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Archaeological and lexical perspectives on indigenous South Saami religion

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Abstract

In the article, a multidisciplinary method for studying past religions is introduced and applied to indigenous South Saami religion. The etymologies of the religious lexicon and the archaeological sacred remains of the South Saami area are systematically examined and the results of the two disciplines are correlated according to the theoretical model for the correlation of archaeological and lexical data. Special attention is paid to studying how archaeological material reflects the phenomena seen in the vocabulary. The lexical and archaeological data are collected from various dictionaries, historical descriptions, etymological and archaeological research, and archaeological fieldwork reports.

Correlations between archaeological and lexical data are seen in the offering tradition, burial traditions, and matters relating to death. The bear cult is highly visible in both materials, but the age of the bear cult seems suspiciously young in the archaeological and lexical material. Sometimes, as in connection with the shaman institution, lexical and archaeological materials do not reveal much about the origin or dating of religious phenomena. Non-material concepts such as deity names are not visible in archaeological data. A very tentative correlation is drawn between the faunal osteological material at offering sites or scree graves and the saajve animal tradition. Such a correlation will, however, need more research to be verified.

Keywords: Indigenous religion, etymology, Saami archaeology, South Saami

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, my aim is to examine the continuity of and changes in the South Saami indigenous religion by combining archaeological and lexical data. I examine the indigenous religious vocabulary of South Saami from an etymological perspective and study how the religious archaeological remains of the South Saami area reflect the religious phenomena seen in the vocabulary. I have a particular interest in studying what kinds of archaeological and linguistic materials correlate with each other and what kinds of stories of continuity and change the combined datasets tell. This is done by applying a theoretical model for the systematic correlation of archaeological and lexical material (first introduced in Piha 2018: 123–132; section 6.1.2 in this chapter). Vocabulary referring to non-material

or abstract concepts is not often seen in archaeological material. Thus, I concentrate only on the vocabulary referring to concrete objects or places in the landscape with religious meaning. It is also of interest to examine whether archaeological material might be of help in determining the absolute time of semantic change in words.

The mythological domain of the Saami languages and cultures has been a subject of interest not only among historians of religion and folklorists but also in archaeology and, to some extent, linguistics. Birgitta Fossum (2006) has written an extensive research-historical study of archaeological sacred remains in the Saami area. Within the South Saami area, Berglund (2010), Dunfjeld-Aagård (2005, 2007), Gjerde (2016), and Zachrisson (e.g. 2009), among others, have recently studied sacred archaeological sites. The religious vocabulary and its history have interested many linguists, but most etymological studies have not been exclusively concerned with religious vocabulary (however, see Frog 2016–2017). Nevertheless, *The Saami. A Cultural Encyclopaedia* (Kulonen et al. 2005) contains articles dedicated to the etymologies of religious words. Also, at least one master's thesis on the religious vocabulary of Saami languages has been written (Suomalainen 2014). Håkan Rydving (e.g. 1987, 1992, 2010) has published studies on the history of religion with a strong emphasis on linguistics. However, none of the linguistic studies have concentrated exclusively on South Saami religious vocabulary.

By indigenous Saami religion I mean the world view and system of beliefs of the Saami people approximately before the 17th century AD when Christian missionary work among the Saami began. Before this, Christian influence had reached and affected the Saami religion, but it had not resulted in an actual conversion to Christianity. (See Pulkkinen 2011: 208; on “ethnic” religions, see also Pentikäinen 1995: 30–32.)

It should be noted that indigenous Saami religion should not be understood the same way that scholars in the West have typically understood the concept of religion: indigenous Saami religion did not require strict commitment or membership by its practitioners. Pentikäinen states that the terms world view and life philosophy are more suitable for describing indigenous Saami religion. These terms include concepts such as a way of thinking, experiencing, and feeling one's place in the world. (Pentikäinen 1995: 30.) I agree with Pentikäinen's definition.

The article is structured as follows: In the introductory section, I first present my view of the spread of Saami languages into central Scandinavia (6.1.1) and then describe the theoretical model (6.1.2), principles of semantic change (6.1.3), and datasets (6.1.4). The second section presents the lexical data divided into simplex words (6.2.2) and complex words (6.2.3), as well as a short overview on the word formation of the religious words (6.2.1). The third section is dedicated to the description of the archaeological material. In the fourth section, I provide a description of the correlations between the combined archaeological and lexical datasets. First, I examine the correlations in the datings of the lexical and archaeological data (6.4.1) and then proceed to the examination of correlations in the lexical finds and archaeological find groups (6.4.2). The fifth and last section focuses on drawing conclusions based on the questions presented in the introduction of the article.

6.1.1. The spread of the Saami language into central Scandinavia

In this section, I describe the spread of the Saami language from its proposed homeland into central Scandinavia where South Saami is spoken today. I also describe the linguistic phases of the language as it evolved from Proto-Saami into South Saami¹. As the research on the phonological developments of South Saami is fragmented and no datings of different phases can thus be given, my proposal here is sketchy and hypothetical and requires further study.

According to runic inscriptions and Proto-Scandinavian loanwords in Saami as well as Saami toponymy in central Scandinavia, a Saami language has been spoken in central Scandinavia since AD 200 (Piha 2018: 176; Piha & Häkkinen 2020; for a slightly later arrival date, see also Bergsland 1995:

1. Due to space restrictions, this article does not cover the phonological changes that led Proto-Saami to evolve into dialects and, later, into separate Saami languages, such as South Saami and North Saami. Interested readers may turn to Korhonen (1981), Sammallahti (1998), and Aikio (2012) for a good introduction on the subject.

18; Häkkinen 2010: 59; Heikkilä 2011: 68–69; Aikio 2012: 77–78), and it arrived there by crossing over Kvarken or perhaps the southern part of the Gulf of Bothnia (e.g. Häkkinen 2010: 60; see also Piha 2018: 122 footnote 2). Before that, a form of Saami language, Proto-Saami, was spoken widely in southern and central Finland, where it had arrived around the beginning of the Iron Age from the southern part of Karelia, the proposed original homeland of Saami languages (e.g. Häkkinen 2010: 57; Aikio 2012: 77). Proto-Saami is the mother of all later Saami languages, including South Saami. Proto-Saami disintegrated into dialects when the linguistic area of Saami spread across Fennoscandia. One of those dialects is the predecessor of South Saami.

When the Proto-Saami dialect (and its speakers) arrived in inland central Scandinavia, the area was already inhabited. There is no general consensus on who dwelled there around AD 200; archaeologists have suggested that the area was inhabited by Scandinavian speakers or the Saami². I have suggested that a Palaeo-European-speaking people of central Scandinavia dwelled there and encountered the Saami speakers when the Proto-Saami dialect first was spoken in the area (Piha 2018: 172–175; see also Aikio 2012: 101).

At the time of arrival, the Saami language had most likely not changed much from the common Proto-Saami, but gradually the Saami language spoken in central Scandinavia adopted sound changes due to internal development and loanwords from Proto-Scandinavian. It first evolved into a dialect that I have named Southern Proto-Saami³. My educated estimate of when this happened is the Early or Middle Iron Age (AD 200–800). Later in the Iron Age or in the Middle Ages, Southern Proto-Saami evolved into Proto South Saami, which is the immediate predecessor of the modern South Saami dialects.

In this chapter, when I use the word Saami, South Saami, Scandinavian, and so on, I refer to the languages, speakers of those languages, or cultures of the speakers of these languages. I do not refer to the ethnic situation of those past times (see e.g. Aikio 2012: 97–102 on the differences between ethnic, linguistic, and archaeological concepts).

6.1.2. The theoretical research model

The theory of the systematic correlation of archaeological and lexical material (Piha 2018) is applied in this study (Fig. 6.1). The main principle of the theory is that archaeological and linguistic material can be combined when this is systematically done on the results of archaeological and linguistic research. Relating words and languages to archaeological material is not a new phenomenon, but this theoretical model is created for systematic research to link archaeological and linguistic data.

In an earlier study, I have proposed a theoretical model for the systematic combination of archaeology and linguistics and tested it on the Early Iron Age archaeological material of the South Saami area and the simultaneous Proto-Scandinavian loanword stratum in South Saami (Piha 2018). I examined all the words found in a particular lexical stratum and all the archaeological remains dated to the designated period (Piha 2018).

In my previous study, the use of the model required the lexical finds (words, e.g. *axe*, *hearth*) and archaeological find groups (e.g. axes, hearth remains) to be classified in categories. For example, the archaeological find group of axes was placed within an archaeological category of tools, and the word referring to an axe was classified in the semantic category of tools. The categories represent the life domains that the language and cultural contacts touched or did not touch; the lexical finds and archaeological find groups are the actual data. (For details and pros and cons of the model, see Piha 2018.)

2. Some archaeologists have suggested that the Saami people have been in central Scandinavia since the beginning of (or even before) the Common Era (e.g. Zachrisson 1997, 2009; Hansen & Olsen 2006:103).

3. Aikio (2012: 77) calls this 'the southwest dialect' of Proto-Saami.

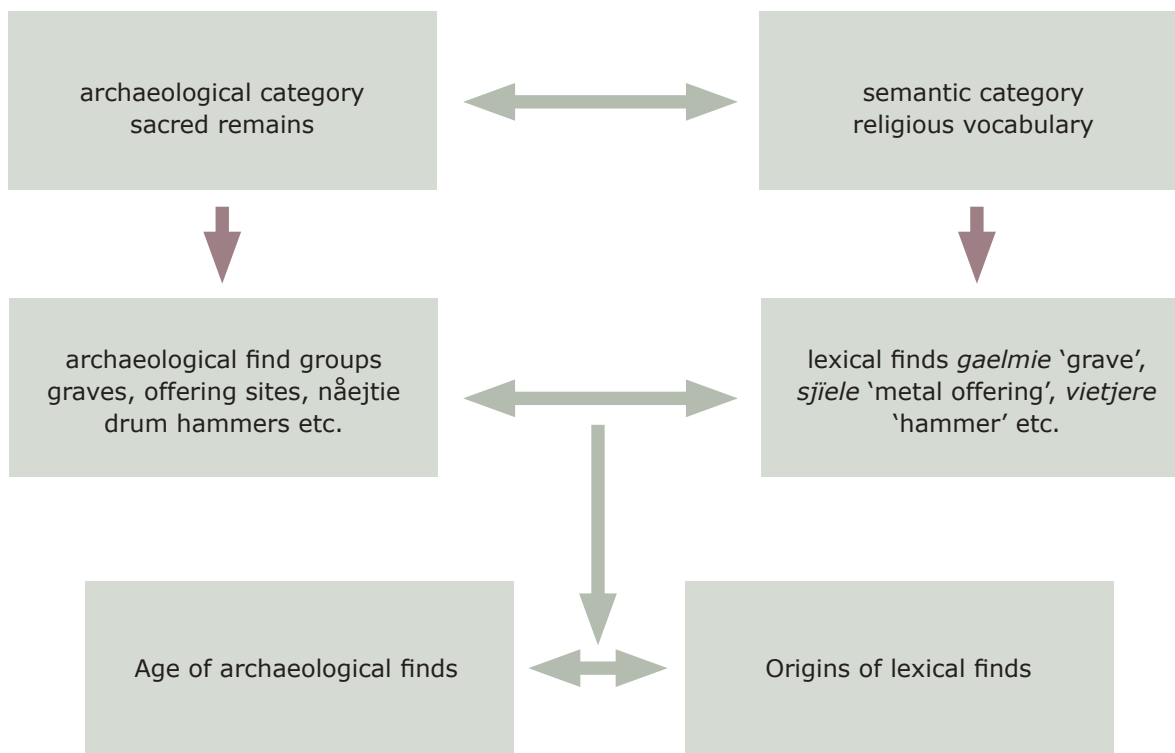


Figure 6.1. The theoretical model for combining archaeological and lexical materials used for the religious material. (Compare to Piha 2018: 124 fig 1.)

In this chapter, the perspective is different. Here, I examine all the words in one life domain – indigenous religion – regardless of their origin, as well as all the sacred remains that are defined as belonging to the South Saami past. In other words, I have one broad archaeological category (the sacred remains) and one semantic category (the vocabulary referring to indigenous religion). The actual archaeological find groups and lexical finds that are the data of this study belong to these categories respectively. Nevertheless, the aim remains the same: to see what kind of lexical finds and archaeological find groups correlate with each other.

However, the theoretical model used previously for correlating the data of a specific language stratum and the simultaneous archaeological material (Piha 2018) cannot be applied as such to religious material in which the vocabulary originates etymologically in various directions and the archaeological material is dated to an extensive period between 200 BC and AD 1800. The model needs a means of dating the material, as this enables the study of which lexical finds and archaeological remains are contemporary and which do not correlate because of differences in age. If the archaeological find is many centuries older than the word, that particular lexical find cannot be the original word referring to the object in the archaeological material. For example, if a word is borrowed from Old Norse (spoken approximately AD 800–1200) but the concept found in archaeological material dates to AD 300, the word and concept hardly correlate. For this reason, the theoretical model has been modified to include concepts of dating the material: the age of the archaeological finds and the origins (and ages) of lexical finds (Figure 6.1).

6.1.3. Language-historical perspectives on semantic change

The linguistic concept of semantic change in lexical items from a diachronic perspective is significant in this study. Semantic change means a change in the meaning of a word, but it also refers to a change in the concept that is associated with the word (Campbell 1998: 255). Semantic change is a difficult field to research, as semantic change is rather an abstract concept (Häkkinen 1997: 35): there is no universal logic in semantic change, it affects individual words, and thus every word needs to be studied individually (Durkin 2009: 260).

This chapter places a special emphasis on studying the time when the semantic changes happened. Defining the exact time is difficult, but there are linguistic methods for doing it. Loanword research is one of the ways of studying semantic change. In most cases, when a loanword is borrowed into a language, the meaning of the word, or part of it, comes along with the word form (Durkin 2009: 134). If a word is defined as a loanword from a specific language but has a different meaning in the modern recipient language, a semantic change has happened from the original meaning of the donor language to the modern meaning of the recipient language. The time of the borrowing is a *terminus post quem* for the semantic change, meaning that the change must have happened after the borrowing. The exact time of the semantic change is, however, difficult to define: it could be any point in history after the *terminus post quem*.

