



Proto-Samoyedic and Proto-Manchu-Tungusic Dwelling Names An Attempt at Semantic Reconstruction¹

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Abstract. – Tungus-Manchu and Samoyed peoples inhabit adjacent territories and live in a similar environment since antiquity. Both of these language families also underwent divergence at roughly the same time. It is interesting to see which dwelling names can be reconstructed for the different proto-language states of these families, and with which ethnographically or archaeologically attested dwelling types these words can be correlated. [*Russia, Siberia, Uralic languages, Tungus-Manchu, Samoyed, dwellings*]

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Introduction

The etymological processing of the dwelling names in each group of languages can shed some light on the following question: how chronologically deep each of the names can be reliably reconstructed (and, accordingly, which particular community of speakers of related languages could have used it). Secondly, when considering the dwelling names which are related inside a certain group of languages, it turns out that sometimes, according to ethnographic data, in different languages these names refer to dwellings of different

appearance; one can try to find out from linguistic data what type of dwelling was originally called by a certain name. Accordingly, in the first part of the article, we consider which words of the Samoyed and Tungus-Manchu languages with meanings related to dwelling are reconstructed for the Proto-Samoyed, Proto-Tungus-Manchu levels and for the levels of the later groups of languages. The second part examines which kinds of dwellings are called by which words in different languages of these families. In the third part, we try to clarify which kinds of dwellings could be denominated by the words reconstructed for different groups of languages.

The date of the divergence of the Proto-Samoyedic language obtained by glottochronological methods is defined as the second half of the first millennium B.C. (according to the STARLING software, it is 340 B.C. for the divergence to the Southern and Northern Samoyedic, and the turn of the era for the divergence of each of these groups²). Presumable habitat of the speakers of

² The genealogical tree of Samoyedic languages is now reconstructed in two ways. 1. The traditional point of view: the first division was into the Northern and the Southern groups; then the Northern group divides into Nganasan, Enets and Nenets, the Southern group divides comparatively early into Selkup and Sayan-Samoyedic group, then the Sayan-Samoyedic group disintegrates. 2. The classification suggested by E. A. Helimski: the first division into four branches, the Northern group, Selkup, Kamassian-Koibal and Mator (Mator-Taigi-Karagas), see Helimski (2000: 22). The glottochronology (Swadesh lists for the Samoyedic

this proto-language in the first millennium B.C. is located in the eastern part of the Ob'–Irtysh area (Helimski 2000: 17).

1 Etymologies in Proto-Samoyedic³

1.1. **māt* “Zelt, Heim” || (Janhunen 1977: 90f.); [Enets (Tundra) + (Helimski's database, Helimski 2007b) *mekoddo* – “to home,” *meit'u* – čum (a specific form of tent) for 2-3 persons with beds in *sinekuy* and empty space between the door and the hearth', *mekone* – “home,” *mekoro* – “from home”; *me?* – “home, tent”; Nganasan + (Helimski's database) der. *madajâ*, *madujâ* – “to home,” *matanu* – “at home,” *makata* – “from home,” *matada* – “home-worn parka”; *mât* (Taz), *maat* (Ket), *maat* (N) – “house,” *матындакъ* – “behind the house”; *магадеэ* – “a place where a čum stood,” *малир* – “a group of čums lined up”; Selkup + (Alatalo 2004: 137) *māt* – “Haus, Zelt” (Bykonja 2005), *mād* ~ *māt* – “house”: *mādam megu* – “to build a house”; *нӕльуун māдет шӕньненжъ шорна* – “the woman entered the house”; *мада* – “door”; *мадабар* – “ceiling”; *маделика* (dimin.) – “a little log cabin”; *тӕль мат* – “birch bark balagan”; “čum”; *тӕймат* – “dugout, *karamo*"; *уванмат* – “church.” Nota bene: in environments where čum is not a basic form of dwelling, the name of basic dwelling is still a reflex of **māt*, cf. Selkup meanings. A Proto-Samoyedic word with a Finno-Ugric parallel: < (?) PUr **mättV* (*mVttV*) – “house, home”: Mari *mät* “house, family”; in fact, the suffix of associative Plural, see Bereczki (2013: 141) (cf. Oguz *-gll* “the suffix of associative Plural” = Chuvash *kil* “house,” (Dybo 2008: 221). See Redei (1986–1989: 269); Normanskaya (2018: 472). The historical phonology here fits perfectly; the relation of the meanings supposes for Proto-Uralic rather “house = home,” see Dybo (2008: 220).

1.2. **jesaj-* “to set up a tent” || (Terentyev 1999: 188, without Uralic etymology) < PTurk > CTurk

languages were collected by Helimski (1982: 129–133) and completed by Yu. V. Normanskaya) demonstrates the tree fast identical to the traditional classification but having a small interval between the disintegration of Proto-Samoyedic and disintegrations of the Southern group (the first splitting is the separation of Selkup) and of the Northern group (the first splitting is the separation of Nganasan). Below we call Proto-Samoyedic any word presented in the Northern group and at least in one of Southern groups.

³ Most of new etymologies were suggested by Ju.V. Normanskaja; see, e.g., (Normanskaja et al. 2015; Dybo, Normanskaja 2016; Normanskaja 2018).

**jasa-* “to build, to arrange” (Dybo 2007: 140; Levitskaja, Sevortian 1989: 150–152).

1.3. **etV* “site, camp” (Nganasan *н'аты, н'ады* – “a place for setting up a čum,” Enets *ida* “čum encampment, camping ground,” *idaa* – “a place where čums stood, camping ground,” Proto-Selkup **ētā* ~ **ētā* – “village, yurt, house, camp” (Alatalo 2004: 19); Kamassian *įada* “Dorf” (Donner 1944: 23).

1.4. **ko-* “pole in čum” || (Normanskaya et al. 2015: 64).

1.5. (?) **jejV* – “niuk” (a section of tent cover), **jej-tV* – “pole for pressing down the niuk” (Nenets *įda* – “pole in a čum near the bed-head,” *ea* – “niuk” (Tereščenko 1965: 90, 113); Enets *d'ee* – “niuk”; *d'eeme?* – “pole čum,” *d'eto'o* – “pole to lift niuks up onto the čum skeleton”; Nganasan *deū* – “niuk” (Kosterkina et al. 2001: 44); (?) Kamassian *įadq* – “one of two central poles of čum”⁴ (Donner 1944: 23) || If the questionable Kamassian form is still here, it shall be primarily a name for a pole for pressing down the niuk, and so a derivate from a name of niuk. In the other case we shall rather put this root in the Proto-North-Samoyedic section.

1.6. (?) **ñür*, or **ñüjār* – “cover for niuk” || (Normanskaya et al. 2015: 64) (+ (??) Selkup *ñurjš* – “lining” (Helimski 2007c), *ñürāš* – “Decke, Oberkleid” – if not to Taz *ñurj* ~ *ñürj* – “layer,” *ñür-* “to double, to cover” – by (Alatalo 2004: 244), to Nenets *няра(сь)* – “to line runners or boat with metal or a new layer of wood” (Tereščenko 1965). If Selkup forms are not related, we shall put this root in the Proto-North-Samoyedic section: Similarly, < PUr **ñarV* – “hairless skin” (Redei 1986–1989: 313). There are no Samoyedic parallels in Redei (1986–1989).

1.7. **tet-* ~ **tet* – “Zeltdecke aus Birkenrinde” || (Janhunen 1977: 158). Probably borrowed from PNTung **tiksa* “id.” The etymology < PUr **tis* – “Zeltdecke aus Birkenrinde” (Redei 1986–1989: 525) is false: In FU we find only Komi Zyr'an *kuska* (Beznosikova et al. 2012); no traces of *muca*; the form *mucka* occurs only in Russian dialects of Perm'; against (Anikin 2000: 547) we are forced to suppose a Tungusic borrowing, perhaps, in Komi through Russian.

1.8. **šjV* – “hinterer (gesegneter) Teil des Zeltes” || (Janhunen 1977: 141), Nenets (Forest):

⁴ Phonetically irregular: **j > č* in Kamassian, the sources of the Kamassian *j-* are unknown except for borrowings; but we cannot propose any source of such borrowing in this case; probably, it is the result of influence of *įada* “Dorf” comparable with Selkup *ētā* “Ureinwohnerdorf” (Alatalo 2004: 19).

+ *cu'(h)* – “part of čum opposing entrance, considered sacred” (Tereščenko 1965); Enets (Tundra): + (Helimski’s database) *seʔ* – “anterior part of čum” [*s'ieʔ, s'ieoʔ; meðo s'ieʔ* – “anterior part of čum”]; *s'ieni fe* – “straight pole in the anterior part of čum”]; Nganasan + *сың 'syng*, a clean part of čum opposing entrance’ (Kosterkina et al. 2001: 160); *sy-mony (sieng)* – “der sakrale Teil des Čums hinter der Feuerstelle” (Kortt, Simčenko 1985: 204); Selkup + *sīt* (Taz) – “front corner of a tent” (Erdélyi 1970: 209) (example: *sītqīntī* – “in the front corner [of the čum books and papers lie]”); the stem definition may be made more precise by Helimski: *sītḱj* [E. *sītqj*] – “side of čum opposing entrance” (Helimsky Taz: 265); *сыаңкы /Ket/* – “front corner, sacred corner” (Bykonja 2005: 218), *сәңы* – “sacred corner” (Bykonja 2005: 209); Kamassian (Castrén) *siḡ*, (Donner) *siḡ* – “čum wall opposite from the door,” *mādān siḡdā* – “anterior part of čum” (Donner 1944: 59). The Selkup *seyä* – “room corner” is probably not here, see Dybo, Normanskaja (2016: 46, footnote 6). Cf. PUr **šejä* – “gut, gerade” (Redei 1986–1989: 499).

1.9. **sarwV* – “the top of the čum, smoke-hole > window” (Nenets *sarwa* – “top (of a čum)”; Enets *sama'a* “one of basic poles of čum; smoke-hole”; Mator *sarma* (? *sārma*) – “window”; Kamassian *mā-zəro* – “smoke-hole in the čum” (Donner 1944: 38) || (Helimski 1997: 335). < PUr **šarma* – “hole in the tent roof” (Redei 1986–1989: 344; Dybo, Normanskaja 2016: 46).

1.10. A family of very problematic etymologies:

1.10.1. PNS **kārV-T-* ($T = c, k, s, t$) – “house, stationary building” (Nganasan *kóru* – “Erdhütte; heutiges moderne Haus”, *kóru* – “Behäusung” (allg.) (Kortt, Simčenko 1985: 135), *kopy*²² (*m*) – “house (wooden or stone), hut” (Kosterkina et al. 2001: 70); (Castrén 1855: 49) (Tawgy) *koru* (Pl. *koruda*) – “Haus, Hütte”; Nenets *xapāð* – “house, building, hut; village” (Castrén 1855: 7), (Jurak) *xārad* – “Haus”) || The Nenets form can be a borrowing from Khanty Kazym *kört* – “village, camp” (Solovar 2006: 110), Niziam *kurt*, Kazym *qort* *ostjak* – “Dorf” (nicht “Kirchdorf”) (Steinitz 1966–1992: 687). The Khanty form is borrowed from Komi *gort*, borrowed in its turn from Iranian: PIr **grda-* – “house, building” (Rastorgueva, Edelman 2007: 292–293) to PPerm **gort*; ProtoKomi **gort* (*gortj-*) – “house,” “coffin,” Proto-Udmurt **gurt* – “village, house, home” (KESK: 79). It may be, too, that both North Samoyedic forms are reflexes of this Iranian stem borrowed to Proto-North Samoyedic. A phonetically and semantic-

ally possible Selkup etymon could be **korä* (Alatalo 2004: 328), Tyma *qorä, qore* – “Lager, Hütte, čum” (Helimski 2007c) *korrä ~ qorrä* – “pit in snow to sleep in” (Bykonja 2005) *hopə* – “booth; shelter (from birchbark or grass)”; “winter hut for hunters.” It could be compared with North Samoyedic forms meaning “Erdhütte; heutiges moderne Haus,” with the reconstruction of PS **kārV-5*. Alatalo prefers to relate it to ProtoSelkup **kor* – “Decke” (Alatalo 2004: 327), Tyma *qorl māD* – “Erdhütte” – *qor-*: *qorbī mā* – “bedeckte Hütte” (Helimski 2007c) *qor* (*qory-*) – “cover; shell; hard layer of hide; layer of birch bark under the upper one,” *qora* – “case, cover.” This Proto-Selkup word is obviously related with Enets (Castrén 1855: 80) *korei, koroi* (Khantayka), *kôre, kûre* (Baykha) – “Decke”; *kuroi* (Helimski’s database, Helimski 2007b) – “blanket, hood” (Pusztay and Katzmann 1978: 601) – “Felldecke,” and furthermore Khanty (Mogutaev 1996) *qora* – “cover, roof” || < PUr **korV* – “Dach, Bezug (eines Gegenstandes, des Bootes)” (Redei 1986–1989: 188). However, it can be that “Decke” and “Hütte” should be divided in Selkup. Then we have a PS name for a stationary dwelling, possibly with Iranian relations.

1.10.2. The well-known Selkup name for dugout stands apart: Selkup **kara(lj)-mo* –

5 Cf. (Anikin and Helimski 2007: 158): Selkup Upper Taz *korIm*, Middle Taz *kor* – “warehouse platform” (Erdélyi) *kor* – “barn” < PTM **kori* – “blockhouse, barn” (see below) (Cincius 1975: 415) ~ PMong. **kurijen* – “enclosure, yard, fence” and others (Starostin et al. 2003: 745f.). As E. A. Heimski writes (2007b): “2257. – There are so many words beginning with *qor-* that etymological solutions are extremely difficult. This goes not only for the Selkup language. On the subject of 2257 I can state that several not directly connected forms seem to be included in the article. I would separate the words meaning “surface”, “cover” from the words meaning “warehouse”, “barn”. Really, in this entry by Alatalo, 2257, all forms meaning “warehouse” have a velar, and all forms meaning “surface” have an uvular. Maybe, the name for “warehouse” should be separated from PS **kor* – “Gefäss” (Nganasan (C) *kūr*, (T) *kur* (gen.sg. *ku:rə*, abl.sg. *kurkətə*) – “barrel”; (Solovar 2006) *кору* – “box, case”; Enets (C) Ch. *kūḷ* (: gen.sg. *kūroḷ*) (+ “Kiste”), B. *koḷ* (“Geschirr”); Nenets Tu (T) *hor?*, (L) O *χo:r?* – “Fass”; Nenets Fo (L) P *ko:L?* – “Eimer aus Birkenrinde”; Selkup? (? der.) (C) N *kormdše*, (D) Ty. *korynžä* “tuohinkoppa” (vgl. (Pr) *kor* “амбар”); Kamassian? (D) *qo:ri?* – “kleiner Kasten im Flintenkolben zur Aufbewahrung von Fett” (Janhunen 1977: 74); = FU **kurV-* – “basket” (Redei 1986–1989: 219). So, it is possible in fact, that “warehouse platform” is a North Tungus loanword (see below; but the reflex of the source lacks in the Evenki, the most probable donor of loans in Selkup). But, against (Dybo, Normanskaja 2016: 49), we do not want to risk combining words for “warehouse platform” and “dugout.”

