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Further Russian, Chuvash, and Tatar loan etymologies for Mari

The article offers several new or revised Tatar, Chuvash, or Russian loan etymologies for Mari words: 1) MariE *čükāndār* etc. ‘beetroot’ < Tat. *čögender* id.; 2) MariE *jūyo* ‘heir’ < Cv. *yāx(ā)* ‘family, tribe’; 3) MariE *juŋgo* etc. ‘finger wound’ < Tat. *yungī* ‘splinter’; 4) MariE *kalāŋga* ‘rutabaga, *Brassica napobrassica*’ < Ru. dial. *голанка* id.; 5) MariE *kolko* ‘fishing float’ < Tat. **kalkī* id.; 6) MariE *meke* ‘sack’ < Ru. *mex* id.; 7) MariE *napala, lapla* etc. ‘fishing float’ < Ru. dial. *наплав* id.; 8) MariE *orodo* etc. ‘idiot’ < Ru. dial. *ypod* id.; 9) MariE *popāldatem* ‘yammer’ < Ru. *ноболтатъ* id.; 10) MariE Nw *sor* ‘big; adult; a lot; for a long time’ < Tat. *zur* id.; 11) MariE *šolaš-* etc. ‘throatlatch on bridle of horse’ < Ru. dial. *салазки* ‘lower jaw’; 12) MariE *ökām* etc. ‘by force, compulsory’ < Tat. *xökem* ‘verdict, authority’; 13) MariE *titak* etc. ‘blame, guilt, misdeed’ < Tat. *titak* id.; 14) MariE *tutānem* ‘to stutter’ < Tat. **totin* id.

Introduction

Over the last several centuries of coexistence between the Mari and other peoples of the Middle Volga, the Mari language has drawn a massive number of loanwords from the neighboring languages Russian, Chuvash and Tatar. Russian loanwords in Mari have been analyzed in depth by Savatkova (1969), while Veršinín (1988) has examined Russian loanwords in the Mari dialects along the Kama and he marks some Russian loanwords in his 2008 dictionary of these dialects. Borrowings from Mari’s Turkic-speaking neighbors have been broadly compiled by Räsänen (1920, 1923), Fedotov (1990), and Isanbaev (1989–1994). Additionally, Mari vocabulary of Tatar origin is noted in the Mari dialectal dictionary of Veršinín (2008), the Baltačevó Mari dictionary of Ilieva (2009), and the Tatar etymological dictionary of Äxmät’anov (2001), while in his Chuvash etymological dictionary Fedotov (1996) further comments on Mari borrowings from Chuvash.

However, most previous scholarship on Russian, Chuvash and Tatar loanwords in Mari was carried out before the publication of large dialect dictionaries in recent decades. The first of these dictionaries is Beke’s *Mari nyelvjárásí szótár (Tscheremissisches Wörterbuch)* (hereinafter Beke), featuring lexical material elicited from Russian prisoners of war during World War I but only published in the 1990s. The second is *Tscheremissisches Wörterbuch* (hereinafter TschWb), a compilation of the lexical material gathered by Finnish researchers during fieldwork in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. New dictionaries of the Meadow Mari literary language must also be mentioned, namely the *Словарь мари́йского языка*

(SMJa) and the electronic Mari–English Dictionary,¹ and the contemporary Hill Mari lexicon enjoys greater documentation thanks to the dictionary of Savatkova (2008). Finally, Mari manuscript wordlists from the 18th and 19th centuries, now held in various Russian state archives, have been described in greater detail thanks to the work of Sergeev (2002). These new resources have expanded our knowledge of the Mari lexicon, revealing new words absent from earlier resources, as well as new meanings of familiar vocabulary.²

Thus, drawing on resources new and old, this paper proposes new loan etymologies or revisions of existing etymologies for fourteen Mari words.

1. MariE *čükândâr*, *čüyândâr* ‘beetroot’ < Tat. *čögender* id.

Though it has not become part of the Meadow Mari literary language and was not included in TschWb, Beke, or 20th-century dictionaries, Mari *čüyândâr* ‘beetroot’ was documented by Ilieva (2009: 146) in her dictionary of the Baltačevo dialect of Eastern Mari, which compares the word to Tat. *čögender* id. The Tatar word is in turn a borrowing from Persian (Äxmät’anov 2001: 237).

