

## On the classification of the Samoyedic languages

Dedicated to the memory of Eugene Helimski (1950–2007)

The article is introduced by a survey and discussion of previous models of classification of the Samoyedic languages. The main part is devoted to a new model of classification, based on the application of so-called recalibrated glottochronology, including a full documentation of wordlists with etymological remarks, statistics and sources. Finally, the present result is compared with previous models. This article follows the study by Blažek 2012, thus completing the Uralic language family.

For the first time in AD 1096, the ethnonym *Samoyed* [**Само́йды**] was used in *Tale of Bygone Years* (*Повесть временных лет*), probably about the Nenets (Blažek, Hofírková & Kovář 2011: 207, 217–218). The first record of words from any Samoyedic language was mediated by a British merchant Richard James. In a manuscript of his *Russian Vocabulary* from 1618–1620, he included several words identified as Nenets (Stipa 1981: 57–58; Blažek & Kovář 2013: 279). In his treatise *Dissertatio de origine Germanorum* from 1710, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz proposed that the Samoyedic languages together with Saamic, Finnish, Estonian, Livonian, Komi, and Hungarian had their origin in a language of one great nation of the North (Blažek & Kovář 2013: 281–282).

Among linguists studying **Samoyedic** languages there is no consensus concerning their genetic classification. Here we shall compare four models, two of them qualitative and the other two quantitative. In diagram A, the traditional model (Collinder 1960: 11; cf. also Janhunen 1977 = J: 7, and Ruhlen 1987: 328, followed by *Ethnologue*, including even the most recent, 17th, edition from 2013 – left) is compared with a somewhat revolutionary model by Janhunen (Janhunen 1998: 459 – right), unfortunately presented without any details:

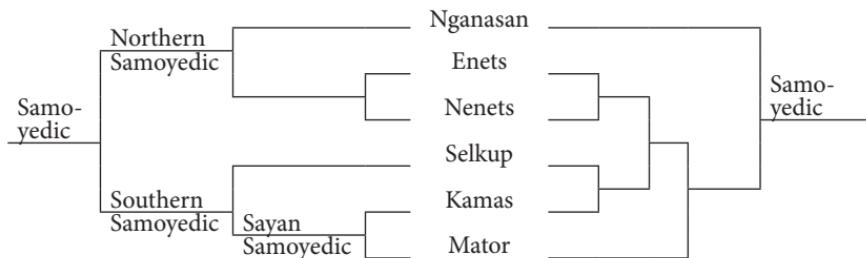


Diagram A: The traditional model (on the left) compared with the model by Janhunen (1998) (on the right)

The alternative models based on application of lexicostatistics and glottochronology were proposed by Helimski (Xelimskij 1982: 39 – left) and Starostin (2004 – right):

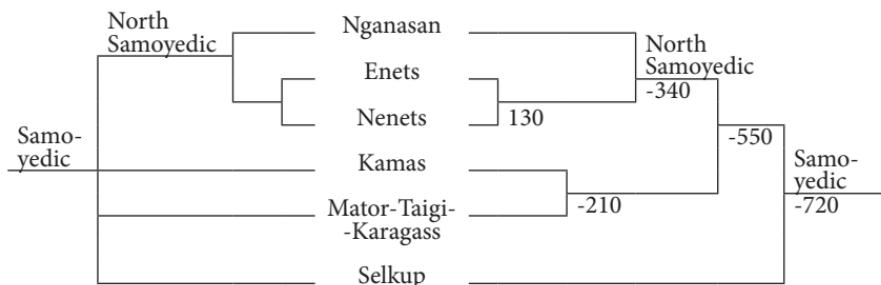


Diagram B: The alternative models by Helimski (left) and Starostin (right)

| %        | Enets          | Nganasan       | Selkup         | Kamas          | Mator          |
|----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Nenets   | $65/87 = 74.7$ | $53/86 = 61.6$ | $49/87 = 56.3$ | $49/87 = 56.3$ | $50/86 = 58.1$ |
| Enets    |                | $62/86 = 72.1$ | $52/87 = 59.8$ | $51/87 = 58.6$ | $50/86 = 58.1$ |
| Nganasan |                |                | $47/86 = 54.6$ | $47/86 = 54.6$ | $46/85 = 54.1$ |
| Selkup   |                |                |                | $51/87 = 58.6$ | $44/86 = 51.2$ |
| Kamas    |                |                |                |                | $50/86 = 58.1$ |

Table 1: Results of Helimski (Xelimskij 1982: 39)

Helimski's model operates with four coordinate branches, although his published results (Xelimskij 1982: 39), applying the standard cladistic procedure based on average values (left side of Diagram C), give another conclusion, namely three coordinate branches: North Samoyedic, Kamas-Mator, Selkup, while the procedure operating with minimum values leads to the binarily organized structure (right side):

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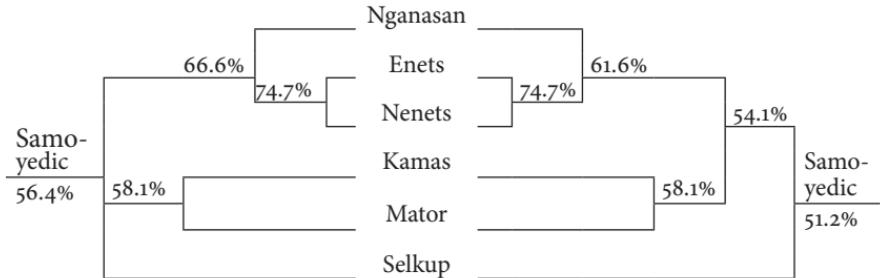


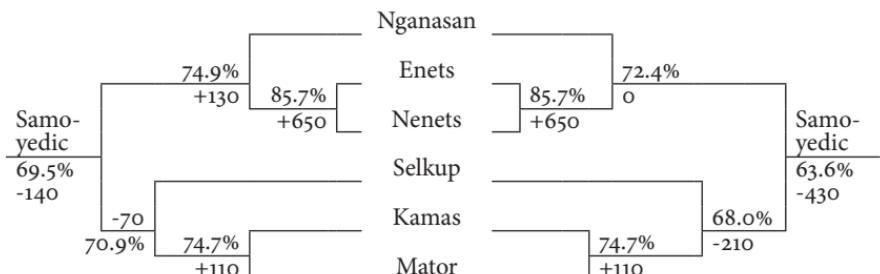
Diagram C: The models based on real results of Helimski, applying the average (left) and minimum (right) values.

The results of the present study, whose methodology is described in Blažek 2012, 81–91, are summarized in Table 2:

| %        | Enets           | Nganasan        | Selkup          | Kamas             | Mator             |
|----------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Nenets   | $84/98 = 85.71$ | $71/98 = 72.44$ | $73/98 = 74.49$ | $62.5/92 = 67.93$ | $68/91 = 74.72$   |
| Enets    |                 | $75/97 = 77.32$ | $70/96 = 72.92$ | $62.5/92 = 67.93$ | $66/91 = 72.52$   |
| Nganasan |                 |                 | $63/97 = 64.94$ | $58.5/92 = 63.59$ | $60/90 = 66.66$   |
| Selkup   |                 |                 |                 | $68/92 = 73.91$   | $60.5/89 = 67.98$ |
| Kamas    |                 |                 |                 |                   | $63.5/85 = 74.71$ |

Table 2: The results of the present study

Applying both cladistic procedures, one based on average values (left) and the second on minimum values (right), the following schemes are generated (Diagram D):



Note: The lexical data of Mator are from the 18th century, whereas the main source of all other wordlists are vocabularies collected by Castrén in the 1840s, supplemented and sometimes verified by lexicons published in the 20th century. With respect to this fact, the time estimations should be shifted to c. the 3rd century. The question is how much, if lexemes are collected from both older and younger sources in order to obtain a maximal completeness.

Diagram D: The models based on the present results.

The topologies of the left and right parts of diagram D correspond to one another. In principle, they confirm the north/south dichotomy, proposed in traditional handbooks. With regard to the thin interval 1.4% between the disintegration of Common Samoyedic and the separation of Selkup from Kamas and Mator, meaning less than plus/minus one cognate item, it is legitimate to approximate the common disintegration around 70% (*c.* 100 BCE) for three more or less parallel branches: North Samoyedic, Early Selkup and Kamas-Mator. This alternative conclusion agrees with the left diagram C, based on percentages calculated by Helimski.

Besides the tree diagram, it is useful to depict mutual relations between related languages as a net diagram, shown below in E, where the highest percentages are displayed:

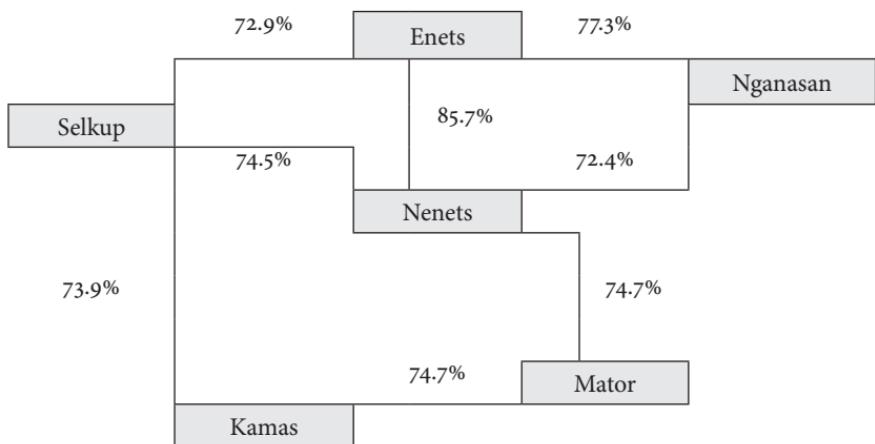


Diagram E: The net diagram connecting the closest relatives

Table 2 shows some apparently deviant results. First of all, the weak links of Nganasan with all other Samoyedic languages with the exception of Enets may be explained by the strong influence of an unidentified pre-Samoyedic substratum of the Taimyr Peninsula, while the higher number of Enets-Nganasan cognates was probably caused by their direct contact in the recent past. Similarly, the relatively high scores between Selkup-Nenets and Selkup-Enets can also be ascribed to their neighbourhood existing till the 20th century. In the 18th century, Kamas and Mator were also spoken in adjoining areas in Southern Siberia (cf. Helimski 1997 = H: 14–16). Rather surprising is a relatively high score between Nenets and Mator. It could be

explained by their former neighbourhood. On the other hand, every result operating with Mator (and Kamas) is distorted by the fact that there are 4 missing items and 5 identified loanwords (in Kamas 1 + 7, respectively).

The results obtained in the present research should be verified. One of the best tools is analysis of old loanwords, borrowed in this case still before the disintegration of Common Samoyedic. Janhunen (1998: 477) recognized the following old strata of borrowings:

- (a) Tocharian<sup>1</sup> — disintegration c. 400 BCE; hypothetical identification with Afanasievo culture in South Siberia dated to 37th–25th cent. BCE, followed by the culture of Okunevo dated to 25th–19th cent. BCE (Svyatko et al. 2009: 244), formed probably by early Samoyeds (Vadetskaja 1990: 73), and so-called Tarim mummies from c. 2000 BCE (Mallory & Mair 2000: 314–318; Blažek & Schwarz 2011: 136–137, 129).
- (b) Ugric<sup>2</sup> — disintegration c. 1480 BCE (Blažek 2012, 34).
- (c) Proto-Bolgar<sup>3</sup> — disintegration of proto-Turkic into proto-Bolgar and the mainstream called Common Turkic is dated to c. 100 BCE or to o by Dybo, depending upon the choice of synonyms (Dybo 2006: 70–771), and to c. 120 BCE by Mudrak (2009: 172–179, see also Schwarz & Blažek 2011: 31–32).

From these chronological data it is possible to estimate that contacts between ancestors of Samoyeds and Tocharians could have been realized around 2500 BCE. On the other hand, it is not necessary to operate with proto-Ugric as a source of Samoyedic *\*num*, if the Ob-Ugric disintegration (c. 400 BCE) preceded the disintegration of Samoyedic (c. 140 BCE, or 3rd century BCE with respect to the times of records). In the case of proto-Bolgar, the situation is opposite: its separation (between 120 BCE and o) follows after the disintegration of Samoyedic (3rd cent. BCE / 160 BCE; other estimations are still deeper in time – see Diagram B right; according to A. Dybo (2006: 783) Selkup separated c. 410 BCE, followed by the North & South Samoyedic disintegration dated to 140 BCE). This means that the examples quoted by Janhunen as proto-Bolgar (with respect to Samoyedic *\*jür* vs. Volga Bolgar *\*jür*, Chuvash *šeř*, but Common Turkic *\*jūz*) should be ascribed to proto-Turkic (*\*jūř*; cf. H 244; Jo 124; Dybo 2006: 786). This conclusion is extraordinarily important in the discussion of the priority of *\*ř* (implying secondary ‘zetaicism’) or *\*z* (implying secondary ‘rhotacism’) in favour of original *\*ř*. Summing up, it is possible to conclude that the disin-

tegration of Samoyedic in the 3rd–2nd century BCE happened between the disintegrations of its neighbours, Ob-Ugric around 400 BCE and Turkic around 100 BCE.

The Samoyedic homeland is localized by Xelimskij (1989 [2000]: 15–17) in the Southwest Siberian taiga, in the area delimited by a triangle formed by the cities of Tomsk, Krasnoyarsk and Eniseisk. The ancestors of the Selkups moved to the north along the Ob. The North Samoyeds migrated to the north along the Yenisei. The ancestors of Kamas-Koibal tribes moved to the south in the Sayan Mountains, the ancestors of Mator-Taigi-Karagas tribes to the east between the Kan and Mana rivers, right tributaries of the Yenisei. All these migrations could have been caused by ancestors of the Yeniseic populations, forming a part of the Hunnic tribal union at that time. Finally, the Yeniseians followed them, perhaps under pressure from the Turkic populations. Janhunen (2009: 72), and subsequently Parpola (2012: 294), identify the proto-Samoyeds with the Tagar bronze age archaeological culture, dated between the 7th and 3rd century BCE in South Siberia, concretely in the eastern part of Kemerovo province, the southern part of Krasnoyarsk Territory and the Republic of Khakassia.

The percentages of cognates between the individual Samoyedic and Finno-Ugric languages vary between 35% (Finnish vs. Nganasan, Finnish vs. Kamas) and 18–19% (North and Inari Saami vs. Selkup; Hungarian vs. Enets). More coherent are the results obtained from average values: maximum 28.62% of Finnic vs. Samoyedic against 22.39% of Mordvinian-Samoyedic and 22.95% of Saamic-Samoyedic. The average of all averages is *c.* 25%, corresponding to 3320 BCE (or *c.* 3400 BCE, if the earlier records of some wordlists are taken in account) as a date of disintegration of Uralic into Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic. This agrees better with the dating to 3430 BCE by S. Starostin (2004) than to 3840 BCE, as proposed by his son G. Starostin (p.c., 26 Nov, 2010).

## Statistics

**Missing items:** Nenets: ø; Enets: #69, 73; Nganasan: #73; Kamas: #73; Mator: #51, 71, 73, 86.

**Identified loanwords:** Nenets: ø; Enets: ø; Nganasan: #66; Selkup: #55, 96; Kamas: #1, 6, 8, 27, 35, 69, 100; Mator: #20, 69, 77, 97, 99.

### Non-cognates ( $\Sigma$ ) and shares of common cognates ( $\sigma$ ):

Nenets-Enets: 3 bark, 11 breast, 24 egg, 26 fat, 27 feather, 35 green, 50 louse, 55 mountain, 59 new, 80 star, 83 swim, 84 tail, 85/2 that, 86/2 this, 87 thou;  $\Sigma$  14;  $\sigma = 84/98 = 85.11\%$ .

Nenets-Nganasan: 1 all, 2 ashes, 3 bark, 5 big, 6/2 bird, 8 black, 11 breast, 12 burn, 22 earth, 24 egg, 32 full, 34 good, 35 green, 46 leaf, 49 long, 50 louse, 54 moon, 55 mountain, 59 new, 61 nose, 69 round, 70 sand, 77 small, 80 star, 86/2 this, 87 thou, 93 warm, 95/2 we, 96/2 what;  $\Sigma$  27;  $\sigma = 71/98 = 72.44\%$ .

Enets-Nganasan: 1 all, 2/2 ashes, 5 big, 6 bird, 8 black, 22 earth, 26 fat, 27 feather, 32 full, 34 good, 35 green, 46 leaf, 49 long, 54 moon, 55 mountain, 61 nose, 70/2 sand, 71 say, 77 small, 83 swim, 85/2 that, 86/2 this, 93 warm, 95/2 we;  $\Sigma$  21;  $\sigma = 76/97 = 78.35\%$ .

Nenets-Selkup: 1 all, 2/2 ashes, 8 black, 11 breast, 24 egg, 26 fat, 31 foot, 32 full, 35 green, 38 head, 47 lie, 50 louse, 51 man, 52 many, 59 new, 64 person, 69 round, 70 sand, 77 small, 80 star, 82 sun, 85/2 that, 86/2 this, 87 thou, 93 warm, 95/2 we, 100 yellow;  $\Sigma$  25;  $\sigma = 73/98 = 74.49\%$ .

Enets-Selkup: 1 all, 2/2 ashes, 4 belly, 6/2 bird, 8 black, 11 breast, 20 dry, 24 egg, 27 feather, 31 foot, 32 full, 38 head, 47 lie, 51 man, 52 many, 58 neck, 59 new, 64 person, 70 sand, 77 small, 80 star, 82 sun, 83 swim, 84 tail, 93 warm, 95/2 we, 98 who, 100 yellow;  $\Sigma$  26;  $\sigma = 70/96 = 72.92\%$ .

Nganasan-Selkup: 1 all, 2 ashes, 4 belly, 5 big, 6/2 bird, 8 black, 11 breast, 12 burn, 20 dry, 22 earth, 24 egg, 26 fat, 31 foot, 32 full, 34 good, 35 green, 38 head, 46 leaf, 47 lie, 49 long, 51 man, 52 many, 54 moon, 58 neck, 59 new, 61 nose, 64 person, 69 round, 70/2 sand, 71 say, 80 star, 82 sun, 83 swim, 85/2 that, 86/2 this, 98/2 who, 100 yellow;  $\Sigma$  34;  $\sigma = 63/97 = 64.94\%$ .

Nenets-Kamas: 2/2 ashes, 7 bite, 11 breast, 12 burn, 20 dry, 24 egg, 26 fat, 30 fly, 32 full, 34 good, 38 head, 44 knee, 45 know, 47 lie, 50 louse, 53 meat, 54 moon, 55 mountain, 59 new, 64 person, 66 red, 67 road, 69 round, 70 sand, 77 small, 80 star, 83 swim, 85/2 that, 87 thou, 93 warm, 95/2 we;  $\Sigma$  29.5;  $\sigma = 62.5/92 = 67.93\%$ .

Enets-Kamas: 2/2 ashes, 4 belly, 7 bite, 11 breast, 12 burn, 20 dry, 26 fat, 30 fly, 32 full, 34 good, 38 head, 44 knee, 45 know, 47 lie, 53 meat, 54 moon, 55 mountain, 58 neck, 59 new, 64 person, 66 red, 67 road, 70 sand, 77 small, 80 star, 83 swim, 84 tail, 92 walk, 93 warm, 95/2 we, 98/2 who;  $\Sigma 29.5$ ;  $\sigma = 62.5/92 = 67.93\%$ .

Nganasan-Kamas: 2 ashes, 5 big, 7 bite, 11 breast, 12 burn, 20 dry, 22 earth, 26 fat, 30 fly, 32 full, 34 good, 38 head, 44 knee, 45 know, 46 leaf, 47 lie, 49 long, 53 meat, 58 neck, 59 new, 61 nose, 64 person, 67 road, 69 round, 70 sand, 71 say, 72 see, 77 small, 80 star, 83 swim, 84 tail, 85/2 that, 93 warm, 96/2 what, 98/2 who;  $\Sigma 33.5$ ;  $\sigma = 58.5/92 = 63.59\%$ .

Selkup-Kamas: 7 bite, ?11 breast, 12 burn, 20 dry, 24 egg, 26 fat, 30 fly, 31 foot, 32 full, 34 good, 44 knee, 45 know, 52 many, 54 moon, 59 new, 64 person, 66 red, 67 road, 69 round, 70 sand, 71 say, 77 small, 82 sun, 93 warm, 98/2 who;  $\Sigma 24$ ;  $\sigma = 68/92 = 73.91\%$ .

Nenets-Mator: 2/2 ashes, 3 bark, 6 bird, 7 bite, 8 black, 11 breast, 24 egg, 32 full, 34 good, 35 green, 46 leaf, 47 lie, 48 liver, 54 moon, 55 mountain, 59 new, 64 person, 67 road, 70 sand, 80 star, 85/2 that, 87 thou, 95/2 we, 96/2 what, 100 yellow;  $\Sigma 23$ ;  $\sigma = 68/91 = 74.72\%$ .

Enets-Mator: 1/2 all, 2/2 ashes, 3 bark, 4 belly, 6 bird, 7 bite, 8 black, 24 egg, 26 foot, 27 feather, 32 full, 34 good, 35 green, 46 leaf, 47 lie, 48 liver, 50 louse, 54 moon, 55 mountain, 67 road, 70 sand, 80 star, 83 swim, 84 tail, 95/2 we, 98/2 what, 100 yellow;  $\Sigma 25$ ;  $\sigma = 66/91 = 72.52\%$ .