“Erdhütte” (Alatalo 2004: 324): “*a ~ e!* ... (russisches Wort)”, № 2227; (Castrén 1855: 113) *karálmo* Taz – “Erdhütte” = (Helimski 2007c) *karal'mo* – “dugout”; (Bykonja 2005) *карамо* – “dugout”; *һарамо* – “dugout; small hut”; (Grigorovski 2007): *карамó* – “dugout” (6767). Ethnographic definition of Selkup **karalj-mo* is “a framed self-supporting prism-shaped recessed building” (Tuchkova et al. 2013: 122) || From the point of view of word-formation, Selkup **kara(lj)-mo* could be a Nomen Loci from a verb or a name (“suffix of place of action *-mo*, which forms nouns from verbal stems ending in *-r*” (Helimski 2007c: 339; Helimski 2007b): “sam. **-mâ* als Teil der Suffixe für *nomina loci* (**-rə-mâ* > ngan. *-RĀMU*, **-r-rə-mâ* > nenz. T *-lāwa*, enz. *-laa*, ngan. *-LĀMU*, **-r-mâ* > nenz. *-rma*, selk. **-rmo*, mat. *-rma/-rmā*), **-sə-mâ* > enz. *-saa*, ngan. *-SĀMU*) oder (seltener) als selbständiges Suffix für *nomina loci* (s. u.a. Helimski 1997: 383, Wagner-Nagy 2001: 138–139)”). The *-l-* of Castrén, *-l'* of Helimski, *-lj-* of Alatalo could be a reflection of a combination of PS nominal suffix *-l-* + adjective *-jə*, see Helimski (1997: 176, 177). Thus, the denominal derivation of the Selkup word could be verified⁶.

1.10.3. Other Selkup “trash”: a) (Helimski 2007c) *kōral' mōt* – “dugout” (*kōral'* [qoraj] sandy); b) (Bykonja 2005) *һōрле мат* – “карамо” (*һōрле* is a simple adverbial participle from the verb *һopyzy* – “to weave”).

1.11. **kāmV-tā* – “roof, house” (? Enets *kamodo* – “house, village” (Castrén 1855): *kamodo* (Khantayka), *kamoro* (Baykha)),? Selkup *k2amta-la pōt* – “Firstbrett (apex board)” (Alatalo 2004: 267) (Sir. Kolp., i.e. Ivankino; *pot* – “withers” Helimski 2007c = *poč* – “Nacken” (Alatalo 2004: 66)) || < PUr **komta* – “cover, lid” (Redei 1986–1989: 671); again, there are no Samoyedic parallels in Redei 1986–1989. Yu.V. Normanskaja also proposed including the Khanty (Niziam) *kāmət'* –

“roof of the house” (Karjalainen – Toivonen 1948: 404) into the Uralic etymology (if not a Samoyedic loanword).

1.12. (?) **māka* – “roof beam” (< PS **māka* – “back, backbone” (Janhunen 1977: 85) < PUr **muka* – “back” (Sammallahti 1988); that could be a natural meaning development in the frame of “zoomorphic” code of dwelling-conception): Nenets (Tundra) *харад' махалы* – “top beam of the roof” (Tereščenko 1965: 243) (Salminen 1998: *māxa* – “back”); Enets *maxadi* – “spine; top beam of the house” || (Dybo, Normanskaja 2016: 46). This semantical derivation seems to be doubtful now: cf. Selkup *maki* – “Stock, Wandbalken” (Alatalo 2004: 120), *mak* – “log, stick” (Bykonja 2005) – but Selkup *moqə, moqol* – “Rücken” (Alatalo 2004: 121). Maybe a separate PS term should be reconstructed for a building element of a stationary dwelling, PS **m[a]kV* – “beam.”

1.13. **ō* (? **ōə*) – “Tür” || (Janhunen 1977: 29) [Enets + *ňianoo* – “side of čum near the door”] < PUr **owe* – “door” (Redei 1986–1989: 344).

1.14. **sejV* – “one fom čum’s corner, women’s side” (Nenets *сея* – “part of čum near doors (women’s side of čum)” (Tereščenko 1965); Enets *see* – “čum corner” [1sg *seej?* / *sēēj?*, *seej?*, 1pl *seena?* / *sēna?*, gen *sē* / *sē*, pl *sē?*, (3) *sēda* – “one of the four čum corners”; *seexodo otedabo* – “I will wait in the corner”, *n'ianoo seayoda* – “to the corner near the door”, *šie/onôô sēyo?* – “two corners in the anterior part of a čum”; *ňianóô seeyo?* – “two čum corners near the door”, *n'ianoo sea* – “corner near the door”]; Selkup *sejā* – “Ecke der Stube” (Alatalo 2004: 374), (Pr) *sāñā* – “corner, nook” (Erdélyi 1970: 204), *sāñā* – “corner” (Helimski 2007c: 246); *сāñзы* – “corner” (e.g. corner of a house) (Alatalo 1998: 57) || Dybo, Normanskaja (2016: 46). Cf. Janhunen (1977: 141). < ? PUr **šije* – “Biegung, Krümmung” > “Ecke” (Redei 1986–1989: 480).

1.15. **wāTVwā* (? ~ **wāTVpā*, *T = c, k, s, t*) – “Schlafstelle, Bett” || Janhunen 1977: 173, < PUr **wopV* – “Schlafstelle (im Schnee)” (Redei 1986–1989: 584, Dybo, Normanskaja 2016: 46) (or, rather, Mansi *vāpi* (N) – “Grube im Schnee, a small hole in the snow where a wood grouse sits”, *jol-wāpiji* (sy.) – “sich einhüllen” is a borrowing from a Samoyedic language? Phonetically, the cognate is strange).

1.16. **pāñā* – “bed; Bettfell” (Nenets (Tundra) *пэңа* – “bed on deer hides, mattress” Tereščenko

6 As a possible source cf. (Castrén 1855: 112) (Ostjak-Samojedisch): *kará* – “Dorf, eig. russische Dorf”, *kerá* K., *kerrá* NP, ? *tereme* Tsch., OO; (Bykonja 2005): *кара* /об. Ч, кет., бас./ ~ *кера* /кет./ – “village (with Russian log frame houses)”; *кpa* ~ *кpā* /об. С, Ч, кет./ – “large village; town”; *һара* /об. Ч, кет./ ~ *һарpa* ~ *һыppa* /кет./ – “large village; town”; [Selkup *kará* – “village” > Khanty Vj *kāra* – “village” (Steinitz 1966: 543); cf. Khanty *kur-xarə* – “Platz, wo das Dorf steht” 543–545]. But Alatalo reconstructs Selkup **kīra* – “russisches Dorf”, Ty. *kəra* (Alatalo 2310); that can be a loanword from Khanty **kīrā* – as it is proposed by Helimski in Marginalia – and this one comes back to the Proto-Ob-Ugrian **karj*, **kerā*; **kerəs*, (Honti 1982) **kārā* 318, 757 – “sparse; spacious; broad”, Mansi **karā*; **karas*, Khanty **kīrā*; **kīras*.

7 In (Janhunen 1977), Kamassian *bēl*, *bēgāl*, Koibal *бягалъ* – “back” is in fact not from here, but instead a Khakas borrowing, cf. Khakas Kyzyl *peel* – “back” (from PTurk **bējl* – “waist”).

1965, *bę:ηηλ* (+ “aus Heu gebundene Matte als Unterlage im Bett”); Nenets (Forest) *pǎęηηλy*; Enets *pae* – “bed,” *fae* (“Renntierhaut als Sitz”), der. *pajraha* – “einem Bett ähnlich”; (Sorokina, Bolina 2001): *naŭ* – “mattress”; Nganasan *honsu*, *fǎnsu* – “bedding, mattress”; Mator *хайнга* (“bedding”); Taigi +px sg.1. *háingam* (“lectus”) || (Janhunen 1977: 115f.; Dybo, Normanskaja 2016: 46). (?) < > PTung **pianǰkV* (Cincius 1977: 36, 321) (Even *hięηku* – “lower cover of a čum”, Ulcha *pęηGa* – “shelf”).

1.17. **seTsǎn* ($T = c, k, s, t$) – “barn; Speicher” || (Janhunen 1977: 139).

1.18. **pǎrV* – “warehouse platform” || (Janhunen 1977: 116) (Nenets, Selkup), (Helimski 1997, 2007b) (Enets, Mator); < PUr **pora* – “raft” (Redei 1986–1989: 344); or cf. PNTung **harā(n)* – “place for čum, floor” (< PTung **parā(n)*), see below.

Proto-Northern Samoyedic:

1.19. **ǰǰsV* – “to camp with a čum” ((Nenets *Һэсо-* – “to camp with a čum,” *Һэсы* – “camping ground, camp, village”; (?) Enets *usu-* – “to camp with a čum”) || (Helimski 2007b) < (?) PUr **ase-* – “stellen, setzen, legen; ein Zelt errichten” (Redei 1986–1989: 18).

1.20. PS **uj* – “Stange” > PNS “Zeltstange” (but Selkup *yy* – “Querholz zwischen Schlittenkorb und Schlittenkufe”) || (Janhunen 1977: 29-30) < PUr **wole* (**wōle*) – “Stange” (Redei 1986–1989: 579).

1.21. **kimkV* – “Zeltstange” (Nenets (Tundra) *сымзы* – “vertical pole in a čum, to which the ends of cross-poles are tied to hang hooks over the fireplace”; see also Xomič (1966: 105f.), *šimsy*, *šimtsu*, Nenets (Forest) *šimsu*; Nganasan (Kortt – Simčenko 1985) *šimka* – “heilige, sakrale Hauptstange des Čums”) || (Anikin and Helimski 2007: 137). PNS > Evenki *чѳмка* (all dialect groups), *кѳмка* (Southern dialect group) – “thin pole (in a čum, middle thin pole between entrance and fireplace)” (Cincius 1977: 394; Vasilevich 1969: 109).

1.22. **pelVj-* – “uninhabited part of čum” (Nganasan *hel’idiǎ* – “side of čum opposite hosts,” Nenets (Tundra) *пелей* – “uninhabited part of čum”; Enets (Forest) *peleiku* – “part of čum where there are no beds,” (Tundra) *peride* – “uninhabited (without a bed) part of čum”) || (Helimski 2007a); (?) cf. PUr **palV* – “left” (Redei 1986–1989: 351).

1.23. **lǎtV* – “floor” (more precisely: the boards for sitting by the hearth in the center of

čum floor)⁸, (Nenets (Tundra) *лама* – “floor in a čum,” *lāta* – “breit; Brett; Fußboden, Diele”; Enets *lata* – “board; floor” (Sorokina, Bolina 2001); Nganasan *lo(j)t’ü* – “wide board, (Pl. floor)” (Helimski’s Nganasan database) || (?) < PUr **latta* – “board, lid” (Redei 1986–1989: 238). Nenets > Komi Zyr. *лami* – “board for sitting in a čum,” (Izhma) *лама* – “boards used in a čum instead of floor” (Beznosikova et al. 2012). The PUr > PFU form is doubtful and its phonetic form should be rather **lawtta*: Finnish *lauta* – “Brett” (> Saami N *law’de* -wd – “windowsill,” *lau’tē* (L) – “Holzstäbchen”; Estonian *laud* – “Brett, Deckel, Tisch”; Saami *luow’de* -wd- (N) – “wooden float for fishing-net or seine,” *luou’tē* (L) – “Schwimmer, Flotte,” *lǎvte* (T), *luivt* (Kld.), *luvt* (Not.) – “Brett” (if not < Baltic: Lithuanian *plau̯tas*, Lettish *plāuts* – “Wandbrett, Regal”) (Itkonen et al. 1995: 55f.).

1.24. **lǎŋkǎri* – “doorstep” (Enets (Tundra) *логори* – “doorstep”; Nganasan *lǎŋkǎri* – “doorstep”) || (Anikin and Helimski 2007: 135), from NTung.: Evenki *лэңурѳ* – “block, log” (Cincius 1975: 517); a derivative from PTung **leŋe-* – “to stick, in particular about logs, snags in a river.”

1.25. **tǎkV* – “protective mound in front of house” (Nenets *maxǎ’(h)* – “protective mound of snow around čum”; Enets *toxu’* idem; Nganasan *тэжѳозэ* – “mound of snow and turf”) || Cf. PTM **tǎkan* – “a log spanned through a river, a bridge” (Cincius 1977: 155f.).

2 Manchu-Tungusic Names of Dwellings: Etymologies

Here, we partly lean on (Konstantinova 1971), adding the material from newly published sources and more rigorously reconstructing and classifying words. The first division of Proto-Manchu-Tungusic, which is the division into Tungusic and Manchu (together with Churchen) branches, can be dated glottochronologically as happening around the 3rd cent. B.C. The division of Proto-Tungusic into the Northern and Southern (Nani) branches took place around the 6th cent. A.D. As for specific forms of dwellings, reconstructed as meanings of the proto-language’s dwelling-names, they are, in general, uniform across different Manchu-Tungus peoples, see the illustrations below. The phonetical reconstruction is noted according to (Cincius 1949, Benzing 1956, Dybo 1992) and

⁸ See below the plan of Nenets *čum* (Levin and Potapov 1956: 632).

partly (Starostin et al. 2003). We have not used the notation in the PTM vocalic reconstruction of G. Doerfer (1978) because of the fact that there are a number of cases among the etymologies of

dwelling-names where the Doerfer's system cannot be applied, see below. The difference between the two systems is as follows:

Table 1. Basic correspondences of TM vowels in the first syllable⁹

NTung except Even	Even	STung	Manchu	Doerfer's system	Our system
i (+ mphnl frontness)	i	i	i	*i	*i
i (+ mphnl backness)	ï	ï	i	*ï	*ï
u (+ mphnl frontness)	u (+ mphnl frontness) /ö	u(+ mphnl frontness); (*CuCu > CoCo)	u	*ö	*ü
u (+ mphnl backness)	u (+ mphnl backness)	u (+ mphnl backness)/o; (*CuCu > CoCo)	u/o	*u	*u
e	e	e	e	*ä	*e
u (+ mphnl frontness), (/P_e	u(+ mphnl frontness)/ö, (/P_e	(w)e-, (/P_u	u, (/P_e, (-)we- /_J	-	*ö
o	o	o, wa-	o, (-)wa- /_J	*o	*o
a	a	a	a	*a	*a
ê (+ mphnl backness)	ã/ ĭ	ia	ia	*iã	*ia
ê (+ mphnl backness)	ã/ ĭ	ï	(i)o/(i)u	-	*io
ī (+ mphnl frontness)	ī (+ mphnl frontness)	(i)e	(i)e	*ī-	*ie
ê (+ mphnl backness)	ã/ ĭ	ai	ai/ia	-	*ai
ê (+ mphnl backness)	ã	oi	oi/ia	-	*oi
ī (+ mphnl frontness)	ī (+ mphnl frontness)	ī (+ mphnl frontness)	e(i) (not after b, m, f)	-	*ei
i (+ mphnl frontness)	i	u (+ mphnl frontness)	u	*ü	*üi
i (+ mphnl backness)	ï	u (+ mphnl backness)/ui/oi	u(i)/o(i)	-	*ui

Proto-ManchuTungusic:

2.1. *žīb “dwelling, hearth” (PTung “dwelling,” Manchu “hearth”). NTung: Evenki žū; žūw-čā- “to work about the household,” Solon žūy, Even žūò, Negidal žō “long shelter with gable roof, covered with *tiskas*, in winter also by the Siberian pine bark” (Levin and Potapov 1956: 835), demin. žokya (Lower, Upper) “yurt (for hunting in summer,” (Levin and Potapov 1956: 835) “conical čum,” Oroch žu(g), Udehe žugdi “shelter (with gable roof, two exits and two hearths).” STung: Ulcha žū(y), Orok dū-qu, Nanai žō. Manchu žū-n “hearth” || Cf. a derivate (points to the existence of the “home” meaning): PTung *žīb-ma- “to visit” > Evenki žūmā-, Even žūma-, Oroch

žīma-, Nanai žīma- etc. (Cincius 1975: 266-7, 257). In spite of Konstantinova reconstructing the meaning “dismountable framed mobile dwelling,” i.e. “čum,” for PTM (Konstantinova 1971: 227), the data point to the meaning “house, home,” both in Proto-Tungusic and in PTM). < PA *žībì: PMong. žuwka “hearth,” PKor. *čip “house,” PJap *(d)ipià “house” (Starostin et al. 2003). Evenki žoyo “campfire, center of campfire” could be a Mongolism. Cf. Doerfer (2004: 276; *žū (+-g), without Manchu).

