

Early Indo-European loans in the Uralic West?

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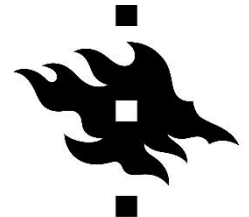
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Research project

- *Early Indo-European lexical influences in Common Uralic and West Uralic, 2023–2027*, Research council of Finland (project number 356825)
- Scrutiny of alleged early Indo-European loans (that are not from Indo-Iranian) in the Uralic languages
 - Critical scrutiny of the earliest Indo-European loans in Proto-Uralic or “Common Uralic”
 - Disputed early (Northwest?) Indo-European loans in Saami, Finnic (and other western branches)
- Work in progress

Research project

- This presentation is largely based on Holopainen 2024: “The question of Northwest Indo-European in the light of Uralic loanword evidence”. *XVII. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft*, University of Basel

(see also

Holopainen 2021: On the question of substitution of palatovelars in Indo-European loanwords into Uralic, *JSFOu* 98

Holopainen in press: Studies in early Indo-European loans in Uralic – problems and new solutions, *JSFOu* 100)

Aims of this talk

- Critical discussion of alleged early Indo-European loanwords confined to Finnic or Saami
 - *Northwest Indo-European loans*
 - Mostly etymologies suggested by Koivulehto (1999, 2001a&b etc.) and Sammallahti (1999, 2001)
- New criticism
- Overview of the research situation, etymologies discussed in recent works
 - A large part of the etymologies have been criticized elsewhere but there is no comprehensive overview

Why is this relevant?

- Loanword research has had a big impact on discussions of Finnic, Saami and Uralic prehistory
 - Early Indo-European loans in (early Proto-)Finnic and (early Proto-)Saami:
 - > early presence of Uralic (and Indo-European) speakers in the Baltic region
- Views from the 1990s, early 2000s still circulated in handbooks (Lehtinen 2007; Lang 2020 etc.)
- Methodological issues
- Good time to revisit the problem because of advances in Uralic historical phonology, Uralic and Indo-European prehistory

Background

- Well-established contact episodes between early Indo-European and Uralic:
 - "Common Uralic" (Proto-Uralic?) ← Proto-Indo-Iranian (Holopainen 2019; Grünthal et al. 2022 etc.)
 - Followed by Iranian loans into separate branches
 - Also, loans confined to Finnic or Saami (Holopainen 2018, 2019, 2020); different prehistorical implications
 - Proto-Balto-Slavic and later Baltic loans in the western Uralic languages, especially in Finnic and Saami (Kallio 2009; 2022; Junttila 2015; 2016)
 - Germanic loans in Finnic and Saami
 - Slavic loans in all branches (early loans in Finnic, Hungarian)

Background

- The idea of Proto-Indo-European loanwords in Proto-Uralic recently criticized by Simon (2020); Aikio (2022)
 - Most of the alleged etymologies problematic
 - Methodological problems, chance similarities, outdated reconstructions
- Some etymologies considered possible loans from (Pre-)Proto-Tocharian by Simon (2020), as well as by Martzloff & Machajdíkóvá (2023)
 - For example, PU *nimi ‘name’ ← ? PT *ñæmä(n) (> Tocharian A *ñom*, B *ñem* id.)
 - Further research needed

Background

- The problem of Proto-Indo-European loans is related to the problem of archaic Indo-European loans in Finnic and Saami
- The alleged loans with Uralic or “Finno-Ugric” distribution
- Koivulehto (1991 etc.) discussed both PU and loans with
- Similar issues: substitution of Proto-Indo-European laryngeals, substitution of palatal stops

Background

- According to a widespread view in 1990s and 2000s, the Proto-Indo-European-Uralic contacts were followed by contacts between early varieties of Indo-European and Uralic in Northern Europe
- Koivulehto and Sammallahti suggested a number of loanwords only found in Saami and Finnic

