

Areal developments in the history of Iranian:
West vs. East

Workshop 7

Discovering (micro-)areal patterns in Eurasia

SLE, 51st Annual Meeting, Tallinn, August 29, 2018

Plan of the talk

0. Preliminaries

1. Iranian in general

2. The Iranian cline: morphosyntax

3. The Iranian cline: phonology

4. The West

5. The East

6. The Northwest “East”

7. Conclusions

0. Preliminaries

Iranic for Iranian

To avoid confusion with terms related to the country or territory of Iran (especially in recent geneticist papers speaking of prehistoric “Iranian” populations almost certainly not “Iranian” in the linguistic sense)

Language data given in IPA

1. Iranian: Attestation and history

Old Iranian

Old Avestan, datable only by relative chronology to ~ before 1000 BCE, followed by Younger Avestan, roughly 1000-500

First securely dated attestation of Iranian: Old Persian inscriptions since 6th century BCE (less conservative language of SW margin)

Middle Iranian languages

West: Middle Persian (SW), Parthian (NW)

“East”: Alanic (N of Caucasus) + unattested steppe varieties

Bactrian, Khwarezmian, Sogdian

Saka: Tumšūqese, Khotanese

1. Iranian: Attestation and history

Modern Iranian

West: SW = Persian (Farsi, Dari, Tajiki), Tat, Baxtiari, Larestani, Kumzari, Baškardi ...

NW = Kurdish, Baloči, Zazaki, Gurani, Caspian (Taleshi, Gilaki ...),
Central ...

