

Saami Loanwords in Old Norse¹

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1 Introduction

There has been an immense amount of lexical exchange among Saami (a Fenno-Ugric language group especially formerly called Lapp) and the other languages of Northern Europe. Several layers of the common Germanic and Saami vocabulary are ascribed to the same, now-extinct substrata (Schrijver 2003, Aikio 2004); Germanic and Baltic have both been very strong contributors to the Proto-Saami lexicon (see e.g. Wiklund 1911, Korhonen 1988, Koivulehto 1992, Sammallahti 1998); the individual Saami languages have replaced a great many everyday words with Finnish, Norwegian, Swedish and Russian equivalents (e.g. Qvigstad 1893, Korhonen 1982, Sammallahti 1998); the northern dialects of Swedish and Norwegian have absorbed a comparatively large number of lexemes from local varieties of Saami (Larsson 1992: 98–99, Dahlstedt 1950, Bull 2004: 186); many place-names in Northern Scandinavia consist of Saami elements (Bull 2004: 187); and Russian has more than 100 Saami loanwords designating natural phenomena, animals and plants (Itkonen 1932).

Some loan relations have played a much less significant role and, as a consequence, have been almost ignored in etymological research. The purpose of this article is to convey to the field of Nordic etymology a subfield of Old Norse vocabulary of Saami origin.

2 Saami and Old Norse in cultural history

The Saami language group comprises nine living languages, and despite their low number of speakers they cover almost all of Northern Scandi-

navia and the Kola peninsula. The two main subgroups are Western Saami (consisting of South, Ume, Pite, Lule, and North Saami, spoken mainly in Norway and Sweden) and Eastern Saami (consisting of Inari (Enare) and Skolt Saami, spoken mainly in Finland, and Kildin and Ter Saami, spoken in Russian areas on the Kola peninsula). Two extinct Saami languages are known, both from the eastern group: The long-dead Kemi Saami from Finland, and Akkala Saami from Russia, whose last speaker died in 2003. A detailed description of their distribution and internal relationship can be found in Sammallahti (1998: 6–38).

The Norsemen and the Saami peoples lived side by side for many centuries (“in a symbiotic relationship”, Parpola 2003: 250). By the end of the Proto-Saami period (around 800 AD), the Saami inhabited all of northernmost continental Europe from the Kola peninsula to the Troms coast in NW Norway, and in the Middle Ages some groups migrated further south into the Scandinavian peninsula at least as far as Jämtland (Korhonen 1988: 265–267). It has recently been stated that Saami influence on Scandinavian culture during the Viking Age has been dramatically underestimated (Price 2000, 2002: 235–239); Zachrisson (2004: 13) argues on the basis of archaeological and onomastic data that close cultural interaction had already taken place in the 7th and 8th centuries AD; evidence of common elements in Scandinavian and Saami mythology has been given by Mundal (1996, 2000); Rießler (2004) ascribes certain developments in Nordic phonology to Saami influence; and Schrijver (2003) and Aikio (2004) have demonstrated the existence of a shared substratum in Saami and Germanic. On this basis, I find it very unlikely that the Saami languages would not have left more than one or two common nouns plus a pair of ethnonyms in Old Norse. This is nonetheless the impression one is left with after having consulted the standard handbooks.

3 Saami etymologies so far

In de Vries’ etymological dictionary of Old Norse (1962), foreign elements are grouped according to source. In the category “Saami words that have been borrowed into Old Norse” (Einleitung, p. XL) only four items appear: 1) The first part of the compound *nakkaskinn* ‘animal hide for feed’ (p. 404);² 2) the first part of the ethnonym *Tyrfifinnar* ‘Ter Saami (pl.)’ (p. 603); 3) the first part of the semi-ethnonym *semsveinar* ‘Saami boys’ (p. 470); and a single simplex noun, 4) the eth-

nonym *Bjarmar* ‘a people by the White Sea’ (p. 39). In addition, de Vries cites Müllenhoff (1906) for having suggested that the ON adjective *sámr* ‘dark grey’ could stem from the Saami self-designation, but de Vries justifiably rejects this (p. 462), simply concluding that the word is of unknown origin.³

