

On some problems of Ugric etymology

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UIC talk series

24 November 2021

(some modifications and additions made on 3 December 2021)

Aims of this talk

- Present ongoing research on Ugric etymology, research program
- Highlight the main problems of Ugric etymology
- Analyze some problematic Ugric etymologies and discuss the lexical evidence for Proto-Ugric
 - Methodology: role of lexicon in genealogical classification of (Uralic) languages
- Discuss the relationship of etymology and historical phonology in the study of Ugric languages
 - Ugric historical phonology can only be worked out if the lexical relations are understood properly
- Show the problems connected with Proto-Ugric derivatives suggested in earlier research
- Analyze the loanwords and possible substrata in (Proto-)Ugric

Project

- ÖAW APART-GSK grant *Hungarian historical phonology reexamined (with special focus on Ugric vocabulary and Iranian loanwords)*, 2021–2023
- The aim of the project is the reconstruction Hungarian historical phonology, based on a critical analysis of the early Iranian loanwords to Hungarian and the common vocabulary of Hungarian and the Ob-Ugric languages Khanty and Mansi.
- <https://ugric.univie.ac.at/>
- Database of Ugric etymology is in preparation (sample entries can be found on the website)

Notation

- PU/PFU/PUg *-i-stem = *-e-stem = *-ə-stem (*käti = *käte = *kätə, Kallio 2012)
- PU/PFU/PUg *ę = *j
- *nęli = *ņili (UEW: *nęli/*nooli 'arrow')
- PU/PFU/PUg *x = *γ
- Instead of ʒ, ʒ, ʒ used in the UEW, V is used here (UEW jʒtʒ = *jVtV 'limb, joint')

Introduction to main problems of Proto-Ugric

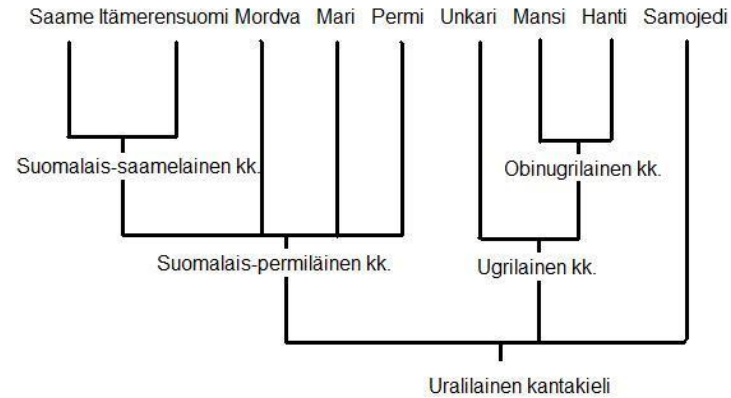
Proto-Ugric: State of the art

- **No commonly accepted reconstruction of Proto-Ugric! (cf. Bakró-Nagy 2013: 174)**
- Phonology: many details of Ugric historical phonology unclear; new views on Ob-Ugric historical phonology (Zhivlov 2006) and Proto-Uralic phonology (Aikio 2012, 2015 etc.) impact the reconstructions of Ugric phonology
- Taxonomical questions concerning Khanty, Mansi and Hungarian: traditional (UEW; Honti 1997, 2013) vs. alternative views (Gulya 1994; Salminen 2002; Janhunen 2009; J. Häkkinen 2007)
 - The lexical evidence frequently invoked in support of the traditional model (see esp. Honti 1997: 45–49)
- Etymological studies in the late 20th century concentrated on Uralic the western (Fi, Saa, Md) and eastern (Sam) parts of the family
 - Ugric often fitted to evidence from Finnic (+ other western languages) and Samoyed (Janhunen 1981: 219; Honti 1997: 43–44)
 - Abondolo 1996 discusses many Uralic etymologies from an (Ob-)Ugric perspective, with varying results
- The vast time depth of Proto-Ugric (and Proto-Ob-Ugric) makes the reconstruction of phonology and lexicon difficult/challenging
 - Tálos 1984: 95–97; Sammallahti 1988: 499, 502; Aikio 2014: 29–30

Taxonomical questions



Uralilainen sukupuu Tapani Salmisen mukaan (1999).



Uralilainen sukupuu Ulla-Maija Kulosen mukaan (2002).

