Chapter 4

The Russian loanwords in literary Estonian

4. 1. Major sources

Various sources have been used in the present work, mainly explanatory dictionaries of Estonian, but also older grammars and dictionaries of Estonian. Non-literary sources such as grammars or dictionaries of South Estonian or slang have only been used to illustrate some particular aspect of words from the literary language. Dictionaries of foreign words such as the Võõrsõnade leksikon have not been used as primary sources, as they are not considered to be explanatory dictionaries (though of course they are used if an etymology is first suggested in such a dictionary).\(^\text{116}\)

Our default source is the 6-volume Eesti keele seletussõnaraamat (EKSS). The EKSS was begun in the early 1960s: of the scheduled 24 fascicles the first was published in 1987 and by January 2005 24 fascicles had indeed appeared, but the last fascicle ends with the word varjutaluv ‘shade-bearing’, and now the final number of fascicles will probably be 26, the last of which is planned to appear at the end of 2006 or the beginning of 2007.\(^\text{117}\) The EKSS, which will then have approximately 135,000 words, is based on the card catalogue of the Estonian literary language, which is in turn based on literary works, both original and in translation, from the 1900s onwards, newspapers and magazines and technical and scientific publications.\(^\text{118}\) Some works by well-known writers from the 19\textsuperscript{th} century have also been used, as well as earlier dictionaries and encyclopaedic works.

\(^{116}\) Estonian literature and newspapers abound in Russian loanwords which so far have not found entry in dictionaries: bardakk ‘mess’ (< Russ. бардак ‘brothel’), ėartsama ‘to traffic’ (< фарташ ‘id.’), hrushčovka ‘block of 1960s-style flats’ (< хрушчовка ‘id.’), jeeli-jeeli ‘only just’ (< Russ. еле-еlee ‘id.’) and pohhuist ‘inconsiderate person’ (< похуист ‘id.’) are some common examples.

\(^{117}\) According to MARGIT LANGEMETS of the Institute of the Estonian Language (p.c.).

\(^{118}\) According to LEIMBIT VABA (p.c.), the earlier volumes of EKSS will have fewer new Russian loanwords, because the compilers will have attempted to limit their number. Now the pressure to protect the Estonian
If a word is found in EKSS, then we consider it to be an accepted part of the Estonian vocabulary, unless it is given in italics, cf. dolce ‘dolce’ (musical term). Some words are described as dialectal, obsolescent, slang or vulgar, but as they have been taken up by EKSS they will be treated here too.

To place the Russian loanwords in their historical background the first attestation of a word is followed as far back as possible; here all dictionaries and other materials are used, no matter what the origin or purpose.

If a word is not found in EKSS but in any pre-1850 dictionary or in any more modern explanatory dictionary (e.g. EÖS) it is also included; if then it also found as a dialectal word in e.g. WIEDEMANN 1893 or MUST 2000 these sources are also mentioned. However, if words found for example only in the four-volume Russian-Estonian dictionary (VES), and which thus do not seem to have been in active use in Estonian and are probably direct Russian loans borrowed by the lexicographers, they have not been included.

All material is from published sources only, and the Estonian dialect archives have not been used.

Estonian dialect material cited is from EMS, EKMS, MUST 2000, VMS and WIEDEMANN 1869 and 1893.

The major sources used, in chronological order, are the following:

**VTS:** In 1997 the first part of a dictionary of Old Estonian (VTS) appeared, which contains all Estonian text material from 1224 till 1600.

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language is not so strong. Estonian lexicography has been a field dominated by women: this supposedly means that obscene terms were less likely to be taken up.

119 In the introduction of VES (I, 10) the authors note that for some Russian words for which they could not find an appropriate Estonian equivalent they contented themselves with borrowing the Russian word. Examples from the letter 6 in the first volume include baaba-jagaa ‘Baba-Yaga’ (witch in Russ. folktales; used sometimes in Estonian slang to denote a witch-like old woman) < Russ. баба-яга; baarõnjä ‘(a) Russian dance’ < Russ. барышка; badeen ‘Saxifraga crustisofila’ < Russ. бадей; buki ‘letter б, formerly used in Russian’ < Russ. буква; bulone ‘lap-dog’ < Russ. булонка; busaa ‘(beverage)’ < Russ. буза.

120 On occasion we regret this decision: words like fors (‘vulg.) mixture of vodka with beer or wine’ (VES I, 574a) (< Russ. ёрш ‘(coll.) mixture of beer and vodka’ < ёрш ‘hedgehog’, on account of the difficulty of swallowing it in one go: cf. Пил Слепушкин водку, смешанную с пивом: такой состав назывался «ершом», по трудности проглотить его сразу. Бунин, Учитель; SSRLJA 1991, V-VI, 45b) and kantšatka ‘back or last row in a classroom, furthest corner in a room’ (VES I, 829b) (< Russ. камчатка ‘id.’ < Камчатка ‘Kamchatka peninsula’) merit inclusion on humorous grounds.
MÜLLER 1606: The Estonian sermons of GEORG MÜLLER were published in 1891 by WILHELM REIMAN; a dictionary of the sermons appeared in 2000 (HABICHT et al. 2000). If not specifically mentioned otherwise reference is made to this dictionary, not REIMAN’s edition of the sermons. Due to the sermons’ importance for the Estonian language they are used despite the fact that the sermons were not published in MÜLLER’s lifetime. The dictionary contains 1803 lexemes.

STAHLE 1637: HEINRICH STAHLE 1637, Anführung zu der ehstnischen Sprach, Revall, includes a German-(North-)Estonian dictionary of about 2000 words (KIKAS 2002 turned STAHLE’S German-Estonian dictionary into an Estonian-German dictionary: as STAHLE’S grammar contains words not in the dictionary part KIKAS’ dictionary contains 3112 words).

GOSEKEN 1660: HEINRICH GOSEKEN: Manudctio ad Linguam Oestthonicam. Reval. Contains a German-(North-)Estonian dictionary of about 9000 words (includes intermittent Latin translations), the largest of the 17th century. The second edition (1977) was used for pagination.

THOR HELLE 1732: Kurtzgefasste Anweisung zur Eehschnischen Sprache. Includes a (North-) Estonian-German wordlist of about 7000 words.

VESTRING ±1740: SALOMO VESTRING’S (North-)Estonian-German dictionary. The exact date is not known; it is assumed to have been compiled in the 1720s or 1730s (KASK 1999, 30), but the last additions are probably from around 1740. This first Estonian-German dictionary contains about 8000121 words. It was printed for the first time in 1998 (cf. also KASK 1970, 75-88).

VESTRING’s dictionary, published in 1998, is basically a copy of THOR HELLE’s 1732 dictionary. THOR HELLE had used VESTRING’s manuscript for his own dictionary, but after it appeared in 1732 VESTRING added new words from it to his manuscript; ultimately both had used each other’s work. VESTRING’s dictionary contains an additional list of words (pps. 354-357) from South Estonian with eight Russian loanwords not present in the main body of the dictionary: Abbar ‘Ein Setz-Netz’ (< Russ. обёр ‘fishing net’; cf. abar), Awwask ‘Ein russischer Beutel’ (< ?Russ. въосъка ‘string bag’), Liud ‘Die Schüssel’ (Russ. блюдо

121 KRIKMAN (in LANGEVETS 2003, 99) states VESTRING has between 7050 and 7060 words.

122 Est. Awwask ‘Ein russischer Beutel’ (VESTRING 1740, 354a), awaske ‘russischer Beutel’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893), which is also recorded in Estonian folk poetry (enne puudus poiste punga, alanes velle avaski, VK IV, 148b; also in EKMS II, 104-105), is a problematic word; at first glance it seems to be a loan from Russ. въосъка ‘string shopping bag’. However, according to Russian etymological dictionaries (ŠAŃSKIJ 1961, 21; 1963 I/1, 30;

**HUPEL 1780:** AUGUST WILHELM HUPEL: *Ehstnische Sprachlehre für beide Hauptdialetke.* The first edition contains about 17 000 words in the Estonian-German, German-Estonian dictionary. In this first edition HUPEL added an appendix with South Estonian words; amongst these are four certain Russian loans and two uncertain ones: *arsin* ‘Arachine’ (529a), *kamsol* ‘das Kamisol’ (530a), *kelp* ‘der Giebel’ (530b), *kossal* ‘Bienen=Stock im Wald’ (531a), *liisna* ‘zu viel’ (531b) and *narrits* ‘das Gliederknacken’ (532a).123 

PODHORSZKY also suggests various incorrect Slavic etymologies (e.g. on pps. 246a, 252a: *rägima* (= *rääkima*) ‘reden’ from ‘Sl.’; PODHORSZKY is probably thinking of Russ. речь ‘sprechen’, речь ‘ich spreche’ here; *ülbe* ‘arrogant’ < Sl. *hlub*.

**HUPEL 1818:** The second edition of HUPEL’s 1780 grammar contains about 20 000 words. Words from both editions of HUPEL are only used if they are marked as ‘r.’, i.e. Reval (= Tallinn) or ‘h.’, i.e. Harrien (= Harjumaa), i.e. if they come from northern Estonia, from which the present literary language was to emerge.

**WIEDEMANN 1869:** WIEDEMANN’s comprehensive Estonian-German dictionary contains material from all dialects, but was used as a normative dictionary too. Dialect words are marked as such, and have not been taken up as word articles if they do not have a cognate in the literary language. Altogether WIEDEMANN’s dictionary contains about 50 000 words.

**WIEDEMANN 1893:** The second edition of WIEDEMANN’s Estonian-German dictionary, revised and updated by JAKOB HURT. It contains about 60 000 words and is basically a dialect

ČERNYH 1994, 24a), the Russian word is not recorded before the 1930s. A Finnic origin, however, also seems unlikely, seen its very restricted distribution and meaning.

123 The present author’s personal copy of HUPEL 1780 is filled with handwritten comments. These are mostly short notes concerning the etymology of the particular words; there are comparisons with Hungarian, Finnish, Slavic and even Chinese. These comments were probably made by one of the previous owners, a LOUIS PODHORSZKY, who wrote a hard-to-decipher inscription on the title page: *Louis Podhorszky à Paris 1866 (?) le 5 de Décembre a comparé avec le finnois & le lappon jusqu’au 1874!! This PODHORSZKY must be identical with LAJOS PODHORSZKY, a well-known Hungarian linguist (born in 1815 in Feketelehta, died in Paris in 1891). PODHORSZKY worked in Budapest as a fencing teacher, fled to Turkey after the Hungarian revolution of 1848-1849, worked as a teacher for the Serbian KARAGEORGEVIĆ family, studied Chinese manuscripts in Paris and knew some 25 languages, and set up unscientific theories on the origin of Hungarian (KENYERES 1969, 422ab). His biography (‘Podhorszky Lajos, 1815-1891’) was published in 1896 in Budapest by ANDRÁS GYÖRKY.
dictionary of great scientific worth, still in use today as an irreplaceable fount of the Estonian lexicon. Its use here is legitimised as dialect origin of particular words is always mentioned, thus enabling their elimination. Wiedemann notes Russian origin for many of the obvious newest loanwords. Many of these are words of religious content now used only by Orthodox Estonians, others concern Tsarist realia now no longer relevant. The third (1923) and fourth (1973) editions are based on this second edition and contain no new material.

**EKÖS 1918:** A slim work of some 150 pages and 20 000 lexemes, EKÖS was the first orthographic dictionary in Estonian. Its function was to serve as a guide to orthography, and only rarely are words explained. This means that sometimes we cannot be sure if a certain word is the word we treat in our list if it is a homograph (e.g. riis), and we cannot always be sure of their meaning.

EKÖS was quickly superseded by EÖS 1925-37.

**EÖS 1925-37:** 1718 pp, 130 000 lexemes. The huge EÖS was the largest dictionary of Estonian until EKSS started to appear.

**VÖS 1933:** 460 pp. As it took some 12 years for EÖS to be completed a new more compact dictionary was published in 1933, the first of a series.

**VÖS 1936:** 477 pp. Four identical editions of VÖS were published; the fifth, in 1936, was the first to have some changes, albeit only small ones (cf. the introduction on page 3).

**VÖS 1940:** 562 pp.

According to the introduction (p. 6) and the printing information (p. 562) the 1940 VÖS was printed before the Russian occupation, which started in June 1940. However, compared to the earlier editions of VÖS it contains already many words associated with the Soviet Union, mostly ethnonyms: tšeremiss‘Cheeremis’ (perhaps not so unusual as the Mari, formerly called Cheremis, speak a language related to Estonian), tšerkess‘Cherkess’, tšuktš‘Chukchi’, tšuvašš ‘Chuvash’, usbekk ‘Uzbek’, place-names: Tobolsk, Vladivostokk, and areas like Moldaavia, Turkestan, Turkmenistan. On the other hand tibla is still registered, which it is no longer in the 1946 or 1953 VÖS. For the question of the preferred transliteration of feminine forms of Russian names cf. 2.2.1.6. Proper names.

**VÖS 1945:** 587 pp. In the 1945 VÖS there are already many small changes: in the 1940 edition the pre-Revolutionary Russian alphabet is still given in the transliteration section (i.e. it still includes i (> ii), ɪ (> e) and ə (> φ)).

**SÖS 1948-51:** 288 pp. Only two volumes were published, the last word is kobraroat ‘beaver rat’.
Interesting on the ‘corrections’ sheet, found in the second volume of SÕS, is the comment on Irboska: the dictionary has Irboska (the Estonian name of a town in the area that was removed from the Estonian SSR and transferred to the Pskov oblast of the Russian SSR in 1945) with only the illative form as information, and mentions also Izborsk, the Russian name (from which the Estonian name derives), which is said to be a historical (and thus obsolete) and local name. In the corrections sheet, however, this has been amended to {Irboska} vt. Izborsk, a station on the Tartu-Pskov railway, i.e. the Estonian name is now the obsolete one and the Russian one is to be preferred. The corrections sheet also mentions who (the author, the printer or the editor) is responsible for a particular mistake, reflecting the Soviet obsession with apportioning blame.

VÕS 1953: 350 pp, 36 000 lexemes. The 1953 VÕS has yet more Sovietica in the transliteration section. In the VÕS dictionaries up to 1945 the Russian alphabet was simply transliterated; now examples are given for all 32 letters, amongst which we find the following telling examples: Stalingrad, õdanov, Kirov, Lenin, Kalinin, Voroõlov, Leningrad, Kutuzov, Žukovski and Stalin.

ÕS 1960: 872 pp, 100 000 lexemes. This first edition was also reprinted in Canada in 1968.

ÕS 1976: 928 pp, 115 00 lexemes. Not uninteresting is the fact that the 1960 ÕS was published in an impression of 40 000 copies, but the 1976 ÕS in only 20 000. Due to this low number identical editions were reprinted in 1978 and in 1980, with a 4th edition in 1984 with slightly fewer (896) pages.

EKSS 1988-: Eesti keele seletussõnaraamat I-VI, ± 135 000 lexemes. It is the first explanatory dictionary of Estonian, though not yet complete: 24 of the 26 fascicles have been published.

ÕS 1999: 1040 pp, 130 000 lexemes. Marketed as an explanatory dictionary in the ÕS tradition; many words are not defined, only usage examples given.

For easier reference the order from EKÕS onwards is not strictly chronological: EKÕS, EÕS, VÕS 1933, VÕS 1940, VÕS 1945, VÕS 1953, SÕS, ÕS 1960, ÕS 1976, ÕS 1999 and EKSS.

Page numbers will only be given if the work concerned does not have Estonian as the source language (e.g. STAHL 1637), if the word is not found in the dictionary itself but in an appendix (e.g. in THOR HELLE 1732), if it is not ordered strictly alphabetically (e.g. VESTRING 1740) or if more than one author or work is subsumed under one title (e.g. VTS). Other material, like Bible translations and other religious literature, word lists in ROSENPLANTER’s Beiträge and

124 Figures for the number of lexemes per dictionary are from each dictionary if it mentions this; otherwise from KASIK 1999; RÄTSEP 2002, 45, 290 and LANGEMETS 2003.
various articles will be mentioned in each individual case. Full page numbers are always added to any etymological dictionary or article.

4.2. Structure of etymological articles:

a. Estonian headword (in bold).

For the Estonian headwords EKSS is the default source, where the whole definition is translated into English, no matter if the word can also be easily translated into English (e.g. pagan is translated as ‘person who does not belong to the Christian (or Jewish or Muslim) faith, witness of a polytheist religion; person who has become estranged from the church, person who is indifferent to religious rites; evil spirit, the devil; moderate swearword’ and not simply as ‘pagan’); if the word cannot be found in EKSS then it is cited according to the other sources, preferably following WIEDEMANN 1869 or 1893.

The presence of a word in (North-)Estonian is followed from its earliest occurrence in dictionaries or older grammars. Some other older sources such as MÜLLER 1600 have been used despite the fact that they are not dictionaries or grammars; it was felt that their age and relative importance for Estonian lexical studies merited their inclusion nonetheless.

If the word has been borrowed twice it will only occur once as a word article, even if the meaning has diverged. E.g. a. kasimuur ‘ein Zeug’, recorded by WIEDEMANN, is subsumed under kašmir ‘cashmere’.

The order depends on the first form encountered in EKSS: i.e. teng and tenusk are found under denga.

b. Russian original.

For the Russian originals the basic sources are HOWLETT 1993; if not recorded there then from DAL’ (1903-09), the 17-volume SSRLJA (1948-1965), ŌZEGOV (1990) or PAWLOWSKY (1879); if not found there either then REW is also used.

For Russian the first attested form is mentioned if either REW or the 17-volume academic dictionary does so. The English translation follows HOWLETT; if not found there the source is mentioned, and not translated if it is a Russian source such as DAL’, SSRLJA or SRNG.

Russian forms are cited in any which way, sometimes imperfect forms of verbs, sometimes perfect forms, depending from which a particular Estonian word was borrowed. Russian forms from DAL’ are written according to pre-1918 spelling.
The etymology of the Russian original is succinctly\textsuperscript{125} presented after REW, where definitions in European languages are not translated; if not found there other sources are used; sometimes compounds are not etymologized separately by the sources; in which case the component parts are etymologized.

In the etymology of the Russian word the comment ‘Common Slavic’ refers to the last word mentioned, so any reference then to REW refers to this last word, possibly also to words ahead including the first, but not necessarily.

\textbf{c. Comments.}

Estonian words quoted in an article which also occur as individual headwords are in bold. English translations of Estonian religious texts are taken, if possible, from the 1611 King James Bible translation.

\textbf{d. Relevant literature.}\textsuperscript{126}

The relevant literature entails only literature that pertains to the etymology of the Estonian word in question; other literature is found in the other sections.\textsuperscript{127}

Russian origin is often suggested for a specific Finnish word which has a recognized Estonian cognate, though without taking this cognate into account. In the present work only Russian etymologies for specific Estonian words will be mentioned in the ‘relevant literature’ section. The Estonian dictionaries of foreign words (\textit{Võõrsõnade leksikon}, 6 editions from 1961 to 2000) note only the ultimate origin of these words: e.g. \textit{abrekk} ‘Caucasian partisan’ is said to be a loan from Ossete, though it must obviously have been borrowed via Russian. Therefore for our purposes it is a Russian loan, but the \textit{Võõrsõnade leksikon} is not mentioned as having

\textsuperscript{125} Cf. JOKI's (1952, 5) comment in his monograph on the loanwords of Sayan Samoyed: ‘Meines Erachtens - und hier trat Professor Ramstedt meiner Meinung bei - gehört es zur Pflicht des Etymologen, in Lehnhwortforschungen den Schicksalen des Wortes auch in der Darlei herrichtung so weit wie möglich zu folgen, besonders wenn die Untersuchung solche wenig erforschte Sprachen wie die altaischen behandelt.’ Russian and Estonian are not poorly studied languages, but nevertheless I agree with JOKI.

\textsuperscript{126} ‘A defensible tradition demands that any proponent of a new etymological solution of some long-vexing ‘mystery’ pass in review, with a critical eye, most or, if this aim is at all attainable, all earlier explicative statements on the problem.’ (MALKIEL 1993, 137). I do not claim to have found many new etymologies, but I have attempted to cite all the relevant literature. ‘Relevant’ is to a large extent a personal choice.

\textsuperscript{127} For many of these words the Russian origin is obvious at first glance and the ‘comparison…practically forces itself upon the observer’ (cf. WORTH 1969, 1); their etymology simply has not been enumerated in the literature. Cf. MÄGISTE (1962, 64): ‘Åven de nyare och nyaste lånord måste bli systematiskt granskade i alla östersjöf. språk, ty därifrån kan man hämta betydligt mer lärdomar för forskningen på de äldre lånordens område än man hittills med tillfällig stickprov har kunnat göra.’
suggested the etymology first, as it did not mention Russian mediation. The *Võõrsõnade leksikon* is only referred to if it concerns a genuine Russian loan.

### 4.3. Word articles

a. **abar** ‘fishnet with triple meshwork’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. обóр ‘юж. зап. род рыболовной сети, на обор, вздержки’ (DAG III, 584b; cf. also SRNG 22, 171) < обирать ‘to gather’.

c. Est. **abar** ‘fishing net’ (recorded as South Estonian already in HYPEL 1780 and 1818) is borrowed from Russ. обóр ‘id.’, Est. dial. abarits is borrowed from Russ. оборéп ‘id.’ (cf. MUST 2000, 20). The net in question is common all over Russia, but this specific name is in use mainly in the area to the immediate east of Lake Peipsi, as well as in Russian dialects in Estonia. In Estonia the (Estonian) term is used on Lake Peipsi and on lakes in south-eastern Estonia, as well as on the Emajõgi and Võrtsjärv, and has more or less completely supplanted the older term kimmi/kemm (MOORA 1964, 201).

A cognate is found in Votic (apara ‘certain type of fishing net’; VKS I, 112) and Ingrian (aparaverkko ‘small handnet’; IS 17), where either might be a loan from the other.

The Russian etymology was first suggested by MANNINEN (1931, 202).


b. Russ. абрéк ‘mountain dweller; partisan from the Caucasus mountains’, borrowed from a Caucasian language, probably from Cherkess abrekk ‘id.’ (REW I, 2).

c. Est. abrekk belongs to the group of words of specifically Caucasian/Central Asian concepts, used only in historical contexts.

d. -

a. **aferist** ‘adventurer; fortune hunter; swindler’ (EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. аферíst ‘speculator; trickster’ < Fr. affairiste (ŠANSKIJ 1963 I/1, 176).

c. In Estonian the meaning ‘speculator’ is not found.

d. -
a. **agurk** ‘Gurke’ (*Wiedemann* 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. dial. orýopk ‘cucumber’ < MGr. ἀγουροκτ (REW II, 253).

c. The origin is unclear; it may be a direct borrowing from the oblique form orýπκα, or it could be borrowed from BG *Agurk* ‘Gurke’ (*HupeÌ 1795, 5; Kipersky 1936, 144*), itself a loan from Russian
d. -

a. **a(i)daa** ‘go on!, let’s go!; ta-ta!’ (SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) ~ *aiduraidu* (*Wiedemann* 1893; ÖS 1960; 1999; EKSS).


c. Est. *aiddaa* is commonly used in Estonian caretaker speech. In Russian it used to show an action is performed quickly; this meaning is not found in Estonian. Russ. айдá is probably reflected in *aidu* in the compound interjection *aidu-raidu* ~ *aiduraidu* ‘Refrain bei den Liedern Betrunkener’ (*Wiedemann* 1893; ÖS 1960; 1999; EKSS), though Mägisté (EEW I, 39) thinks it might be simply a variant of the interjection *aï! ‘oh!, ouch!’ influenced by *raidu*, though no mention is made about the origin of *raidu* (and indeed is not afforded an own word article). Likelier is in fact that *raidu* (which has no etymology) is formed on the model of *aidu*, which can then be a loan from Russian. In the dialects *aidut-taitut* is also found (EMS I, 158), with *t*- instead of *r*- as the first consonant of the second component. *aïdo-traïdo* and *taïdu-raïdu* also occur. There are other such collocations in Estonian where the second component differs from the first by only one consonant: cf. *uiita-muïna* ‘vague, unclear’.

d. EEW I, 38-39.

a. **aïl** ‘Kyrgyz (nomad) village’ (EKSS).


c. Etymological cognate of **auul**.

d. -

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128 In Latvian one finds a virtually identical *agurkis* ‘die Gurke’, which, however, is most likely borrowed from Byelorussian orýpok ‘cucumber’ with auslaut adaptation to Latv. *gurkis* ‘id.’ (*Summent* 1950, 102-103).
a. **aimakk** ‘administrative unit in Siberia and Mongolia’ (SÖS; VÖS 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. аймак ‘Turkic or Mongolian clan or clan domain; administrative unit in the Buryat and the Altay Republics’ < Mongolian (ŠIPOVA 1976, 25-26).

c. -

d. -


b. Russ. айран ‘Art geronnene Milch’ < Turkic *airan* ‘id.’ (REW I, 8; ŠIPOVA 1976, 26).

c. Central Asian/Caucasian word.

d. -


c. The word occurs for the first time in the 1961 dictionary of foreign words; in the 1999 ÖS a normative reference to Est. küdoonia ‘id.’ is made.

d. -

a. **akanje** ‘akanie (*pronunciation of unstressed* o as a)’ (EKSS).

b. Russ. аканье ‘id.’ (REW I, 8). Of onomatopoeic origin.

c. -

d. -

a. **akahvist** ‘ein Gebet (in der griechischen Kirche - акаистъ)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).


c. -

d. EEW I, 51.

a. **aken** ‘window’ (MÜLLER 1600; STAHL 1637; GÖSEKEN 1660, 186; HORNUNG 1693, 14; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 17a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. ORuss. окна ‘window’ (> Russ. окнó) < *oko* ‘eye’ (REW II, 259).
c. Est. dialect forms like *okan* (Wiedemann 1893) point to loans from a Russian dialect without akanje; at least later influence from such a dialect is likely. Obsolete is the dialect meaning ‘hole in the wall to light and air a room’ (EMS I, 222). Est. Vai *ikkuna* is probably a Finnish or possibly a Votic loanword (Hahmo 1993, 226). The word is found in all Finnic languages, variants in *i* are also found (in Finnish *ikkuna* is most common).

The Russian etymology was first suggested by Thor Helle (1732, 323).


a. **akmeism** ‘acmeism (an early 20th century movement in Russian literature)’ (SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. акмеизм ‘acmeism.’ < Gr. ἀκμή + -ism (Šanskij 1963 I/1, 64).

c. -

d. -

a. **aksakall** ‘clan elder; older venerable man in Central Asia (among the Turkic peoples)’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. аксакал ‘clan elder’ < Turkic; cf. Tat. aksakal ‘id.’ < ak ‘white’ + sakal ‘beard’ (REW I, 9; ŠipoVA 1976, 26).

c. -

d. -


c. -

d. -

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129 A Finnish loan is more likely, seen the influence of this language in the area, but Votic loanwords have been discovered in north-eastern dialects of Estonian (Magiste 1927; Söderman 1996, 157), including the dialect of Vaivara (cf. e.g. Must 1987, 342).
a. **alfons** ‘male lover supported by a woman’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. The ÖS’s and EKSS translate *alfons* as ‘lover supported by the woman’, whilst SAAGPAKK (1982) translates ‘a male prostitute supported by a woman, gigolo’.

d. -

a. **altōnn** ‘former Russian coin and monetary unit; three-kopeck piece’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).

b. Russ. алты́н ‘three-kopeck piece; originally six copper деньги ’ < Tat. *altny‘gold*, which is derived from Tat. *alty‘six* (REW I, 14; ŠIPOVA 1976, 30-31).

c. Due to its obsoleteness the word has been left out of the 1999 ÖS. Occurs dialectally (VNg) as *altyn‘three-kopeck coin* (MUST 2000, 22).

Also recorded in 15th century Baltic German: *altinen‘russische Münzen, die 1/16 oder 1/18 Gulden entsprechen* (KIPARSKY 1936, 144).

d. EEW I, 65; MUST 2000, 22.

a. **alōtša** ‘Prunus divaricata’ (ÖS 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. -

a. **ambaar** ‘Speicher’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).


c. ŠIPOVA assumes Russ. амба́р ‘shed’ is a loan from Tatar and that in all other Turkic languages *ambar* is a loan from Russian. In Russian it is found as онбаръ already in the 16th century (SREZNEVSKIJ I, 20; II, 672), but WIEDEMANN (1893) notes it as a new word in Estonian. Occurs dialectally: (d) *vambar‘Behältniss für das zum Dreschen eingeführte Getreide* (WIEDEMANN 1893), Rōu ‘id.’ (MUST 2000, 23), Se *ambař‘(hay) shed* (EMS I; MUST 2000, 23).

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Anbar‘Magazin, Speicher, Vorratshaus, sonderlich Waarenlager der Kaufleute* (HUPEL 1795, 6), *Ambare‘Scheune, Warendrucker im Hafen* (KIPARSKY 1936, 144).
a. **antivoon** ‘Antiphonie (im griechischen Gottesdienst)’ (Wiedemann 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. **англифо́н** ‘Wechselgesang’ < Gr. ἀντίφωνον (REW I, 19).

c. -

d. EEW I, 81.

a. **antoonovka** ‘Antonovka (variety of winter apple)’ (SÖS; ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. -

a. **arapp** ‘raid’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. obs. а́пán ‘black-skinned, negro; cheat, swindler’ < Turkic *arap* ‘Arab’ (REW I, 22).

c. Est. **arapp** with the meaning ‘raid’ occurs for the first time in the 1976 ÖS. The meaning ‘raid’ does not occur in Russian; in Estonian it may be derived from the colloquial Russian expression на а́пáна ‘by bluffing, cheating’.

Est. **arap** ~ *(h)*arabi-kaer ‘oats’, as found in Wiedemann and the dialects (harapi-kaer, Aarabi-kaer ‘Schwerthafer’ (Wiedemann 1893), Lai **arap**, Áks aarap, Trm Ksi KJn arapi, Koe aarabi ‘oats’; EMS I; MUST 2000, 24) derives from the association with ‘Arab’, cf. other names saksa-kaer ‘German oats’, Saksamaa-kaer ‘oats from Germany’, türgi-kaer ‘Turkish oats’, vene-kaer ‘Russian oats’(Wiedemann 1893, 188-189: kaer). In this sense the word is also a loan from Russian; cf. Russ. а́пán ‘черный овес-самосадок, вырастающий на посевах пшеницы’ (SRNG I, 268; MUST 2000, 24).

d. -

a. **arbáa** ‘two-wheeled horse-drawn vehicle in Central Asia, the Caucasus and the Crimea; long four-wheeled vehicle in the Ukraine’ (ÖS 1999; EKSS).


Borrowed from Caucasian Turkic into Russian in the 19th century.

c. -

d. -
a. **arbuus** ‘Wassermelone, Arbuse’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. апбуз ‘watermelon’ < Turkic *чарбуз* ‘id.’ < Persian *чарбуза* ‘Melone; Eselsgurke’ (REW I, 22; ŠIPOVA 1976, 35).

c. The 1940 and 1945 VÖS have **arbuus** (vesimelon), i.e. watermelon. It is unlikely that this is a hint that the word might not have been so well known at the time, because it has been registered in practically all dictionaries since WIEDEMANN’s time and occurs dialectally too. More likely is that this is a normative attempt to eliminate a loanword. In 1945 this was still possible; by 1953 the alternative vesimelon had been removed.

MUST (2000, 24) assumes Est. **arbuus** ‘watermelon’ is a loan from Ger. *Arbuse* ‘id.’. This Russian loan (DROSDOWSKI 1977) found its way into literary German through Baltic German (though not recorded by HÜPEL 1795 or KIPARSKY 1936) and is comparatively rare. More likely is that Est. **arbuus** is also a loan from Russian and not via Baltic German. It occurs dialectally as Se **arbuus**, Rõu *arbuskid* (pl) (MUST 2000, 24); these are sure to be loans from Russian. The registration from Rõuge with its Russian ending -ski (or possibly -së) also points to this.

d. EEW I, 87; MUST 2000, 24-25.

a. **arhaar** ‘wild sheep (Ovis ammon)’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. In 19th century Russia the **argali** was found in the east near the Chinese border and Ustyurt (in Central Asia) (DALE I, 21). Cf. **arkaal**.

d. -

a. **arhimandrit** ‘Arhimandrit’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893); ‘higher clergyman of the Greek-Catholic church, especially the superior of a cloister’ (EÖS; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. архимандрит ‘archimandrite’ < Gr. ἀρχιμανδρίτης (REW I, 28).

c. -

d. -

a. **arkaal** ‘type of sheep’ (SÖS).


d. -

a. **arkaan** ‘lasso’ (ÖS 1976; EKSS).
c. **SAARESTE** (1924, 215) mentions Vai *arkkala* ‘licou; Halsfessel des Viehs, Halfter’, but does not give an etymology. **KETTUNEN**\(^{130}\) (1924, 120) points to Russ. аркáн ‘lasso’ as the possible source. Russ. аркáн ‘lasso’ is recorded in the literary language since the 17\(^{th}\) century (cf. SSRLJÄ I, 185a), but according to the main Russian dialect dictionaries dial. Russ. аркáн is found in eastern Russia only (DAL I : вост.; SRNG I, 275: Иркут., Дон., Астрах., Сиб., Якут., Краснояр., Перм., Ряз., Иссyk-Кульск., Урал.). The loans in eastern Finnish (*arkkana*, SSA I, 81), Olonec (*arkana*, SSA I, 81), Ingrian (*arkkana*, IS 19), Votic (*arkana*, VKS I, 119; TSVEKOV 1995, 9a) and eastern Estonian presupposes its presence in western Russian dialects too. This is proven by registration in the dialects of the Old Believers in Lithuania and Estonia: аркан ‘вид узды, уздечки’ (NEMČENKO et al. 1963, 20). Occurs dialectally: Vai *arkanas* ‘fetters’, Lëg *arken* ‘horse bow’, Jõh Lëg Vai *arkal* ‘fetters’ (EMS I, 427; MUST 2000, 26). The variants in -l are innovations; for the change *l* ~ *n* cf. VÄINASTE (1925, 98) and NIKKILÄ (1989, 122-123).
d. **SAARESTE** 1924, 215; **KETTUNEN** 1924, 120; **MÄGISTE** 1925, 90-91; MUST 2000, 26.

a. **arkirei** ‘(russ.) Erzpriester’ (WIEDEMANN 1893) ~ **arhierei** ‘higher cleric of the Greek-Catholic church (bishop, archbishop or metropolitan)’ (EÖS; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. архиерéй ‘member of higher orders of clergy (*bishop, archbishop or metropolitan*)’ < Gr. ἀρχιερεύς (REW I, 28).
c. -
d. **WIEDEMANN** 1893; EEW I, 90; MUST 2000, 25.

a. **armjakk** ‘wide Russian peasants coat made of thick cloth’; (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; SÖS; ÖS 1999; EKSS).

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\(^{130}\) Though the Russian etymology is first mentioned in print in KETTUNEN’s review of SAARESTE 1924, where KETTUNEN mentions that this was suggested to him by JULIUS MÄGISTE.
c. Est. (h)ärmak ~ (h)ärmäk as found in WIEDEMANN and the dialects (ärmak Jõh Trn MMg Ksi Lai Plt, härmak Ran Puh Võn Kam Kan, härmak Se; MUST 2000, 484-485) is an older loan, whereas armjakk is a newer unadapted loan. MÄGISTE (EEW II, 454) assumes that (h)ärmäk ‘grauer Sommerrock’ is identical to (h)ärmäk ‘Schneedecke, Schneeschleier’, a derivative of härm ‘hoarfrost’. Estonian peasants usually wore their coats open, even in winter; the word härm ‘hoar’ has been recorded in this connection: mehel rind talvel läks härma ‘in winter a man’s chest became hoary’ (MANNINEN 1927, 183). However, it is much more likely that this similarity with (h)ärmäk ‘grauer Sommerrock’ is purely coincidental: Est. dial. härmäk ‘Schneedecke, Schneeschleier’ is found in Hargla only (VMS II, 752) and is a derivation of härm ‘hoarfrost’ in -Ak, whilst härmäk ‘peasant coat’ is more common, as can be seen above.

In härmäk ‘grauer Sommerrock’ the ephenetic h- is of unetymological origin (cf. KETTUNEN 1917, 50-51); -ä instead of -a- in the first syllable can be explained in three ways: the source can be Russ. Псков ярмік (cf. MUST 2000, 517) and not ярмік (i.e. ярмік > ärmäk), the a after palatalized m’ has been substituted with ā, after which the first a has been subsequently substituted with ā to conform with the rules of vowel harmony operational in certain dialects (i.e. армік > *armäk > ärmäk; cf. KALIMA 1952, 60), or it may have been influenced by härmäk ‘Schneedecke’. Ultimately, in northern dialects the final form will have had to be ärmak, and in the south and certain northeastern dialects ärmäk due to the absence or presence of vowel harmony.

d. SAARESTE 1952, 58; EEW II, 454; MUST 2000, 26, 484-485.

a. arssin ‘arshin (Russian measure, equivalent to 71 cm)’ (HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÓS; EÖS; VÓS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. аршин ‘arshin’ < Tat. aršyn ‘id.’ (REW I, 29; ŠIPOVA 1976, 40).

c. Occurs dialectally:arsi ‘id.’ (HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893), arssin (eastern Estonian) ‘arshin; arshin-long piece of wood to measure cloth; glass of vodka’ (EMS I).

Also found in Baltic German: Arschin ‘russ. Längenmass = ca. 71 cm’ (HUPEL 1795, 10; KIPARSKY 1936, 145).

d. HUPEL 1818, 27; MIKKOLA 1894, 80; RAUN 1982; EEW I, 98; HAHMO 1993, 235-236; MUST 2000, 26.
a. artell ‘Artel (russ.), Compagnieschaft’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893); ‘freely organized workers’ co-operative’ (EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. артель ‘artel (co-operative association of workmen or peasants)’. The Russian etymology is uncertain; either from It. artieri ‘craftsmen’ (REW I, 26) or Tat. artil ‘народ, находящийся позади; резерв’ (ŠANSKI 1963 I/1, 147; ŠIPOVA 1976, 39).
c. Also found in Baltic German: Artell ‘freie Arbeitergenossenschaft auf gleichem Gewinn’ (HUPEL 1795, 10; KIPARSKY 1936, 145).
d. WIEDEMANN 1869; MIKKOLA 1894, 79; KALIMA 1952, 83; 1956, 64; EEW I, 99; MUST 2000, 26.

a. arteltshik ‘Artelschtschik’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).
b. Russ. артельщик ‘member of an artel’ < артель + pers. suff. -щик.
c. WIEDEMANN translates Est. arteltshik as Artelschtschik, but this is not found in other sources of Baltic German. Borrowing via Baltic German is likely for various Russian loanwords in Estonian, but probably not in this case.
Est. artelnik ‘member of an artel’ (EÖS) is not borrowed from a Russian *артельник (not found in any dictionaries), but is an Estonian derivation in -nik.
d. EEW I, 99; MUST 2000, 27.

c. -
d. -

a. astel ‘Stachel; barbed spear, point; thorn’ (VESTRING 1740, 21b; HUPEL 1818; WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. ORuss. острень ‘игла, жало, остнее, острий шири, острый наконечник трости’ (DALE II: острый), from остроить ‘to sharpen, whet’.
c. This etymology, suggested by MÄGISTE in 1962, has found support in newer etymological dictionaries (e.g. SSA I, 87a) and in other sources (cf. VAHROS 1963, 405-406), and has supplanted the older Germanic etymology; LGL (I, 39-40) mentions the Germanic etymology with a question mark. Problematic, however, remains the auslaut -н in the Russian original.
According to MÄGISTE (1962, 30), the Finnic word (it is also found in Finnish: *astala, astalo, astale; Karelian: *astalo, aštalo and Lude: *asta*) has adapted itself to nouns with the common Finnic denominial noun suffix -la, -lo. There is, however, no particular reason for this to have happened. The suffix -n or -na is also common in Finnic, and there are no other Russian loanwords in Finnic where Russ. -n has been substituted with Finnic -l, -la or -lo. It is possible that the Finnic *-IV form is an innovation; a change *l ~ n occurs sporadically in all Finnic languages; e.g. Ingr. ihana ~ ihala ‘schön’ (PORKKA 1885, 59). Cf. also VÄINASTE (1925, 98) and NIKKILÄ (1989, 122-123).

MÄGISTE (EEW I, 107) suggests that Est. ask, recorded in GÖSEKEN (1660, 314) as hería Asck ‘Ochsen Beitsch/(stimulus)’, and in WIEDEMANN 1869 (who only repeats GÖSEKEN’s word and its meaning), may be an abbreviated form of astel; if so then most likely from a dialectal genitive form such as *askla- (< *astla-). That -kl- clusters may originate from -tl- clusters is recorded in South Estonian (cf. EstS vasklabāiv ‘Shrove Tuesday’ ~ lit. Est. vastlapāev ‘id.’ (TAULI 1956, 119; cf. also 5.1.3.1.2. Consonant clusters in inlaut).

d. SKES I, 27a; MÄGISTE 1962, 30, 46; VAHIROS 1963, 405-406; RAUN 1982; EEW I, 107, 109; LGL I, 39-40; SSA I, 87.

a. ašuug ‘Caucasian folk singer’ (ÖS 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. auýr ‘ashug (folk poet and singer in the Caucasus)’ < Turkic ašyk ‘lover’ (REW I, 33; ŠIPOVA 1976, 42).
c. -
d. -

a. ataman ‘Cossack chieftain’ (VÖS 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS)
b. Russ. atamân ‘ataman (Cossack chieftain); (gang-)leader, (robber) chief’ < ? Turkic odaman ‘Ältester der Hirten und eines Kosakenlagers’ (REW I, 31) or Turkic ata ‘father’ + -man (augmentative suffix) (ŠIPOVA 1976, 41).
c. -
d. MÄGISTE 1962, 59; EEW I, 115.

a. atshissina ‘(russ.) (atsisna, atsissina) gereinigter Branntwein’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).
c. There are many variants in the dialects, cf. also síska (EÖS).
Also recorded in Baltic German: *Atschischtina* ‘reiner Brandwein’ (Kiparsky 1936, 145).

d. **Wiedemann** 1893; Mägiste 1938, 149; Saarest 1957, 462; EEW I, 115-116; Must 2000, 28-29.

a. **atstavka** ‘Abschied’ (Wiedemann 1893) ~ **atstahvku** ~ **atstavi**-soldat ‘verabschiedeter Soldat’ (Wiedemann 1893).

b. Russ. отставка ‘dismissal, discharge; resignation; retirement’ < отстать ‘to be left behind’ < стать ‘to be’.

c. The variant *atstahvku* is probably borrowed from either дать отставку ‘to resign, to retire’ or выйти в отставку ‘to go into retirement’ (cf. Must 2000, 29).

d. Mägiste 1938, 149; Must 1954, 12; Bachman 1956, 11; EEW I, 116; EEW VI, 1858; Must 2000, 289-30.

a. **aun**. Cf. 8.1.

a. **auul** ‘village in Central Asia or the Caucasus’ (VÖS 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. аул ‘mountain village in Caucasus’ < Turkic aul ‘village in Central Asia or the Caucasus’ (REW I, 32; ŠiPOVA 1976, 41-42).

c. Cf. **aill**.

d. -

a. **avarii** ‘accident where a mode of transport or passengers are involved’ (EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. авария ‘damage; wreck, crash, accident; breakdown’ < It. *avaria* << Ar. *awâr* ‘damage’ (REW I, 3).

c. EEW (I, 246) *haavarei* refers to *avarii*, which, however, is not accorded an own word article. Est. *avarii* could equally well be derived from Ger. *Havarië*, which it resembles more, but Russian loanwords in -ия are often adapted in Estonian to -iê.

d. -

a. **avraal** ‘all-hands evolution’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. аврал ‘all-hands evolution’ < Du. *overal* ‘everywhere’ (REW I, 3).

c. -
d. -

a. baaba I ‘old woman’ (ÖS 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. ба́ба ‘married peasant woman; (coll. or dial.) wife, old woman; (pl.) womenfolk; (coll.) woman; (coll.) old woman (said of a man)’ (Slavic, cf. REW I, 34).

c. WIEDEMANN (1893) has paaba (d) ‘Vater, Mutter’. The meaning ‘Mutter’ is undoubtedly from Russian; ‘Vater’ is probably from G. Papa or from child language (KOPONEN 1998, 139a).

d. MIKKOLA 1894, 80; KOPONEN 1998, 139a; MUST 2000, 228-229.

a. baaba II ‘baba (cylindrical cake)’ (SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. EEW I, 129.


c. Folkloric.

d. -

a. bahtšaa ‘(water-)melon field in the steppe’ (SÖS; ÖS 1960).

b. Russ. бахтá ‘(water-)melon plantation; pumpkin (gourd) field’. Probably from Crimean Tat. bakča ‘garden’ (REW I, 43; ŠIPOVA 1976, 70).

c. -

d. EEW I, 129.

a. bai ‘formerly landowner, rich cattle-breeder or shop-owner in Central Asia, Altai and in the Caucasus’ (SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -
d. -

a. **baika** ‘thick cloth, hairy on both sides’ (VÖS 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. SÖS has a normative \{baikavaip = poïvaip\}.
d. EEW I, 129.

da. **bajan** ‘Russian accordion, with buttons on both sides’ (VÖS 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. баїн ‘bayan (kind of accordion)’. Named after the Old Russian poet BAJAN (ŠANSKIJ 1965 I/2, 65).
c. -

da. **bajanist** ‘bayan player’ (EKSS; ÖS 1976; 1999).
b. Russ. баїніст ‘id.’. Cf. **bajan**.
c. The 1953 VÖS only has **bajaanimängeja**, **bajanist** is probably not an Estonian derivation in -ist, but a direct loan from Russian.
d. -

c. The Russian ending -ея has been elided in the Estonian loan.
d. -

da. **balalaika** ‘balalaika’ (EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. балалайка ‘id.’. The Russian etymology is unclear (REW I, 45).
c. -

b. Russ. ба́лка ‘gully’. The Russian etymology is unclear; probably related to Lith. balà ‘swamp’ (REW I, 47; ŠANSKI 1965 I/2, 24).

c. -

d. EEW I, 129.

a. balòkk ‘dried or smoked fish’ (SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. ба́лк “balyk (cured fillet of sturgeon, etc.)” < Turkic balyk ‘fish’ (REW I, 4; ŠIPOVA 1976, 58).

c. -

d. -

a. bandurist ‘bandura player’ (see below) (ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).
b. Russ. бандури́ст ‘bandura player’ (ŠANSKI 1965 I/2, 33).
c. Probably loaned directly from Russian and not a Estonian derivation in -ist of banduura.

d. -

b. Russ. банду́ра ‘Ukrainian string instrument’ < Pol. bandura ‘id.’ (REW I, 51).

c. -

d. EEW I, 130.

a. baranka ‘ring-shaped cracknel’ (VÖS 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. ARISTE (1962, 555) notes the occurrence of this Russian loanword in the now extinct Lutsi dialect of Estonian spoken in Latvia (ARISTE does not mention its presence in the literary language). ERELT, in her list of neologisms (1983, 64; 1989, 77), suggests replacing the ‘undesirable’ baranka with the more Estonian rõngel.

d. ARISTE 1962, 555; EEW I, 130; MUST 2000, 240.

a. barhaan ‘half-moon shaped sand-dune’ (EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS)
b. Russ. барха́н ‘(sand-)dune (in steppe or desert)’ < Kyrg. or Kaz. barzan ‘id.’ (REW I, 57; ŠIPOVA 1976, 63).
c. -
d. EEW I, 130.

c. Est. **baskakk** is a learned variant of **paskaak**, and although it is recorded earlier (**baskakk**: ÕS 1960, **paskaak**: ÕS 1976), **paskaak** is without doubt the older one (see the distribution of **paskaak** in the dialects: MUST 2000, 245). WIEDEMANN’s **kaak** in the abusive sina vana **kaak** ‘you old **kaak**’ could be a reduced form of **paskaak**\(^{131}\) and not the same as **kaak** ‘Pranger, Strafpfahl, Schaffot’\(^{132}\). However, it may well be the same as **kaak** ‘Pranger etc’, as this development is common enough; in Latvian the same Low German loanword is used similarly: Latv. **kāks** ‘der Pranger, Schandpfahl; als Schimpfwort: tu esi tūds elles kāks’ [lit. you are such a hellish gallows, i.e. scoundrel]’ (ME II, 190b), cf. also Est. **võllas** ‘gallows’ and **võllarooq** ‘gallows-bird’; Du. **galgenaas** ‘gallows-bird’; Engl. **gallows-bird**. Thus more likely is that WIEDEMANN’s **kaak**’(abusive term) is the same as **kaak** ‘gallows’, as is **kaak** ‘scoundrel’ (recorded from the 1940 VÕS onwards), which received its meaning from the similar-sounding **paskaak** ‘scoundrel’, perhaps with an elided form of **paskaak** as a contributing factor. The continuing existence of the homonym **kaak** ‘gallows’, from which it originated, gave **kaak** ‘scoundrel’ the additional specific meaning **võllarooq** ‘gallows-bird’ in the 1976 and 1999 ÕS.

\(^{131}\) Homonymic assimilation with **pask** ‘shit’ and the subsequent reshaping of opaque **paskaak** as *pask* + *kaak* could have caused the elision of the first syllable. Such a reshaped form is in fact attested: cf. Est. dial. **paskkaak** ‘scoundrel’ (EKMS III, 1010).

\(^{132}\) First recorded by GÖSEKEN (1660, 325) and a loanword from MLG **kák** ‘Schandpfahl, Pranger’ (RAUN 1982), though recognized as a German loanword already by HUPEL (1818, 60).
d. MUST 2000, 245.

a. **basmatš** ‘Central-Asian counter-revolutionary nationalist (1917-1926)’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS)
b. Russ. басмач ‘basmach (member of anti-Soviet movement in Central Asia)’ < Turkic; probably from *басмачi* (< *басма*- + -či) ‘basmach’ which was analyzed as a plural in Russian (ŠIPOVA 1976, 66).

c. -
d. EEW I, 131.

a. **batuut** ‘trampoline’ (ÖS 1976; EKSS).

c. -
d. -


c. -
d. -

a. **bebutt** ‘crooked Caucasian dagger, hunting knife’ (EÖS; SÖS; ÖS 1960).
b. Russ. бебут ‘кривой кинжал с обоюдоострым клинком, длиной 43 см; ножны деревянные, обтянутые кожей; устье, наконечник и кольцо – латунные. Б. состоял и вооружении солдат пулемётных команд и орудийных номеров лёгкой артиллерии русской армии’ (BSE\(^2\) 4, 368b).

Probably named after VASILIj OSIPOVIĆ BEBUTOV (1791-1858), Russian general of Armenian origin, active in the Caucasus in the 19\(^{th}\) century (BSE 3, 73).

c. -
d. -

b. Russ. бек ‘bey’ < Turkic *beg* ‘id.’ (ŠIPOVA 1976, 74-75).
c. Est. *bei* ‘id.’ (EÖS; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) is probably a German loanword (G. *Bei*); in the 1925 EÖS it is translated as ‘respectful title for certain Turkish officials = gentleman, master’, whilst only from the 1960 ÖS onwards is mention made of its use in Central Asia as well.

d. -

a. *beluuga* ‘large fish with tasty meat (*Huso huso*)’ (EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. белу́га ‘beluga, white sturgeon (*Huso huso*)’ < Russ. белъ ‘white’ (ŠANSKIJ 1965 I/2, 88).

c. -

d. EEW I, 132; MUST 2000, 32.


b. Russ. берда́нка (obs.) ‘Berdan rifle’ < From the surname BERDAN (H. BERDAN, 1823-1893), American colonel who originally developed this particular rifle (REW I, 75).

c. The variant *berdanpüss* is recorded in 1925 in the first volume of EÖS and in the 1948 SÖS (both illustrate the meaning solely with the Russian original берда́нка); in the 1960 and 1976 ÖS and in the 1991 EKSS (which was compiled much earlier) only the form *berdanka*, identical to the Russian, is found. Then in the 1999 ÖS *berdaanipüss* returns, though *berdanka* is mentioned too in the same word article.

d. EÖS; EEW I, 132; MUST 2000, 32.

a. *berdöšš* ‘Russian war axe with a broad, half-moon shaped blade and a long shaft’ (SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).


c. -

d. EEW I, 132.

a. *bester* ‘beluga and sterlet crossbreed’ (ÖS 1999).


c. First recorded in Russian in 1984.
a. **bešmett** ‘quilted men’s coat, tight around the waist and wider lower down, used by Turkic; Mongolian and Caucasian peoples’ (SŌS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. -
d. -

a. **bitjukk** ‘breed of horse’ (SŌS).
c. -
d. -

a. **bitkii** ‘round meatball’ (SŌS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. pl. биткй (< sg. биткй) ‘rissole, hamburger’ < бить ‘to hit’.
c. -
d. -

a. **bjass** ‘homespun cotton cloth stronger than silk’ (SŌS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. -
d. EEW I, 134.

a. **bjeff** ‘reach, upstream or downstream of a dam or lock’ (ŌS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. -
d. -

b. Russ. бобрик *(text.) beaver* < бобр ‘beaver’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 97).
c. -
d. EEW I, 134.

b. Russ. богарá ‘id.’ < Turkic *baxár* ‘spring’ (ŠIPOVA 1976, 83).

c. -

d. -

a. **bojaar** ‘boyar’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. бо́яр ‘boyar’ < Bulgarian Turkic (REW I, 114-115; cf. also ŠIPOVA 1976, 87-88).

c. There are various sources possible; MÄGISTE (EEW I, 134) proposes Russ. dial. бо́йр ‘boyar’ (SRNG 3, 142-143), though a non-nominative form of бо́яр like the plural бо́йре is maybe a more likely source, as Russ. dial. бо́йр is found in Penza and Archangel only (though this does not preclude its occurrence elsewhere). Another possibility is a loan from Baltic German *Boja(h)re* ‘boyar’, already recorded in 1331 (KIPARSKY 1936, 147-148), from which probably WIEDEMANN’s (1869; 1893) *poajaar* ‘Bojar, russischer Grosser’.

d. MIKKOLA 1894, 92; KALIMA 1952, 132; EEW I, 134.

a. **bolševik** ‘bolshevik’ (VÖS 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. The Estonian calque *enamlane* ‘bolshevik’ was known already known around 1905 (AHVEN 1965, 393); it occurs in the 1925 EÖS and was in use until the 1940s, when it was displaced by *bolševik*. AHVEN mentions as possible reasons for the change from *enamlane* to *bolševik* the following: a) ‘a more thorough knowledge of the Russian language’, b) ‘use of the word by the older generation of workers’, c) ‘its internationality’, d) ‘the fact that *enamlane* had been given an emphasized negative meaning in the bourgeois press’ and e) an article in the newspaper ‘Kommunist’133, propagating its use (AHVEN 1965, 395). The real reason is probably (d) and the ensuing decision to use it was simple to enforce; adding to its spread was the newspaper ‘Bolševik’, published from 1940 onwards.

In the 1945 VÖS we still find *enamlane*, in the 1948 SÖS it has the indication ‘(van.)’ (= obs.), by 1953 it has disappeared, to reappear in the considerably larger ÖS’s from 1960 onwards.

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133 PALL, E. Kas “bolševik” või “enamlane”. Kommunist, 21.11.1940, nr. 143.
d. KASK 1965, 3; AHVEN 1965, 393-395; EEW I, 135.

a. болшевизм ‘bolshevism’ (VÔS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÔS; ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. большевизм ‘id.’ < большев- (abstracted from e.g. большевик) + -изм. (ŠANSKIJ 1965 I/2, 159-160).
c. In the 1936, 1940 and 1945 VÔS болшевизм in still equated with enamulus; from 1948 (SÔS) this is no longer done. Russian origin is not specifically mentioned anywhere before EEW, though of course its Russian origin was obvious.
d. EEW I, 135.

a. боровинка ‘type of apple’ (SÔS).
b. Russ. борови́нка ‘borovinka (variety of winter apple)’. Probably from the surname BRAVIN (БРАВИН), first recorded in 1863 (REW I, 109; ŠANSKIJ 1965 I/2, 170).
c. -
d. -

a. борь ‘sour vegetable and meatsoup, usually with beets’ (VÔS 1953; SÔS; ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. борщ ‘bortsch’ < борщ ‘Bärenklau’; related to Latv. burkšis, burksais ‘Aegopodium podagria’ (REW I, 111). According to ŠANSKIJ (1965 I/2, 173-174) the meaning ‘bortsch’ is borrowed from Ukrainian. SÔS has a more obvious transliterated борштш.
c. -
d. EEW I, 135.

a. боржомм ‘mineral waters from Borzhom in the Caucasus’ (EÔS; VÔS 1953; SÔS; ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. боржо́м ‘Borzhomi (variety of mineral water)’ < from the Georgian mineral springs Boržomi (ŠANSKIJ 1965 I/2, 167).
c. -
d. EEW I, 135.

a. ботик ‘women’s or children’s overshoe’ (EÔS; VÔS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÔS; ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. ботинок ‘high (women’s) overshoes’ < dim. of Russ. бот ‘id’ < Fr. bottes (SSRLJA 1991, II, 724a).
c. Seemingly related, but of different origin, is botas ‘sneakers’ (LOOG 1991, 40; ÓS 1999),
which derives from the name of the Czech sport footwear company Botas. Such shoes were
popular in the Soviet Union in the 1970s.
Cf. patinka.
d. Bachman 1956, 6; MägiStE 1960, 10; Raun-Saareste 1965, 49; EEW I, 136; Must 2000,
33.

a. botvinja ‘kind of cold soup’ (SÓS; ÓS 1960; 1976).
b. Russ. ботвинья ‘botvinia (cold soup of fish, pot-herbs and kvass’) < ботвá ‘Beetenlaub,
Blätter und Stengel von Küchenkräutern’ (REW I, 112).
c. -
d. EEW I, 136; Must 2000, 33.

a. britška ‘light open carriage’ (VÓS 1945; SÓS; ÓS 1960; 1976) ~ pritska ‘Britsche’
(Wiedemann 1869; 1893; SÓS).
b. Russ. бритчка ‘(obs.) britzka (light carriage)’ < Pol. brycza, bryka ‘leichter ungedeckter
Wagen’ < It. biroccio, probably via G. Birutsche (REW I, 124).
c. Recorded as a new word in Wiedemann 1869; 1893.
Also recorded in Baltic German: Britschke ‘leichter Jagdwagon’ (Nottbeck, quoted in Must
2000, 298).
d. EEW I, 137; VII, 2177; Must 2000, 298.

a. budjonovka ‘common name for Red Army cap’ (EKSS).
b. Russ. будёновка (pointed helmet worn by Red Army men during period
c. -
d. -

b. Russ. булáт ‘damask steel; sword’ < Turkic bulat ‘steel’ < Pers. pūlād ‘id.’ (REW I, 142;
ŠipoVa 1976, 92).
c. -
d. -

a. **buntšukk** ‘tuft of horsetail hair attached to Turkish pasha’s, Polish or Ukrainian hetman’s or Cossack chieftain’s staff as a symbol of power’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. -
d. -

c. -
d. -

a. **burdjukk** ‘bag made of animal skin for carrying wine, koumiss or other liquids (in Siberia, the Caucasus etc.)’ (SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).
c. -
d. -

a. **burka** ‘felt cape-like cloak worn by Caucasians’ (EÖS; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. -
d. EEW I, 137; MUST 2000, 312.

a. **burlakk** ‘formerly in Russia, a worker who hauls a barge or boat with a rope along the riverbank’ (SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) ~ **purlak(as)** ‘(*russ.* russischer Bauer’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893); ‘barge hauler; scamp; urchin’ (EKSS).
b. Russ. бурла́к ‘barge hauler’ < ? MLG bûrlach, a variant of bûrschap ‘Gemeinde, Bauernschaft, Bürgerrecht’ (REW I, 148; THOMAS 1978, 74-75) or possibly from *бу́рло ‘shouter, loud person’ (ŠANSKIJ 1965 I/2, 233)

c. Probably borrowed in the 19th century as purlak134, adapted to the extremely common words in -kas by addition of -as, and reborrowed in 1940 (as in ARUMAA - PRAVDIN 1940, though not PRAVDIN 1940) as burlakk. Already recorded in 1821 in MÄNING’s Marahwa Näädala-Leht (KINGISEPP 1972, 96).

Present-day Russian dictionaries do not have any other meaning than ‘barge hauler’; the negative connotations the word still has in Estonian are mirrored in 19th century and earlier Russian: бурла́к ‘бездомный, бессемейный человек, нанимающийся на сезонные работы; бродяга’ (SRJA XI–XVII I, 356-357); ‘наемный работник на речном судне; грубийн, забияка’ (SRJA XVIII II, 109); бурла́к вост. вообще, ‘крестьянинь, идущий в чужбину на заработки, особ. на речные суда; юж. нежатный, холостой, одинокий, бездомькъ, шатунъ, побродяга; буйный, своевольный, грубый, дикій’ (DAE I, 143).

MIKKOLA (1894, 93) thinks Est. purlak ~ purlakas may have been borrowed via Latvian. Latv. burlaks, burláks, burleks’ der Strusenzieher, der Strassenräuber, Mörder’ (ME I, 354a) in fact makes this very unlikely.

OJANSUU (1916, 174) suspects Fi. purlakka to have been borrowed via Estonian, but PŁOGER (1973, 148) has shown that this is unlikely due to the Finnish word’s distribution.

Also recorded in Baltic German: Burlack ‘gemeiner, grober Kerl (Schimpfwort)’ (HUPEL 1795, 40; KIPARSKY 1936, 150).

Est. burlakk was used in 1980s ~ 1990s slang as ‘person who carries a large package in his hands or on his back; person who pulls a sledge or pushes a cart; person who pushes a car that does not start’ (TENDER 1994, 352).


a. bursa ‘seminary in Russia’ (ŌS 1960; 1976).

b. Russ. бурса ‘id.’ < Pol. bursa or G. Burse ‘id.’, from Lat. bursa ‘bag’ (REW I, 149).

c. -

d. -

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134 Already recorded in 1825 as purlakas in MÄNING’s Marahwa Näädala-Leht (EKMS IV, 483).

b. Russ. буржуй ‘bourgeois’ < Russ. буржу́й ‘id.’ < Fr. bourgeois ‘Städter’ (REW I, 147; ŠANSKIJ 1965 I/2, 231).

c. This word was borrowed first directly from French or from German (EŌS buržúa ‘(no translation)’, SŌS buržúaa ‘bourgeois’). pursui, adapted to the Estonian phonological system, makes its first appearance in the 1930 EŌS, with a normative reference to kodanlane. In the VŌS’s there is no mention of buržui, one finds only pursui, with the now additional meanings ‘magnate’ and ‘upstart’; then from the 1960 ŌS onwards buržui returns, and pursui, which is more common, is qualified as ‘colloquial’, in the 1999 ŌS and EKSS as ‘colloquial’ and ‘disparaging’:

Non-adapted buržui and pursui in the dictionaries:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EKŌS 1918</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EŌS 1925, 30</td>
<td>buržúa ‘-’</td>
<td>[pursui] vt. kodanlane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VŌS 1940</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>pursui ‘kodanlane; suurnik, tõusik’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VŌS 1945</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>pursui ‘kodanlane; suurnik, tõusik’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SŌS 1948</td>
<td>buržuaa ‘kodanlane’</td>
<td>(p not published)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VŌS 1953</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>pursui van. (kodanlane)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŌS 1960</td>
<td>buržui ‘kodanlane’</td>
<td>pursui könek ‘kodanlane’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŌS 1976</td>
<td>buržui van. ‘kodanlane, pursui’</td>
<td>pursui könek ‘kodanlane’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EKSS</td>
<td>buržui van. ‘kodanlane, pursui’</td>
<td>pursui hlv ‘kodanlane’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŌS 1999</td>
<td>buržui halv ‘kodanlane, pursui’</td>
<td>pursui argi, hlv ‘kodanlane’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Russian буржуй ‘bourgeois’ is first attested in 1877 in TURGENEV’s novel Новь ‘Virgin Soil’ (ŠANSKIJ 1965 I/2, 231); its first attestation in a dictionary is from 1934 (cf. SSRLJA: буржуй); in Estonian, however, we find pursui < Russ. буржуй already attested in the 1930 EŌS.

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d. RAUN 1982; EEW I, 138; MUST 2000, 313.


b. Russ. бурундук ‘id.’ < Tat. *boryndyk* ‘id.’ (ŠANSKIJ 1965 I/2, 235; ŠIPOVA 1976, 100).

c. -

d. -


b. Russ. бушлат ‘pea-jacket’. From of Russ. брушлат, an older variant of this word (< Pol. *bruszlat* < G. Brustlatz), where the meaning has probably been influenced by *Buscherun* ‘sailor’s jacket’ (or Du. *boezeroen* ‘smock’), recorded in Russian as бушлак (REW I, 138; KIPARSKY 1960, 43-47).

c. Est. *puslak* ‘pea-jacket’ (EKSS) is an older dissimilatory form.

d. EEW I, 138.

a. **boliina** ‘epic Russian heroic poem’ (EÖS; VÖS 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. былинa ‘bylina (Russ. traditional heroic poem)’, a creation on the basis of Russ. dial. былинa ‘what has been’, from the verb быть ‘to be’ (REW I, 158).

c. -

d. EEW I, 138.

a. **dašnak** ‘member of an Armenian bourgeois-nationalist party’ (SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976).

b. Russ. дашнáк ‘Dashnak (member of Armenian nationalist movement)’ < Arm. *dashnak* ‘federalist’ < *Hay Heghapokhakan Dashnakts'ut'iwn* ‘Armenian Revolutionary Federation’ (Th. VAN LINT, Oxford; p.c.).

c. -

d. -


c. In Russian the longer variant is more common, but Est. *dehkaan* has been borrowed from the shorter variant, unless the typical Russian ending -ин was elided after borrowing.

d. -
a. **dekabrist** ‘Decembrist, Dekabrist’ (EÖS; VÖS 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. -
d. BACHMAN 1956, 9; EEW I, 139.

a. **denga** ‘14th - 18th century silver Russian coin’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) ~ **teng(a)** ~ **ting** ‘kopeck; coin; money; Bezeichnung des Landwerthes’ (THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 249; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. Both meanings (‘money, coin’ and ‘land’) were borrowed in Estonian, as in Finnish (PLOGER 1973, 202: tenka).

Est. **ting** was already recognized as a Russian loanword by THOR HELLE in 1732. Though **ting** occurs before **teng, teng** is the more common and closer to the Russian original; **teng > ting** can be explained by the general tendency of [e] to shift to [i] before [ŋ], especially common in North Estonian (KETTUNEN 1917, 71-72; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 86), though raising of central-high vowels in front of nasals is also typical of South Estonian (PAJUSALU et al. 2002, 77).  

Est. **teng** is also the only form found in Old South Estonian (ROSSIHIUNUS 1632, 376: teng; GUTSLAFF 1648, 230: Plenning - Teng, 1686 NT: Matteuse 5:36: tenga; HUPEL 1780; 1818: teng - Plennig; Kopek’), only in later sources does **ting** also occur (1926 Pühä Evangeelium. Matteus 5:26: tingä (gen.); JÜVA 2002, 442b: **ting** ‘(monetary unit)’. Estonian dialects have also borrowed the same Russian word in plural form in a later period as **tengi** < Russ. pl. деньги (MUST 2000, 406).

Est. **ting ~ teng** is now obsolete (from 1968 onwards Bibles and New Testaments replaced **ting** with **veering** ‘farthing’, e.g. in Matthew 5:26).

Of ultimately the same origin, borrowed perhaps via Russian, is the new foreign word **tenge** ‘Kazakh monetary unit’ (EKSS).

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136 HINDERLING (1999, 113) proposes that e > i/ŋ is the result of borrowing a (prestigious) Low German speech habit into Estonian and which became productive in the pronunciation of genuine Estonian words.
Est. S *tingelpuu ~ tingelpung* ‘Geldbeutel’ ~ Est. N *tengelpung ~ tengelpuu ~ tengelpuus* ‘Taschenbuch, Portemonnaie’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893), *tengelpung* ‘purse’ (EKSS) is a loan from BG *Denkelbuch* ‘briefcase, notebook’ (< MLG *denkebök ~ denkelbök* ‘Memorabiliensbuch, Gedenkbuch’), and not a Russian loan (as EKMS II, 104 and KOPONEN 1998, 177b claim), though the meaning and form has been influenced by *teng ~ ting* ‘money’ (VIÈRES 1960, 157-158).

BG *Denge* ‘russische Kupfermünze’ is recorded already in 1423 and was common until the 17th century (KIPARSKY 1936, 151).

d. THOR HELLE 1732, 324; BRÖMSEN 1814, 147; LEHRBERG 1816, 118; HUPEL 1818, 244a; WESKE 1890, 207; MIKKOLA 1894, 111; 1938, 56; KALIMA 1952, 171; POSTI 1953, 11; KALIMA 1956, 130; MÄGISTE 1962, 22; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; ARISTE 1981, 94; RAUN 1982; EEW I, 140; X, 3128-3129; KOPONEN 1998, 177b; SSA III, 283; MUST 2000, 406.

a. *dessati(i)n* ‘dessiatine’ (EÖS; SÖS) ~ *dessätiin* ‘Dessätine (russ. Flächenmass)’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÖS) ~ *tessati(i)n* ‘id.’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) ~ *tessäti(i)n* ‘Dessatine (russ. Flächenmaass)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893) ~ *tiin* ‘formerly, a unit of measurement, approximately 1.1 ha’ (VESTRING 1740, 248b; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS.

b. Russ. десятина ‘dessiatine, desyatkin (old Russ. land measure, equivalent to 2.7 acres or 1.09 hectares); tithe’ < десять ‘ten’ (REW I, 346).

c. Probably loaned in the 19th century; Est. *tiin*, where the first two syllables have been elided, is recorded much earlier than *dessätiin*, which must be a later loan from the 19th century.

MÄGISTE (EEW X, 3139) thinks *dessätiin* may have been borrowed via BG *Dessätine* ‘Ackermass von 8 Lofstellen oder 2400 russ. Faden’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 152).

All dictionaries from EKÖS onwards have a normative reference to *tiin.*

Used in Estonia (1.09 ha = 14,567 m²); in Livonia the Riga *vakamaa* (0.37 ha) was in use (ANDRESEN 1991, 64).

d. WIEDEMANN 1869; BACHMAN 1956, 6; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW X, 3139, 3155; MUST 2000, 407.

b. Russ. дежурный ‘duty, on duty; man on duty’ ~ дежурная ‘woman on duty’ < Fr. (être) de jour (REW I, 366).

c. WIEDEMANN’s _deshurna_ ‘Dejourirender’ is probably borrowed from Russ. дежурно. Est. _dežuur_, found from EÖS onwards, is newly adapted to the Russian; older is Est. dial. _tesurna_ ‘man on duty; duty; duty room’ (MUST 2000, 408). Est. _teesurni_ ‘Dejoursoldat’ (WIEDEMANN 1893) is likewise borrowed from Russ. дежурный ‘duty, on duty; man on duty’, and is older than _deshurna_: the stress is more clearly on the first syllable, and Russ. д [d] has been substituted with Est. т [t].

d. EEW X, 3110; MUST 2000, 408.

a. _diakon_ ‘deacon’ (EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) ~ _tiakon_ ‘Diakon (in der griechischen Kirche)’ (WIEDEMANN 1893)..


c. Est. _diakon_ may be borrowed from G. _Diakon_.

cf. _djakk_.

d. EEW I, 142; MUST 2000, 35.

a. _dispetšer_ ‘controller’ (VÖS 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. -


b. Russ. дьяк ‘(prince’s) scribe; clerk’ < ORuss. _dijakъ_ ‘id.’ < MGr. διάκος: διάκων (REW I, 386).

c. The orthography and first occurrence point to this being an even newer loanword than Fi. _tiakka_ ‘id.’, which is registered already in 1787 (PLOGER 1973, 203). Cf. _diakon_.

d. KALIMA 1952, 171-172; MUST 2000, 36.


b. Russ. дойра́ ‘id.’ < Turkic; probably from Uzbek _doira_ ‘tambourine’.

c. -

d. -


c. Ultimately of the same origin as **domra**.

d. KARELSON 1963, 303.

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a. **domovoi** ‘household fairy in Slavic mythology’ (SŌS).


c. This a newer loan from Soviet times; WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893) has a West-Estonian (Pärnu) dialectal *tummavoii* ‘Hausgeist, Kobold’, which he derives from Russian.

d. -

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a. **domra** ‘Russian stringed instrument’ (SŌS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Of same origin as **dombra**, Russ. д́омра was already partially adapted to Russian phonotactics through elision of the -б- (and occurs first in 1649; SRJa XI~XVII), whilst Russ. д́омбра is a newer loanword (occurs first in 1880; cf. DАL II, 465b).

d. KARELSON 1963, 303; EEW I, 145.

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a. **dool** ‘former Russian measure of weight’ (JURKATAMM 1904: *dolja*; EŌS; ŌS 1960; 1976; EKSS).

b. Russ. до́ля ‘dolja (measure of weight, equivalent to 44 milligrams)’ < Slavic (REW I, 361).

c. LOORITS (1950), in his unpublished material from the 1950s, assumes Russian origin. MĀGISTE (EEW I, 145) thinks a loan from Baltic German *doli* ‘id.’ more likely. Considering its late attestation in Estonian (EŌS) and its obsolescence in BG (KIPARSKY 1936, 152) Russian origin is more likely (certain for JURKATAM’s 1904 *dolja*), though the Estonian genitive form *dooli* pro *doola* could point to German. The later form *dool* seems to be a learned loan.

d. EEW I, 145.

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c. -

d. -

a. dresiin ‘hand car’ (EÖS; ÓS 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. дрези́на ‘id.’ < G. Draisine ‘id.’, from the name of the German inventor, KARL FRIEDRICH FREIHERR DRAIS VON SAUERBRONN (1785-1851) (cf. also ŠANSKIJ 1973 I/3, 188).

c. German origin is also possible, but as the first railways were built in Russian times and even now manned by Russians a loan from Russian is more likely. Est. dial. tresiina (MUST 2000, 36) certainly from Russian.

d. EEW I, 146; MUST 2000, 36.

a. dress ‘sports clothing (usually a tracksuit, but can be a leotard)’ (ÓS 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. -

a. družina ‘Slav chieftain’s armed force; prince’s armed force in Old Russia’ (SŌS; ÓS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. дру́жина ‘(prince’s) armed force; militia unit, detachment’ < друг ‘friend’ (REW I, 373-374).

c. Also recorded in Baltic German: Druschina ‘Art Landsturm’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 153).

d. -


b. Russ. дру́жинник ‘member of (prince’s) armed force; member of militia detachment, member of armed band’ < дру́жина ‘(prince’s) armed force; militia unit, detachment’ (see above).

c. SŌS only has a more Estonian družiinlane, with long -ii-, where the suffix -nik has been substituted with -lane.

d. -


c. -

d. -

a. джеираан ‘small grey Asian desert antelope’ (ÖS 1999; EKSS).

c. -

d. -

a. дзигит ‘skilled daring horseman (in the Caucasus and Central Asia)’ (EÖS: dzigiteerima; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

c. EÖS has a verb dzigiteerima (< Russ. джигитовать ‘to engage in trick riding’), but not the substantive.

d. -

a. дзилинд ‘jeans’ (ÖS 1999; EKSS).

c. ÖS 1999 has a normative reference to tekst(s)puksid, teksased, teksad. The last two are most common in spoken Estonian. Both the Russian plural -ы as well as -c- from the English plural -s have been elided in the Estonian. Cf. teksased.

d. -

a. дублjonka ‘sheepskin coat’ (ÖS 1999).
b. Russ. дублёнка ‘id.’ < Fr. double (REW I, 377).

c. -

d. -

a. духхобоортс ‘Dukhobor (member of a certain Russian sect)’ (SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976).
b. Russ. духоборец ‘Dukhobor’ < OCS духоборец, a calque from Gr. πνευματομάχος (ŠANSKIJ 1973 I/5, 216).
c. ŌS 1976 also has *dahhoboor*, probably borrowed from the variant духобёр, unless borrowed from духобёрец and the Russian ending -ет has been elided.

d. -

c. -
d. -

a. *duuma* I ‘type of Ukrainain folk song’ (EŌS; VŌS 1933; 1940; 1945; 1953; SŌS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. The words *duuma* ‘folksong’ and *duuma* II ‘duma’ are separated from ŌS 1960 onwards. They are etymologically of the same origin.
d. BACHMAN 1956, 9.

a. *duuma* II ‘duma, council’ (EŌS; VŌS 1933; 1940; 1945; 1953; SŌS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. ду́ма ‘id.’; Slav. ‘word’ < Goth. *dōms* ‘Urteil’ (REW I, 380)
c. Also recorded in Baltic German: Duma ‘Stadtverordnetenversammlung, seit 1905 auch russ. Reichstag’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 153). Cf. *duuma* I.
d. EEW I, 147.

a. *ekker* ‘cross-staff (instrument for erecting a perpendicular)’ (VŌS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SŌS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. -
d. EEW I, 175.

a. *eksapostilaaron* ‘(ein Stück der griechischen Liturgie)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1869.
d. -
a. **ekteenia** ‘(ein Theil des griechischen Gottesdienstes)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).


d. -

a. **epitiimia** ‘auferlegte Busse (in der griechischen Kirche)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).


c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1869.

d. EEW I, 201.


c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1869.

d. -


b. Russ. эскóпр ‘S.R. (Socialist Revolutionary)’, an abbreviation of социалист-революционёр ‘socialist revolutionary’.

c. -

d. EEW I, 216.

a. **faktooria** ‘supply base in remote districts in the USSR; line of business in colonies’ (VÕS 1953; ÓS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. According to the 1960 VSL Est. *faktooria* is a loan from English, but its age and meaning show that it must have been borrowed via Russian.

d. -

c. -
d. MUST 2000, 41-42.

a. feed ‘Lehn’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).
b. Russ. феóд ‘feud, fief’ < Lat. feodum.
c. -
d. -

a. flagman ‘flag-officer; commander of a group of ships; rank in the USSR navy (from 1935 to 1940)’ (SÖS; ĖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. -
d. EEW I, 223.

a. foor ‘traffic light’ (ĖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. светофóр ‘traffic light’ < свет ‘light’ + фóр < Gr. φωσός (SSRLJA 13, 315a).
c. Est. føor ‘traffic light’ is a short form of valgusfoor ‘id.’, which is part calque and part loan from Russian светофóр ‘traffic light’ (Est. valgus ‘light’ + føor < Russ. фоóр). ERELT (1983, 14) notes it as a neologism in 1983, though it already occurs in the 1976 ĖS.
d. -

a. framug ‘framed upper or lower part of a window or upper part of a door’ (ĖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. фрамýr ‘upper part of window or door; casement’. VASMER (REW III, 217) suggests a very uncertain etymology from Old High German: OHG *hrauma ‘Rahmen’ and bogo ‘Bogen’.
c. -
d. -

a. frant ‘fop, dandy’ (SÖS; ĖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
a. **frentš** ‘waisted military coat with shoulder slit and four pockets’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; EEW I, 225.

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a. **fundukk** ‘fruit of Lambt’s filbert, a South European plant with large fruit’ (Corylus maxima) (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. -

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a. **furgoon** ‘long covered waggon; van’ (SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. фургон ‘van; estate car; caravan’ < Fr. *fourgon* ‘van’ (REW III, 221).

c. -

d. –

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a. **glagoolitsa** ‘an Old Church Slavonic alphabet’ (SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. глаголица ‘id.’ < Russ. глагол ‘Verbum; Wort, Rede’ (REW I, 271).

c. -

d. EEW I, 231.

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c. -

d. EEW I, 232.

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a. **gorodišše** ‘citadel-settlement’ (SÖS; ÖS 1960).
b. Russ. городище ‘very large town; site of ancient settlement’ < ORuss. го́родь ‘fence’ + suffix -ище (ŠANSKIJ 1972 I/4, 140).

c.
d. EEW I, 232.

a. гривна ‘Old Russian weight and currency unit; unit of Ukrainian currency’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. гривна ‘grivna (unit of currency in medieval Russia); ten kopecks; pendant’ < грива ‘Mähne, Bergrücken, Sandbank’ (REW I, 308).

c. From the 1999 ÖS onwards also with the meaning ‘unit of Ukrainian currency’. Cf. кривник.
d. EEW I, 233.

a. губаа ‘territorial unit in Russia (16th - 18th cent.)’ (ÖS 1960; 1976).

b. Russ. губа ‘judicial division in Muscovite Russia’ < губить ‘verderben, zu Grunde richten’ (REW I, 317).

c.
d. EEW I, 234.

a. гудок ‘Russian folk string instrument, played with a bow’ (EÖS; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. гудок ‘rebeck (three-stringed viol)’ < гудеть ‘einen dumpfen Ton von sich geben, dial. weinen, heulen’ (REW I, 318).

c.
d. EEW I, 234.

a. гуляние ‘outdoor festivity in Setu and Russian villages’ (VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. гулять ‘walking, walk; fête, outdoor party; feast’ < гулять ‘to walk, to stroll; to make merry’.

c. Cf. кулаттама.
d. EEW I, 234; MUST 2000, 152.

a. гусли ‘zither-like Russian folk instrument’ (EÖS; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. гусли ‘psaltery, gusli’ < гудётт ‘einen dumpfen Ton von sich geben, dial. weinen, heulen’ (REW I, 323).

c. -

d. EEW I, 234.

a. гурса ‘poisonous snake (Vipera lebetina)’ (ÖS 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. гюрз ‘poisonous snake’ < Persian gurza ‘id.’ (SSRLJA III, 400b).

c. -

d. -

a. халат ‘eastern overcoat; smock; dressing gown’ (VÖS 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. MIKKOLA (1894, 173) already derived Onol. халоатту ‘Schlafrock’ from Russ. халат.
d. MUST 1956, 129; EEW I, 264; MUST 2000, 41.

a. халтурщик ‘person who practices haltuura (see below)’ (ÖS 1999).
b. Russ. халтёрщик ‘pers. turning out pot-boilers; hack-worker; pers. making money on the side’ < халтёр (see below) + agent suffix -щик.
c. This is a separate loan, which occurs only under the lexeme haltuura in ÖS 1999.
d. -

a. haltuura ‘extra work done on the side to earn money; sloppy, careless work’ (VÖS 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. халтёр ‘pot-boiler; hack-work; extra work; money made on the side’ < older Russian халтёр ‘Ahnenfeier, Totenschmaus’ < MLat. chartularium ‘Totentenzeichnis, das der Priester beim Totenfest verliest’ (REW III, 227).
c. Also recorded in Swedish Estonian (RAAG 1982, 94).
d. MUST 1956, 137; EEW I, 276; RAAG 1982, 94.

a. hansa ~ hanža ‘moonshine, illicitly distilled liquor’ (EÖS; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).
b.Russ. ханжа ‘yellowish Chinese vodka; moonshine’, a colloquial form of Russ. ханжин ‘id.’ < Chinese, possibly from Chin. gānjīū ‘drug wine’ (cf. REW III, 229; SSRLJA 17).
c. *hanža* is the earlier spelling, used until the 1960 ŌS; from the 1976 ŌS a partially adapted *hansa* is used. Not recorded anymore in ŌS 1999.

d. MUST 1956, 135; EEW I, 283; KOPONEN 1998, 86b; MUST 2000, 41.

a. *harsa* (SŌS) → *harsa* (EKSS) ‘yellow-throated marten (*Martes flavigula*)’.
c. -
d. -

c. -
d. -

a. *hartšoo* ‘spicy soup with mutton or beef; Georgian national dish’ (ŌS 1976; 1999; EKSS)
b. Russ. харшо ‘kharcho (Caucasian mutton soup)’ < Georg. harčo (SSRLJA 17, 54).
c. -
d. -

b. Russ. геркулес ‘Hercules; rolled oats, porridge’. Based on the name of the mythological HERCULES (ŠANSKIJ 1972 I/4, 59).
c. First attestation in Russian in 1935 (UŠAKOV 1935/1, 553). The substitution of Russ. г- with Est. h-, whilst common in dialectal Russian loanwords in the Estonian dialects of Setu and Iisaku (cf. Setu ‘hospadi ‘good Lord!’ < Russ. гospodi ‘id.’; MUST 2000, 492), does not normally occur in loans in the literary language. In Russian loans of Western origin, however, Russ. г- is substituted with Est. h-.
d. -

a. holopp ‘serf in Russia (until the 18th century)’ (SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. In EstS dialects holop ‘fool’ and variants have been registered since 1869 (WIEDEMANN 1869: holop (d) ‘Tölpel’; cf. also KOPONEN 1998, 138b and MUST 2000, 44-45). This loan is to be kept separate from the learned holopp ‘serf’ registered from SÖS onwards.

a. hopakk ‘Ukrainian folk dance’ (VÖS 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. -
d. EEW II, 385.

a. horunži ‘standard-bearer, later subaltern in Cossack forces’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).
c. -
d. -

a. hootelshnik ‘Gastwirth’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).
c. In Russian there is no such word as *отельник; one would expect either *отельник or possibly *отельник, neither of which is recorded. Est. hootelshnik is probably best explained as a jocular Russianism, as a contamination of two unrecorded Russian forms is unlikely. The anlaut h- in Estonian is probably due to influence from Est. hotell ‘hotel’.
d. -

a. hunhuus ‘armed robber in northern China, especially Manchuria, in the second half of the 19th and first half of the 20th century’ (VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).
c. hunhuus in the dictionaries seems to be a learned loan, but it is also found in dialects: Kam unuus, IisR (pl.) kungusid ‘war-time looter, pillager’ (MUST 2000, 48), Lut hunhuuzä (LOORITS 1930, 232).
In South Estonian various ethnyonyms\(^{137}\) are found which have been borrowed from Russian: *kalmuk* ‘mischievous, unruly’ (EMS II, 606), *kirgesse*, *tsirgesse* ‘cockroach; cricket’ (EMS III, 202)\(^{138}\), and *paskiris* ‘Bashkir’\(^{139}\) (MUST 2000, 32); these have entered Estonian from the 16\(^{th}\) century onwards, when Russia had started using troops of Asiatic origin. In Pskov Russian киргиз ‘Kazakh (sic); nickname children give each other; type of cockroach’ has been recorded (SRNG 13, 219b). KOPONEN (1998, 102b) suggests that Est. *kirges* may, however, ultimately be of Baltic origin: Latv. *kirķis* ‘cricket’ < Finnic *kirkkV* < Baltic *kirk*(VC)- ‘cricket’; Pskov киргиз ‘type of cockroach’ would then likewise be a Baltic loanword and secondarily associated with the ethnyonym (the shift from ethnyonym to derogatory denotation of a person or insect\(^{140}\) is common in many languages).


a. **hunt** ‘Portion (Quartier) Branntwein’ *(WIEDEMANN 1893; EKSS)*.
b. Russ. dial. хунτ < фунт ‘Pfund’ < MHG *phunt* ‘id.’ < Lat. *pondō* *(REW III, 221)*.
c. -
d. **WIEDEMANN 1893; EEW II, 407; MUST 2000, 48.**

da. **huraal** ‘government organ in the Mongolians People’s Republic’ *(SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS)*.
b. Russ. хурал ‘hural (name of national and local organs of government in Mongolian People’s Republic)’ < Mong. *hural* ‘id.’.
c. -
d. -

da. **hurmaa** ‘persimmon’ *(ÖS 1999)*.
b. Russ. хурма ‘id.’. Probably from Crimean Tat. *χυрма* ‘Dattel’ *(REW III, 279; ŠIPOVA 1976, 367-368).*
a. hurt ‘greyhound’ (Göseken 1660, 245, 472; Hornung 1693, 25; Thor Helle 1732; Vestring 1740, 40b; Hupel 1780; 1818; Wiedemann 1869; 1893; EKOS; EOS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EkSS).

b. ORuss. chůrtvä ‘greyhound’ (> Russ. ху́рт) < Common Slavic, but further origin is unsure141 (REW III, 265).

c. ORuss. chůrtvä ‘greyhound’ was borrowed into Finnic as *hurtta: cf. Fi. hurtta ‘ajokoira, iso koir; susi; Jaghund, großer Hund; Wolf’ (SSA I, 192b), Kar. hurtta ‘iso t. tuuheakarvainen koir’ (large or thickhaired dog’) (KKS I, 347b), Olon. hurtta ‘дикий зверь’ (makarov 1990, 79c) (Olon. hurtta as mentioned by SKES must be a loan from Karelian proper due to its auslaut -a instead of -e, cf. Ojansuu 1905, 21; Kettunen 1960, 16-17), Est. hurt, Liv. ürtta (pi’i) (SSA I, 192b) and Vot. hurti ‘hurt; tobu, puupea; loikam, kolakas; борзая (собака); балбес; ды́лда’ (VKS I, 268); the Votic word is not mentioned by any etymological dictionaries.142 Est. hurt ‘greyhound’ is attested in South Estonian slightly earlier than in North Estonian (Gutslaff 1648, 220: Windhund - hurt/o). Ojansuu’s (1916, 139) assumption that Fi. hurtta is a loan from Estonian is unfounded, as its wide spread in North Finnic is shown by its occurrence in Karelian and Olonec.

Liv. kūrta ‘Windhund’ (Wiedemann 1861, 48a; LW 171) is a loan from Latvian kurts ‘id.’ (Thomsen 1890, 100; LW 171; Suohonén 1973, 146b). Latv. kurts ‘Windhund’, together with Lith. kūrta ‘Windhund’ and Old Prussian curitis ‘Wynt’ are generally also thought to be loans from ORuss. chůrtva ‘greyhound’ (Latv.: ME II, 326a; LEV I, 449; Lith.: skardžius 1931, 116; LEW I, 318b; OPru.: Toporov 1984, 340-344; Maziulis 2, 317)143, but Schmid (1958) suggests that the Baltic words are not loans but genuine Baltic words from a stem *kur- ‘geboren werden, erzeugen’ with derivations in Iranian. Toporov (1984, 340-344) leaves the

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141 Miikkola’s (1894, 175; 1938, 100) tentative suggestion that the Slavic word is borrowed from Germanic (cf. Old Engl. cykda ‘Hund’) is probably wrong; the Germanic word is most likely cognate (REW III, 265).

142 Laakso (in Tsvetkov 1995, 57a) suggests that Jógóperá Votic hurt ‘id.’ may be a Finnish or Estonian loan.

143 Though there is a tendency to suggest inner Baltic etymologies for the names of hunting dogs in Baltic which were formerly thought to be Slavic; e.g. OPru. slideiks ‘leethund’, which was assumed to be a loan from Pol. ślednajk ‘Spürhund’ (cf. Trautmann 1910, 431), Maziulis (4, 131) now derives from a reconstructed Pruss. *slići/*slić ‘to follow’.
question open as to whether the Baltic words is a loan from Slavic or not, as more would need to be known about Slav. *chъть* ‘greyhound’ with its unsure etymology.\\^{144}
d. **AHLQVIST** 1875, 2; **WESKE** 1890, 226; **MIKKOLA** 1894, 175; 1938, 100; **KIPARSKY** 1948, 42; **KALIMA** 1952, 86; **KALIMA** 1956, 66; **MÄGISTE** 1962, 15; **ARISTE** 1981, 89; **RAUN** 1982; **EEW II**, 410-11.

a. **huutor** ‘smaller village in the Ukraine and southern Russia’ (EKSS).
c. -
d. **MUST** 1956, 133; 2000, 48.

a. **hölst** ‘waterproof linen cloth, cloak, cape’ (Eõs; Õs; Ös 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. ORuss. *chölst* (> Russ. холст ‘grobe Leinwand’) (REW II, 258). According to **SSRLJA** (17, 370b) first recorded in Russian in 1731, but it is found already in **TONNIES FENNE**‘s 1607 Low German-Russian manual as холстъ ‘heden louwendt’ (cf. **HAMMERICH** 1961, 126), and also seems to occur in a birchbark text from Novgorod from the beginning of the 13th century: въверицъ: \(ý\) гриънъ въ боѣлъ сърьбрѣ соболь ;д гриеънъ въ сѣтѣо :г: гриънъ въ соукънѣо и въ хлостѣо мѣдѣѣдь ноть :в: гриънъ ‘денегъ 12 гринь белыми шкурками и серебром. Соболь – 4 гривны. На сетях, сукнах и холстах 3 гривны. Медвежья шкура – 2 гринь’ (**ZALIZNJAK** 1995, 354, 677).
c. Though found in normative dictionaries from Eõs onwards, Est. *hölst* is originally a South Estonian word, noted as such **HUPEL** 1780, 1818: *hölst* ‘Regendecke der Weiber’ and **WIEDEMANN** 1893: *hölst* (d) ‘Kapuze, Regendecke; leinenes Regentuch’; its earliest attestation is in **JOHANN CHRISTOPH CLARE**‘s unpublished South Estonian-German dictionary *Cellarius Esthonic-Germanicus* from 1730: *hölst* ‘Regen Mantel d. Baur Weib’ (**ARISTE** 1958, 29).

Est. *hölst* is a problematic word for two reasons. It has been considered a Russian borrowing in Estonian (**KALIMA** 1952, 86; 1956, 65-66; **ARISTE** 1958, 28, 29; **REW III**, 258; **MÄGISTE** 1962, 48; **ARISTE** 1981, 90; **RAUN** 1982; **EEW II**, 425; **KOPONEN** 1998, 201b), but serious claims to its Estonian origin in Russian have also been made (**KALIMA** 1929a, 131; 1936, 332-334; **SKES I**, 117).

\(^{144}\) The Baltologists **SABALIAUSKAS** and **JEGERS** believe that the greyhound was a foreign import in the Baltic area (cf. **SCHMALSTIEG** 1976, 342).
SSA (I, 192a) claims that Russ. холст is found only in western Russian dialects spoken adjacent to eastern Finnic languages. The dialectal distribution in Russian, however, seems too widespread for an Estonian loan, and though the phonotactic structure of Russ. холст points to a loan, there being no other words in Russian ending in /-lst/, a loan from Estonian is unlikely, also because of the supposed semantic expansion from ‘raincoat’ to ‘canvas; sackcloth’. It thus seems more likely that Est. hõlst ‘cloth, cloak’ is a loan from Russ. холст ‘grobe Leinwand’, especially when we also take into account the distribution of the Estonian word in the 13 south-easternmost parishes; cf. VMS II, 735b. Difficulty poses the substitution of Russ. о with Est. ő. Est. ő occurs (in the first syllable) in loans where the Russian original has either е or у (MUST 2000, 517, 523); there are no words in MUST’s monograph where Russ. о has been substituted by Est. ő. It is, though, not unlikely that it was borrowed as *holst and that o > ő is an inner development. This is typical for the eastern dialects of Estonian (Est. idamurdeh), but it also occurs in the south (TAULI 1956, 168-169).

Secondly, also unclear is the relationship of Est. hõlst to Finnic *hursti: Fi. hursti ‘sacking, sackcloth; burlap’ (first attested in 1544 in AGRICOLA; cf. SSA I, 192a), Kar. hursti, hurštš ‘sackcloth winnow cloth, sheet’, Lud. hurštš, hurštš ‘sackcloth carpet’, Veps. huršt ‘floor carpet’, Vot. urš (147) ‘sheet; bed curtain’ (SSA I, 192a). AHOVIST (1875, 90), seconded by

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145 SSA (I, 192a) thinks Est. hõlst may be a Low German loan and points to Du. holst ‘covering; shelter’ (a word which I have not found in the 29-volume Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal, the 4-volume Vroegmiddelnederlandse woordenboek or the 11-volume Middelnederlands woordenboek). However, Low German origin for Est. hõlst is unlikely, as Est. ő never derives from MLG o, only from [e], [eu] or [o] (HINDERLING 1981, 122). Words like Est. obs. lõu ‘lion’ and lõuusd ‘linen’ are probably borrowed from MLG forms louwe (not lowe) ‘lion’ and louwant, louwen ‘linen’ (not lowant, lowent) (LIIN 1968, 290, 291). HINDERLING (1981, 129) has shown that these Estonian diphthongs in -öu- occur only before a -w, which does not obtain in this case.

146 In addition to Finnic and Germanic there is also a possible Slavic etymology: VASMER (REW I, 258) quotes BERNEKER’s and BRÜCKNER’s suggestion that Russ. холст may be related to Ukr. чоуст ‘dumpfert Schall’ and Pol. chest ‘Lärm’; the common meaning would then have been ‘raschelnder Stoff’, but this is not convincing: likewise, VASMER rejects ILJINSKIJ’s (cf. REW III, 228) attempt to derive Russ. хлешта ‘Stiefelschaft, Hose’ from a doubtful root *chala ‘Lärm’, which could have served as a semantic parallel.

147 Vot. urši’d.’, which ITKONEN (1983, 214) judges as one of those typical Votic words which illustrate the close relationship of Votic with the eastern Finnic languages, is a Votic-specific, internally shaped form according to SSA (I, 192a), which must be at least 500 years old, as the derivative urš ‘Überwurf, Enveloppe’ is recorded in Krevinian (WINKLER 1997, 339). KALIMA (1929a, 131), however, believes Vot. urši to be the original form, to which SaamL. horso ‘sackleinwand’ (WIKLUND 1969, 19b) would also point: this obvious Finnish loan can supposedly not have been borrowed from *hurštš (from which SaamN hořštš ‘sacking, sekkelret, strie’;
MIKKOLA (1894, 41) and VASMER (REW I, 258) assumed that Finnic *hursti is a borrowing from Russ. холст, but SSA (I, 192a) thinks that the Russian word is a loan from Finnic, but gives no etymology for the Finnic words. There are in fact many arguments for the loan direction being Russian > Finnic: first, there is a plausible etymology for Russ. холст (< MHG hulst ‘Decke, Hülle’; REW III, 258), none for the Finnic word if the opposite loan direction is assumed (a Germanic origin for Finnic *hursti is more difficult to substantiate than for Russ. холст). Second, the first example in the lemma холст in SSRLJA is голландский холст. This could point to Low German/Dutch origin. In Hanseatic times many types of cloth were exported from Antwerp, Amsterdam and North Germany via the Baltic Sea to Russia. Third, the Russian word is in fact more widespread than SSA believes. According to the sources (Dal’ IV, 560a: холстъ пек: ‘простая губая ткань, льняная и конопляная, толстое полотно’, холщевка влад. ярс: лоскутъ тряпца; онуча, подвертка; ZALIZNIJAK 1995, 677: холстъ) Russ. холст is found mostly in Pskov and Novgorod, its derivation холщевка in Vladimir and Jaroslavl, but SSRLJA also notes its use by many Russian writers (GOGOL, TOLSTOI, LERMONTOV, GONÇAROV etc.), so it is not a local dialect word with a restricted territory. Fourth, in Finnish dialects hursti has five basic meanings. In decreasing geographical extension: 1. four-shafted (sometimes two-shafted) coarse cloth threaded from tow linen or hemp; 2. clothes made from tow cloth; 3. flap of skin hanging from a cow’s neck; 4. mitata hurstia ‘to be lost’; 5. a metal stopper placed against a copper nail in a boat-building board (SMS 4, 164-165). These last three are unimportant, 1 is found in practically all Finnish dialects, but hardly in the very south-west, 2 is found mostly in the east (including Värmland (< Savo) and Ingria). Variants like hurstu ‘cape-like piece of clothing

WIKLUND 1896, 45; NIELSEN 1934, 336b; SaamI hurstia ‘Sackleinwand’; ITKonen 1986, 185 and SaamK ǻrstók — árstók ‘säkkikangas, hursti (‘sackcloth, sacking’); MOSNIKOFF-SAMMALLAHTI 1988, 148b were borrowed), only from *hursi (which is, however, not found anywhere in Finnish, including Old Finnish and Finnish dialects). *hursi (< *hurte-) leads KALIMA to a comparison with Komi šört (= шёрт) ‘gespinst, garn, zwirn’ and Udmurt šört ‘gespinst, garn’, but these are not thought to be cognates of any Finnic form by UEW (785), which compares Komi шёрт (= šört) — Udmurt шорт (= šört) to Mari шëртö ( = šëртö) ‘нитька, нить’ and reconstruct a Finno-Permic *šûrtz ~ *şûrtz- ‘прака; Garn, Gespinst, Zwirm’. Because a form without -t- is found in Saamic only in Lule and a Finnish *hursi cannot be shown to have existed we must assume SaamL horso is an exception. Vaivara Est. urst’i ‘sheet’ (EEW II, 425) and Vot. hursti ‘шкатерть, простыня, саван’ (VKS I, 268), hursti’s ‘id.’ (POSTI 1980, 79) are Finnish (SSA I, 192a) or Ingrin loans (TSVETKOV 1995, 57a).

The phonotactic structure of Fi. hursti also points to a foreign origin: in TUOMI’s (1980, 226a) reverse dictionary there are eight words in [-rsti] in addition to hursti, all of which are loans.

A Germanic etymology for Russ. холст was first suggested by UHLENBECK (1894, 379).
used by women to cover their shoulders or head’, *hurstus* ‘headscarf of thin linen, used at weddings to cover the bride’s head’; peasant costume’s skirt, *hurstuus* ‘baby pouch’ and *hurstuuki* ‘cloth of bad quality; a too large coat’ are found only in the easternmost dialects of Finnish, in areas now part of Russia. The distribution of these variants could point to either a Russian loan form Finnic or vice-versa, but taking the spread of the Russian word and its possible Germanic etymology into consideration a Russian loan in Finnic seems more likely. We can then agree with MÄGISTE (1962, 48), who already assumed that Est. *hõlst* is an earlier loan from Russ. холст than Finnish *hurst* and its cognates.


a. igger ‘Caviar’ (HUPEL 1818).

b. Russ. икра ‘roe, spawn; caviar; пâté’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 477).

c. In HUPEL’s first edition *igger* ‘Caviar, Fischrogen’ (1780, 161a) is noted as a South Estonian word only, in the second edition it is said to be both North and South Estonian. In the second edition HUPEL also notes its Russian origin. Est. igr ‘Caviar’ is also found in WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893) as a South Estonian word; according to the dialect dictionary it is found only in Kodavere and Võnnu, both on the Peipsi coast (EMS I, 872); it is also found in VES (I, 779a) as a new borrowing from Russian, introduced by the compilers: *ikraa* ‘purée of mushrooms or vegetables’ < Russ. икра ‘roe, spawn; caviar; пâté’. This is probably not in actual use in Estonian.

d. HUPEL 1818, 52b; EEW II, 487; MUST 2000, 50.

a. iguumen ‘archimandrite’ (SÔS; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. EEW II, 487.

a. ihes ‘Peipsi lavaret (Coregonus maraena maraenoides)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÔS; VÔS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÔS; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS). MIKELSAAR (1984, 125) has *Coregonus lavaretus maraenoides*.  

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c. A very problematic word. Two etymologies have been suggested for Est. ihes. KIPARSKY (1936, 35-36) hypothesizes that an unattested Est. *iđ was borrowed from Sw. īđ (< IE *ai-dh, *i-dh- brennen; POKORY 1959, 11). This would have had a genitive form *ić, *īa and from this then a new nominative *īgū, *īga would have been analogically created.

