

RAIMO RAAG (Uppsala)

### LEDUM PALUSTRE IN BALTIC FINNIC

In the present paper the etymology of a number of Baltic Finnic words will be examined, the meaning of which is 'marsh tea' (*Ledum palustre* L.), German *Sumpfporst*, *wilder Rosmarin*, *Mottenkraut*, Swedish *skvatt-ram*, *getpors*, *myrpors*, Russian *дикий розмарин*, *багульник болотный*, Latvian *purva vaivariņi*, *vaivarāji*.

The marsh tea is a Eurasian bog shrub known from the entire Baltic Finnic area (von Hofsten 1960 : 64, figure 8). It is a strongly smelling toxic plant with white flowers in June and July, a brownish stem, and long and narrow evergreen, leathery leaves. The shrub is known as a (folk-)medicinal, drug-yielding plant, used, for instance, as an expectorant and for treatment of tuberculosis. The smoke produced when burning fresh plants has also been used indoors in repelling and killing different kinds of vermin like bugs and clothes-moths, and even mice. This application of marsh tea seems to be reflected in the name of the plant in several languages, compare the German *Mottenkraut* (*Motte* 'clothes-moth', *Kraut* 'herb'), the Hungarian *molyűzö* (*moly* 'clothes-moth', *űzö* 'driving, chasing, pursuing'), the Vepsian *ludēghein* (*ludēg* 'bed-bug', *hein* 'hay'), and the Russian dialect form *клоповник* (*клоп* 'bed-bug').

Another bog shrub, which repeatedly will be referred to below, is the sweet gale (*Myrica gale* L.), German *Gagelstrauch*, *Heidemyrte*, *Post*, *Porsch*, *Pors*, Swedish *pors*, Russian *восковник обыкновенный*, *мирт болотный*, Latvian *purva mirte*, *blusu kārklis*, *blusu kārkliņi*. The sweet gale is a branchy and fragrant shrub, the leaves of which are small and narrow, partly serrated, and covered with resin glands. The shrub flowers in May, and the first catkins develop in July. In the Baltic region, the sweet gale grows in marshlands mainly along the seaside; see von Hofsten (1960 : 48) and Eichwald et al. (1969 : 350—1).

The applications of sweet gale are similar in part to those of marsh tea. Fresh sprigs and sprays were earlier put between clothes as vermin control, and drugs from the leaves were used as an astringent against eruption of the skin. The drug was even taken in order to induce abortion (Eichwald et al. 1969 : 351). In earlier times sweet gale was widely used as a substitute for hops in brewing beer (von Hofsten 1960).

In the relevant literature it is occasionally stated that marsh tea (*Ledum palustre*) has been used as a substitute for hops in brewing beer. This custom has even been attributed to Scandinavians as well as Estonians (Manninen 1934 : 159). Eichwald et al. (1971 : 42) delimit the range of this practice among Estonians to the inhabitants of Saaremaa only. An early attestation of this application of marsh tea from Estonia and Livonia is provided by A. W. Hupel (1777 : 509): *Rosmarin wilder*,

Ledum palustre, ehstn. Porst, Porsad, lett. Wahwerin, Wahveraji, die Liefländer nennen ihn im Deutschen Pors, Porst. Einige hacken ihn fein und mischen ihn unter den Hopfen, weil es ihnen am letzten mangelt, oder damit das Bier stark berauschen soll; aber es macht Kopfschmerzen, Ueblichkeit und Unsinn. Eine Geschichte davon liefert Arndt lief. Chron. 2. Th. S. 34. Already J. W. L. von Luce, the German-born Saaremaa writer, explicitly impugned this (1823 : 134): Diejenigen Liebhaber der Botanik, die so gern vom Deutschen Namen ausgehen, verwechseln oft Post mit Pors (Myrica). |..| Daß man den Ehsten Schuld giebt, Bier damit zu brauen, daran ist obige Verwechslung des Namens die Ursache. Such a confusion is not surprising at all. In Germany and Sweden the words *Porst* and *pors*, respectively, designate both the marsh tea and the sweet gale, even in areas where both plants grow (Marzell 1972 : 1217, von Hofsten 1960 : 65—6). This is evidently due to the similarity of the German words for the shrubs, *Porst* meaning 'marsh tea', and *Pors* 'sweet gale' (in Swedish the word *pors* was borrowed from German, see G. Holm 1972). In addition, the marsh tea and the sweet gale are quite similar in that both are strongly smelling shrubs, which grow in marshlands. They also have identical application as vermin control, and as pointed out by N. von Hofsten (1960 : 86), there actually is some certain evidence of marsh tea being used instead of hops in brewing beer. Unless the statements on this in the pertinent literature are based on personal observations of the authors, not on hearsay, it does not seem very unlikely to assume that von Luce was right in claiming that these statements emanate from confusion of marsh tea with sweet gale.

1. Estonian *sookail* ~ *sookael* ~ *sookaal* ~ *kalju* ~ *sookaer*. In literary Estonian the marsh tea is known as *sookail*, plural *sookailud*. This word is listed by J. V. Veski & E. Muuk (1925—37), E. Nurm et al. (1960) and R. Kull & E. Raiet (1976), that is to say in all the extensive monolingual standard Estonian dictionaries of this century. Furthermore, the word is recorded in the Estonian-German dictionary of F. J. Wiedemann (1893): *kail* pl. *kailud* (*kael*, *kalju*) *Sumpfporst*, *wilder Rosmarin* (*Ledum palustre* L.), *sõ-k.*, *raba-k. dass.*, *auch Kienporst* (*Andromeda polifolia* L.) as well as in an earlier dictionary compiled by A. W. Hupel (1818): *Pors*, *Porsch*, *Porst* *Kr(aut, Gewächs)* *so kaelad* od. *kael* od. *kaelud* *r(evalsche Dialekte)* *so kanna* arg. Rg. (= die Gegend von Raue und deren Dialekt; begreift auch Pölfwede oder Werro, Rappin in sich) *so kikkas*. The earliest dictionary record of the word is, however, the one found in the handbook of Estonian by A. T. Helle (1732 : 296): *Soo kaelud* (*kleiner wild Rosmarin, rosmarinus sylvestris minor*). In the earlier dictionaries and wordlists to which I have access (Stahl 1637, Gutschlaff 1648, Göseken 1660) the word does not occur at all.

