

Eino K o p o n e n, Eteläviron murteen sanaston alkuperä. Itämerensuomalaista etymologiaa, Helsinki 1998 (MSFOu 230). 295 p.

In Finnic taxonomies and investigations of the early stages of the Finnic languages, South Estonian has occupied a special position. On the one hand, South Estonian has been regarded as an ancient dialect which diverged very early from Proto-Finnic and only later joined North Estonian, which would represent another branch of Finnic. On the other hand, it has been thought that these two main dialects of Estonian originally represent the same South Finnic branch, South Estonian, due to its peripheric location,

better preserving a more ancient, Proto-Finnic state. Adherents to the latter theory have often emphasized the role of an East Finnic component in the evolution of South Estonian. It has even been proposed that South Estonian would originally be an East Finnic language form which only later a "Dialektbund" with North Estonian formed, the latter originally representing the West Finnic branch.

Eino Koponen has taken up a real challenge when choosing South Estonian

word stock as the theme of his PhD thesis and defining (p. 13) the aim of his study as "shedding light on the position and origins of this Finnic key dialect with the methods of lexicogeography and etymological research". His goal is to reach the most ancient foundation of South Estonian lexis, which could be considered representing a Proto-South-Estonian word stock and which could give a possible answer to various questions, such as whether there is a specially South Estonian vocabulary with cognates in other Finnic languages but not in North Estonian, or what is the relationship of this vocabulary with the other individual Finnic languages.

Out of his whole sample (3295 words), E. Koponen has, on the basis of distribution, chosen 567 words which represent the core of South Estonian word stock. For this sifting work, he has calculated a so-called "South Estonian index" to determine the "South-Estonianness" of the distribution of each word. These core words are dealt with etymologically, in more detail, in the form of lexical entries. This constitutes the largest and most central part of his study. In the conclusive appendix he very briefly recapitulates his entire data, the aim of this analysis being to divide the whole vocabulary handled here in two parts: (1) South Estonian words connected with distributionally all-Estonian ones, and (2) words connected with distributionally South Estonian base stems.

Dealing with such an amount of words is undeniably an awesome enterprise. An etymological investigation of merely the core vocabulary presented in this book could be a task demanding enough for a research team, not just for one linguist. No wonder, in fact, that — as the reader will notice — the author obviously tries to swallow too big a lump. Actually, the lump has not choked him, rather the final impression of this etymological research reminds of something that has been chewed at on the surface, here and there. In many cases, the origin of a word only receives a more or less superficial treatment, as the author has chosen the easiest way: comparing

the word with phonologically similar words or listing previous explanations by others, without presenting an opinion of his own.

One reason concerning the indeterminate character of these etymologies can certainly be found in E. Koponen's "methods of etymological research". These include operating with a hypothetical "root", which reminds of some attempts in Finnish etymology in the late 19th century. All in all, it is very hard to get a clear picture of the relationships between words and their description in E. Koponen's view. In the introductory chapters, when speaking of descriptive words, he mostly exemplifies his "roots" with Finnish words, stating (p. 49): "In addition to the root (*vilise-* ['to swarm, to flicker'], *vilkku* ['blinking light']), the word often includes a derivational suffix (*vilise-*, *vilahta-* ['to flash by']), in which case it is a genuine correlational derivative, or a stem vowel (*vilkku(valo)*) or a word-formational element comparable to pseudo-derivational suffixes (*vilkas* ['lively'])." Other central terms in E. Koponen's study (l.cit.) include *sanue* ('word family'; "Words with an identical root belong to the same word family") and *pesye* ('cognate family', lit. 'litter of young animals of the same nest'; "words containing the same root in its basic form constitute a(n onomatopoeic-)descriptive *pesye*: for example, *kirahtaa*, *kirkua* and *kirskua* [verbs denoting a shrill sound] belong to the same cognate family, likewise *vireä* ['alert, brisk'] and *virku* [id.]"). On the basis of this and what is presented in the lexical entries, it is sometimes hard to understand the difference between *sanue* and *pesye*. In addition to these, there is the term *sikermä* ('cluster'; "Other kinds of groups of words containing a semantically and phonologically similar root (such as *vilkkua* and *välkkyä* ['to blink'] or *porskuttaa* and *polskuttaa* ['to splash']) I shall term a(n **onomatopoeic-)descriptive cluster**"). In another place (p. 45ff.) he states that a cluster might include "in the widest sense also word families of etymologically distinct origins which, due to a similar shape and meaning, have got

associated with each other and modified each other's phonological shape and/or meaning". Association and modification, of course, are familiar phenomena to anybody working with etymologies, but launching a concept like this "cluster" by E. Koponen already exceeds the boundaries of etymological research. When defending his dissertation in public, E. Koponen actually had to admit that the concept of "cluster" is the most "obscure" of his terms.

