

## Eastern Slavic–North Germanic Linguistic Contacts

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**Abstract** The present paper draws the reader's attention to the lexical influence of Scandinavian languages on the languages of the Eastern Slavic bloc as well as to the "reverse side of the coin" i.e. the Eastern Slavic lexical influence on the Scandinavian languages. The following points are discussed in the study: 1) Russian words of Scandinavian origin.—As it is widely known, in the case of Russian, the influence of the Scandinavian languages began with the emergence of the Rurikovich-dynasty. The changes resulting from it have had their linguistic consequences in Russian, among others, in the form of some loanwords of Scandinavian origin. (About the historical background see Font 1995: 6–42, Pátrovics 1997: 109–116, and Рыдзевская 1978. Be reminded furthermore that in the case of Polish, the Scandinavian lexical influence can be minimized to inter-state relations to a much lesser degree than in the case of Russian. About the Scandinavian–Polish lexical contacts see Jurkowski 1993: 18–25, Pátrovics 2000: 221–226). 2) Words of Eastern Slavic origin in Scandinavian languages such as Swedish, Norwegian, Danish and Icelandic. 3) Analysis of two etymologies: *shelk* (silk) and *chmel'* (hops). 4) 'Sovietisms' in the Scandinavian languages. 5) Two Russian toponyms of Scandinavian origin. 6) Epilog and conclusions. 7) References.—I hope that this two-directional approach puts the matter in different new light and the linguistic data will help to understand the intricate question of interrelation of Eastern Slavic and Scandinavian languages.

**Keywords:** linguistics, linguistic contacts, etymology

### 1. Words of Scandinavian origin in Eastern Slavic languages

**акула** — any of various active, predaceous and mostly large marine fishes with skeletons of cartilage Ukr. *акула*, Byeloruss. *акула*. *Акула* sometimes as *акул* occurs in Russian dictionaries in 1789 (CAP I 16). According to Kiparsky (III 31) the word was known to the Russians earlier, around the XVI. It came into Russian from the North (ФЭС I 67), the Norwegian dialectal form *haakal* 'shark' may be the immediate source of the Russian word (ЧЭС I 35). The literary Norw. *hai* is correlated to the Du. *haai* which is also of Scandinavian origin (see Norw. *håk* 'little shark' and *håkjerring* 'polar shark'). According to Černych the Icel. origin of the word in contrast to Vasmer's opinion (ФЭС I 67) is rather unlikely; see *håkar* [hau:kha(r)dl] < \**hākarl* probably correlated to ON. \**haeall* which comes originally from \**hanhila* (Falk–Torp I 365). The Finn. and Est. forms *hai(kala)* 'shark' are also of Scandinavian origin. The Russ. *акула* is probably correlated to the vernacular Russ. *окула* 'greedy person, swindler' (the pronunciation of *акула* in the northern part of Russia is *окула* see Даль II 1247). *Акула* has the same meaning in the uncompleted dictionary of the Russian Academy: **акула**, слово подлое, то же значит, что обманичик (Макеева 1963: 92). *Окулов*—a family name—occurred in 1703 for the first time in a gazette which came out regularly in St. Petersburg

(Ведомости Петровского времени 1703, № 1, p. 3). In connection with *акула* Černych points out that in Russian there is no word of slavic origin with the suffix *-ul(a)*. He remarks furthermore that the word ‘shark’ in the meaning of ‘greedy person’ is used also in other languages (see Du. *haai* 1 ‘shark’, 2 ‘greedy person’; Sw. *hai* 1 ‘shark’, 2 ‘greedy person’ and last but not least English where *shark* has the two meanings mentioned above).

**ангстрем** — a unit of length equal to one ten-billionth of a meter  $1\text{\AA} = 10^{-9}\text{ m}$ , E. *angstrom*, Swed. *ångström* from the proper name of a Swedish physicist and astronomer Anders J. Ångström (1814–1974).

**берковец** — old Russian unit of measurement that equals ten puds (about 163.8 kg). ORuss. *бѣрковѣскъ* ~ *берковѣскъ*, Bulg. *беркавец*. The word is known as early as XII (see Котошихин 1906: 23, and Kiparsky III 31). Hence the Lith. *birkavas* and the Latv. *biŗkavs* and also the P. *bierkowiec*, *bierkowisko* (Mikkola 1902, vol. 48, Соболевский 1907: 145). The word is an abbreviation from the ORuss. \**БѢРКОВИСКЪ ПѢДЪ* i.e. a unit of measurement used in *Birke* < OSw. *biærkō* (a town in Sweden). In Adam Bremensky’s notes the name of this town appears as *Birca*. The ONorw. word *biarkey* had the same meaning as the Sw. *skeppund* or *birkisk pund* that equaled 400 pounds (16.38 kg). The Sw. word *birke* is connected with *Björkö* (name of an island in the Finnish Gulf). The Russian name of the island *Буорка* is of Swedish origin. The etymology of the word in question is connected with Sw. *bäver*, E. *beaver* and G. *Biber* also in the meaning ‘fur of a beaver’ (see Egli 1983: 114, Hellquist I 76, Kiss I 219). The original Russian ending *-искъ* was substituted later for *-иць* (and finally for *-ей*) as the latter ones were in Russian much more common.

