

**JAPANESE - URALIC LANGUAGE COMPARISON;
LOCATING JAPANESE ORIGINS WITH THE HELP OF
SAMOYED, FINNISH, HUNGARIAN, ETC.:
AN ATTEMPT**

**by
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Lajos Kazár

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0. INTRODUCTION

The aim of the research project whose results are presented in these pages has been to gather and analyse, by way of comparison, assumed correspondences between Japanese and Uralic.

The posing of the question concerning genetic or other relationship between Japanese and languages of the Eurasian mainland is not new at all. Japanese researchers themselves have been trying to solve the riddle of their earthly provenance for at least 250 years, and many, if not most, have turned their attention westward. The famous Confucian scholar and statesman of the Tokugawa era, Hakuseki ARAI proposed as early as 1717 that a strong historical relationship once existed between Koreans and Japanese. (For pertinent literature see Miller 1967 and 1971.)

In Europe, especially from Hungary, searching eyes were early cast eastward because an almost forgotten, but still felt relationship with peoples "somewhere in the East" stirred the minds. Yet sooner than any Hungarians we know of, other nationals probed into central and eastern Asia and recorded their observations. Otto Donner in "Die uralaltaischen Sprachen" (FUF 1, 1901, 128-46) drew attention to the importance in this field of such early researchers as the Swede Philip Johan Tabbert von Strahlenberg who in his comprehensive work Das Nord- und Östliche Theil von Europa und Asia (Stockholm, 1730) called the entirety of the until then little known peoples of that vast area "Tatarische Völker", and divided them in six groups: 1. Uighurs = the Finno-Ugric peoples and the inhabitants of the Daraba, the plain between Ob and Yenissei; von Strahlenberg lumped this first group with the Huns, 2. Turko-Tatars, 3. Samoyeds, 4. Mongols and Manchus, 5. Tunguses, 6. tribes between the Black and Caspian Seas.

It was mainly on the basis of von Strahlenberg's work that the Hungarian János Sajnovics sought and found evidence of language relationship between Lapp and Hungarian (Demonstratio idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse, Trnava, 1770), to be followed by another Hungarian, Samuel Gyarmathi, who in his Affinitas linguae Hungaricae cum linguis Fennicae originis grammaticae demonstrata (Göttingen, 1799) offered solid evidence for the genetic relationship of the Balto-Finnic languages and Hungarian.

Elsewhere in Europe, in the wake of early linguistic successes achieved in the decipherment of old scripts and in connection with comparative studies of the Finno-Ugric, Indo-European, and Semitic languages, some scholars turned their hands and minds to comparative language studies outside of these fields, since there were on record suggestions and pioneering works such as von Strahlenberg's. In the early 19th century, particularly significant was H.J. Klaproth's Asia Polyglotta (1823) in which, among other things, Korean was tentatively linked to the Altaic languages, i.e., the Turkic, Mongol, and Manchu-Tungus group, and at that time, in a broader sense, including such languages as Finnish, Hungarian, Estonian, Mordvin, Vogul, etc. Klaproth and P.F. von Siebold in 1832 went so far as to suggest that Japanese belonged to the Altaic languages (Donner 1901, 131).

Given this spirit, it is not surprising that Hungarians and Finns felt encouraged to go farther afield. Between 1840 and his premature death in 1858, Antal Reguly undertook difficult journeys to the Voguls and Ostyaks, well east of the Ural Mountains, gathering valuable linguistic and ethnographic material among them and other related peoples on his way. His main concern was with the eastern, Ugric, branch of the language family that later became known as Finno-Ugric and still later, with the inclusion of Samoyed, Uralic. He felt that even by risking his life he had to write down the Vogul and Ostyak heroic songs which only a few old people were able to recite well even then. However, it fell to Bernát Munkácsi, Károly Pápai, József Pápay, and others to carry on the work as best as they could.

The great Finnish linguist, M. Alexander Castrén, began his equally trying field research around 1840 and went, within approx. ten years, all over Siberia,

gathering and interpreting, alas, for posthumous publication, material very valuable for both Uralic and Altaic linguistics. His far-flung explorations were continued on the Finnish side by A. Ahlquist, A. Kannisto, K.J. Karjalainen, T. Lehtisalo, and others.

As mentioned before, even in the time of Reguly and Castrén not only Hungarians and Finns were involved in feverish research on Uralic-Altaic problems. Other European researchers often looked even farther afield, since they were not primarily concerned with special Hungarian and/or Finnish ethnic and linguistic relations. So in time Japanese again came into view. As early as 1857, A. Boller, an Austrian Sanskritist who had a fair command of Hungarian, studied Finnish and what was then available about the Altaic group of languages, published a momentous article: "Nachweis, dass das Japanische zum ural-altaischen Stamme gehört" (Evidence showing that Japanese belongs to the Ural-Altaic family; see Sources). Somewhat later the famous French Orientalist De Rosny emphasized the necessity of thorough comparison between Japanese and Finnish. Around the turn of the century the Germans J. Grunzel and, in particular, H. Winkler tried to link Japanese to the Uralic and Altaic languages, then still considered to form one family.

We now return to the Hungarians and Finns. Vilmos Pröhle, an eminent Turkologist, took up Japanese, too, and published "Studien zur Vergleichung des Japanischen mit den uralischen und altaischen Sprachen" (Studies toward a comparison of Japanese with the Uralic and Altaic languages; see Sources). By 1916 the Uralic = Finno-Ugric and Samoyed languages were considered to be an established language family, to be treated separately from the Altaic group whose cohesion was not convincingly proven. It must be noted that in spite of the traditional (and perhaps misleading) term "uralisch und altaisch" in the title, Pröhle's article barely touches on Altaic. The whole treatment centers on Japanese-Uralic correspondences, and Pröhle emphasized the Uralic nature of Japanese. He reaffirmed his stand in 1943 when he published Grundriss einer vergleichenden Syntax der ural-altaischen Sprachen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der japanischen Sprache (An outline of a comparative syntax of the Ural-Altaic languages with particular consideration for the Japanese language; see Sources). One has to add that in this work Pröhle treated the Uralic and Altaic languages together, for, as he put it, he saw no essential syntactic difference between them.--In 1941 Ferenc Pap published his A magyar - Japán nyelvrokonság (Hungarian-Japanese language relationship; see Sources). This small treatise gives several hundred Hungarian-Japanese look-alikes, without phonological support or an attempt to link the words in question with cognates in other Uralic languages.--Back in 1924 the well-known Finnish Altaicist G.J. Ramstedt brought out his "Comparison of the Altaic languages with Japanese" (see Sources). This article throws up bold ideas, but is relatively short and shows that Ramstedt did not go deeply into Japanese.

In the meanwhile Japanese scholars continued their own research. In his article "The relationship of Japanese to the Ryūkyū, Korean, and Altaic languages" (1948; see Sources) Shirō HATTORI, while showing very convincingly the formal identity of Ryūkyūan with Japanese, gives his opinion on the various comparisons of Japanese with other languages. To quote him: "Up to now it has been theorized on various occasions that Japanese is related to Ainu, Aleutian languages, Eskimo, Hyperborean languages, Chinese, Tibetan, Burmese, Austroasiatic languages, Austronesian languages, Persian, Greek, Irish, other Indo-European languages, and several diverse tongues such as Basque, Sumerian, and Mexican Indian languages. I do not believe that any of these theories has been linguistically proved in a satisfactory manner and I think that the probability of any connection between Japanese and these various languages is extremely small. ... If we are to say that any language does have a relationship to Japanese, we must first cite the Ryūkyū language. Then searching further, although we cannot say that there is any complete linguistic proof, Korean comes to mind as the language for which the probability of relationship to Japanese is the greatest. Still further we might put forth the probability of relationship with the Altaic languages" --In support of this proposition, Hattori then reminds us that Hideyo ARISAKA ascertained that Nara Japanese (8th cent. A.D.) possessed vowel harmony; further, Kyosaku MAEMA and Shimpei OGURA established that vowel harmony also existed in 15th cent. Korean; on the basis of this common characteristic between Old Korean and Old Japanese, on one hand, and the Altaic languages, on the other, one may infer the probability of relationship among these languages. However, Hattori

rightly points out that in contradistinction to Turkic, Mongol, Manchu-Tungus, and Korean where vowel harmony extends or extended to the suffixes, Old Japanese vowel harmony did not affect the suffixes. He then concludes that vowel harmony developed independently in each of the languages concerned. In other words, "it is not improbable that the original parent tongue had no vowel harmony."

Hattori concerns himself also with Ramstedt's above article and remarks that Ramstedt assumed that some Japanese open syllables came from closed ones (e.g., ka < kat/kap/kar/kal/kas/kach; this assumption is contested by the present writer). Ramstedt also held the view that personal conjugation, not found in Japanese, was not necessarily a feature of proto-Altaic, and that the verbs were at the same time nouns, able to function also as predicates. In general, Hattori calls Ramstedt's article an excellent treatise, but does not regard it as convincing because the comparison made in it is fragmentary.

In Note 58 to his quoted article, Hattori makes a short reference to Pröhle's 1916 publication thus: "Dr. Wilhelm Pröhle ... states that the grammatical structure of Japanese is fundamentally identical with that of the Uralic languages, and concludes that these two languages are of the same stock, pointing out that remarkable resemblances can be noted between Japanese and the Uralic languages in primitive grammatical suffixes and in many of the words that can be considered native to Japanese. However, since the rules of phonetic correspondences have not yet been clearly established, we cannot take this theory as demonstrated. If the same resemblance could be noted in the Altaic languages, the probability of relationship between these languages would become greater. All in all, if we consider Pröhle's treatise or the above-mentioned contributions of Matsumoto, Horioka, C.K. Parker, we begin to have an impression that Japanese can be compared with any language."

In view of the extreme diversity of languages with which Japanese has been linked one must sympathize with Hattori. But was he fair to Pröhle?-- It is admitted that 90 word comparisons, 10 morphological parallels, and similarities in consonant development, as presented by Pröhle 1916, are not enough to claim genetic relationship even if we add Pröhle's syntactic proof of 1943. On the other hand, Hattori is demanding the impossible when he makes it practically a condition of Japanese-Uralic relationship that one should demonstrate the same resemblances in the Altaic tongues, too. To be certain, many syntactic and morphological identities have been demonstrated between Uralic and Altaic, there are also many certain word identities in the same field, but it is a hopeless task to endeavour to harmonize the phonological systems. Scholarship at large can be happy if the Uralic track leads to Japanese. Instead of dismissing Pröhle's probe, as Hattori did, one should have followed it up long ago.

Japanese may or may not be a hybrid language. We do not yet know. But there is a chance that it is an important continuer of a Eurasian language of old whose other remnants we can recover not in the vicinity of Japan, but much farther away. It has been repeatedly found in ethnology and general cultural history that peoples which once constituted cultural entities, when driven apart, often better preserve their former cultural traits in their separate, peripheral distribution than the parts remaining close to the old centers where sometimes violent political changes alter language and mode of life altogether.

Among Uralic linguists the view is general, and this may be due to Ramstedt's influence, that Japan is much too far geographically from the supposed original center of the Uralic peoples for Japanese to be considered for genetic relationship or even erstwhile contacts with the Uralic languages. Hattori's last-quoted remark may also have influenced potential Japanese inquiry to probe the Uralic possibility. And now we have R.A. Miller's book Japanese and the other Altaic languages (1971; see Sources) in which we read: "Even when Japanese materials of far greater accuracy and value were at hand, continuing interest in the 'Ural-Altaic' hypothesis and unwillingness to limit the investigation to Altaic materials alone continued to hamstring research. Pröhle is a good example; in its handling of Japanese materials it shows great advances over Boller (1857), but since it treats these materials against the overwhelmingly vast horizon of 'Ural-Altaic', few if any of its etymologies continue to be of interest today, except for their *incidental* role in the history of Japanese comparative studies" (pp. 13-14). But here follows what Pröhle had written regarding his aim (Pröhle 1916/17, 148; translation): "In the following studies I shall try: 1. to treat the most

important features of Japanese phonetic history, then compare with Uralic those morphological and lexical correspondences of the Japanese language which appear really noteworthy, 2. to compare the syntactic structure of Japanese with that of Uralic, more correctly, Ural-Altaic, 3. to scrutinize the noteworthy lexical correspondences between Japanese, on one hand, and Mongol and Manchu-Tungus, on the other; finally, to present my conclusions."--The last part of Pröhle's planned work could not be materialized. The second part went largely unnoticed because of WW 2, the first one because of WW 1.--There can be no doubt that the Altaicist Pröhle recognized many lexical and morphological correspondences between Japanese and Altaic. Yet he emphasized the Uralic nature of Japanese, while in connection with Ural-Altaic he used the epithet "so-called."

In 1966 S.E. Martin brought out his "Lexical evidence relating Korean to Japanese" (see Sources). In it 320 word comparisons are offered with reconstructed phonetic values for proto-Korean-Japanese. The list is quite impressive, but the reconstructed forms do not seem to be plausible, at least as far as Japanese is concerned. Nor is the semantic side convincing enough.

Also in 1966, Shichirō MURAYAMA published, after a series of pertinent articles, "Mongolisch und Japanisch: Ein Versuch zum lexikalischen Vergleich" (Mongolian and Japanese: An attempt at lexical comparison;--see Sources). Among the 50 items listed there a lot appear in very similar phonetic shape and with identical or near-identical meaning on the Uralic side, too.

A volume practically inseparable from R.A. Miller's 1971 book was published in 1975 by the well-known scholar in numerous fields, K.H. Menges under the title Altajische Studien II: Japanisch und Altajisch (see Sources). In it, Menges corrects Miller on important points in matters Altaic, develops new ideas in connection with his suggestions, often reminds the reader of pertinent Uralic features, and branches out into Nostratic, too.

In 1973 B. Lewin summarized his research in Japanese as linked with the extinct language of the onetime Koguryō kingdom in northern Korea. I may be permitted to quote repeatedly from his article "Japanese and the language of Koguryō" (see Sources), since it is very relevant to the present endeavour. In his introduction Lewin writes: "The research done in the past has focused more and more on two lines of genetic comparison: . . . in the direction of Altaic languages, and . . . of Austroasiatic and Austronesian languages. The Japanese people are doubtlessly a mixed race, therefore all attempts will fail to trace Japanese back to a single original language. The genetic relationship of Japanese must be seen in both directions, but a better understanding, reached during the last decades, has shown that closer genetic ties bind Japanese to the Altaic languages. This has been confirmed by the exploration of the fragments which are known from the old Koguryō language" (p. 19).--According to Lewin, Murayama, and others, this extinct Korean language stood very close to Old Japanese, or its forerunner.

Concerning the history of Koguryō, there are Chinese records available from the Shih-chi to the Wei-shu (the dynastic history of the T'o-pa Wei), the Sui-shu, and the T'ang-shu (p. 22); fragments of the lost Koguryō dynastic records have been preserved in the later Korean dynastic histories, such as the Samguk-sagi (of 1145) and the Samguk-yusa (13th cent.). Koguryō is said to have been established by the Kao-kou-li tribes in the 1st cent. A.D. in what is known to us as Southern Manchuria and the Upper Yalu area.--Lewin thinks that Japanese could be in part an "offspring of the Koguryō language." Still according to him, "the relative next after Japanese is Korean which has developed from the Silla language. The Koguryō language might also be considered as a missing link between Korean and Japanese. Standing more distantly, but without doubt also related to this group, are Tungus and Manchu."

Lewin calls this group of languages the eastern branch of the Altaic tongues. The central and western branches are constituted by the Mongol and Turkic languages. In an appropriate diagram Lewin derives the Altaic languages from the same source as the Uralic ones. He points out further that archaeologists suggest a link between the proto-Japanese, the bearers in Japan of the Jomon ("cord impression" on pottery) culture (down to approx. 250 B.C.) and peoples in northern Asia, perhaps a primitive Ural-Altaic group (note: the proto-Japanese were not identical with the ancestors of the Ainu). Around the 5th cent. B.C. an infusion of peoples from the south is assumed, who might have entered Japan partly through southern Korea, partly through the Ryūkyū Islands. These waves are supposed to

have taken to Japan rice cultivation and with them is associated the Yayoi culture (down to approx. the 3rd cent. A.D., according to other periodization, to the middle 4th cent.). Through racial mixture of these peoples with the proto-Japanese arose the Hayato and Kumaso peoples, mentioned in the Kojiki (712) and the Nihongi (720). It is thought, writes Lewin (p. 29) that the proto-Japanese people spoke a language of Ural-Altaic origin, "whereas the southern peoples brought into Japan Austroasiatic and Austronesian elements."

The language of the people of the Yayoi culture (excluding the Ainu) is thought to have been essentially of Japanese character", as shown by some terms preserved in Chinese records dating from the 3rd cent. A.D. (Wei-chih, Wo-jen chuan).--The Yayoi culture used bronze and other metals, and was essentially of agricultural character. Archaeology ascribes to this period many southeast Asian features. The early part of the so-called Tomb Period in Japan covers the last stretch of the Yayoi era.

In the second half of the 4th cent. A.D. a sudden change took place in Japanese history, which deeply affected Japan's cultural development, and so its language, too. Still following Lewin (pp. 30-31), we can say that archaeological proofs of this change have been found in tombs all over western and central Japan. While during the Yayoi and the early Tomb periods there were relatively few horses in Japan, in the late Tomb period (from the late 4th cent to the 7th) their number increased suddenly. The well-known haniwa-figures, figurative guardians of the tombs, often represent realistically equipped warriors and battle-horses. No doubt, a new wave of people arrived on the Japanese Islands. the so-called kiba-minzoku 'horse-rider-folk'. An explanation of the finds was first given in 1949, in a tentative manner, by the archaeologist and historian Namio EGAMI, the ethnologist Masao OKA, the archaeologist Ichirō YAWATA, and the cultural-anthropologist Eiichirō ISHIDA (see Sources).

The thought of an invasion of Japan as late as the 4th cent. A.D. found no sympathetic reception among the Japanese public. Egami's presentation of the facts was perhaps partly responsible for this.

G. Ledyard, Korean and Chinese historian at Columbia University, re-examined the data, trying to embed the change in Japan in a setting that shows post-Han changes on the continent and, in particular, on the territory of Korea. His article "Galloping along with the horseriders: Looking for the founders of Japan" (1975; see Sources) is also relevant to the present, and probably future, research, therefore I adduce from it at least the part which summarizes Egami's main arguments: "According to Egami, the basic character of the Yayoi and Early Tomb Periods is 'incantatory, sacrificial, southeast Asian, in a word agricultural', while the Late Tomb Period is 'realist, warlike, baronial, north Asian, in a word horserider' (p. 166). The general outline of his theory is stated in eight points. 1) Early and Late Tomb periods are fundamentally different. 2) The change from one to the other was not evolutionary but dramatic and sudden. 3) Agricultural societies are generally conservative and do not aggressively borrow foreign culture or reform their own; Japan is not likely to have been able to invade a stronger southern Korea in the 4th century and bring the horserider culture back; rather the horseriders conquered both southern Korea and Japan. 4) Japan's adoption of horserider culture was not partial but total; Japanese and continental horserider culture are 'completely in common'. 5) The horses did not come by themselves to start Tomb Period II, they brought people with them. 6) Tomb Period II was of a baronial and aristocratic character, and the horserider culture was spread over Japan by force. 7) The regional distribution of tombs in Tomb Period II shows a recognition of strategic localities, supporting the idea of rule by warriors. 8) Ordinarily, horseriding peoples do not stop their conquests when they reach the sea, but get in boats and continue them (pp. 169-170)" (in Ledyard, 222).

The invaders, the kiba-minzoku, are thought to have descended upon Japan from Siberia. "All the northern continental races that came southward to the Korean peninsula, such as the Puyŏ, Koguryŏ, and Maek, are thought to have been Tungusic in race and to have previously inhabited Manchuria" (Lewin, p. 31, quoting Yū MIZUNO's "Origins of the Japanese people" 1968).

Now, if the kiba-minzoku were of Tungusic origin, one should seek Japanese-Tungus language links. Some scholars have done that, yet the findings have not solved the problem. Could it be that the language of the kiba-minzoku was not of Tungusic type, or not even Altaic? Alternatively, is it that these people spoke

a Tungus-type language, but being small in number against the former arrivals they merely influenced the primitive Ural-Altaic type of language already in use on the islands? The frank answer to these questions is that we do not know.

The present investigation attempts to contribute to the solution of the problem by bringing into the picture some of the results worked out by Uralic linguistics, which at times overlap with Altaic results.

What is awaited now is constructive valuation and help from all sides.

The results and proposals presented in these pages should, of course, not be considered as definitive, but sooner or later treated material to be refined further. The sound correspondences will probably never be as good as the tenet "exceptionlessness of sound laws" would require them to be. That ideal has not been reached in most fields, if anywhere. Then again, no claim is made that the Uralic languages come from proto-Japanese or vice versa.

If this contribution has shown that the origin of the Japanese language cannot in the future be discussed without some knowledge of the results of Uralic linguistics quite some progress will have been made. Conversely, if Japanese cannot be handled without Uralic, then it will most probably not be possible for Uralic linguists to ignore Old Japanese any further.

Clearly, co-operation among Japanologists, Uralicists, and Altaicists is badly needed. First of all, the works Omodaka 1967, Ono 1974, and Shinmura 1965 (or later ed.) ought to be translated into English in order that scholars at large have access to these very important sources. In the translations, all words of proven or suspected, foreign origin should be marked. Important Japanese language publications, or at least their usable extracts, should appear collected and in English, for it would be unreasonable to expect non-Japanologists to give up their studies for a number of years in order to become sufficiently conversant with Modern and Old Japanese. In other words, the porcupine-like bearing of Japanese linguistics in Japan should be changed.--Altaic linguistics on the whole is open to proposals of comparison with Japanese, but we have to note that there is no agreement among scholars concerning the common origin of the languages broadly called Altaic.--As regards Uralic linguistics, the onus is squarely on the Hungarian, Finnish, and Estonian academic institutes, created in the first place to trace the relationships of the national languages in question, no matter how far researchers have to go to achieve that aim.

0.1 THEORETICAL ASPECTS

0.1.1 Because serious scholars such as Klaproth, Siebold, Boller, De Rosny, Grunzel, H. Winkler, Pröhle, Ramstedt, Lewin, Martin, Murayama, Menges, Miller have suggested and/or attempted to prove that J is a language akin to the U and/or the A ones, and because Miller 1971 expressly claims that J is an A language (the work could not secure the hoped-for consensus mainly on the ground that "the other Altaic languages" have not been convincingly shown to have originated from the same parent language), a new attempt, with improved tools, at linking J to U, a proven language family, is warranted. The new attempt would be in line with all previous suggestions and/or attempts mentioned above, for the results of the investigation could at least be partly applied to A-J comparative research which is, to be certain, complementary to the present one.

0.1.2 If the present analysis does not offer sufficient plausible results to warrant further research, U-J comparative efforts may be taken as unrewarding.

0.1.3 If the results will not be judged sufficient in quantity or quality, or both, to allow the postulation of genetic relationship, but will be deemed sufficient to suggest lasting contact relations--say, several thousand years of intensive contact--then it is proposed that such results, taken together with the partial results of A-J language comparison, anthropological and ethnological data, and the relatively recently published results of pertinent archaeological and historical research (Oka, Egami, Yawata, Ishida, Kidder, Lewin, Ledyard) will have at least succeeded in showing that the dominant part of the J population

descends from people who must have migrated to the Japanese Islands not from the islands of the Pacific Ocean, as often claimed, but from Siberia. Even this result would have a momentous impact upon the orientation of scientific investigation concerning the provenance of the J language and the J people, on the one hand, and the insufficiently known past of northern Eurasia, on the other.

0.1.4 The present attempt at seeking evidence of deep-going relationship in the said field has to defend itself against the following likely objections (answers have been given immediately).

0.1.4.1 When, if at all, did such a people get to Japan, which could have taken with itself a language which is supposed to be typologically similar, or even genetically related, to the U and/or the A languages? The answer is based on the works of scholars named under 0.1.3 (see Sources). The approximate time of a large-scale move of a horse-riding people from NE Asia through Korea to Japan was the second half of the 4th cent. A.D.; however, on the evidence of 3rd cent. records (Wei-chih) some earlier waves of invaders/immigrants speaking a language similar to that of the later arrivals (Puyô?) are not left out of consideration; the 8th cent. J historical records, though clad in a mythological language, speak not only of an eastward moving conquest but also of the "pacification" of peoples whose place-names allow such an inference.

0.1.4.2 How could in those days invaders/immigrants in numbers, even with a considerable number of war horses, get across the sea which separates the southern tip of Korea from Japan? The distance between, say, the shore near Pusan and that near Fukuoka is roughly 185 km.; on the way there are the islands Tsushima and Iki of considerable size; neither the strait between Pusan and Tsushima, nor that between the latter and Iki, nor that between Iki and Fukuoka (Kyūshū) is as wide as is the strait at Calais; yet the British Isles were invaded by Caesar's Romans and William the Conqueror's Normans, not to speak of the invasion by the Angels and Saxons over a much longer sea route. Further, early Korean and Chinese records tell of travel to and from Japan as a matter of course; the Korean historical work *Samguk-sagi* (1145) recorded (from earlier records) 29 invasions/raids by Japanese between the years 50 B.C. and 497 A.D. (Ledyard 1975, 240). If wars could be carried out across the sea between peoples of that area as early as the first centuries A.D., then a conquering people from NE Asia could surely order enough boats, to be built, if necessary, in order to ferry the warriors, their families, slaves, horses, and other belongings to the shores of Japan in the second half of the 4th cent., a time of a NE Asian "Völkerwanderung." We should recall that the Mongols of Kubilai khan invaded Japan twice (1274, 1281) over the same sea route, with armies numbering well over 100 000 men, a large part of them mounted warriors, and the wooden boats they used had also been built following age-old tradition.

0.1.4.3 Is it possible that a people speaking a language supposedly close to U did go as far as Korea and Japan? (Note: the so-called U original home is still a matter of debate; there have been suggestions that it ought to be located as far east as the Sayan Mountains, for Samoyeds still live there, and linguistic evidence indicates that the roots of the U peoples should be sought in Siberia). The answer is: yes--in view of the following facts: the distance in straight line between the Ural Mountains and, say, Kyūshū is approx. 6000 km.; Huns, Avars, Petchenegs, Uzes, Kumans, Mongol-Tatars are known to have moved from the eastern half of Siberia as far as Central Europe by no other means of transportation than that offered by horses and carts, covering, say, from the area of the Baikal to the Carpathian Basin no less than 6000 km.; for such peoples wandering in an easterly direction was as easy or as difficult as in the opposite way; again, the distance over land in a straight line from Britain to NW India is no less than 6000 km., yet Sanskrit is as much an IE language as English is; further, the one-time speakers of Tocharian lived on the NW borders of China, and some other Indo-Europeans got even farther east.

0.1.4.4 Is a comparison between U and J allowable without involving the A tongues? Because the U languages form a proven language family, the answer is: yes.

0.1.4.5 Is it not against the right method to try to compare U and J without first reconstructing a proto-J language on whose time-depth it should depend whether

the suggested comparison with U may be attempted at all? If the reconstruction of PJ at least to the time-depth of PU (approx. 6000 years ago) is a conditio sine qua non of the proposed comparison, then that comparison is not allowable. By the same token, the idea of any distant historical comparison of J with other languages must be abandoned from the start (actually attested J goes back to the 8th cent. A.D. only, with fragments dating from earlier centuries), for J stands isolated, and internal reconstruction within an isolated language has a very limited scope: its results alone are definitely not reliable when the reconstruction of a p-language is to be achieved.

0.1.4.6 If the reconstruction of PJ is not possible at present--because the right method of reconstruction requires the combination of internal reconstruction and comparison with at least one cognate language--why is the present comparison attempted? Answer A): The postulate that only a p-J language taken back at least to the level of PU is suitable for comparison with the latter emanates from people who a) either balk at the very idea of getting involved with "that difficult language" (i.e., J), b) fear that the proposed comparison could yield such new evidence as would make a large-scale revision of the present U research results imperative, c) think that the size of the J population makes it necessary to postulate a language history for J several (or many) thousand years longer than that of the U languages whose respective speakers are relatively small in numbers, d) assume that the populace of Japan is either autochthonous or, if coming from elsewhere, its hypothetical immigration took place so far back in history that any link with the U peoples is practically ruled out, if only for geographical reasons. Answer B): The proposed U-J comparison does not recognize the validity of arguments tied up with a), b), c), and d) above; it counters as follows: a) so long as we do not know that the dominant (also in language) part of the J population could not possibly come from the continent the way must be left open for the comparison of J with languages found or once recorded there, b) it is unscientific to postulate a longer language history for the J people than for any smaller one merely on the ground that the former is large at present (the J population figures went up rapidly in the 19th cent. only), c) a link, genetic or other, of J with the U languages, or others, cannot be ruled out a priori, nor can the degree of relationship, or its time-depth, if a relationship is allowed, be determined without first making a thorough investigation, d) in the pioneering days of historical language comparison there were no reconstructed forms available as an inheritance, yet by hard work, ingenuity, adherence to general scientific principles the various edifices have been brought under roof; if the pioneering Uralicists, Indo-Europeanists, Semitists, etc. had not dared to use what material was at their disposal, waiting until some deus ex machina would hand them ready reconstructed forms, historical linguistics would never have started in earnest.

0.2 METHOD

0.2.1 Since this is a pioneering work, its method is basically and by necessity inductive. The model to be followed is, of course, that of comparative historical linguistics generally.

0.2.2 Aware of the pitfalls that the inductive method by itself may harbour, this attempt tentatively applies--as a general guide--the frame worked out so far by U linguistics which has profited from IE and other linguistic achievements.

0.2.3 The restricting term "as a general rule" is important, for the U or lower level reconstructions as well as some important phonological features, e.g., consonant and vowel quantity; vowel alternation in the first syllable; vowel alternation generally, cannot be regarded as definitive. The Achilles' heel of U linguistics is the paucity of old language records (even those of Hu go back to the 10th cent. only, with the oldest text dating from the end of the 11th cent.). For this reason alone it would be against the principles of science to exclude, a priori, from the investigation in hand such material as cannot be classed U, being ascertained so far only as PU, Ugric, etc., i.e., on a more recent level. Experience teaches us that dialectal or other material not noticed, or wrongly viewed, for a long time may gain importance and even upset current tenets when viewed

in the light of new evidence. Further, while the reconstruction of the various levels of p-languages, culminating in PU, is possible by the combined application of internal reconstruction and external comparison (where U linguistics is lucky because its member languages are numerous and are strewn over a wide area), final proof is missing, for there is no means of checking the reconstructions, say, at the level of 2000 years ago--in contradistinction to IE.

0.2.4 For these reasons the present attempt must not allow itself into accepting the U frame as a final one into which the J data should be forced. The way of trial and error" has usually proved better than rigid adherence to preconceived ideas.

0.2.5 It is easy to imagine that comparativists on the U side and in other areas will raise objections to the propositions under 0.2.4, since this step means in effect that the whole U structure may be challenged instead of being taken as a firm frame of reference. Unfortunately, this cannot be helped. While endorsing the usefulness of reconstructed forms and working hypotheses, we cannot pass by, for instance, the following weighty argument as a reason for the proposals under 0.2.4: "It is a matter of course that in many instances the reconstruction of a PU or PFU word is more uncertain than the etymology which it is based upon. In the following list of nearly 800 reconstructions, the readers may therefore put their question marks ad libitum" (Collinder 1960, 405; and Collinder is a leading U linguist).--The most reliable materials at the disposal of the comparativist are still those forms which are in use or have been fixed in a writing suited to retain the phonetic qualities of speech sounds. As will be seen, numerous present-day U words differ little in their respective phonetic shapes from OJ words compared with them. This circumstance could be of great significance. If the sound correspondences prove to be fairly regular, the likely explanation is that U and J are somehow linked and that these languages have remained relatively conservative.

We may note by the way that the conservativeness of some U languages has been repeatedly emphasized by linguists. E.g., Fi has been likened to an ice-box, for it has preserved ancient loans from IE with very little change. As regards J, Chamberlain remarked pertinently: "In the languages of Western Europe we see a gradual change of grammatical system, ending in some cases,--that of English for instance,--in so complete an alteration of physiognomy that it would be hard to believe that the ancient and the modern belong to the same family of speech, were it not that the intermediate forms have been preserved. Japanese, on the contrary, has gone on repeating itself. The spirit of its grammatical system is the same now as it was twelve hundred years ago, although the material elements of the conjugation are much changed" (p. 225).

0.2.6 Concerning phonetic laws, it has to be pointed out that the tenet of the neo-grammarians about the exceptionless nature of phonetic laws ("Ausnahmslosigkeit der Lautgesetze", on the pattern of the exceptionless laws of the natural sciences) has been frequently reinterpreted in order to fit the facts so that one can sooner speak of tendencies in sound development. That the exceptionless nature of phonetic laws is only an ideal has been demonstrated in the phonetic history of the Hu language. These remarks do not mean that the present attempt does not seek regular correspondences, but they indicate, e.g., the following.

0.2.6.1 Since vowel harmony, or strict adherence to it, is not a must in the U languages (only rudimentary vowel harmony is postulated for PU; Szinyei 1922, 41 ff. flatly rejects the assumption of vowel harmony in PU) and because 8th cent. J even with its eight-vowel system did not have true vowel harmony (none that extended to the suffixes), it would be a bad mistake to abandon any comparison on the ground that the forms in question display different vowel orders. E.g., Hu kavar 'mix, stir', kavarog 'to mill (as a crowd)' stand against kever and kevereg id.; the "high" (palatal) vowel order forms are used more in the dialects; in the Hu language island of what is now southern Burgenland (Austria), villagers use only the form kever and its derivatives; if an outside researcher had knowledge merely of the usage of this language island, but not of Hu at large, he might hesitate to equate kever with kavar because of the difference in vowel order. Split (as in the case of kever : kavar) has created scores of parallel forms in Hu and probably in the other U languages. It is further likely that a tendency to fronting (of vowels, as is well proven in Hu) has preserved the forms

with front vowels, discarding most of the forms with back vowels. In Hu we still find hundreds of words with at least one vowel order variant, while the number of three- or four-fold variants in the dialects is legion. In this connection we can speak of fan-like split. Many examples of split can also be found in J and in other languages, the phenomenon doubtlessly being a way of non-purposed increase of the vocabulary. It may indeed be a paleolinguistic feature.

0.2.6.2 Because Fi, Lp, Est, and Vote (and sporadically some other U languages) display what is termed consonant gradation (for PFU illustrated in a nutshell thus: under certain conditions, $*-p \sim *-w-$; $*-t \sim *-s-$; $*-k \sim *-q-$; $*-m \sim *-w-$, etc., while $*-pp \sim *-p-$; $*-tt \sim *-t-$; $*-kk \sim *-k-$) and because some highly regarded scholars succeeded in convincing their colleagues of the excellence of the concept of the consonant gradation theory, its essence and most of its implications were adopted and taught, at least in the first half of this century, by the majority of U linguists. "In recent decades, however, a critical attitude has developed among those who had previously professed the Uralic origin of consonant gradation" (Lakó 1968, 61).--Indeed, the theory has been abandoned (for c. g. is probably an area phenomenon, linked with medial clustering, most conspicuously exemplified in Lp), but while the theory was held valid all reconstructions had to be carried out in conformity with it, and reconstructions effected or revised since its abandonment could not be divested of the original, often ill-fitting, attire. In this respect, the whole system is still in need of revision. E.g., (TESZ) "Hu tép- 'tear, pluck'; uncertain origin, perhaps PFU; if so, then on the basis of cognate forms, e.g., Fi temmata, tempaan, etc. one should posit the medial cluster $*-mp-$; yet Hu -p cannot be derived from PFU $*-mp-$, for by right it should come from $*-mpp-$; however, this is not quite justified for lack of a sufficient number of sure supporting etymologies."-- We might note in passing that Hu phonetic history does not have a shred of evidence in support of the assumption that Hu simplex consonants derive from clusters, or even from geminates. On the contrary, all evidence shows that in the early recorded stages of Hu, simplex consonants were the rule, and medial clusters arose either through gemination, or the elision of a vowel between two consonants, or the insertion of glides. Had Hu been given more consideration by the creators of the consonant gradation theory, may be the points would not have been set as unluckily as they have been. In the reconstructed forms on the U side one has to allow for such discrepancies.

0.2.7 As a general phonological guide on the U side, this analysis employs Collinder 1965 and Lakó 1968. For the J side, the reader is referred in the first place to Wenck 1959.--The frame cannot be made final at the outset. In time it will have to conform to the regular correspondences which the present attempt aims at gathering, primarily from etymological comparisons.

0.2.8 Since a syntactic comparison of U with J has already been carried out (Pröhle 1943), a new effort in that direction may be spared now.

0.2.9 The present analysis is mainly concerned with lexical and, in the second place, with morphological, comparisons. For both tasks, it has to take up on the U side whatever material has been recorded and/or is still in use, while on the J side it preferably uses 8th cent. material (OJ). For the latter, the main source is Omodaka 1967, with Ōno 1974 helping out; Shinmura 1965, Kenkyusha 1954, and Nelson 1962 serve as supplementary sources. For the J morphological material, the main sources are Sansom 1928 and Lewin 1959.--An evaluation of the J dialect material would take us too far afield. According to consensus, the J dialects do not yield more with regard to the pre-Nara language than OJ does (Unger 1977, 147).

0.2.10 Since word formation cannot be satisfactorily treated unless we get at the smallest components above the phoneme level, a separate paper entitled "Open monosyllabic words and possible word formation hereof in the Uralic languages and Japanese, with side-glances at the Altaic languages: An outline" has been prepared (and printed in UAJ 52). Because in the etymologies we shall have many practical illustrations of the thesis in question, its inclusion can be spared now. The main idea of the thesis is this: with compound words excluded, all disyllabic and longer U and J words--allowing for prothetic elements or a reduplicated syllable--are theoretically taken as having open monosyllabic roots of CV, or perhaps V, shape (where one might have to allow for the loss of an original initial consonant). E.g., OJ ko.mu 'bear children' is assumed to have come from ko 'child';

na.r.u 'become' and na.s.u 'accomplish, make' are both from the root na-; e.r.u 'get, be able' stands against the attested shorter form e id. Thus, for instance, OJ tukuru 'make, create' offers itself, according to the pattern seen again and again, to be analysed as follows: *tu- (as root) + k.u + r.u (as extension elements, i.e., derivational endings or formants).--As the lengthening of verb forms is well attested since OJ times, we are permitted to apply the pattern to pre-Nara J, and so postulate an immediate antecedent for OJ tukuru in the form, say, *tuku (cf. J haeru < haveru < payu 'grow'; J homeru < homuru < pomu 'to praise'). A very similar pattern of root extension into stems and extended stems can be observed in U and A. Making use of these parallels, I suggested in an etymological comparison the following: OJ tukuru : Fi teke- 'do, make', Lp dāgā- id., MdE teje- id., Hu tē-v- (root te-, cf. tē-het 'may do') id., FU *teke-. While the meanings on both sides are identical, OJ tukuru is one syllable longer than FU *teke-. The reconstruction (by U sources) considered the vowel order of Lp dāgā- as normal, so FU *teke- was set against the part tuku- of OJ tukuru, knowing that r.u is a verb formant.--The treatment of open monosyllabic base words links up with a field which might as well be regarded as belonging to paleolinguistics, so forcefully presented by Décsy in his Sprachherkunftsforschung (Research on the origin of language) I, 1977 (see Sources). Pertinently, Menges 1975 brings up and illustrates open monosyllabic roots in A convincingly.

1. PRESENTATION OF THE MATERIAL

1.1 Once a group of scholars is sufficiently familiar with some branch of scientific literature many short-cuts are possible in their articles. For instance, in Collinder 1977 only a modicum of explanation is given. Having become accustomed to using such a tool, some scholars object to a not so succinct treatment. But it should be borne in mind that before such a simplified tool as that of Collinder could be produced, practically every one of its now succinct entries had been elaborated in considerable detail. From those early elaborations, which were by no means all successful, the phonological, morphological, and syntactic rules governing the various assumed earlier stages of the languages in question have been distilled. The aggregate of such rules has been published in special volumes, but it is understood that their contents underlie the material held in the simplified tools.--While the present analysis also has to consider the general pace of our days, it cannot afford to neglect essential details. This is all the more valid since U and A scholars cannot be expected, as a rule, to be familiar with J linguistics, while to J linguists the material of the opposite camp is usually little known. Besides scholars who belong to neither camp might also be or become interested in this new attempt at solving a vexing problem.

1.2 Emphasis being on etymological comparison, the presentation of a comparison shall be sketched: a) As a reference and aid to the reader not versed in this material, especially OJ, every entry begins with the modern J dictionary form of the OJ word in question (unless the OJ word has no J continuer; if a form is not attested in OJ, but only later, no reconstruction is attempted, for excepting OJ i, e, o, later J sounds differ predictably from OJ ones), b) while the whole family of the entry word cannot, as a rule, be given (for lack of space and time, and because we lack reliable J etymological dictionaries, which regrettable state flows mainly from the fact that no cognate language of J has yet been found), an effort is made to present several obviously or assumedly related forms with the entry word, c) then follows, as a rule, the OJ form (or forms), with the vowel values for i, e, o indicated, if known; if the word in question is a verb its OJ conjugation class is given (if known, mainly for better recognition; how far back the origin of the conjugations in J lies is beyond our ken; one has not detected parallels to them in U or A, but various conjugation systems in U show that a common conjugation system need not be postulated for the p-language), d) in case when Omodaka does not list a word which appears useful for our purpose, but other sources (listed above) do, they are used; Chamberlain, although short, is

adduced at times for OJ, for his etymological explanations are noteworthy, e) after the J data follow those of the U side, taken (mostly extracted) from up-to-date U works (see Sources), with explanations supplied by the works in question, f) thereafter come the semantic, phonological, and morphological comments; because the second syllable vowel, especially in disyllabic words, is subject to lots of wear and tear and because in the reconstructions on the U side this vowel is quite often indefinite, while in J, OJ disyllabic verbs it is automatically -u, it is treated only as an exception; in other words, attention is focused on the first three sounds, including Ø values, g) when opportune, reference to A parallel(s) is given, h) for better surveyability, all essential J and U forms taken up in the comparison are presented in a simple attached table.

1.3 At the end of the etymologies, tables of sound correspondences are presented, with comments following them. These are necessary in view of such oppositions as labiovelar initial consonants present in some of the comparisons.

1.4 The numbered entries are listed alphabetically, but a grouping of the lexical material according to representative semantic fields (plants, animals, body parts, etc.) is provided.

1.5 The morphological parallels are then presented with the help of phonological gains from the etymological comparisons.

2. ETYMOLOGICAL COMPARISONS

1. J a- : a-no 'that', a-re id., a-chi 'there'. OJ a, a-re 'he, she', 'that' (over there) (plus composita with a-; s. Lewin 1959, 53).

Table 1
J a-no TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu az (a-z) 'that'; 'the' (definite article) ~ Zr a-
" a-re : a-tj '(see) there'/Vty o- : o-ti 'in that direction'/Ch u- 'that',
" a-chi the other'/Md o- id.//Yr a-, a- 'that'.--U *o or *u.--The element -z
OJ a of Hu az is a pron. formant which presumably comes from a PU dem. pro-
" noun: *tj.
" a-re SW 18: *ana- 'other, another' (indefinite pron.).
Hu a-z Comm. 1. Öno states that OJ a comes from ka id. Lewin 1959, 52 ff.
Zr a- gives an exhaustive treatment of the pronouns on the J side, without
Vty o- suggesting the derivation of a from ka. He also emphasizes that in J
Ch u- we find no primary personal pronoun of the 3rd person, while an as-
Yr a- tounding shifting of roles of the personal pronouns can be seen in the
" a- historical development of J. 2. Miller 1971, 155 ff. treats of the OJ
U *o pronouns at length, showing a resemblance between sets of A and OJ
or *u pronouns. He maintains that in the pair wa ~ a 'I', a is an allegro
PSam *a-n3- variant, i.e., a < wa through underarticulation of w-. 3. The proposi-
tion is made here that a) (agreeing with Lewin) 1st and 3rd person pronouns be-
came mixed up in J, b) an independent pronoun: a, of 3rd person function, was
among the primary OJ pronouns. This OJ a is set against U *o or *u. Cf. entry woti.

2. J abiru, OJ abu ~ amu (k.n.) 'pour water over the body; take a shower / a bath', J furo 'bath; tub; bathtub'. Öno: puro 'the place where a warm bath is prepared and taken'.
TESZ (ex.): Hu fürd(ik) 'take a bath', fürösz- 'bathe', fürdö ~ fürödö 'bath, bath-
ing place'.--These derived forms come from an assumed verbal stem fir- ~ fer- ~ für-
(~ för-), being front vowel order variants of the stem for- of the verb forms for-
dít- '(Vt) turn', forog- '(Vi) revolve, swivel'. This stem is very likely onom.
in origin and goes back to the FU, perhaps the U, era. Cf. Vg poBrit- 'roll about,
wallow, welter'/Vty porjal- '(Vi) turn, revolve'/MdE púvráms '(Vt) turn, brandish'

Table 2	//Sk <u>puroidam</u> '(Vt) turn over, revolve'--FU (?U) * <u>pyrk3-</u> which probably has to do with Hu <u>for(r)-</u> '(Vi) boil'.
J fu.r.o	Comm. 1. As regards the proposed correspondence of Hu <u>forog-</u> , s. entry <u>furu</u> 'to wave, etc.'. 2. I suggest that Hu <u>fürd(ik)</u> is semantically too far removed from <u>forog-</u> , even though some animals roll in dust when taking a dust-bath. The essential factor in bath-
OJ pu.r.o	ing is the free use of water on the body; while many animals, even
J abir.u	birds that don't swim, bathe their bodies in water, humans hardly
OJ abu	ever take a dust-bath. 3. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'take a bath/a shower'. 4.
" a.mu	Phon.: initial J <u>f-</u> , OJ <u>p-</u> , in the case of <u>abiru</u> , <u>abu</u> , <u>amu</u> (where
Hu fü.r-öszt-	<u>a-</u> is taken as a prothetic vowel), J, OJ <u>b-</u> , OJ <u>m-</u> vs Hu <u>f-</u> (< <u>p-</u>)/
" fi.r-	1st syll. J, OJ <u>u</u> , J <u>i</u> in the derivative <u>abiru</u> , vs Hu <u>ü</u> , <u>e</u> , <u>i</u> , <u>ö</u> / medial J, OJ <u>r</u>
" fe.r-	vs Hu <u>r</u> . 4. It goes without much explanation that <u>r</u> is taken as a root expansion
" fö.r-	element ("Wurzelerweiterung") which can be shown to be a verb formant on the J
	side, but very likely on the U side, too (s. Morphology). It is suggested that
	the forms in question go back to a CV shaped root.

3. J aburu, dial. iburu, iboru (Haguenauer 1956, 298), OJ aburu (y.) 'roast, broil, expose to the sun/fire'.
SW 114: PSam *pārā- '(Vi) burn'; cf. Yn poraī, der. foradabo 'to roast'/Yr pāraś, parā '(Vt) burn'.

Table 3	Comm.: 1 P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'burn; expose to fire'. 2. The vowels <u>a-</u> , <u>i-</u> are considered prothetic; thus: initial J, OJ <u>b-</u> (< <u>p-</u>) vs PSam * <u>p-</u> / 1st syll. J, OJ <u>u</u> (dial. <u>o</u>) vs PSam * <u>a</u> / medial J, OJ <u>r</u> vs PSam * <u>r</u> . 3. Cf. TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>pirit-</u> 'to dry; roast so as to make reddish brown', <u>piros</u> , OHu <u>pirus</u> , <u>poros</u> 'red; of ruddy face; roasted', <u>pirul-</u> 'become red; get flushed (from heat)'. These words are perhaps of onom. origin.--It is suggested here that the Hu words in question--today of mixed, formerly of velar, vowel order--have to do with the Sam words above. 4. Cf. entry <u>hosu</u> .
J a.bur.u	
" i.bur.u	
" i.bor.u	
OJ a.bur.u	
PSam * <u>pār.ā-</u>	
? Hu pir.it-	
" . . . pir.ul-	

4. J afureru, OJ aburu (sh.n.) 'be in excess; brim over, overflow', OJ abusu (y.) 'leave over, spare'.

Table 4	FUV 64: Fi <u>paljo</u> 'much'/Ch <u>pülä</u> 'rather, much, considerable amount' / ?Vg <u>poal</u> 'dense, tight' /Yr <u>pal</u> ; <u>paju</u> 'dense, tight, thick', <u>pal</u> 'dishevelled (e.g., the hair)', <u>paaji-</u> 'swell up, fester' /Yn <u>fodeme-</u> 'become thick, thicken'--U * <u>palja</u> .
J a.fur.e.r.u	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'excess; superfluity'. 2. J, OJ <u>a-</u> is taken as a prothetic sound (cf. the entries <u>furo</u> and <u>amaru</u>); thus: initial J, OJ <u>b-</u> vs U * <u>p-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>u</u> vs U * <u>a</u> / medial J, OJ <u>r</u> vs U * <u>lj</u> where <u>j</u> is taken as a glide. 3. The opposition OJ <u>a.bu.r.u</u> : <u>a.bu.s.u</u> indicates a root element <u>bu</u> .
OJ a.bur.u	4. Cf. FUV 155: Fi <u>paljo</u> (as above) /Mo <u>hülä-</u> , <u>üle-</u> 'be superfluous'; <u>üle</u> 'enough, sufficient'; Ma <u>fulu</u> 'much, more, superfluous'; <u>fuldun</u> 'growing densely'; Go <u>fuli</u> 'too much'; Olča <u>puulee</u> ; Go <u>pulö</u> , <u>pülöhö</u> 'more, abundant'; Neg. <u>hulöhö</u> id. 5.
" a.bus.u	Cf. Räsänen 1955, 50 (similarly to Collinder; reference to Sauvageot 1930, 16).
Fi paljo	
Ch pül.ä	
? Vg poal	
? Yr pal	
" paj.u	
" pal	
" pāj.i-	
? Yn fodeme-	
U *palj.3	

5. J agaru, OJ agaru (y.) 'go or come up (to), get up (on), rise, jump up'; J ageru, OJ agu (sh.n.) 'raise, lift, elevate'; J agameru, OJ agamu (sh.n.) 'esteem, look up to, praise exalt'; J, OJ aga-ta 'upland rice field' (ta 'field'); OJ ugu-motu, Öno: uguromotu (y.) '(earth, etc.) gets piled up high' /-motu 'hold, keep'? TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu hág- 'step up (onto), step on/in, ascend, climb up (e.g., a mountain); (of a larger male animal) cover, serve (e.g. a cow)'; hágó 'mountain pass, saddle of a mountain'; hágcsó 'doorstep, threshold; passage over a hedge; loft' ~Vg kank-, yanG- 'climb, climb up' /Os yanv-, yan-, kānt- 'climb, go/travel uphill or upstream' /Zr kaj-, kaj- 'climb, go up, rise'--The Zr word belongs here only if its medial consonant comes from FU *q--Ugric (?FU) *kān3- or *kānk3-.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'rise; get up (on high)'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ g vs Ugric (?FU) *k-/1st syll. J, OJ a, u vs Ugric (?FU) *a /medial J, OJ g vs Ugric (?FU) *q or *nk. 2. Cf. (TESZ, ex.) Hu ágaskod(ik) 'stand on tiptoe; rear, prance (of a horse); strive upward'--This word derives from ágas 'draining rack

Table 5		(for drying crockery); the word <u>ágas</u> comes from <u>ág</u> 'bow, limb', the explanation being that a rearing horse, or a man with raised arms, looks something like a branching tree or a draining rack (made of a smallish tree).--I note that this explanation of <u>ágaskod(ik)</u> fails to account for the meanings 'stand on tiptoe; stretch oneself upwards; strive upwards' (pertaining to examples given by TESZ itself). My proposition is that <u>ágaskod(ik)</u> comes from a stem <u>*ág-</u> which is a variant by split of <u>hág-</u> , the two differing in meaning slightly. For the string of suffixes seen in <u>-askod(ik)</u> , cf. Hu <u>vád-askod(ik)</u> 'make accusations repeatedly' (<u>vád</u> 'accusation'), <u>legy-esked(ik)</u> 'dance attendance on someone' (<u>legy</u> 'a fly'), <u>ügy-esked(ik)</u> 'become handy/skilled' (<u>ügy</u> 'affair, concern'). The pattern probably started with adjectives, e.g., <u>ügyes</u> 'handy, skilled' was made into a verb, and on this analogy similar formations have come about from nouns and verb stems.--Concerning the preservation or loss of initial <u>k-</u> in the language zone in question, reference is made to: a) Pelliot's "Les formes avec et sans <u>g-</u> (<u>k-</u>) initial en turc et en mongol", <u>Tung Pao</u> 37, 73-101, b) Benzing 1956, 11 (very useful table), c) Rahder 1953, 204-5: "... large number of Japanese word doublets one of which with /k-/ , the other without /k-/." 3. Cf. (TESZ ex.) Hu <u>ugr(ik)</u> , <u>ugor-</u> , dial. <u>ugar-</u> 'jump, leap, bound; fly up (of a spark); rise to join a female (said of large male animals)'--Origin unknown.--I propose that the stem <u>ugor-/ugar-</u> is a development from a shorter stem: <u>*ug-</u> , itself a variant of <u>ág-</u> , seen above, and by that token, cognate with <u>hág-</u> . If that is allowed, we can compare OJ <u>agu</u> to Hu <u>ág-</u> and <u>ug-</u> , while Hu <u>ugor-/ugar-</u> can be likened to J, OJ <u>agaru</u> . OJ <u>ugumotu</u> and <u>ugumotutu</u> would strengthen this argument. 4. Futaky 1975, 39 gives Os <u>*yvi</u> 'top, upper, high' as coming from Tg <u>*ögi</u> 'top, height, high'. 5. Cf. Poppe 1960, 107 (ex.): Mo <u>ögede</u> 'upward', <u>ögse-</u> 'go upstream/ against the flow of a river'/ Ev <u>ugi</u> 'that which is on top', <u>ugir-</u> 'raise, lift', Lam <u>ugar-</u> id., <u>ugrab-</u> 'ascend'/Kor <u>ü < *ög-</u> 'the topmost; tip, top, height, up'/ Yak <u>öksöj-</u> 'travel against the flow of a river' (from Mo), OTu <u>ög-</u> 'praise, exalt'--(Note in this connection J <u>agameru</u> , OJ <u>agamu</u> 'esteem, praise, exalt').
J, OJ	ag.a.r.u	
J	ag.e.r.u	
OJ	ag.u	
J	ag.a.m.e.ru	
OJ	ag.a.m.u	
"	ug.u-	
"	ug.u.r.o-	
Hu	hág-	
"		
Vg	kan-k-	
"	yāŋG-	
Os	xyty-	
"		
Zr	kaj-	
"	kaj-	
Ugric	*kan.ə-	
?FU	or *kan.kə-	
? Hu	ug-o.r-	

6. J ago, OJ agi 'upper jaw; the gills of a fish', J agi- : agi-to 'a gill' (to 'door; entrance'), Ono: ago 'jaw; chin'. TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu áll 'chin; mouth'.--This word is of debated origin. ?~Os ānəl 'jaw; mouth'/Vty anlās 'jaw-bone, jaw'/Ch onlās, onlās 'lower jaw; chin'/LpN ānla 'the part of the gum which corresponds to each tooth'.--Vty -s, Ch -š are denom. noun formants.--FU *onla or *olnə.--Correspondences in A have also been suggested, e.g. Osm, Chag ānək 'chin; lower jaw' (s. also FUV 153). Rédei 1975, 97: FU *onə-lə 'lower jaw'. The base *onə is to be considered as the velar variant of FU *ānə id. with which go Vty an 'jaw-bone'; Zr an id.; Os ānən 'chin'.

Table 6		Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'jaw; chin; mouth'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ <u>a-</u> vs FU <u>*o-</u> medial J, OJ <u>g</u> vs FU <u>*g</u> /cf. stem-final J <u>-o</u> , <u>-i</u> , OJ <u>-i</u> to FU <u>*-i</u> in the same position. 3. The element FU <u>*-la</u> is, of course, considered to be an accretion. That also means that in the LpN form the position of <u>-l-</u> is attributable to metathesis. 4. Hu <u>áll</u> does not fit into the pattern, and Ch <u>onlās</u> it probably does not belong here. 5. Pröhle, No. 78, also adduced Yr <u>ānəu</u> , <u>ānəui</u> 'chin; jaw-bone', Sk <u>āka</u> , <u>ākai</u> , <u>akku</u> 'jaw-bone', FU <u>*onə-lə</u> Km <u>onai</u> id.
J	ago	
agi		
OJ	agi	
Os	ānəl	
Vty	anlās	
Ch	onlās	
"	onlās	
FU	*onə-lə	

7. J ai- : aída, OJ apída 'opening, gap, space, interval'. Omodaka: -da is a suffixed element (No further explanation is given). FUV 63: Fi ovi 'door'/? Ch amasa, omasa, opsa (-sa is probably a suffix)/Vg ōw, aeaw/Os aw, ow 'door; window-space; mouth of a river/a bottle/a net, etc.; blow-hole of a horn'/Yr noce 'door'/Tv noa/Yn nía, no, nu/Sk -a in maat 'tent'/Km aeje/Koibal ai/Motor no/Taigi nja-da (-da is pxǝrdsg).--U *ōw.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'opening; gap', hence 'door, window-hole, mouth of a river'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ a- vs U *ō- medial J ǝ, OJ p vs U *w/ stem-final J, OJ -i vs U *-ǝ. 3. It is not clear whether the Sam forms are

Table 7

J	a.i-da	Yr	nōē
OJ	ap.i-da	Tv	noa
Fi	ov.i	Yn	nia
? Ch	am.a-sa	"	no
"	om.a-sa	"	nu
"	op.a-sa	Sk	-a
Vg	ōw	Km	aje
"	āw	Koibal	ai
Os	aw	Motor	no
"	ow	U	*ōwō

shortened ones or whether they were never expanded. Their initial nasals are secondary.

8. J akinau, OJ akinapu (y.) 'deal, trade, exchange, sell', ? J oginau, Ōno: oginapu ~ oginupu < okinupu (y.) 'make up (for losses), make good, expiate, compensate (for); stop a gap'.

Table 8

J	a.kin.a. .u	TESZ (ex.):	Hu <u>kinál-</u> 'offer, proffer, tender; offer for sale'.
OJ	a.kin.a.p.u	--Origin uncertain.	Does it have to do with <u>kiabál-</u> 'to yell'?
? J	o.gin.a. .u	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.:	'offer in exchange'; on the J side,
? Ō.	o.kin.u.p.u	the sense 'expiate; compensate for'	might come from dealing
"	o.gin.u.p.u	with the gods (in a tangible way).	2. Phon.: it is assumed
"	o.gin.a.p.u	that either Hu <u>kinál-</u> has lost an initial (velar) vowel or,	
Hu	kin.ál-l-	which is more likely, the J words in question have acquired a	
		prothetic a-/o-; with this assumption: initial J <u>k-</u> , <u>g-</u> , OJ <u>k-</u>	
		vs Hu <u>k-</u> /1st syll. J <u>i</u> , OJ <u>i</u> , <u>á</u> vs Hu <u>i</u> < <u>í</u> / medial J, OJ <u>n</u>	

vs Hu n. 3. It is interesting to note that the first element of the OJ ending -napu, also occurring in izanapu 'invite', has a close parallel in the Hu verb formant n, e.g., in izen-/izen- 'send a message'. 4. Cf. entry izanau.

9. J aku, Ōno: aku (y.) 'be/become opened/vacated/empty; begin; expire, be out', J akeru, OJ aku (sh.n.) 'open, unlock, undo, untie; make a hole; empty'. TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu dial. áj, áj 'notch(ing), incision; valley, chasm, cleft'; der. ajak 'lip'/-k is a dim. formant?; fél-ajz- (<ajaz-) 'to string/draw a bow; excite, key up', dial. 'prize open; gag someone's mouth'/'fél- is a verbal prefix, meaning 'up'/? Os on 'mouth, opening, hole, door opening'/'Zr vom, vem, em 'mouth, outlet, opening'/'Vty im, em id./? Oh án 'estuary', am 'opening of a bag'/'MdE on-, oj-, ov- 'opening'/'Lp vuonás 'halter or band on the muzzle of a dog'/'Yr ná, nán 'mouth'/'Yn ē, na id. /Tv nán id. /Sk ak, ak, án id. /Km an, an, án id. --U *ane.

Table 9

J, OJ	ak.u	Lp	vuon.a.s	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.:	'open; to open'. 2. Phon.:
J	ak.e.r.u	Yr	ná	initial and 1st syll. J. OJ <u>a-</u> vs U * <u>a-</u> /'medial	
Hu	áj	"	nán	J, OJ <u>k</u> vs U * <u>n</u> (note: - <u>m</u> in Zr and Vty comes	
"	áj	Yn	ē	from * <u>n</u> , no doubt through <u>n</u>)/while -u in <u>aku</u> is	
Os	on	"	na	automatically affixed, cf. <u>e</u> in <u>akeru</u> vs U * <u>e</u> in	
Zr	vom	Tv	nán	the same position. 3. It is proposed here that	
"	....	Sk	ak	<u>aku</u> may be linked with another word family, ob-	
Vty	im	"	ak	viously related to Hu <u>áj</u> , <u>áj</u> . TESZ, MSZFE (ex.):	
"	em	"	án	Hu <u>old-</u> , OHu <u>od-</u> , <u>ovd-</u> , dial. <u>od-</u> 'undo, (ab)solve,	
? Ch	án	Km	án	untie, release'. Its assumable base: <u>ó-</u> < <u>ov-</u> <	
"	an	"	án	<u>ay-</u> or <u>oy-</u> could come from FU; cf. Vg <u>ank-</u> 'undo,	
MdE	on	"	án	take off (e.g., clothes)'/Os <u>ana-tá</u> 'untie (a	
"	oj	"		knot), undo, release'/'Md <u>anksi-ma</u> , <u>avá-ma</u>	
"	ov	U	* an.e	'hole cut in ice'/'Fi <u>avata</u> 'to open, let out',	
				<u>avanto</u> 'hole cut in ice', Est <u>avama</u> 'open up'.	
				--Hu - <u>d</u> , Md - <u>á</u> , - <u>ma</u> are formants. In Hu <u>old-</u> , <u>l</u>	
				is an inetymological insertion.--FU * <u>ana-</u> 'open'.	
				4. TESZ and MSZFE do not link the two word fami-	
				lies together.	

10. J akubu, Ōno: akubu (y.) 'to yawn', J akubi 'a yawn'.

SW 20: *anká- 'to yawn' < PSam *án 'mouth'; cf. Sk (aorist 1st sg) aankang.

Table 10

J	ak.u.b.i	Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll.
J, Ō.	ak.u.b.u	J, OJ <u>a-</u> vs PSam * <u>á-</u> /medial J, OJ <u>k</u> vs PSam * <u>nk</u> .
PSam	* <u>ank.á-</u>	3. A corresponding J base * <u>aku</u> could be posited, to which the verb
		formant - <u>bu</u> has been attached; cf. OJ <u>kamubu</u> 'behave like a

god' < kamu 'god'. 4. Cf. the entries aku and ago.

11. J ama-e, OJ ama > ame 'rain, rainfall; sky, heaven', J ama- (in compounds);
Ōno: OJ ama was believed to be the place where the gods lived.

Table	11	FUV 99: Fi <u>ilma</u> 'air, weather, storm'; <u>Ilmari</u> , <u>Ilmarinen</u> 'the weather god of the ancient Finns'/Lp <u>älme</u> ~ <u>älme</u> 'heaven; snow-storm'/Vty <u>in</u> ~ <u>inm-</u> 'heaven', <u>inmar</u> 'God'/Zr <u>jen</u> ~ <u>jenm-</u> 'heaven; God'/Vg <u>iiləm</u> ~ <u>eeləm</u> 'weather; world'/Os <u>iləm</u> , <u>itəm</u> 'weather; sky, cloudy' (of day, weather); <u>num-itəm</u> 'sky; the god of the sky' (<u>num</u> 'upper').--FU * <u>jilmä</u> .
J	ame	
"	ama-	
OJ	ama	
"	ame	
Fi	juma-la	
Est	juma-l	Hajdd 1975, 220 gives a listing which complements the above by:
Ch	jumo	Est <u>jumal</u> 'sky; godhead'/Ch <u>jumo</u> /Md <u>jumi</u> id.
Md	jumi	Cf. also: <u>Jamal</u> Peninsula (at the mouth of the Ob) where the U peoples have had many sacrificial places since time immemorial.
? Yr	Jama-l	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'sky; godhead', hence 'weather, rain'.
FU(?U)		
? *	jymy-lv	2. Among the adduced U terms, the portion in which <u>l</u> , n appear close to the beginning shows the result of metathesis (cf. NyK 81,

1979, No. 1, p. 67, Ganschow: "... metathesis goes back into the distant past of the Volga-Finnic languages." It is therefore proposed that Fi, Est, Livonian ilma (< *imala ?) go with the non-metathesized form jumala (where -la is doubtless a dim. formant); in Vty inm-, inmar, Zr jenm-, n has apparently stepped in for l; Vty in, Zr jen must be worn forms (the stem-final vowels have also been lost here); the Lp, Vg, and Os forms seem to follow the pattern of Fi ilma. 3. If the forms in question are brought back to a pre-metathesis formula, say, *jymy-ls (positing velar vowel order), the phonological comparison runs: initial J, OJ ø vs FU (?U) *j- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs FU(?U) *y (if velar order is posited) or FU *i (if palatal order is posited)/medial J, OJ m vs FU(?U) *m /stem-final J -e, OJ -a, -e vs FU (?U) *y or *-ä. 4. Cf. Pröhle No. 79.

12. J ama-i, OJ ama-si 'sweet, honeyed, fine; fair', J uma-i, OJ uma-si 'delicious, dainty, palatable, sweet, savory, tasty', J oishi-i 'tasty, sweet, dainty'. Ōno: epi 'an incense/perfume made of the leaves and bark of trees'.

Table	12			FUV 37, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>iz</u> ~ <u>ize-</u> 'taste', dial. also 'smell, scent, odour'; dial. <u>izül-</u> 'smell (at)'/Lp <u>hävse</u> ~ <u>håkse-</u> '(Vt) smell, know the smell of; scent, wind; smell at, sniff'/Lpl <u>hapsâ</u> 'odour, stench, excrement of reindeer in summer'; Lp <u>aps</u> 'odour, stench', <u>ap-se-</u> 'give off stench'/? MdM <u>opös</u> 'odour'/Ch <u>üpö</u> /Zr <u>is</u> ~ <u>isk-</u> 'odour, stench', <u>isäl-</u> '(Vt) smell'/Vg <u>ät</u> 'odour', <u>äten</u> 'odorous, palatable' /Os <u>ewel</u> , <u>epet</u> 'odour, smell', <u>ewlen</u> , <u>epeten</u> 'odorous, sweet, palatable'//Yr <u>nabtie-</u> '(Vi) smell; stink', <u>napt</u> 'odour, smell'/Tv <u>nobta</u> /Yn <u>obto</u> /Sk <u>aptea-</u> '(Vi) smell, stink', <u>apty</u> 'odour, smell, stench'/? Km <u>puptu</u> 'odour, smell'--Because of its final -g, Md <u>opös</u> is
J	am.a. .i	Zr	i. .s	
"	um.a. .i	"	i. .s k-	
OJ	am.a.s.i	"	i. .sal-	
"	um.a.s.i	Vg	ä. .t	
J	o.i.š.i-i	"	ä. .tän	
Ō.	ep.i	Os	ew.äl	
Hu	i. .z(-)	"	ep.ät	
"	i. .z.ül-	"	.....	
Lp	häv. .s.e-	Tv	nob. .ta	
"	hap. .s.a	Yn	ob. .to	
"	ap. .s	Sk	ap. .tea-	
"	.....	"	ap. .ty	
? Md	op.ö.s	Km	p ^{up} . .tu	
Ch	üp. .š	U	*ip. .se	

U *ipse 'taste; smell'--Sauvageot equated these words with Mo anta 'taste, savour', Go anta 'tasty, etc.'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'taste; smell'. 2. I assume that J oishi-i is a variant development of ama- and/or uma-, and posit for it an earlier stem form: *opi-. Thus: initial and 1st syll. OJ u-, a-, e- (? *o-) vs U *i-/ medial OJ m (? *p) vs U *p. 3. The element *-se in the U form is plainly an accretion. 4. Cf. Murayama 1966, No. 1.

13. J amaru, OJ amaru (y.) 'be left over, be in excess', J amasu, OJ amasu (y.) 'leave over, let remain, spare', OJ masu (y., Vt, Vi) 'increase, surpass, swell', OJ ama 'many', OJ mane-si, amane-si 'excessive, extensive, numerous'; Ōno: -mari 'remainder' < amaru. Gulya 1966: OsE mas 'enough'. TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu marad- ~ OHu morod- 'remain, be left over, linger, stay; be in excess', maraszt- 'keep back, detain' ? ~ Yr mafré 'withhold, retain, not to give', ? maru 'greedy, covetous, niggardly'/Tv māra'ama 'fasten, make secure'/?Km

Table 13

J	a.ma.r.u	Hu	ma.r.a.d-
"	a.ma.s.u	"	ma.r.a.sz-
OJ	a.ma.r.u	"	mo.r.o.d-
"	a.ma.s.u	? Yr	ma. ~~ra~~ s
"	a.ma	"	ma.r.u
"	a.ma.n.e.si	Tv	mā.r.a.'ma
"	ma.n.e.si	? Km	mā.r.i
"	ma.s.u	- - -	- - -
"	-ma.r.i	- - -	- - -
OsE	ma.s	PSam	*mā.r-

māri 'greedy, covetous'.--In Hu marad-, -d is a frequ. formant /maraszt- is caus./-- The equation is acceptable only if the basic meaning was 'retain', and if marad- has acquired its meaning 'stay, remain'.

SW 87: *mār- (s. some details above).

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'be in excess; keep back'. 2. On the J side, it is obvious that a- is prothetic. Thus: initial J. OJ m- vs OsE m-, Hu m-, PSam *m-/1st syll. J, OJ a vs OsE a, Hu a, o, PSam *a / medial J, OJ r (in the non-caus. forms) vs

Hu r, PSam *r. 3. The root element on the J side is obviously ma-. PSam *mā- fairly represents the same on the U side. 4. Cf. entry afureru.

14. OJ amo, ōmō 'mother'.

FUV 31: Fi emā 'mother (especially of animals)'; Est ema 'mother'/Hu eme 'female of an animal'//Yr nebe, niemeā 'mother'/Tv hame/Yn ee/Sk emy, eu /Motor imam (-m is px1stsg)/Taigi emme, imam id.--U *emā.

Table 14
OJ amo Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'female; mother'. 2. OJ ō is usually the equivalent of a; thus: initial and 1st syll. OJ a-, ō- vs U *e-/ medial OJ m vs U *m /final OJ -o, -ō vs U *-ā. 3. Cf. Yuk emej, emeē 'mother' (FUV 31). 4. Cf. FUV 153: Fi emā, etc. ...//Tu Kirg. emā 'mother'//Kor ōmi id. Lallwort? 5. Cf. Murayama 1966, No. 13.

Fi emā
Est ema
Hu eme
Yr nebe
Tv hame
Sk emy
Motor ima(m)
Taigi emme
U *emā

15. J amu, OJ amu (y.) 'knit, braid, plait, crochet; compile', J ami, OJ amī 'net, netting'.

Table 15

J, OJ	am.u	Zr	jem	FUV 26: Fi <u>āimā</u> 'needle with triangular point for sewing leather or furs'/Lp <u>aibme</u> ~ <u>aime</u> ~ Ch <u>ima</u> 'needle'//
"	am.i	Yr	niib.e	Zr <u>jem</u> /Yr <u>niibe</u> /Tv <u>njāime</u> /Km <u>āiimi</u> /Koibal <u>neme</u> /Motor
OJ	am.i	Tv	njāim.e	<u>ime</u> id.--U * <u>āimā</u> .
Fi	aim.ā	Km	āiim.i	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'needle' (of a primitive
Lp	aibm.e	Koib	nem.e	type), hence 'netting needle', hence 'to net; net'. 2.
"	aim.e-	Motor	im.e	Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ <u>a-</u> vs U * <u>ā-</u> (note:
Ch	im.ə	U	* <u>āim</u> .ā	the sound U * <u>i</u> is most likely an on-glide of * <u>m</u> ; cf.

SW 22: *ejmā 'needle' and a number of reconstructions in these pages where *i is either an on- or an off-glide// medial J, OJ m vs U *m. 3. The essential difference between the two sides here is that of vowel order. 4. Cf. FUV 153: Fi āimā ...//Tg imna, immō, immō id. (Vague correspondences in Tu).

16. OJ amu- : aduti < amu + tuti '(target) shooting mound' (tuti 'earth'; ōno) SKES (ex.): Fi ampu- 'to shoot'/Vty ūb-i id. /? Zr ebes 'force vigor, might'.

Table 16
OJ am.u- Comm.: 1. Semantically, the OJ, Fi, and Vty words tally; Zr ebes comes into the picture only if its former meaning had to do with 'shooting with a bow/throwing a missile'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. OJ a- vs assumable FU *a- (s. Collinder 1965, 95; Zr ebes does not conform)// medial OJ m vs assumable FU *mp (s. Lakó 1968, 66; it is suggested that the cluster *mp should be taken as consisting of *m to which a homorganic *p was added). 3. There is a chance that OJ yum 'a bow (to shoot with)' has to do with amu-; prothetic y- is quite frequent in J, while a~u alternation is also attested, e.g., OJ asa ~ uso ~ usu 'light, pale, shallow'.

17. J, OJ ane 'elder sister; an older/a big sister'.

FUV 25, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu ányi 'the sister of the husband; the wife of an elder brother/an uncle/a cousin/any older relative' ~ Vg ōni, ōn 'aunt', āni 'sister-in-law'/Os āneya, pāki 'wife of an elder brother; step-mother'/Zr ōne, ōna 'sister-in-law', ūne 'aunt', ōna 'daughter-in-law; sister-in-law'/Lp viōnne 'wife of an elder brother'//Yr āejjā 'younger sister of the mother'/Sk ōne, ōna, ōne,

Table 17				on 'aunt'--The initial vowel of the Vg forms derives from p-Vg *a. In Hu <u>ángv</u> , - <u>gv</u> /d/ is probably identical with the denom. nominal formant <u>gv</u> < FU * <u>ád</u> . In the Os forms, - <u>ya</u> /-ki is a dim. formant. The element -a of Zr <u>óna</u> , <u>óna</u> is probably a dim. formant; -e of Zr <u>óne</u> , <u>une</u> is probably pxlstsg in a vocative role.--U * <u>ana</u> .
Ju, OJ	an.e	Lp	víon.e	TESZ: Hu <u>ángv</u> may well have had a base identical with that of anyva 'mother'.
Hu	án gy	Yr	ńéj.jé	
Vg	ón.i	Sk	ón.e	
"	ón	"	ón.a	
"	ón.i'	"	ón.e	
Os	án.əy.a	"	on	
Zr	ón.e	U	*án.a	
"	.....	?	-anv.a-	
		Hu-	-anv.a-	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'female relative, older than the ego'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ a- vs U *a- / medial J, OJ n vs U *n / final J, OJ -e vs U *-a. Note: Lp v- and Yr n- are secondary. 3. Of. entry ani.

18. J, OJ ani 'elder brother; an older male person'.

A) FUV 52: Fi enä- (in place-names) 'great, big'; comparative ene-mpi 'more'; superlative eni-n 'greatest, most'/Lp aednäg (attributive form), aedna 'much, a lot', aenē-mus 'most'/Md ine 'great, big'/Vg jäni, jenig 'great, big'/Os enä/?/Tv ani'e.--U *enä.
B) FUV 25, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi anoppi 'mother-in-law'/Lp vuone~vuodnamä/Vg äänäp?/Hu näpa-//Yr nynap 'father-in-law'; 'elder brother of the wife'; nee-nynap 'mother-in-law' (nee 'woman')/Tv ninaba 'father-in-law; elder brother of the wife'/Yn inobo id.--U *anä, FU *anä-mpä.
C) SW 27: *inä 'elder brother'; cf. Tv nenne, nini 'younger brother of the father'/Yn ina, inä id./Yr ninnëkkä /Sk innë.

Table	18				
J, OJ	an.i	Fi	an.oppi		
Fi	en.ä-	Lp	wuon.e		
"	.....	Vg	än.äp		
Lp	æn.ä-	? Hu	n.apa-		
"	.....	Yr	nyn.ap		
Md	in.e	Tv	nin.aba		
Vg	jän.i	Yn	in.obo		
Os	ef.ö	U	*an.ä		
? Tv	an.i'e				
U	*en.ä	FU	*an.ä-ppä		
- - - -	-	PSam	*in.ä		

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'older person (than the ego); older relative; big, great'.
2. It appears that A) is a palatal vowel order variant development of B), with
semantic differentiation, while C) seems to be a variant development of either.
--Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ a- vs U *e- (A), U, FU *a- (B), PSam *i-(C)
/medial J, OJ n vs U *n (A), U, FU *n (B), PSam *n (C)/ final J, OJ i vs U *a
(A), U, FU *a (B), PSam *a (C). Cf. entry ane.

19. J aogu, OJ apuku, apugu (y.) 'to fan, agitate, instigate', J aoru id., Ōno: aputu (y.) 'to fan; flap (e.g., sails)'.

Table	19				TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>evez-</u> 'paddle/row (a boat),
J	a. .g.u	Est	sa.p. .s(u)		wag (the tail), flap (the wings), move
"	a. .r.u	Liv	sa.p. .s		the fins (said of a fish), beat the air
OJ	a.p.u.ku	LpK	suo.p. .c		with the hands, flourish (a stick)'.--
"	a.p.u.gu	Zr	sõ.p.e.ć		Origin debated.--Proposition 1):~Fi <u>evä</u>
Ö.	a.p.u.tu	Vg	tä. .s		'fin', dial. <u>evä</u> 'fin; paddle'.--The FÜ
Hu	e.v.e.z-	Os	sõ.g.əs		base may have been * <u>evä</u> which has been
FÜ	*e.v.ä	"	se.w.əs		complemented in Hu with the denominal verb
F	so. .u.ta-	FÜ	*sa.p. .ć3		formant -z.--The weakness of this equation
Lp	su.g.â-	(or)	*sã.p. .ć3		is that a regular correspondence can be
"	su.w. .de-				found in Fi only.---Proposition 2):~Vg
Ch	šu. .a-	PSam	*tu-		to <u>ßä</u> - 'to row, paddle'/Os <u>tüp</u> 'a paddle'/
"	šu. .e-	Tv	tõ.p. .sa		Fi <u>souta-</u> 'to row, paddle'.--In this com-
Zr	sy. .n(?)	Sk	tu-		parison, the difference of vowel order
Vg	to.w-	?Os	jõ.w-		constitutes the difficulty.
Os	tä.w-	"	jã.w-		FUV 75 (ex.): Fi <u>souta-</u> 'to row'/Lp <u>sukkä-</u>
Hu	e.v.e.z-	"	ja.y-		~ <u>sugä-</u> '(Vi) row', <u>suwde-</u> 'to ferry/con-
Sk	tu. .a-				vey in a boat by rowing'/Ch <u>šua-</u> , <u>šue-</u>
"	tu-				'to row'/Zr <u>syn-</u> /Vg <u>tow-</u> /Os <u>taw-</u> /Hu <u>eve-</u>
Km	tu. .b-				//Sk <u>tua-</u> , <u>tu-</u> /Km <u>tu</u> 'b-, <u>tu</u> '--- U * <u>sõyõ.</u>
"	tu. .				
U	*sõ.y.õ				FUV 126: Est <u>saps</u> ~ <u>sapsu-</u> 'steering oar';
					Liv <u>saps</u> /LpK <u>suopec</u> /Zr <u>sõpec</u> /Vg <u>tääs</u>
					'paddle; stern of a boat' /Os <u>sõgas</u> , <u>sawes</u>
					'stern of a boat; oar'.--FÜ * <u>sapć3</u> or * <u>sapć3</u>

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to paddle; paddle; beat the air'. 2. It is fairly obvious

that Proposition 2) offered by TESZ is practically the same as what we see under FUV 75. On the other hand, the word families presented under FUV 75 and FUV 126 differ from each other very little either semantically or in phonetic shape. The assumed difference in vowel order cannot be definitely stated, for FU *sapó must have come--if the analyses of Rédei 1975, 93-102 are correct--from a trisyllabic word (i.e., a vowel has to be supplied between *p and *ó); the element *ó must, therefore, be an expansion on a disyllabic stem, say, *sap; in medial position a velar stop is so frequently appearing for a labial one (or its reflex, e.g., in Os sóges ~ sewas above) that the assumed FU *sap may be taken as the variant by split of U *səyó.--If that is allowed, then: initial J, OJ ó vs Fu o (Proposition 1), FU, U *a elsewhere (cf. also PSam *t-, Os i-) / 1st syll. J, OJ a vs FU *e (Proposition 1), U *ə (= a), FU *a (or *ä) (cf. PSam *u, Os u, ä, a) / medial J o, OJ p vs FU *y (Proposition 1), U *y, FU *p (cf. PSam o, but Tv p; Os w, y). 3. Cf. SW 166: *tu- 'to paddle'; cf. Tv tópsa 'a paddle'; Sk tu-go 'to paddle' (where -go is a verb formant). 4. Cf. Steinitz 1966, 338: Os Kazim jwam 'to wag, fan, brush', Os Vach, Vasjuga jaylim 'to fan, brush; shoo away', Os Demjanka jawtas 'wag the tail'; Os stem forms: jay-, joy-, juy----Since Os initial j-, ä (ä, t, l) can all be derived from PFU *a-, *ä- (Iakó 1968, 51), this word family must not be excluded from the comparison above.

20. J ara- 'new, fresh, novel' in ara-ta-ni 'newly, anew, afresh', aratameru 'to change, renew, etc', OJ ara-kazime 'beforehand, previously' (-kazime/pazime 'a beginning'); Ono: ara : ara-ta 'new, fresh' (-ta is an adj. formant, s. Lewin 1959, 138).

Table	20	FUV 88 (ex.): Fi <u>alka</u> - 'to begin'/? Vg <u>awl</u> 'beginning; end' /Os
J, OJ	ar.-a-	<u>alan</u> , <u>oten</u> 'beginning; end' /-- FU * <u>alka</u> -
Fi	al. .ka-	SKES (ex.): Fi <u>alka</u> - (approx. as above).../? Sk <u>ol</u> , <u>ul</u> , <u>olle</u> ,
? Os	al. .ə.ŋ	<u>ulu</u> 'head; butt'.
"	ot. .ə.ŋ	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'begin; beginning (either end of a
FU	*al. .ka-	long object or of a road); new'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll.
? Sk	ol	J, OJ <u>a</u> - vs FU * <u>a</u> -, ? Sk <u>o</u> -, <u>u</u> - / medial J, OJ <u>r</u> vs FU * <u>l</u> , ? Sk
"	ul	<u>l</u> / stem-final J, OJ <u>a</u> - vs suggested FU * <u>a</u> - in the same position.
"	olle	tion. For FU * <u>alka</u> - probably comes from a trisyllabic form, say,
"	ul.u	* <u>ala-ka</u> - (s. Rédei 1975, 93-102), * <u>ka</u> being a suffix and an accretion
		of metathesis: <u>-w</u> - is a reflex of FU * <u>ka</u> .

21. OJ are in mi-are 'appearance of the gods' (mi is an honorific proclitic), OJ ara-pa (deverbal?) 'the outside shape; appearance', arapasu (y.) 'show, reveal, manifest', araparu (sh.n.) 'J arawareru 'appear, emerge'.

Table	21	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>ald</u> - 'to bless', OHu: 'to sacrifice, praise,
OJ	ar.e	sanctify; to curse'; <u>áldas</u> 'blessing', OHu also 'pledge'; <u>áldo</u> -
"	ar.a.pa	<u>más</u> 'a toast/a drink (to someone), pledging drink (to bind a
Hu	ál. .d-	deal), celebration'; OHu <u>áldomás</u> 'blessing, sacrifice, sacri-
"	.....	ficial feast'; <u>áldoz(ik)</u> 'partake of a sacrifice, receive the
Os	ál.i.l-	Holy Communion' ~ Os <u>áldita</u> 'to curse, execrate, put a spell on'
Ch	ul. .tém	/Ch <u>últém</u> 'pray'/MdE <u>altan</u> , <u>alvtan</u> 'to promise', <u>altans</u> 'pro-
MdE	al. .tan	mise, dedicate, consecrate; curse, bewitch'.--On the basis of
"	.....	the Hu and Os words we can posit medial * <u>l</u> , while in considera-
FU	*al.3-	tion of the Ch and Md data, perhaps * <u>lk</u> can be assumed.--Hu <u>-d</u> ,
or	*al. .k3-	Os <u>-il</u> are frequ. formants; Ch <u>-t</u> , Md <u>-vt</u> , <u>-t</u> (< FU * <u>kt</u>) are
		caus. formants.--The semantic duality 'bless' : 'curse' could

have its origin in the FU p-language.--FU *alg- (or *alk3-).

Comm.: 1. Sacrificial offerings in the presence of the gods or at times when an individual or the community implores the gods to be present are still a part of J (especially Shintō) religious life. In this sense, are may be taken as the equivalent of a sacrificial act. This meaning would be congruent with the likely basic meaning on the U side (the meaning 'to curse' is very likely secondary). 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. OJ a- vs FU *a- / medial OJ r vs FU *l / final OJ -e, -a (in the same position) vs FU *-ə.

22. J aru, OJ ari (-ra-line conj.) 'there is, to exist, something is situated (somewhere); to stand (of a mountain/a building); stay, not to go further (e.g., with a lecture); (in habeo-constructions) 'have, possess', e.g., J hito-ni ...

Table 22

J	ar.u	aru	'people have (something; literally: to people there is)'.
OJ	ar.i	ar.i	FUV 88, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>áll-</u> , earlier also <u>ál-</u> 'to stand, stop, stand still; be certain/valid', <u>állapít-</u> 'put/set firmly, establish', <u>állapot</u> 'position, standing; condition, situation', <u>állat</u> 'animal', in OHu 'situation, condition, reality, substance, essence, being', <u>állít-</u> 'to position, place, establish; to state, assert' ~ Zr <u>sulal-</u> '(Vi) stand; to cost (a certain amount)', <u>sul-</u> id./Vty <u>síl-</u> , <u>sél-</u> 'to stand, come to a stop; exist; stand still; to cost (something); be worth/valid' /Ch <u>šolgem</u> , <u>šalyem</u> '(Vi) stand)'-- In Hu <u>áll-</u> , the occurrence of <u>ll</u> may be explained by a change FU * <u>lk</u> > * <u>yl</u> > <u>ll</u> ; that <u>ll</u> should be the result of secondary lengthening (EtSz) is less probable.-- FU * <u>salka-</u> .
Hu	ál(á)-		
"			
Zr	sul-		
"	sul.a.l-		
Vty	síl-		
"			
Ch	šol. .gem		
"	šal. .gem		
FU	*sal. .k3-		

Comm.: P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to stand, exist, be firmly placed, not to move'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ ǫ vs FU *s- / 1st syll. J, OJ a vs FU *a / medial J, OJ r vs FU *l; in connection with the remark that Hu -ll- is not due to secondary lengthening I side with EtSz. 3. That implies that the Hu stem ál- did not take on the expansion element FU *k3, as Zr sul- is also without it. Going by Rédei 1975, 93-102, there ought to be a vowel between FU *l and *k.

23. J, OJ aru 'some; one; a certain; an unnamed', e.g., OJ aru pí 'a certain day', aru pító 'a certain person'.

Table 23 TESZ (ex.): Hu vala- = vala-ha 'sometime' (at a certain time), 'one J, OJ aru day', vala-hol 'at some place', vala-ki 'somebody', vala-mi 'some- Hu vala- thing'--The word vala- is cognate with val-/vol- (s. entry iru).

Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ ǫ vs Hu y- / 1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu a / medial J, OJ r vs Hu l /cf. stem-final J, OJ -u vs Hu -a.

24. J, OJ asa 'morning; forenoon', J, OJ asu 'tomorrow'. Ōno: asa, asu, and their derivatives are probably based on a stem as-, meaning 'day-break'; in connection with asa-si 'shallow, superficial', Ōno says OJ asa alternated with osd and usu, meaning 'slight, faint, low; short (also in time); thin'; cf. OJ asu (sh.n.), J. aseru 'be/get shallow/superficial/pale'.

Table 24 Fokos-Fuchs 1959: Zr asuv, asil, asil 'the J, OJ as.a Os was. .yayint- morning; tomorrow; in the morning', as, ase " " as.u MdE aš.o 'in the morning' " " as.u " aš.o.l doms Munkácsi 1896: Vty askí = Zr aski 'tomorrow; OJ as.ǫ " aš.o.l gadoms in the morning; the following day', askaz J as.e.ru ? Hu ősz 'the following day', asil 'day-break, morning; Zr as.u.v " ez- east'. " as.j.l ? Vg at- Ganschow 1965, 70: Os wasvayint- 'it begins " as ? Zr oz- to dawn'. " ? Vty us- Ravila 1959: MdE ašo 'white', ašoldoms 'to Vty as.kí " az- shine, shimmer (white), be bright and shiny', ašoldoms 'to dawn, grow light'. " as.i.l " az- TESZ (ex.): 1) Hu ősz, OHu (1395) ez 'white, greyish, grey-haired'--This word is of unknown origin. 2) Hu ez- = ezüst 'silver'. --This word is probably a loan from p-Permian: Zr ez-iš 'silver' (-iš 'metal?'), az-veš 'silver; of silver'. One cannot prove that the first elements of the compounds have the meaning 'white'. 3) Hu vas 'iron' ... cf. Vg. atšes 'lead', Zr ozis 'tin', Vty usves 'tin', azves 'silver'.

Comm.: 1. The data on the U side are not necessarily related among themselves; they have been adduced to facilitate further research. 2. The presumed basic meaning on the J side is 'light, slight, pale', hence 'dawn; morning'. Approx. the same basic meaning could be posited on the U side. 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ ǫ vs ǫ on the U side, except in Os /1st syll. J a-, u-, OJ a-, ǫ-, u- vs Zr a-, ? e-, Vty a-, ? u-, Vg. MdE a-, Os -ā-, Hu ǫ-, e-. 4. The first components of the composites Vg atšes, etc. can have hardly any other meaning than 'white, light in color', since the second component means 'stone/metal'. 5. Cf. entry ishi.

25. J, OJ ase 'sweat, perspiration', J atsu-i, OJ atu-si 'hot, warm, sultry'. FUV 87: Lp accāga 'red hot (of iron, etc)'/Md ežda- 'to heat/warm'/Vg asēm, išm, išm, etc. 'hot'; išt- 'to warm'--FU *āčā-.

Table 25

J, OJ	as.e	Hu	iz(z)-	FUV 100, TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>izz-</u> 'glow, be red-hot'; <u>izzad-</u> 'to sweat'/Vty <u>esty-</u> 'to heat'/'
J	at.u. .i	"	iz(z).a.d-	Zr <u>özty-</u> 'catch fire'; <u>özty-</u> 'ignite, fire, light'/Os <u>öl-</u> , <u>at-</u> 'to heat, ignite'.--In Hu,
OJ	at.u.s.i	Vty	e s . .ty-	<u>zz</u> is the result of gemination.--FU <u>*äs-</u> .
Lp	acc.ä.g.äs	Zr	ö z . .ty-	--This equation is uncertain because the the
Md	ež . .d'a-	"	ö z . .ty-	Hu word family is of velar vowel order, while
Vg	es.ə.m	Os	öl -	the rest indicates palatal order.
"	is. .m	"	et -	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to heat; hot',
"	is. .m	FU	*äs .3-	hence 'sweat'. 2. The two word families on
"	iš. .t-			the U side appear to be variants by split. 3.
FU	*äč.ä-			Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ <u>a-</u> vs FU

*ä-/ medial J s, ts, OJ s (=ts), t vs FU *č, s /cf. stem-final J, OJ -e vs FU *ä. 4. Cf. Poppe 1975, 312: Tu Altai üzü <*izi- <*izi-g 'hot' < izi- 'become hot'. 5. Miller 1971, 84.

26. J ashi, OJ asi (in compositions also a-) 'foot, leg, paw; limb; one's step, pace'.

FUV 25 (ex.): Fi askel 'step, pace', askele- 'to step'/MdE eskila-, MdM askala- 'to step'/Ch asköl, ošköl 'step, pace', askedä- 'climb, step, go'/Vty učkyl 'step, pace'/Zr oskel, voskol /Vg uošl, uusil id.//Sk aašel- 'to step over or beyond'.
--U *ackele or *askele.

Table 26

J	as.i	Vty	uč. .kyl	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'foot, leg; step, pace'; cf. Németh 1928, 83 where it is
OJ	as.i	Zr	oš. .kel	pointed out that some Tu terms for parts
Fi	as. .kel	"	voš. .kol	of the body express the function of the
"	as. .kele-	Vg	uoš. . l(?)	part in question. 2. Phon.: initial and
MdE	es. .kila-	"	uus. . l(?)	1st syll. J, OJ <u>a-</u> vs U <u>*a-</u> /medial J <u>sh</u> ,
MdM	as. .keša-	Sk	aas. . el-(?)	OJ <u>s</u> (=ts) vs U <u>*č</u> or <u>*š</u> .--It would be
Ch	as. .köl	U	*ač. .kele	hard to reconcile OJ <u>s</u> with U <u>*č</u> or <u>*š</u> .
"	oš. .köl	_or_	*aš. .kele	Therefore it is proposed, and later com-
"	as. .kedä-	? Fi	as. .tu-	parisons seem to support the proposal,

stem is U *ač- / *aš- where complementing with a final vowel is necessary. 3. The elements in *-kele are taken as expansions of a disyllabic stem, i.e., they are considered to be formants. Cf. Rédei 1975, 95 where Fi astu- 'to step, go' is also adduced, albeit with a question mark. 4. Of. Pröhle No. 82.

27. J ada, OJ ata 'foe, enemy, feind; grudge, revenge; bad conduct'. Ōno: ada > adaku (sh.n.) 'act faithlessly/in an inconstant way'; atamu (y.) 'show enmity', atasu (y.) 'rise against, turn on, bite back'.

Table 27

J	ad.a	dial.	adász id., <u>adászat</u>	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>adás</u> 'enraged, furious, frenzied, cruel, wild',
OJ	at.a	Gulya 1966:	? OsE <u>ätəm</u>	'bad; lean, thin'.
Ō.	ad.a.ku	Ganschow 1965, 68:	? Os <u>ätəm</u>	'bad', <u>ätmint-</u> 'find fault with,
"	at.a.mu	reprimand, abuse'.		
"	at.a.su	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.:	'inimical; bad, wild'. 2. Phon.: in-	
Hu	ád.ä.z	ital and 1st syll. J, OJ <u>a-</u>	vs Hu <u>ä-</u> , ? Os <u>ä-</u> , <u>ä-</u> /	medial J <u>d</u> ,
? Os	ät.ə.m	OJ <u>t</u> , <u>d</u> vs Hu <u>d</u> , ? Os <u>t</u> /	stem-final J, OJ <u>-a</u> vs Hu <u>-ä</u> , ? Os <u>-e</u>	in
"	ät.ə.m	the same position.		

28. J ataeru, OJ atapu (sh.n.) 'give, award, allot, bestow', OJ atu (sh.n.) 'strike, hit, hit the mark; give, allot, assign, divide (one's property), parcel out, give as is fitting'. Ōno, Chamberlain: atapu 'to give' comes from atu 'to place near, put on, fix on'.

Table 28

J	at.a. .e.ru	FUV 88, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>ad-</u> ~ OHu <u>od-</u>	'give, allot' ~ Zr <u>ud-ni</u>	'give to drink, water (animals); feed'/Vty <u>ud-</u> id.;
OJ	at.u			offer, give food'/MdE <u>and-oms</u> 'to feed, nourish'/Fi <u>anta-</u>
"	at.a.p.u			'give, present', Est. <u>and-ma</u> 'give, hand over; dedicate'/Lp
Hu	ad-			<u>vuovdett</u> 'distribute food'.--FU <u>*anta-</u> 'to give'.
Zr, Vty	ud-	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.:	'give, allot'. 2. Phon.: initial	
Md	and.oms	and 1st syll. J, OJ <u>a-</u> vs FU <u>*a-</u> /	medial J, OJ <u>t</u> vs FU <u>*t</u>	
Fi	anta-	(note: <u>*m</u> is a prenasalizing intruder, the same as <u>n</u> , whether		
FU	*anta-			

visible or only traceable) /final of the primary stem (in ataeru, atapu)J, OJ -a vs FU *-a. 3. For the voicing of OJ p, t, k, s through assumed prenasalization, s. Wenck 1968, further Ramsey - Unger 1972. 4. Cf. entry ataru.

29. J atama 'head; brain; mind', OJ atama 'fontanelle'. Satow (TASJ 9, 197) suggested that the root word of atama is ata.

Table	29			FUV 86, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>velō</u> 'brain, marrow, marrowfat', <u>vele-je</u> pxjrdsg ~ Fi <u>ydin</u> (yti-me-), <u>ytv</u> , <u>ydyn</u> 'marrow'/Lp <u>adā</u> , <u>ādamā</u> /Md <u>ude-me</u> /Ch <u>vīm</u> , <u>wem</u> /Vty <u>vīm</u> , <u>viīm</u> /Zr <u>ven</u> /Vg <u>velam</u> /Os <u>welam</u> , <u>wetam</u> /Sk <u>kūitū</u> id.-- U *wiō ₃ , FU *Biō ₃ , with the FU formant *me added: *Side-me. Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'brain; marrow'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>ø</u> vs U *w-/ FU *β-/ 1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs U, FU *i/ medial J, OJ <u>t</u> vs U, FU *š/ final -a of the J, OJ primary stem vs U, FU *-ā (*-e). 3. The elements -ma on the J side, *-me on the U side are evidently additions to disyllabic stems.
J, OJ	at.a.ma	Vty	vi . .m	
Hu	vel.e-		viij. .m	
Fi	yt.y.me-	Zr	ve . .m	
"	yd.y.n	Vg	vel.ə.m	
"	yt.y	Os	vel.ə.m	
Lp	ad.a		vet.ə.m	
"	adā.ā.mā	Sk	kūitū	
Md	ud.e.me	U	*wiō.3	
Ch	wi . .m		*Biō.3	
"	we . .m	FU	*Biō.3-me	

30. J, OJ atari 'neighbourhood, vicinity, direction, side'.

Table	30			TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>oldal</u> -OHu <u>odal</u> / <u>oldal</u> , dial. <u>odal</u> , <u>ódó</u> , <u>ódu</u> 'side e.g., of a mountain, of a human or animal; border; vicinity, neighbourhood; direction (right or left from a given point); the side or half of something or somebody, which faces a certain direction' ~ Vg <u>ántal</u> , <u>ántil</u> 'rib (of the chest)'/Os <u>ontí</u> , <u>ontí</u> , <u>ontí</u> , <u>ántí</u> id.-- This equation is acceptable only if -l of <u>oldal</u> is secondary (i.e., <u>oldal</u> < <u>ódal</u>).--FU *ont ₃ -(l ₃) 'side of the body; half; wall'. Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'side, vicinity'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> - vs FU *o-/ medial J, OJ <u>t</u> vs FU *t (note: *n merely indicates prenasalization of *t)/ stem-final J, OJ <u>a</u> vs FU *ā, in the same position. 3. Expansion element J, OJ -ri stands against *l ₃ on the U side. 4. Cf. Benzing 1956, 46: (in connection with the cluster *ld) Tg *xolda-n 'side; wall; board'.-- According to Benzing (p. 11), *x- marks an initial whose phonetic quality is not certain (is *x- in *xolda-n prothetic?); note further that *l in the cluster *ld stands before a dental stop; a good parallel to this occurrence seems to be Tg <u>kalta</u> - : <u>kalta-ka</u> 'the shore yonder', <u>kalda-ma</u> 'steep bank of a river' where the basic meaning (of <u>kalta</u> -) is most likely 'half; one side (of paired objects)'. One wonders whether l in that position is etymological? 5. Cf. Poppe 1960, 150: Tg Ev <u>oldōn-du</u> 'beside' (where n is likely secondary, if not l, also, while <u>du</u> must be a loc. suffix).
J, OJ	at.a.ri			
Hu	old.a.l			
OHu	od.a.l			
Vg	ánt.a.l			
"	ánt.i.l			
Os	ontí			
"	ontí			
FU	*ont ₃ -(l ₃)			

31. J ataru, OJ ataru (y.) '(Vt/Vi) hit, strike, dash into; touch; shine on; guess right, draw a prize (and win); be fulfilled; confront; correspond to; be related to; apply to; be assigned to; be affected by/exposed to/punished by (e.g., heaven!)? J ateru, OJ atu (sh.n.) 'apply, place, put, hit (the mark); guess; succeed; expose to; assign, allocate, divide one's property, parcel out', J, OJ ate 'an aim/end/object; a stroke; a pad (used when chopping things); examples: J sagashi-ateru 'find out, discover, detect, locate' (sagasu 'search for', fune-wa iwa-ni ataru 'the boat strikes a rock' (f. 'boat', wa topic marker, i. 'rock', ni 'in. into'), mizu atari 'illness from water' (m. 'water'), ate-koto 'a guess, a conjecture' (k. 'word'), i-ateru 'hit the target' (i < iru 'shoot with a bow'), mi-ataru 'be found' (mi < miru 'see').

Table	31			FUV 80, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>talál</u> - 'find, come upon, meet, encounter; perceive, catch sight of; get at, obtain, win, gain; occur, happen; hit the mark; find out, invent; get somewhere, find one's way to some place' ~ Ch <u>tōla</u> -, <u>tola</u> - 'come, arrive'/ Fi <u>tule</u> -, <u>tulla</u> - id., Est <u>tule-ma</u> 'come'/? Lp <u>tolli</u> - 'come'(? <Fi)///Yr <u>tōg</u> 'come'/? Yn <u>tūu</u> -/? Tv <u>tū'am</u> id./Sk <u>tulyg</u> - 'reach, arrive at', <u>tuldy</u> - 'bring, deliver'(?)/Km <u>gōlam</u> 'come'. Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'come/arrive/cause to arrive', hence 'hit (e.g., the target)', hence 'find/be struck/affected
J, OJ	a.tar.u			
"	a.tar.i			
"	a.te			
? J	a.ter.u			
? OJ	a.tu			
Hu	tal.á.l-			
Ch	tōl.a-	U	*tule-	'to come'.
"	tōl.a-			
Fi	tul.e-			

F1	tull.a-	(by)'.--Under entry <u>ataeru</u> we have seen OJ <u>atu</u> (sh.n.). Whether
Est	tul.e.ma	that word family has to do with <u>ataru</u> , etc. is difficult to
? Lp	toll.i	decide; the semantic fields overlap; one cannot exclude the
Yr	tō .ś(?)	possibility that a CV root form has developed in two directions.
? Yn	tū-	2. Phon.: taking <u>a-</u> as prothetic, -- initial J, OJ <u>t-</u> vs U * <u>t-</u>
? Tv	tū'.a.m	/1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> , <u>e</u> , ? J <u>e</u> in <u>ateru</u> , OJ <u>u</u> in <u>atu</u> (where <u>-u</u>
Sk	tul.y.ś-	is automatically attached as a verb final) vs U <u>u</u> /medial J,
"	tul. .dy-	OJ <u>r</u> , where there is root extension by <u>r</u> , vs U * <u>l</u> . 3. Cf.
Km	śōl.a.m	Joki 1944, 72: Km <u>tōlām</u> , <u>tulām</u> 'to hit, strike', <u>śā tōbi</u>
U	*tul.e-	'the bullet hit the mark' / Erdélyi 1969, 230: Sk <u>śari-</u> 'strike
		home, hit the mark' / Lehtisalo 1936, 303: Tv <u>jare-de'ama</u> 'en-
		counter, meet (someone)', Sk <u>śar-nam</u> 'to meet'.

32. J ato, OJ atō 'track, a mark/trail/spoor/trace/wake (after a boat)'.

Table	32			FUV 82, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>út</u> , <u>uta-</u> , OHu <u>utu</u>
J	at.o	Sk	wat	'way, path, road' / Vg <u>áxt</u> / Os <u>ogxt</u> / Yr <u>qu</u> , <u>nud-</u> ,
OJ	at.o'	"	muōttə.	<u>nut</u> 'way, path, track' / Yn <u>urii</u> , <u>u</u> , <u>udo-</u> / Sk <u>wat</u> ,
Hu	út	U	* ut. .ka	<u>muōtta</u> 'way, path, track' / ? Km <u>a'tə</u> , <u>a'də</u> , <u>a'di</u>
"	ut.a-			'way, path, track, footprint; wrinkle' / -- U * <u>utka</u> .
OHu	ut.u			Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. In the Vg, Os,
Yr	qu'			and Km forms we see the result of metathesis. Sam
"	nud-			<u>u-</u> , <u>w-</u> , and <u>m-</u> are prothetic. Thus: initial and 1st
"	nut			syll. J, OJ <u>a-</u> vs U * <u>u-</u> / medial J, OJ <u>t</u> vs U * <u>t</u> / cf.
Yn	ur.i			final J <u>-o</u> , OJ <u>-o'</u> to OHu <u>-u</u> (after the loss of this
"	u'			<u>-u</u> , the initial <u>u-</u> became compensatorily lengthened).
"	ud.o-			3. U * <u>-ka</u> must be taken as an accretion on a
				disyllabic stem; the positing of a cluster U * <u>tk</u> is
				hardly justified. 4. Cf. Poppe 1960, 150: Tg Ev <u>u'ka</u> < * <u>u'ka</u> 'spoor, track'.

33. J atsui, OJ atu-si 'thick; rich; kind, cordial'.

Table	33			Lehtisalo 1936, 265: LpL <u>assā</u> 'thick', p. 195: LpN <u>āssu-sâs</u>
J	ats.u. .i			'thick (to a certain measure--said of flat objects)', <u>gāssu-sâs</u>
OJ	at.u.s.i			'thick { " " " " --said of round objects)' (from * <u>asso</u> ,
Lp	ass.ā			* <u>gasso</u> 'thickness'), p. 340: LpK <u>kassig</u> 'thick'.
"	āssu			FUV 96: Lp <u>gāssāg</u> , (attr. <u>gāssā</u>) 'thick (of round objects)' / Ch
"	*ass.o			<u>ke'gā</u> , <u>kū'gū</u> 'thick' / Vty, Zr <u>kyz</u> / Os <u>kōl</u> , <u>kōt</u> id. -- FU * <u>kese</u> .
- - -	*gass.o			Comm.: 1. The basic meaning is on both sides 'thick'. 2. FUV
? Lp	kass.i.g			leaves Lp <u>assā</u> , etc. unmentioned. However, the existence of words
? "	gāss.ā(g)			of identical meaning and similar phonetic shape--where one word
? Ch	ke'z. .gā			begins with <u>k-/g-</u> , the other with vowel initial--prompts one to
? "	kū'z. .gū			think that the loss of initial <u>k-</u> (? through underarticulation)
?Zr/Vtykz				is to be suspected in Lp (cf. frequent loss of <u>k-</u> especially in
?Os	kōl			Tg). It seems that one is faced with a split, for 'thickness of
? "	kōt			flat objects' is differentiated from 'thickness of round objects'.
? FU	*kes.e			The Ch, Zr, Vty, Os, and some Lp, forms are taken as having re-
				tained their respective reflexes of FU * <u>k-</u> -- Even if the forms
				with <u>k-/g-</u> initial have to be ruled out, Lp <u>assā</u> , <u>āssu</u> can still be usefully
				compared to J <u>atsui</u> . 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ <u>a-</u> vs Lp <u>a-</u> (or J, OJ <u>ū-</u>
				vs FU * <u>k-</u> , J, OJ <u>a-</u> vs FU * <u>e</u>) / medial J <u>ts</u> , OJ <u>t</u> vs Lp <u>ss</u> (? FU * <u>s</u>) / stem-final
				J, OJ <u>-u</u> vs Lp <u>-ā</u> , <u>-u</u> (? FU * <u>-e</u>).

34. J au, OJ apu (y.) 'meet, come together, encounter; fit, suit; be suited; enter, match, harmonize with', J awasui, awaseru 'make meet, put together, unite, combine, fit, adjust to, OJ apasui (sh.n.) id., e.g., me-apasui 'marry off (a girl; me woman)'. Ōno: apu (sh.n.) 'oppose, resist, defy, withstand' is cognate with apu (y.) above
 FUV 26, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): OHu av(ik) 'become united; take root in; enter, penetrate, soak in; shrink, thicken (vi), avat- '(vt) (by soaking) shrink, compact (hemp, flax, cloth), dial. ovot- id.; graft, inoculate; (officially) make enter, e.g., into the ranks of monks/officers/knights; let someone into a secret', avat-koz(ik) 'meddle (in), intervene, interpose' / Vg tui-, toj-, to- 'enter' / Os tān, śān, lān, jān 'enter, go in (e.g., a house)' / MāE sovams, suvars, MāM suvars, sāvars 'enter' / ? Lp suogne- 'enter', suoknat- 'pass through an opening; soak; penetrate' (e.g., grease into leather) // Yr tui-, tui- 'enter; come, approach' --

initial J h-, OJ p- vs U *k- (proposed two-way development from */kw/, s. section on phonology) /1st syll. J, OJ o vs U *u /medial J sh, OJ s (= ts) vs U *h or *č /final J, OJ i vs U *e. 3. Cf. Mu. - Szi. Vg pos 'light, gleam'. One wonders whether this word is a development by split, parallel to Vg koofs? 4. Cf. Sauvageot 1930, 104: U words as above vs Tg Go vočektá 'star', Olča oškta, Oroči hosikta, etc., Ma usiha id. (where the element -kta /-ha is a collective noun formant); on p. 25 Sauvageot refers to Pelliot, and mentions, among other data, Go poule 'stars forming the Big Bear'. 5. Cf. Benzing 1956, 50: Tg posin 'to flash, light up, flare, glitter, scintillate', p. 72: Tg *xošikta 'star', etc. 6. Cf. Poppe 1962, 10: Mo odun < OMO *pōdun 'star'. 7. Cf. Murayama 1966, No. 32: OJ *poči vs Mo odun < hodun < *potin 'star'.

115. J hoshii (noun) 'want, desire, wish', hoshigaru 'to desire, want, wish, crave (for), covet, be greedy', OJ po-si (adj.) 'desirous, craving (for), etc.', e.g., ki-po-si 'desirous to wear' (kiru 'to wear'), OJ poru (y.) 'to desire, wish, crave (for)', OJ musa-boru ~ musa-buru (y.) = J musa-boru 'to covet, crave (for), be greedy' (Ono: musa- 'dissatisfied; greedy; squalid'); ? J oshi-i 'regrettable, pitiful, precious', ? OJ wo-si 'begrudging, regretting' (to give some possession out of one's hand), stingy, J oshimu, OJ wosimu (y.) 'be sparing/stingy (with), regret, begrudge, lament (over)', J oshigaru id. " por-u TESZ (ex.): Hu fösvény dial. fěsviny, fűsvény, fősfín 'greedy, covetous, stingy'.--Origin unknown. " -bor-u Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'desire; greed'. 2. On the J side, " -bur-u the opposition posi : poru allows us to posit a CV shaped root: ? J oshi-i po-; OJ wo-si appears to be a variant by split from po-si (with " wos-im u a slight semantic difference); for p ~ w cf.: OJ pasiru ~ wasiru Hu fös. vény 'to run', poru ~ weru 'to chisel', patuka ~ waduka 'trifling', etc. " 3. Phon.: initial J h-, ø-, OJ p-, w- vs Hu f- (< p-) / 1st syll. J o, OJ o, u vs Hu ö, é, ü /medial J sh, OJ s (= ts) vs Hu s.

4. For the element Hu -vény, reference is made to D. Bartha 1958, 85: deverbal nominals ending in -vány ~ -vény; accordingly, the Hu stem fös- has been complemented with such an ending; originally, fösvény probably meant 'greed', but since the time of the earliest Hu records pertaining to this word we know it to be an adjective. 5. A striking feature of this comparison (if the comparison is right) is that the Hu stem fös- contains the consonant part of the OJ adj. formant -si. In other parallels (e.g., OJ ito-si 'beloved': Hu édős / idős id., s. entry itoshii) the adj. formant is plainly recognizable on the Hu side, too.

116. J hoso-i, OJ posō(su) 'slender, narrow, lean, fine', cf. OJ posō-ye 'long and narrow bay', J hosoru 'get thin, taper off', J hisashi-i, OJ pisa-si 'long; lasting; long time', J hisame < hisa + ame 'long rain, long rainy spell'.

Table 116

J	hos.o. i	Zr	kuž.ō	FUV 98, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>hosszú</u> ~ OHu <u>huszo</u> , <u>hoszo</u> , <u>hoszu</u> , dial. <u>hosszi</u> , <u>hasszu</u> , <u>hészzi</u> , <u>hészsu</u>
"	hos.o.r.u	"	kuž	'long (in space and time)', <u>hosszas</u> 'longish, lengthy, long-winded' ~ Vg <u>khāšā</u> 'long; (for a)
OJ	pos.ō.s.i	Vty	kuž	long time, <u>yāsā</u> 'far, in the distance', <u>kōōō</u>
J	his.a.shi-i	"	kūz	'long' / Zr <u>kužō</u> , <u>kuž</u> 'long' / Vty <u>kuž</u> , <u>kūz</u> 'long;
OJ	pisa.a.s.i	Ch	kuž.u	tall (of plants) / Ch <u>kužu</u> , <u>kužo</u> id. // Km <u>kunzu</u>
Hu	hosszú	"	kuž.o	'along', <u>kundu</u> '(for a) long (time)'.-- U * <u>kočs</u>
OHu	huszo	Km	kunzu	or * <u>kocš</u> .
"	hoszo	"	kund'u	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'long'. 2. Phon.: ini-
Vg	khāš.ā	U	* <u>kočs</u> 3	tial J <u>h</u> -, OJ <u>p</u> - vs U * <u>k</u> - (proposed two-way de-
		or	* <u>kočs</u> 3	velopment from */ <u>kw</u> /) /1st syll. J, OJ <u>o</u> , <u>i</u> (note: <u>o</u> ~ <u>i</u> ablaut is quite common in

J) vs U *o / medial J s, OJ s (= ts) vs U *h or *č. 3. The element -u in Hu hosszú contains an absorbed formant; Vg -ō is probably a formant. 4. Cf. OJ pōčkōru (y.) '(Vi) extend, reach, stretch', pōčkōsu (y.) 'lengthen, stretch'. Ono offers no etymology for them, but cf.: Poppe 1954, 296: Mo uda-yan 'long' < uda- 'to last too long; to be late'. 5. Cf. Murayama 1966, No. 47: Mo ūčūken < hūčūken < *pōčū-ken vs OJ fösō < *pōčō 'thin'.

117. J hosu, OJ posu (y.) 'to dry, desiccate, dry over fire', J hiru, OJ piru (k.i.) < pu 'become dry; parch' (note: all these verbs are cognate); cf. OJ wosi-kapa 'tanned/softened hide'. Omodaka states that wosi- appears only in compounds

Table 117

J	ho.s.u	Zr	pu-
OJ	po.s.u	Vg	pā.j-
J	hi.r.u	"	pa. .it-(?)
OJ	pi.r.u	Yr	pi-
"	pu	"	pi.w.i
? OJ	wo.s.i-	"	pi.r.e-
Lp	bā.s.e-	? Tv	fa.t.i-
Vty	py.ž-	Yn	fe.r.i'a-
Zr	pō.ž-	"	fe.d.i'a-
Os	pā.l-	Km	pū-
"	pā.t-	"	pū.n.e
FU	*pi.š.ä-	U	*pe.j.e-
Hu	fō-	PSam	*pi-
"	fō.z-	der.	*pi.r.ä-
Md	pi-		
"	pi.j.e-		
"	pi.d.e-		

but one can posit the onetime existence of a verb *wosu 'to soften' because we know that tree-bark is still made pliable by a process of boiling; the inferred *wosu thus should mean 'to soften by boiling' (remark: *wosu could be a variant by split) of posu). FUV 90: Lp basse~bāse- 'roast (on a spit)'/ Vty pyž- 'roast, broil'/Zr pōž- 'roast, steam, singe, heat' (e.g., in an oven)/Os pāl-, pāet- 'fry (in fat)'.-- FU *pišä-.
Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to heat, apply heat to; to dry over fire'. 2. Phon.: initial J h-, OJ p- vs FU *p- /1st syll. J, OJ o, i (note: in 1st syll., these sounds frequently alternate; -u in pu is the obligatory final vowel, and as such it is of little use here) vs FU *i /medial J s, OJ s (= ts) vs FU *š (concerning the J, OJ medial r, s. below). 3. Cf. FUV 35, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu fō- '(Vi) to boil', fōz- '(Vt) cook prepare food'/ Md to boil', pū- '(Vi) cook prepare food'/ Zr pu- '(Vi, Vt) boil'/Vg pāj- '(Vi) boil', pait- '(Vt) boil'//Yr pi- '(Vi) ripen; get ready', pi 'ripe, ready', piw 'cooked', pire- '(Vt) cook'//? Tv fati- 'put over the fire to be cooked'//Yn feri'a-, fedi'a- 'bring to boil'/Km pū- '(Vi) ripen, get ready (of fruits, food)', pūne 'ripe'.-- U *peje-. --- A comparison of the adduced word families on the U side causes one to think that FU *pišä- is merely a (?transitive) variant of U *peje-, besides, a CV shaped root appears in Md pi- (also deducible from the opposition pi-je : pi-de-), Zr pu-, Yr pi-, Km pū-. Now, on the J side one sees a corresponding primitive form, namely pu which gave rise to piru, posu, and probably *wosu; against J, OJ hiru/piru stand Yr pire-, Yn feri'a-, and PSam *pirä- (s. next). 4. Cf. SW 123: *pi- 'become ripe through exposure to heat', der. (caus.) *pirä- '(Vt) boil, roast'; cf. Yr piš-, pišš id., Sk piri-go id. 5. Cf. Pröhle No. 7. 6. Cf. entry aburu.

118. J hotsureru, ClJ (Shinmura) hotsuru '(Vi) fray, ravel; stray be frayed, become loose', hotsure 'a fray' (e.g., of a rope).

Table 118

J	hota.u.reru	Hu	fosz .1-
ClJ	hota.u.ru	"	fōz .t-
Zr	puč.a.v-	Vg	pās .li
"	puč.ō.d-	Os	pus
? Sk	pōc.a-	? Vty	pos. .t-
"	poc.e.mba-	Ugric	*puš.3-
"	pod.e.l 4a-	(?FU)	
U	*pōč.a-		
PSam	*poc.3-		
- or -	*puc.3-		

FUV 69: Zr pučav- '(Vi) unravel', pučōd- '(Vt) undo, unravel'//? Sk pocca-, pocemba-, podel4a- 'undo, unstitch (a seam)'.-- U *poča-. TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu fosz(ik) '(Vi) fray, get threadbare, ravel, become undone; peel, scale/flake off', foszt- 'peel off, strip, husk (e.g., maize), pluck (feathers off a bird)', ~Vg pāšli '(Vi) wear out (of boots); (some material) wears thin (to a hole)'/Os pus : fōpi pus 'a worn-out upper garment'// ? Vty pošt- '(Vt) wear, use a lot; be worn out, go to titters'.-- Ugric (?FU) *puš.3-.
These words are onomatopoeic.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'undo; become frayed'.--It seems that the adduced word families on the U side are variants of each other. 2. Phon.: initial J h- < OJ p- vs *p- on the U side/ 1st syll. J o vs U *o, Ugric (?FU) *u /medial J ts vs U *š, Ugric (?FU) *š. 3. Cf. SW 130: *poc3- or *puc3- 'undo (a seam)'. 4. Cf. entry hodokosu.

119. J iburu 'smoulder, fume, smoke', ibusu 'fumigate, smoke' (e.g., meat).

Table 119

J	i.bur.u	Os	poz.ə.η
"	i.bus.u	"	puz.ə.η
Hu	fūs .t	"	pūz.ə.η
Vg	pos.i.m	FU	*pič.3
"	pāš .m	or	*pič.3

TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu füst 'smoke'; ? OHu also 'steam, haze, smell'.--Its base fūs- is comparable with Vg posim, pāšm, pošēm 'smoke' /Os požen, puzen, pūžen id.--In füst, the element -t is a denom. nom. formant.-- FU *pič.3 or *pič.3.--Sauvageot 1930, 55-56 compared these

words to A ones, e.g., Mo basya- 'to smoke'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'smoke' 2. After taking away i- as a prothetic vowel, there emerge the (complete) stems -buru and -busu in which a root element *pu- can be recognized.--Thus: initial J b- vs FU *p-/ 1st syll. J u vs FU *i /medial J s < former /ts/ (ibusu) vs FU *č or *č.

120. J ie, OJ ipe⁴ (Azuma dial. ip⁴) 'house, home' (cf. Wenck 1959, 6: OJ ipe⁴ > dial. ipe > dial. iwa-). ? J io, OJ ipo 'hut'; ? J ue, OJ upe 'barrel-shaped fishtrap'.

Table 120

J	i . e	Yr	waw	FUV 82: Vg <u>waapi</u>	'dwelling hole of a capercaillie',
OJ	ip.e ⁴	Tv	bob.a	<u>waapakt-</u>	'lie low, hide oneself (in a hole)'/Yr <u>waw</u>
? J	i . o	Yn	ba'a	'sleeping-place, bed; either of the halves of the	
? OJ	ip.o	Sk	kōp. tə	tent; place'/Tv <u>boba</u>	'sleeping-place, bed'/Yn <u>ba'a</u> /
? J	u . e	Km	bāp.u	Sk <u>kōoptə</u>	'place; sleeping-place, bed; trace; place
? OJ	up.e ⁴			for the foot on the ski', <u>qopta</u>	'sheath, case, cover'
Vg	wāp.i	U	*wop.3	/Km <u>bāpu</u>	'place; sleeping-place in the forest, bed;
				ground; sole'-- U *wop.3.	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a dwelling or storing place'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ ɔ vs U *w- /1st syll. J, OJ i, ? OJ u vs U *o / medial J ɔ, dial. w, OJ p vs U *p. 3. Cf. Ramstedt 1957 (I), 88: OTu Uig eb 'house', Late Uig, TuE, TuS ew, Osm ev, Kirg, Kaz ūi, Chuv av. 4. Cf. Miller 1971, 67: OJ ipe : PKor *ipye (according to Martin 1966).

121. J igamu~yugamu '(Vi) warp, swerve, deflect, be crooked/distorted/bent; incline, slant, be perverted/cross-grained', igameru~yugameru '(Vt) bend, curve, warp, distort'. Ōno: igamu (sh.i.) 'oppress, persecute; cheat', yugamu (y.) 'be crushed; give way', yugamu (sh.n.) 'crush, cause to give way'. J ogamu, OJ wogamu ?<wōrdgamu 'to worship with the body bowed down (stooping heavily)'(? wōrd- < woru (y.) 'to fold, bend'), J kagamu~kagamaru, OJ kagamu (y.) 'be bent/crooked; swerve', J, OJ kama 'a sickle, a scythe'.

Table 121

J	i.gam.u	J	ka.gam.u	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>gamó</u> ~dial. <u>gajmó</u> , <u>kajmó</u>
"	i.gam.eru	"	ka.gam.aru	'large hook' (usually of wood), hook-like
"	yu.gam.u	OJ	ka.gam.u	branch', <u>kampó</u> 'a hook, a crook (at the end
"	yu.gam.eru	J, OJ	kam.a	of a stick)'.--Origin uncertain.
Ō.	i.gam.u	Hu	gam.ó	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'bend; be bent/
"	yu.gam.u	"	gajm.ó	crooked'. 2. On the J side, the elements <u>i-</u> ,
J	o.gam.u	"	kajm.ó	<u>yu-</u> are prothetic; <u>o-</u> < <u>wō-</u> is very likely a
OJ?	wōrd.gam.u	"	kamp.ó	contraction of <u>wōrd-</u> ; <u>ka-</u> is the reduplicated

1st syll. of the stem gam- <*kam-...Thus: initial J, OJ g- (<*k-) vs Hu g-, k-/ 1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu a / medial J, OJ m vs Hu m (note: in the cluster -jm-, j is a mere glide sound, while in -mp-, p is a homorganic parasitic sound). 3. On the Hu side, -ó contains an absorbed dim. formant.

122. J ike, OJ ikē 'a pond, a pool'.

Table 122

J	ik.e	FUV 100: Lp <u>jægge</u>	'bog, marsh'/Zr <u>jegyrr</u>	(-r is a 'Wurzeldeter-
OJ	ik.e ⁴	minativ)"	'marshland'/Vg <u>janjk</u>	'marshy region'/Os <u>jenk</u> , <u>jenk</u> 'open,
Lp	<u>jægge</u>	unwooded place in a marshland'. (Fi <u>jänkä</u> < Lp).-- FU * <u>jänkä</u> .		
Zr	<u>jæg.yr</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'pond; marsh'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ		
Vg	<u>janjk</u>	<u>ɔ</u> vs FU * <u>i-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>i</u> vs FU * <u>ä</u> /medial J, OJ <u>k</u> vs FU * <u>nk</u>		
Os	<u>janjk</u>	/ final J -e, OJ -e vs FU *-ä.		
"	<u>janjk</u>			
FU	* <u>jänk.ä</u>			

123. J ikioi, OJ ikipopi 'energy, spirit, life; force, vigor, power; authority'. Ōno: ikipopu (y.) 'to be strong/vigorous/ spirited, powerful, mighty'. J ikameshi-i, OJ ika-si 'strong, mighty, powerful; excellent; solemn, stern; important; majestic'. Ōno: ika-tu = ikameshi-i. OJ ika-du-ti 'mighty spirit; apparition' (ti 'spirit, supernatural force'; du < tu attr. marker).

FUV 136: Fi väki 'people, folks, men; force', väkevä 'strong, powerful' /Lp viekkä 'fairly, rather (adv. of degree); rather large/important/strong, etc.', LpK vikk 'power, army' /Md viij 'power, crowd' /Ch wi, viij 'power' /Vty kat-vi 'power, force, might' (kat id.) /Vg wöä, waag, etc. 'power' /Os wög /? Hu vele

Table 123

J	ik.i. .o. .i	Md	vij	'with'.-- FU *wäke.
OJ	ik.i.p.o.p.i	Ch	wi	TESZ: Hu vele 'with, by means of (it)' (approx. as FUV) ...; ? Yr <u>Bikka</u> 'force'.-- The
Ö.	ik.i.p.o.p.u	"	wij	Yr form may be a genuine cognate or a loan
J	ik.a.m.e.s.h.i.i	Vty	-vi	from Os.
OJ	ik.a.s.i	Vg	wö .ä	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'force, might'.
"	ik.a-	"	wäg	2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>Ø</u> vs FU (?U) *w- /
Fi	väk.i	Os	wög	1st syll. J, OJ <u>i</u> vs FU (?U) *ä/ medial J, OJ
"	väk.e.v.ä	? Hu	ve-	k vs FU (?U) *k /J, OJ final -i, -ä of the
Lp	viekä ä	FU	*wäk.e	primary stem vs FU (?U) *-e. 3. Cf. Räsänen
LpK	vikk	? Yr	<u>Bikk.a</u>	1955, 36: Fi <u>väki</u> , etc. ~Tg <u>eng-si</u> 'power,
				might; powerful', Lam <u>gni</u> 'powerful', <u>gni-n</u>
				'force, power'. 4. Cf. Ramstedt 1957 (I), 57: Kor <u>phək</u> 'very strong' (<*pəkh),
				Tg Ma <u>beki</u> , Mo <u>beki</u> , Mo Khalkha <u>beyi</u> id.; Tu <u>bek</u> , Chuv <u>pit</u> 'very strong', Osm
				<u>pek</u> (<bək) id.

124. J	<u>ikiru</u> , OJ <u>iku</u> (y.)			'to live, be alive, exist; be spirited', J <u>ikeru</u> ,
Table 124				OJ <u>iku</u> (sh.n.) 'keep alive, let/make live', OJ <u>iki</u>
J	ik.i.ru	Md	ij.e	'breath, respiration, energy', <u>iköpu</u> (y.) 'to rest,
"	ik.e.ru	Ch	i	repose, catch one's breath'.
OJ	ik.u	"	ij	FUV 99, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi <u>ikä</u> 'age, life, life-
"	ik.i	Hu	év	time'/Lp <u>jäkke~jäge</u> - 'year' (<u>äkke~äge</u> - 'age, life-
"	ik.ö.pu	FU	*ik.ä	time'<Fi)/Md <u>ije</u> 'year' /Ch <u>i</u> , <u>ij</u> /Hu <u>év</u> .--FU * <u>ikä</u>
Fi	ik.ä	or	*jik.ä	(? * <u>jikä</u>).--In Hu <u>év</u> , the sound <u>v</u> was originally a
Lp	jäkke			hiatus-filler in alternation with <u>h</u> (intervocally).
"	jäge-			Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'live; life', hence
				'age', hence 'year'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll.
J, OJ	<u>i</u> vs FU * <u>i</u> - (alternatively: J, OJ <u>Ø</u> vs FU * <u>j</u> -) / medial J, OJ <u>k</u> vs FU * <u>k</u> .			

125. J iku- 'some, several', iku-tsu 'how many?', iku-ra 'how many?', how much?', ika-de, ika-ga (<ika-ni-ka) 'how?', ika-hodo 'how much?', how many?', OJ iku- 'some, several; how many?', ika 'what?', iku-ra 'how many?', how much?'.-- The origin of the forms iku, ika is not clear. S. Miller 1971, 179 ff.; Menges 1975, 14 ff., 79 ff.; Street - Miller 1975, 114 where in connection with OJ kōndri-ku 'a place surrounded on all four sides by mountains' the presence of the vowel u is pointed out thus: "... this -ku is usually taken as a suffix of place, but this place suffix usually has the shape -ka/-kō/-kō, and the vocalism of the -ku here seems to be unique." Omodaka states in connection with OJ kō 'place' that it may equal -ka 'place' (e.g., umi-ga 'a place by the sea') ~ku (e.g., idu-ku > doko 'where?') ~kō (e.g., miya-kō 'a place marked by a shrine').

Table 125	FUV 46, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi <u>kuka~ku-</u> 'who?' (-ka is a pronoun	
J	i.ku-	formant), <u>kussa</u> 'where?', <u>koska</u> 'when?', 'because'/Lp <u>gutti</u> 'who?',
"	i.ka-	<u>gost</u> 'where, from where?', <u>gokte</u> 'how?'/Md <u>kodamo</u> 'which, what
OJ	i.ku-	kind of a ...', <u>kona</u> 'which?', <u>koso</u> 'where?', <u>kodo</u> 'how?'/Ch <u>kudō</u>
"	i.ka	'who, which?', <u>kuštō</u> 'where?', <u>kuze</u> 'how?' /Vty <u>kudiz</u> 'which', <u>ku</u>
? OJ	-ku	'when?'/Zr <u>kod</u> 'which?', <u>ko</u> 'when?'/Vg <u>hoo</u> , <u>kon</u> 'who?', <u>hoot</u>
U	* ku-	'where?', <u>gun</u> 'when?'/Os <u>koji</u> , <u>hōja</u> 'who?', <u>kōti</u> , <u>hote</u> 'what?',
"	* ko-	<u>hun</u> 'when?', 'how?', 'as'/Hu <u>hol</u> 'where?', <u>hova</u> 'whither?', <u>hogv</u> 'how?'
		//Yr <u>ku</u> 'who?', <u>hufany</u> 'which?', <u>huna</u> , <u>hufana</u> 'where?', <u>hunder</u>
		'how?', <u>haña</u> 'whither?'/Tv <u>kua</u> , <u>kunje</u> 'which?', <u>kuninu</u> 'where?', <u>kuni'aan</u> 'how?'/
		Yn <u>huju</u> 'one of two, either', (?) <u>hooke</u> 'which?', <u>kuro</u> , <u>kudo</u> 'where from?', <u>kuu</u>
		'whither?', <u>kune</u> , <u>kunne</u> 'when?', <u>kuno</u> 'how?'/SK <u>kutte</u> , <u>kudō</u> 'who?', <u>kun</u> 'where?
		from where?', <u>ku</u> 'whither?', <u>kutar</u> 'how?'/Km <u>kojst</u> 'what kind of a ...', <u>kaamōn</u>
		'when?', <u>kōda</u> 'how?'/Cf. YukS <u>hadi</u> 'which?', <u>hon</u> 'where?', 'whither?', <u>hot</u> 'where
		from?', 'whence?', <u>hanide</u> 'whither?', <u>hodiet</u> , <u>hodie</u> 'why?'.--There were probably
		two stems in PU, with different back-tongue vowels.-- U * <u>ku</u> - ~* <u>ko</u> -.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a place, some place', hence 'something', hence 'what' and 'who'. 2. On the J side, i- is thought to be "a general, non-specified prefixed interrogative element" (Miller 1971, 178). Whatever its origin and primary function may have been, this element is detachable.--The remaining part -ku/-ka stands against U *ku- /kō-. 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 6. 4. Cf. FUV 154: Fi kuka~ku- ... //Tu qana, qaida 'where?'/Mo hana 'where?'/Tg go haidu 'where?', hali 'when, how?'/Kor -ka interrogative particle. 5. Cf. entry -ka/-ga 'place'.

126. J iku ~ yuku, OJ iku ~ yuku (y.) 'go, proceed (to), run (as water does)'.
 Table 126 FUV 101, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu jut- 'come, arrive, get at, come by, attain', OHu jochtot-~ihtat-~iktat- 'let arrive, cause to go/arrive' ~ Vg jocht- 'come, arrive' / Os jöget-, jögt- 'arrive, come; overtake, catch up with; catch; suffice'.--Ugric *juktä-.
 Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'go; arrive'. 2. Phon.: initial J, Hu ik. .t- OJ Ø in iku, y- in yuku vs Ugric *j- / 1st syll. J, OJ i, u vs Ugric *u / medial J, OJ k vs Ugric *k. 3. Seeing the pattern of reconstructions on the U side, we can take Ugric *-tä as a detachable accretion on a disyllabic stem; this means that there ought to be a (velar) vowel between *k and *t (for U *-tä and other expansion elements of this kind, s. Rédei 1975, 93 ff.).
 4. The claim that Hu jut- comes from Ugric *juktä- probably needs a searching second look, for jut- is suspect of having been borrowed and adapted; cf. Tu jít-, jet- 'arrive, attain to' (Ramstedt 1952 (II), 164). 5. Cf. (TESZ:) Hu iklat- 'drive, cause to go faster; drive a vehicle' / where i and t are caus. formants; ikland- 'proceed by boat'.--Origin unknown.--It is plain that ikland- is merely a variant of iklat-, and their stem ik- can be hardly different from that of ik-tat- 'let arrive, cause to go'. 6. Cf. (TESZ:) Hu üget-~dial. iget- 'proceed at a quick pace'.--This word may be of onomatopoeic origin.---As I see it, üget-/iget- is yet another variant development from the stem ik-, here having been complemented with t in a pseudo-causative function (while in ik-tat- the caus. formant t has been reduplicated). 6. Cf. Pröhle No. 76.

127. OJ imasu (y.) 'be, stay, live, sit (somewhere)', imasu (sh.n.), caus.
 Table 127 Gulya 1966: OsE amäs 'to sit, to be'.
 OJ im.a.su SW 17: *amtä- ~ *ämtä- 'sit down, sit'; cf. Km amnam 'live, stay, dwell (at some place)', Sk ontä-go, ämtä-go 'to sit, sit down'.
 OsE am.ä.s Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to sit/settle down', hence 'live, stay, be (at some place)'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. OJ i- vs PSam *ä-, *ä-; cf. OsE a-, Km a-, Sk o-, ä- / medial OJ m vs m in all forms on the U side. 3. In OJ and later J, the caus. form was frequently employed in polite speech, without really involving caus. action. 4. According to the pattern of U reconstructions, the element PSam *-tä/tä is additional to a disyllabic stem which should be separated from this element by a vowel.

128. J imö- : imöto (probably from imo 'sister; wife' + oto 'young/inferior') 'younger sister', OJ imö 'wife; sweetheart'.
 Table 128 FUV 36: Lp ibme~ime- 'wife of paternal or maternal uncle' / ?
 J im.ö- Os imi 'the husband's mother'; 'the husband's elder sister; the mother's elder sister; the wife of the father's elder brother;; wife (usually as spoken to)' / Sk ima, ema 'old woman; wife' / Koibal nemyka 'old woman' / (No reconstructed form given).
 OJ im.ö Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'female relative; sister; wife'. 2.
 Lp ibme Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ i- vs Lp, Os, Sk i-, Sk, " im.e Koibal e- (in the Koibal form, n- is inetymological) / medial
 Os im.i J, OJ m vs m on the U side (in Lp ibme, b is a homorganic intruder) / final OJ -ä vs Lp -e, Os i, Sk -a, Koibal y (~u). 3.
 Sk im.a Koibal -ka is doubtless a dim. formant.
 " em.a

129. J imu 'abhor, avoid, shun, abstain from, taboo', OJ imu ~ yumu (y.) 'prohibit, restrain from tabooed things; shun, dislike',
 Table 129 J im.u Os jim J imashimeru, OJ imasimu (sh.n.) 'admonish, warn, prohibit', J imi 'mourning, taboo'.--Öno: the root element i- in imu equals yu- in yu-yu-si 'something to be treated with great respect', thus yu- means 'sacred; prohibited'.
 OJ im.u TESZ (ex.): Hu int- ~ OHu imt- ~ ent- 'urge; entice, seduce; admonish, caution, warn; to wink, give a sign (by hand or otherwise)'.--Origin unknown.--The word-final -t may be a formant. The forms containing m are probably older than those with n.
 " yum.u
 " im.a.simu
 " yu-
 Hu in. .t-
 OHu im. .t-

Karjalainen 1922, 83 ff. treats of the tabooed places of the Ostyaks and in this connection translates the term jem with 'holy, hallowed'.
Steinitz 1966, 371-4: elaboration on the use of Os jim ~ jem ~ jem 'taboo; the prohibited'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'taboo; prohibit, warn'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ ǵ (in imu, etc.) vs Hu ǵ (assumed stem *m-), initial OJ ɣ- (in yumu, yu-) vs Os j-/ 1st syll. J i, OJ i, u vs Hu i, e, Os i, e, ɛ / medial J, OJ m vs Hu *m, Os m. 3. Cf. Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 89 (1976), 230-4 (K. Palló: "Honfoglalás előtti török igei átvételeink problémái - Problems associated with Turkic verbs borrowed into Hungarian before the Conquest): Tu im 'sign, wink, handsign', imná 'blink, wink (with the eye), nod in agreement'.--This presumed agreement between semantically close Tu and Hu words may be right; it would be instructive to learn whether the concept 'taboo' is involved in the Tu word; Clauson 1972, 161 gives a number of derivatives of im, but the meanings do not include 'taboo; sacred'.

130. OJ inu (-na line conj.) 'go away; depart; die', ClJ inasu (y.) 'make go away, chase away'. Ono: inu 'disappear, depart, change place, move as if by supernatural power; (months/years) pass by; (one) returns (to the starting point)'. Table 130 TESZ (ex.): Hu enyész(ik) 'disappear, go into hiding/seclusion; OJ in.u become weak, lose one's vigor; die; decay, perish, become de- ClJ in.a.su stroyed/decomposed, be reduced to nothing', enyészet 'one's pass- Hu eny.é.sz- ing away, death; decay, disintegration, annihilation'.--This word family is of unknown origin. The element -ész- could be a denom. or a frequ. formant /-ik is an irrelevant verb-formant/.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'go away, disappear', hence 'die, perish'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. OJ, ClJ i vs Hu e (note: e, being open, does not go well with i; however, by the middle of the 14th cent. the OHu vowel system went through a process of "opening" /i > ä, ä > e, u > o, o > a -- Bárczi - Benkő - Berrár 1967, 176/, therefore e could have assumed the value known to us, before the first attested occurrence of enyész- (1342))/ OJ, ClJ medial n vs Hu ny (= n)/cf. the final of the primary stem: a in inasu and é in the corresponding position.

131. J inu 'dog', inu-ko-ro 'puppy', OJ inu 'dog'. Table 131 SKES (ex.): Fi peni 'dog' /MdE piñe, MdM piñe /Ch pi, pi, pij id., peñe, piñe 'little dog, puppy' /Vty puni, punu, pini 'dog' /Zr pon, pun id. /?? Hu fene 'ferocious, wild, savage'. (No reconstr. form given) SW 173: *wən 'dog'; cf. Tv bən /Yn der. bunne ke, bune-k, Yurazian dial. beneku, jeheka /Yr Buən, der. Buənneku /Sk kana-k /Km meñ / Taigi bun /Soyot byn.
Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ ǵ vs p-, ? f-, *w- on the U side (note: the loss of *w- (+ i) < *p- (+ i) on the J side is conceivable, cf. OHu wimad > Hu imád 'adore') / 1st syll. J, OJ i vs Fi, ? Hu e, Md, Ch i, Ch ä, Zr, Vty u, Vty i, Zr o, PSam *e / medial J, OJ n vs n, n in PSam. 3. Cf. the dim. formants J ko, Ch ye, Yn ke.

132. OJ ipamu (y.) 'to congregate (in large numbers)'. Table 132 EUV 101, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu iv(ik) (past tense: ivott) 'to spawn (of fish), pair, copulate', ivás 'spawning', OHu juv- = Hu iv-, OHu ivat 'brood, hatch, fry, spawn'.--This word "family may have come from the FU era. Cf. Fi jookse 'to run; flow; become gravid', Est jookse- 'run, flow, rut, beget, breed', " iv.a.s kala jookseb 'fish swim upstream (to spawn)' (k. 'fish') /? LpN " juv- jüksät 'reach, overtake, obtain; hit'.--In Hu, a change *jo- > i (i) may have taken place.--This comparison is acceptable only if the primary meaning of Hu iv(ik) was 'to run'.-- FU *jokse- or *jökse-.

Comm.: 1. Proposition A): only Hu iv(ik) and its family go with OJ ipamu.--P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'swarm/congregate', hence in Hu 'swarm to the breeding grounds; breed, spawn'.--Phon.: initial OJ ǵ vs OHu j- (juv-) / 1st syll. OJ i vs Hu i, u / medial OJ p vs Hu v.--Cf. OJ

a of the primary stem (*ipa-*) vs Hu *a*, *á*, *o* in the same position.--The element OJ *-mu* is a verb formant.----Proposition B): FU **jokse-/jókse-* goes with OJ *ipamu*.--P.b.m.f.b.s.: as in A).--Phon.: initial OJ *Ø* vs FU **j-* /1st syll. OJ *i* vs FU **o* or **õ* (**õ* is not likely in my view)/ medial OJ *p* vs FU **k* (suggested split in two ways from an archiphoneme **kw/* in medial position; cf. frequent alternation *k/γ ~ w/v* esp. in Md and Vg). 2. The element FU **-se* is taken as additional to an originally disyllabic stem. 3. The weakness of this equation is that the meaning 'breed, spawn' is not attested on the J side.

133. OJ *ip⁴* 'food' (in the Azuma dial. *ipa*).

Table 133	SW 15: <i>*əm-</i> 'to eat', der. <i>*smaš</i> 'food, dish; meat'; cf. Sk
OJ <i>ip.4</i>	<i>am-qo</i> 'eat; feed on', <i>ap-si</i> 'Food, fodder; prey' (Erdélyi 1969).
Psam <i>*əm-</i> (<i>sā</i>)	Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll.
Sk <i>am. .qo</i>	OJ <i>i-</i> vs PSam <i>*ā-</i> / medial OJ <i>p</i> vs PSam <i>*m</i> (cf. <i>p</i> in Sk <i>ap-si</i>).
" <i>ap. .si</i>	3. The element PSam <i>*-sā</i> is likely to be a collective noun formant which seems to have its parallel in J <i>-sa</i> , e.g., in <i>e-sa</i> 'bait, feed, decoy' (s. <i>-sa</i> abstract noun formant in the section on morphology).

134. J, OJ *ira* 'thorn, splinter, spine', *ira-ka* 'ridge/crest/hip of a roof' (*-ka* 'dwelling place'), OJ *ira-na-si* 'very sharp'.

Table 134	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <i>él</i> ~ dial. <i>il</i> 'angle/point/thin edge/border (of an object), peak/crest (of a mountain), long stretching narrow mountain-chain, mountain ridge/crest, the point (of a stabbing weapon), cutting edge, battle line, head of a column/an army',
J, OJ <i>ir. a</i>	<i>élēs</i> 'sharp, well cutting' ~ Vg <i>ilmət</i> , <i>iłəm</i> , <i>iłlēm</i> , <i>ēlmi</i> 'edge (of a knife, etc.)'.-- Ugric <i>*elg-</i> -- Vg <i>l</i> has probably become palatalized under the influence of <i>i</i> .
Hu <i>él</i>	
" <i>il</i>	
" <i>élēs</i>	
Vg <i>ił.əm</i>	
" <i>iłl.əm</i>	
Ugric <i>*el.ə</i>	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'edge; sharp/pointed edge'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ *i-* vs Ugric **e-* (but note *i-* in Hu and Vg) /medial J, OJ *r* vs Ugric **l* /final J, OJ *-a* vs Ugric **-ə* (going by Hu, this could be palatal). 3. Cf. Ramstedt 1957 (I), 107: Korn *ir* 'cutting edge, blade', Tg *iri*, Mo *ir* id., Mo *irtū* 'sharp'. 4. Cf. Miller 1971, 210: Mo *ir*, etc., OTu *iz* 'trace, spoor', cf. J *eri* 'collar, edge of neck opening of a garment'.

Table 135	135. J <i>iro</i> , OJ <i>irō</i> 'color, hue, tint, coloration; complexion (of the face); look, countenance; exterior; love, lust, carnal desire', J <i>iromeku</i>
J <i>ir. o</i>	'to be tinged; to liven, become active, be stirred', <i>iromeshi-i</i>
" <i>ir. o-</i>	'amorous, seductive'. Ōno: <i>iro-gami</i> 'the god who is the mediator (of love) between man and woman'. OJ <i>irō-bfō</i> 'a charming and voluptuous person, a brothel visitor', <i>irō</i> 'blood relationship, consanguinity', e.g., <i>irō-ye</i> 'elder brother (from the same mother)',
OJ <i>ir.ō</i>	<i>irō-pa</i> 'mother (by blood)', <i>irō-se</i> 'siblings (from the same mother)',
" <i>ir. a-</i>	Ōno: <i>ira-tu-ko</i> 'young man' (endearing term), <i>ira-tu-me</i> 'young lady' (where <i>ira-</i> is a variant of <i>irō</i> , <i>tu</i> is attrib./gen. marker, <i>ko</i> 'man',
? J <i>hir. u</i>	<i>me</i> 'woman').
? OJ <i>pir. u</i>	? J <i>hiru</i> , OJ <i>piru</i> 'leech'.
Hu <i>vér</i>	FUV 137, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <i>vér</i> OHu, dial <i>vír</i> 'blood', OHu also
" <i>vir</i>	'bursting of a blood-vessel'; blood relation; heir by consanguinity;
Fi <i>ver. i</i>	descent, breed of men; dial. sibling; (vehement) temperament, vigour, activity, adaptability; strong sensuality; red, blood-coloured (of wine, fruit)', <i>vērēs ~ vörös</i> 'red, red-coloured', <i>vērēs</i>
Est <i>ver. i</i>	'bloody, blood-stained', <i>vērēmēs</i> 'full-blooded, hot-blooded, sanguine'
Lp <i>vār. ā-</i>	~ Fi <i>veri</i> 'blood', <i>verēs</i> 'fresh, new, young', <i>verevā</i> 'ruddy,
Md <i>vef</i>	rosy, fresh, sanguine, vivacious, beautiful', Est <i>veri</i> 'blood, humour, temperament, emotion, inclination; relatives' /Lp <i>vārā ~</i>
Zr, Vty <i>vir</i>	<i>vārā</i> /Md <i>vef</i> /Ch <i>wār</i> /Zr, Vty <i>vir</i> /Vg <i>ūr</i> , <i>wūr</i> , <i>wigr</i> /Os <i>wār</i> id.-- In some Vg
Vg <i>ūr</i>	dial.s, <i>*i</i> became labialized (under the influence of <i>w</i>) to go into <i>ū</i> which, in its
" <i>wūr</i>	turn, caused the loss of original <i>*w-</i> -- FU <i>*Bire</i> or <i>*Bere</i> .
Os <i>wēr</i>	
FU <i>*Bire</i>	
or <i>*Bere</i>	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'blood' (this concept underlies all the semantic aspects of J *iro*, etc.); J *hiru* < OJ *piru* (? 'blood' + 'spike') may come into the picture, since leeches live on blood; thus, there is a chance that *piru* is a variant development parallel to the ancient J name for 'blood'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ *Ø*, ? OJ *p-* vs FU **ā-* /1st syll. J, OJ *i* vs FU **i* or **e* /medial J, OJ *r* vs FU **r* /final J *-o*, OJ *-ō*, ? OJ *-u* vs FU **-e*. 3. Cf. Street - Miller 1975, 140 ff.,

Miller 1971, 85. 4. Cf. Murayama 1966, No. 12.

136. J	<u>iru</u>	OJ	<u>iru</u> (k.i.)	'smelt (ore), cast (a statue), found (a bell), mint,
Table 136	coin		(money, etc.)'.	
J	ir.u	SKES	(ex.): Fi <u>vala-</u>	'cast (metal), found (a bell), mould, melt'
OJ	ir.u		~MdE <u>valoms</u> , MdM <u>valoms</u>	'pour, pour out (e.g., water onto the
Fi	val.a-		ground)'. Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'smelt'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>ø</u> vs	
MdE	val.o-			
MdM	val.ø-		Fi, Md <u>v-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>i</u> vs Fi, Md <u>a</u> /medial J, OJ <u>r</u> vs Fi, Md <u>l</u>	

137. J iru~oru, OJ wiru (k.i.), wori (-ra line conj.) 'to exist, be, be found in some place; remain, stay; live; dwell, reside, inhabit (a place)'. Chamberlain also gives the form woru and, like some other sources, derives wiru and wori/u from the primitive form wu (k.n.).

Table 137				FUV 31, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>él</u> ~ <u>OHu</u> , dial. <u>fl</u> - 'to live, be alive, exist; dwell, reside, inhabit (a place), enjoy, use; live together (with)' ~ Vg <u>ilt</u> -, <u>jält</u> -, <u>jält</u> - 'become sound/healed' /Os <u>jäl</u> - 'come to life again', <u>jellw</u> 'new, fresh' (of fish, milk, snow, etc) /Fi <u>elä</u> - 'to live, stay, dwell, inhabit (a place), make a living; conduct oneself', Est <u>ela-ma</u> id./Zr <u>ol</u> - 'be, live, exist, be alive'/Vty <u>ul</u> -, <u>uly</u> - 'live, be alive; exist; stay, dwell (somewhere)'/Ch <u>ele</u> -, <u>ile</u> - 'live, stay, dwell' / ? Md <u>efa</u> - 'live, be, dwell'/Lp <u>aale</u> -, <u>aale</u> -, <u>jelle</u> - id.//Yr <u>jille</u> -, <u>jille</u> - 'live, stay in a place'/Tv <u>dile</u> - /Yn <u>idi</u> -, <u>jire</u> - 'to live'/Sk <u>ela</u> -, <u>ila</u> - /Km <u>dili</u> 'alive; live' (adj.)---The sound <u>i</u> in the Vg and Os forms is the result of secondary development before palatal vowels; Vg - <u>t</u> is a caus. formant.-- U * <u>elä</u> ---The belonging here of Md <u>efams</u> is not certain because of its <u>ɛ</u> .
J	ir.u	Hu	val-	
J	or.u	Hu	vol-	
OJ	wu	Vg	äl-	
"	wir.u	"	öl-	
"	wor.i	Os	wäl-	
Hu	él-	"	....	
"	il-	Fi	ol.e-	
Vg	il. .t-	Zr	wöl-	
Os	jäl-	Vty	vyl.y-	
Fi	el.ä-	Ch	öl.a-	
Est	el.a-	"	ul.a-	
Zr	ol-	Md	ul.e-	
Vty	ul.y-			
Ch	el.e-	FU	*wöl.ö-	
"	il.e-	"	"	
? Md	ef.a-	Lp	or.o-	
Lp	aale-	Yr	qör.a-	
"	aale-	U	*ur.ä-	
Yr	jil.e-	Yr	qa-	
Tv	jil.e-	"	qö-	
Yn	id.i-	Tv	e-	
"	jir.e-	Yn	a-	
Sk	el.a-	Sk	e-	
"	il.a-	Km	i-	
Km	dil.i	PSam	*i-	
U	*el.ä-	"	*e-	

FUV 31: Yr na-, no- 'be' / Tv e- /Yn a- /Sk e- /Km i---Complementary to these data, Hajdú "Zur Syntax der negativen Verbalform im Samojesischen" (s. Sources) offers as probable PSam *i~*e-, with a likely velar variant *a- in Yr.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to be / live; reside'. 2. Phon.: (disregarding the prothetic sounds i-, j-, ä-, n-, d-), initial OJ w- vs U ø (in *elä- and *ura-), FU *w- (in *wölö-) / 1st syll. J, OJ i, o (u of wu is of little help because in that position the attaching of -u is automatic) vs U *e, *u, FU *o; cf. PSam *i, *e, ? *a / medial J, OJ r vs U *l, *r, FU *l. 3. An inspection of the attached table cannot fail to cause one to think that the elements J, OJ r, U *l, *r, FU *l, and their respective reflexes are formants. This proposition is strengthened by the reconstruction offered for the Sam forms by Hajdú, on the one hand, and the opinion of Japanologists according to which OJ wiru and wori/woru come from the primitive form wu. 4. Pröhle No. 71 equated J oru with Fi ole-. 5. Miller 1971, 36-37 equates wiru, wori with A verbs. 6. Murayama 1966, No. 5. equates OJ wi with Mo bol- 'become'.

138. J ishi, OJ isi 'stone, pebble, rock'. Ōno: isi is cognate with isa-go 'sand' (ko-go 'the young of something'), iso 'rock; beach', isu 'stone'; their common base is is-.
FUV 106: Zr iz-ki 'stone' /ki 'stone', Vty iz id., Zr iz-, Vty izy- 'to grind'. Fokos-Fuchs 1959: Zr iz-gor 'stone-oven in the bath-house'; iz-teg~is-teg 'matches' (teg, teg 'sulphur'); izjes (= Vty izes) 'stony'; iz-ki~is-ki 'mill-stone'.

Table 138

J	ish.i	Yr	jēs.e
"	is.a-	"	wes.e
"	is.o	Tv	bas.a
OJ	is.i	Yn	bes.e
"	is.a	Sk	kēs.y
"	is.u	"	kuā.ā
"	is.ō	Km	bāz.ā
Zr	iz	"	bas.a
"	is-		
Vty	-iz	U	*was. .ka
Fi	vas. .ki		
Lp	vies. .ke		
Md	viš. .kā		
? Ch	važ		
Vty	-veš		
Zr	-yē		
Vg	-wōs		
Os	wāg	(?)	
Hu	vas		

FUV 83 (ex.): Fi vaski 'copper, bronze'/Lp vieske /MdE viskā 'wire'/? Ch važ 'ore, metal'/? Vty -veš : azveš 'silver', uzveš 'tin, pewter, lead'/Zr -ys : ezys 'silver', ozyš 'tin'/Vg -wōs, -fs : aatwōs, atfs 'tin, lead' /Os wāg 'iron, metal' (in names of metals); 'money'/Hu vas 'iron'/? Yr jeese, wese 'iron'/Tv basa /Yn bese /Sk kāzy, kuōsa 'iron, metal'/Km bāzā, basa 'iron'-- U *vaska.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'stone/rock', hence 'ore; metal' (note: in some areas of the world, notably in the region of the Ural Mountains, chunks of almost pure metal used to be found on the surface of the ground, lying there like rocks; therefore in some language zones the concepts 'rock' and 'metal' were probably close to each other, and the terms designating them may have been mixed up).--There can be little doubt that Zr, Vty iz, Zr is 'stone' are inseparable from Zr -ys, Vty -veš. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ ǵ vs U *w- (i.e., one can assume the loss of a labial spirant (?) on the J side) / 1st syll. J, OJ i vs U *a /medial J sh, OJ s (= ts) vs U *š. 3. The element U *-ka is

plainly detachable; that being the case, the posited cluster U *-šk- appears in different light, i.e., it has to be split by an intervening velar vowel. 4. Cf. Ramstedt 1957 (I), 106: OTu jez, Tu jes 'brass, copper', Mo jes id., cf. Sam yes, wes, (IE) Tokharian wās 'gold', Fi vaski 'copper'. 5. For Vty az-, uz-, Zr ez-, etc., cf. entry asa.

139. J itamu, OJ itamu (y.) 'feel pain, be hurt/bruised; moan/grieve (over)', J ita-i, OJ ita-si 'painful', J ita-mashi-i ~ ita-washi-i 'sad, pathetic, pitiful', ? J ito, OJ ito 'extremely, very, harshly, cruelly'.

Table 139 MUSz 454-6 (ex.): Hu beteg 'ill, sick' /-g is a formant/? Zr viš- 'to be sick', vis, visem 'sickness', vit- 'suffer, bear, be suffering' /Vty viš- 'be sick, suffer', višon, visem 'sickness', visiš 'sick'; cf. Hu dial. bitos ~ bitonyás 'ailing, sickly, one covered with wounds/ulcers' (the stem bit- /bito- corresponds to beteg in beteg). When we compare Zr, Vty viš- 'be sick' with Zr vit- 'suffer', it strikes us that their common base vi- itself is a verb, evidently meaning 'to be afflicted with pain', i.e., 'to be sick'.

Zr viš MTSz: Hu bégyó, bégyokás, bégyókás, bigyókás 'sickly, ailing'.
" vit- Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'pain/suffering; sickness'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ ǵ (? < *w < *p) vs Zr, Vty v-, Hu b- (note: the latter is not conform to rule, for along Zr, Vty v-, Hu should have v- or ǵ, s. Lakó 1968, 54) /1st syll. J, OJ i vs Zr, Vty i, Hu e, i /medial J, OJ t vs Zr, Vty š, Zr t (according to MUSz, š is a frequ., t is a momentaneous/intensive verb formant), Hu t, gy (= d). 3. Pröhle No. 85 equated J itamu with Yr jedeā 'to be sick', jedie 'sick'.

140. J itaru, OJ itaru (y.) 'reach a limit/a certain point, come/go/proceed to, arrive at', itari 'the utmost limit; height, climax, extremity', J, OJ itaru J itasu 'bring about; lead to; do', OJ itasu (y.) 'let reach, make/cause to come (to), cause to arrive'--Ōno: itaru, itasu are cognate with itadaki 'peak, summit' and ita 'the limit'.
Hu ödölő TESz (ex.): Hu ödölő ~ edelő, üdöllő, üdüllő 'a strip of land /often used as a path or cart-way/ running crosswise at the end of a series of worked fields; balk'.--This word is used in the Székely dial., and is of uncertain origin. Does it have to do
? Ose täl.ər with üdül- 'restore/refresh oneself'?

Comm.: 1. Hu üdül- hardly belongs to ödölő (s. entry itu 'hallowed; healthy'). Since the indicated strip of land is always at the end of the worked land, and because in course of work in the fields one speaks of 'arriving at/reaching the ödölő', its basic meaning is likely to have been 'limit, the line to which one comes in the end'. On the J side, the same basic meaning seems to emerge. 2.

Phon.: Taking a hint from Wenck 1968, 100, concerning root augmentation as a way to word creation (".../i/ is rather freely used as an augment of verbal roots in Old Japanese"), I propose that i- of itaru is such an augment, i.e., a prothetic, secondary sound.--The Hu dialects also use prothetic vowels, e.g., lány~ilány 'girl', szamat~iszat 'aroma'. According to this pattern, the vowels ö-, e-, ü- on the Hu side could be taken as prothetic.--If that is allowed, then: initial J, OJ t- vs Hu d- / 1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu ö-, e-, ü- medial J, OJ r vs Hu l, ll (note: a in itasu is a causative formant). 3. The final vowel on the Hu side probably contains an absorbed formant, but again, it may have lengthened by analogy. 4. Gulya 1966: OSe täléysewel 'he reaches out' is worth examining in this context.

141. J <u>iteru</u> , Ōno: <u>itu</u> (sh.n.) '(Vi) freeze, congeal; be frozen(over)'.			
Table 141			
J	iter.u	Vty	tol
Ō.	itu	Zr	töl
Hu	der. .med-	Vg	täl
"	dér	Os	tel.e.g
"	der.e	"	täl
"	der.e.s	"	tet.e
Fi	tal. .vi	Hu	tél
Lp	dal. .ve	"	tel.e-
MdE	tel.e		
MdM	tal.a		
Ch	tel	FU	*täl. .wä

tese---In Fi, MdM, and Lp, a <*ä-- FU *tälwä.
Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'freeze; frost', hence 'frosty season'. 2. It is proposed that Hu dér 'hoar-frost' is a variant development, by split, of tél 'winter'. 3. Taking i- on the J side to be prothetic, and iteru co-eval with itu (although recognizing that iteru derives from itu; the longer forms which became fashionable in post-Nara times were probably in existence on the non-literary level long before that): initial J, OJ t- vs Hu d- (dér), FU *t-/ 1st syll. J g (recourse is had to iteru because the final -u of J verbs is automatically attached) vs Hu é, e, FU *ä / medial J r vs Hu r (dér), Fu *l. 4. The element FU *-wä must be additional to an originally disyllabic stem.

142. J ito, OJ itō 'string, chord, thread, twine', e.g., J yumi-no ito 'bowstring' (Y. 'bow', no gen. marker).

Table 142			
J	it.o	Tv	jent.i
OJ	it.ō	Yn	jeddi
Fi	jānt.e	Sk	tind
Ch	jād.ān	"	čend
Vg	jāntew	"	kind.i
Os	jōnt.āh	"	kerā.e
"	jānt.ā	Km	nēn.e
Hu	id.eg	U	*jānte
Yr	jēn		

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'string; thread'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ ō vs U *j-/ 1st syll. J, OJ i vs U *ä / medial J, OJ t vs U *nt (where *n is probably a homorganic glide) / final J -ō, OJ -ō vs U *-ē.

143. J itoshi-i, Ōno: itō-si 'beloved, dear; loving', OJ itō-kō 'beloved husband (at times: wife)'. ? J iji-rashi-i 'lovely, amiable, sweet; pitiful, pathetic', ? J aji, OJ adi 'taste, flavor'.

Table 143			
J	it.o.shi i	? Lp	aecc.e-
OJ	it.ō.si	? Os	ječ.ek
? J	ij.i-	"	ič.eg
? "	aji		
? OJ	ad.i		
Hu	éd.ē.s		
"	id.ē.s		

TESZ (ex.): Hu édēs, ? OHu Edus (personal name), dial. idēs, idēs, jedes 'darling, beloved; sweet (not salty or sour); pleasant, delightful, pretty, sweet (as honey); pertaining to blood-relations' (as against 'step-relations').--This word derives from iz~OHu, dial. éz 'taste' (noun).
? FUV 90 (ex.): Lp aeccē 'show love/tenderness; keep with, be attached to (object: person, place,

or animal)/[? Os ječək (in folklore) 'beloved'(?); ičəg torəm, ječək torəm 'oh Lord! (torəm 'god')/.

Comm.: 1. Reference is made to entry ama-i 'tasty, sweet' vs U *ipse. In view of that comparison, ədəs~idəs is not likely to have come from iz, even though some literati have used izəs and ədəs~idəs interchangeably. The latter word is too often associated with 'love', and we cannot ignore this main semantic content. --P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'beloved; loving'. This would cover the Lp and Os words, too. 2. Phon.: taking Os j- as secondary,-- initial and 1st syll. J, OJ i-, a- vs Hu é-, i-, ? Lp ae-, ? Os e-, i- / medial J t, j, OJ t, d vs Hu d, ? Lp ce, ? č.--The coupling of the Hu, Lp, and Os words is tentative, for Hu -d- usually comes from *nt (? *nt); on the other hand, the affricates and sibilants of the Lp and Os forms, respectively, could be the result of secondary development (s. Lakó 1968, 74-75); in that case, the posited PPU *-č- (or *-č-) may be taken as coming from *-t- (?).

144. J itsutsu, OJ itu, itutu 'five'.

Table 144			FUV 84, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>öt</u> ~dial. <u>ét</u> , <u>üt</u> 'five' ~ Fi <u>viisi~viite</u> id./Lp <u>vittä</u> ~ <u>vida</u> ~/Mde <u>vete</u> , <u>vätä</u> , <u>vete</u> Ch <u>wec</u> , <u>wid</u> /Vty <u>vit</u> /Zr <u>vit</u> /Vg <u>et</u> , <u>äät</u> /Os <u>wet</u> /? Yr <u>jüü</u> , <u>jüüt</u> 'ten' / Tv <u>bi</u> /Yn <u>biu</u> /Sk <u>kööt</u> / Km <u>bja:n</u> /Koibal <u>bet</u> , <u>bi</u> /Motor <u>bi</u> /-- FU (?U) * <u>witte</u> . --The difference in meaning between the FU and the Sam words is attributable to the circum- stance that in both, the "five-" and the "ten- sytem" the highest number also stands for 'much, indefinite quantity' (cf. Est <u>viis</u> '5'; 'an indefinite large number or quantity').
J	its.u.t.s.u	Vg <u>et</u>	
OJ	it.u(t u)	" <u>ät</u>	
Hu	<u>öt</u>	Os <u>wet</u>	
"	<u>ät</u>	? Yr <u>jü</u>	
"	<u>üt</u>	" <u>jüt</u>	
Fi	<u>viis.i</u>	? Tv <u>bi</u>	
"	<u>vitt.e</u>	? Yn <u>biu</u>	
Lp	<u>vitt.ä</u>	? Sk <u>köt</u>	
"	<u>vid.ä</u>	? Km <u>bje</u> n(?)	
Md	<u>vet.e</u>	?Koib <u>bet</u>	
Ch	<u>wec</u>	" <u>bi</u>	
"	<u>wid</u>	?Motor <u>bi</u>	
Vty	<u>vit</u>		
Zr	<u>vit</u>	FU(?U)* <u>witt.e</u>	

Comm.: 1. Bearing the last explanation in mind, the meanings agree on both sides. 2. Phon.: J, OJ ö vs FU (?U) *w- /1st syll. J, OJ i vs FU (?U) *i / medial J ts, OJ t vs FU (?U) *t.--The principles of reconstruction on the U side require *tt in the present instance, but only the Finno-Lapp area gives material support to the positing of double consonants in the proto-language.

145. OJ itu, iti (in compounds) 'sacred, divine, hallowed; majestic; pure; vigorous, healthy', yutu (in compounds) id. Öno: the part -tu- of yutu- is the OJ attrib. marker tu.

Table 145	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>üdül</u> ~dial. <u>idül</u> -, <u>ödül</u> - 'become refreshed/invigorated/enlivened; recover from illness, regain one's strength; regain consciousness/one's wits', <u>üdit</u> - 'refresh, enliven someone, improve somebody's health/bodily condition; fatten; make someone happy, soothe pain/suffering', <u>üde</u> 'healthy, fresh; pure, refreshing, invigorating, comforting'.--Origin unknown.--Possibly the same base * <u>üd</u> -, as seen here, is contained in <u>üdvözít</u> -, etc.	
OJ	it.u	
"	it.i	
"	yut.u	
Hu	üd.ü.l-	
"	id.ü.l-	
"	üd.f.t-	
"	üde	
"	üdv.ö.z-	TESZ (ex.): <u>üdvözít</u> ~OHu <u>idezejt</u> - 'save, work the salvation (of), make blessed; heal', <u>üdvöz</u> (adj.) 'blessed, praised', <u>üdvözül</u> - 'find salvation, be saved/freed/healed/enlivened/invigorated/restored (to strength/health)', <u>üdvösség</u> 'salvation; escape from
"	üdv.ö.s	peril/damnation; bliss'.
"		
OHu	*üd-	
"	*id-	

TESZ (ex.): égyház~OHu igyház 'church, sacred building; church community/organization'.--The second component of this word means 'house'; the OHu form of the first component was probably *id~*igy, meaning 'sacred, holy'. ... Hu ül~OHu üdl- 'keep/observe a holy day; sanctify, celebrate, solemnize'. Its presumable base is *üd~*id 'sacred, holy'. ... Hu ünnp~OHu inép, önnep, üdnep, innap /-nep<nap 'day'/ 'festival, day of rejoicing; religious holiday; church ceremony'.--The first part of these words is probably identical with OHu *id 'sacred'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'sacred; wholesome'.--I consider all the adduced Hu words to belong to one word family.--For the meanings 'holy' and 'healthy' in one field, cf. the etymologies of English 'holy', 'heal', 'wholesome', etc., or German 'heilig', 'heilen', 'hell', etc. 2. Phon.: taking y- in yutu as prothetic---

initial and 1st syll. OJ i-, u- vs Hu ü-, i-, ö- /medial OJ t vs Hu d /cf. stem-final OJ -i to Hu ü, e in üdü- and üde, respectively.

146. J iu, yuu, iwaeru 'to tie, bind, fasten (by tying), do up (long hair), make a braided fence', OJ yupu (y.) id., yupí 'a knot', yupapu (y.) (< yupu) 'to close tight, squeeze, extort', yupapi-tuna 'string/rope for tying fast'.--Ōno: yupu 'a kind of twine made from the bark of certain trees'.

Table 146 MTSz: Hu ihany ~ iham 'with (usually made into circular shape for the purpose of carrying something, e.g., fish); string (on which fish are strung up in order that the buyer can carry them comfortably)', ihany 'the cords with which the casting-net is pulled together (quickly)'.--The elements -ny, -m are formants. SW 48: *juš- 'to fence around; place a fish-weir in a river or lake'; cf. Yn der. jübe, jüfe 'fence', Yr jü '(fish)weir; knot'. Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'tie'. 2. Phon.: initial J Ø, y-, OJ y- vs Hu Ø, Pssam *i- /1st syll. J, OJ i, u vs Hu i (< i), Pssam *u /medial J Ø, w, OJ p vs Hu h, Pssam Ø, but b, f in the Yn der. forms. 3. In the Pssam form, the element *-a may be there to account for various vocalic extensions; however, according to the canon of U syllabic sequence there ought to be a consonant or semi-consonant between the two reconstructed vowels.

147. J iu, OJ ipu (y.) 'say, speak, tell; call, name, term'. ? J yobu, OJ yöbu (y.) 'call and request; ask/search (for), call out (to), hail; speak (to)'. ? J uwasa 'rumor, gossip, hearsay' (? -sa abstract noun formant).

Table 147 TESZ (ex.): Hu ihel- 'inspire, suggest, whisper (to)', OHu ihlés ~ éhlés 'inspiration', ihl-, ihlet- 'inspire, whisper (to)'.--Origin debated. Proposition 1): onomatopoeic origin; Proposition 2): it comes from the variant ih/éh of OHu juh 'the inside (of the body)', l being a verb formant. Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'speak; tell'.--OJ yöbu appears to be a variant by split from ipu, with some semantic expansion.--The stem uwa- of uwa-sa could be another variant development from ipu. 2. Phon.: taking y- as prothetic ---initial and 1st syll. J i-, o-, u-, OJ i-, ö- vs Hu i-, é- /medial J Ø, b, w, OJ p, b vs Hu h. 3. Cf. Hu üvölt dial. ühöjt-, shöt-, üvit- 'to yell, cry, scream' which has it parallel in Os üwält- 'to yell, call, hail', uw- id. (Ganschow 1965, 79).