Since previous reviews of E. Koponen's work have not dealt with the etymologies of his core vocabulary in more detail, I will now survey his book from this viewpoint, as, in my opinion, this will show the most eloquent evidence of the procedures adopted by the author. In individual lexical entries, the method described above often prevails. Thus, the traditional phonological and morphological criteria of etymological research have lost their importance, because the "cognate families" and "clusters" are defined loosely enough to make word-formation easy or, rather, too easy. True, semantics is also mentioned on a few pages in the beginning (p. 33–37), where component analysis and cognitive semantics, among other things, are briefly treated in the vein of a "compulsory subject". However, on p. 35 it is stated: "I will pass by, without further reflection, the whole wide spectrum of questions related with defining the meanings of the dialect words in the material, on the basis of the rather scanty (and sometimes controversial) explanations in the dialect collections". Consequently, the semantic side of the lexical entries is treated more like an "optional subject".

The etymologies in the lexical entries often show expressions of uncertainty: "in a way or another belongs to the same cognate family or cluster as" (p. 107), "possibly connected in a way or another with" (p. 117), "perhaps in a way or another of the same origin as" (p. 126), "descr. words, close to which seem to be, in a way or another" (p. 162). Likewise: "In a way, to these is also connected" (p. 117), "probably somehow belonging to the same cluster as" (p. 133), "to this

might somehow belong also" (p. 136), and "probably connected with one or more of the following", after which six different possibilities are listed (p. 137), "might belong together with one or more of the following word families", followed by five different word families (p. 172). However, the author often does not state, not even suggest which of the alternative etymologies he considers the most possible or credible.

In what follows, I will list a few examples of E. Koponen's way of etymologising words, which only leads to indeterminate and arbitrary solutions:

1. In connection with South Estonian *ahk* 'talking nonsense or rubbish' (No. 7) it is first stated that the etymology is "obscure", but thereafter: "might belong together with either (1) the word *hahk* 'grey' or (2) *ask* 'trash, rubbish' or (3) *hahkatama* 'to pant'."

2. When treating the word *haik* (gen. *haigu*) 'good-for-nothing' (No. 9) (Wiedemann: *haik* 'Trödler, Zauderer, der mit nichts fertig wird', *sea-haigu* 'Maulaffe', VMS: *haik* 'wanton', *haiklema* 'to hesitate'), the author connects it with the cognate family of expressive words which "possibly shares its root part ($\sqrt{haj-}$ /*hai(C)-*) with one or more of the following", after which some words are listed, such as Est. *haibakas* 'badly grown (hay)' (and Fi. *haippu* 'sparse (vegetation)'), South Estonian *hajoma* 'to scatter, to disperse' and even Est. *haige* 'sick, ill'. However, the following words have gone unnoticed: Karelian *haikko* (KKS) 'loiterer, incapable person' and Vepsian *haikoi* (СВЯ) 'gaper, clumsy, idiot'. Note also Karelian (KKS) *haikko* 'yawning', *hahkostoakseh* 'to yawn; to make a lazy or futile attempt' and Est. *haik* (gen. *haigu*) 'yawning'. Semantically, cf. Russian *жевать* 'to yawn, to gape at, to loiter; to miss an opportunity'.

3. Concerning the origins of the headword *hiivetama* 'to be worn out, to become shabby; to be mashed' (No. 36) (VMS: 'to be threadbare, shabby', *hiivalõ* 'to pieces'), two different views are presented: it belongs "to the same descr. word family or close to it" as South Estonian *hiibelega* 'to hang loose, to flap' (No. 35),

or together with Fi. *hiiva* 'dregs; yeast'. Of the latter, it is then stated that it could also belong to the same "descr. root" as the former word, although *hiiva* has usually been regarded as a Baltic loanword. This new connection might be based on the translation of *hiivetama* in Wiedemann's dictionary: 'sich fein zertheilen, zergehen // schaumig oder tummig werden'. The possibility of homonymy has not been mentioned here, nor — as far as I can see — anywhere else in this book.