**варяг** — the Russian name for Norsemen, ‘the Varangians’ (mostly seamen from Scandinavia esp. from Sweden) cf. ORuss. *Варягъ* known as early as XI. The word is connected with Gr. *Βάραγγος* and L. *varangus* both in the sense of ‘bodyguard’. The origin of the word is the ON. form *Væring(-jar)*. Ukr. *варяг* ‘warrior’, ‘a tall, strong man’. ORuss. *Варяжское море* or *Балтийское море* i.e. ‘Baltic Sea’ (ФЭС I 276). The word is a loan from the Scand. languages, see OScand. *våringr*, *væringr* cf. OScand. *vår* ‘faithfulness, guarantee, oath’ (Thomsen 1879: 111, Ekblom 1915). According to Vasmer the etymology of the word explained from the Russian name of the Franks *frĳag* through the Avarian—as proposed earlier by Šachmatov—is unacceptable (ФЭС I 276, Шахматов ЭСФ II 274). Jacobson explained the etymology of the word *варяг* from Scand. *varang* on the analogy of Russ. *стяг* ‘stjag’ from OSw. *stang*. Hence the toponyms *Varanger-fjord* and Hu. *Várong* (a village in Hungary in the county “Tolna”). The Hu. dialectal word *várong* ~ *varang* ‘mercenary soldier; bodyguard’ is of the same origin as the Russ. *варяг* (Kiss 1988 II: 236). Recently, Černych made efforts to refute the Scandinavian origin of the word (Черных 1958: 29). From his dictionary however, the word ‘varjag’ is omitted. Gösta Bergman then again, deals with the Varangians and their role in the Baltic and Slavic area in her *Short History of the Swedish Language*: “...The Varangians (ON *Væringjar*), as the Swedish vikings were called, occupied Novgorod and under Rurik (ON *Hrærekr*) and his brothers founded a kingdom. Under Rurik’s successor Oleg (ON *Helgi*) Kiev became the capital of the Russ kingdom” (Bergman 1947: 11–12). The name *varjag* ‘Varangian’ occurs in the Old-Russian *Primary Chronicle* which is called *The Tale of Bygone Years* (*Повесть временных лет*, formerly but no longer associated with the name Nestor) several times: “The tributaries of the *Varangians* drove them back beyond the sea. [...] They accordingly went overseas to the *Varangian* Russes: these particular *Varangians* were known as Russes. [...] On account of these *Varangians*, the district of Novgorod became known as land of Rus.

The present inhabitants of Novgorod are descended from the *Varangian* race, but afortime they were Slavs.” (Italics mine; translated by the late S. H. Cross, “The Russian Primary Chronicle”, *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XII, 1930: 144–145). For the important account of the Varangians on the Volga given in 921 by the Arab Ahmad ibn Fudhlan, see *Antiquity VIII* (1934: 58–62).

**викинг** — one of the pirate Norsemen plundering the coasts of Europe in the 8th to 10th centuries Ukr. *вікінг*, P. *wiking*. The word in question is well known in many European languages such as English, German, French etc. In Russ. from the Scandinavian languages most probably from Swedish cf. Sw. *viking* < ON. *vikingr* commonly held to be from *vík* ‘inlet’ + *ingr* (the same as ‘-ing’) as if ‘frequenter of inlets of the sea’. However the existence of the word in OE. as early as VIII and in OFris. *wīt(s)ing* suggests that it may have originated in that linguistic area cf. OE. *wīc*, OFris. *wīk* in the sense ‘camp’ (Hoad 1993: 526).

**ворвань** — whale-fat, ORuss. *ворвань* in the same meaning. The Czech *vorvaň* in all probability from Russ. The word is known as early as XV. also in Bulg. *ворвань* and Byeloruss. *варволь* (cf. Kiparsky III 31, Атрахович 1982: 120). The word is of Scand. origin cf. OSw. *narhval* Sw. and D. *narval* which means ‘whale’. The German origin of the word cf. G. *Walrahm* is according to Vasmer’s opinion quite unlikely (ФЭС I 351, ПЭС I 96, Kluge<sup>10</sup> 410, Wanstrat 1933: 35).

**гейзер** — a spring that intermittently shoots up hot water and steam. The word is of Icelandic origin. *Geysir* is a proper name of a certain hot spring in Iceland (Icel. *geysir* ‘gusher’ see Oicel. *gjosa*, *geysa* ‘spring’, ‘spout’ and G. *gießen* ‘pour’). Hence also Sw. *geyser*. The word indoctrinated into Russian probably through Norw. or Sw. (Hoad 1993: 192).

**грид** — ‘mercenary, bodyguard of the duke’; cf. ORuss. *гриди́нь* and Ukr. *гридинця* ‘barracks’, ‘army post’. In the present-day Russ. obsolete. The word is known as early as XI. (see Kiparsky III 31). An early loan from the ON. *grīði*, *grīðmaðr* ‘companion’, ‘bodyguard’. *Grið* originally ‘asylum’ (ФЭС I 458, Wanstrat 1933: 37, Berneker I 352, Thörnquist 1948: 46, Thomsen 1879: 135).

**дали́я** — known also as *георгин(a)* any of a genus of tuberous herbs related to the daisies and having showy flowers L. *dahlia*, E. *dahlia*. This plant is of Mexican origin. Russ. *дали́я* comes from the Sw. *dahlia*. The plant was named after the Sw. botanist A. Dahl (ФЭС I 483).

**кнут** — cord or strip of leather fastened to a handle, used esp. for urging on an animal (esp. a horse) or for striking a person or an animal as a punishment. ORuss. *кнутъ*, coll. *кнутье*, Ukr. *кнут* hence P. *knut* and the Czech *knuta* known from the XV on (cf. ФЭС II 265, ЧЭС I 406, BrSE 240). The word is known as early as XV or even earlier (cf. Зарубин 1932: 65). It is of Old Scandinavian origin cf. OSc. *knútr* and OSw. *knuter* both in the sense of ‘knot’. Černych mentions a large number of Swedish, Norwegian, Danish and Icelandic words supporting the Scandinavian origin of the word in question e.g. Sw. *knutpiska* ‘lash’, *knut* ‘knot’, *knutig* ‘knotty’, *knuta* ‘bind’, Norw. *knutt* ‘whip’, *knute* ‘knot’, *knytte* ‘bind’, Dan. *knude* ‘knot’, *knytte* ‘to make knots’, Icel. *knútur* : *hnútur* ‘knot’. Cf. furthermore G. *Knoten*. According to Falk and Torp the Russian *knut* is an early loan from OSc. (Falk–Torp I 553). The connection of the Russian *knut* with the Goth. *hnuþô* ‘pile’ is unlikely (ФЭС II 265) and it is certainly not a Slav. stem as Sobolevsky supposes (РФВ 70: 80).

**крюк** — a curved or bent device for catching, holding or pulling. It comes from ON *\*krókr* ‘hook’ and is known also in the Western and the South Slavic languages see Polish *kruk* (Ślaski 1977:33) and Blg. *крүк*.