East: Ormuri, Parači

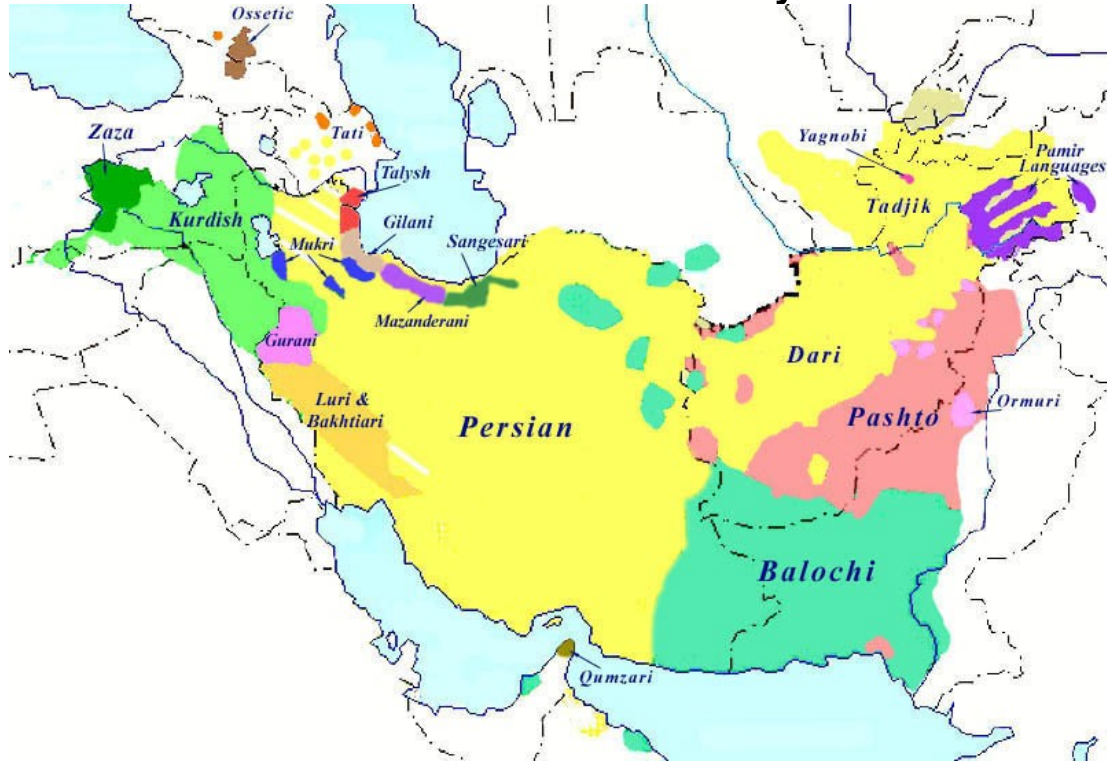
Ossetic; Yajnobi

Pašto; Wanetsi

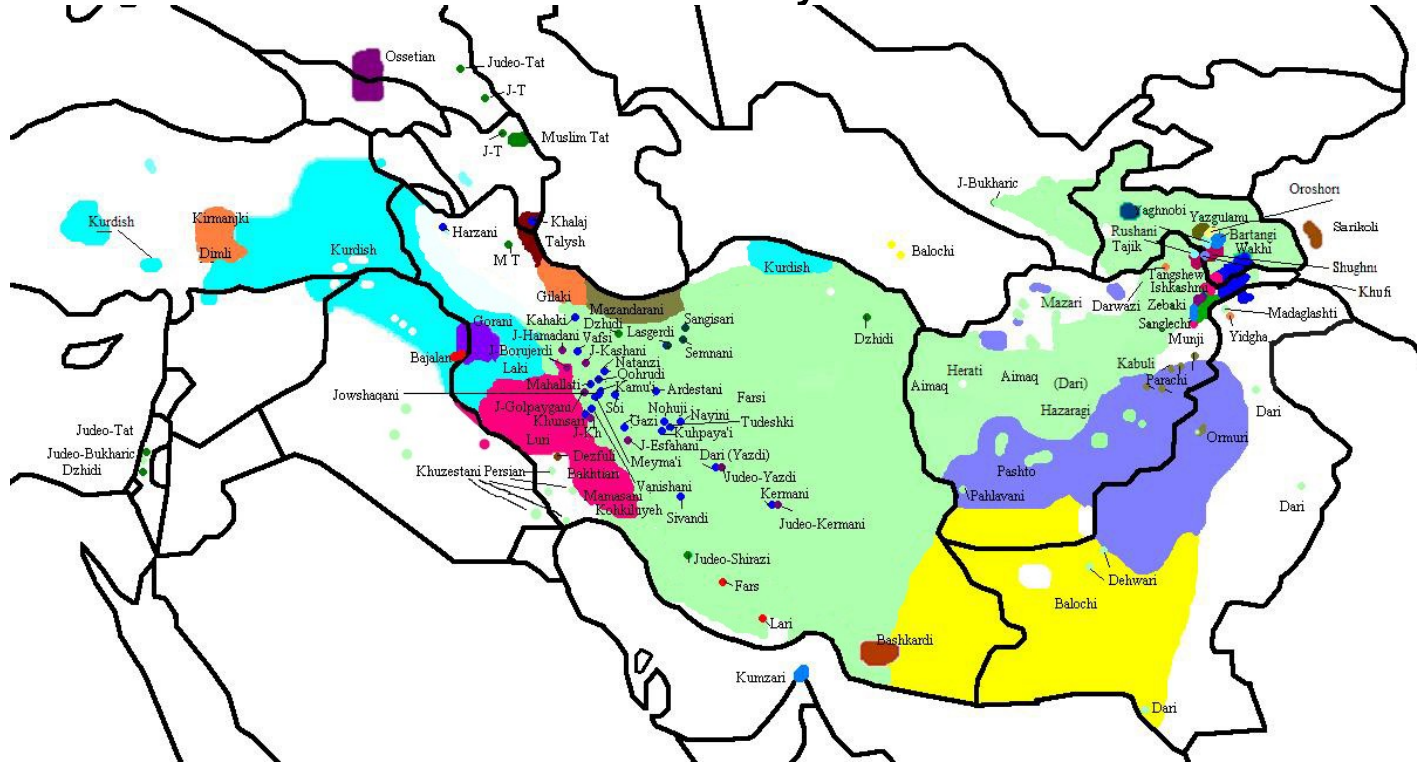
Pamiri: Yidya-Munji; Yazyulami; Šuyuni; Sariqoli
Iškašimi(-Sangleči-Zebaki)