4. The word *kirgitama* 'to prick up one's ears' (No. 89) is stated to belong "probably somehow to the same cluster" as Est. *kergitama* 'to raise, to lift' etc. Later, it is stated that this might represent "a descr. cluster of roots $\sqrt{kVrk(k)}$ ", which also includes Est. *kerge* 'light, easy', *kõrge* 'high' and *kirg* 'passion' with their Finnic cognates.

5. The verb *lantsitama* 'to whip, to beat' (No. 155) is compared, "for its root part", with Est. *latsatama* 'to (fall with a) smack' and Fi. *lätsähtää* 'id., (of bread:) to become flat, not loose enough', *län-tätä* 'to (hit with a) smack' and *lääntä*: *lääntällään* 'down at heels'. It is even suggested that the Finnic word families *lansi-* 'hollow, valley; pond etc.' and *länsi* '(south)west' could belong to this.

6. The etymology of South Estonian *mõhn* 'ball of the foot' (No. 211) is considered obscure. However, the author thinks that the word "maybe belongs to the same cognate family" as the previously presented word *mõhk* 'trough for kneading dough' (No. 210). This, in turn, has been interpreted as "perhaps originally the same word" as Est. *mõhk* 'lump, gnarl', and "of the same cluster" with Fi. *muhea* 'loose, soft', *muhkea* 'stately, thick' and (note!) *mehevä* 'juicy'.

7. In dealing with South Estonian *pälv* 'snowless spot' (No. 330), the author first presents the Baltic etymology for this word and its Finnic cognates, but, after that, he suggests that the word might yet be inherited, belonging to "the same cognate family $\sqrt{pälC}$ " as South Estonian *pälk* 'flash'. The latter has, in its own entry (No. 329), been connected (with a question mark) with Fi. *pälkähtää* 'to strike

one's mind' and considered to represent "probably the same cluster (\sqrt{pVlk})" as Est. *silmapilk* 'twinkling of an eye, moment' and Fi. *pilkottaa* 'to gleam (through)'. In the latter entry, the relationship between *pälk* and Est. *välk* 'flash' has only been granted a short concluding remark: "Cf. Est. *välk* 'flash' etc."

8. As for the word *song*, also *sonk*, *sung* 'the bottom corner of a sack, a protruding corner of a sack; (standard language:) hernia' (No. 393), the author thinks that it could possibly belong to "the same descr. cognate family or cluster as the phon. close but semantically rather distant" Fi. *sonka* 'crowd'. This is not very credible; a more attractive explanation could be found in a comparison with Russian *сумка* 'bag', from which Estonian has acquired (obviously later) the word *somka*, *sompka* 'Felleisen, Ränzel' (Wiedemann, EEW), dial. also *sumka*, *sumpka* (VMS) 'sack, bag, rucksack'.

9. The adjective *tine* 'turbid, cloudy, dim; pale grey, matte' (No. 442) has, as the author notes, previously been explained (in the EEW) as a derivative of *tina* 'tin'. However, E. Koponen believes that the word is more probably "of the same onomat.(-descr.) root \sqrt{tin} " as Est. *tinisema*, *tinama* 'to make a muffled sound', Fi. *tinistä* '(of ears:) ring'. The latter explanation does not seem very probable, in comparison with the previous one; note e.g. *tinedad silmad* 'trübe, schwachsichtige Augen' in Wiedemann's dictionary and Fi. *tinasilmä* 'som har hinna på ögat, skumsynt' ('having a pellicle in one's eyes, dim-eyed') in Lönnrot's dictionary. Lönnrot also mentions, s.v. *tina* 'tenn', *sen silmät ovat tinassa* 'han har florshufva för ögonen, är drucken' ('his eyes are dim, he is drunk').

10. The word *hõla* 'longing, desire' (No. 540) has been given two explanations. It belongs either to the same "(onomat.-) descr. cluster (\sqrt{hVl})" as Est. *hale* 'sad' and *halama* 'to lament' or to "the same descr. cognate family ($\sqrt{hel(C)}$)" as South Estonian *hõlle* 'soft, easy to split'. The latter word, in turn, is in its own entry (No. 542) connected with Finnic *hellä* 'tender'. In addition to this, it is stated that "probably originally identical with

this is the onomat. root $\sqrt{hel(C)}$ -, to which belong Est. *hele* 'light, bright, clear', *helisema* 'to ring', *helkima* id. etc.". 11. The author states that the etymology of the word *hämm* 'wet, moist' (No. 553) is obscure. Similarly obscure, as he notes, is its relationship with the words *häm-mastama* 'to amaze' and *hämär* 'dark, dusky, obscure'. The reader cannot help feeling astounded (Fi. *hämmästynyt*): why are these two words mentioned here at all?