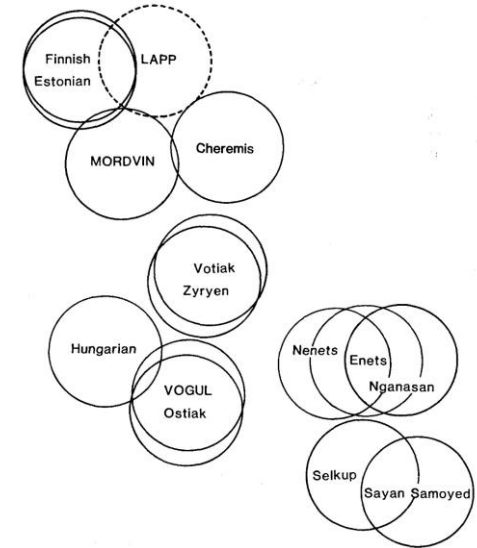


Figure 2

Finno-Ugrian Languages and Peoples

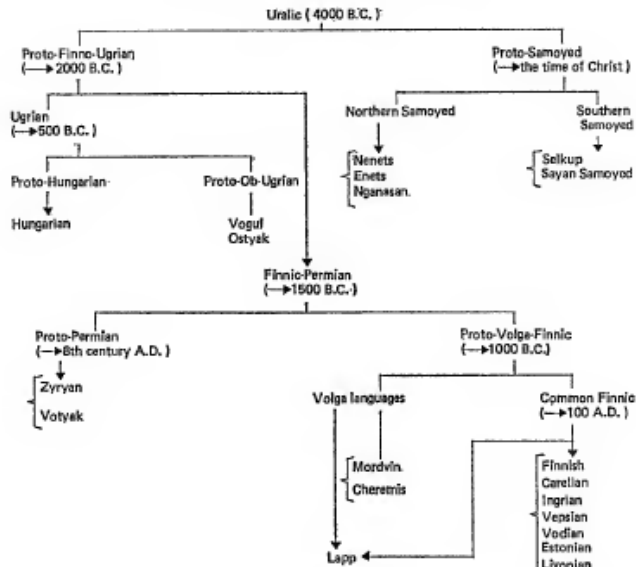
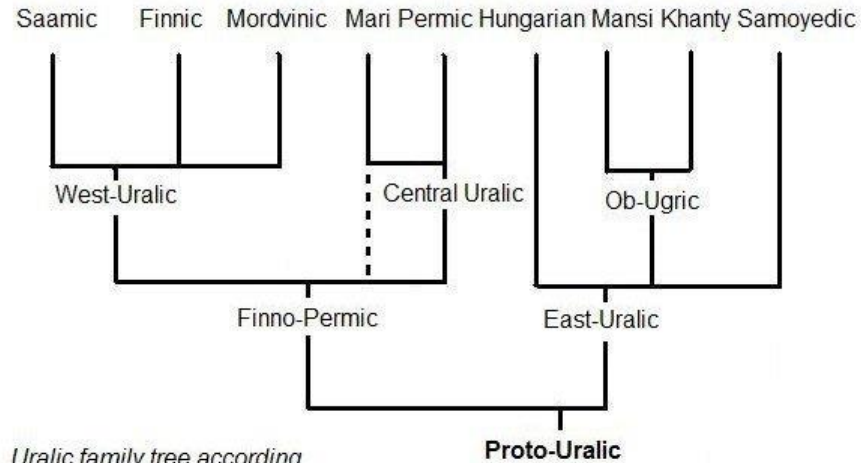


Fig. 2. The Division of the Finno-Ugrian Languages



Uralic family tree according to Jaakko Häkkinen (2007)

Notes on Ugric historical phonology

- Reconstruction of Ugric vocalism is notoriously difficult
 - Reasons: Many "irregular" and sporadic changes postulated in the history of Hungarian
 - Proto-Khanty and Proto-Ob-Ugric vowel history is very complicated, no commonly accepted reconstruction of Proto-Ob-Ugric exists; Honti 1982, Tálos 1984, Helimski 1985; Zhivlov 2006 presents a new Proto-Khanty (and Proto-Ob-Ugric) reconstruction
 - Flip-flopping of changes because of the binary model (cf. Tálos 1984: 95–99)
- Many changes postulated by Sammallahti 1988 and Róna-Tas are obsolete
 - Aikio 2012: No PU/PFU long vowels; changes like PFU $*\bar{o}$ > PUg $*a$, PFU $*\bar{e}$ > Pug $*\ddot{a}$ (Sammallahti 1988: 500) a mirage
 - Sporadic changes like PU $*u$ > PUg $*a$ (WOT: 1043) are based on outdated etymological material
 - Non-initial syllable vocalism probably still same as the PU system; no real evidence for PUg reduction (contra Róna-Tas 2011; Sammallahti 1988: 501); merger of different stem-types unlikely because of different reflexes of $-a$ and $-i$ -stems in Ob-Ugric (and partly Hungarian)
- Ugric reconstructions in the MSzFE and UEW pay little attention to vocalism; many etymologies are unreliable because of this
 - For example: PUg $k\delta l_3$ ($k\delta l_3$ - $\acute{c}3$), $k\delta l_3\acute{c}3$ 'millett' (> Hu *köles*, Ms N *kolas*); PUg $p\delta l\acute{c}3$ 'suet, tallow, fat' (> KhV *poľt*, Hu *faggyú*)
- Background of Ugric $*\acute{c}$? (< PU $*\acute{c}$ or emergence through borrowing?)
 - For example, Proto-Ugric etymologies like $*\acute{c}ukkilV$ - 'to kiss', $*\acute{c}i\eta kv$ 'knot' (most words showing $*\acute{c}$ - very improbably etymologies); Ugric $*\acute{c}$ from PU $*\acute{s}$ in certain contexts? Complicated relationship of PU $*\acute{s}$ and $*\acute{c}$ (Zhivlov 2014)

