

On Indo-European loans in Samoyed

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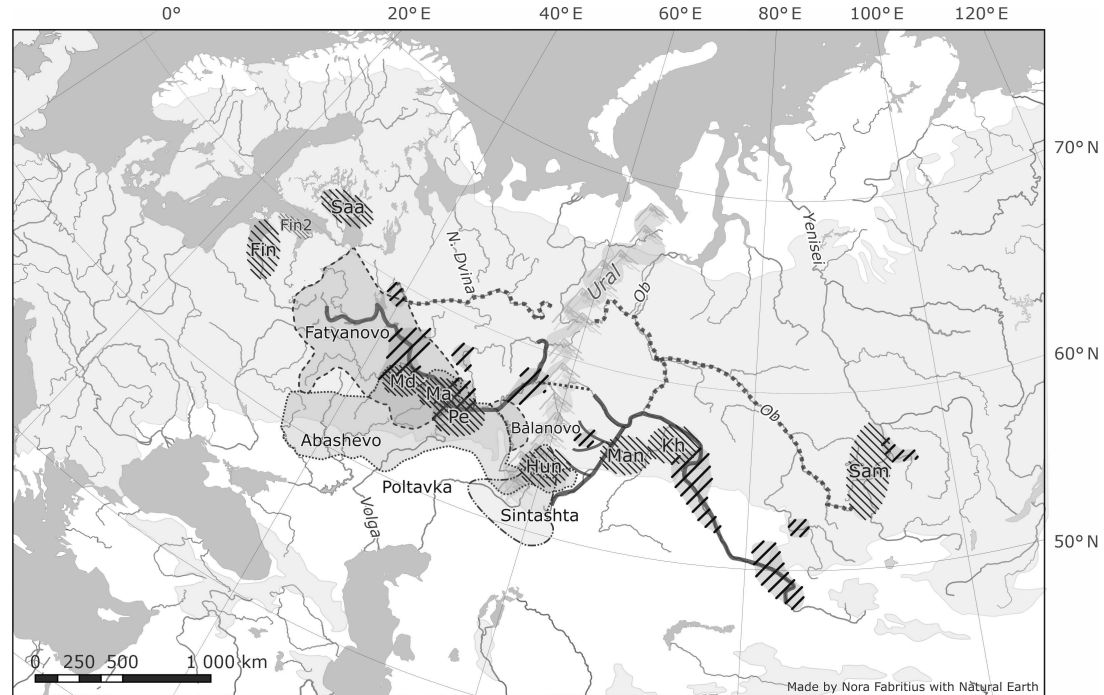
Introduction

- No consensus on the early Samoyed-Indo-European contacts
- Loans into PU, retained in Samoyed? (criticism of PIE loans: Simon 2020, Aikio 2022)
 - Few examples of Ilr loans shared by Samoyed and “Finno-Ugric”
- The complicated role of Samoyed in loanword studies
 - Taxonomy and distribution of the loans
 - Problems with lexical loss
- Early separate loans: Tocharian (?), Iranian
- Different interpretations of the Iranian loans in Samoyed
 - Challenging due to the small number of loans

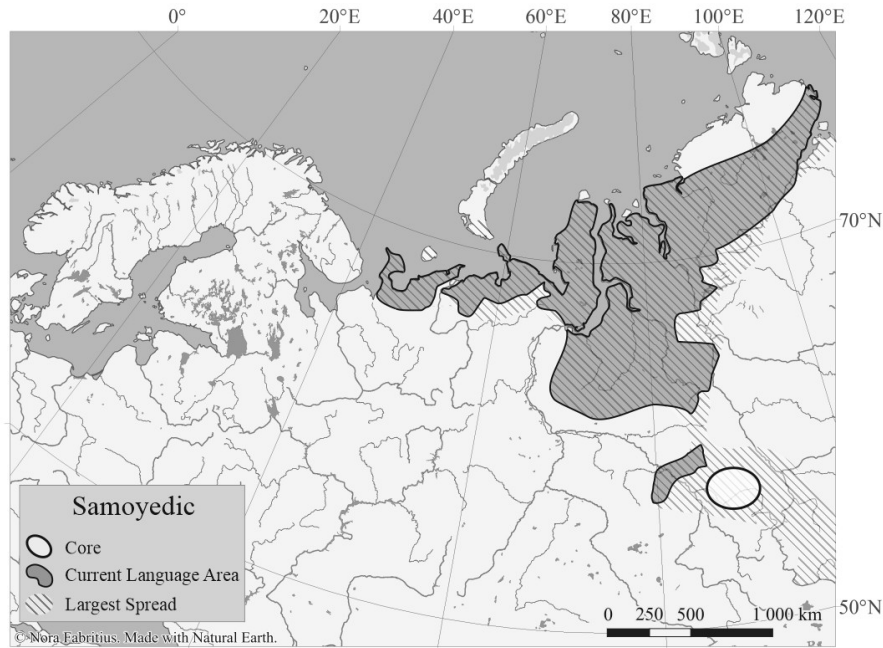
Research history

- Joki 1973
- Janhunen 1983
- Katz 2003
- Kallio 2004
- Holopainen 2019
- Warriès 2022...