148. J iwa, OJ ipa 'rock, crag, boulder, stone'. FUV 67: (? Fi (Karelian, Vote) pii 'flint'/// Yr pöö, päe 'stone, whetstone, grindstone; glass', tum-bö, tup-pyy 'flint' (tuu 'fire')// Tv fala, fualla 'stone' (according to Lehtisalo, -la is a suffix)/Yn fu, fu, pu /Sk puu /Km pi 'stone, flint, ore'/Koibal pi 'stone'/Taigi hyla 'rock' /SamS (Pallas) hila 'stone' //Cf. Yuk pie 'stone, mountain'.-- U *pyyö. SW 112: *pej 'stone'. Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'rock, stone'. 2. Phon.: taking i- on the J side as prothetic --- initial J w-, OJ p- vs U *p-, Pssam *p- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs U *y (< i), Pssam *ä. 3. It is obvious that the element -la /-lla is

some ending in Sam.--The opposition of the Sam forms bearing this ending to the other Sam forms suggests in itself that the root is of CV shape, and that U *-yö and Pssam *-j are additional to such a root; Fi pii does not counterweigh this argument, for the lengthening of 1st syll. vowels under stress is known in Fi (cf. Fi puu 'tree, wood': Hu fa, U *pu, s. entry ha 'leaf'); the double vowels in the the adduced words on the U side provide no evidence for the suggestion that a consonant has been lost between the first and the second vowel.

149. OJ izapanu (y.) 'invite'; Ōno: izasu (y.) 'call, beckon, invite'; OJ izana-ki 'inviting male', izana-mi 'inviting female'; J izana 'invite' (listed by Kenkyusha as pertaining to "Elegant Style"; probably rare).

Table 149	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>izen</u> -~OHu, dial. <u>izen</u> - 'send word/a message; send for (someone)'. -- Origin unknown.--The variant <u>izen</u> - seems to be the older one.
OJ iz.a.nap	
" iz.a.	
Ö. iz.a.su	Zs. Móricz, Barbárok (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1939, 205 and in his other works generally): <u>izen</u> - 'send word/a message pertaining to love or marriage'.
Hu iz.e.n-	
" üz.e.n-	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'invite'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. OJ i- vs Hu ü-, i- /medial OJ z vs Hu z (note: as a rule, Hu -z- < *t) / final of the primary stem, OJ a vs Hu e. 3. The formant n on the J side is paralleled by n in the Hu word. 4. For the OJ words kf, mi, s. the entries ko, me.

150. J, OJ ka 'mosquito'.

Table 150	FUV 106: Fi <u>koi</u> , <u>koja</u> 'moth' // (LpSkolt <u>guajjē</u> ? <Fi) /Md <u>ki</u> /? Ch <u>kije</u> /Vty <u>kej</u> /Vg <u>kij</u> , <u>kej</u> /-- FU * <u>kōj</u> .
J, OJ ka	
Fi ko.i	Gulya 1966: OsE <u>kōj</u> 'mosquito'.
" ko.ja	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'gnat, moth'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>k</u> - vs FU * <u>k</u> - /1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs FU * <u>ō</u> . 3. The part FU *- <u>j</u> appears to be an expansion element ("Wurzelerweiterung"; the OsE word seems to have two such elements). 4. Németh 1928, 77: Vg <u>kij</u> , <u>kej</u> 'moth' (< Tu, according to Kannisto, FUF 17, 121) / Vty <u>kej</u> / Fi <u>koi</u> ~ Tu <u>Kāšyari</u> <u>kūjē</u> 'moth', Karačai <u>kūjē</u> , Kirghiz <u>kūjē</u> ... Osm <u>gūvā</u> ... Chuv <u>kevä</u> . 5. Cf. Street - Miller 1975, 35, quoting Murayama (1958, 229) who had suggested a comparison between OJ <u>ka</u> and Tg Ma <u>galman</u> 'gnat, mosquito'.
Lp guajjē	
Md ki	
? Ch ki.je	
? Vty ke.j	
? Vg ki.j	
" ke.j	
FU * <u>kōj</u>	
? OsE kō.jñi	

151. J -ka, -ga 'a place', e.g., sumi-ka 'dwelling place; den', kakure-ga 'hiding place, refuge, den'. OJ -ka /-kō /-kō (s. Street - Miller 1975, 114) id. Ōno links -ku of OJ idu-ku (> doko 'where?') and -ka of sumi-ka with OJ -ko (? kō).

Table 151	FUV 142: Fi <u>kota</u> 'conic cooking-hut (in the courtyard of a farm); Lapp tent', <u>koti</u> , <u>koto</u> 'home' /Lp <u>goatte</u> ~ <u>goade</u> - 'tent; hut' /Md <u>kudo</u> , OJ - <u>ka</u> <u>kud</u> 'house' /Ch <u>kudo</u> /Vty <u>kwa</u> , <u>kwa</u> 'summer hut' (- <u>la</u> is a suffix); " - <u>kō</u> : <u>korka</u> 'house' (kor 'log') /Zr <u>kola</u> 'primitive hut (for hunters and harvesters)'; - <u>ka</u> , - <u>ku</u> : <u>kerka</u> , <u>kerku</u> '(small) house' (ker 'log') " ? - <u>ku</u> /Os <u>kat</u> 'house' /Hu <u>ház</u> ~ (IE) Avestan <u>kata</u> - 'chamber, storeroom, basement'; Modern Persian <u>kad</u> 'house'; Sogdian <u>kt</u> 'house' (derivative).
J -ka	
OJ -ka	
" -kō	
" -kō	
" ?	
Zr -ka	
" -ku	
Vty -ka	TESZ, MSZFE (on the basis of essentially the same data as above) re-construct FU * <u>kota</u> . MSZFE adds: this word family has been linked with IE words (s. above); it is possible that we have to do with an ancient international loanword or that the borrowing went in the opposite direction.
" ? kwa	

Comm.: 1. The CV shaped Zr and Vty words are put together with words of similar or identical meaning on the supposition that the former are shortened forms. But are they really? I propose that they are not and that their etymologies are in need of re-evaluation in the light of the data presented here. 2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a place suitable for dwelling (under primitive conditions)'. 3. Phon.: initial J k-, g-, OJ k- vs Zr, Vty k- / 1st syll. J a, OJ a, ō, ō, ? u vs Zr a, u, Vty a. 4. Cf. entry iku-.

152. J ka, -ka, OJ ka, ke 'day, daylight, daytime, noonday', J kagayaku, OJ kagayaku (y.) 'to shine, sparkle, gleam, be bright', OJ kagayō 'to shine in a flickering way', J -kage : tsuki-kage 'moonlight, moonbeams', OJ kagē 'light'. Murayama 1966, No. 15: OJ kagō < *gagai 'light (lumen)' : Mo gegen < *gengen 'light' -- OJ kaga later assumed the meaning 'shadow'. OJ kagari 'fisherman's light' (fire burning in a metal basket, used for fishing at night; the basket hangs from the end of a long pole; fish are attracted by the light).

FUV 41: /? Fi kajo 'reflexion, echo; clearness', kajasta- 'become clearer, brighter (intr., esp. of the sky), shine' /Lp guojetā- 'appear in a wood or in a mist; get clearer; lift (of weather, mist, etc.)' /Md kaje 'come up, appear (of crops)' /Ch kaja-, koja- 'be visible, appear' / /? Yr haajer 'sun; clear weather' (der.), haajara- 'gleam, become shiny' /Tv kou 'sun', kouru 'clear' /Yn kajja 'sun', kiade, kiare 'bright' /Sk kuete 'heat', kuetel 'hot, clear', kuedal 'clear, bright, serene' /Km kuja 'sun' /Motor kaje, koje id., kajn 'day' /-- U *kaja-.

Table 152

J, OJ	ka	Yr	hājer	Fi	ko i	FUV 106: Fi <u>koi</u> 'dawn' / Zr
OJ	kē	"	hājara-	Zr	ky a	<u>kya</u> , <u>kyva</u> 'redness in the sky, esp. the morning
"	ka.gayōpu	Tv	ko u (?)	"	kyva	redness' / Vg <u>kuj</u> 'morning
J	ka.gayaku	"	ko uru (?)	Vg	kuj	redness' / ? <u>kufel</u> , <u>huft</u>
OJ	ka.kayaku	Yn	kaja	Pos	*kuj na	'redness in the sky' / Hu <u>haj-</u>
J	-ka.ge	"	ki ače (?)	Hu	haj nal	<u>nal</u> 'dawn' / -- FU * <u>kujō</u> .
OJ	ka.gē	"	ki are (?)	FU(?U)*koje		TESZ, MSZFE bring the Sam
"	ka.gari	Sk	ku eče (?)	- - - - -		forms listed under FUV 41
Fi	kajo	Km	kuja			over to Fi <u>koi</u> , etc., and
"	kajasta-	Motor	kaje			expand the Vg, Os material.
Lp	guojetā-	"	koje			Their P0s reconstruction is
Md	kaje-	"	kaj n			* <u>kujna</u> , the FU(?U) one is
Ch	kaja-					* <u>kuje</u> .
"	koja-	U	*kaja-			SW 58: * <u>kājā</u> 'sun'.
		PSam	*kājā			

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'daylight', hence 'be clear, appear, etc.'. 2. I suggest that the root element in all the forms listed above is *ky. On the J side, a reduplication--and thereby expansion toward the left--is plain. On the U side, an ordinary expansion ("Wurzelerweiterung") of the root by *-ja, *-jā, *-jō, *-je is discernible. 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ k-, g- vs U *k- /1st syll. J a, OJ a, ē vs U *a, FU *o. 4. As regards the apparent parallel between -y- in J kagayaku etc. and *-j- in the corresponding place on the U side, I have no pat explanation. However, this parallel deserves some attention. 5. Cf. Pröhle No. 17. 6. For an exhaustive treatment of OJ kagē vs A words, s. Street - Miller 1975, 49 ff.

153. J kabi 'mold, mildew, must, fungus', kabiru, Ōno: kabu (k.n.) 'become moldy/musty/mildewy'. ? J abuku, awa, OJ awa 'foam, scum, bubble, froth, suds'.

Table 153

J	kab.i	Vg	qump	FUV 47, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi <u>kumpua-</u> 'gush forth, foam' / MdE <u>kumboldo-</u> 'undulate', MdM <u>komböldō-</u> 'gush forth, surge, undulate, bubble up' / Zr <u>gybav-</u> 'swim in a group so as to ruffle the water' (of fish) / Vg <u>qump</u> 'wave' / Os <u>kump</u> , <u>kōmp</u> , <u>hūmp</u> , <u>hump</u> / Hu <u>hab</u> 'foam, wave' / Yr <u>haampa</u> 'wave' / Tv <u>kombu-</u> ~ <u>konfu-</u> / Yn <u>kaba</u> / Sk <u>komba-</u> -- U * <u>kumpa</u> .
"	kab.iru	Os	kump	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'foam' (caused by the moving of liquids or some other action);
Ō.	kab.u	"	hump	froth, mildew' (appearing on the surface of
? J	ab.uku	Hu	hab	liquids, similarly to foam); wave' (bearing foam).
"	aw.a	Yr	hāmpa	
? OJ	aw.a	Tv	kombu	
Fi	kumpu a-	"	konfu	
MdE	kumb.öl do-	Yn	kab.a	
MdM	komböl dö-	Sk	komb.a	
Zr	gyb.av-	U	*kumpa	

2. Since in the A language area, esp. in Tg, initial k- often weakens to č (s. Benzing 1956, 11), OJ awa, etc. are taken as derivatives from the base of OJ kabu. --Thus: initial J, OJ k- (Ō in awa, etc.) vs U *k- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs U *u / medial J, OJ b, ? w vs U *mp. 3. Németh 1928, 80: Hu hab, etc. ~ Tu Azerbaijan köp 'froth, foam', Osm, Chag köpük id., Altai, Kirg köbük id.; further: Altai kom 'wave', Osm kom 'surf, surge', Uig komy- 'be excited'. 4. Sauvageot 1930, 101: Chuv yum 'wave', Mo kimura- 'be troubled/stirred/excited'.

154. J kado, OJ kadd 'corner, angle, point, edge' (e.g., of a sword). ? Ōno: kēda 'corner, angle(s)'.

Table 154

J	kad.ō	FUV 102, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi <u>kasa</u> 'something protruding, projection, corner', e.g., <u>kirven kasa</u> (= Karelian Tver <u>kāka</u> , Olonets <u>kaza</u> , EstS <u>kaza</u>) 'the nether (more pointed) corner of the axe' / Lp <u>gaečče</u> ~ <u>gaeče-</u> 'end, point' / Hu <u>hēgy</u> , <u>hegy</u> 'point; mountain'.
OJ	kad.č	Cf. Yuk <u>kic</u> , <u>kicil</u> 'end'. -- FU * <u>kaca</u> 'end; point; tip; mountain'.
? Ō.	kēd.a	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'edge; point; corner'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>k-</u> vs Fu * <u>k-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> , ? Ō. <u>ē</u> vs Fu * <u>a</u> / medial J, OJ <u>d</u> vs FU * <u>c</u> / final J - <u>o</u> , OJ - <u>č</u> , ? Ō. - <u>a</u> .
Fi	kas.a	
"	kaž.a	
"	kaž.a	
Lp	gaečče	
"	gaeč.a	
Hu	hēgy	
FU	*kač.a	
Yuk	kic.il	

155. J kadowakasu, OJ kadopu (y.) 'carry off, abduct, kidnap', OJ kadusu

Table 155		'invite, induce, entice, seduce; bring' (used esp. in connection with marriage in which the bride is abducted or stolen/taken by force); ? J <u>kasumeru</u> , OJ <u>kasumu</u> (y., sh.n.)
J	kad.o.wakasu	'take by force, snatch away, rob, plunder, loot'.
OJ	kad.o.pu	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>hoz-</u> , dial. <u>oz-</u> , <u>hasz-</u> (= <u>hasztam</u> 'I have brought') 'bring; lead (action directed toward the speaker), bring forth'--Origin uncertain.
"	kad.u.su	
? J	kas.u.meru	MTSz: (Székely dial.) <u>hoz</u> 'marriage, wedding'.
? OJ	kas.u.mu	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'take by force; carry off' (e.g., bring forth)--Origin uncertain.
Hu	hoz-	
" dial.	oz-	
"	hasz-	a woman, instead of paying for her)--Hu dial. <u>hoz</u> seems to carry the memory of this ancient custom. 2. Taking the stem <u>kasu-</u> as a variant development of <u>kadu-/kado-</u> ---initial J, OJ <u>k-</u> vs Hu <u>h-</u> (<u>Ø</u> in <u>oz-</u>) / 1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs Hu <u>o</u> , dial. also <u>a</u> / medial J, OJ <u>d</u> , ? J <u>s</u> , OJ <u>s</u> (= <u>ts</u>) vs Hu <u>z</u> (<u>sz</u> in <u>hasztam</u> shows the result of assimilation to <u>t</u>).

156. OJ kaduku (y.) 'dive, submerge', kaduku (sh.n.) '(Vt) let/make dive, dip, submerge'.

Table 156	SW 114: *pāt- 'to dive'; cf. Tv der. <u>hóǵirsj</u> 'take a bath',
OJ	kad.u.ku
PSam	*pāt-

hatida 'immerse'/Yr padu, pād 'the setting of the sun' (i.e., its sinking under the horizon), patšw 'diving' (noun) /Sk pat-qo 'dive; sink; fall into' /Km poǵam 'take a bath; swim, flow'.

Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial OJ k- vs PSam *p- (assumed two-way development from */kw/) /1st syll. OJ a vs PSam *s / medial OJ d vs PSam *t.

157. J, OJ kagi 'hook, barb, gaff; key', J kana-kagi 'a farmer's hoeing fork' (=kana- 'metal', probably of Chinese origin).

Table 157	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>kajkó</u> ~ OHu <u>gago</u> , dial. <u>kákó</u> , <u>kakó</u> , <u>gagó</u> , <u>kuka</u> 'a hook; stick or staff with a hook on its end; oven-peel', <u>kankó</u> ~
J, OJ	kag.i
Hu	kajk.ó
"	kák.ó
"	kak.ó
"	gag.ó
"	kuk.a
"	

dial. gangó, gángó 'a hook; crooked staff' (like that of a shepherd); a hook-shaped reed-cutting tool'--The base of these words is contained in a number of derivatives associated with the sense 'bend(ing)'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'hook' (the meaning 'key' of kagi also comes from the meaning 'hook', for primitive unlocking still utilizes hook-like objects). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs Hu k-, g- (irregular before a velar vowel) /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu a, á, u / medial J, OJ g vs Hu k, g (note: i and u before k, g on the Hu side are, no doubt, glide sounds; the voiced nature of g in kagi is due to prenasalization). 3. On the Hu side, -ó probably contains an absorbed formant.

158. J kai 'shell, shell-fish', OJ kapi 'spoon, dipper, ladle, scoop; shell, shell-fish'. Ūno: kapi 'shell of shell-fish' was actually used as a spoon'. ? OJ

Table 158	<u>kapu</u> 'tortoise-shell'.
J	ka.i
OJ	kap.i
? OJ	kap.u
PSam	*kəp. sɜ-

SW 54: *kəpəɜ- 'magic spoon'; cf. Sk kab'si, kap'si id.
Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'shell, used as spoon'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs PSam *k- / 1st syll. J, OJ a vs PSam *ɜ / medial J Ø, OJ p vs PSam *p. 3. The element PSam *-sɜ is, no doubt, additional to a disyllabic stem (cf. Rédei 1975, 93 ff.). 4. Cf. SW 76: *kui 'spoon'; cf. Tv kui, kū /Sk qo 'saucepan'.

159. J kaji, OJ ka 'oar, paddle'. Ūno: ka was the old form which developed into kadi, later kaji.

Table 159	SW 63: * <u>kájwá</u> 'spade, shovel'; cf. Tv. <u>kájbu</u> / Yr <u>siwa</u> / Km <u>kō</u> id.; 'oar, paddle'.
J	ka.ji
OJ	ka
"	ka.di
PSam	*káj.wá

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'shovel/oar' (they not only look similar, but in times of need a shovel or spade often has to do for an oar). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs PSam *k- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs PSam *á. 3. PSam *kájwá must be taken as a derived form, for *i cannot be other than the ubiquitous filler or on-glide before certain consonant (s. for instance entry yume where PSam *jujts- 'to dream' is analysed as consisting of a root *ju-, an on-glide *i, and the verb formant *ts), while *-wá is a recurring partial, cf. PSam *pe-wá 'the bark of the willow-tree' vs Km ǵo id.; *ki-wá 'worm' vs Sk ǵu id.; *ti-wá 'bug' vs Km tu id.

160. J kajiku, kashiku, kajikeru 'be affected by sickness; be stunted/dwarfed, Table 160 J kajikamu 'be numb/benumbed'. OJ kasiku (sh.n.)
 J kaj.iku Tv kóit'a 'to waste/ pine away, become ematiated'.
 " kash.iku " kot.'s SW 58: *kájtš 'sickness'; cf. Tv kóit'a, kot's,
 " kaj.ikeru Yr haed.o Yr haedo, Sk qúti, ködd; qúti-qo 'be sick'.
 " kaj.ikamu Sk qút.i Hu (Western Transdanubian dial.) kesuka 'sick,
 OJ kas.iku " köd sickly; not in order; faulty'.
 PSam *kájtš Hu kes.uka Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'affected by sick-

ness'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs PSam *k-, Hu k- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs PSam *a, Hu e (open)/ medial J j, OJ s (= ts) vs PSam *t (*j is an on-glide, cf. previous entry), Hu s (= š).

161. J, OJ kama 'kiln, oven, stove, kettle, cauldron, boiler'. Ōno: kama is related to Kor kama id.

Table 161 TESZ (ex.): Hu kemence 'oven/ kiln for baking/cooking/smelling'.
 J, OJ kam.a --Origin uncertain.--Although k appears like a loanword from
 Hu kem.ence Slav, only Russian among the Slav languages has a word which
 more or less corresponds to it semantically. Cf. Russian
kámenica 'an oven (built of stone) in the steam-bath of the northern Russians'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'kiln, oven'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs Hu k- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu e (a very open vowel) /medial J, OJ m vs Hu m /final J, OJ -a vs Hu ä. 3. The element -ce is evidently an accretion (containing a palatal vowel, since k is of palatal vowel order, or has become such); the velar variant of -ce is seen, for instance, in szárcsa ~ sárca ('common) coot' < OHu szár 'whitish, pale', or in targonca 'a dray' < Mo tergen 'cart' (TESZ; we must assume a change in vowel order and the affixation of -ca plainly a dim. suffix). Hu k seems to have been formed on the pattern just seen. I assume that n before -ce is a glide, the same as in farkinca 'little tail' < farok 'tail'. 4. There are on record OHu place names of the shape Kemence in the northern and northeastern part of Historical Hungary (Melich 1929, 138 ff.). 5. The base of Russian kámenica is suspect of being a borrowing.

162. J kakaru, OJ kakaru (y.) 'be caught/held fast; hang; be implicated/involved; lean/rely/depend on', J kakeru, OJ kaku (sh.n.) 'hang, suspend, put up (against), put on (clothing); construct; anchor (a ship); set (a machine) going'.

Table 162 FUV 88 (ex.): Fi ahta- 'stow, stuff, cram, pack; set/put
 J, OJ kak.a.ru (traps, snares); put, arrange, hang (fishing-nets on a drying-
 J kak.e.ru frame), Est ahta-, ahti- : a. reht 'put corn into the kiln' /
 OJ kak.u Lp *vuokte- = Fi ahta- /MdE avto- 'open one's mouth', MdM afto-
 Fi, Est ah. .ta 'set nets or traps', aftuma 'fishing-net; trap, snare' /? Ch
 Est ah. .ti opte- 'put, load; build (a nest, of a bird); set (traps, nets) /
 Lp *vuok. .te /Zr okty- 'set a trap' /Os vgat- 'hang up; spread (the seine,
 MdE av. .to or the nets, on poles to dry)'.-- FU *akta-.
 ? Ch op. .te Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'hang/catch/be caught'. 2. Phon.:
 Zr ok. .ty initial J, OJ k- vs FU *q (cf. OHu alacsin < galacsin 'pellet'
 Os vg. .t /TESZ/, Lp ásusás 'thick' (of flat objects): gassusás 'thick'
 FU * ak. .ta (of round objects) /Lehtisalo 1936, 1957; the loss of initial
k- is wide-spread in the A languages, esp. in Tg, s. Benzing

1956, 11) / 1st syll. J, OJ a vs FU *a /medial J, OJ k vs FU *k. 3. According to the preponderant syllabic sequence of the U languages, FU *-ta must be taken as an accretion on an originally disyllabic stem; therefore *k and *t should be separated by a (velar) vowel.

163. J kamo, OJ kamó 'wild duck, drake'.
 Table 163 TESZ (ex.): Hu gém 'heron, hern'.--Origin unknown.

J kam.o Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'aquatic bird' (of medium size). 2.
 OJ kam.ó Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs Hu g- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu é /medial
 Hu gém J, OJ m vs Hu m.--The vowel order of gém (pl. gémék) is palatal;
 we register this opposition for later use.

164. J, OJ kara 'husk, hull, shell, cast-off skin', J karada 'body'. Ōno: OJ kara > karada 'body without soul; form, figure'.

FUV 34: Lp gorod 'body, esp. of the carcass of a slaughtered animal' /Vg qwar

Table 164

J, OJ	kar.a	Md	kef	Fi	kuor.i
J	kar.a.da	Ch	kar	"	kuor.i-
Lp	gor.o.d	"	kür	? Zr	kyr. .s
Vg	qwar	? Vty	kur	Vg	qor
Os	kör	? Zr	kor	Os	har.i
"	hör	Vg	kör	"	kör-
? Yr	har-	Os	kär	"	hör-
? Yn	kef.e'	Hu	kér	Yr	hyr.a-
"	ker.e'	"	kér.ë.g	"	kyr.a-
U	*kur.ä	FU	*ker.e	Sk	kyr.a-
Fi	ker.i	"	"	"	kür.y-
"	ker. .ma				
Lp	gär.ä-				

'form, figure'/Os kör, hör //
 [/? Yr har- reflexive pronoun /
 Yn kerä, kefe].-- U *kura.

FUV 104, TESZ (ex.): Fi keri
 'bark that grows on a birch af-
 ter the first bark has been re-
 moved', kerma 'thin crust,
 thin or soft shell'/Lp gärä~
gärä- 'shell, crust; (conifer)
 bark'/Md kef 'linden bark'/Ch
kör, kür '(thick) linden bark'
 //? Vty kur, kyr 'piece of
 bark'/ Zr kor 'bark (of folii-
 ferous tree)'/Vg keer 'bark;
 shell (of eggs, etc.)/Os kär

'bark, shell' /Hu kérég 'crust; bark; (earlier:) kér 'membrane (of the brain, the belly)'.-- FU *kere.--In Hu kérég, -g is a denom. noun formant.

FUV 48: Fi kuori 'shell, bark, (bread) crust', kuori- 'unshell, peel, bark, strip, flay'//Zr kyrä 'bark'//Vg kwär-, qor- 'to bark, peel (birch bark, bast), strip, flay, skin'/Os hari, etc. 'green bark on birch; reddish membrane on the inside of birch bark', kör-, hör- 'to bark, strip, flay'//Yr hyra-, kyra- 'flay, skin'/Sk kyra-, kiiry- 'flay, peel, skin'. (No reconstructed form given.)

Comm.: 1. It is plain that the word families on the U side are practically one: the first and third show velar vowel order, the second is of palatal order. --P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'lifeless body; shell, hull, bark, crust', hence 'figure, form, appearance'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs U, FU *k- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs U *u, FU *e /medial J, OJ r vs U, FU *r. 3. Cf. Räsänen 1955, 29: Fi kuori, etc. ... ~ Tu *kär > MiddleTu kāz 'bark, shell' ~ Tg Sol yär 'bark', Olča hora-ktā, hura-kta id. 4. Cf. entry körö.

165. J, OJ	kar.a	TESZ (ex.): Hu	<u>harap</u>	'(fallen) branches and leaves (in a forest), stalk of grasses or weeds (still standing); fire to burn off an area covered by such old grass /here <u>harap</u> functions as a qualifier, i.e., the full term is <u>harap tüz</u> ('tüz' fire)'; the remainder of a coppice after a fire went through it' ~ Zr <u>kor</u> 'tree leaf'/Vty <u>kwär</u> id., 'leafy grass', <u>kyar</u> id., stem/stalk of a
? Fi	kor. .va	? Fi	<u>korva</u>	'ear', Est <u>korv</u> 'ear; handle, grip'.-- Fu * <u>kora</u>
? Est	kor. .v	or	* <u>korä</u>	--In Hu <u>harap</u> , -p is a denom. noun formant.
FU	*kor.ä	Comm.: 1.	P.b.m.f.b.s.:	'stem/trunk of a plant', hence 'grip, handle; ear'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>k</u> - vs FU * <u>k</u> - /1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs FU * <u>o</u> /medial J, OJ <u>r</u> vs FU * <u>r</u> /cf J, OJ stem-final - <u>a</u>
or	*kor. .ä	and Hu	<u>a</u> , FU * <u>a</u>	in the same position. 3. Hu -p, ? Fi -va, Est -v are, of course, reflexes of FU *-ä, a formant agglutinated to a formerly disyllabic stem. 4. Cf. Räsänen 1955, 26: Fi <u>kara</u> 'hard, dry branch' ~ Yr <u>härü</u> , <u>karu</u> '(dry) larch (Larix europaea) ~ Tu Yak <u>yaryia</u> 'Picea obovata', Chuv <u>yirä</u> 'fir, pine'.... ~ Tg <u>gara</u> '(dry) branch', Olča id., Lam <u>gar</u> id. ~ Kor <u>karak</u> 'Korean oak'.

166. J kareru, OJ karu (sh.n.) 'wither, die, perish; be dead; dry up (as a body of water); be exhausted', J karasu, OJ karasu (y.) 'kill, blight, let or cause to wither/dry; destroy, exhaust', J korosu, OJ körösu (y.) id.

Table 166					
J	kar.e.ru	Hu	hal-		
OJ	kar.u	"	hol-		
J, OJ	kar.a.su	Yr	hā-		
OJ	kör.ä.su	Tv	ku-		
Fi	kuol.e-	Yn	kā-		
Ch	kol.e-	Sk	ku-		
Zr/Vty	kul-	Km	kü-		
Vg	höl-	U	*kol.e-		
Os	käl-	or	*kol.e		
"	hät-	? Hu	kor. .nyad-		

FUV 48, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi kuole- 'die' /Md kulo- /Ch kole- /Zr, Vty kul- /Vg hool- /Os käl-, hät- /Hu hal-, hol- //Yr haa- /Tv ku- /Yn kaa- /Sk ku- /Km kü-.-- U *kole- or *köle-.
 Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'wither, dry out', hence 'die; kill' (cf. Hu halvány ~ halavány 'pale (the color of the dead)', OHu, dial. 'dried up/dead river arm' and J kareru, OJ karu 'wither, die' ... 'dry up (as a body of water)'). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs U *k- /1st syll. J a, o, OJ a, ö vs U *o (?*ö) /

Table 164

J, OJ	kar.a	Md	kef	Fi	kuor.i
J	kar.a.da	Ch	kar	"	kuor.i-
Lp	gor.o.d	"	kür	? Zr	kyr. .s
Vg	qwar	? Vty	kur	Vg	qor
Os	kör	? Zr	kor	Os	har.i
"	hör	Vg	kör	"	kör-
? Yr	har-	Os	kär	"	hör-
? Yn	kef.e'	Hu	kér	Yr	hyr.a-
"	ker.e'	"	kér.ë.g	"	kyr.a-
U	*kur.ä	FU	*ker.e	Sk	kyr.a-
Fi	ker.i	"	"	"	kür.y-
"	ker. .ma				
Lp	gär.ä-				

'form, figure'/Os kör, hör //
 [/? Yr har- reflexive pronoun /
 Yn kerä, kefe].-- U *kura.

FUV 104, TESZ (ex.): Fi keri
 'bark that grows on a birch af-
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gärä- 'shell, crust; (conifer)
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kör, kür '(thick) linden bark'
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 ferous tree)'/Vg keer 'bark;
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Comm.: 1. It is plain that the word families on the U side are practically one: the first and third show velar vowel order, the second is of palatal order. --P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'lifeless body; shell, hull, bark, crust', hence 'figure, form, appearance'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs U, FU *k- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs U *u, FU *e /medial J, OJ r vs U, FU *r. 3. Cf. Räsänen 1955, 29: Fi kuori, etc. ... ~ Tu *kär > MiddleTu kāz 'bark, shell' ~ Tg Sol yär 'bark', Olča hora-ktā, hura-kta id. 4. Cf. entry körö.

165. J, OJ	kar.a	TESZ (ex.): Hu	<u>harap</u>	'(fallen) branches and leaves (in a forest), stalk of grasses or weeds (still standing); fire to burn off an area covered by such old grass /here <u>harap</u> functions as a quali- fier, i.e., the full term is <u>harap tüz</u> (<u>tüz</u> 'fire')/; the remain- der of a coppice after a fire went through it' ~ Zr <u>kor</u> 'tree leaf'/Vty <u>kwär</u> id., 'leafy grass', <u>kyar</u> id., stem/stalk of a
? Fi	kor. .va	or	* <u>korä</u> .--In Hu	<u>harap</u> , -p is a denom. noun formant.
? Est	kor. .v	or	* <u>korä</u> .--In Hu	<u>harap</u> , -p is a denom. noun formant.
FU	* <u>korä</u> .3	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.:	'stem/trunk of a plant', hence 'grip, handle; ear'. 2. Phon.:	initial J, OJ <u>k</u> - vs FU * <u>k</u> - /1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs FU * <u>o</u> /medial J, OJ <u>r</u> vs FU * <u>r</u> /cf J, OJ stem-final - <u>a</u>
or	* <u>korä</u> .3a	and Hu	<u>a</u> , FU * <u>a</u> in the same position. 3. Hu	-p, ? Fi - <u>va</u> , Est - <u>v</u> are, of course, reflexes of FU * <u>ä</u> , a formant agglutinated to a formerly disyllabic stem. 4. Cf. Räsänen 1955, 26: Fi <u>kara</u> 'hard, dry branch' ~ Yr <u>härü</u> , <u>karu</u> '(dry) larch (Larix europaea) ~ Tu Yak <u>yaryia</u> 'Picea obovata', Chuv <u>yirä</u> 'fir, pine'.... ~ Tg <u>gara</u> '(dry) branch', Olča id., Lam <u>gar</u> id. ~ Kor <u>karak</u> 'Korean oak'.

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Table 166					
J	kar.e.ru	Hu	hal-		
OJ	kar.u	"	hol-		
J, OJ	kar.a.su	Yr	hā-		
OJ	kör.ä.su	Tv	ku-		
Fi	kuol.e-	Yn	kā-		
Ch	kol.e-	Sk	ku-		
Zr/Vty	kul-	Km	kü-		
Vg	höl-	U	*kol.e-		
Os	käl-	or	*kol.e		
"	hät-	? Hu	kor. .nyad-		

FUV 48, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi kuole- 'die' /Md kulo- /Ch kole- /Zr, Vty kul- /Vg hool- /Os käl-, hät- /Hu hal-, hol- /Yr haa- /Tv ku- /Yn kaa- /Sk ku- /Km kü-.-- U *kole- or *köle-.
 Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'wither, dry out', hence 'die; kill' (cf. Hu halvány ~ halavány 'pale (the color of the dead)', OHu, dial. 'dried up/dead river arm' and J kareru, OJ karu 'wither, die' ... 'dry up (as a body of water)'). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs U *k- /1st syll. J a, o, OJ a, ö vs U *o (?*ö) /

medial J, OJ r vs U *l (note r in Hu kornvad 'be ill', where k- is irregular).
 3. Cf. SW 56: *kāš- 'to die', e.g., Sk qu-go id.; der. caus. PSam *kā-tā 'kill; catch, seize'. It is hard to see what justifies the presence of the element *-ā (unless it is irrelevant) in PSam *kāš-. Surely, the open monosyllabic forms on the Sam side, including *kā- in the caus. form, do not warrant the reconstruction of a disyllabic p-form (?). Again, in U*kole- one sees no indication of allowance for the CV (through vowel lengthening: CV) shaped Sam words. This may be due to the ruling tenet that all U concept words were basically disyllabic.
 4. Cf. Pröhle No. 27.

167. J, OJ kari 'wild goose'. Ōno: karigane id. < kari + ga (gen. marker) + ne 'sound; noise', i.e., this word originally meant the noise made by wild geese.

Table	167	FUV 48: Fi	<u>kurki</u> ~ <u>kurje</u>	'crane' (Grus grus) /Lp	<u>guorgā</u> /Md
J, OJ	kar.i	<u>kargo</u> //?	Yr <u>harū</u> /Sk	<u>kara</u> /Km	<u>kuro</u> /--These words are onomatot-
Fi	kur. .ki	poeic.--	U	* <u>kurkō</u> .	
"	kur. .je-				
Lp	<u>guor</u> .gā				Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'large aquatic bird'. 2. Phon.:
Md	kar. .go				initial J, OJ <u>k</u> - vs U * <u>k</u> - /1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs U * <u>u</u> /medial
? Yr	har.ū				J, OJ <u>r</u> vs U * <u>r</u> . 3. The element U *- <u>kō</u> is doubtless a formant
? Sk	kar.a				(probably dim.). 4. Cf. Pröhle No. 18.
? Km	kur.o				
U	* <u>kur</u> . .kō				

168. OJ karu (sh.n.) 'be/become separated, part (from), come off; (Vi) leave, become scattered; move away, stand aside; become distant/estranged'.

Table	168	FUV 108: Fi	<u>kulu</u> -	'be/get worn, wear, be consumed;
OJ	kar.u	Vg	hol-	pass away, elapse' /Lp
Fi	kul.u-	Os	kōl-	off or fall out or disperse (Vi) little by little
Lp	gollā-	"	hōt-	(of leaves, hairs, etc.)/Vg
Zr	gyl.al-	FU	* <u>kulā</u> -	pass away' /Os

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'become separated; come/fall off little by little', hence 'become distant; disappear'. 2. Phon.: initial OJ k- vs FU *k- /1st syll. OJ a vs FU *u /medial OJ r vs U *l.

169. J karu, OJ karu (y.) 'cut, chop down (trees), clip, shear away (shrub, coarse grass), harvest', J eguru, Ōno: kuru (y.) 'to rend; pierce, hollow/gouge out'; OJ kōru = OJ karu.

Table	169	FUV 106, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi	<u>kolo</u>	'cavity, hole, hollow; crack, fissure, crevice; cutting'//?
J	kar.u	Vty.	kwal. .d-	hollow; crack, fissure, crevice; cutting'//?
"	e.gur.u	Zr	kol.a.s	gollo~golo- 'fissure (in stone, hill, ice)'/Vty
Ō.	kur.u	Vg	kal	<u>kwald</u> - '(Vi) split' /Zr
OJ	kar.u	"	hal	interval (in space or time)'/Vg
"	kōr.u	Os	kōl	crack, interspace'/Os
Fi	kol.o	"	hul	/Hu <u>halok</u> , <u>halk</u> 'incision/notch in a tree that is being cut down'.
Lp	goll.o	Hu	hal.o.k	--FU * <u>kolā</u> . --Fi - <u>o</u> , Zr - <u>as</u> , Hu - <u>k</u> are denominal nominal formants.--In Vty, the element - <u>d</u> is a denominal verb formant.
"	gol.o	"	hal. .k	
		FU	* <u>kolā</u> .	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'cut; hollow out; a cut; fissure'. 2. Phon.: taking e- in eguru as a prothetic sound --initial J, OJ k- /g- vs FU *k- /1st syll. J a, u, OJ a, u, ō vs FU *o / medial J, OJ r vs FU *l. 3. Cf. Hu dial. korhāl- : fāt k. 'cut/chop wood' (fā 'wood', -t acc. marker).

Table	170	FUV (1955) 86: Fi	<u>kasva</u> -	'grow, increase',
J, OJ	kas.a	Liv	kaz.a-	'swelling, tumor, boils on the skin', J <u>kasamu</u>
"	kas.a.mu	"	kā's	Ōno: <u>kasamu</u> (y.) 'grow bulky/voluminous; rise, swell, increase', J <u>kasamaru</u> , OJ <u>kasamaru</u> (y.)
"	.....	Md	kas.o-	'be piled up/accumulated', J <u>kasameru</u> , OJ <u>kasameru</u>
Fi	kas. .va-	? Hu	hasz.on	<u>nu</u> (sh.n.) 'pile/heap up, put one upon the
"	kas. .vu	FU	* <u>kas</u> . .wa-	other; repeat'.
Est	kas. .vu-	- - - - -		FUV (1955) 86: Fi <u>kasva</u> - 'grow, increase',
"	kas.u	? Fi	kas.a	<u>kasvu</u> 'growth, increase, etc.', Est <u>kasva</u> - 'in-

crease, grow', kasv(u) 'growth', kasu 'growth, benefit, profit, interest', Liv kaza- 'increase

grow (Vi), kaś 'increase, profit' /Md kasō ' (Vi) grow, increase, develop'/? Hu haszon 'advantage, benefit, profit, gain'.-- FU *kaswa-.

TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu haszon 'advantage, etc.'.--Origin uncertain. ... FU *kasBa-.
--The difficulty of this equation is presented by the fact that the posited *sB/sw would have a Hu continuant -sz- in this case only.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'grow; be heaped/accumulated' (note: OJ kasa 'swelling, tumor, boil' vs Fi Liv kazs- 'grow; have boils' (TESZ: haszon) 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs FU *k-/ 1st syll. J, OJ a vs FU *a / medial J a, OJ s (= ts) vs FU *s. 3. The cluster FU *sB/sw can be eliminated, I suggest, by taking *-Ba/-wa for what it really is, namely an addition to a formerly disyllabic stem; the lost stem-final vowel would have to be restituted (say, *kasysB/-wa-); this might also solve the problem of Hu -sz- vs FU *sB/sw. 4. Fi kasa 'heap, pile, multitude' is given by SKES as a doubtful loanword from Scandinavian. In the light of the data presented here a re-examination of this etymology might be useful.

171. J kaseru '(Vi) dry up, scab, slough off'. Ōno: kasu (sh.n.) 'wither, waste/pine away, dry up, the strength of the body ebbs away (through ematiation)'.
Table 171

Table 171				FUV 34 (ex.): LpK <u>goške</u> 'dry'/Md <u>koške</u> 'dry', <u>koške-</u> 'become dry' /Vty <u>kwās</u> 'shallow (water), <u>kwāsm-</u> 'become dry'/Zr <u>koś</u> 'dry', OJ <u>kas.u</u>															
J	kas.e.ru	Tv	koś.ü. a	Yn	kas.u. a														
OJ	kas.u		kos.a-																
LpK	goś. .ke-	"	kas.o																
Md	koś. .ke-	Sk	kūs. .ka																
Vty	kwās. (my-)	? Km	ko-																
Zr	koś. (my-)	"	kō-																
Yr	hās.u.j	U	*kuś. .ka																
"	kys.u.j																		
"	hās.a-																		

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'dry up'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs U *k-/ 1st syll. J, OJ a vs U *a / medial J a, OJ s (= ts) vs U *s. 3. The element U *-ka must, indeed, be a formant, and there should be a vowel between *ś and *k. 4. The forms Tv kojü- and Km kō-, koo- do not fit well into the frame; the thought arises that they testify to a CV root expanded by *ś, on one hand, and i, ɛ, o, on the other.

172. OJ kasipa 'container for food and/or drink'.
Table 172
OJ kas.i(-pa) FUV 43: Md keče 'ladle'/Vg kwāššēm 'birch-bark basket'/Os kūšēm 'cup, saucer'/Tv kita (gen. kidan) 'vessel for scooping'/Yn kide 'vessel similar to a trough'/Sk kiedä 'basket of birch-bark'. (No reconstructed form given.)
Md keče
Vg kwāššēm
Os kūšēm
? Yr hyd.e
? Tv kit.a
? Yn kid.e
? Sk kied.ä

FUV 96: LpSkolt gočček 'provisional vessel made of birch-bark'/Os kōčček 'ladle-shaped birch-bark box (to put in the cradle)'.
-- FU *kučakka.
FUV 107: Md kuču 'spoon' /Os koti 'drinking vessel made of birch-bark'.-- FU *koč.ä.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a smallish container for food, or drink, or general purpose'. 2. Lp gočček, etc. and Md kuču, etc. appear to be velar vowel order variants of Md keče, etc. ---Initial OJ k- vs FU *k- / 1st syll. OJ a vs FU *a, *o, and, say, *u (for Md keče, etc.) / medial OJ s (= ts) vs FU *s. 3. OJ kasipa has been traditionally explained (I follow Street, - Miller 1973, 93 ff.) as 'a container made of large oak-leaves, in which, according to text interpretations, liquids could also be served. Street-Miller questions this interpretation and suggests that kasipa is cognate with Mo galbaya 'spoon' and Tu kašuk id. (where Tu š corresponds to Mo l); kašuk itself is said to be the dim. form of Tu gaš 'small wooden dish or bowl'.--Poppe 1966, 85 gives Mo galbuga as < pre-Mo *kal-pu-ka 'spoon'.--As I see it, the primary stem form is *kal (without the expected stem-final vowel); this stem form, with the expected stem-final vowel, seems to be latent in Hu dial. and OHu kalán = Hu kanál 'ladle, spoon' (note: metathesis and syllable closing -n which is likely secondary). If this is allowed, one does not need to force the equation of kasipa and galbuga.--I propose, instead, that kasipa is: a) a compound whose first part has to do with Md keče, etc., while its second component is a variant of OJ pě 'pot,

saucepan' (note: OJ g usually alternates with a), b) alternatively, a derived form, a denominal noun, whose part -pa might have to do with the element -m seen in the Vg and Os forms above (s. attached table); the alternative is less likely (for denom. noun formant U *-m in Vg and Os, s. Lehtisalo 1936, 84).

173. J, OJ kasu 'dregs, grounds, sediment, scum, dross', OJ kotu 'dirt, rubbish, garbage, flotsam and jetsam'. Ono: kotu is a contraction of kotumi which consists of kō 'tree; wood' and tumi 'a heap'.

Table 173 TESZ (ex.): Hu kosz 'dirt, scum; scab'.--Origin uncertain.
J, OJ kas.u Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'rubbish; dirt'.--Ono's guess is not
OJ kōt.u borne out by data. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs Hu k- (irregular
Hu kosz before a velar vowel) /1st syll. J, OJ a, OJ ō (frequently alternating with a) vs Hu o /medial J s, OJ s (= ts), t vs Hu sz.

174. J kasumu, OJ kasumu (y.) 'be hazy, grow dim/blurred', J, OJ kasumi 'haze, mist; dimness of sight', asa-gasumi 'morning mist/haze'.

Table 174 TESZ (ex.): Hu gőz 'vapour, fume, steam'.--Origin unknown.
J, OJ kas.u.mu MUSz 62: Hu gőz (s. above) /Fi kaasu 'fog, mist, vapour; nebu-
" kas.u.mi lous vapour' /Lp kasad, gasat 'fog that rises at night as a re-
Hu gőz sult of cold' /Vty kvaz 'air, weather'.--In modern times, the
? Fi kaasu Finns use kaasu for 'gas', which is quite appropriate, for the
? Lp kas.a.d Fi version of /say, German Gas / would also sound kaasu.
" gas.a.t SKES suggests that Fi kaasu (borrowed into Lp) has its root in
? Vty kvaz an IE word.

Comm.: 1. Although the proposition of MUSz (above) has not found acceptance, I have adduced it, for a re-examination could be helpful. It would be surprising if the ancient Finns had had no own term for 'fog, mist', in the country of countless lakes.--Since Hu gőz is also used to denote 'mist rising from a lake or river', the p.b.m.f.b.s. is: 'mist'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs Hu g- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu g (note: Hu g arose fairly late--after the 12th cent.-- from g) /medial J s, OJ s (= ts) vs Hu z (which comes regularly from PFU *t, *s, *g (*g), s. Lakó 1968, 82).

175. J, OJ kata 'beach; flat, low shore'
Table 175 MSZFE p. 262. SKES (ex.): LpN gadde 'bank, shore, dry land' ? ~Fi
J, OJ kat.a kanta 'isthmus, neck of land'.

Lp gadde Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'bank of a body of water'. 2. Phon.:
? Fi kant.a initial J, OJ k- vs Lp g-, ? Fi k- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Lp a, ? Fi
a /medial J, OJ t vs Lp dd, ? Fi nt /final J, OJ -a vs Lp -e, ? Fi
-a.--The quality of t in kata 'beach' is taken to be different from that in kata-
'half, single' (s. next entry).

176. J, OJ kata- (attrib.) 'one half; single; one-way; one-sided; one (member of paired objects, such as parts of the body)'.--Examples: J kata ba 'single-edge' (said of a sword blade which could also be double-edged), kata me 'one eye', kata te 'one hand', kata mimi 'one ear', kata ashi 'one foot/leg', kata mi 'one side' (e.g., of a beef carcass), kata machi 'town on one side of the road'. ? J, OJ kata 'side, part; direction, way', -kata (in compounds) 'side, party; manner', e.g., a-no-kata 'that party/person' (a 'that', no gen.(attrib.)), J, OJ katayoru (y.) 'lean onto one side' (yoru 'approach'), OJ katu (adv.) 'partly; on one side'.

Table 176 FUV 33, 67, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu
J, OJ kat.a Zr pgl Lp baelle fél~fele- 'fellow human being;
OJ kat.u " pöl Yr peñlê companion, comrade, friend; one
J, OJ Vty pal Yn fed.e half/part (of an object); side;
Hu fél Ch pel " fer.i e(?) one member of a party; one party
" fél.e- " Bel Tv fél.e a(?) (e.g., to a bilateral agreement);
Vg päl MdE fél Sk pel.en wife; area, tract of country; the
" päl MdM fél " pel.e middle; one member of paired ob-
" päl Md Km pöl objects; one of two', -fél 'of a
Os pöl ? Fi piel.i certain kind', al-fél 'bottom
" pöl.æk " U *päl.ä side', éj-fél 'midnight' (éj 'night'),
út-fél-én 'by the road, on the

roadside' ~ Vg päl 'half (of something); side, area, district; of a kind', päl,
päl 'half, side' /Os pél 'side', pélæk 'half' /Zr pgl 'side; one of two things

which belong together', pöl 'one of a pair; side'/Vty pal 'side; half; area, district, region, quarter of the world; time of the day, period, epoch; half; one member of paired objects (e.g., eyes, feet, legs, boots)/Ch pel, bel 'side', pele 'half; one member of paired objects'/MdE pel, MdM pəl 'side', MdE pele, MdM pəle 'half' /? Fi pieli in suu-pieli 'corner of the mouth', pieltää 'lean onto one side'/Lp baelle 'side; half (esp. of a thing divided lengthways), one of a pair/two things which belong together'//Yr pəllä 'half; one part/piece (of a whole)'/Yn fedē, ferie id. /Tv fealea id. /Sk pelen 'half', psle id./Km pjeel 'half, side'.
-- U *pälä.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'half; side', hence 'one of a pair'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs U *p- (proposed two-way development from */kw/, s. Phonology)/ 1st syll. J, OJ a vs U *ä (note: since Fi has pieli as well as puoli 'half; one side of two', we may think that the word family in question is suspect as far as vowel order is concerned) /medial J, OJ t vs U *l (note: in some etymologies on the U side, -l- can be shown to have come from PFU *-š-; s. Lakó 1968, 68; cf., for example, entry atama; the opposition -ä- : -r- within Yn may also throw some light on this question, and this all the more since some J dial.s have ä ~ r alternation) / final J, OJ -a vs U *-ä. 3. Ōno states that OJ kata is cognate with A kalta id. He probably refers to Ramstedt 1924, 41-54 where Ramstedt writes: "If we take J kata 'side, half' ... I think we must, if we wish to move towards Altaic and Korean, conclude that in kata we may have an earlier or primitive karta, kalta, kasta or something in that way. I am almost sure that in prehistoric J there existed many kinds of 'closers', that is, of post-vocalic consonants. With other words, ka can go back to kak, kag, kai, kar, or kal, etc." (p. 45).--Now, words of CVC shape appear in J only after the introduction of masses of Chinese loanwords; genuine J words are not known ever to have had CVC shape; nor is a genuine J word of the shape *karta, *kalta, or *kasta likely, that being against the canon of J syllabic sequence and structure. 4. Murayama 1966, No. 24 equates OJ kata with Mo qaltas 'one half (of a whole)', but there again the question arises whether the cluster in the Mo word is primary; for the loss of a vowel between l and t or the insertion of an (in)etymological l could have brought it about.

177. J kata-i, OJ kata-si 'hard, stiff, strong, firm; difficult', J katamaru, Ōno: katamaru (y.) 'become hard, etc.', J katameru, OJ katamu (sh.n.) '(Vt) harden, stiffen, etc.', J katame 'defence; fortification', Ōno: katamē 'defender, guard of a fortification'. ? J kitaeru, Ōno: kitapu (y.) 'to forge, temper, discipline', ? OJ kitamu (sh.n.) 'to discipline, punish'.

Table 177 FUV 45: Fi kontta 'stiff from cold', konttaantu- 'become stiff from cold'//Yr hanema- 'freeze to death', hanea 'the cold', hanui 'frozen'/Tv kantejea- 'freeze to death'//Yn koddi- /Sk kanda- 'freeze'/Km kana- id.-- U *konta.
Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'hard, solid, stiff; harden', hence 'become stiff, esp. as the result of cold'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs U *k-/ 1st syll. J, OJ a, ? J, i, OJ i vs U *o /medial J, OJ t vs U *nt /final of the primary stem J, OJ a vs U *-a (note: in the Yr and Km forms without t or d, the loss of such a sound next to a homorganic n must be assumed). 3. On the territory of Historical Hungary there are numerous place-names formed with the word kata. Kálmán 1967, 163 notes that they have preserved the Petcheneg name for 'earthen fortification' (the P. were a Tu speaking people, of whom many were settled in Hungary in the 11th and 12th centuries). 4. Cf. (TESZ:) Hu kantár 'bridle (by which to restrain or guide a horse)' is probably of OTu origin, cf. Uig qantar- 'hold the horse in firm hand by pulling the bridle short', Mo qantar- id. 5. Cf. Poppe 1960, 50: Mo qata- < *kata- 'become dry/firm/hard', qatayu 'hard', MiddleMo qatangu 'firm hard' = Tg Ev kata- 'become gaunt/dried up', katar 'rough' = OTu qat- 'become hard', qatiy 'hard, solid', Yak yat- 'become dry'. 6. Cf. Murayama 1966, No. 26: OJ kata : Mo qataru.

178. CIJ katama ~ katami, OJ katama ~ katuma, Ōno: katami 'basket; bamboo basket'. FUV 41: Fi kaha 'basket (of osier, splint, or bast); bird trap; a kind of pole fence around a trap; "wing" of a seine, fence-like part of certain fishing implements; small cupboard in a wall' /? Ch kuža 'receptacle, made of bark, an ell high'

Table 178

CLJ	kat.a.ma	Zr	kuž.a	(< Vty?)/ Vty <u>kož</u> : <u>kenos-kož</u> 'separate part of the granary, where the grain is stored; hutch, corn-bin, flour-chest' (<u>kenos</u> 'granary')/Zr <u>kuža</u>
"	kat.a.mi	Vg	hus.a.p	'a special kind of bow-net (fyke), with a frame made of twigs and formed like a jar'/Vg <u>husap</u>
OJ	kat.a.ma	Os	hōč.ə	'receptacle, small box, bag; small hut'/Os <u>hōčə</u> , <u>hučə</u> 'wooden box, chest; quiver; upper loft or balcony in the storehouse or granary', <u>hočah</u>
"	kat.u.ma	"	huč.ə	'niche, recess'//Sk <u>koča</u> 'sack, knapsack'.
Fi	kah.a	"	hōč.a.h	
? Ch	kuž.a	Sk	koč.a	
Vty	kož	U	*kač.a	

U *kač.a.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'basket; basket-like receptacle'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs U *k- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs U *a /medial J, OJ t vs U *č / final of the primary stem, J, OJ a, OJ u vs U *-a. 3. The endings -ma, -mi on the J side stand against Vg -p, Os -h in the same position; the latter endings are apparently on the pattern seen in Vg yulip, Os kālǝǝ, Zr kulǝm '(drag)net, where -p/-ǝ/-m is a denominal noun formant (s. TESZ: Hu háló 'a net'). Cf. entry kasipa where the ending -pa is of pertinent interest.

179. OJ katamu, Ōno: kadamu (y.) 'deceive, tell lies, cheat, falsify, feign', OJ katama-si, Ōno: kadama-si 'deceitful, false (of heart); idle'.

Table 179

OJ	kat.a.mu	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>hazud(ik)</u> 'tell lies, deceive, feign, affect', <u>hazug</u> 'deceitful, cheating, lying; false, untrue; a cheat, a liar'.
Ō	kad.a.mu	liar'.
OJ	kat.a.ma-si	Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial OJ <u>k-</u> vs
Ō	kad.a.ma-si	Hu <u>h-</u> /1st syll. OJ <u>a</u> vs Hu <u>a</u> /medial OJ <u>t</u> , ? later <u>d</u> vs Hu <u>z</u> .
Hu	haz.u.d-	--Following the pattern of structuring of J, OJ words generally, we can detach everything that follows the second syllable, and so arrive at the customary disyllabic (complete) stem of CVCV shape; in the case of verbs, such a stem automatically
"	haz.u.g	has <u>-u</u> as its final; thus, we would have OJ * <u>katu</u> / <u>kadu</u> . The final vowel of such a form seems to tally with <u>u</u> of the primary stem in Hu <u>hazu-d-</u> and <u>hazu-g</u> (where <u>d</u> is a frequ., <u>g</u> an adj., formant).

has -u as its final; thus, we would have OJ *katu/kadu. The final vowel of such a form seems to tally with u of the primary stem in Hu hazu-d- and hazu-g (where d is a frequ., g an adj., formant).

180. J kataru, OJ kataru (y.) 'tell, relate, recite, report about', J katarau, OJ katarap (y.) 'speak/talk together, discuss (a matter), tell, relate'.

Table 180

J, OJ	kat.a.ru	id.	SW 66: * <u>ket</u> ~* <u>ket</u> ~ 'tell, relate'; cf. Sk <u>ketj-qo</u> , Yn <u>kitas</u>
J	kat.a.ra u	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'tell, relate, report'. 2. Phon.:	
OJ	kat.a.rap	initial J, OJ <u>k-</u> vs PSam * <u>k-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs PSam * <u>ə</u> /	
PSam	* <u>ket</u> -	medial J, OJ <u>t</u> vs PSam * <u>t</u> . 3. Cf. Hu <u>hadar-</u> , dial. <u>hadral-</u>	
or	* <u>ket</u> ~	'talk fast' (onomatopoeic?--TESZ).	
? Hu	had.a.r-		

181. J katsu, OJ katu (sh.n.) 'to win, defeat, prevail over, gain the mastery/ the upper hand; be superior (to), exercise power (over), do as one likes'.

Table 181

J	kat <u>.u</u>	events), exert influence', OHu <u>hat-</u> 'be able to effect; penetrate, permeate; prevail over; have in one's possession, get the mastery (over); get somewhere; force one's way through; reach as far as...
OJ	kat <u>.u</u>	
Hu	hat-	
"	.....	<u>-hat/-het</u> (verbal suffix) 'be able (to); may; can; be permitted (to do)', <u>hatalmas</u> 'mighty, powerful, enormous', <u>hatalom</u> 'might, power, authority, dominion (over); force; violence'; ? <u>határ</u> 'zone, territory over which the power of an administrative center extends; boundary'; <u>hatás</u> 'effect, influence', <u>hatóság</u> (abstract noun) 'public authority', (in OHu:) 'power, force might' ~ Os <u>yottá</u> '(Vi) move to another place, change one's place/position (forward, backward, or sideways)', <u>yattom</u> 'remove, transfer, push (to some place)'
Os	<u>yottá</u>	
"	<u>yattom</u>	
? Zr	kut-	
? Vty	kut-	
Sk	qat.j-	
U	* <u>kat</u> ~	
/?	Zr <u>kut-ni</u>	'hold, check, restrain, hold back; possess, exercise control over; grasp, seize, apprehend, catch; begin' /Vty <u>kut-</u> 'catch, seize, take in one's hand; grasp; hold back, keep; pursue; carry out (an order); observe/keep (commands); rule, exercise power over, have the mastery, control; begin'//Sk <u>qati-go</u> 'get to some place'--- U * <u>kat</u> ~.

/? Zr kut-ni 'hold, check, restrain, hold back; possess, exercise control over; grasp, seize, apprehend, catch; begin' /Vty kut- 'catch, seize, take in one's hand; grasp; hold back, keep; pursue; carry out (an order); observe/keep (commands); rule, exercise power over, have the mastery, control; begin'//Sk qatj-qo 'get to some place'--- U *katt~.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'seize and gain mastery (over)', hence 'able to do, effect; reach as far as ...'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs U *k- / 1st syll. J, OJ

a vs U *a /medial J ts, OJ t vs U *tt.

182. J kau, OJ kapu (y.) 'raise/keep/feed/breed (animals)'. Examples: OJ inu-kapf 'one who breeds and rears dogs', 'dog-breeding/raising', u-kapf 'cormorant-breeder and trainer', uma-kapf 'horse-breeder and trainer', J uma-o kau tokoro 'a place where one lets horses graze' ('grazing ground for horses', -- o object marker; tokoro 'place').

Table 182 TESZ (ex.): Hu kap- 'get/grow into the habit (of), get the taste (of certain foods or drinks), get a liking to (e.g., grass, said of a foal that is being weaned)' (usually with the verbal prefix rá- 'to, onto'), kapat- 'accustom, habituate (an animal or child to do/eat/drink something); feed (e.g., a horse, in a hurry)' -- This word is probably onomatopoeic. MTSz: kapat- 'to feed (animals), raise/train a child'; e.g., rosszul kapatott gyerek 'a wrongly trained/spoiled child' (r. 'wrongly', gy. 'child').

J. Arany, Tolldi: "Mint a juhász-bojtár, amikor kapatja, a komondor kölyköt végig simogatja." ('Like the shepherd boy, when he trains the komondor puppy, he strokes caressingly over its back'; -- komondor is a Hu breed of large shepherd dog).

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to feed and tend, and train'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs Hu k- (irregular before a velar vowel) /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu a /medial J ǝ, OJ p vs Hu p. -- The caus. of J kau is kawas; while OJ *kapas (where s = ts) of the meaning 'to raise' is not listed by Omodaka or Ōno, it can be generated according to existing pattern; one could even posit *kapatu for an earlier stage, following the pattern applicable to OJ kobotu 'to smash'; immediately before the caus. formant, both, the J and the OJ form show a as stem-final; it is interesting that in the caus. form Hu kapat- we find a in the same position; cf. also the caus. formants for phonetic similarity and for position.

183. J kau 'buy', OJ kapu (y.) 'exchange, substitute, renew; buy/get; associate/keep company (with), OJ kapu (sh.n.) 'replace one thing with another, substitute, change, alter, convert', J kawaru, OJ kaparu (y.) 'be changed/altered/removed/transferred', J kawaru-gawaru 'by turns, in turn, alternately', J kawas, OJ kapas (y.) '(Vt) change, exchange', J kaeru '(Vi) return, come/get back (home), come again', OJ kaperu (y.) '(Vi) return, overturn; be reversed'. J kayou, OJ kayopu (y.) 'come and go, commute, circulate'.

Table 183 TESZ (ex.): Hu kap- 'get, receive'. -- This verb is probably of onom. origin. TESZ (ex.): Hu kavar- 'move/turn/shift around; mix, stir (up)'. -- This verb probably derives from kever- (but it has not been proven that the former has come about from the latter through vowel order change). -- Hu kever- 'stir, agitate, mix (liquids or granular material) in a turning/circular way; change the order of components, mix up; implicate/draw/involve (in); turn (e.g., the soil), invert, reverse order; substitute (for), exchange', keverék 'mixture', kevered(ik) 'become mixed'. -- Origin unknown.

Collinder 1960, 279: Md keverde- '(Vt, Vi) roll'. SKES (ex.): Fi käydä 'go (like clockwork), proceed, walk', käypä 'that which is going/current' (e.g., käypä raha 'circulating/valid currency'); ... dial. stem: käv- (cf. E. Itkonen, FUF 30, 25: PFi *kävü- käve-) /? Ch ke-jem, kajem 'go, pass, proceed; leave' /? Vty gi- 'move about, be current, circulate' /? Vg kujé, kwäji 'follow', koji 'drive from behind, follow'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'change place; exchange', hence 'trade' (some commodity passes from its owner to another person who, in turn, gives some other commodity for it, whereby the circle is closed). 2. Phon.: taking Hu kap- (which is, as I see it, the base for kavar- and kever-, the two being mere vowel order variants) and PFi *käve- as representatives for the U side --- initial J, OJ k- vs Hu k- (irregular before a velar vowel), PFi *k- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu a, PFi *a /medial J ǝ, w, OJ p vs Hu p, PFi *v. 3. Cf. Collinder 1940, 6: Yuk kaweik 'he went'

(i.e., according to Jochelson: kebe-, kobe-, kove-) ~ Fi käy-, käve-. 4. Cf. Poppe 1975, 317: Mo Kalmuck yüw- 'undergo transformation, become changed' = Mo qubil-.

184. J kawa, OJ kapa 'river'.

Table 184	FUV 109 (ex.):	Fi <u>kymi</u>	'big river'; name of a river in southern Finland /?/ Vty <u>kam</u>	'river; the river Kama'; Zr <u>kom-mu</u>	'the region of Cherdin' ('my 'country'); cf. <u>komi</u> 'Zyryene' /?/ Vg <u>kääm</u>	name of a river in the region of Vagilsk /Os <u>kaem</u>	a tributary of the river Konda.--The whole etymology is uncertain.
J	kaw.a	Finland	/?/ Vty <u>kam</u>	'river; the river Kama'; Zr <u>kom-mu</u>	'the region of Cherdin' ('my 'country'); cf. <u>komi</u> 'Zyryene' /?/ Vg <u>kääm</u>	name of a river in the region of Vagilsk /Os <u>kaem</u>	a tributary of the river Konda.--The whole etymology is uncertain.
OJ	kap.a						
Fi	kym.i						
? Vty	kam						
"	Kam.a						
? Zr	kom-						
"	kom.i						
Vg	kääm						
Os	kaem						

Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs k- on the U side / 1st syll. J, OJ a vs Fi y (= ü), ? Vty a, ? Zr s, Vg ä, Os ae / medial J w, OJ p vs m on the U side (for the op-position p : m, s. section Phonology and the next entry).

185. J kawa, OJ kapa 'skin, hide, fur, pelt; leather; peeling; shell, bark, husk, (covering) film'.

Table 185			FUV 45: Est <u>kōba</u> 'fir bark' /Md <u>kuvo</u> 'bark, crust' /	
J	kaw.a	Fi	kam.a.ra	Ch <u>kuwo</u> 'shell, scale, hull, husk' /Yr <u>hooba</u> 'bark.
OJ	kap.a	Ch	kom	skin, hide', <u>pea hooba</u> 'bark of a tree' /Tv <u>kufu</u>
Est	kōb.a	Vty	kōm	'skin, hide' /Yn <u>koba</u> /Sk <u>goopy</u> , <u>kooba</u> , etc. 'skin,
Md	kuv.o	Vg	kam-	hide', <u>poot koobu</u> 'bark of a tree' /Km <u>kuba</u> 'skin,
Ch	kuw.o	Hu	hām-	hide, leather', <u>saanana kuba</u> 'nutshell' (<u>a</u> . 'nut').
Yr	hōb.a	? Yr	saw	-- U *kopa.
Tv	kuf.u	"	sām	PUV 42, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi <u>kamara</u> 'surface, the
Sk	qōp.y	? Sk	kām	hard surface (of something), crust', <u>pää-kamara</u>
"	kōb.a	? Km	kām	'scalp' (<u>pää</u> 'head'; - <u>ra</u> is a suffix or "Wurzeler-
Km	kub.a			weiterung") /Ch <u>kom</u> 'rind, crust' /Vty <u>kōm</u> /Vg <u>kam-</u>
U	*kop.a	U	*kam.a	<u>tul</u> (- <u>tul</u> is probably a compound suffix) /Hu <u>hām</u>
				'peel, cuticle' ///? Yr <u>sawaw</u> , <u>sawam</u> 'fish-scale' /Sk
				<u>qām</u> /Km <u>kām</u> id.; 'money' /-- U *kama.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'skin; protecting shell'.--The U word families above appear to be variants by split, and I propose to set them together against J kawa. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs U *k- / 1st syll. J, OJ a vs U *o, *a / medial J w, OJ p vs U *p, *m / final J, OJ -a vs U *-a.--As for the opposition OJ -p- : U *-m- (and U *-m- : U *-p- in the reconstructed forms in question), s. the section Phonology and the previous entry. 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 20. 4. Cf. Németh 1928, 83: Tu Kirg, Chag kauz 'husk, awn, chaff', Chag 'the glume of millet', Osm kavuz 'the glume or chaff of millet', Chag kabuzay 'shell, pod, husk', Altai, Kaz, etc. kap 'bag, pouch, purse, inner lining, cover, coating, etc.'.

186. J kawaku, OJ kawaku (y.) 'dry up, be parched/thirsty; feel dry'.

Table 186	FUV 108: Fi <u>kuiva</u>	'dry' / Os <u>kōjäm</u>	'subside (of water)'.
J, OJ	kaw.a.ku		(No reconstructed form is given.)
Fi	ku .i.va	SKES (ex.):	Fi <u>kuiva</u> 'dry' ? ~ Lp <u>kuife</u> , <u>kuife</u> 'unwise, foolish' / ? Os <u>yöi-</u> 'fall, subside (of water)'.
Est	ku .i.vak		Lehtisalo 1936, 289: Vty <u>kuivān</u> '(Vt) dry', p. 372: Est <u>kuivak</u> 'dry/gaunt person; dry wood' (<u>kuiv</u> 'dry').
Os	kōj.a.m-		FUV 34: Km <u>kō-</u> , <u>koo-</u> 'get dry, be parched, dry up, wither, fade/pine away'.
? Lp	ku .i.fe		
"	ku .i.we		
Vty	ku .i.vān		
Km	ko -		
"	kō-	(?)	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'dry', hence 'subside (water); waste away, etc.'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs k- on the U side / 1st syll. J, OJ a vs Fi, Est, Lp, Vty u, Os ö, Km o / medial J, OJ w vs Fi, Est, Lp, Vty ö, Os i, i, Km ?, ? ö

(note: I propose U *-j- from which Km should have derived j; s. Collinder 1965, 87). 3. Cf. Poppe 1960, 49: Mo quwa < *quwā < *kubā 'light yellow, pale'... Ma quwa 'light yellow' = Tu Tel quba 'pale, faded, faint', cf. Mo qubaqai < *kubakai 'dried out, faded' = Tu Altai qubayai 'pale, faded, light'; cf. p.38: Mo qagda 'old grass (from the previous year)' < pre-Mo *kag/kak; Otu gar 'dry'.

187. J kazaru, OJ kazaru (y.) 'ornament, decorate, adorn, embellish, garnish'. J, OJ kazari 'decoration, ornament, trimmings, embellishment'. TESZ (ex.): Hu koszoró ~ Otu kuszuru, koszoro, dial. kaszoró 'wreath, made of flowers or other plant elements for decorating the head, or as a sign of apprecia-

Table 187	tion toward a worthy person or the dead generally; string of
J, OJ	kaz.a.ru beads; rosary'.--Origin unknown.
"	kaz.a.ri Steinitz 1966, 511: Os <u>kāncs</u> 'embroidery; decoration made of
Hu	kosz.o.rú birch bark; picture; tanga (property mark)'.
"	kusz.u.ru Gulya 1966: OsE <u>kāncan</u> 'ornate, decorated; piebald'.
"	 Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'ornament; ornate; embellish'. 2.
Os	kānc.s Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>k</u> - vs Hu <u>k</u> - (irregular before a velar vowel),
"	kānc.a.n Os <u>k</u> - /1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs Hu <u>o</u> , <u>u</u> , <u>a</u> , Os <u>ā</u> /medial J, OJ <u>z</u> vs Hu <u>sz</u> , Os <u>nc</u> /cf. <u>a</u> as the final of the primary stem on the J
	side as against OsE <u>a</u> in the same position. 3. Note the expansion element <u>-r(u)</u> in the J and the Hu forms.

188. J kaze, OJ kaze < kaza 'wind'; in a der. sense: 'illness'.

Table 188	SW 57: * <u>kāc</u> 'snow-flurry'; cf. Tv der. <u>kódun</u> , <u>kođu</u> , Yn <u>kadu</u> ~ <u>káru</u> ,
J, OJ	kaz.e <u>háda</u> , Yr <u>had</u> , <u>yāō</u> , <u>kāt</u> , Sk <u>kodš</u> .
OJ	kaz.a. Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'wind'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>k</u> - vs
PSam	* <u>kāc</u> .s PSam * <u>k</u> - /1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs PSam * <u>ā</u> /medial J, OJ <u>z</u> vs PSam * <u>c</u> /
	final J <u>-e</u> , OJ <u>-e</u> < <u>-a</u> vs PSam * <u>-ā</u> .

189. J ke, OJ kē < ka 'hair; fur; feather, down'.

Table 189	Fokos-Fuchs 1959: Zr <u>gen</u> 'hair; fur; down'.
J	<u>ke</u> Munkácsi 1896: Vty <u>gon</u> 'hair; wool; feather'.
OJ	<u>kē</u> Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'hair'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>k</u> - vs
"	<u>ka</u> Zr, Vty <u>g</u> - (< PPU * <u>k</u> -) /1st syll. J <u>e</u> , OJ <u>ē</u> < <u>a</u> vs Zr <u>e</u> , Vty <u>o</u> .
Zr	<u>gē.n</u> 3. With reference to <u>ha</u> ~ <u>hane</u> 'feather' vs Hu <u>fan</u> , <u>fon</u> , Md <u>pona</u> ,
Vty	<u>-gō.n</u> etc., the proposition is made here that the sound <u>-n</u> in Zr <u>gen</u> ,
Hu	<u>ha.j</u> Vty <u>gon</u> is a morpheme comparable with the assumed morpheme <u>-n/-na</u>
Vg	<u>ja.j</u> on the U side, suggested in that comparison. 4. Pröhle No. 22 com-
"	<u>jo.j</u> pared J <u>ke</u> with Hu <u>haj</u> , Vg <u>yāj</u> , voi 'hair of the head'. TESZ, MSZFE
Ugric	* <u>ka.jš</u> reconstruct for <u>haj</u> , <u>yāj</u> , etc. Ugric * <u>kajš</u> . If Pröhle's proposi-
	tion is right, I suggest that Hu <u>-j</u> , Vg <u>-j</u> , <u>-i</u> , and Ugric * <u>-ja</u> are
	to be taken as expansion elements on a CV shaped root. 5. Cf. Murayama No. 23:
	OJ <u>kē</u> < * <u>kīl</u> vs Mo <u>kilyasun</u> 'horsehair'.

190. J kemuru~keburu '(Vi) smoke, smolder', Ōno: kemuru~keburu (y.) id.

J, OJ	<u>kemuri</u> ~ <u>keburu</u> 'smoke'.
Table 190	Hu dial. (J. Nyírő, 1976, 178:) <u>gömöröd(ik)</u> : <u>füst gömörödött</u>
J, OJ	<u>kem.u.ru</u> 'smoke arose' (<u>füst</u> 'smoke').
"	<u>keb.u.ru</u> Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'smoke; to smoke'.--Regarding the
"	<u>kem.u.ri</u> Hu side, my assumption is that <u>gömöröd(ik)</u> (not listed in the
"	<u>keb.u.ri</u> dictionaries) originally meant 'smoke rises; to smoke'; this
Hu dial.	<u>göm.ö.röd-</u> meaning has become obscured by <u>gomolyog-</u> 'give forth dense
	smoke'; therefore, the word <u>füst</u> 'smoke' had to be added tauto-
	logically. I should add that the Székely dialect in the SE corner of Historical
	Hungary has preserved many archaic features which have become lost elsewhere in
	Hungary. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>k</u> - vs Hu <u>g</u> - /1st syll. J, OJ <u>e</u> vs Hu <u>ö</u> (< <u>ē</u> , ac-
	cording to Hu phonetic history) /medial J, OJ <u>m/b</u> vs Hu <u>m</u> .

191. J keru, ClJ kuwe(ru) (?), OJ kuwu (sh.n.) 'to kick'

Table 191	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>kapáldöz(ik)</u> , <u>kepeszköd(ik)</u> , <u>kepesztet-</u> / re-
J	<u>ke .ru</u> flexive/frequ. verbs/ 'to struggle and kick; crawl, climb
ClJ	<u>kuw.e.ru</u> (?) up; kick about, wriggle, fidget (about)', <u>kepickél-</u> id.
OJ	<u>kuw.u</u> (said esp. of an insect that has fallen into some liquid and
Hu	<u>kap.á.l-</u> tries to get out).--Origin unknown.
"	<u>kep.e.sz-</u> Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to kick (about)'.--TESZ attempts
"	<u>kep.i.c-</u> to equate <u>kapáldöz(ik)</u> with <u>kapál-</u> 'to hoe'. The equation is
	unlikely. Cf. the twin-verb <u>rüg-kapál-</u> 'kick about, fling
	about (with one's legs)', and we know that in verbs of this nature both members
	have the same meaning (<u>rüg-</u> 'to kick'). TESZ admits that <u>kepeszköd(ik)</u> and its
	palatal vowel order companions are probably variants of <u>kapáldöz(ik)</u> (of velar or-
	der). The (complete) stem is therefore: <u>kapa-/kepe-/kepi-</u> . 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ
	<u>k</u> - vs Hu <u>k</u> - / 1st syll. OJ <u>u</u> vs Hu <u>a</u> , <u>e</u> /medial OJ <u>w</u> vs Hu <u>p</u> .

192. J ki, OJ kī, kō, kē 'tree', J, OJ ku- in J ku-da-mono, OJ ku-da-mono² 'fruit' (mono 'thing'; according to Ōno, da-na attrib. suffix).

Table 192

J	ki	Tv	-ki
"	ku-	"	kū. .a
OJ	kī	"	kū.j.e
"	kō	Yn	ku. .a
"	kē	Fi	ko. .i.vu
"	ku-	MdE	ki-
PSam	*-kā	MdM	ke-
Sk	-g	Ch	ku. .e
"	-gē	"	ku.g.i (?)
"	-ga	"	ko.g.i (?)
"	qā	"	-gō
"	qwa	U	*-kē
Km	-ga	"	*-ka
"	-yo	"	* ko.j. .wa
"	ko.j.ū	"	
Motor	-ge		
Yr	-ka		

SW 112: *-kā: *hulka 'silver fir (Abies alba)'; cf. Sk hōlg, hulga, Km nelga, nālyo, Motor narge 'spruce'.

FUV 61 (ex.): Hu nyir 'twig; birch'/? Ch nōr-gō 'twig; young tree', nōr-pō 'alder-tree' (pō = pu 'tree')/? Yr neeru 'reed; switch', nier-ka 'willow-tree' (-ka seems to be a suffix)/Tv ner-ki 'willow-tree'/Sk nar-ga 'willow-copse'/Km nar-ga 'willow-tree', nōr-ga 'willow-copse'/? Taigi ner-gē 'willow-tree'.-- U *nerkē, ? *norkē.

FUV 61 (ex.): Ch nul-go 'Siberian silver fir'/? Vty hul-pu id. (-pu 'tree')/? Yr halk /Sk hulgo /Km nelga id.-- U *hulka.

FUV 45 (ex.): Fi koivu 'birch'/MdE ki-lej, ki-leh, MdM ke-lu (cf. maf-lu 'apple-tree', mar 'apple')/Ch kue, kugi, kogi 'birch' (? derivative)/Tv kua, kūje /Yn kua /Sk qā, qwa /Km kojū.-- U *kojwa.

Comm.: 1. The meaning is 'tree' on both sides.--It is proposed here that a part from U *pu (PSam *pā) (s. entry ha 'leaf') there must have been in the U languages another word for 'tree', of the shape, say, *ku/kū. Cf. Ch nōr-pō 'alder-tree', nōr-gō 'twig; young tree' (FUV 61) which stand in the same line as Tv ner-ki 'willow-tree'. We have therefore good reason to think that in the adduced U word families all elements of the meaning 'tree' and containing k, g, y must be taken as obscured or clear reflexes of the proposed form U *ku/kū (PSam *kā). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs U *k-, PSam *k-/ 1st syll. J i, u, OJ i, o, e, u vs U *y /ā, PSam *ā. 3. Coming to U *kojwa: *j may be taken as a root expansion element ("Wurzelerweiterung"), without the customary stem-final vowel; *-wa can only be an addition to a formerly disyllabic stem, on the pattern of Fi ota-va 'salmon-net' vs U *woča; Fi sala-va 'brittle willow' vs FU *sala; Fi untu-va 'fine hair' vs U *wunčā.--This analysis would also mean that Fi koivu and its family go back to a shortest form *ko, simply meaning 'tree'. 4. Pröhle No. 30 compared J kuwa, OJ kupa 'mulberry-tree' to Fi koivu, etc. It is conceivable that kuwa, kupa contain the root ku-, seen above, plus an expansion element parallel to U *-wa.

193. J kiku, OJ kīku (y.) 'hear, listen to, learn of; understand; enquire, ask about, investigate', J kikoeru, OJ kikōyu (sh.n.) 'be heard, etc.'.

Table 193

J	ki.k.u	Hu	*hal-
"	ki.k.o eru	Fi	kuule
OJ	kī.k.u	Est	kuul. .ma
"	kī.k.ōyu	Lp	gūlā-
Fi	ko.k.e-	Md	kule-
Yr	hō-	Ch	kol.a-
"	ho.r. qā(?)	Zr, Vty	kyl-
Yn	ko. .a- (?)	Vg	qāil-
Sk	qo-	Os	kol-
"	ko. .a- (?)	"	hut-
"	ko.w.a-		
Km	ku-		
U	*ko.y.ō	FU (?)U	* kul.e

FUV 45: Fi koke- 'to experience; investigate, examine (traps, nets, etc.); try'/? Yr hoo- 'find; get', horma- 'investigate, try'/? Yn koa- 'search (for), find'/Sk qo-, koa-, kowa- 'produce, find'/Km ku- 'see, regard, observe; investigate; choose; find, get'.-- U *koyō.

FUV 109, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu hall- 'hear, learn by hearing, perceive, understand, listen (to); be informed; obey'; posited antecedent: *hal- ~ Fi kuule- 'hear, listen (to), Est kuulma 'hear, notice, perceive'/? Lp gullā- ~ gūlā- /Md kule- /Ch kola- /Zr, Vty kyl- /Vg qwaal-, qāāl- /Os kol-, hut- /? Yr yā 'ear'/? Yn kō, kū; /Tv kuāp /Sk ko, kō.

Km kū 'ear'/?--The Sam words belong here only if they originally contained medial l, which has become lost.-- FU (?)U *kule or *kūle.

Comm.: 1. I propose that the two word families on the U side belong together. Their essential formal difference lies in the second syllable of the reconstructed forms. If one posits, say, *ky(-) as the primitive root, then U *koyō can be taken as one development, while FU (?)U *kule, another. Yr horma- would sooner go with the latter. By this assumption the problem of Yr yā, etc. would also be ex-

plained. 2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to investigate; examine' ('hearing' is one aspect of such activity, s. the semantic field of kiku). 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs U *k- /1st syll. J i, OJ i vs U *o, FU (?U) *u /medial J, OJ k vs U *y (note: of Sk go- and Km ku- we cannot say whether they have ever been longer; even Yr ho-, Yn ko-, and Sk ko- are in doubt because of possible vowel lengthening under stress; Yr horma- does not seem to fit into the first group).

194. J kinu, OJ k¹inu 'silk, silk thread; material woven of silk thread; clothing'. Ōno: the original meaning of kinu was 'silk, as found on the cocoon'; with respect to clothing, kinu has tended to assume the meaning of 'a woven material which is soft to the touch and gives a peculiar sound when it rubs against similar material'; the meaning 'garment, clothing' is secondary.

Table 194

J	kin.u	Os	kēn.e	MUSz 57: Fi <u>kina</u> : <u>hāmāhākin kina</u> 'the thread which a spider produces' (<u>hāmāhākki</u> 'spider').
OJ	k ¹ in.u	"	ke ¹	Alanne 1968: Fi <u>kina</u> 'foam, froth' (note that the spider and the silkworm produce their "silk" from a froth-like body secretion).
Fi	kin.a	"	kon	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>könnyű</u> ~ OHu <u>kōñō</u> , der. <u>kini-del</u> , <u>kinyid</u> , dial. <u>kēnni</u> , <u>kinnē</u> , <u>kōnni</u> , <u>kenyid</u> , <u>kinyid</u> , etc. 'light (of weight), quick, easy; insignificant, small' ~ Vg <u>kinnä</u> , <u>kinnä</u> 'easy, light (of weight)' /Os <u>kene</u> , <u>kēnt</u> , <u>ke¹</u> , <u>ke¹</u> , <u>kon</u>
Hu	k ¹ in.v.ü	Ugric	*k ¹ n.3	
"	kin.idel			
"				
Vg	k ¹ in.ä			
"	k ¹ in.ä			

id.-- Ugric *k¹na.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'very light, flimsy (material)'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs Ugric *k-, ? Fi k- /1st syll. J i, OJ i vs Ugric *g, ? Fi i /medial J, OJ n vs Ugric *n, ? Fi n /final J, OJ -u vs Ugric *-a, ? Fi -a. 3. Cf. Räsänen 1955, 36: Hu könnyű 'light, easy' ~ Mo kūngen, gūngen, gūin id. ... 4. Cf. Ramstedt 1957 (1), 115: OTu -gyña dim. suffix: az-gyña 'very little; only a little', Uig -gyña, -gyja, Kaz, Kirg -gyña id., Yak kuña 'very small'.

195. J kiou, OJ k¹ipou (y.) 'compete, contend (against), rival, fight (for leadership)'.
Table 195

J	ki.o.u	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>vív</u> - 'vie (with), fight (a duel), beleaguer; be engaged in fencing', <u>vívás</u> , <u>viadal</u> 'a fight, a duel', <u>vívó</u>
OJ	k ¹ ip.o.p.u	'fighter; dueller'.--Origin unknown.
Hu	vív-	Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>k</u> -
"	vív.ás	vs Hu <u>v</u> - (proposed two-way development from */ <u>kw</u> /, s. Phonolo-
"	vív.ó	gy) / 1st syll. J <u>i</u> , OJ <u>i</u> vs Hu <u>i</u> (< <u>i</u> , since the word is of
"	vi.a.dal	velar order) / medial J <u>ö</u> , OJ <u>p</u> vs Hu <u>v</u> , <u>ö</u> .

196. J kirau, OJ k¹irapu (y.) 'hate, detest, dislike'. Ōno: kirapa-si 'odious, abominable, repugnant, detestable'.
Table 196

J	kir.a u	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>gyűlöl</u> ~ OHu <u>gyilöl</u> 'to hate, detest'.--Origin unknown.
OJ	k ¹ ir.apu	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'hate; to hate'. 2.: initial J, OJ
U	kir.apasi	<u>k</u> - vs Hu <u>gy</u> - (note: while not frequently, Hu <u>gy</u> is known to
Hu	gy ¹ ül.öl-	have come from <u>g</u> , s. TESZ: <u>mög</u> , etc.; <u>g</u> is frequently the
"	gy ¹ ül.öl-	voiced development of <u>k</u> , s. Györke 1934, 59) /1st syll. J <u>i</u> , OJ
		<u>i</u> vs Hu <u>ü</u> , <u>i</u> (of these, <u>i</u> is considered to be older) /medial
		J, OJ <u>r</u> vs Hu <u>l</u> .

197. J kiri, OJ k¹iri 'fog, haze, mist'.
Table 197

J	k ¹ ir.i	Gulya 1966: OsE <u>kələ</u> 'morning dew'.
OJ	k ¹ ir.i	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'fog' (its precipitation can become
OsE	k ¹ el.ə	'dew'). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>k</u> - vs OsE <u>k</u> - /1st syll. J <u>i</u> , OJ <u>i</u>
		vs OsE <u>ə</u> /medial J, OJ <u>r</u> vs OsE <u>l</u> /final J, OJ <u>-i</u> vs OsE <u>-ə</u> .

198. J kiru, OJ k¹iru (k.i.) 'put on, wear (clothes)', J kiseru, OJ k¹isu (sh.n.)
Table 198

J	ki.r.u	OsE	kir-	~ <u>k¹esu</u> (y.) '(Vt) to dress, clothe, let/make wear'.--OJ root form: <u>k¹</u> .
"	ki.s.eru	PSam	* <u>ker</u> -	Gulya 1966: OsE <u>kir</u> - 'put on (clothes)'.
OJ	k ¹ ir.u	or	* <u>ker.ə</u> -	SW 68: * <u>ker</u> - ~ * <u>kere</u> - 'put on, wear (clothes)';
"	k ¹ is.s.u	Sk	<u>k¹ir.ä</u>	cf. Tv <u>šerädi</u> id., Sk <u>ser</u> - ~ <u>ser-go</u> 'go into'.
"	k ¹ is.s.u	Yr	<u>k¹ir.ä</u>	Lehtisalo 1936, 136: Sk <u>kyrri</u> 'outer garment
"	ki-			

of men and women' (it is made of reindeer skin with the hair turned outward);
Yr körri, kürri 'women's coat'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'put on/wear clothes'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs k- in all forms on the U side /1st syll. J i, OJ i, e vs OsE i, PSam *e /medial J, OJ r (in the intr. forms) vs OsE r, PSam *r. 3. From the opposition kiru: kibu it is plain that the root form is k(-).

199. J kisou, Ōno: kisopu (y.) 'vie, contend, struggle, fight, compete (with)'.

Table	199				
J	kis.o u	? Fi	kis.a	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>küzd-</u> < OHu <u>küszöd(ik)</u>	'vie, contend, fight, struggle (against), exert oneself assiduously (for a purpose or against something)', <u>küszköd(ik)</u> 'fight, struggle, take pains (over something)' ~ Vg <u>kas-</u> , <u>käsi-</u> 'compete, vie' / Os <u>kästä</u> 'compete, do something for the sake of a wager; race', <u>käsem</u> 'to race' / ? Fi <u>kisa</u> 'rut; play; clamour', Est <u>kisa</u> 'clamour, shouting, quarrel' / ? Lp <u>giäke</u> 'brawl' -- Ugric (?FU) * <u>kiä</u> .
Ō.	kis.opu	? Est	kis.a		
Hu	küz. d-	? Lp	giäke		
"	küszöd-				
Vg	kas-	Ugric	* <u>kiä</u> .ä		
"	käs.i-	- (?FU)	- - -		
Os	käs. tä	? Hu	käs.a		
"	käs.äm	? OHu	kis.a		

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'compete; struggle'.
2. Phon.: initial J, Ō. k- vs Ugric (?FU) *k- /1st syll. J, Ō. i vs Ugric (?FU) *i /medial J s, Ō. s (= ts) vs Ugric (?FU) *s. 3. The element -pu on the J side is a frequ. verb formant. 4. Cf. TESZ: Hu késa < OHu kisa (noun) 'fight, struggle; suffering; quarrel, dispute'.--Origin uncertain.--The grouping of késa ~ kisa with küzd- is encumbered by the difference in vowel order.---To which one might add that the importance of vowel order difference is probably being overplayed here and in many other cases. Where does késa ~ kisa belong if not here?

200. J kitsune, OJ kiftune ~ kutune 'fox'. Ōno: kitune ~ kitu.

Table	200				
J	kita.u.ne	FUV 98, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>hölgy</u> < OHu <u>högy</u>	'ermine; ermine pelt; (noble) woman; bride, wife' ~ Vg <u>khal'</u> : <u>khal'</u> <u>sólis</u> 'female ermine', <u>kal'</u> , <u>käl'</u> , <u>kaj</u> 'female (of small, four-legged animal), e.g., <u>kal'sóser</u> 'female/doe hare' / Os <u>kej</u> , <u>kaj</u> , <u>köjeh</u>		
OJ	kift.u.ne				
"	kut.u.ne				
"	kit.u				
Hu	hölgy				
"	högy				
Vg	khal'				
"					
Os	kej				
Lp	gač. .fe				
FU	*kač. .wa				
or	*kač. .wä				

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'female (of sable, fox, wolverine, marten, ermine, and other, similar animals)'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs FU *k- /1st syll. J i, OJ i, u vs FU *a /medial J ts, OJ t vs FU *š /final of the stem, J, OJ u vs FU *a or *ä. 3. The elements J, OJ -ne, LpN -fe, FU *-wa / -wä are additional to an (originally) disyllabic stem.

201. J kiyo-i, OJ kiyo-si 'clean, clear, pure, innocent, righteous'. In OJ,

Table	201				
J	kiy.o. i				
"	kiy.o.meru				
"	kiy.o.maru				
OJ	kiy.o.si				
"	kiy.o.mu				
Ō.	kiy.o.maru				
"	kiy.o.maparu				
Hu	ki. e.s				
"	kij.e.s				

TESZ (ex.): Hu kies < OHu, dial. kijes 'pleasant, delightful, charming, beautiful, picturesque' (said of the countryside, of an area left in its clean, natural state), kietlen ~ kijetlen 'desert, desert-like tract of land, wilderness; dreary, barren, desolate, deserted' / the suffix complex -tlen / -telen / -talan is of privative function.---Origin uncertain.
Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'pure; pleasant to look at'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs Hu k- /1st syll. J i, OJ i vs Hu i / medial J, OJ y vs Hu ö, i / final of the primary stem, J o, OJ ö vs Hu e (open).---Since OJ i and y are known to have alternated (i at least dial.) with velar vowels, one could assume that kiyo- was of velar vowel order. Since we know kies, it is of palatal order. Vowel order change?

202. J kizu, Ūno: kizu '(a) cut, gash, bruise, wound, scar'; OJ kida '(a) cut, notch, nick', ? OJ kida 'gill(s)', J kizamu, OJ kizamu (y.) 'cut, carve, notch', J kezuru, OJ keduru (y.) 'cut into the surface (not deeply), cut down little by little, whittle; card/comb (wool)', ? J kajiru 'gnaw, nibble at, bite at'.
 Table 202 TESZ (ex.): Hu kez- 'to begin, make the first move of an action; begin to cut; cut (a loaf, etc.), start on, break into (some material to be used up)'.--Origin unknown.
 J, ClJ kiz.u Cf. literary and dial. Hu ki-kez- 'gnaw, nibble at (as mice and rats do), gash the skin (as spurs wound the flanks of a horse; ki 'out' is a verbal prefix).
 J, OJ kiz.a.mu Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'cut/break/wound the surface',
 J kez.u.ru hence 'make a start'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs Hu k- /1st
 OJ ked.u.ru syll. J i, OJ i, J e, OJ e, ? J a vs Hu e (open) /medial J,
 ? OJ kid.a Cf. Ramstedt 1957 (I), 46: Tu Uig gydy 'boundary, edge', Kaz gyju, Osm gyjy, Chuv
 ? J kaj.i.ru Miller 1975, 36: Mo kada- 'drive in, insert', qaja- 'bite, gnaw, nibble'... ? J
 Hu kez. .d- kajiru.

203. J ko, OJ ko 'child, offspring; the young of animals', OJ -ko: pi-ko 'man, male, boy, grandchild' (pi 'descendant'), ko, ko as an endearing term/dim. suffix, e.g., Hana-ko 'little flower', Haru-ko 'little springtime', Michi-ko 'little road' (oddly enough, these are girls' names), OJ mi-ko 'honourable man' (in Mimi-nō-Mikō 'Prince of Mimi', Philippi 1968, 520), se-ko 'endearing term for husband' (sometimes for 'wife'), o-ki-na 'old man' (where ki is a variant of ko, o- is likely an honorific, -na means 'person'), Izana-gi ~ Izana-ki 'the male who invites' (a term from J mythology), kamu-ro-ki 'respectful appellation of a male god' (kamu 'god', ro is an attr. marker).

Table 203 TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu him 'male of beasts, birds, etc.; male (adj.)', OHu ? Himudi (place-name) ~ Vg
 J ko um, khom, kom 'human being; man', kim 'husband' /
 OJ ko SK ku, kop, kōm, kume, kum 'human being'.
 " ki SK ku, kop, kōm, kume, kum 'human being'.
 ? J ki.mi Fi kol.ra (?) --Before its final vowel became lost, him
 ? OJ ki.mi Est ko.e (?) was of mixed vowel order; its i has proba-
 Hu hi.m Yr yo.ro bly come from *i < *o.--This word family pre-
 Vg yu.m Yn ku.ra sumably derives from a U form such as *koje
 " ko.m " ku.ḏa ('human being, man') and a denom. nom. form-
 Sk ku.p Tv ku.ru ant *-m.-- U *koj(e)-m.--The following
 " ku.m Km ko.ra Vg words raise some problem: qaim 'male of
 " ko.m U -- *ko.j(e)-ra beasts', vājim, khōjēm 'male bird', voiam :
 U -- *ko.j(e)-m. Hu hū.s 3āz 'drake of the wild duck'; in consid-
 Hu he.re Vg yo.j eration of their preserved medial i, one
 Vg ya.r " yu.j could think that they have arisen from voj,
 " ka.r Os yo.ā yu.j 'male of animals'--in the separate life
 " " ku of this language.--For cognates of Hu him, s.

of animals; reindeer-ox; stallion'/Os yo.j MSZFE (ex.): here 'testicle; drone; idler',
 male of animals'/Zr ki.r herél- 'to castrate' ~ Vg yar, kēr 'male
 male of animals'/Fi ko.ra vor, kar 'reindeer-ox', kār 'stallion, ox,
koer 'dog'//Yr yo.ro koira 'dog', koiras 'male of animals', Est
 milt', yo.ra id.; 'penis of man or of male animal'/Yn ku.ḏa, kura 'uncastrated
 reindeer'/Tv kuru id./Km ko.ra 'ox, male of animals'.--Originally, Hu here was of
 back vowel order, but in the Pfu era it changed to front vowel order; this is
 assumed to have happened under the influence of an assumed medial *-j which has
 since disappeared like in all other U languages, except Fi.--The final -e of here
 is either a possessive suffix (3rd sg) or a dim. suffix.--This word family proba-
 bly derives from a U base, such as *koje 'human being, man' and a denom. nom.
 formant *r.-- U *koje has the following reflexes: Vg voj, yu.j 'male of animals,
 male'/Os yo.i 'man, husband', ku 'man, male, husband' / Ip ki.ji, ku.ji 'husband'//Yr
ya.jjuppa 'married (of women)'.-- U *koj(e)-ra.

Comm.: 1. In connection with the other assumed cognate of Hu him, i.e., hūsz
 'twenty' (semantically: all fingers and toes of a man equal a man in counting),
 MSZFE again reconstructs U *koje, and relevantly gives, among others, the follow-

ing data: Hu hú- (as the base of húsz), Vg ko- in voj, yuj (as above) /Os ku 'man, etc.', ko 'man, husband'. -- On the J side, the word OJ kó/ki certainly means 'man; male'. The other meanings are likely secondary. Thus, the p.m.f.b.s. is: 'man; male; male child'. 2. Regarding the derivation of Hu him and its cognates, I wonder. MSZFE and other works evidently desired to accommodate in the reconstructed form all those adduced Vg, Os, Lp, and Yr words which contain i, and all supposed cognates of Hu him, here, and húsz. However, one must ask: is it necessary to posit *koj(e)-m₃ for him and its immediate cognates when in these words there is no indication of the syllable *j(e)? The length of i in him is no proof of a supposedly lost *j(e), for the lengthening of vowels in Hu words of (C)VC shape is usually compensatory for the loss of the formerly obligatory final vowel; also, it is conceded by MSZFE that in the Vg forms qaim, vájim, etc. the presence of -j- is probably the result of separate development within Vg; further, as regards Hu here, Vg vár, kár, etc., only Fi i (and ? Est e) could be assumed to have come from U *j(e), but it could also be inetymological. -- Some support for the form *koje might be seen in Vg voj, yuj, Os voj, Lp kuij, and Yr vájupá. But side by side with Os voj exist the forms ku and ko, while MSZFE states that the base of Hu húsz is hú- in which the length of the vowel is again compensatory (cf. husza-dik '20th'). Thus, it should be fairly clear that the reconstructed element U *j(e) is not primary. This implies that in the forms U *koj(e)-m₃ and *koj(e)-ra only *ko is primary. 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs U *k- /J o, OJ ó, i vs U *o. 4. Cf. J kimi, OJ kimi 'leader; master; lord' and Hu him, Vg yum, kom, Sk kom, etc. I propose that the primary meaning of kimi was 'man; male'. Since its antonym omi 'retainer' contrasts with it structurally (s. Óno 1974, omi), chances are that the part ki- is identical with ki/kó seen above. -- Óno does not explain the element -m₃ in detail. I suggest that the U denom. formant *-m₃, seen above, and its reflexes in Hu him, Vg, Sk kom, etc. could be linked with it. 5. In OHu and Hu family names and Christian names one frequently encounters the element -kó/-kő or its variants, evidently in the sense 'young/little, i.e., the son/daughter of ...'. E.g., Gyur-kó, Györ-ke, Gyur-ka 'young George', Pal-kó 'young Paul', Ben-kő 'young Benedict', Ani-kő 'young Ann', Ildi-kő 'young Hilda'. The same element functions as a dim. formant of common nouns, e.g., házi-kő 'little house' (ház 'house'), tus-kő 'stump' (tusa id.), ládi-kő 'little box' (láda 'box'). D. Bartha (1958, 115) emphasizes that the dim. formant -kó/-kő was used in OHu mainly in connection with personal names. This fact provides reason to think that this formant is somehow linkable to J ko, OJ kó/-ki (note: in Hu, all o and most ó in final position automatically become long).

204. J <u>kobotsu</u> , <u>kowasu</u> , OJ <u>kopotu</u> (y.) 'break, smash, destroy, demolish', J <u>kobosu</u> , OJ <u>kobosu</u> (y.) 'spill, shed (of liquids), drop', J <u>koboreru</u> 'get spilt/scattered/nicked/chipped/broken', J <u>kowareru</u> , OJ <u>kuyu</u> (sh.n.) 'crumble, collapse, be destroyed, worsened (e.g., by weather)'. (- <u>yu</u> is an OJ passive verb formant.)			
Table 204			
J	kob.o.tsu	Hu	kop.o.sz
"	kob.o.su	"	kap.a.cc
"	kow.a.su	"	kop.á.r
"	kob.o.reru	"	kop.á.ly
"	kow.a.reru	"	kop.á.l
OJ	kop.o.tu	"	kup.á.l
"	kob.o.su	"	kov.a.szt-
"	kuy.u	"	kov.a.d-
Hu	kob.o.z-	"	kop-
"	kop.a.sz		
"	kup.a.sz		

TESZ: kopál~kupál 'remove, break the outer skin (of walnut, chestnut)', kovaszt-id., kovad 'the skin comes loose (from the inner part of fruit, potatoes)'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'be knocked/smashed', hence 'become worn/destroyed' (Hu koboz-, in the sense 'confiscate (with a view to destroying)' is no doubt associated with the memory of the old form of punishment which required that the condemned person's dwelling and belongings be destroyed). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs Hu k- (irregular before a velar vowel)/ 1st syll. J o, OJ o, u vs Hu o, u, a/medial J b, w, OJ p, b vs Hu b, p, v.

205. J, OJ <u>kobu</u> 'wen, swelling, hump, bump (on the body)'			
Table 205			
J, OJ	kob.u	Fi	kup.i.nas
Fi	kup. .la	"	kup.i.no
"	ku .u.la	"	?kub.i.no
Lp	gob. .le	Lp	gob. .pan
"	gob. .lo	Vg	qāp.e.n
Ch	kōw.ō.l	"	hāp.e.n
"	kuw.ō.l	FU	*kup.i.na
Os	kōm. .læn	- - - - -	- - - - -
"	hom.ā.l	Hu	kup.o.lag
Hu	hup.o.lag	- - - - -	- - - - -

FUV 108 (ex.): Fi kupla, kuula, kuulo 'bubble, bladder; bump; (fish-)sound'/Lp inari goble 'roe of the perch', goblo 'lung'/Ch kōwōl, kuwōl 'water bubble'/Os kōmīæn '(fish-)sound', hōmēl 'bladder, blister; corn (on the toe)'/Hu hupolyag 'bladder'.--(Onomatopoeic?)

FUV 108: Fi kupinas '(fish-)sound', kupino (kubino ?)/Lp inari gobpan (?< Fi)/Vg qāāpen, hāāpen id.--FU *kupina.

TESZ (ex.): Hu hupolyag ~dial. kupolag, hupo-lag 'swelling (on the body), tumor, blister, pimple, vesicle, cyst'.--This word is of de-

bated origin; the ending -l(y)ag is a noun formant.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'swelling on or in the body'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs FU *k- /1st syll. J. OJ o vs FU *u /medial J, OJ b vs FU *p.--Hu dial. kupo-lag shows an irregular k- (before a velar vowel it should have turned to h-).

206. J kogeru, Ōno: kogu (sh.n.) 'be/become scorched/charred/burned', J kogareru 'be deeply in love, languish for (e.g., a woman)', OJ kogaru (sh.n.) id.; 'to smolder; get sooty', J kogasu, Ōno: kogasu (y.) 'burn, scorch, char, singe'.

Table 206			
J	kog.e.ru	? Yr	ku .u-
"	kog.a.reru	"	ku .u.by
"	kog.a.su	U	*kej.e-
Ō.	kog.u	Hu	kōv.e.sz-
"	kog.a.su	"	kōv.e.d-
OJ	kog.a.ru	? Lp	kēh. .te-
Est	ke .e-	"	kip. .te-
"	ke .e.ta-	FU (?U)	*kej.e -
Fi	ke .i.tā-	"	kip. .te-
Ch	kū .ā-	? Os	ke.ā.r-
"	kūj.a-	"	kōy.ā.r-
"	kūj.ū.k te-	"	kaw.ā.r-

FUV 44 (ex.): Est kee- '(Vi) boil', keeta- '(Vt) boil', Fi keittä-/Ch kūā-, kūja- '(Vi) boil, ripen', kūkte-, kūjūkte- '(Vt) boil, ripen'///? Yr kuu- '(Vi) ripen (of berries)', kuuby 'mellow cloudberry'.--U *keje-.

TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu köveszt- ~dial. küjeszt- '(Vt) cook, boil (slightly), scald', köved- 'become (slightly) cooked/boiled', Ch kūām, kūjam 'come to boil, get ripe/cooked/baked', Fi keittä- 'prepare by boiling', Est kee- '(Vi) 'boil, cook, be hot; to glow, have fever'/? Lp kēhte-, kipte- '(Vt) boil, cook'///? Yr kuu- '(Vi) ripen'.--FU (?U) *keje-.--In köveszt-,

v is a hiatus-filler in place of original *j. The Lp word belongs here only if *j has been lost in it, and if -hte/-pte is a verb formant.

Ganschow 1965, 26: Os Tremjagan ke.ā.r-, (other dial.) kōy.r-, kaw.r- '(Vi) cook'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'become soft/ripe through heat'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs FU, U *k-, ? Os k-/1st syll. J o, OJ ō vs FU, U *e, ? Os e, ō, a /medial J, OJ g vs FU, U *j, ? Os γ, w (s. Lakó 1968, 63: PFU *-k-, 72: PFU *-j-, *-w-, 79: PFU *-ŋ-). 3. Cf. Ramstedt 1957 (I), 147: Tu kōjā, kōā '(char)coal; soot', Mo kōge, Khalkha ko, Kalmuck kō id., Kor kūb 'roast, broil'. 4. Cf. Räsänen, Virittäjä 1947, 171: Tu Uig kōn, kōj 'burn'.

207. J kogoru, OJ kōgōru (y.) '(Vi) congeal, freeze', OJ kōru (y.) id.; 'coagulate, curdle, clot', J kogoraseru, kogoraseru 'make freeze, etc.', J kogorern, OJ kogovu (sh.n.) 'become stiff/numb (of body parts)', OJ kōvu (sh.n.) id.; Ōno: kōgō-si (cognate with the above) 'frozen stiff; hard, numb from cold; solidified, coagulated; rugged, sheer, grim'.

Table 207			
J	ko.go.ru	Fi	ki.r si
"	ko.go. eru	"	ki.r te-
"	ko.go.rasu	Est	ki.r s
OJ	kō.gō.ru	? Ch	kē.r t
"	kō.ru	? Os	kā.r tēh
"	ko.go.yu	FU	*ki.r te
"	kō.yu	Os	ki.r
"	kō.gō.si	"	ki.r hāmt-
Hu	gé.ráz-	"	kā.r hē
"	kō.r med-	"	kā.r hē
"	kō.r meszt-	"	kā.r hē

TESZ (ex.): Hu géráz(ik) 'water freezes over (slightly)'.--Origin unknown.

TESZ (ex.): Hu körmed- '(earth, mud) freezes in a thin layer; get cracked/chapped from frost', körmeszt- 'cause to freeze (in a thin layer)'.--These words are derivatives. Their base is uncertain. Perhaps it has to do with Hu kérég 'shell, bark, rind, husk'.--The element m may be the same noun formant as is also found in alom 'litter, bedding' (al 'bottom, under-side'); cf. dermed- 'grow numb (with cold),

grow stiff, harden; congeal'.

Comm.: 1. Hu kérég is unlikely in the present context (s. entry kara). 2. P.b. m.f.b.s.: 'freeze (not heavily)'. 3. A quick morpheme analysis of the OJ words in question shows that the root element is kő (seen plainly in the minimal pair kő-ru : kő-yu, where -yu is the OJ (medio-)passive verb formant); in the other forms on the J side, a reduplication of the root is obvious. Thus, we have two stems: kőru and kőyu (to the second, no U counterpart is proposed). 4. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs Hu g-, k-, Os k-, ?FU *k- /1st syll. J o, OJ o, ő vs Hu é, ö, Os i, ü, ?FU *i /medial J, OJ r vs r in all forms on the U side. 5. Cf. FUV 105: Fi kirsi~kirte 'frost in the ground', Est kirs 'ice layer, ice deep down in moist places', Liv kift 'thin ice which does not bear'/? Ch kart 'ice-crust on the snow'/Os Trem-jugan karteh 'thin crust on the snow', Oss kaertem].-- FU *kirte.---Since the reflexes of the FU (assumed) element *te are frequently encountered in nouns on the U side, and because the cluster *rt is suspect of having come about through the loss of a former intervening vowel, I suggest that the (incomplete) primary stem of FU *kirte was *kir- 'freeze'; cf. Hu ger-áz-, kör-med-; cf. Ganschow 1965, 84: Os kiränt- '(Vi) freeze slightly', kir 'very thin crust of ice on the snow', kärñe, kärñi 'crust of ice'. 6. Cf. SKES (ex.): Fi kuura 'hoar(-frost), white frost' = ?Lpl kärre 'hoar, white frost, rime'/? Vty ger/Zr gier 'hoar(-frost)'/? Sk küra, koro id. 7. Cf. Poppe 1954, 295: Mo kör- 'cool off, freeze', köldü- 'become ice, freeze': kösi- 'to chill, congeal, stiffen'; küiten < * küyiten 'cold'. ---Note the similarity between OJ köru and Mo kör-; even more striking is the congruence of the roots: Mo kö-, OJ kő-. 8. Cf. Benzing 1956, 125: Tg Lam gel- 'it is cold', gel.si 'cold', Üdehe gili.hi id. 9. Cf. Räsänen 1955, 31: Fi kirsi, etc. vs Tu and Mo forms.

208. J komu, Ōno: komu (y.) 'be crowded, packed, jammed', J komeru, Ōno: kōmu (sh.n.) 'include, pack into, stuff, load (e.g., a gun, close up)', J komoru, OJ komoru (y.) 'shut oneself up, be confined (in), be implied/comprised/filled (with)'

Table	208	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>gubacs</u> ~ <u>guba</u> 'oak-apple, gall; cocoon'.---Probably onomatopoeic. (-cs is a dim. formant.)
J	kom.u	
"	kom.eru	TESZ: <u>gubó</u> id.; 'capsule' (e.g., poppy-head) (-ó contains an absorbed dim. formant).
"	kom.oru	
OJ	kōm.u	TESZ: <u>gubbad</u> ~ <u>gubbaszt-</u> 'huddle, crouch, pull oneself together', <u>kuppaszok(ik)</u> id. (reflexive verbs; <u>bb</u> , <u>pp</u> are geminates).
Hu	gub.a	TESZ: <u>gubancos</u> ~ <u>gobancos</u> ~ <u>gabancos</u> 'matted, tufted' (wool, etc.).
"	gub.acs	TESZ: <u>gumó</u> ~ <u>gomó</u> ~ <u>gömő</u> 'tuber, protuberance, bulb, knot, knob'.
"	gub.ó	TESZ: <u>gomb</u> 'button, knob, stud, boss (as a decoration on an object), knot, rounded head of an object, pommel (of the hilt of a sword)'.
"	gubbad-	
"	kuppasz-	
"	güb	TESZ: <u>gömb</u> 'ball, orb, sphere'.
"	gom.olyít-	TESZ: <u>göb</u> 'knot, nodule, tubercle'.
		TESZ: <u>gomolyít</u> ~ <u>gombolyít</u> 'wind (twine, etc.) into a ball'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to pack/stuff/crowd (into)'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs Hu g-, k- /1st syll. J o, OJ o, ő vs Hu u, ü /medial J, OJ m vs Hu m, b, p. 3. Cf. Ramstedt 1957 (I), 47: Kor kam- 'tie/wrap round, envelope, bind, cover', Tg kam-dan 'puttee(s)', Mo gama-, Buriat yama- 'wrap round', Tu gama- 'wrap in/round, surround; to case'.

209. J korasu~korashimeru, OJ kōru, kōrópu (y.), Ōno: korasu (y.) 'rebuke, scold, chastise, discipline, correct, punish, give a person a lesson', J koriru, OJ kōru (sh.n.) 'learn by experience, learn to one's sorrow'.

Table	209	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>korhol</u> ~dial. <u>kurhol-</u> 'rebuke, scold, chide'.
J	kor.asu	-- Onomatopoeic?
"	kor.ashimeru	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to rebuke; to discipline'. 2.
"	kor.iru	Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>k-</u> vs Hu <u>k-</u> (irregular before a velar vowel) / 1st syll. J <u>o</u> , OJ <u>ő</u> vs Hu <u>u</u> , <u>ü</u> /medial J, OJ <u>r</u> vs
OJ	kōr.u	Hu <u>r</u> . 3. Cf. the position of OJ <u>pu</u> vs Hu <u>ho/hu</u> , and see the treatment of OJ <u>pu</u> vs U <u>*p</u> in the section Morphology.
"	kōr.őpu	
Hu	kor. hol-	
"	kur. hol-	

210. OJ -kōró: mō-kōró 'likeness, similarity'. Ōno: mō- = ma- 'genuine, true'; -kōró = ? -kara, as ono-zu-kara 'of itself', mi-zu-kara 'oneself'. Gulya 1966: OsE kóras 'shape, form, outward appearance', kórasəw 'similar; of ...

Table 210 color/appearance'.

OJ	-kōr.ō	Reference to entry <u>kara</u> 'shell', <u>karada</u> 'body', esp. to FUV 34: Lp <u>gorod</u> 'body, esp. of the carcass of a slaughtered animal'/Vg <u>qwar</u> 'form, figure'/Os <u>kōr</u> , <u>hōr</u> ///? Yr <u>har-</u> reflexive pronoun/Yn <u>keče</u> , <u>kere</u> /-- U <u>*kura</u> .
OsE	kōr.as	
"	kōr.asəw	
? U	*kur.ə	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'body, figure', hence 'similarity'

(I take OsE kōras to be cognate with the U word family above). 2. Phon.: initial OJ k- vs U *k- /1st syll. OJ ō (usually alternating with OJ a) vs U *u /medial OJ r vs U *r/ cf. final OJ -ō and stem-final vowel OsE a. 3. In kōrasəw, -səw is a suffix complex. 4. Lehtisalo 1936, 192 gives LpN guoros, LpL kuōros 'empty' where -s is a FU denom. nom. suffix. There is a fair chance that this word is related to Lp gorod above; since J kara 'shell' is identical in shape with J kara 'empty', and is quite close to it semantically, I propose to link the latter word, too, with the words adduced in this comparison.

211. J korobu, korogaru 'tumble, roll over', korogasu 'to reel, thread, wind, spin', kuru, Ōno: kuru (y.) id., J guru-guru-to (adv.) = OJ kuru-kuru-to 'round and round', OJ kuru 'a hinge', Ōno: kurubeku (y.) 'turn/spin round and round', kurumeku (y.) id.

Table 211			FUV 95: LpK <u>gāgā</u> 'fall (repeatedly); rain strongly', <u>gāgāda</u> 'to fall, tumble'///? Vg <u>keeril-</u> 'tumble'/Os <u>kōrag-</u> 'to fall, tumble down'///-- FU <u>*kerke-</u> .
J	kor.o.bu	Hu	gur.i.t-
"	kor.o.garu	"	gur.u.l-
"	kor.o.gasu	"	gur.dul-
"	gur.u-	"	gur.o.g-
OJ	kur.u	"	gur.u.ga
"	.....	"	gur.i.ga
Lp	gār. gā	"	gōr. dūl-
"	gār. gādā	"	.....
? Vg	kēr.i.l-		
? Os	kōr.ə.g-		
FU	*ker. ke-		

Comm.: 1. The adduced words are probably onomatopoeic, but not negligible.--P.b.m.f. b.s.: 'roll; tumble'. 2. Phon.: initial J k-, g-, OJ k- vs FU *k-, Hu g- /1st syll. J o, u, OJ u vs FU *e, Hu u, ö /medial J, OJ r vs FU *r, Hu r. 3. The element FU *-ke/Hu -ga is paralleled, in the same position, by the verb formant g on the J side.--FU *-ke is additional to a formerly disyllabic stem.

212. J kōru, OJ kōporu (y.) '(Vi) freeze, congeal; a thin layer of ice forms on the surface of the water', Ōno: OJ kōwōrd-kōwōrd an onomatopoeic word, used in connection with 'curdling'.

Table 212		TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>gēmbērēd(ik)</u> ~ OHu, dial. <u>gōmböröd(ik)</u> , <u>gībērēd(ik)</u> , <u>gōböröd(ik)</u> , <u>gēmbērēg-</u> 'become stiff/hard from cold', <u>gēmbērīt-</u> ~ dial. <u>gībērīt-</u> , <u>gōbörīt-</u> 'benumb/stiffen with cold; to chill'.
J	kō . . ru	
OJ	kōp.o.ru	
? OJ	kōw.ō.rō	
Hu	gēm.ē.rēd-	Szücs 1957, 59: <u>gōmbörödōd</u> <u>deres réti talaj</u> 'hardening (from cold) hoar-frosted meadow earth'.
"	gīb.ē.rēd-	
"	gōb.ō.rōd-	Comm.: 1. I agree with TESZ that this word family is of onomatopoeic origin.--P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'harden/stiffen (with cold)'.
"	gōm.ō.rōd-	2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>k-</u> vs Hu <u>g-</u> /1st syll. J <u>o</u> , OJ <u>ō</u> vs Hu <u>é</u> , <u>ö</u> , <u>i</u> / medial J <u>g</u> , OJ <u>p</u> , ? <u>w</u> vs Hu <u>b</u> , <u>m</u> (note: in the cluster <u>mb</u> , <u>b</u> is taken as the primary sound to which a homorganic glide has been added). 3. Cf. the verb formants <u>r</u> in J and Hu.
"		

213. J koshi, OJ kōsi 'the waist, the small of the back; loins; hip or pelvic region; haunch'.

Table 213		MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>has</u> 'belly, abdomen, tummy' ? ~ Zr <u>gač</u> , <u>gač</u> 'lying on one's back'/Vty <u>gač</u> , <u>gač</u> in <u>g. killi-ni</u> 'lie on the back'-- The original meaning of the Zr and Vty words in question may have been 'back'. The equation is encumbered by the semantic difference between 'belly' and 'back'.
J	kosh.i	
OJ	kōs.i	
Hu	has	
Zr	gač	
"	gač	
Vty	gač	Comm. 1. Inasmuch as the Hu, Zr, and Vty words in question can be taken to mean 'the middle of the body' (generally), they may be useful here. Cf. J <u>koshi-ki</u> 'hub of a wheel' (<u>ki</u> 'wood'), OJ <u>kōsi</u> 'middle of the body', <u>kōsi-boso-bati</u> 'digger wasp' (lit.: '(its)
"	gač	

waist (is) thin wasp'). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs Hu h-, Zr, Vty g- /1st syll. J o, OJ č vs Hu, Zr, Vty a /medial J sh, OJ s (= ts) vs Hu s, Zr tš, č, Vty č, š (PFU *č or *k or *č, s. Lakó 1968, 73, 74).

214. J kosu-i, ClJ kosu-si 'cunning, sly, crafty; niggardly'. ? OJ ukasi 'crafty' ?< *ukasu 'to lie, deceive, pretend' (Omodaka).

Table 214 SW 66: *ketš 'slyness, craftiness, cunningness'; cf Yr kjēt 'sly' J kosu.i /Sk qeti, keti /Km kučur id. ClJ kosu.si Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'sly, crafty' 2. Taking u- of OJ ? OJ ukas.i ukasi as a prothetic vowel --- initial J, ClJ, OJ k- vs PSam *k- / 1st syll. J, ClJ o, OJ a vs PSam *e /medial J, ClJ s, OJ s (= ts) vs PSam *t /final of the stem, J, ClJ u, OJ i vs PSam *3.

215. J koto 'matter, fact, an affair; (some)thing, event', koto-ba 'word(s)' (-ba < ha 'leaf'), OJ kōtō 'word(s); speech, speaking; gossip; matter, fact, affair, thing; an unusual/different thing'. ? J koto, OJ kōtō 'Japanese harp; koto'.

Table 215 FUV 45 (ex.): Fi kieli 'tongue, speech, language; string, chord' /Md kel id. // ? Ch kel, köl, Ch Malmýž kil 'string, chord' (Tu loanword?) /Zr, Vty kyl 'tongue, language, speech, word' // ? Vg kelä 'word, report' /Os köl, ket 'word, speech; news' // Yr sie 'tongue' /Tv sieja /Yn siotō, sioro /Sk šä, sä /Km šeka /Motor kašte (derivative?) /Taigi kušte, kjaštja (= kästä?) / -- U *kele. Zr, Vty kyl Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'word; speech' (note: it ? Vg kel.ä U *kel.e is said of the J harp that through its sounds the gods spoke to the people). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs

U *k- / 1st syll. J o, OJ č vs U *e / medial J, OJ t vs U *l (for this, cf. entry kata 'half; single') /final J -o, OJ -č vs U *e.

216. J kou, OJ kōpu (y.) 'ask, beg, pray (for), want, desire, demand (e.g., from the gods)', J koe, OJ kōwe 'voice, tone; a cry', J koue, OJ kōpu (k.n.) 'long, yearn (for), be in love', J koi, OJ kōpi 'love, desire (for)', J koi-shi, OJ kōpi-si, (Azuma dial.): kōpo-si, kōpu-si, kupu-si 'beloved'. --- Ōno: OJ kōpu and kōpu are considered to be cognate words.

Table 216 FUV 96 (ex.): Lp gikkā ~ gigā 'to mate, pair (of birds, frogs, etc.); have a flirtation with, show undue affection for someone; to pair/play/call (cf birds); call (at mating time of capercaillies); in Lp also used of the sounds emitted by the shaman during his ecstatic sleep' /Zr koj 'emit amorous calling sounds (of male birds)' /Vg kaj 'roar and cry, scream, call out, shout to somebody; pray (of a shaman)', kim 'play, call (at mating time: of male capercaillies and blackcocks)' /Os kōj = Zr koj; 'speak incantations (of an ecstatic shaman). Cf. Fi kiima 'rut, heat', Hu kéj 'delight'. --- Fu *kyjō.

FUV 105 (ex.): Fi kiima 'mating or heat (of birds); mating season' /Vty kemýy 'begin to burn' (der.) /Zr kam 'mating, pairing of birds; pairing season/ground' // ? Fi > Lp gibmā ~ gimā 'to mate (of female animals), LpL gibme ~ gime 'pairing, mating, heat'. (No reconstructed form given.)

TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu kéj 'carnal pleasure, lust, enjoyment, delight'. /Offering practically the same data as FUV 96, these sources reconstruct / FU *keje(-) (without the Lp data), FU *kýjy(-) (when Lp is included).

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'call (to), request; emit voices pertaining to mating; be in love'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs FU *k /1st syll. J o, OJ č, č (dial. also u) vs FU *e, *š /medial J č, OJ p, w vs FU *j (note: medial m in the Fi, Zr, Vty, and Lp forms has got there either through syncope, i.e., the loss of *-je- (or *-ja-) ---which would be odd in Fi and Lp---or it has been attached to a CV

shaped root). 3. The element FU *-yō/-yō is plainly additional to a disyllabic stem (as TESZ and MSZFE reconstruct FU *keje(-)).

217. J kowa-i, ClJ kowa-si 'dreadful, terrible, grim', J kowagaru 'be afraid/timid/nervous; stand in awe; be intimidated', J kibishi-i, Ono: kibi-si 'severe, stern, strict, rigorous, harsh, stringent', J kewashi-i, Ono: kepa-si 'severe, angry, grim, fierce; steep'.

Table 217

J	kow.a. i	J	kew.a.sii i
"	kow.a.garu	Ö.	kep.a.sii
ClJ	kow.a.sii	Hu	kib-
J	kib.i.sii i	"	kib.e.kēd-
Ö.	kib.i.sii		

Szabó 1971, 119 (Mü. K. Mark 14.33): ÖHu kib(ik) 'be terrified; to fear, dread'. MTSZ (Székely dial.): kibekēd(ik) ~ meg-kibekēd(ik) 'take fright, get scared' (meg- is a verbal prefix, indicating effective action).

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'fear, awe; awe-inspiring'. 2. Phon.: initial J, ClJ k- vs Hu k- / 1st syll. J, ClJ o, i, e vs Hu i / medial J, ClJ w, b, Öno also p vs Hu b.

218. J koyasu, Ono: koyasu (y.) 'enrich, fatten, fertilize, fructify', J koe 'manure, fertilizer', koeru, ClJ koveru, OJ kōyu (sh.n.) 'become fat, burly, etc.'.

Table 218

J	koy.a.su	Ch	ka.j.a
Ö.	koy.a.su	"	koj.a
J	ko.e	"	koj.a
"	ko.e.ru	MdE	ku.j.a
ClJ	koy.e.ru	MdM	ku.j.ē
OJ	kōy.u	"	ku.j.a.ms
Hu	háj	Fi	ku .u
"	háj.a.s	FU	*ku.j.e
Vty	kōj	- - - - -	- - - - -
"	kūj	Hu	kōv.ér
"	kei	"	kūj.ér

FUV 109, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu háj 'fat, suet (of the human or animal body)', háj.as 'fat, burly, fleshy' ~ Vty kōj, kūj, kei 'bacon, fat, suet, tallow; fat' (adj.) / Ch ka.j.a, ko.j.a 'fine white meat on the head of an animal (around the ears)', ko.j.a 'fat' (noun and adj.) / MdE ku.j.a, MdM ku.j.e id., ku.jams 'become fat/burly' / Fi kuu 'tallow, fat'.-- FU *ku.je.-- The elements -a and -e (Ch, MdM) are formants.-- This word family has been linked with Tu Yak yojū 'thick, corpulent; dense', Osm, Tat kojū 'thick (also of liquids)', Mo guja 'thigh, thick flesh on the thighs'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'fat; fatness', hence 'enrich; fructify'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs FU *k- / 1st syll. J o, OJ ō vs FU *u / medial J y, ø, OJ y vs FU *i. 3. Probably as a palatal vowel order development parallel to háj, háj.as, we have Hu kōv.ér, dial. kūj.ér 'thick, fat, burly (of the bodies of animals and humans), well developed, vigorously growing (of plants with thick, healthy leaves), rich, fat (of the soil), nourishing (of food)'. According to TESZ, this word is of unknown origin. 4. Cf. Poppe 1960, 49: Mo gōoa < *gōwā < *gōba 'pretty, beautiful' = Tu Chag goba 'thick'. 5. Cf. Pröhle No. 26.

219. J, OJ kubo 'depression, hollow', J, OJ kubo-ta 'wet rice paddy' (ta 'field'), J kubomu, OJ kubomu (y.) 'cave/sink in, become hollow', J, OJ kuma 'nook, recess, corner (of a street), turning (of a road)'.

Table 219

J, OJ	kub.o	Os	kom. .tah
"	kub.o.mu	"	hom. .ta
"	kum.a	? Hu	hom.o.rú
? Fi	kum.o	? Yr	haw.a
"	kum.a.r ta-	"	kam.a-
"	kum.a.r tu-	"	haw.a.da-
Lp	gom.o	? Tv	kam.a.gu
Md	kom.a-	? Yn	ka'.a.ða-
Ch	kōm.ō.k	"	ka'.a.ra-
"	kum.ō.k	Sk	kam. .d
"	kōm.a.la-	U	*kum.a
"	kum.a.la-	YukS	hob.o-
Vty	kym.a.l-	- - - - -	- - - - -
Zr	kym-	Hu	gōb.e
Vg	qam.o.w t-	"	gūb.e
"	kam-	"	gūb.ō
"	kām.i	"	kōp.e.c
"	hom.i	"	gōb.ō.c

FUV 47 (ex.): /? Fi kumo 'vault'/, kumossa 'in a fallen/lying position, upside down' (inessive), kumarta- 'to bow', kumartu 'bow, stoop down, bend forwards (Vi)'/Lp gomo (attrib.) 'turned with the rounded/convex side up; turned upside-down; which lies with the bottom up; who lies on his stomach face downward'/Md koma- 'lean, bend down'/Ch kōmōk, kumōk 'upside-down', kōmōkte-, kumōkte- 'overturn, upset', kōmala-, kumala- 'bow, bend over, greet, pray-/Vty kymal- 'upset, overturn'/Zr kym- 'upset' (e.g., a cup, a boat), turn upside-down', kymal- 'upset' (e.g., several cups)/Vg kamowt- 'throw about, overturn', kam-, kāmi, homi 'on one's stomach, face downward'/Os komtah, honta 'upside-down, stooping'/? Hu homorú 'concave, hollow, etc.', homlok 'forehead'/?Yr hawa-, kama- 'fall over/down', hawada- 'overturn, knock over'/Tv kama-gu 'a felled (ly-

ing) tree'/Yn ka'ada-, ka'ara- 'fell, overturn'/Sk qamd 'face downward'//YukS hobo-nugode- 'throw to the ground, lay down' (nugo- 'fall', hobo-tan 'that lower (one)' (tan 'that')).-- U *kuma.
MUSz 110: Fi komo 'concave', kuma 'vault, arch'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'hollow, concave; upside-down' (the latter concept goes with the former on the ground that most natural objects have no flat, but a somewhat convex upper surface; conversely, the underside is quite frequently concave or flat, e.g., of beetles, quadruplets, even of humans when they are face-down). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs U *k- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs U *u /medial J, OJ m vs U *m /final of the primary stem, J, OJ o, a vs U *-a. 3. Cf. Hu dial. göbe, gübe, gübö 'hole/hollow in the bed of a river or creek (serving as a bed for fish in winter)', köpec, göbéc, gübec id., 'muddy pool, pond' (-c is a dim. formant). 4. Cf. Pröhle No. 28. 5. Cf. FUV 154: Fi kumo 'upside-down' ... //Tg kümtö- 'knock down, fell', Go humşuri id. 6. Cf. Ramstedt 1952 (II), 141: Kor kumu, kumen 'cave, hole', KorN kungi id., cf. Tu köm-. 7. Cf. Räsänen 1969: Tu Uig köm- 'bury underground', MiddleTu köm- id.; bury' ... ~ Mo kömrige 'store-room' (originally 'hole in the ground' in which valuables were stored away). 8. Note the element -gu in Tv kama-gu 'a felled (lying) tree' and cf. with entry ki 'tree'.

220. J kuda 'pipe, tube', OJ kuda 'horn, used in wars' (in ancient times it was fashioned of the the horn of large animals, later of bamboo --- Ono).

Table 220		FUV 70: (ex.): Fi <u>putki</u> 'tube, cane, reed, hollow stem of a plant'/Lp <u>boska</u> 'the umbel of the Angelica archangelica plant; the whole plant'//	
J, OJ	<u>kud.a</u>	Ch	-wöč
Fi	<u>put.ki</u>	"	-wuč
Lp	<u>bos.kä</u>	Yr	püč.ä
"	<u>bäc.kä</u>	Sk	püč
Md	<u>poč.ko</u>	"	püt.y
Ch	<u>pöč</u>	"	püč.əs
"	<u>puč</u>	Km	pott.u
"	<u>puč.ö</u>	U	*puč.kö

'tube, pipe' (made of iron)/Sk puuž 'cane, tube, reed', puužəs sörg 'high grass, grass growing on a stem'/Km pottu 'peduncle, stalk of flower'.

-- U *pučkö.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'tube; hollow stem; horn'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs U *p- (proposed two-way development from *kw/, s. Phonology) /1st syll. J, OJ u vs U *u /medial J, OJ d vs U *č. 3. The element U *-kö is probably a formant (dim.?).

221. J kuguru, OJ kuku (y.) 'dive, evade, pass under', OJ tati-kuku (y.) 'pass under, duck down' (tati- is an emphasizing element).

Table 221		TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>guggol-</u> ~ OHu, dial. <u>gugol-</u> , <u>gugal-</u> , <u>kuggol-</u> , <u>gugü-</u> , <u>gogol-</u> , <u>kukul-</u> 'squat, crouch, cower', <u>guggadoz-</u> '(Vi) bend down repeatedly'---This word family is probably of onomatopoeic origin.	
J	<u>kug.u.ru</u>		
OJ	<u>kuk.u</u>		
Hu	<u>gugg.o.l-</u>		
"	<u>gug.o.l-</u>		
"	<u>gug.u(1)-</u>		
"	<u>kuk.u.l-</u>		
"	<u>kuk..sol-</u>		

MUSz 63: Hu guggol, etc. ~ Fi kykky 'squatting position', kykky- 'to crouch, squat, cower', Est kükita- 'crouch down'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to duck down; crouch'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs Hu g-, k-, ? Fi, Est k- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs Hu u, o, ? Fi, Est y, ü /medial J g, OJ k vs Hu g(g), k, ? Fi kk, Est k.

222. J kui, OJ kupí 'stake, post, pole', OJ wi-gupí 'logs forming a weir or protecting wall in some water', OJ i-kupí 'sacred stake', Ono: ama-nö-kupí-da 'the heavenly field abounding in tree-stumps/-trunks', ? J kabu 'stump, stub, root', OJ

Table 222		FUV 109: [? Vty <u>kypy</u> 'log'// Vg <u>kööp</u> , <u>haap</u> 'boat', <u>öw-k</u> 'threshold' (<u>öw</u> 'door')// Os <u>hop</u> 'Ostyak boat'. Cf. Hu <u>hajó</u> 'boat'--- FU * <u>kööp</u> .	
J	<u>ku.i</u>	Os	<u>hop</u>
OJ	<u>kup.i</u>	FU	* <u>köp.ä</u>
? J	<u>kab.u</u>		
? OJ	<u>kab.u</u>		
? Vty	<u>kyp.y</u>		
Vg	<u>köp</u>		
"	<u>háp</u>		

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a log, a pole', hence 'a stump,

a head (e.g., of a mace or of a god-stake); boat, i.e., a log-canoe, made from a single tree-trunk'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs FU *k- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs FU *u/ medial J g, b, OJ p, b vs FU *p.

223. J kujiru ~ kojiru 'gouge out, wrench, pry', OJ kuziru (y.) 'dig up, pull out, grub', ? J hojiru ~ hojikuru 'dig up, grub, ferret out' (Haguenauer 1956, 320: J kuž.i-r.u, hoži-r.u, hož.i-ur.u, hoz.e-r.u have identical meaning; hojiru ~ hoziru is listed by Shinmura, but earlier forms of this word are not found in Omodaka or Ōno; in hojikuru one can suspect a compositum: cf. eguru 'dig out', where e- is most likely prothetic, s. entry karu). J kujiku, Ōno: kuziku (y.) 'crush, sprain, wrench, wrick, dislocate', J kujikeru 'be crushed, sprained, etc.'. OJ kōzu, Ōno: i.kōzu (no conj. category given) 'pull up by the roots, dig up roots and all'? J kudaku, OJ kudaku (y.) 'break, smash, crush'. Chamberlain: OJ kudaku (y.), kudiku (y.) 'crush', kuduru ~ kuzuru (sh.n.) 'be/become crushed' belong together.

TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu húz- 'draw, pull, drag, wrench; pull from its place, remove; stretch, draw (in torturing); make taut (a rope, a chord)', huza-vona 'protraction' (von- 'pull'). ~ Vg kat-, yat- 'tear, rip, tug, jerk, wrench'-- Ugric *kuts- 'pull, grub, tear'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'pull out, remove from its place', hence 'tear, wrench', hence 'crush'. 2. J hojiru appears to be a development by split from kojiru (s. k ~ p alternation in the section Phonology.--Phon.: initial J, OJ k-: Ugric *k- / 1st syll. J u, o, OJ u, o vs Ugric *u / medial J i, z, d, OJ j, d vs Ugric *t. 3. entry kuzu.

224. J kumo, OJ kumō 'cloud', J komoru, OJ komoru (y.) 'become cloudy/overcast/dim/fogged up/obscured/blurred/gloomy'.

Table 224

J	kum.o	MdM	kov.o.l	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>homály</u> ~ OHu, dial. <u>homál</u>
OJ	kum.ō	MdM	kov.ə.l	'darkness, dimness, twilight, dusk; dark
J, OJ	kum.o.ru	? Fi	kum.u.ri	rain-cloud', dial. <u>homál</u> , <u>humály</u> , etc. 'cloud,
Hu	hom.ály	FU	*kum.ə	darkness; star on the eye' ~ Vg <u>yomyat</u> - 'be-
"	hom.ál	? Hu	kom.o.ly	come overcast/foggy, (the sky) turns dark' /Zr
Vg	yom. .yat-		kom.o.r	<u>kingr</u> 'cloud' /MdE <u>kovol</u> 'cloud', MdM <u>kovol</u> id.
Zr	kjm.e.r			/? Fi <u>kumuri</u> 'little cloud'-- FU * <u>kum</u> 3.-- The

view according to which Hu komoly 'serious' and komor 'gloomy, sombre, mournful, grave, morose' are cognate with homály (separate development from FU *k-) is very uncertain.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'cloud; become cloudy', hence 'dark, gloomy'--In my view, Hu komoly and komor are variants in shape (with some semantic shifting) of homály. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs FU *k- / 1st syll. J, OJ u vs FU *u / medial J, OJ m vs FU *m. 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 29.

225. J kumu, OJ (i) kumu (y.) 'assemble, associate, unite (with), braid, plait, coil round, cling (to)', e.g., OJ kumi-kaki 'wattle fence'. ? J himo, OJ pimo 'braid, lace, band, ribbon, thong, strap'.

Table 225

J	kum.u	OHu	<u>himus</u> <u>udvor</u> place-name (h. 'decorated' ?; u. 'court').--
OJ	(i) <u>kum.u</u>		Origin unknown.
"	kum.f		Mészöly 1956, 58 ff. goes into detail concerning <u>himus</u> <u>udvor</u> . He
? J	him.o		states that the term occurs in a document dated about 1200, and
? OJ	pim.o		it means 'fortified place' in an area where, stone being unavail-
Hu	him		able, a protective fence was constructed, as usual under such
"	him.es		circumstances, of two parallel wattle fences with earth rammed
OHu	him.us		between them; the wattle fences themselves were made by driving
			stout poles into the ground and weaving tree branches between
			them. Mészöly holds that the adj. <u>himus</u> was of velar vowel order.

Comm.: 1. It is important to note that himus was used in OHu times in connection with a fence construction which resembles 'plaiting, braiding' (cf. OJ kumi-kaki).-- P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to plait, braid; weave'. 2. OJ pimo appears to be a variant development parallel to kumu (split from */kw/, regarding the initials;

ablaut, regarding the 1st syll. vowels; -o is probably a deverbal noun formant vs the echo vowel -u in kumu). 3. Phon.: initial J k-, ? h-, OJ k-, ? p- vs Hu h-/ 1st syll. J, OJ u, ? J i, ? OJ i vs Hu i (assumed former i) /medial J, OJ m vs Hu m /final OJ -i (in a deverbal noun), ? -o vs stem-final u in OHu himu-s (adj.).

226. J kuneru, Ōno: kuneru (y.; onom. word) 'be bent/crooked/twisted', kune-kune-si 'bent, twisted', J wa-ganeru 'bend round into a hoop' (wa 'circle, hoop'), OJ kata-kuna 'half-witted' (kata 'half, single').

Table 226

J	kun.e.ru,	Os	kön. .ni	FUV 110, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi <u>kyynärä</u> 'ell', <u>kyynär-pää</u> 'elbow' (<u>pää</u> 'end, head')/Lp <u>gaigner</u> , LpSkolt * <u>gänjär</u> 'elbow'/Md <u>kenef</u> 'forearm, ell'/Ch <u>keñer</u> 'ell-/Vg <u>kwän-</u> : <u>kwängel</u> (g. seems to be a suffix)/Os <u>könji</u> (- <u>ni</u> is a suffix)/Hu <u>könyök</u> 'elbow' (- <u>k</u> is a dim. formant).-- FU * <u>kiñä</u> (* <u>küñä</u>) or * <u>kinä</u> (* <u>künä</u>) 'elbow'.
"	-gan.e.ru	Hu	köny.ö.k	
OJ	-kun.a	FU	* <u>kiñ.ä</u>	
O.	kun.e	or	* <u>küñ.ä</u>	
Fi	kyyn.ä.rä	or	* <u>kin.ä</u>	
Lp	gäñ.e.r.	-or	* <u>kün.ä</u>	
Md	ken.e.f			
Vty	gy . .r-	Hu	kany.a.r(-)	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>kanyarít-</u> 'bend around/in a bow; throw/cut in the shape of a bow', <u>kanyarod(ik)</u> , <u>kanyarul-</u> , <u>kanyarog-</u> '(road, river) winds'.--
Zr	gy . .ra	"	kony.a	The base of these words is very likely identical with that of <u>konyul-</u> ~ <u>konyad-</u> ~ <u>konyvad-</u> 'droop, bend, hang (down)', <u>konya</u> 'which is drooping/
Vg	kwän	"	göny.e	hanging (down; e.g., ear, horn of an animal)'.--Origin uncertain.

hanging (down; e.g., ear, horn of an animal)'.--Origin uncertain.

TESZ: OHu and dial. gönye 'crock-backed, humpy; crippled'.--Origin uncertain.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'bend; be bent/crooked'. 2. On the U side, there are obvious variants of palatal vs velar vowel order.--Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs FU *k-, Hu k-, g- (where k- before a velar vowel is irregular)/ 1st syll. J u, a, OJ u vs FU *i (*ü), Hu a, o, ö /medial J, OJ n vs FU *i (*n), Hu ny. 3. Cf. the formations OJ -kuna (: kata-kuna) and Hu, OHu konya. 4. An extension of the J primary stem *kunu into kuneru is paralleled on the U side, cf. Fi kyynärä, Hu kanyar-. 5. Cf. Ramstedt 1957 (I), 120: Tu gunyr 'bent, slanting', Chag qinir, Kaz kyyny id., Mo Khalkha yanar 'knife with an arched blade'.

227. J, OJ kura 'store-house, depository, granary; warehouse, cellar, treasury', J, OJ ya-gura 'turret; observation and defence structure built on four or more wooden poles (or on stone support) next to the gate of a castle' (ya 'arrow').

Table 227

J, OJ	kur.a	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>góré</u> , OHu <u>goré</u> , dial. <u>kóré</u> , <u>góró</u> , <u>góri</u> 'a small, raised building for observation or defence; watch-tower, look-out'; (later) 'field-guard's shelter, garden-hut, raised barn for drying and storing maize'.--Origin unknown.
Hu	gór.é	
"	gor.é	
"	kór.é	
"	gór.ó	
"	gór.i	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'small raised structure for observation and/or defence'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs Hu g-, k-/ 1st syll. J, OJ u vs Hu o, ó/ medial J, OJ r vs Hu r.--Initial k- before a velar vowel has regularly turned into h- in Hu. Since this is not the case here, the thought arises that Hu góré is not a genuine Ugric, FU, or U word. 3. Cf. Benzing 1956, 71: Tg gule 'hut' > gule-sög 'village; settlement'. 4. Cf. FUV 109: Fi kylä 'village'/Vg kül, kwäl 'house, dwelling', FU 157: Fi kylä, etc. //Volga Tu kül, kil 'country house (surrounded with a courtyard)', 'Hof, Gasthof', Osm göl 'home'; Yak külä 'entrance hall, vestibule, place in front of the house' /Tg külö 'hut'. 5. Cf. Gardiner (manuscript, p. 9): "Even today, the barbarians call this fort ch'aek-kuro 'Turban Castle'. Kuro is the Koguryö word for 'castle'."

228. J kuru-: kuru-wa 'enclosure, entrenchment, fortification, fort' (Ōno; wa 'ring, circle'), J, Ōno: gururi 'surroundings', Ōno: 'cemetery'.
Table 228
TESZ (ex.): Hu gyűrű, dial. gyíri 'ring (worn on the fingers), ring-shaped jewel; circle, hoop'.--This is a loanword from the Tu languages, cf. Osm yüzük, Nogai jüzük, Chuv éara 'ring'.
Comm.: 1. While it is possible that Hu has the word in question from a Tu language, the question must be raised whether the names of famous Avar fortifications--in Hu gyűrű/győr, as various place-names of Avar origin attest--can be explained in the same way? I have doubts in this respect. 2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: '(circular) enclosure'. 3. Phon.: initial J, ClJ k-, g- vs Hu gy- (for a parallel opposition, s. entry kirau) /1st syll. J, ClJ u vs Hu ü, ö/ medial J, ClJ r vs Hu r. 4. Cf. the element -ri in gururi to -ri in

hidari (s. that entry).

229. J kuru, OJ ku (ka-line conj.) 'come, come up/down/over/along; approach; reach (destination), arrive'.

Hu kel- : jár-kel- 'come and go, wander about' (jár- 'go about, walk').

FUV 40 (ex.): /? Fi kaalaa- 'to wade' / Lp galle-~gale- / Md kele- / Ch kelä- / Vty kol- / Zr kel- 'to wade, ford; wander aimlessly' / Vg kwääl- 'arise; climb out; go out; land (intr.)' / Os kül-, kit- 'climb up, go onto land' / Hu kel- 'start traveling, go; arise, ascend'; kelet (substantive) 'rise; east; ford (in a stream, etc.)' // YukS kel-, YukN kelu-, kolu- 'come, go'; YukS kelie- 'go away, start around, fly away (of birds)', kelge 'crossing (place)'.-- U *kälä.

FUV 153: Fi kaalaa- (as above) // Tu kel- 'come'. Alternatively, one might think of Tu Koibal qaly- 'jump up', Mo qali-, Kalmuck hāli- 'fly up, rise, flow over the banks (of a river); emigrate (of people)'.

Table 229 MSZFE (ex.): Hu kel- 'get up, rise; sprout, grow; originate; go, come'; ... jár-kel- (as above), etc. (as under FUV 40, excepting the Yuk words).-- Ugric (?FU) *kälä---If the Finnic and Permian data belong here, the original meaning may have been 'wade (in water)', hence 'go onto land, rise', hence 'get up; originate'.
Fi kaal.aa --Györke (MNY 37, 304) equated Sk qel- 'walk, go on foot' with the verbs in question. His equation is not allowable because of different vowel orders.
Ch ke.l.ä- Comm.: 1. I am not sure that the semantic derivation offered by MSZFE is convincing. What, if the Finnic and Permian words do not belong there? Two semantic fields seem to be involved, and I prefer to adhere to the one constituted by 'come, go, wander; wade'. For the meanings 'rise; originate', s. entry okiru. --
Vty ko.l- P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'come, go, wander'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs U *k-/ 1st syll. J, OJ u vs U *ä / medial J, OJ u vs U *1. 3.
Zr ke.l- J, ClJ kuru comes from OJ ku which had its attr. form in the shape kuru. Lewin 1959, 111 notes in connection with ku and other
U *käl.ä (C)V shaped verbs in its category that the separation between stem syllable and final syllable is impossible. Perhaps the in-
Yuk ke.l- formation offered here--sketchy as it is--will help. 4. Cf. Pröhle No. 24. 5.
" ko.l.u- Miller 1971, 73 equates OJ k-u 'come' with PA *ker-ü-, Mo kerü- 'roam'. Comment-
" ing, he writes (p. 74): "OJ ku has a variety of stems, including OJ ke-, ku-,
Sk qel- and kō-; in view of this multiplicity of forms (most of which are no doubt to be explained as sporadic assimilations of an original root to affixed endings), the verb is a difficult one to account for, particularly at our present state of control of the comparative materials." 6. Cf. Menges 1961, 13: Tu gäl-/käl-/kel-~Tg gel- 'come, go'~ Fi kälä (as under FUV 40).

230. J, OJ kusa 'grass; weed(s); herb; plant', J kusa-ki, OJ kusa-ki 'trees and plants; vegetation' (ki 'tree').
Table 230 TESZ (ex.): Hu gaz 'weed; lowly/base things; sediment', OHu 'young forest', Hu giz-gaz, geze-guza 'weed; weeds of all kind; trash'.--
J, OJ kus.a Origin unknown.
Hu gaz Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'grass, weed, plants (generally)'. 2.
" giz- Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs Hu g- (irregular if coming from k-) / 1st
" gez.e syll. J, OJ u vs Hu a, i, e, u / medial J e, OJ e (as ts) vs Hu z.
" guz.a

231. J kushi, OJ kusi '(a) spit, skewer, broach, prod, comb'.
Table 231 TESZ (ex.): Hu fésü~OHu füsü, dial. fisü, fisi, füsü 'comb'.--This
J kush.i word might derive from fejt- 'undo, divide'.
OJ kus.i Comm.: 1. For fejt-, s. entry hagu- hegu. The belonging of fésü
Hu fés.ü to fejt- is improbable, for the primitive comb could not be the same
" füs.ü as the many-toothed utensil of later times, which the explanation
" fis.ü given by TESZ infers. Cf. Chamberlain: OJ kusi 'a skewer', hence 'a
" fis.i comb'.--Chamberlain's explanation implies that the old-time J hairdo, tied up in a chignon, was held together by a skewer thrust through it. Cf. Kluge 1975: German Kamm 'comb' is cognate with Greek gómphos 'stake, pin, picket'.--P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'spit, skewer'. 2. Phon.: initial

J, OJ k- vs Hu f- < p- (proposed two-way development from */kw/, s. Phonology)/ 1st syll. J, OJ u vs Hu é, ü, i /medial J sh, OJ s (= ts) vs Hu s/ final J, OJ -i vs Hu -ü, -i.

232. J kuso, OJ kusô 'excrement, faeces, droppings', J mimi-kuso 'ear-wax', me-kuso 'eye-wax', J kusa-i, OJ kusa-si (Ōno: cognate with kusô) 'ill-smelling'. ? J kuse, Ōno: kuse 'habit, peculiarity, vice, fault, kink, mannerism (disagreeable, because different from ours)' may be cognate with kusa- 'stinky, ill-smelling'.

Table 232	FUV 49, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.):	Fi	kuse-	'make water, urinate',	kusi
J	kus.o			'urine'/Lp <u>gu⁴ā-</u> , LpK <u>gon⁴y-</u> 'urinate', <u>gon⁴</u> 'urine'	
OJ	kus.ô	Os	kōs-	/Ch <u>kō⁴ā-</u> , <u>kuza-</u> 'urinate', <u>kō⁴-wat</u> , <u>kō⁴-wūt</u> 'urine'	
J	kus.a i	"	hōs-	(w. 'water')/Vty <u>ky⁴</u> 'urine'/Zr <u>ky⁴</u> /Vg <u>goh⁴-</u> 'urinate', <u>ku⁴-wūt</u> 'urine'/Os <u>kōs-</u> , <u>hōs-</u> 'urinate' /Hu	
OJ	kus.asi	Hu	hūy	<u>hūy</u> , <u>hūy-</u> //Sk <u>kū⁴ā-</u> , <u>kū⁴ē-</u> 'make water', <u>kū⁴ū⁴</u> ,	
J	kus.e	"	hūy	<u>kū⁴</u> 'urine'/Km <u>kū⁴ē</u> 'urine' /Motor <u>kun⁴i</u> , <u>kunc-</u>	
Fi	kus.e-	Sk	kū ⁴ -a-	'urinate'--- U * <u>ku⁴ōe</u> or * <u>ku⁴ōe</u> (nomen-verbum?)	
"	kus.i	"	kū ⁴	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s. is: 'excrement; bodily discharge'. The fact that Ch <u>kō⁴-wūt</u> and Vg <u>ku⁴-wūt</u>	
Lp	<u>gū⁴ā-</u>	"	kū ⁴	contain the element <u>wūt</u> 'water', indicates that in	
"	.....	Km	kū ⁴ -e-	the remote past the U words in question probably	
Ch	kō ⁴ -a-	Motor	kun ⁴ -i-	meant 'excrement' generally. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ	
"	kuz.a-	"	kun ⁴ -	<u>k-</u> vs U * <u>k-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>u</u> vs U * <u>u</u> /medial J <u>s</u> , OJ	
"	.....	U	* <u>ku⁴ōe</u>	<u>s</u> (= <u>ts</u>) vs U * <u>h⁴ō</u> or * <u>c</u> /final J <u>-ō</u> , OJ <u>-ō</u> (? J	
Vty	ky ⁴	or	* <u>ku⁴ōe</u>	<u>a</u> , <u>ē</u> , ? OJ <u>a</u>) vs U * <u>-ē</u> .	
Zr	ky ⁴				
Vg	qon ⁴				
"	ku ⁴ -				

233. J, OJ kusu 'camphor tree' (an evergreen tall tree).

Table 233	FUV 49 (ex.):	Fi	kuusi	'Norway spruce, Picea
J, OJ	kus.u	Yn	kad.i	abies' /Lp <u>guossā~guosā</u> /Md <u>kuz</u> /Ch <u>ko⁴</u> /Vty
Fi	kus.i	"	kari.i	<u>ky⁴</u> /Zr <u>koz</u> /Vg <u>kawt</u> /Os <u>kol</u> , <u>hut</u> //Yr <u>haady</u> ,
Lp	guosā-	Sk	kād.e	<u>kaat</u> /Tv <u>kua</u> /Yn <u>kadi</u> , <u>kari</u> /Sk <u>kaade</u> , <u>kuut</u> /Km
Md	kuz	"	kūt	<u>ko⁴</u> --- U * <u>kowsō</u> . (Some places this word may
Ch	ko ⁴	Km	kō ⁴	also denote the pine, Scotch fir, Pinus silvestris.)
Vty	kyz	U	? * <u>kd⁴āō</u>	FUV 95: Lp <u>gāskās</u> 'juniper, Juniperus communis',
Zr	koz	---	---	LpS <u>gāsnēsē</u> id. /Vg <u>kāsepīw</u> , <u>kōaespiw</u> (<u>jiw</u>
Vg	kawt	Lp	gās. .kās	'tree')/Zr <u>kač-pomel</u> (p. 'small coniferous tree'),
Os	kol	Zr	kač-	-- FU * <u>keōne</u> .
"	hut	Vg	kē ⁴ -e-	Comm.: 1. I propose that the second word
Yr	hād.y			family on the U side is a palatal vowel order
"	kāt			development parallel to the first one, with a
Tv	ku .a (?)	FU	* <u>keō. .ne</u>	slight semantic difference. The element * <u>-ne</u> of

sequence which can be restored as (C)VVCV... --an addition to a formerly disyllabic stem, say, *keōg-. As regards U *kowsō, I suggest that its *w is epenthetic, and that the amended form could be *kosō. Cf. FUV 118: Fi onsi, onte 'hollow' .. /Lp vuowdā 'cavity in the body of an animal' ... FU *omtō---FUV 138: LpL vuowdā 'cavity in a tree'... /Os onet id. ... FU *ontō. Now, it is plain that the two Lp words are identical, yet the reconstructions involving them are notably different. How come? It looks that in the first word family, w preceding d has been disregarded as an epenthetic sound; in the second, where only Os onet is linked with vuowdā, n has prevailed, and one is expected to regard Lp w as the reflex of FU *n. I think that w is epenthetic here, too, and that the second word family is shaky---The sound w is found again in Vg kamowt- 'overturn' (s. entry kubo) where the U form is *kuma and Vg t is evidently a trans. verb formant; the role of w before it seems to be that of a glide. Or take Md kavto 'two' vs OHu keta id. (s. entry futatsu). Here again, a v-type sound appears as a glide. Therefore chances are that in Vg kawt above w is similarly epenthetic, and the same pattern seems to apply to U *kowsō (the double vowels in Fi kuusi, etc. are no guarantee for the positing of a lost intervocalic consonant).

If the above is allowed, the p.b.m.f.b.s. is: 'an evergreen tree'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs U, FU *k-/ 1st syll. J, OJ u vs U *o, FU *e /medial J s, OJ s (= ts) vs U *a, FU *g /final J, OJ -u vs U *-ō, FU *-ū (?). 3. Cf. FUV 154: Fi kuusi 'spruce' ...// Mo hu⁴i 'Siberian cedar'.

234. J kusuburu, Ōno: kusuboru (y.) 'to smoke, smolder; become sooty', J kusuberu, Ōno: kusubu (sh.n.) '(Vt) fumigate, smoke'.

Table 234

J	kus.u.buru	Fi	kat.	.ku	FUV 109: Fi <u>kyte-</u> 'to smolder' /Vg <u>kūš-</u> /Os <u>kōč-</u> , <u>kūš-</u> id.-- FU <u>*küē-</u> .
"	kus.u.beru	Fi	Kar	kač.	.ku
Ō.	kus.u.boru	Est	kat.	.k	FUV 43 (ex.): Fi <u>katku</u> 'heavy smoke, odour of fire', Kar <u>kačku</u> , Veps <u>kačk</u> 'smoke', Est <u>katk</u> , " kus.u.bu " <u>kats</u> .k <u>katsk</u> 'pestilence, plague' / Md <u>kačamo</u> 'smoke' Fi <u>kyt.e-</u> Md <u>kač.a.mo</u> (deriv.) / Zr <u>kočys-duk</u> 'penetrating odour', Vg <u>kūš-</u> Zr <u>koč.y.s</u> 'smell of fire' (<u>duk</u> 'a smell') / Sk <u>kacko</u> , <u>kačko</u> Os <u>kōč-</u> Sk <u>kač.</u> .ko 'smoke'.-- U <u>*kačku</u> .
"	kūš-	"	kac.	.ko	
FU	*küē-				Comm.: 1. The two adduced word families on
U	*kač.	.ku			the U side are plainly vowel order variants of

each other (in U *kačku, the element *-ku is additional to a formerly disyllabic stem, as the pattern (C)VVCV ... requires it to be). 2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'smoke'. 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs FU, U *k- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs FU *ü, U *a /medial J s, ClJ s (? = ts) vs FU, U *s.

235. J kuu 'eat, bite, gnaw, live/encroach on', OJ kupu (y.) 'to bite, gnaw, seize'; OJ kaburu (y.) 'eat, bite', OJ kamu (y.) 'chew, bite, gnaw', Ōno: i.gamu (y.) 'make ready to bite'.

Table 235

J	ku .u	? Md	kap.o.ðems	FUV 34: Lp <u>gokse-~govse-</u> , Lp Inari <u>gopse-</u> 'do someone injustice by taking the lion's share, eat or drink someone's share (un- warrantably)'/?? Yr <u>hadoe-</u> 'to be left with- out one's share'.-- U <u>*kupsa-</u> .
OJ	kup.u	"	kap.ə.ðems	
"	kab.u.ru			
"	kam.u			
Ō.	i.gam.u			
Lp	gop. .se-			Ravila 1959: MdE <u>kapodəms</u> 'snap, snatch, seize'.
"	gov. .se-			
"	gok. .se-			Nytüdert. '89: 90: MdM <u>kapədəms</u> 'swallow, gulp down'.
? Yr	ha . .doe (?)			
U	*kup. .sa-			Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'bite, eat'.

2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs U *k-, ? Md a/ k- / 1st syll. J u, OJ u, a vs U *u, ? Md a/ medial J g, OJ p, b, m vs U *p, ? Md p (note the alternation -k-~v-~p- in Lp, and s. the treatment of proposed */kw/ in the section Phonology).

236. J kuwa, OJ kupa 'a hoe', e.g., OJ kō-kupa 'wooden hoe' (kō 'tree, wood'). Table 236 TESZ (ex.): Hu kapa 'a hoe'.--This word is of Slav origin. Of. J kuw.a Bulgarian kopāja 'to dig; (of an animal) scratch, root, grout', OJ kup.a dial. 'to hoe' / Serbo-croatian kopati 'to dig, hoe' / Slovenian kopāti Hu kap.a 'to dig, scratch, hoe, etc.'.--Hu kapa has come about through back formation from kapál- 'to hoe'; cf. borona 'a harrow' > boronál- 'to harrow', borotva 'razor' > borotvál- 'to shave'.

Comm.: 1. One should note that while borona, borotva can be shown to have been borrowed from Slav (where nouns of similar phonetic shape exist) into Hu where they have been complemented with the Hu verb formant l, kapa, or anything like it in the sense 'hoe', has not been shown to exist or to have existed in any Slav language. Yet kopāja, kopati, etc. could not directly change into Hu kapál-, because the pattern requires a form like *kapa to have existed first. In other words, Hu kapa allegedly comes from Hu kapál- which had to come from kapa. This is wrong. --Hu cultural historians proved it long ago that hundreds of years before the Conquest (896 A.D.) the Hungarians were acquainted with agriculture, horticulture, and viticulture. Now, none of these is imaginable without the hoe. It is quite strange to suggest that the Hungarians had no such tool before the Conquest, or if they had, there was no name for it until after they had settled among Slav neighbours in the Carpathian Basin. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs Hu k- (irregular before a velar vowel) / 1st syll. J, OJ u vs Hu a /medial J w, OJ p vs Hu p (according to rule, Hu -p- comes from PFU *-pp-) / final J, OJ -a vs Hu -a.

237. J kuwaeru 'add to, increase; gain', kuwawaru 'be/become increased', Table 237 kuwaeru 'to store, save, keep, accumulate

J	kuw.a. eru	OJ	ta.kup.a.pu	(<u>ta-</u> is an emphasizing element), OJ <u>ta-</u>
"	kuw.a.waru	Hu	kup.o.rít-	<u>kupapu</u> (y.) 'to store, accumulate', <u>ta-</u>
"	ta.kuw.a. eru	"	kop.o.ret-	<u>kupapu</u> (sh.n.) id.; 'rear animals/children'.

TESZ (ex.): Hu kuporít~OHu koporet- 'acquire, get in a greedy way; scrape/rake together (penny by penny)', kupori 'stingy, niggardly, greedy'.--Origin uncertain.

Comm.: 1. F.b.m.f.b.s.: 'save, accumulate' (note: rearing animals is equivalent to saving; rearing children used to be a kind of insurance for old age). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs Hu k- (irregular before a velar vowel) /1st syll. J, OJ u vs Hu u, o /medial J, w, OJ p vs Hu p. 3. On the Hu side, r is a frequ. verb formant, -it is a fused caus. formant. 4. OJ p in the column of Hu r is probably a frequ. formant.

238. J kuwashi-i, OJ kupa-si 'precise, minute, accurate, detailed; complete, fine, pretty'.

Table 238

J	kuw.a.shi-i	Lp	gæp.ã.d
OJ	kup.a.si	"	geppi.s
Hu	kev.és	"	gæp.a.nit-
"	kev.e.s	? Yr	siibi
"	köv.ös.sz	"	sib.i.t
Vty	kap. .ði	? Yn	seb.i
Fi	kep.e.ä	? Sk	sepp.a (?)
"	kev.e.ä	"	šep.e.ka
Est	keb.i	? Km	šüm. .kä
		FU (?U)*kep.ä	

FUV 44, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu kevés, dial. keves, kövös, keviss 'not much, not enough; little, humble, insignificant' ? ~ Vty kapči 'light, easy, mild' /Fi keveä, keviä, kepeä, kepiä 'light (not heavy), easy', kevyt~kevye- 'light' /Lp gæppäd, attr. geppis 'light, easy', gæppes 'lung'///? Yr siibi, siibit 'light, easy' /Yn sebi/Sk seppa, seпка, šäpeka/ Km šümkä./-- FU (?U) *kep.ä.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'small, light, fine'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs FU (?U) *k-/ 1st syll. J, OJ u vs

FU (?U) *e /medial J w, OJ p vs FU (?U) *p/ final of the primary stem, J, OJ a vs FU (?) *ä. 3. Cf. Räsänen 1955, 36: Fi kepeä, etc. 'light'~Tu kebäk, kepäk 'chaff, bran'~Mo kebeg id.< Mo kebi, Tu Osm gev 'ruminant'. 4. Cf. Ramstedt 1937 (I), 145: Tu kevre- 'get weak', Kor kebejeb~kabajab 'to be light (not heavy)'. 5. Cf. Murayama 1966, No. 16: OJ kupa<*gupa 'nice'~Mo yoa<*gupa id. (but see Poppe 1960, 49: Mo gooa 'pretty, beautiful'<*<*gobä = Tu Chag qoba 'thick').

239. J kuzu, OJ kudu 'rubbish, junk, trash, waste, scum'; ? J kuzusu, Öno: kudusu (y.) 'destroy, demolish, break', ? J kuzureru, OJ kuduru (sh.n.) 'crumble, collapse, be destroyed, decay, decline'.

Table 239

J	kuz.u	MdE	poč. .t
OJ	kud.u	"	poč.o.do-
? J	kuz.u.su	MdM	poč.e.ra-
? Ö.	kud.u.su	? Ch	pač.a.ŋa-
? J	kuz.u.reru	Zr	buž. .dy-
? OJ	kud.u.ru	Os	poč.ä.gin-
Fi	put.u	"	poč.i.m-
"	pud.o.ta	? Yr	puč.a.ra-
Est	pud.e	"	.....
"	pud.u-		
Liv	pud.u-	U	*puc.a-

FUV 70 (ex.): Fi putu 'offal, leavings', putoa-, infinitive pučota 'fall down, come down', pučista- '(Vt) shake', Est puče 'brittle', pučise- '(Vi) skake; be broken to fragments; fall off', puču-, pučene- 'be broken to fragments; fall off', Liv puču- '(Vi) loosen, break up; fall' /MdE počt 'flour, meal', počodo- 'scatter, spread', MdM počera id.///? Ch pačana-, počana- 'lie sprawling'//Zr puždy- 'fall, fall in, collapse; be washed away' /Os počagin- 'fall, fall to the ground (by itself)', počim- 'fell (a decayed stump)///? Yr pučara- 'fall off, be thrown away'.-- U *puča-. The whole

etymology is uncertain.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'crumble; collapse', hence 'debris'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs U *p- (proposed two-way development from */kw/, s. Phonology) /1st syll. J, OJ u vs U *u /medial J z, OJ d vs U *c. 3. Cf. entry kujiru.

240. J, OJ ma 'space, room, interval, interstice; pause, time, a while', ima id.; 'now, the present time'; OJ Adu-ma 'Eastern

Table 240

J, OJ	ma	Vg	maa
"	"	"	mā
"	i.ma	"	mā
Fi	maa	Os	mā.g
Veps	ma	"	mā.w
Kar	-ma	Tv	mo. u (?)
Ch	mū	U	*ma.γō
"	mū.j	PSam	*mū
Vty	mu	Sk	mū
Zr	mu		

Country' (later Azuma). FUV 52: Fi maa 'earth, soil, ground, country, land' /Ch Malmyž mū, mūj - : mūnō 'on the ground, on the floor, down (of position)', mūgō, mūjān 'to the ground/the floor, down', mūjūcūn 'from the ground, from the floor' /Vty, Zr mu 'earth, land, field' /Vg maa, mā, etc. 'earth, land; place' /Os māg, mūw 'earth, land' //Tv mou 'earth' //? Sk maš qula, name of a Sk tribe; according to Prokofev: 'earth-people' (cave dwellers) /-- U *māγō.

Décsy 1965, p. 26: (map) names of Finland's traditional administrative districts ending in -ma, e.g., Pohjanmaa-Ma, Savo-Ma, Häme-Ma; p. 67: (map) on the territory of Estonia eight districts whose respective names end in -ma, e.g., Insel-Ma, SE-Ma, West-Ma; pp. 121-3 (map and text): Ma on the Lower Vyčegda, Ma on the Middle Sysola, Pecora-Ma, Iž-Ma, etc. (in the country of the Zyryans).
SKES: Fi ma = maa; Veps ma.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'space; land' (probably with the connotation: 'suitable for settlement'). 2. On the J side, the CV form is beyond doubt (in ima, i- is probably prothetic; there is a chance, however, that it is an obscured dem. pron., meaning 'this'). On the U side, we see CV forms and longer ones. It seems we have further proof here that CV forms become lengthened into CV + j/w/g + vowel (the word-final vowel is obligatory, as seen in the U form). In the Fi district name Pohjanmaa-Ma, 'land' is contained twice: maa is the modern form in which, as I see it, the vowel has become lengthened under stress, not through the elision of an intervocalic consonant. That the element -ma as name for a district or country is ancient is beyond any reasonable doubt. If it were a shortened form, we should assume the loss of a whole syllable from an original CVCV form not only in Zr and Vty, where strong wear is attested, but also in Fi, where it is not assumed. Perhaps it is not irrelevant in the present context that 'Eastern Country' was called Adu-ma in OJ. 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ m vs U *m-/(following) J, OJ a vs U *a. 4. U *-yō is taken as additional to a CV shaped root form. 5. Cf. SW 96: *mü 'the interior, the inside'; cf. Sk mü 'space, gap, opening'.--The semantic aspect of mü is helpful, for it comes quite close to that of J, OJ ma. 6. Cf. Pröhle No. 31.

241. J machi, OJ mati 'a certain size of land; a suburb; part of a town; town, city; market'.

Table	241			FUV 63: Fi <u>otava</u> 'a kind of salmon-net; the Great Bear (- <u>va</u> is a suffix)/Lp <u>oacce</u> ~ <u>oaze</u> - 'something which hinders or is a barrier to something, esp. of something which hinders reindeer or other animals from going too far or getting lost' ...; <u>oazes</u> ~ <u>oaccasä</u> - 'barrier (of netting or small birch trees) across a river--used when fishing illegally with drift-nets'/Md <u>oä</u> , <u>voä</u> 'town; old fortress'/Vg <u>uug</u> , <u>uuuä</u> , <u>uus</u> 'fence, fenced-in area, yard; town', <u>uusym</u> 'fence', <u>uämä</u> , <u>uusmä</u> , <u>uusem</u> 'a fish-barrier constructed of wooden rails; weir-basket', <u>uus-</u> 'to fish with a weir-basket'/Os <u>waä</u> , <u>woä</u> (nominative pl <u>woäet</u>) 'town, large village; an area surrounded with a wooden fence approx. the height of a man, into which were brought provisions for protection from dogs'; ... <u>woäem</u> 'weir, fish-barrier; long stakes sunk into the ground, between which--in the construction of a brush fence--long branches of birch or other wood are woven' ...//
J	<u>machi</u>	Sk	<u>koäčč.e</u>	
OJ	<u>mat.i</u>	"	<u>kuac.e</u>	
Fi	<u>ot.a.va</u>	"	<u>qetty</u>	
Lp	<u>oacc.e</u>	U	<u>*woč.a</u>	
"	<u>oaz.e</u>	--	--	
Vg	<u>üš</u>	Hu	<u>vejsze</u>	
"	<u>wüš</u>	"	<u>vész</u>	
"	<u>üs</u>	"	.....	
Os	<u>waä</u>	Ch	<u>važ.a</u>	
"	<u>woš</u>	Os	<u>at</u>	
"	<u>woč-</u>	FU	<u>*wajčä</u>	
"	<u>woc.ä.m</u>	--	--	
Yr	<u>wä</u>	PSam	<u>*wäc</u>	
"	<u>wäd</u>	Yn	<u>Bäts</u>	
"	<u>wät</u>			

struction of a brush fence--long branches of birch or other wood are woven' ...//
Yr waa~waad- 'enclosing fence', waat id./Sk koäčč.e, kuace, qetty 'town, stronghold, castle, village'.-- U *woč.a.

MTSZ, TESZ (ex.): Hu vejsze~dial. vejč, vész, vésze, vész 'an intricate fish-trap made of stakes, branches or reed; fishgarth'.--Origin unknown.

FUV 136: Hu vejsze, vész 'weir (fish-trap)'/Ch waža /Os at 'fence'.-- FU *wajčä.

SW 171: *wäc 'fence, enclosure; enclosing fence'; cf. Yn Bätš 'fence off/around'/Yr Bät id.