As to form, (*soo*)*kail* is subject to some degree of variation in Estonian dialects. The most common variant besides (*soo*)*kail* is (*soo*)*kael*, which was earlier now and then used even in the literary language, for instance in the title of a collection of short stories, «Sookaelad», written by Albert Kivikas and published in 1919. According to dialectological data both *kail* and *kael* occur here and there almost all over Estonia, the only exceptions being the areas of the Võru Dialect and the North-eastern Coastal Dialect; see V. Pall (1982 sub voce *kail*).

1.1. The word *kail*, which, as stated above, is the standard Estonian form, attracts one's attention because of its singularity. It actually is the sole *u*-stem of the entire standard Estonian vocabulary, consisting of the diphthong *ai* followed by a liquid consonant. All other words of this phonetic structure are recently introduced *i*-stems: *detail* 'detail', *email* 'enamel', *emailima* 'to enamel', *serail* 'seraglio, oriental palace'.

Even among all Estonian nouns consisting of a diphthong the last component of which is *i*, followed by a liquid consonant, *kail* besides the geographical and sylvicultural term *hail*, -*u* 'basin; forest clearing' remains exceptional. Originally, *hail* was a dialect word meaning 'kettle' (listed in Saareste 1959 : 1211) which was introduced into standard Estonian as a term by Johannes Voldemar Veski in the 1920s (Kask 1938 : 70).

The origin of *kail* is considered unclear by both Alo Raun (1982) and Julius Mägiste (1983). No etymological equivalents in other Baltic Finnic languages or Lappish have been attested, which naturally leads one to suspect the word to be of foreign extraction.

Both the semantic and the phonetic concord between *kail* and the Lithuanian word *gailis*, plural *gailiai* 'Porst' (Porsch), *gailis visenis* 'wilder Rosmarin, Sumpfporst, *ledum palustre*' (Kurschat 1968) indicate that *kail* could be a Baltic loanword, like *takjas* 'burr' and *tael* 'tinder'; see J. Kalima (1936) for further exemplification of Baltic importations in Estonian. The opposite direction of borrowing is not credible since *gailis* can be connected with the Lithuanian adjective *gailus* 'jäh-zornig; wütend, rachsüchtig; giftig, bissig (von Tieren); scharf, beißend (von Essig, Lauge); bitter (von Tränen); mitleidig' < Old Lithuanian *gailas* 'heftig' (Trautmann 1923 : 75), which in its turn has etymological equivalents in Slavic, Germanic and Celtic (Pokorny 1959 : 452). This means that the common Estonian variant *kael* is a secondary form as compared to *kail*, *kael* being an example of the well-known lowering of *ai* > *ae* before *l*, *n*, *r*: *kail* > *kael* 'neck', *lain* > *laen* 'loan', *air* > *aer* 'oar, scull' (Tauli 1956 : 25).

Another possible source of Estonian *kail* ~ *kael* 'marsh tea' is German. Phonetically, the variant *kael* would correspond very well with the Dutch, Middle High German and German word *Gagel* 'sweet gale' (Klein 1966 sub voce *gale*) by the loss of the plosive in intervocalic position, which in Old Estonian took place as early as the 14th-15th century (Saareste 1937 : 8) involving even other German importations such as Estonian *leer*, -*i* 'camp, encampment' < Middle Low German *leger*, Estonian *krae* 'collar' < Middle High and Middle Low German *krage*.

However, the explanation of Estonian *kail* ~ *kael* 'marsh tea' as a word of German origin involves at least three obstacles. First of all, if the source of Estonian *kael* is German *Gagel*, then, from a diachronic point of view, the current standard Estonian form *kail* is a secondary form in relation to *kael* since the diphthong *ae* of the Estonian word must have developed from the vowel elements of the German word when the intervocalic plosive was lost: *Gagel* > *kael*. This in its turn means that one must explain the raising of the final component in *ae* (> *ai*; *kael* > *kail*). Such a raising has, however, not been attested in Estonian. In all instances of fluctuation of *ae* and *ai* occurring in Estonian dialects, *ae* is the result of secondary intra-Estonian development: *lain* > *laen* 'loan', cf. Finnish *laina*, *taivas* > *taevas* 'heaven', cf. Finnish *taivas*, *koir* > *koer* 'dog', cf. Finnish *koira*, etc.

The second obstacle in explaining Estonian *kail* ~ *kael* as a German borrowing is provided by the inflection of the word. In Estonian dialects *kail* ~ *kael* occurs as an *u*-stem as well as an *a*-stem (Saareste 1962 : 1114), whereas German importations in Estonian generally are *i*-stems; compare also Estonian *leer*, -*i* 'camp, encampment' < Middle Low German *leger*.

