

DIFFERENT LOAN SOURCES AS A REASON FOR VARIABILITY IN SOME ESTONIAN DIALECT WORDS

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Abstract. Among other reasons, the phonetic variability of loanwords in Estonian dialects may reflect their origination from different but etymologically connected sources of borrowing. In an etymological dictionary, it is essential to find the words originating from different loan sources. In the present article, some dialect words and their variants are analysed from this aspect. Sometimes the different loan sources have concrete criteria, e.g. variants with different stem vowels in the words *kann* ‘jug’, *nunn* ‘nun’, and *kirn* ‘churn’, while some cases are not as clear, e.g. *kartul* and *tuhl(is)* ‘potato’, *kapsas* and *kaapsas* ‘cabbage’, and *reetkamm* and *reigam(m)* ‘reed’. If certain phonetic criteria are lacking, the areal distribution of variants may give valuable information about the possible loan sources. The analysis of a group of etymologically connected loanwords for ‘shuttle’, together with their further developments in Estonian dialects, illustrates the complexity of lexical relations in Estonian dialects.

Keywords: Estonian dialects, stem variability, Low German loanwords, German loanwords, Swedish loanwords, Estonian-Swedish loanwords, Russian loanwords, Latvian loanwords

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1. Introduction

Etymologists are aware of the fact that especially younger loanwords are often characterized by a multitude of variants in Estonian. Some variants can be considered as regular or at least predictable, as they reflect regular phonetic changes of certain dialects characteristic to the whole vocabulary (e.g. the diphthongization of some long vowels in northern Estonian dialects), or typical variability in the adaptation of loanwords in Estonian (e.g. the parallel variants with or without first syllable, corresponding to the unstressed first syllable of the loan source). However, there are plenty of variants that cannot be explained in this way.

At the same time, there are many loanwords in Estonian that are borrowed in parallel from different contact languages. This concerns the etymological equivalents of a stem in mutually related contact languages (e.g., in Low German, German and Swedish), as well as words borrowed by contact languages from each other or from the same donor language. Sometimes the different sources of such parallel borrowings are quite obvious in terms of phonetic or semantic criteria but sometimes the situation is unclear.

Thus, in the case of variants which cannot be explained as regular or predictable, origination from different, yet etymologically related sources of borrowing must be taken into consideration, as in an etymological dictionary, it is essential to distinguish between words originating from the same loan source and those originating from different ones. In fact, origination from different loan sources can also be an alternative explanation for “predictable” variants.

The variability of loanwords requires the special attention of an etymologist. To explain the reasons for variability, a detailed analysis of loanwords is required which takes into account their phonetic shape and areal distribution, as well as evidence from all the neighbouring languages. In this article, some examples of variability resulting from different loan sources will be analysed and some related problems will be introduced.

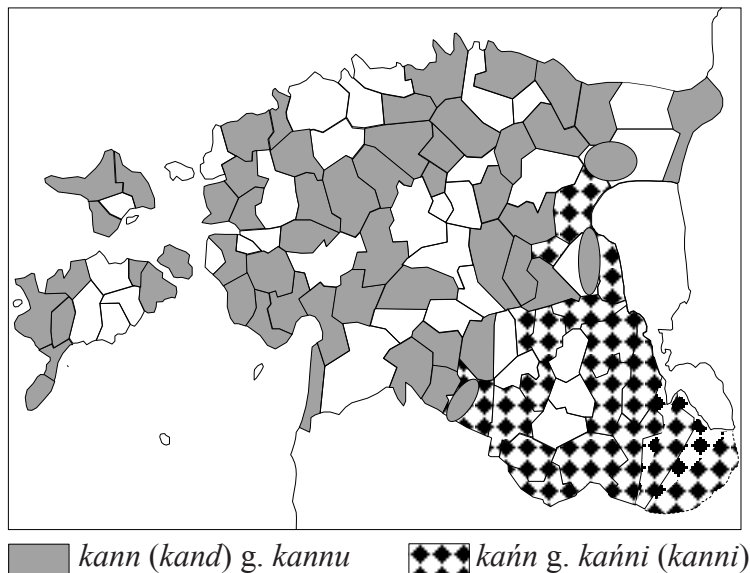
It should be mentioned that, in compiling the Estonian etymological dictionary, the published volumes (A–M) of the Estonian Dialect Dictionary (EMS) and the Concise Dialect Dictionary (VMS), as pre-organized collections of dialect data, are of great help. In the Estonian Dialect Dictionary, there is a common principle according to which, if possible, all variants of a loanword are presented together in the same entry, but different ways or different times of borrowing and some other criteria are taken into account as well (EMS I: 21, see also Neetar 1992: 612–613). However, the solutions of the Estonian Dialect Dictionary cannot always be applied to an etymological dictionary. In the Concise Dialect Dictionary, which is just a preliminary entry list for the Estonian Dialect Dictionary, more variants of a loanword seem to be combined in the same entry.