For the head-word of the entry, the author has chosen, when possible, a word included in "Õigekeelsussõnaraamat" (= ÕS; Dictionary of Standard Estonian, which, by the way, is missing in the indices of references and abbreviations), which "can be interpreted as the base word of the word family" (p. 81; however, of the forms *kolgas* and *kolk* 'distant region' in the ÕS, the former has been chosen as a head-word, No. 95, the latter being a typically South Estonian form). The head-word is followed by the dialectal form(s) (including the derivatives etc.) of the word, according to the dialect dictionary "Väike murdesõnastik" (VMS), and its geographic distribution. Besides, the author quotes the information given in Wiedemann's old dictionary. The meanings of the dialectal forms which deviate from that of the head-word are not always given. The reader must himself/herself find out that they can be looked up in Wiedemann's dictionary (which, in turn, may deviate from the information given in the dialect dictionary), but sometimes even this does not help, as the dictionary information is lacking. S.v. *haussima* 'to prattle; to do tricks' (No. 26) the nouns *hauss* and *hausa* are given (according to VMS: 'babble' and 'boaster'), s.v. *itkema* 'to weep' there is *ikukapsta* (VMS: 'farewell dish'), s.v. *kikas* 'cock' (No. 84) *kikkaseen* (VMS: 'chanterelle'), s.v. *hülbaline* 'half-thick, half-fluid' (No. 558) *hülbätüss* (VMS: 'half-thick (not very fluid) food'), *ülpama* (VMS: 'to smear'), *hülpämä* (VMS: 'to jump') etc.

The words mentioned in the entry sometimes include such words of the VMS, representing "the basic stem of the head-word", whose etymological connec-

tion with the head-word is not completely ascertained in the entry. For example, in connection with *kelt* 'dried small fish' (No. 78) the word *kelt* 'lacking appetite; slack, languid' is mentioned as well, and in the further treatment these two are supposed to belong to the same "descriptive cognate family (\sqrt{kelC} -)" as Est. *kelp* 'thin, lacking appetite', *kelpama* 'to lose weight'. In the same entry with the word *kõhvak* 'light grains, chaff' (No. 127), the words *kõhvetu* 'thin, weak' and *kõhetu* id. are also listed, but later on in the entry it is only stated: "To this connection might somehow belong also". The word *kõsu* 'peel, chaff; bad grains' (No. 135) has been connected with the South Estonian expressive verb *kõsisema* 'to rustle', which seems credible indeed; there are parallel cases such as Fi. *kahu* and *kahista* with similar meanings. However, the dialectal forms listed here also include *kosu* 'something that is decayed, shattered', which obviously does not belong here but, rather, together with the dialect words *kosur* 'shack', *kossus* 'collapsed' etc. (VMS) and Standard Estonian *kõssis* id. S.v. *lapats* 'wooden splint, spatula; valve' (No. 156) the author lists *lapard* as one dialectal form, but its meaning ('a kind of harrow') is mentioned only later in the text, where its relationship with the head-word is only expressed with "cf. also". As to the meanings of the head-word *puhe* (No. 309), the author gives 'funeral meal; daybreak' but expresses his — quite well-founded — doubts whether there really is any connection between the South Estonian word for 'funeral' and the North Estonian word for 'dawn'.