Finally, the change of meaning, German *Gagel* 'sweet gale, *Myrica gale*' > Estonian *kail* ~ *kael* 'marsh tea, *Ledum palustre*', must be

explained. In German the only attested meaning of *Gagel* is 'sweet gale' (Marzell 1977 : 254—255), whereas Estonian *kail* ~ *kael* means 'marsh tea' (Saareste 1962 : 1114). If *kail* ~ *kael* really is a German borrowing, then one would expect the primary meaning 'sweet gale' to be preserved at least in some vernacular or fringe area.

In connection with Dutch, Middle High German and German *Gagel* 'sweet gale', it remains to call attention to Old Norse *gaglvíðr*, which occurs only in the *Voluspá* (stanza 42): *í gaglvíði*. The meaning of this word is obscure, and several attempts to explain it have been made. Such an attempt, significant to the present discussion, is that put forward by Richard Cleasby and Gudbrand Vigfusson in their Icelandic-English dictionary (1874), and by Axel Kock (1911). They all connect the initial component of the compound, *gagl-* with *Gagel* 'sweet gale', thus suggesting that *gaglvíðr* may mean 'the forest where sweet gale grows' (Icelandic *víðr* 'forest'). Phonetically, *gagl* fits well with Estonian *kail* ~ *kael* 'marsh tea' by vocalisation of the plosive, thus *gagl* > *kail* > *kael*. Such a development of plosives before voiced consonants is well-known in the history of Estonian (see, for instance, V. Tauli 1956 : 38—39), and is present in instances like Estonian *kael* 'neck' < *kail* < \**kagla*, cf. Lithuanian *kaklas*.

The assumption of etymological relations between the presumed Old Norse word \**gagl* 'sweet gale' and Estonian *kail* ~ *kael* 'marsh tea' can, however, not easily be accepted. It must not be forgotten that the interpretation of *gaglvíðr* as 'the forest in which sweet gale grows' is merely a guess, which, consequently, has been called into question by other linguists, for example by Dag Strömbäck (1927), who points to the fact that \**gagl* 'sweet gale' is actually an unknown word in the Scandinavian languages. Gösta Holm (1972 : 75—76), however, points to a number of Scandinavian place-name elements which in his opinion can perhaps be connected with \**gagl*. In the etymological dictionary of Old Norse, Jan de Vries (1977) concludes the discussion about the interpretation of the meaning of *gaglvíðr*: «Über unsichere vermutungen kommt man nicht hinaus.» The same evaluation can, undoubtedly, be applied to the linking of Old Norse \**gagl* 'sweet gale' with Estonian *kail* ~ *kael* 'marsh tea'.

As is demonstrated above, the assumption that Estonian *kail* ~ *kael* 'marsh tea', *Ledum palustre* has developed from Dutch, Middle High German or German *Gagel*, or from Old Norse \**gagl* 'sweet gale', *Myrica gale* is connected with too many obstacles to be convincing. Consequently one can safely stick to the Baltic etymology of the word.

1.2. In Estonian dialects several forms of *kail* ~ *kael* 'marsh tea' exist as a result of secondary developments. Forms like (*soo-* ~ *suu-*)*kaal*, *-a* ~ *-u* have been recorded from the Tartu Dialect area, as well as from Kodavere parish of the North Estonian Eastern Dialect area, and from Helme parish of the South Estonian Mulgi Dialect (Saareste 1962 : 1114), both of which are actually adjacent to the Tartu Dialect area. According to the Estonian dialect dictionary edited by V. Pall (1982), there also occurs an *e*-stem variant (thus, plural *kaaled*) in Nõo parish of the Tartu Dialect area, and in Laiuse parish of the Central Dialect area. Even in the parish of Põlva (Võru Dialect area) this *e*-stem variant occurs (according to the files of Estonian dialects at KKI, Tallinn). Consequently, the core area of *kaal* is the Tartu Dialect area.

The monophthongization of diphthong components as revealed in this variant occurs first and foremost in the Võru Dialect if the form is in the weak grade, compare *vaib* 'sharp' (strong grade), genitive singular *vaavä* (weak grade), but is also reported to occur in frequent words in the Tartu Dialect area when phonetical conditions are favourable, that

is to say when the place of articulation of both components of the diphthong are close to each other (Keem 1970 : 17–18). Her examples like *laõda* > *lāda* 'cattle-shed' and *läõlaõttus* > *lālaõttus* 'wedding' indicate, that the *a*-stem variant of *kael* 'marsh tea' would meet this phonetic condition. It can, hence, be concluded that the monophthongized variants occur due to secondary development in the pertinent dialect areas.

1.3. Here and there in western parts of the North Estonian Mainland Dialect area (Saareste 1962 : 1114), and according to V. Pall (1982), on Kihnu island (Island Dialect area) as well as in Türi parish of the Central Dialect area, a variant *kalju* occurs. This form is also listed in the Estonian-German dictionary of F. J. Wiedemann (1893 s. v. *kail*). Evidently, *kalju* arose by metathesis from *kail*, *-u*<sup>5</sup>.

1.4. According to the thesaurus of Estonian compiled by A. Saareste (1962 : 1114), marsh tea is known as *sookaer*, *-a* here and there in Central Estonia. In all probability, *sookaer* is remodelled from *sookaerl* by means of alternation of the liquids *l* and *r*, which are known to alternate quite widely practically all over the North Estonian dialect area, see L. Kettunen (1913 : 153), P. Ariste (1939 : 225), V. Tauli (1956 : 193). A conducive factor to the replacement of *sookaerl* with *sookaer* certainly was the higher degree of semantic justification of *sookaer* as compared to *sookaerl* in that *kaer* 'oat' is a plant. Thus, literally, *sookaer* means 'marsh oat', whereas *sookaerl* is an unmotivated lexeme.