Comm.: 1. There can be little doubt that the adduced word families on the U side belong together. Hu vejsze, etc., Ch waža, ans Os at have developed slightly differently from the other forms; in FU *wajčä, the sound *j does not weigh, for in vejsze, whose -j- is the apparent justification for it, we see the same j-glide as in Hu dial. tajkol = tákol- 'patch together', májszik = mászik 'to crawl', kajkó = kákó 'a pole with a hook on its end', etc. 2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'fence', hence 'enclosure; enclosed place', hence 'village; fortified village', hence 'fortress; town'. Cf.: German Zaun 'fence', cognate with English town<Anglo-Saxon tūn 'an enclosure, enclosed space; field; homestead; village; town' (Webster 1962). 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs U, FU, PSam *w-/ 1st syll. J, OJ a vs U *o, FU *a, PSam *ä /

medial J ch, OJ t vs U *č, FU *č, PSam *c. 4. Cf. Kovács 1910, 170: Hu dial. vetal 'village'; in this word (not listed by MTSz), -l could be a dim. formant (as in fial 'stepson', lit. 'little son' vs fi 'son'); if it is, then this forgotten word demands to be taken up as a candidate to be compared to the words given above.

242. J, OJ made 'up to; as far as' (terminative particle), e.g., aku-made(-ni) 'to the point of getting surfeited'; Lewin 1959, 202: kodomo-made okashigaru 'even the children found it amusing' (k. 'children')

Table 242

J, OJ	mač.e	FUV 115: Ch <u>mučan</u> 'at last'; <u>môčkô</u> , <u>mučko</u> 'along; through, throughout; the whole time', <u>môrtňô</u> , <u>mučno</u> 'at the end', <u>mačas</u> , <u>mučas</u> , <u>mučas</u> 'end, point, top' /Vg <u>moš</u> , <u>maš</u> , <u>muš</u> , etc. 'till'/'
Ch	muč.a.n	Os <u>moča</u> , <u>mača</u> 'as far as, to; till'.-- FU * <u>muč</u> .
"	moč. .ko	
"	muč. .ko	
"	muč. .nô	
"	mač.a.š	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'end, final point'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>m-</u> vs FU * <u>m-</u> / 1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs FU * <u>u</u> /medial J, OJ <u>d</u> vs FU * <u>č</u> . 3. Cf. the parallel structure of <u>made-ni</u> on the J side and <u>mučan</u> in Ch (the optional element J <u>-ni</u> , a loc. suffix, seems to be identical with Ch <u>-n</u> ; s. J <u>-ni</u> in the section Morphology). 4. Cf. Benzing 1956, 40: Tg * <u>mudan</u> 'the end; -time(s)' = Ma <u>mudan</u> id. = Go <u>modan</u> '-time(s)' = Ude <u>muda</u> , Ev, Lam <u>mudan</u> 'end; -time(s)'.
Vg	moš	
"	maš	
Os	moč.a	
"	mač.a	
FU	*muč.3	

243. J majinau, OJ mazinapu (y.) 'to charm, cast a spell', J majinai, OJ mazinapi 'spell, charm, enchantment' (deverbal noun), OJ mazi-waza '(a) curse, anathema, deed work, the result of a curse' (waza 'misfortune'); ? OJ mati 'omen, portent, sign' (cut in tortoise shell or in the shoulder blade of deer for the purpose of divination--Omodaka: is mati linked with mazinapu?).

J	mač.i	FUV 115: Ch <u>muž-</u> 'to prophesy', <u>mužan</u> 'divination', <u>mužedä-</u> , <u>mužeda-</u> 'to divine, prophesy, guess, conjure, practice magic' /
Ch	muž-	Os <u>mut-</u> 'pray' (esp. in connection with pagan offerings).--
"	muž.a.ŋ	FU * <u>muš</u> :- or * <u>muš</u> :-.
Os	mut-	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'practice magic'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>m-</u> vs FU * <u>m-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs FU * <u>u</u> /medial J <u>i</u> , OJ <u>z</u> , ? <u>t</u> vs FU * <u>s</u> or * <u>š</u> . 3. Cf. the entries <u>waza</u> and <u>wazurau</u> .
FU	*muš.3-	
or	*muš.3-	

Table 244

J	mač.i.ru	Ōno: <u>maziru</u> (y.) 'be/get mixed/mingled/blended, mingle with, join', J <u>majiwaru</u> , OJ <u>maziparu</u> (y.) '(Vi) associate/keep company (with), mix, hold intercourse (with)', J <u>mazeru</u> , OJ <u>mazu</u> , <u>mazipu</u> (sh.n.) '(Vt) mix, admix, mingle, blend, include', J <u>maze-mono</u> 'adulteration, mixing, mixture, admixture'.
Ō.	maz.i.ru	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>vegyit-</u> ~ dial. <u>ögyit-</u> , <u>vidit-</u> , <u>vigyt-</u> 'mix, admix, blend; (chemicall) unite; join someone or a company',
J	mač.i.waru	<u>vögyés</u> ~ dial. <u>vögyös</u> , <u>ögyés</u> (adj.) 'mixed, composite, mingled, heterogeneous', <u>vegyül-</u> 'get mixed into something, mingle, blend (with); have (sexual) intercourse; combine (chemically)'. --This word family comes from <u>elgyit-</u> ~ <u>elvegyit-</u> ~ <u>eggyelit-</u> ~ <u>ögyelit-</u> 'admix, mix, blend', <u>elegy</u> , dial. <u>elevegy</u> ? 'mixture; mixedly; mixed' (adj.); --origin unknown; because of this one cannot clarify the relationship among the various forms, nor the word class of <u>elegy</u> .
OJ	maz.i.pu	
J	maz.e.ru	
OJ	maz.u	
Hu	vegy-	
"	ögy-	
"	vid-	
"	vigy-	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'mix, blend'. 2. I propose to take Hu, OHu elgyit- ~ elvegyit-, etc. as containing a) the verbal prefix el- (indicating effectiveness), b) the verb vegy-; in elgyit-, elevegy (the latter form is taken as a deverbal) the initial of vegy- is clearly there, while in elgyit-, elegy, etc. it has been omitted (cf. Hu telve ~ tele 'full'). 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs Hu v-, Ø /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu e, é, ô, i /medial J i, z, OJ z vs Hu gy (= d), dial. also d.

245. J maku, OJ maku (y.) 'to wind, coil, bind, tie round, roll up, wrap into a bundle', J maki, OJ maki 'a roll (e.g., of cloth), volume, scroll'.

Table 245

J, OJ	mak.u	Beke 1908-9 (KSz 8-9): OsN <u>mongol</u> 'a knot, a joint, a knob',
J	mak.i	<u>monkli-</u> 'to tie a knot'.
OJ	mak.4	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'tie; bundle'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>m-</u> vs Os <u>m-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs Os <u>o</u> /medial J, OJ <u>k</u> Vs Os
Os	mon.01	OJ <u>m-</u> vs Os <u>m-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs Os <u>o</u> /medial J, OJ <u>k</u> Vs Os
"	monk li-	<u>ng</u> , <u>rk</u> (where <u>ŋ</u> is a frequently encountered glide).

246. J, OJ makura 'supporting bundle (made of grass or reed) or wooden block to be placed under the nape as a kind of cushion'. Ōno offers no etymology for it. Table 246 SW 115: *pājna 'hairy hide used as bedding (on the ground)'; cf. J, OJ mak.u.ra Yn fae 'reindeer-hide rolled up as a seat (on the ground)', Yr PSam *pājna pena, penno 'hairy hide used as bedding'; also 'matting made Yn fa .e (?) of hay and used in bed as a foundation'. Yr penq.a Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a bundle (of some suitable material) for the comfort of the body when sitting or lying'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs PSam *p- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs PSam *a /medial J, OJ k vs PSam *n (note: *j immediately before *n must be a glide, since nothing shows that -j- forms a syllable in any of the forms given by SW; for a similar glide function of j, s. Comm. 2 under entry machi). 3. The element J, OJ -ra appears to be a suffix. Cf. OJ usu~usu-ra 'pale; thin', pasi-ra 'pillar', ta-kubu-ra 'the well rounded part of the arm' (ta = te 'hand, arm'); cf. also Fi kama-ra 'surface, crust', Ch kom 'rind, crust' ... U *kama. 4. Cf. entry maku.

247. J maneku, OJ maneku (y.) 'call, summon, beckon to, invite, send for; cause, occasion, bring about'; J mani 'divination', OJ -mani : puto-mani 'sacred divination'.

Table 247

J, OJ	man.e.ku	Hu	mon. .d-
J	man.i	Yr	mān-
OJ	-man.i	Tv	mun.o-
? Fi	man.a. a	Sk	my-
"	man.a.ta	Km	ma-
? Est	man.a-	U	*man.a-
"	mōn.a-	Yuk	mon-
Lp	moan.ā-	PSam	*mā-
"	moan.ā-dā-	- or	*mān-
"	muon.ē-	- - - -	- - - -
? Md	muñ.a-	Os	mān.e.k-
Ch	man.a-	"	man. .kant-

FUV 53, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): /? Fi mana-a-, inf. mana-ta 'warn, exhort, admonish, curse, bewitch, execrate, wish evil to', Est mana- 'abuse, upbraid, ruin, slander, curse', mōna- id.--Fi and Est words coinciding with IE terms?//Lp moanā~moanā-, moanāda- 'to conjecture, solve by conjecture', muonē- 'appoint, order, prescribe (said of providence or fate); conjecture'//? Md muñ-a- 'bewitch, ruin by witchcraft'//Ch mana- 'speak, say, order'//Hu mond- 'say' (-d is a formant)//Yr maan- /Tv muon- 'say, command'//Sk my- 'say'//Km ma-//Yuk mon-. -- U *manj-.

SW 88: *mā- or *mān- 'say; speak'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'speak; command'; 'practice magic'; 'curse'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs U, PSam *m /1st syll. J, OJ a vs U *a, PSam *a /medial J, OJ n vs U, PSam *n 3. Note that Sk my- and Km ma- are of CV shape, with the reconstruction duly accounting for this fact. On the basis of the Sam data one is entitled to think that PSam *n in *mān- is a root expansion element ("Wurzel-Erweiterung") in the literal sense. In U *manj-, Sk my- and Km ma- are apparently taken as disyllabic forms. 4. Cf. Ganschow 1965, 67: Os Nizjam mānek-, Os Kazym mānek- 'to scold, slander, abuse, execrate', Os Nizjam mankant- id.

248. J, OJ maru < marō 'a circle; completeness', J maru-i, OJ maru-si, marō-si 'full, complete, whole, clear, nothing but ...; round, circular, spherical', J marobu, OJ marōbu (y.) '(Vi) roll over, tumble', J maru-maru 'completely, totally', maru-ku (adv.) 'round, in a circle', e.g., me o maruku shite 'with wide-open eyes', in a surprised manner' (me 'eye', o acc., shite 'doing', gerund).

Table 248 TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu merō 'solid, firm; pure, clear, unmixed, true; projecting, standing out', dial. meren, merén 'completely, fully, without a break, continuously', dial. merē(n)get- 'stare round-eyed, goggle'/i.e., open the eyes wide/, merēs-me-revül 'entirely, fully', mereszt- 'to strain, distend' [e.g., eyes], merét, merót 'completely, fully, continuously', mered- 'become stiff/hard; stand erect; (of the eyes) be/get wide-open/surprised/fully round' ~ Vg mari, māri, māri 'become crowded/jammed; get into straightened circumstances', marēm 'narrow; straightness, distress', māru, mārwé 'round, circular, full, pure, genuine'; tomp jāyattal mātāwe 'the island is hemmed in by rivers' (t. 'island') /Os merem 'pure, nothing but ...', mārattā 'get in straightened circumstances; get in need'-- Ugic *merz or *mārz.

Ugic *mer.3 Cf. OHu merō-kō 'a disc-shaped (large) stone slab with

which the opening of Christ's grave, cut into a hillside, had been closed'; cf. also Hu merő-láb 'u/split hoof' (e.g., of a horse; láb 'foot, leg').

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'round', hence 'complete, full; unmixed' (Hu merő 'solid; standing out, projecting' is explainable by the fact that, for example, a vigorous plant usually stands upright, while a sickly one is usually drooping; in Vg and Os, the meaning 'to be in straightened circumstances' comes from 'to be enclosed/surrounded/pressed hard'). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs Ugric *m- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Ugric *a or *ä /medial J, OJ r vs Ugric *r. 3. Note the formants J -b, Hu -v, Vg -m, -w, Os -m, all in the same column. 4. Cf. FUV 67: Fi piiri 'circumference, periphery; extent; compass, circle; department, district' /Lp birrâ 'round, circum, all round; close (densely) round; round about; around; concerning, about' /Mde pire, Mdm pere 'fenced place' ///? Sk pör, pür 'ring, round, wheel, circle', pörün, pürün 'around, round about' /Km pjeeri 'about, around, round about' /-- U *pirä.

249. J, OJ masu 'a measure (for dry matter or liquids)'. Öno: masu is cognate with Kor mal id.

Table 249 SW 90: *mäncä 'a measure'; cf. Tv manta 'just as; even as', Sk J, OJ mas-u -mänti : kun-mänti 'how much (adv./adj.); how', mändz id., PSam *mäncä mänti-go 'to measure'.
Tv mant.a Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs Sk -mänti PSam *m- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs PSam *ä /medial J s, OJ s (= ts)
" mant.i vs PSam *nc /final J, OJ -u vs PSam *-s.

250. J, OJ masu 'salmon-trout, sea-trout, trout'.
Table 250 FUV 82: /? LpK vaižek 'small salmon' /Zr už 'large salmonoid fish of Siberia; Stenodus nelma' / Vg už, uns 'salmon; Coregonus nelma' /Os unč, wynš /Yr jintu /Yn jiddu, adde /Sk wanž, wenda.
Zr už -- U *onča.
Vg už NyK 77 (1975), 176: Sk muendäsel : muendäsel-iräd 'nelma-month',
" unš muendäsel-iräd, wuende(l)-iräd id. (-l is probably a denom. noun
formant).
Os unč Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'salmon'. 2. Seeing in Sk two variants
" wynš of the word for 'salmon', the essential difference being in the
Tv jynt.u initials, one can assume that in Sk m- and w- were at one stage
Yn jidd.u in limited alternation; cf. Erdélyi 1969, 126: Sk mäčipj, wäčipj
" adde 'diving-bird'; cf. also FUV 84: Lp vündam 'suitor, bridegroom'
Sk wanž (der.) /Yr jaaenö, waaenö 'relative ba marriage; bridegroom' /
" wanž Yn maddu 'wooer's proxy' /Km munö; -- U *wantz, where m, v, w, j
U *onča go together as initials. Consequently, one is entitled to posit
Sk muendäsel with a fair degree of probability *w- as preceding U *onča (Tv
? U *wonča and Yn j- are taken as having stepped in for w). If that is allowed
--- initial J, OJ m- vs U *w- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs U *a / medial
J s, OJ s (= ts) vs U *nč (taking *n as a glide) / final J, OJ
-u vs U *-a -- For a similar suggested correspondence of the initials
in J and U, s. entry nachi.

251. J matou 'be wrapped/enveloped in; be clothed/clad/dressed in', (der.)
Table 251 matomaru, matsuwaru '(Vi) coil/twine round, follow about',
J mat.o. u OJ matuparu (y.) 'twine itself round, cling to, twist about,
" mat.o. u keep close to', J motou 'tie up, wrap up; wear', OJ matupu ~
" mat.o.maru matopu (y.) 'twine/twist/coil round'.
" mat.s.waru TESZ (ex.): Hu batyu, batu, dial. butyu, battyu, battyú
OJ mat.u.pu 'a bundle, a pack'. -- This word family is likely of onomato-
" mat.d.pu peic origin and is probably connected with the following:
Hu baty.u a) bugyolál-, bugyoláz-, bacyolál-, bogyol-, bugyol- 'wrap,
" bat.u swaddle, envelope; curl (e.g., the hair), entangle, implicate,
" moty.ó b) butor ~ butor, butyor, butur, bugyor 'a bundle, a pack;
" mat. .ring butor later took on the meaning 'furniture';
" mot. .ring c) motyó ~ matyó 'a bundle; baggage (tied into a bundle)';
" but.o.r d) matring ~ motring, mutring 'skein of yarn'.
Vg maft.ä
Os mánt.ä.l Mu. - Szi.: Vg maftä 'a bundle, bale, roll'.
Lehtisalo 1936, 141: Vg mafti 'roll/wrap in'.

Ganschow 1965, 32: Os māntal 'a bundle, knot, hank, roll'.

Comm.: 1. The word family on the Hu side could be onom., but even so useful for our purpose.--P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to envelope; a bundle'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs Hu b-, m-, Vg, Os m- /1st syll. J a, o, OJ a vs Hu a, o, u, Vg a, Os ā / medial J t, ts, OJ t vs Hu t, ty (= t), ty (= t), Vg āt, Os nt--The word-final -u in Hu batyu, batu is probably a preserved sound, cf. -u of āru under entry uru.

252. J matsu, OJ matu (y.) 'wait for, await, expect; watch/be on the lookout for'.

Table 252	FUV 62: Fi <u>odotta-</u> 'wait, await, expect' (der.) / Lp <u>ōzotā-</u>
J <u>matsu</u>	'await repeatedly, wait time after time' / Md <u>uō-</u> 'wait, await';
OJ <u>mat.u</u>	<u>uō!</u> 'wait!' / Ch <u>wōče-</u> , <u>wūče-</u> // Sk <u>ātty-</u> , <u>aača-</u> , <u>aaca-</u> 'guard,
Fi <u>od.o.tta-</u>	stand guard over; lie in wait; be on the lookout for someone;
Lp <u>ōz.o.tā-</u>	spy on someone!-- U <u>*ōča-</u> .
Md <u>uō.o-</u>	
" <u>uō.o-</u>	FUV 137: Est <u>viisa-</u> 'lie in wait for, watch for', <u>viisu-</u> 'lurk,
Ch <u>wōče-</u>	lie in wait' / Vty <u>vož-</u> , <u>vož-</u> 'keep (something somewhere), pre-
" <u>wūče-</u>	serve, protect, defend, etc.' / Zr <u>viž-</u> 'keep, tend, observe, etc.'
Sk <u>ātty-</u>	/Hu <u>vigváz-</u> 'look out, be on one's guard, beware'-- FU <u>*wičz-</u> .
" <u>āč.a-</u>	Comm.: 1. I suggest that the two word families on the U side
" <u>āc.a-</u>	are variants of each other. 2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to be on the look-
U <u>*ōč.a-</u>	out (for)'. 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>m</u> - vs U <u>o</u> , FU <u>*w-</u> (for the
Est <u>viis.a-</u>	loss of initial <u>m</u> -, cf. dial. Hu <u>māg</u> > <u>ēg</u> 'and (in enumeration)',
Vty <u>vož-</u>	J (ōno:) <u>muzu</u> > <u>uzu</u> (suffix for the expression of volition), OJ
" <u>vož-</u>	(Omodaka:) <u>mika</u> > <u>ika</u> 'stern';--substitution of <u>w</u> for <u>m</u> -, then
Zr <u>viž-</u>	loss of <u>w</u> - is also conceivable) /1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs U <u>*o</u> , FU
Hu <u>vigv.ā.z-</u>	<u>*i</u> /medial J <u>ts</u> , OJ <u>t</u> vs U <u>*č</u> , FU <u>*č</u> .
FU <u>*wičz-</u>	

253. J matsu, OJ matu 'pine-tree', J matsu-bara, OJ matu-para 'a tract of open land, with groups of pines growing on it' (hara < para 'field, tract of land').

Table 253	FUV 114, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>messze</u> , dial. <u>messzi</u> 'far, distant'
J <u>matsu</u>	/Fi <u>metsä</u> 'forest', Est <u>mets</u> , <u>mōts</u> 'bush, forest, grazing land';
OJ <u>mat.u</u>	away; lost; outside, out' / Lp <u>miečče-</u> : <u>miečče-suoloi</u> 'islet that
Hu <u>messze</u>	is situated far away, apart'-- FU <u>*mečā</u> --Hu <u>-e</u> /-i is a lative
Fi <u>metsä</u>	suffix; -- <u>ssz-</u> is geminated -- <u>sz-</u> . The original meaning may have been
Est <u>mets</u>	'the edge of something'.
" <u>mōts</u>	FUV 114: Lp <u>maecce</u> 'forest, wilderness'.
Lp <u>miečče-</u>	Erdélyi 1969, 126: Sk <u>mači</u> 'tundra', <u>mačil-</u> 'pertaining to the
FU <u>*mečā</u>	forest'.
Lp <u>maecce</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'forest; tree' (a transfer of meaning
Sk <u>mač.i</u>	either way is conceivable). TESZ concedes that the derivation of

the concept 'forest, bushland' from the assumed basic meaning 'the edge of something' is not quite transparent. I suggest that the basic meaning was 'forest, land covered with trees and bushes', and that Hu messze has to do with the concept 'vast', a plausible attribute of 'forest, wilderness'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs FU *m-, Sk m- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs FU *e, Sk a / medial J ts, OJ t vs FU *č, Sk č /final J, OJ -u vs FU *-ā, Sk -i.

254. J mazu, OJ madu (adv.) 'in the first place, at the start, first'. Ōno: also (as a noun) 'seniority; 'proceeding at the head of others'.

Table 254	FUV 84, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>vezet-</u> 'to guide, direct, lead,
J <u>mazu</u>	command'. This word is a derivative by the frequ. formant <u>-t</u>
OJ <u>mad.u</u>	from <u>*vez-</u> from which <u>vezér</u> 'leader' has also developed' ~ Fi
Hu <u>vez.e.t-</u>	<u>vetä-</u> 'pull, draw, haul, drag' / MdE <u>vedä-</u> , <u>viti-</u> , MdM <u>vedä-</u> ,
" <u>vez.ér</u>	<u>vetä-</u> 'take, guide, lead' / Ch <u>wide-</u> , <u>wide-</u> 'guide, lead, carry'.
Fi <u>vet.ä-</u>	-- FU <u>*Betä-</u> .
MdE <u>ved.ä-</u>	
" <u>vit.i-</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to lead; be at the head (of others)'
MdM <u>ved.ä-</u>	Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>m</u> - vs FU <u>*β</u> - /1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs FU <u>*e</u> /
" <u>vet.ä-</u>	medial J <u>z</u> , OJ <u>d</u> vs FU <u>*t</u> . 3. Cf. Sauvageot 1930, 60: FU <u>βit.ä-</u>
Ch <u>vid.ä-</u>	~ Mo, Tg <u>*βit.ä-</u> / <u>*p.ä-tä-</u> 'to guide, lead'. 4. Cf. FUV 150: Fi
FU <u>*Bet.ä-</u>	<u>vetä-</u> ... ? Avestan <u>vādayeiti</u> 'lead, pull, drag'. 5. If the word

families in question are linked, the question arises: how does

J come into the picture as regards the time and place of the assumed borrowing?

255. J mazushi-i, OJ madu-si 'poor, destitute; disadvantageous', OJ madi 'poverty', J wazurau, OJ wadurapu (y.) 'be ill, suffer (from), be afflicted (with)', J wazurai, OJ wadurapi 'worry, distress, anguish, pain, hindrance, illness', J wazurawashi-i, Ono: wadurapa-si 'troublesome, onerous, vexatious', J wazurawasu, OJ wadurapasu (y.) 'to trouble, disturb, annoy, inflict pain; plague, pester'.

Table 255

J	waz.u.ra u	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>vész</u> 'ruin, annihilation, destruction,
"	waz.u.ra i	decline, downfall (e.g., of a family/a country), calamity,
OJ	wad.u.rapu	disaster, plague, pestilence; destroyed part of a forest;
"	wad.u.rapi	destructive natural force, tempest, stroke of lightning,
J	waz.u.rawasu	storm; revolution; danger, distress, misery, peril, exi-
OJ	wad.u.rapasu	gency, dire need, emergency', <u>veszedelem</u> , <u>veszély</u> 'danger,
J	maz.u.shi i	peril', OHu <u>veszet</u> 'ruin, downfall', <u>veszéd(ik)</u> 'to strug-
OJ	mad.u.si	gle, wrestle with difficulties, take pains, toil, be/live
"	mad.i	in danger, lose one's strength, pine away, become stunted,
Hu	vész	perish' <u>veszeked(ik)</u> 'to quarrel, wrangle; be in danger,
"	vesz.e.delem	decline, deteriorate, perish'.--Origin uncertain. ? ~ Vty
"	vesz.ély	<u>vez-</u> 'disappear, make oneself scarce'.--As FU medial con-
"	.....	sonant we can posit * <u>ś</u> .--The weakness of this equation is

that only two cognate languages can be brought into it.

Comm.: 1. I suggest that Vty vez- does not belong here, but probably has to do with Hu vesz(ik) 'become lost' (s. entry useru). 2. Since m~w- alternation is frequent in J, and because the semantic areas considerably overlap, I take the J stems wazu- and mazu- to be variants of each other, with some semantic restriction in the case of mazu-. 3. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'afflicted, ill', hence 'destitute'. 4. Phon.: initial J, OJ w-, ? m- vs Hu v- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu é, e (the latter vowel is open) /medial J z, OJ d vs Hu sz (< PFU *ś-). 5. Cf. the entries waza and majinau.

256. J me, ma-, OJ mē, ma 'eye'.

Table 256

J	me	SW 86: * <u>mānc3-</u> 'to see'; cf. Sk <u>mantj-go</u> 'to look, cast a glance
"	ma-	at', <u>montj</u> 'look!; you see; he sees; it is visible'.
OJ	mē	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'eye; see' (positing a nomen-verbum).
"	ma	2. The element * <u>c3</u> is taken to be a formant, cf. PSam * <u>pucc3-</u> /
PSam	* <u>mā.nc3-</u>	<u>poc3-</u> 'undo', * <u>kācc3-</u> 'to sneeze', * <u>concc3-</u> 'to crawl'; the sound

*n of *mānc3- is taken as a homorganic glide'. 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs PSam *m- /J e, a, OJ ē, a vs PSam *3.

257. J me, mesu (-su is a suffix) 'female' (human or animal), e.g., me-ushi 'cow' (ushi 'cattle'), OJ mē 'female; woman; girl', e.g., yo-mē 'daughter-in-law' (the element yo- is not explained by the dictionaries at my disposal; could it mean 'good', somewhat similarly to French belle-fille 'step-daughter?'), OJ -mi in Izana-mi 'inviting female' (in OJ mythology), J o-mina (>onna), OJ wo-mina /muna 'woman; young woman; beautiful woman/girl' (o-, wo- 'small, little'), OJ wo-muna-me 'lady, esp. wife and concubines', Ono: OJ ō-mi-na 'old woman' is the opposite of ō-ki-na 'old man' /thus, wo-muna-me contains the concept 'woman' twice].

Table 257

J	me	Vg	mi.ń	FUV 54 (ex.): Fi <u>miniä</u> , <u>minjä</u> 'daughter-in-law' /
"	me.su	Os	me.ń	Lp <u>mānnje~mānje-</u> id.; 'wife of one's brother's
"	-mi.na	Hu	mē.ry	son or sister's son; husband's cousin, male
OJ	mē	Yr	mē.je	cousin's wife' /Vty <u>mēf</u> : <u>ken-mēf</u> 'daughter-in-law'
"	-mi	Tv	mea.j	(<u>ken</u> id., 'young woman'), <u>iči-mēf</u> 'young married
"	-mi.na	Yn	mī	woman; sister-in-law, the wife of the younger broth-
"	-muna	Km	mē.ji	er of one's husband, the younger sister of one's
Fi	mi.njä			husband' (<u>iči</u> 'little') /Zr <u>moń</u> 'daughter-in-law;
Lp	mā.nje-			the brother's wife' /Vg <u>mif</u> 'daughter-in-law' /Os
Vty	me.ń			<u>mēf</u> /Hu <u>mēny</u> //Yr <u>meeje</u> 'the wife of one's younger
Zr	mo.ń	U	*mi.ńä	brother' /Tv <u>meaj</u> 'daughter-in-law' /Yn <u>mii</u> /Km <u>meeji</u> .

-- U *mi.ńä.

TESZ (ex.): Hu mēny 'young woman; girl; virgin; bride; daughter-in-law; young married woman; the

wife of a younger male relative'. --The meanings of mēny and its cognates suggest that the primary meaning of this word family was not tied up with a certain degree of relationship, but it sooner had the content 'young married woman who has come into the clan', or generally 'young woman'.

Comm.: 1. By contrasting OJ ḍ-mī-na with ḍ-kī-na, Ōno points out several relevant things: a) ḍ- means 'old, aged', b) -na means 'human being', c) mī means 'woman', d) kī means 'man'. Thus, in OJ -mī-na 'female human being' we see two components of CV shape against U *miñā. It will be interesting to see in the future whether U *miñā is of one cast. 2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: '(young) woman'. 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs U *m- /J e, i, OJ ḍ, ḍ, u vs U *i / (if we allow OJ -mī-na / -mu-na as a fused construction to be set against U *miñā, then) medial OJ n vs U *ñ / final OJ -a vs U *-ā. --As may be noted, U *miñā is a word of palatal vowel order. 4. Cf. Pröhle No. 32. 5. Cf. Ramstedt 1957 (I), 81: Kor nā, Tg Go naj 'human being', Olča ñi, ñi 'man'; p. 180: Tg na : aga-na-sal 'the older brothers'. 6. Cf. Räsänen 1955, 9: Fi minjā, minjā ... ~ Tg bnē 'younger sister'; Kor mjenari, mjenuri, mjeniri 'daughter-in-law' (<? *māñ). 7. Cf. Murayama 1966, No. 13: Mo eme 'wife' vs OJ ōmō < *eme 'mother'. 8. Cf. entry amo.

258. J <u>meguru</u> ,	OJ <u>meguru</u> (y.) 'go/come round, revolve, tour, return', J <u>meguru</u> ,
Table 258	rasu, OJ <u>megurasu</u> (y.) '(Vt) turn, revolve, rotate', J <u>magaru</u> ,
J meg.u.ru	OJ <u>magaru</u> (y.) 'be bent/crooked; to curve, swerve; be hit by
" meg.u.rasu	misfortune/curse', J <u>mageru</u> , OJ <u>magu</u> (sh.n.) '(Vt) bend (e.g.,
OJ meg.u.ru	one's back), curve/crook/bow/lean (forward, backward), pervert,
" meg.u.rasu	distort', J, OJ <u>maga-tama</u> 'curved jewel'. ? OJ <u>mogo-yoka-ni</u>
J, OJ mag.a.ru	'with a snake-like motion, in a contorted way', (Ōno:) <u>mogo-</u>
J mag.e.ru	<u>yopu</u> (y.) 'twist the body like a snake'.
OJ mag.u	FUV 115: Lp <u>moagge</u> 'bent object; a small person with bandy-
J, OJ mag.a-	legs', <u>moaggās</u> 'bent, crooked' / ? Vty <u>mog</u> 'a place that is
? OJ mog.o-	situated behind me or aside', <u>moge</u> '(turn) to the side/off the
Lp moagge	way' / Zr <u>meg</u> 'bend (e.g., of a river)' / Vg <u>monghel-</u> 'encircle'.
" moagge.ā.s	--FU * <u>monka</u> .
? Vty mog	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>mankó</u> , dial. <u>monko</u> , <u>bonkó</u> 'a crutch; bent grip
" mog.ē	on the handle of a scythe; hook, grapple'. --Origin unknown
? Zr meg	/ <u>-ō</u> is likely a dim. formant? /
Vg monghe.l-	Toivonen et al. 1932 (ex.): Os <u>māyā</u> , <u>māyā</u> 'bend/curve in the
FU *monka	flow of a river or in a road' < Zr <u>meg</u> 'bend in a river' / Vty <u>mog</u>
- - - - -	'peninsula (with a meadow)' / Os <u>mēger</u> 'a bow, a bent piece of
Hu markó	wood', <u>mīyēr</u> 'a small bow', <u>mēgar</u> 'rib of a (small) boat' / Vg
- - - - -	<u>mā'ir</u> , <u>mā'ir</u> : <u>vāp-m</u> id., 'keel' < Zr <u>meg</u> (as above) / Os <u>mōGār</u>
Os mā.y.ə	'vault, arch', <u>mukēr</u> , <u>muGār</u> , <u>mōker</u> 'hump, hunch, humpback' <
" mā.y.3	Zr <u>mīkir</u> 'humpbacked (people or animals); morose, sullen' / Os
" mēg.e.r	<u>mīkefāti</u> 'become bent/arched' < Zr <u>mīkirts-</u> , <u>mīkirti-</u> 'get
" mī.y.ə.r	bent/crooked; bow down before someone; be morose'.
Vg mā'.ī.r	Comm.: 1. I suggest that the adduced word families on the U
Zr mīk.j.r	side belong together. 2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'bend; be bent', hence

Note the formant r on both sides in the same column. 4. Cf. Poppe 1974, 132: Tg Ev munur 'vermiform appendix of the intestine', goes back to Tu Yak munur < *muṣur 'blunt, closed, cul-de-sac' < Mo, cf. Mo muqur, Kh muxar id.

259. J mi, ClJ mi, mu, OJ mī, mu 'body, self, person', OJ wanu I, myself'. Miller 1971, 171: OJ wa-na-mi 'we (inclusive)' ('not attested earlier than the mid-sixteenth-century ...'); p. 172: "The form wanamī most likely involves the now familiar first person wa-, followed by a vowel-harmony alternant of the referent particle /genitive marker/ no ..., and this is followed ... by a suffixed personal element ...". Ōno: wanamī < wa 'I' + namī '(approx.) those with me'.

FUV 54: Fi minā ~ minu- 'I' / Lp mon ~ mū- / Md mon / Ch mən, etc. / Vty mon / Zr me, acc. menō / (Vg ām, acc. āmānni) / Os mā ~ mən, mā ~ mān-, mān / (Hu ēn) // Yr mañ / Tv mannan / Yn modi / Sk mān, mat / Km mān // Yuk met. -- U *minā or *myna (Y = i)

FUV 53: Fi me 'we' / Lp mī / Md min / Ch mā, me / Vty, Zr mī / Vg mān, etc. / Os mōn, etc. Hu mī // Yr maña (cf. Fi minā) / Tv meen / Yn modi / Sk mee, mīi / Km mī // Yuk mit.

Table 259

J, ClJ	mi	Os	mă	Fi	me
ClJ	mu	"	mă.n	Lp	mi.n
OJ	mī	"	ma	Ch	mă
"	mu	"	mă.n	"	me
"	wa.nu	"	mă.n	Vty, Zr	mi
"	wa.na.mi	Yr	ma.ń	Vg	ma.n
Fi	mi.nă	Tv	ma.nnaŋ	Os	mă.ŋ
"	mi.nu-	Yn	mo.đi	Hu	mi
Lp	mo.n	Sk	ma.n	Yr	ma.ńa'
"	mú-	"	ma.t	Tv	me. en(?)
Md	mo.n	Km	ma.n	Yn	mo.đi
Ch	ma.ń	U	*mi.nă	Sk	mă
Vty	mo.n	or	*my.na	"	mī
Zr	me	Yuk	me.t	Km	mi.' (?)
"	me.nđ	- - -	- - -	Yuk	mi.t

Comm.: 1. Since the 1st person pron. sg and pl on the U side differ so little, they can stand together against the data on the J side.--Leaving out the debatable Vg and Hu forms (ad-duced in brackets), we find that on the U side there are CV base forms, lengthened, in the first place, by the reflexes of U *-nă/*-na. The OJ pronoun formant -nđ/-ne (e.g., sđ-nđ~sđ-ne 'that') may well be compared to it. 2. As regards *wanami* 'we (familiar inclusive)', I think that Miller is right when he proposes (Miller 1971, 160 ff.) that it consists of *wa-* (1st person pl, like Mo

1st person inclusive pl *ba*) + the pron. formant *na* (<nđ) + the OJ 1st person pron. *mi* (the PMO oblique form of *ba* is **man*- which Miller probably correctly equates with OJ *wa-nu*). 3. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'body; self', hence 'my person; I', hence 'we'. 4. Phon.: initial J, ClJ *m-*, OJ *m-*, *w-* vs U *-m-/J *i*, ClJ *i*, *u*, OJ *i*, *u*, *a* vs U *-i or *-y (= *i*). 4. Cf. FUV 154: Fi *me* 'we' ... //OTu *biz*, enclitic -*biz*/*-miz* /Mo *bide*, gen. *bidenai*, *manai*; px -*mnai*, -*nai*.--FUV 155: Fi *mină*-*minu* 'I' ... //OTu *băn*, *măn*, *min*, acc. *binî*, *minî* (mostly), *măni*; px -*m* /Mo *bi*, gen. *minîj*; px -*mi*, -*ni*, -*m*. 5. The U reconstructed form does not throw enough light upon such forms as Sk *mat*, Yuk *met*. When one also considers the A forms, e.g., Mo *bide*, one begins to suspect that -*t* in the Sk and the Yuk forms is a pron. formant different from U *-nă/-na. Cf. OsE *metă* 'some kind of'. Is **t* an attr. marker = OJ *tu*?

260. J *mina*, OJ *mina* 'all; everything; everybody'; (adv.) 'without exception, wholly', Ōno: 'all those living together'.

Table 260 TESZ (ex.): Hu *mind*~OHu *mund*, *mönd* 'all, everyone; entire; all without exception; each; in like manner; wholly, continually', OJ *mindən*, OHu *mëndun* 'all, the whole lot, everybody', *mindig* 'always'.--This word family comes from the pronoun *mi*~*mă* 'some-thing; what; which', but its formation is not clear. Its *n* (before *d*) could be a pronoun formant; -*d* is not clear at all. Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'all, everybody'. I disagree with all. TESZ concerning the origin of *mind*. As I see it, *mind* has to do with Hu *mi* 'we' (see entry 259). If so, then *n* is probably a pronoun formant, while -*d* likely has to do with *t* of Sk *muntik*, *muntis* 'wholly, fully; all, everyone' (Erdélyi 1969, 144). I suggest at the same time that this Sk word goes with Hu *mind*.

2. Phon.: initial J, OJ *m-* vs Hu, Sk *m-* /1st syll. J *i*, OJ *i* vs Hu *i*, *u*, *ö*, *ë*, Sk *u* / medial J, OJ *n* vs Hu, Sk *n*. 3. Cf. Benzing 1955, 31: Tg **münti* 'we (inclusive)' = Ma *mu*, Ude *minti* id.

261. J *mine*, OJ *mine* 'peak, summit, top (of a hill/mountain), back/ridge of the blade of a sword'. Ōno: *mine* < *mi* 'hallowed' + *ne* 'mountain'.

Table 261 FUV 114, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu *menny*, OHu *munhi* (= *mufi*), *mény*, dial. *möny* 'sky; heaven (in the religious sense); ornamental roof of a bed; firmament, the vault of heaven' ~ MdE *mēfel*, *hēfel*, OHu *mufi*, MdM *mēfel* 'sky, heaven'.--In the Md forms, -*l* is a denom. Hu *mény* noun formant [note also the metathesis in *mēfel*].--FU **mifa*. Comm.: 1. Reference is made to a) Mathews 1963, No. 7594: Chi-nese *yü* 'the canopy of heaven; space; cover, shelter; the part of a house sheltered by the eaves', b) Nelson 1962, No. 1280: Sino-Japanese *u* 'eaves, roof, house;

heaven'. Thus, it is understandable that the vault-like old-fashioned roof became synonymous with the sky. The conspicuous trait of both images was a certain curvature. Therefore, the proposed basic meaning for J mine, Hu měnyy, and Md meŋeŋ is 'bow, bend, curve'. (If Ōno's proposition can be substantiated, then this assumption is to be re-examined; however, the meaning 'peak, top of a hill/mountain; back of the blade of a sword' need not involve the epithet 'hallowed'.) 2. Phon.: J, OJ m- vs FU *m-/ 1st syll. J i, OJ i vs FU *i /medial J, OJ n vs FU *i. 3. Cf. entry mune.

262. J miru, OJ mīru < mī (k.i.) 'see, view', J miseru, OJ mīsu (sh.n.) 'show, let see', J mesu 'summon, send for; wear, put on (clothing, weapons)'; Lewin 1959, 158: OJ mesu < mīru < mī + honorific-factitive suffix -su; Ōno: si-mesu (y.) 'point at/to (with the finger) and explain' (si < su 'to act/do', its function is to give emphasis to mesu).

Table 262

J	mi.r.u	? Vty	ma.d'
"	mi.s.eru	"	ma.d'
"	me.s.u	Ch	mo'.am
OJ	mī	"	mu'.am
"	mī.r.u	MdE	mu.j.ams
"	mī.s.u	MdM	mu.j.ams
"	me.s.u	Fi	mu'.ista(a)-
Hu	mu-	" Ol.	mu.j.a-
"	mu.t-	Est	mō'.ista-
"	mu.t.at-		
Os	mu.i.ūṭti		
"	mū.i.əptəm		
? Zr	mo.i. d	FU	*mu.j.a-

FUV 55, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu mutat- 'to show, present, demonstrate, let see, point to', OHu mut- in the personal name Məgə-muto 'the one who shows', dial. mutaszt-, mutit- 'to show, let see', mutogat- 'to point to; give signs repeatedly'---(TESZ:) the base mu- may be compared to: Os mu.i.ṭti 'riddle, poser; lot', mūiəptəm 'pose a riddle; counsel' /? Zr mōid = mōid-kiy 'tale, story' (kiy 'tongue, speech, word'), mōid-ni 'to narrate' /Vty mad 'a riddle', mad 'narrate, relate; pose a riddle' /Ch mo'am, mu'am 'to find' /MdE mujems, MdM mujems id. /Fi muista(a)-

'remember; understand, know' (der.), Olonets mušta id., muja 'to taste (= try with the tongue)', Est mōista 'hold; comprehend; recognize; note; mean, have sense/meaning; judge, consider; promise'---The original meaning was probably 'to touch, feel'---The belonging here of the Zr and Vty forms is doubtful because of their vowels.--In Hu mutat-, the caus. formant t is reduplicated.--Fu *muja-. Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'see; come in touch (with)', hence 'let/see/find', hence 'experience, understand, know'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs FU *m- /1st syll. J i, e, OJ i, e vs FU *u /medial J s, OJ s (= ts) vs t in Hu mutat-, mut-, etc. 3. FU *-ja is a typical lengthening element on a CV shaped root. The root mu- can be shown in Hu mut(at)- by the following analogy: Hu ēt(et)- 'make eat, feed' (claimed root ē- : FU *seēe- or *seye-, where *-ēe/-ye can be demonstrated to be a formant; s. entry taberu), Hu it(at)- 'give someone to drink, make drink' (claimed root i- : FU *juye-), hit(et)- 'convince, make believe' (origin unknown, but cf. hi-vō 'believer' : hi-sz- '(he/she) believes' : hi-het '(he/she) may believe').

263. J misogu, OJ misogu (y.) 'to wash' (the body, in a river, as recorded in J mythological texts). Omodaka: the quality of i in OJ misogu cannot be determined. Ōno: misogu ? < mī 'body' + so.sogu 'to pour/sprinkle'. J, OJ misogi (deverbal noun) 'ceremonial ablution; purification ceremony'. Ross 1965, 61: "In earlier centuries the purification was literally a more thorough physical cleansing than it is today; ... one went to a place where a river emptied into the sea and there washed his entire body." FUV 54, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu mos- ~ OHu mus- 'to wash', mos-d(ik) 'wash oneself' (refl.) /Est mōske- 'to wash' /Md muske- /Ch muška- /Vty, Zr mysky- //Yr maasa- /Yn masua- /Sk musu- /? Km buza- /?--U *muške- or *moške-. Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to wash'---The weakness of Ōno's proposition is that the vowel of OJ mī 'body' cannot be ascertained in OJ misogu. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs U *m- /1st syll. J, OJ i vs U *u or *o /medial J s, OJ s (= ts) vs U *s (cf. PSam *s)---Regarding the cluster U *sk, I suggest

Table 263

J, OJ	mis.o.gu
"	mis.o.gi
Hu	mos-
OHu	mus-
Est	mōs. .ke-
Md	mūs. .ke-
Ch	muš. .ka-
Zr, Vty	mys. .ky-
Yr	mās.a-
Yn	mas.u. a-(?)
Sk	mas.a-
? Km	buz.ə-
U	*mūs. .ke-
or	*mōs. .ke-
PSam	*mās.ə-

Table 259

J, ClJ	mi	Os	mă	Fi	me
ClJ	mu	"	mă.n	lp	mi.n
OJ	mī	"	ma	Ch	mă
"	mu	"	mă.n	"	me
"	wa.nu	"	mă.n	Vty,Zr	mi
"	wa.na.mi	Yr	ma.ń	Vg	ma.n
Fi	mi.nă	Tv	ma.nnaŋ	Os	mă.ŋ
"	mi.nu-	Yn	mo.đi	Hu	mi
Lp	mo.n	Sk	ma.n	Yr	ma.ńa'
"	mú-	"	ma.t	Tv	me. en(?)
Md	mo.n	Km	ma.n	Yn	mo.đi
Ch	ma.ń	U	*mi.nă	Sk	mă
Vty	mo.n	or	*my.na	"	mī
Zr	me	Yuk	me.t	Km	mi.' (?)
"	me.nđ	- - -	- - -	Yuk	mi.t

Comm.: 1. Since the 1st person pron. sg and pl on the U side differ so little, they can stand together against the data on the J side.--Leaving out the debatable Vg and Hu forms (ad-duced in brackets), we find that on the U side there are CV base forms, lengthened, in the first place, by the reflexes of U *-nă/*-na. The OJ pronoun formant -nđ/-ne (e.g., sđ-nđ~sđ-ne 'that') may well be compared to it. 2. As regards *wanami* 'we (familiar inclusive)', I think that Miller is right when he proposes (Miller 1971, 160 ff.) that it consists of *wa-* (1st person pl, like Mo

1st person inclusive pl *ba*) + the pron. formant *na* (<nđ) + the OJ 1st person pron. *mī* (the PMo oblique form of *ba* is **man*- which Miller probably correctly equates with OJ *wa-nu*). 3. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'body; self', hence 'my person; I', hence 'we'. 4. Phon.: initial J, ClJ *m-*, OJ *m-*, *w-* vs U *-m-/J *i*, ClJ *i*, *u*, OJ *i*, *u*, *a* vs U *-i or *-y (= *i*). 4. Cf. FUV 154: Fi *me* 'we' ... //OTu *biz*, enclitic -*biz*/*miz*/Mo *bide*, gen. *bidenai*, *manai*; px -*mnai*, -*nai*.--FUV 155: Fi *mină*-*minu* 'I' ... //OTu *băn*, *măn*, *min*, acc. *binî*, *minî* (mostly), *măni*; px -*m*/Mo *bi*, gen. *minîj*; px -*mi*, -*ni*, -*m*. 5. The U reconstructed form does not throw enough light upon such forms as Sk *mat*, Yuk *met*. When one also considers the A forms, e.g., Mo *bide*, one begins to suspect that -*t* in the Sk and the Yuk forms is a pron. formant different from U *-nă/-na. Cf. OsE *metă* 'some kind of'. Is **t* an attr. marker = OJ *tu*?

260. J *mina*, OJ *mina* 'all; everything; everybody'; (adv.) 'without exception, wholly', Ōno: 'all those living together'.

Table 260 TESZ (ex.): Hu *mind*~OHu *mund*, *mönd* 'all, everyone; entire; all without exception; each; in like manner; wholly, continually', OJ *mindŋn*, OHu *mëndun* 'all, the whole lot, everybody', *mindig* 'always'.--This word family comes from the pronoun *mi*~*mē* 'some-thing; what; which', but its formation is not clear. Its *n* (before *d*) could be a pronoun formant; -*d* is not clear at all. Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'all, everybody'. I disagree with all. TESZ concerning the origin of *mind*. As I see it, *mind* has to do with Hu *mi* 'we' (see entry 259). If so, then *n* is probably a pronoun formant, while -*d* likely has to do with *t* of Sk *muntik*, *muntis* 'wholly, fully; all, everyone' (Erdélyi 1969, 144). I suggest at the same time that this Sk word goes with Hu *mind*.

2. Phon.: initial J, OJ *m-* vs Hu, Sk *m-*/1st syll. J *i*, OJ *i* vs Hu *i*, *u*, *ö*, *ē*, Sk *u*/medial J, OJ *n* vs Hu, Sk *n*. 3. Cf. Benzing 1955, 31: Tg **münti* 'we (inclusive)' = Ma *muse*, Ude *minti* id.

261. J *mine*, OJ *mine* 'peak, summit, top (of a hill/mountain), back/ridge of the blade of a sword'. Ōno: *mine* < *mī* 'hallowed' + *ne* 'mountain'.

Table 261 FUV 114, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu *menny*, OHu *munhi* (= *mufi*), *mény*, dial. *möny* 'sky; heaven (in the religious sense); ornamental roof of a bed; firmament, the vault of heaven'~MđE *mēfel*, *hēfel*, OHu *mufi*, MđM *mēfel* 'sky, heaven'.--In the Md forms, -*l* is a denom. Hu *mény* noun formant [note also the metathesis in *mēfel*].--FU **mifa*. Comm.: 1. Reference is made to a) Mathews 1963, No. 7594: Chi-nese *yü* 'the canopy of heaven; space; cover, shelter; the part of a house sheltered by the eaves', b) Nelson 1962, No. 1280: Sino-Japanese *u* 'eaves, roof, house;

heaven'. Thus, it is understandable that the vault-like old-fashioned roof became synonymous with the sky. The conspicuous trait of both images was a certain curvature. Therefore, the proposed basic meaning for J mine, Hu měnyy, and Md meñeI is 'bow, bend, curve'. (If Ōno's proposition can be substantiated, then this assumption is to be re-examined; however, the meaning 'peak, top of a hill/mountain; back of the blade of a sword' need not involve the epithet 'hallowed'.) 2. Phon.: J, OJ m- vs FU *m-/ 1st syll. J i, OJ i vs FU *i /medial J, OJ n vs FU *i. 3. Cf. entry mune.

262. J miru, OJ mīru < mī (k.i.) 'see, view', J miseru, OJ mīsu (sh.n.) 'show, let see', J mesu 'summon, send for; wear, put on (clothing, weapons)'; Lewin 1959, 158: OJ mesu < mīru < mī + honorific-factitive suffix -su; Ōno: si-mesu (y.) 'point at/to (with the finger) and explain' (si < su 'to act/do', its function is to give emphasis to mesu).

Table 262

J	mi.r.u	? Vty	ma.d'
"	mi.s.eru	"	ma.d'
"	me.s.u	Ch	mo'.am
OJ	mī	"	mu'.am
"	mī.r.u	MdE	mu.j.ams
"	mī.s.u	MdM	mu.j.ams
"	me.s.u	Fi	mu'.ista(a)-
Hu	mu-	" Ol.	mu.j.a-
"	mu.t-	Est	mō'.ista-
"	mu.t.at-		
Os	mu.i.ūṭti		
"	mū.i.ēptəm		
? Zr	mo.i. d	FU	*mu.j.a-

FUV 55, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu mutat- 'to show, present, demonstrate, let see, point to', OHu mut- in the personal name Mēgē-muto 'the one who shows', dial. mutaszt-, mutit- 'to show, let see', mutogat- 'to point to; give signs repeatedly'---(TESZ:) the base mu- may be compared to: Os mu.i.ūṭti 'riddle, poser; lot', mūiēptəm 'pose a riddle; counsel' /? Zr mōid = mōid-kiy 'tale, story' (kiy 'tongue, speech, word'), mōid-ni 'to narrate' /Vty mad 'a riddle', mad- 'narrate, relate; pose a riddle' /Ch mo'am, mu'am 'to find' /MdE mujems, MdM mujems id. /Fi muista(a)-

'remember; understand, know' (der.), Olonets mušta- id., muja- 'to taste (= try with the tongue)', Est mōista- 'hold; comprehend; recognize; note; mean, have sense/meaning; judge, consider; promise'---The original meaning was probably 'to touch, feel'---The belonging here of the Zr and Vty forms is doubtful because of their vowels.--In Hu mutat-, the caus. formant t is reduplicated.--Fu *muja-.
Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'see; come in touch (with)', hence '(let) see/find', hence 'experience, understand, know'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs FU *m- /1st syll. J i, e, OJ i, e vs FU *u /medial J s, OJ s (= ts) vs t in Hu mutat-, mut-, etc. 3. FU *-ja is a typical lengthening element on a CV shaped root. The root mu- can be shown in Hu mut(at)- by the following analogy: Hu ēt(et)- 'make eat, feed' (claimed root ē- : FU *seēe- or *seye-, where *-ēe/-ye can be demonstrated to be a formant; s. entry taberu), Hu it(at)- 'give someone to drink, make drink' (claimed root i- : FU *juye-), hit(et)- 'convince, make believe' (origin unknown, but cf. hi-vō 'believer' : hi-sz- '(he/she) believes' : hi-het '(he/she) may believe').

263. J misogu, OJ misogu (y.) 'to wash' (the body, in a river, as recorded in J mythological texts). Omodaka: the quality of i in OJ misogu cannot be determined. Ōno: misogu ? < mī 'body' + so.sogu 'to pour/sprinkle'. J, OJ misogi (deverbal noun) 'ceremonial ablution; purification ceremony'.
Ross 1965, 61: "In earlier centuries the purification was literally a more thorough physical cleansing than it is today; ... one went to a place where a river emptied into the sea and there washed his entire body."
FUV 54, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu mos- ~ OHu mus- 'to wash', mos-d(ik) 'wash oneself' (refl.) /Est mōske- 'to wash' /Md muske- /Ch muška- /Vty, Zr mysky- //Yr maasa- /Yn masua- /Sk musu- /? Km buza- /?--U *muške- or *moške-.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to wash'---The weakness of Ōno's proposition is that the vowel of OJ mī 'body' cannot be ascertained in OJ misogu. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs U *m- /1st syll. J, OJ i vs U *u or *o /medial J s, OJ s (= ts) vs U *s (cf. PSam *s)---Regarding the cluster U *sk, I suggest

that it is characteristic of the Finno-Lapp area; Hu records have nothing like it and, to take the present etymology as an example, it does not abound in Sam, either. 3. U *-ke is probably an expansion element added to a formerly disyllabic stem (the cluster *ak arose, I suggest, through the loss of the final vowel of the former disyllabic stem).--The 3rd syll. of misogu may provide a parallel to the suggested 3rd syllable *-ke on the U side.--The function of U *-ke and J, OJ -gu seems to be frequentative.

264. J mitsuru ~ michiru, OJ mftu (y.) 'be/become full (e.g., the moon), rise (as the tide of the sea), mature', J mitasu, OJ mftu (sh.n.) 'fill, supply, satisfy; make rise/mature'.

Table 264 Fokos-Fuchs 1959: Zr bid 'all, every', -bid 'fully, completely', J mitsu.ru bidmi-ni 'grow, grow up', bidmem 'grown to size', bidti-ni 'to michi.ru raise, bring up'.
" mit.a.su Munkácsi 1896: Vty bit, bfd (= bit, bfd) 'whole, full, complete', OJ mft.u bit-ti 'to complete, make full; use up', bit-mi ~ bfd-mi 'come Zr bfd(-) to an end, be all'.
Vty bfd(-) Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'be/become complete'. 2. Phon.: J, OJ " bit(-) initial m- vs Zr, Vty b- /1st syll. J i, OJ f vs Zr, Vty i / medial J ts, ch, OJ t vs Zr, Vty t, d. 3. Cf. Poppe 1960, 111: Mo bütü < büt-ü 'become completed/done; be fulfilled/realized' ~ OTu büt 'to complete, achieve'.

265. J mizu, OJ mftu 'water'.
Table 265 FUV 83, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi vesi ~ vete 'water' /Md ved /Ch wet, wit /Vty vu /Zr va /Vg wit /Hu viz ~ vize //Yr jii ~ jfd, wit /Tv bee ~ beda /Yn bi ~ bido /Sk üt, " vet.e Tv bē 'river, lake'.-- U *wete.
Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs U *w- /1st syll. J i, OJ f vs U *e /medial J Z, OJ d vs U *t /final J, OJ -u vs U *-e.--If OJ f is the right reading, then mftu shows velar vowel order against the palatal order of U *wete. 3. TESZ and MSZFE point out that the U words in question have been compared to IE words, e.g., Greek hydor, Gothic wato, Old Slavonic voda 'water', Latin unda 'wave'.
" viz.e U *wet.e

266. J mizu ~ mizushi-i 'young and fresh-looking, vivacious', OJ mftu 'young and lively; fresh and new and happy'. Ono: mftu 'filled with whole-some vigour; happy'. OJ mftu po 'beautiful and fresh ears of rice, etc.', mftu pa 'lively/fresh teeth'.

J miz.u TESZ (ex.): Hu vidám ~ OJu vid 'happy, merry, joyful, vivacious, Hu vid.ám and lively; enthusiastic', vidit 'gladden, enliven', vidul 'become happy/merry; renew itself (of a plant); become clear (of the weather)', (1794) vidor 'vidám'.--Vidor is an analogous formation on the pattern of bátor 'valiant'.--Origin unknown.

MTSz: neki-bodorod(ik) 'vidul'; 'become cheerful' (neki is a verbal prefix, literally: 'to it').

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'fresh, lively, cheerful'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs Hu v-, b- /1st syll. J i, OJ f vs Hu i, o /medial J Z, OJ d vs Hu d.

267. J -mo, OJ -mō (emphasizing particle) 'and; as well as; too; also; even, even if', e.g. kon nen-mo 'this year, too', atatakeku-mo 'even if it should be warm' (Lewin 1959, 77, 86).
Table 267 J -mo Gulya 1966, 95 and passim: OsE -pə /-pə (augmentative particle) OJ -mō 'and, also, even'. Examples: mām-pə mēnlem 'I also go' (mām < mān 'I'), kat-pə wetkelien 'the house also burned down' (kat 'house'), " -pə metā-pə 'nothing; nobody' (metā 'some kind of'; metā-pə in a neg. sentence), aj kāsī-pə 'nobody' (aj 'one', kāsī 'man').

Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs OsE p- /J o, OJ d vs OsE ə (in palatal vowel order). ə (in velar vowel order).

268. J moguru ~ muguru 'dip into, dive in/into/under; get/crawl in/into'. ? J haku, OJ paku (y.) 'put on the body (clothing, armor, weapons)'.

Table 268	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>buj(ik)</u> , <u>búv(ik)</u> 'crawl/creep into; hide oneself; slip/dip/dive in/into', <u>búvár</u> 'diver'.--This word family
J <u>mog.u.ru</u>	is of uncertain origin. It may be compared to Fi <u>puke-a</u> 'to dress,
" <u>mug.u.ru</u>	clothe', Est <u>puge-ma</u> 'creep/crawl in/into'.-- Fu <u>*puke-</u> .--This
? J <u>hak.u</u>	equation is weakened by the irregular representation of PFU <u>*p-</u> in
? OJ <u>pak.u</u>	the Hu words (where <u>f-</u> is expected); however, there are some other
Hu <u>buj-</u>	exceptions of this nature in Hu.--The sounds <u>j</u> and <u>v</u> in the Hu
" <u>búv-</u>	words in question are hiatus-fillers.
" <u>buk-</u>	
Fi <u>puk.e-</u>	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>buk(ik)</u> 'sink, submerge, dive; fall; go down; fall
Est <u>pug.e-</u>	through'.--Origin uncertain.--Proposition 1): <u>buk(ik)</u> is onom.;
FU <u>*puk.e-</u>	Proposition 2): it is related to <u>buj-</u> , <u>búv-</u> . The latter solution
	is quite acceptable semantically, but the sound <u>k</u> of the stem is

problematical.

MTSz: bukkanó 'steep descent on a mountain-side'; dial. elsewhere: bukkanó 'hole in the bottom of a river or creek'.

Comm.: 1. Inasmuch as 'put on the body (clothing, armour, weapons)' involves 'crawling into' (as it often does), J haku may be cognate with moguru ~ muguru, all three being suggested variants by split.--As regards buk(ik), bukkanó, I propose that these words are slightly irregular developments of the same stem from which buj-, búv- also derive.--P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'dive/crawl into'. 2. Phon.: initial J m-, ? J h-, OJ p- vs FU *p-/ 1st syll. J o, u, ? J, OJ a vs Fu *u/medial J g, ? J, OJ k vs FU *k.

269. J mono, OJ monó, Ōno: mōnō 'thing, something; somebody; a being, a spirit'. Kitagawa 1966, 13: mono 'evil kami, malevolent spirit', p. 14: mono or mono-no-ke 'emanation/force of the mono' (was widely feared and venerated).

Table 269	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>manó</u> ~ <u>mono</u> , dial. <u>mani</u> 'goblin, sprite, urchin',
J <u>mon.o</u>	<u>horgyon el a mono</u> 'the "mono" should take you' (a mild cursing).--
OJ <u>mon.ó</u>	Origin uncertain.
Hu <u>mon.o</u>	Kannisto 1958, 116: Vg <u>mēnkw</u> 'forest spirit' (harmful to people).
" <u>man.ó</u>	Patkanov 1902, 72: Os Irish <u>menk</u> , <u>mēnk</u> 'malevolent forest spirit'.
" <u>man.i</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'thing; being', hence 'spirit', hence
Vg <u>mēn. .kw</u>	'malevolent spirit'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>m-</u> vs Hu, Vg, Os <u>m-</u> /
Os <u>mēn. .k</u>	1st syll. J <u>o</u> , OJ <u>ó</u> vs Hu <u>o</u> , <u>a</u> , Vg, Os <u>o</u> / medial J, OJ <u>n</u> vs Hu <u>n</u> /
" <u>men. .k</u>	Vg <u>n</u> , Os <u>n</u> (probably assimilated to the following <u>k</u>). 3. Vg <u>kw</u> , Os <u>k</u>

are probably dim. formants, cf. Vg ankw ~ ank, Os ánke --endearing term for an elder female person. 4. Probably as vestiges of the religion of heathen Hungarians, there are in Erdély--in the eastern part of Historical Hungary--place-names such as Monó and others ending in -mon.

270. J, OJ mori 'forest, grove, woods', OJ moru (y.) 'plants grow densely'.

Table 270	MSZFE (ex.): OHu <u>mórágy</u> , <u>mórágy</u> , <u>mórád</u> 'forest (of some sort)'
J, OJ <u>mor.i</u>	? ~ Lp <u>muorrá</u> ~ <u>muorá</u> 'tree, wood; fuel; stake, pole', <u>muoré</u>
OJ <u>mor.u</u>	'wood, tree', <u>muorágy</u> 'pine forest; copse, woodland', <u>mur</u> , <u>mirr</u>
OHu <u>mor-</u>	'wood, tree'.--It is possible that <u>mórágy</u> is a der. by <u>-d/-gy</u>
" <u>mór-</u>	from a reconstructable <u>*mór</u> 'tree (of some sort)'. The formant
Lp <u>muor.á-</u>	occurs frequently in Hu place-names.--The weakness of this equa-
" <u>.....</u>	tion is that we do not know the exact meaning of <u>*mór</u> .
? Fi <u>mar.a.sto</u>	FUV 113: /?Fi <u>marasto</u> 'dry, hilly region, with sparse birch vegeta-
? Mdm <u>mar</u>	tion; the lower forest-clad slope of a fjeld' (perhaps <Lp> / Lp
Os <u>mór.i</u>	Skolt <u>moaras</u> 'birch forest in the mountain region' /? Mdm <u>mar</u>
" <u>mór.a.j</u>	'heap; grave-mound; kurgan' / Os <u>móri</u> , <u>móraj</u> 'shrub; crowd/multi-
	tude (e.g., of trees), copse'. (Noreconstructed form given.)

Comm.: 1. On the assumption that the words adduced on the U side are related, although phonologically differently evolved, the p.b.m.f.b.s. is: 'forest; copse'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs m- in all forms on the U side / 1st syll. J, OJ o vs OHu o, ó, Lp uo, u, i, ? Fi, Mdm a, Os ó / medial J, OJ r vs r in all forms on the U side.

271. J mori 'a keeper; nurse; nurse-maid', OJ mori 'a guard, a keeper; watch-ing', OJ moru (y.) 'observe, watch, stand guard (over)', OJ morapu (y.) 'be on

the lookout; wait; watch; enquire, ask questions; hear', J ma-moru, OJ ma-móru (y.) 'defend, protect, guard; keep (also: one's word)', OJ ma-mórapu (y.) 'keep on protecting', OJ ma-móri 'garrison; defence' (ma- 'true, genuine'). Ono: is moru the verbalized form of the variant mo of me/ma 'eye'? (Ono's dictionary does not list a variant *mo for 'eye').

Table 271

J, OJ	mor.i	Vg	ör.g
J	-mor.u	"	vör.éti
OJ	mor.u	"	ür-
"	-mor.u	Ugric	*Bar.3-
J, OJ	.....	Yr	mar'
Hu	vár-		mar'
? OHu	wor-	"	mar'

TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu vár-~OHu vár-, ? wor- 'wait for, expect, prepare for (e.g., the arrival of an enemy or a friend); stay, be quiet for a while; hope for'~Vg ör.g, 'he will wait', vör.éti 'keep watch over, guard', ür- 'wait, watch out', uri- 'wait, expect; keep, preserve, defend'.--Ugric *Bar.3-.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'keep watch (over); defend'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs Ugric *B- /1st syll. J o, OJ o, ö vs Ugric *a /medial J, OJ r vs Ugric *r.

Ugric *r. 3. Cf. Lehtisalo 1936, 284: Yr mar' 'town', maf 'enclosure, surrounding fence'.

272. J moro-i, OJ moro-si 'brittle, fragile', moro-sa 'brittleness'.

Table 272

J	mor.o-	Est	mur.e
OJ	mor.ö-	"	mur.endama
Hu	mál-	? Lp	moar.ät
"	már-	"	mör.e
"	mar-	Yr	mar.öä
"	mor-	Yn	mor.e i
"	....	Tv	mar.ú'ama
Vg	mór-	Sk	mör.u
"	mur-		
Os	mör.i-	U	*mur.a(-)
"	mär.i	or	*mur.ä(-)
Fi	mur.e a	- - - - -	- - - - -
"	mur.eta	Hu	-mor.a
"	mur.u		

TESZ (ex.): Hu máll(ik)~mái(ik)~márl(ik) 'to crumble, fall to pieces, perish (by the effect of the weather)'; begin to ripen; to blossom'.--Origin unknown.--Because of the repeated occurrence of the form márl(ik) and other forms containing the stem már-, it is possible that in máll(ik) a change rl > ll has taken place.--The meanings 'to ripen' and 'to blossom' may be linked to the idea that ripening fruit becomes mellow, while blossoms easily fall to pieces.

TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu mar- 'to bite, gnaw; eat away; to fraise'; ? máll(ik); '(of a wall) to crumble away, peel off', marakod(ik) 'to wrangle, fight', ? dial. mart /deverbal noun ? 'shore, bank (of a river)', ? martalék 'booty, loot', morzsa 'crumb, morsel, bit', morzsol-

'(Vt) crumble; shell (e.g., corn)' ~ Vg mór-, mur- 'be fractured; crack, break up' /Os möri-, märi- '(Vi) burst, crack' /Fi murea 'loose, crumbling, brittle', mureta '(Vi) crumble away', mur 'crumb, fragment', Est mure 'brittle, crumbling, friable', murendama 'make tender, break into little pieces' /? Lp moarrät~moarät 'break to pieces (e.g., ice or the frozen surface of snow)', morre~more 'crumb, little bit' /Yr maröä '(Vt) break through, smash' /Yn morei '(Vi) break to pieces' /Tv marú'ama id. /Sk morru 'piece, bit'.--The base word was a nomen-verbum, meaning 'piece, crumb; break to pieces, shatter, be shattered'. In Hu, the original meaning has been preserved in the derivatives morzsa, morzsol-, mart (the latter originally probably referred to the washed-away, thus broken, high bank of rivers).--The words in question are onom.--U *mura(-) or *murä(-).

Comm.: 1. Taking Hu máll(ik), etc. as coming from the stem már-, and this to be cognate with mar-, the p.b.m.f.b.s. is 'brittle; break, crumble'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs U *m- /1st syll. J, OJ o vs U *u /medial J, OJ r vs U *r /stem-final J o, OJ ö vs U *a or *ä. 3. Cf. Hu dial. töre-mora~tere-mora 'debris, fragments' (tör- 'break').

273. J moru, OJ moru (y.) 'serve/heap (food on a plate or into a dish), fill, dose out, mark out in degrees'.

Table 273

J, OJ	mor.u	Hu	mér-
Hu	mar.ok	"	mér. .ték
"	mor.uk	Zr	mur. .tal-
"	mor.ok	Vty	mer. .tal-
"	mur.ék	FU	*mer.ä-
"			
Os	mür.es		
Ugric	*mür.ä		

TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu marok~OHu moruk, dial. marek, marik, morok, morek, morek, murek 'the hollow of the hand; a handful; a loose sheaf; (old) the breadth of a hand (as a measure); dial. 'a hand' (approx. 10 cm) ~ Os müras 'the distance between the lower edge of the open hand and the point of the raised thumb'.--The element -ok, etc. in Hu is a denom. noun formant.--Ugric *mürä.

TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu mér- 'to measure, weigh', mérték 'measure, ruler, standard, scale'.--This word is of debated origin.--Proposition 1): ~ Zr murtal-ni, murtō-ni 'to measure, measure out' /Vty mortal- 'to measure, weigh'.--The 1st syll. vowels of the Zr and Vty words cannot be traced back to a common PPermic antecedent, but Hu é (in dial. forms also i) is a regular continuer of FU *e, assumable on the basis of Zr u and Vty e.--FU *mera- 'to measure'; Proposition 2): Hu mér- is a loan from a Slav language. A serious difficulty of this suggestion is that--unlike our other loans from Slav languages--mér- is not complemented with a verb formant.

Comm.: 1. Because I think that they have to do with each other, I have adduced both, marok and mér-. The latter is probably a vowel order variant of the former (stem: mar-/mor-/mur-), with accompanying semantic difference. 2. P.b.m.f. b.s.: 'measure out; distribute by handfuls' (note: simple measuring is still done by the direct application of the hand). 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs Ugric, FU *m- /1st syll. J, OJ o vs Ugric *u, FU *e /medial J, OJ u vs Ugric, FU *z.

274. J moru, moreru, OJ moru (y.) 'leak (out), escape, peter out, be scattered /omitted', J morasu, Ono: moru (k.n., later sh.n.) 'let leak out, etc', Ono: ipimorasu 'reveal, disclose, divulge' (i.e., 'leak words'). ? J meru, Ono: meru (y.) '(Vi) decrease, dwindle, wear, subside', meri 'loss, wastage, leakage'.

Table	274			FUV 115, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>múl(ik)</u> 'go by (time, life); (earlier:) go past, pass by, avoid', <u>mulandó</u> 'fleeting, transient', <u>mulat-</u> 'pass time, enjoy oneself; dial. 'to delay, tarry' ~ Vg <u>muli</u> , <u>múli</u> 'go by, etc. (as Hu <u>múl-</u>), <u>mul-</u> 'flow away, run out (e.g., ink), subside, elapse, go past' /MáE <u>mole-</u> , <u>mole-</u> , <u>mola-</u> 'go, proceed (to), arrive' /LpN <u>mollá-</u> ~ <u>mollá-</u> '(Vt) pass someone without knowing it (so that he happens not to meet the other person)'.--FU * <u>mulá-</u> .
J	<u>mor.u</u>	Vg	<u>mul.i</u>	
"	<u>mor.e.ru</u>	"	<u>múl.i</u>	
"	<u>mor.a.su</u>	"	<u>mul-</u>	
OJ	<u>mor.u</u>	MáE	<u>mol.e-</u>	
Ö.	<u>mor.a.su</u>	"	<u>mol.e-</u>	
? J	<u>mer.u</u>	Lp	<u>moll.á-</u>	
? Ö.	<u>mer.u</u>	"	<u>mol.á-</u>	
Hu	<u>múl-</u>			
"	<u>mul.a.t-</u>	FU	* <u>mul.á-</u>	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'go past/by'. 2.

Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs FU *m- /1st syll. J

o, ? e, OJ o, ? ö. e vs FU *u /medial J, OJ r vs FU *l. 3. Cf. entry heru.

275. J moto, OJ motó 'beginning, foundation, basis; root (of a tree); source; parental roof, one's family beginnings'.

Table	275			TESZ II, 112 B: Zr <u>vizi-kum</u> 'relations (together), kinsfolk (as a large family), cf. <u>vizi</u> 'root, base; clan; stem' (- <u>i</u> is probably a dim. formant).
J	<u>mot.o</u> ? Yn	baddu		
OJ	<u>mot.ó</u> ? Sk	<u>koná</u>		
Ch	<u>waž</u> "	<u>kond.á</u>		
"	<u>wož</u> ? Km	<u>mon.á</u>		
Vty	<u>vyž.y</u>			
Zr	<u>vuž</u>	U	* <u>wanč.á</u>	
"	<u>viz.i-</u>			
? Os	<u>wáč</u>	Taigi	<u>mond.o</u>	
"	<u>wóž</u>		* <u>bond.o</u>	
? Yr	<u>wān.u</u>	Yuk	<u>oz.uu</u>	
"	<u>bāntu</u>			

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'root'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs U *w-, ? Taigi m- <*b /1st syll. J o, OJ ó vs U *a, ? Taigi o /medial J, OJ t vs U *nč, ? Taigi nd. 3. Cf. SW 171: *wānce (-) 'root'. 4. Cf. entry uji.

276. J motomeru, OJ motómu (sh.n.) 'want, wish for, request, demand, pursue

Table	276			(pleasure), follow up, seek (for)'. FUV 134, TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>vágy-</u> 'to desire, wish (for), long/yearn/crave (for), covet' /Zr <u>váged-</u> 'pursue, chase, follow after; let go', <u>váset-</u> 'compel; chase away', <u>váset-</u> 'pursue, urge, drive' /Fi <u>vaati-</u> 'demand, claim, call on, urge, insist upon, call for, require'.--The belonging here of the Zr word is very uncertain.--(For the Hu and Fi words only) FU * <u>wáč.á</u> , (for Hu, Zr, and Fi) FU * <u>wáč.á</u> .
J	<u>mot.o.meru</u>			
OJ	<u>mot.ó.mu</u>			
Hu	<u>vágy-</u>			
? Zr	<u>váč.g.d-</u>			
"	<u>váč.g.t-</u>			
Fi	<u>vaat.i-</u>			
FU	* <u>wáč.á</u>			
"	? * <u>wáč.á</u>			

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'desire; pursue (after)'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs FU *w- /1st syll. J, OJ o vs FU *a /medial J, OJ t vs FU *č, ? *č.

277. J, OJ motoru (y.) 'be/act contrary to, deviate from, go against', J, OJ

Table 277	<u>modoru</u> (y.) '(Vi) turn back, revert, go backward, be returned', J <u>modosu</u> , Ōno: <u>modosu</u> (y.) '(Vt) turn back, reject', OJ
J, OJ mot.o.ru	<u>modorokasu</u> (y.) 'act in confusion/disorder'.
" " mod.o.ru	
" " mod.o.su	
OJ mod.o.rokasu	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>viszsa</u> ~OHu <u>visza</u> (adv.) 'in opposite direction, contrarily, perversely; back in(to) a former state/condition/
Hu <u>visz.a</u>	time; in return/exchange (for something); backwards; again;
" <u>visz.a</u>	discord, contention, disunion, contradiction, opposition; re-
" <u>visz.á.l-</u>	verse side (e.g., of clothing)', <u>viassál</u> ~ <u>viszál</u> - 'turn a-

round, change one's word/mind; double and twist (yarn); interweave; reply, retort; reciprocate; reverse'.--Origin unknown.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'against; in the opposite way'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs Hu v- /1st syll. J, OJ o vs Hu i (< i < PFU *a) /medial J, OJ t, d vs Hu ssz < sz (< PFU *s) /cf. the final of the primary stem, J, OJ o vs Hu a. 3. Cf. Poppe 1960, 101: Mo buča- '(Vi) return' = Tg Ev mučū- 'go back', mučūw- 'give back'.

278. J motsu, OJ mōtu (y.) 'take in one's hand, carry, have something in the hands; uphold; preserve, protect; possess; use', J moteru 'be received/welcome; can/is able to carry/hold', J motaseru, OJ motu (sh.n.) 'let (a person) have; give (something to somebody) to carry/keep/preserve'.

Table 278	FUV 56: Zr <u>myž</u> - 'to support, prop up', <u>šorōm-myž</u> 'supporter/post of a shock' (š. 'corn shock')/Os <u>meč</u> 'supporter, post', <u>meč</u> - 'fix up a supporter/post (in vertical position)'/Yr <u>mader</u> , <u>mačaer</u> 'supporter, post'. (The Os word may be from Zr--Toivonen.)
J <u>mōts.u</u>	-- U * <u>mučā</u> -.
" mot.e.ru	Lehtisalo 1936, 281: Yr <u>muētš</u> , <u>muēs</u> - 'to hold, keep', p. 285:
" mot.a.seru	Yr <u>matšā</u> - 'to support/prop up (with beams)'.
OJ <u>mōt.u</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'hold, keep (up)'. 2. Phon.: initial
" mot.u	J, OJ <u>m</u> - vs U * <u>m</u> - /1st syll. J <u>o</u> , OJ <u>ō</u> , <u>o</u> vs U * <u>u</u> /medial J <u>ts</u> ,
Zr <u>myž</u> -	<u>t</u> , OJ <u>t</u> vs U * <u>č</u> .
Os <u>meč</u>	
" <u>meč</u> -	
Yr <u>mad.e.r</u>	
" <u>mač.aer</u>	
U * <u>muč.ā</u> -	

279. J muchi, OJ muti 'a whip, a rod'. ? OJ simoto 'twig, switch, underwood'. (No etymology given; simoto looks like a compound: ? si + motō.)

Table 279	FUV 137, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>vesszō</u> ~OHu <u>vesze</u> , dial. <u>vesszū</u> 'thin branch, twig, switch, wand, osier, wicker, rod'~ Ch <u>waze</u> id.; 'bow (for shooting)'/Lp <u>wāzōs</u> ~ <u>vačūsā</u> - 'each of the loose cross-bars on a frame for drying fish'/Vg <u>oša</u> , <u>woša</u> , <u>waša</u> 'pole, rod or stick for fixing the ends (or one end) of a fishing-net in the water; punting pole; spit or pole for drying fish'/Os <u>wāsa</u> 'rod, pole (for moving a seine, etc.)', <u>wās</u> 'a curved stick belonging to a snare'.-- FU * <u>šacā</u> .-In Hu, the vowel of the 1st syll. may have become palatalized under the influence of the following <u>sz</u> ; - <u>ō</u> / <u>ū</u> is a dim. formant.
J <u>muchi.i</u> Lp	<u>vačō.usā</u> -
OJ <u>mut.i</u> Vg	<u>o š.a</u>
? OJ -mot.ō "	<u>woš.a</u>
Hu <u>vessz.ō</u> "	<u>wāš.a</u>
" <u>vesz.e</u> Os	<u>wāš.a</u>
Ch <u>va z.e</u> "	<u>wāš</u>
Lp <u>va ž.os</u> FU	* <u>šacā.ā</u>

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'switch; rod'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs FU *š- /1st syll. J, OJ u, ? OJ o vs FU *a / medial J ch, OJ t vs Fu *č.

280. OJ <u>muga-si</u> ~ <u>umuga-si</u> ~ <u>omuga-si</u>	'happy, glad, joyful, delightful, agree-able; favourable; fortunate', OJ <u>mugasibi</u> 'joyfulness', ClJ <u>muga-</u>
Table 280	<u>sibu</u> (k.n.--Shinmura) 'be glad/pleased/delighted'.
OJ <u>mug.a-si</u>	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>víg</u> 'merry, glad', <u>vigad</u> - 'rejoice, make merry',
" <u>u.mug.a-si</u>	<u>vigaszt(ik)</u> 'become healed, recover from illness', <u>vigaszt</u> - 'heal;
" <u>o.mug.a-si</u>	cheer up, gladden', <u>vigasztal</u> - 'heal, console, comfort, bring
" <u>mug.a.sibi</u>	solace (to someone); compensate'.--Origin unknown.
ClJ <u>mug.a.sibu</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'happy, filled with zest'. 2. Phon.:
Hu <u>víg</u>	considering the vowels <u>u</u> - and <u>o</u> - on the J side as prothetic---
" <u>vig.a.d-</u>	initial J, OJ <u>m</u> - vs Hu <u>v</u> - /1st syll. J, OJ <u>u</u> vs Hu <u>i</u> (< <u>i</u>) /
" <u>vig.a.sz-</u>	medial J, OJ <u>g</u> vs Hu <u>g</u> /final of the primary stem, J, OJ <u>ā</u> vs Hu <u>a</u> in the same position.

281. J, OJ <u>muku</u> (y.) 'to face, look towards', J <u>mukeru</u> , OJ <u>muku</u> (sh.n.) '(Vt) turn (to) direct, address', J <u>mukau</u> , OJ <u>mukapu</u> (y.) 'to face, front, confront, look out on', J <u>mukaeru</u> , OJ <u>mukapu</u> (sh.n.) 'meet, receive', J <u>mukō</u> , OJ <u>mukapā</u> (< <u>mukapu</u>) 'the opposite side', J <u>mukashi</u> , OJ <u>mukasi</u> 'antiquity, old times, former years' (? removed from us, therefore "on the opposite side"), J <u>mukashi-mono</u> 'old folks', OJ <u>muka-tu-wo</u> 'the opposite hill' (<u>tu</u> marks ablative/separative/gen., also attr.).	
Table 281	
J, OJ <u>muk.u</u>	FUV 115, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>más</u> 'other, another; not the same; the other person or thing; copy', dial. 'that which is past; past(times); reply, rejoinder; the second'. ~ Vg <u>mōt</u>
J <u>muk.e.ru</u>	'other; second; which is to come; a stranger'/? Os <u>mōy</u>
" <u>muk.a.u</u>	<u>mōyēl</u> 'other; that', <u>mōyēt</u> 'those, not we', <u>mākī</u> 'formerly, of old, heretofore, long time ago', <u>māya</u> 'earlier, formerly' /Zr <u>mēd</u>
OJ <u>muk.a.pu</u>	'other; second', <u>mukēd</u> , <u>mukēd</u> 'other', <u>mukēd</u> 'anyone' /Vty
" <u>muk.a.pi</u>	<u>mīd</u> , <u>mēd</u> 'other, another', <u>mukāt</u> 'other; of another kind; different' /Ch <u>mō-lā</u> 'another' /Fi <u>muu</u> 'other, another', Est <u>muu</u>
J <u>muk.a.shi</u>	'other, remaining' /Lp <u>mubbe</u> 'one (of two), the other; one thing or the other; another, another man; second (ordinal)' (-bbe is the suffix of the comparative).--Hu -s is an adj. formant; Vg
OJ <u>muk.a.si</u>	-t, Zr, Vty -d, Ch -lā, Os y are pron. formants; -l in Os <u>mōyēl</u>
" <u>muk.a-</u>	is px3rdsg, -t in Os <u>mōyēt</u> is pl marker; Zr <u>mukēd</u> , <u>mukēd</u> , Vty
Hu <u>más</u>	<u>mukāt</u> are based on <u>mu</u> - (the second part is probably identical with Zr <u>kōd</u> , Vty <u>kud</u> 'who; which one?').-- FU * <u>mu</u> or * <u>mū</u>
Vg <u>mōt</u>	'other, another'.
? Os <u>mōy</u>	
" <u>mōyēl</u>	
" <u>mōyēt</u>	
" <u>mākī</u>	
Zr <u>mēd</u>	
" <u>muk.e.d</u>	
" <u>muk.ā.d</u>	
Vty <u>mīd</u>	
" <u>muk.ā.t</u>	
Ch <u>mōl.lā</u>	
Fi <u>muu</u>	
FU * <u>mu</u>	
or * <u>mū</u>	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: '(the) other; the one who/which faces me'. 2. Since -k.u is one of the most common verb formants in J, muku may be taken as consisting of a root form *mu + the verb formant -k.u; all the other forms on the J side can be taken as derivatives from muku. 3. If that is allowed, then the J, OJ root *mu is set against FU *mu (or *mū).

282. J, OJ mukuro 'body; corpse'. Omodaka and Ōno suggest that mukuro consists of mu 'body' + kuro~kara 'stem (of a plant)'.

Table 282	
J, OJ <u>muk.u.ro</u>	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>mag</u> (acc. <u>magot</u>)~ OHu <u>mog</u> 'seed, sperma; descendant; family, stock; seed/kernel', OHu <u>Mogu</u> , <u>Mogus</u> , <u>Magos</u>
Hu <u>mag</u>	--personal names that have to do with fertility; <u>Mogu</u> = <u>mog</u> ; -s
OHu <u>mog.u</u>	is an adj. formant; Hu <u>maglō</u> 'breeding animal'~Zr <u>mīg</u> 'bosom, breast part (of a garment); tail (of a shirt)', <u>miger</u> 'stature, build, body' /Vty <u>migor</u> , <u>mugor</u> 'body, figure, stature' /Ch <u>monār</u>
" <u>mīg.e.r</u>	'trunk, body'.--The element -r in Ch, Zr, Vty is a denom. nom. formant.-- FU * <u>munk</u> 'body'.--Although the meaning 'body' cannot be shown in connection with Hu <u>mag</u> , a semantic change from
Vty <u>mīg.o.r</u>	'body' to 'reproducing organ, sperma' can be posited, cf. Latin
" <u>mog.o.r</u>	<u>corpus</u> 'body; generative power of the male'.
Ch <u>mon.ā.r</u>	
FU * <u>munk</u>	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'body' (Omodaka's and Ōno's proposal does not take care of the entire body). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs FU *m- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs FU *u /medial J, OJ k vs FU *nk. 3. As -r is an extension element in the adduced Zr and Vty extended forms, so, I suggest, -ro on the J side is also an element with which a shorter form is lengthened. Cf. -rō in OJ word 'tail' vs wo id.; J ushiro, OJ usirō 'the rear' seems to go with Ugric *anč 'the buttocks'.

283. J, OJ <u>mune</u> 'the ridge of a roof; ridge pole', J <u>muna-gi</u> (-gi < ki 'tree')			
<u>Table 283</u>			
J, OJ	<u>mun.e</u>	MdE	meñ.e- 'a ridge-pole, ridge-beam, roof-tree' (a large horizontal beam extending along the top of a roof structure). Ōno: <u>muna-gi</u> id.
J, CIJ	<u>mun.a-</u>	MdM	mēñ.e-
Hu	<u>mén</u>	? Yn	mun.a-bo Cf. J <u>mune-age</u> 'the setting up/raising of the roof' (<u>age</u> < <u>ageru</u> 'raise').
"	<u>mény</u>	? Tv	mun.i 'ema (?) MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>mén</u> , <u>mény</u> , dial. <u>mín</u> in <u>kút-mén(y)</u> / <u>mín</u> 'the long, usually slightly bent swingletree positioned in the fork of the vertical (main) pole of the drawing device of an old-fashioned sweep-pole well',
"	<u>mín</u>	? Sk	mēn.a.p
Os	<u>mīn</u>	"	mēn.a.p
"	<u>mēn.a</u>	"	mīn.a.m
"	<u>mān.i.tä</u>	? Km	mūn.a.n
		U	*min.3(-)

mén-ágas '(in very old houses or in present-day barns) the vertical forked pole (let in the ground) which supports the roof by holding up the roof-tree' (ágas 'forked') ~ Os mín 'bend/bow in a tree', miñ 'sharp bend/buckle', mēna 'bend/bow in the stem of a tree', māpitā '(Vi) bend, bow, curve, lean onto one side, wind'/MdE mēne, MdM mēnē '(Vt) bend, curve'/? Yn muna-bo 'curve/bend the sledge-runner'/? Tv muni'ema '(Vt) to bend'/? Sk menap, menap, mīnam 'I have bent'/? Km mūñnam 'bow/bend/curve itself/oneself'.-- U *min3(-) 'to bend/curve; a bend, a curve' (nomen-verbum).

Comm.: 1. Reference is made to entry mine 'peak', for the word families in question could be variant developments by split. 2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'bend, curve' (on the J side a semantic narrowing in connection with building is assumed; cf. J muna-gi and Hu mén-ágas). 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs U *m- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs U *i /medial J, OJ n vs U *n.

284. J mune, OJ mune~muna 'chest, breast, bosom; stomach; heart, feelings'. Ōno: mune 'breast' is cognate with mine 'peak' and mune 'ridge of the roof'.

Table 284 Gulya 1966, 92: OsE miñ 'chest, breast; (in the glossary:) 'chest, J, OJ mune case, box, suitcase'.

OJ muna ? PSam *mā- 'bosom'; cf Yr manā, Sk mūnāt.

OsE miñ Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'breast, bosom' (the meaning 'box/suitcase' of OsE miñ is probably ascribable to semantic transfer due to similarity, cf. English chest 'box, case; thorax'). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs OsE m-, ? PSam *m- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs OsE i, ? PSam *a /medial J, OJ n vs OsE n. 3. PSam *mā- is definitely a CV shaped root form. One wonders whether -ne/-na on the J side and -ñ of OsE miñ are additional to an open monosyllabic root?

285. J, OJ mura 'village, hamlet, rural community'. Ōno: this word is cognate with OJ mura~mure /= J mure /^(a) flock, crowd, herd, swarm, bevy, group, pack, cluster, clump'. J muragaru, mureru, OJ muru (sh.n.) 'flock together, swarm, herd, crowd, throng'. Omodaka: OJ pure (alternative reading are) 'village, hamlet'. J moro- : moro-bito (hito 'person, man, people') 'everyone, all', OJ moro, Ōno: moro 'all, the whole', moro-moro 'every', moro-ki-pune 'a raft, a log-boat' (ki 'tree', pune 'boat').

Table 285				FUV 65: Fi parvi (parva) 'garret, attic; gallery; swarm, flock, shoal, crowd', Est parv
J	<u>mur.a</u>	? Zr	<u>pur</u>	'ferry-boat, punt, lighter; floating islet; swarm, flock, etc.' //? Vty <u>pur</u> 'raft'/Zr <u>pur</u>
"	<u>mur.e</u>	Vg	<u>pār.a</u>	'raft, ferry', <u>bi-pur</u> 'funeral pile, pyre' (<u>bi</u>
OJ	<u>mur.a</u>	Os	<u>pār</u>	'fire')/Vg <u>pāra</u> , etc. 'raft, ferry'/Os <u>pār</u>
"	<u>mur.e</u>	Yr	<u>pār.e</u>	'raft; swarm, flock, crowd' /Yr <u>paare</u> 'wooden
J	<u>mur.a.garu</u>	Sk	<u>pōr</u>	framework supported on four legs, for the
"	<u>mur.e.ru</u>	"	<u>por.ə</u>	storing of goods'/Sk <u>poor</u> 'wooden framework
OJ	<u>mur.u</u>	"	<u>pōr.e</u>	for the storing of meat', <u>porə</u> 'wooden frame-
"	<u>pur.e</u>	"	<u>pūr.e</u>	work supported on four legs, serving as a
J	<u>mor.o</u>	Km	<u>pār.i</u>	storage place for provisions', <u>poore</u> , <u>puure</u>
OJ	<u>mōr.ō</u>	? Lp	<u>boarre</u>	'store-room, supply-room', <u>poor</u> 'a sort of bar-
Fi	<u>par. .vi</u>	"	<u>pār.e.w</u>	row, constructed for the storage of food or
"	<u>par. .va</u>	U	* <u>par. .wa</u>	for the drying of fish'/Km <u>pāri</u> .--The Vty and
Est	<u>par. .v</u>	or	* <u>por. .wa</u>	Zr words may be connected with Lp <u>boarre</u> ,
? Vty	<u>pur</u>			<u>pārew</u> , <u>boarrev</u> 'raft, etc.'.-- U * <u>parwa</u> or

*porwa.

Comm.: 1. As the concept 'flock, herd, crowd' is probably rightly equated by J scholars with that of 'village, hamlet' (since a small settlement in a natural surrounding resembles a 'flock, herd, crowd'), so, I suggest, the image of a primitive storing/drying structure made of logs, often in the shape of a conical hut, or a raft, or a floating islet of logs could become equated with that of a flock of birds, a shoal of fish, etc. Moreover, the drying/storing structures of erstwhile fishers and hunters naturally served as beginnings of settlements. Therefore, the p.b.m.f.b.s. is: 'flock, herd; cluster of logs or other objects'. 2. Phon.: taking OJ pure and mōrō as forming one word family with OJ mure~mura: initial J m-, OJ m-, p- vs U *p- /1st syll. J u, o, OJ u, ō vs U *a or *o /medial J, OJ r vs U *r. 3. The element U *-wa is likely additional to a formerly disyllabic stem, s. Vg pāra, Yr pāre, etc. 4. There is a chance that the following word family

has to do with the above, (FUV 94): Hu falu ~ falva - 'village' //? Fi Kar palvi 'dwelling-place, habitation' (Fi palva - occurs in some place-names, but not as an appellative noun) // Vg pōōwl 'village' // Os puyl, puylt (*-ly-) 'village'.-- FU *palya. (Note the effect of metathesis in the Vg and Os forms.) 5. Cf. FUV 157: Hu falu ... // Tu ayyl 'nomad village, nomad dwelling' // Mo ajil / Ma falga 'dwelling, village; family; street'. 6. Cf. Poppe 1960, 122: Mmo balaga-sun 'town', Mo balga-sun < *bálaka-sun id. = OTu balig < *bálq < *bálaqa 'town'. 7. Miller 1971, 67 treats OJ mure 'crowd' in connection with Kor mul, mili id.

286. J mushi, Ōno: musi 'bug, insect'.

Table	286	
J	<u>mush</u> i	FUV 55: OsNorth <u>muši</u> 'ant', OsSouth <u>moča</u> 'small insect' (ant?)
Ō.	<u>mus</u> i	///? Sam Motor <u>munāō</u> 'ant' / -- U * <u>munc</u> 3.
Os	<u>muš</u> i	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'small insect'. 2. Phon.: initial
"	<u>moč</u> a	J, ClJ <u>m</u> - vs U * <u>m</u> - / 1st syll. J, ClJ <u>u</u> vs U * <u>u</u> / medial J <u>sh</u> ,
? Sam M.	<u>munāō</u>	ClJ <u>s</u> vs U * <u>nč</u> .
U	* <u>munc</u> 3	

287. J musubu, OJ musubu (y.) 'to tie, bind, join, link, fasten; unite oneself with'. ? OJ pu (sh.n.) 'to fasten the upright (or lengthwise) running main threads on a loom'.
 J, OJ mus.u.bu FUV 122 (ex.): Fi pitā - 'keep, hold' / MdE peda-, MdM peda - 'at-tach oneself; stick (Vi), adhere; start, begin in an obstinate way' / Ch pidā-, pidā - 'to tie, knit' //? Os pīt - 'come, get (by chance); begin; become' // Hu fūz - 'to knit, lace; fasten, bind (e.g., flowers into a wreath)' -- FU *pitā-.
 Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to tie; fasten'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs FU *p- / 1st syll. J, OJ u vs FU *i / medial J s, OJ s (= ts) vs FU *t. 3. The element -bu on the J side is a common verb formant, frequently employed in 3rd syll. (frequ. function?); the disyllabic stem musu- itself is suspect of having come about from a primitive form like OJ pu (for the opposition p - m-, the explanation could be that *p- became voiced like initial stops did generally as a result of probable prenasalization; the resultant *b- subsequently became substituted by m-, a sound which very frequently alternates with b; it is worth noting that on a limited scale p ~ m- alternation is attested in OJ, e.g., pata ~ mata 'again'). 4. Cf. Poppe 1962, 19: Mo ūde < *hūde < *pūde-, Mmo hūde - 'to sew to', Bur ūde id., Mong sDiē < *hūde - 'to patch', Mo ūdesūn < *hūdersūn, Kh ūdes 'cord, thread' > Yak ūdāsīn 'thread'.

288. J mutsu, OJ mutu, mu 'six'.

Table	288	
J	<u>mu</u> , <u>tsu</u>	SW 85: * <u>mšktēt</u> 'six'; cf. Tv <u>matü</u> °, Yn <u>motu</u> °, <u>mat</u> °, Yr <u>mat</u> °, Sk <u>muktūt</u> , Km <u>muktu</u> °, <u>muktu</u> °, <u>muktu</u> °, Koibal <u>muktu</u> °, Abakan <u>muctu</u> ,
OJ	<u>mu</u> , <u>tu</u>	Motor <u>muktut</u> , Taigi <u>muktu</u> °, Karagas <u>muktut</u> .
"	<u>mu</u>	Comm.: 1. The meaning is 'six' on both sides. 2. Phon.: initial
PSam	* <u>mā</u> , <u>tst</u>	J, OJ <u>m</u> - vs PSam * <u>m</u> - / 1st syll. J, OJ <u>u</u> vs PSam * <u>s</u> -. We note that
Tv	<u>me</u> , <u>tü</u> °	the element - <u>tu</u> is detachable from OJ <u>mu-tu</u> (s. also the entries
Yn	<u>mo</u> , <u>tu</u> °	<u>futatsu</u> , <u>hito</u>); some of the Sam forms have - <u>kt</u> - or - <u>ct</u> -, others
Yr	<u>ma</u> , <u>t</u> °	have simple <u>t</u> or <u>t</u> , following the 1st syll. vowel; I suggest that
Sk	<u>mā</u> , <u>tjt</u>	the - <u>kt</u> -, - <u>ct</u> - clusters are secondary, <u>k</u> or <u>c</u> before <u>t</u> being epenthetic strengthening sounds; for a parallel, cf. Benzing 1956, 105: * <u>Tg</u> * <u>kaltaka</u> 'one half, half' = Go <u>kalta</u> , Ude <u>kakta</u> ..., cf. <u>Tg</u> * <u>gagda</u> 'one of a pair' = Ma <u>gakda</u> ; the opposition Go <u>kalta</u> : Ude <u>kakta</u> shows that <u>k</u> can supplant <u>l</u> before <u>t</u> in that dialect area; this causes one to think that both, <u>l</u> and <u>k</u> are epenthetic; under entry <u>kata</u> 'half; one of a pair' we can find likely support for this proposition. 3. As regards the Sam side, I suggest that the root there is, say, * <u>mā</u> , the expansion element must be of CV shape, say, * <u>tā</u> ; all that is in surplus does not constitute the canonical disyllabic stem expected in the U languages. 4. Cf. Menges 1975, 94: the similarity between the J and the Sam words meaning 'six' had been noticed by Boller as early as 1857.

289. J mutsu - : mutsumaji-i 'intimate, friendly, affectionate', mutsu-goto 'sweet words of friendship', mutsubu ~ mutsumu 'get along well together', OJ -muti 'dear, beloved' in na-muti 'you, my darling', mutu (bare adj. stem) 'intimate,

friendly, harmonious', e.g., mutu-gōtō 'sweet words of friendship'.

Table 289	FUV (1955) 100: Fi <u>mutso</u> 'young married woman', Veps <u>muču</u> 'small'; <u>muču poig</u> 'little boy' / Zr <u>moč</u> 'beloved, friend, fellow, sweet-heart' / Vg <u>muš</u> 'dear (beloved); small'. [No reconstructed form has been provided. In the 1978 edition of FUV this word family is not contained, presumably due to the following remark made by E. Ikonen (UJ 28, 1956, 72--translation): "Fi <u>mutso</u> 'young married woman' seems to be a late hypocoristic-descriptive word; Zr <u>moč</u> 'beloved, friend, etc.' does not go with it all on account of the difference in the vowels; Vg <u>muš</u> is a word of palatal vowel order."]
J <u>mutu</u> .u-	
OJ <u>mut</u> .u	
" -mut.i	
J <u>mutu</u> .u.bu	
Fi <u>mutu</u> o	
" <u>muč</u> .u	
Zr <u>moč</u>	
Vg <u>muš</u>	
Os <u>mos</u> .en	
" <u>mas</u> -	
" <u>mās</u> -	
" <u>mos</u> -	
" <u>mas</u> .əl tə-	
Hu <u>muc</u> .i	
" <u>muc</u> .og-	
" <u>möc</u> .örög-	

by the dim. formant -i from the word muc used for calling animals.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'dear; darling; to love'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs m- in all adduced forms on the U side /1st syll. J, OJ u vs Fi, Vg, Hu u, Hu ö, Zr o, Os o, a, ä /medial J ts, OJ t vs Fi ts, č, Zr č (č), Vg č, Os č, Hu č. 3. It is quite improbable that the words adduced on the U side should be unrelated. Conceding that they are hypocoristic/descriptive, they can still be ages old.

290. J muzukaru, OJ mutukaru (y.) 'resent, fret; be cross/angry', J muzukashi-i 'hard, laborious; sullen, displeased', Ōno: mutuka-si id., mutuku (sh.n.) 'be dissatisfied/resentful'.

Table 290	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>bosszú</u> ~ OHu <u>buszu</u> , dial. <u>buszú</u> , <u>bosszú</u> 'revenge; angry frame of mind', <u>bosszuság</u> , dial. <u>bosszuság</u> 'annoyance, vexation'.--This word is probably of OTu origin; it may have to do with Türk <u>busanč</u> 'regret, sorrow, grief', <u>busuşıly</u> 'sad', Uig <u>busyag</u> 'anguish, anxiety, distress', <u>busuś</u> 'worry, regret, Tat <u>busan</u> 'be annoyed/vexed/angry/chagrined/embittered'.--The base of these words is the verb * <u>bus</u> - 'to trouble, disquieten, cause worry to, sadden, afflict'; a derived nominal from this, say, * <u>busuq</u> or * <u>busaq</u> 'uneasiness, sadness' may have been the antecedent of Hu <u>bosszú</u> . This etymology has semantic difficulties.
J <u>muz</u> .u.karu	
" <u>muz</u> .u.kashi-i	
OJ <u>mut</u> .u.karu	
Ō. <u>mut</u> .u.ka-si	
" <u>mut</u> .u.ku	
Hu <u>bosszú</u>	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'resentment, annoyance'. I suggest that the J words in question have a semantic content which agrees better with that of Hu bosszú than is the case with the Tu words. However, the entire complex is worth a profound investigation, especially since /k/ appears in the 3rd syll. of the J forms, while Hu bosszú had to come, according to rule, from a form whose 3rd syll. contained /k/. Besides, the matter of OTu loans in Hu is still a vexing problem. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ m- vs Hu b- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs Hu o, u /medial J z, OJ t vs Hu sz (ssz is geminated sz) /final of the primary stem, J, OJ u vs Hu u in the same position (-u contains an absorbed element, too).

291. ClJ, OJ -na 'don't'. Lewin 1959, 185: yuku-na 'don't go!', yomu-na 'don't read!', p.99: uchi-ni kaeri-ku-na 'don't come back home!' (uchi 'home', ni lative suffix, kaeru 'return', kuru 'come'); note that in OJ, na was at times placed before the verb, e.g., na-wabi, waga seko 'grieve not, my sweetheart!' (wabu 'to grieve', wa 'I', ga gen. marker, seko 'sweetheart'), (na ... so): namida na-soe-so, yama-hototo-gisu 'shed no more tears, mountain-cuckoo!' (namida 'tears' /unmarked acc./, soeru 'add', yama 'mountain'). ClJ, OJ nu (primitive verb which became a sort of privative suffix), e.g., shiru hito, shira-nu hito 'people I know and people who are unknown to me' (shiru 'know', hito 'people') (Lewin 1959, 186), p. 187: paradigm of the archaic neg. verb nu: -na (Base 1), -ni (B. 2), -nu (B. 3 and 4), -ne (B. 5); with -na is tied up the adj. na-s(h)i (J na-i) 'not to exist; which does not exist; dead', e.g., ushi-kuruma-wo yō-to-suru hito nashi 'there is/was nobody who would use an ox-cart' (ushi 'ox', k. 'cart', wo acc. marker, yō-to-

Table 291

ClJ, OJ	na
"	nu
J	na. i
ClJ, OJ	na.si
J, OJ	na.ku
OJ	na.ki
? J	i.na(mu)
? OJ	i.na(bu)
? J	na.mi.suru
? ClJ	na.mi.su
Hu	ně
"	ně.m
OHu	nu.m
Hu.dial.	ne.m
"	na.m
Vg	ně
"	ně.m
Os	ně.m
"	ně.meat
Zr	ng.m
Vty	no

suru 'to use'); Omodaka: kōkōrō-nasi 'heartless', kagiri-nasi 'limitless', (attributively:) tori-naki-sato 'a birdless hamlet', (adverbially:) yōsha-naku 'without mercy', yorube-naku 'without shelter', (Lewin 1959, 187:) nara-naku-ni 'in spite of the non-existence' (naru 'exist', ni loc. suffix as a modal). ? J inamu, OJ inabu (k.n.), Ōno: inamu~inabu (y.) 'to refuse, decline' < ina 'no, nay' (a prohibitive exclamation), J nami-suru < nami-su 'set at naught, think little of' (Lewin 1959, 131).

TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu ně (prohibitively) 'no', nēm~OHu num, dial. nem, nam 'no, not' ~ Vg nē : nēmater 'none, not a single ...' (m. 'something'), nem : nemvot 'nowhere' (vot 'where') / Os nēmviat 'nobody' (v. 'somebody'), nēmext 'nothing' / Zr nem : ni-nem 'nothing' / Vty no : no-kiis 'nowhere' (k. 'whence'), no-kin-no 'nobody' (kin 'who'), no-mir-no 'nothing' (mir 'what').--The antecedent of Hu ně and its CV shaped cognates could be the U dem. pron. *ne / nā 'this', while that of Hu nēm, Vg nēm, Os nēm, Zr nem may have arisen in the FU era from U *nā 'this' + *m₃ 'what'.--The bases of the negatives in question have been linked with IE *ne 'no, not' (cf. Old Ind. nā, Latin ne) and Eskimo na 'no'.

Comm.: 1. The meanings of the adduced attested words in J and U are clearly 'no; not'. The suggestion presented by TESZ and MSZFE, according to which the adduced FU neg. forms should have originated in a dem. pron. does not sound convincing. 2. Phon.: initial n- on the J side vs n- in all forms on the U side / 1st syll. a on the J side, except in the form nu, vs Hu ě, e, a, u, Vg ē, ē, Os ē, ē, Zr a, Vty o. 3. In connection with the above J and Hu data, it will be of interest to note the similarity between the J, OJ neg. adv. form -naku (postpositionally) and dial. Hu nekū~OHu nekūl (Standard Hu nelkūl) 'without' (postpositionally), e.g., kés nekū 'without a knife'; I suspect that in the literary form nelkūl both l sounds are secondary. 4. Cf. Pröhle No. 35.

292. J, OJ na- : na-ni 'what'. Ōno: na-ni is related to Kor nu 'who'. Miller Table 292 1971, 194: OJ na-ni goes with OTu nā 'what' < *nān-, cf. OTu nen 'any, whatever, whatsoever' (reference to Tekin 1968, 356).

Vg	ne	MUSz 623: Vg <u>ne</u> 'what, which', <u>nar</u> 'what', <u>nar mos</u> 'why', <u>ale-nar</u> 'something', <u>ati-nar</u> 'nothing'.
Hu	né-	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>né-</u> : <u>néha</u> ~OHu <u>niha</u> 'at times, sometime', <u>némi</u> 'a certain, some; some quantity (not much)', <u>némely</u> 'some, certain', <u>né-hány</u> , dial. <u>néhány</u> 'a few'.--Origin uncertain. Does Hu <u>né-</u> come from U * <u>nā</u> 'this'?
"	ni-	
"	ne-	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'what'. In support of this proposition I refer to Ramstedt 1952/58, 80 where we learn that the interrogative pronouns have been used in some languages as indefinite ones, too, e.g., German wer 'who'~irgend einer 'anyone, someone', was 'what'~irgend etwas 'anything at all', wann 'when'~irgendwann 'some time or other'.--As regards the deriving of Hu né- from U *nā, I decline to accept the proposition of TESZ, especially because TESZ and MSZFE suggest that Hu ně 'don't' could ultimately also come from U *nā 'this'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs Hu, Vg n- / J, OJ a vs Hu ě, OHu i, dial. ē, Vg e, a.

293. OJ na 'you', used when addressing someone in familiar terms; e.g., na- Table 293 muti 'you, my dear'~na-re 'you'; na-se 'you, my husband'.

OJ	na	Hajdú 1966, 132: Vg <u>na(n)</u> , Os <u>nō(n)</u> 'you, thou' (2nd sg), where <u>-n</u> is a pronoun formant.
Vg	na-	
Os	nō-	

Comm.: 1. The meanings are identical. 2. In phonetic shape, OJ na coincides with Vg na-, and slightly differs from Os nō-. 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 34.

294. J -na, OJ -na 'fish', e.g., J funa 'a crucian carp, a roach', OJ puna 'a small carp', ? J sakana 'fish' (Ōno suggests that this word consists of the old form of sake 'ricewine' + na 'salad made with fish and greens'), OJ isana~isa 'whale'.

FUV 127, TESZ (ex.): Fi säynävä, etc. 'ide, Idus idus' / -vä is a suffix / LpL siewnä,

Table 294

J, OJ	-na	Lp	-n	LpK <u>siwn</u> / Mde <u>sēnej</u> 'a kind of fish' (probably a kind of Cyprinus)/Vty <u>son-čoryg</u> 'Idus idus' (č. 'fish') /Zr
OJ	na	Vg	-n	<u>syn</u> /Hu <u>ŝn</u> 'bream'.-- FU * <u>sāBnā</u> .
Fi	-nā	PSam	*-nā	FUV (1955) 118 (ex.): Lp <u>šoarān</u> , <u>čoarran</u> 'salmon'/? Vty
Lp	-nā	Tv	-nu	<u>čoryg</u> , etc. 'fish'/Zr <u>čerig</u> , etc.//Vg <u>sāāren</u> 'Coregonus
"	-n	Yn	-na	<u>vimba</u> /Os <u>sārek</u> . (This etymology does not appear in the
Md	-ne.j	Yr	-na	1978 edition.)
Vty, Zr	-n			SW 174: * <u>wekānā</u> 'sturgeon'; cf. Tv <u>bakunu</u> , Yn <u>behena</u> ,
Hu	-n			<u>behanna</u> , Yr <u>exena</u> .
FU	-*-nā			

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'fish'. While na 'fish' occurs as a free morpheme in OJ, we encounter it also as a bound morpheme there, and only as a bound morpheme

in J. On the U side, one can only deduce that the reflexes of FU *-nā mean 'fish', by following the analogy of, say, Vg Bul-pā 'Siberian pine', Hu nyir-fa 'birch-tree', etc. where U *-pu means 'tree' (cf. OJ kasi~kasipa 'oak-tree' under entry ha 'leaf, foliage'). The element n (+ vowel) occurs consistently in Fi sāynāvā, etc., except in Zr, Vty, and Os under FUV (1955) 118; PSam *wekānā and the attested Sam forms merely strengthen our assumption. 2. According to the pattern CVCVCV seen so frequently on the U side, it is a fair bet that FU *-nā and PSam *-nā are detachable. I even propose that in this case we are confronted with compound words in which both components mean 'fish'; quite likely, the first component is the attribute of the second. 3. In Mde sēnej, -j is either a lengthening element or it has got there through metathesis. 4. Phon.: initial J, OJ n vs FU, PSam *n /J, OJ a vs FU *ā, PSam *ā.

295. J, OJ na 'name'. Haguenauer 1956, 199 proposes that OJ na is the shortened form of *nama. It is likely only if the assumed

Table 295

J, OJ	na	Hu	né.v	shortening followed the analogy of back formation in
J	na.ma e	Yr	nū.m	a few attested cases; e.g., OJ <u>asi</u> 'foot, leg' > <u>a-</u>
Fi	ni.mi	Tv	ni.m	in <u>a-bumi</u> 'stirrup' (<u>pumi</u> < <u>pumu</u> 'to step'). J <u>namae</u>
Lp	nā.mā-	Yn	ni.?	'name' is popularly explained as consisting of <u>na</u>
Md	le.m	Sk	ni.m	'name' + <u>mae</u> < <u>ma-pe</u> 'that which is before the eye'.
Ch	lā.m	"	ne.m	We can take this as a folk etymology, yet the form
"	lū.m	Km	ni.m	<u>namae</u> could be the distorted version of an ancient
Vty, Zr	ni.m	U	*ni.me	form which we try to find.
Vg	ne.m	Yuk	ne.ve	FUV 58, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi <u>nimi</u> 'name'/Lp <u>nāmmā</u> ~
Os	ne.m	"	ni.m	<u>nāmā</u> /Md <u>lem</u> /Ch <u>lām</u> , <u>lūm</u> /Vty, Zr <u>ni</u> /Vg <u>ne</u> /Os

nem /Hu nev ~ neve // Yr nūm /Tv ni /Yn ni /Sk nim, nem /Km nim.-- U *nime.-- Cf. Yuk niu, neve, nim.

Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n vs U *n / 1st syll. J, OJ a vs U *i // medial J m vs U *m // final of the primary stem, J a vs U *e. 3. Collinder and a number of other scholars equated the words on the U side with IE words for 'name' (cf. Sanskrit nama, Greek onoma, Latin nomen, German Name).

296. ClJ nabaru ~ namaru, OJ nabu (y.), nabaru, namaru (y.) 'seclude/hide one-self'.

ClJ, OJ	nab.a.ru	FUV 111, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>lep-</u> (open e) 'to cover, shelter, screen, protect, cover up; make a surprise attack (on)'
OJ	nab.u	LpL <u>lieppā</u> 'tent of the most simple construction; primitive
Hu	lep-	shelter made of boards'/Ch <u>lewākš</u> , <u>lewāš</u> , <u>lewāš</u> 'roof; shelter,
Lp	lep.ā	open shed; lid; coverlet', <u>lewedā</u> 'to cover' /Vty <u>lip-</u> , <u>lipy-</u>
Ch	lew.ā.kš	'to cover; roof in', <u>lipet</u> 'roof' /Vg <u>liip-</u> 'to cover' /Os <u>āip</u> ,
"	lew.ā.š	<u>tep</u> 'sleeping tent; shed for drying fish; protruding eaves'.--
"	lew.e.dā	FU * <u>lāppā</u> (-).

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'cover/hide/shelter'. 2. Phon.: initial ClJ, OJ n vs FU *l / 1st syll. ClJ, OJ a vs FU *ā / medial ClJ, OJ b, m vs FU *pp. 3. Cf. Poppe 1960, 68: Mo nemüre 'to cover, protect, shelter; throw a cover (over something)', nemürge 'a coat', MoMo nemüre 'protection, shelter', nemürge 'a coat made of felt' = Tg Ev nemelā 'to saddle (a horse)' (< 'to cover its back'), Ma nemerken 'a coat made of grass'.

297. J nadameru, OJ nadamu (sh.n.) 'soothe, calm (down), mollify, placate; be lenient/forgiving', J naderu, ClJ nazu, OJ nadu (sh.n.) 'stroke/pat (a child, an

Table 297

J	nad.a.meru	Vg	lańś.i.ŋ
OJ	nad.a.mu	"	lońś.i.ŋ
J	nad.e.ru	"	.....
ClJ	naz.u	Os	luńđ.3
OJ	nad.u	"	luńđ.3
J	nod.o-	"	lqńđ.i
OJ	nod.đ-	"	luńđ.3
? J	nats.u.ku	Lp	loańś.e
? OJ	nat.u.ku	"	luńś.a.s
Hu	láy	FU	*lońś.a
"	láy		
"	láy.o.s		
"			

animal), smooth down' (e.g., one's hair), J nodo-ka(na)~nodo-yaka, OJ ndiđ 'calm, quiet, pleasant; balmy (of weather)'. ? J natsuku, OJ natuku (y.) 'become used to, get familiar (with), become tamed', J natsukeru, OJ natuku (sh.n.) 'to tame, train, win over, habituate'.

FUV 110, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu láy, dial. láy 'soft, fine (to the touch); mild, gentle, lenient; sluggish, inert, lacking in energy; feeble, tame, affectionate, tender, effeminate; watery (of material)', láyék 'groin, loin', láymatag 'lukewarm; undecided, halfhearted', láy~láy os 'tepid, lukewarm; mild (of weather) ~ Vg lańśin 'soft', lońśin, lańśin, lońśan 'warm' /Os luńđ, luńś, lońśi 'lukewarm', luńś 'tepid' /

Lp loańśe 'smooth, soft; calm; forming no waves or not moving to and fro', luotsas 'made soft by water (said of leather), soaked, drenched (mostly of a boat that has lain in water for a long time)'.-- FU *lońśa 'soft'.--In Hu láy, láyos, n is probably inetymological; in the Vg forms, -ń is a denom. nom. formant.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'soft; calm'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs FU *l- / 1st syll. J a, o, OJ a, o vs FU *o / medial J, ClJ d, z, ? J ts, OJ d, ? t vs FU *ńś. 3. Cf. entry nadu.

298. J nadareru, Ōno: nadaru (sh.n.) 'to slope, descend; slide down; collapse, decline, come/fall down', J, ClJ nadare 'a slope; a (snow-)slip'.

Table 298

J	nad.a.reru	
J, ClJ	nad.a.re	
Ō.	nad.a.ru	
PSam	*ńśa-	
"	*ńśa.r-	

SW 109: *ńśa- 'to slip/glide'; cf. Tv der. ńśadumu 'sledge-runner' /Yn edua id. /Yr ńśańśa 'slowly glide/move forward (said of a snake) /Sk der. ńśańśa 'slide or fall down' /Km nánzəlám 'I fall/plunge down; I hover'.--Der. *ńśańś(j)r- id.; cf. Tv ńśańśura 'to advance on skis, skates, or by sledge' /Sk ńśańśir- 'to run on skis, travel by sledge' /Km nánzərłám 'to glide/come down on snow-shoes'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to glide/slide/slip (down)', hence 'to fall, collapse'. 2. Phon.: initial J, ClJ n- vs PSam *ń- / 1st syll. J, ClJ a vs PSam *e / medial J, ClJ d vs PSam *ns.

299. OJ nadu 'wet' (Chamberlain), naduku (y.) 'soak (in water, etc.)', nadukf 'the act or effect of soaking', nadukf-da 'a soaked field', nadumu (y.) 'to stagnate (of a river); be hindered; stick/adhere to'. Ōno: nadusapu, nadusaparu (y.) 'to be soaked' are related to nadumu (y.) (Ōno does not explain the element -sapu ~ saparu, but one can surmise that it has to do with OJ sapu (sh.n.) 'to hinder, obstruct'). ? J nazumu 'cling/adhere/stick (to)'.

Table 299

OJ	nad.u	Yn	nud.á.do
"	nad.u.ku	"	nud.a.b'
"	nad.u.mu	? Hu	ned. .v
? J	naz.u.mu	"	ned.đ
PSam	*nontá-	"	ned

SW 103: *nontá- (t = c, t) 'become moist/wet'; cf. Yn aorist 1st sg nudáro; nudádo; der.

nudab 'wet'.
TESZ (ex.): Hu nedv, ned, nedü 'sap; liquid', nedves 'wet' /open e in all forms/--Origin unknown.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'wet; get/make wet'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs PSam *n-, Hu n- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs PSam e, Hu e / medial J z, OJ d vs PSam *nt, Hu d /final of the primary stem, J, OJ u vs PSam *á, Hu ü. 3. There is a chance that Hu nedv and the Sam words in question are linked with Hu láy, Lp luotsas, etc., s. entry nadameru.

300. J naeru, OJ napu (sh.n.) 'wither, droop, lose strength, get numb'. Ōno: napegu (y.) 'to limp; walk with one's feet dragging on the ground',

Table 300

J	na.e.ru	
OJ	nap.u	
"	nap.ě.gu	
Hu	lef.ě.g-	
"	laf.o.g-	
"	lepp.ě.g-	

OJ asi-nape 'one whose feet or legs are lame'.
TESZ (ex.): Hu le(f)ěg ~dial. lifěg, lefěg, la(f)fog 'walk with difficulty; flap to and fro; dangle, hang, swing (e.g., the dewlap of cattle)'.--Onomatopoeic.
MTSz: Hu leppěg ~ leppög 'walk with difficulty; speak with difficulty'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'hang down/dangle (for lack of firmness)'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs Hu l- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu e (open) /medial J o, OJ p vs Hu f, p. 3. Cf. OJ napeku and Hu lefeg-, etc. where Hu g is a frequ. verb formant (note: old word-final vowels became lost in Hu by the 13th cent.).

301. J naga-i, OJ naga(-si) 'long; big; chief; main'. E.g., OJ tópo-naga-si 'very distant' (t. 'far, distant'), také-naga-sa 'the size of one's stature' (t. 'stature', -sa is an abstract noun formant), ónd-naga 'a person whose face is longish', Naga-saki 'long/main promontory/headland'.

Table 301
J nag.a-i TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu nagy ~ OHu nogy, dial. nađ, náj 'extensive, big, of large size; weighty (thing); excellent, important (person); (person) of authority/high rank; mighty; elder (person); leading (person); chief; greater (part)'.--Origin uncertain. ?
Hu nagy ~ Zr nadú 'stingy'; naúé 'completely; able, excellent'.--Because of the cluster tš, the latter word's belonging here is uncertain.--Zr nadú only belongs here if its meaning 'stingy' and the meaning 'big, large' of Hu nagy go back to a common meaning 'strong, hard'.--Apart from the semantic difference, the equation is weakened by the fact that Zr would be the only related language with a cognate to Hu nagy.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'extensive; prominent'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs Hu n- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu a, o /medial J, OJ g vs Hu gy (also dial. d, j).--Hu medial gy (= d) may come from PFU *l-, *o-, or *o-(-o). However, in some cases a g > gy change (also g ~ gy alternation) is attested. E.g., dial. legel > legvel 'to graze, feed on a pasture', görbe > görge > görgye 'crooked' (Nyíri 1939, 22), dial. náspárol > náspárol 'to thrash', genge ~ gyenge 'weak', igenés ~ égyenés 'straight', mög ~ megye ~ megyi 'that which is behind', OHu Somudi ~ Somug, later Somogy (name of a Hu county; TESZ).

302. J nageru 'to watch, look at, gaze at, scrutinize; see; wait for; look into the distance', Óno: nagamu (sh.n.) id. (Óno explains the deverbal form nagame, thereby the verb itself, as consisting of naga 'long' + mé 'eye'); J nagame, OJ nagámé 'gazing; contemplation; view, scene'.

Table 302
J nag.a.meru Md nej.e- FUV 116, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu néz- (der.), dial. níz-, nyíz-, nöz-, néz- 'to watch, look/gaze at, view; contemplate (over), ponder (over), look to someone with trust and expectation'/Fi náke- 'see', Est nágema 'to view'/Lp niekko 'a dream', niegáda- 'to dream'/Md neje- 'see'/Vty naal- (disyllabic) 'to look at, regard'/Vg negl- 'be visible'/Os niw-, ni- id.--Hu -z, Vty -al are frequ. verb formants; Vg -l may be a frequ. formant.--
" nieg.á.dá- FU *náke-.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'look at, view'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs FU *n- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs FU *a /medial J, OJ g vs FU *k /final of the primary stem, J, OJ a vs FU *e. 3. The form Os ni- prompts one to think that a CV shaped root is at the base of the entire complex. 4. Cf. Ramstedt 1957 (I), 76: Kor nevi-, njevi- 'to view'. 5. Cf. entry niru.

303. J nagareru, OJ nagaru (sh.n.) 'to flow, trickle, ooze, drain; float, drift', J, OJ nagasu (y.) 'to pour, dash (out), let flow/drain/wander, set adrift; depart', OJ nagarapu (sh.n.; frequ.) 'keep raining, keep blowing (of the wind), keep falling (said of pet-als)'. Óno: omopi-nagasu 'let one's thoughts run/pass one after the other'.

Table 303
J nag.a.reru Ganschow 1965, 29: Os naýrel-, naýert-, naýerla-, naýerle- 'flow slowly, to trickle, ooze; gush', cf. naýert-, naýert- 'pour, let flow'.
Os naý.rál-
" naý.r.t-
"
Hu leg.e.l- TESZ (ex.): Hu legel- (open vowels) '(Vi) graze', in OHu also '(Vt) provide fodder, feed, let graze', dial. '(Vi) spread, gain ground' (said esp. of fire).--Origin unknown.

Tömörkény 1952, 50 (translation): "/at first/ the flood-water spreads fairly rapidly ...; having filled the deep places it moves slowly, as people say, it

'legel', for its moving is very similar to that of a grazing animal"; p. 56: "ki-legel a partra" /the swollen river/ flows over the bank' (ki- 'out', part-ra 'onto the bank').

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'advance/keep moving slowly'. 2. Phon. initial J, OJ n- vs Os ñ-, Hu l- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Os a, ä, Hu e (open) /medial J, OJ g vs Os γ, χ, Hu g /final of the primary stem, J, OJ a vs Os a, Hu e (open). 3. Cf. the (probably frequ.) formants J, OJ r, Os r, Hu l in the same column. 4. Cf. Poppe 1960, 38: Mo negü- 'move to another place (for living), nomadize', Mmo ne'u- id., Mo negülge- 'let/make shift living quarters', Kh nülge- id. = Tg Ma neo- 'move to another place (to live)', Ev nulgi- id., nulgi-me-ge- id., nulgi-kt-e-ge- 'nomadize', nulgi-geri 'a nomad'. /In the Ev forms metathesis might have taken place./

304. J nageru, OJ nagu (sh.n.) 'throw, hurl, fling, cast', OJ nagé-kusi 'the throwing of the comb' (a magic act; going by the following example, nagé-kusi probably had the alternative meaning 'a comb to throw'), nagé-ya 'an arrow to be thrown by hand', J naguru, Ōno: naguru (y.) 'beat, strike, punch, batter'.

Table 304				FUV 112: Fi <u>lykkää-</u> , infinitive <u>lykä-tä</u> 'push, shove, thrust; throw (e.g., a ball), (Kar, Olonets)
J	nag.e.ru	Ch	luj.e-	push, shove, throw, fling, throw away, (Est)
OJ	nag.u	Zr	luj-	push, shove; move (Vi), move quickly, run, hurry, (Liv) push, shove'/Vg <u>lökäm-</u> 'push, push in, shove in' /Os <u>lökemt-</u> , <u>lökim-</u> 'push, shove, thrust'/Hu <u>lök-</u> 'give a push or shove; thrust, knock, fling, toss, throw, cast'.-- FU <u>*lukk3-</u> .
"	nag.é	Vg	li-	
J, ClJ	nag.u.ru	"	læ-	
Fi	lük.ä-	"	ly-	
Vg	lök.ä.m-	Hu	löv-	
Os	lök.ä.m t-	"	lō-	
"	lök.i.m-	FU	*luy.3-	
Hu	lök-	-	-	FUV 112: Fi <u>lyö-</u> 'to strike, hit, beat', Est <u>löö-</u> /Ch <u>lūje-</u> 'shoot' / Zr <u>lyj-</u> 'shoot; throw' / Vg <u>li-</u> , <u>ly-</u> 'throw; shoot' / Hu <u>löv-</u> , <u>lō-</u> 'shoot'.-- FU <u>*luy3-</u> .
FU	*lukk3-	Os	næk.	Ganschow 1965, 58: Os Tremjungan <u>næk-</u> 'knock against (something)'.
Fi	ly .ö-			
Est	lō .ö-			

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'throw, shove, knock', hence a) 'move quickly', b) 'to beat'. 2. On the U side, the difference in the reconstructions reflects, I suggest, the slight difference in shape between corresponding forms of practically identical meaning. It is fairly evident that the two word families belong together, being variant developments by split. 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs FU *l-, Os Trj n- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs FU *ü, Os Trj ä /medial J, OJ g vs FU *kk, *γ, Os Trj k. 4. Cf. Pröhle No. 48. 5. In connection with the magic power of the comb in OJ mythology (Ōmodaka, Ōno: nagé-kusi) it is worth noting that in the belief of the Voguls and the Ostyaks the comb, equally possessed of magic power, had to be thrown in the direction of the pursuer. 6. Cf. entry nigu.

Table 305				
J, OJ	nag.u			die down, mellow', OJ <u>nagu</u> (k.n.) 'become calm, die away (wind), calm down' (of the heart, of the sea), J <u>nagi</u> , OJ <u>nagi</u> 'calmness, a lull, calm', J <u>nago-yaka(na)</u> , OJ <u>nagó-ya</u> 'mellow, well matured, soft, congenial; peaceful (of wind, weather, month)'.
"	nag.o.mu			
"	nag.o.meru			
"	nag.i			
OJ	nag.ä			TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>nyug(o)sz(ik)</u> ~ OHu <u>nyugusz(ik)</u> , OHu, dial. <u>nyugu-</u> 'to rest, lie, sleep, be in a peaceful/quiet state; calm/settle/die down; (Vi) set (sun, stars); die; lie buried; be reconciled (with one's fate), be satisfied; peace/quiet rules (e.g., over nature)' ? ~ Vg <u>ñont-</u> , <u>ñunt-layti</u> 'to rest, repose, relax, sleep' /Os <u>ñoyol-</u> , <u>ñöyol-</u> 'to sleep, rest' /Md <u>nuvams</u> , <u>nyuśems</u> 'to dose, take a nap'.--The Vg word belongs here only if the element <u>t</u> of the cluster <u>-nt-</u> is a momentaneous verb formant, while <u>-nt-</u> < <u>*-nt-</u> .-- FU <u>*ñun3-</u> .
"	ñun. .t-			
"	ñun. .t-			
Os	ñoy.o.l-			
Md	nuv.a.ms			
FU	*ñun.3-			

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'calm, quiet; rest'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs FU *ñ- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs FU *u /medial J, OJ g vs FU *ñ /cf. the final of the primary stem, J o, OJ ä, J, OJ u to Hu o, u in the same position. 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 37 where Fi nukku 'a sleep', nukku- 'doze off, fall asleep' / Lp nakko 'quiet, rest (noun)' / Sk ñiga-, ñigga- 'have a good rest, to rest' are included in the comparison. 4. As a variant of Os ñoyol-, one could

propose (Ganschow 1965, 22:) Os Tremjugan lõyam 'quiet, peaceful, still, silent', luyam 'become quiet; calm, die down'.

306. J, OJ naka '(the) inside, center, interval, space, gap'; 'relations, connections, closeness (in friendship or other human relations)', e.g., J naka-no yo-i tomo-hito 'a close friend' (no gen./attr. marker, yo-i 'good'), OJ pičō-naka 'society, company' (p. 'people; person').

Table 306	FUV 117: Fi <u>nikama</u> 'knot (in plant stalks, etc.); vertebra'/Vg
J, OJ <u>nak.a</u>	<u>neh</u> , <u>nāk</u> 'step, stage; end; limb; staircase; storey, floor' /Os
Fi <u>nik.a.ma</u>	<u>ñāēk</u> 'limb; knot (in plant stalks, etc.); a precise space of
Vg <u>neh</u>	time (the duration of a certain phenomenon, e.g., fine weather)'. (No reconstructed form given.)
" <u>nāk</u>	NyK 81 (1979), 361: Os <u>nak</u> 'limb, link, joint; knee; node (on
Os <u>ñāēk</u>	the stalks of plants').
" <u>nak</u>	Steinitz 1966, 727: Os <u>ley</u> : <u>ley-pelōk</u> ~ <u>leya-p</u> . 'the inside (of
" <u>ley</u>	a house, a container, etc.)'. (p. 'half').
" <u>ley-a</u>	
Hu <u>rok.o.n</u>	FUV 72, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>rokon</u> ~ OHu <u>raikon</u> 'related; related
" <u>rak.o.n</u>	person', OHu 'near, close by, in the vicinity', <u>rokonság</u> 'kin-
Vg <u>raw-</u>	ship, relationship, connection, affinity, consanguinity; all re-
" <u>rāw-</u>	lations together' ~ Vg <u>raw-</u> , <u>rāw-</u> 'draw near; let the hunter
" <u>rāq.a.s-</u>	come close (of the game)', <u>rāq-s-</u> 'come to somebody, join some-
" <u>rāq</u>	body', <u>rāq</u> 'attraction, inclination, affection' /Os <u>rāh-</u> 'to ap-
Os <u>rāh</u>	proach, draw near; allow to come near', <u>rāq</u> 'dear, beloved',
" <u>rāg.a</u>	<u>rāgēm</u> 'a relative; related through one's wife (woman of the gens
Yr <u>lak</u>	of the wife and not taboo in view of sexual intercourse)'/Yr
" <u>rak</u>	<u>lak</u> , <u>rak</u> 'near, in the vicinity; for a short time; (the/my re-
" <u>lakha(na)</u>	lation, relative', <u>lakha-na</u> (loc.) 'near, in the vicinity (of),
" <u>rakh.a.em</u>	<u>rakhaem</u> 'my relative'--- U * <u>rakka</u> (-) 'something which is close;
Ū * <u>rakk.a</u>	to approach'---In Hu <u>rokon</u> , - <u>n</u> is a loc. suffix.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'node/joint on the stalks of plants; piece of stalk between two nodes', hence 'middle, inside, closeness', hence 'relationship, relations'. 2. The consonants l, n, and r form a company in some language areas. Miller 1971, 102 notes that in Tu Chuvash "... r, l, and n go together to form a morphophonemic unity; ... a parallel and related morphophonemic unity for r, l, and n exists in Tungus (Benzing 1955: 1032)"; cf. Ramstedt 1957 (1), 36 (transl.): "Because of the traditional inability of the Altaic peoples to pronounce l- and r- clearly, cases are encountered where r- > l- > n-. E.g., Fi ruotsi 'Swede', Zr rotš 'Russian', Sam lotš, Tg lūča, Ma loča, Solon lūta, Tu Yak nuča, nučča, ñučča, ñuča, Ainu nuča." (Note: since it was Swedish-Norwegian adventurers who founded the Russian state, the name then used to call the Swedes-- in the FU tongues probably best preserved in the words Fi ruotsi and Zr rotš-- became transferred onto the Slav and other subjects in the realm). The mixing up of l-, n-, and r- in loanwords into Japanese is notorious. Thus--- initial J, OJ n- vs Fi, Vg n-, Os n-, l- (in the 1st U grouping), U *r- (in the 2nd U grouping) / 1st syll. J, OJ a vs Fi i, Vg ē, ä, Os ē, a, e (in the 1st U grouping), U *a (in the 2nd U grouping)/ medial J, OJ k vs Vg, Os k, Vg h, Os γ (in the 1st U grouping), U *kk (in the 2nd U grouping) / stem-final J, OJ a vs Fi ä, Vg, Os ø, Os a (in the 1st U grouping), U *-a (in the rest). 3. The element -ma of Fi nika-ma is a suffix (s. Räsänen 1955, 18: Fi paarma 'gadfly': Lp pōaru id.).

307. J, OJ <u>naku</u> (y.)	'to cry, weep, lament; sing, warble, chirp, coo, etc.',
Table 307	J <u>nakeru</u> 'be moved to tears', OJ <u>naku</u> (sh.n.) 'make cry, weep,
J, OJ <u>nak.u</u>	etc.', J <u>ne</u> , OJ <u>ne~na</u> (noun) 'sound, tone, voice, chirping,
J <u>nak.e.ru</u>	ring (of a bell)'. Ōno: OJ <u>na~ne</u> is cognate with <u>naku</u> (y.), etc.
" <u>ne</u>	
OJ <u>ne</u>	FUV 90, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>énēk</u> ~ OHu <u>ínēk</u> , dial. <u>ínök</u> , <u>ünök</u> ,
" <u>na</u>	<u>ínēk</u> 'song, chant, sing of birds, warble, warbling' ~ Fi <u>ääni</u>
Hu <u>é.nēk</u>	'voice; noise'/LpN <u>jiednā</u> 'voice, tone sound'---In the Lp word,
" <u>í.nēk</u>	<u>j</u> - is secondary---The element - <u>k</u> in Hu <u>énēk</u> is a dim. formant.
Fi <u>ää.ni</u>	-- FU * <u>äne</u> 'sing; singing'.
Lp <u>jiednā</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to produce a voice/a tone through
FU * <u>ä.ne</u>	the mouth'. 2. Phon.: taking FU * <u>ä</u> - (and its reflexes) as pro-
? Hu <u>nyōg-</u>	thetic (cf. FU <u>itā-</u> vs J <u>deru</u> under entry <u>deru</u>)--- initial J, OJ
" <u>nyek-</u>	<u>n</u> - vs FU * <u>n</u> / 1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> , <u>e</u> vs FU * <u>e</u> ;-- I suggest that

in Lp jiednā, not only j- is inetymological, but d, too, being a homorganic epenthetic sound joined to n. 3. Hu nyōg ~ dial. nyeg-, nyek-, nyig- 'to moan, whine, groan' (onom. ?) probably belongs here, containing a verb formant which seems to correspond to k (? frequ.) on the J side. 4. Cf. entry naru 'to sound'.

308. J nama(-i), OJ nama(-si) 'raw, uncooked, fresh, green, unripe; juicy, sappy'.

Table 308

J, OJ	nam.a-	? Zr	lem	FUV 111, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi <u>liemi</u> 'broth, soup'
Fi	liem.i	Vg	lēm	/Lp <u>liebma</u> ~ <u>liema</u> /Md <u>lem</u> id.; 'fat, tallow' /Ch
Lp	liem.ā-	Hu	lé	<u>lem</u> 'broth, soup' /Vty <u>lym</u> '(fish) soup; sherbet' /
Md	lem	"	lev.e-	? Zr <u>lem</u> 'jelly, gelatine' /Vg <u>lääm</u> 'broth' /Hu
Ch	lem	FU	*lēm.e	<u>lé</u> ~ <u>leve-</u> 'broth', <u>leves</u> 'broth soup'.-- FU * <u>lēme</u>
Vty	lym	or	*lem.e	or * <u>leme</u> .

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'sap, juice', hence 'soup/soup-like nourishment'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs FU *l- / 1st syll. J, OJ a vs FU *ē or *e / medial J, OJ m vs FU *m / final J, OJ a vs FU *-e.

309. J namera-ka(na), Ōno: namera-ka 'velvety, smooth, soft, glossy, slippery', Table 309 OJ name, Ōno: name, namesi 'smoothness, glossiness' (e.g., of tanned/prepared hide, finished leather), Ōno: nameru (y.) 'be slippery/clammy/slimy/very smooth', J namaru 'become dull/blunted/weakened', namasu 'to anneal/soften' (e.g., tin, copper), OJ namari 'lead, plumbum'.

FUV 57: LpS nemok 'soft' // Vg naamek /Os naamek id.; 'warm, mild' (of weather) // Yr nunk 'flexible' /Tv naman, namaga 'soft' (of hides) /Yn nuggo 'soft' /Sk naamagel, neukka /Km nōmūr, nōmūr id.--The Vg and Os words may be loans from Sam. (No reconstructed form given, but s. A links below.) Lehtisalo 1936, 187: Sk nama-r kues, feme-r kues 'tin' (i.e., 'soft metal').

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'soft'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs n-, n- on the U side /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Lp, Sk e, Os ā, Vg, Tv, Sk a, Yr ū, Yn u, Km ō, ō / medial J, OJ m vs Lp, Vg, Os, Tv, Sk, Km m, Yr, Yn, Sk ō, ō. 3. Cf. the adj. formant k, etc. on the U side with (?) adj. formant ka on the J side (where another formant intervenes). 4. Cf. the forms containing r in the same position on both sides. Note esp. OJ namari 'lead' vs Sk nama-r kues. 5. Cf. FUV 155: LpS nemok 'soft' ... /Tu jymāq, jumāq 'soft' / Mo nemegün, Kalmuck nemūn 'soft; flexible; peaceful' /Ma nemejen 'soft'. (Tu j- < *ā-.)

310. J nameru, OJ namu (sh.n.) 'to lick, taste, touch with the tongue'.

Table 310

J	na.m.e.ru	Os	nā.l-	FUV 61, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi <u>nuole-</u> 'to lick' /Lp
OJ	na.m.u	"	nā.ā-	<u>njoallo</u> ~ <u>njoalo-</u> /Md <u>nola-</u> /Ch <u>nōle-</u> /Vty, Zr <u>nul-</u>
Fi	nu.l.e-	Hu	nyā.l-	/Vg <u>holant-</u> /Os <u>hāl-</u> , <u>nāā-</u> /Hu <u>nyal-</u> /Sk <u>nu-go</u> /Km
Lp	npal.o-	Sk	nū.q.o	<u>maom</u> 'to lick', ? <u>nū-</u> id.-- U * <u>nola-</u> or * <u>nula-</u> .
Md	nol.l.a-	Km	nū.l.om	SW 105: * <u>nā-</u> 'to lick'; cf. Tv <u>nō-</u> , Sk <u>nu-go</u> id.
Ch	nō.l.e-	U	*nō.l.a-	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to lick/taste'. 2.
Vty	nū.l-	or	*nū.l.a-	Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>n-</u> vs U, PSam * <u>n-</u> /1st syll.
Zr	nū.l-			J, OJ <u>a</u> vs U * <u>o</u> or * <u>u</u> , PSam * <u>ā</u> . 3. On the J side,
Vg	nō.l.a.ant-	PSam	*nā-	<u>m</u> (+ vowel) is a common verb formant. Thus, the

root of namu, etc. is na----As we have seen, the PSam form is *nā-. Sk nu-go and Km nū- simply do not fit into the picture of disyllabic bases, as shortest forms, in U. It is evident that another solution has to be found.--In Sk nu-go, -go is a formant added to an open monosyllabic word; in Km nū- there is no expanding element at all, so we can conclude that in U *nola- /nula- *-la is a verb formant.

311. J namī, OJ namī 'wave/billow/surge/swell/surf', OJ namu (y.) 'flutter, wave, bend, yield, be swayed', J nabiku, OJ nabiku (y.) 'flutter, wave, bow, bend, stream', J nabikasū 'win over, bend to one's will', OJ nabiku (sh.n.) ~ nabikasū (y.) 'cause to flutter/bow/bend'. ? J namida, OJ namita 'tear(s)'.

Table 311	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>labb</u> ~OHu <u>láb</u> - 'to float/swim/wave (fluctuate) /stream/shake/waver/float in the air; tears rise/well into in one's eyes'.--Origin uncertain. Perhaps related to <u>lebég</u> -.
J nam.i	
OJ nam.i	
" nam.u	
J nab.i.ku	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>lebég</u> ~ <u>levég</u> ~ <u>lőbög</u> - '(Vi) swing to and fro, shake, waver, wave, drift, stream, flutter, move with ease in water or air, soar'~ <u>libég</u> - (approx. the same meaning)~ <u>lobog</u> - '(Vi) wave, flutter (of a flag), to flame/blaze/flare/quiver/waver (of flame)'.--This word family is onomatopoeic.
OJ nab.i.kasu	
OJ nab.i.kasu	
Hu labb	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>labbog</u> ~dial. <u>labog</u> -, <u>lábog</u> - 'swim, float, be tossed about on the surface of the water; tears well/rise into one's eyes; wade (in water), move easily'.--This verb derives from <u>labb</u> - (s. above).
OHu lab	
Hu labó	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>labbó</u> ~dial. <u>lábó</u> , <u>lábú</u> 'a float, a raft; peat-bog (floating, yet solid enough to carry people)'.-- This word comes from <u>labb</u> -.
" lab.u	
" lab.a.d-	
" lib.e.g-	
" lob.o.g-	
" leb.e.g-	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>lábád</u> - 'to float/drift/swim; tears well into one's eyes'.--See <u>labb</u> -.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to flutter, wave, swing, fluctuate'. As Hu lábád- (a medio-passive/reflexive verb) is related to verbs meaning 'to fluctuate, wave, swim, float', so, I suggest, J namida 'tear(s)' is tied up with nami 'wave/billow, etc.'. namida < namita appears to be a deverbal noun; for its source one could posit *namitu, where -tu is a medio-passive/reflexive verb formant (s. Morphology). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs Hu l- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu á, a; e, ö, i, e / medial J, OJ m vs Hu b, bb (geminated b), y. 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 47. 4. Cf. Poppe 1960, 74: Tg Ev lamu < *namu 'sea' = Ma namu id.

312. J <u>naoru</u> , OJ <u>naporu</u> (y.)	'become corrected/mended/reformed/restored; get well', J <u>naosu</u> , OJ <u>naposu</u> (y.) 'to correct, set right, mend, restore to normal, remedy, heal', J <u>nao</u> , OJ <u>napo</u> 'further, still, equally, just like', OJ <u>napo-si</u> 'straight, direct, plain; honest, erect, righteous'.
Table 312	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>lapos</u> ~OHu <u>lapas</u> , <u>lapus</u> , <u>lapis</u> 'flat area, a plain, lowland, marsh; (adj.) thin, flat, low, shallow, superficial', <u>lap</u> 'plate, sheet; flat surface/side; a plain, lowland'.~? Vg <u>kātlob</u> , <u>kātluB</u> 'palm or flat of the hand' (k. 'hand') /Os <u>lobesay</u> 'flat, low' / Zr <u>lap</u> 'the flat side (of an object), the flat (surface) of the hand/foot/spade, etc. /Vty <u>lap</u> 'low', <u>lapag</u> 'low, of small growth' /Ch <u>lap</u> 'low' (table/stool/house, etc.), <u>lapka</u> 'flat, low' / MfE <u>lapužá</u> , MdM <u>lapš</u> 'flat; flat surface' /Fi <u>lappea</u> , <u>lappia</u> 'flat; flat side', Est <u>lapp</u> 'flat(tish)' /Lp <u>lappad</u> 'next to; past something' (e.g., missing the aim) /Yr <u>lapšas</u> 'sheet, leaf, plate, slab (broad and smooth)'.--Os <u>-say</u> , Ch <u>-ka</u> , Md <u>-ža</u> , <u>-š</u> , Yr <u>-šes</u> are formants /Lp <u>-d</u> is a suffix?.
J na .o.ru	Ch lap
" na .o.su	" lap. .ka
" na .o	MdE lap.u.žá
OJ nap.o	MdM lap. .š
" nap.o.ru	Est lapp
" nap.o.su	Fi lappe. a
" nap.o.si	Lp lap.š.d
Hu lap	Yr lap. .šas
" lap.o.s	U <u>*lap.š</u>
? Vg -lobš	Fi lap.a
" -luš	Est lab.a
Os lob. .say	? Vg -loep
Zr lap	? Yr lab.e
Vty lap	Tv lab.a.η
" lap.ä.g	U <u>*lap.a</u>

thing' (e.g., missing the aim) // Yr lapšas 'sheet, leaf, plate, slab (broad and smooth)'.--Os -say, Ch -ka, Md -ža, -š, Yr -šes are formants /Lp -d is a suffix?.

-- U *lapps.

FUV 50: Fi lapa 'shoulder (of an animal), shoulder-blade; blade of an oar or spade', /? lapio 'spade, shovel', Est laba 'plate, sheet; flat (side)', /? labi-das 'spade, shovel', Liv laba 'plane, level, sheet', /Lp lapp, Lp Inari luopi 'shoulder-blade' /Vg kaatloep 'hand's-breadth' (k. 'hand') //? Yr labe 'oar' /Tv laban /Yn loba /Sk laba /Motor lia /Yuk liipe 'shovel'.-- U *lapa.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'flat; straight; even', hence 'correct, to correct'.--As I see it, the adduced U word families belong together. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs U *l- / 1st syll. J, OJ a vs U *a /medial J l, OJ p vs U *pp, *p. 3. Cf. OJ (adj.) napo-si and Hu (adj.) lapo-s; the stem-final vowels and the adj. formants also seem to tally. 4. Cf. Poppe 1960, 37: Mo nabtaji < *nap-ta-gi 'become flat', nabtagar < *nap-ta-ga-r 'low', nabči < *nap-ti 'leaf', etc. 5. Cf. Menges 1975, 87: PA *lapa 'leaf; flat' ...; this etymon is Nostratic.

313. J, OJ narabu (y.) 'stand in line/row/order; rank with; be linked to', e.g., OJ pi-narabu 'the days are added up; add up the days', J, OJ narabi 'a row,

Table 313		a line, a range', J <u>naraberu</u> , OJ <u>narabu</u> (sh.n.) 'arrange, line
J, OJ	nar.a.bu	up, put things side by side'.
" "	nar.a.bi	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>nyaláb</u> 'a bundle, an armful (as much as
J	nar.a.beru	one can hold with arms and hands; the material is usually
Hu	nyal.áb	stalky), a burden, a load'.--The assumable stem * <u>nyal-</u> ? 'the
? Os	hul.a	whole; a bundle' may be compared to Os <u>hula</u> , <u>hút</u> , <u>hútá</u> 'to-
"	hút	gether, into one (heap), one on top of the other'; it may also
"	hút.á	have to do with the element <u>nyol-</u> of <u>nyolc</u> 'eight' which is

semantically linked with 'a bundle, a set /of eight pelts?' (which served at one time in the distant past as a monetary unit).--For the ending -áb, cf. Hu közép 'middle' (: köz 'interval'), küszöb 'threshold'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a row of objects' (in Hu, a narrowing of this meaning limits the use of nyaláb to 'a bundle/an armful of stalky or at least slender objects'). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs Hu ny-, ? Os h- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu a, ? e (in nyolc), ? Os u, ü /medial J, OJ r vs Hu l, ? Os l, t /final of the primary stem, J, OJ a vs Hu á, ? Os a. 3. Cf. the verb formant, J, OJ b (+ vowel) and Hu b in the same position. 4. Cf. entry yorodu.

314. J, OJ	<u>naru</u> (y.)	'bear (fruit), be in fruit; become, be, get; turn/pass/change (into); set in, begin to; result in', OJ <u>naru</u> (y.)
Table 314		
J, OJ	na.r.u	'make a living', J, OJ <u>nasu</u> (y.) 'create, form, do, make; bear
" "	na.s.u	a child', J <u>narasu</u> 'cause (a tree, etc.) to bear (fruit)'.
J	na.r.asu	Lewin 1959, 126: (with reference to Sansom) some scholars assume
PJ	*nu	the one-time existence of a PJ verb * <u>nu</u> 'to be', e.g., in
Fi	li. .e- (?)	OJ <u>ni-te</u> 'being' (e.g., a teacher) (German 'seiend').
"	le-	FUV 51, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi <u>lie-</u> (only in the potential mood)
"	li-	'be', Veps <u>le-</u> , <u>li-</u> , Vote <u>lee-</u> 'become'/Lp <u>lae-</u> 'be, become'/Ch
"	le. .e- (?)	<u>liä-</u> , <u>li(j)a-</u> 'be, become, be possible'/Vty <u>lu-</u> /Zr <u>lo-</u> 'become,
Lp	lae-	be' /Hu <u>lë-~lëv-</u> 'become, be, shall be, will be' /Yuk <u>le-</u> 'be;
Ch	li. .ä- (?)	live; become'.-- (FUV:) U * <u>le(yä)</u> -, (TESZ, MSZFE, not consid-
"	li(j)a-	ering Yuk <u>le-</u> ,:) FU * <u>le-</u> or * <u>lë-</u> .
Vty	lu-	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'be; come into being', hence 'create;
Zr	lo-	bear a child'. 2. On the J side, the root is without doubt
Hu	lë- - - -	<u>na-</u> ; on the U side, morpheme analysis also brings out a CV
Yuk	le-	shaped root (U *- <u>(yä)</u> and the length mark of FU * <u>lë-</u> are meant,
U	* <u>le(yä)</u> - -	it seems, to pay lip service to the tenet of disyllabic bases
FU	* <u>le-</u>	in the p-language). 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>n-</u> vs U, FU * <u>l-</u> /
- or	* <u>lë-</u> - - -	1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs U * <u>e</u> , FU * <u>e/ë</u> . 4. TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>nász</u>
? Hu	<u>nász</u>	'marriage/wedding (feast); father or mother of one of the marriage
"	<u>nősz</u>	partners'.--Origin uncertain; ? loanword from German, cf. German <u>Nestel</u> 'ribbon, band' [the semantic link is supposed to

be in 'tie; tying'].--One is astonished that only the glittering social facet of the word is given by TESZ. The basic meaning of nász is, no doubt, inseparable from the 'mating (of humans and animals)'. The consummation of marriage is clearly called nász; cf. nász-ágy 'wedding bed, marriage-bed', nász-éjszaka 'wedding night', nász-ház 'nuptial house'; cf. further OHu nősz(ik) '(Vi) mate; have sexual intercourse', nőszés 'mating, sexual intercourse', nősztet- '(Vt) join in marriage; induce to mate'.--It is fairly plain that the word family nász, nősz-, etc. (vowel order variants of each other) can only be a parallel development to lë-sz '(Vi) will/shall be; turn (into something else); succeed, become, bear fruit'. As regards the initials, I refer to the well-known alternation n~l in OHu and in Hu dialects even today; the opposition of the 1st syll. vowels á : ë, ö falls in the category a : e (s. this in the section Phonology); the element sz is not clear: it seems to be a frequ. formant, but it need not be; nász, nősz- may have come from a transitive verb. 5. Cf. Pröhle No. 49 where OJ ni-te (as above) is brought into the comparison. 6. Cf. Ramstedt 1952/58 (II), 193: Kor na- 'come out; form itself; come into being', Ma na- umaya-na- 'become wormy'.

315. J, OJ naru (y.) 'to sound, ring, peal (of bells), roar, boom, thunder, rumble, roll (of thunder), resound, echo', J narasu, OJ nasu (y.) 'bring forth a sound (or produce a series of sounds); cause to ring/peal, etc.'. Ōno: naru, nasu are cognate with OJ na~ne (noun) 'sound, tone, voice'. Cf. Nasa-no-ura '(approx.) Noisy Bay, or Bay of Noises' (a place-name in Japan, given, no doubt, for the un-

Table 315

J, OJ	na.r.u
J	na.r.asu
OJ	na.s.u
"	na.s.a-
Hu	ne.sz
"	ne.sz.el-
"	ne.sz.ez-
Hu	nye.r.it-
"	nyë.r.vog-
"	nya.r.ákol-
"	nyi.r.mog-
"	nyi.r.bál-
Zr	ná.r.gj-
Os	nő.r.éy-

ceasing noise caused by the waves (s. Karow 1943, 162).

TESZ (ex.): Hu neszel- 'listen attentively/be all ears, hearken, listen and watch attentively, notice; make a noise', neszez- 'make a noise, produce noises; listen and watch attentively; notice, perceive', nesz 'news, rumour, word, talk; (slight) noise, rustle'.--This word family is of unknown origin. It may be onom.; the dialects use several other forms, too: neszet-~neszetél-neszlet- 'make a noise'.

TESZ (ex.): Hu nyerít- 'to cry, yell, howl, whinny, neigh, scream', nyérvog-, nyirbál-, nyirmog-, nyarákol- 'mew, wail, whine, whimper'.--These words are onom.; the endings -(v)og-, -ákol-, -mog are frequ. formants [so is -bál; -ít is a pseudo-caus. suffix/].

Ganschow 1965, 103, 34: Zr nargi- 'to cry, wail, lament (loudly)'; Os norey- 'to rumble (of the stomach); roll (of thunder)'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'produce noise(s)'. This semantic field, while less specialized, is largely identical with the one proposed under entry naku. OJ na~ne may therefore be regarded as the root form on the J side here, too. A similar root is proposed for the words in question on the U side (s. the attached table). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs Hu, Os n-, Hu, Zr n- / 1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu e, é, a, i, Zr a, Os ó / medial J, OJ r vs r in Hu nyerít-, etc., OJ s vs Hu sz in nesz, etc.

Table 316

J	na.u
"	naw.a
OJ	nap.u
"	nap.a
? J	nu.u
? OJ	nup.u
Hu	nyék
OHu	nyik.u
"	nyek.u
Hu	nyév.es
Vg	nēy-
"	nēš-
Os	nēy.əitə
Ugric*	näk.3-
or	*nek.3-

Ōno: napu (y.) 'to twist, twine, intertwine, make (a rope)', J nawa, OJ napa 'rope, cord, string'. ? J nuu, OJ nupu (y.) 'sew, stitch, embroider'.

TESZ (ex.): Hu nyék~OHu nyeku, nyiku 'wattle fence; a place enclosed with a w. f.'.--The base nyé- is probably an inheritance from the Ugric era. Cf. Vg nēy-, nēš- / Os nēy.əitə 'to plait, tie up the loose threads of some woven material'.--Ugric *nāke- or *nekā-.

Katona 1962, 30: nyéves (-s is an adj. ending) 'wing of a fish- weir' [the wing itself was frequently made like a wattle].

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to plait' (J nuu~nupu looks like a development by split, parallel to nau~napu). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs FU *n- / 1st syll. J, OJ a, ? u vs FU *ə or *e / medial J ø, OJ p vs FU *k.--The difference between OJ p and FU *k may be due to the agglutination of different formants to an assumed identical root element, or to a two-way development from */kw. 4. Cf. Pröhle No. 46.

Table 317

J	ne
OJ	ne
"	na-
"	nő-
J	no-
Hu	lő
? Ch	lə-
"	lu-
? Yuk	le-
Os	le-
"	ni-
Lp	lu-
Vg	lo
"	lu-

ne 'root, base, origin, source'. Ōno: OJ ne is cognate with na: na-wi 'earthquake' / ? wi 'threat; majesty', a loan from Chinese?, nd-ti 'lower reaches of a river', nd-ti-pitə 'people of the nether-world', J nochi 'the future' / -ti probably stands for 'place' > 'time', cf. OJ wo-ti 'there'].

Philippi 1968, 530: ne has such connotations as 'subterranean regions; ancestral descent', cf. OJ ne-nő-kuni 'underworld' (nő gen.).

FUV 51: Hu lő (earlier lewe) 'down' (of movement), lőnt, lőnn 'being' below, down (there), downstairs' / ? Ch lə-, lu-, e.g., lawəl 'lower', lawəlna 'being under', lawec 'from underneath', lawək '(to a place) under' / YukS le- : lede 'farther down' (of position), le-uke 'lower, a little below', ledude 'downwards, downstream'/. (No reconstructed form given.)

TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu lő (as above), lőnek 'downwards' / ? Ch lə- (as above, but no Yuk forms).--The equation is doubtful because it is possible that Ch lə- is no original form but a variant, by metathesis, of əl- 'under'; which is below/underneath'; another obstacle is that both, Ch lə-, lu- and Hu lő- indicate an original open

monosyllabic word; yet, such FU words--unless their former disyllabic form can be shown--are of pronominal origin.

Gulya 1966: OsE nim 'lower; nearer to the water' / -m is an adj. formant/.

FUV 112 (ex.): Lp lu- : lulle~lule- 'south, (LpL) the direction in which the main

river flows', luksā 'towards the south; towards the lower course of the main river'/Vg lo 'the lower course of a river', lun '(being) below, in the lower part, farther down the river', lujil 'from the lower course of the river'.-- FU *luwō.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'under; lower than the position of the speaker; lower than the surface on which we live; the ground'. 2. From the adduced material, esp. the tabular listing, we see clearly that on the U side, too, the root is of CV shape. It is conceded that OHu le-we is attested, but this form is by no means older than lē- in lēt, lēn, lēnek. On the contrary, le-we (most likely lē-wē) must be a secondary form in which -we is probably the same lative/translative suffix as -vé in Hu valami-vé lēsz '(it) turns into something' (lēsz '(Vi) turn into, become'). In fact, it is hard to see what justifies the reconstruction of the part *-wō of FU *luwō, unless we remember that, according to the ruling tenet, the U/FU p-language is not supposed to have had CV shaped words (excepting the pronomina and the negation verb). 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs l- in all forms on the U side, except Os ni- (but cf. Os le-langel 'low': pa-langel 'high', Ostyak Heroic Songs-- exact source not noted)/1st syll. J, OJ e, OJ a, ɔ vs Hu ě, Ch e, u, Os e, i, Yuk e, FU u. 4. Cf. Ramstedt 1957 (I), 75: Ma, Go, Olča na 'land, earth, realm', Kor nara, naran (< *na-lay) 'land, realm'.

318. J negau, OJ negapu (y.) 'to desire, wish/hope for, beg, solicit, implore, pray (e.g., for divine protection or blessing, after having soothed the hearts of the gods)', J negirau, OJ negu (k.n.) 'to thank (a person for his trouble), show appreciation (of a person's efforts)', OJ negi 'a kind of Shinto priest'. Ōno: kamu-naki~kamu-nagi 'someone appointed to serve /expiate the gods' (in Japan, such a person was usually a woman; if a male was appointed, the term was wo-no-kamu-nagi).

Table 318				
J	neg.a. u	Os	lōy	Steinitz 1966, 733: Os <u>lōy</u> 'servant (male or female), attendant of the tutelary deity; protective deity; servant of the mighty spirit <u>ur</u> '; ~
OJ	neg.a. pu	"	lōy	
J	neg.i. ra u	"	lōy	<u>lōy</u> , <u>lew</u> , <u>tēg</u> 'servant (male or female)', <u>lōy</u> , <u>lōy</u> 'younger brother of the husband'.
OJ	neg. u	"	lew	
"	neg. i	"	tēg	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>legény</u> [-ny is likely a denom. nom. formant]/~OHu <u>legen</u> , <u>lekun</u> , <u>legun</u> , dial. <u>legin</u> , <u>legin</u> , <u>leginy</u> 'young man; single youth; servant; journeyman; common soldier; brave, capable man'.--Origin unknown.
"	-nak. i	Hu	leg. ény	
"	-nag. i	"	leg. in	
"		"	leg. ěn	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a capable young person in the service of a master or the gods'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs Hu l-, Os l- (and developments) /1st syll. J e, OJ e, a vs Hu e (open), Os ě, ā, e, ē /medial J g, OJ g, k vs Hu g, k, Os l, w, g.

319. J, OJ nemuru~neburu (y.) 'to sleep, go to sleep, fall asleep; die', J nemu-i 'sleepy, drowsy'.

J, OJ nem. u. ru SW 24: *enwā 'a sleep, slumber'; cf. Tv ambu, Yn ema, noma, Yr nema, ñemmo, ñemmo, ñemmo.

J nem. u. i Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'sleep'. 2. Mainly on account of the cluster *-nw-, I suggest that the PSam form is in need of revision; the data on the J side could be useful in its reshaping (at present, I propose to ignore the reconstructed form). 3. Tv ambu Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs Tv ~ (indicates prenasalisation), Yn em. a, Yr em. a em. a, Yr n- /1st syll. J, OJ e vs Tv a, Yn e, o, Yr e, ē, ie /medial J, OJ m, b vs Tv mb, Yn m, Yr m, ñb. 4. Cf. Pröhle No. 38. 5. Cf. Poppe 1960, 49: Mo noir < *nobir 'sleep' (noun).

320. OJ nero 'mountain peak; top; summit; back (e.g., of a sword)'. Omodaka: -rō is an ending.

Table 320				
OJ	ner. ɔ	Yr	ner	TESZ, MSZFE (in connection with <u>orr</u> 'nose', s. entry <u>wori</u>): Zr <u>nir</u> 'nose, cape, promontory', <u>neris</u> 'small hill in the forest'/Ch <u>ner</u> 'nose; hill, cape'.
Md	ner	"	nēr. y	
Ch	ner	Tv	ñar. a	
Vty	nyr	Sk	ñar	FUV 57: Md <u>nef</u> 'beak, muzzle, snout; any sort of point'/Ch <u>ner</u> 'nose, beak, muzzle, snout; point; promontory'/Vty <u>nyr</u> 'nose, beak; the forward point of an object'/Zr <u>nyr</u> 'forward part/point, front; nose, beak//
Zr	nir	Km	ñar	Yr <u>ner</u> 'forward part, earlier part', <u>neery</u> 'the fore-
"	ner. is	U	*ner. e	

most person' /Tv hara 'that which is foremost', haranu 'in front' /Sk harne 'forward, to the fore', harnej 'the foremost person' /Km her 'point'.-- U *nere.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'nose-like formation on living beings or on the surface of the ground'. Omodaka's suggestion could be right, i.e., nerd could be an ancient fused form; the same is conceivable in the case of U *nere. 2. Phon.: initial OJ n- vs U *n- /1st syll. OJ e vs U *e / medial OJ r vs U *r /final OJ -d vs U *-e. 3. Cf. entry mine.

321. J ni, OJ ni, nd 'load, burden, freight, luggage', J nimotsu id. (m. 'thing').

Table 321
J, OJ ni Munkácsi 1896: Vty nu-, nü- 'to carry, freight', nipi, nepē 'burden; luggage; knapsack'.
OJ nd Fokos-Fuchs 1959: Zr nop~neb 'burden, load, bundle, bag (to be carried on the back), knapsack'.
Vty nu- Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a load; carry a load'. Since Zr and Vty are sister languages, I assume that the words adduced from them are cognate (seeing their phonetic and semantic similarity). 2. Phon.:
" nü- initial J, OJ n- vs Vty, Zr n- /1st syll. J i, OJ č vs Vty u, ü, i
" ni.pi (= i), ē (= ē), Zr o, a. 3. Vty -pi, -pē, Zr -p, -b must be formants. 4. Cf. Menges 1975, 87: Tg Ev nama 'saddle', nēmē 'packsaddle, saddle'.

322. J nigeru, OJ nigu (sh.n.) 'run away, escape, flee; shirk, evade, back out',

Table 322
J nig.e.ru J nigasu~nogasu, Ōno: nigasu (y.) 'let go/escape/slip away; let loose, set free', J nogareru, OJ nogaru (sh.n.) 'escape, get away, flee; get clear (of), avoid, evade'; J nokeru (~dokeru), Ōno: noku (sh.n.) 'remove, move aside, put out of the way, omit, exclude', J noku, OJ noku (y.) 'stand aside, move off, get out of the way; depart, leave, quit (a place/a person)', J nokoru, OJ nokōru (y.) 'remain, be left over/behind, stay, linger', J nokosu, OJ nokōsu (y.) 'leave behind, maintain, conserve, save'.
J nok.o.ru FUV 110: Fi lähte 'go, start, depart' /LpK likte /Ch läktä 'go out, depart' /Vty lykty- 'come' /Zr lok-, lokt- /Os lüget-, tiwet-
OJ nok.ō.ru 'go out, come out'.-- FU *läkta-.
J nok.o.su TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu lóg~dial. lóng-, long- 'wobble, sway, swag; dangle, swing; be idle, shirk one's duty, escape, evade',
OJ nok.č.su lódit- 'throw, fling, cast, thrust', lódul- 'start to go/move/ depart; get in swing; leave quickly'.--The base of this word
Fi läh. .te- family is ló-; it may be comparable to: Vg lonvəj : kwān-l 'to bear prematurely' /Zr lad-ni 'to load' /Vty ledy-ny 'to bale/lade out' /Ch longam 'throw, scatter; throw the head back' /Mde lijems
Lp lik. .te- 'to span (material) onto the loom' /Fi luoda 'create; throw down; cast out; bale/lade out; have a miscarriage', Est looma 'create, give birth (to), produce; begin, arise' /LpL lāgnit 'raise, lift (once); remove' (e.g., a pot from the fire).--Vg -i, Zr, Vty -d are verb formants; Vg ɣ, Ch g are secondary.-- FU *lome-.
Zr le . .dy Comm.: 1. According to the pattern of syllabic sequence
Vty le . .dy CVCVCV (often encountered on both sides), we may regard FU *läkta- as consisting of a formerly disyllabic base, say, *läk- + the element *tā (s. Rédei 1975, 93 ff.). When we hold *läk- against
Ch long.a.m FU *lome-, we find the essential difference in the 1st syll. vowel (palatal *ä vs velar *o). In view of their semantic closeness
Mde lij.e.ms I suggest that the FU word families in question are variants of each other by split. 2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: '(Vi, Vt) move to another place; be shifted' ('remain; be left behind' is taken as the
Fi lu .o.da move opposed to 'leaving';--'create; give birth to' may be taken as a development from basic 'start out, begin to move to another place/position'). 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs FU *l- /1st syll. J i, o, OJ i, o, č (note the ablaut alternation) vs FU *ä, *o /medial J, OJ g, k vs FU *k, *n. 4. Cf. Ganschow 1965, 49: Os norä- '(Vi) swing, sway' (e.g., a boat in the water or a tree in the wind).

323. J nigiru, OJ nigiru (y.) 'to grasp, grip, hold, clasp, seize'.
SW 100: *nek~nek- 'to pull'; cf. Tv nakičisi 'take in one's hand, grasp, clasp',

Table 323	Yn der. <u>nehíbo</u> 'to take', Yr der. <u>nèxədə</u> , <u>nixetá</u> , Sk der. <u>nākā</u>
J nig.i.ru	qo 'pull, drag, take (with oneself)'.
OJ nig.f.ru	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>nyūg</u> ~dial. <u>nyig</u> , <u>nyig</u> 'hobble, leg-strap (for horses), fetter, shackle'.--Origin unknown.
PSam *nek-	Mu. - Szi.: Vg <u>nēy</u> 'to tie, bind, fasten'.
or *ngk-	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to hold; be held'. 2. Phon.: initial
? Hu nyūg	J, OJ <u>n-</u> vs PSam * <u>n-</u> , ? Hu <u>ny-</u> , ? Vg <u>n-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>i</u> vs
" nyig	PSam * <u>e</u> or * <u>g</u> , ? Hu <u>ü</u> , <u>i</u> , ? Vg <u>ē</u> /medial J, OJ <u>g</u> vs PSam * <u>k</u> , ? Hu
? Vg nēy-	<u>g</u> , ? Vg <u>γ</u>

324. J niko-, OJ nikō~nikī, nikō-si 'soft, weak, gentle', e.g., J niko-ge 'down' (-ge < ke 'hair'), OJ nikōmu (y.) '(Vi) soften, abate, become assuaged', ? OJ

Table 323	<u>nagō</u> 'mellow, soft, refined'. Omodaka: <u>nagō</u> is comparable to <u>nikō</u>
J nik.o	~ <u>nikī</u> . Ōno links OJ <u>nikī</u> to Kor <u>nik</u> 'mellow, ripe'; Ōno: <u>nikibu</u>
OJ nik.ō	(k.n.) 'become soft/ mellow/ weak'.

"	nik.f	MTSZ: Hu <u>nyik</u> 'the place of a dried-up swamp' (covered with grass but in places too soft to walk on), <u>nyikos</u> (adj., short for an attr
? OJ nag.ō		construction) 'dried-up, but in places boggy, swamp'.
Hu nyik		SW 105: * <u>nānkē</u> 'marshy ground'(?); cf. Yr <u>nāng</u> 'bear-moss',
" nyik.os		<u>nāngē</u> 'soft, boggy place in a fen' /Sk <u>nāk</u> , <u>nānk</u> 'mud, mire'.
PSam * <u>nānk</u>		Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'soft'. Admittedly, the J side does not

have the meaning 'bog' or 'swamp', and this weighs against the proposed equation. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs Hu ny-, PSam *n- /1st syll. J, OJ i, ? OJ a vs Hu i (< i), PSam *s /medial J, OJ k, ? OJ g vs Hu k, PSam *nk / stem-final J i, OJ i, g vs Hu o, PSam *s.