Waxi

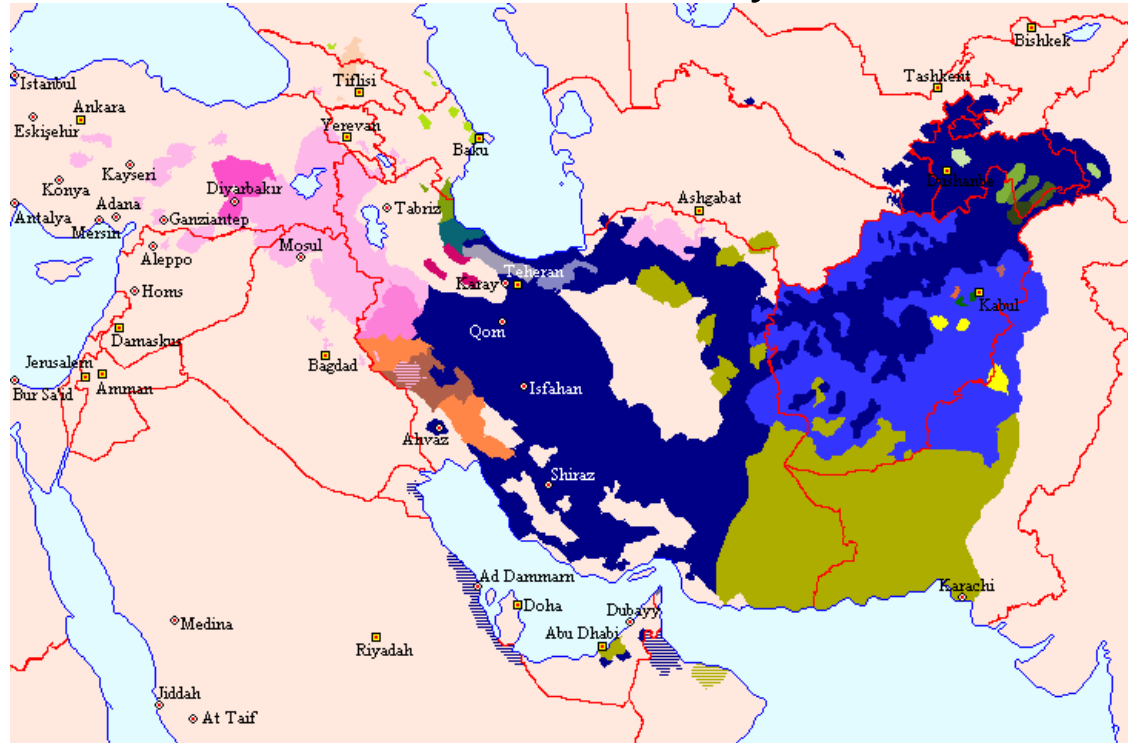
1. Iranian: Attestation and history



1. Iranian: Attestation and history



1. Iranic: Attestation and history



Area of distribution of the Iranian languages

- | | | | |
|--------------|------------|------------|-------------------|
| Dark Blue | Danī | Pink | Zāzā |
| Light Blue | Paštō | Light Pink | Kumanji (Kurdish) |
| Brown | Bachtiyāfi | Pink | Sorāni (Kurdish) |
| Olive Green | Tālyši | Orange | Lūri |
| Light Green | Tāti | Dark Green | Gilāni |
| Light Orange | Iron | Dark Red | Mukfi |
| Grey | Qumzāfi | Grey | Semnāni |
| Yellow-Green | Bālōči | Grey | Māzandarāni |
| Yellow | Omuī | Brown | Munji |
| Dark Green | Parāči | Brown | Yidga |
| Dark Green | Sugnī | Dark Green | Iškāšnī |
| Light Green | Yazgūānī | Dark Green | Waxī |
| Light Green | Sarykōfi | | |
| Light Green | Yagnōbi | | |

1. Iranic: Attestation and history



1. Iranian: Table of languages and groups

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni+	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi+	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central+	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
Baxtiari	Farsi	S-Baškardi					

1. Iranian: Table of languages: West vs. "East"

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni+	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi+	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central+	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči	Wanetsi		Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

Proto-Iranic sound system

Consonants

*p~f *t~θ *ts *tʃ *c *k~x
*b *d *dz *dʒ *ɟ *g
*f? *θ? *s~z *ʃ~ʒ *x? *h
*w *r *j
*m *n

Vowels

*i *u *i:
 *ə? *u:
*a *a:

? = still allophonic?