Schrijver (2003: 222–223) ascribes a pair of shared lexemes in Old Norse and Saami (ON *orri* ‘blackcock (male of black grouse)’ ~ North Saami *hurri* ‘id.’; ON *kýta* ‘fish stomach, roe’ and related Germanic forms ~ North Saami ‘fish sausage, roe’) to a common substrate, stating: “... there is no particular reason to assume that the one [is] borrowed from the other.”⁴

Another possible loanword from Saami, the name of the giant *Bjazi*, has been treated by Kusmenko (2004 (a)). John Hines (p.c.) has suggested a connection between another giant name, *Loki*, and the Saami fish-name *loahkka* ‘cod’, referring to the fact that Loki turns into a salmon; see Elmerot (forthcoming) for a discussion of possible Indo-European etymologies.

Other research on contacts prior to modern times has either focused on Germanic and Nordic influence on Saami (e.g. Qvigstad 1893, Fischer 1909, Wiklund 1911, Korhonen 1988, Koivulehto 1992, Sammal-lahti 1998) or on Saami influence on later Scandinavian dialects (e.g. Dahlstedt 1950, Larsson 1992, Kusmenko & Rießler 2001, Bull 2004).

4 New proposals

In the following, some new suggestions for Saami loanwords in Old Norse are presented. Some of the items have been given no satisfactory etymology until now, while others have been assigned quite far-fetched explanations. Items in §§4.1.–4.5 are listed in order of probability, starting with the one that I find most secure; the item in §5 is placed at the end for the sake of chronology only.

4.1 OLD NORSE *LUNDI* ‘PUFFIN’

In my view, the most obvious candidate for a Saami loanword in ON is *lundi*, Mod.Icel. *lundi*, Faer. *lundi*, Norn *londi*, Norw. *lunde*, all ‘puffin’ (*Fratergula arctica*). Since the distribution of this bird is restricted to the North Atlantic area, its name is only indigenous to the West Nordic

languages, whereas Dan. *lunde* and the first part of Swed. *lunnefågel* (*fågel* ‘bird’) are borrowed from Faeroese and Norwegian respectively.

Falk (1925: 136) derives it from Mod. Icel. *lundir* ‘white stripe in the face’ < ON *lundir* ‘flesh under the spine’, pl. of *lund* f. ‘loin, suet’ (< IE **lendʰ-* ‘lower parts; loin; lowland’), referring to a white bar over the bird’s bill. Neither de Vries (1962: 338) nor Blöndal Magnússon (1989: 336) proposes any alternative etymology, and the one given is admittedly possible; for several reasons, however, a borrowing from Saami appears more straightforward.

In North Saami, the word for ‘bird’ is *lodde*, *loddī*. Around 1000 AD, the form would have been **londe* since original clusters consisting of nasal + voiced stop (-ND-) still had not developed into geminate stops (-DD-). The loss of nasal took place from Proto-Saami (PS) to Common Western Saami, and modern Eastern Saami languages have preserved the old clusters, e.g. Kildin Saami *loann’t* (see Sammallahti 1998: 36 for a phonemic representation of all Saami forms). According to Sammallahti (1998: 29), denasalisation spread east across the North/Inari Saami border to Inari Saami in present Finland, and Skolt Saami and Kemi Saami in Russia after the acquisition of Christian names and terminology probably in the late 16th or early 17th century. It did not reach Akkala Saami because the area where this variant was spoken was administratively separated from the rest of the Skolt area in the 16th century (Sammallahti 1998: 194). The easternmost Saami languages, Ter Saami and Kola Saami, have retained the nasal as well.