This is perhaps slightly convoluted, and it is highly unlikely that the name of a fish which is found in Lake Peipsi only (as the dialect material shows, ihes and its variants īgas, īges, ihes, ehes, ikke-kala occur mostly in the dialects on the west coast of Lake Peipsi, with the westernmost recording from Tarvastu on the west coast of Lake Võrtsjärv) was borrowed from Swedish, when in fact it was the Russian impact on Estonian fishing which was very strong: in RÄNK’S (1934, 4) list of the 17 most common fish in Lake Peipsi there are nine of Uralic or Finnic origin, one of Baltic origin, one certain and two possible Russian loans (Est. sudak ‘pike perch’, linask ‘tench’, haug ‘pike’) and only one certain German loan (Est. tint ‘smelt; sparling’). MÄGER (1976, 94) names some 16 other dialectal fish names from Lake Peipsi which are borrowed from Russian. Only in western Estonia, especially on the islands, are ichthyonyms borrowed from Swedish found to any degree (the literary language has tursk ‘cod’ and makrell ‘mackerel’ from standard Swedish, and räim ‘Baltic herring’ from Estonian Swedish; KENDLA 1999, 116).

The other etymology, also suggested by KIPARSKY (1936, 36) as a subordinate alternative to the Swedish etymology, is a loan from Russ. язь ‘Art Karpfen’. KIPARSKY himself already

150 Lat. īdus and Engl. īde are learned loans from Swedish īđ.

151 A.S. GÉRD (1970) makes the unhelpful suggestion that Est. tint as well as similar denotations for the smelt in Finnic, Saamic, Baltic and Russian are loans from a pre-Finnic, pre-Baltic, pre-Slavic population in the Baltic area.

152 The numerous ichthyonymic loans from Russian and other languages are not surprising: “Um Missverständnissen vorzubeugen, sei erwähnt, dass ein Stand berufsmässiger Fischer am Strand von Estland erst eine Erscheinung der allerjüngsten Zeit ist, während es früher die Bauern waren, die sich nur zeitweilig der Fischerei widmeten. Sie kamen zu diesem Zweck, zu Netzgenossenschaften zusammengeschlossen, aus ihren Dörfern und wohnten am Strande in Sommerhütten, während der Strand selbst nicht dauernd besiedelt war” (LOORITS 1939, 9).

153 Russian has borrowed many (± 30) fish names from Finnic (MÄGER 1976, 93; KENDLA 1999, 118), though many of these are restricted to North-Russian dialects and have probably been borrowed from Eastern Finnic. Both Russian (чудской си́г) and Latvian (ezera sīga, Peipusa sīga) have also borrowed the name of the Peipsi lavaret from Estonian (MIKELSAA 1984, 125). BG Ias’ ein Fisch’ (after GUTZEIT’S Baltic German dictionary, cf. KIPARSKY 1936, 35) is likewise a loan from Est. ījas (KIPARSKY 1936, 35-36; KENDLA 1999, 116).
points out the difficulty of deriving disyllabic Est. *iias* from monosyllabic Russ. *язь*.

Another difficulty lies in the fact that Est. *ihes* and Russ. *язь* are two different fish: Est. *ihes* is a Peipsi lavaret (*Coregonus maraena maraenoides* or *Coregonus lavaretus*), whilst Russ. *язь* is an ide (*Leuciscus idus*) but may also designate the roach (*Rutilus rutilus*) (LEDER 1968, 51).

The Peipsi lavaret is of the salmon family (*Salmonidae*) and its average length and weight are 37 cm and 606 grammes (MIKELSAAR 1984, 126), whilst the ide is of the carp family (*Cyprinidae*) and its average length and weight are 40 cm and 1.3 kg, but may be much bigger, over 80 cm long and 8 kg (MIKELSAAR 1984, 174). However, the two fish types are very heterogeneous and this may explain why one name was borrowed for the other: ‘Die Maränen (including the Peipsi lavaret; R.B.) sind eine sehr vielgestaltige Gattung, bei der zahlreiche Arten unterschieden worden sind, unter denen sich Wanderfische, Flußfische und Fische der Binnenseen befinden.’ (LEDER 1968, 28). ‘Bei den als *sigi* bezeichneten Fischen handelt es sich nach Nikol’skij 157f. um eine morphologisch und biologisch außerordentlich mannigfaltige Art, zu der sowohl Wanderformen wie auch ausschließlich Süßwasserfische gehören.’ (LEDER 1968, 35).

In Estonian dialects the following forms are found: iias, g. *iia*, *iias* (*ehes*, *ihes*, *iigas*, *ike-kala*) Ias (ein Fisch, *Coregonus Is Asm.*) (WIEDEMANN 1893), *iis* Trm Kod (*iis*), *ikes* (*ikeks*) Trm, ppl. *hiisi* IisR (EMS I, 854), *ihess* Trv Kam Plv Räp, *ihess* Vön Se *ehess* Trv Ran Puh TMr *ehess* Se, *ehess* Räp (EMS I, 877), *ikekala* Trm (EMS I, 915), *ikekala* Kod (EMS I, 918), *ihes* (Trv, Ta, Võ; EKMS I, 889).

Est. *ihes* is probably older than *ehes*, which is found in fewer locations and can be explained as a vowel assimilatory form, VHV assimilation being especially common (WIJK 1988, 28). Typical for Mulgi dialects is a change *e* > *i* _hV* (TANNING 1961, 28), so Trv *ehess* must be a later loan from another dialect, probably introduced from southern Lake Peipsi via the Emajõgi, as are *ehess* noted in Ran and Puh.

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154 Cf. Fi. dial. *iäšä* ‘to eat’ < ?Russ. *es†* ‘eat’!. This etymology, suggested by RYTKÖNEN (1937, 100) is not accepted by JARVA (2003, 196) for the same reason: there are no similar cases where Russ. *e* [je] is substituted with Finnish *ie*. Compare, however, Setu *idrona*, a variant of the more common *idrona*(kampsun) ‘Setu mens’ half-woollen white coat’ < Russ. едронный, ядронный ‘strong, healthy’ (MUST 2000, 57).

155 The fish has other names in Estonian dialects too: Peipsi *siig*, *lahnas*, *salakas*, *järvesiig*, *lahn* (MIKELSAAR 1984, 125), all of Finnic origin.

156 “...two vowels separated by *h* may be regarded as two vowels adjacent to each other, which, of course, always try to assimilate each other.” (TAULI 1956, 108).

157 MANNINEN (1931, 100) notes how fishermen from Peipsi went to Võrtsjärv and brought new destructive ways of fishing with them.
There are no cognates of Est. *ihes* in any of the other Finnic languages, and so a loan seems very likely. Due to its geographical location only Slavic or Baltic should probably be considered.

In Baltic perhaps some form related to Lith. *ežegys* ‘der Kaulbars; die Plötze, Rotfeder, das Rotaige; der Barsch’ (KURSCHAT I, 534a) may be considered, but a likely source has not been found. Though the Russian etymology suggested by KIPARSKY seems the most promising, it remains difficult to explain the necessary sound changes.

Russ. язь has also been borrowed into BG as *jag* (undoubtedly a scribal error for *jaz*), recorded in 1526 in Wolmar (Valmiera): …*den Ruszen den fisch jag frigegeven* (KIPARSKY 1936, 36).

The diminutive яз́йк of язь ‘ide’ has been borrowed by Votic: *jasikka* ‘id.’ (MIKKOLA 1894, 58, 179).

d. KIPARSKY 1936, 35-36; KOPONEN 1998, 90b.

a. *iisvos(s)ik* ‘Fuhrmann, Droschkenführer’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).


c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1869. There are many variants with diverging meanings in Estonian dialects (cf. MUST 2000, 52); *išvoššik* is also registered as ‘flea’ in 1920s Estonian soldiers’ slang (HERMLIN 1929, 95).

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Iswoschtschik* ‘Droschkenkutscher’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 155).

d. EEW II, 496-7; XII, 1293; MUST 2000, 52.


b. Russ. иконостас ‘(eccl) iconostasis’ < Gr. εἰκονοστάσις(ος) ‘id.’ (REW I, 477).

c. A baroque iconostasis was carved in Tallinn in 1720 by the Russian-Ukrainian artist IVAN ZARUDNYJ for the Transfiguration of Our Lord church (ISSAKOV 1999, 526).

   d. -


b. Russ. ико́на ‘icon’ < MGr. εἰκόνα ‘id.’ (REW I, 476).
c. WIEDEMANN has the variant *iikona, already partly adapted to Estonian (long vowel in the first syllable), but still with the auslaut -a. Later literary forms show only ikoon (gen. ikooni) and MÄGISTE (EEW II, 498) thinks this may have been borrowed from G. Ikon or Ikone, to which the genitive form would certainly point, unless it is a later adaptation.

d. EEW II, 494, 498; MUST 2000, 50.

a. iikos ‘(in der Liturgie der griechischen Kirche)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).


c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1869.

d. -

a. iljuušin ‘type of Soviet airplane’ (VÖS 1945; SÖS).

b. Russ. Ильюшин ‘type of airplane’ (usually abbreviated to e.g. Ил-62), after S.V. ILJUŠIN, Russian aeronautic engineer (1894-1977).

c. VÖS has ‘type of Soviet airplane’, whilst SÖS simplifies it to ‘type of airplane’. An eponymic lexeme Ильюшин ‘type of Soviet airplane’ as such is not found in dictionaries, though MARDER (1992) has Ильюшинец ‘(coll.) crew member of an ‘Ilyushin’ (aircraft)’.

d. -

a. imperiaal ‘Imperial (Goldmünze)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; EÖS; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).

b. Russ. империал ‘zaristische Goldmünze, 10 Rubelstück’ < Pol. imperiał ‘Reichsthaler’ < Lat. imperialis (REW I, 480).

c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1869.

d. EEW II, 509.

a. ipakoj ‘ein Theil des griechischen Gottesdienstes’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).


c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1869.

d. EEW II, 514.

a. irmos ‘ein Theil der griechischen Liturgie’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1869.

d. -

a. iskralane ‘a member of a revolutionary Marxist organisation which was centred around the newspaper ‘Iskra’” (SÕS).
b. Russ. õskrovec ‘id.’ < õskra ‘Funke’ (REW I, 488).
c. The Russian agent suffix -eу was substituted with the Estonian equivalent -lane.

d. -

a. ispravnik ‘Ispavnik, Landpolizeimeister’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EÕS; SÕS; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. исправник ‘police chief (head of uyezd constabulary in tsarist Russia)’ < пра́вый ‘recht, gerecht’ (REW II, 424).
c. Also borrowed by Baltic German as Ispravnik (EEW II, 520).
d. WIEDEMANN 1893; EEW II, 520; MUST 2000, 380.

a. jaam ‘(railway or bus-) station’ (THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 41a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÕS; EÕS; VÕS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÕS; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. In Russian ям is an obsolete word. In Estonian the meaning ‘mail staging-post’ is still found in the 1920s (cf. EÕS jaamamoon ‘Postfourage’), but the fact that the EKÕS, EÕS, VÕS and ÔS are basically orthographical dictionaries that indicate the spelling only, considerably hinders ascertaining the precise meaning of a particular word. MÄGISTE (1962, 59) suggests that wilczę jamą, recorded in 1599 in the Polish-language Rewizya Inflancka, may be the first recording of jaam, but KIPARSKY (1965, 433) showed that this is Polish for ‘wolf’s lair’ (Pol. wilczę jama) in the accusative or instrumental.
d. THOR HELLE 1732, 323; BRÖMSEN 1814, 141; AHRENS 1843, 115; 1853, 239; MIKKOLA 1894, 58, 179; KALIMA 1952, 4, 73, 89; 1956, 3, 56, 68; ARISTE 1958, 26; MÄGISTE 1962, 16, 28; RAUN-SAARESTE 1965, 44; ARISTE 1981, 86, 95; RAUN 1982; EEW II, 528; SSA I, 232; MUST 2000, 53.

a. jaranga ‘round mobile dwelling, used by certain tundra peoples’ (ÔS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. яръя ‘mobile dwelling used by nomadic Chuckchi, Koryaks and some groups of Evens and Yukaghir’ < Chuckchi jaragy ‘id.’ (BSE 30, 550c; ANIKIN 2000, 728)
c. -
d. -

a. jarlökk ‘document of the Mongolian khans; a document obtained by Russian princes from the khan of the Golden Horde, giving them the right to govern’ (SÔS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. Also recorded in Baltic German: jerlik ‘der einer Behörde, z.B. dem Zoll, einzuliefernde Stempelschein, Duplikat, Zollangabe’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 155).
d. MUST 2000, 484.

a. jarvisatsioon ‘vernalization’ (VÔS 1953; SÔS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. яровиса́ция ‘id.’ < ярово́й ‘spring.’ (in agriculture).
c. MAGISTE (EEW II, 544) assumes it is a German loan (the Russian word has also been borrowed into German), but its morphology is no reason to prefer German origin, as Russ. -ция is substituted with Est. -tsioon in practically all cases. Its first occurrence in Estonian is in the 1953 VÔS, also making Russian origin more likely than a loan from German.
d. EEW II, 544.

a. jassak(k) ‘tax paid in kind by Volga and Siberian peoples, mostly in the 16th-18th centuries’ (SÔS; ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).
c. -
d. -

a. jatagan ‘curved eastern sword’ (EÖS; SÔS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c.

d.

a. **je(e)kim** ‘ghost, imp, spirit, bogey; mild curse’ (EÖS; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. dial. Ékim < Иóаким ‘male name’ (IS 104b).
c. **MÄGISTE** (EE II, 545) is unsure and points to the Russian first names *Jefím* and *Jakim*, comparing Onol. *jekki-lammaz* ‘devil’ from *jekki* ‘Jefím’ (MÄGISTE 1927a, 81). In Ingrían (IS 104b), however, we find *Jekkiíma* ‘male name’ from Russ. dial. Еким, which is undoubtedly the same source of Est. *jeekim*.
d. EE II, 545.

a. **jefreítor** ‘military rank higher than private; a person of this rank’ (VÖS 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. Though _Getreiter_ would have been pronounced with an anlaut _j_ in Baltic German, the -*o-* in the third syllable proves its Russian origin. Est. _getreiter_ is from German (EE I, 229).
d. EE II, 545; MUST 2000, 57.

a. **jessaúl** ‘Cossack military rank corresponding to captain’ (SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. -
d. -

a. **joputama** ‘to swear, to curse’ (SÖS).
c. Est. *jobisema* ‘to chatter, to talk dirty’ (EÖS) is probably a derivation of the onomatopoeic *joba* ‘blather, balderdash, drivel, twaddle’, though the meaning ‘to talk dirty’ for *jobisema*, found in EÖS only, is very likely to have been influenced by Russ. ёб твоё мать or some such variant, which is probably also the origin of the additional meaning ‘sperm’ of Est. *jobin*, found only in *Saagpakki* (1982). There are many loanwords (*jebima* ‘to have sex; to fiddle about; to tease’, *jebitoju* [swear word], *jebona* [swear word]; cf Must 2000, 56-57) derived from the Russian verb ебáть ‘to fuck’ in especially the southern dialects of Estonian, as well
as from the common curse ēb тво́й мать (MUST 2000, 58). Est. joputama, also recorded dialectally in Setumaa (EMS II, 141), seems to be the only verb derived from the imperative form ēb.

d. -

a. jordan ‘action of and place where water is blessed (orthodox)’ (EKSS).
c. Est. jordan is borrowed from either Russ. dial. ёрдáнь or Russ. lit. Иордáнь. This last form should have given Est. *jordaan, but familiarity with the Biblical name Jordan in both North and South Estonian (e.g. US 47; WT 5) may have influenced its form. Dialectally it occurs only in Orthodox areas (LisR, Kod, Har, Kaa, Põi, Krk; cf. EMS I; LOORITS 1949, 574). Also occurs as a toponym Jordan in VÕS 1936, 1940 and 1945. Also recorded in Baltic German: Jordan ‘Jordansfest, russ. Wasserweihe an einem Flusse am 6. (19.) Januar’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 155).
d. MUST 2000, 58.

a. jukola ‘sun-dried fish (of east Siberian and far eastern peoples)’ (ÕS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. юкола ‘an der Luft gedörrter u. in Grub en gesäuerter Fisch; obere Fettschicht, die mit der Haut zusammen abgezogen wird’ (REW III, 469) < Khanty jóxěl ‘пёзём (вяленая провесная рыба, юкола), im Wind (und dann am Feuer) gedörrte, im Rücken geöffnete Fische (kleine Barsche, Rotauge va.; die Gräten bleiben, bei den kleinen Fischen auch der Kopf)’ (DEWOS 343; ANIKIN 2000, 716-717)
c. -
d. -

a. junga ‘ship’s boy; apprentice sailor’ (VÕS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. нёрга ‘ship’s boy; sea cadet’ < Du. jungen ‘boy’ (REW III, 470).
c. Though it is first recorded in 1940, it must have been borrowed before the Soviet occupation, as VÕS 1940 was in fact printed in April 1940 (the first Soviet forces arrived in October 1939, but they did not have much contact with the local population).
d. EEW II, 570.
a. **jupka** ‘jacket, overcoat; skirt’ (SÕS).


c. The meaning ‘jacket, overcoat’ has been influenced by Est. *jope* ‘jacket’, a loan from G. *Joppe* ‘id.’ (EEW II, 557). Common in dialects, especially in the south (EMS I; MUST 2000, 59-60), first registered by WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893: *jupka* (d) ‘Weiberrock’).

d. WESKE 1890, 233; MIKKOLA 1984, 178; SAARESTE 1924, 166; EEW II, 572; MUST 2000, 59-60.

a. **jurta** ‘nomad’s tent’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; SÕS; VÕS 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) ~ jurte (gen. *jurdli*) ‘id.’ (ΕΟΣ; VÕS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945).


c. First attested in WIEDEMANN 1893, where it is undoubtedly a Russian loan. From the 1925 EÕS until the 1945 VÕS we find the form without the auslaut *-a*, probably an adaptation to the German *Jurte*. From the 1953 VÕS onwards, however, it is ousted by a renascent *jurta*, an indication that it had to correspond more closely again to the Russian form.

d. BACHMAN 1956, 9; EEW II, 573.


b. Russ. выо́шка ‘Garnwinde, Spule am Spinnrad, Ofenklappe’ (REW I, 244).

c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1869, but already recorded in 1825 in MASING’s *Marahwa Näädala-Leht* (KINGISEPP 1972, 90). KINGISEPP (1972, 106) claims that this does not occur in WIEDEMANN, but it probably escaped her notice as WIEDEMANN notes it with a long *u*, whilst MASING writes *juska*.

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Juschke* ‘Ofenklappe’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 156).

d. KINGISEPP 1972, 90; EEW II, 579; MUST 2000, 60.

a. **jätt** ‘name of the letter ḍ in Old Church Slavonic and Old Russian’ (EKSS).

b. Russ. ять ‘yat’. From OCS, where Common Slavic *č* was pronounced as *ă* or *a* (REW III, 500).

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158 Not a loan from Russian іóрт ‘владение, область, территория татарского княжества’ (ŠIPOVA 1976, 430), which is, though, of the same origin as Russ. іóрта ‘yurt’.
c. A learned loan, though it occurs in literature too (cf. in Oskar Luts’ work; cf. EKSS).

d.–

a. kaats(ad) (pl.) (dial.) ‘(old, worn) trousers’ (Göseken 1660, 362; Wiedemann 1869; 1893; EKÖS; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


Though the Slavic origin of this word was recognized by Mikkola in 1894 there was some disagreement as to the exact period of borrowing of the various forms in the Finnic languages: though it is found in all languages except Livonian (cf. SSA I, 268a) the northern Finnic forms (Fi. kaatiot, Kar. koatiet, kuad’dad, Veps. kad’dad) and the southern Finnic forms (Est. kaatsad, Vot. kâtsad), all with the general meaning ‘trousers’, are obviously not borrowed from the same form.

Kalima (1952, 91) assumed that Fi. kaatiot (+ Kar. and Veps) is borrowed from a Common Slavic *gatja, as Russ. ráči is obviously an inappropriate source (though the Estonian form can be and is derived from ráči). Posti (1953, 9) tried to solve this problem by assuming a loan from a non-nominaive form such as gat'am, gat'amı or gat'ach, where the ORuss. t'would have been substituted in Finnic by tj. Kiparsky (1954a, 20-21; 1956, 74-75) in turn assumes the northern Finnic form was borrowed before the assimilation of Slavic tj to č in Old Russian, which he thinks happened relatively late (as the reflexes of Common Slavic tj are different in the various Slavic languages; cf. Carlton 1991, 138), though before pleophony (as Fi. värtsi ‘bag’ < ORuss. verča < *vertja indicates; cf. Kiparsky 1956, 74).

SSA (I, 268a) assumes an early ORuss. *gatja as source for Fi. kaatiot, but mentions the varying opinions about the age of the word.

In any case the Estonian word is a later loan from Russ. ráči, and not borrowed via Latvian, as Mikkola (1894, 64) and Saareste (1924, 174) suggested.

Vot. kâtsad ‘trousers’ is probably a loan from Estonian (Mikkola 1894, 64; Saareste 1924, 173).


a. kabak ‘inn’ (EÖS; EKSS).

b. Russ. кабак ‘(obs.) tavern, low bar; (coll., fig.) pig-sty’ < ? MLG dial. kaback ~ kабаке ‘altes, baufälliges Haus’ (REW I, 494). The origin of the Russian word is unsure. Turkic
origin has also been suggested: cf. Balkar, Karachay kabak ‘Dorf, Ansiedlung’ and Chuvash chubat ‘Kneipe’\textsuperscript{159}, but MLG origin seems more likely (REW I, 494). THOMAS (1978, 104-106), however, states categorically: ‘There is not the slightest shred of evidence for a G. source of the word. In view of the special aura which surrounds the tavern in society, an emotive word from the East may well have been introduced in the 16\textsuperscript{th} C, but a more thorough examination of the possible eastern sources is required before the origin of the word can be stated with more certainty’.

c. Found in older South Estonian: Krugk ‘Kabback’ (Gutslaff 1648, 223) and dialects: kabak ‘Schenke, Krug’ (P) (Wiedemann 1869; 1893), ‘inn; fair booth; storehouse, pantry, chamber in room used for threshing grain (Kodavere only)’ (EMS I). Est. Hel kabak ‘old building’ and the Kodavere word are probably direct loans from MLG (Must 2000, 64), but BG Kabbacke ‘Schenke, Kneipe’ is probably a loan from Russian (Hupel 1795, 102; Kiparsky 1936, 156).

In EÖS kabak ‘inn’ is considered an inadvisable variant for körts ‘id.’, also a Russian loanword (cf. körts).


a. kabatšokk ‘type of pumpkin with oblong fruit, melon pumpkin’ (VÖS 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. EEW II, 631.

a. kabjus. Cf. kapukas.

a. kaborzzh ‘coastal shipping, sailing in between national harbours’ (EÖS; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

\textsuperscript{159} Chuvash chubat ‘Kneipe’ is probably a loan from Russ. кабак ‘tavern’, as is Tat. kabak ‘Branntweinkneipe; Bier oder Branntwein aus einer russischen Schenke’ (Radloff II, 436; Černyh 1993/1, 363a).
b. Russ. каботаж ‘cabotage, coasting trade; coastal shipping’ < Fr. cabotage < Fr. caboter (REW I, 497).

c. -

d. -

a. kappa – ‘saddlebag; holster’ (EÖS; VÖS 1953; SÖS; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. EÖS has a slightly divergent kabar ‘knapsack’, which must be of the same origin. The -a- in the second syllable is difficult to explain; perhaps it has been adapted to Estonian words in -ar, an explanation which is not particularly convincing.

d. -

a. kaftan ‘caftan’ (WIEDEmann 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1953; SÖS; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. A new word in WIEDEmann 1869. In Western Europe the caftan was introduced via Arabic, but the meaning in Estonian (e.g. ÔS kaftan ‘long coat in Russia’) points to a borrowing from Russian.

d. KALIMA 1952, 98; EEW II, 643; MUST 2000, 66.


c. -

d. -

a. kaganaat ‘land ruled by the Khazar sovereign’ (EKSS).

b. Russ. каганáт ‘land ruled by the Khazar sovereign’ < кагáн (cf. above) + suff. -ат.

c. -

d. -

a. kaif ‘feeling of satisfaction and pleasure obtained from narcotics’ (ÔS 1999; EKSS).

c. -

d. -

a. kaitis ‘fishing gear made of upright shafts placed in a kidney-shaped form’ (EKSS).
c. MOORA (1964, 213) claims kaitis was widely known in southeastern Estonia, though according to EMS (II, 545) kaitis is a rare word, recorded only in Räpina. It is probably recorded as an ethnographical term in EKSS, not because of its wide use.
d. RÄNK 1931; MANNINEN 1931, 265-266; RÄNK 1934, 135, 139-140; KALIMA 1952, 98; 1956, 74; MOORA 1964, 213, 239; VIHRE 2001, 141-142.

c. -

d. -

c. -

d. -

a. kalambuur ‘word-play, joke based on word-play’ (VÖS 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. каламбу́р ‘pun’ < Fr. calembour (REW I, 507).
c. -

d. -
a. **kalatš** ‘type of horn-shaped roll’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).

b. Russ. калáч ~ колáч ‘kalach *(kind of white, wheatmeal loaf)*’ < *kolo* ‘circle, ring’ (REW I, 595).

c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1869. Dialectally **kolask** ‘Brezel, Kringel’ occurs (LOORITS 1958, 155), which must be a borrowing from an okanje-dialect, adapted to words in -sk if a variant *колáчка* is not found in Russian.

Probably recorded in surnames in the 18th and 19th centuries: **Kollaski Petri Tomas** (1782), **Kollatzyk Tomas** (1805), **Kollatzyk Petry Thomas** (1865); cf. the Kodavere dialect form **kolatsk** (PALL 1970, 153).

Also recorded in Baltic German: **Kalatsche** ‘ein Backwerk’ (HUPEL 1795, 104; KIPARSKY 1936, 156).

d. ME II, 140; REW I, 595; EEW II, 665.

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a. **kalavinski** ‘boot (made of yellow or yellow-brownish leather)’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. голова́ ‘forepart, toecap’ + pseudo-Russian suffix -винские.

c. MÄGISTE (EEW II, 665) notes only a Russian голова́ as origin. According to ARISTE (cf. MUST 2000, 67) the word is an adjectival form *головинские* after a Russian shoemaker **Golovin** from Vasknarva, but there is no proof such a person ever existed. More likely is MUST’s suggestion that **kalavinski** ultimately derives from голова́ ‘forepart, toecap’ (more usually головка), to which was added a Russian formant -*винский*, which supposedly also exists as an independent word. MÄGISTE (EEW XII, 3867) claims that WIEDEMANN’s (1983) form **vinska**, alongside kalavinskad ‘grosse, gelbe russische Stiefel’, is incorrectly abstracted by WIEDEMANN, who would have assumed it is a compound of **kala** ‘fish’ and *винский*, which MÄGISTE claims does not exist independently. Est. винский ‘boot’ however, is occasionally found in the dialects (cf. EMS II, 577), and though akanje in Russian would give an Estonian form kalavinski anyway, MUST’s assumption of additional influence from Est. kala ‘fish’ is undoubtedly correct, as such boots were often worn by fishermen (e.g. Est. Jõh kalavinskid on *‘prostoi *säärikud kalamel* kalavinski’s are simple fishermen’s boots’; EMS II, 577).

Additional proof of jocular derivation with a Russian suffix might be given by HERMLIN’s (1929, 97) soldier slang form **kalavitsiku** ‘gaiters’ which he claims to be borrowed from Russian.

d. HERMLIN 1929, 97; EEW II, 665; MUST 2000, 67-68.

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b. Russ. але́бáрда 'halberd' < Fr. hallebarde < MHG helmbarte (REW I, 12).

c. As can be seen above WIEDEMANN hesitantly derives the word from G. Hellebardier.

MÄGISTE (EEW II, 671-672) assumes a loan from Russian (with no mention of any Russian source), with possible folk-etymological adaptation to kalits ‘pocket’, though this is not particularly enlightening.

The following Russian forms ‘halberdier’ were commonly used: але́бáрдник, але́бáрдовщик, але́бáрдщик (cf. DAI I, 10b). Est. kalbard is obviously not borrowed from any of these, but neither does G. Hellebardier seem to be a likely source. The exact source remains hard to pin down, but Est. kalbard is probably borrowed from Russian.

d. WIEDEMANN 1893; EEW II, 671-672.

a. kaleska ‘calash’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; EKSS).
c. Two variants exist concurrently in Estonian: kales from G. Kalesche (< Russ. колéска) and kaleska directly from Russ. колéска. MÄGISTE (EEW II, 667) suggests an unattested Russ. *калéшка as the source.
d. EEW II, 667; MUST 2000, 69.

a. kalifeed ~ kalifeeptüksid (püksid ‘trousers’) ‘trousers with narrow legs, and wider near the top’ (VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. LOORITS (1955) mentions the Russian etymology is his unpublished papers.
d.

a. kalingur ~ kalingor ‘calico’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. калингóр, колинкóр, калёнкóр ‘calico’. Probably from Fr. calencar ‘ostindischer, auch persischer bedruckter Baumwollstoff’ < Pers. kalamkar ‘id.’, not from Fr. calicot (REW I, 598).
c. WIEDEMANN has various neologistic variants, all loans from Russian (1869: kallingo ‘Calicott'; 1893: kalikoor, kalingoor ‘Calico’). Only kolliko ‘Calico’ is a loan from German, not Russian (MÄGISTE in EEW II, 669 is incorrect).
Already recorded in 1823 in Masing’s Marahwa Nāddala-Leht (Kingisepp 1972, 91). Kingisepp (1972, 106) claims kalingur does not occur in Wiedemann, but we do find kalingoor in Wiedemann.

d. Raun - Saareste 1965, 49; Raun 1982; EEW II, 669; Must 2000, 70.

a. kalits ‘pocket’ (Thor Helle 1732; HupeL 1780; 1818; Wiedemann 1869; 1893; Ekōs; Eōs; Vōs 1936; 1940; 1945; Sōs; Ōs 1960; 1976; 1999; Ekss).
c. Also in older South Estonian: tasche ‘kalithe’ (GutslaFF 1648, 241), which mirrors the Russian exactly and has not yet been adapted to nouns in -ts like all other forms. Cf. kulitš.
Also recorded in Baltic German: kalite, kallyte ‘Beutel, Tasche’ (Kiparsky 1936, 157).
d. Saareste 1922, 140-141; Mäiste 1962,31, 46, 58, 59; Raun - Saareste 1965, 49; Raun 1982; EEW II, 672.

a. kalka ‘tracing paper’ (Vōs 1953; Sōs; Ōs 1960; 1976; 1999; Ekss).
c. -
d. EEW II, 671.

a. Kalmuk ‘kalmuck (type of cloth)’ (Eōs; Vōs 1940; 1945; Ekss).
b. Russ. kalmúk ‘Kalmuck; kalmuck (cloth)’. Probably via Tat. kalmyk ‘id.’ (REW I, 511).
c. Wiedemann already notes Kalmuk ‘Kalmück’ in the first (1869) edition of his dictionary, but only in 1893 is Kalmuki-nahk ‘Fell v. kalmükischen Schafen’ added. The first use of kalmuk with the meaning ‘cloth’ is found in Eōs. Only in the 1940 and 1945 Vōs has the spelling been adapted to that of the ethnonym (Est. kalmõkk), Eōs has the German-like spelling kalmük ‘Kalmuck’.

In Russian the meaning ‘kalmuck (type of cloth)’ is found from 1879 (Pawlowski 1879, 349a) onwards. Est. kalmuk ‘type of cloth’ may also have been borrowed from G. Kalmuck ‘kurzwelliges, schwarzes Schaffell’ (Pawlowski 1879, 349a), which is itself probably a Russian loan.

EstS kalmuk (Rei Trv Mar; EMS II, 606; cf. also Loorits 1930, 232) has the meaning ‘wanton, mischievous’. This is a separate loan from Russ. kalmúk ‘Kalmuck’, also borrowed into Latvian: kalmüks ‘Schimpfname’ (< Russ. kalmúk ‘Kalmuck’; ME II, 142; REw I, 511),
also ‘rat’ (Bušmane - Laumane 1999)\(^{160}\), and is explained by the presence of Kalmuck cavallrymen in the Baltics in the Great Northern War (1700-1721)\(^{161}\); cf. ‘...gebe es dort (Jaun-Piebalga in Vidzeme; RB) eine Volkstradition, dass zur Zeit des nordischen Krieges in Löbern (Liezeřis in north-eastern Latvia; RB) fremde Leute, genannt kalmaki oder kalmakas (= Kalmucken?) gehaut und frische Menschenleichen gegessen hätten’ (ME II, 142a). *Kalmuk* is also found as a surname in Estonian (Loorits 1939, 110).


a. kalpakk ‘sheepskin Tatar cap; hussar cap’ (SŐS).


c. Both the literary language as well as the dialects (cf. Must 2000, 68) reflect either Russ. колпак or an akanje form of колпак, but a non-akanje form of колпак is recorded in 1758 in the name *Kolpacka Rein* (Pall 1970, 152-153).

d. Must 2000, 68.

a. kalts ‘an old tattered rag; a piece of cloth used for cleaning or washing; a tattered but still wearable article of clothing; a person in tattered clothing; a wretched, pitiable person’ ～

kaltsad ‘linen or tow cloth knee breeches that peasants used to wear; linen, tow cloth or woollen leggings worn with knee breeches’ (Hupel 1818; Wiedemann 1869; 1893; EKŐS; EŐS; Vős 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SŐS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. (O)Russ. колоша ‘Gamasche, unterer Teil der Beinkleider’. The etymology is uncertain; probably a loan from Lat. calcea ‘Strumpf’ (REW I, 604).

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\(^{160}\) Modern Latv. kalmiks ‘Kalmuck’ < Russ. калми́к ‘id.’.

c. The Estonian word has two basic meanings, ‘stocking, sock’, and ‘rags’; the meaning ‘trousers’ recorded in WIEDEMANN, is a later development, similar to that of G. Hosen (cf. MANNINEN 1927, 435).

Germanic origin has also been suggested, cf. MLG kalze, kolze, OHG kalizjä, calizjä ‘sock’ (also from Lat. calceus) (cf. MIKKOLA 1894, 124-125). TOIVONEN (SKES I, 151) also assumes that the Estonian word might more likely be a German loan, whilst MÄGISTE (EEW II, 676), thinks Russian origin, especially also the Russian accusative form колóшу, might more easily explain the auslaut -a and -u in Estonian. VAHROS (1959, 111) derives all Finnic forms (cf. SSA I, 290b-291a) from Old Russian.

The -t- in Est. kalts is of unetymological origin; cf. Est. dial. kalsagane ‘shabbily dressed’, kalsakil’in tatters’ (EMS II, 608), Fi. kalsu ‘legging’ (SSA I, 290b).

Dialect geography shows that though kals ‘rag’ is spread comparatively equally throughout the whole country162, where its spread might have been facilitated in the 18th and 19th century by South Estonian ragbuyers for the Räpina paper factory (cf. LÖUNA 2003, 17), kaltsad ‘breeches’ is concentrated in the southeast, so that perhaps Russian origin would still have to be preferred.

Found in 16th century surnames Hanus Kalcz, Lawryn Kalcz, Piep Kalczu according to MÄGISTE (1962, 59); also in 1744: Caltszo Peter (PALL 1970, 150).


a. kaluuga ‘large beluga-like fish found in the Amur river basin (Huso dauricus)’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. -

a. kalömm ‘a ransom that has to be paid to the parents or family of the bride (in some eastern countries)’ (SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


162 MANNINEN (1927, 435), however, claims that it is concentrated in the eastern Estonia.
c. The eminent Estonian orientalist HALJAND UDAM (2001, 42) strongly condemns the use of this word; as there is an Estonian word (*pruudiluna* ‘bride ransom’) for this, UDAM’s complaint is understandable.
d. -

a. *kama* ‘thin porridge-like food made from sour milk and a mixture of rye-, oat-, barley- and peasemeal’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. кома ‘жаворонки, хлебы, олады’ (DAČ II, 149) < ком ‘Klumpen’ (REW I, 606).
c. LOORITS (1958, 157, footnote 56) assumes that it is in fact an Estonian loan in the neighbouring Russian dialects, and though Est. *kama* has in fact been borrowed into the Russian dialect of Isaku in north-eastern Estonia (кама ‘толокно’; BURDAKOVA 1998, 178), this suggestion of LOORITS’ cannot be accepted.
In Estonian this word seems to have been borrowed via the south, as the first registration by HUPEL notes it as a southern word: *kammo jahbo* ‘habergrütz. d.’ (HUPEL 1780), ‘habermehl. d.’ (1818).
It occurs also in Baltic German: *Kamma* (ARISTE 1937, 251).

a. *kamaarinskaja* ‘a fast and vigorous Russian folk dance or song in 2/4 time’ (EÖS; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
d. EEW III, 681.

a. *kamand* ‘crowd, troop, group’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EÖS; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).
b. Russ. кома́нда ‘(word of) command, order; command; (mil.) party, detachment, crew; (naut.) crew, ship’s company; (sport) team’ < Fr. *commande* or G. *Kommando* < It. *comando* (REW I, 606).
c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1893.
d. EEW III, 682; MUST 2000, 73.
a. kamandama ‘to command, to give instructions’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; VÕS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÕS; ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. кома́ндова́ть ‘to give orders; to command, to be in command; to order about; to command (terrain)’ < Fr. commander ‘to command’ (REW I, 607).

c. Est. komandama ‘to command’ is probably borrowed from German, whilst kamandama, usually meaning ‘to order about’ and reflecting akanje, is from Russian, or an Estonian derivation of kamand (thus MÄGISTE in EEW III, 682). However, both the Russian and the Estonian verb have the meaning ‘to order about’, and so there is no necessity to derive it from kamand ‘crowd, troop, group’.

d. RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; EEW III, 682; MUST 2000, 72.

a. kamass ‘a half-boot without laces with rubber side wedges, a men’s halfboot with clasps’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÖS; EÕS; VÕS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÕS; ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1893.

d. -

a. kamorka ‘a small, cramped (and dark) room, a dingy room’ (VÕS 1953; SÕS; ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. каморка (or dial. коморка) ‘closet, very small room; box room’, diminutive of комора ‘Vorratskammer’ (REW I, 610).

c. Also recorded in Baltic German: Kamorke ‘kleine Kammer’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 157).

d. EEW III, 683; MUST 2000, 74.

a. kamp ‘(small) crowd, group of people (doing the same thing)’ (EKÖS; EÕS; VÕS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÕS; ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) ~ kampaania ‘(organized) working campaign; military campaign’ (VÕS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÕS; ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. компа́ния ‘(in var. senses) company’ < Pol. kompanja ‘id.’ or It. compagna < Lat. compânia (REW I, 610).
c. There are many variants of *kampaania* in Estonian, especially in dialects (cf. MUST 2000, 74-75); *kamp* ‘group of people’, a derivation where the non-first syllables have been elided, is in fact much more common than *kampaania* in the literary language, and is registered already in 1918 in EKÖS, whilst *kampaania* itself does not make its first appearance until some 22 years later in the 1940 VÖS. WIEDEMANN’s (1893) neologic *kampanii* ‘Compagnie’ is a German loanword like *kompanii* ‘id.’, though its initial vowel has changed to -a- under the influence of Russ. компа́ния. The Russian word cannot have been unfamiliar at the time, though it was not borrowed as *kampaania* until later (first registered in the 1940 VÖS). Est. *kompanii* ‘Compagnie’, borrowed from German, retained its German meaning, but the Russian loan *kampaania* is not generally used in the military sense, and like so many Russian loans, has a pejorative meaning.

d. RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW III, 683, 684; MUST 2000, 74-75.

a. *kampsun* ‘sweater’ (EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. камэ́ол ‘camisole’ < G. Kamisol or Fr. camisole < It. camiciola (REW I, 514).

c. BRÖMSEN (1814, 148) already pointed out that Est. *kamsol* could have been borrowed from either Russ. камэ́ол ‘camisole’ or G. *Kamisol*, Est. *kamsol*, already in HUPEL 1780 as ‘Kamisol, Weste’ is indeed probably a loan from German, but *kampsun*, first recorded in WIEDEMANN (*kampson, kampsul, kamson, kamsul* ‘Kamisol’) in 1869 and marked as South Estonian, is probably Russian, as is *kamisool* ‘formerly, a sleeveless garment’ (LEEMETS 1999, 57a). The inlaut unetymological -p- is of Estonian origin; the change /l > n/ in auslaut also occurred in Estonian, where it is not uncommon.

d. BRÖMSEN 1814, 148; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 46; RAUN 1982; EEW III, 684; MUST 2000, 75.

a. *kamut* ‘Kummet’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. хомут ‘(horse’s) collar; (fig.) burden; (tech.) clamp, ring’. The Russian etymology is uncertain. Cf. REW III, 259.

c. Also recorded in Baltic German: *Chomutt, Chamutt* ‘Kummet’ (HUPEL 1795, 43, 105, 122; KIPARSKY 1936, 151).

d. EEW III, 685.

a. *kamõšiit* ‘reed pressboard’ (SÖS; ÖS 1960).

c. ŌS 1960 has a normative reference to roogplaat, a building terminology variant (with a nominative first member) of rooplaat ‘reed pressboard’.

a. **kanav** ‘Canal’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).


c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1893. Modern dictionaries have kanal only, though kann occurs in some eastern dialects. MUST (2000, 76-77) thinks that in some of the north-eastern dialects the word may have been borrowed via Finnish or Votic (Fi./Vot. kanava ‘canal’ < Russ. канава).

d. MUST 2000, 76-77

a. **kantsik** ‘short leather whip’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÔS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. канныч ‘капчыя плеть, няйка’ < Turkic; cf. Tat. kamčy‘whip’ (SSRLJA 5, 766; ŠIPOVA 1976, 159-160). According to SRNG (13, 46-47), Russ. канныч ‘то же, что канчук’ is recorded only in the Russian dialects of Lithuania and Latvia.

c. In the present literary language only kantsik is in use, as in most dialects (EMS I; MUST 2000, 77-78), but WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893) has a kantsukas ‘Geissel, Kantschu’, which most likely is a loan from Russ. канчук with an additional Estonian suffix -as; possible could also be a loan from G. Kantschu (borrowed from Pol. kańczug < Ukr. канчук < Turkic; cf. DWB 5, 176) with an Estonian suffix -kas. The former is perhaps more likely, especially taking into account that practically all names for ‘whip’ in Estonian have been borrowed from Russian (kantsik, karbats, nagaiika, ?nuut, piits, ?roosk).

d. AAVID 1919, 25a; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW III, 696; MUST 2000, 77-78.

a. **kanva** ‘cross-stitch canvas’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. канвá ‘canvas’ < Fr. canevas < It. canavaccio < Lat. cannabis (REW I, 517).

c. -
d. -

a. **kapitaal** - ‘capital, principal, chief’ (EKSS).
b. Russ. **капитальный** ‘capital’, adj. of **капитал** ‘capital’ < G. **Kapital**, Fr. **capital** or It. **capitale** < Lat. **capitālis** (REW I, 521-522).
c. Used only in compounds which are partial calques from Russian: e.g. **kapitaalremont** ‘complete overhaul’ < Russ. **капитальный ремонт** ‘id.’; **Wiedemann’s** (1893) neologistic **kapitaal** ‘Capital’ does not have this meaning, though in German such formations also occur (e.g. **Kapitalverbrechen** ‘capital crime’).

d. -

a. **kaps** ‘cabbage’ (Stahl 1637; Göseken 1660, 229, 252, 261-262; Thor Helle 1732; Vestring 1740, 55b, 67a; Hupe1 1780; 1818; **Wiedemann** 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. **капуста** ‘cabbage’. Unclear etymology. Probably a contamination of MLat. **composita** ‘Eingemachtes’ and MHG **kappaz** ‘Kohl’ (REW I, 524), or a contamination of *kupusta (< Lat. composita) and *kapus (< Lat. caputum) (Šanskij 1982 II/8, 58-59).
c. In older Estonian sources we can still find forms such as **kapstas** (still often used in literary Estonian as a rustic variant), **kapust, kaabustas** and **kaaps** (Wiedemann 1869; 1893). Mikkola (1894, 118) and Kalima (1952, 93) are not convinced of the Russian origin of Est. **kapsas** and suggest G. **Kappes** ‘white cabbage’ (< MLat caputia ‘little head’; Kluge 1995, 425b)\(^\text{163}\) and Latv. **kāposts** ‘cabbage’ (< Russ. **капуста**; LEV I, 379), with vague comments about ‘influence’ of the various words on each other, but Must (2000, 78-79) has shown convincingly enough that the development was as follows: Russ. **капуста** > Est. **kapusta** (e.g. **Wiedemann** 1869; 1893) > **kap(uti)st** > **kapst** (e.g. Stahl 1637: **Kahpst**; Vestring 1740: **kaapst** > **kapstas** (Hupe1 1780) > **kaps**.

The following forms are found in North Estonian:

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<td><strong>Stahl 1637</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Göseken 1660</strong></td>
<td>kahpst</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Thor Helle 1732</strong></td>
<td>kapstas</td>
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\(^{163}\) G. **Kappes** ‘white cabbage’ is a High German word and found in the west and the south of Germany; its occurrence in Baltic German is unlikely.
VESTRING 1740  kaapst
HUPEL 1780  kaapstas, kapstas
HUPEL 1818  kapstas
WIEDEMANN 1869  kapsas
WIEDEMANN 1893  kapsas, kapstas, kaapsas
EKSS  kapsas

In South Estonian:

ROSSIHNIUS 1632  kapets
HUPEL 1780  kapsta, kapust
HUPEL 1818  kappust, kapust
WIEDEMANN 1869  kapust
WIEDEMANN 1893  kapust, kaabustas
JÜVA 1994  kapstas

In dialects the following forms are still found: kapsas (kapsa-, kapsta-), kaapsas (kaapsa-), kaapstas, kaapsus and kapsus (EMS II, 712).

MUST (2000, 80) concedes that forms with -aa- found in western and island dialects may be influenced by Latvian (after VABA 1977, 39-40; 1997, 78-79).

The Russian loan also occurs in surnames: Kapusta Jaack (1758), Kappusta Mert (1865) (PALL 1970, 150). Liv. käpst (L)‘Kohl’ (WIEDEMANN 1861, 31c; LW 112b) is probably a loan from Estonian.164

b. Russ. капшун ‘Kappzaum (der Pferde)’ < G. Kappzaum < Fr. caveçon < It. cavezzone (REW I, 524).

164 WINKLER, in his 2002 article on the Russian loanwords in Livonian, treats only those found in Courland (cf. p. 380).
c. MÄGISTE (1962, 31) writes that Est. *kapstun* can also be derived from MLG *kapsun*. Russian origin is, however, more likely, seeing its consonant cluster. Metathesis is not an obstacle: a rearrangement in Estonian of the cluster -pt스- to -pст- is expected. This must have occurred after 1660, as GÖSEKEN still writes *kapzun*.
d. MÄGISTE 1962, 31; EEW III, 700.

a. *kapukas* ‘thick sock; useless person’ (GÖSEKEN 1660, 403; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. The first to suggest in print that Est. *kapukas* is a loan from Russian was VAHROS (1959, 111-113), who suggested it derives from ORuss. *kopать*ц ‘(полу)чулок’ (still found in dialectal Russian: *kopатьце* ‘роговые наросты на коленях у лошади’; SRNG 14, 305b); modern Russ. *копыто* now means ‘hoof’ only. VAHROS (1960, 10), however, writes that Russ. *копыто* probably has had the meaning ‘sock’ (cf. e.g. Serb. obs. *kopitca* ‘Art Fussbekleidung, dial. *kopica* ‘Art Filzstrumpf; Fußlappen’, *kopitica* ‘kleiner Huf’; Slov. dial. *kopytce* ‘wollener Wadenstrumpf; wollener Fußlappen für Bundschuhe’; EWUng I, 686ab). MÄGISTE (1960, 13), however, in his review of VAHROS 1960, writes that he had already considered Russ. *kopатьце* the source in his 1958 lectures, but had not yet written about it.
The oldest Estonian form, as recorded in GÖSEKEN (1660, 403) is closer to the Russian original: die halben Strümpfe/(Fus Socke) *kappetat*. Most common now is the variant *kapukas*, with the common derivative suffix -kas (already recorded by HUPEL in 1780) but the original ending -t is also still found in the 1925 EÖS. The dialects show numerous variants: *kapak* ‘sock, short men’s sock’ (Saa Trv Hls Kam, Krk; EMS II, 704), *kapask, kapaskid* ‘old, large socks or gloves’ (Mar, EMS II, 705), *kapatjalg* ‘devil, Old Nick’ (Kam, Kan, EMS II, 705), *kapats* ‘devil, ghost, spook’ (Ran, EMS II, 705), *kapats* ‘socks, short men’s stockings’ (Hel, EMS II, 705), *kaperd’clog* (Jäm), ‘men’s socks’ (Ans) (EMS II, 705), *kapat(as)* ‘sock, short men’s sock’ (Muh Lä Tös Khn Aud HaLä HMd Rap Khk Mus Kär Kaa Pha Jaa Pöi PJg Hi Kul Mar Vig Hag), cloth slippers (Kaa Phl), rag around a chicken's leg to prevent it from

165 MIKKOLA (1938, 32) derives Kar. *kaputta* and Veps. *kaput* ‘Klause’ from Russ. *копыто*. Though KALIMA (1952, 77, 190) claims that these must be older loans due to the substitution of Russ. *o* with Finnic *a*, MIKKOLA thinks that these words may have been influenced by Kar. *kabie*, Veps. *kaby*’hoof’.
166 From which also Hu. *kapca* ‘Art Fußbekleidung aus Filz; Huf; Fußlappen; Strumpf; Spat am Sprunggelenk eines Pferdes, Ringbein; Fetzen, Lumpen; Dreckskerl, Schurke’ (EWUng I, 686ab).
scratching (Hag Juu); rubbish (Hag), *sukka otsis, kapeta sai* ‘(said of an unsuccessful marriage attempt)’ (‘looked for a sock, got a *kapeta’*), Mär Rap (EMS II, 706), *kapetjalg* ‘horse whose legs are wholly or partially white’ (LNg Kei, (as swearword); Khk Mih); EMS II, 706), *kappjalg* ‘horse with white legs’ (Vas; EMS II, 710), *kaps* ‘men’s sock, half-sock’ (Krk) (EMS II, 711), *kapukas* ‘sock, short (men’s) sock’ (Kuu Lüg Vai Han Hää Hag Juu Kos Ann Iis Trm Kod), ‘old fur coat, old-fashioned skirt’ (Kod), ‘mitten’ (Kkh Emm); ‘furry legs (horse, chicken)’ (VNg Hää) (EMS II, 716), *kapukjalg* ‘horse with white socks’ (VJg Kod KJn), ‘horse with tufts on its hooves, and legs which are furry at the bottom’ (Vng), ‘vaim’ (Plt) (EMS II, 716), *kapusjalg = kapukjalg* (Hää) (EMS II, 717), *kaput* ‘woollen sock, short (men’s) sock’ (Kan Urv Har Röu Vas Räp Se Lei Krl Nöö San Lut) (EMS II, 718), *kaputjalg* ‘horse with white socks’ (Trv Hel Nöö Öte Urv Plv Vas Se), ‘horse with large tufts on its hooves, chicken with furry legs’ (Hel) (EMS II, 718). The most common meanings are thus ‘sock’ and ‘(horse with) white socks’.

In two older sources we find *öökapukas* ‘Nachtschleicher’ (THOR HELLÉ 1732, 148b), ‘night stocking’, according to MÄGISTE 1962, 48) and *kaput-jalg* ‘Gespenst, Wärwolf, befiedertes Bein der Vögel’, *naljakapukas* ‘Spassvogel’ (WIEDEMANN 1869). Est. *kapukas* obviously has also had the meaning ‘bird’, the semantic expansion probably happened as follows: *kaput* ‘sock’ < ‘white sock’ > ‘animal/bird with white sock/blaze’ > ‘animal/bird’.

Est. *kapukas* ‘sock’ has also been borrowed into Finnish: *kapukat*167 ‘very short socks, which women used before on top of other socks’ from Estonian (OJANUU 1916, 144).

In Finnish the word occurs in fact in two forms: *kapukas* (pl. *kapukkaat*) ‘short socks’ is recorded on Tytärasaari (SMS 6, 274b), *kapukka* (pl. *kapukat*) ‘id.’ (SMS 6, 275a) on Suurasaari, and are both undoubtedly loans from Estonian, whilst *kapukka* ‘coloured sock’, *kapukkajalka* ‘horse with white socks, person with white socks’, *kapukkasukka* ‘colourful sock with white bottom’ (SMS 6, 275a) are recorded in the Finnish dialect of Kallivere spoken in Ingria. This can be either a loan from Estonian or a direct loan from Russian.

Fi. dial. *kaputta* ‘stocking-like (women’s) legging; low house shoes’, recorded in southern and northern Karelia (SMS 6, 281b), are direct loans from Russian (cf. SCHVINDT 1913, 160; JARVA 2003, 194).

Vot. *kaputta* ‘(felt) sock’ is possibly also an Estonian loan, though MÄGISTE (1962, 48-49) believes it can also be a direct loan from Russian.

167 Fi. dial. *kapukkaturkki* ‘fur coat with the fur on the inside’, recorded in northern Bothnia (cf. SMS 6, 275a), is etymologically not related.
Also borrowed from Estonian into Ruhnu Swedish: *skinnkapeto* ‘leather socks used in winter in moccasins when walking on the ice’\(^{168}\) (KLEIN 1924, 205; MANNINEN 1927, 446).


c. -

d. -

a. **karakantsik** ‘Tarakan, Schabe’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893)

b. Russ. тарака́нщи́к ‘изводщик таракановъ’ (DAL IV, 390b) < тарака́н (cf. *tarakan*).

c. With partial regressive assimilation, which probably occurred in Estonian (in Russian a *карака́нщи́к* is not recorded). The more common Est. *tarakan* is a loan from Russ. тарака́н, whilst Est. *karakantsik* is borrowed from its diminutive (cf. MUST 2000, 400-401).

d. EEW III, 702; MUST 2000, 400-401.

a. **karakull** ‘astrakhan, caracul’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. SAARESTE 1952, 58; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; MUST 2000, 81.


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\(^{168}\) In the original: ‘Slutligen bör nämnas ett fottplagg, som står halvvägs mellan strumpa och sko och som lär vara uppfunnet och infört i våra dagar av öns kantor, Fr. Dreijer. Det är de s.k. “skinnkapeto”, som om vintern brukas i skrävlingarna, när man går på isen framför allt i vått före. Det är ett par vida socker av garvat, mjukt kalv- eller sälskinn.’ (KLEIN 1924, 205).
a. **karaul** ‘guard, duty’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EÖS; VÔS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÔS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1893. EKSS has both *karaul* and *karaul*, the last is preferred.

d. MÄGISTE 1962, 31; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; EEW III, 703; MUST 2000, 81-82.

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a. **karbass** ‘type of rowing- or sailboat in the White Sea and (Siberian) rivers’ (ÖS 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. карбас ‘großes, mit Segeln versehenes Ruderboot’. Probably a loan from Veps karbaz ‘dugout canoe’ (MECKELEIN 1913, 37; KALIMA 1915, 104; REW I, 529), attested since 1584 (KIPARSKY 1975, 87).

c. -

d. AHLOVIST 1875, 167; MIKKOLA 1894, 118; KALIMA 1952, 94; MUST 2000, 82-83.

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a. **karbats** ‘(obs.) whip’ (GÖSEKEN 1660, 205, 320; VESTRING 1740, 67a; HUPEL 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKSS).

b. Russ. карбáч ‘Peitsche’ < Turk. kyrbač ‘Karbatsche, Reitgerte’ (REW I, 529; ŠIPOVA 1976, 168). ŠIPOVA (1976, 168) interprets VASMER’s (REW I, 529) entry (карбáч ‘Peitsche’, poln. karbacz. Entleht aus osman. kyrbač ‘Karbatsche, Reitgerte’) in such a way that the Russian word has been borrowed via Polish (‘занимст. через полск. karbacz из тур. kyrbač’). According to SRNG (13, 81b) Russ. карбáч ‘кнут, плеть, хлыст’ is a relatively rare word, being recorded only in Smolensk (and in DAL II, 91b, who notes it as ‘western’). A Polish loan in Russian is therefore not unlikely.

c. Borrowed into Baltic German (*Karbatsche* ‘aus Riemen geflochtene Hetzpeitsche’), where it is first recorded in 1632, but according to KIPARSKY (1936, 137) from Polish, not from Russian. Est. karbats could also have been borrowed from Baltic German (as HUPEL 1818, 72a claims), but if KIPARSKY is right and BG *Karbatsche* is indeed a loan from Polish then GÖSEKEN’s 1660 recording is early indeed. This, and the Estonian dialect sources (EMS II, 722, 723; MUST 2000, 82), which point to *karbats* being best known in the south-east (San,
Kam, Vas, Se), with some additional recordings in the west (Vig, Khn, Hää), make the case for direct Russian origin stronger.

GÖSEKEN (1660, 205) has an odd *Karbatsk* (geisseln/pihzama/pihtza(Karbatski)kaa lõhma), which seems to be a South Estonian variant, with a typical suffix -tsk (cf. EstN *piits* ~ EstS *piitsk* ‘whip’, EstN *putk* ~ EstS *pütsk* ‘tube’; cf. also MUST 2000, 544). GÖSEKEN did incorporate at least some South Estonian material in his dictionary, some of which he had received from JOHANNES GUTSLAFF, the author of the 1648 grammar of South Estonian (cf. the introduction by ANNA-LIISA VÄRRI HAARMANN in GÖSEKEN 21977, 8-9), so maybe he added *karbatsk* (not recorded in GUTSLAFF 1648) as a synonym for *piits*.

A dialect form with a Russian suffix occur in Häädemeeste (*karbantsik = karbats; EMS II, 722*). Est. dial. *karbantsik* (Hargla), and *karbantsinik* (Rõuge) (EMS II, 756-757), are variants of *karmantsik*, and are probably contaminated by *karbats*.

d. MÄGISTE 1961, 31-32; ARISTE 1981, 90; EEW III, 703; MUST 2000, 82.

a. **kardavoi** ‘policeman/town guard in Tsarist Russia’ (EOŠ; SÖŠ; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Not in use anymore; only refers to Tsarist times.

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Gar(a)dawoi, Gradawoi* ‘Policeisoldat’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 154). Est. *kardavoi* may be borrowed from Baltic German.

d. SAARESTE 1952, 58; 1957, 457, 478; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; EEW III, 704; MUST 2000, 83.

a. **kardon** ‘Cordonhaus’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).


c. Variants: *kordon* probably from German, whilst *kardon* (a new word in WIEDEMANN) reflects akanje and is thus from Russian. Dialect forms with genitives in -a (cf. Must 2000, 83) are older and reflect the Russian genitive, whilst those in -i are later adaptations.

d. EEW III, 705; MUST 2000, 83.

a. **kari** ‘moth’ (HUPEL 1780; 1818; EOŠ; SÖŠ).

c. Essentially a South Estonian word, first registered in 1648 by GUTSLAFF: Motte Karjelaine; also in CLARE’s manuscript dictionary of 1730 (cf. MUST 2000, 82) and in WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893): kari (d) ‘Motte’, karjalaine (d) ‘Motte’.

ANDERSON (1879, 268) derives Russ. корь ~ скорь ‘Motte’ from Finno-Ugric, but his etymology is universally rejected.

Newly borrowed as hori in Setu dialects (MUST 2000, 45).

d. ANDERSON 1879, 268; MUST 1954, 18; 1959, 157-158; MÄGISTE 1962, 32; EEW III, 709; KOPONEN 1998, 97b, 98a; MUST 2000, 45-46.

a. karits ‘Garnitz (ein Futtermaass)’ (THOR HELLE 1732; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. коре́ц ‘Schöpfkelle; Melhkasten; Getreidemaß’, cf. кора́ ‘Rinde’ and коры́то ‘Trog, Mulde, Eisloch’ (REW I, 625, 638).

c. Of South Estonian origin; occurs in GUTSLAFF in 1648 (207: Becher Karritz, 221: Kelch Karritz) and in CLARE’s manuscript dictionary (cf. MUST 2000, 84).

d. EEW III, 710; MUST 2000, 84.

a. karman ‘pocket’ (HUPEL 1818; EÖS; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. A South Estonian word, recorded already in 1648 by GUTSLAFF (Beutel Carman). Also recorded in the 1820s in MASIING’s Marahwa Näädala-Leht (KINGISEPP 1972, 90), where it is possibly not a South Estonian word, but more likely from the north-east, as Masing was born in Lohusu and worked for many years in Lüganuse (KINGISEPP 1972, 88).

d. HUPEL 1818, 72b; AHLQVIST 1875, 151; KALIMA 1952, 93-94; 1956, 71-72; MUST 1954, 18; MUST 1956, 130; MÄGISTE 1962, 16, 28; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; ARISTE 1981, 90; EEW III, 713; MUST 2000, 85.

a. karmantšik ‘rascal, rogue, cheat’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

169 Turkic karman ‘pocket’ is also thought to be a Russian loanword and not the source of the Russian word (REW I, 534).
b. Russ. карманщик ‘pickpocket’ < карман ‘pocket’ + person suffix -щик.

c. WIEDEMANN does not note any particular dialectal spread for karmantsik, though he does for karmant.

WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893) translates Est. karmantsik with ‘Taschendieb’, from SÖS onwards it also receives the additional meaning of ‘rascal, rogue’, but oddly only EKSS does not mention the meaning ‘pickpocket’.

Also recorded in Baltic German: Karmantschik ‘Taschendieb; Strassenjunge’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 158).

d. BACHMAN 1956, 8; EEW III, 713; MUST 2000, 85-86.

a. karmoška ‘accordeon’ (EKSS).


c. -

d. MUST 2000, 86.

a. karhai ‘long straight Central Asian and Middle-Eastern trumpet with a non-melodic tone’ (EKSS).


c. -

d. -

a. karnits ‘a former unit of measurement for powders and liquids, 3.28 l; also the corresponding container’ (HUPEL 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. ráпне ‘(obs.) garniec (old Russ. dry measure, equivalent to 3.28 litres)’ < Pol. garnic ‘id.’ < Slavic (REW I, 259).

c. Also recorded into Baltic German: Garnitz ‘kleines Kornmass – 1/64 Tschetwert’ (HUPEL 1795, 72; KIPARSKY 1936, 154).

Also recorded in the 1820s in MasiNG’s Marahwa Näddala-Leht (KINGISEPP 1972, 91).

d. HUPEL 1818, 72; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW III, 714; MUST 2000, 86.
a. **karotnik** ‘(Ogorodnik) Gemüsegärtner’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).

b. Russ. огородник ‘market-gardener’ < огород + person suffix -ник.

c. WIEDEMANN (1893), who notes it as a new word, can hardly have been unaware of the Russian origin of this word, but did not note it as such; therefore BACHMAN 1959 is probably the first who did so in print.

This is also one of the few cases where an initial vowel of a Russian loanword in Estonian is elided (cf. TAULI 1956, 181, 189; VABA 2002, 393-395); possibly by contamination with Est. karot ‘Carotten’ (WIEDEMANN 1893), a loan from G. Karotte.

Also borrowed in Baltic German: Agarodnik ‘Gemüsegärtner’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 144).

d. BACHMAN 1959, 259; EEW III, 714; MUST 2000, 21.

a. **karp**. Cf. 8.1.

a. **kartets** ‘short-trajectory shell filled with cylindrical bullets’ (EKÕS; EÕS; VÕS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÕS; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. картечь ‘(mil.) case-shot; grape-shot; buck-shot’ < G. Kartätsche < Engl. cartage < Fr. cartouche < It. cartoccio < Gr. χαρτίς (REW I, 536).

c. WIEDEMANN’s (1869; 1893) neologistic kartäts is a loan from G. Kartätsche, but kartets found in EKÕS onwards is probably Russian, seen its spelling.

d. -

a. **kartser** ‘formerly, space or one-person cell in which disciplinary punishment is served (especially in the military or prisons)’ (EKÕS; EÕS; VÕS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÕS; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. káptep ‘cell, lock-up’ < G. Karzer or (possibly a learned loan from) Lat. carcer (REW I, 537).

c. A borrowing from German is also possible, depending on age and actual use. MÄGISTE (EEW III, 718) assumes a loan from student slang; if so then German origin is more likely. If, however, EKSS is correct and it is more a military or prison word then a loan from Russian is perhaps more likely. Its earliest occurrence is in EKÕS, which also perhaps points to Russian.

d. EEW III, 718; MUST 2000, 87.

a. **kasakas** ‘member of a community which has its origins in people who in the 15th-17th centuries (were) settled in border areas of Russia, (later) a person from these areas; parish or
manor runner’ (VESTRING 1740, 69a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1983; EKŐS; EŐS; VŐS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SŐS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. EstS kasak ‘locust’ (recorded in WIEDEMANN 1869 as haina-kasak ‘Heuschrecke’), though it seems like a typical case where an insect is named after an ethnic group (thus TOIVONEN in SKES I, 168), is probably a loan from Russ. скачёк (cf. MÄGISTE 1959, 56-57; 1962, 49; EEW III, 721).

d. BRÖMSEN 1814, 142; HUPEL 1818, 74a; MIKKOLA 1894, 66, 117; 1938, 37; KALIMA 1952, 67, 95; 1956, 52, 73; MÄGISTE 1962, 56, 59; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 44; EEW III, 721; MUST 2000, 88.

a. kasakiin ‘long-waisted jacket’ (ŌS 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. казакин ‘kažakin (man’s knee-length coat with pleated skirt)’ < G. Kasaquin or Fr. casaquin < It. casacchino (REW I, 502). ŠIPOVA (1976, 149) claims Turkic origin.

c. -

d. -

a. kasarm ‘building for permanently housing military subdivisions’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKŐS; EŐS; VŐS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SŐS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Some sources (cf.MUST 2000, 89) also consider German origin possible, but as MÄGISTE (EEW III 721) pointed out, the genitive in -u is most likely a loan from the Russian accusative казарму.

WIEDEMANN (1893) has a variant kaasarm. Neither a Russian nor a German form can explain the long vowel, which must therefore be an Estonian development. A stress shift from the non-initial syllable to the first and concurrent lengthening of the vowel in the initial syllable is not uncommon in loanwords, cf. Est. dial. kroovat ‘bed’ < Russ. кровать ‘id.’ (cf. TAUJI 1956, 162-163; MUST 2000, 528).

Already recorded in 1825 in MÄRING’S Marahwa Näädala-Leht (KINGISEPP 1972, 92).

d. MIKKOLA 1894, 117; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; EEW III, 721; SSA I, 322; MUST 2000, 89.

a. kasatšokk ‘Cossack dance’ (VŐS 1953; SŐS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

c. -


a. kasematt ‘cell for political prisoner in a fortress; bomb- and shellproof space in a shelter; armoured cannon room (suurtükiruum) in older large warships’ (EÖS; SÖS; ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. каземат ‘casemate’ < Fr. casemate < It. casamatta (REW I, 503).

c. Russian origin is perhaps more likely than G. Kasematte considering military terminology was to a great extent borrowed from Russian.

d. -

a. kass ‘cat (Felis catus domesticus)’ (Müller 1600; Stahl 1637; Hornung 1693, 33; Thor Helle 1732; Vestring 1740, 25b, 69a; HupeL 1780; 1818; Wiedemann 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Ahlovist (1875, 22-23) derives Est. kass and other Finnic cat names vaguely from ‘Arian’. Mägiste (1937, 8-11) specifies Russian origin, and assumes it has been borrowed from a suffixless170 form of Russ. кошка: as there are various derivatives of *кошá, this is not unlikely, and in Finnic the Russian suffix would have been substituted with the suffix -i, also a common diminutive suffix especially in child language words, to which ‘cat’ could easily have belonged.

Another loan from Russian for ‘cat’ is possibly Est. katt ‘cat’; found already in the Liber Census Daniae (katenshapeæ, nowadays Kassisaba ‘cat’s tail’; Johansen 1933, 415-416) from the 13th century (Mägiste 1937, 12-15; ). HupeL (1818, 75a) and Kettunen (1955, 262) both consider this a loan from Germanic (Swedish or Low German), but this is unlikely, if it is

170 Mägiste’s example Fi. massi – massina ‘pouch’ < ORuss. мошна ‘pouch’, which he sees as a morphological parallel, is probably incorrect, as it is more likely that ORuss. мошата ‘pouch’ was borrowed as massina and that the suffix -na was later reanalyzed as the Finnish singular essive suffix -na and thus elided.
already recorded in the 13th century Liber Census Daniae (HUPEL still notes it as a dialect word from Peipsi in the very east).

Russ. кóшка has also been borrowed later as koska in various dialects (cf. MÁGISTE 1937, 19; EEW III, 965; MUST 2000, 127).

d. AHLVIST 1875, 22-23; MÁGISTE 1937, 4-22; 1962, 32, 58-59; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; EEW III, 724.

a. kastar ~ kaster ‘Kajüte’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS).

b. ORuss. kostьръ ‘Barrikade, Kastell’ < Gr. κάστρον < Lat. castrum (REW I, 641-642); ‘castrum, стролица, башина’ (SREZNEVSKIJ 1893/I, 1298).

c. Cognates of Est. kastar ~ kaster also occur in Finnish (kastari ‘clock tower, belfry; cabin’), Ingrian (kastari, kasteri, kastori, kasteli, kaasteri, kaasteri ‘castle’) and Votic (kastari ‘fort’) (SKES I, 169a). SKES seems to prefer deriving these from an unattested Middle Swedish *kastare, cf. MSw. kaste(š)e, kastale, Sw. kastell, dial. kastal ‘fort, fortress, castel’, MLG kastèl < Lat. castellum < castrum.

The alternative etymology, which GANANDER already proposed in 1769 for Fi. kastari, and accepted since MÁGISTE proposed it again in the 1960s (cf. below), without being aware of GANANDER, is from Russian, cf. ORuss. kostьръ ‘Barrikade, Kastell’.

The Estonian toponym Kasti still reflects the old meaning, but WIEDEMANN’s kaster ~ kaster ‘Kajüte’ is undoubtedly the result of contamination with G. Kastell ‘castle’ in the nautical sense, where ‘castle’ refers to the deck house on a ship. Est. kastar is a loan from Old Russian; Modern Russ. костёр ‘подпечье, подпечник’ has been borrowed into dialectal Estonian as koster ‘potato bin in a cellar’ (MUST 2000, 130).

d. SKES I, 169a; MÁGISTE 1962, 49, 58, 61; EEW III, 725; SSA I, 325a; MUST 2000, 130-131.

a. kasukas ‘fur coat’ (STAHL 1637; GÖSEKEN 1660, 131, 270; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 69b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. кóжа ‘fur coat’ < кóжа ‘skin’ (REW I, 589).

c. The older form kasuk ‘id.’ without the adaptation to words in -kas is still found up until WIEDEMANN (STAHL 1637; GÖSEKEN 1660, 230: Peltz - kasjack; HUPEL 1780; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893), also in South Estonian: Peltz – kasjack, Küürchner - kasjucksepp (sepp ‘smith’) (GUTSLAFF 1648, 230, 223).
AHLOVIST (1875, 150) assumes Est. *kasukas*, Liv. *kāsk*, and Fi. *kasukka* ‘Pelz, langer Rock’ are borrowed via Latvian; OJANSUU (1916, 145) claims Fi. *kasukka* ‘chasuble’ is a loan from Estonian; both these claims are to be rejected (cf. SSA I, 326a).

The substitution of Russ. *x* [h] with *k* in *kasukas* (−as is an Estonian derivative suffix) is unusual (cf. KALIMA 1952, 70). Cf. § 1.3.6.3. Auslaut.

d. PODHORSZKY 1874, 174b; AHLOVIST 1875, 150; WESKE 1890, 192; KALIMA 1952, 31, 68, 70, 96-97; 1956, 25, 53, 54, 73-74; MÄGISTE 1962, 16, 28, 60; ARISTE 1981, 90; RAUN 1982; EEW III, 726.

a. *kašmir* ‘(text.) twill or cotton cloth with print pattern’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1940; 1945; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


d. -

a. *katavaasia* ‘ein Stück des griechischen Gottesdienstes’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).


c. Many Orthodox terms occur only in WIEDEMANN, but *katavaasia* has also found its way into the 4-volume VES (I, 844a), as a direct new loan from Russian. In modern Russian it has assumed a colloquial meaning ‘confusion, muddle’.

d. -


c. In interbellum Estonian soldier slang *katelok* ‘older soldier’ is recorded (HERMLIN 1929, 92); both the word and the usage are borrowed from Russian, according to HERMLIN.

d. HERMLIN 1929, 92; HINDERLING 1981, 162, 175; EEW III, 729; MUST 2000, 91-92.
a. **katjuuša** ‘certain type of Soviet grenade launcher’ (VÕS 1945; 1953; SÕS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. ката́ша ‘type of grenade launcher’ < Катю́ша, diminutive of the female name Катя.

c. -

d. EEW III, 729.

a. **katski ∼ katskii** ‘to hurl a peg with sharpened ends as far as possible with a stick (a children’s game)’ (SÕS; EKSS).


c. Probably borrowed from a plural *качки.*

d. -

a. **kedri(d)** ‘leggings, gaiters’ (VÕS 1936; 1940; 1945; SÕS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. гетры ‘gaiters’ < Fr. guêtre (REW I, 266).

c. -

d. -

a. **keefir** (EÕS; VÕS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÕS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) ∼ **keflir** ‘fermented sour milk made from pasteurized milk’ (VÕS 1953; SÕS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. SÕS; VÕS 1953; ŌS 1960 and EKSS have a normative reference to kefiir, i.e. a more Russian form, but in the spoken language keefir is used more commonly.

MÄGISTE (EEW III, 757) assumes both keefir and kefiir are borrowed from G. Kefir. Est. kefiir is definitely from Russian, as its long vowel in the second syllable reflects Russian stress. Est. keefir, though, may indeed be from German, or it may have been adapted to Estonian stress patterns.

d. EEW III, 757.

b. From A.F. KERENSKIJ (А.Ф. КЕРЕНСКИЙ), Prime Minister of the Russian Provisional Government in 1917 (REW I, 551; ŠANSKIJ 1982 II/8, 122).

c. In Estonian the name of the paper money was taken directly from the surname, but in Russian only the form керенка seems to have been used (REW I, 551).

Both in Estonian and in Finnish kerensi is also recorded as a fishname: Est. keerensi ~ kerensi ‘large thin cod’ (EMS II, 1009; KENDLA 2000, 181), Fi. kerensi ~ kerensi ~ kereski ‘an old round game or dance; women’s hair-dress, bun; perch (joc)’ (SMS 6, 812b-813a; JARVA 2003, 198). JARVA assumes that the Finnish words derive from the surname KERENSKIJ, but admits they may have come from other sources.

In addition to DOSTOEVSKIJ, LENIN, REPIN, TOLSTOJ and TROTSKIJ, KERENSKIJ was also a preferred surname when Russians in south-eastern Estonia had to choose surnames in the 1920s (LÖUNA 2003, 66).

d. SAARESTE 1957, 462; MUST 2000, 92-93.

a. kenaff ‘jute-like fibrous material obtained from the hibiscus’ (VÖS 1953; SÖS; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. кен̣а́ф ‘однолетняя трава из сем. мальвовых, разводимая на юге СССР как текстильное сырьё, заменяющее джут’ (SSRLJA 5, 924). Derived from Lat. cannabīs by SSRLJA (5, 924), but ŠIPOVA (1976, 178) suggests it may be borrowed from Turkic; cf. Azer. känaf.

c. -

d. -

a. kendörr ‘Siberian dogbane (as fibre) (Apocynum sibiricum)’ (SÖS; ÔS 1960; 1976; EKSS).


c. -

d. -

a. kessel ‘(net) bag; box woven of straw and twigs’ (EKÖS; EÔS; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. косхель ‘(obs.) purse; (dial.) bag’ < кос ‘geflochtener Korb’ (REW I, 650-651).

c. WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893) has only the dialectal forms kessel (kesel) (D) (kestelkess) ‘Netzsack zum Tragen von Fischen, Kober zum Füttern d. Pferde, kleiner Sack oder Korb aus Bast od. Rinde mit überfallendem Deckel’, raudkessel (G) ‘eiserner Maulkorb’. EstS kossel ‘net bag for hay’ is a newer loan (MUST 2000, 128).
MIKKOLA (1894, 1281-29) doubts Russian origin, suggested first by THOMSEN (1890, 260), and thinks Swedish (cf. Sw. dial. kasse ‘korb aus bast oder kirkenrinde, netz aus bast oder schnüren’)\(^{171}\) origin might be more likely, but since KALIMA (1952, 97) the Russian etymology is generally accepted, though the substitution of Russ. o with e in Finnic remains problematic. Also borrowed from Finnic into Latvian (cf. Latv. kesele ‘Tasche, Kescher zum Krebsfangen, Hafersack’; ME II, 370b) and probably via Latvian into Lithuanian (Lith. kęselis ‘aus Gerten geflochtener Sack zum Krebsfang’; LEW I, 245b-246a); an etymology already suggested by THOMSEN (1890, 260; cf. also ME II, 370b; ZEPS 1962, 132; SSA I, 350a), though KARULIS (LEV I, 465-466), unsurprisingly, suggests a inner Baltic etymology for Latv. kesele, and rejects the Finnic etymology, as does TOIVONEN (SKES I, 186), who assumes a Latvian loan in Estonian.

d. THOMSEN 1890, 260; MIKKOLA 1894, 128-129; KALIMA 1952, 97; SKES I, 186; MUST 2000, 128-129; SSA I, 350a.

a. **keta** ‘a rare fish in the Far East (*Onchorhynus keta*)’ (EKSS).


c. -

d. -

a. **kets** ‘trainer’ (EKSS).


c. Borrowed into Russian as кед (where the auslaut -s was probably analyzed as an English plural -s) and as кедс. Est. kets was borrowed from Russ. coll. кедс as a singular; the nominative plural form in Estonian is ketsid.

d. -

a. **kibitka** ‘travelling carriage or sleigh with a high folding top (mostly in Russia); light detachable nomad clay house in Central Asia’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

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\(^{171}\) Est. kess ‘bag’ is probably a loan from Estonian Swedish (cf. RAUN 1982).

c. There are many variants in dialects (cf. MUST 2000, 95-96) and some forms may in fact be loans from BG Kibitke ‘halbverdeckter Wagen oder Schlitten’ (HUPEL 1795, 108; KIPARSKY 1936, 159), already recorded in the 18th century. Already recorded in 1823 in Masing’s Marahwa Nii*dala-Leht (KINGISEPP 1972, 92).

d. EEW III, 794; SSA I, 368; MUST 2000, 95-96.

a. klisel '(sour) flummery' (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) ~ kissell 'dessert made with starch from fruit, berries, juice, cocoa, milk or other substances' (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. кисель ‘kissel (kind of blancmange)’ < кислый ‘sour’ (REW I, 562).

c. Est. küisel and kissell are both loans from Russ. кисель, but the older 20th century dictionaries (EÖS, VÖS 1940) prefer kisel to kissell. Nowadays kissell is in any case the only one used in the spoken language, though the dictionaries differentiate between the two. According to MUST (2000, 98) kisel is a much older loan, maybe even from Old Russian, whilst kissell is a later loan via cookbooks and manor kitchens (cf. RATAS 1917a, 222). Likewise PŁÖGER (1973, 74) assumes Fi. kisselfi is a loan from Old Russian due to the substitution of unstressed Russian i with [i:] in the Finnish word. In principle the same argument could be made for Est. küisel, but in this form the long vowel in the first syllable might also simply be the result of the accompanying vowel lengthening with a stress shift to the first syllable. As the first recording of küisel is in EÖS in the 1930s this might be a more likely explanation.

Cf. also kisla.

Also recorded in Baltic German: Kisel ‘sauer Mehlspeise’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893) ~ Kissell ‘kalte Speise aus Kartoffelmehl und Fruchtsäften; als Volksspeise auch aus Hafermehl und Wasser’ (HUPEL 1795, 113; KIPARSKY 1936, 159).


d. EÖS; KALIMA 1952, 98; MÄGISTE 1962, 56, 60; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; PŁÖGER 1973, 73-74; RAUN 1982; EEW III, 814; MUST 2000, 97-98.
a. **kīisu** ‘cat (also as endearment, child language); (endearing, superior, ironic) woman’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ŌŠ 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. киса ‘(coll.) puss, pussy-cat’.

c. The -\textit{u} in the second syllable is either from a Russian oblique form, or more likely, an adaptation to typical Estonian terms of endearment in -\textit{u} (cf. WIEDEMANN 1875, 194-195).

**MUST** (2000, 98-99) describes exhaustively all variants of this word in WIEDEMANN’s dictionary and in the dialects. The interjection \textit{kīus kīis!} ‘(Lockruf für Katzen)’ (WIEDEMANN) is from Russ. кисик ‘призывная кличка кошек’ (DAL II, 110) (cf. MUST 2000, 99).


a. **kīver** ‘protective headgear of metal or other strong material; spire’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ŌŠ 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. кивер ‘shako’. The etymology of the Russian word seems unclear. KIPARSKY (1935, 105-106) suggested it is borrowed from Finnic *кëвær ‘helmet’, cf. Fi. kypärä ‘helmet’, Est. kūbar ‘hat’, dial. kävar, but VASMER (REW I, 554) thinks this unlikely, as it is also found in Polish as \textit{kiwior} ‘türkische Kopfbinde, Turban’, which seems to indicate an Asian source (thus BRUCKNER 1927, 231b).\textsuperscript{172} ŠANSKIJ (1982 II/8, 125) also assumes that Russ. кивер and its cognates (Pol. [turerki, tatarki] \textit{kiwior} ‘высокая остроконечная шапка’, OCz. kyyvi ‘вид шапки’, Cz. dial. gevërec ‘вид валацкой шапки’, Slovak dial. geverec, geverek ‘id.’, Bulg. кивер ‘военный головной убор’, Serb. ėverica ‘шапка’) are loans, but is not sure what the source could be. MGr. κιβόριον is also suggested as a source (by BRUCKNER, cf. REW I, 554), but then the substitution of Gr. \textit{ω} with Russ. \textit{e} is problematic (thus VASMER in REW I, 554). ŠANSKIJ also assumes that Fi. kypärä \textit{~} Est. kūbar belong to the same group of words. This is strictly speaking true, but it has been established\textsuperscript{173} more than a century ago that this is an older Baltic loan in Finnic (cf. Lith. kepūrė ‘Mütze, Hut’; THOMSEN 1890, 185; KALIMA

\textsuperscript{172} Asian origin of Pol. \textit{kiwior} may not be impossible, and if then the Polish word could be kept separate from the Russian this would remove VASMER’s (REW I, 554) doubts of Russ. кивер’s Finnic origin. Cf. Osm. kywyr ‘drehen, aufwickeln, in Falten legen’, kyvra- ‘zusammendrehen, eingehen (von Stoffen)’ (RÅSANEN 1969, 269a). Turbans consist of a long piece of cloth which is folded many times. KIPARSKY (1935, 106) suggests that Pol. \textit{kiwior} may be a direct loan from Estonian during the Livonian wars, but if it is not a Turkic loan then it is more likely to be loaned via Russian.

\textsuperscript{173} NILSSON (1996) rejects Baltic origin and assumes a secondarily fronted alternant of *kupara, which would be a derivation in -\textit{A} from Finnic \textit{kupa} ‘vaulted, dome-shaped’.
1936, 124). KIPARSKY’s (1935, 105-106) reconstructed Finnic *küvär is accepted by SSA (I, 465b), but it is in fact not likely that such a form has ever existed: KIPARSKY suggests that it may be mirrored in Est. kúvar, recorded by WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893). According to WIEDEMANN, however, this is a dialect form from the North Estonian area around Pärnu (‘Pernauscher Kreis Livlands mit revalestnicher Sprache’); irregular variation between b and v is especially common in the dialects of Central Estonia (WIEDEMANN 1875, 108). It thus seems that Est. kúvar is either the result of hypercorrection or simply the result of dialectal variation, which hardly goes back to a hypothetical Finnic *küvär.

c. SSA (I, 465b) suggests that from this Finnic *kyvär derive both Russ. кивер and Pol. kiwior (though SSA claims that the Polish word is a loan from Finnic, this is extremely unlikely; if it is of Finnic origin the Polish word can only have been borrowed via Russian), from which in turn LG kywer ‘Kopfbekleidung der russ. Soldaten’ has been borrowed. This Low German word is then the source for Est. kúver and Latv. kivere ~ kíveris ‘Soldatenhelm; der Kopf; der Rausch, Strich’. ENDZELINS (ME II, 387a) writes that the source for the Estonian and Latvian word can be either LG kywer (cf. KIPARSKY 1936, 160) or from ORuss. кивер ‘военный головной убор’.

As the Russian word is recorded already in 1378 (cf. REW I, 554), and the Low German word not earlier than 1560 (KIPARSKY 1935, 105; 1936, 160), where the kywer is a felt hat worn by Muscovite soldiers\(^\text{174}\), the Low German word is probably borrowed from Russian (though relatively rare in Russian dialects, being recorded only in Olonec and Leningrad according to SRNG 13, 196a).

The Estonian word can be a borrowing from either LG kywer or Russ. кивер. As the Russian word seems to be more common (LG kywer is not even recorded in SCHILLER and LÜBREN’s dictionary of Middle Low German), and GUTZEIT (cf. KIPARSKY 1936, 160) notes it as ‘Kopfbekleidung der russ. Soldaten’, perhaps Russian origin is more plausible. MUST (2000, 100) assumes it was borrowed from Russian by Estonian soldiers serving in the Tsarist army.

d. KIPARSKY 1935, 105-106; 1936, 160; KALIMA 1936, 252; MUST 1956, 129; RAUN - SAAREST 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW III, 819; IV, 1163; MUST 2000, 100.

\(^{174}\) Cf. RUSSOW (1584, 98): Den 5. Februarij, sint etlike Rüssen vor de Stadt gekamen, sprake tho holdende, Auerst de Reuellschen wolden se keines weges hören, vnde de Landesknechte hebben se vor vorspehrs geachtet, vnde manck se geschaten, do sint se in solckem schreck ylich weghereden, dat einer einen Sammitten Kyuer mit schwarten vösen gefodert, heeft fallen laten, vnde ys mit blotem houede darvan gereden, densüluiigen Kyuer, heeft ein Landesknecht vpgenamen, vnde in de Stadt gebracht.
c. ŌS 1960 prefers the more Estonian pistoda ‘dagger’.
d. MUST 2000, 97.

a. **kirgas**. Cf. **kirka**.

a. **kirillitsa** ‘Old Slavic alphabet based on the Greek uncial script’ (ŌS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. кириллица ‘Cyrillic alphabet’ < Кирилл ‘Cyril’ (< Gr. Κύριλλος), after the monk who invented the glagolitic alphabet; the name was later transferred to the Cyrillic alphabet (REW I, 560).
c. -
d. -

a. **kirka** ‘cross-shaped tool, with a sharp (double) prong, used to break hard ground, rock, ice etc.’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EŌS; VŌS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SŌS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. кирка ‘pick(axe)’. Most likely borrowed from Turk. kūrāk ‘Schaufel’ (REW I, 560-561).
c. Est. kirgas (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; VŌS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; SŌS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) is a internal derivation of kirka (EEW III, 845). EŌS explains kirgas with Russ. кирка in brackets; though this is simply a translation it can be seen as the first mention of its etymology; VŌS 1940 and 1945 note both variants but prefer kirgas to kirka, whilst in the 1953 VŌS we find only the more Russian kirka.
From ŌS 1960 onwards kirgas is back, but the reader is referred to kirka.
d. EŌS; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW III, 845; MUST 2000, 102.

a. **kirmas** ‘summer village festival (especially in Setumaa), which is is derived from the church name day holiday’ (EŌS; SŌS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
in western dialects and in Russian speech in Riga as a ‘fair, bazaar, market’ and has probably
been borrowed by Russian and Byelorussian from Polish, not from Baltic German.
c. There are many variants in Estonian and its dialects, some with -e- in the second syllable
(e.g. EKSS) are probably from German, which have led e.g. SAARESTE (1924, 136-137),
MÄGISTE (EEW III, 846) and RAUN (1982) to derive the word in general from German, but
some variants, like kirmas in EKSS are without a doubt from Russian, to which both the
geography and the -a- in the second syllable point. Est. kirmas is probably borrowed from
Russ. кирма́ж, as -у is usually substituted with -ss (cf. 5.1.3.4.3). LOORITS (1955) suggested
that kirmask may be a borrowing from Polish.
d. SAARESTE 1924, 136-137; KETTUNEN 1924, 120; EKMS 3, 139; RAUN 1982; EEW III, 846;
KOPONEN 1998, 103a; MUST 2000, 102-103.

a. kirsə ‘artificial leather made from covering one side of thick and strong cotton with rubber;
gaiter or boot made from this leather’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. Est. kirsavoi, a slangy variant of kirsə ‘boots made from kirsə’ is borrowed from the
adjective кирзовые (сапоги) ‘boots made from kirsə’ (MUST 2000, 103).
d. EEW III, 848; MUST 2000, 103.


a. kisiil ‘cornelian cherry (Cornus mas)’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).
c. -
d. -

a. kisla ‘(dial.) sour; sour flummery’ (EKSS).
b. Russ. кисла ‘sour’. Feminine short adjective form of кислый ‘id.’.
c. Cf. kisel and kissell.
d. MUST 2000, 97-98.

a. kissell. Cf. kisel.

a. kišlakk ‘Tadzhik or Uzbek country village’ (SŌS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. кишила́к ‘kishlak (village in Central Asia)’ < Turkic; probably from Uzb. qışlaq ‘id.’ (ШИПОВА 1976, 186).

c. -

d. -

a. кишилыш ‘small seedless grape; raisin from this grape’ (EKSS).


c. -

d. -

a. kitašnik ‘linen or woollen sleeveless outer garment worn by Setu women’ (SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).


c. Dialectally already in WIEDEMANN 1893: kitašnik ‘Feiertagsrock’. Originally Setu women wore white; the kitašnik, imported from Russia, was usually blue and dyed at home (МАННИНЕН 1927, 165). Cf. sukman.

The Russian source word кита́йка ‘nankeen’ is recorded in VES (I, 860a) as kitaika.

d. МАННИНЕН 1927, 166; EEW III, 852; MUST 2000, 104.

a. klaďima ‘to pay out’ (EKSS).

b. Russ. кладъ (1psg), кладёт (3psg) < класть ‘to lay, to put, to place’.

c. The Estonian word is borrowed from a conjugated form in the present tense.

d. EEW III, 861; MUST 2000, 105.


a. klanima ‘to beg, to cadge’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. klañятсya ‘to bow to, to greet; to send, convey greetings; to cringe (before), to humiliate o.s.; to lay before, to offer’. An iterative of клонить ‘to bend, to incline’ (REW I, 565).

c. -
d. RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW III, 862; MUST 2000, 106.

a. **kleid.** Cf. **leid.**

a. **kletka** ‘cross-pile’ (SÔS; ÔS 1960).
b. Russ. клётка ‘cage, coop, hutch; (on paper) square, (on material) check; (anat.): грудная
   к. thorax; (biol.) cell’ (REW I, 569).
c. -
d. EEW III, 865; MUST 2000, 108.

a. **kliros** ‘(eine Abtheilung in der griech. Kirche)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
b. Russ. клирос ‘choir (part of church)’ < Gr. χληρος (REW I, 570-571).
c. -
d. -

a. **klopats** ‘whippersnapper’ (EKSS).
b. Russ. хлопец ‘(coll. or dial.) lad’ < Pol. chłopiec ‘boy’ < Slavic (REW III, 247, 257).
c. Dialectal *klopats* (d), *klopiś* (d) ‘Bursche, Junge, Knabe’ is found already in WIEDEMANN
   1869. The Russian loan has been adapted to words in -ats, a common (pejorative) suffix (cf.
   WIEDEMANN 1875, 191-192).
Est. dial. *klopp* ‘boy’ (EMS III, 334) may be a borrowing from Russ. клоп ‘bug; (fig., coll.; in
addressing a child) kid’.

a. **kludima** ‘to punch (lightly)’ (VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; EKSS).
b. Russ. колотить ‘to strike (on), to batter (on), pound (on); (coll.) to thrash, drub; к. лён: to
   scutch flax; (coll.) to break, smash; (coll.) to shake’. Probably from колоть ‘stechen, schlagen’
   (REW I, 603).
c. Dialectally *kludima* (d) schnell und andauernd hämmern, prügeln, abbläuen’ already in
   WIEDEMANN 1869. MÄGISTE (EEW III, 871) compares *kludima* to Russ. колотить, though
   he admits the Russian word cannot be the direct source. In dialects it is recorded only in the
   north-east, the east and the south-east (cf. EMS III, 338), so a Russian source seems
   plausible.
d. EEW III, 871.
a. **kluust** ‘(four) cards of the same colour’ (HUPEL 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS).

b. Russ. **хюест** ‘(coll.) suit (in a hand of cards)’. VASMER (REW III, 250) assumes Russ. хюест, which has the additional meanings ‘Gänsemarsch, Reihe’ is onomatopoeic.

c. HUPEL (1818) has in fact only a verb **kluustima** ‘ein Kartenspiel spielen worin Paare gewinnen’.


a. **knjäss** ‘Russian prince’ (EÖS).


c. Occurs also in Setu as a separate loan: **knääss ~ gnääss ~ nääś** ‘important person’ (MUST 2000, 111).

Also recorded in Baltic German: **Knäš**, older **knesz, knesa** ‘russischer Fürst’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 161).

- MUST 2000, 111.

a. **knopka** ‘thumb tack’ (VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. **кнóпка** ‘drawing-pin; press-button (fastener); (elec.) button, knob’ < G. **Knopf** + Russ. derivational suffix -ка (REW I, 580).

c. In the 1930s two neologisms were created for ‘thumb-tack’: J. VESKI formed a **ľursik** out of WIEDEMANN’s dialectal **ľurs** ‘Wanze’; E. ELISTO came up with **nuppel**, based on the Low German loan **nupp** ‘button’ (cf. RÄTSEP 2002, 296). Neither has survived.

d. RAUN 1982; EEW III, 876; MUST 2000, 110.

a. **knuut** ‘Knute, Peitsche’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893) ~ **nuut** ‘whip with a short (braided) helve; bundle, bunch’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893’ EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. A problematic word. Est. **knuut ~ nuut** can be derived from Russ. кют, but also from G. **Knute** ‘whip’. Both MÄGISTE (EEV VI, 1755) and RAUN (1982) leave the question open. MÄGISTE (1962, 32) thinks Russian origin might be more likely as its first occurrence (as
nuuţ) is in Kasu Hans’ South Estonian lamentation from 1708 (cf. Saareste - Cederberg 1925-1931, 311), usually known as *Oh! ma waene Tarto liin* ‘Oh my poor town of Tartu’, written after the Russians had burned down practically the whole city and deported all the German inhabitants to Russia (cf. 2.1. Russia triumphant).

There are possibly six loans for ‘whip’ in Estonian that have been borrowed from Russian: **kantsik, karbats, nagaika, nuut, piits, rooost**.

Also recorded in Baltic German: **Knute, Knut** (Russ.) heist zwar überhaupt eine Peitsche, besonders versteht man aber dadurch eine ganz eigne zur Bestrafung grosser Verbrecher bestimmte Peitsche’ (Hupe 1795, 120).

d. Mägiste 1962, 32; Raun 1982; EEW VI, 1755; Must 2000, 224.


b. Russ. скоба ‘clamp(-iron), clamp, staple, catch, fastening, shackle’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 640).

c. A later technical loan via literature, not reflecting akanje. Est. dial. kopka, a tool used in the woodwork industry, is borrowed from the diminutive скобка of скоба (cf. Must 2000, 122-123).

d. EEW III, 877; Must 2000, 111

a. kobras ‘fur-bearing animal with a scaly flat tail that swims well and lives in inland waters (*Castor*), beaver’ (Vestring 1740, 83a; Hupe 1780; 1818; Wiedemann 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; SÖS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. боёр ‘beaver’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 97).

c. A Slavic etymology for Est. kobras was already suggested in the 1860s/1870s by the Hungarian linguist Podhorskzy (1874, 183b), who compares it to a ‘Sl. (? ‘Slavic’) *bobras*, without mentioning what language this would be. As Podhorskzy did not publish his findings his etymology remained unknown.

Saareste (1924b, 137) suggested the same etymology independently in 1924 in an article in Eesti Keel, and this is accepted by Väinaste (1925, 100). These seem to have escaped Lauri Posti’s attention, who is usually thought to have been the first to suggest the Russian etymology (Posti 1960, 302-303). Though it has been accepted by all authorities (EEW; Raun 1982; Must 2000), the etymology remains problematic. Posti suggests it may have been borrowed from Russ. боёр, where the anlaut b- was substituted with a k- for dissimiatory reasons. Substitutions of Russ. k with Est. p are not unknown (cf. pussakas ‘belt’
< Russ. кушак), but for a substitution of Russ. 6 with 👌 in Estonian there are no other cases (G. t - > Est. k- is recorded in Est. dial. kabeet’wallpaper”; SAARESTE 1957, 456). POSTI (1960, 302) shows some examples from other languages to show the theoretical possibility of the same change occurring in Estonian: Fr. dial. gobine ‘bobbin’ < bobine, Du. kapel ‘butterfly’ < Lat. papilio. Cz. karad ‘fern’ ~ Russ. нанороть.

In Lithuanian and in some South Slavic languages Slav. *babrъ ‘beaver’ has given rise to variants with an anlaut dissimilation b- > d- (in Lithuanian also b- > v-) and those with with an intrusive -r-: cf. Lith. debras, debrus, dâbras, vêbras, vebrus (LEW I, 38), Serbocroatian dâbar ‘beaver’ and a dialectal breber ‘id.’ (GLUHAK 1993, 186), and Slovenian: dâber ‘id.’ and brêber ‘id.’ (BEZLAJ 1977, 29a). That dissimilation could have occurred does not seem impossible.

The older, Fenno-Ugric (UEW 697: *maja), word for ‘beaver’, majajas, still exists in Estonian, so what would have been the reason to borrow a new word from Russian? In Armenian the word for ‘beaver’ has been tabooized for religious reasons and a loanword from Syriac is used instead to denote the animal (ESSABAL, P. quoted in HAVERS 1945, 130). MUST (2000, 111) claims the animal itself is not particularly well-known in Estonian dialects, even though she notes the occurrence of the word (or variants) in 28 dialects (and already noted as South Estonian by HUPLE in 1780). All over Eurasia the beaver is a common animal, though it was hunted to extinction in Estonia in the 19th century and reintroduced in 1957 (ENE 4, 35a). As the beaver was formerly hunted both for its thick fur and for its secretion (castor), which was formerly used as medicine, its commercial use could explain the borrowed name (it also has another borrowed name: now an obsolete name for ‘beaver’ in Estonian is pijber < G. Biber).

d. PODHORSKY 1874, 183b; SAARESTE 1924b, 137; VAINASTE 1925, 100; POSTI 1960, 302-303; RAUN 1982; EEW III, 879; MUST 2000, 111.

a. kobsa ‘3-5 string pear-shaped folk instrument (in the Ukraine, Romania etc.)’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. кобыза ‘kobza (Ukrainian mus. instrument similar to guitar)’ < Ukr. ксоба ‘id.’ < Turkic; cf. e.g. Kyrg. kobuz ‘Art Geige’ (REW I, 583; ŠIPOVA 1976, 188).

c. In Estonian probably not directly from Ukrainian but via Russian.

d. -
b. Russ. кобза́рь ‘kobza-player’ (Cf. *kobsa*).
c. Unexpectedly, *kobsaar* occurs before *kobsa*.
d. -

a. **kodima** ‘to roam, to walk around, to wander’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EÔS; VÔS 1953; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. ходи́ть ‘to (be able) to walk; to go (*on foot*); (*of trains, etc.*) to run; to pass, go round’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 253-254).
c. A more local and later loan from Russ. ходи́ть is EstS *hadima* ‘to go’ (MUST 2000, 41).
d. MUST 2000, 111-112.

a. **kogelmogel** ‘egg yolk whipped up with sugar’ (ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. SAAGPAKK (1982) assumes, incorrectly, German origin.
d. EEW III, 884.

a. **koigas** ‘bunk-bed’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÔS; EKSS) ~ **koik** ‘narrow bed, especially on a ship’ (EKÔS; EÔS; VÔS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945) ~ **koika** = koiku (EKSS) ~ **koiku** ‘simple (often not so good) bed or sleeping couch’ (VÔS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. There are many variants of this word in both the dialects and the literary language. *koigas* has been adapted to words in -as, *koik* has been abstracted from forms with a vowel in auslaut, *koika* is a loan from the Russian nominative form, whilst *koiku*, perhaps the most common, is borrowed from the accusative койку as in в койку ‘in bed’ (MUST 2000, 114). From the 1940 VÔS onwards *koiku* is the preferred form.
d. SAARESTE 1924, 199-200; BACHMAN 1959, 261; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW III, 901; MUST 2000, 113-114.
a. **kokerd** ‘a small loaf baked on trial’ (EÕS) ~ **kokerg** ‘thin, longish, round, small cake (filled with egg or curds)’ (EKSS).

b. Russ. кóкора ‘dicker Fladen’, кокóрка, кокура ‘Art Hochzeitsfladen’ < кóка ‘chicken egg (child language)’ (REW I, 594). Due to the geographical spread of the word VASMER (REW I, 594) thinks it Finnic origin unlikely, as suggested by KALIMA (1919, 123-) and accepted by SKES (I, 145) and MUST (2000, 114).

c. In Russian dialects there are many variants; kokerd was probably borrowed from кóкора, and adapted to words in -erd, a common suffix in Estonian. Est. kokerg was probably borrowed from a form with the suffix -ka like кокóрка.

d. MUST 2000, 114

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a. **kokošnik** ‘high head covering, decorated with pearls and spangles, used by married Russian women’ (ÓS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. коко́шник (Russ. peasant woman’s headdress’) < коко́шь ‘Hahn’ (REW I, 594).

c. -

d. EEW III, 904.