2. Finnish (*suo*)*pursu*, Estonian *porss*, Livonian *põrs̄s̄, pōrs̄s̄, pōrtsaz, pōrtsaz, pōrs̄s̄s̄s̄z*.

Both the Finnish (*suo*)*pursu* 'marsh tea, *Ledum palustre*', and the Estonian *porss* 'sweet gale, *Myrica gale*' have been the subject of attention of several etymologists. In 1897 the Finnish linguist Ralf Saxén stated that the Finnish as well as the Estonian word came from the west, that is to say from Swedish (Saxén 1897 : 100), but very soon this view was revised by H. J. Streng, who claimed the Estonian word to be of Middle Low German origin (1915 : 173). This standpoint was adopted by Lauri Kettunen (1938), who also introduced the Livonian variants *põrs̄s̄, pōrs̄s̄, pōrtsaz, pōrtsaz, pōrs̄s̄s̄s̄z* 'sweet gale, *Myrica gale*' into the discussion, regarding them as Middle Low German importations. The standpoints of Streng and Kettunen were later adopted by the compilers of the Finnish etymological dictionary (SKES 657), although Paul Ariste already in the late 1930s amended the etymology of Estonian *porss*, stating that it rather is a Baltic German borrowing than a Middle Low German one (Ariste 1937). A similar modification regarding the origin of Finnish (*suo*)*pursu* was presented in the Finnish etymological dictionary, where this Western Finnish Dialect and standard Finnish word is claimed to have been introduced by the Swedish dialects of Finland, where marsh tea is called *purs* (SKES 657). This explanation of Finnish *pursu* seems credible in every respect, whereas the origin of the Estonian and Livonian words, as recently proposed by Maret Kask (1980 : 811), may be sought yet elsewhere: «Evidently, *porss* descends from German, or perhaps rather from some Scandinavian language» (my translation). Below this question will be dealt with in detail.

2.1. In contemporary standard Estonian *porss*, plural *porsad* means 'sweet gale, *Myrica gale*'. In Andrus Saareste's thesaurus of Estonian this word and meaning is recorded from the westernmost parts of Estonia: the islands of Hiiumaa, Saaremaa and Muhu, the entire district of Lääne-maa, the parish of Risti (North Estonian Central Dialect area), and from the north-western part of Pärnumaa district (Saareste 1962 : 428). F. J. Wiedemann (1893), J. Tammeorg et al. (1975 : 198) and

M. Kask (1980 : 811) give the additional meaning 'marsh tea, *Ledum palustre*' but unfortunately none of them specify the geographical area of distribution of this meaning of the word. In the files of Estonian dialects at KKI in Tallinn there are a lot of records of *porss* 'sweet gale, *Myrica gale*' which geographically coincide with the area of distribution given by Andrus Saareste. Only some uncertain records of *porss* appear outside this area of distribution, some of which might mean 'marsh tea, *Ledum palustre*' or any other bog plant as well, since the indication of meaning is vague and leads to no further conclusions.

The clear and compact western distribution of *porss* 'sweet gale' is, however, not typical of a German importation in Estonian. One would rather expect a word of German origin to appear all over Estonia. Inevitably, a western distribution leads one to suspect the former Swedish dialects of Estonia to have played a role in introducing the word (Wiget 1928). In the former Swedish dialects of Estonia (as spoken on the western islands and on the northwestern coast of Estonia since at least the 14th—15th century until the Second World War), both marsh tea and sweet gale were known as *pors* or *pos*; see, for instance, G, Danell (1951), F. Isberg (1970—71), and the extensive records in the dictionary of the Swedish dialects of Estonia by the late Nils Tiberg (at ULMA in Uppsala, Sweden). The opposite direction of borrowing, from Estonian to the Swedish dialects of Estonia, is out of the question inasmuch as the word is also widely known in other Swedish dialects, Old Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and Icelandic (Holm 1972 : 70—73).

This geographical argument is, however, in no way persuasive. In Estonia, the sweet gale grows mainly on the western islands and the western mainland; elsewhere the plant occurs sporadically (Eichwald et al. 1969 : 350; M. Kask 1980 : 812). The marsh tea, in its turn, is somewhat less common on the western islands of Estonia (von Hofsten 1960 : 48—49, figure 5 & 6). On account of this one would certainly not expect the word *porss* 'sweet gale' to appear outside the geographical area of distribution of the plant. This means that the geographical area of distribution of the word *porss* in Estonian dialects is no cogent argument in the clarification of the origin of the word, and should consequently be left out of the discussion.

The Estonian word *porss* fits phonetically with both German *Pors*, *Porsch*, and Swedish *pors*, *pos*. The Estonian substitute for the palatal sibilant in *Porsch* is *s* in earlier German importations, compare Estonian *kirss* < High German *Kirsche* 'cherry', Estonian *värss* < Middle Low German *versch* 'verse'. The palatal sibilant found in the phoneme system of contemporary Estonian is a very recent addition to the sound system of Estonian (Ariste 1939 : 221; 1953 : 44). Similarly is *rs* the Estonian substitute for the supradental *ʃ* in Swedish *pos* (besides *s*, see Ariste 1933 : 37). According to Edvin Lagman (1979 : 51), the supradental pronunciation of *rd*, *rt*, *rs*, *rn* in the Swedish dialects of Estonia varied freely with «detached» pronunciation, even in the speech of one and the same individual. Furthermore, the supradental pronunciation in Swedish of the above-mentioned consonant clusters is regarded as an innovation of Modern Swedish (Wessén 1969 : 166), that is to say from the 16th century onwards. The exact point of time of this change has unfortunately not been settled. It must also be added, that the older, the «detached» pronunciation, according to Wessén, is maintained in the Swedish dialects of Finland, and on the island of Gotland. It seems plausible to assume that the supradental pronunciation in the Swedish dialects of Estonia appeared as a result of recent standard Swedish influence.