Nganasan-Mator: 1 all, 2 ashes, 3 bark, 4 belly, 5 big, 6 bird, 7 bite, 8 black, 12 burn, 19 drink, 22 earth, 26 fat, 32 full, 34 good, 35 green, 46 leaf, 47 lie, 48 liver, 49 long, 50 louse, 55 mountain, 59 new, 64 person, 67 road, 70 sand, 80 star, 83 swim, 85/2 that, 93 warm, 98/2 who, 100 yellow;  $\Sigma 30$ ;  $\sigma = 60/90 = 66.66\%$ .

Selkup-Mator: 1 all, 3 bark, 6 bird, 7 bite, 8 black, 11 breast, 19 drink, 24 egg, 26 fat, 31 foot, 32 full, 34 good, 35 green, 38 head, 46 leaf, 47 lie, 48 liver, 50 louse, 52 many, 54 moon, 58 neck, 59 new, 64 person, 67 road, 70 sand, 82 sun, 93 warm, 98/2 who, 100 yellow;  $\Sigma 30.5$ ;  $\sigma = 60.5/89 = 67.98\%$ .

Kamas-Mator: 3 bark, 7 bite, 11 breast, 12 burn, 19 drink, 32 full, 34 good, 38 head, 44 knee, 45 know, 46 leaf, 47 lie, 48 liver, 50 louse, 53 meat, 58 neck, 59 new, 66 red, 72 see, 83 swim, 92 walk, 96/2 what;  $\Sigma 21.5$ ;  $\sigma = 63.5/85 = 74.71\%$ .

Note: The fraction n/2 is used for partial cognates, e.g. if a word in language A corresponds to a component of a compound in language B, or in the case of pronominal stems agreeing in the initial consonants but differing in the root vowels.

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## Samoyedic vs. Finno-Ugric

### I. Samoyedic vs. Finnic

|                 | Nenets            | Enets             | Nganasan          | Selkup            | Kamas             | Mator             | $\emptyset$ [%]     |
|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Finnish         | 27/94 = .2872     | 25.5/93 = .2742   | 32.5/93 = .3495   | 26/93 = .2796     | 31.5/89 = .3539   | 25/86 = .2907     | 30.57               |
| Karelian        | 23/92 = .2500     | 24/91 = .2637     | 28/92 = .3043     | 25/91 = .2747     | 26/87 = .2988     | 23/84 = .2738     | 27.77               |
| Veps            | 24.5/93 = .2634   | 25/92 = .2717     | 28/93 = .3011     | 24.5/92 = .2663   | 28/88 = .3181     | 22.5/85 = .2647   | 28.08               |
| Estonian        | 24.5/93 = .2634   | 26/92 = .2826     | 29.5/92 = .3206   | 25.5/92 = .2772   | 27.5/88 = .3125   | 23.5/85 = .2764   | 28.87               |
| Livonian        | 24.5/93 = .2634   | 23/92 = .2500     | 27.5/92 = .2989   | 24.5/92 = .2663   | 25.5/88 = .2897   | 23/85 = .2706     | 27.31               |
| Votic           | 25.5/92 = .2772   | 26/91 = .2857     | 29.5/92 = .3206   | 26/91 = .2857     | 26/88 = .2954     | 23.5/84 = .2798   | 29.09               |
| $\emptyset$ [%] | 160.46 /6 = 26.74 | 162.79 /6 = 27.12 | 189.50 /6 = 31.58 | 164.98 /6 = 27.50 | 186.84 /6 = 31.14 | 165.60 /6 = 27.60 | 1030.17 /36 = 28.62 |

### II. Samoyedic vs. Saamic

|                 | Nenets            | Enets             | Nganasan          | Selkup            | Kamas             | Mator             | $\emptyset$ [%]    |
|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| South           | 21/89 = .2360     | 20/88 = .2273     | 22.5/88 = .2557   | 17.5/88 = .1989   | 20/84 = .2380     | 18.5/81 = .2284   | 23.07              |
| Lule            | 21/89 = .2360     | 19/88 = .2159     | 22.5/88 = .2557   | 17.5/88 = .1989   | 20/84 = .2380     | 19.5/81 = .2407   | 23.09              |
| North           | 20/91 = .2198     | 19/90 = .2111     | 22.5/90 = .2500   | 16.5/90 = .1833   | 19/85 = .2235     | 19.5/83 = .2349   | 22.04              |
| Inari           | 20/91 = .2198     | 18/90 = .2000     | 21.5/90 = .2389   | 17/90 = .1889     | 20/85 = .2352     | 18.5/83 = .2229   | 21.76              |
| Skolt           | 22/88 = .2500     | 20/87 = .2299     | 23.5/87 = .2701   | 18/87 = .2069     | 21/82 = .2560     | 20.5/80 = .2563   | 24.49              |
| Kildin          | 21/88 = .2386     | 19/87 = .2184     | 21.5/87 = .2471   | 17/87 = .1954     | 21/83 = .2530     | 19.5/80 = .2438   | 23.27              |
| $\emptyset$ [%] | 140.02 /6 = 23.34 | 130.26 /6 = 21.71 | 151.75 /6 = 25.29 | 117.23 /6 = 19.54 | 144.37 /6 = 24.06 | 142.70 /6 = 23.78 | 826.83 /36 = 22.95 |

**III. Samoyedic vs. Mordvin**

|                     | Nenets            | Enets             | Nganasan          | Selkup            | Kamas           | Mator             | $\bar{\Omega} [\%]$ |
|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Erzya               | 20.5/98<br>=.2092 | 20.5/96<br>=.2135 | 23.5/96<br>=.2448 | 23.5/96<br>=.2448 | 19/90<br>=.2111 | 20.5/89<br>=.2303 | 22.52               |
| Mokša               | 20/98 =<br>.2041  | 20.5/96<br>=.2135 | 22.5/96<br>=.2344 | 23.5/96<br>=.2448 | 19/91<br>=.2111 | 20.5/89<br>=.2303 | 22.26               |
| $\bar{\Omega} [\%]$ | 20.67             | 21.35             | 23.96             | 24.48             | 21.11           | 23.03             | 22.39               |

**IV. Samoyedic vs. Mari**

|                     | Nenets              | Enets               | Nganasan            | Selkup            | Kamas             | Mator               | $\bar{\Omega} [\%]$ |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Mari                | 25.5/95.5<br>=.2578 | 24.5/93.5<br>=.2620 | 23.5/93.5<br>=.2513 | 24/93.5<br>=.2567 | 23/88.5<br>=.2598 | 23.5/86.5<br>=.2717 | 26.12               |
| $\bar{\Omega} [\%]$ | 25.78               | 26.20               | 25.13               | 25.67             | 25.98             | 27.17               | 26.12               |

**V. Samoyedic vs. Permic**

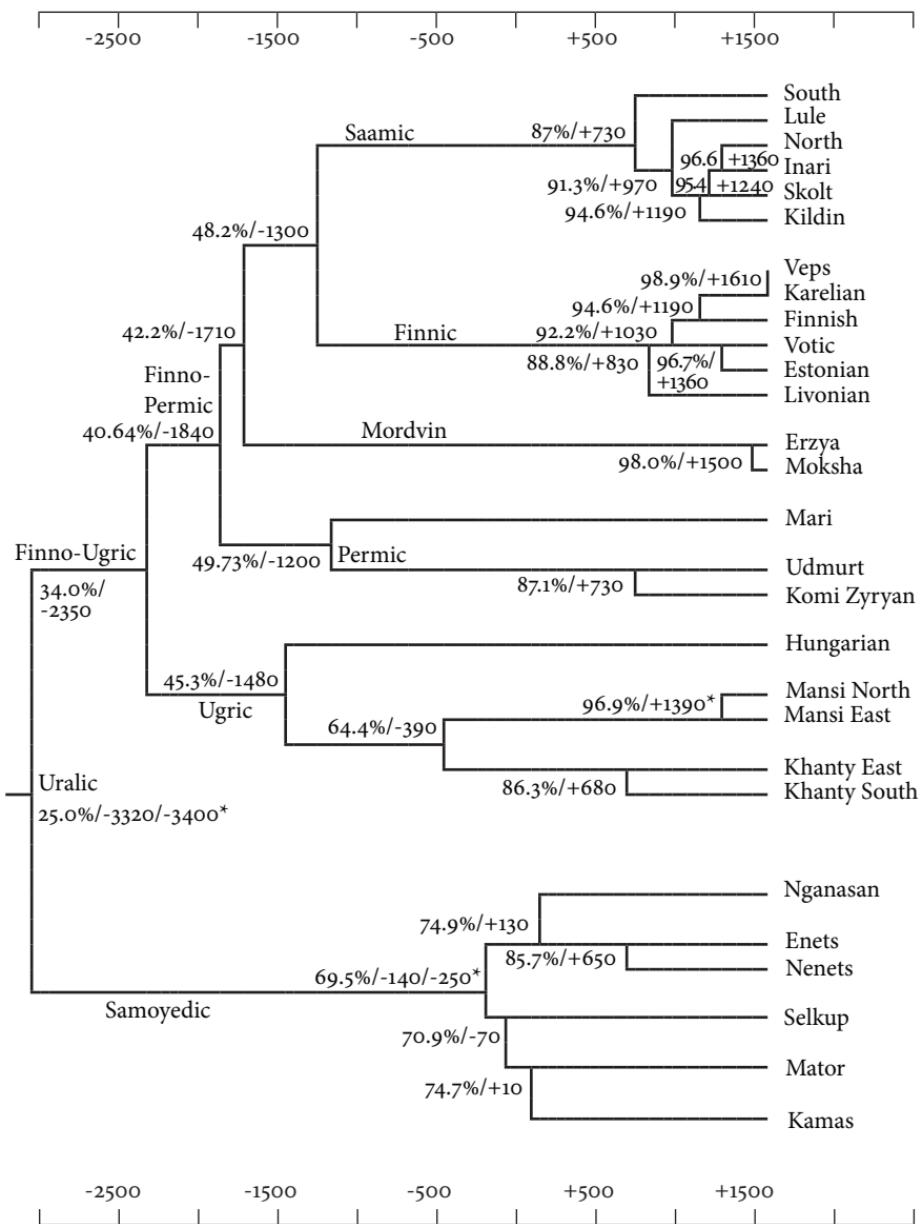
|                     | Nenets             | Enets              | Nganasan           | Selkup             | Kamas              | Mator              | $\bar{\Omega} [\%]$  |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Udmurt              | 25/97 =<br>.2578   | 23/95 =<br>.2316   | 26.5/95<br>=.2789  | 23.5/95<br>=.2474  | 25/89 =<br>.2808   | 24.5/88<br>=.2784  | 26.26                |
| Zyryan              | 26/98<br>=.2693    | 23/96 =<br>.2396   | 25.5/96<br>=.2656  | 24/96<br>=.2500    | 25/96 =<br>.2604   | 24.5/90<br>=.2722  | 26.12                |
| Permiac             | 25/95 =<br>.2632   | 23/93 =<br>.2473   | 24.5/93<br>=.2634  | 21.5/93<br>=.2312  | 24/89<br>=.2696    | 22.5/88<br>=.2557  | 25.46                |
| $\bar{\Omega} [\%]$ | 79.03/3<br>= 26.34 | 71.85/3<br>= 23.95 | 80.79/3<br>= 26.93 | 72.86/3<br>= 24.29 | 81.08/3<br>= 27.02 | 80.63/3<br>= 26.88 | 155.70 /6<br>= 25.95 |

**VI. Samoyedic vs. Ugric**

|                     | Nenets              | Enets               | Nganasan            | Selkup              | Kamas               | Mator               | $\bar{\Omega} [\%]$   |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Hungarian           | 19.5/95<br>=.2053   | 17.5/93<br>=.1882   | 21/93 =<br>.2258    | 20/93<br>=.2151     | 22/88 =<br>.2500    | 20.5/89<br>=.2356   | 22.00                 |
| Mansi N.            | 23.5/99<br>=.2374   | 21/98 =<br>.2143    | 25/98 =<br>.2551    | 23.5/98<br>=.2398   | 22.5/92<br>=.2445   | 24/91 =<br>.2637    | 24.24                 |
| Mansi E.            | 23/100<br>=.2300    | 20.5/98<br>=.2092   | 24/98 =<br>.2449    | 24/98 =<br>.2449    | 22/92 =<br>.2391    | 22.5/91<br>=.2473   | 23.59                 |
| Khanty S.           | 25/99 =<br>.2525    | 21/97 =<br>.2165    | 25/97 =<br>.2577    | 26.5/97<br>=.2732   | 23.5/92<br>=.2554   | 25/90 =<br>.2778    | 25.55                 |
| Khanty E.           | 23/99 =<br>.2323    | 21/97 =<br>.2165    | 24/97 =<br>.2474    | 26/97 =<br>.2680    | 23.5/92<br>=.2554   | 24/90 =<br>.2667    | 24.76                 |
| $\bar{\Omega} [\%]$ | 115.75/5<br>= 23.15 | 104.47/5<br>= 20.89 | 123.09/5<br>= 24.62 | 124.10/5<br>= 24.82 | 124.44/5<br>= 24.88 | 129.11/5<br>= 25.82 | 720.96 /30<br>= 24.03 |

$$\bar{\Omega} \bar{\Omega} [\%] (28.62 + 22.95 + 22.39 + 26.12 + 25.95 + 24.03) / 6 = 150.06 / 6 = 25.01\%$$

**Tree diagram of the disintegration of 28 Uralic languages in the light of absolute chronology**



\* Note: The lexical data of Mordvin and Mansi were collected at the end of the 19th century by Heikki Paasonen and Bernát Munkácsi, respectively, so the calculated dating of disintegration should be postponed *c.* one century in the past. Similarly, the lexical data of Mator are from the 18th century, while the main source of all other Samoyedic wordlists are vocabularies collected by M. A. Castrén in the 1840s, supplemented and sometimes verified by lexicons published in the 20th century. With respect to this fact, the time estimation of the Samoyedic dispersion should be shifted to the 3rd century BCE. The question is how much, if lexemes are collected from both older and younger sources in order to obtain a maximal completeness. Finally, the beginning of disintegration of the Uralic protolanguage should be shifted to *c.* 3400 BCE.

## Wordlists with etymological comments

| <b>gloss</b> | <b>Nenets</b>   | <b>Enets</b>   | <b>Nganasan</b>        | <b>Selkup</b>   | <b>Kamas</b>                               | <b>Mator</b>               | <b>etymology</b>                                      |
|--------------|---|--|------------------------|---|--|----------------------------|---|
| 1a. all      | <i>tuku'</i>  | <i>tuku'</i>   |                        |   |  |                            | * <i>tūt</i> <sub>s-</sub> ~ * <i>tūk-</i><br>(J 168) |
| 1aa.         | <i>tübea</i> <sup>Knd.</sup> ,<br>cf. <i>tjuki-peäj</i> |  |                        |   |  | <i>tupuj</i> <sup>Mt</sup> | * <i>tükpuj</i><br>(H 1069)                           |
| 1b.          | <i>ηokxa</i> <sub>RNS</sub>                             |  |                        |   |  |                            | cf. <i>yokava</i><br>majority                         |
| 1c.          | <i>mal'</i> <sub>RNS</sub>                              |  |                        |   |  |                            | cf. <i>mal</i> end                                    |
| 1d.          |   | <i>kurhari</i> <sub>M</sub>  |                        |   |  |                            | cf. <i>kuraha</i><br><i>wie</i> <sub>pr</sub>         |
| 1e.          |   |  | <i>bansa</i>           |   | ( <i>bussa</i> <sub>D</sub><br>heil, ganz) |                            | U * <i>weńćz</i><br>(R 568)                           |
| 1f.          |   |  |                        | <i>mün-deŋ</i> <sup>B,Tas</sup>   |  |                            |   |
| 1g.          |   |  |                        | <i>sielanj</i> <sup>OO,C</sup>  |  |                            |   |
| 1h.          |   |  |                        | <i>wes</i> <sup>MO,K,NP</sup>   |  |                            | < Ru <i>ves</i>                                       |
| 1i.          |   |  |                        |   | <i>bar = bär</i> <sub>D</sub>              |                            | < Tat <i>bär</i> id.,<br>whole                        |
| 2a.<br>ashes | <i>tuija</i>  |  |                        |   |  |                            | cf. * <i>tui</i> fire<br>(J 166)                      |
| 2ab.         | <i>tunzibea</i><br><i>tu' šibja</i>                     | <i>tu še<sup>B</sup></i><br><i>tūsio<sup>Ch</sup></i><br>(M 205,<br>227) | ( <i>sími</i><br>coal) | <i>šiu<sup>O</sup>,</i><br><i>sīwa<sup>NP</sup></i><br><i>šime</i> <sup>Tas,B</sup> | <i>šūnjo</i><br><i>šymy</i>                | <i>giíma<sup>Kg</sup></i>  | * <i>kimā</i> (J<br>70) =<br>* <i>kime</i> (H<br>487) |
| 2c.          |   |  | <i>jua</i><br>(+ sand) |   |  |                            | * <i>jāč</i> (J 36–<br>37) = #22                      |
| 2cc.         |   | <i>jāra</i>  |                        |   |  |                            | * <i>jāčrā</i> (J 37)<br>- #70                        |

# On the classification of the Samoyedic languages

| <b>gloss</b> | <b>Nenets</b>   | <b>Enets</b>  | <b>Nganasan</b> | <b>Selkup</b>   | <b>Kamas</b>                                | <b>Mator</b>  | <b>etymology</b>   |
|--------------|---|---|-----------------|---|---|---|--|
| 2d.          | ( <i>tab</i> sand)                                    | ( <i>tóbo</i><br>clay =<br><i>tobō</i> <sub>Te</sub><br>sand)             |                 |   |   | <i>tā</i> <sup>Mt</sup><br>( <i>taha</i> <sup>Kg</sup><br>dirt) | * <i>t, ðpð</i> (J 148;<br>H 937)  |
| 2e.          |   |   |                 | <i>pǖs' u</i> <sup>MK</sup> / <sub>DA</sub>              |   |   |  |
| 2f.          |   |   |                 | <i>k²ūñəŋz</i> <sup>MK</sup> / <sub>DA</sub>             |   |   |  |
| 2g.          |   |   |                 | <i>kōra</i> <sup>Tu</sup> / <sub>DA</sub>                 |   |   | cf. #70: sand  |
| 2h.          |   |   |                 | <i>kāntə</i> <sup>Tu</sup> / <sub>DA</sub>                |   |   | < Ket <i>xənti</i>   |
| 2i.          |   |   |                 |   | <i>k'ímε</i> <sub>D</sub>                  |   | cf. Tk <i>kömür</i><br>id.   |
| 3a.<br>bark  | <i>pea hōba</i>                                       |   |                 | <i>pōt kōba-</i> <sub>N,K</sub>                           |   |   | * <i>kopå</i> (J 73)<br>- #75<br>< U * <i>kopa</i><br>(R 180) =<br>* <i>kopå</i> (S <sub>1</sub><br>537)                                     |
| 3b.          | <i>seabt/t'</i>                                       |   |                 |   |   |   |  |
| 3c.          | <i>pir</i>  |   |                 |   | <i>pere</i> <sub>Klaproth</sub>             |   | < U * <i>perz</i><br>(R 374) =<br>* <i>peri</i> (S <sub>1</sub> 539)   |
| 3d.          |   | <i>sésa</i> <sup>Ch</sup><br><i>θeθa</i> <sup>B</sup> / <sub>Gl</sub>     | <i>kasu</i>     | <i>kās</i> <sup>N,P,B,Tas</sup>                           | <i>kaza</i> =<br><i>k'aza-</i> <sub>D</sub> |   | * <i>käśä</i> (J 65)<br>< U<br>* <i>ko(ń)čkz</i><br>(R 179)  |
| 3e.          |   |   |                 |   |   | <i>tebena</i>   | * <i>tâj</i> birch<br>bark<br>(J 145–46) =<br>* <i>tej</i> (H 969)<br>< U * <i>tojz</i> (R<br>528) = * <i>tu/ojɪ</i><br>(S <sub>1</sub> 540) |
| 4a.<br>belly | <i>ńankō</i> <sub>RNS</sub><br>(ńâń<br>Lab-<br>magen) |   |                 | <i>nānž</i> <sup>N</sup><br><i>nānž</i> <sup>B,Tas</sup>  | <i>nâna</i>                                 | <i>aehnde</i> <sup>Mt</sup><br><i>énde</i> <sup>Tg</sup>        | * <i>äncð</i> (J 20) =<br>*(n)äncə<br>(H 73)   |
| 4b.          | <i>my' =<br/>my'(n)</i> <sub>RNS</sub>                | <i>munori</i> <sup>Ch</sup><br><i>munedi</i> <sup>B</sup>                 | <i>minadâ</i>   |   |   |   | * <i>mīn-</i><br>(JN 175)  |
| 4c.          |   | ( <i>fediko</i><br>Fischma-<br>gen)                                       |                 | <i>pärg</i> <sup>N,B</sup><br><i>perge</i> <sup>Tas</sup> |   | <i>herge</i> <sup>Kg</sup><br><i>hérgem</i> <sup>Tg</sup>       | * <i>perkä</i> (J 122;<br>H 284;<br>R 378–79;<br>U * <i>pijra</i> )  |
| 4d.          |   | <i>suse</i> <sup>B</sup><br><i>sude</i> <sup>Ch</sup><br>(+ Inne-<br>res) |                 |   |   |   | cf. 11b<br>U * <i>šíńčä</i><br>(R 480)   |