2.2. *čōra-n/-ma “conical čum” (> a type of *yaranga*, a Chukchee-Koryak mobile dwelling with separate structures for walls and roof, by Evenks and Evens who contact with Chukchee and Koryaks). NTung: Evenki čōrama (the Eastern dialect group) folklore “dwelling (octahedral with exit through the smoke hole); čōrama žū, čōramanža žū “čum (of the Even type, with skel-

⁹ See also (Dybo 2016: 98; Dybo 1992: 89–96; Lidzhiiev 2005: 83–87); cf. the reconstruction in (Talvittie 2016) (incomplete material used).

eton from vertical supports, on which the poles for cone are placed),” Even *čōra* (чор, чюра; the Eastern and the Middle dialectal groups) “tripods of the skeleton of the lower part of a conical čum”; “čum”; “staff”; “she-deer (carrying tripods during migrations),” *čōra-* “to put up tripods”; “to put up čum”; *čōra-lʸn* “master of putting up čum”; *čōra-lqan* (*čōra-lkan*) “the one having tripods, with tripods (about čum)”; *čōra-ruq* (*čōra-ruk*) “reindeer (carrying tripods and čum cover during migrations).” It is unclear whether we can put the following terms here: *čōra-mi* “stick, staff, cane”; “staff (for men, used when riding a reindeer)”; *čōra-mi-da-* (*čōra-w-mol-dā-*) “to walk leaning on a stick, a cane”; “to push with staff (when riding a reindeer).” Negidal (Lower) *čōrami* “čum (old-type).” Udehe (Khor) *čōlo* “conical shelter (covered with *tiskas*, hides, bark – (Levin and Potapov 1956: 835));” *čōlo-ŋisi-* “to put up shelter.” STung (?): Nanai *čōro* (Naykhin) (*cōro* Bikin) “shelter (for hunting)” [according to explanations in (Levin and Potapov 1956: 796), a conical one, roofed with straw or birch bark strips; it is used by peoples of Amur tributaries, Kile and Akani, i.e. the speakers of genetically Northern Tungusic Nanai dialects!]. Manchu *čoron tataŋ* “round shelter, hovel, from poles put in a circle like a Mongolian yurt” (Zakharov 1875: 949) || (Cincius 1977: 408; Doerfer 2004: 193–194, **čōrat*; Birare *čōra* “conical dwelling” from Manchu). We must also note the conical čum of Oroks: *awundaqu*, derivate from the verb *aw-* “to sleep” (Cincius 1975: 4); čum is covered with bark, and with fish skins in winter (Levin and Potapov 1956: 857).

2.3. **xakdun* “stationary (reinforced) dwelling; dugout?”. PNTung “lair, hole”: Evenki (all dialect groups) *abdun*, *awdun*, *agdun* “lair, hole”; Oroch *agdu(n)* “lair; sett, nest,” “above-ground house” (Ivanov 1951: 76); Udehe *agdu(n)* “lair, hole.” PSTung “house, lair”: Ulcha *χagdu(n)* “dwelling, house,” Orok *χagdu(n)* “lair,” Nanai *χagdō* (Naykhin) (*agdō* Kur-Urmi) “lair.” Manchu *aqdun* “strong, trusty” (about place) || (Cincius 1975: 6). The labial consonant in the middle of the Evenki word is probably due to contamination with the verbal root **ab-* “to sleep” (Cincius 1975: 1). Negidal *χagdu(n)* “dwelling (made out of logs for winter); lair” is obviously borrowed from STung languages, judging by the meaning and the first consonant (Dorerfer 2004: 105: from Ulcha).

2.4. **ugdā-n/-ma* “stationary building.” NTung: Evenki *ugdāme*, *ugdan* (Eastern dialect) “a summer dwelling from stakes, covered by larch bark”; (Bauntovo, Vitim) “warehouse platform, scaffold

on posts with bark roof”; (Levin and Potapov 1956: 719: “Deerless Evenkis lived in ... tetragonal houses with low (2-5 rows) blockhouses and gable roof from larch bark (*ugdama*) –it is a stationary dwelling which was also used for wintering. Dwellings of the *ugdama* type are also common in Amur Tungus-Manchu peoples”). Even *udan* [**ugdan*] (Okhot) “warehouse platform, scaffold on posts for storage.” Negidal (Lower, Upper) *ogdan* “a summer dwelling roofed with birch bark.” Manchu *uqdo*, *uqdu(n)* “dugout, cave (dug in a mountain to live in)” || (Cincius 1977: 244; Doerfer 2004: 834 [**ugda-*]; Vasilevich 1961). Vasilevich proposes to relate the Northern Tungusic word with Evenki *uldaksa*, *ugdaksa* “bark of conifers,” Negidal *ogdaksa* “bark”; judging by the spread of both words, to consider them linked we must suppose that the name for bark was derived from the name for building material, not the other way around, as according to Vasilevich.

2.5. **kaba-* “rectangular shelter with gable bark roof.” NTung: Oroch *kawa(n)* “rectangular summer shelter roofed with spruce bark”; = Udehe (Khor) *qawa* (description in (Levin and Potapov 1956: 835): rectangular skeleton, low vertical walls, gable bark roof; a summer dwelling). STung: Nanai *qawa* (Naykhin), *qawu* (Bikin) “shelter for hunting; shelter for giving birth” || (Cincius 1975: 391). It seems that there is a derivate in Manchu: *quwara-* “to fence in,” which is a denominal verb on *-ra-*, see Avrorin (2000: 155–157), and its standard derivate noun *quwaran* “fence, garden, monastery; enclosed barracks, camp” (Zakharov 1875: 286 f.), Sibe *quarən* “courtyard” (Yamamoto 1969: 553; Cincius 1975: 422). Manchu > WMong. *quwaran* “barracks,” Khalkha *хуаран(э)* “barracks, camp; bivouac” (Suxbaatar 1997: 201). Orok *qau-ra(n)* “summer bark gable shelter with two doors” (Starcev 2017: 156; Roon 1996: 109-112)¹⁰ could be an early Manchurism; the word also could be used to mean a rectangular structure house with gable roof and walls made out of poles, which was also called *сѣрин бую дуку* (lit. “a house of poles”) – (Roon

10 Cf. another description of this Orok dwelling in (Misonova 2013: 311): “Dwelling of a Nivkh type – *kaura*” and 317: “Shelter (roofed with bark), shelter-like summer dwelling (roundish shape, side poles are as if broken) – *kaura*; [I. 391] кайра(н-); (117) кавра (=кайра). My husband at summer camp (pasture) from bark makes summer čum (covered from outside with larch bark, and from inside lined with birch bark). – Мапанубни дувадуккуду хурактама каур андусини.” We have not found records of Orok round dwellings in other sources; the description mainly corresponds to the Nanai *χomarā*.

1996: 122 f.). The Sakhalin Evenki *kawran* “dwelling made out of larch bark” (Bulatova 1999: 94, Myreeva 2004: 264) is probably borrowed from the Orok word (cf., however, Evenki – *ran* denom. Nomen statūs (Vasilevich 1958: 786)). This Sakhalin Evenki word is poorly recorded and particularly local, which points to a more probable borrowing from Orok. Probably from Orok comes also the Sakhalin Nivkh *q’awram* “birch bark čum, shelter” (see Gašilova 2017: 15). However, cf. the name of an Orok dwelling used in a Nivkh folk tale (Roon 1995: 149): *kauraf*, which could be a composit with the second part of the Sakhalin Nivkh *t/raf* “house,” where the first part could be compared to the Amur Tungus *kawa*. Therefore, we have a hypothesis a) – that the Nivkh form is a partial borrowing from Tungusic **kaba*; Orok *qaura(n)* was borrowed with a morphological adaptation from the Nivkh composite, and then again borrowed back into Sakhalin Nivkh *q’awram* and Sakhalin Evenki *kawran*; or a hypothesis b) that posits that the Orok word was borrowed from Manchu, and then loaned into the Nivkh *q’awram*, which then partially adapted to look like the Nivkh composite.

2.6. **biri-* “to lay stakes.” NTung: Evenki *biri-* “to lay stakes,” *biri-ptir* “flooring of stakes, warehouse”; Even *bir-ken* “warehouse”; Negidal *bijēyē* (< **bire-ge*) “flooring (in antique dwelling)”; Oroch *bipti* (< **biri-pti*) “tent for hunting products”; Udehe *bīpti* (< **biri-pti*) “floor in barn.” STung: Nanai *beren* (Naykhin), *bere(n)* (Bikin) “door or window frame” (Onenko 1980, Sem 1976) (possibly < Manchu). Manchu *biregen* ~ *bireken* “fence, palisade, poling,” *beren* “window frame, door jamb” || (Cincius 1975: 84, 127). Possibly here belong also Negidal *bile*, Ulcha *bīle* “side of boat” (< **bire-li*; Ulcha probably is borrowed from Negidal or Udehe), Nanai (Naykhin) *birel* (Onenko 1980) “side of boat,” *birue-* “to tilt,” (Bikin) *bireñi* “boards for boat side” (in Cincius 1975: 83 they are under **bilen* “sleeve flap”).

2.7. **sioru-* “to use stakes” (Tungusic for “building,” Manchu for “rowing”); “stake, pole.” NTung: Evenki *sēr-* “to put together stakes for čum,” *sēr-aŋ* “stake from čum skeleton,” *sēro-qu* “shed”; Even *hār̄ŋ* “stake from čum skeleton,” *hār̄mu* “skeleton of a cylindrical čum”; Negidal *sējaŋ* “stake”; Oroch *sēŋi* “stake,” *sēŋi-la-* “to put up roof timbers.” STung: Nanai (Onenko 1980) *sirāŋqo* “single-row rack for fish,” *siroča* “half-circle-shaped booth, covered with sailcloth, used for funeral rites”; cf. also the form from Levin and Potapov (1956: 796) (the dialect is unknown) *серама* “winter dugout with blockhouse standing

in a hole in the ground; single row rack with two sloping surfaces for fish down to the ground.” Manchu *šuru-* “using poles”, *šuruqu* “boat pole” || (Cincius 1977: 72, 430) (on p. 72 the reflexes for PTM **sōn* “stake, rack” appeared by mistake); (Doerfer 2004: 710: **siār-aŋi*).

2.8. **elbe-* “to cover (čum, dwelling).” NTung: Evenki *elbe-* “to cover čum with cover,” *elben*, *elbun*, *elbeptun* “cover for čum”; Even *elb̄-* “to cover čum with cover,” *elb̄m* “covered čum,” *elb̄tin*, (Allaikhov) *eptin* “cover for čum” (< *elbe-ptin*); Negidal *elbe-* “to cover čum with cover,” *elben* “roof,” *elbeptin* “cover for čum”; Oroch *ebbe-* “to lay roof,” *ebbene* “cover for shelter, shed,” Udehe *egbe-* “to lay roof,” *egbene* “winter tent.” STung: Ulcha *elbene* “sail; cover”; Nanai (Naykhin) *elbē* “roof,” *elbene* “sail,” (Kur-Urmi) “tent for rain.” Manchu *elbe-* “to lay roof,” *elbe-ku* “roof,” *elben* “thatch, sedge” || (Cincius 1977: 445, Doerfer 2004: 306: *elbe-* “schliessen” Mankova-Ewenken). In (Starostin et al. 2003), under the same root we find Evenki *ellun*, *eldun* “čum cover, lower part”; Even *ēlrimi* (OI) “suede čum cover,” *ēlde* (Arman) “suede”; Solon *eldū* “winter felt yurt cover” (Cincius 1977: 448); these are, probably, from Mongolian *elde-* “to process leather.”

2.9. **önde-kēn* “dwelling cover” (PNTung “čum cover,” PSTung, Manchu “boards, planks, half beams”). NTung: Evenki *une-kēn*, *une-ke-mi* “čum cover (upper part)”; Even *une-kēn* “dwelling; lair”; Solon *unexē* “felt yurt cover; roof”; Oroch *uñi* “čum cover”, *unemi* “women’s robe from sheep skin”; Udehe *vañehæ* “stakes under the bark roof of a barn.” STung: Orok *une* “čum cover from bark, birch bark, suede” (from Oroch?), Nanai *undexe(n)* (Naykhin, Kur-Urmi) “board,” (Bikin) “coffin”; cf. also (Levin and Potapov 1956: 796) *ундэхэн* “winter hunting dwelling: pyramidal roof with door in one side” [but (Cincius 1977: 273) *ундэхэ(н) аңко* “log booth”]. Manchu *undexen* “board, batten” || (Cincius 1977: 273, 274, 276; Doerfer 2004: 12023 **önä-kān*). It is probable that Oroch *wentexe* “conical temporary hunting dwelling from half-beams” (Turaev et al. 2001: 55 – a dwelling of *golomo* or *uten* type; cf. the Nanai meaning from Levin and Potapov; Cincius 1975: 132) is a borrowing from a dialectal Manchu or Nani form of this stem; cf. Nanai Bikin *ventexen aonga* (Sem 1973: 90–92).

Proto-Tungusic:

2.10. **ūten* “temporary winter dwelling.” NTung: Evenki *uten* “bark čum (roofed with conifer bark), dwelling (covered with earth in winter)” – (in Eastern Evenki, with memories of settled way of life; note by Vasilevich 1969:

112); Even *ūtēn* “dugout of Yakut type” (Lindenau 1983: 58, about Evens in Okhotsk: *utan* “round winter dwelling, surrounded with earth, with top entrance, flat roof and a hearth in the middle”), *utemjē* (Okhot) “old, decrepit dugout”; Negidal *ūtēn* “winter hunting shelter, covered with snow at the base”; Oroch *ūte-če-ken* “dwelling (folk.)”; Udehe *utuli*, *utulu* “hall (roofed addition to winter shelter).” STung: Orok *utemi* “shelter, hunting hut” || (Cincius 1977: 295). Sternberg (1933: 483) has also recorded the Kile Nanai people (i.e. Northern Tungusic component of Nanai) having booth for a dead man *yton*, “a kind of khamuran, ... with its skeleton covered with canvas, but from two sides, east and west, the booth remained completely open”; probably the same building is called *siroča* up on (Onenko 1980). Evenki > Yakut *ūten* “hunting shelter from conically put together half-beams with hole at the top, daubed with clay or covered with turf” (Doerfer 2004: 892, “Paläoasiatisch?”).