However, two manuscript wordlists, created a century apart and described by Sergeev (1987: 209; 2002: 184), attest to a separate borrowing of the Tatar word which subsequently became defunct. One manuscript, dating from the late 18th century and probably compiled for the *Vocabularia comparativa* of P. S. Pallas, contains the word as чүкундурь ‘свекла’, though this manuscript presents a mixture of items from the various major dialects of Mari (Hill, Meadow, and Eastern) and therefore the exact provenance of this particular entry cannot be determined. The other manuscript wordlist, compiled by Pyotr Pavlovič Yeruslavov in the 1880s on the basis of various Eastern Mari dialects (see Sergeev 2002: 60–63), attests it as чукундур ‘свекла’. The Cyrillic representations in these manuscripts predate the rise of an orthography capable of properly distinguishing the Mari vowels, but on the basis of the tendencies for representing Mari in Russian script described by Sergeev (2002: 86–120) the word can be read as *čükândâr*: Mari /ü/ is ordinarily represented by Cyrillic <ю> in early manuscripts, but a Russian spelling rule forbids the use of <ю> after <ч> and requires <у> instead. The presence of Mari /k/ in these manuscript attestations points to a different assimilation of the Tatar voiced velar stop /g/ to Mari phonology than in the Baltačevo form known from modern times; as Mari lacked a comparable voiced velar stop, the Tatar consonant could have either been borrowed as the Mari velar spirant

1. The Mari–English Dictionary, located at <<http://dict.mari-language.com/>>, is an electronic dictionary of literary Meadow Mari, developed by the Department of Finno-Ugric Studies at the University of Vienna, which incorporates a number of previously published lexical sources as well as thousands of additional headwords. All references to words from the Meadow Mari literary language in this paper are drawn from the Mari–English Dictionary.

2. The author would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments, as well as Jeremy Bradley for kindly providing a publication unavailable to me and the raw headword data from the Mari–English Dictionary. Any remaining errors are naturally solely my own.

/ɣ/ or unvoiced velar stop /k/. On the basis of this variation in the velar consonant, one can posit that the Tatar word was borrowed into the Mari dialects at separate times.

As original high vowels were lowered in Tatar (modern Tat. *čögender* < **čügindir*) in the late 17th and early 18th centuries (see e.g. Adamović 1981), we must assume a borrowing of the Tatar word into Mari well before its first attestation in a Mari manuscript wordlist. It can be treated as a loanword that was fully nativized in Mari, though the form known from the manuscripts subsequently passed out of use. Otherwise, if it had been merely a Tatar word that late 18th and 19th-century bilingual Mari–Tatar informants produced *ad hoc* to wordlist compilers, a form with /ö/ would be expected instead.

2. MariEu *jũɣo* ‘heir’ (> MariE lit. *юзо* ‘heir; inheritance; successor, follower’) < Cv. *yăx(ă)* ‘family, tribe’

This item is known from Meadow Mari only from the Volga dialect, documented in TschWb and glossed ‘Erbe, Nachfolger’. However, Cv. *yăx(ă)* ‘род, племя’ is known to have been borrowed into Hill Mari, cf. MariW *jăχ* ‘род; поколение’, *jăχsâr jăksâr* ‘весь род уничтожили’ (Fedotov 1996: I 188), and the datum from the Volga dialect must be traced to the same source. The *ũ* in MariE *jũɣo* is a reflection of the round vowel in the Viryal Chuvash form *yõx* known from Ašmarin (V 105). Intervocally, as in the longer form *yăxă* or when case endings are added, Cv. /x/ is allophonically voiced,³ hence its reflection as /ɣ/ in the MariE form.

3. MariE *jũngo*, *juŋgo* Nw *joŋgâ* ‘finger wound’ (> MariE lit. *юнго* ‘abscess, boil, swelling (usually under fingernail)’) < Tat. *yungî* ‘splinter’

This item, glossed ‘нарыв’, has been linked with a question mark to Komi *jög* ‘growth on tree, blister, bump on head’ by Lytkin & Gulaev (1970: 112). However, the correspondence MariE *u*, *ũ* ~ MariNw *o* is irregular and a recent loan origin should be sought instead.

