

Finnish *hiisi* and Lappish *si'dâ*.

The word *hiisi*, which occurs several times in Kalevala, is a rather obscure word with shifting meanings, some of which are quite difficult to determine. The Kalevala singer does not always seem to know the sense of the word clearly himself. Samoyedish has up till now been the only language apart from Finnish where it has been possible to find a word which might be connected with *hiisi*: Sam. *tīd, tīda, tīdä* etc. 'niedriges Weidengebüsch' (TOIVONEN FUF 21, p. 98).

RALF SAXÉN (FUF 12, pp. 107 ff.) grouped *hiisi* with Old Norse *heidr*, Norw. *hei*, Sw. *hed* etc., but this connection must be rejected from phonetic reasons. LÖNNROT connected *hiisi* with Lp. *sieita* 'sacrificial place, idol'. TOIVONEN adopted Lönnrot's thought with some hesitation and referred to FRIIS *sieidde, sieitte* 'locus sacrificii ubi Lappones olim simulacrum idoli lapideum vel ligneum positum habebant, idolum'. The vowel sounds of the Finnish and the Lappish word do not agree, however. T. I. ITKONEN (MSFOu 87, p. 18) combined *hiisi* with the Enare mountain Lp. *šihhti*, which has been used in the same sense as Lp. *siei'de*. But this isolated Enare Lappish form may in my opinion be explained as a conscious distortion of the word *siei'de*, to be used in colloquial speech instead of the latter, which might easily get a touch of taboo, also in Christian environment. In the same sense as *šihhti* the word *voaiki* was used which, having the unlappish phonetic combination *voa-*, is obviously an artificial word.¹ It

¹ Perhaps a remodelling of *vuoko*, according to Hans Skanke the name of the bird into which the Lappish sorcerer transformed himself. The *siei'de*-idol itself was also believed to be able to appear in the shape of a bird, e.g. as a raven or a waterbird. The conception of the idol as a petrified bird has been wide-spread among the Swedish Laps.

is also known that just among the mountain Laps of Enare the sacrificial songs sung at the idols contained words which were otherwise not used.

As regards the meaning of *hiisi* one must suppose with Toivonen, that the nucleus of its meaning may be a simple place denotement, similar to that of the Samoyedish word. *Hiisi* may mean among other things: 'sacred forest', 'hill' (Agricola), 'forest spirit' (Kar.), 'remote, unpopulated area', 'place which is held in dread', 'evil being', 'the evil one'. In Kalevala *hiisi* may stand as a parallel word to e.g. *tunturi* ('mountain'), *Lappi* ('Lapland'), *Manala* ('lower regions'), *Jumaloissa* ('with the gods'), and besides in compounds like *metsän hiisi* ('the *hiisi* of the forest'), and *linnan hiisi* ('the *hiisi* of the castle'). Lönnrot translates *hiisi* 'mäktig ond ande, som vistades i berg, skogar, sjöar, till och med inne i jorden, stark jätte, bergs-, skogs-, vattenrå; (i svordomar) hin onde, fan, fanken, knävel, pocker, raggen, helvete; *hiisis* vistelseort el. boning'. In Esthonian (*hiis*, *iis*) the word means i.a. 'sacred, generally elevated forest'.

It seems possible to suppose the meaning 'sacred forest, dangerous forest dominated by a kind of spirit' to be the original sense of *hiisi*, i.e. a similar sense to that found in Agricola and in Esthonian. In other words the word may have the meaning 'forest, forest area' as a nucleus, which makes it possible to connect it with the Samoyedish word.

There is, however, a Lappish word also which may perhaps be connected with *hiisi*, viz. the word for »the Lap village»: *sii'dá*. For both phonetically and as regards sense, points of contact exist between the two words, which it is tempting to regard as more than incidental. In that case, however, it seems to be necessary to presume that there is a loan connection between the two words, probably that the Finnish word has been borrowed from Lappish and not vice versa.

No certain etymology has been pointed out for the word *sii'dá*, as far as I know. Väinö Tanner has connected the word with Tacitus' *sitones*, but the latter can at most be a Latin rendering of the Lappish word.

It also seems to be difficult to find words in related langua-

ges which may with certainty be presumed to be genetically connected with *si'đá*. Later on I shall come back to a possible connection with the above mentioned Samoyedish word *tíd*.