**ларь** — case, a box or container for holding something. The word is known as early as 1076 cf. *моуѣжи крилати ... носаште ларѣ; сънъмъше же ларѣ съ шии своиѣхъ* (Изборник 271). From other Slav. languages is absent. *Lar'* is probably an early Slav. loan from the OSw. *laar* 'case', 'box' cf. Sw. *lår* with the same meaning. The Finn. *laari* 'chest', 'box' prob. from the same source (ЧЭС I 467–468, ФЭС II 460).

**лемминг** — any of several short tailed northern rodents. L. *lemmus*, E. *lemming*. The word comes from the Norwegian *lemming*, see also Sw. *lämmel* (Hellquist 1992: 437).

**нарвал** — an arctic sea animal about 20 feet (6 meters) long that is related to the dolphin and in the male has a long twisted ivory tusk L. *Monodont monocervus*, E. *narwhal*. The word originates in the ON\**nāhvarl*, which means 'dead whale' *nār* 'dead' + *hvarl* 'whale'. In Russian from one of the Scandinavian languages (Hellquist II 511, Jurkowski 1933).

**омбудсмен** — a government official appointed to investigate complaints made by individuals against abuses or capricious acts of public officials. In Russian from the Sw. *ombudsman* probably through English where the word has the same form cf. E. *ombudsman* cf. furthermore the Russ. *спортсмен* and *бизнесмен* (СИС 1987: 346).

**руна** — any of the characters of any of several alphabets formerly used by the Germanic peoples. The source of the word is the ON. *rūna* (cf. Goth. *rūna*) which means 'secret'. Hence the G. *raunen* and the E. *to round* 'whisper'. In Russian from the Scandinavian languages. (About the runes cf. Hutterer 1986: 97).

**Русь** — an ethnonyme. The original meaning of the word was 'Swedish people'. *Rus'* was abbreviated prob. from Finn. *ruotsi* which in fact is a loan from OSw. *rōps* (-*mæn*), *rōps* (*karlar*) 'oarsmen'. The Finn. *ruotsi* 'Sweden' was derived from some early form of the Sw. regional name *Roslagen* (based on OSw. *rōper* or *Rōpen*) the latter was an old name of certain parts of the east coast of Sweden, including modern Roslagen, whence many vikings set out for the journey to the Russ country. In Russian the sounds [ts] [ps] in final position become [s] which is a regular phonological process (simplification). Therefore the explanation of *rus'* from the OSw. word in contrast with Font's opinion (see Font 1995: 10) meets no difficulties from the phonological perspective cf. *Бесъ* ['ve:sj] < *vepse* (see Kiparsky III 30). About the etymology of the word *rus'* owing to its undeniable connection with the 'Normanist' theory in the sense of Müller (Müller 1749)—hence its political importance—several papers have been published.<sup>1</sup>

Davies gives a brief description of main hypotheses about the origin of the word *rus'*: "...The name of *Rus'* has been variously ascribed to 'red-haired' Vikings (cf. *rus-set* in English): to *ruotsi*, a Finnish name for Swedes, to a Scandinavian tribe called Rhos, unknown in Scandinavia, and even to multinational mercantile consortium based at Rodez in Languedoc. According to this last ingenious (and unlikely) hypothesis, Rodez Inc. used Norse seamen to penetrate the Khazarian slave-market via the Baltic–Dnieper route and, c. AD 830, to oust the rival Jewish Radaniya consortium, which had controlled the slave-trade from the Black Sea to North Africa from Arles. Having established 'kaganate' of *Rus'* over Khazaria, the Rodezians supposedly changed from a ruling foreign élite centred on T'mutorakan/Tamartarka on the Volga into the native princes of a predominantly Slav community centred on Kiev." (Davies 1997: 656)

Bergman also deals with the problem. Her words convey relevant information to us: "Russ was, accordingly, originally the name of the Swedish vikings in the east and was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Артамонов 1946: 3–14, Брим 1923: 5–10, Крапівін 1956: 53–66, Пресняков 1928: 39–50, Пархоменко 1924: 71–74, Питулевская 1952: 42–48, Сюзюмов 1940: 121–123, Тивериадский 1942: 40–53, Тихомиров 1953: 93–96, Ткаченко 1959: 64–66. One of the most detailed treatment of the question can be found by Janhunen (1997: 159–165).

later applied to the Slavic-speaking inhabitants of the kingdom founded by Rurik. The modern territorial name Russia (Russian *Россия*, itself from Byz. Gk. *Ρωσία*) describes a much larger and rather different area than the Russ kingdom of the early Middle Ages. The Swedes in the Russ kingdom were early absorbed into the Slavic population. Their numbers were too small in that gigantic area and their language altogether too unlike to Russian to permit speech-mixture in any real sense of the word. Rurik's grandson Svjatoslav had in fact a Slavic name. Isolated Swedish names, however, have survived, e.g., *Igor* (ON *Yngvarr*) and the woman's name *Olga* (ON *Helga*). Swedish immigration into Russ territory comes to an end about 1050." (Bergman 1947: 12)

**сельдь** — a soft-finned narrow-bodied food fish of the North Atlantic *L. clupea harengus*, E. *herring*. A very early Slavic loan from the ON. \**sild* Sw. *sill*, Norw. *sil* 'herring'. See also Russ. *сельдь* < \**сьлдь*, *селёдка*, *сельдька* related to *соль*- 'salt' and Ukr. *оселедець*, Byelor. *селядзец*, Sloven. *sled*, Slovak. *sled*, Bulg. *селда*. Exists also in the Baltic languages see Lith. *silke*, Latv. *siļķe* all from the Opruss. *sylecke*. The word indoctrinated into the Baltic languages probably through Finnish or Slavic comp. Russ. *селёдка* < \**сельдька* or *сельдька* and Finn. *silakka*, Est. *sil*. In Finnish from the same source as in Slavic i.e. from ON. *sild* (Brückner 1957: 530, ЧЭС II 152). In Polish the form *śledź* replaced *jarzęg* (which is from G. *Hering*), *bydlinek* (from G. *Bückling*) and *halec* (from G. *Salz* 'salt'). About the etymology see Hellquist 1922: 712. Brückner is of the opinion that the name Scandinavia is related to *sild* (BrSE 530).

