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SOME NEW CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STOCK OF BALTIC LOANWORDS IN FINNIC LANGUAGES

1. Finnish *jutta*

Fi. *jutta*, gen. *jutan* means 'Jochriemen (zur Befestigung des Jochs an die Hörner des Ochsen)'. The Estonian counterpart *jutt*, gen. *juta* has the same meaning. There exists in Finnish a dialectal variant *juta* and a derivative *jude*, gen. *juteen* derived from this. In Estonian we have besides *jutt* also *jute*, gen. *jutte*, which is derived from *jutt*. It is obvious that Fi. *jutta* and Est. *jutt* are continuants of the original Proto-Finnic form. The Fi. variant *juta* seems to be due to analogy. The analogy is made possible by the fact that words distinguished only by the contrast of single as opposed to double stop have in some dialect areas become identical in certain forms which can only have double stops. Thus, e. g. the partitive singular *juttaa* may be associated with a nom. sg. *juta* or *jutta*. A similar analogic form in these dialects is *kato* 'roof' instead of the regular *katto*.

The etymological dictionary of the Finnish language (SKES = Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja, Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae, Helsinki) lists two entries: *jutta*¹ 'Jochriemen' and *jutta*² 'Streifen'. At the end of the entry *jutta*² the author of the volume in question, Y. H. Toivonen, suggests: "perhaps = *jutta*¹". Phonetically and even semantically this might be conceivable, but it does not seem convincing. Taking into consideration the fact that the Finnic word for 'ox', *härkä*, is a loanword from Baltic, it might be worth while to look for a possible Baltic etymology for *jutta* 'Jochriemen'. Heikki Ojansuu was the first to attempt this. He tried to derive *jutta* from Baltic *jūngtas* (Ojansuu writes *jūnktas*)¹. This Baltic form is, however, as already assumed by Thomsen (and accepted by Ojansuu), the source of Fi. *juhta* 'beast of burden, draught animal'. It is difficult to derive both *juhta* and *jutta* from *jūngtas*. SKES has, therefore, not accepted the hypothesis of Ojansuu.

But there may have existed a Baltic form which could have given *jutta* in Finnic. The Baltic loanwords in Finnic are very old and it is, therefore, quite possible that the form which was borrowed into Finnic may not occur any more in the contemporary Baltic languages. As for *jutta*, it might be possible to derive it from a hypothetical Baltic **jutas*, cf. Sanskrit participle *yutá-*: *yáuti*, *yuváti* 'bindet an, schirrt

¹ H. Ojansuu. Lisiä suomalais-balttilaisiin kosketuksiin. — „Suomi“, 1921, IV(20), p. 8.

² It is unlikely that *jutta* could be of Aryan origin (cf. Sanskrit partic. *yutá-*. In an Aryan loanword we would expect *t* (not *tt*) for Aryan *t* (cf. Fi. *sata* 'hundred' ~ Sanskrit *śatám*). Furthermore, the use of draught-oxen among the ancestors of the Proto-Finns is evidently of a much later date. Therefore, we cannot assume that a term connected with ox-harnessing could have been borrowed during the Aryan contacts.

an'. The IE base **ieū-* 'verbinden' is amply represented in Baltic even to-day; cf. e. g. Latv. *jūtis* 'Gelenk, Scheideweg' (*'Verbindung'), *jūtavas* 'Kreuz im Rücken', Lith. *jautis* 'Ochs' (*'der Angespante'), *jūngti* 'ins Joch spannen, verbinden, vereinigen', *jūngas* 'Joch', *jaugtas* 'Riemen zum Festbinden des Jochs', Latv. *jūgt* 'spannen', *jūgs* 'Joch'. It is worthy of note that many of these derivatives are part of the terminology connected with the use of oxen as draught animals. As to the ablaut-alternation *jūtis* *'Verbindung': **jutas*, cf. e. g. Lith. *būti* 'sein, werden', *būtis* 'Dasein, Existenz': *būtas* 'Wohnung, Haus' (Fraenkel, Lit. et. Wb. I, p. 68).