2.11. **xomaran* “round shelter roofed with bark and straw.” NTung: Negidal *omōxān* (< **xomojo-kan* < **xomoro-kan*, diminutive) “shelter for dogs,” “spherical summer shelter” (Levin and Potapov 1956: 796). STung: Ulcha *χomira(n)* “shelter roofed with hay, bark and the like”; Nanai *χomarā* “summer dwelling from birch bark and reedy mat,” Bikin *xomora(n-)* “summer booth” (Sem 1976: 203) || (Cincius 1977: 17). May be related with Even (Ol) *omap* “log canoe” (Robbek 2005), cf. Evenki *omor-go-* “to steer boat” (Birare) – (Doerfer 2004: 8690). The last forms are compared in (Cincius 1977: 272) with **emure-čun* “birch bark boat, canoe, dugout boat; log canoe for one-two people,” see Anikin (2000: 424: from **emūn* – “one” (Doerfer 2004: **āmōn*). But the Even (and Birare) form has *o*, not *ō*, so this name for dugout boat should have another root. For meaning relations of “booth” and “dugout boat” cf. above, PUr. **korV*, Ob-Ugrian “Bootdecke,” Samoyed “Dach” (Redei 1986-1989: 188).

Cf. Taz Selkup: *kumar* “summer tent čum” (with wooden arcs as support rods for birch bark, canvas or other cover) (Helimski 2007c); for ethnographic description see Tuchkova et al. (2013: 137); and East Khanty *kəmər qat* (Vakh), *kəmər qat* (Trem-Yugan) “dome-shaped shelter” (Tereškin 1981). The direction of the borrowing should be from Pre-Northern Tungusic (with surviving **x-*) into Pre-Selkup and Pre-Khanty.

2.12. **kori* “blockhouse.” NTung: Negidal *koj* (**kori*) B “blockhouse,” Oroch *koi* “blockhouse, barn for foodstuffs,” Udehe *koai-* (Kormušin 1998: 249), *kua-* “to make a blockhouse.” STung:

Ulcha *qori* “blockhouse – room for bear,” “cattleshed, stable,” Orok *qori* “blockhouse for bear,” Nanai *qori* (Naykhin, Bikin, Kur-Urmi) “blockhouse – room for bear,” “barn (for food storage),” (Naykhin) “sepulchral house” || (Cincius 1975: 415). Manchu *χorin* “cage (for birds), fish pond,” “cattleshed,” judging by the initial *χ-*, cannot be a PTM reflex; it could come from Amur Tungusic languages (*χori-* “to fence in” is from Mongolian)¹¹. Cf. also Evenki Birare *kōra* “wall,” e.g. *yeyin dapkur kōrači* “wall of nine layers” (Doerfer 2004: 6331). The listed forms cannot be regarded as Mongolisms, despite (Doerfer 1985: 77), although forms like Evenki *korigan* are certainly from Mongolian, see Poppe (1966: 191); ~ PMong **kurijen* “enclosed space, courtyard, fence” etc. (Starostin et al. 2003: 745 f.). The Amur blockhouse building specifics, i.e. posts with slots for logs (Levin and Potapov 1956: 820 f., Popov 1961: 190, 202), allows to tie in the Manchurian verb *qori-* “to hollow out” (Cincius 1975: 415, Hauer 2007: 313) to this etymology and thus to reconstruct the PTM stem with verbal semantics. As previously stated, the Tungusic word could be loaned into Selkup (see footnote 5 above).

2.13. **baksa* “central pillar, support.” NTung: Evenki *baksa* ~ *bakča* ~ *bakša* “support, pile, pillar”; “longitudinal plank (in sledge).” STung: Ulcha *baqsa turani* “central pillar, support (in ancient Ulcha dwelling);” Nanai *baqsa*, *baxsa* (Naykhin) “central pillar (in dwelling); supports (for ceiling poles)” || (Cincius 1975: 67).

2.14. **tirē-w-ke* “roof poles.” NTung: Evenki (Eastern, Southern) *tirēwkē* “poles to weigh down the cover on warehouse platform; longitudinal side planks in sled”; Even *tiruke* ~ *turuke* “press (poles, branches, antlers to weigh down covers on the upper side of čum);” *tiruke-* ~ *turuke-* “to weigh down (čum covers);” Oroch *tijeke* “beam, pole (on the roof of dwelling);” *tijewke* “roof timber.” STung: Nanai *čireče* (Naykhin) “poles (supporting roof)” || (Cincius 1977: 187 f.: from PTM verb **tirē-w-* “to press, to weigh down,” in particular, parts of building, cf. Manchu *čirge-* “to hammer in, to ram down earth with tamper; to beat down foundation; to beat piles or rubble under walls”); cf. (Doerfer 2004: 793; **tirā-*).

2.15. **tuiksa* “čum cover made of birch bark.” NTung: Evenki *tiksa*; *tiwsa* (Southern s-dialects),

11 Probably Evenki (Kumare, Manegirs; from Khingan, i.e. on Manchurian territory) *kor'i* “net, plait for transporting kettles” – not “hanging,” as by Doerfer, in the original “перев.”; it is *перевозка* and not *подвешивание* [Doerfer 2004: 6351] is borrowed from this Manchu word.

tikša (Southern š-dialects), *tihā* (Eastern h-dialects) “čum or pack cover, made out of three boiled strips of birch bark”; *tiksa-* “to cover čum with *tiska*’s; to make *tiska*’s”; *tiksama* “made of birch bark (of čum cover)”; *tiksaŋ-* “to prepare birch bark for čum”; *tiksača-* “to cover with something”; Even (Okhot) *tīs* “birch bark cover for čum”; Negidal (Lower, Upper) *tiksa* “birch bark cover for summer dwelling; cloth, birch bark bedding”; Oroch *tuksa* “birch bark cloth”; Udehe (Khor, Bikin) *tukeä*, *tukä* “birch bark cloth.” STung: Ulcha *tuiqsa* “birch bark cover for summer dwelling”; Nanai *tisa* (Kur-Urmi), *toiksa*, *tuaksa* (Samagir) “birch bark cover for shelter or booth” || (Cincius 1977: 179), cf. Doerfer (2004: 785, **tüksä*). Manchu *tuqsa boo* “shelter covered with birch bark” is probably a STung borrowing (normally the Tung. suffix *-KsA* corresponds to Manchu *-XA*). Evenki > Yakut *миксэ* “birch bark roof” (Pekarski 1959, III: 266), Rus. *тиска*, cf. Anikin (2000: 547).

2.16. **malu* “honourable place within the house (opposite to the entrance).” NTung: Evenki *malu*, *malū* “a honourable place in dwelling opposite the entrance behind the fireplace, where, according to superstitions, the spirit, the owner of the čum, yurt, *urasa* lived; (Khingān) icon”; *maluyidā* “a space between *malu* and entrance” (*-yu*, *-yidā* are affixes meaning place, see Vasilevich (1958: 752), Boldyrev (2000: 100); Even *mal* “honourable place within the house (opposite to the entrance; after the fireplace)”; *malgidā* “a space between *malu* and entrance”; Solon *malūyū* “honourable place within the *yurt*”; Negidal (Lower, Upper) *malu* “honourable place within the house (opposite to the entrance; after the fireplace)”; Udehe (Khor, Aniu) *mali* ~ *malu* “place in a shelter-like dwelling with one entrance and one fireplace – between the fireplace and the back wall; in a shelter with two entrances and two fireplaces – between fireplaces”; *malikta* (Aniu) “space {joining the dwelling from the *mali* side}”; *malima* ~ *maluma* (Khor, Aniu) “having *mali*”; *maluma žugdi* (Khor) “shelter with two sloping surfaces and *mala* between the fireplace and the back wall.” STung: Ulcha *malī* ~ *malu* “place in dwelling on plank bed opposing entrance”; Orok *malu* “honourable place in dwelling opposing entrance”; Nanai *malu* (Naykhin, Bikin, Kur-Urmi) “honourable place in dwelling on a *kan* opposing entrance” || (Cincius 1975: 525; Doerfer 2004: 533, **malu*; Futaky 1975: 28, **malū*, (?) loaned in Ob-Ugrian **mälü* “heilige Rückwand in der Wohnung”; cf. the Proto-Ob-Ugrian reconstruc-

tion in Honti 1982, № 390: **mäl-*, **mül* “Hinterwand”).

2.17. **boi* “place in dwelling on both sides of the entrance, where beds are made.” NTung: Evenki *bē* “place in dwelling on both side of the entrance; bed, plank bed”; *bēmra* (Chumikan) “rookery of sea animals”; Even *bā* (Ol, Penzha, Tompon), *bē* (Arman) “rookery of sea animals; (Tompon) comrade”; *bāsaq*, *bēsak*, *bāsāq*, *bāhak*, *bēhak* “a curtain neighbour (man living with smb in the same yurt and on the same side of the fireplace, but in different curtains); curtains in yurt; wife”; Udehe *beä* (Khor, An’uj), *bā* (Bikin) “place (in dwelling, on both sides of the entrance, where people sleep, eat and work.” NTung: Orok *bē* “place in dwelling on both sides of the entrance”; *bēltu* “bedspread”; *bēltu-* “to make bed”) || (Cincius 1975: 78; Doerfer 2004: 123, **biā*). The diphthong with *o* must be reconstructed for the PTM, because the Manchu parallel to the stem is *boigon* “Grund und Boden, Grundeigentum; Haushalt, Feuerstätte, Familie,” possibly also *boiχon* “Erdboden, Erde, Lehm, Ton” (Hauer 2007: 55); Sibe *bohān*, *bohun* “earth, ground” (Yamamoto 1969: 2112); Jurchen (?) *boi* “family” (if *-i* in *bo-i sugu* “a family servant,” *bo-i niema* (**boi nelma*?) “one of the family, domestic” (Kane 1989: 272, 280, if *-i* is not a genitive marker¹²); as well as *be-ho* “earth” (Kane 1989: 163), *boŋ-xoŋ* “earth” (Mudrak 1988: 206), *boj-hu* “subject” (Mudrak 1985: 135, 276). Clearly, the more general meaning “place” is the one that should be reconstructed for PTM. Manchu > Solon *boigō* “estate.”

2.18. **žokan* or **žukun* “inner corner in dwelling.” NTung: (?) Evenki Nercha *žoko* “boat seam” (Vasilevich 1958: 112, Myreeva 2004: 200) [but, likely, it is a mistake; cf. Evenki Nercha *žoko* “boat pole” (Cincius 1975: 262), *žoko* “boat pole” (Doerfer 2004: 3502)]; Negidal *žoxon* (Lower), *žokon* (Upper) “corner; inner corner in dwelling”; Oroch *žoko(n)* “corner; inner corner in dwelling.” STung: Ulcha *žoqo(n)* “corner; obsolete name of the plank bed part near chimney, place for cauldron”; Nanai *žoqō* (Naykhin, Kur-Urmi) “inner corner in dwelling,” *žokon* (Bikin) “name of the plank bed part near chimney” || (Cincius 1975: 262).

12 Manchu *boo* “house,” Jurchen *bo* “house” (Kane 1989: 240) = *boŋ-ŋo* (Mudrak 1985: 135), according to Cincius 1975: 95 is a borrowing from Chinese 房 *fāng*, Old Chinese *baŋ*, Classical Chinese *baŋ*, Middle Chinese *bwaŋ* “house; building; family branch” (Karlgren 0740 y). Such adaptation of a Chinese loanword is phonetically untrivial, so this etymology is not very probable.

2.19. **xondari* “wall cover.” NTung: Negidal *onara-wu* “shelf parallel to plank bed” (the word should be a loan from Evenki, Solon or similar Northern Tungusic language without the **r>j* shift). STung: Ulcha *χondori* “wall mat,” Orok *χondori* “wall mat,” Nanai *χondori* “wall mat” || (Cincius 1975: 470, 2, 18). Negidal *xondoŋ* “wall mat” is borrowed from Southern Tungus, cf. the initial *x-* and *-nd-*.

2.20. **beken* “doorpost, threshold > windowsill.” NTung: Negidal (Lower) *bexen* “threshold, doorpost.” STung: Ulcha *beke(n-)* “threshold, windowsill”; Nanai (Naykhin) *bekē* “windowsill” || (Cincius 1975: 123).

2.21. **sirVge* “earth mound near dwelling walls.” NTung: Negidal (Lower) *siyeče* [*< *sirge-če*] “earth mound near dwelling walls”; *siyeče-* “to make an earth mound near dwelling walls.” STung: Ulcha *sirgeče* “earth mound near dwelling walls”; *sirgeče-* “to make an earth mound near dwelling walls”; Nanai (Naykhin) *sirgeče* “earth mound near dwelling walls” || (Cincius 1977: 79). Probably borrowed from Mongolian, cf. PNMong **siröge* “fence, barrier made of pointed sticks”: WMo *sirüge*, (Lessing 1960: 757) *šörge*, Halha *šörög* “fence, enclosure; forked stick,” Buriad *šürge* “palisade, wattle fence,” Kalmuk *šörgə* “palisade” (Ramstedt 1935: 366; Sanžeev et al. 2018: 144).

Proto-Northern Tungusic:

2.22. **harān* “place for čum, floor.” Evenki *harān* “space of čum; hearth place; place for sleeping; dirt floor; dwelling; camp”; Even *harān* “place for čum; bed, curtain, place for sleeping; hearth place; floor”; Negidal *hajān* “place occupied by dwelling; hearth place”; Oroch *xā(n-)* (*< *hajān < *harān*) “place where dwelling or hearth stands” || (Cincius 1977: 317). Negidal *xarandi* “half-dugout with gable roof and clayed wicker walls” (Starcev et al. 2014: 92) should be a loan from Evenki, Solon or similar Northern Tungusic language without the **r>j* shift. Evenki > Dolgan *haran* (Stachowski 1993: 97). The relation to Manchu *fargi ~ farki* “in die Mauer gesteckte Koliangstengel als Schlafplatz für Hühner” (Hauer 2007: 147), *faranga* “laced (of gates)” (Zakharov 1875); “gabeldeichselig” (Hauer 2007), “having shafts” (Norman 1978), also *farang seme* “firmly, solidly; densely; without movement” (to sit) (Zakharov 1875, Hauer 2007, Norman 1978, Cincius 1977: 299), supposed in Starostin et al. 2003, is not clear.

2.23. **sitkī* “čum wall.” Evenki *sitkī*, *hitkī* “yurt wall, outer side of tent”; Even *hitki*, *itki*, *hikki*, *hätki* “yurt wall, outer side of yurt, tent; edge,

end of smth”; “corner”; *hitki-du*, *hitki-le* (Ol) “outside; near smth, on the edge of smth.”; *hitki-pən*; *itki-pən*, *ikkipen* “side yurt cover”; Negidal *sitkī* (Lower, Upper) “wall of dwelling; edge, end of smth”; *sitkī-pun* “rug on the wall”) || (Cincius 1977: 99).