The geographical distributions of each dialectal form are usually not given; instead, there is one list of parishes for all the words listed in each entry. The verb *iskima* (No. 43) is an exception, in that it has two different geographically distinguished meanings, viz. 'to twine (yarn); to hit' in South Estonian and 'to lurk, to lie in ambush' in the insular dialects of North Estonian. The latter meaning has not been given any further attention; however, it should be explicable with the expression recorded in

Wiedemann's dictionary: *hülgeid iskima* 'Seehunden auflauern'. A similar distinction should have been made in the case of *kasa* 1 (No. 68), translated as 'bundle, heap, pile; ball (of wool or bast)'. E. Koponen connects this word etymologically (with a question mark) with Fi. *kasa* 'heap'. However, VMS actually mentions *kadsa* 'disk', *kedsä* 'ball (of yarn etc.)', *kada* id. and *kasa* 'heap'. Of these, *kadsa* 'disk' and *kedsä* 'ball' are South Estonian (the latter, though, only attested in one parish), *kada* 'ball' has been recorded a few times in other areas, while *kasa* 'heap' only occurs in two parishes of the Northern coast (Kuusalu, Haljala) and seems to be borrowed from Finnish. From Wiedemann's dictionary, *kadsa* 'Bastknaul' is quoted; according to VMS, it also has a variant *kädsä*. It is interesting to note that, despite including the word *kedsä* with a different vocalism, E. Koponen has paid no attention to the Estonian word *ketas* 'disk', also appearing in a dialectal form *kets*, nor to the synonymous South Estonian form *kätas* (VMS); Wiedemann has *ketas* = *kätas* 'Rad, Tritze, Rolle, runde hölzerne Scheibe'.

It seems that the author, while including dialectal variants and derivatives, has neglected certain sound changes and alternations. The forms now left out could have influenced the conclusions based on the distribution of the words and sometimes the etymologies themselves. In what follows, I will list a few cases that, in my opinion, would have deserved attention:

The typically Estonian loss of *v* preceding a rounded vowel is exemplified e.g. in the word *kurutama* 'to be drowsy, in bad shape' (< *kurvutama* id., cf. *kurb* 'sad'; p. 269). However, when dealing with the word *urv* 'buttocks, behind' (No. 486), the author ignores the form *uru*, *uruauk* (VMS) 'anus' (-*auk* 'hole, orifice').

E. Koponen's treatment of the alternation *m* ~ *v* known in many languages does not seem consistent. On the one hand, he regards the forms *jõhverdama* 'to gobble; to prattle' and *jõhmerdama* 'id.; to flounder, to wriggle' (p. 264) as variants of the same word, likewise the words

nimese 'groin' and *niuded* id. (cf. Fi. *nivuset* id.) (p. 276). He also connects South Estonian *veim* 'louse' (No. 508) with the synonymous word *väiv* in the Northeast Estonian coastal dialect (together with its Finnic cognates), but reconstructs a peculiar proto-form for these both: "**väi(v)me* or something like that", which would mean either *väime* or *väivme* (!). On the other hand, *liivikene* 'earthworm' "belongs to the same cluster with its synonyms *liimukas* and *liimikas*" (p. 75, 272). Similarly, there is a "cluster" including both the Russian loan word *laavits* 'a frame to enlarge a sleigh for a bigger load' (No. 149) and "a group of words of obscure origin", among others, *laamits*, *laamik* id. No explanation has been given for the fact that *nurmik* 'wooden container for milk' (No. 236) appears in dialects in the form *nurik*. Wiedemann also has the forms *nurm*, *nuru* and *nurukene*, the latter allowing for a reconstructed form **nurvu(kene)*. The Russian loanword *pulvan* 'stuffed black grouse (used as a decoy bird); idiot' (No. 316), appearing in South Estonian as *polvand*, has many variants listed in VMS: *polman*, *pulvand*, *pulmand*, *pulmat*. Of the word *vabarn* 'raspberry' (No. 494), many variants have been listed from VMS, e.g. *vavermud*, but *vavermud* id. has been ignored. The word *jõrvama* 'to roar' (No. 50) should have been connected with *jõrmama* id. (VMS). In my view, a word-initial consonant alternation could be represented by the Standard Estonian words *mull* 'bubble' (No. 208) and *vull* id. While both J. Mägiste (in EEW) and A. Raun (in EKET) refer to *mull* in their *vull* entries, E. Koponen does not mention *vull* s.v. *mull*. Note also the dialect word *pull* id., comparable with the previously mentioned word pair *pälk* 'flash' and *välk* id. A similar alternation of *m* and *v* is obviously manifest in the words *tsurmama* 'to crush, to pound', *tsurmma* 'to press', *surmma* id. / *surv(a)ma*, *survuma* id. (VMS; Wiedemann also has *survuma* id. and South Estonian *survma* 'stampfen'; cognate with Fi. *survoa* 'to crush, to pound'). According to E. Koponen, South Estonian *tsurmma* would contain "elements of two words beginning with *s*":

suruma 'to press' and *surm* 'death', *sur-mama* 'to kill' (p. 73, 287), which is less credible.