The Proto-Fenno-Ugric (PFU) form is reconstructed as **lunta* (UEW I: 254). Proto-Balto-Fennic **lintu* (with irregular vocalism in the first syllable) designates any kind of bird, as does its counterpart in most Saami languages. However, in all other Fenno-Ugric branches, it is primarily used for large birds such as geese, ducks and grouse (e.g. Cheremis *luđo* ‘duck, goose’, Hungarian *lúd* ‘goose’, Ostyak *lont*, *tunt* ‘goose’; cf. also Notozero Skolt Saami *lodd* ‘grey hen (= female of black grouse)’, Lagercrantz 1939, I: 393, no. 3136).

Linguistic arguments for a Saami origin of ON *lundi* can be supported by facts from zoogeography and cultural history. The puffin is among the most numerous birds in Northern Scandinavia. It lives throughout the Norwegian coast all the way up to the easternmost Kola peninsula, i.e. all along the coast of the Saami-speaking area of 800–1100 A.D. And, most importantly, bird feathers and down were among the goods that the Saami peoples paid as tribute (*finnskattr*) to the so-called *birkarlar*, tradesmen of Finnish origin, whose monopoly to col-

lect tributes from the Saami became statutory under the Swedish king Erik Magnusson in 1358 (Collinder 1953: 36, Korhonen 1982: 152). From Ottar's account we know that the Norsemen travelled along the Atlantic coast and the coast of the White Sea to collect taxes from the Saami at least as early as the late 9th century (Scheller 2004: 173). So it would only be natural if the Norsemen connected the puffin with the Saami and borrowed their term for birds in general to designate a bird from this area.⁵

4.2 OLD NORSE *SÁMR* 'DARK GREY'

De Vries (1962: 462) regards the West Nordic adjective ON *sámr* 'dark grey', Mod.Icel. *sámur*, Norw. *sâm* 'dark' as a word of unknown origin. Schröder (1941: 54) explicitly labels it non-Indo-European. Müllenhoff (1906: 56) suggests a borrowing from the Saami self-designation, North Saami *sabme*, stem *sam-* (modern standard orthography *sápmi* ~ *sám-*), an idea which de Vries does not find probable.

Although a connection with the ethnonym indeed seems far-fetched, Müllenhoff did not go astray when turning to Saami. I believe we are dealing with a different Saami word of similar phonetic shape. North Saami *samo-* 'dark, foggy; dark and foggy weather' (nom.sg. *sabmo*, modern standard orthography *sopmu*), related to Fi. *sumea*, *samea* 'dark, dull', is the obvious source (< Proto-Fenno-Volgaic **sume* 'fog', UEW II: 767–768, SKES IV: 1107–1108). In Saami, this word functions as both noun and adjective, but it has been borrowed into ON as an adjective and has consequently been assigned the adjectival ending, masc.nom.sg. *-r*. The ON long vowel need not constitute a problem since in some North Saami dialects stressed short vowels have been lengthened before short consonants (Sammallahti 1998: 12) and the form transmitted is likely to have been the weak stem **sam-* which is more common in the paradigm. Since geminates were normal in ON, the strong stem variant **samm-* (which later became **sabm-*) would probably have been reproduced as such.

4.3 OLD NORSE *BAGGI* 'PLUMP ANIMAL; PACKAGE, BUNDLE'

ON *baggi* 'plump animal; package, bundle', Norw. *bagge* 'package, hunk; podge, young calf', *nordbagge* 'Norwegian pony' (*nord* 'north'), Shetland

Norn *bag* ‘scrotum’, and Swed. *bagge* ‘ram’ and *-bagge* as the second member of compound insect names, e.g. *skalbagge* ‘beetle.’⁶ MEng. *bagge*, Mod.Eng. *bag* (> Fr. *bague*) is borrowed from ON *baggi* (Watkins 2000).