At this point it seems as if the final judgement on the origin of *porss* in Estonian would almost be a matter of taste. Considering the sweeping Middle Low German, or rather Baltic Middle German impact on Estonian from the 13th century onwards, as compared to that exerted by Swedish, one would after all perhaps feel inclined to prefer the German explanation to the Swedish one. There is, however, no reason to belittle or to write off the possible Swedish origin of *porss*, while this hypothesis is given some support by the fact that the application of sweet gale as a substitute for hops in brewing beer, as a medicinal plant as well as vermin control rather point to a peasant culture such as the Swedish one in Estonia than to the culture of Baltic German landlords, clergymen, merchants and craftsmen. Consequently, until further evidence can be obtained, I prefer to consider Estonian *porss* 'sweet gale' a Swedish loan. For a detailed treatment of the complex problem of distinguishing between German and Swedish loanwords in Estonian, see R. Raag (1984).

2.2. Unfortunately there is no information available regarding the geographical distribution of the Estonian variant *ports* 'sweet gale', which first was listed by F. J. Wiedemann (1893), and which later has been quoted by Lauri Kettunen (1938 : 310) and by Erkki Itkonen and Aulis Joki (SKES 657). This is most likely a secondary form which has arisen by differentiation of *rs* > *rts*. Such a development has been registered chiefly from Saaremaa and the North Estonian Western Dialect (Tauli 1956 : 119).

2.3. Both Lauri Kettunen in his Livonian dictionary (1938 : 310) and the Finnish etymological dictionary (SKES 657) are of the opinion that Livonian *poršs*, *pōršs*, *pōrtsaz*, *pōrtsaz*, *porššāz* 'sweet gale, *Myrica gale*' is of Middle Low German origin. This suggestion is certainly analogous with their interpretation of Estonian *porss*. However, if the Estonian word, as proposed above in section 2.1., is a Swedish, not a German importation, one has to deliberate as to the credibility of Livonian importing the word from Middle Low German or Baltic German on its own. In my opinion the same objection as in the case of Estonian *porss* must be raised against this hypothesis: sweet gale and its applications (in Livonian obviously first and foremost as a medicinal plant, see the example in Kettunen 1938 : 310) rather point to a peasant culture introducing the word than to the culture of the German landlords, clergymen, merchants and craftsmen. Only one plausible explanation remains, namely that the Livonians adopted *poršs*, etc. from their northern neighbours, the Estonians of Saaremaa island, a channel of numerous importations (see, for instance, Kettunen 1960 : 125, Вярри 1966 : 153). As is commonly known, the contacts between the Livonians and the western Estonians were fairly intense in the past (see Аристрэ 1954, especially pp. 267—293 for further elucidation). Furthermore, the Livonian variants *pōrtsaz* and *pōrtsaz* appear to be direct counterparts of Estonian *ports* (< *porss*), which previously (section 2.2) was attributed to the dialect of Saaremaa and the Estonian Western Mainland Dialect. The final *-z* in *pōrtsaz* and *pōrtsaz* is surely due to secondary development: Lauri Kettunen (1938 : XXXIX) mentions this kind of suffixation as an example of Latvian influence on Livonian. Finally, the lengthening of the vowel of the initial syllable in front of voiced consonants is a secondary, intra-Livonian development (Kettunen 1960 : 127).

3. Finnish *suo-*, *nevakanerva*, Ingrian *sūōkanerva*, Votic *sōkanerva*, Estonian *sōkamarik*.

A synonym of Finnish *suopursu* 'marsh tea' is *suokanerva* (M. Sadeniemi 1966). The final component of this compound is the common Finnish

word meaning 'heather, *Calluna vulgaris*'. Thus, literally translated, *suokanerva* means 'marsh heather'.

This word is listed in several early lexicographical works on Finnish. In the facsimile edition of the Finnish-Latin-Swedish dictionary by David Juslenius (originally dating from 1745), which contains additions and correctives by Henrik Gabriel Porthan, Porthan in connection with the entry *Canerwa* actually added *Suon Kanerva Ledum palustre* (Juslenius 1745 : 29), which seems to be the earliest record of *suokanerva* 'marsh tea' in Finnish. The word is also to be found in the Finnish-Swedish dictionary by Christfrid Ganander (1786—87): *Pursu -fun. s. [Newa Kanerwa, Suon-pursu e. suo kanerwa] .. ledum palustre, myrica palustris* (Ganander II 424); *Suonpursu. Suokanerva. Sqvattram. Ledum palustre* (Ganander III 86). Later lexicographers to list *suokanerva* are, for instance, Carl Helenius (1838 : 171 & 609), G. E. Eurén (1860 : 113 & 384), and, of course, Elias Lönnrot (1874 : 481).

