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SOOT IN THE SAAMI AND GERMANIC LANGUAGES*

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This paper examines the Scandinavian terminology for ‘soot’ in connection with a number of Saami appellatives with a view to deciding which of them are native and which result from borrowing. Special attention is paid to the problem of adopting loanwords in Northern Europe, especially in the Scandinavian Peninsula. Two Proto-Germanic words denoting ‘soot’ are discussed from the morphological and etymological point of view. It is suggested that the West Germanic noun **hrōta*- m./n. ‘soot’ is closely related to PG. **sōta*- n. ‘soot’, which, in turn, is derived from the Proto-Indo-European verbal root **sed-* ‘to sit’. The present authors intend to demonstrate that WG. **hrōta*- derives from the Indo-European archetype **k^uu-sōdo-* ‘bad soot; thick layer of soot’, originally ‘what a soot!’. The original semantic distinction between PG. **sōta*- and WG. **hrōta*- seems to be preserved in the use of two independent Saamic loanwords, cf. Saa.N *suohtti* ‘soot (in the chimney)’ and *ruohtti* ‘big layer of soot’. The remaining Northern Saami words under analysis include *čadđa* ‘charcoal, soot’ (<Proto-Saamic **čęde* ‘carbon, charcoal, soot, grime’ < Ur. **čüdi* ‘coal, charcoal’), *giehpa* ‘soot’ (<PSaa. **kēpe* ‘id’, probably a Proto-Baltic loanword) and *gožu ~ gohčču-* ‘soot, layer of soot, deposit of smoke or soot on things near a fireplace’ (<PSaa. **kočžj* ‘soot’). Establishing the etymologies of this rich Saami terminology concerning ‘soot’ is significant to the

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gradual change of Saami lifestyle from a nomadic hunter-gatherer one towards a non-peripatetic community reliant on farming, animal husbandry and fishing.

Keywords: diachronic morphology, etymology, Finno-Ugric languages, Germanic-Saami relations, Indo-European languages, language contact, lexical borrowings, Norwegian, Old Norse, Proto-Germanic, Proto-Uralic, Saami, Scandinavian peoples, Swedish, word-formation.

1. INTRODUCTION

In his article on early contacts between Uralic and Indo-European tribes Jorma Koivulehto strongly indicates that most Saami terms for 'soot' derive from a Germanic or Baltic source [Koivulehto, 2003, p. 297–298]. He quotes the following four examples:

1.1. Saa.N *gožu* (weak grade) ~ *gohčču-* (strong grade) 'soot, layer of soot, deposit of smoke or soot on things near a fireplace' [Nielsen, 1934, p. 160] < PSaa. **koččj* 'soot / noki' [Lehtiranta, 1989, p. 52–53] ← ON. *ysja* f. 'fire', Icel. *ysja* f. 'quicksand, drizzle, loose fresh snow / Treibsand, Sprühregen, loser Neuschnee' < PG. **úsjō(n)* f. 'glowing ash / glühende Asche' [Koivulehto, 2003, p. 297].

1.2. Saa.N *suohtti* 'soot (in the chimney) / Ruß (im Kamin)', Saa.S *suöcci* 'id.' ← ON. *sót* 'soot' < PG. **sōta-* 'id.' [Koivulehto, 2003, p. 298].

1.3. Saa.N *ruohtti* '(big layer of) soot / (großer) Ruß', Saa.I *ryetti* 'soot' ← PG. **hrōta-* 'soot', cf. G. *Ruß* 'soot' [Koivulehto, 2003, p. 298].

1.4. Saa.N *giehpa* 'soot / Ruß' ← PB. **kvēpa-* 'id.', cf. Latv. *kvēpi* m. pl. 'soot; smoke, steam, incense / Ruß; Qualm, Dampf, Räucherwerk' < Latv. *kvēpt* 'to smoke (when burning badly), to fumigate; to emit a smell; to cover with rust', also *kvēpēt* 'to emit smoke (when burning badly)' [Koivulehto, 2003, p. 298].

It is worth emphasizing that there is also a native term for 'soot' in the Saami languages, which is of purely Uralic origin, i. e.

1.5. Saa.N *čadđa* 'charcoal, soot', Saa.I *čiddâ*, Saa.S *tjüdde*, *tjirre*, Saa.U *tjadda*, Saa.L *tjahta*, *tjadá* 'id.' < PSaa. **čęde* 'carbon, charcoal, soot, grime' [Korhonen, 1988, p. 277; Aikio, 2020a, p. 146] < Ur. **čüdi* 'coal', cf. Fi. *sysi* (gen. sg. *siden*) 'charcoal', Ol. *suzi*, Vo. *süsi* (gen. sg. *süee*), Kar. *süsi* 'id.', Ing. *süsi* 'blacksmith charcoal', Est. *süsi* (gen. sg. *söe*) 'charcoal', Võro *hüdsi* (gen. sg. *hüdse*), Liv. *siž* 'id.' (< BFi. **süti* ~ **süte-*); Mrd.E *šed*, Mrd.M *šed* 'coal'; Mar. *šüj*, *šü* 'charcoal'; Kh. *sōj* 'coal'; Mansi (T) *süli*, *süli* 'coal' [Aikio, 2020a, p. 146–147]. Further related words are attested in the Samoyed languages, which early separated from the Proto-Uralic

community. In fact, the Samoyed lexical material registers a number of similar meanings, including ‘coal’, ‘glowing coal’, ‘ash’ and ‘soot’, e. g. Slk. (Ob dialect) *sed’ə* ‘coal’, Slk. (Taz dialect) *sčĭ* ‘coal’, Slk. (Ket dialect) *sīd* ‘soot’; Yur.F *tün-sĭj* ‘glowing coal / glühende Kohle’, Yen.T *sié* ‘burning coal’, *tūsio* ‘coal; ash’; Kam. *si?* ‘glowing coal’, Taigi *gi* ‘burning or live coal’; Mat. *ki* ‘id.’ (< PSam. **siĭ* ‘coal / Kohle’ [Janhunen, 1977, p. 140] < Ur. **čüdi* ‘coal’ (secondarily also ‘soot’), whereas the Yurak and Yenisei Samoyed forms derive from PSam. **tün-sijə* ‘glowing coal’, which theoretically goes back to Ur. **tulen-čüdi* (literally ‘fire’s coal’), cf. Yur. *tū* ‘fire’, Yen.T *tū*, Yen.F *tu* ‘id.’ < PSam. **tū*, gen. sg. *tün* ‘fire’ < Ur. **tuli* ‘fire’, see Fi. *tuli*, gen. sg. *tulen* ‘fire’, Est. *tuli*, gen. sg. *tule* ‘id.’).