2. Different quality of the stem-final vowel resulting from different loan sources

In some cases, variants originating from different loan sources can be recognized by the quality of the stem-final vowel occurring in oblique cases. Having analysed the Germanic loanwords in Finnic languages, Vilhelm Thomsen concluded in the 19th century that the younger as well as older loanwords from the Nordic [i.e. Scandinavian] languages had preserved “full vowels” [i.e., *-a*, *-o* and *-u*] at the end, while the (Low) German loanwords of Estonian and Livonian could be easily recognized by the *i*-ending as the equivalent of the German *-e* (Thomsen 1967: 110). Later researchers noticed that the stem-final vowels *-a* or *-u* in Estonian cannot always be considered to be an obvious marker of Swedish or older Scandinavian/Germanic loanwords vs. Low German or German loanwords, because some of the latter still have stem-final *-a* or *-u* (see e.g., Ariste 1933: 28–29, Ariste 1937: 136, and Hinderling 1981: 113–116). However, Robert Hinderling has considered Finnish equivalents with the same stem-final vowel [*-a* or *-u*] to be a strong argument for the Swedish (or older Germanic) origin of such words (Hinderling 1981: 114). Dialectal variants of the words *kann* ‘jug’, *nunn* ‘nun’ and *kirn* ‘churn’ are classic examples of the variability resulting from different loan sources, reflected (mainly) in the quality of the stem-final vowel.

2.1. *kann* ‘jug’

The word *kann* has, besides the *u*-final stem variant *kann*, g. *kannu*, belonging to the standard language, a dialectal *i*-final stem variant *kañn*, g. *kañni* ~ *kanni*, common in southern Estonian dialects and in the eastern dialect (EMS II: 676; see Map 1). Variants of this type occur in the same entry of the dialect dictionary (*kann* EMS II: 676).



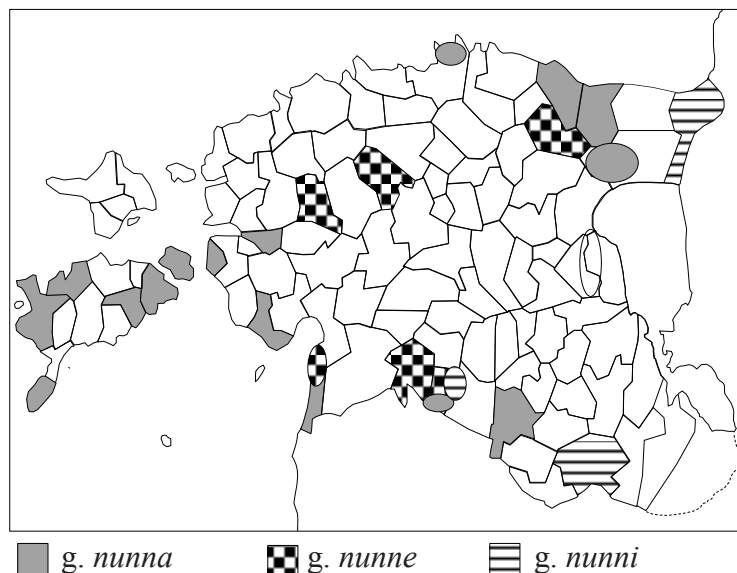
Map 1. *kann* ‘jug’ in Estonian dialects.

The *u*-final stem is a Swedish (or even older, Scandinavian) loanword, < Swedish *kanna* ‘jug’ (Old Norse *kanna*). There is a *u*-final stem *kannu* in Finnish as well. The stem-final *-u* in Estonian and Finnish (instead of the Old Norse and Swedish *-a*) is considered to reflect the word-final *-u* of the oblique cases in Old Norse and Old Swedish (Thomsen 1967: 109). The *i*-final stem is borrowed from Middle Low German or (High) German, < Middle Low German *kanne*, German *Kanne* ‘jug’ (Thomsen 1967: 140, SKES: 156, EEW: 691, and SSA I: 300).

2.2. *nunn* ‘nun’

In standard Estonian, the word for ‘nun’ has an *a*-final stem: *nunn*, g. *nunna*. The same form has been recorded in many sub-dialects sporadically over the language area (see Map 2). In several Estonian mainland sub-dialects, the noun has stem variants with final vowel *-e* (*nunn*, g. *nunne*) or *-i* (*nuñn*, g. *nuñni*) (EMSUKA). The *e*-final variant is also seen in the street name *Nunne* in Old Tallinn. The *a*-final stem is an Old Swedish loanword, < Old Swedish *nunna*, *nonna*

‘nun’, cf. also Finnish *nunna*. The *e*- and *i*-final stem originate from Middle Low German *nunne* id. (EEW: 1742, Raag 1988: 659, 661).