In addition to the above-mentioned records from Finnish, this way of naming the marsh tea occurs in other Baltic Finnic languages too, namely Ingrian, Votic and Estonian: Ingrian *s<sup>u</sup>ōkanerva*: Laukaansuu *nīstā keitāffī tšājua nī s:kanervīsta* (Nirvi 1971 : 542) 'by them tea was made of these marsh teas'; Votic *sōkanerva*: Mati *sōkanervā tōtī rihhēsē, ku gli čirppui. pantī mānē. čirpuđ pelčāvūd. menevād vällā* (Paul Ariste, personal communication 11.03.1983) 'marsh tea was brought indoors, when there were fleas. They were put down. The fleas are afraid. They go out'; Estonian *sō-kamarik Sumpjporst (Ledum palustre L.)* (Wiedemann 1893 : 196). Besides these words, the words meaning 'heather' in Karelian, Ludic and the South Estonian Võru Dialect also denote the marsh tea: Karelian *kanarvo ~ kanarva ~ kanarvuo ~ kanabro*, etc. 'kanerva, kangaskanerva (*Calluna vulgaris*), us. myös suokanerva, suopursu' (Virtaranta 1974 : 46); Ludic *kanabr* (Sununsuu, Bošinkv'ä. Tiudia) etc. 'kanerva; suopursu' (Kujola 1944 : 105); Estonian (Räpina, Setu) *kanarik* (Saareste 1962 : 1114).

A synonym of the Finnish *suopursu, suokanerva* 'marsh tea', which from the point of view of word formation is parallel to *suokanerva*, is *nevakanerva*. The initial component of this compound, *neva*, means 'bog, moss'. It appears that this compound is almost as well recorded in earlier Finnish lexicographical works as are both *suopursu* and *suokanerva*. It occurs in the dictionary by C. Ganander (1786—87, II : 248): *Newa Kanerwa .. ledum palustre*; in the dictionary by C. Helenius (1838 : 171): *Kanerwa, an. Ljung. Suo, Newa k., Getporss, Sqvattram*; (p. 585): *Newa kanerwa*; in E. G. Eurén's dictionary (1860 : 113): *Kanerva ljung (erica vulgaris) = kangaskanerva, suo-, l. nevakanerva sqwattram, getpors (ledum palustre)*; and, finally, in the Finnish-Swedish dictionary by E. Lönnrot (1880 : 17): *Newakanerva .. sqvattram, getpors*. In modern dictionaries, however, *nevakanerva* is not listed, which leads one to suspect that the word has become outdated.

From the preceding account, it is apparent that the most widespread name for the marsh tea in Baltic Finnic languages is formed as a compound, the first element of which is a word meaning 'marsh, bog, moss', while the final component is a word for 'heather'. Taking into account that all the other names of the marsh tea in Baltic Finnic are borrowed (with the only possible exception of Vepsian *ludeghein*, see below), it seems most likely that this actually was the old common Baltic Finnic way of naming this particular bog shrub. Eventually, the compound appeared parallel to the single word meaning 'heather'. In support of this assumption I would call attention to the fact that this way of naming

(«marsh heather») occurs in typical peripheral areas (Votic, Ingrian), and that such a conservative vernacular as is the South Estonian Võru Dialect preserves the old use, whereas the other Estonian dialects have adopted a neologism of foreign extraction.

#### 4. Vepsian *ludēghein*.

The only Vepsian name for the marsh tea recorded so far seems to be *ludēghein*, which literally means 'bug hay' (*ludēg* 'bed-bug', *hein* 'hay'). This word has been recorded only from the South Vepsian villages Sodjärvi and Vaagär (= Vaagedjärvi) by M. Zajceva & M. Mullonen (Зайцева, Муллонен 1972 : 300). It must, however, be borne in mind that both the past and present of the Vepsian vocabulary is still insufficiently documented and investigated to enable definite conclusions to be drawn. Nevertheless, it does not seem particularly unlikely to assume an etymological connection between the descriptive South Vepsian *ludēghein* and the North Russian dialect word *клоповник* 'marsh tea', the latter being a derivative of *клоп* 'bug'. According to the dictionary of Russian dialects, *клоповник* 'marsh tea' occurs in the North Russian vernaculars of Olonec, Vologda and Tver, and in the Russian dialects of Siberia (Филин 1977 : 304). It is, however, not clear whether the stated occurrence of this word and meaning in the vernacular of Vologda means that the word is known all over the quite extensive territory of the Vologda dialect (see e.g. Кузнецов 1960 : 145) or only in certain parts of this dialect. As regards the record of *клоповник* 'marsh tea' from Siberia, one has to keep in mind that the Russian dialects in Siberia did not arise earlier than the 16th or 17th century by colonization from Russia proper, predominantly from the provinces of Novgorod, Olonec, Vologda, Archangelsk, Vjatka and Perm (Селищев 1921 : 6), that is to say from the area of the North Russian dialects. The few later colonists from other Russian dialect areas are reported to have been assimilated to the prevailing earlier North Russian colonists (Селищев 1921 : 7). Consequently, in this connection the attestation of *клоповник* 'marsh tea' from Siberia can be disregarded since it obviously is a North Russian dialect word which was passed on to Siberia by the colonists.

To sum up, no major objections can be raised against the assumption of an etymological connection between South Vepsian *ludēghein* and the North Russian *клоповник* 'marsh tea' due to direct contacts between the Vepsians and the North Russians, the Vepsians being the indigenous dwellers of the Olonec, Ladoga-Tichvin, and the western as well as northern parts of the Vologda region (Пименов 1965 : 178—179; see also figure 2 on page 36). It is, however, not possible to ascertain whether the North Russians made a loan rendition of Vepsian *ludēghein* or vice versa. Consequently the question of the direction of this borrowing must for the present remain unsolved.

#### Abbreviations

KKI — Keele ja Kirjanduse Instituut, i.e. The Institute of Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR in Tallinn; ULMA — Dialekt och Folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala, i.e. The Institute for Dialect and Folklore Research in Uppsala.