| <b>gloss</b> | <b>Nenets</b>                                     | <b>Enets</b>  | <b>Nganasan</b>   | <b>Selkup</b>  | <b>Kamas</b>                              | <b>Mator</b>   | <b>etymology</b>  |
|--------------|---|---|---|--|---|--|---|
| 4e.          | <i>t̄w</i> <sub>NRS</sub>                         |   | <i>čajbə<sub>NRN</sub></i><br>( <i>tajbjəjora</i><br>stomach) | (čāt <sup>Tas</sup><br>content of<br>stomach)  | <i>šwiaž</i> <sub>D</sub>                 |  | < U *ćowja /<br>*ćojwa (R 40)   |
| 4f.          |   |   |   | <i>kem-</i><br><i>čə<sup>Tym</sup>/</i> <sub>DA</sub>  |   |  |   |
| 4g.          |   |   |   | <i>simm-</i><br><i>at<sup>Tym</sup>/</i> <sub>DA</sub>   |   |  | < Ru. <i>život</i>  |
| 5a. big      | <i>ŋa/ár(ka)</i>                                  | <i>ařikeo<sup>B</sup></i><br><i>ařikiđu<sup>Ch</sup></i>    |   | <i>warg<sup>N</sup></i> ,<br><i>warga<sup>K,OO,Č</sup></i> ,<br><i>wuerg<sup>Tas</sup></i> ,                           | <i>urgo</i> =<br><i>uryo</i> <sub>D</sub> | <i>orga<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>argō<sup>Tg</sup></i>                                       | *árkå : *árâ<br>greatness<br>(J 19; H 816)  |
| 5b.          |   |   | <i>anie</i>   |  |   |  | < U *enä<br>(R 74–75) :<br>FU *e/inä<br>(S, 541)  |
| 5c.          |   |   | <i>məŋjəðə<sub>NRN</sub></i>                                  |  |   |  |   |
| 6a.<br>bird  | <i>t̄rta</i><br><i>sârmik</i><br>flying<br>animal | <i>sáma</i> <sub>Pallas</sub><br>(= <i>sâme</i><br>wolf)    |   | <i>tildères</i><br>- <i>surêm</i> <sup>B,Tas</sup> ,<br><i>telžer-</i><br><i>hûrup<sup>N</sup></i><br>flying<br>animal |   | ( <i>sarma</i> <sup>Kg</sup><br>Terao<br>Bonasia)  | *sârmå (J<br>136; H 853) <<br>U *śurme<br>(R 490–91)                                      |
| 6b.          |   |   | <i>damady-</i><br><i>tyjríe</i> <sub>Sim</sub>                |  |   |  | (X 132)   |
| 6c.          |   |   | <i>tai'bəə<sub>NRN</sub></i>                                  |  |   |  | cf. <i>tajbu</i> tail   |
| 6d.          |   |   |   |  | <i>kuš</i>                                |  | < Sag <i>kus</i> <<br>Tk *kuš (Rä<br>305)   |
| 6e.          |   |   |   |  |   | <i>morenå<sup>Kg</sup></i>   | (H 692)   |
| 6f.          |   |   |   |  |   | <i>tčindžja-</i><br><i>xa<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>sinschá-</i><br><i>ku<sup>Tg,Kg</sup></i> | *si <sub>i</sub> nsā <sub>j</sub> kkz<br>(H 889; J<br>141) < U c[i]<br>ŋćq(-kz) (R<br>48) |
| 7a.<br>bite  | <i>seakaljåu</i>                                  | <i>sekutuc<sup>B</sup></i><br><i>sekutunja<sup>Ch</sup></i> | <i>sakələ-</i><br><i>sa<sub>NRN</sub></i>                     | <i>sâžam<sup>B,Tas</sup></i><br><i>seačam<sup>OO</sup></i><br><i>hâžap<sup>N</sup></i>                                 |   |  | *säc- (J 136)   |
| 7b.          |   |   |   |  | <i>thalbelim</i>                          |  |   |
| 7c.          |   |   |   |  | <i>lâjleṁ</i> <sub>D</sub>                |  |   |
| 7d.          |   |   |   |  | <i>t'udôlâm</i> <sub>D</sub>              |  | *tət <sub>3</sub> wa-<br>chew (H<br>1039)   |
| 7e.          |   |   |   |  |   | <i>balija-</i><br><i>mō<sup>Mt</sup></i>   | *mâl3- break<br>(J 86; H 97) <<br>U *molz<br>(R 278)                                      |

# On the classification of the Samoyedic languages

| <b>gloss</b>   | <b>Nenets</b>                                     | <b>Enets</b>  | <b>Nganasan</b>                                | <b>Selkup</b>   | <b>Kamas</b>                                 | <b>Mator</b>   | <b>etymology</b>  |
|----------------|---|---|--|---|--|--|---|
| 8a.<br>black   | <i>paridie</i>                                    | <i>forededde<sup>B</sup></i><br><i>fofered-</i><br><i>de<sup>Ch</sup></i> |  |   |  |  | cf. 12a   |
| 8b.            |   | <i>loggedded-</i><br><i>de<sup>Ch</sup></i>                               |  |   |  |  |   |
| 8c.            |   | <i>toggoéd-</i><br><i>de<sup>Ch</sup></i><br>(+ blue)                     |  |   |  |  |   |
| 8d.            |   |   | <i>feanka</i> =<br><i>henjka<sub>NRN</sub></i> |   |  |  |   |
| 8e.            |   |   | <i>tusaj-</i><br><i>kuo<sub>NRN</sub></i>      |   |  |  |   |
| 8f.            |   |   |  | <i>sâga<sup>C</sup></i><br><i>seâga<sup>B,Tas</sup></i> =<br><i>sâq(i)<sup>Tas</sup>/<sub>E</sub></i> | <i>sâgar</i> =<br><i>sâ(yâ)r<sub>D</sub></i> |  | < Tn: Ew<br><i>saha</i> grey,<br><i>sakarin</i> black<br>(DA 2618;<br>TMS II, 56)                           |
| 8g.            |   |   |  | <i>tâtə-</i><br><i>rul<sup>UK</sup>/<sub>DA</sub></i>   |  |  |   |
| 8h.            |   |   |  |   |  | <i>küntühâ<sup>Mt</sup></i>  | *küntâ smoke<br>= #78b (J 79;<br>H 592, 593) <<br>U *küntz<br>(R 158)<br>or *süntz<br>< U *śzntz<br>(H 592) |
| 9a.<br>blood   | <i>hêm,</i><br><i>xeam</i>                        | <i>ki<sup>Ch</sup>, ki<sup>B</sup></i>                                    | <i>kam</i>                                     | <i>kêm<sup>B,Tas</sup></i><br><i>kam<sup>K</sup>,</i><br><i>kap<sup>N</sup></i>                       | <i>khem</i> =<br><i>k'əm/kâm<sub>D</sub></i> | <i>kemə<sup>Mt</sup></i>   | *ke(â)m<br>(J 65)<br>*kem (H 477)   |
| 9b.            | <i>veja<sub>RNS</sub></i>                         | <i>buija<sup>B</sup> (M</i><br>45)  |  |   |  |  | *wejâ < Tn<br>*böjö-kse<br>(AX 109)   |
| 9c.            |   |   |  | <i>deməə<sub>NRN</sub></i>  |  |  |   |
| 10a.<br>bone   | <i>ly, le'</i>                                    | <i>tiri<sup>Ch</sup>, lidt<sup>B</sup></i>                                | <i>latâ</i>                                    | <i>ly<sup>B</sup>, lä<sup>OO</sup>,</i><br><i>li<sup>N</sup></i>                                      | <i>le</i>                                    | <i>le<sup>Mt</sup></i>   | *lē (J 82; H<br>618) < U<br>*luwe<br>(R 254–55) =<br>*lix̩ (S <sub>1</sub> 538)                             |
| 11a.<br>breast | <i>leambara</i>                                   |   |  | <i>(lâmbâr-</i><br><i>la<sub>D</sub></i> lower<br>ribs)   |  |  | *lempârâ<br>(J 82)  |
| 11b.           | ( <i>śünz<sub>NRN</sub></i><br>youngest<br>child) | <i>śudo<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>śuso<sup>B</sup></i>                       | <i>sinśa</i>                                   |   |  | <i>künd-</i><br><i>schu<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>kún-</i><br><i>schum<sup>Tg</sup></i> | *sünsâ (J 144;<br>H 595) < U<br>*śinčä (R 480)<br>= *śünši/ā<br>(S <sub>1</sub> 540); cf.<br>#4d            |

| <b>gloss</b>                    | <b>Nenets</b>           | <b>Enets</b>  | <b>Nganasan</b>  | <b>Selkup</b>  | <b>Kamas</b>  | <b>Mator</b>  | <b>etymology</b>   |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|---|--|--|---|---|--|
| 11c.                            |                         | <i>ui<sup>B</sup>, ū<sup>Ch</sup></i>   |  |  |   |   | : <i>uijado<sup>B</sup>,</i><br><i>ūjaro<sup>Ch</sup></i><br>saugen (M<br>230)                     |
| 11d.                            |                         |   | <i>nimíŋ</i>   |  |   |   | *nímmä milk<br>: *ním- suck<br>(J 110–11) <<br>U *ime<br>(R 82–83) =<br>*imi- (S <sub>1</sub> 536) |
| 11e.                            |                         |   |  | <i>kyl<sup>B</sup>,</i><br><i>kyle<sup>NP</sup></i>                                |   |   | 11f?   |
| 11f.                            |                         |   |  |  | <i>khüjü =</i><br><i>k'uiž<sub>D</sub></i>                                    |   | 11e?   |
| 11g.                            |                         |   |  |  | <i>nuiž<sub>D</sub></i>   |   |  |
| 12a.<br>burn<br>tr.             | <i>parādm</i>           | <i>poraš<sup>K</sup>/<sub>M</sub></i><br><i>poraj<sup>B</sup>/<sub>Te</sub></i><br>( <i>fofará-</i><br><i>bo<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>foradabo<sup>B</sup></i><br>braten) |  | <i>porruaj<sup>NP</sup></i><br><i>porua-</i><br><i>ŋ<sup>C,OO</sup></i>            | <i>(pərə-</i><br>bake<br>{or better<br>to <i>pü-</i><br>ripen })              | <i>korom-</i><br><i>-nam<sup>Mt</sup></i><br>(= x-)       | *p̥rā- (J 114;<br>cf. M 95) < U<br>*pyr <sub>3</sub><br>(R 415)                                    |
| 12b.                            | ( <i>lejo</i><br>flame) | <i>loirebo<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>loireo<sup>B</sup> =</i><br><i>leidede<sub>X</sub></i>  | <i>lonjúdi<sub>X</sub> =</i><br><i>lonjudī<sub>NNN</sub></i> |  |   |   | *lejŋjā-å-<br>(JN 173)   |
| 12c.                            |                         |   |  | <i>čāp(p)-</i><br><i>iqo<sup>Tas</sup>/<sub>E</sub></i>                            |   |   |  |
| 12d.                            |                         |   |  |  | <i>neñilām</i>  |   |  |
| 12e.                            |                         |   |  |  | <i>amōlām<sub>D</sub></i>   |   |  |
| 13a.<br>claw<br>finger-<br>nail | <i>hada</i>             | <i>kora<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>koda<sup>B</sup></i>   | <i>katu</i>  | <i>kate<sup>Tas</sup></i><br><i>kad<sup>N</sup>,</i><br><i>kače<sup>C,OO</sup></i> | <i>kata</i><br><i>kāda<sub>D</sub></i><br>< Tat, Soy<br><i>qadaq</i><br>Nagel | <i>kada-m<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>xáda-da<sup>Kg</sup></i> | *kātā (J 55;<br>H 377;<br>R 157) <<br>U *küńče<br>(R 157) :<br>FU *küńci<br>(S <sub>1</sub> 544)   |
| 13b                             |                         |   |  | <i>küa-</i><br><i>läs<sup>Ty</sup>/<sub>DA</sub></i><br>claw                       |   |   | < Ket <i>qołeś</i>   |
| 14a.<br>cloud                   | <i>tīr, tīr</i>         | <i>tīoh<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>tīori<sup>B</sup></i>  | <i>tīru</i>  | <i>tītē<sup>B,Tas</sup></i><br><i>tī<sup>N,B,Tas</sup></i>                         | <i>tī<sub>Adelung</sub> =</i><br><i>čī<sub>D</sub></i>                        | <i>tī<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>di<sup>Kg</sup></i>          | *tiā (J 162;<br>H 1008)  |
| 14b.                            |                         |   |  | <i>nut mar-</i><br><i>kī<sup>Tas</sup>/<sub>E</sub></i><br>bush of<br>sky          |   |   |  |

# On the classification of the Samoyedic languages

| <b>gloss</b> | <b>Nenets</b>  | <b>Enets</b>  | <b>Nganasan</b> | <b>Selkup</b>  | <b>Kamas</b>                  | <b>Mator</b>  | <b>etymology</b>   |
|--------------|--|---|-----------------|--|-------------------------------|---|--|
| 15a.<br>cold | <i>t̪iti</i> , <i>t̪ici</i> =<br><i>tečda</i> <sub>RNS</sub>     | <i>tet̪i(re)</i> <sup>Ch</sup><br><i>tet̪ide</i> <sup>B</sup>               | <i>tasiti</i>   | <i>täšedal</i> <sup>N</sup><br><i>tassundi-</i><br>MO,K  | <i>šišti</i><br><i>šišigä</i> | <i>tiūchtä</i> <sup>Mt</sup><br><i>dékte</i> <sup>Tg</sup>  | * <i>tet̪sətä/a</i><br>(J 159)<br>* <i>te(w)t̪site</i><br>(H 1089)   |
| 15b.         | <i>japada</i> <sub>RNS</sub>                                     |   |                 |  |                               |   | cf. <i>japa(š)</i> be<br>cold  |
| 15c.         | <i>ŋerm</i> <sub>RNS</sub>                                       |   |                 |  |                               |   | * <i>ɛrmâ</i> north<br>(J 22)  |
| 15d.         |  |   |                 | <i>kail</i> , <i>kael</i> <sup>N</sup><br><i>kânel</i> <sup>B,Tas</sup> =<br><i>qantipil'</i><br>Tas/ <sub>E</sub> |                               |   | cf. * <i>käntä-</i><br>frieren<br>(J 53; H 265)<br>< U * <i>konta</i><br>(R 176-77)  |
| 15e.         |  |   |                 | <i>časiqil'</i><br>Tas/ <sub>E</sub>   |                               |   | cf. <i>čäsj</i> sea  |
| 16a.<br>come | <i>tûryadm</i><br><i>tôdm</i>                                    | <i>toaro</i> <sup>Ch</sup><br><i>toado</i> <sup>B</sup>                     | <i>tûam</i>     | <i>tôak</i> <sup>N</sup> ,<br><i>tûanj</i> <sup>MO</sup>   | <i>šołam</i>                  | <i>(dèlym-)dořg</i><br>come<br>(here)   | * <i>toj-/tuj-</i><br>(J 164)<br>< U * <i>tule</i><br>(R 535) =<br>* <i>toli-</i> (S <sub>1</sub> 540)                       |
| 16b.         | <i>haje(ad)m</i>   |   |                 |  |                               |   |  |
| 16c.         |  |   |                 |  | <i>kandagam</i>               |   | * <i>käntä- :</i><br>* <i>kân-</i> (J 59)<br>< U * <i>kanta</i><br>(R 124) =<br>* <i>kâni-</i> carry<br>(S <sub>1</sub> 538) |
| 16d.         |  |   |                 |  | <i>šônagam</i>                |   |  |
| 16e.         |  |   |                 |  | <i>moläm</i> <sub>D</sub>     |   |  |
| 17a.<br>die  | <i>hâdm</i>  | <i>kâro</i> <sup>Ch</sup><br><i>kâdo</i> <sup>B</sup>                       | <i>kû'am</i>    | <i>kuak</i> <sup>N</sup><br>●<br><i>kunyaj</i> <sup>B,Tas</sup>  | <i>khiūläm</i>                | <i>chaàsiga-</i><br><i>anti</i> <sup>Kg</sup><br><i>ki-myndži</i><br><i>-gulja-</i><br><i>mr̪</i> <sup>Mt</sup> | * <i>kâž-</i><br>(J 56-57;<br>H 367) < U<br>* <i>kôla</i> (R 173)<br>= * <i>kâxli-</i><br>(S <sub>1</sub> 538)               |
| 17b.         |  |   |                 | <i>üre-</i> <sup>Ty</sup> / <sub>DA</sub>  | <i>örerläm</i>                |   | < Tk: Kyzyl<br>öläär- (Jo 252)   |
| 18a.<br>dog  | <i>wueno</i>   | <i>bû'</i> ,<br>g. <i>buno</i> <sup>Ch</sup><br><i>bunneke</i> <sup>B</sup> | <i>bâŋ</i>      | <i>kanak</i> <sup>B,Tas</sup><br><i>kännay</i> <sup>MP</sup>   | <i>men</i>                    | <i>bön</i> <sup>Mt,Kg</sup><br><i>bun</i> <sup>Tg</sup>   | * <i>wen</i> (J 173;<br>H 117)   |
| 18b.         | <i>jandu/o</i><br>d. with<br>short<br>hair &<br>standing<br>ears |   |                 |  |                               |   | cf. Tn * <i>jan-</i><br><i>daku</i><br>raccoon dog,<br>wolverine   |

| <b>gloss</b>  | <b>Nenets</b>                | <b>Enets</b>  | <b>Nganasan</b>              | <b>Selkup</b>  | <b>Kamas</b>   | <b>Mator</b>   | <b>etymology</b>  |
|---------------|------------------------------|---|------------------------------|--|--|--|---|
| 19a.<br>drink | <i>jideryâdm</i>             | <i>biribo<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>bidibo<sup>B</sup></i> | <i>bede'äm</i>               | <i>ütam<sup>B</sup></i><br><i>üternan<sup>Tas</sup></i>  | <i>bitläm</i>  |  | * <i>witā-</i> ~<br>* <i>witj-</i> :<br>* <i>wit</i> water<br>(J 176)                                       |
| 19b.          | <i>jâbiedm</i>               |   |                              |  |  |  |   |
| 19c.          | <i>ŋerpa(š)</i><br>RNS       | <i>ihrus<sup>K</sup>/<sub>M</sub></i>                   |                              | <i>îra<sup>Kef/</sup><sub>D</sub></i>  |  | <i>örsu<sup>Mt,Kg,Tg</sup></i><br><i>urnjam<sup>ö</sup><sub>Mt</sub></i> | * <i>er-</i> (J 21–22;<br>H 249) <<br>U * <i>ürz</i> (R 85)   |
| 20a.<br>dry   | <i>hâsui</i>                 | <i>kasua<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>kasue<sup>B</sup></i>   | <i>kośua</i>                 | <i>(kuuska<sup>K</sup></i><br>seicht)  | <i>(kôlam =<br/>ko'-<sub>D</sub> to dry<br/>up<br/>{if it be-<br/>longs here})</i> |  | * <i>kås(â)-</i> vb. (J<br>60–61) <<br>U * <i>koški-</i><br>(S <sub>1</sub> 537)                            |
| 20b.          | <i>tyrabej<sub>RNS</sub></i> |   |                              | <i>tjrawal<sup>Ty</sup>/<sub>DA</sub></i>  |  | <i>(tyry<sup>Mt</sup></i><br>hard)                                       | cf. <i>tyra(č)</i> to<br>dry < * <i>tjirā</i><br>id.<br>(J 160;<br>H 1028) <<br>U * <i>sorwa</i><br>(R 502) |
| 20c.          |                              |   |                              | <i>čegemba-</i><br>Tas,B<br><i>tekipij<sup>Tas/</sup><sub>E</sub></i>                          |  |  |   |
| 20d.          |                              |   |                              |  | <i>kumay</i>   |  |   |
| 20e.          |                              |   |                              |  | <i>ararbi<sub>D</sub></i><br>(+ mager)   |  | < Tk: cf.<br>Chag <i>aruk</i><br>mager<br>(Rä 22)   |
| 20f.          |                              |   |                              |  |  | <i>kálu<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>kalex<sup>Tg</sup></i>                    | < Chag <i>qaqlıq</i><br>dryness or<br>Ket <i>kuolenj</i><br>(H 462)   |
| 21a.<br>ear   | <i>hâ</i>                    | <i>kû<sup>Ch</sup>, kô<sup>B</sup></i>                  | <i>kou</i>                   | <i>kô<sup>N</sup>, kû<sup>B</sup></i><br>= <i>kô</i> ,<br><i>qo<sup>Tas/</sup><sub>E</sub></i> | <i>ku = k'û<sub>D</sub></i>  | <i>gu(k)<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>ku-kda<sup>Mt</sup></i>                  | * <i>kâw</i> (J 62;<br>H 569) <<br>U * <i>kâwi</i><br>(JJ 253) =<br>* <i>kâwi</i><br>(S <sub>1</sub> 538)   |
| 21b.          |                              |   |                              | <i>üñulsan =</i><br><i>üñkilisa-</i><br><i>t<sup>Tas/</sup><sub>E</sub></i>                    |  |  | cf. <i>üñkiti-</i><br>listen<br><i>üntjči-qo</i><br>hear  |
| 22a.<br>earth | <i>ja, jea</i>               | <i>dâ<sup>B</sup>, ja<sup>Ch</sup></i>                  | <i>(jua sand,<br/>ashes)</i> | <i>ču<sup>N</sup>,</i><br><i>tu<sup>K,MO,</sup></i>  | <i>tu = d'u<sub>D</sub></i>  | <i>dsha/</i><br><i>tčja<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>dscha<sup>Tg</sup></i>    | * <i>jâð</i> (J 36–37;<br>H 160)  |
| 22b.          |                              |   | <i>mou</i><br><i>mamaru</i>  | <i>(mači</i><br>forest,<br>tundra)   | <i>(mija</i><br>mountain)  | <i>(bijâ<sup>Mt</sup></i><br>mountain)                                   | * <i>mâjâ</i> (J 85);<br>cf. #55g;<br>A <sub>1</sub> 22–23;<br>U * <i>muðâ</i>                              |