If we consider the definitions of the Mari word carefully, we see that it is restricted to a very specific part of the body: according to the data in TschWb (*juŋgo bozeš* ‘sagt man, wenn sich das Nagelbett entzündet, z.B. wenn eine Stricknadel unter den Nagel trifft’), it refers to a wound caused by a sharp, thin item entering under the fingernail. It can thus be traced to Tatar *yungî* ‘отщеп(ок); щеп, щепка; стружка’, as wood splinters would have been a typical cause of such distress in the rural society of the Middle Volga, and we can suppose that an original meaning ‘wound from splinter under fingernail’ was eventually generalized to any wound under the nail

3. On the origin of Chuvash /x/ and its allophonic voicing in intervocalic position, see Tenišev (1984: 191).

likely caused by the penetration of a foreign object. The direction of borrowing can be established as Tatar > Mari because the Tatar word is a derivation from the verb *yun* ‘тесать, строгать, обтесывать’, which in turn is of inherited Turkic origin, cf. Kazakh *žonuw* ‘to shave’.

4. MariE *kaląga* ‘rutabaga, *Brassica napobrassica*’ < Ru. dial. *голанка* id.

Though the root vegetable *Brassica napobrassica* is known as *брюква* in the Russian standard language, there are a large number of regional terms. One of these is *каляга*, known from Dal’ who glosses it ‘калега’ (another dialectal term) and which was borrowed into Eastern Mari as *kal’agá* (Savatkova 1969: 98). This borrowing ultimately passed into the Meadow Mari literary language as *каляга* ‘swede, rutabaga, *Brassica napobrassica*’. Another Russian regional variety with a slightly different vocalism, *калига/калика*, was borrowed into the Eastern Mari spoken along the Kama River as *kal’iye* (Veršinin 1988: 175).

MariE *kaląga* ‘rutabaga’, documented from the dialects of Upša (TschWb, ‘Kohlrübe’) and Malmyž (Učaeв 1973: 83, ‘брюхва’), represents the borrowing of yet another Russian dialectal name for the plant, *голанка* (Dal’, s.v. *голанить*). This is the same Russian word borrowed into Udmurt and Komi as *galanka* (Lytkin & Gulaev 1970: 74), as well as into Tatar as *käränkä* whence it was borrowed into certain Meadow and Eastern Mari dialects as *karąŋkə* (Räsänen 1923: 34). For the vocalism of Mari *kaląga*, see Lytkin & Gulaev’s remarks that the source of the Permian items was a Northern Russian dialect distinguished by *akan’e*. For the assimilation of Russian *-nk-* to Mari *-ŋg-*, cf. e.g. MariW *romiŋga* < Ru. *поминки*, MariE *pečəŋgä* < Ru. *печенка* (Savatkova 1969: 109–110).

5. MariE *kolko* ‘fishing float’ (> MariE lit. *колко*) < Tat. **kalki* id.

This item is known from TschWb and attested only from the Volga dialect of Meadow Mari. Fedotov (1996: II 355) derives MariE *kolko* ‘fishing float’ from Chuvash V *xulkka* A *xolkkä* id. However, because the Chuvash words feature a geminate stop (found in pan-Chuvash material only in loanwords as a Chuvash adaptation of an original unvoiced stop in the source language) and an irregular correspondence in the second-syllable vowel, Chuvash is likely to have borrowed its word from Tatar, cf. Tat. *kalkawič* id. In modern literary Tatar and Bashkir ‘fishing float’ is found only with the derivational ending *-wič*, but by comparing the Mari and Chuvash material with Bashkir dial. *kalka* and Kazakh *kaltqı* ‘fishing float’ we can posit that the bare root was once used dialectally in Tatar. Chuvash initial *x-* is regularly reflected by Ø- in Meadow Mari (see Fedotov 1990: 259ff) while Tatar *k-* is reflected by Mari *k-* (Räsänen 1923: 7–8). Therefore, it is easier to derive MariE *kolko* from the now lost Tatar word, borrowed also into Chuvash, than from Chuvash.

6. MariE *meke* ‘sack’ (> MariE lit. *меке*) < Ru. *мех* id.

Mari *meke* is documented in TschWb from several dialects of Meadow Mari and Eastern Mari, mainly with the meaning ‘Bastmatte, Bastsack’. The material need not be only bast, however, as the word is attested from the dialect of Bolšoj Kil’mez in the meaning ‘Sack (aus Leinen)’.