2.24. **gola-ma* “shelter made from blocks in the form of a frustum pyramid.” Evenki (all dialect groups) *golomo* “winter dwelling from blocks tumped with earth or snow”; *golomo uten* “bark čum” (Levin and Potapov 1956: 717); Even *goloma* (Sakkyryr; archaic) “pole čum; pole shelter for giving birth” || Loaned into Yakut *golomo* “shelter, booth (for summer, from birchbark)”; *χolomō* “a type of permanent dwelling, a pyramid-al- (or, rarely, conical) shaped skeleton made from rather closely touching thin logs covered with turf” (Pekarski 1959, III: 3459); *kalīman ~ kuluma* “temporary winter dwelling jacketed with turf.” A derivative from PTM **gola* “log”: Evenki *golo*, *gulu* “log; block; burnt chock; fallen tree trunk”; “warehouse (platform on posts)”; *golowkō* “fallen tree”; *golokōn*, *golokōcān* Dimin. “small log; chock, billet”; Even *gol* “main billet logs in campfire, put close opposite each other to maintain fire”; “firewood; tree”; *golāŋqo* “place for splitting wood (near čum)”; *golla-* “to go gather firewood”; *gollī-* “to lumber”; *gollimqin* “a place for chopping wood in taiga”; Negidal (Lower) *golo* “log, chock”; *goloxčōn* diminutive “small log for scraping off hair from hides”; *golonkī* “firewood, stack of firewood (near a dwelling)”; Oroch *golo* “log; chock”; *golomogdo* “pole for fish-spear”; Udehe *golo* (Khor) “chock, billet (half-rotten wood that smoulders for a long time)”; *golonki* (Samarga) “thick suppressing pole in a trap”; Ulcha *golonqo* “firewood, pyramid-shaped stack of firewood”; Orok *golo* “log; main billet logs in campfire to maintain it; firewood; raft (from three logs)”; Nanai *golonqo* (Bikin) “firewood, (pyramid-shaped) stack of firewood”; Manchu *goldon ~ golton* “firebrand, burnt ends of tree, burnt stump” (Cincius 1975: 159 f.; cf. Doerfer 2004: 4259 *gol* (Lamut), 4275 *golo* (Birare, Amur) “Holzstamm (grosser, als Brennholz),” 4279 *golofko* (Northern) “Stange, Latte,” 4280 *golofko-* “an einen Balken binden”).¹³ Nota bene that the idea of a kind of building works for this stem only in Northern Tungus; in other groups it is mostly firewood.

13 Doerfer points out a Khanty *golomo* “Balkenhütte” borrowed from Tung. (referring to Futaky 1983), but we could not find a such form; perhaps *karamo* misunderstood? Cf. maybe Khanty *kuł* “куча поленьев,” *kułamni* “бурелом” (Steinitz 1966: 484).

2.25. **güle* — only Evenki (all dialect groups) *gule* “shack, dwelling, hut, winter hut”; “room” || (Cincius 1975: 171) – (there it is written as *güle*, but neither Vasilevich nor Myreeva have the macron. Maybe the long vowel appeared as the researcher was influenced by the Yakut form?) The Yerbogachen dialect has *gulu* as a variant (accusative case *gulu-wa*, i.e., back word) “house; chock,” cf. *guluwün* “campfire, fireplace, night camp, barn” to **gul-* “to make fire” (Cincius 1975: 69). The Yerbogachen form is probably the result of contamination (the roots would phonetically match as a part of desynharmonic reconstruction of PTM vocalism, but I do not know of any *-e* noun suffixes in Northern TM languages). We must point out that the word is poorly recorded in the eastern dialects of Evenki, but one hardly should try to explain it as a loanword from Mansi **kül* “Haus” (TJ *kül*, KU *koäl*, P *koäl*, *käl*, SO *kol*); cf., for one, the initial voicedness in Evenki. Evenki > Rus. Sib. *зуб* “house, dwelling,” see Anikin (2000: 171). Starostin et al. (2003) suggest external parallels: PTurk **gēl* (Bulgar group + relict in Oghuz [Khazar -κελ in Σάρκελ = Old Russian *Бѣла Вѣжа* (lit. “white house”); Chuvash *kil* “dwelling, yard, house, courtyard; fig. family”; Turkish *gil* “family (as a second part of a composite),” associative marker; Azeri *gil* “family (as a second part of a composite),” associative marker. Contrary to Starostin et al. (2003), Yakut *kūle* “entrance-room, antechurch, addition” (the short variant probably comes from a wrong recording, see Pekarski (1959, II: 1284)) is not the same root, because it is borrowed from Evenki, with the foreign stress transformed to length. (Räsänen 1969: 270, Fedotov 1996, 1: 291–292). The vowel development in the Oghuz reflexes is theoretically possible if we account for the root here being only in a non-initial syllable position. The Turkic word could also have Iranian origins, see Dybo (2008: 221). Cf. also PJap **kūrā* ‘capaŋ’, Old Japanese *kura* (Martin 1987: 464). The Altaic word, as we see, is not very well attested,¹⁴ but has its Uralic parallel: PUr **külä* “Wohnung,” Finnish *kylä* “Dorf; Wohnung, Haus”; Estonian *küla*; Saami *gäl’li-* (N) “visit, pay a visit to,” and already noted Mansi *kül* “Haus” (Redei 1986–1989: 155).

14 Cf. also Old Koguryo *kuru*, Baekje *kuər* “castle, town with walls” (according to Miller (1979), borrowed into Old Japanese *ki id.*). But cf. Modern Korean *kwulyu* “castle, prison” < Chinese 拘 (Middle Chinese *kū*) “to restrict, to bind” + 留 (Middle Chinese *ləw*) “to detain, to arrest” – so, possibly, a Chinese borrowing in Koguryo?

Proto-Southern Tungussic:

2.26. **dabra* “four-walled summer dwelling with gable bark roof” (Nanai *daoro* “booth from straw and bark”; according to (Levin and Potapov 1956: 796) this word in Nanai means “four-walled summer dwelling with bark roof”; Ulcha *dawra* “booth from straw and bark” || (Cincius 1975: 186); according to (Levin and Potapov 1956: 821), this type of building is also attested among the Lower Negidals: “a small house from bark with gable roof, a summer dwelling similar to Ulcha *daruan*”, in (Levin and Potapov 1956: 778), without a name. The Nani word and the artifact could have been borrowed from Nivkh, cf. Nivkh **dä-B* > *мыф* “house” (reconstruction by O. Mudrak).

2.27. **gianga* “barn on posts.” Ulcha *giēŋga* “barn on posts; a summer dwelling”; according to Levin and Potapov (1956: 821), “long buildings, the back part of which was made of logs and usually used for storage, and the front one was made of planks and used for living in the summer”; Nanai *gianga* (Naykhin, Bikin; folklore) (Bikin *g’āŋga*) barn (for storing furs) || (Cincius 1975: 147). Cf. Nivkh **giŋyāj* > *kinyi* “platform” (reconstruction by O. Mudrak).

2.28. **kende-ri-ki* “threshold.” Ulcha *kender-xi(n)*; Nanai *kenderxī* (Naykhin), *kederxiē* (Kur-Urmi), *kenderixe(n)*, *kenderxi(n)* (Bikin) || (Cincius 1975: 448). [Negidal (Lower) *kende*; Oroch *kenderku*, *kenderxi*, *kenderexi*; Udehe *kondopti* (Kormušin 1998: 250) are borrowings from the South Tungussic because of *-nd-*]. We cannot exclude derivation from PSTung **kēndi-* “to hinder, obstruct”: Ulcha *kenži-*, Nanai *kēnži-* (Cincius 1975: 448) [Oroch *kēndi-* is probably borrowed], though the shortness of the root vowel is then unclear.

2.29. **gilo(n)* “plank bed to the left from the entrance.” Ulcha *gilo(n)* (archaic) “plank bed (to the left from the entrance in an old-time dwelling)”; Nanai *gilō* (Naykhin) (archaic) “plank bed (to the left from the entrance in an old-time dwelling)” || (Cincius 1975: 151). Probably = Nivkh **gel* > *кыл* “part of a plank bed near wall.”

2.30. **gočī* “plank bed to the right from the entrance.” Ulcha *gočī* “plank bed (to the right from the entrance in an old-time house)”; Nanai *gočī* (Naykhin) “plank bed (to the left from the entrance in an old-time house)” || (Cincius 1975: 163).

Note that the names for parts of the characteristic heating device in the dwellings of Amur Tungus and Manchu, *kan*, cannot be reconstructed for the

Proto-Southern Tungusic state, see the following etymologies.

2.31. **kula(n)* “smokestack.” NTung: Solon *kulan* (Ivanovski) “kan”, *xolon*, *xolan* “Ofenbett, Kang” (Kaluziński 1971: 75); Negidal *kolan* (Lower, Upper) “pipe, chimney”; Oroch *kula(n)* “pipe, chimney”; Udehe *kula(n)* (Khor) “pipe, chimney.” STung: Ulcha *qula(n-)* “pipe, chimney”; Nanai *qolā* (Naykhin) “chimney.” Manchu *χulan* “pipe, chimney” || (Cincius 1975: 428); = (Doerfer 2004: 6210, *kolan* Negidalisch nach Schmidt). Mongolian *kulang* (only Khalkha *xulan* “smokestack, chimney” (Pürbeev et al. 2001), mentioned by Doerfer, is definitely a Manchu loanword. The Manchu word, judging by the initial *x-*, is also a borrowing, possibly from Nani. The word could be reconstructed as Proto-Tungusic **kula(n)*, but Northern Tungusic words can be borrowed from Nani or Manchu. Cf. Nivkh **qala*, **kəla* “chimney stalk, smokestack” (Amur, Amur Pukhta *xla*, *q’la*). The direction of the borrowing is unclear. The Nivkh word could be borrowed from Nani or Manchu, as well as it could be the other way around. We must also note that, semantically, it didn’t have to initially mean a part of kan, and could be a simple chimney as well.

2.32. Evenki *kolaj* (Chulman) “bended pipe”; Negidal *χōl* (Lower, Upper); Ulcha *χōli*; Nanai *χōl* (Naykhin, Kur-Urmi) “chimney (under the plank beds of an old-time house with kans)” are obviously borrowed from Mongolian: WMO *qoγulai* “throat; pipe,” Khalkha *xoолой* “throat; pipe,” Buriat *xoолой* “throat; pipe, chimney,” Dagur *xuale*, *xuala*, *xual* “kan” (< **qoγulai*) (Todaeva 1986: 178). Dagur > Solon *xyala* — *xyap* (Ivanovski). Another borrowing, probably from Amur Tungusic, is the Nivkh (Amur) *κ’ol* “chimney under plank beds in a winter dwelling” (**qol* ‘kan’ in O. Mudrak’s reconstruction).

The same Mongolian word was loaned into Manchu *qoloi*, *xolo* “gutter.” See Cincius (1975: 406). Apparently, Korean *kolay* (코래) “hypocaust (heating system) flues” (Martin 1967: 139) comes from the same source. The Korean word probably was borrowed into Nanai *kure* (Naykhin) (*kure(n-)* Bikin) “chimney (outside exhaust part that in an old-time house used to connect outside wall of a house to the smokestack).” Contrary to (Cincius 1975: 428), the Korean *күлттук* (Poppe 1960: 129) “pipe (for smoke)” = *kwul-ttwuk* (Martin 1967: 217) – (*kwül* “tunnel, cave,” 216) is unlikely to be connected. This means that this name for a specific Far East heating unit can be traced to the metaphoric Mongolian name.

3. Discussion

To understand which types of dwellings can be described using the reconstructed vocabulary, we will briefly cite the types of dwellings used by Samoyeds, Manchu-Tungus and surrounding peoples, according to the ethnographic and partly archaeological data (the numbers of the etymologies discussed above are given in square brackets after/before the names of the corresponding dwellings).

3.1. Samoyeds and their neighbours.

Northern Samoyedic peoples have one characteristic type of dwelling – dismountable conical čum with cover from deer hides; in winter it can be double, in summer it can be made of birch bark. The poles are connected using loops, without hoops (Levin and Potapov 1956: 632, Popov 1961: 155)¹⁵; in every language it is called with the reflexes of the PS word **mät* [1.1].

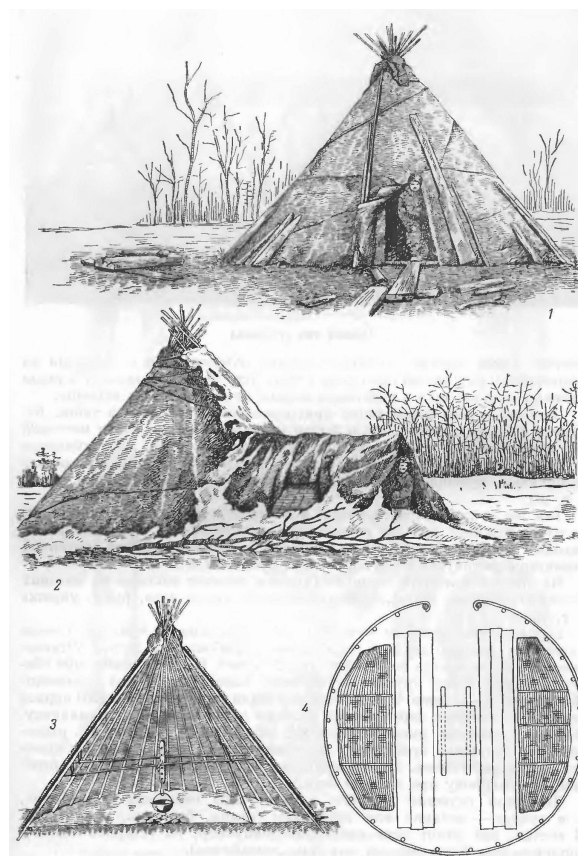


Fig. 1: Nenets čum (Levin and Potapov 1956: 619)

¹⁵ The description of the properly Samoyedic type of čum, as well as the genesis of various čum types in Siberia see by A. A. Popov (1961: 155–157).

Selkup dwellings are described in detail in: (Tuchkova et al. 2013: 131-140; Tuchkova 2014: 77-78). Selkup half-dugout *karamo* [1.10.2] consists of a log frame, covered with turf and standing over a tetragonal pit about half a meter deep, with gable, almost flat roof, and with an earth corridor as an additional exit, besides the roof window.

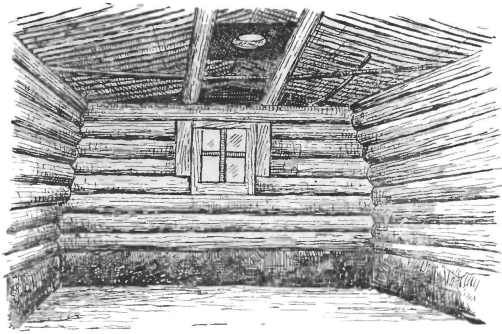


Fig. 2: Selkup *karamo* (Levin and Potapov 1956: 674)

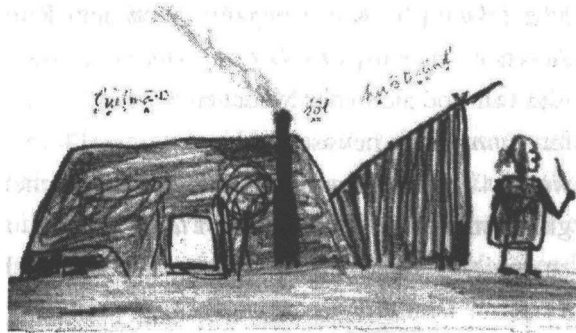


Fig. 3: Selkup *karamo* with a corridor on a drawing by a native speaker (Alatalo 2004: 247)

The word *kore* [1.10.1] is used for a surface variant of a stationary blockhouse dwelling (according to Tuchkova et al. (2013: 14) and Alatalo (2004: 328), it can also be used as a name for a čum), as well as the word *māt*, used for every type of dwelling. There are also conical čum (*māt* with various attributes denoting material) and a portable cylindrical dwelling that can be placed on the ground or on a boat – *kumar* [2.11].