In the following section, we first present the Germanic evidence supporting the Proto-Germanic archetype **úsjōn* f. ‘glowing ash’. Subsequently, we argue that this reconstructed word cannot be considered the donor of PSaa. **kočĭj* ‘soot’ (see point 1.1 above).

2. PROTO-GERMANIC *USJŌN ‘FIRE’

2.1. ON. *ysja* f. ‘fire’, Icel. *ysja* f. ‘quicksand, drizzle, dusty rain, loose fresh snow / Treibsand, Sprühregen, Staubregen, loser Neuschnee’ [de Vries, 1977, p. 680] < PG. **úsjōn* f. ‘glowing ash / glühende Asche’ [Koi-vulehto, 2003, p. 297].

The Proto-Germanic term in question is additionally attested in the second part of the following Common Germanic compound:

2.2. ON. *eimyrja* f. ‘glowing ash / glühende Asche’, Icel. *eimyrja*, Far. *eimur*, Norw. *eimyrja*, OSw. *ēंबर*, Sw. *mörja* ‘embers’, Dan. *emmer* ‘id.’, [de Vries, 1977, p. 96]; OE. *æmyrge*, E. *ember*; MDu. *amerdijn*; MLG. *ēmere*, *āmere*; OHG. *eimuria* ‘pyre’ < CG. **aim-uzjōn* < PG. **áim-usjōn* f. ‘glowing ash’. The first member of the compound derives from PG. **aimaz* m. ‘Rauch, Dampf, Feuer’, cf. ON. *eimr* m. ‘Rauch, Dampf, Feuer’, Icel. *eimur* ‘Dampf; schwacher Laut’, Far. *eimur* ‘glühende Asche’; Norw. *eim* ‘id.’; Dan. *em* ‘Dampf’; E. dial. *oam* ‘warmer Luftstrom’; cf. also ON. *eimi* m. ‘Rauch, Dampf, Feuer’ (< PG. **aiman-* m.) [de Vries, 1977, p. 96].

Both Northern Germanic terms **úsjōn* f. ‘fire’ and **áim-uzjōn* f. ‘glowing ash’ evidently derive from the reduced (zero) grade (PG. **us- / *uz-* < IE. **us-* < PIE. **h₁us-*) of the Proto-Indo-European root **h₁eus-* ‘to burn’, cf. Ved. *ósati* ‘to burn’, Lat. *ūrō* ‘burn, inflame, destroy by fire,

consume', Gk. εῶω 'to singe' [Pokorny, 1959, p. 347–348; Rix, Kümmel, 2001, p. 245; Beekes, 2010, p. 486]. The traditional etymology is convincing semantically and phonologically.

As regards the North Indo-European origin of PSaa. **kočōj* 'soot' (< **kućōj*), suggested by Koivulehto [Koivulehto, 2003, p. 297], it seems to be completely impossible from the point of view of phonology and semantics. Firstly, it is uncertain whether the Proto-Indo-European laryngeal **h*₁ was preserved in Proto-Germanic and rendered as **k* in some Saami borrowings. Secondly, it is doubtful whether PG. **sj* might have been adapted as Proto-Saami **č* (or its earlier pronunciation **ć*). The Proto-Germanic cluster **sj* (or **sj̥*) should be rendered as **ś* in Finno-Ugric. Thirdly, the discussed Germanic terms never demonstrate the basic meaning 'soot', which is clearly attested in the Saami languages (cf. Saa.N *gožu* ~ *gohčču*- 'soot, layer of soot, deposite of smoke or soot on things near a fireplace'). This is why Koivulehto's explanation of PSaa. **kočōj* 'soot' as an early borrowing from Proto-Germanic (or Late Indo-European) should be rejected.

An alternative (and native) etymology of the Saami words for 'soot' will be discussed below in the following section.

3. SAAMI AND SAMOYED TERMS FOR 'SOOT'

3.1. Saa.N *gožu* ~ *gohčču*- 'soot, layer of soot, deposite of smoke or soot on things near a fireplace' [Nielsen, 1934, p. 160]; Saa.S *guttje* 'soot', Saa.L *kâtjōi*, Saa.I *koijo*, Saa.Sk *kāiij*, Saa.Kld *kāž*, Saa.T *kožaj* 'soot' < PSaa. **kočōj* 'soot' [Lehtiranta, 1989, p. 52–53].

The exact equivalent of the Proto-Saami term for 'soot' seems to be attested in most Samoyed languages:

3.2. Yur.F *śeamt* 'soot; green slime, dark dirt / Ruß; grüner Schleim, schwarzer Schmutz'; Slk. *k'āmdā* 'soot, smoke / Ruß, Rauch', *qonti* 'soot / Ruß'; Kam. *kamnu* 'soot / Ruß', *ķ'āmnū* 'smoke / Rauch'; Mat. *камде* 'soot / сажа' < PSam. **kāmtā* 'soot / Ruß' [Janhunen, 1977, p. 64; Sammallahti, 1988, p. 496; Helimsky, 1997, p. 274].

It is worth emphasizing that the archaic Samoyed languages also demonstrate verbal forms derivable from the same Samoyed root (of Uralic origin), e. g.