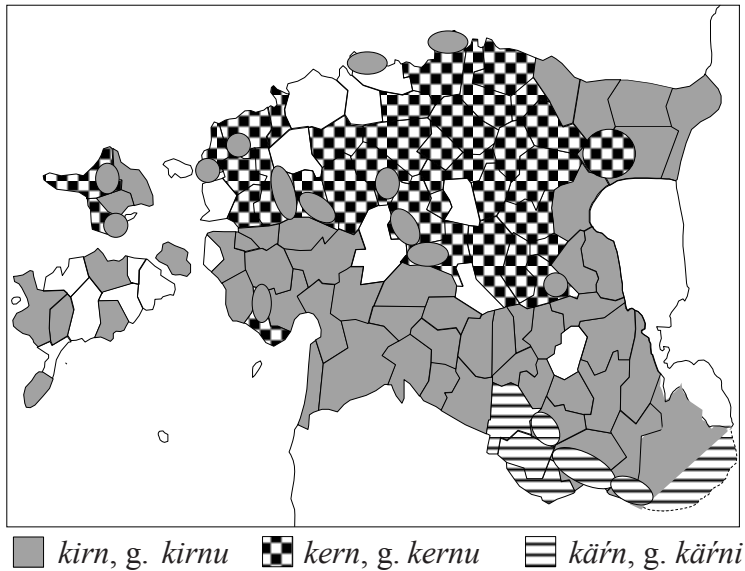


Map 2. *nunn* ‘nun’: the vocal stems in Estonian dialects.

2.3. *kirn* ‘churn’

The word for ‘churn (wooden vessel for keeping milk or cream, etc.)’ has the variants *kirn*, g. *kirnu*, *kern*, g. *kernu*, *kärn*, g. *kärni*, and *käärne* in Estonian dialects (see Map 3), i.e. besides the different quality of the stem-final vowel, there are also other phonetic differences in the stem (EMS III: 230, and EMS IV: 501, 587). The variant *kirn*, g. *kirnu* is an Old Swedish (or Scandinavian) loanword < Old Swedish *kirna* ‘churn’ (Old Norse *kirna*) (SKES: 199, Hinderling 1981: 171–172, EEW: 847, and SSA I: 371), cf. also Finnish *kirnu*. The variant *kern*, g. *kernu* is connected with *kirn*, as the change *ir* > *er* is typical of northern Estonian dialects (EEW: 847, and Kask 1972: 125). The variant *kärn*, g. *kärni* has been borrowed from Middle Low German *kerne*, *kirne* (Hinderling 1981: 183, and EEW: 847). In addition to the variants borrowed from different Germanic languages, there is also a variant *käärne*, occurring only in the Leivu linguistic enclave in Latvia. This has been borrowed via Latvian, < Latvian dial. *ķērne*

(Vaba 1997: 306). (After the example *päälitse käärne*, presented by Vaba (1997: 306), *käärne* seems to be n. pl., and there is also a n. sg. form *käärnä* in Leivu.) In the Estonian Dialect Dictionary, there are the entries *kirn* (including *kern*) (EMS III: 230–231), *kärn* (EMS IV: 501) and *käärne* (EMS IV: 587); thus the entries match the different etymologies of the variants.



Map 3. *kirn* ‘churn’: variants in Estonian dialects.

3. Other kinds of variability in the stem shape

More extensive variability in the stem shape is much more common. Sometimes the different loan sources of the variants are quite transparent, while sometimes the variants can be interpreted in several ways. Often the situation is also complicated by variability in the donor language. If certain phonetic criteria are lacking, some conclusions about the possible loan sources may be drawn from the areal distribution of the variants.

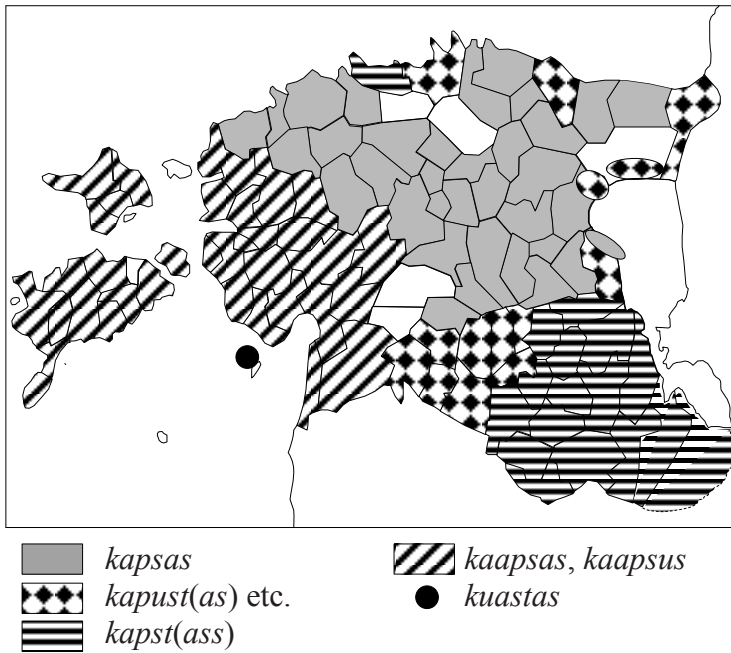
3.1. *kartul* ‘potato’