Common (Old) Iranian sound system

Consonants

p	t			tʃ	k		
b~β	d~ð			dʒ	g~ɣ		
f	θ	s	ʃ	(ç)	x	h	
		z	ʒ	(ʒ)			
w	<input type="text"/>	r		j			
m	n						

Vowels

i	u	iː	uː
<input type="text"/>	*ə?	<input type="text"/>	(eː)
	a		aː
			(oː)

() = only later/dialectal

1. Iranian: Internal classification

Old Iranian varieties: Phonological features

Sanskrit	ç	dʒ/h	çw	dʒw/hw	tw	tr	ʃr	sr	s	tɕj	p
*PIIr.	tʃ	dʒ	tʃw	ʃw	tw	tr	tʃr	sr	s	cj	p
*PIr.	ts	dz	tsw	dzw	θw	θr	tsr	sr	s	cj	p
EN (Saka)	s	z	ʃ	ʒ	θw	θr	sr	hr	h	tɕj	p
WN (Scythian)	s	z	sp	zb	θβ	θr	sr	hr	h	tɕj	f
Avestan	s	z	sp	zb	θβ	θr	sr	θr/hr	h	ɕj	p
Central (W/E)	s	z	sp	zb	θβ	θr	sr	hr	h	ɕj	p
SW (Persian)	θ	d/ð	s	z	θw	ts?	ts?	hr	h	ʃj	p

1. Sound changes in Old Iranian: *ts, *tsw > θ, s / *tsw > ʃ

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

1. Sound changes in Old Iranian: *θr > “<ç>” > **s** / (later?) **ʃ, ʂ** / **ts**

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

1. Sound changes in Old Iranian: *t_ʃ > ʃ

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuy ⁿⁱ	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

1. Sound changes in late Old Iranian: voicing after nasals (reversed)

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyuni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki	Kurdish	Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
		Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

2. The Iranian Cline: Morphosyntax

Old Iranian general type: inflectional, OV+AN, but mostly prepositions

More (radical) grammatical change East > West

Changes already OP vs. Avestan:

Case syncretism: instrumental = ablative

 dative = genitive (cf. Benvenuto & Pompeo 2012)

Merger of all old past categories; new perfect construction > ergative

Continued in Middle Iranian:

 new perfect > ergative perfective (past)

2. The Iranian Cline: Morphosyntax

CF = case forms of nominals; PF = plural formation of nouns; G = gender

VC = (inflected) verbal categories; NP = innovations in noun phrases

	CF	PF	G	VC	NP
Avestan	8		3	13>7	
OPers	6-7		3	5/1	
Saka	6		3	5-4/2	
Sogdian	6/2	aggl.	3>2	5/2	DEM>ART
Alanic	2/4?	aggl.	-?	4/1?	REL>ART
Xwar.	3-4		2	5/1	REL>ART
Bactrian	2>1		2>0	3-4/1	REL>ART
Parthian	2>1		-	3-4/1	(EZA)
MPers	2>1		-	3-4/1	EZA

2. The Iranian Cline: Morphosyntax

Case reduction > direct - oblique (> zero)

Middle Persian, Parthian, Bactrian with later loss

likewise (presumably) in Central dialects, PO., Pamiri

Sogdian in “heavy” stems, Late Khotanese

Oblique preserved as genitive in Baloči, Baškardi (Korn 2017), generally in Kurdish, Zazaki, Caspian; Ossetic, Yaghnobi, Sariqoli, Waxi, Pastho, YM

Gender: reduction to 2 (m/f), loss

2. Morphosyntax: Loss of gender(s): 0 (2) 2 3>2

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
Caspian		Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

2. Morphosyntax: Nominal case: 8 > 6 > ~4 > 2 > (2) > 0

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyuni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

2. The Iranian Cline: Morphosyntax

Agglutinative plural suffix < abstract-collective *-tā-*:

Northern (Alanic, Scythian, Sogdian) - contact with Uralic, Turkic?