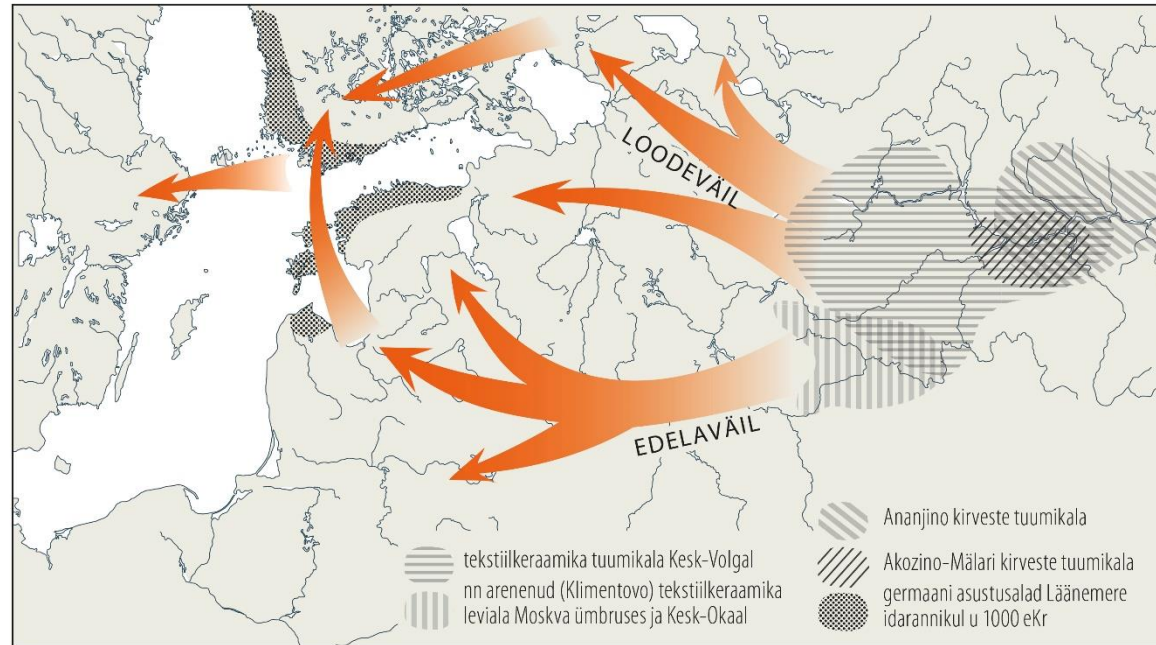
Background

- Early contacts between Indo-European and Uralic near the Baltic Sea in the Bronze Age?
- Koivulehto (1999, 2000, 2001a&b, 2003); layer of Northwest Indo-European loanwords in Uralic, borrowed near the Baltics from the people of the Battle Axe Culture
 - Both acceptance (Kallio 2003; 2015) and criticism (Ritter 2005)
 - Implications for archaeology and prehistory (cf. Carpelan & Parpola 2001)

Background

- The idea does not fit the current views of Uralic (or Indo-European) prehistory very well
 - Everything points to later arrival of preforms of Saami and Finnic to the Baltic region than previously assumed (Lang 2020)
- Many individual etymologies have been criticized (Aikio 2020, 2022; Hyllested 2015; Kallio 2022; Holopainen, Junttila & Kuokkala 2017; Holopainen 2021 etc.) but a full synthesis is lacking