The Mari can ultimately be traced back to Russian *мех* ‘bag’; the modern Russian word for ‘bag’, *мешок*, is a diminutive of *мех*, and while *мех* is generally used today in the meaning ‘skin’, a second meaning ‘(skin) bag’ is known from historic Russian dialects as well as the related Slavic languages Ukrainian and Bulgarian (REW: II 127). Dal’, for example, writes in his Russian dictionary “На юге и западе мешок для поклажи зовут мехом”, and while the word may have been limited to the south and west by Dal’'s time, we can presume that the word still enjoyed wider currency at an earlier point, including in the Middle Volga region due to its borrowing into Chuvash as Cv. dial. *măyăx* or *mixě* (see Agyagási 2005: 144).

Opinions vary, however, as to how the word entered Mari. In his dictionary of Mari dialects of Udmurtia and Tatarstan, Veršinín (2008) considers the word to have come directly from Russian. On the other hand, Agyagási (2008: 271) claims that Ru. *мех* was borrowed into Mari through Chuvash (namely the Early Middle Chuvash form **mexě*) and not directly from Russian.

A borrowing from Chuvash and not straight from Russian is difficult to support on the basis of the regular reflection of Chuvash consonants in Mari borrowings from that language. In intervocalic position and after liquids, Chuvash /x/ overwhelmingly results in a velar spirant (most often voiced, reflecting the allophonic voicing of intervocalic consonants in Chuvash) in Mari, cf., besides MariE *juɣo* above, Cv. V *xoyxat* A *xuyxat* ‘to frighten’ > MariE W *ojyatem*, Cv. *saxal* ‘little, few’ > MariE *šayal* Nw *săyäl* W *šăxäl* (for these and further examples, see Fedotov 1990).

There is, however, another loanword in Mari which can be ultimately traced back to Russian and which shows a similar *mVx* structure in Russian and CVkV in Mari: MariE Nw *moko* < Ru. *мох* (Savatkova 1969: 104). The Meadow Mari literary form *моко* conceals considerable dialectal variation in the first-syllable vowel across the MariE and MariNw dialects. We find *moko* in some dialects (Birsk, Krasnoufimsk, Sernur, Uržum, Malmyž, Jaransk, Tonšaev) versus *muko* in others (Morko, Bolšoj Kil’mez). This irregular correspondence also points to a late borrowing of the word into MariE and MariNw dialects that were already quite distinct, and therefore directly from Russian.

Taking Mari *moko* < Ru. *мох* into account, the most parsimonious explanation for Mari *meke* is that it reflects a regular Mari adaptation of Russian /x/ as Mari /k/. Because /x/ did not become a phoneme in Meadow and Eastern Mari until contacts with Russian intensified (as late as the 20th century in some dialects), the Russian consonant /x/ was replaced with a native Mari velar. Furthermore, because Russian /x/ is *not* allophonically voiced intervocalically or after liquids like it is in Chuvash, the Mari velar chosen in assimilating it would have been the unvoiced stop /k/.

MariE (Bolšoj Kil'mez) *mexa* 'Blasebalg' is, as TschWb recognizes, another borrowing of this word from Russian, though it must be considered a much later one due to its unassimilated /x/ instead of /k/, as well as its very limited distribution.

7. MariE W *napala, napêla*, MariE W *lapla* 'fishing float'
(> MariE lit. *напыла, лапла*) < Ru. dial. *наплаѐ* id.

The standard Russian word for 'fishing float' is *поплавок*, which has been borrowed into Meadow Mari, cf. MariE lit. *поплавок*. However, Dal' (s.v. *наплавивать*) documents the Russian dialectal variant *наплав(ок)*, and it is to this that the Mari forms *napala, napêla* can be traced. With regard to Mari *lapla*, vacillation between initial *n-* and *l-* is occasionally found in the Mari lexicon, cf. MariE *narêñće ~ larêñće* 'orange', MariE *nölpö ~ lölpö* 'alder, *Alnus*', MariE *nöлтаš ~ lültaš* 'to rise', and in the case of Mari *lapla* there may have been contamination with the productive Mari sound-symbolism root *lap-* 'low'. The insertion of an epenthetic vowel *ê/a* is driven by phonotactic constraints: Mari historically did not allow the cluster *-pl-* in roots.⁴

8. MariE Nw W *orođo/orođê, orađe* 'idiot'
(> MariE lit. *ораде*) < Ru. dial. *урод* id.

The form of this word that entered the Meadow Mari literary language actually shows an unusual second-syllable vowel compared to the breadth of dialectal forms. The vocalism *orađe* is limited to the Morki dialect of Meadow Mari (TschWb) and the Mari dialects of Udmurtia and Tatarstan documented by Veršinín (2008), while in Northwestern Mari, Hill Mari and the other MariE dialects only *orođo* is found. This vowel correspondence is highly irregular and a loan origin for the term can be supposed.