Tamm 1890–1905 (I: 20–21) imagines a course of events where the word, originally meaning ‘sack, scrotum’, was assigned to the ram with reference to its masculine potency, whereafter various beetles with horned excrescences have been compared to rams. This is parallel to Danish compound names for beetles with *-buk* ‘billy goat, buck’ as the second member. With reference to the Norw. adj. *baggen* ‘plump, podgy’, von Friesen (1897: 97) allows for the animals to have been named directly after their shape. Others have interpreted *baggi* as an irregular variant of *pakki* ‘bundle, package’ with cognates in West Germanic, including de Vries (p. 22) and Blöndal Magnússon (1989: 36, 698).⁷ The picture has been blurred by forms with similar form and meaning such as 1) ON *poki* ‘bundle, purse’, OE *pocca* ‘id.’, Orkney Norn *puggy* ‘belly’ and 2) ON *pungr* ‘bundle, purse’, Goth. *puggs* /pungs/ ‘id.’⁸ So far, the origin of all these forms has remained unclear.

Once again, the Saami vocabulary offers alternatives to the old doubtful etymologies. In North Saami, *bagge* actually means ‘animal with a stretched skin; fat or pregnant reindeer’. It is the regular outcome of Proto-Fennic **pinka* ‘stretch(ed)’ (UEW I: 727; SKES III: 567–568), though possibly influenced semantically by North Saami *bogge* ‘short fat one (person, animal, or thing)’ and *bugge* ‘bump, lump, hump; swollen or expanded object’ < PFU **pun̄ka*, **pon̄ka* (UEW I: 404, SKES III: 641). In Balto-Fennic, this root retained the shape **punka*, which might be the source of the words in group 2) in the previous paragraph (cf., e.g., Est. *pung* ‘something chubby and protruding, clod, bump, swelling’), while the odds are that group 1) derive from a Western Saami reflex of the same root.⁹ ON *baggi*, then, could be another Western Saami loanword whose original meaning ‘plump animal’ later merged with the meaning of the phonetically similar *pakki*.¹⁰ These words cannot be Common Saami (or Eastern Saami) because, as mentioned above in §4.1., the loss of nasal in sequences of the shape *-ND-* is a later development taking place particularly in the Western areas.

4.4 OLD NORSE *KÁRN* ‘BIRD’, NORWEGIAN *KORN* ‘CROW’

ON *kárn* ‘bird’ (e.g. in *jaðrakárn* ‘snipe’),¹¹ Norw. *korn* ‘crow’ is reminiscent of Germanic **kranan-* ‘crane’, but apart from the semantics and the fact that Nordic languages display an irregular *t-* in the latter (ON *trani*), four things are wrong: The stem-vowel is missing, the gender is neuter, the vowel is long, and the vowel precedes the *-r-* instead of following it. All things considered, the structure of the word looks more Fennic than Nordic. Lule Saami *kārranis*, Skolt and Ter Saami *kārnas*, Kildin Saami *kārnis*, North Saami *gāranas* all mean ‘crow’ (< Proto-Uralic [PU] **kVrnV* ‘raven’; UEW I: 228–229, SKES I: 135–136, Lagercrantz 1939: 269, no. 2141). The source could also be Balto-Fennic; cf. Fi. *kaarne*, *karne* ‘raven’. But the complete absence of this word in East Nordic renders a Saami origin more likely.

The irregular vowel correspondence Saami **ā* ~ Balto-Fennic **a* ~ **ā* must be due to onomatopoeic influence, which is quite common in bird’s names; cf. ON *snipa* ‘snipe’ (de Vries 525) ~ *snapa* ‘id.’ (de Vries 522), Fi. *kurppa*, (dial.) *kurva*, *kurvi*, *kurmitsa* ‘woodcock’ for expected **kar-* (UEW II: 676–677), and the IE words for ‘crow, raven’ (cf. Mallory & Adams 1997: 36). Another possibility is of course that the word was onomatopoeically formed by the Norsemen themselves, and that this is the explanation of its peculiar structure.