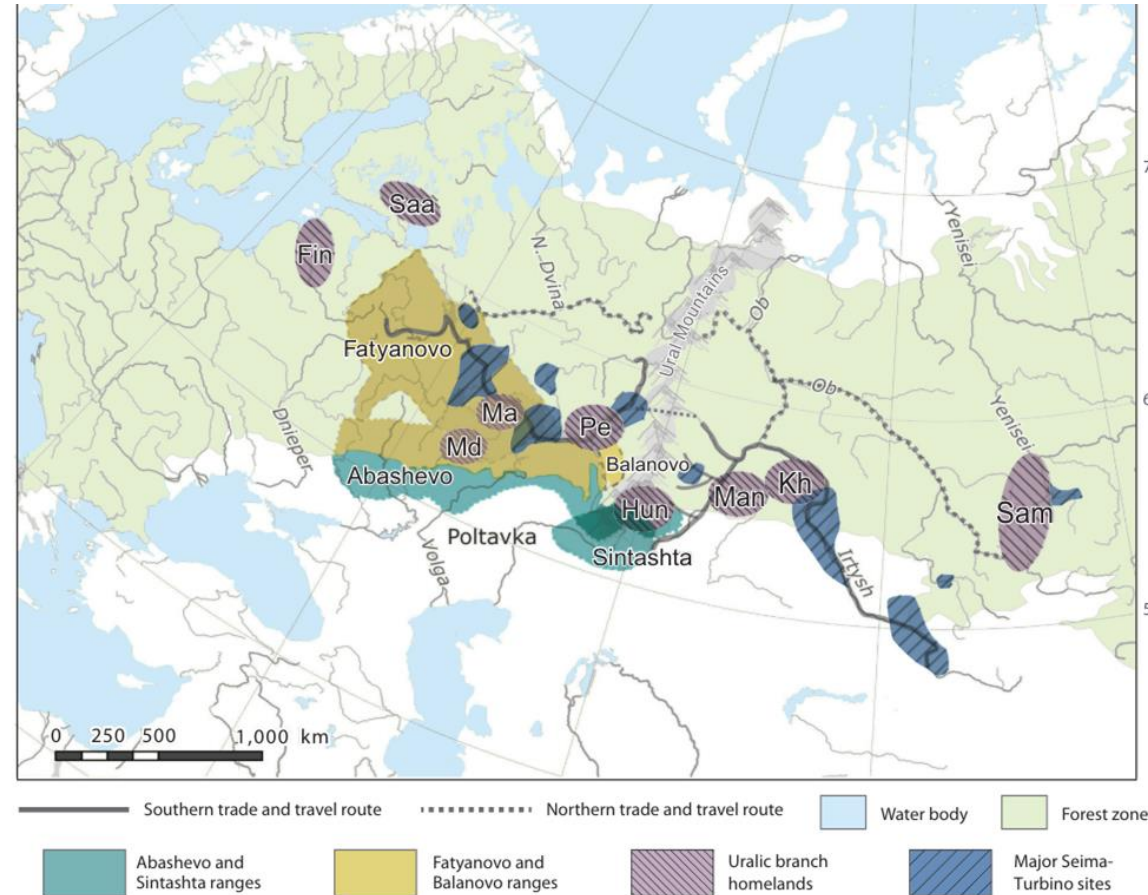
Current views of Uralic prehistory



Spread of Finnic and Saami around 1000 BCE according to Valter Lang; map by Jaana Ratas
<https://www.eestijuured.ee/en/articles/second-coming-finnic>

Current views of Uralic prehistory

Map by Nora Fabritius, cited from Nichols 2021, *Annual review of linguistics* 7
<https://www.annualreviews.org/content/journals/10.1146/annurev-linguistics-011619-030405>



Current views of the prehistory of the western Uralic languages

- Later arrival to the Baltic region than has been assumed (Lang 2020; Grünthal et al. 2022)
 - Proto-Uralic datings later than was assumed in early 2000s (Kallio 2006)
 - Proto-Uralic situated farther to the east (Grünthal et al. 2022; Vigh 2024)
- Early contacts between Finnic and Baltic/Balto-Slavic, Germanic certainly occurred, but unclear whether earlier contacts in the Baltic region/Northern Europe were possible
- To which stage of Uralic have the loans been borrowed into?