325. J, OJ nire 'elm'.

Table 325	FUV 61, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>nyír</u> ~dial. <u>nyil</u>
J, OJ nír.e	Yn ni. (ga)
Hu nyír	Tv ner. (ki)
" nyil	Sk njár. (g)
Vg ńer	Km nar. (ga)
" ńir	Taigi ńer. (ge)
Os ńar	
" ńar	U *ńar.3
? Zr ńer	? *ńar. k3
? Vty ńer	PSam *ńer-
" ńur	
? Ch nōr. (ga)	
" nōr. (pō)	
" lōl. (pō)	
Yr nēr.ū	
" nēr. (ka)	

'birch', dial. 'fresh shoot, sprig; birch forest'~ Vg ńer, nir 'reed; switch, twig; branch of a tree' /Os ńer 'a grove that has grown in the place of a burnt stretch of forest', ńar 'a thicket of deciduous trees', ńer-ur 'thicket, coppice of mixed trees' (ur 'forest area'), ńerem 'twig, rod, wither'/?Zr ńer 'twig, rod, switch, branch; young fir'/? Vty ńer, ńur id./ ? Ch nōrga 'shoot, sprout, twig', nōrpō, nōlpō, lōlpō 'alder-tree, Alnus' (-pō=pu 'tree')//Yr neerū 'reed, willow, switch, twig', nierka 'willow-tree' (FUV: -ka seems to be a suffix)/ Yn nigga 'willow-copse'/Tv nerki 'willow-tree'/ Sk njár id., (?) ńarga 'willow-copse'/Km nar-ga 'willow-tree', nōrga 'willow-copse'/ Taigi ńerge 'willow-tree'.-- U *ńara or *ńarka.--

Os -m is a denom. nom. formant.--In view of the clusters -rg-, -rk-, one can posit U *-rk-, otherwise U *-r-, perhaps this problem requires not only phonological, but also morphological clarification.

SW 108: *ńer- 'willow-tree'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'deciduous tree'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs U, PSam *n- /1st syll. J, OJ i vs U *a, PSam *g /medial J, OJ r vs U, PSam *r.--As the opposition Ca nōrga : nōrpō indicates, the element -ga is probably the equivalent of -pō 'tree'. With reference to entry ki 'tree' I suggest that the questionable cluster U *-rk- is none, and the element U *-k3 is no simple suffix (s. the remark by FUV in connection with Yr nierka), but a CV shaped word, meaning 'tree'. 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 39 where additionally Yr ńero 'willow-bush', ńeroko 'willow-tree' can be found. The opposition Yr ńero : ńero-ko also seems to lead us to a U word meaning 'tree'; for the shape -ko/-go, cf. FUV 61: Ch nul-go 'Siberian silver fir', Sk nul-go id.

326. J niru, OJ niru~ni (k.i.) 'resemble, be/look like (something), be alike/similar (to)', OJ noru (y.) id. (note i~o 1st syll. alternation), J nigeru, Ōno: nisu (sh.n.) 'imitate, copy, counterfeit'. ? J niramu, Ōno: niramu (y.) 'stare

Table 326		hard (at), keep an eye (on)'.
J	ni.r.u	Steinitz 1966, 978: Os <u>ni-</u> , <u>nü-</u> , <u>niw-</u> , <u>ni-</u> , <u>ni-</u> 'be visible;
OJ	ni(r.u)	loom up (in the distance)', <u>nüa-</u> , <u>nüai-</u> 'be visible'.--This
"	no.r.u	word family belongs to Fi <u>näke-</u> , etc. /s. entry <u>nagameru</u> /.
J	ni.s.eru	MTSz: Hu <u>ni</u> , <u>nē</u> , <u>né</u> , <u>ni-ni</u> 'look!', see!'. Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'see; look at; be visible'. 2. Re-
Ö.	ni.s.u	ference is made to entry <u>nagameru</u> where Os <u>ni-</u> , <u>niw-</u> are also
? J	ni.r.amu	adduced. It is not contested that Os <u>niw-</u> is a reflex of FU
? Ö.	ni.r.amu	<u>*näke-</u> , but when it comes to the quoted CV forms in Os and Hu,
Os	ni-	I have my reservations. I suggest that they are no truncated
"	nj-	forms; on the contrary, they are likely to be closest to a prim-
? Hu	ni	itive form of CV shape, similarly to OJ <u>ni</u> . The difference in
"	nē	the vowels is a thorny problem, indeed, and at present I have to
		be content with a lining up of the forms which can be plausibly grouped.--Taking
		Os <u>ni-</u> , etc. and Hu <u>ni</u> (<u>nē</u> , <u>né</u>) as roots cognate with FU <u>*näke-</u> , I have to regard
		FU <u>*-ke</u> as an expansion element (s. Lehtisalo 1936, 351 ff.: PU verb formant <u>*k</u>).
		2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>n-</u> vs Os, Hu <u>n-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>i</u> , OJ <u>o</u> vs Os / <u>i</u> /, Hu
		<u>i</u> , <u>ē</u> , <u>é</u> .

327. J <u>nobiru</u> , OJ <u>nobu</u> (k.n.)	'(Vi) grow, increase, spread (of plants), de-	
Table 327	velop, stretch, lengthen', J <u>noboru</u> , <u>nobasu</u> , OJ <u>nobu</u> (sh.n.)	
J	nob.i.ru	'(Vt) let/make grow/develop/lengthen/extend/stretch; accumulate
"	nob.e.ru	riches'.
"	nob.a.su	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>nő-</u> , <u>női-</u> , <u>nőveked(ik)</u> , dial. <u>nyő-</u> , <u>nyői-</u> , <u>nyüi-</u>
OJ	nob.u	'grow, become larger/longer/taller; develop, become more important; grow together' (e.g. two trees), <u>növeszt-</u> 'cause to grow,
Hu	<u>nő -</u>	make larger or more', <u>növel-</u> 'let/make grow/increase; enrich',
"	<u>növ.e.l-</u>	<u>nevel-</u> 'enrich; cause to ripen; breed (animals, plants), raise,
"		bring up (children, animals), cultivate (plants)'--Origin unknown.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'increase'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs Hu n-, dial. n-, ny- /1st syll. J, OJ o vs Hu ö, e (open), dial. ü /medial J, OJ b vs Hu v, ö.

328. J <u>noboru</u> , OJ <u>nöboru</u> (y.)				'go up, rise, ascend, climb up, proceed upriver
Table 328				(against the flow)', J <u>nobosu</u> , <u>noboseru</u> 'raise/
J	nob.o.ru	Sk	nom	bring up (a matter)', OJ <u>nobosu</u> (sh.n.) 'cause
"	nob.o.su	"	nop	to ascend/climb, etc.'.
"	nob.o.seru	"	nup	
OJ	nöb.o.ru	Km	num	FUV 60 (ex.): Vg <u>nu-</u> , <u>no-</u> : <u>num</u> , <u>numi</u> 'top, top
"	nöb.o.su	"	nu'.i.du	part; situated at the top; highest, uppermost,
Vg	no-	Koibal	num	topmost', <u>numi-täarem</u> 'god of heaven', <u>numen</u>
"	nu-	Motor	num	'above, on, upon', <u>nöh</u> , <u>nuk</u> , <u>nunk</u> 'top, topmost
"	num	Taigi	num	part', <u>nunk</u> 'upwards' /Os <u>nu-</u> , <u>no-</u> : <u>num</u> 'upper;
"	num.i			the top; heaven, sky', <u>nomen</u> , <u>numen</u> 'above, at
"	.....	U	*num.3	the top', <u>nöh</u> , <u>nuhpa</u> 'towards the top, upwards,
Os	no-			up'//Yr <u>num</u> 'sky, heaven; air; god'/Sk <u>nom</u> , <u>nop</u>
"	nu-			<u>nup</u> 'god'/Km <u>num</u> 'sky, heaven thunder', <u>nuridu</u>
"	.....			'upwards'/Koibal, Motor, Taigi <u>num</u> 'sky, heaven;
				god'. (As a mythological term, <u>num</u> may be a
				Wanderwort.)-- U <u>*num.3</u> .

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'high; up; upper'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs U *n- /1st syll. J o, OJ ö vs U *u (note the alternation o/u in Vg and Os) /medial J, OJ b vs U *m. 3. Since at least in Vg and Os a CV root is evident, one can posit such a root for the U word family in question. If one similarly posits no-/nö- as root on the J side, then the first expansion formant there, i.e., -b (+ o) stands against U *-ma.

329. J, CIJ nomeru 'fall, tumble, lean/bend forward; fall on one's face', J, CIJ nomesu 'cause to fall, etc.; throw (a person) down; cause (someone) to move forward'.
FUV 117, TESZ (ex.): Hu nyom- ~OHu nyum- (in the personal name Numar) 'to press on/down/against; make something/someone get somewhere by pushing/shoving; push in;

Table 329

J, ClJ	nom.e.ru	force down; squeeze; suppress; stick something somewhere with a sudden move', <u>nyom</u> ~OHu <u>nyum</u> 'trace, track, impression, footprint'.--Origin uncertain. ? ~Zr <u>hamlav</u> - 'to knead' (dough, clay), <u>hamvrt</u> - 'compress, squeeze, press; take, seize', <u>hamral</u> - 'squeeze out, press'/? Ch <u>numurge</u> -, <u>numurge</u> - 'to condense, concentrate, compress, draw together; (Vi) contract, condense, tighten'.--(FUV:) FU * <u>nom</u> 3.---TESZ: This equation is uncertain because the Zr and the Ch words in question are of onom. nature, and because the vowel correspondence Hu <u>o</u> , Zr <u>a</u> , Ch <u>u</u> is irregular.
"	nom.e.su	
Hu	nyom-	
"	nyum-	
"	nyom.o.r-	
? Zr	ham. .lav-	
"	ham.y.r t-	
"	ham. .ral-	
? Ch	num.u.r ge-	
"	num.u.r ge-	
Vg	hol-	
"	hal.é.m t-	
Os	hol. .ta-	
"	hol. .ta-	
Ugric	* nol.3(m3)-	
FU	* nom.3-	

the loss of the medial syllable Ugric *-l3-.
Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'push; press; apply force suddenly'.

2. As regards the material on the U side, there are two choices: a) the two word families (as assumed by TESZ) belong together, b) the Vg and the Os words do not belong here.--In support of the Hu, Vg, Os comparison, TESZ explains the loss of the assumed medial syllable Ugric *-l3- on the analogy of Hu csomó 'heap; knot' < FU *solme. I contend that *l in this reconstruction stands for an epenthetic sound (the Hu records have no evidence whatsoever in support of *l in FU *solme, s. entry tsumu). If the Hu, Vg, Os comparison regarding nyom- is to be accepted, then we have to posit a common root, say, *no- to which a formant *m has been attached in Hu, but *l in Vg and Os. This is theoretically possible, but in reality not very likely. For this reason, I propose to leave the Vg, Os words out of the present equation, turning instead to Zr and Ch. 3. Phon.: initial J n- vs FU *n- / 1st syll. J o vs FU *o / medial J m vs FU *m. 4. Cf. the formants (frequ. ?): J r, Hu r, Zr l, r, Ch r, all in the same structural position.

330. J nomi, Öno: nomi 'flea'.

Table 330

J, ClJ	nom.i	?Yr	nib.erü	FUV 62: Vty <u>nymy</u> 'midge', [/? <u>numyr</u> , <u>nomor</u> 'worm' (der.); <u>töl-nomör</u> 'european firefly, glow-worm' (<u>töl</u> 'fire')/? Zr <u>nom</u> 'midge', [/? <u>numyr</u> 'worm'// Yr <u>niiberü</u> , <u>nimiü</u> 'midge' ?; thrips (a kind of small insect' ? /Sk <u>himere</u> , <u>hiuri</u> . Cf. Yr <u>nibi</u>
Vty	nym.y	"	nim.iüü	
"	? num.yr	?Sk	him.ere	
"	? nom.ör	"	ni. uri	
Zr	nom	?Yr	nib.i	'small spider', <u>niimikata</u> 'spider'. (No reconstructed form given.)
"	? nom.yr	"	nim.ikata	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'small insect; bug'.

2. Phon.: initial J, ClJ n- vs n- on the U side, except in Sk /1st syll. J, ClJ o vs Vty y (= i), ? u, o, Zr o, ? Yr, Sk i / medial J, ClJ m vs m on the U side, except in Yr niiberü and nibi; in Sk hiuri, probable medial m has been lost. 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 41.

331. J nomu, OJ nömu (y.) 'swallow, gulp down, drink, taste, take sips (e.g.,

Table 331

J	nom.u	of sake'.
OJ	nom.u	SW 110: * <u>him</u> - (? * <u>nim</u> -, where * <u>i</u> = <u>i</u> or <u>i</u>) 'to suck'; cf. Tv der. <u>himäte</u> ~ <u>ama</u> 'let suck, suckle, nurse' /Yr der. <u>himäse</u> ~ <u>himäse</u> /Sk <u>nim</u> - 'to suck', der. <u>népsä</u> 'milk', der. <u>nima</u> 'milk' /Tv <u>himi</u> 'udder' / ? * <u>nim</u> - Taigi <u>nimu</u> 'milk'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'swallow; suck' (cf. J gyönyü o nomas seru 'to suckle, cause to drink milk'). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs PSam *n- / 1st syll. J o, OJ ö vs PSam *i, ? i / medial J, OJ m vs PSam *m. 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 42.

332. OJ -nōpu : kānōpu 'yesterday'. Omodaka: kā = kā : kisō 'last night';

Table 332

OJ	-nōpu	-pu is probably identical with -pu : OJ <u>kepu</u> > J <u>kyō</u> 'today; this day'; however, the meaning of -pu is not known.
OHu	nōpu	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>nap</u> ~OHu <u>nōpu</u> 'day; 24 hours' duration; sunshine; the light part of the whole day'.--Origin uncertain.--The assumable base is <u>na</u> -; this may be equated with: Vg <u>nāi</u> , <u>nāi</u> 'fire, sun' /Os <u>nai</u> 'fire', <u>nāi</u> 'sun'.--This equation faces serious phonological problems
Hu	nap	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'day' (note: OJ ká 'past, gone, which has come and gone' <ku = J kuru 'to come', s. Lewin 1959, 762). 2. OHu nopu is practically the same word as OJ -nopu. One cannot be sure whether these words are compounded or not. My suspicion is that they are. In OJ -pu I suspect a variant of OJ pi 'sun, sunshine, sunlight'. If the present equation is right, OHu nopu has to contain the corresponding word on the U side. S. entry hi 'sun'.

333. J <u>nori</u> , OJ <u>nóri</u> 'gum, paste, glue'. ? J <u>nuru-</u> : <u>nuru-nuru suru</u> 'be slippery/slimy/clammy/greasy'.			
Table	333		
J	nor.i	Vg	nól.ip-
OJ	nóri.i	Os	nál-
? J	nur.u-	"	náa-
Fi	nil.a	"	náa.əm-
"	nil.o-	"	.....
LpL	njáll.e	? Yr	níl.i
"	njáll.a	FU	*nyl.a
Md	nol.a	PSam	*nér
Ch	nol.ō		
Vty	nól		

FUV 57 (ex.): Fi nila 'slippery slime; sap; bast, inner bark; the sap time' (when the bark comes loose easily from the trees), nilo- 'come loose' (said of the bark)/LpL njáll.e 'something slippery; sap; lye', njáll.a 'come loose' (easily, of bark, in the sap time); glide easily' (of skis)/Md nola 'sap'/Ch nolō 'the inner, soft, moist layer of the bark in the spring'/VgN nolip- 'come loose' (e.g., of bark)/Os nál- 'to bark/peel' (osier), náa 'loose' (of birch-bark), náa.əm-, nó.əm-, not.əm- 'come loose' (of birch-bark).--The following words may also belong here: OsN nél 'sap-wood, alburnum (of any tree), sap, juice (of birch, osier, etc.)' //Yr niili 'sap' (esp. of birch), niilih peə 'sap-wood' (p. 'wood').-- FU *nyla.

SW 109: *nér 'liquid' (?); cf. Yr ner? nēr? 'wood-sap', Sk nér 'liquid that is produced during sexual intercourse'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'gummy substance; slimy liquid'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs FU, PSam *n- /1st syll. J o, u, OJ č vs FU *y (= ī), PSam *e (= ē or e) /medial J, OJ r vs FU *l, PSam *r /final J, OJ i, J u vs FU *a. 3. Cf. entry nureru.

334. J <u>noro-i</u> , Ōno: <u>noro-si</u> 'sluggish, slow, tardy, dull, obtuse', J <u>noro-noro</u> 'slowly, sluggishly. leisurely, idly', J, OJ <u>noro-ma</u> 'a dull fellow, a dunce' (<ma ?), J <u>nuru-i</u> , OJ <u>nuru-si</u> 'tepid, luke-warm; dull; low' (according to Kenkyusha, <u>nuru-i</u> = <u>noro-i</u>), J <u>nurumu</u> , Ōno: <u>nurumu</u> (y.) 'become tepid'.			
Table	334		
J	nor.o. i		
Ō.	nor.o.si		
J	nur.u. i		
OJ	nur.u.si		
J, Ō.	nur.u.mu		
OHu	nyir. .kad-		
MdE	nol. .dams		
MdM	nol.a		
"	nol.a.ms		
Yr	nor.e		
Tv	nar.y. a		

TESZ (ex.): OHu nyirkad- 'droop, flag; get dampened (of heat), cool off; get numb/torpid/dazed/stunted/slowed down (e.g., in growth).--Origin unknown.

Ravila 1959: MdE noldams 'let loose; let in/down; undo, relax'. Juhász 1961: MdM nola, noula 'lazy', nolams 'let go/do; become slack, droop, flag', noldams 'let go, let loose', noldam kett 'with hands let down, idly', nolgađams 'be idle; laze'. Pröhle No. 43: Yr nore 'lazy, sluggish', Tv narua 'lazy'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'sluggish, slack', hence 'dull; tepid'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs Md n-, Hu, Yr, Tv n- /1st syll. J, OJ o, u vs Hu i (<ī), Md o, OJ o, Yr o, Tv a /medial J, OJ r vs Md l, l, Hu, Yr, Tv r.

335. J <u>-nuru</u> : <u>minoru</u> , OJ <u>minōru</u> (y.) 'bear fruit, be fruitful, fructify; grow, ripen'. Ōno: <u>minōru</u> < <u>ma</u> 'fruit' + <u>naru</u> 'become'.			
Table	335		
J	-nor.u		
OJ	-nōr.u		
MdM	-nor.u		
"	-nor-		
MdE	-nor.ou		
"	-nor.ov		

Juhász 1961: MdM nuru 'grain, produce', nor maf 'garden strawberry' (ma 'berry; apple').

Ravila 1959: MdE norov 'grain', norov 'fertile'. (No etymologies are offered in the adduced dictionaries.)

Comm.: 1. J mi-, OJ mī- (above) can be taken to mean 'fruit' (as Ōno proposes). As regards J -nuru, OJ -nōru, I am in doubt. Omodaka asks whether this nōru is identical with nōru (y.) 'to ride', probably because the same Chinese character is used to write both.--It is odd, indeed, that no minaru is attested in connection with this no rare word; nor does naru 'become' have a nōru alternant. 2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'bear fruit; be fertile'. 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs Md n- /1st syll. J o, OJ ō vs Md o /medial J, OJ r vs Md r.

336. J noso- : noso-noso(to), Ōno: nosa-nosa(to) 'slowly, lazily, in a sluggish/dull/easygoing way, stolidly; in a thick-headed manner; without seriousness'.

Table 336	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>lassú</u> ~OHu <u>lossú</u> 'slow, dull, sluggish, tardy, negligent, inactive, inert; quiet, still; soft, moderate; easygoing'.--Origin uncertain. ? ~Vg <u>lāsél</u> , <u>loāsél</u> , <u>lēcál</u>
J nos.o-	'slowly', <u>loāsél</u> , <u>loāsít</u> 'quietly', <u>loāsés</u> 'a slow goer' /Os
Ō. nos.a-	<u>lāsínen</u> 'slowly, tardily'.--In <u>lassú</u> -ú is a denom. adj. form-
Hu lass.ú	ant; Vg -él/-ál, etc. is an instrumental suffix; in Os <u>lāsínen</u> ,
OHu loss.ú	we see a formant (<u>ij</u>) and a loc. suffix -en.
? Vg lās.él	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'slow, tardy'. 2. Phon.: initial J,
" loās.él	ClJ <u>n</u> - vs Hu, Vg, Os <u>l</u> - /1st syll. J, ClJ <u>o</u> vs Hu <u>a</u> , <u>o</u> , Vg <u>ā</u> , <u>oā</u> ,
"	é, Os <u>a</u> /medial J <u>s</u> , ClJ <u>s</u> (? = <u>ts</u>) vs Hu <u>ss</u> , Vg, Os <u>ā</u> .
? Os lās.inen	

337. J nozoku, OJ nožoku (Ōno: in Nara times nožoku, too) 'remove, exclude, take off/away'.

Table 337	FUV 116: Lp <u>naeske</u> - 'scrape (with a special iron implement) the membrane off the skin before it is greased'.
J noz.o.ku	OJ <u>nož.đ.ku</u> FUV (1955) 101: ? Ch <u>nažā</u> -, <u>nūžā</u> - 'to scrape'. (The Ch word has
OJ nož.đ.ku	been left out of the 1978 ed. of FUV.)
" nož.đ.ku	Comm.: 1. F.b.m.f.b.s.: 'remove; scrape off'. 2. E. Itkonen
Lp naes. .ke-	(1956, 72) writes that Lp <u>naeske</u> - and Ch <u>nažā</u> -, <u>nūžā</u> - have to
? Ch naž.ā-	be kept separate because the vowels of the 1st syll.s as well as
" nūž.ā-	the medial consonants, respectively, do not conform to rule. I
	suggest that at least one could be useful here. Perhaps a revision of Itkonen's
	view is possible in consideration of the treatment of the cluster -sk- here. 3.
	Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>n</u> - vs Lp, Ch <u>n</u> - /1st syll. J <u>o</u> , OJ <u>č</u> vs Lp <u>ae</u> , Ch <u>a</u> , <u>ü</u> /
	medial J <u>z</u> , OJ <u>z</u> , <u>s</u> (= <u>ts</u>) vs Lp <u>s</u> , Ch <u>ž</u> .--Regarding the cluster -sk- in Lp <u>naeske</u> -,
	I refer to Comm. 3 under entry <u>misogu</u> ; here, too, I propose that the cluster is
	secondary, -ke being additional to a formerly disyllabic stem. As 3rd syll. -gu
	of J, OJ <u>misogu</u> stands against *-ke of U <u>*muske</u> -/moške-, so, I suggest, 3rd syll.
	-ku of J, OJ <u>nozoku</u> faces -ke of Lp <u>naeske</u> -.

Table 338	338. J, OJ <u>nozomu</u> (y.) 'look out (upon), gaze (at); face, meet; look for, spy out; see', J, OJ <u>nozoku</u> (y.) 'peep, spy out, look stealthily'.
J, OJ noz.o.mu	? J <u>nazoraeru</u> , OJ <u>nasōpu</u> (sh.n.) 'liken, compare to, model
" noz.o.ku	after', Ōno: <u>nasōpu</u> ~ <u>nasōpu</u> .
? J naz.o.ra eru	FUV 51, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>lát</u> ~OHu <u>lot</u> - (in <u>lotomás</u>
? OJ nas.đ.pu	'vision, apparition') 'perceive with the eyes; view; see;
? Ō. nas.đ.pu	visit; take care of; experience; understand; watch, keep an
Hu lát-	eye (over); investigate, scrutinize; judge' ~Yr <u>lētampē</u>
OHu lot.o.más	'guard, watch (over)' /Yn <u>litobiz</u> 'observe, keep watch (over)'
Yr lētt.a.m pē	-- U <u>*litta</u> ---This equation is made uncertain by the fact
Yn lit.o.biz	that cognates of Hu <u>lát</u> - can be shown in the distant Sam
U *lytt 3-	languages only.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'see; watch'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs U *l- /1st syll. J, OJ o, ? a vs U *z /medial J, OJ z, ? J s, OJ s (= ts) vs U *tt. 3. It is opportune to mention here that Hu leg- (open s) 'lurk, lay in ambush, spy out' (Ugric *lăčs-) could be a development (by split) parallel to lát-.

Table 339	339. J <u>nugu</u> , OJ <u>nuku</u> (y.) 'take off (clothes), strip off, divest oneself (of)',
J nug.u	Hu <u>nyű</u> - J <u>nugeru</u> , Ōno: <u>nugu</u> (sh.n.) 'come/slip off,
Ō. nug.u	" <u>nyűv</u> - slip down' (e.g., clothes), J <u>nugaseru</u> 'strip,
OJ nuk.u	" <u>nyöv</u> - take off; unclothe, undress'.
J nug.e.ru	Md nev.e.l' de-
" nug.a.seru	Vg hűv-
Hu nyű .z-	Sk nēg.e.áp
Lp njuov.ā-	" njakka.na u
VtyZr hñj-	" nek.e.r nam
Vg nuj-	Km hē. .lēm
" nōj-	U *ñik.ā-
FU *ñuj.3-	or *ñük.3-
FU *ñuβ.3-	PSam *ñāñ.3-
FU ?*ñuw.3-	

FUV 118: Hu nyűz- /-z is assumed to be a suf-
fix/ 'flay, skin' /Lp njuovvā~njuovā- id./
Vty, Zr ñij- /Vg nuj-, nooj-, nūij---
FU *ñuwđ.
TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu nyűz- ...; this word is
of debated origin, for Lp njuovvā- requires
the reconstruction of FU *-w- which does not
go with -j- in Vty, Zr, and Vg.-- FU *ñujā-
(without the Lp word), FU *ñuāā- (including
the Lp word).--Hu -z is a frequ. formant.
SW 106: *ñāñ3- 'pull/take off (clothes)'; cf.

Sk nəŋku id.

FUV 117, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu nyű-, nyűv-, nyűv- 'jerk/pull out, eradicate'/ Mä neverde- 'pull out'/Vg füw- 'jerk/pull out/off' /Sk nəgeáp, njakkanau, nekernam 'pull out'/Km nə'ləm 'pull', medgəlm 'pluck, tear, pull'.--U *nīkə- or *nūkə- 'tear, rip'.

Comm.: 1. The word families on the U side seem to be variants by split within a "Wortfeld"; 'pull off/remove skin or clothing' appears to be the common semantic ground for Hu nyűz-, Lp njuovvā-, Vty, Zr nij-, Vg nui-, and the Sam words brought together under *nāgə-.--The same basic meaning is proposed for J nugu, etc. --Hu nyű-, etc. can be subsumed under the broader semantic heading 'remove; pull off/out'.--The crucial point in all the forms in question is, I suggest, the element in third position of the canonical CVCV form. An inspection of the attached table suggests that the element in question is */k/. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs FU, U, PSam *ā- / 1st syll. J, OJ u vs FU *u, PSam *ā (for 'remove skin/clothing'), U *i or *ū (for 'pull off/out') /medial J g, OJ k, g vs FU *i, *ā, *w, PSam *n (1st group), U *k (2nd group). 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 44. 4. Cf. entry nuku.

340. J nuka- : nukazuku, OJ nukatuku (y.) 'to bow, make a bow, pay obeisance; worship, adore; prostrate oneself (at a shrine or before a person)', OJ nuka 'forehead; brow'.

Table 340 SW 101: *nikə- ~ *nikā- 'to nod; bow the head'; cf. Tv nigutn 'to pray', Yn der. nihu'aro, nihu'ado id., Yr nixirtə 'bend the back', OJ nuka 'backwards', der. nixiə 'bow (oneself), make a bow (before someone)', PSam *nik.ā- Sk der. nikaltimpi- 'nod with the head'.

or *nik.ə- Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'bow the head or the body', hence 'to pay obeisance; pray'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs PSam *n- / 1st syll. J, OJ u vs PSam *i or *ū /medial J, OJ k vs PSam *k /final J, OJ a vs PSam *-ə.

341. J, OJ nuku (y.) 'extract, root up, remove, omit', J nuki, OJ nuk 'omission, removal; defeating; woof' (thread which passes crosswise through an opening brought about among the main threads by the operator of the loom), J tsuranuku, OJ tsuranuku (y.) 'pierce, penetrate, perforate, shoot through' (t. 'a line, a row'), Ōno: J nuku (y.) 'perforate, make a hole; pull through, go through', J ? Fi loukko nukasu 'omit, leave out, skip', J nukeru, Ōno: nuku (sh.n.)

" 'come/fall/slip out; be left out/omitted/skipped; withdraw (Vi)'. Ch. lōk FUV 52, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): /Fi loukko, loukka, loukas ~ loukkaa- 'corner, nook, cranny', Kar loukko 'opening, aperture, hole; cavern' /Ch lōk, luk 'corner (e.g., in a room); bend (e.g., of a river) /Os lōk, lōk (open ə) 'corner, angle; small bay, inlet' /Hu lyuk 'hole, opening, aperture; pit, den, cavern' //Yr loho, loho 'corner' (of a house).-- FU (?) *lowkka.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'hole; opening; omission'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs FU (?) *i- / 1st syll. J, OJ u vs FU (?) *o /medial J, OJ k vs FU (?) *kk.--In this connection, reference is made to entry kusu vs U *kowsō; on the strength of Fi kuusi, Lp guosā-, and Vg kawt one had deemed it right to reconstruct the cluster *-ws-, against the clear evidence of Mä, Ch, Vty, Zr, Os, Yr, Yn, and Sk. Now, observe that the doubling or diphthongizing of the 1st syll. vowel under strong accent is quite common in the Finno-Lapp area, and the insertion of a w-glide before a consonant is often encountered in Vg, cf., for example, FUV 84: Fi vuoli 'rafter' ... /Vg ula, aawla 'pole' /Os woi, oi 'pole' ... U *woi; in this reconstruction neither Fi uo, nor Vg (surplus) w has affected the U form; in the cases of Fi kuusi, etc. and Fi loukko, etc. a plainly secondary development of a few U languages has been projected back into the p-language.--A cluster like *wkk is, I submit, simply unpronounceable even medially, and I doubt the justification for the reconstruction even of medial *kk. Neither the OHu records, nor later literature provides support for it. 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 45. 4. Cf. the entries nigeru and nugu with this one.

342. J numa, OJ numa, nu 'small swamp; bog; lake'. Haguenaer 1956, 227: Tosa dial. noma. Ōno: OJ numa ~ nu, cf. Kor nop 'swamp'.

FUV 50 (ex.): Fi lampi 'small lake without outlet', lammi 'pond; tarn, woodland

Table 342				lake', <u>lampelo</u> 'lakelet, pond', Kar <u>lambi</u> 'lakelet',
J	num.a	Lp	luobbal	<u>lammikko</u> 'puddle on the road after rain'/Lp <u>luobbal</u>
"	nom.a	Yr	lymbad	'small lake through which a river runs'//Yr <u>lymbad</u>
OJ	num.a	"	rympat	'marsh', <u>rympat</u> 'bottomless spot in a swamp'.--
"	nu	U	*lampö	U *lampö.
Fi	lamp.i			SW 83: * <u>lampa</u> - 'to be swampy', * <u>lampa</u> - 'to sink into
"	lamm.i	PSam	*lampa-	a swamp'. Cf. Erdélyi 1969: Sk <u>lampa</u> 'swampy ground,
"	lampelo			bog'.

Comm.: 1. Considering the OJ forms nu~numa, the thought arises that numa is a derivative in -a (one can posit a nomen-verbum, say, *ny(-); cf. PSam *lampa- 'to be swampy'). 2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: '(small) lake/swamp'. 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs U, PSam *l- /1st syll. J u, o, OJ u vs U *a, PSam *i /medial J, OJ m vs U, PSam *mp (where it is opportune to note that in the cluster *mp, *p is probably secondary, cf. Hu csomó>csombok>csombrek 'a knot', teremtett> dial. teremptett 'created')/ final J, OJ -a vs U *-ö, PSam *-ä, *-ë. 4. Cf. Pröhle No. 40.

343.	J <u>nururu</u> , OJ <u>nuru</u> (sh.n.) 'be/get wet/damp/soaked; become stained', J, OJ <u>nurasu</u> (y.) 'moisten, wet, soak', J, OJ <u>nuru</u> (y.) 'to plaster, paint, smear, daub, spread on'.	
Table 343		
J	nur.u	FUV 117: Fi <u>nurmi</u> '(green) sward, lawn, meadow; grass', Est
"	nur.e.ru	<u>nurm</u> 'field, arable land', Liv <u>nürm</u> , <u>nurm</u> id./Lp <u>njorma</u>
"	nur.a.su	'meadow, bottom-land' /Vg <u>nurm</u> 'meadow' /Os <u>noram</u> , <u>nuram</u> 'bot-
OJ	nur.u	tom-land, marshy wood-land; marsh, swamp'.-- FU * <u>nurmö</u> .
"	nur.a.su	
Fi	nur. .mi	FUV 59: /? Fi <u>noro</u> 'vale, glen; low-lying place where water
Est	nur. .m	gathers; damp or marshy ground; small stream, rivulet', <u>noro-</u>
Lp	njor. .mä	<u>maa</u> 'low-lying, marshy terrain' (<u>maa</u> 'land')//Vty <u>nur</u> 'damp,
Vg	nur. .m	wet' (e.g., wood, grain); 'dampness, wetness; swamp, marsh' /
Os	nor. .m	Zr <u>nur</u> 'swamp, marsh, bog' /Vg <u>nör</u> //Sk <u>nar</u> 'swamp, marsh,
FU	* <u>nur</u> . .m	tundra'//Yuk <u>nor</u> 'swamp, morass'.-- U * <u>norä</u> .
? Fi	nor.o	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>nyár</u> 'swamp'/data approx. as under FUV
VtyZr	nur	59/ ... U * <u>norä</u> ; OHu <u>nyir</u> 'wet meadow; swampy ground', <u>nyirkos</u>
Vg	nör	'moist, wet'; the base <u>nyir</u> is probably a variant of <u>nyár</u> .
Sk	nar	
U	* <u>norä</u>	FUF XL, 195: Os Vasjagan <u>möyäl nirexteli</u> 'to smear/coat one
Yuk	nör	side'.
Os	nör	
Os	nir.ä.v.teli	Comm.: 1. I propose that the data on the U side belong to-

Comm.: 1. I propose that the data on the U side belong together; Fu *nurmö seems to be the expansion (by *mö) of the disyllabic base U *norä. 2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'wet; get/make wet'. 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ n- vs FU, U *n- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs FU *u, U *o /medial J, OJ r vs FU, U *r. 4. Cf. Pröhle No. 40. 5. Cf. Poppe 1960, 38: Mo nirai < *narai 'newborn; fresh', Bur narai 'newborn; fresh, young (of plants) = Ma narayun 'new, fresh, green' = Tu Chuv sur < *jar < *nar 'summer' ... 6. Cf. Ramstedt 1952/58 (II) 202: Mo nor- 'get wet', nor-ga- 'make wet'. 7. Cf. Murayama 1966, No. 31: Mo nor- 'get wet': OJ nure < *naru-i id. 8. Cf. entry nor.

344. OJ nuru (sh.n.) 'come/get loose/untied/undone; ravel', nurasu (y.) 'undo, unloose'.

Table 344	Ganschow 1965, 91: Os <u>n̄</u> aras- 'become frayed', cf. <u>n̄</u> ar- 'undo, fray'; p. 65: Os <u>n̄</u> ar- 'tear off/out', <u>n̄</u> arayint- 'come undone'.			
OJ	nur.u			
"	nur.asu			
Os	<u>n̄</u> ar.äs-	MTSz: Hu nyárjad- <u>el-ny.</u> ~ <u>szejjel-ny.</u> 'become frayed, get ragged/tattered (of clothes)' (<u>el</u> - 'away', <u>sze.</u> 'apart, asunder').		
"	<u>n̄</u> ar-			
"	<u>n̄</u> ar-	Mu. - Szi.: Vg <u>n̄</u> iri- 'to tear, rip', <u>n̄</u> iräsi- 'to tug, jerk',		
Hu	nyárjad-	<u>n̄</u> irmiti id. Cf. Vg <u>n̄</u> ili- 'strip, peel' (source not noted).		
Vg	<u>n̄</u> il.i-	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'undo; come loose/fray'. 2. Phon.:		
"	<u>n̄</u> ir.i-	initial OJ <u>n</u> - vs Vg, Os, Hu <u>n̄</u> - /1st syll. OJ <u>u</u> vs Vg <u>i</u> , <u>i</u> , Os		
"	<u>n̄</u> ir.äsi-	<u>ä</u> , <u>ə</u> , Hu <u>ä</u> /medial OJ <u>r</u> vs Vg <u>l</u> , <u>r</u> , Os <u>r</u> , Hu <u>r</u> ; in connection		
"	<u>n̄</u> ir. miti	with -rj-, we note that <u>i</u> is an off-glide, not uncommon in Hu.		

345. J o, ClJ oro, OJ word~wo 'tail, scut'. Öno: -ro of OJ word is a suffix. FUV 123: Md pulo 'tail; handle, shaft; plait, (girl's) pig-tail' /Os polah, patanh 'scut, short tail of an animal (reindeer, moose, bear, hare)'.-- FU *polä.

Table 345

J	o	Os	pa.taŋh
ClJ	o.ro	FU	*po.la
OJ	wo	- - - - -	- - - - -
"	wo.ro	? Hu	fa.r
Md	pu.lo	"	fa.rok
Os	po.Aah	OHu	fo.r

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'tail'. 2. Phon.: initial J o, OJ w- vs FU *p- /1st syll. J, OJ o vs FU *o / medial OJ r vs FU *i /final OJ -d vs FU *a. 3. OJ word might well be a derived form, as Ōno says. We do not know the history of the words in question on the U side, but an ancient fusion there cannot be ruled out. 4. There is a chance that Hu far ~ OHu for 'buttock(s), backside, rump; arse', der. farok,

OHu forku 'tail, tail-like extension (e.g., of a mountain); penis' / Os pir, pīr 'being behind (something), space behind (something)', pār 'backside; space at the rear' (Ugric *pur) can be linked to the Md and the Os words in question, or separately to OJ word. 5. Hu -k, OH -ku is a dim. formant; Os -h, -nh is probably the same formant.

346. J oba-: oba-san, OJ woba 'aunt; the wife of one's uncle; lady' (san < sama 'Mr., Mrs., Lady, etc.').

Table 346 SW 21: *āpā 'elder sister'; cf. Tv ~afu, Yn ōba, uBa, abā id., Yr J oba nabako, der. dim. nāpakku, nāppbā 'foster-mother', Sk apā, oppo OJ woba 'elder sister'.

PSam* āpā Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'elder female relative'. 2. Phon.: initial J o, OJ w- vs PSam o (~, h- are, as a rule, secondary) / 1st syll J, OJ o vs PSam *ā / medial J, OJ b vs PSam *p / final J, OJ -a vs PSam *-ā.

347. J obi, OJ obi, Ōno: ōbi 'belt, sash, girdle'; OJ Azuma dial. ōpi id.; Table 347 Wenck 1959, 187: 'OJ dial. vebi 'belt' ... Arisaka surmises that its pronunciation was ebi.? J obiru, OJ obu, Ōno: ōbu (y., k.n.) 'wear, carry, be entrusted/charged/invested (with, e.g., an office); have, wear, assume, put on'.

J o.b.i
OJ ō.b.i
" dial. ē.p.i
" ye.b.i
? J o.b.i.ru
? OJ ō.b.u
Hu ō.v
? Zr vo.ñ
" vu.ñ
" ve.ñ
? Ch ē
" ū
Fi vy. .ō(?)
Est vō. .ō
Lp a.v.e
? Yr jū.n.e
" wū.j.e ā
Tv be.n.e
Yn bi.n.e
Sk ū.n.i
Km mi.n.ā
FU(?) wū.ñ.ā
or *wi.ñ.ā

FUV 85, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu öv 'belt, band, sash, girdle' (~ ? Zr voñ, vun, vñ / ? Ch ē - : ē.sta, ū - : ū.stā 'belt, sash' (usually a coloured woolen sash braid) / Fi vyö 'belt, girdle', Est vöö / Lp äve, äve 'girdle, band, sash (around the waist)', arve 'girdle; hoop (on a barrel)', evv 'girdle' / ? Yr jüne, wūjeä 'line, rein, wire, cord, rope, strap' / Tv bene 'strap, thong, line' / Yn bine / Sk üüni, etc. / Km minä 'rein, halter', müne, myne 'lasso'.--The Sam words belong here only if a sound change *-ñ > *-n-, etc. has taken place in them.-- FU (?) *wūñä or *wūñä.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'belt, girdle', (? hence 'to wear', hence 'to be entrusted/invested with'). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ o vs FU (?) *w- / 1st syll. J o, OJ ō, OJ dial. ē, ? e vs FU (?) *u or *i / medial J, OJ b, OJ dial. b, p vs FU (?) *n (for a suggested opposition OJ -p- vs PFU *-ñ-, s. entry au; for the reflexes of PFU *-ñ-, s. esp. Lakó 1968, 79). 3. E. Itkonen 1930, 39 notes in connection with Fi vyö that a posited FU (?) *w- had probably been lost by the time of early PFI, therefore the remaining part of the reconstruction for those days would be *üvā, out of which form vyö has developed through metathesis.

348. J oboreru, OJ oboru (sh.n.), OJ oboporu (sh.n.) '(Vi) to drown', J obora-su, OJ oboposu (y.) 'cause to drown'. Ōno: OJ oboru is the contracted form of oboporu which consists of obo 'haziness, gloom' + poru (sh.n.) 'to be entranced'.

FUV 95: Hu fúl - '(Vi) suffocate', fojt - 'strangle; drown' (both verbs are derivatives) / ? Est poo - 'hang up; hang (on the gallows); make swing; (Vi) hang' / LpL buuve - 'strangle', LpN buuvu - 'be suffocated/strangled' / Md puva-, pova - 'strangle' / Vty pödy - '(Vi) suffocate; get short of air (of fish under the ice, in winter)', etc. / Zr pöä - '(Vi) suffocate'.-- FU *puwä-.
TESZ (ex.): Hu fúl ~ OHu ful - '(Vi) suffocate, die for lack of air', fullad ~ fúlad - fúlad id.--The base fä - is comparable to : ? Os pynmāta 'turn sour/bad' (e.g., fish), pikim 'rotten; which has turned sour/bad' / ? Zr pä-ni - '(Vi) suffocate' / ? Vty päd - 'to rot', pädi - 'get short of air; suffocate' / Md povams, puvams 'strangle' / ? Est pooma 'hang up on the gallows' / LpN buuvut 'be/get suffocated'.-- Some members in this equation are questionable for phonological, morphological, and/or

Table 348

J	o.bo.	r.eru
"	o.bo.	r.asu
OJ	o.bo.	r.u
"	o.bo.po.r.u	
"	o.bo.po.s.u	
Hu	fú.l-	
"	fu.l.ad-	
"	fu.j. t-	
"	fo.j. t-	
Zr	pe.d-	
Vty	pe.d.j-	

semantic reasons.--The Zr/Vty words can only belong here if medial *g or *n has disappeared in them.-- FU *pu_g- or *pun_g--Hu fúl- may have come about through the agglutination of the frequ. formant -l.--Suggested A links merit further investigation.

MSZFE adds, among other information, that fúl- may have arisen in PHu by the addition (to the assumed base) of a reflexive formant *-w- and a frequ. formant -l. The assumed process is illustrated thus: PHu *fuy_wul > *fuy_wul or *fuy_wul > fúl.--According to Benkő, the element -jt in fojt- dial. fujt- comes from the proven caus. formant *-kt-.

Comm.: 1. Ono's suggestion concerning the sectioning of OJ oboporu is improbable on semantic grounds.--Miller

1967, 224 explains the arising of OJ oboru from oboporu thus: oFoForu > o^mForu > o^mboru > oboru.--In other words, a contracted form has arisen from a form with an apparently reduplicated 1st syll. Analysing oboporu according to the pattern applied so far, I take initial o- to be a prothetic vowel; the following syllable, -bo-, is an expansion to the left by the reduplication of the root; on the right-hand side, the CV shaped root (*po) takes the formant r (endo-active) or s (exo-active).--Now to the U side. For the Hu forms a root *fu-/fo- < *pu-/po- can be peeled out by morpheme analysis. The length of u in fúl- must not mislead us, for at least half of the Hu population never pronounces fúl-, fújt-, or fójt-, the length of the vowels in these cases may be due to compensatory lengthening (for the loss of a final vowel) or simply to fashion; OHu fúl-, OHu and later fujt-, fojt- show clearly that the length of the 1st syll. vowel is at least questionable (I suggest that ú is a late secondary development).--On the admission of TESZ, some of the FU data lined up under fúl- may not belong there for one reason or another. At present, I consider only the Zr/Vty forms as going with Hu fúl- (the Lp and the Md forms might, but would require too much explanation to be treated approximately adequately).

2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: '(Vi) suffocate; die for lack of air' (whether in water or out of it). 3. Phon.: initial OJ p- vs Hu f-, Zr, Vty p-/ 1st syll. OJ o vs Hu u, o, Zr g, Vty g, e/medial OJ r (of -poru, endo-active) vs Hu l. 4. In the Zr/Vty forms in question, the element -d- is probably a reflexive/medio-passive verb formant (cf. -d- in Hu fullad-, fúlad-, fulad-). 5. It is probable that Hu fojt-, fujt-, not to speak of the other problematical forms in this word family, cannot be satisfactorily explained without involving A data. Cf., for example, Ramstedt 1957 (I) 58: Mo bogu 'to lace/tie tightly', der. bóri-la 'strangle, throttle', MTu boyun '(Vi) stifle, suffocate, choke', Tu boyuz-la 'strangle, choke'. 7. Cf. Räsänen 1955, 49: Est poo 'to hang (on the gallows)'/ Md puva, pova ~ Tu boy, Chuv pöv- 'strangle'~Mo boyu 'tie tightly'~Tg bu 'die', Go bokki 'to tie', Olča bü-l 'die'. 8. Cf. entry fukeru.

349. J ochiru, OJ otu (k.n.) 'to fall, drop, drip; cave in', OJ otóru (y.)

Table 349			
J	och.i.ru	Sk	äs. .ta-
"	ot.o.su	"	äs.a.p ta-
OJ	ot.u	Km	üs.ü-
"	ot.o.ru	"	üs. .te-
"	ot.ö.su		
"	ot.ö	Ü	*äö.3-
Hu	es-	- - - - -	- - - - -
"	ej. .t-	OJ	ay.u
Vty	us-	"	ay.a.su
"	üs-	"	ay.e.su
"	üs. .kyt-		
Zr	us-		
Vg	is-		
Os	es.ä.l		
"	es. .t-		

'fall, dwindle, decrease, subside, sink; be inferior (to)/worse (than)', J otosu, OJ otósu (y.) 'let fall/drop, etc.'. Ono: OJ otóru is cognate with otó 'younger of siblings' (regardless of sex).

FUV 32, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu es- (open e) 'to fall', ejt- 'let fall, drop'/Vty us-, üs- 'fall', uskyt- 'drop, let down'/Zr us- 'fall, precipitate oneself', uskal- 'fall down, tumble down', uskód- 'let down'/Vg is- 'descend, step down'/Os esal-, est- 'drop, let down, let loose, shoot'//Sk ästa-, äapta- 'knock over, throw down'/Km üsü- 'fall', üste- 'fell, throw down'. (Vty and Zr k may be a suffix.)--U *äc3-.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to fall'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ o- vs U *ä-/medial J ch, t, OJ t vs U *ö. 3. In connection with Hu ejt-, MSZFE remarks that it could be an inner Hu development from es-, but the phonological picture is not clear; maybe the analogy of fej- 'peel' : fesél-

'come unstitched; burst' has brought about ejt- in opposition to es-.--In order that we see the issue clearer, reference is made to Comm. 3 under entry hagu/hegu (vs Hu fejt-) and to Comm. 1 under oboreru (just above). In all three cases, the pattern seems to be this: (C)V root + (replaceable) formant. Along with Hu fe-jt-, we see fo-jt-/fu-jt-, and e-jt-. Thus, the problem in the opposition Hu es- : ejt- is in the first place not phonological, but morphological; on a broader scale it involves the theoretical stand of whether one admits or denies the claim that open monosyllabic words --free or bound-- can be traced in the U languages.--That OJ otu is a derived form is made probable by the existence of OJ ayu (sh.n.) '(Vi) drop, fall, be spilled' (e.g., blood, sweat), Ōno: ayasu ~ ayesu (y.) 'cause to fall, etc.'. Ōno says that this verb is cognate with otu (one can take -yu of ayu as the ancient passive formant, s. Lewin 1959, 150, 152). If ayu and otu are cognate -- they certainly go together semantically-- then their root is a-/o-. This is all the more probable since o is found in otōru; o was very frequently in alternation with a; allowing even for a limited vowel harmony in OJ, the stem otō- could have had vowels close in quality to /a/.

Table 350	J <u>odoru</u> , OJ <u>wodōru</u> , Ōno: <u>wōdōru</u> (y.) 'to dance; skip, spring', <u>waki-</u>
J	od.o.ru
OJ	wod.ō.ru
Ō.	wōd.ō.ru
Hu	hed.e.r-
"	bed.e.r-
"	? -ved.e.r-

Table 350 wodori 'a substitute group in dancing' (waki 'side of the chest').

MTSZ, TESZ (ex.): hederēd(ik) ~ bederēg- 'to be thrown/tossed about', hederēg- ~ bederēg- 'to move back and forth/hither and thither', heder-(get-) 'swing (the body) to and fro; swing/wriggle the hips; undulate one's hips (fully)' (said of women), ? (el-) vedered(ik) 'to be tossed about and become lost'.--These words are probably onom.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to move to and fro; move in a dancing manner'.--(El-) vedered(ik) (where el- means 'away') might have to be excluded, for it could be a development of vet- 'to throw/fling/cast'. 2. Phon.: initial J o, OJ w- vs Hu h, b-, ? v- /1st syll. J o, OJ ō vs Hu e (open) /medial J, OJ d vs Hu d /final of the primary stem, J o, OJ ō vs Hu e (open).

Table 351	J <u>ō-i</u> 'many, numerous, much, abundant', (adv.) <u>ōkiku</u> 'on a large scale, in a big way', OJ <u>opo-si</u> 'large, big; numerous, abundant; great, noble, respectable, venerable', e.g., <u>opo-ba</u> 'old woman; grandmother', <u>opo-kimi</u> 'members of the Imperial Family'
J	ō . -i
OJ	op.o-si
J	ō . -ki.ku
Hu	ip.a
Vg	up
"	ap.a
Os	op
"	up
"	uā
Ch	ō.ā.ā
"	ō.ā.o
Fi	app.i
Lp	vuopp.ā
FU	* app.e

FUV 89, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu ipa (-a is either a dim. suffix or px3rdsg) ~ dial. ipós (-ós is a dim. formant) 'father-in-law' ~ Vg up 'father-in-law; elder brother of the ego's wife', apa id. /Os op, up 'father-in-law or his brother; elder brother of the ego's wife; brother of the wife's mother, uā 'father-in-law; elder brother of the ego's wife', ōp 'father-in-law; brother of the husband' /Ch ō.ā.ā, ō.ā.o 'father-in-law' /Fi appi id. /Lp vuopp.ā id.-- FU *appe.--FU *a > PHu *i > Hu i.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'old; great/big', hence 'a member of standing in the family structure'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ o- vs FU *a- /medial J o, OJ p vs FU *pp /final OJ o vs FU *e.

Table 352	J <u>oji</u> , OJ <u>wodi</u> 'old man; uncle'.
J	oj.i
OJ	wod.i
Hu	bác.y.a
"	bács.i
"	bács
Psam	* wāp
Yn	būā.e
Km	būā.ē

TESZ (ex.): Hu bátya ~ dial. bács 'uncle; older brother; honorific way of addressing an older male person; báci id. (familiar).-- This word is of debated origin. It may have arisen in the language of children or it may be a loan from one of the Slav languages. The first proposition is more likely.

SW 169: *wāp (ā = a, e) 'old man; husband'; cf. Yn būse, Km der. būze 'old man'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a male person older than the ego'. 2. Phon.: initial J o, OJ w- vs Hu b-, PSam *w- /1st syll. J, OJ o vs Hu ā, PSam *ā /medial J j, OJ d vs Hu ty (= t), cs (= č), PSam *s (the preceding *j is probably an epenthetic glide). 3. Of. entry chichi.

353. J oke, OJ woke~uke 'tub, pail, bucket, container', J uke 'receptacle'.

Table	353	
J	ok.e	SKES (ex.): Fi <u>vakka</u> 'round wooden' box (with cover); bushel; basket' ?~MdE <u>vakan</u> 'vessel, receptacle'.
"	uk.e	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'basket, receptacle (of wood or other material)'. 2. Phon.: initial J <u>o</u> , OJ <u>w</u> -, <u>o</u> vs Fi, MdE <u>v</u> - /1st syll.
OJ	wok.e	J, OJ <u>o</u> , <u>u</u> vs Fi, MdE <u>a</u> /medial J, OJ <u>k</u> vs Fi <u>kk</u> , MdE <u>k</u> /final J - <u>e</u> ,
"	uk.ē	OJ - <u>ē</u> vs Fi, MdE <u>a</u> ; note that OJ - <u>ē</u> was in alternation with - <u>a</u> . 3.
Fi	vakka	MdE - <u>n</u> is an ending. 4. Cf. TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>vēka</u> 'basket; bushel; container'; --probably of Slav origin, cf. Polish <u>wieko</u> , Russian <u>vēko</u>
MdE	vak.a.n	'basket'.---A search into the origin of the Slav words in question
? Hu	vék.a	should be enlightening and might dispel existing doubts.

354. J oki 'the offing; the open sea (the stretch which is far from the shore),

Table	354	
J	ok.i	OJ <u>oki</u> ~ <u>oku</u> 'the recesses/furthestmost part of any place, e.g., of a mountain fastness or an island far away from the mainland' (Chamberlain), J <u>okumaru</u> , Ōno: <u>okumaru</u> (y.) 'extend far back;
OJ	ok.f	lie deep in', J <u>okumatta</u> (past participle) 'secluded, retired;
"	ok.u	inmost', <u>o. tokoro</u> 'a recess, nook' (t. 'place').
J, ClJ	okumaru	FUV 137, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>vég</u> ~ <u>0Hu</u> , dial. <u>víg</u> '(spacially)
Hu	vég	the end, the far/distant part; edge, border; that which lies at
"	víg	the end or farthest; the conclusion of a process/an action;
Fi	vi.ime	(temporally) the finish/end (also of life); borderland', <u>végez</u> -
"	vi.ima	'bring to an end', <u>végül</u> 'finally' ~ Fi <u>viime</u> (- <u>me</u> is a form-
Est	vi.imane	ant) '(the) last', <u>Kar viima</u> id., Est <u>viimane</u> (- <u>mane</u> is a clus-
? Zr	-vyj	ter of endings) 'last'/? Zr <u>šör-vyj</u> , <u>šör-vij</u> 'middle' (e.g., of
"	-vij	a way; half-way; <u>šör</u> 'middle'), <u>vyjfs</u> 'boundary, line of demar-
? Sk	vyj.os	cation'.
"	üg(e)	FUV (1955, not TESZ, MSZFE): Sk <u>uug(e)</u> , <u>uugo</u> 'end; verge'.--
"	üg.o	U * <u>win</u> 3.
U	*win.3	U * <u>win</u> 3.
PSam	*uk.3	SW 30: * <u>uk</u> 3 'end; edge; front'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'the farthest point/place (from the speaker)'. Phon.: initial J, OJ o vs U *w-, PSam *o /1st syll. J, OJ o vs U *i, PSam *u /medial J, OJ k vs U *n, PSam *k /final J -i, OJ -i, -u vs U *-3, PSam *-3.

355. J okiru, OJ oku, Ōno: oku (k.n.) 'get up, rise (from one's resting place),

Table	355	
J	o.ki.r.u	wake up, awake; occur, happen, break out (e.g., misfortune);
"	o.ko.r.u	be kindled/made (of fire); get burning', J <u>okoru</u> , OJ <u>okōru</u>
"	o.ko.s.u	< <u>oku</u> (k.n.) 'get up, rise, begin; spring up, prosper, be
OJ	o.ku	generated/kindled/made (of fire); get lively; be/become of-
"	o.kō.r.u	fended/angry; the heat gets roused', J <u>okosu</u> , OJ <u>okōsu</u> (y.) <
"	o.kō.s.u	<u>oku</u> (k.n.) 'raise, set up, begin, launch; initiate; cause,
Hu	ke.l-	stir up (trouble), excite; generate; wake, arose; revive;
"	kō.l. .t-	kindle/make (fire)'. TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>kel-</u> (open <u>e</u>) 'get up, rise (from one's
"	ki.l.ē.s	resting place; also said of the sun, etc.); germinate, sprout,
Vg	kwā.l.i	grow; rise, swell (of dough); become generated, have its be-
Os	ki.l	ginning', <u>kelt</u> ~ <u>költ</u> 'raise, waken, cause to arise' ~ Vg
? Fi	kā.l.a-	<u>kwāli</u> , <u>kwāli</u> , <u>kwāli</u> 'get/stand up; get out/off/down, step
? Zr	ke.l-	off/out (e.g., a boat); go out; go on land (having stepped
? Vty	ko.l-	out of a boat) /Os <u>kil-</u> , <u>kūl-</u> , <u>kā-</u> 'ascend; go on land; get
? Ch	ke.l.ām	up'/? Zr <u>kel-</u> 'wade, wade across/through; wander about try-
? MdE	ke.l.e.ms	ing to find the way'/? Vty <u>kol-</u> 'to step into water; wade in/
? LpN	ga.l.l.e.t-	through water'/? Ch <u>ke.lām</u> 'to wade (in water, swamp, snow)'/
Ugric	*kā.l.ä-	? MdE <u>kelēms</u> 'to wade'/? Fi <u>kahlata</u> , <u>kaalata</u> 'wade, proceed
-(?FU)	*kā.l.ä-	by wading or with difficulty'/? LpN <u>gallet</u> ~ <u>gälet</u> 'wade;
Hu	ke.r.e.ked-	cause to wade (in); to be high enough to stand in a certain
"	ge.r.e.d-	place in water', <u>galā</u> 'a ford'.--In place of the expected 1st
"	gō.r.e.sztō	syll. <u>ä</u> , we find in the Fi forms <u>ah</u> , <u>aa</u> .--If the Finno-Permic

meanings: 'go on shore, climb up, go up high', and from this Hu and Vg/Os 'get up, rise'.--Ugric (? FU) *kälä.

353. J oke, OJ woke ~ uke 'tub, pail, bucket, container', J uke 'receptacle'.

Table	353	
J	ok.e	SKES (ex.): Fi <u>vakka</u> '(round wooden) box (with cover); bushel; basket' ? ~ MdE <u>vakan</u> 'vessel, receptacle'.
"	uk.e	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'basket, receptacle (of wood or other material)'. 2. Phon.: initial J <u>o</u> , OJ <u>w</u> -, <u>o</u> vs Fi, MdE <u>v</u> -/1st syll.
OJ	wok.e	J, OJ <u>o</u> , <u>u</u> vs Fi, MdE <u>a</u> /medial J, OJ <u>k</u> vs Fi <u>kk</u> , MdE <u>k</u> /final J -e,
"	uk.ē	OJ -ē vs Fi, MdE <u>a</u> ; note that OJ -ē was in alternation with -a. 3.
Fi	vakka	MdE -n is an ending. 4. Cf. TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>véka</u> 'basket; bushel; container'; --probably of Slav origin, cf. Polish <u>wieko</u> , Russian <u>věko</u>
MdE	vak.a.n	'basket'.---A search into the origin of the Slav words in question
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"	ok.u	inmost', o. <u>tokoro</u> 'a recess, nook' (t. 'place').
J, ClJ	ok.umaru	FUV 137, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>vég</u> ~ OHu, dial. <u>víg</u> '(spacially) the end, the far/distant part; edge, border; that which lies at
Hu	vég	the end or farthest; the conclusion of a process/an action;
"	víg	(temporally) the finish/end (also of life); borderland', <u>végez-</u>
Fi	vi.ime	'bring to an end', <u>végül</u> 'finally' ? ~ Fi <u>viime</u> (-me is a form-
"	vi.ima	ant) '(the) last', <u>Kar viima id.</u> , Est <u>viimane</u> (-mane is a clus-
Est	vi.imane	ter of endings) 'last'/? Zr <u>šör-vyj</u> , <u>šör-vij</u> 'middle' (e.g., of
? Zr	-vyj	a way; half-way; <u>šör</u> 'middle'), <u>vyjōs</u> 'boundary, line of demar-
"	-vij	cation'.
? Sk	ug(e)	FUV (1955, not TESZ, MSZFE): Sk <u>uug(e)</u> , <u>uugo</u> 'end; verge'.--
"	ug.o	U <u>*win.3</u> .
U	*win.3	U <u>*win.3</u> .
PSam	*uk.ā	SW 30: <u>*ukā</u> 'end; edge; front'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'the farthest point/place (from the speaker)'. Phon.: initial J, OJ o vs U *w-, PSam *o /1st syll. J, OJ o vs U *i, PSam *u /medial J, OJ k vs U *n, PSam *k /final J -i, OJ -i, -u vs U *-3, PSam *-3.

355. J okiru, OJ oku, Ōno: oku (k.n.) 'get up, rise (from one's resting place),

Table	355	
J	ok.i.r.u	wake up, awake; occur, happen, break out (e.g., misfortune);
"	oko.r.u	be kindled/made (of fire); get burning', J <u>okoru</u> , OJ <u>okōru</u>
"	oko.s.u	< <u>oku</u> (k.n.) 'get up, rise, begin; spring up, prosper, be
OJ	oku	generated/kindled/made (of fire); get lively; be/become of-
"	okō.r.u	fended/angry; the heat gets roused', J <u>okosu</u> , OJ <u>okōsu</u> (y.) <
"	okō.s.u	<u>oku</u> (k.n.) 'raise, set up, begin, launch; initiate; cause,
Hu	ke.l-	stir up (trouble), excite; generate; wake, arose; revive;
"	kō.l.-t-	kindle/make (fire)'. TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>kel-</u> (open e) 'get up, rise (from one's
"	ki.l.ē.s	resting place; also said of the sun, etc.); germinate, sprout,
Vg	kwā.l.i	grow; rise, swell (of dough); become generated, have its be-
Os	ki.l.	ginning', <u>kelt</u> ~ <u>kōlt</u> 'raise, waken, cause to arise' ~ Vg
? Fi	kā.l.a-	<u>kwāli</u> , <u>kwāli</u> , <u>kwāli</u> 'get/stand up; get out/off/down, step
? Zr	ke.l-	off/out (e.g., a boat); go out; go on land (having stepped
? Vty	ko.l-	out of a boat)'/Os <u>ki-l</u> , <u>kū-l</u> , <u>kā-l</u> 'ascend; go on land; get
? Ch	ke.l.ām	up'/? Zr <u>kel-</u> 'wade, wade across/through; wander about try-
? MdE	ke.l.e.ms	ing to find the way'/? Vty <u>kol-</u> 'to step into water; wade in/
? LpN	ga.l.l.e.t-	through water'/? Ch <u>ke.lām</u> 'to wade (in water, swamp, snow)'/
Ugric	*kā.l.ā-	? MdE <u>ke.lēms</u> 'to wade'/? Fi <u>kahlata</u> , <u>kaalata</u> 'wade, proceed
-(?FU)	*---	by wading or with difficulty'/? LpN <u>gallet</u> ~ <u>gālet</u> 'wade;
Hu	ke.r.e.ked-	cause to wade (in); to be high enough to stand in a certain
"	ge.r.e.d-	place in water', <u>galā</u> 'a ford'.--In place of the expected 1st
"	gō.r.e.sztō	syll. <u>ā</u> , we find in the Fi forms <u>ah</u> , <u>aa</u> .--If the Finno-Permic

meanings: 'go on shore, climb up, go up high', and from this Hu and Vg/Os 'get up, rise'.--Ugric (? FU) *kālā.

TESZ (ex.): Hu gerjed- 'get excited/roused/stirred up; (passion, feeling) suddenly arises; (an object that got into the fire) takes fire; (electricity) gets generated', gerjeszt- 'to kindle (fire), set afire; rouse, stir up, inflame (fire or feelings); cause/generate a physical/chemical process', dial. göresztő 'that which generates; the generating ...'---Origin unknown.

TESZ (ex.): Hu kerekéd(ik) '(a)rise, result, get/spring up (wind, storm); get up and start out' (e.g., a group of people or animals)'---This verb comes from kel- (as above) by the adding of the refl. formant -ked(ik).

MTSz: Hu dial. kilis = Standard Hu kelés 'abscess, boil, rising on the skin'. Ganschow 1965, 17: Os kil-, ki- 'rise; get up'; p. 87: Os kil'ta- 'waken, rouse', cf. kil-, kil- 'get up'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to rise; originate'--- Among the data extracted from TESZ and MSZFE, all those having to do with 'going, wading'---unless they also mean 'to rise, go up'---are suspect of belonging to another word family (they are also questioned by MSZFE), s. entry kuru 'come'---The Hu etymological works do not link kel- and gerjed-, although the meanings are practically identical, while the stems are probably variants by split (kel-, ger-). To illustrate, I quote one of the best Transylvanian Hungarian writers, Áron Tamási who uses gerjed- thus: "Ami ellenség csak fölgerjedett a hegveken túl" (All enemies that arose beyond the mountains; Tamási 1959, 13). 2. Phon.: taking o- on the J side as prothetic--- initial J, OJ k- vs Ugric (?FU) *k- /1st syll. J i, OJ o, u (the latter having little relevance) vs Ugric (?FU) *i /medial J, OJ r vs Ugric (?FU) *l---We note: a) -j- in gerjed- is doubtless secondary, cf. dial. göresztő; terül- ~ terjed- '(Vi) to spread', b) l-r alternation is so wide-spread in Hu that the etymological works speak of it as a matter of course. 3. Cf. Ramstedt 1957 (I), 46: Mo ki- 'do, make', Tu qyl- id., Tg ke- id. 4. A CV shaped root is evident on the J side, too; the same is probable on the U side.

356. J okoru, ikaru, OJ ikaru (y.) 'become angry/offended/excited/enraged',
Table 356 J, OJ ikari 'anger, rage, indignation, wrath',? Ono: okoru
J o.kor.u (y.) 'latent strength gets stirred up; one's force returns
" i.kar.u to the full', (Ono:) the part oko- is the ablaut variant of
" i.kar.i iki-< iku (y.) 'be alive, live' ~ oku (k.n.) 'to rise'; these
OJ i.kar.u words are cognate with ika-si 'powerful (physically/mentally),
? Ō. o.kor.u dignified, august'.
Hu har.a.g TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu harag 'anger, wrath, rage, resentment,
OHu hor.o.gu irritation', OHu also 'angry', OHu horogu- = Hu haragud-
Vg khörji haragusz- 'become angry; be resentful', haragos 'angry, dis-
" kor- pleased, furious; enemy; one who harbours resentment against
" yor- somebody' ~ Vg khörji, khärji 'be/become angry/furious',
Os yor.ä.m Dä kor-, yor- 'to quarrel' /Os yoramDä 'get angry, be annoyed,
Md kor 'fret' /Md kor 'irritation, annoyance; grief; anger'---The
FU *kor.e(-) element -g in Hu harag is a deverbal nom. formant; m in the
Hu i.k.r.ä.rkod- Os form is a momentaneous verb formant---The Ob-Ugric (Vg/Os)
" o.k.r.ä.rkod- verbs might be identical with Vg kör- 'remove the bark from
" inger.ä.l- a birch-tree', Os yorDa id., yörta 'peel off (bark); flay';
Md kor indicates that Hu harag was originally probably a nomen-verbum--- FU
*kor.e(-).

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'anger, irritation'---The verb okoru quoted from Ōno only belongs here if it is not cognate with OJ iku 'be alive' (s. entry ikuru); the linking of ika-si with iku is unconvincing---The belonging here of the Vg/Os verbs meaning 'remove tree-bark' is improbable. 2. Phon.: taking the vowels o-, i- as prothetic--- initial J, OJ k- vs FU *k- /1st syll. J o, OJ a, ? Ō. o vs FU *o /medial J, OJ r vs FU *r. 3. Cf. Hu dial. ikránd(ik) ~ okránd(ik) 'get startled/surprised/excited', ingérel- ~ ingérek(ik) 'irritate, excite, provoke'. 4. Cf. Foppe 1960, 79: Mo keregür 'quarrel, wrangle', Mmo kere- 'to fight; quarrel', kereldü 'furious, fierce, cruel, headstrong' /Tg Ev kerdeme 'self-willed, furious', keremezu 'vengeance' /Tu Chag, Oiro käriš- 'to quarrel', Tuvinian kiriš 'quarrel'.

357. J, OJ oku (y.) 'cease, suspend (action); put/lay down; set, leave behind, leave, let, allow; store up'.

Table 357

J, OJ	o.ku	FUV 43, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi <u>kato</u> 'disappearance, loss, lack, ruin, crop-failure', <u>katoa-</u> 'disappear, get lost'/Ip <u>guo^{de}-</u> ~ <u>guo^{de}-</u> 'leave, desert, abandon, leave behind'/Md <u>kado-</u> /Ch <u>kode-</u> id., <u>koda-</u> 'remain, be left over'/Vty <u>kyl-</u> 'lay off, remove (e.g., one's garment)'; remain'/Zr <u>kol-</u> 'remain, be left over; abandon' /Vg <u>kuul-</u> 'leave, abandon'/Os <u>kaj-</u> , <u>kyj-</u> , <u>haj-</u> 'leave, leave behind'/Hu <u>hagy-</u> 'leave, abandon; let'//Yr <u>haaje-</u> 'abandon', <u>haajoe-</u> 'remain behind'/Tv <u>kojo-</u> 'remain behind'.--U <u>*ka^{da}-</u> .--Cf. Yuk <u>kudie-</u> 'leave, let'.
Vg	kū.l'	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'leave; remain'. 2. Phon.: taking o- of <u>oku</u> to be prothetic--- initial J, OJ <u>k-</u> vs U <u>*k-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>u</u> (note: being automatically attached, this vowel is of little weight, but cf. <u>a</u> of the caus. <u>okasu</u>) vs U <u>*a</u> . 3. As derived (and "conjugated") forms come from <u>o.ku</u> on the J side, so, I suggest, U <u>*ka^{da}-</u> is a derived form, its root being <u>*ka-</u> . Cf. Ramstedt 1952/57 (II), 163: Tu <u>go-d-</u> = <u>go-</u> 'abandon'; cf. Németh 1928, 74: Tu Karaim, Osm, Chag <u>ko-</u> 'to place, put down, leave, abandon'; cf. Benzing 1956, 32: Tg <u>*xōdⁱ</u> 'cease; leave (not to go on)', Ma <u>wāⁱ-</u> , Go <u>hozi-</u> , Olča <u>xodu-</u> , etc.; cf. further Ganschow 1965, 31: Os <u>kit-</u> , <u>vet-</u> , <u>yig-</u> , <u>yās-</u> 'remain, be left over' vs <u>kaj-</u> , <u>kij-</u> , <u>vaj-</u> 'leave behind, leave over, abandon'.--Ganschow suspects in the element <u>-t/-s</u> a frequ. formant <u>*t</u> , characteristic of Os; whatever the exact function of <u>*t</u> is, the two sets of Os words form an opposition and reveal a CV shaped root (<u>ki-</u> , etc.).
Os	kā.j-	
"	ky.j-	
"	hā.j-	
Hu	ha.g-	
Yr	hā.je-	
Tv	ko.jo-	
U	*ka. ^{da} -	
Yuk	ku.di e-	
Os	ki.t'	
"	re.t'	
"	yi.s-	
"	ya.s-	

358. J ono, OJ won^o, Ōno: won^o 'axe, hatchet, hand axe'.

Table 358

J	on.o	Futaky 1975, 50: Os Vach, Vasjuga <u>wenāw</u> 'hook, boat-hook, hook with a handle, hook with which fish are lifted out of the water' (ref. to Karjalainen - Toivonen 227).
OJ, Ō	wōn.ō	
Os	wen.āw	Mu. - Szi.: Vg <u>vāntēp</u> ~ <u>voantēp</u> 'a hook', <u>vontē</u> 'to notch', <u>vont-</u>
Vg	vān. tēp	<u>laxtē</u> 'to build, do carpentering'.
"	von. tē	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a chopping tool (with a handle)'. 2. Phon.: initial J <u>o</u> , OJ <u>w-</u> vs Os <u>w-</u> , Vg <u>v-</u> /1st syll. J <u>o</u> , OJ <u>o</u> , <u>ō</u> vs Os <u>a</u> , Vg <u>o</u> , etc. /medial J, OJ <u>n</u> vs Os, Vg <u>n</u> /final J <u>-o</u> , OJ <u>-ō</u> vs Os <u>ā</u> , Vg <u>ō</u> . 3. Os <u>-w</u> , Vg <u>-tēp</u> , <u>-laxtē</u> are endings additional to a disyllabic stem.

359. J ono ~ onore (-re is a suffix), OJ onō, Ōno: ōnō ~ ana 'self, one-/my-self'.

Table 359

J	on.o(re)	SW 18: <u>*ān³-</u> (refl. pron.) 'self, oneself'; cf. Tv <u>nōne-</u> (<u>n-</u> is secondary), Sk <u>onā-</u> id.
OJ	ōn.ō	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>én</u> ~ OHu <u>en</u> , <u>an-</u> , dial. <u>in-</u> 'I; myself'.--This word is of debated origin. [Various propositions.]
"	an.a	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'self; myself'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J <u>o-</u> , OJ <u>ō-</u> , <u>a-</u> vs PSam <u>*ā-</u> , ? Hu <u>é-</u> , <u>e-</u> , <u>a-</u> , <u>i-</u> /medial J, OJ <u>n</u> vs PSam, ? Hu <u>n</u> / final J <u>-o</u> , OJ <u>-ō</u> , <u>-a</u> vs PSam <u>*-ō</u> .
PSam	*ān.ā-	
? Hu	én	
? OHu	en	
"	an-	

360. OJ opu (k.n.) 'spring up (of seed, bud), germinate, come out (of seed)',

Table 360

J	opos.u	<u>oposu</u> (y.) 'cultivate, grow'. Omodaka: the attr. form of <u>opu</u> was <u>opuru</u> , the Azuma dial. variant of this was <u>oparu</u> . Ōno: Azuma <u>oparu</u> had a variant <u>operu</u> .
OJ	op.u	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>vehem</u> 'the young of animals' (of she-ass, doe, hind);
"	op.osu	'embryo of mammals', <u>vemhes</u> (adj., short for <u>v. allat</u> , where <u>ā</u> .
"	op.uru	'animal') 'a mammal that is either developing an embryo or has
"	op.aru	recently given birth to an offspring' /note the metathesis/--
Hu	veh.em	Origin unknown.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'new life starts (in plants or animals)'. 2. Phon.: o initial on the J side vs v- in Hu /1st syll. OJ o vs Hu e (open) /medial OJ p vs Hu h. 3. The element -m of vehem is a deverbal nom. formant (s. Bartha 1958, 73).

361. J orabu, OJ orabu, Ōno: ōrabu (y.) 'howl, yell, cry, shout'.

Table 361

J	or.a.abu	Hu	or. .dit-	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>ordit-</u> 'to cry, howl, shout,
OJ, Ō	ōr.a.abu	Os	or.ə.γ-	roar, bellow'.--Onom. word.

Ganschow 1965, 34: Os orey-, ārey-, ōrij-, ōri- 'to cry, howl, shout; snarl, growl (as a dog or bear does)'.

Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J o-, OJ ō- vs Hu o-, Os o-, ō-, ā- /medial J, OJ r vs Hu, Os r. 3. Cf. Ramstedt 1952/57: Mo orla- 'to growl'.

Table	362	J <u>oriru</u> , OJ <u>oru</u> (k.n.)	'come/go down, get down, descend, land (from a higher place)'
J	or.i.ru	Ōno: <u>ōrōsu</u> (y.)	'let down, lower, take down'.
"	or.i	FUV 24, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>al</u>	'under-, sub-; <u>al~alj</u> 'bottom part; litter, bed', <u>alā</u> (-ā is a suffix) 'downward, down, off, be-
OJ	or.u	low; under', <u>alacsony</u>	'low, inferior', <u>aláz-</u> 'abase, humiliate; subjugate, subject (to)' ~ Vg <u>jel-</u>
"	ōr.ō.su	sub-; <u>al</u>	'under-', <u>jelik</u> 'the one who/ which is below', <u>ialt</u>
Hu	al	'below, underneath', <u>jolen</u>	id. /Os <u>il</u> , <u>il</u> , <u>il</u>
"	al.ā.z-	<u>ia</u>	'lower, sub-; lower part', <u>ilən</u>
Vg	jel-	'down (along the river)'/Zr <u>ul-</u>	'sub-, lower', <u>-ul</u>
"	ial. t	'something', <u>ulin</u>	'(being) under, below' /Vty <u>ul</u>
Os	il	'space; that which is beneath', <u>ullañ</u>	'(going) underneath' /Ch <u>ül-</u> , <u>ül</u>
Fi	al.a	'that which is beneath, sub-; <u>ulina</u>	'underneath, (being) under' /Md <u>alo</u>
Est	al.a	'underneath, under'/Fi <u>ala</u>	'area, territory, space', <u>ala-</u> , <u>ali-</u>
Zr	ul	'sub-, lower', <u>alta</u>	'from beneath (an object)', <u>alas</u> , <u>ales</u>
Vty	ul	'down(ward)', Est <u>ala</u>	'a room that is under another one; sub-, of lower rank; base; origin, descent, source' /Lp <u>-vuolle</u>
Ch	ül-	'lies beneath', <u>vuollä-</u>	'lower, under-, sub-', <u>vuollä</u>
"	ül.ä-	'under; from beneath' /Yr <u>qil</u>	'floor, ground, base', <u>qil</u> , <u>il</u> , <u>nir</u>
Md	al	'down(ward)' /Yn <u>ito</u> , <u>iro</u>	'ground', <u>iforo</u>
Lp	vuoll.ä-	'from below' /Tv <u>qileä</u>	'that which is below', <u>nileada</u>
Yr	il	'from below' /Sk <u>yl</u>	'ground, base' /Km <u>ilde</u>
"	qil	'downwards'.	--The phonetic shape of the Vg forms is not regular; <u>il-</u> , <u>ä-</u> are inetymological.-- U <u>*ala</u> . Cf. Yuk <u>-aal</u>
"	qir	'(being) under', <u>aat</u>	'from the underside of an object', etc.--Cf. also: Németh 1928, 81-82; Joki, Vir. 1955, 282 (A links).
Yn	ir.o	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'base; down'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J <u>o-</u> , OJ <u>ō-</u>	vs U <u>*a-</u> (we note: Lp <u>y-</u> , Sam <u>q-</u> are second-ary; OJ <u>ō</u> frequently alternated with <u>a</u>) /medial J, OJ <u>r</u> vs U <u>*l</u> /final of the primary stem, J <u>i</u> , <u>o</u> , <u>u</u> (- <u>u</u> is automatic), OJ <u>ō</u> vs U <u>*-a</u> .
Tv	qil.e. a-		
Sk	yl		
Km	il. de		
U	*al.a		
Yuk	-al		

363. J, OJ oru (y.) 'to weave'.

Table	363	J, OJ <u>oru</u>	Vty	vur(y)-	FUV 136, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>varr-</u> ~OHu <u>vor-</u>
Hu	vam-	Zr	vur-	dial. <u>vör-</u> , <u>vâr-</u>	'sew; embroider' /Ch <u>örge-</u> , <u>urges</u>
OHu	vor-			<u>urges</u> /Vty <u>vur(y)-</u>	/Zr <u>vur-</u> id.-- FU <u>*Bora(-)</u>
Ch	ör. ge-	FU	*Bor.a(-)	or <u>*Borka(-)</u> .	--In the Ch verb forms, initial <u>ä-</u> has disappeared, but in the deverbal nominals it has been preserved, e.g., <u>Börtyem</u>
"	ur. ge-	or	*Bor. ka(-)		'clothing; attire, garb'.
"	Bör. yem				

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'produce woven material; sew clothes'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ ö vs FU *ä- /1st syll. J, OJ o vs FU *o /medial J, OJ r vs FU *r. 3. The element FU *-ka is, no doubt, additional to a formerly disyllabic stem.

364. J osa, OJ wosa 'the head, the chief', J osameru, OJ wosamu (sh.n.) 'to rule, govern, pacify; gather, rally'.

Table	364	J <u>osa</u> , OJ <u>wosa</u>	Lp	ā, e-	FUV 37, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>ös</u> ~OHu <u>is</u> , <u>es</u> , dial. <u>ös</u> , <u>ösi</u> , <u>üs</u>
J	os.a	Lp	ā, e-	<u>ös</u> , <u>ösi</u> , <u>üs</u>	'distant progenitor; ancestral; very old' ~ Fi <u>isä</u>
"	os.a.meru	Ch	e, ä	<u>isä</u>	'father', ? <u>iso</u>
OJ	wos.a	"	isä	<u>isä</u>	'large, extensive', Est <u>isa</u>
"	wos.a.mu	? MdM	otäe	<u>isä</u>	'father' /Lp <u>äcäe</u> ~ <u>äcäe</u>
Hu	ös	"	otäe	<u>isä</u>	'elder brother; paternal uncle (younger than the father of the person concerned)'/MdM <u>otäe</u>
"	ös	Vg	ä	<u>isä</u>	'brother of my father', <u>otäe</u>
"	is	Yr	nise	<u>isä</u>	'great, large' /Vg <u>äs</u>
"	ös.i	Tv	jas.e	<u>isä</u>	'maternal grandfather' /Yr <u>nise</u>
Fi	is.ä	Yn	es.e	<u>isä</u>	'father' /Tv <u>jase</u> ~ <u>jaje</u>
? Fi	is.o	Sk	es.y	<u>isä</u>	/Yn <u>ese</u> /Sk <u>esy</u> , <u>es</u> , <u>asse</u> .
Est	is.a	"	es	<u>isä</u>	--In Hu <u>ös</u> , the vowel was originally short.--Inasmuch as MdM <u>otäe</u> and Fi <u>iso</u> belong here, the meaning of the words in question (in the FU era)
Lp	äcäe	U	*ic.ä	<u>isä</u>	

was probably 'large, big'.-- U *idā.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'large, big', hence 'old(er)', hence 'older person; leader; father; progenitor'. 2. Phon.: initial J ǃ, OJ w- vs FU ǃ /1st syll. J, OJ o vs FU *i /medial J s, OJ ǃ (= ts) vs FU *ǃ /final of the (primary) stem, J, OJ a vs FU *ǃ. 3. Cf. Menges 1975, 56-7: Tu *bos- 'to rule, direct'.

365. J oshi~oshidori, OJ wosi~wosidori (-dori < tori 'bird') 'mandarin duck'.

Table	365		
J	osh.i	FUV 135, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>vöcsök</u> ~dial. <u>vicsék</u> , <u>vecsek</u> 'crested grebe, Podiceps cristatus' [<u>-k</u> is a dim. formant]/Est <u>vais</u> , <u>váis</u>	
OJ	wos.i	ed	
Hu	vöcs.ö.k	'golden-eye, water-hen, Oidemia fusca' /? LpK <u>važ-londe</u> 'a kind of sea-bird' (1. 'bird')/? Ch <u>wó</u> : <u>šar-wó</u> 'Anas acuta (?)' (<u>šar</u>	
Est	vais	'horsehair' ?) /Vty <u>vočy</u> 'wild duck' /Zr <u>vóž</u> 'whistle-duck, Anas	
"	váis	penelope'/Vg <u>waas</u> , <u>šaz</u> 'duck' /Os <u>wášeh</u> , <u>uás</u> , <u>uás</u> id.-- FU * <u>wajce</u> .	
? Lp	važ-		
? Ch	wó	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'duck; duck-like water-bird'. 2. Phon.: initial J <u>ǃ</u> , OJ <u>w-</u> vs FU * <u>w-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>o</u> vs FU * <u>a</u> /medial	
Vty	voč.y	J <u>sh</u> , OJ <u>ǃ</u> (= <u>ts</u>) vs FU * <u>ǃ</u> (note: according to the pattern of syl-	
Zr	vžž	lable sequence followed so far, FU * <u>ǃ</u> must be questioned; * <u>i</u> is	
Vg	vás	taken here as secondary, a mere on-glide) /final J, OJ <u>-i</u> vs FU	
Os	wás.ə.h	* <u>ǃ</u> . 3. Cf. SW 119: PSam * <u>pejankā</u> (* <u>ǃ</u> = <u>ǃ</u> , <u>ǃ</u>) 'whistling duck';	
"	uás	cf. Sk <u>pōdš-yc</u> . 4. Cf. Benzing 1956, 151: Tg Go <u>wace-ka</u> 'crane'.	
FU	* <u>wajce</u>		

366. J oshieru, OJ wosipu (sh.n.) 'teach, show, inform, explain; educate', J osowaru 'learn, be instructed, etc.'.

Table	366		
J	osh.i .eru Md	važ.o.v	
"	os.o.w.aru Zr	vež.e.r	
OJ	wos.i.p.u Vg	ūs	
Fi	os.a- Os	- oš - -	
"	os.u- Os	- wu- - -	
Os	oš-	"	u-
"	ož.a.n-	"	wo-
FU	* <u>oñda-</u>		
- or *	<u>oč.a-</u>		

Ganschow 1965, 31: Os Obdorsk oš- 'know, have knowledge/experience of' : Os Vach wu-, Vasjagan u-, Tremjugan wu-, DN wo-, Kazym wq- id. (Ganschow suggests that -ǃ of oš- is the reflex of an archaic formant *t).

Comm.: 1. It seems that the two word families quoted from FUV are variants by split. If that is allowed, they are taken together (else only Fi osaa, etc. come into the picture).--P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'know; be able (to)', hence 'teach, etc.'. 2. Phon.: initial J ǃ, OJ w- vs FU ǃ, Md, Zr v-, Vg, Os ǃ /1st syll. J, OJ o vs FU *o, Md a, Zr e, Vg u, Os ǃ /medial J sh, s, OJ ǃ (= ts) vs FU *ǃ or *ǃ, Md, Zr ž, Vg s, Os ǃ. 3. OJ p(u) is usually of frequ. function. 4. The opposition quoted from Ganschow prompts one to think that here, too, we are dealing with a CV shaped root. 5. Cf. TESZ: Hu ész 'reason, intellectual ability, mind, sense' ~ OTu Uig, Chag, Kum, Kirg as, etc. id. 6. Cf. NyK 81, 373: SamSk učitelā 'teacher'.

367. J osoreru, OJ osoru (k.n.) 'to fear, dread, be afraid/apprehensive', Ōno: osoru (k.n., later sh.n.), J osore. Ōno: osore, formerly osori 'fear, anxiety', J osoroshi-i, Ōno: osoro-si~odoro-si

Table	367		
J	o.sor.e.ru	J	o.dor.o.ku
"	o.sor.e	"	o.dor.o.ki
OJ, Ō.	ǃ.sǃr.u	ǃ.	ǃ.dǃr.ǃ.ku
"	ǃ.sǃr.i	"	ǃ.dǃr.ǃ.ki
J	o.sor.o.shi-i	J	o.dos.u
ǃ.	o.sor.o-si	"	o.dok.a.su
"	o.dor.o-si	"	o.dok.a.shi
J	o.jir.u	ǃ.	o.dos.u
OJ	o.ǃu	Hu	szǃr. .nyǃ
"	o.dor.o	OHu	szǃr. .nyǃ
"	o.sor.o		

J odosu~odokasu, Ōno: odosu (y.) 'in-

timidate, threaten, frighten, scare, terrify, menace', J odokashi '(a) threat'.

TESZ (ex.): Hu szǃrnyǃ~OHu and dial. szǃrnyǃ 'frightening, terrible, dreadful,

Table 357

J, OJ	o.ku	FUV 43, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi <u>kato</u> 'disappearance, loss, lack, ruin, crop-failure', <u>katoa-</u> 'disappear, get lost' /Ip <u>guo^{de}-</u> ~ <u>guo^{de}-</u> 'leave, desert, abandon, leave behind' /Md <u>kado-</u> /Ch <u>kode-</u> id., <u>koda-</u> 'remain, be left over' /Vty <u>kyl-</u> 'lay off, remove (e.g., one's garment); remain' /Zr <u>kol-</u> 'remain, be left over; abandon' /Vg <u>kuul-</u> 'leave, abandon' /Os <u>kaj-, kyj-, haj-</u> 'leave, leave behind' /Hu <u>hagy-</u> 'leave, abandon; let' /Yr <u>haaje-</u> 'abandon', <u>haajoe-</u> 'remain behind' /Tv <u>kojo-</u> 'remain behind'.--U <u>*ka^{da}-</u> .--Cf. Yuk <u>kudie-</u> 'leave, let'.
Vg	kū.l'	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'leave; remain'. 2. Phon.: taking o- of <u>oku</u> to be prothetic--- initial J, OJ <u>k-</u> vs U <u>*k-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>u</u> (note: being automatically attached, this vowel is of little weight, but cf. <u>a</u> of the caus. <u>okasu</u>) vs U <u>*a</u> . 3. As derived (and "conjugated") forms come from <u>o.ku</u> on the J side, so, I suggest, U <u>*ka^{da}-</u> is a derived form, its root being <u>*ka-</u> . Cf. Ramstedt 1952/57 (II), 163: Tu <u>go-d-</u> = <u>go-</u> 'abandon'; cf. Németh 1928, 74: Tu Karaim, Osm, Chag <u>ko-</u> 'to place, put down, leave, abandon'; cf. Benzing 1956, 32: Tg <u>*xōdī</u> 'cease; leave (not to go on)', Ma <u>wāi-</u> , Go <u>hozi-</u> , Olča <u>xodu-</u> , etc.; cf. further Ganschow 1965, 31: Os <u>kit-, yet-, yig-, yās-</u> 'remain, be left over' vs <u>kaj-, kij-, vaj-</u> 'leave behind, leave over, abandon'.--Ganschow suspects in the element <u>-t/-s</u> a frequ. formant <u>*t</u> , characteristic of Os; whatever the exact function of <u>*t</u> is, the two sets of Os words form an opposition and reveal a CV shaped root (<u>ki-</u> , etc.).
Os	kā.j-	
"	ky.j-	
"	hā.j-	
Hu	ha.g-	
Yr	hā.je-	
Tv	ko.jo-	
U	*ka. ^{da} -	
Yuk	ku.di e-	
Os	ki.t'	
"	re.t'	
"	yi.s-	
"	ya.s-	

358. J ono, OJ won^o, Ōno: won^o 'axe, hatchet, hand axe'.

Table 358

J	on.o	Futaky 1975, 50: Os Vach, Vasjuga <u>wenāw</u> 'hook, boat-hook, hook with a handle, hook with which fish are lifted out of the water' (ref. to Karjalainen - Toivonen 227).
OJ, Ō	wōn.ō	
Os	wen.āw	Mu. - Szi.: Vg <u>vāntēp</u> ~ <u>voantēp</u> 'a hook', <u>vontē</u> 'to notch', <u>vont-</u>
Vg	vān. tēp	<u>laxtē</u> 'to build, do carpentering'.
"	von. tē	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a chopping tool (with a handle)'. 2. Phon.: initial J <u>o</u> , OJ <u>w-</u> vs Os <u>w-</u> , Vg <u>v-</u> /1st syll. J <u>o</u> , OJ <u>o</u> , <u>ō</u> vs Os <u>a</u> , Vg <u>o</u> , etc. /medial J, OJ <u>n</u> vs Os, Vg <u>n</u> /final J <u>-o</u> , OJ <u>-ō</u> vs Os <u>-ā</u> , Vg <u>-ō</u> . 3. Os <u>-w</u> , Vg <u>-tēp</u> , <u>-laxtē</u> are endings additional to a disyllabic stem.

359. J ono ~ onore (-re is a suffix), OJ on^o, Ōno: ōn^o ~ ana 'self, one-/my-self'.

Table 359

J	on.o(re)	SW 18: <u>*ān³-</u> (refl. pron.) 'self, oneself'; cf. Tv <u>nōne-</u> (<u>n-</u> is secondary), Sk <u>onā-</u> id.
OJ	ōn.ō	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>én</u> ~ OHu <u>en</u> , <u>an-</u> , dial. <u>in-</u> 'I; myself'.--This word is of debated origin. /Various propositions./
"	an.a	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'self; myself'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J <u>o-</u> , OJ <u>ō-</u> , <u>a-</u> vs PSam <u>*ā-</u> , ? Hu <u>é-</u> , <u>e-</u> , <u>a-</u> , <u>i-</u> /medial J, OJ <u>n</u> vs PSam, ? Hu <u>n</u> / final J <u>-o</u> , OJ <u>-ō</u> , <u>-a</u> vs PSam <u>*-ō</u> .
PSam	*ān.ā-	
? Hu	én	
? OHu	en	
"	an-	

360. OJ opu (k.n.) 'spring up (of seed, bud), germinate, come out (of seed)',

Table 360

J	op.u	<u>oposu</u> (y.) 'cultivate, grow'. Omodaka: the attr. form of <u>opu</u> was <u>opuru</u> , the Azuma dial. variant of this was <u>oparu</u> . Ōno: Azuma <u>oparu</u> had a variant <u>operu</u> .
OJ	op.osu	
"	op.uru	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>vehem</u> 'the young of animals' (of she-ass, doe, hind);
"	op.aru	'embryo of mammals', <u>vemhes</u> (adj., short for <u>v. allat</u> , where <u>ā</u>
"	op.eru	'animal') 'a mammal that is either developing an embryo or has
Hu	veh.em	recently given birth to an offspring' /note the metathesis/.--Origin unknown.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'new life starts (in plants or animals)'. 2. Phon.: o initial on the J side vs v- in Hu /1st syll. OJ o vs Hu e (open) /medial OJ p vs Hu h. 3. The element -m of vehem is a deverbal nom. formant (s. Bartha 1958, 73).

361. J orabu, OJ orabu, Ōno: ōrabu (y.) 'howl, yell, cry, shout'.

Table 361

J	or.a.abu	Hu	or. .dit-	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>ordit-</u> 'to cry, howl, shout,
OJ, Ō	ōr.a.abu	Os	or.ə.γ-	roar, bellow'.--Onom. word.

Ganschow 1965, 34: Os orey-, ārey-, ōrij-, ōri- 'to cry, howl, shout; snarl, growl (as a dog or bear does)'.

Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J o-, OJ ō- vs Hu o-, Os o-, ō-, ā- /medial J, OJ r vs Hu, Os r. 3. Cf. Ramstedt 1952/57: Mo orla- 'to growl'.

Table	362	J <u>oriru</u> , OJ <u>oru</u> (k.n.)	'come/go down, get down, descend, land (from a higher place)'
J	or.i.ru	Ōno: <u>ōrōsu</u> (y.)	'let down, lower, take down'.
"	or.i	FUV 24, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>al</u>	'under-, sub-; <u>al~alj</u> 'bottom part; litter, bed', <u>alā</u> (-ā is a suffix) 'downward, down, off, below; under', <u>alacsony</u> 'low, inferior', <u>aláz-</u> 'abase, humiliate; subjugate, subject (to)' ~ Vg <u>jel-</u> 'under-', <u>jelik</u> 'the one who/which is below', <u>ialt</u> 'below, underneath', <u>jolen</u> id. /Os <u>il</u> , <u>il</u> , <u>il</u> 'lower, sub-; lower part', <u>ilən</u> 'underneath, below, lower down (along the river)' /Zr <u>ul-</u> 'sub-, lower', <u>-ul</u> 'space under something', <u>ulin</u> '(being) under, below' /Vty <u>ul</u> 'underpart, lower space; that which is beneath', <u>ullañ</u> '(going) underneath' /Ch <u>ül-</u> , <u>ülä</u> 'that which is beneath, sub-; <u>ülne</u> 'underneath, (being) under' /Md <u>alo</u> 'underneath, under' /Fi <u>ala</u> 'area, territory, space', <u>ala-</u> , <u>ali-</u> 'sub-, lower', <u>alta</u> 'from beneath (an object)', <u>alas</u> , <u>ales</u> 'down(ward)', Est <u>ala</u> 'a room that is under another one; sub-, of lower rank; base; origin, descent, source' /Lp <u>-vuolle</u> 'that which lies beneath', <u>vuollä-</u> 'lower, under-, sub-', <u>vuollä</u> 'under; from beneath' /Yr <u>qil</u> 'floor, ground, base', <u>qil</u> , <u>il</u> , <u>nir</u> 'down(ward)' /Yn <u>ifo</u> , <u>iro</u> 'ground', <u>iforo</u> 'from below' /Tv <u>qileä</u> 'that which is below', <u>nileada</u> 'from below' /Sk <u>yl</u> 'ground, base' /Km <u>ilde</u> 'downwards'.--The phonetic shape of the Vg forms is not regular; <u>il-</u> , <u>ä-</u> are inetymological.-- U <u>*ala</u> . Cf. Yuk <u>-aal</u> '(being) under', <u>aat</u> 'from the underside of an object', etc.--Cf. also: Németh 1928, 81-82; Joki, Vir. 1955, 282 (A links).
Os	il		
"	ilä		
Fi	al.a		
Est	al.a		
Zr	ul		
Vty	ul		
Ch	ül-		
"	ülä-		
Md	al		
Lp	vuollä-		
Yr	il		
"	qil		
"	qirä		
Yn	ir.o		
Tv	qil.e. a-		
Sk	yl		
Km	il. de		
U	*al.a		
Yuk	-äl		

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'base; down'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J o-, OJ ō- vs U *a- (we note: Lp y-, Sam q- are secondary; OJ ō frequently alternated with a) /medial J, OJ r vs U *l /final of the primary stem, J i, o, u (-u is automatic), OJ ō vs U *-a.

Table	363	J, OJ <u>oru</u> (y.)	'to weave'.
J, OJ	or.u	Vty	vur(y)-
Hu	vam-	Zr	vur-
OHu	vor-		
Ch	ör. .ge-	FU	*Bor.a(-)
"	ur. .ge-	or	*Bor. .ka(-)
"	Bör. .yem		

FUV 136, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu varr- ~ OHu vor-, dial. vör-, vär- 'sew; embroider' /Ch örge-, urge- /Vty vur(y)- /Zr vur- id.-- FU *Bora(-) or *Borka(-).--In the Ch verb forms, initial ä- has disappeared, but in the deverbal nominals it has been preserved, e.g., Börtyem 'cloth; attire, garb'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'produce woven material; sew clothes'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ ö vs FU *ä- /1st syll. J, OJ o vs FU *o /medial J, OJ r vs FU *r. 3. The element FU *-ka is, no doubt, additional to a formerly disyllabic stem.

Table	364	J <u>osa</u> , OJ <u>wosa</u>	'the head, the chief', J <u>osameru</u> , OJ <u>wosamu</u> (sh.n.)	'to rule, govern, pacify; gather, rally'.
J	os.a	Lp	äz.e-	FUV 37, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>ös</u> ~ OHu <u>is</u> , <u>es</u> , dial. <u>ös</u> , <u>ösi</u> , <u>üs</u> 'distant progenitor; ancestral; very old' ~ Fi <u>isä</u> 'father', ? <u>iso</u> 'large, extensive', Est <u>isa</u> 'father' /Lp <u>äz.e</u> ~ <u>äze</u> /Ch <u>ezä</u> , <u>izä</u> 'elder brother; paternal uncle (younger than the father of the person concerned)' /Md <u>otäe</u> 'brother of my father', <u>otäu</u> 'great, large' /Vg <u>äs</u> 'maternal grandfather' /Yr <u>nise</u> 'father' /Tv <u>jase</u> ~ <u>jaje</u> /Yn <u>ese</u> /Sk <u>esy</u> , <u>es</u> , <u>ässe</u> .--In Hu <u>ös</u> , the vowel was originally short.--Inasmuch as Md <u>otäu</u> and Fi <u>iso</u> belong here, the meaning of the words in question (in the FU era)
"	os.a.meru	Ch	ež.ä	
OJ	wos.a	"	iz.ä	
"	wos.a.mu	? MdM	otäe	
Hu	ös	"	otäu	
"	ös	Vg	äs	
"	is	Yr	nise	
"	ös.i	Tv	jase	
Fi	is.ä	Yn	ese	
? Fi	is.o	Sk	esy	
Est	is.a	"	es	
Lp	äz.ä	U	*ic.ä	

was probably 'large, big'.-- U *idā.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'large, big', hence 'old(er)', hence 'older person; leader; father; progenitor'. 2. Phon.: initial J ǃ, OJ w- vs FU ǃ /1st syll. J, OJ o vs FU *i /medial J s, OJ ǃ (= ts) vs FU *ǃ /final of the (primary) stem, J, OJ a vs FU *ǃ. 3. Cf. Menges 1975, 56-7: Tu *bos- 'to rule, direct'.

365. J oshi~oshidori, OJ wosi~wosidori (-dori < tori 'bird') 'mandarin duck'.

Table	365		
J	osh.i	FUV 135, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>vöcsök</u> ~dial. <u>vicsék</u> , <u>vecsek</u> 'crested grebe, Podiceps cristatus' [<u>-k</u> is a dim. formant]/Est <u>vais</u> , <u>váis</u>	
OJ	wos.i	ed	
Hu	vöcs.ö.k	'golden-eye, water-hen, Oidemia fusca' /? LpK <u>važ-londe</u> 'a kind of sea-bird' (1. 'bird')/? Ch <u>wod</u> : <u>šar-wod</u> 'Anas acuta (?)' (<u>šar</u>	
Est	vais	'horsehair' ?) /Vty <u>vočy</u> 'wild duck' /Zr <u>vōž</u> 'whistle-duck, Anas	
"	váis	penelope'/Vg <u>waas</u> , <u>šāz</u> 'duck' /Os <u>wāseh</u> , <u>uās</u> , <u>uās</u> id.-- FU * <u>wajce</u> .	
? Lp	važ-		
? Ch	wod	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'duck; duck-like water-bird'. 2. Phon.: initial J <u>ǃ</u> , OJ <u>w-</u> vs FU * <u>w-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>o</u> vs FU * <u>a</u> /medial	
Vty	voč.y	J <u>sh</u> , OJ <u>ǃ</u> (= <u>ts</u>) vs FU * <u>ǃ</u> (note: according to the pattern of syl-	
Zr	vōž	lable sequence followed so far, FU * <u>ǃ</u> must be questioned; * <u>i</u> is	
Vg	vās	taken here as secondary, a mere on-glide) /final J, OJ <u>-i</u> vs FU	
Os	wās.ə.h	* <u>ǃ</u> . 3. Cf. SW 119: PSam * <u>pejānkā</u> (* <u>ā</u> = <u>ā</u> , <u>ā</u>) 'whistling duck';	
"	uās	cf. Sk <u>pōdš-yc</u> . 4. Cf. Benzing 1956, 151: Tg Go <u>wace-ka</u> 'crane'.	
FU	* <u>wajce</u>		

366. J oshieru, OJ wosipu (sh.n.) 'teach, show, inform, explain; educate', J osowaru 'learn, be instructed, etc.'.

Table	366		
J	osh.i .eru Md	važ.o.v	
"	os.o.w.aru Zr	vež.e.r	
OJ	wos.i.p.u Vg	ūs	
Fi	os.a- Os	- oš - -	
"	os.u- Os	- wu- - -	
Os	oš-	"	u-
"	ož.a.n-	"	wo-
FU	* <u>oñda-</u>		
- or *	<u>oč.a-</u>		

FUV 119: Fi osaa-, inf. osa-ta 'be able to know, know; find one's way (somewhere)', osu- 'hit the mark; strike; find one's way'/Os oš- 'find; know', ošan- 'arrive somewhere (by chance)', ožandi- 'meet'.-- FU *oñda- or *oča-.

FUV 136: Md važov 'wise, sensible' (der.)/Zr vežer 'reason, understanding'/Vg uus 'intellectual ability, understanding, memory'/OsN oš 'ability, understanding, (good) memory'. (The whole etymology is uncertain.)

Ganschow 1965, 31: Os Obdorsk oš- 'know, have knowledge/experience of' : Os Vach wu-, Vasjagan u-, Tremjagan wu-, DN wo-, Kazym wq- id. (Ganschow suggests that -ǃ of oš- is the reflex of an archaic formant *t).

Comm.: 1. It seems that the two word families quoted from FUV are variants by split. If that is allowed, they are taken together (else only Fi osaa, etc. come into the picture).--P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'know; be able (to)', hence 'teach, etc.'. 2. Phon.: initial J ǃ, OJ w- vs FU ǃ, Md, Zr v-, Vg, Os ǃ /1st syll. J, OJ o vs FU *o, Md a, Zr e, Vg u, Os ǃ /medial J sh, s, OJ ǃ (= ts) vs FU *ǃ or *ǃ, Md, Zr ž, Vg s, Os ǃ. 3. OJ p(u) is usually of frequ. function. 4. The opposition quoted from Ganschow prompts one to think that here, too, we are dealing with a CV shaped root. 5. Cf. TESZ: Hu ész 'reason, intellectual ability, mind, sense' ~

Table	367		
J	o.sor.e.ru	J	o.dor.o.ku
"	o.sor.e	"	o.dor.o.ki
OJ, ǃ.	ǃ.sǃr.u	ǃ.	ǃ.dǃr.ǃ.ku
"	ǃ.sǃr.i	"	ǃ.dǃr.ǃ.ki
J	o.sor.o.shi-i	J	o.dos.u
ǃ.	o.sor.o-si	"	o.dok.a.su
"	o.dor.o-si	"	o.dok.a.shi
J	o.jir.u	ǃ.	o.dos.u
OJ	o.ǃu	Hu	szür. .nyű
"	o.dor.o	OHu	szér. .nyű
"	o.sor.o		

J odosu~odokasu, Ōno: odosu (y.) 'intimidate, threaten, frighten, scare, terrify, menace', J odokashi '(a) threat'.

TESZ (ex.): Hu szörnyű~OHu and dial. szernyű 'frightening, terrible, dreadful,

ghastly, strict, ster, grim, forbidding, grave', szörnűl- 'become terrified, feel dread, be awed; become repulsive/disfigured'.--Origin unknown.--As an adj., szörnű parallels lassú 'slow', hosszú 'long'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'fear, threat; threaten'. 2. As in the case of J deru (s. this entry) <OJ idu the presumable root is d + vowel, so in the above word family on the J side the root seems to be s- (OJ /ts/) /d- + vowel; the immediately attached expansion elements are: r, s, k.--On the Hu side, the (incomplete) stem is ször-/szer-; this shall be compared to J, OJ stems containing r as first expansion element.--Taking o-/ô- as prothetic--- initial J, s-, d-, j- /ts/, OJ s- (= ts), d- vs Hu sz- /1st syll. J o, i, OJ o, ô (-u as an automatically attached final vowel has little importance) vs Hu ö, e (? é) /medial J, OJ r vs Hu r.

368. J, OJ osu (y.) 'push, press, squeeze; compel, urge; control, restrain'.

Table	368			
J, OJ	os.u	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>unszol</u> - ~OHu <u>onszol</u> -, <u>dszol</u> -, (17th cent.) <u>uszonl</u> -, <u>unszor</u> -, dial. <u>uszol</u> -, <u>uszu</u> -, <u>uncól</u> -, <u>oncól</u> -, <u>oszu</u> - 'entreat, persuade, plead (with); urge, press, compel; proffer; chase, pursue (after)'.--This is a derived word. Its base may be identical with that of <u>uszít</u> - 'incite, instigate' /s. entry OJ <u>uti</u> -/.		
Hu	unsz.ol-			
"	onsz.ol-			
"	úsz.ol-			
"	usz.ol-			
"	osz.u-			
"	usz.u-	Comm.: 1. For semantic reasons and because both, <u>unszol</u> - and <u>uszít</u> - are said to have originated in interjections, I disagree with TESZ. 2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to urge, compel (with force or with		
"				

Comm.: 1. For semantic reasons and because both, unszol- and uszít- are said to have originated in interjections, I disagree with TESZ. 2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to urge, compel (with force or with words)'. 3. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ o- vs Hu u-, o- /medial J a, OJ e (= ts) vs Hu sz (where n is a glide), (n), c, sz /cf. the stem-final -u on the J side to o, u on the Hu side.

369. J oto- : oto-go 'last child', Ōno: ôtô-go id., Omodaka: otô-kô 'youngest

Table	369		
J	ot.o-(go)	Hu	öcs scendant); J <u>ito</u> - : <u>itokena-i</u> , OJ <u>ito</u> - : <u>itokena-si</u>
OJ, Ō.	ôt.ô-	"	écs 'very young, infant'.
J, OJ	it.o-	"	ücs.e FUV 24: Md <u>ača</u> 'child' /Ch <u>äzä</u> , <u>azä</u> 'child, baby'//
Md	ä.a	Vg	És.i /? Yr <u>gaceky</u> , <u>nateky</u> 'young child' (-ky dim. suff.?),
Ch	äz.ä	"	<u>acea</u> id./Yn <u>eti</u> 'young'/Km <u>esi</u> , <u>esi</u> 'child'/. (The Md
"	azä.a	"	<u>Is</u> and Ch words may be loans from Chuvash.)
? Yr	nač.e-(ky)	Os	is TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>öcs</u> ~OHu <u>öcs</u> , dial. <u>ücs</u>
"	nat.e-(ky)	"	is.i 'younger sibling; younger brother or male relation'
"	ac.ea	FU	* <u>ec.3</u> ~Vg <u>Itai</u> 'niece', <u>es</u> , <u>is</u> 'younger sister' /Os <u>is</u> ,
? Yn	et.i	"	<u>isi</u> , <u>isi</u> 'younger brother', <u>idey</u> 'younger sister' /Vty
? Km	es.i	"	<u>uži</u> 'younger sister of my husband'.-- FU * <u>ec.3</u> .
- "	es.i	-	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'young; child; younger/youngest child'.--It seems that the word families on the U side belong together. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st

syll. J o-, i-, OJ o-, ô-, i- vs Md a-, Ch a-, ä-, ? Yr a- (η- is secondary), ? Yn e-, FU *e- /medial J, OJ t vs Md č, Ch ä, zä, ? Yr č, t, c, ? Yn č, ? Km ä, ä, FU *č /final J -o, OJ -ô vs Md -a, Ch -a, -ä, ?Yr a-, ? Yn, Km -i, FU *-a. 3. Cf. Németh 1928, 76: Hu öcs ~Tu Uig iči 'younger brother/sister', OTu iči 'elder brother of the husband'.

370. J öu, OJ opu (y.), opopu (y.) 'to cover, veil, hide; sheathe, lap, over-

Table	370	
J	ö .u	lap; wrap, shroud, mantle; screen, keep off; shade, overshadow', Omodaka: OJ <u>opopu</u> < <u>opu-opu</u> , while J <u>öu</u> < OJ <u>opopu</u> .
OJ	op.u	
Hu	öv-	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>öv</u> - ~OHu <u>ov</u> -, <u>öh</u> -, dial. <u>ój</u> -, <u>oj</u> - 'pro-
"	ov-	tect, cover, shield, guard, take care of, preserve', <u>övakod(ik)</u>
"	ój-	'be cautious, guard against'.-- Origin uncertain.
"	oj-	SKES (ex.): Fi <u>apu</u> 'help, support, remedy' (noun), <u>apu</u> - 'per-
Fi	ap.u(-)	taining to help; auxiliary', <u>avusta</u> - 'to aid, assist, stand
"	av.us ta-	by (somebody)', <u>autta</u> - < * <u>aštu-tta</u> - 'to help, aid', <u>avitta</u> - id.,
"	a .utt a-	Est <u>abi</u> id.
"	av.itt a-	Comm.: 1. Notwithstanding the fact that TESZ and MSZFE do not
Pfi	*aš.utt a-	link Hu <u>öv</u> - with Fi <u>apu</u> , etc., there can be little doubt that
Est	ab.i	these word families belong together.--P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to pro-

tect, guard (from)', hence 'give assistance, provide remedy'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. OJ o- Hu o- (ô- is secondary), Fi, Est a- /medial OJ p vs Hu v, h, j, Fi p, v, ö < *a, Est b /

final OJ -u (automatically attached) vs Hu ǝ, Fi u(-), i, Est i in the same position. 3. Cf. Räsänen 1955, 35: Fi apu, etc. ~ Tu Yak abrā, aby-rē 'to heal, aid, give assistance', Kum abrā 'to protect', Chuv opra 'to protect, shield' < Mo abu-ra 'save, protect, defend' ~? Tg Lam aj 'to help; prepare, make, mend'.

371. J <u>owaru</u>		'come to an end, be over, terminate, finish', <u>oeru</u> '(Vt) finish, end, complete', <u>oiru</u> 'grow old', OJ <u>oyu</u> (k.n.) 'grow/get old', J, OJ <u>oya</u> 'parent', OJ <u>woyu</u> (sh.n.) 'decline in strength, get tired/exhausted', <u>woyasu</u> (y.) 'make weak, cause debility', <u>wopu</u> (sh.n.) (Vt) end, finish, complete, achieve', <u>wopē</u> 'the end, the limit', <u>woparu</u> (y.) 'come to an end, be finished'.
Table	371	
J	ow.a.ru	
"	o .e.ru	
"	o .i.ru	
OJ	oy.u	
J, OJ	oy.a	
OJ	woy.u	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>av(ik)</u> ~ <u>avul-</u> 'get/grow old/obsolete/dilapidated', <u>avas</u> 'rancid, stale, old' (of food), dial. <u>avitt</u> (adj. < past participle) 'old, used, shabby'.--These words are derivatives; their base is identical with the FU antecedent of the Hu adj. <u>agg</u> ~ <u>ǝ</u> 'very old, aged' ~ OHu <u>og</u> id., Hu <u>ag(g)(ik)</u> 'get old/aged' (sh.n.)
"	woy.a.su	~ Ch <u>songǝ</u> 'old', <u>songo</u> , <u>sonyo</u> 'old; old person'.-- FU <u>*songǝ</u> or <u>*songǝ</u> .
"	wop.u	MSZFE: the cognateness of Hu <u>avul-</u> , etc. with Ch <u>songǝ</u> , etc. is not beyond doubt, hence only Hu <u>agg/og</u> can be convincingly compared with the Ch words in question.
"	wop.ǝ	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>ǝporod(ik)</u> '(food, drink) goes bad/stale/sour/old, (air) turns stuffy/musty'.--Origin unknown.
"	wop.a.ru	Comm.: 1. Under the given conditions, there are two possibilities: a) the Ch word family belongs here; in that case, we have to posit, for the J side, the loss of an initial consonant corresponding to PFU <u>*s-</u> (w- of OJ <u>woyu</u> , etc. may be, and likely is, secondary), b) the Ch words are ruled out (this seems to be probable; it is interesting to note that MSZFE does not take up <u>avul-</u> , etc. as a separate article). 2. F.b.m.f.b.s.: 'come to an end; get old'; Hu <u>ǝporod(ik)</u> is taken to be a variant of <u>avul-</u> . 3. Phon.: taking w- of OJ <u>woyu</u> , etc. as prothetic (conversely, <u>*w-</u> is assumed to have been lost in the other forms on the J side and in Hu <u>avul-</u> , etc.)-- Initial and 1st syll. J, OJ <u>o-</u> vs Hu <u>a-</u> , <u>ǝ-</u> (if Comm. 1, a) should be the case, then: J, OJ <u>ǝ</u> vs FU <u>*s-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>o</u> vs FU <u>*ǝ</u> /medial J <u>w</u> , <u>ǝ</u> , <u>y</u> , OJ <u>p</u> , <u>y</u> (where <u>y</u> could be the obsolete OJ passive/medio-passive formant) vs Hu <u>y</u> , <u>p</u> (if Ch <u>songǝ</u> is admitted, a two-way development from <u>*kw/</u> in medial position is assumed; s. <u>*/kw/</u> in the section Phonology).
Hu	av-	
"	av.u.l-	
"	ǝ	
? Hu	ag(g)	
? OHu	og	
? Ch	songǝ	
? FU	*songǝ	
Hu	ǝp.o.rod-	

be probable; it is interesting to note that MSZFE does not take up avul-, etc. as a separate article). 2. F.b.m.f.b.s.: 'come to an end; get old'; Hu ǝporod(ik) is taken to be a variant of avul-. 3. Phon.: taking w- of OJ woyu, etc. as prothetic (conversely, *w- is assumed to have been lost in the other forms on the J side and in Hu avul-, etc.)-- Initial and 1st syll. J, OJ o- vs Hu a-, ǝ- (if Comm. 1, a) should be the case, then: J, OJ ǝ vs FU *s- /1st syll. J, OJ o vs FU *ǝ/medial J w, ǝ, y, OJ p, y (where y could be the obsolete OJ passive/medio-passive formant) vs Hu y, p (if Ch songǝ is admitted, a two-way development from *kw/ in medial position is assumed; s. */kw/ in the section Phonology).

372. OJ <u>pataru</u> (y.) 'to urge (repeatedly), demand (with urgency, under threat, e.g., taxes, forced labor), press somebody/something for something'. Ōno: OJ <u>pataru</u> is related to Kor <u>pat</u> 'collect/demand money'.	
Table	372
OJ	pat.a.ru
Lp	bāǝ.e-
"	boǝ.e-
Ch	pōr.e-
"	pūǝ.e-
Zr	pyč.ǝ.d-
Vg	pos-
"	pas-
Os	pos-
FU	*pūǝ.a-
Fi	pus.e.r. .ta-
Vty	pyǝ.y.r. .t-
Zr	pyǝ.y.r. .t-
Os	pos.ǝ.r-
Hu	facs.a.r-
FU	*puč.ǝ.r. .ta-
- or	*puč.ǝ.r.ǝ-
Ch	pǝ.ǝ.r.ǝm

FUV 90: Lp bačǝ- ~ baǝ-, bočǝ- ~ boǝ- 'press, squeeze, wring out; press out (i.e., remove by pressing); milk (mugger)' /Ch pōnze-, pūǝ- 'to wind, wring a little, squeeze out (e.g., water of the washing)' /Zr pyčǝd-, pyčǝt- 'press (e.g., in a crowd); beat with one's fists' /Vg pos-, pas- 'to wash; milk; blow one's nose' /Os pos- 'to milk; wash'. (= Fi puse-rtā ?)-- FU *pūǝ.a-.

FUV 124, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi puserta- 'press, squeeze' / Vty pyǝyrt-, pyǝyrt- 'squeeze out' /Zr pyǝyrt- 'press, squeeze out' /Os posǝr- 'to press, knead' /Hu facsar- 'wring, wring out (e.g., washing)'.--(FUV:) FU *pučarta-, (TESZ, MSZFE:) FU *pučǝ-rǝ-.--Fi -ta, Vty, Zr -t are formants.--Sauvageot 1930, No. 55 equated Hu facsar- and its cognates with Tu Chuv puǝar-, Uig pas- 'to press'.--In the past, Ch pǝzerem, pǝzer- tam, pǝzǝrem 'to press, squeeze, grab hard, press hard, coerce, force' used to be taken to this word family; because of its different vowel order, the Ch group does not belong here.

Comm.: 1. The adduced word families on the U side are taken as one, Fi puserta-, etc. and the last mentioned Ch words being more expanded, but basically only variant, forms of Lp bāǝ-, etc. The example of the Ch words in question shows how perfectly good etymologies are discarded for the sake

of rigid adherence to the rule: "vowel order is decisive." 2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to press, squeeze', hence 'force; coerce'. 3. Phon.: initial OJ p- vs FU *p- /1st syll. OJ a vs FU *u /medial OJ t vs FU *nč, *č /final of the primary stem, OJ a vs FU *a, *ä in the same position. 4. Cf. the formants OJ p and FU *p, in the same position. 5. Cf. OJ pesu (y.) 'press against/together, compel, constrain'.

373. OJ <u>putu</u> - : <u>putu-ni</u> ~ <u>putu-ku-ni</u> 'completely, quite, all (adv.)', <u>puta-ma-ni</u> id.	
Table 373	
OJ put-u	Tv bāns.a
" put-a	Km būšš.a
Hu ősz.e	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu őssze ~OHu uszve, eszve, dial. ősszō, esze, őszeve, eszi, ősszi, őszhō, ősszū, ősszē
" usz.e	U *weč.3
" ősz.e	or *weč.3
" esz.e	
" esz.i	
? Zr vatš	toward one another/each other? Zr vatš 'quite, completely, wholly', vatš 'completely, entirely' /?
" vatš	Vty voč 'whole, all, entire, complete; all the time, continuously', viš-ak, vič-ak, voč-ak 'all, whole, complete', viš, vočsak 'whole, every, all' /MdE
? Vty voč	veše, véši, vāšij 'whole, all' /Tv bānsa 'all' /Km
" viš(a.k)	būša 'whole, intact'.--Medially, U * <u>h</u> č~* <u>č</u> alternation may be posited. In Tv, we see the continuants of
" viš	* <u>h</u> č, elsewhere those of * <u>č</u> .--The correspondence Zr <u>a</u>
" voč(a.k)	: Vty <u>o</u> is rare, therefore the belonging here of the
MdE veše	Zr and Vty words cannot be decided.-- U * <u>weč</u> 3 or
" véš.i	* <u>weč</u> 3 'whole, all'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'all, together; entirely'.

Phon.: initial OJ p- vs U *w- /1st syll. OJ u vs U *e /medial OJ t vs U *hč or *č.

374. J <u>sabaku</u> 'decide, judge, solve (a problem), settle (a matter); sell goods, űno: <u>sabaku</u> (y.) 'take to pieces, tear, rend, rip, cut, split (to pieces)', J <u>sabakeru</u> , űno: (sh.n.) 'be ripped to pieces, come/fall to bits; become used to the world'. ? OJ <u>sap</u> i, űno: <u>sabi</u> '(a kind of) sword; a (short) spade'.	
Table 374	
J sab.a.ku	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>sab</u> - 'decide, determine, order, decree; fit, adjust (oneself/something to certain given things/rules); cut
" sab.a.keru	to a pattern or size (and so make, esp. clothing), fit together, put in order'.--Origin unknown.
ű. sab.a.ku	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'cut, split, divide', hence 'decide, judge'.
" sab.i	2. Phon.: initial J <u>s</u> -, OJ <u>s</u> - (= <u>ts</u>) vs Hu <u>sz</u> - /1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u>
OJ sap.i	vs Hu <u>a</u> /medial J, OJ <u>b</u> vs Hu <u>b</u> / cf. final of the primary stem, J, OJ <u>a</u> with stem-final <u>a</u> of Hu <u>szab.a.t</u> - 'cause to cut, etc.'. 3. There is a chance that OJ <u>sap</u> i >
Hu szab-	<u>sabi</u> 'sword' has to do with Hu <u>szablya</u> (derivative ?) 'sabre'. TESZ: "It seems

that this weapon became known /in Europe/ through the Mongols in the 12th and 13th centuries; its etymology is not clear." The Hu archeologist Gyula László (Ny.tud. Ért 89, 1976, 189-93) shows that the typical single-edged, swung szablya of the Hu light cavalry has been found in graves in the Carpathian Basin in quantity, and the finds cover a span of time which reaches back to Late Avar times, approx. 670-800 A.D. (English sabre, French sabre, German Säbel, etc. are loanwords.)

375. J <u>saberu</u> 'to talk, chat, chatter', <u>saezuru</u> , űno: <u>sapeduru</u> (y.) < <u>sapi</u> - <u>duru</u> (y.) 'to chirp, twitter, sing' (as birds do; - <u>duru</u> < ? <u>iduru</u> < <u>idu</u> 'come out; be produced').	
Table 375	
J sab.e.ru	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>só</u> (pl <u>szavak</u>) 'sound, voice; call, cry; talk(ing); utterance; request; admonition; promise;
" sa.e-zuru	word, given word; chat, talk, discussion, dispute, rumour',
ű. sap.e-duru	<u>só</u> l- 'to speak, talk; sound, ring, resound; slander, insult, abuse' ~ Vg <u>saw</u> 'noisy, riotous', <u>saw</u> 'word, voice, sound',
" sap.i-duru	<u>kaj-saw</u> 'an appeal, a prayer, a hymn (to the gods)' (<u>kaj</u> - 'to cry, scream', <u>sou</u> 'melody' /Os <u>su</u> , <u>sou</u> 'singing voice; lamentation', <u>saw</u> 'melody'.-- Ugric * <u>saš</u> 3.--This word was borrowed
Hu szav-	(into the Ugric p-language) in the Ugric era. Cf. Tu Türk <u>sab</u> 'word; talk', Uig <u>sab</u> 'word', <u>sav</u> 'talk, message,
Vg -saw	word', Osm <u>sava</u> 'news, report'.
" sa.u.ű	
Os sű	
" spu	
Ugric *saš.3	

Comm.: 1. It is not certain at all that we have to do

with borrowing. 2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'voice, sound'. 3. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs Ugric *s- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Ugric *a /medial J b, q, OJ p vs Ugric *β.

376. J sabi, OJ sab¹ 'tarnish; rust', J sabiru, sabireru, OJ sabu (k.n.) 'be old; to hoar; lose one's vigour and (healthy) colour; to mature, decline; become desolate', J sabishi-i, OJ sabi-si 'lonesome, cheerless'.

Table	376			
J	sab.i	Hu	sáp.u.l-	
OJ	sab.i ¹	Ch	šəpə	
J	sab.i.ru	"	šəp. .ka	
"	sab.i.reru	"	šəp.a.l.yem	FUV 126, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>sápad-</u> 'turn pale/pallid/faint/light (of colour), fade (of color), <u>mégšápal-</u> id. (<u>még-</u> is a verbal prefix indicating completion of action), dial. <u>sáppudott</u> = <u>sápadt</u> (past participle) 'pale, pallid' ~ Ch <u>šəpə</u> 'colourless, deathly pale, ashy pale; faded, figuratively: 'dead', <u>šəpka</u>
OJ	sab.u	"	šəp.ə	
J	sab.i.shi-i			
OJ	sab.i-si			
Hu	sáp.a.d-	FU	*šəpp.3-	

id., šəpal.yem 'turn pale, etc.', səpka 'pallid, pale'(of face), šəpə 'shameless, brazen', šəpal.ye 'pale'-- FU *šəppa-.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'fade, decline in vigour', hence 'pale, colourless, old-looking'. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs FU *š /1st syll. J, OJ a vs FU *a /medial J, OJ b vs FU *pp /cf. OJ final -u and Hu stem-final u in sáppudott, sápal-.

377. J saeru, OJ sayu (sh.n.) 'be cold, frosty', hence 'clear, serene' (of weather), J sayaka, OJ sayaka ~ sayaké-si 'bright, pure, clear (of weather), cheerful'.

Table	377			
J	sa.e.ru			
OJ	say.u	Rédei 1970, 146: Vg <u>sajik</u> 'frosty, cool', <u>sajik</u> 'cold; sober', <u>sajek</u> 'sober' < Zr <u>sajik</u> 'coolness' (of weather), chill'; cf.		
J, OJ	say.a-ka			
OJ	say.a-ke-si	<u>sajikid</u> , <u>sajikit</u> 'freshness, coldness, chill'.		
Vg	saj.i.k	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'cold(ness) of the air' (the semantic link between 'cold weather' and 'brightness of the sky' rests on the observation of nature). 2. Phon.: initial J <u>s</u> -, OJ <u>s</u> - (= ts) vs Vg, Zr <u>s</u> - /1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs Vg, Zr <u>a</u> /medial J, OJ <u>y</u> vs Vg, Zr <u>j</u> . 3. Cf. the adj. suffix - <u>ka</u> /- <u>ke</u> on the J side with - <u>k</u> in Vg, Zr. 4. Cf. Pröhle No. 50.		
"	saj.i.k			
Zr	saj. .k			

378. J, OJ saga 'one's inherited nature; sex, gender'.

Table	378				
J, OJ	sag.a	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>szag</u> 'smell, odour, scent', <u>szagol-</u> '(Vt) to smell; scent', <u>szagl(ik)</u> '(Vi) give off smell/scent; reek', <u>szagos</u> 'odorous, scented, smelling' ? ~ Sk <u>haakuap</u> , <u>aakuap</u> , <u>sangam</u> 'I tasted'--This equation is uncertain because only one, far-away, cognate language has a word suitable for comparison with <u>szag</u> --Collinder (U.U. 1/4: 158) equated <u>szag</u> with Yuk <u>an-</u> '(Vi) to taste, smell'.			
Hu	szag				
"	szag.ol-				
"	szag.os				
Sk	hák.u ap				
"	ák.u ap				
"	sangam				
? Yuk	an-	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'smell; taste' (which usually go			

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'smell; taste' (which usually go together and, in the animal world, are characteristic of sex and kind). 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs Hu sz-, Sk h-, s-, q, ? Yuk q /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu, Sk, ? Yuk a /medial J, OJ g vs Hu g, Sk k, ng, ? Yuk q.

379.	J, OJ	<u>sagaru</u> (y.)	'(Vi) hang down, dangle, pend; fall; droop; come/go down', <u>sageru</u> , Ono: <u>sagu</u> (sh.n.) 'hang (e.g., the head), dangle, suspend; let go'.
Table	379		
J, OJ	sag.a.ru		
J	sag.e.ru	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>szak</u> ~OHu <u>szaka</u>	'uvula; double chin; dewlap; chaps; barb (of a spear/harpoon/fishhook)'--This word family may be of OTu origin, cf. Tu <u>saga-</u> '(Vi) dangle, pend, hang down'.
Ū	sag.u		
Hu	szak		
OHu	szak.a		However, for morphological reasons, OHu <u>szaka</u> cannot be derived from Tu <u>saga-</u> or its cognates.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'hang down'. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs Hu sz- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu a /medial J, OJ g vs Hu k /final of the primary stem, J, OJ a (e in that position is the mark of sh.n. conj.; -u is automatically attached) vs Hu -a. 3. Cf. entry saku.

380. J, OJ saka 'hill, slope, incline', cf. yama-saka 'mountain slope'. ? J

misasagi, OJ misasaki 'imperial tomb' (no etymology is given; ? mi-, mi- 'honourable' + sa- emphasizing proclitic + saki, a variant form of saka 'hill').

Table 380

J, OJ	sak.a	? Vg	šank	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>ság</u> ~ OHu <u>sagu</u> , <u>sagi</u> , <u>sak</u>
? J	-sag.i	"	šax	/written; depending on the dial., <u>s</u> could have
? OJ	-sak.i	"	šak.ə.r	had value <u>sz</u> , too/ 'hill, small rise in the
Hu	ság	Os	šonk	ground', ? 'forest' ? ~ Vg <u>tšayal</u> 'a heap, a
"	ság.i	"	šong.a.m	stack' (e.g., of hay), <u>ur-sayyal</u> 'hill, high
"	ság.u	Ch	šung.ä	ground' (<u>ur</u> 'mountain; ridge'), <u>šayl</u> 'hill,
"	sák	Est	sünk	hillock; heap; bush, copse; cloud; storm' /Ch
Vg	tšay.əl	Lp	šodn.e	<u>tšongä</u> 'ball of the knee, knee-cap', <u>tšonya</u> :
"	šay.əl	"	tšag.oo	<u>kurek-tš</u> . 'top of a mountain, summit' /Mdm <u>šongä</u>
"	šay.əl	"	"	'island'.-- FU *čynka.--Vg -l is a formant. Vg
Ch	tšongä	FU	*čink.ä	<u>šayl</u> belongs here only if medial * <u>ŋ</u> has disap-
Mdm	šongä	- or -	*čink.ä	peared in it; in case of original * <u>k-</u> , <u>šayl</u>
FU	*čynka	PSam	* sok	goes with Zr <u>tšuk</u> 'hillock, hill' /s. entry
Hu	ség	or	* sok.š	<u>tsuka</u> /. It is conceivable that Hu <u>ság</u> is the
"	ség	or	* sok.a	velar vowel order variant of OHu <u>seg</u> , ? <u>ség</u> .
"	seg.u			MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>ség</u> , <u>seg</u> (?), <u>szég</u> (?), OHu <u>segu</u>
"	szég			'hill' ~ Vg <u>šank</u> 'hillock, hill; place; ob-

ject', šay : š.-páy 'elevation in the ground, roughness on the road', šaker 'hill, slope, incline', šakuer, šakuer 'hill, single conical mountain' /Os šonk, šongam 'mountain, hill', šungä 'a knoll, a heap', šonga id./Est sünk 'large grassy knoll' /Lp šodne 'tuber', tšagoo, tšugloo 'a hump'.-- FU *činka or *čünka.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'hill; hillside'. 2. I agree to the proposition that Hu ság and ség are vowel order variants. Thus: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs FU *č- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs FU *y, *i, *ü /medial J, OJ k vs FU *nk /final J, OJ -a, ? -i vs FU *-ä, *-ä. 3. Cf. SW 43: *sok ~ *sokš ~ *sokä 'hill' (Yr soxo 'high, round hill', Sk soq 'promontory'). 4. Cf. entries saki, -saka, tsuka.

381. J, ClJ -saka : tosaka 'cockscorn; crest of a bird', Ōno: saka id. (no explanation offered, apart from the Chinese character for 'cap, headgear' and quotations from literature; however, tosaka is evidently a compound word in which the part to- can be logically taken as the truncated form of tori 'bird').
Table 381
J, ClJ(-)sak.a 'bird').
Hu csák.ó TESZ (ex.): Hu csákó, dial. cákó 'the pointed, hanging flap of a particular head-gear', hence the name of a headgear (csákó; cf. the loanword English shako).

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a pointed flap'. 2. Phon.: initial J s- (presumable OJ s = ts) vs Hu cs-, c- /1st syll. J a vs Hu ä /medial J k vs Hu k. 3. Hu -ó in nouns is usually a dim. formant. 4. Cf. entry saka 'hill'.

382. J sakarau, Ōno: sakarapu (y.), frequ. < OJ sakaru (y.) 'act contrary (to), go against, oppose, obstruct, confront', OJ sakapu (sh.n.) = sakarapu, J saka-sa 'inversion', J saka-sa-na, OJ saka 'inverse, inverted', J saka-noboru, OJ saka-noboru (y.) 'wade/walk against the flow of a river', OJ saka-pagu (y.) 'to flay (an animal) in the wrong direction/wrong way'; Ōno: ama-nó-saka-pokó 'heavenly inverted halberts'.
Table 382
J sak.a.ra u
Ō. sak.a.rapu
OJ sak.a.ru
" sak.a.pu
J, OJ sak.a-
Hu szeg.ü.l-

TESZ (ex.): Hu szegül /open e/ 'oppose, defy, confront'.-- This verb derives from szeg- 'to turn/veer off/away from a given direction' /s. entry sogu in connection with Hu szeg- /.

Comm.: 1. There could be a link between Hu szeg 'to cut, break' and szegül 'oppose, confront', but the explanation sounds very forced. ('to turn from one's direction of proceeding' is explained by the meaning 'to cut; break'). It seems advisable to keep the two semantic areas separately.--P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'go against; oppose'. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs Hu sz- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu a (open) /medial J, OJ k vs Hu g. 3. The complete primary stem on the J side is seen in saka-; both, -p(u) and -r(u) are common verb formants (frequ. ?); -rapu contains both formants in combination.--On the Hu side, -l is a formant (refl. or frequ. ?).

383. J sakau, OJ sakapu (y.) 'make a boundary/division/partition', J sakai, OJ sakai

Table 383	sakap	'boundary, border, limits', OJ <u>kuti-saki-ra</u> 'corner of the
"	sak.a. u	'mouth' (k. 'mouth'; -ra is a suffix), OJ <u>ipa-saki-puti</u> 'a pond the
"	sak.a. i	edge of which is reinforced with rocks' (<u>ipa</u> 'rock', <u>p.</u> 'pond'),
J	sak.a. pu	J, OJ <u>seku</u> (y.) 'to dam, check, stop, prevent, interrupt' (e.g.,
"	sak.a. pi	stop and prevent erosion of a river's bank by building a wooden
"	-sak.i(ra)	or stone embankment; or, to prevent fish from swimming further by
J	seku	placing a weir or several weirs), J <u>seki</u> 'dam, embankment', OJ
J	seki	<u>seki</u> id.; 'barrier; checking station', OJ <u>seki-mori</u> ~ <u>saki-mori</u>
OJ	seki	'border/boundary guard(ing)'.
Hu	szeg-	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>szeg-</u> /open e/ 'to hem, hem in; make a seam/'
"	szeg.é.ly	border/selvage' (in order to prevent some textile from fraying),
		<u>szegély</u> 'border, curb, edge, ledge; selvage; reinforced coastline
		or riverbank', <u>szegélyéz-</u> 'to hem, trim, fringe (textiles); skirt,

flank' (e.g., the bank of a creek or river to prevent erosion).
 Comm.: 1. TESZ and MSZFE explain szeg- as being identical with szeg- 'to cut, break' (s. entry sogu). I submit that the respective semantic fields are too different for the two stems to be handled under one heading.--P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'edge, boundary', hence 'checking work, embankment, dam'. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- = ts vs Hu sz- /1st syll. J, OJ a, e (for the relationship of these vowels, s. section Phonology) vs Hu e (open) /medial J, OJ k vs Hu g. 3. Hu -ly is a deverbal nom. formant; -z is a verb formant. 4. OJ sakapu is a derived form; its antecedent can be posited as *saku; OJ -saki plainly comes from such a form.

384. J saki, OJ saki 'point/front part/pointed end (of an object); head (of a column), spearhead; (figuratively) future; beginning, origin;

Table 384	sak.i	former time; cape, spit, promontory'; examples: OJ <u>woka-saki</u>
"	sak.i	'tip/top of a hill', <u>saki-yama</u> '(?) pointed mountain', <u>mi-saki</u>
Hu	szög.u	'cape, promontory' (<u>mi-</u> 'honourable'), (place-names:) <u>Iwa-saki</u>
"	szig	'rock cape', <u>Yosi-saki</u> 'good cape', <u>Tani-zaki</u> 'valley-pointed-
"	szög	piece-of-land', <u>Kawa-saki</u> 'riverbend-land' (i.e., a peninsula in
"	szog	a riverbend), <u>Naga-saki</u> 'long/prominent cape', etc.
"	szögelet	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>szög</u> , <u>szög</u> ~ OHu <u>szögu</u> , <u>szig</u> 'pointed
"	szög.et	wooden peg, metal nail/spike/brad; angle, corner; tip, projec-
"	sü n	tion; salient angle, flange; tract of land, part of a village;
"	senk	concave corner, nook, recess (e.g., a clearing in a forest);
"	sankw	sharp bend (in a river or a road); island', <u>szöglet-szögillet</u> ~
"	sun	<u>szögelet</u> 'corner, angle, recess, nook', <u>sziget</u> 'island' ~ Vg
Ugric	*senk.a	<u>sün</u> , <u>senk</u> , <u>sun</u> , <u>senka</u> , <u>sankw</u> ('wooden) wedge, peg, dowel'--
Os	sön	Ugric * <u>senk</u> (3), early Ugric * <u>senk</u> (3) 'wedge'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'pointed object, esp. natural formation'.--Hu szög and szöglet occur probably thousands of times in place-names and just locally noted topographical names throughout Historical Hungary. It is worth noting in this connection that parallel to this name-giving in Hungary, saki has been used very frequently in Japan. Seemingly on the pattern of the Kawa-saki, Naga-saki, Iwa-saki, etc., we find in Hungary: Iza-szög, Tó-szög, Kalota-szög, Simon-szög, etc.; the tract of land involved is always elongated, it is frequently a peninsula. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs Ugric *s- < *ś- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Ugric *e /medial J, OJ k vs Ugric *nk. 3. TESZ suggests that Hu zug ~ OHu zug 'nook, recess, far-out corner' goes with Os sön id., and reconstructs Ugric *sun3; it remarks, however that zug might be a velar vowel order variant of szög.

385. J, OJ saku (y.) 'cut, split, rip, tear, crack, cleave, sever', J sakeru, OJ saku (sh.n.) 'cut in two, split, rend,

Table 385	sak.u	Os	-sok	tear, burst; release, get rid of, remove,
"	sak.a.ru	"	sák	exclude', J <u>sakeru</u> , OJ <u>sakeru</u> (y.), <u>saku</u>
"	sak.e.ru	"	sok.ä.yältä	(sh.n.) 'be cast off/(far) away; part
"	sak.a	"	sok.ä.täm	from; be separated from', OJ <u>saka</u> 'a
Hu	szak.a	? Fi	sukku	unit of length, a J foot'.
"	szak	"	suk.u-	
"	szak.a.d-	Ugric	*sakk 3	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>szakad-</u> /-d is a
"	szak.a.szt-	? FU	*sukk 3	formant/'fall from high; (intr.) gush,
				pour; collapse; (woven material, paper)

disintegrates/gets torn to bits; (a community) splits up; become broken/cleft; (a river) branches in two or more directions; (rain, hail, snow) falls copiously; descend/spring/originate (from); become interrupted; (river or creek) flows into (another river or a lake, a sea); become driven/cast far' (from one's usual place); szakadék 'chasm, abyss, crevasse', szakaszt 'tear, rip, rend, cleave, separate, divide', szaggat (< szak-gat-'tear repeatedly', szakít~szakajt=szakaszt-, szakul- 'become crushed/torn; crumble', szak 'district, tract of a country; period of time; piece, fragment', szaka 'a piece (that has broken off)' ~ Os sok : ignt-sok 'melting/disintegrating ice (in spring, when ice over rivers and lakes crumbles; i. 'ice)', sak 'granulated' (e.g., salt), sokajaltá 'become damaged/broken/burst; fall to pieces', sajatta 'break, smash, crush' (e.g., a vessel/boat/glass/lock), savátam 'get broken/ruined' /? Fi sukku 'state of an object after it has been crushed/squashed; debris', lyóda suku-ksi 'break to pieces' (l. 'break', -ksi is transitive suffix).-- Ugric *sakkā, ? FU *sukkā.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'sever, rend, break'. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs Ugric *s-, ? FU *s- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Ugric *a, ? FU *u /medial J, OJ k vs Ugric, ? FU *kk /cf. final of the primary stem, J, OJ a vs Hu a, Os ā. 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 52. 4. Cf. entry sagaru.

Table 386.	J <u>sameru</u> , OJ <u>samu</u> (sh.n.)	'to awake, come to one's senses, sober up; be/become disillusioned', J, OJ <u>samasu</u> (y.) '(a)waken, arouse, bring (a person) to his senses; make sober; disillusion'. Ōno:
J	<u>sam.e.ru</u>	
OJ	<u>sam.u</u>	OJ <u>samu</u> is related to <u>samu-si</u> 'cold, cool, freezing, chilly'.
J, OJ	<u>sam.a.su</u>	
Hu	<u>éb. rül-</u>	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>ébrül</u> ~ <u>ébred</u> ~dial. <u>ibred</u> - '(Vi) awake; come to one's senses; sober up; become live(ly)', <u>ébreszt</u> - '(a)waken,
"	<u>éb. red-</u>	arouse (from sleep); revive, restore to life; raise, spur on,
"	<u>éb. g.r</u>	stimulate', <u>éber</u> 'wakeful, wide-awake, vigilant, alert'.--Origin unknown.

MTSz: ébred~ébred~ébred~ébred = ébred-.

Comm.: 1. The meanings agree.--Ōno's suggestion is worth considering (s. entry samu-i); if the J word families in question belong together, then we have to do with a two-way development, by split, in Hu. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs Hu ǵ /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu ǵ, dial. ǵ, ǵ, ǵ /medial J, OJ m vs Hu b. 3. Note that the formant r on the Hu side parallels r in J sameru. The problem of vulgar forms vs OJ literary ones is a vexing one; one has to assume that on the vulgar level the post-Nara longer forms were in existence long before they had become fixed in writing; another explanation would be predisposition, i.e., similar development flowing from a common ancient pattern.

Table 387.	J <u>samu-i</u> , OJ <u>samu-si</u>	'cold, chilly, icy, freezing; cool, fresh (of the air)', J <u>samugaru</u> 'be sensitive to cold, feel the cold', J
J	<u>sam.u-i</u>	<u>sameru</u> 'get cold; cool (down); abate' (e.g., fever), Ōno: <u>samu</u>
OJ	<u>sam.u-si</u>	(sh.n.) 'get cold/chilly, cool off; sober up/out, be/become
J	<u>sam.u.garu</u>	dampened/disillusioned', J, OJ <u>samu-sa</u> 'coldness'.
"	<u>sam.e.ru</u>	
Ō.	<u>sam.u</u>	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>zimankó</u> ~ <u>zamankó</u> 'sleet; cold stormy weather
Hu	<u>zim.a.nkó</u>	with sleet; ordeal'.--Origin unknown.
"	<u>zam.a.nkó</u>	Joki 1944: Km <u>sāso</u> 'the time of bad roads', <u>sāso sārre</u> 'sleet'
Km	<u>sāso</u>	/s. 'snow'/ (? <u>sāso</u> < Tatar, cf. Kir. <u>sabyr</u> 'the time of mud
"	<u>sāb.o</u>	and rain'), <u>sābo</u> 'sleet, sleety weather'.
"	<u>sav.u</u>	Pröhle No. 53: Km <u>savu</u> 'sleet, sleety weather'/LpS <u>sueve</u> 'snow'.
Lp	<u>suev.e</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'cold, chill; cold/bad weather'.--

Omodaka lists only samu (sh.n.) 'sober up', and gives no indication that this semantic area comprises 'cold; feel the cold; cool off'. The suspicion arises that what Ōno gives under samu (sh.n.) has been put together from two verbs of identical shape, by etymologizing dictionary writers. At any rate, the identity of samu 'cool off' and samu 'sober up' cannot be taken for granted. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs Hu z- (frequently coming from OHu sz-), Km, Lp s- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu i, a (note i~a alternation in 1st syll.; in this case, we see that i had to come from a velar vowel), Km ǵ, ǵ, Lp u /medial J, OJ m vs Hu m, Km ǵ, v, Lp v. 3. The element Hu -nkó is probably a dim. formant with a homorganic n-glide before it. 4. Cf. entry sameru.

388. J, OJ sane~tane 'seed, pit, stone (of fruit); material substance, matter, stuff; cause, origin; breed; offspring, issue; paternal blood'.

Table 388	J, OJ	san.e	FUV 73: Vg <u>saneh</u> 'roe'//Yr <u>siiieak</u> , <u>sideak</u> 'milt, soft roe'
"	"	tan.e	(-j- < -d- < *-n-).-- U * <u>sān</u> or * <u>sāh</u> .
Vg	sān.e.h		Joki 1944, 57a: Km <u>sān</u> , <u>sān</u> 'nut'.
Yr	sij.e. ak (?)		TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>tenyészt</u> (ik) 'bear seed, fructify, be fertile; (plants, animals, /formerly also/ people) thrive, multiply; bring about, produce', <u>tenyészt</u> - '(Vt) breed, raise, cultivate'.--Origin unknown.
"	sid.e. ak (?)		
U	* <u>sān</u> .3		
or	* <u>sāh</u> .3		
Km	sān(ə)		
Hu	teny.é.sz-		Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'seed'. 2. Phon.: initial J <u>s</u> - /t-,

vs U *ā, Km ā, Hu e (open) /medial J, OJ n vs U *n or *h, Km n, Hu ny /final J, OJ -e vs U *-3, Km -ə, Hu é. 3. Vg -h, Yr -k are probably dim. formants.

389. J sao, OJ sawo 'pole, rod, beam; (well)sweep', e.g., OJ kadi-sawo 'pole to propel a boat'.

Table 389	J	sa.o	Vg	šap.ə.l	FUV 126: Fi <u>sauva</u> 'staff' //? Lp <u>šawme</u> ~ <u>šawne</u> -
OJ	saw.o		"	šop. .lā	'each of the more prominent poles in the roof
Fi	saw.a		"	-sōp. .lā	of a lath hut'//Vg <u>suu</u> 'staff'/Os <u>šoh</u> , <u>sow</u> ,
? Lp	šaw. .əne	Fi	-	sap.i.la(s)	<u>saw</u> -- FU * <u>sawna</u> .
"	šaw. .ne				MTSz: Hu dial. <u>zábé</u> ~ <u>kapu-zábé</u> 'gatepost' (usu-
Vg	sū	Ch	šov.e		ally fashioned out of a solid log and often
"	sūw	Md	šov		decorated; k. 'gate').
Os	šoh	Yr	teb		TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>zép</u> ~dial. <u>száp</u> 'rung of
"	sōw	"	tieb		a ladder or the ladder-like sides (= cart-lad-
"	saw				ders) of a long cart; (wooden) spoke of a cart-
FU	* <u>šaw</u> . .na				wheel; (bracing) strut, buttress, upright bear-
Hu	záb.é				er, stay' ?~Vg <u>šapel</u> , <u>šopla</u> 'stake, pole;
"	záp				part of a tree-trunk still standing', <u>šafi-sōpla</u>
"	száp				'doorpost, doorjamb' (<u>šwi</u> 'door').--This equa-

tion may go semantically, but phonologically it is acceptable only if in the Ugric antecedent there was *-pp-, and not *-p-.-Vg -l is a de-

nom. noun formant.

FUV 126: Fi sapilas, sapila 'rod for carrying hay' (there are always two of them, functioning as a kind of barrow)//? Vg šopla, sopel 'pole, rod'. (No reconstructed form given.)

Pröhle No. 54: J sao (as above)~Fi, Os, Vg (approx. as above)/Ch šove 'pole, rod'//Md šov/Yr teb, tieb, etc. id.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'pole; post'. 2. Phon.: initial J p-, OJ s- (= ts) vs FU *g- (? Hu z-, sz-, Vg š-, s-, Fi p-, Ch š-, Md š-, Yr t-, č- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs FU *a (disregarding *u as part of an unlikely diphthong in PFU), Hu á, Vg a, o, Fi a, Ch, Md o, Yr e, ie /medial J š, OJ w vs FU *w, Hu b, p, Vg, Fi p, Ch, Md v, Yr b. 3. The element FU *na is doubtless additional to a formerly disyllabic stem. 4. Cf. Benzing 1956, 66: Tg Ude safu-ligi 'little basket of birch-bark, for the storing of chopsticks' (safu 'chopsticks'). 5. Cf. Ramstedt 1952/58 (II), 213: MoN sabxa 'chopsticks', Ma sapka id., cf. Tu sap 'a handle', Kor sap 'spade'.

390. J, OJ sarasu (y.) '(Vt) bleach, blanch, expose to sun and rain, cause to/let dry; (wash, say, woven material, then) dry in the sun (in order to bleach it)', OJ pi-zarasi 'drying in the sun' or 'things dried in the sun' (pi 'sun'), OJ saru (y.) 'become dried/exposed to the sun, wind, and rain', Ōno: saru (y., sh.n.) id.

Table 390	J, OJ	sar.a.su	FU	* <u>sar</u> .3-	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>száraz</u> (adj.)~OHu,
OJ, Ō.	sar.u				dial. <u>szároz</u> , <u>szárosz</u> , <u>szárasz</u> 'dry, desic-
Hu	szár.a.z	Lp	soar. .ve (?)		cated; wizened; gaunt, (OHu) lone', <u>szárad</u> -
"	szár.a.sz	? Zr	šur.a.1-		'become dry, be exposed to fire or to the
"	szár.a.d-	? Yr	tyr.a-		weather to dry', <u>szárit</u> - (caus.) 'make dry,
"	szar.o.gat-	U	* <u>sor</u> . .wa (?)		expose to fire, etc. to dry', <u>szárcgat</u> -
Vg	sūr-				(frequ.) id. ~Vg <u>sūr</u> - 'become dry', <u>sūrl</u> -
"	sūr. .l-	PSam	* <u>t</u> .r.ā-		
Os	sor. .Da-				
"	sōr. .m	Yr	tjrr.ā		
Zr	sūr-				
Vty	sūr. .mj-				
"	sūr. .mem				

'make dry'/Os sorDa- 'become dry/fried out' (e.g., fish, or a body of water), sárta id., sōrem (adj.) 'dry', sārem 'dry; dense; thick'/Zr šurni '(Vi) dry out', šurmem 'desiccated'/Vty šurmini 'turn dry and hard (Vi)', šurmem 'dried/dry, stale; grown old'--- FU *sara-.

FUV 75: Lp scarve 'dead/dry pine tree (Pinus silvestris)'//? Zr šural- 'come dry' (in the air, as washing), 'wither, be exposed to the air' //Yr tyra- 'become dry, dry out' /--- U *sozwa.

SW 160: *šira- 'become dry and hard'; cf. Yr tirra id.

Comm.: 1. In spite of denial on the part of MSZFE, I reiterate proposals of former researchers that the word family quoted from FUV 75 has substantial links with Hu száraz, etc.--P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'expose to the air/sun/fire; get dry (and discoloured)'. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs FU *s-, U *s-, PSam *t- (= c, t) /1st syll. J, OJ a vs FU *a, U *o, PSam *i /medial J, OJ r vs FU, U, PSam *r. 3. Cf. J, OJ sarasu and Hu száraz, szárasz. 4. The element Lp -ve, U *-wa is intriguing; is it a formant?

391. J, OJ saru (y.) '(Vi) move; depart; migrate, go away (from); come off, be separated (from), stay away (from), keep aloof, shirk, shun; refuse', J, OJ sar-u e.g., OJ kata-saru 'leaning onto one side' (of a wall, a tower; k. 'one half'), kami-saru 'leave (this earth) as a kami', ki-saru 'appear' (as gods do; ki- < ku 'to come'), oki-saru 'to desert' (oki- < oku 'leave behind, neglect'), aki-saru 'autumn arrives'.

TESZ (ex.): Hu száll~OHu szál 'to settle down (somewhere), let oneself/itself down (e.g., climb down from a high place; birds come down and settle on trees); leave, depart; get on or off a vehicle/a horse; interrupt a journey and stay at some place; attack and overcome (an opponent); beleaguer/occupy (a fort); (water-level) drops; (sediment in a liquid) settle; decrease, pass (e.g., pain, fever); stand up against, oppose, engage (an enemy); fly'---Origin unknown.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: '(Vi) move to somewhere else'. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs Hu sz- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu á /medial J, OJ r vs Hu ll, OHu l.

392. J, OJ sasa 'bamboo grass; young bamboo; young bamboo leaves'.

Table 392
J, OJ sas-a TESZ (ex.): Hu sás~OHu sásu 'reed; sedge'---Origin unknown.
Hu sás Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'sedge or sedge-like plant, growing densely on swampy ground'. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts)
OHu sás-u vs Hu s- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu á /medial J, OJ s (as above) vs Hu s /final J, OJ -a vs OHu -u.

393. J sato, OJ sato 'human habitation; hamlet; village'.

Table 393
J sat.o Lp sita 'village; small human settlement', siid id.; 'camp'.
OJ sat.o Comm.: These are isolated words, with no etymologies; this con-
Lp sit.a stitutes the main weakness of the equation; Lp s- comes from PFU *s-
" sid.a (or *s-), Lp i in 1st syll. comes from PFU *i, Lp -t comes from PFU *-t (Collinder 1965, 76 ff.).

394. J satosu, OJ satosu (y.) 'admonish (a person for his faults), remonstrate/charge (with), warn (of), speak to, teach, make realize/understand/aware (of)', J, OJ satosi 'admonition, advice, reproof, remonstrating; oracle', J, OJ satoru (y.) 'discern, realize, be aware of; find out one's mistake, be convinced of one's error', J, OJ satori 'comprehension, understanding (of truth), spiritual awakening, enlightenment' (Ōno: these words are used especially in J Buddhist teaching).

? Fi sot.a TESZ (ex.): Hu szid~szidalmaz 'scold, reprimand, rebuke;
Md šud.o insult'---Origin unknown.
Ch šud.a.la FUV 129: /? Fi sota 'war'//Md šudo- 'to curse'/Ch šudala-
Vg sāt- 'to scold; curse'/Vg saat-, säät- 'to bless; to curse'//? Hu
" sāt- šid-, šido- 'to scold'/. (Perhaps rather Fi sadatta-,
? Fi sad.a.tta- sadattele- 'to curse'.) (No reconstructed form given.)

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'word coming from an authority; oracle'. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs Hu, Vg, Fi s-, Md š-, Ch š- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu i (< i < PFU *a), Md, Ch u, Vg a, ä, Fi a, ? o /medial J, OJ t vs Hu, Md, Ch, Fi ä, ? Fi t, Vg l. 3. Cf. the formants: J, OJ r, Hu, Ch l.

395. J sawa-	: sawa-sawa, sawa-yaka ~ saba-saba, OJ sapa-yaka	'refreshing, re-
Table 395	viving, bracing, easing, relieving, pleasant; clear (of voice);	
J	saw.a-	calm, placid'.
"	sab.a-	SW 132: *sāma 'good'; cf. Yn sowa, der. soera, soeda, Yr sāwa,
OJ	sap.a-	sapāo 'good; nice, pretty', Sk som, soma 'good, better'.
PSam	*sām.ā	FUV 99: Fi hyvā 'good', hyvin 'well; very' /Lp šuvva (< Pfi *šivā
Yn	sow.a	?) 'good'/Mde šiv, Mdm šiva id. (No reconstructed form given.)
Yr	sāw.a	Comm.: 1. It seems that the word family Fi hyvā, etc. is a
Sk	som	vowel order variant of the Sam word family above.--P.b.m.f.b.s.:
"	som.a	'good; pleasant'. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs PSam *s-,
? Fi	hyv.ā	? Pfi *š-, ? Md š- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs PSam *s, ? Pfi *u, Md i /
? LpK	šuvv.a	medial J w, b, OJ p vs PSam *m, ? Pfi, Md v /final J, OJ -a vs
? Mde	šiv	PSam *-ā, ? Pfi *-ā, ? Mdm -a. 3. Cf. Poppe 1960. 105: Mo seb, Bur
"	šiv.a	heb 'rest; quiet; improvement', hebge- 'one's health improves; get
		better, recover (from illness)'= Ma sebžen 'joy; joyous', Lam heb-
		žen 'play, entertainment', Ev sawžen 'joy; joyous'= Tu Az sev- <
		*seb- 'to love', OTu sev- id., sābin- 'be glad'.

	396. J <u>sawagu</u> , OJ <u>sawaku</u> (y.) 'make a noise/disturbance, be uproarious/noisy/	
Table 396	clamorous' (Omodaka: the stem has two variants: <u>sawi-~sawe-</u>)	
J	saw.a.gu	J <u>sawagashi-i</u> , Ōno: <u>sawaga-si</u> 'noisy, boisterous', J <u>sawa-</u>
"	saw.a.gashi-i	<u>gasu</u> 'disturb, disquiet, trouble, agitate, excite', <u>sawagi</u>
"	saw.a.gasu	'noise, clamor, uproar, tumult, excitement', OJ <u>sawa-sawa-ni</u>
OJ	saw.a.ku	'noisily, etc.'.
"	saw.a-	MTSz: Hu <u>zabakol-</u> , <u>zabakul-</u> , <u>zavakol-</u> 'disturb, agitate, beat
Hu	zab.a.kol-	(water or other liquid) with feet and hands, or with a pole;
"	zav.a.kol-	(pigs make the swill) bubble (with their snouts)', <u>zobukol-</u> ,
"	zob.u.kol-	<u>zubukol-</u> 'beat and tread the water; make a disturbance in the
"	zub.u.kol-	shallows (as small fish do)'.
	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'make a disturbance'. 2. Phon.:	
	initial J <u>s-</u> , OJ <u>s-</u> (= ts) vs Hu <u>z-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs Hu	
<u>a, o, u</u> /medial J, OJ <u>w</u> vs Hu <u>b, v</u> /final of the primary stem, J, OJ <u>a</u> vs Hu <u>a, u</u> .		
3. Cf. the formant <u>g/k</u> on the J side with <u>k</u> in the frequ. formant cluster in Hu.		
4. These words are probably onom. 5. Cf. entry soyo-		

397. J <u>sawaru</u>	'obstruct, check, block the way, interrupt; touch, feel', OJ
Table 397	<u>sapu</u> (sh.n.) 'obstruct, interrupt, hinder' (Omodaka: cf. OJ
J <u>saw.a.ru</u>	<u>tapu</u> (sh.n.) 'oppose, obstruct, intercept, interrupt; endure'),
OJ <u>sap.u</u>	OJ <u>saparu</u> 'be hindered/impeded/interrupted/disturbed/prevented';
" <u>sap.a.ru</u>	? OJ <u>sayaru</u> (y.) 'block the way, confront; be blocked/hindered',
? OJ <u>say.a.ru</u>	? J <u>samatageru</u> , OJ <u>samatagu</u> (sh.n., y.) 'disturb, prevent,
? J <u>sam.a.tageru</u>	hamper, hinder, obstruct'.
? OJ <u>sam.a.tagu</u>	
Hu <u>zav.a.r-</u>	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>zavar-</u> ~ OHu <u>szavar-</u> , dial. <u>zabar-</u> , <u>zever-</u> 'stir
" <u>szav.a.r-</u>	(up), agitate, mix (esp. liquids), disturb, trouble, inter-
" <u>zab.a.r-</u>	rupt, disquieten, drive, pursue', <u>zavar</u> (noun) 'stormy weather,
" <u>zev.e.r-</u>	storm; confusion, tangle', (adj.) 'overcast cloudy, gloomy'.--
? OJ <u>tap.u</u>	Origin unknown.
	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'disturb'. 2. Phon.: initial J <u>s-</u> ,
	OJ <u>p-</u> (= <u>ts</u>), ? <u>t-</u> vs Hu <u>z-</u> , <u>sz-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs Hu <u>a</u> , <u>e</u>
	/medial J <u>w</u> , ? <u>m</u> , OJ <u>p</u> , ? <u>y</u> , <u>m</u> vs Hu <u>v</u> , <u>b</u> /final of the primary stem (in the tri-
	syllabic forms), J, OJ <u>a</u> vs Hu <u>a</u> , <u>e</u> in the same position. 3. OJ <u>samatagu</u> looks
	like a compound verb: its first part, <u>sama-</u> , is probably a variant of <u>sapa-</u> ; <u>-tagu</u>
	could have come from <u>tuku</u> 'to push; poke'.

398. J, OJ	saya	'pod, hull, husk, shell, case; sheath (of a knife/sword)'.
Table 398	FUV 129:	Est <u>suga</u> 'bast' //? Vg <u>sow</u> 'skin, bark' /Os <u>sōg</u> id. /.--
J, OJ	say.a	FU *šuka.
Est	sug.a	Comm.: 1. F.b.m.f.b.s.: 'protective layer (on living tissues
? Vg	sow	or on other objects)'. 2. Phon.: initial J <u>s</u> -, OJ <u>s</u> - (= ts) vs FU
? Os	sōg	*š- /1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs Fu *u /medial J, OJ <u>y</u> vs FU *k (assumed
FU	*šuk.a	spirantization: -k->-y->-j- /final J, OJ -a vs FU *-a.

399. J se,	so-, OJ se, sč	'the back', J so-muku	'turn one's back (on), defy'.
Table 399	Ōno: OJ soku (y.)	'withdraw, recede (from), drift apart'	derives from OJ se, sč, the same as sōmuku.
J, OJ se			
J so-	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.):	Hu segg ~ OHu, dial. seg	'buttock(s), bottom, arse' ~ Vg sōn, ser, sänk, 'groin, loin', soankw 'hip; groin; femure' / Ch sengen 'backwards', sengel 'posterior, back part; hind-, which is at the rear' (- <u>h</u> is a loc. suffix, - <u>l</u> is a denom. nom. formant).-- FU *sänkə 'seat; bottom' (?).
Hu se-ss			
" se-g			
Vg sō.ŋ	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.:	'back; posterior'. 2. Phon.: initial	
" se.ŋ	J s-, OJ s- (= ts)	vs FU *s- /1st syll. J e, o, OJ e, d vs FU *s /	
" sē.ŋk		medial k of soku vs FU *ŋk. 3. One wonders now whether FU *sänkə	
Ch še.ŋgel	is a primary or a derived, form? 4. For possible A correspondences		
FU *šā.ŋkə	s. Poppe 1954, 299; 1960, 73; Benzing 1956, 39.		

400. J seku,	Ōno: seku (y.)	'(Vi) hurry, make haste, be irritated/impatient, press on'.
Table 400		
J, Ō. sek.u	FUV 127, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.):	Hu siet-~dial. sējet-, sihet- 'be in a hurry, make haste' ~ Mde čije- 'run, hurry, run away'--
Hu si .e.-t-		Hu -t is a momentaneous verb formant.-- FU *čij3-, or *čik3-, or *čiq3-.
" sēj.e.-t-		
" sih.e.-t-		
MdE čij.e-	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.:	'hurry'. 2. Phon.: initial J s-,
FU *čij.3-	ClJ s- (= ts ?)	vs FU *č- /1st syll. J, ClJ e vs FU *i /medial
or *čik.3-		J, ClJ k vs FU *j or *k or *ŋ
or *čiq.3-		

401. J serneru,	OJ semu (sh.n.)	'to blame, censure, reproach, criticize', J, seme, OJ seme	'blame, censure; charge, liability, responsibility'. J isameru, OJ isamu ~ asamu (sh.n.)	'prohibit, restrain; remonstrate (with), admonish, dissuade'
Table 401				
J sem.e.ru				
" sem.e				
OJ sem.u	TESZ (ex.):	Hu szémérēm	'shame, reproach, dishonour; a feeling of shame, bashfulness'--Origin unknown.	
" sem.e				
J i.sam.e.ru	TESZ:	Hu szémtelen	'shameless, impudent'--This word has to do with szém 'eye' /-telen is a privative formant in Hu./	
OJ i.sam.u				
" a.sam.u	Mu. - Szi: Vg isermā, ēsermā	'shame', isāmi	'make ashamed', ēsentayt- 'be ashamed' (-tayt is a suffix combination).	
Hu szēm.é.rēm	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.:	'shame; blame'--The explanation of szémtelen by TESZ is quite shaky. If the part szém- = 'eye', as		
" szēm-		it is purported to mean that, then the meaning of szémtelen is,		
Vg i.sem.i-		in the first place, 'blind; (literally) eye-less'. In fact,		
" ē.sem-		such artificial use of szémtelen is encountered only in the		
" * i.sem.ā.r		works of a few writers, but certainly not in general use, not to		
" * ē.sem.ā.r		speak of the dialects.--The putting together of the Hu forms with the Vg ones		
		brings us onto the right track, I suggest; however, Vg isermā and ēsermā show the		
		result of metathesis, so frequent in Vg and Os; the restored forms would be, say,		
		*isemār, *ēsemār. 2. Taking i-, a- on the J side, i-, ē- in Vg to be prothetic--		
		initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs Hu sz- , Vg s- /1st syll. J, OJ e, a vs Hu ē, Vg e /		
		medial J, OJ m vs Hu, Vg m / final of the primary stem, J e, OJ ē (-u in final position		
		does not count much) vs Hu ē, Vg ā (in the restored forms). 3. Note that		
		CVCV forms stand against CVC(V) forms, while CVCVCV forms on the J side also have		
		their counterparts on the U side; the formant r is conspicuous on both sides in		
		the same column.		

402. J seru 'compete/vie (with), bid', J seru, Ōno: seru (y.) 'urge on, hasten; attack' (Ōno: seru is cognate with se-si 'narrow; narrowed in'), J aseru 'be in a hurry; be hasty/impatient/overzealous'; Shinmura: ClJ shirogu 'carry out an action repeatedly'.

TESZ (ex.): Hu sürget- 'to urge, press, hurry on, hasten, rush', sürög- 'be bustling (about), hurry, be on the move', sürü ~OHu sörü, dial. siri 'frequent; dense; thick (of liquids)', sérény ~dial. siriny 'busy, diligent'.--This word family is of onom. origin.

TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu szorgalom 'zeal, application, diligence; worry, anxiety; hurry, haste', szorog- 'strive; be in straightness/distress/difficulty; to hurry,

Table 402

J, ClJ	ser.u	Hu	szor.u.l-
J	a.ser.u	"	szur.u-s
ClJ	shir.o.gu	"	szor.u-s
? Ō.	se-	"	szor.o-s
Hu	sür. .get-	"	szor.í.t-
"	sür.ö.g	"	szor.o.ang-
"	sür.ü	Vg	sor.i
"	sír.í	"	sar.é
"	sér.é.ny	"	sár
"	sír.í.ny	Os	sor. .t
Hu	szor. .galom	"	sor. .dál.dá
"	szor.o.g-	Zr	sur
"	szor. .dít-	"	-đer
Vg	sár. .molt-	"	sur.ä.é
"	sár. .y t-	FU	* sor.ə(-)
"	sír.a.y t-		
Os	sör.a		

be in haste, be busy', szorgos 'busy, hurrying, crammed, congested, thronged; industrious', szorong 'anxiety, worry; (adj.) filled with urgent work (of a period)', OHu and dial. szordít- 'urge, hasten, drive (on), demand'---This word family is probably onom. and may be linked with the extended family to which sürget-, sürög-, etc. (s. above) also belong. Cf. Vg sármolt- 'to urge, drive', sáryt- 'drive on, chase away', sírtyt-, sirayt- 'to whip (and so urge on)'/Os sóra 'fast, quick; soon'---The Ugric base may have meant 'quick; industrious; to hurry, be busy; stir, buzz'--- See:

TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu szorul- 'get narrow/jammed/crammed/squeezed', szoros ~ OHu szurus, szorus 'narrow, straight, confined, close; stern, strict, exact; needy, pressing (of a situation); narrow

pass, defile, (sea-)straights, narrows', szorít- 'afflict, oppress, press hard, surround and compress; cause anxiety; cripple (through pressing), clutch', szorong- 'get pressed/squeezed' ~ Vg sori 'valley', saré 'little swamp', sár 'wooded ridge between two lakes', -sóri : ur-sóri 'space; valley between two slopes' (ur 'hill') /Os sört 'narrow tract of land', sördál.dá 'be in need, be under dire conditions', sárt 'narrow road between two lakes'/Zr sur : mu-sur 'wooded land, esp. between two rivers' (mu 'earth, land'), me-đer 'dry area between two rivers', surás, súrás, súres 'way, path'--- FU *sors(-) 'small distance'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'narrow(ness); come close and hurry'---It is obvious that the adduced words on the U side belong together. 2. Phon.: taking a- of J aseru to be prothetic--- J g-, ? sh-, OJ g- (= ts) vs Hu g- (in sürget-), FU *g- /1st syll. J, ClJ g, ? i vs Hu ü, é, i, ö, FU *o /medial J, ClJ g vs Hu g, FU *g. 3. If Ō is right concerning se-si 'narrow', then r has to be seen as a formant on the J side. 4. Cf. sewashi-i.

403. J sewashi-i, Ōno: sepa-si 'busy, occupied', J sewashina-i, ClJ sewasina- (si) 'restless, fidgety, being in a hurry', J sema-i, OJ sema-i, J seba-si 'narrow', J sebamaru 'get narrow', sebameru 'make narrow, contract', semaru 'to press, urge, approach, draw near, gain (on somebody); be imminent', semeru 'to attack', OJ sema-si OJ sema (sh.n.) 'press the opponent (into a corner or other narrow space'. J seba.maruru TESZ (ex.): OHu seb 'hurry, haste, fit of temper, vehemence, impetuosity', OHu, Hu sebbel-lobbal 'in hot haste' (lob 'excitement, haste'; -bel/-bal is an instrumental suff.), sebé (adj.) ~ OHu sebus 'swift, fast, rapid', cf. OHu folyo sebe 'a narrow place in the river, where the water flows very fast' (f. 'river', -e px3rdsg)---Origin unknown.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'narrow, constrained', hence 'swift'. 2. Phon.: initial J g-, OJ g- (= ts) vs Hu g- /1st syll. J, OJ g vs Hu g (open) /medial J w, m, b, OJ p, m, b vs Hu b. 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 55. 4. Cf. the entries seru and subomu.

404. J shi, OJ si 'and', used for linking co-ordinated clauses and for emphasis. E.g., Kyoto-ni mo ikimashita si Nara-ni mo ikimashita '(I) went to Kyoto and Nara, too'; sono kimono wa iro mo yoi shi gara mo yoi 'as far as that kimono is concerned, color and design are suitable' (mo 'also' is an emphatic particle; O. Vaccari, Japanese Conversation grammar, Tokyo 1965, 570). Lewin 1959, 91: in the modern J language, shi is used frequently in correlation with mo, e.g., ame-mo furu shi, kaze-mo fuku 'it rains and the wind blows, too' (ame 'rain', f 'to fall', k 'wind', fuku 'blow'); (as emphatic particle): OJ itu-si-ka 'just when?' (itu 'when', ka interrogative particle), ube-si 'quite', ima-si 'just at this time'.

