

SUBSTITUTIONS OF INDO-IRANIAN AFFRICATES AND SIBILANTS IN URALIC

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INTRODUCTION

Although the Indo-Iranian loanwords of the Uralic languages have a long research history (cf. Munkácsi 1901, Korenchy 1972, Joki 1973 etc.), the stratigraphy of the loanword layers and the sound substitutions remained under-studied before the works of Jorma Koivulehto (1999a, 2001b), who suggested that part of the Indo-Iranian loanwords in (Western) Uralic languages can be dated through studying the substitutions of Proto-Indo-Iranian and Proto-Iranian affricates/sibilants that reflect PIE palatal stops.

In this presentation Koivulehto's idea is critically evaluated through analysis of the loanword material with the help of modern studies of Uralic and Indo-Iranian historical phonology. As the study of Indo-Iranian-Uralic contacts is central for the linguistic prehistory of both language families, establishing credible substitution patterns is an essential starting point for further studies.

PU AFFRICATES AND SIBILANTS

In Proto-Uralic/Proto-Finno-Ugric, the following sibilants and affricates are usually assumed (Sammallahti 1988; UEW etc.):

s, ś, š
ć, č

However, the *ć and *ś might in reality represent the same phoneme, as no minimal pairs are found and most etymologies with PU *ć are problematic; this is the view of Zhivlov (2014), who reconstructs only one phoneme, *ć, in the place of traditional *ś.

There has been unclarity also in the reflexes of *č and *š in some branches, but Aikio's (2015a) recent studies have largely settled the issue.

PII AND PI REXLEXES OF PIE *k, *g, *gh

Views on the Proto-Indo-Iranian and Proto-Iranian reflexes of Proto-Indo-European palatal stops differ:

PII *ć, *j', *j' h > PI *ts, *dz (Mayrhofer 1989; Sims-Williams 1998; Windfuhr 2009)

PI *ć, *j' (Beekes 1997)

PI *ś, *ž (Edel'mann 1999)

PI *s, *z (Lubotsky 2001; Cheung 2007)

PII *č, *j, *jh > PI *ts, *dz (Lipp 2009)

"PALATAL CRITERION"

Koivulehto (1999 & 2001b), Kallio (2015 unpubl.):

PI *ts > PU *š (č/V_V)

PI *dz > PU *s, *-ks-/V_V

PI LOANS

See the handout for a full list of etymologies

Substitution PI *ts > U *č

Good examples:

*mača > Fi *mato* 'worm', SaN *muohcu* 'moth' < PI *matsa- (Koivulehto 1999b; Kallio 2009)

*očwa > Ko, Ud *už* < PI *atswa- 'horse'; can also point to "pre-Ossetic" cluster *šf (cf. Windfuhr 2009), as the Permic ž can also reflect PU *š. Cheung (2006) and Napol'skikh have connected the Permic word with Oss. *wyrs* but ž could hardly reflect the cluster *rs. Mari *ožo* is a Permic loan according to Metsäranta (2012).

*poča-w and (POug) *páčäy 'reindeer' < PI *patsu-'animal, cattle' (Koivulehto 2009; Zhivlov 2006); Ob-Ugric form shows different vowel substitution but probably still reflects PI origin.

*šukta > Fi *huhta* 'burned patch', Mo E *čuvto*, M *šufta* 'tree' < PI *cuxta- 'burned'; Mo and Fi vowel relation is irregular, which might point to parallel loans. Koivulehto has earlier derived the word from (unattested) Baltic *šukta-.

Dubious examples:

*čača- 'to grow' < PI *dzadz-; the wide distribution including Samoyed cognates is unpeculiar for the PI loans, and according to Kallio (p.c.), the borrowing of a reduplicated form is dubious.

*šiwä 'good, hospitable' > ? Fi *hyvä*, ? Sa *savvit*; Mo E *čiv*, M *čiva* < ? PI *tsiva- (Koivulehto 2009); Saami, Finnic and Mordvin cognates are irregular and the word is not attested in Iranian, only Indo-Aryan (*šiva*- 'friendly, dear').

*(j)iša 'skin' > Fi *iho*, Mo E *jožo* etc. < PI *idza-, cf. Av *izaēna*- 'of leather' (Koivulehto 2001a); the word clearly reflects Inlaut *š, not *č, and both the stem-vowel and word-initial *j- show irregularities; must be rejected (cf. Holopainen et al. 2016).

There is also one possible example of substitution PI *c > PU *s/#_ ; Fi *syttyä* 'to inflame' < *sewče- < "Pre-I" *tsewče-, cf. Av *saoča*- (Koivulehto 1999), but this etymology is clearly false because of ad hoc vowel development in Finnic. Kallio (2015 unpubl.) has proposed PII origin from the same root but it does not remove the problems.

Substitution *-dz- > *-ks-

*maks- 'to pay' > Fi *maksa*-, Mo E *makso*- < PI *mandza- 'to grant', cf. Av *mazā.raii*- 'giving wealth'

Fi *paksu* 'thick' < PI *badzu- 'thick'; resemblance to the widely attested IE word is striking, but the second-syllable -u in Finnic is suspicious

*-teksA < "Pre-II" *deca- is clearly a wrong etymology

Substitution PI *dz > PU *s

Mo E *sire*, M *sirä* 'old' < Pre-Mo *serä < "Pre-I" *dzero-id.