## LITERATURE

- Ariste, P. 1933, Eesti-rootsi laensõnad eesti keeles, Tartu (ACUT B XXIX:3).  
 — 1937, Mõningaid alamsaksa laensõnu. — EK 16, 132—140.  
 — 1939, Hiiu murrete häälikud, Tartu (ACUT B XLVII).  
 — 1953, Eesti keele foneetika, Tallinn.
- Cleasby, R., Vigfusson, G. 1874, An Icelandic-English Dictionary, Oxford.
- Danell, G. 1951, Ordbok över Nuckömålet, Lund (Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien 27).
- Eichwald, K., Eilart, J., Kalda, A., Kask, M., Paivel, A., Talts, S., Viljassoo, L. 1969, Eesti NSV floora IV, Tallinn.
- Eichwald, K., Kalamees, K., Kask, M., Krall, H., Kuusk, V., Masing, V., Paivel, A., Puusepp, V., Rimmel, A., Talts, S., Tamm, Ü., Viljassoo, L. 1971, Eesti NSV floora VIII, Tallinn.
- Eurén, G. E. 1860, Finsk-Swensk Ordbok, Tavastehus.
- Ganander, C. /1786—1787/, Nytt Finskt Lexicon I—III. — Christfrid Gananderin Uusi suomen sanakirja. Tutkimuslaitos «Suomen suvun» julkaisuja II, Porvoo-Helsinki 1937—1940.
- Gutslaff, J. 1648, Observationes Grammaticæ circa linguam Esthonicam, Dorpat. — H. Haarmann, Die estnischen Grammatiken des 17. Jahrhunderts I, Hamburg 1976.
- Göseken, H. 1660, Manuctio ad Linguam Oesthonicam, Reval. — A.-L. Värri-Haarmann, Die estnischen Grammatiken des 17. Jahrhunderts II, Hamburg 1977.
- Helenius, C. 1838, Suomalainen ja Ruozalainen Sana-Kirja, Åbo.
- Helle, A. T. 1732, Kurzgefasste Anweisung zur Ehstnischen Sprache, Halle.
- von Hofsten, N. 1960, Pors och andra humleersätningar och ölkryddor i äldre tider, Uppsala (Acta Academiæ Regiæ Gustavi Adolphi XXXVI).
- Holm, G. 1972, Ordhistoriska notiser. — Meijerbergs arkiv för svensk ordforskning 13, Göteborg, 53—76.
- Hupel, A. W. 1777, Topographische Nachrichten von Lief- und Ehtland II, Riga.  
 — 1818, Ehstnische Sprachlehre für die beiden Hauptdialekte, den revalschen und dörtschen, nebst einem vollständigen Wörterbuche, Mitau.
- Isberg, F. 1970—1971, Supplement till G. Danells Ordbok över Nuckömålet I—II, Uppsala (Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien 47).
- Juslenius, D. 1745, Suomalaisen Sana-Lugun Coetus. — Näköispainos, Helsinki, Porvoo 1968 (SKST 288).
- Kalima, J. 1936, Itämerensuomalaisten kielten balttilaiset lainasanat, Helsinki (SKST 202).
- Kask, A. 1938, J. V. Veski ja oskussõnastikud. — EK 17, 65—91.
- Kask, M. 1980, Harilik porss. — Eesti Loodus XXIII, Tallinn, 811—813.
- Keem, H. 1970, Tartu murde tekstid, Tallinn (Eesti murded III).
- Kettunen, L. 1913, Lautgeschichtliche Untersuchung über den Kodaferschen Dialekt, Helsinki (MSFOu XXXIII).  
 — 1938, Livisches wörterbuch mit grammatischer einleitung, Helsinki (LSFU V).  
 — 1960, Suomen lähisukukielten luonteenomaiset piirteet, Helsinki (MSFOu 119).
- Klein, E. 1966, A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, Volume I. Amsterdam—London—New York.
- Kock, A. 1911, Ordforskning i den äldre Eddan. — Arkiv för nordisk filologi, Ny fölid, tiugotredje bandet, Lund, 105—140.
- Kuiola, J. 1944, Lyvdiläismurteiden sanakirja, Helsinki (LSFU IX).
- Kull, R., Raiet, E. 1976, Oigekeelsussõnaraamat, Tallinn.
- Kurschat, A. 1968, Litauisch-deutsches Wörterbuch. Thesaurus Linguae Lituaniæ, Band I, Göttingen.
- Lagman, E. 1979, Estlandssvenskarnas språkförhållanden. — En bok om Estlands svenskar, 3A, Stockholm.
- von Luce, J. W. L. 1823, Topographische Nachrichten von der Insel Oesel, Riga.
- Lönnrot, E. 1874—80, Finskt-svenskt lexikon I—II, Helsingfors (SKST 50).
- Manninen, I. 1934, Ruoka, Juoma, Nautintoainet. — A. Kannisto, E. N. Setälä, U. T. Sirelius, Y. Wichmann, Suomen suku, III osa, Helsinki, 139—165.
- Marzell, H. 1972, Wörterbuch der deutschen Pflanzennamen. Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Heinz Paul, Dritter Band, Stuttgart—Wiesbaden.  
 — 1977, Wörterbuch der deutschen Pflanzennamen, Zweiter Band, Leipzig.
- Mägiste, J. 1983, Estnisches etymologisches Wörterbuch II. Hernes — kamm, Helsinki.
- Nirvi, R. E. 1971, Inkeröismurteiden sanakirja, Helsinki (LSFU XVIII).
- Nurm, E., Raiet, E., Kindlam, M. 1960, Oigekeelsuse sõnaraamat, Tallinn.
- Pall, V. 1982, Väike murdesõnastik I, Tallinn.