**скальд** — poet of ancient Scandinavia. The Russ. word comes from ON. *skald* which is of unknown origin. In Russian *skald* is known as early as XIX. cf. the following quotations (Ож<sup>21</sup> 718, Hoad 1993: 441):

Споет ли мне песню веселую *скальд*? —  
Спросил озираясь могучий Освальд.  
(Жуковский, Три песни)

Воспой нам песнь любви и брани,  
О *скальд* свидетель древних лет  
(Батюшков, Скальд)

Финна дикие сыны,  
Ей храмы сооружали,  
И *скальды* северных лесов  
Ей вдохновение посвящали  
(Лермонтов, Жена Севера)

**тивоуень** — an official, dealing with the administration of a town. An obsolete term that is used only in some dialects. The word occurred for the first time in "Russkaya Pravda" (a Russian statute-book) in 1282, but according to Kiparsky (III 31) it was known already in 1163. It is of Scandinavian origin cf. OSc. *thiōnn* 'servant'.

**траппы** — a name for a dark fine grained igneous rock e.g. basalt used in making roads, which often appears on the surface in a form of stairs. The word is of Swedish origin, cf. Swedish *trapp*, *trappa* 'stairs', 'a kind of rock' and is connected with G. *Treppe* and even with P. *drabina* 'ladder' (ГЭС 1988: 311, Hellquist 1992: 1001, Jurkowski 1993: 24, Pátrovics 2000: 224).

**фиорд, фьорд** — a narrow inlet of the sea between cliffs or steep slopes. It is characteristic of the whole Scandinavia, esp. of Norway. The word comes from the Norw. *fjord*, cf. also Sw. *fjord*, *fjärd*, Dan. *fjord*, connected with G. *Fuhrt* 'ford' and corr. L. *porta* 'gate' (Pátrovics 2000: 223).

**фьельды, фиельды** — a large level area raised above adjacent land in the Scandinavian mountains, a table land formed by wind and glaciers. The word comes from the Norw.

*ffeld, fjell*, cf. Dan. *fjaeld*, Sw. *fjäll* and Icel. *ffall* connected with G. *Fels* 'cliff' (Hellquist 1992: 140, Pátrovics 2000: 223).

**фьерд** — an inlet or a bay in the rocky shore of a sea or lake mostly with shallow water. From Sw. *fjärd* (ГЭС 1988: 327).

**фюльке** — an administrative-territorial unit in Norway. 'Fylke' is divided into rural (herred) and urban (bykommune) communes. A loan from the Norw. *fylke* (ГЭС 1988: 327).

**шквал** — a sudden violent gust of wind from sea often with rain or snow. The word comes from the Sw. *skval* 'shower, downpour' in the Russian probably through E. *squall*. The Polish word *szkwał* from the same Scandinavian source (Hellquist 1992: 761, Hoad 1993: 456, Pátrovics 2000: 224).

**шихеры** — tables of granite smoothed by glaciers which are to be found on the coasts of Scandinavia. The word comes from the Sw. *skär* 'cliff', cf. furthermore the Norw. *skjaer* and OG. \**skeron* (also connected with the E. *shore*). See Hoad 1993: 446, Pátrovics 2000: 224.

**öre** — a Swedish monetary unit equal to  $\frac{1}{100}$  "krona". In Russ. from the Sw. *öre*.

**ябеда** — denunciation, public accusation. The noun is *ябедник* hence *ябедничать*. Cf. Ukr. *ябеда*, *ябедник*, *ябедничати* and Byelor. *ябеда* (Атрахович 1982: 629).

**ЯБЕДНИКЪ, ЛВЕТНИКЪ** 'official, judge' absent from other Slav. languages. Known from 1283 on (Kiparsky III 75). The noun is of Sc. origin OSc. *embætti*, *ambætti* 'duty', 'post' cf. furthermore Sw. *ämbete*, Norw. *embete*, D. *ambede*, Icel. *embætti* and also the OHG. *ambahti* and MHD. *ambet* < *ammat* cf. the G. *Amt* 'office'. The source is the Gallo-Rom. *ambactus* 'vassal, official' (ФЭС IV 539).

**якорь** — a heavy metal device attached to a ship that catches hold of the bottom and holds the ship in place. ORuss. *якорь* Ukr. *якір* Byelor. *якар*. The word occurs in the Old-Russian Primary Chronicle "The Tale of Bygone Years" in the text of the agreement between Oleg and the Greeks: "да емлють у царя вашего на путь брашню, и *якори*, и ужища, и парусы". The source of the word is the Gr. *ἄγκυρα* (Thomsen 1879: 135). In Russ. through the OScand. *ankari* cf. Icel. *akkeri* and L. *ancora* which is of Greek origin. The word could be also a direct loan from Greek. However, Černych precludes this possibility saying: "...If we suppose that this word was used for the first time in the text of the agreement and consequently, the word was a direct loan from Greek, firstly, we should bear in mind that the source would be then Gr. *ἄγκυρα* in which *γκ* = *nk* cf. Ion. *ἄγκυρη* 'anchor' and the Russian form then should sound as *akira* or with a prothetic *j* → *jakira*. Secondly, there is no evidence that the word was not loaned earlier than 970 all the more so, since the text in question has not remained in original form. Considered all that was said above, the most acceptable version is that the word in Russian is of Scandinavian origin and it has indoctrinated into Old-Russian somewhen during the Scandinavians were travelling on their boats "from the Varangians to the Greeks" i.e. "из варяг в греки" (ЧЭС 1993: 469, ФЭС IV 553).

**ящик** — a small compartment (often with a cover). With the exception of the Ukr. *ящик* and P. *jaszcz*, *jaszczyk* ('cartridge pouch'—a military term) absent from other Slav. languages cf. Byelor. *скрыня*, *шуфляда* from P. *szuflada*. ORuss. **ЛСКЪ** ~ **ЛСКЪ** > *ящик*. The source is the OScand. *askr* 'wooden bowl' from *askr* 'ash' or the OScand. *eski* 'basket' cf. Sw. and Norw. *ask* 'box' 'case' and *ask* 'ash' (ФЭС IV 537). Vasmer points out that the Russian word has no connection with the P. *jaskinia* as Brückner wrongly supposes (BrSE 201).