Another method of studying semantic change is examining the cognate words in language relatives. The meaning that appears in most of the language relatives should be considered as the original meaning. (E.g. Häkkinen 1997: 35.) The languages that have a different meaning than the original have gone through a semantic change. This change has taken place after the language relatives, stemming from a common mother language, disintegrated into separate languages. Again, it is not easy to determine the absolute dating of the semantic change.

The dating that can be acquired by linguistic methods is relative: the semantic change happened after or before something else. Determining the absolute dates of semantic changes is nearly impossible with linguistic methods because usually – especially when there are no written records that can be dated with scientific methods, for example – linguistic features are not datable.

However, there are exceptions. There are runic inscriptions written in Proto-Scandinavian that are datable according to an absolute chronology. Thus, the dating for Proto-Scandinavian was made with the help of archaeological material – the runic inscriptions found in the archaeological excavation. As the Saami languages have a large number of Proto-Scandinavian loanwords, this lexical stratum is datable to AD 200–550.

It is worth considering whether archaeological material that can be dated would also help with dating semantic changes. After all, words and their meanings refer to extralinguistic objects. If there is a word for a phenomenon that has gone through a linguistically undatable semantic change, a reference for this phenomenon could be sought in archaeological material that is connected with the language under scrutiny. If such a phenomenon appears, it can be proposed that the semantic change happened around the time the phenomenon first appeared in the archaeological material. Thus, the archaeological material provides a *terminus post quem* for the semantic change. In this study, I use such a method to aim at dating semantic change.

6.1.4. The datasets

The lexical finds are collected from two main sources. One is missionary Hans Skanke's "Anlangende de Nordske Lappers Hedendom og Superstitioner" ("On the paganism and superstitions of the Northern Saami"), which is included in his history of missionary work among the Saami, *Epitomes Historiæ Missionis Lapponicæ* (1945 [1728–1731]). The other source is missionary Johan Randulf's *Relation Anlagende Find-Lappernis saavel i Norlandene og Findmarken som udi Nummedalen, Snaasen og Selboe, deres af Guderier og Sathans Dyrkelse* (1903 [1723]) ("On the Saami in Nordland and Finnmark as well as Nummedalen, Snåse and Selboe, their worship of gods and Satan"). These descriptions mainly concern the situation in the South Saami area (Mebius 2003: 33). In addition to old historical descriptions, I have used Hans Mebius's religion-historical work *Bissie* (2003). He uses other historical sources in his study as well, and therefore my lexical material is extensive enough. Mebius has done a thorough job of updating Skanke's, Randulf's, and other writers' orthography into the modern South Saami orthography, which I use in this chapter if not otherwise noted.

In addition to Skanke, Randulf, and Mebius, I have collected words from various religion-historical and linguistic works of research and dictionaries, as not all religious or belief-related words are mentioned in the old descriptions – they mostly cover words related to the Saami divinities and the use of the *nåejtie* drum. The references are indicated in Appendix 1 (simplex words) and Appendix 2 (compound words) for each word in the data. The total number of religious words included in the data is 74, of which 26 are included in this study, as they can be correlated with archaeological material. As for the etymologies of the words, I have used all studies that discuss the origins of the words in the data.⁴ I collected only those words that are known to be connected to the South Saami indigenous religion.

Sacred remains have been a central topic for a few major archaeological studies conducted in the (South) Saami area and, therefore, the religious (pre)historical landscape of Saepmie (the land of the Saami in South Saami, Sápmi in North Saami) is rather well known within Saami archaeology. The archaeological data is collected from these studies, various other research publications, and, to some extent, excavation reports and Ernst Manker's ethnological works (1957, 1961). The reference literature is indicated in Appendix 3 for each site in the data. Although the indigenous South Saami religion was not practised only at the sites of sacred remains but also at dwelling sites, for example, I have limited the data to the remain types with a primary function in sacred and ritual practices.

The research area is restricted to the provinces of Dalarna, Härjedalen, Jämtland, and the southern parts of Lapland in Sweden, as well as Sør-Trøndelag, Nord-Trøndelag, and Southern Nordland (with Mo i Rana being the northernmost municipality) in Norway (Figure 6.2). The research area is slightly bigger than the modern South Saami area, but the historical language area of South Saami has been larger than the present-day area.

4. Not all the etymologies of the lexical finds are straightforward and agreed upon by every researcher, and there are some words with unknown etymologies in the data. Unclear and much-debated etymologies are discussed further in footnotes in Appendices 1 and 2. It should also be kept in mind that the etymologies are collected from earlier research, and my aim here is not to revise the etymological work done by other researchers. However, I consider all the etymologies included here to be valid.



Figure 6.2. The research area is presented in dark grey on the map. All the archaeological sites used in this study are found within this area. (Figure: M. Piha.)

6.2. The lexical material

In this section, I present the lexical data. First, however, some clarifications of the data are needed. North-West Germanic and Proto-Scandinavian loanword strata are the earliest that may have been obtained within the South Saami area; in the language history of South Saami, it was the time of common Proto-Saami developing into Southern Proto-Saami. Thus, vocabulary borrowed into Proto-Saami or earlier is inherited by Southern Proto-Saami. The donor languages of the loanwords borrowed into Proto-Saami outside of the research area are not of interest from the perspective of this research.⁵ Thus, they are discussed under the heading “Words inherited by Southern Proto-Saami”

(see below). In turn, the origin of the rest of the loanwords might be significant, as they have been borrowed into Southern Proto-Saami. All the words are of interest when we study which words refer to concepts that are seen in the archaeological material.

The words discussed mostly refer to concrete concepts that are visible in the archaeological material. The abstract side of religion is not visible in this study because such concepts as *vuelie* ‘chant, yoik melody’ or *Raedien* ‘Sky god; the ruler of the world’ and others are not visible in the archaeological record. However, I deem it important to note that the uncorrelative material – be it linguistic or archaeological – is also significant, as the different material tells a different story of the same history.⁶

6.2.1. Overview of word formation in South Saami religious words

The South Saami religious vocabulary consists of simplex words and compound words. Simplex words consist of a single word component. Compound words have two or more component words, and their origins may differ: one component may be, for example, an old Finno-Ugric word and the other a loanword.

As for the religious compound words, the different roots of the compound words alone may not be religious at all; it is the compounding that gives the words their religious meanings. To get an idea of the age of the compound word, we should examine the younger part of the word. A religious compound word may not have developed when the younger component was borrowed, but the stratum in which the component originates is the *terminus post quem* for the development of the word. The origin of the concept that the compound word names should not unconditionally be assumed to originate in the same place where the younger part of the word originates or at the time of borrowing of the younger component, either. For example, the South Saami religious compound word *Saaraahka* has two parts: *Saar-* and *-aahka*. *Aahka* is an old loan either from Finnish or Late-Proto Finnic meaning ‘old woman’ (Aikio 2009, 54), and, elsewhere, I suggest that *Saar-* is a loan from Proto-Scandinavian and has had a meaning related to seeds and grain (Piha and Häkkinen 2020). Individually, these words are not religious. Together they form a name for a female divinity whose function was to create life and help with giving birth (e.g. Mebius 2003: 117–118; Kulonen et al. 2005: 281). However, it is not certain that the concept of *Saaraahka* was borrowed from Finnish/Finnic or Proto-Scandinavian even if the words were borrowed from there; it might be a (South) Saami innovation affected by other *aahka* deities or by influences received from Proto-Scandinavian speakers, or it might be an old concept that was newly named for some reason. Thus, words alone do not reveal the origin of the concepts. The compound word, however, reveals the date after which this concept could have been referred to by this particular compound word.

In the data, there are 44 simplex words, 15 of which can be correlated with archaeological material. The other 30 lexical finds, 11 of which are included in the material of this article, are compound words. In the following two subsections, all the simplex and compound words of the data are listed according to their origins. More detailed descriptions of the etymologies are presented in Appendices 1 and 2. The numbers of words within each stratum are presented in Table 6.1.

5. However, the donor languages are indicated in Appendices 6.1 and 6.2.

6. For this reason, I have presented all of the lexical material in Appendices 6.1 and 6.2. The same goes for archaeological material: I have listed all the archaeological remains analysed for this research and the archaeological reference literature in Appendix 6.3, because not all details can be presented in this chapter. Thus, interested readers may find information excluded from the article easily in the Appendices. However, the analysis of the uncorrelative material has to be left for the future.

Table 6.1. The number of religious words in each lexical stratum. The religious compound words are sorted by the younger component of the word. The total amount of the words in the data is given in brackets to indicate how many words are not compatible with archaeological material.

Origins of the words	Number of words per stratum	
	Simplex words	Compound words
Inherited words	6 (16)	2 (7)
Proto-Finnic / Finnish	2 (6)	1 (6)
Proto-Scandinavian	4 (10)	4 (9)
Old Norse / Old Swedish / Old Norwegian	1 (5)	1 (3)
Later Scandinavian	0	0
Paleo-European	0	1 (2)
No known etymology	2 (7)	2 (3)
Total amount	15 (44)	11 (30)

6.2.2. Simplex words

Words inherited by Southern Proto-Saami

båassjoe ‘the innermost place in a Saami hut; the holy place of the hut’; *gievrie* ‘Saami shaman drum’; *jaemedh* ‘to die’; *kobdam* ‘Saami shaman drum’; *nåejtie* ‘Saami wise man, Saami shaman’; *vietjere* ‘(shaman drum) hammer’.

Proto-Finnic (and Finnish) loanwords

gaelmie ‘grave outside of a churchyard; corpse’; *vearoe* ‘sacrifice; tax’ (through Lule Saami?).

Proto-Scandinavian loanwords

aaïmoe ‘the other world (e.g. the realm of the dead), the great spirit’; *beere*, *bierne* ‘bear’; *duvrie* ‘bear’; *saajve* ‘mythical creatures thought to live inside mountains or below the earth; the holy mountains’.

Old Norse and Old Swedish loanwords

sjiele ‘artefact sacrifice; metal artefact that has a protective character; wedding present from bride and groom to parents-in-law’.

Words without etymologies

tseegkuve ‘animal (reindeer) sacrifice’; *viejhkie* ‘pointer used with *gievrie*’.

6.2.3. Compound words

Words inherited by Southern Proto-Saami

The following word is sorted by the first component: *biss-aajja* ‘bear (lit. holy grandfather)’; *boeltaajja* ‘bear (lit. forest grandfather)’.

Components borrowed from Proto-Finnic (or Proto-Finnish)

The following word is sorted by the second component: *bissiengaelmie* ‘bear grave (lit. holy’s grave)’.

Components borrowed from Proto-Scandinavian

The following words are sorted by the first component: *saajveguelie* ‘Saajve fish’; *saajvenieyth* ‘girls of Saajve /dwellers of Saajve’; *saajvesarva* ‘saajve reindeer’; *saajveålmah* ‘men of Saajve (dwellers of Saajve)’.

Components borrowed from Old Norse and Old Swedish

The following words are sorted by the first component: *sjielegierkie* ‘offering stone (lit. (metal) artefact offering stone)’.

Palaeo-European

The following word is sorted by the second component: *bissimoere* ‘holy tree’.

Words without etymologies

The following words do not have any etymology for the second component: *boelgetotje* ‘bear’; *saajve-vuernesledtie* ‘Saajve bird that brings bad luck and evil’. Thus, the age of these compound words cannot be defined.

6.2.4. Summary: Origins of the South Saami religious words

The words that are inherited by Southern Proto-Saami and borrowed from Proto-Scandinavian are the most common origins for the South Saami religious words (Table 6.1). In turn, Proto-Finnic / Finnish and Old Norse / Old Swedish / Old Norwegian are minor donors. A few words have not been discussed in etymological research at all, or it has not been possible to establish an etymology for them. The data does not include any simplex words originating in Later Scandinavian languages, and the Palaeo-European influence is minuscule as well. However, it is possible that some of the words without etymologies originate in these language forms.⁷ It is difficult to determine whether words were religious from the beginning or whether they gained a religious meaning later through semantic development. It is likely that words such as *jaemedh* ‘to die’ and *næejtie* ‘wise man, shaman’ were religious from the beginning. The words *aajmoe* ‘the other world’, *gievrie* and *kobdam* ‘shaman drum’, and *vietjere* ‘shaman drum hammer’, for which it has been possible to reconstruct an original semantic meaning in the donor language or earlier form of Saami language, have had a profane meaning prior to the known religious meaning. The profane meaning did not disappear in every case, such as *vietjere*, but the word received a religious connotation in a religious context.

There are also words that have been borrowed in a religious context, though no religious connotation is left in the modern meaning. One example of these are the words for bear. They have probably been borrowed for the purposes of euphemism because the original name of the bear was considered a taboo (Frog 2016–2017: 50; Kulonen et al. 2005: 138). Thus, they might have had a religious connotation from the beginning. The same applies to *sjiele* ‘artefact sacrifice; metal artefact that has a

7. The amount of words analysed in this chapter should be compared to the total amount of the religious words in the data (seen in the brackets in Table 6.1), as the division of words into lexical strata is slightly different then.

protective character; wedding present from bride and groom to parents-in-law' because its meanings are connected to the religious domain of life.⁸

It is also worth noting that no South Saami indigenous religious words are borrowed from other Saami languages with the exception of *vearoe*, which might be a loan from Lule Saami. However, it is possible that research has paid no attention to loans from other Saami languages until recently, that is, after linguists concluded that South Saami separated from Common Saami at an early date (e.g. Häkkinen 2010: 59; Aikio 2012: 77; Piha 2018: 121, 176; Piha and Häkkinen 2020). Another reason for such a phenomenon is that, until recently, Saami languages were usually treated as a whole without studying the history of the individual languages and without taking into account that these languages most likely borrowed words from each other.

Looking at the compound words, the exact time of the compounding of words cannot be defined by means of linguistic research. The compounding could have happened at any point in language history at any point in language history up to the *terminus post quem* of the compound word in question. Defining the age of a religious compound word in South Saami is one of the cases that might benefit from archaeological research.

