

Indo-Iranian loanwords in Permic

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Areal effects in prehistoric contacts between Uralic and Indo-European

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Handout

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- Stratification of Indo-Iranian loanwords in Permic
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- Parallel loans and problems with the distribution of loans

Research history

- (Munkácsi, Jacobsohn etc. ...) Joki (1973), Rédei (1986), Lytkin et Guljaev (1970): Iranian loans in Permic a monolith layer
 - → distribution used as the main argument, little attention payed to phonology
- Some loans of Permic from "Andronovo Aryan" (Helimski 1997, Zhivlov 2013), some from Alanic
- Parallel loans to (Pre-)Permic and other Uralic branches (Koivulehto 1999, 2001): Pre-Indo-Iranian, Proto-Indo-Iranian, Proto-Iranian
- Katz (2003): problematic criteria, some promising etymologies
- New results in stratification, new etymologies: Metsäranta (2020), Holopainen (2019); cf. also Kümmel 2020

Rédei 1986

- *Zu den indogermanisch-uralischen Sprachkontakten* 1986
- Last synthesis on the topic of Indo-Iranian/Iranian loanwords in Permic, 51 Iranian loanwords of varying chronology
- Terminological issues, cf. the "Middle Iranian" donor (imprecise term referring to a chronological stage, cf. Holopainen 2019:)
- Phonological issues, chronologically inconsistent substitutions, e.g. denasalization both present and absent in loans labelled "Middle Iranian", cf. PP **andan* 'steel' < MI **andān* and PP **ägir* 'coal' < MI **angāra*

New etymologies (1)

- Improved chances at finding new Iranian loanwords in Permic with publication of among others
- Этимологический словарь иранских языков I–VI
- Cheung 2002, Studies in the Historical Development of the Ossetic Vocalism
- Cheung 2007, Etymological Dictionary of the Iranian Verb
- Sadovski 2017, The Lexicon of Iranian

New etymologies (2)

- Udm *juž* ‘snow crust’, Komi *juž* ‘hardened snow surface’ < PP **juž* < EPP **jača* ← PI **jadza-* ‘glacier’, for substitutions cf. PP **už* ‘stallion’ < EPP **ača* ← PI **acwa-* ‘horse’ (Koivulehto 1999: 226)
- Udm *merta-* ‘to measure, weigh’ (!), Komi *murtav-* ‘to measure’ < PP **murt(-)* < EPP **marta-* ← PII/PI **maH-tra-* ‘measure’, for metathesis cf. Udm *burd*, Komi *bord* < PP **bɔrd* ‘wing’ ← cf. OI *pátra-* ‘wing; feather’ (Koivulehto 1988: 43)

New etymologies (3)

- Udm *gur* ‘oven’, Komi *gor(j)* ‘sauna stove’ < PP **gɔr* < MPP **gara* ← I **gāria* ‘stone heap’ or **gari-* ‘mountain’
- Udm *gurež* ‘mountain, hill’, Komi *goruv* ‘lower slope of a mountain’ (*uv* ‘under, lower (part)’) < PP **gɔr* < MPP **gara-* ← I **gari-* ‘mountain’
- Udm *ud* ‘sprout, shoot’, Komi *od* ‘verdance; shoot’ < PP **ɔ/od* < MPF **ada/ə* ← I **ādu-* ‘grain, corn’ > Av *āδu-*, OP *ādu-*
- Udm *kar* ‘nest; city’, Komi *kar* ‘city’ < PP **kar* ← cf. Khotan *kara-* ‘enclosure, forth, town’, Oss *kæron* ‘border’ < PI **karāna*

Relative chronology (1)

- Newest layer, unaffected by Permic sound changes, formally close to even some modern Iranian languages
- PP **andan* 'steel' ← cf. Oss *ændon* '10'
- PP **das* '10' ← cf. Oss *dæs* '10'
- PP **idäg* 'angel' ← Oss *dawæg*, *idawæg* 'Gottheit, Göttlichkeit'
- PP **tug* 'tassel, plait' ← cf. OssI *styg* 'tuft (of hair), wad, curl, bangs', D *(æ)stug*