TESZ (ex.): Hu is ~OHu, dial. és, an emphasizing adverbial particle, also a junction particle between words as well as co-ordinated clauses.--Is is cognate with és 'and'; their earlier form may have been ēs.--Origin unknown.--E.g., igén is 'too right; quite' (igén 'yes; indeed'), ez is, az is, amaz is 'this, that, and that over there, too', embér is állat is beteg lett 'people as well as animals became sick' = embér és állat beteg lett (e. 'human being, person; people', á. 'animal', b. 'sick').

Comm.: 1. The meanings are 'and', 'also', 'as well' on both sides. 2. There is a chance that Hu is, és, és have come about through inversion; in support of this proposition, I refer to Kálmán 1966, 88, where we read: "Öt voltak az én barátaim, Gyuri, Jóska si Károcsi" ('there were my friends: George, Joe, and Carl); the particle si in the dial. of eastern Hu Mezőség could very well be an archaic form from which is, és, and és have come.

405. J shibireru, OJ sipu (y.) 'lose the senses/one's sensation, become numb/
Table 405 paralysed/palsied'; e.g., OJ mimi-sipu 'become deaf' (m. 'ear'),
J shib.i.reru mé-sipu 'become blind' (mé 'eye'), pana-sipé 'an impaired
Ő. sib.i.ru sense of smell' (p. 'nose'); Őno: sibiru (sh.n.) = J shibireru;
OJ sip.u J shibomu ~ shioreru 'droop, wither, wilt, be limp, grow weak,
J shib.o.mu fade'; Őno: sibomu (y.) id.

" shi .o.reru TESZ (ex.): Hu zsibbad ~ OHu sibbad-, dial. zsibbad- 'be be-
Ő. sib.o.mu numbed, grow stiff, become torpid/paralysed', zsibborog- id.;
Hu zsibb.a.d 'the blood) throbs (in a benumbed part of the body)', zsibbaszt
" sibb.a.d 'cause to become stiff/numb, etc.'--This word family is onom.
" zsibb.o.d Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'be/become numb/paralysed'.--Re-
" zsibb.a.szt garding the ruling of TESZ, I wonder. 2. Phon.: initial J sh-,
" zsib.o.rög OJ s (= ts) vs Hu zs- (= z), s- (= š) /1st syll. J, OJ i vs Hu
i (< i) / medial J b, ŕ, ClJ b, OJ p vs Hu bb (where it is safe
to assume gemination). 3. Cf. the formants r in the same column.

406. J shika, OJ sika ~ ka, kasegi, kanosisi 'deer' (according to Őno; -segi
Table 406 remains unexplained; -no- is gen./attr. marker; sisi 'deer, beast;
J shika venison, meat').
OJ sika SW 56: *kā 'elk'; cf. Tv kau/Yn chaa, khā, ka/ Km ket, kee /Koibal
" ka chai, ka /Motor ka /Taigi ka /Soyot ghā.
PSam * kā Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'animal (formerly or still) hunted for
? Fi sika its meat'. 2. Since it is not possible at present to decide
? Md tuvā whether OJ sika is a compound or not, I propose to compare sika
to Fi sika, Md tuvā 'pig' (SKES gives *tika as the reconstructed
form of the latter), but OJ ka to PSam *kā. 3. Phon.: A) initial
J sh-, OJ s- (= ts) vs Fi s- < t + i, Md t- /1st syll. J, OJ i vs Fi i, Md u /
medial J, OJ k vs Fi k, Md v (regular correspondence) / final J, OJ -a vs Fi -a,
Md -ā, B) initial OJ k- vs PSam *k- /final OJ -a vs PSam *-ā.

407. J shikoru, Őno: sikoru (y.) '(Vi) harden solidify; get stiff, indurate'.
Table 407
J shik.o.ru MTSz: Hu szigorosod(ik) ~ össze-sz. '(Vi) thicken, coagu-
Ő. sik.o.ru late, set, bind (e.g., mortar, plaster); cohere, lump, ce-
Hu szig.o.rosod(ik) ment' (össze 'together'), szigoru, szigorú, oigoru 'stunt-
" szig.o.ru ed; narrow (of a path, a defile); gaunt; strict, rigorous,
" szig.o.rú hard, rigid, unbending; harsh'.
" cig.o.ru TESZ (ex.): Hu szigorú, etc. 'needy, straightened (of liv-
ing conditions); rough, hard, rigid; exact; simple',
Hu zsug.o.rod(ik) szigorít- 'oppress; torment'; (with sporadic initial š-):
" sug.o.rod(ik) szigorú 'mean; wicked; stiff', ? sikari 'lean, gaunt'.--
Vg šunke.r Origin unknown.
Ugric * šunke.3.rə TESZ (ex.): Hu zsugorod(ik) ~ OHu, dial. sugorod- '(Vi)
shrink, shrivel, contract, atrophy' ~ Vg šunkér- '(the
skin) shrivels'.-- Ugric *šunke.3(rə), -r- being a frequ. formant.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'stiff, hard; become hard/contracted'.--Hu zsugorod-
is most likely a variant of dial. szigorosod- (< i, since the word is of velar
vowel order); if that is allowed, szigorosod- may also be taken as Ugric. 2. Phon:
initial J sh-, ClJ s- (? = ts) vs Hu sz-, c-, s-, U š- /1st syll. J, ClJ i vs Hu

i < i, Ugric *u /medial J, ClJ k vs Hu g, k, Ugric *nk /final of the primary stem, J, ClJ o vs Hu o, a, Ugric *_. 3. Note the formants r on both sides in the same position.

408. J shiku, OJ siku (y.) 'to spread, lay, extend (on a flat surface)', e.g.,	
Table 408	(Uno:) ita-ziki 'wooden floor' (ita 'board'), J shiku, OJ siku
J shik.u	(y.) 'be equal (to), come even (with), be as good as ..', hence
OJ sik.u	-sika 'thus; like'.
Hu sik	TESZ (ex.): Hu sik '(noun) plain/level/flat ground; (adj.) slip-
" sik.os	pery, smooth', sikos ~OHu sikus 'smooth, slippery', sikság 'a
" sik.us	plain, sikit- 'make smooth/even'.--Origin unknown.
" sik. ság	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'level, flat, smooth'. 2. Phon.:
" sik.it-	initial J sh-, OJ s- (= ts) vs Hu s- /1st syll. J, OJ i vs Hu i
	< i (seeing that the word is of velar vowel order; note: i vs i
	is due to compensatory lengthening) /medial J, OJ k vs Hu k. 3.
	Cf. Benzing 1956, 63: Tg *sáktá- 'spread out'. 4. Cf. Ramstedt 1952/58 (II), 225:
	Tu tekiz 'flat, even' (cf. tegsi 'even, smooth'). 5. Cf. entry OJ -siku.

409. J shima, OJ sima 'island'. Florenz 1901, 16: "Shima hat in der archai-	
Table 409	schen Sprache übrigens nicht nur die Bedeutung 'Insel', sondern
J shim.a	oft auch 'Land', wie kuni" (By the way, shima meant in Archaic J
OJ sim.a	not only 'island', but also 'land; territory; country', like kuni).
Lp com.a	FUV 92: Lp čobmā ~čomā- 'hill; mound' /Vg sooma 'hill'.--FU *šumā.
" čobma	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a piece of elevated land'. 2. Phon.:
Vg som.a	initial J sh-, OJ s- vs FU *s- /1st syll. J, OJ i vs FU *u /medial
FU *šum.3	J, OJ m vs FU *m /final J, OJ -a vs FU *-a (a neutral vowel), but
	note Lp, Vg -a.

410. J shinabiru, OJ sinayū (sh.n.) 'droop, wither, wilt, fade' (of leaves,	
Table 410	branches, stems of plants), OJ sinapu (y.) '(Vi) bend, sway
J shin.a.biru	easily, hang down' (said moistly of plants).
OJ sin.a.yu	FUV 29, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu csün- '(Vi) slacken, droop, stop
" sin.a.pu	growing'/Vty šin- 'subside, recede' (of water)/Zr cin- '(Vi)
Hu csün-	decrease, diminish'/Os šen- 'shriveled, shrink, dry up'/Sk
Vty šin-	šynemā- 'reduce, diminish'/Km šōjda- 'diminish, limit,
Zr cin-	finish'.--U *čūna-.
Os sen-	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'wither, droop; decrease', hence
Sk šyn.e.m 3a-	'stop thriving'. 2. Phon.: initial J sh-, OJ s- (= ts) vs U
U *čūn.3-	*č- /1st syll. J, OJ i vs U *q (= any palatal vowel) / medial
	J, OJ n vs U *n. 3. OJ -p(u) is probably a frequ., -y(u) an
	archaic passive/medio-passive, verb formant (s. Morphology). 4. The structure of
	Km šōjda- is not clear to me. 5. Cf. entry shinu.

411. J shinobu, OJ sinobu (k.n.), sinapu ~ sinamu (sh.n.) 'conceal, cover up,	
Table 411	cloak', J shinobi 'stealing (into); spy; sneak thief', OJ sinobi
J shin.o.bu	'secrecy'.
OJ sin.o.bu	TESZ (ex.): Hu cšen- 'to steal; smuggle'.--Origin unknown.
" sin.a.pu	" : Hu cšempes, cšempesz 'false, fraudulent; irregular,
" sin.a.mu	unlawful; smuggler'.--Origin unknown.
Hu cšen-	MTSz: Hu cšenderit- 'to steal', cšempeskéd(ik) 'to act furtively'.
" cšem. pes	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to hide/cover up; act in a sneaky
" cšem. pesz	way'. 2. Phon.: initial J sh-, OJ s- (= ts) vs Hu cs- /1st syll.
	J, OJ i vs Hu e (open) /medial J, OJ n vs Hu n in cšen-; re-
	garding the cluster -mp-, the following proposition is made: the stem cšen- had
	at one stage an extended form, say, *cšenepe- (for parallel structure, cf. Hu
	állap- < áll- 'to stand', ülep- < ül- 'to sit; settle'); when the vowel of the un-
	accented 2nd syll. was lost (as in so many other instances), n became assimilated
	to p. 3. Note the occurrence of the formants, J, OJ -b(u), OJ -p(u), -m(u) vs Hu
	-p, all in the same column.

412. J shinu, OJ sinu (-na-line conj.) 'falter, droop; give way; die, pass away', (der.) OJ sinuru (attr.) 'which is faltering, etc.'. ? OJ sinayu (sh.n.) 'droop, wither, wilt, fade' (of leaves, branches, stems of plants) (-yu was an obsolescent passive/medio-passive verb formant even in OJ times, s. Morphology).

Table 412

J	shin.u
OJ	sin.u
"	sin.u.ru
? OJ	sin.a.yu
Hu	sin. .l-
"	sin. .l-
"	szin. .löd-
"	seny. .ved-
"	seny.e.d-
"	sen. i.v-
"	sary.a.r-
"	seny.e.r-
"	sanya.a.d-
"	cse.e.vész
"	seny.e.vész
"	sary.a.vész

TESZ (ex.): Hu sinyl(ik) ~ dial. sinl- 'pine away, languish, be ailing/sickly; suffer (from), be adversely affected', (1779:); szinlöd(ik) id., OHu sind(ik) 'suffer, smart (from). languish'.
--Origin unknown.

TESZ (ex.): Hu senyved ~ OHu szennyved-, szeniv-, dial. sönyved-, sönyved- 'suffer from ulcers/festering wounds; decay; languish, pine away'.--Origin unknown.--This word family is very likely cognate with those of szenved- and sanyargat-, respectively.

TESZ (ex.): Hu szenved- 'suffer, be in pain/anguish; bear/endure affliction/losses'.--Origin unknown.

TESZ (ex.): Hu sanyargat ~ dial. sanyargat-, sonyorgat- 'torment, torture, oppress, scourge', sanyarü ~ dial. sonyarü-, sonyordü 'aching, painful, wretched, miserable, destitute', sanyar ~ dial. senyer- = sanyargat-, OHu, dial. sanyad- 'suffer, languish, get stunted; wither; degenerate', sanyaszt- ~ senyveszt- 'cause to/make suffer'.--Origin unknown.

TESZ (ex.): Hu csenevész ~ dial. sanyavész-, senyevész-, sanya-vész 'sickly, deformed, scraggy, stunted'.--Origin uncertain. Perhaps senyved- and sinylöd(ik) are cognate with csenevész.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'decline in strength; droop; suffer'. 2. With reference to entry shinabiru (vs Hu csün-), I propose that the Hu words in question are variant developments, by split, of a stem, say, U *čyna-. If that is allowed, then--- initial J sh-, OJ s- (= ts) vs U *č- /1st syll. J, OJ i vs U *y (= any velar vowel) /medial J, OJ n vs U *n-. 3. Note the parallelism of the formants r in 3rd syll.; further, the element Hu y in 3rd syll. is reminiscent of the OJ formant p, spirantized w.

Table 413

J	shir.i	ner of the eye', <u>kapa-ziri</u> 'the mouth of a river', <u>kuma-sira</u> 'a far-away place' (<u>k</u> 'corner, nook'), <u>püdi-siri</u> 'the point of the elbow', <u>ya-ziri</u> 'the back end of a house'.
OJ	sir.i	
? OJ	-sir.a	
Zr	šer	
Hu	sar.o.k	Fokos-Fuchs 1959: Zr <u>šer</u> : <u>karka-šer</u> 'the back end of a house'.
"	sur.u.k	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>sarok</u> ~ OHu <u>suruk</u> -, <u>soruk</u> -, dial. <u>sorok</u> -, <u>sarak</u> -, <u>sorak</u> /-k ? a dim. formant 'corner, angle; heel; inner edge of a door (on which the hinges are fastened); the poles of the globe; (solid) foundation (of something)'.--This word might be a derivative from the verb <u>sur</u> -/ <u>sor</u> -/ <u>sar</u> - '(Vi) turn revolve'; if so, then -k is a deverbal noun formant.
"	sor.u.k	
"	sor.o.k	
"	sor.a.k	

Comm.: 1. The verb sur-/sor-/sar- is, according to TESZ, the velar vowel order variant of ser-/sir-/sür- 'to be busy/in a hurry'. We can agree to this proposition (s. entry seru). However, I cannot accept the suggestion that the meaning 'corner, angle, heel' is in the same category as 'being busy/diligent/in a hurry'. The turning inner edge of a door-pane is supposed to provide the connection, but it is not convincing at all, because it is no primitive concept.--P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'heel; back part', hence 'nook, far-away place'. 2. Phon.: initial J sh-, OJ p- vs Zr š-, Hu s- /1st syll. J, OJ i vs Zr e-, Hu a-, u-, o /medial J, OJ r vs Zr, Hu r-. 3. Cf. Murayama 1966, No. 37: OJ siri : Mo sili 'nape of the neck'.

Table 414

J	shir.o- i	Ch	tsöl. ʎʒam	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>csillog</u> - ~ OHu <u>csilag</u> - 'be bright/radiating; shine, glitter, glisten, sparkle', <u>csillag</u> 'star' ~ Vg <u>šül</u> - 'to sparkle, glitter, shine', <u>šöl</u> -, <u>šuly</u> - id./Os <u>šuli-ta</u> 'to shine, glitter', <u>šülpátá</u> 'to flash, sparkle'/Vty <u>šifal</u> -, <u>šifal</u> - 'be bright, sparkle', <u>šifilá</u> - 'to shine, glitter'/Ch <u>tsöllyžam</u> 'glimmer, shine dimly (said of snow), <u>tsöllyžam</u> 'to glimmer, glow' (of a star or gold), <u>tsölva</u> 'lightning'/Má <u>šifidor</u> : <u>ts. móloms</u> 'to glimmer, shine'
OJ	sir.š-si	"	tsöl. ʎʒam	
"	sir.a-	"	tsöl. ʎ	
Hu	csill.o.g-	Má	šifil. .dör	
"	csil.a.g-	Pi Kar	šifil. .kettää	
? Vg	šül. ʎ-	FU	*šal. .k3-	
"	šöl. ʎ-	PSam	*šer	
"	šül. ʎ-	Yn	šir-	
Os	šül.i.ta	Km	sir.i	
"	šül. .pátá	Koibal	šif.i	
Vty	šif.a.l-			
"	šif.a.l-			

(moŕems 'to go') /Fi Kar šilkettää 'to shine, sparkle'.-- FU *šalka---In Hu csillog-, i probably comes from i.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'shine; shiny; be bright' (cf. OJ sira-yuki 'white snow' and Ch ts 'to glimmer, shine dimly (said of snow)'). 2. Phon.: initial J sh-, OJ s- (= ts) vs FU *d- /1st syll. J, OJ i vs FU *3 /medial J, OJ r vs FU *1. 3. The element FU *ka is doubtless additional to a disyllabic stem. 4. Cf. Pröhle No. 56. 5. Cf. Murayama 1966, No. 40: Mo sira 'yellow'. 6. Cf. SW 138: *ser 'white'; cf. Tv será'a, der. sírajko id., Yn šir-, der. sífoi, sírf id., Yr šer, Sk der. seri, Km siri, Koibal síri.

415. J shiwa, OJ siwa 'wrinkle, line (e.g., on one's face), crease, rumple, fold'; Ono: -sima : asa-kusa-zima '(pale green) striped cloth' (asa 'pale', kusa 'grass').

Table 415

J	shiwa	? Yr	ti'	FUV 76: Fi <u>syv</u> (and <u>syve</u>) 'annual ring (in a tree); streak, cloud (in wood); fibre, filament; path; cause, reason, ground; fault' (>Lp Utsjoki <u>siggja</u> 'annual ring' ?) /Ch <u>šoj(a)</u> , <u>šija</u> 'annual ring; layer, fibre (in flesh)'/Vty <u>si</u> 'annual ring'/Zr <u>si</u> 'single soft hair on human beings and animals; single fibre in tow (flax or hemp)'/Yr <u>ti</u> ~ <u>tid-</u> 'streak, cloud (in wood); annual ring' (der. ?)/Tv <u>tii</u> /Yn <u>tii</u> , <u>ti</u> /Sk <u>tü</u> /--- U * <u>süje</u> .
OJ	siw.a	? Tv	tí	
Fi	sy .y	? Yn	tí	
"	syv.e	"	ti	
Ch	šoj(a)	? Sk	tü	
"	šij.a	U	---	* <u>süje</u>
Vty	si	Ö	-sim.a	
Zr	si	? Hu	csep.e-s	

MTSz: Hu Székely dial. csepes 'striped', e.g., csepes szoknya 'striped skirt'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'layer; streak; stripe'. 2. Phon.: initial J sh-, OJ s- (= ts) vs U *s-, ? Hu cs- /1st syll. J, OJ i vs U *i, ? Hu e /medial J, OJ w, ? ClJ m vs U *j, ? Hu p /final J, OJ -a vs U *-e, ? Hu e---ClJ -sima is a likely variant of siwa, for m~w alternation is encountered in J (e.g., omina~owuna 'young woman').

416. J shizuka(na), OJ sidu(ka) 'quiet, still, peaceful, silent, deserted; soft; slow'; J shizumaru, OJ sidumaru (y.) '(Vi) settle, subside, sink; be quiet/silent', J shizumeru, OJ sidumu (sh.n.) 'quieten allay, soothe', OJ sidu- : sidu-ye 'lower branches', sidu (sh.n.) 'to lower, drop, let down, suspend', Ono: siduru (y., sh.n.) '(Vi) hang, dangle; drip, drop' (of liquids), OJ sidaru (y.) '(Vi) hang down (in strips or as the fine twigs of a weeping willow), J shizuku, OJ siduku (y.) '(Vi) sink'. ? J shita, OJ sita 'under' (postpositionally; that which is underneath).

Table 416

J	shiz.u-ka	soft; slow'; J <u>shizumaru</u> , OJ <u>sidumaru</u> (y.) '(Vi) settle, subside, sink; be quiet/silent', J <u>shizumeru</u> , OJ <u>sidumu</u> (sh.n.) 'quieten allay, soothe', OJ <u>sidu-</u> : <u>sidu-ye</u> 'lower branches', <u>sidu</u> (sh.n.) 'to lower, drop, let down, suspend', Ono: <u>siduru</u> (y., sh.n.) '(Vi) hang, dangle; drip, drop' (of liquids), OJ <u>sidaru</u> (y.) '(Vi) hang down (in strips or as the fine twigs of a weeping willow), J <u>shizuku</u> , OJ <u>siduku</u> (y.) '(Vi) sink'. ? J <u>shita</u> , OJ <u>sita</u> 'under' (postpositionally; that which is underneath).
OJ	sid.u-ka	
J	shiz.u.mu	
"	shiz.u.maru	
OJ	sid.u.maru	
"	sid.u.mu	
"	sid.u-	
Ö	sid.u.ru	
OJ	sid.a.ru	TESZ, Szófsz (ex.): Hu <u>csúsz(ik)</u> ~OHu <u>csuszam(ik)</u> , <u>csiszam(ik)</u> , <u>csiszaml(ik)</u> , <u>csuszamod(ik)</u> '(Vi) slide, slip, sink, slide down (e.g., of the sun), slip (into, e.g., water); slither, crawl'---TESZ: this word is onom.; Szófsz: this word might be onom.
J	shiz.u.ku	
? J	shit.a	
? OJ	sit.a	
Hu	csőnd.e-s(z)	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>csőndes</u> ~OHu <u>csőndesz</u> , <u>csindes</u> , dial. <u>csőndes</u> , <u>sőndes</u> , <u>csőndös</u> 'noiseless, still, quiet, peaceful, soft, calm, unperturbed; safe; inconspicuous; slow'---Origin unknown.
"	csind.e-s	
"	sőnd.e-s	
"	csús-z-	SW 33: * <u>cəno</u> ~ 'to drip/drop/trickle'; cf. Tv <u>tanteda</u> id., Yn <u>tiddä</u> id., Sk <u>čindša</u> 'a drop'.
Hu	csús-z-	
"	csús-z.a.m-	
"	csús-z.a.m-	
PSam	* <u>cəno</u> ~	Comm.: 1. One could argue that the adduced words belong to two semantic fields: a) 'to hang, drop, sink (down)', b) 'still, quiet, peaceful'. However, considering the phonetic shape of the data on the J side, I suggest that we are dealing with a single word family.--F.b.m.f.b.s.: 'slide/hang/slip/drop/sink down', hence 'become quiet' (i.e., a state of quietness has been reached, for there is no longer the suspense of falling or sinking'). 2. Phon.: initial J <u>sh-</u> , OJ <u>e-</u> (= <u>ts</u>) vs Hu <u>cs-</u> , <u>s-</u> , PSam * <u>c-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>i</u> vs Hu <u>u</u> , <u>i</u> , <u>é</u> , <u>ö</u> (where we note that together with <u>csusz-</u> we find <u>csisz-</u> , i.e., <u>i</u> must have had velar quality there; the stems <u>csusz-</u> and <u>csőnd-</u> are taken as variant developments), PSam * <u>e</u> /medial J <u>z</u> , ? <u>t</u> , OJ <u>d</u> , ? <u>t</u> vs Hu <u>sz</u> , <u>nd</u> , PSam * <u>nc</u> . 3. Note the occurrence--in the same column--of the forms <u>ants</u> on the J side and in Hu. 4. There is a chance that Hu <u>szőndöröd(ik)</u> ~ <u>szendöröd(ik)</u> , dial. <u>szindöröd(ik)</u> , <u>cəngörög(ik)</u> /g<d/ 'fall into a slumber, drop off

to sleep, doze off' belongs here. As far as its shape is concerned, the stem szénd-/szend-/szind-/cing- appears to be a variant (by split) of csénd-/csind-/sénd- (cs~s as well as s~sz alternation in the earlier stages of Hu); for the semantic side, cf. English 'drop off to sleep, fall into a slumber' (where the feeling of 'dropping/falling' just before losing consciousness is at times real). TESZ states that the origin of szendöröd(ik), etc. is unknown, but there are many data available which show that the basic meaning of this word was 'become quiet, calm down', hence also 'to flag; faint'.

417. OJ -siku : pi-siku (sh.n.) 'the sky or the sun turns dark; the sky gets overcast', Ōno: puri-siku (y.) 'to rain incessantly' (puru (y.) 'to fall', e.g., rain, snow, hail; pi = (?) pi 'sun').
 Table 417
 OJ -sik.u MTSz: Hu sikosul~besikosul (be- 'In', here a verbal prefix indicating completed action) 'the sky becomes completely covered with rain-clouds' (the assumable shorter form, *sikos-, would be a frequ. verb; i is a formant of reflexive function).

Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial OJ s- vs Hu s- /1st syll. OJ i vs Hu i (< i) /medial OJ k vs Hu k. 3. Cf. entry shiku.

418. OJ sipf '(one kind of) oak'.
 Table 418
 OJ sip.f TESZ. MTSz (ex.): Hu csepe-fa 'oak-tree (of a certain kind), young oak' (fa 'tree'), csepe, csepöte, cseplye, csepejész, csep-
 Hu csep.e lesz, cseprez, etc. 'bushy woods, holt, scrub; low growth of
 " csep.öte trees (in a forest), ? csepered(ik) ~ csöpöröd(ik) 'grow/shoot
 " ? csepered- up'.--Origin unknown.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'oak; ? young oak' (on the Hu side, the base is csepe; the other forms are probably analogic formations). 2. Phon.: initial OJ s- vs Hu cs- /1st syll. OJ i vs Hu e /medial OJ p vs Hu p /final OJ -f vs Hu -e (open; in the form csepered-, all e's are also pronounced as ë), ö in the same position.

419. OJ sirö (Ōno:) 'enclosed/forbidden place', later 'castle'.
 Table 419
 OJ sir.ö Kannisto 1958, 306: Vg tir '(a) sacrifice', tir-jiß 'sacrificial
 Vg tir tree; a tree under which sacrifices are held' (jiß 'tree').
 Os jir Steinitz 1966, 399: Os jir 'sacrifice'; cf. Os Irish jires- 'to
 " jir.es- sacrifice'.

Comm.: 1. Since places of sacrifice used to be highly respected, they were, as a rule, protected from sacrilege by guards or fence/wall; thus such forbidden places could in times of need become places of refuge (as so many Christian church buildings, esp. in Central and Eastern Europe).--F.b.m.f.b.s.: 'sacrifice; a place of sacrifice'. 2. Phon.: initial OJ s- vs Vg t-, Os j- (these sounds are said to be reflexes of PFU *š-, s. Lakó 1968, 51) /1st syll. OJ i vs Vg i, Os i /medial OJ r vs Vg, Os r.

420. J so- : so-no, so-re 'that'. OJ sö, si 3rd person pronoun; Ōno: sö and si
 Table 420
 J so-no Zr si FUV 97, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): š, ö ~ OHu, dial. š, ü,
 OJ sö " si-ja i-, e- 'he, she, it' ~ Fi hän 'he, she' (this pro-
 " si Vg tä- u (?) nominal stem has the vowel ä in Kar, Olonets, and
 Hu ö Os jö-h Veps; in Vote, Est, and Liv, it has the vowel ə);
 " ö " lög /? -sa~sā, and (after a vowel): -(h)an~-(h)än~
 " ü " tö-w -(h)en, px of the 3rd person /Lp son, (su-) /Md son/
 " i- " tü-w Vty so 'that, yonder; he, she, it' /Zr si, si 'he,
 " e- " lū-w 'she, it', si-ja id.; 'that, yonder' /Vg täu, etc.
 Fi hän FU *sü 'he, she' /Os jöh, lög, tew, tüw. lūw. etc.-- (FUV
 " -sa " ? *sü 97:) "There may have been, in PFU, (at least) two
 " -sä " ? *sü pronouns with the meaning 'that, he, she', one with
 Lp so-n back tongue vowel and the other (the others?) with
 " su- front vowel. Cf. ... Hu az. " /Hu az 'that' /--The
 Md so-n initial Fi h- has arisen in unaccented position,
 Vty so through z, from *s- -- FU *sü, ? *sü.
 Zr si Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial
 J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs FU *s- /1st syll. J ö, OJ ö, i

vs FU *ä, ? *ä. 3. Cf. the pron. formants: J -no vs FU -n. 4. Cf. Pröhle No. 57.

421. J sode, OJ sode 'sleeve'. Omodaka: according to one opinion, this word is composed of sō 'cloth; clothing' + te 'hand'; however, ō differs

Table 421	J	sod.e	from <u>ō</u> .
	OJ	sōd.e	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>ujj</u> ~OHu <u>uj</u> 'sleeve'.--This word is of debated origin. It may be cognate with <u>ujj</u> 'finger', with semantic shift to denote 'sleeve'. If this proposition is allowed, then cf.: ~Vg <u>tul</u> , ~Vg <u>tul'</u> <u>tulä</u> 'finger'/Os <u>lui</u> , <u>lui</u> , <u>lui</u> , <u>tui</u> 'finger; thimble', <u>loi</u> 'finger', <u>tul'</u> <u>loi</u> 'finger-ring'/Motor <u>taje-da</u> 'finger' (- <u>da</u> px3rdsg)/Taigi <u>taje-m</u>
	Os	lui	id. (-m px1stsg).-- U * <u>suō</u> .
	"	tui	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'finger; arm'. 2. Phon.: initial J <u>s</u> -,
	"	loi	OJ <u>s</u> - (= <u>ts</u>) vs U * <u>s</u> -/ 1st syll. J <u>o</u> , OJ <u>ō</u> vs U * <u>u</u> /medial J, OJ <u>ä</u>
	Motor taj.e-		vs U * <u>ä</u> . 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 58.
	Taigi taj.a-		
	U	* <u>suō</u> .3	

422. J sogu, Ōno: sogu (y.) 'to chip/cut/slice off; cut aslant; split off, diminish', OJ -sōku = kari-sōku (sh.n.) 'cut off, cut down and remove' (kari 'to cut'), Ōno: soki-ita 'shingles' (ita 'board'), J sokonau, OJ sokonapu (y.) 'break, smash, demolish; wound, injure', J sogeru 'to split, splinter'.

Table 422	J, Ō.	sog.u	FUV 131, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>szeg</u> -/open <u>a</u> / 'to cut, slice, split, break /the law, or a bird's wing/a cart-pole/one's neck/, spoil somebody's good mood; change direction when travelling; attach oneself to someone' ~Vg <u>sen</u> <u>g</u> <u>ō</u> 'mortar', <u>säng</u> - 'to break, crush, pound, smash' /Os <u>sen</u> <u>g</u> <u>ō</u> 'to hit, beat, pound' /Zr <u>ts</u> <u>g</u> <u>ō</u> 'break, smash, break in two or more pieces' /Vty <u>ts</u> <u>g</u> <u>ō</u> , <u>ts</u> <u>g</u> <u>ō</u> 'become torn/broken/chipped off; (Vt) break, smash'.-- FU * <u>čank</u> <u>3</u> - or * <u>sänk</u> <u>3</u> - 'to break'.
	J	sog.e.ru	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'break; cut; split'. 2. Phon.: initial J <u>s</u> -, OJ <u>e</u> - (= <u>ts</u>) vs FU * <u>č</u> - or * <u>s</u> - /1st syll. J <u>o</u> , OJ <u>o</u> , <u>č</u> vs FU * <u>ä</u> /medial J <u>g</u> , k, OJ <u>k</u> vs FU * <u>nk</u> . 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 51.
	OJ	-sok.u	4. Cf. Ramstedt 1952/58 (II), 197: Mo <u>suke-de</u> -, Tg <u>suke-de</u> - 'chop off with an axe'.
	J	sok.o.na u	
	OJ	sok.o.napu	
	Hu	szeg-	
	Vg	sen.g.ä.p	
	"	säng-	
	Os	sen.g.ä.t-	
	"	sen-	
	Zr	ts.g.ä-	
	Vty	ts.g.ä-	
	FU	* <u>čank</u> <u>3</u> - or * <u>sänk</u> <u>3</u> -	

423. J soko, OJ sōkō 'depth; bowels; the innermost or deepest part; bottom, sole'; e.g., OJ midu-sōkō 'bottom of the water', kōkōrō-nō sōkō 'bottom of the heart'. J, OJ sakaru (y.) 'prosper, flourish, thrive; copulate', J, OJ sakari 'height, summit, peak; the prime (of life); heat/mating', OJ wo-zakari 'the prime of a man's life' (wo 'man').

Table 423	J	sok.o	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>szék</u> ~OHu, dial. <u>szík</u> , <u>széka</u> 'pith, core, marrow; heart; essence; strength, vigor; yolk of egg'.--Origin unknown.
	OJ	sōk.ō	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>cika</u> ~? <u>cikō</u> /- <u>ō</u> dim. formant/ 'young, tender shoots in the center of leafy plants (lettuce, cabbage, etc.), bud, sprout, core, nucleus (of a head of cabbage and the like)',
	J,OJ	sak.a.ru	? <u>cikora</u> '(plant) embryo, bud'.-- This word family may be related to <u>szék</u> (above).
	"	sak.a.ri	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'the innermost part, the center', hence 'the prime or most vigorous part of life, which is also the period of procreation'. 2. Phon.: initial J <u>s</u> -, OJ <u>s</u> - (= <u>ts</u>) vs Hu <u>sz</u> -, <u>o</u> - (in OHu and in the dialects <u>c</u> ~ <u>sz</u> alternation is attested) / 1st syll. J <u>e</u> , <u>a</u> , OJ <u>č</u> , <u>a</u> vs Hu <u>é</u> , <u>i</u> , <u>i</u> /medial J, OJ <u>k</u> vs Hu <u>k</u> /cf. the final of the primary stem, J <u>o</u> , <u>a</u> , OJ <u>č</u> , <u>a</u> to Hu <u>a</u> , <u>o</u> in the same position. 3. Note the ending Hu - <u>ra</u> which is also found in <u>faszo-ra</u> 'penis' and, probably, in Fi <u>kama-ra</u> 'crust', etc., s. Lehtisalo 1936, 180 ff.; cf. - <u>ra</u> in J <u>komu-ra</u> 'calf of the leg', <u>kashi-ra</u> 'head', etc.
	Hu	szék	
	"	szík	
	"	szek.a	
	"	cik.a	
	"	cik.ō	
	"	cik.o.ra	

424. J sonaeru 'make an offering/sacrifice (to a god), dedicate (to), provide (for), make preparations (for); furnish (a house); be equipped (with)', sonae 'preparations, preparedness, provision; equipment' (e.g., for defence), sonawaru 'be furnished/provided (with), possess', OJ schapu (sh.n.) 'to complete, make perfect; gather, arrange', OJ sonaparu = sonawaru, OJ schapu (y.) 'be furnished completely, be arranged properly'; J totonoeru, OJ totonōpu (sh.n.) 'prepare,

Table 424

J	son.a. eru	arrange, settle, conclude', <u>totonou</u> , OJ <u>tótónópu</u> (y.) ~ <u>totonoporu</u> (y.) 'be complete/completely prepared; be settled/set/terminated/decided'.
"	son.a. e	
"	son.a.waru	SW 165: * <u>ton</u> 'number (?)'; cf. Tv der. <u>tua'ba'ama</u> 'to read' = Yn <u>tutás</u> 'to count', Yn der. <u>tolaś</u> 'to figure, count', <u>tónlās</u>
OJ	son.a.pu	id., Sk <u>tót</u> ~ <u>ton</u> '100', Abakai <u>thun</u> '100'.
"	son.a.paru	
"	son.a.pu	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>szán-</u> 'consider, plan, intend (to do); be sorry (for); spare, save, preserve, take care of (with a purpose); intend to give (some valuable object to somebody), reserve/destine (something for someone), dedicate/devote/assign (something/life to, say, a task)'--This word family is of OTu origin; cf. Uig, Chag <u>san-</u> 'think, consider, deem, suppose', Türkmen <u>sān-</u> 'to count, appreciate, value, take into account/consideration', Chuv <u>sun-</u> 'to desire, want to, be of good intention; to love; to hope; expect'; cf. further Mo <u>sana-</u> 'think, deem, intend; remember'. The semantic aspect 'be of good intention; to love' (in Chuv) may have served as the basis for the Hu meaning 'be sorry for; spare; take care of'.

Comm.: 1. It is probable that Hu borrowed szán- from Tu. However, Hu has so many doubtful, phonologically uncertain so-called OTu loanwords that it does not harm to mention szán- in the present context.--P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'prepare so as to be complete', hence 'count (> read), consider, plan', hence 'sacrifice to the gods for the success of one's endeavour'. 2. On the J side, we see two variants as stems: son- and ton- (to- is the reduplicated CV shaped root, in agreement with the pattern seen so far); for the alternation of initial s- with t-, there are several good examples in J (cf. for example entry sane).--Phon.: initial J s-, t-, OJ s- (= ts), t- vs PSam *t-, ? Hu sz- /1st syll. J o, OJ o, ś vs PSam *o, ? Hu ś /medial J, OJ n vs PSam *n, ? Hu n. 3. Cf. Poppe 1960, 97: Mo sana- 'to think' = Ma sa- (= sā-) 'to know', Ev sā- 'come to know' ... = OTu sa- (= sā-) 'to count', san 'a number', sana- (= sā-n-a-) 'to count'. 4. Cf. Benzing 1956, 37: Tg *tanu- 'to read' > *tanun 'to count' = Go taon-, Olča, Oroki taun- > Ude taun- 'to count'; tani- 'to read', Neg, Ev, Lam tan- id.

425. J sora, OJ sōra 'heaven, sky; air, weather'.

Table 425

J	sor.a	Mu. - Szi.: Vg <u>tōrēm</u> , <u>tāram</u> 'heaven, sky; God (above, also minor 'gods'); quarter of the heaven'.
OJ	sōra	
Vg	tōr.ē.m	Patkanov 1902: Os Irish <u>tūrum</u> , <u>tūram</u> , <u>tūrm</u> 'god, godhead; sky, heaven; light; world; weather'.
Os	tūr.u.m	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'sky; air'. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs Vg, Os t- /1st syll. J o, OJ ś vs Vg o, ś, Os u /medial J, OJ r vs Vg, Os r /final J, OJ -a vs Vg ē, ə, Os u, ə. 3. Vg, Os -m is likely a denom. noun formant. 4. Cf. Diószegi 1978, 109: "The Chuvash still sacrifice white horses to their god Tor" (the Chuvash are descendants of the Volga-Bulgars; the general Chuv term for 'god, godhead' is given by Ramstedt 1952/58, 216 as turē; standing isolated in Tu, could it be a loanword?).

426. J sou, OJ sopu, Ōno: (also) sōpu (y.) 'accompany, attend (to), be added/

Table 426

J	so .u	married (to), suit/meet (one's purpose), comply (with), satisfy, be adjusted (to); draw close, snuggle against, be next to; lie along' (e.g., a row of houses following the shoreline),
OJ	sop.u	J <u>soeru</u> , OJ <u>sopu</u> (sh.n.) affix, annex, attach, add to; bring/draw close (Vt), J <u>sowaru</u> , Ōno: <u>soparu</u> (y.) 'be added to/increased; grow in size', J <u>sowasu</u> , <u>sowaseru</u> 'to mate/match (a man with a woman)', OJ <u>sōporu</u> (conj. unmarked) = <u>sowaru</u> .
"	sop.u	
J	so .e.ru	
"	sow.a.ru	
"	sow.a.su	
OJ	sop.a.ru	SKES (ex.): Fi <u>sopia</u> 'to fit/suit/match; agree; be compatible/accommodating/harmonious', <u>sopu</u> 'agreement, unity, harmony',
"	sōp.o.ru	<u>sovitta-a</u> 'fit, suit, adopt, accommodate (to); adjust, modify',
Fi	sop.i.a	<u>Est gobida</u> = Fi <u>soveltua</u> 'be suited/adapted/fitted', Veps
"	sop.u	<u>sobittada</u> 'be becoming, clothe, suit well', etc.
"	sov.e.l tua	
Est	sob.i.da	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'fit/add (to); match/harmonize (with)'. 2. Phon.: initial J <u>s-</u> , OJ <u>s-</u> (= <u>ts</u>) vs Fi <u>s-</u> /1st syll. J <u>ə</u> , OJ <u>o</u> , <u>ś</u> vs Fi <u>o</u> /medial J <u>o</u> , <u>w</u> , OJ <u>p</u> vs Fi <u>p</u> , <u>y</u> , <u>b</u> .

427. J <u>soyo-</u>	: <u>soyo-soyo</u> , Ōno: <u>soyo-soyo</u> 'gently, softly' (said of the blowing of the wind), J <u>soyogu</u> , Ōno: <u>soyogu</u> (y.) '(Vi) rustle, stir, sway, quiver' (e.g., of reeds swaying in the wind), OJ <u>saya<u>gu</u></u>
Table 427	id., OJ <u>saya-saya</u> '(like) the sound of twigs/leaves rubbing one against the other', <u>sayagi</u> ~ <u>saya</u> 'a noise'.
J, Ō. soy.o-	
" " soy.o.gu	
" " soy.o.gi	
OJ say.a	FUV 128, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>zaj</u> 'noise, racket, sound, clash', <u>zajong</u> ~ ŌHu <u>szajong</u> 'be noisy/turbulent/clamorous, make a din' ~ Vg <u>saj</u> , <u>su</u> 'sound; news, hearsay, fame; noise' / Os <u>saj</u> , <u>sej</u> 'voice, sound, noise; news' / Fi <u>soi-</u> '(Vi) ring, sound' / Lp <u>čuo<u>ggjā</u></u> ~ <u>čuo<u>jā</u></u> / ? Ch <u>šakte-</u> , <u>šokte-</u> '(Vi) ring, sound; play (an instrument)' / J.--Onomatopoeic?-- Ugric * <u>soj</u> , ? FU * <u>soje</u> (-).
Vg sqj	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'noise; sound'. 2. Phon.: initial J <u>s-</u> , OJ <u>s-</u> (= <u>ts</u>) vs Ugric * <u>s-</u> , ? FU * <u>s-</u> / 1st syll. J, Clj <u>o</u> , OJ <u>a</u> vs Ugric * <u>u</u> , ? FU * <u>o</u> / medial J, OJ <u>i</u> vs Ugric, ?FU <u>i</u> . 3. In the 3rd syll., J, OJ <u>g</u> as verb formant is paralleled by Hu <u>ng</u> (where <u>n</u> can only be a glide). 4. Cf. entry <u>sawagu</u> . 5. Regarding the doubtful Ch forms, cf. Mo <u>šayagi</u> 'be continuously at it; make a lot of racket/noise' (Street - Miller 1975, 83).
" suj	
Os sōi	
" sōi	
Fi so .i-	
Lp čuo <u>j.ā</u>	
Ugric *soj.ɤ	
? FU *sōj.e(-)	

428. J, OJ <u>su</u>	'rough mat; a blind/screen' (made of bamboo or reed tied suitably), J, Clj <u>suku</u> 'weave/make a net'.
Table 428	
J, OJ su	? Zr si
J, Clj su.k.u	" sy
Hu szō	" šī
" szō.v-	? Vty šī
" sō.v.ény	" šē
Vg se.β	? Fi sē. ā
sa.γ	FU *šā.ŋ.3
" sa.γ	or *se.ŋ.3
Os sē.χ	or *še.k.2
" se.μ	or *se.γ.3
" sq.γ. .tā-	or *še.β.3
" se.μ. .dā-	

--The Zr, Vty, and Fi words could belong to another etymology, too.-- FU *šāŋ.
If Fi sāā does not belong here, then: FU *sen3, or *šek3, or *sey3, or *seβ3.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'piece together, construct', hence 'mat, carpet, wicker-work, braid, yarn' (perhaps by semantic transfer: 'hair, bristle, beard', being similar to purposely assembled thin material). 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs FU *s- or *š- / 1st syll. J, OJ u vs FU *ā or *e / medial J, Clj k vs FU *ŋ, or *k, or *γ, or *β. 3. The circumstance that suku is not attested in OJ does not mean that this verb did not exist in the language at that time.--The verb suku is evidently based on the noun su.

429. J, OJ <u>su</u>	'vinegar', J <u>su-i</u> , <u>suppa-i</u> , Ōno: <u>su-si</u> 'sour; acid; tart', OJ
Table 429	
J, OJ su	? Ch šā.pē
J su-i	" šō.βo
Ō. su-si	? MdE tša.pamo
J su. eru	" šā.pamā
" shi. o	? Fi ha.pan
OJ si.po	" ha.po
" ? su.wu	Est ha.pe
" su.yu	" ha.pu
" su.yurn	Ugric *čā.β3
Hu sa.vanyū	(? FU)
" sa.vó	FU *čā.ppa
Vg šš.β-	
" sš.β-	
" šš.wi-	
Os tšē.γ tā	
" sē.μ dā	

susi 'boiled rice and other food flavoured with vinegar', J sueru, Chamberlain: suy ~ suw, Ōno: suy (sh.n.) 'turn sour; go bad/rotten (of food)', OJ suy (y.) id., J shio 'salt water, sea water; tide', OJ sipo 'salt; sea water; tide'.
TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu savanyú ~ dial. savanya, sovanyu 'sour; tart; foul/pungent (of smell)', savó 'whey', ? sóska 'sorrel', ? su 'salt'.--The base of this word family, sav-, is comparable to ~ Vg šš.β-, sš.β- 'make sour; pickle', šš.wi- 'get sour' / Os tš.γ.tā 'get/turn sour/fermented; rise (of dough)', seudā id.; 'decay, rot' (e.g., a rope) / ? Ch šāpō 'sour', šō.βo 'kwāš' (= 'sour beer') / ? MdE tšāpamo, šāpamā 'sour' / ? Fi hapan id., happo 'acid', Est happe 'leavening; acidification; leaven, acidifier', hapu 'sour,

acid'.--Hu -ny, Md -mo/-mä, Fi -n are denom. nom. formants.-- Ugric (? FU)

*šabš. If the Ch, Md, Fi, and Est forms belong here, then: FU *šappa.

Comm.: 1. Taking the OJ stems suw-/suw- and sip- (of sipo) as differently developed forms from the same root---the p.b.m.f.b.s. is 'sour; acid; tart; salt(y)'. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, sh-, OJ s- (= ts) vs Ugric, ? FU *š- /1st syll. J, OJ u, i vs Ugric, ? FU *a /medial J š, pp, OJ y, p, ? w vs Ugric (?FU) *š, ? FU *pp. 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 59.

430. J <u>subomu</u> ~ <u>subomaru</u> , Öno: <u>subomu</u> (y.) 'become narrow(er), taper off', J <u>subomeru</u> , Öno: <u>subomu</u> (sh.n.) 'make (a thing) narrower', Öno: <u>subaru</u> (y.) 'get narrow(er)', OJ <u>subu-subu</u> , <u>subu-si</u> 'narrow'.			
Table 430			
J, Ö.	sub.o.mu	? Hu dial.	szup.o-
J	sub.o.maru	" "	szup.u-
"	sub.o.meru	- - - - -	- - - - -
OJ	sub.u-si	Yn	séb.i
Ö.	sub.a.ru	"	séb.i.re
Hu	sov.á.ny	"	seb.i.máro
"	sav.á.n	"	síb.i.d m
"	siv.á.n	Sk	sép.e.ŋ
"	suh.á.ny	"	sép.i.k
MdE	tšov.a	"	šab.o.ga
"	tšov.i.še	Km	šēm.kē
MdM	šöv.a	"	šw.m.kē
"	šöv.a.še		
Fi	hup.a		
Est	hub.a		
"	hub.a.ne		
FU	*čup.a		

TESZ (ex.): Hu dial. szupojko, szupu-jko/a 'slim, slight, slender, tapering, lank; small; shrivelled, wizened (of the body); lean, meagre'.--Origin unknown.--The ending -kó/-ka appears to be a dim. formant.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'small; lean; narrow'. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs FU *š-, ? Hu sz- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs FU *u /medial J, OJ b vs FU *p /final of the primary stem, J, ClJ o, a, OJ u vs FU *a, u--It seems that the Hu dial. stem szupu- is an archaic form in which sz- vs s-, -p vs -v, -u vs -o, and (second) -u vs á of sovány could be of relevance. 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 55 where Yr sivie, sibi, sibiteku 'easy, light' are also adduced. 4. Because it seems pertinent, I adduce potentially useful data from SW 67: *kejpə- 'trifling, light'; cf. Yn der. sébi, sébi, sebi id., der. correlative aorist 1st sg sebi, sebi 'become trifling', sibidm 'be light, trifling'/Sk der. sepen, sepi, šabega 'become light, easy'; cf. Km šemke, šw.mke 'light, easy; cheap' = Koibal cjumka 'cheaply'.

431. J <u>sue</u> , OJ <u>suwe</u> 'end (e.g., of the branches of a tree), tree-top, extremity'; e.g., OJ <u>mótó-suwe</u> 'trunk and top' (of a tree; <u>mótó</u> 'root, base'), <u>yu-zuwe</u> 'the top end of the bow', <u>yama-suwe</u> 'top of the mountain'.	
Table 431	
J	su.e
OJ	suw.e
Hu	süv.e.g
- - - - -	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>süveg</u> 'head-gear' (esp. the tall, conical type/; conical or rounded top of various objects; the angled/pointed top of some roof structures).--Origin unknown.
Ch	šom.a.kš
Os	sum.i.n.təh
Yr	saw.u. a
"	saw.a
"	ham.a
Tv	sam.u
Yn	so.e
U	*šum.a

FUV 77: Ch šomaks 'linen cloth, at one end of which the two corners are folded to the middle and sewn together, so that this end is pointed and fashioned into a hood' (der.) /Os sumintəh 'kerchief, shawl' (der.) /Yr sawu, sawu, hama 'cap' /Tv samu /Yn soe.-- U *šuma.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'top; end; cap(ping)'. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs Hu s-, U *š- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs Hu u, U *u /medial J š, OJ w vs Hu y, U *m /final J, OJ -e vs Hu e (open), U *-a.

432. J suga- : suga-sugashi-i, OJ suga-si, suga-suga-si 'refreshing, bracing, fresh- (of air)'.

Table 432		
J	sug.a-shi-i	FUV 130, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi <u>syksy</u> , <u>syys</u> 'autumn', Est <u>sügis</u> ~ <u>sügise-</u> / Lp <u>šakšä</u> ~ <u>šavčä</u> / MdE <u>sokš</u> , <u>šoks</u> , <u>šokš</u> , MdM <u>sokš</u> , <u>šoks</u> / Ch <u>šezä</u> , <u>šizä</u> / Vty <u>šizyl</u> , <u>šizel</u> / Vg <u>tüks</u> , etc. / Os <u>sögsä</u> , etc. / Hu <u>ősz</u> id. -- (FUV:) FU * <u>sukeše</u> , (TESZ, MSZFE:) FU * <u>sikše</u> or * <u>sükše</u> . -- Os <u>s-</u> , Lp <u>š-</u> , Vty <u>š-</u> are irregular; Vty <u>-l</u> is a denom. noun formant.
OJ	sug.a-si	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'cool/bracing (air)' (which is characteristic of autumn weather; cf. a) Hu <u>nyár</u> 'summer' which is linked by TESZ to the concept 'wet', b) Fi <u>suvi</u> 'summer; mild weather, thaw; south; southwind', c) German <u>Herbst</u> 'autumn', originally 'fruit gathering'. 2. Phon.: initial J <u>s-</u> , OJ <u>s-</u> (= <u>ts</u>) vs FU * <u>s-</u> / 1st syll. J, OJ <u>u</u> vs FU * <u>u</u> , ? * <u>i</u> / medial J, OJ <u>g</u> vs FU * <u>k</u> / stem-final J, OJ <u>a</u> vs FU * <u>-e</u> . 3. Apart from the 1st syll. vowel, the difference between (FUV:) FU * <u>sukeše</u> and (TESZ, MSZFE:) * <u>sikše</u> / <u>sükše</u> is that Collinder accepts the Est and Os evidence concerning the erstwhile presence of a vowel between * <u>k</u> and * <u>š</u> . I could not agree with him more.
Fi	syk. .sy	
"	sy .y.s	
Est	süg.i.s	
"	süg.i.se-	
Lp	šak. .čä	
"	čav. .čä-	
Md	sok. .š	
Ch	šä. .žä	
"	ši. .žä	
Vty	šiz.y.l	
Vg	tük. .s	
Os	sög.ä.s	
Hu	ő. .sz	
FU	*suk.e.še	
? FU	*sik. .še	
"	*šük. .še	

Table 433		
J	sug.i.ru	Vg <u>šäv</u>
"	sug.u.reru	Os <u>šoh</u>
OJ	sug.u	šak
"	sug.u.ru	Zr <u>ššek</u>
Č.	sok.u	Ch <u>šok</u>
"	sok.o	" <u>šok.a</u>
OJ	sök.č	" <u>ššak.a.ta</u>
J	suk.o	
"	sok.i-	FU * <u>šukkš</u>
Hu	sok	or * <u>šokš</u>
"	suk	
"	sak	
"	sog	
"	sik	
"	szik	

FUV 128, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu sok ~ OHu suk, sak, sog ~ dial. sik, szik, šük 'village, hamlet' (used as the second member of place-names); a multitude; many, much, a lot', sokä 'for a long time', sokan (adv.) 'a great many people' ~ Vg šäv 'much, many' / Os šoh, šak, etc. 'thick, dense, bushy; thicket, brush-wood' / Zr ššek 'dense, densely growing' (crop, forest), ššekid id. / Ch šok, šoka 'thick (e.g. gruel)', ššakata 'dense, thick, strong, solid'.

-- FU *šukkš or *šokš 'dense, thick'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'much, exceeding; dense'. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs FU *š- / 1st syll. J u, o, OJ u, š vs FU *u or *o / medial J, OJ k, g vs FU *kk. 3. Cf. FUV 157: Hu sok ... // Tu Osm šoq 'much, too much'.

434. J suji, OJ sudi 'muscle, tendon, sinew, vein, fiber, grain, texture; strife. streak; lineage, descent, stock'.

Table 434		
J	suji.i	Ch <u>jéž.ä.n</u>
OJ	sud.i	" <u>jčž.ä.n</u>
Hu	iz	MdE <u>ež.ä.n</u>
"	iz.o.m	MdM <u>jež.ä.n</u>
Os	izt	Fi <u>jäs.e.n</u>
"	izt	Est <u>jäs.e</u>
Ugric	*jšt.ä	FU * <u>jäs.e</u>
Zr	jöz.na	or * <u>jäs. .ne</u>
"	jez	
Vty	jöz	

'joint; generation' / MdE ežä, MdM ježä, ežä 'joint, articulation, limb' / Fi jäsen id., Est jäse 'link (in a chain); limb'. -- This equation is only acceptable if Ch -n, Md -ä, -ne, Fi -ne are formants. -- FU *jäse or *jäsne. -- Concerning possible A links of these words, s. Ligeti, MNY 44, 440.

Comm.: 1. Since they are semantically identical and phonetically very close to each other, I take Ugric *šuts and its reflexes together with FU *jäse/jäsne and its reflexes. The two groups are probably variants of each other.--P.b.m.f. b.s.: 'joint, node in a body (also of a plant)', hence figuratively: 'generation, descent'. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs Ugric, FU *j- (for s-~j- alternation in J, cf. susugu ~ yusugu 'to rinse, wash, pour', /Shizuoka dial., according to Haguenauer 1956, 279) saburu = yaburu 'to tear, smash') /1st syll. J, OJ u vs Ugric *š, FU *š /medial J j, OJ d vs Ugric *t, FU *g. 3. The element FU *ne is additional to a formerly disyllabic stem.

435. J <u>sukeru</u> , OJ <u>suku</u> (sh.n) 'to help, assist', J <u>suke</u> , OJ <u>suké</u> 'assistance, aid-', J <u>sukuu</u> , OJ <u>sukupu</u> (y.) 'to help', J <u>sukui</u> , OJ <u>sukupi</u>	
J <u>suk.e.ru</u>	'help, aid, assistance'.
" <u>suk.e</u>	FUV 127, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>segít</u> - 'to help, give aid, remedy (somebody's ill health)', <u>segéd</u> 'helper, assistant, protector; (OHu) aid, assistance', <u>segédelém</u> 'assistance', OHu and dial. <u>segél</u> - 'to aid' ~ Mde <u>čanode</u> -, <u>šanode</u> - 'to help'.--Mde
OJ <u>suk.u.u</u>	<u>d</u> , Hu <u>it</u> are verb formants.-- FU * <u>čank</u> ---Cf. Yuk <u>čan</u> , <u>čen</u>
OJ <u>suk.u.pu</u>	'to help', <u>čan</u> 'protector, defender'.
Hu <u>seg.i.t</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'help'. 2. Phon.: initial J <u>s</u> -, OJ
" <u>seg.é.d</u>	<u>s</u> - (= <u>ts</u>) vs FU * <u>š</u> - /1st syll. J, OJ <u>u</u> vs FU * <u>š</u> /medial J, OJ <u>k</u>
" <u>seg.é.l</u>	vs FU * <u>nk</u> .
Mde <u>čan.o.de</u>	
" <u>šan.š.de</u>	
FU * <u>čank</u> -	
Yuk <u>čan</u>	

436. J suki, OJ suki 'a plough', J, OJ suku (y.) 'to plough'.

Table 436	
J <u>suk.i</u>	Ravila 1959: Mde <u>soka</u> 'a plough', <u>sokams</u> 'to plough', <u>sokafams</u>
OJ <u>suk.i</u>	'to dig, grub'.
J, OJ <u>suk.u</u>	Juhász 1961: MdM <u>soka</u> 'wooden plough', <u>tšoka</u> 'a short-handled
Mde/M <u>sok.a</u>	shovel'.
MdM <u>tšok.a</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'spade; primitive plough'. 2. Phon.: initial J <u>s</u> -, OJ <u>s</u> - (= <u>ts</u>) vs Md <u>s</u> -, <u>tš</u> - /1st syll. J, OJ <u>u</u> vs Md
	<u>š</u> /medial J, OJ <u>k</u> vs Md <u>k</u> .

437. J <u>sukoshi</u> , OJ <u>sukósi</u> (noun and adv.) 'a little, a small quantity, a dash, a few; in small numbers; a moment; a little way; a short distance', J <u>sukuna-i</u> , OJ <u>sukuna-si</u> '(being) a few/little; rare, scarce, scanty' (Omodaka: <u>suko-si</u> and <u>sukuna-si</u> are probably related).	
J <u>suk.ósi</u>	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>szűk</u> ~OHu <u>szik</u> 'destitute, needy, poor; of small
OJ <u>suk.una-i</u>	size/space, narrow; of small quantity; close, tight, confined;
OJ <u>suk.una-si</u>	insufficient; lack/paucity (of means)', <u>szűkös</u> 'scanty, needy;
Hu <u>szűk</u>	narrow', <u>szükség</u> 'need, poverty, scarcity'.--Origin unknown.
" <u>szik</u>	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>szégyen</u> ~OHu <u>szigin</u> , <u>szégin</u> , dial. <u>szégin</u> ,
" <u>szük.ös</u>	<u>szigin</u> , <u>szegény</u> , etc. 'wretched, miserable, poor, needy;
" <u>szég.ény</u>	slight'.--Origin unknown.
" <u>szég.in</u>	Comm.: 1. Taking <u>szűk</u> and <u>szégyen</u> to be variant develop-
" <u>szig.in</u>	ments-- p.b.m.f.b.s.: 'small, insufficient; poor'. 2. Phon.: initial J <u>s</u> -, OJ

(= ts) vs Hu sz- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs Hu ü, i, é /medial J, OJ k vs Hu k, g.

438. J <u>suku</u> , Ōno: <u>suku</u> (y.) 'be fond of, like, have a preference (for)', J, Ōno: <u>suki</u> 'liking, fondness', J <u>suki-ni naru</u> 'get to like (some- thing), become fond (of), take a fancy (to someone or something)'.	
J, Ō. <u>suk.u</u>	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>szok(ik)</u> ~OHu <u>szuk</u> -, <u>szak</u> - 'do (something) habitu-
" <u>suk.i</u>	ally; be in the habit (of), be accustomed (to), get used (to)/
Hu <u>szok</u>	familiarized (with)', <u>szokás</u> 'habit, wont, custom'.--Origin un-
" <u>szuk</u>	known.
" <u>szak</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'get used/accustomed (to)', hence 'to
" <u>szak.ás</u>	like; be fond of' (as a rule, habit brings about liking). 2. Phon.: initial J <u>s</u> -, OJ <u>s</u> - (= <u>ts</u>) vs Hu <u>sz</u> - /1st syll. J, OJ <u>u</u> vs Hu <u>o</u> , <u>u</u> , <u>a</u> /medial J, OJ <u>k</u> vs Hu <u>k</u> .

439. J, OJ suku (y.) 'be/become thin/transparent/empty; have a gap (so that light, air, wind can go through' (note: this verb is written with a Chinese sign which stands for 'air, sky, emptiness').

Table 439	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>ég</u> ~ <u>ége</u> - 'sky, sky vault; (OHu) air, heaven;
J, OJ <u>suk.u</u>	breath' ~ Zr <u>synód</u> , <u>synad</u> 'air'; <u>sined</u> , <u>sind</u> 'warm steam/evaporation'
Hu <u>ég</u>	(arising in the open air); smoke arising after a fire and floating over the forest' /Fi <u>sää</u> 'weather, atmospheric conditions'.
" <u>eg.e</u>	--In Hu, a sound change * <u>ŋ</u> ->* <u>nk</u> -> <u>g</u> has taken place.--Some
Zr <u>syn.öd</u>	scholars exclude the Fi word, including instead Os <u>säng</u> 'bright,
" <u>syn.ad</u>	clear, transparent (as air or water); (noun) light, brightness;
" <u>sined</u>	world'. However, semantically the Fi word agrees better with the
Fi <u>sä .ä</u>	Hu and the Zr words than with the Os one.--Zr <u>-d</u> is a denom. noun
? Os <u>säng.ə</u>	formant.-- FU <u>*säne</u> 'air'.
FU <u>*säne</u>	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'air; emptiness', hence 'thinness, transparency'. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs FU *s-/1st syll. J, OJ u vs FU *ä /medial J, OJ k vs FU *ŋ.

440. J sumi, OJ sumi 'corner, nook'.

Table 440	Mu. - Szi.: Vg <u>sām</u> 'corner, nook, inner angle; tract of land',
J <u>sum.i</u>	<u>sāmp</u> , <u>sāmin</u> 'angled, angular, cornered'.
OJ <u>sum.i</u>	

Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs Vg s- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs Vg ā (note: vowel length here is probably due to compensatory lengthening and/or strong stress) /medial J, OJ m vs Vg m. 3. Vg -n and -p are formants. 4. Cf. Pröhle No. 62.

441. J, OJ sumu (y.) '(Vi) settle (e.g., of turbid water), become clear (e.g., the sky)/serene (e.g., the moon or the mind); be completed/over-

Table 441	settled', J, <u>sumasu</u> (y.) 'clear, clarify, settle, finish, get
J, OJ <u>sum.u</u>	through (with)'--Ono: The above word family is related to OJ
" <u>sum.a.su</u>	<u>sumu</u> (y.) 'to reside/dwell/settle down (somewhere), live (at
PSam <u>*sum.ə</u>	some place)'. SW 143: <u>*sumə</u> (?~ <u>sümə</u> ~ <u>*simə</u> -) 'stop blowing, be calm (of the

wind)'; cf. Tv der. aor. 3rdsg šimimidä 'the wind ceases', Yn sū, su'u, Sk sum, der. sūma id.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'come to an end; settle'. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs PSam *s- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs PSam *u /medial J, OJ m vs PSam *m. 3. Cf. entry sumu 'live, dwell'.

442. J, OJ sumu (y.) 'dwell, reside, live' (somewhere; also said of birds),

Table 442	OJ <u>sumi</u> 'dwelling place' = J <u>sumi-ka</u> (- <u>ka</u> 'place'), J, OJ <u>su</u>
J, OJ <u>sum.u</u>	'nest; den; breeding place; a home'.
OJ <u>sum.i</u>	

FUV 26 (ex.): Fi asu- 'reside, live, dwell, inhabit', asetta- 'to place, put, set', ase- 'place oneself', asema 'position, place, station' /? Lp Skolt assä- 'erect a forest tent' /Md ezem 'a place/position; bench fastened to the wall in a Md room' /Yr ŋōōso-, naeso- 'stop and put up one's tent' /? Sk sy- 'become; start' (e.g., speaking) /--U *aśō-.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'reside/begin to live somewhere'. 2. Phon.: with reference to entry deru, OJ idu, etc., I propose that *a- of U *aśō- is secondary; thus---initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs U *ä /1st syll. J, OJ u vs U *ō /medial J, OJ m (in sumu, etc. which are taken to be expansions of su) vs m in Fi asema, Md ezem (deverbal nouns). 3. Cf. entry sumu 'settle'.

443. J sune 'leg, shank, shin', OJ sune 'bone marrow; leg, shank, shin'.

FUV 75, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu in ~ ina- 'shin, shank, calf of the leg; nerve; rope, cord (e.g., of the seine or the ground line); sinew, tendon, muscle; bine, tendril, runner (of plants); bowstring; blood-vessel, vein' / Fi suoni 'sinew, tendon; vein', Est soon 'vein; sinew, muscle; vascular tissue in the body' /Lp suodnā ~ suonā- 'sinew, tendon; artery, vein; (bow)string' /Md san 'sinew; vein' / Ch šün, šün 'sinew; (?) vein' /Yty sön 'sinew' /Zr sön 'sinew; vein' /Vg töön 'sinew; vein; string' /Os jan, lan, ton id. /Yr tee, tean, tön, tean, töön-, työn 'sinew;

Table 443							vein'/Tv <u>taan</u> ~ <u>tana</u> - 'sinew'/Yn <u>ti</u> ' ~ <u>tin</u> -/Sk <u>ten</u> , <u>čan</u> , <u>can</u> /Km <u>ten</u> --- U
J, OJ	sun.e	Vg	tōn	Yn	tin-		<u>*sōne</u> or <u>*sene</u> .
Hu	in	Os	jan	Sk	ten		
"	in.a-	"	lan	"	čan		MTSs: Hu dial. <u>kényér</u> 'ine' 'the heavy,
Fi	sun.i	"	ton	"	can		soap-like layer in a badly baked loaf
Est	soon	Yr	tēʔ	Km	ten		of bread' (<u>kényér</u> 'bread'; -e pxʔrdsg).
Lp	sun.ā-	"	tean				Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'interior/
Md	san	"	tōn	U	*sōn.e		essential matter' (e.g., marrow, nerve,
Ch	šün	Tv	tān	or	*sēn.e		vein, tendon, sinew), hence 'string'
"	šün	"	tan.a-				(frequently made of the long sinews
Zr/Vty	sōn	Yn	ti'				found in the hind legs of large quadru-

'leg, shank, shin'. 3. Phon.: initial s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs U *s-/ 1st syll. J, OJ u vs U *ō or *a /medial J, OJ n vs U *n /final J, OJ -g vs U *-e.

444. J <u>suneru</u> , Ōno: <u>sunu</u> (sh.n.) 'be of twisted/perverse nature; be dissatisfied (and so)/against one's fellow beings; resentful', <u>sune-si</u>	
Table 444	
J sun.e.ru	'perverse, crooked, stubborn, obstinate'.
Ō. sun.u	
" sun.e-si	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>sunyi</u> 'shifty, sly, cunning, deceitful, wily',
Hu sun.yi	<u>suny(ik)</u> 'look shifty; sneak to (somebody), approach (someone)
" sun-y-	slyly; behave in a shifty/treacherous manner', dial. <u>sunnyog-</u> ,
" sun.y.o.rog-	<u>sunnog-</u> , <u>szunnog-</u> 'lie low, skulk; shirk, evade responsibility',
" szun.o.g-	(der.) <u>sunyorog-</u> id., <u>sunya</u> , <u>suna</u> 'which droops/bows down; sly, false-hearted'.--Origin uncertain.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'twisted, bent'. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, ClJ s- (<ts) vs Hu s-, sz- /1st syll. J, ClJ u vs Hu u /medial J, ClJ n vs Hu ny, nn (where nn is the result of gemination). 3. Note the forment r (? frequ.) in suneru and sunyorog-.

445. OJ suri 'vessel, container, receptacle'.

Table 445				FUV 75: /? Est <u>sulu</u> 'trough'/Vty <u>šylys</u> 'small
OJ	sur.i	Yn	suđ.o.ka	oval tub made of wood' (in which, for instance,
? Est	sul.u	? Sk	sol.a.ŋ	meal is sifted) /? Tv <u>sil'a</u> 'ka' 'trough-like recep-
Vty	šul.y.s	"	hol.a.k	table' /Yn <u>suđoka</u> /? Sk <u>solan</u> , <u>holak</u> 'spoon' /.
Tv	sil'a.ka	U	*šul.3	-- U <u>*sul3</u> .

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'receptacle'. Phon.: initial OJ s- (= ts) vs U *s- /1st syll. OJ u vs U *u /medial OJ r vs U *l.

446. J, OJ suru (y.) 'rub, scour, scratch, scrape, file', OJ suri- : suri-ita

Table 446				'printing board' (<u>ita</u> 'board'; the engraved writing was copied
J, OJ	sur.u			by rubbing the back of the paper laid over the inked board), J
J	sur.e.ru			<u>suri</u> 'printing, print', <u>ashi-zuri</u> 'stamping', <u>ashi-zuri-suru</u>
"	sur.e-			'scrape one's feet; stamp (on the floor)', J <u>sureru</u> , Ōno: <u>suru</u>
J, OJ	sur.i			(sh.i.) '(Vi) rub/chafe (together); wear; be worn', J <u>sure-sure</u>
Hu	súr.o.l-			'close (to), barely, just'.
"	sur.u.l-			TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>súrol</u> ~dial. <u>zsúrol</u> , <u>zsúrd</u> , <u>súrol</u> 'scour,
"	zsúr.u.l-			clean, scrub; rub/brush against; graze, touch, almost reach;
Lp	čalle-			wear, polish; file, pare, shave', dial. <u>súros</u> (adj.) 'who does
"	čal.ā-			the scrubbing' (e.g., of the boat), <u>súrutvál</u> 'to rub'.--Origin
Yr	sēl.a-			uncertain, perhaps onom.
U	*sēl.e-			FUV 29: Lp <u>čallā</u> ~ <u>calā</u> 'rub the antlers against something to

get the skin off' (said of reindeer) /Yr seela id.-- U *sele.
FUV 126: Lp čalle 'scratch; cut; write'. /This word is tentatively equated with
Fi säle 'splint, lath', sāli 'to split, slit' /Vg sil 'slit, cut' /Os sil 'slit,
rip, split' /Hu szel 'cut'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'rub; scrape; chafe' (as I see it, Lp čalle is a mere variant of čallā, both having the basic meaning proposed here). 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs Hu s-, zs-, U *s- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs Hu ú, u, U *e /medial J, OJ r vs Hu r, U *l

447. J surudo-i, Ōno: surudo-si 'pointed, sharp (of needle, knife, sword); violent, cutting; poignant', surudo 'pointedness, sharpness (of an object); severity, harshness; keenness' (also of the mind). (No etymology is offered.)

Table 447

J	sur.u.do- i	Fi	sur. .vo-(?)
Ö	sur.u.do(si)	"	sur. .va ise
Hu	szúr-	Est	sur. .vama
"	szur-	"	sur. .vuma
Ch	ser.e.m	"	sur.u
"	šur.e.m	FU	*sur. .ša

FUV 130, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu szúr- 'prick, thrust, sting, stab', szurdal- 'prick, puncture (repeatedly)', szurkál- id. ~ Ch šurēm, šurēm 'crush, stamp, pound; thrust, prick'/Fi survo- 'crush, stamp, pound', survaise- 'thrust', Est survama, survuma 'squeeze, press out', suruma id.; 'press down, humiliate, crush; quieten', suru 'pressure, pounding'.-- FU *surša-

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'pointed, sharp; stab, prick, thrust'. 2. Phon.: initial J s- vs FU *s-/ 1st syll. J u vs FU *u /medial J r vs FU *r. 3. The element do on the J side is a suffix, probably complementing the following adj. suffix.

4. The part *-ša of FU *surša should be, according to the pattern observed so far, additional to a formerly disyllabic stem.

Table 448

J, OJ	sus.u.mu	Os	soč-
J	sus.u.meru	"	suč-
? MāE	šaš. .to-	"	šoč-
"	čaš. .to	"	čuč
? MāM	šaš. .ta-	Sk	čāč.a-
Vg	šāš-	"	čāč.a-
"	šuš-	"	tāč.a-
"	sos-	"	"
"	sus-	U	*čač.3-

(sh.n.) '(Vt) advance, promote, stimulate, hasten, hurry on', OJ susu-si-kfopu 'rival/vie with another in moving forward' (Ōno: the stem of the verb is susu; si <su 'do' strengthens kfopu (y.) 'compete, fight for the first place').

FUV 77: /? MāE šašto-, čašto-, MāM šašta- 'stir, move, get in motion'/Vg šoč-, šuš-, sos-, sus- 'to wade'/Os soč-, suč-, šoč-, čuč- 'to walk, go' //Sk caaca-, čača-, tača- 'to travel, go'.-- U *čač.3-

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to advance'. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs U *č- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs U *a /medial J, OJ s (as above) vs U *č.

Table 449

J	su .u
OJ	sup.u
Hu	szív-
"	szip-
"	szop-
"	szup-
"	szív.ár-
"	szov.ár-
Vty	šup. ši-
Ch	šup. ša-
Vg	šip. ʔ-
Os	tšep. tá

TESZ (ex.): Hu szív-, szip- 'inhale, imbibe, suck (in)', szivat- 'cause to inhale/suck, etc.', szivárvány~dial. szovárvány ~ szuárvány 'rainbow' (according to popular belief, the sun sucks up the rain and turns it into a rainbow), szop(ik)~OHu szup- 'suck, sip'.--This word is of onom. origin and may be compared to: A) Vty šupšini 'suck, inhale'/Ch šupšam 'pull; suck', or, B) Vg šip-, šiprey 'suck'/Os tšepťá, šepťá, šepťi, sošťá 'suck, imbibe'.--The two equations are mutually exclusive, but both have phonological difficulties.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'suck; imbibe'. 2. Initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs Hu sz- (etc.) /1st syll. J, OJ u vs Hu i, i (< i), o, u (etc.) /medial J š, OJ p vs Hu v, p, š. 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 60.

4. As a probable variant development on the J side, cf. OJ sópotu (Ōno: sópōtu) (y., k.n.), later sobotu 'get drenched', ? cognate with sópō-puru (y.) 'to drizzle' (puru 'to fall', of rain, snow, etc.); cf. also Hu dial. szivos (adj.) 'moist, containing much moisture; clammy'.

Table 450

J	suz.u.shi-i
OJ	suz.u-si
J, Ō	suz.u.mu
PSam	*tets.3-
" ?	*tets.2-

450. J suzushi-i, OJ suzu-si 'cool, refreshing', J suzumu, Ōno: suzumu (y.) 'cool oneself; enjoy the (evening) cool'. SW 159: *tets.3- (? *tets.3-; *t = c, k, s, t) 'it is cold'; cf. Tv der. tasitim id., tasaga, česaga 'most; cold'/Yn teti, tšitšál 'it is cold'/Yr tšiši /Sk der. tešša 'chill, chilliness', tššek, časik, časio 'cold'/Km šišē 'cold, coldness, chill, the cool'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'cold; cool'. 2. Phon.: initial J s-, OJ s- (= ts) vs PSam *t- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs PSam *e /medial J, OJ z vs PSam *ts, ? *tš (as above). 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 63.

451. J ta, -da, OJ ta '(irrigated) land'.

Joki 1944: Km du, du, du, (Fl. tu) 'land; earth, ground; clay, loam; condition of the soil'.

Ravila 1959, Juhász 1961: Mā/M moda 'earth, soil, ground'.

Table 451

J, OJ	ta	sources give no indication that Md <u>moda</u> is a loanword and because
Km	du	it has no known U/FU cognates, the suggestion is made that it is a
"	du	compound: the part <u>mo-</u> could equal Ch <u>mi-</u> , Zr, Vty <u>mu</u> 'earth, land;
"	du	field' (FUV 52), while <u>-da</u> could be linked with Km <u>du</u> (compounds in
"	tu	which both parts mean almost the same thing are numerous in Hu and
? Md	-da	some Siberian languages). If the suggestion cannot be allowed, only

the Sam forms shall be compared to J, OJ ta. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ t- vs Km d-, t-, ? Md d- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Km u, u, ? Md a. 3. Reference is made to entry tsuchi 'earth, soil'; Comm. 3 there contains the suggestion that Sk cu 'clay, earth' is either a form shortened by a whole syllable or Sk duec has come about through derivation or the reduplication of an open monosyllabic word such as cu (with allowance made for later change). There is a chance that the two word families in question are related.

452. J taberu 'eat', Ōno: tabu (sh.n.) 'receive/take food or drink; eat, drink', OJ tabu (y.), tamapu (y.) 'give, grant, send present(s) (to someone), tamapu (sh.n.) 'be given (to), receive support'.

Table 452

J	ta.b.e.ru	FUV 130, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi <u>syö-</u> 'eat'/MdE <u>säve-</u> , <u>sävi-</u> , MdM <u>sewa-</u> , <u>sive-</u> , <u>sēve-</u> /Vty <u>ši-</u> /Zr <u>šoj-</u> /Vg <u>tšäi-</u> , <u>tši-</u> /Os <u>ig-</u> , <u>i-</u> , <u>lig-</u> , <u>li-</u> , <u>tew-</u> , <u>te-</u> /Hu <u>šv-</u> id.-- FU <u>*sewe-</u> or <u>*seve-</u> or <u>*sege-</u> .
OJ, Ō.	ta.b.u	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'eat'.--Due to the artificial
"	ta.m.a.pu	nature of court language, esp. as regards 'giving', 'keeping
Fi	sy. .ö-	(someone) in bread', 'receiving the means of livelihood', it is
MdE	sä.v.e-	difficult to peel out the basic meaning of the words adduced
"	sä.v.i-	on the J side. It is probable that <u>taberu</u> 'eat' and <u>tabu</u> 're-
MdM	se.v.ä-	ceive, ..., eat' are related to <u>tabu</u> , <u>tamapu</u> 'give', but we
"	.....	do not know it for certain. As a practical step, I assume
? Vty	ši-	that both pairs had, at one stage, the basic meaning 'eat;
? Zr	šoj-	have food and drink'. 2. Concerning the phonological side of
Vg	tšä.j-	the matter, I propose to handle first the characteristic con-
"	tšä.j-	sonant <u>b/m</u> of the primary stem <u>tab-/tam-</u> (on the J side). In-
Os	i.g-	deed, <u>tabu</u> could have come about--as Ōno writes--from <u>tamapu</u>
"	i-	by contraction and subsequent voicing of <u>p</u> . On the other hand,
"	li.g-	an ancient (unattested) <u>*tap.u</u> could equally have become <u>tabu</u>
"	li-	through the nasalised pronunciation of <u>*a</u> ; examples for the
"	te.w-	voicing of medial <u>p</u> , and for the occurrence of spirantised re-
"	te-	flexes of <u>p</u> (such as <u>š</u> , <u>w</u> , <u>ph</u> , <u>f</u> , <u>h</u> , <u>θ</u>) are numerous. Given
Hu	š.v	these conditions, I suggest that pre-OJ had two (variant)
"	š-	stems for the concept 'eat/drink; receive, be given food',
FU	*se.w.e-	namely: <u>*tap-</u> and <u>*tab-/m-</u> . If that is allowed, then ---initial
or	*se.š.e-	J, OJ <u>t-</u> vs FU <u>*s-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs FU <u>*e</u> /medial
or	*se.γ.e-	J, OJ <u>b</u> , ? <u>m</u> vs FU <u>*w</u> or <u>*š</u> or <u>*γ</u> (where I note that <u>*γ</u> is very likely secondary).

3. An analysis of the tabulated material reveals that the positing of a CV shaped root on the U side is inevitable, in particular on the ground that Hu š-sz-, š-v- contrast with š-het- '(he, she) may/can eat'. 4. Cf. FUV 158: Fi syö-... //Tg see-, hee- 'eat greedily, gorge, glut, gnaw', Olča se- 'to bite'.--Räsänen 1955, 41 makes approx. the same equation. 5. Miller 1971, 95-6: J tab- vs Tg *šap- 'to eat'. 6. Benzing 1956, 34: Tg *šap- (?) 'to feed' = Ma še-. 7. Cf. Poppe 1965, 155: Tu yä- 'to eat' = Mo še-me 'carriage' (an animal killed and partly devoured by a wolf) = Tg še- 'to eat'. 8. Cf. Ramstedt 1957 (I), 65: Tu Kirg še-, Koibal še-, Chuv ši- 'to eat'.

453. J tabi, Ōno: tabi 'Japanese socks'.

Table 453

J, Ō.	tab.i	Lehtisalo 1956: Yr <u>tōbar</u> 'loose outer boot/shoe made of reindeer
Yr	tōb.a.r	hide', <u>tōbak</u> 'socks made of reindeer hide'.
"	tōb.ä.k	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'leather socks; gaiters'. 2. Phon.: initial J, ClJ <u>t-</u> vs Yr <u>t-</u> /1st syll. J, ClJ <u>a</u> vs Yr <u>ä</u> (note: vowel lengthening, as here, does not necessarily mean hidden contraction and absorption, but could have arisen through stress or fashion) /medial J, ClJ <u>b</u> vs Yr <u>ä</u> , <u>ä</u> /final J, ClJ <u>-i</u> vs Yr <u>a</u> , <u>ä</u> in the same position. 3. Yr <u>-r</u> and <u>-k</u> appear to be formants. 4. Cf. Pröhle No. 64.

454. J tadashi-i, OJ tada-si 'righteous, upright, truthful, honest, just, correct', J tadasu, Ōno: tadasu (y.) 'to correct, amend, adjust', J tashika(na), OJ tasika 'certain, authentic, reliable', OJ tasiké-si 'perfect, complete'; Ōno: the part tasi- is also contained in tasi-nasi 'scarce, meager; painful' (-nasi 'extreme, exceeding, great'), tasi-namu (sh.n.) 'torment, harass, harrow', OJ tasika 'suffer'. The semantic link between these words and tasi-ka is this: 'there is no room to spare' = 'to be tight/straightened' = 'be on the level of suffering' ~ 'certainty, authenticity, reliability, correctness'.
 J, OJ sad.a.ka J, OJ sadaka 'certain, positive, correct, reliable', OJ sada-si 'constant, steadfast, correct, serious', J sadameru, OJ sadamu (sh.n.) 'decide, determine', Ōno: sada-sada 'firm(ly), factual(ly), sada 'in fact/reality' (Ōno asks whether this is the adverbial use of the stem sada- seen in sada-ka and sadamu? He does not link sada- with tada- and tasi-).

SKES (ex.): Fi tosi~tote- 'truth, verity, seriousness', totta 'true; the truth', tode-lla 'in reality, truly, in faith'/Lp tuoda, e.g., tuodest = Fi todella.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'true, correct'.--Although Ōno does not link up the stem sada- with tada- and tasi-, the semantic concatenation is plain; as regards the opposition of t- and s-, cf. J tane~sane 'seed', tawa~sawa 'marsh', toge~ (dial.) soge 'thorn', OJ to~so 'ten'. 2. Phon.: initial J t-, s-, OJ t-, s- (= ts) vs Fi, Lp t- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Fi o, Lp uo /medial J d, sh, OJ d, s vs Fi s (+ i), t, d, Lp d. 3. Cf. Räsänen 1955, 36: Fi tosi~tote- 'truth; true' ~ Tg tede id.

455. J tadayou, OJ tadayopu~tutayopu (y.) 'to float, swim, drift, be tossed about'

Table 455

J tad.a.yo u TESZ (ex.): Hu tutaj~dial. tutaj, tutoj 'raft, float' (usually fashioned of logs tied together).
 OJ tad.a.yopu MTSz: Hu dial. tutalyos-ház '(in swampy areas) a house/hut built on poles (driven into the ground) and bundles of reed'./-s is
 Hu tut.a.j an adj. formant; ház 'house'.
 " tut.á.j Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'drift, float'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ t- vs Hu t- /1st syll. J a, OJ a, u vs Hu u /medial J d, OJ d, t vs Hu t /final of the primary stem, J, OJ a vs Hu a, á, o. 3. The expansion element J, OJ y is paralleled by Hu j. 4. OJ -p(u) is yet another expansion element (frequ. formant?). 5. These words seem to be onom.; at least on the J side, a reduplication of an assumed root *ta- may be suspected.

456. OJ tade 'smartweed, knotweed', e.g., midu-tade 'knotweed growing on the water's edge' (Chamberlain: tade 'mugwort' [= 'artemisia' to which genus numerous species of plants belong, OJ itadori 'the giant knotweed' (of the tade class, according to Ōno), ? OJ -tadu : yama-tadu 'red-berried elder' (yama 'mountain')).

Table 456

OJ tad.e which genus numerous species of plants belong, OJ itadori 'the giant knotweed' (of the tade class, according to Ōno), ? OJ -tadu : yama-tadu 'red-berried elder' (yama 'mountain').
 " i.tad.o.ri
 " ? -tad.u
 Hu duv.a TESZ (ex.): Hu dial. csender, csender, csutaj 'underwood, bush, thicket'.--Origin unknown.--Dial. duv.a, dodva, dudu 'weed; a place covered with weeds'.--Origin unknown.
 " duv.a
 " csende
 " csende.r
 " csád.é MTSz: Hu dial. csende 'brushwood; forest-weeds', csádé, csáté, csadaj, saté, sáté, sátéj 'sedge, tall weeds (of all kind)', csádéz 'walk among csádé.
 " csát.é
 " csat.é
 " csut.a.j Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'weed; scrub'.--That the original meaning on the J side was not 'knotweed', but something more general, is seen from the terms midu-tade and ? yama-tadu (if -tadu is cognate with with tade, which is assumed here), for 'knotweed' only grows in wet places. 2. Phon.: taking i- of itadori as prothetic --- initial OJ t- vs Hu d-, cs- (note: it is probable that both, d- and cs- come from t-; for a case of apparent split of original t-, s. entry tsudou vs Hu tódu- and csódül-) /1st syll. OJ a vs Hu a, á, o, u, e, é /medial OJ d vs Hu t, nd, d (in the cluster dv, v is quite likely an off-glide). 3. The element -ri of itadori is paralleled by -r of csender. The element -j on the Hu side is doubtless secondary.

457. J <u>tagau</u> , OJ <u>tagapu</u> (y.)	'differ/be different (from); vary; disagree,
Table 457	violate, infringe; depart (from, e.g., a teaching), go against,
J tag.a. u	deviate from, break one's word/promise', J <u>tagaeru</u> , Ōno:
" tag.a. eru	<u>tagapu</u> (sh.n) 'break one's promise; violate (rules)' (this verb
OJ tag.a. pu	is the trans. version of <u>tagapu</u> (y.) which comes from <u>ta</u>
J u.tag.a. u	'hand' + <u>kapu</u> 'to change, substitute'; J <u>utaganu</u> , Ōno: <u>utagapu</u>
Ō. u.tag.a. pu	(y.) 'to doubt, distrust, be suspicious (of); discredit' (u.
Hu tag.a. d-	consists of <u>uta</u> 'song', also contained in <u>utata</u> 'increasingly',
	+ <u>gapu</u> < <u>kapu</u> 'to change, substitute').

TESZ (ex.): Hu tagad- /-d is a formant, here likely frequ./~OHu tagod-, togod- 'deny, disown, disclaim; renounce; not follow suit; act against/contrary to; say no to, contradict, disavow'.--Origin unknown.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'disagree (with); differ (from, say, accepted truth); break one's word'. --I cannot accept Ōno's speculation (above), because: a) 'to change/substitute hands' might mean 'to make a mistake', or 'to hand over/trade', but in the present context those meanings are ruled out, b) accent identity (referred to by Ōno) can be entirely misleading, c) semantically, utagapu has precious little to do with uta, utata, and kapu. 2. Taking utagapu as a variant development of tagapu, with u- a prothetic sound,--- initial J, OJ t- vs Hu t- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu a, o /medial J, OJ g vs Hu g/ final of the primary stem, J, OJ a vs Hu a, o. 3. OJ -pu, J -geru are likely frequ. formants.

458. J -tai	: hitai, OJ -tapi	: pitapi 'forehead; brow'. Ōno: pitapi appears
Table 458		in the literature after the Heian era. (No etymology is attempted)
J -ta.i		Pröhle No. 65: J hitai (cf. hi, ho 'head') : Yr tāj, taj /Tv
OJ -tap.i		<u>tuaja</u> 'the skin of the forehead, which is covered by hair' / Yn
Yr tāj		<u>tājo</u> , <u>taijo</u> 'scalp'.
" taj		Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'skin of the (fore)head'. 2. Pro-
Tv tuaj.a		vided that OJ pi- (: pitapi) is an ablaut variant of po 'head'
Yn tāj.o		

the second p of pitapi substitutes for y; for -p-~y- alternation in OJ, cf. papu ~payu 'flourish, grow', saparu ~sayaru 'hinder', opu 'come to an end' : oyu 'grow old'. 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ t- vs Sam t- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Sam a, a /medial J g, OJ p (assumed substitute for y) vs Sam j (Sam -j- is traditionally derived from U *-j-, s. Collinder 1965. 87).

459. J <u>taka-i</u> , OJ <u>taka-si</u> 'high, tall, lofty', J <u>takeru</u> , OJ <u>taku</u> (sh.n.) id.;	
Table 459	'rise high', J <u>takameru</u> 'raise, elevate, heighten', <u>takamaru</u>
J tak.a- i	'(Vi) swell, increase', <u>take</u> 'height, stature; length; all (that
OJ tak.a-si	there is)', OJ <u>takē</u> id., J <u>take</u> , OJ <u>takē</u> 'peak, mountain'.
J tak.e.ru	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>dagad-</u> ~OHu <u>taga-</u> 'swell (up), rise (e.g.,
" tak.e	dough, sea), increase (of emotion), bulge out (of muscle)',
OJ tak.u	<u>dagaly</u> 'tide', <u>dagaszt-</u> 'knead, cause to swell'.--Origin uncertain. Cf. Zr <u>dundi-ni</u> , <u>tundi-ni</u> '(Vi) swell' (e.g., of the body/
" tak.e	the abdomen, through sickness). The Zr word can only be cognate
Hu dag.a-	with Hu <u>dagad-</u> if its medial <u>n</u> goes back to FU *- <u>n</u> - (* <u>dun-d-</u> >
" tag.a-	* <u>dum-d-</u> > * <u>dun-d-</u> > <u>dund-</u>). If it does, we have to assume a change
Zr *dun-	* <u>n</u> > nk > g for Hu <u>dagad-</u> . The voiced nature of d- (against former

t-) can be explained as resulting from the voicing effect of -g-. A d-<t- change has taken place in Zr, too.--The final d of dagad- is a frequ. verb formant; -d- in the Zr words is equally a formant.--The words in question are onom., thus they may have arisen separately.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'high; rise'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ t- Hu d-, t-, Zr d-, t-/ 1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu a, Zr u /medial J, OJ k vs FU *-n-. 3. Cf. Poppe 1960, 58: Mo degde- 'fly high; rise' /-de- is likely a formant/.

460. J takaru, OJ takaru (sh.n., y.) '(Vi) gather, swarm, flock, collect, crowd (together)', J, OJ takara 'treasure, valuables, wealth', OJ tugaru (y.) 'unite, join together, connect'.

TESZ (ex.): Hu csokor ~dial. csukor 'flock, crowd, group, bevy; (OHu:) sod, clod', dial. csukorat 'group, crowd' (of living beings), csukorít- 'round up (into one group)' ~ Zr tšukar, tšukar 'herd, flock, swarm (of animals); group, crowd (of

people'), ʃukertni, ʃukartni 'unite, gather (into one flock), acquire, obtain'.
 --The element r in Hu csokor and Zr ʃuker is either a denom. or a deverbal nom.
 formant.-- FU *ʃukk or *ʃukk-r.

Table 460

J, OJ	tak.a.ru	Zr	ʃuk.e.r
OJ	tak.a.ra	"	ʃuk.a.r
"	tug.a.ru	"	ʃuk.e.r-
Hu	csuk.o.r	FU	* ʃukk
"	csok.o.r	- or -	* ʃukk-r
		? Hu	tak.a.r-

TESZ (ex.): Hu takar- 'to harvest, gather, take in (the crops); wrap up, enfold, cover; pile up; take care of; bury'.--Origin unknown.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'gather, unite; accumulate'.--J, OJ takara appears to be a deverbal noun in -a from takaru~tugaru.--On the Hu side, takar- could be a variant, by split, parallel to csukor-it-. 2. Phon.:

initial J, OJ t- vs FU *ʃ-, ? Hu t- /1st syll. J, OJ a, OJ u vs FU *u, ? Hu a / medial J, OJ k, OJ g vs FU *kk, ? Hu k. 3. We see a formant r on the J side paralleled by r, in the same position, on the U side. 4. Cf. SW 146: PSam *tʃk- 'to hide, secrete away'; cf. Sk takku, der. *takkʃl- id.; cf. Sk taqqil- 'to gather'.

461. J takeru 'be/become furious; rage, rave, rush', takeshi-i 'valiant, bold, brave, fierce, fearless', OJ takeru (y.) 'behave bravely/valiantly', takebu (k.n.) 'to rage, howl', také-si 'heroic, manly, brave, daring'; Ōno: ataku (sh.i.) 'to rage, make a clamor', OJ ataki~utaki 'the savage snarling/roaring of wild beasts'.

TESZ (ex.): Hu düh 'rage, wrath, ire, temper; rabies; frenzy, raving madness, excitedness; ardent desire', dühös 'furious, frenzied, etc.', dühöng- 'to rage, be furious'.--Origin unknown.

? Os tʃk.a.ś- ? Ganschow 1965, 106: Os Šerkal tʃkaś-, Os Kazym ʃkaś 'become furious/angry/ill-tempered' < Zr legaś- id.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'anger, fury; angry, furious'. 2.

If the Os words in question are loans from Zr and the initials were not /t/ originally, then these words are ruled out. On the J side, the forms beginning with a vowel are taken as having acquired their respective prethematic vowels; these vowels are disregarded in the comparison.--Initial J, OJ t- vs Hu d-, ? Os t- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu ü, ? Os i /medial J, OJ k vs Hu h, ? Os k (note: Hu -h- is usually derived from PFU *ks; this is not the case here, so h of düh must have some other explanation (cf. Hu dial. sihet- 'to hurry' under entry seku). 3. Cf. Miller 1971, 69 where Sh. Ozawa is mentioned as having compared J takeru with Mo doysin- 'be brave/fierce'.

462. J, OJ taku (y.) '(Vt) to kindle, make fire, burn'.

Table 462 Szinnyei 1922, 28: LpS tsa(h)kka- 'to glow, burn (with high flame)'.

J tak.u Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ t- vs Lp ts- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Lp a /medial J, OJ k vs Lp kk (the preceding h is a mere strengthening sound peculiar to the Lp area). Lp -kk- is traditionally derived from PFU *-kk- (s. Lakó 1968, 67). 3. Cf. Hu csihol~dial. csahol-, csuhol- 'to strike fire' (onom., according to TESZ). 4. Cf. Ramstedt 1957 (I), 63: Mo čaki- 'strike fire', čakigur 'fire stone'. 5. Cf. Patkanov 1902: Os Irtish čaget, čiget 'tinder, amadou', OsN čigit id.

463. J tamerau, ClJ tamerofu 'hesitate, waver, hang back, fluctuate, vacillate, falter' (Shinmura; Kenkyusha). Ōno: tamerau is related to OJ tamu (sh.n.) 'to straighten, reform, correct; pretend', which itself goes with OJ tamu (k.n.) 'go round in circles; bend, curve; be pliant'.

TESZ (ex.): Hu támolyog~dial. támolog-, támorog- 'stagger, waver, reel, vacillate, hesitate, wobble, feel giddy and stagger, feel dizzy and torpid'.--These are derived forms, but their base is unknown. It may have to do with támogat-, támaszt- 'to support, prop up, prevent from falling'.--ly, l, r, and g are frequ. formants.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'waver, vacillate, falter'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ t-

vs Hu t-/1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu á /medial J, OJ m vs Hu m. 3. The formant r on the J side is paralleled by ly/l/r on the Hu side.

464. J <u>tanomu</u> , OJ <u>tanómu</u> (y.) 'ask, request, solicit, call upon (a person to do), entrust something to a person), charge (a person to do); rely/depend on, trust to one's honesty', OJ <u>tanómu</u> (sh.n.) (caus. of the above), J <u>tanomashi-i</u> , OJ <u>tanoma-si</u>	
Table 464	
J tan.o.m.u	do), entrust something to a person), charge (a person to do); rely/depend on, trust to one's honesty', OJ <u>tanómu</u>
OJ tan.ó.m.u	(sh.n.) (caus. of the above), J <u>tanomashi-i</u> , OJ <u>tanoma-si</u>
J tan.o.m.ashi- i	'reliable, trustworthy, trusty', OJ <u>tunagu</u> (y.) 'follow
OJ tan.ó.m.-a si	in pursuit, trace, ascertain, identify'.
" tun.a.g.u	
Hu tan.á.cs	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>tanács</u> 'a consultation, helping counsel/ad-
" tan.o.x. t-	vise of an experienced person; admonition, deliberation
" tan.u.l-	of experienced men; a council; knowledge, cognizance,
" tan.o.l-	wisdom'.--The base of <u>tanács</u> may be identical with that
? Zr tun	of <u>tanul-</u> , <u>tanít-</u> .
" tun.a.l-	FUV 80, TESZ. MSZFF (ex.): Hu <u>tanít</u> ~OHu <u>tanoxi-</u> 'teach,
? Vty tun.o	instruct', <u>tanul</u> ~OHu <u>tanol-</u> 'learn'~? Zr <u>tun</u> 'sooth-
" tun.a.l-	sayer, seer, diviner', <u>tunal-</u> (of children) 'to imitate
Ch tun.e.m.a-	adult persons' (on the occasions of marriage, burial,
" tun.é.k. tem	etc.)/? Vty <u>tuno</u> 'magician, sorcerer, enchanter; sooth-
Md ton.a.d.o-	sayer, shaman, priest-magician', <u>tunál-</u> 'cast a spell (on,
Yn tadia.b.o	by incantations), use charm'/Ch <u>tunema-</u> (der.) 'learn,
Sk tan.a.m. da-	study, get used (to)', <u>tunktem</u> 'teach, counsel, habitu-
U *tun.a-	ate, train'/MdE <u>tonado-</u> 'learn, become accustomed'//Yn
- - - - -	<u>tadda-</u> , <u>taddabo</u> 'teach'/Sk <u>tanamda-</u> 'get accustomed to,
PSam *ten.á-	learn'.--In Vty <u>tuno</u> , -o is a deverbal noun formant. In
" der.*ten.á.m.á-	Yn <u>taddabo</u> , -dd- probably comes from *-nt-, where *t
" der.*ten.é	could be a verb formant.-- U *tuna- 'get accustomed to;
	learn'.

SW 157: *tená- 'remember'; cf. Tv tanne-jeama 'know', Yn teníbo 'know', Yr tened, Sk tánaB //der. *tenámá- 'to know'//der. *tené 'understanding; mind'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'learn; rely on/entrust oneself (or somebody) to the counsel/teaching of a trusted/knowledgeable person' (e.g., a shaman). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ t- vs U, PSam t- /1st syll. J a, OJ a, u vs U *u PSam *e /medial J, OJ n vs U, PSam *n /final of the primary stem, J o, OJ ó, a vs U *a, PSam *g/3. Note the formants in the 3rd syll. (table): J, OJ -m, Ch, Sk -m, PSam *-m. 4. Cf. TESZ (ex.): Hu taná~OHu tono-, tono- 'evidence, witness, testimony; a witness, an attestant'.--This word is of OTu origin; cf. Uig, etc. tanug 'witness', Tatar, Osm tanik, etc, id.; the Tu words are derivatives of tanu-/taní- 'recognize, know'. 5. Cf. Räsänen 1955, 47: Hu tanul-, etc.~Tu taní- 'know'~Mo tani- id.

465. J <u>tanoshi-i</u> , OJ <u>tanó-si</u> 'merry, joyful, happy, pleasant', J <u>tonaeru</u> , OJ <u>tonapu</u> (sh.n.) 'to chant, recite, practice incantation; cry'.	
Table 465	
J tan.ó.shi- i	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>dalol</u> ~dial. <u>danol-</u> , <u>danul-</u> 'sing', <u>dal</u> ~dial.
OJ tan.ó-si	<u>dan</u> , <u>danu</u> 'song', <u>danogat-</u> 'sing for oneself'.--This word fami-
J ton.a. eru	ly is of onom. origin.
OJ tón.a.pu	Comm.: P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'sing; be merry'. 2. Phon.: initial
Hu dan.o.l-	J, OJ <u>t</u> - vs Hu <u>d</u> - (<*t-) /1st syll. J <u>a</u> , <u>o</u> , OJ <u>a</u> , <u>ó</u> vs Hu <u>a</u> /
" dan.u.l-	medial J, OJ <u>n</u> vs Hu <u>n</u> , <u>l</u> (the latter is probably the result of
" dal.o.l-	dissimilation)/ final of the primary stem, J <u>o</u> , <u>a</u> , OJ <u>ó</u> , <u>a</u> vs
" dan.o.gat	Hu <u>o</u> , <u>u</u> .
" dan	
" dan.u	

466. J <u>taoru</u> , <u>taoreru</u> , OJ <u>tapuru</u> (sh.n.) 'fall down, tumble, collapse, break down, be ruined', J <u>taosu</u> , OJ <u>tapusu</u> (y.)			
Table 466			
J	ta .o. ru	Hu	top.o.r-
"	ta .o.reru	"	tep.e.r-
"	ta .o.su	"	tap.o.s-
OJ	tap.u.ru	"	gyáp.o.l-
"	tap.u.su	"	gyap.o.tol-
Hu	tip.o.r-		TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>tipor</u> ~dial. <u>gyipor</u> 'trample, tread on, tread underfoot, trample down'.
"	gyip.o.r-		--Tipor- is cognate with toporzékol-

'to stamp many times with one's feet' < *topor-.

TESZ (ex.): Hu tapos- /-s is a frequ. formant/ 'tread on/down, trample/step on, trample down'.

TESZ (ex.): Hu teper- (= létéper-, where lę- 'down' is a verbal prefix 'lay (somebody) low, flatten, throw/floor/down, overcome (in wrestling); (the wind) blows/knocks (a tree) over'.--The forms tipor-, topor-, teper-, tapos- are onom.

MTSz: a) teperęd(ik) 'lie/sit down (on the ground)', b) gyápol- 'force/throw (someone) to the ground, flatten', cf. gyapatol- 'knock/beat (an opponent) down'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'fall/be thrown to the ground; be defeated/trampled underfoot'.--In the last analysis, the words in question could be onom. in origin, like most other words. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ t- vs Hu t-, gy- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu i (< j), o, a, á /medial J ę, OJ p vs Hu p. 3. Sauvageot 1930, 34 compared Hu tap-/top-, etc. with A words, e.g., Tu Chuv, Kaz tapta- 'trample (down, underfoot)'.

467. OJ tapę 'beautiful, fine, nice' (a word of praise), sopi- : sopika-ni Table 467 (adv.) 'finely, delicately, subtly'.

OJ	<u>tap.ę</u>	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>szép</u> ~ OHu, dial. <u>szíp</u> 'beautiful, pleasing (to the eye); favourable; well-grown, large, powerful; good; pretty (of a woman); well' ? ~ Fi <u>seppä</u> 'smith, master (of artisan), artist; skilled', <u>sepä-sti</u> 'artistic', Est <u>sepp</u> 'smith; craftsman; artisan'/Lp <u>čaeppę</u> 'clever, efficient', - <u>čaeppę</u> 'smith; one who makes something', <u>čep</u> 'master (artisan)'.--Cf. Tu Kirg <u>šebär</u> 'a master (artisan)', Karaim <u>čibär</u> 'pretty, beautiful', Chuv <u>šep</u> id.
Hu	<u>szép</u>	
"	<u>szíp</u>	
"	* <u>szęp.ę</u>	
Fi	<u>sepp.ä</u>	
"	<u>sep.ä-</u>	
Est	<u>sepp</u>	
Lp	<u>čaepp.e</u>	
"	<u>čep</u>	
FU	* <u>šęp.ä</u>	

The origination of Hu szép from Chuv šep is not convincing because of the limited distribution of the Chuv word.--The reconstructable OHu form is: *šęp.ę -- FU *šępp.ä.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'pleasing to the eye; artistic'. 2. Phon.: since initial t and s are known to be in alternation in J (tane ~ sane 'seed', to ~ so 'that', etc.), the same as a ~ o in 1st syll. (Wenck 1959, 27), OJ sopi- may be taken as a variant of tapę. Thus ---initial OJ t-, s- (= ts) vs FU *š- /1st syll. OJ a, o vs FU *e /medial OJ p vs FU *pp /stem-final OJ ę, i vs FU *-ä.

468. J tarasu, tarakasu 'deceive, coax, cajole', Ōno: tarasu (y.) id., OJ Table 468 waka-turu ~ woko-turu (y.) 'delude, decoy, tempt, seduce' (waka J, Ō. tar.a.su ~ woko 'foolishness').

J	<u>tar.a.kasu</u>	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>csal-</u> 'deceive, delude, mislead, entice/lure (somewhere), cheat, defraud', OHu <u>csal</u> 'deceit, fraud; ruse, artifice, ambush'.--Origin unknown.
OJ	<u>-tur.u</u>	
Hu	<u>csal-</u>	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'deceive'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ t- vs Hu cs- (= č) (for this sort of correspondence, cf. OJ tade : Hu csádę, OJ tudopu : Hu csődül-/tődül-, OJ takaru and tugaru : Hu csokor) /1st syll. J a, OJ u vs Hu a /medial J, OJ r vs Hu l. 3. The elements -su, -kasu on the J side appear to be frequ. formants (in -kasu, -ku and -su are combined). 4. Hu csal(-) has been compared to IE, Tu, Mo, and Indo-Iranian words; TESZ says that these comparisons are faulty. To me it seems necessary, however, to take a second look at the A data. Cf. Poppe 1960, 77: Mo dalda 'secret, hidden' < *dalda = Ma dali 'to hide; keep secret', Ev dal- 'cover (up)' = Otu jašur- 'to hide, keep secret'.

469. J taru, tariru, OJ taru (y.) 'be enough/sufficient/satisfied', OJ tara-pasu (y.) 'fill, supply, make complete' (-pasu combines the formants -pu and -su), J tasu, Ōno: Table 469 J, OJ tar.r.u Sk tī.r combines the formants -pu and -su, J tasu, Ōno: J tar.riru " tī.r.a- tasu (y.) 'add (to), make up, supply, supplement'. J, OJ tar.s.u " tī.r.a- FUV 81: /? Fi tyrtty- 'be surfeited/more than satisfied' /? Vty tyr 'full, fullness; abundant, enough, much', tyr- 'fill; become full/satisfied/fed up (with something)' /Zr tyr 'full', " ty.r. l- U *ta.á.a tyrl- 'become full' /Os tarēm- 'suffice, come to an end; become full (of the moon); become satisfied; accomplish, get through with', teA t. Os tar.ēm- " teA

'fill (a vessel, a measure), te 'full'//Sk tiir 'full, filled', tiira-, tirra- 'fill'.-- U *türe.--Cf. SW 158: (Psam) *terē~*tirē 'the content' (of something). FUV 78: Fi tasa- 'equal', tasalla 'on a level(with)'/Yr taas 'even' (as by division, with no remainder), equal (in number); in pairs, by twos; whole, entire' (e.g., year, reindeer).-- U *taša.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'sufficient, complete; make even/full'.--In the light of the tabulated evidence, I suggest that a CV root is at the base of all the adduced forms on both sides, and that Fi tasa-, etc. go with Fi tyrtty-, etc., the different developments from an identical root being due to split. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ t- vs U, PSam *t- /1st J, OJ a vs U *ü, Psam *e/i (U *a for Fi tasa-, etc.)/medial J, OJ r vs U, PSam *r (cf. J, OJ medial s and *s of U *taša). 3. Against TESZ and MSZFE that reconstruct FU *tāwde for Hu tele~teljes 'full; filled' and its claimed cognates, I propose to group tele under U *türe. 4. From Menges 1975, 47 ff., Poppe 1960, 28: OTu toi- 'be/become full', toš- 'fill, get full', tolu 'complete', toq 'satiated', top 'all, whole', top- 'heap up'; Tg Ma ǰalu 'fullness, full', Oroki dalup- 'become full', Olča ǰalpu- id.--In these forms, too, a CV shaped root may be discerned.

470. J taru 'tub, barrel', Ōno: -daru : ye-daru 'a sake bowl with handle' (ye Table 470 'branch; handle'), OJ tari 'a sake jug with a spout' (tari is the J tar.u old form of taru).
Ō. -dar.u TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu tál~ŌHu tálu 'flat dish; basin, bowl'~Vg
OJ tar.i tül-, tül 'trough-like square wooden dish, used on the hunt or when
Hu tál(u) out fishing'.-- Ugric *tal.--Cf. New Persian tāl 'platter, dish,
Vg tül- plate, dessert-dish'.
" tül Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a flattish (wooden) dish'. 2. Phon.
Ugric *tal3 initial J, OJ t- vs Ugric *t- / 1st syll. J, OJ a vs Ugric *a /medial J, OJ r vs Ugric *l /cf. J, OJ stem-final -u, i (respectively) and u in the ŌHu form Tálud (place-name; -d is a dim. formant).

471. J -taru : shita-taru 'to drop, drip, trickle', tareru 'ooze, run down' (also used in connection with long hair hanging down), tara-tara 'drop by drop, in drops', OJ taru (y.) (Vi) hang down, dangle, droop; drop, drip, ooze, run down, trickle', taru (sh. n.) '(Vt) to hang' (e.g., a curtain), taru-mi 'waterfall' (mi 'water'), patu-tari 'the first lot of newly brewed beer' (patu 'first; beginning'), taru-ki 'rafter' (Ōno: older form tari-ki) /a length of timber running slantingly from the ridge of the roof to the top edge of the outside walls of a building/.
Vg šurri TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu csorog~dial. csurog- '(Vi) leak, run, drip, trickle out; to flow, run' (of liquids), csorgó~csurgó 'a place where the water of a spring or creek drops; a waterfall; rapids of a river', csordít- 'spill, pour', csorgat- pour slowly, make overflow/trickle/dribble'~Vg šurri, šurri 'trickle, ooze', šurvi, šurvi id. /Os täre-, töre-, dör-i, špri- 'to flow, stream' /? Fi soro 'a drop of water' (in falling), sorotta-a 'to drip, dribble', ? Est soru 'the noise of rushing water'//Yr šurmba 'run, flow', šullaš 'to rush' (of the water of a creek)/Sk šor-mba, sormba 'it flows'/Km šur'lam 'to run'.--This word may be of onom. origin.-- U *dora-.
U *dor.a- TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu ered- 'rise/spring (from), originate, descend; start off (on one's way)', eredet 'origin, source', eresz 'eaves; drippings (falling from the eaves)', ereszköd- 'descend, slope, fall, sink; sit down'~Vg tärti 'let go, release', täräd- 'to release', täramt- 'to spread'/Os täramttä 'to spread (e.g., hay for drying), shake up'/Zr šergöd-, sörgöd- 'to spread, stretch'.--The element -d in ered- is a frequ. formant; -t in Vg tärti, etc. is a caus. formant; -göd in the Zr forms is a cluster of formants.-- FU *šara-.
Hu er.e.d-
" er.e-
Vg tär. .ti
" tär.a.D-
Os tär.ä.mttä
Zr šer. .göd-
" šör. .göd-
FU *šär.3-

MTSz: Hu eréget- '(Vi) move slowly ahead/as a rule, downhill', eréget- 'let fall/get down' (slowly, e.g., when filling a container with grain very carefully).

Comm. 1. The basic meaning on the J side seems to be 'ooze, run, dribble down'; 'hang down, fall, descend'. The two semantic fields overlap, for the appearance of, say, the long, slender twigs of a weeping willow reminds one of liquids in a vessel brimming over and flowing to the ground. As regards the Hu side, it is worth noting that some Hu authors utilizing old and/or dial. terms apply the verb csurog- to long beard or hair of the head hanging down. Further, I propose to regard Hu ered-, etc. to be variant developments of palatal vowel order, by split, of a base from which csorog-/csurog- has come (an original PFU *ǵ- is posited, s. Lakó 1968, 51). That csorog-/csurog- has to do with ered- is supported by the fact that the synonym of csurgó in connection with a roof, i.e., 'the gutter' (where the rainwater drops off the roof) is eresz.--P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'hang/flow down', hence 'go down, descend; be let down, be spread'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ t- vs U *ǵ-, FU *ǵ- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs U *o, FU *ǵ /medial J, OJ r vs U, FU *r.

472. J tataeru, Ōno: tatapu (y.) 'be/get filled to the brim; overflow, brim over', OJ tatapa-si 'filled (up), fulfilled; great'.

Table 472		
J	tat.a. eru	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>tetéz-</u> 'make quite full, heap up/on; (figuratively) pile on; fill up the cup'.--This word comes from <u>tető</u> (~OHu, dial. <u>tete</u> , <u>teté</u>) 'top, summit, roof', itself coming from OHu <u>tet(ik)</u> 'seem, appear' /s. entry <u>tatsu</u> 'stand arise'].
Ō	tat.a.pu	
OJ	tat.a.pa-si	
Hu	tet.é.z-	

Comm. 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'fill to the brim; overflow'.--I register disagreement with TESZ regarding the origin of tetéz- and tető (s. entry tate). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ t- vs Hu t- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu e (open) /medial J, OJ t vs Hu t /final of the primary stem, J, OJ a vs Hu é. 3. The element -z in tetéz- is a frequ. verb formant.

473. J tate, OJ tate, tata 'a shield', e.g., OJ ama-nó ipa-tate 'heavenly stone shield' (ama 'heaven', nó gen. marker, ipa 'stone').

Table 473		
J, OJ	tat.e	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>tető</u> ~OHu <u>tete</u> , dial. <u>tete</u> , <u>teté</u> , <u>tetü</u> 'top, summit, roof; top layer (on liquids); lid, covering, plate'.--This word derives from OHu <u>tet(ik)</u> (> <u>tetsz-ik</u>) 'seem, appear'; <u>tet(ik)</u> is of unknown origin.
OJ	tat.a	
Hu	tet.ő	
"	tet.e	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a cover; a (flattish) protective object on top of something'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>t-</u> vs Hu <u>t-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs Hu <u>e</u> /medial J, OJ <u>t</u> vs Hu <u>t</u> /final J -e, OJ -a vs Hu -ő, -e, -é, -ü. 3. Cf. entries <u>tataeru</u> and <u>tatsu</u> 'stand'.
"	tet.é	
"	tet.ü	

Table 474			
J	tatsu	? Tv	tansa
"	tat.e.ru	? Yn	tid'ó
OJ	tat.u	"	tiz.o
Hu	tet-	? Sk	čaž
"	tet.e.tes	"	tāž_e
MdE	šač.o-	Fi	seis.o-
MdM	šač.e-	Est	sais.o-
Ch	šač.a-	Lp	cuož.o-
"	šoč.a-	"	cyonž.a-
"	čoč.a-	Md	š t'a-
Vty	čyz.y	Ch	sinz.e-
Zr	čuž-	"	šinž.e
"	čuž-	Zr	siž-
Vg	sāss.ā	Vg	tūš-
Os	čač.ə	Os	jynt-
? Yr	tānc	"	lynt-
"	"	"	tont-
"	"	"	*sāž_e-
"	"	"	šāš-
"	"	"	šāš.am tē-

FUV 127: Fi seiso- 'to stand', EstS saiso- id. /Lp čuožžo-, cyonža- /Md šta- 'to rise' /Ch

sinze-, siŋe- 'stand, sit' /Zr siŋ- 'settle down, sit (crouched up)' /Vg tuns- 'to stand' /Os ivŋit-, lyŋit-, toŋt- 'raise'.-- FU *saŋdɔ-.

Honti 1979, 120: Os ŋaŋ- 'to stand', ŋuŋemte- 'rise (from a sitting position)'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'appear; rise; come into being', hence 'stand; be established; establish'. The adduced word families on the U side are most likely variant developments, by split, of a single base. 2. Phon.: as representative forms on the U side, I propose to take OHu tet- and FU *saŋdɔ- (where *ŋ is taken as a secondary glide sound); thus: initial J, OJ t- vs OHu t-, FU *g-/1st syll. J, OJ a vs OHu e, FU *a /medial J ts, OJ t vs OHu t, FU *ɰ.

475. J tatsu, OJ tatu 'dragon'.

Table 475 SW 151: *tɰnsɔ (*t = c, t) 'lizard'; cf. Tv (irregular) tansú, nom. J tatsu pl tandu 'lamprey' /Yn tádu, tasu id. /Yr tántu 'lizard; snake' /Sk OJ tatu túŋi, tòŋ, tòŋɔ, tòz, tòŋz 'lizard', der. tòŋzɰ 'snake' /Km thenze, Psam *tansɔ tonz /Koibal tanza /Motor tanze.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'lizard; snake'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ t- vs PSam *t- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs PSam *a /medial J ts, OJ t vs PSam *ns (where *n is likely secondary) /final J, OJ -u vs PSam *-ɔ.

476. J tawakeru 'to play the fool, be silly', tawa-goto 'silly talk' (g. 'word')

Table 476 OJ taparu (sh.n) 'act indecently, conduct oneself wrongly', tapa-waza 'act of insanity' (y. 'deed, act'), tapaku (sh.n.) 'act in a lewd/foul/nasty way', tapa-si 'obscene, foul, wanton', taburu (sh.n.) 'go insane, become mentally deranged', tabure 'insanity'. Ōno: damaru (y.) 'pretend, play the dumb, become silent, say nothing', damasu (y.) 'deceive, cheat, take in', J tabakaru id. TESZ (ex.): Hu tébolyog- ~ OHu tibol(y)og-, dial. tébölög-, tébolyog-, tiborog-, tévajog- 'hesitate, waver, be uncertain; wander about; go insane', tébolyít- ~ dial. tibolít- 'upset, throw into confusion, perturb, madden, drive one crazy', tébo-lyod(ik) 'become crazy/deranged; lose on's way', tébit- 'to craze/madden', tébul- 'err, lose one's way (mentally)'.-- This word family is probably a development, by split, parallel to téved-, tévelyég-, etc. TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu tévelyég- 'err, stray; be in error; go astray (in one's thinking); live in heresy; be perturbed/perplexed; lose one's way, go astray, be mistaken', téved- id. /-d is a frequ. formant/, téveszt- 'deceive, cheat' ~ Vg tipi tépi 'err, go astray', tipyéli id. /Os təwtə, tpəstə, təptə 'go astray, lose on's way', təppem, təpəm id.-- Ugric *təpə-. Comm.: P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'err; be deranged; act in a wrong way; deceive'. 2. Phon.: initial OJ t-, J, ClJ t-, d- vs Ugric *t-/1st syll. J, OJ a vs Ugric *e /medial J w, b, m, OJ p, b vs Ugric *p. 3. Cf. Ganschow 1965, 59: Os Vasjugan təw- 'err, lose one's way', Os Tremjugan təp- id., p.71: Os Nizjam təmat-, Os Kazym əmət id.

477. J tazuneru, OJ tadunu (sh.n.) 'make inquiry, seek/search for, investi-

Table 477 J taz.u.neru OJ tut.a.pu Vty tod- OJ tadōru (y.) 'follow (a road), pursue (a course), trace, follow up', ? J tad.o.ru " tut.u Hu tud- low up', J tadasu 'ask, investigate, ascertain', J tsutau OJ tad.a.su J -zute Tv tumt.u OJ tutapu (y.) 'follow, go/walk along; be transmitted/told/introduced (to)', J tsutawaru id., J tsut.a.u Fi tumt.e Yn tudd.a OJ tutapu (sh.n.) J tsutaeru, OJ tutapu (sh.n.) tsut.a.waru " tunn.e Km timm.e <tutu (sh.n.) 'hand down, transmit (knowledge), report, tell, impart, teach, bequeath', J tsutae, OJ tutapē 'legend, tradition, hearsay, word, information', J -zute : hito-zute ~ koto-zute 'message, hearsay' (h. 'person, people', k. 'word'), J tsute-goto, OJ tute-kōtō 'verbal message'.

FUV 80, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi tunte~tunne 'know, recognize, perceive, apprehend, feel'/Lp dowdâ, dâmdê~Vty tod 'to know; apprehend'/Zr tôd 'know (as fact or acquaintance); perceive, experience'/Hu tud 'know (as fact), have knowledge of, have skill in'//Yr tumta 'be acquainted with; experience'/Tv tumtu 'guess, divine, solve'/Yn tudda 'to experience, solve by divination'/Km tümnâ 'know; recall, remember', tümne, tümne 'perceive, understand, know'--- U *tumtâ-.
Comm.: 1. 'know; learn; enquire; investigate'. Phon.: initial J t-, ts-/z-, OJ t- vs U *t- /1st syll. J, OJ a, u vs U *u /medial J z, d, t, OJ d, t vs U *mt-. We note that as in the case of U *amta 'to give' vs J ataeru, further FU *omte 'cavity' vs J utsuro (s. the entries ataeru and utsuro), so here, too, *m appears before *t on the U side; in most other instances, the correspondence is FU or U *nt- vs t- on the J side; it is fairly evident that *m, *n in the clusters in question can only serve the purpose of prenasalization, resulting, as a rule, in the voicing of *t; in Lp dowdâ-, dâmdê- (where w is perhaps a substitution for m) we witness the appearance of -m- even after *t has become voiced (if w of dowdâ- is not a substitute for m, then it must be a sort of glide that occurs before certain consonants in some FU languages). 3. Cf. SW 32: PSam *câcâpâ (? ~ *cârâpâ) 'magician, shaman'; cf. Sk tetipi 'priest' (note in this connection OJ tatapu 'hand down/transmit knowledge'). 4. According to MSZFE (III, 648), Bergsland (JSFOu 61/2:14) compared Aleutian tut- 'get to hear or feel' to Eskimo tusar 'hear'. 5. Miller 1971, 99 compared a) J tadunu 'investigate, study' to PA *tatig- 'study, learn', Mo tacija- 'burn with passion, crave for', Ma taci- 'study, learn', b) J taduki 'being accustomed/used (to something)' to Tg lam tatkat- 'tame/train (an animal)', tatigâ- 'tame, make accustomed' (after Poppe 1956, 206). 6. Cf. Räsänen 1955, 47: Fi tottu- 'get used/accustomed to' (<? tote- 'truth')~Tu Kaz tatymal (< Mo)~Mo *dadu 'get accustomed to'--or Tu tat id., Solon tatiga 'teach'.

478. J, OJ <u>teru</u>	(y.) 'to shine (of sun, moon), be fine (of weather)', J, OJ
Table 478	<u>terasu</u> (y.) 'light up, throw light on, illuminate', J <u>teri</u>
J, OJ <u>ter.u</u>	sunshine, dry weather; drought; gloss, lustre'.
" " <u>ter.a.su</u>	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>derit</u> - 'throw light on, manifest, reveal;
J <u>ter.i</u>	brighten cheer up; (mostly with the verbal prefix <u>fël</u> - 'up' or
Hu <u>der.i.t</u>	<u>ki</u> - 'out') explore, search, clarify, clear, cleanse, purify',
" <u>der.ü.l</u>	OHu <u>derhenyô</u> 'fine, sunny weather', <u>derül</u> - 'get/grow light;
Vg <u>a.ter</u>	clouds clear away; thoughts become clear; become cheerful;
Os <u>ē.der</u>	(mostly with the verbal prefix <u>ki</u> -) become known (e.g., a
" <u>e.der</u>	secret), come to light', (later Hu) <u>derü</u> 'clear weather,
" <u>a.ter</u>	brightness, cheerfulness', <u>dereng</u> - 'to dawn, grow light,
" <u>Äer.a.m t</u>	gleam, twinkle; appear cheerful; (thoughts) begin to emerge'.
" <u>Äer.a.mē</u>	--The members of this word family are probably derivatives.
- - - -	
Lp <u>jäl.â.kâs</u>	Their base is not known for certain. Perhaps it is identical
" <u>jäl.i</u>	with the noun <u>dér</u> 'white frost' /s. under entry <u>iteru</u> 'freeze';
Yr <u>jäl.a</u>	the connection between the concepts 'frost', on one hand,
Tv <u>jäl.e</u>	and 'fine weather; clear skies; brightness', on the other,
Yn <u>je.de</u>	would be understandable.--FU, Tu, and Mo equations of the base
" <u>jer.e</u>	of this word family are erroneous.
Sk <u>čěl.y</u>	Mu. - Szi.: Vg <u>atér</u> 'cloudless, clear; fair (of weather)'.
" <u>těl.y</u>	(Unmarked source): Vg <u>atér</u> <u>tžrém</u> 'cloudless sky'.
Km <u>čäl.a</u>	Patkanov 1902: Os <u>eder</u> , <u>eder</u> 'bright, shining, cloudless',
" <u>žäl.o</u>	<u>eder</u> 'fair weather', <u>adér</u> , <u>ater</u> , <u>atter</u> 'cloudless/fair sky'.
U * <u>jel.ä</u>	
Yuk <u>jel.o.že</u>	Ganschow 1965, 85: Os Kazym <u>Äeramnt</u> -, <u>liránt</u> - 'search out, investigate', <u>Äerame</u> - 'come to light, become clear', <u>lir</u> 'clear, evident', p. 51: Os Irish <u>eterme</u> - 'become clear/bright'.

FUV 38: Lp jälâkâs, jälâkâs 'complete cloudlessness', jälli- 'get bright and cloudless, lighten' (-kâs is a der. suff.)//Yr jææle, jälâ 'day; light, lumen; sun; light, bright'//Tv jale 'day'/Yn je.de, jere/Sk čeel.y, čeel.y 'sun; light; day', teelenba, čelenba 'it has brightened'/Km čälâ 'day', žalo 'bright'//Yuk jelože 'sun' (-že is a der. ending)-- U *jelâ.

Comm.: 1. '(be) clear/bright/sunny'--I am unable to check whether the adduced Vg and Os words have been equated with Hu derit-, etc. However, even if they had been put aside, they are worth reconsidering in the new line-up.--I also adduce the Lp, Sam, and Yuk forms (just above), for in phonetic shape they are not too

too different from the first group, while semantically they almost agree with it. --As regards Hu dér, I don't think that it has to do with dérít. 2. Phon.: on the analogy of J semeru, isameru, etc. vs Vg šesem-, Hu szēm-, etc. (s. entry semeru) I consider Vg a-, Os ē-, e-, a- as prothetic vowels; thus--- initial J, OJ t- vs Hu d-, Vg t-, Os t-, d-, ā-, cf. U *i- /1st syll. J, OJ e vs Hu e (open), Vg ē, Os e, ā, ē, ā, i, cf. U *o /medial J, OJ r vs Hu, Vg, Os r, cf. U *l.

479. OJ -tíru : isa-tíru 'weep/cry bitterly/loudly' (isa- is an emphatic preposed element).

Table 479		
OJ	-tíru	Szinnyei 1922, 24: Hu <u>sír</u> - (~ <u>sira</u> -) 'weep, cry'/Vg <u>šárr</u> - 'to scream'/Zr <u>tšíršít</u> - 'cry out, scream, shriek'/Vty <u>tšírekjal</u> -, <u>tšírekjal</u> - 'to scream, cry'/Ch <u>tšár</u> -, <u>tšár</u> -, <u>tšár</u> -, 'to scream, shriek'/Md <u>šejefe</u> - 'to cry; call'/LpN <u>tšéerru</u> -.
Hu	sír-	
Vg	šár-	
Zr	tšír.iš t-	
Vty	tšír.ek jal-	
	tšér.ek jal-	
Ch	tšár. ršž-	
LpN	tšéerru-	

TESZ: Hu sír- is of onom. origin.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to cry; weep'.--It is likely that Hu sír- is of onom. origin, but that is no reason not to try to find its cognates. After all, few are those words of which we know that they are not onom. in the last analysis.

2. Phon.: taking Md šejefe- as affected by metathesis--- initial OJ t- vs Hu, Vg š-, Zr /ts/, Vty ? /ts/, Vty, Ch, Lp š-, Md /s/ 1st syll. OJ i vs Hu, Zr, Vty i (velar quality), Vty, Lp, Md e, Vg ā, Ch ā, o /medial OJ r vs r in all forms on the U side (in the Md form, i has probably changed place with r).

480. J toboru~tomoru '(Vi) burn, be lighted', tobosu '(Vt) burn (a light), light (fire/candle)', OJ tomosu 'light/kindle a fire', Ōno: tobosu~tomosu (y.) id.

Table 480		
J	tob.o.ru	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>gyapon(ik)</u> , <u>gyappan</u> - 'take/catch fire, be inflamed/ignited'.--Origin unknown.
"	tob.o.ru	MTSz: Hu <u>tomvad</u> - 'be consumed by heat; glow; burn slowly (without flame)'.
J	tob.o.su	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>tapló</u> ~dial. <u>topló</u> , <u>toplu</u> 'tinder, amadou, touchwood'.--This word is of uncertain origin. It may be a loan from Tu, cf. Balkar <u>toplúq</u> 'mushroom, fungus'. A serious obstacle in the way of this equation is that this word does not occur in other Tu languages, while <u>toplúq</u> itself is a dial. form. A similar word exists in Vg, namely <u>tápłéx</u> 'tinder, kindling', hence touchwood'.
OJ	tóm.o.su	
Hu	gyap.o.n-	
"	tom.w.a.d-	
Hu	tap. .ló	
"	top. .ló	
Vg	táp. .léx	

touchwood'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'burn; fire'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ t- vs Hu gy- (= d), t-, Vg t- /1st syll. J o OJ ó vs Hu a, o, Vg ā /medial J b/m, OJ m (probably having a b alternant, cf. Ōno: tobosu~tomosu) vs Hu p, m, Vg p-.--It seems that y in Hu tomvad- is a secondary accretion that has got there by analogy. 3. The formants Ōs and Hu i appear to parallel the formant r on the J side.

Table 481		
J	tog.e	Os tōy.ə.1' tā (sh.n.) 'criticize, blame, reproach, censure, find fault with', J <u>toga</u> , OJ <u>tōga</u> 'a fault, sin'.
J, Ō.	tog.a.ru	
OJ	tog.a	
"	tog.a.mu	
J	tog.a.meru	
Hu	tōv.i.s	Fi ty .ōntāā
"	tōv-	
"	tüh.ü.s	FU *tek.ə- or *tey.ə-
Vg	teš-	
"	täy-	
"	tay-	

'stick/poke into'/Fi työntāā 'thrust, force oneself (in a direction); send away'.

--FU *tek.ə- or *tey.ə-.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'be pointed/sharp; stab'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ t- vs FU *t- /1st syll. J o, OJ ó vs FU *p /medial J, OJ g vs FU *k or *γ.

482. J togeru, OJ togu (sh.n.) 'accomplish, achieve, realize, effect, attain
 Table 482 (one's aim)', Ōno: (?) tōgu id., togé, (?) tōgé 'achievement'.
 J tog.e.ru TESZ (ex.): Hu tókél ~ dial. tékél, tókfl 'do, accomplish, carry
 OJ tog.u through/out; fortify; make whole/complete; heal; resolve (to do
 Hu tók.é.l- something important'.--Origin uncertain. Perhaps tókél has to do
 with té-sz- 'do, make'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'achieve, make whole'.--The linking of tókél- with té-sz- (s. entry tsukuru) could be considered on formal grounds, but is not likely semantically. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ t- vs Hu t- /1st syll. J, OJ o, ? OJ ō vs Hu ō, é / medial J, OJ g vs Hu k. 3. Hu tókél- resembles togeru more than the more original form, i.e., togu; the explanation could be that similar rules of derivation obtained at one stage in both languages, and that the shorter form of tókél- is not known to us. 4. Cf. Poppe 1960, 57: Mo tegüs 'complete', OTu tükäti 'wholly'.

483. J tō-i, OJ tōpo-si, Ōno: tōpō-si 'far, distant'.
 Table 483
 J tō-i FUV 81, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi tuo 'that, yonder'/Lp duot ~ duo-
 OJ tō.po-si 'that (one) over there; that'/Md tona, to /Ch tē, tu /Vty tū /Zr
 Ō. tō.pō-si ty/Vg ton, to-/Os tōmi, tomi, tom, tōm, to-/Hu tova 'away', tōl
 Fi tuo 'beyond', távol 'in the distance', tavaly 'last year' (~ dial.
 Lp duo- tava, taval--according to TESZ, these forms are probably vari-
 Md to.na ants, by split, of távol in which -l is a loc. suffix)//Yr taaky
 " to- 'that, yonder', taa 'there'/Yn tohonoo 'that (one) there' /Sk to
 Ch tu 'this'.-- U *to.--Cf. Yuk tan 'that', taa 'there; thither'; taat,
 " tē tadaat 'thence; thus; afterwards', tun 'this' tudel 'he, she',
 Vty tu tudaa 'long ago'. (The Yuk words may belong to two different
 Zr ty stems.)--MSZFE: v in Hu tova, távol, etc. as well as Os mi and m
 Vg to.n (above) come from the U pron. formant *m; the vowel correspond-
 " to- ences of the 1st syll. in the Ugric forms are irregular.

OS tō.mi TESZ (ex.): Hu tēhát < OHu tohát < tahát 'then, in that case, con-
 " tō.m sequently' comes from the dem. pron. base *ta- ~ *to- 'far' + the
 " to- adv. hát.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: '(that) which is far away'. 2. Phon.:
 Hu to.va initial J, OJ t- vs U *t- /1st syll. J o (<oo<oppo), OJ ō vs U
 " tú.l *o (but cf. a in Hu, Yr, and Yuk). 3. Assuming that the 1st syll.
 Yr tā.ky as an element on the J side goes with U *to, one wonders what
 Yn to.ho.nō the element OJ -po/-pō- could be? It reminds one of -ho- in Yn
 Sk to tohonoo. 4. Cf. Fröhle No. 66. 5. There is a chance that the fol-
 U *to lowing equation belongs here. J uto-i 'distant, estranged, dis-
 Yk ta.ŋ interested', OJ utō-si, utu-uto-si id., J utomu 'neglect, keep
 " tu.ŋ (someone) at arm's length; shun, estrange', OJ utōbu (k.n.)
 " - de.l 'make disagreeable/disliked//detested/hated; dislike, detest, J
 ? J u.to-i utomashi-i, Ōno: utoma-si 'disagreeable, detestable', utomu (sh.
 ?OJ u.tō-si n.) 'make disagreeable, etc.', utomu (y.) 'be/become estranged'.
 ? J u.to.mu ---TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu utál- 'detest, hate, have aversion (to).
 ?OJ u.tō.bu This word is of uncertain origin. Perhaps it is comparable to Vg
 ?Hu u.tá.l- ajt 'vomit, belch forth'/Os ayet 'vomit, spew, spit', ayet 'the
 act of vomiting/spitting/spewing'. However, Hu language history

shows no such concrete meaning in connection with utál-; therefore the equation is doubtful. /Ex. ended./---That the concepts 'distant' and 'hated' are bridgeable may be seen from the English word xenophobia 'fear or hatred of strangers' or the word strange which, in its sense 'odd, unusual' has to do with Latin extra 'on the outside'. Therefore, I suggest, a semantic change from 'far, distant' to 'neglected' to 'estranged' to 'disliked, detested, hated' could have taken place on both sides. As regards the phon. side, u- is taken to be prothetic: concerning the J words, I refer to Wenck 1968, 102 ("vowel augment" for the creation of new words), while on the U side, I mention, for instance, MdE umar = MdM mar 'apple', Vty urod 'inferior, shoddy' = Est rudu 'weak'.--Thus, the initial sound would be t- in all forms; 1st syll. J o, OJ ō (where a shift from ō may have been caused by the presence of u-; for the closeness of OJ ō and u, s. Wenck 1959, 11) stand against Hu á which may be accommodated with *a of *ta- 'far', mentioned above. The element -l of utál- is a verb formant (here probably frequ.); -bu/-mu on the J side is a common verb formant. Cf., however, entry uto-i.

484. J toji.ru, OJ todu (k.n.) 'close, bind, sew up; fasten, lock'. Ōno:~? Kor

Table	484	tat	'to close'.
J	toj.i.ru	TESZ (ex.): Hu	<u>told</u> ~OHu <u>tod</u> -, dial. <u>tód</u> - 'add (to), join, affix,
OJ	tod.u		attach; make up (a deficiency)'.--This word comes--by the affixa-
OHu	tod-		tion of the formant -d -- from <u>tol</u> - 'shove, push, move (aside or
Hu	told-		forward); postpone'.
"	tód-	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.:	'make up (a deficiency)' (e.g., in a

damaged or incomplete suit of armour, or in a defence wall). The derivation of told- from tol- is untenable, because the former has nothing to do with 'shoving/pushing'. The sound -l- in told- is, as I see it, an inserted one (cf. Hu boldog < OHu bodog, bodug 'happy, blissful', Hu éldés < édés 'sweet; beloved'). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ t- vs Hu t- /1st syll. J, OJ o vs. OHu o (the length of the vowel is uncertain because of uncertain notation) /medial J j, OJ d vs Hu d.

485. OJ tókō in Kuni-nō-tókō-tati-nō-kami (according to Philippi 1968, 506:)

Table	485	'Earth Eternal Standing Deity'.--Ross 1965, 5: "/Astón/ calls at-
OJ	tók.ō	attention to the 'reedshoot' that was generated out of the mud ...
Fi	tyv.i	/and/ was transformed into human shape, called <u>Kuni-no-toko-tachi</u> -
"	? tyk.ō-	<u>no-mikoto</u> "/mikoto 'lord, prince'".
"	? ty.ō-	
Est	tüv.i	FUV 133, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi <u>tyvi</u> 'butt, base, lower end (of a
"	tü.ü	trunk)', /? <u>tykō</u> -, <u>tyō</u> - : <u>tykō-nā</u> 'near/close (to), with (some-
? Md	te-	body)', Est <u>tüvi</u> , <u>tüü</u> = Fi <u>tyvi</u> /? MdE/M <u>te</u> -, MdM <u>te-i</u> - (in-
? MdM	tej	essive) <u>tejsa</u> 'near to, by', (as a kind of dative) <u>te-m</u> , <u>te-ñ</u> 'to
Ch	teñ	me', <u>te-t</u> , <u>te-ñt</u> 'to thee' /Ch <u>teñ</u> , <u>tün</u> 'butt, base, the lower
"	tün	end (of a trunk); beginning; mouth (of a river) /Vty <u>din</u> (<u>din</u>)
Vty	din	'butt, base, the lower end (of the trunk); the thick, fleshy root-
"	din	stem of certain plants (e.g., turnip); mouth (of a river) /Zr <u>din</u>
Zr	din	'butt, the lower/thicker end; the place near to something' /Hu <u>tō</u>
Hu	tō	~töve- 'stem, base, lower part'.-- FU * <u>tine</u> or * <u>tüne</u> .
"	töv.e-	Comm.: 1. As regards the OJ mythological term <u>tókō</u> in <u>Kuni-nō</u> -
FU	*tiñ.e	<u>tókō-tati-nō-kami</u> , the translation 'eternal' for the object 'reed-
or	*tiñ.e	shoot' is probably a compromise. The real, but forgotten, meaning
? PSam	*tšk.ä(-)	of that obsolete word is likely to have been, as Aston had pro-

posed, 'reedshoot', or perhaps more generally 'stem/base of a plant'.--P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'base, root, stem'. 2. Phon.: initial OJ t- vs FU *t-/1st syll. OJ d vs FU *i or *ü/medial OJ k vs FU *ñ /final OJ -d vs FU *-e. 3. Cf. SW 152: PSam *täpā 'trunk of a tree' (s. entry tsui), p. 146: PSam *tēkā(-) (*t⁴ = c, t) 'that which is below; under; the lower course of a river'; cf. Sk takki, toqqi 'downriver, downstream' (dative-lative), taggit 'below, under'.--At least the second group of Sam words seems to belong here. 4. Cf. (according to MSZFE) Räsänen (Vir. 1947: 168) and Collinder (AUU. 1/4:151) for A correspondences, e.g., Tu tungāk 'butt/trunk of a tree', Mo dōn 'a mainstay, a support, a strut'; s. also Sauvageot 1930, 44 and Benzing 1956, 38. 5. Cf. entry chika-i 'close by'.

486. J tokoro, OJ tōkōrō '(a) place, spot, site, scene, region, area, dis-

Table	486	trict'.
J	tok.o.ro	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>tái</u> 'region, area, landscape; surrounding
OJ	tók.ō.rō	area; an indefinite time before and after a given point in time'
Hu	tái	? ~ Os <u>täyā</u> , <u>toya</u> , <u>toyā</u> 'a place'.-- Ugrić * <u>takā</u> (> * <u>tayā</u>).
Os	täy.ä	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'area; place'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ
"	tpy.a	t- vs Ugrić *t- /1st syll. J o, OJ d vs Ugrić *a /medial J, OJ k
Ugrić	*tak.ä	vs Ugrić *k. 3. The element J-ro, OJ -rō is a suffix which was

probably of little relevance even in OJ times; cf. OJ ne~ne-rō 'summit'.

487. J toku, OJ tōku (y.) 'untie, undo, slacken, loosen; solve, dissolve',

Table	487	<u>tōku</u> (sh.n.) 'come/get loose/untied/undone/
J	tok.u	dissolved' > J <u>tokeru</u> '(Vi) melt, thaw, fuse;
OJ	tók.u	get loose, come untied; relent (toward some-
J	tok.e.ru	body); be solved/resolved/dissolved'.
"	täg.u.l-	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>tág</u> 'broad, roomy; loose;
"	täg.f.t-	(morally) lax', <u>tágul</u> - '(Vi) expand, loosen,

slacken; relax; become loose', tágit- '(Vt) undo, relax, slacken, etc.'---This word family is probably onom. and may have to do with tár- '(Vt) open (up); (adj.) open' and tát- '(Vt) to open' (e.g., the mouth). [these are also thought to be onom.]

TESZ (ex.): Hu tag ~OHu tog 'limb (of the body); a tract of land; part, portion, element', tagol- 'dismember, divide up'---Origin unknown.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'loosen, undo'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ t- vs Hu t-/1st syll. J o, OJ č vs Hu á, a, o /medial J, OJ k vs Hu g. 3. There is a chance that the following Hu word family as a variant, by split, of tág- and/or tag- can be accommodated here: (TESZ, ex.) enged- ~dial. engül- 'yield, give in, consent (to), obey, let go; (frosty ground) thaws; (winter weather) gets mild; become soft', engesztel- (caus.) 'make melt; soften';--origin unknown; the attempted FU etymologies of enged- are wrong.---As in connection with entry -taru, two Hu forms were proposed: a) csorog- (U *č-), b) ered- (FU *š-), so here, too, I suggest, that tág-, tag- represent forms in which the initial consonant has remained, while enged- is a form in which the initial consonant has become lost; in addition, the vowel order has turned to palatal (the same as in the case of ered-).

488. J <u>toro</u>	'pool in a river', Ōno, Shinmura: <u>toro</u> ~ <u>doro</u> 'mire, slush, dirt'.
Table 488	
J <u>tor.o</u>	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>ár</u> 'flood, stream, current', <u>árad-</u> '(Vi) to flood, flow (copiously)', <u>áraszt-</u> '(Vt) to flood, inundate (with)', <u>ár-víz</u> 'flood, inundation' (<u>víz</u> 'water') ~ Vg <u>tūr</u> , <u>tor</u>
" <u>dor.o</u>	'lake' /Os <u>tor</u> 'large lake', <u>lar</u> 'low-lying meadow along a river, which is covered by flood in spring; a temporary lake that comes about on a meadow along a river as a result of flooding', <u>ár</u>
Hu <u>ár</u>	'(extended) lake; swampy lake; shallow bay', <u>áor</u> 'meadow covered by flood'; lake'---Ugric *sar ₃ or *šar ₃ .
" <u>ár.a.d-</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a large body of muddy water'. 2. Phon.: initial J <u>t-</u> (> <u>d-</u>) vs Ugric *s- or *š- /1st syll. J <u>o</u>
Vg <u>tūr</u>	or *šar ₃
" <u>tor</u>	vs Ugric *a /medial J <u>r</u> vs Ugric *r.
Os <u>tor</u>	
Ugric *sar ₃	

489. J <u>torokeru</u> , Ōno: <u>toroku</u> (sh.n.) '(Vi) to melt; become softened' (said also of feelings), J <u>torokasu</u> '(Vt) 'melt, fuse'.	
Table 489	
J <u>tor.o.keru</u>	FUV 129, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>olvaszt-</u> ~dial. <u>olaszt-</u> 'mollify, melt a person's heart, arouse sympathy; (Vt) melt, fuse, liquefy, thaw; produce something by melting or smelting; make weak through heat or sweating; dissolve some solid material in a liquid; fuse, amalgamate', <u>olvad</u> ~OHu <u>olvad</u> ~ <u>alvad</u> '(Vi) melt, fuse, etc.'---The base <u>ol-</u> of this word is comparable with: ~
" <u>tor.o.kasu</u>	Vg <u>talas</u> 'he/she/it becomes mollified/softened', <u>tol-</u> , etc. '(Vi) melt' /Os <u>löl-</u> , <u>löl-</u> , <u>tät-</u> id./Zr <u>sil</u> , <u>söl</u> 'unfrozen; thaw', <u>sil-</u>
Ō. <u>tor.o.ku</u>	'(Vi) melt' /Vty <u>silmi-ni</u> '(Vi) boil to a pulp; melt; thaw' /Ch <u>ššiem</u> '(Vi) melt; thaw', <u>šule-</u> , <u>sule-</u> id./Md <u>solams</u> id., <u>sola</u>
Hu <u>ol.v.a.szt-</u>	'not frozen' /Fi <u>sula</u> 'melted, liquid, fluid, not frozen', <u>sula-</u>
" <u>ol.a.szt-</u>	'(Vi) melt', <u>sulata</u> id.; 'thaw', Est <u>sula</u> 'soft, loose, liquid, melting', <u>sulama</u> '(Vi) melt, thaw'---FU *sula(-).---The base of this word family was probably a nomen-verbum, meaning 'become melted; melted'---The element <u>v</u> of Hu <u>olvaszt-</u> , etc. could be an obscure refl. verb formant.
Vg <u>tal.α.s</u>	
Os <u>löl-</u>	
Fi <u>sul.a(ta)</u>	
Est <u>sul.a</u>	
Zr <u>sil</u>	
Vty <u>sil. -mi-</u>	
Ch <u>šš.e.m</u>	
Md <u>sol.a.ms</u>	
" <u>sol.a</u>	
FU *sul.a(-)	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'melt' (Vi, Vt). 2. Phon.: initial J t- vs FU *s- /1st syll. J o vs FU *u /medial J r vs FU *l /final of the primary stem, J o vs FU *a. 3. On the J side, k (+ vowel) is apparently a frequ., r (+ vowel) a refl., s (+ vowel) a caus., formant. 4. The element v of Hu olvaszt-, etc. could be a vestige of the original stem-final vowel y, now functioning in odd cases as an off-glide.

490. J toru, OJ tōru, tōrapu (y.) 'take/hold (in one's hand), fetch, take away; seize, capture, catch; deprive of, steal; capture territory; require', J toraeru 'catch, seize, pounce on'.? J tora, OJ tōra 'tiger'.

TESZ (ex.): Hu orv ~OHu or, ur 'thief; a sneak', orvul 'slyly, in an underhand manner', oro- 'to steal'---This word family is probably of OTu origin. Cf. Uig orri, Osm ōru, Kirg uru, Uzbek ugri 'thief'. The basic form taken over into Hu may have been orri ~uyri; if so, we would expect initial č- in Hu; however, the

Table 490

J	tor.u	? Vg	tul. .mah
"	tor.a. eru	"	töl. .mant-
OJ	tör.u	"	tul. .ment-
"	tör.a.pu	Os	jyl. .h
? J	tor.a	"	ljl. .h
? OJ	tör.a	"	jal. .m-
Hu	or	"	tot. .m-
"	ur	Yr	täl. .e
"	or.o.z-	Yn	tar. .e
"	orv (?)	Tv	tol. .a
Fi	sal.a-	Sk	tuel. .a
"	sal.a.ta	Km	tol. .e
Lp	suol.ä	"	tol. i
Md	sal.a-	Motor	tel. .e
Ch	šol.š		
? Vg	töl. .mah	U	*sal.a

data sooner indicate early o---The sound -v in orv is doubtless secondary; presumably it has become attached to the stem by analogy.

Comm.: 1. Instead of the phonologically faultable Tu origination of Hu orv, I propose to compare it and J toru to the following U words (FUV 72): Fi sal.a- 'latent, secret', salaa 'secretly, in secret', salata 'conceal, keep secret'// Lp suole, suolled 'in secret', suoladä- 'steal', suolä ~ suolläga- 'thief'// Md sala- 'steal, rob, ravish; carry away', salava 'in secret, secretly, furtively, stealthily'// Ch šolš 'thief', šolšäta- 'steal'// ? Vg tuulmah 'thief', tulmant, toolmant 'steal'// Os jyläh, lyleh 'secretly',

jale-m, lale-m, totem- 'steal'// Yr taale- /Yn tare-, taäi- /Tv tola- /Sk tuela- /Km tole- id.; toli 'thief'// Motor tele- 'steal'.-- U *sala. 2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'seize, capture', hence 'take away', hence 'steal'. 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ t- vs U *s- /1st syll. J o, OJ ä, ? ä vs U *a /medial J, OJ r vs U *l. 4. Ramstedt 1952/58 (II), 254: Mo tala- 'to rob, plunder'. 5. Cf. Benzling 1956, 36: Tg *lorama.gä- 'to steal', Ev gorom-, Lam gormi- id. 6. The proposed inclusion here of J tora, OJ töra 'tiger' is supported with the argument that hunters of northern Eurasia often use(d) taboo names for game, which could be hypocoristic; tora seems to be a deverbal noun in -a from toru (suggested by Prof. G.B. Mathias, Hawaii); the difference in the 1st syll. vowels, i.e., ä vs ö, could be due to semantic shift and simultaneous split.

491. J toshi, OJ tösi ~ töse 'year, harvest', cf. J toshi-yori 'old/aged person' (yoru 'come together, gather').

J	toshi	Szinnye 1922, 116: Ch <u>toštang-</u> 'get/grow old'.
OJ	tös.i	Paasonen 1948: ChEast <u>tošto</u> 'old, aged, advanced in years', <u>tošte-</u>
"	tös.e	<u>mam</u> 'grow old'.
Oh	toš. .to	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'year; age'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ t- vs Ch t- /1st syll. J o, OJ ö vs Ch o /medial J sh, OJ s (= ts) vs Ch š (< PFU *š-, s. Collinder 1965, 85). 3. What follows the Ch stem toš- is additional to an originally disyllabic stem.

492. J tsu, OJ tu 'port, harbour, anchorage, ferrying place'. Ponsonby-Fane

J	tsu	Yr	tš	'lake'.
OJ	tu	Yn	to	FUV 79, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>tš</u> (~tava-) ~ OHu <u>tu</u> ,
Hu	tš	"	tu.đio	dial. <u>tä</u> , <u>tä</u> 'lake, pond, pool' ~ Vg <u>tš</u> / Os <u>töy</u> , <u>töy</u>
OHu	tu	Tv	tš.r ku	'lakelet'// Zr <u>tj</u> 'lake', <u>te</u> 'inner lake, pond' / Vty <u>tj</u> ,
Vg	tš	Sk	tu	<u>te</u> , <u>tü</u> , <u>tj</u> 'lakelet'// Yr <u>tš</u> 'lake, inner lake' / Yn <u>to</u> ,
Os	tš.ɣ	"	tü	<u>tudjo</u> 'lake' / Tv <u>türku</u> id. / Sk <u>tu</u> , <u>tü</u> id. / Km <u>tu</u> 'lake,
"	tš.ɣ	Km	fü	branch of a river; river' / Motor <u>toa</u> 'lake' / Taigi <u>to</u>
Zr	te	Motor	toa	id.-- U *toš.
"	tj	Taigi	to	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'lake; mouth of a river'.
Vty	tj	U	*to.š	2. Phon.: initial J <u>ts-</u> , OJ <u>t-</u> vs U * <u>t-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ
"	tü			<u>u</u> vs U * <u>o</u> . 3. The element U * <u>š</u> can be taken as an extension
"	te			("Wurzelerweiterung") of the root * <u>to-</u> ; the attested forms would sooner indicate U * <u>to</u> , with a few
				reflexes having acquired accretions to the CV root.

493. J tsubo, OJ tupo, tupu 'jar, pot, crock, bowl', J utsubo ~ utsuo 'quiver',

Table 493					J <u>utsubo-kakura</u>
J	tsub.o	J	u.tsub.o	Zr	#ib. .lég FU *cupp.3
OJ	tup.o	Ö.	u.tub.o	"	#ip. .lég
"	tup.u	Hu	cup.o.r	"	#ip. .l.š
J	u.tsu.o	"	csup.u.r	"	#ip. .y.l
					<u>utubo</u> id.

TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu csupor ~ Ohu csupur, dial. csipar, csupar 'small pot, mug, jug, pitcher' ~ Zr tsibieg, tsipleg 'small drinking vessel' (made of birch bark), tsipig 'small vessel (of birch bark) in which salt is kept; a wicker-work hamper (of slats) in which potatoes, hay, etc. are carried on the back; a dosser'.--
FU *cuppg.

Hajdú 1966, 103: Zr óipy-l 'drinking vessel'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'jar'. 2. Taking u- on the J side as prothetic (as a "vowel augment" for the creation of new words, s. Wenck 1968, 102)--- initial J ts-, OJ t- vs FU *č- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs FU *u /medial J b, ǃ, OJ p vs FU *pp.
3. The elements Hu -r, Zr -l, -leg, -š are forants.

494. J tsubu 'grain; drop'; counter for tiny particles; tsubu-sa-ni 'in de-tail' (-sa is a forant of abstract nouns; -ni marks loc. and modal adv.), chibi(ri)-chibi(ri) 'very small quantity; a sip/a drop (at a time), chibi 'a midge, a pigmy', ara-tsubu 'a bubble' (lit., 'froth-drop'), OJ tubu, tuf 'grain; drop; very small round particle', J chii-sa-i 'small, little, very young' OJ tipi-sa-si id. (-sa as above), OJ tabi-isi ~ tubi-isi 'small stone, pebble'.
TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu csőpög ~ dial. csöpög, csipog, csőpög 'to drip/drop/ooze; dribble, fall drop by drop', csőpp, csőp, dial. cőpp, sőpp 'a drop; a very small quantity; a little bit; a dot; tiny', csip-csup 'very small, insignificant'.--
This word family is of onom. origin. Cf. Vty tsop 'a drop', tsopla-ni 'to drip, dribble'/Ch tsəβəlt 'to bathe' (children)/Fi Liv sippa 'a drop'/Lp cahpa 'let drip'.--If these FU words belong together, their FU p-form may be reconstructed as *čappp-.
Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a very small quantity; a drop'. 2. Phon.: initial J ts-, ch-, OJ t- vs Fu *č- /1st syll. J u, i, OJ u, i, a vs FU *č /medial J b, ǃ, OJ b, p vs FU *pp.

495. J chibiru, /The listing of entry No. 495 is due to a mistake; s. No. 38/
Úno: tibu (k.n.) < tubu (k.n.) '(Vi) wear (out), waste away, wear to a stump, become bald/bare' (e.g., a brush'), J tsubure-ru, Úno: tuburu (sh.n.) 'be/become crushed/worn/broken/battered/ruined', cf. OJ tubure-isi 'a rock with its edges worn down'.
J chib.i.ru TESZ (ex.): Hu tép ~ dial. tibáz 'pluck, rip, pull, tear out; cut off; tear to shreds; defeat, ruin annihilate'.--Origin uncertain. ? ~ Fi temmata (tempaan) 'grab, snatch, pluck, tear out', Est tőmbama 'pull, drag'/? Lp těmməd 'knock, beat'.--
This equation is uncertain for phonological reasons. Going by the Fi, Est, and Lp words, we should posit FU *-mp; however, Hu -p cannot correspond to it; the positing of FU *-mpp (which would be suitable) is not warranted for lack of enough certain etymologies.
? Fi tempa-a TESZ (ex.): Hu cibál ~ dial. cimbál, cibárol, cipárol 'pull, tug, pluck, tear out/at, drag, haul about'.--Probably onom.
? Est tőmb.a.ma Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'wear; tear and ruin'.--According to Úno, the words in question on the J side belong together.
? Lp těmm.v.D

I suggest that Hu tép, tépáz, tibáz go together with cibál, cibárol, cipárol.
2. Phon.: initial J ch-, ts-, OJ t- vs Hu t-, c-, ? Fi, Est, Lp t- /1st syll. J, O i, u, OJ u vs Hu é, i, ? Fi e, Est ě, Lp ě /medial J, OJ b vs Hu p, b, ? Fi mp, Est mb, Lp mm. 3. It is quite likely that the Fi, Est, and Lp words adduced by TESZ belong to the Hu words in question, but we have to bear in mind that the phonological rules laid down long ago in accordance with the then believed consonant gradation theory still require the positing of such unpronounceable clusters as PFU *mp. This is a good illustration of a difficulty which arises from wrong theory.

496. J tsuchi, OJ tuti 'hammer, mallet', e.g., OJ kabu-tuti ~ kubu-tuti 'mal-let-shaped grip of a sword' (famous in J mythology; k. 'stump', s. entry kabu), OJ -tutu : isi-tutu 'stone mallet', J ika-zuchi, OJ ika-duti 'thunder(clap)' (ika- 'awful, majestic').

FUV 92: Ch čuča-, tuča-, čuča-, tuča- 'to hit, strike, give a blow'/ Vty čašjy-,

Table 496

J	tsuch.i	Vty	čaxjy-
"	-such.i	? Os	čuč-
OJ	tut.i	FU	*čoč.č-
"	tut.u	"	"
Ch	čuč.a-	Hu	tus.a.k
"	tuc.a-	"	tus. .kó
"	čuč.a-	"	tus.a.kod-
"	tuc.a-	"	tus(a)
"	"	"	tus.á.1-

etc. 'to strike, hit, smash; strike (of lightning)'//? Os čuč- 'beat, swingle' (e.g., hemp or nettles)/--- FU *čoč.č-
 TESZ (ex.): Hu tuskó ~ dial. ducskó, dicskó 'stump (of a tree), block (of wood), chump, root timber'.--This word comes from tus 'the thicker/heavier end (of something)'.--Origin unknown.
 TESZ (ex.): Hu tusakod(ik) 'to fight, battle'.
 --Origin unknown.

MTSz: Hu tusál ~ dusál 'to butt/beat against' (with the head or with the horns'), tus ~ tusa 'the lower end of a sheaf; root end (of pulled up hemp or maize; remainder in and above the ground of the stalks of plants after harvest', tusak = tuskó (-k/-kó is a dim. formant).

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a stump-like object used for beating/swingling'. 2. Phon.: initial J ts-, OJ t- vs FU *č-, Hu t-, d- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs FU *o, Hu u, i /medial J ch, OJ t vs FU *č, Hu s, cs/final J -i, OJ -i, -u vs Fu *č, Hu -a.

497. J <u>tsuchi</u> , OJ <u>tuti</u> 'earth; soil', e.g., OJ <u>kuni-tuti</u> 'soil/land of one's country; one's place of birth'.			
Table 497			
J	tsuch.i	Lp	cācā.ā
OJ	tut.i	" ?	cāz.e.1
Sk	čueč	Vty	žyž.o.1
"	tett.i	Zr	žoz
"	"	"	žoz.u.1
"	čū	Os	čuč
PSam	*jā	"	sus
" der.*	jā.ā	FU	*čyč.ā
Tv	ja	or	*čuč.ā
"	čō		
Yn	da	FUV 91: Correcting a printing mistake in the 1978 edition with the help of data supplied by Collinder 1969, 532/ Lp <u>cācā</u> 'narrow isthmus between two lakes; partition between the divisions of a decked sledge', <u>čacōč</u> 'high pass between two mountains; wooden crossbar on a sledge', Lp Skolt <u>cāzel</u> , <u>cezel</u> 'each of the short logs which are laid on the floor to mark off the different parts of a tent, etc.'/Vty <u>žyžol</u> 'low bench, fixed to a corner of the room; the place under such a bench'/Zr <u>žoz</u> 'floor; floor-board', <u>žozul</u> 'the place under the floor'/Os <u>čuč</u> 'the edge of the sleeping bench; earthen elevation in a hut, on which one sits and lies', <u>sus</u> 'a kind of bench, made of boards, at the edge of the stove'. -- FU *čyč.ā or *čuč.ā.	
Koibal	dzu		
Abakan	dza		
Motor	ča		
Karagas	ča		

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'land, earth, soil, ground'.--I consider the word family under FUV 91 as being a specialized development, by split, of the base which underlies the rest of the words on the U side. 2. Phon.: initial J ts-, OJ t- vs PSam *j-, FU *č- / 1st syll. J, OJ u vs PSam *ā (this combination is taken as a diphthong), FU *y or *u /medial J ch, OJ t vs FU *č. 3. It appears that Sk ču is either a form which has arisen through the loss of a whole syllable, or else Sk čueč, etc. have come about through derivation or the reduplication of an open monosyllabic word similar to Sk ču. As I see it, the Sam forms not marked "der." are all reflexes of a CV shaped p-form. The suggestion of derivation or reduplication concerning the form Sk čueč also applies to FU *čyč.ā or *čuč.ā, and to J tsuchi, etc. 4. Cf. Räsänen 1955, 32: Fi tanner 'field, ground, soil, earth'/Lp tundar 'elevated ground; mountain' (< *-mt-) ... ~ Tg dūnda, dūnd 'a earth; tundra', Lam dunde, tūndura.

498. J tsudou, OJ tudōpu (y.) 'congregate, meet, come/run together, flock, swarm', J tsudoi 'a meeting, a gathering, an assembly', OJ tudōpu (sh.n.) '(Vt) gather, collect, assemble, call together'.

Table 498			
J	tsud.o. u	Hu	csōd.ū.1-
OJ	tud.č.pu	"	csūd.ū.1-
Hu	tōd.u.1-	"	csōd.ī.1-
"	tud.u.1-	"	"

TESZ (ex.): Hu tōdul ~ OHu tudul '(of a crowd) flock/throng/press (to), pour into (e.g., an assembly hall); (liquid or granulated material)

rushes/flows (toward); tódit- 'increase, add to, exaggerate'.--- These words derive from told- 'lengthen, add a piece'.

TESZ (ex.): Hu csődül- ~ OHu csődül- '(a crowd of people) run together/assemble/congregate', csődít- 'gather/attract/assemble many people in one place'.---Origin uncertain; perhaps onom.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'congregate'.---Hu tódit- does not belong to tódul-: the concept 'increase, add to, exaggerate' refers to 'rumour, report', but not to the 'congregating (of people or animals or inanimate objects)'; tódit- probably has to do with told- (s. entry tojiru).---Csődül- is patently a palatal vowel order variant of tódul-, although the two forms are not interchangeable in all situations. 2. Phon.: initial J ts-, OJ t- vs Hu t-, cs- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs OHu u, Hu ó, ö (where vowel length is in all probability secondary) /medial J, OJ d vs Hu d /final of the primary stem, OJ đ vs Hu, OHu u in the same position. 3. OJ -p(u) is probably a frequ. verb formant.

499. J <u>tsue</u> , OJ <u>tuwe</u> 'staff, rod, cane, pole, stick', e.g., J, CIJ <u>t(s)uwa-</u>	
Table 499	<u>mono</u> 'soldier' (this term applied esp. to the famous fighter monks of some Buddhist sects in Japan; <u>mono</u> 'person; thing').
J <u>tsu.e</u>	
J, CIJ <u>t(s)uwa-</u>	
OJ <u>tuw.e</u>	Paasonen, Beiträge (KSz 15, 85): MdE <u>tšovolo</u> , <u>tšovola</u> , <u>tšovol</u>
MdE <u>tšov.o.lo</u>	'a pole to which horses used to be tied' (this word is found in folklore material only) ? ~ Vg <u>šopla</u> 'pole, staff, post, stake, stick', <u>šápél</u> 'post, jamb, upright, pillar', <u>-šopél</u> : <u>šét-s</u> .
" <u>tšov.o.la</u>	
" <u>tšov.o.l</u>	'fence post, picket', <u>ou-sópél</u> 'door-jamb'.
Vg ? <u>šop.la</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'stick, staff; pole'. 2. Phon.: initial J <u>ts-</u> , OJ <u>t-</u> vs MdE <u>tá-</u> , Vg <u>š-</u> , <u>ś-</u> , <u>s-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>u</u>
" ? <u>šáp.él</u>	vs MdE <u>o</u> , Vg <u>o</u> , <u>ü</u> , <u>ä</u> /medial J <u>š</u> , CIJ, OJ <u>w</u> vs MdE <u>y</u> , Vg <u>p</u> /stem-final -e, -a- on the J side vs MdE <u>o</u> , Vg <u>ä</u> , <u>é</u> , <u>ö</u> . 3. The elements
" ? <u>-šop.él</u>	MdE <u>-lo/-la/-l</u> , Vg <u>-la/-l</u> are (dim. ?) formants. 4. Cf. entry <u>sac</u> .
" ? <u>-šop.él</u>	

500. J <u>tsugeru</u> , OJ <u>tugu</u> (sh.n.) 'tell, inform, announce, report; impart', J	
Table 500	<u>tsuge</u> , OJ <u>tugé</u> 'oracle, inspiration, revelation', J <u>mi-tsugo</u>
J <u>tsug.e.ru</u>	'lovers' whispers' (<u>mi-</u> is an honorific particle).
" <u>tsug.e</u>	
" <u>tsug.o</u>	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>súg-</u> 'make a humming noise; inspire, suggest, whisper; tell/report (on)', OHu <u>sugorlág</u> , <u>sugal(l)at</u> 'suggestion, inspiration'.---This word is of onom. origin.
OJ <u>tug.u</u>	Gulya 1966: OsE <u>tij.št-</u> 'say, tell'.
" <u>tug.é</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'tell; inform' (I wonder whether the semantic area 'make a humming noise' really belongs to this <u>súg-</u> ; it could be the meaning of a separate verb which is really onom).
Hu <u>súg-</u>	2. Phon.: initial J <u>ts-</u> , OJ <u>t-</u> vs Hu <u>s-</u> . OsE <u>t-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ
OHu <u>sug.o.r-</u>	<u>u</u> vs Hu <u>u</u> , OsE <u>ü</u> /medial J, OJ <u>g</u> vs Hu <u>g</u> , OsE <u>γ</u> .
" <u>sug.a.lat</u>	
OsE <u>tij.št-</u>	

501. J <u>tsugu</u> , OJ <u>tugu</u> (y.) 'follow, succeed; patch; graft (trees, etc.); repair, patch up, replenish, continue'.	
Table 501	
J <u>tsug.u</u>	? Sk <u>tu.a-</u>
OJ <u>tug.u</u>	" <u>tü.a-</u>
Lp <u>dugn.â-</u>	" <u>tüw.a-</u>
? Md <u>tav.a.do-</u>	" <u>tün.a-</u>
Ch <u>tum.š.š</u>	- " <u>tümb.a-</u>
Zr <u>döm-</u>	? Hu <u>ták</u>
? Yr <u>toš</u>	" <u>ták.o.l-</u>
" <u>to.i (?)</u>	
? Tv <u>tü.i (?)</u>	
? Sk <u>täg.a.da-</u>	
? Km <u>tij.š.dül-</u>	
U <u>-tön.š-</u>	

TESZ (ex.): Hu ták 'appendage, addition, extension, annex; patch', tákol- 'to patch, repair, mend; patch up, botch'.---Origin unknown.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'patch, attach; patch up; cover'.---I propose the inclusion of Hu ták, tákol- here, in spite of the fact that U *qj- has no -k- reflex. 2. Phon.: initial J ts-, OJ t- vs U *t-, Hu t- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs U *o, Hu á /medial J, OJ g vs U *qj, Hu k.---Regarding the sound m in the Ch and Zr forms, the assumed sound change is *qj > n > m (which is esp. frequent in Zr and Vty).

Hu dial. (western Transdanubian) csuka 'grip, handle (of sword, dagger, etc.),

Table 505	shank (of fruit and vegetables, e.g., of pear or pumpkin);
J tsuk.a	stub, stump' (that remains above, with its roots still in the,
OJ tuk.a	ground after, say, osier or stalk of corn has been cut), <u>csuka-</u>
J tsuk.a.mu	<u>vánkös</u> 'a pillow in which the filling consists of feather-
OJ tuk.a.mu	stalks remaining after the stripping of feathers'; <u>Csukás-hégy</u>
J tsuk.a.neru	(in the extreme SE part of Historical Hungary) was most probably
OJ tuk.a.nu	named (literally) 'mountain of <u>csuka</u> ' (-s adj. marker) for the
Hu csuk.a	thousands of upright stone formations--like so many grave-
" csuk.ás	stones--visible on its surface.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'handle, shank, stub'. 2. Phon.: initial J ts-, OJ t- vs Hu cs- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs Hu u /medial J, OJ k vs Hu k /final of the primary stem, J, OJ a vs Hu a. 3. The element -mu, -nu, -neru are verb formants.

506. J tsukaeru	'be obstructed/blocked/stopped up/choked', Ōno: <u>tukapu</u> (sh.n.)
Table 506	'to block, stop up, plug, obstruct'.

J tsuk.a. eru	FUV 133, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>dug-</u> ~dial. <u>duk-</u> , <u>gyuk-</u> 'to put/
O. tuk.a.pu	stick/thrust/insert (into); hide; stuff, cram; block/stop up
Hu dug-	(e.g., the flow of blood, or of water in a creek); plant (young
" duk-	plants)' ? ~Vg <u>toyr-</u> 'fill, cram, stuff'/MdE <u>tongoms</u> , MdM
Vg toy. .r-	<u>tongoms</u> 'to plug, put in, stuff in, drive in'/Fi <u>tunke-</u> , Est
MdE tong.o.ms	<u>tungima</u> 'press, push, force, crowd, squeeze (into); penetrate,
MdM tong.g.ms	force one's way through, permeate'.--The Vg word belongs here
Fi tunk.e-	only if its <u>t</u> has developed from earlier intervocalic <u>*ty</u> (<
FU <u>*tunk.e-</u>	FU <u>*nk</u>); -r is a verb formant.-- FU <u>*tunke-</u> .--This word family

has been linked to Tu (Osm, Kaz, etc.) tyk- 'to stuff, cram, press, squeeze (together); force in; conceal'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to force/press into', hence 'to stuff/stup up'. 2. Phon.: initial J ts-, ClJ t- vs FU *t- /1st syll. J, ClJ u vs FU *u /medial J, ClJ k vs FU *nk.