Notes on Ugric historical phonology

- Consonantism: merger of sibilants: PUg (and Ug + Sam) innovations disputed
 - PU *s retained in some environments in Khanty and Mansi (Tálos 1984: 90)
 - Divergent development in consonant clusters (the phoneme *ś in clusters *śk, *ńś had to be retained in Proto-Ugric)
 - *ś > *s possibly never happened in Proto-Samoyed but later (Zhivov 2018a&b): no common Ugro-Samoyed change
- *ŋ in Khanty and ny in Hungarian < Proto-Ugric *ŋ? (Zhivlov 2016)
 - (Mostly) identical conditions for the split of PU *ŋ in Hungarian and Khanty – PUg change the most plausible explanation, with later levelling in Mansi
- Similar loss of glides (*j, *w) in certain contexts?
- Some changes cover only part of the Ugric vocabulary, such as *ŋ > *ŋk
 - Areal spread? Unknown conditions?
 - Little value in the discussions on taxonomy
 - Bakró-nagy 2003: cases with *ŋk in minority
 - Including also the consonant clusters with *ŋ
 - The quality of some of the etymologies is quite dubious, however

Proto-Ugric vowel system?

- The system that can be reconstructed on the basis of Khanty, Mansi and Hungarian is identical to the Proto-Uralic system

i	ü	u
e	ɛ	o
a	ä	

Proto-Uralic and Proto-Ugric consonant systems?

- System of consonants that can be reconstructed to Proto-Ugric, based on Sammallahti (1988) and Zhivlov (2016)

p			m				w
t	s		n	ʃ	δ	l	
		č	ŋ			r	
		ć	ń		δ'		
k			ŋ		γ		j

Proto-Ugric vs. other intermediary protolanguages: short comparison

- Proto-Ugric vs. the other intermediary proto-languages (“areal genetic units”? Helimski 2003)
- Proto-Ugric: ? 100 cognates; incl. some PUG derivatives; some innovations in morphology: */-ablative, **n*-cases ? (Helimski 1982: 97–98; Honti 1997: 14–15), ? caritive *-*tA*/ (Itkonen 1992; Kh reflex?)
 - Also some vague common innovations, such as the unstable verbs (showing different reflexes and varying distribution) are sometimes considered PUG heritage (however cf. Honti 1997: 11)
- Proto-Finno-Permic: 231/333 cognates in the UEW; many have alternative explanations (parallel loans, substrate, new cognates in Samoyed or Ugric; false cognates); no sound-changes (all the changes listed by Sammallahti 1988 obsolete); no plausible innovations in morphology of syntax
 - This node is not accepted by many modern scholars of Uralic etymology (however, cf. Michalove 2002, J. Häkkinen 2007)
- Proto-Finno-Volgaic: 199/271 cognates in the UEW; many have alternative explanations (parallel loans, substrate, new cognates in Samoyed or Ugric; false cognates); no sound-changes (Salminen 2002); morphology and syntax: *s*-cases? (Ylikoski 2016)
 - Not accepted by anyone? (see already Hajdú 1979, Bereczki 1988)

Ugric lexicon

- Honti (1997) states that lexical evidence supports Ugric (based on the lexicon reconstructed in MSzFE, UEW)
- K. Häkkinen (1983: 92): little lexical evidence for Proto-Ugric (number of shared etymologies small)
- Michalove (2002): Lexical evidence does not support Ugric
 - Hu + Kh 45, Hu + Ms 43 cognates
- Doubtful how much value such comparisons have: shared retentions in inherited vocabulary have little relevance in taxonomy!

Problems with Ugric lexicon

Ugric lexicon

- MSzFE, Honti (1997: 18–20): 162 cognates exclusively shared by Ugric
- UEW:
 - 177 cognates, including the questionable etymologies
 - 126 "secure" etymologies; many of these are also quite problematic
 - 34 (+ 14) Hu + Ms
 - 12 (+ 17) Hu + Kh
 - Includes Iranian loans, many of which are parallel loanwords
 - WOT repeats UEW's numbers
- Abondolo 1996: New ideas concerning many Ugric etymologies

Ugric lexicon

- Problems with the lexicon reconstructed in earlier sources
- The lexical material includes many uncertain and irregular cases > the whole picture is blurred
- The reconstructions of Proto-Ugric etymologies are quite unreliable, making it almost impossible to get an idea of the phonological system of Proto-Ugric

Ugric lexicon

- Although shared lexicon is not a very important criterion in genealogical classification of languages, in Uralic studies it has been used in this sense quite frequently
- This makes a more critical scrutiny important
- Cf. Salminen 2002:
 - "The problem here again is that the mere presence of a word in a language tells us little of possible lexical innovations. Conclusive evidence based on lexical material can only be obtained by studying the loss and replacement of words. Within the long lists of Ugrian words, there may in fact be several cases suggesting a true innovation, for example the word for 'fire', but mostly it is impossible to say if they represent formerly more wide-spread words or perhaps parallel borrowings from a common source."

