

Ein Fall für zwei (oder drei) – Liquid metathesis substitution in Germanic loanwords in Finnic: old and new cases¹

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Itämerensuomen germaanilainojen likvidametateesisubstituutios-
ta: uusia ja vanhoja tapauksia

Tässä artikkelissa käsittelen itämerensuomen vanhoissa germaanilainoissa tavattavaa niin kutsuttua likvidametateesia, jossa sananalkuisen konsonanttiyhtymän jälkiosana oleva likvida heittyy sanansisäiseen asemaan. Alkuun artikkelissa tarkastelen lyhyesti entuudestaanakin tunnettuja likvidametateesitapauksia, pääasiallisena mielenkiinnon kohteenani on kuitenkin selvittää, voidaanko kantasuomeen rekonstruoidavat sanat, ksm. **kiiltä-*, **purka-*, **tarkka*, **tarpo-*, **turkka-* ja **turta*, selittää likvidametaateesin avulla germaanisiksi lainasanoiksi. Johtopäätökseni artikkelissa on, että mainitut sanat ovat viime kädessä lainautuneet kantagermaaniin rekonstruoiduista sanoista **glītan-* 'to shine, sparkle', **bruk(k)ōn-* 'to break, crumble', **straka-* 'stretched', **prappōn-/ *prabōn* 'to trot', **struk(k)ōn-* 'to stroke' ja **brutan* 'lack, want; weariness'. Lopuksi pohdin muutamia mahdollisia lisäesimerkkejä ja lainojen ikäämistä. Artikkelini osoittaa, että niinkin tarkkaan tutkitusta aiheesta kuin itämerensuomen germaanisiksi lainasanat voidaan vielä tehdä uusia etymologisesti varteenotettavia huomioita.

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1. Introduction

Proto-Germanic² had a large number of possible word-initial consonant clusters, Proto-Finnic on the other hand did not allow word-initial consonant clusters at all. This phonotactic mismatch was most often resolved in loanwords by Finnic simplifying the original Germanic consonant cluster. In addition, there is also another potential substitution strategy called liquid metathesis, by which the liquid member (either *l* or *r*) of a word-initial consonant cluster switches places with the following vowel(s). From the point of view of Finnic phonotactics, both simplification and liquid metathesis serve a similar purpose of blocking unwanted consonant clusters from forming.

In this article, first a brief overview of the two substitution strategies, simplification and liquid metathesis, is provided, but the bulk of the article is dedicated to discussing six hitherto undiscovered Germanic loan etymologies for Finnic words that involve liquid metathesis. These words are PF **kiiltä*- ‘to shine’, **purka*- ‘to take apart’, **tarkka* ‘exact, precise, accurate’, **tarpo*- ‘to trample’, **turkka*- ‘to stick, poke’, and **turta* ‘numb (of a limb)’. The aim has been to present loan etymologies that are otherwise uncontroversial in their sound substitutions. The sound substitutions (Germanic → Finnic) generally presumed to be true in this paper are found at the beginning (pp. XVII–XXII) of the first volume of *Lexikon der älteren germanischen Lehnwörter in den ostseefinnischen Sprachen* (henceforth LägLoS). If the loan etymologies follow the substitutions listed in LägLoS, I have not felt it necessary to discuss them in greater detail. Some of the loan etymologies proposed are semantically transparent, but some of them require more elaboration for various reasons. When the need arises, an

2. In this article, Proto-Germanic is a shorthand for any developmental stage after Proto-Germanic proper up until Proto-Scandinavian. Similarly, Proto-Finnic here must be understood to mean any developmental stage from Early Proto-Finnic to Late Proto-Finnic, although Middle and Late Proto-Finnic are likely to be the most relevant stages when discussing older Germanic loanwords. However, as there often is no clear criteria to tell Early and Middle Proto-Finnic apart, I am not comfortable categorically denying the possibility that some of the loanwords proposed in the article could not have been borrowed already to Early Proto-Finnic or even earlier. Some notes on the relative chronology of the proposed loan etymologies are provided in Section 4 (Conclusion).

attempt is made to provide sufficient parallels for the assumed semantic development.

As already discussed, the most common substitution strategy for the word-initial consonant clusters of Germanic loanwords in Finnic was simplification, e.g. PF **laiva* (> Fi *laiva* ‘Schiff, Boot’) ← PGmc **flauja-* (> ON *fley* ‘Schiff, (kleine) Fähre’ (LägLoS II: 159–160), PF **rampa* (> Fi *rampa* ‘lahm’) ← PGmc **krampaz* (> Sw dial. *kramp* ‘gebogen, lahm (in den Füßen)’ (LägLoS III: 121–122), PF **riikko-* (> Fi *riikkoa* ‘zerbrechen, kaputt machen; brechen, ein Verbrechen vergehen’) ← PGmc **brekan-* (> OE *brecan* ‘brechen’) (LägLoS III: 156–157), etc. Simplification of clusters is exceedingly common and the examples are too numerous to be listed in their totality. Alongside simplification, there are also a small number of Germanic loanwords where liquid metathesis occurs. The following fifteen examples can be found in LägLoS:

- PF **kalpa* (> Fi *kalpa, kalppa* ‘Kummet, womit das Schwein (die Kuh, das Pferd) am Ausbrechen gehindert wird’) ← PGmc **klaban-* (> ON *klafi* ‘Kloben, Halsjoch für Tiere’) (LägLoS II: 26–27)
- PF **kalppa* (> Fi *kalppa* (Lönnr.) ‘etwas Widerwärtiges, z.B. das Fleisch vom Wolf getöteten Tieres’, *käydä kalpaten* ‘schlecht gehen’) ← PGmc **glapa-* (> ON *glap* ‘verführerisches Reden und Verkehren mit einer Frau, Ungebührlichkeit’, Icl *glapp* ‘Unglück’) (LägLoS II: 27–28)
- PF **kalva-/kahu-* (> Fi *kalvaa, kalpaa, kalpia* ‘nagen; scheuern; zehren’) ← PGmc **klawan-* (> ON *klá* ‘reiben, kratzen’) or **klaujan-* (LägLoS II: 29–30)
- ? PF **kilpi* (> Fi *kilpi* ‘Schild’) ← PGmc **xlībō* (> ON *hlif* ‘Schutz-, Verteidigungswaffe (bes. Schild und Helm)’) (LägLoS II: 93–94)
- ? PF **kirku-* (> Fi *kirkua* ‘schreien’) ← PGmc **skrikan-* < **skreikan-* (> Sw *skrika* ‘schreien’) (LägLoS II: 98–99)
- PF **pilkkV-* (> Fi *pilkottaa* ‘durchschimmern; hervorblicken’, *pilkkua* ‘funkeln, schimmern’) ← PGmc **blikō(ja)n-* (> ON *blika* ‘blinken, erglänzen, funkeln’, OE *blician* ‘scheinen’) or **blīkan* (> ON *blíkja* ‘blinken, erglänzen’, OE *blīcan* ‘glänzen, scheinen, leuchten’) (LägLoS III: 63–64)