# On the classification of the Samoyedic languages

| <b>gloss</b>   | <b>Nenets</b>   | <b>Enets</b>  | <b>Nganasan</b>  | <b>Selkup</b>  | <b>Kamas</b>                                       | <b>Mator</b>   | <b>etymology</b>  |
|----------------|---|---|--|--|--|--|---|
| 23a.<br>eat    | <i>ŋamau</i>  | <i>omabo</i> <sup>Ch</sup><br><i>oma</i> <sup>B</sup> / <sub>Te</sub> | <i>ŋamu'ama</i>  | <i>amnak</i> <sup>K</sup><br><i>amarna-</i><br><i>ŋ</i> <sub>Tas,B</sub>                   | <i>amńam</i>                                       | <i>amlamo</i> <sup>Kb</sup>  | * <i>âm-</i> (J 15;<br>H 807)   |
| 23b.           |   |   |  |  | <i>teld'lem</i> <sub>D</sub><br>(+ satt<br>werden) |  | < Sag <i>čeldä</i><br>be pregnant   |
| 23c.           |   |   |  |  |  | <i>hörgu-</i><br><i>ma</i> <sup>Mt</sup>                                 | * <i>por-</i> (J 127;<br>H 316) <<br>U * <i>pure-</i><br>(R 405–06)   |
| 24a.<br>egg    |   | <i>mona</i>   | <i>mánu</i>  |  | <i>münü'</i> =<br><i>munoi</i> <sub>D</sub>        | <i>muny</i> <sup>Kb</sup>  | * <i>mânâ</i> (J 86)<br>< U * <i>muna</i><br>(R 285) =<br>* <i>mundâ</i><br>(S, 538)  |
| 24b.           | <i>sârau</i> =<br><i>sar'ňu</i> <sub>RNS</sub>            |   |  |  |  |  |   |
| 24c.           |   |   |  | <i>ńâbi</i> <sup>N</sup> ,<br><i>ńâpi</i> <sup>K</sup>                                     |  |  | = <i>nâp-i</i><br>duckling<br>(DA 1630)   |
| 24d.           |   |   |  | <i>kegar</i> <sup>MO</sup>   |  |  | < Tk: Tatar<br><i>kükj</i><br>(DA 2123)   |
| 24e.           |   |   |  | <i>eän</i> <sup>B</sup> , <i>en</i> <sup>Tas</sup>   |  |  | cf. Ket <i>ɛj</i> , pl.<br><i>ēŋ</i> id.  |
| 24f.           |   |   |  |  |  | <i>schlui</i> <sup>Mt,Tg</sup><br><i>schilui</i> <sup>Kg</sup>           | < Kott <i>šulei</i><br>egg<br>(H 883)   |
| 25a.<br>eye    | <i>saeu</i> ,<br><i>haem</i> <sup>Knd</sup>               | <i>sei</i>  | <i>śaime</i>   | <i>sai</i> <sup>Tas,B,K</sup> ,<br><i>hai</i> <sup>N</sup> ,<br><i>saiji</i> <sup>NP</sup> | <i>sima</i>  | <i>schíme</i> <sup>Mt</sup><br><i>schí-</i><br><i>medä</i> <sup>Tg</sup> | * <i>sâjmâ</i> (J<br>132; H 886) <<br>U * <i>śilmä</i><br>(R 479; S,<br>540)  |
| 26a.<br>fat n. | <i>jur</i>  | <i>jū</i> <sup>B</sup> ,<br>g. <i>juro'</i>                           | <i>jir</i> =<br><i>dîr</i> <sub>NNR</sub>                        | <i>ür</i> , <i>ör</i> <sup>N,B,Tas</sup>   | <i>dur'</i> <sub>D</sub>                           | <i>džjurb</i> <sup>Mt</sup>  | * <i>jür</i> (J 50;<br>H 239)<br>< Tk * <i>ür</i><br>(AX 72)  |
| 26b.           |   | <i>jū'/jō</i> <sup>Ch</sup> , g.<br><i>jūso'/jūso'</i> <sup>B</sup>   |  | <i>čos</i> <sup>Tas</sup> / <sub>E</sub>   |  |  | * <i>jojs</i> (J 46)  |
| 26c.           |   | ( <i>séla</i><br>dissolved<br>fat)                                    |  | ( <i>siileng</i><br>adj.)  | <i>sil</i> = <i>śiπ</i> <sub>D</sub>               | <i>sylb</i> <sup>Kb</sup>  | * <i>selâ</i> ~ * <i>śilâ</i><br>(J 140) <<br>U * <i>śilä</i><br>(R 478)  |
| 26d.           | <i>tut</i> <sup>Njalina</sup> / <sub>Le</sub><br>(+ Talg) | ( <i>tudute</i> <sup>B</sup><br><i>turute</i> <sup>Ch</sup><br>adj.)  | <i>čü</i> " <sub>NNR</sub><br>( <i>tu?</i><br>Renntier-<br>talг) |  |  | <i>tun</i> <sup>Mt,Tg</sup><br><i>tutt</i> <sup>Kg</sup>                 | * <i>t<sub>1</sub>ujt<sub>1</sub></i> (J 166)<br>= * <i>t<sub>1</sub>ut<sub>1</sub></i><br>(H 1106) <<br>U * <i>sytz</i><br>(R 453) |

| <b>gloss</b>    | <b>Nenets</b>                        | <b>Enets</b>  | <b>Nganasan</b>   | <b>Selkup</b>   | <b>Kamas</b>  | <b>Mator</b>  | <b>etymology</b>   |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|--|
| 27a.<br>feather | <i>tu, to</i>                        | ( <i>tua</i> wing)  | <i>túe</i> <sub>Miller</sub><br>( <i>tú(a)</i><br>wing) | <i>tu<sup>N</sup>, tû<sup>B,Tas</sup></i>   |   | <i>tu<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>tóga<sup>Kg</sup></i>  | * <i>tuðj</i> (J 166)<br>or * <i>tua</i><br>(H 1070) <<br>U * <i>tulka</i><br>(R 535) =<br>* <i>tuxli-</i> (S <sub>1</sub><br>540) |
| 27b.            |                                      | <i>tábu<sup>Ch</sup></i>                                  |   |   |   |   | (M 209)  |
| 27c.            | ( <i>tar</i> hair)                   | ( <i>tô<sup>Ch</sup>, g-</i><br><i>tôro'</i> )            | <i>tar'</i><br>(+hair)                                  | <i>tar<sub>Pr</sub></i>   | <i>ther</i><br>(+hair) =<br><i>t'är<sub>D</sub></i> | ( <i>terr<sup>Tg</sup></i><br>hair)   | * <i>târ</i> (J 149:<br>hair) <<br>Mo <i>tar</i> , see<br>#36b   |
| 27d.            |                                      |   | <i>deftuńén-</i><br><i>sa<sub>KS</sub></i>              |   |   |   |  |
| 28a.<br>fire    | <i>tu</i>                            | <i>tû<sup>Ch</sup>, tu<sup>B</sup></i>                    | <i>tui</i>  | <i>tü<sup>N</sup>, tü<sup>OO,C</sup></i>  | <i>šüü = šu<sub>D</sub></i>                         | <i>tui<sup>Mt</sup>, tui<sup>Kg</sup></i>   | * <i>tuj</i> (J 166) <<br>U * <i>tule</i><br>(R 535) =<br>* <i>tuli</i> (S <sub>1</sub> 540)                                       |
| 29a.<br>fish    | <i>hâlea</i>                         | <i>kaŕe<sup>Ch</sup>,</i><br><i>kare<sup>B</sup></i>      | <i>kole</i>   | <i>kue<sup>N,B</sup></i><br><i>kuele<sup>Tas,NP</sup></i>   | <i>kola</i>   | <i>challä<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>kale<sup>Kg</sup></i>  | * <i>kâlâ</i> (J 59) <<br>U * <i>kala</i><br>(R 119) =<br>* <i>kâlâ</i> (S <sub>1</sub> 538)                                       |
| 30a.<br>fly v.  | <i>t/tîryadm</i>                     | <i>tînyaro<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>tînyedo<sup>B</sup></i> | <i>taérim</i>   | <i>tîmbak<sup>N</sup></i><br><i>tîmbanj-</i><br>K, Tas, B<br><i>tilžernan-</i><br><i>ŋy<sup>B,Tas</sup></i>                                       |   | <i>dijamz<sup>Mt</sup></i>  | * <i>ti(j)-</i> (J 161;<br>H 1009; DA<br>965)  |
| 30b.            |                                      |   |   | <i>wašejak<sup>N</sup></i><br><i>wašetenja-</i><br><i>ŋy<sup>Tas</sup></i><br>= <i>węsiqo-</i><br>Tas / E<br>(+ au-<br>fheben,<br>aufste-<br>hen) |   |   |  |
| 30c.            |                                      |   |   |   | <i>nergülläm</i>                                    |   |  |
| 31a.<br>foot    | <i>ŋae</i>                           | <i>ŋâ<sup>Ch</sup>, ŋô<sup>B</sup></i>                    | <i>ŋoai</i>   |   | <i>üjü, ujü =</i><br><i>uŋuu, uŋuu<sub>D</sub></i>  | pl.<br><i>áschta<sup>Mt</sup></i><br>cf. <i>hot<sup>Mt</sup></i><br>knee<br>< * <i>hoŋ-oj</i> | * <i>â(ð)j</i> (J 17;<br>H 9, 315)   |
| 31b.            | ( <i>toba<sub>NRN</sub></i><br>hoof) |   |   | <i>tob<sup>N</sup>,</i><br><i>tope<sup>Tas</sup></i><br>= <i>top<sup>Tas</sup> / E</i>  |   |   | * <i>topå</i> (J 166)  |
| 31c.            |                                      |   |   |   | <i>uŋuu<sup>D</sup></i>                             |   | < Buryat <i>ula</i><br>Sohle   |

# On the classification of the Samoyedic languages

| <b>gloss</b> | <b>Nenets</b>                               | <b>Enets</b>  | <b>Nganasan</b>   | <b>Selkup</b>  | <b>Kamas</b>                   | <b>Mator</b>                               | <b>etymology</b>  |
|--------------|---|---|---|--|--------------------------------|--|---|
| 32a.<br>full | <i>pânta,</i><br><i>pâny</i> <sup>Kan</sup> | <i>faddia'</i> ,<br><i>faddite</i> <sup>B</sup>                           |   |  |                                |  |   |
| 32b.         |   |   | <i>minty-</i><br><i>tia</i> =<br><i>mün-</i><br><i>tütüo</i> <sub>NRN</sub> |  |                                |  |   |
| 32c.         |   |   | <i>dərəgəə-</i><br>NRN  |  |                                |  |   |
| 32d.         |   |   | <i>dülsio</i> <sub>NRN</sub>  |  |                                |  |   |
| 32e.         |   |   |   | <i>tir(mbi-</i><br><i>dai)</i> <sup>NP</sup><br><i>tîrbedi-</i><br>K,C,OO<br>= <i>tirj</i> <sup>Tas</sup> / <sub>E</sub> |                                |  | * <i>tirâ</i> ~ * <i>terâ</i><br>(J 158) cf. FU<br>* <i>täwðe</i> full<br>(R 518; A <sub>1</sub><br>31)             |
| 32f.         |   |   |   | <i>sérbadie</i> <sup>K</sup><br><i>sierbadi</i> <sup>C</sup>   |                                |  |   |
| 32g.         |   |   |   |  | <i>albei</i>                   |  |   |
| 32h.         |   |   |   |  |                                | * <i>mool-</i><br><i>dže</i> <sup>Mt</sup> | (H 687:<br><i>ama-mooldže</i><br>empty : <i>ama-</i><br><i>non</i> -)   |
| 33a.<br>give | <i>mi' idm</i>                              | <i>mi' ebo</i> <sup>Ch</sup><br><i>mi' a</i> <sup>B</sup> / <sub>Gl</sub> | <i>miji' ema</i>  | <i>meap</i> <sup>N</sup><br><i>migam</i> <sup>OO</sup><br><i>miłam</i> <sup>Tas</sup>                                    | <i>miläm</i>                   | <i>mijam</i> <sup>Ø</sup> <sup>Mt</sup>    | * <i>mi-</i> (J 94;<br>H 305)<br>< U * <i>miyɜ</i><br>(R 275) =<br>* <i>mexi-</i><br>(S <sub>1</sub> 538)           |
| 33b.         | <i>taś</i> <sub>RNS</sub>                   | <i>terabo</i> <sup>Ch</sup><br><i>tedabo</i> <sup>B</sup>                 | <i>tada'ama</i>   | ( <i>tăda-</i> <sup>N</sup><br>carry,<br>bring)  | <i>d/teθl'lem</i> <sub>D</sub> |  | * <i>tâ-</i> (J 145;<br>H 930) <<br>U * <i>toye</i><br>(R 529) : FU<br>* <i>toxi-</i> bring<br>(S <sub>1</sub> 550) |
| 34a.<br>good | <i>sa(u)wa</i>                              | <i>sowa</i> ,<br><i>soera</i> <sup>Ch</sup><br><i>soeda</i> <sup>B</sup>  |   | <i>hwa</i> <sup>N</sup> ,<br><i>suo</i> <sup>OO</sup><br><i>soma</i> <sup>B,Tas</sup>                                    |                                |  | * <i>sâmâ</i><br>(J 132); cf. Fi<br><i>soma</i> pretty,<br>cute, sweet <<br>U * <i>sôma</i><br>(AX 127–28)          |
| 34b.         |   | <i>fohadde</i>  |   |  |                                |  |   |
| 34c.         |   |   | <i>ərəkərə</i> <sub>NRN</sub>   |  |                                |  |   |
| 34d.         |   |   | <i>ńeimi</i> <sub>NRN</sub>   |  |                                |  |   |
| 34e.         |   |   | <i>ŋana</i> " <i>sa-</i><br><i>nəðura</i> <sub>NRN</sub>                    |  |                                |  |   |
| 34f.         |   |   | <i>ńágâ</i>   |  |                                |  | < Tn * <i>ńaKa</i><br>well<br>(AX 145)  |

| <b>gloss</b>  | <b>Nenets</b>   | <b>Enets</b>  | <b>Nganasan</b>                            | <b>Selkup</b>  | <b>Kamas</b>  | <b>Mator</b>   | <b>etymology</b>  |
|---------------|---|---|--|--|---|--|---|
| 34g.          |   |   |  |  | <i>taxše</i> =<br><i>jaxš̩̄</i>                     |  | < Tat <i>jaqšy</i> ,<br><i>jaxšy</i>  |
| 34h.          |   |   |  |  | <i>kuβās</i><br>(+ nice)                            |  | < Tk: Brb<br><i>kuas</i> charming,<br>Sag <i>kōs</i> nice (Rä 295;<br>Jo 214)   |
| 34i.          |   |   |  |  | <i>ne'Də̄</i><br>(+ hard,<br>strong)                |  |   |
| 34j.          |   |   |  |  |   | <i>ini</i> <sup>Mt</sup>                                 | * <i>enaj</i> (J 23;<br>H 346)  |
| 35a.<br>green | <i>jilibaɪ̄</i> <sup>Knd</sup>                              |   |  |  |   |  | cf. <i>jile(s)</i> to<br>live < * <i>(j)ilä-</i><br>(J 27; H 253)<br>< U * <i>elä-</i><br>(R 73)  |
| 35b.          |   | <i>poðera-</i><br><i>ha<sup>Ch/</sup><sub>X</sub></i><br><i>:fóde'</i> gall |  | <i>pate<sup>I<sub>B</sub>,Tas</sup></i><br><i>pačel<sup>C,OO</sup></i> |   |  | cf. * <i>pätä</i> gall<br>(J 115; H 273)<br>< U * <i>piša</i><br>(R 384); see<br>also #100  |
| 35c.          |   |   | <i>ínotərə-</i><br><i>ku<sub>NRN</sub></i> |  |   |  | cf. <i>ńota</i> grass<br>< * <i>ńacâ</i> <<br>U * <i>ńac̩z</i><br>(R 311)   |
| 35d.          |   |   |  | <i>noräl'</i><br>(+blue)   |   |  | DA 1407   |
| 35e.          |   |   |  |  | <i>segi</i>   |  | D: yellow; cf.<br>Soy, Sag <i>sigän</i><br>grass  |
| 35f.          |   |   |  |  | <i>k'uk̩̄</i> ,<br><i>k'æk̩̄</i><br>(+ blue)        |  | < Tat <i>kök</i> id.  |
| 35g.          |   |   |  |  |   | <i>déngöhö</i> <sup>Kg</sup>                             | * <i>t,əŋk<sub>3</sub></i> blue<br>(H 989)  |
| 36a.<br>hair  | <i>üöbta,</i><br><i>ēäbt</i><br>= <i>ŋebt<sub>RNS</sub></i> | <i>ito</i>  | <i>ŋåbta</i>                               | <i>opt<sup>N</sup>,</i><br><i>opte<sup>Tas</sup></i>                   | <i>äbde</i> =<br><i>e'BDi<sub>D</sub></i>           | <i>ípte</i> <sup>Mt</sup><br><i>öbdetä</i> <sup>Tg</sup> | * <i>eptâ</i> (J 21;<br>H 246)<br>< U * <i>apte</i><br>(R 14–15) =<br>* <i>ipti</i> (S <sub>1</sub> 536)  |
| 36b.          | <i>tar</i>  | <i>to<sup>B</sup>, tō<sup>Ch</sup>,</i><br>g. <i>tořo'</i>                  | <i>tar'</i> (+fea-<br>ther)                | <i>(tar<sup>Tas/E</sup></i><br>+feather,<br>wool)                      | <i>ther</i> = <i>t'är<sub>D</sub></i><br>(+feather) | <i>terr</i> <sup>Tg, Mt</sup>                            | * <i>târ</i> (J 149; H<br>991), < Mo <i>tar</i><br>(tip of) hair<br>(R 886 rejects<br>relation to Ug<br>* <i>säγ(3)r<sub>3</sub></i> or<br>Mari <i>śar</i> , cf.<br>#27 |

# On the classification of the Samoyedic languages

| <b>gloss</b>  | <b>Nenets</b>                 | <b>Enets</b>   | <b>Nganasan</b>                | <b>Selkup</b>  | <b>Kamas</b>               | <b>Mator</b>   | <b>etymology</b>   |
|---------------|-------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|--|----------------------------|--|--|
| 36c.          |                               |  |                                | <i>tuja<sup>K</sup>,</i><br><i>tuija<sup>NP</sup></i>  |                            |  |  |
| 36d.          |                               |  |                                | <i>kâž</i>   |                            |  |  |
| 37e.          |                               |  |                                | <i>neŋər<sup>Ty</sup>/<sub>D<sub>A</sub></sub></i>   |                            |  |  |
| 37a.<br>hand  | <i>ŋuda</i>                   | <i>ura<sup>Ch</sup>,</i><br><i>uda<sup>B</sup></i>                   | <i>jutu</i>                    | <i>ud<sup>N</sup>, ut<sup>B,Tas</sup></i>  | <i>uda</i>                 | <i>uda-mv<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>uda-da<sup>Kg</sup></i> | * <i>utå</i> (J 30) =<br>* <i>uta</i> (H<br>1109)  |
| 38a.<br>head  | <i>ŋaewa</i>                  | <i>aburí<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>eba<sup>B</sup></i>                  | <i>ŋaiwua</i><br><i>ŋaewua</i> |  |                            | <i>áiba<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>aiba-da<sup>Kg</sup></i>  | * <i>âjwâ</i> (J 17)<br>= * <i>âjwa</i> (H<br>12) <<br>U * <i>ojwa</i><br>(R 336) =<br>* <i>ojwâ</i> (S <sub>1</sub><br>536)             |
| 38b.          |                               | ( <i>ori<sup>Ch</sup>,</i><br><i>ori<sup>B</sup></i> top,<br>height) |                                | <i>ol<sup>K</sup>, ul<sup>B</sup></i>  | <i>ulu</i>                 |  | * <i>olâ</i> (J 29)<br>cf. FU * <i>alka</i><br>end,<br>beginning<br>(R 6-7)  |
| 39a.<br>hear  | <i>jindile-</i><br><i>adm</i> | <i>udeđiro<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>juseredo<sup>B</sup></i>           | <i>jindi'ema</i>               | <i>ündežap<sup>N</sup></i><br><i>ünde-</i><br><i>tam<sup>B,Tas</sup></i><br>= <i>üntj-</i><br><i>čiqo<sup>Tas</sup>/<sub>E</sub></i> | <i>nünüläm</i>             | <i>njumda-</i><br><i>mv<sup>Mt</sup></i>                 | * <i>jüntâ-</i><br>(J 49) =<br>* <i>jünti-</i><br>(H 787)  |
| 39b.          | <i>namdåu</i>                 | <i>nodado<sup>B</sup></i>  |                                |  |                            |  |  |
| 40a.<br>heart | <i>seai, siei</i>             | <i>seo<sup>Ch</sup>,</i><br><i>seijo<sup>B</sup></i>                 | <i>sa, soa</i>                 | <i>sīd<sup>Ty</sup>/<sub>D</sub></i>   | <i>sî = sī<sub>D</sub></i> | <i>kei-mv<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>kéi-m<sup>Tg</sup></i>  | * <i>sejâ</i> (J 139;<br>H 455) <<br>U * <i>šüδä(-mz)</i><br>(R 477) :<br>FU * <i>šüdämi</i> /<br>* <i>šedmi</i><br>(S <sub>1</sub> 549) |
| 40b.          |                               | <i>tājda<sup>K</sup>/<sub>P<sub>u</sub></sub></i>                    |                                |  |                            |  | (M 212)  |
| 41a.<br>horn  | <i>ńâmd</i>                   | <i>eddo<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>naddo<sup>B</sup></i>                 | <i>ŋamta</i>                   | <i>âmd<sup>N</sup>,</i><br><i>âmde<sup>B,Tas</sup></i>   | <i>amnu</i>                | <i>amde<sup>Mt</sup></i>                                 | * <i>ämtâ</i> (J 20;<br>H 66) <<br>U * <i>ayt<sub>3</sub></i> /* <i>onyt<sub>3</sub></i><br>(R 12-13)                                    |
| 41b.          |                               |  |                                |  | <i>muukur<sub>D</sub></i>  |  | < Tat <i>mügüz</i> ,<br>Chuv<br><i>mâiraga</i>   |
| 42a. I        | <i>mań</i>                    | <i>modî</i>  | <i>mannay</i>                  | <i>man/t</i>   | <i>man</i>                 | <i>manv<sup>Mt</sup></i>                                 | * <i>mân</i> (J 86;<br>H 627)<br>< U * <i>mun</i><br>(R 294)   |

