

(Indo-)Iranian loanwords in Permic (new etymologies as per Metsäranta 2020 unless otherwise specified)

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Pre/Early Proto-Permic (EPP) loanwords

“a”-loans

New etymologies:

- Komi *buždj-* ‘to collapse, break down’ < PP **buž-* < EPP **bača/ə* ← PII **b^hang/j-* : **b^hag/j-* / PI **baĵ-* ‘to break’
- Udm *gu* ‘hole, grave, cave’, Komi *gu* ‘hole, grave’ < PP **gu* < EPP **gapa*/**gaba* ← PI **gaba*, **gauba* ‘cave, cavity, pit, hole, grave’
- Komi *gu-* < PP **gu-* ‘to steal’ ← (P)I **gad-*, cf. OI *gadh-*, *gadhya-* ‘to grab, take’ < PII **gadh-* (Holopainen 2019, Holopainen & Junttila in press); a new idea based on an earlier etymology, deriving the Permic verb from a noun **gada-* ‘thief’ (which according to EWAia is related to PII **gadh-*)
- Udm *juž* ‘snow crust’, Komi *juž* ‘hardened snow surface’ < PP **juž* < EPP **jača* ← PI **jadza-* ‘glacier’
- Udm *merta-* ‘to measure, weigh’ (!), Komi *murtav-* ‘to measure’ < PP **murt(-)* < EPP **marta-* ← PII/PI **maH-tra-* ‘measure’
- Udm *murj* ‘barren, sterile’, Komi *mur* ‘barren’, *murjav-*, *murjal-* ‘to become barren’ < PP **mur* < EPP **marka* ← PI **marka-* > LAv *mahrka-* ‘destruction, death’, cf. **marč-* ‘to destroy, harm’
- Komi *tural-* ‘to get stiff from cold’ < PP **tur-* < EPP **tara/ə* ← PI **starH-* ‘to make/become stiff/rigid’
- ? Udm *kur* ‘grief, sorrow’, Komi *kur* ‘sad, (?) sick’ < PP **kur* ← I PI **hvar-* ‘to have a sore’, Av *xvara-* ‘wound, sore’, Oss *xæryn*, *xwarun* ‘to itch (oneself)’ (a new suggestion, Holopainen)

Old loan etymologies with a new relative dating and rehabilitated older etymologies:

- Udm *žičj* ‘fox’, Komi *ruč* < PP **ruč* < EPP **rapac* ← PI *(H)*rapāca-*
- Udm *žomjt* ‘dusk, twilight’, Komi *reṃ* ‘colour’ < PP **räm* < EPP **rämä* ← PII **rāma-* ‘dark, black’ (Munkácsi 1901)

”ä”-loans

- Udm *dera* ‘linen weave’, *derem* ‘shirt’, Komi *dęra*, *dęreṃ* < PP **dära*, **däräm* < EPP **därä-* ← PI **dār-* ‘to hold, keep’, also’, cf. Oss *daræs* ‘clothes’, I *daryn*, *darun* ‘to hold’, but also ‘to wear’

Old loan etymologies with a new relative dating:

- Udm *gon* ‘hair(s)’, Komi *geṃ* ‘down (feather), (human, animal) body hair’ < PP **gän* < EPP **gä(w)nä* ← PI **gauna-* > LAv *gaona-* ‘hair, colour of the hair, manner’. Notes: Udm Komi *gjn* ‘felt’ from a later monophthongized Iranian from OssI *qoyn*, D *gun* ‘hair, wool’

Middle Proto-Permic (MPP) loanwords

New etymologies:

- Udm *dur* 'Ufer, Rand, Seite', Komi *dor* < PP **dɔr* < MPP **dara* ← I **dārā*- 'blade'
- Komi *gorzi-* 'to cry' < PP **gorzi-* < MPP **garzi-* ← I **garz-* 'to lament, weep'
- Udm *gur* 'oven', Komi *gor(j)* 'sauna stove' < PP **gɔr* < MPP **gara* ← I **gārja* 'stone heap' or **gari-* 'mountain'. Notes: not entirely out of the question that the word is in fact from the
- Udm *gurež* 'mountain, hill', Komi *goruv* 'lower slope of a mountain' (*uv* 'under, lower (part)') < PP **gɔr* < MPP **gara*- ← I **gari-* 'mountain'
- Udm *gurt* 'village; home', Komi *gort* 'home' dial. 'residence, home (region), place of birth' < PP **gɔrt* < MPP **garta* ← I **gauθra* 'origin, nature', OI *gotrá-* 'Kuhstall, Stall' > 'Geschlecht, Abkunft, Familie'. Notes: Traditionally thought to be from a form reflected by Av *garəða* 'dwelling-place of demonic beings', OI *grhá-* 'house, dwelling-place'. This might be semantically preferable, but it is perhaps noteworthy that the divide between animal shelters and human dwelling-places has not been all that sharp historically and people have in many places lived together with livestock in single structures. Voiceless *-rt* in Permic is also a problem for the traditional etymology as the voiceless/voiced opposition is otherwise quite well preserved.
- Udm *gurul* 'chin, part of the neck under the chin' (*ul* 'under part), Komi *gorš* 'throat, larynx' < PP **gɔr* < MPP **gara* ← I **gara* 'throat, neck' > Av *garō* 'neck; throat'. Notes: the Komi *-š* is not a clear suffix.
- KomiS *Jjort* 'companion', P 'spouse' < PP **jɔrt* < MPP **jarta* ← I **jāθr-* 'sister-in-law'
- Udm *pudo* 'cattle', Komi *poda* < PP **pɔda* < MPP **pada* ← I **spāda* 'army' > Av *spāda-* 'army, host'. Notes: for semantics cf. Fi *karja* 'cattle' ← either PGrm **xarjaz* > ON *harjaR*, OIcl *herr* 'army, troop etc.' or Baltic, OPr *karja* 'army, war'
- Udm *sura-* 'to mix, stir', Komi *sor-* 'id.' < PP **sɔr-* < MPP **sara-* ← I **sarH-* 'to mix, unite with' > OAv *sār-*
- Udm *ud* 'sprout, shoot', Komi *od* 'verdance; shoot' < PP **ɔ/od* < MPP **ada/ə* ← I **ādu-* 'grain, corn' > Av *ādu-*, OP *ādu-*. Notes: traditionally compared to OI *ándhas* 'herb, Soma plant'
- Udm *urt* 'soul, spirit', Komi *ort* 'ghost; spirit, doppelganger' < PP **ɔ/ort* < MPP **arta/ə* ← I **ātra*, **āθra* 'breath, breathing' > LAv *āθra* 'breath', *duž-āθra* 'uncomfortable feeling, unhappiness' (lit. 'bad breathing')
- Udm *žuzki* 'cluster, wattle', Komi *roz* 'cluster, raceme', *rozjin* 'in bloom', *rozjav-* 'to bloom' < PP **rɔz* < MPP **raza* ← I **raza-* > OssD *ræzæ* 'fruits, vegetables', *ræzyn* 'to grow', Farsi *raz* 'wine sprig, wine vine, vineyard'
- Komi *djš* 'lazy' < PP **djš* < MPP/EPP **duš* ← I **duš-* 'bad'
- Udm *girež* 'vigorous, strong', Komi *giriš* 'rough, big' < PP **gjr* < MPP/EPP **gur(V)-* ← I **guru-* > Av *gouru-* 'heavy', OI *gurú-* 'heavy, big etc.'
- Komi *čer* 'axe' < PP **čer* < MPP/EPP **čirka* ← Scythian/Sarmatian/Alanian **tsirga* > OssI *cyrğ*, D *cirğ* 'sharp'

Late Proto-Permic (LPP) loanwords

New etymologies:

- Komi *gar* 'tightly wound', *gart* - 'to intertwine, reel, wind, coil' < PP **gar*, *gart-* ← I **gar-* 'to turn, wind', **gart-*
- Udm *kar* 'nest; town', Komi *kar* 'town' < PP **kar* ← cf. Khotan *kara-* 'enclosure, forth, town', Oss *kæron* 'border' < PI **karāna*

- Udm *pad-vež*, Komi *pad-vož* < PP **pad* ← Alanian **pad-* < PI **pada-* ‘step, footprint’, Oss *fæd* (Holopainen 2019); the former explanation (← I **panθa-* ‘path’ Rédei 1986 etc.) would require borrowing before the denasalisation, but the *a* vocalism points to a late loan
- KomiP *pak-mj-* ‘to thicken by boiling, boil dry’ < PP **pak-* ← I **paxya-* ‘boiled, baked’ > Sakha *paha*, OssI *fyx* ‘boiled, baked’, D *funx*
- Udm *tug* ‘tassel, plait’, Komi *tug(j)* < PP **tug* ← Alanian/Proto-Ossetic **stug* > OssI *styg* ‘tuft (of hair), wad, curl, bangs’, D (æ)*stug*

Additional cases?