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a. **koksagöss** ‘type of dandelion grown in the USSR as rubber plant (Taraxacum kok-saghyz)’ (VÕS 1953; ÔS 1960; 1976; EKSS).


c. -

d. -

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c. Est. kolbits in EKSS is explained as ‘kolgits, lõuguti’ (= flax brake), undoubtedly based on dialect forms found in western South Estonian (EMS III, 480). These are not related to kolbits ‘storage room’.

d. EEW III, 907.
a. **kolhoos** ‘a collective agricultural independent economic unit in the (former) USSR, based on common ownership of the means of production’ (VÕS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. The combination -lh- is found only in loanwords, and **kolhoos** was usually pronounced [kolo:s] or, in southern Estonia, [kohlo:s] (VÄÄRİ 1959, 61-63). Cf. also **sovhoos**. VÕS 1936 and 1940, printed before June 1940, has the definition ‘large collective farm in the Soviet Union’; the 1945 VÕS, after Estonia had been forcibly incorporated into the USSR, has simply ‘large common farm’. Registered first in 1936, in the early 1930s **kolhoos** was found sometimes in newspaper articles about agriculture in the USSR (AHVEN 1965, 396). Also found in Swedish Estonian: kalurikolhoos ‘fishermen’s kolchoz’ (RAAG 1982, 94).

d. SAARESTE 1957, 472; EEW III, 911; MUST 2000, 115.

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a. **kolhoosnik** ‘member of a kolkhoz’ (VÕS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. колхо́зник ‘member of a collective farm’ < колхоз ‘kolkhoz’ + Russ. derivational suffix -ник.

c. Est. **kolhooslane**, a derivation with the person suffix -lane, existed for a short time, but was quickly superseded by **kolhoosnik** (AHVEN 1965, 396). The derivational suffix -nik, borrowed from Russian (cf. 2.2.1.2. *Morphology*), is very productive in Estonian, but it is unlikely that **kolhoosnik** is an Estonian derivation of **kolhoos** and not a direct loan.

d. MUST 2000, 116.

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a. **kolomeika** ‘Slavic dance’ (EÕS).

b. Russ. коломейка ‘украинская народная песенка (обычно четырехсточная) типа частушки’ (SSRLJA 5, 1178) < Ukr. коломейка ‘українська народна пісенька типу частівки; хуцевський масовий танець’ < топоним Kolomiija (Коломия) (ESUM II, 519a).

c. EÕS also records a variant **kalamaika**. In Estonian maybe not borrowed directly from Russian.

d. -

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c. -

d. -

a. kom- ‘communist’, e.g. komnoor ‘communist youngster’ (VÖS 1945; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. ком- ‘communist’ < коммуnist ‘id.’ < G. Kommunist < Fr. communiste (REW I, 609).

c. Est. kommunist already occurred in Estonian in WIEDEMANN 1893 as kommunisitlane ‘Communist’, where it is undoubtedly a German loan, with the Estonian person suffix -lane. It occurs then from the 1918 EKÖS onwards in all dictionaries as kommunist, probably just an adaptation to the German or Russian (or both) words. Est. kommunist can thus not be considered a Russian loanword, though it occurs occasionally as a loan from Russian in e.g. the newspaper title Kommunist, printed in Leningrad and mostly spread illegally in Estonia (though at times also legally printed and sold in Estonia) (cf. ANNUS - LOOGVÄLLI 2002, 315-316). A newspaper with a similar name also appeared in 1920 in the United States (ANNUS - LOOGVÄLLI 2002, 317).

The prefix kom- was borrowed anew from Russian after 1940 as an element of various (sometimes calqued) compounds such as komparitei ‘communist party’ < Russ. комнциптия ‘communist party’. Est. kom- was then also used in Estonian creations such as komnoor ‘communist youngster’, a partial clipped form of kommunistlik noor ‘id.’, a partial translation of Russ. комсомолец. Cf. komsomol.

d. -

a. kombain ‘a machine which performs various operations one after the other (especially in agriculture)’ (VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS)


c. Though recorded already in the pre-occupation 1936 VÖS, its exact correspondence with Russ. комбайн points to Russian origin. MUST (2000) writes that it spread quickly via tractor stations and kolkhozes over the whole country, and there are many variants in the dialects.

d. MUST 2000, 117-118.

175 Kommunist: Amerika Ühendatud Kommunistlike Partei Healekandja.
a. **komendor** ‘navy artilleryman’ (EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).
b. Russ. комендор ‘(*naut.*) seaman gunner’ < E. *commander* (SSRLJA 5, 1231).
c. -
d. -

a. **komposteerima** ‘to punch (tickets)’ (VÖS 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. компоствировать ‘to punch (for bus tickets etc.)’ < Fr. *composter* (ШАНСКИЙ 1982 II/8, 245).
c. -
d. -

a. **kompvetschik** ‘Confectverkäufer’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
b. Russ. конфетщик ‘кондитеръ, сладостникъ, сахарникъ’ (ДАЕ II, 154a) < конфета ‘sweet’ (cf. below) + person suffix -щик.
c. WIEDEMANN’s *kompvetschik* is undoubtedly from Russian, and is adapted to *kompvek* ‘sweet’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS), but this is probably a loan from G. *Konfekt*, and not from Russ. pl. конфеты ~ конфеты (sg. конфета) ‘sweet’ (which are borrowed respectively from G. *Konfekt* and It. *confetto*, and ultimately go back to Lat. *confectum*, Rew I, 617).
d. EEW III, 929.

b. Russ. комсомол ‘Komsomol (Young Communist League)’ < stump compound of коммунистический союз молодёжи ‘Young Communist League’ (REW I, 611).
c. First recorded in Estonian in 1941 (AHVEN 1965, 396); also recorded in Swedish Estonian (RAAG 1982, 94).
d. EEW III, 929.

a. **komsorg** ‘Komsomol secretary’ (VÖS 1945; ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. комсёр ‘Komsomol organizer’ < stump compound of комсомольский организатор.
c. -
a. **kondak** ‘(ein Theil des griechischen Gottesdienstes)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. кондак ‘kurzer Lobgesang auf den Erlöser, die Gottesmutter oder einen Heiligen’ < MGr. κοντάξιμον from κόνταξις (REW I, 612-613).

c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1869.

d. -

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a. **konfederatka** ‘Polish national hat with rectangular crown’ (ÖS 1976; EKSS).


c. -

d. -

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a. **konka** ‘horse tramway, also its carriage’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Also recorded into Baltic German: Konke, Konka ‘Pferdebahn’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 161).

d. MUST 2000, 119.

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a. **konku** ‘(coll.) small dark, dingy room’ (EKSS).


c. Probably borrowed from an accusative or genitive коньку.

d.-

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a. **konnu-kvardi-**: konnu-kvardi-vägi (vägi ‘forces’) ‘Garde zu Pferde’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).


c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1869.

d. EEW III, 934.

b. Russ. кованал ‘horse-doctor, farrier; (coll.) quack(-doctor)’ < конь ‘horse’ + валить ‘to bring down, to roll’ (REW I, 614).

c. WIEDEMANN’s first variant is borrowed either from a non-akanje dialect or is a literary loan.

Also recorded in Baltic German: **Kannawal, Konowal** ‘Schweinschneider’ (HUPEL 1795, 105, 122; KIPARSKY 1936, 157).

d. MOORA 1964, 252; MUST 2000, 119-120.

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a. **kontra** ‘counter-revolutionary, enemy; word which doubles the value of the game (e.g. in bridge or skat)’ (EKSS).


c. -

d. -

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a. **kontsik** ‘remain, end’ (EÖS).

b. кончик ‘tip, point’ < конец ‘end’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 613-614).

c. Est. kontsik reminds MÄGISTE (EEW III, 936) strongly of Russ. кончик, but he rejects the Russian etymology nevertheless, probably assuming it is a derivation in -ik of konts. MUST (2000, 119), however, has no doubts, and accepts the Russian origin. Est. konts‘short end of a relatively long object which remains after breakage, cutting or wear, stub; stub of a ticket, which usually remains in a book or register; (coll) (descriptive of an old person); (dial.) rag’ (HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) has also been derived from Slavic: WESKE (1890, 166) assumes the source is a Slavic nasal form кась (kāšь) ‘отрезанный хвость’, but this was immediately rejected by MIKKOLA (1894, 17). MÄGISTE in EEW (III, 936) suggests Est. konts may be a derivation in -s from dial. konta, but it is not sure what this last word means (it is only recorded as ‘become cold’ as in dial. paneb kääd konta ‘it makes the hands cold’; EMS III, 570).

Est. koni‘cigarette end left after smoking’ (ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS), already recorded by HERMLIN (1929, 97) in military slang as koni‘cigarette butt’, is also thought to be a loan from
Russ. кόνчик (cf. EEW III, 932; MUST 2000, 119), where the Russian suffix has been elided and substituted with the Estonian suffix -i.

d. EEW III, 932, 936; MUST 2000, 119.

a. **koomits** ‘hut, shed, cot’ (EKÖS; EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. Russ. гумно́ is the origin for various words in Estonian: **koomits** ‘shed’, registered already in HUPEL (1780) as South Estonian **komits** ‘eine Hütte’ and in WIEDEMANN (1869) as **koomits** (d) (**kohmists, koonits**) ‘Hütte, kleiner Anbau, Abtritt, Verdeck, **kana-k**. Hühnerhaus’, are older loans, where the ending -no is substituted with the common Estonian suffix -ts (unadapted forms are found in Est. dial. **kuomin** etc., Fi. **kuomina** ‘threshing room’ and Vot. kömina ‘cranny’), whilst **komin** ‘Gefängnisszelle’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EÖS), though similar to the older loan form in Finnish, Votic and dialectal Estonian (cf. MUST 2000, 156), is in fact a newer loan.
d. WESKE 1890, 249; KALIMA 1950, 65; EEW III, 925, 943; KOPONEN 1998, 104b; MUST 2000, 155-156.

a. **koonal** ‘folded bundle of tow or linen on the spinning wheel (or spindle)’ (GÖSEKEN 1660, 503; HORNUNG 1693, 14; THOR HELLE 1732, 306; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. ORuss. **kodélb** ‘tow’ (> Russ. кудéль ‘tow’). Probably related to кудéльь ‘lock of hair’ (REW I, 680).
c. Borrowed from Old Russian into Finnic and occurs in all Finnic languages. First recorded in Estonian in 1660, its meaning has been transferred from the meaning of tow to the spinning wheel itself; cf. HUPEL 1780; 1818: **koonla nui** ‘der Kopf oder die Deistel am Spinnwock’, **koonla pu** ‘der Arm am Spinnwock’, **konal, koonla-** ‘Deistel od If. Diestel, od die zum Spinnen gewickelte Rolle (von Flachse)’, **koonda- s. koonda- laud**, od. nui ‘das Brett od. der Kegel woran die Flachs- od. Heed Rolle bey dem Spinnen gebunden wird, **pu** der Arm am Spinnrade’.

The dialectal variants **koselka** (= koonal) ~ **koodesel** (= koonal), recorded by WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893), are borrowed from Russ. ку́жель ‘Spinnrocken, Kunkel’ (thus MIKKOLA 1894, 130; MAGISTE 1962, 17, 29; EEW III, 938) or possibly from Byel. ку́дэ́ля ‘id.’ (thus ARISTE 1962, 553).
Kopek

Kopek. Est. kopek, kópek has been borrowed by Fr. diet (Tyrrenian) as kopka i.c.,

VMS I. 2750: must 2000. 1127: already Wiedemannn (1869; 1893) has kopek, kópek and
words in -kopek, kópek. In Wiedemann 1869, in the dialects there are many variants (e.g.

c: The first registrations are of kopek, with mention of the Russian suffix -ko-: adaptation to

b: Russ. kópek. kópek > konpe lanzo (REVI 1. 619).


value, 'Huttel 1818'. Wiedemann 1869: 1893; EKOS; EOS; OS 1936: 1940: 1945: 1953; OS

a: kopka ~ KOPAKS, current until a hundred times smaller than a ruble; a coin of similar

a. Koot, Kolt


LOCHT: Schuhlein-Schule, der Bausern.

Usually mixed as dialectal. Recorded dialectally in Wiedemann 1869: 1893 (Koos):

MIKOLA (1798. 66), who was in Est. Koos a native Finn

has been recorded, but Mikola's syymology is still much more plausible than that of
dialects. Kopeka < Kopeka is more of these intermediate steps
development: copsha < Kopeka < Koos. Note of these intermediate steps

spoon (SSA I. 306a). Miikiste (EEW III. 945), who suggested the etymology, assume the

spoon in Russian, kopeka in another loan from P. Kopeka, wooden

3053.


b. Kooa, Kopso, wooden spoon (EEW III. 984).


Both in pko-ko, kópek, cli-s in -ko, kópek (SRLTA 5: 1109)

~

c. The meaning chubdinka, fresh. In borrowed from the Russian expression koorka.

as a proto-slavic *kôzka' (REVI 1. 589).

b. Russ. kópek, skin, hide: leather; peel mind (koq) (koq) epictricis > ultimate from koq, goat


1996. 43. 8. REVI 1. 860; MIKOLA 1962: 12. 16. 28; EEW III. 984: 944; SSA I. 444; KORONEK.

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Kopeken, Kopichen* ‘russische Münze = 1/100 Rubel’ (HuPEL 1795, 122; KIPARSKY 1936, 161).

d. HuPEL 1818, 98a; MIKOLA 1894, 38, 125; KALIMA 1952, 99; 1956, 76; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW III, 948; MUST 2000, 122.

a. *kopsik* ‘tin or aluminium (water) scoop with a smallish handle’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. ковш < diminutive of ковш ‘scoop, ladle, dipper; (tech.) bucket’ < Lith. *kaušas*\(^{176}\) ‘Schöpfkelle, Schaumlöffel, Trinkgeschirr’ (REW I, 586).

c. Recorded in South Estonian by Wiedemann (1869; 1893): *kopsik* ‘grosser kupferner Schöpflöeffel’.

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Koptschik* ‘ein metallenes Gefäss zum Schöpfen des Wassers aus dem Fass’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 161-162).

d. RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW III, 950; MUST 2000, 123.

a. *korm* ‘food reserve, provisions’ (GÖSEKEN 1660, 196; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS).

b. Russ. корм ‘fodder, forage; feeding’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 627-628).

c. Registered in South Estonian by GUTSLAFF (1648, 214): Fuder - *Korm*.

d. WESKE 1890, 239-240; MIKOLA 1894, 41; 1938, 23; EEW III, 957; MUST 2000, 124-125.

a. *kormitama* ‘to obtain, to collect (gradually)’ (HuPEL 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; EKSS).

b. Russ. кормить ‘to feed; to keep, maintain’ < корм (cf. *korm*).

c. EKÖS records the variants *kormima, kormitsema, kormutama*.

d. EEW III, 957; MUST 2000, 125.

a. *kortik* *(mil.) officer’s daggerlike weapon (often worn with uniform instead of a sword)*’ (EÖS; VÖS 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

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\(^{176}\) Related to Lith. *kaušas* is Latv. *kauss*, whence Est. *kauss* ‘bowl’ (VABA 1977, 42; 1997, 82-84). Also an old borrowing from Baltic (cf. Lith. *kaušas*) is Fi. *kauha* ‘ladle’ (KALIMA 1936, 112-113); this word does not have a pendant in Estonian.
b. Russ. кóртик ‘dagger, dirk’. The etymology is unsure; VASMER (REW I, 635) assumes It. cortello is the most likely source (cf. also ŠANSKIJ 1982 II/8, 337).

c. -

d. -

a. korup ‘(dial.) removable back for a sledge’ (VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌŚ 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. кóрб box, basket (of bast); (tech.) box, chest; (mil.) body (of machine-gun); body (of a carriage) < Common Slavic (REW I, 629).

c. -


a. koser ‘Trumpf’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).

b. Russ. кóзры ‘cards and fig.) trump; (coll.) card, swell’. The etymology is unclear, possibly Turkic (cf. REW I, 591; ŠANSKIJ 1982 II/8, 188-189).

c. Recorded in 1818 in ROSENPLÄNTER’s Beiträge zur genauern Kenntnis der Estnischen Sprache (cf. MUST 2000, 121).

WIEDEMANN (1893) also records it in South Estonian as vihma-kosar ‘eine Tracht Prügel’. The meaning ‘thrashing, beating’ is common in Estonian dialects (cf. EMS III, 631), but is not recorded in Russian for the noun, only for denominal verbs such as козырять ‘бить в голову рукою или чем-либо тяжелым’, козырнуть ‘ловко ударить кого-либо’ (cf. MUST 2000, 121).

d. AHLOVIST 1876, 94; MIKKOLA 1894, 66; EEW III, 963; KOPONEN 1998, 105a; MUST 2000, 121-122.


c. -

d. -
a. **koss ~ koss**: *kossimäng* (mäng ‘game’) ‘leg; (large) shoe; (a certain) game’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. According to MÄGISTE (EEW III, 965) *koss* in *kossimäng* denotes a bone, and he assumes a loan from Russ. кость, where the strongly palatalized form -стъ was substituted in Estonian with -ss. This would be an unusual substitution, not recorded in any other loans from Russian.\(^{177}\) Cf. kost < Russ. гость, where Russ. -стъ has been regularly substituted with Est. st.

In 1920s Estonian soldier slang *kossid* [kossi̯d] ‘flat feet’ is recorded, which HERMLIN (1929, 95) derives hesitantly from Russ. гусь ‘goose’.

d. EEW III, 965.

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a. **kost** ‘food, nourishment, grub’ (HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. гость ‘guest, visitor’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 300).

c. In older dictionaries (its oldest recording is probably in GUTSLAFF’s manuscript South Estonian translation of the Old Testament: *mitte kosti vasto vötma* ‘(and thou shalt) take no gift’; cf. MUST 2000, 129) the meaning ‘guest’ still occurs, cf. e.g. HUPEL 1818: *kost* ‘Gast; Geschenk’. HUPEL (1818, 99b) also derives Est. *kost* from G. *Kost*, but it is a loan from Russ. гость, as BRÖMSEN (1814, 142) already showed in his inimitable way.\(^{178}\) Only Est. *kost* ‘Kost, Pension’, subsumed by WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893) under *kost* ‘Besuch’, is of German origin (cf. MUST 2000, 129-130).

d. BRÖMSEN 1814, 142; WESKE 1890, 242; MIKKOLA 1894, 109; KALIMA 1952, 4, 102; 1956, 3, 78; RAUN - SAAREST 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW III, 965; MUST 2000, 129-130.

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a. **kostitama** ‘to offer drinks or (tasty) food; *(fig.)* to regale with’ (HUPEL 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

\(^{177}\) MÄGISTE (1955a, 10-12) suggests the opposite for Veps. *post* *(appellative)* and Veps. *zapast* ‘Vorrat’, which he derives from Russ. нёс ‘dog’ and Russ. заис ‘Vorrat’, but these are probably unusual analogical formations.

b. Russ. гости́ть ‘to stay (with), be on a visit (to)’ < гость́ (cf. kost).
c. The oldest recording is probably in GUTSLAFF’s manuscript South Estonian translation of 
the Old Testament: Ninck jumal isand tulli Sarah kostma, ni kui temma towutanut olli ‘And 
the Lord visited Sarah as he had said’ (cf. MUST 2000, 131), where the verb does not yet have 
the meaning ‘to offer nourishment’.
d. BRÖMSEN 1814, 142; WESKE 1890, 242; MIKKOLA 1894, 109; KALIMA 1952, 102; MUST 1956, 
131, 133; RAUN 1982; EEW III, 965; MUST 2000, 131-132.

b. Russ. кошево́й: кошевoй атамán ‘commander of Cossack troops’ < кош ‘camp’ < Turkic; 
c. ÖS 1976 has a transliteration from the Russian (Zaporozje); ÖS 1999 has changed it to a 
transliteration from the Ukrainian (Zaporížžja).
d. -

a. košmaar ‘nightmare; (fig.) something horrible, nightmarish’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. кошмáр ‘nightmare (also fig.)’ < Fr. cauchemar (REW I, 652).
c. -
d. -

a. kotik ‘fur-seal (Callorhinus ursinus)’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 
1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. кóтик ‘fur-seal’ < кот ‘cat’ (REW I, 645).
c. -
d. -

a. kott ‘large ungainly or worn-out shoe’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 
1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. кóт ‘Art Bauernschuhe, Halbstiefel, Überschühe’. Probably from Komi kot (= 
kóт) ‘Schuhe aus einem Lederstuck, Filzstiefel’ < Nen. húti ‘Stiefel’ (REW I, 646-647). In 
Russian first recorded in 1626 (KIPARSKY 1975, 88).
c. Recorded dialectally (as South Estonian) in WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893): kott ‘Pantoffel, 
Glosche’.

182
Est. *koot*\(^{79}\) ‘lederner Schuh’ (*WIEDEMANN* 1869; 1893), is of the same origin. **LOORITS** (LRU II, 133) hesitantly derives Est. *kotu* ~ *kotumees* ‘(pejorative denotation for a ghost of a dead person)’ from *kott*, but this is probably some kind of clipped form of *koterma*‘Schiffsgeist’ < G. *Kotermann* (*EEW* III, 969, 971).

d. **KALIMA** 1952, 33, 104; 1956, 26, 79; **VÄHROS** 1959, 118-119; **RAUN - SAARESTE** 1965, 49; **RAUN** 1982; **EEW** III, 970; **KOPONEN** 1998, 105b; **MUST** 2000, 133.

a. **kraana** ‘(tech.) crane’ (*EKÖS*; *EÖS*; *VÖS* 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; *ÖS* 1960; 1976; 1999; *EKSS*).


c. -

d. **EEW** III, 973.

a. **krai** ‘large administrative division (usually containing an autonomous oblast) in Russia’ (*VÖS* 1945; 1953; *ÖS* 1960; 1976; 1999; *EKSS*).

b. Russ. край ‘edge, brim, brink (*also fig.*); side (*of meat*); land, country; kray, krai (*administrative division of former USSR*) < Common Slavic (*REW* I, 654).

c. Cf. *raja*.

d. **EEW** III, 978.

a. **krakovjakk** ‘fast, lively Polish folk and party dance in 2/4 time; music for this dance’ (*EÖS*; *VÖS* 1953; *ÖS* 1960; 1976; 1999; *EKSS*).


c. -

d. **EEW** III, 978; **MUST** 2000, 135.


b. Russ. красотиться = красиваться ‘любоваться; жить весело, беззаботно в довольстве и благополучии; в свадебном обряде – надевать нарядное платье и повязку,

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\(^{79}\) Est. *koot*, recorded in *VESTRING* (1740, 92a) with no meaning, is probably not the same word, seeing as it does not occur in *HUPEL* 1780 or 1818 either, and is first recorded in *WIEDEMANN* 1869.
похлопывая ею при этом в воздухе (о невесте); идти гулять; быть девушкой; важничать, гордиться; цвести (о ржи)’ (SRNG 15, 197b-198a, 200b).

c. Also recorded dialectally (EMS III, 815): krassat ‘jaunt’ is recorded in the south (Krl Har) and in the northeast (Kuu VNg Iis). Recorded only in Röuge in the south is krassatama ‘to chase’.

d. -

a. kravat ‘Bett, Bettgestell’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. кровать ‘bed, bedstead’ < MGr. χροβαττίνον (o)ν (REW I, 665).

c. -

d. EEW III, 981; MUST 2000, 135-136.


c. EKSS does not record the simplex krepöpost, which is only recorded as such in WIEDEMANN. Already recorded in 1861 in the newspaper Perno Postimees (cf. ONGA 1981, 75).

Also recorded in Baltic German: Krepost, Krepostierung ‘gerichtliche Bestätigung (surkunde), Korroboration’ (HUPEL 1795, 127; KIPARSKY 1936, 162). MAGISTE (EEW III, 983) assumes the Estonian word is borrowed from Baltic German, which is also possible.

d. RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; EEW III, 983; MUST 2000, 137.


c. Already recorded in the 1820s in MASING’s Marahwa Näddala-Leht (KINGISEPP 1972, 92). 

Cf. räni.

d. -

a. kresla ‘sleigh back rest made of wooden pegs; sleigh with such a back rest; (obs. coll.) armchair’ (HUPEL 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960;
(1976; 1999; EKSS) ~ kreslu ‘sleigh back rest made of wooden pegs; sleigh with such a back rest’ (EKSS) ~ kresku ‘(dial.) = kresla’ (EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; ÖS 1960; 1976).

b. Russ. крёсло ‘arm-chair, easy-chair’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 661). Cf. DAE (II, 190b) for a more exhaustive description of the 19th с. крёсло.

c. From VÖS 1940 to 1945 kresku is preferred; from 1953 onwards kresla. The strongly normative ÖS 1999 does not mention kresku anymore as an alternative.

In Estonian dialects there are numerous variants: kreska, kresku, kresla, kreslik, kreslu, krisla, krösla, kräsla, kresna, krösna, reska, resku, resla, retsku, risla, räsla (VMS I, 292a; EMS III, 825, 826, 827).

Already recorded in 1821 in Masing’s Marahwa Näddala-Leht (KINGISEPP 1972, 92).

Also recorded in Baltic German: Kressla ‘aus dünnen Stäben gemachter langer Korb, der auf einen gemeinen Holzschlitten gelegt wird, zur bequemeren Verpackung von Waren’ (HUPEL 1795, 81, 127; KIPARSKY 1936, 162).

d. HUPEL 1818, 101a; AHLVIST 1875, 128; WESKE 1890, 218; RAUN - SAAREST 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW III, 984; MUST 2000, 138-139.

a. kriis. Cf. riis.

a. kriska ‘stove pipe damper lid, oven door’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. крышка ‘lid, cover; (sl.) death, end’ < крыша ‘roof’ < крыть ‘to cover’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 673).

c. Also recorded in Baltic German: Krischke, Gröschke ‘Ofenklappe, Spelt’ (HUPEL 1795, 127; KIPARSKY 1936, 162).

d. EEW III, 991; MUST 2000, 141.

a. kriivnik ‘eine russische Münze (10 Kopeken)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. гривенник ‘(coll.) ten-kopeck piece’ < гривна ‘grivna (unit of currency in medieval Russia); (obs.) ten kopecks; (hist.) pendant’ < грива ‘Mähne, Bergrücken, Sandbank’ (REW I, 308).

c. Recorded already in 1861 in J.W. JANNSEN’s newspaper Perno Postimees (cf. MAKKAR 1980, 80) as grivnik.
Also recorded in Baltic German: *griwen, griwenik* ‘Silbermünze = 10 Kopeken’ (HuPEL 1795, 82; Kiparsky 1936, 154).

Cf. *grivna*.


c. -

d. -

a. *kiugas* *(= *riugas*)* (Wiedemann 1869; 1893; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) ∼ *kriuge* *(= *riugas*)* (EKSS) ∼ *riugas* ‘sly trick, ruse, dodge; intrigue’ (EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


d. MUST 1954, 11; 1956, 132; RAUN - Saareste 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW III, 992; VIII, 2507; MUST 2000, 141-142.

a. *kronstein* *(tech.*) support structure, which forms the horizontal base of device attached to a vertical surface’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. -

a. *krossima* ‘to chop cabbage’ (EÖS).

b. Russ. *крошить* ‘to crumb, crumble, to chop, hack, *(fig.*) to hack to pieces; to drop, spill crumbs’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 669).

c. Dialectally recorded in Wiedemann (1869): *krossima* *(SO, A)* ‘hacken (Kohl)’.

d. MUST 1954, 17; 1956, 131; EEW III, 998; MUST 2000, 143.
a. **krupa**: krupa-kala *(rupa-k., ruba-k.)* *(kala ‘fish’)* ‘Sein *(Leuciscus Jeses)*’ ~ **ruba**: *rupa-kala = krupa-kala, ruba-pead* ‘mit Grütze gefüllte Fischköpfe’ *(Wiedemann 1869; 1893)*.

b. Russ. крьпня *(collect.)* groats < Common Slavic *(REW I, 670-671)*.

c. The dish *rupa-pead* ‘groat heads’, i.e. fishheads filled with groats, as noted by Wiedemann, explains the connection between ‘groats’ and ‘fish’.

Est. *kruup ~ (pl.) kruubid* ‘groats’ is a loan from G. *Graupen* *(EEW III, 1001)*, only dialectal variants in -a, such as EstS *kruup, kruuba* *(Jüvää 2002)*, are probably borrowed from Russian.

Loorits *(1929, 172)* derives both Wiedemann’s *krupa-kala* as well as *rupa-pusu* ‘frog’ from Latv. *krūpis* ‘frog’. The Latvian etymology for *krupa-kala* is rejected by Vaba *(1977, 11; 1997, 21)* without proposing an alternative, but he agrees to Loorits’ Latvian etymology for *rupa-pusu* *(Vaba 1977, 89; 1997, 190)*. A Latvian source for *rupa-pusu* was already proposed by Saareste *(1922, 18-19)*, but the Latvian source *(rupucis ‘frog’)* he suggested was incorrect.

d. Loorits 1929, 172.

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a. **krusa** *(coll.) lorry* *(ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS)*.

b. Russ. грузови́к ‘lorry’ < груз ‘weight, load, cargo’ + derivative suffix -вик < Common Slavic *(REW I, 312)*.

c. -

d. EEW III, 999; MUST 2000, 144.

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a. **kruska ~ kruski** ‘Kruschke *(russisches Maass)*’ *(Wiedemann 1869; 1893)* ~ **kružka** ‘stoup *(Russian fluid measure)*’ *(EÖS)*.

b. Russ. крů́жка ‘mug, tankard *(measure)*; collecting-box; *(med.)* douche < directly from MHG *krů́se* or MLG *krů́sc(e)*, possibly via Pol. *kruż* ‘mug’ + derivational suffix -ka *(REW I, 670)*.

c. Recorded dialectally as *kruska* *(W)* ‘Branntweinglas *(Wiedemann 1893)*.

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Kruschke* ‘Hohlmass für Flüssigkeiten = 1 Stof = 1/10 Wedro’ *(Kiparsky 1936, 162)*.

d. EEW III, 1000; MUST 2000, 144.

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a. **krutsik** *(coll.) fish-hook; trick* *(ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS)* ~ **krutski** *(coll.) trick, ruse, quirk* *(Wiedemann 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS)* ~ **rutska ~ rutski** ‘Ränke’ *(Wiedemann 1893)*.
b. Russ. крючок ‘hook; (fig., obs., pej.) hitch, catch; (fig., obs.) pettifogger’ < diminutive of крюк ‘hook’ < NGerm. krökr ‘Haken’ (REW I, 674).

c. Also recorded in Baltic German: Krutschchen, Krutschken, Krutschki ‘Ränke, Ausflüchte, Kunstgriffe’ (HUPEL 1795, 130; KIPARSKY 1936, 162).

d. WESKE 1890, 234-235; WIEDEMANN 1893; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW III, 1000; MUST 2000, 144-146.

a. kruttima ‘(coll.) to turn a screw, to regulate something by turning a screw; to move ahead whilst changing direction or turning’ (VÖS 1940; 1945; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. крутить ‘to twist, twirl; to turn, wind (tap, handle, etc.); to whirl; (coll.) to go out (with), have an affair (with)’ < круго́й ‘steep’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 671).

c. The verb is first recorded in the 1960 ÖS; in the VÖS’ from 1936 to 1945 only krutti (tőmbama) ‘to twist’ and kruttis (olema) ‘twisted’ are recorded.

d. RAUN 1982; EEW III, 1000; MUST 2000, 146.

a. kruugavo ‘ein Kartenspiel’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).


c. According to Wiedemann (1876, 299), similar to turakas, but played with only three cards.

d. EEW III, 1000.

a. ksjonds ‘a priest in Poland’ (EKSS).

b. Russ. ксёндз ‘Roman Catholic (esp. Polish) priest’ < Pol. ksiiqdz ‘priest’ (REW I, 675).

c. -

d. -


b. Russ. куб́анка ‘flat, round fur hat’ < reduced form of куба́нская ша́пка ‘шапка с меховым околышем и кожаным плоским верхом, какие носят на Северном Кавказе’ (ŠANSKIJ 1982 II/8, 427).

c. -

d. EEW III, 1011.

a. kubatuur ‘content in cubic measurement’ (VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

c. The word can also have been borrowed from German.

d. -


c. -

d. -

a. *kudrus* *(ethn.) small coloured (glass) pearl* (THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 95b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÕS; VÕS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. ку́дры ‘curls’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 681).

c. The first recordings in Estonian (THOR HELLE 1732: *kudrus* – die Bauer=Coralle, *kudruksed* – angenähte Corallen an Bauer=Weiber=Röcken; VESTRING 1740, 95b: *Kudrusset* – Die Baur Krelle; unter der Weiber rocken; HUPEL 1780: *kudruksed, kudrusset* – kleine Korallen an der Weiber Unterrocken. r., *kudrus* – die Bauerkoralle; ein mit Korallen besetzter breiter Streifen. r.) all refer to pearls used as decorations. (Northern-)Estonian peasant women adorned their skirts with pearls, though this habit was not unknown in the Tartu area either (cf. MANNINEN 1927, 270).

MÄGISTE (1962, 17) assumes the meaning ‘Corallen’ developed from ‘curl’ (which it has done only in Estonian) by way of ‘curly, looped decoration on clothing’.

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Kudruszen* (Ehst.) ‘sind kleine Korallen von allerley Farben, welche die Ehstinnen als einen Besatz auf ihren Unterrocken tragen’ (HUPEL 1795, 131; KIPARSKY 1936, 46). Borrowed from Est. *kudrus*, not directly from Russian, as can be seen from HUPEL’s definition.

The missionary H.I. TISSMANN coined the neologism *kutrusmemm* ‘mother of pearl’, based on *kudrus* and *memm* ‘mother’, a calque of G. *Perlmutter* (ARISTE 1937a, 308). It has never been in actual use in the language.

Russ. кудеря ‘curl’ ~ кудря, pl. кудри has been borrowed again into South Estonian dialects (cf. WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; VMS I, 305b; EMS III, 940; MUST 2000, 149-150).

d. WESKE 1890, 235; MIKKOLA 1894, 130; MÄGISTE 1962, 17; RAUN 1982; EEW III, 1015; MUST 2000, 149-150.
a. **kugun.** Cf. 8.1.

a. **kuhti** *(dia!)* women’s jacket’ (EKSS) ∼ **kuhvt ∼ kuhvta** ‘Leibchen, Jacke’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. кóфта *(woman's)* jacket, cardigan; *(coll.)* (woman’s) short, warm overcoat’ < LG kuf’t ‘grober, zottiger Überrock’ or BG kuf’t ‘Haus-, Nachtjacket’ (REW I, 647).

c. As Russ. -o- in the first, stressed syllable can sometimes be substituted with Est. -u- kuhvt may be borrowed from Russ. кóфта (dialect geography also points to this, cf. EMS III, 954; MUST 2000, 113), and not from Sw. kofta ‘short jacket’ (cf. SAARESTE 1924, 170) or Estonian Sw. *kuf’t* ‘id.’180 (WIGET 1928, 259), which is probably the source for the western dialectal variants kuhvt, kohvt (cf. SAARESTE 1924, 170; SSA I, 383a; MUST 2000, 112-113).

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Kuf’t, Kufchen* ‘Haus- oder Nachtjacket der Frauen-zimmer’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 162).

d. WESKE 1890, 156; WIGET 1928, 259; REW I, 647; EEW III, 899; EEW IV, 1019; MUST 2000, 112-113.

a. **kukuruus** *(obs.)* maize’ (EKSS).


c. -

d. -

a. **kulaan** *(zoöl.*) soliped from Turkmenistan’s desert *(Equus hemionus kulan)* (ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. -

a. **kulak** ‘rich peasant’ (VÕS 1945; 1953; ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) ∼ **kulakas** ‘Faustschlag’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

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180 Which ARISTE (1933, 14) says does not exist.

c. Russ. кулак has been borrowed twice: once\(^{181}\) as kulak ‘fist’, where the form with the Estonian suffix -as is more common, and at the end of the 19th century as kulak ‘rich peasant’. In dialects (cf. VMS I, 311a; EMS III, 1003-1004; MUST 2000, 151) kulak ~ kulakas ‘fist’ is still common, but it no longer occurs in the literary language, where only the meaning ‘exploiter’ is found. Russian origin is still obvious in WIEDEMANN’s (1893) expression vene-kulakat andma ‘einen Faustschlag auf russische Weise geben’.

It has also been suggested that Est. kulak is the source for Russ. кулак (thus e.g. MIKLOSICH 1886, 146), but VASMER (REW I, 687) rightfully rejects this.

Also recorded in Baltic German: Kulacke ‘Faust; Faustschlag’ (HUPEL 1795, 132-133; KIPARSKY 1936, 163).

Est. kulak ‘rich peasant’ is also found in Swedish Estonian (RAAG 1982, 94), and is calqued in BUCK (1909, 58) as rahvarusikas (‘people’s fist’): Aga Wene külas on lugu teine. Rikkaks-saanud tulupöeg on sääl rahvarusikas; keegi ei kiida teda, keegi ei pea teda eeskujjuks; ehk kui möni seda teeb, siis on see kihwtnie kiitus, kawal roomamine ja tagaselja rusikanütamine.

(‘But in the Russian village it is different. A peasant who has struck it rich is there a ‘people’s fist’; nobody thinks him a role model, nobody praises him; when somebody does so, it is bitter praise, sly grovelling and a secret clenched fist’). According to MUST (2000, 151) the meaning of ‘exploiter’ is already recorded in 1900 in the newspaper Rahva Lõbu-leht.

d. LOKOTSCHE 1927, 95; BACHMAN 1956, 6; EEW IV, 1029; MUST 2000, 151.

a. kulebaaka ‘(cul.) large loaf-like pastry (with layered filling)’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. кулеба́ка ‘kulebyaka (pie containing meat, fish, or vegetables, etc.’). The etymology is unsure (cf. REW I, 687-688; ŠANSKIJ 1982 II/8, 437).

c. -

d. EEW IV, 1031.

a. kuli ‘(ethn.) large flour or grain bag; formerly, a volume or weight measure for grain (volume measure a setvert [cf. setvert], weight measure 5-9 pood [cf. pood], depending on the

\(^{181}\) MUST (2000, 151) claims that kulak ‘Faust, Russick’ occurs in GUTSLAFF 1648, but I have not found such a word in GUTSLAFF (p. 212 has Faust ‘Russick’).
grain weight’ (HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. куль ‘sack (formerly also variable dry measure, equivalent to approx. 82-147 kilograms)’ < maybe from Lat. culleus (REW I, 689).

c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1869.

Also recorded in Baltic German: Kulle ‘Matten- oder Bastsack’ (HUPEL 1795, 132; KIPARSKY 1936, 163).

Est. kullet ‘Schiebsack’ (VESTRING 1740, 99b; HUPEL 1780; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893) ~ kulits: söa-kulits ‘Patronentasche’ (WIEDEMANN 1893) is a loan from Latv. kulite ‘Futtersack für die Pferde’, a diminutive of Latv. kule ‘ein kleiner Sack, eine Tasche’, likewise a loan from Russ. куль ‘sack’ (ME II, 306ab; VABA 1977, 53; 1997, 104-105). The Latvian word has also been borrowed into Baltic German: Kullit ‘Patronentasche’ (HUPEL 1795, 133; KIPARSKY 1936, 93).

d. WIEDEMANN 1869; WESKE 1890, 235; MIKKOLA 1894, 56, 131; KALIMA 1952, 105; MUST 1954, 16; 1956, 135; KALIMA 1956, 80; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW IV, 1031; SSA I, 429a; MUST 2000, 153.

a. kulits ‘(cul) high round loaf made from sweet dough with raisins and almonds ’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. кулич ‘Easter cake’ < MGr. κουλίς(ον) (REW I, 689).

c. -

d. EEW IV, 1032.

a. kulturism ‘body-building (system of physical exercises to improve a person’s physical shape)’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. ÖS 1999 prefers atlleetvöimlemeine.

d. –

a. kuläitama ‘spazieren fahren oder gehen’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. гулять ‘to walk, stroll, take a walk; (coll.) not to be working, (of land) to be untilled; (coll.) to make merry, have a good time, carouse, go on the spree; to go with (= have a sexual
relationship with); (of a baby, coll.) to lie awake’. The etymology is uncertain (cf. REW I, 320; ŠANSKI 1972 I/4, 195-196).

c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1869. Also occurs in dialects (cf. EMS III, 1004-1005; MUST 2000, 152).

Derided as an unnecessary affected loan by EDERBERG (1913, 471): Kui enne ‘patseerima’ mindi ja nüüd ‘kuljaitama’ ja ‘matkama’ minnakse, siis loodan ma, et edespidi minnakse ‘jalutama’ ‘When previously one went ‘patseerima’ and now ‘kuljaitama’ and ‘matkama’, then I hope that from now on one will go ‘jalutama’’.

Also recorded in Baltic German: gulaien ‘bummeln’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 196).

Of the same origin is guljanje.

d. JÖGEVER 1911, 237; MUST 1954, 14; EEW IV, 1032; MUST 2000, 152.

a. kulu ‘(coll.) turkey; pigeon’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1940; 1945; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -


a. kumak ‘(ethn.) red cotton cloth used in Setu women’s folk costumes’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; EKSS) ~ maage: maagelõng ‘red cotton yarn’ (lõng ‘yarn’) (EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Very common in dialects in many variants (cf. EMS IV, 6); occurs already in 1730 in CLARE’s manuscript South Estonian dictionary as magalang (cf. MUST 2000, 155); here the first syllable has already been elided due to confusion with maak ‘ore’, which was also used as a dye. This unrelated word has a genitive in -e (maage), which has influenced the original compound (cf. CLARE’s older magalang), so that the modern form is now maagelõng (cf. EEW V, 1469).

Recorded in the placename Kumaku near Kodavere (PALL 1970, 155).

a. **kumöss** ‘drink fermented from horse’s, less commonly from cow’s or camel’s milk (in Central Asia)’ (VÖS 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. **BACHMAN** 1956, 6.

a. **kuparoos ~ kuparus** ‘Vitriol, Galitzenstein’, **kuupa: kuupa-rohi, kuuparoos** ‘(weisser) Vitriol’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).


c. In dialects assimilatory variants such as *puparoos* are found (cf. MUST 2000, 156); in WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893) clipped forms such as *paaros*.

d. **WESKE** 1890, 201; **BACHMAN** 1956, 6; MUST 1956, 133; EEW IV, 1050, 1075; VII, 2235a; MUST 2000, 156.

a. **kupits.** Cf. 8.1.

a. **kupki** *(obs.)* a card game (for money)’ (HUPEL 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKSS).

b. Russ. купки, diminutive of купа ‘group, clump (of trees)’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 694).

c. WIEDEMANN (1876, 298) already derived this from Russ. купа, купки. The game itself he describes as follows: ‘Es werden aus dem Talon so viel umgekehrte Haufen gemacht, wie Spieler sind, und wer unten die höchste Karte hat, nimmt den Einsatz’.

MÄGISTE (EEW IV, 1051) also assumes Russian origin, but mentions no possible source.

Recorded dialectally in Puhja (EMS IV, 52).

d. **WIEDEMANN** 1876, 298; EEW IV, 1051.

a. **kurb** ‘unhappy, depressed, stricken, sad; that which causes such feelings’ (MÜLLER 1600; STAHL 1637; GOSEKEN 1660, 130, 136, 236, 416, 417; HORNUNG 1693, 58; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 101b-102a; Hupel 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. ORuss. *skurb* < Common Slavic (REW II, 645-646).

c. Est. *kurb*, which also occurs in Votic (*kurp* ‘sadness, sad’) has traditionally been derived from either ORuss. *skurb* (WESKE 1890, 228; VASMER 1922, 12-13; KALIMA 1952, 110-111;
MÄGI SÉ 1962, 17; RAUN 1982; EEW IV, 1054) or Baltic, cf. Lith. skurbé ‘Gram’ (Kalima
1936, 123).

All recordings of the Estonian word (including South Estonian kurb, cf. Rossihnus 1632,
164) point to an original *kurpa, as does the Votic form (cf. VKS II, 313; Tsvetkov 1995,
130a), which has two genitives, kurva and kurve. This second form is explained by a sound
change in non-initial syllables a > ə, common in Votic dialects (cf. Kettunen 1930, 138). We
must thus posit a form *kurpa which was borrowed from either Old Russian or Baltic. For
Baltic feminine stems in -ē there are only examples with -e (> -i), -ä, and -eh in Finnic: cf. Fi.
reki (reke-), Est. regi (ree) ‘sleigh’ ~ Lith. rágés ~ rógés ‘id’; Fi. torvi (torve-), Est. törv
(törve) ‘tar’ ~ Lith. taure ‘id’; Fi. kypärä, Est. kúbar (kúbara) ‘helmet, hat’ ~ Lith. kepùrè
‘id.’ (cf. Kalima 1936, 82-83; Stang 1966, 202). Baltic origin is thus perhaps less likely, as we
would expect a Finnic *kurpe ~ kurve. Also considering the distribution of the word (i.e.
limited to Estonian and Votic) perhaps Russian origin is more plausible.

Problematic remains the auslaut -as: ORuss. skɔrtbɔ should have resulted in OEst. OVot.
*kurp̆i, of which there is no trace. We have to assume that it has been adapted to words in -a.
d. WESKE 1890, 228; VASMER 1922, 12-13; KALIMA 1952, 8, 36, 110-111; 1956, 6, 29, 84;
MÄGI SÉ 1962, 17; RAUN 1982; EEW IV, 1054.

a. kurenn (‘hist.) unit of Zaporóžje Cossacks’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).
b. Russ. курéнь (‘dial.) hut, shanty; (hist.) kuren (‘unit of Zaporóžhian Cossack troop’) < Chag.
c. Borrowed from Russian into Baltic German; cf. BG kureen ~ kurenej ~ korenje
‘russische Hökerbude’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 164).
d. -

a. kurgaan (‘high) barrow’ (VÖS 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. курпáн ‘barrow, burial mound; tumulus’ < OTurkic kuryan ‘Festung, Burg’ (REW I,
698; ŠiPOVA 1976, 211).
c. -
d. BACHMAN 1956, 9; EEW IV, 1056.


a. kurtka ‘Camisol’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).
b. Russ. куртка ‘(man’s) jacket’ < Pol. kurtka, kurta < Lat. curtus (REW I, 702-703).
A possible other source is mentioned by SCHENKER (1995, 60): the Arab traveller IBN FADLÂN, member of a diplomatic mission to the Volga Bulgars in 921-22, notes in his Risâla, a report of his journey, that the Rus’ wear neither qurtaqs [tunics] nor caftans. SCHENKER assumes that Ar. qurta, probably borrowed from ONorse kyrtil ‘a knee-length tunic with sleeves which was worn belted’ (< OEngl. cyrtil ‘id.’; DE VRIES 1977, 341a), is the source for Russ. куртка and Pol. kurtka.

c. Also recorded in Baltic German: Kurtka ‘kurzer Leibpelz nach Art eines Husarenmântelchens’ (HUPEL 1795, 134; KIPARSKY 1936, 164). BG Kurtik ‘id.’, recorded in HUPEL (1795, 134), is a loan from Russ. dial. куртик.
d. TOIVONEN 1953-54, 15-20, EEW IV, 1061; MUST 2000, 158.

c. -
d. -

c. Probably first recognized as a loan from Russ. кушак by ANDERSON (1879, 18).
In the dialects there are many (dissimilatory) variants: kussakas, pussak, pussakas, putsak, prussakas, vussak etc. (cf. MUST 2000, 159-160). Similarly in Finnish, where the Russian word has also been borrowed, there are dissimilatory variants: kussakka, pussakka, ussakka (cf. SSA I, 452b-453a).
Also recorded in Baltic German: Kuschak ‘Mannsgürtel, sonderlich ein Gewebter, mit welchem man den Rock oder Pelz um den Leib bindet’ (HUPEL 1795, 134; KIPARSKY 1936, 165).
d. ANDERSON 1879, 18; ANDERSON 1893, 150b, footnote 201; ERNITS 1917a, 135; MUST 1956, 129; RAUN 1982; EEW IV, 1066; MUST 2000, 159-160.
a. **kutjaa** ‘rice dish with honey or raisins, ceremonial dish eaten by the Orthodox at funerals, commemoration of the dead’ (EKSS).

b. Russ. кутъя ‘Gericht aus Graupen oder Reis mit Honig und Rosinen, das bei einer Totenfeier zum Einsegnen in die Kirche gebracht, auch am Weihnachtsabend, zu Silvester usw. gegessen wird’ < ORuss. *kutija* < MGr. ξουρίζα(ον) (REW I, 707).

c. -

d. MANNINEN 1931, 60; GEV I, 78; MUST 2000, 160.

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a. **kutka** ‘Schinder, Profoss’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. ку́тька, jocular form of ку́тьла ‘отчаянный пьяница, буйнъ, развратникъ’ (DAГ II, 227a) < ку́тьли ‘to booze’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 706).

c. -

d. -

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a. **kuurits** ‘(*ethn.*) trap used in shallow water, consisting of a net attached to two runners, which is dragged along the bottom of the water (used especially in eastern Estonia)’ (EÔS; VÔS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. ку́рица ‘ловушка на шукъ’ (DAГ II, 223b) < кур ‘cock’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 697).

c. The Russian etymology was first suggested by MANNINEN (1931, 151-153). The oldest dictionary recording is relatively recent, in EÔS, but MÄGISTE (1962, 60), after wading through Polish land registers from the 17th century¹⁸², suggests it might be reflected in some names recorded therein: Kurece Peter, Kurycza Madej. If so, then the first recording would be hundreds of years older than the EÔS word. MOORA (1964, 218) hesitates to reject MÄGISTE’s findings, but points out that *kuurits* does not even occur in WIEDEMANN, which would be unlikely if it would have been known for centuries. It is perhaps more likely that these names in fact refer to Russ. ку́рица ‘chicken’, as KIPARSKY (1965, 433) suggests. It has been recorded in 19 dialects, all in eastern Estonia (cf. EMS IV, 169).

Exact cognates of Est. *kuurits* occur in Finnish and in Veps (cf. SSA I, 458b). However, the Veps form (*kuurits* ‘stake net’) may point to a relatively old loan, as Russ. -у has been

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substituted by Veps -tš in newer loans Russ. -ит is regularly substituted by -ts (TUNKELO 1946, 337; MÄGISTE 1955a, 17).

MÄGISTE (1955a, 18-19) proposes that *kuurits may also have existed in Livonian: Latv. *kuris ‘ein Seinnetz’ ~ *kurs ‘ein Netz’ are only recorded in areas where Livonian was formerly spoken (cf. ME II, 337b), and thus maybe loans from an unrecorded Liv. *kūris, where the ending -ts may have been interpreted by Latvian-speakers as a diminutive, from which they then created a back-formation kuris ~ kurs (cf. gailitis ~ gailits ‘little cock’ < gailis ‘cock’).

a. **kvardeiski-ekipaas** ‘Gardeequipage der Flotte’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
c. -
d. -

a. **kvass** (coll.) light ale’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).
b. Russ. квас ‘kvass’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 546).
c. Also recorded in Baltic German: Kwas ‘(Russ.) st. Dünstbier, kosent. Gadeb.\(^\text{183}\) schreibt Quass, und erklärt ihn für die allerschwächste Gattung des Biers’ (HUPEL 1795, 135).
d. WESKE 1890, 190; KALIMA 1952, 90; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; SKES V, 1583b; RAUN 1982; EEW IV, 1079; MUST 2000, 163-164; SSA III, 387.

a. **köblas.** Cf. 8.1.

a. **kőrik** ‘(ethn.) shawl, south-east Estonian women’s white or light grey woollen scarf’ (EKÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. ORuss. hērī (=chērī) ‘rough cloth’ (KIPARSKY 1960, 41; ARISTE 1967, 7-9).
c. A word common in older South Estonian: kőrik ‘ein Weiberunterrock von Tuch d. (HUPEL 1780, 185b); körrik ‘wollener Weiber Unterrock ohne Falten aber mit einer Kante

\[^{183}\text{Gadeb. = Additions by F. K. GADEBUSCH (1719-1788) to FRISCH’s German dictionary (J.L. FRISCH 1741, Deutsch-lateinisches Wörterbuch, Berlin), published in Beyträgen zu den rigischen Anzeigen 1763, Nr. XIV, 1764 Nr. IV, XI and XIV (cf. HUPEL 1795, VII-VIII).}\]
Pp. (= die am Peipus=See liegende Gegend und deren Dialekt) (HUPEL 1818, 92a); körlik (d) ‘Weiberrock (WIEDEMANN 1869); ‘Weiberrock, Umwurf von schwarzem Tuch, weisser, blau durchnähter leinener Schawl’ (WIEDEMANN 1893), but entered the literary language as a specialized ethnographical term (cf. MANNINEN 1927, 221-224, 247-248; RANK 1995, 82a; LEEMETS 1999, 20b). Est. körseik ‘gestreifter Unterrock r. herbstlamm; ein halb erwachsenes Schwein d.’ (HUPEL 1818, 92a) is a derivation of korts according to MÄGISTE (EEW III, 961). Cfr. körtsik – gefalteter Unterrock r. (HUPEL 1818).

In a collection of birchbark texts, reckoned to be from the beginning of the 15th century ARCIKHOVSKIJ and BORKOVSKIJ (1958, 66-67) record an Old Russian хпрн, which KIPARSKY (1960, 41-43) assumes is a genitive singular of a previously unrecorded ORuss. *чёрть, a Germanic loan. KIPARSKY compares it to OHG här(r)ta, OEengl. hære, MLG härre ‘härene Decke, grobes Gewand; ciliicum, saccus, saga’, which has been borrowed into Middle Latin (haira) and into French (haire ‘grobes Zeug zu Arbeitskleidern der Bierbrauer’), and assumes ORuss. чёрть has been borrowed from an umlaut form of the German word (cf. G. härenes Gewand).

ARISTE (1967-8-9) assumes that Est. körlik, basically a South Estonian word, is a derivation in -ik from a cloth name *kör-, borrowed from the aforementioned Old Russian word. Similarly other words for ‘skirt’ in South Estonian are derivations in -ik: hölmik < hölm ‘lap’, ümlik < ümber ‘around’, umnik < umb- ‘closed’. Though an internal Finnic etymology would also be possible (cf. Fi. korea ‘pretty’, though the Estonian cognate køre only has the meaning ‘tall [of trees]’; cf. SSA I, 402a), ARISTE prefers the Russian etymology, adducing a semantic parallel from Latvian: vilnaite, villaine ‘die wollene Weiberdecke’ (ME IV, 593b) is derived from vilna ‘wool’.

d. SAARESTE 1924, 162; MÄGISTE 1925, 90; ARISTE 1967, 7-9; EEW IV, 1104; KOPONEN 1998, 112b.

a. körts ‘formerly, a drinking and eating house, a travellers’ stopping and resting place; (coll.) restaurant, bar, cheaper drinking place’ (GÖSEKEN 1660, 354, 473; HORNUNG 1693, 24; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 86b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. The Russian etymology was first suggested by BRÖMSEN (1814, 142-143), who claims it is not in actual use in Russia: körts, der Krug. Russ. Kertschma. In Russland selbst sind keine


d. BRÖMSEN 1814, 142-143; AHRENS 1853, 242; MIKKOLA 1894, 127; SETALÄ 1932a, 76-77; GEV II, 135, 136, 485; KALIMA 1952, 4, 107, 233; 1956, 3, 82, 152; MÄGISTE 1962, 17, 28, 60; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RÄNK 1977, 30-34; ARISTE 1981, 90; RAUN 1982; EEW IV, 1109-1110; MUST 2000, 164.

a. körtsmik ‘innkeeper, bar-owner’ (GÖSEKEN 1660, 14, 354, 473; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 86b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. кочёмник ‘кто промышляет корчемством’ (DAEL II, 171a) < корчма ‘inn’ (cf. körts).

c. Two variants occur in Estonian: körtsmik and körtsnik, where the first is the only one to occur in the literary language, and is also more common in dialects (according to VMS I, 343a körtsnik is only found in four dialects, whilst körtsmik is recorded in 31. JUVA 2002, 182a also has körtsnik). This leads us to assume that the form in -nik is perhaps a later adaptation to words with the extremely common suffix (of Russian origin; cf. 2.2.1.2. Morphology) -nik. GÖSEKEN already assumed that körtsmik was the preferred form, but his unscientific etymology is nowadays, unsurprisingly, not generally accepted: Körtsnick ein Krüger/ ist nicht recht/ und redet kein Baur also/ Sondern Körtsmick. Denn der Erste Krüger in diesem Lande hat Mick geheissen/ und ist geruffen Körtszo-mick/ daher heissen die andern alle Körtsmick (GÖSEKEN 1660, 14).

The first to assume Russian origin is probably KNÜPFER (1814, 28-29), who is also worth quoting: Zu der ersten Hauptclasse gehören noch, der Bedeutung nach, die mit Endsylbe nik, welche Personen nach ihrem Stande, Amte und Handwerk bezeichnen, wie im Russischen durch dieselbe Endsylbe, als: moisnik, koddanik, künnik, lihnonik, aednik (welches billig das deutsche Körner verdrängen sollte), hirsnik (von hirs der Aufseher der Zäune, ein Pflicht des

200
Dorfältester), kortsnik. Wenn Göseke (sic) pag. 14 sagt ‘Körtsnik ist nicht recht, sondern körtsnik, denn der erste Krüger in diesem Lande hat Mik gehissen, und ist geruffen körts=/mik, daher heissen die andern alle körtsnik’ und wenn Gadebusch (Livl. Bibl. I Theil § 442) sich diese historischen Fundes im Ernst zu nehmen scheint, so wird die Entdeckung mit der Freude zu Wasser, durch die simple Bemerkung, daß im Russischen Kortshma der Krug, Kortschmar oder Kortscznik der Krüger heisset, woraus das vorherrschende m ins Ehtsn. übergangen ist.

Arens (1853, 242) was probably unaware of Knüpfer’s article, as he derives körtsnik from the more common Russ. корчмарь, but корчёмник is a more likely source.

d. Knüpfer 1814, 28-29; Arens 1853, 242; Mikola 1894, 127; Kalima 1952, 107, 233; Must 1954, 21; 1956, 135; Kont 1974, 147-156; Ariste 1981, 90; Raun 1982; EEW IV, 1109; Must 2000, 164-165.

a. käev ‘shuttle; (biol.) undeveloped formation in a cell’ (Hupel 1818; EKÖS; EÖS; VOŠ 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. Probably borrowed as *kăvi, with regular loss of the -i. The Russian etymology was first suggested by Posti (1959, 207-210), after unconvincing attempts to find a Finno-Ugrian etymology (Wichmann 1923-24, 189-190). Posti suggested that Finnic *kăvi was borrowed from ORuss. *cěvz, where the affricate would have been substituted by k- (as in certain Saami loans in Finnish: cf. kermikkă ‘one-year-old reindeer calf’ < SaamN čærhmâk). Plöger (1973, 85-86), however, points out that in certain North Russian dialects the second palatalization of velars has not been completely realised, and that even a form keva ‘bobbin’ still exists, alongside other forms. Carlton (1991, 120-125) writes that there are three root morphemes so far discovered in northwestern Russian dialects: keď ‘strain, filter’, kep- ‘flail’.

184 Not, as SSA (I, 483b) claims, by Ernits (1917, 130): cf. Úhís-Indo-Euroopa aajal on kudumist tuntud, nagu seda võib järeldada Indo-Euroopa tõue vebh-, ‘kududa’ laialilagunemist Greece, Iraani ja Germaani keelis...Slaavi keelis puudub kull see tõvi, kuid Slaavi uųa (Vene uľa), Leedu šeiva, Läti saiva tähendas käev lubavad oletada, et kudumist tunti juba Úhís-Slaavi-Leedu aegu ‘During common Indo-European times weaving was known, as can be inferred from the expansion of the stem vebh- ‘to weave’ in Greek, Iranian and Germanic...This stem indeed does not occur in Slavic, but Slavic uľa (Russian улка), Lithuanian šeiva, Latvian saiva with the meaning käev permits us to suppose that weaving was already known in Balto-Slavic times’.
Kev- ‘bobbin’, and more nonpalatalized forms are being found in the Novgorod birchbark documents.\textsuperscript{185} This makes Posti’s cumbersome substitution of Russ. ч- with Finnic k- unnecessary. The -ā- in the Finnic forms, however, necessitates a loan from Old Russian (cf. 5.1.2.4.6.), and Ploger assumes that Finnic *kāvï was borrowed much earlier, at the same time as e.g. koonal, piird and värten.

Carlton (1991, 125) notes that though three (seven, if we include the ones in footnote 26) root morphemes in k- might not be very much, they denote concepts that were in everyday use, and therefore their present existence is not so surprising.

Occurs only dialectally in Wiedemann (1869; 1893): kääv (D) ‘Weberspule, Rolle im Weberschiffchen’.


a. laad ‘qualities that define the essence or specific nature of something, character; type or category or other classification depending thereon; (mus.) mode, key’ (Thor Helle 1732, 126; Vestring 1740, 103a; HupeL 1780; 1818; Wiedemann 1869; 1893; Ekös; Eós; Vós 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; Ös 1960; 1976; 1999; EkSS).

b. Russ. лад ‘harmony, concord’ < East and West Slavic (Rew II, 4-5).

c. It is generally accepted (Mikkola 1894, 135; Kalima 1952, 113; Eew IV, 1188) that Est. laad ‘quality’ and its Finnic cognates (cf. SSA II, 34a: laatu) are loans from Russian (Mikkola, who in his disputed Ältere Berührungen [1938, 86]) assumes it is a genuine Finnic word, is the only dissenter). It is, however, not a completely unproblematic word: Weske (1890, 183) already pointed out that both Russ. лад ‘harmony, concord’ and Russ. склад ‘stamp, mould, quality’ can be seen as sources for the Finnic word family. Later Vahros (1965, 151) would suggest that Russ. склад is perhaps a more likely source, apparently unaware of Weske’s suggestion. In some ways Russ. склад seems indeed to be closer to Est. laad than Russ. лад; cf. лад ‘согласие, мир, порядок; образец, способ’ - склад ‘образ мыслей и привычек, характер поведения; логическая связь, стойность (устар.)’ (Oţegov 1990).

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\textsuperscript{185} Ср. къле ‘цел’, хърь ‘серъ’, кърь ‘церковь’; it also occurs in some toponyms, cf. Хърково is probably the same village as Сърково, recorded later (Zalizniak 1995, 37). Also in modern dialect texts from northwestern Russia: cf. кеж ‘цеж, кисель’ (HonseLaar 2001, 322).
HUPEL’s (1780; 1818) *püssi laad* ‘der Flinten Schaft’ is from G. *laden* ‘to load’, from which also Est. *laadima* ‘to load’, cf. *laetud püss* ‘geladene Flinte’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).

d. WESKE 1890, 183; MIKKOLA 1894, 135; 1938, 86; KALIMA 1952, 113; 1956, 86; VAHROS 1965, 151; MÄGISTE 1962, 56; RAUN 1982; EEW IV, 1188; SSA II, 34a.

a. *laadan* ‘Benzoe gummi’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
c. -
d. EEW IV, 1188; MUST 2000, 165.

a. *laaditama* ‘fertig machen, in Bereitschaft setzen’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).
b. Russ. *ládíť* ‘to get on with, to be on good terms with; to prepare, to make ready; to tune’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 4-5).
c. Est. dial. *laadima* ‘to talk’ is from the Russian dialectal meaning of *ládíť* ‘говорить, многократно повторять что-нibs’ (MUST 2000, 165).

Est. *laadutama* ‘fördern, vorwärts gehen lassen’; *juttu laadutama* ‘plaudern’ (WIEDEMANN 1893) is an Estonian derivation.
d. WESKE 1890, 179-180; ANDERSON 1893, 66a; MIKKOLA 1894, 62, 78, 135; 1938, 101; KALIMA 1952, 112-113; 1956, 86; MÄGISTE 1962, 56; VAHROS 1965, 148-152; EEW IV, 1189; MUST 2000, 165-166.


a. *laava* ‘scattered Cossack cavalry charge, where the horses are set up in a horseshoe-shape’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).
b. Russ. *láva* ‘(Cossack) cavalry charge’. VASMER (REW II, 2-3) offers two possibilities: Russ. *obláva* ‘raid’ (< *oblávít* ‘to surround’) or Turkic *lava* (REW II, 2-3), but more likely is perhaps a loan from dialectal Russian (Don) or Ukrainian *láva* ‘id.’, which in turn is

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186 In *REW* the Turkic etymology is from GORJAVA (ГОРЯЕВ, Н. 1905, Этимологические объяснения наиболее трудных и загадочных слов в русском языке. К сравнительному этимологическому словарю русского языка, новые дополнения и поправки. Тифлис), but regrettably VASMER does not mention GORJAVA’s Turkic source. Tat. *láva* ‘атлы казакларда кулланылган атака ысулы’ (‘type of Cossack cavalry attack’) (Русско-татарский словарь, Москва 1971) is probably a loan from Russian.
thought to be a loan from Pol. *lawa* ‘rank; file, column’ (ŠANSKIJ 1999 II/9, 8). In ŠANSKIJ no possible Turkic source is mentioned.

c. -

d. -

a. *laava* ‘mine of stratified mineral resources with a mostly linear working face’ (1953; ŌŚ 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. лава ‘(mining) drift’ < лава ‘(Cossack) cavalry charge’ (ŠANSKIJ 1999 II/9, 8). In Russian this was borrowed as a specialized term from Donbas miners.

c. -

d. -

a. *laavits* ‘sledge; plank bed’ (EŌŚ; EKSS).

b. Russ. dial. лавица ‘лавка, скамейка; половая доска; кладка через ручей, мостки’ (SRNG 16, 220b) < лава ‘Bank; Steg über einen Bach; schwimmende Brücke; quer durch einen Fluß gehende Bank’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 2).

c. According to SRNG Russ. лавица is mainly found in Archangel, Olonec187, Pskov and Tver. Est. *laavits*, recorded by WIEDEMANN (1893: *laavits* (d) = *laamits* (S) ‘Rahmen (zur Vergrösserung) an Bauerschlitten’) as South Estonian, is probably borrowed from Pskov. The variant *laamits* ‘(extension) frame; sledge frame; large, wide piece’ (EKŌŚ; EŌŚ; VŌŚ 1940; 1945; ŌŚ 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) has been adapted to *laam* ‘large, wide piece’ (MÅGISTE in EEW IV, 1195), which does not have a certain etymology (cf. EEW; UEW 684; SSA II, 32a: *laama*). Cf. also *lavats*.


a. *ladna* ‘alright, so be it; pleasant, affable, popular’ (EŌŚ; VŌŚ 1933; 1940; 1945; ŌŚ 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. ладно ‘all right! very well!’ <adverb of adjective ладный ‘fine, excellent; harmonious’ < лад ‘harmony, concord’ (REW II, 4-5).

c. *ladna* ‘alright’ is borrowed from colloquial Russian adverb ладно ‘all right’; *ladna* ‘affable’ is borrowed from the adjective. In EŌŚ *ladna* ‘comfortable, smooth, obliging’ is indeclinable, pointing to the adverb as source.

187 From which it has also been borrowed into North Finnic; see KALIMA 1952, 115; SSA II, 57b: *lavitsa.*


c. A loan from either Russian or German (thus VSL 2000, 567, though Vääri et al. usually mention the ultimate source only) is possible: seen its military meaning perhaps Russian origin more likely. In Russian it is first recorded in 1707 (Šanski j 1999 II/9, 40).

d. -

a. *lahits* ‘ermine, marten, stoat; ermine, marten or stoat hide (Putorius ermineus)’ (EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. лабица ‘weasel’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 16).

c. Est. *lahits* ‘weasel, ermine’ is a South Estonian word, according to VMS its distribution is strictly limited to the south-easternmost dialects (Krl Plv Räp Se Lei), whereas newer variants with -s- (*lasits*) or -sn- (*lasnits*), where the South Estonian sound change s > h has not taken place, are found further west in the South Estonian dialect area (*lasits* Võn Kan Krl Har Rõu Plv Vas Se Lei Lut; *lasnits* Ran Nõo TMr Kam Ote Rõn San Urv Krl Rõu Vas), where their meaning have also widened to ‘animal’. Hinderling 1979 has only three words in -nits, all loans from either German or Russian: *ranits* ‘knapsack’, *karnits* ‘old Russian dry measure of capacity’, *värnits* ‘varnish’, but in South Estonian many more are found (*kostinis* ‘Geschenk; Gastgeschenk’; *koonits* ‘shelter’, *peenits* ‘weaver’s temple’, *polonis* ‘weir’, *puugnits* ‘leather button’, *pägünits* ‘hoof’, *rannits* ‘knapsack’, *seenits* ‘hall’, *siðninits* ‘seed plant’, *tosinis* ‘dozen’, *tubinis* ‘leather glove’; Wiedemann 1869; 1893; Juvä 2002), most of them also loanwords from Russian. In none of these is -nits an actual suffix, but they constitute enough comparative material for *lasnits* to be easily explained as a dissimilatory form.

EstS *lasits* is already recorded by Gutslaff in 1648: *hermelchen* ‘Lassitz’; *lahits* first in Wiedemann 1869, and *lasnits* first in Wiedemann 1893.

Mägiste (1928, 21; EEW) assumes the sound change s > h was occasioned by the following -ts, cf. Est. *lusikas* ‘spoon’ ~ EstS *lubits* ‘id.’ and the Setu name *rohiõza kõlõ* for the Russian village Рожище (Mägiste 1935a, 143). Why *lahits*, the least common form in the dialects, and from the very south-east, made it to the literary language is not known.

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188 Dialectally the sound change s > h occasionally occurs elsewhere too in Estonian (Tauli 1956, 40), where there is no following ts.
The Old Russian form _lastъka_ ‘Mustela nivalis’ has been borrowed into Baltic German; _lasten, last(e)ken_ is recorded in Riga already in 1286 (KIPARSKY 1936, 165).


a. _laïka I_ (dog breed:) middle-sized dog with pricked-up ears and a curled tail’ (ŐS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. ла́йка ‘Eskimo dog’ < ла́ять ‘to bark’ (REW II, 8).

c. -

d. EEW IV, 1215.


b. Russ. ла́йка ‘kid-skin’ < ла́йковый ‘kid-skin’-. Not from ла́йка ‘Eskimo dog’ (REW II, 8), even though PAWLOWSKY (1879) translates Russ. ла́йка as ‘weissgegerbtes Hundefell, die Kapaune, das Handschuheleder’. More likely from Pol. _lojka_ ‘type of skin, treated with tallow’ from _loj_ ‘to coat with tallow’. This was borrowed as _лойка_ in Russian, the _-a-_ in the first syllable of Russ. ла́йка is then due to influence from Russ. ла́йка ‘Eskimo dog’ (ŠANSKIJ 1999 II/9, 16).

c. -

d. EEW IV, 1215.


c. Est. _lamavoi_ ‘cabman’ is from Russ. ломовóй извóзчик ‘drayman, carter’.

d. RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW IV, 1223; MUST 2000, 168-169.

a. _lapšaa_ ‘ribbon noodle’ (ŐS 1960; 1976; EKSS).

b. Russ. лапшá ‘noodle; noodle soup’ < Turkic; cf. Tat. Uygh. _lakča_ ‘id., kleine Teigstücke in Brühe gekocht’ Chuv. _läškä_ ‘id.’ (REW II, 15). Russ. лапшá ‘noodle’ is a loan from Tatar or Uyghur; according to BERNEKER (1908-1913, 691) from a northern Turkic language, but cannot have been borrowed from Chuvash. The Turkic source is unknown: EWUng (II, 874b) suggests Persian _lahša_ ‘Art Brei’, probably identical to Pers. _lakhsha_ ‘a live coal; a spark of

189 SİPOVA (1976) does not mention the word.
fire; a kind of frumenty: fallen down in a slippery place’ (STEINGASS 1996, 1119b-11120a), though of course Old Turkic laq̂ŝa ‘пшеничная мука; лапша’ (NADELMAYEV 1969, 332b, 333a), probably a loan from Old Chinese, may be the source of the Persian word.

c. ERLÉT, in her list of neologisms (1983, 64; 1989, 77), suggests replacing the ‘undesirable’ lapšaa with the more Estonian lintnudlid ‘ribbon noodles’ (a compound consisting of two loanwords, albeit assimilated to a greater degree).

d. EEW IV, 1235.

a. laptuu ‘a ball game played with bat between two teams’ (VÖS 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Est. laptuuk was borrowed from the accusative form лаптый; cf. играть в лаптый ‘to play laptu’ (MUST 2000, 169), one of the few cases where a non-nominative form functioned as a source.

d. RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; EEW IV, 1235; MUST 2000, 169.

a. lavats ‘plank bed, bunk’ (HUPEL 1818; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. dial. лавица ‘bench’ < лава ‘bench; plank; bridge’ (KALIMA 1952, 115; REW II, 2-3; SRNG 16, 220b).

c. Russ. лавица has also been borrowed into northern Finnic (cf. KALIMA 1952, 115; SSA II, 57b: lavista). Est. lavats probably obtained its -a- in the second syllable through contamination with Est. lava ‘(wooden) platform’, which though previously thought to be of Russian origin (cf. MIKKOLA 1894, 134; KALIMA 1952, 114), is most likely a loan from Baltic (cf. SSA II, 56b-57a). A further contamination with lamama ‘to lie; to lol’ resulted in lavats ‘plank bed’. WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893) registered a dialect (SO) lavats (SO) ‘Pritsche, Schlafstelle auf niedrigen Posten’.

Dialectally, mostly in southern Estonia, we find an uncontaminated laavits ‘frame-like structure for enlarging the bottom of a sledge’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EKMS III, 546, 1006; VMS II, 417b); an older loan is laits ‘Brett, Gestell an der Wand, Regal’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; VMS II, 400b), where an intervocalic v has been elided before i (cf. TAULI 1956, 59). This sound change is especially common in western dialects of North Estonian (KASK 1970, 105), though according to VMS (II, 400b) laits ~ laets is found only in Kuu Hlj HJn KuuK Kad HljK and Rak, i.e. the northern part of the central dialect of North Estonian. This loss of v occurs in relatively late loans too (MUST - UNIVERE 2002, 81-82).
d. AHLOVIST 1875, 133; MIKKOLA 1894, 51; KALIMA 1952, 65, 115; 1956, 53, 88; RAUN 1982; EEW IV, 1254-1255.

a. **lavra** ‘large orthodox cloister’ (EKSS).
b. Russ. лавра ‘monastery (of highest rank)’ < Gr. λαύρα (REW II, 3).
c. 
d. MUST 2000, 170.

da. **lavsaan** ‘very durable wool-like synthetic fibre or cloth made from it’ (ÕS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. лавсан ‘lavsan (*Terylene-like synthetic fibre*)’ < acronym of лаборатория высокомолекулярных соединений Академии наук СССР (ŠANSKIJ 1999 II/9, 10).  
c. First used in 1963, according to AHVEN (1967, 708).
d. 

da. **leetopiss** (Old) Russian chronicle’ (ÕS 1960; 1976; EKSS).
b. Russ. летопись ‘chronicle, annals’. Probably a back-formation of ORuss. летописец ‘chronicler’, consisting of ле́то ‘time; summer; year’ + писец ‘scribe’, a calque of Gr. χρονογράφος, after the model of words like скоропись ‘cursive (hand)’ and рукопись ‘manuscript’ (ŠANSKIJ 1999 II/9, 87).  
c. A learned loan, which refers only to Old Russian chronicles.  
d. 

da. **leid** (pl.) ‘part of a horse harness, consisting of side and transverse straps attached to the collar’) (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÕS; EÕS; VÕS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS ~ kleid (pl.) ‘id.’ (EÕS; SÕS) ~ shlei, shleid (pl.) ‘Schleien (am Pferdenspann)’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).
c. The consonant combination *kl* in Est. klei (and dialect plei) is the result of hypercorrection (MUST 2000, 172). WIEDEMANN’s shlei, shleid, though it could come from Russian, may have been loaned via German, as in fact *leid* itself may have been. MUST (2000, 72) thinks the German word may have contributed to the spread of the Estonian word.
Occurs in the singular lei in EKÖS.

BG Schleien ~ Schleika ‘Hintergeschirr, Umlaufriemen am Pferdegeschirr’ are loans from Russ. шлей and шлёйка, recorded first in 1804 (KIPARSKY 1936, 181).

d. RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; EEW IV, 1271; MUST 2000, 172.

a. lekaal ‘tool to draw curves with’ (EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).


c. -

d. -


b. Russ. лези́нка (Caucasian dance) < лези́нка ‘female Lezgian’, after typical names of dances like карабдйнка ‘Kabardian dance’ and венгёрка ‘Hungarian dance’ (ШАНСКИЙ 1999 II/9, 58).

c. The ethnonym lessiin ‘Lezgian’ (< Russ. лези́н ‘id.’) is first found in the 1925 EÖS.

d. -

a. lesima ‘to lie, to loll’ (MÜLLER 1600; STAHL 1637, 87; GÖSEKEN 1660, 281; THOR HELLÉ 1732, 127; VESTRING 1740, 105b; HuPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. лежа́ть ‘(in var. senses) to lie, to be (situated)’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 26).

c. ARISTE (1981, 90) argues that there are in fact two loans: ласима, which occurs concurrently with lesima up until WIEDEMANN 1869, is an earlier loan from Russ. лежа́ть and has the meaning ‘to lie; to be ill’, whilst lesima, with the meaning ‘to lie’ only, is a later loan.

If we compare the eight earliest recordings we find that whilst MÜLLER has both forms with both meanings (though ‘to lie’ dominates); STAHL does not use á at all and thus has only lesima ‘to lie’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author:</th>
<th>Vowel:</th>
<th>Meaning:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MÜLLER 1600</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>to lie; to be ill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAHL 1637</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>to lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GÖSEKEN 1660</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>to lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Feature</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>THOR HELLE 1732</td>
<td>å</td>
<td>to be ill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VESTRING 1740</td>
<td>å</td>
<td>to lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUPEL 1780</td>
<td>å</td>
<td>to lie; to be ill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUPEL 1818</td>
<td>å</td>
<td>to lie; to be ill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIEDEMANN 1869</td>
<td>å, e</td>
<td>to lie; to be ill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(After WIEDEMANN 1869/1893 only lesima ‘to lie’ occurs).

In the older works there is no regularity in spelling [ε] as either e or æ/ä; MÜLLER used both spellings for both meanings indiscriminately (...Maria rüppes on le'binut... ‘laid in Mary’s lap’; ...needsamat ke Maa siddes læbâwat nîck magkawat... ‘those that lie and sleep in the earth’; ...eike kuria tobbe all haike leBîme...‘and not lie ill under an evil illness’; REIMAN 1891, 29, 135, 232). No author differentiates between lesima and lásima or its meanings. The meaning ‘to be ill’ is already attested for Russian лежать in 1056 (cf. SRNEZNEVSKI 1895, 15). Undoubtedly lesima/lásima was borrowed from Russian already with the meaning ‘to be ill’: ‘Certain notions seem to attract a multitude of designations...In such semantic fields as ‘talking’, ‘beating’, ‘sleeping’, ‘tallness’, or ‘ugliness’ there is in many languages a CONSTANT NEED FOR SYNONYMS (small caps in original; RB), an onomastic low-pressure area, as it were (JAKUBINSKI 1926, quoted in WEINREICH 1974, 58). Whether it was reborrowed as lesima ‘to lie’, as ARISTE believes, is unlikely if one peruses the table above (unless ARISTE thinks it was loaned again after WIEDEMANN 1869, but this is also unlikely).

AHRENS (1853, 244) derives lásima from Fi. läsi ‘Fieber’, but this is a loan from Swedish (cf. SSA II, 127b).

A newer loan is Est. dial. lesatama ‘to lie, to rest; to throw oneself down lazily’ (MUST 2000, 173-174).

A. AHRENS 1853, 244; MIKKOLA 1894, 135; KALMA 1952, 34, 121; 1956, 27, 93; MÄGISTE 1962, 17, 28; ARISTE 1981, 90; RAUN 1982; EEW IV, 1285; MUST 2000, 173-174.

a. lest ‘mite’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).
b. Russ. клеш ‘(zool.) tick’ < клестить ‘klemmen, drücken’ (REW I, 569).
c. WIEDEMANN (1893) has one lexeme lest with four meanings: ‘Flaches, Plattes; spec. Schwimmhaut, Balg, Schote, Hülse (von Früchten, ohne die Kerne); Steinbutte; Milbe’. The fourth meaning, Milbe ‘mite’, is only homonymous with Est. lest ‘flat fish, flat object’, and is most likely borrowed from Russian; cf. Russ. клеш ‘(zool.) tick’, with simplification of the consonant clusters. Est. lest ‘flat fish, flat object’ does not yet have a satisfactory etymology.
a. **lett** 'counter' (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. **RAUN - SAARESTE** (1965, 49) claim **lett** is a Russian loan, but regrettably they do not mention a possible Russian source. By 1982, when his etymological dictionary appeared, **RAUN** had changed his mind: **lett** is of ‘unclear’ origin. In SAAGPAKK’s (1982) monumental Estonian-English dictionary **lett** ‘counter’ is also noted as a loan from Russian, probably after **RAUN - SAARESTE**. A semantic shift from ‘storeroom’ to ‘counter’ is perhaps not too far-fetched, but nowhere in Russian or Estonian do we find a trace of such a shift. Russ. клеть has also been borrowed into Baltic German (cf. BG **Klete** ‘Scheune, Speicher’) already some time in the 13th century (cf. KIPARSKY 1936, 160). HUPEL (1795, 115) is worth quoting in full, as perhaps the solution lies in his definition: **Kleete, die (vermutlich aus dem Lett.) d.i. Vorrathshaus, Speicher, Magazin, z.B. Kornkleete st. Kornkammer, Kornspeicher; Mehkleete st. Mehlmagazin; Handkleete st. Vorrathskammer in welcher allerley Bedürfnisse, Hülsenfrüchte u.dg. aufbewahrt werden; Leihkleete d.i. Magazin aus welchem die Gebietsbauern ihren Vorschuss bekommen, u.d.g.m. (Einige leiten dies Wort aus dem Russ. her, bald von Klet oder Kljet die Wohnung, Hütte, bald von Kletki die Honigzellen). Farmers could thus obtain necessary advances, and thus there must have been a counter at the **Leihkleete**. However, it is unlikely that Est. **lett** can be derived from BG **Klete**, as we would expect *klet > *leet in Estonian (cf. HINDERLING 1981, 127). We must assume that Russ. клеть was used similarly, and that the Estonian word is borrowed from the Russian.


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a. **liik** ‘group of objects, beings, phenomena or concepts, which belong together due to their features; species’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. лик (‘eccl. arch.) assembly’; (DAI II, 252a): лик ‘лицо, облик, обличие; выражение лица, физиономия; поличье, портрет, изображение, образ; собор святых, ангелов, безплотных духов; собранье поющих в церкви, хорь, клирось, крылось; хороводь,
круговая медленная пляска съ песнями, танокъ, улица; действие ликуяшаго, ликованье’. DAL’ subsumes two homonyms under one word article: лиц ‘face’ is Common Slavic, whilst лиц ‘assembly, choir’ is a loan from Goth. liaiks ‘dance’ (REW II, 40-41).

c. WESKE (1890, 214) first derived Est. liik ‘kind, sort, variety, class’ from Russ. лиц ‘number’, which VASMER (REW II, 41) ultimately derives from лиц ‘face’ by way of a verb *ličiti ‘to make visible’. Est. liik can often be translated with Russ. лиц ог числа ‘number’: cf. Est. ta pole nende liigist, kes… ‘он не из числа тех, кто…” (EVS II, 915b); Russ. в один лиц ‘об очень похожих друг на друга людях, на одно лицо’ (SRNG 17, 45b) can be translated into Estonian as ‘nad on ühte liiki’.

RAUN (1982) suggests that Est. liik is a loan from MLG lik(e) ‘equal, equality’. Est. liik does have this meaning sometimes (see above), but Russian origin is more likely, where Russ. лиц ‘assembly’ (cf. WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893: ли́к ‘Genossenschaft, Abtheilung, Classe, Kategorie, Generation, Trupp’) was probably borrowed and лиц ‘number’ may have influenced Est. liik later.

Cf. also puuslik.

d. WESKE 1890, 214; RAUN 1982.

a. liisk ‘an agreed action to decide something in somebody’s favour or disadvantage, lot’ (HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. MÄGISTE (1962, 33-34) suggests that Est. liisk is a loan from Russ. листок or лы́стик, probably of a genitive form листка, where the consonant cluster -stk- was simplified to -sk. MÄGISTE is thus forced to assume that Russ. листок ‘leaf, sheet’ also had the meaning ‘lot sheet’ (its basic meaning in Estonian), which, as he himself admits, is not found in any Russian source. With EstS liist in the expression liiste ala minemä ‘das Loos ziehen (bei der Rekrutering)” (WIEDEMANN 1893) MÄGISTE seeks support for his idea, as he derives this EstS liist, a synonym for Est. liisk, from Russ. pl. листы190, with possible contamination from Est. liist ‘Leiste’ (< MLG liistе ‘id.’). DAL’ (II, 254b) may in fact give us the solution when he writes: (на юге и на запад.) всякое письмо и деловую бумагу зовуть листомъ. If листок is

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190 Not mentioned by MUST 2000.
purely a common diminutive of лист then it can also have meant ‘lot’ if it had the general meaning in Western Russia of ‘official paper’.

In South Estonian lõisk is already recorded some 130 years before HUPEL (GUTSLAFF 1648, 225: Loss ‘Lisk/a’. Est. lõisk has also been borrowed into Latvian: liškas ‘Zauberstäbchen, acht an der Zahl, die geworfen ein Wahrsagemittel abgeben’ (ME II, 491a, where ENDZELIN already noted its Estonian origin).

Also recorded in the 1820s in MASIe’s Marahwa Näädala-Leht (KINGISEPP 1972, 93).

d. MÄGISTE 1962, 33-34; ARISTE 1981, 95; EEW IV, 1306.

a. lina ‘linen’ (STAHLL 1637, 85; GÖSEKEN 1660, 189; THORHÄLLE 1732, 131; VESTRING 1740, 117a; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. ORuss. лён ‘linen’ (> Russ. лён, g. льна) < Common Slavic (REW II, 30).

c. AHRENS (1853, 246) vaguely compares southern Finnic lina to Fi. liina, LG liin, Sw. lin and Russ. лён, as does AHLHOVIST (1875, 44). THOMSEN (1890, 196) was then the first to suggest Slavic origin (cf. ORuss. лён ‘linen’) for Est. Vot. lina ‘linen’, Liv. līna ‘id.’, though he preferred Baltic origin; cf. Lith. līna ‘Lein, Flachs’ and Latv. linī ‘id.’. From MIKKOLA (1894, 136) to KALIMA (1952, 115-116) both Slavic and Baltic origin are thought to be possible, with Slavic being seen as the more likely source. Confusingly, MÄGISTE claims (1962, 18) that as KALIMA does not treat Finnic lina in his 1936 monograph on the Baltic loans in Finnic he must have rejected the Baltic etymology suggested by MIKKOLA in 1894, but as we have seen above KALIMA in 1952 keeps his options open and notes the possible Baltic etymology too. In any case MÄGISTE in EEW no longer mentions any possible Baltic origin, only slily including a reference to THOMSEN 1890. There is in fact not much which would force us to choose or dismiss one or the other. According to the newest figures approximately 90% of all Baltic loanwords in Finnic are also found in Finnish, so perhaps līna’s relatively compact spread, being restricted to southern Finnic, may point to Slavic being a more likely source, but this is in no way a decisive argument.

Est. linuk ~ linukas ‘women’s cap with long streamers’ (EKSS) may be a derivation of lina, though it can also be a loan from North Germanic lündük ‘linen cloth’.

Fi. dial. lina, linaset ‘linen’ are loans from Estonian according to OJANUSU (1916, 158).

In 1828 HEINRICH VON JANNAU (cf. WINKLER 1994, 83), in his attempt to show that the Livonians are the aborigines of Livonia and Ur-Estonians, and that Livonian is therefore the key to understanding all aspects of Estonian, claims that Russ. лён is a loan from Estonian
(Rücksichtlich der Wörter linnad und kanepid muss ich bemerken, dass man sie aus dem Russischen hat ableiten wollen, welches indess historisch eine Unrichtigkeit zu enthalten scheint. Die Ehsten hatten viele Jahrhunderte eher als die Russen Ackerbau und Schiffahrt, zu der auch Flachs und Hanf nöthig war – es ist das Wort vom Ehstnischen ins Russische gekommen.). As his comment implies a Russian etymology for Est. lina had already been proposed before 1828. It is not known by whom.

d. AHRENS 1853, 246; AHLQVIST 1875, 44; THOMSEN 1890, 196; MIKKOLA 1894, 136; KALIMA 1952, 4, 115-116; 1956, 3, 88; MÄGISTE 1962, 17-18; RAUN 1982; EEW IV, 1315-1316, 1320.

a. lisna ‘redundant, superfluous’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; ÖS 1976, 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. лийший ‘superfluous; unnecessary; unwanted’ < лихой ‘evil’ (REW II, 48,49).
c. Occurs dialectally already in HUPEL 1780 (p. 531: лийна ‘zuviel (im Pölfschen)’); not recommended by EÖS.

WIEDEMANN (1875, 295) assumes lisna ‘darüber, überzählig’ is an abbreviated essive form of lisa’ Zusatz, Ansatz, Ergänzung, Amendement’, but this is incorrect.
d. WIEDEMANN 1875, 295; RAUN-SAARESTE 1965, 49; EEW IV, 1328; MUST 2000, 176-177.

a. listima ‘to eat slowly and pickily, without appetite’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).
b. Russ. dial. листь ‘очищать от кукры картофель, яблоки’ < лист ‘leaf’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 45).
c. WIEDEMANN’s entry and cognate Finnic verbs are here the key: WIEDEMANN translates listima as ‘abblättern, entblättern; das Mehlige aus den Körnern fressen (wie Mäuse, so dass die Hülsen nachbleiben), hobune listib kaera das Pferd hat keinen Appetit zum Fressen des Hafers’. LÖNNROT (1874, 949a) derives Fi. listiä ‘skära bort balster och rötter af kål och roffor; afskära rotblad’ from Russ. лист, an etymology already suggested by MECHELIN in 1842 (cf. SSA II, 82b). Veps. dial. lešita ‘to top’ is a contamination of Russ. лист ‘leaf’ (> Veps. liši) and Veps. lčhtez ‘leaf’ or some other leht element (TUNKELO 1946, 564-565). According to SSA (II, 82b), however, Fi. listiä ‘Räben abblättern’ and its cognates are descriptive and compared to Fi. liiste ‘Latte, Leiste’. LÄGLW (II, 206), however, rightly challenges this, and shows that Fi. liiste is a relatively young loanword from Germanic (cf. MLG liste ‘Leiste, Rand; Borte’). SSA admits that Russ. лист may have influenced Fi. listiä and its Finnic cognates to some degree. The Germanic etymology for listiä ‘to top’ suggested by KATZ (1990, 41) is rejected by LÄGLW (II, 213) and it also assumes that listiäl listima is
derivation from Russ. лист, as does TERENTEV (1990, 31). It is in fact much simpler to derive it from Russ. dial. листить ‘to peel potatoes or apples’, registered in Jaroslavl by SRNG (17, 66a). However, there is no proof that this verb is known closer to the Finnic area.

Est. dial. (Khh Mar Mër Nis JMd Koc VMr Kad VJg lsl) list ~ liste ‘husk, hull, shell’ (VMS I, 445b) may be the only trace of a loan of the Russian noun лист, if this was then ever borrowed (though it could also be a derivation of listima).

d. EEW IV, 1329; LÄGLW II, 206; SSA II, 82b.

a. liud ‘dish or large bowl, used for placing food on the table’ (GÖSEKEN 1660, 306; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. ORuss. bluuds ‘Schüssel’ < Got. biaps ‘Tisch’ (KIPARSKY 1934, 193; REW I, 95).
c. Basically a South Estonian word. Its earliest source in literary North Estonian is GÖSEKEN (Naph/(Schüssel) liuwdwahgkr, 1660, 306), but SAARESTE (1924, 244) thinks GÖSEKEN must have copied this typically South Estonian word from GUTSLAFF (napft Liuwd’a, 1648, 228); it does not occur in North Estonian again until the 1918 EKÖS. Its oldest attestation in South Estonian is probably ROSSHNUS’ (1632, 192) lüwa; in addition to GUTSLAFF it is found in HUPEL (1780; 1818) and WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893). In South Estonia it is also found as a toponym in Röuge (KETTUNEN 1955, 5).

The Russian etymology was first suggested by THOMSEN (1890, 83). SAARESTE (1924, 244) suggests that a newer loan from Latv. bljōda (: blūōda) ‘Schüssel’ (< ORuss. bluuds ‘Schüssel’; ME I, 321a; LEV I, 138) is also possible, with which POSTI (1942, 38) concurs, but some ten years later POSTI (1953, 12) no longer considers the Latvian etymology possible, and no more mention of it is found (cf. e.g. VABA 1977, 1997).

A later loan from Russian in Est. Vaivara is plüüda ‘larger oblong bowl’ (MUST 2000, 270).


a. lobudik ‘large, ugly, dilapidated building; (also furniture, vehicles) ’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. слобода < diminutive of слобода ‘(hist.) sloboda (settlement exempted from normal State obligations); (obs.) suburb’, a dissimilatory form of свобода ‘freedom’ (REW II, 662).
c. In the dialects there are many variants (cf. MUST 2000, 177-178); *loobod* “Slobode”, von Russen bewohnte Vorstadt’ is recorded in WIEDEMANN 1893; *lobu* is recorded in EÖZ. Est. *sloboda* ‘sloboda’ as a technical term is a later loan.

d. MÅGISTE 1953, 34; RAUN 1982; EEW IV, 1335, 1355; SSA II, 92b-93a; MUST 2000, 177-178.

a. *lodi* ‘towable or self-propelled deckless (wooden) barge used for transporting goods on inland waters; short, wide-bodied boat with closed deck used on Lake Peipsi and the Emajögi’ (GÖSEKEN 1660, 145, 251; VESTRING 1740, 118a, 144a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Probably borrowed as *lotja*, which later regularly became *loti > lodi*. Also found in Finnish (*lotja* ‘barge’), Karelian (*loďđa, lodja* ‘id.’), Veps (*lodj* ‘id.’), Votic (*lodđ* ‘id.’) and Livonian (*lodđa, lodi* ‘id.’) < Est. *lodi* (KALIMA 1952, 116-117; SSA II, 95b). Despite its relatively wide spread the -o- points to a later loan, as in older loans Russ. -o- is substituted in Finnic with -a- (KALIMA 1952, 30-34). MIKKOLA (1938, 66) and KALIMA (1952, 117) wonder whether the metathesis (which already took place in Common Slavic; cf. Pol. *lódź* ‘boat’, Slov. *ladja* ‘id.’, Ukr. *лодь* ‘id.’; only in OCS [Codex Suprasliensis and Zographensis] *alsdii*, REW II, 52; CEJTLIN 1994, 68b) in the Russian word can explain the unusual vowel correspondence. MIKKOLA and KALIMA also cite Sw. *lydhia, lydughia* ‘barge’ (registered in 1496 and 1495) as additional proof that the Russ. *o* was a high vowel, as it was substituted with Sw. *u* (written as *j*). HELLOQUIST (1993, 585a), however, derives Sw. *lodja* ‘barge’ from MLG *lodie* ‘id.’, thus the Swedish word cannot be used to evaluate the quality of the Russian vowel.

Norw. *lorja* (: *lorje*) ‘flat-bottomed barge’ is borrowed from Fi. dial. *lorja* ‘id.’ < Fi. *lotja* (MIKKOLA 1938, 66).

Baltic German *Lodge*, older *lod(j)ic, lod(j)ige* are borrowed from ORuss. *lodaja* (HUPEL 1795, 144; KIPARSKY 1936, 165).

d. AHRENS 1853, 246; AHLQVIST 1875, 168; MIKKOLA 1894, 136-137; 1938, 66; KALIMA 1952, 4, 116-117; 1956, 3, 89; MÅGISTE 1962, 18, 28, 58; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW IV, 1336; KOPONEN 1998, 120b; MUST 2000, 178.

a. *lohvka* ‘easy’ (EKSS).

b. Russ. лó́вко (adverb of) < лó́вкий ‘adroit, dexterous, deft; cunning, smart; (coll.) comfortable’ < лóв ‘Fang, Beute’ (REW II, 51).
c. Russ. в before a consonant is devoiced to [f]; substitution with -hv- is one of six possibilities (MUST 2000, 179).

d. MUST 1956, 131; MUST 2000, 179.

a. looberdama ~ looderdama ‘to shuffle, to plod; to stroll, to saunter’ (EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) ~ looder ‘loafer, idler, sluggard’ (VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. лодырь ~ ло́дарь ‘loafer, idler’ < MLG lodder, loder (REW II, 52).

c. RAUN - SAARESTE (1965, 48) assume German origin, RAUN (1982) compares both MLG lodder and Russ. ло́дарь. MÄGISTE (EEW IV, 1356) makes no mention of possible (Low) German origin and derives looder from Russian. KOPONEN (1998, 112b) additionally compares loperdama (luperdama) ‘schlottern, zappeln, pfuschen, trügen und unordentlich arbeiten’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893), and says the origin of all words in unsure. However, it seems relatively obvious that looberdama is simply a variant of looderdama (cf. e.g. urdne ~ urdne ‘voll Blüthenkätzchen; locker’, malper ~ malder ‘spitziges Eisen zum Tausplitzen’; WIEDEMANN 1875, 110), and it must be a loan from either BG loddern ‘faulenzen’ (HUPEL 1795, 144) or from Russ. лодарить ‘herumlottern, -lungern, liederlich sein, pop. ludern’ (PAWLOWSKY 1879, 434b).

MUST (2000, 1801-81), carefully noting all dialect variants, comes to the conclusion that it is a loan from Russian (obvious for such dialect forms as e.g. Nõo Võn Kam Räp loodörik), though there may have been influence from the German words.


a. loobod. Cf. slobodaa.


c. Probably borrowed twice: once before 1893 (> WIEDEMANN), and then again in the 1940s after the Russian occupation (> VÖS 1953). ERELT, in her lists of neologisms (1983, 64; 1989, 77), suggests replacing the ‘undesirable’ loodotška with the more Estonian libik.

d. MUST 1956, 129; EEW IV, 1357; MUST 2000, 178, 180.
a. **loog.** Cf. 8.1.

a. **look** ‘piece of wood bent into a U-shape, to which the thills are fastened with help of the collar straps when harnessing a horse; shaped like a shaftbow’ (GöSEKEN 1660, 508; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 122b; HUPel 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. ORuss. *loka* ‘bend’ (> Russ. лукá ‘bend (of river, road, etc.); pommel (of saddle)’) < Common-Slavic *loka* (REW II, 68).

c. SJÖGREN (1852, 107-108) assumed Est. *look* ‘horse bow’ was a loan from Swedish, whilst Est. *look* ‘curve’ was unrelated and was a loan from Russian. AHLOVIST (1875, 241) assumed that there was only one *look*, with both meanings ‘horse bow’ and ‘curve’, and that this was of Slavic origin. Problematic then became the realization that Russ. лукá ‘bend’ and лук ‘bow’ never had the specific meaning of ‘horse bow’. MIKKOLA (1894, 107-108) thus suggested that Est. *look* may have been a loan from Latv. *luoks* ‘krummholz, etwas gebogenes überhaupt’, which was then borrowed from Estonian into Finnish. In the second edition of his work MIKKOLA (1938, 86-88) denies any possibility of the Finnic words being borrowed from Russian.

Later, however, it was shown that the meaning ‘horse bow’ in Finnic was probably a local development, and that there is no reason to doubt the Russian origin (cf. KALIMA 1952, 117-119).

d. SJÖGREN 1852, 107-108 (cf. SSA II, 106b); AHLOVIST 1875, 128, 241; WESKE 1890, 248; MIKKOLA 1890, 137-138; 1938, 86-88; KALIMA 1952, 58, 117-119; 1956, 45, 89-91; RAUN 1982; EEW IV, 1358-1359; VABA 1997, 27.

a. **loos — loosik** ‘kleine, von höherem Lande umgebene Wiese’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; SALEM 1890, 181b; EÖS).


c. The Russian etymology is not suggested for Est. *loos* until 1958, when it is mentioned in SKES (II, 312). Curiously, the Estonian WESKE (1890, 249) fails to mention it when he notes the Russian origin of Fi. *luosa* ‘puddle’ (which LÖNNROT 1874/I, 985 already recognized). Cognates of the Estonian word occur in Finnish (*luosa*) and Karelian (*luošo*); the source is thus most likely an ORuss. *loža*, and the Finnic word is therefore relatively old, being borrowed as *lõsa* (cf. 5.1.2.2.5).
MÄGISTE (EEW V, 1363-1364) mentions the Russian etymology, but thinks it could also be of descriptive origin. Est. *loops* ‘narrow swampy hollow’ (EKSS), dialectally already *loops* (I), *loopsik* ‘schmale nasse Niederung (zwischen erhöhten Rändern)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893) may be of the same origin, where according to MÄGISTE (EEW V, 1364) *-ps* in place of *-s* is due to contamination with an unknown stem or its descriptive nature. Est. dial. *luusna ~ luutsnik* ‘river loop, swampy hollow’ are younger loans from лужа ~ лужник ‘puddle’ (MUST 2000, 185-186).

Recorded in the toponym *Loosike* near Kodavere (PALL 1970, 156).


a. *lootsik* ‘flat-bottomed rowing boat made from wooden planks’ (STAHU 1637, 76; GöSEKEN 1660, 144, 251; VESTRING 1740, 122b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. лодочка ‘small boat’ < лодка ‘boat’ (REW II, 52).

c. BRÖMSEN (1814, 144) assumed Est. *lootsik* and Est. *lodi* were both loans from Russ. лодка, but the source is лодочка ‘small boat’, where it has been adapted to diminutives in *-ik* (EEW V, 1366). In South Estonian it is recorded already by GUTSLAFF (1648, 208) as *Lözick*.

AHLOVIST (1875, 171) makes an unsuccessful attempt to derive *lootsik* from Latv. plosts ‘Fähre’.

Cf. *lodi* and *loodotška*.

d. BRÖMSEN 1814, 144; AHRENS 1843, 120; AHLOVIST 1875, 171; ARISTE 1958, 27, 30; MÄGISTE 1962, 8, 35, 47, 62; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; ARISTE 1981, 91; RAUN 1982; EEW V, 1366; MUST 2000, 181.

a. *lusikas* ‘spoon’ (MÜLLER 1600; STAHU 1637, 87; GöSEKEN 1660, 281, 337, 343, 352; THOR HELLE 1732, 135; VESTRING 1740, 126a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Borrowed from Old Russian *hžška* into Finnic as *lusikka*; in Estonian then adapted to words in *-kas*. An important word, as both the Old Russian reduced vowels occur in it (*ž* substituted by *-u* and *š* by *-f*); cf. KALIMA 1952, 120.

EstS *luits* ‘spoon’ (HUPEL 1780; 1818; also found in EÖS as such and in the birdname *luitsnokk* ‘spoonbill *(Anas clypeata)*’ in EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS), *luhits, lohits* is not a
derivation from *lusits*; Russian слу́жит ‘to serve’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 664-665).

c. Recorded dialectally as *lusima* (pt) ‘spazieren, müßig umhergehen, schlendern, zaudern’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

The word also occurs in Finnish as *lusia* = *luusia* ‘to serve; to be in jail’ (SSA II, 113a).

