Kamas *malmi* ‘husband of daughter or younger sister’

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Abstract:
This article presents an etymology for the currently unetymologized Kamas kinship term *malmi*, in older sources *manmi*, meaning ‘husband of daughter or younger sister’. It is suggested that the term is a compound made up of the two Proto Samoyed in-law terms *wänə̑*, meaning ‘in-law’, and *wijə̑*, meaning ‘son-in-law’.

1.1.
A Kamas kinship term that is without etymology so far is *malmi*, in the 18th century *manmi*, an in-law term which designates the husband of one’s daughter (DH) or younger sister (ZyH). The following attestations from primary sources\(^1\) are to my knowledge exhaustive: KW 37b *malmi*: ‘Mann der Schwester, Schwager’ (manuscript: *mä̑mi*: ‘systers man, svåger’; CSW 192 *malmi* ‘Schwiegersohn, Mann der jüngern Schwester’, CM 25 *malmi* ‘yngre systers man’, CM 28 *malmi* ‘żęť, svärson’, CM 235 *Malmi* ‘śvärson, żęť, yngre systers man’, CM 253 *Malmi* ‘żęť, svärson’, POSS1SG *Malmiem*; Tat 48ob GEN (?) манмен ‘żęť’; in the Koybal dialect: Sp. 41a POSS1SG манмем ‘żęť’.

1.2.
The above attestations allow for the following observations on the form and meaning of the lexeme.

1.2.1.
In the sources from the 18th century (Tat., Sp.), the stem shows a nasal in the coda of the first syllable (*manmi*), whereas the later sources from the 19th and early 20th centuries (CM, CSW, and KW) report it with a lateral in this position (*malmi*). Janurik, in his edition of the Koybal lexical sources, reads *mä̑mə*, with a velar instead of a dental nasal (Janurik 2021: 83). Such a reading is principally possible because pre-19th century sources, the velar nasal may be rendered as <н>, cf. e.g., Sp. 41b нинана ‘комар [gnat]’, read нiğən, KW 45b нiğən ‘sehr kleine Fliege’. Janurik (ib.) compares his reading with SW 176 PS *wijə̑* (~ *wijə̑*) ‘Schwiegersohn [son-in-law]’. This

\(^1\) Cf. Helimski 1993 for primary and secondary older sources of Kamas and other Samoyed languages.
comparison is inapt due to the vowel in the 1st syllable: "a" cannot result from "*i*. More phonetically appropriate would be a comparison with SW 90 PS "*mäŋkä* ‘Schwester-sohn [son of sister]' but this comparison is inapt from the point of view of semantics: ‘nephew’ is not an in-law term. The reading with a velar nasal will not be taken up in Sections 3 and 4.

1.2.2. In the inflected forms (CM, Sp., Tat.), the possessor or case suffix is attached to an extended form of the second syllable, "-mijə". Castrén and Spasskij both report a possessor-marked form of the 1st person singular "manmijə-m", and Tatiščev a form with "-n", which in principle can be identified as the ending of the genitive. This source, however, usually doesn’t provide case endings, whereas the suffix POSS1SG of the 1st person singular is attested there more than once. Against this background, it may be assumed that "-n" is a misspelling in place of "-m", and the form is another attestation of possessive "manmijəm".

1.2.3. The meanings of the term correspond largely to those of the Russian kinship term ‘зять’ [husband of daughter, husband of sister]’ (Dal’). In KW, the meaning ‘husband of daughter’ is missing. Since neither this nor any other source would report a different Kamas term for the son-in-law, the absence of this meaning in the youngest source does not question the meanings attested in the earlier sources.