Relative pronoun REL *ya-* as determinative/linker

in Late Avestan, Old Persian similar to Akkadian, Aramaic

> definite article DEF (> prefix): Western “East”

> *ezafe* construction EZA: mostly (South-)West

DEF from (distal) DEM: (North-)East

2. Morphosyntax: Agglutinative plural

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian		<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

2. Morphosyntax: DEF from REL / DEM, Ezafe

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

2. The Iranian Cline: Morphosyntax

Verbal system

New “perfect” > past form with **-ta-* with ergative constructions (Jügel 2015); loss of old preterits (with “augment” prefix *a-*) except N

Avoided by new non-ergative constructions with transitive verbs: N with “active” participle: Khotanese

with transitive auxiliary (HAVE): Alanic, Xwarezmian, Sogdian

Loss of ergativity: S (Persian) - Turkic influence?

Spread (?) to Southern Pamir

2. The Iranian Cline: Morphosyntax

(Again) new perfect construction with **-ta-ka-* + copula
+ frequent evidential function under Turkic influence?

“Potential” constructions with **kar-* MAKE/ **baw-* BECOME
+ participle/infinitive: Saka, Waxi, Sogdian, Xwarezmian, Munji

Future with *kām* (< ‘wish’): Sogdian, Xwarezmian

2. Morphosyntax: Loss of old finite preterit (with *a-)

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

2. Morphosyntax: ergativity: preserved / avoided / lost

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyuni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

2. Morphosyntax: new perfect with **-taka-* (+evidential)

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyuni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. The Iranian Cline: Morphosyntax and Phonology

Connection of more radical grammatical change to (word) boundary-sensitive vs. -insensitive changes (Kümmel 2013)

Explanation: communication highlighting lexemes rather than grammatical items = strong language contact, many L2 speakers

Western Iranian: prestige languages of empires with many diverse languages

Eastern Iranian: less contact to non-Iranian

Sogdian = Silk Road “lingua franca”, but actually spoken?

Saka: marginal, much outer contact = L2 speakers?

3. The Iranian Cline: Phonology

Pre- and Common Middle Iranian

Internal (allophonic) *b, d, g* > *β, đ, γ* already YAv. OPers.

mp, nt, nk > *mb, nd, ng* (except Baloči) already late OPers.

often merger with old *mb, nd, ng*

but preceded by *mb, nd* > *mm* in MP, *mb* > *m* in Saka

Stage reflected by bulk of loanwords into Armenian + Pahlavi spelling

3. The Iranian Cline: Phonology

Western Iranian except Baloči (NW), S-Baškardi (SW, cf. Korn 2017)

Boundary-sensitive changes

Internal lenition: $-\beta, -\delta, -\gamma > w, j, w/j$ (late in Parthian)

$-p, -t, -k > b, d, g$

later (new) $-b, -d, -g > \beta/v, \delta, \gamma$

Kurdish $-f, -s, -\text{ʃ} > v, z, \text{ʒ}$

Partial initial fortition: MP $w- > g^w, j- > dʒ$

Kurdish also $f-, \theta-, x- > p^h, t^h, k^h$

Loss of final syllables

3. The Iranian Cline: Phonology

Eastern(most) exception: Saka, esp. Khotanese; Ormuri-Parači

Boundary-sensitive changes

Internal lenition: Kh. $-\beta, -\delta, -\gamma > w, \emptyset, \emptyset$

Kh. $-p, -t, -k > b, d, g > \beta, \delta, \gamma > w, \delta > \emptyset, \gamma > \emptyset$

$-f, -\theta, -x > h$

Initial fortition: $w- > \text{Kh. } g/b; \text{O-P. } *y^w; y- > j > \text{Kh. } dz; \text{O-P. } *dz$

$\beta, \delta, \gamma > b, d, g$ (if not preserved)

$f, \theta, x > \text{Kh. Par. } p^h, t^h, k^h$

Late loss of final syllables

3. Sounds: Lenition of *b, d, g* only internal (by reversal?)

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki	Kurdish	Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
		Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: loss of final syllables (**complete** / **partial**)