According to PLOGER (1973, 94-95), RYTKÖNEN (KV 14, 194) claimed it also occurred in Värmland192 Finnish, but PLOGER could find no traces of it in the Finnish dialect archives. Its first occurrence in Finnish is therefore still 1867. In Estonian, however, it is already recorded by THOR HELLE in 1732.

HUPEL (1818, 131a) derives *lusima* (= *luusima*) ‘zaudern, lausen’ from German.

d. HUPEL 1818, 131a; EEW V, 1400.

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191 Words for ‘spoon’ based on *luu* ‘bone’, however, do exist: cf. *suuluu* ‘spoon’; *suulutama* ‘im Munde führen’ (WIEDEMANN 1893) is a derivation of *suu*.

192 Many Finns moved from the province Savo in Finland to Värmland in central Sweden (and also to Norway) from the 1580s onwards. Their language, which had undergone almost no influence from literary Finnish and is therefore extremely interesting and important in many aspects, died out in the 1960s.
c. It is generally accepted that Fi. leima ‘stamp’ is a loan from Russ. клеймō (cf. SSA II, 60a); MÄGISTE (1962, 35-36) suggests that Est. lõiv is also borrowed from the same Russian source. The auslaut -v is not problematic, as a change v ~ m is not uncommon in Finnic (cf. WIEDEMANN 1875, 108, Tauli 1956, 177-180 and MÄGISTE 1962, 36 for examples). GÖSEKEN (1660) records lõiv twice: as Schatz/(Zinse census) Leuw (351) and as Steuer/[exaction] Leuw/wacko Rahha (396). MÄGISTE (1962, 35) assumes that Zettel/[trama Eintrag] Leum (483) is etymologically identical to the previous two: if this were true then it would form a link between the -v-forms and the Russian m-form (where Leum would be the only extant m-form in Estonian), and act as the missing element in the development ‘Stempel, Gepräge’ > ‘gestempelter Zettel, Steuerzettel’ > ‘Steuer’ that MÄGISTE postulates to support the Russian etymology. However, it seems that GÖSEKEN’s Zettel/[trama Eintrag] Leum (483) is not etymologically identical to lõiv: G. Zettel here is not ‘note, piece of paper’, but Weberzettel ‘der Aufzug, die Kette, stamen, trama; schema für das weben, nach dem das heben und senken der schäfte geregelt wird’ (DWB 27, 2673), to which the textile term trama Eintrag ‘woof, welf’ in GÖSEKEN already points. GÖSEKEN’s Leum is thus probably identical to lõim ‘warp’ (of genuine Finnic origin; cf. SSA II, 87b), commonly written as loim in Old Estonian, where it corresponds to G. Eintrag in Bible passages: Ehk loime külges ehk koe külges, linnasest ehk witsest lõngest, ehk nahha külgse, ehk igga asja külgse mis nahhast tehtud (Piibliramat 1739, 3 Mosesse Ramat 13: 48), cf. G. am Aufzug oder am Eintrag, es sei wollen oder leinen, oder an einem Fell oder an allem, was aus Fellen gemacht wird (3. Mose 13, 49).193 Thus we remain without one link (an Estonian m-form) to Russ. клеймō. This does not necessarily mean the Russian etymology should be given up; for the want of a better one we accept it, but with reservations.

WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893) records lõiv ‘Abgabe, Zins’ as a word from GÖSEKEN’s dictionary, and as it does not occur in VESTRING 1740 or HUPEL 1780 or 1818, it seems not to have been in much use after GÖSEKEN, until WIEDEMANN reintroduced it.


a. lähk ‘Ein Zauberer’ (VESTRING 1740, 105a).


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193 In English: ‘any woven or knitted material of linen or wool, any leather or anything made of leather’.
c. Uncertain. According to MÄGISTE (EEW V, 1438) lähk is an analogical form with -hk instead of -ht. läht ‘neidisch’ is then the original, for which there is no etymology. However, MÄGISTE also offers a possible Russian etymology (< Russ. *гуляхта), though the xeroxed EEW does not make this reading sure (DAl I, 407b records a гуляха ‘праздный, шатунь, льятый, гулящий; охотий до гостыбы, пирушки, попоекъ, пьяница, мотишка’).

Dialectally lähk is recorded already in Põlva by HUPEL (1780; 1818): lähk ‘ein Zauberer’ and by WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893): lähk (d) ‘Hexe, Zauberer, neidischer Mensch, Mensch mit dem bösen Blick’. Dialectally the following forms are found:

lähk PJg, Hää, Vön, Kan, Plv, Räp, Se ‘bad person’ (VMS I), lähk ‘envious, ill-natured, malicious, with the evil eye (LōTa, Vō)’, lähk (PJg) ~ läht (Lā Tōs) (swearword for a shameless woman); evil witch, envious, evil person’; läht ‘very easy girl or woman, who goes with anyone’ (Mär Vig); läht (LōLā PōPā) ‘oh you !! (milder version of oh sa kurat ‘oh you devil’) where the I. are you going?!’ (EKMS I, 846, II; 1111, 1160; III, 1009); lähk ‘malicious person’ (PJg Hää Vön Kan Plv), läht ‘prostitute’ (Mär Vig Var Tōs) (VMS I, 488b). A change in auslaut of -ht and -hk is not unusual, cf. lähk ~ lāhn ~ läht ~ lehk ~ lōhk ‘Hauch, Ausdünstung’, maht ~ mahk ‘Macht’ (WIEDEMANN 1893), and so deriving läht from lähk is also a possibility.

More attractive is LOORITS’s (LRU III, 116) etymology from Russ. лях ‘Pole’. In southern Estonia, which was under Polish rule from 1561 to 1629, it is feasible that such a word was used by Russians to denote the hated Poles and found its way into Estonian. Cf. these passages from the Russian poet G.R. DERŽAVIN: Был враг Чипчак; - где Чипчаки? Был недруг Лях; и где те Ляхи? (cf. SRJA XVIII/12, 26b-27a); Ляховь зъ ихъ хитростьмы велмъ не любиъ, але Литву и нашу Русь любительно миловалъ (GSBM 17, 211).

d. LOORITS 1928, 116; EEW V, 1438.


a. maaliina ‘himbeerroth’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. малйна ‘raspberry’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 91).

c. -

d. EEW V, 1471; MUST 2000, 191.
a. **mahorka** ‘inferior sort of tobacco made from coarsely cut *mahorka*-tobacco leaves and stems; *mahorka*-tobacco’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EŌS; VŌS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. махо́рка (inferior kind of tobacco)’. Possibly from амёро́ртский < Amersfoort (town in the Netherlands), with possible contamination from мохо́р ‘Franse, Faser’ (REW II, 107).

c. First registered in Estonian as *korka* in *Wennema korka tubakas* ‘Russian *korka* tobacco’ (KLEKAMPF 1860, 38, quoted in MUST 2000, 190), probably the result of reanalysis of *Vene makorka* ‘Russian *makorka*’ as *Venemaa korka* *’korka* from Russia’ (Est. vene ‘Russian’, *Venemaa* ‘Russia’).

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Machorka*’russischer Bauерntabak’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 166).

d. EEW V, 1483, 1490; MUST 2000, 190.


b. Russ. ма́йя ‘тонкая легкая хлопчатобумажная ткань’ (SSRLJA 6, 503).

c. -

d. -


b. Russ. ма́йка ‘singlet’ < Fr. maille + Russ. suffix -ка (ŠANSKIJ 1975, 252).

c. ARUMAA (1940) marks Russ. ма́йка as a neologism; it is translated as Est. *spordisärk* and *sporditrikoo* ‘sports shirt’; ма́йка also occurs already in the 1944 edition of KAROTAMM’s Russian-Estonian dictionary, where it is translated as *spordisärk* ‘sports shirt’. Est. *maika* first occurs in the 1960 ŌS, which describes Est. *maika* as ‘colloquial’; the 1976 ŌS has a normative reference to *särgik*. Also EREL, in her lists of neologisms (1983, 64; 1989, 77), suggests replacing the ‘undesirable’ *maika* with the more Estonian *särgik*, but *maika* is still in use, though with a strong pejorative or jocular flavour.

d. EEW V, 1485.

a. **maisel** ‘pendulum’ (EŌS; VŌS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945).


c. Estonian dialects show a multitude of forms and derivations: e.g. maidnik, maitnik, maidlik, mainik, maimik, maisnik, maier (MUST 2000, 190). The variant *maisel*, recorded dialectally in
Väike-Maarja in northern Estonia, made its way to the literary language, but only for some twenty years.

Est. Lutsi maitnik ‘pendulum’ may be a loan from Byel. маятик ‘id.’ (ARISTE 1962, 554; MUST 2000, 190).
d. SAARESTE 1921, 336-337; MUST 2000, 190.

a. majakas ‘lighthouse’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. In Estonian the word has been adapted to words in -kas. The long vowel in WIEDEMANN’s (1869; 1893) alternative form maajakas ‘Leuchtthurm, Feuerthurm’ can be explained as follows: in new loanwords the vowel in the original non-initial stressed syllable is usually represented by a long vowel, as in Est. evangeliium from G. Evangelium. When loanwords are integrated more fully into Estonian the stress shifts to the first syllable, but in some dialects stress in loanwords is associated with long vowels and thus the first vowel is lengthened too. Cf. Est. dial. kroovat ‘bed’ < Russ. кровать ‘id.’ (cf. TAULI 1956, 162-163; MUST 2000, 528).

Russ. маяк ‘lighthouse’ has also been borrowed into all other Finnic languages except Livonian (SSA II, 140a); in some Finnic languages majakka ‘lighthouse’ and maja ‘dwelling’ have been confused: cf. Lud. maja ‘lighthouse’, Vot. majakko ‘tent’ (KALIMA 1936, 136; 1952, 122).

Also recorded in Baltic German: Majacke ‘Leuchtturm’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 166).

a. makk ‘Hopfen’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
b. Russ. мак ‘poppy; poppy-seed’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 89).
c. MÄGISTE (EEW V, 1490) suggests that the meaning given by WIEDEMANN, who notes it in the 1869 and 1893 editions as an obsolete word, may be imprecise and that makk may in fact be related to mage, the plural of which (maged) has the meaning ‘Malz’. It is simpler to assume a loan from Russian.
d. EEW V, 1490.

a. makra ‘fish product which tastes like crab, made mostly from cod’ (ÖS 1999; EKSS).
c. -
d. -

a. **malitsa** ‘long fur coat made of reindeer skin, with fur on the inside, used by northern peoples, e.g. the Saami’ (EKSS).
b. Russ. ма́лица ‘Hemd aus Rentierfellen mit nach innen gekehrtem Fell’ < Nen. мали́те ‘fur’ (REW II, 91).
c. -
d. -

a. **manisk** ‘formerly, a white cloth breast ornament on men’s shirt’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. In 1869 and 1893 in WIEDEMANN *maaniska ~ maaniski*, where alongside the shift of stress from the second syllable (as in the Russian original) to the first the vowel in the initial syllable was also lengthened. Noted in the 1953 VÖS as ‘obsolete’.
Also recorded in Baltic German: *Manischke* ‘Vorhemdchen’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 166; HINDERLING 1981, 28).
d. BACHMAN 1956, 6; RAUN - SAARESTO 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW V, 1499; MUST 2000, 192.

a. **manna** ‘finegrained groats; (in the bible:) miracle food that rains from the sky, with which God fed the Israelites during their wandering in the desert, manna’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. манна ‘manna’ < Gr. μᾶννα (REW II, 96).
c. ARISTE (1981a, 163-164) opines that *mann* (in the 1739 PIBLIRAMAT) ~ *manna* ‘heavenly manna’ is a loan from Hebrew, possibly from Greek, whilst *manna* ‘groats’ is from Russian. Russian origin for *manna* ‘groats’ is generally accepted; MÄGSTE (EEW V, 1500) assumes *manna* ‘Manna’ is a loan from German, but it remains unclear whether he refers to *manna* ‘manna’ only or also to *manna* ‘groats’.
Also recorded in Baltic German: *Manna(grütze)* ‘Weizengries’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 166).
d. ARISTE 1981a, 163-164; RAUN 1982; EEW V, 1500; MUST 2000, 193.
a. **manner** 'small tin can with a handle' (EÖS; VÓS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. In Estonian dialects there are many variants; in Russian it is now obsolete.

d. **KETTUNEN** 1913; 153; **SAARESTE** 1924, 239, 242; **RAUN - SAARESTE** 1965, 49; **RAUN** 1982; **EEW V**, 1500; **MUST** 2000, 193-194.

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c. -

d. -

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c. -

d. -

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a. **maran** ‘herb or undershrub with yellow blossoms of the northern temperate zone (*Potentilla*)’ (EÖS; VÓS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. марёна ‘madder’ < *marëna* < марать ‘to soil, to dirty’ (REW II, 98).

c. Dialectally it is found already in **HUPEL** (1780: *marrast käst* ‘ein gewisses Kraut. r.; 1818: *marran* ‘Wildröthe’. d.). In the dictionaries the stress of the Russian word vacillates between the second and third syllable; it is simpler to explain Est. *maran* from a form with ultimate stress.


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b. Russ. маринист ‘painter of seascapes’ < Fr. *mariniste*. 
a. **marjaas** ‘a certain card games’ (EKSS) ~ **marjas** ‘id.’ (EÕS; VÕS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. марьёж (Krtsp.) die Mariage’ (PAWLOWSKY 1879) < Fr. *marriage*.

c. May also be a loan from G. *Mariage*. A loan from the 1930s perhaps, as K. SAABER’s novel (cf. EKSS: marjaas) seems to indicate that it must have been borrowed in the 1920s or 1930s: ‘...[suvitajad] kandsid valgeid kingi ja mängisid marjaasi, täiesti tundmatut kaardimängu...’ ‘[the summer visitors] wore white shoes and played marjaas, a completely unknown card game...’

MUST (2000, 194) assumes Russian origin is more likely, as other names for card games have also been borrowed from Russian.

d. EEW V, 1505; MUST 2000, 194.

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a. **marka** ‘Postmarke’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).


c. -

d. EEW V, 1505.

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b. Russ. маркшайдер ‘специалист по геодезическим съемкам горных разработок и эксплуатации недр’ (OZEGOV 1990) < G. *Markscheider* (SSRLJa 6, 638).

c. -

d. -

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a. **marsruut** ‘a fixed, planned or actual way or direction travelled’ (VÕS 1945; 1953; ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Spelled as *maršruut* in VÕS 1945. ERELT, in her list of neologisms (1983, 64; 1989, 77), suggests replacing the ‘undesirable’ *marsruutakso* ‘fixed-route taxi’ with the more ‘Estonian’ *liiniauto*.

d. -

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227
a. **maslenitsa** 'Russian lent' (EÖS).
b. Russ. **масленица** ‘Shrove-tide; carnival’ < **масло** ‘butter’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 102).
c. Only the calque *vöinädal* (‘butter week’) is now in use. In Se *maašenits(a)* and *maase(n)its* are still used. Dialectally already recorded by *Wiedemann* (1869; 1893: *maasinis* (d) ‘Butterwoche’).
d. **MUST** 2000, 195-196.

a. **mast** ‘group of cards with the same symbol; kind, sort, type’ (*Wiedemann* 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. **масть** ‘Farbe, Haarfarbe, Salbe’ < **масть** ‘bestreichen, beschmieren, salben’ (REW II, 103).
c. In Russian **масть** is often used to describe the colour of animals, but is also used for ‘a suit of cards’; thence Est. ‘group of cards’ and ‘group’.
d. **RAUN** 1982; EEW V, 1511; **MUST** 2000, 196.

a. **mastaap** ‘scale; reach, scope’ (VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. Also *mahaataap* (e.g. **Liiv** 1929, 29). The long vowel in the second syllable points to Russian origin.
d. -

a. **masurka** ‘lively, in \(\frac{2}{3}\) or \(\frac{3}{4}\) time Polish folk dance’ (EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. German origin (*Mazurka ~ Masurka*) is also possible.
d. EEW V, 1512.

a. **masuurikas** ‘(coll., also as swearword) scoundrel, rascal’ (*Wiedemann* 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. **мазурка ~ мазурник** ‘karmanный вор’. Unclear, possibly from мазур ˘*‘Mazurian’ (cf. REW II, 88 for various suggestions).
c. Dialectally the suffix -as has been appended (MUST 2000, 197), or it has been adapted to words in -kas. WIEDEMANN 1893 has still has a masurik ~ masurik ‘Strolch, Schnapphahn, Schelm’ without adaptation to an Estonian suffix. Cf. also lähk.
d. RAUN 1982; EEW V, 1511-1512; MUST 2000, 197.

a. masuut ‘fluid distillationary naphtha residue’ (EÖS; VÓS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. German origin (Masut) is also possible.
d. -

a. matar ‘(thick) pole, cudgel, club’ (HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÓS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. мато́р ‘проворъ, коро́мысло, ведерный водоносъ’ (DАE II, 306a) ~ мото́р ‘Hebel, Hebebaum, Knüppel; Schulterjoch, Tracht; gewandter Mensch’. The etymology is unclear. Probably from мота́ть ‘verschwenden’ < мета́ть ‘werfen’ (REW II, 165; LEW I, 414ab).
c. In principle it would be easier to derive Est. matar from Latv. matara ‘eine (schlanke) Rute, Gerte’ (ME II, 566a). ENDZELINS compares the Latvian word to Est. matar ‘dicker Stock, Knüttel’, Russ. мото́р ‘дубинка’ and Lith. mātaras ‘веретено’, but is not sure of the relationship between them (ME II, 566a). FRAENKEL (LEW I, 414ab) derives the Baltic words as ablaut forms from Latv. mēst ‘to throw’ and Lith. mēstī ‘id.’, the Russian forms likewise from Russ. мета́ть ‘id.’. Nowhere, however, has it been suggested that Est. matar may be a Latvian instead of a Russian loan, and the dialect distribution (cf. VMS II, 19a), which shows that it is a North Estonian word, makes Latvian origin unlikely.
d. ME II, 566a; SUMMENT 1950, 161; LEW I, 414a; EEW V, 1512.

a. matroška ‘group of brightly coloured hollow wooden Russian dolls that fit into each other’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. -
d. -
a. **matsalka** ‘(bast) mop’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. моча́лка ‘Bastwisch’ < мочь́ть ‘feucht machen’ (REW II, 166).

c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1869 and 1893. Also recorded in Baltic German: **Matschalen** ‘ausgefaserter Lindenbast zum Waschen’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 166).

d. BACHMAN 1956, 8; 1959, 261-262; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW V, 1516; MUST 2000, 198.

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a. **matt** ‘(coll.) (descriptive of) vulgar Russian swearwords’ (EKSS).

b. Russ. мат ‘foul language, abuse’. From the expression ёб твоё́ мать ‘fuck your mother’.

c. -

d. MUST 2000, 199.

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a. **meebel** ‘Meubel’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).

b. Russ. мебель ‘furniture’ < G. Möbel or Fr. meuble < Lat. mōibile (REW II, 109).

c. -

d. EEW V, 1632.

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a. **mehka** ‘fine, splendid, great’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. смех ‘laughter; laugh’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 673).

c. At first sight Est. mehka has the appearance of a loan from German, but no plausible source presents itself: Est. mehkedama ‘to fawn upon’, a loan from G. schmeicheln (EEW V, 1523), is unlikely to be the source. It could, however, be a loan from Russ. смех. This poses no problems on the phonetic side (cf. Fi. miehka ‘bag-like fur coat’ < Russ. мех ‘fur coat’; SSA II, 164b), and in expressions like в смех ‘for fun’ the meaning comes closer to the Estonian. Its lack of recordings in the dialects and its late appearance in dictionaries imply a loan during Soviet times.

d. -

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c. Est. vähemlane ‘menševik’ was already known in the beginning of the 20th century (AHVEN 1965, 393); in Estonian dictionaries it first appeared in the 1925-1937 EÖS.
b. Russ. мёньшевизм ‘id.’ < меньше ‘less’ мёньш- ‘less’ + -ев- + изм ()
c. The Estonian calqued equivalent is *vähemlus*.

a. **ment** ‘corp; militiaman; police department’ (LOOG 1991, 47; ŌIM 1991, 292; ESS 146).
b. Russ. мент '(coll) copper, bogey’. In Russian it has strong negative connotations, being
used only occasionally by policemen themselves (cf. KVESELEVIČ 2003, 426a).
c. Though not found in any dictionaries except LOOG 1991, ŌIM 1991 and ESS, it is a common
word, often found in journalistic language.
The Russian plural form ментýpa occurs in colloquial Estonian as *mentuura*, but this is not
recorded in any dictionaries.
d. ESS (2003), 146.

a. **meres** ‘finely meshed sackless fishing net for use under the ice’ (EKÖS; EÕS).
c. Occurs as a dialect word from Peipsi in WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893): *meres* (Pp)
kleinmaschige Netze ohne Sack (z. Fischen unter dem Eise).
d. MANNINEN 1931, 228; RANK 1934, 92-93; MOORA 1964, 179, 196, 198; EEW V, 1528; MUST
2000, 199-200.

b. Russ. мерлúшка 'lamskin’ < diminutive of мерлúха ‘Lammfell’. VASMER first (REW II, 
122) assumes a loan from Rom. *mielușă* ‘id.’ < miel ‘Lamm’ (CIORANESCU [1966, 520b-521a] 
disagrees and assumes that Russ. мерлúха ‘Lammfell’ is an internal dissimilatory form of a 
Russian derivation *мехлуха of mex ‘fur’). Later VASMER (REW III, 518) retreats from his 
earlier standpoint and thinks мерлúха ‘Lammfell’ is probably derived from *merl* ‘gefallen, 
tot’, from which ORuss. *merliča* ‘Fell gefallener Schafe’ (> BG merlitze ‘id.’; KIPARSKY 1936, 
167).

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194 According to MÁGISTE (EEW V, 1530) it is also recorded in WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893), but I have not found it there.
a. **mest** ‘troop, bunch, band, gang; type, sort’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. As EKSS notes, usually in the partitive or in the inner local cases: e.g. *Oodake pisut, ma lõõn ka mesti!* ‘Wait up, I’ll join in!’ Also used as a biological term (‘taxon’).

**MUST** (2000, 201-202) accuses MÄGISTE in EEW (V, 1531) of not daring to admit the Russian origin of *mest*.


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a. **mestsaniin** ‘Bürger’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).


c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893.

Also recorded in Baltic German: *mestschanin* ‘Kleinbürger’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 167).

d. EEW V, 1531.

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a. **miilstama** ‘to ingratiate oneself, to be tender’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) ∼ **miilitama** ‘sich einschmeicheln, falsche Liebesversprechungen geben’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. миловать(ся) ‘to exchange caresses’ ∼ милость ‘favour, grace; mercy, charity’ < милый ‘nice, sweet; lovable’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 134).

c. South Estonian *miil* (= North Est. meel ‘mind, sense’) may have influenced the Russian loan, which is why **WIEDEMANN** (1869; 1893) assumes **miilstama** is simply a South Estonian variant of *meelstama* ‘Lust haben, lüstern sein’, as does **MÄGISTE** (EEW V, 1520). MUST (2000, 203), pointing to the spread of **miilstama** in the north-east of Estonia, its phonetic shape and semantics, thinks it is more likely a borrowing from Russian. Problematic is then that she cannot derive the verb *miilstama* from the verb миловать without help from милость to explain the consonant cluster. Russ. милость has also been borrowed into Estonian as *miilost*, but it is only known from one text in the Setu dialect (MUST 2000, 203), so it cannot be invoked to explain a northeast Estonian form. MUST cannot but vaguely state that **miilstama** is probably Russian, and that there are ‘two sources’. Perhaps more likely is that the Estonian verb *meelstama* (< meel) was influenced by Russ. милость. Raising of
[e:] to [i:] occurs sporadically in practically all larger dialect groups, but is most typical for South Estonian (Wiedemann 1875, 88; Tauli 1956, 170-173; Keem - Käsi 2002, 36). As müüstama is supposedly a north-eastern word this would then strengthen Must’s arguments.

d. EEW V, 1519-1521; Must 2000, 203.

a. mintai ‘cod-like fish of the Pacific (Theragra chalcogramma) (= walleye or Alaska Pollock; RB)’ (ÖS 1999; EKSS).
c. The walleye or Alaska Pollock is found in the northern Pacific, from the Bering Strait to Korea, and from Alaska to California.
d. -

a. miravoи ‘court or justice of the peace in Tsarist Russia’ (EKSS).
b. Russ. мировой ‘(obs.) conciliatory’ < мир ‘peace’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 137).
c. Est. rahukohtunik is a calque of either Russ. мировой судьи or of G. Friedensrichter.
d. Jõgever 1911, 237; Saareste 1957, 458, 483; Must 2000, 204.

a. miska: usually in the expression elada nagu miska ‘to live well, to live in clover’ (ÖS 1999; EKSS).
c. Dialectally common in southern Estonia (Must 2000, 204).

Russ. мишёнка does not occur to my knowledge in any collocations that mean ‘to live in clover’. However, DAE (II, 330b) notes the following: мишурник ~ мишурница ‘кто дёлает, работает мишурку; пустой человечьк, щеголяющий внушностьюю, ради одного вида’. If the Estonian expression is not an inner Estonian development the source lies perhaps in Russ. мишурник, with adaptation to the common form Мышка of the name Михаил (<Михайло).

Recorded in surnames and in toponyms in the 18th century: Mieska Andres, Mieska Jaco Märt (1744), Peltzmacher Miska (1758), Miska Thomas (1795); Pedramiska (village near Särgla) (Pall 1970, 157).

Russ. мишёнка has also been borrowed into Karelian as ‘bear’ (cf. Nirvi 1944, 73; KKS III, 325а).
d. Must 2000, 204.

a. mitkal ‘a coarse linen washing cloth, of which the wefts are finer than the warps’ (EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. -
d. EEW V, 1544.

a. mitšman ‘navy rank equivalent to an army ensign; a navy seaman with this rank’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. мичман ‘(naut.) (in Russian navy) warrant officer; (in Imperial Russian Navy) midshipman’ < Engl. midshipman (REW II, 140).
c. -
d. EEW V, 1544.

a. mogel ‘soapless; strong lye’ (EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945).
b. ORuss. dial. (Pskov) *mygla ‘soap’ (> Russ. мадло ‘soap’) < Common Slavic (REW II, 184).
c. Ahlovist (1875, 123) first suggested Russian origin for Est. mogel ~ mugel (and Vot. mōila [sic] Veps. mil [sic]) though with no explanation for the inlaut g of the Estonian word.
Ojansuu (1922, 139) first explained this by suggesting that it might be a loan from Pskov Russian: though the Proto-Slavic consonant clusters dl and tl were simplified to l in East Slavic, in the Pskov-Novgorod area of north-western Russian were they substituted with gl and kl (Vasiljev 1907, 263-264; Šahmatov 1915, 101-103; Kiparsky 1963, 129-130). Est. mogel ‘soapless’, only found in three dictionaries of the literary language, basically a South Estonian word (it is registered in CLARE’s manuscript dictionary, cf. Ariste 1981, 95), and now obsolete, is nevertheless an important word, as it is one of two loanwords in Finnic where this gl cluster is reflected (cf. vigel).
Borrowed from Russ. dial. *mygla is Veps. mugl ‘alkaline solution’, though SSA (II, 185b) thinks a Russ. *mydlo was borrowed into Finnic where the consonant cluster -dl- was substituted with -kl-, as Finnic phonotactic rules did not permit a cluster -dl-. This -kl- survived in South Estonian and Veps, but in Finnish the -dl- of the cluster was vocalized,
resulting in south-west Finnish *muula* ‘asche- and kalkhaltige Lauge zum Einweichen von Stockfisch’. Recent research has, however, shown that the spread of the change *-dll tl* > *-gll kl* was in fact not only restricted to Pskov (cf. Shevelov 1964, 371; Zaliznjak 1995, 40-41; Vermeer 1997, 27-28; cf. chapter 5.1.3.1.2. *Consonant clusters in inlaut* for an exhaustive discussion of the *-dll tl* > *-gll kl* substitution in Russian, its origin, and its reflection in Finnic).

Russ. мýло ‘soap, foam’ was later borrowed dialectally in the north-east of Estonia as *miilaláika* ‘milkwort’ (cf. MUST 2000, 203).

d. Ahlovist 1875, 123; Ojansuu 1922, 139; Mikkola 1938, 97; Kalima 1952, 52, 123-124, 192, 194; 1956, 41, 94-95, 146, 148; Mägiste 1962, 25, 50; Raun - Saareste 1965, 49; Issatschenko 1980, 48-49; Ariste 1981, 95; Raun 1982; EEW V, 1558; SSA II, 185b.

a. moiva ‘small shoalfish found in Arctic seas (*Mallotus villosus*)’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. -


c. -

d. -

a. molokaan ‘member of a Russian sect’ (ÉOS).


c. -

d. -

a. monpansjee ‘type of fruit drops’ (VÔS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. монпансьé ‘fruit drops’ < Fr. placename *Montpensier* (REW II, 155).

c. -

d. -
a. **morda** ‘(vulg.) mug’ (EKSS) — **mordu** ‘(vulg.) mug’ (EKSS).


c. The variant **mordu** has been borrowed from the accusative form mórdy (MUST 2000, 206).

d. **MUST** 2000, 206.

a. **morooženoje** ‘(sugar)ice-cream’ (EÕS).


c. EÕS indicates its unacceptability as an Estonian word.

Also recorded in Baltic German: **Marosch(e)na** ‘Speiseeis’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 166).

d. MUST 2000, 195.


b. Russ. морж ‘walrus; (coll.) (open-air) winter bather’ < Kar. muržu ‘walrus’ (KIPARSKY 1952a, 26) or SaamK morša ‘walrus’ (REW II, 158). A loan via Karelian is perhaps likelier, as a Saam. morša would have given Russ. *морз or *морша (thus KIPARSKY 1952a, 26195; 1975, 89). SSA (II, 181) does not decide between Kola Saami and Karelian.

c. The Estonian word is recorded only since the 1960s, and is undoubtedly a loan from Russian. Unusual, however, is the unetymological -k in the nominative (the genitive is morša). The word has also been borrowed into French (morse) and English (morse), and etymologists of the Romance languages (e.g. MEYER-LÜBKE 1935, 468a; cf. KIPARSKY 1952a, 3, footnote 1) tended to write SaamN morša – SaamK morša incorrectly as morsk, but this is unlikely to be the source of the Estonian word. The auslaut -k can be explained by analogy with another word in -rsk196 like tursk (nom.) ‘cod’: tursa (gen.), similar to Est. kuusk ‘ﬁr’, where the unetymological auslaut -k (cf. Fi. kuusi) is usually explained by analogy with the nominative (kask) and genitive (kase) forms of ‘birch’. Cf. kask: kase = x: kuuse, x = kuusk.

195 KIPARSKY (1952a, 19-23), in his extremely informative and erudite article on the origin of the various words for walrus in French, English, Finnish, Karelian, Saami and Russian (regrettably he does not mention the Estonian word), writes that Engl. morse may have been borrowed from Saami (or maybe Finnish) by way of Basque whalers.

196 There are only four words in -rsk in Estonian: morsk ‘walrus’, tursk ‘cod’, järsk ‘steep’ and mürsk ‘shell’. The first two are loanwords (morsk < Russ. морж; tursk < Germanic, cf. OSw. thorsk; järsk is a genuine Estonian word; mürsk is a neologism, probably based on Fi. myrsky ‘storm’ (cf. RAUN 1982, 99).
ÖS 1960 has a normative reference to *merihobune* ‘seahorse’.
d. EEW V, 1554.

a. **mosss** ‘sour-sweet drink made of water and juice’ (EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. -
d. **RAUN** - **SAARESTE** 1965, 49.

a. **mosna** ‘*(coll.) great, pleasant, decent*’ (EKSS).
b. Russ. *можно* ‘it is possible; it is permissible, one may’ < мочь ‘to be able’ (REW II, 144).
c. In Estonian *mosna* is used as an adjective.
d. **MUST** 2000, 206-207.

a. **muksun** ‘whitefish that lives in the sweet coastal waters of the Arctic (*Coregonus muksun*)’ (EKSS).
b. Russ. муксун ‘Art Lachs, Salmo Muxun’. **VASMER** (REW II, 171) derives Russ. муксун via Khanty *moksęp, moχsęp, muχsęp, muχsęp* from Yakut *muksun* ‘id.’ and Siberian Tat. *muksun* ‘id.’ (REW II, 171), but according to **ANIKIN** (2000, 393-394) the direction of borrowing is Khanty > Russian > Yakut, Siberian Tatar.
c. -
d. -

a. **muljuma**. Cf. 8.1.

a. **munder** ‘uniform (showing rank or insignia)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. Already recorded in the 1820s in Masing’s *Marahwa Näiddala-Leht* (KINGISEPP 1972, 94).
d. **RAUN** - **SAARESTE** 1965, 49; EEW V, 1571; **MUST** 2000, 208.

c. Occurs dialectally in southern Estonia as mursa ‘dirty person (especially a child); black dog; angry person’ (MUST 2000, 208-209).

Cf. mõrtsukas.
d. MUST 2000, 208-209.


a. musser ‘rubbish, refuse’ (EKSS).
b. Russ. мусор ‘sweepings, dust, rubbish, refuse, garbage; debris; (sl.) copper, bogey’. The etymology is unsure; cf. REW (II, 179).
c. -
d. MUST 2000, 209.

a. mutitama ‘(dial.) to put in order (slowly)’ (EKSS).
b. Russ. мутить ‘to trouble, make muddy (liquids); (fiг.) to stir up, upset; (fiг.) to dull, make dull; to feel sick’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 179).
c. Common in South Estonian (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893: muting (d) ‘Unordnung, Irrung, Confusion; mutitama ‘verpfuschen; mutt’ grosse Latte, Stange zum Umrühren’; cf. also VMS II, 45b), and has also occurred in print at the beginning of the 20th century (cf. MUST 2000, 209).

a. mutt ‘formerly, a fishing net with bag, type of seine’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; EKÖS; VÖS 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. мутник ‘частый невод, мелкоячеистый, для ловли малывки, снетковъ’ < мутить ‘to trouble, make muddy’ (DAF II, 361b) (cf. mutitama).
c. The Russian word мутник is also found in ARUMAA’s 1940 Russian-Estonian dictionary: мутник ‘mutt (type of fine-meshed fishing net)’. As ARUMAA (1940, 6) himself writes, his
dictionary includes Russian dialect words from Petseri\textsuperscript{197}, the shores of Lake Peipsi and the area to the east of Narva.

In Estonian the suffix -nīk has been elided, probably because of its usual meaning as an agentive suffix, though mutnik < мутник is also found (cf. WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; BACHMAN 1959, 260).

In the Võrtsjärv area the mutt was known as an older fishing instrument, but it must have been introduced from Peipsi (cf. MANNINEN 1931, 170-171).

Dialectally mutt and variants have been recorded already in 1816 (cf. MUST 2000, 210).

a. **muusikas** ‘Buschklepper, Schnapphahn’ (GÖSEKEN 1660, 299; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 137a, 143b; HUPEL 1780; 1816; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. мужик ‘muzhik, moujik (Russ. peasant); (fig.) lout, clod, bumpkin; (coll.) bloke, guy; (dia!) husband’ < муж ‘husband’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 169-170).

c. It seems as if WIEDEMANN’s *muusikas* was taken directly from older sources such as GÖSEKEN, THOR HELLE, or HUPEL, though WIEDEMANN notes in his introduction (VII) that words that he had not personally heard are designated with a dagger (which *muusikas* is not).

Est. muusikas is recorded as a peasant surname in 1636 and 1686 in Harjumaa: Keddra Muhsskas Tönno, Muhskas Mars (1636), Musika Hinrich and Musika Hans (1686) (cf. KOIT 1988, 40).

In dialects muusik ~ muusikas occurs as ‘hermit’ (VMS II, 47b). Sometimes the newer Russian adoption mužîk ‘peasant in Tsarist Russia’ (EÖS; VSL 1961) is found in newer literature (e.g. in KARJAHÄRM 1998, 123). In Estonian prison slang, which is strongly influenced by Russian, mužîkk, a term which is derived from Russian gulag slang, is used to denote those who are outside the informal subordination relationships (cf. ILM - TENDER 2003, 43).

d. MÄGISTE 1962, 36, 47, 61, 64; EEW V, 1589.

a. **mõlk** ‘Milch, welche anfängt sauer zu werden, reckige Milch’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945).

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\textsuperscript{197} Petseri is a province in the southeast of Estonia, part of which is still occupied by Russia. Cf. BUCK 1909, REISSAR 1996 and LÖUNA 2003 for the history of the area.
b. ORuss. *melk (> Russ. молоко ‘milk’) (REW II, 151-152).

c. According to VMS mőlk ‘slightly sour milk’ occurs only in Tarvastu, but WIEDEMANN mentions no particular origin. OJANSUU (1922, 139), however, also records it in South Estonian, and assumes it is a loan from the Old Russian dialect of Pskov. MÄGISTE (EEV V, 1596) does not mention OJANSUU’s etymology, either due to an oversight or because he does not agree with it: MÄGISTE compares it to Est. mõlkuma ‘sich bewegen, flackern, fänzen’, suggesting mõlk might have meant ‘Milch, die sich zu bewegen anfängt’. There is, however, no reason to dismiss OJANSUU’s etymology.

d. OJANSUU 1922, 139; EEW V, 1596.

a. mõrtsukas ‘murderer; (coll.) bread soup’ (GÖSEKEN 1660, 299; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 139a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÓS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. The etymology for Est. mõrtsukas is still hotly contested: MÄGISTE (EEV V, 1602) seems to suggest a derivation from mõrts ‘weitmaschiger, durch einen Reifen offen gehaltener Netz sack (für Fische, Heu)’, which does not make much sense, or from mõrts ‘plötzlicher, heftiger Stoss’.

RAUN (1982) accepts the Baltic Germany etymology (< BG *Mordzug ‘group of bandits’) first suggested by TiIK (TARVEL - TiIK 1980, 536-538). This unattested word is supposed to have denoted a group of marauding, supplies-stealing peasants on horseback. There are two problems with this etymology: one, it is not attested anywhere, and two, a BG o would not be substituted with Est. õ (cf. HINDERLING 1981, 122, 123).\(^{198}\)

KOIT (1988, 33-40) proposed a new etymology, where mõrtsukas is a loan from Russ. мурзák, a parallel form of мурзá ‘tatarischer Fürst’. Whilst this makes sense from a semantic point of view, taking into account the role Tatars played in the Russian army over the years, and who have been recorded as being part of the Russian invading troops in Estonia since the 16\(^{th}\) century (cf. KOIT 1988, 34; KAPPELER 2001, 111), it has to be said that the variant мурзák, on which KOIT builds his premise, is a very uncommon variant of мурзá. Russ. мурза ~ мурза́ is recorded relatively widely in Russian dialects as ‘грязный, неопрятный человек; o

\(^{198}\) That the form with ŏ is the most common and probably the original form can be surmised by the first recordings (cf. GÖSEKEN 1660: mõrzick; THOR HELLE 1732: mõrtsukas; VESTRING 1740: Mōrtsukas) and by dialect forms (cf. VMS II, 51b: mōrtsukas, mōrsukas, mortsukas, mertsuk, mōrdsk).
человеке, чем-либо запачкавшемся; грязное лицо; чистый и веселый ребенок’ (cf. SRNG 18, 354ab), but мурза only as ‘рыба Barbus ciscaucasicicus Kessler; терский усач’ in the Caucasus (SRNG 18, 254b) and мурза́ки ‘лицо’ in Latvian and Lithuania (SRNG 18, 254b).

Of the three possible etymologies the Russian seems to be the least problematic, and for want for a better one is accepted. The forms in -kas are probably younger than the ones in -ik: cf. GÖSEKEN’s mörzick, which might be a derivation in -ik of the Russian word. Problematic remains the substitution of o with ó (the original Tatar form is myrza ~ мырза [cf. RĀSĀNEN 1969, 345b; REW II, 175; ŠIPOVA 1976, 238], and though there is proof\textsuperscript{199} of Estonian peasants collaborating with Tatar soldiers fighting the Swedes in Virumaa in 1579 (RUSSOW 1584, 119; cf. also KÔIT 1988, 39, footnote 26), it is unlikely that the Estonian word has been borrowed directly from Tatar.

From Estonian the word has been borrowed into Baltic German as Morttsocken and also occurs in Swedish as in the plural form morsaker, recorded in Swedish documents written in 17\textsuperscript{th}-century Estonia (cf. KÔIT 1988, 39).


a. māhke ‘(dial.) doughy, pasty (bread)’ (THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 129b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÕS; EÕS; VÕS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. MÄGISTE (EEW V, 1611-1612) suggests māhke may be related to māhk ‘cambium’ (an etymology already suggested by ANDERSON 1893, 76a, a fact which perhaps escaped MÄGISTE’s attention), but MUST (2000, 211) writes that they are in fact etymologically unrelated and that māhke is a loan from Russ. мягкий: due to their similarity the two words are dialectally not clearly differentiated.

\textsuperscript{199} RUSSOW, the 16\textsuperscript{th} century chronicler from Tallinn, writes: ‘Als de Schwedisschen vp der wedder reyse weren, Do sint de Tatern vp dem wege stedes hinder en her gewesen, vnde hebben vele der Knechte, so vorschmachtet, kranck vnde möde weren, vnde mit den andern nicht vortkamen könend, erschlagen, vle sint ock vp dem wege gestoruen, vnde van keinem Menschen begrauen worden. Do hebben de Tater nock vele Rüstwagen sampt velen Perden ane jenige vorhinderinge hen wech gekregen. Tho dersüligen tydt, als de Buren in Wyrlandt gesehen, dat dat gelücke den Tatern so geweldich gesöget hesest, hebben gantz vele junger Knechte sick gudtwilich tho den Tatern begeben, vnde sint ock by en gebluuen, vnde de Buren in Wyrlandt hebben sick des yegen jederman beklaget, dat se nicht einen Knecht hebben beholden mögen’ (RUSSOW 1584, 119).
d. EEW V, 1611-1612; MUST 2000, 211.

a. mässama ‘to rebel, to participate in a rebellion; to rage, run riot; to be busy with something, toil, flounder, fuss, bustle; to fool around, frolic, play tricks’ (MÜLLER 1600, 222; STAHL 1637, 131; GÖSEKEN 1660, 112, 173, 213, 294, 414, 478; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 130b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EKÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. мешать ‘to prevent (from), hinder, impede, hamper’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 129).

c. Seeming cognates are also found in Finnish (mässätä ‘to feast; to make noise; to fight; to censure’, Votic (mäsätä ‘to disturb’) (cf. SSA II, 194a). In Vot. mäsätä ‘to both the -s- instead of -š- and the ā in the first syllable tell us that it cannot be a young loan. Slightly odd, however, is the substitution of ORuss. -č- with -ā-, whilst we would expect -āā- (cf. 5.1.2.2.2.). SSA (II, 194a) states helpfully that the Finnish and Estonian words are of ‘descriptive’ origin, but that they may have various sources. Vot. mäsätä probably from Russian, whilst Fi. mässätä and Est. mässama may have been influenced by Russ. мешать. MÄGISTE (EEW V, 1622-1623) is of the same opinion, but there is no need for this vague explanation, as Est. mässama can be readily explained by Russ. мешать, accepted by e.g. VAHROS (1963, 406), ARISTE (1981, 91) and MUST (2000, 211-212).

Est. mäss ‘resistance to (state) power, an attempt to overthrow or endanger the state, uprising; rebellion, rage’ (MÜLLER 1600, 222; STAHL 1637, 123; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EKÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) is probably a deverbal derivation from mässama. MÄGISTE (1962, 38-39) thinks mässima ‘to swaddle, to wind’ (GÖSEKEN 1660, 169, 171, 435, 468, 473; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 130b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EKÖS; VÖS 1933; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) is an iterative derivation in -i- of mässama. This has also been generally accepted (cf. MUST 2000, 211-212).


a. mässuk ‘(Russ.) Sack, Heusack’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).
b. Russ. мешóк 'bag, sack; bag (old Russ. dry measure, equivalent to 3-5 poods or approx. 49-82 kilograms); (fig., coll.) oaf, clumsy clot' < mex 'bellows; wine-skin' < Common Slavic (REW II, 127).

c. -

d. WIEDEMANN 1893; EEW V, 1623; MUST 2000, 201.

a. määř 'quantity, amount, quantum; certain amount, tariff, norm; measure, limit' (STAHL 1637; GÖSEKEN 1660, 293; HORNUNG 1693, 21; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 128b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÔS 1060; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. ORuss. мéра 'measure' (> mod. Russ. mépa 'measure') < Common Slavic (REW II, 118).

c. An older loan, found in all Finnic languages (cf. SSA II, 196a).

d. AHRENS 1853, 247; AHLQVIST 1875, 194; WESKE 1890, 256-257; MIKKOLA 1894, 54, 145; 1938, 30, 83; KALIMA 1952, 47, 127; 1956, 37, 97; MÄGISTE 1962, 18; ARISTE 1981, 91; RAUN 1982; EEW V, 1627.


a. naarits 'small brown, long-bodied rodent, which lives on the banks of rivers and lakes and which is also bred as a fur-bearing animal; the skin of this animal (Mustela) (GÖSEKEN 1660, 483; HORNUNG 1693; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 147; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. норица 'зверок норка' (DAI II, 554b; according to SRNG 21, 280a in Smolensk and Pskov) ~ нóрка 'marsh-otter' < норá 'Höhle' (REW II, 227).

c. THOMSEN (1890, 202) first suggested a Slavic etymology for Est. naarits; SAARESTE (1924a, 84-85), however, thought Baltic origin more likely (cf. OPruss. nariciē 'Itlis'), and he only derives Est. Alutaguse noris 'id.' (WIEDEMANN 1893) from Slavic, comparing it to OCS norici 'Taucher' and Ukr. noryca (= нориля) 'Fischotter'. OPruss. nariciē 'Itlis', however, is a relatively late and solitary loan from Slavic (TRAUTMANN 1910, 382; MAŽULIS 1996, 169), as THOMSEN (1890, 202) had already noted, from which Est. naarits cannot have been borrowed, and Est. naarits is in fact borrowed from Russ. норица.

GÖSEKEN’s (1660, XXXI, 139) Biber ‘Nartzick’, with an incorrect translation, is probably an Estonian derivation in -ik of the same word above (cf. ARISTE 1981, 91).
d. Thomsen 1890, 201-202; Saareste 1924a, 84-85; Kalima 1952, 130; Mägiste 1962, 39; Raun - Saareste 1965, 49; Ariste 1981, 91; Raun 1982; EEW V, 1650.

a. naat ‘umbelliferous herb, usually a perennial with large leaves (Aegopodium)’ (Göseken 1660, 508; WieDEMANN 1869; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. ORuss. *nats ‘Kraut von Kartoffeln und anderen Wurzelgemüsen’ < Proto-Slavic *nati (REW II, 201).

c. Est. naat and the Finnic cognates (cf. SSA II, 201b) must have been borrowed from an unrecorded ORuss. *nat. Though нать is found as such in Ukrainian and West and South Slavic (cf. REW II, 201), in Modern Russian only нати́на and (dial.) нети́на, нити́на and нятйна are found (SRNG 20, 219b).

A theoretical possibility would be that it was borrowed as *nättina, where the ending -na was analyzed as the essive case suffix ending -na and elided. This has been attested for Fi. massi ‘small bag’, a loan from Russ. мошня or ORuss. мо́шна (cf. Plöger 1973, 100). In Finnish dialects and in Votic forms like massina are still found. A form *naattina, however, has not been recorded anywhere; in addition the essive as a living case was restricted to parts of Central Estonia (cf. WieDEMANN 1875, 295-296) and so this theory remains pure speculation, whilst the erstwhile Russ. нать is, if not verified, at least bolstered by Ukr. нать and Russ. нати́на.

Also recorded (as a loan from Estonian) in Baltic German: Naten ‘(aus dem Ehstn.) hört man in vielen Gegenden das Kraut nennen welche Deutsche und Bauern als den ersten grünen Kohl des Frühjahrs essen. Einige erklären es für Bärenklau (Hieracium Sphondylum), Andere für die Podagraria oder Angelica minor’ (HupeL 1795, 159-160).

d. Weske 1890, 188; Mikkola 1894, 145; Kalima 1952, 43, 128; 1956, 34, 98; Ariste 1958, 26; Mägiste 1962, 18, 28; Raun 1982; EEW V, 1651.

a. nagaan ‘(formerly), a pistol with a short barrel and a revolving cylinder’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. нага́н ‘revolver’. Named after the Belgian inventors NAGANT (not NAGUAN, as VasmER writes in REW II, 192).

c. -

d. -
a. **nagaika** ‘short leather (Cossack) whip’ (EŌS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. EEW V, 1657; MUST 2000, 213-214.

a. **nahaal** ‘impertinent person’ (EKSS).

b. Russ. на́хал ‘impudent, insolent fellow, cheeky fellow; smart aleck’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 202).

c. Cf. **nahaalne**.

d. -

a. **nahaalne** ‘shameless, impertinent’ (ŌS 1999; EKSS).


c. **nahaal** and **nahaalne** are probably separate loans.

ŌS 1999 opposes the use of **nahaalne**.

d. -

a. **nalivka** ‘thin fruit or berry liqueur’ (EŌS; VŌS 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. нали́вка ‘fruit liqueur’. Probably a derivation in -ка from нали́вáться ‘to ripen, to become juicy’.

c. EŌS notes nalíčka.

Also recorded in Baltic German: **Nalíwka** ‘Fruchtliqueur’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 168).

d. BACHMAN 1956, 6; EEW V, 1665; MUST 2000, 214.


c. -

d. -

a. **nari** ‘plank-bed’ (EŌS; VŌS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. на́ры ‘plank-bed, bunk’. The etymology is unclear (REW II, 199-200).
c. Dialectally in WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893: nare (P) Pritsche (zum Schlafen). The plural form
narid in EOS reflects the Russian plural (some dialects also have a plural form; cf. MUST
2000, 214).
d. RAUN 1982; EEW V, 1669; MUST 2000, 214.

a. nari (narits, narrits, naru, nőre) ‘Haarseil’, hoost narise panema, hobusel nari p. ‘dem
Pferde ein Haarseil setzen’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. норица ‘Widerristfistel, Krankheit am Nacken der Pferde durch Druck verursacht’ <
норá ‘Höhle’ (REW II, 227).

c. THOMSEN (1890, 201-202) suggests that Est. nari ~ narits is a loan from Latv. narica ‘das
Haarseil, die Fontanelle’ (ME II, 693b), which is, together with Lith. naryčia ‘eine Krankheit
am Euter der Kühe und Stuten, Fontanelle’, a loan from Slavic, either from Pol. norzyca
‘Pferdekrankheit’ or Russ. норица ‘Geschwür’201 (ME II, 693b; SUMMENT 1950, 164; LEW I,
484b). KALIMA (1952, 130) and MÄGISTE (1962, 39) then assume it is a loan from Slavic, but
MÄGISTE in EEW (V, 1670) then leaves the possibility open that it may have been borrowed
from Latvian. Est. nari ‘Haarseil’ seems to be more common in South Estonian if we look at
its first occurrence, which is probably in the 1686 WT, II. Rahmat Timoteulle 2: 17: Nink
neide Söonna söbb henne ümbre kui Narritz ‘Their teaching will spread like gangrene’202 and
WIEDEMANN’s (1869; 1893) additional specifically South Estonian narrits (d) = nari,
narridzahe pandma ‘ein Haarseil setzen’. VABA (1977, 10; 1997, 19), however, dismisses the
Latvian etymology and says it is Russian. KOPONEN (1998, 131b-132a) is also unsure. If we
look at the spread of Est. nari (cf. VMS II, 78a) we see it is evenly spread over Estonia with
perhaps a slightly discernible concentration towards the north-east, but for the variant narits
the distribution is clearly concentrated in the south, though it has also been recorded in the
west and the north (VMS II, 78a). Russian origin is perhaps more likely, but in the south
some forms may have been borrowed from Latvian.

Est. nari ‘creaking of the joints’, subsumed in WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893) under the same
lemma, is unrelated: it is said to be onomatopoeic, though there may be influence from Sw.
knarra ‘creak’ (EEW V, 1669). SKES (II, 366b) derives both nari ‘creaking of the joints’ and
nari ‘Haarseil’ from G. Knarre ~ MLG gnarre ‘creak’.

201 Russian origin is more likely, as according to ME (II, 693b) the recordings are from eastern Vidzeme and not
from Latgale.

202 In modern Estonian: …ja nende sõna oígib aplat otseku vähktöbi ‘and their word devours voraciously like a
canker’ (UT, Pauluse teine kiri Timoteosele 2:17).

a. narodnik ‘supporter of the narodnik\textsuperscript{203} movement’ (EÖS; VÖS 1953; ÔS 1960; 1976, 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. народник ‘(hist.) narodnik, populist’ < народа ‘people’ + agent suffix -ник.

c. -

d. -

a. narsan ‘type of mineral water rich in carbon dioxide and calcium’ (EÖS; VÖS 1953; ÔS 1960; EKSS).

b. Russ. Нарсан (a mineral spring near Adler in southern Russia).

c. EÖS spells narsan, VÖS 1953 narsaan.

d. -


b. Russ. нарта ‘sledge (drawn by reindeer or dogs)’. Probably Common Slavic (REW II, 199).

c. -

d. EEW V, 1672.

a. nastoika ‘alcoholic drink made from an infusion of spirit, spices and perfume’ (VÖS 1953; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. настояка ‘liqueur (prepared by maceration, not distilled); (pharm.) tincture’ < настояивать ‘to draw, infuse’ (cf. DAR II, 474b).

c. -

d. EEW V, 1673.


\textsuperscript{203} A socio-political movement in Russia in the second half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century and the first half of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, based on an ideology of the intelligentsia which deemed the peasants the most important force of society and which looked for a non-capitalist manner of development for Russia.
b. Russ. навага (*zool.*) навага (*a small fish of the cod family*)’ < Saam Ter наваг ‘id.’ (REW II, 191).
c. -
d. -

a. **neemoguznaikas** ‘unwissend (scherzw. gebildetes Wort nach dem Russischen)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
b. Russ. не могу знать ‘I cannot know’.
c. **neemoguznaikas** is a jocular creation based on the above Russian sentence with the productive Estonian derivative suffix -*kas*.
d. BACHMAN 1956, 11; EEW V, 1679-1680.

a. **nehkugi** ‘(in negated sentences) nothing, not a scrap, not a bit’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. не хочу ‘(vulg.) fuck all’ < не ‘not a’ + хуй ‘penis’.
c. Descriptive origin is most likely, but it may also be related to *nihkuma* ‘to move slowly’, with a dialectal change -*ihk* < -*ehk*, and it may even be a loan from Russ. не хочу, according to MÄGISTE (EEW V, 1681). RAUN (1982) thinks it might be derivation of neh ‘really, yes’. MUST (2000, 216-217) assumes Russian origin and dismisses the other suggested etymologies. It is difficult to gauge how old the Russian expression не хочу is, as Russian dictionaries did not, as a rule, note obscenities.

a. **nehvt** ‘(*Naphtha?) in *punane n.* Steinöl (*Ol. petrae*)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
c. Est. нaltura ‘oil, petroleum’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) is a loan from German (EEW V, 1660), and is via Greek and Latin a loan from Iranian (REW II, 217).
d. EEW V, 1681; MUST 2000, 216.
a. **nekrut** ‘recruit’ (*Wiedemann* 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. **Raun** - **Saareste** (1965, 48) tentatively suggest German origin. This suggestion is unnecessary and unlikely, as in German there is no form with initial *n*, whilst Russ. dial. нёкрут is abundantly recorded.

d. **Bachman** 1956, 6; **Saareste** 1957, 459, 466, 473, 480; **Raun** - **Saareste** 1965, 48; **Raun** 1982; EEW V, 1683; MUST 2000, 217.

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b. Russ. нёльма ‘white salmon’. The etymology is unclear, but it is probably a loan from either a Tungusic or Paleosiberian language (cf. REW II, 211; ANIKIN 2000, 406).

c. -

d. EEW V, 1685.

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a. **nepmann** ‘private enterpriser and profiteer during the first *nepp*’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999;).

b. Russ. нёпман *(pej.) ‘Nepman*, profiteer (*during period of New Economic Policy*).

c. Cf. **nepp**.

d. EEW V, 1686.

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a. **nepp** ‘economic policy in the USSR from 1921 to 1929, which gave a certain freedom to small private enterprisers’ (VÖS 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. In the 1953 ÖS the preferred spelling is nep, from the 1960 ÖS onwards it is written as nepp.

d. -

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c. -
a. *nessima* ‘to drag, to lug’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKSS).

b. Russ. *нести* ‘to carry; to bear, to support; to bear, to suffer; to perform; to bear, to bring; to stink, to reek (of); to talk (nonsense)’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 215).

c. LOORITS (1929, 176-177) assumed it was a loan from Latv. *nest: nesu* ‘tragen, bringen’, as he only knew it from the Sõrve peninsula on Saaremaa, but in a footnote which he managed to add just before printing he writes that it is also found in South Estonian, making its Latvian origin less certain. MUST (2000, 217-218) shows how widespread it really is, and that its Russian origin is sure.

The Estonian loan is abstracted from a conjugated form such as *hecēt* ‘s/he carries’.


a. *niit* ‘non-woollen twisted thread for sewing or embroidery’ (GÖSEKEN 1660, 495; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 149b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKŐS; EÕS; VÕS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÒS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. *нить* ‘thread; filament; (med.) suture’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 221-222).

c. WESKE (1890, 214-215) derives both Est. *niis* ‘heddle’ and *niit* ‘thread’ from Slavic, but *niis* ‘heddle’ and its Finnic cognates (cf. SSA II, 218b) are a loan from Baltic (THOMSEN 1890, 203; KALIMA 1936, 142; SSA II, 218b). AHRENS (1853, 249) was the first to note its Russian origin in print, and due to its distribution in Finnic MIKKOLA (1894, 146) assumes *niit* is an old loan. Because both ORuss. *i*i and older Russ. и would have been substituted with Finnic *i*i, it is difficult to say how old this loan is. FRAENKEL (LEW I, 505a) mistakenly claims THOMSEN suggested Baltic origin for *niit*, when in fact THOMSEN refers to AHLOVIST’S Russian etymology.

d. AHRENS 1853, 249; AHLOVIST 1875, 83; WESKE 1890, 214-215; THOMSEN 1890, 203; MIKKOLA 1894, 146; KALIMA 1952, 51, 129; 1956, 40, 99; MÄGISTE 1962, 18; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; LEW I, 505a; ARISTE 1981, 91; RAUN 1982; EEW V, 1697.

a. *noos* ‘booty, tuck; amount of booty’ (GÖSEKEN 1660, 501; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 153b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÕS; VÕS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÒS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. *ноша* ‘burden’ < носить ‘to carry, to bear’ (REW II, 229).
c. First derived from Russian by MÄGISTE (1962, 40); RAUN (1982) also suggest MLG nôs as a possibility. However, MLG nôs ‘Bund, Bündel?’ (LÜBBEN 1888, 250a) $\sim$ nos (noss) ‘Bund, Bündel als Maß für getrockneten Fisch (Baltikum)’ (LASCH - BORCHLING 1994 II, 1112), seems to be restricted to the Baltics, and thus it itself may be a loan from a local language (cf. Latv. naša ‘der Fang der Fischer, Beute’ $< nes$ ‘tragen, bringen’; ME II, 694b, which, however, cannot be the source of the MLG word).

In Estonian there are various similar words, like noss ‘Tracht, Haufen, Menge’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893) and nosi ‘Beute’ (WIEDEMANN 1893). WIEDEMANN suggests a contamination of lossikond, losikond, loosikond ‘Haufe, Menge’ with nodi ‘Haufe, Kram’ for the former, but Russ. nówá ‘burden’ is a more likely source, as it is for nosi (cf. also EEW VI, 1733 and 1732).

d. MÄGISTE 1962, 40; RAUN - SAAREST 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW VI, 1727; MUST 2000, 219-220.

a. noss ‘Stumpf, Stummel’, noss: pübunoss ‘Pfeifenstummel’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893) $\sim$ noss: nossnina ‘Stumpfnase’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933) $\sim$ nosu ‘short blunt object; pipe, nosewarmer; short wide nose; softly, weakling’ (EKÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) $\sim$ nosu: nossnina ‘short and wide nose’ (VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. noś ‘nose’ $<$ Common Slavic (REW II, 228).

c. It seems likely that two words have been contaminated: MÄGISTE (1928, 12, 48; EEW VI, 1732-1733) assumes nosi and its variants nosu are of onomatopoeic origin, and whilst this may be so, Russ. noś has undoubtedly influenced some of the Estonian variants, if it is not a direct loan. About noss, nossnina and pübunoss MUST (2000, 220, 221) has no doubts whatsoever about the Russian origin, about nosu $\sim$ nossnina she is more inclined to believe ‘descriptive’ origin.

d. MÄGISTE 1928, 12, 48; RAUN 1982; EEW VI, 1732-1733; MUST 2000, 220, 221.

a. nuhk ‘sniff; slight wind; smell’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; ÕS 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. нюх ‘scent; (fig.) flair’ $<$ нюхать ‘to smell (at)’ $<$ Common Slavic (REW II, 234).

c. -

d. MUST 2000, 222-223.
a. **nuusnik** ‘toilet’ (EKSS).


c. Though recorded first in EKSS, in dialects it is common especially in the north-east and the south-west (cf. MUST 2000, 224). It is also already found in a novel translated by F. TUGLAS in the first half of the 20th century (cf. EKSS III: *nuusnik*). Cf. **nuust**.

d. MUST 2000, 224.

a. **nuust** ‘in der Redensart тaњaвu тa сaї вiймсe нuуста in diesem Jahre hat er den letzten Stoss, Schaden, Verlust, bekommen’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. нужда́ ‘want, straits, indigence; need, necessity; (euph.) call of nature’ (REW II, 230).

c. From Russ. нужда́ are also borrowed Fi. dial. *nuusta* ‘want, necessity’ and Vot. нužd(e)‘id.’; SSA (II, 244b), however, does not mention the Estonian word. Cf. **nuusnik**.

d. EEW VI, 1755.

a. **nuut**. Cf. **knuut**.

a. **nädal** ‘time period of seven days; cycle of days from Monday to Sunday or Sunday to Saturday; time period of seven days from a particular time’ (MÜLLER 1600; STAH 1637, 131; GÖSEKEN 1660, 473; HORNUNG 1693, 113, 114; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 145a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960, 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Probably borrowed as *nätälã*, where later the final vowel was lost, and the ā in the second syllable became a after vowel harmony was no longer operating in North Estonian (cf. EstS nätäl, Vot. nätelõ).

d. HUPEL 1818, 147b; AHRENS 1853, 248; AHLQVIST 1875, 256; WESKE 1890, 258; MIKKOLA 1894, 146; 1938, 68; KALIMA 1952, 34, 128-129; 1956, 27, 98; MÅGISTE 1962, 19, 28; ARISTE 1981, 91; RAUN 1982; EEW VI, 1775.

a. **obadus** ‘a metal loop’ (THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 156b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. óbd ‘rim; felloe’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 242).
c. In Estonian the word was adapted to words in -us.
Est. obadus was borrowed into dialectal Finnish as hopaus (OJANSUU 1916, 138).
d. MÄGISTE 1962, 40; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW VI, 1811.

a. oblast ‘an administrative division consisting of rayons in Russia, the Ukraine and some other countries’ (EÖS; VÖS 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. область ‘(designation of administrative division of former USSR) oblast, province; region, district, belt; (anat., med.) tract; region; (fig.) province, field, sphere, realm, domain’ < OCS oblastь (REW II, 241).
c. oblast appeared already in EÖS, but was not important enough to be taken up into the VÖS series, compiled by ELMAR MUUK. The word reappeared in the 1945 issue in the flood of Soviet terminology (cf. KASK 1965, 4-5), long after MUUK had met his death in a Russian prison camp.
d. MUST 1956, 136; EEW VI, 1811; MUST 2000, 225.

a. obrok ‘rent paid in produce or money in feudal Russia’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. оброк ‘(hist.) quit-rent’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 244-245).
c. Est. obrok is a younger loan than Fi. aprakka ‘rent’ (cf. MIKKOLA 1894, 147; KALIMA 1952, 83; SSA I, 80a). A new word in WIEDEMANN 1869.
The -u- in Wied. obruk is explained by the change o > u (cf. PELTOLA 1953, 221).
Also recorded in Baltic German: obrok ‘Pachtzins; Abgabe (der Bauern an ihre Herren)’ (HUPEL 1795, 163; KIPARSKY 1936, 169).
Est. obrok also occurred in 1980s ~ 1990s slang in the expression obrokit viima ~ maksma (‘to bring, pay obrok’) ‘to bring someone a present; of a younger schoolboy: to give stronger or bigger boys sweets or money’ (TENDER 1994, 352).
d. WIEDEMANN 1869; MIKKOLA 1894, 147; KALIMA 1952, 83; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; EEW VI, 1812; MUST 2000, 225.

a. ogar ‘weak-minded, mentally abnormal; unreasonable, stupid, dull, silly’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. yráp ‘carbon monoxide fumes, charcoal fumes; carbon monoxide poisoning; (fig.) ecstasy, intoxication’ < pref. y- + *garь < горёть ‘to burn’ (REW III, 170).
c. RAUN\textsuperscript{204} (EEW VI, 1815) makes the tentative suggestion that Est. \textit{ogar} may be a loan from Russ. yràp ‘toxic fumes; ecstasy’. In his own etymological dictionary RAUN (1982) does not mention this suggestion any more and instead repeats KETTUNEN’s (LW 262b) suggestion that Est. \textit{ogar} and Liv. \textit{ogà-pà} ‘Starrkopf’ derive from \textit{oga} ‘thorn’. SSA (II, 258a) is not sure whether Liv. \textit{ogà-pà ‘Starrkopf’} belongs to the Finnic \textit{oas/okas} ‘thorn’ family, but does not mention Est. \textit{ogar}. In Estonian \textit{-r} is a derivational adjective suffix (EKG I, 594), so it could have been derived from \textit{oga}, but semantically this does not seem likely; in Estonian \textit{okkaline} is translated as ‘thorny’, which has the same figurative use as in English, i.e. it denotes an irritating or distressing situation.

In fact the etymology suggested by RAUN is not unlikely; in DAE (IV, 465a) we read the following: угаръ ‘лихой, отчаянный парень, сорванец, бойчак, удалой кутила и буянъ’. Cf. also угорьлый человекъ ‘больной или умерший отъ угару’, мечется, какъ угорельный, какъ угорелью кошка ‘какъ безумный’. WIEDEMANN’s (1893) translation of \textit{ogar}, \textit{ogarane}, \textit{ogaras}, (\textit{ôgar}, \textit{ôgarane}, \textit{ugaras}) as ‘verwirrt, betäubt, \textit{pea on o} ‘der Kopf ist wüst, confus’ is also closer to the Russian than EKSS.

Russ. \textit{yr}- substituted by Est. \textit{o} in anlaut is not common, but it does occur (MUST 2000, 522-523). According to VMS (II, 134a) the distribution of Est. \textit{ogar} is concentrated on the coast in the north-east, with other areas in to the east of central Estonia. In the coastal dialects there is some \textit{o} ~ \textit{u} vacillation in native words (MUST 1987, 115), so that this would occur in a loan is not unusual. Perhaps the word then made its way from the north-east to the rest of Estonia.

d. RAUN 1982; EEW VI, 1815; SSA II, 258a.


b. Russ. \textit{ohrànka} ‘(coll.) Okhranka (Secret Police Department in tsarist Russia)’ < хранить ‘to keep, preserve’ < OCS \textit{crhaniti}‘φυλάξτεν’ (REW III, 270).

c. EÖS has \textit{ohraana} ‘political secret police in Tsarist Russia’.

d. -

\textsuperscript{204} The suggestion in EEW (VI, 1815) does not stem from MÄGISTE; as we can read in the introduction of EEW (I, vi, ix), the section containing all words beginning with \textit{o} up to \textit{ohakas} was missing in MÄGISTE’s manuscript. RAUN wrote this himself, whilst trying to adhere to MÄGISTE’s style.
a. **oklad** ‘Oklad, Kategorie’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. оклайд ‘salary scale, salary; tax, assessment’ < pref. о- + клад ‘treasure’ < класть ‘to lay, to put, to place’.

c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1869.

Also recorded in Baltic German: **Oklad’(Kopf)steuer’** (KIPARSKY 1936, 169).

d. EEW VI, 1825.

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a. **okroška** ‘a cold kvass soup with pieces of meat, egg, cucumber and onions etc.’ (ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. окрошка (cold kvass soup with chopped vegetable and meat or fish)’ < окрошить ‘обломать кругомь, ошпать, обить’ (DAE II, 590b)

c. -

d. EEW VI, 1825.

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a. **oktoih** ‘ein Theil des griechischen Gottesdienstes’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. окто́их ‘liturgisches Buch nach 8 Stimmen gegliedert’ < Gr. ὀκτώηχος, ὀκτάηχος (REW II, 261).

c. -

d. -

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a. **oktobrist** ‘member of the upper bourgeoisie and manor owners’ party in Russia in the beginning of the 20th century’ (ŌS 1960; 1976; EKSS).


c. Already used in the Estonian press in the 1910s according to KURVE (1953, 21). The second syllable has been adapted that of Est. oktoober ‘October’.

d. KURVE 1953, 21; AHVEN 1956, 26; EEW VI, 1828.

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a. **omul** ‘a subarctic subspecies of the whitefish (*Coregonus autumnalis*)’ (ŌS 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. óмуль ‘omul (sea fish of salmon family, found also in Lake Baikal)’ < мульть ‘trüben’ (REW II, 268).

c. -
d. -

a. **opakas** ‘edible boletus’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; EÖS; ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. MOORA (1964, 262) suggests Est. opakas is a loan from Russ. опёнок, but AMBUS (1970, 121-123) rejects this. She compares Est. opakas ‘edible boletus’ to similar loans in Votic (obahka, obakka, obak ‘id.’) and Ingrian (obokka ‘id.’), and says that these and Est. opakas have been borrowed from Russ. обáбок ‘Butterpilz, Boletus granulatus’, probably from an oblique form обáбка, where then in Estonian it has been adapted to words in -kas. In the dialects it is found only in the north-east (VMS II, 147a), and AMBUS thinks the coastal forms may have been borrowed via Votic and not directly from Russian. The Votic forms in -kka or -k occur in the westernmost dialects, whilst the central dialects show forms in -hk; this does not contradict AMBUS’s claim, but there is no specific reason either to prefer Votic mediation. In the north-east there are also some dialect forms in p- such as pobukas, popak, popakas and pobukakk (AMBUS 1970, 121-123; MUST 2000, 226-227). These are possibly borrowed from the Russian expression по обáбки ‘going to pick mushrooms’, as AMBUS (1970, 123) suggested, and partly influenced by folk etymology (pobukakk < kakk ‘flat loaf, cake’).


a. **opritšnik** ‘envoy who is member of the oprichnina; bodyguard of Ivan IV’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. опричник ‘(hist.) oprichnik (member of oprichnina)’ < опрýчь ‘(obs.) except, save’ + -ник (REW II, 272).

c. Sometimes spelt opričnik (e.g. LIV 1929, 26).

d. EEW VI, 1840.

a. **opritšnina** ‘system of special measures created by Ivan IV to strengthen the centralised state power in Russia; also the land, institutions and army of the tsar; territory of members of the grand ducal dynasty in Russia between the 14th and 16th centuries’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. опричница ‘(hist.) oprichnina (special administrative elite established in Russia by Ivan IV, also the territory assigned to this elite)’ < опрýчь ‘(obs.) except, save’ + -нина (REW II, 272).

256
c. - 

d. VL 1961, 387b.

a. **osí** ‘grassy acotyledon with whorled leaves and with a hollow nodular stem (*Equisetum*)’ (HUPEL 1818; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. ? Slavic *χύσεγ ~ *χυσεγέ ‘horsetail’ (> Russ. хвощ ‘horsetail’) (cf. REW III, 237-238).

c. SKES (I, 81-82) and SSA (I, 174b) assume that Fi. *hosía* ‘horsetail’ and its Finnic cognates, including Est. *osi*, from which a Finnic *hosía* can be reconstructed, are derived from *huosía* ‘Schrubber od. Bürste aus Birkenrinde, Reisig o.ä.’ (which occurs only in northern Finnic). This etymology is based on a semantic parallel: in Swedish *skäftegräs* ‘horsetail’ is a compound of *skäfte* ‘stalk’ and *gräs* ‘grass’, where *skäfte* is of the same origin as *skafft* ‘stalk’, *skura* ‘scour’ and *skava* ‘scrape’. SSA (I, 188a) has no etymology for *huosía*, and refers back to *hosía*.

KOIVULEHTO (1997, 23) suggests that Finnic *hosía* is a loan from Slavic *χύσεγ ~ *χυσεγέ* ‘horsetail’ (> Russ. хвощ ‘horsetail’; cf. TRUBAČEVI 1981, 134-135). The substitution of the consonants is regular, according to KOIVULEHTO, and the -ο- instead of an expected -α- (cf. KALIMA 1952, 30-32) is explained by an ‘expected Finnish labialization’ of the vowel after the anlaut *χν*. KIPARSKY (1958, 136), however, considers these words only vaguely similar, and the Russian word cannot be the source of the Finnic word.

Recorded as South Estonian in HUPEL 1780; as northwestern in WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893.

d. SKES I, 81b-82a; KIPARSKY 1958, 136; SSA I, 174b; KOIVULEHTO 1997, 23.

a. **osm.** Cf. 8.1.

a. **osmin** ‘vier Tschetwerk’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS;).

b. Russ. осьмин ‘две четверти или 48 пуд.’ (DAL I, 247a) < во́семь ‘eight’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 231).

c. EÖS has **osmín**.

D. WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EEW VI, 1852.

a. **ostol** ‘a steel-tipped reindeer-sledge brake stick’ (EKSS).


c. -
d. -

a. **ostrok** ‘kleine Festung, Haftplatz für Arrestanten’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. острый ‘(obs.) goal; (hist.) stockaded town; (hist.) stockade, palisade’ < о́стрый ‘sharp’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 287, 288).

c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1869.

d. EEW VI, 1854.

da. **otpuska** ‘Urlaub’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).

b. Russ. отпуск ‘leave, holiday(s), (mil.) leave, furlough; issue, delivery, distribution; (tech.) tempering, drawing’ < отпускать ‘to let go, let off’ (REW II, 467).

c. Est. **otpuska** was borrowed from the Russian singular genitive form отпуска.

d. EEW VI, 1854; MUST 2000, 228.

a. **paabu** (kd) ‘Bohne’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. ооб ‘bean’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 97).

c. MÄGISTE (EEW VI, 1859) thinks both **paabu** ‘Bohne’ (from ‘child language’ according to WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893), and Est. Alutaguse **papp** ‘id.’ (MUST 2000, 285) are loans from Fi. **papu** ‘id.’, which is in turn a loan from ORuss. **bob** ‘bean’ (as GANANDER already suggested in 1787; GANANDER 1938, II, 328; cf. also SSA II, 312a), though MÄGISTE also claims (EEW VI, 1872) that this may in fact be, along with Est. **pabul** ‘dropping’ and its Finnic cognates such as Fi. **papana** ‘id.’ and Kar. **papel** ‘id.’, of descriptive origin. For Est. Alutaguse **papp**, however, MÄGISTE (EEW VI, 1931) also suggests a hypocoristic formation as a possibility. We agree with MUST (2000, 285), who derives Est. dial. **pabu**, pl. **pabunid** ‘bean; small, hard, round dropping’ from Russian. WIEDEMANN’s **paabu** ‘Bohne’ undoubtedly belongs here too. We also accept MUST’s suggestion that **pabul** and its variants are derivations of this Russian loan.

d. EEW VI, 1859, 1872, 1931; MUST 2000, 285.

a. **paadarosna** ‘Anweisung auf Postpferde’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. подо́рожная ‘(hist.) order for (fresh) post-horses’ < pref. по- + доро́жная ‘adj. of доро́га ‘road’.

c. Recorded as a new word in WIEDEMANN 1869 and 1893.
Also recorded in Baltic German: *Podoroschna* ‘Reiseschein, Anweisung zum Fahren mit Postpferden’ (HUPEL 1795, 175; KIPARSKY 1936, 173).

d. EEW VI, 1860.

a. **paar** ‘steam (in a bathhouse); gust, vapour’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EKSS).
b. Russ. nap ‘steam; exhalation’ < ablaut in преть ‘to sweat’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 313).
c. As the genitive is *paaru* it was probably borrowed from the oblique nápy (MUST 2000, 230). The derivation *paarutama* ‘to heat a steam bath; to whisk oneself in a steam bath; to cook (for a long time)’ is recorded in ÖS 1999 and EKSS.

Recorded in Hiiumaa, Kuusalu and Haljala is *taibaru ~ taivaru* ‘to treat badly; to hurt; to nag; to run on thin ice in autumn’, borrowed from a Russian imperative form дай нáпу ‘add steam’ (MUST 2000, 398).

d. BACHMAN 1959, 263; EEW VI, 1864; MUST 2000, 230.

a. **paast** ‘partial or complete desistance from (a type of) food for a certain period of time for religious reasons, fasting; fast’ (MÜLLER 1600; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 165b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. There is still no consensus amongst etymologists as to whether Est. *paast/Fi. paasto* (and the other Finnic cognates) is a loan from Germanic or Russian (cf. SSA II, 283b). In 1769 IHRE in his Glossarium Suiogothicum (cf. SSA II, 283b) compared Fi. *paasto* to Germanic; the usual source is thought to be an oblique form *fasto* of OSw. *fasta* ‘fast’ (SSA II, 283b).

SJÖGREN in 1821 (cf. SSA II, 283b) first suggested Russian origin for Fi. *paasto*205, but already in 1732 THOR HELLE wrote that Est. *paastma* ‘to fast’ is a loan from Russ. *poost* (= но́стр). The Russian etymology was suggested again by AHLOVIST (1871, 221) fifty years later, but rejected by MIKKOLA (1894, 32), who wrote that it cannot have been borrowed from Russ.

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205 SJÖGREN was the first to suggest Russian origin in print for the Finnish word; amongst the Finnish polymath H.G. PORTHAN’s papers stored at the University of Helsinki there is a list entitled *Likhet emellan några ryska och finska ord* where Russ. *post* (= но́стр) is compared to Fi. *paasto* (cf. MIKKOLA 1894, 4). KOPONEN (1996, 96) thus rightly states that SJÖGREN was not the first to suggest the Russian etymology, but MIKKOLA writes that the list is not in PORTHAN’s handwriting. If someone rewrote it for him or if it is altogether someone else’s work is not known.
постъ (probably because one would expect a *pastu if it were loaned from ORuss. postъ, and *postа or *poosta if were a younger loan from Russ. ночь; cf. KOPONEN 1996, 96). KALIMA does not mention it in his 1952 work on the Slavic loanwords in Finnic, so we must assume he concurred with MIKKOLA. The general view is thus that in Estonian it is a Germanic loan, probably borrowed via Finnish (cf. LOORITS 1962, 205; EEW VI, 1868).

Recently KOPONEN (1996, 95-102) revived the Russian etymology: although the Finnic forms would indicate to an original long a, the more accepted Germanic etymology also does not explain it. KOPONEN points out that in Finnic there has been a certain tendency for vowels to become longer (referring to HOFSTRA 1985, 28, 34-35), and not only in loanwords. As the Livonian cognate206 (past ‘fasting; Easter’; pastъ ‘to fast’) and many Estonian dialect forms (cf. VMS II, 156b: paast) also have a short vowel KOPONEN assumes that the short vowel variant is original (as has to be assumed for the Germanic etymology too; cf. KOPONEN 1996, 98). KOPONEN also assumes that the form in -u (as in Estonian, Livonian207 and Old Finnish) is older, and then we arrive at a reconstructed *pastu, identical to that which we would expect if it were borrowed from ORuss. postъ. Although KOPONEN has resuscitated the Russian etymology, it has not eliminated the Germanic one, and it is still acceptable. KOPONEN is thus forced to take geography into account to back up the Russian etymology. If it was indeed borrowed from Middle Swedish it is unlikely that it would have made its way to Livonian and South Estonian. Neither is it likely that it would have been borrowed separately from Middle Swedish to Finnish and from Middle Low German to Estonian, because we would then have to posit the lengthening of the a in the first syllable separately in two different areas; it is more believable that this happened in one place only. Russian origin thus seems more likely, where the word would have been borrowed first into South Estonian208 and made its way up into Finland. The fact that many terms referring to Christianity were borrowed from Old Russian (papp ‘priest’, pist ‘cross’, pagan ‘pagan’) can offer supporting evidence.

d. THOR HELLÉ 1732, 323; AHLQVIST 1875, 251; MIKKOLA 1894, 4; LOORITS 1962, 205; EEW VI, 1868; KOPONEN 1996, 95-102; SSA II, 283b.

206 Assumed to be a loan from Estonian by SKES (II, 451b), but not by LW (277a) or SSA (II, 283b).

207 In Livonian auslaut o and a have coalesced to u (LW XXVIII), so that Livonian does not furnish additional proof for pastu being a more likely form than pasto.

208 KOPONEN mentions as its first recording GUTSLAFF’s (1648, 212) fasten/pástma/a, but it occurs already in ROSSINNIUS (1632, 259): Pahsto.
a. **pabeross** ‘tobacco product; crushed tobacco in special cigarette tube’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÓS; VÓS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. **WIEDEMANN** (1893) registers a *paapiros* ‘Papiercigarre’, which, though the stress has already shifted to the first syllable including lengthening of the first syllable, has not yet been partially adapted to Est. paber ‘paper’, as pabeross has.


a. **padajann** ‘(food-)package or wares, brought along or sent’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. подáйние ‘charity, alms; dole’ < pref. по- + да́йние < дать ‘to give’.

c. -


a. **padavai** ‘(pertaining to quick, brisk movement somewhere:) direct; hurried’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. пода́вáй. Imperative form (2psg) of пода́вáть ‘to move; to give way, to yield; to make (for), to set out (for)’.

c. -

d. **MUST** 2000, 232.

a. **pagan** ‘person who does not belong to the Christian (or Jewish or Muslim) faith, witness of a polytheist religion; person who has become estranged from the church, person who is indifferent to religious rites; evil spirit, the devil; moderate swearword’ (MÜLLER 1600; STAHL 1637, 72; GÖSEKEN 1660, 237; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 168b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; **WIEDEMANN** 1869; 1893; EKÓS; EÖS; VÓS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. ORuss. pogánъ ‘heidnisch’ < Lat. págánus (REW II, 381).

c. Est. **pagan** is usually derived from ORuss. pogánъ (cf. THOR HELLE 1732, 323; AHLOVIST 1875, 250; MIKKOLA 1894, 152; KALIMA 1952, 133; MÄGISTE 1962, 19; ARISTE 1981, 91; RAUN 1982; **EEW VI**, 1879; **MUST** 2000, 273-274), but ANNIST - MOORA (1965, 503b) in their review of LOORITS 1949-57 suggest that Est. pagan may be a loan from Latin instead (as did AHRENS 1853, 250), as the local Catholic priests would have considered the local non-
christians pagan savages, practically demons. The form Pagaanid, recorded in the 1694 (South Estonian) Önsa Lutri Laste Oppus209 (cf. MÄGISTE 1962, 19), was drawn on to prove that Est. pagan was a loan from Lat. págānus (cf. also GUTSLAFF [1648, 218a], who translates heide as paganus Paggan. Only for few words does he add the Latin translation, so this can be interpreted as his attempt to show Est. pagan comes from Latin), but in ORuss. pogany the stress is also on the second syllable, so Pagaanid can with equal ease be derived from Russian. In principle Est. pagan can be derived from both Russ. pogany and Lat. págānus.

In Estonian pagan, usually in the compound vanapagan ‘old pagan’, is used also to denote the devil, and often even refers to a simple-minded giant who is easy to trick, a case of syncretism with a figure from Germanic mythology (cf. LRU II, 209).

d. THOR HELLE 1732, 323; AHLOVIST 1875, 250; MIKKOLA 1894, 152; KALIMA 1952, 133; MÄGISTE 1962, 19; ANNIST - MOORA 1965, 503; ARISTE 1981, 91; RAUN 1982; EEW VI, 1879; MUST 2000, 273-274.

a. pagasnik ‘car trunk’ (EKSS).

b. Russ. багажник ‘luggage compartment; roof rack; boot (of motor-car)’ < багаж ‘luggage’ (< Fr. bagage or G. Bagage < Fr. bagues (REW I, 36) + suffix -ник.

c. One would expect *pagaasnik, but it has been adapted to Est. pagas ‘luggage’, which is probably a loan from G. Bagage (already recorded in WIEDEMANN 1869). Dialect forms such as pagaas exist, but in the literary language pagas has been in use since the 1930s, after a suggestion by O. KALLAS (cf. EEW VI, 1880).

d. -

a. pagor ‘boat-hook’ (SALEM 1890).

b. Russ. бароп ‘Enterhaken, Hakenstange’. The etymology of the Russian word is unsure. MIKKOLA (1894, 80) suggested a loan from North Germanic *bát-garr ‘Bootspiess’. This is rejected by VASMER (REW I, 37), who assumes a connection with барый ‘Art Brechstange mit plattem, gebogenem und geteiltem Ende zum Herausziehen von Nägeln’ and баран ‘düne lange Stange; Holzbalken, hölzerner Stock (am Hakenpflug); Fußfessel der Pferde’.

c. Est. pagor ‘boat-hook’ is only found in WIEDEMANN 1869 (and 1893), who recorded it as a dialect word from Alutaguse (where o in non-initial syllables has been retained; MUST 2000, 521), and translated it as ‘Bootshaken’. SALEM rewrote WIEDEMANN’s 1869 Estonian-

209 See ANNUS 2000, 125.
German dictionary as an Estonian-Russian dictionary, leaving out many words, mostly German loanwords and dialect words. As SALEM’s dictionary was conceived specifically for the purpose of helping Estonians learn Russian (cf. p. V), loanwords from Russian found only in dialects, such as *pager*, could possibly have been left in to facilitate the learning of Russian. It is also possible that SALEM was not rigorous enough in his elimination of dialect words.

d. MIKKOLA 1894, 80-81; KALIMA 1952, 46, 133; 1956, 36, 101; MUST 1956, 131, 134; EEW VI, 1882; MUST 2000, 233.

a. *pagun* ‘an accessory attached to the shoulders of soldiers’ uniforms, which denotes rank, branch of service or other insignia; a similar fashion detail on civil clothing’ (VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. *пого́н* *(mil.)* shoulder-strap; *(rifle-)sling*. The etymology is unclear; cf. REW II, 382.

c. -

d. MUST 1956, 129; RAUN-SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW VI, 1882; MUST 2000, 234.

a. *paiak* ‘thurmforma Seezeichen’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. ?

c. MÄGISTE (EEW VI, 1891) notes it as ‘Russ.’, but without a possible Russian source.

d. EEW VI, 1891.

a. *pajatama* ‘to talk, to tell, to converse about something; to say, to utter’ (VTS; MÜLLER 1600; STAHL 1637, 116; GÖSEKEM 1660, 103, 105, 120, 132, 204, 272, 283, 299, 333, 389, 390, 426, 453, 470, 476; VESTRING 1740, 170b; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. бá́ть *(coll., obs. or dial.)* to say, talk’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 66).

c. Already found in the oldest recorded Estonian text (Wanradti-Koelli kateismus): *Nynck andis sen temma su[la]ste]le /Nynck payetsys[W]othkat ninck s{oekat}* (VTS 75-76); first recorded in South Estonian in 1622 in Chr. BLUME (cf. SAARESTE 1956, 287).

Est. *pajatama* has probably been adapted to the verb type *kirjutama*, where the *-ta* is originally a causative suffix (Est. *pajatama* is not a causative) and not a remnant of the Russian infinitive ending *-ть*. Cf. Est. dial. *mahatama* ‘to move one’s hands’ < Russ. маха́ть ‘to wave’ (MUST 2000, 540). Dialectal *pajama* ‘to converse’ (VK VI, 761) has been loaned as a different type, which neither borrowed the Russian infinitive ending nor adapted to the Estonian causative type.
WEINREICH (1979, 58) notes that 'certain notions seem to attract a multitude of designations...In such semantic fields as ‘talking’, ‘beating’, ‘sleeping’, ‘tallness’, or ‘ugliness’, there is in many languages a constant need for synonyms (small caps in original; RB), an onomastic low-pressure area, as it were.’ In Finnic we find different verbs for the most common verb for ‘speaking’ in practically all languages: Fi. puhua, Kar. paiissa and Veps. pagišta, Ingr. lâDâg, Vot. pajattâ, Est. rääkima, EstS könelema, Liv. rëkkandš (LAANEST 1975, 213). Loans from Russian for ‘speaking, saying, talking, telling’ in the Finnic languages include Veps. dial. bašta (< Russ. басить), Olon. govorie (< Russ. говорить), Fi. dial. kasia (< Russ. сказать), Fi. dial. laatiia, Est. laadimita\(^\text{210}\) (< Russ. ладить), Est. pajatama, Vot. pajattâ (< Russ. байть), Kar. poajie (a newer loan from Russ. байть), Lud. roskažida (< Russ. разсказать) (cf. Siro 1949, 175). Cf. also Est. dial. (Lutsi) ruunama ‘to say’ (< Latv. runāt) (KALLAS 1894, 22).

In the 1997 Estonian Bible translation pajatama was replaced by könelema (PAUL 1999, 796), probably because in modern Estonian pajatama is often used in a slightly rustic or jocular way.

d. WESKE 1890, 190; MIKKOLA 1894, 83; SIRO 1949, 119-121, 175; GEV II, 455; KALIMA 1952, 44, 132-133; 1956, 34, 101; MÄGISTE 1962, 19; ARISTE 1981, 92; RAUN 1982; EEW VI, 1898-1899.

a. pajats ‘clown, buffoon; clown toy’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. паяц ‘(circus) clown; (fig., pej.) clown’ < Fr. païlasse < It. pagliaccio (REW II, 329).
c. -
d. RAUN 1982; EEW VI, 1899; MUST 2000, 234.

a. pajuk ‘pension; (dry) food ration, food quota’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. Also recorded in Baltic German: Pajok ‘Deputat der Militärpersonen, Monatslohn der Hofsknechte an Kleidern und Nahrungsmitteln’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 170.).

\(^\text{210}\) Cf. laaditama.
Est. **paika** ‘food ration, usually bread, given to prisoners in camps’ (EKSS) is borrowed from the genitive пайка́ of паёк ‘ration’. Cf. *baika* ~ *paika* ‘prisoners’ bread ration’ (ILM - TENDER 2003, 69a).

d. **Wiedemann 1893; Raun - Saareste 1965, 49; EEW VI, 1900; Must 2000, 234-235.**

a. **pakaa** ‘farewell word of Russian origin’ (EKSS).
b. Russ. покá ‘for the present, for the time being; (coll.) cheerio!; bye-bye!’ < pref. по- + *ka from кой ‘which’, кто ‘who’ (REW II, 388-389).
c. Often considered a despised Russianism. Slang variants of *pakaa* include *paks, paksi, paksas* (possibly pseudo-Lithuanian) and *pakavidze* (with a pseudo-Georgian patronymic ending) (TENDER 1994, 351).
d. **Must 2000, 235.**

a. **pikal** ‘tow’ (EÖS; VÖS 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. **Thomsen** (1890, 205) assumed a loan from Baltic (see above), but already reckoned with the possibility of a loan from Russian. The Estonian singular from *pakal* is probably an abstraction from the plural *paklad*, which is easily derived from Russ. пáкля. It is also found in Ingrian (*pagli* ‘oakum, tow’; IS 371, where *Nirvi* also derives it from Russ. пáкля), Votic (*pakli* ‘tow’; VKS IV, 155; Tsvetkov 1995, 211b, also derived form Russian) and Livonian (*Pakköld* pl. ‘Werg, Heede’; **Wiedemann** 1861, 75c; *pakköl* ‘Hede’; **Kettunen** (LW 272a) reconstructs an older Liv. *pakkul*).

Russ. пáкля is a relatively late loan from Lith. *päkulos* ‘Hede, Werg’, which has been borrowed widely in the area; it is found in Russian, Byelorussian, Ukrainian and Polish. The first recording in Russian is from 1590, and in Polish from 1582 (Laučiūtė 1982, 18-19), and it thus seems to be a relative newcomer.

In Estonian it is originally a South Estonian word; it is already recorded in Gutoslaff’s 1648 grammar (218: Heede/’Packel) and in Clare’s unpublished dictionary (*Pagla* ‘Heede’) (cf. Ariste 1958, 31; Mägiste 1962, 51), though it oldest recording at all is probably in the 1599 register of socage holdings in Polish Livonia where a person by the name of **Bobol Pakla Nan**.

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211 Cf. the quasi-Georgian slang variant **pohmelidze** of **pohmei**.
(?) is registered (cf. MÄGISTE 1962, 59-60). This would mean that the first Estonian recording is only 9 years younger than the earliest Russian recording. Like THOMSEN (1890, 14, 205), MIKKOLA (1894, 148) and SAARESTE (1924, 233), VABA (1977, 73; 1997, 148) thinks Baltic origin and specifically a loan from Latv. pakulas ~ pakuls ‘die Hede’ more likely, and indeed this is possible, although why then the Estonian form is pakal and not *pakul remains unexplained. Considering pakal’s dialectal distribution (VMS II, 166b) a loan from Russian seems more likely212, although it is also possible that in the very south it is a Latvian loan, whilst in the east it was borrowed from Russian. The Livonian word seems to be a Latvian loan, and not Russian.

Russ. палка has also been thought to be the origin of Fi. paula ‘(shoe-)lace’ (and by extension its Estonian cognate pael ‘ribbon’), but the Germanic etymology suggested by KOIVULEHTO (1979, 270-271; SSA II, 327a), though based on an unrecorded form, is preferable to the Russian etymology (Fi. paula < Russ. палка) proposed by RITTER (1993, 187), who seems to be unaware of the fact that MIKKOLA already rejected this etymology, first suggested in 1875 (80) by AHLOVIST, in 1894 (148).

d. BRÖMSKEN 1814, 144; HUPEL 1818, 169b, 171b; THOMSEN 1890, 14, 205; MIKKOLA 1894, 22; ARISTE 1958, 28, 31; MÄGISTE 1962, 51, 60, 61; RAUN-SÁARESTE 1965, 49; ARISTE 1981, 92; EEW VI, 1900; KOPONEN 1998, 140a.

a. palagan ‘fairground theatre, a burlesque show at such a theatre; farce’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. балаган ‘booth (at fairs); low farce; (fig.) farce’ < Pers. balaχanā ‘Oberzimmer, Zimmer über einem Haupteingang’ (REW I, 44).

c. Also recorded in Baltic German: Balagan ‘Schaubude; Unsinn’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 145).

d. EEW VI, 1906; MUST 2000, 235.

a. palat ‘hospital ward; chamber (in the name of some leading state institutions)’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. палата ‘(obs.) palace; (obs.) chamber; (hospital) ward; (pol.) chamber, house’ < Gr. παλάτιον < Lat. palátium (REW II, 391).

212 The distribution also shows that Vot. pakli and Ingr. pagli are probably separate loans from Russian, where the Votic word may be an Ingrian loan.
c. Cf. polludi and pollut.

Also recorded in Baltic German: Palate ‘gewisse Verwaltungs- und Gerichtsgebäude; Krankensaal’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 170; HINDERLING 1981, 28).

d. SAARESTE 1952, 8; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; EEW VI, 1908; MUST 2000, 236.

a. palatka ‘(russ.) Zelt’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
b. Russ. палатка ‘tent, marquee; stall, booth’ < палата (cf. palat) (REW II, 304, 391).
c. -
d. WIEDEMANN 1893; EEW VI, 1908.

a. palet ‘Epaulette’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1945; ÕS 1960; 1976; EKSS).
b. Russ. эполёт ‘epaulett’ < Fr. epaulette < Fr. épaule (REW III, 462).
c. With rare procope of e-. In Estonian procope is not very common (cf. TAULI 1956, 73; cf. also 5.1.1.), so it may already have been borrowed from Russ. полёт ‘эполёт’, though it is not recorded in dialects close to Estonia (cf. SRNG 29, 60b). TREIMAN (1981, 47) does not decide between G. Epaulette and Russ. эполёт.
d. EEW VI, 1909.

a. palkovnik. Cf. polkovnik.

a. palnik ‘Luntenstock’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).
c. -
d. EEW VI, 1917.

a. paltus ‘giant flounder (Hippoglossus hippoglossus)’ (ÕS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. The Estonian dialect (Emm Phl) forms paldus ~ paldis ‘a giant flounder found in the White Sea’ (KENDLA 1999, 33-34) are borrowed from Russ. палтас (MUST 2000, 236-237), though KALIMA (1915, 179) and ARISTE (1929) also consider a direct loan from Saami.
d. MUST 2000, 236-237.
a. **palusk** ‘Poluschke, Viertelkopeke’ (WIEDEMANN 1893) ~ **poluška** ‘Old Russian coin: ¼ kopeck’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976).


c. Also recorded in Baltic German: *Poluschke* ‘russ. Münze = ¼ Kopeken’ (HUPEL 1795, 176; KIPARSKY 1936, 174).

d. SKES III, 598; EEW VI, 1919; VII, 2126; MUST 2000, 278.


c. -

d. EEW VI, 1930; MUST 2000, 239.

a. **papp** ‘orthodox clergyman; cleric; a person associated with the cult of pagan gods’ (VTS; MÜLLER 1600; STAHL 1637, 97: Pfarrher/kirckos Issand/Pap/papist; GÖSEKEN 1660, 92, 326; HORNUNG 1693, 32; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 172b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) ~ **popp** ‘Orthodox priest’ (EKÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. ORuss. *pöp* ‘Priester’ (> Russ. поп ‘priest’) < OHG *pfatto* ‘Pfaffe’ (REW II, 405).

c. This word is already found in the very first source of Estonian words, the 13th century Chronicle of Henry of Livonia (Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae), in a description of an attack on a priest (cf. ARBUSOW - BAUER 1959, ch. XVIII, 8). As the priest is being tortured to death by natives of Saaremaa they jeer: *laula, laula, pappi!* ‘Sing, sing, priest!’. JÖGEVER (1913, 2) mentioned the fact that here the *-i* has been retained and that it therefore must be old, but in fact the *a* instead of *o* already points to it being borrowed from Old Russian and not from modern Russian, without taking into account its distribution in all the Finnic languages and its registration in the 13th century chronicle. Est. *papp* has also been considered a loan from Middle Low German (SCHLÜTER 1909, 9; OJANSUU 1916, 171; MÄGISTE 1962, 58; MASING 1999, 24; cf. KOPONEN 1996, 102, endnote 5); in fact GÖSEKEN (1660, 92) already thought *papp* was a loan from G. *Pfaffe*. Additionally MIKKOLA (1938, 73-74) points out that Russ. *pöp* has not been borrowed into Latvian or

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213 Not seen; see SSA II, 312a.
Lithuanian, though it does occur in Old Prussian, where it is a loan from Pol. pop ‘priest’ (MAŽIULIS 1996, 223). However, Est. papp can hardly have been borrowed from MLG pape ‘Pfaffe’ (cf. SCHILLER - LÜBBEN III, 300b), as pape, usually written as pâpe or pâpe, is phonetically realized as [pɔ:pə] (CORDES 1983, 226-227). Those who want to derive it from (Low) German then also have to explain its occurrence in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, as the Saaremaa Estonians are supposed to have said it in 1215, so only some years after their first contacts with the Germans; a loan from Swedish (OSw. papi ‘priest’) is also unlikely, as there is no indication of the Swedes proselytizing in Estonia before this time (cf. also KIPARSKY 1939, 277-278). MIKKOLA (1938, 73-74), who suggests the Swedish etymology, is also forced to admit that it is a rare word in Swedish.

Along with raamat and rist this can have been borrowed with the introduction of Christianity in the Finnic area by the Eastern Slavs, but may have been loaned earlier too, as these words are all Common Slavic and in use in Eastern Slavic before the Rus’ conversion to Christianity in the 900s (cf. KALIMA 1952, 195).

AHRENS (1853, 250) derives it from Lat. papa, although he also mentions Russ. non, so presumably he considered it an alternative.

The compound rehepapp (gen. rehe of rehi ‘drying barn’ + papp) ‘estate threshing supervisor’ was borrowed into Baltic German as rieppappe ~ ryenpap ~ ryenpappe ‘Riegenkerl’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 67).

The more recent Russian loan popp ‘Orthodox priest’ is sometimes found in literature (e.g. JANNAU 1927, 70). Cf. also popka and popp.

Also recorded in Baltic German: Pope, Pop ‘russ. Geistlicher’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 174).


a. paraadna ‘main entrance of a house, main door; front door’ (ŌS 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. MUST 2000, 239.

a. parask ‘receptacle for excrement in a prison or lock-up; a bunch of 50 barrel hoops’ (ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

c. ILM - TENDER (2003, 51) derive parask from парáша, but the diminutive is the direct source.

Est. parask also occurs occasionally in Estonian literature as an expletive denoting a person (cf. Issand Jumal – see kõrtsmik, see apolloninaga parask ei saa ju olla nii kaval, et ta ettepanek oleks saatanlik lõks? ‘My God – that innkeeper, that Apollo-nosed toilet scrubber can’t be so cunning that his suggestion is a devilish trap?’; KROSS 1982, 234). This is probably borrowed from paraskin ‘one of the lowest orders in the prisoners’ hierarchy, the toilet scrubber’ (ILM - TENDER 2003, 86b), perhaps with some contamination from parask ‘receptacle for excrement’. Prisoners of the lowest order have to sleep next to this receptacle, where they sometimes have to lift the lid whilst those of a higher hierarchy relieve themselves (cf. ILM - TENDER 2003, 52ab).


a. paravoss ‘locomotive’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. паровóз ‘(steam-)engine, locomotive’ < пар ‘steam’ + воз ‘cart, wagon’.

c. -


a. pard ‘beard’ (STAHLM 1637, 39; HORNUNG 1693, 37; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Finnic *parta (> Est. pard) could equally well be a loan from Germanic, Baltic or Slavic. According to MIKKOLA (1894, 92) a borrowing from North Germanic is not very likely, as ONorse bard ‘beard’ is a relatively rare term. In his 1894 work MIKKOLA cannot decide between ORuss. *борда or Goth. *barda- (on page 92 he also considers Lith. barzdà < Balt. *bardà to be a possible source, but in the addenda on page 182 he excludes the Baltic word). KALIMA (1952, 135-136) accuses MIKKOLA of not mentioning any possible Germanic or Baltic sources in MIKKOLA 1938 (52), but neither does KALIMA himself, and it seems that Russian was his first choice too. SSA (II, 318a) thinks a Germanic *barda- ‘beard’ is the most likely source, though it too mentions that the etymologically related Slavic and Baltic words could also be the source for the Finnic word. The Germanic, Slavic and Baltic forms, which all go
back to PIE *bhardhā, are ultimately so similar in their older forms that it is difficult to come up with any particular reasons to prefer one or the other. As the word is found in all Finnic languages except Livonian (Est. pard, Fi. Kar. parta, Olon. Veps. bard, Vot. parta) it can have been borrowed from Baltic or Germanic as a Common Finnic loan, but it can also be a later loan from Slavic, to which its absence in Livonian could point (though the lexicon of Livonian has retained less of the Common Finnic lexicon than the other Finnic languages).


a. pari ‘profit’ (WieDEMANN 1893; EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. WieDEMANN has a form paris, which is not registered in later sources. MUST (2000, 499) mentions the loss of the final -s, which is probably due to reanalysis of paris as the inessive singular of *pari.