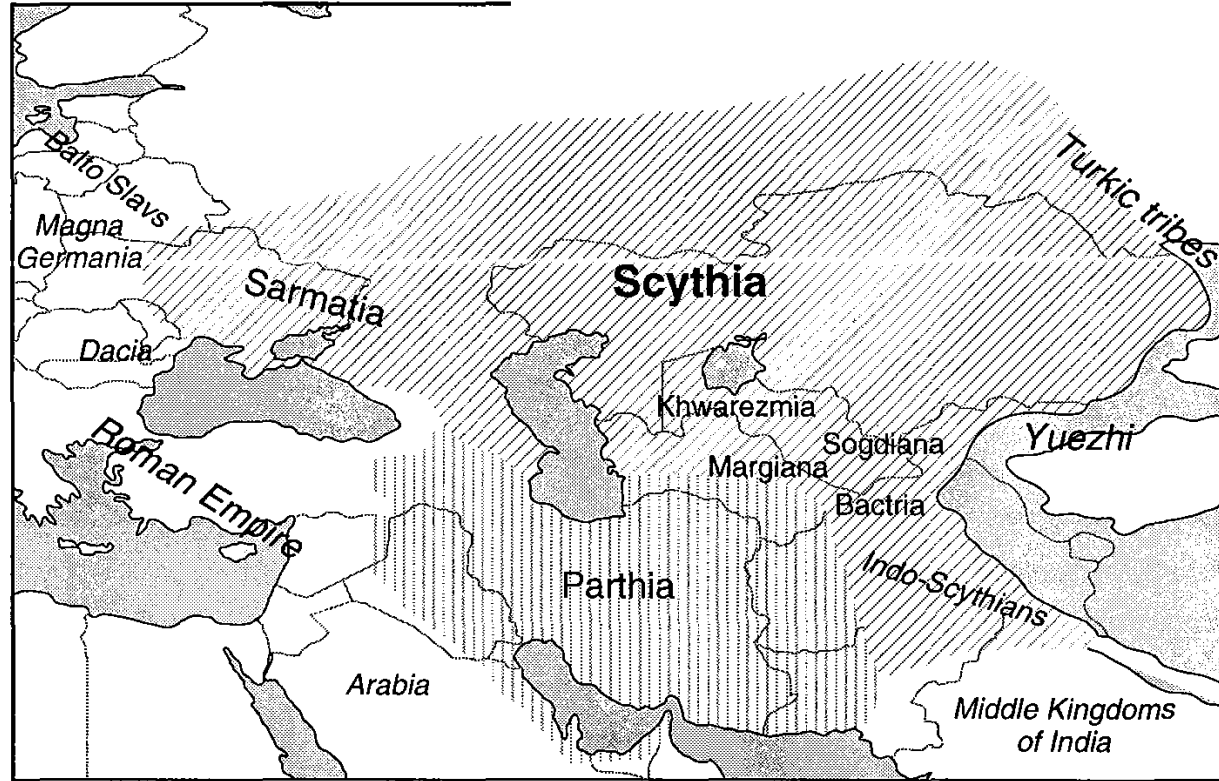
Early spread of Uralic



Current and early spread of Samoyed



Early spread of Indo-Iranian



Source:
Windfuhr
2009

Tocharian loans?

- Few convincing examples so far (Kallio 2004)
- PS **wə̃n* ‘dog’ > TN *wenyeko*, Slk *kə̃naŋ* etc. ← Pre-Tocharian **ku: kwë̃nə* (> Proto-Tocharian **ku: kwen*)
- New lexical evidence suggested by Warries (2022)

Tocharian loans?