6.3. The archaeological material

In this section, I present the archaeological sacred remains that likely are affiliated with the past of the South Saami language and its speakers. Due to space constraints in this article, all the remain types are described only briefly: their position within the landscape, their structures, artefacts found at the sites, and the dating of the remain type are given. Appendix 3 presents all the sites that are included in the data and references to the studies from which I have collected the data and information below. The ethnic affiliations of the archaeological remains in the traditional South Saami area have been extensively debated, especially in the case of graves.⁹ However, I do not comment on the ethnic discussion here but present all the sacred remains that Saami archaeologists (e.g. Zachrisson 1997, 2006, 2009; Fossum 2006; Hansen and Olsen 2006; Piha 2018) have considered as likely to be affiliated with the South Saami (language speakers). I do not comment on the ethnic identity of the prehistoric South Saami, only the linguistic situation. The (Southern) Proto-Saami language arrived in central Scandinavia only after the beginning of the Common Era. Any archaeological sites in central Scandinavia dated to earlier than approximately AD 200 cannot be connected with the language and, therefore, I do not comment on earlier sites or remain types.

6.3.1. Hunting ground graves

Hunting ground graves (Sw. *fångstmarksgravar*) are a grave type that has been in use from 200 BC up to the 13th or 14th centuries AD (Fossum 2006: 90), and most often they are divided into three or four periods: 200 BC–AD 200, AD 200–550, AD 550–800, and AD 800–1200/1300 (e.g. Zachrisson 1997: 195–200; Fossum 2006: 89–97). Hunting ground graves are known only in the South Saami area: Jämtland, Härjedalen, Dalarna, Gästrikland, Medelpad, and Ångermanland in Sweden and Trøndelag in Norway. Outside of the research area they are found, for example, in Hedmark (e.g. Skjølsvold 1980; Bergstøl 2008). The earliest graves (200 BC–AD 200) are not connected with the Southern Proto-Saami language. Many, if not all, of the later graves dated to AD 200 and later are likely affiliated with Southern Proto-Saami speakers. (Piha 2018: 174.)

The hunting ground cemeteries and graves are located on headlands and islands or along lake shores far away from Scandinavian settlements (Ambrosiani et al. 1984: 62–63), though younger graves from around AD 600 onwards are no longer necessarily located near water. From AD 600 to

8. The meaning connected to weddings could be interpreted as a part of the societal domain as well. However, weddings have most likely had a religious scope, and it is possible that the semantic development has been from the religious scope of weddings to the societal scope.

9. Regarding this discussion, readers may be interested in, for example, Fossum 2006, Gjerde 2016, and Wehlin 2016. I have also written a brief overview of the hunting ground graves and the discussion around them in Piha 2018: 142–147.

950, there are graves in mountainous areas in Trøndelag and Jämtland (e.g. Zachrisson 1997: 27–33). The graves are usually round or triangular stone settings with chains of stones around them; the younger graves are not as regular in shape as the older ones, and some graves do not have any stone structures (Fig. 6.3). Grave goods include jewellery, weapons, coins, tools, animal bones, and textile remnants. Grave goods are richer in the Dalarna graves than the more northern graves, though later on they get richer also in the more northern sites. The hunting ground graves are mostly cremation graves, but later, also inhumations under flat ground without stone structures are known from several cemeteries. (E.g. Zachrisson 1997; Fossum 2006: 90–93.)



Figure 6.3. The Vindförberg hunting ground cemetery in Dalarna, Sweden, is dated to AD 100–550 BC. (Photo: Riksantikvarieämbetet / L. Löthman, © CC-BY.)

6.3.2. Scree graves

Scree graves (Nw. *urgraver*) are a widely known burial custom in Saepmie that has been in use from 300 BC to AD 1700/1800. A total of 36 scree graves are known from the South Saami area, and they date from the 14th to 18th centuries AD, that is, the last phase of burials in scree graves. The scree graves of the South Saami area are made under and between boulders, in caves and crevices, and in cist graves. Often the deceased are buried in wooden coffins or sleds. The South Saami scree graves are inhumation graves. (Schanche 2000.)

Artefacts found within scree graves are often everyday tools: iron artefacts such as scissors, knives, and axes. In addition, some brass rings and bronze artefacts and objects made of bone and horn have been found. Animal bones are also among the grave goods.

6.3.3. Ring-shaped offering sites¹⁰

Ring-shaped offering sites are a remain type known all over Saepmie. Most of the ring-shaped offering sites are found in the more northern Saami areas. The dominant structure of ring-shaped offering sites consists of stone walls that are constructed carefully into a circular, angular, hexagonal, or other shape. These structures are often made in rocky terrains. They are found both in the inland and near the coast. They date between the 13th and 17th centuries AD (Spangen 2016: 171–172). Sometimes bone material is found within the structures, but it is not a definitive criterion (Spangen 2016: 120–131).

In the data of this study, two structures resembling ring-shaped offering sites are included, both from Sør-Trøndelag (see Zachrisson 2009). They have only revealed either reindeer or elk antler and cranium finds (Zachrisson 1997: 201, 2009: 142). Zachrisson (2009: 142) mentions that ring-shaped offering sites should also be found in Dalarna and probably in Nord-Trøndelag as well as in Lapland. It is of interest that Dunfjeld-Aagård (2007: 54) speculates that the ring-shaped offering sites are an older variant of the *sjielegierkie* offering site.

According to Spangen's research, neither of the ring-shaped offering sites in my research area meets her structural and artefact criteria of ring-shaped offering sites, and Spangen concludes that these structures are related to various cultural activities (Spangen 2016: 137). In addition, one of the two datings differs from Spangen's results, as it dates the site to AD 700–900; the other dating agrees with Spangen's datings (see Zachrisson 1997: 201, 2009: 142). Zachrisson (1997: 202) also notes that it is not clear what the circular structures represent.

Some of the sites in Northern Norway have lately been defined as wolf traps rather than sacrificial sites (Spangen 2016). The sites included in this study have not been recategorized by Spangen (2016) as wolf traps. The wolf trap theory should, however, be kept in mind.

6.3.4. Metal-rich offering sites

Zachrisson (2009: 143) calls metal-rich offering sites *sjiele* sacrificial sites as, in South Saami, *sjiele* means '(metal) artefact offering'. However, most of the sites are located outside of the South Saami language area in the Pite, Lule, and North Saami area; only two such sites have been found in the (peripheral) South Saami area. Therefore, the South Saami name is hardly fit for the remain type. Fossum (2006: 107; see also Zachrisson 2009: 143) has decided to call them metal-rich offering sites (Sw. *metallförande offerplatser*).

The remain type dates to AD 1000–1350. One of the two known sites in the South Saami area is from AD 1150–1250 and the other is undated. The sites are most often near lakes or the sacrificial objects have been thrown into a lake. Sometimes the metal-rich offering site may be a large boulder. The sites contain antlers, bones, and metal artefacts. Datings indicate that the antler and bone material is younger than the metal objects (Fossum 2006: 108).

6.3.5. Tseegkuve sites

Tseegkuve sites are reindeer offering places: according to Zachrisson, the reindeer were sacrificed beneath cairns beside or between boulders. The antlers were often still attached to the cranium. *Tseegkuve* sites are thought to be private offering sites used by one family. All the *tseegkuve* sites are located in Southern Lapland and Jämtland. (Zachrisson 2009: 144.) In addition to reindeer bones and antlers, the sites occasionally contain bones of other animals and wooden idols (sites in Risentjakk and Ailesjokk). The sites date to after the 18th century. *Tseegkuve* sites are also known from historical sources and folklore (see e.g. Mebius 2003: 150; for discussion, see Bäckman and Kjellström 1979: 63–64 and Piha forthcoming). Sometimes *tseegkuve* sites are connected to *sjielegierkie* sites.

10. Spangen (2016), who has specialized in these sites in Northern Norway, calls these "Sami circular offering sites".

6.3.6. Sjöelegierkie sites

Sjöelegierkieh ‘offering stones (lit. metal artefact offering stones)’ are prominent stones in the hunting ground areas where the Saami speakers have dwelled and travelled. In some cases, *sjöelegierkie* sites are very close to *tseegkuve* sites. As they have not been studied by archaeologists (Zachrisson pers. comm. 2018), not much is known about artefact finds at these sites. However, Manker (1957: 232) describes how he visited the Kusenkerke *sjöelegierkie* in Sorsele with a Saami woman in the first half of the 20th century AD and saw her offer a coin at the *sjöelegierkie*. Coins and perhaps other metal objects are to be expected among the finds around *sjöelegierkieh*. It seems that the *sjöelegierkie* tradition is not very old.

Based on the archaeological and ethnological material, it is not clear what the difference between the types of offering sites is or whether there is any difference at all. Thus, they should be examined and defined more specifically to obtain knowledge about their internal chronology as well as differences and similarities.

6.3.7. Bear graves

Bear graves (*bissiengaelmie*) are graves in which a bear has been ritually buried. A bear may be buried in the ground, in a cave, or in rocky ground in a custom similar to scree graves. Sometimes the bear graves were covered with logs and birch bark. Bear graves are known all over the Scandinavian part of Saepmie, and they date from AD 200 to the 18th and 19th centuries. The graves in the South Saami area are the youngest known bear graves, dating to the 15th–18th centuries AD. (Zachrisson and Iregren 1974; Myrstad 1996.) It is worth noting that in the Salsfjellet grave in Nord-Trøndelag and the Värjaren grave in Jämtland, a small brass chain attached to the bear’s cheekbone was found. It is interpreted that it was placed there for protective purposes.

The bear was considered a holy animal. There is historical evidence of Saami bear rituals. The most thorough description of a Saami bear ritual is written by Pehr Fjellström (1981 [1755]), and according to him, burying a bear was just one part of a several-day ritual. It is not clear where the bear ritual described by Fjellström took place, but the words he lists as referring to a bear point towards the South or Ume Saami linguistic area (see e.g. Mebius 2003: 97).

6.3.8. *Næjtie* drum find sites

There are four *næjtie* drum find sites in the data, and at least three of the drums were found under a stone. All the *næjtie* drums found in the wild have at least a drum frame left; some of the drum finds also include leather fragments of the bag where the drum was kept, small metal objects, brass rings that were used as pointers, or hammers made of antler (Fig. 6.4).

The Henriksdalen drum has been identified as belonging to Nils Johan Johanssen Vesterfjell, who died in 1871. The Visten drum find has been C14-dated, and two different dates were obtained: AD 1530 from the drum frame and AD 1685 from the hammer. (Berglund 2010: 27, 32.)



Figure 6.4. Frames and small metal objects were found at the *nãejtie* drum find sites. The drum in the photo is kept in Meiningen Museum in Germany. It originates from the 18th century AD. (Photo: Sammlung Musikgeschichte der Meiningen Museen © CC BY-SA 3.0.)

6.4. Correlations between archaeological and lexical finds

In this section, the archaeological and lexical data are combined and compared in search of correlations visible in the datasets. First, in subsection 6.4.1, the datings of the archaeological and lexical material are discussed. Then, in the following subsections, correlations between archaeological find groups and lexical finds are made. The correlations are illustrated in Table 6.4, which follows the theoretical model introduced in section 6.1.2.

6.4.1. Correlations between the datings of archaeological and lexical material

Correlations between datings of the types of archaeological sites and lexical strata are presented in Tables 6.2 and 6.3. The tables show that the first phase of hunting ground graves (200 BC–AD 200) cannot be at all connected to Southern Proto-Saami (for details, see Piha 2018: 172–175). All the other types of archaeological sites may have had a connection to the Southern Proto-Saami language and its descendants, as the language was already spoken within the area of the sites in question. Of course, this alone does not prove that the sites were used by Saami speakers, but it is nevertheless a possibility.

The tables reveal that during the time of use of the hunting ground graves, Southern Proto-Saami received loanwords from Late Proto-Finnic and later Finnish, Palaeo-European, North-West Germanic, and, after the latter developed further, Proto-Scandinavian and Old Norse language forms. The tradition of hunting ground graves continued up to the 13th century AD. When ring-shaped offering sites were introduced, Proto-Scandinavian was already starting to dissipate into ancient Scandinavian languages, and Southern Proto-Saami (or perhaps already Proto South Saami) received words from Old Norse. At the time, some loanwords were also borrowed from Late Proto-Finnic and Finnish. Also, the speakers of a Palaeo-European language were probably assimilated with the Saami speakers, and the language grew extinct by AD 500–800 (Aikio 2012: 87). From AD 1000 onwards, vocabulary was received from Old Swedish, Old Norwegian, and Finnish. The sacred remains dating to periods after AD 1000 consist of scree graves, bear graves, *tseegkuve* sites, ring-shaped offering sites, metal-rich offering sites, and *næjtie* drum find sites. With the exception of metal-rich and ring-shaped offering sites, all these remains are rather young, dating to the 14th to 17th centuries or later.

It is important to note that Table 6.2 does not indicate the origins of the sacred remains. The remains do not have counterparts in the cultures that are associated with Finnic, Proto-Scandinavian, or later Scandinavian languages. Contacts with non-Saami speaking cultures can certainly be seen in the archaeological material in the form of grave goods, for example. However, the artefacts found in graves may not have been traded with the Proto-Scandinavian speakers for religious reasons. Thus, their placement in graves as religious objects is secondary (see Piha 2018: 126). There are bear cults, offering traditions, and burial traditions elsewhere that are somewhat similar to those found in South Saami archaeological material, but none of them can be seen as a direct donor culture for the South Saami phenomena. Thus, Table 6.2 indicates only the datings of archaeological remains in relation to the datings of lexical strata of South Saami.

Table 6.4. The lexical and archaeological material correlated. The table presents all correlations that can be made between the archaeological find groups that are part of the archaeological category of sacred remains and the lexical finds that belong to the semantic category of indigenous religion. The datings of the lexical finds and archaeological finds are *terminus post quem*. The question mark in front of the archaeological find group refers to uncertain correlation with the lexical find. The deity names that are correlated with wooden idols are not given in detail, as the correlation is very uncertain.