3.3. Yur.T *сямдась*, *śāmtā* 'rauchig werden'; Kam. *ķ'āmn³lām* 'to smoke / räuchern'; Koib. *хамнылла* 'I smoke / курю', *камнылла* 'I fume

/ копчы' < PSam. **kämtā* 'to get smoky / rauchig werden' [Janhunen, 1977, p. 64].

The Saami-Samoyed term in question represents such a lexical idiom of Uralic origin, which is clearly preserved in the Western and Eastern peripheries.

4. PROTO-GERMANIC **SŌTAN*

Germanic lexical data may be presented as follows:

4.1. ON. *sót* n. 'soot', Icel. *sót*, Far. *sót*, Norw. *sot*, Sw. *sot*, Dan. *sod* 'id.'; OE. *sōt* n. 'soot', E. *soot*; MDu. *soet* 'soot'; MLG. *sōt* n. 'soot' < PG. **sōtan* n. (*a*-stem) 'soot / сажа' [Zalizniak, 1963, p. 143; de Vries, 1977, p. 531; Magnússon, 1989, p. 930; Bjorvand, Lindeman, 2000, p. 837; Wessén, 2002, p. 422; Orel, 2003, p. 360; Levitskiy, 2010, p. 446]. A North Germanic loanword is perfectly attested in Saamic, e. g. Saa.N *suohtti* 'soot (in the chimney)', Saa.S *suöcci* 'soot' [de Vries, 1977, p. 531; Koivu-lehto, 2003, p. 298].

According to Orel [Orel, 2003, p. 360], PG. **sōtan* sb.n. is "[d]erived from **setjanan*," which implies that the word was formed in Proto-Germanic times. If we assume that this is the case, then the similar derivatives with lengthened *ō*-grade such as OIr. *suide* 'soot' (< PC. **sōdjā*), Lith. *súodžiai* m. pl., also *súodžios* f. pl. 'soot, black sediment from smoke', and PSl. **sadja* f. 'soot' must be considered independent formations. Let us consider a different interpretation: is it possible that the Celtic and Balto-Slavic evidence indicates that PG. **sōtan* was not derived in Proto-Germanic times but inherited from a North Indo-European common ancestor of these languages. One argument in support of a much older time of derivation is the presence of apophony which was highly productive in Indo-European word-formation. This kind of derivation is reminiscent of some *vřddhi* formations in the Indo-European protolanguage, as stressed by Ranko Matasović [Matasović, 2016], who concentrates on the ones attested in Balto-Slavic. Although this process may have been productive in later times, there is no doubt that the origins of the lengthened *ō*-grade formations lie in Proto-Indo-European.

As far as parallel derivatives in Germanic are concerned, lengthened *ō*-grade form **pōr-* can be found in the suffixed form **fōr-ja-*, which in Old English, as a result of *i*-mutation, comes down as OE. (ge)*fēra*, 'fellow-traveler, companion' (cf. E. *ferre*). The same root, also

in lengthened \bar{o} -grade form (Germanic causative **fōr-jan*) appears in OHG. *fuoren* ‘to lead’, the verb which underlies German *führer*. All these words belong to PIE. **per-* ‘to blow, inspire, spiritually arouse’ [Pokorny, 1959, p. 816].

Another example of lengthened \bar{o} -grade formation in Germanic is Old English *Wōden*, the name of the chief Teutonic god ‘Woden’, which can be presented as PG. **wōd-eno-*, **wōd-ono-* ‘raging’, ‘mad’, ‘inspired’, from PIE. **uēt-* ‘to blow, inspire, spiritually arouse’.

Similarly, PG. **sōtan* n. ‘soot’ can represent the apophonic $\bar{v}rddhi$ formation (IE. **sōd-*), which should be derived from the root **sed-* ‘to sit’ [Orel, 2003, p. 360; Levitskiy, 2010, p. 446]. The Germanic **t* goes back to PIE **d* by Grimm’s Law and the root vowel appears in lengthened \bar{o} -grade form. The etymological meaning of this derivative can be reconstructed as: ‘that which settles’ [Hoad, 1986, p. 449; Room, 2000, p. 578] or ‘was sich ansetzt / that which has settled’ [Hirt, 1913, p. 311; de Vries, 1977, p. 531; Smoczyński, 2018, p. 1328].

What is problematic for the Proto-Indo-European origin of soot is the fact that the Celtic and Balto-Slavic cognates of PG. **sōtan* are not exact. One difference consists in gender: neuter in Germanic, feminine in Slavic, masculine (plural) in Lithuanian. Another discrepancy lies in the suffix: **-ja* in Proto-Slavic vs **-a-* in Proto-Germanic. Although the Slavic material does not represent an exactly identical formation, it is possible to interpret it as a cognate *sensu lato* [cf. Rychło, 2019, p. 71–81], i. e. one exhibiting a morphological change of the suffix and the gender. In support of this interpretation, it is worth observing that *a*-stems (i. e. *o*-stems in Indo-European) are very productive in Germanic, which makes a possible transferral more likely. Moreover, it is not only the Slavic which contains a front segment in the suffix, but also Celtic (OIr. *suide* ‘soot’, if from PC. **sōdīā*), and Baltic (Lith. *súodžiai*).

Not everyone would agree that the etymology of PG. **sōtan* n. ‘soot’ is connected with the Proto-Indo-European verb **sed-* and that the structural meaning is ‘that which has settled’. For example, Joseph Vendryes [Vendryes, 1971, p. S-201] strongly suggested that the Old Irish noun represents a different word (“un mot différent”) than ON. *sót* from the etymological point of view. Also Ranko Matasović in connection with the Celtic material concludes: “I do not believe these words have anything to do with the PIE root **sed-* ‘to sit’, as suggested in IEW (886). Rather, the comparison with Lith. *súodžiai* ‘soot’ and OE. *sōt* ‘soot’ seems

to show that we have a PIE **seh₃wd-*” [Matasović, 2009, p. 358–359]. Such a reconstruction does not offer any advantages for the Balto-Slavic or Germanic material. Even for the Celtic words, it is not unproblematic, which Matasović admits: “The stem **sūd-* in Celtic could be due to laryngeal metathesis (**sh₃ud-* > **suHd-*), while the Brittonic forms seem to point to PIE **sh₃ewd-*. The *Schwebeablaut* that needs to be posited appears strange, however” [Matasović, 2009, p. 359].