507. J tsuki, OJ tuki~tuku	'moon, month'; Ōno: <u>tuki</u> < <u>tuku</u> ; OJ <u>mutuki</u> 'the
Table 507	first month of the lunar calendar' (? <u>mu</u> + <u>tuki</u> or <u>mutu</u> +
J (tsu)ki	<u>ki</u> ; in Ōno the Chinese characters indicating <u>mutuki</u> mean
OJ (tu)ki	'friendly month'; the dictionary gives no etymology), OJ
" (tu)ku	<u>kisaragi</u> 'the second month of the lunar calendar' = 'mid-
" (mutu)ki	winter month' (Shinmura explains: this is the month, - <u>gi</u> ,
" (kisara)gi	in which more than one layer of clothing, <u>ki</u> = <u>kimono</u> , are
Hu hó	put on; <u>sara</u> 'again; more and more').
" ho-	
Os yu.w	FUV 49, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>hó</u> ~ <u>hava-</u> 'month', hold 'moon'
" ya.w	/-d is a dim. formant; -l- is an inserted, inetymological
MdE ko.v	sound/, <u>hónap</u> 'month' (<u>nap</u> 'day'), <u>hóka</u> 'little moon' = 'a
" ko.ŋ	small moon-like blaze on the forehead of an animal' (esp.
Fi ku. u	a horse) ~ Os <u>yaw</u> , <u>yaw</u> 'month'/MdE <u>koy</u> , <u>kon</u> 'moon, month'/
Km ki	Fi <u>kuu</u> id. //Km <u>ki</u> 'moon, month'/Koibal <u>kuji</u> 'moon', <u>kyji</u>
Koibal ku.ji	'month'.-- U <u>*kune</u> . (? Yuk <u>kinize</u> , <u>kinze</u> 'moon; month'.)
U *ku.ŋe	Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. I propose that J <u>tsuki</u>
? Yk ki.nize	/OJ <u>tuki</u> is a compound word; at least in <u>kisaragi</u> , the part

-gi must mean 'month'; in OJ tuki, tu- is likely to be an epitheton ornans, on the pattern of OJ tuki = ituki 'the sacred zelkova tree' (itu 'holy, sacred' = tu- id.; ki~ku 'tree'); in this connection it is worth noting that among the people of the language zone in question the moon is held in very high esteem. 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ k- vs U *k- /1st syll. J i, OJ i, u vs U *u. 4. Going by Hu ho- (as above) and Km ki, I suggest that the root on the U side is of CV shape; U *-ne and its reflexes are probably extensions.

508. J tsukiru, OJ tuku	(k.n.) 'become exhausted/used up/spent; come to an
Table 508	end. fail', J <u>tsukusu</u> , OJ <u>tukusu</u> (y.) 'cause
J tsuk.i.ru	OJ tuk.u.su to get exhausted; use up'.
" tsuk.u.su	Hu tikka.d- TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>tikkad-</u> 'grow languid/tired/ex-
OJ tuk.u	" tikka.a.szt- hausted/weary (from thirst/fatigue/exertion);

abate, die down; (plants) droop, wither, wilt' (from lack of moisture, in hot weather), tikkaszt- 'cause to grow languid, etc.'.--This word is of onom. origin.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'become exhausted'. 2. Phon.: initial J ts-, OJ t- vs Hu t-/ 1st syll. J, OJ u vs Hu i (< i) /medial J, OJ k vs Hu kk (which must be the result of gemination, as in so many other cases). 3. One has yet to see the arguments which entitle TESZ to declare tikkad- to be onomatopoeic.

509. J <u>tsuku</u> , OJ <u>tuku</u> ~ <u>tōku</u> (y.) 'reach (one's destination), come (to), arrive', e.g., OJ <u>ipe-duku</u> 'approach one's house;			
Table 509			
J	<u>tsuk.u</u>	Zr	<u>su-</u> arrive home'.
OJ	<u>tuk.u</u>	? Tr	<u>tōw.a-</u> FUV 72: Fi <u>saa-</u> 'get, receive; come, arrive; be-
"	<u>tōk.u</u>	? Tv	<u>tū'.a-</u> come; (caus.) <u>saatta-</u> 'accompany, go with ...,
Fi	<u>sa .a-</u>	? Yn	<u>ta .e-</u> escort; get, induce a (person to a thing); be a-
"	<u>sa .atta-</u>	"	<u>to .e-</u> ble to' /LpK <u>sakky-</u> 'procure, get'/MdE <u>sa-</u> , MdM
Lp	<u>sakky-</u>	? Sk	<u>tū-</u> <u>saja-</u> 'come, arrive; become; (M also) overtake;
MdE	<u>sa-</u>	"	<u>tū .a-</u> find, meet' [(?) MdE <u>saje-</u> , <u>sai-</u> , M <u>sēva-</u> , <u>sāva-</u> ,
MdM	<u>saj.a</u>	"	<u>tūw.a-</u> <u>sava-</u> 'take, get'/, MdE <u>sato-</u> ... 'suffice, at-
"	? <u>sav.a</u>	? Km	<u>tu-</u> <u>tain</u> , come upon; procure, bring', <u>savto-</u> 'bring'/
Ch	<u>šu .a-</u>		Ch <u>šua-</u> , <u>šoa-</u> 'get; attain to; arrive', <u>šukte-</u>
"	<u>šo .a-</u>	U	* <u>say.3</u> 'to complete, finish' /Vty <u>sut-</u> 'attain to' (der.)
"	<u>šuk. .te-</u>		/Zr <u>su-</u> 'overtake, reach; come and take unawares;
Vty	<u>su. .t-</u>		occur'///? Yr <u>tōšwa-</u> 'arrive, reach, attain' /Tv

tū-, tūša-, tūšwa- 'come, arrive' /Km tu- 'arrive somewhere, reach a destination'/.
-- U *say.3- (If MdE sa- is not the same word as MdE saje-, then the Fi and the Ch words should also be split into two.)

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'reach destination; attain; obtain'. 2. Phon.: initial J, ts-, OJ t- vs U *g- /1st syll. J u, OJ u, ō vs U *a /medial J, OJ k vs U *y.
3. Note the CV forms on the U side; one wonders whether U *y and its reflexes are expansions of a CV root.--On the J side, -k(u) is a common verb formant. 4. Cf. Ramstedt 1957 (I), 49: Otu tāg- 'reach, attain, attack, assault', tāgi 'up to', Yak tī-, Chuv tiv- 'to touch' /Mo tegeg, Kh tēg 'a hook', tegeg-le- 'hook oneself on', Vol. II, 19: Kor sa- 'to buy' (?).

510. J <u>tsuku</u> '(Vi) stick/adhere/cling to; touch; come in contact (with); be attached/joined to; take root', J <u>tsukeru</u> , OJ <u>tuku</u> (y., sh. n.) '(Vt) affix, attach (one thing to another), join, couple (two things together); stick/fasten to; put on, wear (clothing, weapons); follow, track (game)'.			
Table 510			
J	<u>tsuk.u</u>		
"	<u>tsuk.e.ru</u>		
OJ	<u>tuk.u</u>		
Hu	<u>ak.a.d-</u>		
"	<u>ak.a.sz-</u>		TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>akaszt-</u> '(Vt) suspend, hang; catch in a noose or other device', <u>akad-</u> 'become caught/trapped/hooked'.
Vg	<u>tay. .n-</u>		These words are derivatives. Their assumable base may be compared to: Vg <u>tayn-</u> 'become caught/hooked (firmly)',
"	<u>tay.i</u>		<u>taynl-</u> '(a shot) hits the mark; to fasten', <u>tayi</u> 'get/fall
Os	<u>lok.i.n tā</u>		(somewhere)'/Os <u>lokintā</u> 'become caught/entangled', <u>šoyenti</u> ,
"	<u>tōy.3.n tā</u>		<u>tōyenta</u> '(a bullet) hits the mark; to meet', OsE <u>lōkēntā</u> ,
Ugric	* <u>šykkā-</u>		<u>lōkēntā</u> '(the boat) gets caught (on a sand-bar)'-- Ugric
- or -	* <u>šykkā-</u>		* <u>šykkā-</u> or * <u>šykkā-</u> .
Fi	<u>takk.a.la</u>		FUV 78 (ex.): Fi <u>takkala</u> 'adhesive state of the snow, so that
"	<u>tak.e.ro</u>		it sticks to the skis', <u>takero</u> 'sticky/thick mass', <u>takalta-</u> ,
"	<u>tak.a.l tā</u>		<u>tekelta-</u> , <u>takerta-</u> '(Vi) stick to something' (of snow, etc.),
"	<u>tak.e.r tā</u>		<u>takistele-</u> 'cling/hang on; catch on something; fasten a quar-
"	<u>tak.e.l tu-</u>		rel on somebody', <u>takeltu-</u> , <u>takertu-</u> , <u>takistu-</u> 'get stuck'///?
? Zr	<u>tak.a.l-</u>		Zr <u>takal-</u> 'sink down; stick, get stuck'/Vg <u>tah-</u> 'get stuck'/
? Vg	<u>tah-</u>		Os <u>tāhart-</u> 'to hook, hitch, button, hang, hang up; stick fast,
? Os	<u>tāh.a.r t-</u>		get stuck'///Sk <u>tokuat-</u> , <u>tōkuat-</u> 'get stuck'.
Sk	<u>tak.u. at-</u>		
"	<u>tōk.u. at-</u>		

Comm.: 1. Since the meanings largely overlap, while the phonetic shapes correspond reasonably well, I propose to regard the two word families on the U side to be variants by split.--P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'stick/adhere to, hang on; be caught/attached'. 2. Phon.: initial J ts-, OJ t- vs Ugric *g- or *š-, cf. Fi t-. 1st syll. J, OJ u vs Ugric *y, cf. Fi a, etc. /medial J, OJ k vs Ugric *kk, cf. Fi kk, etc. 3. Note the formants J r, Fi l, r, Zr, Os r, all in the same structural position.

511. J <u>tsuku</u> , OJ <u>tuku</u> (y.) 'pierce, thrust, spear, stab, gore, poke, strike against'.	
Table 511	against'.
J tsuk.u	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>gyak</u> ~OHu, dial. <u>gyuk</u> - 'pierce, stab, thrust, stab, run a pointed weapon into or through the body; have sexual intercourse' ~ Vg <u>iek</u> - 'thrust/stab through; stop up' /Os <u>gyuk</u> -
OJ tuk.u	<u>ioyita</u> 'hit, beat, strike against; knock', <u>iävesti</u> 'to prick' (e.g., fish-bone in one's throat or splinter in one's finger).
Hu <u>gyak</u> -	-- Ugric * <u>tykka</u> --
" <u>gyuk</u> -	MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>gyak</u> -, etc. [alternative solution]: ~Zr <u>lukal-ni</u> 'to butt/gore (with the horns)'/Vty <u>iekal</u> - id.; 'stab, thrust'/Ch <u>loyem</u> 'to butt/gore (with the horns)'/? Fi <u>tokata</u>
Vg <u>iek</u> -	'pierce, prick, thrust (into)'--On the basis of the Zr, Vty, and Ch words, we can posit either FU * <u>i</u> - or * <u>ä</u> -. Fi <u>tokata</u> can only belong here if FU * <u>ä</u> is posited. The belonging of Hu <u>gyak</u> - to this group is uncertain whether we posit FU * <u>i</u> - or * <u>ä</u> because <u>gyak</u> - would be the sole example in which these posited
Os <u>ioy.i.ta</u>	ed sounds would have reflex <u>gy</u> - in Hu.
" <u>iä.y.ä.s.ti</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'pierce, stab'. 2. Phon.: initial J <u>ts</u> -, OJ <u>t</u> - vs Ugric * <u>i</u> - (but consider FU * <u>ä</u>) /1st syll. J, OJ <u>u</u> vs Ugric * <u>u</u> (an indefinite
Ugric * <u>tykka</u> -	velar vowel) /medial J, OJ <u>k</u> vs Ugric * <u>kk</u> .
Zr <u>luk.a.l</u> -	
Vty <u>iek.a.l</u> -	
Ch <u>loy.e.m</u>	
? Fi <u>tok.a.ta</u>	

ed sounds would have reflex gy- in Hu.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'pierce, stab'. 2. Phon.: initial J ts-, OJ t- vs Ugric *i- (but consider FU *ä) /1st syll. J, OJ u vs Ugric *u (an indefinite velar vowel) /medial J, OJ k vs Ugric *kk.

512. J <u>tsuku</u> - : <u>tsukue</u> , OJ <u>tuku-we</u> (according to Ōno, sooner <u>tuku-ye</u>), Ōno: Table 512	
J tsuk.u- e	OJ <u>tukf</u> = <u>tsukue</u> 'table'.
OJ tuk.i	Sauvageot 1930, 113 (ex., transl.): Fi <u>tykkä</u> , <u>tykkö</u> 'a large piece/lump of a tree-trunk; a butt'/Vty <u>džek</u> , <u>džök</u> , <u>žek</u>
" tuk.u-we (?)	'table'/Zr <u>džek</u> , <u>džek</u> 'butt/stump (of a tree); stool'/Os <u>tšov</u>
" tuk.u-ye (?)	: <u>tšov-tšov</u> 'a piece of a cut-up log, a block/lump (of wood)', <u>šux</u> , <u>šov</u> id. /Hu <u>csök</u> , <u>csög</u> 'butt/stump of a tree'//Tu Chuv
Fi <u>tykkä</u>	<u>saGg</u> 'wall-bench', Kaz <u>säke</u> , <u>sike</u> , <u>säke</u> 'raised seat'.
" <u>tykkö</u>	
Zr <u>džek</u>	MSZFE (ex.): Hu dial. <u>csög</u> , <u>csök</u> 'wooden block; tree-trunk, stump (of a tree); dug-out stump with roots; stump/stub that
Vty <u>džek</u>	remains above the ground after, say, osier has been cut; a
" <u>žek</u>	short stout peg fastened into the side of a fishing-boat (to
Os <u>tšov</u>	hold the rope of the seine)'--This word might be equated
" <u>šux</u>	with /Vty and Zr words as quoted from Sauvageot, above/. The
Hu <u>csök</u>	equation shows certain phonological difficulties. On the
" <u>csög</u>	basis of the Vty and Zr words, one can reconstruct FU * <u>č</u> -; the regular Hu contin-

uer of this is g- (= č); one can assume, however, that PHu had dialects characterized by cs- and g-, respectively.

Comm.: 1. In the old days (and under primitive conditions, even not so long ago) simple tables and stools were fashioned out of the trunks of large trees. OJ tukf probably designated such a table; tsukue, tukuwe, tukue appear to be compounds in which the second component could have come from OJ (u)pe 'above; surface'. 2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'tree-trunk; butt'. 3. Phon.: initial J ts-, OJ t- vs Fi t-, Zr, Vty dž-, etc., Os tš-, š-, Hu cs- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs Fi y, Zr e, Vty g, Os o, u, Hu ö /medial J, OJ k vs Fi kk, Zr, Vty, Hu k, Os y, Hu g. 4. MSZFE dismisses the propositions of Wichmann and Joki who, together with Sauvageot, joined Os tšov and Fi tykkä/tykkö to the words treated above by MSZFE; Os tšov has been discarded because of its velar vocalism, the Fi word because of its initial t-. One wonders, indeed, whether such differences weigh enough against the value of semantic identity and overall phonetic similarity.

513. J <u>tsukuru</u> , OJ <u>tukuru</u> (y.) 'make, create, build, construct; cultivate/pre-	
Table 513	pare (land, etc.)', J <u>tsuku-</u>
J tsu.k.u.ru	OJ ta takk.i-
" tsu.k.u.ro u	Hu tš-
OJ tu.k.u.ru	tš.v-
" tu.k.u.ropu	tš.s-
J, OJ ta.k.u.mu	MdE te.j.e.ms
J ta.k.u.ramu	Fi te.k.e-
" te	Est te.g.e.ma
OJ tš	Lp dš.g.ä-
	Lp takk.i-
	FU *te.k.e-
	Fi ty.ö
	MdE te.v
	" tš.ü
	MdM te.č
	Pfi *te.v.e
	rou, OJ <u>tukuropu</u> (y.) 'mend, repair, fix, patch up, regulate', J <u>takuramu</u> , <u>takumu</u> , OJ <u>takumu</u> (y.) 'to plan, contrive, scheme, invent', J <u>takumi</u> , OJ <u>takumi</u> 'plan, design, scheme, art, skill, dexterity; workman, craftsman',

J te, OJ ta > te, tē (the latter form taken from Miller 1971, 118, 241) 'hand', cf. Ōno: Idu-te-bune 'a boat made by craftsmen in/of Idu' (te 'craftsman', -bune = pune 'boat; tank, tub, vat'), OJ te-pitō 'artisan, craftsman, workman' (p. 'man').

FUV 132, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu tē(sz)-, tē(v)- 'do, make' /MdE tējems, MdM tijems id., MdE tējems, tējā 'to act, handle, perform, complete, do' /Fi teke-, Est tegema 'do, make' /LpN dákka~dāga-, takkī id.-- FU *teke-.

Itkonen 1930, 46: Fi tyō 'work, deed, performance, workmanship' /MdE tēv, tāh, MdM tēv 'work, performance; thing'. Early PFI *teve. "This word family has been separated [by FUV 1955] from Fi teke-, etc. By similar arguments, Hu tē should also have been separated from Fi teke-, for the /Hu/ stem tēv- is no truer than tēsz-."

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'do, make; plan'. 2. Phon.: initial J ts-, t-, OJ t- vs FU *t- /1st syll. J u, a, e, OJ u, a, ē vs FU e /medial J, OJ k vs FU *k. 3. On the J side, the stems tuku- and taku- are hard to separate on semantic grounds; while u~a alternation is not frequent in J, it is nevertheless attested, e.g., ama-i~uma-i 'sweet', iku~ika- (cf. iku-ra~ika-hodo 'how much'), (Ōno:) asa~uso~usu- 'light; shallow', OJ ataki~utaki 'the snarling of wild beasts'; thus, tuku- and taku- could be variants of each other. 4. Since OJ tē < ta, and since tē/ta is so often used to express 'workman, helper; doing something with the hands', it seems reasonable to assume that taku- had been formed from ta 'hand' by adding the verb formant -k(u); tuku- may have developed from taku through split (ablaut of the 1st syll., s. also Miller 1967, 198). 5. TESZ and MSZFE leave unexplained the odd double feature of Hu tēv-/tēsz-; standard works describe this phenomenon as: "a verb belonging to a group whose stem in -v- is expanded by -sz-." I submit that this is sweeping the problem under the carpet. The paradigm tē-sz 'he/she/it does', tē-vō 'the doer', tē-het 'he/she/it may do', tē-tet 'he/she causes to do' shows beyond any doubt that the root of these forms is tē-. A corresponding CV form has to be sought as the beginning component of FU *teke- and its reflexes. 6. Cf. Pröhle No. 67.

514. J tsume, OJ tumē < tuma 'fingernail, claw, talon, hoof', (in compounds)

Table 514 J tsuma-, OJ tuma-, e.g., OJ tuma-tatu 'to stand on tiptoe'.

J tsum.e SW 166: *topā 'claw, hoof'; cf. Yr toba, tōbō / Sk topi 'foot'.

" tsum.a- Erdélyi 1969: Sk topi, tōpi 'foot, leg, paw; claw'.

OJ tum.ē Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'claw; hoof'. 2. Phon.: initial J

" tum.a(-) ts-, OJ t- vs PSam *t- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs PSam *o /medial J, OJ m vs PSam *p /final J e, a, OJ ē, a vs PSam *-ā. 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 68. 4. Cf. entry tsumu 'to pick'.

515. J tsumu 'pick, pick up, pluck, pull out', tsumamu 'pick, pinch, take a

Table 515 tsum.u pinch (of), hold something (firmly) between the fingers', OJ

" tsum.a.mu tumu (y.) id., Ōno: tumu (y.) 'hold with the front teeth'

Ō., OJ tum.u might be cognate with tumu (y.) 'pinch, pick, reap, etc.';

J shib.a.ru tumu is the verbalized version of OJ tuma > tumē 'claw, paw,

" shim.a.ru talon, hoof, fingernail';--J shibaru 'bind, tie, fetter, arrest,

" shim.e.ru rest, catch', shimaru 'to be fastened/shut, be tight/firm',

OJ sib.u- shimeru 'to tie, tighten, wring, constrict, strangle, shut;

" sip.u control strictly', OJ sibu- 'astrigent, contracting', kupi-

Ō. -sim.u sibaru (y.) 'bite/clench the teeth strongly together' (kupu

OJ sib.a.ru 'to bite'), Ōno: kupi-simu (sh.n.) id., J shiiru 'to force,

" sim.a.ru compel, constrain, coerce', OJ sipu (k.n.) id., sibaru, sima-

Hu csip- ru 'to bind, tie, truss, fasten; hold down with force'.

" ? csup.á.l- TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu csip- 'squeeze (with some object),

Zr tsep.e.l pinch (with the fingers or tongs), sting; have a puckery/ac-

Vty tsep.f.l rid taste; pilfer; pinch, catch, arrest'--Zr tsepel, tsepil

? tsep.ā.ē.š 'a pinch (of salt, tobacco, etc.); the tip of one's finger',

FU *tsep.ā(-) tsepel-t-ni 'to pinch, squeeze, nip, gripe', tsepial- 'pluck,

? PSam *tsep. .ē pinch', tseper '(a) pinch, nip, twinge' /Vty tsepilt 'to pinch,

squeeze, hold between the fingernails'/? Ch tsā.šēstem 'pinch,

squeeze between the fingertips'-- FU *tsep.ā(-).

Cf. SW 148: *tsep.ā- (*t = e, t) 'be constricted/narrow'; cf.

Tv tapteda 'to squeeze', Km tóbd 3rem 'to grab/grip, seize, arrest'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'hold firm with the fingernails; pinch', hence 'catch, seize, squeeze; arrest, hold fast; bind; constrict'.--It is worth noting that there is a parallel between OJ sipu, J shiiru 'to force, compel, constrain, coerce', OJ sibaru, J shibaru 'to bind, arrest, etc.' and Hu -csip- : még-csip 'catch, arrest and tie/fetter' (an evil-doer; még- is a verbal prefix which indicates successful action). 2. Phon.: I propose to regard J tsumu, tsumamu, and OJ tumu to be ablaut variants of J shibaru, etc. with i in their 1st syll.; thus--initial J ts-, sh-, OJ t-, s- vs FU *č-, ? PSam *č- /1st syll. J, OJ u, i vs FU *č, ? PSam *č /medial J m, b, č, OJ m, b, p vs FU *pp, ? PSam *p. 3. Cf. Hu dial. csupál- 'to pluck, pull out' (as weeds, feathers, etc.); according to TESZ, its origin is uncertain; I suggest that this verb is a velar vowel order variant of csip- (-l- probably being a frequ. formant). 4. Miller 1971, 98 equates J tsumu, tsumamu with PA *čim- 'to pinch'. 5. Note the formants: -r(u) on the J side vs -l, -i on the U side, all in the same structural position.

516. J tsumu, OJ tumu (y.) 'pile up/high, accumulate', 'be/become accumulated',

Table 516

J	tsum.u	Ch	tèm	J <u>atsumeru</u> , OJ <u>atumu</u> (sh.n.) '(Vt) gather, collect, assemble', J <u>atsumaru</u> , OJ <u>atamaru</u>
OJ	tum.u	"	tem.e	(y.) 'to flock, swarm, meet, assemble (Vi)',
J	a.tsum.e.ru	"	tèm.ə	J <u>tatamu</u> , OJ <u>tatamu</u> (y.) 'fold (up, e.g.,
"	a.tsum.a.ru	"	tèm.ə.m	cloth, carpet), furl (sail, flag, etc.)', J
OJ	a.tum.u	"	tem.e.m	<u>tsutsumu</u> , OJ <u>tutumu</u> (y.) 'to bundle, wrap,
"	a.tum.a.ru	FU	*tem.3(-)	pack (up)', cf. <u>tatami</u> 'folding ...',
J, OJ	ta.tam.u			<u>tatami</u> 'mat, matting' (i.e., a piece of fur-
J	tsu.ts um.u			niture to be folded up), J <u>tsutsumi</u> , OJ
OJ	tu.tum.u			<u>tutumi</u> 'obstacle; package; bale'; J <u>tsumeru</u>
J	tsum.e.ru			'pile up, accumulate, gather, store, save, hoard', <u>tsumaru</u>
"	tsum.a.ru			'be stopped up, get clogged/obstructed/closed, be/become
"	tsum.o.ru			full/packed/stuffed/choked', <u>tsumoru</u> , OJ <u>tumoru</u> (y.) 'get
OJ	tum.o.ru			accumulated/piled up', J <u>tamaru</u> '(Vi) heap up, gather, be
J	tam.e.ru			accumulated', <u>tameru</u> '(Vt) collect, etc.', OJ <u>tamu</u> (sh.n.)
"	tam.a.ru			'(Vt) fill, stop, bring to a standstill, arrest', J <u>tomeru</u> ,
OJ	tam.u			OJ <u>tomu</u> (sh.n.) 'stop, halt, bring to a halt, hold; lodge
J	tom.e.ru			(a person)', J <u>tomaru</u> '(Vi) stop (at, in), stay, lodge; come
"	tom.a.ru			to a halt, stand still; be choked/stopped up', J, OJ <u>tomu</u>
OJ	tóm.u			(y.) 'be/become rich; abound in', J <u>uzumeru</u> 'bury, inter',
"	tóm.u			<u>uzumaru</u> 'be /become buried', OJ <u>udumu</u> (y.) 'bury, inter;
J	u.zum.e.ru			fill up', <u>udumoru</u> (y.) 'be buried'.
"	u.zum.a.ru			
OJ	u.dum.u			FUV 128, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>csomó</u> ~dial. <u>csumó</u> , <u>csumá</u>
"	u.dum.o.ru			'(a) knot, node, joint, gnarl, protuberance (on plants),
Hu	csom.ó			knuckle (on hands), bunion (on feet); bundle, bunch, bale,
"	csum.ó			sheaf; crowd, heap; coil, skein, reel', dial. <u>csomoros</u> adj.
"	csom.o.ros			der. 'knotty, gnarly' ~ Mde <u>sulmo</u> , <u>sulmá</u> , MdM <u>sulmá</u> 'knot,
Md	sulmo			node, joint, knob, tangle, bundle', Mde/M <u>sulmams</u> 'to tie,
Fi	solm.i			knit/knot/fasten (together)' /Fi <u>solmi</u> , <u>solmu</u> 'a knot, a
"	solm.u			joint', <u>solmita</u> , <u>solmuta</u> 'to knot, tie, bind', Est <u>sólm</u> 'a
Est	sólm			knot, a snare' /LpN <u>čuołbmá</u> 'a knot, a bundle'.--FU <u>*colme(-)</u>
Lp	čuołbm.á			--The element - <u>ó</u> in Hu <u>csomó</u> , <u>csumó</u> is a dim. formant.
FU	*čolm.3(-)			SW 147: <u>*təmtə</u> ~ <u>*təmtə</u> 'to reel, roll up, wrap, furl', cf.
PSam	*təm. - tə-			Yr <u>tamdatə</u> id., <u>tamtanč'a</u> 'roll oneself together', <u>təmtə</u> 'a
"				book', der. Sk <u>tamtıl-</u> 'make/bind into a bundle'.
Hu	təm-			FUV 132, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>təm</u> ~OHu, dial. <u>təm</u> 'become
"	tem-			clogged/blocked; fill/cram (some material into a cavity or
"	təm-			container), tread, trample down, pound; bury, inter; over-
"	dəm-			whelm (someone) with (riches, food), temet- 'bury, inter'
"	gyöm.ö.r-			~ Ch <u>təm</u> , <u>təme</u> 'full, filled', <u>təme</u> id., <u>təmen</u> , <u>təmem</u>
"	gyöm.ö.sz-			'fill, satisfy, satiate', <u>tənəm</u> , <u>təmam</u> 'become full/
"	gyom.o.sz-			filled/satiated; grow in size'.--FU <u>*təm</u> (-) 'full; fill'.
"	csöm.ö.sz-			TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>gyömöszöl</u> ~ <u>gyomoszol</u> -, <u>csomoszol</u> -, <u>csumi</u> -
"	csum.i.sz-			<u>szöl</u> -, <u>csömöszöl</u> 'cram, fill, pack, stuff, press (into)',

gyömör- id.--These words are of debated origin. According to one proposition, they are onom. Another derives them from the verb töm-~döm-, gyöm- 'cram into'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'accumulate; get stopped/blocked/heaped', hence 'tie/bundle/press (into)'. 2. It is fairly clear that the Hu forms csomó, csomó, csumá, and csomoros as well as gyömöszi-, etc. belong together and to töm-, etc. (in this large word family, both, velar and palatal vowel order are well represented). The equation of csomó, etc. with Md šulmo, etc. is no doubt right, but -l- in the Md, Fi, Est, Lp, and FU forms cannot be regarded as primary; if it were, we should have Hu *csómó, *csómó, *csúma, and *csómoros (on account of compensatory lengthening for the loss of -l-); further, all clusters in words on the U side are suspect of being secondary; the Finno-Lapp area is conspicuous for forms with clusters (note Lp čuolbmá !) vs attested OHu forms with no clusters. 3. On the J side, a- and u- are, as in so many other instances, plainly prothetic. In the case of ta-tamu, tu-tumu, and tsu-tsumu, the 1st syll. of the stems tamu, tumu, tsumu appears reduplicated as an augment on the left hand side; this indicates that the root of these stems was at one stage of CV shape. 4. Phon.: initial J ts-, t-, (-) z, OJ t-, (-) z vs FU *t-, *t-, PSam *t- /1st syll. J u, a, o, OJ u, a, o, z vs FU *o, *e, PSam *a /medial J, OJ m vs FU, PSam *m. 5. The formant -r(u) on the J side is paralleled by r in Hu gyömör-. 6. The element PSam *-tā/-tā must be additional to a formerly disyllabic stem (in fact, it is a verbal formant). 7. Cf. TESZ: Hu tömény ~OHu tumen, temen, tamen '10.000', 'very many; army; legion; large military unit'; --this word is of OTu origin, cf. Türk, Uig, Chag tümän '10.000', Osm tümen; Yak tümän '10.000; numerous, many; large'. 8. Cf. Miller 1971, 98: PA *šimr- 'roll/wind up', etc.

517. J <u>tsura</u> , OJ <u>tura</u> 'a line, a row', J <u>tsureru</u> , Ōno: <u>turu</u> (sh.n.) 'be linked			
Table 517			with, be accompanied by', J <u>tsure</u> 'companion', OJ <u>tura</u> 'affinity, connection, relation', J <u>tsuranaru</u> , OJ <u>turanaru</u> (y.)
J <u>tsur.a</u>	OJ	tur.u.mu	'stand in a row, be lined up, range, fall/get into line', J <u>tsuraneru</u> , OJ <u>turanu</u> (sh.n.) '(Vt) link, join, line up', J <u>atsuraeru</u>
OJ <u>tur.a</u>	"	tur.u.bu	OJ <u>aturapu</u> 'put in order, line up', OJ <u>turanamu</u> (sh.n.) 'put in order/row/line; range', J <u>tsurumu</u> , OJ <u>turumu</u> , <u>turubu</u> (y.)
J <u>tsur.e.ru</u>	J	sor.o. eru	'(Vi) couple, copulate, mate, line', J <u>soroeru</u> , OJ <u>soropu</u> (sh.n.) 'arrange, complete, collect', Ōno: <u>uma-sorope</u> 'the matching of a herd of horses' (<u>uma</u> 'horse').
" <u>tsur.e</u>	OJ	sor.o.opu	
OJ <u>tur.e</u>	Lp	šor.ā	
Ō. <u>tur.u</u>	"	šorna.gā-	
J <u>tsur.a.naru</u>	"	šur.ā	
OJ <u>tur.a.naru</u>	? Vg	šār.āk	
J <u>tsur.a.neru</u>	Os	sur	
OJ <u>tur.a.nu</u>	FU	*šur.ā	
J <u>a.tsur.a. eru</u>	- - -	- - -	
OJ <u>a. tur.a.pu</u>	? Hu	sor	
" <u>tur.a.namu</u>	"	szēr	
J <u>tsur.u.mu</u>			FUV 92 (ex.): Lp <u>šorā~šoragā-</u> 'a rather small herd of reindeer' (about 10 to 100);

as the last part of compounds, this word is also used of other animals, e.g., horses; Lp Inari šurā 'herd (flock) of reindeer'//? Vg šaarāk 'pasture-ground of reindeer (or moose ?)'//Os sur 'herd (flock) of moose or wild reindeer (OsS: some-times of horses or cows); harbour/haunt of wild reindeer or moose'--- FU *šurā.

TESZ (ex.): Hu sor 'a line/row of people or objects (whether lined up sideways or in a column); an amount; a great many; a sequence of events; a row of houses, a lane; a class of individuals; (a) breed/race/family'.--Origin uncertain. Perhaps sor is a development, by split, parallel to szēr 'row (of houses); line, rank, an ordered body of people, community, company; group/flock of animals'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a row/line/group' (of living beings). 2. Phon.: taking a- on the J side as a prothetic vowel--- initial J, ts-, s-, OJ t-, s- (= ts) vs FU *š-, ? Hu s-, sz- /1st syll. J, OJ u, o vs FU *u, ? Hu s, š /medial J, OJ r vs FU *r, ? Hu r. 3. Lp -gā and Vg -k are formants (dim. ?).

518. J tsuru, OJ turu 'crane'.

Table 518				TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>daru</u> 'crane'	
J <u>tsur.u</u>	Vg	tgr.i	FU <u>*tarā-kā</u>	~ Vg <u>tārōw</u> , <u>tēroγ</u> , <u>tēri</u> , <u>tāriγ</u>	
OJ <u>tur.u</u>	Os	tōr.3		id. /Os <u>tōrā</u> , <u>tāreγ</u> id. /Zr <u>turi</u> , <u>tufi</u> id. /Vty <u>turi</u> id.--The initial consonant of <u>daru</u> has become	
Hu <u>dar.u</u>	"	tār.ā.x		voiced under the influence of - <u>r</u> -.	
Vg <u>tār.ō.w</u>	Zr	tur.i			
" <u>tār.o.γ</u>	Vty	tur.i			

The element -u (alternating with -v- in the pl form Hu darvak~daruk, where -k is the pl marker) is a denom. noun formant and comes from FU *-k; the same *-k may be latent in the Vg, Os, Zr, and Vty words in question.--This word family is of onom. origin.-- FU *tar₃-k₃.

Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial J ts-, OJ t- vs FU *t- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs FU *a /medial J, OJ r vs FU *r. 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 69. 4. The U-A relationship of Hu daru is treated by Sinor 1943, 226-44. 5. Cf. Kamei 1953, 227-235 (comparison of J tsuru to Kor and A words).

519. J tsuru 'a handle, a bail' (e.g., of a pot), -jiri : ya-jiri 'the barb of an arrow; an arrowhead; a gad', Ōno: ya-ziri id. (ya 'arrow').

Table 519	J	tsur.u	MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>csir</u> (px3rdsg <u>csirja</u>) 'tap-like end tenon' (in building); peg, plug, dowel (turning in a corresponding bungle-)
	"	- jir.i	hole or bush, e.g., as part of a turning device of a gate); small
	Ō.	- zir.i	spur on the end of the hooked neck of the scythe-blade' ~ Zr
	Hu	csir	<u>tšir</u> , <u>dšir</u> 'hinge of a door' /Vty <u>širi</u> , <u>šerš</u> , <u>dširi</u> 'a heel', <u>šer</u>
	"	csir.o.s	'hinge of a door'.-- FU <u>*šra</u> .
	Zr	tšir	MTSZ: Hu <u>csiros</u> 'shank button' (-s is an adj. formant; <u>cs.</u> is
	"	dšir	short for <u>csiros gomb</u> , where <u>gomb</u> means 'button').
	Vty	šir.i	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a spur; a bent grip; small handle'.
	"	dšir.i	2. Taking <u>-jiri</u> < <u>-ziri</u> to be a variant development, by split,
	"	šer	parallel to <u>tsuru</u> --- initial J <u>ts-</u> , <u>j-</u> , ClJ <u>z-</u> vs FU <u>*š-</u> /1st
	FU	* šyr.ə	syll. J <u>u</u> , <u>i</u> , ClJ <u>i</u> vs FU <u>*u</u> /medial J, ClJ <u>r</u> vs FU <u>*r</u> .

520. J tsurugi, OJ turug₁, turuk₁ 'sword, sabre; blade'.

Table 520	J	tsur.u.gi	Ch	ter	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>tör</u> ~ ŌHu /adj. in the form of
	OJ	tur.u.g ₁	"	tür	personal names / (<u>Türüs</u> , <u>Teres</u>) 'relatively short,
	"	tur.u.k ₁	Fi	ter.ä	light stabbing weapon; dagger, poignard; awl' ~ Vty
	Hu	tör	Est	ter.a	<u>tir</u> , <u>ter</u> 'axe, hatchet, adze' /Ch <u>ter</u> , <u>tür</u> 'cutting
	"	tör (?)	Lp	doerre	edge' /Fi <u>terä</u> 'cutting edge; point; tip (of a moun-
	"	tür.üs	"	tier.e	tain); ear of corn', Est <u>tera</u> 'cutting edge, point,
	"	ter.e.s	FU	*ter.ä	mountain; ear of corn; spike; ray' /Lp <u>doerre</u> 'edge
	Vty	tir			of an axe', <u>tierre</u> 'blade' (of a knife).-- FU <u>*terä</u>
	"	ter			'point, cutting edge'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'cutting edge; stabbing/cutting weapon'. 2. Phon.: initial J ts-, OJ t- vs FU *t- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs FU *e /medial J, OJ r vs FU *r /final of the primary stem, J, OJ u vs FU *ä. 3. The element J -gi, OJ -g₁ / -k₁ remains unexplained, unless tsurugi, etc. are deverbal nouns deriving from a verb, say, *turuku.

521. J tsuto 'straw-wrapper; a package', OJ tutó 'a present', e.g., yama-dutó 'a souvenir sent or brought from the mountains' (Ōmodaka: the

Table 521	J	tsut.o	term 'straw-wrapper' in which some presents used to be sent has
	OJ	tut.ó	become synonymous with 'present'; Ōno: <u>tutó</u> comes from the part
	Hu	csut.a	<u>tutu-</u> of the verb <u>tutumu</u> 'to bundle, wrap').
	"	csut.u.ka	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>csutka</u> ~ dial. <u>csutuka</u> , etc. 'core of fruit; stump
	"	csut.a.k	of tree', <u>csuta</u> 'a bundle', e.g., "... <u>mint egy szalma csutát</u> .."
	"	csat.a.k	('like a bundle of straw', acc.), <u>csutak</u> , <u>csatak</u> , <u>csütök</u> 'stump of
	"	csüt.ö.k	a tree; a sheaf/bundle of fibrous material'.--This word family
			is of unknown origin.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a bundle' (of fibrous material).--Ōno's suggestion might be right. However, one could counter that tutumu contains the reduplicated root tu-, while the stem is tum.u (s. entry tsumu); instead of a flat statement, one would like to see how tutó vs tutu- fits into a system. 2. Phon.: initial J ts-, OJ t- vs Hu cs- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs Hu u, ü (the latter occurring in a palatal vowel order form) /medial J, OJ t vs Hu t /final J -o, OJ -ó vs Hu a, ü, ö. 3. The element -ka/-k on the Hu side must be a dim. formant.

Table 522	J	tsuto	Ōno: <u>tuto</u> 'suddenly, abruptly', J <u>tsuto-ni</u> , Ōno: <u>tuto-ni</u> 'early' (in the morning or in life, etc.), J <u>tsuto-</u>
	J	tsut.o(ni)	OJ <u>tut.ó.mu</u>
	Ō.	tut.o(ni)	PSam <u>*tut.ó.mu</u>
	J	tsut.o.meru	'be busy/ striving/ diligent; exert oneself'.
			SW 147: <u>*tenta-</u> (<u>t</u> = c, t) 'to run, trot'

(of animals); cf. Tv der. tantšjúa, Yn der. todde'ero, todde'edo, Yr der. tanšettē 'trot slowly', Motor der. tandalfim.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'be in a hurry; to run'. 2. Phon.: initial J ts-, ClJ t- vs PSam *t /1st syll. J, ClJ u vs PSam *ə /medial J, ClJ t vs PSam *t (the preceding n is taken as a homorganic glide).

523. J tsutsuga 'illness', tsutsuga-mushi 'a tsutsuga tick', tsutsuga-mushi-
Table 523 byō 'river fever' (byō 'illness'), tsutsuga-naku 'safely, i.e.,
J tsu.tsug.a without illness or accident' (Kenkyusha), OJ tutuga : tutuga-nasi
OJ tu.tsug.a (adj.) 'safe, uninconvenienced', Ono: tutuga 'calamity, difficul-
Hu dōg illness, misfortune, disaster' (since the Middle Ages) 'river
deg.u fever'.
" dug.u.s TESZ (ex.): Hu dōg 'illness; epidemic, pestilence; corpse', dōg-
halál 'death caused by pestilence; pestilence; plague' (halál
'death'), OHu Deg, Dugus (personal names, the latter bears the adj. formant -s),
? Degu (place-name).--The origin of these words is unknown.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'severe illness; calamity'. 2. As in many other J words, here, too, I suggest, we encounter the phenomenon of 1st syll. reduplication; the base itself seems to be tsuga < tuga. If that is allowed-- initial J ts-, OJ t- vs Hu g- /1st syll. J, OJ - vs Hu ō, ? e, /medial J, OJ g vs Hu g.

524. J tsuyu, Ono: tuyu 'the spring rains' (in the 5th month of the lunar
Table 524 calendar; the rains begin at the end of May or early in June),
J tsuy.u ? J tsuyu, OJ tuyu 'dew'.

OJ, Ō. tuy.u FUV 132, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu tavas 'spring; pertaining to
Hu tav.a.sz spring; spring fruits; spring sowing' ~ Vg tujā, tūjā 'spring'
Vg tuj.ā /Os tājā, tāj, tāv id./MdE tundo, MdM tunda 'in spring;
" tūj.ā spring'/Fi touko 'sowing; green crop (coming up in spring);
Os tāj sowing season', touko-kuu 'May' (kuu 'month'), Est tōug 'sum-
" tāj.ā mer sowing'; ? Zr tulis, tuvīs 'spring'/Vty tulis, tulēs 'in
Md tu- spring; spring'.--The elements Vg -a (etc.), Os -3, Fi -o are
Fi touk o noun formants. Md -ndo < -nda could be a case suffix. The Zr and
? Zr tu- Vty words raise morphological questions; besides, these words
? Vty tu- belong here only if Hu tavas and its cognates come from a FU
FU *tōwk.e base meaning 'waters rise/flood'; this may be posited on the
basis of Hu tu- '(Vi) increase; (levels) rise'. This proposi-

tion has the drawback that Zr tu- has no cognates (with the meaning 'to flood') in the other FU languages.-- FU *tōwk, 'spring', or--if the Zr/Vty words belong here -- *tōwk(-).

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'the period of spring rains; the melting/spring time'. 2. Phon.: initial J ts-, OJ t- vs FU *t- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs FU *o /medial J, OJ y vs FU *k (where I note that the cluster *wk- is not in line with the (C)VVCV pattern followed in this paper; as I see it, *w- in that position is probably a mere glide). 3. The element -sz of Hu tavas is a formant. 4. Cf. Pröhle No. 70.

525. OJ tumu 'large boat', po-tumu 'boat with sail' (po 'sail').

Table 525 FUV 128; Fi soima, saima 'a kind of big boat, with sails', seimi,
OJ tum.u soimi 'manger, crib', Kar soimi, Veps soim 'big boat', Est sōim,
Fi soim.a seim 'crib'/? MdE suma, sima, MdM suma, sama /Vty šumyk 'dram-
" saim.a glass; small wooden bowl'/Os sōma 'mortar'/.-- FU *sojma.
Est sōim TESZ (ex.): Hu tömlő ~ OHu temle 'leather bottle; wine-skin'.--
" seim This word comes from töm- 'to fill, stuff, cram'; it is probable
? MdE sum.a that -l of tömlő is secondary, by analogy.
" sīm.a Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'vat, tub, boat'. 2. Phon.: initial
? MdM sum.a OJ t- vs FU *g- /1st syll. OJ u vs FU *o /medial OJ m vs FU *m
" sēm.a (note: the preceding *j is most likely inetymological, cf. Hu
? Vty sum.y.k Vata > Vajta (family name), tákol > tajkol 'to repair, patch',
? Os sōm.a léha > léjha 'idle')/final OJ -u vs FU *a. 3. We know from re-
FU *sojma cords that steppe peoples were able to cross large rivers by means
? Hu töm. lő of temporary boats made of the hides of cattle or horses; the
freshly skinned hides were sewn together, stretched over a light
wooden frame and so served as temporary ferrying devices. It is plain that leather
bottles could never serve to ferry tens of thousands of people and their belong-

ings across rivers as large as the Volga or the Don. Yet the old writings tell of the crossings of such rivers by means of tömlö. Therefore in the old days this Hu word probably meant additionally 'temporary boat made if hides'.--As regards the derivation of tömlö from töm-, strong doubt is in place. I have never heard or read about a tömlö that had to be 'packed/crammed (full)'. The 'filling' of small or medium sized tömlö with some liquid is very different from that action, and it is not linked with the verb töm-, but with tölt- 'to fill'.--As far as its phonetic shape is concerned, tömlö would be irregular in the FU line-up.

526. J uchi, OJ uti < utu 'interior, interval inside (noun); between, among; inner-'.

Table	526			
J	<u>ut.i</u>	Yn	judd.a a	FUV 38: Os <u>jaečə</u> , <u>jačə</u> 'middle, centre, middle of a lake, main channel of a river'//Yr <u>joonai</u>
OJ	<u>ut.i</u>	"	jodd.e a	'(the) middle (one)', <u>joony</u> 'the middle, centre,
"	<u>ut.u</u>	"	judd.a(ne)	'(the) middle (one)', <u>joony</u> 'the middle, centre,
Os	<u>jaečə</u>	Sk	<u>tonž</u>	<u>judda-ne</u> , <u>jodda-ne</u> 'in the middle, between'/Sk
"	<u>jačə</u>	"	<u>čonž.e</u>	<u>tonž</u> , <u>čonžə</u> 'middle, centre, interior'.--
Yr	<u>jōn.a i</u>			U * <u>junča</u> .
"	<u>jōn.y</u>	U	* <u>junč.a</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'interior, middle'.

Phon.: initial J, OJ u vs U *j- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs U *u /medial J ch, OJ t vs U *č /final J, OJ -i, OJ -u vs U *-a.

527. J, OJ	<u>ude</u> 'arm'.	
Table	527	
J	<u>ud.e</u>	SW 30: * <u>utā</u> 'hand'; cf. Tv <u>jutu</u> , <u>dütü</u> /Yn <u>úra</u> , <u>úda</u> id., <u>múde</u> 'arm',
OJ	<u>ud.e</u>	cf. <u>ngude-esse</u> 'ring' (<u>esse</u> 'iron')/Yr <u>quda</u> 'hand'/Sk <u>uti</u> 'hand,
PSam	* <u>ut.ā</u>	<u>paw</u> /Km <u>uda</u> /Koibal <u>oda</u> /Abakan <u>uda</u> - /Karagas <u>uda</u> -. FUV 40: Vg <u>jōš</u> , <u>ješ</u> 'foot'/OsN <u>još</u> 'arm, hand, fore-foot, fore-paw'//
? Vg	<u>jōš</u>	/? Yr <u>quda</u> 'hand'/Tv <u>jütü</u> /Yn <u>ura</u> , <u>uda</u> /Sk <u>uty</u> /Km <u>uda</u> /.
"	<u>ješ</u>	(No reconstructed form given.)
? Os	<u>još</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'front-paw/hand/arm'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ <u>u</u> - vs PSam * <u>u</u> -, ? Vg <u>š</u> , <u>e</u> , Os <u>o</u> (Sam <u>j</u> -/ <u>d</u> -/ <u>m</u> -/ <u>u</u> - /? Vg, Os <u>j</u> - are taken as secondary sounds) /medial J, OJ <u>d</u> vs PSam * <u>t</u> , ? Vg <u>š</u> , Os <u>š</u> /final J, OJ <u>-e</u> vs PSam * <u>-ā</u> . 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 88.

528. OJ udu 'rare, novel, valuable, distinct, new, strange, nice, curious'.

Table	528			
OJ	<u>ud.u</u>	Md	od	FUV 134, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>új</u> 'new, novel, re-
Hu	<u>új</u>	Pi	<u>ūs.i</u>	cent, modern' ~ Zr <u>vił</u> , <u>vił</u> /Vty <u>vił</u> , <u>vil</u> /Ch <u>ū</u> , <u>uu</u>
Zr	<u>vīl</u>	"	<u>ūt.e</u>	'new'/Md <u>od</u> 'new, young'/Fi <u>uusi</u> ~ <u>uute</u> 'new', <u>utele</u> -
"	<u>vīl</u>	"	<u>ut.e.le</u>	'be curious; enquire'/Lp (attr.) <u>ođđā</u> 'new'.--
Vty	<u>vīl</u>	Lp	<u>ođđā</u>	FU * <u>Buđe</u> .
"	<u>vīl</u>	FU	* <u>Buđ.e</u>	Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial
Ch	<u>ū</u>			OJ <u>u</u> vs FU * <u>u</u> - /1st syll. OJ <u>u</u> vs FU * <u>u</u> /medial OJ <u>d</u>
"	<u>uu</u>			vs FU * <u>u</u> /final OJ <u>-u</u> vs FU * <u>-e</u> .

529.	J <u>ueru</u> ,	OJ <u>uwu</u> (sh.n.)	'be hungry; starve',	J <u>ue</u> ,	OJ <u>uwe</u>	'hunger; starvation'.
Table	529					
J	u.e.ru	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>éh</u> ~ OHu <u>ehu</u> - :	<u>Ehudi</u> (personal name; /-di probably			
"	u.e	contains two dim. formants/,	dial. <u>ehe</u> , <u>ihe</u> , <u>ih</u> 'hungry; hunger',			
OJ	uw.u	<u>éhező</u> 'one who is starving; hungry',	<u>éhség</u> 'hunger; hungriness;			
"	uw.e	starvation', <u>éhül</u> ~ dial. <u>ehül</u> 'become hungry/starving',	<u>éhes</u> ~			
Hu	éh	<u>éhes</u> , OHu <u>Ehos</u> (personal name) 'hungry, starving' / -s is an adj.				
"	ih	formant/.--This word family is of uncertain origin. Does it have				
"	eh.e	to do with <u>ész(ik)</u> 'to eat'?				
"	ih.e	Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll.				
"	éh.ü.1-	J, OJ <u>u</u> - vs Hu <u>é</u> -, <u>e</u> -, <u>i</u> - /medial J <u>u</u> , OJ <u>w</u> vs Hu <u>h</u> -.--The vowel				
"	éh.ü.1-	order of the Hu words in question shows traces of velar order in				
"	éh.e.s	OHu; since shifting from velar to palatal order is attested in a				
"	éh.ē.s	number of cases, we can assume the same here. 3. Omodaka lists				
"	eh.o.s	OJ <u>yapa-si</u> (adj.) 'hungry, starving'. There is a chance that this				
"	eh.u.di	word is a variant development, by split, parallel to OJ <u>uwu</u> ; the				
? OJ	yap.a-si	base <u>yapa</u> - seems to be older than <u>uwu</u> . 4. I don't think that <u>éh</u> ,				
		etc. have to do with <u>ész(ik)</u> (for the latter, s. entry <u>taberu</u>).				

530. J <u>uji</u> , OJ <u>udi</u> 'clan, tribe, (extended) family; lineage, birth; surname'.	
Table 530	Ōno: OJ <u>udi</u> ~Kor <u>ul</u> 'family, clan, tribe', Mo <u>uru-g</u> 'relations',
J <u>uj.i</u>	Tu Kirg <u>uru</u> id., Tg <u>ur</u> 'descendants'.
OJ <u>ud.i</u>	
MdE <u>und.o.ks</u>	Paasonen, Beiträge ... No. 208: MdE <u>undoks</u> , <u>unduks</u> 'root; vine
" <u>und.u.ks</u>	(of cucumber, melon, etc.); sprout; descendant, offspring', MdM
Lp <u>vond.e.s</u>	<u>unks</u> 'root'/LpK <u>viandes</u> , gen. <u>oantazi</u> , <u>uondes</u> , <u>oantes</u> ; <u>uades</u> ,
" <u>oante.s</u>	LpL <u>oddäse</u> , nominative <u>ettes</u> 'the thickest root of a tree'.
" <u>uadd.e.s</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'root', hence 'lineage', etc. 2. We
" <u>odd.ä.se-</u>	can probably take the stem MdE <u>undo/-u-</u> as approaching the FU
" <u>ött.s.s</u>	form from which the Md and the Lp words in question derive. If
	so, then ---initial and 1st syll. J, OJ <u>u-</u> vs MdE <u>u-</u> /medial J
	<u>j</u> , OJ <u>d</u> vs MdE <u>nd</u> (where <u>n</u> is likely a glide sound) /final J, OJ
	<u>-i</u> vs MdE <u>o</u> , <u>u</u> in the same position. 3. MdE/M <u>-ks</u> , Lp <u>-s</u> are plainly formants. 4.
	Cf. Poppe 1954, 300: Mo * <u>ud</u> -; this root is found in <u>ud-u-m</u> 'relatives, origin, af-
	finity', <u>ud-ga</u> 'origin', <u>udum-čar</u> 'great-great-grandson', <u>udidrid</u> -< <u>ud-u-ri-d</u> 'to
	lead'.

531. J, OJ <u>uku</u> (y.), J, OJ <u>ukabu</u> (y.) 'rise to the surface, float (in water)',	
Table 531	J <u>ukasau</u> = <u>ukaberu</u> , OJ <u>ukabu</u> (sh.n.) 'to launch, set afloat',
J, OJ <u>u.k.u</u>	OJ <u>ukaru</u> (sh.n.) 'be afloat, drift about'; ? J <u>oyogu</u> , Ōno:
" " <u>u.k.abu</u>	<u>oyogu</u> (y.) 'to swim, keep afloat'.
J <u>u.k.asu</u>	FUV 81, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi <u>ui-</u> 'swim', Est <u>uju-</u> , <u>ouj-</u> , Liv
" <u>u.k.aberu</u>	<u>vojgō</u> -/Lp <u>vuogjā</u> ~ <u>vuojā</u> -/MdE <u>uje-</u> , MdM <u>uja-</u> /Ch <u>iā-</u> , <u>ija</u> -/Vty
OJ <u>u.k.aru</u>	<u>uj-</u> , <u>ūj-</u> 'swim, navigate, go by boat'/Zr <u>uj-</u> 'swim; wade', Vg
? J <u>oy.o.g.u</u>	<u>uj-</u> , <u>wuj-</u> 'swim'/Os <u>oŭ-</u> , imperative <u>utā</u> , OsN <u>oŭ-</u> , <u>woŭ-</u> , OsS <u>uŭ-</u>
? OJ <u>oy.o.g.u</u>	(der.) /Hu <u>ūsz-</u> (der.) //Yr <u>nuu-</u> /Sk <u>uurna-</u> (der.)-- U * <u>uje-</u>
Fi <u>u.i</u>	(? * <u>oje-</u>)--(MSZFE:) the base of the Os word for 'to swim' has
Est <u>u.j.u-</u>	been preserved in the form <u>ūj-</u> 'swim, crawl, creep'. Räsänen
" <u>o.j.u-</u>	(Vir. 1947:170) and Collinder (AUU. 1/4:145) compared the word
Liv <u>vojgō-</u>	family in question to A words, e.g., Tg <u>uju-</u> 'swim to the bank',
Lp <u>voj.ä-</u>	<u>uju-ktā</u> 'to swim', Mo <u>oj-</u> id.
MdE <u>u.j.e-</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'float; swim'. 2. J, OJ <u>oyogu</u> (no
MdM <u>u.j.a-</u>	etymology is attempted for this word by Ōno or Omodaka) seems
Ch <u>i.ä-</u>	to be a reduplication of <u>uku</u> , with the weakening to <u>j</u> of the
" <u>i.j.a-</u>	first <u>k</u> , and voicing, of the second; in addition, a lowering
Vty <u>u.j-</u>	of initial <u>u-</u> appears to have taken place in both components;
" <u>ū.j-</u>	if this hypothesis is incorrect, <u>oyogu</u> must be excluded. 3.
Zr <u>u.j-</u>	When we look at the attached table (disregarding the probably
Vg <u>u.j-</u>	prothetic sounds Liv, Lp <u>v-</u> and Yr <u>ŋ-</u>), we find that Os <u>o-</u> , Hu
" <u>wu.j-</u>	<u>u-</u> , Yr <u>ŋu-</u> , and Sk <u>ū-</u> are clearly without the expected re-
Os <u>o-</u>	flex of U *- <u>j-</u> ; in Hu <u>u-sz-</u> and Sk <u>ū-rna-</u> the case is quite
" <u>ū.j-</u>	clear. This allows one to assume that U *- <u>j-</u> is a formant. Go-
Hu <u>u-</u>	ing one step further, <u>-k-</u> in the forms on the J side could also
Yr <u>ŋu-</u>	be regarded as a formant. 4. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ
Sk <u>ū-</u>	<u>u-</u> vs U <u>u-</u> (? <u>o-</u>) /medial J, OJ <u>k</u> vs U <u>*j</u> . 5. Of. Pröhle No. 87.
U <u>*u.j.e-</u>	6. Cf. FUV 156: Fi <u>ui</u> /Mo <u>ojimu-</u> /Tg <u>uju-</u> 'swim (ashore),
" ? <u>*o.j.e-</u>	<u>ujukta-</u> 'swim' (frequ.).

532. J <u>umi</u> , OJ <u>um̄</u> 'sea'.	
Table 532	SW 40: * <u>jām</u> 'sea'; cf. Tv <u>jam</u> , Yr <u>jam̄</u> , <u>jām</u> , <u>jēām</u> 'large river'.
J <u>um.i</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'very large body of water'. 2. Phon.:
OJ <u>um.ä</u>	initial J, OJ <u>Ø</u> vs PSam <u>*j-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>u</u> vs PSam <u>*ä</u> /medial
PSam <u>*jām</u>	J, OJ <u>m</u> vs PSam <u>*m</u> .

533. J, OJ <u>umu</u> (y.) 'become tired/sick of, be/become disgusted/fed up with'.	
Table 533	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>un-</u> ~OHu <u>on-</u> 'become tired/sick of, be bored by,
J, OJ <u>um.u</u>	have a surfeit of', <u>unás</u> , <u>unalom</u> 'satiety, boredom'-- Origin un-
Hu <u>on-</u>	known.
" <u>on-</u>	SzófSz: Hu <u>un-</u> ... ~Zr <u>um-</u> 'have a surfeit of, grow disgusted
" <u>un.alom</u>	with'/Vty <u>ymy-</u> id.--This equation has some phonological difficul-
Zr <u>um-</u>	ties.
Vty <u>ym.y-</u>	

Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ u- vs Hu, Zr u-, Vty y- (~j) /medial J, OJ m vs Hu n (most

likely a substitution for m, cf. Bárczi - Benkő - Berrár 1967, 97: Hu talám > talán 'perhaps', p. 120: dial. hum > huny 'close the eyelid(s)', iszamó > iszonyú 'frightful'; Hajdú 1966, 28: Fi -m > -n, as a tendency), Zr, Vty m.

534. J, OJ umu (y.) 'fester, suppurate, form pus', J umi, OJ umi 'pus, discharge', J, Óno: umu (y.) 'get ripe, ripen; be overripe'.--Óno: this word is cognate with umu 'to fester'.

Table 534	J, OJ	um.u	Yr	tšim .ts	
	J	um.i	Yn	tšb.ā	
	OJ	um.f	Tv	tšim.i.ʹem	
	Hu	ev	Sk	tš	FUV 32, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu (obsolete) <u>ev</u> , <u>év</u>
	"	év	"	tšmba.l	'pus, matter, discharge (from a wound)', <u>eves</u>
	"	év.e.s	U	*sā.je	(adj.) 'suppurating, festering'/Vg <u>sei</u> , <u>sej</u> 'pus,
	"	év-	Hu	em.i.ng	matter'/Os <u>lőj</u> , <u>iőj</u> , <u>őj</u> , <u>tőj</u> /Zr <u>siš</u> , <u>syš</u> 'rotten,
	"	ív-	"	em.ő.ke	corrupted, mildewed, decayed; rottenness'/Vty
	Vg	sej			<u>šis</u> , <u>siš</u> 'rotten, rottenness; corruption'/Ch <u>šij</u> ,
	Os	lőj			<u>šij</u> 'pus'/Md <u>sij</u> , <u>sij</u> id./Lp <u>sieggjā</u> ~ <u>siejjā</u>
	"	iőj			'matter (in a boil, wound, sore part of the body); gum in the eye'
	"	őj			/Yr <u>tšimts</u> 'rotten foul, putrid', <u>tiim</u> 'become rotten; get soft',
	Zr	si-			<u>tiibej</u> 'sour, spoiled, rotten'/Yn <u>tšibā</u> 'sour', <u>tiime</u> 'become
	Vty	š-			sour'/Tv <u>tšimi</u> 'em, <u>tiimi</u> 'become rotten, turn sour/foul' /Sk <u>tš</u>
	Ch	šü-			'matter, pus, rottenness', <u>tšmbal</u> , <u>tšbāl</u> 'rotten, sour', <u>teebyni</u>
	Md	šij			'be sour' (- <u>nj</u> - suffix).-- U * <u>sā.je</u> .--Vg <u>s-</u> is irregular. In the
	"	si			Hu forms <u>ev</u> , <u>év</u> , <u>eves</u> , <u>v</u> has stepped as hiatus-filler in the
	Lp	šiej.ā			place of former <u>j</u> .--It is possible that Hu dial. <u>év(ik)</u> , <u>ív(ik)</u>
	PSam	*ti(-)			'become ripe/soft/juicy/succulent/overripe/rotten-ripe' has de-
		*tip.ājā			veloped as the verbal companion of <u>ev</u> ; dial. <u>éved</u> , <u>ived</u> 'become

from év./ív-. However, the 1st syll. i/í of the verbs in question makes the linking with ev 'pus' doubtful.

TESZ (ex.): Hu eming, emink, emig, emök, emöke 'the salty-sour liquid that remains as the by-product of cheese-making'.--Origin unknown.

SW 161: *ti~*te 'pus'; cf. Sk te, tē id., Km tša, Koibal te, Motor di; (as a verb) *ti-(? *ti~ti)-*te 'to rot'; cf. Tv tšimši id., Yr tšimero 'become sour';--der. *tipājā~*tepājā 'rotten, foul sour'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'get ripe/overripe and soft; fester, form pus/discharge'. The two semantic areas are closely linked, for, say, a boil becomes ripe and soft not unlike most fruits; again, the discharge from a boil or festering wound is similar to the juice of fruit becoming rotten because of overripeness.--Hu eming, etc. (stem emi-/emö-, -ng, etc. being a formant) has a chance of belonging here at least for semantic reasons. 2. In view of the data adduced from SW 161, I am in doubt whether to take U *sā.je as valid for all forms it is supposed to represent. Certainly, U *-j- has no reflex -p- (s. Collinder 1965, 87), yet the Sam forms must come from a U antecedent. It seems to me that a CV shaped root is at the base of all the forms adduced on the U side. From there, one may picture the following developments: a) expansion through U *-j- in a certain area, b) expansion through PSam *-p-, c) ? expansion through -m- in Hu eming. 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ ǵ vs U *g-, PSam *t- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs U *ā, PSam *i~*e /medial J, OJ m vs U *j, PSam der. *p.

535. J umu, OJ mu~umu (y.) 'to bear, give birth to, spawn, produce', OJ musu

Table 535	J, OJ	u.m.u	Sk	m.š	(y.) 'spring up, grow' (of grass, moss, etc.);
	OJ	m.u	"	m.š.ŋa	'yield' (grain, fruit; interest).
	"	m.u.su	"	m.š.ga	
	Hu	m.š	"	m.e-go	FUV 56, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>mū</u> ~ <u>mi</u> 'act, deed,
	"	m.ū	U	*m.e.ke-	activity, work; production, creation by hand or
	"	m.i	or	*m.e.ŋe-	mind; produce of the fields; (OHu also) reward
	Yr	š.š.š	PSam	*m.e.j-	for work', <u>mūvel</u> dial. <u>mīvel</u> 'do, act, culti-
	"	š.š.š			vate (e.g., land), practice (art), refine',
	"	m.š- (?)			<u>mū-hely</u> 'workshop' (<u>hely</u> 'place').--Origin un-
	"	m.ī (?)			certain. ? ~Yr <u>šis</u> , <u>šes</u> 'make, fabricate (as
	Yn	m.š-bo			handicraft), carpenter, build', <u>mee</u> -, <u>mii</u> - id./
	Tv	m.š- (?)			Yn <u>mē-bo</u> 'make'/Tv <u>mee</u> - id./Sk <u>mee</u> -, <u>meega</u> -,

meega- (derivative?).--In Hu mūvel-, -v- is a

hiatus-filler. As 1st syll. vowel, we can posit PHu *i---The equation is uncertain because only Hu and Sam come into the picture.-- U *meke- 'work, deed, activity' (FUV: *meje-).

SW 92: *mej- 'make, do'; cf. Sk mejo id.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'create, produce; be created; work; the effect of creation'. 2. Phon.: since OJ mu and musu are attested beyond doubt, one can take u- of umu as a prothetic vowel; thus--- initial J, OJ m- vs U, PSam *m- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs U, PSam *e (note: final -u of J verbs is attached automatically and it hides various base endings, e.g., -a to which the suffixes marking negation are added; in the case of umu, the simplest deverbal noun is umi, OJ um 'the bringing forth/giving birth to'). 3. The PSam form *mej- is odd, for it seems to be a compromise between the standard forms of CV and CVCV; so one has the impression that the actual Sam words do not warrant the reconstruction of a disyllabic form (note for instance Sk mejo where -go must be the ubiquitous Sk verb formant). MSZFE reconstructs for the Hu and the Sam words U *meke-, but offers two other etymological possibilities (without reconstructions). TESZ offers no reconstruction at all; one weighty reason for this could be that Hu mi is frequently attested in the old language as mü/mi, i.e., with short vowel, and that, in addition to the shortness of some Sam forms, does not make for U *meke-.

536. J, OJ unagasu (y.) 'urge on, stimulate, press on, incite, quicken'.

Table 536

J, OJ u.nag.a.su
Hu nyag.a.t
" nyag.a.t

TESZ (ex.): Hu nyagat---nyagat- 'harass, molest, vex; urge, press on, drive on'---Origin uncertain.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'urge on; harass'. 2. Phon.: taking u- of unagasu as prothetic---initial J, OJ n- vs Hu ny- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu a /medial J, OJ g vs Hu gg, g (the presence of the second g in nyagat- is probably due to analogy)/final of the primary stem, J, OJ a vs Hu a in the same position. 3. Note the caus. formants: OJ -s(u) (= tsu) : Hu -t-.

537. J, OJ ura 'bay, inlet, cove, gulf; creek'.

Table 537

J, OJ ur.a
Fi ar.o
Os ur.i
" wor.i
FU ar.a

FUV 89 (ex.): Fi aro 'grassed low-lying land, dell; steppe, prairie', Kar aro 'shallow inlet of a river, with horse-tail vegetation'/Os uri, wori 'ancient river-bed that has partly dried up, changing into a (small) lake; small lake; pond; grassy lakelet beside a river'.
--FU *ara.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'inlet of a river or creek'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ u- vs FU *a- /medial J, OJ r vs FU *r /final J, OJ -a vs FU *a.

538. J ura 'the (top) end; the tip', OJ ura ure 'the topmost branches of a tree, tree-top'.

Table 538

J, OJ ur.a Ch wil-
OJ ur.e Vty vyl
Fi yl.ä- Zr vyl-
" yl.i- Vg äl
Lp äl.e- Os el-
" äl- ? Yr nī-
Md vel. ks ? Tr ñi-
" i- ? Sk i-
U *wil.ä

FUV 86: Fi ylä-, yli- 'over, super, upper', yltä '(off) from the top; above, at the top'/LpL älle- 'western, northwestern' (where the high mountains are); LpN ällen 'high (= in a high position in space)', älde 'from, from over; upon, over'/Md velks 'the highest/topmost part; lid'/Ch wiline '(being) above, on'/Vty vyl 'upper part, surface'/Zr vyl- id./Vg äl 'the upper course of a river; south; lid'/OsN elti 'off; from; (moving from above) down on; along (the surface), (moving) above; on, during'///? Yr niine 'being on', nit 'down from'/Tv ñini '(being) on'/Yn ñine /Sk igyt (loc. of i-)/Km nigan '(being) above'--- U *wilä.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'upper; high; top'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ ø vs U *w- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs U *ü /medial J, OJ r vs U *l /final J, OJ -a, OJ -e vs U *-ä. 3. Cf. Lehtisalo 1936, 270: Yn oñi, ori 'summit, top', Sk ol, olle, ul 'head; that which is above'. 4. A scrutiny of the Sam forms quoted from FUV reveals that the element U *-lä is probably additional to a root (*wil-), cf. Sk i-, Yr ni-, ñi- (where n-, ñ- are secondary).

539. J ura : uraraka, Ōno: uraraka 'beautiful, bright (= clear), serene, fine, splendid', OJ ura-ura 'happy, glad', J ureshi-i, OJ ure-si id., OJ uragu

(sh.n.) 'become happy/glad/delighted' (Ůno: does this come from ura 'heart, inside' + agu 'raise, lift up'?), OJ urakasu (y.) 'console, divert, make happy'.

Table 539

J, OJ	ur.a-	FUV 119, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>öröm</u> ~OHu <u>űrüm</u> 'joy, delight, bliss, pleasure', <u>örül</u> ~ <u>örvend</u> 'be happy/delighted' ? ~ Lp
J	ur.e.shi-i	<u>arvuk</u> 'gay, lively, spirited; in good spirits', <u>arvâ</u> , <u>arvo</u>
OJ	ur.e-si	'energy, will-power', <u>arvât</u> 'have courage to do something, venture (to do)'.--Hu <u>-m</u> is a deverbal nom. formant. Lp <u>-k</u> is
"	ur.a.kasu	a denom. formant.--This equation is made uncertain by two factors: a) only one, distant language would show a cognate, b) Hu
? OJ	ur.a.gu	<u>űröm</u> , etc. may have other links, such as Tu Yak <u>uör</u> , Sagai
Hu	ör.ö.m	<u>űrün</u> , Šor <u>ürgün</u> 'be happy/delighted' (Räsänen, <i>Studia Orientalia</i> XV, 68).
"	ör.ü.l-	
Lp	arv.u.k	
"	arv.â	
"	arv.o	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'delightful, happy'. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ u- vs Hu ö-, OHu ü-, ? Lp â- /medial J, OJ r vs Hu, ? Lp r (where the following v is taken as an off-glide) /final of the primary stem, J, OJ a, e vs Hu ö, ü, ? Lp u, a, o

540. J	<u>uramu</u> , OJ	<u>uramu</u> (k.n.) 'resent, bear a grudge, regret', J <u>urami</u> , OJ
Table 540		<u>urami</u> 'a grudge, heartburning, bitter/ill feeling, spite, hatred, enmity, hostility, malice, wrong', J <u>urameshi-i</u> , OJ
J, OJ	ur.a.mu	<u>urame-si</u> 'reproachful, spiteful, hateful, chagrined, bitter (against somebody)'.
J	ur.a.mi	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>űröm</u> ~OHu <u>irem</u> , <u>irim</u> , dial. <u>irēm</u> , <u>irem</u> , <u>űrēm</u> ,
OJ	ur.a.mi	<u>űrüm</u> 'vermouth; bitterness; suffering'.--Origin uncertain.
J	ur.a.meshi-i	We may have to do with a loan from Tu, but the assumable correspondences can be found only in the Volga-Tu languages, cf
OJ	ur.a.me-si	Chuv <u>aram</u> , <u>eram</u> , Tat <u>arem</u> , Başkir <u>arem</u> ; cf. also Mo <u>erme</u> .
Hu	ür.ö.m	The Tu words in question can only be regarded as antecedents
"	ir.ä.m	of Hu <u>űröm</u> if the word loaned into Hu was something like * <u>irem</u> . However, the Tu
"	ir.i.m	forms seem to point to former <u>arem</u> .

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'bitter taste', hence 'bitterness, grudge, etc.'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ u- vs Hu ü-, i- /medial J, OJ r vs Hu r. 3. The formant -m(+ vowel) on the J side is paralleled by Hu m in the same position.

541. J uranau, OJ uranapu (y.) 'to divine, forecast, augur, tell fortunes', J uranai, OJ uranapi 'divination, fortune-telling' OJ ura id.,

Table 541		OJ <u>ura-topu</u> (y.) 'practice divination, consult the gods by divination' (<u>topu</u> 'ask, request').
J	ur.a.na u	Ganschow 1965, 106: Os Kazym <u>artas</u> 'practice divination; tell the future by means of the shaman drum' <Zr <u>artas</u> 'to settle
OJ	ur.a.napu	accounts (with someone)', cf. OsK <u>artas</u> 'investigate, scrutinize; estimate; divine' <Zr <u>artal</u> 'consider, ponder over'.
OJ	ur.a(-)	
Zr	ar. .tal-	
Md	af. .tšems	
Fi	ar. .vo	
Est	ar.u	
FU	*ar. .ba	FUV 141: Fi <u>arvo</u> 'value, worth; importance, dignity, rank',
or	*ar. .ya	<u>arvaa-</u> 'to guess, conjecture, suppose, presume; rate, estimate, <u>arvele-</u> 'think, believe, suppose, consider', Est <u>arv~aru</u>

'number (quantity); understanding, reason'... /Zr art- 'make a (rough) estimate', artal- 'think, observe, consider, reflect, deliberate'/Hu ár 'price'; (earlier also: 'article of trade, commodity' ~ Sanskrit argha- 'price, value, worth', Avestan arəja- 'value', Ossete ary 'price'.

TESZ. MSZFE (ex.): Hu ár 'price, value', áru 'trading goods', OHu áru (also) 'price; trade', arul- 'sell, offer for sale', aruló 'vendor, seller; traitor' ?

~ Zr artal-ni 'ponder over, consider, accept; count calculate, estimate'? MdE artšems, etc. 'think, be of (a certain) opinion'/Fi arvo 'value, dignity; guessing conjecture', Est aru, arv 'concept, mind, understanding, insight, judgement; calculation; relationship', arvama 'think, have an opinion of, estimate, judge, guess, opine'.--The Zr and the Md words belong here only if the elements t, č are formants.-- FU *arBa or *arYa.--The primary meaning of this word family is uncertain; originally, the application of these words may have been more diverse than witnessed by the attested forms; a general broad meaning may have narrowed mainly to the concept 'countervalue (in trade)' /this applies in the main to Hu/.

Comm.: 1. Even if the words in question on the U side were descended from a loanword of IE origin, the comparison with J, OJ ura- would be interesting. With-

out any intention to prejudge pertinent future investigation, I suggest that two semantic cores have to be peeled out of the adduced data: a) 'practice divination, tell the future; guess', b) 'assess value; trade, sell; calculate' (the Hu words in question would probably fall in the latter category, but s. entry uru). 2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'practice divination, tell the future; guess'. 3. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ u- vs Os, Zr a-, ? FU *a- /medial J, OJ u vs Os, Zr u-, ? FU *r-. 4. J -nau, OJ -napu combine two verb formants. 5. According to the pattern of syllable sequence followed in this paper, FU *-sa-/ya must be additional to a formerly disyllabic stem.

542. J <u>ureu</u> , <u>ureeru</u> , OJ <u>urepu</u> , <u>urebu</u> (sh.n.) 'grieve, lament, complain; be anxious/distressed/troubled; feel sorrow (for)',			
Table 542			
J	ur.e. u	Fi	sur.e.tta-
"	ur.e. eru	"	sur. .ma
OJ	ur.e. pu	Est	sur.e-
"	ur.e. bu	Vg	sor.e.m
Ö.	ur.e.pa-si	Os	sur-
Fi	sur.e-	FU	*sur.ö-

särem 'death'.-- FU *surö-. 'grieve, mourn', suretta- 'make grieve; kill', surma 'death', Est sure- 'die'/Vg sorem 'death'/Os sur- 'die', sörem,

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'grieve; be distressed'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ u vs FU *s- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs FU *u- /medial J, OJ u vs FU *r-.
 543. J, OJ uru (y.) 'sell; trade (m), offer for sale', J kuni-o uru 'sell one's own country; betray one's own country' (o is object marker).

Table 543			
J, OJ	ur.u	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu	<u>ár</u> 'price, value', <u>áru</u> 'trading goods', OHu
Hu	ár.u	<u>áru</u> id.; 'price; trade', Hu, OHu	<u>áru</u> - 'sell, offer for sale',
"	ár.u.l-	<u>áru</u> ló 'vendor, seller, dealer; traitor',	<u>el-áru</u> - 'betray, sell,
" ?	ár	give away' (<u>el</u> - 'away' is a verbal prefix) /for the attempted comparison of these words with FU ones (and others), s. entry <u>uranau</u> 7.	

Comm.: 1. I am not sure whether the Hu word family in question goes with FU *arBa/urva. However, I propose to link it with J, OJ uru. 2. At least Hu áru and árul- have the same basic meaning as J, OJ uru. 3. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ u- vs Hu á- /medial J, OJ u vs J, OJ u /final J, OJ u- vs Hu u in the same position. 4. TESZ notes that the formation of Hu áru is not clear: -u could be an obscure formant or a preserved word-final vowel.--It is worth noting in this connection that prior to the 13th cent. genuine Hu words ended, as a rule, in a vowel, and that the most common word-final vowel was -u.

544. J <u>urumu</u> 'be wet; be blurred/clouded/dim', OJ <u>urupu</u> (y.) 'be wet/soaked/moist, drenched', J <u>urucu</u> , OJ <u>urupupu</u> (y.) 'be moist(ened)/wet/damp', J <u>uruosu</u> , OJ <u>uruposu</u> (y.) 'moisten, wet, drench, irrigate'.			
Table 544			
J	ur.u.mu		
OJ	ur.u.pu		
J	ur.u. o u	Paasonen, Beitrage ... No. 81: Zr	<u>ul</u> , <u>yl</u> 'moist, fresh, raw (uncooked)' /Vty <u>il</u> , <u>el</u> 'raw, fresh' (as meat, wood), 'moist,
OJ	ur.u.pupu		wet' /Vg <u>il</u> 'moist', <u>il</u> <u>jiw</u> 'moist/wet/sappy wood' /Ch <u>ile</u> 'raw,
J	ur.u. osu		moist'. /Paasonen posits FU * <u>l</u> -, but remarks that in FU there
OJ	ur.u.posu		is no clear differentiation between *- <u>l</u> - and *- <u>l</u> -. /
Zr	<u>ul</u>		
"	<u>yl</u>		
Vty	<u>il</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'moist, fresh (containing much water)'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ	<u>u</u> - vs Zr <u>u</u> -/ <u>y</u> -,
"	<u>el</u>	Vty <u>i</u> (= i), <u>e</u> (= e), Vg, Ch <u>i</u> - /medial J, OJ	<u>u</u> vs FU * <u>l</u> -. 3. Cf. Pröhle No. 89.
Vg	<u>il</u>		
Ch	<u>ile</u>		

545. J <u>urusa-i</u> , Öno: <u>urusa-si</u> 'displeasing, annoying, vexing, that which gives trouble/difficulties/complications; troublesome' (hence) 'repugnant, disagreeable, odious, loathsome; boisterous'.			
Table 545			
J	u.rus.a- i		
Ö.	u.rus.a-si		
Hu	rossz	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu	<u>rossz</u> ~ <u>rossz</u> ~ dial. <u>rassz</u> 'objectionable; badly behaved, naughty, rude; dishonest; incorrect; inferior, worthless, undesirable, bad', <u>rosszas</u> (adj.) id., <u>rosszaság</u> 'badness, etc.', <u>rosszabb</u> 'worse', <u>rosszalkod</u> (ik) 'behave badly'
"	rossz(a.ság)		
"	rassz		
? Zr	<u>rudz</u>	?~ Zr <u>rudz</u> : <u>rudz</u> <u>mun</u> - 'get tired/weak/exhausted; droop, sag',	
FU	*roć.3	<u>rudzal</u> - 'get weak/flabby/ineffective', <u>rudzav</u> - 'get dried out,	

dry up'.-- FU *roča---In Hu, the posited meaning 'weak, meagre, tired' went into 'inferior, worthless, trashy'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'undesirable; inferior'. 2. Phon.: taking u-on the J side as a prothetic vowel--- initial J, OJ r- vs FU *r- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs FU *o /medial J s, OJ s (= ts) vs FU *č /cf. final of the primary stem, J, OJ a vs Hu a in the same position of the derived forms.

546. J <u>useru</u> , OJ <u>usu</u> (sh.n.) 'vanish, disappear', Ōno: <u>usaru</u> (y.) id., J <u>ushi-nau</u> , OJ <u>usinapu</u> (y.) 'lose, miss, miss a chance', J <u>wasureru</u> , OJ <u>wasuru</u> (y., sh.n.) 'forget, one's memory fails (in recall)'.	
Table 546	
J us.e.ru	
OJ us.u	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>oson</u> ~dial. <u>usan</u> -, <u>ussan</u> -'sneak, slip by, flit, scurry; flee, escape', <u>osont</u> ~dial. <u>osint</u> -, <u>usint</u> -, <u>ussant</u> -'escape, get away without being noticed, sneak (away)'.
Ō. us.a.ru	--Origin uncertain.
J ush.i.na u	MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>vesz(ik)</u> , <u>vész</u> - (= <u>elvész</u> -) 'become lost, vanish, die, perish; (OHu) come to nothing', <u>veszít</u> -, <u>veszt</u> -'to lose; annihilate' ? ~ Vty <u>vez</u> -'disappear, get away, make oneself scarce'.
OJ us.i.napu	--The weakness of this equation is that only two cognate languages can be brought into the picture.--Hu <u>vesz</u> - has been equated with Vg <u>usi</u> 'perish, die'/Os <u>uosti</u> 'disappear, become lost' /Zr <u>vošni</u> id.; 'die', <u>vs</u> -'lose one's way'/Vty <u>iš</u> -, <u>šš</u> -'become lost; die'.
J was.u.reru	--These equations are unacceptable because the Vg and Os words are loans from Zr; again, the Zr and Vty words cannot be cognate with Hu <u>vesz</u> -, for Hu <u>s</u> does not correspond to PPermian * <u>č</u> ; the sound <u>š</u> in the Zr and Vty forms also speaks against the equations in question the same as the circumstance that the Zr and Vty words began with vowels in PPermian.
OJ was.u.ru	
Hu os.o.n-	
" us.i.n t-	
" vez-	
" vez.e.l-	
? Vty vez-	
Vg ūs.i-	
Os voš..ti	
Zr voš..ni	
" yš-	
Vty iš-	
" šs-	

MTSz: Hu vesz(ik) 'become lost'; cf. Western Transdanubian veszelőd(ik) id. TESZ (ex.): Hu vész 'destruction, annihilation, calamity, disaster, catastrophe', veszély~veszélydelőm 'danger, peril', veszélyes 'dangerous', vesz(ik) 'become lost, disappear, vanish'--Origin uncertain. ? ~ Vty vez- /as under MSZFE, above/.

Comm.: 1. I point to the difference in emphasis that TESZ and MSZFE make, separately, with regard to the semantic areas of Hu vesz(ik), vész. Although both dictionaries handle these words together, TESZ documents all possible facets of the semantic area 'destruction, annihilation, calamity, disaster, etc.', with conspicuously little emphasis on the angle 'lose; vanish'. Further, both dictionaries leave oson~usan-, etc. out of consideration when treating of vesz-, vész; MSZFE does not even list oson-. Yet, this word could play a key role in the elucidation of the problem which seems to root in the circumstance that the verb vesz-'lose; vanish' is not separated from the noun vész (probably because contamination has mixed up the two forms; for vész, s. entry waza 'calamity'). 2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'vanish; lose', hence (in J) 'lose from memory, forget'. 3. Phon.: since OJ w- is, as a rule, not marked when followed by u, we cannot know for certain whether OJ usu, usaru, usinapu began with w- or not; leaving the question open --- initial J, OJ w- (in wasureru, wasuru) vs v- in Hu, Vty, Zr, v- in Os /initial and 1st syll. J, OJ u- (in useru, etc.) vs Hu, Vty u, Hu, Zr, Os u, Hu, Vg u, Zr y, Vty i, ē /medial J s, sh, OJ s (= ts), doubtful when followed by i) vs Hu s, sz, Vty z, ŷg s, Os, Zr, Vty š, Vty s. 4. Note the formants: n on the J side is paralleled by n in Hu (cf. the entries akinau and izanau) (Zr -ni is an infinitive ending, probably coming from a lative suffix); cf. also i in Hu dial. veszel- to r on the J side. 5. Cf. Pröhle No. 90.

547. J <u>ushi</u> , OJ <u>usi</u> 'cattle; cow; bull; ox'; ? J <u>hitsuji</u> , OJ <u>pituzi</u> 'sheep, lamb' (provided that this word is a compound whose second part is cognate with <u>ushi</u> , <u>usi</u> ; the first part remains unexplained; the J dictionaries offer no etymology).	
Table 547	
J ush.i	Vty yž
OJ us.i	Zr yž
? OJ -uz.i	Vg oš
Fi ūh.i	" os
" ūt.u	Os ač
Md uč.a	? Hu juh
Ch už. .ga	FU * uč.3

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a domestic animal of the

ruminant class' (note that Omodaka explains the word pitu as 'a mammal that belongs to the class of cattle'). 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ u- vs FU *u- /medial J sh, ? i, OJ s (= ts, doubtful when followed by i), ? z vs FU *z/cf. final J, OJ -i to Fi -i, -u, Md -a.

548. J ushiro, OJ usiro 'the rear, the back(side)'. Ōno: usiro was formed from Table 548 the ancient words mu 'body' + siro = siri 'backside'.
J ush.i.ro TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu ágyék 'groin, loin' ~ Vg únás 'arse', únásás
OJ us.i.rō 'the buttocks area (of animals)', únás, ús 'the rear, back(side)',
Hu ágy.ék rump, posterior'.--The element -k of ágyék is a denom. nom. formant.
Vg únás --As to the difference in meaning between Hu ágyék and the Vg words,
" únás one can point to several examples in the FU languages, where a term
" ús designating one part of the body in one language is applied to an
Ugric *anf.3 adjoining part in a related language.-- Ugric *anf.3.

Comm.: 1. If Ōno's flat statement can be proven, then this comparison is to be abandoned. I suspect, however, that the etymology usiro > msiro > usiro is no more than conjecture; Ōno's own dictionary lists neither *usiro nor *siro of corresponding meaning. 2. Data such as OJ wo-rō ~ wo 'tail', kōkō-rō 'heart' vs Mo kōkūn 'breast of a woman' (s. Murayama 1966, No. 28), tōkō-rō 'a place' (Ōno: -rō is a suffix), etc. allow one to infer that the element -rō is a suffix. We take this as a start. 3. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'backside; the buttocks area (of animals)'. 4. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ u- vs Ugric *a-/medial J sh, OJ s (= ts, doubtful when followed by i) vs Ugric *Ác.

549. J -uso ~ -oso : kawauso ~ kawaoso 'otter', Ōno: woso = kawauso / kawaoso id., Table 549 (kawa 'river').

J -us.o Sk puč.o FUV 64: Md pača 'otter (lutra vulgaris); mink; polecat' // Yr puddo 'mus amphibius' / Yn purru / Sk puty,
" -os.o " puž
Ō. wos.o " put pučo, puž, put 'beaver', pučtöl-taama 'big rat' (t.
Md pač.a SamS hud.o 'mouse') / SamS hudo 'Mus caraco'.-- U *puča.
Yr pudd.o U *puč.a SW 129: *puč 'beaver' (?).
Yn purru U *puč.a Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'otter; water rat'. 2.

Sk puty PSam *puč.č Phon.: initial J č, ClJ (Ōno) w- vs U, PSam *p- / 1st syll. J u, o, ClJ o vs U, PSam *u / medial J, ClJ s vs U *č, PSam *c / final J, ClJ -o vs U *-a, PSam *-š.

550. OJ uti forms the first part of a number of compound verbs, e.g., (Ōno:) Table 550 uti-agaru 'rise suddenly' (a. 'rise'), uti-sutu 'fling/throw carelessly' (s. 'throw'), uti-sugu 'go past quickly' (s. 'go past'), uti-
OJ ut.i lessly (s. 'throw'), uti-sugu 'go past quickly' (s. 'go past'), uti-
Hu uc.u watasu 'cross a river quickly'; explaining this verb, Ōno remarks:
" uccu 'to pass over a river or field on horseback by whipping the horse
" usz.u first."
" usz.zu TESZ, MTSz (ex.): Hu uccu ~ usszu, ucu, uszu, utszu, uzsge, usgyé,
" utz.u uzsge, usdi, utco, ucca, huszu, utcutcu; e.g., (MTSz:) usdi / usgyé
" usd.i 'Run! Get going! Away with it!'; 'the battle had hardly begun when
" --uzsge-- the gipsy took to his heels'.--This word of interjection
" ? uszít is probably a derivative and has to do with the verb uszít 'incite, stir up, set on' (e.g., a dog on people or animals).--Origin uncertain. Has it got to do with uccu?

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'be quick at doing (something), start to do (something) suddenly; excite (perhaps by words or gestures or action such as hitting)'. --It is worth noting that the Chinese character employed to write OJ uti is also used to write OJ utu > J utsu 'hit, beat, strike'. Ōno's remark about 'whipping a horse before crossing a body of water or a field' is relevant; the OJ word uti the same as Hu uc(c)u, etc. could well have their root in a verb meaning 'to hit'. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. OJ u- vs Hu u- / medial OJ t vs Hu c, sz, tsz, cc, etc. / final OJ -i vs Hu -u, -i. 3. Cf. entry utsu.

551. J uto-i, OJ utō-si, uto-uto-si 'estranged, alienated, distant, neglected, abandoned, unfriendly, unfamiliar', J utomu, OJ Table 551
J ut.o-i J ut.o.mashi-i OJ it.č.pu utōbu (k.n.) 'make or consider disagreeable', Ōno:
OJ ut.o-si " it.o.washi-i Hu ut.á.l- utomu (y.) 'be/become es-
J ut.o.mō ŌJ it.č.pa-si
OJ ut.č.bu J it.o.u

tranged', utomu (sh.n.) 'make estranged; neglect, shun', J utomashi-i 'disagreeable; of a quality for which one has a dislike', itou, OJ itōpu (y.) 'dislike, hate, loathe', J itowashi-i, OJ itōpa-si 'abominable, repugnant, detestable, loathsome, odious, disagreeable', (Lewin 1959, 150:) ClJ itowayu 'to be hated'.

TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu utál- 'detest, hate, have aversion (for; to)'. This word is of uncertain origin. Perhaps it is comparable to Vg ajt- 'vomit, belch forth' /Os ajet- 'vomit, spew, spit', ajet 'the act of vomiting/spitting/spewing'. However, Hu language history has no such concrete meaning on record in connection with utál-; therefore the equation is doubtful.

Comm.: 1. Reference is made to Comm. 5 under entry tō-i 'far, distant'. There the argument was put forward that J uto-i and Hu utál- might have to do with tō-i, taking *to (cf. U *to there) as a common root, while u- of J uto-i and Hu utál- was hypothetically taken as a "vowel augment" for the creation of new words. The semantic link between 'distant' and 'hate' was explained with the help of English and Latin parallels. That proposal is probably worth a closer look as an alternative solution. 2. P.b.m.f.b.s. (in the present context): 'estranged; unfriendly; disagreeable', hence 'detestable; detest', hence 'hate, loathe'.--The semantic link between Hu utál- and the Vg/Os words quoted above does not seem close enough. 3. Phon.: taking the J, OJ stems uto-/utō- to be (? vowel order) variants of ito-/itō- --- initial and 1st syll. J, OJ u-, i- vs Hu u- /medial J, OJ t vs Hu t /final of the primary stem, J o, OJ ō, o vs Hu á.

552. J utsu, OJ utu (y.) 'hit, strike, beat, pound; attack; defeat', e.g., OJ Table 552 pt-uti 'fire-striking (with flint and steel)' (pt 'fire'), uti-kubi J utsu 'decapitation' (kubi 'neck'), uma-uti 'the spurring of a horse' (by OJ utu whipping it; uma 'horse').
" ut.i TESZ (ex.): Hu üt- 'hit, beat, strike, pound; strike (of lightning);
Hu üt- cause noise/clamour; counter an opponent's move, hit back'.--Origin
" it- uncertain.

MTS: Hu üt- ~dial. it- 'strike; lunge (at)', ütet: šgy ütet tapló 'enough tinder for striking fire once' (šgy 'one', t 'tinder'). Cf. fej l8-üt- 'decapitate' (fej 'head', -t acc. marker, l8- verbal prefix).

Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ u- vs Hu ü-, i- /medial J ts, OJ t vs Hu t. 3. Cf. entry uti.

553. J utsuro, Ōno: uturo 'a hollow, cavity, cave; emptiness', ? OJ odoro Table 553 'thicket, grove, clump of trees/bushes/thorny bushes'.

J utsu.ro FUV 118, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu odá ~OHu udu, dial. udó, odv, udv,
Ō. ut.u.ro udá 'cavity (in a rock or a tree or in the ground), small cave,
? OJ odo.ro udá 'hole (e.g., in a tooth)', (der.) odor ~dial. odor 'large cavity;
Hu od.u depression in a river-bed', dial. odros (adj.) 'voracious, greedy'
" ud.u ~ Fi cnsl ~onte-, ontto 'hollow', ontelo 'cavity, hollow' /Lp
" od.o.r vuowdā 'the cavity inside an animal's body (of the chest and abdomen
" ? onto.ra together); abdominal cavity of the human body', LpL vuobdā '(in-
Fi cnsl terior of the) breast' /Md undo 'cavity (in a tree-trunk)' /Vty
" ont-e- udur 'the opening of the beehive' /Vg anter 'the interior of the
" ont.e.lo human body; stomach; uterus'.-- FU *omte, (TESZ, MSZFE:) *omte.
Lp vuowdā
Md und.o

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a hollow, a cavity'.--OJ odoro looks like a variant development, by split, parallel to uturo; for animals and primitive people a thorny thicket can provide protection not unlike a cave; this may explain the semantic transfer. 2. Phon.: initial and 1st syll. J, OJ u-, ? OJ o- vs FU *o- /medial J ts, OJ t, ? d vs FU *mt (note: *m in this cluster can hardly be regarded as primary; I suggest that it merely reflects present-day and/or former prenasalization of *t; in the various examples, nothing illustrates better the etymological nature of the consonant immediately preceding the dental stop than Lp vuowdā ~vuobdā--- even vuogta---; *n of FU *omte must also be regarded as secondary) / final of the primary stem, J, OJ u, ? OJ o vs FU *e. 3. Note the expansion element (?-rd>) -ro on the J side vs Fi -lo, Hu dial. -ra, -r, Hu, Vty, Vg, Os -r. 4. Cf. MTS: Hu dial. ontora ~ontra a) 'the groove cut into the staves of a cask/vat/barrel for the purpose of fitting the bottom boards into it', b) 'the hem of old-fashioned drawers or trousers through which the fastening tape passes'.

554. J utsuru, OJ uturu, yuturu (y.) '(Vi) change, shift, pass into; arift; be reflected/projected', J utsurou, OJ uturo (y.) '(Vi) change, shift; fade; decline', J utsusu, OJ utusu '(Vt) transfer, move (to some other place), change over, pour into; give (a disease to someone)'; e.g., J kami-utsuri 'changing into kami nature, or changing the kami appearance', (Ōno): utu-uma 'spare horse (for changing)'.
 TESZ (ex.): Hu cseré 'exchange', cserél~dial. cserél 'exchange; substitute; remove and replace'--Origin unknown.
 Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'change; exchange'. 2. Phon.: taking u- and yu- on the J side to be "augmentations" (s. Wenck 1968, 100) --- initial J ts-, OJ t- vs Hu cs- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs Hu e (open) /medial J, OJ r (in the endoactive forms) vs Hu r/ final of the primary stem, J o, OJ ŋ (final -u is automatically attached) vs Hu é, e. 3. Hu l is a verb formant. 4. Note that J utsuru : utsusu, OJ uturu : utusu form minimal pairs; if u-/yu- is really prothetic, the respective roots are tsu, tu.

555. J uzuku, Ōno: uduku (y.) 'to ache, smart, tingle, fester, pain (of a wound), throb (of an aching head)', J uzu- : uzu-uzu suru 'to itch for action; one's fingers itch (to do something)'.
 J uz.u.ku 'to itch for action; one's fingers itch (to do something)'.
 Ō. uz.u.ku TESZ (ex.): Hu viszket- 'to itch (unpleasantly, e.g., a wound); be impatient; twitch', OHu viszketég 'rash/eruption (on the skin)'--Origin unknown.--The element -ket seems to be a cluster of frequ. formants.
 Hu visz.ket-
 " visz.keteg

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'throb/itch/ache'. 2. Phon.: initial J, ClJ ŋ vs Hu y- /1st syll. J, ClJ u vs Hu i /medial J z, ClJ d vs Hu sz (< PFU *č). 3. Note the formants -k(+ vowel) on both sides, in the same structural position.

556. J (dial.) wachi, OJ wati 'outer fence made of reed' (Omodaka, in connection with wati: dial. wachi 'protective fence against wild boars, etc. (around cultivated fields); wachi also occurs in place-names); ? J hedateru, OJ pédatu (y.) 'separate, hinder', pédatu (sh.n.) 'be separated', J hédate, OJ pédate 'barrier, hurdle, obstacle, partition, screen'.
 Fi pat.o FUV 121, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi pato 'weir, dam, barrage'/Lp buoŋŋo~buoŋŋo- 'dam, barrage; enclosure for netting salmon'/Os pāl pāl 'weir; kind of dam'/Hu fal 'wall'-- FU *paŋ...The original meaning of this word family was probably 'wickwork';
 Hu fal dam made of pickets, with saplings and twigs woven in between;
 FU *paŋ.ə barrage for catching fish'--Sauvageot 1930, No. 24, Räsänen (Vir. 1947, 165; Stud. Or. XV, 162) equated this word family with A words, e.g., Tg Go pádera 'wall'.

Comm.: 1. OJ wati and péda- (stem of pédatu) appear to be variants of each other (the difference may, in the main, be due to vowel order split, similarly to doublets of this type in the U and the A areas)---P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'fence; barrage'.--It would be interesting to learn whether the J place-names containing wachi are linked with one-time fishing weirs? 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ w-, ? J h-, OJ p- vs FU *p- /1st syll. J, OJ a, ? J e, OJ é vs FU *a (note: é usually equals Azuma dial. a; besides, OJ dial. é = e of the literary language /s. Wenck 1959, 4/, so the difference between these vowels is sooner a matter of nuance) /medial J ch, OJ t, ? J, OJ d vs FU *č. 3. The element -tu of pédatu is remarkable for being a verb formant with endo-active and exo-active functions. 4. Cf. Poppe 1960, 53: Mo aŋira- 'to notice, pay attention to', aŋig 'attention, attentiveness', Kh aŋi- 'to notice, focus attention on' < Pre-Mo *padi- (original meaning: 'separate/distinguish from other objects') = Ma faŋilan < *padiran 'wall; partition', Go páŋi 'divided, separated', páŋila- 'divide, separate', páŋera 'wall; partition' = Otu adin 'another', adir- 'distinguish, differentiate', Ūg adruq 'differently'.

557. OJ wada 'a bay-shaped topographical formation; bay; inlet', OJ wata 'sea'.
 TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu völgy~OHu vegy, dial. vögy, vegy, viöty, viödzs 'valley, vale, hollow; the deep core of a boil; the (soft) pith/medulla of trees/shrubs; pulp of fruit; depression/cavity/dip (in the ground)' / Vg šöl 'a broad and

Table 557				straight stretch of a river between two bends',
OJ	wad.a	Vg	uof	vuol' 'the bend of a river' /Zr vo! id., vo!-ju
"	wat.a	Zr	vo!	(the name of a certain small river; ju 'river')//
Hu	völg	"	vo!-	Yr <u>Bäei</u> : <u>jäven</u> B. 'long straight stretch of a river
"	veg	Yr	Bäei (?)	er between two bends' (j. 'river').-- U *Bäka
"	vögy			'stretch of a river'.
Vg	Böf	U	*Bä! .k3	Comm.: 1. OJ <u>wada</u> and <u>wata</u> are evidently vari-

ants of each other, with a slight semantic difference added.--P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a valley-like depression', hence a) 'soft, usually hollow, centre of stems of plants', b) 'bed of a river; bay; sea'. 2. Phon.: initial OJ w- vs U *B- /1st syll. OJ a vs U *a /medial OJ d, t vs U *ä. 3. The element U *-k3 is clearly additional to a formerly disyllabic stem. 4. As I see it, l in Hu völg is the result of late insertion; cf. entry kitsune where l of Hu hölg is equally inetymological (note that veg, above, and högy, under hölg, contain no l).

558. J <u>waka-i</u> , OJ <u>waka-si</u>	'young, juvenile, junior; immature, green, raw; inexperienced; low, small'.			
Table 558				
J	wak.a- i	SKES (ex.):	Fi <u>vika</u> , etc.	'fault, defect, deficiency, drawback,
OJ	wak.a-si	weakness, frailty	/Lp Inari <u>vahe</u> id.	
Fi	vik.a	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.:	'immature; weak; not of full value'.	
Lp	vah.e	2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>w-</u> vs Fi, Lp <u>v-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs Fi	<u>i</u> , Lp <u>a</u> /medial J, OJ <u>k</u> vs Fi <u>k</u> , Lp <u>h</u> /final of the primary stem,	
		J, OJ <u>a</u> vs Fi <u>-a</u> , Lp <u>-e</u> . 3. Cf. Rahder 1953 (Vol. III), 213:	Mo Literary <u>baga</u> 'small, young'.	

559. J <u>wakareru</u> , OJ <u>wakaru</u>	(sh.n.) 'branch off (from), diverge/separate (from), part (from, e.g., a friend), part company (with), be separated'.			
Table 559				

J	wak.a.reru	TESZ (ex.) OHu <u>elvakar-</u>	'get out of the way, clear out, leave
OJ	wak.a.ru	another person (in a hurry), make off'.	--Origin unknown. <u>el-</u>
OHu	-vak.a.r-	is a verbal prefix indicating 'away'.	7

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'separate'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ w- vs Hu v- (<w-) /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu a /medial J, OJ k vs Hu k /final of the primary stem, J, OJ a vs Hu a. 3. Note the formants (? frequ.) in the same structural position. 4. Cf. entry wakeru.

560. J, OJ <u>wake</u>	'meaning; sense, reason, cause, circumstances', J <u>wakaru</u> 'understand, comprehend', OJ <u>wakitamu</u> (sh.n.) 'discern, understand', <u>waki-waki-si</u> 'distinct and clear'.			
Table 560				
J, OJ	wak.e			
J	wak.a.ru			
OJ	wak.i.tamu			
"	-wak.i-si			
Vg	vā.i			
"	vaj.i			
"	vāj			
"	vōkh .ti			
"	vāx.a.tē			
Yr	Ban.ū.tš			

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'reasoning; understanding (through close viewing/analysis)'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ w- vs Vg v-, Yr B- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Vg ā, ā, ō, ā, Yr a /medial J, OJ k vs Vg ī, j, kh, q, Yr q. 3. Cf. TESZ (ex.): Hu ok 'carefulness, reasonableness, sagacity; reason, explanation, cause; pretext, condition; argument, evidence, proof', ok(ik)~okul- 'learn from experience', okit- 'teach, explain, give reason for', okoz- 'to cause'.--The base of this word family is of OTu origin, cf. Uig uq 'opinion; meaning; sense', uq- 'understand, comprehend', uqit- 'let/make understand', uq-maq 'understanding, perception', uquš 'reason', ? Uig, Teleut uq- 'hear', ? Mo uy 'beginning, foundation; sense, meaning', uqa- 'understand'. 4. Cf. Ramstedt 1952/58 (II), 19: Tu ō- 'understand', ō-g 'discernment, comprehension', ō-g-ūr- 'teach; let/make understand', ō-g-ūt (<ō-g-ürt) 'advice', ō-g-lā- 'understand'.

561. J <u>wakeru</u> , OJ <u>waku</u>	(sh.n.) 'divide, separate, part, cleave, share, split',			
J <u>wakareru</u> , OJ <u>wakaru</u>	(sh.n.) 'separate, detach', J <u>wakatsu</u> , OJ <u>wakatu</u> (y.) 'divide, sever, split, part; isolate'.			

TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu vág- 'cut, split, separate, divide; incise; chop; kill' ~ Vg Bānk-, Bonk- 'beat, strike at' /Os uay-, uan-, uak- 'hew, trim, square'(stone,

Table 561				timber), <u>wányam</u> , <u>wúkkam</u> , <u>wóká</u> 'whittle, carve, cut' / ? Zr <u>vundi-ni</u> 'cut, cut off, harvest' / ? Vty <u>vand-</u> 'to cut, slice, cut out; kill, slaughter' -- The Zr, Vty words belong here only if their <u>n</u> has come from FU * <u>n</u> -, under the influence of the following <u>d</u> which is probably a frequ. formant. -- Ugric * <u>wank</u> -, ? FU * <u>wan3</u> -.
J	wak.e.ru	Os	<u>uay-</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'cut, divide'. 2.
"	wak.a.reru	"	<u>uay-</u>	Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>w-</u> vs Ugric, ? FU * <u>w-</u> /
"	wak.a.tu	"	<u>wany</u> .m	1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs Ugric, ? FU * <u>a</u> / medial
OJ	wak.u	? Zr	<u>vun. .dj-</u>	J, OJ <u>k</u> vs Ugric * <u>nk</u> , ? FU * <u>n</u> .
"	wak.a.ru	? Vty	<u>van. .d-</u>	
"	wak.a.tu	Ugric	* <u>wank.3-</u>	
Hu	vág-			
Vg	Bánk-	? FU	* <u>wan.3-</u>	
"	Bónk-			

562. J waki, OJ waki 'side, flank, armpit; the other way; another place'.

Table 562				Fokos-Fuchs 1959: Zr <u>bok</u> , <u>bek</u> 'side', e.g., <u>beki mun-ni</u> 'go past (by the side of) something'.
J	wak.i			Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>w-</u> vs
OJ	wak.i			Zr <u>b-</u> (< PFU * <u>p-</u>) / 1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs Zr <u>o</u> , <u>e</u> (< PFU * <u>a</u>) / me-
Zr	bok			dial J, OJ <u>k</u> vs Zr <u>k</u> (< PFU * <u>k</u>).
"	bek			

Table 563				563. OJ <u>wakura</u> : <u>wakura-ba-ni</u> 'by chance, accidentally, fortuitously', <u>waka-turu</u> , <u>wokuturu</u> (y.) 'delude, tempt, seduce, deceive'.
OJ	wak.u.ra-			TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>wak</u> ~ OHu <u>vok</u> 'blind; dark, obscure, dim; un-
"	wak.a.turu			certain, doubtful, dubious', <u>wakul-</u> 'become blind', <u>vaktában</u>
"	wok.u.turu			'blindly; at random, haphazardly', <u>wak-</u> (in compounds) 'not
Hu	wak			genuine, false', e.g., <u>wak-ablak</u> 'dummy window' / <u>wakit-</u> 'make
"	wak.u.l-			blind', <u>paraszt-vakítás</u> 'deceiving/deluding of simple people' /
OHu	vok			--Origin unknown.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'uncertain, unsafe; not genuine'. 2. Phon.: initial JJ w- vs Hu y- / 1st syll. OJ a, o vs Hu a, o / medial OJ k vs Hu k. 3. The element -ra of OJ wakura is probably a suffix (of little relevance, cf. OJ iku ~ ikura 'how much', s. also Zachert 1950, 47: -ra is /in the given context/ an irrelevant suffix). -- The cluster of formants OJ -turu seems to contain two caus. formants. -- Hu l of wakul- is a refl. formant. -- The element -ba : wakura-ba-ni is not clear; ni is a multipurpose loc. suffix.

Table 564				564. J, OJ <u>waru</u> (y.) 'divide, cut, halve, divide, split (asunder), separate', J, OJ <u>wari</u> 'proportion, rate', J <u>wareru</u> , OJ <u>waru</u> (sh.n.) 'be/be-
J, OJ	war.u			come split/cleft/broken/divided, etc.', J, OJ <u>ware</u> 'broken
J	war.e.ru			piece, fragment'.
J, OJ	wari			Steinitz 1966: Os <u>urəs</u> , <u>worəs</u> , <u>ōras</u> , <u>orəs</u> 'split piece of
"	war.e			wood', <u>art-</u> , <u>ort-</u> , <u>irti</u> 'divide, split', <u>irat-</u> 'split off, sepa-
Os	ur.e.s			rate'.
"	wor.e.s			FUV 135, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>vál(ik)</u> '(Vi) separate (from),
"	or.a.s			part (with), be separated/detached/kept apart; renounce (some-
"	ar. .t-			thing); obtain a divorce; change oneself into something else',
"	or. .t-			<u>válasz</u> , OHu <u>választ</u> 'a reply/report/rebuttal; separation, gap,
"	ir.ə.t-			distance; choice, distinction', <u>választ</u> 'choose; divide, sepa-
Hu	vál-			rate, distinguish' ~ Fi <u>valka(ma)</u> 'landing place; hard, small
"	vál.a.sz-			haven' (earlier: 'departure'?)/Lp <u>vuolge-</u> 'go, start, depart;
"	vál.a.sz-			leave (home)/Md <u>valgo-</u> 'descend, go down (of stars); come down
? FU	*Bal. .ka-			and sit (of birds)/Ch <u>wale-</u> , <u>wole-</u> 'descend, go down' (= get
				cheaper) (also: of the sun) /Vg <u>jol-wagl-</u> 'descend' (<u>jol-</u> 'down'/note: metathesis) /
				Os <u>wyggel-</u> , <u>wagat-</u> 'descend, sink, come down' /note: metathesis/ -- FU * <u>Balka-</u>
				'descend, go down'.

Comm.: 1. The Hu word family in question can be interpreted also to mean, though marginally, 'to descend, go down', but the greater part of its semantic content is certainly not explained by that concept. The most important meaning of the word family of vál(ik) goes directly with that of Os urəs, etc. and J waru, etc. -- Omitting (at least for the time being) the Fi, Lp, Md, Ch, Vg, and Os words grouped under FUV 135, etc., the p.b.m.f.b.s. is 'divide, split, separate'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ w- vs Os ǵ, w-, Hu v- / 1st syll. J, OJ a vs Os u, o, ǵ, a,

i, i, Hu á /medial J, OJ r vs Os, Hu r.

Table 565	565. J, OJ <u>waru-i</u> , OJ <u>waru-si</u> , <u>waro-si</u> 'evil, wrong, bad, malign, inferior, unsavoury, unlucky'.
J	war.u- i SW 171: * <u>walá</u> - (? * <u>walá</u> -) 'bad, wicked, angry'; cf. Tv der.
OJ	war.u-si <u>boluam</u> id., <u>balatusa</u> 'become angry/furious', Yn der. <u>báfi</u> , <u>bári</u>
"	war.o-si id. //der. * <u>wálá</u> sim- 'get angry/wicked/bad'; cf. Yn <u>bařumáro</u> ,
PSam	* <u>wal.á</u> - <u>barumado</u> id.
"	? * <u>wal.á</u> - Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'bad'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>w</u> -
Yn	báfi vs PSam * <u>w</u> -/1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> vs PSam * <u>á</u> /medial J, OJ <u>r</u> vs
"	 PSam * <u>l</u> .

Table 566	566. J, OJ <u>wata</u> 'intestines, entrails, bowels, guts', Haguenauer 1956: Ryūkyū-an dial. <u>bata</u> ~ <u>bada</u> ~ <u>pana</u> ~ <u>hana</u> id.
J, OJ	wat.a FUV 136: Fi <u>vatsa</u> 'stomach, belly' /Vg <u>vaá</u> 'stomach'.--FU * <u>waá</u> .
J dial.	bat.a SW 175: * <u>wetá</u> (-) 'gut(s)'; cf. Tv <u>bétu</u> , Yn <u>béde</u> id.
"	bad.a
"	pan.a
Fi	wat.a TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>bégy</u> 'stomach (of a bird), crop, craw, maw'.--
Vg	vaá Origin unknown.
FU	* <u>waá</u> .a TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>bendó</u> 'belly; stomach'.--Origin unknown. Perhaps
PSam	* <u>wet.á</u> (-) it is onom.--According to one proposition, <u>bendó</u> derives from a
"	<u>bégy</u> base * <u>bed</u> - 'swelling, protuberance', and is related to <u>bégy</u> .
"	* <u>bed</u> Comm.: 1. One could agree to the proposition mentioned by
"	<u>bend.ó</u> TESZ, adding that the complex has to do with FU * <u>waá</u> (and PSam
"	* <u>wet.á</u> (-); * <u>b</u> - would be irregular, but not without company; * <u>e</u>

could go with 1st syll. PFU *a; *d should come from PFU *nt;
bégy and bendó seem to be palatal vowel order variants of a lost form approximating FU *waá).--P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'stomach, belly, crop'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ w-, dial. J. b-, p-, h- vs FU, PSam *w-, ? Hu b- /1st syll. a on the J side vs FU *a, PSam *e, ? Hu é, e /medial J, OJ t, J dial. also d, n vs FU *t, PSam *t, ? Hu *d (gy, nd) /final -a on the J side vs FU *-a, PSam *á (-ó of Hu bendó is probably a dim. formant).

Table 567	567. J, OJ <u>wataru</u> (y.) 'to cross/ford (a water), go/pass over (e.g., a bridge/ditch, etc.); wade, ford; be brought over (e.g., from a-broad); pass into (another person's hand, e.g., property), be transferred', J, OJ <u>watasu</u> (y.) 'put (a person) over a body of water, carry across; row/ferry across/over; transfer/turn over (e.g., a business); build a (bridge over), throw (a bridge across), stretch (e.g., a wire or rope across a passageway), lay/place (e.g., a plank across a ditch)', J <u>watashi</u> , OJ <u>watasi</u> 'ferry; delivery; transfer'.
J, OJ	wat.a.ru Hu dial. <u>vát</u> - '(Vi) change position, go across (said, for instance, of game moving from one part of a forest to another), move to and fro, switch' (said of a quick mind), <u>el-vát</u> - = Hu
"	wat.a.su <u>el-vált</u> - '(Vt) change, alter, transform into (e.g., disguise one's voice), substitute' (e.g., a sickly baby for a healthy one) (<u>el</u> - is a verbal prefix that indicates successful action),
J	wat.a.shi <u>éssze-vát</u> - 'sing in unison; conspire' (<u>éssze</u> = <u>össze</u> 'together'), <u>vátó-gúnya</u> 'a change of clothing', <u>el-vátóz(ik)</u> (some
OJ	wat.a.si <u>éssze-vát</u> - 'sing in unison; conspire' (<u>éssze</u> = <u>össze</u> 'together'), <u>vátó-gúnya</u> 'a change of clothing', <u>el-vátóz(ik)</u> (some
Hu	<u>vát(á) s</u> possession) gets transferred', <u>ki-vát</u> - 'to ransom, buy free, redeem', <u>ki-vátóz(ik)</u> 'become released' (e.g., from military
"	<u>vád.ó.l</u> - service) (<u>ki</u> - 'out'), <u>még-vát</u> - 'pay for; redeem, save (e.g., from damnation; cf. <u>Mégvátó</u> = <u>Mégváltó</u> 'Saviour') (<u>még</u> - is a
Ch	<u>ban.á.a.k</u> verbal prefix indicating successful action), <u>vátó</u> 'bill of exchange; point switch (at the railroads); relay (race)', <u>vádol</u> -
"	<u>wan.á.e</u> 'cross a water' (e.g., <u>át-vádolnak a másik partra</u> 'they cross
Vty	<u>vyž</u> - to the other bank /of the river/'-- <u>át</u> 'over, across', a defin.
Zr	<u>vuž</u> - article, <u>m</u> . 'other', <u>part</u> 'bank'--Törmékény 1965, 62-65,
Vg	<u>vumš</u> - passim) (most of the above examples are from Kiss 1952).
"	<u>unš</u> - TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>vált</u> -~OHu <u>vát</u> - 'to change, alter; give
"	<u>wynš</u> - (something) in exchange for (something); reciprocate; save,
Os	<u>unš</u> -
"	<u>wynš</u> -
FU	* <u>wan.á.a</u> -
Hu	vet-
"	vet.é.l-
"	vet.ü.lék
? Ch	ü.é.e.m
"	wü.é.e.m
? MdE	vid.é.e.ms

TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu vált-~OHu vát- 'to change, alter; give (something) in exchange for (something); reciprocate; save,

redeem; exchange (e.g., money); change direction; step in another's place, take over (duties)'.---This word family derives from vál(ik). [For vál(ik), s. entry waru.]

Györke 1934, 11: Ch banžak 'a ford; a place (in a river) to which horses are taken for a swim; small bridge over a creek'.

FUV 135: Ch wanže-, wonže- 'pass (a river/ditch), go across (a fence, etc.); walk or wade across a water' / Vty vyž- 'pass, wade', vyž 'foot-bridge'; floor' / Zr vuž- 'pass (a water, a river)' / Vg wunš-, unš-, onš-, wons-, uns- 'pass', wonseh 'foot-bridge' / Os unč-, wynš- 'pass (across a water)'. Cf. Lp vazge- 'go on foot, go at a walk'.---FU *wanča-.

Patkanov 1902: Os Irtisch unžem 'step/pass/cross (over)'; fut unžem 'break one's promise/oath', unžilem, unšilem 'cross a river'. Cf. Zr vudž- id.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'move from one side to the other; commute; transfer'. --It seems that the traditional explanation of Hu vált-~OHu vát-, dial. vát- is in need of revision; -l- of vált- is suspect of being inetymological, the same as -l- in szölke 'fair', boldog 'blessed', etc. Semantically speaking, vál(ik) is no suitable solution as an origination of vált-~vát-, especially if the former is supposed to have had the basic meaning 'descend, go down'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ w- vs Hu y-, FU *w- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu á, FU *a /medial J, OJ t vs Hu t, d, FU *nč /final of the primary stem, J, OJ a vs FU *a; cf. also OJ watasi and Hu. dial. vátás 'a change(over), relay, shift'. 3. In the forms watasi and vátás, not only the stems and stem-final vowels seem to correspond but also the deverbal nom. formants. 4. The formant r in wataru is paralleled by l in Hu dial. vádol-.

5. If the following words on the J side form a word family separate from wataru above, then the treatment offered below should be regarded as a separate etymology.---J, OJ wataru (y.) 'to range (e.g., from A to B), reach, extend, cover, be spread over'; watasu (y.) 'throw (a plank across a ditch); cast, spread', e.g., J ami-watashi 'the throwing/casting/spreading of a net' (ami 'net'), OJ i-watasu 'shoot an arrow' (from here to yonder; i~iru 'shoot').---MTSz: Hu vető-háló 'a casting-net' (vet- 'to cast, throw').---Országh 1974: Hu vetülék 'woof' (cross-thread that is shot crosswise in weaving), vetlő 'shuttle' (by means of which the cross-thread is carried).---TESZ (ex.): Hu vet- 'to cast, throw, spread (e.g., seed), fling, hurl, lay, abort, discard'.---Origin uncertain. ?~Ch üsem, büsem 'sow, broadcast (seed)' / Mde videms id.---There are both, phonological and semantic difficulties in the way of this equation.---P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'cast/throw/hurl over/across/out'. It remains to be seen whether the Ch and the Md words belong to Hu vet- (open e). However, as the semantic field of the J, OJ words in question may be regarded as an extension of wataru 'cross over', so, I propose, Hu vet- is semantically linked with vált-~vát-, probably being a palatal vowel order variant of the latter, with concomittant semantic specialization (cf. J ami-watasi 'the casting of a net' and Hu háló-vetés id.).

568. J <u>waza</u>	'a work/deed/act/performance/matter/art/trick', OJ <u>waza-</u> (in compounds), <u>si-waza</u> 'an act, action, deed' (<u>si</u> < <u>su</u> 'do, make'),
Table 568	Ono: <u>waza</u> 'the conjuring up of the hidden divine will/purpose;
J <u>waz.a</u>	an act/deed of divine and abstruse meaning or intent', J <u>waza-</u>
OJ <u>waz.a-a</u>	<u>wai</u> , OJ <u>wazapap</u> 'calamity, misfortune, woe, evil, curse'.
J <u>waz.a.wa i</u>	
OJ <u>waz.a.pap</u>	
FUV 113, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.):	Hu <u>-máz</u> (~ <u>-mász</u> , <u>-más</u>): <u>hagy-máz</u>
Hu <u>-máz</u>	'spotted fever'/Ch <u>mőž</u> , <u>mužo</u> 'desease, evil spirit (causing illness)'/Vty <u>myž</u> 'spirit that brings illness; disease sent by God
Ch <u>mőž</u>	(as punishment); a not fulfilled sacrificing promise'/Zr <u>myž</u>
" <u>muž.o</u>	'guilt, sin', <u>myža</u> 'punishment, disease (sent by God or by the
Vty <u>myž</u>	diseased parents); guilty'/Vg <u>máš</u> , <u>más</u> 'hole (e.g., in a boat),
Zr <u>myž</u>	corporal (pathological) defect (e.g., if one has lost one's
" <u>myž.a</u>	nose), disease' / Os <u>moč</u> , <u>mož</u> 'disease, guilt, delict'.---
Vg <u>máš</u>	FU <u>*mučž</u> .---The part <u>hagy-</u> of Hu <u>hagy-máz</u> also means 'illness',
Os <u>moč</u>	cf. Vty <u>kil</u> 'epidemic; the spirit spreading it'.
FU <u>*mučž</u>	

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'misfortune/illness (caused by supernatural forces)'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ w- vs FU *m- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs FU *u /medial J, OJ z vs FU *ž. 3. Cf. the entries majinau and wazurau.

569. J wazuka(na), OJ waduka 'very small; something very small', J wazuka-ni,

Table 569

J	waz.u.ka(na)	? Ch	Beta .kež
OJ	wad.u.ka	"	Bitš .kirž
? J	mij.i.ka-i	? Fi Kar	väč. .küne
? OJ	miz.i.ka-si	"	väč.ükkäne
Hu	véz. .na	? "Veps	vätš. .küne
"	vész. .na	- - - -	- - - -
? Vg	üš	? Hu	vac.a.k
"	Biš	"	vasz.a.k
"	iš		
Os	pat		
"	uáš		
"	pat		

people) /? Ch Betskež, Bitškirž, Bitškež 'thin, small' (of a piece of wood/thread/board) /? Fi Kar väčküne, väčküne 'small, little, trifling', ? Veps vätšküne id. --Ch -ž, Fi -äe are denom. adj. formants. /No reconstructed form given./

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'small, trifling'.--The derivation of Hu vacak~vaszak from vacok 'primitive sleeping place' (?<German Watsack 'travel-bag') is not very plausible. I suggest, instead, that the stem vac-/vasz- of vacak~vaszak (where -k seems to be an adj. formant) is the velar vowel ordered variant of the stem vész- of vészna (where -na must be an adj. formant). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ w-, ? m- vs Hu v-, ? Vg ū, β, Os u-, ? Ch β-, ? Fi v-/ 1st syll. J, OJ a, ? J i, OJ i vs Hu a, é, ? Vg u, i, Os ä, a. ä, ? Ch e, i, ? Fi ä /medial J z, ? j, OJ d, ? z vs Hu z, c, sz, ? Vg i, Os ä, Os ä, ä, ü, ? Ch ts, ts, ? Fi č, ts. 3. Cf. the adj. formant -ka on the J sideto similar elements in the same structural position on the U side. 4. The adj. suffix J -na is thought to have come from narü 'become'; we just don't know for certain; it is worth noting that similar adj. endings are found in U (s. above).

570. OJ wepu (y.) >? yopu (y.) > J you 'be/become drunk/intoxicated' (Öno: yopu

Table 570 <wepu, J yoi, ei, Öno: yopi, OJ wepi 'inebriation, tipsiness').

J	yo. .u	Collinder 1960, 271: Yn (Hantai dial.) <u>jebire</u> , (Baiha dial.)
"	yo. .i	<u>jebide</u> 'drunk', <u>jebi</u> 'be drunk'.
"	e. .i	Lehtisalo 1936, 350: Yr <u>jäbe</u> 'be drunk'.
Ö.	yo.p.u	FUV 101, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>isz(ik)</u> 'to drink' (<u>ittam</u> 'I
"	yo.p.i	drank', <u>ivó</u> 'the drinker; which drinks', <u>itat</u> 'let or make
OJ	we.p.u	drink', <u>ital</u> 'a drink', OHu <u>it</u> 'place of drinking/watering of
"	we.p.f	animals', dial. <u>ihutt</u> 'he/she/it drunk' ~ Fi <u>juo</u> 'to drink' /
Yn	je.b.i-	Lp <u>jukkä</u> ~ <u>juga</u> /Ch <u>jüä</u> , <u>dua</u> /Vty, Zr <u>ju</u> /Vg <u>äi</u> , etc. /? Os
"	je.b.i.re	<u>jäät</u> 'to booze, carouse, revel, drink excessively (said of
"	je.b.i.de	people), drink (of animals), <u>jañs</u> , <u>jeñs</u> -, <u>jñs</u> -, <u>jañt</u> id. /--
Yr	jä.b.e-	In Hu, a sound change * <u>ju</u> > * <u>ji</u> > <u>i</u> can be posited.--The Os forms
Hu	i-	belong here only if the element <u>it/ís</u> in them is a formant.--
Fi	ju. .o-	FU * <u>juke</u> (or * <u>jüke</u>) or * <u>jure</u> (or * <u>jüre</u>).
Lp	ju.g.ä-	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'to drink'.--The meaning 'be drunk'
Ch	jü. .ä-	is not likely to be primary, since alcoholic drinks are not, as
"	dü. .a-	a rule, found in nature; similarly to Os <u>jäät</u> -, etc. and Hu
Vty	ju-	<u>isz(ik)</u> , the original meaning has acquired a specialized
Zr	ju-	branching which, in some cases, has obscured the original mean-
Vg	ä.j-	ing to the extent that, for instance in J, a verb of different
? Os	jä-	shape and only approximate meaning had to be called in, as it
"	ja-	seems, as a replacement (OJ <u>nomu</u> 'to swallow' > J <u>nomu</u> 'to drink').
FU	*ju.k.e-	2. While the etymological dictionaries do not link the Sam forms
or	*ju.γ.e-	above with the FU ones, the fundamental question arises: how
"	.....	does FU * <u>juke</u> - (etc.) adequately account for Vty/Zr <u>ju</u> -, Os <u>jä</u> -,

ja-, je-, ji-, jae-, and Hu i- (cf. the forms i-sz : i-v : i-h : i-t /above/ : i-hat 'he/she/it may/can drink', i.e. the root is, beyond any doubt, i-). Plainly, FU *juke- won't do here without at least marking that the 2nd syll. of this form is optional (*ju-/ke/(-)). Having said that, we may well ask whether Yn jebi-, etc. and Yr jäbe- should not be segmented in similar fashion? 3. Without accepting Öno's explanation concerning the origination of yopu (for the late attestation of

a word does not necessarily mean its late birth), I propose that OJ wepu and later attested yopu may be taken as doublets of ancient standing.--On the U side, the Sam forms are tentatively grouped with the FU ones. 4. Phon.: initial J y-, ŋ, OJ y-, w- (for these sounds, s. Phonology) vs Yn, Yr j-, FU *j- /1st syll. J, OJ o, e vs Yn e, Yr ā, FU *u (ū) /medial J ŋ, OJ p vs Yn b, Yr ū, FU *k (or *γ). 4. The opposition of medials may be explained either as two different formants joined to the same root or as a two-way development from a posited *kw + vowel (= a formant).

571. OJ <u>wori</u>	'mountain, ridge', <u>woro-ta</u> , Ōno: <u>worō-ta</u> 'riceland in the hills'
Table 571	(Omodaka, Ōno: <u>wo</u> 'hill, peak', - <u>ro</u> suffix, <u>ta</u> 'field, land').
OJ	wo.r.i
"	wo
"	wo.r.ō-
Fi	vaa.r.a
"	vu.o.r.i
Lp	va.r.e-
? Vty	vy.r
? Zr	vō.r
Vg	wā.r
"	wo.r
"	u.r
Os	wū.r
"	wā.r
"	wo.r
"	u.r
Hu	o.r(ŋ)
"	u.r
"	o.r.o.m
Km	bō.r
FU(?U)*Bo.r.e	
or	*Bō.r.e
or	*Bg.r.e

FUV 134: Fi vaara 'hill, mountain, esp. wooded hill'/Lp varre ~ vare 'mountain; forest'/? Vty vyr 'hill'/Zr vōr 'forest'/? Vg wāer 'forest'/Os wūr, wōr 'wooded mountain ridge; dense (hard-wood) forest'. (No reconstructed form given.)

FUV 138: Fi vuori 'mountain'/? Vg wōr, ur 'ridge'/Os wōr, ur 'ridge or forest'. (No reconstructed form given.)

TESZ (ex.): Hu or(r) ~ ŌHu ur(r) 'peak, top of a hill; nose, beak, promontory; point of a longish object' (also of a marching column), (der.) orom 'mountain peak; ridge' (-m is a denom. noun formant) ~ Vg āār 'pine forest', āōr 'forest'/Os uōr 'a chain of hills or mountains (along the bank of a river)', or 'forest'/Zr var id. /Vty vīr 'hill, rise in the ground'/Fi vuori 'mountain'/? Km bōr 'mountain; ridge'.-- FU (? U) *āore (? *āōre) or *āere.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'ridge; hill; mountain; rise in the ground'.--I propose to take the three word families on the U side as one since they are obviously related one to the other. 2. Phon.: taking the FU (? U) form provided by TESZ to cover approximately all form in question on the U side ---initial OJ w- vs FU (?U) *ā- /1st syll. OJ o vs FU (?U) *o (? *ū), or *ā /medial OJ r (of the expanded forms) vs FU (?U) *r /final OJ -i, -ō (of the expanded forms) vs FU (?U) *e. 3. Concerning the element OJ -rō and its assumable counterpart on the U side, s. entry nero and note the consistent occurring of the element r in all forms but one in the accompanying table (above). 4. It is probable that J oka, OJ woka 'hill' have the same root as wori/word, with -ka probably meaning 'place'. 5. Cf. Benzing 1956, 20: Tg *xōrā or *xōrō > ūrō > ūre 'mountain'; p. 39: Tg *pura-n 'peak, top; crown (of the head)', Ma foron, Go poron, Ev horon id. 6. Cf. Murayama 1966, No. 33: Mo oroi < horai < *porai 'top of a hill or mountain': OJ fora < *pora 'that wich is highest'.

572. OJ <u>wosu</u> (y.)	'eat, drink, have (one's share of food)', ? J <u>e</u> , OJ <u>we</u> 'bait, prey, food, feed' (in connection with animals), ? J <u>esa</u> , Ōno: <u>wesa</u>
Table 572	'bait; food portion (for feeding animals)'. ? J <u>we</u> ? Ō. <u>wes.a</u> ? J <u>e</u> " <u>es.a</u> Hu <u>ōz-</u> Ch <u>už-</u> Fi <u>os.a</u> " Vote <u>es.a</u> " Liv <u>voz.a</u> Est <u>os.a</u> Lp <u>ōz-</u>

FUV 119, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu oszl(ik) ~ oszol- 'be/become divided/ shared; come to pieces, divide itself and so gradually disappear', oszt- 'divide, separate, portion out, apportion, distribute, arrange' ? ~ Ch užš 'a portion, a share', užšlaš 'divide, share out'/Fi osa 'share, portion, lot, part', Vote ssa 'portion, lot; meat', Liv voza id., Est osa 'part, fragment, share, lot, one quarter; meat', osama 'take part (in), have in common', osatama 'allot; tell one's fortune by means of casting lot(s); share, participate (in)' /Lp ōzš 'flesh'.--Lp oasse 'part, division, section', vois, etc. 'part, portion' are loans from Fi.

Comm.: 1. F.b.m.f.b.s.: 'portion, part; divide', hence 'eat together; take part (in)'. 2. Phon.: initial OJ w-, ? J ŋ, ClJ w- (in wesa) vs Fi Liv v-, Lp v- (in vois < Fi), ŋ elsewhere /1st syll. OJ e, ? e, ? J, ClJ e vs Hu, Fi, Est o (Fi Liv e), Lp ōa, oi /medial OJ s (= ts) ? J, ClJ s vs reflexes of assumable FU *ś- with regard to Fi and Ch, FU *ś- with regard to Lp (according to MSZFE), Hu sz. 3. OJ we would indicate that a CV shaped root is to be assumed for the adduced words on the J side; J esa, ClJ wesa seem to be de-verbal nouns. 4. Cf. FUV 145: Fi osa, etc. -- Sanskrit amśa- Part, share', Avestan asa- '(religious) party'.

573. OJ wo-ti, wo-to 'there; that way'. Omodaka: the base is wo-, -ti/-to

Table 573 being a loc. suffix (cf. OJ kō-ti 'here', wo-ti 'there').

OJ	<u>wo-ti</u>	FUV 89, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>ott</u> ~OHu <u>ot</u> , dial. <u>od</u> , <u>ött</u> , <u>öd</u> , <u>utt</u> , <u>attan</u> , <u>ottan</u> , etc. 'there; then'.--This word comes from variant <u>o</u>
Hu	<u>o.ti</u>	of the dem. pron. <u>a~az</u> 'that' (<u>-ti</u> , <u>-d</u> , <u>-n</u> are loc. suf.s), <u>oda</u>
"	<u>o.d</u>	'thither' /-a is a lative suf./Vty <u>o-ti-n</u> 'there', <u>o-ty-ś</u> 'from
"	<u>ött</u>	there', <u>a-zy</u> 'so, thus'.
"	<u>öd</u>	Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial OJ <u>w-</u> vs <u>Ø</u> on
"	<u>utt</u>	the U side /1st syll. OJ <u>o</u> vs U <u>*u</u> or <u>*o</u> (s. entry <u>a</u>)/medial OJ <u>t</u>
Vty	<u>o-ti-n</u>	(core of the loc. suf. <u>-ti/-to</u>) vs U <u>*t</u> (loc. suf.). 3. OJ <u>wo-ti</u> ,
"	<u>o-ty-ś</u>	<u>woto</u> , Hu <u>ot(t)</u> , etc., Vty <u>otin</u> , etc. must have become fused forms
"	<u>o-zy</u>	so long ago that it is warranted to treat them as entities.

574. J, OJ ya 'arrow'.

Table 574

J, OJ	<u>ya</u>	SW 108: <u>*ñéj</u> (<u>*é</u> = <u>a</u> , <u>e</u>) 'arrow'; cf. Yn <u>-ñij</u> , Yr <u>-ñi</u> , Sk <u>-ñi</u> ,
PSam	<u>*ñé.j</u>	Km <u>njā</u> , <u>ñā</u> .

Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ y- vs PSam *ñ-/1st syll. J, OJ a vs PSam *é. 3. In the form *ñéj, *-j is a typical lengthening element following a vowel; it is most likely secondary. 4. For a parallel opposition of J y- : ñ- on the U side, s. entry yatsu.

575. J, OJ yabu 'thicket, bush, underbush, scrub, grove, clump'; Ōno: yabu

Table 575 'an area naturally covered with trees, bushes, and grass, left in its natural state'.

Hu	<u>gyép</u>	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>gyép</u> ~OHu <u>gyepü</u> , dial. <u>gyüp</u> , <u>gyöpi</u> , <u>gyép</u> , <u>gyepő</u> ,
"	<u>gyép.ü</u>	<u>gyip</u> 'grass-plot, turf'.--Origin unknown.--This word family possibly
"	<u>gyép.ü</u>	has to do with <u>gyepü</u> /s. below/; at any rate, the two words
"	<u>gyöp.ü</u>	(and their various forms) were mixed up in OHu and are mixed up in
"	<u>gyüp</u>	the dialects today.
"	<u>gyöp</u>	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>gyepü</u> ~dial. <u>gyepü</u> (OHu:) 'a stretch of forest dif-
"	<u>gyip</u>	ficult to penetrate; marsh-land covered covered with such a forest
"	<u>gyép</u>	(which made invasion difficult); artificial obstructions made to

stop invading armies; entanglement; fence made of planted or heap-

ed thorny bushes', 'uncultivated stretch of land'; (later:) 'fence or uncultivated strip of land marking the boundary between two properties'.

Comm.: 1. Taking Hu gyép and gyepü as members of the same word family---p.b.m. f.b.s.: 'uncultivated grass-land; scrub'. 2. Phon.: 'initial J, OJ y- vs Hu gy- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu é, e, é, i, ü, ö/medial J, OJ b vs Hu p /final J, OJ -u vs Hu ü, ü, ü, ü. 3. J yabu and Hu gyepü were first put together by Pap, 1941. 4. There is a chance that yabu is a compound; the part ya- may be identical with ya- of yama 'mountain' (where -ma could mean 'land, area'); -bu could be identical with OJ pu 'grassy place; woods; a field'. For OJ pu, s. entry ha 'leaf'.

576. J, OJ yaku (y.) 'burn, set alight, bake, broil, char', J yakeru, OJ yaku (sh.n.) 'be burnt/burning/roasting; (Vi) burn'.

Table 576

J, OJ	<u>yak.u</u>	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>ég-</u> ~OHu <u>ig-</u> , dial. <u>ig-</u> , <u>ig-</u> '(Vi) burn,
J	<u>yak.e.ru</u>	glow, throw off light and heat; be consumed by fire; suffer/
Hu	<u>ég-</u>	feel pain from fire/heat' ~ Os <u>ianlētā</u> 'roast/harden over
"	<u>ig-</u>	fire' (e.g., wood for bow-making), <u>ianētā</u> 'make warm/hot by
Os	<u>ian. .lālātā</u>	placing or keeping close to a fire' /Zr <u>yā</u> , <u>yā-bi</u> 'flame' /bi
"	<u>ian. .lālātā</u>	'fire'/? Ch <u>en</u> 'fire', <u>engām</u> 'be singed/charred/broiled;
Zr	<u>yā</u>	burn slowly, smolder'.--The second Ch word could be a loan
? Ch	<u>en</u>	from Chuv.--Os <u>i-</u> arose as a secondary sound before POs <u>*ä</u> .
"	<u>eng.ä.m</u>	-- FU <u>*änü</u> 'fire; burn'.
FU	<u>*än.ü</u>	Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>y-</u>

vs Ø on the U side (y- could be secondary, as i- in the Os forms above is a prothetic y- is found in numerous J examples, e.g., ashi~yoshi 'reed', igamu~yugamu 'be bent', OJ ine~yōne 'rice', s. Wenck 1959, 187). /1st syll. J, OJ a vs FU *ä /medial J, OJ k vs FU *n. 3. Miller 1971, 90-94, Street - Miller 1975, 78 take up J yaku and taku 'burn, kindle, make fire; boil, cook' for comparison with A words. In the latter work, reference is made to Murayama 1963, 232-33, and the stems yak-

573. OJ wo-ti, wo-to 'there; that way'. Omodaka: the base is wo-, -ti/-to

Table 573 being a loc. suffix (cf. OJ kō-ti 'here', wo-ti 'there').

OJ	<u>wo-ti</u>	FUV 89, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>ott</u> ~OHu <u>ot</u> , dial. <u>od</u> , <u>ött</u> , <u>öd</u> , <u>utt</u> , <u>attan</u> , <u>ottan</u> , etc. 'there; then'.--This word comes from variant <u>o</u>
Hu	<u>o.ti</u>	of the dem. pron. <u>a~az</u> 'that' (<u>-ti</u> , <u>-d</u> , <u>-n</u> are loc. suf.s), <u>oda</u>
"	<u>o.d</u>	'thither' /-a is a lative suf./Vty <u>o-ti-n</u> 'there', <u>o-ty-ś</u> 'from
"	<u>ött</u>	there', <u>a-zy</u> 'so, thus'.
"	<u>öd</u>	Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial OJ <u>w-</u> vs <u>Ø</u> on
"	<u>utt</u>	the U side /1st syll. OJ <u>o</u> vs U <u>*u</u> or <u>*o</u> (s. entry <u>a</u>)/medial OJ <u>t</u>
Vty	<u>o-ti-n</u>	(core of the loc. suf. <u>-ti/-to</u>) vs U <u>*t</u> (loc. suf.). 3. OJ <u>wo-ti</u> ,
"	<u>o-ty-ś</u>	<u>woto</u> , Hu <u>ot(t)</u> , etc., Vty <u>otin</u> , etc. must have become fused forms
"	<u>o-zy</u>	so long ago that it is warranted to treat them as entities.

574. J, OJ ya 'arrow'.

Table 574

J, OJ	<u>ya</u>	SW 108: <u>*ñéj</u> (<u>*é</u> = <u>a</u> , <u>e</u>) 'arrow'; cf. Yn <u>-ñij</u> , Yr <u>-ñi</u> , Sk <u>-ñi</u> ,
PSam	<u>*ñé.j</u>	Km <u>njā</u> , <u>ñā</u> .

Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ y- vs PSam *ñ-/1st syll. J, OJ a vs PSam *é. 3. In the form *ñéj, *-j is a typical lengthening element following a vowel; it is most likely secondary. 4. For a parallel opposition of J y- : ñ- on the U side, s. entry yatsu.

575. J, OJ yabu 'thicket, bush, underbush, scrub, grove, clump'; Ōno: yabu

Table 575 'an area naturally covered with trees, bushes, and grass, left in its natural state'.

Hu	<u>gyép</u>	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>gyép</u> ~OHu <u>gyepü</u> , dial. <u>gyüp</u> , <u>gyöpi</u> , <u>gyép</u> , <u>gyepő</u> ,
"	<u>gyép.ü</u>	<u>gyip</u> 'grass-plot, turf'.--Origin unknown.--This word family possibly
"	<u>gyép.ü</u>	has to do with <u>gyepü</u> /s. below/; at any rate, the two words
"	<u>gyöp.ü</u>	(and their various forms) were mixed up in OHu and are mixed up in
"	<u>gyüp</u>	the dialects today.
"	<u>gyöp</u>	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>gyepü</u> ~dial. <u>gyepü</u> (OHu:) 'a stretch of forest dif-
"	<u>gyip</u>	ficult to penetrate; marsh-land covered covered with such a forest
"	<u>gyép</u>	(which made invasion difficult); artificial obstructions made to

stop invading armies; entanglement; fence made of planted or heaped thorny bushes', 'uncultivated stretch of land'; (later:) 'fence or uncultivated strip of land marking the boundary between two properties'.

Comm.: 1. Taking Hu gyép and gyepü as members of the same word family---p.b.m. f.b.s.: 'uncultivated grass-land; scrub'. 2. Phon.: 'initial J, OJ y- vs Hu gy- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu é, e, é, i, ü, ö/medial J, OJ b vs Hu p /final J, OJ -u vs Hu ü, ü, ü, ö. 3. J yabu and Hu gyepü were first put together by Pap, 1941. 4. There is a chance that yabu is a compound; the part ya- may be identical with ya- of yama 'mountain' (where -ma could mean 'land, area'); -bu could be identical with OJ pu 'grassy place; woods; a field'. For OJ pu, s. entry ha 'leaf'.

576. J, OJ yaku (y.) 'burn, set alight, bake, broil, char', J yakeru, OJ yaku (sh.n.) 'be burnt/burning/roasting; (Vi) burn'.

Table 576

J, OJ	<u>yak.u</u>	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>ég-</u> ~OHu <u>ig-</u> , dial. <u>ig-</u> , <u>ig-</u> '(Vi) burn,
J	<u>yak.e.ru</u>	glow, throw off light and heat; be consumed by fire; suffer/
Hu	<u>ég-</u>	feel pain from fire/heat' ~ Os <u>ianlētā</u> 'roast/harden over
"	<u>ig-</u>	fire' (e.g., wood for bow-making), <u>ianētā</u> 'make warm/hot by
Os	<u>ian. .lālātā</u>	placing or keeping close to a fire' /Zr <u>yā</u> , <u>yā-bi</u> 'flame' /bi
"	<u>ian. .lālātā</u>	'fire'/? Ch <u>en</u> 'fire', <u>engām</u> 'be singed/charred/broiled;
Zr	<u>yā</u>	burn slowly, smolder'.--The second Ch word could be a loan
? Ch	<u>en</u>	from Chuv.--Os <u>i-</u> arose as a secondary sound before POs <u>*ä</u> .
"	<u>eng.ä.m</u>	-- FU <u>*änü</u> 'fire; burn'.
FU	<u>*än.ü</u>	Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>y-</u>

vs Ø on the U side (y- could be secondary, as i- in the Os forms above is a prothetic y- is found in numerous J examples, e.g., ashi~yoshi 'reed', igamu~yugamu 'be bent', OJ ine~yōne 'rice', s. Wenck 1959, 187). /1st syll. J, OJ a vs FU *ä /medial J, OJ k vs FU *n. 3. Miller 1971, 90-94, Street - Miller 1975, 78 take up J yaku and taku 'burn, kindle, make fire; boil, cook' for comparison with A words. In the latter work, reference is made to Murayama 1963, 232-33, and the stems yak-

and tak- are termed doublets. When one looks at the A data adduced by Miller and Street - Miller, it is indeed difficult to decide when '(Vi) burn' and when 'to ignite, kindle, strike fire' is to be taken as the appropriate meaning. However, Mo čaki- 'strike fire' ('Feuer schlagen') and Tu Osm čaq- id. leave us in no doubt. 4. Cf. Gulya 1966: OsE təyet 'fire'; Ganschow 1965, 30: Os Obdorsk šonyer- 'smolder, glimmer' vs šorri- 'to char on the bottom'.

577. J, OJ <u>yamu</u> (y.)	'come to an end, cease, stop', J <u>yameru</u> , OJ <u>yamu</u> (sh.n.)
Table 577	(Vt) stop, discontinue, give up, end', J <u>yamu</u> , <u>yameru</u> , OJ
J, OJ <u>yam-u</u>	<u>yamu</u> (y.) 'fall/be taken ill, be laid up/afflicted/diseased/
J <u>yam.e.ru</u>	wounded'; J <u>yami</u> , OJ <u>yami</u> 'grief, gloom; darkness', OJ <u>yōmī</u> id.,
" <u>yam.i</u>	<u>yōmī-nō-kuni</u> 'Hades' (nō gen. marker, <u>kuni</u> 'country'), J <u>yomi-</u>
" <u>yom.i-</u>	<u>nō-kuni</u> id., OJ <u>yomo~yami~yōmī</u> .
OJ <u>yam.i</u>	FUV 38: Lp <u>jabme~jame-</u> 'die'/? Zr <u>jomy-</u> 'ache, hurt'///Yr
" <u>yōm.i</u>	<u>jae a-ma-</u> 'be ill; be unable'/In <u>je'oa-</u> id.///Yuk <u>jaba-</u> 'die',
" <u>yom.o</u>	(participle) <u>jāmbon</u> 'dead'.-- U * <u>jama-</u> .
Lp <u>jabme-</u>	Paasonen, Beiträge ... No. 6: Md <u>joma-</u> , <u>juma-</u> 'die, perish;
" <u>jame-</u>	become lost'/Ch <u>jomam</u> , <u>jāmam</u> 'become lost'/Lp <u>jamme-</u> 'die, etc.
? Zr <u>jom. .ty-</u>	/? Zr <u>jam-</u> 'lose condition; become less; ebb away'/? Fi <u>jumo-</u>
Yr <u>jām.a-</u>	'(Vi) shrink, dry up'///Yr <u>jāma-u</u> 'be sick'.
Yn <u>je'.o. a-(?)</u>	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'be/become ill; die; disappear'.--
U * <u>jam.a-</u>	FUV leaves aside several words seen in Paasonen's grouping;
Yuk <u>jab.a-</u>	since all appear to be relevant to the comparison in hand;
" <u>jāmb.o.n-</u>	their adducing seems warranted. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ <u>y-</u> vs
Md <u>jom.a-</u>	U * <u>j-</u> /1st syll. J, OJ <u>a</u> , <u>o</u> , OJ <u>č</u> vs U * <u>a</u> (but note the forms
" <u>jum.a-</u>	grouped by Paasonen) /medial J, OJ <u>m</u> vs U * <u>m</u> . 3. Of. FUV 38:
Ch <u>jom.a.m</u>	Lp <u>jāmkā~jawkā-</u> 'disappear, get lost; remain somewhere, not
" <u>jā.a.m</u>	to come back'. 4. Cf. Pröhle No. 72.
? Zr <u>jam-</u>	
? Fi <u>jum.o-</u>	
Yr <u>jā.a. u(?)</u>	

578. J, OJ <u>yaru</u> (y.)	'give, send; do, perform, act, play, practice; frequent
Table 572	(a school or courses); eat, drink; row (a boat), pull (oars),
J, OJ <u>yar-u</u>	work/operate (a machine)'.--
Hu <u>jār-</u>	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>jār-</u> '(several people or animals) go to the
? FU * <u>jor. .k₃-</u>	same place one after the other; walk; come and go; continue liv-
? FU * <u>jor.3-</u>	ing according to rules; time runs by; frequent various places (in
	a row); frequent a school; frequent courses or performances; per-
	form (e.g., a dance); (something) is due (to somebody); a wheel, a mill, or some
	other mechanism runs'.--The word is of debated origin. Proposition 1): ~Os <u>jāyer-</u>
	'turn, wind, envelope', <u>jōyer-</u> 'become involved/complicated', <u>jawretitōm</u> 'wander/
	run about, go in circles, proceed with detours'/Lp <u>jorgot</u> 'turn, turn inside out
	or upside down'.--The difficulty of this equation is that the assumable basic
	meaning 'turn; wind' is not represented among the meanings of <u>jār</u> .-- FU * <u>jork₃-</u> .
	Proposition 2): ~LpN <u>jorrāt~jorāt</u> 'go round, rush about; frequently take a trip
	to some place', <u>jōrot</u> '(Vi) roll, run about/around; move in circles'.--The as-
	sumable basic meaning '(Vi) roll, revolve' has been preserved in Lp.--The equation
	is uncertain because the proposed cognate form occurs in only one, distant, re-
	lated language.-- FU * <u>jora-</u> .--It is possible that the two FU forms have fallen
	together in Hu.

Comm.: 1. The Os and the Lp words under Proposition 1) can be discounted on semantic grounds, but the Lp words under Proposition 2) have a semantic field which covers a fair part of the one seen under Hu jār.--P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'move round repeatedly; perform certain actions regularly'.--As regards J yar, the meaning 'eat and drink' is far from the proposed basic meaning; the obviously secondary meaning 'eat and drink' may have developed from 'be given (regularly)', cf. for instance J tsuki-zuki sen yen-zutsu yaru 'allow (a person) 1.000 yen a month' (ts. 'month', sen '1.000', -z. 'at one time'; Kenkyusha); the semantic branching may have had its cause in the mental picture that the feeding of animals or people involves a certain routine going to and fro (by the way, Hu jār- can mean 'some share is due to someone'). 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ y- vs FU *j- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs FU *o /medial J, OJ r vs FU *r. 3. MSZFE remarks that K. Palló (NyK LXVIII, 433) originates

Hu jár- from Tu jor-, jori- 'go, amble, wander; be performed'. 4. Miller 1971, 86 equates J yar- 'give' with PA *dal- ... Mo dolig 'scapegoat; pledge'. etc.

579. J, OJ yarn (y.) 'tear, rip, break, crush; soften' (e.g., woven material),
 Table 579 OJ varu (sh.n.) 'be torn, etc.', ? J ware 'spoilage, waste'.
 J, OJ yar.u
 Hu gyar.a.t- TESZ (ex.): Hu gyarat- 'prepare, process, scratch, grate, rub
 (e.g., hides in a manufacturing process); hackle/dress/comb
 (e.g., wool or hempen fibre); cut (with a sickle); wear, tear'.

--Origin uncertain.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'crush; tear'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ y- vs Hu gy- /
 1st syll. J, PJ a vs Hu a /medial J, OJ r vs Hu r. 3. The element t is a caus.
 formant.

580. J yaseru, OJ yasu (sh.n.) 'become thin/ematiated; pine away; the body
 Table 580 dries out; the flesh wastes away; crops fail; soil, etc. become
 J yas.e.ru sterile/unproductive'. ? OJ yaturu (sh.n.) 'get worn/gaunt'.
 OJ yas.u TESZ MSZFE (ex.): Hu asz(ik) '(Vi) dry, wither, fade; dry out',
 Hu asz- aszal- '(Vt) dry, roast, desiccate' (in the sun or in an oven),
 " aszu aszály 'drought; (OHu) dry, desiccated', aszú /~ dial. aszu 'dry,
 Vg tās- shrivelled, shrunk, parched, wizened' ~ Vg tās-, tōš- 'become
 " tōš- dry' /Os sās-, sūs-, sps- 'become dry/hard', sasem, sossem '(Vi)
 Os sās- dry up; be exhausted; become hard'.--In Os, one would expect regu-
 " sūs- lar t-, l-, Δ-, i instead of g-; the irregularity is explainable
 " sps- with the assimilatory effect of medial (Ugric) *-g-.--Ugric *sṷs-.
 Ugric *sṷs.3- Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'dry out; wither; get exhausted/ster-
 ile'.--The meaning '(Vi) waste away; become ematiated' is pro-
 nounced in J and Hu. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ y- vs Ugric *g- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs
 Ugric *k /medial J s OJ s (= ts) vs Ugric *š /note final -u in OJ yasu and Hu
 dial. aszu; in the latter word, -u is probably a preserved archaic final vowel.

581. J yatsu, OJ ya, yatu 'eight'.
 Table 581 TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu nyolc ~ OHu nyoc, dial. nyóc, nóc 'eight'
 J yatsu ~ Vg nálálu, nál-láv /Os nids, nilex, nílex, nílex id.--Vg
 OJ ya -lu /-láv means 'ten'; it may have got there by analogy from
 " ya.tu ontollou 'nine'.--Os -y and -š are either denom. nom. formants
 Hu nyo.l.c or perhaps morphemes of the same function as Vg -lu /-láv.--
 Vg nál.lá.lu Since hunting and fishing peoples used to trade in goods (e.g.,
 Os ní.Dš pelts, dried fish) bundled according to conventionally agreed
 " ní.Ás.y numbers (10, 20, 40, 100, etc.), it is conceivable that PUgric
 " ní.le.x used a term applied to a bundle (containing a certain number of
 Ugric *nál.š articles) as the number that followed 'seven' which--as is as-
 sumed-- was at one stage the highest number to which counting
 went. Accordingly, the part nyol- of Hu nyolc (where the element -o has probably
 been transferred by analogy from kilenc 'nine', and may have to do with the equi-
 valent of 'ten' in Zr/Vty) appears to go with the part nyal- of nyaláb 'a bundle'
 /for this word, s. entry narabu.--Ugric *nálš.--The vowel o in Hu nyolc is the
 result of labialization before l + dental.

Comm.: 1. The meanings are identical. 2. Since OJ yatu is very likely a de-
 velopment of yotu 'four', reference is made to entry yotsu. In addition to that,
 and esp. pertaining to the possibility of pairing of numerals by means of vowel
 variation, I adduce a) Donner 1901, 141 (translation): "... the plural /of the
 personal pronomina/ was originally derived from the singular through vowel varia-
 tion, i.e., through the use of the stronger vowels e, u, a in the plural against
 the weaker ones in the singular", b) Ramstedt 1952/58 (II), 70 (translation):
 /concerning the personal pronouns in the plural in A; against Tu and Tg/ "... Mo
 displays a peculiar vowel variation; to sg *min- /i/, *tin /'you/, *in /'he',
 'she', 'it' belong the pl forms *man-, *tan-, *an-. This variation must be re-
 garded as going back to a pre-Mo or pre-A stage of development, since nothing
 similar is found in the later Mo language", c) Collinder 1940, 7: "... in the
 /Yuk/ plural forms of personal pronouns (met : mit /1st/, tet : tit /2nd/, tudel :
 titel /3rd/) an attempt may be noticed in the language to derive new forms by
 means of changes of vowels within the root (the method of Semitic languages) with-
 out any additions from outside, a feature of which traces may be found in two

other so-called 'isolated' Siberian languages, --that of the Kott and the Ostyak from Yenisei" (after W. Jochelson). 3. As may be seen, the feature of primitive plural formation through vowel variation in the 1st syll. can be found in a broad zone of northern Eurasian languages. Therefore I propose that Ugric *mal 'eight' differs from FU *neljä 'four' in one essential point, namely in the 1st syll. vowel. For Ugric *-l-, the same observations apply as those seen under yotsu.

582. J yatsusu, Ōno: yatusu (y.) 'disguise oneself (as), dress oneself (as), be disguised (as); change to the worse', J ayatsuru, Ōno: ayaturu (y.) 'make a puppet of, manipulate; operate; pull strings; steer' /where a- is plainly prothetic/.
 J a.yatsu.ru TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu játsz(ik) 'amuse oneself; play an instrument; dally/trifle (with); perform a play; play a role; risk; jest, joke (with), tease, feign, simulate, pose as; the outside appearance/color changes; (Vt/i) move with ease to and fro; manipulate, fiddle with', játék 'play, plaything; acting, performance'.--This word is of uncertain origin. ? ~ Mde jovtams 'tell, report, relate, state, explain, interpret', jovks 'riddle, enigma; fable', juttu 'a chat, a tale' /Est jutt 'a talk, a chat; amusement; story, tale', üttelema 'say, state, express in words'.-- FU *jukta- 'speak, narrate', hence in Hu 'play a role, perform', hence 'to play'.

Comm.: 1. The adduced Mde and the Est words are hard to bring into line with Hu játsz(ik), mainly on semantic grounds, but the FU cluster *kt also constitutes a problem. Therefore, I propose to compare only the J and the Hu forms.--P.b.m.f. b.s.: 'to play, act; disguise oneself; make believe'. 2. Phon.: initial J, ClJ y- vs Hu j- /1st syll. J, OJ a vs Hu á /medial J ts, ClJ t (?) vs Hu tsz in játsz-, t in játék (-t- is no doubt older than -tsz-).

583. J yo, OJ yo 'age, era; year; generation; lifetime; life, existence; world, society, public', e.g., OJ uki-yō 'floating world' (uku 'to float, swim'), kami-yō 'the age of the gods' (k 'god').
 J yo FUV 138 (ex.): Fi vuosi ~ vuote- 'year' /Vty va-pum, wa-pum 'time, lifetime' (pum 'end') /Zr vo, u 'year' /Os al~ul-, ot /? Hu taval, tavaly 'last year' /-- FU *oō-.--Collinder 1965, 93: "In Fennic, a parasitic y has originated before *oo-, as in Fi vuosi (vuote-) 'year'."
 Zr vo MSZFE (ex.): Hu taval (<taval) is of debated origin; according to one opinion, taval consists of the dem. pron. ta /to- + v (hiatus-filler) + al which is comparable to Fi vuosi, etc.; since ta /to- 'that' refers to what is distant, taval is to be understood as 'the period which is distant' (from the present time).
 Os a.l Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'a period of time', hence 'lifetime, etc.'. 2. As in the case of J yo(ru) 'night' (s. that entry) and in various other examples, here, too, y- is presumed to be prothetic, thus falling in line with secondary y-, w- on the U side. If that is correct, then the remaining element on the J side is J -o/OJ -ō. Vty va-, wa-, Zr vo, u are, in fact, just as short. In my view, FU *ō and its reflexes must be taken as root expansions; in Vty and Zr such an expansion element has either worn off, or, which is more likely, the Vty/Zr forms have never been longer.---Thus: J, OJ (prothetic) y- stands against (prothetic) v-, w- on the U side /1st syll. J o, OJ ō vs FU *o.
 Hu Ma.l 3. Fröhle No. 73 equates OJ yo with Hu év 'year'. For this word, s. entry ikiru.
 FU *o.ō

584. J yo, yoru, OJ yo, yoru 'night', OJ yō- id., e.g., yō-pā 'evening' (pā 'sun; day').
 Table 584
 J yo(ru) Os iə.i Lp é.jj FUV 139, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu éj ~
 OJ yō(ru) Zr vo.i " i.jj dial. i 'night' ~ Vg i, ji, ie id.
 " yō Vty u.j /Os ei, iei /Zr vo.i /Vty ui, üj /Mde
 Hu é.j " ü.j FU *ü.je ve, vā, MdM ve /Fi yō, Est ōō /Lp ji.jj
 " i.j MdE ve or *e.je éji, iji id.--Vg i-, i-, Os i-, Lp i-
 Vg ji " fa are secondary.-- FU *ü.je or *e.je.
 " ji Fi y. ö Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2.
 " ia Est ö. ö We can take it for granted that Zr v-
 Os a.i Lp ji.jj and Md v- are prothetic (s. the re-

constructed form). Similarly, I suggest, y- on the J side may be taken as prothetic. If so, we have three choices: a) OJ yō (bare of the suffix -ru which also occurs in pfru 'daytime') is a form reduced by a whole syllable, b) the root on the J side is a single vowel, not comparable with FU *ije/eje, c) The assumed root *j on the J side goes with the 1st syll. = root (FU *ü/-e-) on the U side.--As I see it, this is probable. If so, the 2nd syll. *-je of FU *ije/eje must be regarded as a root extension ("Wurzelerweiterung"). 3. Cf. Miller 1971, 86. 4. Cf. Pröhle No. 74.

585. J yo-i-i-i, OJ yō-si, yē-si 'good, proper, fine, nice, lucky, gentle, agreeable, suitable, beneficent, sufficient; morally good'.
 Table 585
 J yo-i TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu jó 'good, suitable, proper, fair, advantageous; property; goodness; pleasant/necessary/useful thing; right-hand side; OJ yō-si good deed; the best part', javal~jobbul '(Vi) improve, get better' (e.g., one's health), javit 'improve, mend, repair', jáva 'the very best; profit', jog 'justice, right; claim', gyógyít <OHu jogít 'to heal', jóság 'goodness', OHu jószág 'possession. property; the goods (together), grain, livestock; advantage; virtue' ~ Vg jámes 'good, pretty, fair', jámes 'excellent, superior', jomes, jams 'good'/Os jám, jám id., jám 'good, healthy'.--The presumable POs vowel *a (of the forms in question) may have come from *u under the influence of initial j.--The element -s in the Vg forms is a denom. nom. formant. Ugric *jom or *jam.
 or *ja-m Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'good' (materially and morally). 2. Phon: J y-, ō, OJ y- vs Ugric *j- /1st syll. J o, i, OJ ō, ē (note that these vowels were in vowel harmony dialectally; ō and ē alternated with OJ a, s. Wenck 1959, 2, 6, 9) vs Ugric *o or *a. 3. It is suggested here that the element *-m (Ugric) is secondary. Reference is made to Lehtisalo 1936, 86: PU suffix *m for the formation of denom. adj.; further to Gulya 1966, 65-66 and passim: OsE alyi-m 'old, trashy', aje-m 'young. little', ate-m 'wrong; thin', ili-m 'which is before', ja-m 'good', oka-m 'little', tára-m 'quick', ti-m 'this', to-m 'that' (<ti- 'this'; to- 'that').--It is plain from the pattern that -m is an adj. formant in OsE. But if it is an adj. formant there, it can be hardly anything else in Os generally, or in U, for that matter. 4. There is a chance that the assumed Ugric root *jo-/ja- had a variant, say, *j. Its reflex may be suspected in Hu igaz 'true, right' (TESZ: igaz ?< *ig vs OHu jog 'good', further, in OHu and dial. ikáb~OHu jonkáb (adv.) 'better' (where: the element k reminds one of the J, OJ adv. suff. -k(u) e.g., yo-ku 'well'; -z is paralleled by the adj. suffix -z of száraz 'dry', nehéz 'heavy', ádáz 'fierce'; n before k can be taken as a glide sound; -b > bb is the mark of the comparative degree).

586. J yotsu, OJ yōtu~yō 'four'. (By way of explanation:) Miller 1967, 337 ff. and Miller 1971, 220 ff. take up the J, OJ numerals; (following Miller:) OJ -tu is found attached to the OJ numerals 1 to 9: pát-tu '1', puta-tu '2', mí-tu '3', yō-tu '4', itu-tu '5', mu-tu '6', nana-tu '7', ya-tu '8', kókond-tu '9' ('10' being sō-tō~tōwō, while in the decades, -ti is found in combination with sō, thus: pata-ti '20' (where sō is not included; pata < puta '2'), mí-sō-ti '30', yō-sō-ti '40', isō-ti '50', musō-ti '60', nanasō-ti '70', yasō-ti '80', kókondōsō-ti '90').
 Table 586
 J yo.tsu FUV 116, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu négv 'four', négved 'fourth part' /Fi neljä 'four' /Lp njaelljē /Md nile /Ch nēl, nēl, nēl /Vty ñil, ñyl, ñul /Zr no! /Vg ñila, ñilae /Os ñalā, ñate -- FU *neljä.
 OJ yō(tu) Hu -gy < *l, a secondarily palatalized *l (cf. Hu ágy 'bed' < FU *ōl / ōlā, néggy 'sour-cherry' < FU *mol / moš).
 Hu né.gy Serebrennikov 1973, 73 (translation): "In the numerals '1' to '7', one recognizes the principle of marked vs unmarked pairs, which is difficult to explain; cf. Fi ykxi '1' (stem yh-te), kaksi '2' (stem kah-te) where each numeral has a particle -te, whereas Fi kolme '3' and neljä '4' are bare of this particle."
 Menges 1975, 92 (translation): "... there seems to exist an old assimilational-dissimilational alternation of initials t~n :

Kor nók, nó, net, ne has the nearest parallel in U, cf. Fi neliä, etc. (as above, from FUV); the Sam numerals of identical meaning, i.e., Yr tet, Tv tata, Yn teto, Sk tet, tetta, Km tēde (Castrén, Gramm., p. 192 f.) have not been included by Collinder; therefore, one would have to weigh whether we are not witnessing in the Sam forms an ancient suffix *-t which corresponds to Tg Nānai -to/-tu and OJ -tu, and which, through distant assimilation, could have brought about initial n-; alternatively, we would have to weigh whether the Sam forms are not closer to corresponding A ones; ... Boller (op. c. p. 473) had already compared J yo to the above U and A forms."

SW 159: *tettä (? *tettä) 'four' (*t = c, s, t).

Comm.: 1. The meanings are identical. 2. While not ruling out the possibility that the proposition of Menges (viz. *t->n-) is right, I would, for the time being, leave the Sam forms aside. 3. Concerning J, OJ y- vs FU *n-, reference is made to a) SW 102: *ni~*ji 'belt, girdle', b) Putaky 1975, 66: Os *jeli 'apron' <TgN *jeli id., c) Collinder 1965, 93: [in SamS] 'we have to do with a parasitic *j- that has become j by long-distance assimilation', d) Lehtisalo 1936, 48: in Sam, j comes regularly from *n/j, e) Ramstedt 1957 (I), 74: in the Tu languages, n-, n->j-, f) n~y alternation within J, e.g., onaji~oyaji 'identical', OJ ana~aya (an interjection uttered in fright), ina~iya 'no'; s. also Haguenauer 1956, 299). Seeing this area phenomenon, there is a good chance that y- of yotsu goes back to *n-.... Thus, initial J, OJ y- vs FU *n- /1st syll. J o, OJ ö vs FU *e / medial J ts, OJ t (in the fuller forms) vs FU *lj---As regards FU *lj, I refer to Lakó 1968, 68 (PFU *ǵ- and *ǵ-) and 80-81 (PFU *l- and *l-); there we find that the tangle of these sounds is just about hopeless; at any rate, they are the most debated members of the U/PFU phoneme stock. Consequently, the medial consonants of Hu négy, etc. are suspect of going back to PFU *ǵ-. 4. Serebrennikov's remark (above) is instructive and could play an important role in a reconsideration of the U numerals. 5. Cf. Murayama 1966, No. 10: OJ yó <*dō: Mo dörben '4'. 6. Cf. entry yatsu.

587. J <u>yowa-i</u> 'weak, soft, frail', <u>yawa-na</u> 'frail, fragile', OJ <u>yowa-si</u> , <u>yawa-</u>	
Table 587	<u>si</u> id.; 'meek, timid, faint-hearted', J <u>yawaraka</u> , Ōno: <u>yapa-</u>
J <u>yow.a-i</u>	<u>raka</u> 'soft, gentle, mild, meek', OJ <u>yaparaka-ni</u> 'gently,
OJ <u>yow.a-si</u>	mildly, quietly, meekly', J <u>yawaragu</u> , OJ, Ōno: <u>yaparagu</u> (y.)
J <u>yaw.a-si</u>	'be/become soft/mild/moderate; calm down, be alleviated,
J <u>yaw.a-na</u>	abate', J <u>yawarageru</u> , OJ, Ōno: <u>yawaragu</u> (sh.n.) 'soften (e.g.,
" <u>yaw.a.raka</u>	one's voice), lessen, ease, relieve, allay, mollify, miti-
OJ, Ō. <u>yap.a.raka</u>	gate, appease, subdue, pacify', OJ, Ōno <u>yapasu</u> (y.) 'soften,
J <u>yaw.a.ragu</u>	soothe, calm, quiet, beat, suppress'.
" <u>yaw.a.rageru</u>	
OJ, Ō. <u>yap.a.ragu</u>	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>gyáva</u> ~dial. <u>gyapaj</u> , <u>tyapa</u> , <u>gyapa</u> 'cowardly,
OJ <u>yap.a.su</u>	weak, faint-hearted; stupid, helpless, wretched, valueless;
Hu <u>gyáv.a</u>	overly sensitive; tender, young'. --Origin unknown.
" <u>gyap.a(j)</u>	TESZ: <u>gyápol</u> ~ <u>gyáfol</u> 'rebuke, blame, revile, vilify, abuse;
" <u>tyap.a</u>	subdue, subjugate'.--Origin unknown.--We have to investigate
" <u>gyáp.o.l-</u>	the proposition according to which this verb comes from
" <u>gyáf.o.l-</u>	<u>gyapa</u> = <u>gyáva</u> .

MNyj. 9, 1963, 161: gyáva 'weak' (of the body), e.g., nagyon gyáva lettem, mióta a fogságból hazakerültem 'I have been very weak since my return from captivity'.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'weak, frail', hence 'timid, etc.'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ y- vs Hu gy-, ty- / 1st syll. J, OJ o, a vs Hu á, a / medial J w, OJ w, p vs Hu y, p, f / final of the primary stem, J, OJ a vs Hu á, a. 3. SzófSz suggests that the Hu words in question might have to do with Tu Chag džaba 'useless, worthless'. 4. Cf. Murayama 1966, No. 21: OJ yowa <*joba 'weak': Mg jobal <*joba-l 'pain'.

588. J <u>yu</u> 'hot water/bath/spring', OJ <u>yu</u> id.; 'the place where a hot bath is prepared; bath-house; molten metal'.	
Table 588	
J, OJ <u>yu</u>	SW 47-48: * <u>ju-</u> (?~* <u>jue-</u>) 'become warm/soft/molten'; cf. Tv der.
PSam <u>*ju-</u>	<u>juaja</u> 'soft' (e.g., iron /when heated/) / Yn <u>jua</u> (<* <u>ju-na</u>) 'become
" ? <u>*ju.3-</u>	soft', der. <u>jube</u> 'soft' / Sk <u>ču-qc</u> 'get warm/soft' / Km <u>tūlām</u> 'I warm myself', <u>dūlēm</u> '(Vi) melt';--der. <u>*jupá</u> 'warm'; cf. Yn <u>juba</u> id.;--

der. *jutā- 'to warm/heat/melt/smelt'; cf. Yr juōā id., Sk čuti- id.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'warm, hot; heat', hence 'melt'. 2. Phon.: initial J, OJ y- vs PSam *j- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs PSam *u. 3. The opposition PSam *ju- : *ju-nā- shows in an exemplary way how a CV shaped root is expanded; the element *n- (+ vowel) is encountered in many reconstructions on the U side. 4. Cf. Miller 1971, 85: OJ yu 'hot water' : PTu *duli-, Tg Ev duḷi '(Vt) to warm'. 5. Cf. Poppe 1960, 23, 75: Mo dulayan, MMo dula'an 'warm', Kh dulān id. = Tg Ev dul- 'to warm up, heat', dulil- 'to warm' = MTu jiliḷ 'warm'. 6. Cf. Murayama 1966, No. 11: OJ yuk- *dul 'warm water' : Mo dulayan (root *dul-).