- ? PF **pilka-* (> Fi *pilkata* ‘verspotten’), **pilka* (> Fi *pilka* ‘Spott’) ← PGmc **flikō(ja)n-* (> Icl *flika* ‘verführen, betrügen’) or **flikr-* (> Sw dial. *flikra* ‘zum Narren halten’, *flicker*, *flekker* ‘Spott; Schmeichelei’) (LägLoS III: 60–61)
- PF **pilka* (> Fi *pilka* ‘Zeichen am Baum; (andersfarbiger) Fleck’), **pilku* (> Fi *pilku* id.) ← PGmc **blika-* (> ON *blik* ‘Glanz, Schimmer’ > Nor *blik* ‘schwacher Glanz, weiße Stelle auf einer Klippe, Zeichen am Baum’) or **flikkaz³/*flekka-* (> ON *flekkr* ‘Fleck, Stelle, Makel’) (LägLoS III: 61–62)
- ? PF **permu* (> Fi *permu*, *perma*, *permut* ‘Larve der Rinderdasselfliege, Dasselbeule’) ← PGmc **breman-* (> OHG *brema*) or **bremōn-* ‘Bremse’ (> OHG *brema*) (LägLoS III: 53)
- PF **perka-/perka-* (> Fi *perkata* (*perkaa-*) dial. *syödä perkata/perkaa* ‘gefräßig essen’) ← PGmc **freakō(ja)n-* (> Nor *freka* ‘kräftig machen, zu Kräften kommen lassen’) (LägLoS III: 51–52)
- ? PF **pukka* (> Fi *pukka* (dial.) ‘Stab, Stock; Stößel; Sprosse’) ← PGmc **pluggan-* (> MDu *plugge* ‘Pflock, Zapfen, Nagel, Spund’) or **pluggaz* (> Sw *plugg* ‘Pflock, Zapfen’) or **plukka-* (> MHG *pfloc* ‘Pflock’) or **plukkan-* (LägLoS III: 76–77)
- PF **pursu-* (> Fi *pursua* ‘durch etwas dringen; sickern, (hervor) sprudeln; schnauben; Wäsche waschen’) ← PGmc **frusō(ja)n-* (> ON *frusa* ‘schnauben (von Pferden)’) or **frusjan-* (> ON *frysa* ‘schnauben’) (LägLoS III: 86–87)
- ? PF **turilas* (> Fi *turilas* ‘Maikäfer, Melolontha; Schädling (z.B. Insekt, Larve); häßliche, unsaubere zottelige Person; gefräßige Person; (aWb. auch:) starker Riese’) ← PGmc **trulla-* (> ON *troll* ‘(zauberkundiges) Wesen, Troll, Unhold, Riese’) or **trullaz* (LägLoS III: 318)
- PF **turva* (> Fi *turva* ‘Schutz, Obhut; Stütze, Stützpfeiler’) ← PGmc **trūwō* (> ON *trú* ‘Glaube; Versprechen; Gelöbnis’) or **trūwōn* or **trūwan* (> OE *trūwa* ‘Treue, Vertrauen, Versprechen; Bund, Schutz’) (LägLoS III: 323–324)

3. This PGmc reconstruction can hardly be correct as there is no way of regularly accounting for the presumed lowering of **i* (Schalin 2020: 287–289). Instead ON *flekkr* and its cognates reflect PGmc **flekna-* (ibid.: 285, 289) and is in other words more compatible with the alternative given in LägLoS, **flekka-*.

- PF **turkka-/*türkkä-* (> Fi *tyrkätä, tyrkkiä, turkata, turkkia* ‘stoßen, schubsen; schnell stechen oder stecken’, Est *turkama* ‘stechen; eilen; fortstürzen’, *turkima* ‘stechen’) ← PGmc **brukkⁱjan-* (> OSw *þrykkia* ‘drücken’, OHG *drucchen* ‘drücken’ (LägLoS III: 327)

It is not entirely clear when to expect simplification and when to expect metathesis, as there is overlap in their conditions. It can be said with some certainty that simplification occurs exclusively before most clusters as well as diphthongs and PF **ō*:

- in original clusters
- PF **lanta* (> Fi *lanta* ‘Dünger, Mist’) ← PGmc **xlanda-* (> ON *hland* ‘Urin, Harn’) (LägLoS II: 169–170)
- PF **rästäs* (> Fi *räystäs, rästäs, rästä, rästi, räste, räystö* ‘Traufe’) ← PGmc **xrausta-* (> Nor *raust, røst* ‘Dach eines Hauses, Dachsparren, Raum unter dem Dach’) (LägLoS III: 205–206)
- PF **reŋgas* (> Fi *rengas* ‘Ring; Reifen, Kreis’) ← PGmc **xrengaz* (> ON *hringr* ‘Kreis, Ring’) (LägLoS III: 145)
- diphthongs, **ō*⁴
- PF **laikka* (> Fi *laikka* ‘Fleck, Span; Scheibe’, *laikku* ‘Fleck’, Kar *laikku* ‘Fleck; offene Stelle im Eis im Frühling’) ← PGmc **blaik(ij)ōn-* (> ON *bleika, bleikja* ‘weisse Farbe’, Sw (dial.) *blaikå* ‘weisse Stelle am Boden’) (LägLoS II: 152–153)
- PF **loodeh* (> Fi *luode* ‘Nordwest; Ebbe; obs. dial. Überschwemmung (am Meeresstrand), Flut, Hochwasser’) ← PGmc **flōdūz* (> Go *flōdus* ‘Flut, Strom’)/**flōdiz*/**flōda* (> ON *flōð* ‘Flut, Überschwemmung’) (LägLoS II: 228)
- PF **laineh* (> Fi *laine* ‘Woge, Welle’) ← PGmc **xlainiz* (> Nor *lein* ‘Abhang’, Go *hlains/hlain* ‘Hügel’) (LägLoS II: 155–156)

4. There were obviously other long vowels in PGmc and simplification appears mostly to have taken place there, too, although in the case of PGmc **ī* the evidence is contradictory with examples of both simplification and metathesis.

- PF **rauma* (> Fi *rauma* (dial.) ‘Sund, enges Fahrwasser, Meeresströmung’) ← PGmc **straumaz* ‘stream’ or ON *straumr* (LägLoS III: 136)
- PF **riutu-* (> Fi *riutua* ‘dahinsiechen, dahinschwinden, dahinwelken; erlöschen’) ← PGmc **preutan-* (> ON *þrjóta* ‘müde werden, aufhören, mißlingen’) (LägLoS III: 165–166)

Simplification is bound to take place in these cases because the cluster or sequence of sounds that would be produced as a result of metathesis, was phonotactically either outright impossible in Proto-Finnic (e.g. PGmc **xlanda-* → PF ***halnda-*, PGmc **xrausta-* → PF ***häärstä*, PGmc *xrengaz* → PF ***herngas*, etc.) or at least undesirable (e.g. PGmc **flōduz*/**flōdiz*/**flōða* → ? PF ***hooldeh*).