Lexical find	Word's terminus post quem	Archaeological find group	Dating of the remain
<i>biss-aajja</i> 'bear (lit. holy grandfather)'	inherited	bear bones in bear graves	AD 1600–1700
<i>boeltaajja</i> 'bear (lit. forest grandfather)'	inherited	bear bones in bear graves	AD 1600–1700
<i>gievrie</i> 'Saami shaman drum'	inherited	<i>nåejtie</i> drum remains	after AD 1500
<i>jaemedh</i> 'to die'	inherited	?graves	AD 200–1700
<i>kobdam</i> 'Saami shaman drum'	inherited	<i>nåejtie</i> drum remains	after AD 1500
<i>nåejtie</i> 'Saami shaman'	inherited	? <i>nåejtie</i> drum finding sites	after AD 1500
<i>vietjere</i> '(shaman drum) hammer'	inherited	drum hammer remains	after AD 1500
<i>bissiengaelmie</i> bear grave (lit. holy's grave)'	Finnic / Finnish	bear graves	AD 1600–1700
<i>gaelmie</i> 'grave outside of a church yard'	Finnic / Finnish	hunting ground and scree graves	after AD 1500
<i>vearoe</i> 'sacrifice; tax'	Finnic / Finnish	artifacts at offering sites	after AD 700
<i>aajmoe</i> 'the other world (e.g. the realm of the dead)'	Proto-Scandinavian	?graves	after AD 200
<i>beere, bierne</i> 'bear'	Proto-Scandinavian	bear bones in bear graves	AD 1600–1700
<i>duvrie</i> 'bear'	Proto-Scandinavian	bear bones in bear graves	AD 1600–1700
<i>saajve</i>	Proto-Scandinavian	?hunting ground graves	AD 200–600
<i>saajveguelie</i> 'Saajve fish'	Proto-Scandinavian	?animal bones in offering sites / scree graves	AD 1300–1700
<i>saajveniejth</i> 'girls of Saajve / dwellers of Saajve'	Proto-Scandinavian	?human bones in scree graves	AD 1300–1700
<i>saajvesarva</i> 'saajve reindeer'	Proto-Scandinavian	?animal bones in offering sites / scree graves	AD 1300–1700
<i>saajveålmah</i> 'men of Saajve (dwellers of Saajve)'	Proto-Scandinavian	?human bones in scree graves	AD 1300–1700
<i>sjiele</i> 'metal artifact sacrifice'	Old Swedish	metal artifacts at offering sites, in bear graves and scree graves	after AD 1200
<i>sjielegierkie</i> 'offering stone'	Old Swedish	<i>sjielegierkie</i> offering sites	?
<i>boeltegotje</i> 'bear'	No etymology	bear bones in bear graves	AD 1600–1700
<i>saajve-vuernesledtie</i> 'Saajve bird bringing bad luck'	No etymology	?animal bones in offering sites / graves	AD 1300–1700
<i>tseegkuve</i> 'animal (reindeer) sacrifice'	No etymology	animal bones at <i>tseegkuve</i> sites	after AD 1700
deity names		?wooden idols	after AD 1700
<i>viejhkie</i> 'pointer used with <i>gievrie</i> '	No etymology	drum pointers	after AD 1500

6.4.2. *Tseegkuve* and *sjiele* – offering sites

The correlation between word *tseegkuve* ‘reindeer (or animal) offering’ and the *tseegkuve* site is interesting. Unfortunately, the etymology of the word *tseegkuve* is unknown and the word therefore does not reveal much about the genesis of the *tseegkuve* ritual. The tradition seems very young: all datings of archaeological sites point to a time after AD 1700, and the meaning of ‘reindeer offering’ is likely from the same time, even though the word itself might be considerably older (for the word’s semantic development, see Piha forthcoming).

The words *sjiele* ‘metal offering’ and *sjielegierkie* ‘offering stone’ have possible indications in the archaeological material. These indications could be the metal-rich offering sites and, more likely, the *sjielegierkie* sites. Manker (1957) has listed quite a few *sjielegierkieh*, but they have not been studied archaeologically (Zachrisson 2018 pers. comm.). The archaeological excavation of a *sjielegierkie* site might reveal whether the word *sjiele* refers to offerings made at the sites. The assumption is that the *sjielegierkie* sites, as well as the word *sjiele*, date to a time after the 13th century AD, but archaeological investigation is needed to verify the dating, which could also be younger than the word, if the word was borrowed in another context than that of the *sjielegierkieh*.

Dunfeld-Aagård’s (2007: 54) speculation about the ring-shaped offering sites being an older variant of *sjielegierkie* is somewhat problematic. The dating of the ring-shaped offering sites is more or less contemporaneous with the *sjielegierkieh*. There is an older dating from one of the ring-shaped offering sites in the research data, so it could, in theory, be an older variant of *sjielegierkie*. However, the tradition would have changed drastically from circular structures built by humans to natural rock formations. Even the name of the tradition would have changed, as the word *sjiele* was obtained later than the first use of the ring-shaped offering site. They might both be sacred places of ritual and offering, but that does not necessarily make them variants of the same tradition. To my mind, the *sjielegierkie* tradition resembles the *sieidi* tradition of the more northern Saami cultures – it might be a cultural loan in South Saami culture.

The dating of the metal-rich offering site in Backsjö, Vilhelmina, is contemporary with the word *sjiele*, so in theory, the word can be connected with this remain type. However, as mentioned in section 3.2, metal-rich offering sites are rather peripheral in the South Saami area and may not have been used by South Saami speakers. Also, the earliest dates of the more northern metal-rich offering sites are older than the loanword *sjiele*.

6.4.3. The bear as a sacred animal

The word in South Saami referring to a bear grave is *bissiengaelmie*, literally ‘the grave of a/the holy’, and it has a direct counterpart in the archaeological bear graves. In addition, the South Saami language has at least five words referring to the bear, one of them being *biss-aajja* ‘the holy grandfather’. These words have been preserved until modern times, which provides a clear indication of the sacred role of the bear in the South Saami indigenous religion. The other four words for bear reveal the same phenomenon indirectly: they were euphemisms for the sacred animal whose original name was not to be spoken (Kulonen et al. 2005: 138). They can be correlated with the bears buried in bear graves.

According to the data, the bear cult including bear graves is not very old in South Saami culture: the earliest dated bear grave is from the 16th century AD, and the rest date to the 18th century AD or later. The word *bissiengaelmie* ‘bear grave’ should thus be a fairly young compound word, as there was no need for a word referring to a bear grave before the concept was adopted into the culture, or perhaps slightly earlier when the South Saami speakers learned of bear graves from neighbouring Saami-speaking groups. This is one of the occasions where archaeological material can help to date the creation of a compound word whose components are both rather old words.

The words for bear, in turn, speak of a somewhat older tradition. The oldest word for bear,¹¹ *bierne*, derives from Proto-Scandinavian. The compound words *biss-aajja*, *boeltaajja* or *boeltegotje* could be old, but there is no way of telling when the words were established to refer to the bear – they could be rather young compound words, dating perhaps to the time of the bear grave tradition. If *bierne* was borrowed to be used as a euphemism, it could be the *terminus post quem* of a Saami bear cult within the South Saami area. However, the cult has likely changed and intensified over time: there are a few remains of parts of bear skeletons in hunting ground graves from 200 BC to AD 1050, but the bear cult appears as dominant in the form of bear graves only much later. The tradition of bear burials is undoubtedly due to the impact of the more northern Saami-speaking cultures that practised bear burials many centuries or even a millennium earlier than the South Saami speakers.¹²

The archaeological and lexical indications of the young age of the bear cult are contradicted by the fact that bear ceremonialism is reconstructed for Uralic cultures and should thus be of Pre-Proto-Saami inheritance. It is entirely plausible that there was a bear cult in earlier times and that it either did not leave traces in the archaeological record or those traces have not yet been found. As for the missing vocabulary, it may have fallen out of use when a new form of bear cult with a new vocabulary was obtained. Thus, it may have disappeared from the language.

The find group of brass chains and rings found in bear graves in the South Saami area (Salsfjellet grave and Värjaren grave) might have a connection to *sjiele*. It is known from historical sources that brass had a protective character in Saami mythology, especially in connection with the bear cult (e.g. Fjellström 1981 [1755]; Pentikäinen 2007: 47). As the meaning of *sjiele* has also been ‘metal artefact that has a protective character’, the brass chains in bear graves might have been included in the semantic domain of *sjiele*.

6.4.4. *Gaelmieh*: the graves outside churchyards

The word *gaelmie* ‘grave outside a churchyard; corpse’ has a reference in the archaeological material: all the graves of the study. The word does not reveal whether it was used in connection with a particular grave type, but *gaelmie* refers specifically to graves outside a Christian churchyard. The meaning ‘grave outside a churchyard’ is a rather late semantic development, as it is connected with distinguishing Christian graves from non-Christian graves.¹³ The earlier meaning might be ‘corpse’, and the word still also contains this meaning. It is also possible that the word has referred to graves in general, and the modern meaning was created after there was a need to distinguish Christian and non-Christian graves. The modern word for ‘grave’ is *kroepte*.

However, as the meaning ‘grave outside a churchyard’ has held up to present times, it reveals that the existence of graves outside churchyards is not an old, forgotten phenomenon. Also, archaeological (or more accurately Manker’s (1961) archaeological-ethnological) research may prove this: even after the South Saami speakers converted to Christianity, they sometimes buried their deceased in the wilderness if it was impossible to transport the corpse to a churchyard. The intent was to transport the deceased to a churchyard later. (Manker 1944, 1961: 183–184.) These so-called summer graves were the final stage of the *gaelmieh*.

Other words referring to graves and the semantic domain of death are *jaemedh* ‘to die’ and possibly also *aajmoe* ‘the other world (e.g. the realm of the dead)’ (see Piha 2018: 167). The word *sjiele* ‘metal offering’ might also belong to the domain of death: it should be considered whether the grave goods (those made of brass or some other metal, or even grave goods in general) dating to the 13th century AD or later were also called *sjiele* by South Saami speakers. Thus, using an object in a religious context (offering site, bear grave, or grave) changes its profane meaning and use to a religious one that was called *sjiele*.

11. The original word for bear has disappeared from South Saami, but it might have been preserved in the North Saami *guovža*. However, there are toponyms with the cognate of *guovža* near the South Saami area. (Collinder 1964 s.v. *guobtje*.)

12. As the bear grave tradition might be older than the Saami languages in Northern Fennoscandia, it is possible that Saami speakers in Northern Scandinavia adopted the tradition from another Palaeo-European-speaking people dwelling in present-day Northern Norway. (On the datings of the bear graves, see Myrstad 1996: 46–48.)

13. I am grateful to an anonymous referee for bringing this notion to my attention.

6.4.5. *Nåejtie* and the drum

A good correlation is made between the words belonging to the domain of the *nåejtie* and the archaeological *nåejtie* drum find sites. The lexical material consists of the words *gievrie* ‘*nåejtie* drum’, *viejhkie* ‘drum pointer’, and *vietjere* ‘hammer’. All the concepts the words refer to are found in the archaeological data. The words also refer indirectly to the *nåejtie* him/herself.

However, the words are all much older than the archaeological material. Thus, the archaeological material reveals nothing about the age of the South Saami *nåejtie* institution, and the lexical material is also ambiguous. The word *gievrie* traces back to pre-Saami, and it has a cognate in Finnish with no religious meaning: *käyrä* ‘crooked, curved’. In other Saami languages, the word does not have the meaning ‘*nåejtie* drum’, either. *Vietjere* refers to non-religious hammers as well, and the religious (connotative) meaning has developed at an undefined time. The etymology of *viejhkie* has not been discussed. The word *nåejtie* itself might be a Proto-Finno-Ugric word (UEW 307–308), but the etymology is somewhat uncertain (Kulonen et al. 2005: 244). Thus, we can say that a *nåejtie* institution was part of the South Saami culture at the time the drums were left in the wilderness. Because a somewhat similar *nåejtie* institution is known from every Saami-speaking culture, it may be assumed that the tradition was inherited from a time when a common Proto-Saami form was still spoken.

6.4.6. *Saajve* animals in graves and offering sites?

Researchers have suggested that in an early tradition, *saajve* was the original realm of the dead (Kulonen et al. 2005: 375). The word is a Proto-Scandinavian loanword and would thus correlate quite beautifully with the hunting ground grave tradition. In modern South Saami, the meaning of *saajve* is ‘mythical creatures living inside mountains; the world inside sacred mountains’, but its cognates in modern Scandinavian as well as other Saami languages mean ‘lake’, and that has been defined as the original meaning of the Proto-Scandinavian word. The new word was most likely adopted in a religious meaning: during the time Proto-Scandinavian was spoken, the hunting ground graves were made near lake shores which were perhaps considered as sacred *saajve* lakes. However, this does not mean that the graves themselves were the *saajve*. The graves might have been gateways to *saajve*, the underwater realm of the dead that is reconstructed to the Proto-Uralic cultural phase by historians of religion (Kulonen et al. 2005: 375). Later, the tradition changed to mean sacred mountains, perhaps motivated by Scandinavian ideas of dead members of clans going to live inside mountains (see Kulonen et al. 2005: 374). This might have happened at the time when the hunting ground graves were no longer made near water.

When Christian missionaries wrote their descriptions of South Saami mythology, the tradition had already changed to mean mythical creatures living inside mountains: *saajveniejtth* ‘girls of *Saajve*’, *saajveålmah* ‘men of *Saajve*’, and various *saajve* animals (Rydving 2010: 121). At the time, the belief was that *nåejtieh* and sacrificed animals were reborn in *Saajve* mountains (Kulonen et al. 2005: 375). According to Manker’s (1957: 251) interpretation, the diver placed as a grave good in the scree grave of Västra Abelvattsundet was a *saajve* bird. Thus, it should be considered whether other animal sacrifices in *tseegkuve* sites and scree graves should be called *saajve* animals. If this assumption is correct, the compound words with *saajve* as the first component could be dated to a time after the 13th century, when the scree graves came into use, or to the 18th century, when the *tseegkuve* sites were in use. Such a dating would be more or less contemporary with the missionaries’ texts and would prove that the literary descriptions are quite trustworthy in describing the concept of *saajve* in this particular period. *Saajve* and the compound words are an example of how archaeological material may be of help in determining the time of semantic change when linguistic methods fail to do so.