Outdated or expanded Ugric comparanda: examples from recent research

- PU **kaji* 'hair (?)' > Hu *haj*, Ms KU *χōj*, P *kōj*, LU *kōj*, N *χǎj* (UEW: Ug **kajV*)
 - A good etymology (Hu and Ms regular cognates, but additional cognates in Saami, Permic and Samoyed presented by Aikio (2013, 2015): North Saami *guodja* 'seed shell of a sedge', Ko, Ud *kj* 'awn', Selkup Taz *qu* 'stalk, stem'
- PUg ? **purV* 'hind part' > Hu *far, farok* 'tail', Kh DN *pjr* 'hinter'
 - The etymology presented in the UEW is irregular (zero examples for PUg **u* reflected as PKh *j*); the possible Samoyed cognates (TN *purdā-* 'sich nach hinten, gegen den Strich wenden' etc.) likewise irregular; Aikio (2018) presents alternative etymology for Hu *far, farok* (< PU **ponči*)

Outdated or expanded Ugric comparanda: examples from recent research

- Hu (dial.) *nyék* 'Hürde, Flechtzaun', Kh Kr *newəj-* 'die Zettelfäden des Gewebes' (< ? PKh **nēwəj-*), Ms Ku, So *nēγ-*, P *nēw-* 'to bind' (< PMs **nīγ-*)
 - The nasals don't match, word-initial consonantism likewise irregular (WOT)
 - Loan from the same layer of substrate as the horse terminology?
 - The Hu word simply a noun, semantically rather far from the ObUg forms; accidental similarity here?
- PUg **ańća* 'buttocks' (UEW) > Hu *ágyék*, Ms **ūńć* = PU **ońća* 'part' (Sammallahti 1988; Aikio 2015), originally an Ilr loan from *(H)*anća-* 'part' (< IE **onk'o-s*)
 - Phonologically unproblematic, as the reflexes of **a* – *a* and **o* – *a* stems are similar in Hu and Ms (no need to assume a change **ońća* > **ańća*)
 - Semantic change?

Criticism of problematic Ugric etymologies

- ? PUG **pičV ~ *pićV* > Hu *füst* 'smoke; dust', Kh O *posəŋ* 'smoke' (< PKh **posəŋ*), Ms So *posim*, P *pošəm*, T *pošëm* (< PMs **pəšim*) id.
 - Vowel-relations irregular (cf. also Abondolo 1996: 64 "sound descriptive")
 - The sibilants likewise irregular (UEW: **ć ~ *č*)
 - Hu *-t* difficult to explain; the OUg words might reflect parallel derivatives
 - OUg forms from **piča-*? Abondolo 1996
 - Impossible to reconstruct a common proto-form into Proto-Ugric: Substrate, parallel loanwords or accidental similarity?

Criticism of problematic Ugric etymologies

- PUg **jarV-* 'write, draw, paint' > Hu *ír*, Khanty V *jeri-* 'zeichnen', Trj *järip-* 'einen Strich ziehen, kratzen (Nagel, Holzsplitter usw.), riefeln, linieren (z.B. Papier, nur einen Strich; schreiben (Geheimwort))'
- The suggested reconstruction does not suit neither Khanty or Hungarian
- Hu *ír* 'schreiben; Muster zeichnen, malen'
 - Probably rather **jəri-* than **jarV-*
- However, Hu *ír* probably ← West Old Turkic **ir-*, cf. East Old Turkic *ir-* 'to make a notch, or breach, in (something)' (WOT: 459–464)
- Conclusion: as the Hungarian word has a convincing Turkic etymology and the Khanty word cannot be derived from a reconstruction with a velar vowel, this Ugric etymology should be rejected; better idea to search for new etymologies for the Khanty word

Criticism of problematic Ugric etymologies

- PUg **tultV* ? > Hu *táltos* 'Zauberer, Schamane; Zauberpferd', Kh Kaz *tɔlt* 'Hilfe, Linderung (bei einer Krankheit, in der Armut)', *tɔlta* 'ohne (große) Mühe, ohne (viel) Lärm (z.B. Beute bekommen); вдруг', N *tolt* 'Riese (eigtl. Zauberer)', *toltn* ~ *tolten* 'mit Zauberkraft'; Vj *tolt* 'fever' < PKh ? **tolt* (Honti: **tɔlt/tolt*), Mansi N *tūlt*: *tūltén* 'leicht, einfach' < PMs **tūlt*
 - Proto-Ob-Ugric: ? **tʷlt-* (Honti 1982: 188, no. 637)
 - Hu ← West Old Turkic **taltučī* 'the one who exercises a loss of consciousness' (WOT)
- In this case, too, the Turkic etymology seems more convincing, even if the exact source form is not attested
- Hu *a* from **u* irregular; the Ob-Ugric cognates irregular (no Proto-Ob-Ugric form can be reconstructed)
- The semantic connection quite problematic

Criticism of problematic Ugric etymologies

- Hu *űszű* 'Fäirse, Sterke, Kalbe, Kuhkalb; Schmaltier, Hinde, Hindin', Kh *V ęs* 'Mutter', O *ąs* 'Mutter, Weibchen (Tier)'
- Semantic connection problematic
- Only the Hu word reflects a derivative
- Proto-Khanty **i*; background of the Hu vowel?
- Old idea: Hu from Iranian, cf. Ossetic *wæs*, OI *vatsá-ka-* 'calf'
 - If from Iranian, Hu long *ű* can be explained from the Ir suffix *-ka*
 - Lack of Ir **w* problematic; however, the *ű*-vocalism would not be a problem, cf. Hu *űveg* 'glass', Oss *avg* (the exact reason for this substitution unknown)