- PS **weŋ* ‘dog’ > TN *wenyeko*, Slk *kənaŋ* etc.
- Note the alternative IE etymology: Katz 2003 assumes an Indo-Iranian loan
 - Peculiar Ir reconstructions, but the main idea that is possible as such: possible loan from the accusative **ćwānām*
- Proto-Indo-Iranian **ćwan-* or Proto-Iranian (?) **tswan-*; later Ir forms (**span-*, **san-*) would not fit
 - Substitution of **ćwV-*? No convincing parallels
- The Indo-Iranian etymology is not superior to the Tocharian etymology

Iranian loans

- Few loans in Samoyed; disputed cases of earlier loans retained in Samoyed
- Holopainen 2019
- No clear “Alanicisms”, contrary to the loans in Hungarian, Ob-Ugric and Permic (cf. Holopainen 2022)
- Most loans look quite early
- Some etymologies problematic
- PS (?) **jaa* ‘flour’ ← **yawa-* ‘grain’
- PS **wâtâ-* > TN *wadyo*° ‘kasvaa’, Slk *kuê̄tə-* ‘aufziehen, ernähren’; < **wakša-* (Aikio 2002) ← PII **Hwakš-a-*, root **Hwag-*, > OI *vakṣ-* ‘to grow, become big’
- PS **tāt* ‘a kind of tent’ ← Plr **ta(ć)šya-* ‘to be formed (out of wood etc.)’
- Selkup *tēḳa* ~ *tāḳa* ‘sword; spear to hunt bears etc.’ < ? PS **täjkå* (SW 154) ← Plr **tayga-* ‘sharp’
- PS **pulê* ~ **pilê* ‘bridge’ > TN *pul*, Slk *pjli* ← ? Middle Iranian **puhl-* < Plr **pr̥tu-*

Iranian loans

- PS ? **jaa* (Janhunen 1983 **jää̂*) > TN *ya*, FN *jă*, TE *d'aud'a*, FE *d'aasa*, Ng *d'aa* ← Iranian **yawa* 'grain' < PIE **yewo-* 'grain'
 - Parallel loans (from Balto-Slavic and Indo-Iranian) Fi *jyvä*, Mordvin *juv*, Udmurt *ju* etc.
- Many Samoyed languages point **a–a* (Salminen, p.c.), but the Enets forms irregular and enigmatic (borrowing between dialects? Janhunen 1983)
- Important: the Samoyed word does not point to the substitution **ä* ← Ir **a* found in many loans in Hungarian, Ob-Ugric and Permic (Holopainen 2022)
- The Northern Samoyed distribution does not mean that the loan has to be post-Proto-Samoyed (the “southern” languages have later loans for 'flour' from Turkic and Russian)

Iranian loans

- PS **wêrkâ* ‘bear’ > TN *wêrk*^o, Slk *ķorkə*, Ngan *ŋgarka* (irregular) < ? Pre-S **wurka* ← Ilr/Ir **wrka-* ‘wolf’
- No phonological difficulties, but the semantic side is unclear
- Semantic parallels or near-parallels:
- Pashai *le(:)wo*: ‘wolf, bear’ ← Pashto *lewə* ‘Wolf; Bestie; wilder Tier, Wildschwein’ (Heine 2018: 310; see Morgenstierne 2003: 45)
- Azerbaijani *canavar* ‘wolf’ ← Persian *žanavar* ‘animal, vermin, monster’ (DiACL)
- Cf. also Estonian *hunt* ‘wolf’ ← Middle Low German *hund* ‘dog’

Iranian loans

- Helimski 2000: 193: an alternative IE source mentioned as a possibility:
- A form related to Balto-Slavic **worgos* (Lith. *vaĩgas* 'Not, Elend', Russ. *vórog* 'Feind, Teufel')
- Phonologically not more convincing (PIE **o*)
- The donor language unclear: does not make the etymology more convincing
- Semantically not more plausible

Iranian loans

- PS **pulê* ~ **pilê* 'bridge' > TN *pul*, Slk *pili*, Ngan *hula* etc. (Joki 1973; Janhunen 1983) ← ? a Middle Iranian form resembling Middle Iranian *pwhl* (*puhl*) 'bridge', cf. Av *pərətu-*, *pəšu-*
 - Note also Yidgha *pilf* 'ford' (Morgenstierne 1938: 98)
- Irregularity in Samoyed points to parallel loans? PS **u* fits the original better, some languages point to **i* that fits the Iranian *u* quite poorly
- The only clearly "Middle Iranian" loan
- The word is absent from Saka, Sogdian and Ossetic (and nothing in the phonology of the Samoyed word point into these eastern languages); Pashto *paṛ* (Morgenstierne 2003: 65) is also far
- Wanderwort?