Background

- Donor language?
- Ambiguous statements
- **Northwest Indo-European**: a possible node consisting of Germanic, Balto-Slavic, Italo-Celtic
 - Meillet (1908)
- Still mentioned in modern handbooks and presentations but not necessarily as a genealogical node (Mallory & Adams 2006; Huld 1996 etc.)
 - Widely different views of the taxonomy of Germanic, Balto-Slavic, Italo-Celtic exist (see e.g., Koch 2020; van Sluis et al. 2023)
 - Mostly lexical evidence: can be due to mutual and/or parallel loans

Background

- Additionally, Koivulehto suggested etymologies not found in "Northwest Indo-European"
- Sammallahti (1999, 2001) spoke of "Indo-European" loanwords more generally
- Problems with the simultaneous contacts with different stages of Indo-European: words borrowed from Proto-Iranian, Proto-Balto-Slavic to same reconstructed stages of Uralic as the alleged North-West Indo-European loanwords

Background

- Koivulehto (2001):
 - “Most probably, in my opinion, these contacts should be dated back to the period of the Battle Axe or the Corded Ware culture, which is attested in Finland (according to calibrated datings) from 3200 to 2350 BC. Both archaeological and linguistic data match this dating. To propose a more distant period is inconsistent with the fact that several loans of this group imply the practice of a kind of primitive agriculture (the slash-and-burn method).”
- Sammallahti (2001):
 - “The old IE loanwords in Saami are concentrated, as already demonstrated, in the central idioms Lule, North, Inari and Skolt Saami. Their number in North Saami is especially high, and searches for independent PIE loanwords in the south-western languages South, Ume and Pite Saami as well as in the eastern languages Kildin and Ter Saami have been fruitless. I see no other explanation for this state of affairs other than this: when the PIE loanwords were adopted, the Uralic idioms which later developed into Saami must have been in the area where their descendants – the present Saami languages – are now spoken.”
- Kallio (2006): the datings too early, perhaps Northwest Indo-European was spoken in the Fatyanovo culture further to the east (cf. now Grünthal et al. 2022; Vigh 2024)

The Indo-European donor languages

- Vague formulations in the literature (for example Sammallahti 1999, 2001)
- Language ancestral to Germanic/Balto-Slavic according to Koivulehto (1983)
- Northwest Indo-European (Kallio 1998; Koivulehto 2001)

Background

- Initial criticism
 - (Ritter 1993, 2005 etc.)
 - Criticism of the phonological side (the IE laryngeals)
 - Campbell & Garrett (1993)
 - Helimski (2001)
- More substantial criticism of some etymologies in more recent research
 - Hyllested (2015): criticism of some laryngeal etymologies; alternative explanations
 - Aikio (Studies in Uralic etymology, UED draft): some individual etymologies refuted
 - Kallio (2009, 2022): alternative views of some loans > Balto-Slavic
 - Metsäranta (2020): some etymologies criticized
 - Holopainen (2021): palatal stops > affricates

Methodological remarks

- Chance similarity and *chance correspondence* (Aikio 2022, 2024)
- Distribution (Aikio 2012: 87–88; Holopainen 2019: 43–45)
 - Loss of vocabulary: modern distribution does not (always) correlate with the age of the word
 - Different intensity of the etymological study of different branches
- Linguistics and prehistory: methodological problems
 - Saarikivi & Lavento (2012)

The etymological material

- The etymologies discussed here (the material from Koivulehto 2000, 2001, 2003, where the case of NWIE loans is explicitly argued for)
- Only in Finnic: **kalja* 'beer' ← **h₂alu-* id., **kaski* 'swidden' ← **h₂azg-* 'ashes', **maja* 'hut' ← **ma^hko-*, **pošta-* 'winnow' ← **powH-eye-*, **rehto* 'row', **rohto* 'herb' < **roštV* ← **g^hróH-to-*, Pfi **soome_u* 'Finland; Finnish' ← **g^hmōn-* 'human', **taštas* 'dough' ← **tah₂isto-* id., **tehti* < **tešti* ← **d^heh₁-ti-*
- Only in Saami: SaN *arvi* < **eprē* < ? **iprä* 'rain' ← **m₀b^hro-* id., čuonjá 'goose' ← **g^han-ud-* id., **čuormes* 'hail' ← **kor-mo-* 'hoarfrost', SaN *gožu* 'soot' < **koćoj* < (?) **kućoj* ← **h₁usyo-* 'ember', SaN *gutna* 'ashes' ← **koni-* id., **kuolpen* 'heath' ← **h₂alb^h-(en)-*, **kuoksōj* 'dawn' < ? **kawsoj* ← **h₂awsōs-* id., **suomen* 'dialect; voice' < **somenV* ← **stomen-* 'mouth'
- In Finnic and Saami: Fi **kasa* ~ Sa **gea^hcē* 'tip' ← **h₂ak-yah₂* id.