Similar observations can be made concerning the alternation of *l* and *r*. S.v. *kirges* 'cockroach; cricket' (No. 88) the author considers a connection with Est. *kilk* 'cricket' "through a sporadical sound change *l > r*" a possible explanation. The word *ubalmu* 'snow-drift' (No. 473) of an unclear origin has the variants *uarm(ass)*, *oalmu*, *oarmik* and *oormas*, which here have been linked with each other without any further considerations, similarly the words *nulk* 'corner' and *nurk* id. (according to EEW, p. 277). The words *puhle* '(person) lisping, speaking unintelligibly' (No. 308) and *pu drama* 'to speak unclearly' are regarded as belonging to the same "cognate family"; the same "cluster" would comprise Fi. *polskuttaa* 'to splash' and *porskuttaa* id. (p. 49; see above). However, the author states that the connection of *kelme* (*kelm*, *kilme*) 'pellicule, film; cataract' (No. 77) with Est. *kirme* 'thin layer, thin ice' is unclear. As the word *võhr* '(big) rat' (No. 528) also has the variant *võhl* id., it is stated that "the cause of the sound change *hl > hr* remains obscure". The headword *virp* (No. 518) has been translated as 'damage caused by sorcery; mistake in weaving' (cf. VMS: 'ghost, (optical) illusion; mistake in reeling yarn'); besides it, the dialect words *virpima* (VMS: 'to get entangled') and *virpmä* (VMS: 'to entangle') are given without any translations. But the following South Estonian words have not been mentioned in this connection: *virbitama* 'to confuse', *virbituss*, *virvetus* 'ghost, (optical) illusion' / *vilpus* 'sorcerer, witch', *vilbasteme*, *vilbeteme* 'to haunt (of a ghost)', *vilbuss* 'trick', *vilbutass* 'ghost, (optical) illusion' (VMS). True, E. Koponen's more extensive data include *virvetus* '(optical) illusion', connected with *virvendama* 'to flicker', and *vilbuss* 'trick', connected in turn with *vilbas* 'brisk' (p. 292ff.).

In connection with the word *sälk* 'dent, notch' (No. 414), also represented in South Estonian as more common *tsälk* showing the alternation *s- ~ ts-*, the author could have paid attention to Est.

tärge id., also appearing in South Estonian as *tsärge* id. (VMS). Cf. also the verbs *tsälgätämä*, *tsälkmä* 'kauen, zerbeissen', mentioned by E. Koponen in connection with the word *sälk*, and the South Estonian verb *tsärkmä* 'to notch' (VMS; Standard Estonian *tärkima* id.). Similarly, *tsälge* = *tsärge* attested in a couple of South Estonian parishes (VMS) has been ignored. A more rare alternation of word-initial *t* and *ts* is manifest in E. Koponen's data at least in *tiir* 'circle, round', *tiirutama* 'to circle' / *tsiirutama* id., likewise *tilk* 'drop' / *tsilk* id., *til-luke(ne)* 'tiny, little' / *tsilli* id. and *täks* 'small axe' / *tsäks* id. (p. 285-287).

E. Koponen explains some previously unetymologised words in his core data as loans from German, such as the uncontroversial cases *pall* '(dancing) ball' (No. 268) and *pürst* 'brush' (No. 337). One could expect even more such (Low) German loanwords. A couple of proposals: *ask* 'trash, rubbish' (No. 19; Wiedemann also has *asu-karva hobune* 'Schimmel' [< 'ash-coloured horse'], cf. Low German *asche* 'Asche' (Lübben); *nutt* 'knob; bud; topmost cluster or spike (in a plant); wit' (No. 239; Wiedemann: "South Estonian" *nutt* 'Knoten im Flachsstengel'), cf. Low German *knutte* 'Knoten, bes. der Knoten, Knopf des Flachses' (Lübben); *piigert* 'drill, bore' (No. 288), cf. Low German *spiker-bor* 'Spieker-, Nagelbohr' (Lübben), German *Spiekerbohr*. As a Russian loanword we might regard the word *posled* (pl.) 'chaff, bad grains' (No. 303; Wiedemann *posle* 'Unterkorn', cf. *päräd* 'Unterkorn (das leichteste, schlechteste Getreide)' in the same dictionary), cf. Russian *послед-* 'after-', *последки* 'leavings, left-overs'. The word *kämm* (*kämmak*) 'haystack' (No. 138) occurs in South Estonian but is also clearly represented in the dialects of the islands and the Western coast, where there has been a strong Swedish influence. This word, whose etymology is considered obscure, resembles the word *kämma* (Rietz 305) 'an armful of hay' known in many dialects of Swedish; the Swedish derivative *kämsa* id. has been borrowed into Finnish as *kämsä*, *kämse* (SSA) 'id., small haystack'.