The Northern Selkups also have a dwelling that looks like a truncated pyramid from blocks with a flat roof, partly covered with earth or snow and named *pōj māt*, lit. “wooden house,” or *t’aj māt* “earth house.”



Fig. 4: Pyramid-shaped Selkup building (Tuchkova et al. 2013: 130; Alatalo 2004: 171)

Dwellings of Sayan Samoyeds (Mators and Kamassians) did not survive to the present day; researchers of the past describe it as a bark čum – conical or pyramid-shaped dwelling from wooden blocks, with flat roof made of larch bark or partly blocks (probably identical to the Northern Selkup *pōj māt*¹⁶); or else polygonal log frame houses, identical to the Turkic ones –

Khakas or Altai – and possibly borrowed from them.



Fig. 5: Bark čum of Kachin (supposedly Sayan Samoyeds that changed to a Turkic language; (Popov 1961: 175)

Permanent dwellings of Khanty and Mansi are tetragonal block frame houses with a sloping gable roof; Vakh Khanty have dugouts with frame inside, similar to the Selkup *karamo* (could be a contact phenomenon). Eastern Khanty also have half-dugouts in the shape of a truncated pyramid. Portable čums of Khanty and Mansi are borrowed from Nenets (and are called “Nenets house”, see Levin and Potapov 1956: 584).

16 See about archaeological finds of this dwelling type in Western Siberia in (Adaev and Zimina 2016).

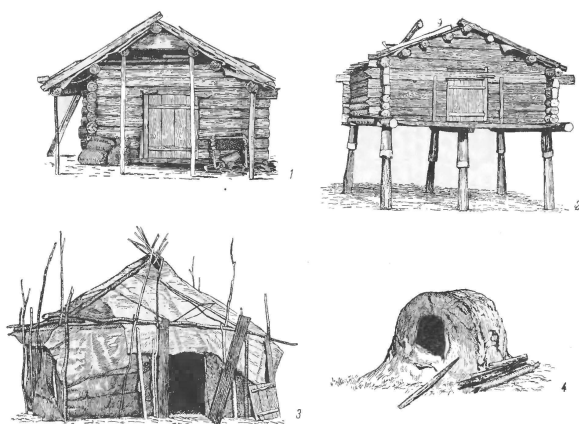


Fig. 6: Khanty dwelling (Levin and Potapov 1956: 585)



Fig. 8: Ket čum (Popov 1961: 167)

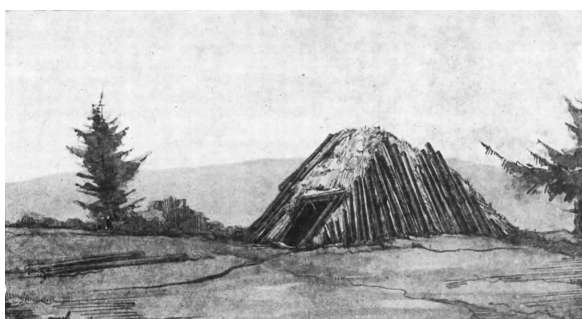


Fig. 7: Pyramid-shaped shelter of Eastern Khanty (Popov 1961: 163)



Fig. 9: Ket *bayjuš* (Levin and Potapov 1956: 694)

Kets, who are neighbours to Selkup peoples, have two traditional forms of dwellings: tetragonal truncated pyramid-shaped half-dugout from vertical (slanting) blocks (*bayjuš*, Pl. *bayjuš* “dugout,” lit. “earth house” *baʔη + quʔš*) and summer birch bark čum (*quʔš*, pl. *quʔη* < PYen **χuʔs* Starostin 1995: 305). The construction of a Ket čum (load-bearing poles are fastened using forks; additional fastening using hoops) is probably connected to the area, as it is also seen in the eastern part of Northern and Southern Selkups, Eastern Khanty, Altai kizhi, Shor and Tuba, see Alekseenko (1967: 88), Popov (1961: 155). Surface variant of the Ket pyramid-shaped dwelling, *golʔomo* (Evenki word), *konojuš* (lit. “warm house”), is, in terms of construction, similar to the North Selkup *pōj māt* and can be compared to the archaeological material on the dwellings of “pre-Samoyed” population of rivers Ket’ and Tyma in first centuries A.D. and before that, see Alekseenko (1967: 100 f.), Dulzon (1956: 208, 224 f.).

Standard permanent dwelling of Sayan and Altai Turkic peoples is a polygonal blockhouse with a conical roof, shaped like a felt yurt to, it seems,

imitate it when these peoples migrated to taiga regions from the steppe ones.

Rectangular blockhouses that Siberian Turkic peoples live in are usually explained by the Russian influence; to use rectangular dwelling is not known to be a characteristic of Turkic peoples, which is indirectly confirmed by the lack of “inner corner” > “part of dwelling” semantic shift (Dybo 2008: 262).

Taiga Turkic peoples, such as Tuvan reindeer breeders, Tofa, Telengits, Teleuts, Khakas, are known to have conical čums (the name for them in all these peoples is a reflex of the stem *(a)laču-k, see Dybo 2008: 228), and also Yakuts, who have *uraha* (Mongolic **uruča*, Rassadin 1980: 83).

Besides that, the Taiga Turkic peoples of Southern Siberia (Khakas, Shors, Tuba) also are on record to have stationary dwellings (Tuba *kerege*, the rest have reflexes of **ōtag*, see Dybo 2008: 226) that look like rectangular truncated pyramids from sloped blocks with flat roof, built over a pit. Another Khakas name for this type is *at-ib* (Levin



Fig. 10-11: Altai and Kachin yurts (Popov 1961: 171, 175)



Fig. 12: Shor bark čum *odag* (Popov 1961: 169).

and Potapov 1956: 412), “a pole shelter roofed with larch bark, shaped as a truncated rectangular pyramid,” = *χαχpas ib*. The second word of the first composite is a reflex of PTurk **eb* “house.” The first word is a reflex of PYen **ʔa(?)t-* “door, back corner of čum” that only occurs as a part of a composite (Ket *attō*⁵, 6, pl. *attōn*, Sym *atntō*⁵, pl. *atntōn*⁵, Kott *athōl*, **athōl*, pl. *athōlay*; Assan *ātōl*; Koibal *ātōl* id., Arin *éjtōl* Starostin 1995:

179, Werner 2002: 68). The second composite means literally “bark house.”

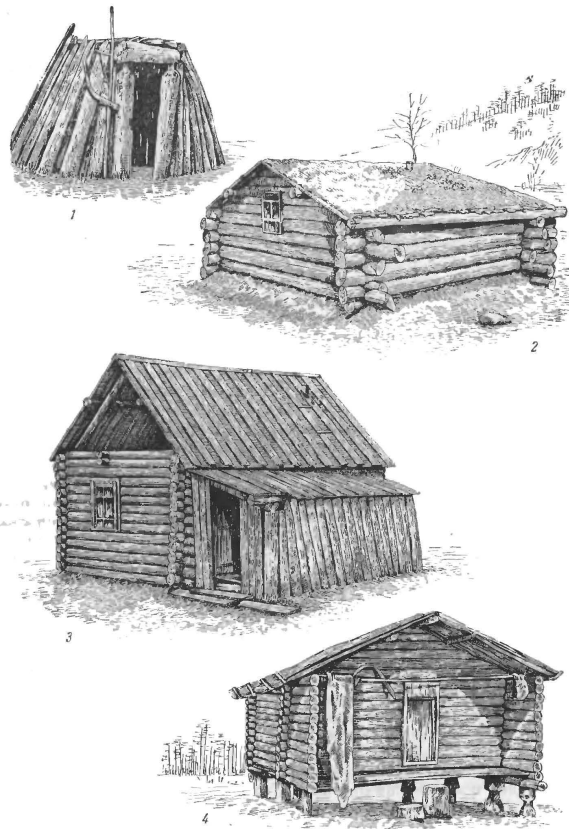


Fig. 13: Shor dwellings – *odag* (Levin and Potapov 1956: 507)

3.2. Manchu-Tungus.

In the recorded times, dwellings of Manchu peoples have been generally similar to the common type in Primorye, Korea and Northern China. It is a surface rectangular framehouse with gable roof and wicker walls covered with clay, and heated using *kans*, see Zadverniuk (2014: 85–88). This so-called *fanza*-type dwelling (the name is Chinese) is also widespread among other Manchu-Tungus peoples of Primorye and Amur. It seems that the general consensus of ethnographic literature reads that this type of dwelling is relatively late for Manchu-Tungus and was borrowed from Northern China not earlier than 14th century – see, for example, (Ivanov 1951: 75). We must, however, note that according Zadverniuk (2014), Artemyeva (1987, 1998: 11) and Derevianko (1991: 104) both half-dugouts and surface dwellings with *kans* are archaeologically recorded in this territory ever since the Mohe era (4th-7th cent.) Besides that, we know Manchu names for

dugout and for čum-like dwelling from Zakharov's dictionary (*uqdo*, *uqdun* [2.4] and *čoron* [2.2] respectively).

Evenki dwellings are very varied due to Evenki inhabiting a massive territory with different climate and different ethnic contacts. General name for house (*žu*, [2.1]) is used for a pole čum with birch bark cover where these materials are abundant, or with cover from hides (*rovduga*, felt); in another case it means a portable summer dwelling (with poles fastened using fork and without a hoop Vasilevich 1969: 110, cf. Popov 1961: 165).



Fig. 14: Evenki conical čum (Popov 1961: 184)



Fig. 15: Even čorama-žu dwelling (Levin and Potapov 1956: 766)

Eastern Evenki also used *čorama* [2.2] dwellings, a type of Chukchee *yaranga*'s. Evens, as well as Evenki, have *žu* [2.1] – a conical čum covered with birch bark (Cincius 1975), also known as *ihun* (Turaev et al. 1997: 78) (from **ilu-* “to set

up” Cincius 1975: 303), and also, in the areas of former contacts with Chukchee and Koryaks, a *čoram žu* [2.2], a portable dwelling with different frames for walls and roof, which copies a Chukchee-Koryak *yaranga*.



Fig. 16: Negidal čorami [2.2] “an old-type čum” (Popov 1961: 186), = *žokča* [2.1] (Levin and Potapov 1956: 779)

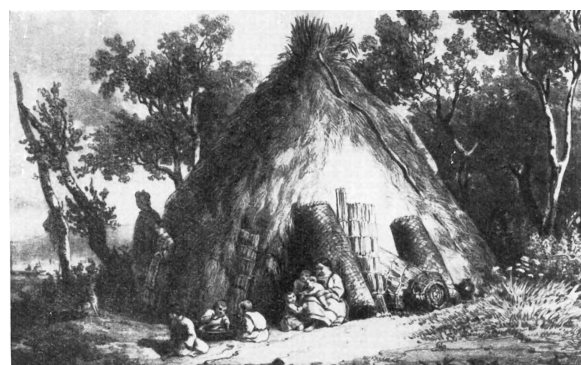


Fig. 17: Nanai čōro [2.2] shelter (hunting). Conical, covered with straw or birch bark strips (Popov 1961: 188).

However, such development for the name of dwelling [2.2] **čōra-n/ma* (a portable dwelling with different frames for walls and roof) is only observed in Eastern Evenki and Even. In other Manchu-Tungus languages various reflexes of this word designate a conical čum.



Fig. 18: Orok conical čum *awundaqu* (Popov 1961: 193, Levin and Potapov 1956: 857, from *aw-* “to sleep” Cincius 1975: 1)



Fig. 19: Evenki bark čum *utem* [2.10] (Okhotsk Evenki, Popov 1961: 185, Levin and Potapov 1956: 717 f.)

Such truncated pyramid-shaped dwellings with earth insulation or half-dugouts, are also found in Evens (Lindenau 1983: 58 — *utan*; Cincius 1977: 295 — *ūtēn* “a Yakut-type dugout” both [2.10]), in Lower Negidals: *ūtēn* [2.10] (Starcev et al. 2014: 94, that is changed to a conical variant in Upper Negidals), in Orochi (*ventexa* [2.9] Turaev et al. 2001: 55, with a conical variant Lar’kin 1964: 50), in the Ulcha people (*žojo* Ivanov 1951: 73 – dimin. from *žo* [2.1] “house”), in Nanai (*undexen* [2.9] Levin and Potapov 1956: 796, *ventexen* [2.9] *aonga* Sem 1976: 90–92 [Bikin]). The shape of the Orok winter hunting log hut *utemi* [2.10] is unclear – Cincius 1977, Ozolinia 2001: 389 (Missonova 2013: 317 also has “summer shelter roofed with straw with gable roof” from an unknown source; according to other sources, *qawra* [2.5]).

There is another type of the Evenki stationary dwelling, that also was used as a winter house, which is a rectangular house with low (2-5 rows) log frames and gable larch bark roof (*ugdama*

[2.4] Levin and Potapov 1956: 719). *Ugdama*-type dwelling is also widespread between the Amur Manchu-Tungus (Vasilevich 1969: 113). Ulcha call this type of building *χagdu* [2.3] (Levin and Potapov 1956: 820-821), as do Negidals (Ivanov 1951: 87) – or *qojma zuu* (Starcev et al. 2014: 94) (the first word is an adjective from **kori* “block-house,” the second means “house”); Lower Nanai call it *hagdun* [2.3], Oroch *agdu* [2.3] (Ivanov 1951: 87) and *tuezæ* (literally “winter house”) (Turaev et al. 2001: 54). In Orok, according to Ozolinia (2001), *χagdun* [2.3] means “lair,” but according to Ivanov (1951: 62), *muri χagduni* and *iχa χagduni* mean, respectively, “stable” and “cowshed”, and, judging by the photograph on page 64, they are log frame buildings.

Another stationary dwelling of Evenki, recorded by ethnographers, is a half-dugout *kalta*: a log frame over a tetragon pit, covered with earth and clay, gable roof and a stove with *kan* inside. It was used by Okhotsk Evenki, and also on Amur, Amguni and by Nivkhs (Vasilevich 1969: 115). In SSTMYa, the word is recorded as Evenki *kaltamni* (from *kalta-* “to split in half”) “half; dugout, temporary dwelling; lean-to hunting shelter,” Even *kaltu* “čum, temporary summer yurt”; Negidal *kalti* “wind screen,” Orok *qaltami* “half-čum, wind screen” (Cincius 1975: 367 f.). The stem, as we can see, means no specific type of dwelling, and only has the meaning of “temporary dwelling.” There is another type of dwelling with the same description as the Evenki half-dugout, which is Negidal half-dugout, *xarandi* (Starcev et al. 2014: 92) (from **haran* “place of living” [2.22]), and the Nanai type of dwelling, *xurbu*, also looks the same, see (Cincius 1975: 478) and fig. 23 below. The last name only is recorded in Nanai and Ulcha (*xulbu*: old name for half-dugout (Ivanov 1951: 73); it could be a borrowing from Nivkh *kruuf* “rest” (noun from the verb “to rest”).