| <b>gloss</b> | <b>Nenets</b>                                     | <b>Enets</b>  | <b>Nganasan</b>                           | <b>Selkup</b>  | <b>Kamas</b>                                       | <b>Mator</b>   | <b>etymology</b>   |
|--------------|---|---|---|--|--|--|--|
| 43a.<br>kill | <i>hâdau</i>                                      | <i>karabo<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>kadobo<sup>B</sup></i>   | <i>kuada'a-</i><br><i>ma</i>              | <i>kuatpam<sup>N</sup></i><br><i>kuetpam-</i><br>B,Tas<br>= <i>qet-</i><br><i>qo<sup>Tas/E</sup></i> | <i>kutlîm</i>                                      | <i>kadjam<sup>Mt</sup></i>   | *kât(â)-<<br>*kâð-tâ- = caus.<br>of *kâð die<br>(J 57;<br>H 367) <<br>U *kola-<br>(R 173)  |
| 44a.<br>knee | <i>pûly, pûle</i>                                 | <i>fuase<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>fosê<sup>B</sup></i>      | <i>fuagai</i>                             | <i>pulsaf<sup>K</sup></i><br><i>pûla</i><br><i>saiji<sup>NP</sup></i><br><i>pûle<sup>B,Tas</sup></i> |  | <i>hulu<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>hulu-da<sup>Tg</sup></i><br>(written<br>in cyrillic<br>with z-) | *puðj- +<br>*sâjma eye or<br>+ *lë bone<br>(J 130;<br>H 323) <<br>U *polwe<br>(R 393) =<br>*po/uxli<br>(S, 539)                              |
| 44b.         |   |   |   |  | <i>sini</i> =<br><i>sîni, sêni-</i> <sub>D</sub>   | ( <i>schünä</i><br>penis; H<br>920)  | cf. Ugr *śänč<br>id.<br>(R 471)  |
| 44c.         |   |   |   |  |  | <i>usjundy<sup>Kg</sup></i><br>( <i>yzýn<sup>ð</sup><sup>Mt</sup></i><br>shoulder)             | *esâjn <sub>2</sub> limb,<br>joint (J 22) =<br>*esoń/n <sub>2</sub><br>(H 250);<br>R 95 rejects<br>any connec-<br>tion with<br>FU *jäsne id. |
| 45a.<br>know | <i>t'êneu</i>                                     | <i>teńibo<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>tenneo<sup>B</sup></i>   | <i>tanneje-</i><br><i>ama</i>             | <i>tönemam<sup>B</sup></i><br><i>tene-</i><br><i>mam<sup>Tas</sup></i>                               | (the-<br>nömäm<br>think)                           | <i>tenym-ga-</i><br><i>m<sup>ð</sup><sup>Mt</sup></i>  | *tenä(mä)-<br>(J 157;<br>H 981)  |
| 45b.         |   |   |   |  | <i>thünnäm</i><br>=<br><i>t'ənnem</i> <sub>D</sub> | ( <i>tumdu-</i><br><i>džugura-</i><br><i>m<sup>ð</sup></i><br>bemerke)                         | *t <sub>i</sub> umt <sub>i</sub> ð-<br>(J 167) <<br>U *tumte-<br>(R 536) =<br>*tumti-<br>(S, 541)  |
| 46a.<br>leaf | <i>wuebba</i>                                     | <i>déve<sub>P</sub></i>                                   |   | <i>čâb<sup>N</sup>,</i><br><i>tâb<sup>B,Tas</sup></i>  | <i>tawa</i> =<br><i>t/ðaba</i> <sub>D</sub>        |  | *jäpä (J 41);<br>cf. Yen *jäpe<br>id. (St 200;<br>Jo 116)  |
| 46b.         | ( <i>ŋamde<sup>g</sup><sub>Le</sub></i><br>grass) | <i>oddi'</i> ; g.<br>-ro <sup>Ch</sup> , -do <sup>B</sup> | ( <i>ŋamti'</i><br>willow<br>leaf)        |  |  |  | *əmt <sup>g</sup> < Tn<br>*xabda-nsa<br>(AX 100-01)  |
| 46c.         |   |   | <i>hora-</i><br><i>ðaj</i> <sub>NRN</sub> |  |  |  |  |
| 46d.         |   |   |   | ( <i>laamb<sup>Tas</sup></i><br>Fussblatt)   |  | <i>nambe-</i><br><i>da<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>némbyja<sup>Tg</sup></i>                         | *lämpä ~<br>*lempä<br>(J 82; H 736)  |

# On the classification of the Samoyedic languages

| <b>gloss</b>  | <b>Nenets</b>                   | <b>Enets</b>  | <b>Nganasan</b>                   | <b>Selkup</b>  | <b>Kamas</b>                    | <b>Mator</b>   | <b>etymology</b>  |
|---------------|---------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|--|---|
| 47a. lie      | <i>wâna{jû}</i>                 | <i>banu-ga<sup>B</sup>/<sub>Gl</sub></i>                          | <i>bənüša<sub>NRN</sub></i>       |  |                                 |  | (cf. M 37)  |
| 47b.          | <i>juseda(š)</i><br>RNS         |   |                                   |  |                                 |  |   |
| 47c.          |                                 | <i>barotea-ro<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>badoſido<sup>B</sup></i>     |                                   |  |                                 |  |   |
| 47d.          |                                 |   | <i>kulšáten-dem</i>               |  |                                 |  |   |
| 47e.          |                                 |   | <i>ŋgjúndej-sy<sub>X</sub></i>    |  |                                 |  |   |
| 47f.          |                                 |   | <i>tońd'ajči-sj<sub>NRN</sub></i> |  |                                 |  |   |
| 47g.          |                                 |   |                                   | <i>eppak<sup>N</sup></i><br><i>ippan<sup>B,Tas</sup></i> | <i>i'büm</i>                    |  | cf. DA 35   |
| 47h.          |                                 |   |                                   | <i>čači-mpi<sup>Ty</sup>/<sub>DA</sub></i>               |                                 |  | <i>čačə-</i> put<br>(DA 1481)   |
| 47i.          |                                 |   |                                   |  |                                 | <i>kyštamv<sup>Mt</sup></i>  | * <i>kuj-</i> ~ * <i>kij-</i><br>(H 504), cf.<br>FU * <i>kujž</i><br>(R 197: * <i>kojž</i> )      |
| 48a.<br>liver | <i>muid = myd<sub>RNS</sub></i> | <i>muro<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>mudo<sup>B</sup></i>               | <i>mita,</i><br>g. <i>mida</i>    | <i>myd<sup>N</sup></i><br><i>mítē<sup>Tas</sup></i>      | <i>mit = mit<sub>D</sub></i>    |  | * <i>mitā</i> (J 93) <<br>U * <i>maksa</i><br>(R 264) =<br>* <i>mikså</i><br>(S <sub>1</sub> 538) |
| 48b.          |                                 |   |                                   |  |                                 | <i>ondarv<sup>Mt</sup></i>   | (H 808: <<br>IE?); cf.<br>FU * <i>omte(rž)</i> ,<br>e.g. Ma <i>oän-tér</i> stomach<br>(R 338)     |
| 49a.<br>long  | <i>jâmb</i>                     | <i>jabu<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>dâbu<sup>B</sup>/<sub>Te</sub></i> |                                   | <i>čumb<sup>N</sup></i><br><i>tumbe<sup>B,Tas</sup></i>  | <i>numu = numo-<sub>D</sub></i> | <i>nanbu<sup>Mt</sup></i><br>( <i>njámbu<sup>Kg</sup></i><br>high) | * <i>jâmpâ</i><br>(J 37) =<br>* <i>jampu</i><br>(H 716)   |
| 49b.          | <i>põndej<sub>RNS</sub></i>     |   |                                   |  |                                 |  | cf. <i>pon'</i> adv.  |
| 49c.          |                                 |   | <i>kunta</i>                      |  |                                 | ( <i>kundu-gu<sup>Mt</sup></i><br>far)                             | * <i>kuntâ</i><br>(J 77–78;<br>H 590)   |
| 49d.          |                                 |   |                                   | <i>sanjčə<sup>Ket</sup>/<sub>DA</sub></i>                |                                 |  | * <i>sâŋcä</i> high<br>(J 133)  |
| 49d.          |                                 |   | <i>bəðətuo<sub>NRN</sub></i>      |  |                                 |  |   |

| <b>gloss</b>  | <b>Nenets</b>                          | <b>Enets</b>  | <b>Nganasan</b>   | <b>Selkup</b>  | <b>Kamas</b>   | <b>Mator</b>   | <b>etymology</b>   |
|---------------|--|---|---|--|--|--|--|
| 50a.<br>louse | <i>pand'(i')e</i><br><i>panže,-sie</i> |   |   |  |  | <i>chýndz-</i><br><i>schi<sup>Kg</sup></i><br><i>indži<sup>Mt</sup></i>  | * <i>pənsə</i><br>(H 304)  |
| 50b.          |  | <i>addu<sup>Ch</sup></i>  | <i>ŋomtuŋ</i>   | <i>un᷑<sup>N</sup>,</i><br><i>undʒe<sup>K</sup></i><br><i>un᷑e<sup>B,Tas</sup></i> | <i>ünu =</i><br><i>ux:nua<sub>D</sub></i>                              |  | * <i>āncə</i> ~<br>* <i>āmcā</i> (J 18)<br>< U * <i>omca</i><br>(R 338)                                      |
| 51a.<br>man   | <i>hásawa</i>                          | <i>kása<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>kása<sup>B</sup>/<sub>Pu</sub></i>     | <i>kuajumu</i>  |  | - <i>kuza</i><br>( <i>k<u>uza</u></i> <sub>D</sub><br>Mensch)          | ( <i>kasa</i> ,<br><i>kaza<sup>Mt</sup></i><br>Mensch)   | * <i>kāsā-sā</i><br>*Sterblicher<br>(J 61; H 438)  |
| 51b.          |  |   | ( <i>tybyjkja-</i><br><i>ku</i><br>boy)                 | <i>teb<sup>N</sup>,</i><br><i>tippa<sup>K</sup></i>                                | <i>thibi =</i><br><i>t<sup>i</sup>bi<sub>D</sub></i><br>(+<br>husband) | ( <i>tīhim<sup>Mt</sup></i><br>maritus)<br>( <i>tigeči<sup>Tg</sup></i><br>boy, son<br>= * <i>tīhi</i> +<br><i>eči</i> ) | * <i>tipā</i> (J 163;<br>H 1014)   |
| 51c.          |  |   |   | <i>qup,</i><br><i>qum<sup>Tas</sup>/<sub>E</sub></i><br>(+ Men-<br>sch)            |  |  | U * <i>kōj(e)mz</i><br>(R 168) :<br>FU * <i>kōji</i><br>male<br>(S <sub>1</sub> 543)                         |
| 51d.          |  |   |   |  | <i>buu(:)ze<sub>D</sub></i><br>(+<br>husband)                          |  |  |
| 52a.<br>many  | <i>ŋōka</i>                            | <i>ōka<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>okka<sup>B</sup>/<sub>Te</sub></i>      | <i>ŋōka</i>   | ? <i>koč<sup>N</sup>,</i><br><i>koťe<sup>Tas</sup></i><br>(DA<br>2060)             | <i>īgō = i'kə,</i><br><i>i'gə̂<sub>D</sub></i>                         | <i>ujko<sup>Mt</sup></i>   | * <i>o(žj)tškā</i><br>(J 29) =<br>* <i>ojt<sub>3</sub>ka</i><br>(H 1117)                                     |
| 52b.          |  |   |   | <i>kon(n)-</i><br><i>əŋ<sup>KM</sup>/<sub>DA</sub></i>                             |  |  | cf. J 75?  |
| 52c.          |  |   |   | <i>irj<sup>Tas</sup>/<sub>E</sub></i><br>(+ long)                                  |  |  |  |
| 53a.<br>meat  | <i>ŋamsa</i>                           | <i>uda<sup>Ch</sup>,</i><br><i>osa<sup>B</sup></i>                    | <i>ŋamsau</i>   | <i>apsi<sub>Pr</sub></i>   |  | <i>amsa<sup>Mt,Kg</sup></i><br><i>apsa<sup>Tg</sup></i>  | * <i>âmsâ</i> : * <i>âm-</i><br>eat<br>(J 15; H 36)  |
| 53b.          | ( <i>ŋaija</i><br>body;<br>skin)       | ( <i>aija</i> body<br><i>aja<sup>B</sup>/<sub>te</sub></i> +<br>skin) |   | <i>wac<sup>N</sup>,</i><br><i>wuet<sup>Tas</sup></i>                               | <i>uja</i>   | ( <i>oiuptu<sup>Mt</sup></i><br>humidus)   | * <i>âjâ</i> (J 17;<br>H 799) <<br>U * <i>oð'a</i> raw<br>(A <sub>1</sub> 11)                                |
| 54a.<br>moon  |  |   | <i>kičeðəə<sub>X</sub></i><br>( <i>kītadā</i><br>month) |  | <i>khi = kij<sub>P</sub></i><br>= <i>k<sup>i</sup>l<sub>D</sub></i>    | <i>kištito<sup>Mt</sup></i>  | * <i>kij</i> (J 69;<br>H 507) <<br>U * <i>kunje</i><br>(R 211–12)<br>= * <i>kixi</i><br>(S <sub>1</sub> 537) |
| 54b.          | <i>jirł̄, jiry</i>                     | <i>írio<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>jirie<sup>B</sup></i>                  |   | <i>äre<sup>N</sup>, ire<sup>K</sup></i><br><i>ireä<sup>Tas</sup></i>               |  |  | *( <i>j</i> ) <i>irɔ-</i> (J 28)<br>cf. *( <i>j</i> ) <i>irɔ-</i><br>grandfather                             |

# On the classification of the Samoyedic languages

| <b>gloss</b>     | <b>Nenets</b>                                       | <b>Enets</b>                                    | <b>Nganasan</b>            | <b>Selkup</b>   | <b>Kamas</b>   | <b>Mator</b>  | <b>etymology</b>  |
|------------------|---|---|----------------------------|---|--|---|---|
| 54c.             |   |   |                            |   | <i>urrâβâðâ</i> <sub>D</sub>                                   |   | <i>urraba</i> ,<br><i>uryaba</i><br>grandfather;<br>bear  |
| 55a.<br>mountain | <i>xoj</i> <sub>RNS</sub><br>(= <i>hôi</i><br>hill) | <i>kuō</i> <sub>X</sub>                         | <i>koaja</i>               | <i>k̥e</i> <sup>N</sup> , <i>k̥i</i> <sup>B</sup> =<br><i>qe, qe,</i><br><i>k̥e</i> <sup>Tas</sup> / <sub>E</sub> |  |   | * <i>k[oɔ]jə</i> (AX<br>105–07;<br>X 130) < Ewk<br>* <i>hōj</i> tundra<br>or Yen * <i>qa'j</i><br>mountain<br>(St 212);<br>R 115;<br>U * <i>kaδ'a</i> |
| 55b.             | <i>teal</i>   |   |                            |   |  |   |   |
| 55c.             | <i>sea, ša</i>                                      |   |                            |   |  |   | cf. Ykg <i>šäu</i><br>(R 163–64<br>separated<br>it from FU<br>* <i>kiwi</i> stone)  |
| 55d.             |   | <i>lōgar</i> <sup>K</sup> / <sub>Pu</sub>       |                            |   |  |   | (M 135)   |
| 55e.             |   |   | <i>bəru</i> <sub>NNN</sub> | ( <i>kūrə</i><br>mountain<br>ridge)   | <i>bōr</i> <sub>D</sub>  |   | * <i>wārā</i> <<br>U * <i>wara</i><br>(A <sub>z</sub> 27) :<br>FU * <i>wārā</i><br>(S <sub>1</sub> 551)   |
| 55f.             |   |   | <i>dīkə</i> <sub>NNN</sub> |   |  |   |   |
| 55g.             |   |   | ( <i>mou</i><br>earth)     | ( <i>mači</i> <sup>Tas</sup> / <sub>E</sub><br>forest,<br>tundra)   | <i>mija</i> =<br><i>mija</i> ,<br><i>maja</i> <sub>D</sub>     | <i>bija</i> <sup>Mt</sup><br><i>biā</i> <sup>Kg</sup>     | * <i>mžâ</i> (J 85;<br>H 124); cf.<br>#22b;<br>A <sub>z</sub> 22–23:<br>U * <i>muδ'a</i>  |
| 55h.             |   |   |                            | <i>tâ</i> <sup>C</sup> , <i>tay</i> <sup>O-</sup> <sub>O,MO</sub>   |  |   | Tk * <i>tay</i><br>(DA 1212)  |
| 55i.             |   |   |                            |   | <i>kawa'</i> =<br><i>kâbâ'</i> ,<br><i>k'âma'</i> <sub>D</sub> | ( <i>kabak</i> <sup>Kg</sup><br>eyebrow)                  | < Tk: Soy<br><i>kabak</i> , Bsk<br><i>kabak</i> hill<br>(Jo 155)  |
| 55j.             |   |   |                            |   | <i>k'ōrum</i> <sub>D</sub>                                     |   | < MTk<br><i>qorum</i> rock<br>(Jo 196)  |
| 56a.<br>mouth    | <i>ńa'</i> , <i>ńaiŋ</i> <sup>Knd</sup>             | <i>ē</i> <sup>Ch</sup> , <i>na</i> <sup>B</sup> | <i>ŋaiŋ</i>                | <i>âk</i> <sup>N</sup> , <i>âŋ</i> <sup>B,Tas</sup>   | <i>aŋ</i>  | <i>ag-ma</i> <sup>Mt</sup><br><i>eng-de</i> <sup>Tg</sup> | * <i>āŋ</i> (J 20;<br>H 76) <<br>U * <i>anye</i><br>(R 11–12) :<br>FU * <i>āŋi</i><br>(S <sub>1</sub> 542)  |

| <b>gloss</b>  | <b>Nenets</b>  | <b>Enets</b>   | <b>Nganasan</b>  | <b>Selkup</b>  | <b>Kamas</b>   | <b>Mator</b>   | <b>etymology</b>   |
|---------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| 57a.<br>name  | <i>ńim</i> , <i>ńum</i><br><i>ńem</i> <sup>Knd</sup> | <i>ńi<sup>Ch</sup></i> , <i>ńu<sup>B</sup></i>                                       | <i>ńim</i>   | <i>ńem</i> <sup>Č,OO</sup><br><i>nim</i> <sup>B,Tas</sup>  | <i>nim</i>   | <i>numme-</i><br><i>-de</i> <sup>Mt</sup>                  | * <i>nim</i> ~ * <i>nium</i><br>(J 102; H 756)<br>< U * <i>nime</i><br>(R 305) =<br>* <i>nimi</i> (S <sub>1</sub> 538)           |
| 58a.<br>neck  | <i>jik</i> , <i>jik</i>                              | <i>bekoδi<sup>Ch</sup></i> / <sub>X</sub><br><i>beko<sup>B</sup></i> / <sub>Pu</sub> | <i>bakəδə<sub>M</sub></i>  | <i>(kuaga</i> <sup>K,NP</sup><br>= <i>qeqlas</i> / <sub>E</sub><br>shoulder)   | <i>(baŋ'Γə<sub>D</sub></i><br>Nacken)                                | <i>buikö</i> <sup>Mt</sup><br><i>bÿiküdi</i> <sup>Kg</sup> | * <i>wäjjkâ</i><br>(J 173)   |
| 58b.          | <i>šo'</i><br>(+ Kehle)                              | <i>(sû, sô<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>so<sup>B</sup></i> Kehle)                          |  | <i>suol</i> <sup>B,Tas</sup><br><i>sor</i> <sup>K</sup> (+<br>Kehle)   | <i>soi<sub>D</sub></i><br>( <i>soi</i> Kehle)                        |  | * <i>soj-</i> ~ * <i>söj-</i><br>(J 142) <<br>U * <i>šuwe</i><br>(R 492–93) =<br>* <i>šoxi</i> (S <sub>1</sub> 540:<br>mouth)    |
| 58c.          |  |  |  | <i>awai<sup>MO,Č</sup></i><br><i>awoi<sup>K</sup></i>  |  |  |  |
| 58d.          |  |  |  | <i>tāšan</i> <sup>Tas</sup> / <sub>E</sub>   |  |  | cf. <i>tas</i> back  |
| 58e.          |  |  |  | <i>tetj</i> <sup>Tas</sup> / <sub>E</sub>  |  |  |  |
| 59a.<br>new   | <i>jedaei</i>  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 59b.          |  | <i>nabe<sup>Ch</sup></i> / <sub>X</sub><br><i>nabè<sup>B</sup></i> / <sub>Te</sub>   |  |  |  | <i>njáarha</i> <sup>Kg</sup><br><i>nara</i> <sup>Mt</sup>  | * <i>narp<sub>3</sub></i><br>(H 724;<br>XE 118)  |
| 59c.          |  | <i>méju<sup>B</sup></i> / <sub>Te</sub>  | <i>mińdýád-</i><br><i>ja</i> <sub>KS</sub> =<br><i>menđáa-</i><br><i>də</i> <sub>NRN</sub> |  |  |  |  |
| 59d.          |  | <i>suami<sup>Ch</sup></i> / <sub>La</sub><br>(M 202)                                 |  | <i>sänd</i> <sup>MO</sup><br><i>šänd</i> <sup>B,Tas</sup><br>= <i>šen-</i><br><i>til</i> <sup>Tas</sup> / <sub>E</sub> |  |  |  |
| 59e.          |  |  | <i>bej-</i><br><i>bi”ja</i> <sub>NRN</sub>   |  |  |  |  |
| 59f.          |  |  |  |  | <i>the'bde</i> =<br><i>t'ð<sup>b</sup>D<sup>ð</sup></i> <sub>D</sub> |  |  |
| 60a.<br>night | <i>pi</i>  | <i>fî<sup>Ch</sup>, fî<sup>B</sup></i>   | <i>fîŋ</i> =<br><i>hií</i> <sub>NRN</sub><br><i>hintî</i> <sub>Te</sub>                    | <i>pi<sup>N,B</sup>, pe<sup>M</sup></i>  | <i>phi, phy</i> =<br><i>p'i<sub>D</sub></i>                          | <i>hijndja</i> <sup>Mt</sup><br><i>hinde</i> <sup>Tg</sup> | * <i>pi</i> (J 123;<br>H 290)<br>* <i>pint<sub>3</sub></i><br>(H 303); cf.<br>U * <i>pil'm<sub>3</sub></i><br>dark<br>(R 382–83) |
| 61a.<br>nose  | <i>puijea</i> =<br><i>pyja</i> <sub>RNS</sub>        | <i>fuija<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>puija<sup>B</sup></i>                                |  | <i>poč<sup>N</sup></i> ,<br><i>pöt<sup>MO</sup></i>  | <i>phijä</i> =<br><i>p'wíe<sub>D</sub></i>                           | <i>hiä</i> <sup>Mt</sup>                                   | * <i>pija</i> ~ * <i>pujå</i><br>(J 122;<br>H 297)   |
| 61b.          |  |  | <i>ŋunka</i> =<br><i>ŋünka</i> <sub>NRN</sub>  |  |  |  |  |