Cf. parisnik.


a. parisnik ‘speculator, huckster’ (WieDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. бары́шник ‘profiteer, speculator (esp. in theatre tickets); spiv; horse-dealer’. Cf. pari.

c. Est. pritsnik ‘unterständliche Person’ (WieDEMANN 1869; 1893) is a variant of parisnik, as WieDEMANN recognized. It is also recorded in (eastern) dialects as ‘one who buys up’ (VMS II, 247a).

Already recorded in 1825 in Masing’s Marahwa Näddala-Leht (Kingisepp 1972, 95).

Also recorded in Baltic German: Barüschnik ‘ein Mensch, der auf seinen Vorteil sehr erpicht ist und darum im Handel gern hintergeht’ (HuPEL 1795, 16; KIPARSKY 1936, 146).

Cf. pari.

d. BRÖMSEN 1814. 145; Mikkola 1894, 81; Kalima 1952, 134; Raun - SaarestE 1965, 49; Raun 1982; EEW VI, 1939; VII, 2177; Must 2000, 242.

a. park ‘barque’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; ÖS 1976; EKSS).

b. Russ. бárка ‘Barke’ < G. Barke or Fr. Barque < MLat. barica < Gr. βάρκα (REW I, 56).
c. In EKSS two genitives are shown for *park* ‘barque’: *parga* and *pargi*. There are thus two variants subsumed under one lexeme, where *park:parga* is a loan from Russ. бárка, whilst *park:pargi* is from either LG *Bark* or G. *Barke*.

d. EEW VI, 1940; MUST 2000, 242-243.

a. *parm* ‘(a) drunk’ (ŌS 1999).

b. Russ. барматáха ‘cheap sort of alcohol’. The other slang variant *barmoon* ‘Russian loan for cheap red wine’ is found only in the Internet version of LOOG’s dictionary (cf. http://www.eki.ee/dict/slang/). According to LOOG (1991, 56) this is a clipped form of Russ. барматáха, probably with contamination with Est. *parm* ‘horse-fly’. Russ. барматáха is not recorded in dictionaries, but is otherwise relatively common.

d. LOOG 1991, 56.

a. *parsa* ‘old flimsy boat or vehicle’ (EKSS).


c. -

d. MUST 2000, 243.

a. *parsa:* *parsahein* ‘asparagus’ (EŌS; VŌS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999).


c. It is also recorded dialectally by WIEDEMANN (1893): *parsa-hein* (S) ‘Spargel’.

Low German origin (MLG *sparges*, cf. SKES III, 495; EEW VI, 1943) is unlikely; neither is HG *Spars* a likely source, as it seems to be found only in the south of the German-speaking area.

d. ARISTE 1973, 22-23; EEW VI, 1943.


c. -

d. EEW VI, 1945.
a. **paruskī** *(russ.) russisch, auf russisch* (WIEDEMANN 1893).
b. Russ. по-ру́скр in Russian’ < pref. по- + ру́ский ’Russian’.
c. Jocular.
d. WIEDEMANN 1893; EEW VI, 1945; MUST 2000, 244.

a. **pasatski** ’tramp, idler, good-for-nothing; crook’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. dial. поса́дский ’tramp, hooligan’ < поса́дские (лю́ди) ’tradespeople’ < поса́д *(hist.) trading quarter *(situated outside city wall)* (REW II, 413; MUST 2000, 244).
c. BACHMAN (1959, 262, footnote 20) assumes pasatski has been additionally contaminated by Russ. боса́дский ’tramp’.
d. SAARESTE 1952, 58; BACHMAN 1959, 262; JOHANSEN 1961, 86; ARISTE 1964, 93; RAUN-SAARESTE 1965, 49; EEW VI, 1947; MUST 2000, 244.

a. **pasha** ’Russian Easter dish made of curds, cream, raisins, butter and eggs’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. пасха *(cul.) pashka (sweet cream-cheese dish eaten at Easter)* < Gr. πάσχα ’Easter’ (REW II, 323).
c. Est. pasha ’Pascha’, recorded as a new word by WIEDEMANN (1893), is a loan from German, which could also be the source of the above word.
d. -

a. **paskaak.** Cf. **baskakk.**

a. **paslik** ’cowl-like headgear (made of thick woollen cloth, thin felt or fur), of which the long ends are wrapped like a shawl around the throat; bashlyk, snowstorm hood’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. Also recorded in Baltic German (ARISTE 1937, 256).
d. RAUN-SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW VI, 1949; MUST 2000, 245.

a. **pasmas** ’part of a hank of yarn or cloth, about 30 dents long; a length of yarn, usually about 100 m; a large (messy) bunch or bundle’ (HUPEL 1818; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. пácмо ‘(text) lea’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 320).

c. Russ. пácмо ‘lea’ has been borrowed into various neighbouring languages; KALIMA (1952, 131) assumes that though Est. pemas is a Russian loan, the short a in the first syllable might be due to foreign influence (in dialects variants with ā are widely found; cf. VMS II, 156b), just like the Finnish variant pasa ‘lea’ (of paasma) might have a short a due to Swedish influence, though MÄGISTE (EEW VI, 1950) thinks Sw. pasta ~ pasm ‘id.’ might in fact be a loan from Finnish.

Est. pàmas ‘thick bunch, bundle, tangle’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1940; 1945; EKSS) is probably a variant of pasmas, probably under the influence of pàss ‘bunch, tangle’ (EEW VII, 2323).

Liv. pòsmà(ā) is a loan from Latvian (KALIMA 1952, 131; POSTI 1953, 12; SUHONEN 1973, 180b), though MÄGISTE assumes it is from Estonian (EEW VI, 1950).

d. AHLOVIST 1875, 84; KALIMA 1952, 131; 1956, 100; RAUN 1982; EEW VI, 1950.

a. pastoi ‘stop! wait!, just a sec!’ (EKSS).

b. Russ. посто́й (coll) stop!, wait (a minute)!” < imperative (2psg) of postoyt’ ‘to stand (for a while)’ < сто́ять ‘to stand’ < Common Slavic *stojati ‘to stand’ (REW III, 21).

c. Also recorded in Baltic German: postoi ‘stehe stille, warte, halt an! (HUPEL 1795, 177; KIPARSKY 1936, 175).

d. BACHMAN 1956, 8; 1959, 263; MUST 2000, 247.

a. pastron ‘trace, also where two horses are harnessed together’ (EÖS).

b. Russ. пострóмка ‘trace (part of harness)’ The Russian etymology is unsure; possibly from *po stornë ‘an der Seite’ (REW II, 416).

c. -

d. MUST 2000, 247.

a. паsoll ‘go away!’ (EÖS).

b. Russ. пошёл! ‘off you go!’ < past tense form (sg) of пойтъ ‘to go’ <pref. по- + итъ ‘to go’ (REW I, 471).

c. Also recorded in Baltic German: poscholl ‘Zuruf an den Kutscher: fahr los!’ auch: ‘fort’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 175).

d. BACHMAN 1956, 8; MUST 2000, 246.
a. **patakas** ‘bundle, stack (of paper); thick (flat) piece (of something); layer; misfortune, smash, wallop’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÓS; EÓS; VÓS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. бато́р ‘(*obs. or dial.*) rod, cudgel; walking-stick’. Related to бат ‘Knüttel’ and in ablaut to ботать ‘trampeln, Fische scheuchen durch Schlagen des Wassers mit einer Stange’ (REW I, 62).

c. The Estonian word may have been borrowed from a dialectal variant such as бадár (cf. MUST 2000, 247). Russ. бато́р has also been borrowed into the other Finnic languages (cf. SSA II, 325a), but Liv. пото́г is a loan from Latv. пата́га, which is in turn a loan from Russian (POSTI 1953, 12; SUHONEN 1973, 180b).

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Batag(g)en* ‘Kleine Stöcke, die zur Bestrafung gebraucht werden’ (HUPEL 1795, 17; KIPARSKY 1936, 146); cf. also падо́к, падо́гг ‘russische Stockscläge’ < Russ. падо́р (HUPEL 1795, 166; KIPARSKY 1936, 169).

d. AHLVIST 1875, 129-130; MIKKOLA 1894, 81-82; KALIMA 1952, 131-132; 1956, 36; RAUN 1982; EEW VI, 1953; SSA II, 325a; MUST 2000, 247.

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a. **patinka** ‘strong low boot with laces, military boot’ (ÖS 1976; EKSS).

b. Russ. ботыйка ‘(*ankle-high*) boot’ < Fr. bottine (REW I, 113).

c. Cf. **botik**.

d. MUST 2000, 248.

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a. **patsaan** ‘lively child’ (ÖS 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. -

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a. **patšokk** ‘shoulder pad’ (ÖS 1999; EKSS).


c. Est. *patšokk* is borrowed from the genitive plural form пачок.
BG *Patschok* ‘Päckchen, Bündel, Büschel’ is a contamination of Russ. пучок and па́чка
according to KIPARSKY (1936, 170), but it may also be a loan from the genitive plural (па́чок)
of па́чка.
d. MUST 2000, 250.

a. **paun.** Cf. 8.1.

a. **pegima** = *pagema* ‘fliehen, entfliehen, entlaufen, sich verstecken’ (WIEDEMANN 1869;
1893).
b. Russ. бегать ‘to run; to rove, roam’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 67).
c. WIEDEMANN (1983) equalizes **pegima** with *pagema*. According to MÄGISTE (EEW VI,
1974) Est. *pegima* seems descriptive, though it may also be a loan from Russ. бегать. Its
connection to Fi. (Lönnr.) pekeltăä ‘springa hastigt’ is unclear. MUST (2000, 251-252),
however, no longer doubts in its Russian origin.
d. EEW VI, 1974; MUST 2000, 251-252.

a. **pegla** ‘petty and unintelligent woman’ (EKSS).
b. Russ. бегла́й ‘(obs) fugitive; fluent, quick; superficial, cursory’ < бегать ‘to run; to rove,
roam’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 67).
c. Cf. Est. dial. (Amb, Kad) *pegla* ‘finicky, vain, silly (person); skittish (horse)’. This and the
literary form probably borrowed from the feminine form бегла. Cf. **pegima**.
d. MUST 2000, 252.

a. **pekešš** ‘(over)coat or (fur) jacket with frills’ (EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. беке́ш (knee-length) winter overcoat’ < G. Bekesche ~ Pol. bekieszza <
Hu. *bekes* ‘Pelzrock’. VASMER (REW I, 71) assumes Russ. беке́ша is borrowed via German
or Polish, and беке́ш probably directly from Hu. *bekes*.
Hu. *bekes* ‘kurzer Pelzrock mit Schnürzen’ is in fact a loan from Pol. *bekieszza* ‘Pelzrock’,
which in turn is derived from the Hungarian surname BEKES, referring to GÁSPÁR BEKES
(1520-79), one of ISTVÁN BÁTHORY’s military commanders (EWÜNG I, 92a).
c. -
d. –

b. Russ. пеледь ‘northern whitefish’. The etymology is unsure; it is probably a loan (cf. REW II, 332; ANIKIN 2000, 444).

c. Not borrowed from the variant пелёдь ‘id.’. The original habitat of the northern whitefish is the area between the eastern part of the White Sea and the Kolyma river in Siberia, and it was introduced to Estonian waters in 1959 (MIKELSAAR 1984, 118). Registered as a new word by ERELT in 1989 (45).

d. -

a. **pelmeen** ‘snack made from noodle dough filled with minced meat’ (VÖS 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. EEW VI, 1986.

a. **penss ~ pinss** ‘money; pension’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EKSS).


c. With the stress in the Russian word on the first syllable, elision of the second syllable is more likely to occur than from a G. *Pension*, where the stress lies on the second syllable.

WIEDEMANN’s *pints* (scherzw.) ‘Geld’ also belongs here, as MÄGISTE (EEW VII, 2070) suggests.

d. EEW VII, 2070; MUST 2000, 253.


b. Russ. передвижник ‘Peredvizhnik (member of Russ. school of realist painters of second half of nineteenth century)’ < передвига́ть ‘to move’ < verbal prefix пере- + двига́ть ‘to move’.

c. -

d. -
a. **perestroika** ‘reform policy in the Soviet Union’ (EKSS).

b. Russ. перестройка ‘rebuilding, reconstruction; (pol., econ.) perestroika; reorganization; (mil.) re-formation; (mus., radio) re-tuning’ < перестроить ‘to rebuild, reconstruct’ < verbal prefix пере- + строить ‘to build’.

c. -

d. -

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a. **perkal** ‘thin cloth roughly woven from high-quality cotton yarn’ (ÕS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. перкаль ‘percale’ < Fr. percale << Pers. pārgāl‘rough cotton’ (REW II, 342).

c. -

d. -

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a. **perka:** **perkapund** ‘10 poods (former measure of weight)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÔS; EÔS; VÔS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. берковец ‘(obs.) berkovets (old Russ. measure of weight, equivalent to 10 poods or 163.8 kg)’ < *бърковъскъ роdь ‘Gewicht der Stadt Björkö am Mälarsee’, OSw. bìærkò, ONorw. biærkey (REW I, 78-79).

c. There are many (dialectal) variants: **perkovits** (EKÔS; EÔS; VÔS 1936; 1940; 1945), **perkovets, perkuvits** (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; ÔS 1960; 1999; EKSS), **perkpund, pärpund, pärkpund, pärgapuud, päruvits** (VMS II, 193b), **pärakpund** (EEW V, 1620); **märkapund** ‘Liespfund’ is perhaps a contamination of **perkapund** and **mark** ‘pound’ (EEW V, 1620). Variants where -вец has been elided are most common; such a form has been taken up in the literary language.

The Russian etymology of the variant **pörka** (or **pörko**) **pund** ‘ein Schiffpund’, **pörkapund** ‘id.’, **pörgepund** ‘id.’ (HUPEL 1780; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893) is not accepted by everyone. BRÔMSEN (1814, 145) was the first to derive this word from Russian. MIKKOLA (1894, 85-86), however, expected in this case *pirko-* from Russ. берковец and not an ē in the first syllable and assumed a loan from a North Germanic form *berk-, where a velarization of c > ē has taken place. Such a velarization is not proven for any borrowings from Russian (except in certain newer loanwords in south-east (Setu) Estonian with a very restricted distribution: **jermol’ ~ jörmul’ ~ jörmuń‘accordion’ < Russ. ермолья, ермónия; leśnänk ~ lösnak ‘dense forest’ < Russ. лесняк; MUST 2000, 517).
Also recorded in Baltic German: Berkowetz, Berkowitz ‘russisches Schiffspund = 40 Pud’ (Kiparsky 1936, 147).

d. Mikkola 1894, 85-86; EEW VI, 1995; Must 2000, 254-255.

a. perv ‘shore; escarpment of a mountain or hill; edge, border’ (EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. ORuss. bregь ‘coast’ (> Russ. бёпер ‘id.’) < Common Slavic. The etymology of the Russian word is unsure (REW I, 76).

c. Weske (1890, 219) was the first to link Est. perv to Russ. бёпер. Mägiste (1962, 41) suggests that it was borrowed from Old Russian as *berg and later adapted/contaminated with semantically similar words in -v like serv ‘edge’. perv and serv are the only Estonian words in -erv. A similar word which could strengthen Mägiste’s hypothesis is нёлв ‘side, slope’, perhaps järv ‘lake’ too, but there is in fact no reason to suggest that *perg would have to be adapted in any way, as it in no way violates the phonotactical restraints of the Estonian language, especially if one considers words in -rg like org ‘hollow, valley’ and urg ‘burrow, hole’.

Ojansuu (1923, 14-15), apparently unaware of Weske’s etymology, first suggests another origin, namely perv < perví < NGerm. *ferví ‘Ebbe, Strand’, where perv would later have been subsumed under a word class with a genitive in -e. However, he thinks a loan from Russ. бёпер is more likely. Perhaps Ojansuu had already realized the weak point in what would be Mägiste’s argument, as he suggests perv was borrowed from a Russ. Pskov form where there was not an auslaut -g but a sound closer to the -v with which it was substituted in Estonian, though he does not mention what this might be or why this should have been so in Pskov Russian. Modern Pskov Russian in any case has [berьk] (cf. Honselaar 2001, 274a).

Saareste (1924, 10) accepts Ojansuu’s etymology and adduces a dialectal pergës ‘river bank with caves, high riverbank’.

Weske’s work is often forgotten: Saareste (1924, 10) also seems to assume Ojansuu was the first to suggest the Russian etymology, and Raun (1982, 119) seems to think that Mägiste was the first to suggest it.

d. Weske 1890, 219; Ojansuu 1923, 14-15; Saareste 1924, 9-10; Mägiste 1962, 40-41; Raun 1982; EEW VI, 2000.

214 Such a form is recorded as a loan in Saami fiervva ‘beach’ (Ojansuu 1923, 14-15).
a. **plaa**l ‘a wide teacup without ears used in Central Asia’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. -

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a. **piirakas**. Cf. **pirukas**.

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a. **piird** ‘weaver’s reed, slay’ (HUPEL 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. ORuss. *byrdo* > Russ. бердо ‘(tech.) reed of loom’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 75).

c. ORuss. *byrdo* was borrowed as *pirda* (cf. Fi. *pirta* ‘weaver’s reed’), this regularly became *pird* in Estonian, where the long vowel is of secondary origin (MIKKOLA 1894, 42; KALIMA 1952, 38), probably lengthened due to its pre-*r* position.

d. AHLOVIST 1856, 145; AHLOVIST 1875, 87; WESKE 1890, 207; MIKKOLA 1894, 84; MIKKOLA 1938, 48-49; KALIMA 1952, 38, 64, 138; 1956, 30, 50, 105; MÄGISTE 1962, 56; RAUN 1982; EEW VII, 2033; KOPONEN 1998, 147ab.

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a. **piirits** ‘court attendant, executioner’ (MÜLLER 1600; STAHL 1637, 71; GÖSEKEN 1660, 151; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 181a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; EKSS).

b. Russ. бирич ‘глашатай, объявляющий по улицам и площадям постановления правительства, герольд; иногда родь полицейского служителя’ (DAL I, 88a). The Russian etymology is very unsure; cf. REW I, 87.

c. AHLOVIST (1875, 231) derived Est. *piirits* ‘executioner’ from Latv. *bērīze* ‘id.’ (= bierīce ‘der Büttel, Henker; ME I, 306a’); this etymology was already rejected by MÄGISTE (1962, 41), and Latv. *bierīce* is simply also a loan from Russ. бирич.215 Russian origin was first suggested by SAARESTE (1922, 145-146).

It has also been suggested that *piirits* ‘net needle’ is of the same origin (EEW VII, 2033) as *piirits* ‘executioner’, but SAARESTE (1924, 227) suggests it comes from Germanic; cf. G. Spier ‘kleine, zarte Spitze, bes. die aus der Erde hervorstehende Gras-, Kornspitze’. Recently

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215 Latv. *pīrīts* ‘der Büttel’ (ME III, 223a) is probably a loan from Est. *piirits*, possibly from the extinct Leivu dialect, seen its recording in Alūksne and Gulbene in north-eastern Latvia.
KOPONEN (1998, 146ab) proposed it is from the same word family as *piird* ‘pine splinter, chip’. In any case it seems unlikely that it has any connection with *pürits* ‘executioner’ (MUST 2000, 260).


a. **piirog.** Cf. **pirukas**.

a. **piits** ‘striking instrument consisting of a stick-like shaft and a rope or strap attached to its end, used to spur on or drive (usually an animal) (= whip; RB); oppression, coercion’ (MÜLLER 1600; GÖSEKEN 1660, 92, 205, 320; HORNUNG 1693, 20; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 179b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. бич ‘whip, lash; (fig.) scourge’ < бить ‘to hit’; Common Slavic (REW I, 89).

c. Est. *piits* can be unproblematically derived from Russ. бич. **ARISTE** (1940, 20) thought a borrowing from LG *pietske* was more likely, probably because the South Estonian variants end in -tsk: *piitsk* (VMS 204a); SKES (III, 553) derives it from MHG *picze*. However, as **MÄGISTE** (1962, 41-42) has shown, the South Estonian variants *piitsk* can also be derived from either the Russian diminutive бичок, gen. бичка or through analogy with words with the common EstS ending -tsk. The genitive *piitza* is also more likely in case of a Russian loan (cf. Russ. бича); **MÄGISTE** additionally claims G. *Peitsche* ‘whip’ (and its LG pendant) is a relatively new loan from West Slavic (cf. Pol. *bicic* ‘id.’ or Czech *bič* ‘id.’; REW I, 89), making a German loan in Estonian before 1600 (its first appearance is in MÜLLER) unlikely, but as it was borrowed into German already in the 14th century, and used in Luther’s translation of the Bible in 1534 (cf. Kluge 1995, 619b, who writes that *Peitsche* is a loan from a now extinct West Slavic language) this last argument of MÄGISTE’s is weakened somewhat, but not to such an extent that we have to reject the Russian etymology.

d. **ARISTE** 1940, 20; **MÄGISTE** 1962, 41-42, 61; **SKES** III, 553; **ARISTE** 1981, 92; **RAUN** 1982; **EEW VII**, 2037.

a. **pikap** ‘automobile with an open chassis’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. пикап ‘pick-up (van)’ < Engl. *pick-up*.

c. As it is found from the 1976 ÖS onwards a loan via Russian is likelier than a direct one from English.


c. Also as **piksa** in ÖS 1976 and 1999.

d. -

a. **pilk** ‘small wooden water scoop’ (HUPEL 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999).

b. Russ. п́ё́лка, Gdov п́ё́лка (MOORA 1964, 240; SRNG 25, 333b); пё́лка ‘деревянная лопатка, совок’ (SRNG 25, 331b).

c. The etymology of this word is unclear: it may be a Russian loanword in Estonian, but also an Estonian loan in Russian.

In Russian it is recorded only in the central area of the Pskov dialect area (Gdov, Pečory, Palkin, Ostrov, Opotška; RICHTER 1970, 178), which makes a loan from Estonian likely.\(^\text{216}\)

According to VMS (II, 207b) it is found in Estonian dialects (Plt KJn Ran Räp Se) as ‘scoop’, in the ÖS’ as ‘bailer’. MUST (2000, 258) has additional recordings from Vón Piirisaar and Trm. The fact that it is found in eastern dialects along the coast of Lake Peipsi (Trm Vón Räp Se and Piirisaar) but also in dialects on the coast of Lake Võrts would make a loan from Russian perhaps more likely: it was first borrowed from Russian dialects on the east coast of Lake Peipsi to the Estonian dialects on the west coast and then made its way along the Emajõgi to Lake Võrts, the second largest lake in Estonia, which has been called a ‘fishermen’s cultural hinterland’ of Lake Peipsi (RÄNK 1934, 1). Both Estonian and Russian fishermen from the Peipsi area regularly went to Lake Võrts\(^\text{217}\) to fish; older fishermen from Lake Peipsi supposedly knew Lake Võrts as well as they did Lake Peipsi (RÄNK 1934, 15, 29). The distribution of *pilk* (the dialects around Lake Peipsi and Lake Võrts) can thus easily be explained, and is remarkably similar to that of **ihes** ‘Peipsi lavaret’, also a disputed loan from Russian.

\(^\text{216}\) MUST (2000, 258) mentions that Villem ERNITS thought Russ. п́ё́лка to be an Estonian loan; the source is probably ERNITS’ manuscript *Estnische Sprachelemente im Grossrussischen und in anderen slavischen Sprachen I-III*, destroyed in the 1965 Tartu University fire (cf. MUST 2000, 601).

\(^\text{217}\) Also further afield as far as the Gulf of Finland and Lake Ladoga in Karelia (RÄNK 1934, 15).
MÄGISTE (EEW VII, 2049) suggests a loan from Sw. *spilkum* ‘Schöpföffel’ via Fi. dial. *pikko* ‘Schöpföffel, Fass’, but why the distribution in Estonia would then be limited to the southeast is left unexplained, and this etymology can be rejected (as does MUST 2000, 258).

d. MOORA 1964, 240; EEW VII, 2049; MUST 2000, 258.

c. -
d. -

a. *pinal* ‘schoolchildren’s box with a lid for pencils, pens, erasers and other writing equipment’ (EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. German (RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 48) and Low German (RAUN 1982) origin have also been suggested, but Russian origin is more likely: a loan from G. *Pennal*218 would have resulted in *penal*, a loan from LG *pinnäl* in *pinaal*, whilst Russ. *nenáľ* is pronounced as [pinal].
d. RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 48; RAUN 1982; EEW VII, 2061; MUST 2000, 259.

a. *pintsak* ‘men’s, sometimes women’s outer garment with buttons, long sleeves and lining, which covers the upper part of the body usually also including the hips’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. The Estonian word was probably borrowed from a Russian dialect form with an unetymological inlaut -n-.

According to MUST (2000, 259) first etymologized by KETTUNEN (LW 291) in his Livonian dictionary, but MANNINEN (1927, 328) had already established its Russian origin some 10 years earlier.
d. MANNINEN 1927, 328; SAARESTE 1952, 58; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW VII, 2070; MUST 2000, 259.

218 Additionally G. *Pennal* ‘pencil-box’ seems to be more in use in southern Germany and Austria.
a. **pioneer** ‘pioneer, originator; (Young) Pioneer; (*mil.) pioneer’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. Although the meaning of ‘Young Pioneer’ was not recorded for Est. *pioneer* until 1940 in newspapers (AHVEN 1965, 396), and not in a dictionary until in the 1945 ŌS, MÄGISTE (EEW VII, 2070) claims that the ending -eer in Est. *pioneer* points to Russian origin.
d. AHVEN 1965, 396; EEW VII, 2070.

a. **pirukas** ‘pastry with a minced and flavoured filling; inconvenience, mess’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. Variants with long vowels, such as *piirak, piirag* and *piirog* MIKKOLA (1894, 57, 151; 1938, 72) derived from Latv. *piirāgs* ‘pie’219, itself a loan from ORuss. *pirogъ* ‘pie’ (ME III, 233b; LEV II, 53), but MUST (2000, 261) shows convincingly that due to their distribution in north-eastern and eastern Estonia (cf. VMS II, 202b: *piirak/ias*) that a loan from ORuss. *pirogъ* ‘pie’ is much more likely; i.e. a pendant to Fi. *piirakka* ‘pie’, Kar. *piiroa* ‘id.’, Veps *pirg* ‘id.’, Vot. *pírga* ‘id.’ and Liv. *piirag* ‘id.’, which are all loaned from the same Old Russian source (SSA II, 357a).

Estonian forms with short vowels are sometimes considered to be new loans from Russian (SSA II, 357a), but MUST (2000, 260) assumes Baltic German influence (*Piroge ‘Pastete, Fleischkloss in Teig geschlagen und gebacken’; HUPEL 1795, 172-173; KIPARSKY 1936, 171-172), as Estonians learned to prepare these pastries in the manors of the German barons. Est. *piirog* ‘Piroge, mit Fischen oder Lauch gefüllter Kuchen’ (WIEDEMANN 1893) may be a direct loan from Baltic German.
d. WESKE 1890, 213; MIKKOLA 1894, 151; 1938, 72; KALIMA 1952, 50, 137; 1956, 39, 104; MÄGISTE 1962, 56; RAUN 1982; EEW VII, 2078; MUST 2000, 260-261.

a. **pitsat** ‘a mould made from hard material (e.g. metal) to stamp seals, into which an image, sign or figure has been engraved; a seal’ (STAHLE 1637, 112; GÖSEKEN 1660, 148, 320, 382;

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219 On page 57 MIKKOLA 1894 says these Estonian forms may come from Latvian (‘die est. und liv. formen können auch aus dem lett. stammen’), but by page 151 he no longer has any doubts (‘…sind aus dem lett.’).
VESTRING 1740, 182a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. печа́ть ‘seal, stamp (also fig.)’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 351).
c. Est. писа́т ‘seal’ and пита́р ‘stamp’ are often confused; писа́т is the instrument and пита́р the result. This has become so common that EKSS gives пита́р²²⁰ as the second meaning of писа́т. ARISTE (1958, 31) first derived Est. писа́т from Russ. печа́ть ‘seal’. German origin (cf. G. Petschaft < Cz. pečet ‘id.’, Slov. pečat ‘id.’) has also been suggested (EEW VII, 2086), especially for variants like petsahvt (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893). This is probably indeed a German loan, but the more common petsat is undoubtedly a borrowing from Russian.
Also found in older South Estonian: киви петза́т ка ‘with a stone seal’ (ROSSIHNIUS 1632, 284).
Also recorded in Baltic German: Petschaft ‘hört man zuweilen st. Petschaft’ (HUPEL 1795, 173).

a. писка ‘Зündhölzchen’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
c. Recorded as a new word in WIEDEMANN 1869 and 1893.
Also found in 1920s Estonian army slang as пискид ‘skinny legs’ (HERMLIN 1929, 95), and to denote discharged soldiers, as they sold matches on the streets of Tallinn and Tartu (KIPARSKY 1936, 182).
It is also found in Baltic German (BG Spitzki ‘Зündhölzer’ < Russ. пл. спи́чки; KIPARSKY 1936, 182), so that it may also be a Baltic German loan, though Russian origin can be proven at least for certain Estonian dialect forms in -а (cf. MUST 2000, 262).
In the extinct Estonian dialects in Latvia it may be borrowed from Latvian (VABA 1977, 187; 1997, 362).
d. EEW VII, 2087; MUST 2000, 262.

b. Russ. планёр ‘(aeron.) glider’ < Fr. planeur < Fr. planer (BSE 19, 617c).

²²⁰ Est. пита́р ‘stamp’ is a loan from MLG pitzeer ‘Siegel’ (EEW VII, 2086-2087). GÖSEKEN’s (1660, 92, 430, 432) пзтзал is of the same origin; here a change r > l has taken place.
c. -

d. EEW VII, 2090.

a. **plahk** ‘Bohle, dickes Brett’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).

c. -

d. EEW VII, 2092; KOPONEN 1998, 147; MUST 2000, 262-263.

a. **platnoi** *(organized) professional thief or felon* (ŐS 1999; EKSS).

c. -

d. ILM - TENDER 2003, 52.

a. **plett** ‘braided knout or whip’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EŐS; VŐS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ᕠS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

c. The homograph and homophone Est. plett ‘plait, braid’ is generally thought to be of Swedish origin (MSw. *flexta* ‘plait’; EEW VII, 2099-2100).

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Plette* ‘aus Riemen geflochtene Peitsche’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 172).

d. WESKE 1890, 218; RAUN 1982; EEW VII, 2099; MUST 2000, 264-265.

b. Russ. Плевна *(name of a town in Bulgaria)* < Bulg. Плевен ‘Plevna, a town in Bulgaria, site of an important battle during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877.

c. Cf. *smirna*.

d. MUST 2000, 265.

a. **pliin** ‘thin pancake made from yeast dough’ (EKÖS; EŐS; VŐS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ᕠS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

286
b. Russ. блины ‘blin (kind of pancake)’ < blinъ ‘id.’ < mlinъ ‘id.’ < молоть ‘to grind’ (REW I, 93).

The etymology of the word is complex. HUPEL, who recorded as a dialect word from the Peipsi area (plin ‘in der Pfanne gebackener Buchweizen Kuchen’), first noted its Russian origin (1818, 185a).

HINDERLING (1981, 28) argues that a loan via BG (cf. blinis ‘russische Pfannkuchen’; KIPARSKY 1936, 147) is more likely (cf. 5.3.9.). In BG blinis is recorded first in 1880, Est. dial. plin first in 1818 by HUPEL, so there is no strong case for preferring Baltic German origin.


- a. pliit ‘heating apparatus with horizontal plates for preparing food or heating something’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÓS; VÓS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÓS 1960; 1976; EKSS).

b. Russ. плитá ‘plate, slab; flag(-stone); stove, cooker’ < ? ~ Gr. πλίνθος ‘Ziegelstein’ (REW II, 373).

c. Also recorded in Baltic German: Pliete ‘eiserne Ofenplatte; der Kochherd selbst’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893: pliit, KIPARSKY 1936, 172). HINDERLING (1981, 28) and RAUN (1982, 124) assume Est. pliit is in fact borrowed from Baltic German, and though it is perhaps easier to derive Est. pliit (gen. pliidh) from BG Pliete rather than from Russ. плитá, a loan from Russian might very well have been adapted to words in -i anyway, as is common for loanwords, and not have kept its final -a.

d. LW 303a221; SAARESTE 1952, 58; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; HINDERLING 1981, 28; RAUN 1982; EEW VII, 2101; MUST 2000, 266.


b. Russ. пломби́р ‘plombieres (ice cream with candied fruit)’. Named after the French bathing resort Plombieres in the province of Vosges (REW II, 373).

c. -

d. -

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221 MUST (2000, 266) indicates that KETTUNEN was the first to etymologize Est. pliit in his Livonian dictionary, but KETTUNEN in fact does not specifically state this, and merely lists the Estonian (pliit), Latvian (plīts, dial. plīt) and Russian (плита) words which are obviously cognate to Liv. plīt(k) ‘kochherd, plite’. In cases of borrowing KETTUNEN indicates this clearly with an arrow (<).
a. plotnik ‘carpenter’ (HUPEL 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; EKSS).

b. Russ. плóтник ‘carpenter’ < плот ‘fence’ < плести ‘to braid’ (REW II, 374-375).

c. Registered first in HUPEL 1818 (185a), but HUPEL indicates that it was commonly used to denote Estonians and not only Russians, and also notes in Russian origin, already in his 1795 dictionary of Baltic German: Plotnik, der (Russ.) ‘d. i. Zimmermann, auch überhaupt wer Holzarbeiten z. B. Fuhrwagen, Tische, Kasten u. d. g. verbürgt. Bergm.‘222 meint, es bezeichne nur einen russischen Zimmermann; aber oft nennt man hiesige Bauern eben so. Plotnek ist eine falsche Aussprache’ (HUPEL 1795, 174).

Also recorded in the 1820s in Masing’s Marahwa Nääddala-Leht (KINGISEPP 1972, 96) as plotnik and wäeplotnik ‘builder or carpenter in the military’.

NORVIK (1959, 190), in his review of KETTUNEN’s 1958 Estonian-Finnish dictionary, claims that genuine Russian words (i.e. which do not exist in Estonian) have made their way into the dictionary, amongst others plotnik ‘carpenter’: supposedly although this and other words are known to Estonians because of their knowledge of Russian, they are nevertheless not used in Estonian.223 However, as it is registered in five dictionaries and in some 30 subdialects (cf. VMS II, 225a; MUST 2000, 267), has been adapted to some degree by losing its initial p- in some dialects (WIEDEMANN 1893; VMS II, 225a; MUST 2000, 267), and has developed the new meaning of ‘wide Russian axe’ in the dialect of Kodavere (MUST 2000, 267), NORVIK’s claim does not really hold. MOORA (1964, 224) writes that Russian carpenters were used so often in the Baltic countries that Russ. плóтник was borrowed into Baltic German (see above) and Estonian and Latvian to denote a carpenter, and BACHMAN (1959, 259) notes that plotnik was in use in 19th century but later disappeared from the literary language.

d. HUPEL 1818, 185a; BACHMAN 1956, 6; 1959, 259; MOORA 1964, 224; EEW VII, 2106; MUST 2000, 267.

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222 ‘Bergm.’ = BERGMANN, G.V. 1785, Sammlung livländischer Provinzialwörter. Salzburg. In the word plotnek recorded by HUPEL the suffix -ник of the Russian loan has either been substituted with the Baltic German variant of the Latvian suffix -nieks (cf. KIPARSKY 1936, 173), or it is a direct loan from Latv. plotnieks ‘carpenter’ (BRÜCKNER 1877, 180; SUMMENT 1950, 175; not in ME), itself a loan from Russ. плóтник.

223 In the original: ‘Sönaraamatusse on sattunud ka päris vene sónu, nagu kursístka ‘naiskursuslane’, passaser ‘reisija’, plotnik ‘puusepp’, tramvai ‘trammi’, mis on küll eestlastele vene keele kaudu tuttavaks saanud (peale esimese näite), kuid mis ei ole eesti keele kasutusele tulnud.’ (NORVIK 1959, 190). NORVIK also claims kursístka ‘female student’ is not known to Estonians, but this is also recorded as a loan from Russian in SAARESTE (1930, 97).
a. **plotski** ‘home-made cigarette made by rolling tobacco into a paper tube’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. **JOHANSEN** (1961, 87) claims it is from *flotskyi* ‘Tabak der Flotte’. According to **MUST** (2000, 268) it is from the name of a certain type of tobacco, but she does not give more information. Also recorded in interbellum army slang in **HERMLIN** (1929, 97).


a. **plott** ‘float’ (EÖS).


According to **MOORA** (1964, 255) *plott* is only found in the Isaku, Torma and Kodavere area on Lake Peipsi, **MUST** (2000, 268) records it in Emm Rei Khn Pär Hää Se Khk and VNg. It seems that here there are two loans, one from Swedish (*flotta*) or German (**Flott**) in the west (Emm Rei Khn Pär Hää Khk) and one from Russian in the east (Se). If EÖS’ *plott* is the same as **MOORA**’s *plott* then it is from Russian, if it is the same as the western *plott* it is not.

Est. **ploda** (D) ‘Floss’ (*WIEDEMANN* 1869; 1893) is a loan from Estonian Swedish (**ARISTE** 1933, 90), but **MÄGISTE** (1933, 151), in his review of **ARISTE** 1933, suggests, on the basis of the dialectal distribution of *plott*, that it is more likely a Russian loan.

d. **ARISTE** 1933, 90; **MÄGISTE** 1933, 151; **MOORA** 1964, 255; **MUST** 2000, 268.

a. **plov** ‘pilaff’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. The 1976 ÖS considers *plov* a form to be avoided; better is *pilaff*.

d. -

a. **pobrik**. Cf. **pogri**.

a. **pobul** ‘cottager’ (**THOR HELLE** 1732; **VESTRING** 1740, 182a; **HUPEL** 1780; 1818; **WIEDEMANN** 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. бобыль ‘(obs.) poor, landless peasant; solitary, lonely man’. The North Germanic etymology (< *búa-bóli* ‘pachtbauer’) suggested by **MIKKOLA** (1894, 89-90) is later rejected
by himself (Mikkola 1938, 51) and has since then found no support (cf. Thörnqvist 1948, 223-224; Rew I, 97-98). Mikkola (1938, 51) then suggested that Russ. бо́бы́ль is probably an expressive word derived from a word with a labial consonant denoting something round in the same way Latv. burburneiks ‘Häusler, Köttner’ is supposedly derived from Latv. bumburs ‘eine harte Hervorragung, Erhöhung, der Höcker, Auswuchs’. However, neither Endzelin (ME I, 350a), nor Fraenkel (LEW, 64a), nor Vasmer (REW I, 97-98) accept the derivation of Latv. burburneiks from Latv. bumburs.

There is also a Tatar etymology by the 18th century Russian historian Tatiščev for Russ. бо́бы́ль, but this too has been rejected (cf. Šanskij 1965 I/2, 148).

c. In EKSS pobul only has the meaning ‘cottager’, but Wiedemann (1869; 1893) has pobul ‘Stelle eines Badstübers, kleinen Wirthes’, = pobulik, whilst pobulik is ‘Badstüber, Lostreiber, kleiner Bauerwirth’. Est. pobulik is a derivation in -ik from pobul, where pobul could have had the original meaning ‘Stelle eines Badstübers’, as Mikkola (1894, 90) suggested, but this is unlikely seen its earliest recordings (see below) and the other Finnic forms: Fin. populi ‘cottager’, Kar. populi ‘dependent lodger’, Veps. bobul ‘id.’, Ingr. poppuli ‘landless peasant’ and Vot. bobuli ‘cottager’ (cf. SSA II, 397a).

In dictionaries the derivation pobulik is recorded earlier than the stem; Thor Helle notes a pobbolik ‘eine geringer Bauer’ in 1732, but the earliest recordings, from 1599, are of the simplex in the names Bobol Pakla Nan, Reno Bobol, Bobol Taczja Jak, Bobol Sarle Macz and Bobol Hancz in the Polish socage holdings register (Māgiste 1962, 60).

Est. pops ‘cottager’ (Wiedemann 1869; 1893; EKŚ; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1940; 1945; 1953; EKSS) is a hypocoristic formation in -s from pobul, according to Māgiste (EEW VII, 2144). Est. popsnik ‘cottager’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; ÖS 1976; EKSS) is thus also an Estonian creation, not a Russian loan, though both components of this compound are ultimately of Russian origin: pops (< pobul) + -nik (cf. 2.2.1.2. Morphology). The variant popsik (recorded in LNg Juu Tür Kad; VMS II, 237a) has been re-borrowed by Russian dialects spoken in eastern Estonia as попсик (Burdakova 1998, 193).

It has also been borrowed into Baltic German, one form (popolle ‘heiszt in einigen Gegenden ein Bauer welcher von seinen Ländereien die man Popollenland nennt, mit den übrigen

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224 Vasmer’s (REW I, 97-98) final comment (‘Zu beachten ist bei der Etymologie auch rumän. bobilca ‘Art Tanz’, bobilnic ‘Brunnenkresse, Nasturtium’, unerklärt bei Tiitkin Wb. I, 202’) can be disregarded: Rom. bobilnic ‘Brunnenkresse (Nasturtium)’ is one of the many variants of bobornic ‘Ehrenpreis’ and is derived from Slav. bobovnik (Tiitkin 1986, 350a); Rom. bobilca ‘Art Tanz’ remains unclear, but is probably also ultimately borrowed from Slavic (cf. DLR I/1, 661b, VI/6, 786ab; Tiitkin 1986, 349b; Rohr 1999, 185a).
Bauern zwar einerly Frohndienste aber weniger Abgaben leistet'; HupeL 1795, 176; bobile
‘Kossäte, Kotsass'; Kiparsky 1936, 147) directly from Russian, and one (Pobbolik ‘ein Bauer,
welcher von seinem Ländereien gleichen Frohndienst, aber weniger Abgaben leistet’;
Suolahty 1910, 120; Kiparsky 1936, 62225) via Estonian, as is shown by the Estonian

d. Mikkola 1894, 37, 89-90; 1938, 50-52; Kalima 1952, 64, 140; 1956, 50, 107; Johansen
1961, 87; Mägiste 1962, 19, 28; Raun - Saareste 1965, 49; Ariste 1981, 92, Raun 1982;
EEW VII, 2111-2112; Must 2000, 270-271.

a. podpolkovnik ‘(Russ.) Obristlieutenant’ (Wiedemann 1893; EÖS).
b. Russ. подполковник ‘lieutenant-colonel’ < pref. под- + полковник < Pol.półkownik ‘id.’
(REW II, 394).
c. -
d. Wiedemann 1893; EEW VII, 2112; Must 2000, 271.

a. podrätisk ‘contractor’ (Wiedemann 1869; 1893; Ekös; EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; Ekss).

rjadь < Common Slavic (REW II, 561-562).
c. Also recorded in Baltic German: Podrädtschik ‘ein Lieferant; wer eine Arbeit für einen
verabredeten Preis übernimmt; wer einen Contract schliessst und für desselben Erfüllung
haften muss; das Haupt einer Gesellschaft von Leuten welche eine bedingene Arbeit
übernehmen’ (HupeL 1795, 175), Podrettschik ‘Unternehmer, Lieferant; Anführer eines
Podretts’ (Kiparsky 1936, 173).
d. EEW VII, 2113; Must 2000, 272; Viires 2001, 156.

a. podsoll ‘leached sand (Bleichsand, подзол)’ (EÖS).
b. Russ. подзол ‘(agric.) podzol (sterile greyish-white soil, deficient in salts)’ < pref. под-
золов ‘ash’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 460).
c. -

225 Kiparsky (1936, 62) records Pobbol, Pobbolik and Popolle (from HupeL 1795, Gutzeit 1859 and Suolahty
1910), but only gives an abbreviated version of HupeL’s definition.
a. podstaarosta ‘assistant of the village headman, churchwarden’s assistant’ (EÕS).
c. -
d. -

a. pogri ‘prison, prison cell, detention cell or other place of detention; (with inner local cases) to, in or from prison; small confined space, dingy little room’ (EÕS; VÕS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. погреб ‘cellar (also fig.)’ < погребать ‘to bury’ < pref. по- + гребать; cf. погребести ‘to dig, to rake’, obs. погребест ‘id’ (Dal’ III, 157a; REW I, 305-306).
c. A ‘hypocoristic abbreviated’ form of погреб, according to MÄGISTE (EEW VII, 2116). Nowhere in Estonian is there any trace of the auslaut -b. Must (2000, 274) assumes pobrik ‘(russ.) Keller, Gefängniss’ (WIEDEMANN 1893) is etymologically of the same origin, as is pugerik ‘small room’, probably under the influence of the genuine Estonian verb pugema ‘to crawl’.
WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893) records a dialectal pogur (F) ‘Keller, Gefängniss’.
KALIMA (1915, 81) rejects Russian origin, but does not suggest another etymology.
d. WIEDEMANN 1893; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; EEW VII, 2116; MUST 2000, 274.

a. pogromm ‘chauvinist raid against minority peoples’ (EÕS; VÕS 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. MÄGISTE (EEW VII, 2116) assumes a loan from Russian, but a loan from G. Pogrom is also possible.
d. EEW VII, 2116.

a. pohmell ‘(coll.) indisposed condition after drinking, hangover; weariness, disappointment, setback after (initial) enthusiasm or rapture’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÕS; EÕS; VÕS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. похмелье ‘hangover; ‘the morning after the night before”’ < pref. по- + хмель ‘(bot.) hop(s); hop-plant’ < ? Volga Bolgar *xumlay ‘hops’ (REW III, 250-251) or Turkic
*qumlak* ‘ivy-like plant, which, sweetened with honey, is made into a drink’ (SSA I, 183a). The Russian etymology has long been disputed.

c. Though already recorded in WIEDEMANN and EKÓS the variant in *-us pohmelus* is noted by AAVID (1919, 67a) as a new/little known word.

In slang a variant with a quasi-Georgian patronymic suffix *-idze* has been recorded: *pohmelidze* ‘hangover’ (TENDER 1994, 355). Cf. *pakaa*.

d. WIEDEMANN 1893; AHLOVIST 1875, 42; MIKKOLA 1894, 154; KALIMA 1952, 33, 139; 1956, 26, 106; EEW VII, 2118; MUST 2000, 274-5.


c. MOORA (1964, 107) suggests that *pohmola* in *pohmola-rahvas* may reflect the one-time presence of the Bogomils in the area around Räpina in southeastern Estonia (cf. also LOORITS 1932, 29). In 1709 Fedossevian Old Believers moved to Räpina, where they also buried the founder FEDOSSI VASSILJEV in 1711. In 1722 they were forced to leave. MOORA believes that *pohmola* derives from either *богомильцы* ‘Bogomils’ or *богомолья* ‘Bogomil chapel’. One would have to posit syncope of the *-o-* in the second syllable, but this is not unknown in the Estonian variants of Russian village names in southeastern Estonia: cf. Patvina < Бататино, Saabolda < Заболотье, Koruski ~ Korski < Горушка, Tendüvä < Демидово (HURT 1904, XVI-XXIV). Later the name would have had to have been adapted with the suffix *-la*, common in place-names in Estonian.

TRUUSMANN (1890, 182) mentions a *Bohomola palо* ‘Bohomola heath’ to the northeast of Orava in southern Estonia; supposedly a holy place where pagan priests carried out offerings and other rites. He assumes that a similar place existed in the village of *Bogomolova* in the district of Pankjavitsa (now in Russia, south of Речоры/Печоры). This may perhaps be more easily derived from Russ. *богомолец* ‘devout person; pilgrim; one who prays (for s.o. else)’, but seen the meaning of *pohmola-rahvas* in WIEDEMANN it is more likely that this ultimately derives from Russ. *богомил*.

Byzantine propaganda accused the Bogomils of unnatural practices, foremost sodomy. This propaganda spread widely: the meaning of (MLat. *Bulgarus* ‘Bulgarian’ >) Old French

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226 Cf. 2.2. *Russia and Sweden fight over the Baltic.*

d. MOORA 1964, 107.

a. pojaar. Cf. bojaar.

a. pojezd ‘(russ.) Eisenbahnpzug’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).
b. Russ. пёзд ‘train; (obs.) convoy, procession’ < pref. по- + ездить ‘to ride, to drive’ (REW I, 393).
c. -
d. WIEDEMANN 1893; EEW VII, 2121.

a. politruk ‘political instructor’ (ŌS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. политру́к ‘political instructor (in former USSR, in units of armed forces)’ < abbreviation of полити́ческий ‘political’ and руководи́тель ‘instructor’.
c. -
d. -

a. polk ‘army unit equivalent to a regiment in the armed forces of some countries (e.g. in the former USSR); large group of people’ (EKÔS; EÔS; VÔS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. полк ‘regiment’ < OHG folk ‘Heer, Schar’ (REW II, 393-394).
c. Dialectally recorded already as South Estonian by HUPEL 1818 and in WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÔS indicates (erroneously) that polk is derived from polkovnik. Cf. polkovnik.
d. SAARESTE 1952, 58; BACHMAN 1956, 6; MUST 1956, 129; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW VII, 2125; MUST 2000, 276.

a. polkovnik ‘military rank corresponding to colonel in Russia, the former USSR and some other countries; officer with such rank’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÔS; EÔS; VÔS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. First recorded in South Estonian in CLARE’s unpublished dictionary as polgonik ‘Oberst’ (cf. MUST 2000, 277), also as South Estonian in HUPEL 1818; its first recording in North Estonian is possibly in MASURE’s writings from the 1820s (cf. KASK 1963, 122).
Est. *polgunik* ‘= polkovnik’ (Wiedemann 1869; 1893) is in fact a derivation in *-nik*, a suffix of Russian origin (cf. 2.2.1.2. Morphology), of *polk* (EEW VII, 2125). The variant *palkun* ‘= polkovnik’ (Wiedemann 1869; 1893) is the result of faulty morphological analysis: *polkovnik* [polkovnik] > [palkonik] > [palkunik]. This last form is analysed as consisting of *palkun* and the common Estonian derivational suffix *-ik*, where elision of *-ik* results in *palkun* (EEW VI, 1913-1914). Cf. *polk*.

In interbellum army slang *polkovnik* was also used to denote a glassful of vodka (Hermlin 1929, 97).

d. EEW VII, 2125; MUST 2000, 277.

a. *polludi* ‘Entresol’ (Wiedemann 1869; 1893).


c. -

d. EEW VII, 2125.


c. MUST (2000, 279) shows that the variants in *-a* like *palat*, registered mostly in southern Estonia, are borrowed from an akanie-dialect of Russian, whilst *polut* and *polludi*, registered practically everywhere but not in the very south-east, are from an okanie-dialect and have probably made their way into Estonian via the north-eastern area of Narva and Alutaguse (cf. also map 16 in MUST 2000, 642).

d. RAUN-SAARESTE 1965, 49; EEW VII, 2127; MUST 2000, 278-279.

a. *poluvernik* ‘person of mixed origin, person who speaks a mixed language; animal of mixed origin or colour’ (Wiedemann 1869; 1893; EÖS; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. полувёрец, cf. полувёрыцы ‘чухны или латыши в пск. витбс. полуобрусёьые’ (DAE III, 250a) < полу- ‘half’ (< Common Slavic; REW II, 390) + вёрить ‘to believe’ (< Common Slavic; REW I, 184).
c. Although this word is now obsolescent in the literary language (or used only jocularly to denote a person of mixed Estonian/Russian parentage; cf. ŒS 1999), it is still common in dialects in various forms such as *poluvertsik* (Lüg Jõh IisR Vai; VMS II, 231b), *poluvereets* (Se), *poolavernik* (Muh Tor Áks) and, with elision of *polu-*, *vernik* (cf. MUST 2000, 279-280). The form used in the literary language is borrowed from полувёрник, where the suffix -eć has been substituted with the suffix -nik (also of Russian origin; cf. 2.2.1.2. Morphology); a Russ. *половёрник* is not recorded, though it may of course exist in Russian dialects (it does not occur in SRNG, the enormous Russian dialect dictionary).

Est. *poluvernik* was originally used to denote Russians who had converted to Lutheranism, later also for Estonians who had converted to Orthodoxy. Cf. *poluvernik, poluvertsik* ‘Name der halb ehstnischen halb russischen Lutheraner am Peipussee im Kirchspiel Isak’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893). In Setumaa Russians supposedly used полувёрник for the Setu’s, who, though Orthodox, had not completely adapted themselves to the Russians and still kept various usages of pagan origin (cf. BUCK 1909, 22), but as we have seen above in Russian *половёрник* is not used, and BUCK’s Russian *половёрник* is probably a spurious Russian form he derived from Est. *poluvernik*.

LÖUNA (2003, 14) claims that *poluvernik* is first used in Estonian in 1860, but it is already recorded in 1821 in Masing’s Marahwa Näädala-Leht (Kingisepp 1972, 96) as *poolvernik*, where Russ. *полу-* has been substituted with Est. *pool* ‘half.’

ARISTE (1930), in his description of the Lutheran Russians of Isaku, and KALDMAA (1937) use the term *poluvertsik*227, but in later works this is not anymore used.

d. BACHMAN 1956, 6; EEW VII, 2127; MUST 2000, 279-280.


c. ERELT, in her list of neologisms (1983, 64; 1989, 77), and ŒS 1999 suggest replacing the ‘undesirable’ *pontšik* with the more Estonian *sõõrik*.

d. -


a. *poorna*: *poornapäev* ‘Sonntag Invocavit’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; ŒS).

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227 The *poluvertsiks* themselves considered this a term of abuse (cf. ARISTE 1930, 367; KALDMAA 1937, 310).
b. Russ. сбо́рное воскресе́нье ‘неде́ля православія, воскресенье первой неде́ли великаго поста’ (DAL IV, 141b) < adj. form of сбоп ‘gathering’ (REW II, 585) + воскресе́нье ‘Sunday’ < воскресе́ть ‘to raise, to resurrect’ (REW I, 660-661).

c.

d. ARISTE 1938, 96-97; EEW VII, 2141; MUST 2000, 283.

a. popka: popkámáŋ ‘game where pins are knocked over’ (EKSS).


c. Cf. papp and поп.

d MUST 2000, 284.

a. поп “‘Babchen’”, (Knöchelchen, welche aufgestellt werden, und nach welchen mit anderen geworfen wird), попpi викса́ма (Knabenspiel)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS).


c. Cf. Russ. поп (в игрѣ городки, рюхи, чушки): выбитая из кона чушка, ставшая опять торкомь или на-попа, что говор. и о бочкѣ, или тюке; стойкомъ, торцемь, торчмѣ; (в игрѣ въ козы, бабки, при конаннй), то же, стоячее положенье бабки (DAL’ III, 308b).

Cf. also поп and попка.

MÄGISTE (EEW VII, 2144) suggests that поп въ kunspopп ‘Hexerei’ (WIEDEMANN 1893) is of the same origin (kuns ‘Kunst; Hexerei, Zauberei, Beschwerung’ < G. Kunst; cf. EEW IV, 1049), comparing it to Fi. poppa ‘witch, shaman’ (< Russ. поп ‘priest’).

Perhaps поп въ the expression попpi tegeа́ma ~ викса́ма ~ панема ‘to play truant’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1945; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) is also of the same origin. The verb tegeа́ma ‘to do’ is most commonly used in this expression, but also used are панема ‘to put, to place’ and викса́ма ‘to throw’ (cf. EKSS); compare this with the use of викса́ма in WIEDEMANN’s (1869; 1893) поппи викса́ма ‘(Knabenspiel)’. There is an obvious connection between playing games and playing truant.

Also recorded in Baltic German: Pop ‘das aufrechtstehende Klötzchen im Kurnispiel’ and from Baltic German into Prussian German (KIPARSKY 1936, 174, 202-203).

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228 A loan from Russ. бáбки ‘Russian children’s game’ (< Russ. бáбка ‘knuckle-bone’), where the diminutive suffix -ка of the singular бáбка has been substituted with the corresponding German suffix -chen (KIPARSKY 1936, 145).
Wiedemann (1876, 301) thinks Est. *pop* is borrowed from Russ. бабки, the source of BG Babchen.

Endzelins (ME III, 376a) assumes Latv. *popa* ‘ein russischer Kegel’ is a loan from Estonian.

d. EEW VII, 2144; Must 2000, 284-285; SSA II, 396b.


a. *porgand* ‘umbellate garden and field crop; the juicy root of this crop (= carrot)’ (Göseken 1660, 93, 206, 220, 256, 298; Thor helle 1732, 298; HupeL 1780; 1818; Wiedemann 1869; 1893; EKös; EÖs; VÖs 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; Ös 1960; 1976; 1999; Ekss).

b. Russ. боркан (баркан, буркán) ‘Mohrrübe, Möhre, Daucus carota’. Unknown etymology, possibly < BG Burkan, Burkane ‘id.’ (REW I, 108). The etymology of Russ. боркáн has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Kiparsky’s (1936, 201) suggests that it is a loan from BG Burkan, Burkane, G. dial. (East Prussian) Burkan, Borkan (already Dal’ I, 50a, 115a, 143a derives it from German), which in turn is a loan via Latin from Gr. βόρκανα τά ἔχια λέχανα; the Greek etymology is rejected by Vasmer (REW I, 108) because of the infrequency of the Greek expression. According to Karulis (LEV I, 155) Latv. burkancs is a borrowing from Baltic German burkan ‘carrot’, which in turn is a loan from East Frisian bure, burre ‘root’ with a diminutive suffix -ken. From Latvian the word was borrowed into Estonian, Russian and from Russian into the other Fennic languages.

Vasmer (REW II, 108) claims a Slavic etymology cannot be proposed for the Russian word, and seeing its distribution (баркáн, боркáн and буркáн are found in St. Petersburg, Novgorod, Pskov and Tver; Dal’ I, 50a, 115a, 143a; there are also recordings from Kaluga, Estonia and Latvia; SRNG III, 99b-100a) it seems likely that it is a borrowing from German. In Russian it is first recorded in 1564 (SRJa XI-XVII).

Ilić-Svityč (1960, 17) suggests that Russ. боркáн is a loan from Baltic *mrk-/*brk-.

c. The etymology of the Estonian is less problematic, the Russian etymology being usually accepted (Göseken 1660, 93; HupeL 1818 and Ariste 1939, 46 are dissenting voices, deriving *porgand* from German; Raun [1982, 126] is also not sure, but suggests no other possibility).

Mägiste (EEW VII, 2146) thinks that the -d in Est. *porgand* is the result of adaptation to diminutives in -nd like pojand ‘foster son’ < poeg ‘son’, but this cannot explain the occurrence of the similar homorganic -t- in Latv. burkants and Lith. burkantai ‘Pastinake’ (Skardžius
1998, 106\textsuperscript{220}), and it is more likely that this -d came into being due to phonetic reasons. Such a change is of course especially common between consonants, cf. Est. dial. vaendlane ‘enemy’ < vaenlane ‘id.’ (TAULI 1956, 118-119), but in auslaut it is also not unknown.\textsuperscript{230} In Estonian the original form thus seems to be porgan, but with such a common vegetable there are many variants in the dialects (porgan, porkan, põrgan, pörkan, põrkna, põrknas, põrgnas, porgand, porgant, purgand, purgen, purgan, porgen, porken, porkait, porkana, põrgón, põrgen, põrgán, VMS II, 237b; MUST 2000, 285).

HUPEL (1780, 245) registers it as a South Estonian word, it was thus probably borrowed via the south-east.


a. pornik ‘Aufkäufer’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).


c. According to TAULI (1956, 89-90) the loss of whole syllables in anlaut occurs only in loanwords where the initial syllable is unstressed. In dialects there still are variants such as kapornik and kappurnik (cf. MUST 2000, 79).

In Russian inhabitants of Koporje (Копорье, in the Leningrad oblast) are usually called копóрцы (<копóрец), the usual feminine form is копóрка; an obsolete term is копóрьяне (< копóрьяний) (BABKIN - LEVAŠOV 1975, 162ab). Possibly *копóрник does not exist in Russian and kapornik is an Estonian derivation in -nik.

Women from Koporje and surroundings often worked in kitchen gardens in St. Petersburg and were locally known as капорки (< pl. of копóрка). In the Koporje area the local population was well-known for growing and preserving vegetables such as turnips and cabbage (MOORA 1964, 159).

d. SAARESTE 1957, 462, 466, 477; EEW VII, 2149; MUST 2000, 79.

a. portovoi: portovoi-rood‘Portcommando’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. портово́й ‘port-‘ < порт ‘port‘ < Engl. port or G. Port < Fr. port < Lat. portus (REW II, 411).

\textsuperscript{220} SKARDŽIUS (1998, 106) derives Lith. burkantai’ from ORuss. бьркантъ.

\textsuperscript{230} Also common in other languages: cf. MHG fasan ‘pheasant’ < MLat. phasanus ‘id.’.
c. Recorded as a new word in WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893.
Est. rood ‘(mil.) company’ is also a Russian loanword (cf. rood), but the compound is probably Estonian.
Cf. portu.
d. EEW VII, 2151.

a. ports ‘quantity, amount; portion (of food)’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. пёрция ‘portion; (of food) helping’ < Pol. porcja < G. Portion < Lat. portiō (REW II, 413).
c. MÄGISTE (EEW VII, 2151-2152) assumes ports, gen. portsu (dialectally recorded by WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893: ports (P) ‘Schnaps, Schälchen’) is borrowed from the accusative пёрцию of Russ. пёрция, whilst Est. portsjon is borrowed from G. Portion. RAUN (1982) thinks ports is of descriptive origin, comparing it to Fi. portsu ‘portion’, but this is also thought to be Russian by SSA (II, 401b).
d. RAUN 1982; EEW VII, 2151-2152; SSA II, 401b; MUST 2000, 287.

a. portu ‘Port, Hafen’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS).
b. Russ. порт ‘port’ < Engl. port or G. Port < Fr. port < Lat. portus (REW II, 411).
c. Recorded as a new word in WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893. Cf. portovoi.
d. EEW VII, 2150; MUST 2000, 287.

a. poruitsik ‘officer rank corresponding to (first) lieutenant in Russia (e.g. in Czarist Russia, Poland etc.); officer with such rank’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EÖS; ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. поручик ‘lieutenant’ < Pol. porucznik ‘id.’ < Cz. poručník ‘id.’ (REW II, 412).
c. First recorded in MASING’s Marahwa Näädala-Leht in 1823 (175) as parrutsik (KINGISEPP 1972, 95); as parutsik in WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893).
EÖS has a normative reference poruitsik > leitnant.
d. EEW VII, 2153; MUST 2000, 288.

a. poslamasla ‘sunflower oil’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. Also as poslamasla-lii ‘Leinöl’ in WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893).
d. BACHMAN 1956, 11; TAULI 1956, 102; ARISTE 1964, 93; EEW VII, 2153; MUST 2000, 288.

a. poslin ‘(russ.) “Poschlin” (Abgabe von schriftlichen Verträgen, Klagen in Gerichten, Bittschriften)” (WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÔS; EÔS).

b. Russ. пошлин ‘duty, customs’ < ORuss. pošľina ‘althergebrachter Brauch, Sitte; Abgabe, Steuer’ < čéto pošľo jestь ‘was Gang und Gäbe ist’ (REW II, 422).

c. Also recorded in Baltic German: Poschlin ‘Abgabe von schriftlichen Verträgen’ (WIEDEMANN 1893), ‘Stempelabgabe’ (KIPIRASKY 1936, 174-175).

d. WIEDEMANN 1893; EEW VII, 2154; MUST 2000, 288.

a. possaad ‘the commercial and handicraft part of Russian towns’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. посáд ‘(hist.) trading quarter (situated outside city wall); (obs.) suburb’ < pref. по- + сад ‘garden’ (REW II, 413).

c. Cf. possaadnik.

d. -

a. possaadnik ‘prince’s vicegerent in Kievan Rus; highest civil servant in the feudal republics of Novgorod and Pskov’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. посáдник ‘(hist.) possadnik (governor of medieval Russ. city-state, appointed by prince or elected by citizens)’ < посáд ‘(cf. possaad)’ + suffix -ник.

c. Cf. possaad.

d. -

a. potsik ‘small pot, or other small container’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).


From the accusative бóчку is loaned Est. potsku ‘small pot or barrel’ (EKSS).

Also recorded in Baltic German: Botschke ‘Tonne = 40 Wedro’ (KIPIRASKY 1936, 148).

Est. totsik ‘a small vessel for carrying liquids’ (EKSS) may be an assimilatory form of potsik.

a. **povidlo** ‘jam made from boiling fruit or berries with sugar’ (VÔS 1953; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. повідло ‘jam’ < Pol. *powidła* ‘(plum) jam’ (BSE 10, 79b).
c. -
d. -

a. **praapersik** ‘Fähnrich’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
d. EEW VII, 2158; MUST 2000, 292.

a. **praasnik** ‘Russian or Orthodox festival; (drinking) party’ (EÖS; EKSS).
b. Russ. пра́здник ‘(public) holiday; (religious) feast, festival; festive occasion, occasion for celebration’ < OCS (REW II, 424).
c. Recorded dialectally as praasnik (Pp) ‘Fest’ in WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893). EÖS has a normative reference praasnik > pidu. Also as prasnik in EKSS. Also recorded in Baltic German: *Prasdnik* ‘Feier-, Fest- oder Ruhetag’ (HUPEL 1795, 178; KIPARSKY 1936, 175).
d. GEV I, 580; II, 96, 103, 110; EEW VII, 2166; MUST 2000, 292-293.

a. **praavima** ‘to get well’ (EÖS; ÔS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. пра́вить ‘примить, выпрямлять; исправлять, поправлять; делать правее, прямее, правильнее, исправнее’ (DAL III, 378a) < прав- ‘right’ (cf. REW II, 424).
c. An Estonian causative derivation is praavitama ‘to improve (one’s health); to repair’ (EÖS; ÔS 1999; EKSS), which is recorded dialectally as praavitama (A, I) ‘bessern, einrichten, ordnen, verwalten’ in WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893), probably based on Russ. попра́вить ‘to mend, repair; to correct; to adjust; to improve’. EÖS has a normative reference praavitama > parandama.
d. RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; EEW VII, 2158-2159; MUST 2000, 291-292.

a. **prannama** ‘to scold, to be annoyed with’ (EKSS).
b. Russ. бра́нить ‘to reprove; to scold; to abuse, curse (coll.)’ < брань ‘swearing, abuse’ < OCS variant of Russ. бо́ронь ‘Kampf, Hindernis’ (REW I, 117).
c. Est. dial. *rantsima (ranitsema)* ‘zanken’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893) was already derived from бранить by WESKE (1890, 190). Est. dial. (Hiiumaa) *prannitsema* ‘schelten, keifen’ and Est. dial. (EstS) *prannama* ‘lärm en, toben’ also occur in WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893).

d. EEW VII, 2164; MUST 2000, 290-291.

a. *praska* ‘(coll.) home-brewed beer mixed with mash or vodka’ (ÖS 1999).

b. Russ. брácка, diminutive of брáра ‘home-brewed beer’. The etymology is unsure; VASMER (REW I, 116) assumes a loan from Chuv. *peraga* ‘Treber’, originally ‘Dün nbier’, related to Tat. *boza* ‘Halbbier’ (cf. ŠANSKI 1965 I/2, 185; ŠIPOVA 1976, 88). SCHERNER (1977, 15, 17) posits a Late Volga Bolgar *buraga* (< Common Turkic *buza-ka* ‘Hirse bier’), from which Russ. брáра would have been borrowed.

Russ. брáра has also been borrowed into Baltic German: *Brage* ‘Branntwein-spülicht’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 148).

c. LOORITS (GEV I, 477) suggests that a *praak* ‘beer’ (not attested elsewhere) is a loan from Russian, but this is probably identical to *praak* ‘residue of ethanol production, used mostly as animal feed’ (HUPEL 1780; 1818; EKÖS; EÖS; VÓS 1933; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) and is a loan from MLG *brak* (EEW VII, 2157).

d. MUST 2000, 292.


a. *prassai* ‘Russian word of farewell’ (EKSS).


c. -

d. JÖGEVER 1911, 237; SAARESTE 1927, 168; MUST 2000, 293.


c. -

d. EEW VII, 2169.
a. present ‘rough linen cloth which is impregnated against mould; an awning of such material’ (VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. брезёнт ‘tarpaulin’ < LG or Du. form of G. Present < Fr. préceinte < Lat. praecincta (REW I, 121).
c. Est. presennik ‘getheerte Leinwand’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893) is probably a loan from G. Presenning and not from Russ. брезендук (thus EEW VII, 2169), though it may have been borrowed from Russ. презенинг ‘grobes Segeltuch’ < Du. presenning ‘id.’ (cf. REW I, 121).
d. MUST 2000, 294.

a. priipas ‘harnessing a horse with another; a horse harnessed to another’ (HUPEL 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. There are two variants in both HUPEL (1818: pripras od pripret ‘Nebenpferd, Nebengespans, Anspann mit Seitenpferden’ russ. r.d.) and WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893: pripras, pripret ‘Seitenpferd, der Anspann dazu’), where the first of both is probably borrowed from Russ. припрýжь and the second probably from the verb припрýжь. HUPEL already noted its Russian origin.

From Estonian this word has also been borrowed into Estonian Swedish: pripashaest, -maer ‘löshäst, som vid en tillbunden tvärgång är spänd för åkdonet, vanligen till vänster, för tunga lass eller till ståt på brollop, kyrkofärd o. d.’ (FREUDENTHAL-VENDELL 1886, 166a; ARISTE 1933, 8; DANELL 1951, 316b). SAXÉN (cf. ARISTE 1933, 8) thought this to be a Finnish loan in Estonian Swedish but it is more probably loaned from Estonian; there are also forms with fri- as in fripasaek, but these are folk etymologies where the first part of the word has been adapted to fri ‘free’.

In South Estonian a tripis‘horse attached to a side harness’ (JUVA 2002) is recorded; this is a contamination of priipass and Russ. три ‘three’; whether such a form exists in Russian dialects is unknown.

Also recorded in Baltic German: Priprätsch ~ Priprasch ‘ein Seiten- oder Nebenpferd das Holz vermittelt dessen ein Seitenpferd vorgespannet wird’ (HUPEL 1795, 179; KIPARSKY 1936, 175).
b. Russ. приказ ‘order, command; (hist.) office, department’ < приказа́ть ‘to order, command‘ < prefix при + каза́ть ‘to show’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 503).
c. Also recorded in Baltic German: **prikase** ‘Stadtgefängnis’ (HUPEL 1795, 179; KIPARSKY 1936, 175).
d. EEW VII, 2173; MUST 2000, 296.

a. **prikaassik** ‘Aufseher’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
b. Russ. прика́щник ‘(obs.) shop-assistant, salesman; steward, bailiff’ < прика́з (cf. **prikaas**) + suffix -чик.
c. According to Must (2000, 499) WIEDEMANN’s **prikaassik** is borrowed from прика́щник; a loan from прика́щник ‘приказывающий, кто отдаёт приказания, большой, старший между младшими, рядовыми; повёренный по дёлам, уполномоченный отъ хозя́йна’ (DAL’ III, 415b) is Est. issI **prikaástik** (MUST 2000, 297; cf. also 502). The variant прика́щник ‘служитель при воеводах и др. властях, для исполненья приказаний’ (DAL’ III, 415b) has also been borrowed into Estonian dialects (cf. MUST 2000, 297).
Already recorded in 1822 in MASON’s *Marahwa Náddala-Leht* (KINGISEPP 1972, 96).
d. EEW VII, 2173; MUST 2000, 297.

a. **pristav** ‘chief of a police station or bailiff in Tsarist Russia’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. приста́в ‘(hist.) police-officer’ < приста́вить ‘to put (to, against), place (to, against)’ < ставить ‘to put, place’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 1).
c. In the ‘questions and answers’ section of the fourth (1925, 139) issue of the interregnal Estonian linguistic journal *Eesti Keel* a reader asks why the (Russian) loan **pristav** is still in use, after many military loans from Russian have been eliminated and replaced with genuine Estonian formations or other (Western) loans. In his answer the orthologist ELMAR MUUK points out that EÖS has a normative reference to **kohtutäitur** ‘bailiff’, and that this juridical term is preferable.
Also recorded in Baltic German: **Pristaw** ‘Aufseher’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 176-177; HINDERLING 1981, 28); cf. also BG **prästa(b)** ‘Trauerstab; Leichenzuganführer’ < Sw. **prestav** ‘Trauerstab;
Leichenzuganführer’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 133), which is likewise borrowed from Russ. прыйстав (HELLQUIST 1993/I, 783b-784a).

a. pritsnik. Cf. parisnik.

b. Russ. профос ‘Aufseher verhafteter Soldaten, Polizeidiener’ < G. Profoss ‘Beamter auf Kriegsschiffen, der an den wider die Schiffartikel Handelnden die Strafe vollzieht’ < Du. provoost < OFr. prévost < Lat. praepositus (REW II, 448). More common is Russ. прохвóст ‘Betrüger, unzuverlässiger Mensch, kleiner Beamter (ironisch)’, where there is either adaptation to хвост ‘tail’ or it is a direct loan from Dutch (see above).

c. The Estonian word may also have been borrowed from German.

d. LOORITS 1955; EEW VII, 2178; MUST 2000, 299-300.

b. Russ. промáх ‘miss; (fig.) slip, blunder’ < промахáть ‘to miss’ < prefix про- + махáть ‘to wave; to brandish; to wag; to flap’.

c. MÄGISTE (EEW VII, 2177) assumed onomatopoeic origin; the Russian etymology was first suggested in RAUN 1982. MUST (2000, 299), pointing to ARISTE’s (1947, 42) dialect form prohamhk ‘failure’, assumes that this dialect form is the original and that dial. prohmak ‘sudden misfortune’ and lit. prohmakas are metathetical variants of prohamhk.

d. RAUN 1982; EEW VII, 2177; MUST 2000, 299.

d. -

a. **proogon** ‘Fahrgeld, Meilengeld’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
b. Russ. прогон ‘Fahrgeld; das für die Postpferde (Eisenbahnfahrt) zu zahlende Geld’ < prefix про- + гон ‘Ort, wo die Postpferde gehalten wurden (< грать ‘treiben’)’ (REW II, 438).
c. Also recorded in Baltic German: **Progon** ‘(Russ.) Postgeld für Pferde; hingegen das für Briefe nennen wir gemeinlich Porto oder Briefporto’ (HUPEL 1795, 180; KIPARSKY 1936, 177).
d. EEW VII, 2179.

a. **prookimen** ‘(ein Theil des griechischen Gottesdienstes)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
c. -
d. EEW VII, 2179.

a. **propusk** ‘(coll.) free pass’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. пропуск ‘admission; pass, permit; (mil.) password’ < prefix про- + пускать ‘lassen’.
c. ÖS 1976 has a normative reference to pääsik, and ERELT, in her list of neologisms (1983, 64; 1989, 77), suggests replacing the ‘undesirable’ propusk with the more Estonian pääsik ‘entry permit, pass’. ÖS 199 has a normative reference to pääsik and a more cumbersome läbipääsuluba ‘permit to pass’.
d. MUST 2000, 301-302.

a. **prosofora** ‘(ecc.) altar bread in the Orthodox church’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; EKSS).
b. Russ. просфора ‘(ecc.) (communion) bread; host’ < Gr. προσφορά (REW II, 445).
c. Recorded as a new word in WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893.
d. EEW VII, 2181; MUST 2000, 303.

a. **proskomidia** ‘Vorbereitung zur Communion (in der griechischen Kirche)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS).

c. -

d. EEW VII, 2181.

a. **prospekt** ‘wide straight street; prospectus; book summary or outline’ (VÖS 1945; 1953; ŒS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. проспект ‘avenue’ < G. **prospekt** < Lat. prōspectus (REW II, 444).

c. -

d. -

a. **prosta** ‘(coll.) plain, common’ (ŒS 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. прóstо ‘simply’ < просто́й ‘simple; easy; ordinary’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 444).

c. Both the adverb and adjective (cf. **prostoi**) have been borrowed, though the Russian adverb is used as an adjective in Estonian. The adverbial form of **prosta** is **prostalt** ‘plainly’.

d. RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; MUST 2000, 302.

a. **prostoi** ‘(coll.) very simple, common’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÕS; ŒS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. простиó ‘simple, easy; ordinary; plain, unaffected; mere’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 444).

c. Cf. **prosta**.

Also recorded in Baltic German: **prostoi** ‘gemein, unmanierlich, simpel, einfach’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 177).

d. KALIMA 1952, 141; 1956, 108; BACHMAN 1959, 261; EEW VII, 2181; MUST 2000, 302.

a. **protka** ‘(fishery: small seine)’ (EÕS).

b. Russ. прóтка ‘(derivation from:)’ < протокáть ‘воткать что утоком в ткань’ (DAL’ 3, 521a).

c. SRNG (33, 6a) says прóтка is a variant of прóбка ‘пустой, герметически закупоренный бочонок, используемый в качестве поплавка; любой поплавок для различных снастей; скальная порода, встретившаяся в золотоносном забое’ (SRNG 32, 83a).

d. -
a. **pruss** ‘squared timber, baulk beam’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. First recorded by Masing in 1821 (cf. MUST 2000, 304). First recorded in a dictionary by Wiedemann (1869; 1893: **pruss** (SO) ‘vierkantiger Balken’), who also recognized its Russian origin.

   Also recorded in Baltic German: **Brusse** ‘vierkantig behauener Balken’ (Kiparsky 1936, 148).

d. Wiedemann 1893; Raun 1982; EEW VII, 2184; MUST 2000, 304.

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a. **prussakas** ‘flattish oval brownish insect that lives mostly in heated spaces (*Blatella germanica*) = cockroach (RB)’ (Wiedemann 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. .IPycá (coll.) cockroach’ < .IPycá ‘Prussian’ < Pol. .IPusak ‘id.’ < OPruss. **prüsis** ‘id.’ (REW II, 451). According to Kiparsky (1975a, 186) this insect was unintentionally taken to Russia by soldiers returning from the seven-years war in 1763 and was consequently christened ‘Prussian’.

   Also borrowed from Russian into Latv. **prusaks** ‘cockroach’ (LEV II, 82-83); Lith. **prūsokas** ‘cockroach’ < Byel. .IPycá ‘id.’ or Pol. **prusak** ‘id.’ (LEV II, 659b).

c. Cockroaches are often named after (unpopular) ethnic groups: cf. Hu. **svábbogár** ‘cockroach’ (< G. *joc. Schwabe* for ‘Schabe’); Russ. Pskov киргиз ‘Kyrrgyz; cockroach’ (Dal’ II, 109; SRNG 13, 219b; cf. MUST 2000, 102; Koponen 1998, 102a); Serb. **ruski, kraut** ‘cockroach’; Est. **saks** ‘Schabe (Blatta germanica)’ (Wiedemann 1893); Fi. dial. **ranskalainen** ‘cockroach’ (‘Frenchman’) (Mikkola 1894, 155); G. **Russe** ‘Russian; cockroach’.

   In Kodavere (eastern Estonia) cockroaches are called **staraver** ‘Old Believer’; this is due to confusion with **taran** ~ **taraver** (MUST 2000, 381).

   Also borrowed from Estonian into Estonian Swedish: **prussakas** ‘kackerlacka’ (Danel 1951, 317b).

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231 According to SuHonen’s (cf. 1973, 182ab) informant Prussian soldiers brought the cockroach to the Baltic area during the 1812 war, but as it is recorded in Russian already in 1801 (cf. SSRLJA 11, 1575) this can be discounted.
Liv. *prūš* ‘deutscher, preusse, Preussen; schabe’ (LW 312b) is probably a loan from Latv. *prūsis* ‘Preusse; Schabe’ (ME III, 400a) or maybe from MLG *prūze* (SUHONEN 1973, 182ab; cf. also WINKLER 2002, 380).

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Prussacke* ‘Schabe (Blatta germanica); in Reval auch für Periplaneta orientalis’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 177).

d. MIKKOLA 1894, 155; 1938, 102; GEV II, 434; KALIMA 1952, 153; 1956, 117; MÄGISTE 1962, 56, 60; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; KIPARSKY 1975a, 186; RAUN 1982; EEW VII, 2184; BOJTÁR 1997, 126; KOPONEN 1999, 102a; SSA III, 111ab; MUST 2000, 304; 381.

a. *prālka* ‘swing-tree’ (EÖS).

b. Russ. пр́алка ‘distaff; spinning-wheel’ < прять ‘to spin’ < Common Slavie (REW II, 455).

c. EÖS has a normative reference to *ropsilaud* ‘swing-tree’. According to MUST (2000, 305) the Estonians learned how to swing flax on tables from Pskov Russians.

d. MUST 2000, 305.

a. *prāänik* ‘biscuit made from dough which contains honey or syrup; (fig.) praise, flattery, enticement’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. пр́яник ‘spice cake; gingerbread’ < пр́ыйный ‘spicy (also fig.; of smells) heady’ < ORuss. пр́ьйчать ‘peppery’ < *пр́рь ‘pepper’. Cf. Russ. dial. пупр́яник ‘пряник’ (REW II, 456).

c. PALL (1970, 159) thinks the Russian derivation пря́ничий may lurk in the name *Prääänu**, a toponym of northern Tartumaa.

Est. *präänik* is also used in the expression *piits ja präänik* ‘whip and carrot’ (‘whip and gingerbread’), translated from the Russian хлыст и прятник ‘whip and carrot’ (‘whip and gingerbread’).

Also borrowed into Estonian Swedish: *präänik* ‘pepparkaka’ (DANELL 1951, 317b).


310
a. **puguvits** ‘Knopf’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893) \sim **puugnits** ‘(dial.) button’ (HUPEL 1780, 245; 1818; EKSS).

b. Russ. пуговица ‘button’. The etymology is uncertain; cf. REW II, 459.

c. Est. **puugnits** was borrowed from Russ. пуговица in southern Estonia; it received the South Estonian suffix -**nits**, though Must (2000, 316) does not discount the possibility that a Russian dialect form with an -**n**- was borrowed. Est. **puguvits** was borrowed in northeastern Estonia.

d. WIEDEMANN 1869; EEW VII, 2132; MUST 2000, 315-316.

a. **puhk** ‘*(ethn.* fur trimming’ (HUPEL 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Dialectally already in HUPEL 1780: kassuka **puhk** Gebreme oder Einfassung um den Peltz. d., but it is also already recorded in CLARE’s unpublished South-Estonian dictionary from the 1730s (MUST 2000, 308).

BRÖMSEN (1814, 149) first made the connection between Est. **puhk** and Russ. nyx ‘down; fluff’, but this was not yet completely correct; WESKE (1890, 170-171) came up with the more likely Russ. onyxka. This was rejected by MIKKOLA (1894, 19), who goes back to BRÖMSEN’s etymology (155), though in his 1938 work MIKKOLA does not even mention it anymore. Since MIKKOLA 1894 Russ. nyx remains the generally accepted source for Est. **puhk** (KALIMA 1952, 143; EEW VII, 2201), until MUST (2000, 308-309) came up with a more likely explanation: the source must be the Russian dialectal form onyxka, where the procope of the unstressed o- is not unusual (cf. TAULI 1956, 89-91; MUST 2000, 529-530) and the substitution of Russ. x with Est. **hk** regular (cf. MUST 2000, 503). More important, however, as MUST (2000, 309) notes, is the complete semantic correspondence between Est. **puhk** ‘fur trimming’ and Russ. onyxka ~ onyxka ‘edging, trimming’, whereas there is no such correspondence between Est. **puhk** ‘fur trimming’ and Russ. nyx ‘down; fluff’.

d. BRÖMSEN 1814, 149; WESKE 1890, 170-171; MIKKOLA 1894, 19, 155; KALIMA 1952, 143; 1956, 109; EEW VII, 2201; KOPONEN 1998, 150a; MUST 2000, 308-309.

a. **puhvaika** ‘*(coll.)* quilted coat’ (ÖS 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. фуфайка ‘jersey’. The etymology is unknown (cf. REW III, 222).

c. -

d. MUST 2000, 39.
a. **puhvet** ‘a small café-like diner or counter selling drinks and snacks, usually at an office or institution’ (WIEDEMAN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. буфет ‘sideboard; buffet, refreshment room; (refreshment) bar, counter’ < G. **Büfett** < Fr. buffet or It. buffetto (REW I, 155).

c. Both MÄGISTE (EEV VII, 2208) and MUST (2000, 309) assume Est. **puhvet** is a loan from Russian, though they do not offer any convincing reasons to prefer it as a source to G. Buffet, from which it can also be unproblematically derived. MUST notes an Estonian dialect (Setu) form **puhveetah** where the auslaut -ah points to the Russian genitive буфёта. This dialect form is undoubtedly from Russian, but that does not necessarily mean the literary form is. According to WIEDEMAN 1869 **puhvet** is a new word, as is **puhvetschik** ‘Einschenker’ (cf. **puhvetschik**), recorded in WIEDEMAN 1893. For Est. **puhvetschik** Russian origin seems more likely, and **puhvet**, though recorded earlier, has a similar dialectal distribution (cf. MUST 2000, 309) and is thus probably also of Russian origin.

d. EEV VII, 2208; MUST 2000, 309.

a. **puhvetschik** ‘(russ.) Einschenker’ (WIEDEMAN 1893).


c. Also recorded in Baltic German: **Buffetschik** ‘Buffetwirt’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 148). Though it occurs also in Baltic German and had wide currency in the Baltic area, the dialectal distribution (cf. MUST 2000, 309) points to Russian as the source.

d. WIEDEMAN 1893; EEV VII, 2209; MUST 2000, 309.

a. **puju** ‘Boie, Ankerboie’ (WIEDEMAN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. буй ‘buoy’ < Du. boei ‘id.’ (REW I, 158).

c. -


a. **pujään** ‘(coll.) stubborn, insubordinate person (or animal)’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. RAUN 1982; EEV VII, 2212; MUST 2000, 310.
a. **pulst** ‘bunch of entangled hairs, feathers, wool or felt; rags, old clothes’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. ORuss. **pulst’** ‘Filzdecke’ (> Russ. полсть ‘Decke, Teppich, Filz’) < Common Slavic (REW II, 399).
c. MÄGISTE (EEW VII, 2222-2223) considers descriptive origin more likely, as does KOPONEN (1998, 151b), who, however, also notes the suggested Russian etymology.
d. VASMER 1922, 13-14; RAUN 1982; EEW VII, 2222-2223; KOPONEN 1998, 151ab.

a. **pumaaga** ‘(coll.) (Russian:) official letter or document’ (EKSS).
c. -
d. MUST 2000, 311.

a. **puparoos.** Cf. **kuparoos.**

a. **pura** ‘(obs.) borax’ (EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; EKSS).
c. Dialectally recorded as *pura* (O) ‘gefeiltes Kupfer und Harz (zum Lòthen), Borax’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893)
d. MUST 2000, 311-312.

a. **puravik** ‘(edible) mushroom with a pulpy receptacle, which typically has small tubes on the underside of the cap’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. бóровíк ‘(dial.) (edible) boletus’ < Common Slavic (ŠANSKIJ 1965 I/2, 170).
c. WIEDEMANN (1869) already noted its Russian origin.

The Estonian word is interesting in that it accurately reflects the quality of Russian vowels in unstressed syllables: бóровíк [bɔravik] > Est. puravik. A pretonic o in Russian is pronounced as [ʌ], an o in any syllable further from the stressed syllable is pronounced as [э]. In Est. puravik the Russian pretonic o [ʌ] is substituted with an [a], and the [э] with [u], as there is no schwa in Estonian.

Also recorded in Baltic German: Bar(a)wicke ‘Speckschwamm’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 146; MOORA 1964, 262).
d. WIEDEMANN 1869; SAARESTE 1952, 58; BACHMAN 1959, 262; MOORA 1964, 262; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW VII, 2235d; MUST 2000, 312.

a. **purgaa** ‘a strong snow-storm in northern and eastern Russia’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. -

a. **purlak ~ purlakas.** Cf. **burlakk.**

a. **pursui.** Cf. **buržui.**

a. **puslak.** Cf. **kussak.**

a. **puslak.** Cf. **bušlatt.**

a. **pussak ~ pussakas.** Cf. **kussak.**

a. **putesnik** *(russ.) Wächter, Schutzmann* (WIEDEMANN 1893).

b. Russ. бýдочník *(obs.) policeman on duty; (rail) trackman, crossing-keeper*. Cf. **putka.**

c. Also recorded in Baltic German: **Butterschnik ~ Buduschnik** ‘Polizeisoldat’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 150).

d. WIEDEMANN 1893; EEW VII, 2251; MUST 2000, 315.

a. **putka** ‘small light (wretched) shack; small booth for a particular purpose: kiosk or stall; guard’s or other official’s hut; very small room, chamber, hole’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Also recorded in Baltic German: **Butka ~ Buttke** ‘Hundehäuschen; Schilderhaus, Wachthaus (der Polizeisoldaten)’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 150).

a. **putšist** ‘organizer, implementor or active supporter of a putsch’ (ÕS 1999; EKSS).
c. Est. *putšist*, recorded only in EKSS, seems to be a late Russian loan, though *putš* ‘putsch’ (VÕS 1933; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŒS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) is undoubtedly a loan from G. *Putsch* (Russ. путч is recorded first in 1937, according to SSRLJA 11, 1754).
d. -

a. **puud** ‘formerly, a measure of weight: in Russia (and Estonia) 16.381 kg; in Finland 8.5 kg.’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÕS; VÕS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŒS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. Also recorded in Baltic German: *Pud* ‘Gewichtsmass = 40 russ. Pfund’ (HUPEL 1795, 181; KIPARSKY 1936, 177).
d. MIKKOLA 1894, 155; ARISTE 1952, 705; KALIMA 1952, 54; 1956, 42; RAUN-SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW VII, 2257; MUST 2000, 315.

a. **puur** ‘cutting tool which moves forward when rotated used to make holes in wood, metal, soil, stone, ice etc.; this tool together with the propulsive mechanism’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÕS; VÕS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŒS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. Est. *puur* ‘auger’ was previously thought to be a loan from MHG *bör ~ bör‘id.’ (OJANUU 1916, 175; VIİRES 1960a, 49; RAUN-SAARESTE 1965, 47) or MLG *bor‘id.* (RAUN 1982), but MUST (2000, 316-317) convincingly makes the case for Russian origin: she notes that though VIİRES (1960a, 49) assumes German origin for *puur* he claims that this designation did not in fact come into use in Estonian until the 19th century and that this tool was previously called *käämer*, *möll*, *oherd* or *vinnal*. In HUPEL 1780 we only find *puur* in the compound *wickerpuur*, borrowed from G. *Schwickbohrer*. BRÖMSEN (1823, 117) says the following about the verb *purima* (= *puurima* ‘to drill’; RB): ‘Gehört zu den vielen Wörtern, die nur von Deutschen im Gespräch mit Ehsten, und sehr selten von diesen selbst gebraucht worden’. Est. *puur* may thus be a later loan from Russ. 6yp. This possibility was first suggested by SKES (III, 665). MAGISTE (EEW VII, 2261) considers Russian origin more likely, but mentions the
possible German etymology too; the latest etymological dictionary of Finnish, SSA (II, 445b), only mentions the Russian etymology.

MOORA (1964, 224) suggests that purask ‘mortise chisel’ (EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) though usually derived from Est. pura ‘sharp thing’ (with a generally accepted Uralic etymology; cf. UEW 405) may in fact be a derivation in -sk from a loan of Russ. բյպ: as it was used mostly in eastern Estonia and as carpentry was to a large extent learned from Russians the similarity of Est. pura ‘sharp thing’ and purask ‘mortise chisel’ may be a coincidence.

It is dialectally recorded by WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893): purask ‘(SO, S) Meisel’, piibu-p. ‘Pfeifenräumer’; ‘der Teufel’ (‘devil’ does not belong here but is a dissimilatory form of kurask < kurat ‘devil’; cf. EEW VII, 2235d). According to VMS (II, 263a) purask does indeed occur only in eastern Estonia, albeit over a large area.


a. puuslik ‘idol figure; object of worship, idol’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. посоль ‘Abgesandter, Gesandter’ (< слать ‘senden’; REW II, 415) < or Russ. бо́жий ли́к ‘образ, икона’ or Russ. апóстол ‘apostle’ (< Gr. ἀπόστολος; REW I, 20).

c. A difficult word, for which various etymologies have been suggested. SAARESTE (1922, 17-18) thinks it is borrowed from Russ. бо́жий ли́к ‘образ, икона’; e.g. in Petseri puusli is recorded as ‘jumalakuju’ (‘image of God’; RB), образ, икона’.

Russ. бо́жий ли́к would have been borrowed as *poosilik, which in the Setu dialect would regularly have resulted in puuslik. The variant puusli, which is recorded in Setu and Lutsi (cf. VMS II, 270b) as ‘holy image’, is also recorded in Kraasna232 (KALLAS 1903, 80); SAARESTE (1922, 18) thinks that this is an analogical form created when puuslik was analyzed as a diminutive.

LOORITS (GEV I, 551; 1962, 205-206), however, suggests Est. Kraasna пюхä puuzlik ‘heiliger Apostel’233 is a loan from Russ. посоль ‘Gesandter, Apostel’, comparing it to Setu pooslę. Est.

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232 An Estonian dialect island in Russia whose last speakers died out in the beginning of the 20th century (cf. KALLAS 1903; PAUSALU 2002, 190, 192-193). The dialect is eastern Setu.

233 Whether puuslik has the meaning ‘apostle’ is debatable.
dial. (Se Lut) puustli ‘icon, image’ (VMS II, 270b) might point to Russ. апостол ‘apostle’ (cf. below)\(^\text{234}\) instead, though the -t- in puustli might be unetymological (cf. TAULI 1956, 118-119). MÄGIST (EEW VII, 2263), in turn, rejects SAARESTE’s etymology, mentions LOORITS’, but assumes a loan from dial. poostel (< G. Apostel; EEW VII, 2142) with an additional diminutive suffix -ik. MÄGIST claims that Est. puuslik first denoted images in Catholic churches of apostles and saints.

According to one speaker of Kraasna Estonian pühä (= holy) puuzlik is ‘Jezus Kristos’, but others described how the puusliks were maajumala, maakuninga, i.e. ‘deities of the land’ and how during Easter food was brought to a field as an offering (KALLAS 1903, 79-80). According to WIEDEMANN (1876, 444): ‘Ukko wird, wie Thuris, nur noch in Liederfragmenten erwähnt... Im Alterthum soll das Volk im Walde grosse Bilder von ihm gehabt haben (puuzlik), später machten sich die Leute kleinere, um die besser vor den Priestern verbergen zu können (puuzlikene); von den zum Christenthum uebergegangenen wurden diese puuzlikesed in inglikezed (engelchen) um genannt’; in WIEDEMANN’s 1893 dictionary (but not in the 1869 first edition) puuslik is ‘ein hölzernes Bild des Ukko’\(^\text{235}\) (im Alterthum’). SAARESTE (1922, 18) doubts WIEDEMANN’s data, and assumes the Kraasna material gives a truer picture.

We are thus confronted with conflicting data regarding the meaning of puuslik and three etymologies, all of which are possible.

As puuslik or variants are only recorded in the southeasternmost dialects of Estonian (Setu, Lutsi and Kraasna) (from which it has been borrowed into literary Estonian, probably as an ethnographic loan) Russian origin is perhaps more likely than German. MÄGIST’s etymology (< poostel ‘apostle’< G. Apostel) can thus be discarded. A loan from Russ. бо́жий ли́к is rejected by later writers, and is the most ungainly etymology; we assume a loan from Russ. апостол is most likely, to which the Setu form puustli also points.

d. SAARESTE 1922, 17-18; LOORITS 1932, 29; GEV I, 551; II, 324; 1962, 205-206; RAUN 1982; EEW VII, 2263.

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\(^{234}\) The procope in the Estonian word is also not unexpected (cf. TAULI 1956, 89-91; MUST 2000, 529-530), and may even have already occurred in the Russian word (cf. MURNIKOVA 1959, 232; MUST 2000, 529-530).

\(^{235}\) Identical to Ukku (Ukk) ‘(pt) eine mythologische Person, der Altvater, une-ukud Geister, welche der Traum erzeugt, Uku-annend (huku-annend?) Zackenschote (Bunias orientalis L)’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).
a. **puustus** ‘empty, unlaboured land, barren land; poor, neglected existence, life’ (HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÓS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Est. **puustus** ‘wilderness, waste’ was formerly (MIKKOLA 1938, 74; KALIMA 1952, 143) derived from Russ. пустъ or пустой or a short form (пуст, пустá, пустó, пусты), as it can be in principle be a derivation in -*us* just like **puustik** (cf. puustamaa (puustik, puustuse-maа) ‘unbebautes, verlassenes, unbesetztes Landstück’; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893) is certainly a derivation in -*ik*, but it is probably borrowed from Russ. пустошь ‘waste ground’ (MÄGISTE 1962, 53).

Already recorded in 1821 in MASING’s Marahwa Näddala-Leht (KINGISEPP 1972, 96).

KIPARSKY (1956, 78) assumes that due to the vowel quality Est. poost ‘Verdorbenheit, Zerstörung, se on poostas kóik ‘das ist Alles verdorben’; Schlamm, Auswurf des Meeres, jää-poostad ranna peal ‘es sind Einstürmer an’s Ufer geworfen’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893) and poostma ‘to break, to plunder’ (EÖS; VÖS 1945), already thought to be Russian by either SAARESTE (cf. EISEN 1924, 175, footnote 1)236, is an older loan than **puustus**, but ARUMAA (1938, 47; cf. also VABA 1997, 165) shows that Latvian origin (< puôsts ‘leer, öde, wüst’; puôstī ‘verwüsten, verheeren, verderben, zerstören’; ME III, 459-460) is much more likely.

Its dialectal distribution (poosta ~ puosta ‘miserable’: Har Lut; poostma ‘to break, to plunder’: Hel Ran San Urv Rõu; VMS II, 236b), i.e. only in the parishes near the Latvian border (or in the case of Lut actually in Latvia) shows clearly that it must have been borrowed from Latvian and not from Russian. It is unlikely that poost/poostma recorded in the dictionaries is an older Russian loan that has to be kept separate from the dialect forms.

MÄGISTE (EEV VII, 2142) tentatively included Fi. puesta ‘hög strand, brant vid å l. elf; till stranden l. iskanten drifven issojra’ (LÖNNROT 1874-80/II, 278b) with Est. poost. SSA (II, 432b-433a) considers this a loan from Estonian, and writes that OJANSUU (1920, 181-182) had derived this from Estonian, but in fact he simply mentions the fact that it occurs in Estonian (cf. Est. puost(as) ‘block, bank of ice’237), and does not say anything about any borrowing in any direction.

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236 Unclear remains whether the editor who in the footnote suggests that poostma is a loan from Russian is ANDRUS SAARESTE or LAURI KETTUNEN. ARUMAA (1938, 47) thinks it is KETTUNEN.

237 Not a Finnish loan in Estonian, as SAARESTE (or KETTUNEN) (cf. EISEN 1924, 175, footnote 1) assumes.
EÖS, VÖS (1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) also have *pusta* ‘pusta’, a later loan probably via German from Hu. *puszta* ‘pusta’, which is borrowed from Slavic (EWUng II, 1219b-1220a).


a. *pätärn* (*ethn.*) moccasin-like workshoe or slipper with a sole of closely woven cloth or rope, common on Muhu and Saaremaa*’ (EKSS).

b. Russ. патерни: (dial.) п’ят’ерн’и ‘(толко ми) высокие лапти из лыка (Печ Шумиликино)’, п’атъерн’и ~ п’атъирн’и ‘лапти из липовых лык с тупым носом (Новоржевский р-н)’, патырные лапти ‘лапоть из пяти лык’, патырек ‘лапоть в 5 лык’ (MUST 2000, 321). MUST says she did not find a fitting counterpart in dictionaries of Russian; the words above are from the Russian dialect card catalogue of the Pskov Pedagogical Institute. It is recorded, however, in one of the newer volumes of SRNG, to which MUST did not yet have access: in volume 33 (221a) we find патерни ‘то же, что патерики’, which is in turn explained as лапто, сплетенные из пяти лык (Волог., Пск., Смол.); лаптиуц большой бьемкой у подъема (Волог.); берестяные лапти, сплетенные специальным угольником (Костром.). патерни is probably derived from пять ‘5’; cf. патерник ‘лапоть в 5 лык’ above.

c. Dialectally recorded as *poddernad, poddernad* ‘russische Schuhe’ (Peipsi) (HUPEL 1818) and *päternä* ‘russischer Schuh’ (d) in WIEDEMAN (1869; 1893).

ENDZELINS (ME III, 204a) and KOPONEN (1998, 155b) are not sure what the relation of Latv. *peternes* ‘aus Schnüren und Lindenbast geflochtene Schuhe, die in Lettgallen (namentlich von Russen) getragen werden’ (ME III, 204a) is to Est. *pätern*, ZEPS (1962, 163) assumes a loan from Estonian, SUMMENT (1950, 173) and KOLBUSZEWSKI (1967, 15) vacillate between Est. *päternä* and Russ. *pjaternjá* (= пятьерня) ‘Pfote mit fünf Zehen’, but Latv. *peternes* is obviously a loan from Russ. пятьерни as recorded in SRNG. KOPONEN also compares Veps. *pättín* ‘horseshoe’ to Est. *pätärn*, but this is perhaps a loan of a “пятин from пятá ‘heel’.”
d. MANNINEN 1931, 57; KOPONEN 1998, 155b; MUST 2000, 321.

a. pätk. Cf. vōipātakas.

a. päts ‘(round or) longish rye bread with round ends; a whole (largish) rye bread or white bread; squarish piece or hunk of something’ (STAHL 1637, 38, 96; GÖSEKEN 1660, 148; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 168b, 177b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. печь ‘stove, oven; furnace, kiln, oven’ < Common Slavic *pektis ‘Backstelle’ (REW II, 352-353).
c. Russ. печь ‘stove, oven’ was borrowed as päts, and commonly used in the compound päsahí ‘oven’. Already STAHL (1637) has the simplex form without ahi, and where he has both the simplex comes first. HUPEL 1780 has päsahí ‘der Backofen’, pätsik, pätsleiba ‘eine Kuckel Brod, kleines Brod’ and pets ‘ein ganzes Brot, Volksbrot’. The meaning ‘bread’ can be explained by forms such as pätsleib, originally ‘bread from the oven’, which was later analysed as ‘piece of bread, bread’, from which leivapäts ‘piece of bread’ and päts ‘piece of something’.