Etymologies criticized in recent literature

- SaN *čuonji*, *čuonjá* 'goose', cognates in all Saami languages < Proto-Saami *ćuońēk ← NWIE/Pre-G *ǵʰan-ud- (> PG *ganuta[n]- 'gander'); PIE *ǵʰans- > Lithuanian *žąsis* 'goose' etc. (Koivulehto 2001)
 - The vowel combination points to a relatively recent word in Saami (Holopainen 2021)
 - The postulated source only reflected in Germanic; borrowing from some reflex of *ǵʰans- problematic due to the lack of a reflex of IE *s
 - Substrate?
 - The etymology already criticized by Rédei (2002), but with dubious arguments ('goose' was known to Saami speakers before IE contacts)

Etymologies criticized in recent literature

- North Saami *guovssu* 'dawn', cognates in all Saami languages < Proto-Saami **kuoksōj* 'dawn' < (?) Early Proto-Saami **kawsoj* (Koivulehto) ← **h₂awsōs-* id. > Latin *aurora* id. etc. (Koivulehto 2001)
 - Chance similarity? (Holopainen et al. 2018)
 - The Proto-Saami reconstruction has to be **kuoksōj*, with **ks*, not **vs* (Aikio, personal communication), making the etymology impossible

Etymologies criticized elsewhere

- Fi *maja* 'hut, house', cognates in all Finnic languages except Veps < Pfi **maja* ← NWIE (?) **máko*- 'suitable' (> PG **maka* > Old High German *gimah* 'modest, suitable') (Koivulehto 2003)
 - The Proto-Indo-European word probably had a plain **k* (Kroonen 2013), making the substitution impossible (Holopainen 2021)
- Fi *rehto* 'Raum oder Abstand zwischen Zaunpfählen, Umzäunung, hölzerner Rahmen oder hölzernes Gestell; Netzreihe', cognates throughout Finnic, missing in Votic < PFi **rehto*- ← **rh₁to*- 'row' (Koivulehto 2001)
 - The traditional idea of borrowing from Germanic **wrehtiz* > MHG *wrechte* 'yard, fenced area' (see LÄGLOS s.v. *rehto*) too hastily rejected by Koivulehto (Holopainen et al. 2017)
 - Due to Finnic **e*, the word cannot be very old

The etymological material

- Fi *rohto* 'herb', cognates in Karelian and Estonian < PFi **rohto* ← **g^hroh₁-to(n) / *g^hroh₁-tu* (> Proto-Germanic **grōpi-* *grōðr* (m.) 'growth' / **grōpu-* > Old Norse *grōðr* (n.) 'growth', Kroonen 2013: 192)
- SSA: *rohto* derived from *ruoho* 'grass' (< PFi **rooho*)
 - Obscure derivational relationship (the shortening of **oo* would be regular)
 - The background of Estonian cognate (?) *rohi* : *roht* not completely clear
- The IE etymology perhaps possible but the substitution **š* ← **H* has very few good parallels (Holopainen, Junttila & Kuokkala 2017)
 - The formation only found in Germanic

Etymologies criticized elsewhere

- Fi *suomi* 'Finnish', *Suomi* 'Finland (proper)', cognates in all Finnic languages < PFi *soome₂ ← *dǵ^hm-on- 'human' (NIL s.v. *dhéǵhom)

(Kallio 1998)

- The pre-Finnic form rather *sämä (also reflected in Saami *sápmi*), fits poorly the IE reconstruction (Holopainen 2021; contra Heikkilä 2014)
- Ethnonyms generally difficult to etymologize