Ca. 40 lexical entries have no literature references concerning the South Estonian word at issue, and the etymologies presented there must be ascribed to Koponen himself. Sometimes these only include a concise statement without any futile attempts at an explanation: "The etymology has not been clarified" (No. 76: *kaurima* 'to hollow out', No. 163: *liht* 'mane', No. 277: *peil* 'wooden pin in a boot', No. 512 *vilka* 'self-rolled cigarette', No. 534: *välme* 'skein of thread'). Of the others, the evidently onomatopoeic South Estonian *katsatama* (a verb denoting the sound of a magpie; No. 72) has been connected with the synonymous South Estonian *kädsätämä* and North Estonian *kädisema* (the author has not noticed that Vepsian also has *kacatada* id. (СВЯ)). The origins of *küündima* 'to reach' (No. 145; Wiedemann has e.g. *kas teile küündus anda* 'könnt ihr geben, habt ihr zu geben') have first been considered obscure, but then the author adds: if *+küündü-* < **küikV+ntü-*, it could belong to the same word family as Finnish *kyetä, kyentyä* 'to be able'. Likewise, the origin of *landam* 'a big area of land' (No. 154) has been regarded as unclear, but then, the author — in a completely justifiable manner — suggests that it might be connected with German *Land(stück)* (in a case like this, one could have expected some reflections on morphology). In connection with *nähkar* (*nähkats*) 'miser' (No. 245), the author mentions Estonian dial. *nihkru* and *nihkats* id. and considers these to be "affect words". The verb *tadima* 'to trample' (No. 427) has been marked as "probably an onomat.-descr. word" (why?). *Türk* 'trot' (No. 469) and its derivative *türgütäm(m)ä* 'to trot' have been connected with other South Estonian verbs showing a first-syllable vowel alternation: *törkimä, tirkama, tirgutama* id. More than half of these previously unetymologised words do not appear in Wiedemann's dictionary nor, consequently, in Mägiste's EEW.

After the reader has got acquainted with the abbreviations, the typographically clear and concisely presented lexical entries are easy to read. However, annoyingly enough, it is not always clear whether

the etymologies stem from E. Koponen himself or from the literature listed at the end of the entry. The author has found and used a great deal of literature on etymological and other lexicological research, and the literature has mostly been selected in an expert way. Worth noticing are the numerous studies by Andrus Saareste, especially the often-mentioned "Leksikaalseist vahekordadest eesti murretes" (1924). Strangely enough, A. Saareste's "Eesti keele mõisteline sõnaraamat" (1958—1979) is missing in the bibliography, although it is in many ways an excellent aid in etymologising Estonian words.

In the conclusive chapter of his book, E. Koponen presents a clear and concise survey on his core data from the following viewpoints: areal linguistics (distribution in the Finnic languages), origins (loanwords, "new native basic stems" and stems of unknown or obscure origin), age and the Finnic background of the South Estonian dialectal vocabulary. More than a half (298) of his 567 words have cognates in other Finnic languages. Words attested in the southwestern Finnic periphery (Livonian) and in the northeast (either Vepsian or Ludian) are here regarded as distributionally all-Finnic; such words number 33 in total, and 13 of them are attested in all the seven Finnic languages. Distributionally Western words (in Livonian but not in Vepsian and Ludian) number 63, and 6 of these are found in Livonian, Finnish and Karelian. Eastern words (at least Vepsian or Ludian, not Livonian) number 87, and central Finnic words (neither in Livonian nor in Vepsian or Ludian) 115. All the words at issue have been listed together with these figures. However, the author does not mention which of these words are relatively recent loanwords acquired separately in different languages: for example, roughly twenty of the 87 "distributionally Eastern basic stems" are Russian loanwords (p. 221, cf. p. 230). As concerns e.g. such areally central words that have the widest distribution (Votian, Ingrian, Finnish and Karelian), 8 in total (p. 222), it seems that for four of them, the etymological connection with the other lan-