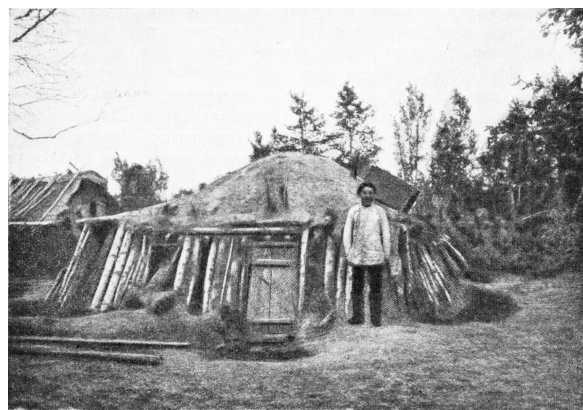


Fig. 20: Ulcha half-dugout *žojo* (Ivanov 1951: 73).

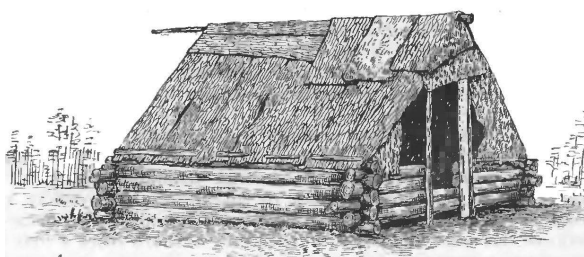


Fig. 21: Evenki *ugdama* [2.4] dwelling (Levin and Potapov 1956: 717 f.; Popov 1961: 185).

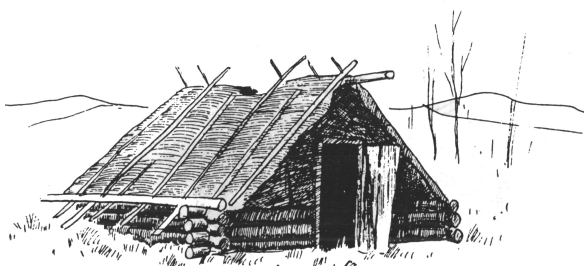


Fig. 22: Oroch *tuezæ* (lit. “winter house” Turaev et al. 2001: 53 f., Popov 1961: 192)



Fig. 23: Nanai *xurbu*, a half-dugout with gable roof (Levin and Potapov 1956: 797)



Fig. 24: Winter Ulcha half-dugout for giving birth (Ivanov 1951: 67)

Ethnographers also note the Tungusic dugout as a distinctive type of dwelling, which is more deeply buried than the half-dugout (about 50 cm for the half-dugout and 150 cm or more for the dugout, so the walls are completely underground). It is recorded for Nanai: *sioromo* (Levin and Potapov 1956: 796) (derivate from **sioru-* “to use poles” [2.7]), – and Ulcha *-tuwe žo* (Ivanov 1951: 71 f.) (lit. “winter house”; the author notes the lack of description). Roon (1996: 123 f.) describes the half-dugout of Northern Oroks, which has not been recorded in reality, but, according to the informants, was built in a hill slope, using rectangular or square log frame and a gable roof made from poles and covered with earth, making a gentle hillock – so, more likely, a dugout. Its name, *bala*, is obviously the same as the next group of words: Evenki *balayan* “log house; čum from blocks covered with turf or snow”; Even *balayan*, Negidal *balayan*, Udehe *balaqa* “log house”; Orok *balaya* “log house; dugout” (Cincius 1975: 68). It seems to come from Yakut *balayan* “square building from slightly tilted inside logs with very gently sloping gable log roof, as a whole looking like a truncated four-sided pyramid; roof was covered with earth, walls with clay” (Levin — Potapov 1956: 284 f.). The Yakut word is, apparently, itself a borrowing from Buryat *balyaan* “shelter, booth,” for further etymology see Dybo (2008: 239). We can also find a name for dugout in Manchu: *uqdo*, *uqdu* [2.4] “dugout to live in, dug in a montain, cave” (Zakharov 1875: 144 f.). It seems that Nivkh and Ainu are found to have underground dwellings of another type, looking like a truncated pyramid, see Popov (1961: 153 f.).



Fig. 25: Nanai *sioromo* [2.7], Amur dugout with gable roof (Popov 1961: 188)

There are two other types of temporary dwellings, that are well represented in Amur Tungusic (both Northern Tungusic and Southern Tungusic language groups). Firstly, they are dwellings of half-spheric or half-cylindrical shape.



Fig. 26: Ulcha *xomira(n-)* [2.11], shelter from bent arcs covered with straw, bark etc. (Popov 1961: 189; Levin and Potapov 1956: 821)

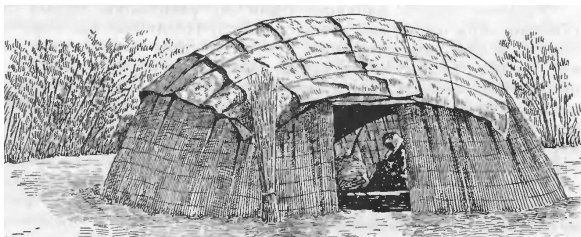


Fig. 27: Nanai *xomuran* [2.11] or *anko* (from *aw- “to spend a night”) (Levin and Potapov 1956: 797; Popov 1961: 187)

In Ozolinya 2001: 117, in a similar way, we see “shelter (roofed with bark), shelter-like summer dwelling (of a rounded shape, side poles are as if broken),” which is the meaning of Oroch *qaura(n-)* [2.5] (which in the rest of the sources means “gable shelter”). Cf. also the Nanai ritual dwelling: (Ivaščenko 2005: 16), Nanai *itoan* [2.10?]
— according to Onenko, an archaic shamanic word, “commemorative booth” – seemingly the same as (Onenko 1980) *siroča* [2.7] “half-circle-shaped booth, fitted with canvas, used for the funeral rite.” Sternberg (1933: 483) recorded for Nanai-Kile (i.e. the Northern Tungusic component of Nanai) booth for deceased named *yton* [2.10], “a kind of *khamuran*, ... with its skeleton covered with canvas, but from two sides, east and west, the booth remained completely open.” All these terms are taken to mean the same half-circular building.

It is even harder to find the original name for the rectangular shelter covered with bark, with vertical walls and gable roof, which is also spread on Amur and used by the speakers of both Tungusic language groups. It is obviously one and the same type of dwelling, but different peoples use three different words designating it. For Evenki and Negidals it is a reflex of **ugda(n)* [2.4] (Evenki *ugdan* (Vasilevich 1961: 32 f.); Negidal *ogda(n)* (Starcev et al. 2014: 94) – a non-specific

name for a stationary building; Oroch and Udehe have *qawa* [2.5] – (Turaev et al. 2001: 53, Levin and Potapov 1956: 835). Ulcha and Nanai use a reflex of **dabra* [2.26], probably a borrowed stem from Nivkh (Ulcha *dawra* (Ivanov 1951: 65), Nanai *dawro* (Levin and Potapov 1956: 796). One type of Oroch winter house, called *sierin buyu duku* [2.7; 2.1] or *kawra* [2.5], is described similarly: (Roon 1996: 122 f.).

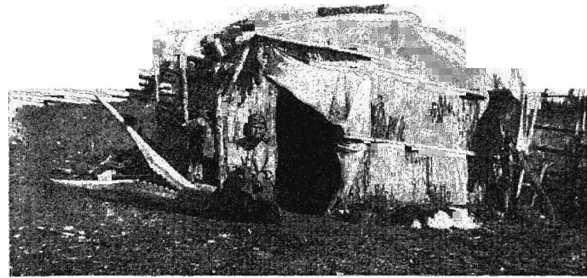


Fig. 28: Evenki gable rectangular shelter *ugdan* [2.4] (Vasilevich 1961: 33, Vasilevich 1969: 113).



Fig. 29: Negidal gable rectangular shelter *ogdan* [2.4] (Levin and Potapov 1956: 779, Starcev et al. 2014: 94)



Fig. 30: Oroch summer dwelling *qawa* [2.5] (Turaev et al. 2001: 53)



Fig. 31: Nanai rectangular shelter *dawro* [2.26] (Popov 1961: 187, Levin and Potapov 1956: 796)



Fig. 32: Ulcha four-walled summer house, covered with bark, *dawra* [2.26] (Popov 1961: 189, Levin and Potapov 1956: 821)

There is another distinct type of dwelling, a gable shelter with no vertical walls, called in Orok *qawra*. See (Starcev 2017: 156, Starcev 2015: 86,

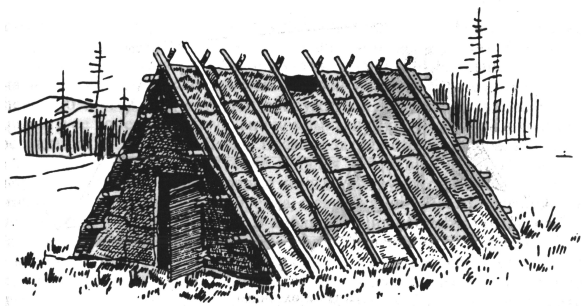


Fig. 33: Orochi gable shelter *boložo* (Turaev et al. 2001: 55)

Roon 1996: 110 f.). Etymologically this word most probably is a Manchu derivate from the verb **kaba-ra-* [2.5] > Manchu *quwara-* “to enclose,” with the abstract meaning of “enclosure”. Here is the description from (Levin and Potapov 1956: 857): the Orok summer house is a large gable shelter *qaura*, similar to Orochi and Udehe summer house *žugde* (literally “summer house”), it is, gable shelters without vertical walls with two entrances. Evenki (Sakhalin) *kawran* “larch bark dwelling” (Bulatova 1999: 94; Myreeva 2004: 264), is an obvious borrowing from Orok; the precise meaning is unclear. Starcev (2015: 93) writes about an Even gable shelter without vertical walls,

named *uraan*, according to (Cincius 1977: 282), “summer čum, shelter covered with white willow bark”; from *uraa-* “to cover with bark,” from PTM **xuri-ga-* “to remove bark, to cover with bark,” cf. also **xuri-ka* “bark”). In Negidal this object is called *talū* (Starcev et al. 2014: 95, lit. “birch bark”) or *žoо* [2.1] (Levin and Potapov 1956: 835, lit. “house”). According to Turaev et al. (2001: 55), the Orochi gable summer shelter is also called *boložo* (lit. “autumn house”). Cf. Udehe *tueže* “winter gable shelter” (lit. “winter house”, Girfanova 2001: 306), which, according to Levin and Potapov (1956: 835), is a similar gable shelter, but with skeleton made from thicker poles and covered, after *tiskas*, with cedar bark. According to Starcev (2015: 92), who cites Lar’kin (1964: 70), in Udehe this object is also called *žugdala qawa* (lit. “summer *kawa* [2.5]”).

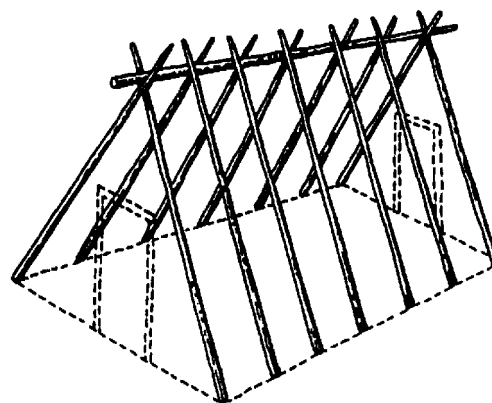


Fig. 34: Udehe *žugdala kawa*, a gable shelter with two entrances, nearly identical to Orok *qawra* (Starcev 2015: 91).

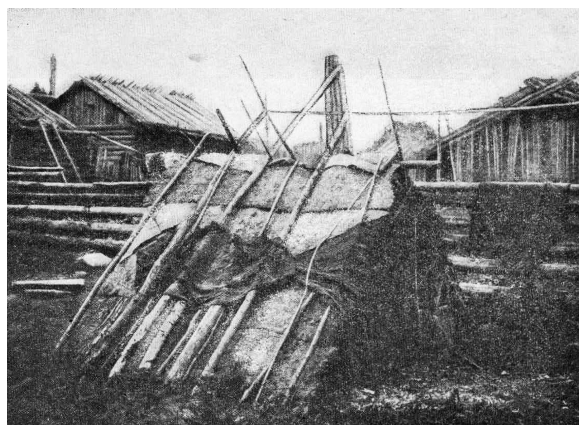


Fig. 35: Ulcha summer shelter for giving birth (Ivanov 1951: 66)

We see another similar summer shelter for giving birth in Ivanov (1951: 66) (according to Ivanov 1951: 62, the name is unknown, as the author

had only seen these shelters already abandoned). According to (Levin and Potapov 1956: 821), similar in shape hunting shelter was called *awunza* (derivate from the verb **aw-* “to sleep, to spend a night”).



Fig. 36: *Qawa* [2.5], Nanai maternity shelter, “hill”-shape (Source: <https://sonykp.com/xa/etnograficheskij-muzej-pod-otkrytym-nebom-nanajskaya-derevnya/>)

What about Nanai *qawa* [Naykhin], *qawu* (Bikin) [2.5] “shelter made while hunting; shelter for the woman giving birth”? According to (Sem 1976: 84), the *qawa* birthing shelter differed in shape “depending on the geography of Nanai settlement. E.g., on Amur *qawa* most often was built as a conical čum, while on Bikin, Iman and Vaku rivers is was shaped as an Udehe gable shelter.” Cf. in

(Turaev et al. 2003: 102): “The *qawa* maternity shelter was built off to the side. On Amur it had a conical shape, in Primorye – the shape of a gable shelter. The entrance was curtained with a reed cloth, inside a fire was burning at all times.” Ivaščenko (2005: 18) mentions a conical shelter in his work on the traditional dwelling semiotics: “Material and shape of the building (e.g., the form of a mountain or a hill), as well as constructive elements of these buildings have the meaning of an amulet (mostly characteristic for the maternity shelter).”

4. Conclusions

Semantical reconstruction of the dwelling names appears to be possible for both of the language groups under consideration; it can also be partly matched with the archaeological data. The reconstruction was carried out using a standard method, suggested in (Tolstoj 1964, Tolstoj 1968) and developed in (Dybo 1996, 2011), i.e. building onomasaiological tables for these groups of languages.

17 Here and below the schematic drawings of dwelling types are taken from (Popov 1961: 133). A more detailed classification of types of dwellings by Sokolova (1998: 189–196) is inapplicable to linguistic data precisely because of the number of details: many particular differences in designs are not reflected in the names of dwellings.