Lexicologically, there is no objection to interpreting the hunting ground graves from around AD 200 as a representation of the realm of the dead, as the word is old enough to support this interpre-

tation. Also, the semantic change from the original meaning of the realm of the dead to the modern meaning is plausible. If this is the case, the Proto-Scandinavian loanword *aajmoe* ‘the other world’ might have developed into its modern meaning later when *saajve* had lost its meaning as the realm of the dead. The original meaning of *aajmoe* could have been connected to concepts of world, air, or natural phenomena, as in other Saami languages (e.g. Sammallahti 1998: 227; Piha 2018: 167–168, 191), or village, as in Proto-Scandinavian (Sammallahti 1998: 227).

6.4.7. Some thoughts on uncorrelative and other challenging material

The religious vocabulary contains many names for deities and other religious characters that are not included in the lexical material of this article, as they usually cannot be seen in the archaeological material. The only exception might be the wooden idols found on some of the *tseegkuve* sites, which could be interpreted as religious characters such as deities. Mebius (2003: 147) notes that the offerings were directed to deities or other religious characters who had power over people’s lives. Nevertheless, based on the archaeological or lexical material, it is impossible to interpret which character the idols might represent.

Reports on landscape investigations with an archaeological perspective around *saajve* mountains were expected when I started the study. However, I have no knowledge of such investigations despite the importance of *saajve* in the South Saami indigenous religion. (However, see Dunfjeld-Aagård (2005: 89–90) who mentions *saajve* mountains.) The lack of archaeological investigations might be due to the knowledge derived from historical sources: rituals honouring the *saajve* mountains were performed at the *gåetie* dwelling sites, not near the mountains (Rydving 2010: 124).

The grave good material is rather large and diverse in both hunting ground and scree graves, but the vocabulary does not name individual artefact types. This brings into focus the names for tools, jewellery, and other artefacts as religious when found in a religious context (see Piha 2018: 126). In this chapter, I have decided not to define such words as religious apart from metal objects in religious contexts that were called *sjiele* since around AD 1200.

Finally, the lexical material includes the word *båassjoe* ‘the innermost place in Saami hut; the holy place of the hut’, which is not seen in the archaeological data. I decided not to include dwelling sites in my material, but if they had been included, correlations could probably be found between the lexical find and the corresponding archaeological find group.

6.5. Conclusions

In this lengthy chapter, I have combined archaeological and lexical research to study the indigenous South Saami religion by applying the theoretical model for the systematic correlation of archaeological and lexical material (Piha 2018). The theoretical model indicates correlations between lexical finds (lexical material) and archaeological find groups (archaeological material) and between the ages of the lexical finds and archaeological find groups.

After adjustments of datings, the theoretical model for combining archaeological and lexical material worked well with the religious material. The model brings out not only the confluence between archaeological and lexical material but also the differences: the archaeological material indicates phenomena that linguists cannot see in the lexical data and the lexical material brings forth concepts that are invisible in archaeology. In this last section, I briefly describe what kinds of phenomena the application of the theoretical model revealed in the religious material.

There are no odd correlations between the ages of the lexical and archaeological materials of this study: most often the lexical finds that have possible correlations with archaeological find groups

are etymologically old enough to have been acquired in the language during the usage period of the archaeological remain. In my study, one example is the word *saaive* in the meaning 'the realm of the dead' and the hunting ground graves as a possible gateway to *saaive*. The word was borrowed into South Saami from the Proto-Scandinavian language which can be dated to the same period as the second phase of the hunting ground graves (AD 200–550).

Archaeological research may be of help in determining the time of semantic change in words. Often, loanword research and comparison of semantics with language relatives are useful methods for dating semantic developments. However, there are cases when linguistic methods fail, and one example of this is the compounding of words. In my study, I noted that the archaeological material was of help when I searched for the time of compounding and semantic development, for example, in the word *bissiengaelmie* 'bear grave'. There is a strong counterpart for the word in the archaeological material: the bear graves. The word was most likely created when the bear grave material started to appear in the South Saami archaeological material around the 16th century AD. Thus, the time when the components of the word were obtained in the language is not any indication of when the compound word was created.

In turn, linguistics may be of help in indicating what archaeologists should look for in their own research. In my lexical data, there is a word for offering stones, *sjielegierkie*. It is also known from ethnological research that there are plenty *sjielegierkie* sites in the South Saami area. However, these have not been researched by archaeological methods. *Sjiele* has been an important part of the indigenous South Saami religion, and it should be studied from the archaeological perspective how *sjiele* connects to *sjielegierkie*, what the dating of *sjielegierkie* sites is, and what was offered at *sjielegierkie*. The word *sjiele* also indicates to archaeologists when metal objects in religious contexts first began to be called by the term *sjiele*. This provides cognitive perspectives on how the Saami speakers understood the border between religious and profane in the past.

Even though the combination of archaeological and linguistic research indicates consistent correlations between many findings, sometimes the correlations do not reveal much about the history of the phenomenon under scrutiny. The *næjtie* 'shaman' institution has clear counterparts in the archaeological and lexical material: *gievrie* 'næjtie drum' and its associate tools correlate with the archaeological *næjtie* drum finds. However, the etymologies and semantic development of the words connected with the *næjtie* institution are uncertain and do not reveal much information about the age of the phenomenon. The archaeological *næjtie* drum finds date to the 16th century at the earliest. The data of this study reveals that the tradition derives at least from the 16th century. However, it is probably considerably older because the *næjtie* tradition is quite similar in all the Saami cultures and thus may well originate in times when the common Proto-Saami language had not yet disintegrated into dialects (or even earlier).

Although there are plenty of words that correlate with the archaeological material, the etymological origins of the words are not reflected in the archaeological material – there is no archaeological proof of religious contacts with the material cultures associated with the Finnic, Proto-Scandinavian, or later Scandinavian languages. The archaeological material points to cultural impact from the more northern Saami cultural areas from around AD 800 onwards: the scree graves, ring-shaped offering sites, and bear graves, among others, were borrowed from the northern Saami cultures. It is curious that the religious vocabulary borrowed from those languages is missing. Thus, the impact of different Saami cultures and languages on each other needs to be studied more closely both archaeologically and linguistically.

Another interesting question is the impact of the Palaeo-European language and the culture of its speakers: the continuity seen in the archaeological material of the hunting ground graves points to the Saami speakers adapting the Palaeo-European burial custom. Nothing in the religious vocabulary reflects such intensive religious contacts. The view might change in the future when Palaeo-European substrate studies advance and, perhaps, more Palaeo-European substrate impact in South Saami is discovered.

Lastly, the religious vocabulary contains old inherited words with an original meaning belonging to the domain of religion (e.g. *jaemedh* ‘to die’). This suggests that the roots of the South Saami indigenous religion lie deep in the past and continuity through the centuries and even millennia is visible in the lexical material. Archaeologically, it is not possible to reach this far because the predecessor of the South Saami language developed only around 1800 years ago. However, with correlations to linguistic material, the archaeological material also reveals 1800 years of Saami-speaking culture in central Scandinavia. To dig further than that, we should look for the archaeology of the area where common Proto-Saami was spoken – namely Finland and Karelia.

It should also be kept in mind that even though the correlations between lexical finds and archaeological find groups and their datings seem to be in sync, this article includes only 26 lexical finds out of 74, which is the total number of the lexical finds in the data. This means that 48 words have no counterparts in the archaeological material. Such words that do not correlate with archaeological find groups refer to abstract phenomena and non-material objects such as deities and other mythic beings (e.g. *Raedien* ‘Sky God’; *jeahna* ‘giant’), religious songs (*vuelie* ‘chant, yoik melody’), or concepts such as soul (*sealoe* ‘soul’).

The combination of archaeological and linguistic research indicates the kind of continuity and change in the historical processes leading to the present that are not seen by using only archaeological or only linguistic methods. The inherited vocabulary, very old loanwords, and early Iron Age archaeological material are indicators of the continuity of religious practices. The semantic changes in words, newer loanwords, and archaeological material tell the story of an ever-changing and constantly evolving South Saami culture with roots deep in the history of Fennoscandia. Simultaneously, the religious material reveals contacts and interaction between linguistic and cultural groups and enables a hypothesis that would be near impossible if examined only by the methods of one discipline.

The perspective taken in this study is useful in articulating the similarities and differences in the data of the two disciplines: it strengthens the understanding of the nature of these disciplines and what kind of potential they offer for the research of the human past. Such a perspective is vitally important in the present-day international scientific community that grows ever more multidisciplinary and needs to understand the research possibilities of neighbouring disciplines.

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Personal comments

Zachrisson, I 2018. Personal comment in an e-mail to Minerva Piha 7 Sept 2018.

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Appendix 1. Simplex and derivatives of the data with a translation into English, a short description of the etymology, and the references for the etymology. In cases where there is no consensus among researchers about the etymology and there is more than one etymological option, I have separated the options with a virgule and first given the one with which I have classified the word.

SaaS word	English translation	The donor language	References for the etymology
<i>aajmoe</i> ¹	'the other world'	← Proto-Scandinavian <i>*haima</i> / < Pre-Saami <i>*ajmo</i>	Álgu s.v. <i>aajmoe</i> ; Lehtiranta 1989, s.v. <i>*ājmo</i> ; Qvigstad 1893: 83, 191; Sammallahti 1998: 128; 227; Sköld 1960: 11-13.
<i>aejlege, aejlies</i>	'holiday, Sunday'	← Proto-Scandinavian <i>*hailagaz</i>	Bergsland 1992: 9; Lagercrantz 1939: 26; Piha 2018: 192; Qvigstad 1893: 85.
<i>Biejjie</i>	'Sun (deity); day, sun'	< Pre-Saami < Proto Uralic <i>*päjwä</i>	Aikio 2015: 63; Álgu s.v. <i>biejje</i> ; Frog 2016–2017: 54; Koivulehto 2000: 247f 10; 2016: 251, 543; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*pejwē</i> ; Sammallahti 1988: 540; 1998: 230; SSA 2 s.v. <i>päivä</i> ; UEW 360.
<i>biergele</i>	'evil spirit, devil'	← Late Proto-Finnic / Finnish <i>perkele</i>	Álgu s.v. <i>beargalar</i> ; Frog 2017: 52–53; Lagercrantz 1939: 637; Lehtiranta s.v. <i>*pērkele</i> ; Sammallahti 1998: 129; SSA 2 s.v. <i>perkele</i> .
<i>bierne, beere</i>	'bear'	← Proto-Scandinavian <i>*bernu</i>	Álgu s.v. <i>bierne</i> ; Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007 s.v. <i>björn</i> ; Frog 2016–2017: 50. Lagercrantz 1939: 659; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*pērne</i> ; Piha forthcoming.
<i>bissie</i>	'holy'	< Pre-Saami ← ? Proto-Germanic <i>*wīxa</i> / < ? West Uralic	Aikio 2009: 134–136; Álgu s.v. <i>bissie</i> ; Frog 2016–2017: 54–55; Koivulehto 1973: 13f 14; 1997: 89; 1999a: 215; 2016, 28, 543; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*pesē</i> ; Sammallahti 1998: 123; 1999: 83; 2001: 409 table 6.
<i>båassjoe</i> ²	'the holy place of the hut'	< Pre-Saami <i>*pošjo</i> ← ? Proto-Germanic / ← ? Indo-Iran	Aikio 2009: 270; Álgu s.v. <i>båassjoe</i> ; Kulonen et al. 2005: 41; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*pōššō</i> ; Sammallahti 2001: 403; SSA 2 s.v. <i>posio</i> ; <i>pohja</i> .
<i>doene, doenehke</i>	'devil'	< Pre-Saami ← Proto-Germanic <i>*dawīni</i> /	Álgu s.v. <i>doene</i> ; Häkkinen K. 2004 s.v. <i>tuoni</i> ; Koivulehto 1996: 323; 1998: 241f 1; 2016: 180, 203f 1, 546; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*tōne</i> ; LÄGLOS 3: 315, 332–333; Sammallahti 1998: 124; SSA 3 s.v. <i>tuoni</i> .
<i>duvrie</i>	'bear'	← Proto-Scandinavian <i>*deuza-</i> / <i>*diuRa</i> / Old Norse <i>dýr</i> .	Aikio 2009: 282; Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007 s.v. <i>dýr</i> ; Heikkilä 2014: 110; Häkkinen J. 2017 pers. comm.; Lagercrantz 1939: 224, 924; Qvigstad 1893: 132.
<i>faastoe</i>	'lent'	← Proto-Scandinavian <i>*fastō</i>	Álgu s.v. <i>faastoe</i> ; LÄGLOS 3: 5–6; Piha 2018: 140, 197; Qvigstad 1893: 147, 158; SSA 2 s.v. <i>paasto</i> .
<i>gaedtsie</i>	'spirits; younger generation'	< Proto-Finno-Permic <i>*kansa</i>	Álgu s.v. <i>gaedtsie</i> ; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*kāncē</i> ; UEW 645.
<i>gaelmie</i>	'grave outside of a graveyard; corpse'	← Late Proto-Finnic <i>kalma</i>	Álgu s.v. <i>gaelmie</i> ; Frog 2016–2017: 51; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*kālme</i> ; SSA 1 s.v. <i>kalma</i> ; UEW 119-120.
<i>geavodh</i>	'to behave ecstatically'	?	Aikio 2009: 85-87; Álgu s.v. <i>geavodh</i> ; Lehtiranta s.v. <i>*kevrē</i> ; Rydving 1987: 195.
<i>gievrie</i>	'Saami shaman drum'	< Pre-Saami <i>*kävrä</i>	Álgu s.v. <i>gievrie</i> ; Frog 2016–2017: 54; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*kevrē</i> ; Sammallahti 1998: 123; SSA 1 s.v. <i>kävrä</i> .

1 The etymology of *aajmoe* is unclear. It might be an original Pre-Saami word with a cognate in Finnish (*aimo* 'a whole, quite a') or a PScand loanword (< **haima-*) (Piha 2018: 191; Sammallahti 1998: 227). I have included the word in the PScand loanword strata (Piha 2018: 191).

2 *båassjoe* is a cognate with the Finnish *pohja* 'bottom' (Aikio 2009: 270), but it has tentatively been suggested that the word originates in either Proto-Germanic or Indo-Iranian (SSA 2 s.v. *pohja*).