Etymologies criticized elsewhere

- North Saami *gožu* 'soot', cognates in all Saami languages < Proto-Saami **koćoj* < ? **kućoj* ← **h₁usyā-* (> Proto-Germanic **usjōn-* > Old Norse *ysja* 'fire') (Koivulehto 2001)
 - The alleged original does not denote 'soot' but rather 'fire'
 - As Proto-Saami **ć* probably reflects earlier affricate, not sibilant, the substitution of IE **s* would be rather problematic (cf. Holopainen, Junttila & Kuokkala 2017)

Etymologies criticized elsewhere

- Etymologies that are plausible IE loans but show no signs of "NWIE" criteria:
- These words have been criticized in more recent research, alternative sources have been shown
- SaN *čuorpmas* 'hail' ← **kormo-* > Lithuanian *šarmà* 'hoar frost' (Koivulehto 2003: 297)
 - As noted already by Kallio (2009), a Balto-Slavic source (← **śormo-*) is more probable (no need to assume a retained **k̑* in the donor form)
 - The meaning 'frost' only attested in Balto-Slavic (Derksen 2015: 40)
- Fi *tahdas* 'sourdough' < **taštas* ← **tah₂isto* 'dough' (Hyllested 2014; Junttila 2016; see also Holopainen 2023)
 - The IE source is rather Balto-Slavic **tayšto-* (with the substitution **š* ← **š*)

Etymologies criticized elsewhere

- Fi *porsas* 'piglet', cognates in all Finnic languages < PFi **porsas* < Early Proto-Finnic **porćas* 'piglet' (parallel loans Md *purcos*, Komi *porś*) ← **porkós* > Latin *porcus*, Lithuanian *paĩšas* etc.
 - The Indo-European origin is a very old idea (Joki 1973: Indo-Iranian loan)
 - Koivulehto (2001) assumed that the word belongs to the Northwest Indo-European loanword layer
 - Most recently a Balto-Slavic source (**porśos*) has been suggested by Kallio (2022; cf. also Holopainen 2019, 2021); the Uralic affricate *ć or sibilant *ś can certainly be explained from a *satem* reflex
- To sum up: the word does not have to be from Northwest Indo-European and gives little information on possible contacts

Discussion of further problematic
Northwest Indo-European
etymologies

The etymological material

- North Saami *arvi* 'rain' < **eprē* < ? **iprā* or **üprā* 'rain' ← Northwest Indo-European / Proto-Indo-European **m̥bʰro-* (> Vedic *abhra-* 'cloud', Latin *imber* 'rain') (Koivulehto 2001)
 - The Indo-European origin of *arvi* is possible but the idea of a missing NWIE source is dubious
 - Kümmel (2020) assumes an Indo-Iranian source but the vocalism is in this case problematic, as no parallels to pre-Saami **i* or **ü* corresponding to Ilr **a* are known

The etymological material

- North Saami *arvi* 'rain' < **erpē* < ? **iprä* or **üprä* 'rain' ← **m̥b^hro-* > Vedic *abhra-* 'cloud', Latin *imber* 'rain') (Koivulehto 2001)
 - There are very few examples of possibly retained **m̥* in Indo-Iranian loans (Common Uralic **ćęta* 'hundred' being one possible example)
 - Early Proto-Saami labial vowel **ü* because of **m̥*?
 - Or if borrowed from Proto-Indo-Iranian **abhra-*: the indo-Iranian vowel **a* has a variety of different substitutions in loanwords into Uralic
 - On the other hand: why borrow the word for 'rain'? Certainly possible, but no "need" to have an Indo-European loan etymology for this word

The etymological material

- North Saami *suopman* 'voice; dialect' < PSaa *suomen < *sominV
← *stomen- 'mouth' (Sammallahti 1999, 2001)
 - No phonological obstacles
 - Aikio (2012) suggests a different, possible IE source that is perhaps semantically better: *sh₂omen- 'Gesang' (> Vedic *sáman*; cf. Mallory & Adams 2006)
 - However, it should be specified from which IE language the words is borrowed from