Veršinín's dictionary compares the Mari word to Udmurt *urod* 'плохой'. This etymology is unsatisfactory, however. Beyond the difference in meaning between Udm. 'bad' and Mari 'idiot', the very Mari dialects that neighbor Udmurt show the vocalism /a/ in the second syllable, a mismatch with Udmurt's second-syllable rounded vowel.

The inconsistency among the Mari dialects in the second-syllable vowel can be explained, however, by supposing that the dialects with the form *orađe* (the standard transliteration, though phonetically *orađe*) borrowed it from other Mari dialects. The Meadow and Eastern Mari dialects with *orađe* are distinguished by some degree of labial harmony, by which final reduced vowels preceded by rounded vowels are also

4. A search of the Mari–English Dictionary shows that the sequence *-pl-* in the Meadow Mari literary language is limited to recent Russian loanwords or derivational forms where a root ending in *-p* is followed by a suffix beginning in *l-*.

round. However, this does not hold for other Mari dialects, where a final reduced vowel is *ə* regardless of the roundness of preceding vowels. Thus if speakers of a Meadow Mari dialect with labial harmony heard *oroδə* from a neighboring dialect without labial harmony, then they had the choice when borrowing it of either rounding the final reduced vowel or unrounding the preceding vowel. We can presume that they chose the latter option, producing *oraδə*.

Because this explanation for the inconsistency among the Mari dialects assumes a path of borrowing from west to east, Udmurt can be discounted as the source language and Russian is a more likely candidate instead. Tracing this word to Russian is supported by the phonotactics of the two Mari forms: forms of the shape (C)oCoCo and (C)oCaCe known from the Meadow Mari literary language are mainly Russian loans, and this root structure was not productive in Chuvash loanwords or inherited Uralic material.⁵

Indeed, there is a plausible origin for this Mari item in a Russian root that has been highly popular and productive through the centuries, reflected in the word *урод*. Though Ru. *урод* is defined in the modern Russian literary language as ‘человек с физическим уродством’, V. I. Dal’ (s.v. *урождасть*) documented the meanings ‘безумный, юродивый’ in his dialectal dictionary.

With regard to the first-syllable vowel in Mari *oroδə*, Bereczki (1968: 74) points to a number of cases where Russian initial *u-* is reflected by Mari *o-* in loanwords, e.g. MariE *olca W olicä* ‘street’ < Ru. *улица*, MariE *oγəl* ‘corner’ < Ru. *угол*. The final reduced vowel in Mari *oroδə* may be due to the word having been borrowed from the Russian genitive form *уро́да*; Ru. final unstressed *-a* is commonly reflected as Mari *-ə* (see e.g. Savatkova 1969: 22).

9. MariE *popə̀lδatem* ‘yammer’ < Ru. *поболтать* id.

This item, which Beke documents from the dialects of Krasnoufimsk and Birsik, has been compared by Agyagási (2000: 12) to MariE *W ropet* ‘talk, chat’ of uncertain etymology but mirrored in Chuvash. However, while the root in MariE *W ropet* is found in other derivational forms, e.g. MariW *popaltem* ‘ein wenig plaudern’, *popə̀ktem* ‘reden lassen’, the element *-ə̀lδat-* in MariE *popə̀lδatem* is not a productive

5. This is revealed from an examination of the headwords in the Mari–English Dictionary. The following are Russian loans: MariE lit. *гороно* ‘municipal public education authority’ < Ru. *гороно, дотово* ‘greatly, very, a lot’ < *до того, колодо* ‘pack (of cards)’ < *колода, короно* ‘crown’ < *корона, осаде* ‘siege’ < *осада, охото* ‘hunt, hunting’ < *охота, пожале* ‘perhaps, very likely, it may be’ < *пожалуй, помаде* ‘pomade’ < *помада, поро́до* ‘breed (of animals)’ < *поро́да, ро́коко* ‘rococo’ < *ро́коко, сонате* ‘sonata’ < *соната*. The few words that are not Russian loans are mainly transparent derivations featuring the still-productive suffixes *-se/-so*, added to nouns to create adjectives of location, e.g. *ола́се* ‘urban, city, town, municipal’ (< *ола* ‘city’ + *-se*) and *-зе/-зо* for professions, e.g. *фотозо* ‘photographer’ < *фото* ‘photo’ + *-зо*. The only exceptions are *опа́де* that is presently being discussed, the compound word *мочоло* ‘how much, how many’ (< *мо* ‘what’ + *čоло* ‘about, approximately’) and the etymologically unclear words *о́рале* ‘bulky, sizeable, large’ and *то́жале* ‘intelligent, reasonable, sensible’.