- Pokorny, J. 1959, Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Bern—München.
- Raag, R. 1984, German importations in Estonian surveyed. — *Fenno-Ugrica Suecana* 6, Uppsala, 61—81.
- Raun, A. 1982, Etimoloogiline teatmik, Rooma-Toronto.
- Saareste, A. 1937, Eesti keel XIII—XVI sajandil, Tartu.
- 1959, Eesti keele mõisteline sõnaraamat II, Stockholm.
- 1962, Eesti keele mõisteline sõnaraamat III, Stockholm.
- Sadeniemi, M. 1966, Nykysuomen sanakirja, Porvoo—Helsinki.
- Saxén, R. 1897, Skandinaavialaisia lainasanoja. — *Vir.*, 99—100.
- Stahl, H. 1637, Anführung zu der Esthnischen Sprach, Revall. — H. H a a r m a n n, Die estnischen Grammatiken des 17. Jahrhunderts I, Hamburg 1976.
- Streng, H. J. 1915, Nuoremmat ruotsalaiset lainasanat vanhemmassa suomen kirjakielissä, Helsinki.
- Strömbäck, D. 1927, Fvn. Gaglvödr och några därmed besläktade ord. — *Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapet i Uppsala Förhandlingar* Jan. 1925 — Dec. 1927. (UUA 1927), 23—33.
- Tammeorg, J., Kook, O., Vilbaste, G. 1975, Eesti NSV ravimtaimed, 4. trükk, Tallinn.
- Tauli, V. 1956, Phonological Tendencies in Estonian, København (Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser, bind 36, nr. 1).
- Trautmann, R. 1923, Baltisch-Slawisches Wörterbuch, Göttingen.
- Veski, J. V., Muuk, E. 1925—37, Eesti õigekeelsuse-sõnaraamat I—III, Tartu.
- Wessén, E. 1969, Svensk språkhistoria I. Ljudlära och ordböjningslära. Åttonde upplagan, Lund.
- Wiedemann, F. J. 1893, Eesti-saksa sõnaraamat. Neljas, muutmata trükk teisest, Jakob Hurda redigeeritud väljaandest, Tallinn 1973.
- Wiget, W. 1928, Herkunft und Verbreitung der neueren germanischen Lehnwörter im Estnischen. — *Sitzungsberichte der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft* 1927, Dorpat, 255—275.
- Virtaranta, P. 1974, Karjalan kielén sanakirja. Toinen osa. K, Helsinki (LSFU XVI 2).
- Vries, J. de 1977, Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Zweite verbesserte Auflage, Leiden.
- Аристэ П. А. 1954, К вопросу о развитии ливского языка. — *Труды Института Языкознания АН СССР*, Том IV, Москва, 254—307.
- Ваари Э. Э. 1966, Ливский язык. — *Языки народов СССР III. Финно-угорские и самодийские языки*, Москва, 138—154.
- Зайцева М. И., Муллонен М. И. 1972, *Словарь вепского языка*, Ленинград.
- Кузнецов П. С. 1960, *Русская диалектология*. Издание третье, исправленное, Москва.
- Пименов В. В. 1965, *Вепсы. Очерк этнической истории и генезиса культуры*, Москва—Ленинград.
- Селищев А. М. 1921, *Диалектологический очерк Сибири*. Выпуск I, Иркутск.
- Филин Ф. П. (главный редактор) 1977, *Словарь русских народных говоров*. Выпуск тринадцатый. Калун—Кобза, Ленинград.

РАИМО РААГ (Уппсала)

### LEDUM PALUSTRE В ПРИБАЛТИЙСКО-ФИНСКИХ ЯЗЫКАХ

В статье этимологизируются слова прибалтийско-финских языков со значением 'богульник болотный', *Ledum palustre* L'. Отмечается, что эст. лит. (*soo*)*kail* имеет фонетическое соответствие как в немецком, так и в литовском языках, ср. нем. *Gagel* 'восковница; *Myrica gale* L.' и литов. *gailis visenis* 'богульник болотный'. Автор статьи считает, что *kail* — это слово балтийского происхождения и что эстонские диалектные варианты *kael*, *kaal*, *kalju* и *sookaer* возникли в результате вторичного развития: *sookaer* как явный пример народной этимологии, *kalju* посредством метатезы (*kailud* > *kaljud*), а *kael* и *kaal* в ходе закономерного звукового развития.

До сих пор как эст. *porss*, так и лив. *porš*, *põrs*, *põrtsaz*, *põrtsaz*, *poršsaz* считались средненижнемецким или (относительно эстонского слова) балтийско-немецким заимствованием. В статье же предлагается совсем иная возможность заимствования. А именно — эстонское слово могло прийти из шведских диалектов в Эстонии, а ливское слово в свою очередь — из островного диалекта эстонского языка.

В карельском языке, лодиковском диалекте и в вырусском диалекте эстонского языка богульник болотный передается словом, основное значение которого 'вереск'. В финском, ижорском и водском языках к обозначающему вереск основному слову присоединяется в качестве первого компонента слово, обозначающее влажную территорию, болото. Широкое распространение этих наименований в прибалтийско-финских языках и тот факт, что другие названия богульника (за исключением, пожалуй, южно-вепс. *lud'eghein*) заимствованы, могут служить, по мнению автора статьи, подтверждением тезиса, согласно которому такое наименование очень старо, вероятно, относится даже к периоду прибалтийско-финского праязыка.

Нельзя исключать и возможность этимологической связи южновепс. *lud'eghein* 'богульник болотный' с севернорус. диал. *клоповник* то же. При этом все же невозможно установить направление заимствования.