The Insular Celtic term for ‘soot’ (cf. OIr. *suide* f. ‘id.’; W. *huddygl* m., Co. *hudhyl*, *hylgeth* m.; Bret. *huzel* f. ‘soot’) can alternatively be reconstructed as PC. **sodjā* [Stokes, Bezzenger, 1894, p. 298; de Vries, 1977, p. 531], i. e. with the short apophonic vowel **-ō-*. In this situation it cannot be excluded that the Insular Celtic lexical data should be compared directly with Gk. *σποδιά*, Epic and Ionic *σποδιή* f. ‘ash, pile of ashes; slag (of metal)’, pl. *σποδιαί* ‘dust, filth’ [Montanari, 2018, p. 1949]. The loss of the labial voiceless stop **p* is the most characteristic feature of the Celtic languages.

It is worth emphasizing that a phonologically similar term for ‘soot’ is attested in the Volgaic and Permic languages of the Finno-Ugric family. It is tentatively reconstructed as FP. **sōtš* ‘soot’:

4.2. Mrd. *sod* ‘soot’; Mar. *šüć*, dial. (Kozmodemjansk-Berg) *šāc*, *sāc* ‘soot’; Udm. (Sarapul dialect) *su* ‘soot’; Zyr. *sa* ‘soot’ < FP. **sōtš* ‘soot / Ruß’ [Rédei, 1986–1988, p. 769].

The grapheme *š* in the Finno-Permian archetype represents an unclear front vowel. According to Karoly Rédei [Rédei, 1986–1988, p. 769], the Mordvinian and Mari forms seem to point to FU. **i* or **ü*, the Udmurt and Zyrian cognates to FU. **e*. In our opinion, the preserved lexical material suggests the Finno-Permian prototype **süti* or **südi* ‘soot’ (see Table 1). It is not impossible to suggest an Indo-European borrowing in Finno-Permian. Note that Žem. (South) *sūdēs* f. ‘soot’ represents a cognate of Lith. dial. *súodēs* f. ‘id.’ with a regular change of the long vowel **ō* to South Samogitian **ū* [Smoczyński, 2018, p. 1328]. The same development is also attested in Latgalian, cf. Latg. *dūt* ‘to give’, Lith. *dúoti*, Latv. *duôt* ‘id.’ < PB. **dōtei* ‘to give’; Latg. *ūzuls* m. ‘oak’, Lith. *q̄zuolas* m., Latv. *uōzuols* m. ‘id.’ < PB. **ānzōlas* m. ‘oak’; Latg. *ūga* f. ‘berry’, Lith. *úoga* f., Latv. *uōga* f. ‘id.’ < PB. **ōgá* f. ‘berry’ [Lelis, 1961, p. 34, 40, 50, 61, 74].

Theoretically, it cannot be excluded that the Balto-Finnic terms for ‘charcoal’ (cf. Est. *süsi*, gen. *söe*, Fi. *sysi*, gen. *siden*, Liv. *sīž* ‘id.’ etc. < BFi.

**süti* ~ **süte*- ‘charcoal’), mentioned earlier under a different heading (see 1.5: Ur. **ćüdi* ‘coal’, also ‘soot’), should be directly connected with the Volgaic and Permic forms for ‘soot’. Unfortunately, the Balto-Finnic reflexes of FU. **süti* (or **südi*) ‘soot’ and Ur. **ćüdi* ‘coal’ are impossible to be distinguished (see Table 1).

Table 1. Comparison of the regular reflexes of some selected Uralic phonemes

Uralic	Balto-Finnic	Saami	Mordvianian	Mari	Permic	Ob-Ugric	Hungarian	Samoyed
*s-	s-	s-	s-	š-	s-	*θ- > λ-, t-, l-, j-	lost	t-
*ü [y]	-ü-	-ā-	-i- (also -e-)	-ü- (also -ï-)	ü [y] > ö	Mansi ü/i Kh. ə/ö	ö / e / i	i / ü
*-t-	-t- ~ -d-	-tt- ~ -đ-	-d-	-δ-	lost	-t-	-z-	-tt- ~ -t-
*-δ-	-t- ~ -d-	-đđ- ~ -đ-	-d-	lost	lost	-l-	-l-	-r- ~ -t-
final vowel	preserved	preserved	-ə	-ə	reduced	reduced	reduced	partially lost

5. WEST GERMANIC *HRŌTAN

In his recent paper, Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (known as Ante Aikio) suggests that the Northern Saami *ruohtti* ‘soot’ derives from Proto-Saami archetype **ruottē*, which was borrowed from an unattested Nordic term **hrōta*- [Aikio, 2020b, p.9]. In other words, he disagrees with Koivulehto [Koivulehto, 2003, p.298], who tried to explain Saa.N *ruohtti* ‘(big layer of) soot’ as a West Germanic borrowing (“aus dem Germanischen”). Of course, it is impossible to suggest a borrowing directly from G. *Ruß* m. ‘soot’, nor from OHG. *ruoz* m. ‘id.’ for the phonological reasons. The related forms, attested in West Germanic, may be treated as a source, e. g. OSax. *hrot* m. ‘soot’, MDu. *roet* n. ‘grease, soot’, Du. *roet* n. ‘soot’. All of them preserve the phoneme **t*, which is regularly rendered as *-tt-* in Saami. Theoretically, a Low German source may be an alternative, though it is difficult to image how an Old Saxon or Dutch loan word appeared in Northern Saami. This is why Aikio’s hypothesis, according to which the Saa.N *ruohtti* ‘big layer of soot’ represents a borrowing from an unattested Nordic source, has to be taken seriously into

account. The Saami scholar gives the following commentary to his proposal:

The origin of the Germanic word remains unknown [...], but the Saami form shows that it must have once occurred in Norse, too. The distribution of the word is limited to North and Inari Saami, but despite this the borrowing is probably quite old, considering that no trace of the word survives in Norse. The loan etymology is both phonologically and semantically completely transparent, and as such requires no further comment [Aikio, 2020b, p. 9].