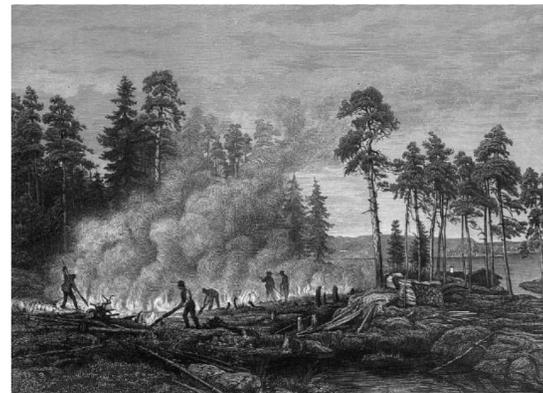
Fi *synty*- 'to be born' < ? PU *sen- < "Pre-I" *dzen- id.

Mordvin *sire* is probably an Iranian loan but maybe from a later Iranian language, cf. Ossetic *zæronđ*, although the Mordvin vowel is more difficult to explain from this form. Fi *syntyä* involves dubious vowel developments and the PI etymology should be rejected.

REFLEXES OF THE SECOND PALATALIZATION?

Substitution of PII/PII *tš by word-initial *š (*č in Koivulehto's reconstruction) is supported by one etymology alone in Koivulehto's studies; however, this etymology is probably inaccurate, as Junttila (manuscr.) connects it to a larger family of related Finnish words such as Fi *herkkä* 'sensitive', which is unlikely to be of PI origin because of semantic reasons:

*šerä- > Fi *herätä* 'to awaken' < ? Pre-I *džer- < PIE *h₁ger-



Fi *huhta* 'woodland cleared for cultivation' is a loan from Iranian *cuxta- 'burned' according to Koivulehto (1999a)

PU *ć/*ś AND PII LOANS

The Proto-Iranian loanword layer in Proto-Uralic is supported by a large number of etymologies (such as *ćata 'hundred', *čarwi 'horn', *čosra 'thousand' etc.), and PII *ć is regularly substituted by PU *ć (= *ś in traditional reconstruction). None of the alleged PU words displaying "traditional" *ć (in contrast to *ś) have an Indo-Iranian etymology. The appearance of PU *ś in this layer has been seen as a sign of Indo-Aryan origin by some researchers (Napol'skikh 2014; Häkkinen 2009), but this is hardly the case, as PII *ć, *j etc. were probably still retained in Proto-Indo-Aryan as such (Kobayashi 2004).

Koivulehto (2001) has already cautiously suggested that while PU *ć/*ś opposition existed, it wouldn't have been relevant in Inlaut. Zhivlov's reconstruction of single *ć seems a reasonable decision based both on Uralic internal evidence and the PII loan material.

DIFFICULT CASES

In consonant clusters it is more difficult to determine whether *č, *ć or *š should be reconstructed, as according to Aikio (2015b) at least the Finnic -hn- cluster can originate in any of these; also the development of these kinds of cluster in other branches is not totally clear:

Fi *ahnas* 'greedy' < PII *ačnas (Koivulehto 1999a)

Fi *ohra* 'barley' < ? PI *atsra- 'sharp' (Kallio 2012)

PUg (?) *očtVrV > Hu *ostor* 'whip' < ? PI *ačtrā- 'whip' (Korenchy 1972; Zhivlov 2013)

CONCLUSIONS

While part of the Iranian etymologies appear rejectable, the core of Koivulehto's theory is still correct: PU *ć seems to be the standard substitution of PI *ts. His other ideas prove more unpromising or dubious, because of the scant evidence. It is, however, questionable how much weight the evidence of only a handful of etymologies have.

If taken for granted, the results support the view of Mayrhofer, the reconstruction of depalatalized series of affricates to Proto-Iranian. The etymologies are much harder to explain if *s and *z developed already in Proto-Iranian. However, it remains mysterious why *š and not *č seems to be the regular Inlaut substitute for PI *c, as Inlaut *č was certainly possible in PU.

The Proto-Indo-Iranian loanwords with *ć also point towards the "traditional" reconstruction of PII *ć, *j, *jh.

See handout for a list of references.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the University of Helsinki for supporting my research, and especially to PhD Petri Kallio, PhD Santeri Junttila, PhD Janne Saarikivi and MA Niklas Metsäranta for their useful comments and for the possibility to consult their unpublished papers and presentations.

Abbreviations

Av = Avestan
Fi = Finnish
Hu = Hungarian
Ko = Komi
Mo = Mordvin; E = Erzya, M = Mokša
Oss = Ossetic
PII = Proto-Indo-Iranian
PI = Proto-Iranian
POug = Proto-Ob-Ugric
Pug = Proto-Ugric
PU = Proto-Uralic
SaN = North Saami
Ud = Udmurt

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