Thus, it seems possible to assume that there may have existed a form **jutas* in Baltic, a counterpart to Sanskrit *yutá-*. From such a Baltic form Finnic *jutta* 'Jochriemen' may have been borrowed².

2. Finnic *kausta*

This word denotes 'die oberen Enden der Streben verbindendes Holz in Kufenrichtung am Arbeitsschlitten'; i. e., it has the same meaning as Latv. *uzkala*. It occurs in the following Finnic languages: Fi. *kausta*, Karelian *kaušta*, *kaustu*, Veps *kaustaz*, *skaustaz*, *koustaz*, Votic *kaussa*, Est. *kaust*, Livonian *kōsta*: partit. sg. *koūstâ*. The meaning of the Liv. word is 'Querholz am Schlitten'. The same meaning occurs in some South Estonian dialects. From Fi. the word was borrowed into Lapp: LpN *gaws'ta* 'either of the two long wooden bars of a sleigh, exactly over the runners'.

Since the word for 'sledge', Fi. *reki*, Est. *regi* etc. is a Baltic borrowing (cf. Lith. *rāgēs*, Latv. *ragus*, *ragavas*; see Thomsen BFB, pp. 210–211; Samlede Afhandlinger IV, p. 364), it would seem possible that *kausta* could have been borrowed from the same source. Finnic *kausta* could be derived from the Baltic word occurring in Latvian in the form *skausts* 'Rückenkreuz, Widerrist am Halse des Pferdes, der Nacken eines Tieres'. Baltic nouns ending in *-as* occur in Finnic with the ending *-a*, *-ä*, e. g. Fi. *kauha* 'ladle' (Balt. *kaušas*), Fi. *kaula*, dial. *kakla* 'neck' (*kaklas*), or in other cases ending in *-as*, *-äs*, e. g. Fi. *hammas* 'tooth' (*žam̄bas*), Fi. *ratas* 'wheel' (*rātas*), Fi. *seiväs* 'stake, pole' (*stiebas*). Sometimes both types are represented in the same word: Fi. *rastas*, Est. *räästas* 'thrush', but Votic *rassa*, Liv. *raštà* id. (*strāzdas*). The same duplicity occurs in the counterparts of Baltic **skaustas*: Fi. *kausta* but Veps *kaustaz*.

As regards the difference in meaning between Fi. *kausta* and Latv. *skausts*, it should be noted that parts of a sledge have often got their names from words denoting parts of the body. Thus, Lith. *rāgēs* itself is derived from *rāgas* 'horn'. In Fi. we have *sepä* 'hochgebogener Vorderteil des Schlittens'; the original meaning of *sepä* is 'neck'. The runner of a sledge is called *jalas* in Fi., a derivative of *jal-ka* 'foot, leg'. *Kainalovitsat* (pl.), literally 'Bänder unter dem Arm', denote 'Rutenbänder, die die hochgebogenen Kufenenden mit den Seitenstängen des Schlittens verbinden' (= Latv. *atsaites*). It would not be surprising if the wooden bars over the runners of a sledge have received a name the original meaning of which was 'Nacken, Widerrist; nape, back of the neck, withers'. The fact that Latv. *skausts* does not belong to the terms denoting parts of a sledge does not exclude the pos-

sibility that *kausta* may be borrowed from *skausts*. The Baltic word may have been used as a name for what is now called *uzkala* in Latvian, or it may have received this meaning in the borrowing language thereby losing its original meaning³.

3. Finnic *ketara*

This word, too, belongs to the words signifying parts of a sledge. The main meaning of the word is 'Strebe am Schlitten', i. e. what is called *mietne* in Latvian. The word occurs in the following Finnic languages: Fi. *ketara*, Votic *keʹara*, Liv. *keʹddârz*, *kiʹdrâz*, *küʹdrâz* 'Strebe am Schlitten', Est. *kodar*, *kõdar* 'Strebe am Schlitten, Speiche am Rade'.