Relative chronology (2)

- Oldest layer, affected by the same sound changes affecting inherited Uralic lexicon as well
- PP **u* (< PU **a*, **o*, **e*) as a reflex of II/I **a*
- Also PP **ä* (< PU **ä*) as a reflex of II/I **a*
- **Denasalization:**
- PP **ägir* 'coal' < *EPP **äŋkärV* ← I **angāra*
- PP **gärd* 'knot' < EPP **gär(ä)ntä* ← I **γranθa-* 'knot'
- **Loss of single plosives (perhaps phonetically voiced at this point already):**
- PP **gu* 'hole, grave' < EPP **gapa* ← I **gaba*, **gauba* 'cave, cavity, pit, hole, grave'
- PP **ruć* 'fox' < EPP **rapać* ← I *(*H*)*raupāca-* 'fox' < *(*H*)*raupāća-*

Relative chronology (3)

- Layer where I **a* is reflected by Udm *u*, Komi *o*, which in inherited vocabulary is a reflex of PU **e*
- Udm *burd*, Komi *bord* < PP **bɔrd* 'wing' < EPP **pertä* ← Pre-II **petro-* > OI *pátra-* 'wing; feather' (Koivulehto 1988: 43)
- Denasalization had occurred at least partly and voiced plosives and sibilants had to have become part of the system considering how closely they correlate with the voicelessness/voicedness on the Iranian side = younger
- PP **dɔm*(-) 'binden' < MPP **dama*(-) ← I **dāma-* > Phl *dām* 'net, snare, trap'
- PP **ɔ/od* 'sprout, shoot' < MPP **ada/ə* ← I **ādu-* 'grain, corn' > Av *āδu-*, OP *ādu*
- PP **pɔda* 'cattle' < MPP **pada* ← I **spāda* 'army' > Av *spāða-* 'army, host'
- PP **rɔz* 'cluster, raceme' < MPP **raza* ← I **raza-* > OssD *ræzæ* 'fruits, vegetables'
- PP **zɔn* 'Bursche, Junge' < MPP **zana* ← I **zan-* > Oss *zænæg* 'Kinder, Nachkommenschaft'

Relative chronology (4)

- Most of the old and newer evidence can be chronologically organized this way
- Not a perfect world, some outliers remain
- Actual outliers or false etymologies?
- Udm *majik*, *majek*, *majik* 'Stange, Pfahl; Zaunpfahl', Komi *majeg* < PP *majäk/g ← I *mayūxa-
- Monophthongization of *ai took place on the Iranian side, OssI *mīx* 'peg, nail', D *mex*
- The Permic word that based on the first syllable PP *a seems to belong to the most recent layer of Iranian loanwords lacking any sign of Middle Iranian monophthongization is problematic
- Permic rather a loan from Russian *majak* 'lighthouse; agreed upon sign' but also 'straw pole, stake'

Iranian donor languages

- Many loans reflect an archaic stage of Iranian (formally the loans could be from Proto-Indo-Iranian, Proto-Iranian; often no clear criteria): *śiś 'beeswax' ← PII (?) *ćišta
- Contrary to earlier claims, no evidence for Pre-II loans confined into Permic
- Some Proto-Iranian loanwords, showing the "palatal criterion" of Koivulehto 1999: (?) *už 'stallion' ← *acwa-, PP *juž < EPP *jača ← PI *jadza- 'glacier'
- Andronovo Aryan loanwords: little phonological evidence for this layer (retained *s, *ä-vocalism): *sur 'beer', *śumis 'belt'; *ä-vocalism can be explained differently
- Many (especially the late) loanwords point to Alanic donor (Helimski 1997)