The etymological material

- North Saami *suopman* 'voice; dialect' < PSaa *suomen < *sominV
← *stomen- 'mouth' (Sammallahti 1999, 2001)
 - As Indo-Iranian loanwords are found in all Uralic languages, an early Indo-Iranian source (*s*Háman*) for Saami *suopman* would be possible
 - Accidental similarity also possible, again

The etymological material

- North Saami *gutna* 'ashes' < Proto-Saami **kune* (< Pre-Saami ??)
← **koni*- 'ashes' (> Greek *κόνις*, Latin *cinis*)
 - The Saami vocalism cannot be explained (cf. Metsäranta 2023);
accidental similarity with the Indo-European word
 - The other Uralic words (Mari *kon*, Komi *kun*) Koivulehto mentions as
possible parallel loanwords are regularly derived from PU **kani* 'ashes' by
Metsäranta (2023)

The etymological material

- Note also SaaN *gatna* ‘lichen’ (< *kene₂ < *keni or *kini), allegedly borrowed from the same Indo-European word according to (Sammallahti 2001)
- Similar problems involved here, in addition to the divergent meanings

The etymological material

- Fi *kasa* ~ North Saami *geahči* 'tip' < (?) *kaća ← *h₂aķ-ya- > Proto-Germanic *agjō > Old Norse *egg* 'edge' (Koivulehto 2001)
- The etymology has been doubted by Hyllested (2014) as it is not clear whether a word-initial laryngeal should be reconstructed
- However, this is rather likely and commonly reconstructed (Kroonen 2013; EWA)
- The formation *h₂aķ-ya- is found also in Latin *aciēs* ,Schärfe, Schneide, Schlachtreihe', perhaps also Greek *ἀκίς*, -*ῖδος* ,spitzes Werkzeug' according to EWA, meaning that if the etymology is correct the word does not have to be borrowed from a "Northwestern" source

The etymological material

- Fi *kasa* 'tip, edge' ~ North Saami *geahči* id. < (?) *kaća ← *h₂aḱ-yaH > Proto-Germanic *agjō > Old Norse *egg* 'edge' (Koivulehto 2001)
- As there are no reflexes of the assumed donor form in Indo-Iranian or Balto-Slavic, this word cannot be explained away as a borrowing from a satem language
- The lack of good parallels for the substitutions *k ← *h₂ and *ć ← ḱ make the etymology uncertain

The etymological material

- Finnish *pohtaa* 'winnow' < **pošta-* ← **powH-eye-* > Proto-Germanic **faujan-*, Vedic *paváyati*
 - Problems with the laryngeal: few plausible examples of *š ← *H (Hyllested 2014)
 - In any case, can be form various branches of IE as the verb **pewH* is widely attested (LIV 480)
 - The old idea (cf. SSA) that *pohta-* is from Early Proto-Finnic **ponši-ta-* and related to Mordvin *ponžavtoms* is supported by Kallio (YSuS); further research needed

The etymological material

- Fi *kaski* 'swidden; young birch tree', Est *kask* 'birch', cognates in all Finnic languages < PFi **kaski* < Early PFi **kaski* (or **kaćki*) ← **h₂asg-* > Proto-Germanic **askōn-*
- The credibility of the etymology depends on the acceptance of the laryngeal substitution (see Campbell & Garrett 1993; Hyllested 2014; for discussion of the issue)
 - Note also the Finnic semantics; which is original, the 'tree' or 'burned forest'?

The etymological material

- PIE **h₂asg-*, is also continued by Armenian *ačiwñ* 'ashes' (EWA; Kroonen 2013)
 - If the etymology is correct, it does not have to be from Northwest Indo-European
 - On the other hand, according to EWA, it is also not completely clear if Germanic **askōn-* 'ashes' really reflects **h₂asg-*
- To conclude, the Indo-European etymology of Finnic **kaski* is uncertain
- Even if the word is indeed borrowed, it does not have to be from Northwest Indo-European