From the examples at our disposal, it would seem that metathesis can occur in positions before single and geminate stops as well as before some other single and geminate consonants, although these examples usually consist of singular cases. The known examples are numerous enough that it is safe to assume that liquid metathesis is an existing substitution pattern in Germanic loanwords in Finnic. In this article, I set out to explore whether all the possible cases of liquid metathesis have already been discovered or if the corpus can still be expanded upon. The detailed etymological treatment in Section 2 (“Etymologies”) covers six loan etymologies with metathesis occurring before single or geminate stops, i.e. in conditions where liquid metathesis has been best established as a substitution pattern. In Section 3 (“Additional examples of liquid metathesis”), I offer a few tentative examples of liquid metathesis occurring before other single consonants as well. Even if there still are some details left to be ironed out in determining the exact conditions for when the liquid metathesis occurs, this is ideally done only after all possible cases of liquid metathesis have been established. In the concluding Section 4 I will mainly discuss the chronology of the loanwords I propose in the article.

2. Etymologies

2.1. PF **kiiltä*-

- PF **kiiltä*- ‘to shine’ ← PGmc **glītan*- ‘to shine, sparkle’

The Proto-Finnic verb **kiiltä*- ‘to shine’ can be reconstructed based on Fi *kiiltää* ‘glänzen’, Kar *kiilteä* ‘to shine, sparkle’, Vo *tšuilata*, Est *kiil(d)ama*, Mulgi (South Estonian) *kiilame*, Liv *kīld* (YSuS s.v. **kiiltä*-). The standard etymological explanation given for the verb is that it belongs to a descriptive group of words together with phonologically and semantically similar words such as Fi *kiilua* ‘to glimmer’, *kiilusilmä* ‘shine of eyes’ (*silmä* ‘eye’), Kar *kiiluo* ‘to glimmer, shine’, etc. (SSA 1: 358). It has also been proposed that the underlying verb stem in Finnic – **kiil*- – has a cognate in Khanty **kil*- (> Vakh *kěl*- ‘sichtbar werden, zum Vorschein kommen, erscheinen’) and Mansi **kīl*- (> Tavda *kīl*- ‘zu sehen, sichtbar sein’) (Metsäranta 2020: 112). The words could theoretically reflect PU **kejlə*-, if PF **kiiltä*- is analyzed as a consonant-stem derivation with the causative suffix *-*tA*-, which it certainly can be, e.g. PU **pisə*- (> MdE *pezi*-, M *pezə*- ‘to stick, penetrate’) → PF **pis-tä*- (> Fi *pistää* ‘to poke, stick etc.’).

Analyzing words as descriptive is an insufficient etymological explanation in the sense that it does actually not provide an etymology. Even if we concede that *kiiltää* is synchronically perceived as being connected with words mentioned earlier such as *kiilua*, this does not mean that these words cannot be inherited neutral words or loanwords that have been adopted to a later descriptive pattern. In other words, descriptiveness does not automatically exclude the possibility that the word is of loan origin. Descriptiveness and loan origin are not two mutually exclusive propositions. For example, there are plenty of Russian loanwords in Finnish that have been accommodated to native family resemblance patterns giving the words an air of expressiveness. An illustrative example of this is Fi *tytinä* ‘jellied meat’ (← Ru *студень* ‘jellied meat’), which has been adopted as a member of a group of words generally meaning shaking, shuddering, and some other such things, cf. *tytinä* ‘shaking, quaking and trembling’, *tytistä* ‘to shake, tremble’ ~ *tutina* ‘shudder, quiver’, *tutista* ‘to shudder, quiver’ (Jarva 2003).

As it happens, if we take liquid metathesis into account, there is a verb reconstructed for Proto-Germanic that bears a striking resemblance to Finnic **kiiltä-* both phonologically and semantically. This verb is PGmc **glītan-* ‘to shine, sparkle’ > OS *glītan*, OHG *glīzan*, G *gleißen* ‘to shine, sparkle’ (Kroonen 2013: 181), which according to Kroonen is a back-formation from the iterative PGmc **glit(t)ōn-* ‘to shine, sparkle’ > Icl *glita* ‘to gleam, flash’, MDu *glitten* ‘to shine, sparkle’, G *glitzen* ‘to shine’ (ibid.). This derivational state of affairs should have no bearing on the loan etymology, as the back-formation seems to be early enough to have happened in Proto-Germanic already.

There are examples of second-syllable Germanic **-a* being represented by a front vowel **-ä* on the Finnic side, e.g. PF **niittä-* (> Fi *niittää* ‘mähen’) ← PGmc (**sneiþan-* >) **snīþan-* (> ON *snīða* ‘schneiden’) (LägLoS II: 298). In the case of verbs, this is probably the result of morphological substitution or reanalysis where the Germanic sequence **-Ta-* has been reanalyzed as the Finnic causative-curative suffix **-tta-* (Junttila & Holopainen 2022: 307). Phonological substitution of Gmc **a* as Finnic **ä* is not unheard of either, e.g. Fi *häpeä, kärsiä, kärväs* (LägLoS I: XVII). In addition to Germanic loanwords, a similar substitution or adaptation pattern has perhaps occurred in verbs borrowed from Baltic. Disharmonic vowel combinations, **e-a* and **i-a*, conform to vowel harmony and produce **e-ä* and **i-ä* in Proto-Finnic, e.g. North Baltic **kin-sta-* → Middle Proto-Finnic **kinstä-* > Late Proto-Finnic **kistä-* > Fi *kiistää* ‘to deny; gainsay’ etc. (Holopainen & Junttila 2022: 89; 130).

There is nothing on the phonological side that would require further elaboration; the substitutions follow substitution patterns that we find in other Germanic loanwords as well. The words are also a close match semantically. There seems to be no reason why the Finnic word could not be a Germanic loanword, although admittedly the inherited etymology is more or less equally possible.

2.2. PF **purka*-

- PF **purka*- ‘to take apart’ ← PGmc **bruk(k)ōn*- ‘to break, crumble’

The Proto-Finnic verb **purka*- ‘to take apart’ can be reconstructed based on a cognate set consisting of Fi *purkaa* ‘zerlegen, abrechnen; auftrennen, abwickeln; abladen, löschen; aufheben, widerrufen’, Kar *purkoa*, Vo *purkā*, Est *purgema* ‘ausleeren’, Liv *purgə* ‘Fische aus dem Netz lesen’ (SSA 2: 436). According to SSA, the Proto-Finnic verb has an uncertain cognate in Saami, cf. SaaN *borgi* ‘shedding (hair), change of hair, time for shedding hair; half-grown state of reindeer’s hair’ (< PS **porkē* < Pre-Proto-Saami **purka*) and an even more uncertain cognate in Mari (East) *purɣeða*-, (West) *pārɣeða*- ‘wühlen, durchwühlen, umrühren’ (< Proto-Mari **pūrɣeða*- < Pre-Proto-Mari **purkV*-/**porkV*- or **pirka*-). Phonologically the words could certainly be cognates, as there is no real obstacle to reconstructing a common protoform **purka*-, but semantically the comparison is a lot less convincing.