The Germanic lexical material is presented below:

5.1. OSax. *hrot* m. 'soot', MDu. *roet* n. 'grease, soot', Du. *roet* n. 'soot'; OHG. *ruoz* m. 'soot', G. *Ruß* m. 'id.' < WG. **hrōtaz* m. / **hrōtan* n. (*a*-stem) 'soot' [Kroonen, 2013, p. 249]. According to Aikio [Aikio, 2020b, p. 9], an unattested Nordic term **hrót* (< NG. **hrōtan* n. 'soot') can be reflected as a loanword in Saamic, cf. Saa.N *ruohhti* 'big layer of soot / großer Ruß', Saa.I *ryetti* 'soot' (< PSaa. **ruottē* 'id.' < NG. **hrōtan* n. 'soot').

The etymology of WG. **hrōta-* m./n. 'soot' is unknown [Kluge, Seebold, 1999, p. 697: "Herkunft unklar"; Kroonen, 2013, p. 249: "No certain etymology"]. Guus Kroonen suggests a possible comparison with OE. *hrūm* m. 'soot' (< PG. dial. **hrūmaz* m.), stressing additionally that "the suffixation remains unclear" [Kroonen, 2013, p. 249]. In our opinion, CG. **hrōta-* can be treated as a native innovative compound containing the basic noun (PG.) **sōta-* n. 'soot'. This interpretation is possible if CG. **h-* (earlier **h^u-* < **h^uu-*) represents a trace after the augmentative or pejorative prefix **k^uu-* (with the sense 'bad'). The intervocalic phoneme **-s-* is always preserved as PG. **s* in the position after the original (Indo-European) stress and changed to PG. **-z-* and later to **-r-* in the position before stress. In other words, the phonological development of Common Germanic **hrōta-* 'soot' can be reconstructed as follows:

5.2. CG. **hrōta-* m./n. 'soot' < Early CG. **h^urōta-* < Late PG. **h^uurōta-* < PG. **h^uuzōta-* < Early PG. **h^uu-sōta-* < IE. dial. (Northern) **k^uu-sōdo-* n. (secondarily m.) 'bad soot; big layer of soot' vs. PG. **sōta-* n. 'soot' < IE. dial. (Northern) **sōdo-* n. 'soot'.

The Indo-European prefix **k^uu-* can also be distinguished in the Proto-Germanic noun **hwilō* f. 'while', e. g.

5.3. Go. *hweila* f. 'period, while', ON. *hvíla* f. 'bed' (originally 'period of resting'), Far. *hvíla* f. 'rest. repose; bed', Elfd. *waila* f. 'while'; OE. *hwil* f. 'while', E. *while*; OFri. *hwil(e)* f. 'while'; OSax. *hwíla* f. 'while'; MDu.

wile f. ‘while’; OHG. *wīla*, *hwīla* ‘while’, G. *Weile* ‘while’ [Lehmann, 1986, p. 199–200; Kroonen, 2013, p. 266–267]. It evidently derives from Northern IE. **k^ueilā* f. ‘period, while’, cf. OCz. *čila* f. ‘while’, adv. *včile* ‘now, at once, immediately’ < PSl. **čila* f. ‘while, period’ [Sławski, 1976, p. 198]. The Germanic-Slavic pair seems to go back to the primitive archetype (PIE.) **k^u-u-ueil-eh₂-* f. ‘bad period; bad time’, cf. Ved. *vēlā-* f. ‘limit, boundary, end; distance; coast, shore; limit of time, period, season, time of day, hour’ [Monier-Williams, 1999, p. 1018], Pa. *velā-* f. ‘time’, Hi. *ber* f. ‘Grenze, Jahreszeit, Zeit’ [Mayrhofer, 1970, p. 261], Bal. *vēlā* ‘a mealtime, time’, Psht. dial. (Wanetsi) *vel* f. ‘dinner, a mealtime; food’ [Morgenstierne, 2003, p. 87] < Indo-Iranian **vāilā* f. ‘period, time’ < IE. dial. **uējilā*.

It is obvious that the original Proto-Indo-European cluster **k^uuu-* was simplified to **k^u-* in some northern dialects of Late Indo-European, including Proto-Germanic and Proto-Slavic. The Indo-Aryan languages preserved the primitive status of the compound, cf. P. *kuveḷ* f. ‘lateness’; P. *kuveḷā* ‘late’; K. *kövizi*, *közi* adv. ‘at a bad or inauspicious time’; L. *koel* ‘unsuitable, untimely’ < Indo-Aryan **ku-vēlā* f. ‘bad time’, **ku-vēlya-* adv. ‘untimely’ [Turner, 1966, p. 173].

Also the primitive Proto-Indo-European cluster **g^uuu-* was regularly simplified to **k-* in Proto-Germanic, e. g.

5.4. ON. *kursi*, *kussi* m. ‘bull calf’ < NG. **kursan-* m. ‘bull calf’ [Kroonen, 2013, p. 312] < Northern IE. **g^uu-ur̥son-* m. ‘bull’ < PIE. **g^uh₃u-ur̥son-* m. ‘cow-bull’, cf. Ved. *go-vr̥śán-* m. ‘bull’, Toch. A *kayur̥s*, Toch. B *kaur̥še* ‘bull’ (< IE. **g^uou-ur̥son-* m. ‘bull’).

The simplification of the cluster **k^uuu-* had to appear as early as in the Late Indo-European times, as documented by two similar terms for ‘worm’: IE. **k^uymis* and IE. **uymis*. According to most etymologists [Porzig, 1954, p. 208, 215; Pokorny, 1959, p. 649, 1152], both these nouns can be easily reconstructed in the Indo-European protolanguage. What is more, they are frequently treated as “zwei Reimwörter” [Porzig, 1954, p. 208].