The word *kartul* ‘potato’ has the dialect variants *kardul(as)*, *kardules*, *kardulis*, *karduhvel*, *kartles*, *tuhl(is)*, *tohris*, *toh(v)el*, *tih(v)el*, *kartohk*, *kardohk*, *kardok* etc. (EMS II: 768, 769, 771, 772, and VMS I: 181, II: 553; about the dialectal distribution of the variants see ALFE 2: 51). In the Estonian Dialect Dictionary, there are the entries *kartul* (EMS II: 772–773), *kartuhvel* (EMS II: 771–772), *kartles* (EMS II: 768) and *kartohk* (EMS II: 769) for the *kar*-initial variants of the word (five volumes of the dictionary A–M have been published so far). Considering the etymology, the variants *kartul*, *kartuhvel* and *kartles* originate from the same loan source (< German *Kartoffel* ‘potato’) (EEW: 719). The origin of the word *tuhlis* and other short variants without the initial syllable *kar-* is problematic. On the one hand, they may also originate from the same source (cf. EEW: 3324), as the loss of the unstressed first syllable of the loan source is common in Estonian. On the other hand, in German the dialectal variants *Toffel*, *Toffelchen*, *Tyft* and *Tofels* (DWB, s.v. *Tuffel*, Viereck 2011: 11, cf. also Raun 1982: 183) have also been recorded. Thus the Estonian short variants may have also been borrowed from a German variant as developed in Estonian. There seems to be no doubt that the words *kartohk*, *kardohk*, *kartokass* and *kardokas*, common in the Võru dialect of South Estonian, are borrowed via Russian (< Russian *kartófel*’, dialectal *kartóvka*, *kartóxa* ‘potato’) (Must 2000: 87).

3.2. *kapsas* ‘cabbage’

The word *kapsas* ‘cabbage’ has the variants *kapst(ass)*, *kapust(as)*, *kapus*, *kaapsas*, *kaapsus*, *kuastas* etc. (EMS II: 712, 715, 717, and EMS III: 927; see Map 4). In the Estonian Dialect Dictionary, there are the entries *kapsas* (including the variants *kaapsas* and *kaapsus* with a long vowel in the first syllable) (EMS II: 712–713), *kapst(ass)* (EMS II: 715), *kapus* and *kapust(as)* (EMS II: 717) and *kuastas* (EMS III: 927). In terms of etymology, the variants *kapsas*, *kapst(ass)*, *kapust(as)* and *kapus* originate from the Russian *kapústa* ‘cabbage’, reflecting the different stages of the adaptation of the loanword (*kapusta* > *kap(u)st* > *kapst* > *kapstas* > *kapsas*) (Must 2000: 79–80). The variants *kaapsas*, *kaapsus* and *kuastas*, common in the insular dialect and in the western dialect, may have been borrowed via Latvian (< *kāposti* pl. id.), or at

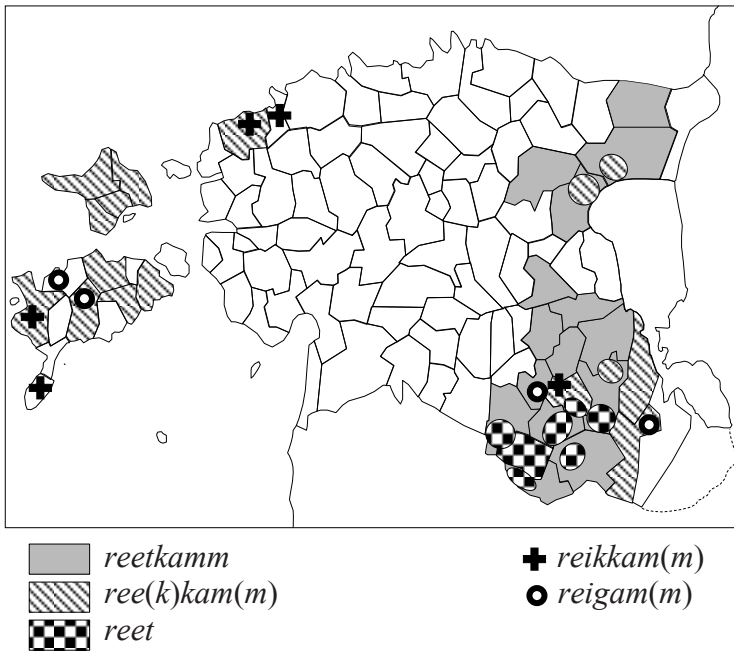
least they have been influenced by the Latvian word, as Mari Must and Lembit Vaba have claimed (Must 2000: 79–80 and Vaba 1997: 78–79).



