — This derivative reflects U **(w)očotta-* and has a cognate in Saami (see above).
- Mordvin E *učoms*, M *učəms* ‘to wait’
- Mari *wuće-*, *wāče-* ‘to wait’

- Khanty 1) S *woš*, E *wač*, N *was* ‘village, fortress, town’ (< PKh **wāč*)
 2) S *woš-*, E *wač-*, N *was-* ‘to fish (with a weir etc.)’ (< PKh **wāč-*)
 3) S *wočəm*, E *wučəm*, N *wusəm* ‘weir’ (< PKh **wūčəm*, der.;
 unlauted)
- Mansi 1) S *ōš*, W *wūš*, E *ūš*, N *ūs* ‘town; fence, enclosure’ (< PMs **wūš*)
 2) N *ūs-* ‘to fish’ (< PMs **wūč-*)
- Samoyed NenT *waq* ‘fence, enclosure’, *waq-* ‘to fence’; En *baʔ*, Ngan *bəʔ*
 ‘fence’ (< PSam **wāc(-)*); Slk *kuḁču* ‘dam, weir; inlet’ (< PSam
 **wāc-u* ?)

The exact background of the dual meaning (‘fence, obstacle’ vs. ‘to wait’) is not entirely clear, but one can hardly doubt that the nominal and verbal forms are ultimately of the same origin. As for the development of the meaning ‘town’ in Ob-Ugric, cf. English *town* ~ German *Zaun* ‘fence’.

The Saami, Finnic and Mordvin verbs meaning ‘to wait’ have also been compared to Slk *atu-* ‘to be visible’ and *āččə-* ‘to guard, watch’; UEW (334) confuses these two distinct Slk words as representing the same root, even though they are distinct lexical items with different etymologies. Neither of them corresponds regularly to the form **woča-*, and the comparison is thus rejectable. Slk *atu-* derives from PSam **ət-ü-* ‘to come in sight’ < U ► **itä-* id.

The following proposed cognates are rejectable on phonological grounds:

1) Md E, M *oš* ‘town’. — Both the vowel and the consonant correspondence is irregular: U **o* developed into Md *u* in **a*-stems, and intervocalic **č* was preserved. Hence, Md *oš* is probably either a borrowing from an unidentified parallel branch or, more likely, of entirely different origin; note that also the Selkup word with the meaning ‘town’, which has formerly been included in this cognate set, must on phonological grounds be of different origin (see below).

2) Komi *vož* ‘weir’. — The comparison to U **woča* is hardly feasible due to the irregular vowel correspondence: one would expect Komi **vuž* or **vuž* (< PPerm **vūž* / **vūž*). However, due to the close similarity this is probably not a chance resemblance, but rather a loanword from some other Uralic language. Its exact source remains unclear, though.

3) Slk *kuḁččə* ‘town’. — This word can hardly be related to PSam **wāc* ‘fence, enclosure’, as Slk *k-* reflects PSam **k-* and not **w-*.

FUV 62 (SaaSw Fi *odottaa* Md *učoms* Mari *wuće-* Slk *āččə-*), 63 (Saa *oahci* Fi *otava* Md *oš* Kh **wāč* Ms **wūš* NenT *waq* Slk *kuḁččə*) || Sammallahti 1979: 38 (FU **voča* ‘fence, enclosure’ ~ Sam **wāc*) || UEW 334 (Saa Finn Md verbs meaning ‘to wait’ ~ Slk *atu-*, *āččə-*), 577–578 (nouns meaning ‘fence’, ‘weir’, ‘town’ and the like < **woča*) || Sammallahti 1988: 541 (Saa *oahci* Fi *otava* Komi *vož* Kh *wāč* Ms *wūš* Sam **wāc*), 542 (Fi *ota* Mari *umdə* Kh **əγət* Ms **aytā*) || SSA *odottaa* (Fi ~ SaaSw *ādsotet*

Md *učoms* Mari *wuće-* ?Slk *āččā-*; perhaps the same word as U **woča* ‘fence’, *ota* (Fi ? < **woča*), *otava* (Fi ~ Saa *oahci* Komi *vož* Kh **wāč* Ms **wūš* Sam **wāc*) || SlkWb no. 1903 (Slk *kuāču*: no etymology), no. 1912 (Slk *kuāččā*: no etymology)