5.5. Late IE. **k^uymis* m. ‘a kind of worm’, earlier PIE. **k^uu-uy̯mis* (orig. ‘bad worm’ or ‘what a worm!’): Ved. *k̥ymih̥* m. (*i*-stem) ‘worm, insect’, Skt. *krimih̥* ‘a silk-worm; a shield-louse; an ant’ (lex.) [Monier-Williams, 1999, p. 305]; MPers. *kirm* ‘worm, dragon, snake’, NPers. *kirm* ‘id.’, Sogd. *kyrm-* ‘snake’; Alb. *krim(b)* ‘worm, maggot, catterpillar’; Lith. *kirmis* f. (*i*-stem), *kiřmis* m. (*jo*-stem) ‘grub, worm; tapeworm; viper’, coll. ‘eggs or

larvas of bees', *kiřminas* m. 'grub, worm'; Latv. *cirmis* 'grub, worm'; OPr. *girmis* 'grub / Made' [Smoczyński, 2018, p. 549]; Sla. dial. *črm* 'big wasp', dimin. *črmak* m. 'id.'; OPol. *czyrzmień* f. 'grub' (<PSL. *čřmь m. 'worm, Polish cochineal / robak, czerw' [Sławski, 1976, p. 224, 225]); OIr. *cruim* f. (*i*-stem) 'worm, maggot'; OW. *prem*, MW. *pryf* m. 'worm'; OCo. *prif* gl. 'vermis', MCo. *pref* 'worm'; MBret. *preff*, Bret. *preñv* m. 'worm' < PC. *k^hrimi- [Matasović, 2009, p. 181–182].

5.6. IE. *uřmis m. 'worm', also IE. dial. *uřmos and *uormós m. 'id.': Lat. *vermis* m. (*i*-stem) 'worm, maggot' (<Proto-Italic *wormis < IE. *uřmis) [de Vaan, 2008, p. 665]; Go. *waúrms* m. (*o*-stem or *i*-stem) 'snake / Schlange'; ON. *ormr* m. 'snake / Schlange', Icel. *ormur*, Far. *ormur*, Elfd. *uorm* 'snake', Norw. *orm*, Sw. *orm* 'snake', Dan. *orm* 'worm' (<NG. *wurmaz); OE. *wyrm* m. 'snake, dragon, worm', OFri. *wirm* m. 'worm', OSax. *wurm*, *worm* 'worm', Du. *worm*, *wurm* c. 'worm', OHG. *wurm* m. 'worm, snake', G. *Wurm* 'worm', also 'cochineal, roundworm', poet. 'vip-er, reptile, dragon' (<WG. *wurmiz m. 'worm') [Zalizniak, 1965, p. 191; Magnússon, 1989, p. 693; Kroonen, 2013, p. 600]; Lith. (Žem.) *vařmas*, dial. *vármas* m. (*o*-stem) 'mosquito', dial. 'horsefly; any stinging insect; flying ant' < IE. *uormos [Smoczyński, 2018, p. 1609]; OCS. *vьrmьje* n. coll. 'insects', ORu. *вѣрміе* n. coll. '(swarm of) locusts; insects' (= ON. *yirmi* n. coll. 'vermin / Gewürm'; G. *Gewürm* n. coll. 'vermin, (swarm of) amphibians' < PG. *wurmijan / *ga-wurmijan n. coll.)¹; Gk. dial. (Aeolic?) *řóμος* 'wood-worm, tree-boring beetle' (as if from PGk. *uřmos) [Beekes, 2010, p. 1291]; Toch. B *warme* m. 'ant' < IE. *uřmos [Adams, 2013, p. 630]; Ved. *vamráh* m. 'ant', if from *uormós by an irregular metathesis of the cluster *-rm-* > *-mr-* [Pokorny, 1959, p. 1152].

According to Michiel de Vaan, the observed distribution "might be the result of a development of *k^wrmi- > *wrmi- in Latin and Germanic" [de Vaan, 2008, p. 665]. This seems to be an *ad hoc* guess. It is more probable to accept that two Indo-European archetypes, IE. *uřmis m. 'worm' and IE. *k^hřmis m. 'a kind of worm', are related to each other. In our opinion, the former reconstructed noun seems to be a primary formation, the latter one appears to be a secondary creation by means of the augmentative or pejorative suffix *k^hu- ('bad').

¹ The lexical pair denoting 'vermin; swarm of insects' (PG. *wurmijan n. coll. = PSL. *vьrmьje n. coll.) should be added to a tentative list of possible Germano-Slavic collectives of Indo-European origin [Habrajska, Rychło, Witczak, 2020, p. 261–283; Witczak, Habrajska, Rychło, 2022, p. 157–173].

6. SAAMI *KĒPE ‘SOOT’

Lexical data: Saa.N *giehpa* ‘soot / Ruß’, Saa.L *kiehpa*, Saa.P *kiepak*, Saa.I *kiepa*, Saa.Sk *kiöpp*, Saa.Kld *kibb*, Saa.T *kipp* ‘id.’ < PSaa. **kēpe* ‘soot / noki’ [Lehtiranta, 1989, p. 52–53], as if from Finno-Saami **käpi* or **kepi*.

Most researchers believe that the Proto-Saami word in question should be interpreted as a borrowing of Baltic origin [Sammallahti, 1998, p. 127; Koivulehto, 2003, p. 298; Aikio, 2006, p. 40; Hofirkova, Blažek, 2011, p. 63], cf. Latv. *kvēpi* m. pl. ‘soot; smoke, steam, incense / Ruß; Qualm, Dampf, Räucherwerk’, *kvēps* m. ‘a soot flake / eine Russflocke’ [Mülenbach, Endzelins, 1925–1927, p. 354] < Latv. *kvēpt* ‘to smoke (when burning badly), to fumigate; to emit a smell; to cover with rust’, also *kvēpēt* ‘to emit smoke (when burning badly)’, Lith. *kvepėti* ‘to emit a smell; to stink; to breathe (upon sth), blow’ [Fraenkel, 1962, p. 325; Smoczyński, 2018, p. 649].