# On the classification of the Samoyedic languages

| <b>gloss</b>    | <b>Nenets</b>   | <b>Enets</b>   | <b>Nganasan</b> | <b>Selkup</b>   | <b>Kamas</b>   | <b>Mator</b>                  | <b>etymology</b>  |
|-----------------|---|--|-----------------|---|--|-------------------------------|---|
| 61c.            |   |  |                 | <i>ynžel</i> <sup>B,Tas</sup><br>= <i>intääl</i> <sup>Tas</sup> / <sub>E</sub>          |  |                               |   |
| 61d.            |   |  |                 | <i>ukj</i> <sup>Tas</sup> / <sub>E</sub>  |  |                               | *ukâ (J 30; H 1113)   |
| 62a.<br>not     | <i>niš</i>  | <i>isi</i><br><i>nise</i>  | <i>ñe'</i>      | <i>jkə</i> <sup>Tas</sup> / <sub>E</sub>  | <i>em = em<sub>D</sub></i><br>ich nicht<br><i>ē, ei</i> <sub>D</sub> no(t) | <i>igam</i>                   | *i- ~ *e-<br>(J 26; H 331)<br>< U *e ~ *ā<br>(R 68–70)  |
| 62b.            |   | <i>šč</i> <sup>K</sup> / <sub>Pu</sub> nicht<br>(cf. M 205)              |                 | <i>aha</i><br><i>ašša</i> <sup>Tas</sup> / <sub>E</sub>                                 |  |                               | < Tn:<br>Ewk <i>āčča</i><br>no (AX 153)   |
| 62c.            |   |  |                 |   | <i>nā(yā)</i> is<br>not  |                               | (X 130–31);<br>cf. Permic-Ugric *n <sub>3</sub><br>(R 301)  |
| 63a.<br>one     | <i>ηobpoi</i>   | <i>ηō</i> <sup>Ch</sup> ,<br><i>ηō</i> <sup>B</sup> / <sub>Pr</sub>      | <i>ηo'ai'</i>   | ? <i>okkir</i>  | <i>o'b</i>   | <i>op</i> <sup>Mt,Kg,Tg</sup> | *o(ə)p- (J 28;<br>H 794)  |
| 63b.            |   |  |                 |   |  | <i>éilek</i> <sup>Mt</sup>    | *aj- (H 798)  |
| 64a.<br>person  | <i>ínenete'</i>   | <i>ennetē</i> <sup>Ch</sup><br><i>enetē</i> <sup>B</sup> / <sub>Pr</sub> | <i>ηanasay</i>  |   |  |                               | R 627–28<br>rejects any<br>connection<br>with FMd<br>*inše; NSm<br>„man“ is<br>derived from<br>*enā real<br>(J 23; H 96). |
| 64b.            | <i>hub/</i><br><i>werti</i> <sup>Knd</sup><br><i>xibja(ri)</i> <sub>RNS</sub> |  |                 |   |  |                               | cf. <i>xibja</i> who,<br><i>xibjari</i> <sub>NRS</sub><br>whoever   |
| 64c.            |   |  |                 | <i>kum</i> <sup>MO,OO,K</sup><br><i>kume</i> <sup>NP</sup> ,<br><i>kop</i> <sup>N</sup> |  |                               | U *koj(e)m <sub>3</sub><br>(R 168)  |
| 64d.            |   |  |                 |   | <i>kuza =</i><br><i>k'uzə</i> <sub>D</sub>                                 | <i>kasa</i> <sup>Mt</sup>     | *kâð-sâ<br>(J 61; H 438)<br>= #51a; cf.<br>17a  |
| 65a.<br>rain n. | <i>sâřu/o</i>   | <i>saře</i> <sup>Ch</sup><br><i>sare</i> <sup>B</sup>                    | <i>soruanj</i>  | <i>säro</i> <sup>K</sup> ,<br><i>soro</i> <sup>MO,C</sup>                               | <i>surnu =</i><br><i>surno</i> <sub>D</sub>                                | <i>sirru</i> <sup>Mt</sup>    | *sâřâ-jâ(-j) :<br>*sâřâ- vb.<br>(J 135–36;<br>H 908: *sarö)<br>< U *sâđâ-<br>(S <sub>1</sub> 540)                         |

| <b>gloss</b> | <b>Nenets</b>  | <b>Enets</b>   | <b>Nganasan</b>  | <b>Selkup</b>   | <b>Kamas</b>                                | <b>Mator</b>                                       | <b>etymology</b>   |
|--------------|--|--|--|---|---|--|--|
| 66a.<br>red  | ńâŕa   | <i>naggorad-</i><br><i>de<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>naredad-</i><br><i>de<sup>B</sup></i> |  | ńârg <sup>N</sup><br>ńârg <sup>B</sup>  |   | <i>narmyn-</i><br><i>dy<sup>Mt</sup></i>           | *ńär-(kâ)<br>(J 107)<br>*ńärmə/a-<br>(H 744)   |
| 66b.         |  |  | <i>jabakua =</i><br><i>dabaku-</i><br><i>o<sub>NNN</sub></i> |   |   |  | < Tn *dewuk-<br>ochre<br>(AX 144)  |
| 66c.         |  |  |  |   | <i>khümüü =</i><br><i>k̄emw<sub>D</sub></i> |  | cf. 9a: *ke(â)<br>m blood<br>(J 65)  |
| 67a.<br>road | <i>yu'</i>   | <i>ur<sup>Ch</sup>, u<sup>B</sup>,</i><br>g. <i>udo'</i>                               | <i>yoajâ =</i><br><i>yuota</i>                               | <i>watt(e)<sup>N</sup></i><br><i>wuette<sup>Tas</sup></i>   |   |  | *uât (J 30)<br>< U *utka<br>(R 546) or<br>*uket(t <sub>3</sub> )<br>(S 27) =<br>*ukti (S <sub>1</sub> 536)                         |
| 67b.         | (ńeda<br>Winter-<br>weg)   |  |  |   | âde =<br>ađe, a't <sub>D</sub>              | <i>ide<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>öde<sup>Tg</sup></i> | *etâ (J 24;<br>H 247)  |
| 67c.         | <i>sehaery<sub>RNS</sub></i><br>(: <i>šehe<sub>Te</sub></i><br>hard<br>snow) | <i>seha<sup>Ch</sup>/<sub>X</sub></i><br><i>sehare<sup>B</sup>/<sub>Te</sub></i>       |  |   |   |  | *sekârâjâ<br>(S 37–38) <<br>U *čäke(-r <sub>3</sub> )<br>(R 31)  |
| 67d.         | (särpä <sub>Te</sub><br>path)  |  | <i>sərəə/</i><br><i>sədəə</i><br><i>saruo<sub>NNN</sub></i>  | ( <i>sarp<sub>E</sub><sup>Tas</sup></i> / <sub>E</sub><br>path)                                     |   |  | *särpä (J 134)   |
| 67e.         |  |  |  |   |   | " <i>tanhoo-</i><br><i>to<sup>Kg</sup></i>         | cf. Ewen hōt<br>id. <<br>*pokto<br>(H 957)   |
| 68a.<br>root | <i>wâna/u</i>  | <i>baddu<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>badu<sup>B</sup>/<sub>Te</sub></i>                     | <i>bântu</i>   | <i>kon<sub>3</sub><sup>B,Tas</sup></i><br><i>kone<sup>MO</sup></i> =<br><i>kontij<sup>Tas</sup></i> | <i>muna =</i><br><i>monâ<sub>D</sub></i>    | <i>mondô<sup>T-</sup></i><br>g.Mt                  | *wânc <sub>3</sub> - ~<br>*wâncâj<br>(J 171;<br>H 689) <<br>U *wanč <sub>3</sub><br>(R 548–49) =<br>*wâncâ<br>(S <sub>1</sub> 541) |
| 68b.         |  |  | <i>tóxi<sub>KS</sub></i>                                     |   |   |  | (X 130)  |
| 68c.         |  |  |  | <i>ćaj<sub>3</sub><sup>Ty</sup>/<sub>DA</sub></i>   |   |  |  |
| 68d.         |  |  |  | <i>kora<sup>KE</sup>/<sub>DA</sub></i>  |   |  | : korâ deep <<br>*jorâ<br>(J 47)   |
| 68e.         |  |  |  |   |   | <i>tčelega-</i><br><i>de<sup>Mt</sup></i>          | < Tk: Khak<br>čilege, Kb<br>jelâgi (H 199)   |

# On the classification of the Samoyedic languages

| <b>gloss</b>  | <b>Nenets</b>                             | <b>Enets</b>  | <b>Nganasan</b>  | <b>Selkup</b>   | <b>Kamas</b>                                     | <b>Mator</b>  | <b>etymology</b>  |
|---------------|---|---|--|---|--|---|---|
| 69a.<br>round | <i>śureńa</i>                             |   |  |   |  |   |   |
| 69b.          |   |   | <i>mandaj-ku</i> <sub>NRN</sub>                        |   |  |   |   |
| 69c.          |   |   |  | <i>püru<sup>NP</sup></i><br><i>pörui<sup>OO</sup></i>                 |  |   | < U *pirä/e<br>(R 384)  |
| 69d.          |   |   |  | <i>pungola-</i><br><sub>Tas/E</sub>                                   |  |   |   |
| 69e.          |   |   |  |   | <i>thuluka</i> =<br><i>t'uzuk'v</i> <sub>D</sub> |   | < Yak <i>tula</i><br>Umkreis (Jo 328–29)  |
| 69f.          |   |   |  |   | <i>tolta</i>                                     |   | cf. Kalm<br><i>doldū</i> id.<br>(Jo 328–29)   |
| 69g.          |   |   |  |   | <i>dərəŋgo</i> <sub>D</sub>                      |   | Jo 115 derived<br>it from Mo<br><i>dügürey</i> full,<br>but semantics<br>does not cor-<br>respond |
| 69h.          |   |   |  |   |  | <i>tengz</i> <sup>Mt</sup>  | < Tk: Kzk<br><i>terj</i> Ballen<br>(H 988)  |
| 69i.          |   |   |  |   |  | <i>tocoren</i> <sup>Kg</sup>  | < Buryat<br><i>tüχerēn</i> id.<br>(H 1050)  |
| 70a.<br>sand  |   |   | <i>düo</i> <sub>NRN</sub> =<br><i>jua</i><br>(+ ashes) |   |  |   | *jāð (J 36–37;<br>H 160) =<br>#22a  |
| 70aa.         | ( <i>jara</i> <sub>te</sub><br>sandy)     | <i>jára</i> <sup>Ch</sup><br>(+ ashes)  | ( <i>juoru</i> <sub>Pop</sub><br>ochre)                | <i>türe</i> <sup>Tas,Kar</sup><br><i>čuri</i> <sup>Tas/E</sup>        | ( <i>durn</i> <sub>D</sub><br>gravel)            | ( <i>džara</i> <sup>Mt</sup><br>arm of<br>river)                            | *jāðrā (J 37;<br>H 183)   |
| 70b.          | <i>tab</i>                                | <i>tobō<sup>B</sup></i> / <sub>Te</sub><br><i>top<sup>K</sup></i> / <sub>Pu</sub><br>( <i>tóbo<sup>B</sup></i><br>clay) |  |   |  | ( <i>tā</i> <sup>Mt</sup><br>ashes)<br>( <i>taha</i> <sup>Kg</sup><br>dirt) | *t̪āðpā (J 148;<br>H 937); =<br>#2d   |
| 70c.          |   |   |  | <i>kōra</i> <sup>Tas/E</sup>  |  |   | cf. #2  |
| 70d.          |   |   |  |   | <i>phürä</i> =<br><i>p'ure</i> <sub>D</sub>      | <i>húra</i> <sup>Mt,Tg</sup>  | *puəra<br>(H 330)   |
| 71a.<br>say   | <i>wadieu</i>                             | ( <i>baðe<sup>B</sup></i> / <sub>M</sub><br><i>bābo<sup>Ch</sup></i><br>speak, tell)                                    | <i>buatum</i> ,<br>prt. <i>bua-</i><br><i>juam</i>     |   |  |   | *wāð-<br>(J 170–71)   |
| 71b.          | <i>heatau</i>                             | <i>ketus<sup>K</sup></i> / <sub>M</sub>   |  | <i>ketam</i> <sup>B,Tas</sup><br>=<br><i>keti-qo</i> <sup>Tas/E</sup> |  |   | *ket(ə)- (J 66)   |
| 71c.          | <i>mâdm</i><br><i>manž</i> <sub>RNS</sub> | <i>mad<sup>B</sup></i> / <sub>Te</sub><br><i>man</i> "<br><i>monā<sup>Ch</sup></i> / <sub>Ja</sub>                      | ( <i>ku-munsa</i><br>what to<br>say)                   | ( <i>mom-</i><br><i>pa</i> <sup>Tas/E</sup><br>man sagt)              | <i>malem</i> <sub>D</sub>                        |   | *må(n)- (J 88)<br>< U *monz<br>(R 290)  |

| <b>gloss</b> | <b>Nenets</b>                                 | <b>Enets</b>   | <b>Nganasan</b>               | <b>Selkup</b>  | <b>Kamas</b>   | <b>Mator</b>   | <b>etymology</b>   |
|--------------|---|--|-------------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| 71d.         |   | <i>eitabo<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>naitabo<sup>B</sup></i>           |                               |  |  |  |  |
| 71e.         |   |  | <i>ηamita'a-</i><br><i>ma</i> |  |  |  |  |
| 71f.         |   |  |                               | <i>täray<sup>MO,K</sup></i>  |  |  |  |
| 71g.         |   |  |                               | <i>tom-qo-</i><br>Tas/ <sub>E</sub>  |  |  |  |
| 71h.         |   |  |                               |  | <i>nōrbeläm</i><br>= <i>nērb<sup>b</sup>lem<sub>D</sub></i>  |  |  |
| 72a.<br>see  | <i>ηodarjau</i><br>cf. <i>ηadi</i><br>visible | ( <i>ori<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>odi<sup>B</sup></i><br>be visible) | <i>ηadi ema</i>               | <i>at<sub>2</sub>-Ty/</i> <sub>DA</sub><br>( <i>atu-Ty/</i> <sub>DA</sub><br>= <i>adak<sup>N</sup></i><br><i>atan<sup>B,Tas</sup></i><br>be visible) |  | ( <i>adymga<sup>Mt</sup></i><br>it seems)                | *ə̂l̥ə̂- (J 16;<br>H 7, 8) <<br>U *att <sub>3</sub> or<br>*ott <sub>3</sub><br>(R 20)      |
| 72b.         | <i>mana'au</i>                                | <i>modijāz<sup>K,M</sup></i><br><i>modeb<sup>B,Te</sup></i>        |                               | <i>mannam-</i><br><i>bap<sup>N</sup></i><br><i>mannem-</i><br><i>bam<sup>Tas</sup></i>   | <i>mandōlam</i><br>= <i>mān-</i><br><i>dālom<sub>D</sub></i> |  | *mānc <sub>3</sub> -<br>(J 86);<br>cf. Tn *munsi-<br>id. (AX 98)                           |
| 72c.         | <i>sírjādm</i><br><i>xíŋŋjír<sub>Le</sub></i> | <i>sōŋjaro<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>soŋjado<sup>B</sup></i>          | <i>səŋjürša<sub>M</sub></i>   | ( <i>saŋqaqo<sub>Pr</sub></i><br>try)  |  | <i>sché-</i><br><i>nemende-</i><br><i>m<sup>Mt</sup></i> | *sāŋ̥ə̂- (J 133;<br>H 875)   |
| 72d.         | ( <i>hou</i> find)                            | ( <i>koabo<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>kuabo<sup>B</sup></i><br>find)   |                               | <i>qo-qo<sup>Tas,E</sup></i><br>= <i>koŋjam<sup>Tas</sup></i>  | <i>kułom<sub>D</sub></i>                                     | ( <i>kojamə<sup>Mt</sup></i><br>I find)                  | *ko- to find<br>(J 72; H 513)<br>< U *koke-<br>(R 171)                                     |
| 72de.        | ( <i>kōndəm<sub>Le</sub></i><br>try)          | <i>koddabō<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>kuddabō<sup>B</sup></i>          |                               | <i>konder-</i><br><i>nam<sup>Tas</sup></i><br><i>kondör-</i><br><i>nam<sup>C</sup></i>   |  | <i>kondo-</i><br><i>rgomə<sup>Mt</sup></i>               | *kont <sub>1,2̥</sub> :<br>*ko-<br>(J 72; H 546)   |
| 72f.         |   |  |                               | <i>sulal-</i><br><i>čə-KU/</i> <sub>DA</sub>   |  |  |  |
| 73a.<br>seed | <i>sibjako<sub>NRS</sub></i>                  |  |                               |  |  |  | cf. <i>sibjā</i> dust  |
| 73b.         |   |  |                               | <i>mum-</i><br><i>mol<sup>Tu</sup>/</i> <sub>DA</sub>  |  |  |  |
| 73c.         |   |  |                               | <i>sem</i><br><i>-jánə<sup>b</sup>South/</i> <sub>G</sub>  |  |  | < Ru <i>semja</i><br>(G 177)   |
| 74a. sit     | <i>ŋāmdýdm</i>                                | <i>adduaro<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>adido<sup>B</sup></i>            | <i>ŋom-</i><br><i>tutum</i>   | <i>āmdarj<sup>B,-</sup></i><br>K, MO<br><i>āmtay<sup>Tas</sup></i><br>= <i>āmti-qo-</i><br>Tas/ <sub>E</sub>   | <i>amnam</i>   | <i>ondoj<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>ández<sup>Tg</sup></i>   | *āmt̥ə̂- ~<br>*āmt <sub>3</sub> -<br>(J 17–18;<br>H 31) <<br>U *am <sub>3</sub> -<br>(R 8) |
| 74b.         |   |  |                               | <i>luogay<sup>C,OO</sup></i>   |  |  |  |