Alongside Finnish *purkaa* and Karelian *purkoa* there also exists a homophonic verb meaning ‘to flurry (of snow)’ that quite clearly belongs together with a noun reconstructable for Proto-Finnic, i.e. Fi *purku* ‘Schneegestöber, Schneewehe’, Kar *purku*, Lu *purg(u)*, Ve *purg* (< PF **purku*). Proto-Finnic **purku* is a reflex of PU **purkə*(-) ‘smoke; blizzard; to smoke, spray, whirl’. Other regular reflexes include SaaN *borga* ‘snowstorm, blizzard’, *borgat* ‘to storm with snow’ (< PS **porkə*(-)) ~ Mari (East) *purɣa*- ‘to storm with snow’, *purɣəž* ‘snowdrift’ ~ Komi *pjira* ‘snowstorm’ ~ Khanty (Vakh) *pörkj* ‘smoke’ ~ Mansi (Tavda) *porkē* ‘snowstorm’ ~ Tundra Nenets *purʔq* ‘smoke fire against mosquitoes; haze’, Selkup *purqj* ‘smoke’, *purqāt* ‘blizzard’ (< Proto-Samoyedic **pur*) (Aikio 2002: 25–27). Some previously proposed cognates such as Moksha *porf* ‘snowstorm’, Udmurt *pura*- ‘to glow (of coal)’ and Hungarian *forr* ‘to boil’ are considered uncertain for either phonological or semantic reasons. It has been suggested by Aikio that Finnish *purkaa* (< PF **purka*- ‘to take apart’) can also ultimately be derived from PU **purkə*(-) ‘smoke; blizzard’ ‘to smoke, spray, whirl’. The fact that the Finnic **purka*- ‘to take apart’

and Saami **porkē* ‘shedding (hair)’ are **a*-stems instead of the expected **ə*-stem is explained by descriptiveness, which presumably has also eventually led to semantic differentiation (ibid.).

There is no compelling semantic reason to think that PF **purka-* ‘to take apart’ has anything to do with either PU **purkə(-)* ‘smoke; blizzard’, ‘to smoke, spray, whirl’ or PS **porkē* ‘shedding (hair)’. It is difficult to understand how the meanings expressed by PF **purka-* that are typically deliberate and performed by a human agent, could have developed from a verb meaning ‘to smoke, spray, whirl’, even if we take metaphorization into account. No matter how great the phonological appeal is, the semantic discrepancy cannot be ignored. As all previous explanations have arrived at a cul-de-sac, trying to find comparanda for PF **purka-* elsewhere, independently of any previously proposed cognates, is in order.

Interestingly, a verb can be reconstructed for Proto-Germanic that, factoring in liquid metathesis, could be regarded as a match deserving closer inspection. The Proto-Germanic verb in question is **bruk(k)ōn-* ‘to break, crumble’ > Nor *broka* ‘to break, bite, tear’, MDu *brochen*, *broken* ‘to bend, break’, MHG *er-brochen* ‘to crush, squash’, which might be identical with Latin *frangō* ‘to break’ (Kroonen 2013: 79–80). The Germanic verb is in any case an iterative to PGmc **brekan-* ‘to break’ > Go *brikan*, OE *breccan*, OHG *brehhan* id., etc. (Kroonen 2013: 75). Phonologically there are no obstacles. There is overlap between the semantics, which admittedly is not very difficult to find when dealing with verbs with such general meanings. There also exists a noun connected to the Germanic verbs discussed above, PGmc **brukōn* > Go *ga-bruka* ‘broken piece, crumb’, OE *ge-broc* ‘broken piece, fragment’ (Orel 2003: 58), that could have provided Pre-Proto-Saami **purka* > PS **porkē*, if the meaning ‘shedding’ in Saami has developed from ‘crumbling’ of sorts. The Saami word could in any case be an independent borrowing, so the validity of the etymology has, in my mind, no bearing on the validity of PF **purka-* ‘to take apart’ as a Germanic loanword, and the words should be approached separately from each other.

2.3. PF **tarkka*

- PF **tarkka* ‘exact, precise, accurate’ ← PGmc **straka-* ‘stretched’

Finnish *tarkka* ‘genau’, dial. also ‘sensitive (to pain); sensitive, sharp (of one’s senses); quick, fast, nimble; tight, compact; important; difficult’ has cognates throughout Finnic: Kar *tarkka* ‘accurate (gun, shooter, sense), precise; skillful, capable; smart, wise; prudent, frugal; requiring precision’, Lu *tark(ku)* ‘frugal, stingy’, Ve *tark* ‘intelligent, thorough, meticulous, clean’, Vo *tarkka* ‘accurate, smart, wise’, Est *tark* ‘smart, knowledgeable, wise’ (SSA 3: 272). It has been remarked that Finnic **tarkka* has a potential loan original that, at least phonologically is a good match: PGmc **starkaz* ‘steif, stark’ (> ON *starkr* ‘stark, kräftig’, OSw *starker* id., OE *stearc* ‘steif, stark, heftig; ausdauernd’, OS *stark* ‘stark, kräftig, mächtig, böse’, OHG *stark* ‘steif, stark; ausdauernd’ (Hofstra 2001: 370; LägLoS III: 277). The loan etymology is regarded as uncertain by LägLoS, because despite certain commonalities, the semantic difference between the Finnic and Germanic words has not been satisfactorily explained.

LägLoS alludes to “Berührungspunkte” the Germanic and Finnic words share, but does not elaborate further. As there are basically no phonological objections to the proposed loan etymology, it behooves us to take a closer look at the semantics. On the Germanic side, the primary meaning is thought to have been ‘steif, hart’, which developed to ‘hart, unbeugsam’ and further also ‘kräftig, stark’; this seems quite probable as **starka-* is a verbal adjective to the PIE root **sterg-* > Lith *strégti* ‘to harden, congeal, freeze’ (Heidermanns 2013: 546–547; Kroonen 2013: 474–475).

On the Finnic side, there is quite considerable semantic variation, and it is not immediately clear what exactly the primary meaning was. According to SSA most of the meanings of *tarkka* can be derived from ‘sharp’. In Finnish dialects ‘sharp (of one’s senses)’ still exists. One could easily see the meanings pertaining to acumen such as ‘smart’, ‘wise’, ‘intelligent’, ‘knowledgeable’, etc. as metaphorical extensions of physical sharpness. In Proto-Finnic, the word meaning ‘sharp (of objects)’ was in all likelihood **terävä* > Fi *terävä* ‘sharp (of objects); smart, clever, bright, quick-witted’, Kar *terävä* ‘sharp (of

objects); smart, capable, handy; quick’, Lu *teräü* ‘sharp’, Ve *terav* id., Vo *terävä* id., Est *terav* ‘sharp, pointy’, Liv *tierāb* ‘healthy⁵; quick’, a derivative of PF **terä* ‘blade, edge’. In some languages, the word has developed aforementioned secondary metaphorical extensions referring to acumen. One thing that seems to speak against *tarkka* having originally meant ‘sharp’ is that it no longer has any clear connection to physical sharpness. Perhaps then ‘sharp’ is actually not the primary meaning of *tarkka*. Synonyms obviously do exist, but the semantic slot ‘sharp’ was undeniably occupied by **terävä* in Proto-Finnic. For the proposed Germanic loan etymology, it does not really matter all that much whether or not the Finnic meanings can be derived from ‘sharp’, since it does not bring us any closer to explaining their semantic relationship.

