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

1. Finnish jutta

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

The etymological dictionary of the Finnish language (SKES = Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja, Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae, Helsinki) lists two entries: jutta1 'Jochriemen' and jutta2 'Streifen'. At the end of the entry jutta2 the author of the volume in question, Y. H. Toivonen, suggests: "perhaps = jutta1". Phonetically and even semantically this might be conceivable, but it does not seem convincing. Taking into consideration the fact that the Finnic word for 'ox', härkä, is a loanword from Baltic, it might be worth while to look for a possible Baltic etymology for jutta 'Jochriemen'. Heikki Ojansuu was the first to attempt this. He tried to derive jutta from Baltic jünistas (Ojansuu writes jünktas)1. This Baltic form is, however, as already assumed by Thomsen (and accepted by Ojansuu), the source of Fi. juhta 'beast of burden, draught animal'. It is difficult to derive both juhta and jutta from jünistas. SKES has, therefore, not accepted the hypothesis of Ojansuu.

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

2 It is unlikely that jutta could be of Aryan origin (cf. Sanskrit participle, yutā-. In an Aryan loanword we would expect t (not tt) for Aryan t (cf. Fi. sata 'hundred' ~ Sanskrit satām). Furthermore, the use of draught-oxen among the ancestors of the Proto-Finns is evidently of a much later date. Therefore, we cannot assume that a term connected with ox-harnessing could have been borrowed during the Aryan contacts.
an’. The IE base *ieu- ‘verbinden’ is amply represented in Baltic even to-day; cf. e. g. Latv. jūtis ‘Gelenk, Scheideweg’ (**‘Verbindung’), jūtava ‘Kreuz im Rücken’, Lith. jūtis ‘Ochs’ (**‘der Angespannte’), jūgti ‘ins Joch spannen, verbinden, vereinigen’, jūgtas ‘Joch’, jūgiubtis ‘Riemen zum Festschnüren des Jochs’, Latv. jūgt ‘spannen’, jūgs ‘Joch’. It is worthy of note that many of these derivatives are part of the terminology connected with the use of oxen as draught animals. As to the ablaut-alternation jūtis **‘Verbindung’: *jutas, cf. e. g. Lith. būti ‘sein, werden’, būtis ‘Dasein, Existenz’: būtas ‘Wohnung, Haus’ (Fraenkel, Lit. et. Wb. I, p. 68).

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

2. Finnic kausta

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

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

As regards the difference in meaning between Fi. kausta and Latv. skausts, it should be noted that parts of a sledge have often got their names from words denoting parts of the body. Thus, Lith. rāgēs itself is derived from rāgas ‘horn’. In Fi. we have sepā ‘hochgebogener Vorderteil des Schlittens’; the original meaning of sepā is ‘neck’. The runner of a sledge is called julas in Fi., a derivative of jal-ka ‘foot, leg’. Kainalovitsat (pl.), literally „Bänder unter dem Arm“, denote ‘Rutenbänder, die die hochgebogenen Kufenenden mit den Seitenstängeln des Schlittens verbinden’ (= Latv. atsaites). It would not be surprising if the wooden bars over the runners of a sledge have received a name the original meaning of which was ‘Nacken, Widerrist; nape, back of the neck, withers’. The fact that Latv. skausts does not belong to the terms denoting parts of a sledge does not exclude the pos-
sibility that *kausta* may be borrowed from *skauu.* The Baltic word may have been used as a name for what is now called *uzkala* in Latvian, or it may have received this meaning in the borrowing language thereby losing its original meaning.3

3. Finnic *ketara*

This word, too, belongs to the words signifying parts of a sledge. The main meaning of the word is 'Strebe am Schlitten', i.e. what is called *mietne* in Latvian. The word occurs in the following Finnic languages: Fi. *ketara,* Votic *kêta,* Liv. *ke’dôrz,* *ki’dôrz,* *ki’dôròz* 'Strebe am Schlitten', Est. *kodar,* *kôdar* 'Strebe am Schlitten, Speiche am Rade'.

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

Since *reki* and *kausta* seem to be of Baltic origin, it would not be of surprise if *ketara,* too, would prove to be a Baltic loanword. It seems that Lith. *ketêrə,* *kêtaras,* *sketerê* ‘Widerrist (des Pferdes), Bergrücken, Gebirgskamm’ (Fraenkel, p. 244) could be the word from which *ketara* may have been borrowed. S. v. *sketerê* (p. 803) Fraenkel gives additional information on the meaning of this word: „*sketerê* ‘Bergrücken, Gebirgskamm’ und wie *sketēlis* (dial.) ‘(Rücken)kamm (des Schweines), Buckel (bei Tieren), Widerrist (bei Pferden), Borsten am (Rücken)kamm (des Schweines), Buckelhaare (bei Tieren), Haare am Hinterkopf (bei Menschen)’“.

Lith. (Daukantas) *sketers* has, according to Leskien (Bildung der Nomina, p. 444) the meaning 'dünne Stange am Strohdache'. The corresponding Latvian word *šketeri* (pl.) has the same meaning: 'die dünnen Stangen im Strohdache'.