Map 4. *kapsas* ‘cabbage’ in Estonian dialects.

3.3. *reetkamm* ‘reed’

The word *reetkamm* ‘reed, used in winding warp threads on a warp beam’ has the variants *reekkamm*, *reekamm*, *reet*, *reigam(m)*, *reikkam(m)* etc. (EMSUKA, cf. also VMS II: 317; see Map 5).



Map 5. *reetkamm* ‘reed’: variants in Estonian dialects.

The word *reetkamm* is considered to be a Low German loanword (Ariste 1933: 98, cf. also Koponen 1998: 157), < Middle Low German *rēⁱdekam* ‘kammförmiges Brett zum aufbringen des Kettgarns auf den Webstuhl’ (LB II: 1960). The Swedish *redkam* could be the source, too, but the Swedish word has itself probably been borrowed from Middle Low German (SAOB, s.v. *redkam*). The variants *reikkam(m)*, *reekam(m)* and *reet* are probably connected with *reetkamm*, the first two variants having developed as a result of assimilation, and the last one having lost the second component of the compound word. The variants *reigam(m)* and *reikkam(m)*, recorded in the insular dialect and in north-west Estonia, have been borrowed from Estonian-Swedish dialects, according to Paul Ariste (1933: 97). The loan source is the Estonian-Swedish *raikåmb*, *rai(j)kåmb*, *räikám*, *räi(j)kám*, *ræi-komb*, *ræ-komb* ‘vävsked’, English ‘weaver’s comb, reed’ (Freudenthal and Vendell 1886: 169, 178, Vendell 1906: 739, Danell 1951: 322, and Isberg 1970: 253). However, it is difficult to explain the variants *reigam(m)* from Põlva and *reikam(m)* from Kanepi in southern Estonia as Estonian-Swedish loanwords. As there seems to be some evidence of variants with diphthongs in Low German as well, cf. *rēⁱdekam*, noted before, and *reit* (SAOB, s.v. *redkam*), it cannot be excluded that the

Estonian dialectal variants with diphthongs may have been borrowed from a Low German source. In Julius Mägiste's opinion, *reigam* has developed from *reeékamm* as a result of contraction (EEW: 2441). Considering the variants *reigam(m)* and *reikkam(m)*, recorded in the insular dialect and in north-west Estonia, the Estonian-Swedish origin is certainly the most plausible.

4. A complicated group of loanwords from different sources: words for 'shuttle'

The analysis of a larger group of words with similar construction and denoting the same object illustrates the complicated lexical relations of Estonian dialects. In dialect dictionaries, there are the following words for 'shuttle': *kotspool* (*kotspuul* and *kootspool*), *kutspool*, *kujutspool* (VMS I: 285, 309, see also EMS III: 640, 764, 983 and EMS IV: 133), *otspool* (*atspool*, *otspul*, *otspol* and *otpuul*) (VMS II: 153), *sits*, *sitspool* (*setspool*), *sitspuur* and *sutspool* (*so(o)tspo(o)l*) (VMS II: 421, 447). In addition to those mentioned above, derivatives from the verb *süst-*, *sööst-* 'to dash, to rush; to dart; to throw oneself into something' are used for 'shuttle' (VMS II: 467, 471). The first component of all these compounds ends with *-ts*, and the second component is *-pool* (often in shortened form). Besides the words evidently originating from different but etymologically connected sources, words or variants occur that probably developed in Estonian dialects.

Different words may reflect different types of shuttles, e.g.

Käina *Kui surnuk on mõlemalt poolelt lahti, siis on see süstik. Kui aga teine pool on kinnine, siis kutsutakse sitspol* ['If both sides of a shuttle are open, it is called *süstik*. But if one side is closed, it is called *sitspol*']

Viru-Nigula *taval. suts-pool ~ surnukas, kutspool harva* ['usually *suts-pool* ~ *surnukas*, seldom *kutspool*']

Haljala *kotspual* (*sõna tarvitasiid ainult kangrud*) ['the word was used only by weavers']

Nõo *kotspool ~ (uuem) süstik* ['*kotspool* ~ (younger) *süstik*']
(EMSUKA)

On the basis of the information in the archive of the Estonian dialects, no clear connections can be seen between different types and designations.