Est. päts ‘flueless oven’ still occurs as an ethnological term (cf. EKSS).
The Russian etymology was first suggested by BRÖMSEN (1814, 145). Possibly PODHORSZKY (1874, 234a) also recognized this as a Slavic loan, but it may not be his own etymology if he read either BRÖMSEN 1814 or AHOLOVIST 1871. According to VIRES (1966, 37-41) Est. päts is of descriptive origin, but there is no need to doubt the Russian etymology.
d. BRÖMSEN 1814, 145; AHIENS 1853, 250; AHOLOVIST 1875, 114; MIKKOLA 1894, 22, 150; MANNINEN 1933, 222, 307; MIKKOLA 1938, 72; KALIMA 1952, 4, 34, 145; BACHMAN 1956, 10; KALIMA 1956, 3, 27, 110; MÄGISTE 1962, 19, 28, 58; VİRES 1966, 37-41; ARISTE 1981, 92-93; EEW VII, 2327-2328; MUST 2000, 256-257; SSA II, 461b.

a. raada ‘Cossack council, mass meeting in the Ukraine’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. páda ‘rada (= council; popular assembly in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania and Poland at var. times in history)’ < South & West Russ., Ukr., Byel. páda ‘id.’ < Pol. rada ‘id.’ < MHG rät ‘Rat’ (REW II, 481).
c. -

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238 SSA (II, 461b) is unsure whether Est. päts ‘bread’ belongs to päs ‘oven’, but there can be no doubt.
d. -

a. raamat ‘a whole publication consisting of printed sheets in between covers; a literary product which has appeared or appears in such form (also in more than one volume); a subdivision of a (literary) work, volume; bound sheets of paper or notebook for notations; a book-like collection of receipts or tickets; catalogue, register; measuring unit for paper: 24 written sheets or 25 printed sheets’ (VTS; MÜLLER 1600; STAHL 1637, 44, 45, 46; GÖSEKEN 1660, 139, 146, 148, 152, 169, 176, 180, 188, 290, 320, 329, 334, 404, 460; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 77a, 187b, 199a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÕS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. ORuss. gramota ‘letters, writing, document, letter’ < Gr. (pl.) γράμματα (REW I, 303).
c. In the oldest Estonian sources raamat usually means ‘letter’ (VTS [1535]; STAHL 1637, 45f; GÖSEKEN 1660, 404), though in MÜLLER 1600 it is also already used as ‘book’, also in compounds such as kirikuraamat ‘Bible’ and lauluraamat ‘hymnal’.

In the earliest occurrence in the kiri moderile (‘letter to mother’) from approximately 1535 (VTS 62-63) it is used as ‘testimonial’: Mu armes moder olle sehe romes keick assie pehep hewe same. Me taha synnule Kunnige ramatat leekkatta et synnula pehep keick assia Jella same ‘My dear mother, be happy, everything will be alright. I want to send you a royal testimonial, [which attests] that you will get everything back’ (VTS 62). The meaning ‘letter’ is still recorded by WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893).

In VESTRING (1740, 77ab) there is one unusual translation of raamat as ‘Bohent’: Temma olli Kibbejas haige poris ümber ommeti, es surre ärra Weel mitte, jo Jummal polle temmale ramatut järrele lakkitant ‘Es lag schwer darnieder, bedachte sich doch wieder und starb noch nicht. Der liebe Gott hat ihn noch {überlanget} keinen Bohten geschickt’.

Est. raamat was first recognized as a loan from Russ. грамота by THOR HELLE (1732, 323); it then occurs in BRÖMSEN’s (1814, 146) list; LEHRBERG also mentions it some two years later (1816, 118), probably independently.

In the other Finnic languages it occurs only in Ingrian ([pūhā] rāmattu ‘Bible’; where it is certainly an Estonian loan; SSA III, 33a), in Finnish (raamattu ‘Bible; (obs.) letter’; where the possibility of it being a loan from Estonian is disputed, but likely; cf. OJANSUU 1916, 176; MIKKOLA 1938, 45, 55; SSA III, 33a), and in Livonian (röntöz ‘book; letter’), which is a loan from Russian via Latv. grāmata ‘book’ (AHLOVIST 1871, 221; MIKKOLA 1894, 109; 1938, 55), though KARMA (1995, 36) claims it is a direct loan from Russian. According to LOORITS
(LRU IV, 330) Liv. röntöz is also often used for ‘Bible’ instead of bibõl, though this is not found in any other Livonian sources. This is probably an internal development as in Finnish. Ahlovist (1875, 251) and Mikkola (1938, 55) make the tentative suggestion that Est. raamat may have been loaned via Baltic ~ Latvian, but there is no particular reason to prefer this path: Kalima (1952, 145) assumes a loan from an Old Russian accusative gramatu or gramotu.

As Fi. raamattu is a loan from Estonian and only developed the meaning of ‘Bible’ in Finnish (though sometimes Est. raamat is used metaphorically as Bible: e.g. Kaunis ramat ‘Bible’; Müller 1600, 191) it cannot be subsumed under such religious terms as rist and papp which have been borrowed from Russian.²³⁹

d. Brömsen 1814, 146; Lehrberg 1816, 118; Ahrens 1843; 1853, 253; Ahlovist 1875, 251; Mikkola 1894, 23, 51, 109; 1938, 18, 32, 39, 45, Kalima 1952, 4, 43, 60, 77, 145; 1956, 3, 34, 47, 59, 111; Mägiste 1962, 8, 19-20, 28; Ariste 1981, 93; Raun 1982; EEW VII, 2366-2367; SSA III, 33a.

a. raatsima ‘(usually negated:) to be mentally ready to do something or act in some way, to have the heart to do something (for reasons of pity, compassion, discretion, delicacy etc. or avarice, stinginess, thrift etc.)’ (Thor Helle 1732, 324; Vestring 1740, 195a; HupeL 1780; 1818; Wiedemann 1869; 1893; Ekós; Eós; Vós 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; Õs 1960; 1976; 1999; EkSS).


c. Mägiste (1962, 20) notes ei raatsind ta mitte wötta ‘he spared to take’ (II Samuel 12:4) in the 1739 Bible as the first occurrence in Estonian, but practically the same sentence occurs already in Thor Helle²⁴⁰ (1732, 324), where there is also only the participle raatsind in ta ei raatsind wotta ‘er war so knickig, daß er nicht wollte nehmen’ in an additional list; the infinitive itself is missing from the main vocabulary, which probably explains why it escaped Mägiste’s attention.

Mikkola (1894, 190) first derived it from Russ. páčit, though in his 1938 adaptation of the same work he rejects the Russian etymology and derives it and its Finnic cognates (cf. SSA

²³⁹ Neither are those terms with religious connotations necessarily borrowed from Russian after the conversion of Russia to Christianity, as they are all Common Slavic and thus long in use in Russian before (a point made by Kalima 1952, 195).

²⁴⁰ Thor Helle was also the main translator of the 1739 (North-)Estonian Bible (Paul 1999, 422-427; Annus 2000, 183; ), so it is not surprising that this sentence occurs in his grammar.
III, 36a) from Fi. *raskas* ‘heavy’ (= Est. *raske*). According to MIKKOLA Russ. рáчнить is an OCS loan and not used in the spoken language and Russ. dial. (Olonec) рáчнить is a loan from Karelian (MIKKOLA 1938, 93), but SRNG (34, 348a-349b) shows that it is common in many dialects, and not only in the Finnic area.

Though there may have been contamination with Fi. *raskas* in some forms such as Fi. *raskíta* ‘to have the heart’ newer sources (MÄGISTE 1962, 20; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW VII, 2370; SSA III, 36a) all accept the Russian etymology. The dialectal distribution (cf. VMS II, 299b) shows a wide spread across northern Estonia, but concentrated in the north-east.

Est. *raatsima* has been re-borrowed by the Russian dialect spoken in Iisaku in north-eastern Estonia as рáцебитса (cf. Est. *raatsib*-3psg), usually with negative polarity as in Estonian: не рáцебитса (cf. Est. *ei raatsi* (BURDÁKOVÁ 1998, 190).

d. MIKKOLA 1894, 156; MÄGISTE 1962, 20; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW VII, 2370; SSA III, 36a.


b. Russ. радíст ‘wireless operator, radio operator; (naut.) telegraphist’. Occurs in Russian first in 1937 (SSRLJA 12, 74).

c. -

d. -

a. **ragatka** ‘barrier, turnpike’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS).

b. Russ. порáтка ‘turnpike, (pl.) chevaux-de-frise; (boy’s) catapult’ < por ‘horn’ (DAL’ IV, 100a).

c. Already recorded in 1822 in MASING’s *Marahwa Nüddala-Leht* (KINGISEPP 1972, 94; MUST 2000, 323). Some dialectal variants have been borrowed via Latvian (cf. VABA 1997, 178). Recorded as *raagatka* in WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893.

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Ragatka* ‘Schlagbaum’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 178).

d. EEW VII, 2364; MUST 2000, 323-324.

a. **ragulka** ‘two-pronged twig with split ends where an elastic band is inserted, with which children shoot pebbles or paper balls’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. порóлька ‘horned object’ < por ‘horn’ (DAL’ IV, 100b).
c. -
d. BACHMAN 1959, 261; EEW VIII, 2380; MUST 2000, 324.

a. *ragun* ‘mischievous child, urchin’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; EKSS).
c. In Finnish we also find dial. *rakuuna* ‘wild child’ < *rakuuna* ‘dragon’ (< Sw. *dragon* ‘dragon’); Kar. *tragun(a)* ‘dragon; restless person’ < Russ. драгун ‘dragon’ (SSA III, 44b). Though Est. *tragun* ‘dragon’ (*ragon* in WIEDEMANN 1893) is derived from G. *Dragoner, Draguner* (EEW X, 3260) the meaning ‘wild, restless child or person’ seems more common on the eastern fringes of the Finnic language area, and so Est. *ragun* ‘mischievous child’ and Fi. *rakuuna* ‘wild child’ are probably loans from Russian: though драгун is only recorded as ‘извозчик; таранник; игра’ (SRNG 7, 196b), the dictionary of Karelian Russian records the following: дракун ‘драчун’, драку́нья ‘драчунья’: там ребята сумасшедшие, совсем драку́чье, драку́шка ‘то же, что дра́чуш (дракун, драчунья’): ребята как дерутся, дра́чушка ты, скажут’ (SRGK 1, 504b), which is obviously the source for the meaning ‘restless person’. Either a *дракун with similar meanings existed in Russian dialects closer to Estonia, or Russ. дра́чун ‘pugnacious, quarrelsome fellow’ has influenced Est. *ragun*.

d. -

a. *raja* ‘border (of a territory)’ (MÜLLER 1600; STAHLM 1637; GÖSEKEN 1660, 106, 195, 220, 251, 272, 288, 353, 394; HORNUNG 1693, 45; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 198a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. край ‘edge, brim, brink (also fig.); side (of meat); land, country; (administrative division of former USSR) kray, krai’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 654).
c. Est. *raja* is homonymic with the genitive *raja* of *rada* ‘path, track’, and this similarity has caused some contamination (e.g. WIEDEMANN 1893 subsumes *raja* under *rada*; cf. also EEW VIII, 2397).
Russ. kра́й also occurs in all other Finnic languages except Livonian (cf. SSA III, 42a), and it has been borrowed from Fi. raja into various dialects of Saami, cf. SaamN raggja ‘border’ (into some eastern Saami dialects possibly from Karelian).241

241 Odd, however, is the form SaamS kraja ‘meta, terminus, ad quem cursu contenditur, måål, til hvilket man löper’ (LINDAHL – ÖHRLING 1780, 159b), thought to be a loan from Russian by AHLOVIST (1875, 221), and which made MIKKOLA (1894, 60) think that perhaps ORuss. kraj was borrowed into Common Finnic as *kraja with a consonant cluster: SaamS kraja cannot have been borrowed directly from Russ. kра́й, nor is it a genuine Saami word, nor a Swedish loan, therefore it must be a loan from a Fi. *kraja. WIKLUND (1896, 47) simply adds SaamS kraja to the other forms borrowed from Fi. raja without any particular comment.

Fi. raja ‘border’ was borrowed by Common Saami as *râjâ, and this is found in all Saami dialects (South: raajje, Umeå: râjje, Arjeplog: raajjje, Luleå: râdfê, North: raggje; Inari: rââjje, Skolt: raajj, Kildin: râjj, Ter: rajja, LEHTIRANTA 1989, 110-111).

SaamS kraja also occurs in HASSELBRINK’s (II, 648b) dictionary: graajja ‘Ziel (lat. meta) im ruvrestalledh-Spiel’; ruvrestalledh ‘Ball spielen; allg., ‘ein Ballspiel: die Spieler warden auf zwei Gruppen verteilt; jede Gruppe hat ein ‘Mal’ (ungef. wie beim Fussballspiel) (Tor?); man schlägt den Ball mit e-m ‘Stock’ (Slagholz) u. versetzt ihn so in Bewegung ‘gegen das Mal’ (zum Tor?) der Gegner; gleichzeitig läuft ein Mann in derselben Richtung; die Gegner nehmen den Ball vom Boden auf u. werfen ihn gegen den laufenden Spieler; wenn er getroffen wird, muss er das Spiel aufgeben; wenn jemand den Ball in der Luft trifft u. ihn zurückschlägt, hat seine Partei gewonnen, u. die zwei Parteien wechseln Platz; jeder der zwei ‘Male’ (Torbezirke?) heisst graajja u. besteht aus e-m Vierack; so lange man sich in diesem Vierack befindet, ist man vor dem Ballwurf geschützt’ (HASSELBRINK III, 1095a).

Positing a Finnic *kraja would force us to completely change out ideas about the phonotaxis of Finnic, and there being no other reasons to do so apart from this word, we prefer to suggest another solution: a more likely explanation for SaamS kraja is perhaps a hypocoristic form with an unetymological consonant cluster (thus already MIKKOLA 1938, 92-93). In SaamN there are some examples of a hypercorrect kr-: cf. krisên-sur’bme ‘rice; risengryn’, where krisên is a loan from Norw. ris(en) ‘rice’ (NIELSEN 1934, 463a); in LINDAHL & ÖHRLING’s southern Saami dictionary from 1780 there are more than six pages of words with initial kr-, including obvious loans like krammar ‘mercator, institor, krâmare’, but also possible hypocoristic cases like kranó ‘gauassa, strangulum, quo sternitur lectus, rya, fängtäcke, rana’ (1780, 159b), cf. also SaamN skippat ‘krânklich sein’ < Fi. kipeä ‘ill’ (MIKKOLA 1938, 93) and Est. dial. kresima ‘to rip’ < Russ. резать ‘to cut’, krâðgama ‘to burp’ < Russ. ругать ‘to belch’ (MUST 2000, 492; cf. also KALLAS 1894, 23). There are direct loans from Russian in SaamN (e.g. moršå ‘Wallross’ < Russ. морж, oppet ‘ununterbrochen, wiederum’ < Russ. опять, rassa ‘Mal’ < Russ. раз, šávka ‘Mütze’ < Russ. шапка, viersta ‘Wert’ (Wegmass’) < Russ. верстá), even one which has made its way to SaamS: cf. SaamN spiri ‘wildes Tier’ (< via Kar. zviere) < Russ. зверь, also found in as SaamS (LINDAHL & ÖHRLING 1780, 429a) spiri ‘bestia, vildur’ (WIKLUND 1896, 26). SaamS orotes, SaamL urûti, SaamN uradas, uragas, urodas ‘Raubtier’ is compared by WIKLUND (1896, 26) to Russ. урода ‘Missgeburt, missgestaltete Ausgebruch, Krüppel; Ungeheuer, grässlicher, garstiger Mensch’, but he assumes the similarity is probably coincidental.
d. Diefenbach 1851/II, 587; Ahlovist 1875, 221; Weske 1890, 185-186; Mikkola 1894, 60; Kalima 1952, 44, 72, 146-147; 1956, 34, 56, 112; Mägiste 1962, 20; Raun 1982; EEW VIII, 2397; SSA III, 42a.

a. **ramm.** Cf. 8.1.

a. **ramul** *(zool.)* a carp-like fish found mostly in Asian rivers and lakes (*Varicorhinus*) (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. храмули ‘род пресноводных рыб сем. карповых’ (BSE 28, 378c).
c. -
d. -

a. **randaal** *(agric.)* tillage tool with round plate-like discs, disc harrow (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. рандалá ‘дисковые бороны (Волог. (= Vologda; RB) 1938)’, рандель ‘дисковая борона (Моск. (= Moscow; RB) 1968)’ (SRNG 34, 99a). According to the 1961 *Võõrsõnad leksikon* the Estonian word is a loan via Russian from It. *randello* ‘club, cudgel’. A more likely source for the Russian word is perhaps from the English surname RANDALL: The Dictionary of National Biography (Stephen - Lee 1937-38, 712b-713a) writes amongst other things the following about a John Randall (*fl.* 1764), a schoolmaster and agriculturalist: ‘Randall invented (but did not patent) a seed-furrow plough, on the principle of Tull’s drill plough, and described this and other ingenious performances in ‘Construction and extensive use of a new invented Seed-furrow Plough, of a Draining Plough, and of a Potato-drill Machine, with a Theory of a common Plough’. Though the Oxford English Dictionary in 20 volumes notes no such word, it is not unlikely that a plough named after Randall was in use in England, and perhaps exported to Russia, where it turns up as рандалá and рандель (see above).
c. Whatever the source of the Russian word, the Estonian word is probably a loan from Russian, though if a German *Randal* ‘harrow/plough’ or French *randale* ‘id.’ have existed they can also have been the source of the Estonian word. We have found no such words in any other European language.
d. EEW VIII, 2410; ENE VI, 413b; MUST 2000, 324-325.
a. **ranits** ‘rucksack-like schoolbag (for younger pupils) with straps, made of rigid material; formerly, a soldiers’ pack on a frame’ (Wiedemann 1869; 1893; EōS; ĖēS; VōS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; Ekss).

b. Russ. рάнєць ‘knapsack, haversack; satchel; (mil.) pack’ < G. Ranzen, Rantz (REW II, 491).

c. Est. *rants* ‘Ranzen’ (Wiedemann 1893) is probably a loan from G. Ranzen (EEW VIII, 2413). Koponen (1998, 157ab) suggests that also *ranits* may be borrowed from G. Ranzen, but there is no reason to prefer the German etymology, which is also rejected by Must (2000, 325).

d. **Raun - Saareste 1965, 49; Raun 1982; EEW VIII, 2411; Koponen 1998, 157ab; Must 2000, 325.**

a. **raskoll** ‘a religious movement in Russia in the middle of the 17th c.’ (Wiedemann 1893; EōS; ÓS 1960; 1976).

b. Russ. раскол ‘(relig., hist.) schism, dissent; (pol., etc.) split, division’ < prefix раз- + колоть ‘to split’ (REW II, 492).

c. -

d. EEW VIII, 2420.

a. **raskolnik** ‘an Old Believer in Russia’ (Wiedemann 1893; EōS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; Ekss).

b. Russ. раскольник ‘(relig., hist.) schismatic, dissenter; (pol.; fig.) splitter’ < раскол (cf. raskoll) + suffix -ник (REW II, 492).

c. These Old Believers (cf. 2.1. Russia and Sweden fight over the Baltic) are mentioned already in 1690 in Estonia in ecclesiastical inspection protocols, where peasants from Vaivara protest against ‘Ruszkolleschken’ in the village of Mustjöe. From 1702 there is then a report that the village has been burned and the Old Believers killed and hanged, but in 1726 in a new inspection it is said that there are only Old Believers in Mustjöe. In 1699 there is also a report of ‘Ruscolsksis’ in Karula near Jõhvi (Liiv 1929, 36).

d. Wiedemann 1893; EEW VIII, 2420.

a. **rassolnik** ‘(cul.) meat or fish soup with slices of pickled cucumbers’ (ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; Ekss).
b. Russ. рассольник ‘rassolnik (meat or fish soup with pickled cucumbers)’ < prefix раз- + соль ‘salt’ + -ник.
c. Cf. rosolje.
d. EEW VIII, 2421.

a. raznotšiinetь ‘one of the Russian intellectuals (of various classes) who participated in movement against serfdom at the end of the 18th c. and the 19th c.’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. ÖS 1960, 1976 and 1999 have a normative reference to segaseiuslane.
d. EEW VIII, 2422.

a. ratnik ‘(obs.) reserist of the Tsarist army’ (EÖS; EKSS).
b. Russ. ратник ‘(arch.) warrior; (obs.) militiaman’ < рать ‘(arch. or poet.) host, army; war, battle’ < (REW II, 496).
c. -
d. MUST 2000, 326.

a. ravima ‘to (try to) heal with medicine, to stop the process of disease or force it to retreat, to give medicine, to doctor; (obs.) to nurse, to attend to’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. стравить ‘to set on (to fight); to use up in feeding (cattle); (of cattle) to spoil (by eating and trampling); to remove by chemical means; (naut.) to let steam; (naut.) to veer, to pay out (rope)’ < стрáва ‘Speise, Essen’ < ORuss. strava < травá ‘Gras’, травить ‘vernichten, hetzen, jagen, verdauen’ (REW III, 21, 130, 131).
c. Occurs dialectally in South Estonian already in 1632: Iumal oluku kittetut ninck kahn õiges õnnistut/ ken essi meid om rawitzenut/ Omma põha Ihu kahn ninck omma kalli werri kahn ‘The Lord be praised and blessed forever also/who has nurtured us himself/with His own holy skin and own precious blood’ (ROSSIHNIUS 1632, 306). Up to WIEDEMANN 1893 it is recorded only as South Estonian.
a. **redel.** Cf. 8.1.

a. **regent** ‘Vorsänger (in der griechischen Kirche)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).


c. -

d. EEW VIII, 2440, 2441.

a. **reiss** *(coll.)* (railway)rail’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. рельс ‘rail’ < Engl. *rails* (REW II, 510). The English plural *rails* was borrowed as рельс and considered a singular; the plural is рельсы.

c. The Estonian railway system was mostly built by Russians from the 1860s onwards; even today the railway system is to a large extent staffed by Russians (cf. LOORITS 1955, 13).

d. RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW VIII, 2455; MUST 2000, 329.

a. **rent** ‘Reihe’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).


c. MÄGISTE (EEW VIII, 2458) thought Est. *rent* ‘Reihe’, whose only literary recording is in WIEDEMANN 1893, might be related in some ‘incomprehensible’ way with Russ. ряд ‘row’.

Obviously Est. *rent* cannot have been borrowed from Russ. ряд, but ряд goes back to a pre-Russian form *рёдъ* (cf. OCS *редъ*). Borrowing such a form could have resulted in Est. *rent*, but we would have to posit such a loan to more some 1000 years ago, as the nasal vowel [ɛ] was denasalised into [ja] already some 1000 years ago (KIPARSKY 1963, 80, 86: before 1056; ECKERT et al. 1983, 66: middle of the 10th c.; CARLTON 1991, before the mid 11th c.).

Another possibility would be a loan from Baltic (cf. Lith. *rindä* ‘Reihe, Linie’; LEW II, 735b; Latv. *rinda, rinde* ‘Reihe; Zeile; ein geschlossener Kreis’; ME III, 527b), especially when we take its dialectal distribution into account: it is registered by VMS (II, 320b) in Hää KJn SJn Vil Trv Hls Krk and by EKMS (III, 581) in Pärnumaa. Of these 7 parishes 3 are on the Latvian border and the remaining 4 within some 50 km of the border. This seems to point to a Latvian loan, where Latv. *rinda* is a Curonism (ME III, 527b; LEW II, 735b; LEV II, 123-124)

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242 ‘...I rent dürfte irgendwie auf eine lautlich unbegreifliche Weise mit russ. ряд ‘Reihe’ zusammenhängen.’ (EEW VIII, 2458).
or possibly a Lithuanian loanword (ME III, 527b). A Cursonism (or Lithuanianism) might not be expected to make its way to Estonia, but Latv. *rinda* is widespread and also recorded in the dialect of Ėrgėme very close to the Estonian border (KAGAINE 1983, 205a).

Yet a third possibility is an internal Estonian development from *rind* ‘breast’: *rind* ‘breast’ > *rind* ‘row’ > *rent* ‘row’. Cf. Est. *rind* ‘Brust; (fig.) vorragender, vorstehender Theil, spec. die Ofenecke, an welcher der leuchtende Kienspann brennt; Reihe, Fronte, Zeile, Streifen’ (WIEDEMANN 1893). The same has happened in Livonian: *rinda* ‘Reihe’ is derived from *rinda* ‘Brust; vordere Flache’ (LW 340b). Lowering of *i* to *e* is not uncommon, especially before nasals (TAULJI 1956, 98-100), but the devoicing of -*d* to -*t* remains problematic.

Problematic also is Fi. dial. *rento* ‘good relations’, which KALIMA (1952, 147-148) hesitantly derives from Russ. ряд. This Finnish dialect word is recorded only in Sakkula in eastern Finland. If it is indeed borrowed from Old Russian the source word cannot be anything else than ORuss. Бредъ, and this would then be one of the very few instances where the reflex of a nasal *e* maybe occurs in a loanword. It comes as no surprise that this etymology is not generally accepted, and KIPARSKY (1954, 433) suggests that it is perhaps simply borrowed from Russ. dial. редда < арёда ‘Mietszins, Pacht’, which he says has the meaning ‘contract’ on the Karelian Isthmus. A semantic development from ‘contract’ to ‘good relations’ is not impossible, and the Old Russian etymology should probably be rejected.

For the Estonian word the Russian etymology remains uncertain, but neither are the other suggestions particularly convincing.

d. SKES III, 767; EEW VIII, 2458.

a. repɔs ~ repɔsk ~ repɔsnik ‘Ruderer, welcher den Strandreitern gestellt wird’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. грёбник ‘гребец’ (SRNG 7, 128b) < грести ‘to row’ (REW I, 305).

c. Est. *repsnik* is an Estonian derivative in -nik.

d. EEW VIII, 2460; MUST 2000, 137-138.

a. resima *(dial.)* to tear, gnaw (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; ÖS 1960; EKSS).

b. Russ. резать ‘to cut, slice; *(med.)* to operate, open, *(coll., joc.)* carve; to cut (= to have the power of cutting); to kill, slaughter, knife; to carve (on), engrave; to cut (into), cause sharp pain; *(coll.)* to speak bluntly; to pass close to, shave; *(sport)* to slice, cut, chop’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 505).

c. Also recorded in dialectal Finnish: rieśiää ‘to cut’ (RUOPPILA 1986, 44).
d. MUST 1956, 130; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; EEW VIII, 2461, 2605; MUST 2000, 329-330.


a. riis ‘(obs.) formerly, the vernacular designation for a variety of (children's) diseases’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. гръ́жа ‘(med.) hernia, rupture’ < гръ́зть ‘to gnaw, to nibble’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 314).
c. SSA (75b) claims that the Russian etymology was first suggested by SKES (III, 789), but LOORITS (GEV II, 417) had already suggested that Est. dial. (Setu) rüüsü-töbi ‘(a certain disease)’ is a loan from Russ. гръ́жа. Dialectally forms with kr- are also common (cf. MUST 2000, 139-140). In certain dialects, mostly in western Estonia, riis ‘children’s disease’ might also be a loan from G. Frieseln (cf. riisid (P) ‘Frieseln, Scharlach’; WIEDEMANN 1893), as MUST (2000, 139-140) notes.
d. GEV II, 398, 417; SKES III, 789; EEW III, 988; SSA III, 75b; MUST 2000, 139-140.

a. riisa ‘chasuble; the (precious metal) coating of an icon’ (EKSS).
b. Russ. ри́за ‘(eccl.) chasuble; (on icons) riza; (obs., poet.) raiment, garments’ < (possibly a loanword in ) Common Slavic (REW II, 521).
c. -
d. MUST 2000, 332.

a. riisikas ‘(bot.) mostly edible mushroom with a receptacle and (bitter) milk (Lactarius)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. Adapted in Estonian to words in -kas.

It has also been borrowed into Baltic German: Rieschen, Rietzchen ‘ein essbarer Schwamm, Pilz (Agaricus deliciosus). Man hat davon etliche Arten z. B. Gränen-, Birken-Rieschen u.a.m.’ (HUPEL 1795, 193). WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893) also translates riizikene (the only form he has) as ‘Riezchen, Pilz’. It was first noted as a loan from Russian by JOHANSEN (1961, 84). MOORA (1964, 262) thinks BG Riezchen may have been borrowed via Est. riisikene. Not recorded in KIPARSKY 1936.
a. **rist** ‘shape or sign consisting of intersecting straight lines (= cross; RB), an object with this shape; pole with a crossbar, onto which criminals were tied or nailed as a method of execution; such a form as a magic or sacred (usually Christian) symbol; a cross on a grave; cross-shaped medal; cross(-shape) as an emblem, motif on an ornament etc; cross-shaped signs in lieu of a signature, to remember something; (street) crossing; clubs (in card games); (fig.) difficulties, worries, trouble; emergency, nuisance, bother, burden; an interjection of fright, annoyance or disdain’ (VTS; MÜLLER 1600; STAHL 1637, 46; GOŠKEN 1660, 154, 288, 409, 503; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 204b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. ORuss. **krastь** ‘cross’ < OCS **krastь** ‘id.’ < OHG **krist, christ** ‘Christ’, ultimately from Gr. Χριστός. According to VASMER (REW I, 661-662) *krystь* originally meant ‘Christ’ and later acquired the meaning ‘cross’.

c. ORuss. **krastь** ‘cross’ was borrowed into all Finnic languages, but we find forms such as Est. **risti-inimene** ‘Christian’ (lit. ‘person of the cross’), where **rist** is ‘Christ, Christian’, it is a loan from G. **Christ** or Lat. **Christi** (gen. of **Christus** ‘Christ’) (cf. MÄGISTE 1962, 20-21; EEW VIII, 2503-2504).243 Such forms already occur in Old Estonian: cf. **risti kirikun** ‘the church of Christ, the Christian church (gen.sg.)’ (1524-28), **risti [r]ah[al]** ‘the Christian people ( adress.sg.)’ (1535) (cf. MÄGISTE 1962, 20). Cf. also modern Est. **risti-kogudus** ‘Christian community’.

Est. **kristlane** ‘Christian’ is a loan from G. **Christ** (EEW III, 991).

G. **Kreutz** is also sometimes found in older Estonian (MÜLLER 151: CREVTZ). Why we find an auslaut -i in **risti** (gen.sg) is explained in 5.1.2.4.3.

d. AHREN 1853, 254; AHLVIST 1875, 249; WESKE 1890, 205-206; MIKKOLA 1894, 129-130; 1938, 62-63; KALIMA 1952, 4, 37, 60, 149-50; 1956, 3, 29, 47, 114; MÄGISTE 1962, 20-21; ARISTE 1981, 93; EEW VIII, 2501-2504; SSA III, 83.

a. **ristima** ‘to christen’ (VTS; MÜLLER 1600; STAHL 1637, 46, 120; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 205a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

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243 Similarly Lith. **krikt\‘iti** ‘to baptize’ is a loan from ORuss. **krasti\‘i**, but the cluster -k\‘- seems to be have come into existence due to later contamination with Pol. **chrzi\‘i** – dial. **krzci\‘i** ‘to christen’ (cf. LEW I, 297b-298a).
b. ORuss. *krestit* ‘to baptize; to crucify’. VASMER thinks a denominal derivation from кръстъ is more probable than a loan from an OHG *kristan* (cf. MHG krïsten ‘to baptize’ (REW I, 662).

c. In Finnic we find the same problem: Est. *ristima* and its cognates (cf. SSA III, 83a) may be a loan from ORuss. *krestit* ‘to baptize’ (thus MIKKOLA 1894, 129-130; 1938, 62-63; KALIMA 1952, 149-150 and MAGISTE 1962, 20) or denominal derivations from Finnic *risti* ‘cross’ (thus SSA III, 83a).


a. *rjabinovka* ‘rowan-berry vodka’ (EÖS).


c. -

d. -


b. Russ. пáса ‘cassock’ < MGr. φάσον (REW II, 563).

c. -

d. -

a. *robutama* ‘to work or do something sloppily’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS).

b. Russ. dial. работать ‘to work’; cf. Russ. lit. работать ‘to work (for; on); to work, run, function; (of an institution) to be open; to work, operate’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 480).

c. Probably borrowed via northern Estonia from a Russian okanje dialect form (cf. MUST 2000, 334; 521).

d. WIEDEMANN 1893; BACHMAN 1956, 13; MUST 1956, 130, 131; EEW VIII, 2510; SSA III, 92; MUST 2000, 334.
a. rogusk ‘retted and dried linden bast; cloth, covering and suchlike made from this; bast fibre used to bind or pack, bundle of bast’ (HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. poróžka ‘bast mat, matting’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 527).

c. Dialectally there are many variants in Estonian (e.g. raagusk, ragask, ragos, robusk\(^{244}\), rogos, rogoski, rogus, rogusk\(\hat{e}\); cf. WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; MUST 2000, 334-335). Its first occurrence (in HUPEL 1780) is as ragas, raggos ‘die Matte, Ragose’; in EKÖS there is a normative reference from rogus to ragas.

Est. lit. rogusk is probably borrowed from the Russian diminutive form poróžka, whilst those older literary and dialect forms without -k are borrowed from Russ. poróžka.

Also recorded in Baltic German: ‘Ragosche, die (Russ.) wofür Einige unrichtig Ragose sagen, ist eine Matte oder aus Baumbast verfertigte Decke’ (HUPEL 1795, 186); Ragoschen ‘Lindenbastmatten’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 178). HUPEL had already noted its Russian origin in Baltic German, but did not mention the Russian origin of the Estonian word in his Estonian grammar and dictionary; BRÖMSEN (1814, 146) was the first to do so. Due to the plethora of forms in Estonian it is unlikely to be a loan from Baltic German.

d. BRÖMSEN 1814, 146; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW VIII, 2513; SSA III, 89; MUST 2000, 334-335.

a. roitma. Cf. 8.1.

a. rood ‘a subdivision corresponding to a company in the military of countries such as Russia and Bulgaria’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. póra (mil.) company’ < Pol. rota < MHG rotte < OFr. rote < Lat. rupta (REW II, 539-540).

c. A complicated case. Est. rood ‘company’ may have been borrowed from either Sw. rote ~ rothe ‘group’ (MÄGISTE 1962, 43-44; ARISTE 1981a, 153; RAUN 1982; SSA III, 109a) or from Russ. póra ‘company’ (MUST 1954, 16; 1956, 133; MÄGISTE 1962, 43-44; RAUN 1982; SSA III, 109a). STRENG’s [1915, 191] etymology from LG rote ‘troop, division’ is rejected by MÄGISTE (1962, 43-44), who (1962, 57; EEW VIII, 2529) also rejects ARISTE’s (1958, 26) suggestion that Est. rodu ‘(physical) row of people, living beings or things; something which happens in a

\(^{244}\) A similar dissimilatory form is recorded in Finnish: rapesha ‘bast mat’ (SSA III, 89b).
row or forms a series’ (WIEDEMAN 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS) is borrowed from ORuss. rodu (> mod. Russ. род ‘family; birth; sort’); MÄGISTE assumes that Est. rood is probably borrowed from a Russian accusative pótry, which was borrowed as root, roodu-. Based on the genitive a new nominative rood was then formed, with a genitive rou, from which in turn a new form rodu (rou-, rodu-) was then created. Est. rodu has the general meaning ‘queue, row’. This convoluted explanation is also accepted by MUST (2000, 337).

A weak point in this account is the fact that rodu seems to have been recorded long before rood. THOR HELLE (1732, 169) notes minge rodo ‘tretet in die Reihe’, also in VESTRING (1740, 205b) and HUPEL (1780; 1818)245; rood does not occur until WIEDEMAN 1869. This fact forces us to look at ARISTE’s (1958, 26) etymology with renewed interest: Russ. род ‘family; birth; sort’ has been borrowed into the northern Finnic languages (Fi. rotu ‘race’, Kar. rotu ‘race; particle; seed’, Veps rod ‘family’ (cf. SSA III, 96ab), and it can very well have been borrowed into Estonian too, but problematic remains the difference in meaning. THOR HELLE’s minge rodo ‘tretet in die Reihe’ is an obvious military term (join the ranks), and Russ. род usually has no specific military meaning. However, Russ. род seems to have been used in various military expressions (cf. род войск ‘väeliik’, род оружия ‘relvaliik’, род службы ‘teenistusliik’; VES III, 484b)

Liv. ruot ‘Kompanie’ is a loan from Latv. dial. ruot ‘id.’ (cf. SUHONEN 1973, 192a; WINKLER 2002, 380).

Cf. rääd.


a. roosk ‘whip, knout; (for punishing:) switch, club, cudgel or other striking instrument’ (MÜLLER 1600: 264: Piritza Rosscha; WIEDEMAN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. pózra ‘birch (rod); pl. blows of the birch’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 530-531).

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245 VESTRING’s (1740, 205b) minge rodo ‘tretet in die Reihe’ and HUPEL’s (1780) minge rodo ‘tretet in die Reihe’ and (1818) rodo minnema ‘in die Reihe treten’ are probably copied from THOR HELLE.
c. For a long time it was accepted that Est. roosk and its Finnic cognates (Fi. ruoska ‘whip’, Kar. ruoska ~ roska ‘id.’, Lud. Veps. rozg ‘id.’\(^{246}\), Ingr. röskä ‘id.’, Vot. rõska ‘id.’; cf. SSA III, 107b) are borrowed from Russ. pööra ‘rod’; the comparison between Fi. ruoska, Est. roosk and Russ. pööra was already made by GANANDER in 1787 in his manuscript dictionary (GANANDER 1938/II, 506)\(^{247}\) and accepted by e.g. AHLOVIST (1875, 129), KALIMA (1952, 153; 1956, 117), PELTOLA (1953, 220a), ARISTE (1958, 32), MÄGISTE (1962, 21, 29, 61) and RAUN (1982). The first to doubt Russian origin was MIKKOLA (1894, 44), as in an older loanword from Russ. pööra one would expect a Finnic *raska, but in the same volume 114 pages later MIKKOLA accepted the Russian etymology (and invited the reader to ignore what he said before). In his later (1938, 94) work MIKKOLA now doubts this seemingly straightforward etymology again: he assumes Fi. ruoska is a derivation in -ska from ruoto, ruoti, ruode ‘lance Rute, Spiessrute, Messrute’, which is immediately rejected by MÄGISTE (1938, 150).

KIPARSKY (1958, 136) points out that Russ. pööra has a short o, and therefore it cannot be the source for a Finnic *röška. There are indeed no other loans where a short Russian o is substituted with Finnic *ő, and since KIPARSKY’s article the Russian etymology has lost some of its authority, though for want of something better it still has appeal: PLOGER (1973, 322-323) is unsure, but does not want to capitulate completely, and thus VAHROS (1974, 162) takes her to task for not stating more forcefully that Fi. ruoska cannot be a loan from Russian. MÄGISTE (EEW VIII, 2537) carefully sidesteps the issue by only ‘comparing’ Russ. pööra to Est. roosk, but RAUN is more sure of his case.

Though the phonetic problem remains we are also loath to forsake the Russian etymology completely (MIKKOLA’s genuine etymology being no better), and perhaps the riddle is solved by LAAKSO (2000, 367), who suggests Fi. ruoska (and thus its Finnic cognates too) is indeed borrowed from Russian, but has been influenced by genuine Finnish words, perhaps by Fi. ruoto|Est. rood ‘subdivision’.


\(^{246}\) Lud. and Veps. rozg are obviously younger loans from Russ. pööra (as MIKKOLA 1894, 158 already notes); so are Olon. rozgu ’raiippa’ and Vot. rõzagpelti ’whip’ (KALIMA 1952, 153).

\(^{247}\) In print the Russian etymology for Fi. ruoska occurs for the first time in 1801 (PORTHAN 1801, 6).
a. *rosole* ‘(*cul.*) a cold dish made from slices of boiled potato and beets, herring, sour cream and other ingredients; (*fig.*) something messy or mixed up, made up of various unconnected parts’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. разсо́л ~ россо́л ‘Salzlake, Salzwasser, Brühe’ < ‘to salt’ < prefix роз- (раз-)+ соль ‘salt’ (REW II, 485, 538), perhaps first a deverbal derivative from разса́ливать/разсо́лить ‘to salt’.

c. Also recorded as *rassole* (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1940; 1945; ÖS 1960), probably borrowed from россо́л or possibly from an akanje form of россо́л; EÖS has a normative reference *rosole* > *rassole*; ÖS 1960 has a normative reference *rassole* > *rosolje*, it is not recorded in later dictionaries. Est. *rosolje* is borrowed from россо́л.

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Rassoll, Rosoll, Ressoll, Rissoll* ‘Art italienischer Salat, Vinaigrette’ (HUPEL 1795, 186, 195; KIPARSKY 1936, 139); HINDERLING (1981, 27) assumes the forms recorded by WIEDEMANN (*riisol* (rosol, rusol) ‘Rossol (rus.), Vinaigrette (in der Kochkunst)’) are loans via BG from Polish. The Polish etymology stems from KIPARSKY (1936, 139), who established that its first occurrence (*ex halecibus quoque cibum conficiunt Rossul: Carnem halecum a spinis et ossibus separant eique in frustilla concertae admiscent raphanum, concise minutim poma dulcia, oleum olivum, sal, acetum, piper*) in the Baltic area in the 17th century in Couronia seems to be a loan from Pol. *rosól* and not from Russian.

As SSA (III, 93b-94b) notes, it is unclear why Est. *rosolje/Fi. rossoli* ‘herring salad’ denotes a herring salad, whilst Russ. разсо́л ~ россо́л has the basic meaning ‘brine’. However, Russ. dial. рассо́л is recorded as ‘щи из вареной свеклы’ in Vologda (SRNG 34, 216a), so a рассо́л may on occasion contain fish.

d. WIEDEMANN 1893; KIPARSKY 1936, 139; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; HINDERLING 1981, 27; SSA III, 93b-94a.

a. *rosvon* (rus.) grosser, offener Schlitten (WIEDEMANN 1893).

b. Russ. ?ро́звальни ‘breiter Schlitten mit tief liegenden Seiten’ < развалястые сани < prefix раз- ~ роз- + валить ‘to throw’ + са́ни ‘sledge’ (REW II, 530), cf. also разва́л ‘низкие и широкие сани с расходящимся брьоз от передка боками, розвальни’, recorded in Novosibirsk in 1961 (SRNG 33, 278b-279a) and розвалá ‘сани - розвальны’, recorded in Novgorod in 1936 (SRNG 35, 158b).

c. Russ. ро́звальни is probably not the direct source of the Estonian word.

d. WIEDEMANN 1893; EEW VIII, 2545.
a. *rubla* ‘larger monetary unit in Russia and the USSR; money, salary or service’ (HUPEL 1780, 533b; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÓS; EÓS; VÓS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŐS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. рубль ‘rouble’ < рубить ‘to chop’ (REW II, 542-543).

c. Colloquially *ruts* and *ruubel* were also common.

Recorded in Baltic German already from 1335 (*rubulas*) onwards; probably obsolete by the 17th century and then reborrowed as *Rubel* (HUPEL 1795, 196; KIPARSKY 1936, 179).

It has been suggested (ARISTE 1958, 27, 32) that Est. *robi* ‘(small) monetary unit or coin’ (GÖSEKEN 1660, 233; EKÓS; EÓS; EKSS; also recorded in South Estonian in ROSSIHNIUS 1632, 310), normally considered a genuine Finnic word (cf. MÁGISTE 1928, 15, 77, 105; VIRTARANTA 1958, 32-33; MÁGISTE 1962, 57; SSA III, 92ab) is also a loan from Russ. рубль. Est. *robi* also occurs in the compounds *robihein ~ roibrih*248 ‘annual yellow-blossomed meadow plant with rattling bolls when ripe (*Rhinanthus*) (-hein, -rohi ‘grass’) (= yellow rattle; RB)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÓS; VÓS 1933; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŐS 1960; 1976; EKSS). According to MÁGISTE (EEW VIII, 2509-2510) *robi* is a deverbal derivative from *robisema* ‘to rattle’, an onomatopoeic verb; the yellow rattle is named after the rattling sound of its bolls. Cf. its synonym *köristühein* ‘id.’ from *körisema* ‘to rattle’ and its various names in other languages: Engl. yellow rattle, G. Klappertopf, Est. *robi* ‘small coin’ thus originally had the meaning ‘that which rattles’; a semantic parallel would be the colloquial *krabisev* ‘money’ < *krabisema* ‘to rustle’ (cf. tal seda va *krabisevat on* ‘he has a lot of money, he is rolling in money, he has a lot of brass, he has a lot of dough’, lit. ‘he has that which rustles’; SAAGPAKK 1982, 337a: *krabisema*). Est. *robi* has a cognate in Fi. *ropo* ‘small coin’, which the newest etymological dictionary of Finnish derives from *ropista* ‘to clatter’, the cognate of Est. *robisema* (SSA III, 92a).

Confusion is caused, however, by the following words: in Finnish we find *tenkaheinä* ‘yellow rattle’, where the first cannot be anything else than *tenka* ‘(Russian) coin’ < Russ. дёнъга ‘money’. In older Estonian (HUPEL 1780; 1818; in WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893 after HUPEL) *tenged* ‘gelbe Blumen in der Gerste’ is also recorded. The element ‘money’ is found in many languages in the name of this plant: cf. Engl. *penny-cress*, Sw. *penninggräs*, penningört, skillingar, Norw. *pengeurt*, Dan. almindelig *pengeurt*, ager-pengeurt, Icel. *peningakál*, G.

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248 According to WIEDEMANN (1893) these two are not the same: *robihain* (EstS; = EstN *robihein*, RB) is translated as ‘Klappertopf (*Rhinanthus L.*), whilst *robirohi* is ‘Täschelkraut (*Thlaspi arvense L.*). Cf. footnote 11.
Ackerhellerkraut, Ackerpfennikraut, Fr. herbe-aux-écus.\textsuperscript{249} Some of these are probably calques of others, and Fi. tenkaheinä 'yellow rattle' and Est. tanged 'gelbe Blumen in der Gerste' are thus probably calques from respectively Swedish and German; in Finnish tenka is recorded already in 1637 (cf. SSA III, 283b); in Estonian teng ~ ting is recorded since 1732.

a. rumka (rumpka) 'russ. Spitzglas' (Wiedemann 1869; 1893).
c. -
d. Wiedemann 1893; EEW VIII, 2554: Must 2000, 341.

a. rupsik 'usually leather) patch on the sole or heel of a shoe' (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. -
d. EEW VIII, 2558; Must 2000, 341-342.

a. rups ~ rupskid 'innards, heads, tails, legs and other secondary slaughter products' (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. pl. рубцы < рубе́ц 'zooll. paunch (ruminant’s first stomach); (cul.) tripe' < рубить 'to chop' (Dal’ IV, 106b-107ab; REW II, 542-543).
c. In dictionaries often in the plural.

a. russalka 'myth.) a sprite in the mythology of the Slavic peoples, associated with water and greenery' (EÖS; EKSS).

\textsuperscript{249} There seems to be, however, some confusion as to whether all these names refer to the same plant: Karlsson (1964, 66) translates Fi. tenkaheinä with Sw. penninggräs, but Fi. tenkaheinä is Rhinanthus serotinus in Latin, whilst penninggräs is Thlaspi arvense L.
b. Russ. русалка ‘mermaid’ < ORuss. rusaliya ‘heidnisches Frühlingsfest; Sonntag der heil. Väter (vor Pfingsten); Spiele an diesem Festtage’ < Lat. rōsalia, possibly via MGr. οὐσώλια (REW II, 549).

c. Occurs in Lutsi Estonian as russokas (< russovka < russalka) ‘ein mageres Weib mit langen roten Zähnen und verwirrtem Haar’ (GEV II, 89; cf. also ARISTE 1962, 555).

d. GEV II, 89; ARISTE 1962, 555; MUST 2000, 342.

a. ruts. Cf. rubla.

a. ruubel. Cf. rubla.

a. ruupor ‘funnel-like instrument, which by concentrating the energy of sound increases its strength and audible range; megaphone’ (EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÓS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. рупор ‘megaphone, speaking-trumpet; loud hailer; (фг.) mouthpiece’ < Du. roeper ‘megaphone’ < Du. roepen ‘to call’ (REW II, 549).

c. -

d. -

a. rõõðuma ‘to expectorate, to breathe with a rattle’ (EÖS).

b. Russ. рыдать ‘to sob’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 554).

c. MUST (2000, 343) subsumes rõõðuma under rõõgama, and derives it from рыгать ~ рыдать as if they are but two variants of the same word, but these Russian verbs are not etymologically related (cf. REW II, 554-555). Cf. rõõgama.

Dialectally rõõðuma occurs only in four parishes on the west coast of Lake Peipsi and one further inland (VMS II, 353b).

d. MUST 2000, 343.

a. rõõgama ‘(dialect) to rattle, to hawk’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKSS).

b. Russ. рыгать ‘to belch’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 554).

c. MÄGISTE (VIII, 2581) assumes rõõgatama ‘rülpsen’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893) is onomatopoeic, but MUST (2000, 343) derives it from Russ. рыгать ‘to belch’. VMS (353b) shows an unusual dialectal distribution: it is recorded in the west on Saaremaa (five parishes), Muhu, and in five parishes in western Estonia, four of those on the coast, and it is also
recorded in three parishes in the very south-east of Estonia (Põlva, Vastseliina and Setumaa). These two areas have little in common (if one does not take the Orthodox presence on Saaremaa into account), so perhaps here two words have been subsumed under one: in the west röögama is perhaps indeed onomatopoeic, though this is an undemanding explanation often offered when nothing else can be said, and in the south-east it is a loan from Russ. ры́гатьь.

d. EEW VIII, 2581; MUST 2000, 343.

a. räbik *(ethn.*) Setu women’s white half-woollen long coat’ (EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. KALIMA (1919, 209)① suggests Russ. рäбик is a borrowing from Est. räbik (the fact that it occurs only in Pskov according to DAL IV, 124a [рибик ‘у псковскх. рыбаковъ: сёрыя, гуся] would provide support), but VASMER (REW II, 560) assumes the Russian word is a derivation from ря́бь, just like сёрик ‘grauer Sand’ < сё́рый ‘grey’ and жё́лтый ‘gelber Sand’ < жё́лтый ‘yellow’. MAGISTE (EEW VIII, 2587, 2585-2586) assumes it is a derivation in -ik from a stem räb- (cf. räbal ‘rag’). This is not unlikely, for several reasons: VASMER’s illustrative examples are semantically far removed from the Estonian word, and the extremely common suffix -ik is also often used in Estonian for deriving names of clothing: cf. hõlmik ‘kurzer Rock’ < hõlm ‘Rockschooss’, költsik ‘gelbes Tuch’ < dial. köldne ‘yellow’, linik ‘leinenes Tuch’ < liina ‘linen’, pihik ‘Kamisol’ < piht ‘Oberrücken’, cf. also põlvik ‘Kniehose’ < põlv ‘knee’, sõrmik ‘Fingerhandschuh’ < sõrm ‘finger’ and talvik ‘Winterwolle’ < talv ‘winter’ (WIEDEMANN 1875, 171).

MUST (2000, 344) admits that the Russian word is only found on the east coast of Lake Peipsi, and suggests that it is a ‘common Estonian-Russian expression’. However, it cannot be both of Estonian and Russian origin at the same time.

Russ. ря́бий is occasionally used as an adjective for cloth, but this is only recorded in the Baltic states: cf. ря́бый платок (Estonia), штофник шили всякий: и ря́бый и красный, бе́лый не шили (Latvia), ря́бое платье (Lithuania) (SRNG 35, 334b).

It remains difficult to settle on one or the other; there are arguments for both sides, but not convincing enough for the other to be definitely rejected.

① According to MUST (2000, 344) VILLEM ERNITS also considered рäбик an Estonian loan in Russian.

② Russ. dial. ря́бик ‘верхняя одежда рыбака’ in SRNG (35, 331b) is taken from DAL.
d. KALIMA 1919, 209; MUST 1954, 15; EEW VIII, 2585-2586, 2587; MUST 2000, 343-344.

a. rähk (dial) ‘badness, bad thing’, rähka tegema ‘to do bad, evil, wrong’ (EKSS252).

b. ORuss. gréch’, ‘sin’, which goes back to Sl. *gréch’ (REW I, 307) and is found already in 1076 as rpex (SREZNEVSKIJ I, 604) (> Russ. rpex ‘sin’).

c. Est. rühk is an Old Russian loanword, borrowed from ORuss. gréch, where -č-, in this case before a hard consonant, was substituted with Finnic -ä-, as the Finnish cognate räähkä testifies (KALIMA 1952, 154-155; cf. 5.1.2.2.2.). This is usual as well in Estonian (cf. määr ‘amount’ < ORuss. *mērə), but -ä- to -ä- in front of an -h- is a regular development in Estonian (KETTUNEN 1917, 51).

Variants of this word are found in all northern Finnic languages: Fi. räähkä ‘sin; stained; pest; angry; devil’; Kar. reähkä ‘sin’ (from where it has been borrowed into the eastern Saami languages: Skolt reä ’kk ‘sin’, Akkala riekh(e) ‘id.’; T. I. ITKONEN 1943, 53); Olo. reähkä ‘id.’ Lud. gríähk, riähk, riehk, grääh ‘id.’, Veps. gräähk, grääh ‘id.’, where the Lude and Veps forms in gr- and ending in -hk have been influenced later by the present-day Russian cognate, though the ones in -h are later Russian loanwords (SKES IV, 920b; SSA III, 130b).

First tentatively suggested as a Russian loanword in Karelian by PORTHAN in 1745 or later (SSA III, 130b), confirmed as a loan from Russian in Finnish by GANANDER in 1786 (GANANDER 1938, II, 462b), and in Veps by KALIMA (1952, 154), and thought to have been loaned from Russian into Finnish/Karelian before the 13th century (RUOPPIA 1954, 164). So far it had not been found in any of the southern Finnic languages (though it also occurs in Latvian (grēks) and Lithuanian (grēkas); cf. AHLOVIST 1875, 246; WESKE 1890, 258; MIKKOLA 1894, 110; 1938, 56; LEV I, 312; LEW I, 168b). As in Estonian it has been recorded only sporadically and only very late we cannot say if it ever had the meaning ‘sin’ as in the northern Finnic languages. This is, however, likely, and its shift to ‘bad’ can be explained by the use of patt for ‘sin’, whereby rühk assumed a new, though closely related meaning (cf. Fi. räähkä ‘sin’ > ‘pest’ etc.; cf. VILKUNA 1956, 194-197).

Est. rühk is found dialectally in Maarja-Magdaleena (EKMS IV, 724); the expression rähka tegema in Paisti and Helme (VMS II, 356).


252 Apparently EKSS included it on the basis of its appearance in a novel by ALBERT KIVIKAS. KIVIKAS was born in Suure-Jaani in the Viljandi area, not far north of Paistu.
d. -

a. **rāni** (chem.) an element which occurs in nature as a compound, a non-metal (Si); flint’ (GÖSEKEN 1660, 257; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. кремень ‘flint; (fig.) hard-hearted pers., skinflint’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 659).

c. MÄGISTE (EEW VIII, 2598-2599) and RAUN (1982) consider **rāni** descriptive, but VABA (2003) has shown convincingly that it is borrowed from Russ. dial. кре́н ~ крень ‘flint’, the word probably being relatively old, as the initial consonant cluster *kr-* has been simplified to *r-* in all dialects. As VABA points out, SRNG (15, 214-215) shows that кре́н also has the meaning ‘hard wood’, which is reflected in Estonian too: cf. **ränni-puu** ‘harto, harzreiches Holz’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).

Occurs dialectally in South Estonian already in 1648 in GUTSLAFF (221) as Kiselstein - Rönnekiivi. VABA (2003, 111) assumes that it in GÖSEKEN it is probably a South Estonian word; also HÜPEL (1780; 1818) notes it as southern.

ALFE I (95a) mentions both RAUN’s descriptive and VABA’s Russian etymology, but makes no preference known.

Russ. кремень ‘flint’ has also been borrowed into Karelian (kremá) and Ludian (kremeńi) (cf. ALFE I, 95b), both obviously much younger loans.

Cf. kreml.

d. RAUN 1982; EEW VIII, 2598-25999; VABA 2003; ALFE I, 95.

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a. **rāsima**. Cf. resima.

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a. **rāād** = rood I = ‘Compagnie (Soldaten), Reihe, Rotte’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).

b. Russ. ряд ‘(in var. senses) row, line; (mil.) file, rank; series (also math.), number’ < ORuss. *rjâdъ* < Common Slavic (REW II, 561-562).

c. KALIMA (1952, 149; 1956, 113) derives Kar. reādū ‘rivi’, Olon. riādy ‘line, row, sarja’, Veps. rād ‘kerros’ from Russ. ряд and mentions OJANSUU’s (1916, 181) derivation of Fi. dial. (Tytärösaari) rääty from Est. rääd, but neglects to mention that this is also obviously a loan from Russ. ряд.

Cf. rent.

d. EEW VIII, 2610; SSA III, 132; MUST 2000, 345.
a. **saabas** ‘boot’ (Stahl 1637, 118; Göseken 1660, 396; Hornung 1693, 18; Thor Helle 1732; Vestring 1740, 212b, 216a; HupeL 1780; 1818; Wiedemann 1869; 1893; Ekós; Eós; Vós 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; Ōs 1960; 1976; 1999; Ekss).

b. ORuss. **sapogъ** ‘boot’. The etymology is unclear (cf. Rew II, 578), but possibly from OIr. *sapaga* (Kiparsky 1975, 60).

c. Russian origin for Est. saabas ‘boot’ was first suggested by Thor Helle (1732, 324). Borrowed as *sâppaga* (as suggested by Setâl 1890-91, 61) and later adapted to s-stems.

d. Thor Helle 1732, 324; Ganander 1787 III, 4a; Brömsen 1814, 146; Ahrens 1853, 255; Ahlovist 1875, 149; Weske 1890, 189-190; Mikkola 1894, 51, 63, 64, 160; 1938, 74; Kalima 1952, 4, 31, 43, 65, 155-156; 1956, 3, 25, 34, 51, 119; Ariste 1958, 26, 32; Vahros 1959, 163-169; Mägiste 1962, 21, 29; Ariste 1981, 93; Eew VIII, 640; Ssa III, 138b-139a.

a. **saaloc** (= kaution, bürgschaft) ‘Caution, Bürgschaft’ (Wiedemann 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. zalor ‘deposit, pledge, security, (leg.) bail; (fig.) pledge, token’ < log < ležáť ‘to lie, to be situated’ (Rew I, 440; II, 51).

c. The stress has been shifted to the first syllable, an adaptation to Estonian phonology. Must (2000, 350) records it in dialects, but does not mention Wiedemann’s recording. Also recorded in Baltic German: Saaloc ‘Caution, Depot’ (Kiparsky 1936, 179).


a. **saan** ‘light winter vehicle (with back rest) with runners pulled by animals’ (Stahl 1637, 108; Hornung 1693, 23; Thor Helle 1732; Vestring 1740, 211b; HupeL 1780; 1818; Wiedemann 1869; 1893; Ekós; Eós; Vós 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; Ōs 1960; 1976; 1999; Ekss).

b. Russ. cánn ‘sledge, sleigh’ < common Slavic (Rew II, 576-577). The Slavic word is sometimes (cf. Ssa III, 138b) considered to be a loan or Wanderwort, but Vasmer (Rew II, 577), pointing to the meaning ‘snake’ the word has in Old Church Slavonic and Old Russian and ‘dragon, tapeworm’ in Czech and Slovak, thinks it must be a genuine Slavic word.

c. The Russian etymology was first suggested by Thor Helle (1732, 323). In Estonian it is first recorded in a dictionary by Stahl 1637, but a saanisepp ‘sleighsmith’ is recorded already in the 16th century (Vihres 1960a, 213; Moora 1964, 238). Ojansuu (1916, 181) suggests Fi. saani ‘sleigh’ is borrowed via Estonian, but there is no reason to prefer this trajectory, and Ojansuu’s proposal has found no adherents.

a. **saanik** ‘small sleigh’ (EÖS).

b. Russ. **cáñik** ‘(diminutive of cáñi; cf. san).’

c. -

d. -

a. **sahk** ‘(dial.) plough, specifically a wooden plough; ploughshare (also on a tractor); snowplough’ (THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 214a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. ORuss. **socha** ‘plough’ (> Russ. coxá) < Common Slavic (REW II, 703-704).

c. Recognized as a Russian loanword by BRÖMSEN (1814, 146). AHRENS (1853, 255) suggests it may be from either G. Zoche or Russ. coxá.

Though this word occurs only in Estonian the [a] proves it is an older loan (a point emphasized by KALIMA 1952, 190).

In his 1938 (76) work MIKKOLA suggested that Est. sahk is not a Russian loan but a derivation in -k from saha ‘saw’, an explanation immediately rejected by MÄGISTE (1938, 149-150) and not repeated since then.

A later loan is Est. dial. (Se) sahh ‘wooden plough’ (MUST 2000, 347-348).


a. **saiga** ‘(zool.) small slim bovid that lives in the steppes and semideserts of Central-Asia and Mongolia (Saiga tatarica)’ (EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. -

a. **saira** ‘(zool.) Pacific Ocean fish with an elongated body (Cololabis saira)’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. -
d. -

a. sakija ‘abode of Caucasian mountain dwellers’ (EKSS).
c. -
d. -

a. sakol ‘a type of weir-trap on the Narva river; fishgarth, weir system in open waters; закол’ (EÖS).
c. These types of weir were first used in the Peipsi area towards the end of the 19th century. After EÖS it is not registered anymore in dictionaries, though it occurs occasionally in specialist literature (cf. MUST 2000, 349).
d. РАНК 1934, 147-155; BACHMAN 1956, 7; 1959, 260; MUST 2000, 349.

a. sakuska ‘(coll.) snack’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ОS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. There are two variants in colloquial Estonian: sakumm (ÓS 1976) and sakusment (VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; ОS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS). The suffix -ment occurs most often in the German loan justament ‘precisely’ (-ment < G. -ment < Fr. -ment < Lat. -mentum; cf. MÄGISTE 1968, 9), but the jocular tagument ‘backside’ (<tagumik ‘backside’ + -ment), relatively common, reveals it to be an independent suffix, though of very low productivity. Est. sakusment may therefore be an internal derivation in -ment (thus BACHMAN 1959, 263), but as both Sakuska ‘Imbis (sic), Gabelfrühstück’ and [zakusmén] are recorded in Baltic German (cf. KIPARSKY 1936, 179), it is likely that at least sakusment is probably a Baltic German loan. In interbellum slang sakuska ‘herring’ is recorded (HERMLIN 1929, 96).
d. KIPARSKY 1936, 179; BACHMAN 1956, 7, 8; 1959, 263; SKES IV, 953; EEW VIII, 2679; SSA III, 157; MUST 2000, 349-350.
a. **salooga** *(coll.)* pause’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. dial. зало́га ‘кратковременный перерыв для отдыха в течение длительной тяжелой работы’ (SRNG 10, 215a); also recorded in the Russian dialect of the Old Believers in the Baltics: ‘период отдыха в работе’ (NEMČENKO 1963, 100) < заложить ‘to put behind’ < ложить < causative of лежа́ть ‘to lie’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 6).

c. -

d. MUST 2000, 350.

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a. **sam**: *sam sakс olema* ‘selbst herr sein’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).


c. Occurs only in this jocular expression. Cf. 5.2.15. *Pronouns*, footnote 1.

d. EEW VIII, 2689.

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c. -

d. -

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a. **samagonn** *(coll.)* home-distilled hooch; home-made tobacco’ (EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Usually with the verb *ajama* ‘drive’, cf. Russ. гнать самого́н ‘to distil vodka’.

Slang form *samakas* (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS) with the productive suffix -kas.

d. ARISTE 1964, 93; EEW VIII, 2691; MUST 2000, 350-351.

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a. **sambo** ‘type of wrestling similar to judo based on Caucasian and Central Asian folk wrestling’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. са́мбо ‘unarmed combat’. Contraction of самообо́рона без о́ружия ‘self-defence without weapons’ (HOWLETT 1993) or самозащита без о́ружия ‘id.’.

c. -

d. -
a. **samovar** ‘coal- or now also electrically heated device to heat water for tea, samovar’ (EÖS; VÖS 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. **Bachman 1956, 7; 1959, 260; Ariste 1964, 93; SKES IV, 963; EEW VIII, 2695; MUST 2000, 351.**

a. **sandarm** ‘policeman of the gendarmerie’ (Wiedemann 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. MUST (2000, 351-352) also considers German origin, but the [a] in the first syllable points to Russian. TREIMAN (1981, 50) does not decide between German and Russian.

d. EEW VIII, 2697; MUST 2000, 351-352.

a. **san-**: **sansölm** ‘(coll.) area with sanitary fixtures’, **santehnik** ‘(coll.) sanitary technician’ (ÖS 1999; EKSS).


c. Est. san- does not occur in dictionaries before EKSS, but *sanaat* ‘sanitary’ is first recorded as sanitàär in EKÖS.

Est. sansölm is a partial calque of Russ. санэль ‘lavatory, sanitary unit’ (<санитáрный узел), and santehnik of сантехник ‘sanitary technician’ (cf. Ožegov 1990) (<санитáрный техник). As san- occurs only in these two compounds these words are most likely direct loans from Russian and not abbreviated forms of sanitaar, though they are of course ultimately of the same origin. Est. sanitaarsölm ‘area with sanitary fixtures’ and sanitaartechnik ‘sanitary technician’ are calques.

d. -

a. **sapakas ~ sapikas** ‘(coll.) automobile of the make ‘Zaporožets’’ (ÖS 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. запоро́жец ‘автомобиль Запорожского завода’ (BTS).

c. A colloquial formation, where the last two syllables have been elided and replaced with the common (and often colloquial) derivative suffix -kas.
The ethnonym *saporoglane* 'Ukrainian cossack, запорожец’ is recorded in EŌS; ŌS 1960 notes *zaporoožlane* ‘(Zaporozhians - cossacks from south of the Dnepr rapids)’, an exact transliteration of the Russian запорожец, where the person suffix -ец has been replaced with -lane, whilst in the newest dictionary (ŌS 1999) the name of the town is now transliterated from Ukr. Запорожжя as *Zaporizhija*, and not from Russ. Запорожье.
d.

a. *sara* ‘shed, booth, barn; (coll.) a shabby or cold room’ (EKŌS; EŌS; VŌS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. Recorded dialectally in Wiedemann (1869; 1893) as *sara* and *sarrai*, where the final [j] of the Russian word has not been elided yet. In modern dialects this [j] is also still found (cf. MUST 2000, 352-353).

In literature first recorded in KLEKAMPF 1860.253

c. MUST (2000, 353) assumes it has been borrowed via Russian, though G. *Charaban* may also be the source.
d. EEW VIII, 2703; MUST 2000, 353.

c. -

d. EEW VIII, 2703; MUST 2000, 353.

a. **sarka** ‘(russ.) Tscharka (russ. Maass)’ (WIEDEMANN 1893) ~ **tsarka** ‘Tscharke (*russisches Maass für Flüssigkeiten*)’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).

b. Russ. чárка ‘(*arch. or folk poet.*) cup, goblet’ < чáпа ‘Glas, Schale’. Unclear: either Indo-European (related to e.g. Gr. χέριον) or a loan from Turkic; cf. Tat. čara ‘große Schale’ (REW III, 303).

c. Dialectally recorded as South Estonian by HUPEL 1780. WIEDEMANN (1893) also notes a **tsarka** as a new word.

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Tscharke* ‘Hohlmass für Flüssigkeiten = 1/10 Kruschke = 0.123 Liter; Schnapsglas’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 185).

d. WIEDEMANN 1869; MIKKOLA 1894, 176; KALIMA 1952, 157; 1956, 120; EEW VIII, 2707; MUST 2000, 353-354.

a. **sarlatiina** ‘Scharlach, Scharlachfieber’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893;).


c. The [k] of the initial consonant cluster has been elided under influence of **sarlak** ‘scarlet fever’ (< G. *Scharlach*).

Est. skarlati-töbi ‘Scharlachfieber’ (WIEDEMANN 1893) is undoubtedly a loan from German, though MUST (2000, 369) subsumes it under the Russian loan **skarlatiina**.

d. EEW VIII, 2707; MUST 2000, 369.

a. **sarpinka** ‘cotton garment’ (ĒÕS).

b. Russ. сарпíı́нка ‘(*text.*) printed calico’. A derivation from the river name Sarpa (Russ. Capna), a tributary of the Volga (REW II, 581).

c. -

d. -

a. **sasaan** ‘(*zool.*) free-range carp’ (ŌS 1960; 1976; EKSS).


c. MÄGISTE (EEW IX, 2711) notes Russian origin, but does not mention the source.

d. EEW IX, 2711.
a. **sasen** *(russ)* russian Faden (3 Arschin)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS;).

b. Russ. сάжень ‘sazhen (Russ. *measure of length, equivalent to 2.13 metres*’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 568).

c. EÖS has the variant spelling *sazažen*.

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Saschen* ‘Längenmass = 3 Arschin’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 180).

d. WIEDEMANN 1893; MIKKOLA 1894, 160; EEW IX, 2711.

a. **sedelgas** ‘saddle-shaped padded implement placed on a horse, which keeps the thill in place’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. седёлка ‘rod небольшаго седельца, для оглобельной упряжи; оглобли подтягиваются черезседельником вмеру кверху, чем приподымается и хомут’ (DAE IV, 183b) < седло ‘saddle’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 601).

c. The dialect map in MUST (2000, 650) shows that this loanword has undergone various changes in the dialects; there are over 30 variants. In dictionaries there are two basic variants: *seedelka* (WIEDEMANN 1893) and *sedelgas* (from EKÖS onwards). WIEDEMANN already indicated its Russian origin in his definition: *seedelka* ‘Sättelchen, Rückenkissen (am russischen Anspann)’ and notes the following variants: *sedruka, setrukas, seedolga, seedulka, sedulk, seetelka, sidelkas.*

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Sedulke* ‘kleiner Sattel beim Femeranspann’ (HUPEL 1795, 215-216, 218, 269; KIPARSKY 1936, 181).


a. **seenine** *(ethn)* hallway in a Setu house’ (EÖS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. се́ни ‘навес у дома на столбах, крытое крыльцо’ (DAE IV, 379b-380a), се́ны ‘(diminutive of се́ны)’ < се́ни ‘(entrance-)hall, vestibule’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 609, 610).

c. First recorded in print (as South Estonian) in WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893), but it also occurs in a manuscript of the Old Testament from the 1650s: *letz usse sehntze sisse* ‘went forth through the porch’ (Kohtumoistjate [Judges] 3, 23) (cf. MUST 2000, 357).

The usual form in the dialects is *seenitse* or some similar form (cf. VMS II, 395a; MUST 2000, 357); the common literary form *seenine* is probably the result of analogy: EstS *seenitse* was
considered a genitive (cf. the typical South Estonian genitive singular ending -tse for words in -ne), and a new nominative *seenine was created.

d. MANNINEN 1931, 50; MAGISTE 1932, 141; KALIMA 1952, 159; EEW IX, 2734; KOPONEN 1998, 165a; SSA III, 184; MUST 2000, 357.

a. seer ‘(russ.) grau’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
c. -
d. WIEDEMANN 1893; EEW IX, 2735.

a. selitnik ‘Aufseher über eine Last (beim Kornführen)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
b. ?Russ. *жилитник < жить ‘to swindle’ or житьсь ‘to heave, strain’ or житьться ‘to stint, be miserly’.
c. No etymology has yet been suggested for this word, but it seems to be Russian.
d. -

a. seljanka ‘(cul.) thick spicy meat-, fish- or mushroomsoup with various seasonings; spicy oven dish made with stewed cabbage or other vegetables and meat, fish or mushrooms’ (EÖS; VÖS 1953; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. In Russian also as солёнка, recorded already 12 years after the first recording in 1782 of селёнка (cf. SSRLJA 13, 611; 14, 242-243).
ÖS 1999 notes that the meaning ‘spicy oven dish’ is incorrect.
d. BACHMAN 1956, 6; EEW IX, 2754.

a. semikk (myth.) (7. Thursday after Easter; pagan Russian spring feast; семик) (EÖS).
b. Russ. семик ‘(eccl.) feast of seventh Thursday after Easter’ < семь ‘seven’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 608).
c. -
d. EÖS.

a. semlak ‘(coll.) person who lives in or is from the same area; friend, buddy; light swearword’ (EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

c. A colloquial derivation in -u is semu ‘pal’ (VÖS 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS); cf. jobu ‘fool’, tobu ‘nitwit’ (cf. also WIEDEMANN 1875, 194-195).
The Russian etymology was first noted by WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893), who records a dialectal semblak ‘Freund, Camerad, Kumpan (russ.)’ with an unetymological b.

d. WIEDEMANN 1869; TRUUSMANN 1894, 84; HERMLIN 1929, 92; RAUN 1982; EEW IX, 2756; MUST 2000, 359.

- -

a. semstvo ‘local district council in Russia from 1864 to 1917’ (EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. земство ‘zemstvo (elective district council in Russia, 1864-1917); zemstvo system (of local administration)’ < зем-; земля ‘earth, land’ (cf. semlak).

c. Also recorded in Baltic German: Semstwo ‘die Landstände in russ. Gouvernements’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 181).

d. -

a. serbak ‘(dial.) handle’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. черпáк ‘scoop, bucket, grab’ < черпать ‘to draw, scoop’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 327).

c. A fishery term, borrowed from Russian fishermen (cf. MUST 2000, 428).


a. serbama ‘(dial.) to drink from the edge’ (EKSS).

b. Russ. сербáть ‘schlürfen’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 612).

c. OJANSUU (1916, 185) assumed Fi. serpa as in dial. kalaserpapata ‘pot with fish soup’ is a borrowing from Est. serbama ‘schlürfen, kosten’, but also compares it to Russ. щерба ‘soup’. Fi. serpa is indeed a loan from Russian (cf. SSA III, 170a), but serbama and щерба ‘soup’ are not etymologically related, as ERNITS (1917a, 135) pointed out. ERNITS goes on to suggest that serbama is borrowed from Russ. сербать. Baltic origin has also been suggested: cf. Lith.

254 Est. dial. serba ‘fish soup’ is borrowed either directly from Russian or via Finnish (EEW IX, 2989; SÖDERMAN 1996, 113; KOPONEN 1998, 165b; SSA III, 170a; MUST 2000, 360-361).
srēbiu (= srebiū) ‘ich schlürfe’ (OJANSUU 1921, 36-38). MUST (2000, 361), showing that the word is basically limited to south-eastern Estonia, think the Russian etymology the most likely.

Est. serve ‘Beykost, Zugemüse’, recorded already in HUPEL 1780, is a loan from Fi. särvän (SSA III, 242a; MUST 2000, 361).

WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; records a South Estonian serbāmā = serwama ‘schlürfen, kosten; behauen, kantig zuhauen (= sõrvama), fig. streiten, stossen, vastu s. sich vertheidigen, bittere Antwort geben auf eine rauhe Anrede’.  
d. OJANSUU 1916, 185; ERNITS 1917a, 135; OJANSUU 1921, 36-38; EEW IX, 2764-2765; KOPONEN 1998, 165b; SSA III, 242a; MUST 2000, 361.

a. seremett: seremettnahk ‘tawed leather’ (EÖS).


c. Occurs only in EÖS.

d. -

a. setš ‘(hist.) (Zaporozets’ fortified military encampment; сеча)’ (EÖS).


c. Est. setš has been borrowed from Russ. сечъ; it is unclear why EÖS refers to сечъ, an obsolete word for ‘battle’.

d. BACHMAN 1959, 263.

a. setverik ‘formerly, a dry measure, 26,24 litres; a vessel of this size’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) ~ veerik (EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999).

b. Russ. четверик ‘chetverik (old Russ. dry measure, equivalent to 26.239 litres)’ < четьверо ‘(coll.) four’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 331).

Due its widespread use this word has undergone changes in dialects, and has entered dictionaries in two basic variants, setverik (or as tsetveriik ‘Tschetwerik (ein russisches Höhlmaass)’ in WIEDEMANN 1893) and, recorded slightly later, veerik, where the first syllable has been elided, possibly also partially due to influence of veerand ‘a quarter’ and the like (cf.
dial. veerik ‘Viertel, Mondsviertel’; WIEDEMANN 1893). Recorded also already in WIEDEMANN is riik, where the first two unstressed syllables have been elided.

Also recorded in Baltic German: tschetverik ‘russ. Hohlmasse = 1/8 Tschetwert’ (HUPEL 1795, 242; KIPARSKY 1936, 186).

d. WESKE 1890, 221; MUST 1956, 132; SAARESTE 1957, 462, 480; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW VIII, 2475; IX, 2768; MUST 2000, 429-430.

a. setvert ‘formerly, a unit of measurement; a dry measure, 8 chetveriks; a land surface unit, where 1 chetvert of rye was sown; a unit of volume (approx. 3 litres; a unit of distance (approx. 18 cm)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. чётверть ‘(in var. senses) quarter (as liquid measure, approx. equivalent to 3 litres, as dry measure – to 210 litres); quarter (of an hour); (mus.) fourth; term’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 331).


In dialects the first syllable has also sporadically been elided (cf. MUST 2000, 430), though it is stressed.

Also recorded in Baltic German: tschetwert ‘russ. Hohlmasse = 3 Lof rigisch’ (HUPEL 1795, 242; KIPARSKY 1936, 186).

d. WESKE 1890, 221; WIEDEMANN 1869; MIKKOLA 1938, 24; SAARESTE 1957, 480; EEW IX, 2768; SSA III, 171a; MUST 2000, 430.

a. setvertnoi ‘(obs.) a quarter bottle; a quarter of vodka’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. четвертный ‘fourth, quarter-’ < четвёртый ‘fourth’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 331).

c. MUST (2000, 430-431) notes how in some Estonian dialects the first two syllables (Lüg Rei Khn Pil noj) have been elided, or, unusually, the middle syllable (Jõh setnoi).

Also spelled as tšetvertnoi in EKSS.

d. BACHMAN 1956, 6; SAARESTE 1957, 461; HINDERLING 1981, 162, 176; EEW IX, 2768; MUST 2000, 430-431.

a. sevrjuuga ‘a large sturgeon with tasty meat and roe’ (EÖS; VÖS 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

c. PREOBRAŽENSKIJ (1910/2, 268) assumed Russ. севрîор was a loan from a Finno-Ugric language, comparing it to Fi. sârki 'roach' and others, but this etymology has been unanimously rejected (cf. REW II, 600-601). Recently LARIN (1975, 231) tried to revive the theory of Finno-Ugric origin, but also he has found no supporters (cf. ISSATSCHENKO 1980, 27).

d. EEW IX, 2768.

a. sidima ' (coll.) to sit' (VÕS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. сидъть 'sit' < Common Slavic (REW II, 622); in prison slang сидъть 'to be in prison' (GALLOW 1994, 101).

c. In Estonian sidima 'to sit' has the basic meanings 'to sit or stay somewhere for a longer period of time' and 'to be in prison' (cf. EKMS IV, 408; EKSS; ILM - TENDER 2003, 52, 57); though to sit has the meaning 'to be in prison' in many languages and thus could have developed independently in Estonian, it was more likely borrowed from Russian.

d. RAUN 1982; EEW IX, 2771; MUST 2000, 364.

a. sivkva ' (coll.) sunflower seed' (EÖS; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. dial. севок 'горсть зерен; количество зерна, помещаемое в горсти для посева' (SRNG 37, 106b) < сеять 'to sow'.

c. Est. sivkva is borrowed from the genitive/accusative form севкá.

d. EEW IX, 2779; MUST 2000, 364.

a. sikuska 'fish-hook with a shiny metal decoy body and two hooks, especially for fishing in iceholes' (ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. MUST (2000, 365) assumes Est. sikuti 'pulling device, cross lathe; device for catching fish' is a derivation from sikutama 'tug; drag', though with influence from the Russian loan sikuska.

d. RÅNK 1934, 70-75; MUST 1956, 128; MOORA 1964, 208-210; EEW IX, 2791; MUST 2000, 365.
a. **sinel** ‘greatcoat, with a turned-down collar, pleats and half-belt’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Also recorded in Baltic German: *Schinell’ Soldatenmantel’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 180). As it is basically a military term perhaps a loan from Russian is likelier.

d. RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW IX, 2804; MUST 2000, 366.

a. **sipusk** ‘small fish’ (EÖS).

b. Russ. сипу́га ‘рыбка, родь небольшой плотви́чки’ (DAL IV, 188a); мелкая плотва (SRNG 37, 346b) < ? сипать ‘zerren, ziehen, reißen’.

c. Probably from an unattested Russ. dial. *сипу́шка*, though it may be an internal Estonian derivation.

Dialect forms such as *sipukas*, *sipuk* and *sipka* (cf. MUST 2000, 366-367) are probably borrowed from сипу́га.


a. **sirduk** ‘Ueberrock’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).


c. Literary Russian has сюртук, but more common, and the source for the Estonian word, is сёртук.

Already recorded in 1822 in MASING’s *Marahwa Nääddala-Leht* (KINGISEPP 1972, 99) as *sürtu-kuub* (*kuub* ‘coat, jacket’; RB), where the auslaut -k of the Russian loan has been elided in the compound. This is probably borrowed from the Russian literary form сюртук.

d. EEW IX, 2811; MUST 2000, 362.

a. **sirel** ‘bush with pleasant-smelling lilac, pink or white blossoms (*Syringa*)’ (EKÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. The change [n] > [l] in auslaut probably occurred in Estonian, where it is relatively common: cf. the following (dialect) words *vaul* ~ *vaun* ‘warble’ (EKMS IV, 258; KOPONEN

In this particular word TAULI (1956, 102) assumes it is progressive assimilation of place (r - n > r - l). The Estonian word may also be a borrowing from G. Sirene, as MÄGISTE (EEW IX, 2811) assumes, though he admits it might have been borrowed from Russian. TAULI (1956, 102) assumes a loan from Russian.

d. TAULI 1956, 102; EEW IX, 2811.

a. sirkas ‘Ukrainian ox, fattened ox’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS).
b. Russ. черкáсский бык ‘Circassian ox’ < черкáс ‘Circassian’ (REW III, 325).
c. Occurs first in MASING’s Marahwa Näädala-Leht in 1822 (cf. KINGISEPP 1972, 99; MUST 2000, 432). These oxen were brought from the Ukraine and then fattened in manors in Estonia; they were then again often sold in St. Petersburg. To denote the Circassians sîrgas was first used in 1900 in HERMANN’s encyclopedia (cf. MUST 2000, 432).

According to MUST (2000, 432) Ukrainian cossacks were known as черкáсы in the 16th-17th centuries, and the name was later conferred upon the Circassians, but VASMER (REW III, 325) assumes черкáс in Ukrainian place-names like Черкáсы ‘Ort im G. Kiew’, Черкáсск ‘Ort am Don’ and Черкáски ‘Ort im G. Chaíkov’ are named indirectly after the Circassians (probably not after local Circassian settlements, but maybe more likely after local men who fought in the Caucasus). The older variant черкéс is a Turkic loan (cf. Karachay čærkâs ‘Circassian’ < Ossete čærás < *čarkas ‘eagle’). That the name of Ukrainian cossacks is later applied to a Caucasian people is unlikely; much more plausible is the other direction, as we see in e.g. Russ. казák (cf. kasakas).

d. EEW IX, 2813; KINGISEPP 1972, 99; MUST 2000, 432-433.

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255 JUHAN VÄINASTE, teacher of Estonian at the Tallinn Vocational School for Women (Tallinna Naistekutsekool), also worked as a censor in the 1930s for the commission that graded books for public libraries, and thought books by writers such as ANDRÉ MAUROIS, THOMAS MANN and UKU MÄRING were too difficult for the average reader and therefore recommended libraries not to acquire such literature (VESKIMÄGI 2000, 378).
a. sirp ‘an agricultural cutting tool with a shaft and curved blade’ (Stahl 1637, 80; Hornung 1693, 28; Hupe1 1780; 1818; Wiedemann 1869; 1893; EKÖS; Eös; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; Ekss).
b. ORuss. sýrпъ ‘sickle’ (> Russ. сеpн) < Common Slavic (REW II, 616).
c. The Russian etymology was first suggested by Ganander (1787/III, 53); by Brömsen (1814, 146), independently, anew.
Recorded in South Estonian as Zirp already in Gutslaff (1648, 238). According to Kalima (1952, 159-160) the Karelian-Olonec (tš'irpõ), Lude (tš'irp) and South Estonian (tsirp) forms owe their affricate to influence from Russ. үеп, which itself may be a contamination of сеп ‘sickle’ and черп ‘id.’ (thus Kalima), but it may also be a genuine Russian word, related to e.g. Latv. cirpa ‘Sichel’ and Lith. kiirti ‘schneiden’ (thus Vasmer in REW III, 327).
d. Ganander 1787: 3, 53; Brömsen 1814, 146; Ahrens 1853, 256; Hupe1 1818, 223b; Ahlovist 1875, 45; Weske 1890, 206-207; Mikkola 1894, 161-162; 1938, 24, 37, 42, 83, Kalima 1952, 4, 38, 62, 159-160; 1956, 3, 30, 49, 121; Ariste 1958, 26, 32; Mägiiste 1962, 22, 29; Ariste 1981, 93; Raun 1982; EEW IX, 2817-2818; SSA III, 187b.

a. sirunik ~ sirusnik ‘(rus.) Bartscherer, Bader’ (Wiedemann 1893).
b. Russ. шипольник ‘hairdresser’ < Pol. cyrulnik ‘id.’ (SSRLJA 17, 705).
c. -
d. Wiedemann 1893; Saareste 1957, 459; EEW IX, 2819; Must 2000, 433.

a. siska ‘sausage’ (EÖs).
b. Russ. соси́ська ‘sausage, frankfurter’ < Fr. saucisse < MLat. salsicia < Lat. salsus (REW II, 701); maybe partially calqued from the diminutive saucisson.
c. Est. siska ‘sausage’ is probably a loan from Russ. соси́ська where the first syllable has been elided through analogy with Est. siisiik ‘Wienerwörstel’ (VÖS 1940; ÖS 1960), which is probably a loan from G. Zieschen, though Mägiiste (EEW IX, 2786) suggested this too was a loan from Russ.
d. EEW IX, 2786.

a. siss ‘partisan; (formerly), wartime plunderer, robber’ (EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; Ekss).
b. Russ. шиш (vulg.) fig; nothing; (hist.) ruffian, brigand’. The etymology is unsure (cf. Kiparsky 1933, 181; REW III, 403; Šipo1a 1976, 420).
c. A difficult word. It occurs in Estonian first as a South Estonian word in WIEDEMANN 1869 as siss ‘Räuber, Plunderer’. MIKKOLA (1894, 167) derives Fi. sissi ~ sissikka ‘excursor militaris in silvis, latro, praedo silvestris’/Est. siss from Russ. същик ‘Polizist, der ausgeschickt ist, um Räuber, Diebe, Flüchtlinge zu suchen’ (< сыска́ть ‘finden’; REW III, 60). ANDERSON (1923, 10), however, derives Est. siss from Russ. шищ ‘ruffian’, and this is correct, as also LOORITS (1930, 229-230) and KIPARSKY (1933, 179-181) show. KIPARSKY separates the suffixed and suffixless forms: Fi. sissikkka has the meaning ‘police inspector, spy’ and is a younger (not recorded before LÖNNROT 1880) loan from Russ. същик (similarly Est. sissik is recorded in the second [1893] edition of WIEDEMANN’s dictionary, but not in the first [1869]). Fi. sissi, however, is much older; the Finnish word is recorded in Värmland Finnish, whose speakers left Finland for Sweden in the 17th century, though Est. siss is recorded only since 1869. LOORITS (GEV III, 460) considers the possibility of Est. siss being borrowed in southern Estonia from Pol. szysz during the period of Polish rule, but this seems unlikely, as siss is recorded relatively late, and Pol. szysz itself is a loan from Russian (REW III, 403).

The Russian word has also been borrowed into Latvian: sīsīs ‘ein Mörder, Räuber’ (ME III, 849a), where it is assumed to be a loan from Est. siss, either directly or via Russian (cf. BRÜCKNER 1898, 516), thereby implying that the Russian word is a loan from Estonian. Latv. sīsis, however, is unlikely to have been borrowed from Russ. шищ (thus LOORITS 1930, 230), as one would then expect a Latv. *šīšis, as KIPARSKY (1933, 181) points out. The Latvian word is therefore most likely an Estonian loan.256

BG Zischen ‘in polnisch Livland sich aufhaltenden Schnapphaanen’ (sic) is a loan from Pol. szysz ‘Partisan, Parteigänger, Kriegsabenteurer, Freibeuter im Kriege’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 141).


256 FRAENKEL (LEW II, 990b-991a) notes a šīšavā ‘Ansammlung kleiner Kinder’ (ostlit. Dialekt von Tverčius), which he considers to be a derivation in -ava from an unrecorded *šīšis, the supposed cognate to Latv. sīsis. This would make Estonian origin for Latv. sīsis untenable. ‘Die Bez. kleiner Kinder als Herumtreiber, Räuber ist nicht verwunderlich...’ FRAENKEL notes, and indeed in Latvian we find a semantic parallel: cf. Latv. lupikī (sg. lupiks) ‘Straßenräuber’, lupiks ‘unartiges Kind’ from lūpināt ‘schälen, klauen, nagen, kauen, zausen, zupfen, rupfen, plündern’, lūpīt ‘klauben, nagen, essen, eilig gehen’ < lūpt ‘schälen, kahl machen; essen; sich abschälen, sich ablösen, herabhangen, kahl werden’, cognate with Lith. Ľūpti ‘schälen, abhäuten, schinden, prügeln, verhauen, mit Schlagen züchtigen, herausreißen, herausgraben, herausschlagen, (Geld) herausschinden, herausspressen’ (LEW I, 391b).

b. Russ. жить ‘vividly; with animation; keenly, extremely, exceedingly; (coll.) quickly, promptly’ < жить ‘to live’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 423).

c. Also recorded in Baltic German: *schiff*fix, schneidig’ (Kiparsky 1936, 180).

d. SAARESTE 1927, 168; MUST 1956, 131; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; EEW IX, 2831; MUST 2000, 368.

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a. **skafander** ‘hermetically sealed attire with various apparatus which lets the wearer to stay in environments unsuitable for human life’ (EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. скафандр ‘protective suit (of divers, astronauts, etc.)’ < Fr. scaphandre (SSRLJα 13, 908), probably via Pol. skafander ‘id.’.

c. -

d. -

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a. **skomorohh** ‘wandering actor, minstrel, gleeman, also an acrobat, animal trainer or dancer in medieval Russia’ (EKSS).

b. Russ. скоморо́х (hist.) skomorokh (wandering minstrel-cum-clown); (fig.) buffoon, clown’. The etymology is unclear; cf. REW II, 643-644.

c. -

d. -

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a. **skopets** ‘member of a Russian sect’ (EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976).


c. Also in (Baltic) German as *Skopze* (Pawlowsky 1879, 1080b; cf. скопление).

d. EEW IX, 2832.

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a. **skufja** ‘(theol.) (Greek-Catholic priest’s cap: οχούφα, Käppchen, скуфья)’ (EÖS).

b. Russ. ску́фя ‘(clerical) skull-cap, calotte’ < MGr. όχούφα < It. scuaffia (REW II, 655).

c. Also spelled as *skuufia* (EÖS).

d. -

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a. **sleid.** Cf. leid.

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a. **slemm** ‘(coll.) (pilot’s, tank driver’s) helmet’ (EKSS).

c. -

d. -

a. slobodaa ‘a settlement exempted from normal feudal obligations in Russia from 12th -18th centuries’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; ŌŚ 1960; 1976; EKSS).

b. Russ. свобо́да (hist.) sloboda (settlement exempted from normal State obligations); (obs.) suburb’. Dissimilatory form of свобо́да (REW II, 662).

c. Other variants have been recorded: loobod ‘”Slobode”, von Russen bewohnte Vorstadt’ (WIEDEMANN 1893), slabodka ‘(russ.) Slobode, russische Vorstadt’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

Cf. lobudik.

Also recorded in Baltic German: Slobode ‘Vorstadt, Flecken’ (HUPEL 1795, 218; KIPARSKY 1936, 182).

d. WIEDEMANN 1893; EEW IX, 2833; MUST 2000, 177-178.

a. smerd ‘formerly in Russia, a peasant in a feudal relationship’ (EŌŚ; ŌŚ 1960; 1976; EKSS).

b. Russ. смерд (hist.) peasant farmer’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 671).

c. -

d. -

a. smirna ‘(coll.) on guard ’ (EKSS).

b. Russ. смирно ‘quietly’ < мир ‘peace; world’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 137).

c. -

d. MUST 2000, 369-370.

a. soborr ‘cathedral’ (EŌŚ).

b. Russ. собо́р ‘cathedral’ < OCS sъбъръ συναγωγή (REW II, 685).

c. Probably only used to denote a Russian church.

d. -
a. **sohk** ‘deception; cheat’ (THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 228a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. MÄGISTE (EEW IX, 2840) assumes sohk is a loan from BG Schoch, but ARISTE (1984, 738-740) claims that this does not exist, and suggests Russ. жох as a source. RAUN (1982) proposes unhelpfully that it might be a genuine descriptive word.

MUST (2000, 370-372) assumes that ARISTE is right, though the Russian word can only denote a person, whilst the Estonian word and its variants (some of which have, according to MUST [2000, 372] probably been influenced by G. Zucht, cf. EstS tsocht ‘Zucht, Race, Art’; WIEDEMANN 1893) nearly always have the general meaning ‘deceit’ (from which such words as sohilap ‘bastard’) and ‘extra income’. The meaning ‘deceit’ already occurs in the 1739 NT: (cf. ARISTE 1984, 739), whilst the earliest recording in THOR HELLE (1732) translates sohk as ‘das Geschlecht, die Verwandtschaft, Compagnie, Art Leute’, which cannot be easily derived from the Russian. According to SSRLJA (4, 183) not recorded before DAL (first edition: 1863-66), which weakens the Russian etymology considerably. Perhaps a variant of the German loan tsocht (> soht > sohk) is more likely, where soht > sohk may have been caused by contamination with Russ. жох or BG Schoch.


a. **sokk** *(russ.)* verdecker Schlitten’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).

b. Russ. возóк ‘closed sleigh’ < diminutive of воз ‘cart, wagon’ < Common Slavic (REW).

c. In Estonian the initial unstressed syllable has been elided. According to MUST (2000, 462) these sleigh coaches were used mostly in manors, so the Estonian word might have been borrowed via BG Wasok ‘geschlossener Schlitten’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 188).

d. WIEDEMANN 1893; EEW IX, 2843; MUST 2000, 462.

a. **solonets** *(agríc)* a type of salinized soil in Central Asia’ (ÖS 1976; EKSS).

b. Russ. соло̀нё́ць ‘пропитанная солью земля, почва, сухая, по которой соль вышвётает’ (DAL IV, 268b) < соль ‘salt’ (REW II, 693-694).

c. -

257 If BG Schoch does exist it must be a loan from Russ. жох.
d. EEW IX, 2847.

a. solontšakk *(agric.*) a not very fertile type of salinized soil with soluble salts’ (ŌS 1976; EKSS).

b. Russ. солончак ‘saline soil; salt-marsh’ < соль ‘salt’. Cf. solonets.

c. -

d. -

a. solotnik ‘an Old Russian measure of weight, 4,265 grammes’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÔS; EŌS; VÔS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1976; EKSS).

b. Russ. золотник *(old Russ. measure of weight, equivalent to 4.26 grams)* < золото ‘gold’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 460).

c. Also recorded in Baltic German: Solotnik ‘Gewichtsmass = 1/96 russ. Pfund’ (HUPEL 1795, 219; KIPARSKY 1936, 182).

d. BACHMAN 1956, 6; EEW IX, 2847; MUST 2000, 374.

a. sompul ‘ramrod’ (EKSS).

b. Russ. шомпол *(mil.*) cleaning rod; *(obs.*) ramrod’ < Pol. sztepel ‘id.’ < G. Stempel (REW III, 420).

c. -

d. MUST 2000, 375.


a. sopits ‘rudder’ (EŌS).


The Russian word, borrowed in the 16th century, is unlikely to have been borrowed from Livonian; it is probably an Estonian loan.

c. The Russian word, a loan from Finnic, has been borrowed back into Estonian.

Occurs as a toponym near Kodavere: Sopitsa (PALL 1970, 161).


a. sopka *(geog.*) hill with a round top, bare hilltop or volcano, mostly in the (Russian) Far East’ (ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. сопка ‘knoll, hill, mound; (in Far East) volcano’ < con ‘Aufschüttung’ (REW II, 696).
c. -
d. EEW IX, 2870.

a. *sorid (pl.) ‘tackle with wide straps, used without collar or shaftbow’ (EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. шо́ры ‘blinkers (also fīg.); harness (with breech-band, but without collar)’ < Pol. szory < MHG geschichten (REW III, 422).
c. Also recorded in Baltic German: Schorren ‘Art Anspann’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 181).
d. MUST 2000, 376.

b. Russ. сороковка ‘битылка водки, составляющая 1/40 часть ведра; количество водки такого объема’ (SSRLJa 14, 330b) < сорок ‘forty’. The etymology is unsure; probably a loan from North Germanic (cf. REW II, 698-699).
c. Common derivations with the same meaning which have made their way into dictionaries include *soru (WIEDEMANN 1893; ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS) and *sorgats (EKSS). For dialect variants cf. MUST (2000, 377).
d. MUST 1954, 10; BACHMAN 1956, 6; MUST 1956, 132; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49;
HINDERLING 1981, 162, 175; EEW IX, 2878; MUST 2000, 377.

b. Russ. сороковой ‘fortieth’, cf. сороковка ‘мѣрная, въ 40 ведрѣ’ (DAL IV, 275b) < сорок ‘40’ (cf. REW).
c. WIEDEMANN does not specify Russian origin, but his translation shows it was considered a Russian word.
Also recorded in Baltic German: sorokowoi ‘Oxhoft; grosses Fass von ungefahr 40 Eimern’
(HUPEL 1795, 220; KIPARSKY 1936, 182).
d. EEW IX, 2878.

a. *sorts ‘(folk.) (evil) witch’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945;
b. Russ. чёрт ‘devil’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 328).
c. A loan from Russ. чёрт was first suggested by LOORITS (LRU I, 228). MÄGISTE (1927a, 72) suggest Russian origin for the dialect variant sort, probably without being aware of LOORITS’ etymology, but later (EEW IX, 2879-2880) changed his mind: both MÄGISTE and RAUN (1982) now assume descriptive origin (cf. sorisema ‘to gurgle’, of which the original meaning may have been ‘to speak unclearly’). There is, however, no reason to reject Russian origin, and there is likewise no reason to prefer a derivation from a verb to which a different ‘original’ but unattested meaning is ascribed.

AHRENS (1853, 257) derives sortsima ‘zaubern’ and sortsik ‘Zauberer’ from Lat. sortiarius ‘Wahrsager’.

d. AHRENS 1853, 257; LRU I, 228; MÄGISTE 1927a, 72; EEW IX, 2879-2880; MUST 2000, 434-435.

a. sosku ‘feeding bottle; (coll) bottle of vodka (or other alcohol)’ (EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. cóска ‘(baby’s) dummy’ < сосать ‘to suck’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 701).

c. Est. sosku is borrowed from the accusative form cósky.

Also recorded in Baltic German: Sosska ‘Saugflasche’ (NOTTBECK 1988, 86).

d. KETTUNEN 1913, 159; BACHMAN 1956, 6; 1959, 260-261; RAUN 1982; EEW IX, 2881; MUST 2000, 378.

a. sotnik ‘commander of a sotnia (cf. sotnja); rank of a Cossack officer’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Also recorded as a toponym (Sotniku) near Laiuse (PALL 1970, 162).

Already recorded in 1825 in MASING’s Marahwa Näddala-Leht (KINGISEPP 1972, 99); recorded as a new word in WIEDEMANN 1893.

Also recorded in older Baltic German: sesnycken, sesnicken, sostenicken ‘Hundertmänner’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 181).

d. EEW IX, 2882; MUST 2000, 379.

a. sotnja ‘(hist) century; formerly in Russia, a division with 100 men’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. сóтня ‘a hundred (esp. a hundred roubles); (hist.) sotnya, company (mil. unit, originally of a hundred men’) < сто ‘100’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 15-16).

c. According to KURVE (1953, 21) already used in the press in the 1910s in the expression must sotnja ‘black hundred’ < Russ. чёрная сóтня ‘id.’.

d. KURVE 1953, 21; EEW IX, 2882.

a. sots-: (coll.) sotsmaa ‘socialist country’ ~ sotsrealism ‘socialist realism’ ~ sots-vōistlus ‘socialist competition’ (ÖS 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. соц- comb. form, abbr. of социалистический ‘socialist’ < G. sozial < Fr. social (REW II, 704).

c. Est. sotsiaal ‘social’ is a loan from G. sozial, but in compounds such as the ones above it is probably directly borrowed from Russian. Cf. e.g. Est. sotsmaa ~ Russ. социстром ‘socialist country’, sotsrealism ~ Russ. социреал ‘social realism’ (sotsialistik realism was first used in Estonian in 1940; cf. Ahven 1965, 397).

d. -

a. sotšnik ‘roll with cottage cheese’ (ÖS 1999).

b. Russ. сóченник ‘пря́пениа, тонкія лепешки, онъ постныя на конопляномъ соку; (зовуть такъ иногда и) скромную лепешку на маслѣ, (вѣрнѣе) прыхежникъ; (также) лепешку съ кашей сверху, со сметаной или творогомъ, родъ шаныги, ватрушки’ (DAE IV, 264a) < сок ‘juice’ (REW II, 704).

c. ThУ ERELT, in her list of new words (1983, 64; 1989, 77), suggests replacing the ‘undesirable’ sotsnik with the Estonian neologism vaarak, as does ÖS 1999 (edited by ThУ ERELT).

d. -

a. sott ‘(coll.) bill; monetary relations; understanding’ (EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. счёт ‘counting, calculation, reckoning; (sports) score; bill, account; (book-keeping) account; (fig.) account, expense; (fig.) accounts, score(s)’ < чёт ‘even number’ < чета ‘pair, couple’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 330-331).

c. The meaning ‘100 kroons or other currency, 100-kroon note; formerly, 100 roubles or 100-rouble note’ (ESS 224), common in colloquial Estonian, is hesitantly derived by ESS from Russ. сóтка ‘hundredth part’, but more likely is that it derives from the genitive сot from Russ. сто ‘hundred’: cf. Est. viis sotti ‘500 kroons’ ~ Russ. пятьсот рублей ‘500 roubles’,

367
from which certainly has been borrowed the slang formation *pitsott* ‘500 kroons’ (ERELT, M. 2000, 471).


a. **soust.** Cf. 8.1.

a. **sovhoos** ‘agricultural state unit (in the USSR)’ (EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. совхоз ‘sovkhоз’ < сове́тское хозяйство ‘кру́пное социалисти́ческое государст́венное сельсо́хозяйственное предприни́мание’ (ОЖЕГОВ 1990) < сове́т ‘Soviet’ (cf. sovet) + хозяйство ‘economy; equipment; farm, holding’ < хозя́йн ‘owner; master; landlord; host’ < Chuv. χόжа ‘Wirt’ (REW III, 254).

c. Est. sovhoos is recorded already before the Soviet occupation, and AHVEN (1965, 396) notes that it occurred mainly in articles on Soviet agriculture. In the 1936 and 1940 VÖS it is explained what a sovhoos is (‘a state farm in Soviet Russia’), but in the 1953 VÖS this is no longer deemed necessary.