4.5 OLD NORSE *JARKI*, *ILKI* ‘SOLE OF FOOT’

ON *jarki* and *ilki* both mean ‘sole of the foot’. According to de Vries (1962: 290 and 284 resp.) they are formed with the suffix *-ki* used in words for body-parts (e.g. in *kjalki* ‘cheek, sledge’, *makki* ‘mane’): *jarki* via an alleged **jaðrki* from *jaðarr* ‘edge’, and *ilki* from *il* f. (pl. *iljar*) ‘sole of the foot’.

Jarki is found in West Nordic only: Mod. Icel. *jarki*, Faer. *jarki*, Norw. *jark*, Orkney Norn *yark*, and Shetland Norn *jark*, *jarki(n)*. The meaning of *jaðarr* is quite far away from that of *jarki*, and the intermediate stage **jaðrki* is merely a reconstruction.

Ilki is today found solely in Norw. *ilk(e)*, whereas the simplex *il* has cognates in West Germanic; most importantly, however, only in Nordic and OE does it mean ‘sole of the foot’, whereas e.g. MLG *ill* just means ‘callous skin’. The word is etymologically unclear.

There is a possibility that neither *jarki* nor *ilki* is a Nordic derivative. Modern North Saami *jælge* ‘footprint, track’ is probably borrowed from Finnish or some other Balto-Fennic language. The PU root is reconstructed as **jälkä* (UEW I: 91, SKES I: 129–130), almost certainly ultimately related to **jalka* ‘foot’ (UEW I: 88–89, SKES I: 113). The latter is attested in all of the Saami languages; in certain Swedish dialects of South Saami (Snåsa, Tännäs, Röros) it has developed into *jielkie*, *jielkij* (Lagercrantz 1939: I, 227–228, no. 1842), and the Ter Saami form is *jilke*. However, the regular outcome of PU **a* (via PS **uo*) in Ter Saami is a long high mid-vowel */ī/*, whereas *(j)i-* originates from PU initial **(j)ä-*. Furthermore, initial **-ä* and **-a* merged into PS **-ē*, so it is very likely that the Uralic words for ‘foot’ and ‘footprint, track’ merged into one word in Saami. This assumption is supported by the fact that PU **jälkä* otherwise seems to have disappeared in Saami as an inherited word.

Ter Saami proper cannot be the source of ON *ilki*, since the features that define the independent Ter Saami language had not yet occurred at the time. The unrounding of PS **uo* occurs only in Ter Saami, and not even in the closely related Kildin Saami, so this development must have happened fairly recently. However, the regular outcome of PU **ä* (> PS **a*) is *ī* in all of the Eastern Saami languages and even some of the Western Saami languages, so if we assume that the vocalism in *jilke* represents an earlier more widespread continuation of PS **jalkē* < PU **jälkä* (i.e. ‘footprint, track’, instead of PU **jalka* ‘foot’), then the way to ON *ilki* is short. ON *jarki* can have been borrowed at an earlier stage when the vocalism of Eastern Saami had not yet run wild, or it could be a loan from a Balto-Fennic language (see Hyllested [forthcoming]).¹²

It is still not impossible to derive ON *jarki* and *ilki* from Nordic morphemes as de Vries did. However, it is in any case remarkable that two words with the same meaning ‘sole of the foot’ in one language correspond to two phonetically similar words in neighbouring languages meaning ‘footprint, track’ and ‘foot’ respectively. And since the Saami words definitely go back to at least Proto-Fenno-Ugric, they cannot have been borrowed the other way round.