Next the names for shuttle will be discussed in more detail.

4.1. *kotspool, kutspool* etc.

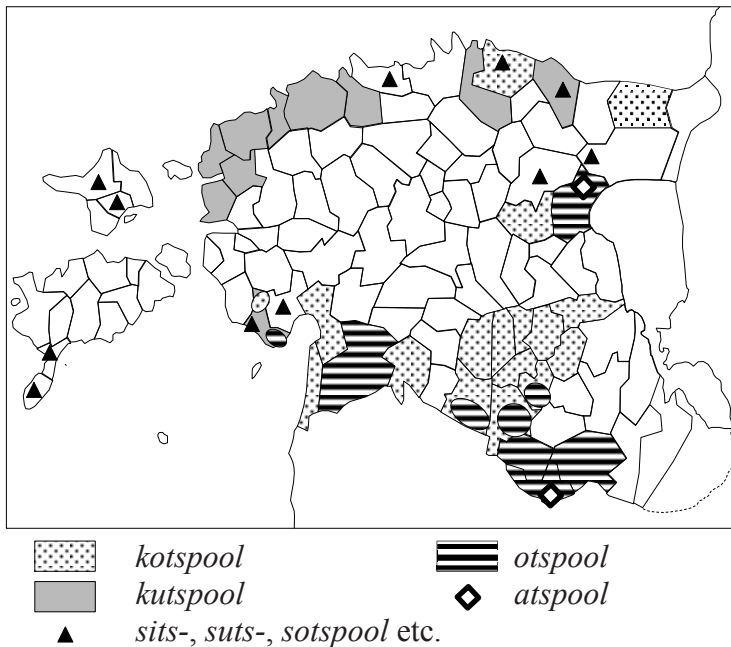
The shuttle names *kotspool* (*kotspuul* and *kootspool*) and *kutspool* occur on the north-eastern and north-western coasts of Estonia, in south-western Estonia and in the Mulgi and Tartu dialects of the South Estonian group (Map 6). The words *kutspool* and *kotspool* were recorded in A. W. Hupel's dictionary (1790: 190). According to Andrus Saareste (1924: 231), these words have been borrowed from local Estonian Swedes on the coast, and from Swedish weavers who worked in towns in southern Estonia, < Swedish *skottspole* 'shuttle' (parts of the compound *skott* 'shot' + *spole* 'spool, reel, bobbin; shuttle'). The Estonian-Swedish variants are *skotspól*, *sküttspól*, *skotspool* and *skutspool* 'skottspole and vävskyttel' (Freudenthal and Vendell 1886: 194, 197, Danell 1951: 358, and Isberg 1970: 282). The word *kutspool* is also mentioned as a Swedish loanword later in the book *Kaunis emakeel* by Andrus Saareste (1952: 61, 81) and in *Introduction to Estonian linguistics* by Alo Raun and Andrus Saareste (1965: 45).

Wilhelm Wiget (1928: 261–262) has mentioned that the areal distribution of the words *kutspool*, *kootspool* and *kotspuul* is not typical for an Estonian-Swedish loanword. Paul Ariste in his master's thesis on Estonian-Swedish loanwords does not discuss the problems of origin in detail, considering the variants *kutspool*, *kootspool*, *kotspuul* etc. to be Estonian-Swedish loanwords (Ariste 1933: 70). In Julius Mägiste's *Estnisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, the etymology of the word *kuts-* (in the compound *kutspool*) is missing (EEW: 1069). It is unclear how to explain the occurrence of an (Estonian-)Swedish loanword in the Mulgi and Tartu dialects.

Considering the distribution of variants with *u* and *o* in the first syllable, one can notice variants with *o* occurring in southern Estonia. According to Saareste's explanation, the word arrived in southern Estonia from Swedish weavers in towns. In Estonian-Swedish dialects, the vowels *o* and *o* may vary in the first syllable, and this can also be reflected in the words borrowed by Estonian. P. Ariste has mentioned the words *kutspool* ~ *kotspuul* as an example of the phenomenon (Ariste 1933: 18–19).

There is some variation *o* ~ *u* in the first syllable in Estonian dialects, too. This is primarily characteristic of western Estonia, in particular in the western dialect, as well as in the insular dialect and in part of the central dialect influenced by the western dialect; the vowel *o* may be raised or replaced with *u* and, vice versa, the vowel *u* may

be lowered or replaced with *o* (Juhkam and Sepp 2000: 15, and Must 1965: 14; see also Lonn and Niit 2002: 26, 27–28).



Map 6. ‘shuttle’ in Estonian dialects.