Lp. *si'đá* has a structure which is not common in old Lappish words. In primeval Lp. *i* certainly occurred before *đ* in noninitial syllables in the acc. and ill. plur.; on the other hand it is more difficult to locate unfailing examples of genuine Lappish words where *i* occurs in initial syllables before *đ* (or other consonant groups with initial *đ*). There are, however, many examples of Nordic and Finnish loan words in Lappish, where a long *i* (*ī*) is rendered by *ii* (> : *iī*). As far as I can see, however, there is not one example to be found of Finnish loan words of this type, which may with any probability be presumed to have been adopted as early as in primeval Lappish. This, then, makes it less probable that *si'đá* may have been borrowed from Finnish. For if *si'đá* and *hiisi* are at all connected through loan, the loaned word must have been adopted already in primeval Lappish times. In my opinion, the central position held by the conception of *si'đá* in Lappish social life, also makes the hypothesis of a Finnish loan less probable.

If we presume that *hiisi* builds on Lp. *si'đá*, this word must in primeval Lp. have had the form **šiite* which in Finnish would give **šite* >> *hiisi*. For the transition *š* > *s* in Lappish, cfr. examples like *sárred* = Fi. *herukka*, *ságget* = Fi. *hijoa*, *sis'te* etc. = Fi. *hihna*.

I shall then proceed to give a survey of the meanings of Lp. *si'đá*: LEEM SIJD, Huus = Værelse Hiem, *domus*. 2. en Bonde-Bye, Landsbye, Torp, *pagus*, *vicus*. LINDAHL-ÖHRLING: SITA, *pagus*, by. *Domicilium*, hemvist. FRIIS: *Sida*, s., *pagus*, *domicilium*, Landsby eller Samling af Bosteder, Hjem; bagje sida Fjeldlappeby; . . . KONRAD NIELSEN: *si'đá* 1. mountain camp, camp (consisting of one or, as a rule, several families of reindeer owners with their reindeer, when a herd or a particular part of it (cf. 2), is kept together and watched from the family tents; as a rule each family has its own tent). 2. as the last part of compounds denoting one of

the two divisions of a reindeer herd in the calving time (the males are then generally separated from the females); these terms imply that this part of the herd has special reindeer keepers (and tent) with it (cf. under *ællo*). 3. Kt(n) the place where the family tents stand (during the time when the reindeer are kept somewhere far from it or while they are unattended; cf. *goadē lusá* and *goadē lut'tē*, under *goatte* 1). 4. Kt (not Kt n) dwelling place, home; the compound *si'dá-guoi'bme . . .* is also used to some extent in the other dialects, to denote (resident) neighbour, as well as in the sense of 'camp-fellow', cf. 1. 5. home (relig.). LAGERCRANTZ: *sijrj* etc. M e r å k e r: lappisches Dorf (der Nomaden); T ä n n ä s: Nomadengesellschaft; S n å s a: lappisches Dorf; Clan; Stammverband; Heim; V e f s n: Hof, Dorf; T y s f j o r d: lappischer Wohnplatz; S u d j a v a a r a, K ö n k ä m ä v u o m a i d.; L y n g e n: Heim; E n o n t e k i s: lappisches Namadendorf; R e p p a r f j o r d: Heim; U t s j o k: Dorf der Rentierhüter, welche sich heutzutage nur zur Zeit der Scheidung mit den Rentieren versammeln; N e s s e b y: Nomadendorf; Heim; T ä n n ä s: Dorf.

Tanner writes about the *si'dá*, *sīt* of the Scolt Laps: »The term *sīt* has both a limited and a wider sense with the Greek Catholic Laps. In the first place the word *sīt* denotes the so-called winter village (Swedish: *vinterbyn*), the group of huts, or rather small houses, where the members of the *sīt* since heathen times used to live together during the cold winter months. The term *sīt* is even used to express a wider fellowship between all those Laps who held the traditional right of using a certain, definitely fixed and, so to speak, autonomic territory, and the term may be applied to the group of such nomades, to their collective reindeer herds, as well as to the territory itself, which the group had the right of using, excluding all other Laps. As the concrete symbol of the *sīt* may be regarded the common dwelling place in winter, where all the members of the *sīt* used to be gathered during the time from Christmas til Lady Day, each in his small hut or house. These dwellings thus formed a village in the true sense of the word. It is therefore usual that the Finnish farmers up till our