One question remains: Why would the Norsemen have borrowed a designation for a body-part like ‘sole of the foot’ from Saami or Balto-Fennic? The answer is quite straightforward: The meaning at the time of the borrowing was still that of the lending language, spoken by a population of nomadic hunters. A word with the meaning ‘footprint, track’ was just as closely connected to Saami culture (and the Nordic perception of it) as the names of various hunted animals.¹³

4.6 SWEDISH ANKA ‘TAME DUCK, WHITE DUCK’

While the Swedish standard language has solely adopted Saami words for phenomena connected particularly with the Saami way of life, the individual dialects of Northern Sweden have been significantly influenced by local varieties of Saami, with regard to phonology as well as vocabulary (Larsson 1992: 98–99). The Vilhelmina dialect of Western Norrland has become most heavily influenced (by the northern dialect of South Saami), followed by those of Arjeplog (by Ume Saami) and Jämtland (by the southern dialect of South Saami). According to Dahlstedt (1950: 214), the Vilhelmina vocabulary contains as many as 40 concrete words of Saami origin. None of them seems to have been borrowed into Old Norse proper.¹⁴

A candidate for a Saami loanword in common Swedish is *anka* ‘tame duck, white duck’, first recorded in 1587. To my knowledge, the only serious proposal so far, though still disputed, is Rydquist’s (1850–83, V: 15, 219) that the word is most probably borrowed from a diminutive **antke* of MLG *ant* ‘duck’, reconstructed on the basis of Lübeck dialect *ahnk* ‘duck’.¹⁵ This etymology is followed by Kock (1887: 74–75), Tamm (1895–1905: I, 10) and Hellquist (1966), but is problematic since it does not appear in Danish, which separates Swedish from German geographically. Besides, *anka* designates tame (white) ducks only, a semantic restriction highly reminiscent of that of a similar Saami word. In Lule Saami, the word for ‘snow duck’ is *hanñā*, corresponding to the first part of Ume Saami (Malå dialect) *anñā-lahka* ‘tame duck’ (borrowed into Finnish dialects as *hankelas*, *hankelo*, *hankilo* ‘snow duck’). It has a well-established Uralic etymology (PU **aŋV*, UEW I: 13, SKES I: 55), which excludes borrowing in the reverse direction. Swed. *anka* is one possible representation of Saami *anñā*, but *-ka* could also be suffixal, having been added to an original Swed. **anga* or **ang* under the influence of other bird’s names: *lärka* ‘lark’, *kråka* ‘crow’, *råka* ‘rook’, *siska* ‘siskin’, *alka* ‘razorbill’.¹⁶

5 Conclusion

Nordic lexical influence on the Saami languages has been massive. In contrast, Saami loanwords by no means constitute a large part of the Old Norse vocabulary. Most borrowings have a limited geographical distribution and refer to the Saami way of life or concepts linked to

Saami–Scandinavian contacts. This asymmetry is typical for a relationship between two peoples where one has the upper hand technically and politically. Nonetheless, the Saami languages, including their earlier and reconstructed stages, must be taken into account while uncovering the origins of the more obscure parts of the Old Norse lexicon.

Notes

1. The present article is a revised and slightly expanded version of Hyllested 2003. It was presented in August 2006 at the symposium “Early and Prehistoric Language Development in North-Western Europe”, University of Southern Denmark (Odense), and will appear in *North-Western European Language Evolution (NOWELE)* in 2008. I thank Michael Rießler for his valuable critique.
2. From North Saami *nakka* ‘hide’ < Fi. *nahka* ‘id.’ (< PU **načka*, UEW I: 311, SKES II: 364), first mentioned by Falk 1925. The variant *hnakkaskinn* is a folk etymology influenced by *hnakka* ‘back of the neck’.
3. On the (different) Saami origin of this word, see §4.2.
4. In my opinion, *orri* could easily be another Saami loanword. In Saami, the same word-form means both ‘blackcock (male of black grouse)’ and ‘male reindeer’ in different dialects, so the semantics is much narrower in Nordic (if we separate *orri* from the *ūr-* in OHG *ūrohso* ‘aurochs’ which is closer to Fi. *urhos* ~ gen. *uroksen* ‘male reindeer’), and the initial *h-* in the Saami dialects where it means ‘blackcock’ poses no problem (cf. §4.6).
5. Qvigstad (1893: 225) mentions North Saami *lunndo* as a borrowing the other way round. Another bird relevant in this context, the Common Eider (*Somateria mollissima*), is referred to in Saami and Nordic by a shared substratum word (Skolt Saami *audd*, North Saami *hávda* vs. ON *æðr*; Aikio 2004: 10). The name of the skua (*Lestris*) in West