2.1. As has been shown so far, the term in question designates a male in-law of either the same generation [ZH] or the descending generation [DH]; however, it designates the same generation only to the degree that the sister is younger than ego [ZyH]. This restriction, though explicitly conveyed only by Castrén (CSW, CM), is, or at least was, a crucial component of the meaning, as the areal typology of this term suggests. Kinship terms applied to persons belonging to different generations are a prominent feature of Turkic, cf. e.g., the equivalent Old Turkic term ‘küδäğü’ ‘son-in-law (daughter’s husband), younger brother-in-law (younger sister’s husband)’ (Grønbech 1953: 125), or terms like Chuvash pičče, Turkmen aga, Bashkir agay, Karaim aka, all meaning ‘older brother’, as well as ‘father’s younger brother’ (Taşbaş 2019: 247). Kamas, as a contact language of South Siberian Turkic, shows a similar term: KW 3a, CSW 178 ada, meaning ‘older brother’, ‘older sister’, or ‘brother or sister of father or mother’. In the Volga-Kama Region as another Turkic contact area, kinship terminologies are in the same way characterized by “merging younger representatives of the older generation with older representatives of the younger generation” as e.g., in Meadow Mari wege, Hill Mari wiige ‘son-in-law; younger sister’s husband’ (Holopainen et al. 2019). Additionally, the Russian term ‘зять’, for which Friedrich (1963: 3) assumed a meaning extension from ‘husband of daughter’ to also ‘husband of sister’

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after the 11th century, one may suspect a Turkic influence. In the 20th century, this extension started to retreat again, with зять meaning chiefly ‘son-in-law’ (Parkin 2015: 218). In the 18th and 19th centuries, however, the Kamas *manmi/malmi* and Russian зять were equivalent in-law terms.

2.2.

As noted before, *malmi* is the default Kamas kinship term for ‘son-in-law’, but in the meaning ‘brother-in-law’, it competes with four more terms. These terms and their etymologies (if available) are presented in the following.\(^3\)

2.2.1.

The direct of *manmi/malmi* in terms of generation, is KW 44a нёста [nёstá, nástá] ‘Mann der Mutter (Stiefvater), Mann der Schwester des Vaters’ [MH, stepfather, FZH]; CSW 184 nesta ‘Schwager, Mann der älteren Schwester’ [brother-in-law, ZoH], CM 25 Nestá ‘ältere systers man, sväger’ [id.], CM 237 Nesta ‘sväger, svärson [?], eldre systers man’ [brother-in-law, DH ?, ZoH], CM 248 Nesta ‘шурин [brother of wife]’, äldre systers man, svärfar [WB ?, ZoH, father-in-law’]. Castrén’s meaning ‘svärson’ is questioned here since it is not confirmed by KW. The meaning ‘шурин [brother of wife]’ bears a question mark in Castrén’s manuscript and is neglected here as well. This meaning is the domain of *nado* (see below 2.2.3). Unfortunately, нёста is not attested in the older sources. According to Joki (1952: 239–240), the word is a shortened Turkic-Mongolic compound with the components няя́жь ‘relatives from the mother’s side’ and ata ‘father’. This explanation has serious flaws. First, as stated by Joki himself, it is not supported by any attestation on the Turkic or Mongolic side. Second, the contraction of the two initial syllables няя- > нå- is not reflected by the reduced back vowel å, which hides behind Donner’s and Castrén’s notations <ö ~ å ~ e>. Third, the semantic development is fairly unclear. Therefore, the existing etymology of нёста is waiting for a revision.

2.2.2.

The second term is ба cyclists, meaning ‘husband of wife’s sister’ [WZH], Tat. 48ob <бача> ‘свояк’. The term is attested only in the Tatiščev glossary, and is clearly of Turkic origin, e.g., Xakas пааа ‘свояк’ (XRS 147), but originates from the Mongolic бая ‘husbands of sisters’ (Khabtagaeva 2019: 92 with literature). The term was also borrowed into Kott, which Khabtagaeva 2019: 92) gives the meaning ‘sister’s husband’. It is not included in Joki’s (1952) study because the source was unknown at that time.

2.2.3.