Problematic reconstructions

- Even among many regular Ugric cognates, the reconstructions given in earlier sources are problematic
- Reconstruction of "archiphonemes" imprecise; extra-Ugric cognates and loans from Iranian help with the quality of vowels
- Some tenable etymologies obstructed by reconstructions
- ***čettV-* ? 'to become dark' > Hu *sötét, sētét*, Kh DN *čětimə-*, Ms KU *šātəp-*
 - Hu *ë* rather points to **i*; also Mansi **čāt-* could be derived from earlier **čittV-*
 - Khanty would not fit here
 - Proto-Ob-Ugric forms reconstructed by Honti (1982) and Zhivlov (2006); this vowel-correspondence is same as with PUG **märV* > Hu *merül*, PU **peljä* 'ear' > Hu *fil, fül*
 - If Kh and Ms indeed reflect a Proto-Ob-Ugric word regularly, Hungarian *sötét* is irregular

Problematic reconstructions

- **kVIVćV* > Hu *köles*, Ms So *kolas*
 - The limited distribution in (North) Mansi raises questions
 - A word denoting a cereal is susceptible of a loan (substrate)
 - However, Ms So *kolas* and Hu *köles* can in principle be regular cognates: in So, *o* < PMs **ü*
 - The only possible reconstruction for the initial syllable here is **ü*
 - The second syllable: the word is analyzed as a derivative by the UEW, but no base is found; no examples of PUg formations with a suffix **ć(V)*
 - Hu *(V)s* obviously a productive derivational suffix
 - The word can perhaps be reconstructed as PUg **küläcä* or **küläci*

Lexical innovations that replace a PU item

- Gulya 1994: "hole in the family tree" (see also Salminen 2002)
- Such lexical innovations would provide strong evidence for Ugric
- Real innovations or parallel loans (substrate)?

Lexical innovations that replace a PU item

- Examples:
- PUg **tüγ3-t3*, **tüw3-t3* 'fire' (vs. PU **tuli*)
 - A good PUg etymology (Salminen 2002)
 - der. from PU **teki-/*tiki-* 'put' (UEW) Abondolo 1996: 62; improbable due to mismatch in vocalism
 - PMs **täγ-* 'stechen, stopfen' < POUG **teγV-* (Zhivlov 2006: 112) < ? PU **tekV-* (UEW No. 1045) vs. PMs **tāwt*, PKh ? ? **tüγət* (DN ü irregular)
- PUg **ren/gV*, 'warm' ? (> Hu *reg*, *rejt* etc., Kh Kaz *rūw*, Ms So *rēy*) (vs. PU **lämpi*)
 - A completely irregular Ugric etymology; little evidence for any Proto-Ugric item here
- PUg **kuntV* 'beaver' (vs. ? PU (FP) **maja*)
 - Possible Turkic connections
- PUg **empV* ~ **ämpV* 'dog' (vs. ? PU (FP) **penä*)
 - Hu *ë* irregular, if from PUg **ämpV* (> Kh V *ämp*, Ms So *ämp*); forms with both *e* and *ë* in Hungarian (Abondolo 1996)? Possible parallel loan?
- Hu *ëgy*, Kh *ěj* 'one' (vs. PU **üki* / **ükti*)
 - Ms TJ *ük*
- Negation **nV* (vs. PU **e-*)? Cf. the forms with *n-* in Permic; more research needed

Semantic innovations in Ugric?

- **kaji* 'grass, stalk' > PUg 'hair?'
 - UEW: PUg **kajV*
 - Only Ugric (Hu + Ms) has the meaning 'hair'; possibly common semantic innovation (the more general meaning 'stalk' retained in Saami, Permic, Samoyed)
- **ońća* 'part' > PUg 'back side?'
 - If Hu *agyék* and Mansi **ūńć* belong to PU **ońća*, their semantics can reflect a common innovation ('back (part), buttocks'), depending on the original meaning

Derivatives in (Proto-)Ugric

- Methodological questions: a derivative is derived from something!
Not enough to point out that something has three syllables
- Functions of many derivational suffixes unclear (Riese 2001)
- All trisyllabic words derivatives?