Y.H. Toivonen in SKES compares *ketara* hesitatingly with LpN *gattër*, LpKld. *kãder*, etc. 'pes phocae anterior', MordE *kodoro*, M *kodârks* 'Stengel (des Hopfens, der Gurke, des Kartoffelkrautes)'. According to Toivonen, the Lapp word would presuppose a Finnic form **katara*. Even semantically this comparison does not seem very convincing.

Since *reki* and *kausta* seem to be of Baltic origin, it would not be surprising if *ketara*, too, would prove to be a Baltic loanword. It seems that Lith. *keterà*, *kẽtaras*, *sketerà* 'Widerrist (des Pferdes), Bergrücken, Gebirgskamm' (Fraenkel, p. 244) could be the word from which *ketara* may have been borrowed. S. v. *sketerà* (p. 803) Fraenkel gives additional information on the meaning of this word: „*sketerà* 'Bergrücken, Gebirgskamm' und wie *sketẽlis* (dial.) '(Rücken)kamm (des Schweines), Buckel (bei Tieren), Widerrist (bei Pferden), Borsten am (Rücken)kamm (des Schweines), Buckelhaare (bei Tieren), Haare am Hinterkopf (bei Menschen)““. Lith. (Daukantas) *sketers* has, according to Leskien (Bildung der Nomina, p. 444) the meaning 'dünne Stange am Strohdache'. The corresponding Latvian word *šķeteri* (pl.) has the same meaning: 'die dünnen Stangen im Strohdach'.

Phonetically, the Lith. variants *kẽtaras* and (Senn-Salys) *skẽtaras* correspond exactly to Fi. *ketara*, Votic *keʹara*. The first syllable vowel in Est. *kodar* is due to a special analogic development. The regular Est. form is *kõdar* which is preserved in the southern dialects.

As to the meaning, one has to admit that it is not immediately clear how a word denoting 'Widerrist, Bergrücken, Gebirgskamm' etc. could have received the meaning of 'post in a sledge (between the runners and the parallel side rails above them)'. But the original meaning of *ketara* appears to have been not the upright post alone but 'a pair of posts together with the cross-bar uniting the two posts'. This has been pointed out especially by Helmut Hagar⁴. This meaning does still occur in certain western dialects of Finnish. Hagar writes: „Daß *ketara* als Komplexbenennung hier als primär angesehen werden soll, wird auch dadurch bestätigt, daß dasselbe Wort oft nur auf die klotzartige Querverbindung beschränkt erscheint, während die Ständer selbst dann auf irgendeiner anderen Weise bezeichnet werden. Und wenn man dann zuletzt der angenommenen Komplexbenennung

³ This etymology of *kausta* was first published by the present author in the journal „Virittäjä“, 1970, p. 165–167 (in Finnish, with a short summary in German).

⁴ H. Hagar. Der osteuropäische Arbeitsschlitten bei den Ostseefinnen. – „Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen“, 1960, B. 33, S. 242–243.

ketara die entsprechende Komplexkonstruktion, namentlich die schon oben behandelte Astständerkonstruktion, an die Seite stellt, und dabei findet, daß auch diejenige bloß mit *ketara* bezeichnet wird, muß man die Annahme für möglich halten, daß das Wort als Ständerbenennung ursprünglich eben eine Astständerkonstruktion bezeichnet hat. Eine Konstruktion also, wo die Ständer und Querverbindung entweder aus einem einzigen Stücke hergestellt sind, oder auch das ganze derart aus zwei Hälften zusammengesetzt ist, daß irgendwelche Grenze zwischen den Ständern und der Querverbindung technisch nicht zu unterscheiden ist“.