<i>goeksegh</i>	‘Aurora Borealis’	← < PIE <i>*h₂aws-ōs-</i>	Álgu s.v. <i>goeksegh</i> ; Koivulehto 2001: 245; 2002: 585; 2003: 298-299; Kulonen et al. 2005: 137; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>kōks-ṛj</i> ; Sammallahti 1998: 126; 1999: 81.
<i>hięgke</i>	‘life’	← Late Proto-Finnic / ? Finnish <i>henki</i>	Álgu s.v. <i>hięgke</i> ; Frog 2016–2017: 51–52; Korhonen M. 1981: 38, 85, 104, 134; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*ęjke</i> ; Sammallahti 1998: 129, 248; SSA I s.v. <i>henki</i> .
<i>håltōe</i>	‘evil; the devil’	← Old Norse <i>huld</i>	Álgu s.v. <i>ulda</i> ; Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007 s.v. <i>hulder</i> ; Korhonen O. 1987: 48–49; Kulonen et al. 2005: 136; Qvigstad 1893: 337.
<i>jaemedh</i>	‘to die’	Pre-Saami <i>!*jämä-</i> ~ <i>*jama-</i> < West Uralic <i>!*jama-</i> < Proto-Uralic <i>*jämä-</i>	Aikio 2014: 81–82; Álgu s.v. <i>jaemedh</i> ; Frog 2016–2017: 55; Kulonen et al. 2005: 153; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*jämē</i> ; Saarikivi 2007: 337; Sammallahti 1998: 249; UEW 89–90.
<i>jeahna</i>	‘giant’	Old Swedish <i>*iättn-</i>	Álgu s.v. <i>jiehtanas</i> ; Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007 s.v. <i>jutul</i> ; Lagercrantz 1939: 205; Piha forthcoming; Qvigstad 1893: 202; SSA I s.v. <i>jätti</i> .
<i>jihpe, jihpege</i>	‘unusual appearance, ghost; owl; stupid person’	< Proto-Finno-Ugric <i>*üpickä</i> / <i>*ip3</i>	Álgu s.v. <i>jihpe</i> ; FUV 1977: 99; Itkonen 1958: 39; Korhonen O. 1987: 52–57; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*epeke</i> ; Olthuis 2007: 244–245; Sammallahti 1988: 542; 1998: 120; SSA I s.v. <i>hyppiä</i> ; UEW 98.
<i>joejkedh</i>	‘to yoik; to chant’	< Pre-Saami <i>*jojki</i>	Aikio 2009: 246; Kulonen et al. 2005: 154; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*jōjke</i> ; Sammallahti 1998: 123, 251; SSA I s.v. <i>joiku</i> .
<i>jupmele</i>	‘god’	← Late Proto Finnic / Finnish <i>jumala</i> < Aryan	Álgu s.v. <i>ipmil</i> ; Korhonen M. 1981: 83; Sammallahti 1998: 249; SSA I s.v. <i>jumala</i> ; UEW 638.
<i>jåvle</i>	‘Yule; Christmas’	Old Norse <i>jöl</i>	Álgu s.v. <i>jåvle</i> ; Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007 s.v. <i>jul</i> ; Kulonen et al. 2005: 155, 224; Lagercrantz 1939: 229; Qvigstad 1893: 203–204; Schlachter 1958: 76; SSA I s.v. <i>joulu</i> .
<i>kanna</i>	‘magic power’	← Old Norse <i>gandr</i> / Norwegian <i>gand</i>	Heggstad et al. 2008 s.v. <i>gandr</i> ; Qvigstad 1893: 164; Rydving 1987: 196.
<i>kobdam</i>	‘Saami shaman drum’	? < Proto-Finno-Ugric <i>*kamte</i> / <i>*komta</i>	s.v. <i>goavddis</i> ; Frog 2016–2017: 54; Häkkinen K. 2004: 346–347, 348; Kulonen et al. 2005: 133; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*kōmtē</i> ; SSA I s.v. <i>kannus2</i> .
<i>Maanoē</i>	‘Moon (deity); moon; month’	← Proto-Scandinavian <i>*mānan-</i> / <i>*mānōn-</i>	Álgu s.v. <i>mānnu</i> ; Frog 2016–2017: 48; Koivulehto 1999b: 20; 2002: 589; Kulonen et al. 2005: 224; Lagercrantz 1939: 472; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*mānō</i> ; Piha 2018: 204; Qvigstad 1893: 231; Sammallahti 1998: 129, 253–254.
<i>moenesje</i>	‘good or evil spirit; ghost; illness brought by evil spirit’	< Pre-Saami ← Iran	Aikio 2002: 14; Álgu s.v. <i>moenesje</i> ; Koivulehto 1998: 241f 1; 2016: 203f 1; 552; Sammallahti 1998: 124.
<i>Njannja</i>	‘wife of Staalo’	?	Not discussed in etymological research.
<i>nåejtie</i>	‘Saami wise man, shaman’	< Pre-Saami <i>*nojta</i> < ? Proto-Finno-Ugric	Álgu s.v. <i>nåejtie</i> ; Frog 2016–2017: 53; Korhonen M. 1981: 180; Kulonen et al. 2005: 244–245; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*n-ṛtē</i> ; Sammallahti 1998: 123; UEW 307–308.

<i>raavke</i>	‘apparition, ghost’	← Proto-Scandinavian <i>*drauga-</i> / <i>*draugar</i>	Aikio 2009: 272; Álgu s.v. <i>rávga</i> ; Frog 2016–2017: 49; Lagercrantz 1939: 721; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*rāvke</i> ; LÄGLOS 3 s.v. <i>raukka</i> ; Qvigstad 1893: 261; Sammallahti 1998: 129.
<i>Raedien</i>	‘Sky God’	late North-West Germanic / early Proto-Scandinavian <i>*rādō</i> / <i>*rād-</i>	Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007 s.v. <i>råde</i> ; Häkkinen 2018 pers. comm.; Kulonen et al. 2005: 279–282, 401–402; Lagercrantz 1939: 711–712; Piha (forthcoming); Qvigstad 1893: 253; SSA 3 2000, 35 s.v. <i>raati</i> .
<i>Rota/Ruto</i>	‘God/Demon of Pestilence’	?	Not discussed in etymological research.
<i>saajve</i>	‘mythical creatures living inside mountains’	← Proto-Scandinavian <i>*saiwi-</i> / <i>*saiw-</i>	Aikio 2009: 276; Álgu s.v. <i>saajve</i> ; Frog 2016–2017: 48–49; Korhonen M. 1981: 47; Kulonen et al. 2005: 374–375; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>sāvjē</i> ; Qvigstad 1893: 332; Sköld 1961: 126; 1980: 108; SSA 3 s.v. <i>saivo</i> .
<i>sealoe</i>	‘soul’	← ? Late Proto-Finnic / ? Finnish / ? Scandinavian / ? West Germanic	Álgu s.v. <i>siellu</i> ; Lagercrantz 1939: 790; Piha forthcoming; Sammallahti 1998: 262.
<i>sjiele</i>	‘artefact sacrifice’	← Old Swedish <i>siäl</i> / Swedish <i>själ</i> / Norwegian <i>sjel</i>	Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007 s.v. <i>sjel</i> ; Hasselbrink 1981–1985 s.v. <i>sjiele</i> ; Piha forthcoming; Qvigstad 1893: 286.
<i>Staaloe</i>	‘troll-like mythological character’	← ?Proto-Scandinavian <i>*stālō</i>	Aikio 2009: 280; Álgu s.v. <i>staaloe</i> ; Frog 2016–2017: 49–50; Kulonen et al. 2005: 408; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*tālō</i> ; SSA 3 s.v. <i>staalo</i> .
<i>tseegkuve</i>	‘reindeer sacrifice’	?	Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*cējkrō</i> ; Mebius 2003: 150; Piha forthcoming.
<i>vearoe</i> ³	‘sacrifice; tax’	< SaaL <i>vārrō</i> ‘sacrificial gift’ < PS <i>*vērō</i> < F <i>vero</i> ‘tax’	Álgu s.v. <i>vārrō</i> ; Bäckman & Kjellström 1979: 63–64; Korhonen M. 1981: 86, 104; Lagercrantz 1939: 996; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*vērō</i> ; Mebius 2003: 133–134; Piha forthcoming; Rydving & Kristoffersson 1993: 197; Sammallahti 1998: 130; Skanke [1728–1731] 1945: 201, 204, 255 (<i>vārrō-mora</i>); SSA 3 428 s.v. <i>vero</i> ; UEW 569.
<i>vesties</i>	‘evil; enchanting’	?	Aikio 2007a: 50; 2009: 288; Álgu s.v. <i>vesties</i> ; Rydving 1987: 196; Schlachter 1958: 149.
<i>viejhkie</i>	‘pointer used with <i>nāejtie</i> drum’	?	Not discussed in etymological research.
<i>vietjere</i>	‘ <i>nāejtie</i> drum hammer’	< Pre-Saami <i>*vašara</i> < West Uralic <i>wašara</i> ← Aryan	Álgu s.v. <i>vietjere</i> ; Korhonen M. 1981: 91, 162; Koivulehto 2003: 286; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*večērē</i> ; Sammallahti 1998: 122, 127; SSA 3 s.v. <i>vasara</i> ; UEW 815–816.
<i>voejkene</i>	‘spirit’	?	Not discussed in etymological research.
<i>vuelie</i>	‘chant; South Saami yoik melody’	< West Uralic <i>*wala</i> < Proto Uralic <i>*wala</i>	Aikio 2006b: 26–27; Álgu s.v. <i>vuelie</i> ; Frog 2016–2017: 54; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*völē</i> ; Sammallahti 1998: 121; SSA 3 s.v. <i>vala</i> .
<i>vuerpie</i>	‘lot; fate; share’	< Pre-Saami ← Proto-Germanic <i>*arba</i>	Aikio 2006a: 12; Álgu s.v. <i>vuerpie</i> ; Frog 2016–2017: 53; Koivulehto 1976: 249–251; 1984: 11; 1991: 106; 1997: 83; 2002, 587; 2016: 558; Korhonen M. 1981: 35; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*vōrpē</i> ; LÄGLOS 1, 36–37; Sammallahti 1984: 144; 1998: 123, 128; 1999: 83; 2001: 409 table 6.

3. The word *vearoe* and the concept reflected by it is a Lule Saami phenomenon, and it most likely drifted to South Saami at quite a late date (Rydving and Kristoffersson 1993: 197). *vearoe* is also known from the compound word *vearoe gierkie* ‘offering stone’.

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- UEW = Rédei, K. 1988. *Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* 1–2. [The etymological dictionary of the Uralic languages.] Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Appendix 2. Compound words with an English translation, a short description of etymology, and references for the etymologies. Words with a similar second root are placed together in alphabetical order first by the second root and, within the second root group, by the first root. The second root is described jointly for all the words in the second root group. The first root is described in connection with the word in question. Words with unique second roots are in alphabetical order by the first root. The full reference list is in Appendix 1.

South Saami word	Translation	The donor language	References for the etymology
<i>-aahka</i>	‘old woman’	← Late Proto-Finnic / Finnish <i>*akka</i> / < ? Pre-Saami <i>*akka</i>	Aikio 2009: 244; Älgu s.v. <i>aahka</i> ; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*ākkē</i> ; Sammallahti 1998: 123, 227.
<i>Båassjoeaahka</i>	‘Old Woman of the back part of the Saami hut’	See <i>båassjoe</i> in appendix I.	
<i>Jaemiehaahka</i>	‘Old Woman of the Dead’	See <i>jaemedh</i> in appendix I.	
<i>Joeksaahka</i>	‘Old Woman of the Bow’	<i>joekse</i> ‘bow’ < Proto-Finno-Ugric <i>*joŋse</i> / <i>*joŋsi</i> < PU <i>*jiŋsi</i>	Älgu s.v. <i>juoksa</i> ; FUV 1977: 40; Koivulehto 1986: 170; 2001: 245; 2002: 585; 2003: 300; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*jökse</i> ; Sammallahti 1988: 537; 1998: 118.
<i>Maadteraahka</i>	‘Old Woman of Earth; Mother of Man’	<i>maadter</i> ‘fore-; stem, root’ < Pre-Saami <i>*manta</i> / ? Late Proto-Finnic	Älgu s.v. <i>maadtere</i> ; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*māntē</i> ; Randulf [1723] 1903: 25; Sammallahti 1998: 124; SSA 2 s.v. <i>manner</i> .
<i>Oksaahka</i>	‘Old Woman of the Door’	<i>okse</i> ‘door’ ← Finnish <i>uksi</i>	Aikio 2007a: 46; Älgu s.v. <i>ukse</i> ; Junntila 2015: 90, 177; Koivulehto 1993: 34; Korhonen M. 1981: 82; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*ukse</i> ; SSA 3 s.v. <i>uksi</i> ; UEW 803.
<i>Saaraahka</i>	‘Creative Old Woman’	← Pscand <i>sāđá-</i> (< PG <i>sēđá-</i>)	Bjorvand & Lindemann 2007 s.v. <i>sā2</i> ; Heggstad et al. 2008 s.v. <i>sād</i> ; Köeblér s.v. <i>sēda-</i> ; Mebius 2003: 55, 118; Piha & Häkkinen 2020; Randulf [1723] 1903: 24.
<i>-aajja</i>	‘grandfather’	< Proto-Finno-Permic <i>*aje</i> / <i>*ajjä</i>	Älgu s.v. <i>aajja</i> ; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*ājjē</i> ; Sammallahti 1988: 552; 1998: 120, 227; SSA 3 s.v. <i>ajjä</i> .
<i>biss-aajja</i>	‘bear’	See <i>bissie</i> in appendix I.	
<i>boeltaajja</i>	‘bear’	<i>boelte</i> ‘vegetation zone with deciduous trees’ < Pre-Saami <i>*palti</i> ← early Proto-Germanic <i>*falþi-</i> / <i>*falða-z</i>	Aikio 2006a: 11; 2012a: 72; Älgu s.v. <i>boelte</i> ; Koivulehto 1976: 254–257; Korhonen M. 1981: 35; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*pölte</i> ; Sammallahti 1998: 230.
<i>Maadteraajja</i>	‘Old Man of Earth; Father of Man’	See <i>maadteraahka</i> .	
<i>-nĕjte</i>	‘girl’	< Pre-Saami <i>*nĕjti</i> < Proto-Finno-Ugric <i>*nĕxi</i> ? < Proto-Uralic <i>*nĕxi</i>	Lagercrantz 1939: 524; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>*nĕjte</i> ; Sammallahti 1988: 539, 540; 1998: 256; SSA 2 s.v. <i>neiti</i> ; UEW 302-303.