589. J yubi 'finger'; Ōno: yubi OJ oyobi 'finger'; J oyobu, OJ oyōbu (y.)
Table 589 'reach, touch; arrive at; attain'

J	yub.i	SW 30: * <u>ump3ja</u> 'thimble; index finger'; cf. Tv <u>~ufou</u> , Yn <u>úboe</u>
OJ	o.yob.i	'index finger', Yr <u>numbaḷje</u> , Sk (irregular) <u>mombi</u> 'thimble'.
J	o.yob.u	Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'tip of the fingers', i.e., 'that
OJ	o.yōb.u	which reaches/touches'.--Cf. Németh 1928, 83 where he writes
PSam	* <u>ump3.jā</u>	that some Tu terms for parts of the body are deverbal nouns,
Tv	<u>~uf.o. u</u>	derived from verbs which indicate a corresponding action; e.g.,
Yn	<u>úb.o. e</u>	Uig, Chag <u>adək</u> 'foot': Osm <u>ad-</u> 'to step'; Osm <u>burun</u> 'nose':

MTu burā- 'to smell (Vt)'. 2. Phon.: o- of oyobu, oyōbu is taken as prothetic; whether y- is secondary or not remains undecided at present; Yr n-, Sk m- are certainly secondary; thus--- initial J, OJ y- vs PSam o /1st syll. J u, o, OJ o, o vs PSam *u- /medial J, OJ b vs PSam *p (note: *n before *p can hardly be primary; I suggest that it merely indicates prenasalization)/final J, OJ -i, -u vs PSam *-3.

590. OJ yuk4 'quiver'.

Table 590	TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Hu <u>tegēz</u> , <u>tēgēz</u> 'quiver' ~
OJ	yuk.f Os <u>tīp.ə.t</u> Vg <u>tāut</u> , <u>tāḡet</u> , <u>tāḡt</u> id. /Os <u>tīyēt</u> , <u>tīyāt</u> ,
Hu	teg.ē.z " <u>tīy.ə.t</u> <u>tīyēt</u> , <u>tīyāt</u> , <u>tīwāt</u> id.-- Ugric * <u>tān(q)tḡ</u> .
"	tēg.ē.z " <u>tīp.ə.t</u> Comm.: 1. The meanings are identical. 2.
Vg	tā.u.t " <u>tīy.ə.t</u> Phon.: initial OJ <u>y-</u> vs Ugric * <u>t-</u> /1st syll. OJ
"	tāḡ.ə.t " <u>tīw.ə.t</u> <u>u</u> vs Ugric * <u>ā</u> /medial OJ <u>k</u> vs Ugric * <u>n</u> /final
"	tāḡ. .t Ugric * <u>tān(q)tḡ</u> OJ <u>-4</u> vs Ugric * <u>q</u> .--The two sides apparently

is clearly additional to a disyllabic stem. 4. MSZFE mentions that this Ugric word family had been compared to Tu Chag tigdi 'bag, made of leather or felt'.

591. J yuki, OJ yuk4 'snow; snowfall'. Wenck 1959, 39: Azuma dial. OJ yok4.

Table 591	FUV 100, TESZ, MSZFE (ex.): Fi, Est <u>jää</u> 'ice' /Lp <u>jiēā-</u>
J	yuk.i Zr <u>ji</u> /Md <u>jēj</u> , <u>ej</u> , <u>ej</u> /Ch <u>i</u> , <u>ij</u> /Vty <u>jō</u> , <u>jō</u> , <u>dō</u> /Zr <u>ji</u> , <u>ij</u> /
OJ	yuk.f " <u>jy</u> Vg <u>jāān</u> , <u>jōānk</u> , <u>jānq</u> /Os <u>jōnk</u> , <u>jēnk</u> /Hu <u>jég</u> , <u>gyég</u>
"	dial. yok.f Vg <u>jān</u> id.-- FU * <u>jāne</u> .
Fi	jā.ā " <u>jānk</u> Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'snow; ice' (seeing that
Lp	jiē.ā- Os <u>jōnk</u> 'snow' easily turns into 'ice'). 2. Phon.: initial J,
Md	jēj " <u>jēnk</u> OJ <u>y-</u> vs FU * <u>j-</u> /1st syll. J <u>u</u> , OJ <u>u</u> , dial. <u>ō</u> vs FU
"	ej Hu <u>jég</u> * <u>ā</u> /medial J, OJ <u>k</u> vs FU * <u>n</u> /final J <u>-i</u> , OJ <u>-4</u> vs FU
Ch	i " <u>gyég</u> *-e. 3. Cf. Räsänen 1955, 31: Fi <u>jää</u> 'ice' ... ~Tu
"	ij FU * <u>jān.ə</u> * <u>jān</u> , Soyot <u>tēn</u> , Koibal <u>nēn</u> 'snow-crust' ~Tg <u>in-in</u>
Vty	jō " <u>jēnk</u> , Lam <u>ing-kse</u> 'frozen; frozen to death' ~Kor <u>em-</u> ,
"	dō " <u>jēn</u> (<u>ērgi</u>) 'to freeze'.

592. J yume, OJ imē 'a dream'.

Table 592	SW 48: * <u>jujūtā-</u> 'to dream'; cf. Tv der. <u>dudi</u> 'a dream', Yr <u>jūōi</u> id.	
J	yume	Comm.: 1. The meanings agree. 2. Ōno suggests that J, ClJ <u>yume</u>
OJ	i.mē	has come from OJ <u>imē</u> which is composed of <u>i</u> 'resting, sleeping' + <u>mē</u>
PSam	* <u>jujūtē-</u>	'eye'.--While it is possible that <u>yume</u> derives from <u>imē</u> , one can

also argue that--like so many other forms in J--yume was not recorded in 8th cent. literature because it was felt vulgar.--The derivation of OJ imē (above) reminds one of that of OJ nagamē 'a view, a scene' which Ōno derives from naga- 'long' + mē 'eye' (s. entry nageru). I register disagreement regarding both etymologies.--As nagamē is a deverbal noun (~nagamu /sh.n.7), so, I suggest, yume and imē seem to be deverbal nouns in which m is a common J

verb formant; the root would be *yu-/i-; this may be set against the PSam root *ju-; the following PSam sound, *-j-, is, I suggest, a mere glide (cf. Hu bocsát- ~ bocsájt- 'to release', vész ~ vejsze 'fish-trap'), while *-t₃ is a verb formant (frequ. ?). 3. Phon.: initial J, ClJ y-, OJ ø vs PSam *j- /1st syll. J, ClJ u, OJ i vs PSam *u. 4. Cf. Pröhle No. 77.

593. J	<u>yurumu</u> , OJ <u>yurumu</u> , <u>yurupu</u> (y.)	'become loose/dull/remiss; to flag, be off one's guard; deteriorate, go down, break up, go to ruin',
Table 593	J, OJ <u>yu.ru.mu</u>	J <u>yurumeru</u> , Óno: <u>yurumu</u> ~ <u>yurupu</u> (sh.n.) 'unloose, unfasten, slacken, relax', J, OJ <u>yurusu</u> (y.) 'permit, excuse from, pardon', J <u>yuru-i</u> , OJ <u>yuru-si</u> ~ <u>yura-si</u> 'loose, easy, lax, lenient.
J	<u>yu.ru.pu</u>	
J	<u>yu.ru.meru</u>	
J, OJ	<u>yu.ru.su</u>	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>roml</u> (ik) ~ <u>romol</u> ~ <u>OHu ruml</u> -, dial. <u>ramal</u> - 'fall down (e.g., a wall), collapse (of a building), cave in, crumble away; break/sink down (from a standing position); (morally) decline, become corrupted; deteriorate (in respect/authority);
J	<u>yu.ru-i</u>	perish, lapse, become extinct; get smashed; wear away; lose health; things take a bad turn; get mouldy/rotten', <u>rombol</u> ~
OJ	<u>yu.ru-si</u>	dial. <u>rumbál</u> - 'smash, break to pieces, destroy', <u>ront</u> ~ <u>romt</u> -
"	<u>yu.ra-si</u>	'to damage, spoil, mar'.--Origin uncertain.--The stem is <u>rom</u> -;
Hu	<u>ro.mol</u>	
"	<u>ra.mal</u>	
"	<u>ro.mbol</u>	
"	<u>rumbál</u>	

l is a frequ., t a caus., formant; rombol- has come, by analogy, from romol-.

Comm.: 1. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'deteriorate; slacken'. 2. As regards the element J, OJ y-, I propose that it is prothetic (s. Wenck 1968, 104: "The //CV// word-initial elements which are frequently added in Old Japanese, such as ta-, sa-, ma-, mi-, yu-, wo- can be classified as prefixes, although their meaning is often vague to the point of imperceptibility"). Thus--- initial J, OJ r- vs Hu r- /1st syll. J u, OJ u, a vs Hu o, a, OHu and dial. u /medial J m, OJ m, p vs Hu m.--What Wenck (above) points out seems to be formally corroborated by the present comparison and by the one seen under entry urusa-i (vs FU *rođ-). If such oppositions prove to be substantial, one must probably alter the view according to which word-initial r- did not occur in genuine J words, hence comparison with words beginning with r is a priori hopeless.

594. J	<u>yuu</u> , OJ <u>yupu</u>	'plant fibre(s); spinning yarn spun from plant fibres; (Chamberlain:)' wool'; cf. OJ <u>simi-yupu</u> 'dyed cotton or cotton cloth' (<u>simu</u> 'dye, stain, colour').
Table 594	J <u>yu .u</u>	
OJ	<u>yup.u</u>	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>gyapot</u> ~ <u>OHu gyaput</u> , dial. <u>gyapat</u> 'cotton; yarn spun from cotton or wool; wool'.-- Origin unknown. Its derivation from Tu (cf. Chag <u>yapuk</u> , Osm <u>yapik</u> 'cotton') is not likely.
Hu	<u>gyap.o.t</u>	TESZ (ex.): Hu <u>gyapjú</u> ~ dial. <u>gyapé</u> , <u>gyapó</u> , <u>gyépü</u> , <u>gyaptyi</u> , <u>gyaput</u>
"	<u>gyap.u.t</u>	'wool'.--This word is of OTu origin, cf. Osm <u>yapagi</u> , <u>yapak</u> , <u>Baskir yabaya</u> , <u>Kirg žabagi</u> 'wool (of sheep)'. These words probably have to do with Tu <u>yap</u> - 'to cover'.
"	<u>gyap.a.t</u>	
" ?	<u>gyapjú</u>	

Comm.: 1. If Hu gyapjú ultimately comes from Tu yap-, then it is ruled out here. However, it could be a variant development parallel to gyapot (a mix-up of these words is seen in the dialects). In this comparison only the word gyapot shall be centrally involved. 2. P.b.m.f.b.s.: 'fibre suitable for spinning and weaving'. 3. Phon.: initial J, OJ y- vs Hu gy- /1st syll. J, OJ u vs Hu a /medial J ø, OJ p vs Hu p /final J, OJ -u vs Hu ø, u, a (-t must be an inetymological accretion, cf. Hu dial. tulipánt < tulipán 'tulip'; laput < lapu 'great burdock').

** Note the inserted number 99a; entry hineru has been marked so on account of the number 99 having been written twice; also, entry No. 38 has been mistakenly repeated under No. 495.

2.1 GROUPING of the GUIDE WORDS (the J term represents the corresponding entry)

2.1.1 Nature and Time

ame 'rain'//asa 'morning'//deru 'sprout; appear'//e 'bay'//haeru 'shine'//hara 'field'//heri 'edge, shore'//hi 'sun; day'//hikaru 'shine'//hiru 'daytime'//hoshi 'star'//ike 'pond'//ishi 'stone'//iteru 'freeze'//iwa 'rock'//-ka 'a place'//ka 'day'//kabi 'mold'//kasumu 'be hazy'//kata 'beach'//kawa 'river'//kaze 'wind'//kiri 'fog'//kogoru 'freeze'//kōru 'freeze'//kumo 'cloud'//ma 'space'//mine 'peak'//mizu 'water'//mori 'forest'//namu 'wave'//ne 'root; earth'//nero 'peak'//nōpu 'day'//numa 'swamp'//oki 'offing'//sae 'be cold/clear'//saka 'hill'//shima 'island'//-siku 'turn dark'//gora 'sky'//sue 'top'//sumu 'get clear'//ta 'land'//tatsu 'rise'//teru 'shine'//tokoro 'place'//tōro 'pool'//toshi 'year'//tsu 'bay'//tsuchi 'earth'//tsuka 'hill'//tsuki 'moon'//tsuyu 'spring rains'//umi 'sea'//ura 'bay'//ura 'top of a tree'//utsuro 'cavity'//wada 'bay'//wori 'mountain'//yabu 'thicket'//yaku 'burn'//yo 'era'//yo 'night'//yuki 'snow'.

2.1.2 Dwelling; Social life; Kinship

amo 'mother'//ane 'elder sister'//ani 'elder brother'//atari 'neighbourhood'//au 'meet'//chichi 'father'//chigiru 'swear'//hetsurau 'flatter'//hi 'grandchild'//hito 'person'//hōgu 'celebrate'//hoshii 'a desire'//ie 'house'//imo 'wife'//ito 'beloved'//iu 'speak'//izana 'invite'//katamu 'deceive'//kataru 'relate'//katsu 'control'//kau 'exchange'//kiou 'compete'//kirau 'hate'//kisou 'vie'//ko 'child'//korasu 'rebuks'//koto 'word'//kou 'beg'//kura 'storehouse'//kuru 'fortification'//machi 'town'//me 'female'//mina 'all'//mori 'guard'//mōru 'serve food'//moto 'origin, family'//motomeru 'request'//mune 'ridge of a roof'//mura 'village'//mutsu 'intimate'//muzukaru 'be angry'//na 'name'//negau 'desire'//oba 'aunt'//oji 'uncle'//osa 'chief'//oshieru 'teach'//sabaku 'judge'//saberu 'talk'//sakau 'make a boundary'//sato 'village'//satosu 'admonish'//semeru 'upbraid'//seru 'vie'//shinobu 'conceal'//sonaeru 'dedicate'//sou 'accompany'//sukeru 'assist'//sumu 'dwell'//suneru 'be perverse'//tagau 'differ'//tanomu 'ask'//tanoshi-i 'merry'//tapu 'fine'//tarasu 'deceive'//tawakeru 'be silly'//tazuneru 'enquire'//tsugu 'tell'//tsura 'row'//unagasu 'urge on'//uji 'clan'//urusa-i 'disagreeable'//wosu 'share'//yatsusu 'disguise oneself'.

2.1.3 Religion

are 'appearance of the gods'//homeru 'exalt'//imu 'abhor'//itu 'sacred'//majinai 'charm'//maneku 'summon'//mono 'spirit'//sirō 'forbidden place'//uranau 'augur'//waza 'calamity'.

2.1.4 Body (incl. plant body)

ago 'jaw'//ashi 'foot'//atama 'head'//-dura 'pigtail'//fukuro 'pouch'//fushi 'joint'//ha 'feather'//ha 'tooth'//hara 'belly'//heso 'navel'//hiji 'elbow'//hire 'fin'//ho 'head'//kara 'husk'//kawa 'skin'//ke 'hair'//-kōrō 'likeness'//koshi 'waist'//me 'eye'//mi 'body'//mukuro 'body'//mune 'breast'//nuka 'forehead'//o 'tail'//saya 'pod'//se 'back'//shiri 'the rear'//suji 'muscle'//sune 'leg'//-tai 'forehead'//toge 'thorn'//tsume 'claw'//ude 'arm'//ushiro 'the backside'//waki 'side'//wata 'bowels'//yubi 'finger'.

2.1.5 Body functions and qualities: Illness

akubu 'yawn'//aru 'exist'//ase 'sweat'//futo-i 'burly'//haeru 'grow'//hareru 'swell'//hineru 'get old'//hirumu 'fear'//ikiōi 'energy'//ikiru 'live'//iro 'complexion'//iru 'be'//itamu 'feel pain'//kajiku 'be ill'//kareru 'die'//kiku 'hear'//kōbu 'wen'//koyasu 'fatten'//kuso 'excrement'//kuu 'eat'//miru 'see'//naru 'become'//nemuru 'sleep'//nobiru 'grow'//noru 'bear fruit'//opu 'sprout'//osoreru 'fear'//owaru 'come to an end'//saga 'nature, sex'//shibireru 'get numb'//shinabiru 'droop'//shinu 'die'//taberu 'eat'//tsutsuga 'illness'//ueru 'starve'//umu 'fester'//umu 'bear a child'//uzuku 'smart'//wepu, you 'be drunk'//yamu 'come to an end'//yaseru 'pine away'//yume 'dream'.

2.1.6 Animals (all kinds): Raising of animals

inu 'dog'//ka 'gnat'//kamo 'drake'//kari 'wild goose'//kau 'raise animals'//kitsune 'fox'//masu 'salmon'//mushi 'bug'//-na 'fish'//nomi 'flea'//oshi 'duck'//shika 'deer'//tatsu 'dragon'//tsuru 'crane'//ushi 'cattle'//uso 'otter'.

2.1.7 Plants; Food

e (: e-no-ki) 'nettle tree'//ha 'leaf'//ip 'food'//ki 'tree'//kusa 'grass'//

kusu 'camphor tree'//matsu 'pine tree'//nire 'elm tree'//sane 'seed'//sasa 'bamboo grass'//sipi 'oak'//su 'vinegar'//tade 'knotweed'//tokô 'reedshoot'.

2.1.8 Utensils (and their handling): Clothing, Artifacts (and pertinent verbs)
amu 'shoot'//amu 'to net'//aozu 'to fan'//fune 'boat'//futa 'lid'//hari 'needle'
 //hari 'beam'//hashi 'bridge'//hazu 'notch'//hoko 'halberd'//ito 'string'//kagi
 'hook'//kai 'shell'//kaji 'oar'//kama 'kiln'//kasipa 'container'//katama 'basket'
 //kazaru 'decorate'//kuda 'pipe'//kui 'stake'//kushi 'comb'//kuwa 'hoe'//makura
 'cushion'//masu 'a measure'//muchi 'rod'//nau 'to plait'//obi 'belt'//oke 'tub'//
ono 'axe'//oru 'weave'//sao 'pole'//sode 'sleeve'//su 'mat'//suki 'plough'//suri
 'vessel'//tabi 'socks'//taru 'tub'//tate 'shield'//tsubo 'jar'//tsuchi 'mallet'//
tsue 'staff'//tsuka 'handle'//tsukue 'table'//tsukuru 'make, fashion'//tsuru
 'handle'//tsurugi 'sword'//tsuta 'package'//tumu 'boat'//wachi 'barrier'//ya
 'arrow'//yuki 'quiver'//yu 'fibre'.

2.1.9 Verbs (other than those already listed)

abiru 'take a bath'//aburu 'roast'//afureru 'be in excess'//agaru 'rise'//akinau
 'exchange'//aku 'open'//amaru 'be left over'//ataeru 'give'//ataru 'strike'//
chibiru 'tear, rip'//chijimaru 'shrink'//chiru 'scatter'//e 'no, not'//eru 'be
 able'//fukeru 'get moldy'//fuku 'blow'//fukumu 'contain'//fumu 'to step'//fureru
 'touch'//furu 'fall'//furu 'turn'//fusu 'bend down'//hagu 'join'//hagu 'strip'//
hajimeru 'start'//haku 'spew'//haneru 'reject'//haru 'stretch'//hatsu 'achieve'//
hatsuru 'strip'//heru 'decrease'//hiku 'pull'//hineru 'twirl'//hitasu 'soak'//
hodoku 'undo'//horobu 'to ruin'//horu 'carve'//hosu 'to dry'//hotsureru 'fray'//
ibiru 'to smoke'//igamu 'be bent'//iku 'go'//imasu 'stay'//inu 'go away'//itaru
 'reach'//iu 'to tie'//iwamu 'congregate'//kadowakasu 'abduct'//kaduku 'dive'//
kakaru 'be caught'//karu 'part from'//karu 'cut'//kaseru 'dry up'//kawaku 'dry
 up'//kemuru 'to smoke'//keru 'kick'//kizu 'cut'//kobotsu 'break'//kogeru 'scorch'
 //komu 'be crowded'//korobu 'tumble'//kuguru 'dive'//kujiuru 'wrench'//kumu 'unite'
 //kuneru 'bend'//kuru 'come'//kusuburu 'to smoke'//kuwaeru 'add'//majiru 'mix'//
maku 'wind'//matou 'wrap'//matsu 'wait'//meguru 'revolve'//misogu 'wash (the
 body)'//mitsuru 'be full'//moguru 'dive'//moru 'leak'//motoru 'go against'//
motu 'carry'//muku 'to face'//musubu 'join'//na 'don't'//narabu 'hide oneself'//
nadameru 'soothe'//nadareru 'descend'//nadu 'wet'//nagameru 'gaze'//nagareru
 'flow'//nageru 'throw'//nagu 'get calm'//naku 'cry'//nameru 'lick'//naoru 'become
 corrected'//narabu 'line up'//naru 'to sound'//nigeru 'escape'//nigiru 'grasp'//
niru 'resemble'//noboru 'ascend'//nomeru 'fall (on one's face)'//nomu 'to gulp'//
nozoku 'remove'//nozomu 'gaze'//nugu 'remove'//nuku 'uproot'//nureru 'get wet'//
nuru 'get loose'//oboreru 'drown'//ochiru 'fall'//odoru 'to dance'//okiru 'rise'//
okoru 'get angry'//oku 'leave'//orabu 'howl'//oriru 'come down'//osu 'push'//ou
 'cover'//paturu 'to urge'//sagaru 'dangle'//sakarau 'go against'//saku 'tear'//
sameru 'wake up'//sarasu 'bleach'//saru 'move'//sawagu 'disturb'//sawaru 'obstruct'
 //seku 'to hurry'//shikoru 'get hard'//shiku 'spread'//sogu 'cut'//subomu 'taper
 off'//sugiru 'exceed'//suku 'to like'//suku 'get thin'//suru 'rub'//susumu 'ad-
 vance'//suu 'suck'//tadayou 'float'//takaru 'swarm'//takeru 'rave'//taku 'kindle'
 //tameru 'waver'//taoru 'fall down'//taru 'be enough'//-taru 'drip'//tataeru
 'get filled'//-tiru 'weep'//toboru 'burn'//tojiru 'bind'//togeru 'achieve'//toku
 'undo'//torokeru 'melt'//toru 'take'//tsudou 'congregate'//tsugu 'follow'//
tsukaeru 'be blocked'//tsukuru 'exhaust'//tsuku 'reach'//tsuku 'affix'//tsuku
 'pierce'//tsumu 'pick'//tsumu 'pile up'//uku 'to float'//umu 'tire of'//ura-raka
 'serene'//uramu 'resent'//ureu 'lament'//uru 'sell'//urumu 'be wet'//useru 'van-
 ish'//utsu 'hit'//utsuru 'change'//wakareru 'branch off'//wakeru 'divide'//waru
 'divide'//wataru 'go across'//varu 'give'//varu 'tear'//yurumu 'deteriorate'.

2.1.10 Other terms (except Numerals and Pronouns, s. below)

ai 'gap'//ama-i 'sweet'//ara 'new'//aru 'a certain'//ada 'enemy'//ato 'track'//
atsu-i 'thick'//awa-i 'faint'//buchi 'spot'//-chi (: mi-chi) 'path'//chika-i
 'near'//furu-i 'old'//fuwa 'soft'//hida 'a fold'//hidari 'left'//hiji 'mud'//
hiku-i 'short'//hiro-i 'broad'//hoka 'outside'//hoso-i 'slender'//ira 'thorn'//
kado 'corner'//kara 'stem (of plants)'//kasa 'a heap'//kasu 'dregs'//kata 'half'
 //kata-i 'hard'//kinu 'silk'//kiyo-i 'clean'//kosu-i 'sly'//kowa-i 'dreadful'//
kubo 'a hollow'//kuwash-i 'precise'//kuzu 'junk'//made 'up to'//maru 'circle'//
mazu 'first'//mazushi-i 'poor'//mizu 'fresh'//-mo 'even'//more-i 'fragile'//
mugashi-i 'happy'//naga-i 'long'//naka 'interval'//nama-i 'raw'//nameraka 'soft'//

ni 'a load'//niko- 'soft'//nori 'gum'//noroi 'slow'//noso- 'slow(ly)'//ō-i 'big'
 //oto 'last; young'//putu-ni 'completely'//sabi 'rust'//-saka 'crest of a bird'//
saki 'promontory'//samu-i 'cold'//sawa- 'refreshing'//sewashi-i 'busy'//shi 'and'
 //shiro-i 'white'//shiwa 'wrinkle'//shizu-ka 'quiet'//soko 'depth'//soyo- 'soft-
 (ly)'//suga- 'refreshing'//sukoshi 'a little'//sumi 'corner'//surudo-i 'sharp'//
suzushi-i 'cool'//tadashi-i 'right'//taka-i 'tall'//tō-i 'far'//tsubu 'grain'
tsui- (: tsui-ni) '(in the) end'//tsuto 'suddenly'//uchi Middle'//udu 'rare'//uti-
 'start off'//uto-i 'distant'//waka-i 'young'//wake 'meaning'//wakura(ni) 'by
 chance'//waru-i 'bad'//wazuka 'small'//yo-i 'good'//yowa-i 'soft'//yu 'hot water'.

2.1.11 Numerals

futatsu '2'//hito, hitotsu '1; individual'//itsutsu '5'//mutsu '6'//yatsu '8'//
yotsu '4'.

2.1.12 Pronouns and Demonstratives

a- : a-no 'that'//iku- 'some'//mi 'I; we'//na 'you' (2nd sg)//na-(ni) 'what'//ono
 'self'//so- : so-no, so-re 'that'//woti 'there'.

2.1.12.1 Pronouns and Demonstratives, additional information

According to Lewin (1959, 1), personal pronouns proper were no longer in use in the OJ language. However, several denominal and demonstrative derivatives evolved to express the 1st and the 2nd person. It is pointed out further (p. 52 ff.) that the term "pronomen", as used in the European terminology, does not really cover the J term daimeshi, since the group of words involved on the J side cannot be separated morphologically and syntactically from that of the nouns.

In connection with entry a- (a-no, a-re 'that') we have seen the opposition J, OJ a- : U o/u, and, tentatively, PSam *a- in *ana-. By way of further clarification, the translation of one of Lewin's remarks concerning the demonstratives (roughly: also pronouns) shall stand here: "The characteristic trait of the J demonstratives is that they form a triad which is not limited to the personal demonstratives, but also comprises the real, local, and directional ones. They all reveal an original reference to a) the speaker (1st person), b) the listener-collocutor (2nd person) or c) an outsider (3rd person). This threefold division, which in most cases marks the spacial--and even the temporal--distance relative to the utterance of the speaker, becomes evident even in the 3rd person personal demonstrative. The reason lies in the origin of this last group, for originally they were real demonstratives that have acquired a secondary personal function, as the J language knows no primary personal pronoun of the 3rd person" (pp. 53-4).

In order to give a broader view, I adduce from Lewin, Ōno, and Miller those J, OJ pronouns which have the promise of becoming useful for our purpose.

1st person: mi (?), wa, wa-re, ono, ono-re 'I' (where ono itself is probably a formation, containing the gen./attr. marker no; Ōno gives ond as alternating with ana),
wa-nu; ōno~ana "

2nd person: na, na-re 'you, thou',

3rd person: so, so-re 'he, she, that'

sa, su, si " " " (so stands in ablaut relationship with the bound forms sa, su, si, actually being its allomorphs; s. Lewin op.c. 55).

Miller (1971, 157) says that OJ mi 'I' is attested from as early as 725, and as "1-p. sg. may be cited from a wide variety of texts, embracing virtually the entire history of the language."--This mi has been mistaken for OJ mi 'body', but the two words are not identical. Accordingly, mi stands in line with OJ wa~wanu (1st person: Miller ibid.).--On the U side, one posits:

1st person: *m₁, (fuller form:) *mo-n (cf. Fi mi-nä 'I'),
 2nd person: *t₁, { " " : } *to-n { " Fi si-nä 'you; thou', }
 3rd person: *s₁, { " " : } *so-n { " Fi hä-n 'he; she' }.

If OJ mi 'I' is accepted as 1st person pronoun, then we have mi, na, so facing U *m₁, *t₁, *s₁. The conspicuous difference here is between n- and *t-. The explanation could be that OJ na has to do with Vg na- and Os nō- (s. entry na 'you').--As regards the evidently pronoun forming elements -no/-na/-nu vs U *n-, s. Pronoun Formants in Morphology.

3. PHONOLOGY

Notes: a) In the following listings, all (numbered) items begin with the J side; b) apart from the guide words of each entry important variants (or assumed variants) have also been adduced, as seemed necessary; c) in pairs of words where the U side begins with a consonant, Ø on the J side is assumed to stand for a lost initial consonant; d) where neither side begins with a consonant, the hypothesis of original consonantal onset is weak, while an original vocalic onset is probable; e) prothetic elements have been disregarded; f) on the U side, either the reconstructed, or some other representative, form appears.

3.1 LISTING of the (treated) ENTRIES for a PHONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

3.1.1 Listing according to initials

3.1.1.1 ZERO INITIAL CONSONANT

J, OJ Ø- in: 1. a- : U *o or *u//5. agaru, agu : Ug *kaŋa-// 6. ago : FU *oŋa-13
7. ai- : U *ōwō//9. aku : U *ane//10. akubu : PSam *āŋka-//11. ame/a : Fi
juma-la//12. ama-i, uma-i : U *ipse//14. amo : U *emā//15. amu : U *āimā
//16. amu- : Fi ampu//17. ane : U *aŋa//18. ani : U *eŋā//20. ara- : FU
*alka-//21. -are : FU *ala-//22. aru : FU *salka-//23. aru : Hu vala-//24.
asa : Zr asuv//25. ase : FU *āā-//26. ashi : U *ackale//27. ada : Hu
āāz//28. ataeru : FU *amta-//29. atama : FU *āiā-30. atari : FU
*onta(1a)//32. ato : U *utka//33. atsu-i : Lp *gasso, ? FU *kese//34. au
: U *sone-//35. awa-i : FU *sopp-//OJ e- : U *e-//49. eru~uru : Hu ēr-
//120. ie : U *wop-//122. ike : FU *jāŋka-//123. ikioi : FU *wāke//124.
ikiru : FU *ikā-//126. iku (s. yuku) Ug *jukt-//127. imasu : OsE amās//128. imō-
: Lp ime//129. imu (s. yumu) : OHu im-//130. inu, inasu : Hu enyész-//131.
inu : Fi peni//132. OJ ipamu : Hu iv-//133. OJ ipī : PSam *ām-//134. ira
: Ug *ela-//135. iro : FU *Bire//136. iru : Fi vala-//138. ishi : U *waska
//139. itamu : Hu bitos//142. ito : U *jānte//143. itoshi-i : Hu édés//144
itsutsu : FU (?) *witte//145. OJ itu (s. yutu) : OHu *ūd-id-//147. iu
(s. yobu) : Hu üvölt-//149. izanau : Hu üzen-//347. obi : FU (?) *wūka-//
349. ochiru : U *āca-//351. ō-i : FU *appe//354. oki : U *win-//359. ono
: PSam *ānā-//360. OJ opu : Hu vehem//361. orabu : Hu ordít-//362. oriru
: U *ala-//363. oru : FU *wora-//368. osu : Hu unszol-//369. oto- : FU
*eē-//370. ōu : Hu ov-//526. uchi : U *junča-//527. ude : PSam *utā-//528.
OJ udu : U *ūde-//529. ueru : Hu éh-//530. uji : Md undoks//531. uku : U
*uje-//532. umi : PSam *jām-//533. umu : Zr um-//534. umu : U *sāje-//537.
ura : FU *ara-//538. ura : U *wūlā-//539. ura(raka) : Hu örül-//540. uramu
: Hu üröm//541. uranau : FU *arā-//542. ureu : FU *šurō-//543. uru : Hu áru
//544. urumu : Zr ul-//546. useru (cf. wasuru) : Hu vesz-//547. ushi : FU
*uā-//548. ushiro : Ug āā-3//550. OJ uti- : Hu ucu//551. uto-i : Hu utál-
//552. utsu : Hu üt-//553. utsuro : FU *omte//555. uzuku : Hu viszket-.

J, OJ Ø- : 60x vs (U side) Ø-;
18x vs " v-, w-, ā- (No.s: 23, 29, 120, 123, 131, 135, 136, 138,
139, 144, 347, 354, 360, 363, 528, 538, 546,
555);
6x vs " ā-, ā-, ā- (No.s: 19, 22, 34, 35, 534, 542);
5x vs " i- (No.s: 11, 126, 142, 526, 532);
2x vs " k-/ g- (No.s: 5, 33).

Note: Entries 46, 47, 146 in which we see J Ø-, OJ v- appear under v-; entries 115, 137, 345, 346, 350, 352, 353, 358, 364, 365, 366, 371, 549 in which we see J Ø-, OJ w- appear under w-.

3.1.1.2 Y- (= J-) INITIAL CONSONANT

J y-, OJ y- : 46. OJ yē (J e-) : PSam *jē-//47. OJ yē (J e) : U *joke//126. yuku (s. iku)
J Ø- : Ug jukt-//129. OJ yumu (s. imu) : OHu im-//145. OJ yutu (s. itu)
: OHu *ūd-id-//146. OJ yubu (s. iu, iwaeru) : Hu ihany//147. yobu
(s. iu) : Hu üvölt-//570. yōu (s. wepu) : FU *juke-//574. ya : PSam
*ā-//575. yabu : Hu gyép//576. yaku : FU *arū-//577. yamu : U *jama-//

578. varu : Hu jár-//579. varu : Hu gyarat-//580. vaseru : Ug *syš-
//581. yatsu : Ug *jála//582. yatsusu : Hu játsz-//583. yo : FU *oðð
//584. yo, yoru : FU *üje//585. yo- : Ug *jom-//586. yotsu : FU
*neljä//587. yowa- : Hu gyáva//588. yu : PSam *ju-//589. yubi : PSam
*mpšja//590. OJ yuki : Hu tégéz//591. yuki : FU *jáne//592. yume :
PSam *juite-//594. yuu : Hu gyapot.

J y-, OJ y- : 11x vs (U side) j-;
J ø- : 8x vs " ø- (No.s: 129, 145, 146, 147, 576, 583, 584, 589);
4x vs " gy-/d/ (No.s: 575, 579, 587, 594);
3x vs " h-, n- (No.s: 574, 581, 586);
1x vs " t- (No. : 590);
1x vs " s- (No. : 580).

3.1.1.3 K-/G- INITIAL CONSONANT

J k-, OJ k- : 8. (a)kinau : Hu kínál-//121. (i)gamu : Hu gamó//125. (i)ku- : U *ku-
J g-, OJ (g-) : //151. ka : FU *kōj-//151. -ka/-ga : Zr -ka//152. ka : U *kaja-//153
kabi : U *kumpa//154. kado : FU *kača//155. kadowakasu : Hu hoz-//156.
kaduku : PSam *pāt-//157. kagi : kakó, gagó//158. kai : PSam *kšpsa-
//159. kaji < OJ ka : PSam *kājwā//160. kajiku : PSam *kājta-//161. kama
: Hu keménce//162. kakaru : FU *akta-//163. kamo : Hu gém//164. kara
: U *kur-//165. kara : FU *kor-//166. kareru : U *kole-//167. kari :
U *kurkō//168. karu : FU *kul-//169. karu : FU *kol-//170. kasa :
FU *kaswa-//171. kaseru : U *kuška//172. kasipa : FU *kod-//173. kasu
: Hu kosz//174. kasumu : Hu gōz//175. kata : Lp gadde//176. kata- :
U *pālā//177. kata- : U *konta-//178. katama : U *kača//179. katamu :
Hu hazud-//kataru : PSam *ket-//181. katsu : U *kattā-//182. kau : Hu
kap-//183. kau : Hu kap-//184. kawa : Fi kymi//185. kawa : U *kopa//
186. kawaku : Fi kuiva//187. kazaru : Hu koszorú//188. kaze : PSam
*káč-//189. ke : Zr gen//190. kemuru : Hu gömöröd-//191. keru < kuweru
: Hu kapál-//192. ki : U *k-//193. kiku : U *koyō//194. kinu : Ug
*kijn-//195. kiou : Hu viv-//196. kirau : Hu gyüöl-//197. kiri : OsE
käl//198. kiru : PSam *ker-//199. kisou : Ug *kiša//200. kitsune :
FU *kačwa//201. kiyo- : Hu kies//202. kizu : Hu kezd-//203. ko : U
*kojema//204. kobotsu : Hu kop-//205. kobu : FU *kupina//206. kogeru
: U *keje-//207. (ko)goru : FU *kirte//208. kou : Hu gubó//209.
korasu : Hu korhol-//210. OJ -kōrd : OsE kóras//211. korobu : FU
*kerke-//212. kōru < kōporu : göböröd-//213. koshi : Zr gač//214.
kosu- : PSam *ket-//215. koto : U *kele//216. kou : FU *kyjyō//217.
kowa- : Hu kibekéd-//218. koyasu : FU *kuje//219. kubo : U *kuma//
220. kuda : U *pučkō//221. kuguru : Hu gugol-//222. kui : FU *kōp-//
223. kujiro : Ug *kuta-//224. kumo : FU *kuma//225. kumu : Hu him(us)
//226. kuneru : FU *kinä//227. kura : Hu góre//228. kuru : Hu gyüri//
229. kuru : U *kälä//230. kusa : Hu gaz//231. kushi : Hu fésü//232.
kuso : U *kuñe//233. kusu : U *kowsō//234. kusuburu : U *kačku//235.
kuu : U *kupsa-//236. kuwa : Hu kapa//237. kuwaeru : Hu kuporit-//
238. kuwashi- : FU (?) *kep-//239. kuzu : U *puč-//355. (o)kuru :
Ug *kälä-//356. (o)koru : Hu harag-//357. (o)ku : U *kača-//507.
(tsu)ki : U *kune.

J k-, OJ k- : 84x vs (U side) k-/g-;
J g-, OJ (g-) : 7x vs " */kw/ (No.s: 156, 176, 195, 220, ? 225, 231, 239);
3x vs " h- (No.s: 155, 179, 356; in each case Hu h- < k-);
2x vs " gy-/d/ (No.s: 196, 228);
1x vs " ø- (No. : 162).

3.1.1.4 M- INITIAL CONSONANT

J m-, OJ m- : 13. (a)maru : PSam *mēr-//36. madara : Hu pétty//240. ma : U *marč
//241. machi : U *woča//242. made : FU *muč-//243. majinau : FU *mus-

244. majiru : Hu vegy-//245. maku : Os mongol//246. makura : PSam *pājñā//247. maneku : U *manz-//248. maru : Ug *merə//249. masu : PSam *māncə//250. masu : U *onča//251. matou : Hu batyu//252. matsu : U *oca-//253. matsu : FU *mečā//254. mazu : FU *βetā-//255. mazu-shi- : Hu vész//256. me : PSam *māncə//257. me : U *minā//258. meguru : FU *monka//259. mi : U *minā//260. mina : Hu mind//261. mine : FU *miñz//262. miru : FU *muja-//263. misogu : U *muške-//264. mitsuru : Zr bid-//265. mizu : U *wete//267. -mo : OsE -pa//268. moguru : FU *puke-//269. mono : Hu monó//270. mori : Hu mór-//271. moru : Ug *Barz-//272. more- : U *mura(-)//273. moru : Ug *myrə-//274. moru : FU *mulz-//275. moto : U *wančə//276. motomeru : FU *wačə//277. motoru : Hu vissza//278. motsu : U *mučə-//279. muchī : FU *Bacə//280. muga- : Hu vig//281. muku : FU *mu//282. mukuro : FU *munčə//283. mune : U *minz(-)//284. mune : PSam *mā-//285. mura : U *parwa//286. mushi : U *munčə//287. musubu : FU *pitā-//288. mutsu : PSam *m3kt3t//289. mutsu- : Fi mutso//290. muzukaru : Hu bosszú//291. (u) mu : U *meke-//292. mijika- : Vg šijā.

J m-, OJ m- : 31x vs (U side) m-;

14x vs " v-, w-, β-, Ø- (No.s: 241, 244, 250, 252, 254, 255, 265, 271, 275, 276, 277, 279, 280, 569);

6x vs " p-

3x vs " b- (No.s: 36, 246, 267, 268, 285, 287);

3.1.1.5 N- INITIAL CONSONANT

J n-, OJ n- : 291. na : Hu nē//292. na- : Vg ne//293. na : Vg na//294. -na : FU *nā//295. na : U *nime//296. nabaru : FU *lāppə(-)//297. nadameru : FU *lonča//298. nadareru : PSam *nensə//299. nadu : PSam *notā-//300. naeru : Hu lefēg//301. naga- : Hu nagy//302. nagameru : FU *nāke-//303. nagareru : Os nayrəl-//304. nageru : FU *lūkkə-//305. nagu : FU *nunz-//306. naka : Fi nikama//307. naku : FU *(ā)ne//308. nama- : FU *leme//309. nameraka : Lp nemok//310. nameru : U *nola-//311. namī : Hu láb-//312. naoru : U *lappz-//313. narabu : Hu nyaláb//314. narū : U *le(rā)//315. narū : Hu nesz, nyerit-//316. nau : Ug *nekə//317. ne : Hu lē//318. negau : Os lōy//319. nemuru : Yn noma//320. OJ nerč : U *nere//321. ni : Vty nyu-//322. nigeru : FU *lāktə-//323. nigiru : PSam *nek-//324. niko- : Hu nyik//325. nire : U *nərs//326. niru : Os ni//327. nobiru : Hu nōv-//328. noboru : U *numə//329. nomeru : Hu nyom-//330. nomi : Vty nymy//331. nomu : PSam *nim-//332. OJ -nōpu : Hu nap//333. nori : FU *nyla//334. noro- : Hu nyir-kad-//335. -noru : MdM noru//336. noso- : Hu lassú//337. nozoku : Lp naeske-//338. nozomu : Hu lāt-//339. nugu : Fu *nūjə//340. nuka- : PSam *nika-//341. nuku : Hu lyuk, luk//342. numa : U *lampə//343. nureru : FU *nurmə//344. nuru : Hu nyárjad-//345. (u) nagasu : Hu nyaggat-.

J n-, OJ n- : 40x vs (U side) n-, ŋ-

15x vs " ŋ-, ŋ- (No.s: 296, 297, 300, 304, 308, 311, 312, 314, 317, 318, 322, 336, 338, 341, 342).

3.1.1.6 P- INITIAL CONSONANT

J f-, OJ p- : 2. (a) biru : Hu füröd-//3. (a) buru : PSam *pārā//4. (a) fureru : U *paljə//36. buchi, OJ puti : Hu petty//50. fukeru : FU *puñz//51. fuku : U *puwə//52. fukumu : Ug *puñz//53. fukuro : FU *pākkə//54. fumu : PSam *pājma//55. fune : FU *vene//56. fureru : FU *pārə//57. furu : Ug *pālə//58. furu : Hu forog-//59. furu- : Zr porys//60. fushi : Hu büty-//61. fusu : U *pučə//62. futa : FU *penti-//63. futatsu : FU *kakta//64. futo- : Ug *pālə//65. fuwa- : Hu puha//66. ha : U *pu//67. ha(ne) : FU *puna//68. ha : FU *pine//69. haeru : Hu fai-//70. haeru : FU *pājə//71. hagu : Hu heged-//72. hagu, hegu : Ug

pej3-//73. hajimeru : FU *panč3//74. haku : FU *pakka-//75. haneru : FU *kan3-//76. hara : FU *wer3//77. hara : Os parak//78. hareru : PSam *p3r//79. hari : Hu horog//80. hari : U *woič3//81. haru : Ug *p3rk3-//82. hashī : Zr pos//83. hatasu : U *pač3k3//84. hatsuru : FU *wač3-//85. hazu : U *po3a-//86. heri : Fi *v3re//heru : Vg pari//88. heso : Ug *š3č3//89. hetsurau : Hu hizeleg-//90. hi : FU *p3-//91. hi : Zr bi//92. hida : U *pič3//93. hidari : PSam *w3t3-//94. hiji : FU *puč3ka(-)//95. hiji : Vty *pič3s//96. hikaru : Hu vigvor-//97. hiku : FU *š3k3-//98. hiku- : Hu hīg//99. hineru : Hu vén//99a. hineru : U *puna-//100. hire : FU *pelj3//101. hiro- : PSam *pir3//102. hiru : FU *wał3ka//103. hirumu : U *pele//104. hitasu : Hu ūgy//105. hito : Hu 3gy//106. ho : U *p3n3//107. hodoku : PSam *puč3-//108. hogo : Hu foh3s3-//109. hoka : Os p3n3l//110. hoko : Yn f3k3ddib3//111. homeru Zr vomid3//112. horobu : Hu por//113. horu : U *par3-//114. hoshi : U *kunc3//115. hoshii : Hu f3sv3ny//116. hoso- : U *koń3č3//117. hosu : FU *piš3-//118. hotsureru : U *poč3-//119. (i)buru : FU *pič3//148. (i)wa, OJ (i)pa : U *pyr3//225. himo (?~kumu) : Hu him(us)//346. (o)boreru : Hu ful(1)3d-//372. OJ pataru : FU *punc3-//373. /J putu : U *weń3č3.

J f-, OJ p-} 55x vs (U side) p-, b-, f-;
 J b-, OJ (b)-} 16x vs " v-, w-, 3-, h- (No.s: 55, 71 (?), 76, 80, 84, 86, 88,
 J h- 89, 93, 96, 97, 98, 99, 102, 111, 373);
 6x vs " */kw/- (No.s: 63, 75, 79, 114, 116, 225(?));
 2x vs " 3- (No.s: 104, 105).

3.1.1.7 R- INITIAL CONSONANT (?)

J r-, OJ r-: 2x vs (U side) r- in: 545. (u)rusa- : FU *roč3//593. (yu)rumu : Hu rom-, rumb-.

3.1.1.8 S- INITIAL CONSONANT

J s-, OJ s-: 367. (o)soreru : Hu sz3rnyű//374. sabaku : Hu szab-//375. saberu : Ug *saš3//376. sabi : FU *š3pp3-//377. saeru : Vg sajik//378. saga : Hu szag//379. sagaru : Hu szak-//380. saka : FU *š3nka//381. -saka : Hu cs3k3//382. sakarau : Hu szegűl-//383. sakau, seku : Hu szeg(3ly)//384. saki : U *senk3//385. saku : Ug *sakk3//386. sameru : Hu šber//387. samu- : Hu zimank3//388. sane : U *š3n3//389. sao : FU *sauw(ŋa)//390. sarasu : FU *š3r3-//391. saru : Hu sz3ll-//392. sasu : Hu s3s//393. sato : Lp sita//394. satosu : Hu szid-//395. sawa : PSam *š3m3//396. sawagu : Hu zabak3l-//397. sawaru : Hu zavar-//398. saya : FU *šuka//399. se, so- : FU *š3nk3//400. seku : FU *š3j3-//400. semeru : Hu szem3r-//402. seru : szorog-//403. sewashi- : Hu seb3s//404. shi : Hu dial. si//405. shibireru : Hu zsibbad-//406. shika : Fi sika//407. shik3ru : Hu szigor-//408. shiku : Hu s3k//409. shima : Lp č3ma//410. shinabiru : U *š3n3//411. shinobu : csen-//412. shinu : Hu siny-//413. shiri : Zr šer//414. shiro- : FU *č3lk3//415. siwa : U *š3je//416. shizuka : Hu cs3nd//417. OJ siku : Hu dial. sikosul-//418. OJ sipi : Hu dial. csepe//419. OJ sirč : Vg tir//420. so(re) : FU *š3//421. sode : U *šud3//422. sogu : FU *č3nk3-//423. soko : Hu sz3k//424. sonaeru : Hu sz3n-//425. sora : Vg t3r3m//426. sou : Fi sopu//427. soyo- : Ug *soj3k//428. su, suku : FU *š3n3//429. su, suyu : Ug *č3š3//430. subomu : FU *čupa//431. sue : U *šuma//432. suga- : FU *šukeš3//433. sugiru : FU *čuk3k3//434. suji : FU *j3š3//435. sukeru : FU *č3nk3-//436. suki : Md soka//437. sukoshi : Hu szűk//438. suku : Hu szok-//439. suku : FU *š3ne//440. sumi : Vg š3m//441. sumu : PSam *šum3//442. sumu : Fi (a)su, U *aš3-//443. sune : U *š3ne//444. suneru : Hu suny-//445. suri : U *šul3//446. suru : U *š3le-//447. surudo- : FU *šurš3a//448. susumu : U *č3č3-//449. suu : Hu sziv-//450. suzushi- : PSam *tet3š3-.

J s-, OJ s-: 50x vs (U side) s-, s-, z-;
J sh- 23x vs " c-, d-, s-, z- (No.s: 376, 380, 381, 392, 400, 403,
404, 405, 408, 410, 411, 412, 414,
416, 417, 418, 422, 429, 430, 433,
435, 448);
3x vs " t- (No.s: 419, 425, 450);
1x vs " j- (No. 434);
1x vs " ø- (No. 386).

3.1.1.9 T- INITIAL CONSONANT

J t-,OJ t-: 31. (a)taru : U *tule-//37. -chi : Fi tie, te//38. chibiru : Hu tēp-
J d-,OJ (d) //39. chichi : U *ceča//40. chigiru : Hu igēr-//41. (chi)jimu : Hu
J ts- tōp-/42. chika- : U *takka//43. chiru : Hu tōr-//44. deru, OJ (i)du
J ch- : FU *(i)tā-//45. OJ -dura : Hu csurka//140. (i)taru : Hu (ō)dōiō,
? OsE tālaysewal//141. (i)teru : FU *tālwa//388. tane (s. sane) : U
*sānə//451. ta : Km dū //452. taberu : FU *sewe-//453. tabi : Yr
tōbar//454. tadashi- : Fi tosi, tote//455. tadayou : Hu tūtaj//456.
OJ tade : Hu csādē//457. tagau : Hu tagad-//458. -tai : Yr tāj//459.
taka- : Hu dagad-//460. takaru : FU *čukkrə//461. takeru : Hu dūh//
462. taku : Lp tsakka-//463. tamerau : Hu tāmolyog-//464. tanomu :
U *tuna-//465. tanoshi- : Hu danol-//466. taoru : Hu tipor-//467.
OJ tapē : FU *sepā//468. tarasu : Hu csal-//469. taru : U *tūre //
470. taru : Ug *talə//471. -taru, tareru : U *corə-//472. tataru :
Hu tetēz-//473. tate : Hu tetō//474. tatsu : FU *sāncə-//475. tatsu
: PSam *tānsə//476. tawakeru : Ug *tepə-//477. tazaneru : U *tūmtə-
//478. teru : Hu derül-//479. OJ -turu : Zr tširišt-//480. toboru :
Hu gyapon-//481. toge : FU *tekə-//482. togeru : Hu tōkēl-//483.
tō- : U *to//484. tojiru : OHu tod-//485. OJ tōkō : FU *tine//486.
tokoro : Ug *takə//487. toku : Hu tąg//488. toro : Ug *sarə//489.
torokeru : FU *sula(-)//490. toru : U *sala//491. toshi : Ch tošto//
492. tsu : U *toβə//493. tsubo : FU *cuppə//494. tsubu : FU *čūppə-//
496. tsuchi : FU *čōčō-//497. tsuchi : FU *čučə//498. tsudou : Hu
tōdul-//499. tsue : MdE tšovolə//500. tsugeru : Hu sūg-//501. tsugu :
U *tonə-//502. tsugunau : U *torə-//503. tsui- : PSam *tāpə//504.
tsuka : U *sukkō//505. tsuka : Hu csuka//506. tsukaeru : FU *tunke-//
508. tsukuru : Hu tikkad-//509. tsuku : U *sayə//510. tsuku : Ug
*sukka-//511. tsuku : Ug *iukka-//512. tsuku- : Fi tykkä//513. tsuku-
ru : FU *teke-//514. tsume : PSam *topə//515. tsumu : FU *čūppə(-)//
516. tsumu : FU *temə(-)//517. tsura : FU *sura//518. tsuru : FU
*tarə-kə//519. tsuru : FU *čura//520. tsurugi : Hu tōr//521. tsuto :
Hu csuta//522. tsuto : PSam *təntə-//523. (tsu)tsuru : Hu dōg//524.
tsuyu : FU *towkə//525. OJ tumu : FU *sojma//554. (u)tsuru : Hu csere

J t-, OJ t-	53x	vs	(U side)	t-, d-;	
J d-, OJ (d-)	18x	vs	"	<u>č</u> -, <u>č</u> -, <u>tš</u> -, <u>ts</u> -, <u>c</u> -	(No.s: 39, 45, 456, 460, 462, 468, 471, 479, 493, 484, 496, 497, 499, 505, 515, 519, 521, 554);
J ts-					(No.s: 388, 452, 467, 474, 488, 489, 490, 500, 504, 509, 510, 517, 525);
J ch-	13x	vs	"	<u>š</u> -, <u>ś</u> -, <u>s</u> -	(No. 480);
	1x	vs	"	~~gy~~ - / <u>d</u> -/	(No. 511);
	1x	vs	"	<u>i</u> -	(No. 40).
	1x	vs	"	<u>ø</u> -	

3.1.1.10 W- INITIAL CONSONANT

J w-, OJ w-: 113. OJ weru (s. horu) : U *parə-//115. OJ wosi : Hu fösvény//137. OJ
J ø-: wiru : U *elä-//345. OJ wo(ro) : FU *po(a)//346. OJ woba : PSam *äpə//
350. OJ wödu(r) : Hu heder-//352. OJ wodi : Hu bátva//353. OJ woke :
MäE vekan, Fi vakka//358. OJ wönd : Os wänw//364. OJ wosa : U *idä//

365. OJ wosi : FU *wajce//366. OJ wosipu : FU *oñca-//371. OJ wopu : Hu avul-//546. wasureru, OJ wasuru (s. useru) : Hu vesz-//549. OJ woso : U *puča//556. J dial. wachi, OJ wati (cf. hedateru) : FU *pačə//557. wada : U *Bačə//558. waka- : Fi vika//559. wakareru : Hu vakar-//560. wake : Vg vā'i//567. wakeru : Ug *wənkə-//562. waki : Zr bok//563. OJ wakura- : Hu yakul-//564. waru : Hu vāl-//565. waru- : PSam *walə-//566. wata : FU *wada//567. wataru : FU *wanča-//568. waza : FU *mučə//569. wazuka : Hu vézna//570. OJ wepu (s. you) : FU *juke-//571. OJ wori : FU *Bore//572. OJ wosu : Fi oša//573. OJ woti : Hu ott.

J w-, OJ w- : 16x vs (U side) v-, w-, ß-;
J ø- : 8x vs " p-, b-, f-, h- (No.s: 113, 115, 345, 350, 352, 549, 556, 562);
7x vs " ø- (No.s: 137, 346, 364, 366, 371, 572, 573);
1x vs " m- (No. 568);
1x vs " j- (No. 570).

3.1.2 Listing according to first syllable vowels

Note: The listing of vowel correspondences even of the first syllable can only be approximately complete. Both sides have variant forms in numerous entries, and not all items on the U side have reliable reconstructed forms, at least not from the greatest time depth. Also, it is frankly admitted in U linguistics that the research of the history of the vowels in U is made extremely difficult by the fact that --for reasons as yet unknown--the vowels of PU alternated, as it seems, in a quite whimsical way. The J side is in a similar situation. One possible explanation could be sought in playful word creation which unwittingly could have served as a way toward diversification and expansion of the vocabulary.

3.1.2.1 (-)a- FIRST SYLLABLE VOWEL

J (-)a-, OJ (-)a-: 1. a- : U *o or *u//5. agaru : Ug *kanə//6. ago : FU *onə-lə//7. ai : U *ōwo//9. aku : U *ame//10. akubu : PSam *änkə-//11. ame : Fi jumala//12. ama- : U *ipse//13. (a)maru : Hu marad-; PSam *mər-//14. amo : U *emä//15. amu : U *šimä//16. amu- : Fi ampu//17. ane : U *aňa//18. ani : U *eňa//19. aogu : FU *evä (?) FU *sapčə; U *sörö//20. ara- : FU *alka-//21. are : FU *alə-//22. aru : FU *galkə-//23. aru : Hu vala-//24. asa : Zr asuv//25. ase : FU *äčə//26. aši : U *ačkele//27. ada : Hu ádáz//28. ataeru : FU *amta-//29. atama : FU *šičəmə//30. atari : FU *ontə//31. (a)taru : U *tule-//32. ato : U utka//33. atsu- : Lp *(g)asso//34. au : U *sone//35. awa- : FU *soppə- or *šappə-//66. ha : U *pu//67. ha(ne) : FU *puna//68. ha : FU *pine//69. haeru : Hu faj-//70. haeru : FU *päjə//71. hagu : Hu heged-//72. hagu : Ug *pejə- (?)//73. hajimeru : FU *pančə//74. haku : FU *pakka-//75. haneru : FU *kanə//76. hara : FU *werə//77. hara : Os parək//78. hareru : PSam *pər-//79. hari : Hu horog//80. hari : U *woič//81. haru : Ug *pyrkə-//82. hashi : Zr pos//83. hatašu : PSam *pačə//84. hatsuru : FU *wačə-//85. hazu : U *posə-//121. (i)gamu : Hu gamó//140. (i)taru : Hu (š)dölö, (e)delö//148. (i)wa : U *pyrö//150. -ka : FU *kőjə//151. -ka/-ga : Zr -ka/-ka//152. ka : U *kaja-//153. kabi : U *kumpa//154. kado : FU *kača//155. kadowakasu : Hu hoz-, hasz-//156. kaduku : PSam *pšt-//157. kagi : Hu kákó, kakó//158. kai : PSam *kšpsə//159. kaji : PSam *kājwə//160. kajiku : PSam *kājčə//161. kama : Hu kemence//162. kakaru : FU *akta-//163. kamo : Hu gém//164. kara : U *kurə//165. kara : FU *kore//166. kareru : U *kole-//167. kari : U *kurčə//168. OJ karu : FU *kulə-//169. karu : FU *kola-//170. kasa : FU *kaswa//171. kaseru : U *kuka//172. OJ kasi(pa) : FU *kuča(kka)//173. kasu : Hu kosz//174. kasumu : Hu gőz, Vty kvaz(?)

//175. kata : Lp gadde//176. kata : U *pälä//177. kata : U *konta//
 178. katama : U *kača//179. katamu : Hu hazud-//180. kataru : PSam
 *ketä-//181. katsu : U *kattä-//182. kau : Hu kap-//183. kau : Hu
kap-; kavar-; ? Fi kävü-//184. kawa : Os kaen//185. kawa : U *kopa//186.
kawaku : Fi kuiya//187. kazaru : Os känčä//188. kaze : PSam *käčä//
 235. kamu (s. kuu) : U *kupsa-//240. ma : U *mayä//241. machi : U
 *woča//242. made : FU *mučä//243. majinau : FU *musä-//245. maku :
 Os mongol//246. makura : PSam *päjnä//247. maneku : U *manä-//248.
maru : Ug *merä//249. masu : PSam *mäncä//250. masu : U *(w)lonča//
 251. matou : Hu batvu//252. matsu : U *oča-, ? FU *wičä-//253. matsu
 : FU *mečä//254. mazu : FU *Betä-//255. mazushi- : Hu vész, veszély
 //256. me/a : PSam *mencä-//291. -na : Hu ně//292. na : Vg ne, na-//
 293. na : Vg na-, Os nö-//294. -na : FU *nä//295. na, ? namae : U
 *nime//296. nabaru : FU *läppä(-)//297. nadameru : FU *lofča//298.
nadareru : PSam *hensä-//299. nadu : PSam *notä//300. naeru : Hu
lefög-, lafog-//301. naga- : Hu nagy//302. nagameru : FU *näke-//303.
nagareru : Os nagyal-, Hu legel-//304. nageru : FU *lökk-//305.
nagu : FU *hunjä//306. naka : Os levä//307. naku : FU *(ä)ne, Hu nyög
 //308. nama : FU *leme//309. nameraka : Lp nemok//310. nameru : U
 *nola-//311. nami : Hu láb-//312. naoru : U *läppä, *lapa//313.
narabu : Hu nyaláb//314. naru : U *le(yä)-//315. naru : Hu ne-sz,
nyerit-//316. nau : Ug *näkä-//317. pataru : FU *pundä-//317. sabaku
 : Hu szab-//317. saberu : Ug *sačä//317. sabi : FU *čappä-//317.
saeru : Vg sajik//318. saga : Hu szag//319. sagaru : Hu szak(a)-//380.
saka : FU *čynka//381. -saka : Hu csákó//382. sakarau : Hu szegül-//
 383. sakau : Hu szegély//384. saki : U *senkä//385. saku : Ug *sakkä
 //386. sameru : Hu ébred-//387. samu : Hu zimankó, zamankó//388.
sane : U *šänä//389. sao : FU *sawma//390. sarasu : FU *sarä-//391.
saru : Hu szál(l)-//392. sasa : Hu sás//393. sato : Lp sita//394.
satosu : Hu szidal-, Md súdo-//395. sawa : PSam *sämä//396. sawagu
 : Hu zabakol-//397. sawaru : Hu zavar-//398. saya : FU *šuka//451.
ta : Km čw, ? Md -da//452. taberu : FU *sewe-//453. tabi : Yr töbar
 //454. tada : Fi tosi, tote-//455. tadayou : Hu tutaj//456. tade : Hu
csádé, dudu//457. tagau : Hu tagad-//458 -tai : Yr täj//459. taka :
 Hu dagad-//460. takaru : FU *čukkärä//461. takeru : Hu düh//462. taku
 Lp tsakka-//463. tamerau : Hu támolyog-//464. tanomu : U *tuna-//465.
tanoshi- : Hu danol-//466. taoru : Hu tipor-, topor-, tapos-//467. OJ
tapé : FU *šeppä//468. tarasu : Hu csal-//469. taru : U *türe//470.
taru : Ug *talä//471. -taru : U *čora-//472. tataeru : Hu tetéz-//473
tate : Hu tetš//474. tatsu : FU *sačä-//475. tatsu : PSam *täncä//
 476. tawakeru : Ug *tepiä-//477. tazuneru : Hu tud-, U *tumtä-//513.
takumu (s. tsukuru) : FU *teke-//536. (u) nagasu : Hu nyaggat-//556.
wachi (s. hedateru) : FU *pačä//557. wada : U *šäčä//558. waka : Fi
vika//559. wakareru : Hu vakar-//560. wake : Vg wä-, Yr šantšä//561.
wakeru : Ug *wänkä-//562. waki : Zr bok, bek//563. wakura : Hu vakul-
 //564. waru : Hu väl-//565. waru : PSam *wälä-//566. wata : FU *wäčä
 //567. wataru : FU *wänčä-//568. waza : FU *mučä//569. wazuka : Hu
vénä//574. ya : PSam *hätä//575. yabu : Hu gyöp, gyepü//576.
yaku : FU *änk-//577. yamu : U *jama-//578. varu : Hu jär-, ? FU
 *jor-//579. varu : Hu gyarat-//580. vaseru : Ug *šväčä-//581. yatsu :
 Ug *nalä//582. yatsusu : Hu jätsz-//587. yawa (s. yowa-) : Hu gyäva.

J/OJ (-)E-: 85x vs (U side) a (incl. Hu ä);
 49x vs " e, ä (incl. é, ë; ö in as much as it comes from é),
 (No.s: 10, 14, 15, 18, 19, 25, 70, 71, 76, 140,
 159, 161, 163, 174, 176, 248, 249, 253, 254,
 255, 291, 292, 294, 296, 298, 300, 302, 307,
 308, 309, 314, 315, 316, 382, 383, 384, 386,
 388, 452, 467, 472, 473, 476, 513, 566, 569,
 585, 576);
 33x vs " o, ä (No.s: 1, 6, 30, 34, 35, 79, 80, 82, 83, 85,
 155, 165, 166, 169, 172, 173, 177, 185, 188,

- 241, 245, 246, 250, 252, 297, 299, 310, 453, 454, 471, 475, 562);
- 25x vs (U side) u, i (~v; u; incl. that kind of Hu i which comes from i which itself comes, at least in part, from U *a) (No.s: 1, 11, 31, 32, 66, 67, 148, 153, 164, 167, 168, 171, 186, 235, 242, 243, 305, 372, 385, 387, 394, 398, 451, 455, 460, 464, 466, 477, 568);
- 11x vs " e (~d), ɜ (a type) (No.s: 7, 13, 19, 78, 150, 156, 158, 180, 256, 395, 574);
- 8x vs " i (No.s: 12, 29, 68, 295, 389, 393, 461/ü < i/, 558);
- 4x vs " *u (No.s: 81, 338, 380, 580);
- 2x vs " ü (No.s: 304, 469).

3.1.2.2 (-)E- FIRST SYLLABLE VOWEL

- J (-)e-, OJ (-)e-: 12. (?) OJ epi : U *ipse//44. deru : FU *(i)tä-//46. e-, OJ ye : PSam *je//47. e-, OJ ye : U *joke//48. OJ e- : U *e-//49. eru, OJ e (s. uru) : Hu ér-//72. hegu, OJ pegu (s. hagu) : Ug *peja-//84. hetsuru (s. hatsuru, paturu) : FU *wač//86. heri, OJ peri : Fi (Volga) *vere//87. heru, OJ peru : Vg pari//88. heso~hozo, OJ poso : Ug *pač//89. hetsurau, OJ peturapu : Hu hizeleg-//113. OJ weru (s. horu) : U *par-//141. (i) teru : FU *tälwä//189. ke, OJ ké : Zr gen, ? Ug *kaj//202. kezuru, OJ kéduru (s. kizu) : Hu kezd-//256. me, ma, OJ mé, ma : PSam *mōncā-//257. me, OJ mé (cf. OJ mina) : U *miñä//258. meguru, OJ méguru : FU *monka//317. ne, OJ ne, na, nē : Hu lě//318. negau, OJ negapu : Os lōy, Hu legény//319. nemuru : Tv ambu//320. OJ nerē : U *nere//399. se, so-, OJ se, sē, sōku : FU *sānk//400. seku : FU *šijā-//401. semeru, OJ semu : Hu szémér-, szēm-//402. seru (s. shirogu) : Hu serény, sürög-, szorog-//403. sewashi-, OJ sepa-si : Hu sebēs//478. teru, OJ teru : Hu derül-//556. hedateru, OJ pédaturu (s. wachi) : FU *pač//570. OJ wepu (s. yōu, yōpu) : Yn jebi-.

- J (-)e-, OJ (-)e- : 17x vs (U side) e, ě, ä (incl. Hu ě; ä < ě) (OJ ě in 46, 48; OJ ě in 202; unmarked e in 44, 48, 72, 86, 141, 317, 318, 320, 399, 401, 402, 403, 478, 570);
- 6x vs " a; (OJ ě in 556; OJ ě in 189; unmarked e in 12, 89, 400);
- 4x vs " i; (OJ ě in 257; unmarked e in 12, 89, 400);
- 2x vs " o; (OJ ě in 47, 258);
- 1x vs " ɜ; (OJ ě in 256);
- 1x vs " *u (88).

3.1.2.3 (-)I- FIRST SYLLABLE VOWEL

- J (-)i-, OJ (-)i-: 2. (a) biru : Hu für-/för-/fir-//8. (a) kinau : Hu kinál-//37. -chi : Fi tie, te (Veps)//38. chibiru : Hu tép-, tibáz-//39. OJ (-)i- chichi : U *čečē//40. chigiru : Hu igér-//41. (chi) jimu : Hu töp-/tép-//42. chika : U *takka //43. chiru : Hu tör-/tēr-//58. hiru : Hu forog-, fēr-//90. OJ pī, J hi : FU *po (jka)//91. OJ pī, J hi 'sun' (cf. OJ pī, po, pu, J hi, ho 'fire') : Zr bi, Hu fény, flny//92. hida : FU *pāč or *pač//93. hidari : PSam *wātā-//94. OJ pāi, J hi : FU *pučka (-) or *pačka (-)//95. OJ pāi, J hi : Vty *pides//96. OJ pīkaru, J hikaru : Hu vigyor-//97. OJ pīku, J hiku : FU *šike-//98. niku : Hu hig, higgad-//99. OJ pīne-, J hineru : Hu vén, vín//99a. hineru, OJ pīneri : U *puna-//100. OJ pīre, J hire : FU *peljä//101. OJ pīrē-, J

hiro- : PSam *pir3//102. OJ piru, J hiru : FU *waŋka//103.
hirumu <pirumu, cf. OJ (o)biyu : U *pele-//104. hitasu, OJ pita-
su : Hu ügy, igv//105. OJ pito, J hito : Hu gyv, igv//116.
hisashi-, OJ pisa- (s. hoso-) : U *koŋc3//117. hiru, OJ piru (s.
housu) : FU *pišā- (cf. PSam *pi-, *pirā-)//120. ie, OJ ipe : U
wop3//122. ike, OJ iké : FU *jānkā//123. ikioi, OJ ikipopi :
FU *wāke//124. ikiru, OJ iku : FU *ikā//126. iku (s. yuku) : Ug
*jukt3-//127. OJ imasu : OsE aməs, PSam *amt3-//128. imō-, OJ
imō : Lp ime//129. imu, OJ imu~yumu : OHu im-//130. OJ inu : Hu
enyész-//131. inu, OJ inu : Fi peni, PSam *wən//132. OJ ipamu :
Hu iv-, ivat-//133. OJ ipā : PSam *em-//134. ira, OJ ira : Ug
*el3//135. iro, OJ irō : FU *šire or *šere//136. iru, OJ iru :
Fi vala-//137. iru, OJ wiru (s. oru, wori) : U *elā-//138. ishi,
OJ isi : Zr iz-; U *waska//139. itamu, OJ itamu : Hu bitos, Vty
vit-//142. ito, OJ itō : U *jānte//143. itoshi-, OJ itō- : Hu
édés, idés//144. itsutsu, OJ itu(tu) : FU *witte//145. OJ itu :
OHu *ūd-, *id-//146. iu, iwaeru, OJ yupu : Hi ihany//147. iu, OJ
ipu (cf. yobu, OJ yōbu) : Hu ihel-, ? üvölt-//148. izanaau, OJ
izanaup : Hu izen-, izen-//192. OJ kī, kō, kē, J kī, ku- : U
*ke, *ka, *kojwa//193. OJ kiku, J kiku : U *koŋ3//194. OJ
kīnu, J kīnu : Ug *kūn3//195. OJ kipopu, J kiou : Hu viv-, vivō
//196. OJ kīrapu, J kīrau : Hu gyūlöl-, gyilöl-//197. OJ kīri :
OsE kələ//198. OJ kīru, J kīru : OsE kīr-, PSam *ker-//199.
kisou : Ug *kiš3//200. OJ kītune, kūtune, J kitsune : FU *kaōwa
//201. OJ kīyō-, J kīyo- : Hu ki(j)es//202. kizu, kizamu : Cs. OJ
kēduru, ? kīdā : Hu kezd-//257. OJ mīna, muna : U *miñā//258.
259. OJ mī, mū, J mī : U *minā or *myna//260. OJ mīna, J mīna :
Hu mind, OHu mund, ? Sk muntik//261. OJ mīne, J mīne : FU *miñ3
//262. OJ mī, mīru, J mīru : FU *muja-//263. misogu, OJ misogu :
U *muške- or *moške-, PSam *mas3-//264. OJ mītu, J mitsuru :
Zr bid-//265. OJ mīdu, J mizu : U *wete//266. OJ mīdu, J mizu- :
Hu vidām, vidul-//321. nī, OJ nī, nō : Vty nu-, nū-, Zr nop,
neh//322. nigeru, OJ nigu (s. nogasu, OJ nogaru) : FU *lākt3-//
323. nigiru, OJ nigīru : PSam *nek- or *nek-//324. niko-, OJ
nīkō-, nīkī : Hu nyik, nyikos, PSam *nēnk3//325. nire : U *nēr3
//326. nīru, OJ nī, nīru : Os nī-, nī-//335. (o)kīru, OJ (o)ku
(s. okoru, OJ okoru) : Ug *kālā-//402. shirogu (s. seru) : Hu
šürög, širiny//403. shi, OJ si : Hu dial. si//405. shibireru,
OJ sipu : Hu zsibbad-//406. shika, OJ sika : Fi sika, Md tuvā//
407. shikoru : Hu szigor, ? Ug *čunkar3//408. shiku, OJ siku :
Hu sik, sikos//409. shima, OJ sima : Lp šoma, FU *sum3//410.
shinabiru, OJ sinayu : U *čgn3-//411. shinobu, OJ sinobu : Hu
csen-//412. shinu, OJ sinu : Hu siny-, seny-//413. shiri, OJ
siri : Hu sarok, Zr šer//414. shiro-, OJ širō- : FU *člks3-//
415. shiwa, OJ siwa : U *šije//416. shizu(ka), OJ sidu- : Hu
csēnd, csōnd, csīndes//417. OJ -siku : Hu dial. sikosul-//418.
OJ sipi : Hu dial. csepe//419. OJ širō : Vg tir, ? Os jir//479.
OJ -tīru : Hu sīr-, širō, Zr tširišt-//494. chiisa-, OJ tipisa-
(s. tsubu, tubu) : FU *čgpp3//507. OJ -kī (s. tukf), J (tsu)ki :
U *kume//515. shibaru, OJ sibu (s. tsumu, tumu) : FU *čgpps(-)
//519. -jiri < ziri (s. tsuru) : FU *čwrs3//551. itowashi-, OJ
itōpa-, itōpu : Hu utāl-//569. OJ mzika-, J mijika- (s. wazuka-,
OJ waduka-) : Vg šis.

J (-i-, OJ (-i-)) :
OJ (-i-)
OJ (-i-)

29x vs (U side) u, i (~y; incl. OHu i) (OJ i in 94, 95, 96, 97,
195, 262, 264, 266, 569;
OJ i in 259, 260, 507;
unmarked i in 8, 92, 98, 99a, 126, 132,
139, 146, 263, 321, 324, 405, 407, 408,
409, 417, 551);
23x vs " e, ē, ä (incl. Hu ē; ö) (OJ i in 100, 105, 265;
OJ i in 99; unmarked i in 38, 39, 41, 43,

hiro : PSam *pir3//102. OJ piru, J hiru : FU *wa'ka//103.
hirumu <pirumu, cf. OJ (o)biyu : U *pele-//104. hitasu, OJ pita-
su : Hu ügy, igy//105. OJ pito, J hito : Hu egy, igy//116.
hisashi-, OJ pisa-(s. hoso-) : U *koñd3//117. hiru, OJ piru (s.
housu) : FU *pišä- (cf. PSam *pi-, *pirä-)//120. ie, OJ ipe : U
wop3//122. ike, OJ iké : FU *jänkä//123. ikioi, OJ ikipopi :
FU *wäke//124. ikiru, OJ iku : FU *ikä//126. iku (s. yuku) : Ug
*jukt3-//127. OJ imasu : OsE aməs, PSam *amt3-//128. imō-, OJ
imō : Lp ime//129. imu, OJ imu~yumu : OHu im-//130. OJ inu : Hu
enyész-//131. inu, OJ inu : Fi peni, PSam *wən//132. OJ ipamu :
Hu iv-, ivat-//133. OJ ipä : PSam *em-//134. ira, OJ ira : Ug
*elä//135. iro, OJ irō : FU *šire or *šere//136. iru, OJ iru :
Fi vala-//137. iru, OJ wiru (s. oru, wori) : U *elä-//138. ishi,
OJ isi : Zr iz-; U *waska//139. itamu, OJ itamu : Hu bitos, Vty
vit-//142. ito, OJ itō : U *jante//143. itoshi-, OJ itō : Hu
édés, idés//144. itsutsu, OJ itu(tu) : FU *witte//145. OJ itu :
OHu *üd-, *id-//146. iu, iwaeru, OJ yupu : Hi ihany//147. iu, OJ
ipu (cf. yobu, OJ yōbu) : Hu ihel-, ? üvölt-//148. izanaau, OJ
izanapu : Hu izen-, izen-//192. OJ kí, kō, kē, J ki, ku : U
*ke, *ka, *kojwa//193. OJ kiku, J kiku : U *koj3//194. OJ
kinu, J kinu : Ug *kñ3//195. OJ kipopu, J kiou : Hu viv-, vivō
//196. OJ kirapu, J kirau : Hu gyölöl-, gyilöl-//197. OJ kíri :
OsE kələ//198. OJ kíru, J kiru : OsE kir-, PSam *ker-//199.
kisou : Ug *kiš3//200. OJ kítune, kutune, J kitsune : FU *kaōwa
//201. OJ kíyd-, J kiyo : Hu ki(j)es//202. kizu, kizamu : Cs. OJ
kéduru, ? kída : Hu kezd-//257. OJ mína-, muna : U *miñä//258.
259. OJ mí, mü, J mi : U *minä or *myña//260. OJ mína, J mína :
Hu mind, OHu mund, ? Sk muntik//261. OJ míne, J míne : FU *miñä
//262. OJ mí, míru, J miru : FU *muja-//263. misogu, OJ misogu :
U *muške- or *moške-, PSam *mas3-//264. OJ mítu, J mitsuru :
Zr bid-//265. OJ mídu, J mizu : U *wete//266. OJ mídu, J mizu :
Hu vidám, vidul-//321. ní, OJ ní, nō : Vty nu-, nü-, Zr nop,
neh//322. nigeru, OJ nigu (s. nogasu, OJ nogaru) : FU *lakt3-//
323. nigiru, OJ nigíru : PSam *nek- or *nek-//324. niko-, OJ
níko-, níki : Hu nyik, nyikos, PSam *nēnk3//325. nire : U *nēr3
//326. niru, OJ ní, niru : Os ní-, ní-//335. (o) kíru, OJ (o) ku
(s. okoru, OJ okoru) : Ug *kälä-//402. shirogu (s. seru) : Hu
šürög-, siriny//403. shi, OJ si : Hu dial. si//405. shibireru,
OJ sipu : Hu zsibbad-//406. shika, OJ sika : Fi sika, Md tuvä//
407. shikoru : Hu szigor-, ? Ug *čunk3//408. shiku, OJ siku :
Hu sík, sikos//409. shima, OJ sima : Lp šoma, FU *šum3//410.
shinabiru, OJ sinayu : U *čgn3-//411. shinobu, OJ sinobu : Hu
csen-//412. shinu, OJ sinu : Hu siny-, seny-//413. shiri, OJ
siri : Hu sarok, Zr šer//414. shiro-, OJ siro : FU *člks-//
415. shiwa, OJ siwa : U *šije//416. shizu(ka), OJ sidu : Hu
csēnd, csōnd, csīndes//417. OJ siku : Hu dial. sikosul-//418.
OJ sipi : Hu dial. csepe//419. OJ sirō : Vg tir, ? Os jir//479.
OJ tíru : Hu sír-, síro, Zr tširišt-//494. chiisa-, OJ tipisa :
(s. tsubu, tubu) : FU *čgpp3//507. OJ -kí (s. tukf), J (tsu) ki :
U *kume//515. shibaru, OJ sibu (s. tsumu, tumu) : FU *čgpps(-)
//519. -jiri < ziri (s. tsuru) : FU *čw3//551. itowashi-, OJ
itopa-, itōpu : Hu utál-//569. OJ mizika-, J mijika-(s. wazuka-,
OJ waduka-) : Vg šis.

J (-i-, OJ (-i-)) :
OJ (-i-)
OJ (-i-)

29x vs (U side) u, i (~y; incl. OHu i) (OJ i in 94, 95, 96, 97,
195, 262, 264, 266, 569;
OJ i in 259, 260, 507;
unmarked i in 8, 92, 98, 99a, 126, 132,
139, 146, 263, 321, 324, 405, 407, 438,
409, 417, 551);
23x vs " e, ē, ä (incl. Hu ē; ö) (OJ i in 100, 105, 265;
OJ i in 99; unmarked i in 38, 39, 41, 43,

			103, 122, 123, 124, 130, 134, 137, 142, 202, 322, 323, 355, 411, 416, 418);
21x	vs (U side)	<u>i</u>	(OJ <u>i</u> in 91, 198, 201, 257, 261; OJ <u>i</u> in 101; unmarked <u>i</u> in 37, 40, 117, 128, 129, 135, 143, 144, 148, 199, 326, 403, 406, 412, 419, 479);
7x	vs	" <u>a</u>	(OJ <u>i</u> in 102, 200; OJ <u>i</u> in 192; unmarked <u>i</u> in 42, 127, 136, 138);
7x	vs	" <u>ü</u>	(OJ <u>i</u> in 196; unmarked <u>i</u> in 2, 104, 145, 147, 402, 415);
6x	vs	" <u>o</u> , <u>a</u>	(OJ <u>i</u> in 90, 193; unmarked <u>i</u> in 58, 93, 116, 120);
5x	vs	" <u>e</u> , <u>ə</u> , <u>a</u>	(OJ <u>i</u> in 197; unmarked <u>i</u> in 131, 133, 325, 413);
4x	vs	" * <u>ü</u>	(OJ <u>i</u> in 194; unmarked <u>i</u> in 410, 494, 515);
1x	vs	" * <u>u</u>	(unmarked <u>i</u> in 519);
1x	vs	" * <u>ə</u>	(unmarked <u>i</u> in 414).

3.1.2.4 (-)0- FIRST SYLLABLE VOWEL

J (-)0-, OJ (-)0-:	59. OJ <u>poru</u> (s. <u>furu</u> -, <u>puru</u> -): Zr <u>põrys</u> //88. <u>hozo</u> , OJ <u>poso</u> : Ug * <u>Bõc</u> //91. <u>ho</u> , OJ <u>po</u> (s. <u>hi</u> , <u>pi</u>): Zr <u>bi</u> , Hu <u>fény</u> , <u>finy</u> //106. <u>ho</u> , OJ <u>po</u> : U * <u>pān</u> //107. <u>hodoku</u> , OJ <u>podoku</u> : PSam * <u>puc</u> - or * <u>poc</u> -//108. - <u>hogu</u> , OJ <u>poku</u> : Hu <u>fohász</u> -, <u>fukász</u> -//109. <u>hoka</u> , OJ <u>poka</u> : Os <u>põn</u> //110. OJ <u>pok</u> , J <u>hoko</u> : Yn <u>fókoddibo</u> //111. <u>home-ru</u> , OJ <u>pomu</u> : OHu <u>wimád</u> -, Zr <u>vomidz</u> //112. <u>horobu</u> , OJ <u>porobu</u> : Hu <u>por</u> , <u>pur</u> , <u>par</u> -//113. <u>horu</u> , OJ <u>poru</u> : U * <u>par</u> -//114. <u>hoshi</u> , OJ <u>posi</u> : U * <u>kunde</u> //115. <u>hoshii</u> , OJ <u>posi</u> : Hu <u>fösvény</u> //116. <u>hoso</u> -, OJ <u>poso</u> : U * <u>koñc</u> -//117. <u>hosu</u> , OJ <u>posu</u> : FU * <u>piš</u> -//118. <u>hotsu-reru</u> : U * <u>poča</u> -//137. OJ <u>wori</u> , J <u>oru</u> : FU * <u>wolc</u> -//147. OJ <u>yobu</u> , J <u>yobu</u> (s. <u>iu</u> , <u>ipu</u>) : Hu <u>ihel</u> -, ? <u>üvölt</u> -//203. OJ <u>kó</u> , J <u>ko</u> (cf. OJ (-)ki) : U * <u>ko(jem)</u> //204. <u>kobotsu</u> , OJ <u>kopotu</u> : Hu <u>koboz</u> -, <u>kop-</u> //205. <u>kobu</u> : Hu <u>hupolag</u> , FU * <u>kupina</u> //206. OJ <u>kógaru</u> , J <u>kogareru</u> : U * <u>keje</u> -//207. OJ <u>kóru</u> , J (ko) <u>goru</u> : FU * <u>kirte</u> //208. OJ <u>kómu</u> , J <u>kómu</u> : Hu <u>gom</u> -, <u>gub</u> -//209. OJ <u>kóru</u> , J <u>korasu</u> : Hu <u>korhol</u> -, <u>kurhol</u> -//210. OJ <u>kórd</u> : OsE <u>kóras</u> , ? U * <u>kura</u> //211. <u>korobu</u> , <u>korogaru</u> (s. <u>guru</u> -) : FU * <u>kerke</u> -//212. OJ <u>kóporu</u> , J <u>kóru</u> : Hu <u>gember</u> -//213. OJ <u>kósi</u> , J <u>koshi</u> : Hu <u>has</u> , Zr <u>gatš</u> , <u>gač</u> //214. <u>kosu</u> : PSam * <u>ketš</u> //215. OJ <u>kótd</u> , J <u>koto</u> : U * <u>kele</u> //216. OJ <u>kópu</u> , J <u>kou</u> (cf. <u>kópu</u> , <u>kou</u>) : FU * <u>kyir</u> or * <u>keje</u> (-)//217. <u>kowashi</u> - (s. <u>kibi-shi</u> -, <u>kewashi</u> -) : Hu dial. <u>kib</u> -, <u>kibekéd</u> -//218. OJ <u>kóyu</u> , J <u>koya-su</u> : FU * <u>kuj</u> //267. OJ - <u>mó</u> , J - <u>mo</u> : OsE - <u>pa</u> -, - <u>pš</u> //268. <u>moguru</u> (s. <u>muguru</u>) : FU * <u>puke</u> -//269. OJ <u>mónd</u> , J <u>mono</u> : Hu <u>monó</u> , <u>manó</u> //270. <u>mori</u> , OJ <u>mori</u> : Hu <u>mór</u> -, Lp <u>muorá</u> -//271. <u>mori</u> , OJ <u>mori</u> : Ug * <u>bar</u> -//272. OJ <u>mord</u> , J <u>moro</u> : U * <u>mura</u> (-)//273. <u>moru</u> : Ug * <u>myra</u> //274. <u>moru</u> : FU * <u>mul</u> -//275. OJ <u>mótd</u> , J <u>moto</u> : U * <u>wand</u> -//276. OJ <u>motómu</u> , J <u>motomeru</u> : Hu <u>vagy</u> , FU * <u>wad</u> -//277. <u>motoru</u> : Hu <u>vissza</u> , <u>viszál</u> -//278. OJ <u>mótu</u> , J <u>motsu</u> : U * <u>mul</u> -//322. OJ <u>nóku</u> , J <u>nokeru</u> : FU * <u>läkt</u> -//327. <u>nobiru</u> , OJ <u>nóbu</u> : Hu <u>növ</u> -, <u>nev</u> -//328. OJ <u>nóboru</u> , J <u>noboru</u> : U * <u>num</u> -//329. <u>nomeru</u> : Hu <u>nyom</u> -, FU * <u>nom</u> -//330. <u>nomi</u> : Zr <u>nom</u> , Vty <u>nymy</u> //331. OJ <u>nómu</u> , J <u>nomu</u> : PSam * <u>nim</u> -//332. OJ - <u>nópu</u> : OHu <u>napu</u> , Hu <u>nap</u> //333. OJ <u>nóri</u> , J <u>nori</u> : FU * <u>nyla</u> //334. <u>noru</u> - (s. <u>nuru</u> -) : Hu <u>nyirkad</u> -, Mdm <u>nola</u> //335. OJ - <u>nóru</u> , J - <u>noru</u> : Mdm <u>noru</u> //336. <u>nosu</u> : Hu <u>lassú</u> , OHu <u>lossú</u> , Vg <u>lász</u> //337. OJ <u>nózőku</u> , J <u>nozoku</u> : Lp <u>naeske</u> -//338. <u>nozomu</u> , <u>nozoku</u> : U * <u>lytt</u> -//345. OJ <u>wo(r)</u> : FU * <u>poła</u> //346. OJ <u>woba</u> , J <u>oba</u> : PSam * <u>apš</u> //347. OJ <u>obi</u> , J <u>obi</u> : FU * <u>wün</u> //348. OJ (o) <u>boru</u> , J (o) <u>boreru</u> : Hu <u>ful(l)ad</u> -//349. OJ <u>otu</u> , J <u>ochiru</u> (cf. OJ <u>otóru</u>) : U * <u>ad</u> -//350. OJ <u>wódr</u> , J <u>odoru</u> : Hu <u>heder</u> -//351.
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OJ opo-, J ō- : FU *appe//352. OJ wodi, J oji : Hu bátya, bács//353. OJ woke~uke, J oke~uke : Fi yakka, MdE vakan//354. OJ oki : U *wina//355. OJ (o) kōru, J (o) koru, (o) kiru : Ug (?FU) *kālā-//356. OJ (i) karu, J (i) karu, (o) koru : OHu horogu-, Hu harag(-)//358. OJ wōnč, J ono : Vg vāntēp, Os wanāw//359. OJ ōnč J ono(re) : PSam *ānā-//360. OJ opu : Hu vehem//361. orabu, J orabu : Hu orūt-, Os oray-//362. OJ oru, J ōrau : U *ala//363. oru : FU *sora(-)//364. OJ wosa, J osa : U *ičā//365. OJ wosi, J oshi : FU *wajice//366. OJ wosipu, J oshieru, osowaru : FU *ōnča- or *ōča-//367. OJ (ō) sōru, (o) soreru (cf. ōdōrōku) : Hu szörnnyű, szernnyű//368. osu : Hu unszol-, oszu-//369. OJ ōtō-, J oto- : FU *ečs//370. OJ opu, opopu, J ōu : Hu ov-, ōv-, Fi apu-//371. OJ wopu, J owaru (s. OJ woyu, woyasu, J oyu) : Hu avul-, ? FU *sona//399. OJ sč? J se, so-, OJ sōku : FU *sānkā//420. OJ sč (~si), J so- FU *sč, ? *su//421. OJ sōde, J sode : U *sučē//422. OJ (-) sōku, J sogu, soguru : FU *čānkā-//423. OJ sōkč, J soko : Hu szék, szik//424. OJ sōnapu, J sonaeru : Hu szán-, PSam *ton//425. OJ sōra, J sora : Vg tōrēm//426. OJ sōpu, sopu, J sou : Fi sopu//427. soyo- (~ saya-) : Ug *sojū//480. OJ tōnosu, J tomoru, toberu : Hu gyapon, tomvad-//481. OJ tōga, J togaru : FU *tekā-//482. OJ tōgu, tōgē, toqu, J toguru : Hu tökél-//483. OJ tōpč, J tō- : Hu tova, távol, U *to//484. OJ tođu, J tojiru : OHu tōd-, Hu told-//485. OJ tōkč : FU *tine//486. OJ tōkōrč, J tokoro : Ug *takā//487. OJ tōku, J toku : Hu tágul-//488. toro : Ug *sarā//489. torokeru : FU *sula(-)//490. OJ tōru, J toru : U *sala//491. OJ tōsi, J toshi : Ch tošto//509. OJ tōku (s. tsuku, tuku) : U *saya//570. ClJ yofu, J you (s. OJ wepu) : FU *juke-//571. OJ wōri, wōrč : FU (?U) *šore//572. OJ wosu : Hu osz-, Fi osa, Liv voza//573. OJ woti : Hu ott//583. OJ yč, J yo : FU *ōčč//584. OJ yč(ru), J yo(ru) : FU *ijē//585. OJ yč, J yo- : Ug *jo(m) or *ja(m)//586. OJ yč(tu), J yotsu : FU *neljā//587. OJ yowa-, J yowa-~yawa- (s. OJ yapa-) : Hu gyáva.

J (→)o-, OJ (→)č- OJ (→)č- OJ (→)o-]	33x vs (U side) <u>o</u> , <u>a</u> (OJ <u>č</u> in 425; OJ <u>č</u> in 110, ? 112, 209, 210, 269, 332, 335, 358, 359, 361, 425, 426, 483, 583, 585; unmarked <u>o</u> in 108, 109, 270, 329, 330, 345, 351, 353, 356, 363, 366, 370, 427, 484, 491, 571, 572, 573);
21x vs	" <u>č</u> , <u>č</u> , <u>e</u> , <u>č</u> , <u>a</u> (incl. Hu <u>č</u> < <u>č</u>) (OJ <u>č</u> in 212, 215, 322, 337, 350, 355, 367, 369, 399, 423, 481, 482, 586; unmarked <u>o</u> in 106, 115, 211, 327, 346, 349, 360, 422);
17x vs	" <u>a</u> (incl. Hu <u>a</u>) (OJ <u>č</u> in 213, 275, 362, 424, 480, 486, 487, 490; unmarked <u>o</u> in 271, 276, 336, 352, 365, 371, 488, 509, 587);
14x vs	" <u>u</u> (OJ <u>č</u> in 218, 421; OJ <u>č</u> in 107, 208, 278, 328; unmarked <u>o</u> in 114, 268, 272, 274, 348, 368, 489, 570);
5x vs	" <u>i</u> , <u>ü</u> (OJ <u>č</u> in 584; OJ <u>č</u> in 207, 331, 485; unmarked <u>o</u> in 91, 217, 347, 354, 364);
4x vs	" <u>i</u> (~ <u>y</u>) (OJ <u>č</u> in 333; unmarked <u>o</u> in 111, 277, 334);
3x vs	" * <u>y</u> (OJ <u>č</u> and <u>č</u> in 216; unmarked <u>o</u> in 273, 338);
3x vs	" <u>č</u> , <u>e</u> , <u>č</u> (OJ <u>č</u> in 267; unmarked <u>o</u> in 59, 214);
2x vs	" * <u>č</u> (OJ <u>č</u> in 420; unmarked <u>o</u> in 88).

3.1.2.5 (-)U- FIRST SYLLABLE VOWEL

J (→)u-, OJ (→)u-: 2. (a) bu, (a) mu, furo (s. abiru) : Hu für-, fir-//3. (a) buru : PSam *pērā-//4. (a) fureru : U *paljā//12. uma- (s. ama-) : U

*ipse//36. buchi, OJ puti : Hu pëttü, poty-//45. OJ -dura : Hu dial. csurka//49. uru, OJ u (s. eru) : Hu ér- (? ur)//50. fukuru
 FU *pumä-//51. fuku : U *puwä- or *puwä-//53. fukuro : FU *päkkä
 //54. fumu : PSam *päimä//55. fune : FU *vene-//56. fureru : FU
 *pärrä-, ? *pärrä-//57. furu : Ug *pälä-//58. furu : Hu forog-//
 59. furu- : Zr pörys//60. fushi, fusa : Hu bütyök, butuk//61
fusu : U *pučä//62. futa : FU *pentä-//63. futatsu : FU (?U)
 *kakta//64. futo- : Ug *pułä//65. fuwa- : Hu puha//108. OJ -puki
 (s. -hogu) : Hu dial. fukász-//119. (i) busu, (i) buru : FU *pičä
 //125. (i) ku : U *ku-, *ko-//126. yuku (s. iku) : Ug *juktä-//
 145. OJ yutu (s. OJ itu) : OHu *üd-, *id-//146. yuu (s. iu,
iwaeru) : Hu ihany//191. OJ kuwu (s. keru) : Hu kapál-//219.
kubo : U *kuma//220. kuda : U *pučkö//221. kuguru : Hu guggol-//
 222. kui : FU *köpa//223. kujiro : Ug *kutä-//224. kumo : FU
 *kumä//225. kumu : OHu himus//226. kuneru : FU *kiñä//227. kura
 Hu górä//228. kuru- : Hu gyürü//229. kuru : U *kälä//230. kusa
 : Hu gaz, guza//231. kushi : Hu fésü, fisü//232. kuso : U *kuñce
 //233. kusu : FU *kowsö//234. kusuburu : U *kačku//235. kuu :
 U *kupaa-//236. kuwa : Hu kapa//238. kuwaeru : Hu kuporit-//238.
kuwashi- : FU *kepä//239. kuzu : U *pučä-//279. muchi : FU *šacä
 //280. muga- : Hu vigad-//281. muku : FU *mu//282. mukuro : FU
 *munkä//283. mune : U *minä(-)//284. mune : OsE min//285. mura
 : U *parwa//286. mushi : U *munčä//287. musubu : U *pitä-//288.
mutsu : PSam *mäktät//289. mutsu- : Fi mutso//290. muzukaru : Hu
bosszú, buszu//339. nuğu : FU *nujä-//340. nuka- : PSam *nikä//
 341. nuku : Hu lyuk, Ch luk//342. numa : U *lampö//343. nureru
 : FU *turmö//344. nuru : Os näres-//357. (o) ku : U *kača-//373.
putu- : U *weñcs//428. su, suku : FU *sänä//429. su, suyu (s.
šio, sipo) : Ug *šabä//430. subomu : FU *čupa//431. sue : U
 *suma//432. suga- : FU *sukeše//433. sugiru : FU *čukkä//434.
suji : FU *jäse//435. sukeru : FU *čänkä-//436. suki : Md soka//
 437. sukoshi : Hu szükös//438. suku : Hu szok-, szuk-//439.
suku : FU *säne//440. sumi : Vg säm//441. sumu : PSam *sumä//
 442. sumu, su : Fi (a) su, U *(a)šö-//443. sune : U *söne//444.
suneru : Hu suny-//445. suri : U *sulä//446. suru : U *šele-//
 447. suru(do-) : FU *surä//448. susumu : U *šacä-//449. suu :
 Hu sziwo-, szop-//450. suzu-(shi) : PSam *tetsä-//493. tsubo :
 FU *cuppä//494. tsubu (s. chiisa-, tipisa-) : FU *čuppä//496.
tsuchi : FU *šöčö//497. tsuchi : FU *čyčä or *čüčä//498. tsudou
 : Hu tódul-//499. tsue : MdE tšovolo//500. tsugeru : Hu sug-//
 501. tsugu : U *tonö-//502. tsugunau : U *toyö-//503. tsui- :
 PSam *täpä//504. tsuka : U *šukkö//505. tsuka : Hu csuka//506.
tsukau : FU *tunke-//508. tsukiru : Hu tikkad-//509. tsuku : U
 *saryä-//510. tsuku : Ug *šukkä-//511. tsuku : Ug *šukkä-, Hu
gyak-, gyuk-//512. tsuku- : Fi tykkä, Vty džek//513. tsukuru :
 U *teke-//514. tsume : PSam *topä//515. tsumu : FU *čuppä(-)//
 516. tsumu : FU *temä(-)//517. tsura : FU *šurä//518. tsuru :
 FU *taräkä//519. tsuru (s. -jiri) : FU *čurä//520. tsurugi : FU
 *terä//521. tsuto : Hu csuta//522. tsuto : PSam *täntä-//523.
 (tsu) tsuga : Hu dög//524. tsuyu : FU *towkä//525. OJ tumu : FU
 *šojma//526. uchi : U *jünčä//527. ude : PSam *utä//528. OJ udu
 : FU *šučä//529. ueru : Hu éh//530. uji : Md undök//531. uku :
 U *uje-//532. umi : PSam *jäm//533. umu : Zr um-//534. umu : Hu
 ev, ? U *säje//535. (u) mu : U *meke-//537. ura : FU *ara//538.
ura : U *wülä//539. ura(raka) : Hu örül-, lp arvo//540. uramu :
 Hu üröm, irém//541. uranau : FU *arä//542. ureu : FU *surö-//
 543. uru : Hu áru, áru-//544. urumu : Zr ul-//545. (u) rusa- :
 FU *ročä//546. useru (s. wasureru) : Hu oson-, usint-//547. ushi
 FU *učä//548. ushiro : Ug *añčä//549. -uso : U *puča//550. OJ
uti- : Hu ucu, uccu, uszu//551. uto- : Hu utäl-//552. utsu : Hu
üt-//553. utsuro : FU *omte//554. (u) tsuru : Hu csere//555.
uzuku : Hu viszket-//555. yu : PSam *ju-//589. yubi : PSam

*unpəjə//590. OJ yuki : Ug *tān(tə)//591. yuki : FU *jāne//592
yume (s. OJ imē) : PSam *ju(jite)//593. (yu)rumu : Hu rom-, rumb-
 //594. yuu : Hu gyapot.

J (-)u-, OJ (-)u-:	59x vs (U side) <u>u</u> ;	
27x vs	" <u>e</u> , <u>ē</u> , <u>ä</u> (incl. Hu <u>ē</u> ; <u>ö</u> < <u>ē</u>)	(No.s: 36, 49, 53, 54, 55, 62, 229, 231, 238, 373, 428, 434, 435, 439, 446, 450, 513, 516, 520, 523, 529, 532, 534, 535, 539, 554, 590, 591); (No.s: 58, 227, 233, 281, 290, 436, 438, 443, 496, 498, 499, 501, 502, 503, 514, 524, 525, 545, 546, 553, 593);
21x vs	" <u>o</u> , <u>ā</u>	(No.s: 4, 63, 191, 230, 234, 236, 279, 285, 342, 344, 357, 429, 440, 448, 509, 518, 537, 541, 543, 548, 594);
20x vs	" <u>a</u> (incl. Hu <u>ā</u>)	(No.s: 146, 225, 280, 284, 340, 449, 508);
8x vs	" <u>i</u> (~ <u>y</u> ; incl. Hu <u>i</u> < <u>ā</u>)	(No.s: 60, 145, 228, 437, 512, 538, 541, 552);
8x vs	" <u>ü</u>	(No.s: ? 56, 57, 64, 510, 511, 519);
6x vs	" * <u>u</u>	(No.s: 3, 59, 222, 288, 442, 522);
5x vs	" <u>ö</u> (~ <u>a</u>), <u>ə</u>	(No.s: 12, 119, 226, 555);
4x vs	" <u>i</u>	(No.s: ? 56, 495, 515).
3x vs	" * <u>ä</u>	

3.1.3 Listing according to the consonants of the primary stems [of (C)VC(V) shape]

Note: Because of possible overlapping, groups marked by -b-, -m-, -p-, -w-, -y- (= -j-) have been put next to one another.

3.1.3.1 -B- MEDIAL CONSONANT

J -b-, OJ -b-: 219. kubo : U *kuma//296. nabaru~namaru : FU *läppi(-)//327.
 J -m-, OJ -m-: nobiru : Hu növ-, nev-//328. noboru : U *num//347. obi : FU(?U)
 *wünä//374. sabaku : Hu szab-//453. tabi : Yr töbar//589. yubi
 : PSam *unpə(jä), Yn úboe.

4x vs (U side)	-(<u>p</u>) <u>p-</u> , <u>-b-</u> ;	
2x vs	" <u>-m-</u>	(No.s: 219, 328);
1x vs	" <u>-ŋ-</u> (* <u>/kw/</u>)	(No. : 347);
1x vs	" <u>-v-</u>	(No. : 327).

3.1.3.2 -M- MEDIAL CONSONANT

J -m-, OJ -m-: 11. ame : Fi jumala//12. ama- : U *ipse//14. amo : U *emä//15.
amu : U *äimä//16. amu- : Fi ampu//41. (chi)jimu : Hu töp-, tép-
 //111. homeru : OHu wimäd-//121. (i)gamu, -gamu : Hi gamó//127.
imasu : OsE amäs//128. imō : Lp ime//129. imu : OHu im-//161.
kama : Hu keménce//163. kamo : Hu gém/kemuru (s. keburu) : Hu
 dial. gömöröd-//208. komu : Hu guba(cs), gomoly-//224. kumo : FU
 *kumə//225. kumu : Hu himēs//235. kamu (s. kuu) : U *kupse//
 308. nama- : FU *leme//309. name(raka) : Lp nemo(k)//311. namí
 : Hu láb-, lábú/nemuru~neburu : Tv rambu, Yn noma//329. nomeru
 : FU *nomə//330. nomi : Vty nymy//331. nomu : PSam *nim-//342.
numa : U *lampō//386. sameru : Hu éber, ébred-//387. samu- : Hu
zimankó//401. semeru : Hu szemér-, Vg (i)semi-//403. sema- (s.
sewashi-, seba-) : Hu sebēs//409. shima : FU *šumə//440. sumi :
 Vg sām//441. sumu : PSam *sumə//463. tameru : Hu támolyog-//
 481. tomoru~tohoru : Hu gyapon-, ? tomvad-//514. tsume : PSam
 *topə//515. tsumu (s. shibaru, shimaru) : FU *cüppə(-)//516.
tsumu : FU *temə(-)//525. OJ tuma : FU *sojma//532. umi : PSam

*jäm//533. umu : Zr um-//534. umu : Hu ev, ? U *säje//576.
 yamu : U *jama-//593. (yu)rumu~(yu)rupu : Hu rom-, rumb-.

J -m-, OJ -m-: 31x vs (U side) -m-;
 8x vs " (p)p, (m)p (No.s: 12, 16, 41, 235, 342, 480,
 514, 515);
 4x vs " b- (No.s: 208, 311, 386, 403);
 1x vs " -h, ? *i (No. : 534).

3.1.3.3 -P- MEDIAL CONSONANT

(Note: The grouping is quite tentative; PFU *-p- has these reflexes: -p-, -v-, -w-, -j-, -ø-/Lakó 1968, 64/; by analogy, similar reflexes of *-p- are posited for the J side, even in entries where only the data on the U side support the assumption.)

J -ø-, OJ -p-:
 J -w-, OJ -w-:
 J -b-, OJ -b-:
 7. OJ api(da), J ai(da) : U *öwö//12. OJ epi (s. ama-, uma-) : U *ipse//19. OJ apuku, J aogu : FU *evä; ? U *söyö; ? FU *sapca//34. OJ apu, J au : U *some//35. OJ apa-, J awa- : FU *šoppa//38. OJ tubu > tibu, J chibiru : Hu táp-, tít-, tibáz-//65. OJ pupa-, J fuwa- : Hu puha//120. OJ ipe, J ie : U *wopä//132. OJ ipamu : Hu iv-, ivat//133. OJ ipí : PSam *öm-//146. OJ yupu, J iu : Hu ihany//147. OJ ipu, J iu : Hu ihel-, ? üvült-//153. kabi : U *kumpa//158. OJ kapi, J kai : PSam *kēps-//182. OJ kapu, J kau : Hu kapa(at)//183. OJ kapu, kaparu, J kau : Hu kap-, kavar-//184. OJ kapa, J kawa : Fi kymi, Os kaem//185. OJ kapa, J kawa : U *kopa//191. OJ kuwu, J xeru : Hu kapálódz-//195. OJ kípopu, J kiou : Hu vívó//204. OJ kopotu, J kobotsu : Hu kop-, koboz-//205. J, OJ kobu : Fi kupla, ? FU kupina//212. OJ kóporu, J kōru : Hu gembērēd-, gibērēd-, göböröd-, gömöröd-//216. OJ kōpu, J kou : FU *kyjō or *keje(-)//217. (Ōno:) kepa-si~kibi-si id., cf. J kowa-i : Hu kib-//222. OJ kupi, J kui : FU *kōpā//235. OJ kupu, J kuu : U *kupsa-//236. OJ kupa, J kuwa : Hu kapa//237. OJ (ta)kupapu : Hu kupor-//238. OJ kupa-, J kuwashi- : FU *kepā//300. OJ napu, J naeru : Hu lefeg-, lafog-//312. OJ naporu, J naoru : U *lapa//316. OJ napu, J nau : Ug *nāka-//332. OJ -nōpu : Ohu nopu, Hu nap//346. OJ woba, J oba : PSam *ápā//351. OJ opo-, J ō- : FU *appe//360. OJ opu : Hu vehem//370. OJ opu, J ou : Hu öy-, PFi *aButta-//371. OJ wopu, J owaru (cf. woyu) : Hu avul-//375. (Ōno:) sapeduru (<sapi-), J saenzuru : Hu szav-, Vg -sāw, Ug *saša//376. OJ sabi, J sabi : FU *čappa-//395. OJ sapa-, J sawa-, saba- : PSam *sēma//397. OJ sapu, saparu, J sawaru : Hu zavar-, zabar-//405. OJ sipu, J shibireru : Hu zsibbad-, zsibo-rog-//418. OJ sipi : Hu dial. csepe//426. OJ sopu, J sou : Fi sopu//429. OJ sipo, J shio (s. su) : FU *čappa//430. OJ subu-, J subomu : FU *čupa//449. OJ supu, J suu : Hu szív-, szop-//452. ? OJ tabu, J taberu : FU *sewe- or *seye-//458. OJ tapi, J -tai : Yr tāi//466. OJ tapuru, J taoru : Hu tipor-, topor-, tapos-//467. OJ tapé : FU *šēppā//476. OJ taparu, J tawakeru : Ug *tepā//483. OJ tōbo-, J tō- : Hu táv-, tov-, cf. U *to//493. OJ tupo, J tsubo : FU *cuppā//494. OJ tipi-sa-, J chii-sa- : FU *čēppā-//499. OJ tuwe, J tsue : Mde tšovo-lo, Vg šop-la, šápél-, -šopél//503. OJ tupi-, J tsui- : PSam *tāpe//570. OJ wepu > ? yopu, J you : ? Yn jebi, ? FU *ju(ke-)//575. OJ yabu, J yabu : Hu gyép, gyepü//587. OJ yapa(raka), J yawa(raka) : Hu gyáva, tyapa, gyapa//594. OJ yupu, J yuu : Hu gyapo(t), gyapa(t).

J -ø-, OJ -p- } 39x vs (U side) (p)p, (m)p, -b-, -f-;
 J -w-, OJ -w- } 16x vs " -v-, -w-, -š-, -h- (No.s: 7, 19, 65, 132, 146,
 147, 195, 360, 370, 371, 375,
 397, 449, 452, 483, 499);
 J -b-, OJ -b- } 4x vs " -m- (No.s: 133, 184, 212, 395);

4x vs (U side) -k-, -ŋ-, -ɣ-, (*kw/) (No.s: 19, 34, 316, ?452);
 2x vs " -j- (no.s: 216, 458).

3.1.3.4 -W- MEDIAL CONSONANT

J -w-, OJ -w-: 186. kawaku : Os kōjəm, ŋōi-, Fi kuiva//389. OJ sawo, J sao : FU *sauwə, cf. Hu zábé, záp, száp //396. OJ sawaku, J sawaku : Hu zabakol-, zavakol-//415. OJ siwa, J shiwa : U *süje//431. OJ suwe, J sue : U *suma, cf. Hu süve(g)//529. OJ uwu, J ueru : Hu éh, ih, ehé, ihe, ehu-.
 3x vs (U side) -v-, -w-, -h-, -b- (No.s: 389, 396, 529);
 2x vs " -j- (No.s: 186, 415);
 1x vs " -m-, ? -v- (No. : 431).

3.1.3.5 -Y(=J)- MEDIAL CONSONANT

J -y-, OJ -y-: 69. OJ payu, J haeru : Hu faj-//70. OJ payu, J haeru : OHu fejeru, FU *pájj//201. OJ kiyo-, J kiyo- : Hu kie(s), kije(s)//218. OJ kóvu, J koeru, koyasu : FU *kuje//377. OJ saryu, J saeru : Vg sajik//398. J, OJ saya : FU *suka//427. OJ sayagu, J, OJ soyo(gu) : Ug *sojju, ? FU *soje(-)//524. OJ tuyu, J tsuyu : FU *towkə.
 6x vs (U side) -j- (No.s: 69, 70, 201, 218, 377, 427);
 2x vs " -k- (No.s: 398, 524).

3.1.3.6 -K- MEDIAL CONSONANT

J -k-, OJ -k-: 5. agaru, OJ agu : Ug(? FU) *kanə-//6. ago, OJ ag : U *onə-lə//9. aku : U *ane//40. chigiru, OJ tigiru : Hu igér-//42. chika-, OJ tika- : U *taka//50. fukeru : FU *pumə-//51. fuku, OJ puku : U *puwə-or *puwə-//52. fukumu, OJ pukumu : Ug *pumə-//53. fuku-ro, OJ pukuro : FU *päkkä//71. hagu, OJ pagu : Hu heged-//72. hagu, hegu, OJ pagu, pegu : Ug *pejə-//74. haku, OJ paku : FU *pakka-or *pekkə-//96. hikaru, OJ pikaru : Hu vigvor-//97. hiku, OJ piku : FU *ŋike-//98. hiku-, OJ piku- : Hu hig, higgad-, vigás//108. -hogu, OJ poku : Hu fohász-, fukász-//109. hoka, OJ poka : Os pönəl//110. hoko, OJ pókó : Yn fókoddibo//122. ike, OJ iké : FU *jänkə//123. ikioi, OJ ikipopi : FU *wäke//124. ikiru, OJ iku : FU *ikä//126. iku : Ug *juktə-//157. kagi : Hu kákó, kakó, gagó//162. kakaru, OJ kaku : FU *akta-//193. kiku, OJ kiku : U *koró//206. kogeru, OJ kōgaru : U *keje-//221. kuguru, OJ kuku : Hu gug(g)ol-//245. maku : Os mongol//246. makura : PSam *pájna, cf. Yr pena//258. meguru, OJ mēguru, cf. J mageru, J, OJ magaru : FU *monka//268. moguru, muguru, cf. J haku, OJ paku : FU *puke-//280. OJ muga- : Hu vig(ad)-//281. muku, OJ mukapu : FU *mu, Zr muked//282. mukuro : FU *munkə//301. naga- : Hu nagy//302. nagameru, OJ magamu : FU *näke-//303. nagareru, OJ nagaru : Os ŋagə-l-, Hu legel-//304. nageru, OJ nagu : FU *lukkə-//305. nagu, OJ nagi : FU *ŋumə-//306. naka : Fi nika-ma, Vg näk//307. naku : Hu nyög-, nyek-, ? (é)nék-//318. negau, OJ negapu, negu : Os lör, Hu legény, legin//322. nigeru, OJ nogaru, nigu : FU *läktə-, FU *lone-//323. nigiru, OJ nigiru : PSam *nek-//324. niko, OJ nikó : Hu nyik(os)//339. nugu, OJ nuku : FU *nujə-, ? U *nika-//340. nuka : PSam *nikə-//341. nuku : Hu lyuk, luk, Ch luk//353. oke, OJ woké, uké : Fi vakka, MdE vakan//354. oki, OJ oki, oku : U *winə//378. saga : Hu szag, Sk sanga-(?)//379. sagaru : Hu szak, szaka//380. saka : FU *ŋynka//381. -saka : Hu csákó//382. sakarau, OJ sakaru : Hu szegül-//383. sakau, OJ sakapu, cf. J, OJ seku : Hu szeg-, szegély//384. saki, OJ saki : Ug *senkə//385. saku : Ug *sakkə, ? FU *sukkə//399. OJ sōku :

FU *sánkə//400. seku : FU *čijə- or *čikə-//406. shika, OJ sika : ? Fi sika//407. shikoru <sikoru : Hu szigor-//408. shiku, OJ siku : Hu sik//417. OJ -siku : Hu sikosul-//422. sogu, OJ -sōku : Fu *čānkə- or *sānkə-//423. soko, OJ sōkō : Hu szék, szik//428. suku : FU *sānə//432. suga- : FU *sukese//433. sugiru, OJ sugu, suguru : FU *čukə//435. sukeru, OJ suku : FU *čānkə-//436. suki : Md soka, tšoka//437. sukoshi, OJ sukōsi, sukuna- : Hu szik//438. suku : Hu szok-, szuk-//439. suku : FU *sāne//457. tagau, OJ tagaru : Hu tagad-//459. taka- : OHu tagad-, Hu dagad-, Zr *dun-//460. takaru, OJ tugaru : FU *čukə(r)//461. takeru, OJ takē- : Hu düh//462. taku : Lp tsakka//481. toge, OJ tōka : FU *teka-//482. togeru, OJ toğu : Hu tököl-//485. OJ tōkō : FU *time or *tūne//486. tokoro, OJ tōkōrō : Ug *takə//487. toku, OJ tōku : Hu tāg, tagul-, tagol-//500. tsugeru, OJ tugu : Hu sug-, sugor-, OsE tiyet-//501. tsugu, OJ tugu : U *tonō-//502. tsugu-, nau, OJ tugunapu, tuki : U *toyō-//504. tsuka, OJ tuka : U *sukō//505. tsuka, OJ tuka : Hu csuka//506. tsukaeru, OJ tukapu : FU *tunke-//508. tsukiru, OJ tuku : Hu tikkad-//509. tsuku, OJ tuku, tōku : U *sarə//510. tsuku, OJ tuku : Ug *sykka-//511. tsuku, OJ tuku : Hu gyak-, Ug *iakkə-//512. tsuku-, OJ tuki : Fi tykkä, Vty žek//513. tsukuru, OJ tukuru, Cf takumu : FU *teke-//523. (tsu) tsuga, OJ (tu) tuga : Hu dög, degu//531. uku : U *uje-//536. (u) nagasu : Hu nyag(g)at-//558. waka- : Fi vika//559. wakareru, OJ wakaru : OHu -vakar-//560. wake : Vg wā?, Yr Benutē//561. wakeru, OJ waku : Ug *wankə-//562. waki, OJ waki : Zr bok, bek//563. OJ wakura- : Hu vak, vakul-//576. yaku : FU *ānə-//590. OJ yuki : Hu tégéz, Ug *tānə(tū)//591. yuki, OJ yuki : FU *jāne.

J -k-, OJ -k- :
J -g-, OJ -g- :

71x vs (U side) -(k)k-, -g-, -y-, -h-;
29x vs " -ŋ-, -ŋkə-, -nk- (No.s: 5, 6, 50, 52, 109, 122, 245, 246, 258, 282, 305, 354, 380, 384, 399, 407, 422, 428, 435, 439, 485, 501, 506, 560, 561, 576, 590, 591);
5x vs " -j- (No.s: 72, 206, 339, 400, 531);
2x vs " -gy- (No.s: 96, 301).

3.1.3.7 -N- MEDIAL CONSONANT

J -n-, OJ -n- : 8. (a) kinau : Hu kinál-//17. ane : U *aña//18. ani : U *enā; *anə//55. fune : FU *vene-//67. hane : FU *puna//75. haneru : FU *kanə//99. hineru : Hu vén(ül)-//99a. hineru : U *puna//130. inu : Hu enyész-//131. inu : PSam *wən, of. Fi peni-//194. kinu : Ug *kānə//226. kuneru : FU *kiñā, cf. Hu kanyar-//247. maneku : U *manə-//257. mina : U *miñā//260. mina : Hu mind//261. mine : FU *miñə//269. mono : Hu mono, manó//283. mune : U *minə(-)//284. mune : OsE miñ//358. ono : Os wenāw//359. ono(re) : PSam *anə-//388. sane : U *sānə//410. shinabiru : U *čūnə-//411. shinobu : Hu csen-//412. shinu : Hu sinylōd-, senyved-//424. sonaeru : Hu szán-//443. sune : U *sōne or *sene//444. suneru : Hu suny-, szunnog-//464. tanomu : U *tuna-//465. tanoshi- : Hu danos, danol- (cf. dalol - through assimilation).

30x vs (U side) -n-, -ñ-.

3.1.3.8 -R- MEDIAL CONSONANT

J -r-, OJ -r- : 2. (a) biru, furo : Hu für-//3. (a) buru : PSam *p̄rā-//4. (a) fureru : U *palj//13. (a) maru : Hu marad-//20. ara- : FU *alka-//21. OJ are : FU *alə-//22. aru : FU *salkə-//23. aru :

Hu vala-//31. (a)taru : U *tule-//43. chiru : Hu tör-, PSam *tärä-//44. (i)deru : ? Hu terēm-//45. OJ -dura : Hu csurka, csulka//49. eru~uru : Hu ér-//56. fureru : FU *pärä-//57. furu : Hu fol(y)-, Ug *pälä-//59. furu- : Zr pörys//76. hara : FU *werä//77. hara : Os paräk//78. hareru : PSam *pär-//79. hari : Hu horog//8. hari : U *wölö, cf. Fi parsi//81. haru : Ug *pärkä-//heri : Fi (Volga) *väre//87. heru : Vg pari//100. hire : FU *peljä//101. hiro- : PSam *pirä//102. hiru : FU *wäka//103. hirmu : U *pele-//112. horobu : Hu por, par-//113. horu : U *para-//134. ira : Ug *elä//135. iro : FU *hire//136. iro : Fi vala-//137. iro, OJ wiru : U *elä//140. (i)taru : Hu (e)delä//141. (i)teru : FU *tälwä//164. kara : U *kurs//165. kara : FU *korä//166. kareru : U *kole-//167. kari : U *kurkō//168. karu : FU *kulä-//169. karu : FU *kolä//196. kirau : Hu gyölöi-//197. kiri : OsE käle//198. kiru : PSam *ker-//207. (ko)goru : FU *kirtē//209. korusu : Hu korhol-//210. OJ -körö : OsE köras//211. korobu, korogaru : Fu *kerke-//227. kura : Hu görä//228. kuru : Hu gyürü, györ-//229. kuru : U *kälä//248. maru : Ug *merä//270. mori : Hu mér-//271. -muru : Ug *barä-//272. moro- : U *mura(-)//273. moru : Ug *marä-//274. -muru : FU *mulä-//285. mura : U *parwa//313. narabu : Hu nyaláb//315. naru : Hu nyerit-, nyará-kol-//320. OJ nörd : U *nere//325. nire : U *närä//333. nori : FU *nyla//334. noro- : Hu nyirkad-//335. -noru : MdM noru//343. nureru : FU *nurmō//344. OJ nuru : Os nāres//345. OJ word : FU *pola//346. (o)boreru : Hu fül-//255. (o)kiru : Ug *kälä-//356. (o)koru, (i)karu : Hu harag(-)//361. orabu : Hu ordit-//362. oriru : U *ala//363. oru : FU *bora(-)//367. (o)soru : Hu ször-nyü//390. sarasu : FU *sarä-//391. saru : Hu szál(i)-//402. seru : Hu serény, szorog-//413. shiri : Zr ér-//414. shiro- : FU *älkä-//419. OJ sirö : Vg tir//425. sora : Vg törēm//445. OJ suri : U *sulä//446. suru : U *sele//447. suru-do- : FU *surba//468. tarasu : Hu csal-//469. taru : U *türe//470. taru : Ug talä//471. -taru, tareru : U *corä-//478. teru : Hu derül-//479. OJ tiru : Hu sir-//488. toro : Ug *sarä//489. torokeru : FU *sula(-)//490. toru : U *sala//517. tsura : FU *surä//518. tsuru : FU *tarä-kä//519. tsuru, -jiri : FU *kärs-//520. tsurugi : FU *terä//537. ura : FU *ara//538. ura : U *wülä//539. ura- : Hu öröm//540. uramu : Hu öröm, irēm//541. uranau : FU *arba//542. ureu : FU *surö-//543. uru : Hu árul-//544. urumu : Zr ul//564. waru : Hu vái-//565. waru- : PSam *wala-//571. OJ wori : FU *Bore//578. yaru : Hu jár-//579. yaru : Hu gyarat-.

J -r-, OJ -r-:

72x vs (U side) -r-;

41x vs " -l-, -l-

(No.s: 4, 20, 21, 22, 23, 31, 57, 80,
100, 102, 103, 134, 136, 140, 141, 166,
168, 169, 196, 197, 229, 274, 313, 333,
345, 346, 355, 362, 391, 414, 445, 446,
468, 470, 489, 490, 538, 544, 565, 565);

3.1.3.9 -S- MEDIAL CONSONANT (some overlapping is likely with -T- med. c.)

J -s-, OJ -s-:

J -sh-

J -j-

24. asa, asu : Zr asuv//25. ase (cf. atsu-, OJ atu-) : FU *äšä-//26. ashi : U *aškele or *askele//60. fushi, fusa : Hu fütyök, bütyök, butuk//61. fusu : U *pušä//82. hashi : Zr pos//88. heso (~ hozo < OJ poso) : Ug *šäšä//114. hoshi : U *kūšē or *kušē//115. hoshi- : Hu fősvény//116. hoso- (cf. hisashi-) : U *končē or *kocē//117. hosu : FU *pišä-//119. (i)busu : FU *pičē//138. ishi, isa-, iso : Zr iz, is-, U *waska//160. kajiku~kashiku ~ kajikeru, OJ kasiku : PSam *kājitē//170. kasa : FU *kaswa//171. kaseru : U *kušä//172. OJ kasipa : FU *kušä(kka)//174. kasumu : Hu göz//155. kasumeru (s. kadowakasu) : Hu hoz-, dial. hasz-//199. kisou : Ug *kišä//213. koshi : Hu has, Zr gašš, gač//214.

kosu : PSam *ketə//230. kusa : Hu gaz, guza//231. kushi : Hu fésü//232. kuso : U *kufde or *kuče//233. kusu : U *kowsō (?)//234. kusuburu : FU *küce//249. masu : PSam *māncə//250. masu : U *onča//263. misogu : U *muske//286. mushi : U *munčə//287. musubu : FU *pitä//336. noso : Hu lassu//364. osa : U *idä//365. oshi : FU *wajce//366. oshieru : FU *onča or *oda//368. osu : Hu unszol, uszol//392. sasa : Hu säs//448. susumu : U *čacə//491. toshi : Ch tošto//545. urusa : FU *ročə//546. use-ru : vesz//547. ushi : FU *učə//548. ushi-ro : Ug *andə//549. -uso : U *puča//572. OJ wosu : Hu osz-, Fi osa//580. yaseru : Ug *säse-.

J -s-, OJ -s-	18x vs (U side) -s-, -ś- (incl. Hu -sz-, ? -z-);
J -sh-	13x vs " -nč-, -č- (incl. Hu -s-/š/)
J -j-	
	10x vs " -č-, -nc-, -nd-, -nc- (No.s: 25, 61, 115, 119, 213, 231, 234, 286, 336, 392, 448, 547, 549);
	24x vs " -t-, -t- (No.s: 88, 114, 116, 172, 232, 249, 364, 365, 366, 548);
	2x vs " -š-, -š- (No.s: 60, 160, 214, 287);
	(No.s: 117, 491).

3.1.3.10 -T- MEDIAL CONSONANT

J -t-, OJ -t-:	27. OJ <u>ata</u> , J <u>ada</u> : Hu <u>ádáz</u> //28. <u>ataeru</u> : FU * <u>anta</u> //29. <u>atama</u> : U * <u>wide</u> , FU * <u>šide-me</u> //30. <u>atari</u> : FU * <u>ontə</u> (lə)//32. <u>ato</u> : U * <u>utka</u> //33. <u>atsu</u> -, OJ <u>atu</u> : Lp * <u>(g)asso</u> , ? FU * <u>kese</u> //36. OJ <u>puti</u> , J <u>buchi</u> (s. <u>fushi</u> , <u>fusa</u>) : Hu <u>pəty</u> , <u>poty</u> //39. OJ <u>titi</u> , J <u>chichi</u> : U * <u>čecə</u> //62. <u>futa</u> : FU * <u>pentə</u> //64. <u>futo</u> : Ug * <u>pwifə</u> //73. OJ <u>patu</u> , J <u>hajimeru</u> : FU * <u>pančə</u> //83. OJ <u>patu</u> , <u>patasu</u> , J <u>hata-su</u> : U * <u>pačkə</u> //84. OJ <u>paturu</u> , J <u>hatsuru</u> : FU * <u>wačə</u> //89. OJ <u>peturapu</u> , J <u>hetsurau</u> : Hu <u>hizeleg</u> //104. OJ <u>pitau</u> , J <u>hitau</u> : Hu <u>ügy</u> , <u>igy</u> , ? <u>ed</u> //105. <u>hito</u> , OJ <u>pitə</u> : Hu <u>egy</u> , <u>igy</u> , Os <u>it</u> //118. <u>hotsureru</u> : U * <u>poča</u> //139. <u>itamu</u> : Hu <u>beteg</u> , <u>bitos</u> //142. <u>ito</u> : U * <u>jante</u> //143. <u>itoshi</u> : Hu <u>édés</u> , <u>idés</u> //144. OJ <u>itu</u> (tu), J <u>itsutsu</u> : FU (?) * <u>witte</u> //145. OJ <u>itu</u> , <u>iti</u> : Hu <u>üd</u> , <u>id</u> //173. OJ <u>kōtu</u> (s. J, OJ <u>kasu</u>) : Hu <u>kosz</u> //175. <u>kata</u> : Lp <u>gadde</u> , ? Fi <u>kanta</u> //176. <u>kata</u> : U * <u>pälä</u> //177. <u>kata</u> : U * <u>konta</u> //178. OJ <u>kata-ma</u> , <u>kata-ma</u> : U * <u>kača</u> //179. OJ <u>katamu</u> : Hu <u>hazud</u> //180. <u>kataru</u> : PSam * <u>ket</u> - or * <u>ketə</u> //181. OJ <u>katu</u> , J <u>katsu</u> : U * <u>kattə</u> //200. OJ <u>kitune</u> , <u>kutune</u> , J <u>kitsune</u> : FU * <u>kačwa</u> //215. <u>koto</u> : FU * <u>kele</u> //241. OJ <u>mati</u> , J <u>machi</u> : U * <u>woča</u> //243. OJ <u>mati</u> (s. <u>majinau</u>) : ? FU * <u>musə</u> - or * <u>mušə</u> //251. OJ <u>matōpu</u> , J <u>matou</u> : Hu <u>batyu</u> , dial. <u>batu</u> , <u>matring</u> , Vg <u>mafitä</u> //252. OJ <u>matu</u> , J <u>matsu</u> : U * <u>oda</u> //253. OJ <u>matu</u> , J <u>matsu</u> : FU * <u>mečə</u> //264. OJ <u>mitu</u> , J <u>mitsuru</u> : Zr <u>bid</u> -, Vty <u>bit</u> ://275. <u>moto</u> : U * <u>wančə</u> //276. OJ <u>motōmu</u> , J <u>motomeru</u> : FU * <u>wačə</u> //277. <u>motoru</u> ~ <u>nodoru</u> : Hu <u>vissza</u> , dial. <u>viszha</u> , <u>viszál</u> //278. OJ <u>mōtu</u> , J <u>motsu</u> : U * <u>mučə</u> //279. OJ <u>muti</u> , J <u>muchi</u> : FU * <u>bačə</u> //288. OJ <u>mutu</u> , J <u>mutsu</u> : PSam * <u>muktət</u> , Tv <u>metü</u> //289. OJ <u>mutu</u> , J <u>mutsu</u> : Fi <u>mutso</u> //290. OJ <u>mutukaru</u> , J <u>muzukaru</u> : Hu <u>bosszu</u> //349. OJ <u>otu</u> , <u>otōru</u> , J <u>ochiru</u> : U * <u>äčə</u> //369. <u>oto</u> : FU * <u>ecə</u> //372. OJ <u>pataru</u> : FU * <u>pučə</u> -, ? FU * <u>pučə</u> //373. OJ <u>putu</u> : U * <u>wenčə</u> //393. <u>sato</u> : Lp <u>sita</u> , <u>sidä</u> //394. <u>satoru</u> : Hu <u>szidal</u> -, Md <u>südo</u> ://455. OJ <u>tutayopu</u> ~ <u>tadayopu</u> , J <u>tadayou</u> : Hu <u>tutaj</u> //456. OJ <u>tade</u> : Hu <u>csádé</u> //472. OJ <u>tatapu</u> , J <u>tataeru</u> : Hu <u>tetéz</u> //473. <u>tate</u> : Hu <u>tetš</u> , <u>tete</u> ://474. OJ <u>tatu</u> , J <u>tatsu</u> : FU * <u>sačə</u> //475. OJ <u>tatu</u> , J <u>tatsu</u> : PSam * <u>tāncə</u> //477. OJ <u>tutapu</u> , J <u>tsutau</u> (s. <u>tazuneru</u>) : U * <u>tumtə</u> ://496. OJ <u>tuti</u> , J <u>tsuchi</u> : FU * <u>čočə</u> //497. OJ <u>tuti</u> , J <u>tsuchi</u> : FU * <u>čyčə</u> or * <u>čučə</u> //521. OJ <u>tutə</u> , J <u>tsuto</u> : Hu <u>csuta</u> //522. OJ <u>tuto</u> , J <u>tsuto</u> : PSam * <u>tāntə</u> ://526. OJ <u>uti</u> , J <u>uchi</u> : U * <u>jūnča</u> //550. OJ <u>uti</u> : Hu <u>ucu</u> , <u>uccu</u> , <u>uszu</u> //551. <u>uto</u> :
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Hu utál-//552. OJ utu, J utsu : Hu út-//553. OJ utu-ro, J utsu-ro : Hu odor, FU *omte//556. OJ wati, J wachi (cf. OJ pédatu, J hedateru) : FU *pač//557. OJ wata~wada : U *Bač//566. wata : FU *wada, PSam *wetš(-)//567. wataru : FU *wanda-//573. OJ woti, woto : Hu ot(t), od, Vty oti-//581. 581. OJ yatu, J yatsu : Ug *nals//582. yatsusu < yatusu : Hu játsz-, játék//586. OJ yotu, J yotsu : FU *nelj.

J -t-, OJ -t-}	18x vs (U side) - <u>t</u> -,- <u>t</u> - (incl. Hu - <u>g</u> -<*- <u>t</u> -);
J -ts-, OJ -d-}	17x vs " - <u>č</u> -, - <u>nc</u> -, - <u>nc</u> - (incl. Hu - <u>gy</u> -/d/) (No.s: 39, 73, 83, 84, 104, 105, 118, 178, 241, 252, 275, 276, 278, 496, 497, 525, 567);
J -d-	15x vs " - <u>nt</u> -, - <u>mt</u> -, - <u>nt</u> -, - <u>d</u> - (No.s: 27, 28, 30, 62, 142, 143, 145, 175, 177, 264, 393, 394, 477, 522, 553);
J -j-	9x vs " - <u>č</u> -, - <u>nc</u> -, - <u>nc</u> - (No.s: 253, 279, 289, 349, 369, 373, 474, 550, 566);
J -ch-	6x vs " - <u>š</u> -, - <u>s</u> -, - <u>ns</u> - (incl. Hu - <u>sz</u> - *- <u>š</u> -s-)
J -z-	(No.s: 33, 173, 243, 277, 290, 475);
	5x vs " - <u>l</u> -, - <u>l</u> - (No.s: 64, 176, 215, 581, 586);
	4x vs " - <u>č</u> -, - <u>š</u> - (No.s: 23, 200, 556, 557).

3.1.3.11 -D- MEDIAL CONSONANT (some overlapping with -T- and -Z- is likely)

J -d-, OJ -d-:	92. <u>hida</u> : FU <u>*pič</u> //93. OJ <u>pidari</u> , J <u>hidari</u> : PSam <u>*wātš</u> -//94.
J -j-	OJ <u>pīdi</u> , J <u>hiji</u> : FU <u>*puč</u> //95. OJ <u>pīdi</u> , J <u>hiji</u> (cf. OJ <u>pīza</u> , J <u>hiza</u>) : Vty <u>*pides</u> or <u>*pizes</u> //107. OJ <u>podōku</u> , J <u>hodoku</u> : PSam
J -z-	<u>*puč</u> -//154. OJ <u>kadoč</u> , J <u>kado</u> : FU <u>*kač</u> //155. OJ <u>kadōpu</u> , J <u>kado-wakasu</u> (cf. OJ <u>kasumu</u> , J <u>kasumeru</u>) : Hu <u>hoz</u> -//156. OJ <u>kaduku</u> : PSam <u>*pēt</u> -//202. OJ <u>kéduru</u> , J <u>kezuru</u> (s. <u>kizamu</u> , <u>kizu</u>) : Hu
	<u>kezd</u> -//220. <u>kuda</u> : U <u>*puč</u> //239. OJ <u>kudu</u> , J <u>kuzu</u> : U <u>*puč</u> -//242. <u>made</u> : FU <u>*muč</u> //254. OJ <u>madu</u> , J <u>mazu</u> : FU <u>*etš</u> -//255. OJ <u>madu</u> -, J <u>mazushi</u> - (cf. OJ <u>wadurapu</u> , J <u>wazurau</u>) : Hu <u>vész</u> , <u>vesze-delēm</u> //265. OJ <u>mīdu</u> , J <u>mizu</u> : U <u>*wete</u> //266. OJ <u>mīdu</u> , J <u>mizu</u> : Hu
	<u>vidām</u> //297. OJ <u>nadamu</u> , J <u>nadameru</u> : FU <u>*loč</u> //298. (Ōno:) <u>nadaru</u> , J <u>nadareru</u> : PSam <u>*nensš</u> -//299. OJ <u>nadu</u> : PSam <u>*montš</u> -//350. OJ <u>wōdōru</u> : Hu <u>heder</u> -//352. OJ <u>wōdi</u> , J <u>oji</u> : Hu <u>bátva</u> , <u>bács</u>
	//416. OJ <u>sīdu(ka)</u> , J <u>shizu(ka)</u> : Hu <u>csēndes(z)</u> , dial. <u>csindes</u> //421. OJ <u>sōde</u> , J <u>sode</u> : U <u>*suč</u> //434. OJ <u>sudi</u> , J <u>suji</u> : Ug <u>*ištš</u>
	//454. <u>tada</u> : Fi <u>tote</u> -, <u>tode</u> -, Lp <u>tuoda</u> //456. OJ <u>tade</u> : Hu <u>csádé</u> , dial. <u>dudu</u> //477. OJ <u>tadunu</u> , <u>tadōru</u> , J <u>tazuneru</u> , <u>tadoru</u> : U
	<u>*tūmtš</u> -//484. OJ <u>todu</u> , J <u>tojiru</u> : Hu dial. <u>tod</u> -, <u>tód</u> -//498. OJ <u>tudōpu</u> , J <u>tsudon</u> : Hu <u>tódul</u> -//527. <u>ude</u> : PSam <u>*utš</u> //528. OJ <u>udu</u> : FU <u>*suč</u> //530. OJ <u>udi</u> , J <u>uji</u> : MdE <u>undoks</u> //555. (Ōno:) <u>uduku</u> , J <u>uzuku</u> : Hu <u>viszket</u> -//569. OJ <u>wadu(ka)</u> , J <u>wazu(ka)</u>
	(cf. OJ <u>mīzi-ka</u> , J <u>mīji-ka</u>) : Hu <u>véz-na</u> .

J -d-, OJ -d-}	21x vs (U side) - <u>mt</u> -, - <u>nt</u> -, - <u>nd</u> -, - <u>d</u> - (incl. Hu - <u>g</u> -<*- <u>t</u> -);
J -j-	5x vs " - <u>nc</u> -, - <u>nc</u> -, - <u>c</u> - (No.s: 94, 107, 154, 239, 297);
J -z-	4x vs " - <u>č</u> - (No.s: 92, 220, 242, ? 352);
	2x vs " - <u>ns</u> -, - <u>s</u> - (No.s: 255, 298);
	2x vs " - <u>š</u> - (No.s: 421, 528).

3.1.3.12 -Z- MEDIAL CONSONANT

J -z-, OJ -z-:	85. OJ <u>pazu</u> , J <u>hazu</u> : U <u>*pos</u> //148. OJ <u>izanapu</u> , J <u>izanau</u> : Hu
J -j-	<u>izen</u> -, <u>izen</u> -//187. <u>kazaru</u> : ?Hu <u>koszorú</u> , Os <u>kāče</u> //188. <u>kaze</u> : PSam <u>*kácš</u> //223. OJ <u>kuziru</u> , J <u>kujiru</u> : Ug <u>*kutš</u> -//244. OJ <u>mazu</u> , J <u>majiru</u> : Hu <u>veg</u> -, <u>vig</u> -, <u>vid</u> -//337. OJ <u>nozōku</u> , J <u>nozoku</u> : Lp

naeske-//450. OJ suzu-, J suzushi- : PSam * tetsə-//568. waza- : FU *mučə-.

J -z-, OJ -z-;	5x vs (U side) -č-, -nč-, -d-, -c- (incl. Hu -gy-/d/);
J -j-	2x vs " -t- (incl. Hu -z-);
	2x vs " -g- (No.s: 85, 337).

3.2 COMPLEMENTARY INFORMATION pertinent to raised phonological questions

3.2.1 Proposed archiphoneme */kw/ or sporadic labio-velar consonant shift

The following entries show an opposition /k/ : /p/ or vice versa: a) initial position-- 63. OJ puta(tu) : FU *kakta//75. OJ panu : FU *kanə-//79. OJ pari : Hu horog (h- <*k-)//114. OJ posi : U *kunde//116. OJ poso- : U *końćə//156. OJ kaduku : PSa *pət-//176. OJ kata- : U *pālā//195. OJ kīpopu : Hu vív-, vívó (Hu v- <PFU *w-, as a rule)//220. OJ kuda : U *puč-kč//225. OJ pimo (? OJ kumu) : Hu hím, OHu himus (-i- <*i-, a velar vowel; therefore, h- is suspect of coming from *k-)//231. OJ kusi : Hu fésű, dial. fistű (f- <*p-)//239. OJ kudu : U *pucə-//; b) medial position-- 19. OJ apuku : U *sčəč//34. OJ apu : U *sonə-//316. OJ napu : Ug *nākə-//347. OJ obi, OJ dial. epi : FU *winə//452. ? OJ tabu : FU *seyə- (or *sewə- or *seBe-).

Through Rahder (1953, 239) we are reminded that T. MIYARA investigated the alternation of J labial and velar consonants, publishing his results in a paper entitled (in transl.) "On labialized guttural consonants" (kwa-gyō; GG. 10/11, 1942, 125-161); MIYARA found that /kw/, /gw/, and /ngw/ of some dialects correspond to /p/, /b/, /f/, /v/, /w/ (labial consonants), and /m/, /g/, /n/, /ng/, /n/ (guttural, aspirate, nasal consonants) in other dialects.

Even in the non-dial. material one finds pairs of words like kusuburu ~ fusu-buru 'smolder, smoke', kukumu ~ fukumu 'contain, hold', OJ pukumu ~ pupumu id., kunato ~ punato 'four-ways crossing', kudaku ~ pidaku 'to crush' (s. also Haguenauer 1956, 361: "... confusion de k avec p en japonais").

From MNyJ V (1959), 145 we learn that the change p>k or k>p is known in the Hu dialects. E.g., pákosztos ~ páposztos 'gluttonous', paklany ~ paplany '(quilted) coverlet', pucok ~ kucok 'mole'; cf. further (TESZ I, 554:) Hu kukorod(ik) ~ kupo-rod(ik) 'squat, crouch'.

Colleague László Honti, Budapest, has kindly drawn my attention to a similar phenomenon observed in Vg.

Gulya 1966, 31 informs us pertinently concerning Os : "Consonants pronounced with labial character are: a) the bilabials p, w, m, b) the postalveolars or velars k, ɣ, ŋ, i.e., the consonants formed in the front and back parts of the oral cavity."

In Collinder 1960 (p. 66) we read that Sam Sk *w->k- or kw-(ku); we should note that this change has taken place in initial position.

The phenomenon of labio-velar consonant shift is well known in the A tongues. For example, Ramstedt (1957, I, 86) tells us that in the Tu languages--parallel with a shift from k>g--a change g>j and g>w set in between the 10th and the 15th centuries. Regarding Tg, Ramstedt notes (p. 91) that in words of velar vowel order, -g- has shifted to -w-, but in words of palatal vowel order, -g->-j- (s. also Benzing 1956, 11).

Among various other languages in which this phenomenon is known, IE probably has the most striking examples. S. Hirt 1927, 229 ff.

In view of the above, one possible explanation of the oppositions in question may be through the assumption of an archiphoneme, say, */kw/; a two-way development from this is conceivable, i.e., one resulting in */k/ and reflexes, the other in */p/ and reflexes.--Alternatively, independent labio-velar consonant shift may be posited for J and U. At any rate, the evidence is scanty, so we can speak of sporadic change only.

3.2.2 Possibility of initial r- in genuine J words

In connection with OJ urusa : FU *roča (No. 545) and OJ yurupu : Hu rom-, rumb- (No. 593) it has been suggested that u- and yu- are inetymological elements; thus, the original initial consonant of the OJ words in question would be r-. Admittedly, the proposed equations form no solid foundation for changing the tenet of "no genuine Japanese word begins with r-", but researchers ought to bear in mind the proven tendency that the J language has very frequently employed prothetic elements for various reasons (not always clear to us); one such reason could have been fashion which, in a given area and time, forced the avoidance of pronouncing initial r- by expanding the word with a preposed vowel or even a syllable consisting of a consonant + vowel.--I remember having read somewhere a remark in this sense by the noted Japanese phonetician, Prof. Shiro HATTORI.

3.2.3 Important features of J phonology

3.2.3.1 The OJ consonant system was relatively simple. Lewin (1959, 19) sketches it (more precisely, the one ascertainable, with the help of syllable writing, as valid at the beginning of the 9th cent. A.D.) as follows:

		s	z	
F	b	t	d	k g
	m		n	
			r	
y	w			

(As regards the not uncomplicated consonant system of the modern J language, s. Lewin 1959, 16 ff. or other standard works.)

3.2.3.2 The J consonant system contains no l. This statement could also be formulated thus: in J, since we know it, r has been in free variation with l. This could be an area phenomenon.--Miller (1967, 71) thinks that at least two original liquids have fallen together in OJ r-.--On r~l alternation in the U languages, s. remarks further down.

3.2.3.3 Consonant clusters have been unknown in genuine J words. Gemination is encountered occasionally, but only in onom. formations. Sino-Japanese compounds may contain a limited range of clusters.

3.2.3.4 Voiced vs voiceless consonants.--Initially voiced consonants were a rarity in OJ, but their frequency increased as borrowings from Chinese established their use. Also, as Miller states, "in the late Old and Middle Japanese period the loss of Old Japanese prefixed i- and u-, elements found in several words but of obscure origin and unclear semantic significance, soon upset /the old pattern/ ... and left voiced initials relatively common as a result" (op. c. 201-2). E.g., OJ idure 'which' > dore; iduko 'where' > doko; idaku 'to embrace' > daku; iduru 'come out' > deru; ubara 'thorn' > bara (ibid.). Cf. Wenck 1968 (the whole article) and Ramsey - Unger 1972, 278-95, positing in the main the shift of p, t, k, and s to b, d, g, z as early as the 7th cent. A.D.

Voiced medial consonants were frequent even in OJ, although the writing, even the syllable (kana) writing of later centuries, did not always clearly indicate them. They may have occurred in non-compounds or on the meeting point in compounds. Regarding the latter case, Miller writes: "When k, s, t, and f were found initial in morphemes occurring in second position in composition they were often but not always regularly voiced to become g, z, d, and b; ... this voicing of the initial phoneme of morphemes in composition continues to be a significant feature of the language down into the modern Japanese period, where it remains an unpredictable feature" (Miller 1967, 194). Examples showing the latter sort of voicing, also called nigori: kuni-guni 'all countries; every nation' (kuni 'country; land'); aka-gane 'copper' (aka 'red', kane 'metal'); toki-doki 'sometimes' (toki 'time'); hi-bi 'every day' (hi 'day'); saka-zori 'shaving against the grain' (saka : sakarau 'oppose; go against', soru~suru 'shave').

3.2.3.5 OJ phoneme /p/ or /f/.--Its history has been extensively discussed by a number of scholars (s. Wenck, 1959, 80 ff.). Some thought that OJ /p/ had all the characteristics of a voiceless, non-spirantised stop, pointing to the pronunciation encountered in a part of the Ryūkyū dialect (i.e., p) as against h in Standard J.

Others opined that even in word-initial position it was /f/ as early as the 8th century.--Wenck (1959, 81) sketches the development in question as follows: a) (initial position) /p>*pF>F>h (except before /u/), b) (medial position) /p>*F>w>ø (except before /a/), (before /u/, the reflex of OJ /p/ is f, while before /a/, it is w).

3.2.3.6 All consonants of the OJ stock occurred only in combination with (following) vowels. The list of CV shaped OJ syllables is given by Miller (1967, 192) as follows:

ka	ki	kī	ku	ke	kē	ko	kō	Notes: a) $\underline{i} = \underline{i}$, $\underline{e} = \underline{e}$, $\underline{o} = \underline{o}$; in Miller's listing, $\underline{i}$, $\underline{e}$, $\underline{o}$ can have values $\underline{i}$ or unmarked $\underline{i}$, $\underline{e}$ or unmarked $\underline{e}$, $\underline{o}$ or unmarked $\underline{o}$, respectively, b) according to consensus, as expressed by Miller (1967, 202), in the early 10th cent., "... /si/ was pronounced / $\underline{s}$ i/ and /se/ was pronounced / $\underline{s}$ e/; parallel to this, /zi/ was pronounced / $\underline{z}$ i/ and /ze/ was pronounced / $\underline{z}$ e/; ... the /s/ allophones of the earlier affricate phoneme /tʃ/ had by now been extended to all occurrences of the phoneme, so that earlier / $\underline{t}$ a/, / $\underline{s}$ i/, / $\underline{t}$ u/, / $\underline{s}$ e/, / $\underline{t}$ o/ became /sa/, / $\underline{s}$ i/, / $\underline{s}$ u/, / $\underline{s}$ e/, / $\underline{s}$ o/, and eventually, with fronting before two high vowels, /sa/, / $\underline{s}$ i/, / $\underline{s}$ u/, / $\underline{s}$ e/, / $\underline{s}$ o/."
ga	gi	gī	gu	ge	gē	go	gō	
ta	ti	tī	tu	te	tē	to	tō	
da	di	dī	du	de	dē	do	dō	
na	ni	nī	nu	ne	nē	no	nō	
Fa	Fi	Fī	Fu	Fe	Fē	Fo	Fō	
ba	bi	bī	bu	be	bē	bo	bō	
ma	mi	mī	mu	me	mē	mo	mō	
ya			yu	ye		yo	yō	
ra	ri		ru	re		ro	rō	
wa	wi		we			wo		

3.2.3.7 Eight OJ vowels vs five later.--Following Miller (1967, 172 ff.), we have the "agreed-on" vowel system of OJ in the table below:

	i	ī	u	
e	ē	ö		o
		a		

Regarding $\underline{i}$, $\underline{e}$, $\underline{o}$ vs $\underline{i}$, $\underline{e}$, $\underline{o}$, s. Note a) under 3.2.3.6.--The series of the vowels $\underline{i}$, $\underline{e}$, $\underline{o}$, as marked by Wenck and some others, is also called Series A or $\underline{kō}$ ('rising') series as against $\underline{i}$, $\underline{e}$, $\underline{o}$, i.e., Series B or $\underline{otsu}$ ('falling') series.

Miller probed even farther back than the 8th cent. A.D., and sums up his findings as follows (p. 180-1): "The inscriptions [of the early 7th cent.] show that the distribution of the two varieties of $\underline{o}$ was extremely limited, so that only the Series A variety of $\underline{o}$ was found after $\underline{g}$ - and $\underline{m}$ -, and only the Series B variety of $\underline{o}$ after $\underline{t}$ -, $\underline{n}$ -, $\underline{y}$ -, and $\underline{r}$ -: so also only the Series A variety of $\underline{e}$ was found after $\underline{f}$ -, and only the Series B variety of $\underline{e}$ after $\underline{k}$ - and $\underline{g}$ -. For the *Kojiki* /712 A.D./ materials, the following general statement of the Series A and Series B vowel distributions may be made: the contrast between the two varieties of $\underline{i}$ and $\underline{o}$ was maintained after non-homorganic consonants only, i.e., after velars and labials, and so also with the contrast between the two varieties of $\underline{e}$ which was maintained after non-homorganic consonants only, i.e., after velars and dentals, and also after $\underline{m}$ -, but this last contrast of the two varieties of $\underline{e}$ after $\underline{m}$ - was then already in the process of being leveled out and had disappeared by the time of the *Nihon shoki* /720 A.D./. In the later Nara documents scribal confusion becomes evident between the two varieties of $\underline{o}$ following $\underline{n}$ -, $\underline{t}$ -, and $\underline{y}$ -, and between the two varieties of $\underline{e}$ following $\underline{k}$ - and $\underline{f}$ -. By the beginning of the Heian period /784-1192/, the distinction between the two varieties of $\underline{e}$ was still being maintained after $\underline{k}$ -, but otherwise the eight-vowel system had already been virtually leveled out."

3.2.3.8 The importance of the OJ 8-vowel system.--Discovered by Shinkichi HASHIMOTO in 1909, the existence of eight vowels in OJ raised much interest in Japan. This discovery assumed even more importance when in 1932 Hideyo ARISAKA and Teizō IKEGAMI independently from each other found that some of the doubled vowel values had been linked with vowel harmony. Basing himself on those findings, Ōno (1970, 107) illustrates with numerous examples that $\underline{e}$ combines with $\underline{a}$, $\underline{o}$, $\underline{u}$, i.e., with velar vowels (which combine with one another), but not with $\underline{i}$, while $\underline{o}$ combines in most cases with $\underline{i}$, in a few cases with $\underline{a}$, $\underline{u}$, but never with $\underline{e}$.

The vowel $\underline{i}$ (unmarked) is stated as neutral, combining with both, $\underline{a}$, $\underline{o}$, $\underline{u}$, and

♫ (p. 110).

The vowels participating in the fairly limited vowel harmony of 8th cent. (and probably earlier) Japanese are arranged by Ōno as follows:

	Front	Central	Back	Note: The vowel harmony of OJ did not extend to the suffixes (s. also Miller 1967, 1977).
High	i		u	
Mid		ö	o	
Low		a		

The other OJ vowels, i.e., i (= i̇), ë (= ë̇), and e (unmarked) are thought, as Ōno says, not to have been in the phonemic stock of PJ; they are assumed to have developed relatively late, but still before the 8th cent. A.D. (p. 110). "The vowels i̇, ë̇, e appear principally in the terminal parts of words and in inflectional endings. They seldom head a word. (In a modern Japanese dictionary words beginning with e, ke, se, te, ne, etc. occupy only a few pages, for the reason that Old Japanese had a few words that began with this phoneme or these sequences of phonemes. And if those words among them that are adopted were removed from the dictionary, the fact would be more readily apparent).--Another argument in support of the assumption of the relatively late birth of the vowels in question, esp. /e/ and /ë/ is, still according to Ōno, the lack of words in which they occur in sequence. Against, say, OJ taka- 'high', mata 'crotch', naga- 'long', or tōkō 'place', mōtō 'root', etc. there are no forms like *teke, *mete, *nege, etc.--The vowel /i̇/, as said earlier, would also be a relatively late arrival.

All three vowels in question are thought to have come about through the fusion of vowels, namely: a + i > ë̇, i + a > e, u + i > i̇, ö (= ö̇) + i > i̇ (p. 111).

However, some doubts arise in this connection. For excepting compositions in which an obligatory word-final vowel is joined by a word-initial vowel, the coming together of a and i̇, i and a, u and i̇, and ö̇ and i̇ is a priori excluded because of the syllabic canon (C)VVCVCV ... of the J language. At most, the twists of J/OJ conjugation with assumed superimposing of vowels on each other could come into consideration, as a rule. But even there, vowel replacement plus functional vowel alternation on morpheme boundaries would probably be the more plausible explanation.--It is indeed hard to imagine that the OJ vowels i̇, ë̇, e should have arisen through the process of word composition in all the many cases where they have been recorded, and this objection weighs doubly against the presence of those vowels in word-final position. Or of what other words should have been composed such words as OJ kiri 'fog', pine 'old'?

Miller 1967, 193 gives some examples which illustrate the coming into being of one or the other of the vowels in question. Thus, for instance, OJ waga + iFe > wagiFe 'my house' (where the alleged contraction is sooner due to the loss of one vowel and the predominance of the other; rightly, a + i̇ should have resulted in ë̇), ara + iso > ariso 'rough surf' (where again the loss of one vowel, that of -a, can be suspected), taka + iti > takēti 'high market-place' (place-name; ë̇ is the expected vowel), naga + iki > nagēki 'a sigh' (<'long' + 'breath'; ë̇ is the expected vowel), saki + ari > sakeri 'are blooming' (saki is the deverbal (?) noun form of saku 'to bloom', ari 'be, exist'; e is the expected vowel).--One can agree with Miller that these are cases of morphophonemic replacement which occur on morpheme boundaries. However, of the 15 examples given by Miller, 14 are trisyllabic. Now, genuine J words consisting of more than two syllables are all suspect of being the result of composition or derivation, so the occurrence of i̇, ë̇, e in them could indeed be due to vowel contraction. But how does one account for their occurrence in monosyllabic forms such as mē (= mē̇) 'eye' or pī (= pī̇) 'fire' where the likelihood of composition or derivation is practically zero?

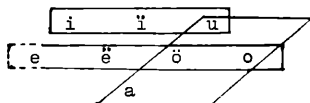
3.2.3.9 The unmarked OJ vowels i̇, e, ö̇, standing outside of the rows of the doubled vowels i̇, ë̇, ö̇ and i̇, ë̇, ö̇--Wenck (1939, 1-2 and passim) sees several problems tied up with them. Did they constitute a line between the lines of doubled vowels?--The fact that one cannot know whether, for instance, an unmarked i̇ is merely a member of the assumed "non-doubled line", or whether it is an unascertained i̇ or i̇̇, makes OJ vowel research even more difficult.

3.2.3.10 Alternation in OJ and J vowels.--Let's first consider the striking alternation between pairs of OJ vowels. Wenck (1959, 5 ff.) gives numerous examples from which some shall stand here: u~o (e.g., /later/ tsuga~tōga 'fault'); e~a (e.g., ame~yama 'sky'); ē~ē (e.g., ipe~> dial. ipe 'house'); i~u (e.g., tuki 'moon'~> tuku~yo 'a night with moon'); i~u (e.g., ki 'tree'~> ko~dati 'a clump of trees'; -dati~> tatu 'to stand'); i~ē (e.g., ki~ke : mi~ke 'honourable tree' or matu~no~ke 'pine-tree'); i~ē (e.g., hira~saka~> Hera~saka 'broad slope'); e~ō (e.g., se 'back'~> so~gap 'the turning of one's back' = 'non-co-operation'; kapu 'change, exchange'); a~o (e.g., iya~iyō 'all the more'); dial. ē~ō (e.g., dial. kōtoba~> /court language/ kōtoba 'word'); dia. u~i (e.g., dial. kamu = kami 'god').

Some scholars attribute the existence of the two marked lines of vowels in OJ to an oddity linked with the use of Chinese writing symbols applied as sound values in the fixing of J words. In other words, the curious doubling of some OJ vowels is supposed to have had its root in Middle Chinese sound categories.

Another school tries to find phonetic interpretation for the particular way of notation. Partisans of this school claim with HASHIMOTO that the vowel nuance of the first line (Series A) is essentially in agreement with the pronunciation of /i/, /e/, and /o/ of the early Heian period (from 781 onward), which had been fairly well described at that time by the scholar ENNIN. It is argued, further, that the two lines of vowels could not have been very different from each other, since they fell together within two to three generations (Wenck 1959, 14).

The question of ablaut in OJ and J must also be mentioned here. In agreement with scholars who lay emphasis on this phenomenon and because it seems to have relevance in connection with vowel alternation in the U side, I adduce Miller (1967, 198-9) as follows: "The vocalic ablaut system of the language has been described by IZUI Hisanosuke. He has shown that the system of different vocalizations in related morphemes operating in Old Japanese texts is a somewhat simplified and altered remnant of an earlier system that can now be recovered, and that in part, only through the technique of internal reconstruction; ... the system ... involves the following sets of vowel alternations:



The solid lines enclose vowels functioning as sets in the ablaut system; the relationship of OJ e to the rest of the system is somewhat less than clear in the texts."

Examples originating from IZUI: tuki 'moon', tōki 'time', tōkō 'everlasting', (non-standard) tuku 'moon'; yami 'darkness', yōmi, yōmō 'hell'; tōmō 'friend', tuma 'wife'; toFu 'ask', tōFu 'visit'; kō-nō 'this', ke-Fu 'today'; Fi 'fire', Fi 'day'; Fitō 'one', Futa 'two'.

3.2.3.11 Syllable structure and the assumption of initial glottal stop in J, OJ.--In the Nara period, there were two kinds of syllable: a) the vowels as single elements (possibly potentially, for i, ē, and ō did not occur without a consonant preceding), b) combination of OJ consonants with OJ vowels (as seen under 3.2.3.6).--As had been said earlier (under 3.2.3.3), there have been no consonant clusters in genuine J words. This also means that in such words the syllable is open. On the other hand, words of foreign, esp. Chinese, origin may have closed syllables.--Miller (1967, 191) refers to Sh. HATTORI and other modern J phonologists who maintain that "... all modern Japanese syllables in initial vowel without preceding consonant actually begin with a phonological laryngeal element /ʔ/. Miller suggests that this could be read back into OJ, thus we would have only CV type OJ syllables.

The positing of a glottal stop in initial syllables, i.e., in word-initial position, where the loss of an earlier consonant may be suspected, has its significance, for several of the etymological comparisons suggest the loss of initial consonants on the J side.

3.2.4 Phonological information concerning the U languages

Generally speaking, the phonology of the U side, in contrast with the relatively simple features of OJ phonology, is anything but easily surveyable. Many reconstructions for both, the constituent languages and the proto-language have been made and discussed, and almost as many rejected. Particularly thorny are the problems of consonant clustering and vowel alternation.

3.2.4.1 Consonant clustering in the U languages.--As may have been noted, initial consonants on the U side do not, as a rule, form clusters. As far as PFU, PSam, FU, and Ugric are concerned, initial consonant clusters are ruled out.

The difficulty with consonants forming clusters is encountered in medial or formerly medial, later final, position. According to Lakó (1968, 59), PFU (not including the Sam languages) had medial geminated stops (*-pp-, *-tt-, *-kk-) and at least one geminated affricate (*-čč-). In addition, PFU is supposed to have had the following consonant clusters: *-kt-, *-tk-, *-čk- (alternatively, *-čk-), *-kš-, *-šk-, *-ks-, *-kš-, *-wč-, *-lk-, *-lj-, *-lw-, *-rk-, *-rt-, *-rp-, *-rw-, etc. (p. 82).

It is necessary to point out here, as it has been done on the preceding pages, that every consonant cluster in the living U languages--let alone the p-language--is suspect of being secondary, having come into being either through the loss of an intervening vowel or through the joining of a single consonant with an inetymological consonant. Hu language history has very good evidence in support of this contention.

Lakó is aware of the problem, and explains some of the difficulties with the fact that the member languages of the U family are dispersed over a large area and, in their separate developments, they have acquired strong individual traits. Thus, for instance, Hu got into isolation some 2000 years ago and it thoroughly differs from, say, Fi and Ip.

Now, Lakó and most traditionalists take it for granted that Fi has relatively well preserved the state of the p-language. The weakness of this "taking for granted" is that it is a mere assumption which, on the other hand, holds that Hu must be very far removed from the original state of PFU/U because its contacts with related languages had broken some 2000 years ago and it has had many-sided foreign contacts.

3.2.4.2 The PFU (? U) consonant gradation theory.--This is related to the problem of consonant clustering, but is of less import nowadays, except for its effect in the reconstructions.

As a result of the publication of what became known as Verner's Law in IE studies (1876; regular consonant shift due to accent change), Finno-Ugric scholars began to look for a similar explanation concerning some medial consonants in their own field. It was the Finn E.N. Setälä who thought to have discovered a comparable phonetic law in the U languages (s. Setälä 1912). "This theory was the first comprehensive large-scale attempt at explaining the medial consonant conditions of the FU and Uralic languages, and as such for about half a century it occupied a central place in the FU phonetic research. ... According to this theory, in the PFU and Proto-Uralic languages medial plosives, influenced by stress conditions, appeared alternately in "strong" grade (requiring more sound-forming energy) and in "weak" grade ... in the various forms of the substantival and verbal paradigms. This alternation of the medial consonants was partly quantitative, that is, it manifested itself in the differences of the length of consonants (for instance, geminated /plosives/ ... alternating with the corresponding short plosives), and partly qualitative ..." (Lakó 1968, 60).

In a simplified way :

PFU	*-p-	~	*-w-
"	*-t-	~	*-č-
"	*-k-	~	*-γ-
"	*-m-	~	*-w-
"	*-pp-	~	*-p-
"	*-tt-	~	*-t-
"	*-kk-	~	*-k-

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In a simplified way :

PFU	*-p-	~	*-w-
"	*-t-	~	*-č-
"	*-k-	~	*-y-
"	*-m-	~	*-w-
"	*-pp-	~	*-p-
"	*-tt-	~	*-t-
"	*-kk-	~	*-k-

E.g., Fi akka 'old woman' : aka-n 'of the old woman' (note that the gen. marker -n closes the 2nd syll.), sappe 'gall' : (gen.) sape-n, suku 'family. kin' : (gen.) suvu-n, sata '100' : (gen.) sada-n, repo 'fox' : (gen.) revo-n.

Setälä based his theory on consonant alternation of the above type extant in some Balto-Finnic languages (namely, Fi, Est, and Vot). Accordingly, he first posited consonant gradation for PFU only. Later he found that to some extent the Sam languages displayed features supporting his theory. From that he concluded that the phenomenon must have been an important trait of PU. To objections that there were still a number of languages in the U family which did not conform to his theory Setälä replied that the lack of consonant gradation must be due to leveling, resulting mostly in the "weak" grade (at times in the "strong" grade), the deciding factor being a shift in the place of the accent.

However, after some 50 years of general acceptance, the theory began to crumble. Critics have pointed to the following facts: 1) "... even in the Balto-Finnic languages consonant gradation is not universal; it is missing from the Veps and Livonian languages; 2) even in Finnish there are exceptions to the rule of consonant gradation: before the possessive personal suffixes there is no consonant gradation ... ; 3) in Proto-Finnish some consonant clusters (*-sk-, *-st-, *-tk-, etc.) were not subject to consonant gradation; 4) we have no proof confirming the statement that in the PFU and Proto-Uralic languages the place of stress changed when suffixes were added to a stem" (Lakó 1968, 61-2).

In short, one can say with Steinitz and others that the so-called "strong" grade is secondary; also, it is limited to certain areas, the focus being the Finno-Lapp area; further, it is the result of a) a tendency to strengthen certain consonants in certain positions, b) a conditioned weakening of certain consonants in certain positions, which can be observed outside of U; cf. OJ -p- > *-f- > -w- > -ǵ- (except before /a/).

The consonant gradation theory has been abandoned, but its adverse effect on the reconstructed forms is still in the literature, including Lakó's quoted work. PFU *-pp-, *-tt-, *-kk- are now called geminated plosives (i.e., no longer the "strong" grade manifestations of "weak" grade *-p-, *-t-, *-k-), but, for instance, Hu -p-, -t-, and -k- are still derived from PFU *-pp-, *-tt-, *-kk-, in spite of the fact that reliable records attest exactly the opposite tendency of consonant development. There is, indeed, a long way to go yet before the baleful effect of the consonant gradation theory will have been made good.--Let's just take, for example, Hu öt 'five' (Lakó 1968, 67; cf. entry itsu-tsu); its cognates are: Os wèt/Vg et/Zr vit/Vty vi (< *vit)/Ch wit-, wi (< *wit)/Md vefe/Fi viisi, viite/Lp vitta~vidä--/? Yr jū, ūt ... ; FU (? U) *witte.--It is worth noting that apart from the reconstructed form, only Lp vitta shows "strong" grade medial consonant, that is, a language which is conspicuous for its numerous and often bulky medial clusters.--One line below the treatment of Hu öt, Lakó writes this: "Perhaps -t- in Hu lät- 'to see' and üt- 'to beat' can also be traced back to PFU (Uralic) *-tt-." -- Has the consonant gradation theory really been abandoned?

3.2.4.3 New approaches to PFU (and U) phonological problems.--As a result of a critical assessment of FU research work in phonology since approx. 1890, Gy. Décsy (1969, 35-75) points out a number of adverse factors and patterns which have presented stumbling blocks on the road of U linguistics. Inclined to agree with his critical views and ready to accept his recommendations generally, I shall, in the following, adhere to his approach, while adducing other sources in order to complement it.

3.2.4.3.1 The traditional, practically exclusive etyma-comparison must be improved, as a method, by complementing it with structural comparison.--This is one of Décsy's main propositions, and one must add that he follows his own advice.

In more concrete terms, the application of the traditional method means that research is practically limited to the generally accepted common word inheritance which is not necessarily safe--for lack of written old evidence--but always much narrower than the material of the member languages, which need not be common inheritance in order to reveal the phonemic systems of single languages.

3.2.4.3.2 Another methodological improvement should be the writing of diction-

aries (of the member languages) in which the stem-final vowels are clearly indicated; if they have worn off, then several expanded/suffixed forms should be provided from which comparativists could make deductions.

3.2.4.3.3 Décsy's proposed consonant system for PFU.--Leaving aside, for the time being, the phonological aspects of the Sam languages, as a field to be handled separately, Décsy proposes the following system of PFU consonants (p. 63-6):

p	t		k
	s	š	ś
v(w)		j	
	ç	č	
m	n	ñ	ŋ
	l	l'	
r			

(? -pp; ? -tt; ? -kk-)

In this consonant system, the phonemes /p/, /t/, /k/, /s/, /š/, /d/, /č/, /c/ have no voiced counterparts, while the rest lack in voiceless counterparts.

The so-called "palatal" consonants /s/, /j/, /c/, /h/, /l/ are not merely palatalized consonants, but independent phonemes.

The debatable nature of /c/ in the system is admitted; it might even have to

be deleted.

The velar fricative ɣ, often adduced in previous reconstructions, is taken here as an allophone of /k/.

The palatalized voiced dental fricative ɟ is left out, as having no real foundation, and its plain counterpart, ɖ, is taken as an allophone of /t/.

Concerning the consonant gradation theory, Décsy argues for its abandonment with the restriction that its rational kernel should be retained, mainly for a better understanding of the respective phonological systems of the languages concerned. He assumes that /p/, /t/, /k/, standing without voiced counterparts in the system, had a "weakened" pronunciation in intervocalic position, i.e., they were sonorized (voiced) and probably also spirantized. However, the change in quality was contingent upon the position of the consonant in question (pp. 64-5).

3.2.4.3.4 Consonant alternation in PFU.--When treating of consonant alternation in the p-language, Décsy states that at least three must be postulated:

a) l ~ r; this alternation in the p-language is made likely by such forms as Fi kolme/Est kolm/Lp golbmə/MdE kolmo/Os kōlēm, kōlēm, etc. 'three' (FU *kolme or *kolma) vs Hu három, OHu hármu, hárum/Vg khūrēm, ūrēm (reconstructed form *korma). He opines that perhaps forms with l were preferred in the Finno-Permic, while forms with r, in the Ugric, dialect of the p-language.

Traces of l ~ r alternation can be shown in Ch and Sam, too (p. 65).