***wosa** ‘trade, merchandise’

- Saami 1) S *āesies-āлма* ‘trader’ (comp., *āлма* ‘man’), U *āāsēs* ‘business; merchandise’, L *oases* ‘trade; merchandise’ (< PSaa **oasēs*, der.)
2) ?: S *āestedh*, U *āssteet*, L *oasstet*, N *oastit*, I *oastiđ*, Sk *vuä’sted* (K T) ‘to buy’ (< PSaa **oastē-*). — This word either reflects a PreSaa consonant-stem derivative **wos-ta-* or is a loan from Finnic **osta-* ‘to buy’ (see below).
- Finnic Fi *ostaa*, Kar *ostoa*, Lud *ostada*, Veps *ostta*, Votic *essā*, Est *ostma*, Liv *vostā* (< PFi **osta-*). — The Finnic words reflect a consonant-stem derivative **wos-ta-*; cf. Saa²⁾ above.
- Mari *uža* ‘price’, *užale-*, *wāžale-* ‘to sell’
- Permic Komi *vuz-vot* ‘tax, payment’ (comp.; *vot* ‘tax, payment’, cf. *vot-* ‘to pick’), Udm *vuz* ‘trade; merchandise’ (< PPerm **vūz*); Komi *vuzal-*, Udm *vuza-* ‘to sell’ (< PPerm **vūz-al-*)
- Mansi N *wāta-χum*, E *wētā-kum*, W *wāta-kum* ‘trader’ (comp.; *χum*, *kum* ‘man’), S *wētā* id.; N *wātal-*, E *wētəl-*, W *wātəl-*, S *wētāl-* ‘to trade’ (< PMs **wīt-*, **wīt-əl-*). — The illabial vowel is not altogether clear (one would rather expect PMs **wūt-*), but see the discussion under ► **ojwa* ‘head’.

The Uralic word is an early loan from Indo-European, cf. PIE **wos-ah₂-* > Proto-Germanic **wazō-* > German *Ware* ‘product, merchandise’, English *ware*; the IE root **wes-* (*o*-grade **wos-*) is attested e.g. in Hittite *waš-* ‘to buy, to procure’, and in Greek *ōnos*, Sanskrit *vasná-* ‘price’ (< PIE **wos-no-*).

The derivative **wosa-li-* ‘to sell, to trade’ may also be old, as reflexes of this form are found in Mari, Permic and Mansi.

KESKJa ***buzavny*** (a.a., no mention of IE) || FUV 119 (Saa ?Fi ?Mari Perm Ms) || Joki 1973: 298–299 (< IE) || Sammallahti 1988: 551 (Saa Fi Mari Perm ?Ms) || UEW 585 (a.a., ? < IE) || SSA *ostaa* (a.a., “apparently” < IE) || Koivulehto 2001: 238 (< IE)

‘moon’

- Finnic Fi, Kar *kuu*, Lud *kū*, Veps *ku*, Vot *kū*, Est *kuu*, Liv *kū* ‘moon’ (< PFi **kū*)

Mordvin	E <i>kov</i> , dial. <i>koŋ</i> , M <i>kov</i> ‘moon, month’ (< PMd * <i>koŋ</i>)
Khanty	N <i>χǎw</i> , S <i>χǎw</i> ‘month’ (< PKh * <i>koγ</i>)
Hungarian	<i>hó</i> : <i>hava-</i> ‘month’
Samoyed	Kam <i>kij</i> ‘moon, month’ (< PSam * <i>kij</i>), Ngan <i>kičəδəə</i> , Mat <i>kistit</i> id. (< PSam * <i>kij-tət-</i>)

Due to phonological irregularities no clear Proto-Uralic form can be reconstructed, and the relationships of the words remain to be explained. The Samoyed illabial vowel is deviant, as all other branches point to U *-*u-*. The medial consonant correspondences are entirely obscure: Md points to *-*ŋ-*, whereas Ugric would presuppose *-*w-*, *-*γ-* or *-*k-*, but none of these match PSam *-*j-*. The Finnic long vowel may have developed through the loss of either *-*ŋ-*, *-*w-* or *-*γ-*.

SaaP *kuojittit* ‘to rise (of the moon)’ has also been included in this lexical set, but this is erroneous: the word is a derivative of the PSaa root **kuojē-*, which is also attested in SaaN *guojihit* ‘to appear in a wood or mist; to lift, get clearer (of mist)’. The source of PSaa **kuojē-* is U ► **kaja-* ‘dawn; to dawn’.

FUV 49 (Fi Md Kh Hung Kam) || Sammallahti 1979: 29 (FU ? ~ Sam, consonant correspondence irreg.) || Janhunen 1981: 262–263 (FU ~ Sam, < U **kiji*/**kunji*; a phonologically unclear set) || Sammallahti 1988: 537 (a.a., < U **kixi*) || UEW 211–212 (?SaaP Fi Md Kh Hung Sam) || SSA *kuu*¹ (Fi ~ ?SaaP Md Kh Hung Sam)