# On the classification of the Samoyedic languages

| <b>gloss</b>  | <b>Nenets</b>                              | <b>Enets</b>   | <b>Nganasan</b>                 | <b>Selkup</b>  | <b>Kamas</b>                                  | <b>Mator</b>  | <b>etymology</b>   |
|---------------|--|--|---------------------------------|--|---|---|--|
| 75a.<br>skin  | <i>hóba</i><br>(+ bark)                    | <i>koba<sup>B</sup>/<sub>Te</sub><br/>kóbà<sup>Ch</sup>/<sub>X</sub></i>   | <i>kufu</i> , g.<br><i>kubu</i> | <i>kob<sup>N</sup>,</i><br><i>kóba<sup>C</sup></i><br><i>kop<sup>B,Tas</sup></i> | <i>kuba,</i><br><i>kuwa</i>                   | <i>kō<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>kogo-to<sup>Kg</sup></i>               | * <i>kopå</i><br>(J 73–74;<br>H 520) <<br>U * <i>kopa</i><br>(R 180–81) =<br>* <i>kopå</i><br>(S <sub>1</sub> 537: bark)   |
| 75b.          | <i>śar<sub>Ter</sub></i>                   |  |                                 | <i>qora<sup>Tas</sup>/<sub>E</sub></i>   |   |   | * <i>kár</i> ~ * <i>kor-</i><br>(J 64–65); cf.<br>FU * <i>kere</i> &<br>* <i>kōre</i><br>(R 148–49;<br>184) =<br>FU * <i>keri/ä</i><br>bark (S <sub>1</sub> 543) |
| 75c.          | <i>tē·ŋk<sub>Le</sub></i>                  |  |                                 | ( <i>tšijj<sup>I</sup></i> <sub>D</sub><br>made<br>skin)                         |   |   | * <i>cęnkâ</i> (J 33)  |
| 75d.          | <i>ŋaja<sub>RNS</sub></i><br>(human<br>s.) |  |                                 |  |   |   | * <i>āja</i> (J 17;<br>H 799);<br>= #53b   |
| 76a.<br>sleep | <i>hónym</i>                               | <i>koddua-<br/>ro<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>koddua-<br/>do<sup>B</sup></i>  | <i>kundua-<br/>tum</i>          | <i>kondak<sup>N</sup></i><br><i>kondaj-</i> <sub>K,B,Tas</sub>                   | <i>kunollam</i><br><i>kunōlām<sub>D</sub></i> | <i>xonda-<br/>-štamō<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>chonda<sup>Tg</sup></i> | * <i>kontâ-</i> (J 73;<br>H 543)   |
| 77a.<br>small | <i>ńüdea</i>                               | <i>urea<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>judea<sup>B</sup></i>   |                                 | ( <i>yče<sup>N</sup></i><br>young,<br>child)                                     |   |   | * <i>üçä</i> (J 31;<br>H 1134); cf.<br>FU * <i>üçä</i><br>(R 78)   |
| 77b.          | <i>ń/ŋôloko</i>                            |  |                                 |  |   |   |  |
| 77c.          | <i>ńuocko</i>                              |  |                                 |  |   |   |  |
| 77d.          | <i>manor"<sub>NRS</sub></i>                |  |                                 |  |   |   |  |
| 77e.          |  | <i>iblajgu<sup>B</sup>/<sub>M</sub></i><br><i>ubulaj-<br/>ku<sup>B</sup>/<sub>Pr</sub></i><br><i>ublajgu<sup>K</sup>/<sub>M</sub></i><br><i>úlaiggū<sup>Ch</sup></i> | <i>əligaku<sub>NRN</sub></i>    |  |   |   | (cf. M 101)  |
| 77f.          |  |  | <i>sielaku</i>                  |  |   |   |  |
| 77g.          |  |  |                                 | <i>ńuńo<sup>K</sup></i>  |   |   | * <i>ńuə(j)</i> child<br>(J 111;<br>DA 1626)   |
| 77h.          |  |  |                                 | <i>keba<sup>N</sup>,</i><br><i>kipa<sup>B,Tas</sup></i>                          |   |   |  |
| 77i.          |  |  | <i>tanəłikii<sub>NRN</sub></i>  | <i>tâna-<br/>ka<sup>C,OO,K</sup></i>   |   |   | cf. * <i>tänz-</i><br>wenig (J 154)  |

| <b>gloss</b>        | <b>Nenets</b>                                     | <b>Enets</b>  | <b>Nganasan</b>   | <b>Selkup</b>   | <b>Kamas</b>   | <b>Mator</b>  | <b>etymology</b>   |
|---------------------|---|---|---|---|--|---|--|
| 77j.                |   |   |   |   | <i>bok'vw</i> ,<br><i>βopt<sup>o</sup>D</i><br>(+ low,<br>short) |   |  |
| 77k.                |   |   |   |   | <i>id̪l'e'D</i>  |   |  |
| 77l.                |   |   |   |   | <i>üdūgā</i> =<br><i>uduga<sub>D</sub></i>                       | <i>udžju<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>mbuj</i>                | < Mo üčü-<br>-ken<br>(H 1134)  |
| 78a.<br>smoke<br>n. | <i>jâke</i><br><i>jâki</i> <sub>Adelung</sub>     | <i>jáki<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>daka<sup>B</sup>/<sub>Te</sub></i>   | ( <i>kíndə</i><br><i>djakágə<sub>Te</sub></i><br>smell of<br>smoke) | <i>?kačka<sup>N</sup></i><br><i>?kacko-</i><br>K.C.OO                                       |  |   | *jäckâ- (J 39)   |
| 78b.                | <i>śun</i><br>(+ steam)                           | <i>śuddo<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>śudu<sup>K</sup>/<sub>M</sub></i><br><i>śudru<sup>B</sup>/<sub>Gl</sub></i> | <i>kinta</i>  | <i>sünde<sup>NP</sup></i>   | <i>schunjú</i><br>Adelung  | <i>kjundu<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>kundo<sup>Tg</sup></i> | *küntâ (J 79;<br>H 593) <<br>U *künt <sup>3</sup><br>(R 158)<br>= *künti<br>(S, 537) |
| 78c.                | ( <i>pur</i> ) fire<br>against<br>mosqui-<br>tos) |   |   | <i>purga<sup>B,Tas</sup></i><br>=<br><i>purqi<sup>Tas/E</sup></i><br>(cf. DA<br>661)        |  |   | *pur- (J 131)<br>< U *purki<br>(A <sub>1</sub> 25) or<br>lw. from Kh<br>pōrkî?       |
| 78d.                |   |   |   | <i>ķām</i><br>- <i>də<sup>KM</sup>/DA</i>   |  |   | *käm̄tâ soot<br>(J 64)   |
| 78e.                |   |   |   |   | <i>ber = ber,</i><br><i>bor, bər<sub>D</sub></i>                 |   | cf. Tat. Tobol<br>byr<br>soot (Jo 90,<br>96)   |
| 78f.                |   |   |   |   | <i>k'āmnū'<sub>D</sub></i>                                       |   |  |
| 79a.<br>stand       | <i>nûdm</i>                                       | <i>nôaro<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>nôado<sup>B</sup></i>   | <i>nandetm</i>  | <i>nèyak<sup>N</sup></i><br><i>nèyan<sup>K-</sup></i><br>MO.OO<br><i>lenjan<sup>C</sup></i> | <i>nugam</i> =<br><i>nulām</i> ,<br><i>nōlām<sub>D</sub></i>     | <i>nemyn-</i><br>- <i>damv<sup>Mt</sup></i>             | *nu- ~ *nj-<br>(J 104;<br>H 735)   |
| 79b.                | ( <i>tōttīè</i><br>stellen)                       |   |   | <i>totti-qo-</i><br>Tas/ <sub>E</sub><br><i>če/očci-</i><br>- <sup>Ty</sup> / <sub>DA</sub> |  |   | cf. DA 1064,<br>1084   |
| 80a.<br>star        | <i>numgŷ</i>                                      |   |   |   |  |   | cf. *num sky,<br>god<br>(J 104;<br>H 782) <<br>U *nu-mz<br>(R 308)                   |
| 80b.                |   | <i>foreseo<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>fadesei<sup>B</sup></i>   | <i>fatajea</i> =<br><i>hotəd̪lə-</i><br>NRN                         |   |  |   |  |

# On the classification of the Samoyedic languages

| <b>gloss</b>  | <b>Nenets</b>                  | <b>Enets</b>   | <b>Nganasan</b>  | <b>Selkup</b>   | <b>Kamas</b>   | <b>Mator</b>   | <b>etymology</b>  |
|---------------|--------------------------------|--|--|---|--|--|---|
| 80c.          |                                |  |  | <i>keška</i> <sup>N</sup><br><i>kueška</i> <sup>B,Tas</sup><br><i>kesan-</i><br><i>ka</i> <sup>K,C,NP</sup> | <i>khinzi-</i><br><i>gäi</i> =<br><i>k'indžigej</i> <sub>D</sub> | <i>kindži-</i><br><i>kej</i> <sup>Mt</sup>   | * <i>k̥insz-</i> ( <i>kājə</i> )<br>(JJ 263;<br>H 489) <<br>U * <i>kunč</i> <sub>3</sub><br>(R 210) =<br>* <i>kunšā</i><br>(S <sub>1</sub> 537) |
| 81a.<br>stone | <i>pae</i>                     | <i>fū</i> <sup>Ch</sup> , <i>fu</i> <sup>B</sup>   | <i>fala</i>  | <i>pō</i> <sup>N</sup> ,<br><i>pü</i> <sup>K,OO</sup> ,<br><i>pū</i> <sub>E</sub> <sup>B,Tas</sup>          | <i>phi</i> = <i>p̄ī</i> <sub>D</sub>                             | <i>hilä</i> <sup>Mt</sup>  | * <i>pāj</i> (J 112;<br>H 298) <<br>U * <i>pije</i><br>(R 378)  |
| 82a.<br>sun   | <i>hájer,</i><br><i>haijer</i> | <i>kaija</i> <sup>Ch</sup><br><i>kaja</i> <sup>B/Te</sup><br><i>kāja</i> <sup>K/Pu</sup><br><i>kājer</i> <sup>K/Pu</sup> | <i>kou</i>   | ( <i>qeči</i> <sup>Tas</sup> / <sub>E</sub><br>heat)  | <i>kuja</i> =<br><i>k'ua</i> <sub>D</sub>                        | <i>kajja</i> <sup>Mt</sup><br><i>xaja</i> <sup>Tg</sup>  | * <i>kājā</i> (J 58; H<br>389) <<br>U * <i>koje</i><br>(R167) =<br>* <i>kājā</i> (S <sub>1</sub> 538)   |
| 82b.          | ( <i>jálea</i><br>day, light)  | ( <i>jeré</i> <sup>Ch</sup><br><i>jere</i> <sup>B</sup> day)   | ( <i>jale</i> day)   | <i>čēl</i> <sup>N</sup> , <i>tēl</i> <sup>B,Tas</sup><br>(+ day)  | ( <i>tala</i> day =<br><i>d'fānā</i> <sub>D</sub> )              |  | * <i>jälä</i> (J 40) <<br>U * <i>jelä</i><br>(R 96–97)  |
| 83a.<br>swim  | <i>ŋū-ś</i> <sub>Le</sub>      |  |  | <i>ūrnak</i> <sup>N</sup><br><i>ūrnaj</i> <sup>K,O-</sup><br>O,B,Tas  |  | * <i>u-</i> or<br>* <i>ū-</i> <sup>Kg</sup><br><i>tscha-</i><br><i>gand-</i><br><i>uūsugur-</i><br><i>jana</i><br>I swim in<br>a river | * <i>u-</i> (J 29;<br>H 1108) <<br>U * <i>uje-</i> ~<br>* <i>oje-</i><br>(R 542) =<br>* <i>uxi-</i><br>(S <sub>1</sub> 536)                     |
| 83b.          | <i>oúlim,</i><br><i>ólym</i>   |  |  |   |  |  |   |
| 83c.          | <i>húlydm</i>                  |  |  |   |  |  |   |
| 83d.          | <i>hattadm</i>                 |  |  |   |  |  |   |
| 83e.          | <i>šam-</i><br><i>beadm</i>    |  |  | <i>kām-</i><br><i>pər-</i> <sup>KM</sup> / <sub>DA</sub>  |  |  | cf. DA 1835   |
| 83f.          |                                | <i>be'ero</i> <sup>Ch</sup><br><i>be'io</i> <sup>B</sup>   |  |   |  |  |   |
| 83g.          |                                | <i>behejedo</i> <sup>B</sup><br><i>behejero</i> <sup>Ch</sup>  |  |   |  |  |   |
| 83h.          | <i>r'āmpaś</i> <sub>Le</sub>   |  | <i>jambi'em</i><br>= <i>dām-</i><br><i>bisi</i> <sub>NRN</sub> | ( <i>lämpi-</i><br><i>la</i> <sup>Tas</sup> / <sub>E</sub><br>Schwim-<br>mer am<br>Netz)                    |  |  | * <i>lämpə</i> (J 82)   |
| 83i.          |                                |  | <i>hoδjrsi</i> <sub>NRN</sub>                                  | <i>kurak</i> <sup>N</sup><br><i>kūrem-</i><br><i>ban</i> <sup>Tas</sup>                                     |  |  |   |
| 83j.          |                                |  | <i>kudūsa</i> <sub>NRN</sub>                                   |   |  |  |   |

| <b>gloss</b>   | <b>Nenets</b>                           | <b>Enets</b>  | <b>Nganasan</b>              | <b>Selkup</b>  | <b>Kamas</b>   | <b>Mator</b>  | <b>etymology</b>   |
|----------------|---|---|------------------------------|--|--|---|--|
| 83k.           |   |   |                              | <i>pän̊šanj<sup>B</sup></i><br><i>päntəfərj<sup>Tas</sup></i>  | <i>pha<sup>o</sup>lam</i> =<br><i>p'žlām<sub>D</sub></i> |   |  |
| 83l.           |   |   |                              |  |  | <i>tadelb-namv<sup>Mt</sup></i>                           | (M 934)  |
| 84a.<br>tail   | <i>tae(u)wa</i>                         |   | <i>tójbu<sub>M</sub></i>     | <i>talž<sup>N</sup></i> ,<br><i>taldū<sup>K</sup></i>  | <i>thīma</i> =<br><i>tšīma<sub>D</sub></i>               | <i>dajba<sup>Mt</sup></i>                                 | * <i>t<sub>1</sub>âjwā</i><br>(J 150; H 943) <<br>U * <i>sejpä</i><br>(R 438)  |
| 84b.           | <i>sańa'</i>                            | (sóddaki<br>tail of<br>birds)   | (santu'<br>tail of<br>birds) |  |  |   |  |
| 84c.           | <i>panco</i>                            |   |                              |  |  |   | cf. Sm * <i>påncå</i><br>lower edge<br>(J 116) <<br>U * <i>ponči</i> tail<br>(R 394–95,<br>735; S <sub>1</sub> 547 ;<br>A <sub>2</sub> 23) |
|                |   | <i>batu'o<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>batu'o<sup>B</sup>/<sub>Te</sub></i> | <i>batu'a</i>                |  |  |   |  |
| 84d.           |   |   |                              | <i>mäčä<sup>B</sup></i><br><i>mätä<sup>Tas</sup></i>   |  |   | < U * <i>mäńćz</i><br>~ * <i>mäćz</i><br>(R 268)   |
| 84e.           |   |   |                              |  | <i>katen<sub>D</sub></i><br>(+ Arsch)                    |   | < Tat. <i>kötän</i><br>id.   |
| 85a.<br>that   | <i>taky</i>                             |   |                              | ( <i>te<sup>Tas</sup>/<sub>E</sub> he</i> )  |  |   | * <i>tā-</i> (J 150)   |
| 85aa.          | <i>tānij<sub>Te</sub></i>               | (tonea<br>es gibt)  | <i>tanie</i>                 |  |  |   | * <i>tā-nā-</i><br>(J 144) <<br>U * <i>ta</i> + * <i>nä</i><br>(R 505, 300)  |
| 85aaa.<br>.    | ( <i>tīky<sub>Te</sub></i><br>der dort) | <i>tīke<sub>Te</sub></i>  |                              | ( <i>ti<sup>Tas</sup>/<sub>E</sub></i><br>now)<br><i>tina<sup>Tas</sup>/<sub>E</sub></i><br>(+ this) | <i>da<sub>D</sub></i> (+ he)                             | <i>tinv<sup>Mt</sup></i><br>( <i>ty<sup>Mt</sup> he</i> ) | * <i>ti(-)</i> (J 160;<br>H 1006,<br>1022) <<br>U * <i>tāi</i> / * <i>te</i> / * <i>ti</i><br>(R 513–14)                                   |
| 85b. =<br>86c. | <i>nēr<sub>Le</sub></i>                 |   |                              |  |  |   | * <i>nā(-)</i><br>(J 105) <<br>U * <i>nā</i> / * <i>ne</i> / * <i>ni</i><br>(R 301)  |
| 85c.           |   | <i>sedeo</i>  |                              |  |  |   | cf. <i>seg<sup>B</sup>/<sub>Te</sub></i><br>who?   |
| 85d.           |   | <i>ine<sup>B</sup>/<sub>Pr</sub></i>                                  |                              |  | ( <i>id<sup>D</sup></i> this)                            | ( <i>idchaiin<sup>Mt</sup></i><br>vorgestern)             | * <i>i-</i> (J 26;<br>H 336)   |

# On the classification of the Samoyedic languages

| <b>gloss</b>        | <b>Nenets</b>                                  | <b>Enets</b>   | <b>Nganasan</b>     | <b>Selkup</b>  | <b>Kamas</b>                         | <b>Mator</b>   | <b>etymology</b>  |
|---------------------|--|--|---------------------|--|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| 86a.<br>this        |  |  | takâ                |  | šō                                   |  | *tä- ~ *te-<br>(J 152) <<br>U *tä/ *te/*ti<br>(R 513–14)  |
| 86aa.               | (tat <sub>Le</sub><br>then)                    | tohonô   | (tanday<br>dorthin) | to = ta <sup>Tas</sup> / <sub>E</sub>                    | da                                   | (dana <sup>Mt</sup><br>there)                        | *tə- (J 144;<br>H 954) <<br>U *ta (R 505)   |
| 86aaa.              | tuky =<br>tuku <sub>RNS</sub>                  |  |                     |  | dü                                   |  | *tü- (J 167;<br>H 1075<br>rejects to add<br>Mt tugokb<br>soviel)                                  |
| 86b.                |  | dat. eo'<br>der. eke/<br>o <sup>Ch</sup><br>ekke <sup>B</sup> / <sub>Te</sub><br>eke <sup>K</sup> / <sub>M</sub> | ŋamanj              | (ompä <sup>Tas</sup> / <sub>E</sub><br>now)              |                                      |  | *äm- (J 19) <<br>U *e (R 67);<br>H 644 rejects<br>to add Mt<br>mákaia today<br>: Hu ma id.        |
| 86c.                | (nēr <sub>Le</sub><br>that)                    |  |                     | na   |                                      |  | *nz(-) (J 105)<br>< U *no<br>(R 306)  |
| 86d.                |  |  |                     |  | id <sup>D</sup>                      |  | = #85d  |
| 87a.<br>thou        |  | tod <sup>Ch</sup><br>(*tān-tä)   | tannaj              | tan/t  | than =<br>t'an,<br>t'ān <sub>D</sub> | tan <sup>Mt</sup>                                    | *tān (J 147) <<br>U *tun<br>(JJ 232;<br>R 539)  |
| 87b.                | pudar =<br>pydär <sub>NRS</sub>                |  |                     |  |                                      | (xudu-<br>self)                                      | from puda he<br>(GS 342); cf.<br>pyd <sub>NRS</sub> self;<br>body < *pucā<br>(J 129–30;<br>H 321) |
| 87c.                |  | ū <sup>B</sup> / <sub>Te</sub><br>ū <sup>K</sup> / <sub>M</sub> , ū <sup>K</sup> / <sub>Pu</sub>                 |                     |  |                                      |  | (M 230)<br>cf. Ket ū thou   |
| 88a.<br>ton-<br>gue | námi<br>Obd.<br>nāmū =<br>namju <sub>RNS</sub> |  |                     |  |                                      |  | R 314: nā?<br>mouth +<br>*mū? Inne-<br>res; not from<br>*nālmä                                    |
| 88b.                | śié <sub>Le</sub>                              | sioro <sup>Ch</sup><br>sioro <sup>B</sup>  | sieja               | se <sup>N</sup> , śe <sup>Tas</sup> ,<br>śi <sup>B</sup> | šikä =<br>śəkə <sub>D</sub>          | ki, kis-<br>chtaä <sup>Mt</sup><br>gei <sup>Kg</sup> | *keāj (J 66;<br>H 450) <<br>U *kēle<br>(R 144) =<br>*käxli<br>(S <sub>1</sub> 538)                |

| <b>gloss</b>  | <b>Nenets</b>                  | <b>Enets</b>   | <b>Nganasan</b>                                  | <b>Selkup</b>   | <b>Kamas</b>                                 | <b>Mator</b>  | <b>etymology</b>   |
|---------------|--------------------------------|--|--|---|--|---|--|
| 89a.<br>tooth | <i>t̄ibeā,</i><br><i>t̄wie</i> | <i>t̄<sup>g</sup>, g.</i> <i>t̄io<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>t̄i<sup>B</sup>/<sub>Te</sub></i> | <i>t̄imi</i>                                     | <i>tim<sup>B,Tas</sup>,</i><br><i>tiu<sup>K</sup></i><br><i>teu<sup>MO</sup>,</i><br><i>čeu<sup>C</sup></i> | <i>thimä =</i><br><i>t̄ime<sub>D</sub></i>   | <i>tyme<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>dimi-da<sup>Kg</sup></i>                 | * <i>timä</i> (J 163;<br>H 1019) <<br>U * <i>sew(i)-mä</i><br>: * <i>sewi-</i> eat<br>(A <sub>1</sub> 34–35;<br>R 440; S <sub>1</sub> 548)             |
| 90a.<br>tree  | <i>pea</i>                     | <i>f̄e<sup>Ch</sup>, fe<sup>B</sup></i>  | <i>f̄a</i>                                       | <i>po<sup>N</sup>,</i><br><i>pū<sup>B,Tas</sup></i>   | <i>pha</i>                                   | <i>häh<sup>Mt</sup></i>   | * <i>pä</i> (J 117;<br>H 267) <<br>U * <i>puwe</i><br>(R 410) =<br>* <i>pu/o/āxi/i</i><br>(S <sub>1</sub> 539)   |
| 91a.<br>two   | <i>side</i>                    | <i>sire<sup>Ch</sup>,</i><br><i>side<sup>B</sup></i>                                       | <i>siti = sítim</i>                              | <i>site, šite</i>   | <i>šide</i>                                  | <i>kiddä<sup>Mt</sup></i>   | * <i>kitä</i> (J 71;<br>H 481) <<br>U * <i>kakta/-käktä</i><br>(R 118–19) =<br>* <i>kektä</i><br>(S <sub>1</sub> 537)                                  |
| 92a.<br>walk  | <i>jādam</i>                   | <i>jararo<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>jadado<sup>B</sup> =</i><br><i>dōdürśa<sub>NNN</sub></i>  | <i>joturyum</i>                                  | <i>kuttarna-</i><br><i>ŋ<sup>Kar</sup></i><br><i>kuttar-</i><br><i>-qo<sup>Tas</sup>/<sub>E</sub></i>       |  | <i>dscháda<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>dscha-</i><br><i>dim<sup>Tg</sup></i> | * <i>jätə-(j-r-)</i><br>(J 38–39;<br>H 164, 166) <<br>U * <i>juta-</i><br>(R 106)  |
| 92b.          | <i>hajeadm</i>                 |  |  |   |  | <i>gajty-</i><br><i>gamə<sup>Mt</sup></i>                               | * <i>kəj-</i> (J 51;<br>H 384; var.:<br>* <i>kaní-, kaj-</i> )   |
| 92c.          |                                | <i>(kańiš<sup>B</sup>/<sub>Te</sub></i><br>(weg)<br>gehen)                                 | <i>konidī</i>                                    | <i>qen-qo-</i><br><i>Tas/<sub>E</sub></i>   | <i>kanda-</i><br><i>gamə<sup>Kb</sup></i>    | <i>(gan<sup>Kg</sup></i><br>үйди!)                                      | * <i>kā(ə)n-</i><br>(J 59; H 413);<br>cf. U * <i>kanta</i><br>carry (R 124;<br>S 24)   |
| 92d.          | <i>minz<sub>RNS</sub></i>      |  | <i>méndem</i><br>=<br><i>minsj<sub>NNN</sub></i> |   | <i>minjäm =</i><br><i>mɔŋgem<sub>D</sub></i> |   | * <i>min-</i><br>(J 94; H 627<br>excudes Mt<br><i>myngaemü</i><br>I leave) <<br>U * <i>mene</i><br>(R 272) =<br>* <i>meni-</i><br>(S <sub>1</sub> 538) |
| 92e.          |                                | <i>muosiro<sup>Ch</sup></i>  |  |   |  |   |  |
| 92f.          |                                |  | <i>čüüda<sub>NNN</sub></i>                       |   |  |   |  |
| 92g.          |                                |  | <i>heđitjsi -</i><br><i>NNN</i>                  |   |  |   |  |
| 92h.          |                                |  |  | <i>palduanj<sup>K</sup></i><br><i>paldūwa-</i><br><i>ŋ<sup>NP</sup></i>                                     |  |   |  |