If we now take into account the original meaning and shape of *ketara*, it becomes clear that for a *ketara* of this type a word denoting 'Widerrist, Gebirgskamm, Bergrücken' was a fitting name.

It is possible that Lith. *kētaras*, too, may have been used as the name for that part of a primitive sledge which was called *ketara* in Finnic. If so, *kētaras* may have lost this meaning when the corresponding part of a sledge was no longer made from a single piece of wood, with boughs serving as posts, but rather from three different pieces. In Finnic, except in certain Finnish dialects, *ketara* after this development came to signify an upright post only. At this stage it was possible for Est. *kodar* to receive the additional meaning 'spoke in a wheel'.

As regards the meaning of the Baltic word we should also note the sense of Lith. *sketers*, Latv. (pl.) *šķeteri* 'die dünnen Stangen im Strohdach'. The dictionaries available to me do not give a closer explanation, but it seems that the *šķeteri* probably signify what in Estonian is called *harimalgad* 'die über dem First des Strohdaches liegenden Kreuzhölzer'. Such *Kreuzhölzer*, also called *Reiter* in German, may to some extent remind one of a *Bergrücken* or *Gebirgskamm* and may have received their Baltic name because of this.

In that area of Finland where the word for a sledge post is *kaplas* or *kaulas*, *ketara* in some places signifies the fore part of a sledge, or the curved end of a runner. To explain this change of meaning we may assume that *ketara* was once known also in this area in the meaning of 'complex *ketara*', i. e. two opposing sledge-posts together with the uniting cross-bar. When this type of *ketara* was superseded by the eastern *kaplas* type, the old name was retained in the name for the fore part of a sledge which, with the cross-bar uniting the ends of the runners, may in its outward appearance have been somewhat similar to the old *ketara*.

4. Liv. *kilândâks*

This Livonian word denotes 'Kropf der Vögel'. Two villages have *kilân* and one of them also *kilù* id. Lauri Kettunen in his *Livisches Wörterbuch* considers, with hesitation, the word to be of onomatopoeic origin. It seems, however, rather obvious that *kilândâks* is a Baltic loanword. It is borrowed from *skilândis* which occurs at present only in Lithuanian and has the meaning of 'Wurst-, Schwartenmagen, Magenwurst'. The sense of the Lith. word does not correspond exactly to the Livonian meaning. It should, however, be noted that Lith. *skilvis*, which is derived from the same base, denotes 'Magen (dial. 'Vogelmagen'), Kropf'. This derivative occurs in Latvian also: *škilvis*, *škilmis*, *škillis* 'Magen der Vögel'.

Liv. *kilàndâks* is not a recent loanword. Baltic *sk-* is represented by *k-* only, because initial consonant clusters were not permitted in the Livonian phonological system at that period. A form corresponding to Lith. *skilândis* obviously existed earlier in Latvian (Curonian) dialects also. *kilàndâks* must have been borrowed from a Latvian form with a preserved nasal consonant. A similar case is Liv. *palàndâks* 'dove' < Baltic *balandis*, cf. Lith. *balāndis*, Latv. *balodis* id.

Final *-ks* in *kilàndâks* is due to an analogical generalization in Livonian. The same phenomenon occurs also in *palàndâks* and, e. g., in a Christian name like *Añdrâks* 'Andreas'. The Liv. forms *kilàn*, *kilù* are probably back-formations; *-(n)dâks* in *kilàndâks* may have been interpreted as a Livonian suffix; cf. also Latv. *kila*, *kilvis* 'der Hühnermagen, der Hühnerkropf'.

5. Fi. *lahti*

This word has the following cognates in Finnic: Fi. *lahti*, gen. *lahden* (Schroderus 1637 *laaxi* = *laaksi*, Ganander 1786 iness. pl. *laxisa*), Kar. *lakši*, gen. *lahen*, KarOlon. *lahti*, gen. *lahten*, Veps *laht*, gen. *lahten*, Votic *lahti*, gen. *lahē*, Est. *laht*, gen. *lahe*. The meaning is 'bay, gulf, cove, inlet'. There exists a corresponding word in Lapp also: LpN *luok¹tâ* 'creek, inlet, bay'.