There is a similar word *schotspole* ‘Weberspule, Weberschiffchen’ (SchL IV: 126), *schotspôle* (*-spoele*), *-spûle* ‘Schießspule, Weberschiffchen’ (LB III: 133) in Middle Low German. The origin of the word from a Low German source is another and even more plausible explanation. In Middle Low German loanwords, the cluster *sch-* is usually replaced by *k-* in Estonian (Ariste 1972: 92). The same word has been recorded in German dialects in Westphalia: *schotspaule* ‘weberschifflein’ (Woeste 1882: 230). Thus we suggest that the variant *kotspool* in the Tartu and Mulgi dialects may be a Middle Low German loanword.

4.2. *sutspool, sotspool, sitspool* etc.

The *s*-initial words for ‘shuttle’ *sutspool* (*so(o)tspo(o)l*), *sitspool* (*setspool*), *sits*, *sitsper* and *sitspuur* occur sporadically in northern

Estonian dialects, as can be seen in Map 6 (VMS, EMSUKA). The words *sotspool* and *sutspool* are recorded in Wiedemann's Estonian-German Dictionary (Wiedemann 1869: 1170, 1207; Wiedemann 1973: 1062, 1094), and there is the variant *sütspool* (= *süstepool*) (Wiedemann 1869: 1217 and Wiedemann 1973: 1102). The earliest documentation of the word *sutspool* known to us is from 1849 in the book *Ma-ilm ja mõnda, mis seal sees leida on*, by Fr. R. Kreutzwald (MM 148).

A. Saareste (1924: 232) also examined the origin of these words. He assumed that the words *setspool*, *sitspool*, *sitspuur*, *sutspool* and *süts* may have developed as a contamination of the types *otspool* and *süst-pool*, but more likely the types *otspool* and *kutspool*, *kotspool* have been influenced by the language of the weavers in towns and manors and the German *Schütze* 'shuttle'. J. Mägiste (EEW: 3016) has connected the words *süts-pool*, *sots-pool* and *suts-pool* with the German *Schütz-spule*. There is *Schütze* 'shuttle' in German (e.g. DWB 'als webergerät'), but the compound *Schütz(-)spule* is not found in dictionaries. ALFE 3 (400–406) regards these *s*-initial words as variants of the words for 'shuttle', derived from the Estonian verb stem *sööst-* 'to dash, to rush; to dart; to throw oneself into something' (cf. e.g., *süst*, *süstipuu*, *süst(i)pool*, *söösti(pool)*, *sööstipuu* etc.). However, it is mentioned that they may also include components of other etymologies.

Actually, all the *s*-initial words mentioned here (*sutspool* (*so(o)tspo(o)l*), *sitspool* (*setspool*), *sütspool* etc.) can be considered to be borrowings from German. In addition to the German *Schütze* (*Schütz-spule*), mentioned by Julius Mägiste (EEW: 3016), the variant *Schutze* 'shuttle' is recorded in Middle High German (Lexer 1876: 835 and Köbler 2013), and in W. v. Gutzeit's dictionary of Baltic German there is *Schutzspule* (Gutzeit 1898: 170). (Unfortunately, no definition is given for the word, but there is an example of its usage: *Arbeit, so auf dem Stuhl und auf dem Schragen mit dem Schutz Spuhlen gemacht werden kann.*) Note that in Baltic German there was a tendency of delabialization of front vowels, according to which *i* was often pronounced instead of *ü*, thus *Schütze*, *Schütz-spule* could actually have been pronounced with *i* (Mitzka 1923: 22). There are also the words *Schoßspule* and *Schießspule* for 'shuttle' in German. All of these German words should be taken into account as loan sources of Estonian words.

The variation *i* ~ *e* (*sitspool* ~ *setspool*) is probably local: the vowel *i* may lower in the western dialect and in the part of the central

dialect influenced by the western dialect (Must 1965: 14 and Pajusalu et al. 2009: 137).

In conclusion, it is probable that the loan source of the Estonian dialect word *sutspool* is the German *Schutzspule*, *Schutze*; the word *sotspool* may be a result of local variation $o \sim u$, but its source may also be the German *Schoßspule*. The word *sitspool* may be borrowed via the Baltic German dialect from the word *Schütze*, but the influence of the German *Schießspule* is possible as well. The variant *setspool* has developed due to local variation $i \sim e$.

Probably the *s*-initial Estonian words have been borrowed from several sources. Contaminations and mutual influences of different words have had some role, too. The first components of all the German words listed here are etymologically connected with each other, as well as with the Low German *schotspole* and Swedish *skottspole*.