- Komi *čarem* ‘snow crust’ ← cf. OssI *carm*, D *car* ‘skin, leather’. Notes: for semantics, cf. SaaL *goarre* ‘ice-crust’ ~ NenT *šar* ‘surface; skin (under the hair)’ < PU **karə* ‘skin, bark’
- Udmurt *gozj* ‘rope, string, twine, cord’, Komi *gez(j)* < PP **gezj* < MPP/EPP **gisa* ← cf. OssI *qīs*, D *gesæ* ‘rough wool’, ‘bristle’, ‘horse hair’, ‘string’, Saka *ggīsa-* ‘травинка’, *gīska-* ‘верёвка’ < PI **gaisā(h)-*. Notes: the word in Iranian primarily refers to different hairs, but as ropes were made of natural fibres including animal hair the connection between the Permic and Iranian words is not a huge leap of logic. The Permic languages also have other Iranian loanwords pertaining to the same semantic field of animal fibers and (rope) binding, e.g. Udm *dumj-* ‘to bind’, Komi *dom-* ← PI **dāHman-* > NP *dām*, Udm *gerd* ‘knot’, Komi *gered* > PP **gärd* < EPP **gär(ä)ntä* ← PI **γranθa-* ‘knot’, Komi *vurun* ‘wool’ < EPP **warna* ← PII/PI **HwynaH*, Udm *gon* ‘hair(s)’, Komi *gen* ‘down (feather), (human, animal) body hair’ < PP **gän* < EPP **gä(w)nä* ← PI **gauna-* > LAv *gaona-* ‘hair, colour of the hair, manner’, Udm Komi *gin* ‘felt’ ← cf. OssI *qoyn*, D *gun* ‘hair, wool’.
- Udm Komi *gir* ‘mortar’ < PP **gir* (< MPP/EPP **gurV*) ← cf. OssI *ærm-goyroj*, D *ærm-gurojnæ* ‘ручная мельница’ (*ærm* ‘рука’)

New interpretations on earlier etymologies

- **piž*, **pižna-* ‘Mehl’ ← ? (P)I **pišant-* ‘zerstoßend’ (cf. MP *pist* ‘Mehl’ etc.); Koivulehto’s (1991: 89) Pre-Bsl / Pre-Iir explanation does not explain the sibilant better, there are no convincing examples of PIE **s* being reflected by Uralic **č*, whereas examples of Permic *ś* ~ *ž* ← **š* can be found; Mansi *posən* ‘flour’ is possibly a parallel loan or borrowed from Permic as suggested by Koivulehto. (Holopainen)
- PP **šumis* ← I **šum-* < PI (?) **šyuman-* (< PII **syuman-*), with *š* generalized from compounds with RUKI (Sogd *šwmyy* /šume/ ‘sewing’ Gharib 1995: 378:) (Holopainen 2019).

Parallel loanwords: new results (Holopainen 2019 and ongoing research)

- ? Proto-Permic **ozir* ‘rich’ ← PI (or PII) *(*H*)*asura-* ‘lord’; **s* points to an old loan, but the Permic vocalism is typical of the Middle Proto-Permic loans
- PP **ju* ‘grain’ < EPP **jawa* ← (P)I **yawa-* ‘grain’; also Mordvin *juv* and Proto-Samoyed **jaə* < Pre-Sam **jawa* from the same Iranian source, Finnic **jüvä* from Balto-Slavic (Kallio 2022)
- PP **šis* ‘wax’ ← PI **čikšta*; Mari *šište*, Mordvin *kšta* point to **š*, Permic **ś* ← **š* is found in a number of other loans
- Proto-Permic **tjš(k)* ‘back of an axe’ ← < (P)I **taša-*, Sogd *tš* /taš təš/, Av *taša*; note also Sogd *tšycq* ‘axe, spade’ /tašičē, tašičak /; Fi *tahko*, Mari *toš*. parallel loans. PP vocalism is somewhat problematic (perhaps reflects some later reflex of PI **a*, cf. Sogd *təš* (Gharib 1995: 392)).