SKES gives, with a question mark, Vogul *looh* 'Bucht', Ostyak *lōk*, *lōk⁵* 'lange, schmale Bucht' as etymological cognates of *lahti*. There are some phonetical difficulties. The Finnic word goes back to **lakte*, but in the Vogul and Ostyak word we do not have the regular correspondents of Finno-Ugric **kt*. The Ostyak initial *l*-sound is of a type which occurs only very seldom in words of Finno-Ugric origin⁶.

In Baltic we have a word from which Finnic **lakte* could have been borrowed. The word I have in mind is Lith. *lañktis*, gen. *lañkčio* 'Henkel, Bügel; Garnwinde, Haspel', OPr. *lanctis* 'creugel' (= 'Gabel mit hakenförmiger Spitze'), Latv. *lanktis* (pl.), *lanktes* 'Garnwinde, Garnhaspel'. Endzelīns considers the Latvian form to be „ein Kuronismus“.

Lith. *lañktis* is connected with *leñkti* 'neigen, beugen, biegen, krümmen' (Fraenkel s. v. *leñkti*). Phonetically, there are no difficulties to derive Early Proto-Finnic **lakte* from *lañktis*, *-čio*. As regards the vowel of the second syllable, one may compare e. g. Baltic *lāšis*, *-šio* ~ Early Proto-Finnic **loše* (> Late Proto-Finnic *lohi*) 'salmon', Baltic *ožys*, *-žio* ~ Early Proto-Finnic **vōše* (> Late Proto-Finnic **vōhi*) 'goat'.

Prior to the Late Proto-Finnic period nasal consonants were lost before a syllable-final stop. This accounts for the change **lankte* > **lakte*; cf. Fi. *juhta* < **jukta* < **juñkta* ~ Baltic *jūngtas*. The subsequent Proto-Finnic development was **lakte* > **lakti* > *laksi*, i. e. *-e* > *-i* in final position and *ti* > *si*. After these changes *kt* > *ht* between the first and second syllable (except in the South Estonian dialect area). We thus got *laksi*, gen. *lahten* in Late Proto-Finnic. In most Finnic languages the alternation *ks* ~ *ht* was levelled out in this word and *ht* was generalized.

⁵ The Vogul and Ostyak words are given here in a simplified transcription.

⁶ E. Itkonen. Die Laut- und Formenstruktur der finnisch-ugrischen Grundsprache. — „Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher“, 1962, H. 34, S. 194.

We now come to the problem of meaning. Is it possible semantically to derive *lahti* 'bay, gulf, creek' from Baltic *lanctis*? I am inclined to answer this question in the affirmative. As already mentioned, Baltic *lañkti* is connected with the verb *leñkti* 'neigen, beugen, biegen, krümmen'. In many languages words denoting 'bay' have been derived from verbs having the same meaning as *leñkti*. To mention a few examples, German *Bucht* is connected with *biegen*, Eng. *bight* with OE *būgan*, Mod. Eng. *bow*. In Baltic we have Latv. (*jūras*) *līcis* denoting 'bay' and etymologically connected with *leñkti* (Latv. *līkt* 'sich biegen', Lith. *liñkti*), cf. also Latv. *meža līcis* 'eine Krümmung am Waldrande, namentlich Uferkrümmung an Bächen'. Furthermore, Lith. *įlanka* 'Bucht, Meerbusen', Latv. *lunka* 'Meeresbucht' (> Liv. *lūnka* 'Bucht'). Such a semantic development is easy to understand: a bay is a bend or curve in a coastline. In Slavic we find Russ. *лука* 'Biegung, Krümmung', Old Russ. *лука* 'Krümmung, Bucht', Russ. *лукоморье* 'Meerbusen'.