On the classification of the Samoyedic languages

| <b>gloss</b>  | <b>Nenets</b>                           | <b>Enets</b>   | <b>Nganasan</b>  | <b>Selkup</b>  | <b>Kamas</b>   | <b>Mator</b>                        | <b>etymology</b>   |
|---------------|---|--|--|--|--|-------------------------------------|--|
| 92i.          |   |  |  | <i>werkka-</i><br><i>ŋčoo</i>                                      |  |                                     |  |
| 92j.          |   |  |  | <i>iččir-qo</i>  |  |                                     |  |
| 92k.          |   |  |  | <i>qaltjr-</i><br><i>kaltjrj-qo</i>                                |  |                                     |  |
| 92l.          |   |  |  | <i>qoš-qo</i>  |  |                                     |  |
| 92m.          |   |  |  |  | <i>bäd'läm<sub>D</sub></i><br>(+ bring)                                  |                                     |  |
| 92n.          |   |  |  |  | <i>k<sup>(č)</sup>äl läm<sub>D</sub></i> ,<br><i>χäl läm<sub>D</sub></i> |                                     | < U *kulke-<br>(R 198)   |
| 92o.          |   |  |  |  | <i>milém<sub>D</sub></i>   |                                     |  |
| 92p.          |   |  |  |  | <i>šönujam,</i><br><i>šönam-</i><br><i>nam<sub>D</sub></i>               |                                     |  |
| 92q.          |   |  |  |  | <i>t'ō(n)ním,</i><br><i>t'ōnū'läm<sub>D</sub></i>                        |                                     |  |
| 93a.<br>warm  | <i>jibi, jipi,</i><br><i>juba, jyba</i> | <i>juba</i><br><i>duba<sup>Ch</sup>/<sub>X</sub></i><br><i>duba<sup>B</sup>/<sub>vs</sub></i><br><i>duba<sup>K</sup>/<sub>pu</sub></i> |  |  | ( <i>dü-</i> <sub>D</sub> melt<br>{of ice})                              | <i>tschúha<sup>T-</sup></i><br>g.Mt | *ju(ž)-på :<br>*ju(ž)-<br>become<br>warm, weak<br>(J 47-48;<br>H 231)        |
| 93b.          |   |  | <i>hejbi<sub>NRN</sub></i><br>(fea-<br>bem'am<br>sich er-<br>wärmen) | <i>pö<sup>N</sup>,</i><br><i>pū<sup>TKB,Tas</sup></i>              |  |                                     | *pejwä<br>(J 120);<br>cf. FU *päjwä<br>fire (R 360;<br>S 34)                 |
| 93c.          |   |  | <i>nūnāŋ</i>   |  |  |                                     |  |
| 93d.          |   |  | <i>fekutea =</i><br><i>hékutaku<sub>X</sub></i>                      |  |  |                                     | < Tn *peku<br>(AX 146-47)  |
|               |   |  | <i>h/kolšuo<sub>KS</sub></i>   |  |  |                                     |  |
| 93e.          |   |  |  |  | <i>ejü = εiū,</i><br><i>εiū, ēiū<sub>D</sub></i>                         |                                     |  |
| 93f.          | ( <i>jieppä<sub>Le</sub></i><br>be hot) | ( <i>jéfi<sup>B</sup>, éfi<sup>Ch</sup></i><br>be hot)   |  | ( <i>čäp(p)</i><br><i>j-qo<sup>Tas</sup>/<sub>E</sub></i><br>burn) | <i>t'(š)ib<sup>w</sup>ge-,</i><br><i>džibuge<sub>D</sub></i>             | <i>džobuka<sup>Mt</sup></i>         | *jet <sub>J</sub> ž-<br>(J 44-45;<br>H 219; cf.<br>AX 97; Tn<br>*jeppu- id.) |
| 94a.<br>water | <i>ji'</i> , <i>wit<sup>Knd</sup></i>   | <i>bi<sup>Ch</sup>, bi<sup>B</sup></i>   | <i>bē'</i>   | <i>üt, öt<sup>N,B,Tas</sup></i>                                    | <i>bü = bw<sub>D</sub></i>   | <i>bu<sup>Mt,Tg,Kg</sup></i>        | *wit (J 176;<br>H 143) <<br>U *wete<br>(R 570) =<br>*weti (S, 541)           |

| <b>gloss</b>  | <b>Nenets</b>   | <b>Enets</b>  | <b>Nganasan</b>                 | <b>Selkup</b>  | <b>Kamas</b>  | <b>Mator</b>                           | <b>etymology</b>   |
|---------------|---|---|---------------------------------|--|---|--|--|
| 95a.<br>we    |   |   | <i>mēŋ</i>                      | <i>mē, mî</i>  | <i>mi'</i>  | <i>mendä</i>                           | * <i>me</i> -( <i>N-t</i> )<br>(J 91; H 655)<br>< U * <i>me</i> /<br>* <i>mā</i> (- <i>N</i> ) (cf.<br>R 294–95) |
| 95ab.         | <i>mańa'</i>  | <i>modi'</i><br><i>modina-</i><br><sup>B</sup> / <sub>Pr</sub><br><i>modina-</i><br><sup>Ch</sup> / <sub>Su</sub> |                                 |  |   |  | * <i>mān-tä-(t)</i><br>(J 86)  |
| 96a.<br>what  | <i>ŋamgy</i>  | <i>awuo</i><br><i>abbua<sup>B</sup>/</i> <sub>Pr</sub><br><i>obu<sup>B</sup>/</i> <sub>Tc</sub>                   |                                 |  | <i>ümbi</i> =<br><i>ŋbi, ambi</i> <sub>D</sub><br>cf. <i>šombi</i> <sub>D</sub> | ( <i>amgan</i> - <sup>Kg</sup><br>why) | * <i>əm-</i> (J 15;<br>H 34)   |
| 96b.          | ( <i>mi<sup>L</sup></i> <sub>Le</sub><br>etwas<br>zu essen)                                     | <i>mi<sup>C</sup></i> <sub>Ch</sub>   | <i>mâ</i>                       | ( <i>mi</i><br>thing)  | ( <i>mo</i> <sub>D</sub><br>weshalb)  | <i>ma</i> - <sup>Kg</sup>              | * <i>me</i> (J 91;<br>H 633) <<br>U * <i>m3</i> (R 296)  |
| 96c.          |   | <i>kaigu</i> (GS<br>360)  |                                 | <i>kai</i> =<br><i>qai<sup>Tas</sup>/</i> <sub>E</sub>                         |   |  | < Tn * <i>xai</i><br>(AX 156)  |
| 96d.          |   |   |                                 |  | <i>dɔ</i> <sub>D</sub>  |  | cf. <i>d2, d<sup>3</sup></i> der,<br>er?   |
| 97a.<br>white | <i>sear</i>   | <i>siřoi<sup>C</sup></i> <sub>Ch</sub>  | <i>sera'a</i>                   | <i>ser<sup>Tas</sup></i> =<br><i>seri<sup>Tas</sup></i> <sub>E</sub>           | <i>siri</i> =<br><i>sɔri, sire</i> <sub>D</sub>                                 |  | * <i>ser(-)</i> : * <i>serice</i><br>(J 138; H 874)<br>< U * <i>śarz</i><br>(R 464)                              |
| 97b.          |   | <i>jogudad-</i><br><i>de<sup>B</sup></i>  | <i>dekagá</i> <sub>Pallas</sub> | <i>čag<sup>MO</sup>,</i><br><i>täg<sup>C</sup></i><br><i>čäk<sup>Tas</sup></i> |   |  | * <i>jeₖ₃</i> (J 42)   |
| 97c.          |   |   |                                 |  | <i>d/täržk</i> <sub>D</sub>   |  | < Tat, Alt<br><i>jaryq</i>   |
| 97d.          |   |   |                                 |  | <i>ōj</i> <sub>D</sub>  |  | < Tat <i>oi</i><br>weissblau<br>(Pferdefarbe)<br>(Jo 243)  |
| 97e.          |   |   |                                 |  |   | <i>kir</i> <sup>Mt</sup>               | < Tk * <i>qyr</i><br>grey (H 494)  |
| 98a.<br>who   | <i>śa</i>   | <i>sio, sie<sup>C</sup></i> <sub>Ch</sub><br><i>śea<sup>B</sup>/</i> <sub>Tc</sub>                                | <i>sele</i>                     |  |   |  | * <i>ki-/*kj-</i> (J 69)<br>< U * <i>ke/*ki</i><br>(R 140)   |
| 98aa.         | <i>hiübäa</i> <sup>Tundra</sup><br>= <i>xibja</i> <sub>RNS</sub><br>= <i>kīnīn'v-</i><br>Forest |   |                                 |  | <i>śimdi</i> =<br><i>śind<sup>D</sup></i>                                       | <i>kymv</i> <sup>Mt</sup>              | * <i>ki-/*kj-mä</i><br>(J 69; H 486)<br>< U * <i>ke/*ki</i><br>(R 140)   |
| 98ab.         | <i>ku'kkj</i> <sub>Le</sub>   | ( <i>hōke</i><br>which<br>= <i>koke</i> <sub>so</sub> )   | ( <i>kua</i><br>which)          | <i>kut, kud</i>  | ( <i>g/kidī</i><br>which ;<br>cf. <i>gi'i'</i> <sub>D</sub><br>which of<br>two) | ( <i>kulgu</i> <sup>Mt</sup><br>which) | * <i>ku-</i> (J 75;<br>H 563, 576)<br>< U * <i>ku-/*ko-</i><br>(R 191)   |

# On the classification of the Samoyedic languages

| <b>gloss</b>       | <b>Nenets</b>                                    | <b>Enets</b>   | <b>Nganasan</b>   | <b>Selkup</b>  | <b>Kamas</b>                                | <b>Mator</b>  | <b>etymology</b>  |
|--------------------|--|--|---|--|---|---|---|
| 99a.<br>wo-<br>man | <i>ne</i> <sub>RNS</sub>                         | <i>nē<sup>Ch</sup></i><br><i>ne<sup>B</sup>/<sub>Pr</sub></i><br><i>nē<sup>K</sup>/<sub>Pu</sub></i> | <i>nē = nī<sub>M</sub></i>  | <i>neā<sup>OO, Č</sup></i><br><i>ne<sup>Tas</sup>/<sub>E</sub></i>                             | <i>nε, nē, nē<sub>D</sub></i>               | <i>(ne<sup>Mt</sup></i><br>Weibs<br>Person<br><i>ne<sup>Kg</sup> uxor</i> ) | * <i>ne</i> (J 100;<br>H 727) < U<br>* <i>nijā</i> (R 305–<br>06) ≠ U * <i>näxi</i><br>(S, 539) |
|                    |  |  |   | <i>ema<sup>MO</sup></i><br><i>ima<sup>B,Tas</sup></i><br><i>ima<sup>Tas</sup>/<sub>E</sub></i> |   | <i>(eme<sup>Tg</sup></i><br><i>imang<sup>Mt</sup></i><br>mother)            | * <i>emā</i> mother<br>(J 23; H 64) <<br>U * <i>emā</i><br>(R 74; S, 536)                       |
| 100a.<br>yellow    | <i>tāsihaei =</i><br><i>tasej</i> <sub>RNS</sub> | <i>taserad-</i><br><i>de<sup>Ch</sup></i>  | <i>toðakuo<sub>NRN</sub></i><br>( <i>tosərū-</i><br><i>tiō<sub>NRN</sub></i><br>gelblich) |  |   |   |   |
| 100b.              |  | <i>takuda-</i><br><i>de<sup>Ch</sup>/<sub>X</sub></i>  |   |  |   |   | (X 130)   |
| 100c.              |  |  |   | <i>pati<sup>Tas</sup>/<sub>E</sub></i>   |   |   | cf. <i>pati</i> bile,<br>gall <<br>* <i>pâtä</i> (J 115)  |
| 100d.              |  |  |   |  | <i>segi<sub>D</sub></i>                     |   | Soy, Sag <i>sigän</i><br>grass  |
| 100e.              |  |  |   |  |   | <i>táinaha<sup>Mt</sup></i><br><i>tánjaha<sup>Kg</sup></i>                  | (H 945)   |
| 100f.              |  |  |   |  | <i>dēzi<sub>D</sub></i><br>(+ of<br>copper) |   | cf. <i>dēs</i> cop-<br>per, bronze<br>(Jo 121)  |
| 100g.              |  |  |   |  | <i>sār<sub>D</sub></i><br>(+ grau-<br>lich) | <i>saryx</i>  | < Tk: Khak<br><i>saryy</i> yellow,<br>Tat <i>sāryg</i><br>(H 851)                               |

Note 1: The main source of Nenets, Enets, Nganasan, Selkup and Kamas is Castrén 1855; for Mator it is Helimski 1997 (= H). The additional sources are: Nenets – Le, NRS, RNS; Enets – M, X; Nganasan – KS, NRN, Xelimskij 1994; Selkup – DA, E, G; Kamas – D.

Note 2: Forms in parentheses differ in semantics and for this reason are not calculated as cognates. The underlined forms are loanwords.

**Abbreviations of languages:** Alt Altai, Brb Baraba, Bsk Bashkir, Chag Chaghatai, Ewk Ewenki, F Finnic, Fi Finnish, FU Finno-Ugric, Hu Hungarian, Kalm Kalmyk, Kb Koibal, Kg Karagas, Khak Khakas, Km Kamas, Kzk Kazakh, Ma Mansi, Md Mordvin, Mo Mongolian, Mt Mator, N North, Ru Russian, Sag Sagai, Sm Samoyedic, Soy Soyot, Tat Tatar, Tg Taigi, Tk Turkic, Tn Tungusic, U Uralic, Yak Yakut, Yen Yeniseic, Ykg Yukaghir.

**Abbreviations of dialects** (written in the upper index):

Nenets: Knd Kondin, Obd Obdorsk.

Enets: B Baicha, Ch Khantaika, K Karasino.

Selkup: B Baicha, Č Čaja, K Kef, Kar Karasin, MK Middle Kef, MO Middle Ob, N Narym, NP Nats Pumpokolsk, OO Upper Ob, Tu Tundra, UK Upper Kef.

**Abbreviations of authors** (written in the lower index):

Gl Gluxij, La Labanauskas, Le Lehtisalo, Pop Popov, Pr Prokofjev, Pu Puszta, So Sorokina, Su Susekov, Te Tereščenko, VS Volodin + Sorokina, X Xelimskij. These authors are usually cited according to Janhunen 1977 (J), Mikola 1995 (M) or Xelimskij 1982 (X).

## Conclusion

The most important result of the present contribution is a dating of the disintegration of Samoyedic to the 3rd–2nd century BCE, i.e. between the disintegrations of its neighbours, Ob-Ugric around 400 BCE and Turkic around 100 BCE. Applying the cladistic strategy based on average values of percentages expressing mutual relations, two primarily parallel branches of the Samoyedic dialect continuum may be determined: North Samoyedic vs. South Samoyedic, consisting of Selkup and Sayan Samoyedic. With regard to the thin interval of 1.4% between the disintegration of Common Samoyedic and separation of Selkup from Kamas and Mator, it is possible to consider the alternative trichotomic model: North Samoyedic, Selkup and Sayan Samoyedic. Relatively low scores of Nganasan with all other languages (with exception of Enets) probably indicate an influence of a pre-Samoyedic substratum of the Taimyr Peninsula. On the other hand, the possibility that the Sayan Samoyedic branch was secondarily “formed” thanks to the geographical neighbourhood of Kamas (and Koibal) and Mator (and Taigi and Karagas) is not excluded. In this case, Helimski's (1982 = X) idea of four coordinate branches would be confirmed.

Concerning the Samoyedic–Finno-Ugric relations, their disintegration dated to 3400 BCE is in agreement with *communis opinio* (see the discussion in Blažek 2012: 30–32). The most remarkable result is that the order of lexical proximity of individual Finno-Ugric branches to Samoyedic does not correspond with the geographical distance – on the basis of the core lexicon, the closest relative of Samoyedic is Finnic (every Finnic language shares with Samoyedic, on average, a higher score than all other branches):

1. Finnic: 28.62%
2. Mari: 26.12%
3. Permic: 25.95%
4. Ugric: 24.03 %
5. Saamic: 22.95 %
6. Mordvinian: 22.39 %

This result does not confirm the idea of an Eastern Uralic superbranch consisting of Ugric and Samoyedic (Häkkinen 2007, 2009; Parpolo 2012: 288), at least in a genealogical sense. On the other hand, an areal explanation operating with a West Siberian *Sprachbund* consisting of Ugric, Samoyedic and probably also the Yeniseic language Pumpokol, all characterized by the isogloss  $*s > *t$ , was already formulated by Helimski in 1982 (X 124). The specific Finnic–Samoyedic relations represent an open question. As working hypotheses, the following scenarios may be offered: (i) Primary neighbourhood in the Uralic dialect continuum. (ii) Independently shared archaisms in the northwest and northeast peripheries of the Uralic dialect continuum. (iii) Substratum common to both Samoyedic and Finnic. (iv) Finnic-like substratum in Samoyedic (with regard to high scores of the Nganasan core lexicon with all Finno-Ugric branches, the hypothetical pre-Samoyedic substratum in Nganasan could be of Uralic origin too). (v) Samoyedic-like substratum in Finnic (and not Saamic, where it did not become evident in the core lexicon). Only future research can solve this challenge.

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## Notes

1. Already Janhunen (1983: 119) identified in Samoyedic \*sejptâ '7' a loan from Common Tocharian \*ṣəptâ id. (Ringe 1996: 67). It is possible to add North Samoyedic \*menijjâ 'full moon' (Xelimskij 1978: 126; 1984: 117; 2000: 400) < Common Tocharian \*m'ēñə- 'moon' (Ringe 1996: 108–109), and Sayan Samoyedic \*pey- 'to write, impress' (XE 119; H 329) < Tocharian AB (present stem) *pink-* 'to write, paint, delineate' (Adams 2013: 410); cf. also Napolskikh 2001: 373, 371.
2. Cf. Samoyedic \*num 'sky, god' (< Ob-Ugric \*numz 'up, on top' R 308); \*kalmä 'dead body, grave' (continuants of U \*kalma have been lost in the Ugric branch – see R 119–120; Janhunen 1998: 477 assumes their existence).
3. Janhunen (1998: 477) quotes Samoyedic \*juntâ 'horse' and \*jür '100' as examples of proto-Bolgar loanwords. It is possible to add another numeral, Samoyedic \*te(j)ttâ '4' (J 159), resembling Volga-Bolgar \*tüät, Chuvash tăvattă, derived from proto-Turkic protoform \*dōrt '4' (Blažek 1996–97: 6–7; 1997: 37; 1999: 93,105). But in the proto-Samoyedic language there is no witness to the cluster \*-rt-. (cf. S 46–47). This means that \*te(j)ttâ may be a direct adaptation of proto-Turkic \*dōrt. On the other hand, -r- is also missing outside the Bolgar-Chuvash branch, e.g. in Uighur dial. tööt, Lobnor dö(j)t/töjt, Salar δöt, δot id. (Severtjan 1980: 284–86).

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