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: initial fortition of glides

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: initial fortition of voiceless fricatives

(except if only $\theta > t$)

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči			Wanetsi	Ormuri	
		S-Baškardi					

3. The Iranian Cline: Phonology

Eastern Iranian (except Ormuri-Parači? Reversal in Saka):

Boundary-insensitive changes

General/initial lenition:

ft, xt > vd, γd

b, d, g > β/v, ð, γ except after (homorganic) nasals

= extension of older internal lenition to initial position

exception: Alanic-Ossetic *b-*

general loss of *h*

No general loss of final syllables (less and less from west to east)

3. Sound changes: Lenition of *ft, xt*

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki	Kurdish	Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
		Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: Lenition of initial *d, g* (reversed?)

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki	Kurdish	Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
		Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: Lenition of initial *b* (reversed?)

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki	Kurdish	Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
		Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: Loss of *h*-

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: Initial *dʒ- > ʒ

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. The Iranian Cline: Phonology

Later internal lenition (voicing) of voiceless obstruents:
widespread in both West and East

p, t except Sogdian-Yaynobi, Waxi

tʃ/ts > dʒ/dz except Sogdian-Yaynobi, Iškašimi?, Waxi, Parači

k except Sogdian-Yaynobi, Iškašimi, Waxi, Parači-Ormuri

f/ɸ > ʒ/ʒ̣ only Kurdish; Pashto, YM, Pamiri, Saka (but not Waxi)

f > v; s > z only (partly) Kurdish

3. Sound changes: Internal lenition p, t > b, d (> ...)

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: Internal lenition k > g (> ...)

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: Internal lenition tʃ/ts > dʒ/dz (> ...)

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki	Kurdish	Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
		Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: Internal lenition $\int/\ʃ > ʒ/z (> \dots)$

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: internal *-θ- > h

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: initial *θ- > h

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. The Iranian Cline: Phonology

Other areal features of or within Eastern Iranian

**sr* > *ʂ/ʃ*, cf. NW Indo-Aryan

Depalatalization of affricates *tʃ* > *ts*, *dʒ* > *dz*; cf. NW Indo-Aryan

Velarization of *ʂ/z* > *x/ɣ* etc.

Introduction of retroflex stops: Indo-Aryan neighbourhood

Postalveolar contrast in sibilants / affricates: Hindukush area

“Lambdacism” **δ* > *l* (vs. more widespread **rδ* > *l*): cf. Nuristanic Vasivari, NW Indo-Aryan (for original lenited **t*)

3. Sound changes: *sr > ʃ/ʒ

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki	Kurdish	Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
		Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: tʃ > ts

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: dʒ- > dz-

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: *š, z > ç/x, j/γ

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki	Kurdish	Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
		Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound patterns: retroflex stops

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound patterns: more than two sibilant places (≈ retroflex sibilants)

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound patterns: more than **one** or **two** affricate places (≈ retroflex affricates)

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: *δ > l

(**not** in Sogdian, cf. Lurje & Yakubovich 2017)

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyuni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči	Wanetsi		Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: *rδ > l,ʎ

Alanic	-Ossetic	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. The Iranian Cline: Phonology

Contrastive stop aspiration: N Kurdish/Zazaki; Saka, Parači
cf. neighbouring Indo-Aryan and Caucasus

Pharyngeals and pharyngealized sounds (except in loans):
Zazaki, Gurani, Kurdish
cf. Arabic and Aramaic

Uvular stops: widespread in Arabic elements and other loans
rarer in inherited material (ɤ > ɠ change): Ossetic, Persian, S-Tat

Contrast of [ɾ/ɽ] vs. “long” [r]: Kurdish, Zazaki, Gurani; Saka; cf. Armenian
Retroflex r: Baloči, Pashto, Yidya-Munji, Parači; cf. Indo-Aryan

3. Sound patterns: aspiration contrast in stops (ejectives)

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound patterns: pharyngeals/pharyngealization

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound patterns: uvular stops (**borrowed** / **native**)

Alanic	-Ossetic	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound patterns: contrasting rhotics: **r / r** or **r / ɾ**

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. The Iranian Cline: Phonology