Lith. *lañktis* 'Henkel, Bügel, Haspel', OPr. *lanctis*, Latv. *lanctis* denote things for which or for parts of which a bend or curve is characteristic. As regards the Latvian word see e. g. Bielenstein, *Die Holzbauten der Letten*, p. 388, fig. 397. There would not be anything surprising if such a word was also used to denote a bend of coastline, i. e. a bay. This may already have happened in Baltic before the word was borrowed into Proto-Finnic.

From Proto-Finnic the word was borrowed into Lapp: **lakte* > LpN *luok'tâ*. Russ. dial. *лахта* 'kleine Meeresbucht' is a loanword from Finnic languages.

6. Fi. *ohdake*

This word has the following counterparts in Finnic: Fi. *ohdake*, dial. *ohjake*, *ohjakka*, *ohtainen*, *ohtajainen*, Kar. *ohtahane*, *ohtajaiñi*, KarOlon. *ohtoi*, Ludic *ohfikaz*, *ohfikkahaine*, Votic *ēhgan*, gen. *ēhkalē*, Est. *ohakas*, dial. *ohak*, *ōhakas*, *uhakas*, *ohte*, *ohdje*, *ohjtjas* 'thistle', Liv. *u'ogâz* (< **ohta-*) 'Granne, kleine Gräte'.

The name for this plant has no genetic cognates outside the Finnic languages. The basic stem appears to have been *ohta* < **ošta-*, to which various Finnic suffixes have been added⁷. Proto-Finnic **ošta-* could be of Baltic origin. The Finnic name for the thistle may be due to the thorniness of the plant. The Baltic source-word could in that case be connected with such Baltic words as Lith. *ašakà* 'Fischgräte, Kleie', Latv. *asaka* id., Lith. *āšatas*, *āšutas*, *ašatỹs* 'Pferdehaar aus Mähne und Schweif', Lith. *ašuōtė* 'Pfriemengras', Latv. *ašķis* 'Haare des Pferdeschweifs', Latv. *aste*, (Glück) *asta* 'Schwanz'. Phonetically closest to **ošta-* comes the Latv. form *asta* < **ašta*. As regards the meaning, attention should be drawn to the sense of Lith. *ašakà* 'Fischgräte, Kleie'. It should also be noted that this Baltic stem is connected with such Slavic cognates as Russ. *ость* 'Granne an Ähren, langes Haar im Pelzwerk', and especially that Russ. *осот* 'Distel' has exactly the same meaning as the Finnic word. Liv. *u'ogâz* 'Granne, kleine Gräte' may have preserved the ori-

⁷ L. Kettunen in *Kalevalaseuran Vuosikirja* 43 (Helsinki 1963) assumes that *ohta-* 'thistle' is connected with Fi. *ohto* 'bear'. This is, however, not possible since *ht* in *ohto* goes back to **kt*, as shown by Liv. *okš* (< **okti*) 'bear', EstS *ott* (*tt* < *kt*). The word for 'thistle' has in EstS dialects the form *ohlja(s)*, which cannot be a borrowing from northern dialects, because such a form does not occur there.

ginal meaning of the Baltic stem. According to Hupel Est. *ohakas* means also 'Stachel an Ähren'.

Baltic *a* of the initial syllable is represented by *o* in Finnic. We have the same treatment in Finnic *olut* 'beer' < Baltic, cf. Lith. *alus*, Latv. *alus*, OPr. *alu*. Because of the first syllable *o* the Baltic origin of *olut* seems more likely than the possibility of a Germanic borrowing (cf. Germanic **alub* > Anglo-Saxon *ealu*, Eng. *ale*, Swedish *öl*, etc.). For a recent treatment of the problem Baltic *a* ~ Finnic *o*, see Stang, Vergl. Gr. d. balt. Sprachen, p. 23–25. For different opinions concerning the origin of Finnic *olut*, see Joki MSFOu. 151, pp. 294–295.