## 2. Words of Eastern Slavic origin in Scandinavian languages

- балалайка** — Sw., Norw., Da. *balalajka*, E., G. and Fr. *balalaika* ‘a triangular wooden instrument related to the guitar and used esp. in Russia, Ukraina or Byelorussia’. The word is known from the XVIII. c. on, from Russ. *балала́йка* (Hornby 1989: 77).
- безмен** — Sw. *besman* OSw. *besman*, *bisman* ONorw. *bismari*, ODa. *besmere*, Icel. *bismare* ‘a kind of scales’. An early loan from the ORuss. *вѣзмѣнь* (Nielsen 1966: 32, Hellquist I 66, Fritzner I 147). The source is prob. the Arab. *wāznā* ‘scales’ hence the Turk. *wezne*. The word is also known in the Baltic and Northern Slavic area cf. Lith. *bezmėnas*, Latv. *bezmens*, P. *bezmian*, *przezian* and even Czech *přezmen* the latter obviously from Polish (Machek 1957: 400). The Sw. *besman* from Russ. (Опельбаум 1971: 46).
- большевик** — Sw., Norw., Da., *bolsjevik*, E. *bolshevik*, G. *Bolschewik*, Fr. *bolcheviste* and It. *bolscevico* orig. member of a group favouring a maximum socialist programme. XX. from Russ., a sovietism (Стеблин-Каменский 1953: 290).
- боярин** — Sw., Norw., Da., *bojar*. Russian nobleman. In Sw. known from 1618 on in the form *bajor* “adelsmann, ett slav. ord ry. bojarin pl. bojare” (cf. Hellquist I 88). Also known in other languages e.g. P. *bojarzyn*, G. *Bojar*, E. *boyar*, Fr. *boyard* (Опельбаум 1971: 48–49). In Sw. probably through German cf. Sw. *bajor* and MLG. *bajar* (*beiar*). The contemporary Sw. form *bojar* is a result of the G. influence where *Bojar*.
- бричка** — Sw. *britsjka* (Holmberg et al. I 345) a light half-covered horsedrawn wagon. The Sw. word is a loan from Russ. prob. through Ukr., Polish and German cf. Russ., Ukr. *бричка* > P. *bryczka* > G. *Britschka* > Sw. *britsjka*. The source of the word is the It. *birocco* ~ *baroccio* ‘a two-wheeled wagon’ that indoctrinated into Russian through G. where it sounded *Barutsche* ~ *Birutsche* (Опельбаум 1971: 53, ФЭС I 124, Sławski I 45).
- верста** — Sw., Norw., Da., *verst* Russian measure of length (1.06 km,  $\frac{2}{3}$  of an English mile). The Scand. word from Russ. partly through G. *Werst* and F. *verste* (Nielsen 1966: 453).
- водка** — Sw., Norw., Da., *vodka* a colorless liquor of neutral spirits distilled from a mash (as of rye or wheat). In most European languages known from XIX. The word is of Russ. origin. *Vodka* is a diminutive form of *voda* ‘water’ (Опельбаум 1971: 198–199, Nielsen 1966: 447).
- дрожки** — Sw. *droska*, Norw. *drosje*, Da. *drosche*. A light closed horsedrawn carriage, a cab (Hellquist I 1922, Nielsen 1966: 70). The source is the Russ. word *drožki* ORuss. \**дрози* (*дрозѣ*) orig. from Russ. *droga* ‘way’. The P. *dorożka* from Russ. In the Scand. languages through G. where *Droschke*. In the G. through Est. where *troska*. The word occurred for the first time in a letter written in German in Riga (Kluge<sup>24</sup> 144). A large number of compounds with the word in G. or in the Scand. languages cf. G. *Auto-droschke*, *Mietdroschke*, *Kraftdroschke*, *Pferdedroschke*, *Taxameterdroschke*, *Taxi-droschke*, *Droschkenplatz*; Sw. *droskbil*, *droskkusk*, *drosktion*; Da. *droschebil*, *droschekusk*, *droschehest* etc. (Lakó 1989: 122, Szira 1993: 117).
- казак** — Sw. *kosak*, *kosack*, also compounds: *kosackenataman*, *kosackenhetman*, *kosackhetman*, Norw. *kosakk*, Da. *kosak* (Hellquist I 1341, Brekke–Lillegaven 1973: 165). E. *Cossack*, a member of a group of frontiersmen of southern Russia organized as cavalry esp. in the czarist army. A loan from Russ. or Ukr. prob. through G. In G. the word occurred for the first time in the form of *kosak* in 1536 in a document (Опельбаум 1971: 108).
- квас** — Sw., Norw., Da. *kvass* ‘jäst rysk dryck’ (cf. Holmberg et al. 1967: 1392). Fermented beverage of Russia. The word is of Russ. origin. In the Scand. languages prob.

through G. where it is known from 1557 on (Опельбаум 1971: 115).

**кефир** — Sw., Norw., Da. *kefir* (Hellquist I 1304) E. *kefir* *kephir*, a beverage made from fermented milk. The word comes from Russ. and belongs to the latest loans. German as a mediator is conceivable but not necessary. The source of the word is obscure. It is prob. of Caucasian origin (Опельбаум 1971: 94).

**курган** — Sw. *kurgan* in the meaning of 'rysk gravhög' (Hellquist I 1386). E. *kurgan*, F. *kourgane*, burial mound. From Da. is absent, in this meaning *kæmpehøj* is used (Крымова и др. 1960: 372). The Sw. word comes from Russ. The source of the word is Turk. where *kurjamak* means 'fortify' (Опельбаум 1971: 114–115).

**мамонт** — Sw., Norw., Da. *mammut* (Holmberg et al. 1967: 1525). E. *mammoth*, any of various large hairy extinct elephants. The Scand. word is of Russ. origin prob. through G. where it has the form *Mammut*. The source is either the Gr. μάμας -αντος or the northern Samoyed (*jěāŋ*) *ŋammurčitpə* (see ФЭС II 566).