4.3. *atspool*, *otspool*

The word *atspool*, recorded in two parishes (Torma and Rõuge; see Map 6), is a Latvian loanword, as mentioned by Andrus Saareste (1924: 232) and confirmed by Lembit Vaba (1997: 66–67), < Latvian *atspuõle* ‘Weberschiffchen, Garnspulchen’ (ME I: 196). The Latvian word, in turn, has been borrowed from Low German, < *schotspole* (i.e., from the same source suggested for the Estonian *kotspool* above), but the first component of the Low German compound has been replaced by the Latvian prefix *at-* (Schwers 1953: 4 and Vaba 1997: 66).

The word *otspool* is recorded in the Tõstamaa and Saarde parishes of the western dialect and in some parishes of the Tartu and Võru dialects (Map 6).

In Andrus Saareste’s opinion (1924: 231–232), the word *otspool* has the same source as the word *atspool*, while *o* has developed under the influence of the words *ots* ‘end’ and *kotspool*. Lembit Vaba has argued that it is not necessary to suppose a borrowing before the contamination: *otspool* has, rather, developed directly from *kotspool*-type words and has been associated folk-etymologically with the word *ots* (Vaba 1997: 66–67). Some influence of the Latvian loanword can still be assumed in the neighbouring area of the word *atspool*.

4.4. *kujutspool, lutspool and potspuol*

Three compounds with the second component *-pool* have been recorded only once, each in a different sub-dialect. The word *kujutspool* has been recorded only in the Saarde parish of the western dialect. According to Andrus Saareste, this variant has developed due to folk etymology. The first component has been associated with the verb *kuduma* ‘to weave; to knit’, and the present sg3P is *kujub* in the western dialect (Saareste 1924: 231; see also Wiget 1928: 262). Probably it has been influenced by the variant *kootspool* of *kotspool* (see also 4.1), pronounced as *kyütspuul*, *kyütspuul* in Häädemeeste, next to Saarde.

Two words with different first components but the same second component have been recorded in the North Estonian coastal dialect: *lutspool* (Viru-Nigula) and *potspuol* (Haljala) (Saareste 1924: 228, EMS V: 531 and EMSUKA). A. Saareste (1924: 231) thinks these variants (*luts-* and *pots-*) have developed from onomatopoeic interjections. The only recording of the word *lutspool*, found in the archive of the Estonian dialects, contains the explanation *muistne põhjaga süstik, tarvitusel oli antvärgi rahval* (‘an ancient shuttle with bottom or base, used by handicraftsmen’). The word *potspuol* may be just accidental pronunciation.

5. Conclusion

The variability of loanwords in Estonian dialects has often resulted from different but mutually etymologically connected loan sources, as there are loanwords from several contact languages with diverse mutual relations. However, there are also other reasons for variability, and thus, the variability requires the etymologist’s special attention. A detailed analysis of the phonetic shape and areal distribution of dialect words/variants and their comparison with the evidence of contact languages makes it possible to discover different loan sources if certain phonetic or geographical criteria can be applied. In many cases, such criteria are difficult to find, and the variability can be interpreted in several ways. In addition, more detailed comparison inside different loanword groups, with the loanwords having well-established etymologies, would probably help to elaborate the criteria and produce more results.

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Abbreviations

g. – genitive, n. – nominative, pl. – plural, sg. – singular, 3P – 3. person

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Kokkuvõte. Iris Metsmägi, Meeli Sedrik, Vilja Oja: Erinevad laenuallikad eesti murdesõnade variatiivsuse põhjusena. Üks laensõnade häälikulise varieeruvuse põhjusi eesti murretes on pärinemine erinevatest, kuid omavahel etümoloogiliselt seotud laenuallikatest. Etümoloogilistes sõnaraamatutes on eri laenuallikaist pärit sõnade eristamine põhimõttelise tähtsusega. Artiklis analüüsitakse niisugusest aspektist mõningaid (murde)sõnu ja nende variante. Eri laenuallikate tuvastamiseks on sageli kasutatud konkreetseid kriteeriume, nt sõnade *kann*, *nunn* ja *kirn* murdevariantide etümologiseerimisel on lähtutud tüvevokaalist. Paljudel juhtudel pole selgeid eristustunnuseid, nt sõnavariandid *kartul* ja *tuhl(is)*, *kapsas* ja *kaapsas*, *reetkamm* ja *reigam(m)*. Kindlate häälikuliste kriteeriumide puudumisel võib variantide murdelevik anda väärtuslikku teavet võimalike laenuallikate kohta. Rühma murretes esinevate süstikut märkivate etümoloogiliselt seotud laensõnade ja nende kohalike edasiarenduste analüüs illustreerib sõnavarasuhete komplitseeritust eesti murretes.

Märksõnad: eesti mured, tüve varieerumine, alamsaksa laenud, saksa laenud, rootsi laenud, eestirootsi laenud, vene laenud, läti laenud