In this connection it may be of interest to note that the Finnic name of another prickly plant is likewise borrowed from Baltic: Fi. *takiainen*, Est. *tagijas*, *takjas*, etc. 'Klette' < Baltic, cf. Lith. *dagỹs*, *dāgis* 'Distel', Latv. *dadzis* 'Klette'. The Baltic word is etymologically connected with *dēgti* 'brennen'.

7. Fi. *siikanen*

Fi. *siikanen* 'Granne, Ährenspitze' has no cognates in the other Finnic languages. Until recently it was assumed that *siikanen* was an old Aryan borrowing, cf. Sanskrit *śūka-* 'Granne des Getreides, Stachel eines Insekts'. Erkki Itkonen has convincingly explained that Fi. *suka* 'Borste; Bürste, Striegel, Kamm' is the Finnic equivalent of this Aryan borrowing, which occurs in several Finno-Ugric languages (see e. g. Joki MSFOu. 151, p. 315–316).

Fi. *siikanen* is obviously of Baltic origin, cf. Lith. (Leskien) *dygas* 'Dorn', *dygẽ* 'Stichling', *dyglỹs* 'Stich im Körper, Stachel, Dorn', *dýgus* 'stachelig', *dýgti* 'keimen (eig. hervorstechen, mit der Spitze herauskommen)', Latv. *dīgs* 'Keim'. Baltic **dīga-* > Early Proto-Finnic **tīka-* > Late Proto-Finnic *sīka*⁸. *-nen* is a Finnic suffix. As regards the Finnic change *ti* > *si* in Baltic loanwords, cf. Baltic *tiltas* > Early Proto-Finnic **tilta* > Late Proto-Finnic *silta* 'Brücke'.

8. Fi. *vehmaro*

Fi. *vehmaro* 'Einzeldeichsel (des Ochsenpaares)' has a cognate in Estonian: *vehmer*, gen. *vehmri* 'Deichsel, „Femerstange“', and in Livonian: *vi'emâr* id. The back vowel in the second syllable of Fi. *vehmaro* is due to the influence of *o* in the third syllable (cf. e. g. *kesanto* 'summer-fallow' from *kesä* 'summer', *elanto* 'living, livelihood', from *elää* 'live'). Fi. dialect forms *vehmär*, *vehmärä*, *vehmerä* have preserved the original front vowel.

The Finnic stem is *vehmä-* < **vešmä-*; *-rä*, *-ro*, *-r* is apparently a suffix. The stem seems to be without cognates outside the Finnic group. It could perhaps be a Baltic borrowing.

Words denoting 'Deichsel' are often connected with verbs signifying 'draw, pull'. In Fi. dialects *vedinpuu*, *vedike*, *vedikko* (from *vetää* 'pull, draw') are used in the same sense as *vehmaro*. German *Deichsel*, Swedish *tistel* (**tenχslō*) and Latin *temo* are connected with IE **tengh-* 'ziehen'. OPr. *teansis* 'Deichsel (eines Pfluges)'

⁸ This etymology of *siikanen* was first published by the present author in „Acta Universitatis Tampensis. A 26“, 1969, p. 146–148 (in Finnish, with a short summary in English).

is connected with IE **tens-* 'dehnen, ziehen, spannen' (Lith. *tęsti* 'durch ziehen dehnen').

The Baltic verb with which **vešmā-* could be connected is Lith. *vėžti*, pr. *vežù* '(von Zugtieren) ziehen; etwas mittels eines Wagens oder Schlittens befördern, fahren' (in the sense 'ziehen' e. g. *arklỹs gerai vėža* 'das Pferd zieht gut'). A Baltic derivative of this verb stem may have been the source form for Proto-Finnic **vešmā-*. Phonetically closest comes perhaps Lith. *vežimas* 'Fahren; Wagen, Fuder' (originally a *nomen actionis*). As for the sound-correspondences between **vešmā-* and *vežimas* we may refer to a parallel: Finnic *rihma* < **rišma* 'Faden, Zwirn' ~ Lith. (*nomen actionis*) *rišimas* 'das Binden' (*rišti* 'binden'). This etymology for Finnic *rihma*, suggested by Vilhelm Thomsen, is now generally accepted.