	<i>Biejjien niejte</i>	‘Sun Girl’	See <i>biejtie</i> in appendix I.	
	<i>Rananiejte</i>	‘Goddess of Vegetation; lit. Green Girl’	Rana ?~kruana ‘green ← Proto-Scandinavian * <i>grōniz</i>	Álgu s.v. <i>krāānehke</i> ; Koivulehto 1988: 36; 1999b: 17; Lagercrantz 1926: 68; 1939: 391; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. <i>rōne</i> ; Mebius 2003: 55, 123–127; Piha 2018: 202; Qvigstad 1893: 275.
	<i>saajveniejth</i>	‘girls of saajve’	See <i>saajve</i> in appendix I.	
<i>-ālmaj</i>		‘man’	< Proto-Finno-Ugric <i>ilma</i> + suffix * <i>-āj</i>	Álgu s.v. <i>olmāi</i> ; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. * <i>el̥mē</i> ; Sammallahti 1998: 259.
	<i>Bieggālmaj</i> (or <i>Bieggegaellies</i>)	‘Wind Man’	<i>biegke</i> ‘wind, storm’ ← Paleo-European	Álgu s.v. <i>biegga</i> ; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. * <i>pēnje</i> ; Saarikivi 2004: 189; Sammallahti 1998: 231.
	<i>Liejpālmaj</i>	‘Alder Man’	<i>liejpie</i> ‘alder’ ← Proto-Baltic * <i>leipa</i>	Álgu s.v. <i>leaibi</i> ; Aikio 2006a: 40; Junttila 2015: 112, 182; Koivulehto 1992: 299–300; Korhonen M. 1981: 32; Lagercrantz 1939: 414; Sammallahti 1977: 123; 1984: 139; 1998: 124, 127; SSA 2 s.v. <i>leppä</i> .
	<i>Saajveālmah</i> (pl.)	‘men of saajve’	See <i>saajve</i> in appendix I.	
	<i>Tjaetsieālmaj</i>	‘Water Man’	< Proto-Finno-Ugric * <i>šācā</i>	Korhonen M. 1981: 159; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. * <i>šācē</i> ; Sammallahti 1988: 549; 1998: 234; UEW 469.
	<i>Vearelden Ālmaj</i>	‘Man of the World’	← Old Danish <i>wærælden</i> / Old Norse <i>veröld</i>	Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007 s.v. <i>verden</i> ; Lagercrantz 1939: 995–996; Mebius 2003: 66; Qvigstad 1893: 353.
<i>bissiemoere⁴</i>		‘Holy tree’	See <i>bissie</i> in appendix I.	
			<i>moere</i> ‘tree’ ← Paleo-European	Álgu s.v. <i>moere</i> ; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. * <i>mōre</i> ; Saarikivi 2004: 189; Sammallahti 1998: 256.
<i>bissiengaelmie</i>		‘bear grave (lit. holy’s grave)’	See <i>bissie</i> in appendix I.	
			See <i>gaelmie</i> in appendix I.	
<i>boeltegotje</i>		‘bear’	See <i>boeltaajja</i> for <i>boelte</i> .	
			gotje < ?	
<i>Hovrengaellies</i> (or <i>Hovren-āarja</i> / <i>Hovreskodtje</i>)		‘Thunder Man’	<i>hovre-</i> (obsolete) ← ? Old Norse <i>Þórr</i>	Álgu s.v. <i>hovre</i> ; Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007, s.v. <i>torden</i> ; Hasselbrink 1981–1985 s.v. <i>huvre</i> ; Kulonen et al. 2005: 413–415; Mebius 2003: 71; Piha forthcoming; Rydving 1992: 29–30.
			<i>gaellies</i> ‘husband’ ← Proto-Scandinavian * <i>karlaz</i>	Aikio 2009: 250; Álgu s.v. <i>gállis</i> ; Koivulehto 1999b: 11; Lagercrantz 1939: 261–262; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. * <i>källēs</i> ; Piha 2018: 199; Qvigstad 1893: 161–162; Sammallahti 1998: 128.
<i>nåejtiesvoejkene</i>		‘helping spirits of nåejtie’	See <i>nåejtie</i> in appendix I. See <i>voejkene</i> in appendix I.	

4. It is difficult to say which of the components is older. If we assume that Proto-Germanic loanwords were borrowed in Southern Finland, perhaps near the coast, and Palaeo-European words in the inland or Northern Fennoscandia, it is probable that the Palaeo-European word *moere* is younger. This is definitely so if the word *bissie* is a West-Uralic word, as Aikio (2009: 134–135) suggests.

<i>Raediēgiedtie</i>		‘Son of Raediē-naehtjie’	See <i>Raediēn</i> in appendix I. <i>giedtie</i> ‘(reindeer) corral’ ← < Proto-Germanic * <i>skenþa-</i>	Koivulehto 1989: 44; 1993: 35 f 8; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. * <i>kēntē</i> ; Sammallahti 1998: 123; 2012: 100.
<i>Raediēnaehtjie</i> (cf. <i>Raediēn</i>)		‘The High God’	See <i>Raediēn</i> in appendix I. <i>aehtjie</i> ‘father’ < < Pre-Saami * <i>išä</i> < Proto-Finno-Ugric * <i>išä</i> < Proto-Uralic * <i>ičä/äčä</i>	Álgu s.v. <i>aehtjie</i> ; FUV 1977: 24; Korhonen M. 1981: 159; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. * <i>ečē</i> ; Sammallahti 1988: 541; 1998: 227; UEW 22.
<i>saajveguelie</i>		‘saajve fish’	See <i>saajve</i> in appendix I. <i>guelie</i> ‘fish’ < < Pre-Saami * <i>kala</i> < Proto-Finno-Ugric * <i>kala</i> < Proto-Uralic * <i>kala</i>	Aikio 2007b: 172; FUV 1977: 42; Korhonen M. 1981: 89–90, 136; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. * <i>kōlē</i> ; Sammallahti 1988: 538; 1998: 247; UEW 119.
<i>saajvesarva</i> ⁵		‘saajve reindeer’	See <i>saajve</i> in appendix I. <i>sarva</i> ‘reindeer’ < Pre-S * <i>širvas</i> ← Proto-Baltic	Korhonen M. 1981: 30, 31, 130; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. * <i>servēs</i> ; Sammallahti 1998: 124.
<i>saajve-vuernesledtie</i> ⁶		‘saajve bird that brings bad luck’	See <i>saajve</i> in appendix I. < Proto-Finno-Ugric * <i>lunta</i>	Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. * <i>lontē</i> ; Sammallahti 1988: 545; 1998: 252; SSA 2 s.v. <i>lintu</i> ; UEW 254.
			<i>vuernes</i> < ?	Not discussed in etymological research.
<i>sjäelegierkie</i> ⁷				
<i>tjaetsie-almetjh</i>		‘water people’	See <i>Tjaetsieālmaj</i> for <i>tjaetsie</i> . <i>almetjh</i> (pl): <i>almetje</i> (sg) ‘human’ < Proto-Saami * <i>ēlmē</i> + * <i>hǰē</i> < Proto-Finno-Ugric * <i>ilma</i> + Pre-S * <i>-nši-</i>	Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. * <i>olmō-</i> ; Sammallahti 1998: 259.
<i>Tjåervieraedie</i>		‘Ruler of antlers’	<i>tjåervie</i> ‘antlers’ < Pre-Saami * <i>šorva</i> < Proto-Finno-ugric * <i>šorwa</i> < Proto-Uralic * <i>šorwa</i>	Aikio 2012b: 238; Korhonen M. 1981: 87, 110, 130, 184; Lehtiranta 1989 s.v. * <i>čōrvē</i> ; Sammallahti 1988: 549; 1998: 120; 1999: 80; 2001: 402; UEW 486–487.
			See <i>Raediēn</i> in appendix I.	

5. The first component *saajve-* is a loanword from Proto-Scandinavian, the second *-sarva* from Proto-Baltic. However, *sarva* has been reconstructed to Pre-Saami (Korhonen M. 1981: 31) and *saajve* to Proto-Saami (e.g. Aikio 2009: 276), and therefore, according to the reference literature, the second component of the compound word is older.

6. No etymology for *-vuernes-* has been established, and therefore it is difficult to say how old the word is. According to the two other components of the word, it could not be older than the Proto-Scandinavian loanword stratum.

7. The second component *-gierkie* might be a Palaeo-European loan in Saami languages (e.g. Aikio 2004: 11). It is common Saami.

Appendix 3. List of the archaeological sites from which data was used.

Remain type	Site	Amount of remains	Dating	References
Scree grave	Nordland, Rana, Virmadalen,	1 grave		Schanche 2000: 405.
Scree grave	Nordland, Rana, Dalselv	1 grave		Schanche 2000: 405.
Scree grave	Nordland, Rana	1 grave		Schanche 2000:405
Scree grave	Nordland, Lurøy, Nesøya, Sørnesøy	1 grave		Schanche 2000:405
Scree grave	Nordland, Vefsn, Bjørkjønli	1 grave		Schanche 2000:405
Scree grave	Nordland, Vega, Finneset	1 grave		Schanche 2000:405
Scree grave	Nordland, Hattfjelldal, Tiplingsfjellet	1 grave		Schanche 2000: 405–406.
Scree grave	Nordland, Brønnøy, Aunet	1 grave		Schanche 2000: 406.
Scree grave	Nord-Trøndelag, Lierne, Ingulsvatn	2 graves	AD 1700s	Schanche 2000: 406,
Scree grave	Nord-Trøndelag, Røyrvik	2 graves		Schanche 2000: 406.
Scree grave	Nord-Trøndelag, Nærøy, Skjolden	1 grave		Schanche 2000: 406.
Scree grave	Nord-Trøndelag, Nærøy, Fossdalsfjellet	1 grave		Schanche 2000: 406.
Scree grave	Nord-Trøndelag, Nærøy, Kalvfjellet	1 grave		Schanche 2000: 406.
Scree grave	Nord-Trøndelag, Nærøy, between Leirkollen & Finnkruvatnet	1 grave		Schanche 2000: 406.
Scree grave	Nord-Trøndelag, Inderøy, Kverkillen	?		Schanche 2000: 406.
Scree grave	Nord-Trøndelag, Levanger, Finnkalbakken on Høislomo	1 grave		Schanche 2000: 406–407.
Scree grave	Sør-Trøndelag, Tydal, Møsjøen	1 grave		Schanche 2000: 407.
Scree grave	Lapland, Sorsele sn, Fjällojaure	1 grave		Manker 1961: 95; Schanche 2000: 408.
Scree grave	Lapland, Tärna sn, Kalmepakte	1 grave with 2 sled-like coffins and bones from two individuals.	AD 1700s or later	Manker 1961: 97, 149–154; Pettersson 1912: 95–96; Schanche 2000: 408.
Scree grave	Lapland, Tärna sn, Oltokjaure	1 grave		Manker 1961: 97, 155–156; Schanche 2000: 408.
Scree grave	Lapland, Tärna sn, Guttubergget, Gäutavardo	1 grave	AD 1360–1540	Manker 1961: 97; Schanche 2000: 408; Zachrisson 1986.
Scree grave	Lapland, Tärna sn, Atoklimpen (the Suoivengellas grave)	1 grave	AD 1450	Heinerud 2002; Manker 1957: 249–250; 1961: 97, 156–160; Pettersson 1913; Schanche 2000: 408.
Scree grave	Lapland, Tärna sn, Rikkevardo	1 grave		Manker 1961: 98; Schanche 2000: 408.

Scree grave	Lapland, Tärna sn, Västra Abelvattssundet	2 graves with bones from 6 individuals	AD 1500s	Manker 1957: 251; 1961: 98, 161–164; Schanche 2000: 408–409; Sundström 1988: 137; Zachrisson 1986: 142–143.
Scree grave	Lapland, Tärna sn, Routeken, Övre Vapstsjön,	1 grave		Manker 1957: 254; 1961: 99; Schanche 2000: 409.
Scree grave	Lapland, Vilhemina sn, Rainesfjället	1 grave		Manker 1961: 100; Schanche 2000: 409.
Scree grave	Lapland, Vilhemina sn, Lehtinjauve, Grönfjellet	2 graves (200 m apart)		Manker 1961: 100, 170–172; Schanche 2000: 409.
Scree grave	Lapland, Vilhelmina sn, Gemonfjället	1 grave		Manker 1961: 102; Schanche 2000: 409.
Scree grave	Lapland, Vilhelmina sn, Jamigerke	1 grave		Manker 1961: 102–103; Schanche 2000: 409.
Scree grave	Jämtland, Frostviken sn, Gransjö	1 grave	AD 1500–1600s	Hedlund 2011; Schanche 2000: 409; Sundström 1988.
Scree grave	Jämtland, Offerdal sn, Jäns-mässholmen	3 graves (1 excavated)		Manker 1961: 106; Schanche 2000: 410.
Scree grave	Jämtland, Kall sn, Äggsjön			Manker 1961: 106; Schanche 2000: 410.
Scree grave	Jämtland, Undersåkers sn, Tjatjasen	1 grave		Manker 1961: 65–66, 106; Schanche 2000: 410.
Hunting ground grave	Lapland, Tärna sn, Östra Abelvattssundet	1 grave	AD 400–500	Manker 1961: 165–168; Serning 1960: 151.
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Revsund sn, Bäcknorholmen	1 grave	AD 400–550	Sundström 1994: 105; 1997: 23.
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Nyhem sn, Klevsand, Gindalen 2:11	8 graves (1 excavated)	AD 200–500	Larje 1989a; Sundström 1989b; 1989a: 158; Sundström & Feldt 1989.
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Hällesjö sn, Ansjön, Båganäset	1 grave	AD 800s	Larje 1985; Sundström 1984; 1989a: 156–157.
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Hällesjö sn, Näsvarpsundet	4 graves (1 partly excavated)	AD 280+/-125	Sundström 1984; 1989a: 156.
Hunting ground grave	Hälsingland, Ängersjö sn, Stora Drocksjö	1 grave	AD 600	van Vliet 2013; Sundström 1989c: 23–25, 27.
Hunting ground grave	Härjedalen, Hede sn, Vikarsjön	1 grave	AD 1200–1250s	Sundström 1989a: 158–159.
Hunting ground grave	Härjedalen, Hede sn, Halvfariudden	7 graves	AD 515+/-70	Hemmendorff 1984; Sundström 1989a: 159–160.
Hunting ground grave	Härjedalen, Tännas sn, Smalnäset	34 (all excavated)	AD ~200 BCE–200	Ambrosiani et al. 1984
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Rödön sn, Nyland, Josvedsviken	1 grave	AD 900s	Magnusson 1986: 62; Sundström 1989a: 161.
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Rödö. sn, Josvedsviken	1 grave	AD 441–665	Magnusson 1986: 73; Sundström 1989a: 162.

Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Rödön sn, Tjuvholmen	10 graves (1 excavated)	AD 264/470/640	Magnusson 1986: 73–75; Sundström 1989a: 161–162; 1997: 22.
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Stugun sn, Långholmen	1 grave	AD 550–800	Larje 1989b: 66–67; Magnusson 1986: 424; Sundström 1994: 106.
Hunting ground grave	Härjedalen, Storsjö sn, northern side of Storsjö	2 graves	AD 800–1000	Sundström 1994: 106–107; 1997: 23.
Hunting ground grave	Härjedalen, Storsjö sn, Krankmårtenhögen	30 (all excavated)	AD ~200 BC–200	Ambrosiani et al. 1984.
Hunting ground grave	Härjedalen, Storsjö sn, Storsjö 17:5	1 grave	Iron Age	Oskarsson 1998.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Transtrand sn, Horrmundsjön, Hästnäsey	25 (5 excavated)	AD 500s	Gejvall 1966: 254; Hyenstrand 1987: 132–133; Serning 1962: 32, 35, 50–51; 1966a: 92–94; 217–218; Wehlin 2016: 225.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Lima sn, Tisjön, Örviken	4 graves (all excavated)	AD 0–200	Hyenstrand 1987: 119; Serning 1966a: 150; Wehlin 2016: 230–231.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Lima sn, Tisjön, Örviken	1 grave with 2 individuals	AD 400–550	Hyenstrand 1987: 119–120; Serning 1966a: 150–152; Wehlin 2016: 230–231.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Transtrand sn, Södra Bredsundsnalet	1 grave (belongs to Norrs Bredsundsnalet?)	AD 600–700	Gejvall 1966: 254; Hallström 1945: 108; Serning 1966a: 217.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Transtrand sn, Vejsundsfjärden	1 grave		Hallström 1945: 108; Serning 1966a: 219–223
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Rättvik sn, Hästudden	1 grave	AD 400–550	Hyenstrand 1974: 109; Serning 1966a: 177–180; Wehlin 2016: 229.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Venjan sn, Finnäset	16 (1 excavated)	AD 200(–400)	Serning 1966a: 224; Wehlin 2016: 221.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Särna sn, Fulufjället	4 graves (1 excavated)	AD 0–550	Wehlin 2016: 233.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Rättvik sn / Alfta sn, Amungen, Södra Getryggen	30 (5 excavated)	AD 400–550	Serning 1966a: 176–177; Wehlin 2016: 228–229.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Dalarna, Rättvik sn / Alfta sn, Amungen, Norra Getryggen	7 graves (3 plundered and therefore excavated)	AD 550–800	Serning 1966a: 174, 176; Wehlin 2016: 229.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Ore sn, Vindförbergs udde	43 (all excavated)	AD 100–550	Serning 1966b; 1967, 1968; Johansson 2016; Lipping 1980;
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Svärdsjö sn, Hinsnäset	10 graves (2 excavated)	AD 800–1100	Serning 1966a; 204–205; Wehlin 2016: 232–233.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Svärdsjö sn, Bynäs udde	10 (1 excavated)		Wehlin 2016: 221.

Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Rättvik sn, Tjällassen			Wehlin 2016: 233–234.
Hunting ground grave	Sør-Trøndelag, Holtålen, Gullhåen	1 grave	AD 700	Gollwitzer 1997: 29.
Hunting ground grave	Sør-Trøndelag, Røros, Stenollen	3 graves	AD 900s	Floor 2006: 33–34; Gollwitzer 1997: 31.
Hunting ground grave	Trøndelag, Tormsdalen, Steikpannvolla	1 grave	AD 800	Gollwitzer 1997: 29–30.
Hunting ground grave	Sør-Trøndelag, Oppdal, Knutshø	1 grave	AD 900	Skjølsvold 1980, 145.
Hunting ground grave	Sør-Trøndelag, Oppdal, Drivstua	1 grave	AD 550–750	Skjølsvold 1980, 145.
Hunting ground grave	Sør-Trøndelag, Oppdal, Drotningdalen	1 grave	AD 750–1000	Skjølsvold 1980, 145.
Hunting ground grave	Sør-Trøndelag, Oppdal, Riseberget	1 grave	AD 550–750	Skjølsvold 1980, 145.
Hunting ground grave	Sør-Trøndelag, Oppdal, Skåråvången	1 grave	AD 800	Skjølsvold 1980, 145.
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Kall sn, Burvattnet (Skäckerfjället)	1 grave	AD 850–950	Gollwitzer 1997: 30; Hansson 1994: 6.
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Dalsvallen	1 grave	AD 800–950	Hansson 1994, 3–4.
Hunting ground grave	Sylsjön (Sylarnafjällen), Berg/Åre, Jämtland	1 possible grave	AD 800–950	Hansson 1994: 4–6.
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Oviken sn, Lundörrspasset (Oviksfjällen)	1 grave	AD 800–1000	Hansson 1994: 1–3.
Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Transtrand sn, Norra Bredsundsnalet	6 graves (4 excavated)	AD 600–700	Gejvall 1966: 253–254; Hallström 1945: 107; Serning 1966a: 211–217; Wehlin 2016: 225–227.
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Ås sn, Rösta	7 graves excavated	AD ~1050	Kjellmark 1905: 364–370; Zachrisson 1988: 121. See also Larje 1989a: 61–62.
Hunting ground grave	Jämtland, Vilhelmina sn, Vardofjäll, Gaisarsjön	1 grave	AD 550–1000?	Hvarfner 1957: 31; Serning 1957: 154
Hunting ground grave	Härjedalen, Hede sn, Övre Grundsjön I	1 grave		Hemmendorff 1984.
Hunting ground grave	Härjedalen, Tännas sn, Vivallen	21 graves (all excavated)	AD (900/1000–1100	Hallström 1944; Iregren & Alexandersen 1997: 81–82; Zachrisson 1997a: 56–60; 1997b: 61–71.
Hunting ground grave	Ångermanland/Jämtland, Tåsjö sn, Långön i Hotingsjön	12 graves (all excavated)	AD 900–1100	Dunfield-Aagård 2005: 86; Hvarfner 1957: 39–47; Zachrisson 1997c: 224, 225 tabell, 226, 227.
Hunting ground grave	Ångermanland/Jämtland, Tåsjö sn, Aspnäset	1 grave	AD 900 – 1100	Hvarfner 1957: 39–47; Zachrisson 1997c: 225 tabell.
Hunting ground grave	Härjedalen, Storsjö sn, Ljungdalen I	5–6 graves (2 excavated totally, 1 partly)	AD 800–1000	Holm & Willemark 1988.

Hunting ground grave	Dalarna, Grangärde sn, Korsnäset	5 (4 exca- vated)	AD 600	Serning 1966a: 232–234; Wehlin 2016: 231–232.
Tseegkuve site	Lapland, Tärna sn, Överuman	1 offering place (not excavated)		Zachrisson 1985: 83; 2009: 144–146.
Tseegkuve site	Lapland, Sorsele sn, Blat- tnikselet	1 offering site (not excavated)		Zachrisson 1985: 83; 2009: 144–146.
Tseegkuve site	Lapland, Vilhelmina sn, Varris	1 offering site (not excavated)		Zachrisson 1985: 83; 2009: 144–146.
Tseegkuve site	Lapland, Vilhelmina sn, Viktorp, Meselefors	1 possible offering site (not excavated but visit- ed)		Manker 1957: 271.
Tseegkuve site	Lapland, Stensele sn, Lake Storuman	7 offering sites and 1 possible offering site	AD 1700 →	Iregren 1985: 101–109; Zachrisson 2009: 144– 146.
Tseegkuve site	Lapland, Tärna sn, Rosapakte	1 offering site		Manker 1957: 242–243.
Tseegkuve site	Lapland, Vilhelmina sn, Risent- jakk, Marsfjällen	1 offering site (not exca- vated but visited)		Manker 1957: 256–259.
Tseegkuve site	Lapland, Tärna sn, Råga, Laisholm	1 possible offering site (not exca- vated but visited)		Manker 1957: 244.
Tseegkuve site	Lapland, Sorsele sn, Ailesjokk	1 possible offering site (not exca- vated but visited)		Manker 1957: 239–240.
Tseegkuve site / sjieliegierkie site	Lapland, Vilhelmina sn, Sjielakerke on sjielaselma, Marsfjället	1 site (not exca- vated but visited)	used until AD 1860	Manker 1957: 259–262.
Tseegkuve site / sjieliegierkie site	Jämtland, Frostviken sn, Da- jmanjapp	1 site (not exca- vated but visited)		Manker 1957: 277–278.

Tseegkuve site / sjelegierkie site	Jämtland, Frostviken sn, Sje-lakerke, Gransjödalen,	1 site (not excavated but visited)		Manker 1957: 280–282.
Sjelegierkie site	Nord-Trøndelag, Lierne, Gudfjelløya (Tunnsjøguden), Tunnsjøen	1 sjelegierkie (not excavated but visited)		Manker 1957: 274–276
Sjelegierkie site	Lapland, Sorsele sn, Kusenkerke	1 sjelegierkie (not excavated but visited)		Manker 1957: 232.
Ring-shaped offering site	Sør-Trøndelag, Snåsa, Finntjønnan, Budalsfjella	1 offering site	AD 720–890	Zachrisson 1997d: 201; 2009: 142.
Ring-shaped offering site	Sør-Trøndelag, Snåsa, Finntjønnan, Budalsfjella	2 offering sites	AD 1470–1650	Zachrisson 1997d: 201; 2009: 142.
Metal-rich offering site	Lapland, Lycksele sn, Bjärkfallsudden, Vindelgransele	1 offering site		Fossum 2006: 107–114; Manker 1957: 234–236; Serning 1956: 15, 157–160; Zachrisson 2009: 143–144; see also Hansen & Olsen 2006: 120–122.
Metal-rich offering site	Lapland, Vilhelmina sn, Basksjö	1 offering site	AD 1150–1250	Fossum 2006: 107–114; Manker 1957: 267; Serning 1956: 15, 160; Zachrisson 2009: 143–144. See also Hansen & Olsen 2006: 122–120.
Bear grave	Lapland, Vilhelmina sn, Gråtån	1 grave		Zachrisson 1985: 89–90.
Bear grave	Lapland, Tärna sn, Nedre Vaptsjön,	1 grave	AD 1700s	Manker 1957: 254; Zachrisson & Iregren 1974: 28–29.
Bear grave	Lapland, Stensele sn, Gällholmen	1 grave	AD 1700s	Zachrisson & Iregren 1974: 15–19.
Bear grave	Lapland, Dorotea sn, Avaträsk	1 skull that is possibly from a bear grave		Zachrisson & Iregren 1974: 33.
Bear grave	Lapland, Tärna sn, Vesken	1 grave		Zachrisson & Iregren 1974: 33.
Bear grave	Lapland, Stensele sn, Långbäck	1 grave (with 2 individual bears)		Zachrisson & Iregren 1974: 34.

Bear grave	Lapland, Stensele sn, Strömsund	1 grave (with 5 individual bears)		Manker 1957: 246; Zachrisson & Iregren 1974: 32.
Bear grave	Lapland, Stensele sn, Sörviken,	1 grave	AD 1700s	Manker 1957: 246; Zachrisson & Iregren 1974: 20–27.
Bear grave	Lapland, Tärna sn, Auttejaure	1 grave		Manker 1957: 250; Zachrisson & Iregren 1974: 33.
Bear grave	Lapland, Vilhelmina sn, Malgomaj	1 grave		Zachrisson & Iregren 1974: 33–34.
Bear grave	Jämtland, Frostviken sn, Värjaren	1 grave	younger than AD 1700	Zachrisson 1985: 88; Zachrisson & Iregren 1974: 33.
Bear grave	Nord-Trøndelag, Overhalla, Salsfjellet, Namdalen,	1 grave	AD 1530–1665	Dunfjeld-Aagård 2005: 94, 150; Fossum 2006: 102; Myrstad 1996: 45–46; Petersen 1940: 158–159.
Bear grave / sjiielegierkie site / tseegkuve site	Nord-Trøndelag, Overhalla, Urskaret	1 grave (not excavated)		Dunfjeld-Aagård 2005: 95–96
Nåejtie drum find site	Nordland, Brønnøy, Henriksdalen, Velfjord	1 drum		Berglund 2010: 27; Dunfjeld-Aagård 2005: 99, 151.
Nåejtie drum find site	Vevelstad, Nordland, Vevelstad, Krongelvassfjellet, Visten	1 drum with accessories and carrier bag	AD 1530 (frame) / AD 1685 (hammer)	Berglund 2010: 29–32; Dunfjeld-Aagård 2005: 99–100; 151–152.
Nåejtie drum find site	Nord-Trøndelag, Nærøy, Røyrtjønna	1 drum with accessories		Berglund 2010: 27–29; Dunfjeld-Aagård 2005: 100, 152.
Nåejtie drum find site	Jämtland, Frostviken sn, Ankarvatnet	1 drum		Dunfjeld-Aagård 2005: 100, 152.

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