Also recorded in Swedish Estonian (RAAG 1982, 94).

d. MUST 1956, 136; EEW IX, 2884; MUST 2000, 380.

a. **sovhoosnik** ‘member of sovhoos’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. совхозник < совхоз (cf. sovhoos) + -ник.

c. MUST (2000, 380) derives Est. sovhoosnik from Russ. совхозник, but this seems to be a rare word in Russian (not recorded in SSRLJA, УСАКОВ, ОЖЕГОВ or the BSE). It is in use in Russian, though theoretically it may also be an Estonian derivation in -nik from sovhoos, modelled on kolhoosnik.

d. MUST 2000, 380.

a. **sov(i-)** ~ sovjet(i-) ‘Soviet’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. сове́тский ‘Soviet, of the Soviet Union’ < сове́т ‘Soviet; council’ < OCS съе́тъ ‘съе́тъ, соболи́’ (REW II, 686).

c. -

d. -
b. Russ. спартакиада ‘sports and/or athletics meeting; sports day’. After the Roman slave Spartacus, in whose honour the first ‘Spartakiada’ was organized in the Soviet Union in 1928 (cf. SSRLJA 14, 471).
c. -
d. -

a. **spravki** ‘gerichtliche Anfrage, Erkundigung’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
b. Russ. спра́вка ‘information; certificate’ < спра́вить ‘to get, procure, acquire’ < пра́вить ‘to rule; to correct’ < пра́вый ‘right’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 424).
c. The Estonian word has been borrowed from the plural спра́вки.
d. EEW IX, 2886; MUST 2000, 380.

a. **sprott** ‘smoked sprat in oil’ (EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. шпроты ‘sprats’ < G. Sprotte (REW III, 427).
c. Though the Russian word is a loan from German, Russian origin is more likely for the Estonian word, as it is recorded first in the 1918 EKÖS. In Russian шпрот ‘type of fish’ is used in the singular and plural, but to denote the tinned fish in oil only the plural шпроты is used, from which Est. sprotid (nearly always used in the plural) is probably borrowed.
d. -

b. Russ. спутник ‘(travelling) companion, fellow-traveller; concomitant; (astron.) satellite’ < путь ‘way’ < Common Slavic (REW II, 469) + -ник.
c. When the Soviet Union first put a satellite into space in 1957 the Estonian newspapers used the words maa kunstlik kaaslane ‘the Earth’s artificial companion’ and satelliit ‘satellite’ to describe it. Later lunnik ‘(?Lat. luna)? Russ. лунá ‘moon’ + -ik) and kunstlik kuu ‘artificial moon’ were also used; from the 1960s tehiskaaslane ‘artificial companion’ is used (AHVEN 1967, 711).
d. AHVEN 1967, 711; EEW IX, 2886.
a. **staarost** ‘(of Slavic peoples) head of the family, elder; governor of a *staarost* in Poland (and in southern Estonia 16th-17th c.)’ (EÔS; ÔS 1960; 1976; EKSS).

b. Russ. **староста** *(elected) head, senior (man) < старый ‘old’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 5).

c. Also recorded in Baltic German (where it is an older loan): *Starost, Starast* ‘(Russ. und Lett.) ist ein Baueraufseher bey den Frohndiensten in Lettland auch in einigen von Russen bewohnten Dörfern. (Bergm. äussert, es sey so viel als ein Flurschütze in Thüringen, aber dies ist ein kleiner Irrthum)’ (HUPEL 1795, 226-227).

d. EEW IX, 2886; MUST 2000, 395.

a. **stanitsa** ‘a type of village in the northern Caucasus and Ukraine in former Cossack areas; (hist.) Cossack territorial administration from the 18th century to 1917’ (VÔS 1953; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. **станница** *(large Cossack village)* < ставить ‘to put, place’ < стать ‘to stand’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 1-2, 5-6).

c. -

d. EEW IX, 2887.

a. **stanovoi** ‘police official in Tsarist Russia’ (GRENZSTEIN 1884; EKSS).

b. Russ. **становой: стано́вой пр́йстав** *(hist.) district police officer* < стан ‘police district’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 3-4).

c. -

d. MUST 2000, 381.

a. **stantsia** ‘Eisenbahnstation’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).


c. -

d. EEW IX, 2887.

a. **stantsija** ‘worker, whose speciality is stamping’ (EKSS).


c. -

d. EEW IX, 2887.
a. **starka** `type of strong vodka' (EKSS).
b. Russ. стárка `sort выдержанной крепкой водки’ < Pol. *starka* `id.' (SSRLJa 13, 751), probably from G. *stark*.
c. -
d. -

a. **stihiir** `Theile der griechischen Liturgie’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
b. Russ. стихи́ра `hymn, canticle’ < Gr. στίχηρον (REW III, 15).
c. The auslaut -a of the Russian word has been elided.
d. EEW IX, 2888.

a. **stiignon** `Theile der griechischen Liturgie’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
b. Russ. стиховна `стихира послу сугубой ектении и послу лити на вечерни отправляемы, съ запѣвами избранными изъ Псалмовъ Давидовыхъ’ (ALEKSEEV IV, 166) < (cf. stihiir).
c. WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893) records both *stihiir* and *stiignon* simply as `Theile der griechischen Liturgie’, but a clear etymon for *stiignon* is not easily found in Russian. The closest is perhaps стиховна.
d. EEW IX, 2888.

a. **storos** `Wächter, Eisenbahnwächter’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
b. Russ. стóрож `watchman, guard’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 20).
c. Recorded dialectally already in HUPEL 1818 (251a) as *torosk* `Hauswächter’ with a non-etymological auslaut -k, where Russian origin is already mentioned.
Also recorded in Baltic German: Storosch `Aufseher, Wächter, Behörndiener’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 183).
d. HUPEL 1818, 251a; SAARESTE 1957, 464; EEW X, 3246; ARISTE 1962, 556; MUST 2000, 414.

a. **strasnik** `lower police officer in Tsarist Russia’ (EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).
b. Russ. стрáжник `(obs.) police constable (in rural areas)’ < стрáжа `guard, watch’ < OCS *stražá* (REW III, 22) + -ник.
c. Recorded as a dialectal word in WIEDEMANN 1893: **strazdnik** ‘Wächter, Branntweinswächter’ with an unetymological -d-.
d. EEW IX, 2889; MUST 2000, 382.

a. **strekk** ‘(*min.*) horizontal mine shaft which does not come out onto the ground’ (VŌS 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS)
b. Russ. штрек ‘(*mining*) drift’ < G. **Strecke** (REW III, 431).
c. -
d. -

a. **strelets** ‘infantrist mercenary in Russia in the 16th to 17th centuries’ (EŌS; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. стрéлец ‘(*hist.*) streets (in Muscovite Russia in the 16th and 17th centuries, member of a military corps instituted by Ivan the Terrible and enjoying special privileges); (astron.) Sagittarius (constellation)’ < стрéла ‘arrow’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 25).
c. -
d. EEW IX, 2889.

a. **subrovka** ‘alcoholic drink which is flavoured with sweet-grass stalks’ (VŌS 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. зубрòвка ‘sweet grass, holy grass; subrovka (sweet-grass vodka)’ < зубр ‘bison’ (REW I, 465).
c. -
d. -

a. **sudak** ‘pike-perch’ (EKŌS; EŌS; VŌS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. судáк ‘pike-perch (*fish*)’. The etymology is unclear; cf. REW III, 39.
c. Est. sudak and the variant sudakas are recorded dialectally in WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893). From EŌS to ŌS 1960 there is a normative reference to the Estonian **kohakala**, ŌS 1976 and 1999 simply note it as dialectal.
d. BACHMAN 1956, 6; MOORA 1964, 222; MÄGER 1976, 93; EEW IX, 2891; KENDLA 2000, 180; MUST 2000, 383.
a. **sudima** ‘to do difficult work ’ (*Wiedemann* 1869; 1893; *EKÖS*; *EOS*; *VÖS* 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; *ÖS* 1960; 1976; 1999; *EKSS*).

b. Russ. **судить** (*coll.*) to nag at; to cram’; ‘to cram (schoolboy slang)’ (*Arumaa-Praudin* 1940), ‘ärgern, zerren, langweilen; schlagen, klopfen; trinken, saufen’ (*Pawlowsky* 1879) (the etymology is unsure, cf. *REW* I, 464)

c. In *EKSS* **sudima** has the following five basic meanings: ‘to run with short steps’, ‘to do hard work (often with poor results)’, ‘to prod’, ‘to force’ and ‘to beat’.

*SKES* (IV, 1130) suggests that this might be a loan from Fi. *sutia* ‘sudda, bestryka’ (< Sw. *sudda* ‘besudeln, beschmutzen’). *Mägi* (*EEW* IX, 2891-2892) rejects this due to the wide spread of the Estonian word in the dialects, and proposes that it might be derived from **sudi** ‘Stock, Prügel’, which in turn may be of descriptive origin. However, *Wiedemann*, in his 1869 dictionary, also notes *kaatekismust sudima* ‘den Katechismus einprägen, einrichtern’. Verbs denoting ‘beating’ often acquire the secondary meaning ‘study hard’, cf. Est. *tuupima* ‘cram, hammer; grind; shave’, Fi. *päntätä* ‘cram; beat’, Engl. *to hit the books* ‘to study hard’, *beat into someone’s head*. The basic meaning of **sudima** seems to be ‘to work (hard or badly)’ (cf. *EKMS* III, 183, 1268; IV, 186, 188), and that other meanings such as ‘to run (with great effort)’ (*EKMS* I, 735) and ‘to sleep with often’ (*EKMS* III, 900) have developed from it is not surprising. 258 ‘To cram’ can of course be easily derived from ‘to work’, but the existence of the Russian verb **судить** ‘to cram’ poses a problem. This is so close in form and meaning that one suspects a Russian loan in Estonian, as **судить** is unlikely to be borrowed from Estonian. We assume that Est. **sudima**, at least when it means ‘to cram’, is borrowed from Russian.


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a. **suhojvei** ‘a hot and dry wind in southern Russia and western Siberia’ (*VÖS* 1953; *ÖS* 1960; 1976; *EKSS*).


c. -

d. *EEW* IX, 2897.

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258 *Saareste* also records **sudima** ~ *sutjata* ‘to do in a disorderly way’ (*EKMS* III, 1268) and **sudima** ~ *sutjata* ‘to work in a disorderly way (with a brush)’ (*EKMS* IV, 188). This verb is recorded in Kuusala on the north coast only, and is probably a loan from Fi. *sutjata* ‘to rub; to wash with a broom; to hang about; to waste’, possibly with contamination from **sudima**.
a. **suhkar** ‘(*obs*) dried bread’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. сухарь ‘russ; (*fig., coll.*) dried-up pers.’ < сухо́й (cf. **suhbovei**).

c. Also recorded in Baltic German: *sucharin* ‘grober Zwieback, gew. russ. Soldatenbrot’ (HUPEL 1795, 233). KIPARSKY (1936, 184) assumes this is a misprint for *suchari* < Russ. pl. сухари.

d. **WIEDEMANN** 1869; **MUST** 1954, 15; 1956, 129; **BACHMAN** 1959, 263; **RAUN - SAARESTE** 1965, 49; **SAAGPAKK** 1982; **MUST** 2000, 385.

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a. **suhkur** ‘sweet crystalline food (= sugar; RB)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. кáхап ‘sugar’ < Gr. σάκχαρον < Pali sakkhara (REW II, 584).

c. HINDERLING (1981, 152), pointing out that sugar was brought to Estonia from St.-Petersburg, and referring to a personal communication from MÁGISTE, assumes Est. **suhkur** is a contamination of LG *sucker* and Russ. кáхап. The consonant cluster -hk- cannot be explained if one assumes a loan from either LG *sucker* or G Zucker (from these Est. dial. *sukur ~ sukkur* and *tsukru*), and so MÁGISTE posits an unrecorded eastern dialectal *sahkar* < Russ. кáхап), which was contaminated with *sukur ~ sukkur*.

d. HINDERLING 1981, 152; EEW IX, 2898.

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c. Setu women traditionally wore white raiments; later, shop-bought black or darkblue woollen cloth was called *sukman* (MANNINEN 1927, 165). Cf. **kitasnik**.

d. MANNINEN 1927, 166; EEW IX, 2904; MUST 2000, 385-386.

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a. **suli** ‘dishonest person, crook, cheat’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) ~ **sulik** (*dial.*) ‘id.’ (EKSS).

b. Russ. жу́лик ‘petty thief, cheat, swindler, (card-)sharper’ < жу́дить ‘schneiden’ < Slavic (REW I, 432).
c. Est. *suli* is either a form where the auslaut *-k* has been elided or, in our view less likely, borrowed from Russ. жуль ‘мощенник, вор’, which is only recorded as ‘thief’ in Kaluga (SRNG 9, 225), and is then probably a back-formation.\footnote{Russ. жуль ‘ножъ, ножикъ’ is recorded in Tver (DAE I, 547b).}

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Schullick* ‘Gauner, Schelm, Halunke, Spitzbube’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 181). KIPARSKY is not sure if the Baltic German word is borrowed directly from Russian or via Latv. žuliks’id.’ (from which Liv. žulik ‘Schurke’ is borrowed; LW 404b).

d. RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW IX, 2911; MUST 2000, 386.

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a. *sulima* ‘to behave dishonestly, to be a cheat’ (VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. жульить ‘schneiden’ (cf. *suli*).

c. As MUST (2000, 386) notes, *sulima* may be a loan from Russ. жульить or a internal derivation from *suli*.

d. MUST 2000, 386.

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c. -

d. MUST 2000, 386.

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a. *sumadan* ‘(obs.) suitcase’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÖS; ŌS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. WIEDEMANN (1893) notes three variants: *summadan*, *saamardan* ‘Felleisen, Mantelsack’, *tsoomadan*. Whence the intrusive -r- in *saamardan* is not known.

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Tschemoden* ‘Koffer’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 186).

The Estonian lexicologist JOHANNES SILVET coined an Estonian neologism for the linguistic term ‘portmanteau’ using this word, creating *sumadansõna* ‘suitcase word’ (cf. TENDER 1994, 353). *Kohversõna*, using the more common word for ‘suitcase’, is also in use (cf. ERELT et al. 2003, 57b, 113a).

d. BACHMAN 1956, 6; EEW VIII, 2649; IX, 2914; MUST 2000, 386-387.
a. **sumahh**: *sumahhipuu* 'deciduous or evergreen tree or bush in southern Europe, Asia, North America and Africa (*Rhus*)' (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. German origin is also possible.

d. EEW IX, 2914.

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a. **sumbuurne** ‘confused, muddled, unclear’ (EKSS).

b. Russ. _сумбуруны_ ‘confused, chaotic’ < _сумбуг_ ‘chaos’. The etymology is not known (cf. REW III, 45); ČERNYH (1993/II, 218a) assumes it is of genuine Russian origin.

c. In Estonian the Russian adjective ending -ный has been substituted with the Estonian ending -ne.

d. -

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a. **sumka** *(coll.)* knapsack, bag (WIEDEMANN 1893; EKSS).


c. In WIEDEMANN also as _somka* *(russ.)* Felleisen, Ränzel; ein Hundenname’

d. WIEDEMANN 1893; EEW IX, 2849; KOPONEN 1999, 168; MUST 2000, 387; NIKKILÄ 2001, 60.

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a. **sundiya** ‘person who orders; overseer’ (VTS[KOELE 1535; AWERBACH 1589]; MÜLLER 1600; STAHL 1637, 125; GÖSEKEN 1660, 287, 449; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 234b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKSS).

b. ORuss. _sudźja_ ‘judge’ (> Russ. судья) < Common Slavic (REW III, 40).

c. Whether Est. _sundiya_ ‘person who forces; overseer’ is a derivation of _sundīma_ or a separate loan from ORuss. _sudźja_ ‘judge’ is still debated. Its earliest recording in running text is from 1535 in the Koell catechism: (VTS 66-67): _tema on kannatanut sen sundyan Pontio Pylatussen ayal_ ‘he suffered under the judge Pontius Pilate’, but it also occurs in some personal names recorded in a Low German/Latin register of socage holdings, the so-called Kullamaa manuscript (G. *Wackenbuch von Goldenbeck*), between 1520 and 1532: _Nhaen Sundiapoyck_ (= _poeg_ ‘son’), _Barbar[a] Szündya nayne_ (= _naine_ ‘wife’ (cf. SAARESTE 1923, 97-98, 138). In the Wackenbuch des Officium Leal (1518-1544) similar names are recorded: _Hannus Sundi, Nano Szundi_ and _Thore Sunde_ (cf. MÄGISTE 1962, 59).
As with *sundima*, the meaning of *sundija* changed over time, in *sundija*’s case from ‘judge’ to ‘persuader’; especially instructive here is VESTRING (1740, 234b) where we read: *Sundia ‘Der {Richter} Treiber’* (Richter in the original manuscript, cf. VESTRING 1740, 8). Thus ‘Richter’ was deleted, because *Sundia* did not have that meaning anymore, whereby we may assume that the meaning ‘Richter’ must have started to fade between 1660 (GÖSEKEN 287; Malesitz Richter/(quasior) *Sundia*) and around 1730, though it is still recorded as ‘Richter’ in HUPEL 1818, and finally in WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893), to reappear only in the EKSS. Considering its early appearance a separate loan from Russian is perhaps more likely than a deverbal derivation, which is what MAGISTE (EEW IX, 2921) assumes.

The Russian etymology for Est. *sundija* was first suggested by LINDBRÖM 1859, 185).

Fi. *suntia – suntio* ‘verger’ has been assumed to be a loan from Estonian (OJANSUU 1916, 186-187), as it cognates are not found in Karelian or Veps.\(^{260}\) PŁOGER (1973, 191-192), though mentioning OJANSUU, does not agree, and thinks it a direct loan from Russian.

d. LINDBRÖM 1859, 185; SAARESTE 1923, 97-98, 138; MAGISTE 1962, 10, 22, 59; EEW IX, 2921; SSA III, 213b.

\[\text{a. sundima} \text{ ‘to order or send someone somewhere, into a situation or action, to have someone do something by force; to incite someone to do something; to have an effect on, to cause to do’ (VTS [KULLAMAA 1524; KOELL 1535; VOLCKER 1585]; MÜLLER 1600; STAHL 1637, 100, 101, 134; GÖSEKEN 1660, 103?, 214, 245, 248, 272, 287, 337, 369, 430, 443, 449, 495, 508; THOR HELLÉ 1732; VESTRING 1740, 234b; HUPEL 1780; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).}\]

\(^{260}\) It has been borrowed into Livonian (cf. Liv. *suûd* ‘strafen, richten’, *suûdizand* ‘Richter’; LW 385b). The lack of a nasal consonant in Vot. *sûto* ‘court’ shows that this is a later loan (cf. ARISTE 1941, 87), though it must have been borrowed relatively early, as it also recorded in Krevinian, the speakers of which were deported to southern Latvia around 1445: ‘sût- ‘Gericht’, sûtizant ‘Richter’ (WINKLER 1997, 331-332). Similar later loans are Kar. *suudo* ‘court (session)’, *suudad* ‘judge’, *suudie* ‘to judge’ (also in Olonec and Lude), Veps *sud* ‘judge’, *sudaitšeb* ‘judges’ (KALIMA 1952, 165), Vot. *sødia* ‘to judge’, *sotia* ‘to censure’, *suto* ‘judge’ (SSA III, 227a), Est. dial. *sud(ta)ma* ‘to criticize; to force; to decide; to punish’ (MUST 2000, 383-384). From Russian it has also been borrowed into Latvian (Latv. *suods* ‘Todesstrafe’; ME III, 1136a), from Byelorussian into Lithuanian (Lith. *sûdas* ‘Urteil, Gericht, Recht’; LEW II, 936b), and Kildin Sami (*sûdadj* ‘to judge’); from Finnish into North Sami (*sundi* ‘district judge; verger’) and down to South Saami (cf. SaamS *sunde* ‘officier, praefectus, fogde’; LINDAHL – ÖHRLENG 1780, 438a). OPRuss. *sûndan* ‘punishment’ is borrowed from Pol. *sóg* ‘judgment, court, punishment’ (MAZULIS 1997, 167-168), whilst G. dial. *sunde* ‘cash fine’ is a loan from Old Prussian (SCHMALSTIEG 1976, 60, 66).
b. ORuss. *səditi* ‘to judge’ (> Russ. судить ‘to judge’) < ORuss. *səditi* < Common Slavic (REW III, 38, 40).

c. An old borrowing, recorded in Estonian already in the Kullamaa catechism of 1524 (VTS 60) *Istup parramal ketel yba keicke wekeuen, bedt teme tullep sundma le ellewat ninck surnudt* ‘He sitteth at the right hand of the Father; and He shall come again with glory to judge the living and the dead’. The nasal vowel proves that it was borrowed some time before the 11th century (cf. 5.1.2.3. Nasal vowels).

d. Lindström 1859, 185; Aholvist 1875, 227-228; Weske 1890, 160; Mikkola 1894, 14, 47, 165-166; Saareste 1923, 147; Mikkola 1938, 19, 29, 76-78; Kiparsky 1948, 36; Kalima 1952, 163-166; 1956, 124-126; Mägiste 1962, 10, 22, 29, 59; Aiste 1981, 93; EEW IX, 2919-21; Raun 1982; SSA III, 213b, 224b.

a. *surimuri* ‘disorder, muddle; illegal action’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. шурый-мурый *(coll.) love-affair(s)*. The etymology is unclear. French origin *(cher amour)* has been suggested, but also a loan from the east, cf. Turk. *ştirmur* ‘Verwirrung’ (cf. REW III, 439). This seems likelier, considering the spread of similar words in Turkic (Chag. *ştiruş-muruş* ‘возмущение, мятеж’ [ŠipoVA 1976, 426]) and East European languages (cf. Alb. *širi-miri* ‘Durcheinander’, Rom. *cirí-mir*261 [MEYER 1891, 406]; Latv. dial. *širumburums* ‘Lärm, Wirrwarr’ < Russ. шурый-бурый ‘Spitzbüberei; alter Rumpelkram, abgetragene Kleidungsstücke’; [DRAVINš 1956, 59; SUMMENT 1950, 198]; Pol. *szuruburu* ~ *szurumbrum* ‘disarray, commotion’) though similar-looking words also occur in Dutch and German: Du. *schorriemorrie* ‘riffraff; rascal; rubbish’, LG *schurrmurr* ‘durcheinander geworfenes Allerlei’, where they are supposed to be of genuine Germanic origin (though borrowing via Yiddish from Hebrew has also been suggested; cf. De Vries 1977, 626a). In German one finds it in two distinct areas: in southern German (Bavaria, Austria) *schurrimurri* ‘bezeichnung eines heftigen, aufbrausenden, leicht auffahrenden oder eines übereilt und unüberlegt handelnden menschen’ and in Low German *schurr-murr* ~ *schorrmar* ‘altes gerümpelt, durcheinander geworfenes allerlei, ausrangierte geräte u. ä’ (DWB 15, 2054-2055). It seems likely that the two German words are of different origin: the Bavaro-Austrian word is perhaps borrowed via South Slavic from Turkish, whilst the Low German word is probably a genuine Germanic derivation of *schurren* ‘mit geräusch gleiten’ (< *scharren* ‘kratzend, schabend in etwas hinein-

261 Unattested in e.g. Tiktin or the DLR.
, über, an etwas hinfahren, meist mit betonung des dabei entstehenden knarrenden geräuschtes; DWB 14, 2214-2218, 15, 2053-2054); *schurrimirri* would be ‘zusammen-
gescharchter dreck, kehricht’, where the second element is a rhyme word with no etymological meaning (thus DWB 15, 2055).

c. The meaning of Est. *surimuri* is in some regards closer to the Low German word, but this is not recorded in Baltic German.

d. RAUN 1982; MUST 2000, 388.


c. First recorded in HUPEL 1818 as a Peipsi word: *surnuk* ‘Weberschütze od. Spule’.

RATAS (1917, 125) thinks it is genuine, and derives it from *surnu* ‘dead person’, as a shuttle may have the same shape as a coffin. ERNITS (1917, 130) rejects RATAS’ etymology, but is not convinced it is a Russian loan. OJANSUU (1920a, 81) also assumes a genuine word, but derives it from Est. *survama* /Fi. *survoo* ‘to press’. SAARESTE (1924, 230-233) derives it from Russ. *челнóк*, where he suggests the following development: *челнóк* > *slnokka* > *solnukka* > *surnukka* > *surnuk*. None of the intermediate stages have been recorded (a definite loan from Russ. *челнóк* is EstS *tsolohk* ‘Weberschiffchen’; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893, but recorded already in 1720 in CLARE’s unpublished manuscript; cf. ARISTE 1958, 28, 32; MUST 2000, 434, but this does not strengthen SAARESTE’s case to any great extent).

SAARESTE assumes that there has been some contamination with *surnu* ‘dead person’, purely due to the phonetic similarity. KETTUNEN (1924, 122) does not accept SAARESTE’s etymology, and prefers OJANSUU’s.

The Russian etymology is now generally accepted (also due to its dialectal distribution: it is recorded mostly in eastern Estonia; cf. VMS II, 445b), and MÄISTE (EEW IX, 2927), assumes there might have been some contamination with *suruma* ‘schwärmen, spielen’.

d. RATAS 1917, 125; ERNITS 1917, 130; OJANSUU 1920a, 81; SAARESTE 1924, 228-233; KETTUNEN 1924, 122; KALIMA 1952, 34, 162-163; 1956, 27, 124; MÄISTE 1962, 54; EEW IX, 2927.

a. *susla* ‘sweet syrupy malt drink, which was usually sold at fairs’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÔS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; EKSS).

c. According to MÄGISTE (EEW IX, 2931) susla ‘locomotive or train on a narrow-gauge railway’ (EÖS; VÖS 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) is of the same origin: susla is used dialectally (Urv) of an old broken-down steam-engine. Supposedly these machines were associated with the susla-boilers commonly used in market places. There may have been some contamination with the descriptive verbs susišema ‘to hiss’ and sosisema ‘to whisper’.

d. JOHANSEN 1961, 87; RAUN 1982; EEW IX, 2931; MUST 2000, 388

a. suslik ‘(zool) middle-sized burrowing rodent that lives on open terrain in Eurasia and North America (Citéllus)’ (VÖS 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. cúšlik ‘(zool) gopher’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 50-51).
c. -
d. BACHMAN 1956, 6; EEW IX, 2931

b. Russ. cúška ‘(cul) dry ring-shaped cracker’ < сухой (cf. suhhovei).
c. The Russian word is usually used in the plural, from which Est. suški has been borrowed. The 1976 ÖS has a normative reference to röngik.
d. -

a. suts ‘(coll) a bit’ (EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. чу́ть ‘(coll) hardly, scarcely, just; (just) a little, very slightly; as soon as’ < чу́ть ‘empfinden, fühlen’ (REW III, 3659-360, 361).
c. A common word, with many diminutive derivatives: e.g. sutike, sutikene, sutsukene.
Also recorded in Baltic German: tschutt-tschutt ‘so eben, mit knapper Not, auf ein Haar, kaum’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 187).
A later borrowing is tsutt ‘a bit’ (EKSS).
d. MÄGISTE 1932, 135; MUST 1956, 131; EEW IX, 2933; MUST 2000, 436-437.

a. suub. Cf. 8.1.

a. suurik ‘(coll) red oxide (of lead)’ (EKSS).
b. Russ. cýrík ‘(chem) minium, red lead’ < OCS sýrikъ, suríkъ < Gr. συρίχων < Συρία ‘Syria’ (REW III, 48).
c. -
d. -


a. sőir ‘home-made curd cheese with caraway seeds’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. ORuss. syrb ‘cheese’ (N Russ. сыр) < Common Slavic (REW III, 58).
c. It occurs mostly in the south, and its first recording is in GUTSLAFF (1648, 221b: Kese – Scir/e). Also registered as South Estonian in HUPEL 1818 (219a), who already notes its Russian origin. The word only occurs in southern Finnic (cf. Liv. sōir, EstS sōir, Vot. sūra), also in Ingrian (sūru), but the Livonian word may be (partially) a borrowing from Estonian (cf. MIKKOLA 1894, 55; KALIMA 1952, 162) or Latvian (cf. EEW IX, 2952; KOPONEN 1998, 171a).
d. HUPEL 1818, 219a, 225b; ALHOVIST 1875, 8; THOMSEN 1890, 102, 217; MIKKOLA 1894, 23, 55, 167; MANNINEN 1931, 55; MIKKOLA 1938, 32, 42; KALIMA 1952, 52, 162, 197; 1956, 41, 123, 150; POSTI 1953, 11; MÄGISTE 1962, 53, 61; ARISTE 1981, 93; RAUN 1982; EEW IX, 2952; KOPONEN 1998, 171a.

b. Russ. сёрник ‘curd fritter’ < сыр ‘cheese’ (cf. sőir) + suffix -ник.
c. -
d. EEW IX, 2966.

a. säppel ‘small tongs with wooden handles to pick up pans with no handle’ (EÖS; EKSS).
b. Russ. цапля ‘цапельникъ, сковородникъ’ (DAE IV, 570a) < цапать ‘greifen, raffen, kratzen’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 282).
c. -
d. MUST 2000, 391.

a. sāru ‘(coll.) excitation, rush; scolding; beating’ (EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).
b. Russ. жар ‘heat, heat of the day, hot place; (coll.) embers; fever (high) temperature; (fig.) heat, ardour’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 410).
c. Cf. WIEDEMANN 1893: (P) sāru andma ‘prügeln’.
d. SAARESTE 1924b, 137; MÄGISTE 1932, 135; BACHMAN 1959, 263; RAUN 1982; EEW IX, 2989; MUST 2000, 392.
a. **säski**: säskit mängima (*wahrscheinl. vom russ. шашки*) ‘a kind of Damenspiel, on a ninefield board with three stones, the winner is the first to draw, who gets the stones in the middle of the board’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).

b. Russ. шашка ‘Stein im Damespiel’ < шах ‘Schach’ (REW III, 382).

c. -

d. WIEDEMANN 1893; EEW IX, 2993.

a. **sääs** (*ethn.*) ‘fish-weir made of branches with a net’ (HUPEL 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. ORuss. сёжа ‘weir’ (> Russ. céža ‘Fischwehr’) < Common Slavic (REW II, 602).\(^{262}\)

c. The Russian etymology was first suggested by TOIVONEN (1927, 193-198).

Est. sääsevörk ‘a kind of sack-tied net’, initially derived from the Russian loan sääs (+ vörk ‘net’) is now often translated as ‘mosquito net’, where sääse- is the genitive of sääsk ‘mosquito’, a word not etymologically related to sääs. There are variants of sääs with unetymological -k (e.g. in WIEDEMANN 1893).


a. **sülem**. Cf. 8.1.

a. **süst-korku** ‘(ein Kartenspiel, russ.)’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).


c. ‘Süst-korku (v. russ. чистая горка) wird mit einem Einsatz und ohne Trumpf gespielt. Jeder bekommt drei Karten, wer die ausgespielte Karte nicht stechen kann, wirft zu, und die weg gegebenen Karten werden aus dem aufgestellten Talon ergänzt’ (WIEDEMANN 1876, 299).

d. WIEDEMANN 1876, 299.

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\(^{262}\) Vasmer only notes a SerboCroat *sjeda* in addition to Russ. céža (and an ‘ostseeslavl. *sedža*, from which G. Zeese ‘Fischwehr’ has been borrowed), but it is found also in Old Slovak: cf. *sedža* ‘nádrž s prítokom vody použivaná rýb’ (MAJTÁN 2000, 230b).
a. **šanker** ‘venereal disease which causes swelling in the groin’ (VÔS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. May also be a direct loan from G. *Schanker*.

d. -


c. -

d. -

a. **šerstjanka** ‘(a certain type of cotton cloth)’ (ÖS 1960; 1976).

b. Russ. шерстяника ‘хлопчатобумажная ткань, напоминающая по внешнему виду шерстяную плательную ткань’ (SSRLJA 17, 1364) < шерсть ‘hair; woollen’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 393).

c. -

d. -

a. **štundist** ‘(adherent of a pietist sect in Russia)’ (EÔS).


c. -

d. -


c. Though Wiedemann (1893) records shweitser ‘Schweizer (Diener)’, which is undoubtedly a German loan, it seems as if šveitser in the ÓS’s and EKSS is a new loan from Russian.

d. -

a. земштина ‘(hist.) part of the country subject to the boyars, not to the tsar during the reign of Ivan IV’ (ÓS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. земшина ‘(hist.) populace; zemshchina (boyar domains, as opposed to oprichnina, under Tsar Ivan IV)’ < земля ‘land’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 452-453).

c. -
d. -

b. Russ. жгут ‘plait, braid, wisp; (med.) tourniquet’ < жечь ‘brennen’ (REW I, 413).

c. -
d. -

a. žitnjakk ‘(forage plant; Euagropyrum)’ (ÓS 1960; 1976).

c. -
d. -

b. Russ. жупан ‘(hist.) zhupan (kind of jerkin worn by Poles and Ukrainians)’ < It. giuppone (REW I, 433).

c. -
d. –

a. taamosna ‘Zollhaus (russ.)’ (Wiedemann 1869; 1893).
b. Russ. таможня ‘custom-house’ < ORuss. тамжа ‘Stempel, Siegel’ < Turkic; cf. Tat. tamya ‘Eigentumszeichen, Siegel, Abgabe, Zollgebühr’ (REW III, 75, 74-75).

c. A new word in Wiedemann 1893.
Also recorded in Baltic German: Tamoschna ‘Zollbehörde, -gebäude’ (Kiparsky 1936, 184).
d. Wiedemann 1869; EEW IX, 3025; MUST 2000, 399.
a. **taara** ‘product package (as a whole)’ (VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Est. *taara* can also be a loan from G. *Tara*.

d. -

a. **tabuun** ‘a herd of horses or camels formed for pasturing’ (ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. тáбун ‘herd (usu. of horses, also of reindeer and some other animals)’ < Turkic; cf. Tat. *tabun* ‘Pferdeherde’ (REW III, 66; ŠIPOVA 1976, 299-300).

c. Already recorded in 1825 in Masing’s *Marahwa Näädala-Leht* (KINGISEPP 1972, 100). Dialectally *tabusnik* ‘horse-herd, horse dealer’ from Russ. табу́щик ‘horse-herd’ is recorded (EKMS I, 1004; MUST 2000, 397).

Est. *tabunas* ‘Schindanger’, recorded only in WIEDEMANN (1893), is probably of the same origin (with the common derivational suffix -as), where the meaning developed from ‘herd’ to ‘a herd driven together to be slaughtered’ (possibly under the influence of *tapamaja* ‘slaughterhouse’< *tapa*- ‘kill’ + *maja*- ‘house’).

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Tabune* ‘Herde (von Pferden)’ (HUPEL 1795, 235; KIPARSKY 1936, 184).

d. EEW IX, 3033; HAHMO 1994, 279; SSA III, 271a; MUST 2000, 397.

a. **taiga** ‘(geog.) coniferous forest in a temperate zone with a continental climate’ (VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Possible is a borrowing from G. *Taiga*, as Russ. тайгá should have been borrowed as *taigaa*, being a relatively new loan.

d. EEW X, 3049.

a. **taksofon** ‘a telephone, which enables a conversation that has been paid for with a coin or a card’ (ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. -
a. **takórr** *(geog.)* a bare, flat area in a desert with salinized and loamy soil’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. **такър** ‘ровное глиннистое пространство в пустынях и полупустынях Средней Азии’ < Turkm. *takyr* (SSRLJA 15, 73b; ŠIPOVA 1976, 302).

c. -

d. -

a. **tamada** ‘master of ceremonies at a party (e.g. in Georgia)’ (EKSS).


c. -

d. -

a. **tambur** ‘cylindrical structure under a dome; drum-like link at base of a stone pillar; space between the inner and outer door of a building or carriage’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. **тамбур** *(archit.)* tambour; lobby; platform *(of rail.carriage)* < Fr. *tambour* (REW III, 74).

c. -

d. -

a. **tamka** ‘draughts’ (EÖS; VÖS 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) ~ **tamm** (EKSS).

b. Russ. **дамка** ‘king *(at draughts)*’ < дерма < Fr. *dame* < *(jeu des)* *dames* (REW I, 328).

c. Est. *tamka* is more usual; *tamm* is registered only in EKSS and the four-volume Russian-Estonian dictionary. Also calqued into Estonian as *kabe* ‘Dame’ (EEW II, 632).

d. BACHMAN 1956, 6; RAUN 1982; EEW II, 632, X, 3069; MUST 2000, 399.

a. **tankist** ‘tanker, tankman; *(coll.)* a man of straw’ (VÖS 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. In Russian slang *танќист* has the usual meaning ‘a man of straw’, already recorded in the 1950s; cf. ‘In Latvia the KGB used (in the 1950s; RB) its agent Tankist (Marģers Vitoliņš) who presented himself to Latvian guerillas as a British spy.’ (JURJO 2000, 244), and is also
used as a slang name for **Leonid BrežneV**, first secretary of the Soviet communist party from 1964 to 1982 (Baldaev 1992, 241b).

d. -

a. **tapp** ‘convict transport by stages; halting place during prisoner transport; convict group’ (EKOS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. этап ‘stage, phase; (sport) lap; halting-place, stage (for troops, formerly, for groups of deported convicts in transport)’ < Fr. étape < MLG stapel ‘Stapelplatz’ (REW III, 464).
c. Derives from the expression в этапном порядке ‘to deport’. The anlaut vowel has been elided in Estonian.
d. **RAUN** 1982; MUST 2000, 400.

a. **tapper** *(hist.*) striking weapon used by infantry in close combat, war axe’ (Hornung 1693, 1, 59; Thor Helle 1732; Vestring 1740, 242b; Hupe1 1780; 1818; Wiedemann 1869; 1893; EKOS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. The Russian origin of Fi. tappara ‘battleaxe’ and Est. tapper was already noted by GANANDER (1787/3, 123a), but there have also been lone voices that suggested that Russ. топор is a loan from Finnic (e.g. Anderson 1879, 126-132), and that in Finnic it is a derivation from tappa- ‘to kill’. However, the distribution and age of the Slavic word argues forcefully against this. Nonetheless many dictionaries (e.g. EÖS; ÖS 1960) still subsume tapper under tapp ‘kill’, though etymologically unrelated homonyms are usually entered there as separate lexemes.

In Estonian variants of tapper have been recorded relatively early (taprís; Hupe1 1818), tabrik is a later dialect loan from the Russian diminutive топорик (Must 2000, 396-397).

OJANSUU (1916, 189) assumes Fi. tappara is a loan from Estonian, but nothing points to this.
d. GANANDER 1787/ 3, 123a; Ahlvqvist 1875, 30-31; Anderson 1879, 126-132; MIKKOLA 1894, 36, 64, 170; 1938, 21, 36, 80; ARISTE 1952, 704; KALIMA 1952, 31, 62, 169-170; 1956, 24, 49, 129; MÄGISTE 1962, 22; EKMS I, 1283; Ariste 1981, 93; RAUN 1982; EEW X, 3080; SSA III, 270a; Must 2000, 396-397.

a. **taraan** *(hist., mil.) wooden beam with a metal tip or other massive butt used to smash the wall or gate of a fortress; formerly, the strengthened stem of a warship’ (EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

c. -

d. -

a. tarakan ‘(zool.) brownish black shiny insect (Blatta orientalis)’ (Wiedemann 1869; 1893; EÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Wiedemann’s (1869; 1893) form tarakaan ‘Tarakan (Blatta orientalis L.)’ still shows the long vowel with which the stressed Russian [a] was substituted. From EÖS onwards this final vowel is short.

toruk ~ torukas ‘Schabe, Tarakan (Blatta orientalis)’ in Wiedemann 1893 is a loan from Russ. dial. топокан (MUST 2000, 401).

Cf. also karakantsik.

Also recorded in Baltic German: Tarakan ‘Schabe’ (HupeL 1795, 236; Kiparsky 1936, 184).


b. Russ. тарантас ‘tarantass (springless carriage)’. The etymology is unsure (cf. REW III, 77-78).

c. Glossed as ‘Russian carriage’ in the 1976 ÖS, but as ‘four-wheeled travelling carriage’ in EKSS.

Also recorded in Baltic German: Tarantas ‘Reisewagen auf langen elastischen Stangen’ (Kiparsky 1936, 184).

d. EEW X, 3082.

a. tarhaan ‘(hist.) a person with special privileges (in Mongolia, Russia, etc.)’ (ÖS 1960; 1976).


c. -

d. -
a. **tarikas** *(coll.) old man* (EKSS).

b. Russ. стáрик ‘old man’ < стáрый ‘old’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 5).

c. According to **MUST** (2000, 401) *tarik ~ tarikas* is found only in dialects, but it is also registered in EKSS.


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a. **tarn.** Cf. 8.1.

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a. **tassima** ‘to carry or drag with effort’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. тащить ‘to pull, drag, lug, carry; *(coll.)* to take, *(fig.)* to drag off; to pull out; *(coll.)* to pinch, swipe’. The etymology is unclear (cf. REW III, 81).

c. The Russian etymology was first suggested by KETTUNEN (1913, 13) for the Estonian dialect form form Kodavere. It is a relatively late loan, occurring first in WIEDEMANN 1893.


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a. **tatar** *(bot.)* herb from Asia grown as a summer crop, the fruit of which is a three-sided small nut *(Fagopyrum esculentum)* (STAHL 1637, 46; GÖSEKEN 1660, 319, 466, 503, 507; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 243b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Est. **tatar** has been recorded since 1637; the South Estonian variant **tattrik** since 1648 (Buchweitz/Tattrick; GUTSLAFF 1648, 209b).

According to VASMER (REW III, 81-82) buckwheat was first imported from Central Asia to Germany in the 15th century. In Russian the most common name is гречá ~ гречиха

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263 The ethnonym **tatar** ‘Tatar’ occurs already nearly 30 years before the first recording of **tatar** ‘buckwheat’: Minckprast meye olleme se Kolmande Iúth síd. kulnuth, kein Volck auff Erden, kein Mensch vnter d’ Soñen ist frey für dem Creutz, Iudat, Türeckit, Tatrat, Pagkanat, Æckulüb, et Ebbausckulübb, Waadt ninck Kuriat… (MÜLLER 1600, 27, 3).

264 GUTSLAFF (1648, 241b) also records a South Estonian **tatter**, possibly a loan from G. **Tater** (cf. ARISTE 1963, 104).
(‘Greek’), pointing to the Greeks’ function as middlemen in buckwheat import and export. The further spread of buckwheat in Europe was via the Mediterranean, which explains such names as Lat. *turcicum frumentum*, G. *Heidenkorn*, Fr. *blé sarrasin* and the like. In Russian other common names for ‘buckwheat’ are татарка and татарник, but these are not recorded until 1852 and 1782 (cf. SSRLJA 15, 138b). However, just as in western Europe in Russia too it was named after ‘pagan’ Asians from the east.

Russ. татарка was borrowed into Polish as *tatarka* and from there further into Middle High German *tattelkorn* ~ *tatterkorn*, from which in turn it was borrowed into Danish and Swedish and eventually Finnish (cf. REW III, 81; SSA III, 275b). It has thus been suggested that OEst. *tatter* may be a loan from German (ARISTE 1963, 104) (also from Fi. *tattar*; AHRENS 1853, 249). KIPARSKY (1965, 433) also assumes it might come from a Germanic source, as Russ. татарка is supposedly very uncommon in Russian dialects. We cannot say how uncommon it is, but as according to DAL’ (IV, 392b) татарка is recorded in western Russian (and is not a loan from German according to REW III, 81) it can easily have functioned as a source for the Estonian word.

Re-borrowed as татра from the genitive *tatra* by the Isaku dialect of Russian spoken in northeastern Estonian (BURDAKOVA 1998, 198).

Liv. Sal. *tatar* ‘Buchweizen’ (WIEDEMANN 1861,111c; LW 411a) is a loan from either Est. *tatar* or G. *Tatter*.

d. AHRENS 1853, 259; AHLQUIST 1875, 40; BACHMAN 1956, 6; MÄGISTE 1962, 44-45; ARISTE 1963, 104; KIPARSKY 1965, 433; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; ARISTE 1981, 94; RAUN 1982; EEW X, 3096-3097; SSA III, 275b; MUST 2000, 402.


b. Russ. дача ‘giving; helping, portion’ < дать ‘to give’ (REW I, 329).

c. Basically a South Estonian word (GUTSLAFF 1648, 236b: Schoss Census/Tatzi), but according to HUPEL (1780) also found in North Estonian.

266 BG *Gricken* ~ *Kricken* ‘Buchweizen’ is a loan from Latv. *griķi* ‘Buchweizen’, itself a loan from ORuss. *grški* ‘id.’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 84).

MÄGISTE (1962, 53) assumes there may have been contamination with G. *Station*, which would explain the forms in *-in*.

Cf. too *tars*.

d. BRÖMSEN 1814, 147; MÄGISTE 1962, 53; EEW X, 3098.


c. -

d. -

a. *tavaar* (*coll.*) goods, stuff, junk (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; ÖS 1999; EKSS).


c. Recorded in South Estonian already in 1686 in the WT (Lukasse 21:4: *Taawarra*), where the stress has been moved to the first syllable, but in the modern word (though now hardly used) the stress remains on the original syllable, probably because it has re-borrowed from Russian. MIKKOLA (1894, 36; 1938, 21) subsumes Est. *tavar* (= *tavaar*) as an example under those words where an original short vowel in Old Russian was substituted with an [a], but *tavaar* is of course not a loan from Old Russian, as MÄGISTE (1938, 149) points out in his review of MIKKOLA 1938, and is a relatively young loan in Estonian.

According to MUST (2000, 404) *tavar* in northeastern dialects of Estonian is a loan from Fi. *tavara* ‘things’ (< Russ. товáп).

d. WIEDEMANN 1869; MIKKOLA 1894, 36, 169; 1938, 21, 78-79; MÄGISTE 1938, 149; KALIMA 1952, 170; 1956, 130; EEW X, 3101-3102; SSA III, 277a.


b. Russ. тёфтелë (*cul*) meatballs’. Ultimately from Turk. *köfte* ‘meatballs’ < Pers. *küftä* < *küftän* ‘to hack’ (ČERNYH 1993 I, 436a); probably via the Caucasus or Central Asia. The origin of the *-in* the Russian word is unknown.


d. -


c. An odd Russian spelling, containing elements of both the Latin and Cyrillic alphabet, but it seems to be only one. The normal Russian spelling of *Texas* is also Texac, though Тексас also occurs.

d. -

a. **teng**. Cf. **denga**.

b. **tentski** *(hist.)* soldier in Tsarist Russia who served an officer or a civil servant’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

c. Already recorded in 1821 in Masing’s *Marahwa Nädala-Leht* (Kingisepp 1972, 100).

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Denschtschik* ‘Offiziersbursche’ (HUPEL 1795, 48; KIPARSKY 1936, 152).

d. WIEDEMANN 1893; MIKKOLA 1894, 111; MANNINEN 1931, 190; KALIMA 1952, 171; 1956, 130; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW X, 3129; SSA III, 284a; MUST 2000, 406.

a. **tenusk** ‘halbe Kopeke (russ.)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. **деньжка** *(obs.)* half-copeck coin; *usu. pl. (coll.)* money’. Diminutive of деньгá (cf. **denga**).

c. There are many variants in the dialects; WIEDEMANN (1893) already records *teenüsk* (d) ‘Verdienst, Dienst, Dienstlohn’ and *tinusk* ‘Poluschke (1/4 Kopeke)’.

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Denuschka* ‘ist eine Münze die 1/2 Kopek gilt’ (HUPEL 1795, 48).

d. WIEDEMANN 1893; EEW X, 3130; MUST 2000, 406-407.

a. **terepe** *(no explanation)* (EKÖS), ‘scaffolding, drying hurdle; something large and unwieldy’ (EÖS), ‘very large object, monster’ (SAAGPAKK 1996, 100).


c. Already registered in 1815 in ROSENPLÄNTER’s *Beiträge* (1815, 171), where the following charming description is given: *Terrep ‘Se ei olle kül ühtegi asja nimmi, agga kui üks*
niisuggune suur arralinne ehk ristilinne assi on, kelle nimmi ei tea kuddas pedda hûtakse, ehk mis temmaga tehakse; sedda hûtakse siis terrepiks. Kui üks on, siis oöldakse terrep, agga kui mitto on, siis on terrepid.²⁶⁷ WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893) notes a similar word: Est. dial. (Peipsi) terep ‘Gerüst, Stellage; etwas Grosses, Ungeheuerliches, das man nicht zu benennen weiss’, which is partially identical with the definition in ROSENPLÄNTER.

Russ. tépěb has the usual meaning ‘von Gestrüpp entblößte, gerodete Stelle’, a derivation from the verb тере́бить (cf. above). This has also been loaned into Estonian as the toponym Terep, a name once used for the village Sõrümäe in Isaku (Терп-рапá in Russian; cf. ARISTE 1930, 366);²⁶⁸ toponyms derived from tépěb also occur on the east coast of Lake Peipsi (Теребище, Теребетово, Тереба поле, Тереба покос; cf. MOORA 1964, 41). The name of the village Türevere in Isaku is recorded as Therpeneuere in the 1330s; MOORA (1964, 41) assumes that the first part of this name is of Russian origin and is identical to tépěb. The Russian name nowadays of this village is Торбель; Russians also use the Estonian name: Таревере; cf. ARISTE 1930, 366).

The meanings of the Estonian and Russian words do not correspond too closely; we must assume that the name of the area cleared initially denoted in Estonian a hurdle which perhaps was used to hang cut hay or pulled flax onto. From this to ‘scaffolding’ > ‘something large’ > ‘monster’ is then easily explained, and perhaps the meaning ‘monster’ could have been influenced by words ending in -p, a little-used and obsolete derivational suffix with often a pejorative meaning (cf. WIEDEMANN 1875, 178-179, whence also the following three examples): ilap ‘häsßlich, widrig, widerwärtig’ (<?ilge ‘garstig, abscheulich’), kerep ‘verächlich, von einem Gebäude’ (< kere ‘Rumpf’), viídap’glatte, abschüssige, ausgefahrenre Stelle (wo der Schlitte scheudert)’ (< viítama ‘schleudern, vom Schlitten, auf abschüssigem Wege’), (cf. also WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893), jolep’tall, slouchy person’ (EMS II, 100), kolep ~ kolep’skinny, thin (animal or person) (VIHES 2001, 27).²⁶⁹

²⁶⁷ ‘It is not the name of any one thing, but if there is a large pronged or cross-patterned object, of which one does not know what it is called, or what one does with it, it is called terrep. If there is one, then one says terrep, but if there are more, then terrepid.’

²⁶⁸ JOHANSEN (1961, 88) thinks that Russ. Tepn-ropá for Sõrümäe is a folk etymology, where terp- is possibly from τέρπηκι ‘sharp, tart’ and Sõru- from söür ‘curds’ or söre ‘coarse’. MOORA (1964, 41), however, has shown that the first element in the toponym Sõrümäe must be from söörd ‘woodland area cleared for cultivation’, i.e. the same as Russ. tépěb. Furthermore, Est. söür ‘curds’ occurs only in the south of Estonia (cf. VMS II, 452b).

²⁶⁹ Newer words in -p like saalep ‘hemp’, kanep ‘hemp’ (the etymology of kanep remains problematic; cf. EEW III, 689; VABA 1997, 80-81), sinêp ‘mustard’, faltrep ‘gangway’, talrep ‘lanyard’ and rátsep ‘tailor’ are all relatively
WIEDEMANN (1875, 179) tentatively suggests *terep* ‘Ungeheuerliches, Unbegreifliches’ is a
derivation in -*p* from *terima* ‘durch Zauberei entdecken’ (cf. *tirima*), but seen its common use
as a toponym and the rarity of the suffix the Russian etymology is to be preferred.
Fi. *ti*era ~ *ti*ero ‘unburnt part of a burnt-over clearing for cultivation; unseeded part of a
field; patch of a field’, *ti*erake ~ *ti*ere ‘stack of wood to be burnt in a burnt-over clearing’ and
Kar. *ti*ero ‘unburnt part of a burnt-over clearing for cultivation; unseeded part of a field’ are
thought to be loans from Russ. теребить by POSTI (1982, 261-265), but his etymology is not
accepted by SSA (III, 289ab).
d. WIEDEMANN 1875, 179; MOORA 1964, 41; EEW X, 3136; VIIRES 2001, 27.


a. *tibla* ‘(*pej.*) Russian’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. вытеблянин ‘inhabitant of Vitebsk’ (Russ. Витебск).
c. A problematic word. There have been many etymologies suggested for *tibla*, many of which
can be discounted (e.g. SAARESTE 1927, 166, who claims it is of ‘affective’ origin).

There are two etymologies that can be seriously considered. One is an adaptation of Russ.
вытеблянин ‘inhabitant of Vitebsk’. This was first suggested in print in 1937 in the *Eesti
Entsüklopeedia* (vol. VIII, 157a), where the name is derived from the former province of
Vitebsk, as supposedly many Russians who paved the streets in Tallinn were from this area.

KARJAHÄRM (1998, 37) also notes that 200 Russian building workers were brought from
Vitebsk province to Sindi in 1899; MOORA (1964, 266) informs us how Russians from Vitebsk
came to Estonia in the second half of the 19th century. There are other ethnonyms and objects
in Estonian which are derived from Russian placenames or ethnonyms; cf. *kapornik* ‘chicken
seller’ (< Копёръ ‘Копоря’), *kaporuski*’tea from Koporja’ (< Копо́рь ‘Корпоря’), *kapskoi
‘rogue’ (< Псков ‘Pskov’) (MUST 2000, 79, 80), *prussakas* ‘cockroach’ (< прусский
‘Prussian’), *kitasnik* ‘linen or woollen garment’ (< Китай ‘China’); cf. also 5.3. *Semantics.*
Then there is in fact another ethnonym used in Estonian derived from Vitebsk: MUST (2000, 483)
notes a dialectal (Kei Emm) vöötiske ~ *vöötiske* ‘inhabitant of the province of Vitebsk’. That
the first unstressed syllable is elided is not unusual, and occurs in other ethnonyms of Russian

recent loans with no pejorative meaning. The -*p* in dial. *annep*, a variant of *amet* ‘Amt’ (WIEDEMANN 1893), is
due to assimilation and then dissimilation of place (cf. TAULI 1956, 101: *amet > anet > anep*).
The other etymology which is often cited and is also not unlikely is that by JOHANSEN (1961, 86), who derives it from the coarse Russian expression ты блядь ‘you whore’. Though there are enough examples where certain (ethnic) groups have been named after a particular interjection or words that the group in question uses often, the case for JOHANSEN’s etymology seems less attractive than MUST’s, especially as it has been shown that there were indeed numerous Russians (or perhaps more likely Byelorussians) from Vitebsk in Estonia in the time before the first recording of tibla.

As a swearword for ‘Russian’, tibla was unsurprisingly purged from Estonian dictionaries for some time during the period of Soviet occupation; it occurs last in the 1940 VÖS, and then again from the 1976 ŌS onwards.

d. EESTI ENTSÜKLOPEEDIA VIII, 157a; JOHANSEN 1961, 86; MOORA 1964, 266; RAUN 1982; MUST 2000, 408, 483.

a. tiin. Cf. dessatiin.

a. tiir ‘shooting range’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. тир ‘shooting-range, shooting gallery’ < Fr. tir (SSRLJA 15, 456 ).
c. -
d. RAUN 1982.

a. tikk ‘bayonet’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EÖS; EKSS).
b. Russ. штык ‘bayonet; (mil) man, soldier; (naut) bend; spade’s depth; (min) bar, ingot’ < Pol. sztych < MHG stich ‘Speerstechen’ (REW III, 432).
c. In Estonian the initial š has been elided.

Recorded in WIEDEMANN (1983) in the compound püüssitikk ‘rifles bayonet’.


a. **tikkuma.** Cf. 8.1.

a. **timukas** ‘formerly, the (official) the executor of a death sentence’ (Vestring 1740, 249a; HupeL 1780; 1818; Wiedemann 1869; 1893; EÖS; EKÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. témnuxha ‘человек насмурный, невеселый и задумчивый, хмура, насупа’ ~ тёмник ‘(стар.) военачальник над большим войском’ (Dal. IV, 398a) < *тытлькъ ‘Befehlshaber von 10 000 Mann’ < * тыма ‘10 000’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 91-92, 162).
c. MägiSte (1957, 17-21) suggests Est. timukas may be a loan from Russ. témnuxha, or possibly тёмник. Russ. témnuxha may have been borrowed as *temnik, where the unusual consonant cluster -mn- would have been simplified to -m-, giving *temuk. With the raising of e > i, very common in Estonian (though it may have already been pronounced as [i] in Pskov Russian) the earliest recorded forms (Henker Timmök; GutsLaFF 1648, 218b; Timmukat; WT Markusse Ewangelium 6:27) are explained. The newer form timukas has been adapted to words in -kas. We are thus forced to posit two unrecorded steps (-mn- > -m; e > i); to derive Est. timukas from тёмник is even more complicated. Additionally Russ. témnuxha and тёмник are not recorded with the meaning ‘executioner’, though perhaps a development from ‘Befehlshaber’ to ‘executioner’ is not too farfetched, but this is only attested for тёмник. All in all, not an impeccable etymology, but for the want of something better it is accepted.

Est. timukas ‘Insect’ (Wiedemann 1893) is probably a later local development; insects are often named after unpopular infiltrators (cf. prussakas, Russ. dial. киргиз ‘cockroach’, Mator казактога ‘blooga’; cf. 5.3. Semantics).

a. **tinakas** ‘(coll.) methylated spirits’ (EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. In Estonian two words with the same meaning from two different sources have been contaminated.

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271 Johansen (1951, 171) records a personal name Tynnesche Jacob in a Geleitbuchs from 1563, but whether this is related is unsure.
Est. *denaturaat* ‘methylated spirits’ (EÖS, VÖS 1933, 1940, 1945, 1953; SÖS: ÖS 1960, 1976, 1999; EKSS) is probably a loan from G. *Denaturat*, whilst *tenaturka*, from which *tina* and *tinakas* have developed, is a loan from Russ. дениатурка ‘methylated spirits’. As a word denoting ‘alcohol’ it is only to be expected that it underwent many changes and was simplified. The likely track (where every step of the way has been recorded), was probably as follows: Russ. lit. дениатурат > coll. дениатурка > Est. *denaturka* ‘methyls’ (SÖS; from colloquial Russian) ~ *tenaturka* ‘id.’ (from dialectal Russian; MUST 2000, 406) > *tinnitus* ‘id.’ (probably from Russ. coll. [dinaturka], not from Russ. dial. *dönaturka*; cf. MUST 2000, 406) > *tina* ‘id.; drunk’ (elision of the last two foreign-sounding syllables; ÖS 1999) > *tinakas* ‘id.’ (addition of the productive and colloquial suffix -kas; EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1999; EKSS).

Problematic now becomes the existence of *tinutama* ‘to solder; to drink’, which is a derivation from *tina* ‘tin’ (a loan from LG *tin*). This is recorded since HUPEL (1818): *tinnotama* ‘verzinnen’. When we have above tried to show that *tina* ~ *tinakas* ‘methyls; drunk’ is a loan from Russian, the meaning ‘to drink’ of verb *tinutama* would seem to be a further derivation from *tina* ‘drunk’. However, the German verb for ‘to solder’ is *verlötten* < (Lot ‘solder’), which also has the meaning ‘to drink’.272 Thus another explanation for Est. *tinutama* ‘to drink’ may in fact be that it is a calque from German.

KIPARSKY (1955-56, 1-11), pointing out that Fi. *juottaa* ‘to solder’, Olon. *juottua* ‘id.’, Lud. *djuottada* ‘id.’, Est. *joota* ‘id.’ and Liv. (*kubbö*)*juoottö* are all causatives of Proto-Finnic *jödak* ‘to drink’, suggested that Russ. *пайть* ‘лөтен’ is probably derived from *пить* ‘tränken’, пить ‘trinken’.273 KIPARSKY claims that due to chronological and geographical reasons the Russian cannot be a calque of the Finnic or vice-versa, and that they must be separate developments (an explanation also accepted by VASMER; cf. REW III, 519). Est. *tinutama* ‘to solder; to drink’ thus also belongs here, but whether it is a calque from German or a derivation from *tina* is unsure.

d. EEW X, 3177; MUST 2000, 406.

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272 Thanks to VAHUR AABRAMS (Tartu) for pointing this out to me.

273 That Russ. *пайть* is derived from *пить* was already suggested by e.g. PREOBRAZENSKIJ (II, 31-32), dismissed by VASMER (cf. REW II, 329), though again accepted by TRUBAČEV in the Russian translation of REW; cf. VASMER 1986/III, 224. Cf. also the following: ORuss. *напаять*, напаю ‘поить, давать пить’ (SREZNEVSKIJ II, 307), and ORuss. облaдa дяркьм землю напають ‘(lit.) the clouds with rain give the land to drink’ (CYGANENKO 1989, 293).
a. **tinutama.** Cf. **tinakas.**

a. **tirraž** ‘print run or other number of copies’ (VŌS 1936; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. **тира́ж** ‘drawing (of a loan or lottery); circulation, edition, print run’ < Fr. **tirage** (REW III, 107).

c. -

d. -

a. **tirima** ‘to pull, drag, tear strongly; to carry, drag something (heavy); to force someone to come along’ (EKŌS; VŌS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. **дрань, дира́ть** ‘to tear (up, to pieces); to tear off; to kill (of wild animals); (coll.) to flog, thrash, to tear out; to fleece; (coll.) to sting, to irritate; (coll.) to run away, make off’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 344).

c. A relatively new loan, though recorded as (W, I) in Wiedemann 1893. Cf. **terep.**


a. **tita** ‘small child, infant’ ~ **titt** ‘small child, infant; doll’ (GÖSEKEN 1660, 159, 256; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 249b; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKŌS; EŌS; VŌS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. **дитя** ‘child, baby’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 353).

c. In Estonian there are two basic variants: **titt** ‘small child, infant; doll’ (GÖSEKEN 1660, 159; VESTRING 1740, 249b; WIEDEMANN 1893; EŌS; VŌS 1933; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1999; EKSS) and **tita** ‘small child, infant’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EŌS; VŌS 1933; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŌS 1960; 1999; EKSS). The earliest recordings are in GÖSEKEN (1660, 159), who notes Docke/titto/ nuck/ tittoken/ nuckoken (159), kindbetterin/(Eheweib) **Titte Emma;** THOR HELLE (1732): **tittike** ‘Pupgen’ and VESTRING (1740, 249b): **Tip/Titike’ Ein Pupchen’.

The question arises whether Russ. **дитя** was borrowed as *tita* and seen as a genitive, from which a nominative *titt* was abstracted, or if *tita* is a regularly formed genitive which assumed a diminutive function (as WIEDEMANN assumes; *tita*, G. *tita, tit’a, G. *tit’a* (d), **titakene** G. *titakese*, Dimin. von *titt*, ‘Püppchen, kleines Kindchen [tadelnd auch von
Erwachsenen\)], similarly to the form \textit{poja} in present-day Estonian, which as a diminutive of \textit{poeg} is in fact its genitive form.\textsuperscript{274}

There is, however, no particular reason why the genitive should be an -\textit{a} (cf. the present-day genitive form \textit{tite} and THOR HELLE’s \textit{tittike}), and so it seems likely that Russ. \textit{лиги} was borrowed as \textit{tita}, from which a new nominative \textit{titt} was formed (of which the genitive was then \textit{tite}), whilst \textit{tita} was resemanticalized as the diminutive of \textit{titt}, and in South Estonian possibly borrowed again from Russian (cf. WIEDEMANN’s EstS \textit{ti’ā}). Diminutives of genitive origin such as \textit{poja} may have played a supporting role.

MÄGISTE (1962, 23), though preferring the Russian etymology, suggests it could also be a delabialized form of \textit{tütt} ‘kleines Kind, Kleinigkeit’ (WIEDEMANN 1893) (< \textit{tütar}), which is already recorded in THOR HELLE (1732) as \textit{tütte-emma} ‘die Sechswöchnerin’. The \textit{ü}, as a secondary cardinal vowel, is learned later than the primary \textit{i}, and so \textit{tütt} can very well have been pronounced as [titt] by children; it is not inconceivable that it would have made its way into standard Estonian via caretaker speech; cf. EstS \textit{tüte-jala} ~ \textit{tite-jala} ‘Bewirthung in der Wochenstube’ (WIEDEMANN 1893), a word where both variants occur. However, \textit{tütt} and \textit{tüte}, a South Estonian diminutive of \textit{tütar} (cf. WIEDEMANN 1893), seem to be more common in the south, whilst the earliest recordings of \textit{titt} ~ \textit{tita} are from the north. The Russian etymology is to be preferred.

BG \textit{Titta} ‘kleines Kind, Säugling’ is a loan from Estonian (KIPARSKY 1936, 73).

d. WESKE 1890, 211; MÄGISTE 1924, 8; 1928, 16, 30; 1962, 22-23; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; ARISTE 1981, 94; RAUN 1982; EEW X, 3190.

a. \textit{tobra} ‘(coll.) good’ (EÖS; EKSS).

b. Russ. добрый ‘good; good deed’ < добрый ‘good’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 356).

c. WIEDEMANN (1869) already noted that dial. \textit{tobras} ‘gut, tüchtig’ may be of Russian origin.

-s is a common adjectival suffix (cf. WIEDEMANN 1875, 182-183).

d. WIEDEMANN 1869; EEW X, 3194-3195; SSA III, 311a; MUST 2000, 411.

\textsuperscript{274} PETAR KEHAYOV (Tartu) pointed this out to me. Cf. also SAARESTE’s and MÄGISTE’s quarrel about the existence of such forms as \textit{sobra} ‘(?girl-)friend’ and \textit{koka} ‘(?female) cook’, where SAARESTE (1930, 97-100) suggested the auslaut -\textit{a} is a developing feminine suffix. MÄGISTE (1931a, 31-33), however, countered that this is only seemingly so: they are used mostly by or about women, but this does not make them feminine suffixes, and \textit{koka} is in any case also used to denote male cooks.

SAARESTE (1931, 33-34) did not give up, and tries to maintain his position with examples like \textit{eks koka ole ikka odavam kui kokk} ‘a (female) cook will be cheaper than a (male) cook’.
a. **tohman** ‘(*coll.*) stupid, dull person, simpleton’ (EÕS; VÕS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Whilst Russ. [f] cannot be substituted with Est. [t] and **tohman** is obviously of the same family as **tohm** ‘stupid’, **tohmakas** ‘dim-witted’, **tohmus** ‘dunce’ and the like, MUST (2000, 412), pointing out the distribution of **tohman** as a word found mostly in the north-east, the east and the south, assumes it is a loan from Russian, though influenced by the genuine Estonian words above.

d. EEW X, 3159; MUST 2000, 412.

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b. Russ. докла́д ‘report, lecture, paper, talk, address; announcement (of arrival of guest, etc.)’ < докла́сть < класс ‘to lay, to place’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 565).

c. Also recorded in Baltic German: **Doklad** ‘Bericht, Verfügung’ (Kirpersky 1936, 152).

d. EEW X, 3212.

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a. **tolk** ‘(*coll.*) intellect, reason, understanding; use, benefit, advantage’ (WIEDemann 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÕS; VÕS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) ~ **tulk** ‘Dolmetscher, Kundschafter, Führer’ (Göseken 1660, 58, 160, 301, 316, 415; Thor Helle 1732; Vestring 1740, 259b; Hupel 1780; 1818; Wiedemann 1869; 1893) ~ **tölk** ‘translator’ (Wiedemann 1893; EKÖS; EÕS; VÕS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. толк ‘sense, understanding; (*coll.*) use, profit; (*obs.*) persuasion (= sect, grouping)’ < ORuss. тьлкъ ‘Deutung, Auslegung; Dolmetscher’ < Slavic (REW III, 115).

c. Russ. толк has been borrowed some three times into Estonian. Est. **tulk** ‘interpreter’ is the oldest (recorded first in Göseken 1660), borrowed from ORuss. тьлкъ ‘id.’. Mikkola (1894, 169) suggested that Est. **tulk** may have been borrowed via Latvian, which has also borrowed Russ. толк twice: Latv. тьлки‘der Dolmetscher’ < ORuss. тьлкъ (ME IV, 259a; LEV II, 438), Latv. тьлки ‘Ausweg, Rat, Hilfe’ < Russ. толк (ME IV, 216a). Kalima (1952, 172) also assumes Est. **tulk** has been borrowed via Latvian, but there is no particular reason to do so (as Mägiste 1962, 23 points out), and it was undoubtedly borrowed directly from ORuss. тьлкъ. Ahrens (1843, 130) suggests that both Fi. trollki and Est. **tulk** may also be loans from
Swedish. Fi. *tulkki* is indeed a loan from a North Germanic *tulkr*, which is via Low German also ultimately a loan from ORuss. *tolk* (cf. SSA III, 324a), but the Estonian word is more likely borrowed from Russian. OJANSUU (1916, 192) derives the Finnish word from Est. *tulk*, but this has been rejected. Est. *tulk* is now no longer in use.

An older loan from Modern Russian is *толк*, first recorded by in HUPEL (1780) as EstS *толкja‘Dollmetscher’, *толкма, *ärratölkma ‘auslegen; dollmetschen’, where o > õ is a later Estonian development. BRÖMSEN (1814, 147) first recognized its Russian origin.

LOORITS (1955) has also suggested *толкма* is a loan from Latv. *tulkot*, but this is unlikely. The youngest loan is *tolk* ‘intellect; benefit’, which is first recorded in a dictionary in WIEDEMANN 1869, though already AHRENS (1843, 130) had noted it as a Russian loan.

Est. *tolkama* ‘to mangle (a language), to talk nonsense’ (recorded only in EOS and dialectally in WIEDEMANN 1893) is probably a loan from from Sw. *tolka*275 ‘interpret; to interpret, translate’ (for the distribution of *tolkama* in western Estonia and on the islands cf. VMS II, 521b), whilst *tolkama* ‘to understand’ in Kuusalu on the northern coast is either a loan from Finland Swedish or a derivation from *tolk* as *tolkama* ‘to understand’ probably is in Otepaa and Kanepi (cf. VMS II, 521b).

d. AHRENS 1843, 130; WESKE 1890, 238-239; MIKKOLA 1894, 41, 64, 169; 1938, 23, 36, 42; KALIMA 1952, 172; 1956, 131; ARISTE 1952, 704; KALIMA 1956, 29, 60, 131; MAGISTE 1962, 23; RAUN - SAAREST 1965, 49; HINDERLING 1981, 123; RAUN 1982; EEW XI, 3403-3404; X, 3214, 3350; SSA III, 307ab, 324a; MUST 2000, 412-413, 446-447.

d. EEW X, 3218.

a. *tolmats* ‘Dollmetscher’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).


c. Est. *tolmats*, through association with *tolvakes, tolvan* and the like, also has the meaning ‘Tölpel, Dummkopf, Einfallspinsel, Nichtsnutz’ in WIEDEMANN 1893.

Recorded as a surname in the 17th and 18th century: Totzi Tolmatz (1627), Tholmatzi Ado Michel (1782) (PALL 1970, 164).

d. EEW X, 3218.


b. Russ. толстовка ‘tolstovka (long belted blouse)’. Named after L. TOLSTOY (BTS 1328c).

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275 From Swedish it also been borrowed into Finnish: *tolkata* ‘to mangle (a language)’ (SSA III, 307a).
c. -

d. EEW X, 3219.

a. tolvana ‘(coll.) blockhead, fool, nitwit’ (VESTRING 1740, 253a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. болва́н ‘(coll.) blockhead, dolt, twit; block (esp. for shaping headgear); (in card-games) dummy; (obs.) idol’ < ORuss. быванъ. The etymology is unsure (cf. REW I, 101-102).

c. Problematic is the substitution of Russ. б- with Est. т-276. The word also occurs in Finnish as tolvana ‘simpleton’, where according to SSA (III, 308ab) it is supposed to be a contamination of Russ. болва́н and Finnish words like toollo ‘fool’ and toomppeli ‘id.’, though according to PŁÓGER (1973, 205, 281) it may also be due to dissimilation. As in Estonian the word is practically the same we could assume the same dissimilation or contamination (as there are also models such as tola ‘blockhead’), but for this to have happened independently of each other is perhaps farfetched. OJANSUU (1916, 191) solves this problem by suggesting that Fi. tolvana is a loan from Estonian, but the distribution of the Finnish word (cf. SSA III, 308ab) makes this unlikely. However, we have no other choice than to assume that Est. tolvan must be a loan from Russ. болва́н; its dialect distribution (11 records east of a line from Kuusalu to Sangaste, with only one recording in the very west, in Hanila; cf. VMS II, 523a) also points to this. Whether its initial т- is then due to dissimilation or contamination cannot be said for sure.

Russ. болва́н is also found in Votic (VKS I, 140, 150: балвань ‘fool’; bolvana ‘fool; decoy, stuffed animal’) and in Ingrian (IS 423a: polvana ‘blockhead’).

Also recorded in Baltic German: Bulwan, Bolwan, Pullwan ‘ausgestopfter Lockvogel’ (HUPEL 1795, 29, 181; KIPARSKY 1936, 149). Pullwan is probably borrowed via Est. pulvan ‘ausgestopfter Birkhahn’ (WIEDEMANN 1893), Bulwan via Latv. bulvans’ ausgestopfter Vogel, um Wild herbeiziehnen, ein Lockvogel’ (ME I, 349a); probably only Bolwan is a direct loan from Russian (cf. KIPARSKY 1936, 149).

d. BRÖMSEN 1814, 147; AHRENS 1853, 260; WIEDEMANN 1869; VÄINASTE 1925, 100; MENGES 1951, 20-23; KALIMA 1952, 172; POSTI 1953, 11; KALIMA 1956, 131; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49;

276 An obvious and accepted loan from Russ. болва́н is Est. pulvan ‘ausgestopfter Birkhahn (von den auf dem Anstande liegenden Jägern als Lockvogel gebraucht); Popanz’ (russ.), recorded by WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893.

a. tonka ‘(coll.) fish-hook’ (EKSS).

b. Russ. тонька ‘(apx. = Archangel; RB) волоссяная леса, для лова наваги’ (DAE IV, 415a); тонька = тоня ‘der Fischzug, Netzzug, -wurf; der Ort, wo die Fischernetze ausgeworfen warden; die Einrichtung zur Netzführung’ (PAWLOWSKY 1879, 1196b) < тонкий ‘thin’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 119).

c. Belongs to the fishing terminology introduced by the Russians; cf. EKMS IV, 750-754, where the following words all belong to fish-hook terminology: agur ‘anchor’, krutsik, mutt. sikuska, sorda ‘large fishhook’ (RANK 1934, 75; MOORA 1964, 212; MUST 2000, 354); cf. also kival‘wooden handle of a sikuska; fisherman who uses a sikuska’ (RANK 1934, 72-73; MOORA 1964, 210; MUST 2000, 104).

d. -

a. tool ‘(russ.) Dolja, Metallantheil (in Legirungen)’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).

b. Russ. доля ‘part, portion, share, quota; (anat., bot.) lobe; lot, fate; (obs.) dolia (measure of weight, equivalent to 44 milligrams)’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 361).

c. Also recorded in Baltic German: doli ‘russ. Gewichtsmass = 1/96 Solotnik’ (KIPIRSKY 1936, 153).

d. WIEDEMANN 1893; EEW X, 3226.

a. topka ‘(coll.) dram (of vodka)’ (EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. BACHMAN 1956, 6; HINDERLING 1981, 162, 175; EEW X, 3236; MUST 2000, 414.

a. torbutama ‘pflegen, auffüttern’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).

b. Russ. добрый ‘удобрять, улучнять, улучшать; одобрять, хорошо отзываться; задабривать, угождать, прислуживать; нежить, холить, содержать в добре’ (DAE I, 444a) < добрый (cf. tobra).
c. SKES (V, 1356) and MÄGISTE (EEW X, 3246) assume *torbutama* is a derivation from *torp* (cf. below), but MUST (2000, 411-412) rejects this and assumes a loan from Russ. добри́ть, pointing to dialectal forms like *toprutama*; the form recorded by WIEDEMANN is metathetical.

d. SKES V, 1356; EEW X, 3246; MUST 2000, 411-412.

a. *torgovka* '(russ.) Aufkäuferin' (WIEDEMANN 1893).
c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1893.
d. WIEDEMANN 1893; EEW X, 3241; MUST 2000, 415.

a. *torkama* ‘to poke the sharp end of something into something, to poke with a pointed object, to touch or to attach to such an object; to sting; (coll.) to remember suddenly; to quickly put or thrust something somewhere; to say something sharply or brusquely; (coll.) to go (suddenly)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. Russ. тóркать has also been derived from Kar. *turkaitä* ‘stoßen’, but this was rejected by VASMER (cf. REW III, 124). The Karelian verb is itself probably a loan from Russian.

KOPONEN (1998, 184b) traces Est. *torkima* ‘to prod’ back to a stem *tVrkk* ‘to push, to prick’, but we think it is a derivation of *torkama*. In the Finnic languages there are families of verbs with the general form *tVrk* ‘to prod, to prick’ (cf. SSA III, 347b, 363b), whose origin is generally said to be ‘onomatopoeic’ (KOPONEN 1998, 184b) or ‘descriptive’ (cf. SSA), but as JARVA (2003, 98) notes, this does not necessarily mean that we need to look no further, and JARVA also assumes that Fi. *torkata* ‘to poke’ is also at least partially a loan from Russian, especially as according to SKES (V, 1352ab) and SSA, verbs beginning with *tork-* seem to occur mostly in South Karelia and Ingria, i.e. close to the Russian border or in Russia itself. SKES also assumes that most of the occurrences in the eastern Finnic languages are at least partial loans from Russian.
d. EEW X, 3243-3244.

a. *torp* ‘horse’s nosebag’ (EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. Recorded dialectally by WIEDEMANN 1893.
d. WESKE 1890, 240; MUST 1956, 132; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW X, 3246; MUST 2000, 415.

a. toruk. Cf. tarakan.

a. toruski ‘Gewölbе, gewölbter Raum’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).
c. MÄGISTE (EEW X, 3251) assumes a loan from Russian, cf. Fi. toroska ‘small room in an Orthodox church (Ingria); front room of a sauna (Viipuri)’ (SKES V, 1355), or a figurative form with the pejorative diminutive suffix -ski from toru ‘pipe, tube’. To this last explanation would point Est. dial. toruski (turusk) ‘tubular object’ (VMS II, 530a). -sk is a not uncommon derivative suffix in South Estonian (cf. WIEDEMANN 1875, 190), but Est. dial. toruski is recorded in Vigala and Hageri in the west.
d. EEW X, 3251.

a. tots ‘(coll.) (teen-age) girl’ (EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. Recorded dialectally in WIEDEMANN 1893.
RAUN 1982 assumes ‘descriptive’ origin is also possible. Est. tots ‘girl’ is also recorded in 1920s military slang (HERMLIN 1929, 94).
d. SAARESTE 1927, 168; BACHMAN 1959, 263; RAUN 1982; EEW X, 3254; MUST 2000, 416.

a. totsik. Cf. potsik.

a. tragi ‘eager, enterprising’ (EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. ?Russ. драпий (= OCS form of дорогой ‘ценный, многоценный, сравнительно много стоящий; нужный, полезный, желанный, уважаемый; любимый, любезный, высокооценимый’) (DAE I, 475a); cf. драгой ‘высокий по цене или плате; требуй
значительных расходов, затрат; любимый, близкий, милый сердцу’ (SSRLJA 15, 1082a-1083a) < Common Slavic (REW I, 364).

C. Dialectally in WIEDEMANN (1893) tragi (A), tragijas (NW) (ragi) ‘flink, rasch’. MAGISTE (EEW X, 3259) assumes traks ~ traksjas is a derivation from tragi (as already WIEDEMANN 1893), where the -ks- would have been formed -k- with an -s-‘formant’. Est. traks ~ traksjas ‘eager, nimble, enterprising’, however, occurs before tragi does, already in HUPEL 1818: traksjas ‘flink, munter; witzig. r.d.’ It is then found in WIEDEMANN (traks ~ traksijas (traksjas) ‘hurtig, flink, munter, gewandt, witzig), in EÖS and then again from the 1960 ÖS onwards.

Semantically the comparison of Est. tragi and Russ. дра́гий poses no problems, but two problems remain: traksijas (HUPEL 1818) is recorded before tragi (WIEDEMANN 1893), and would an OCS form have enjoyed such wide currency? Russian origin must remain unsure.

d. EEW X, 3259.

a. trahter ‘(obs., coll.) simple restaurant, drinking and eating establishment’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. тракти́р ‘(obs.) inn, eating-house’ < Pol. traktýr < Lat. tractó́ria (REW III, 131).
c. Already recorded in 1821 in MASING’s Marahwa Näädala-Leht (KINGISEPP 1972, 100).

Est. trahternik ‘Gastwirth, Gasthausbesitzer’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EÖS) is probably an internal Estonian derivation, as a Russ. *тракти́рник we have not found (though MAGISTE [EEW X, 3260] and MUST [2000, 418] do not rule out that such a word may have existed in Russian dialects close to the Estonian border). Est. trahhtensik ~ trahtersnik (trahtershnik) ‘Gastwirth, Gasthausbesitzer’ (WIEDEMANN 1893) are loans from Russ. тракти́рщик ‘(obs.) innkeeper’ with dissimilation -er > -en (in trahhtensik) and partial adaptation to words in -nik (in trahtersnik).

Also recorded in Baltic German: Traktier, older Trakteur, Traktehr, Traiteur ‘Speisehaus, Schenke’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 185).

a. traktorist ‘tractor driver’ (EÖS; VÖS 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. -
d. -
a. **tramvai** *(obs.)* tram’ (EKÔS; EÔS; EKSS).


c. -

d. -

a. **trass** ‘line or strip of land which delineates the course of a street, canal, pipage, communication line or other long construction; imaginary line along which aeroplanes fly’ (EÔS; VÔS 1953; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. трасса́ ‘line, course, direction; route’ < G. *Trasse* (SSRLJA 15, 834b-835a).

c. -

d. -

a. **trett** *(coll.)* course (of events), time, occasion’ (EKSS).


c. Est. *trett* is recorded dialectally as South Estonian in WIEDEMANN 1893: *trett* ‘Abtheilung, Schicht, Portion’, *treti vüsi* ‘portionsweise, terminweise’, *see om veel vana tretti* ‘das ist noch von früher’, *see om esi-trett* ‘das ist eine Sache für sich’, and in modern South Estonian: *trett* ‘course (of events), time, occasion’ (JÛVÄ 2002).

Possibly from Russ. треть. In HOWLETT’S 1993 dictionary this is glossed simply as ‘third’, but in older dictionaries shed more light upon its various meanings: cf. третники встарь правили третями Москвы, а трети были, что в Нягрд. концы (DAE I, 430b). The Estonian word may be borrowed from various forms of the Russian word: WIEDEMANN’S *treti vüsi* may be borrowed from Russ. по третям ‘tertialweise, tertialiter (z. B. das Gehalt auszahlen)’ (PAWLOWSKY 1879), whilst *trett* recorded in VMS (535a) as ‘aggravation’ and in EKMS (I, 204) as ‘(bad, troublesome thing), thing, matters, business, trouble’ (cf. *tal seisab üks trett ees* ‘he still has some (troublesome) business ahead’) has a decided negative connotation, and may originally have been borrowed from some form of Russ. третыйский ‘arbitrary’, such as третейский суд ‘arbitrary tribunal’; cf. also третейский ‘связанный с разбором спора, конфликта третьей, незаинтересованной стороной; представляющий собою такой разбор’ (SSRLJA 15, 915b). The dialectal distribution according to VMS (535a) of *trett* ‘aggravation’ may also point to the word being borrowed twice, as it is recorded
in a wide area in northern Estonia from Saaremaa in the west to Lüganuse in northeast, but also in three parishes in the very southeast, with no obvious link between them.

d. -

c. -
d. MUST 2000, 419.

a. **tribitski** *(coll)* snifter’ (EKSS).
b. Perhaps a jocular formation from Russ. требить ‘to je, что требуется’ or треби́ще ‘to je, что треба’ (SSRLJA 15, 850b).
c. Very unsure. Perhaps a pseudo-Russian form.
Also recorded in EKMS (IV, 522) as trebitski tribitski vbodka’.
d. -

a. **triilista** ‘ein Kartenspiel, wohl = trinka’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
c. Cf. WIEDEMANN (1876, 297-299) for various Estonian card games borrowed from Russian.
d. BACHMAN 1956, 11; EEW X, 3270.

a. **trinka** ‘drey Blätter von einerley Grösse im Kartenspiel’ (HUPEL 1818); ‘ein Kartenspiel, worin es darauf ankommt drei Karten von gleicher Grösse (übhe määr peal) zu haben *(trinka)*; zwei Sechse oder Sieben mit einer dritten Karte *(vilukas)* gelten einer Trinka gleich’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; cf. also WIEDEMANN 1876, 299).
c. MUST (2000, 420) derives trinka from Russ. тро́к ‘три, трое, тройка однородных вещей’, but this is obviously incorrect.
d. MUST 2000, 420.

a. **troika** ‘vehicle with three horses harnessed side by side (mostly in Russia); *(coll)* three-man punishment organ in the Soviet Union’ (VÖS 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. т́р́йка ‘three; (school mark) three (out of five); (cards) the three (of a suit); troika; (coll.) three-piece suit; No. 3 bus, tram, etc.; three-man commission’ < т́р́ ‘three’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 138).

c. -

d. MUST 2000, 420.

a. trois ‘(coll.) in order; ready to start’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; EKSS).
b. Russ. ст́рой ‘system, order, regime; (ling.) system, structure; (mus.) pitch; (mil., naut., aeron.) formation; (mil.) unit in formation; (mil. and fig.) service, commission’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 29).
c. Est. trois is an inessive form.
d. SAARESTE 1927, 168; RAUN 1982; EEW X, 3275; MUST 2000, 421.

a. trookama ‘(dia1.) to soil, to make soiled’ (EKSS).
b. Russ. т́р́гать ‘to touch; to disturb, trouble; to touch, move, affect’. The etymology is unsure (REW III, 139-140).
c. According to VMS (II, 537a) recorded only in two parishes in southern Estonia. The Russian sample sentences in DAL (IV, 434ab) often have a negated form of the verb; perhaps this (partial) negative polarity was transformed to a negative overtone in the meaning in the Estonian word.
d. -

a. troopar ‘(ein Theil des griechischen Gottesdienstes)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
b. Russ. т́р́парь ‘(eccl.) anthem (for festival or saint’s day)’ < ORuss. tropать < Gr. т́рοπάφιоν (REW III, 140-141).
c. -
d. EEW X, 3276


a. troska. Cf. 8.1.

a. trudovikk ‘member of a bourgeois group in the Russian duma, labourite’ (EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976).
b. Russ. трудовик (\textit{hist}) Trudovik (\textit{member of labour group in Russ. Duma, 1906-1917}) < труд \textquotesingle labour, work\textquotesingle < Common Slavic (REW III, 143).


d. EEW X, 3280.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{truss} \textquotesingle Kaninchen\textquotesingle (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
  \item Russ. трус \textquotesingle Feigling; Kaninchen\textquotesingle. Probably from трясти \textquotesingle schütteln\textquotesingle (REW III, 144).
  \item Estonian had no word for \textquotesingle rabbit\textquotesingle, except this dialectal Russian loan and the words kodujänes \textquotesingle house hare\textquotesingle and kaanin-jänes \textquotesingle Kaninchen\textquotesingle (cf. WIEDEMANN 1893), until the neologism küülük was invented in the 1930s by MANIVALD LUBI (cf. LUBI 1966, 122-123), possibly partly under the influence of Russ. кролик \textquotesingle rabbit\textquotesingle. MÄGISte (EEW X, 3284) derives Est. \textit{truss} from Latv. \textit{trusis} \textquotesingle rabbit\textquotesingle, but this is not mentioned in the two monographs by VABA on the Latvian loanwords in Estonian (VABA 1977; VABA 1997), nor in VABA\textquotesingle s numerous writings on the subject. According to ENZELINS (ME IV, 248b) and KARULIS (LEV II, 433) Latv. \textit{trusis} \textquotesingle rabbit\textquotesingle is a Slavic loanword; the most likely source is Byel. трус \textquotesingle id\textquotesingle or Pol. trus\textquotesingle id\textquotesingle. FRAENKEL (LEW II, 1127) also derives Est. \textit{trüss} (WIEDEMANN\textquotesingle s spelling) and Latv. \textit{trusis} from Byelorussian or Polish. The only fact which might argue for Byelorussian or Polish origin is the palatalized š of \textit{truss} (cf. above), but Russ. \textit{c} [s] is often substituted in Estonian dialects with [š] (cf. MUST 2000, 501-502), so there is no need to postulate a Byelorussian or Polish loan for the Estonian word.
  \item ME IV, 248b; LUBI 1966, 122-123; EEW IV, 1182, X, 3284.
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{trussikud} \textquotesingle underpants\textquotesingle (ÖS 1999; EKSS).
  \item Russ. трусики \textquotesingle shorts; swimming trunks; (under)pants\textquotesingle < трусы \textquotesingle короткие спортивные штаны\textquotesingle (SSRLJa 15, 1060b). Probably not from Engl. \textit{trousers} (thus VASMER 1986/IV, 110), but from Fr. \textit{trouses} (ČERNYH 1993/II, 267ab).
  \item ERELT, in her lists of neologisms (1983, 64; 1989, 77), and ÖS 1976 suggest replacing the \textquotesingle undesirable\textquotesingle \textit{trussikud} with the more Estonian püksikud (in fact also a loan, from MLG \textit{buxe}; cf. EEW VII, 2346).
  \item MUST 2000, 423.
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{trup} \textquotesingle flue, pipe; hot wall of a stove or oven; small bridge\textquotesingle (HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
\end{itemize}
b. Russ. трубá ‘(in var. senses) pipe, conduit, tube; chimney-flue, funnel, smoke-stack; (mus.)
   trumpet; (anat.) tube, duct; symbol of failure or ruin, brush (fox’s tail). Borrowed from OHG
   trumba or MLat. trumba (REW III, 142).

c. A newer loan is truba ‘(coll. trumped; horn’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).

d. HUPEL 1818, 252b; BACHMAN 1956, 6; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; EEW X, 3285; MUST
   2000, 422; 423-424.


b. Russ. дрянь ‘(coll) trash, rubbish; as pred. it is rotten, it is no good; (of a person) a bad lot,
   a good-for-nothing’. The etymology is unsure (cf. REW I, 376).

c. -

d. EEW X, 3286; MUST 2000, 424.

a. trääskama ‘prügel’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).

b. Russ. дразнить ‘to tease; to excite, to tantalize’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 366).

c. In present-day Estonian only the derivation trääs ‘(sl.) fig’ (EKÓS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999;
   EKSS) is still in use. The Estonian verb in -sk must be a derivation.

d. EEW X, 3287; KOPONEN 1998, 180b; SSA III, 131; MUST 2000, 425.

a. tsaar ‘title of the male head of state in certain monarchic Slavic states (in Russia from 1547
   to 1721, inoffically later too)’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÓS; EÓS; VÓS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945;

b. Russ. царь ‘tsar, czar; (fig.) king, ruler’ < *cēsarī < Goth. kaisar < Lat. caesar (REW III,
   283).

c. -

d. RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW X, 3289; SSA III, 318; MUST 2000, 426.

a. tsarevna ‘Zarin’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. царевна ‘tsarevna, czarevna (daughter of a tsar)’ < царь (cf. tsaar).

c. -

d. -


b. Russ. царевич ‘tsarevich, czarevich (son of a tsar)’ < царь (cf. tsaar).
c. -
d. EEW X, 3291

a. tseseareevits ‘Cäsarewitsch, Thronfolger in Russland’ (Wiedemann 1869; 1893).
b. Russ. цесаревич ‘cesarevitch (heir to throne in tsarist Russia)’ < царь (cf. tsaar).
c. -
d. EEW X, 3292.

b. Russ. цех ‘shop, section (in factory); (hist.) guild, corporation’ < Pol. czech < MHG zéch, zéche ‘Vereinigung von Personen desselben Standes’ (REW III, 291).
c. -
d. EEW X, 3292.

a. tshugun ‘(russ.) Gisseisen’ (Wiedemann 1893).
b. Russ. чугун ‘cast iron; cast-iron pot, vessel’ < Turkic; probably from Chuv. tšugun (REW III, 351).
c. Recorded as South Estonian too in Wiedemann 1893 (tšugun ‘Gisseisen (russ.)’) and in Jūvā 2002 (tšugun ‘iron stove; cast iron pot’).
Also recorded in Baltic German: Tschugun ‘Gusseisen’ (Kiparsky 1936, 187).
d. Wiedemann 1893; EEW X, 3305; Must 2000, 431.

a. tsurr ‘a prohibitory or affirmative exclamation in children’s hiding or running games’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. чур ‘(coll.) keep away! mind!’. The etymology is unclear (REW III, 358), but may derive from нрашур ‘ancestor, forefather’ (чур меня ‘let my forefather help me’) as e.g. Vernadsky (1943, 110) assumes.
c. In Tartu (pre-war) children’s slang the variant surm is used, a folk etymology influenced by surm ‘death’ (cf. Ariste 1940a, 20).
d. Ariste 1940a, 20; Must 2000, 436.

a. tsutt. Cf. suts.

a. tšaihanaa ‘a teahouse (in Central Asia and Iran)’ (EKSS).

a. тшастушка (folk.) four-line end-rhymed Russian folk song with topical content (ƏS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. частушка (two-line or four-line rhymed poem or ditty on some topical or humorous theme) < *čestá ‘äufig’ (REW III, 304-305).

c. -

d. EEW X, 3309.

a. тшека a short form of the name of the organ of state security in Russia between 1917 and 1922 (ƏS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. Чека (hist.) Cheka (abbr. of Чрезвычайная комиссия по борьбе с контрреволюцией и саботажем the Soviet state security organ, 1918-1922).

c. -

d. EEW X, 3310.

a. тшекист ‘employee of the тшека’ (ƏS; ƏS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. чекист (hist.) Chekist, Cheka agent (cf. тшека).

c. -

d. -

a. тшервоонетс ‘name of a Russian gold coin; bank-note in the Soviet Union from 1922 to 1947’ (ƏS; ƏS 1945; 1953; ƏS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. червонец (hist.) chervonets (gold coin of 3, 5, or 10 roubles’ denomination, or 10 rouble bank-note in circulation 1922-47) < Pol. czerwony ‘golden, purpurrot’ (REW III, 318).

c. According to AHVEN (1965, 398) first used in 1941.

d. EEW X, 3310; MUST 2000, 363.

a. тшетвертнои. Cf. setvertnoi.
a. **tšinovnik** *(pej)* (Tsarist) civil servant, bureaucrat, precisian’ (EÖS; ÓS 1960; 1976, 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. EEW X, 3310

a. **tšumakk** *(hist.)* (Ukrainian peasant who transported crops, salt and fish with oxen)’ (ÓS 1960; 1976).

b. Russ. чумáк *(obs.)* chumak *(in Ukraine, ox-cart driver transporting fish, salt, and grain)*’ < Ukr. чумáк ‘id.’. The etymology of the Ukrainian word is unsure; it is probably of Turkic origin (cf. REW III, 355).

c. -

d. -

a. **tšumiisa** *(agric.)* edible plant’ (ÓS 1960; 1976).

b. Russ. чумíза ‘злак, зерновая и кормовая культура, широко распространенная в разных странах, особенно в Дальнем Востоке; то же, что гоми’ < Chin. choumízi (SSRLJA 17, 1199ab).

c. ÓS 1976 has the variant spelling *tšumiíis*, genitive *tšumiíisi*.

d. EEW X, 3310.


c. -

d. EEW X, 3310.

a. **tuba.** Cf. 8.1.

a. **tubin** *(dial.)* stick, club’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÓS 1960; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. дубина ‘club, cudgel; (coll.) blockhead, numskull’ < дуб ‘oak’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 376-377).

c. Recorded in 1825 in Masing’s Marahwa Näädala-Leht (Kingisepp 1972, 100), but it occurs already in 1805 in surnames: Tubbina Mert, Tubbina Jürri (Pall 1970, 165). Also recorded in Baltic German: dubin ‘Stock, Prügel’ (HupeL 1795, 53; Kiparsky 1936, 153).

d. Weske 1890, 234; Raun 1982; Must 2000, 440.

a. tubli ‘worthy of recognition, good and suitable; working successfully in some area; strong, stiff, hard; (coll.) (quite) big, healthy, strapping’ (Wiedemann 1869; 1893; EKös; EōS; VōS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; Ōs 1960; 1976; 1999; Ekss).


c. Does not occur in other Finnic languages, but is very common in Estonian and known in all dialects. Saareste (1921, 335) compares it to Russ. до́бле́й, presuming that it was loaned as *tobli into Estonian, later undergoing the change o > u (cf. ugrīts ‘gherkin’ < orypéu, Est. musku ‘Moscow’ < Москва, kuntural ‘control’, kumpass ‘compass’, kumissar ‘commissar’). Saareste seems to be unaware of Weske (1890, 227-228), who had correctly etymologized tubli some 30 years before.

d. Weske 1890, 227-228; Saareste 1921, 335; Māgiste 1953b, 35; 1962, 9, 56; Raun - Saareste 1965, 49; Raun 1982; Eew X, 3312-3313.


a. tuhkur ‘(zoool.) chestnut- to blackish brown weasel with a long slim body and spotted face, which is also bred for fur (Mustela putorius); polecat; the fur of this animal’ (Hornung 1693, 60; HupeL 1818; Wiedemann 1869; 1893; EKös; EōS; VōS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; Ōs 1960; 1976; 1999; Ekss).


c. Est. tuhkur is first recorded in Hornung (1693, 60): Tuhkur/Aschfarbig/de equo, alias etiam animal quoddam sic appellatur, G. Tuhkru/Acc.sing. Tuhkru/Acc.pl. Tuhkur. Similarly, in the second (1818) edition of his grammar HupeL had subsumed under tuhkur various meanings, including ‘Itlis, Teufelskind’ and ‘asch- od. mäusefarbig’ and ‘Mehltau’, so

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277 According to Kiparsky (1949, 59) its oldest recording is in Wiedemann 1869.
this can be taken to mean HUPEL thought they were etymologically related, but the first explicit etymology for tuhkur ‘polecat’ is probably that by POTT (1845, 252)\textsuperscript{278}, who derived it from tuhk ‘ash’ (EÖS, VÖS 1933, VÖS 1940 and VÖS 1945 all subsumed tuhkur under tuhk). The same word is also found in Finnish as tuhkuri ‘European mink’, and it seems that at the same time in 1893 both NIKOLAI ANDERSON (1893, 241b) and J.J. MIKKOLA (1894, 174-175)\textsuperscript{279} suggested the same Russian etymology for it: Fi. tuhkuri ‘Nörz, Sumpfotter, Mustela lutreola’/Est. tuhkur ‘Ilitis’ is possibly a loan from ORuss. \textit{dšchorš}. However, resiling from his earlier viewpoint, in the second edition of his loanword-work MIKKOLA (1938, 94-95) claims that Fi. tuhkuri/Est. tuhkur is a derivation from Fi. tuhka, Est. tuhk ‘ash’, thus reflecting the colour of the animal. Both these etymologies\textsuperscript{280} are likely, and it was not until 1949 that KIPARSKY (1949, 58-68), pointing out the fact that polecat furs are not grey but coffee-brown, dark-brown or black, showed that Russian origin is probably the right one. Still, MÄGISTE (1962, 54; EEW XI, 3324), though mentioning the Russian etymology first, does not give up the alternative derivation in -\textit{uri} from tuhk ‘ash’.

Est. \textit{toatuhkkur} ‘eine graue Motte’ (WIEDERMANN 1893) is a calque from Russ. \textit{хорь ‘тля, моль платяная’} (DAL. IV, 561a), as MIKKOLA (1894, 175) already showed.

Liv. Salis \textit{dukir} ‘Ilitis’ (WIEDERMANN 1861, 14b; LW 42a) is probably a loan from Latv. \textit{dukurs} \textasciitilde \textit{dukuris} ‘Ilitis’ (cf. SUHONEN 1973, 105a), though this, seen its distribution (only in the northwest of Vidzeme; cf. BUŠMANE - LAUMANE 1999, 81b-82ab, map nr. 27), is itself in turn most likely an Estonian loanword, as first suggested by KIPARSKY (1949, 65), and not directly from ORuss. \textit{dšchorš}, as ENDZELINS (ME I, 512b) thinks. BG \textit{ducker} ‘Ilitis’ is a loan from Latv. \textit{dukurs} (KIPARSKY 1936, 82).

Est. \textit{töhk} ‘polecat’ has been thought to be a short form of \textit{tuhkkur} (KIPARSKY 1949, 68), but a change \textit{u} \textasciitilde \textit{o} is rare indeed (cf. TAULI 1956, 100, who cites only one example: \textit{mödu} \textasciitilde \textit{muidu} ‘otherwise’). MÄGISTE (EEW XI, 3398) also sees this as likely, though suggests that it can also be related to Fi. dial. \textit{tuhko} ‘bungler, fool; decayed, rotten (tree, cloth) (SSA III, 302ab)’. This is in fact more plausible, as \textit{töhk} could be derived from the Estonian cognate \textit{tohknema} ‘to rot, to decay’ (VMS II, 517b). Fi. \textit{lahokas} ‘polecat’ \textasciitilde \textit{lahota} ‘to rot, to decay’ \textasciitilde \textit{laho} ‘decayed, rotten’, Lat. \textit{putorius} ‘polecat’ \textasciitilde \textit{putere} ‘to smell rotten’ could serve as semantic parallels (cf. KIPARSKY 1949, 67-68). Vacillations between \textit{o} and \textit{ö} are common in Estonian dialects:

\textsuperscript{278} ARISTE (1940b, 18) points this out in his work on the Roma of Laiuse.