The suggested direction of borrowing (PSaa. ← PB.) seems to be firmly motivated. There are also phonologically similar terms for ‘soot, black’ in the Northern Slavic vocabulary, e. g. Pol. *kopeć* m. ‘soot separating from the wick of the lamp or candle; thick smoke with soot’; LSorb. *kops* m. ‘smoke with soot, burnt part of the wick’; Cz. *kop* m. ‘soot, black’, also *kopt* m. ‘id.’; Sla. *kopt* m. ‘soot, black’; Ru. *кóпоть* f. ‘black, soot’, dial. ‘the pit where tar is made; gunpowder, dust; snow dust; fumes in severe frost; speed, e. g. while running’; Bel. dial. *кóпот* m., *кóпoцъ* f. ‘smoke from the tar pitch’; Ukr. *кíпоть* f. ‘smoke with soot’ [Sławski, 1958–1965, s. 454–455]. All these Slavic words, which derive from PSl. **kopъ* m., dimin. **kopъto* m./f. ‘soot, black’, cannot be treated as a source of the Saami words for the phonological reasons.

7. CONCLUSIONS

A thorough analysis of the Saamic and North Germanic lexical data has led us to the following conclusions:

7.1. Contrary to Koivulehto’s explanation [Koivulehto, 2003, p. 297], the Proto-Saami noun **kočj* ‘soot’ (e. g. Saa.N *gožu ~ gohčču* ‘soot, layer of soot, deposit of smoke or soot on things near a fireplace’) cannot be considered an early borrowing from Proto-Germanic (or Late Indo-European).

7.2. There are closely related equivalents of PSaa. **kočj* ‘soot’ which can be interpreted as cognates. They are attested in most Samoyed lan-

guages, including Yurak (Nenets), Selkup, Kamassian and Mator Samoyed, e. g. Mat. *камде* 'soot' < PSam. **kämtâ* 'id.' The archaic Samoyed languages also demonstrate verbal forms with the meaning 'to get smoky' derivable from the same Samoyed root **kämtâ* (of Uralic origin).

7.3. Proto-Germanic **sōtan* n. 'soot' and Proto-Slavic **sadja* f. 'id.', as well as some Baltic and Celtic forms (cf. Lith. *sūodžiai*; OIr. *suide* 'soot'), are cognates and point to the Proto-Indo-European *v̥ddhi* formation (IE. **sōd-*), which should be derived from the root **sed-* 'to sit'. The etymological meaning of PG. **sōtan* n. 'soot' is 'that which settles'.

7.4. The Proto-Slavic noun **sad-ja* f. 'soot' does not represent an exactly the same formation as PG. **sōt-a-n* n. 'soot', but it is possible to interpret the pair as cognates *sensu lato*, a morphological change of the suffix and the gender must have occurred in Germanic.

7.5. It is possible to suggest an alternative view, according to which the Insular Celtic lexical data denoting 'soot' should be compared directly with Gk. *σποδιά*, Epic and Ionic *σποδιή* f. 'ash, pile of ashes; slag (of metal)', pl. *σποδιαί* 'dust, filth'. The loss of the labial voiceless stop **p* is the most characteristic feature of the Celtic languages.

7.6. Instead of FP. **sŏtɜ* 'soot / Ruß' [Rédei, 1986–1988, p. 769], the preserved lexical material, attested in Mordvinian, Mari, Udmurt, Zyrrian (e. g. Mrd. *sod* 'soot', Udm. *su*, Zyr. *sa* 'id.') and perhaps also in Balto-Finnic (cf. Est. *süsi*, gen. *söe* 'coal, charcoal', Fi. *sysi*, gen. *siden* 'charcoal', Liv. *siž* 'id.' < BFi. **süti* ~ **süte-* 'charcoal'), points to the Finno-Permian prototype **süti* or **südi* 'soot'. It is not impossible to suggest an Indo-European borrowing in Finno-Permian.

7.7. WG. **hrōta-* 'soot' can be treated as a native innovative compound containing the basic Proto-Germanic noun **sōta-* n. 'soot', accompanied by an augmentative or pejorative prefix **k^u-* (with the sense 'bad'). This hypothesis may be supported (among others) with a number of parallel examples.

7.8. The Proto-Saamic word **kēpe* 'soot' (attested in most Saami dialects, e. g. Saa.N *giehpa* 'soot', Saa.L *kiehpa* etc.) should be regarded as an early borrowing of East Baltic origin.

7.9. The Saami people inherited two native appellatives for 'soot' (PSaa. **koč̄j* 'soot' and PSaa. **čēde* 'carbon, charcoal, soot, grime') after their Uralic ancestors (cf. especially PSam. **kämtâ* 'soot' and PSam. **sijâ* 'coal', also 'soot'). Later they borrowed three different terms for 'soot' from their Northern Indo-European neighbours (PSaa. **kēpe* 'soot'

from Baltic; PSaa. **suottē* ‘soot’ and PSaa. **ruottē* ‘big layer of soot’ from Germanic).

Lexical borrowings from foreign languages, observed throughout the histories of almost every language, are a frequent way of enriching the vocabulary. Nevertheless, the rich Saami terminology concerning ‘soot’ may be associated with something more significant than just some words being borrowed. The meaning and reference of these lexical items is indicative of the change in the Saami’s lifestyle: from a nomadic hunter gatherer culture towards a gradual stabilization of their settlement and the related agriculture and animal husbandry.