If we allow for both liquid metathesis and simplification to happen simultaneously (not a common occurrence, but a potential parallel is found in PF **kirku-* (> Fi *kirkua* ‘schreien’, Est *kiirguma*, *kirgama*, *kirguma*) ← PGmc **skrīkan-* (> Sw *skrika*) (LägLoS II: 98–99), see also 2.5 PF **turkka-* ‘to stick, poke), there is another Germanic adjective that warrants a closer look and that would actually seem to provide a better semantic fit as the loan original for PF **tarkka*. This adjective in question is PGmc **straka-* ‘gestreckt’ > OE *stræc* ‘streng, hart, genau; hartnäckig; gewaltig, gewaltsam’, MDu *strac* ‘stramm, straff, gespannt; steil (Weg)’, ‘streng, stark’, MLG *strak* (*strack*) ‘stramm, straff, gestreckt, gerade; aufrecht, zuverlässig (Person)’, adv. ‘geradewegs, vorbehaltlos, streng, sogleich’, OHG *framstrach* ‘starr’ (Heidermanns 2013: 559). Notable derivations include OE *stræcnes* ‘Hartnäckigkeit, Beharrlichkeit’ and *stræclīc* ‘streng, genau’ (ibid.). The Indo-European origin of the word is unclear, but the Germanic form is identical with Russian *cmnozūū* ‘streng, genau; hart, starr’ (ibid.). Although the exact semantic development is hard to pin down, there is clear overlap between the semantics of PGmc **straka-* and PF **tarkka*. One possibility is that there has been semantic development from ‘strict, tight’ to ‘accurate’ (and later to ‘intelligent, clever’) in Finnic similar to E *strict* ‘strained, tight; tense; exact, accurate, precise’ ← Latin *strictus* ‘tightened’. It is also noteworthy that in some

5. It is hard not to think that the meaning of the Livonian word has not been influenced partly by another Finnic word, Liv *tīera* ‘healthy; whole’ (< PF **terveh*).

Germanic languages the adverbial form has been used in very much the same meaning we find in Finnish today, cf. G *stracks* (dated) ‘geradewegs, ohne abzuschweifen’, *er hat stracks* (= genau) *befolgt, was man ihm sagte* (DWDS s.v. *stracks*), demonstrating that it is possible to get from the Germanic meanings to the meaning we find in Finnish even if we are dealing with a purely convergent development. A fairly convincing semantic argument can thus be made in favor of the loan etymology at least if we consider the Finnish meaning ‘genau’ as primary, which is not certain, but likewise without strong objections.

In Germanic we find both a form with a single stop, **straka-* and a form with a geminate stop, **strakka-*. The chronology and background of the gemination in Germanic is mostly immaterial for the loan etymology I propose here since we, in any case, find single Germanic stops substituted with Proto-Finnic geminate stops, cf. PF **verkko* (> Fi *verkko* ‘Netz’) ← PGmc **werkan-* (> OSw *værke* ‘Fischwehr, -zaun’) or PGmc **werka-* (> OSw *fiskeværk* ‘Fischwehr’) (LägLoS III: 391). The geminate stop on the Finnic side does imply that the word is a loan into Late Proto-Finnic (Junttila 2017; on the chronology see also discussion in Section 4).

2.4. PF **tarpo-*

- PF **tarpo-* ‘to trample; drive fish with a pole’ (~ PS **tuorpō-* < ? West Uralic **tarpo-*) ← (? Paleo-/Pre-Germanic >) PGmc **brappōn-/*brabōn-* ‘to trot’

The Finnish verb *tarpoa* ‘waten, stiefeln, trampeln; Fische (mit der Trampe) ins Netz scheuchen’ has cognates in most other Finnic languages, cf. Kar *tarpuo* ‘to mix water in order to drive fish (into a net); to wade’, Lu *tarboda* ‘to drive fish into a net’, VeS *tarbōd’a* id., Vo *tarpoa* id., Est *tarbuda* ‘to move slowly, loiter’ (< Finnish) (SSA 3: 273) < PF **tarpo-*. The Finnic verbs in turn also have a precise cognate in Saami, cf. SaaN *duorbut*, SaaSk *tuârbbad* < PS **tuorpō-* ‘to drive fish into a seine or a net with a pole’ that regularly reflect Pre-Proto-Saami **tarpo-* (Kuokkala 2018: 24). There are plenty of noun formations meaning ‘Störstange’ such as Fi (Savo and Häme dialects) *tarpoin*, (Parkano, Ikaalinen, East and (partly) Southeastern

Häme, Liperi) *tarvin*, (South Savo and Central Finland) *tarpain*, etc., Kar *tarvon* (g. *tarpomēn*), *tarvoin* (g. *tarbo(i)men*) (SKES 1239), but these are transparent secondary deverbial instrumental derivatives. The seemingly underived nouns *tarpa* and *tarpo* also exist. The word *tarpa* ‘alaosastaan paksupäinen t. porkkamainen sauva, jolla polskutetaan vettä häädetäessä kaloja nuottaan t. verkkoon’ is a rare dialectal word found sporadically in a handful of Finnish municipalities (Kuhmoinen, Myrskylä, Puumala, Eno) (SKES 1239) and Lönnrot’s dictionary (1880: 669). The form with a second-syllable labial vowel, *tarpo* ‘puls, stake att drifva fisken i nätet, slag med sådan stake, fiskdrifning i nät, plaskning’, is known only from said dictionary (Lönnrot 1880: 669). Given that these forms are confined to a small number of municipalities scattered across Eastern Finland, and conversely the fact that the verb **tarpo-* has a wide distribution extending even beyond Finnic, it is hard to regard Fi *tarpa* and *tarpo* as anything other than back-formations.

It has been proposed that Fi *tarpa* and by transitive property also *tarpoa* were borrowed from a Baltic word reflected in Latvian *dalba* ‘pole for driving fish into a net’ (Thomsen 1890: 165–166). The Baltic loan etymology has since been abandoned (Junttila 2015: 114) and there are at least two quite clear objections that stand in the way of the proposed etymology. Firstly, although certainly semantically appealing, there is no regular phonological reason the Baltic **lb* cluster would be reflected as a **rp* cluster on the Finnic side. Thus, the relationship between the Baltic and Finnic words cannot be explained without resorting to an *ad hoc* sound change or substitution. Secondly, as discussed, the word is primarily a verb in both Finnic and Saami and the connected nouns are either transparent derivations or back-formations. Although this fact alone might not mean that the Baltic loan etymology is impossible, combined with the phonological discrepancy, it does make it considerably less likely, or even impossible in practice.