suffix in Mari,⁶ and even if this were seen as a “compound suffix” consisting of *-əlδ-*⁷ + *-at-*, the semantics of the latter are unclear. It makes more sense to treat this word instead as a borrowing of Ru. *поболтать* id., which has been adapted into the Mari second conjugation.

10. MariE *Nw sor* ‘big; adult; a lot; for a long time’
(> MariE lit. *cop* ‘many, a long time’) < Tat. *zur* id.

Beke documents this word with the meaning of ‘big; adult’ from the Yarang and Vetluga dialects of Northwestern Mari. The word with that meaning is additionally known to have existed in Meadow Mari on the basis of the entry “соръ (л[уговой]) ‘взрослый’” in Zemljanitsky’s manuscript dictionary from the 1870s (Sergeev 2002: 53–55, 181) though it never entered the Meadow Mari literary language. Mari *sor* is also attested as an adverb in the sense ‘many; for a long time’ in the Yarang dialect of Northwestern Mari (Ivanov & Tužarov 1971) and in the Meadow Mari literary language. For Tatar *zur* (a borrowing from Iranian into Volga Kipchak, see Äxmät’anov 2001: 75) the first three of these meanings are documented (cf. Tat. lit. *зур* ‘большой, взрослый, много’), while ‘for a long time’ can be viewed as an extension of the adverbial usage ‘many’. As Mari lacks voiced initial consonants, Tatar initial *z-* was adapted in Mari as unvoiced *s-* and the word must have been borrowed before the Tatar raising of original mid vowels that occurred in the late 17th and early 18th centuries (see Adamović 1981).

11. MariE *šolaš-*, *šalaš-*, *W šäläš* ‘throatlatch on bridle of horse’
(> MariE lit. *шолашпидыш*) < Ru. dial. *салазки* ‘lower jaw’

In Hill Mari *šäläš* is used alone to designate the portion of a halter of a horse that passes under the animal’s chin, while in Meadow and Eastern Mari dialects, as well as the Meadow Mari literary language, the same item appears in the compound *šolaš-piđäš* of the same meaning.

These Mari words can be compared to the Russian dialectalism *салазки* ‘нижние скулы, челюсти, сысала’ documented by Dal’; the throatlatch passes at the portion of the horse’s head traditionally designated the ‘нижняя челюсть’.⁸ The etymology of Ru. *салазки* is uncertain: Vasmer (REW: II 571) compares it to material in Baltic,

6. That *-əlδat-* is not a productive suffix in Mari is confirmed by a search of the Mari–English Dictionary (using the wildcard search term *ꞥylɔatəš*). Only a single verb in the entire lexicon of the Meadow Mari literary language, viz. *ыргылдаташ* ‘to grumble, to growl, to curse’, possesses that string of phonemes.

7. On this derivational suffix in Mari verbs, see e.g. Bereczki (2002: 211).

8. This is not to be confused with MariE *salaska* < Ru. *саласку* ‘sled’ (Savatkova 1969: 114), a more widespread meaning of this Russian word and, as Russian /s/ is reflected by Mari /s/ and not /š/, a later borrowing.

while Veršinin (ESMEMJa IV: 393) asks if it might be a re-borrowing into Russian of Mordvin *salaska* id. which he compares to Ru. *челюсть*.

The presence of initial-syllable *ä/a* in two out of three of these words indicates that it is not inherited material. Furthermore, because of the highly irregular vowel correspondence MariE *o ~ a ~ MariW ä* this would seem a late borrowing that came well after the dissolution of Mari unity. Therefore Russian is a more likely candidate for its origin than Mordvin or any unknown prehistoric language of the region. According to Dal', the Russian word was a feature of the Tambov region, but early Russian settlement of Mari El flowed especially from such regions of Western Russia (Kazantsev 1985: 135–136) and thus such a regionalism could have spread to the Middle Volga as the Mari increasingly used horses.