Iranian donor languages

- Many of the "Middle Iranian" loans (Rédei 1986) clearly quite archaic (no good criteria for MIr loans)
 - Ko *verk* ← (P)I **wṛtka-* cf. MP *gurdag*, Sogd *yurdak*, Oss *wyrg*, *urg* (Rédei: miran. **vṛka-*)
- Part of the loans deemed Middle Iranian by Rédei point to a donor that was close to Middle Persian (possible "Wanderwörter")
 - PP **ńebeg* ← Iranian (Persian?) **nibēg-*, MP *nibēg* ‘writing, scripture, book’, Av *nipišta-* ‘written down’
 - PP **ńan* 'bread' ← **nagn-*, Sogd *nyn* 'bread' < PI **nagna-* 'bread'
- Some Middle Iranian features: **miša* 'ram' ← ? I **mēša* < Ir **maiša-* id.

Iranian donor languages

- Many loans point to archaic donor language but there are always no clear criteria to distinguish Proto-Iranian (PII?) loans from later Iranian loans
- Ko *vurun* < PP **vurVn* 'wool' < EPP **warna* ← I *(H)*wr̩naH-*
- Also, loans showing voiced plosives often point to an archaic source
- Udm *burd*, Komi *bord* < PP **bɔrd* 'wing' < EPP **pertä* ← I **patra-* < IE **petro-*, cf. OI *pátra-* 'wing; feather' (Koivulehto 1988: 43: Pre-II)
- PP **dɔm(-)* 'binden' < MPP **dama(-)* ← I **dāma-* > Phl *dām* 'net, snare, trap' (cf. also ← ? PI **damH-* 'bändigen', Holopainen & Juntila in press)
- **gu-* 'steal' ← ? PI **gad-* (< PII **gadh-*, OI *gadh*, *gadhyā-* 'ergreifen')
 - Permic points to II **a*; The verbal stem not attested in Iranian

Early loans: parallel loanwords

- Many loans with wide distribution in Uralic consists of parallel loans (Holopainen 2019), overlooked in earlier sources (UEW, Rédei 1986) and many loans in Permic can be approached from this point of view
- PP **ju* 'grain': borrowed into Permic from Iranian **yawa-*, parallel loanwords to Mordvin and Samoyed from the same source (Holopainen 2019; Metsäranta 2020); Finnic *jyvä* from PBS1 (cf. Kallio 2022)
- Fi *repo(i)*, Md *ŕivež* etc. < **repä-* vs Ud *žiči*, Ko *ruć* ← **(H)raüpäča-* (Metsäranta 2020)
- ? Proto-Permic **tiš(k)* 'back of an axe' ← Iranian, cf. Sogd *tš /taš təš/*, Av *taša-* < Ir **taša-*; Sogd *tšycq* 'axe, spade' /tašičē, tašičak /; Fi *tahko* etc.
 - PP vocalism is problematic (perhaps reflects some later reflex of PI **a*, cf. Sogd *təš*)
- Proto-Permic **šíś* 'beeswax' < ? PU **ší(k)šta*; Permic **š* does not fit the reconstruction **šíšta* based on Mari (*šiste*) and Mordvin (*kšta*)

Early loans: parallel loanwords

- More problematic instances of parallel loans:
- *uzır, ozır* 'rich' < ? PU **asVra*, cf. Md *azor*, Ms *ōtər* ← IIr *(H)*asura-*
 - The Permic vocalism fits the Middle Permic layer -> probably parallel loanwords
 - Aikio 2015 assumes PU **asora* but evidence for *-o is scarce
- PP **pVrc̚* (palatal *c̚?) 'pig', cf. Fi *porsas* (Kallio 2022)
 - Permic vocalism problematic (Palmer et al. 2021), but the Iranian origin itself is quite obvious