The Finnic and Saami words also have a Germanic loan etymology according to which **tarpo-* was borrowed from PGmc **staur-* reflected both as a verb **stauria-* > G *stören* ‘to disturb, interfere’ and a noun **staura-* > Old West Norse *staurr* ‘Stange’ (Koivulehto 1977: 146). It has been thought that **tarpo-* is specifically a loan from the

verbal reflex **staurⁱjan-* (LägLoS III: 278). The loan etymology has not been accepted without reservations. In SSA (3: 273) these reservations are not explicitly expressed, but the loan etymology is accompanied with a question mark. LägLoS concurs with the view expressed in SSA stating that, given the open questions (metathesis, substitution, and semantics), the hesitance is understandable.

For the Germanic loan etymology of **tarpo-* to be even halfway credible, Proto-Germanic **u/w* needs to have been substituted with a stop in Proto-Finnic. This assumption is not entirely unwarranted as there seems to be a few examples of a substitution where Germanic **ur* has been substituted with Finnic **pr* and similarly Germanic **rw* with Finnic **rp*:

- PGmc **ur* → PF **pr*
- PF **šapras* > **hapras* (> Fi *hauras* ‘spröde, zerbrechlich, brüchig, schwach’, Est *habras*) ← PGmc **sauraz* (> ON *saurr* ‘Schmutz, Dreck; Schlamm, Kot’) (LägLoS I: 88–89)
- PF **sapra* (> Fi *saura* ‘langer und schmaler Heuschober’, Kar *soapra*, Ve *sabr*) ← PGmc **stauraz* (> ON *staurr* ‘Stange, Pfahl’) (LägLoS III: 227–228)
- PF **tepras* (> Fi *teuras* ‘Schlachtvieh’, Est *tõbras* ‘Vieh’) ← PGmc **peuraz* (> ON *þjórr* ‘Stier’) or PGmc **steuraz* (> ON *stjórr* ‘Stier’, OE *stēor*) or PGmc **tibra-* (> OHG *zebar* ‘Opfer’)/**tibras* (> ON *tívurr* ‘Opfer’) (LägLoS III: 291–292)
- PGmc **rw* → PF **rp*
- PF **arpi* (> Fi *arpi* ‘Narbe’) ← PGmc **arwez* (> **arwiz*)/**arwaz* (> ON *ørr*, *err* ‘Narbe’) (LägLoS I: 37–38)

The evidence is not conclusive by any means. The Germanic loan etymology of Proto-Finnic **hapras* is not all that compelling semantically, and the same is true for PF **sapra*. PF **tepras* despite very likely being a Germanic loanword also has a competing Germanic loan etymology that does not require substituting PGmc **ur* with PF **pr*. What is even more noteworthy is that PF **sapra* is suggested to

be a loanword from essentially the same Germanic word as **tarpo-*, and yet it shows a different substitution pattern both word-initially and word-internally. One could perhaps argue that this is due to chronological differences; the verb **tarpo-* is, after all, found also in Saami, suggesting that it belongs to a layer of Germanic loanwords older than PF **sapra*. This would, however, be hard to justify since the *communis opinio* is that the substitution Gmc **st-* → Finnic **s-* (e.g. PGmc **stūraz* (> OSw *stūr* ‘groß’ → PF **suuri* (> Fi *suuri* ‘groß’)) (LägLoS III: 253–254) is older than the substitution Gmc **st-* → Finnic **t-* (e.g. PGmc **stangō* (> ON *stǫng* ‘Stange’) → PF **taŋko* (> Fi *tanko* ‘Stange’) (LägLoS III: 272)). A word having a regular cognate in Saami cannot be expected to exemplify a word-initial substitution pattern typical of younger Germanic loanwords in Finnic. This is a chronological oxymoron. Besides the unconvincing chronology, a glaring phonological problem also remains in that the metathesis of **pr* to **rp* would still be left unexplained. Anyway, the phonological and chronological problems associated with Koivulehto’s original Germanic loan etymology will become moot with the alternative loan etymology I propose below.

The most common meaning in both Finnic and Saami involves driving fish into a seine or a net with a pole by disturbing the waters. In Finnish and Karelian, the verb is also used to describe labored movement through terrain that hinders progress such as a marsh, snow, or water. At least in literary Finnish this meaning is today the prevailing one. If we allow for liquid metathesis, there seems to be at least phonologically promising Germanic comparanda for **tarpo-*, namely PGmc **þrappōn-* / **þrabōn-* ‘to trot’ > Elfdalian *tråvå* id., OE *þrafian* ‘to urge, press’, OS *þrabōn*, EDu *draven*, *drabben*, MHG *draben* ‘to trot’ (Kroonen 2013: 544–545). Finnish *ravi* ‘trot’ and *ravata* ‘to trot; run back and forth constantly’ have been borrowed from a later Swedish reflex of the same Germanic word, Sw *trav* ‘trot’, *trava* ‘to trot’ (SSA 3: 58). The semantic connection is not all that obvious at first glance given that the Germanic words primarily mean ‘to trot’, while the primary meaning on the Indo-European side has been ‘to trample’. The Germanic word is formally identical with Lith *trapinėti* ‘to stamp one’s feet’ ← PIE **trop-n(é)h₂*. Reflexes of the same PIE root also include Old Prussian *trapt* ‘to trample’, Ru *mponámь* ‘to trample,

stamp’, and Ancient Greek *τραπέω* ‘to press (grapes)’ (Beekes 2010: 1499–1500; Kroonen 2013: 544–545; Derksen 2015: 469–470).

It is not immediately apparent that **tarpo-* ‘to wade’ and **tarpo-* ‘to drive fish with a pole by disturbing the water’ should be of the same origin in terms of semantics. The two actions do seem to share a metonymic relationship, however. It is not difficult to imagine that treading water with one’s feet as well as with a pole could be two rather simultaneous and interconnected actions both aimed at driving fish into a seine or a net in shallow, wadeable waters. This metonymic connection seems to also be supported by the fact that in German, *trampeln* ‘to crush under foot, walk with a heavy step, stamp one’s feet’ and *Trampe* ‘Störstange’ are etymologically part of the same group of words. There is perhaps nothing in **tarpo-* that would require the word to be specifically from the Germanic member of the Indo-European group of words, but the ultimate origin of the Finno-Saamic word as an Indo-European loanword of sorts is rather likely.