The use of oxen as draught-animals seems thus, if the etymology suggested here for *vehmaro*⁹ can be accepted, to go back to the period of old Baltic-Finnic contacts. The etymology for *jutta* 'Jochriemen' presented above would seem to corroborate this view. One could also refer to the fact that the Fi. word *juhta* 'draught-animal' is a loanword from Baltic.

SMULKMENOS

XXXII

Pastaruoju metu vis labiau linkstama manyti, kad lietuvių bendrinėje kalboje ir bemaž visame aukštaičių tarmės plote (išskyrus pažemaitį) ne tik ilgieji prieškirčiai, bet ir tokie patys pokirtiniai skiemenys tariami tvirtagališkai¹ (priešingai žinomai K. Jauniaus taisyklei). Neseniai Juozas Šliavas tokį tarimą konstatavo šiaurės panevėžiškių plote. Pasak jo, tai rodantis vienodas mišriųjų dvibalsių *u, i + r, l, m, n* virtimas tiek kirčiuotame tvirtagaliame, tiek ir nekirčiuotame pokirtiniame skiemenyje, pvz., *võlk's* < *vilkas* ir *ãtpõld's* < *ãtpildas*, bet *põlk's* < *pilkas*. K. Jauniaus taisyklė apie pokirtinių skiemenų tvirtapradžiškumą tinka žemaičių tarmei. K. Jaunius galėjo ją aprioiškai pritaikyti aukštaičiams. Bet gal ji rodo anksčiau nekirčiuotų skiemenų priegaidėjimo aukštaičių tarmėje fazę? Ji išdėstyta būtent šiaurės panevėžiškių tarmės apraše².

Z. Zinkevičius

⁹ This etymology was first presented (in Finnish) in the Finnish journal „Kotiseutu“, 1972, p. 153–154. I may perhaps add here that my etymology has been accepted by A. Viires in his article „Eesti hobuserakendi terminoloogia“ [= The terminology of horse-harnessing in Estonian] in *Centum, Emakeele Seltsi Toimetised* nr. 9 (Tallinn 1974).

German *Femer*, *Femerstange* (usually in pl.) 'Gabeldeichsel' is borrowed from Estonian or Livonian, Swedish *fimmerstång*, *fimmelstång* according to Kiparsky from Estonian; see V. Kiparsky. *Fremdes im Baltendeutsch.* — „Mémoires de la Société néophilologique“, 1936, t. XI, p. 31–32.

¹⁰ Žr. A. Laigonaitė. Dėl lietuvių kalbos kirčio ir priegaidės supratimo. — „Kalbotyra“, t. I, p. 83–85; A. Pakerys. Dabartinės lietuvių literatūrinės kalbos nekirčiuotųjų skiemenų priegaidės klausimu. — Kn.: Eksperimentinės fonetikos ir kalbos psichologijos kollokviumo medžiaga, t. II. V., 1966, p. 74; V. Grinaveckis. Apie lietuvių kalbos nekirčiuotųjų skiemenų priegaides. — Kn.: Garsai, priegaidė, intonacija (=Eksp. fon. ir kalbos psych. kol. medžiaga, t. V). V., 1972, p. 111.

¹⁴ Явнис К. Паневежские говоры литовского языка. — Кн.: Памятная Книжка Ковенской губернии на 1898 г. Ковна, 1897, p. 182–187 (žr. V. Drotvinas, V. Grinaveckis. *Kalbininkas Kazimieras Jaunius*. V., 1970, p. 120–124).