**мужик** — Sw. *musjik*, Da. *muschik* in the meaning of 'rysk bonde' (Holmberg et al. 1967: 1619) a Russian peasant. A loan from Russ. where a diminutive from *muž* 'man' prob. through G. cf. G. *Muschik* (Опельбаум 1971: 128).

**паром** — Sw. *prām*, Norw., Da. *pram*. A boat used in ferrying, Comm. Slav. *\*pormъ* in which *\*por-* stem and *-a-m(o)* suffix. The stem *\*per-/por-* (*per* in the meaning of 'to ferry i.e. to convey from one place to another') of IE. origin. Cf. Icel. *farmr* 'shipload' OHG. *farm* 'boat' Got. *faran*, OIcel. *fara*, OHG. *faran*, G. *fahren* 'to travel', L. *partō* 'to carry over/across', Gr. πόρος 'crossing point', OInd. *piparti* 'cross' the stem of the verb is *par-*. Here belongs the Russ. *переть* in the meaning of 'press' (ЧЭС II 7).

The ON *prāmr* and also the Du. *praam* in the meaning of 'barge' is a loan from ORuss. *поромъ* in all probability through MLG. In Russ. *pram* as a nautical term from G. (ЧЭС II 7).

**пирог** — Sw., Norw., Da. *pirog* XIX (Holmberg et al. 1967: 1799). Small pockets made from pasta and filled with meat or jam. In the Scandinavian languages from Russ. (Опельбаум 1971: 138).

**погром** — Sw., Norw., Da. *pogrom*. XX Devastation, an organized massacre of helpless people and esp. of Jews. From Russ. *gromit'* 'destroy'. The word exists in many European languages cf. E. *pogrom*, F. *pogrom(e)*, G. *pogrom*, Czech. *pogrom*, P. *pogrom* (Опельбаум 1971: 141).

**поп** — Sw., Norw., Da., *pope* (Holmberg et al. 1967: 1816) parish priest of the Orthodox Church in Russia. A loan from Russ. *pop* which is from ORuss. *попъ* (Опельбаум 1971: 144–145).

**раскольник** — Sw., Norw., Da. *raskolnik* (Holmberg et al. 1967: 1879). A follower of a 17th century movement in Russia directed against the Orthodox Church and marked by returning to the roots of the Christian belief and rite. A loan from Russ. cf. *raskol'nik* < *raskol* < *raskolot'*. (Опельбаум 1971: 152).

**рубль** — Sw. Norw., Da. *rubel*. A Russian monetary unit. The word is of Russ. origin cf. *rubit'* > *rubl'* 'cut' (Kázmér 1987: 32).

**самовар** — Sw., Norw., Da., *samovar* (Hellquist II 886). An urn with a spigot at the base used esp. in Russia to boil water for tea. In the Scand. languages from Russ. cf. Russ. *samo-* 'self' and *varit'* 'to boil'. In Sw. there is also another name *självkokare* which is a loan translation from Russ. (Опельбаум 1971: 156).

**совет** — Sw., Norw., Da. *soviet*. An elected governmental council in a Communist country. The word is a part of many compounds cf. Sw. *sovietmakt* 'Soviet power', *sovietmastare* 'champion of the U.S.S.R.', *sovietregering* 'Soviet regime', *sovietrepublik* 'Soviet Republic'. Da. *sovietborger* 'a citizen of the U.S.S.R.', *sovietdelegation* 'delegation from the



U.S.S.R.’, *sovietmagd* ‘Soviet power’ *sovjetstyre* ‘Soviet power’, *sovjetsystem* ‘Soviet regime’ (Крымова и др. 1960: 659). A loan from Russ. where *soviet* ‘council’ (but also in the meaning of ‘advice’). Known from 1917 on (see Стеблин-Каменский 1953: 18).

**спутник** — Sw., Norw., Da. *sputnik* (in Sw. also *spotnik* in which /o/ is pronounced as [u]) a man-made object that orbits a celestial body, a satellite. In the Scand. languages from Russ. cf. OChSlav. \**съ-* (prefix) + *-pōt-* + *-nik* (suffix) ‘traveling companion’. It should be pointed out that nowadays in Swedish (just as in other Scand. languages) the word *sputnik* is only used with reference to the first Soviet satellite, in other contexts the Sw., Norw. and Da. *satellit* (or the Sw. *konstgjord*) is more common (Nielsen 1966: 375, Опельбаум 1971: 170).

**столп** — Sw., Norw., Da. *stolpe* OIcel. *stolpi*, E. ‘column’. IE. stem \**stel-* ‘stand sg. somewhere’ The OSlav. \**stǫlpъ* and ORuss. *стѣлѣ* Here belong Lith. *stulpas*, and Latv. *stulbs*. The word is widely known in other Slav. languages cf. Bulg. *стѣл*, Serb. *стѣл*, Sloven. *stolp*, Czech *sloup* (OCzech *stlup*) Slovak. *stĺp*, Ukr. *стовп* which is from P. *slup* (< \**stlup* < \**stulp*). The word prob. indoctrinated into the Scand. languages from the Balto-slav. dialects (see Ślaski 1977: 32).

**торг** — OSw. *torgh*, Sw., Norw. *torg* cf. “Sergels torg” in Stockholm and Da. *torv* ‘square’. The word is an early loan from ORuss. *тѣргѣ*. The name of a settlement in Finland *Åbo-Turku* is of the same origin. Here belong the Lith. *tuŕgus* ‘market’ Latv. *tirgus* ‘market’ the name of a city in Germany *Torga* and even the Alban. *trege* (hence the Illyr. *Tergeste*—today *Triest* cf. the Italian adjectival form *tergestino*) (see Hellquist II 1025, Nielsen 1966: 421, ЧЭС II 251).

**тайга** — Sw., Norw., Da. *tajga*. Swampy coniferous northern forest beginning where the tundra ends. In the Scand. languages from Russ. The word is known in other European languages such as English, German, French cf. E. *taiga*, G. *Taiga*, Fr. *taïga* (Опельбаум 1971: 184).