times have called the winter villages of the Skolt Laps *markkina* (markkan) — an old term from the times of the Birkarls, which was introduced from the western and southern Laplands — and the whole group of Laps living in such a »markkina», they have simply called a village (Swedish: by, Finnish: kylä), e.g. Suonikylä, Patsjoen (talvi)kylä. The term village is, of course, not quite appropriate as denoting a collectivity of moving nomades who were spread all over the different parts of the *sit* area during the greater part of the year.»

When we consider the different meanings of *sii'dá* in Lappish to-day, it is evident that the connection of the word to Lappish social life is very old, even so old that the word originally must have been associated to a culture older than the extensive keeping of reindeer, viz. to the hunting culture or possibly to a combination of hunting culture and a limited keeping of tame reindeer. It seems then natural to assume that the word originally has had the meaning 'hunting area belonging to a definite group'. From this meaning we can easily imagine a further development to 'the centre of the hunting area', 'the winter village', 'the centre of the catching of wild reindeer', 'the centre of the keeping of tame reindeer: the mountain camp', etc.

How, then, may the supposed original sense of *hiisi* 'sacred forest, dangerous forest dominated by a kind of spirit' be combined with the supposed original sense of *sii'dá* 'the hunting area belonging to a group'? In trying to answer this question we ought to examine the character of the *sii'dá* system.

Tornaeus has given some information concerning the *siev'de*-worship of the Laps, which seems to indicate that the *sii'dá* like *hiisi* in a way was a sacred territory. He says that there were as many gods as there were »villages», one might almost say, as many gods as there were men. These gods were placed by the lakes. Among them, however, there was one who was the highest and mightiest god, and he only was worshipped by the whole »village». He was placed on the hill or another elevated place so that everybody should see

and worship him, whereas house and family gods were set up on lower places.

The common »village»-god whom Tornaeus here mentions, was obviously the guardian spirit of all the hunting area, protecting it against foreign hunters, providing for the thriving of game and fish etc. The *sii'dá* area was consequently »sacred» and dangerous for strangers to enter.

Therefore it is possible, also as concerns the sense of »sacred» of the word *hiisi*, to find points of contact with Lp. *sii'dá*. That *hiisi* like *sii'dá* originally may have designated a hunting district with a common sanctuary, and then later on may have passed on to designate the sanctuary itself or the cult place, seems especially evident from the occurrence of *hiisi* as a place name in Varsinais-Suomi. Of the use of *hiisi* there A. M. TALLGREN writes in his article *Hiisi ja Moisio* (Virittäjä 1933, p. 328): »Such as the name occurs, *hiisi* in Varsinais-Suomi seems to mean the c o m m o n religious sanctuary of a village (Fi. *kylä*), or possibly a parish (Fi. *pitäjä*)». In Esthonia *hiis* is the term both for sacrificial spring and sacrificial grove.

On Tallgren's map of the *hiisi* places in Varsinais-Suomi we see that they are mostly attached to rivers, so that there is usually one *hiisi* place only by each river. This may be explained from the river being the fishing water of one single group. We must then suppose that the hunting of elk and reindeer was a joint enterprise of several groups.

The supposition that *hiisi* should be an old Lappish loan-word is, of course, bold. When I venture to discuss it, it is because the word *hiisi* displays a certain connection with the world of the Laps. Future archeological excavations of *hiisi* areas may possibly be able to show if this connection is old. The supposition that primitive Lappish loan-words may be found in Finnish from the times before the Finnish sound change $\check{s} > h$, should not be excluded a priori, as we find as old Finnish loans in Lappish (e.g. Lp. *suo'i'dne* = Fi. *heinä*). Neither need the fact that *hiisi* also occurs in Esthonian place names be a decisive hindrance to the supposition that the word is an old Lappish loan. The archeologists and anthropo-

logists now seriously seem to take into account the possibility that Laps once lived also south of the Baltic.