2.5. PF **turkka-*

- PF **turkka-* ‘to stick, poke’ ← PGmc **struk(k)ōn-* ‘to stroke’

Reflexes of Proto-Finnic **turkka-* ‘to stick, poke’ are found only in Finnish, Karelian, and Estonian, cf. Fi *tyrkätä, tyrkkiä, turkata, turkkia* ‘stoßen, schubsen; schnell stechen oder stecken’, Kar *tyrkätä, tyrkkie* ‘stoßen, schubsen’, Est *turkama* ‘stechen; eilen; fortstürzen’, *turkima* ‘stechen’ (LägLoS III: 327). There are both back-vocalic and front-vocalic reflexes. In Finnish and Karelian the front-vocalic forms are prevailing, but the back-vocalic forms have a reflex in Estonian, which likely indicates that they are in fact older. The Finnic words have an existing Germanic loan etymology according to which the words were borrowed from Proto-Germanic **prukkijan-* > OSw *þrykkia* ‘drücken’, OE *þryccan* ‘drücken, unterdrücken; drängen, stoßen’, OHG *drucchen* ‘drücken’ (ibid.). In other words, PF **turkka-* already has a Germanic loan etymology that requires liquid metathesis. The existing loan etymology is certainly possible, but I will present a competing Germanic loan etymology that likewise requires liquid metathesis as well as simplification of an initial consonant cluster (see also 2.3 **tarkka* ‘exact, precise, accurate’).

In my view also PGmc **struk(k)ōn-* ‘to stroke’ > Icl *stroka* ‘to rage, sweep, dash, blow’, Nor *strokka* ‘to beat, thresh’, OE *stroccian* ‘to stroke’, EDu *stroocken* ‘to stroke, pat’ (Kroonen 2013: 486) could have been borrowed as PF **turkka-*. The meaning ‘to stroke’ also seems to match up better with the Finnic meanings than ‘drücken’ of the previous proposal. It is interesting to note that some of the Germanic as well as the Finnic cognates also denote swift movement: ON *strjúka* ‘to rush’, Icl *stroka* ‘to dash’, E obs. *stroke* ‘to go quickly, travel’ (perhaps a loan from Old Norse) vs. Est *turkama* ‘eilen’. It is of course entirely possible that the meaning ‘to move quickly’ represents convergence in both Germanic and Finnic, although in Germanic it must be of some antiquity according to Kroonen (ibid.). It cannot be determined phonologically which of the proposed Germanic loan etymologies is a better fit for PF **turkka-*, but in my estimation the new etymology I propose here is less of a stretch semantically.

2.6. PF **turta*

- PF **turta* ‘numb (of a limb)’ ← PGmc **prutan* ‘lack, want; weariness’

Finnish *turta* primarily means ‘gefühllos, steif, eingeschlafen (Gliedermaße)’. In the old literary language and dialects, there is a whole host of additional meanings: ‘unfruchtbar, morsch; geschmacklos, halbgar (Speise); deprimiert’ (SSA 3: 377). Cognates in Finnic include Vo *turassiza* (adv.) ‘gefühllos’, Est *turd* ‘halb trocken; geschwollen, waserdicht (Holzgefäß); gefühllos’, Liv *turdā* ‘faulen’. SSA mentions an uncertain cognate in Mari (East) *turtam* ‘steif und hart werden’, (West) *turtanyam*. The Mari word, however, cannot reflect an earlier first-syllable **u* as is required by the Finnic word. Proto-Mari **u* is usually a reflex of PU **o*, and also the stop in *-rt-* cluster lacking voicing in Mari is typically a sign of the word being a rather recent addition to the Mari lexicon or a derivation. According to SSA, *turta* and its cognates are at least secondarily connected to Fi *turpea* ‘aufgedunsten, geschwollen, dick’ and its cognates. There has very likely been both phonological and semantic overlap between some of these words, cf. Est dial. *turb*, *turd* ‘wet (wood), swollen’, *turbuda*, *turduda*

‘to get wet; swell’ (SSA 3: 336), but as discussed earlier in connection with **kiiltä*- (see 2.1), descriptiveness and loan origin are not two mutually exclusive propositions.

For Finnic **turta* ‘numb’ a Germanic loan etymology has been proposed, according to which PF **turta* was borrowed from PGmc **sturđō* (> ON *storð* ‘junger Pflanzen bzw. Baumwuchs’) (LägLoS III: 323). The semantic mismatch is explained by alluding to the fact that the Germanic adjective belongs to a PIE root **ster-* meaning ‘starr, steif, unfruchtbar’ and thus the adjective also originally perhaps referred to ‘starr(es Grass)’. This explanation has not been found satisfactory and in general the Germanic loan etymology has failed to gain support.

If we once again take the possibility of word-initial liquid metathesis into consideration, we stumble upon another possible Germanic loan etymology for PF **turta*, namely PGmc **prutan* > ON *prot* ‘lack, want’, OE *æðrot* ‘disgust’, OS *far-throt* ‘annoyance’ (Orel 2003: 427). At first glance, the Germanic word is not all that appealing semantically. The Old English word is glossed simply as ‘disgust’ by Orel, but according to several other sources, the word also meant ‘Müdigkeit; weariness’ (de Vries 1977: 623; Bosworth 2014: s.v. *æ-prot*). Alongside ‘Not, Mangel’ the Old Norse word also meant ‘Ende’ (de Vries 1977: 623). It is also perhaps noteworthy that at least in Modern Icelandic “the end” that the word refers to is running out of strength, Icl *prot*, cf. *hann er að protum kominn* ‘er ist am Ende seiner Kräfte’ (Ellertsson 1993: 525). These meanings referring to ‘weariness’ are not all that surprising considering that the word is ultimately related to PGmc **preutan-* ‘to bother’ > Go *us-priutan* ‘to harass, bother, persecute’, ON *þrjóta* ‘to fail, come to an end, become exhausted’, OE *þrēotan* ‘to weary’, OHG *bi-driozan* ‘to weary, trouble’ (Kroonen 2013: 546) (from the same Germanic group of words, but perhaps later → PF **riutu-* > Fi *riutua* ‘dahinsiechen, dahinschwenden, dahinwelken, erlöschen’ (LägLoS III: 165–166)), PGmc **prautjan-* ‘to exhaust’ > ON *þreyta* ‘to strive, struggle’, Faroese *troyta* ‘to complete; drag on, exert one’s strength; exhaust’ (Kroonen 2013: 545), **pruttōn-* ‘to exhaust’ > G dial. *trotzen* ‘to over-exploit’ (Kroonen 2013: 548). Past participles of PGmc **prautjan-* ‘to exhaust’, i.e. PGmc **prautida-* generally mean ‘exhausted’ and ‘tired’, ON *þreyttr*, Nor *trött*, Sw *trött* (Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007: 1194–1195).

Weariness and numbness are related concepts. It is perhaps telling that in a large number of languages, falling asleep is a common metaphor for numbness, cf. G *einschlafen* ‘to fall asleep’ > *eingeschlafen* ‘numb’ (for additional examples, DatSemShift). Dying is also used as a metaphor for getting numb that often co-exists polysemously with weariness and tiredness, e.g. Fi *kuoleutua* ‘to mortify’ (← *kuolla* ‘to die’), dial. also ‘to grow numb’ (SMS s.v. *kuoleutua*), Fi *surra* ‘to mourn’, dial. also ‘to grow numb, get tired (of a limb), wither; die’, Est *surra* ‘to die; grow numb, stiffen (a limb)’ (SSA 3: 221). Suffice it to say that additional examples of similar semantic development are not hard to come by. Thus Proto-Finnic **turta* can be regarded as a Germanic loan from a form similar to PGmc **brutan-* on both phonological and semantic grounds.