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LANGUAGE ABBREVIATIONS

Alb. — Albanian	Icel. — Icelandic
Bal. — Balochi	IE. — Indo-European
Bel. — Belorussian	Ing. — Ingrian
BFi. — Balto-Finnic	K. — Kashmiri
Bret. — Breton	Kam. — Kamassian
CG. — Common Germanic	Kar. — Karelian
Co. — Cornish	Kh. — Khanty (Ostyak)
Cz. — Czech	Koib. — Koibal
Dan. — Danish	L. — Lahnda
Du. — Dutch	Lat. — Latin
E. — English	Latg. — Latgalian
Elfd. — Elfdalian (Övdalian)	Latv. — Latvian
Est. — Estonian	Lith. — Lithuanian
Far. — Faroese	Liv. — Livonian
Fi. — Finnish	LSorb. — Low Sorbian
FP. — Finno-Permian	Mar. — Mari (Cheremis)
FU. — Finno-Ugric	Mat. — Mator
G. — German	MBret. — Middle Breton
Gk. — Greek	MCo. — Middle Cornish
Go. — Gothic	MDu. — Middle Dutch
Hi. — Hindi	Mrd. — Mordvinian

Mrd.E — Erzya Mordvinian
 Mrd.M — Moksha Mordvinian
 MLG. — Middle Low German
 MPers. — Middle Persian
 MW. — Middle Welsh
 NG. — North Germanic
 Norw. — Norwegian
 NPers. — New Persian
 OCS. — Old Church Slavonic
 OCo. — Old Cornish
 OCz. — Old Czech
 OE. — Old English
 OFri. — Old Frisian
 OHG. — Old High German
 OIr. — Old Irish
 Ol. — Olonets
 ON. — Old Norse
 OPr. — Old Prussian
 ORu. — Old Russian
 OSax. — Old Saxon
 OSw. — Old Swedish
 OW. — Old Welsh
 P. — Panjabi (Punjabi)
 Pa. — Pali
 PB. — Proto-Baltic
 PC. — Proto-Celtic
 PG. — Proto-Germanic
 PGk. — Proto-Greek
 PIE. — Proto-Indo-European
 Pol. — Polish
 PSaa. — Proto-Saamic
 PSam. — Proto-Samoyed
 PSl. — Proto-Slavic
 Psht. — Pashto (Afganian)
 Ru. — Russian
 Saa. — Saami (Laponian)
 Saa.I — Inari Saami
 Saa.Kld — Kildin Saami
 Saa.L — Lule Saami
 Saa.N — Northern Saami
 Saa.P — Pite Saami
 Saa.S — Southern Saami
 Saa.Sk — Skold Saami
 Saa.T — Ter Saami
 Saa.U — Ume Saami
 Skt. — Sanskrit
 Sla. — Slovak
 Slk. — Selkup Samoyed
 Sogd. — Sogdian
 Sw. — Swedish
 Toch. A — Tocharian A (East Tocharian)
 Toch. B — Tocharian B (West Tocharian)
 Udm. — Udmurt
 Ukr. — Ukrainian
 Ur. — Uralic
 Ved. — Vedic
 Vo. — Vote (Votic)
 W. — Welsh
 WG. — West Germanic
 Yen. — Yenets (Yenisei) Samoyed
 Yen.F — Forest Yenets
 Yen.T — Tundra Yenets
 Yur. — Yurak (Nenets) Samoyed
 Yur.F — Forest Yurak (Nenets)
 Yur.T — Tundra Yurak (Nenets)
 Žem. — Žemaitian (Samogitian)
 Zyr. — Zyrian (Komi)

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САЖА В СААМСКИХ И ГЕРМАНСКИХ ЯЗЫКАХ*

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В статье анализируются пять саамских (лапландских) апеллативов, служащих для обозначения понятия «сажа», которое означает ‘копоть, результат сгорания

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топлива'. Все рассматриваемые апеллятивы принадлежат северному говору саамского языка, ср. сев.-саам. *čadda* 'древесный уголь, сажа' (< прасаам. *čēde), *giehpa* 'сажа' (< прасаам. *kēpe), *gožu ~ gohčču* 'сажа, слой сажи; осадок дыма или сажи на разных предметах, расположенных вблизи костра' (< прасаам. *koččj), *ruohtti* 'сажа, толстый слой сажи' (< прасаам. *ruottē), *suohtti* 'сажа (в трубе)' (< прасаам. *suottē). Особое внимание уделено двум заимствованиям из германских языков, ср. прасаам. *suottē < герм. *sōtan то же (отсюда древнескандинавское *sót*, англ. *soot* 'сажа') и прасаам. *ruottē 'толстый слой сажи' < герм. *hrōtan то же (отсюда древнесаксонское *hrot*, нем. *Ruß* 'сажа'). Германские названия объяснены с этимологической и морфологической точек зрения. Проанализировано также древнее заимствование из восточно-балтийского источника, ср. прасаам. *kēpe 'сажа' < латыш. *kvēpji* м. мн. 'сажа; дым, пар, фимиам', *kvēps* м. 'частица сажи'. Кроме того, выделены две прасаамские лексемы, унаследованные от уральского праязыка, а именно: прасаам. *koččj 'сажа' и *čēde 'уголь, древесный уголь, сажа, грязь, нечистота'. Близкие соответствия этих терминов функционируют, между прочим, и в самодийских языках, ср. прасамод. *kāmtā 'сажа' и *sijā 'уголь, сажа'. Процессы заимствования слов из иностранных языков, происходящие на протяжении развития почти каждого языка, являются одним из характерных способов обогащения лексики; но развитая саамская терминология, касающаяся понятия «сажа», может быть связана с изменением образа жизни лапландцев и постепенной стабилизацией среды их обитания. Следует подчеркнуть, что финско-пермское название сажи, реконструированное как *süti или *südi, равным образом должно интерпретироваться и как доисторическое заимствование из индоевропейских языков, ср. жемайтское *sūdės* 'сажа'.

Ключевые слова: лексические заимствования, диахроническая морфология, этимология, финно-угорские языки, германо-саамские отношения, индоевропейские языки, языковой контакт, норвежский язык, древнескандинавский язык, протогерманский язык, прауральский язык, саамский язык, скандинавские народы, шведский язык, словообразование.

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