Iranian loans

- PS **tāt* 'tent' > FN *t'ě* 'aus doppelt gelegten, gekochten Birkenrindenscheiben zusammengenähte Zeltdecke', Kamass *t'è* 'Zelt aus Birkenrinde (die Rinde zusammengenäht)' < ? Pre-Samoyed **täši-* ← ? PIIr or PI **ta(ć)šya-* 'to be formed (out of wood etc.)', root **taćš-*, OI *takṣ* 'zimmern, behauern, hämmern, härten' (Katz 2003: 239; Kallio 2015b: 82, footnote 4)
- A technical term that could easily be a loan
- The exact Indo-Iranian sources is not very well attested
- However, the PS word can (again) reflect various pre-forms (also an affricate is possible)
- *-*i*-stems rare among early loans in Uralic

(Indo-)Iranian loans

- Shared early IIr loans shared with “Finno-Ugric”?
- No unambiguous examples
- Holopainen 2019:
- PU *śada- > PS *sârâ- > TN *saryo* ‘rain’, Slk *suêrə-* ‘to rain’ (Koivulehto 1991: PIE loan)
- PU *tora- > PS *târê- > TN *tarocy*° ‘ringen’, Mator *тороны* ‘борюся’
- PU *peṅka ‘psychedelic mushroom’ > PS *peṅkâ > Nganasan *huanḡkud'a* ‘betrunken sein’

(Indo-)Iranian loans

- PU **śada-* > PS **sârâ-* > TN *saryo* 'rain', Slk *suêrə-* 'to rain', Ngan *sorud'a* etc.; Fi *sata-* ← **ćad-* (> OI *śad* 'abfallen', Perf *śaśāda*) < PIE **kād-*
- No good parallels to the substitution of IE/IIr **d* by the Uralic (spirant?) **d*

Indo-Iranian loans

- PU **tora-* ‘wrestle’ > PS **tārê-*, Fi *tora-*, SaN *doarru-*
- ← PIIr **tarH*, **tarHati* (> OI *tarⁱ-*, *táрати* ‘kommt durch, überwindet’; Young Avestan *titarat* ‘bekämpfte, drang an)
- No major phonological problems
- Semantics? Meaning ‘fight’ is also attested in Iranian

Indo-Iranian loans

- PU **pəŋka* ‘psychedelic mushroom’ > PS **pəŋkâ*, Md *pango*, Mari *poŋyo*, Khanty Trij *pāŋk*, Mansi KM *pēŋk* (Zhivlov 2014)
- ? ← Ilr
- Different sources suggested:
- ? Ilr **bhanga-* (> OI *bhaŋgá-*) ‘hemp’ formally a good etymology (most recently Aikio 2022), if the primary meaning of the PU word is not ‘mushroom’ but ‘narcotic’; the OI word is of unclear origin
- Avestan *ban̄ha-* ‘name of a plant and a narcotic made from it’ often mentioned in this context is problematic (does not reflect **bhanga-* regularly); Middle Persian *bang*, *mang* ‘Bilsenkraut’ is of unclear origin (EWAia II: 240–241)
- Joki 1973: some reflex of PIE (?) **spongo-* ‘mushroom’ > Lat *fungus* etc. (not in Indo-Iranian; possibly a non-IE loanword in Greek, Latin and Armenian; de Vaan 2009)

Early IE loans, inherited to Samoyed?

- No PIE loans in PU (Simon 2020, Aikio 2022)
- However, some early loans probably not from Indo-Iranian
- Possible examples in Samoyed?

Early IE loans, inherited to Samoyed?

- **moški-* ‘wash’ > PS **māsâ-* > TN *masa-*, Slk *mūšalčə-* ‘tr. Waschen, itr. sich waschen’, Kamas *baza-*, Mator *мазіямъ-*
- ← ? IE **mozg-eye-*, > Ol *majjāti* ‘untersinken’
- Problems with the PIE etymology (Simon 2020)
- Problems with the cluster **śk*
- Early Ilr after all? (Junttila & Holopainen 2022)
 - IE **zg* (before front vowels) > Ilr **jj*; borrowed from some intermediary phase (**zgʷ*?)
- Note that a possible Indo-Uralic origin includes the same problems (why PU **śk* ~ PIE **sg*)

Early IE loans, inherited to Samoyed?

- PU **wexi-* ‘? take, bring’ ← ? IE **weǵh-* > OI *vaháti* ‘fahren, Wagen ziehen...’, Latin *vehō* etc.
- Two verbal stems in Uralic (Aikio 2013: 170–171): the IE etymology for **wexi-* is formally possible (Holopainen 2021); Simon (2020) notes semantic mismatch
- Possible reflexes of both in Samoyed: **wixi-* > PS **ü-* > Selkup *ū̄-* ‘pull, drag’; **wexi-* > ? PS **j-* ‘take’ > Selkup *ī-* ‘take’, Kamas *ī-* ‘take; take away; get, receive’
- (some reflex of) PIE **weǵh-* formally a possible source; however, few parallels for the substitution $*x \leftarrow *ǵh$
- The exact source language unclear
- The semantics of PU **wixi-* would fit the IE origin better
- Accidental similarity possible

Concluding remarks

- Much research remains to be done
- There are Indo-Iranian loans in Samoyed, but it is difficult to say much about their age > currently little use in discussion on Samoyed prehistory

Thank you for your attention!

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