Vowel developments

Fronting of low short vowel /a/ > æ,ɛ Western

Retraction/rounding of low vowels: /a:/ > ɔ:,ɔ:,o: widespread (E>W)

/a/ > e,ɔ,o,u Eastern

Centralization of high vowels: mostly Eastern

Stronger use of umlaut in grammar: Eastern

(Raising of long mid vowels)

(Fronting of high back vowel)

3. Sound changes: **Fronting** vs. **backing** of a

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: Backing/rounding of \bar{a}

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: Centralization of *i

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: Umlaut in grammar **weak** > **strong**

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami	Tocharian	Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: Raising of ē

Alanic	-Ossetic	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami		Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: Raising of \bar{o}

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami		Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

3. Sound changes: Fronting of ū

Alanic	<i>-Ossetic</i>	(Scythian)	Sogdian	Yaynobi	Yazyulami		Tumšuq
	Caspian	Xwarezmian	Avestan	<i>Tajiki</i>	Šuyni	Sariqoli	Khotan
Zazaki		Parthian	Bactrian	<i>Dari</i>	Iškašimi	Waxi	Burušaski
	Kurdish	Central	Pashto		Munji	Yidya	Nuristani
Gurani					Parači	Indo-Aryan	
Tat	Persian	Baloči		Wanetsi	Ormuri		
		S-Baškardi					

4. The West

Areal connections

Elamite

E Semitic (Akkadian)

NW Semitic (Aramaic)

Hurrian-Urartian

Old Armenian

Georgian

Later: Arabic

Turkic (Oghuz)

4. The West

Areal trends

Prefinal accent + loss of final syllables > final accent

also in NW Semitic, late Akkadian, Armenian

Spread of pharyngeals and pharyngealization from Semitic:

Kurdish, Zazaki

Ergative alignment or indexing/flagging

also in Armenian (only perfect, lost); Neo-Aramaic

Loss of ergativity

Persian and other varieties, influenced by Arabic and Turkic?

4. The West

Reduction of inflection

Loss of gender: except in Zazaki, Kurdish

Loss of case: except in Zazaki, Kurdish, Baloči; Armenian

Attributive linker construction (*ezafe*): Persian+, Kurdish (infl.), Zazaki (infl.); traces in NW EIr.

Indefinitive (specific) suffix/article: Persian, Zazaki, Kurdish

Definite suffix/article: Sorani, Southern Kurdish

5. The East

Areal connections

Tocharian (IE but highly different)

NW Middle Indo-Aryan (Iir., only in SE)

Old and later SW/SE Turkic

Tibetan, Old Chinese

Areal trends: phonology

Centralization of high vowels (also in Tocharian)

Stronger umlaut (also in Tocharian, but rather different in details)

Backing of low vowels (also Nuristanic)

5. The East

Areal trends

Late and partial loss of noun inflection:

Bactrian; less in Xwarezmian; phonologically conditioned in Sogdian

Article from relative: W = Bactrian, Khwarezmian
adjacent to NW (Alanic)

Article from (distal) demonstrative: Sogdian, Pamiri

Agglutinative plural (suffix **-tā-*): Sogdian, cf. NW (Scythian-Alanic)
influence of Uralic / Turkic

6. The Northwest “East”

= Alanic - Ossetic

Areal connections

NW and NE Caucasian

(Later:) South Caucasian

Slavic

East Germanic

Areal trends

Development of ejectives

aspirated voiceless stops vs. unaspirated geminates

6. The Northwest “East”

Morphosyntactic developments

= Eastern: agglutinative number/case marking

DEF (prefix) from relative

(Not many) additional local cases with distinction of inessive vs. adessive

Development of directional prefixes

Well-preserved verbal system but loss/avoidance of ergative tendencies

7. Concluding remarks: potential (micro)areals

West: Difference of S (Persian) vs. N decreases

“East” to be split:

Caucasian areal = NW

Northern areal = NW + Sogdian (+ Xwarezmian)

Tarim “areal” = Saka

Pamir areal

Hindukush areal

Southern areal = South Asian influence

Transitional phenomena

mutually overlapping

Thank you for your attention!

Tänan teid tähelepanu eest!