One of two the Kamas terms which designate the brother of spouse [HB, WB] is KW 42a *nado* ‘Schwager, Bruder des Mannes oder der Frau’ [brother-in-law, brother

\(^3\) The complete picture of Kamas kinship terminology is matter of a future study once the analysis of the Tatiščev glossary has been completed. This source includes many kinship terms, some of which are not attested elsewhere in the Kamas sources. The edition of this glossary is currently in preparation.
of husband or wife]; CSW 184 nado ‘Schwager, des Mannes Bruder’ [brother-in-law, brother of husband], CM 30, 238 Nado ‘деверь’ [brother of husband], CM 293 Nadu ‘svåger’ [brother-in-law]; Tat. 48ob POSS1SG надом ‘шурин’ [brother of wife]. This word is of Samoyed origin, see SW 98 PS *nât’ð ‘Schwager’ [brother-in-law] (< PU *nataw ‘in-law’; ‘younger sister or brother of husband or wife’ Aikio 2015: 55, Sammallahti 1988: 539, UEW: 299).

2.2.4.
A similar term, with a narrower meaning, is Tat. 48ob <Ger jde ‘деверь [brother of husband]’ [HB]. The reading is insecure (абиел?) and it has no etymology so far.

2.3.
Kamas in-law terms in the majority are of Samoyed origin. Apart from the above-mentioned nado ‘HB, WB’, these are KW 19a imbi ‘father-in-law’, and derived imbiini ‘mother-in-law’, < PS *ińspō ‘Schwiegervater’ (SW 24) (< PU *ippi ‘father-in-law’, Aiko 2015: 57, Sammallahti 1988: 536, UEW 14); mej or mej ‘daughter-in-law’, CWS 192 mej ‘Schwiegertochter’ < PS *mejä ‘Schwiegertochter’ (SW 92) (< PU *mińä ‘daughter-in-law’ Sammallahti 1998: 489, UEW 276), and possibly also Tat. 48ob <келнн ‘невестка [wife of brother or son]’ [BW, SW], which has an unclear reading (kelnн), and offers two etymological interpretations. It may be analyzed as a female specification with the suffix -n (cf. above imbiini ‘mother-in-law’) from an otherwise not attested stem kel < SW 67 PS *kelä ‘Schwager’, Aiko 2015: 39 PS *kälu ‘brother-in-law’ (< PU *käliw id., ib., UEW 135–136), or it may be explained as loan word from the South Siberian Turkic kelin, meaning ‘wife of younger brother’, or ‘wife of son’ (Grønbech 1953: 2), XRS 74 килн ‘сноха, невестка’. Of certain Turkic origin is baça and possibly also nasta, while <абыел> is without etymology (see 2.2). As will be shown in Section 3 and 4, malmi/manmi may be added to the in-law terms of Samoyed origin.

3.
As for the consonant alternation n ~ l in the coda of the first syllable of manmi ~ malmi, the distribution across the sources suggests either a dialectal variation with Koybal, and the variety documented by Tatiščev showing -n-, or the Abalakova variety documented by Castrén and Donner -l-. Since continuity between at least the Tatiščev variety and Abalakova Kamas is not unlikely, the alternation may also be conceived as a historical change n > l / m. This change, however, is not a regular sound change of Kamas, but rather a dissimilation of two adjacent nasals nm > lm. Such a dissimilation has parallels in KW 4b alma ‘Schlaf’ [sleep] < ayma < ssm *ɐ̌iwā < PS *ɐ̌ywā id. (SW 24), and possibly also in KW 31b kolmə [k’oı’mə, k’oım, k’oımu, k’oım] ‘Geist des Hingeschiedenen etc.’ [spirit of a deceased person] < *ko-na (~ ku-na) die-PTCP + maja ‘Atem’, ‘Seele’ [breath, soul] > konmaja > konma > kolma. A similar case, in which a velar nasal is replaced by l, can be found in the variant Kalmazhenilen/Калмазенилы of the Kamas ethnonym kalmäz ‘Kamas’ reported by Castrén (1856: 344). The exact origin of the dissimilated form, however, is unclear (see
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Katz 1980: 199). The opposite change \( l > n \) as a result of assimilation of \( l \) adjacent to \( m \) occurred, to my knowledge, only in the opposite order, i.e., after, and not before \( m \) as in sumna ‘five’ < sumla < sumula < PS *sámpľäŋkő id. (SW 133). In conclusion, I assume manmi to be the older form and malmi a secondary development.