**тройка** — Sw., Norw., Da. *trojka*. A vehicle drawn by three horses. The word is of Russ. origin cf. *troe* ‘three’ (Опельбаум 1971: 190).

**царь** — Sw., Norw., Da. *tsar* (Holmberg et al. II 1967: 2786). The ruler of Russia until 1917, E. *czar* or *tzar*. In the Scand. languages from Russ. Ult. representing L. *Caesar* through the medium of Germanic in which the word meant ‘emperor’. Cf. also MLG. *ke(y)ser*, OHG. *Keisar*, ON. *Keisari*, and Goth. *Kaisar*. Cf. furthermore P. and Czech *car*. In the Scand. languages many words with the same stem cf. Sw. *tsarevitj*, *tsarevna*, *tsardotter*, *tsarinna*.

**Чека (ЧК) Чрезвычайная Комиссия** — Sw., Norw., Da. *tjeka*. The name of the Russian secret service from 1917, an abbreviation. In the Scand. languages from Russ. (Holmberg et al. II 2409).

**червонец** — Sw., Norw., Da. *tjervonets* “rysk mynt”. A Russ. coin made of gold that equals 10 rubles (Holmberg et al. II 2409). The word occurred in Russian in the XVII and is of Polish origin cf. the P. *czerwony* ‘red’ and also the Russ. *червонный* which is obsolete (Опельбаум 1971: 192–193).

**чернозем** — Sw., Norw., Da. *tjernozem* “svarta jorden i Ryssland”. A black colored arable land in Russia. In the Scand. languages from Russ. It is a compound: *čern-* + *-o-* + *zem-* (Holmberg et al. II 2409, Опельбаум 1971: 192).

**черкес** — Sw. *tjerkess* (*cirkassier*) Norw., Da. *tjerkess* a member of people that live in the “Karachaevo-Cherkess” autonomian district of Russia. The word comes from Russ. (Holmberg et al. II 2409).

**чиновник** — Sw. Norw. Da. *tjinovnik* “a rysk ämbetsman”. A government official in Russia until 1917. A loan from Russ. (Holmberg et al. II 2409).

### 3. The etymology of *shelk* 'silk'

**шѣлк** [folk] 1. a fine strong lustrous protein fiber produced by insect larvae for their cocoons, (esp. one from moth larvae) used for cloth. 2. thread or cloth made from silk. Ukr. *шовк*, Byeloruss. *шоўк*. In other Slav. languages different words are used having the same meaning cf. Bulg. *копрѹна*, *свила*, Serb. *свила*, P. *jedwab* which is from the Czech *hedvábí*, Goth. *gottowebbi* (*Gott* = *God*, *webbi* /*weben*/ = *weave* Brückner 1957: 204).

The ORuss. *шелкъ* or *шѣлкъ* is known as early as IX, but it undoubtedly must have existed earlier. According to Černych the etymology of the word in Russ. as well as in the Western European languages is not in every detail explained (ЧЭС II 408–409). The source of the name for 'silk' in languages of Southern and Western Europe is the L. *sēricum* 'thread made of silk' *sēricum saeta*: *sēta* 'Serice hair' cf. *sēricus* 'silky' but *Sēricus* 'Serice' and *Sēr*, *Sēres* means 'Chinese'. The Serice people — as it is assumed — were inhabitants of China or India. (The word which is used in Hindi for 'silk' is *rešam* and does not belong here.) Kluge points out that Serice people lived in Turkestan and dealt in silk, however the Chinese name for silk *sī* and *Šensī* has no connections with the word mentioned above (Kluge<sup>10</sup> 247).

The second component of the L. phrase is *seta* means 'hair'. Hence Ital. *seta*, Sp. *seda*, F. *soie*, Du. *zij(de)*, G. *Seide*, OHG. *sida* (Duden 1989: 663). The F. *serge* < OF. *sarge*, however (cf. Russ. *сърѣжа* which is of F. origin, hence also G. *Sarsche*) comes from the L. *sarica* (Picoche 1994: 578). The connection between *sēricus* — *sēres* — *sēr* and the Gr. *σήρ* 'silkworm', *σηρικὰ* (L. *sērica*) 'clothes made of silk', *σηρικός*, -ή, -όν 'silky' is rather obscure. Maybe the Gr. *Σήρες* and the L. *Sēres* come from the name for Chinese after all?

In the last analysis it seems very probable that the Russ. *шелкъ*, Ukr. *шовк* Byeloruss. *шоўк*, Lith. *šilkas* (from Russ.), Icel. *silki*, Finn. *silkki* (of Scand. orig.), OE. *sēol(e)c* ~ *sioloc*, E. *silk*, OIr. *serih*, Pers. *sirah*, Mong. *sirkek* ~ *sirgek*, Manjur. *širghe*, L. *sēr*, Kazah. *жібек*, Arab. *ḥarir* originate in Chin. [tʃoudʒi] [tʃou'i] 'cloth', 'wear'. To the second group belong the words which originate in L. *seta* — *saeta* (see the list above). As far as the OIcel. *silki* or the Sw., Norw., Da. *silke* is concerned, Falk and Torp assume that it was loaned from the Slav. languages. prob. from ORuss. (cf. Falk–Torp 1910: 966). According to Hellquist's opinion *silke* indoctrinated into Swedish about 800 from Slav. (Hellquist II 908, Fritzner III 242). Hoad and Nielsen are of the same opinion (Hoad 1993: 439, Nielsen 1966: 329). Vasmer, however, says that the Russ. word is of Scand. origin (ФЭС IV 423). Černych accepts the argumentation which is to be found by Falk and Torp but points out that the occurrence of the *š* in the Russ. *šolk* instead of the *s* in the initial position is rather obscure (ЧЭС II 408–409). On the other hand, it is possible that the word was loaned with an unsettled pronunciation of the initial sounds e.g. *\*sirk-* ~ *\*serk-* / *\*šilk-* ~ *\*šelk-* etc. The most probable version is that the source of the word is the Gr. *Σήρες* which means oriental people from whom silk was first obtained and passed through Slavonic countries into the Baltic trade. However, whether the word comes from the Scand. languages into Russ. or inversely remains uncertain.