Alanic loanwords

- PP *ćer ← cf. Oss *cyrḡ* 'sharp'
- PP *andan 'steel' ← cf. Oss *œndon* '10'
- PP *das '10' ← cf. Oss *dæs* '10'
- PP *idäg 'angel' ← Oss *dawæg*, *idawæg* 'Gottheit, Göttlichkeit'
- PP *tug 'tassel, plait' ← cf. OssI *styg* 'tuft (of hair), wad, curl, bangs', D *(æ)stug*
- PP *pad in *pad-vež*, *pad-vož* ← **pad*, < PI **pada-* 'footprint'

Iranian chronology and problems with the sound-substitutions

- In the stratigraphy of Indo-Iranian loanwords in Uralic, reflexes of Indo-Iranian *č, *j', *jh have played a major role (Koivulehto 1999, Holopainen 2019)
- For the stratigraphy of the loans in Permic, the substitution of sibilants/affricates is a less reliable criteria than the vocalism presented above, as some plausible loanwords show reflexes pointing to palatal *ś, *ć
- Permic *ś also appears as the substitution of IIr *š in some cases
- Permic *ć from Ossetic *c* (*ćer 'axe' ← *cyrğ 'sharp')
- Not quite clear whether the palatal sibilants reflect sound-substitutions or Iranian developments

Iranian chronology and problems with the sound-substitutions

- Examples of late loans showing palatal sibilant/affricate
- PP **beriʒ'* 'linden' ← I **barza-* > Oss *bærzæ* 'birch'
- PP **erʒi* 'eagle' ← I **rzi-* < PI **rdzi-*, cf. Av *ərəzi-fiia-* 'eagle'
 - The reason in these cases might be the cluster **rz* (cf. also **pVrc* ← **parsah*)
- Some more uncertain examples include
- ? PP **kažal-* 'bemerken' ← I, cf. Khot *kaś-* 'erscheinen, gesehen werden' (Harmatta 1977 suggested PFP **kaća-* > Fi *katso-*, PP **kažal-* ← Ir **kać-* but this is impossible)
- ? PP **reż* 'Zügel' ← I **rašman-* < **raćman-*

Iranian chronology and problems with the sound-substitutions

- Early loans in Permic showing *ś from *š ? (Contrary to most early loans in Uralic showing *š ← PII/PI *š)
- PP *śiś(t) ‘beeswax’ ← PII (?) *ćišta (OI *madhu-śiṣṭa-* ‘beeswax’); Ma šište, Md kšta < *ći(k)šta
- PP *burjś ← PI *baršá- (Av *barəša-* ‘throath, neck of a horse’)
 - In this case, several explanations possible: Permic ś might also be due to folk etymology (*bur-śi*), or the donor form might have been *bršti (> Oss *bærc* 'mane'), which PP *ś reflecting the Alanic affricate
- PP *piż, *piźna- 'Mehl' ← ? (P)I *pišant- 'zerstoßend' (cf. MP *pist* 'Mehl' etc.)
 - Koivulehto (1991: 89) suggested a Pre-Bsl / Pre-IIr origin (*piseno-), but this also involves problems with sibilants (*ś from PIE *s lacks parallels), and there are no good examples of Pre-Bsl loans in Permic

Iranian chronology and problems with the sound-substitutions

- PP **śumis* ← (?) PII **syuman-* ("Middle Iranian" according to Rédei 1986; Zhivlov 2013: Andronovo Aryan)
 - If we assume that PP **ś* can indeed reflect Ir **š*, **śumis* could reflect later Iranian forms that had **š* generalized from compounds with RUKI (see Cheung 2007:), such as Sogdian *śwmyy /sume/* 'sewing' 'sewing' (Gharib 1995: 378)

Conclusions

- A new chronology for the loanwords in Permic can be presented
- A closer look at Permic data also helps in sieving out parallel loans among "old" loans
- The donor languages show chronological differences but also reflect different varieties of Iranian
- The chronology of sibilants requires further research

Thank you for your attention!

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