The supposition that *hiisi* really reflects a Lappish conception, is supported by a phrase like *mene hiiden pisaan* 'go to *hiisis pisa*' (go to blazes!), where *pisa* certainly is a Lappish loan-word = Lp. *básse* 'sanctuary' (cf. also a place name like Pissikivensaari, 'the island with the *básse* stone', in Inari. T. I. Itkonen MSFOu 87, p. 43, Paulaharju, Seittoja pp. 11, 29.) As mentioned above the *sii'dá* had a great *sie'de*-stone as a common *básse*, main sanctuary.

The idea of something sacred, dangerous, which is associated with a *hiisi* area is easy to understand if *hiisi* was originally a Lappish conception. It was, of course, dangerous mainly for non-Laps to enter a Lappish hunting territory. On the other hand conditions in Lapland in more recent times suggest that the borders between the *sii'dás* themselves were not impassable. It does e.g. not appear to have been difficult for a Lap to be allowed to fish in the lake of another *sii'dá* if the fishing failed in his own. Likewise it appears to have been rather easy for a Lap to be admitted as a member of another *sii'dá*. Non-Laps, on the contrary, were certainly regarded as enemies, to be kept away. We also know that the Laps right up to our days had a wide-spread fame as sorcerers. Dread of the witchcraft of the Laps was thus a serious obstacle to the efforts of the Swedish state to make people settle down in the Laplands.

The application of *hiisi* in Kalevala does not give us any clear facts in support of the suggestion that the word goes back to Lp. *sii'dá*, as it always appears to be more or less coloured by mythology. Nor can we expect anything else, as it must be supposed that the connection of the word with *sii'dá* was more or less obscured when the Kalevala songs were made. In one place, however, the word is strongly connected with the Laps, viz. in the song about Lemminkäinen hunting the *hiisi* elk. This hunting was, as you know, one of the tasks put before Lemminkäinen when he wanted to win the daughter of the »Pohjola-hostess».

The hunting of the elk goes on in Lappish surroundings and

on Lappish skis, to the accompaniment of the laughter of Lappish women, the crying of Lappish children, and the barking of Lappish dogs. The hero calls upon the men of Lapland to help carrying the elk, and upon the women of Lapland to prepare the cooking vessels, etc. We also hear of the sorcerers of Pohjola, who »sang Lappish songs, shrieked *hiisi* lays».

In his interesting treatise »Hiiden hirven hihdäntä» (SKST 234) Dr. Jouko Hautala points out that the central subject in (the song about the *hiisi* elk, the hunting of an enchanted elk treindeer, hart), is very ancient and wide-spread all over the world. This ancient legendary subject, however, is formed in various ways in the different regions, according to the physical and cultural conditions of the region concerned. The form given to the Kalevala song clearly indicates a connection with the Arctic regions. It is sufficient to call attention to the fact that the hunting is conducted on skis.

The *hiisi* elk has a cosmic background. We hear of a supernatural elk, which can run incredibly fast, and which is consequently actually out of reach of human beings. This elk corresponds to the wide-spread idea of a heavenly elk. In the Arctic regions, too, this idea has a wide extension. Particularly in Lappish mythology we find ideas clearly related to those of the Kalevala song: In the first place we have the elk itself, *sár'vá*, which according to one tradition is a constellation extending through Cassiopeia, Perseus and Auriga, and according to another tradition Ursus major (Qvigstad, *Lappiske stjernenavne*, pp. 4 ff.). This elk is pursued by the *čuoigátæg'gjek*, 'hunters on skis', who are the three stars of Orion's belt or Castor and Pollux. The hunters are accompanied by three dogs (*bædnágák*) of kettle carriers (*giew'dne-guod'dek*) who are going to have the elk's blood in the kettle.

Hautala supposes with good reason a connection between the song of the *hiisi* elk and the song of »the cloud boat», *pilvivene*. The idea of the cloud boat, too, appears to be recognisable in the Lappish area. In Ofoten, Orion's belt is called *galla barnit vantsa*, »the boat of the old man's sons', whereas three stars above the belt (alpha, lambda, gamma)

are called *galla barnek*, 'the old man's sons'. It seems to be a clear connection here with »the cloud boat» with »the three young men» who create the *hiisi* elk and send it off across the vault of heaven. »The cloud boat» possibly appears on Lappish magic drums, too.