The etymological material

- Fi *kalja* 'beer' < Proto-Finnic **kalja* (cognates in all Finnic languages) ← **h₂al-u-* 'beer' or **h₂al-ew-yo* (Kallio 1998; Koivulehto 2000; 2001)
 - Only the part **kali-* could be explained from Indo-European **h₂al-u-*, Finnic *-*ja* would have to be a derivational suffix but with obscure function
 - Or from **h₂al-ew-yo* that yielded Russian dialectal *oluj* 'beer': however, dubious to project this form so early, even if formally possible

The etymological material

- Problems with the assumed donor: only in Slavic, how old?
- Or is *-ja* a suffix has been assumed? (Ad hoc; what suffix?)
- SSA mentions Fi *kaljeta*, *kaljehtua* 'wane, go flat' as possibly related forms but the derivational relationship remains obscure and the words are only attested in old literary Finnish, not in dialects

The etymological material

- North Saami *guolbba* 'heath' < Proto-Saami *kuolpen < (?) *kalpinV ← *h₂alb^h-(en)- 'white' > German dial. *Alben* 'chalky sand under the top soil', Old Norse *alfr* in place names (Koivulehto 2001)
- Unclear if the Germanic words are related to the root *h₂elb^h- 'white' at all (cf. De Vaan 2008, s.v. *albus*)
- Pinault (2022: 235 footnote 2) reconstructs Indo-European (secondary) root without a laryngeal

The etymological material

- Estonian *teht* 'deed' < ? **tešti* ← **d^heh₁-ti-* > Old High German *tāt* 'deed'
- The rather limited distribution of this form makes an early borrowing dubious
- Some kind of relationship to PFi **teke-* 'make' has been often mentioned (see most recently Hyllested 2014) but this remains obscure

Criticism of further Indo-European etymologies

The etymological material

- SaN *soabbi* ‘stick’ < *sompa or *sampi ← IE *stombhHos >
Sanskrit *stambha*- ‘Saule’ (Sammallahti 2001)
- Sammallahti also notes that the word can be from Indo-Iranian or Baltic
- Compare Fi *sammas*, *sampo* (← Indo-Iranian *stambhHa-, with different substitution of the Indo-Iranian vowel) (Holopainen 2019)

The etymological material

- Fi *eväs*, cognates in Izhorian, Karelian, Ludic, Votic < Proto-Finnic **eväs* ← Proto-Indo-European **yewo-* ‘grain’, Lithuanian *jāvas*, Sanskrit *yava-* etc. (Koivulehto 1985: 85)
 - Lack of **j-* problematic (compare Early PFi **jewä* ← BSl **yewo-*, Kallio 2022)
- A new etymology (Holopainen: in press):
- Proto-Indo-Iranian **awasám* > Sanskrit *avasám* ‘provisions, food’, Avestan *auuan̥ha-* ‘provisions’ (EWAia I: 133; Maggi 2019: 126–127)
- **e* vocalism either a substitution of Indo-Iranian **a* or a reflex of

The etymological material

- SaN *guošši* ‘birch bark basket’, cognates in Aanaar, Skolt, Kildin and Ter Saami < Proto-Saami *kuoššē < Early Proto-Saami *kasja or *kašja ← IE *k^wasyo- > Old Church Slavonic *košъ* ‘basket’ (Sammallahti 2001)
- Sammallahti considers the word “IE or Balto-Slavic”
- The Balto-Slavic source is more likely, as the reconstruction of a Proto-Indo-European *k^wasyo- is disputed (Derksen 2008: 240 considers the connections of Latin *quālum*, *quasillum* of the Slavic word uncertain)

Conclusions

- Most of the Northwest Indo-European etymologies in Saami and Finnic are problematic
- The etymologies that can plausibly be derived from Indo-European rather point to Balto-Slavic or Indo-Iranian source
- The very few remaining possible Northwest Indo-European loans (such as *kaski*) are not enough to postulate a major contact episode

Conclusions

- Criticism of remaining etymologies
- Further research on Indo-Iranian and Baltic influences
- > Prehistoric implications cannot be based on early Indo-European loanwords in Saami and Finnic

Thank you for your attention!

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