4.

Concerning the origin of manmi ~ manmija-, inspired by Joki’s compound analysis of nāsta ‘husband of older sister etc.’ (see 2.2.1), an etymology in terms of a compound is suggested here. The word consists of two syllables, \( man \) and \( mi \), of which the second alternates, which in inflection alternates with mijə-. Both constituents are strongly reminiscent of Samoyed terms with closely related meanings: (i) SW 173 PS *wänŋ- ‘durch Heirat verwandt’ [in-law], not attested in Mator, but in Selkup, see SkW 292 under \( k’uŋə(k) \) ‘Schwiegervater’; ‘Schwiegersohn’; ‘Schwager’, etc. (ii) SW 176 PS *wiŋə (~ *wiŋə) ‘Schwiegersohn [son-in-law]’, Helimski PS *wiŋū id. (MS 305) (< Proto-Uralic *wâŋe ‘Schwiegersohn’, ‘Bräutigam’ UEW 565, *weniw/*wâŋiw ‘son-in-law’ Sammallahi 1988: 483), attested in Mator as MS 305 mijüh (or *mijnūl) ‘Schwiegersohn [son-in-law]’, but not attested in Selkup. The following development in Kamas is suggested here: malmi < manmi < Proto-Kamas *manə_mijə ‘in-law’, son-in-law’, with *manə < PS *wänə and *mijə < PS *wiŋə. The second syllable in inflection, which shows the POSS1SG form (-)mijə-m instead of the expected (-)mi-m (see 1.2), reveals the former bisyllabic shape of the word. This component was shortened to (-)mi in non-first syllable. The first part manə(-) was shortened to ma(-), after which \( n \) and \( m \) became adjacent, and subsequently, \( n \) was dissimilated into \( l \).

5.

Apart from the formal side of the etymology, the motivation for this instance of compounding needs to be clarified. In principle, it allows for a copulative reading (a person who is \( x \) as well as \( y \)) or a determinative reading (a person who is an \( x \) type of \( y \)). Neither of the two readings, however, would be evident: a person who is a son-in-law is automatically an in-law, i.e., the second part of the compound includes the meaning of the first one. Speculating that there was at some time in Kamas history an extension of the meaning ‘son-in-law’ to also designate the husband of a younger sister, probably due to Turkic influence, one may assume that the first part of the compound widened the meaning of the term from an in-law of the descending generation to one that also includes the same generation. How exactly such an extension would have been achieved by adding the component *manə to the base *mijə is unclear. Another explanation could consist in assuming reinforcement, i.e., the simple term *mijə had at some point become bleached, and was reinforced by the determinative component *manə. The motivation of the compound may possibly be better understood once the rest of the so far unclear Kamas in-law terms are analyzed.
ABBREVIATIONS

Glossings
GEN genitive case
POSS1SG possessor suffix 1st person singular
PTCP participle

Kinship relations
BW wife of brother
DH husband of daughter
FZH husband of father’s sister
HB brother of husband
MH husband of mother
SW wife of son
WB brother of wife
WZH husband of wife’s sister
ZH husband of sister
ZoH husband of older sister
ZyH husband of younger sister

Languages
PS Proto-Samoyed
PU Proto-Uralic
ssm South Samoyed

Sources
CM = Castrén 1847
CSW = Schiefner 1855
KW = Joki 1944
MS = Helimski 1997
SkW = Alatalo 2004
Sp. = Spasski 1806/1957
Tat. = Tatiščev 1735–1738
SW = Janhunen 1977
UEW = Rédei 1988–1991
XRS = Baskakov & Inkižekova-Grekul 1953

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