The correspondence Ru. *s* to Mari *š* is regular; the earliest Russian borrowings into Mari predate the Mari sound shift **s > š*, as noted by Bereczki (1968: 72) who gives a large number of examples. A possible explanation for the absence of the Russian *-ki* in the Mari forms is the frequent loss of a final vowel from Russian borrowings in Mari, as the final vowel is considered a gender or number marker irrelevant to Mari morphology, e.g. MariE *ulik* 'piece of evidence' < Ru. *улика*, MariE *W muzâk* 'music' < *музыка*, MariE *pərosek* 'forest glade' < *просека* (Savatkova 1969), and were the same tendency displayed in borrowing *салазки*, the result would have been an unacceptable final consonant cluster *-sk* that would have had to undergo simplification to *-s* (> *š*).

12. MariE *ökâm*, Nw *ükâm*- 'by force, compulsory' (> MariE lit. *öкым* 'by force') < Tat. *xökem* 'verdict, authority'

This item is known from TschWb as an adverb from three Meadow Mari dialects in two forms: *ökân*, *ükâm* from the Volga dialect and *ökâm* from Morki. In Beke's dictionary, however, we find the word as a noun with the case ending *-eš* from the aforementioned dialects as well as the Northwestern Mari dialects, e.g. Uržum *ükamešak üdârâm pušt* 'man hat das Mädchen gegen seinen Willen geheiratet'. The irregular correspondence *ö ~ ü* points to a loan origin and the word can be explained as a borrowing of Tat. *xökem* 'verdict, sentence; governance, authority', a legal term borrowed into the Kipchak languages from Arabic *ḥukm*. Tatar was a source of legal terminology in earlier eras, cf. MariE *tanâk* 'witness' < Tatar *taniq* abundantly attested in 17th and 18th-century manuscript wordlists (Sergeev 2002: 182). The Mari forms show a logical semantic extension 'legal verdict > sentenced punishment > action done against one's will'.

13. MariE *titak*, Nw *titäk* ‘blame, guilt, misdeed’
(> MariE lit. *mumak* ‘guilt, fault, blame’) < Tat. *titak* id.

In his dictionary of Mari dialects of Udmurtia and Tatarstan, Veršinin (2011: 564) speculates that this word was borrowed from Tatar *тумакан* ‘хромой’, but puts a question mark. Äxmät’anov (2001: 203), who notes that the Tatar word is of Turkic origin, cf. Azeri, Kazakh, Kyrgyz *taytaq* ‘lame’, takes it as given that Tat. *mumak* was borrowed as Mari *titak* but does not account for the semantic difference. The nature of the loan is made clearer, however, by evidence from Bashkir *titakay* ‘easily offended’ (SBG: I 217). We can thus ascribe a second, probably secondary and metaphorical meaning ‘cause an offense’ to Volga Kipchak *titak* alongside ‘walk in a lame manner’, which became defunct in Tatar after the word was borrowed into Mari.

14. MariE *tutânem* ‘to stutter’ > (MariE lit. *тутынаш*) < Tat. **totin* id.

This verb is attested from the Morki and Birska dialects of Meadow and Eastern Mari (TschWb). Isanbaev (II 157) traced MariE *tutânem* along with MariE *tutlâyem* to Tat. *totliyi*. However, in this etymology the absence of the Tatar /l/ from MariE *tutânem* would be difficult to explain. MariE *tutânem* should instead be traced to an unattested Tatar **totin* ‘to stutter’ that can be reconstructed on the basis of Tatar *totingï* ‘заикающийся (о голосе)’, the suffix *-gi* in Tatar forms deverbal nouns and adjectives (see the etymology for MariE *juŋgo* above). This reconstructed Tatar verb *totin* would be identical to the attested and widely used verb *totin* ‘держаться, цепляться за что-л.’ and a semantic extension ‘hold, cling’ > ‘speak haltingly’ > ‘stutter’ can be supposed.

Abbreviations

MariE	Eastern and Meadow Mari
W	Western (Hill) Mari
Nw	Northwestern Mari
Cv.	Chuvash
A	Anatri dialect of Chuvash
V	Viryal dialect of Chuvash
dial.	dialectal
lit.	literary language
Ru.	Russian
Tat.	Tatar
Udm.	Udmurt

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