		Nenets	Enets	Nganasan	Northern Selkup	Southern Selkup	Kamassian	MTK	PNS	PS
Portable	(e) 	<i>*mät</i>	<i>*mät</i>	<i>*mät</i>	<i>*mät</i>	<i>*mät</i>	<i>*mät</i>	<i>*mät</i>	<i>*mät</i>	<i>*mät</i>
	(a) 	-	-	-	<i>kumar</i>	-	-	-	-	-
Temporary	(z) 	-	-	-	(<i>t'aj mat</i>)	(<i>p'oj mat</i>)	?	?	?	?
Stationary	(l) 	<i>*kârV-T-</i>	-	<i>*kârV-T-</i>				<i>*mät</i>	<i>*kârV-T-</i>	?
	(n) 				?	?			(←)	?
General		<i>*mät</i>	<i>*mät</i>	<i>*mät</i>	<i>*mät</i>	<i>*mät</i>	<i>*mät</i>	<i>*mät</i>	<i>*mät</i>	<i>*mät</i>

Table 2: Samoyedic types of dwellings and their names¹⁷

The **mät* [1.1] conical čum can, without a doubt, be derived from the Proto-Samoyedic and, further, Common Uralic state. We can reconstruct the names of the čum elements (different types of poles and covers) in relative detail for the Proto-Northern-Samoyedic state, part of this vocabulary can be derived from the Proto-Samoyedic state, and almost all vocabulary pertaining to the čum layout is derived from the Proto-Uralic terms almost without changing the meaning. This concurs well with the reindeer breeding that seems to be reliably reconstructed for the Proto-Samoyeds, in part, on the linguistic basis. The word meaning čum in Proto-Samoyedic also means “house in general”. For Northern Samoyedic peoples it became the only type of dwelling due to their way of life.

The name of a dome-shaped dwelling that can be built on a boat was only found in Northern Selkup (and also in Eastern Khanty) and is an obvious Tungusic loanword [2.11]. We should note that this borrowing would either come from Proto-Tungusic – which is unlikely chronologically – or from Proto-Northern-Tungusic before the fall of the initial **x-*. Southern Samoyeds are observed to have a truncated pyramid-shaped temporary dwelling, but don't have a specific lexical stem for its name.

Stationary dwellings are represented by the surface blockhouse and the dugout with gable roof. Nganasan legends mention their distant ancestors having conical half-dugouts from wood and earth (Levin and Potapov 1956: 652). Modern authors call such dwellings with the Evenki word *golomo*, (Even-Evenki neologism from *golo* “block”).¹⁸ The Nganasan name for dugout, *bəŋkə*, is derived from the Proto-Samoyedic **wəŋkə* “hole.” Surface blockhouse almost everywhere is considered a newly borrowed type; its name could be derived from an Iranian word (possibly mediated by Permian languages). It is, however, possible that the name for the Selkup log dugout (*karamo* [1.10.2]) is in some way tied to the name of Northern Samoyedic surface log frame houses of the “Russian type” [1.10.1] and that it could be of Indo-Iranic origin. According to the archaeological data, surface log frame houses are widespread in tundra zone at the late Bronze and early Iron ages (Lukina 1994: 183-186). To the South, the log frame is recorded during the whole Bronze Age (but is usually tied to the Indo-European cultures). Specific

forms of log frame buildings are archaeologically undefinable.

Could a certain type of a log frame dwelling be considered the Proto-Samoyedic stationary?

1. PTM **žīb* [2.1] is a general name for a house or hearth (“house, home”).

2. It seems that a conical čum named **čōra-n/ma* [2.2] can be reconstructed for PTM. Almost every word related to its structure has survived in Manchu, too, as parts of the building vocabulary, although the Manchu word *čoron* “shelter” could also be a Tungusic loanword. The reflexes of **čōra-n/ma* are being used for the borrowed Chukchee-Koryak *yaranga*-like dwelling, see Popov (1961: 159), but very locally and obviously as a secondary term.¹⁹ It must be noted that

1 There are some complications with the interpretation of
 9 Manchu *čoron tataj* “round shelter, hovel, from poles put in a circle like a Mongolian yurt” (Zakharov 1875: 949). Zakharov's translation is ambivalent; the translation in the (Hauer 2007) dictionary is also not precise (Nothütte). In the Manchu-Chinese dictionary by Hu, Zengyi (1994) the meaning is described as follows: “high camp /for sleeping/ on a wooden carcass” [“a textile tent or yurt made using wooden poles tied together /consolidated/ (thanks to I. Smirnov for helping with the translation). The Chinese description seems to point at a tent rather than at a yurt or yaranga-like building. The problem, thus, is established like this: Eastern Evenki and Evens use a yaranga named **čōra-*, that they, according to the general consensus of ethnographers, borrowed from Chukchee. The rest of Evenki, together with all of the Amur and Sakhalin Tungus, use the word **čōra-* for chums. Manchu use the building described earlier, and also call it **čōra-*. Formally, if this Manchu building is a yaranga or a yurt, one could suppose that yaranga is originally Tungusic, and this yurt-like shape of building was brought by them from the south. This is, of course, not very probable. Tungus separated from Manchu around the 4th cent. B.C., and they could have already had a yurt by this time (in Chinese drawings, they say it's seen from the middle of the first millennium B.C. – is that true? Cf. Weinstein (1976)), but the structure of yaranga cannot be explained directly from the structure of yurt. Yurt is assembled from wall lattices and roof poles, top ends of which are inserted into holes in a round frame; there are no central poles. Yaranga is assembled differently: in the middle, three poles are stood in a conical shape, like for a chum, and a skeleton of a vertical wall is made out of tripods around them: two legs are stuck into ground, while the third is laid horizontally on the top of the next tripod and so on. Then roof poles are put up on this construction and on top of the “chum”. It seems that a wall lattice could not transform into that, and, more probably, the yaranga construction is either an original invention based on chum, or a result of adapting the vague impression of the yurt to the chum construction. Cf. the hypothesis of common origin of these constructions, not substantiated in detail, in (Sokolova 1998: 204). Also, if one assumes that yurt/yaranga is native to Tungus, its spreading remains inexplicable: Western Evenki for some reason do not have yarangas, despite also being a nomadic people. Thus, we remain with the first take.

1 As we could establish from the book (Sokolova 1998: 19),
 8 the authors interpret in this way the Nganasan name *kōru ma*, lit. “*kōru* [1.10.1] house”.










		Evk	Evn	Neg	Orch	Ud	Ulch	Ork	Nan	Ma	PNT	PST	PTng	PTM
Portable	 (e)	*ʒjɨb	*ʒjɨb (*ʒilw- "to put up")	*ʒöra- (*ʒjɨb. dimin.)	-	*ʒöra-	-	(*ʒw- "to sleep")	*ʒöra-	*ʒöra-	*ʒöra-	*ʒöra-	*ʒöra-	*ʒöra-
	 (k)	*cöra-	*cöra-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	?
Temporary	 (z)	*ʒite(n), (*golo- "firewood")	*ʒite(n)	*ʒite(n)	(← *ʒinde-kēn)		*ʒjɨb (dimin)	*ʒite (n)	(*ʒinde-kēn)	?	*ʒite (n)	*ʒite(n)	*ʒite(n)	?
	 (a)	-	-	*xomara(n)	-	-	*xomara(n)	?(← *kaba-)	*xomara(n) (*ʒw- "to sleep")	?	*xomara(n)	*xomara(n)	*xomara(n)	?
	 (g)	(← *kaba-)	*ʒurɨ-ga- "to cover with bark", (*kalta- "half")	*ʒalu "birch bark," *ʒjɨb "autumn house"	"summer house"; "autumn house"	"summer house"; "of summer"+	+ (*ʒw- "to sleep")	(← *kaba-)	*kaba- (conical or gable)	?	*kaba	*kaba	*kaba	?
	 (d)	*ugda (n)	-	*ugda (n)	*kaba-	*kaba-	*dabra	(← *kaba-)	*dabra	(? *kaba-)	*ugda-	*dabra (←)	?	?
	 (l)	*ugda (n)	-	(← *ʒagdu(n) *korɨ	ʒagdu(n); "winter house"	-	*ʒagdu(n)	? *ʒagdu(n)	*ʒagdu (n)	(*ʒagdu(n) reinforced dwelling)	*ʒagdu (n)	*ʒagdu(n)	*ʒagdu (n)	*ʒagdu (n)
Stationary	 (n) half-dugout	(*kalta- "half")	-	(*ʒaran "place for dwelling")	-	-	? ʒulbu	-	ʒurbu	?	?	*ʒurbu (←)	?	?
	 (n) dugout						"winter house"	(bala)	*siora- "pole"	*ugda(n)	?	?	?	?
General		*ʒjɨb	*ʒjɨb	*ʒjɨb	*ʒjɨb	*ʒjɨb	*ʒjɨb	*ʒjɨb	*ʒjɨb	*ʒjɨb (hearth)	*ʒjɨb	*ʒjɨb	*ʒjɨb	*ʒjɨb

Table 3: Tungus-Manchu types of dwellings and their names

the terminology for čum elements and details of its construction cannot be reconstructed for PTM by itself; but the names of the elements of a stationary dwelling are well-represented.

3. It is possible to attribute for Proto-Tungus-Manchu some kind of blockhouse dwelling, built using the specific technology of *korɨ [2.12], slot-type log frames. Such frame-post blockhouses are recorded in Jurchen archaeology, see Šavkunov (1990: 76): “The frame of surface buildings consisted of posts, consecutively dug into ground along all four sides of rectangular area prepared for building beforehand. Along the lateral facets of these posts, which were standing at 90-120 cm intervals, special slots were cut, where, starting from the bottom, the cross half-beams were consecutively inserted, the latter making up the walls of the house.” Shape of them probably looked like a low slot blockhouse with gable roof. Its Proto-Tungusic name can be reconstructed as *xagdu(n) [2.3]. In Evenki, the reflex only means “lair,” because of the syncretic expression of this type using *ugda-n/ma [2.4]; the name *ugda-n/ma that Evenki use for this type, is also used for different types of rectangular dwellings with gable roof. In Manchu, *xagdu(n) has a more abstract meaning of “fortified place”, so there is no reason to refer this exact word for this exact type of building, but the type of building itself obviously was used by the Manchu branch. Cf. this blockhouse used not only by Southern Tungus, but also by Jurchen, see above, (Šavkunov 1990: 76), as well as the following information: “Jurchen built dwellings of two types: half-dugouts and frame-post surface houses” (Šavkunov 1990: 74). Jurchen half-

dugouts are tetragonal wooden buildings, dug into the ground by a few tens of centimeters (from tilted blocks dug into the ground, with gable or pyramidal roof [Šavkunov 1990: 74]). A medieval source writes on this that Jurchen build houses by “digging holes and heaping them up with wood.” Surface houses were built on a leveled plane. Usually Jurchen used boards and logs to build houses, which then were lined with birch bark or covered with turf. The entrance was turned to south, east or south-east. The houses were heated with kan – a system of fume ducts lined with stone inside the dwelling, along the walls. (Derevianko 1991: 94–113). No name for the kan can be reconstructed for PTM or even for PSTM (see [2.31, 2.32]). The Mongolian origin of Tung. kōla- [2.32] agrees well with the idea of the connection between the beginning of the wide spread of the kan device and the establishment of the Khitan Empire (Derevianko 1991: 105).

Tungus-Manchu (first division around the third cent. B. C.) is known to have several types of dwelling, according to reconstructions.

4. The name *ugda-n/ma [2.4], used for a low blockhouse with gable roof by Evenki, can be used for different types of rectangular dwellings with gable roof; for Evenki and Negidal, it is also four-walled shelter from poles with gable roof, for Even – “labaz” (also a rectangular building with gable bark roof, but raised from the ground); in Manchu it is a dugout. We probably can reconstruct the exact meaning of “tetragonal shelter with gable roof” for the Proto-Northern-Tungusic word and assume that the stem *kaba- [2.5] in Orochi and Udehe was shifted to this mean-

ing secondarily (cf. the syncretism of **kaba-* in Udehe: it can be used for a gable shelter), and this Proto-Tungusic stem (derived from PTM ‘to enclose’) had initially meant a gable shelter without vertical walls.

5. The name of tetragonal shelter with gable roof in Nani languages, **dabra* [2.26], seems to be borrowed from Nivkh.

6. We can also reconstruct a PTung round portable dwelling that possibly can also be fastened to a boat – **xomara(n)* [2.11], the word was borrowed into Selkup and Eastern Khanty.

7. Earth-insulated shelter in the shape of tetragonal truncated pyramid with flat roof, named **ūte(n)* [2.10], can be reconstructed for Proto-Tungusic (diverged around the 6th cent. A.D.), but not for Proto-Tungus-Manchu. This type of dwelling frequently occurs in Southern Siberia (Kets, Sayan Samoyeds, Taiga Sayan Turks, exclusively Eastern Khanty and Northern Selkups), which allows to attribute it to Yeniseans for that territory, see Alekseenko (1967: 80, 90 f., 98). Cf. the record of supposedly the same – truncated pyramid-shaped with strong tetragonal upper frame on posts – half-dugout for Pre-Andronov settlements of Upper and Middle Priobye (Lukina 1994: 117). Sokolova (1998: 165) considers this dwelling structure to be genetically unrelated to tetragonal dwellings with vertical walls. The Yenisean hypothesis can be indirectly confirmed by the Khakas name of this type of dwelling (*at ib*), partially borrowed from Yenisean. Could it come to Yakuts and Tungus from there? Cf. the attribution of the Yakut dwelling – a shelter shaped like a truncated pyramid from blocks with flat roof, insulated with earth – to the Southern Siberian Turks in (Popov 1961: 158; Sokolova 1997: 138). On the other hand, PTung **ūte(n)* could be etymologically related to PAlt **òt’ù* ‘dwelling’: Proto-Turkic **ōtay* ‘a kind of stationary dwelling; in South Siberian areal – an earth-insulated shelter shaped like a tetragonal truncated pyramid with flat roof’; PTM **utē-n*; PJap **ūtaina* ‘high building, palace’ (Starostin et al. 2003; see also Dybo 2008: 261). A peculiar match of denotational semantics could suggest a possible Proto-Altai character of this dwelling; however, this is highly unlikely, because this type occurs mostly in the taiga area. It is possible that we are dealing with the semantic trail (the stationarity concept?) that caused a similar shift for the new building type.

Abbreviations

CTurk	— Common Turkic
Evk	— Evenki
Evn	— Even
FU	— Finno-Ugric
Ma	— Manchu
MTK	— Mator-Taigi-Karagas
Nan	— Nanai
Neg	— Negidal
NTung	— Northern Tungusic
Orch	— Oroch
Ork	— Orok
PFU	— Proto-Finno-Ugric
PIr	— Proto-Iranian
PJap	— Proto-Japonic
PKor	— Proto-Korean
PMong	— Proto-Mongolic
PNMong	— Proto-Northern Mongolic
PNS	— Proto-Northern Samoyed
PNTung	— Proto-Northern Tungusic
PPerm	— Proto-Permian
PS	— Proto-Samoyed
PSTung	— Proto-Southern Tungusic
PTM	— Proto-Manchu-Tungusic
PTung	— Proto-Tungusic
PTurk	— Proto-Turkic
PUr	— Proto-Uralic
PYen	— Proto-Yenisean
STung	— Southern Tungusic
TM	— Manchu-Tungusic
Ud	— Udehe
Ulch	— Ulcha
WMo	— Written Mongolian

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Appendix

**Коренные народы Севера, Сибири и Дальнего Востока Российской Федерации
Indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and Far East of the Russian Federation**



Map: Indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and Far East of the Russian Federation, subdivided according to language families (Source: <<https://ansipra.npolar.no/image/Arctic05.jpg>> [23.12.2021])