Derivatives in (Proto-)Ugric

- PUg **kad(a)ma* 'ash' < PU **kada-* 'to leave' (Abondolo 1996: 93; Zhivlov 2014)
- PUg **pilwiŋ* 'cloud' < PU **pilwi* (> Fi *pilvi* etc.)
 - PU **pilwi* (Sammallahti 1988:) Little evidence for PU **pilŋi*; the Ugric forms ending in nasal or stop perhaps derivatives
 - Hu *felhő* – derivative or an opaque compound? *felleg* looks like a derived from
 - Hu *g*, OUg *ŋ* not regular; more research needed
- **täji-ktV-mV* (Hu *tetű*, Kh V *töytəm*, Ms TJ *tākəm*) < PU **täji* 'louse' (> Fi *täi* etc.)
 - The three Ugric languages clearly reflect derived forms (although the functions of the suffix are quite unclear)
 - Parallel derivatives or a real Proto-Ugric form? Difficult to assess the etymology due to the complicated reconstruction

Derivatives in (Proto-)Ugric

- PU **ańi* > Kildin Saami *vueńń*, Hu *ángy*, Kh V *ǎńǎkj* 'elder brother's wife, stepmother', Ms TJ *āńī* 'father's brother's wife' (Zhivlov 2014: 130)
 - Riese 2001: 69: POUg word **ʋń* reconstructed without the derivative suffix: Problem: the derivational process is obscure, very little evidence for a Proto-Ugric derivative (Hu *gy* < ??)
 - Parallel derivatives in Hungarian and Ob-Ugric?

Derivatives in (Proto-)Ugric

- PUg **pintVIV-* > Hu *födél* ~ *födél*, Ms P *śowəl-päntlāp*, LU *kwäl-päntél* 'Dach', LO *kälpäntəl* 'katto, Dach'
 - P(F)U **pintV-* rather than **pentV-*
- PU **kala-* 'net; fish with a net' > Fi *kalin*, Komi *kuləm*, Hu *háló*, Ms So *χūlap*, P *kūlap*, Kh V *kalaw*, O *χalap* (Aikio 2015: 54)
 - The Ob-Ugric words clearly reflect a common derivative with **-p* (Honti 1982; Riese 2001: 51)
 - Hu *háló* could reflect various pre-Hu forms
 - Formally **-p* would be possible; no parallels of such suffix in Hungarian
 - All the examples listed by Riese 2001 limited to Ob-Ugric

Derivatives in (Proto-)Ugric

- Some examples of etymologies confined to Ugric but considered derivatives in early sources (UEW, Riese 2001)
- PUg (?) **karV-* > Hu *harkály*, Kh V *kǎjarkj*, O *χǎŋra*, Ms TJ *karkāj*, N *χǎrχej* 'woodpecker'
 - Completely irregular
 - Riese 2001: few examples of such a suffix
 - Belongs to the group of irregular Ugric etymologies; substrate item?
- PUg (?) **eŋkVrV-* > Hu *igér* 'swear', Kh O *eŋkər-*, J *iŋkər-* 'say magic words'
 - Verbal suffix *-rV*? Unclear function and background
 - The Ugric etymology (Hu+Kh) formally unproblematic

Derivatives in (Proto-)Ugric

- Conclusions:
- There is evidence for some derivatives that are common to the three Ugric languages
- However, most of the derivatives assumed in the UEW are problematic, some outrightly false
- Due to problems of historical phonology, the derivational processes are poorly understood, and more research is needed
- The derivatives reconstructed to Proto-Ugric level with no PU connections are very dubious

Loans and possible substrate
words

Some notes on Ugric and Iranian

- Several layers of Indo-Iranian loanwords in Hungaria, Khanty and Mansi
- Very few loans that can have been acquired to PUg
 - Several irregular cases
 - Parallel loans old idea (Korenchy 1972; Sammalahti 1988: 503–504)
 - Earliest loans confined to Hu, Mansi or Khanty have to be equally old
- Various ideas concerning the donor language and the stratigraphy of the loanwords
- Harmatta (1997): many loans from (Proto-?)East Iranian
- Honti (1997): Persian-type donor

Ugric and Iranian

- Examples of parallel loanwords
- Hu *ostor*, OHu *ustor*, Ms TJ *aštə·r*, KU *ōštər*, N *āšter* (< PMs **ačtar*)
 - PIIr **ačtraH*; borrowed before **čt* > **št* in Proto-Indo-Iranian?
- Hu *hét*, Kh V *läwət*, Ms So *sāt*
 - Clearly parallel loans due to the mismatch of the sibilants (Sammallahti 1988)
 - **s* points to early donor (later **h* in Iranian)
- Problematic examples:
- **me/V 'deep' ?* > Hu *mély*, Kh V *měl*, Ms TJ *mäl*
 - Alanic-type donor **mal* (> Oss *mal* 'deep water') would be formally unproblematic (Rasmussen 1989); however, the change from **ry* to *l* in Alanic can hardly be so old that one could assume a loan common to the three Ugric languages
 - Parallel loanwords from Alanic? Formally the Ugric forms are regular cognates, however