guages is more or less uncertain even according to the lexical entries: *hahkata-ma* 'to pant' (No. 8; "might belong"), *hii-vetama* 'to be worn out' (No. 36, cf. above), *kammelik* 'obstinate' (No. 64; "etymology obscure"), *roitma* 'to rummage' (No. 351; "probably of the same descr. cognate family" with Fi. *roju* 'rubbish'). Besides, one of these words is a Russian loanword, *pliin* 'pancake' (No. 296).

Among these 567 words there are 192 loanwords, and 143 of these have been considered certain. The greatest subgroups are the Slavic and Russian loans (79, of which 58 certain), Latvian loans (42, of which 28 certain), as well as High and Low German and Swedish loanwords. The latter have been subsumed in one group (25, of which 20 certain), as the author thinks it is sometimes impossible to distinguish Swedish and German loans from each other.

Words of unknown or obscure origin, i.e. words that, according to the author, cannot be (or: have not been) given a probable loan etymology or a "word-formational (cognate family or cluster) relationship" with other items of the vocabulary, number 149. These include such words, with cognates in other Finnic (in some cases also in other Finno-Ugric) languages, as *haukama* 'to bite' (No. 25), *iskima* 'to hit' (No. 43), *itkema* 'to weep' (No. 44), *koger* 'crucian (carp)' (No. 93), *kolgas* 'distant region' (No. 95), *kätkema* 'to hide' (No. 140), *müagri* 'vole, mole' (No. 215), *pala* 'bit' (No. 264), *pedajas*

'pine' (No. 273), *peni* 'dog' (No. 280), *sau* 'smoke' (No. 375), *vatkuma* 'to process wool (with a bow-like tool)' (No. 505) and *veli* 'brother' (No. 509).

The remaining 226 words are "new" (not necessarily "young") words which, according to E. Koponen, have a word-formational relationship — which, however, cannot be interpreted as a regular derivational relationship — with words previously present in the language. Such words have come about through contamination or, then, they belong to "onomatopoeic-descriptive cognate families and clusters" (p. 25). The abundance of words in the latter group is obviously due to E. Koponen's methods of etymology.

In his final conclusions, E. Koponen is compelled to admit that his lexical analysis cannot produce any final solution to the question concerning the origin of South Estonian and that most of the explanations of the origin can be "equally right" (p. 232). Still, he has done a great preparatory work for future research, in gathering the typically South Estonian words into one book and in comparing them with North Estonian vocabulary and other Finnic languages. Although one can disagree with him about many of his etymologies, the information he has collected makes an excellent foundation for further research. This work may be considered an obvious challenge for the research of Finnic expressive vocabulary.

Abbreviations

EKET — A. R a u n, Eesti keele etimoloogiline teatmik, Rooma—Toronto 1982; **KKS** — Karjalan kielen sanakirja I, Helsinki 1968 (LSFU XVI₄); **Lönnrot** — E. L ö n n r o t, Suomalais-Ruotsalainen Sanakirja I—II, 1874—1880 (Kolmas, manual-menetelmällä jäljennetty painos), Porvoo—Helsinki 1958; **Lübben** — A. L ü b b e n, Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch. Nach dem Tode des Verfassers vollendet von Christoph Walther, 1888 (Retrographischer Nachdruck), Darmstadt 1979; **ÖS** — Öigekeelsussõnaraamat. Toimetanud

R. Kull ja E. Raiet, Tallinn 1980; **Rietz** — J. E. R i e t z, Ordbok öfver svenska allmogespråket I. Svenskt dialektlexikon, Lund—Malmö etc. 1867; **SSA** — Suomen sanojen alkuperä. Etymologinen sanakirja 1, Helsinki 1992; **VMS** — Väike murdesõnastik I—II. Toimetanud V. Pall, Tallinn 1982, 1989; **Wiedemann** — F. J. W i e d e m a n n, Ehstnisch-deutsches Wörterbuch. Zweite vermehrte Auflage, St. Petersburg 1893; **СВЯ** — М. И. З а й - ц е в а, М. И. М у л л о н е н, Словарь вепского языка. Ленинград 1972.

OSMO NIKKILÄ (Helsinki)