### The etymology of *chmel'* 'hops'

**хмель** [chmel'] a vine with flowers related to the mulberry growing in clusters. The dried flowers of this plant are used for giving a bitter flavor to beer. The stem is known in other Slav. languages cf. ORuss. **хмѣль**, Ukr. *хміль*, Byeloruss. *хмель*, Serb. *хмель*, Sloven. *hmelj*, Czech *chmel*, Slovak. *chmel'*, P. *chmiel*. This word has a long history and exists in many European languages cf. Comm. Slav. *\*chъmelъ*, L. *humulus*, Gr. *χούμελι*, ON. *humli*, Sw., Norw., Da. *humle*, MHG. *hopfe*, OHG. *hopfo*, MLG. *hoppe*, F. *houblon*, OF. *homlon* < *\*humilo* (Picoche 1994: 289). The etymology of the word is not in every detail explained. Some linguists argue that the word in the European languages is of Slav. origin cf. “*humle* fsv., fno. *humli* jfr. ags. *hymele* sannol. liksom mlat. *humulus* ett urgammalt lån från slavernas *chmeli* (av *chumeli*)...” (Hellquist I 369).

There exist, however, other theories about the origin of the word. According to Lehr-Spławiński's opinion the Slav. *chmel'* is a very early loan from the Scand. languages (Lehr-Spławiński 1927: 52). According to Černych it is rather unlikely. He says that this word is of Finno-Ugrian origin (cf. the Vogul. *qumlix* and even the Hung. *komló* which mean 'hop', the latter is prob. of Turk. origin (ЧЭС II 345). The source can be the Volga-Bulg. *\*xumlay* (ФЭС IV 249–250) and indoctrinated into the European languages prob. through Russ. (see furthermore Neuman 1924, Zoltán 1979).

### 4. The list of Sovietisms

Sw. *socializm*, Norw. *sosialisme*, Da. *socialisme* < Russ. *социализм* < F. *socialism*  
 Sw., Norw., Da., *proletariat* < Russ. *пролетариат*  
 Sw. *klasskamp*, Norw., Da. *klassekamp* < Russ. *классовая борьба*  
 Sw. *fackförening*, Norw., Da. *fagforening* < Russ. *профсоюз*  
 Sw. Norw., Da. *sovjet* (see chapter 2)  
 Sw. Norw. *kollektivbruk*, Da. *kollektivbrug* < Russ. *колхоз*  
 Sw. *femårsplan* < Russ. *пятилетний план*  
 Sw. *arbetets hjälte*, Norw. *arbeidets helt*, Da. *arbejdets helt* < Russ. *герой труда*  
 Sw., Norw., Da. *stalinpris* < Russ. *Сталинская премия*  
 Sw. *stachanovarbetare*, Norw. *stachanovarbeider*, Da. *stachanovarbejder* < Russ. *стахановец*  
 Sw. *skyddsskogsbälte*, Norw. *verneskogsbelte*, Da. *værneskovsbelte* < Russ. *полезащитная лесная полоса*  
 Sw., Norw., Da. *glasnostj* < Russ. *гласность*  
 Sw., Norw., Da. *perestrojka* < Russ. *перестройка*

Some of the above words called Sovietisms are direct loans from Russian, some of them are loan translations. As far as their frequency is concerned, they are used in speech or in written texts rather sporadically (Стеблин-Каменский 1953: 289–290).

### 5. Toponyms

**Мурманск** name of a city on the coast of the Barentsk Sea, its official name is *Романов-на-Мурмане*. The name is of Scand. origin, *murman* comes from *\*Norrman* which is also related to the name of *Normandy* (Kiss II 166, Papp 1979: 361).

**Выборг** name of a city in the Finnish Gulf. L. *Viburgum* is of Scand. origin which means 'sacred fortress'. The name is related to the Da. *Viborg*. The Finn. name *Viipuri* is also of Scand. origin. The first part of the compound *vi-* is related to the G. toponym *Weimar* (Kiss II 760).

### Epilog and Conclusions

In the first place I might point out that in the present paper I did not intend to reveal unknown facts or "brand-new" etymologies. I only produced this paper with the aim of giving an interesting albeit sketchy account of the Scandinavian words which had indoctrinated into the Eastern Slavic languages and vice versa, in the hope of making the reader aware of the complexity of the Eastern Slavic – North Germanic linguistic contacts as well as their extensive ramifications.

Apart from explaining the origin of the words enumerated in the chapters, I would like to draw some general conclusions on the evidence of the presented material. In this paper altogether 81 words were discussed. There are 31 Slavic borrowings from the Scandinavian languages and 33 Scandinavian borrowings of Slavic origin among them. They make up the first two parts. In case of two words (*shelk* and *chmel'*) the question of the direction of borrowing, i.e. whether they are Scand. or Slav. origin, remains open. The list of the sovietisms (13 items altogether), as well as two toponyms are to be found in the last two parts.

In the first chapter, i.e. *Words of Scandinavian origin in Eastern Slavic languages* only 14 from the presented 31 words can be regarded as remnants from the earliest period of inter-state relations between the Rus' and the Scandinavian countries, while the number of the immediate borrowings in the next chapter, i.e. *Words of Eastern Slavic origin in Scandinavian languages* hardly totals 4. (In this group is to be found, among other words, *torg* i.e. 'square' which is a direct borrowing from Slavic, probably from Old Russian. After all not by chance were names like *Garðariki* or *Garðar*, i.e. 'the imperium of towns' or simply 'towns' used by Scandinavians for the states situated on the Eastern Slavic territory cf. Pátrovics 1997: 111.) The other loans in the chapter can be regarded as "cultural borrowings" and are a result of the linguistic influence which is only normal among languages. Such things happen very often. All this allows us to say, what seems to be quite obvious and is in fully accordance with the historical facts that in the first period the Scandinavian linguistic influence on the languages of the Eastern Slavic group was greater than the Eastern Slavic linguistic influence on the Scandinavian languages. The Eastern Slavic influence in the form of some sovietisms, however only temporarily, became stronger with the emergence of the Soviet power.

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