3. Additional examples of liquid metathesis

In the Greifswald presentation, I also mentioned in passing that there are a few Finnic words that are noteworthy from the point of view of liquid metathesis, although I am not necessarily convinced at this point that they are of Germanic origin. These examples included (N) PF **purnu* > Fi *purnu* ‘Kasten, Kiste; (mit Holzwänden versehene) Erdgrube zur Aufbewahrung von Lebensmitteln’, Kar *purnu*, *puurnu*, *puuru* ‘(grain) bin’, Lu *purn*, *purnu*, *pūrnu* id., Ve *purn* id. ?~ PGmc **brunna(n)* ‘well, spring’ and PF **karmęta* > Fi *karmea* ‘schrecklich; bitter; kalt; mürrisch; rau’, of the same stem, cf. Fi *karmia* ‘to give the creeps; be upset, angry’ ?~ PGmc **gramaz* > ON *gramr* ‘feindlich, zornig, verbittert’, PGmc **gramjan-* ‘to provoke, anger’ > Go *gramjan-*, ON *gremja* (cf. Heidermanns 2013: 253–254; Kroonen 2013: 186).

I will not go into detail on these words as there is a lot of unpacking to do that unfortunately exceeds the scope of this article. I will just say that Finnic *purnu* has been considered a Saami loan (Aikio 2009: 138–140). This view is based mostly on the underlying idea that Finnic **purnu* and PS **puorne* ‘cache dug in the ground for storing foodstuffs’ (> SaaS *boerne*, SaaN (obs.) *buordna*, SaaSk *puõrnn*) must be etymologically linked, but as they cannot be considered regular

cognates or as the Saami word cannot be regarded as a Finnic loan, the only option left is that the Finnic word has been borrowed from Saami. I disagree with this assessment, as it is at least theoretically possible that both the Saami and Finnic words have been borrowed independently from an unknown third source. The word in Finnic is mostly an agricultural term meaning ‘(grain) bin’, so the idea that the word could have been borrowed from a Germanic word meaning ‘well, spring’ might seem far-fetched. Interestingly enough, however, in Finnish dialects (primarily in Southeastern Häme, Southeastern dialects) also the meanings ‘glen, earth or water hole, puddle’ are attested (SKES 654). It is hard to tell what exactly the relationship of these meanings to ‘(grain) bin’ is and how PGmc **brunna(n)* fits together with the Finnic and Saami words, if at all.

I have probably not presented an exhaustive list of potential liquid metathesis cases in Finnic. Additional examples can surely still be discovered. One tentative example I have come across since giving the presentation is Fi *halpa* ‘billig, preiswert, gering; schlecht, niedrig, unbedeutend’, Vo *alpa* ‘schlecht’, Est *halb* ‘schlecht, schlimm, übel; billig’ < PF **halpa* (< **šalpa*)? ← PGmc **slapa-* ‘schlaff, träge’ > MDu *slap* ‘schlaff, nicht gespannt’, ‘schlapp, weich’, ‘schwach, unbedeutend’, MLG *slap* ‘schlaff’, ‘nicht gespannt (Bogen)’, ‘träge, kraftlos’, OHG *slaf* ‘träge, müßig’ (Heidermanns 2013: 507). The Germanic word is cognate with, among others, Lith *slābnas* ‘schwach, kraftlos’ and Old Church Slavonic *slabъ* ‘schwach’. The etymology might have deserved its own entry in the present article, but there really is not much more to the Germanic loan etymology than what is mentioned here.

4. Conclusion

In this article, I have proposed a potential new Germanic loan etymology for six Proto-Finnic words that in their sound substitutions rely on liquid metathesis. They and the few additional examples discussed in Section 3 seem to confirm that liquid metathesis in Finnic can occur in positions before most single consonants and geminate stops.

In terms of chronology, the proposed loanwords could belong to two or even three different layers (see footnote 2 about the shorthand regarding Proto-Germanic and Proto-Finnic). Since there is evidence to suggest that Finnic geminate stops after long syllables became possible only after the contacts between Baltic and Proto-Finnic had come to an end (Junttila 2019), cases where Germanic voiceless stops after long syllables were substituted with single stops (i.e. PF **kiiltä-* ‘to shine’ ← PGmc **glītan-* ‘to shine, sparkle’, PF **purka-* ‘to take apart’ ← PGmc **bruk(k)ōn-* ‘to break, crumble’ and PF **turta-* ‘numb’ ← PGmc **prutan-* ‘lack, want; weariness’) could belong an older loanword layer than cases where Germanic single stops after a long syllable were substituted with a geminate stop (i.e. PF **tarkka-* ‘exact, precise, accurate’ ← PGmc **straka-* ‘stretched’ and PF **turkka-* ‘to stick, poke’ ← PGmc **struk(k)ōn-* ‘to stroke’). The former layer could thus represent a layer of loanwords from Proto-Germanic proper into Middle Proto-Finnic and the latter a layer from dialectal Proto-Germanic/Proto-Scandinavian into Late Proto-Finnic (for the chronology see Junttila 2017). Considering that PF **tarpo-* ‘to trample’ has a phonologically regular cognate in Saami, it almost certainly has to be the oldest of the loanwords I proposed here, provided we are not dealing with a case of etymological nativization (Aikio 2007). The word could probably have been borrowed already from Paleo- or Pre-Germanic into West Uralic. Borrowing from Proto-Germanic separately into Proto-Finnic and Proto-Saami is unlikely given that liquid metathesis needs to have happened in both. However, as I mentioned when discussing the potential Germanic loan etymology (see. 2.4), there is perhaps nothing particularly Germanic about the word, although the Indo-European loan origin itself seems quite probable.

Proto-Germanic loanwords in Finnic are a loanword layer that has been studied fairly exhaustively, but I hope to have demonstrated that the corpus can still be expanded even by applying known substitution patterns. I also hope that the new loan etymologies I have presented here spark renewed interest towards the topic at hand.

Abbreviations

E = English	OHG = Old High German
EDu = Early Modern Dutch	ON = Old Norse
Est = Estonian	OS = Old Saxon
EstS = South Estonian	OSw = Old Swedish
Fi = Finnish	PF = Proto-Finnic
G = German	PGmc = Proto-Germanic
Go = Gothic	PIE = Proto-Indo-European
Icl = Icelandic	PS = Proto-Saami
Kar = Karelian	PU = Proto-Uralic
Lith = Lithuanian	Ru = Russian
Liv = Livonian	SaaN = North Saami
Lu = Ludic	SaaS = South Saami
MDu = Middle Dutch	SaaSk = Skolt Saami
MHG = Middle High German	Sw = Swedish
MLG = Middle Low German	VeS = South Veps
Nor = Norwegian	Vo = Vote
OE = Old English	

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