Ugric and Iranian

- Examples of regular Iranian etymologies
- **sora* 'lake' **θora* or **θara* 'lake (?)', Khanty: East (V) *lar* 'während des Hochwassers an einem Wiesenufer entstandener See', (Vj) 'tiefliegendes, baumloses Wiesenufer od. Wiesengelände, das im Frühling überschwemmt wird'; South (DN) *tor* 'See'; North (O) *lar* 'bei Hochwasser überschwemmtes Ufergebiet; See' < Proto-Khanty **lār* (Honti 1982: **lar*), Mansi: East (KU) *tūr*, West (P) *tūr*, (LO) *tor*, North (So) *tūr* 'See' < Proto-Mansi **tūrə* (Honti: *tūrə*)
 - ← Indo-Iranian **sáras-* 'lake', cf. Vedic *sáras-* 'See, Teich' (Harmatta 1977: 171; Koivulehto 1999: 215; Katz [1985: 119–120] 2003: 102)
- Hu *arany* 'gold' < PUg/PU **sərańa*
 - ← Iranian **zaranya-* (Avestan *zaranya-*) < PII **ǰr̥Hanya-* < **ǵʰlh₃-en-yo-*
- **saśV-* 'to dry' (> PUg **ǰasV-*) > ostchant. *sos-* 'trocken, hart werden', nordmans. *tōs-* 'trocknen', ung. *asz-* 'dorren, trocknen' (UEW 844) ← urar. **Hsawš-*, Präs. (3. Sg) **Hsáwšati* (Katz 2003: 221–222)

Ugric and Iranian

- Examples of early loans with limited distribution in Ugric
- POUg **päčäγ* ← PI **patsuka-* > Avestan *pasu-* ‘livestock’, diminutive *pasuka-* (Koivulehto 2007)
 - Proto-Iranian donor
- Kh South *tăγâr*, North *ḷăγâr*, East *ḷoγâr* etc. ‘Panzerhemd’ ← Ir (Alanic?) **zγar-*, Ossetic *zγar* ‘metal, PL armour’
 - No evidence for a “Persian-type” donor (cf. Honti 1997: 35–37); the word attested only in eastern Iranian languages
- Due to numerous parallel loans, distribution is a problematic criterion

Ugric and Iranian: problematic "East Iranian" loans

- Hu *ló* (: *lovat*)
- Kh V *loy*, DN *taw*, O *law*
- Ms TJ *low*, KU *lo*, P, So *luw*
 - Harmatta 1997: 72: "East Iranian" **loyə* < **vlayə* < Plr**bāraka*- (Middle Persian *bārag* 'horse')
 - The donor form is ad hoc (unclear on what criteria the reconstruction is based on)
 - No suitable source form can be reconstructed to the stages of Iranian that have been in contact with (Proto-)Ugric (Proto-Iranian, "Old Iranian", early Alanic)

Ugric and Iranian: problematic “East Iranian” loans

- unk *nyerëg*
- ha E VK, Vagr *nöγər* 'Sattel' (PKh **nōγər*)
- ms TJ *näwrä*, KU, P *naγər*, N *naçîr* (PMs **näγrā*)
 - Irregular Ugric cognates (ks. WOT 1210–1213; Zhivlov 2016: 300)
 - The Iranian etymology speculative also in this case:
- Harmattan (1997): East Iranian **nəγər* < ? Plr **niwara-* 'saddle' hypothetical, no reason to reconstruct **nəγər* on the basis of Khotanese Saka *nyūrr*
 - Bailey (1979): *nyūrr* 'cover, harness' (< **ni-war-n-*); (compound *aśā-nyūrrāna* 'with horse harness')
 - Turkic loan etymology likewise untenable (cf. Middle Turkic *egär* 'saddle' < ? **neger*) (WOT (1210–1213; Zhivlov 2016: 300)

Ugric and Turkic: Wanderwörter?

- Turkic loans in PUG old idea but based on very limited evidence
- **kuntV* 'beaver' (> Hu *hód*, Ms So *χuntəl'*, P *kuńtəl'*) ← ? Turkic **kuntuz*, ? **kottVηV* 'swan' (> Hu *hattyú*, Ms So *χotan*, Kh V *kōtəŋ*) ← Turkic **kotan*
- The traditional ideas disputed by Róna-Tas (1988), still supported by UEW, Abondolo (1996: 49, 'swan')
 - Problems also with the time depth: Proto-Turkic later than "Proto-Ugric"
- Uralic background suggested for Hu *szó* 'word' (Sammallahti 1988: 540) in addition to the possible Ob-Ugric (Kh O *săw*, Ms N *săw*) and Turkic (Old Turkic *sav*) connections
- The idea that *hód* < **kuntV* ~ **kumtV* and *hattyú* are some kind of *Wanderwörter* seems convincing, although many details unclear; however, the idea that these words are loans from Ugric to Turkic (Róna-Tas 1988: 749–750) is not convincing at all
 - Geminate in *hattyú* perhaps a substitution? Ob-ugric **t* could also reflect a single PUG/PU **t*, the origin of Hu *tty* unclear
 - The irregularities could be explained as parallel borrowings after PUG split
 - **kuntV*: the Hu and Ms words can formally reflect **kuntV-*, if the Mansi word is indeed a derivative (Riese 2001: 81; few examples of words with the suffix **-l'*, unclear functions) and the palatal cluster *ńt'* in some dialects is secondary
 - The loan-etymology from Turkic to Ugric formally possible: the only problem with the zero-feflex of Turkic *-z* seems minor (cf. WOT: all PUG words ended in a vowel; cf. the Indo-Iranian loans); WOT: forms with *mt* not reliable
 - Wanderwörter? Parallel loans? Accidental similarity?