The earthly counterpart to the heavenly elk of the Laps was the sacrificial elk, respectively the sacrificial reindeer, which was sacrificed on purpose that the hunting of the heavenly elk — and accordingly the hunting of elk and reindeer by the Laps themselves — might go on. In earlier times the Laps caught wild reindeer on a large scale, but certainly elks as well in the southern parts of Lapland. The hunting of both these kinds of animals no doubt presented points of similarity, and the beliefs and customs attached to the hunting of reindeer and elks were probably fairly similar. We know that the hunting of wild reindeer was carried on jointly by the whole *si'i'dá*, and some of the old Lappish systems of leading fences and ditches, which have been discovered, are so large that they were certainly made by several *si'i'dás* in co-operation. In order to make the gods preserve the stock of reindeer and grant the hunters success, the Laps sacrificed reindeer at their idols. They might sacrifice the whole of the reindeer, or merely the horns, the bones of the neck and head, the hooves and the hide. Sometimes the hide was rigged up to illude as a whole animal. In this connection we are reminded of the fact that the *hiisi* elk was made artificially by the *hiisi* men. Such a sacrificial reindeer might, of course, be called 'the reindeer of the *si'i'dá*', or 'the reindeer of the *si'i'dás*' (in Kallevala we also find 'the elk of the *hiisis*', *hiitten hirvi*), as it was sacrificed on behalf of the whole *si'i'dá*, respectively all the *si'i'dás* which took part in the hunting.

If it is right that the song of the *hiisi* elk is strongly influenced by Lappish conceptions, the song must have been made in a region where the poet — or the poets — were in close contact with Laps who had still to a large extent preserved old ideas and old cult attached to the hunting of elk or wild reindeer.

By analysing the song of the *hiisi* elk and its extension Hautala has come to the conclusion that it arose in its original form in the area west of the lake of Ladoga, probably in the period 1000—1200 A.D. Whether the song actually originated in this exact area I do not intend to discuss here, but it may in any case be definitely stated that Laps still lived here at that time. It is well known that Laps might be found by Ladoga as late as in the 14th cent. At that time the old pagan customs and conceptions connected with the hunting of elk and reindeer had certainly still full vital power among these Laps. The non-Lappish inhabitants of this area, who had already a more advanced civilization with agriculture and trade, came by trading in hides into close contact with the Laps and their world, whose peculiarity surely stimulated the popular imagination.

The fact that the song of the *hiisi* elk altogether seems to be strongly coloured by Lappish conceptions supports the idea that *hiisi*, too, was originally a Lappish notion, and that the Lappish character of the word had not yet been completely effaced at the time of the making of the song. Here I will mention still another use of Fi. *hiisi* which displays a connection with old Lappish hunting culture. The pole (*luote muor*, *Lödt morra*) to which the Laps tied their sacrificial animal, and which was formed like a boat keel, was called *hiiden vene*, 'the boat of *hiisi*', by the Finns. This sacrificial boat will accordingly be the earthly counterpart to »the cloud boat». I may insert that the Laps in ancient times surely also hunted wild reindeer by boat, both wild reindeer which were chased into the water and wild reindeer which were crossing sounds on their migrations.

It occurs to me that the facts I have called attention to above, point to the conclusion that *hiisi* is really the same word as Lp. *sii'dá*, although it can not be said that they give any decisive proof of this. It is feasible that an old connection between the words may have been obscured after the words diverged phonetically. And the frightening nimbus which from the beginning must have surrounded a Lappish loan-

word of this kind on account of the witchcraft of the Laps, may without doubts have led to *hiisi* being used to denote something which was evil and dangerous.

Finally I would point out the possibility that Lp. *sii'dá* is genetically related to the above mentioned Samoyedish word *t̄id*. As Toivonen has pointed out, Sam. *t* may be derived from an earlier *š*, and Lp. *i̇* and Sam. *ī* may also possibly be connected. I have presumed above that *sii'dá* originally denoted the hunting territory of a group. This presumed sense seems to be quite consistent with the sense of the Samoyedish word 'niedriges Weidengebüsch'. If the word were really connected, the Lappish word then originally denoted the wooded territory which was at the disposal of a particular fishing or hunting group.

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