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

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

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


4. Baltistica XIII (1) 265
ketara die entsprechende Komplexkonstruktion, namentlich die schon oben behandelte Astständerkonstruktion, an die Seite stellt, und dabei findet, daß auch diejenige bloß mit ketara bezeichnet wird, muß man die Annahme für möglich halten, daß das Wort als Ständerbenennung ursprünglich eben eine Astständerkonstruktion bezeichnet hat. Eine Konstruktion also, wo die Ständer und Querverbindung entweder aus einem einzigen Stücke hergestellt sind, oder auch das ganze derart aus zwei Hälften zusammengesetzt ist, daß irgendwelche Grenze zwischen den Ständern und der Querverbindung technisch nicht zu unterscheiden ist.“.

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

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

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

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

4. Liv. kiländëks

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

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

Final -ks in kilāndōks is due to an analogical generalization in Livonian. The same phenomenon occurs also in palāndōks and, e. g., in a Christian name like Aandrōks ‘Andreas’. The Liv. forms kilān, kilū are probably back-formations; -(n) dōks in kilāndōks may have been interpreted as a Livonian suffix; cf. also Latv. kila, kilvis ‘der Hühnermagen, der Hühnerkropf’.

5. Fi. lahti

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

SKES gives, with a question mark, Vogul looh ‘Bucht’, Ostyak ḍok, ḍök5 ‘lange, schmale Bucht’ as etymological cognates of lahti. There are some phono- logical difficulties. The Finnic word goes back to *lakte, but in the Vogul and Ostyak word we do not have the regular correspondents of Finno-Ugric *kt. The Ostyak initial l-sound is of a type which occurs only very seldom in words of Finno-Ugric origin6.

In Baltic we have a word from which Finnic *lakte could have been borrowed. The word I have in mind is Lith. laŋktis, gen. laŋkčio ‘Henkel, Bügel; Garnwinde, Haspel’, OPr. lanchis ‘creuel’ (= ‘Gabel mit hakenförmiger Spitze’), Latv. lanktis (pl.), lanktes ‘Garnwinde, Garnhaspel’. Endzelins considers the Latvian form to be „ein Kuronismus“. 

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

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

5 The Vogul and Ostyak words are given here in a simplified transcription.
We now come to the problem of meaning. Is it possible semantically to derive lahti ‘bay, gulf, creek’ from Baltic laŋktis? I am inclined to answer this question in the affirmative. As already mentioned, Baltic laŋktis is connected with the verb leŋkti ‘neigen, beugen, biegen, krümmen’. In many languages words denoting ‘bay’ have been derived from verbs having the same meaning as leŋkti. To mention a few examples, German Bucht is connected with biegen, Eng. bight with OE þygan, Mod. Eng. bow. In Baltic we have Latv. (jūras) līcis denoting ‘bay’ and etymologically connected with leŋkti (Latv. likt ‘sich biegen’, Lith. liŋkti), cf. also Latv. meža līcis ‘eine Krümmung am Waldrande, namentlich Uferkrümmung an Bächen’. Furthermore, Lith. įlanka ‘Bucht, Meerbusen’, Latv. jūnka ‘Meeresbucht’ (> Liv. lūŋka ‘Bucht’). Such a semantic development is easy to understand: a bay is a bend or curve in a coastline. In Slavic we find Russ. лука ‘Biegung, Krümmung’, Old Russ. лука ‘Krümmung, Bucht’, Russ. лукоморье ‘Meerbusen’.

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

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

6. Fi. ohdake

This word has the following counterparts in Finnic: Fi. ohdake, dial. ohjake, ohjakka, ohtainen, ohtajainen, Kar. ohtahane, ohtajaini, KarOlon. ohtoi, Ludic ohtikaz, ohtikkahaihe, Votic ēghar, gen. ēhkašê, Est. ohkas, dial. ohak, ohkas, uhkas, ohte, ohte, ohtjas ‘thistle’, Liv. u'ogž (< *ohta-) ‘Granne, kleine Gräte’.

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

7. L. Kettunen in Kalevalaseurak Vuosikirja 43 (Helsinki 1963) assumes that ohta- ‘thistle’ is connected with Fi. ohto ‘bear’. This is, however, not possible since ht in ohto goes back to *kt, as shown by Liv. okš (< *okti) ‘bear’, EstS ot(t) (< kt). The word for ‘thistle’ has in EstS dialects the form ohtja(s), which cannot be a borrowing from northern dialects, because such a form does not occur there.
ginal meaning of the Baltic stem. According to Hupel Est. ohakas means also ‘Stachel an Ähren’.

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

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

7. Fi. siikanen

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


8. Fi. vehmaro

Fi. vehmaro ‘Einzeldeichsel (des Ochsenpaares)’ has a cognate in Estonian: vehmer, gen. vehmri ‘Deichsel, „Femerstange”’, and in Livonian: vi'emār id. The back vowel in the second syllable of Fi. vehmaro is due to the influence of o in the third syllable (cf. e. g. kesänto ‘summer-fallow’ from kesä ‘summer’, elanto ‘living, livelihood’, from elāa ‘live’. Fi. dialect forms vehmār, vehmārā, vehmerā have preserved the original front vowel.

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

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

8 This etymology of siikanen was first published by the present author in „Acta Universitatis Tamperensis. A 26“, 1969, p. 146–148 (in Finnish, with a short summary in English).
is connected with IE *tens- 'dehnen, ziehen, spannen' (Lith. tėsti 'durchein dehnen').

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

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

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Z. Zinkevičius

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

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