Nordic, Mod. Icel. *kjóí*, Faer. *kjógví* (< **kjów(w)i*), No. *kive, jo*, is superficially reminiscent of Fi. *kajova*, Inari Saami *kajjuh*, Ter Saami *kaez* /*kajeg*/, all ‘seagull’ (< PU **kaja-ka*, UEW I: 117), but the phonological and semantic differences are rather significant, and Lockwood (1961: 38–41) regards the Nordic forms as onomatopoeic.

6. Almost certainly a folk etymology from Lat. *Scarabaeus*; cf. Danish *skarnbasse* ‘dung beetle’, reshaped under the influence of *skarn* ‘dung’ and *basse* ‘plump animal’.
7. Voiced geminates are quite common in Old Norse animal diminutives and pet names, and *baggi* is known to have been used very early by the Swedes and Danes as a nickname for the Norwegians; in *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* (chapter 326) it is told that Birger Jarl of Sweden already in 1255 commanded his men not to call the Norwegians “*bagga eða öðrum hæðyrðum*” (‘*baggi* or other nicknames’; SAOB).
8. Not to mention ON *búkr* ‘belly’, OE *būc* ‘id.’ which has a fairly well-established Indo-European etymology (< PIE **b^heu-g-* ‘swell, puff out’). It cannot be excluded that some of the other forms mentioned are derivatives of variants of the same root. Still, the particularly rich representation in Germanic speaks for an origin in Northern Europe at least for a part of them (see the following paragraph in the main text).
9. The North Saami spelling with mediae does not necessarily represent voiced sounds, as it is based on Norwegian spelling, where *b, d, g* can represent unaspirated rather than voiced phonemes. It depends on the dialect whether the Saami mediae are to be pronounced voiced or unvoiced.
10. The two forms have merged in various languages (cf. ON *nestbaggi* ‘lunch pack’ ~ Mod. Norw. *nistepakke* ‘id.’, Eng. *package* ~ Fr. *bagage*),

and since their meanings overlapped, they were surely perceived as variants of a single word in ON already.

11. Words meaning 'crow' also occur in compound names for large birds, so perhaps the meaning was 'crow' in ON as well.
12. It must be noted, however, that of the known Saami or Balto-Fennic languages, only Livonian shows regular development of **l > r* or sporadic alternation between the two liquids (although this is known to be typologically very common). A development *lk- > -rk-* then must have taken place in Old Norse itself or in some unknown extinct dialect of Balto-Fennic.
13. Cf. the fact that the Scandinavians and other European peoples at the time used the ethnonym *finnar* for the Saami peoples, which is most often explained as a derivative from the verb *finna* 'look for, track down' (e.g. Karsten 1915: 230).
14. Vilhelmina *aja* 'grandfather' is listed in Dahlstedt 1950: 156 as a loan from Saami *ājja* 'id.; old man', but ON *ái* 'grandfather, forefather' is said to be identical with *afi* 'man', which is of Proto-Germanic origin (de Vries pp. 2–3). Besides, words of such simple structure designating parents or grandparents are typologically known to be formed in children's language and can appear independently in any language. They should consequently only be used very carefully in the argumentation for linguistic contacts, let alone genetic affinity.
15. Rydquist himself speaks against Kock's (1887: 76–77) alternative suggestion that *anka* could be a contraction of an original feminine *antkona*, *ankona*, lit. 'duck's wife', parallel to Old Swed. *frænka* 'female relative' < *frændkona* 'id.'.
16. The last case would make up a compromise with Rydquist's alternative explanation mentioned in footnote 15 (see Kock, p. 75).

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