Since this alternation, which is hard to separate from that of l ~ n, is of great importance to the present analysis, I will insert additional evidence here. TESZ frequently refers to l > r development or l ~ r alternation in Hu. Some examples: alsó ~ dial. arsó 'lower, nether, bottom, subordinate', belső ~ dial. bersó 'inner', csülök ~ dial. csürök 'hoof; hank of pork', első ~ dial. ersó 'first', fagyal ~ dial. fagvar 'privet', fanyalog ~ dial. fanyarog 'make a sour face', dial. félső (< felső ing) ~ férső 'outer shirt' (felső 'upper, top'), fogol(y) ~ dial. fogor 'partridge', gyanánt ~ dial. gyaránt ~ gyalánt (TESZ explains: the dial. variant forms may have arisen through dissimilation and subsequent l > r development; cf. lengyel > lengyel 'Polish', világ 'daylight, light; world' > virdg 'flower'), kelepél ~ dial. kerépél 'to chatter, clatter (as a stork does)', kolomp ~ dial. koromp 'cow-bell', pilula ~ pirula 'pill'.--In addition to the small bouquet (which could be made into a very large one) from Hu, here follow some examples from other U languages: Fi elä 'live, stay', Hu él, Md ef, äf, Yn jire id.; Vg eli-päl 'the front' (p. 'side') vs Est äär 'edge, rand'; Fi älä (imperative of the neg. aux. verb), Est. ära, äla, ala id.; Fi jumala 'sky; godhead', Vty inmar id.; Yr laptaj ~ raptj 'chest, box'; Sk lagi, lakkj '(Vi) stir', Yr räxaptämmo '(he) caused us to stir'; Yr lymbad 'marsh', rympat 'bottomless spot in a swamp'; Vg fili 'to strip, peel off', firi 'tear off'; Fi rita 'a trap', Ch lud, rud id.; Fi takelta ~ takerta 'adhere'; Fi ylkä 'bridegroom', yrkä 'young man, man'; Yr püly ~ püry 'knee'. (Examples mostly from FUV and SW.)

b) m~w; in connection with it Décsy notes (transl.): "Through the acceptance of this consonant alternation one could, perhaps, reduce to a minimum the manifold representation of medial *m and *w."

c) t~l; Décsy remarks on it that the problem of the vexatious posited phonemes *ŝ and *ʃ could be solved by its acceptance, for it is a fact that in a line of etymologies Volga-Finn l (and d, ʃ) contrasts with l or l' in Zr, Vty, and the Ugric languages; e.g., Fi nyte- 'handle (of the scythe)'/Lp nāšā~nāšā- 'grip, handle'/Md neđ (< nede)/Hu nyele-/Vg nal /Os nōl id.; Fu uute- 'new'/Lp ođā~ođā-/Md od/Ch u/Vty vyl/Zr vyl/Hu ája (< ula) (p. 65). (Cf. entry OJ udu 'rare, novel').

In addition to the three conspicuous alternations above, one ought to keep in mind l~n which probably has its place between t~l and l~r. It must have been fairly wide-spread in OHu, as some place-names show it. E.g., Lándorfehérvár ~ Nándorfehérvár 'Bulgar-white-fort' (today's Belgrad), Ladány ~ Nadány (place-name), Németi ~ Lenti, Dömölk ~ Dēmēnk (Kálmán 1969), Bolonya ~ Bononya (Bologna); dial. lasponya = naspolya 'medlar', lalt = lant 'lute', lám ~ nám 'behold', légély ~ négély 'small barrel', hasmant ~ hasmált 'on one's belly', sármál ~ sármán (y) 'gold-finch', sül ~ sün 'porcupine', szelel ~ szen (y) el ' (it) draws' (of a pipe), belső ~ belső 'inner', Lőrinc ~ Nőrc 'Laurence', Barlabás ~ Barnabás 'Barnaby' (Grétsy 1962, 150). Examples from other U languages: Fi ammenta ~ ammelta ~ ammunta ~ ammulta- 'to ladle' (FUV); Fi nimi ~ Md lem ~ Ch lēm, lēm 'name'; Fi ilma 'air' ~ Vty imn-, Zr jenm- 'heaven'; Hu álom 'a dream' ~ Vty unm- '(a) sleep'; Ch nörpö ~ nölpö ~ ölöpö 'alder-tree'; Sk lěrmbak ~ něrmbar 'to be anxious'.

3.2.4.3.5 Syllable type and syllable structure in the U languages.--Research concerning the frequency of the possible syllable types in the U languages has found that undoubtedly the most frequent type is of CV shape; syllables of VC or CVC shape do occur today, but these types must have been rare in the p-language (Décsy 1969, 66; it is opportune to note here that the structure of non-derived/non-compounded words in PFU/PU is assumed to have had the following types: VCV; VCCV; CVCV; VCCV--Hajdú 1966, 53).

I hasten to add that even the assumed rare occurrence of assumed syllables of VC or CVC shape must be looked upon with suspicion, since it is open syllables the same as open stem forms which are characteristic of the U languages. In support of this argument, reference is made to Rédei 1975, 93-102. On p. 99, we learn that the nucleus of suffixes was a consonant which was always complemented with a vowel, the two elements thus forming a syllable; the reconstructable shape of the suffixes of PU/PFU is likely CV; one can posit the sporadic occurrence of suffixes of C shape, but this cannot be substantiated at present; an indirect proof of the existence (in the p-language) of CV shaped suffixes may be seen in the fact of VCV and CVCV stems; if the p-language had had stems ending in consonants, then we should also assume derivational suffixes of type VC and V; however, such derivational suffixes--as far as the p-language is concerned--are ruled out.

Since the coming into being of consonant clusters in medial position (which can through wear become final position) is inseparable from syllable structure, it is emphasized again that clusters even of the reconstructed forms must be re-examined to see whether the critical places are not due to a) gemination, b) the elision of a vowel between two consonants, c) the adding of an inetymological consonant to an etymological one.

3.2.4.3.6 Stress (accent).--In the majority of today's FU languages, stress falls on the first syllable. It is not used for word-differentiating purposes except in Komi-Permjak which important Zyryan dialect is, in this respect, in a transitional state. Therefore one can assume that stress was not a relevant trait--even prosodic trait--of the p-language, either.

3.2.4.3.7 Sandhi (~liaison).--Sandhi, covering progressive and regressive assimilation at syllable-, morpheme-, and word-boundary is a common feature in all FU languages. When analysing the utterance, one must consider the so-called rhythmeme or rhythmic entity which usually consists of several words. The dissecting of the rhythmeme reveals that some of the FU languages are characterized by marked consonant assimilation--notably Zr, Vty, Md, Lp, and Hu--and also by liaison.

The latter feature may be illustrated in the following manner:

(written Hu) az embər az a terəntés 'man (is) that kind of creation'; (the utterance is segmented into syllables according to the actual pronunciation: a/zəm/bə/ra/za/te/rəm/tés.--In other words, the syllables of the uttered words become rearranged within the rhythmeme so that--with the possible exception of the first syllable--all syllables begin with a consonant. Décsy suggests (p. 70) that the raison d'être of liaison in the FU languages is to recreate the primeval feature of consonantal syllable beginning. This phenomenon indicates that consonantal syllable onset was the rule in the p-language; this proposition can be substantiated not only by structural but also by etymological comparison (p. 71).

3.2.4.3.8 Revised vowel system for PFU.--Taking into consideration all the 13 FU languages, Décsy offers the following vowel system:

i	u
e	o
ä	a

In other words, excepting *i he accepts E. Itkonen's reconstructed vowel system for PFU. At the same time, he declines the theory of reduced vowels proposed by Steinitz.

So far as vowel length is concerned, Décsy holds with a number of scholars that it played only a marginal role in the p-language. He argues against the assumption of additional long vowels, such as *ī, *ē, *ī, and *ē, mainly by pointing out that the two most frequently occurring vowels (in the living FU languages) give no ground for the assumption of *ā and *ā in the p-language. Long vowels are in conspicuous opposition with short ones especially in Fi and Hu, but this feature does not characterize the FU languages as a whole.

3.2.4.3.9 The manifold representation of the reconstructed vowels in the FU languages.--To illustrate this aspect of FU phonology, Hajdú 1966 is adduced additionally. When approaching the problem, Hajdú is careful to point out that the correspondences of the vowel systems of the FU languages are harder to systematize than those of the consonant systems (the detailed treatment of which must be omitted here for lack of space; s. Collinder 1960, 1965; Lakó 1968), for the vowels are by their very nature less constant than the consonants. Besides, the phonetic environment, i.e., the neighbourhood of certain consonants or the vicinity--mediate or immediate--of the vowels in the same word or rhythmeme can markedly modify the vowels, both as regards quality and quantity, before all in the first syllable. Such are the causes which underly the fact that the vowels of the p-language--on whichever theory the reconstructions rest--have, as a rule, various representations in the descended languages.

Distilling, as it were, a consensus from various theories (accepting PFU *i, but leaving out the Sam languages), Hajdú gives a simplified scheme of PFU vowel representations as follows (transl.):

*ä	— e	é : Hu
	— ä	: Vg, Os, Md, Ch, Fi
	— a	(>o, e): Zr, Vty

*e	— é, ē	: Hu
	— *e	: Vg, Os
	— e	: Ch, Fi
	— e, o, u	: Zr, Vty

*i	— i	: all languages
	— i, f	: Hu

(N.B.: It is possible that some Hu words with e in the 1st syll. derive this e from *i; cf. egér 'mouse' ~ Fi hiiri.)

*ü ——— ü or ö : Vg, Os, Hu, Fi, Ch//delabialized ü in Zr, Vty, Md

*a ——— a, á : Hu
 *a : Vg, Os
 a : Md, Fi
 a, o : Ch
 o, u : Zr, Vty

*o ——— o ~ a : Hu
 a : Vg
 o : Os, Ch, (Fi)
 u : Zr, Vty, Md

*u ——— u : all languages (but not in all expected situations)

3.2.4.3.10 Metaphony; Vowel harmony.--Reference is made to Collinder 1960, 208 ff. and 1965, 64 ff. (quotations are taken from the latter source). Collinder first explains and illustrates metaphony thus: "Metaphony means, from a descriptive point of view, that there is, to some extent, an interdependence between the qualities of the vowels of different syllables of the same word. Historically, it means that the quality of one vowel has influenced the quality of another vowel. Even from a descriptive point of view one of the syllables can be regarded as determined by the others in an irreversible way. There is, for instance, a Turkish suffix -lyk ~ -lik ~ -luk ~ -lük : aklyk 'whiteness', cirkinlik 'ugliness', dostluk 'friendship', güclük 'difficulty'.--Metaphony may be progressive (as in the example above), or regressive, or reciprocal. Progressive metaphony is usually called vowel harmony, and regressive metaphony, frequent in the Germanic languages (except Gothic) is called umlaut."

Examples of total vowel harmony: Fi (illative sg) maa-han 'into (the) country', pää-hän 'into (the) head', pii-hin 'into (the) flint', puu-hun 'into (the) wood', pyy-hyn 'into (the) wood grouse'// Yr (separative sg) nuda-had 'from (the) hand', warne-hed 'from (the) crow', habi-hid 'from (the) servant', nano-hod 'from (the) boat'.

Partial vowel harmony is more common than total vowel harmony. It has two subclasses: a) labial vowel harmony which means that syllables with labial vowels: o, ö, u, ü (vowels formed with lip-rounding) are only combined with syllables containing the same kind of vowel within the same word (some restricted combination may occur with syllables containing non-labial vowels: a, e, i, y); partial vowel harmony of the labial sort is found in Hu, ChE, Sk, and Km ("... all these languages have been subject to Turkish influence"); also, but not to the same extent, in Vty, SamN, and some Lp dialects;

b) palatal vowel harmony, "... when fully developed, implies that syllables with front (fore-tongue) vowels (as ä, e, i, ö, ü) are not easily combined with syllables containing back vowels (as a, o, u, y).--Palatal vowel harmony is found in the U languages generally. Exceptions are Lp, Vty, Zr, Liv, the northern Est dialects, Standard Est, Northern Vg; it is almost unknown in northernmost Veps and northernmost Os.

3.2.4.3.11 Break-up of vowel harmony.--Collinder sums up a phenomenon which is of particular interest with regard to the disappearance of vowel harmony in OJ. He writes: "In some Uralic languages the vowel harmony has been more or less broken up for different reasons: 1) the distribution of back vowel and front vowels in the first syllable has changed; 2) back vowels and front vowels have merged in the second syllable; 3) alternation has disappeared in suffixes because one suffix variant has ousted the other" (p. 67).

3.2.4.3.12 Limited vowel harmony assumed for PFU.--In agreement with most scholars in the field, Décsy thinks that a simple, palatal: velar vowel harmony can be posited for the p-language, with the marked limitation that in the 2nd, 3rd, etc. syllables only a, ä, and, perhaps, e could appear. After a, o, u in the 1st syll.,

there had to follow a in the 2nd, while after ä, e, i in the 1st syll., the 2nd syll. could have only ä or e. We do not know whether this regularity can be assumed for the suffixes or not.

3.2.4.3.13 Vowel alternation in PFU.--According to Décsy, only one kind of vowel alternation may be posited for PFU, and that manifested itself in parallel forms conform to vowel harmony. The parent language is supposed to have had a number of doublets differing in 1st syll. vowels (a : ä, or o : e, or u : i). The daughter languages are thought to have carried on with one form or the other, or with both. Décsy thinks that at least the following types of doublets may be posited: *kakta/käktä 'two', *lunta/linta 'bird', *pola/pelä 'half', *pora/perä 'bottom; hind part', *sappa/säppä 'gall', *pora/pelä 'dust' (cf. Hu por, Fi pöly; cf. entry horobu, OJ porobu), *nola/nielä 'lick; swallow', *kora/kerä 'bark, shell', *ropa/repä 'fox', etc. Such forms stood, according to Décsy, in the same relation to each other as the modern Hu doublets, say, gombóc/gömbóc 'dumpling', csúcs 'top, peak' : csücs 'corner', bufog-/büfög-/bűfög- 'to belch', or Fi kutista 'to itch' : kitistä 'to creak', tuhma/tyhmä 'silly, stupid'.

(Note: The existence of doublets, whatever be the explanation of their coming into being, links up with word splitting which is, no doubt, one way of unconscious word creation. For the J side, s. esp. Wenck 1968, 100-3.)

We know that Steinitz, after much pondering over the problem, often found no other way to explain the motley vowel correspondences of the various member languages of U than by positing marked vowel alternation in the parent language. According to him, the following paradigmatic vowel alternations have to be assumed:

a ~ o	o ~ u	ä ~ i
a ~ y	o ~ ü	ä ~ e
a ~ u	u ~ ü	e ~ y (reduced vowel).

(reduced vowels according to S.)

As grounds for this assumption, Steinitz points to vowel alternation in several FU languages, which cannot simply be taken as secondary developments that have taken place in the separate lives of the languages in question. E.g., Hu hal-~hol- 'to die', val-~vol- 'exist, be', falat 'a bit, a bite' : falt 'a piece, a patch', alud- 'to sleep' : olt- 'put out' (e.g., fire, light), a-a 'that' : o-t(t) 'there' : u-gy 'in that manner'. Steinitz's main argument was the evidence of Os in which a whole system of paradigmatic vowel alternation (ablaut tied to certain form groups) is known. Similar, but not as marked, vowel alternation is found in Vg and Hu, further in Lp, and generally in the other FU languages (Hajdú 1966, 48).

Still in connection with this problem, Collinder (1965, 73) informs us that in Vg and Os, the curious free vowel alternation, tied to certain form groups, may have come about by regressive metaphony or umlaut (the Vg, Os alternation in question is found in 1st syll.). Analogous to Hu hal-~hol-, etc. are Fi pala- '(Vi) burn'~politta- '(Vt) burn'/Lp puolle-~poalte-/Md pala-~puitta- id. (Regarding Hu hal-~hol- and its cognates, cf. OJ karu 'die', korosu 'kill', under kareru.)

(Note: As mentioned earlier, Hu abounds in doublets which differ in the main in vowel order; the dialects must have hundreds of such forms (nobody has cared to count them, since they do not seem to be important). In the foregoing etymological analyses one can easily observe that one frequently encountered difference between J and PFU/FU/Ugric forms is that the latter have palatal vowel order (or remnants of it) against velar vowels in the J/OJ forms. The thought arises that not only the Hu vowel system has become more fronted and open than previously, but also those of Fi and other FU tongues.)

3.2.4.3.14 Sound laws and tendencies in sound development in U linguistics. The precept of the exceptionless nature of sound laws (in German, the much discussed Ausnahmslosigkeit der Lautgesetze) of the Neogrammarians is certainly useful as a general guide, although by no means as valid in every respect as it sounds. Those who have tried to apply it in U linguistics have had partial successes only. Even within the last 900 years of Hu language history from which we have written records in quantity, phonetic development has simply not been conform to Neogrammarian expectations. To quote Décsy again (transl.): "We can ob-

serve in numerous places of the FU language area that under identical conditions a phonetic change has been carried through in a certain number of cases, while in another number of cases it has failed to take place, or it has taken place in another manner. This has been found not only as regards the oldest period since the break-up of the PFU parent language, but also in connection with such recent forms of language development as Old Hungarian (1000 to 1350) and Middle Hungarian (1350 to 1600). Bearing this in mind, Hungarian language historians have abandoned the term 'sound law' and have in many cases substituted for it the term 'tendency in sound development'. ... By the latter term one understands sound changes that have numerous exceptions which, as regards quality, cannot as yet be stated with precision. When Erkki Itkonen used such concepts as 'splitting' (Spaltung), 'splitting in two' (Zweispaltung), 'sporadic sound change' (sporadischer Lautwandel), 'heterogeneous origins of vowels' (heterogener Ursprung der Vokale) (cf. Steinitz 1964, 167), he undoubtedly wished to get a hold on the same fact; and one can presume that the enumerated concepts basically mean 'the modifying effect of phonetic environment'; ... to be certain, there are several 'sound laws' in the field of the FU languages, but most sound changes in that area can be classed only as 'tendencies in sound development'. --There are particular causes why the precept of the exceptionless nature of sound laws is not tenable in the FU field. In the FU languages, there are relatively long words; the length of a word can be considerably increased by means of agglutination (the attaching of derivational and inflectional suffixes); what is more, in the FU languages it is not the word which forms the basic phonetic entity, but the rhythmeme, i.e., a group of words spoken within a single utterance rhythm " (pp. 72-3).

We have had occasion to see one effect of speaking in rhythmemes when sandhi~ liaison were treated under 3.2.4.3.7. There the rearrangement of syllables was such that with the exception of the first one every syllable had to begin with a consonant (suggested recreation of a primeval trait of these languages). However, it is not merely the syllable boundaries which get shifted in the changing rhythmemes as the flow of speech goes on, but also the relative position of the vowels as their environment changes. The frequent positional change creates varying phonetic conditions in which phonetic change works. Moreover, the frequent positional change renders the syllables, and esp. the vowels in them, liable to analogic effects and countereffects. Consequently, the manifold shapes of vowel developments in the field of the FU languages could be viewed, Décsy suggests, at least in part as a natural consequence of a peculiarity which is rooted in the structure of these languages (p. 73).

Note: In connection with the concept rhythmeme and its as yet little known effect on FU vowels, it is well to remember that the J flow of speech has utterance entities not unlike the rhythmeme on the U side. Lewin (1959, 197) notes that the structural elements of the J sentence are not identical with the single words (tango), therefore they are sooner and more correctly called syntagmas or bunsetsu ('Satzglieder'). The bunsetsu is characterized by the following prosodic and phonetic traits: 1) each bunsetsu is articulated in a single, unbroken speech act, 2) the syntagmatic entity of articulation corresponds to a similarly unbroken intonation curve, 3) the junctures between the bunsetsu can be marked by pauses, 4) the velar nasal ŋ cannot function as a beginning consonant in such a syntagmatic section, 5) no bunsetsu may be closed by a consonant. --In addition, each bunsetsu consists of a free word (always forming the beginning) which can be expanded by the attaching of suffixes and/or postpositions.

4. MORPHOLOGY

Note: In order to make the information as exact as possible, I frequently adduce original sources, translating the parts in question into English, if necessary. Many of the examples on the U side are taken from Hungarian, because it is best known to me; an added reason is that in the simple Hungarian sentence the word order is still Subject - Object - Predicate, while, for instance, in Finnish and Estonian this is no longer the case.

4.1 GENERAL FEATURES of NOMINAL and VERBAL CATEGORIES in J and U

4.1.1 The J noun--predominantly disyllabic so far as it belongs to the genuine J basic vocabulary--has no grammatical gender, no numerus, no case flexion, and no article (Sansom 1928, 69; Sansom prefers to use "substantive" instead of "noun").

Since it has no case flexion, it has to be brought into relation with the other parts of the sentence a) by enclitic particles or postpositions, b) through a sort of inflection of the words serving as predicates, namely the verbs and the adjectives, c) through juxtaposition. Examples: (to a):) otoko no te 'a man's hand' (O. 'man', no gen./attr. marker); otoko (wo) miru 'to see a man' (a phrase which can serve as a sentence, too; OJ and ClJ wo, later o is the object marker which is, however, not the strict equivalent of, say, Latin -m in terra-m 'earth': it is sooner of lative/directional sense, say, 'towards'; miru might as well be translated as 'the fact of seeing'); otoko ni yaru 'to give to a man' or '(something) is due to a man' (ni is a general loc. suffix, here serving a dative/lative function); yama no ue ni 'upon/above a mountain' (Y. 'mountain', ue 'top, topside'); (to b):) ClJ yoki otoko 'a good man' (the base of the attr. form yo-ki is yo-); waruki kaze 'a bad wind' (waru- 'bad'); (to c):) otoko tatsu 'a man stands' (where the noun cannot be said to be tied to the verbal form by any inflection of the latter: tatsu, similarly to miru and yaru above, could be taken as a noun): otoko ga meshi (wo) taberu 'a man eats rice' (ga is the subject marker of post-OJ times; m. 'food made of rice'; this sentence is relatively precise).

By way of contrast (or comparison), here follow the approximate Hu equivalents: férfi keze or férfi-nek keze 'a man's hand' (f. 'a (grown) male person', kez-e 'his hand', -e px3rdsg; -nek < -ne + -k, lative/directional suffixes); férfi-t néz 'he/she/it' views a man' (the subject is implied, one knows it from the context; -t marks the object; néz is the bare stem in the function of predicate 3rd sg present indicative); férfi-nek jár '(something) is due to (a) man' (-nek as above; jár is the bare stem, the same as néz above); hëgy csúcs-á-n or hëgy-nek csúcs-á-n 'on top of a mountain' (h. 'mountain', -á- < -a- px3rdsg, -n loc. suff.); jó férfi '(a) good man' (jó 'good'; the Hu adj. is uninflected); rossz szél 'bad wind'; férfi áll '(a) man stands' (not something else); a férfi rizs-t êsz(ik) 'the man (spoken of before) eats rice' (a is the definite article before nouns beginning with a consonant; in earlier times, when Hu used no definite article, a was a dem. pron., meaning 'that'; -t is obj. marker; for êsz(ik), s. entry taberu).

4.1.2 No clear distinction between nominal and verbal categories.--Even today, the category of the noun is not always marked off from that of the verb. This may sound as a surprise in consideration of the often long phonetic sequences of J verb forms. However, such a form as tabenakute 'not eating' or 'not having eaten' goes back to a stem tabe which in itself can function as a noun (-nakute is the gerund form of the postposition -naku, cognate with the negation verb nu); or, miraremasu 'I am (being) seen/watched', has evolved from the base OJ mi 'to see', first into the fuller stem miru, then analogically into longer forms. It is the monosyllabic and disyllabic verbal forms whose category is not always clear.

Sansom interestingly contrasts the IE noun category with the J one, and remarks: "Japanese, even in its modern form seems to retain vestiges of a condition in which there was imperfect differentiation of grammatical categories."--This is quite different at least from a relatively late condition of the IE languages which have "... formal grammatical categories corresponding to certain psychological categories -- word classes such as nouns, corresponding to the psychological category 'thing'; verbs corresponding to the psychological category 'action' or 'state'; and adjectives, corresponding to the psychological category 'property'; in Japanese, either the psychological category is not fully differentiated, or the correspondence between grammatical and psychological categories

is incomplete. The substantival or noun category seems to be the primary one and to have been retained in some cases where, in other languages, new categories have developed" (p. 70).

A number of J adverbs are nouns as well. E.g., ima 'the present; the present time' can be used as the equivalent of 'now' in ima mairimasu 'I am coming now'; ima no yo 'he present day or age' (no gen./attr. marker); koko 'here; at this place' is historically a noun (in which at least the second -ko probably means 'place', cf. OJ -ko, -ko under entry -ka/-ga).

The stem forms of adjectives can also function as nouns. E.g., aka no momohiki 'red drawers', where aka 'red' is the stem of aka-ki (attr. form), aka-si (predicative form).

The previously mentioned verb miru itself has also been used in the function of a noun, but its stem even more frequently, as OJ and later literary works attest. For instance, mi-ni yuku 'to go to see'; hana-mi 'flower-viewing'.

Turning to the U side, the word categories are similarly problematical. Collinder (1960, 232) states that the flexile stems (which can be combined with flecional endings) can be sorted into 'noun stems' and 'verb stems'. "Any stem that can be combined with a mood characteristic (connoting a subjective attitude towards the action, change, or state expressed by the stem), is a verb stem. In the Fenno-Ugric languages, except Mordvin, any stem that can be combined with a tense characteristic, is a verb stem." --As may be seen, the FU languages do not follow the general pattern.

Hajdú (1966, 57) notes in this connection that in the U era the most significant formal difference between the category of the noun and that of the verb was that the former could not combine with mood characteristics, while the latter did not take case suffixes. However, "... the belonging of one and the same phonetic continuum to the noun- or the verb-category was not absolute: the same morpheme could function at times as a noun, while at others, as a verb. Such a phenomenon is still encountered, even if not very frequently. For instance, the phonetic syntagmas appearing as Hu nyom 'to press, push; a trace, a spoor', fagy '(Vi) freeze; frost', les 'to watch; an ambush', zavar 'to disturb; turmoil'; Fi neuvo 'advice', kutsu 'invitation', onki 'a hook' can be combined with case suffixes (e.g., fagy-ban 'in frost', zavar-ból 'out of turmoil', neuvo-sta 'from an advice'), but they can also be combined with verb suffixes (e.g., fagy-nánk 'we would freeze', zavar-jon '(he/she/it) should/shall disturb', neuvo-isin 'I would advise', kutsu-kaa 'invite!')."

That the number of such verb-nouns or verbo-nominals was greater in the proto-language is indicated by the fact that there are numerous etymologies whose representatives in some of the member languages belong to the noun-class, while in others to the verb-class, without containing nominal or verbal derivational suffixes (ibid.).

Fitting to Sansom's remarks on psychological categories and the weak differentiation of word categories in J is what W. Schlachter has written on the PFU nominal and verbal categories (transl.): "As comparative research has shown, the verbal system of the FU era was developed weaker than the nominal one. Many forms of the verb paradigms that are felt today to be of entirely verbal nature were nominal in the beginning; that is to say, there existed no complete verb paradigm, therefore no means for expressing all persons/actors and numbers that we are accustomed to use today as carriers of an action or happening. ... It was exactly the most common case, i.e., the linking of a subject and of a happening/action in the bipolar verbal clause, which was not yet developed because the 3rd person was expressed nominally or not at all" (1966, 89-90).

It is appropriate to mention here that according to a number of U linguists the FU p-language possessed no personal endings at all (Hajdú 1966, 74). Some of the modern daughter languages, on the other hand, have surprisingly involved conjugation systems. These systems can show person, number (of actor: singular, dual, plural), possessor, possessed (object), involvement of an object in an action, or lack of it, moods, tenses, aspects, etc. Again, the various daughter languages differ a lot in the way as they make use of these means at their disposal. And even those with a fairly complicated conjugation system, such as Hu, still employ bare verb-nouns, too. For instance, the word fagy '(Vi) freeze; frost' can be a sentence in itself, meaning 'at present the weather is such that water/snow/mud,

etc. hardens from freezing'. Such examples bear out Schlachter and others, for this sort of fossil evidence must be thousands of years old.

Considering the fact that the root form of the J verb, as Sansom writes, is of nominal nature, e.g., mi : mi-ni yuku 'to go to see', hana-mi 'flower-viewing' (vs mi-ru 'to see, view', contrasting with OJ mi) and that the so-called rentaikei (attr. form, corresponding to the present participle of conventional usage) of every J verb, along with the renyōkei (or 2nd base) can fill the function of a noun, one wonders whether the J conjugation system, which takes in, although in a less involved way, the adjective (keiyōshi) and the adjectival verb (keiyōdōshi), is not a relatively late growth like the conjugation systems of the U languages.

Let's read how modern Hu linguists imagine the one-time working of the weakly differentiated word categories in U/PFU. Bárczi - Benkő - Berrár 1967, 203 states (transl.): "Many contest the coequality of the adjective with the noun and the verb. There are opinions according to which the separation of noun and adjective was not complete in the U p-language, and not even in the FU p-language; in other words, depending on the syntactic situation, a given stem could be either noun or adjective. There is no doubt that in today's Hu most words marked by duality of word-class are noun-adjectives. Of the ancient noun formants, many are found in adjectives, too. The syntactic and semantic properties of Hu favour both the nouns becoming adjectives and the adjectives becoming nouns. These qualities may have been present to a certain extent in the U and FU p-languages."--On p. 200, the same work treats of the turning of a noun or an adjective into an adverb. For instance, holnap 'tomorrow' and tégnap 'yesterday' were nouns in OHu, but are adverbs (of time) nowadays; vasárnap 'Sunday' can function both as a noun and as an adverb (and it seems to have kept its ambivalence ever since it was created); the comparative grade of the adj. késő 'late' is később 'which is later', used some centuries ago, but today, később functions as an adverb, meaning 'later on'; similarly, the adj. elő 'which is in front' took on the sign of the comparative grade to become előbb 'which is further in front', yet today it is an adverb, meaning 'earlier, formerly'.

Still of interest is Hajdú's description of the ancient link between noun and verb (1966, 58, transl.): "... we mention here the capacity of the Samoyed languages and Mordvin, by virtue of which--in predicative position and without the use of verbal suffixes--these languages can turn the nominal (noun, adjective, numeral, pronoun) into a verb, and on such occasions the nominal which has become a verb takes on verbal personal endings and even time characteristics." E.g.:

MdE	prs	sg	1 (mon)	od-an	'I am young'
			2 (ton)	od-at	'you are " "
			3 (son)	od	'he is " "
	pl	1	(míá)	od-tano	'we are " "
			(tyá)	od-tado	'you are " "
			3 (syá)	od-t	'they " " "
	past	sg	1	odo-li-ń	'I was young'
			2	odo-li-t	'you were " "
			3	odo-l	'he was " "
	pl	1		odo-li-ńek	'we are " "
			2	odo-li-de	'you are " "
			3	odo-l-t	'they were " " "

The above paradigm is instructive for several reasons: a) its base is the adj. od 'young, new' which probably belongs under entry oto : oto-go, OJ ōto-go 'last/youngest child', b) it illustrates how a nominal stem turns into a verb, c) we can observe on it that the 3rd person actor can be indicated by the bare stem, d) the past tense form is created out of the adj. stem + the verb of existence ule (+ personal endings). Concerning ule, reference is made to entry iru~oru 'to be' (cf. Fi ole-, etc., U *wolŭ). As Hajdú explains, Md ule has become reduced in the given position to a marker of the past tense. I would note that there is some similarity between this formation and OHu and dial. verb stem + vala (etc.), e.g., lát vala 'he/she saw', jár vala 'he/she went to and fro', les vala 'he/she watched'. Cf. the many verb formations on the J side effected by means of adding ari/u 'to exist'

which seems to be a variant, by split, of the verb of existence iru-oru; cf. ClJ shirokari 'is white' < shiroku + ari (shiro/a 'white', shiro-ku being a nominal; the inflexion of the J adj. actually rests on the basis: adj. stem + k + vowel + ari, s. Lewin 1959, 137).

4.2 WORD FORMATION in JAPANESE and URALIC

4.2.1 Splitting.--The matter of word formation by splitting has been broached on numerous occasions in the present analysis, esp. in the etymological comments. For the J side, reference is made again to Wenck 1968, e.g., karu 'to cut' (coarse material or coarsely), kiru 'to cut' (finer, thin material), koru 'to chop (wood)'. --For the U languages generally, there is no work available on this phenomenon. For Hu, one can refer to Grétsy 1962; e.g., csekély 'a small amount': sekély 'shallow' (of water), doboz '(smallish) box': toboz 'pine-cone', dobban 're-sound, reverberate, beat' (e.g., the heart, once): döbben 'be startled'.--S. also 3.2.4.3.13, i.e., alternate forms in Fi, Hu, but esp. in the Hu dialects.

4.2.2 Word formation by composition

4.2.2.1 Subordinative or syntagmatic composition.--Following Sansom (1928, 297-) and Hajdú (1966, 78), subordinative compositions are those in which there is a syntactic relationship between two or more components of a formation. For instance, yaki-koroshi '(the) burning to death~killing by burning' where yaki < yaku 'burn' is not simply a deverbal noun, but a verbal base of nominal and other functions; koroshi < korosu 'kill, put to death'; in yaki-koroshi, yaki seems to have a gerundive function whose approximation may perhaps be found in some Hu expressions (so-called figura etymologica) like tudva-tud 'to know fully well' (tud 'know'), látva-lát 'to see indeed', sírva-sír 'to weep bitterly'.--Here follow some clearly attr. compositions of OJ type: shira-tori 'white bird' (note the bare adj. stem shira), shira-ga 'white hair', aka-yama 'red mountain', ao-yama 'blue mountain', taka-oka 'high hill', naga-saki 'long promontory', naga-tsuki 'long month'.

Such unmarked use of the attr. adj. is not rare in OJ, and it probably reflects the more original way of using the adj. For a similar feature on the U side, cf. Hu fehér-ló 'white horse' (a legendary horse), fehér-tó 'white lake' (as a geographical name), nagy-erdő 'big forest', hosszú-föld 'long piece of land', etc.

Leaving aside the type of yama-michi 'mountain-road~a road in the mountains' as common in many languages, I draw attention to one which could be termed unmarked possessive composition. E.g. (Lewin 1959, 139): na-dakashi 'famous' (lit., '/his/her/ name /is/ high'), ke-dakashi 'noble' (ke 'spirit'), kokoro-bososhi 'sad' (k 'heart', -bososhi < hososhi 'thin'), hara-gitanashi 'mean, vulgar' (n 'belly', kitanashi 'dirty'), mi-gurushi 'ugly' (mi 'sight; the fact of seeing', kurushi 'painful'), nomi-nikushi 'unpalatable' (n 'drinking', nikushi 'hateful').--While approximate formations can be quoted from, say, English, e.g., 'arm-strong', 'head-strong' (they are not too numerous), the Ugric languages abound in compositions which come very close to the J ones, and the other FU languages also have their fair share. E.g., Hu szava-foganatos 'influential' (lit., '/his/her/ word /is/ effective'; szó 'word'), fele-más 'uneven, odd' (fél 'half', fele 'its half'; más 'other, different'), teje-jó tehén 'a cow the milk of which is good' (tej 'milk', jó 'good', t 'cow'), vállá-közös 'broad-shouldered' (váll 'shoulder', köz 'space, distance', közös is an adj. derivative);--Vg pés-vansén lü 'a horse the hip of which is spotted' (p 'hip', y 'spotted, dappled', lü 'horse'), fiolä siltém pärén-pi 'a magic fowl with a slit nose' (fi 'nose', s 'slit' /past participle/), punkä väilém por-nē 'a witch that has lost her tooth' (p 'tooth', y 'lost');--Os kurel möčön 'a being whose leg is aching' (kur 'leg', kurel 'his/her/its leg'), peša vanžan yār 'a reindeer-bull with a spotted hip/flank' (p 'his hip/flank', yār 'bull'), sēm-sanka 'clear-sighted' (sēm 'eye', sanka 'clear'), nēmäl atem ajen xo 'a page with a bad name' (n 'his name', a 'bad', ajen 'young, small', xo 'man'; --Vty ki kösektem murt 'a man with a withered hand' (ki 'hand', kösektem 'withered', m 'man'). (Beke 1913, passim.)

4.2.2.2 Co-ordinative or paratactic composition.--Sansom (1928, 297-8) gives the meaning of the composition yama-kawa as 'hills and streams' (and not mountain-

stream). He then remarks: "In words of the type of yamakawa there is no coalescence, but only juxtaposition, and the meaning conveyed is only the sum of the two parts. 'hills and streams'--an interesting corollary of the fact that pure Japanese has no satisfactory equivalent of the conjunction 'and'. Where semantic coalescence takes place it is usually accompanied by phonetic change. Thus yamakawa would mean 'mountain-stream'.--The rule just quoted does not seem to be strict, for a few lines further down Sansom has kusabana 'grass and flowers' (from kusa 'grass' and hana 'flowers'; it is true, kusabana is given by Kenkyusha as 'a flowering plant; a flower'); Kenkyusha gives kusa-ki as 'trees and plants; vegetation' (kusa 'grass', ki 'tree').

Even if there is some mix-up, paratactic composition is clear in a fair number of cases, and we are interested in such compositions at present. For instance: OJ tu-yu-simo 'dew and frost', me-ko 'wife and child(ren)', mo-to-suwe 'stem and crown' (of a tree), tiri-pidi 'debris and muck', wo-saki 'tail and head/front', yo-ru-piru 'day and night' (yo-ru 'night', piru 'day'), yo-pi id., yumi-ya 'bow and arrow', mino-kasa 'straw-coat and umbrella', matu-kape 'pine and oak', pi-tuki 'the number of days~'time' (lit., 'day' and 'month'), tuki-pi 'moon and sun', paru-aki 'spring and autumn', ame-tuti 'heaven and earth', omo-titi or titi-papa 'mother and father', 'father and mother' (titi 'father'), kuni-ipe 'country and house', kadi-sawo 'oar and boating pole', ura-upe 'bottom and top', iro-ka 'color and smell', imo-se 'wife and husband', ipa-ki 'rock and trees'.

Reference is made to Rédei 1975, 93 ff. where word formation in the PFU/PU parent language is treated. Rédei calls 'compound words' those which consist of two free morphemes, while 'derivatives' are called those which contain one free and one or more bound morphemes; the 'compound words' can be split into paratactic (~copulative) and hypotactic subgroups; a special branching of the paratactic subgroup is what Rédei terms the 'uniting/copulative' one. Members of this group express abstract or collective concepts in a manner that they comprise two characteristic elements of the concept in question which elements may even have opposed meanings. E.g., Hu hir-név 'repute, fame' (hir 'news, tidings, report', név 'name')/Vg ävi-piy 'child' ('girl' + 'boy')/Os ne-yo 'human being' ('wife, woman' + 'man; male')/Zr nir-vo 'visage, face' ('nose' + 'mouth')/Vty im-nir id. (im 'mouth', nir 'nose')/Fi maa-ilma 'world, universe, terrestrial air' ('earth, land' + 'sky'), Est isad-ema 'parents' (isa-d 'fathers', ema-d 'mothers'), suu-silmad 'face' (suu 'mouth', silmad 'eyes').

Rédei remarks in this connection (transl.): "Paratactic/copulative compositions form a very archaic common trait of the U languages, and they issue from an identical attitude to man's world.--For the origin of this type of composition goes back to a time when abstract and collective concepts could only be expressed in the way just seen. Such compositions quite likely existed in the PFU/PU parent language, although we cannot trace any of the now existing copulative compositions of the member languages back into the era of the parent language."

When we take a closer look at the J, OJ compositions of this (or approximate) type--e.g., kusa-ki 'grass(es) and tree(s)'; 'vegetation', or me-ko 'wife and child(ren)'; 'one's family'--it is immediately apparent that they, too, express abstract and/or collective concepts. It seems that this feature of word formation in J closely resembles the one on the U side seen just above.

4.2.3 Word formation by derivation

4.2.3.1 Derivation from attested and assumed open monosyllabic bases.--Reference is made to Kazár 1980 where the possibility of a common pattern of word derivation in U and J is discussed, with supporting parallels from the A side. Since in the course of the etymological analyses we have had occasion to see numerous examples of the pattern in question, a detailed treatment can be dispensed with here. However, two relevant groups of verbs could not be presented en bloc, in these pages, so they shall be adduced now.

Endo-active versus exo-active OJ verbs:

ka-r-u	'borrow'	ki-r-u	'wear'	ki-y-u	'go out/die out'
ka-s-u	'lend'	ki-s-u	'to clothe'	ke-t-u	'extinguish'
			ke-s-u	"	"

k ^h -y-u	'go beyond'	nd ^h -r-u	'ride; get on (e.g., a horse)'
k ^h -s-u	'send, transfer'	nd ^h -s-u	'load onto'
mi-r-u	'view, see'	(m ^h to ^h -)po-r-u	'(Vi) return'
mi-s-u	'let/make see'	(m ^h to ^h -)po-s-u	'cause to return'
mi	'view, see'		
mo-y-u	'(Vi) burn'	ta-r-u	'be full/satisfied'
mo-s-u	'set afire'	ta-s-u	'add/complete'
na-r-u	'become/turn into'	yo ^h -r-u	'come near'
na-s-u	'do/achieve'	yo ^h -s-u	'let come near; gather'
ni-r-u	'resemble'		
ni-s-u	'make resemble'		

Hu verbs derived from roots of (C)V shape:

e-s- 'to fall' : e-jt- 'let fall' // ē-v- 'eat' : ē-t(et)- 'feed' // fe-s-ēl- 'come unstitched' : fe-jt- 'undo/peel' // ? fō-l- '(Vi) boil' : fō-z- '(Vt) boil, cook' // fu-l- '(Vi) drown' : fu-jt-~fo-jt- 'suffocate, smother; cause to drown' // gyu-l- 'catch fire' : gyū-jt- 'ignite' // hi-v- 'believe' : hi-tet- 'make believe' // i-v- 'to drink' : i-t(at)- 'make drink' // jō-v- 'come' : jō-het 'he/she/it may come' // lē-v- 'be/become' : lē-het 'it may be, etc.' // mē-gy 'he/she/it goes' : mē-het 'he/she/it may go' // *mu- : mu-t(at)- 'let see; show' // nyi-l- '(Vi) open' : nyi-t- '(Vt) open' // nyū-l- 'reach (for)' : nyū-jt- '(Vt) stretch' // rá-z- '(Vt) shake' : rá-nt- 'jerk, wrench' // sū-l- '(Vi) bake' : sū-t- '(Vt) bake; roast' // tá-r- '(Vt), formerly also (Vi) open up' : tá-t- id. // tē-v- 'do/make' : tē-het 'he/she/it may do' // ti-l- in tilalmaz-, tilt- 'prohibit' : ti-t- in titok 'a secret' // to-l- 'push' : to-sz- id. // va-l- 'exist' : va-n 'he/she/it exists' : va-gy 'you are' (2nd sg) // vē-v- 'take/get/buy' : vē-het 'he/she/it may take' // vi-v- 'carry/take away' : vi-het 'he/she/it may carry/take away'.

The case on the J side is clear, i.e., the root is each time of CV shape, and every pair is a minimal pair.

Among the adduced Hu verbs, there are a few which are debatable (e.g., fu-l-). However, the pattern is plain there, too, and I propose that at least a considerable part of the lexical material in J, the same as in U, can only be explained as either having remained open monosyllabic since time immemorial, or as having derived from such open monosyllabic roots. The fact that by far the greater parts of the respective vocabularies (genuine J and genuine U) are known to us in the form of disyllabic stems does not falsify the above proposition.

As verb formants, or perhaps more appropriately formants of verb-nouns, immediately following the suggested (C)V roots -- hence also referred to as primary expansion formants --, the J side seems to have:

-y- ; -k-/g- ; -m- ; -n- : -p- (and reflexes) ; -r- ; -s-(ts) ; -t- ;
-d- ; -z-.

The suggested correspondences on the U side are either identical in shape with the above formants or differ from them slightly or considerably. S. the tabulation under 3.1.3.--A complete explanation of the differences may not be possible for a long time yet (the etymologies will have to be sifted, also new ones added, etc.).--At present, a full evaluation of the verb derivation patterns cannot be offered, but s. the pertinent etymological comments and 4.2.3.7.

4.2.3.2 Abstract/collective noun formed with -sa.-- Reference is made to Sansom 1928, 293-5 and Lewin 1959, 51. Examples: fuka-sa 'depth' (: fuka-shi 'deep', sabushi-sa 'loneliness' (: sabushi-shi 'lonely', where sabushi itself comes from sabf(u), ita-sa 'painfulness' (: ita-shi 'painful'), subena-sa 'helplessness' (: subena-shi 'which cannot be helped' : sube 'way, means, solution' + neg.), ōki-sa 'greatness' (: ōki-shi 'large, great'), kurushi-sa 'suffering' (: kurushi-shi

'painful, tormenting'.

In these examples and in most formations, -sa is attached to adj. stems, primary or secondary. But the example kaeru-sa 'one's return' or 'one's way of return' (: kaeru 'return') shows that it can also be added to deverbal nominals, and then the noun so formed seems to be a noun actionis. At any rate, Sansom translates the clause kaeru-sa ni imo ni misen as 'on my return I will show her' (where the first ni must be of loc/adv. of time function, the second is the particle of dative/lative; imo 'sweetheart'; misu 'let see').

Other examples: OJ ku-sa 'one's coming; when one comes' (: ku, later kuru 'come'); yuku-sa 'one's going; when one goes'; saka-sa 'inversion' (: sakaru 'act contrary to', sakapu 'oppose, go against'); nagu-sa 'calmness; (the) calming down' (Vi; said of the heart or of the waves of a body of water); yoko-sa 'horizontal position'; 'the condition of something lying horizontally'.

Ōno explains -sa as being cognate with the first part of sama 'way, manner, means, conditions; reason'; -sa serves to indicate: a) direction, b) (when attached to a verb) condition; time; occasion; c) (when attached to adj. stems or to words of adj. type) nature (of things); quality; degree, extent.

Because we know that a denominal nominal formant of shape -g appears in some Hu forms, with correspondences in the cognates (e.g., ide-g 'bowstring; nerve', s. entry ito), the proposition is made that the Hu noun formant -sag/-ség~ŌHu -szág/-szég is comparable to J, OJ -sa.

On the basis of records, one can distinguish two main and a few less important functions of -sag/-ség: a) formation of collective nouns, e.g., nép-ség 'populace' (nép 'people, folk, masses'), emberi-ség 'mankind, the human race' (ember 'human being'); b) formation of abstract nouns out of adjectives, e.g., szép-ség 'beauty' (szép 'beautiful, pretty, attractive'), kégyes-ség 'kindliness' (kégyes 'kindly, amiable' < kégy 'benevolence'), jó-ság 'goodness' (jó 'good'), bátor-ság 'bravery' (bátor 'brave'); c) formation of nouns which name certain territorial/administrative units, e.g., őr-ség 'border defence area' (őr 'a guard'), bán-ság 'extensive territory administered by a bán, a high royal official), or-szág < ur-szág 'country, domain' (ur 'lord, master'); d) formation of nouns expressing some commission, e.g., követ-ség 'legateship' (követ 'legate'), őrnagy-ság 'high commanding post over guards' (őr 'guard', nagy 'great, prominent, large').

According to D. Bartha (1958, 119-21), the origin of this formant is unknown. Some scholars are of opinion that it has to do with ság 'hill', but this explanation does not sound convincing.--It is of interest to note that J. Budenz (Magyar Nyelvőr I, 1872, 348-9) had proposed that the original meaning of -sag/-ség may have had to do with 'time', since several of the formants of abstract nouns in the other FU languages can be traced back to nouns meaning 'time'. This would link up with point b) of the information given by Ōno in connection with OJ -sa.

Of. Gulya 1966, 47: OsE -sá/-sa + dual- or plural-marker functions as collective suffix, e.g., jer-sá-yan 'father with his son' (dual; jer 'father'), jer-sá-t 'father with his sons' (pl).

Of. Benzing 1956, 69: Tg collective suffix *+sa, e.g., mō-sa 'forest' (mō 'tree'), *xol-sa 'fish, fishes'; p. 76: Ma mori-sa 'horses', monggo-so 'the Mongols'; p. 70: -n (an unknown element) + sa, for the formation of nouns expressing masses consisting of small components.--Cf. Ramstedt 1957 (I), 68: Ma ja-sa 'eyes'.

4.2.3.3 Abstract noun formed with -mi.--Lewin 1959, 51: yowa-mi 'weakness' (yowa-shi 'weak'), shiro-mi 'whiteness' (shiro 'white'). Lewin notes that the difference between -sa and -mi is that -sa indicates the 'degree of a quality', while -mi refers to the 'seat of a quality'.

Sansom (1928, 294) states in connection with such examples as aka-mi 'redness' (: aka 'red; the red') that -mi is a suffix that forms abstract nouns from adjectival stems.

Leaving aside such formations as ayashimi '(the) suspecting' (: ayashimu 'to suspect' < aya-shi 'suspicious; marvelous'; Sansom himself thinks that ayashimi is a deverbal noun), we still have the abstract nouns formed out of adj. stems + -mi. I propose to compare this -mi to Sam Yr -wa/-ma (s. L. Honti's review concerning abstract nouns in U, NyK 79, 1977, 431-4 /Oscar Lazar: "The formation of abstract nouns in the Uralic languages", Acta Univ. Uppsaliensis; Studia Uralica

et Altaica 10. Almqvist & Wiksell, Uppsala 1975, 334 pp.). Examples from SW 107: *när-mä (~*när-mä 'redness' (: *när 'red'); of. *när-mä (~*när-mä) 'be/become red', Yr när-mä 'scarlet(fever)'

4.2.3.4 Pronoun formation.--A) J -no, OJ -nd/-nu vs U *-n (s. the treatment of the pronouns as lexical items under 2.1.12.1).--Whether OJ -nd/-nu which functions as pronoun formant is identical with the gen./attr. marker -nd cannot be decided at present.

B) J, OJ -re vs U *-r (s. 2.1.12.1).--Against -re in OJ a-re, wa-re, önd-re 'I', na-re 'you' (2nd sg), sd-re 'he, she, that', ka-re 'he, she', ta-re 'who', idu-re 'which; where' we can set (Lehtisalo 1936, 390) U pronominal formant *-r. E.g., Vty -r in ma-r 'what; what kind' (: ma id.), ma-r in menne-r, manne-r 'which' (: men id.), na-r 'what' (cf. Sk na 'this, that')//Yn mi 'what'.-- Cf. Lehtisalo 1936, 389: PSam pronominal formant *-le; e.g., Tv le in se-le 'who', se-le-ta, se-le-gua 'somebody'//Yn le/-lo- in e-le-i, e-lo-i 'such (a)'.

4.2.3.5 Adjective formation

4.2.3.5.1 OJ adj. formant -si (J -shi) vs U *-ś or *-tś.-- Lewin (1959, 137-9) points out that the relatively poor stock of original adjectives in J has been supplemented with derivatives by means of suffixes and with subordinative compositions. In the following, Lewin's data shall be adduced (transl.): A) derivatives with -shi (+ final suffix): a) denominal formations, mostly involving reduplication, e.g., otona-shi 'obedient, gentle' (otona 'adult person'), katawa-shi 'deformed, crippled' (katawa 'deformity'), hanabana-shi 'splendid, glorious' (hana 'flower, blossom'), meme-shi 'womanish' (me 'woman'); b) deverbal formations (derivation from the indefinite/mizenkei form of verbs of yodan conj.), e.g., negawa-shi 'desirable' (negau 'to desire'), nozoma-shi 'desirable, advisable' (nozomu 'wish for, desire'), isoga-shi 'busy' (isogu 'to hurry'); c) deadverbative formations (partly reduplications), e.g., hanahada-shi 'extreme, excessive' (hanahada 'very, immensely'), imada-shi 'which is not yet (so)' (imada 'yet; not yet'), utate-shi 'being too much' (utate 'excessive; more and more'), kirakira-shi 'glittering' (kirakira (to) 'glitteringly; onom.');

B) derivatives with the suffix -ta- intervening (+ final suffix), e.g., mede-ta-shi 'auspicious; happy' (mezu 'wish for; love, admire'), kemu-ta-shi 'smoky, fummy' (kemu/-ri 'smoke'), hira-ta-shi 'flat, even, level' (hira 'flatness; plain, level');

C) derivatives with the suffix -na- intervening (+ final suffix; some of the etymologies involved are not clear), e.g., suku-na-shi 'little, scanty' (s. entry sukoshi), abu-na-shi 'dangerous', kita-na-shi 'dirty';

D) derivatives with the suffix -gama-shi (-gawashi) (+ final suffix), e.g., oko-gama-shi 'silly' (oko 'awkwardness, clumsiness'), midari-gawa-shi 'lewd, licentious' (midari 'disorder');

E) derivatives with the suffix -rashi (+ final suffix), e.g., otoko-ra-shi 'manly, manful' (otoko 'man'), onna-ra-shi 'womanly, ladylike; effeminate' (onna 'woman'), otona-ra-shi 'adultlike' (otona 'adult person').

Subordinative compositions: na-dake-shi 'famous' (na 'name', taka 'high'), ke-daka-shi 'noble' (ke 'spirit'), te-yasu-shi 'simple, easy to do' (te 'hand', yasu 'easy, simple').

On the U side, three sources shall be consulted.--A) Lehtisalo 1936 (196 ff.): PU suffix *-ś or *-tś (with reference to Toivonen /FUF 19, 226 ff.) Lehtisalo emphasizes that in some U languages it is difficult to keep apart the reflexes of U *-ś from those of U *-tś; transl.); e.g., LpN tšaləbmə-ś 'keen-sighted, clear-sighted' (tšaləbmi 'eye'), bəlli-ś 'of acute hearing' (bəlli 'ear'); MdM kiza-ś 'one year old lamb' (kizə 'year'), MdE kafta-ś ke 'twins' (kafto 'two'); Ch za-za in jebe-za, jebe-za 'gentle, jovial, polite; smooth, smooth-haired' (vs jebe-lə 'smooth, slippery'); Vty ize-ś 'stony' (iz 'stone'), uli-ś 'which is under/below' (ul 'underpart; that which is beneath'), niri-ś 'first' (nir 'nose'); Zr vire-ś 'bloody' (vir 'blood'), jie-ś 'icy' (ji 'ice'), böry-ś 'which is behind' (bör 'room/space behind something'), ar-śa 'autumnal' (ar 'autumn'); Vg jəmə-ś 'good' (cf. Os jəm id.); Os ferra-s 'slender' (fər id.), jəm-si 'right-hand side'

(iem 'good, healthy'); Yr *-sa + *-j in pū-šsai 'last' (pū 'background; arse';

B) Györke 1934; on p. 78, the author points out that Hu /-s (< -si, -se, -su) > -cs (< U *-tš, *-tš) occurs in adjectives which have either diminutive or nomen possessoris function. E.g., (dim.): sárga-s 'yellowish' (sárga 'yellow'), feketé-s 'of a black hue, slightly black' (fekete 'black'); (nomen possessoris:) hala-s 'abounding in fish' (hal 'fish'), vize-s 'watery; wet; containing a lot of moisture' (víz 'water'); szőrös-s 'hairy' (szőr 'hair'), híre-s 'famous' (hír 'fame').

C) D. Bartha 1958, 88-9 (deverbal adjectives formed with -s): tilo-s 'forbidden' (til-, tilt- 'forbid'), iszó-s 'habitual drinker' (isz-iv- 'to drink'), csavaro-s 'screw; cunning' (csavar- 'twist, turn, wring'), hazudo-s 'lying, untruthful' (hazud- 'to tell lies'), szorgo-s 'urgent' (szorog- 'busy oneself'), csalo-s 'tricky' (csal- 'to trick, defraud'), tudó-s 'learned, scholarly' (tud- 'know'), tartó-s 'durable, stable' (tart- 'keep, hold').

4.2.3.5.2 J, OJ adj. formant -ka/-ke vs U *-k.--According to Sansom (1928, 125), the OJ formant -ka/-ke forms adjectives out of uninflected words or stems; the resultant forms are quasi-substantives which are turned into attributes with the help of a "copulative locution" (nari). E.g., sidu-ka 'quiet' (stem sidu : sidumu '(Vi) quieten, die down'); (Lewin 1959, 144:) tashi-ka 'certain, reliable' (tasi-ni 'firmly'), atata-ka~atata-ke-shi 'hot', hono-ka 'faint, vague' (OJ stem pono id.), haru-ka 'distant, far' (OJ stem paru/o id.);-- -ka in combination with -ya- or -ra-, e.g., sumi-ya-ka 'rapid, quick', ate-ya-ka 'fascinating', nigi-ya-ka 'lively', hana-ya-ka 'bright, splendid', sawa-ya-ka 'refreshing'; aki-ra-ka 'distinct, clear', tsumabi-ra-ka 'fresh, clear', yawa-ra-ka 'soft, tender'.

For the U side, A) Lehtisalo 1936, 340 ff., i.e., PU suffix *-k forming denominal adjectives; it is interesting to note that the actual or the reconstructed forms in some member languages are of shape -ga, -ya, -ge, -já, -ka, -ke, etc. E.g., LpK vuelli-y 'low' (vuollē- 'that which is beneath'); Fi Vote vaja-ga 'incomplete' (Fi vaja id.); Ch juž-ya 'cold and penetrating (of the wind)' (juž 'cold draught/wind'); Vg iani-y 'large, big' (Md ine id.); Os háre-y 'raw, uncooked' (Hu nyer-s id.), sámle-y 'blind' (sám, sem 'eye'); Yr per-g, pir-ge, per-gä, pir-gä 'high' (píre 'height'); Tv fira-gä 'large, tall' (fira 'high; of the same height'); Sk ando-ge 'pertaining to the boat' (and, ande 'boot'); Km tér-ge 'of the middle' (tér 'middle').

B) TESZ: Hu mele-g 'warm' (Vg māli id.); Os mēle-k id. (Ug māle); Hu hide-g 'cold' (origin unknown), the part -de-g may be identical with the suffix cluster -tag/-dag/-teg, appearing, for instance, in cserge-teg 'which chatters/rattles' (cserég~csörög 'to chatter, rattle, etc., onom'), OHu hirva-da-g 'withering, wilting' (origin of the stem not clear), rotha-da-g 'rotting, decaying', Hu hall-ga-ta-g 'taciturn' (hall- 'hear'), korha-ta-g 'decaying' (etymology uncertain), reszke-te-g 'shaking, trembling' (rezeg- 'to tremble'), omla-ta-g 'crumbling, brittle; which falls into ruin' (omol- 'fall down, crumble, collapse, fall to pieces'), bágya-ta-g 'faint, weak, languid' (bágyad- 'grow tired/faint; flag').

Note: At this juncture it seems to be appropriate to recall that one way of forming adjectives in J is by combining -ta + -shi (s. 4.2.3.5.1. B); the element -ta- here seems to perform the same function as -ta/-da/-te- does in the Hu adj. formant cluster -tag/-dag/-teg.

C) D. Bartha 1958, 89-90: 1) adj. formant cluster -ékony/-ékény, e.g., félékény 'timid' (fél- 'to fear'), gyuladékony 'flammable' (gyul(l)ad- 'catch fire'), töredékény~törékény 'brittle, easy to break' (tör- (Vt) break'), termékény 'fertile' (terem- (Vi) grow, bear, yield'), feledékény 'forgetful' (feled- 'forget'). 2) adj. formant cluster -ánk/-énk, e.g., nyalánk 'fond of titbits; delicious' (nyal- 'lick'), féléánk 'timid' (fél- 'to fear'), nyulánk 'slender; tall; slim' (nyúl- (Vi) stretch, expand).

Note: Following Budenz, D. Bartha explains -ékony/-ékény as consisting of é (< *i, a PU deverbal nominal formant) + k (dim. formant) + ny (dim. formant); -ánk/énk is stated to contain the same elements (k and n are expressly stated to be 'denominal noun' formants.--Since the result of the formation is in each case an adj., k and n(y) must be adj. formants. I propose that k, the same as its assumable variant g under B), has to do with U *-k, while n(y) reminds one of -na- in the J, OJ adj. formant cluster -na-shi (s. 4.2.3.5.1, C)).

4.2.3.6 Secondary noun formation

4.2.3.6.1 J, OJ (? secondary) noun formant -na (? -ne) vs U *-n, denom. formant. Neither Sansom nor Lewin treats of this formation, but in view of apparent parallels I offer what material is at my disposal.

J ha-ne ~ ha (OJ pa-ne, pa) 'feather', OJ ki-ne ~ ki (J ki-ne) 'pestle', OJ kitu-ne ~ kitu (J kitsu-ne 'fox', J ko-na ~ OJ ko 'flour', J o-ki-na 'old man' (according to Ono, the part ki = OJ ki 'man, male', na 'human being'; o- seems to be an endearing prothetic element), OJ se-na ~ se 'spouse', J su-na ~ OJ su 'sandy shore, sand', J wa-na 'lasso': wa 'ring' (OJ id.), OJ wo-gu-na 'boy' (wo 'small, young'; -gu 'male', cf. ki), ? J, OJ ya-ne 'roof': ya 'house'.

Lehtisalo 1936, 119: U *-n for the formation of denominal nouns; e.g., Lp *-na in orbe-n 'sister', uorpe-ne : vioppi id./Fi -na/-nä, in pähki-nä 'haselnut' (: Mde pešte id.); esp. frequently occurring in animal names, e.g., haapa-na 'anas penelope'; Est pähk-nä 'nut'/Mde -ne, MdM -ne, e.g., Mde ati-ne (< ata) 'grandfather', MdM ate-nä (< ate) id. (-ne/-ne in dim. use), Mde ki-ne dim. of ki 'way, path'; MdM -nal, collective denom. noun formant, probably -na- + -l, e.g., säli-na-l 'elm-forest' (: säli 'elm')/Zr -an, dim., esp. in popular poetry, e.g., näl-an < näl 'girl', lun-an < lun 'day'; -na in vvi-na 'height; measure; limit' (: vvi 'height')/Vg -n, e.g., äi-n 'jaw, chin' (cf. Os āna-n, Vty an 'jaw-bone'/Os -n, e.g., yaš-n 'small boat' (yaš 'boat'), törmä-n 'little god (endearingly)' (törmä 'god')/Yr *-na/-ne, e.g., jūhūn-no 'sled drawn by reindeer' (? Os iūw 'tree; wood; coffin'), pēre-ne 'term for close relations among themselves' (cf. Fi perēh 'family')/Sk -n, -na, e.g., käte-n 'sledge runner'; *-ne, e.g., čumba-ne 'wolf' (cf. čumb 'long'), ? ām-ne 'daughter-in-law; son-in-law'/Tv *-ne, *-n3, e.g., sōrua-n 'rain' (Sk soro id.).--Cf. Collinder 1960, 262.--For an exhaustive treatment of PFU *-ne, *-n3 as 3rd syll. derivational elements, I refer to Rédei 1975, 93 ff.

4.2.3.6.2 J, OJ (? secondary) noun formant -ra /-rō vs U *-ra/-r3/?-l3.

As denominal noun formants, -ra and -ro are not treated by Sansom or Lewin. Ono and Omodaka mention them as derivational suffixes, but, of course, do not list their formations separately.--Suggested examples; a) with -ra: hashi-ra ~ OJ pasi-ra 'post; pillar' (Ono: this word is cognate with J hashi, OJ pasi 'chopstick'), kashi-ra 'head', kobu-ra ~ komu-ra 'calf of the leg'; b) with -ro: hoku-ro 'a mole (on the skin)', OJ Azuma dial. imo-rō, court language imo-ra 'sweetheart', J inu-ko-ro 'puppy' (inu 'dog', ko 'the young (of humans or animals)'), OJ ipa-ro-ro 'rock-head' (endearingly; ipa 'rock', po 'head, top'), koko-ro, OJ kōkō-rō 'heart' (cf. Mo kōkū-n 'breast'), J, OJ muku-ro 'body; corpse', OJ ne-rō-ne 'peak', J o, OJ wo-wo-rō 'tail', OJ odo-ro 'thicket', J toko-ro, OJ tōkō-rō 'a place', J ushi-ro, OJ usi-rō 'The rear', J utsu-ro, OJ utu-ro 'cavity'.

Lehtisalo 1936, 180 ff.: U *-r for denominal nominals, e.g., LpN gagē-r 'dung of reindeer' (= Fi kaka-ra), guōbe-r 'hoof of reindeer' (= Fi kopa-ra)/Fi mante-re 'dry land' (mantu 'earth, land, ground'), jānte-re 'sinew; rope made of sinew' (jāntee id.), nappu-ra 'small node' (nappu 'to knot'), pahku-ra 'a stump' (pahku id.), -ro in sapa-ro 'scout, short tail' (sapa 'hairless/ tail')/Ch mōngē-r 'body, trunk' (cf. Zr mige-r 'body', mig 'the body part of a shirt')/Vty mugo-r 'body', inma-r 'God' (inm 'sky, heaven')/Zr sige-r 'framework of a roof' (sig 'loft, attic')/Vg sākwē-r 'hilltop' (sākw 'hill, mound'), ānte-r 'uterus' (Os unt 'body of a woman')/Hu odo-r 'cavity' (odu id.)/Yr kōkā-re 'cranial' (cf. Taigi kugō 'swan')/Sk ponāa-r 'lower seam' (cf. Yn padde 'seam').

Cf. Fi kama-ra 'crust, surface layer', where -ra is a suffix or "Wurzelerweiterung" (FUV 42); Hu dial. ciko-ra ~ cikō ~ cika 'a sprout, tender shoot' (TESZ).

For an exhaustive treatment of PFU *-r3, *-l3 as 3rd syll. derivational elements, s. Rédei 1975, 93 ff.

4.2.3.6.3 OJ (? secondary) noun formant -se (-ze/-za) vs U *-s3/?-d3.-- Omodaka explains OJ kupi-ze 'stump of a tree' as having come from kupi-se; Ono informs us that kupi-ze evolved from kupi-za, and that the latter form is found in Kojiki in the expression kupiza-moti-no-kami 'the god who holds a stake' (s. entry kui).--At present, this is the sole sure form I have for the OJ suffix in question. However, because the shorter form, i.e., OJ kupi 'stake, post, picket' and i-kupi

'sacred stake' are well attested, and the pattern of 3rd syll. noun formation in J generally resembles that on the U side, I offer this comparison in the hope that more J, OJ material will be forthcoming.

For the U side, reference is made to Rédei 1975, 95-97. Examples: U *ip₃~*ip₃-s₃ 'odour, smell', FU *orpa-s₃ 'orphan, widow' (cf. Fi orpo 'orphan', Hu arva id. < IE *orbho-s, cf. Sanskrit arbhās, arbhakā - 'small, weak, young'; Latin orbus 'orphaned, orphan; widow'), FU *pone, *pone-s₃ or *pone-š₃ 'bosom' (cf. Fi povi; Ch ponga-š₃), FU *repā, *repā-c₃ 'fox' (cf. Fi repo id., Hu rava-sz 'sly, cunning' < ? IE Avestan roapiš 'fox; jackal').

4.2.3.6.4 Deverbal noun formation: J ending -i vs U *-j.--Reference is made to Pröhle 1916/17, 163, and Lewin 1959, 105. J verbs of y., k.i., and k.n. conjugation have deverbal nominal forms ending in -i. E.g. (following Pröhle), fuki 'the blower: the blowing' (fuku 'blow'), nomi 'the drinker; the drinking' (nomu 'to drink; swallow'), kame-wari Shibata 'Shibata, the "jug-breaker"', Shibata-no kame-wari 'the breaking of the jug by Shibata' or 'the way Shibata broke the jug' (k. 'jug, jar, vase'; waru 'to break', no gen./attr. marker), Yoshino-yuki 'a trip/a going to Yoshino' (yuku 'go'), tsukai < OJ tukapi 'messenger' (tsukau < tukapu 'to send'; note the passive-like meaning), shita-kiri suzume 'a sparrow with a cut /i.e., freed/ tongue' (sh. 'tongue', kiru 'cut', s. 'sparrow'); further: mi 'the one who sees; the seeing, sight', cf. hana-mi 'flower-viewing' (OJ mi > miru > miru 'to see, view').

On the U side, one may set against this formation one with U deverbal formant *-j (Lehtisalo 1936, 60 ff.). E.g., Fi opettaja 'teacher' (opetta- 'teach'), lähetäjä 'sender' (lähetä- 'send')/Md sala*j* 'thief' (sala- 'steal'), efä*j*, efi '(?) living/dwelling somewhere' (efa- 'live/dwell somewhere'), kuli '(?) dying; dead' (kulä- 'die'). (The above examples are from Pröhle.)--Lehtisalo, op. c. 61: Lp (Swedish) puolle*j*e 'burning', LpK öce*j* 'one who seeks', pöri*j* 'one who eats', bačče 'one good at shooting' (baččet 'shoot'), garro 'one busy with sewing' (goarrot 'sew'), čuovvo 'one who follows quickly' (čuovvot 'follow'), asse 'an inhabitant' (ässät 'dwell'), lokke 'reader' (lokkät 'read'), bačče 'marksman', goarro 'seamstress'; p. 63: Liv (-ji or -i) kulli*ji* 'transient' (kull (Vi) wear'), unni*ji* 'forgetful' (unn 'forget'), oppi 'apprentice' (opp 'learn'), jeläi 'animal' (jell 'to live')/Fi (-i) muisti 'memory', (muistaa 'remember, think of'), paisti 'the roast' (paistaa 'to roast'), paini 'the wrestling, wrestle' (painaa 'bend; press upon; torment'); cf. Est (-i) jõ*t*, jõdi 'the watering; feasting; dinner party' (jõ*t*ma 'give to drink'), sõ*t*, sõdi 'pasture; fodder; feeding' (sõ*t*ma 'to feed')/MdE pali, MdM palaj 'kissing' (palams 'to kiss'), fil*i* 'one who swallows' (fil*e*ms 'to swallow'), MdE efi, MdM ef*e*j 'inhabitant' (efams 'dwell, live somewhere')/? Vty (*-i) geri 'a plough' (giri- 'to plough')/Sk (-i) sitai 'liar'/Km (-i) thoi 'thief' (cf. Yr täl*e* 'to steal'), tili 'living' (cf. fil*e*-läm 'come to life again').

4.2.3.7 Verb formation and verb formants (s. also 4.2.3.1)

4.2.3.7.1 J, OJ verb formant -k/-g (+ vowel) vs U *-k, *-kk.--Following Lewin (1959, 129 ff.) the following verb categories with -k/-g (+ vowel) are found in J:

- verbs of the original vocabulary in which no derivation is apparent; e.g., iku~yuku 'go' (formerly also 'come'), saku 'tear, rip, rend'; OJ suku 'spread thinly', suku 'assist', tuku 'arrive', tuku 'pierce', tuku 'supply, serve', tugu 'succeed to', tugu 'inform', töku 'undo', puku 'blow', etc.;
- denominal verbs in -gu, e.g., ka-gu '(Vi) smell, give off a scent' (ka 'odour'), kata-gu 'carry on the shoulder' (kata 'shoulder'), mata-gu 'straddle, stride over' (mata 'crotch, fork(ing)'), tsuna-gu 'fasten, bind' (tsuna 'rope');;
- denominal verbs with the suffix combination -me-ku (for -me-, s. verb formant -m), e.g., haru-me-ku 'become spring-like, look like spring', iro-me-ku 'be tinged, liven up, be stirred' (iro 'colour'; s. entry iro where for this word the basic meaning 'blood' is suggested), ima-me-ku 'be timely' (ima 'the present'); (sound imitating verbs: sasa-me-ku 'to whisper' (sasa 'whispering sound'), hishi-me-ku 'to clamour' (hishi, a sound associated with cutting), u-me-ku 'to groan' (u, a sound of groaning);;
- denominal verbs with the suffix combination -ya-gu (also -ra-gu, -ya-ku),

e.g., waka-ya-gu 'become young/rejuvenated' (waka- 'young'), yawa-ra-gu 'become mild, soft' (yawa-, yowa- 'mild, weak, frail'), tao-ya-gu 'be/become graceful' (tao-, tawa- 'weak, pliant'), sumi-ya-ku 'be in a hurry' (sumi-, sumu- 'quick').

According to Lehtisalo (1936, 355 ff.), on the U side one finds verb formations with three suffixes of shape *-k (*-kk).

A) Ugric-Samoyed suffix *-k for deverbal verbs of momentaneous/inchoative nature; e.g., Os -γ in kēa-γ 'rise, get up' (ki- id.), kātā-γ 'be left behind, remain' (γā- id.)/Yr *-ka in the suffix combination *-ka-ma-, e.g., jākka-ha-m-tā 'begin to itch' (jākka 'to itch'); *-ka in inchoative formations (actual suffix combinations: -hā-l, -ha-llā, -Gāl, -ka-r), e.g., šurra-ha-l-tā '(Vi) return' (šurraš)/Sk -ko-l, -ka-l (and variants) in momentaneous verbs, e.g., pan-gā-nnay 'to plait, weave' (pannay id.);

B) U *-k for deverbal frequ. verbs; e.g., Zr kis-ka-l 'drag, pull'/Vty kis-ka- 'to tug, tear, pluck'/Vg -γ (or variants) in jōm-γ-ān 'to walk' (jōmi 'to step'), lēnt-γ-i, lēnt-γ-enti '(Vi) swing, sway' (lēnti id.; 'shake'), šir-γ-enti 'to buzz, boom, ring, roar' (cf. širēnti 'to crackle, rattle, creak'), is-γ-ēšli 'fly continuously' (isi 'alight, settle, perch');

C) (p. 380 ff.) U *-kk for denominal verbs; e.g., Md -ka in tšikor-ga-doms 'to creak suddenly' (tšikor '(the) creaking, grating, grinding; onom.'), alamo-ka-doms 'become less' (alamo 'small quantity; few'), alki-ka-ga-doms 'become shallow' (alkine 'shallow')/Vty -ki in aktām-ki- 'become lazy/idle' (aktām 'lazy, idle'), kezet-ke- 'feel cold, freeze' (kezet 'cold'), kot-ki- 'become moist/wet' (kot 'moist, wet')/Zr -gy-/ky- (indicates being busy with something') in dol-gy- 'go out' (dol 'movement'), tšötš-ky- 'to tie, link, join' (tšötš 'together')/? Hu refl. suff. combination -ko-d/-kō-d/-kē-d in gondos-ko-d 'take care of; look after' (gondos 'careful, conscientious'), szomor-ko-d 'be sad/dejected' (szomorú 'sad'), irigy-kē-d 'be envious' (irigy 'envious'), ör-kō-d 'keep watch, be on guard' (ör 'a guard')/Yr -pkkō- (indicates 'be busy with something') in ūflum-pkkō-s 'to play a child's play' (ūflum 'a child's play; a game')/Sk -ku-, -kku- in par-ku-ak, par-kku-ak 'to yell, cry' (par 'a yell');-- U *-kk for deverbal momentaneous verbs; e.g., Est -ka in pör-ka-ma 'rebound, recoil' (cf. pöruma '(Vi) shake, tremble; (slowly) fall down'), hel-ka-ma '(lightning) flashes (once)' (cf. hele- in frequ. helendama 'to shine, light, glow')/Vg manerái pile-kā-n 'why do you (pl) fear?' (m. 'why', pili 'to fear')/Tv -ki- (deverbal inchoative) in nana-btā-ki-ema 'I began to forget' (cf. nana-btājuama 'I forgot')/Yn *-kka- in leo-ka-rō, leo-da-do 'to begin to cry' (cf. leuadō 'to cry, yell, weep, roar')/Sk -ku- (indicates short duration) in sakallēi-ku-nit '(he) thrust into it (for a moment)' (cf. sakallēi- 'to thrust into');-- U *-kk (p. 383; deverbal dim. frequ. verbs); e.g., Ch -ka-/kā- in the suffix combination -ka-lāš/-kā-lāš, e.g., ngar-kā-lāš 'to whine/moan continuously; to stutter' (ngarāš 'whine /of children/'), il-ka-lem 'go on living' (ilem 'live, stay, dwell')/Vg -ya-t-, -kha-t- (suffix combination for deverbal frequ. and refl. verbs) in kom lātēy il-kha-ti 'the man carries coal' (kom 'man', l. 'coal', ili 'keep going; carry')/Hu -ko-d/-kō-d/-kē-d (as above); -ko-z/-kō-z- (frequ.) in fut-ko-z- 'run about' (fut- 'to run'), üt-kō-z- 'knock/bump against (repeatedly); -ko-s (frequ.) in fut-ko-s = fut-ko-z-//Yr -kkō-, -kku- (frequ.) in mai-kkō '(Vi) gather in small groups; get heaped up' (cf. maifō '(Vi) gather; get heaped')/Sk -ku-, -kku- (frequ.) in tō-ku-ak, tō-ku-ak 'I came repeatedly' (tōak 'to come'), čanža-ku-ak 'to go out repeatedly' (čanžak 'go/come out!').

4.2.3.7.2 J, OJ verb formant -m (+ vowel) vs U *-m.--Following Sansom (1928, 294-5), examples: ayashi-mu 'to suspect' (aya-shi 'suspicious'), ita-mu 'be painful' (ita-shi 'painful'), suzu-mu 'grow cold' (suzu-shi 'cold, cool'), niku-mu 'to hate' (niku-shi 'hateful'), yasu-mu 'to rest' (yasu-shi 'easy');--Lewin (1959, 131): hiro-mu '(Vt) spread, make known, diffuse' (hiro-shi 'broad'), taka-mu 'raise, heighten' (taka-shi 'high'), kashiko-mu 'be respectful/serious (to-ward)' (kashiko-shi 'wise, sagacious; august'), aka-mu 'blush, turn red (in the face)' (aka-shi 'red');--Diverse sources: ClJ riki-mu 'strain oneself' (Sino-J riki 'strength'), OJ kubo-mu 'become hollow' (kubo 'depression'), para-mu 'become pregnant' (para 'abdomen; bowels').--Note: -m is often replaced by -b in J.

On the U side, Collinder (1960, 273) posits U *-m, a denominal verb formant which "... occurs in verbs denoting 'become such' (as is expressed by the basic

stem." Examples: LpS raiga-mě- 'get a hole, get holes' (raige 'hole'), LpN bâstal-mâ- 'become sharper, be sharpened' (bâstel 'sharp')/Md valdo-mo- 'brighten, become bright' (valdo 'bright'):/? Ch pure-mâ- 'become good, become better, improve' (purô 'good')/Vty urod-my- 'become poor/miserable' (urod 'poor, miserable'), dygo-my- 'live in idleness, take one's ease' (dyg 'lazy, idle')/Zr bur-my- 'become good, become better, improve' (bur 'good'; Vty bur-my-, bur as in Zr)/Vg pus-m- 'recover, be restored to health' (pus 'healthy'), jânii-ma- 'grow, increase'/Os ene-ma- 'grow, increase' (ene 'big')/Yr pamee-m- 'become sharp' (pame 'sharp')/Tv tera-mu 'become shallow' (tera 'shallow')/Yn loddu-ma- 'become low' (loddu 'low').

As regards Hu, reference is made to D. Bartha 1958, 34, where -m- is described as the formant of the momentaneous verb; e.g., nyo-m- 'press, push' (no form without m is attested), OHu futa-m(ik) 'run, flee' (fut-id.), féle-m(ik) 'to fear' (féle-id.), csusza-m(ik) 'slip/slide (down), slither' (csusz-id.), folya-m(ik) 'flow, stream' (foly-id.), éle-m(ik) 'grow old' (él-id. 'to live').

4.2.3.7.3 J, OJ verb formant -n (+ vowel) vs U *-n--J, OJ verbs with the formant -n (not counting its combinations with other formants) are not very numerous. Only shinu 'to die' and inu 'to go away' can be called as somehow belonging to the largest conjugation category (yodan); the rest belong to the shimo nidan category. Examples: OJ kasa-nu 'to heap/pile up; repeat', J kasa-ne-ru id. (kasa 'a heap, a pile'), OJ kata-nu 'put together' (kata 'half'; cf. J kata-zuku 'put in order'), OJ pusa-nu 'summarize, synthesize' (pusa 'a bunch'), OJ taba-nu 'to bundle, tie', J taba-ne-ru id. (taba 'a bundle, a bunch'), OJ tadu-nu, J tazu-ne-ru 'inquire, seek, search for' (cf. OJ tado-ru, J tado-ru 'trace, follow up, pursue', s. entry tazuneru), OJ tuka-nu, J tsuka-ne-ru 'to bundle', OJ yuda-nu, J yuda-ne-ru 'entrust'.

In combination with other formants: a) with -ru, e.g., kasa-ne-ru, taba-ne-ru, tazu-ne-ru, tsuka-ne-ru, yuda-ne-ru, etc.,

b) with OJ -pu, J -ðu, e.g. (Miller 1971, 266), ube-na-Fu 'comply, submit' (ube 'really, indeed'), aki-na-Fu 'carry on trade' (aki 'commerce, trade'), iza-na-Fu 'invite', ura-na-Fu 'to divine, tell the auspices' (ura 'oracle'), udu-na-Fu 'treat with esteem/care' (udu 'a thing pertaining to nobility; something curious'), usi-na-Fu 'to lose' (usu 'become lost, disappear, vanish'); further examples from Lewin 1959, 130: tomo-na-fu 'accompany' (tomo 'friend, companion'), ni-na-fu 'to carry' (ni 'a burden, a load'), tsumi-na-fu 'punish' (tsumi 'offence, crime'); cf. J soko-na-u, OJ soko-na-pu 'break, injure, wound', J tsugu-na-u, OJ tuku-na-pu 'compensate, atone for', tuku-no-pu id. (that is to say, -na-pu had the variant -no-pu at least in this case).

Collinder 1960, 273: U *-n "... has the same function as the formant *m." Examples: Fi vanhe-ne- 'grow old' (vanha 'old'), pare-ne- 'grow better, recover, improve' (pare-mpi 'better', para-s 'best'), Lp. buorra-nâ- 'grow better, etc. (buorre 'good'), Ch jah-ne- 'get dirty' (jahô 'dirt'), Sk teeby-ni- 'be sour' (tee 'matter, pus, rottenness');--other examples from Lehtisalo 1936, 129 ff.: Lp -ne in keppa-ne- 'become lighter/less' (keppe 'light, easy', tabba-ne- 'come near' (tabbe 'here'); Fi kove-ne- 'become hard' (kova 'hard'), vahve-ne- 'become strong' (vahva 'strong'), paksu-ne- 'become burly/thick' (paksu 'thick, heavy'); Ch p3G-na, püg-na 'become moldy' (cf. Zr bak, bag, buk 'mold, mildew'); Sk -ni in weci-ni- 'to smell/taste like meat' (weci 'meat'), käli-ni- 'to smell like fish' (käli 'fish'); Yr -n- in pallē-n-tš 'to comb the hair fuzzy with a coarse comb' (cf. pal 'tangled' (as hair can be); Nu -n- in csökö-n-(ik) 'become stunted, get less' (cf. csök(ik) 'fall back in growing, get stunted'), csapo-n(ik) ~ csappa-n- 'become less, lose condition', villa-n- 'to flash (once)' (cf. villög- 'flash (repeatedly)', oso-n- 'sneak away, scurry, disappear' (cf. OJ usi-na-pu 'to lose': usu 'become lost, disappear').

4.2.3.7.4 OJ verb formant -p (+ vowel), J -ðu vs U *-p-- Reference is made to Miller 1971, 265 ff. (s. ubenaFu, etc. under 4.2.3.7.3); on pp. 265-6, Miller writes: "... -F- is to be identified with the well-known Old Japanese durative morpheme for repeated and continuous action, which in early Old Japanese could be suffixed as an enlargement to a considerable number of verbs, if not freely. The morpheme in question is the fukugobi 'secondary affix' ha, hi, hu, he of the school grammars (Yamada 1952: 128-130). By the time of late Old Japanese this -F- had become more or less fossilizes in its attachment to a relatively small number

of verb forms; examples that may be cited include FakaraFu 'plan', mukaFu 'confront', yobaFu 'call', kataraFu 'speak, say, tell', sumaFu 'live, dwell', and naraFu 'become accustomed to'. All these are complex forms that show this enlargement with -F- when considered alongside their corresponding simplex forms, namely Fakaru, muku, yobu, kataru, sumu, and naru (Nakada 1963: 980)."

Lewin 1959, 130: derivative suffix -(f)u (intensifying function), e.g., tataka-fu 'to fight' (tataku 'hit, beat'), samura-fu 'serve' (sa- intensifying proclitic; moru 'to guard'), nageka-fu 'wail' (nageku 'complain'), uta-fu 'sing' (uta 'song; short poem'), iro-fu 'become beautiful' (iro 'color, complexion of the face'), saka-fu 'make a boundary' (saka 'a slope').

Collinder 1960, 270: U deverbative *p in Fi käy-vä, present participle form of käy- 'go, walk', cf. käy-pä raha 'current money', syö-vä, present participle of syö- 'eat', cf. syö-pä 'cancer' /that which eats away/, kumarta-vä, (16th cent.:) kumarta-pä, present participle of kumarta- 'to bow', elä-vä 'living' (present participle of elä- 'live'), alive (Veps eläb, Liv jeläa-b) /Vg fusa-p nee 'a weeping woman' (fusä- 'weep, cry'), senkä-p 'mortar' (cf. Os senk- 'beat'), hol-p 'dead' (hool- 'die'), min-pä 'going' (min- 'go') /Os iyntä-w, iyntä-p 'needle' (jant- 'sew')/? OHu járo-v 'one who walks/goes' (jár- 'go, walk')/? /Yr pohoo-pä 'vigorous' (poho- 'to be near to the end, come near, be near to recovering')/? /Yn kaa-be 'dead' (kaa- 'die') /Sk kuu-bie 'dead' (kuu- 'die') /Km ku-be 'dead'.--Cf. Pröhle 1916/17, 160; Lehtisalo 1936, 241 ff.; Szinnyi 1922, 77-8.

4.2.3.7.5 J, OJ verb formant -r (+ vowel) vs U *-l, *-r.--Reference is made to Lewin 1959, 150-3; on p. 152, it is pointed out that in J, passive and medio-passive are formally and semantically very close to each other; however, in a passive construction the agent is usually expressed (and marked by ni, e.g., seito kyōshi-ni shikararu 'the pupil is scolded by the teacher' [g. 'pupil', k. 'teacher']/), but in a medio-passive construction there is no expressed agent; the subject is passively involved in some way in a process or state, no matter whether intentionally or unintentionally. Examples in which the verb formant r is involved: hibashi hai-ni sasaru 'the fire irons (tongs) are being placed in the ashes/embers' (h. 'fire irons', hai 'ashes', sasu 'stick/put/place into'), omoi iderareru 'remember, reminisce' (omou 'think of, yearn', ideru 'come out, emerge', inochi dake wa tasukaru 'get out of difficulties with one's bare life' (i. 'life', d. 'only', wa topic marker, tasukeru 'to help', tasukaru 'be saved/rescued/helped'), mukashi-no koto-ga shinobareru 'recall events of the past' (m. 'old times, the past', no gen./attr. marker, koto 'word; matter, thing, happening', ga subject marker, shinobu 'remember') (note that in the forms shikararu, iderareru, and shinobareru the existence verb aru is included; however, it is unlikely that in such forms aru should be, as it were, repeated);

Lewin 1959, 131: adjectives turned into verbs by the formant -r (+ vowel), e.g., tsuyo-ru 'become strong' (tsuyo- 'strong'), haya-ru 'be rash/impetuous/hasty' (haya- 'quick, fast; early'), aka-ru 'become red, redden' (aka- 'red'; cf. J aka-ra-mu 'redden, blush', aka-ra-me-ru id.);-- -r (+ vowel) in the suffix combination -ra-ku/-gu, e.g., yawa-ra-gu 'become mild/weak' (yawa-~yowa- 'weak').

On the U side, there is no true passive, either. What can be described as medio-passive, appears at times as reflexive or frequentative/iterative/durative or inchoative.

Collinder 1960, 272: U denominative verb formant *l, in Lp "... this formant occurs in combination with the passive (or medial) -uvvā-, and it is impossible to determine what function -l- has or has earlier had"; e.g., šalko-l-uvvā- = šalko- 'become firm/hard as a result of traffic (of winter way); get its snow hard-trodden (of yard, etc.; šalkā 'firm/hard winter way; hard-trodden snow in a yard, on a market-place, etc.)/' /Md ekše-le 'pour cold water on; bathe; pour water on oneself' (ekše 'cool') /Ch jūštō-la '(Vi) bathe, pour fresh water on oneself' (jūštō 'cold') /Zr pōryš-ly 'grow old' (pōryš 'old') /Vg tuulmah-l- 'to steal' (tuulmah 'thief') /Os kaet-l- 'seize, keep hold of' (kaet 'hand') /Hu szó-l- 'speak' (szó 'word') /Yr taaru-la- 'be useful' (taaru 'use, benefit /from/') /Tv jimi-li- 'to glue' (jimi 'glue') /Sk apta-l- '(Vt) smell' (apty 'smell');

(p. 275) U *l, "... in Finnish, -le occurs in verbs that usually imply that the verb action is thought of as not being completed; some of these derivatives are iterative or reflexive. In Lappish, the corresponding suffix forms iterative,

plurative (indicating two or more simultaneous actions of the same kind), conative, reflexive, and reciprocal verbs; the derivative may also be the intransitive counterpart of the basic (transitive) stem. A few verbs with this suffix are momentaneous causatives. ... In the Permian languages, -l- has a diminutive-iterative and a plurative, perhaps also a continuative function.--For the other languages it is difficult to establish the function of the formant."

Examples: Fi tappe-le- 'fight, be at blows' (tappa- 'kill'), kyse-le- 'put questions' (kysy- 'ask'), opette-le- 'learn' (opetta- 'teach')//Lp doaggä-lä- 'break in several pieces or places (or of several subjects)', (impersonal, with the river as object) 'get to begin to break up' (when the ice melts) (doaggie- '(Vi) break /off/, crack, fold up, etc.), oaidnä-lä- 'meet, see each other' (oaidne- 'see'), baeggä-lä- 'mention once in order to get; ask once (for)' (baegge- 'be said/reported/rumoured'), daedde-lä- '(hurriedly) press, put on' (daedde- 'press, put something heavy on, etc.)/Md kant-le-, frequ. of kando- 'carry, bring')/Ch älä-lä- 'live for a short time' (äle- 'to live'), kõreda-lä- 'fight, quarrel' (kõre- 'beat'), kälda-lä-, frequ. of käl-dä- 'tether (a horse)', jar-le- 'get mixed, become friends' (jare- '(Vt) mix')//Vty kertty-li- 'to bundle' (kertty- 'bind')//Zr kuta-l- 'be catching, capture, seize (repeatedly), take' (kut- 'keep, seize, catch up, begin')//Vg uun-l- = oon- 'sit'/Hu döfö-l- 'thrust repeatedly' (döf- 'thrust')//Yr jür-la- 'forget' (repeatedly, or several things; jüra- 'forget'), qõõta-la- (reflexive conj.) 'be bored through, be punched' (qõõta- 'bore through')//Tv jaka-la- 'cut' (continuously; *jaki- ~ *jagi- 'cut up, cut into pieces'), nam-la- 'be killed' (of reindeer killed by wolves; namu- 'eat')//Yn o-le- 'be killed' (oo- 'eat')//Km pä'd-loo-, frequ. of päädä- 'insert, thrust in'.

(p. 278) U *r, "... there are frequentative verbs in Mordvin (?), Hungarian (?), and Samoyed; in Fennic, Lappish, Permian, and Hungarian, this formant occurs in combination with another formant."--E.g., Md siit-re- 'break to pieces, pull down, demolish' (siide- 'break')//Yr tuu-r- 'come several times, or from far' (too- 'come'), haaptüü-r- 'become extinct, several times or during a long time' (haptoe- 'become extinct, suddenly'); in Sk, -r- indicates that "... the action is performed usually, or is characteristic of the perform r, e.g., mat naõçety tü-r-sak 'I (always) came here' (tü- 'come')." (Among the examples on the U side, there are several which might belong to verb categories not relatable to the passive or medial; as may be seen, the functions of U *l and *r as verb formants are indeed difficult to sort out.)

D. Bartha 1958, 20 ff.: Hu -l- (frequ. and/or refl. function) in romo-l-~rom-l(ik) 'deteriorate, go bad, perish', oszo-l-~osz-l(ik) 'be divided (into several parts), (Vi) disperse, scatter' (osz-t- 'divide'), foszol-~fosz-l(ik) 'become threadbare/tattered' (fosz-t- 'strip, shell, pluck' (e.g., feathers)), hám-l(ik) '(Vi) peel, scale' (hán-t-~hám-t- '(Vt) peel'), bomo-l-~bom-l(ik) 'disintegrate, go to pieces' (bon-t- 'undo, take/pull to pieces'), rej-l(ik) 'be/lie hidden' (rej-t- 'conceal, hide'), him-l(ik) 'become scattered/strewn' (hin-t-~him-t- 'strew, scatter');

(pp. 48-51): Hu refl. -l- in boru-l- 'be dumped; fall; (cabbage leaves, etc.) form a head' (bori-t- 'overturn'), szédü-l- 'feel dizzy/giddy' (szédi-t- 'stun, daze, make giddy'), háru-l- 'fall to the lot (of someone)' (hári-t- 'ward off'), nyomu-l- 'be pressed (in a direction), advance, progress' (nyom- 'push/press forward'), merü-l- '(Vi) sink, submerge' (meri-t- 'dip, immerse'), záru-l- 'close/shut itself, become closed' (zár- 'close, shut'), dugu-l- 'become obstructed/blocked/filled (e.g., a tube)' (dug- 'stick/thrust into'), kéku-l- 'get/turn blue' (kéki-t- 'make/color blue'; kék 'blue').

4.2.3.7.6 OJ verb formant -y (+ vowel) vs U *-j.--Sansom (1928, 159) states that the earliest J literature employed for the passive/medio passive almost exclusively -yu and (its combination with another formant) -ra-yu (-yu was attached to verbs whose imperfect base ended in -a, while -ra-yu went with verbs whose imperfect base ended in -i or -e).--Lewin (1959, 150), however, treats only of OJ passive formants -ru and -yu (and later forms). It would seem that -ra-yu simply contained both short passive suffixes (cf. the Hu caus. suff. combination -j-t- in szaka-j-t- 'tear, pluck' vs szaka-d- 'become torn', szaku-l- 'become squashed', or é-t-t-e-t- 'to feed, cause to eat' vs OHu ē-t- id.).--Examples from Sansom: hito ni shira-yu na 'let it not be known to men' (h. 'people; person', ni is a

general loc. particle which also seems to be useful in passive constructions; shiru 'to know'; na, prohibitive/negative particle), miru ni shira-ye-nu umahito 'a groom not known by sight' (miru 'see'; nu is a privative/neg. particle; uma 'horse');--examples from Lewin 1959. 150: itowa-yu 'be hated', koroba-yu 'be rebuked/chided', wasura-yu 'be/become forgotten', mi-yu 'be seen', kiko-yu 'be heard';--examples from Omodaka: (?) kō-yu 'become fat/burly', waka-yu 'become rejuvenated', i-yu 'be shot' (cf. iru 'shoot' (with bow and arrow)), mō-yu 'be a-flame, burn' (cf. mō-su 'set alight'), ki-yu 'go out, die (as a flame or fire)' (cf. kē-tu ~ ke-su 'extinguish'), (?) mō-yu 'to sprout, bud', ta-yu 'be cut' (cf. ta-tu 'sever'), wo-yu 'decline in one's strength, come to an end'.

Lehtisalo 1936, 76: U *-j for the formation of deverbal reflexive/passive verbs.--LpN -je- in -ut (-uje-), e.g., lokk-ut 'be counted/read' (cf. lokkāt 'count, read'), dogg-jut 'be broken/smashed' (cf. doaggjet 'break (through)', gorr-ut 'get sewn' (cf. goarrot 'sew');--LpSwed. -u-je-, e.g., kodd-u-je- 'get killed' (kodde- 'kill, slay');--LpRussian -je-, e.g., kont-je- 'get killed' (konte- 'kill'), kohč-je- 'be called' (kohce- 'call'), mik-je- 'get sold' (mikke- 'sell'), kuet-je- 'be forgiven' (kütte- 'leave; pardon, forgive, remit'), kānt-je- 'be covered' (kāhte- 'to cover conceal')/OsN -je- in the ending -ā-je-, e.g., tul-ā-je-m 'I am (being) led' (tū- 'take; bring; lead')//Yr *-je- (refl.) in tēssarā-jā-ā? 'I let (water, etc.) drip on myself' (tēssarā 'drip, ooze'), parra-jā-ā? 'I shook myself' (parraś 'to shake'); (passive) in pirdāle-jjū-ā? 'I was overcome/beaten' (pirdāle- 'be able to')/Tv *-je- > -i-, e.g., mata'-i-na 'I cut myself'/Yn *-je- > -e- (refl.) in mot-e-bo' mot-e-o 'I cut myself'/Sk *-ja-/-ta- in the combination -e-ja-/-e-ta- (? refl.), e.g., ūr-e-ja-m 'loose one's way, get lost' (cf. ūripčam 'to lose', jura 'to forget'), omt-e-ja-n or omt-e-ta-n 'get seated; sit down' (omtam id.), itt-e-ja-m, itt-e-ta-m 'suspend'.

4.2.3.7.7 OJ verb formant -t (+ vowel) vs U *-t.--The treatment of this OJ verb formant seems to have been neglected. Standard works are silent about it (similarly to the case of the OJ causative formant -t-, to follow next).--Examples from Omodaka and Ōno: ira-tu (y) 'be irritated/nettled' (ira 'thorn', cf. J ira-datsu 'be irritated, etc.', where -datsu probably comes from tatsu 'to stand', momi-tu > momi-du '(tree leaves) become reddish/yellow' (y. and k.n. conj.; cf. momi-ta-pu (y) 'trees and forests take on a reddish hue'), tagi-tu (y) 'water runs very fast and splashes violently' (according to Ōno, this verb is cognate with taki 'waterfall'), pīdu-tu (y) 'be/get wet/soaked', pi-tu (y) id., kuta-tu (y) 'subside, sink, decline, wane' (cf. kuda-su 'let down/off, drop', kuda-ru 'come/go down, descend'), wo-tu (k.n.) 'become young' (cf. OJ woto, J oto 'young, inferior').

Lehtisalo 1936, 305 ff.: U *-t for the formation of deverbal reflexive/translative verbs.--Lp -dit, -adit/ evidently a suffix combination, e.g., luoita-dit 'lie down; sink/go down (of the sun)' (luoitet 'let go'), gaessa-dit 'drag/pull oneself/itself' (gaesset 'pull, drag'), pasē-tit 'wash oneself/itself' (passat '(Vt) wash');--Fi -ta-/-ša-, -tä-/-šä- (passive), e.g., saa-da-n 'one receives', saa-tu 'to receive' (cf. saa- id.; cf. Collinder 1957, 33: kaikkialla syö-tä-n jäätelöä 'everywhere people were eating icecream' (k. 'everywhere', syö- 'eat'); (FUV 61: Fi takero 'sticky mass', takal-ta, takel-ta, taker-ta -(Vi) adhere/ stick to something' (said of snow, etc.), takel-tu, taker-tu, takis-tu 'get stuck'//Sk tokua-t- 'get stuck'.

Lehtisalo leaves the Hu verb formant -d unmentioned. Traditionally, it is said to be a frequ. formant, coming from FU *-nt; examples for its frequ. use: rako-d- 'load, put on one after the other' (rak- id.; goes with Fi rakenta- 'to build'), döfö-d- 'stab/butt repeatedly' (döf- 'stab, butt'), lökö-d- 'push, shove repeatedly' (lök- 'push, shove');--cf. (after D. Bartha 1958, 22-3) Fi purentele- 'chew, bite (constantly)' (pure- 'to bite'), Zr kije-d- 'to lie in ambush' (kij- 'catch (game)'), Os yole-nt- 'keep hearing/listening' (yol- 'hear'), Vg tuise-nt- 'keep standing' (tuisi- 'to stand');--Hu -d is said also to have durative (e.g., mara-d- 'stay, remain') and inchoative (e.g., éle-d- 'come to life (again)', gyulla-d- 'catch fire, become ignited') functions.

Hu -d has quite an important reflexive/medial function, not listed in the standard works. E.g., fára-d- 'become tired/exhausted' (cf. fáraszt- 'cause to become tired/exhausted'), hasa-d- 'become split/rent' (cf. hasít- 'split, cleave'),

táma-d- 'arise; originate, take its source, issue from' (cf. támaszt- 'make rise'), raga-d- '(Vi) adhere/stick to' (cf. ragaszt- '(Vt) stick, glue'), bágya-d- 'grow tired/weak/exhausted' (cf. bágyaszt- 'to exhaust, weaken'), daga-d- 'rise, swell' (cf. dagaszt- 'knead; cause to rise'), herva-d- 'wilt, wither' (cf. hervaszt- 'cause to wilt, etc.'), duzza-d- 'swell, rise' (e.g., a bud or a river) (cf. duszaszt- 'cause to rise/swell'), enge-d- 'yield; thaw' (said of frosty weather or ground, or ice over the waters), ernye-d- '(Vi) tire, flag, slacken' (cf. ernyeszt- 'cause to tire, etc.').

Cf. Lehtisalo 1936, 216: PPermian *-dž forms verbs that have the general sense of 'becoming turning into something, attaining a new state or condition', e.g., Vty. heb-dž-i-~heb-ž-i- 'become soft' (hebit 'soft'), gon-dž-i- 'turn hairy' (gon 'hair on the body')/Zr va-dž-~va-ž-i- 'become wet/watery' (va 'water').

Cf. Ramstedt 1957 (I), 143: Tu uja-d- 'feel ashamed', Mo uja-d- 'be anxious/depressed' < Mo uja-n 'soft', cf. Tg Olča uja id., Ma uja-n id.

4.2.3.7.8. J -ts (+ vowel), OJ -t (+ vowel) verb formant vs U *-t.--Pröhle (1916/17, 161) notes that in J a verb formant of shape -ts-, in causative function, has been retained as a relic; e.g., hana-ts-u, OJ pana-t-u 'let go, release' vs OJ panu 'reject', J haneru id. (s. entry haneru), kobo-ts-u, OJ kopo-t-u 'to smash, break' (s. entry kobotsu), waka-ts-u, OJ waka-t-u 'divide, separate, distinguish' (s. entries wakareru and wakeru). Pröhle adds that the newer formation of the caus. with -s-, -se-, -sase- has displaced the old way.--One could comment that the caus. with -t- was a rarity in OJ, but OJ /s/ had the value [tʃ] (except before i and e), so the caus. formant -s- could not have been very different from -t-. This suggestion is supported by the OJ form kētu 'extinguish' having been continued in kesu (s. Ono).--Other examples for the OJ caus. with -t-: apa-t-u, later apatasu 'belittle; humiliate' (cf. OJ apa-ni 'lightly; superficially'; apa-mu 'treat with contempt'; J awa-i 'ligh, faint, passing', (Ono); uga-t-u, J ugatsu 'dig/cut through, pierce' (cf. OJ uku (sh.n.) 'a hole opens'), OJ peda-t-u, J hedateru 'separate, screen off' (s. entry wachi), OJ saka-t-u (?) 'kill' (cf. saku 'tear, rip, rend'), paga-t-u~pagu, J hagu 'tear, strip', OJ ta-t-u, J tatsu 'cut, sever'.

Collinder (1960, 279-81) treats of a U caus. formant *t and a combination *kt (or *pt), remarking that it is difficult to keep the two apart.--Examples containing reflexes of U *t: Fi pääs-tä 'let go, disengage, unbind', ylen-tä 'raise' (ylene- 'rise')/Lp äle-dä 'raise' (ällanä- 'rise')/Md kevef-de- '(Vt) roll' (kevere- '(Vi) roll')/Ch parem-dä 'cure' (paremä- 'recover (from illness)'), //Yr haa-da 'kill'/Tv kaa-tu-/Km ku-t id. (Yr haa-, Tv küü-, Km kü- 'die').

As one reads through Collinder's cautious statements and suggestions concerning U *kt, the thought inevitably arises that it is actually two causative formants combined. Since such combinations are the rule, rather than the exception, in U, the above thought is worth following up. My proposition is that the element *k has to do with the antecedent of Mo -ga, Ma -gu, caus. formants (s. Ramstedt 1952/58 (II), 146, 159; s. also Benzing 1956, 122 where Tg *-gi is posited).

Hu examples for the use of a simple -t- as caus. formant: OHu ē-t-, Hu ē-t-e-t- 'to feed' (ē-v-, ē-sz- 'eat'; in ētet-, the caus. formant has been repeated for better measure), OHu i-t-, Hu i-t-a-t- 'let/make drink, give to drink' (i-v-, i-sz- 'to drink'), hi-t-e-t- 'make believe' (hi-v-, hi-sz- 'believe'), vi-t-e-t- 'cause to carry' (vi-v-, vi-sz- 'carry'), vē-t-e-t- 'cause to take/buy' (vē-v-, vē-sz- 'take, buy'), OHu áz-t-, Hu áz-t-a-t- 'make wet, cause to soak' (áz- 'get soaked'), kel-t- 'raise, make get up' (kel- 'rise, get up'), OHu fek-e-t-, Hu fek-t-e-t- 'lay, put down' (fek-ü-d- 'lie, be in a reclining position'), ron-t- 'spoil, cause damage to' (< rom-t- < rom- : romol-~roml(ik) 'get out of order, deteriorate').

Cf. A. v. Gabain 1974, 83: OTu factitive verb formant -t-, e.g., oqi-t- 'let/make read', oqi- 'read'.

4.3 NON-DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES

4.3.1 Tense suffixes

4.3.1.1 OJ past tense suffix -nu vs Fi -nu, ? Hu -n.--Sansom (1928, 179 ff.) treats of an OJ suffix -nu which had the function to form the perfective of the

verb, " or rather its perfective aspect" (s. also Lewin 1959, 166-7).

Examples: te ni uchi irete uchi ni mochite kinu 'he took her in his hands and brought her home' (te 'hand'; ni, lative suff. both times; uchi + verb, indicates 'quickly to do' (s. entry uti-); irete is the gerund of iru 'place/put into'; uchi 'house, home'; m., gerund of motsu 'hold, keep'; ki- is the indefinite (also deverbal nominal) form of ku 'come'; motsu + ku(ru) 'bring'; ko-no ko wo mitsukete nochi kogane aru take wo mitsukaru koto kasanarinu 'after he had found the child, he found bamboos containing gold time after time' (ko-no 'this'; ko 'child'; wo, object marker; mi-tsuku 'catch sight of, find'; nochi 'afterward'; ko-gane 'yellow metal', i.e., 'gold'; aru 'exist') qualifying take; t. 'bamboo'; k. 'thing, event' (attr. form of the verb + koto form an abstract noun); kasanaru '(Vi) increase, grow in size or frequency'; aki wa kinu 'autumn has come' (aki 'autumn'; wa, topic marker; ki-, as in the first sentence), momiji wa yado ni furishikinu 'the coloured leaves in the house are fallen and spread themselves' (m. 'coloured leaf'; wa, topic marker; yado 'house'; ni, loc. suff.; furu 'to fall', shiku 'spread'; --(Lewin 1959, 166: shininu < shini nu 'he/she died' (shinu 'die')).

Lehtisalo 1936, 124-5 (transl.): "According to Setälä, ... the FFI nominative of the 2nd participle active ended in -nut. In the Fi dialects one fairly often encounters -nu, -nu' (in the sense, 2 /glottal stop/ becomes assimilated to the following consonant); ... in Veps, too, one finds verb forms ending in -nu, and in Vote the ending is -nu, -nnu; e.g., Veps ole-n šö-nu 'I have eaten' (olen 'I am'; šö- 'eat'), Vote e-n vetta-nnu 'I have not taken' or 'I did not take' (en is the 1st person present indicative of e-, the negation verb; vetä- 'pull, draw, hold, take'). Of similar nature are those Est forms which, instead of the regular EstN -nud and EstS -nu, employ -n, found in the dialect of Üsel; e.g., sur-n 'dead', tul-n 'arrived', kadu-n 'disappeared, dead', saa-n 'gotten, received'."

One might mention here the obsolete Hu past tense suffix -n (s. Pais 1955, 368) in such forms as tö-n (later tö-n) '(he/she) did' (< tē- 'do, make'), lō-n (later lō-n) 'became' (< lē- 'become'), vō-n (later vō-n) 'took' (< vē- 'take'), jō-n 'came' (< jō-), mē-n 'went' (< me- 'go'), hi-n ~ hū-n 'believed' (< hi- 'believe'), hō-n 'died' (cf. hal- 'die', but Yr haa-, Tv küü-, Km kü- id.).

These are admittedly debated forms. On the one hand, there is evidence that the long vowels in some of them have developed from short ones by fashion. On the other hand, one argues--on the ground of the tenet of original disyllabic stems--that, say, lō-n must have come from *lē-vē-n, since lēve 'became' is attested and -n as an optional suffix of 3rd person actor (in present indicative) is found in numerous verbs. Now, in the enumerated forms, the old records show only CV + n, i.e., no -va- or -ve- intervening. While allowing that analogic formations did occur, I propose that the CV roots (with the possible exception of assumed hō-) immediately followed by -n fit into a pattern; thus, say, OHu hi-n 'believed' is likely a non-contracted form.

4.3.1.2 OJ past tense suffix -si vs FU *-š/-z---Sansom (1928, 183) lists OJ -si in the suppletive paradigm of the past tense suffix -ki; in the paradigm in question, -si has the attributive function.--Examples: wa ga futari ne-shi 'we two slept together' (-si is written by Sansom as -shi; wa is 1st person pron.; ga, gen. marker; f. 'a pair'; ne is the conjunctive verbal noun form of nu, later neru 'to sleep, fall asleep'; perhaps the translation should be modified to: "we two who slept together"), kogideni-shi 'they rowed out' (kogi is the conjunctive verbal noun form of kogu 'to row'; de comes similarly from idu, later deru 'go/come out'; ni comes similarly from nu, the flectional perfective suffix seen under 4.3.1.1); (Lewin 1959, 163: Echigo-no kuni Niigata-to-iu tokoro-no yūjo-nari-shi 'they were prostitutes from a place called Niigata in the province Echigo' (k. 'province, country'; to 'as' (approx.); iu 'say'; t. 'place'; no, gen./attr. marker; y. 'prostitute'; nari < naru 'be, become, etc.').--Following Sansom, -si/-shi is of no clear origin: "there is every reason to believe that we have here vestiges of the conjugation of two distinct suffixes, ki and shi." The above examples show the predicative uses of -shi. Here follow examples in which it is used attributively (Sansom): ai mi-shi toki 'when they met face to face' (ai is the conjunctive form of au 'meet'; mi comes similarly from mī, later miru

'see'; t. 'time'; ai mi-shi functions as a qualifier to toki), kikite-shi hi yori 'from the day when I heard' (kiki, conjunctive form of kiku 'hear'; te, conjunctive form of tu, a flexional perfective suffix, parallel with nu; hi 'day'; yori 'from', a postposition), nube no yamabuki tare ka taori-shi 'who plucked the kerria on the moor?' (nu 'moor'; be 'edge, bank'; y. 'kerria'; tare 'who'; ka, interrogative particle; taori is the conjunctive form of a (variant) verb form which must be related to tuburu 'be crushed/battered' and perhaps to tapuru 'be ruined'/ cf. ClJ taoru 'collapse, be ruined'; s. entries taoru and chibiru).-- As to the origin of -shi and -ki, Sansom notes: "There is no clear evidence to show the origin of these two suffixes ...; but it is interesting to note that the verb kuru makes predicative forms with shi (viz. ki-shi and ko-shi), but not with ki, while the verb suru makes the predicative form shi-ki. The meaning of ki seems to indicate that it may have a common origin with the verb kuru, and shi and suru perhaps constitute a similar pair" (kuru < ku 'come', suru < su 'do, make').

Lewin (1959, 162) remarks on this opposition that the explanation lies in a tendency to avoid the repetition of identical syllables, i.e., such forms as ki-ki and shi-shi.

I suggest for comparison FU *-s/-z, quoting Szinnyei (1922, 123-4; transl.): "Another preterite stem ... inherited from the FU era is identical with the verbal nominal which ends in *-s/-z; the stem in question can be found in all FU languages, excepting Hu."--Examples: Md kulo- 'die': kulo-s '(he/she) died', fele- 'to fear': fele-s '(he/she) feared'/Ch al- 'to live': ele-se-m 'I lived', tem- 'fill': tem-a-s-na 'we filled'/Os men- 'go': men-se-m 'I went', man-a-s '(he) went'/Vg min- 'go': min-se-m 'I went', min-s '(he) went', al- 'kill': al-se-m 'I killed', al-s '(he) killed'/Vty a-z 'he/she/it or they not + verb' /i.e., 3rd sg and pl of the negation verb *e-/Zr e-z id./Liv i-z id., Est e-s.

4.3.2 J, OJ plural suffix -ra vs U collective suffix *-la.--The J noun does not, as a rule, show number, being neutral to it. However, there are means by which number can be indicated. Thus (following Sansom 1928, 85-7), -tachi is applied to nouns that signify living things: e.g., mikotachi omitachi momo tsukasa no hito tachi 'princes, nobles, and all officers of state' (m. '100'; ts. 'government office'; h. 'person'); -tomo/-domo is usually applied to persons, e.g., ko-domo 'children', ashiki yatsu-domo 'bad fellows' (ashi 'evil, bad'; y. 'fellow' (-tomo/-domo basically means 'companion', s. entry tsumu).

It is the plural marker -ra which can become of interest in puncto comparison. It, too, is applied to persons, e.g., otome-ra 'maiden' (oto 'young', me 'woman'), ko-ra 'children', ko-domo-ra id.; however, there must be some exceptions to the rule. For we also have kake-ra 'fragments, potsherd' (Lewin 1959, 44).

Neither U, nor even FU has a common plural marker. However, Lehtisalo (1936, 150-2) postulates a U collective suffix *-la (transl): "The Ch collective suffix ... -la is often attached to collective nouns ending in -r/-er, mostly without modifying the meaning of the word concerned; originally, and occasionally even now, -la indicates 'a great multitude; a large collection'; in U, this suffix fills sometimes the function of the plural marker; it is probable that *-la is identical with the element -la in the Ch pl. suff. -s^{la}/-Blak/-lak. E.g., pister-la, pister-la 'a forest of lime-trees' (pister id.; piste 'lime-tree'), ko^z-la 'pine-forest; large forest (generally, esp. coniferous trees); cf. ko^z 'pine'), ko^z-er-la 'a place where there are many pine groves; a collection of many pine groves' (ko^z-er 'pine grove'), So^z-la 'roots' (So^z 'root')/cf. MdM -na + -l, e.g., sali-na-l 'elm-forest' (sali 'elm'), kuz-na-l 'pine-forest' (kuz 'pine-tree'), kev-na-l 'a stony place' (kev 'stone')/cf. the Fi and Kar pl. suff. -lo/-l^o, e.g., tal^o-lo-issa 'in the houses'/LpN -lu^s (? *-l + -u^s) marks a collection or a whole, e.g., dakte-lu^s 'skeleton' (dakte 'bone');--probably identical with Ch -la is the Sk pl. suff. -la, e.g., loga-la 'foxes' (loga 'fox'), kule-la 'ravens' (kule 'raven') ...; the Sk pl. suff. was considered by Castrén to be a loan from Tu, cf. Tu -lar/-ler, Tg -l.--We probably have collective *-la in Yr tall^{is}sa 'hair' (cf. tar 'hair; feather'); Yr *le, marker of the denominative noun in kumke^{le}, a tribal name which occurs in popular poetry//Tv -lea/-le < *-l, e.g., sona-le^a 'sea-gull', kinká-le 'shinbone'//Yn -lle, e.g., djoeda-lle 'pike'."

Notes: a) Ch -r/-er is itself a plural marker (cf. piste-r 'lime-trees': piste 'lime-tree'), b) among other plural markers, -l and -r have been traced

in U and A by D. Sinor (s. Sinor 1951-2, 203-30).

4.3.3 Case suffixes/particles

4.3.3.1 J, OJ separative suffix -yori/-yuri vs Hu dial. -tu/-tü and Ugric *-l, in connection with the comparison of the adj.

J does not have the comparison of the adj. in the IE sense. But there are various circumlocutory ways to overcome this difficulty. E.g., ano hana wa motto kirei 'that flower is prettier' (ano 'that', h. 'flower', wa topic marker, m. 'more, much more', k. 'pretty'), ano hana no hō ga kirei 'that flower is prettier' (no gen. marker, hō 'side, direction', ga subject marker), nihon-go wa ei-go yori (mo) muzukashii 'the J language is more difficult than English' (go 'language', ei-go 'the E. language', y. 'from', mo 'even; also', m. 'troublesome; difficult'; Vaccari 1965, 286 ff.); sore ni kurabe eru mono wa nai 'it stands without a peer' or 'nothing is comparable with it' (s. 'that', ni dat./lat. suffix, k. is the verbal nom. of kuraberu 'compare', eru 'be able; can', m. 'thing, matter', nai 'ther is not; which is not').

OJ and ClJ preferred to use yori, e.g., (Lewin 1959, 82): hito-yori masaru 'to be superior to other people' (h. 'person', m. 'surpass; be better than'), sato wa kawa-yori chikashi 'the village is nearer than the river' (s. 'village', k. 'river', ch. 'near'), hana-yori dango wo toru 'to take dumplings in preference to flowers' (h. 'flower', d. 'dumpling', wo object marker, t. 'take'); (Miller 1967, 310:) sakura yori ume wa hayaku saku 'the prunus blooms earlier than the flowering cherry' (sakura 'flowering cherry', ume 'prunus', h. 'early; quickly', saku 'to blossom'), ume yori sakura wa uruwashi 'the f. cherry is lovelier than the prunus'.

Lewin (ibid.) notes that in OJ, yori had the variants yo, yu, and yuri, e.g., Sai-gawa-yo kumo tachi-watari 'clouds rise from the Sai river' (kawa 'river', k. 'cloud', t. < tatsu 'rise up', wataru 'to cross/pass over'), ame-tsuchi-no wakare-shi toki-yu 'since the time when heaven and earth separated' (ame 'heaven, sky', ts. 'earth', no gen/attr. marker, wakaru '(Vi) part (from)', wakareshi approx. past participle, t. 'time'), takama-no-hara-yuri amori-mashishi 'one who/ descended from the High Heavenly Plain' (taka 'high', ama 'heaven, sky', h. 'plain, field', a. < ama-oru 'descend /from/ heaven', m. past participle of a polite aux.).

Lewin 1959, 79: hito-ni masaru 'to be superior to other people' (ni indicates direction, as it were 'toward people'; cf. hito-yori masaru), aite-ni otoru 'to be inferior to one's opponent' (aite 'opponent').

Concerning the U side, Collinder (1960, 234-5) tells us that "... the grammatical category of comparison is lacking in some of the Uralic languages, and in some of them (Cheremis, Votyak, Kamassian) a suffix of Turkish origin is used. Fennic, Lappish, and Hungarian have a common comparative suffix /*-mp + vowel/, but this specific function probably developed separately in the West and in the East."

In other words, PU probably had no other way of making the comparison of the adj. than by circumlocution.--Let's see some Ugric examples! Gulya 1966, 94: OsE tom kat jemeki tim kat-or 'that house /is/ good this house-from' ('that house is better than this house'; tom 'that', kat 'house', j. 'good', tim 'this', -or 'from'), (p. 68) tim kat jemeki, tom kat čake jemeki 'this house is good, that house is very good /better/' (č. 'very'), tom kat jemeki 'that house is good /better/', tim kat tom kat-ninšt alleki 'this house is bigger than that one' (a. 'big'; -ninšt is stated to be used only in comparative constructions, but it remains unclear what its components are; since it is not attached to the adj., its function must be the same as that of -or).

In Vg, the comparative is expressed by means of the ablative case coupled with the positive grade. E.g., (Kálmán 1965, 40): wōt ānūm-nel jor 'the wind (is) stronger than me' (lit., 'the wind (is) from me strong'; wōt 'wind', ā. 'I', -nel 'from', jor 'strong'), nan āsūm-nel janir 'you (are) taller than my father' (lit., 'you (are) from my father tall'; nan 'you', ā. 'my father', j. 'tall').--The suff. -nel is analysed as -ne (loc.) + -l (ablative/separative; Liimola 1963, 64).

This links up with the Hu way of adj. comparison. E.g., a bor a víz-nél jobb 'wine is better than water' (lit., 'wine water-from better'; a definite article; víz 'water'; -nél the same as Vg -nel; jobb < job < jo-b, i.e., the positive grade

of the adj. (modern) jó + the reflex of FU *-mp+ vowel).

However, dial. Hu uses such syntagmas as: tengér-ni mélyebb 'deeper than the sea' (lit., (the) sea-toward deeper'; t. 'sea'; mély = mély 'deep'; -ni dat./lat. suffix), Isten-ni föllebb 'higher than God' (I. 'God'; föllebb = feljebb), minden-tü(1) jobb 'better than all/anything' (m. 'all; every'; -tü ~tü 'from'), torony-tu(1) magasabb 'taller than a tower', hal-tu(1) sikosabb 'more slippery than a fish', kéz-tü(1) sziléssebb 'broader than a hand's width' (k. 'hand'; szilés = szélés 'wide, broad'), kalap-tu(1) nagyobb 'bigger than a hat'.

As may be seen, the crucial suffix in Vg is -n_o-l (loc. + ablative/separative); Standard Hu uses -n_él, the cognate of Vg -n_o-l, while dial. Hu uses -ni (with debatable variants -n_a-né; -ni has a directional sense, like 'toward') and -tu(1)/-tü(1) (where we note that the latter suffix cluster is identical with Standard Hu -töl/-től) of ablative/separative function.

The question now arises: What is the origin of Hu dial. tu/-tü? (The suffix -l comes from Ugric *-l, s. Hajdú 1966, 122-3.)--It seems that tu/-tü is the continuer of the U ablative suffix *-t + vowel (s. further on in connection with OJ tu), the continuer having a general loc. function, too. E.g., a gyerek láb-tu fekszik, ném fej-tü 'the child lies at (next to) the feet /of the parents/, and not near their heads' (a definite article: gy. 'child': láb 'foot'; f. 'he/she/it lies'; ném 'no, not'; fej 'head'); in this example, tu/-tü is clearly of loc. function. But in kalap-tu nagyobb 'bigger than a hat', ököl-tü kisebb 'smaller than one's fist' (ököl 'fist'; kis 'small'), tu/-tü marks ablative/separative. Similarly in a fal-tu húzd el! 'pull /it/ away from the wall' (fal 'wall').

The Os reflex of Ugric *-l (ablative) is not found in connection with the comparative, but here follow some examples illustrating its use (Hajdú 1966, 122): ko-l~ko-l 'whence, from where', te-l 'from here', ewi-li 'from the side of; from beside', tá-l-(ta) 'from here' (where -ta strengthens -l which is the reflex in question; although Hajdú does not say so, I suggest that -ta is also an ablative/separative suffix, probably cognate with Hu dial. tu/-tü).

Summing up, I propose that a) dial. Hu -ni (Isten-ni föllebb, etc.) is comparable with J, OJ -ni in, say, hito-ni masaru ('to be superior to other people'), b) Ugric *-l (ablative/separative) is comparable with the element -ri of OJ -yo-ri/-yu-ri, c) Hu dial. tu/-tü is comparable with the element -yo/-yu of OJ -yo-ri/-yu-ri for the opposition J, OJ y- : Ugric *t-, s. entry OJ yuki; cf. also yari and yue; cf. further Murayama 1957, 130: OJ -yu<*-du; -yuri<*-du-li; p. 131: OJ -tu may be taken as the voiceless variant of -yu<*-du), d) OJ -yori/-yuri is a combination of two suffixes and probably has to do with -tu which is polyfunctional (s. the treatment of -tu).

4.3.3.2 J, OJ terminative suffix made vs FU *muča.--Sansom (1928, 255) lists made as an adverbial particle, meaning 'as far as; until', but also allows it as a case particle. His examples (p. 269): kodomo ni made ataru 'to give even to the children' (k. 'child, children'; ni, of dat./lat. function; a. 'give'), kuru made ni 'by the time he comes' (k. 'come', used here as a noun, unless made itself is conceived of as a noun, in which case kuru is there in an attr. function; in both examples, made is combined with ni), hana to miru made 'as far as seeing them as flowers' (h. 'flower'; to 'as; in the role of'; m. 'see', probably used as a noun).

Lewin (1959, 82) writes of local and temporal adverbial functions of made, e.g., Kyōto-yori Ōsaka-made 'from Kyoto as far as Osaka', otoko Musashi-no kuni-made madoi-ariikeri 'a man, trying to find his way, wandered about as far as the province Musashi' (o. 'man'; k. 'province, country'; madoi~mayou 'lose one's way'), yo fukuru-made asobi-wo-zo shi-tamau-naru 'they amused themselves late into the night' (yo 'night'; f. 'get late'; a. 'play, amusement'; wo, acc. marker; zo is a particle of emphasis; shi< su 'do'; t. 'to deign' (in polite style); n. 'be').

FUV 115: Ch mučan 'at last'; mōckō, mučko 'along; through; throughout; the whole time'; mučno 'at the end', mačaš, mučaš 'end, point, top' / Vg moš, maš, mus 'till' / Os moče, māča 'as far as, to; till';-- FU *muča.--Gulya 1966, 91: OsE tom puyāl močəšə menləm 'I will go as far as that village' (tom 'that'; p. 'village'; mən- 'go, travel').--S. entry made (cf. probable Tg correspondences).

4.3.3.3 J -chi, OJ -ti (locative) vs PFU *-t (*-tta/-ttā).--Examples: OJ kō-ti, J ko-chi-ra 'here; this way', OJ sō-ti 'that place/way; you', J so-chi-ra 'your

place; you; the other', OJ a-ti 'there, yonder; that; the other', J a-chi-ra id., cf. a-chi - ko-chi 'here and there; hither and thither; to and fro; in places/ sporadically', OJ i-du-ti 'where', J do-tchi/do-chi-ra 'where, what place', OJ wo-ti~wo-to 'there, that place, that side', J o-chi-kata 'that place, that direction/side', o-chi-ko-chi 'far and near'. Cf. entry wo-ti.

Miller 1971, 182: "The suffixal -ti of OJ idu-ti, seen both as the final element in J dotti and as the inner suffixal layer in J dotira, is ... a puzzle; this element appears to have no Altaic connections." (But see Menges 1975, 74-.)

Ono explains the element -ti as 'way, direction'; the same -ti is thought by him to be present in mi-ti 'way, path, road' (s. entry -chi). This is possible. For the turning of a noun into a postposition and finally into a mere suffix can be shown to have occurred in U. However, the two forms could also be homonymous, without being cognate.

My proposition is that in the above examples -ti fills the function of a loc. suffix (whether identical with -ti 'way; direction', or not). --It is interesting to note that wo-ti had the variant form wo-to, as a free word, but also occurring as a bound form; e.g., woto-tu-pi 'the day before yesterday' (tu, attr. marker; pi 'day'; cf. J ototoi), woto-tosi 'the year before last' (i.e., the year which is farther than the last one; J oto-toshi id.).

Omodaka (485) notes that a bound morpheme -to/-to- occurs in numerous compositions, and has the general meaning 'place; time'.

Let's also take note of OJ noti 'the lower course of a river', considering it as consisting of no- = ne 'that which is below/lower' + loc. suff. -ti (s. entry nochi).

Collinder (1960, 296) reconstructs a PFU locative/fixative/prolative suffix *-tta~*-ttä, while Hajdú (1966, 121) posits *-t. --Examples: Vg yap-at 'in a boat', punk-at 'on the head', kwal-t 'in the house'; (in some dialects, -ta), e.g., kät-ta 'in the hand', tur-ta 'on (the/a) lake'. Hajdú thinks it possible that Vg -ta/-t, Os -at instrumental/comitative suffixes have to be grouped with the loc. suffixes. --Hu examples: itt~dial. id, öd, ét, idd 'here' (i/-é- is a dem. pron., 'this'), ott 'there' (o- is a dem. pron.), oldal-t 'on/by the side; laterally', déltáj-t 'about midday', mikor-t 'when, about what time', mihely-t 'as soon as'; Pécs-e-tt 'in Pécs', Kolozsvár-t 'in K.', OHu Esztergom-o-t 'in Esztergom'; --other FU examples: Os ko-t 'at what place', to-t 'there', sem-e-t 'publicly' (sem 'eye')/presumably also Fi ti in kaike-ti 'probably; certainly', perä-ti 'wholly, completely', ny-t and dial. ny-ttä, Est nüü-d 'now'/Zr (prolative) berä-ti 'along the bank (of a river or lake)', tujö-d 'along the path', se-t(i) 'there, that way', ta-t(i) 'this way', vyl-t(i) 'along' (vyl 'the top; that which is highest')/Vty kosak-ti 'through the window', öse-ti 'through the door', tel-e-ti 'in the forest', o-ti 'that way' (cf. J o-chi, OJ wo-ti 'there, that way')/Md öi-t 'in the day, at daytime' (öi 'day'), ökösne-t 'in the evening', ve-t 'at night, in the night', fel-t 'very'/Ch kaze-t 'now'.

Dial. Hu also uses the suffix combinations -ni-tt/-nē-tt/-no-tt/-nō-tt in which two suffixes of loc. function are joined; e.g., mester-nē-tt 'at the teacher's home' ~ 'among the members of the teacher's family', bíró-no-tt 'at the home of the judge' ~ 'in the family of the judge' (here belongs, according to Hajdú, the Vg/Os comitative suff. -nē-t/-nā-t/-na-t, e.g., Vg ämp-nā-t 'with the/a dog', Os poraj-na-t 'with his son', láv-na-t 'with a horse; on horseback').

Propositions: a) OJ -ti~to is comparable to PFU *-t, b) the Ugric suffix cluster -n + vowel + t contains the same PFU *-t as is seen in the simplex forms, therefore -t of the Ugric cluster is also comparable to OJ -ti~to, c) Ugric -n + vowel + t is comparable to OJ -nite (J -de), used for various adverbial expressions (this -nite is not to be confused with its homophone, the contracted continuative form of the copula nari, e.g., chichi-wa gakusha nite, haha-wa ongakka-nari 'father is a scholar, mother is a musician', s. Lewin 1959, 8).

Sansom (1928, 244-5) segments -nite as ni, the general adverbial suffix (s. further on) + te, coming from the perfective verb tu (tsu). He then adds: "... generally speaking, /te/ has the same uses as ni, except that it is not used to make the dative." --I distrust this origination of -te. First of all, Lewin does not link -te of -ni-te with tsu. Then, the sense of the examples speaks against it; for instance (from Sansom): fune nite kawa wo wataru 'to cross the/a river by boat' (f. 'boat'; k. 'river'; wo, object marker), fude nite kaku 'to write with

the/a writing brush' (f. 'writing brush'; fune nite and fude nite illustrate the instrumental use of -ni-te), yotsu-kado nite au 'to meet at the crossroads' (y. 'four'; k. 'corner'; this is plainly a loc. case);-- Lewin 1959, 80: a) instrumental. e.g., te-nite utsu 'to beat with the hand(s)' (te 'hand', b) causal, e.g., byōki-nite yasumu 'to be absent on account of illness' (b. 'illness'; y. 'be absent'; take a rest'), c) local, e.g., Kyōto-nite seikatsu-su 'to live in Kyoto', g) temporal (marking the point of time when something occurs), e.g., kono tennō gonei jūgo-nite taishi-ni tachi 'this emperor had been installed as crown-prince at the age of fifteen years' (k. 'this'; go-nen 'honourable age/years'; j. '15'; t. 'crown-prince'; ni, transitive (?) suff.).

Seeing the use of -ni-te in the above examples, I suggest that the part -te is also a loc./instrumental suffix.

OJ -te might be a variant of -tō (in wo-tō); for e~d alternation, s. Wenck 1959, 8.

4.3.3.4 OJ -na (locative/temporal) vs U *-na/-nā.--Pröhle 1916/17, 159 treats an OJ suffix -na separately from -ni. Examples: asa-na 'in the morning', yū-na 'in the evening', asa-na/a/sa-na 'every morning', yo-na-vo-na 'every night'.

In connection with these examples, Ono simply says that -na = -ni. It is probably inferred by him that -na is a variant of -ni.

However, we cannot be certain. For -na could be a fossil form which was practically lost by OJ times. But the suggested fossil form could become very valuable in view of U *-na/-nā; e.g., Fi koto-na 'at home, in the house', päivä-nā 'at day', taka-na 'behind' (taka 'that which is behind')/Md tei-na, tei-ne 'in winter'/Os yāt-na 'in the house, at home'/Yr nyl-na 'underneath', yū-na 'where'. S. Hajdú 1966, 120-1; Collinder 1960, 286-7; cf. the suffix -ni.

4.3.3.5 J, OJ -ni (locative, etc.) vs U *-na/-nā, ? U *-r.--Reference is made to Sansom 1928, 238 ff. and Lewin 1959, 79-80. J, OJ ni is a polyfunctional suff., having the following main uses:

A) Adverb of place and time. Examples: Tōkyō-ni sumu 'to live in Tokyo', Tōkyō-ni yuku 'to go to Tokyo', hako-ni osamete oku 'to keep in a box' (h. 'box'; osamete < osameru 'put/place in, store in'; oku 'put, place; leave', s. entry oku), goji ni okureru 'to be later than five o'clock' (go 'five'; ji 'hour'; o. 'be behind time, be late'), yami-no yo-ni idete 'stepping/going out on a pitch-dark night' (y. 'pitch-darkness'; no, gen./attr. marker; yo 'night'; idete < ideru 'go/come out', where idete is the gerund form), jishin-wa mahiru-ni okoreri 'the earthquake began exactly at midday' (j. 'earthquake'; wa, subject marker; ma-, proclitic indicating 'just, right, exact'; hiru 'midday'; okoreri < okoru 'happen, take place');

B) Dative, Lative, Translative. Examples: Sumera mikoto ni sadzuketete 'offering to the Sovereign Lord' (sadzuketete, gerund form, consists of the emphatic proclitic sa- and a development of OJ tuku (?) 'supply, serve' or 'affix'), tare ni ka misemu 'to whom shall I show it?' (t. 'who'; ka, interrogative particle; mise < misu 'to show'; -mu indicates volition), hito ni mono wo atau 'to give a thing to a person' (m. 'thing'; a. 'give'), oya ni niru 'to resemble one's parents' (oya 'parent(s)'), kō otusu ni otoru 'A is inferior to B' (kō 'A'; e. 'be inferior'), kawa ni chikaki uchi 'a house near the river' (k. 'river'; u. 'house'), mizu wo yu ni nasu 'to make cold water into hot' (m. 'water'; yu 'hot water'), hito wo baka ni suru 'to make a fool of a man' (b. 'a fool'; s. 'make'), hakase ni naru 'to become a doctor' (h. 'doctor', academic grade);

C) Instrumental, Causal. Examples: inu ni kamaru 'he is bitten by a dog' (inu 'dog'; kamu 'to bite'), kaikwa ni kokoro madou 'he is led astray by riches' (k. 'riches'; kokoro 'heart, mind'), hana ni mai tsuki ni utai 'dancing because of the flowers, singing because of the moon' (h. 'flower'; mai is the conjunctive form of mau < mapu 'rotate, go round in circles'; ts. 'moon'), yamai-ni kurushimu 'to suffer from/because of an illness' (y. 'illness'), tsuki-ni tanoshimu 'to be delighted by the moon';

D) Adverb of purpose. Examples: hanami ni yuku 'to go to see the flowers' (hana 'flower(s)'; mi 'sight, view(ing)'), tomurai ni ku 'he comes to condole' (ku, later kuru 'come'), kiyasume ni iu 'he says it to soothe you' (ki 'spirit'; yasumu > yasumeru 'set at ease, relieve, soothe').

E) Modal adverb. Examples: tadachi ni 'immediately', ogosoka ni 'solemnly', kirei ni 'prettily', omowazu ni 'unthinkingly', kuwauru ni 'in addition, moreover', anzuru ni 'on reflection', omou ni 'in my opinion'.

F) Terminative (with or without made). Examples: nijūgi sai ni oyobu 'to reach the age of 25' (n. '25'; sai 'years, age'), ima ni itaru made 'until now' (ima 'now'; i. 'reach, come to'; itaru likely acts as a modifier to made), ashita made ni 'until tomorrow' (a. 'tomorrow'), kyokugen ni tassuru 'to reach the extremity' (k. 'extremity'; k and t. are Sino-Japanese formations); for more examples, s. Lewin 1959, 95.

The Est terminative suffix -ni does not differ from its J counterpart. E.g., laps ei ulatanud kōige kōrgema raamatu-ni 'the child did not reach the highest book' (W. Tauli 1975, 41; i. 'child'; ei, verb of negation; u. 'reach(ed)'; k.-k. 'highest'; r. 'book'), kōrguse-ni '(up) to a height' (Collinder 1957, 172).

Regarding the U side, reference is first made to 4.3.3.4. Whether OJ -na is merely a variant of -ni shall not be decided here. Nor is any attempt made by me to pick out, say, the Est terminative suffix -ni and the Tv general loc. suffix -ni, because they are identical in shape with J, OJ -ni, and leave the rest aside. Instead, a number of examples will be adduced from the U side, too, for it could well be that more than one suffixes are hidden in the garb of -n + vowel.

Collinder (1960, 286-7) reconstructs a U loc. suff. *-na/-nä, and remarks: "It is best preserved in Finnish, Eastern Ostyak, and Yurak: Fi and OsE -na/-nä, Yr -na/-ne. Tavgi has -nu (<*-na) and -ni, without regard to the quality of the vowel of the first syllable. OsN has -na or (in some idioms) -n. Cheremis has -nō, -ne (with or without vowel harmony; in the easternmost idioms -no, -nō, -ne). In Mordvin, Vogul, Yenisei, and Selkup, the fore-tongue variant of the syllabic suffix prevails. Lappish has -nne, -nnē after a monosyllabic stem, -n (LpS -nē) in other positions. The Permian languages and Hungarian have -n."

Hajdú (1966, 120-1) reconstructs a U loc. suffix *-na, and says that it can be found mainly in the endings of adverbs and postpositions.--Examples: Hu be-nn 'inside', fō-nn 'on top', dial. hu-n 'where' /note: -nn is secondary/ Vg ju-n 'inside, at home', jol-n 'below', num-n 'above', kwā-n ~ kū-n 'outside', ēl-n 'ahead, in front' /Os kam-ə-n 'outside', num-ə-n 'above', i-n 'now', pir-ne 'afterwards' / Zr ul-y-n 'below, underneath', ty-n 'there' /Ch ül-n 'underneath', ti-ne 'outside' / Lp vuolle-n 'underneath', duokke-n 'behind' / Fi al-la < *al-na 'underneath', yl-lä < *yl-nä 'above', taka-na 'behind' / Yr nyl-na 'underneath', yu-na 'where';--in case suffixes: Hu föld-ə-n 'on the ground', víz-ə-n 'on/above water', Budá-n 'in Buda', föld-be-n 'in the ground' /-be- 'into', város-ba-n 'in (a) town' /Os juv-ne 'in wood; in a tree', wač-ne 'in (a) town' /Zr kar-y-n 'in (a) town' /Md šakš-nä 'in a dish', vaz-nä 'on a cow'.

Hajdú (op. c. 123) reconstructs, in addition, a U dative/lative suffix *-ń, and says that no certain reflex of this can be found in the Ugric languages; in Fi it fell together with the gen. marker -n, and only the context shows the difference.--Examples: Fi Jumala-n kiitos 'thanks to God', minu-n täytyy 'I need it' /'to me necessary'/.--In Fi, the same suffix forms the last element of the illative ending -n + vowel + n and that of the reconstructed allative ending *-le-n. Equally, the Est terminative ending -ni (s. above) comes from U *-ń.--Examples (terminative): jala-ni 'up to the foot/feet', kahe-ni 'up to two', jõe-ni 'as far as the river'.

U *-ń appears also in Zr, Vty -la-n, approximative, -śań, egressive, and the Ch allative suffix -la-n.

In the Sam languages, U *-ń appears either in its primary form or in expanded forms; thus: -n, -n-i, -n-i-k, etc.

/Note: In connection with the possible origin of OJ -ni, Murayama (1957, 131) suggests that -ni has come about from two elements: *-n (nucleus) + *-i which might have to do with the Manchu instrumental suffix -i./

U *-ń appears, in addition, in the endings of adverbials of most U tongs. E.g., Fi mi-nne 'whither', tä-nne 'hither' /Ch pele-n 'toward', lišā-n 'near to' / Zr, Vty kymy-ń 'against'.

4.3.3.6 J -no, OJ -nō (genitive, attributive) vs U *-n.--Sansom (1928, 225): "No may be defined as a genitive particle, but its employment can be better under-

stood if it is regarded as establishing an attributive rather than a possessive or partitive relation between two words. In one of its simplest and earliest uses it forms demonstrative adjectives from pronouns."--Examples: ko-no hito 'this man' (ko 'this; here'), ka-no, a-no, so-no 'that' (< ka, a, so 'he/she/it'), ya-tsuka ho no ikashi ho 'many-bundled and luxuriant ears / of crop/' (ya 'eight; many'; ts. 'a bundle'/s. entry tsuka 'handle; bundle'; ho 'ear of grain, etc.'; i. 'luxuriant'; expression from the Toshigohi 'Prayer for Harvest' Ritual).

Under attributive postpositions, Lewin (1959, 75) describes no as follows (transl.): "No marks 1) the attributive; e.g., natsu-no yū 'a summer evening', ume-no hana 'flowers of the plum-tree', ko-no ie 'this house', achira-no machi 'a town of that place/area', futari-no onna 'two women', ima-no tami 'people of our times' (ima 'now'), 2) the apposition; e.g., Fuji-no yama 'Mount Fuji', Tosa-no kuni 'the province Tosa', ani-no Tarō 'Tarō, the elder brother', Taira-no Kiyo-mori 'Kiyomori of the Taira clan' or 'Taira Kiyomori', getsuyobi-no hatsuka 'Monday, the 20th' (g. 'Monday', h. 'the 20th day; 20 days'), 2a) the apposition of comparative sense; e.g., hana-no miyako 'the capital that abounds with flowers' or 'the flower-rich capital' (h. 'flower'; mi-ya-ko actually means 'shrine-place'), tsuyu-no inochi 'life as ephemeral as dew' (ts. 'dew');--numerous epithets (makura-kotoba 'pillow-words') of OJ poetry belong here; e.g., nubatama-no 'like the nuba fruit' (i.e., 'pitch-black'), wakakusa-no 'like young grass' (i.e., 'soft and supple'), shirotae-no 'like white linen' (i.e., 'clean, pure'), 2b) the expanded apposition in the form of a clause, in the attributive form only after a verb or an adjective (optional); e.g., ima komu-no chigiri 'the promise that I will come now' (ima 'now, at this time'; k. expresses the future of ku 'come', k. act here as a nominal), wasureji-no yuksue 'the future which I shall not forget' (w., negative of wasuru 'forget'), 3) the possessive construction; e.g., ani-no ie 'the house of the elder brother', mizukara-no oya 'one's own parents'.

Note: At this juncture, reference is made to what has been said in connection with pronouns and demonstratives (2.1.12): I suggest that the OJ pronoun formant nd/? nu (later no) is identical with the gen./attr. suffix handled here; naturally, the U pronoun formant *n comes into play with it.

Concerning the U genitive suffix *-n, Hajdú (1966, 63 ff.) sums up the opinions. We can note the following points: 1) the reflexes of U gen. *-n are unknown in the Permian and the Ugric languages; instead, they have several ways for the expression of the possessive construction, e.g., a) the possessive relation is unmarked, as in Zr ju-dor 'river-bank', Hu láb-szár 'shin' (ju 'river'; láb 'foot, leg'), b) a possessive suffix is attached to either member of the construction (usually it is the part possessed which bears the poss. suffix; at times, the part possessor has it; sometimes both parts are marked), 2) unmarked the same as marked possessive constructions are believed to be very old; the assumption is supported by the circumstance that the two types also exist in those member languages of the U family which have retained reflexes of the gen. suffix *-n, 3) for this reason, several researchers are of the opinion that in the p-language the possessive relation was unmarked and that the construction incorporating the gen. suffix is a later development, 4) the proponents of this theory refer to the view of Ravila according to which the gen. suffix *-n originally did not mark possessive relations, but functioned as an adjective formant; for in Md, Ch, and Sam, morphemes identical in shape with the gen. suffix appear in attr. constructions, e.g., Md vif-n med 'forest honey'; this type of construction is thought to have led to gen. constructions ('forest honey' > 'honey of the forest').

At this juncture, Hajdú lines up arguments against Ravila's contention, closing the reasoning thus (transl.): "The suffix -n of the genitive is used in Balto-Finnic, Lapp, Mordvin, Cheremis, and the Samoyed languages. It is hard to imagine that this suffix should have arisen by convergence in the separate lives of the enumerated languages, from a p-language element which had no genitive function. Therefore we consider the reconstruction of a possessive attributive suffix *-n for the p-language inevitable, without dismissing the connection of the genitive suffix with other grammatical elements in the p-language, e.g., with the adjective formant or with the suffix of dative/lative" (p. 64).

Returning to the J side, -no cannot be said to have had the primary function of a gen. suff. in OJ times (cf. -ga as gen. marker in OJ; Lewin 1959, 75-6),

but its manifold and wide-spread use otherwise make its deep-rootedness probable.

Murayama (1957, 128) proposes that a) OJ nd <*ne, b) nd was a velar variant of *ne (cf. the constructions ma-na 'of the eye' /vs me 'eye'; which is real' / mi-na 'of the water' / nu-na 'of the jewel' / ta-na 'of the hand' / vs te 'hand' /, c) nd had a variant *n (in the function of a gen. marker) which may have been responsible for the voicing of some initial consonants of words that functioned as second members of compounds with *n; e.g., *miyako-n-tōri > miyako-dori 'bird of the capital'; similarly, *miya-n-Fasira > miyābasira 'pillar of the palace'; *sato-n-Fito > satōbito 'village people, country people'.

4.3.3.7 J -o, OJ -wo (object marker; directional) vs U *-m.--Murayama (1957, 130) assumes that the OJ accusative suffix -wo developed from *-we ~*-be, adding that because immediately after p- and w- the difference between the OJ vowels ō and ō̄ had become leveled out by OJ times, one cannot state the quality of ō in wo. However, since in several cases one finds -m̄ where an acc. suff. is expected, one can posit a primary suffix *-wo <*-we ~*-be. Such a suffix is comparable--says Murayama--to the Ma acc. suff. -be and Tg -wa ~-we.

We should note that the term 'accusative' or 'direct object case' of the European grammars does not really cover the ranges of OJ -wo or Ma -be, Tg -wa/-we.

Let's see some J examples (Lewin 1959, 203): seito ji-wo kaku 'the pupil writes signs' (s. 'pupil'; ji 'sign, symbol'), otōto mon-wo hiraku 'the younger brother opens the door', watakushi-wa shinbun-wo yomimashita 'I have read the newspaper' (wa, subject/topic marker; sh. 'newspaper'), ware-wa warau-wo yorokobu 'I enjoy laughing' (warau 'to laugh', used in this case as a noun), shi-ni michi-wo tou 'to ask the master about (or concerning) the teaching' (shi 'master'; ni, of dat./lat. function; m. 'way, path, road', hence 'teaching'), ie-wo deru 'go out of the house' or 'leave home', sore-wo tobu 'to fly in the sky' (~toward the sky), kuni-wo hanareru 'to become separated from one's country' (in the last three examples, -wo is definitely directional), hito-no kuru-wo motsu 'to wait till a man comes' (kuru 'come', used as a noun), ari-ya nashi-ya-wo shirazu 'not knowing whether there are or are not /i.e., things, beings/ (ari 'be, there is'; nashi 'which is not'; shiru 'know', shirazu 'not knowing'; (Sansom 1928, 236); kaku mōsu wo mina hito ina to mōsu ni yorite 'he spoke thus, whereat everybody said "no", and therefore ...' (k. 'thus'; m. 'speak; the speaking'; mina hito 'all people'; ina 'no'; to 'thus, so, like'; ni y. 'accordingly, therefore'; --wo could perhaps be translated as 'in that regard; concerning'; -- ni y. is linked to the preceding as if the two clauses together formed a single noun); (object case without -wo) tsuribune no tayutau mireba 'as I watched the rocking of the fishing-boats' (ts. 'fishing-boat'; tayutau '(Vi) rock, sway'; note the nominal use of this verb; -wo should follow t.; miru 'see watch'), miko wa hana mochite nobori tamaikeri 'the prince ascended carrying flowers' (m. 'prince'; h. 'flower'; m. is the gerund form of motsu 'hold; carry'; nobori is the conjunctive form of noboru 'ascend'; t. (approx.) 'deigned').

The unmarked accusative of the last two sentences is of added interest when held against a similarly formed accusative construction on the U side.--On the U acc. suffix, Hajdú (1966, 64) writes (transl.): "The suffix *-m of the accusative is not known in Hu and Os. In the other U languages it is there, at least traces of it can be shown (e.g., in the Permian languages). The negation of its existence in the U era was caused by the circumstance that along with acc. constructions with -m every U language has, and frequently employs, unmarked acc. constructions (e.g., Hu víz hordani 'to carry water' ... ; /vizi 'water', viz-e-t when provided with the acc. suffix -t). Because many researchers saw a more original state of things in the unmarked acc. construction, their confidence in the U origin of *-m became shaken Accepting the view of Bo Wickman /s. Wickman 1955/, we take it for certain that in the p-language the object was expressed in two ways: the unmarked (nominative) form expressed the indefinite, while the other form, with *-m, probably expressed the definite, object."

Collinder (1960, 284) points out that in the Tym dialect of Selkup, both, -m and -p occur as acc. suffixes. He also informs us that "... in the northern group of the LpS idioms the accusative ending has lost its nasality, developing into -b. In LpPite and in LpLule ... it has developed into -w, -y or a non-syllabic u."

All in all, the reconstructed U acc. suff. has the following reflexes:
 -m, -p, -b, -w, -v, non-syllabic u, and ø.
 Cf. Benzing 1956, 81.

4.3.3.8 OJ -tu (? genitive/attributive; ? locative) vs U *-ta/-tä (*-tu/-tü). According to Sansom (1928, 235), OJ -tu (Sansom writes -tsu) "appears to be a true genitive particle." It has become obsolete but it is still encountered in numerous preserved phrases; e.g., onodzukara <ono-tsu-kara 'by oneself' (ono 'self'; kara 'from, through, by, with'), midzukara 'by oneself' (mi = mī 'body; self'), ototoi < oto-tsu-hi / < wotō-tu-pī / 'the day before yesterday' (wotō ~ woti 'there; that way'; pī 'day'), yakko < ya-tsu-ko 'house-child = servant', akitsu-kata = aki-tsu-kata 'autumn time' (aki 'autumn'; kata 'side, direction'), mukashitsubito = mukashi-tsu-hito 'men of old' (m. 'former days, old times'), Akitsu-shima (place-name) < aki-tsu-shima (shima 'island').

It is doubtful that all these constructions should be of genitival origin. In the phrases onodzukara and midzukara, the suffix in question is sooner of separative function (the same as -kara in its commonest meaning); yakko = ya-tsu-ko could, indeed, be interpreted as 'child of the "house"'.

Lewin (1959, 76) classes constructions with -tsu attributive ("attributive Determination"); e.g., ama-tsu kaze 'heavenly wind', kuni-tsu kami 'gods that exist in (and protect) the country' ("Landesgottheiten"; kuni 'country'), no-tsu tori 'wild birds' or 'birds of the fields' (no 'field').

Murayama (1957, 131) calls OJ -tu a (fossile) locative particle which was used to form adjectives; e.g., ama-tu-kami 'heavenly god' (? 'god who is in the sky'), sima-tu-tōri 'island bird(s)' (? 'birds which live on islands'), naka-tu-ye '(the) middle branch' (? the branch which is in the middle). --Murayama also suggests that -tu may be regarded as the voiceless variant of -yu < *-du / ? *-yu, L.K./, and compares it to Tu -da in such forms as ata-da 'near/by the father', ulus-ta 'among the people'.

Coming to the U side, Hajdú (1966, 62) reconstructs a U ablative suffix *-ta/-tä; Collinder (1960, 287) equally posits U *-ta/-tä, adding that perhaps it alternated with *-da/-dä. He informs us further thus: "Finnish has -ta ~ -tä after monosyllabics and sometimes after trisyllabics, -a ~ -ä after disyllabics that are not the result of contraction; Veps has -d. Lappish has -itš (or -dč) after monosyllabic stems (ending in a vowel), otherwise -d (pronounced like t, in northern LpN like ht or hk), LpS -rč, -dč. Mordvin has -do ~ -de, (after a voiceless consonant) -to ~ -te. Cheremis has (unexpectedly) -c, -č (?). Ugric apparently has -l. --And further (p. 192): "The separative ending seems to have been *tu ~ *tü in PSam, not *-ta ~ *-tä as in PFU, [thus: / Yr -d, Tv -ta, Yn -do (cf. the locative ending: Yr -na ~ -ne, Tv -nu, Yn -ne)."

In Collinder 1965 (32-3) one finds a slightly modified view: U separative *-ta ~ *-tä, "or perhaps rather *-tu (~ *-tü)."

Examples (from Hajdú 1966, 122): Fi al-ta 'from below', luo-ta 'from (a thing)', yl-tä 'from above', ulko-a 'from outside' (note the loss of -t-), sii-tä 'from that' (i.e., 'a part from that', the case being genitivus partitivus) / Lp vuol-dč 'from below/under', al-dč 'from above/top' / Md al-do 'from below', ver-de 'from above' / Ch umba-č 'from above', tü-c 'from outside' / Yr nyl-d 'from below', yu-d 'from where'.

For a possible connection between the OJ separative suffix -yo-ri ~ -yu-ri and OJ -tu above, on the one hand, and Hu dial. -tu/-tü, on the other, reference is made to 4.3.3.1; such a connection is suggested here. The supporting arguments are as follows: a) OJ -tu was very likely polyfunctional, b) I cannot accept Hu dial. -tu/-tü (separative) as the truncated version of (standard) -tō-l/-tō-l which is said to have come from *tūwü 'stem' + Ugric ablative/separative suffix *-l; my contention is that on dial. level -tu/-tü has remained with little change since U times (s. Collinder 1965, 32-3: U *-tu (~ *-tü)).

5. INDEX

to the words treated in the etymological section (except are some variant forms and near-variant developments as well as A and IE words mentioned in connection with the etymologies).

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6. SYMBOLS and ABBREVIATIONS

6.1 Letters and their values; Diacritics

6.1.1 Letters used for writing Japanese.--For the writing of J words, the internationally accepted Hepburn system of Romanization has been employed.--As regards OJ i vs ī, e vs ē, o vs ō, the quality difference is still debated; the absence of a figure over OJ i, e, or o means that the differentiation could not be ascertained.

6.1.2 The following listing of phonetic values for the U languages are adduced (with the exception of ʌ for which Collinder writes ɒ) from Collinder's Fenno-Ugric Vocabulary (1978, pp. 15-19); the explanations throw light upon the transcription symbols employed by other U sources.

ā in broad script = o; otherwise (in Vogul and in southern Samoyed) it denotes a labialized variant of a.

ä is an unrounded low front vowel (cf. English a in care).

ae in Lappish, = ä; in Vogul, Ostyak, and Yurak, it denotes an intermediary between a and ä.

b stands for an unvoiced labial stop in Estonian; in Lappish it is usually (more or less) unvoiced, --bb is unvoiced; in Yurak, b is often unvoiced; in Selkup, b after a voiced consonant denotes half-voiced stop.

c = ts (affricate); in Lappish cc = unvoiced vowel (h) + ts.

č = the affricate tʃ (English ch in cheese).

č̣ = the affricate tʃ̣, tʃ̣ (apico-alveolar, apico-cacuminal); in Lappish, usually = tʃ̣. Lappish č̣č̣ = unvoiced vowel + tʃ̣. In Selkup, the affricate is palatalized according to Prokofev ...

d, in Finnish pronounced as in English (postdental, or slightly apico-alveolar voiced stop); in Estonian voiceless stop; in Lappish everything that has been said of b is valid for d, mutatis mutandis; in Cheremis, d in the position after n denotes voiced stop, in other positions it stands for the voiced fricative (FUF ɖ); in the Obdorsk dialect of Ostyak, d denotes the voiced stop, in the other dialects, the voiced fricative; in Selkup, d after a voiced consonant denotes half-voiced stop.

ḍ. Palatalized d.

ɖ. In Lappish, voiced dental fricative (FUF ɖ); in Yenisei Samoyed, an intermediary between p and FUF ɖ.

e is usually pronounced as in French été, or (e.g., in Finnish) a trifle lower (more open; in Hungarian, e = ä (short), é = e (long)).

ē. In Mde /Mordvin Erza/, a back variant of e (not implying palatalization of the preceding consonant); in Hungarian, an open variant of e.

ē. An open (comparatively low) variant of e.

ə usually denotes a slightly rounded, middle-high middle-tongue vowel (unstressed); in Ostyak, there are an anterior and a posterior variant (in the FUF transcription, ə and ə̣, respectively; cf. sub ə̣).

f. In Samoyed, sometimes bilabial (FUF ɸ).

g. In Estonian, voiceless stop; in Lappish, in initial position usually voiceless stop, in LpS /Lapp South/ half-voiced or voiced, between vowels LpN /Lapp North/ Polmak, Karasjok, LpE /Lapp East/ (with the exception of Ter) voiced fricative (= FUF ɣ), Ter voiced stop, in all other dialects unvoiced or half-voiced stop ...; in Cheremis, g in the position after n denotes voiced stop, in other positions it stands for the voiced fricative; in Vogul, = Cheremis; in the Obdorsk dialect of Ostyak, voiced stop, in all the other dialects, voiced fricative; in Yurak, voiced fricative (as a rule); in Selkup, g after a voiced consonant denotes half-voiced stop; in Kamassian, g usually stands for voiced fricative, except after n; in the other languages, g is pronounced as in English go, give.

ɣ. Voiced palato-velar fricative.

h stands for unvoiced palato-velar fricative (= FUF ɣ̥) in LpSkolt, LpKola, Mordvin ... , Cheremis, Vogul, Ostyak, and Kamassian; in Yurak it denotes an intermediary between ɣ̥ and h; in the other languages, it is more or less like English h; it should be noted that h occurs also before a consonant, e.g., in Finnish and

in LpInari.

i. Like English i in machine.

ī. In Mordvin Erza, a posterior variant of i (not implying palatalization of the preceding consonant); in Selkup, an unrounded high middle-tongue vowel, a kind of intermediary between i and y (e.g., infra).

j. Non-syllabic i; some parts (e.g., in Tavgi) it is a fricative.

k. In western Ostyak and (more often than not) in Kamassian, k is aspirated; in LpInari it is aspirated in the interior of the word, in the other Lappish dialects before a consonant. In the other languages it is unaspirated.

q. In Vogul and in Selkup, k and q are kept apart by Černecov and Prokofev, respectively, q being a decidedly velar stop.

l. Dental (predorso-gingival) l with a low back-tongue.

l̄. Palatalized l.

l̄. Dental l with raised back-tongue.

n. Dental (predorso-gingival) n.

n̄. Palatalized n.

ñ. Apico-cacuminal n.

ŋ. Palato-velar nasal (as in sing, long).

ñ̄. Palatalized (mouillé) variant of ñ.

o. Middle-high rounded back-tongue vowel.

ö. This letter, belonging to the Estonian alphabet, I have substituted for FUF ä in transcribing Veps, Vote, Livonian, Votyak, Zyryan, Vogul, and Yurak, and for FUF ä in transcribing Mordvin and Cheremis. ... In Kamassian words, I have used ö for both ä and ǟ without distinction. (In Ostyak words I have written ä instead of ǟ.)--FUF ä stands for middle-high (or more than middle-high) unrounded back-tongue vowel, whereas ǟ stands for a posterior variant of a slightly rounded middle-high middle-tongue vowel. Some people would say that ǟ is a 'reduced' or 'imperfectly articulated' variant of ä.

ȫ. Middle-high rounded front vowel (= German ȫ).

œ. An intermediary between o and ȫ.

p. Aspirated in Kamassian in initial position (many exceptions).

r. Apico-alveolar tremulant.

s. Dental (predorso-gingival) s.

s̄. Palatalized (mouillé) s.

š. Apico-cacuminal (or apico-alveolar) sibilant.

t. Dental (predorso-gingival) t, aspirated in the Tremyugan dialect of OsE /Ostyak East/ and in initial position (not always) in Kamassian.

t̄. Palatalized t.

ʌ /FUF ʌ = p in Collinder's transcription/ is the unvoiced counterpart of ʌ̄ ...; for the dialect of Likrisovskoe /Ostyak/, Karjalainen adopted the letter p̄, which is pronounced like English th in think. [ʌ is used only for Ostyak.]

u. Like German u or French ou.

ü. Like German ü or French ü, or (in Yurak, Tavgi, and Kamassian, in the Kazan dialect of Votyak, and sometimes in the Malmyž dialect of Cheremis) an intermediary between German u and ü.

v. Labio-dental, as in English.

w. In Votyak and Ostyak, and mostly in Lappish, w stands for non-syllabic u (FUF u); it is a fricative (FUF β) in Cheremis, Vogul, Yurak, Yenisei, and Kamassian. In Selkup, some dialects have u, other dialects an intermediary between u and β.

/x. Unvoiced palato-velar fricative (= FUF x).

y. High, unrounded back-tongue vowel (Russian jery, FUF ɨ).

z. The voiced counterpart of s.

ž. The voiced counterpart of š.

z̄. The voiced counterpart of s̄.

z̄. The voiced counterpart of c.

z̄. The voiced counterpart of č.

z̄. The voiced counterpart of č̄. ...

In writing Veps, Mordvin, Cheremis, or Permian, there is no need to distinguish between different degrees of vowel quantity. In Hungarian, long vowels are indicated by the acute accent, in Finnish and Estonian by doubling the vowel letter. In

Lappish, Vogul, and Ostyak there is a need for marking the difference between etymologically short and etymologically long (dilatatable) vowels ...; I have followed Steinitz in marking the etymologically short vowels (ä, ö, etc.); thanks to Steinitz' excellent 'Geschichte des Ostjakischen Vokalismus', it was an easy task to transcribe the meticulous data given by Karjalainen and Toivonen. I would have liked to do the same thing with the Vogul words; but under the prevailing circumstances I have had recourse to the Finnish system, substituting aa for ä of my sources, etc. As to the Samoyed languages, I have rendered vowel length in an inconsistent way because the sources are so uneven.

In Yurak words vowel length has been marked only in the first syllable. ...

Those who have not familiarized themselves with Finnish and Hungarian may appreciate a few additional explanations.

Finnish y = FUF ü.

Hungarian a = ä (short labialized a), á = a very open long a; cs = č; gy = g', gy = g'; ly = j (non-syllabic i); ny = ñ; ö = long ö; s = š; sz = s, ssz = ss; ty = t'; ü = long ü; zs = ž.

6.1.3 Symbols and pertinent explanations adduced from 'A Magyar Szókincs Finn-ugor Elemel' I, 41-3.

° : over a vowel marks labialization; under a consonant indicates sonant nature; beside certain consonants marks labiality (k, g, q, q', q', q') (in Munkácsi's transcription of Votyak, q = q, q' = q').

˘ : under a vowel indicates openness (q, q').

ˆ : under a vowel indicates closeness (q, q').

ˆ : over a in Lappish indicates back quality ('dark' a = ä).

˜ : over a vowel indicates reduced length (ä, ö).

˙ : after a vowel indicates accent (a'); over a vowel, it marks palatalization (ä is a vowel between a and ä; ü falls between u and ü); under a consonant, it marks cacuminal formation (q, q').

˚ : after p, t, k indicates aspiration (p', t', k'); after a voiced consonant, it denotes that the last part (release) of the consonant is voiceless (p', t').

˚ : before a letter indicates syllable boundary (q, q').

˚ : after a letter indicates glottal stop (e.g., Samoyed r').

˚ : over a letter indicates length (ä, ö, t).

˚ : over a letter indicates half length (ä, ö, t); after a letter, it marks quarter length (ä, ö).

˚ : over or at the top right-hand corner of consonants indicates palatalization (q, q', q').

˚ : under a vowel indicates semi-vocalic nature (q, q').

B, D, G, etc.: indicate that the consonant in question is semi-voiced.

° : denotes an unrounded velar vowel, somewhat similar to a.

u : denotes a u-like vowel, formed in the palatal region.

˚ : č (tš), at times č (tš).

˚ : ž (dž), at times ž (dž).

o or h : in Lappish denotes a voiceless vowel immediately before a consonant.

v : denotes any velar vowel.

y : denotes any palatal vowel.

a : denotes any vowel.

β : denotes a voiced bilabial fricative (= w).

ð : denotes a voiced dental fricative.

θ : denotes a voiceless dental fricative.

6.2 Other Symbols and Abbreviations

*	marks reconstructed/assumed forms.	Koib	= (Tu) Koibal.
~	= alternating with or approx. the same.	Kor	= Korean.
≡	= comes/came from.	Kum	= (Tu) Kuman.
≡	= goes/went into.	Lam	= (Tg) Lamut (~Even).
∅	= zero sound.	lat.	= lative.
A	= Altaic.	lit.	= literally.
acc.	= accusative.	Liv	= (Fi) Livonian.
adv.	= adverb.	loc.	= locative.
attr.	= attributive.	Lp	= (FU) Lapp(ish).
aux.	= auxiliary.	LpE	= Eastern Lapp (Kola, Skolt, Inari, Sompio, Kuolajärvi).
Az	= (Tu) Azerbaidjan.	LpK	= Kola Lpp.
Bash	= (Tu) Bashkir.	LpN	= Northern Lapp (Finnmark, Tornio, Lule, Pite).
b.m.	= basic meaning.	LpS	= Southern Lapp.
Bur	= (Mo) Buriat.	M	= Mokša in Mordvin Mokša (MdM).
C	= consonant.	Ma	= (Tg) Manchu.
caus.	= Causative.	Md	= (FU) Mordvin.
Ch	= (FU) Cheremis.	MdE	= (FU) Mordvin Erza.
Chag	= (Tu) Chagatai.	MdM	= (FU) Mordvin Mokša.
Chuv	= (Tu) Chuvash.	MMo	= (A) Middle Mongol(ian).
ClJ	= Classical Japanese.	Mo	= (A) Mongol(ian).
conj.	= conjugation.	Mong	= (Mo) Mongour.
comm.	= comment(s).	MTu	= (A) Middle Turk(ic).
cons.	= consonant(al).	Neg	= (Tg) Negidal.
CV	= consonant + vowel.	neg.	= negative.
Dag	= (Mo) Dagur.	nom.	= nominal.
dat.	= dative.	obj.	= object.
dem.	= demonstrative.	OHu	= (FU) Old Hungarian.
denom.	= denominal.	Oir	= (Mo) Oirat.
der.	= derivative/derived/derivation.	OJ	= Old Japanese.
dial.	= dialect(al).	OMo	= (A) Old Mongol(ian).
dim.	= diminutive.	onom.	= onomatopoeic.
E	= Erza in Mordvin Erza (MdE).	Ord	= (Mo) Ordos.
E	= East/eastern.	Os	= (FU) Ostyak.
esp.	= especially.	OsIrt	= (FU) Ostyak Irtish (dial.).
Est	= (FU) Estonian (within Finnish).	OsKaz	= (FU) Ostyak Kazym (dial.).
Ev	= (Tg) Evenki (~Tungus).	OsKo	= (FU) Ostyak Konda (dial.).
ex.	= extract(ed).	Osm	= (Tu) Osman(li).
Fi	= (FU) Finnish.	OsNi	= (FU) Ostyak Nizjam (dial.).
fig.	= figuratively.	OsO	= (FU) Ostyak Obdorsk (dial.).
frequ.	= frequentative.	OsPi	= (FU) Ostyak Pim (dial.).
FU	= (U) Finno-Ugric (~Fenno-Ugric).	OsSu	= (FU) Ostyak Surgut (dial.).
gen.	= genitive.	OsTrj	= (FU) Ostyak Tremjungan (dial.).
Go	= (Tg) Goldi (~Nanai).	OsV	= (FU) Ostyak Vach (dial.).
Hu	= (FU) Hungarian.	OsVj	= (FU) Ostyak Vashjungan (dial.).
id.	= idem.	OTu	= (A) Old Turk(ic).
IE	= Indo-European.	P/p	= proto(-).
incl.	= including.	PA	= Proto-Altaic.
inf.	= infinitive.	p.b.m.f.b.s.	= proposed basic meaning for both sides.
intr.	= intransitive.	Permian/Perm	= (FU) Zyryan and Votyak (taken together).
J	= Japanese.	PFU	= Proto-Finno-Ugric.
Kar	= (Fi) Karelian.	phon.	= phonology/phonologically.
Karak	= (Tu) Karakalpak.	PJ	= Proto-Japanese.
Kaz	= (Tu) Kazakh.	pl	= plural.
Kh	= (Mo) Khalkha.	pred.	= predicate/predicative.
k.i.	= kami ichidan conjugation in J.	prs	= present (tense).
Kirg	= (Tu) Kirghiz.	pron.	= pronoun/pronominal.
Km	= (Sam) Kamas(sian).	PSam	= Proto-Samoyed.
k.n.	= kami nidan conjugation in J.	PU	= Proto-Uralic.

px	= possessive suffix.	Tu	= (A) Turk(ic).
px1stsg	= possessive suffix first person singular.	Tuv	= (Tu) Tuvinian.
refl.	= reflexive.	Tv	= (Sam) Tavgi.
S	= South/southern.	U	= Uralic/Uralian.
s.	= see.	Ud	= (Tg) Ude(he).
Sam	= (U) Samoyed.	Ug	= (FU) Ugric.
sg	= singular.	Uig	= (Tu) Uigur/Uighur(ic).
sh.i.	= shimo ichidan conjugation in J.V	Urd	= (Mo) Urdus (~Ordos).
sh.n.	= shimo nidan conjugation in J.		= vowel.
Sk	= (Sam) Selkup (~Ostyak Sam).	Vg	= (FU) Vogul.
Sol	= (Tg) Solon.	Vi	= intransitive verb.
Soy	= (Tu) Soyot.	vs	= versus.
suff.	= suffix(es).	Vt	= transitive verb.
syll.	= syllable(s).	Vty	= (FU) Votyak.
Tat	= (Tu) Tatar.	W	= West/western
Tg	= (A) Tungus(ic).	y.	= yodan conjugation in J.
Tel	= (Tu) Teleut.	Yak	= (Tu) Yakut.
trans.	= transitive.	Yn	= (Sam) Yenisei.
transl.	= translation/translated.	Yuk	= Yukagir (? Uralic).
Trkm	= (Tu) Turkmenian.	Yr	= (Sam) Yurak.
		Zr	= (FU) Zyryan.

(For the abbreviations of some sources, see Sources below.)

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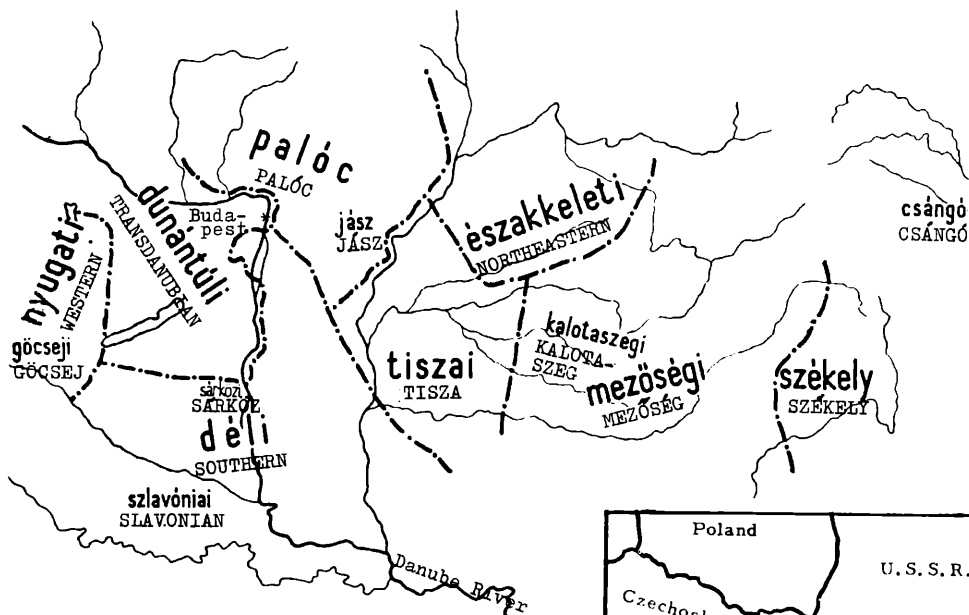
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