Early loans between Ugric varieties

- Internal loans within neighbouring Uralic languages: recent significant results in Saami-Finnic contacts (Aikio 2009), Mari-Permic (Metsäranta 2020); lexical loans between Khanty and Mansi known (Sipos 2005)
- A classic example: Hu *tolvaj* < **tulvaj* ← Proto-Mansi **tūlmāk* (> Mansi N *tūlməx*) 'thief, volwerine' (Helimski 1982: 54–56, Marginalia)

Early loans between early Ugric varieties

- Hu *loll* 'Vorderschinken; torkospecsenye' < ? Ugric **lʷlka* or PU **jalka* 'foot'? (Abondolo 1996: 108–109)
 - Dual reflex of **jalka* (*gyalog* ~ *loll*) in Hungarian impossible
 - A possible explanation: dissimilation **jalka* > **lalka* ~ **lɛlka* in Proto-Ob-Ugric; loan from Ob-Ugric (Proto-Mansi?) to Hungarian
 - The metathesis and spirantization > **ɣl* is regular in Ob-Ugric
 - Aikio: UED manuscript notes that the Ob-Ugric cognates are irregular and the retroflex ʎ in Khanty can be explained
 - The Hu semantics fit a loanword
 - Hu **o* < PU/PUg **a* ?
 - Regular reflex of **a* would be Hu *a* or *á* (cf. *gyalog*)
 - Abondolo 1996: **a* > Hu *o*/ **IC* (*hal* ~ *holt*)?
 - Substitution of a later Ob-Ugric/Mansi vowel? Honti 1982: 160, no. 357 **l̥ɣlV* > Kh **!aɣəl*, Ms **l̥j̥lV*/**l̥ɣlV* ~ **l̥j̥l-*; Zhivlov 2006: 149–150: POUG **l̥ɣl̥a*
 - **o* not a regular reflex of **ɛ*; borrowed from a form that went through metathesis, then contraction **ɛɣ* > **o*?
 - Even if the relationship to PU **jalka* is nonexistent, the Ugric cognates are irregular, and a borrowing from Ob-Ugric to Hungarian remains a possibility; the retroflex lateral of Khanty actually makes the idea of inter-Ugric borrowing even more likely, as no such phoneme can be reconstructed to other Proto-Ugric lexemes

Substrate words in Ugric?

- Previous views: Honti 1998, Sipos 2003
- Recent substrate research in the western part of the Uralic family (Zhivlov 2015, Aikio 2015, 2021)
 - Finno-Volgaic and Finno-Permic lexicon includes many words with irregular sound-correspondences and belong to semantic spheres susceptible of substrate
 - Similar correspondences as in IE loans (parallel from Iranian, Baltic)
 - Examples
- Problems with substrate and unknown languages
- Where do words come from? Loans from lost languages a plausible idea

Substrate words in Ugric?

- Criteria for substrate words:
- Salmons 2015:
 - Criteria for substrate words in Indo-European:
 - Is it culturally plausible?
 - Does it reflect likely substrate semantic domains and/or basic vocabulary?
 - Does it lack a clear Indo-European etymology?
 - Is it a borrowing from neighbors or a Wanderwort?
 - Does it show discrepant phonological or morphological features vis-i-vis Indo-European?

Substrate words in Ugric?

- Ugric etyma filling such criteria (potential substrate items):
 - Words with unexplained variation of $*\eta$ and $*\gamma$
 - Hu *tegez* 'quiver' < ??
 - Hu *nyű* 'worm' < ? $*\acute{n}\eta V$
 - *ág* 'twig' < ? $*\acute{\theta}a\eta ka$ (if Hu not from Ilr $*anga$, > OI *aṅga-* 'Glied des Körpers')
 - Words with unclear "suffixes"
 - Hu *epër* 'strawberry' < ? PUG $*\acute{a}pp\grave{a}rVkkV$
 - Hu *harkály* 'woodpecker' < ? PUG $*kar-$
 - Words with non-Uralic phonotactics
 - Words with word-initial $*r$ (cf. Sammallahti 1988; Hahmo 2003)
 - Semantic spheres?
 - Words with irregular sound-correspondences (cf. similar situation with Iranian and disputed Turkic loans borrowed after the split of Proto-Ugric)
 - Hu *fű?* 'grass' < $*pimV$
 - Hu *ló* 'horse' < ? $*luwV$
 - Hu *levél* 'leaf' < ?
 - Hu *savanyú* < ? $*\acute{c}a\gamma V-$ (if not from some reflex of Iranian $*tsawk-$ < PIlr $*\acute{c}awk-$, cf. Khotanese *suttä* 'vinegar'; Skr *śuktá-* 'sour')

Concluding remarks

- PUg lexicon needs a thorough reevaluation
- Significantly less regular cognates than argued in earlier sources
 - Ugric etymology continues to present many problems: Our current understanding of Ugric lexical relations is very far from complete, making the situation with Ugric etymology fundamentally different from the West-Uralic situation
 - Internal loans
- Much etymological work to do before historical phonology can be worked out (and vice versa)
 - Regularity principle certainly useful
- Evidence from Iranian loans helps in sieving the irregular Ugric cognates
- The study of substrate (and superstrate) words should be pursued forward
- Proto-Ugric derivatives a difficult but essential topic for future research

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