\textsuperscript{279} A preliminary version of MIKKOLA’s work appeared in 1893 as a university thesis. It is not known if ANDERSON and MIKKOLA had access to each other’s work.

\textsuperscript{280} KIPARSKY (1949) mentions two other unlikely etymologies.
**tohknema** is recorded mostly in the northeast (cf. VMS II, 517b), in the northern part of which Å does not occur (cf. PAJUSALU 2002, 155-156).

d. POTT 1845, 252; ANDERSON 1893, 241b; MIKKOLA 1894, 40, 68, 174-175; MIKKOLA 1938, 94-95; KIPARSKY 1949, 58-68; KALIMA 1952, 69, 173-174; 1956, 54, 132; MÂGISTE 1962, 12, 54; RAUN 1982; EEW X, 3323-3324; SAAGPAKK 1982; MUST 2000, 42.

a. **tulk.** Cf. **talk.**

a. **tulp** ‘a strong post rammed into the ground; a vertical row of numbers or words’ (GÖSEKEN 1660, 380; WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÓS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. ORuss. **stýlbë ~ stýlpë** ‘Säule, Pfeiler’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 18).

c. Recorded as South Estonian in ROSSIHNIUS (1632, 384).

Generally thought to be a loan from Russian (AHRENS 1853, 260), but Baltic (WESKE 1890, 244-245; SAARESTE 1924, 191-192; KALIMA 1952, 174) and Latvian (SAARESTE 1924, 191-192; EEW X, 3351; SSA III, 307b-308a) origin has also been suggested. Latvian origin is unlikely; VABA does not mention it in his 1977 and 1997 monographs on Latvian loanwords in Estonian.

WESKE (1890, 244-245) suggest that for example the Finns and the Livonians might have borrowed it from Russian, whilst the Estonians from ‘Lithuanian’ (= Baltic), but still thinks Russian is more likely for all three. As ENDZELINS (ME III, 1103a) thinks Latv. **stulbs** ‘Pfosten’ is a loan from ORuss. **stýlbë** anyway we tend to agree with WESKE and assume **tulp** is a loan from Russian.

d. AHRENS 1853, 260; WESKE 1890, 244-245; SAARESTE 1924, 191-192; KALIMA 1952, 8, 37, 174, 197; 1956, 6, 29, 133, 151; ARISTE 1958, 27, 32; MÂGISTE 1962, 12, 23-24, 29, 59, 60; ARISTE 1981, 94; RAUN 1982; EEW X, 3351.

a. **tulup** ‘formerly, a peasants’ wide fur travel overcoat’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; ÓS 1976; 1999; EKSS).

c. Also recorded in Baltic German: *Tolubbe, Tatlubbe* ‘Schafpelz’, where it is probably a loan from Pol. *tolub* ‘gefütterter Oberrock’ (HUPEL 1795, 236, 239, 242; KIPARSKY 1936, 140).

d. WIEDEMANN 1893; EEW X, 3351; MUST 2000, 442.

a. **tumba** ‘a headstone similar to sarcophagus (mostly in churches); a small soft backless seat’ (VÖS 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. тumba ‘curbstone, post; pedestal; advertisement hoarding (of cylindrical shape); (fig. joc.; of a person) lump’. Probably from G. *Tumbe < Lat. tumba < Gr. τύμβος* (REW III, 152).

c. -

d. EEW X, 3352.

a. **tundra** *(geog.*) area north of the forest zone with poor vegetation* (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. -

d. EEW X, 3358.

a. **tupik** ‘one-way road; dead end, blind alley’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. тупик ‘blind alley, cul-de-sac; (rail.) siding; (fig.) impasse, deadlock’ < тупой ‘blunt’ (cf. DAL IV, 443a) < Common Slavic (REW III, 153).

c. The name *Tuppitza Jürri*, recorded in 1744 in Karksi, probably derives from Russ. тупица ‘глупыш, тупоголовый, глупый’, also derived from тупой ‘blunt’ (PALL 1970, 165).

d. -

a. *turak ~ turakas* ‘fool, idiot; a card game; loser in a card game’ (HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. дура́к ‘(hist.) jester, fool; fool, ass’ < ду́рь ‘Torheit’ (REW I, 382).

c. WIEDEMANN (1876, 297-298) writes: ‘Jeder Spieler hat fünf Karten, die übrigen bleiben liegen mite in Aufschlagkarte als Trumpf; jeder spielt dem nächsten eine einzelne Karte aus oder ein oder zwei Paar gleiche nebst einer Beigabekarte, wer das Ausgespielte stechen kann, spielt dann eben so dem folgenden aus, wer nicht Alles stechen kann, nimmt das Uebrige auf, und der folgende spielt weiter aus; die Stiche würden weg geworfen, und wer nach dem
Ausspielen weniger als fünf Karten in der Hand behält, ergänzt die Zahl aus dem liegen gebliebenen Haufen’.

Also recorded in Baltic German: Durak ‘Narr, Hahnrei; ein Kartenspiel, sog. “Schafskopf”’ (HUPEL 1795, 54; KIPARSKY 1936, 153).

d. WIEDEMANN 1869; RAUN - SAAREST 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW X, 3363; SSA III, 333; MUST 2000, 442-3.

a. turell ‘(mil) mounting, which enables a machine gun or automatic cannon to be moved horizontally or vertically (on tanks, planes and warships)’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. турель ‘(mil) (gun-)turret; ring mount(ing)’ < Fr. tourelle (SSRLJA 15, 1149).

c. -

d. -

a. turg ‘market place with tables (usually open-air, now also a building); such a commercial enterprise; (econ.) a system of buying and selling transactions, supply and demand (of products, services, shares, etc.); marketing district’ (MÜLLER 1600; STAHL 1637, 89; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 261a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. ORuss. тургь ‘Markt’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 123).

c. In the 18th century and in the first half of the 19th it was generally believed that Fi. turku ‘market’, Turku (placename) and tori were loans from Swedish (cf. SSA III, 335a); KETTUNEN (1960, 236) suggests Fi. Turku may have been borrowed via Estonian.

Russian origin for Est. turg was first suggested by AHRENS in his 1843 Estonian grammar.

Also recorded in Baltic German (where it is a much younger loan): Torg ‘(Russ.) bedeutet überhaupt zwar den Handel, wird aber hier nur für ein öffentliches Ausbieten entweder zum Meistbote, oder für den niedrigsten Preis, gebraucht. Zuweilen hört man dafür Peretorg’ (HUPEL 1795, 239).

d. AHRENS 1843, 130; WESKE 1890, 221-223; MIKKOLA 1894, 170-171; 1938, 22, 80; KALIMA 1952, 36, 174-175; 1956, 29, 133; MAGISTE 1962, 24 , 29; ARISTE 1981, 94; RAUN 1982; EEW X, 3366; SSA III, 335a.

a. tusk ‘vexation, displeasure, bad mood, distress; short (hot) period’ (VESTRING 1740, 261a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. ORuss. *tska* ‘Kummer, Gram; Unruhe, Aufregung’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 128).

c. PODHORSZKY (1874, 292a) noted *tusk* ‘Bangigkeit’ as ‘Slavic’. MIKKOLA (1938, 95-96) assumes that Fi. *tska* and its Finnic cognates are not Russian loans but derivations in -ska of an unknown root. MIKKOLA’s etymology was not accepted, and the Russian etymology is sure.


a. *tušerka* ~ *tužurka*  ‘a (kind of) double-breasted jacket’ (ÕS 1960; 1976; EKSS ms.).

b. Russ. тужурка ‘короткая верхняя одежда, куртка или повседневного употребления (обычно двубортная)’ < Fr. *toujours* (SSRLJA 15, 1107a).

c. As *tužurka* in ÔS 1960 and 1976. Est. *tušerka* ‘jacket’ is not found in the printed volume (vol. 6, 3rd fascicule) of EKSS, but it was still registered in the manuscript version.  

281

d. EEW X, 3381; MUST 2000, 444.

a. *tutki* ~ *tutkit* ‘(coll.) in a situation which develops contrary to expectations) not on your life!’ (ÕS 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. дудка ‘(coll) not if I know it!; not on your life!’’. Probably from дудка ‘pipe, fife’ < дуда ‘id.’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 378-379).

c. -

d. MUST 2000, 444.

a. *tuts* ‘(tech.) pipe flange with an external screw thread to connect pipes or hoses; a short connector pipe with an external screw thread in a pressure vessel or kettle unit’ (ÕS 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. штуцер ‘carbine; (tech.) connecting pipe’ < G. *Stutzer* (REW III, 433).

c. Also borrowed from G. *Stutzer* as *tutser* ‘Stutzer, Büchse mit grob gereiftem Lauf’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).

d. -

a. *tuts* ‘(obs.) a bit’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÕS; VÕS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; ÔS 1960; EKSS).

281 MARGIT LANGEMETS at the Institute of the Estonian Language kindly allowed me to peruse the EKSS manuscript.

420
b. Russ. чуть *(coll)* hardly, scarcely, just; (just) a little, very slightly, as soon as’ < ORuss. čuti*merken, fühlen* < Common Slavic (REW III, 359-360, 361).

c. Cf. suts.

d. -

a. tuur ‘Caucasian mountain goat’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. тип *(zool)* aurochs; Caucasian goat *(Capra caucasia)* < Common Slavic (REW III, 154).

c. -

d. EEW XI, 3392.

a. tuus ‘ace; *(fig)* important person, bigwig; *(coll)* great, cool’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. тыз *(cards) ace; *(coll)* bigwig, big pot, big shot’ < Pol. tuz < MHG tüs, düs < (South)Fr. daus < Lat. duōs (REW III, 148).

c. -


a. tuuselda*ma* ‘to shake, to ruffle; to beat, to punch; to be busy, to fuss; to rage; to rummage’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. тужиться *(coll)* to make an effort’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 148).

c. In older Estonian tuuselda*ma* (also recorded as tuusima) also has the meaning ‘zaubern, hexen’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893), and agent forms such as tuusija *(in Estonian folk belief) a witch, a sorcerer* (WIEDEMANN 1893; EKSS) and tuuslar ‘witch’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960) are both derivations. Of these tuuslar is generally thought to be a neologism created by F.R. KREUTZWALD (cf. ALVRE 1980, 30).

LAUGASTE (1937, 18) assumed tuusija was a derivation from the Finnic verb *tunte* ‘to know’. Such denazalisation could be possible, but the existence of forms like Fi. tuusia ~ tusia ‘to take care’ and its Karelian *(tuušie ~ tuužie)* and Veps *(tužida ~ tužda)* cognates, which can hardly be separated from the Estonian word and where such denasalization cannot have taken place, show that the Estonian word is probably not related to tundma ‘to know’ (< *tunte*). SKES (V, 1443) derives the northern Finnic words from Russ. тужить ‘to grieve for’, but does not mention the Estonian word. DONNER (1874, 124) had already recognized
Fi. *tuusia* and Est. *tuusima* to be cognate, but erroneously assumed them to be related to Mari *tušman* (= тухман) ‘witch’, which is in fact a loan from Chuvash (RÄSNEN 1923, 75).
It is only in 1980 that ALVRE (1980, 629) connects the Russian etymology to Est. *tuuseldama*, but specifies that it is probably borrowed from Russ. т útilьять ‘to make an effort’, and not from т úжить.
BG *tuseln* ’zausen’ is probably a loan from Est. *tuuseldama* (KIPARSKY 1936, 73).
d. DONNER 1874, 124; LAUGASTE 1937, 18; ALVRE 1980, 33; RAUN 1982; EEW XI, 3392-3393.


a. *tättä* ‘(*kd) Vater’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
c. Recorded as South Estonian in HUPEL 1818.
d. EEW XI, 3464; MUST 2000, 447.

a. *tõkat* ‘tar from the bark of deciduous trees, a darkbrown to black oily liquid with a particular smell’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. The Russian origin of Est. *tegat ~ tõkat* ‘Birkentheer’ was already recognized by HUPEL (1818, 243a). Est. *tegat* is a older variant recorded in HUPEL 1818 and WIEDEMANN 1893, and its vocalism caused MIKKOLA (1894, 111) and SSA (III, 360b) to assume Latvian origin/influence (cf. Latv. *deguts* ‘tar’). However, as HUPEL records tegat as a North Estonian word this is unlikely, and they are simply variants of *tõkat*.
EstS *tāudas, tāudes, tāudus* ‘Döggut’ (HUPEL 1780; 1818) is an older loan from Latv. *degutas* (OJANSUU 1921, 38; KALIMA 1936, 252; VABA 1977, 107; 1997, 233).
BG *Deggut* ‘Birkentheer’ is borrowed from Latv. *deguts* ‘id.’; *Deggot* and *Döggut* are borrowed from either Russ. дёготь or Est. *tõgat* (KIPARSKY 1936, 82).
d. HUPEL 1818, 243a; MIKKOLA 1894, 111; OJANSUU 1921, 38; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW XI, 3467; MUST 2000, 448.

a. *tüebeteika* ‘a round or pointy embroidered cap, which covers the top of the head (mostly in Central Asia)’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. тюбетейка *tyubeteyka* (*embroidered skull-cap worn in Central Asia*) < Tat. тубатай *id* (REW III, 163).

c. -

d. -


c. -

d. EEW XI, 3488.

a. тюрм *prison; imprisonment* (EKÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Recorded dialectally as South Estonian in WIEDEMANN 1893.

d. AHLQVIST 1875, 183; MIKKOLA 1894, 171; KALIMA 1952, 177; 1956, 135; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW XI, 3500; MUST 2000, 449.

a. тусе *big, fat, plump, stout; thick; weighty, important, comprehensive, thorough; grainy (of soil)* (VESTRING 1740, 259a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. ду́жий ‘sturdy, hefty, robust’ ~ ду́жий ‘dužij; сильный, крепкий, о человек, о ветре нпр’ (DAL I, 500a). Probably an ablaut form of -дуг ‘strong’; cf. Lith. daug ‘viel’ (REW I, 386)

c. SAARESTE (1925, 446), in unclear wording, seems to suggest that EstS туд’Зеве ‘tuse’ is a Russian loan. SKES (V, 1461b) compares Fi. tysevá ‘robust, firm; solid; stiff’ to Est. тусе, but

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282 Ka Ojansuu ulestähenduse edzä puudumist ei pea allakirjutanu sugugi tähtsaks ja seda dz-list ilmset sekundaarsust eL-s suuremal osal juhtumustest (millega sugugi ei ole kindlalt eitatud, et see vahest teatavais sõnades kajastab ka vanu suhtedid): (Sangaste) tsirēl, tisask, tsādē (ka Valga teatri nimetusena), mujal tud’Zeve ‘tuse’ (vrd. v. dužij), mad’Zū ‘musu, suudlus’, tudži g. tOdzí ‘toos’, hūdzi jne.’ (*The fact that Ojansuu’s recording edzä is missing the undersigned does not deem important at all, neither the obvious recency of such dz-forms in most cases in South Estonian (with which it is not denied, that at least in some cases this can also*

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423
SSA no longer mentions it, probably because Fi. tysevā is too obscure a dialect word. If (and only if) these two are not cognates there is no reason not to accept Russian origin for Est. tüse, but EstS tüD‘zeve and Fi. tysevā are probably related.

Recorded by WIEDEMANN 1893 as South Estonian.

d. SAARESTE 1925, 446; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; SKES V, 1461b; EEW XI, 3503-4; SAAGPAKK 1982.

a. udell ‘independent principality in medieval Russia’ (EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).

b. Russ. удель ‘lot, destiny; (hist.) appanage principality (in Kievan Russia); (hist.) crown domain, crown landed property’ < prefix у- + деЛ ‘part’ < дели́ть ‘to divide’.

c. -

d. EEW XI, 3516.

a. ugurits. Cf. uurits.


c. 1999 prefers uhka to uhhaa, but EKSS only mentions uhhaa.

d. Must 1956, 130; EEW XI, 3522; Must 2000, 450.

a. uhtinal ‘juchei’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).

b. Russ. yx ‘oh wheh’ < onomatopoeic (REW III, 195) + ти + -на.

c. According to MÄGISTE (EEW XI, 3529) from Russ. ух(ти); if it is a South Estonian word (WIEDEMANN does not mention where it is recorded) -на is then maybe borrowed from such EstS adverbs as kohegina ‘irgendwohin’.

DAL’ (IV, 524a) records юхать ‘гремко и отрывисто кричать, нпр. для дружной работы с нагалу, морс. трёкать’; cf. also юхала ‘кто кричит ух, в дружных работах’(DAL’ IV, 524a).

d. EEW XI, 3529.

reflect older relations): (Sangaste) tsirēl, tisask, tsidē (also as the name of the theatre in Valga), elsewhere tüD‘zeve ‘plump’ (cf. Russ. дюжий), müD‘zù ‘kiss’, tüDžìg, tüDžì ‘box’, hūDžì etc…”.)
a. **ukaas** ‘edict of the Russian president, (hist.) edict of the Tsar’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. указ ‘decree, edict, ukase’ < указать ‘to show, indicate’ < prefix у- + казать ‘to show’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 503).

c. Oddly ANDRESEN (1985, 89), in a book on the history of Estonian schools published in 1985, deems it necessary to define it in a (puristic?) footnote as *Tsaari seadusandlik akt ehk korraldus* (‘A legislative act or ruling of the tsar’).

WIEDEMANN’s *ukaas* shows that the stress was already moving to the first syllable. Already recorded in 1825 in MASIING’s *Marahwa Nāddala-Leht* (KINGISEPP 1972, 101).

Also recorded in Baltic German: *Ukase* ‘(kaiserlicher) Befehl’ (HUPEL 1795, 244; KIPARSKY 1936, 188).

d. EEW XI, 3541; SSA III, 369a; MUST 2000, 451.

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a. **ukraadina** *(coll)* hide-and-seek (EKSS).

b. Russ. *укра́дина*.

c. Probably borrowed from a derivation of укра́ться ‘to cover, to seek shelter’; possibly from укра́сть ‘to steal’; cf. укра́дкой ‘stealthily, furtively, by stealth’ (DAE IV, 448b, 485b).

d. -

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a. **ula**. Cf. 8.1.

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a. **ulaan** *(hist., mil)* cavalryman, whose main weapons were a lance and a sword, from the middle of the 19th c. a pistol and a carbine’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Est. *ulan* ‘Ulan’ in WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893) is recorded as a new word, and is probably a German loanword. Est. *ulaan* may also be borrowed from German.

d. EEW XI, 3545.

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a. **uluss** ‘settlement or encampment of a nomadic Siberian people; district or region; federation of Mongol and Turkic nomads and the area inhabited by them’ (ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. улuye ‘ulus (settlement or nomad camp in some parts of Siberia; administrative division of former Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, etc.)’ < ORuss. ulусь < Turk., Azer. ulus ‘Volk’ (REW III, 183; ŚiPOVA 1976, 346).

c. -

d. -

a. und ‘(fish.) branched fish-hook with live bait’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÓS; EÓS; VÓS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

It was WESKE (1890, 159) who first showed that Est. und ‘fish-hook’ and Liv. ̄unda ‘id.’ (with secondary lengthening; cf. LW xxii) are loans from Russian, where they must have been borrowed from an Old Russian form with a nasal. It is thus one of the few words in Finnic (cf. KALIMA 1952, 54-59) where the Old Russian nasal has been preserved.

KALIMA (1950, 64) suggests that the nasal *q developed via *y to u, whilst according to KIPARSKY (1963, 153) the development was from nasal *q via *o to u.

BRÜCKNER (1877, 149, 188) had shown that Latv. ̄ūda284 ‘Angelhaken’ and Lith. ūda ‘Angelschnur’ are also loans from Russian, but these must be later loans, as there is no trace of a nasal. The nasal in Latv. dial. (Peterskapelle) undes ‘lange mit angelhaken besetzte stricke’ thus prompted THOMSEN (1890, 82)285 to derive it from either Russian directly or from Estonian; MIKKOLA (1894, 172) also assumes it is borrowed from Estonian, as

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283 Cf. ANNUS 2000, 115.
284 MIKKOLA (1938, 81) thinks Latv. ̄ūda is an odd form; he expected a *uodā, because it is not, he suggests Latv. ūda is a loan from Livonian. In Latvian Russian loans with an original nasal [ǭ] show up with either [uо] or [υ], depending on their age where [uо] is older; forms with nasals are not found as they would also have been denasalized later in Latvian (cf. STANG 1966, 86). MIKKOLA obviously thought Latv. ūda was such an old loan from Livonian that it took part in the denasalisation and therefore should have been *uòda, but it seems that Latv. ūda is simply a more recent loan directly from Russian, as is Lith. ūdas ~ ūda ‘Aalschnur’ (cf. KIPARSKY 1948, 35-38; LEW II, 1157b).

285 ME was of course not THOMSEN’s source.
Peterskapelle is supposedly not far from the Estonian (linguistic) border (‘nicht weit von der est. sprachgrenze’). MÜHLENBACH and ENDZELIN (ME IV, 229a) record the following: ‘unda (Peterskapelle)\(^{286}\) Bielenstein Holzb. 456, undas (Salis, Sussikas), undes (Peterskapele n. U) undi (Salis), lange Leinen mit 100 od. mehr daran befestigten Angelhaken (Vorrichtung zum Fischen) Bielenstein Holzb.656. Wohl aus liv. āda (sic!) rsp. estn. und‘Angel’, Thomsen 1890, 82.’ More likely, seeing its recording in Salis, is a loan from Salis Livonian; though it has not been recorded as such in Salis Livonian, the meagre documentation of this extinct dialect cannot but give a sketchy picture of its lexicon. However, āndig ‘Joch’ (WIEDEMANN 1861, 123a) is thought by KETTUNEN (LW 461a) to be a derivation of ānda, and thus its one-time existence in Salis Livonian may be proven. The word recorded in Peterskapelle (Latv. Pēterupe) is probably also from Salis Livonian, as Peterskapelle, though indeed not so far from the Estonian border, is actually in the former Salis Livonian area.

d. WESKE 1890, 159; THOMSEN 1890, 82; MIKKOLA 1894, 171-172; 1938, 81; KIPARSKY 1948, 36, 45; KALIMA 1950, 64; 1952, 177; KIPARSKY 1952, 71; 1956, 76, 79, 81; KALIMA 1956, 11, 43-44, 135, 146, 150; KIPARSKY 1958, 131, 133, 134; ARiste 1958, 26; MĀGISTE 1962, 24, 29; RAUN 1982; EEW XI, 3555.


c. -
d. -


a. urjadnik ‘(hist.) village constable in Tsarist times; Cossack non-commissioned officer’ (EŌS; VŌS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; ŌS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. урядник ‘(hist.) Cossack non-commissioned officer in tsarist Russ. army; village constable’ < уряд ‘rule; customs; rank’ < prefix у- + ряд ‘row; line’ (REW III, 189).

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\(^{286}\) VASMER (REW III, 173) writes that Latv. unda, Est. und and Liv. ānda are loans from Russian, but Latv. unda has been borrowed via Finnic.
c. Sometimes written as urjäädni (e.g. Jansen - Ruutsoo 1999, 547a). In AADU HINT’s 1951 edition of the novel Tuuline rand (‘The Windswept Shore’) the spelling urjadni is used; in the 1975 edition urjäädni.

d. SAARESTE 1957, 458, 462, 472, 484; ARISTE 1962, 555; EEW XI, 3574; MUST 2000, 452.

b. Russ. ypiók ‘(collect.) dried apricots’ < Turkic; cf. Tat. örók (Răsănen 1969, 34b).
c. -  
d. EEW XI, 3574


a. uss ‘snake’ (Stahl 1637, 108; Gõseken 1660, 359, 485; Thor Helle 1732; Vestring 1740, 270b; HupeL 1780; 1818; Wiedemann 1869; 1893; EKõs; Œos; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ŒS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. ORuss. užb ‘snake; adder’ (> Russ. yž ‘grass-snake’) < Common Slavic (REW III, 175).
c. There are two competing etymologies for Est. uss and its cognates (Veps. už ‘snake’, ?Kar. huša – huza ‘cord, thick rope; snake’; cf. KKS I, 348ab). MÁGISTE (1949, 213-216; 1962, 57; EEW XI, 3581) assumes it derives from an onomatopoeic verb usšema ‘zischen, sausen; klagen, schelten’ (Wiedemann 1893); Mikkola (1894, 172), Issatschenko (1980, 39), Kalima (1952, 58) and Kiparsky (1965, 433) prefer a loan etymology and derive it from ORuss. užb ‘snake; adder’.

There are some other problematic forms in Finnic: Veps. jono (jœsa-) ‘schlange’ looks like a loan from the same Russian word, but in this case it can only have been borrowed from a ORuss. *joež, according to Mikkola (1894, 172), but such a form is unlikely to have existed. Perhaps it was borrowed from an ORuss. *ož with a prothetic j- (though a prothetic j- does not occur in Veps in other words to our knowledge). Liv. ūška (w), ūška (o) ‘Schlange’, Liv. (Salsi) ūšk, ūski ‘Schlange, Wurm’ (Wiedemann 1861, 121c; LW; LRU IV, 95) and EstS huisk ‘snake’ go back to a Finnic *huiska ‘snake’; this might be related to Est. huisk ‘Fährboot, Prahme, Jacht; Schneeschuh, Schlittschuh’ (Wiedemann 1893); it is also found in Old Finnish (vesko, wiško, visko, viško; cf. SKES V, 1521) as the term for a type of boat (and has been borrowed from Finnic into Russian as yuškǐ ‘Art Flüßboot’; REW III, 198). MÁGISTE (EEW XI, 3537-3538) tentatively suggests that SKES’ (V, 1521-1522) rejection of a connection between ‘snake’ and ‘boat’ might be unwarranted if we assume that such boats
may have been decorated with snake figures like Viking boats (cf. too GEV I, 341). VMS (II, 600a) shows that the distribution of *uisk ‘boat’ and *uisk ‘snake’ is very unequal: *uisk ‘boat’ occurs practically only on the islands of Saaremaa (Jäm Ans Khk Mus Krj Pha Vll Pöi), Muhu (Muh) and Hiiumaa (Rei) and on the coast (Mar Kse Han Hää), with one recording inland (Tor), whilst *uisk ‘snake’ is only recorded inland in south-central Estonia near the Latvian border (Trv Pst Hls Krk Hel). If they are related then they obviously diverged in meaning: the *uisk may originally have been a sea-faring vessel (Est. *uisk ‘skate’ may be related too, as it was formerly used as a method of transport over ice; cf. EEW XI, 3537), though later it was also used inland (cf. WIEDEMANN’s entry and the Russian loan). As such this word family probably has nothing to do with Est. *uss and its cognates, though there may have been some contamination.

Remains the question of the origin of *uss; we concur with KIPARSKY (1965, 433), who, whilst admitting that derivation from a descriptive *ussisema could be possible, thinks it unlikely on the grounds that the snake, an animal often worshipped (e.g. still in the 1950s by the Lithuanians of Byelorussia), was probably not disrespectfully named ‘the hisser’. Additionally its presence in the eastern border of Finnic, i.e. in Estonian and Veps, reinforces the premise of Russian origin.


a. *ussad ‘Schnurbart (russ.)’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).

b. Russ. ycá ‘moustache’ (pl. of yc ‘moustache hair’) < ORuss. usz ‘id.’ (REW III, 189-190).
c. From the same source is Est. dial. (Peipsi) *uss, ussa- ‘Officier’ (WIEDEMANN 1893) and (EstS) üs pl. üsa- ‘Schnurrbart’ (WIEDEMANN 1893). From Russian this word has also been borrowed into Ingrian: *usat, *ussit ‘moustache’ (IS 1971, 626b, 627b) and Votic: üsat ‘Knebelbart, Barthaar’ (MIKKOLA 1894, 48).

Also occurs dialectally (cf. MUST 2000, 454); in Leivu through mediation of Latvian (VABA 1977, 207; 1997, 393).

Est. *vunts ‘moustache’287 (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÕS; VÕS 1933; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÔS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) is probably a loan from BG Wunzen ‘Schnurrbart’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 135), where it is loan from Pol. *was ‘beard’, possibly borrowed via the East.

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287 Est. (pl.) vuntsid also ‘older soldier’ in interbellum Estonian military slang (HERMLIN 1929, 92).
Prussian dialect of German (cf. East Prussian G. *Wunzen, Wonzen* ‘Schnurrbart, Barthaare bei Tieren, z.B. bei der Katze’; FRISCHBIER 1882/II, 482b; cf. also RIEMANN - GOLTZ 1974/6, 770b). ARISTE (1986, 44), however, thinks it is a direct loan from Polish in the 16th/17th century when parts of southern Estonia were under Polish rule. There is, however, nothing specifically South Estonian about this word (cf. VMS II, 703a). ARISTE also assumes that BG *Wunzen* is a loan from either Polish or Estonian.

MANNINEN (1927, 118) writes that it was unusual for Estonian men to have a moustache. Beards were common, but often the upper lip was shaved. According to tradition having a moustache may even have been forbidden by the lord of the manor (Audru, western Estonia), and only soldiers and crown forest-keepers were allowed to have a moustache (Puhja, Tõstamaa, western Estonia).

Liv. *uńtsős* ‘Schnurrbart’ is probably a loan from Latv. dial. (Dondaga) *unts* ‘id.’ (LW 453b), itself probably borrowed from Baltic German.289
d. WIEDEMANN 1893; EEW XI, 3581; XII, 3928; VABA 1977, 207; ARISTE 1986, 37-45; VABA 1997, 393; MUST 2000, 454.

a. *ussitama* ‘anstiften, antreiben, in den Ohren liegen, hetzen’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).
b. Russ. усь ‘Scheuchruf für Hunde, Schweine’; юськать ‘(*hunting and fig., coll.*) to set on’ < onomatopoeic (REW III, 192).
c. According to SSA (III, 378a) *ussitada*, which has cognates in Finnish (*usuttaa* ‘to sic’), Karelian (*usattoa ~ usattoa* ‘id.’), Lude (*uššutta* ‘id.’, *ušittada* ‘id.’ *uš ‘rami’) and Veps (*ušitada* ‘id.’) are onomatopoeic, though Russian origin has been suggested for them (first by KALIMA 1911, 161 for Fi. *usuttaa*). It also suggests that the Finnish and Russian words may be separate onomatopoeic words.

SSA does not show that Est. *ussitada* has palatalized *ss* (*üssitada* in WIEDEMANN). We assume the Estonian word is definitely a loan from Russian, and the North Finnic words

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288 ANDERSON (1893, 150b, footnote 201), when making the implausible and unacceptable suggestion that Est. *uśśid* ‘snakes’ is a jocular parallel form of *uśśad* ‘moustache’, also seems to imply that BG *Wunzen* ‘Schnurrbart’ is a loan from Pol. *wąsy* ‘id.’; ARISTE seems not to have been aware of ANDERSON’s comment.

probably too. To use words from another language when speaking to animals is not unusual (cf. ARISTE 1968).
d. SSA III, 378a.

b. Russ. усёва ‘regulations, rules, statutes; (*mil.*) service regulations; (*monastic*) rule’ < уставить ‘to set, arrange’ < ставить ‘to place’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 1-2).
c. -
d. WIEDEMANN 1893.

b. Russ. утиль ‘(*collect.*) salvage, utility waste (*metal scrap, waste paper, etc.*)’ < Lat. *utilis* (SSRLJA 16, 1042).
c. -
d. EEW XI, 3583.

a. **utsin** ‘teaching; training; thrashing, beating’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. учёние ‘learning, studies, apprenticeship; teaching, instruction; (*mil.*) exercise, training; teaching, doctrine’ < deverbal derivation of учить, cf. below.
c. The variants *utseni – utsenja* ‘Exercitium (*Russ.*)’ occur in WIEDEMANN (1893)
d. WIEDEMANN 1893; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW XI, 3584-3585; MUST 2000, 453.

a. **utsitama** ‘to teach; to force’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. учить ‘to teach; to be a teacher; (*of a theory, etc.*) to teach (that), say (that); to learn, to memorize’ < Common Slavic (REW III, 197).
c. Already recognized as a Russian loan in 1817 by KNÜPFER (1817, 126).
d. KNÜPFER 1817, 126; WIEDEMANN 1893; MUST 1956, 130; EEW XI, 3585; MUST 2000, 453-454.
a. uulits ‘street’ (MÜLLER 1600; STAHL 1637, 118; GÖSEKEN 1660, 201, 400; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 268a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. First noted as a loan from Russian by HUPEL (1818, 264b).

Est. uulits, first registered in MÜLLER 1600, was in common use for some 300 years before it went out of use in the 1920s. AAVIK (1922) and KETTUNEN (1922) polemicized against each other in the journal Eesti Kirjandus (‘Estonian Literature’) on the pros and cons of uulits. AAVIK claimed that uulits ‘sounds more beautiful and sonorous’ than tänav (the common word nowadays) and that was not necessary to evict it from the Estonian lexicon simply because it was of Russian origin, an old loan like aken ‘window’, raamat ‘book’, saabas ‘boot’ and the like. Additionally most linguists were said to be for uulits, and was that not also a powerful argument? KETTUNEN rejoined by stating uulits in fact did sound very Russian, and that there was no reason not to prefer tänav. Moreover, KETTUNEN humiliated AAVIK by pointing out that uulits was not a loan from Old Russian like aken etc., and that the linguists enumerated by AAVIK had not made their points of view about the merits of uulits public in any way (except that prof. JULIUS MARK in his translation of the Hungarian novel Pál utca fiái had translated the title as ‘Pál tänava poisid’ [The Pál street boys]). AAVIK had his revenge, for in the 1968 Bible290 translation he replaced tänav with uulits (cf. PAUL 1999, 22). uulits occurs in the 1739 Bible (e.g. Matthew 6:2: ulitsatte), but is later replaced with tänav. Cf. also SAARESTE 1922a, who, in an unsuccessful attempt to satisfy both warring parties, suggests replacing both uulits and tänav with the north-east Estonian dialect word kujja ‘street’.

Est. uul ‘street (in town)’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945) is not recorded before 1933, and thus it is unlikely to be a loan from ORuss. ula. It is probably a back-formation from uulits, possibly a new creation where the Russian-sounding ending -its was elided on purpose. The Russian etymology for Fi. uula ‘channel’ is also rejected by SSA (III, 379ab).

d. HUPEL 1818, 264b; AHRENS 1853, 261; AHLOVIST 1875, 183; AAVIK 1922, 31-32; KETTUNEN 1922, 62-64; JOHANSEN 1951, 48; KALIMA 1952, 178-180; BACHMAN 1959, 260; MÁGISTE 1962, 24; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; ARISTE 1981, 94; RAUN 1982; EEW XI, 3589; SSA III, 379ab.

a. uuragaan ‘Orkan’ (russ.) (WIEDEMANN 1893).

290 Printed in Great Britain (cf. PAUL 1999, 737).
b. Russ. упаран ‘hurricane, (fig) storm’ < Fr. ouragan < Sp. huracan ‘id.’ < Taino (Caribbean) huracan ‘id.’ (REW III, 187).

c. The long vowel in the first syllable shows that the stress had moved to the first syllable, though the original final stressed syllable was still long.

d. WIEDEMANN 1893; EEW XI, 3590.

a. uurits ‘cucumber’ (GÖSEKEN 1660, 222; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 270a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1893) – uguiris ‘id.’ (HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1893).

b. Russ. орүпуй ‘cucumber’ < MGr. ἀγούφος (REW II, 253-254).

c. MOORA (1964, 160) notes how the Estonians must have learned of the cucumber from the Russians. Est. uuritis is already recorded in 1660 (GÖSEKEN); the more common Est. kurk ‘cucumber’, a loan from G. Gurke, does not occur until the 19th century in WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893).

MÄGISTE (1962, 45) claims AHRENS (1843, 170) was the first to suggest the Russian etymology, but in fact HUPEL had already done so in 1818.

Est. uguiris is still used in South Estonian (cf. JUVÄ 2002).

Cf. also agurk ‘Gurke’ (WIEDEMANN 1893), a contamination of Russ. орүпуй [agurec] and G. Gurke ‘cucumber; gherkin’.

d. HUPEL 1818, 259 b; 264 b; AHRENS 1853, 261; AHLOVIST 1875, 41; MÄGISTE 1938, 151; ARISTE 1958, 29, 31, 33; MOORA 1964, 160; EEW XI, 3520; MUST 2000, 450.

a. vaagen ‘dish; basin, bowl; platter; charger; (anat.) pelvis’ (MÜLLER 1600; STAHL 1637, 55; GÖSEKEN 1660, 184, 306, 369; HORNUNG 1693, 14; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 276a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. баран ‘Trog, hölzerne Schüssel’. Occurs in East, West and South Slavic, but its origin is unsure (REW I, 162-163).

c. Usually considered slightly problematic, as the Russian word is typical for the south (cf. DAE I, 159), and its migration to Estonia is difficult to explain. Dialect recordings of ваган ‘корытце, обычно деревянное, для еды или теста’ from Azov, Archangel and Pečory (SRNG 4, 9b) are from the end of the 19th century, and are thus of little value, as the Estonian word is already recorded in MÜLLER 1600. However, it is precisely the Estonian word (for

291 Probably borrowed via the south, as in WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893) it is noted as a South Estonian word.
which TOIVONEN [1925, 284-285] first suggested a Russian etymology) that proves Russ.
бахран must also have existed in the north-west in earlier times.

Additional proof for its existence may be furnished by Latv. vānags ‘eine breite, flache
Schüssel’ (ME IV, 498b), which is probably a metathesical form of *vāgens. LESKIE (1891,
524-525) suggested that Latv. vānags (< *vāgens) is a loan from Estonian, but this proposal
has been unanimously rejected (ME IV, 498b; REW I, 162), and the Latvian word must be a
loan from Slavic: either from Russ. бахран or possibly, like Lith. vogōnas ‘holzerner, runde
Butterbüchse’, from Byel. бахран; cf. SKARDŽIUS 1998, 239; LEW II, 1271a (though MIKKOLA
[1938, 53] and KALIMA [1952, 180] derive Lith. vogōné ‘eine kleine holzerner Butterbüchse’
and OPruss. vogonis ‘Stulpschüssel’ from an unrecorded Polish cognate of Russ. бахран).

Cognates of Est. vaagen are found in Ingrian (vaagana, vaakana ‘large food dish made of
curly-grained birchwood; large cup, bowl’; IS 648b), Votic (vaagan ‘hollowed-out wooden
bowl’) and in Salats Livonian (vägin ‘Schüssel’; WIEDEMANN 1861, 127b; WINKLER 1999,
231), but these are probably all loans from Estonian: SAARESTE (1924, 244) already derives
the Votic and Livonian words from Estonian; NIRVI (IS 648b) compares the Ingrian word to
Est. vaagen and Russ. dial. ваганки, without specifically saying what the direction of
borrowing is.

MordE vakan (= вакан) ‘Gefäss, Schüssel’, often cited in this connection, was thought to be a
cognate of Est. vakk ‘birch bark box’/Fi. vakka ‘id.’ (TOIVONEN 1925, 284-285; MÄGISTE 1938,
149) and not a Russian loan, but if Est. vakk/Fi. vakka is a Baltic loan (SSA III, 395b-396a),
then perhaps MordE vakan has to be considered a loan from Russian (or Ukrainian, as
MÄGISTE tentatively suggests; cf. EEW XI, 3600).

d. SAARESTE 1924, 243-244; TOIVONEN 1925, 284-285; MÄGISTE 1938, 149; KALIMA 1952, 180;
1956, 34, 137, 150; MÄGISTE 1962, 24; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; HINDERLING 1981, 162;
RAUN 1982; EEW XI, 3600.

a. vaal I ‘windrow’ (EÖS; ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. вал ‘куча сена, скатанная граблями из одного ряда или пласта скосенной травы’
(DAI I 162b) < вал ‘Welle, Woge, Meereswoge; Walze’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 165-
166).

292 Metathesical and other variants of Est. vaagen are common in the dialects: cf. vaangas, vaanga-; vaage,
vaagna-; vaagnas, vaagna-; vaanas, ?vaagna-, väänas, vääna- (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; KALIMA 1952, 180),
vaazna (KALLAS 1894, 143).
c. A Latvian etymology (vāla, vale, vāls etc. ‘Heuschwade’; ME IV, 496ab-497a) has been suggested (THOMSEN 1890, 235-236) for EstS vaal ‘Zusammenharken (hain om vaalu pääl ‘das Heu ist zum Zusammenharken fertig’); ein Vier Fuss langes Seitenholz am Netze um es ausgebreitet zu halten’, vaalama ‘(Heu) zusammenharken’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893), but since MÄGISTE (1962, 55) showed that its distribution is mainly confined to eastern Estonia this is unlikely (though the recordings from Saa and Krk on the Latvian border may be loans from Latvian). Its genitive in -u also points to Russian (cf. MÄGISTE 1962, 55).

Recorded dialectically in GUTSLAFF (1648, 237: Schwad/Wål/u) and WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893.

d. THOMSEN 1890, 235-236; MÄGISTE 1962, 55; RAUN 1982; EEW XI, 3602-3603; MUST 2000, 454-455.

a. vaal II ‘hand roller for mangling laundry’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. вал ‘голстое короткое бревно на оси, каток для размельчения комьев земли’ < вал (cf. vaal I ‘windrow’) (REW I, 165-166).

c. First suggested as a Russian loan (from Russ. валок, diminutive of вал) by THOMSEN (1890, 236).

In many dictionaries (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999) only in compounds such as vaalikaigas and vaalikurikas.

d. THOMSEN 1890, 235-236; MUST 2000, 455.

a. vaalik ‘hand roller for mangling laundry’ (EÖS).

b. Russ. валик ‘(tech.) roller, cylinder, spindle, shaft; bolster’ < вал (cf. vaal I) + diminutive suffix -ик.

c. -

d. MUST 2000, 455-456.

a. vaalima ‘to mangle laundry’ (STAHL 1637, 89; THOR HELLE 1732; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. валить ‘to throw down, bring down, send toppling, overthrow; to heap up, pile up’ < вал (cf. vaal ‘windrow’) VASMER subsumes валить under вал (REW I, 165-166).

c. It is unsure whether vaalima is a derivation in Estonian or a loan from Russian. There is often nothing which forces us to choose one or the other. In this case, though, it seems that
the verb was borrowed, as the verb is registered already by STAHL in 1637, whilst the noun makes its first appearance only in 1869.

a. **vaap** ‘enamel; glaze’ (THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 271b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. The earliest recording (of a denominal verb) is in the 1686 WT (Matteusse 23:27: neide errawabatu haudu sahrnatze ‘like unto whitened sepulchres’). AHRENS (1853, 261) suggested Est. **waabama** ‘anstreichen’ (= vaapama) to be a loan from Russ. ванить. MİKKOLA (1894, 94) also mentioned and immediately rejected possible Latvian origin (though in his 1938 work he keeps his options open, as does KALIMA 1952, 180), claiming that in Latvian there is only the verb **väpēt** ‘glasieren, anstreichen; Kalk lösen; behauen (von Pflaumen)’ (ME IV, 499a) and no corresponding substantive. In fact the Latvian verb **väpēt** derives from the noun **vāpa**, **vāpe** ‘Glasur, Email; Farbe; Hauch auf Pflaumen’ (ME IV, 498b); similarly Russ. ванить ‘красить; расписать красками; бетить известкой стены’ (DAŁ I, 164a) and Est. vaapama ‘anstreichen, lackiren, beizen, glasiren’ (WIEDEMANN 1893) are also denominal derivations. Additional evidence against a loan from Latvian according to MİKKOLA was ostensibly the fact that the Estonian verb does not have the meaning ‘Kalk lösen’, though this of course has no weight. As we can see in DAŁ the Russian verb also has this meaning, but this is no reason to discard the Russian etymology for the Estonian word, which was in any case borrowed from the substantive.
d. AHRENS 1853, 261; WESKE 1890, 185; MİKKOLA 1894, 94; 1938, 54; KALIMA 1952, 180; BACHMAN 1956, 13; KALIMA 1956, 137; ARISTE 1958, 26; MÄGISTE 1962, 24; 29; RAUN - SAAREST E 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW XI, 3604-3605.

a. **vaar** ‘curds’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. **вап** ‘pitch, cobbler’s wax; (dial.) boiling water’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 169).
c. The semantic correspondence between the Estonian and Russian words is not as exact as we would like, but there does not seem to be a more likely source. Dialectally Russ. вап and its variants do have many more meanings (cf. вâрка ‘варево, похлебка, всякое жишло
горячее блюдо`; варево, вариво `вареное жидкое кушанье, похлебка, щи, кашица` [DAI I, 165b-166a]; вар `каша из гречневой или ржаной муки; саламата; напиток, кушанье, сваренное за один раз; количество какого-либо питья, сваренного за один раз; количество пищевых продуктов, достаточное для одной варки; мера продуктов или приправы для какого-либо кушанья` [SRNG 4, 40a]). Additionally the genitive forms in -a and -u point to relatively late (first registered dialectally in HUPEL 1818) loans from Russian oblique forms. Cf. vaara-piim `gesalzene gekäste Milch`, vaaru-vöi `mit Butter vermischte gekäste Milch` (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; cf. also MUST 2000, 457-458).

SAARESTE (1954, 80) assumes there may also be influence from Russ. творог `curds, cottage cheese` and Sw. var `wet`; there may also have been influence from G. Quark (if so this must be relatively late, as according to HUPEL [1795, 183] BG Quarg did not mean `cheese`: Quarg, der, heißt sowohl Koth als Nichtswürdigkeit [aber niemals Käse].).²⁹³

d. LOORITS 1929, 183; MANNINEN 1933, 254; RAUN 1982; EEW XI, 3605; KOPONEN 1998, 190b; SSA III, 410a; MUST 2000, 457-458.

a. vaaritama `(coll.) to cook, to prepare food` (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. варить `to boil, cook; (of the stomach) to digest; to found (steel)` < Common Slavic (REW I, 169).
c. EstS vaarima `to cook, to stew` is probably a loan from Latv. vārīt `to cook` (LOORITS 1929, 183; VABA 1977, 109; 1997, 237).

Cf. vaar.

d. RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; EEW XI, 3608; SSA III, 410a; MUST 2000, 458.

a. vaba `free` (MÜLLER 1600; STAHL 1637, 58; GÖSEKEN 1660, 125, 127, 194; HORNUNG 1693, 35; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 272a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960, 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. ORuss. svobodh `frei` < Common Slavic (REW II, 596).
c. Russian origin for Est. vabadus (and Fi. vapaus) was first suggested by LEHRBERG in his history of Russia (1816, 118). These are derivations of vaba (Fi. vapaa). That this is an older loanword is shown by the substitution of Russ. [o] with Finnic [a] (cf. KALIMA 1952, 30-32).

²⁹³ Est. Leīvu vaaraq `curds` is a loan from Latv. vārags `ein gekochtes Gericht` (ME IV, 499a), not from Russian, as MUST (2000, 457-458) claims.
In Estonian it is first recorded in MüLLER’s sermons, though in personal names already earlier (these are often not used in etymological research; it is MÄGISe’s merit that he emphasized the usefulness of older socage holdings and archive material for the study of Russian loanwords in Estonian (cf. MÄGISe 1962, 57-60). In the Wackenbuch des Officium Leal (1518-1544) we find a Hanno Wabath, whose surname is undoubtedly identical with vabat, the older form of vaba (found in e.g. ROSSiHiNuS 1632; THOR HelLe 1732; VESTRING 1740, 272a, HUPEL 1780, 1818 and WIEDemann 1869; 1893; the original auslaut plosive is still retained in forms such as vabadik ‘cottager, crofter’ and vabadus ‘freedom’ and in Liv. vabad ‘free’, cf. MIKKOLA 1894, 63). Cf. also VABAtküla ‘ein Lostreiberdorf’ in JOHASEN (1933, 646).

Fi. vapa ‘free’ is often thought to be a loan from Estonian (MIKKOLA 1938, 47; PlöGer 1973, 219-220), as it is found only in Finnish, Estonian and Livonian, though SSA (III, 408a) does not mention the possibility. Additionally Liv. vabad ‘erlaubt, frei’ (LW 463a) is considered a loan from Latv. svabads ‘schlaff, müde, los, ungebunden, unbefestigt, frei’ (ME III, 1139b) by SuhOnEn (1973, 234b).

Liv. vabad is recorded as a Salats Livonian word by WIEDemann (1861, 126b), who notes that it also occurred in Courland. KETTUNEN (LW 463a) records only vabadnikka ~ vabanikka ‘Freibauer, Beiwohner’ (= vałanikka, a loan from Latv. valinieks ‘Lostreiber’, which later replaced vabadnikka; cf. LRU V: 87) as words with vaba-, so it seems that this word family is not particularly well established in Livonian. Perhaps SuhOnEn is right and vabad is a loan from Latvian, though it can also be an Estonian loan (especially in Salats Livonian), whilst vabadnikka ~ vabanikka may also be a borrowing from Est. vabadik ‘Lostreiber, Badstüber’ or vabanik ‘id.’ (Wiedemann 1893), with assimilation to vabad in vabadnikka. Est. vabanik is found mainly in Saaremaa and Hiiumaa, with some occasional recordings on the mainland (VMS II, 624a), and contacts between Saaremaa and the Livonian villages in Courland are well documented (cf. e.g. LW IX-X).

Ingr. vappä ‘free’, vapais ‘freedom’, Kar. vapatahol ‘volunteer’ are loans from Finnish (SSA III, 408a).

A much newer loanword is Est. dial. (Lüg) vabooda ‘freedom’, but this is borrowed from the noun свобóда ‘freedom’, not the adjective. Est. dial. (Se) slaboda ‘id.’ is borrowed from Russ. dial. свобóда (MUST 2000, 390).

The suffix -nik possibly entered Estonian through the loan Russ. свобóдник ‘freier Mann’, which was borrowed as vabanik and occurs already in the 16th century in personal names (cf.

d. LEHRBERG 1816, 118; AHRENS 1843, 131; 1853, 262; WESKE 1890, 203; MIKKOLA 1894, 161; 1938, 83; KALIMA 1952, 4, 31, 60, 64, 181; 1956, 4, 24, 47, 50, 138; ARISTE 1958, 33; MÄGISTE 1962, 24, 29, 58-60; ARISTE 1981, 94; RAUN 1982; EEW XI, 3612-3614.

a. vaen ‘enmity, hostility, animosity’ (MÜLLER 1600; STAHL 1637, 55, 94; GÖSEKEN 1660, 168, 185, 186, 219, 220, 441, 470; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 278b, 288b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. ORuss. vojna ‘war’ (> Russ. войнá ‘war, warfare’) (REW I, 216).
c. A Russian etymology was already suggested for Fi. vaino ‘persecution’ in 1842 by MECHELIN in an unpublished manuscript (cf. SSA III, 393a), but MIKKOLA (1894, 102), who mentions it first in print, directly rejects it due to the Finnish word’s meaning and the substitutions: Russian auslaut [a] is not substituted with Finnic [o] (neither is Russ. [oj] substituted by Finnic [ai]; cf. PŁOGER 1973, 326).

THOMSEN (1890, 239-240) suggested a loan from Baltic: cf. Latv. vaijāt ‘verfolgen, bedrängen, misshandeln’ (ME IV, 435b), but KALIMA 1936 does not discuss it and the Baltic etymology has been abandoned (apart from later attempt by ARISTE [1966, 36] to derive Est. vaen from Baltic (cf. Latv. vaina ‘fault, lack, injustice’; Lith. vajoti ‘to chase’), with additional later influence from Russ. войнá ‘war’, but his etymology is no longer accepted.

MÄGISTE (1962, 24-25), however, does not discount the Russian etymology, pointing the meaning ‘war’ which Est. vaen also seemed to have had in Old Estonian: münksarnse suhre wayno se Rotße kunningkas sen Wenelaße kaas...omat piddanut ‘which kind of great wayno has the Swedish king waged with the Russian’; Sodda, Waino...kaas ‘with war and Waino’ (MÜLLER 1600 in REIMAN 1891, 86, 99); keickel wainul on nüdt üx otz ‘all Fehde hat nun ein Ende’ (STAHL 1637a, 50); södda ninck waino ‘vnrieden’ (STAHL 1641, 70); Kui keskit waino ajal ilma ajato tälli teeb,... se peab hingelt huckatama ‘(who during time of war causes strife without cause,...must be put to death)’ (EKMS III, 1000; cf. also POSTI 1974, 311). These citations seem to indicate that at least Est. vaen did formerly have the meaning ‘war’; GÖSEKEN (1660, 168) even translates Einheimischer Krieg as Sallaja (issikeskes) wain. It has been repeatedly claimed that Fi. vaino ‘persecution’ has the additional meaning ‘war’ due to later Russian influence (THOMSEN 1890, 239; MIKKOLA 1894, 102; VAHROS 1963, 405; PŁOGER 1973, 326; SSA III, 393a) and in Finnish it seems to have obtained this secondary
meaning later, occurring first in EURÉN 1860. In Estonian, however, it is the other way around: the meaning ‘war’ occurs in oldest sources, from MÜLLER 1600 onwards, but its latest recording seems to be in WIEDEMANN 1893 (vaen ‘Feindschaft, Krieg’, vaenu tallitaja ‘Anführer im Kriege’, viha-vaen ‘Feindschaft, Groll (auch Schimpfwort gegen einen, welcher den Anderen im Stiche lässt); concr. Feinde, feindliche Macht’).

POSTI (1974, 309-312) finally showed that Fi. vaino and vainu are two different words, and that Fi. vaino/Est. vaen are probably borrowed from a Russian accusative form vojnú (= войной). VAHROS (1974, 163) points to the genitive of Est. vaenu as additional supporting material, but this in fact carries no weight, due to the change o > u in (North-)Estonian. In South Estonian the genitive is vaino to this day (JUVÄ 2002). POSTI (1974, 308) explains the auslaut o in Finnish by assuming the auslaut u of Russ. (acc.) войной was still more similar to a Finnic o than u; a similar case would be Fi. taro ‘besiedeltes, bebautes Land; Dorf’ from the accusative form доро́й of Russ. дор ‘Neubruch, Rodeland’ (cf. POSTI 1973, 272-283; SSA III, 273a).294


a. vagranka ‘(tech.) cupola, cupola furnace’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; EKSS).

b. Russ. вагранка ‘(tech.) cupola furnace’ < Wagrain ‘placename in Austria’ (REW I,163).

c. -

d. EEW XI, 3629.

a. vaksal ‘(railway) station’ (WIEDEMANN 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1893.

294 The village name Vainjala, where the first element vain- is tentatively etymologized by KETTUNEN (1955, 51) as being identical with vaen, is already recorded in the Liber Census Daniae (JOHANSEN 1933, 643-644: Uvangelhele). KETTUNEN’s alternative etymology derives from vainu ‘Rasenplatz, Anger’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893); this occurs often is place-names (cf. KETTUNEN 1955, 155), and is a more likely source for the village name. In addition the older forms of the name often contain a -d- (Wandele, Wandel, etc.), so the origin might have to be sought elsewhere.
d. MUST 1956, 133, 136; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW XI, 3665; MUST 2000, 459.

a. vanka (pejor.) Russian, Ivan’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. Ва́нка ‘abbreviation of Иван’.
c. Also recorded in Latvian: vapka ‘ein Russe (bes. der russische Soldat)’ (DRAVIŅŠ 1956, 53).

d. RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW XI, 3708; MUST 2000, 460-461.

a. varblane ‘sparrow (Passer domesticus)’ (STAHL 1637, 115; GÖSEKEN 1660, 105, 161, 387, 389; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 282b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. ORuss. vorbujas ‘sparrow’ (> Russ. воробей) < Common Slavic (REW I, 228).
c. AHRENS (1853, 262) first suggested Russian origin for Est. varblane ‘id.’ in print; he probably was not aware of AUGUST SCHLÖZER’s book Quaestiones…295 from 1770, where Fi. varpunen ‘sparrow’ and the Russian word are compared. MIKKOLA (1894, 104) asserts Fi. varpu- and Est. varblane are borrowed from a form *vorb-, whilst Est. värb, varblane ‘id.’ (EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS) and Liv. verblinki (> vermlinki) ‘id.’ go back to a variant *verb-. Since then no-one has seriously questioned this etymology (except for MIKKOLA himself in the 1938 adaptation of his earlier work where he claims that the Finnic word family is indigenous, and has nothing to do with Russ. воробей, and OJANSUU [1916, 197; 1921, 44-45], who suggested that Est. värblane was a loan from Baltic, comparing it to Lith. žvyrblis ‘sparrow’, Latv. zvīrblis ‘id.’ and had been adapted to words like Est. herilane ‘wasp’. Est. varblane was possibly the same word, but this may have been influenced later by Russ. воробей, and Liv. verblinki, vermlinki ‘sparrow’ was obviously a young loan from Latvian296).

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295 Full title: SCHLÖZER, A.L. 1770, Eberhard Fischeri Quaestiones Petropolitanae 1) de origine Ungrorum 2) de origine Tatarorum 3) de diversis Shinarum Imperatoris nominibus titulisque 4) de Huperboreis. Gottingae & Gothae.

296 WINKLER (1999, 17, 122) has discovered a (Courland-)Liv. Zierlinge ‘Sperling’ in an article by SCHLÖZER (cf. WINKLER 1999, 14-22) from 1767, probably a contamination of vermlinki and Latv. zvīrblis ‘sparrow’. Latv. zvīrblis has also been loaned as zvīrbiļ into Salis Livonian (WIEDEMANN 1861, 140c; LW 479a; SUHONEN 1973, 219b).
Est. varblane (and its cognates) must have been borrowed before pleophony fully finalized (cf. 5.1.2. Substitution). Kalima (1952, 181) also assumes that there must have been an Old Russian form *voro(о)bdь, because nowhere in Finnic is there a trace of the ending -ёй, not even in Veps. borobits ‘sparrow’, which is a very young loan. This one can presume from variants with other suffixes in East Slavic (e.g. Ukr. горобётъ, горобе́ль, Byel. воро́бчык) and Russian dialects (воро́бец, воро́бчик, воро́бык, воро́быш; SRNG 5, 102b-104b), in fact there is even a variant воро́б (SRNG 5, 102a) with no suffix.

Kalima is also not sure that the -l-element in Est. varblane and Liv. verblinki is indigenous, as Polish also has wróbel. This is undoubtedly a coincidence, as in Russian there is no trace of such an -l-element (though there is in Ukrainain: горобе́ль), and Est. -lane, Liv. -linki are common derivative suffixes, and even if there were a Russ. *воробель or similar such an -l-element would be obscured by the indigenous suffixes.

Est. varblane is the only ornithological loan from Russian; in the dialects there are some newer bird names borrowed from Russian and Byelorussian: Vai karapatka ‘partridge’ (< Russ. куричатка), Lut patsan ‘stork’ (< Byel. бащён ‘id.’), Lut salavei ‘nightingale’ (< Russ. соловей ‘id.’ or more likely Byel. салаве́й ‘id.’) and Se tsäika ‘gull’ (< Russ. чайка ‘id.’) (Mäger 1967, 202).

d. Ahrens 1853, 263; Weske 1890, 201; Mikkola 1894, 104; Ojansuu 1916, 197; 1921, 44-45; Mägiste 1932, 138; Mikkola 1938, 96; Kalima 1952, 181; 1956, 138; Mägiste 1962, 25; Raun 1982; EEW XI, 3725-3726; SSA III, 411b-412a.

a. vareenik ‘curd or fruit dumpling’ (ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. варёник ‘varenik (curd or fruit dumpling)’ < варить ‘to cook’.

c. -

d. EEW XI, 3728.

a. vasok ‘(russ.) verdeckter Schlitten’ (Wiedemann 1893).

b. Russ. возо́к ‘closed sleigh’ < возить ‘to cart, carry, draw’.

c. Must (2000, 462) suggests it may have been borrowed via BG Wasok ‘geschlossener Schlitten’ (Kiparsky 1936, 188), as such sleighs were used mostly by (Baltic German) manor owners.

d. Wiedemann 1893; Must 2000, 462.

a. vatel ‘(cloth)’ (EÖS).
b. Russ. вото́ла ‘верхняя грубая одежда, накидка; детская распашенка, спереди разрезанная рубашка’ (DAL’ I, 253a). Probably from MLG wātmāl, though then the loss of the [m] in Russ. вото́ла remains problematic (REW I, 212, 232). Est. vatman ‘(ethn.) fulled homespun, hodden’ (EKÖS; EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999) is a loan from this MLG word (EEW XII, 3763).

c. KALIMA (1936a, 333-334) claims Russ. вото́ла is a loan from Est. vatel, which he tentatively sees as a derivation from a cognate to Fi. vaate ‘cloth, clothing’. He also claims that both VILLEM ERNITS and MAX VASMER independently suggested the same etymology, but of ERNITS’ etymology we have found no other mentions in print297, whilst VASMER (REW I, 232) rejects KALIMA’s etymology. In addition Fi. vaate is a North Finnic word, with cognates only in Karelian and Veps (cf. SSA III, 387ab), making it unlikely that Est. vatel is related. We agree with MUST (2000, 463-464), who, pointing at vatel’s distribution in north-eastern Estonia, considers it a loan from Russian. Hodden was amongst the types of cloth which Russian traders were specifically allowed to sell (cf. KARJAHÄRM 1998, 41).

d. KALIMA 1936a, 332-334; EEW XII, 3763; MUST 2000, 463-464.

a. vatsk ‘(dial.) thin barley or rye bread’ (GÖSEKEN 1660, 171, 190, 268, 300, 313, 317, 324; ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. ватру́шка ‘curd tart; cheese-cake’. The etymology is unsure. Either from о- + терётъ ‘reiben’ or from some form related to a hypothetical *vatra ‘fire’ (REW I, 173-174).


297 VILLEM ERNITS probably mentioned it in his manuscript Estnische Sprachelemente im Grossrussischen und in anderen slavischen Sprachen I-III, destroyed in the 1965 Tartu University fire (cf. VIiRES 1959, 103, footnote 10; MÄGISTE 1962, 66; MUST 2000, 601).

298 WIEDEMANN’s vats ‘Kuchen’, raud-watsad ‘Eisenkuchen’ is from GÖSEKEN 1660, who probably has it from a South Estonian source.
MÄGISTE (1962, 45) first suggested that vatsk may be a loan from Russ. ватрушка ‘curd tart; cheese-cake’. The obvious phonetic difficulties MÄGISTE solves by positing a change from voiced [u] to voiceless [u] before voiceless [s], similar to that in Est. dial. podruski ‘bridesmaids’ < Russ. пл. подружки ‘id.’, which also has the variants podrski, protski, potski (cf. MUST 2000, 271-272, 522). If there such borrowed forms such as poostski which ultimately derive from подружки then why not vatsk from ватрушка? Its distribution (mostly in the south-east, with one recording from Viru-Nigula on the northern coast) is similar to that of many Russian loans. What makes the Russian etymology less convincing in this case is the lack of any variants (other than vats) which mirror some earlier stage of the supposed loan trajectory, such as *vatrusk. However, the Russian etymology is accepted by VAHROS (1963, 406-407) and RAUN (1982), whilst KIPARSKY (1965, 433) thinks Russian origin unlikely for phonetic reasons (also KOPONEN 1998, 193b-194a), and suggests as a source a Germanic *wast, cf. OEngl. waste/‘Kuchen’.

Engl. wastel ‘bread or loaf made of the finest flour’, a loan from Fr. dial. wastel, cf. OFr. guastel (> Fr. gâteau), which in turn is probably of Germanic origin (cf. ONIONS 1966, 994a). A borrowing from French is MHG wastel ‘halbrundes oder viereckiges milchbrot, einfacher kuchen’ (DWB 27, 2559; MEYER-LÜBKE 1935, 795b), but it seems not to have made its way too far from the border.

A later loan is Est. dial. (Iis) vatruska ‘curd tart’ (MUST 2000, 463).


a. vedroo ‘Vedro (russisches Maass für Flüssigkeiten)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. ведро ‘bucket, pail; vedro (Old Russ. liquid measure, equivalent to approx. 12 litres)’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 177).

c. Also recorded in Baltic German: Wedro ‘Hohlmass = 12,299 Liter’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 188).

d. WESKE 1890, 221; BACHMAN 1956, 6; EEW XII, 3772; MUST 2000, 464.

a. veerik. Cf. setveerik.


b. Russ. ве́че ‘(hist.) vech (popular assembly in medieval Russ. towns)’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 195).

c. -
d. EEW XII, 3779.

a. vehkāl ‘seamark, buoy’ (EKÔS; ÉÖS).
b. Russ. вëxха ‘landmark (also fig.); milestone; (naut.) spar-buoy’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 195).
c. The -j in Est. vehkal is an Estonian derivative suffix; more common in the dialects are variants without this suffix (cf. MUST 2000, 465). Occurs dialectally in WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893.
d. EEW XII, 3781; MUST 2000, 465.

b. Russ. венгëрка ‘Hungarian (f); Hungarian dance; dolman (jacket). The meaning ‘type of dance’ is from Pol. weżykerka ‘id.’ < Slavic *og(ε)riṃ ‘Hungarian’ < OChuv. on ogur ‘ten tribes’ (REW I, 182; III, 172). Est. dial. (Mustjala) vingerpolka ‘type of dance’ is a folk etymological adaptation to vingerdama ‘to wriggle’ (ARISTE 1980, 6-7).
c. The ethnonym ‘Hungarian’ occurs also as ungur ‘gelder’ in Estonian (< G. Ungar), but is now obsolete.299
d. EEW XII, 3791.

a. venites ‘(dial.) spar’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; ÉÖS; ÉÔS; ÖS 1960; 1976).
b. Russ. вëñëц ‘crown, (fig.) completion, consummation; (fig.) wedding; (poet.) wreath, garland; (astron.) corona; (ecl.) halo; row of beams (in a house)’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 182).
c. First recognized as a Russian loan by SAARESTE (1924, 184-185).
d. SAARESTE 1924, 184-185; MUST 1956, 134; 2000, 466.

a. verssok ‘(former unit of measurement, about 4.5 cm)’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÔS; ÉÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. вëршоk ‘vershok (old Russ. measure of length, equivalent to 4.4 cm); (fig.) smattering, superficial knowledge’ < вëрх ‘top, summit’ (REW I, 191).

299 Latv. ungris ‘Kastrierer; Klepper’ (ME IV, 299a) is also borrowed from G. Ungar, whilst OLith. unguras ‘Hungarian’ is a loan from a Slavic *og(ε)riṃ (REW III, 172).
Also recorded in Baltic German: Werschok ‘Längenmass = 1/16 Arschin’ (KIPARSKY 1936, 188).

d. MIKKOLA 1894, 99; KALIMA 1952, 182; 1956, 139; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; EEW XII, 3797-3798; MUST 2000, 467.

a. verst ‘(former unit of length, about 1 km)’ (HORNUNG 1693, 20; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 292a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMAN 1869; 1893; EKÓS; EÖS; VÓS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. верстá ‘verst (old Russ. measurement, equivalent to approx. 1.06 kilometres)’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 189).
c. Est. verst was first derived from Russian by BRÖMSEN in 1814 (148). Problematic is the existence in Estonian of two variants, verst and vírst. Up to WIEDEMAN 1893 the following forms are recorded:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hornung 1693</th>
<th>wirst eine Vierthel Meile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thör helle 1732</td>
<td>wirst ein Werst, Rußische Meile, deren bey nahe 7 auf 1 teutsche gehen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vestring 1740</td>
<td>wirst, a Ein russische Werst od. Meile, gehen beynahe 7 auf eine teutsche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hupeL 1780</td>
<td>werst die Werst, der sechste Theil einer Meile r.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vírst, a, die Werst. r.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wörsts. wirst, werst,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>würist, die Werst, d.s. wirst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hupeL 1818</td>
<td>werst, a, die Werst, russ. r.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vírst,a, die Werst, russ. r.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wörsts. werst,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>würist, a, die Werst. russ. r.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wieDEMAN 1869</td>
<td>werst,a Werst, russische Meile,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wirst = werst</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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300 SSA (III, 460a) refers to SIÖGREN as the first to have made the connection in print between Est. verst — vírst and Russ. верстá in 1844, but BRÖMSEN had preceded him by 30 years.
According to MIKKOLA (1894, 98) Est. virst is a loan from ORuss. вёрста, whilst verst is either a later loan from Russ. верстá or from BG Werst (which is recorded already in 1795: Werst ‘(Russ.) ist ungefahr der siebente Theil einer Meile (unser gewöhnliches Wegemaass)’ [HUPEL 1795]; cf. also werst ‘Längenmass = 500 russ. Faden’ [KIPIARSKY 1936, 188]). In his 1938 work, though, MIKKOLA derives both Fi. virsta and Est. verst from Russ. вёрста. KALIMA (1952, 184) also assumes Est. virst is a loan from ORuss. вёрста, whilst Est. verst is either a later loan or borrowed via BG. MÄGISTE (1962, 9) came up with another solution and suggested that Est. virst ~ verst was not borrowed twice, but that the variant verst arose due to a dialectal vowel lowering before r (i.e. ir > er). This was immediately rejected by KIPIARSKY (1965, 431), for whom MIKKOLA’s solution was more acceptable. Lowering of ir to er does occur in Estonian, but is seems to be restricted to especially the central parts of North Estonian dialects (PAJUSALU 2002, 89, 144).

After KIPIARSKY 1965 MÄGISTE’s proposal has found no supporters, and the latest view (MUST 2000, 467-468) also assumes a double loan: Est. virst, more common in Old Estonian (recorded first in HORNUNG 1693 and last in WIEDEMANN 1893), is a loan from ORuss. вёрста, whilst verst (first recorded in HUPEL 1780, and the only variant from EKÖS onwards), is a younger loan from Russ. верстá.

The variant vörst (already in HUPEL 1780) is borrowed from the Russian plural genitive вёрст, according to MUST (2000, 468).

Also recorded in Baltic German: Werst ‘Längenmass = 500 russ. Faden’ (HUPEL 1795, 262-263; KIPIARSKY 1936, 188).

d. BROMSEN 1814, 148; HUPEL 1818, 283a, 288b; MIKKOLA 1894, 98; 1938, 24, 38, 83; KALIMA 1952, 38, 39, 63, 184; 1956, 30, 49, 140; MUST 1956, 132; ARISTE 1958, 33; MÄGISTE 1962, 9, 26, 29; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; ARISTE 1981, 95; RAUN 1982; EEW XII, 3798; SSA III, 459b-460a; MUST 2000, 467-468.

a. very ‘territorial community in Russia and South Slavic areas in the Middle Ages’ (ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. верь ‘Distrikt, Bezirk’. Only in ORuss. вёрь. The etymology is unsure; probably identical with верь ‘Strick, Seil’ (REW I, 185).

c. Occurs only as a learned loan from literary Russian, where it is itself a learned loan from Old Russian.

d. -
a. 

b. 

c. 

That this change had occurred in the dialect of Pskov was first discovered to my knowledge by 

Vasilev in 1907 (263-264). This led Ojansuu (1911, 34-35) to believe that Est. *vigil* might be a loan from the (unregistered) Pskov variant *vigla* of Russ. вилла ‘Gabel’. \(^301\) Mikkola (1938, 97) only mentions verbal forms with [gl] in Pskov Russian, of which he could claim that they came into existence through analogy, and thus he rejected Ojansuu’s etymology. The forms recorded by Vasilev (1907, 263-264) and Karinskij (1909, 184-187) are indeed all verb forms, and referring to Karinskij Mikkola suggested that [gl] forms only occur before [li]. Furthermore, Mikkola assumes that in Russ. жарло ‘Bienenstachel’ the [g] is also due to contamination with a Pskov жарать ‘brennen wie eine Nessel, beissen’. Vasmer (1938, 164-167), however, took Mikkola to task for passing over another non-verbal form, namely жергло ‘umpfige Flussmündung’, which was already known in Mikkola’s time, and where the [gl] cannot be due to any analogy or contamination. Vasmer emphatically accepts Ojansuu’s etymology and since then there has been no conflict, except as to whether Göseken’s (1660, 144) Schwicbohrer/*wiggal* and Vestring’s (1740, 288b) Wiggel, Sea Wiggel ‘Ein Schwick Bohrer’ belong here or if this last word is a perhaps a loan from Low German, as Ojansuu (1911, 34-35) suggested. In HupeL (1780; 1818) onwards both words are subsumed: *wiggal* oder *sea wiggel* ‘Schwickbohrer, kleiner Bohrer; Gabel, Mistgabel’. Wiedemann (1869; 1893) notes both *vigl, vigilas* ‘kleiner Bohrer, sea-v. dass.; Gabel (mit mehr als zwei Zinken, Heugabel, *sita-v.* Mistgabel’, and *viker* ‘Zwickbohrer, kleinster Bohrer (mit den Fingern gedreht), v.*puur ‘dass.’. Magiste (EEW XII, 3837) derives *viker* from German or Swedish. Est. *vigel* ‘Bohdrer’ may be borrowed from Sw. *svickel* ‘auger’ or from G. *Zwickel*; forms in -r such as *viker* are probably borrowed from G. *Zwickel* (cf. Koponen 1998, 195a).

\(^301\) Ojansuu tentatively suggested that Fi. *vikla, Est. vigle* ‘Pfuhlschnepfe’ might also derive from the same Russian word, but this is now discounted (cf. SSA III, 447b).
Est. *vigeli* is first recorded in the South Estonian grammar of *Gutslaff* (1648, 213): *Forcke Wigl/a*. After *Gutslaff* the meaning ‘fork’ does not occur any more in dictionaries, but in the extinct Lutsi dialect *vikli*‘fork’ was still recorded in 1893 (Kallas 1894, 143; Pajusalu 2002, 192).

Both жагло ‘Bienestachel’ and жерагло ‘sumpfige Flussmündung’ have been later recorded in Pskov (жырагло ‘место, где залив выходит в озеро’; HonseLaar 2001, 23, 310b) and also in the Russian dialects of Estonia (Liivamäe žáglá ‘thorn’; Piirisarž žeragló ‘narrow between Lakes Peipsi and Pihkva’; Vasmer 1938, 166).


a. *vigur* ‘trick, fitch, stunt, dodge, ruse’ (Wiedemann 1869; 1893; EÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; Ekss).

b. Russ. фи́ру́ ‘(in var. senses) figure; (cards) court-card, picture-card; chess-man (excluding pawns)’ < Pol. figura‘figure’ < Lat. *figūra* (REW III, 207).

c. -


a. *vihur* ‘whirlwind; gust of wind’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; Ekss).

b. Russ. вихорь ‘whirlwind; (фиг.) vortex’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 207).

c. Opinions are divided as to whether Est. *vihur* and its cognates in Finnic (Fi. *vihuri*‘strong wind’, Ingr. vihhērā ‘strongish wind’, Kar. *vihuri* ‘id.’; cf. SSA III, 439ab) are loans from Russian or genuine Finnic words. It is accepted that Kar. *vichkürü* and Veps. *vaho* ‘Wirbelwind’ are borrowed from Russian, but whether Est. *vihur* and Fi. *vihuri* ‘gust of wind’ are is still debated.

Weske (1890, 116) first derived the Finnish and Veps words from Russian. For Est. *viherik*, what seems to be a derivation in -ik of *vihur* (recorded dialectally by Wiedemann 1869; 1893

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303 Liivmäe (Russ. Jleärn) is in Setumaa. The narrows between Lakes Peipsi and Pihkva are called Läämmijärv or Soejärv in Estonian (cf. Ränk 1934, map). Piirisar is an island to the north of these narrows, in the southern part of Lake Peipsi, of which practically all inhabitants are Russian-speaking.
as ‘Wolkenbruch’) the Russian etymology was first proposed by MIKKOLA (1894, 100). KALIMA (1952, 183) thought Fi. vihuri was not an old loan, to which the Finnish [u] would point (e.g. vihuri < ORuss. vîhâr, where ORuss. ы would be substituted by Finnic [u]; cf. Est. lusikas ‘spoon’ < ORuss. лъжка), but a younger loan that was adapted to words in -uri, a common derivative suffix in Finnish. The same would apply to Est. viherik, which would have been adapted to words in -ik.

MÄGISTE (EEW XII, 3810-3811) rejects the Russian etymology, and assumes Est. vihuri/viherik are deverbal derivations from Est. vihisema ‘to whistle, to sough’. SSA (III, 439ab) also discards the Russian etymology, and thinks Fi. vihuri and Est. vihuri/viherik are deverbal derivations from Fi. vihistä ‘zischen, sausen’ or perhaps from viha ‘hate’. The most recent source that accepts the Russian etymology is probably RAUN 1982. We have to agree with RAUN here, and assume WESKE (1890, 116) was right when he pointed out that Est. vihisema has the specific meaning ‘to whistle, to sough’, i.e. a soft movement. Why would the word for ‘whirlwind’ be derived from such a verb? More likely in our view is that Est. vihur (> viherik) is a loan from Russian, where perhaps in the other Finnic languages some cognate forms have been influenced by such previously mentioned onomatopoeic verbs.304

d. WESKE 1890, 116; MIKKOLA 1894, 100; GEV I, 190; KALIMA 1952, 183; 1956, 140; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW XII, 3810-3811; SSA III, 439.

a. viidikas. Cf. 8.1.


a. viktorin ‘quiz game, contest of general knowledge; quiz show’ (VÖS 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. викторина ‘quiz’. Ultimately from Lat. victoria.

c. The auslaut -a of the Russian word has been elided in Estonian.

d. -

a. vilukas ‘ein Kartenspiel, wo zwei Sechsen oder zwei Sieben mit einer dritten Karte gewinnen’ (WIEDEMANN 1893).

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304 A possible counterpart in Pskov Russian seems to be ви́гма ‘буря, волнение на реке, озере’ (SRNG 4, 273a). This seems to be a loan from Est. vihm ‘rain’, probably from the partitive (cf. sajab vihma ‘it is raining’).

c. Described in WIEDEMANN (1876, 298) as: ‘Zuerst wird ein Einsatz gemacht, dann werden je vier Karten ausgegeben, und von der Vorhand an legt Jeder, welcher sich getraut das Spiel mitmachen zu können, so viel zum Einsatz hinzu wie sein Vormann oder mehr, und von denen, die das Spiel behalten, nimmt dann der Gewinner den ganzen Einsatz’.

d. WIEDEMANN 1876, 298.

a. vinska. Cf. kalavinska.

a. vint ‘card game’ (EKÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS??).


c. Russ. винт ‘card game’ borrowed directly from G. Gewinde, whilst винт ‘screw; rifle’ is borrowed via dialects from Polish. Cf. vint ‘screw head’.

d. RAUN 1982; EEW XII, 3868.

a. vint-: vint ‘screw thread; whorl; screw (propeller)’ (?EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS?); vint: vintpöss ‘rifle; carbine’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS); vint. vinti jääma ‘to become drunk’, vintis olema ‘to be drunk’ (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Russ. винт was borrowed both as ‘screw’ and as ‘rifle’; the meaning ‘to be drunk’, seems to be an Estonian development. Est. vint in EKÖS is probably ‘screw’.

The Russian etymology of ‘screw’, however, is not indisputable: WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893) records a kruj-kvint ‘Schraubengang’, which is either a direct partial loan translation from G. Schraubengewinde (Est. kruvri is a loan from MLG sırůawe ‘screw’), or a loan from a (M)LG * sırůwegewint ‘screw thread’. From this kvint a vint could easily have developed.

A later loan from Russ. винтóвка (< винт) is Est. dial. vintohvka (MUST 2000, 472).

d. RAUN 1982; EEW XII, 3867-3868; MUST 2000, 471.

305 Not found in (printed) dictionaries accessible to me; the Russian entry is found on the Internet (http://fstanitsa.ru/2/74_82.shtml) in a Словарь малоупотребительных, устаревших и местных слов и выражений by A.T. GUBIN.
a. **virb.** Cf. 8.1.

a. **virst.** Cf. **verst.**

a. **visna:** **visnapuu** *(diaL.) cherry-tree* (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. Russ. вишня 'cherry-tree; cherry; *(collect.) cherries' < Common Slavic (REW I, 208).

c. WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893) juxtaposed **vislapuu** 'Kirschbaum' and **visnapuu** 'id.' *(puu 'tree'; RB). AHLOVIST (1875, 42) first derived Est. **visna** from Russ. вишня (and does not mention **visla**), but WESKE (1890, 211) assumes **visnapuu** and **vislapuu** are simply variants of the same word and assumes Russian origin for this word and for Vot. **visenpü** 'вишнёвое де́рево'. ARISTE (1958, 28, 33; 1981, 95) also suggested Russian origin for **Wissila Marri** 'Kirsch', recorded in 1648 (221) in GUTSLAFF's South Estonian grammar. This was also accepted by MÄGISTE (1962, 55), and it was not until KIPARSKY's (1965, 432) review of MÄGISTE 1962, that it was shown that **vislapuu** and **visnapuu** are two separate words: **visnapuu** is indeed a Russian loan and derives from вишня, whilst OEst. **Wissila Marri** is probably a partial loan from LG **wisselbere** 'St Lucie cherry' *(Est. mari 'berry'; RB). WIEDEMANN's **vislapuu** is then probably a contaminated form.

MÄGISTE (EEW XII, 3890-3891) notes this German etymology, but is reluctant to give up his own etymology and writes that -**sr** > -**sl** also occurs in Russian loanwords in Estonian, comparing it to **poslamasla** 'sunflower oil' < пóstное ма́сло, where the Russian consonant cluster -**s**-**tn** was simplified to -**s**-**tr** and then changed to -**sl**. However, MÄGISTE's example here is not very convincing, as the change -**s**-**tr** > -**sl** is obviously due to regressive assimilation of the -**sl** in ма́сло. In our view also KOPONEN (1998, 197a) is too cautious when he states that 'another etymology has been suggested' for the -**sl**- variants, as there is no reason to doubt KIPARSKY.

Est. **visnapuu** is dialectally recorded as South Estonian in HUPEL 1780; 1818, and EKÖS and EÖS have normative references to **kirsipuu** 'cherrytree'; ÖS 1960 notes it as a dialect word.

d. AHLOVIST 1875, 42; WESKE 1890, 211; BACHMAN 1956, 6; ARISTE 1958, 28, 33; MÄGISTE 1962, 55; KIPARSKY 1965, 428-434; ARISTE 1981, 95; RAUN 1982; EEW XII, 3890-3891; KOPONEN 1998, 196b-197a.
a. vits ‘switch, rod, twig; raddle; scourge; hoop, band’ (VTS; MÜLLER 1600; STAHL 1637, 102; VESTRING 1740, 293a; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. Russian origin was first suggested for Est. vits (and its Finnic cognates) by MIKKOLA (1894, 100-102), who already notes that the Russian word does not occur in Old Russian or Old Church Slavonic, and is not convinced that Russ. вица is a derivation of вить ‘to twist’. In his 1938 work (98-99) MIKKOLA then completely rejects the etymology and suggests the Russian word is a loan from Finnic (thus already MECKELEIN 1913, 32).

KALIMA (1952, 186-187), MÄGISTE (1962, 26; EEW XII, 3893-3895) and RAUN (1982) all accept the Russian etymology, but in 1979 KOIVULEHTO (290) suggested that Fi. viitsa and its cognates (incl. Est. vits) was a loan from a Common Germanic *wifjā ‘withe’. HOFSTRA (1985, 166) concurs, but SSA (III, 465a) is in doubt: though it mentions the Germanic etymology first, and thus presumably prefers it, it assesses its plausibility merely as ‘possible’. SSA also notes the Russian etymology, not only in second place, but also supplied with a question mark, and hence (far) less feasible in its opinion.

It is thus not easy to decide which is the more likely source for the Finnic word.

Russ. вица is widely spread in Russian dialects, especially in the north and in the east, and has various meanings (cf. DAL I, 209a; SRNG 4, 307a-308a). This argues against a loan from Finnic, as these usually enjoy only a limited currency near Finnic areas. When one then takes into account the existence of вич, вича and ви́чье ‘gedrehte, geflochtene Gerte; Harfgarnfitze’ (KALIMA 1952, 186), whose meanings are so similar to those of вица, and when the co-existence of such forms can be easily explained by cokanje (i.e. not distinguishing ц and ч; cf. KIPARSKY 1963, 125-126; CARLTON 1991, 125), it makes perhaps more sense to assume Russ. вица is of genuine Russian origin.

Recorded in South Estonian in 1632 (ROSSIHNIUS 1632, 424).


a. vlotski-ekipaas ‘Flottequipage’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
b. Russ. флóтский экипáж ‘navy’ < флóтский ‘naval’ (< Fr. flotte; REW III, 213) + экипáж ‘crew’ (< Fr. équipage < équiper < NGerm. skipa ‘ein Schiff mit Besatzung und anderem Zubehör versehen < skip ‘ship’; REW III, 458).
c. A new word in WIEDEMANN 1869.
d. EEW XII, 3898.

a. **vobla** ‘Caspian roach’ (VÓS 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. вóбла ‘vobla (Caspian roach)’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 211).
c. -
d. EEW XII, 3898.

a. **vodka** ‘vodka’ (EÓS; ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. Recorded dialectally in 1818 as South Estonian (HUPEL 1818), and as EstS votka in WIEDEMANN (1893), who also notes its Russian origin.
d. BRÖMSSEN 1814, 148; BACHMAN 1956, 6; EEW XII, 3922; MUST 2000, 473; SSA III, 479.

a. **voilok** ‘dicker Filz’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
b. Russ. вóйлок ‘felt; strip of felt’ < Tat. oílyk ‘was zur Bedeckung dient’ (REW I, 215).
d. MIKKOLA 1894, 102; EEW XII, 3900; SSA III, 468; MUST 2000, 473.

b. Russ. воевóда ‘(hist.) voivode (commander of an army in medieval Russia; also, in Muscovite period, governor of a town or province); governor of province (in Poland)’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 213).
c. -
d. EEW XII, 3901; MUST 2000, 473.

a. **voli** ‘power; authority, right, title, warrant, licence’ (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÓS; VÓS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. вóля ‘(in var. senses) will, volition, wish(es); freedom, liberty’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 224).
c. A relatively new loan, as it is recorded in dictionaries first in WIEDEMANN 1869 (though in print already in the 1810s in MASING’s *Originalblätter für Deutsche* (1816, 11; cf. MUST 2000, 474). Dialectally (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893) we also find forms such as völ ( < volő), vola and voola, where the last two are closer to the Russian original. MÄGISTE (EEW XII, 3903) even notes a EstS voofa, but according to MUST (2000, 476-477) this is a later loan (from the same source), of which WIEDEMANN (1869) already noted the Russian origin. Cf. gen. volja.

d. WESKE 1890, 241; MUST 1956, 135; RAUN - SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW XII, 3903-3904; SSA III, 469; MUST 2000, 474, 476-477.

a. **volok** ‘road along which boats were transferred from one waterway to another’ (VL 1978).
c. Recorded dialectally in WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893 as ‘sackartiges Netz’; this derives from the Russian dialectal meaning небольшая мережка с полукрытым одпузьем; сетевой мешок для ловли рыбы на реке перегородке (SRNG 5, 51a), recorded in Pskov.
d. EEW XII, 3906; MUST 2000, 475-476.

a. **voorup** ‘capstan’ (EÖS).
b. Russ. вóроп ‘навой, баран, ворот, стоячий или лежачий вал с рычагами, для таски, подъема чего’ (DAЕ I, 245a). Probably identical to вóрот ‘collar, neckband; winch, windlass’; cf. REW I, 229).
c.
d. MANNINEN 1931, 185; MUST 1956, 128; 2000, 479-480.

b. Russ. ворлышник ‘?’ (BACHMAN 1959, 262). Recorded only in BACHMAN, with no meaning.
c. Recorded dialectally in WIEDEMANN (1869; 1893). MÄGISTE (EEW XII, 3920) suggests Russian origin, but no potential source is given.
Also recorded in EKMS as vorlontsik ‘lazy person’ (I, 529; II, 412).
d. BACHMAN 1959, 262; EEW XII, 3920.

a. **vorna**: vornamees ‘ein braver, fixer Kerl’ (russ. проворный) (mees ‘man’; RB) (WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).
c. The prefix про- has been elided. The Estonian word has probably been borrowed from the neuter form прово́рно.

d. WIEDEMANN 1869; WESKE 1890, 242; MIKKOLA 1894, 106; EEW XII, 3921; MUST 2000, 478.

a. voruk ‘curds’ (EÖS).
c. EÖS subsumes the meaning ‘curds’ and ‘trick’ under one word, but voruk ‘trick’ is a variant of vorukas.
d. MUST 2000, 479.

a. vorukas ‘(dialect) coarse, long, circular strip’ (EÖS; ÖS 1976; 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. верёвка ‘cord, rope, string; (fig.) noose’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 185).
d. MUST 1956, 130; 2000, 468-469.

a. vot ‘look!, there!, well!’ (ÖS 1999; EKSS).
b. Russ. вот ‘here (is), there (is), this is; (emph. prons.; unstressed); (in excl., always stressed) here’s a …, there’s a … (for you)’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 232).
c. The 1999 ÖS has a normative reference to vaat.

Recorded dialectally in WIEDEMANN 1893.

Also recorded in Baltic German: wott!/voilà!’(KIPARSKY 1936, 189).
d. SKES VI, 1811; EEW XII, 3922; SSA III, 471; MUST 2000, 481.


a. vurle ‘fop, dandy; loafar’ (EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. Various etymologies have been proposed: SAARESTE’S (1927, 167) suggestion that it is due to ‘Urschöpfung’ is probably the least enlightening. Since 1959, when MUST (1959, 161-162)
first suggested that it can have been borrowed from Russ. фурлый, the Russian etymology has been generally accepted, though MÄGISTE (EEW XII, 3930) entertains the possibility that it may be a direct loan from G. Fuhrleute. The German word, however, does not have the meaning ‘Dummkopf, Nichtstufer’, and it is not necessary to dispute MUST’s etymology, and thus also KOPONEN’s (1998, 198a) doubts (?Russian, ?genuine, referring to SAARESTE 1927) are unnecessary.

Recorded dialectally in WIEDEMANN 1893.

d. SAARESTE 1927, 167; MUST 1959, 161-162; RAUN-SAARESTE 1965, 49; RAUN 1982; EEW XII, 3930; KOPONEN 1998, 198a; MUST 2000, 481-482.


b. Russ. футиров ‘case, container, (techn.) casing, housing’ < G. Futteral < MLat. fotrale (REW III, 222).

c. Also borrowed from G. Futteral as vutral etc. into various Estonian dialects (cf. MUST 2000, 482), but the metathesical form is undoubtedly from Russian.

d. VÄINASTE 1925, 102; SAARESTE 1957, 470; RAUN 1982; EEW XII, 3932; MUST 2000, 482.

a. vöipätakas (vüpata, viipatak, viitpatak) Spath, Geschwulst über dem Huf der Pferde; kleines Eitergeschwür (GÖSEKEN 1660, 321, 386; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 296a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893).

b. Russ. вypicalок ‘конская боль, подь стрѣлкою, оть наминки копыта; паховой нарыв у лошади’ (DAL I, 305a).

c. Est. vöipätakas ‘spavin’ is recorded from GÖSEKEN 1660 to WIEDEMANN 1893, but from EÖS onwards we also find a vöipätakas ‘butterwort (Pinguicula)’ in the dictionaries (EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS). This is a different word, a compound consisting of vöi ‘butter’ and pätakas ‘(variety of meanings)’. Est. vöipätakas ‘spavin’ is a loan from Russ. вypicalок ‘конская боль, подь стрѣлкою, оть наминки копыта’ (DAL I, 305a), where WIEDEMANN’s alternative forms viipata, viipatak, viitpatak are closer to the original; vöipätakas ‘spavin’ has undergone partial homonymic assimilation to vöi and pätakas. After assimilation to vöi this has sometimes been elided to give pätk (e.g. WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893), which MUST (1956, 131) analyzed as a loan from Russian, though the Russian etymology was first suggested for vöipätakas by OJANSUU (1916, 138). OJANSUU (ibid.) also derived Fi. huipätkä ‘spavin’ from the Estonian word, but SSA (I, 179a) thinks this may be a direct loan from Russian, from either вypicalок or possibly from вѣпятка <
выпячивать, выпитьтывать, выставлять, высовывать наружу; вывести из
стоиа задомь, выдвинуть изъ сарая задомь’ (DAE I, 309b). This last word would also be
phonetically a perfect source for the Estonian word, but semantically the first
goes better.

AHRENS (1853, 265) derived vōipātakas from G. Spatt and Sw. spatt, but could not explain the
origin of the first syllable.

d. OJANSSON 1916, 138; MUST 1956, 131; MĀGISTE 1962, 45-46, 48, 62; RAUN 1982; EEW VII,
2326-2327, XII, 3941.

a. vōlu ‘charm, enchantment, attraction, fascination; bewitchment, magic; witch, magician,
sorcerer, wizard’ (GÖSEKEN 1660, 480; THOR HELL 1732; VESTRING 1740, 294a; HUPEL
1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS

b. ORuss. vělxvь ‘Zauberer, Wahrsager’ < Common Slavic (REW I, 223).
c. First recorded in 1660 in GÖSEKEN 1660. 306

The Russian etymology307 for Est. vōlu was first suggested (independently?) by both
ANDERSON (1893, 240b) and MIKKOLA (1894, 103-104) around the same time in 1893;
whether they know of each other’s work is not known. MIKKOLA also recognized that the
vowel substitution is problematic: Est. vōlu and cognates (cf. SSA III, 423b) go back to a
Finnic *velho, but the ORuss. vělxvь ‘sorcerer; soothsayer’ can only go back to *vělxvь. From
the first, newer, form we would expect a Finnic *vulho, from the second, older, form Finnic
*vilho. MIKKOLA (ibid.) then posited an intermediate form with an *о from which Finnic
*velho could be derived. KALIMA (1952, 38) then pointed out that there do not seem to be
older genuine words in Finnish that begin with vu- (the same goes for Estonian), and that
therefore *vulho was unacceptable for phonotactic reasons. PŁOGER (1973, 222-223) goes on
to show that the next likely form would be *volho, but that there are also no genuine words
with vo- in Finnic, and a *vо- being an unacceptable substitution in a language where quantity
plays such a large role. According to PŁOGER *vel- was consequently the only possibility to
substitute ORuss. vělxvь.

In older Estonian we still find such forms as vōlhur, in southern Estonian also metathetical
vōhl, which still has the meaning ‘sorcerer’ (cf. WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; JÜVÄ 2002, 537a), as

306 MĀGISTE (1962, 26) claims incorrectly that the first recording is in the 1684 South Estonian Ūnsa Lutri Laste
Oppus (‘Blessed Luther’s Instruction for Children’).
307 The Latvian linguist J. ZANDERS derived Est. vōlu from Latv. velns ‘devil’ (ZANDERS 1894, 128, 450). Apart
from LOORITS’ fitting rejection (LRU III, 130), we have not found any mention of it in the literature.
it do the Finnic cognates (cf. SSA III, 423b). In the dialects there are two main areas where it occurs, in the south-east (Võru and Setu) and on the islands (Saaremaa, Muhu, Hiiumaa and Kihnu) (cf. LRU III, 103\textsuperscript{308}; VMS II, 706a, 709b).

The verb võluma ‘to captivate, to charm’ was introduced from island dialects into literary Estonian by JOHANNES AAVID (from Saaremaa) and VILLEM GRÜNTHAL-RIDALA (from Muhu), writers of the Noor Eesti (‘Young Estonia’) literary movement. They also created the adjective võluv ‘captivating, charming’, which does not occur in dialects, according to LOORITS (LRU III, 102), who dedicates over 40 pages to an analysis of the semantic aspects of Est. võlu (LRU III, 101-148). LOORITS (ibid.) claims that the negative connotations in the dialect variants of võlu are due to influence of German priests.

Finnic sorcerers are often mentioned in Russian and Nordic chronicles (cf. VERNADSKY 1943, 239); it is thus easily conceivable that their Russian denotation was again borrowed by the Estonians.


a. värav ‘gate, gateway; barn door’ (MÜLLER 1600; STAHL 1637, 97, 121; GÖSEKEN 1660, 413; THOR HELLE 1732; VESTRING 1740, 275b; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).

b. ORuss. verěja (> Russ. верё́я (‘dial) gate-post’) < верáть ‘to close’ (REW I, 188).

c. The Russian etymology was first suggested in print by GANANDER in 1787. WESKE (1890, 255-256) claimed that the source cannot have been Russ. верё́я, because this has the basic meaning ‘gate- or door-post’, whilst the Finnic variants (Fi. veräjä, dial. verrää, veräs, verejä, väräjä, Kar. veräjä, Lud. veräi, Veps. veräi, väröö, Vot. väräjä, veräi, Liv. vä’rōt; cf. SSA III, 429a) usually mean ‘gate’, and therefore he assumed that the source must have been OCS vрата, which was immediately rejected by MIKKOLA (1894, 96-97). Due to the various forms in Finnic other forms, from other languages too, have been proposed: OJANSUU (1921, 42-44) derives it from Lith. dūr̃ys ‘door’ or Russ. верё́ра ‘Kette, Fessel’; a year later OJANSUU

\textsuperscript{308} LOORITS (LRU III, 103, footnote 4) notes some uncertain dialect recordings from Jüri (northern Estonia), Hanila (western Estonia, though the closest mainland opposite Muhu) and Tallinn.
(1922a) suggests a different Baltic source, namely Lith. *vaštai* ‘Thor’ (rejected by KALIMA 1936, 25-26); MIKKOLA (1938, 96-97) rejected all loan etymologies and claimed it was cognate to Khanty *war* ‘Lattengitter in einem Fluss’ (which MÄGISTE [1938, 150] courteously suggests is unecessary). Though the relations between the various forms are complicated\(^{309}\) and could be lengthily treated, the Russian etymology for Est. *vārav* has been accepted without doubt since KALIMA 1952 (82-183).

d. GANANDER 1787, III: 302; BRÖMSEN 1814, 148; AHLOVIST 1875, 124; WESKE 1890, 255-256; MIKKOLA 1894, 96-97; OJANSUU 1921; 1922a, 90-96; MIKKOLA 1938, 96-97; KALIMA 1952, 4, 34, 182-183; 1956, 3, 27, 139; ARISTE 1958, 26, 33; MÄGISTE 1962, 27, 29, 55, 59; KIPARSKY 1965, 433; ARISTE 1981, 95; RAUN 1982; EEW XII, 3982-3983; SSA III, 429a.


a. *vārten* ‘spindle’ (THOR HÄLLE 1732, 306; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).


c. BRÖMSEN (1814, 148) first proposed Russian origin for Est. *vārtėn* ~ *vārtel* (*vārtel* is a dialect variant; cf. VMS II, 723b), deriving it from a Russ. *Wertel* ‘der Bratspieß’ (= Russ. вёртел ‘skewer’, which is derived from вёртывать ‘to turn’; cf. REW I, 190). Est. *vārtėn* and its cognates are, however, borrowed from a different derivative of вёртывать, namely ORuss. *vertuno*. This was first suggested by AHRENS (1843, 131). This etymology has since been accepted, but problematic for some time remained chronology: the Finnic form must have been borrowed when pleophony was not yet fully developed in East Slavic, but as this was supposed to have ended by approximately 950 (cf. KIPARSKY 1963, 153; SHEVELOV 1964, 414-416), the Finnic word must have been borrowed earlier.

\(^{309}\) The auslaut *r* in Est. *vārav* is probably due to analogy with participial forms (cf. OJANSUU 1916, 199; EEW XII, 3982-3983); the variant *vārat* is either a loan from Russ. ворота (MÄGISTE 1956a, 54; 1962, 55; rejected by KIPARSKY 1965, 433) or due to contamination with it (MÄGISTE 1956a, 54; 1962, 55; EEW XII, 3983); OJANSUU (1921, 43) suggests the following: Vot. *vāja* is a loan from South Estonian; Olon. *veräi* may be a loan from Finnish; Veps. *veräi* is a loan from Olonec, and Liv. *vārīd* is an older loan from Estonian; in his article on Estonian loanwords in Finnish OJANSUU (1916, 198-199) claims (probably correctly) that Fi. dial. (Tytärsäari) *verävä* is a loan from Est. *vārav*, whilst five years later (OJANSUU 1921, 43) he claims Est. *vārav* is ‘undoubtedly’ a loan from Finnish; POSTI (1953) takes KALIMA to task for not mentioning Liv. (Salis) *vārved*.
It is now assumed that words were borrowed from Old Russian into Finnic during all stages of the development of pleophony from tort > tor’ť > torot (cf. KIPARSKY 1956, 74; PLÖGER 1973, 246).
The -/ in Est. värte is probably the result of contamination with G. Wirtel (thus MIKKOLA 1938, 55).
Borrowed later from Russ. вётеро is Est. dial. vechtin (MUST 2000, 466).
d. BRÖMSEN 1814, 148; AHRENS 1843, 131; 1853, 262; WESKE 1890, 257-258; MIKKOLA 1894; 96; 1938, 55; KALIMA 1952, 37, 40-42, 188; 1956, 31, 54, 143; KIPARSKY 1956, 74; ARSITE 1958, 26; MÄGISTE 1962, 27, 29; RAUN 1982; EEW XII, 3988; SSA III, 484a; MUST 2000, 466-467.
a. västar ‘(fish) spear’ (HORNUNG 1693, 15; VESTRING 1740, 276a; HUPEL 1780; 1818; WIEDEMANN 1869; 1893; EKÖS; EÖS; VÖS 1933; 1936; 1940; 1945; 1953; ÖS 1960; 1976; 1999; EKSS).
c. MÄGISTE (1956, 50-56) suggested that Est. värte is a loan from a dialectal variant *воестрорá of острорá ‘fish-spear’. This etymology was then accepted by MOORA (1962, 218, 220) and RAUN (1982), but in EEW (XII, 3991) the Russian etymology is not mentioned. This is odd, as either MÄGISTE himself later rejected the etymology, which is unlikely, as some ten years (MÄGISTE 1962, 55-56) later he still accepts it, or it was rejected by ALO RAUN (who wrote the introduction to EEW and edited parts of it). RAUN, however, accepts the etymology in his 1982 etymological dictionary of Estonian and ascribes the etymology to MÄGISTE.
A Russ. *воестрорá been recorded. There are Slavic cognates with a prothetic [v]: cf. Lower Sorbian wótsog, Upper Sorbian wótsoga, Polabian vástrúga (cf. REW I, 287), but not in Russian, though until the 18th century оостры was still common in literary Russian (cf. KIPARSKY 1963, 147), and in dialects close to the Estonian border still today (cf. Russ. Pskov воостры ‘острый’; HONSELAAR 2001, 288b). Problematic remains the fact that the prothetic [v] developed in front of a stressed syllable, and that the variants of острорá are stressed either on the last syllable as in the literary form or on the second syllable (cf. REW II, 287), but a [v] in a *воестрорá can be due to analogy with воострый. Neither can the vocalism of värte be satisfactorily explained, as MÄGISTE (1962, 55-56) already pointed out. One would expect an Est. *vastra or *vastra, and the front vowel here remains unexplained. It remains a very unsure etymology, but for want of a more plausible alternative we accept it.
d. MÄGISTE 1956, 50-56; 1962, 55-56; MOORA 1964, 218, 220; RAUN 1982; EEW XII, 3991.