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Kaleva and his Sons from Kalanti –
On the Etymology of Certain Names in Finnic Mythology

Abstract

This article deals with the origin of the names of certain mythical figures in Finnic pre-Christian mythology. The purpose of the article is to propose an etymology and a dating for the mythical names Kaleva, Kalevanpoika, Tiera, Niera and Liera, as well as the etymologically related Finnish place-names Kalanti and Torre. Kaleva and Kalevanpoikas are ancient mythical powerful giants. There have been many attempts to etymologize the name Kaleva, none of which turns out to be both phonologically and semantically satisfactory after critical scrutiny. Kaleva belongs to the pre-Christian Finnic worldview, so the word must have existed as early as in the Iron Age. The word’s distribution is rather limited. I propose that Kaleva is a Proto-Scandinavian loanword whose origin is the Proto-Scandinavian proto-form of the Old Norse sea-god giant Hlér. The phonemic Proto-Germanic and Proto-Scandinavian reconstruction of Hlér is *χlewaz, but the phonetic reconstruction of *χlewaz is *χlewaz, whence Kaleva has been borrowed. The sound substitutions are regular. There is plenty of evidence of the existence of and parallels for an epenthetic vowel [a] in consonant clusters /C'C/ both in runic inscriptions and in Germanic loanwords in Finnic. On the basis of the word’s sound shape, the date of borrowing can be estimated. Kaleva is likely a Roman Iron Age loanword. In conclusion, the names of many mythical beings of the Finnic pre-Christian mythology turn out to be Iron Age loanwords from Proto-Scandinavian.

1. Introduction

Etymological research on the Finnic and Sami lexicon and toponymy has been lively and fruitful over the past few decades. However, remarkably little research has been conducted on the etymology of the names occurring in Finnic and Sami mythology. The most important contributions to this field of Fennistics and Lappology include Haavio (1967), dealing with the origins of Finnish proper names of mythical beings, Turunen (1979) which lists and describes words with a mythical referent, and the comprehensive

Finnish etymological dictionary Suomen sanojen alkuperä (hereafter SSA) (1992–2000), which also etymologizes lexemes with a mythical referent. A folkloristic reference book on Finnish mythology is Pentikäinen (1989). Sami mythology is discussed in Pentikäinen (1995). Many names in Finnic mythology, e.g. *Kaleva* and *Ahti*, still lack a satisfactory etymology. However, real world proper names have been studied more thoroughly (see USN 1988; Huldén 2001; SPNK 2007). This article, therefore, deals with the origin of the names of certain mythical figures in Finnic pre-Christian mythology from a linguistic and etymological point of view, also considering folkloristics and cultural history. The primary purpose of my article is to propose an etymology and a dating for the names *Kaleva* and *Kalevanpoika*, as well as the south-western Finnish place-name *Kalanti*, which is situated in one of the two most central settled areas in Finland in the Iron Age. North Germanic pre-Christian mythology in Scandinavia in the Late Iron Age turns out to be of great importance in the search for the origin of *Kaleva* and other related mythical figures in old Finnic folklore, such as *Tiera, Niera* and *Liera*.

In the Finnic oral rune tradition, *Kaleva* is a mythical being who is seen as an ancient powerful giant and a heroic forefather (Turunen 1979: 88–89; Saagpakk 1982: 235; Järv 1987: 32, Pentikäinen 1989: 233). The word is both a proper name and a common noun. The Kalevala-inspired Finnish male names *Kaleva* and the Estonian influenced *Kalevi* were introduced in the latter half of the 19th century (USN 1988: 94). The Finnish word *Kaleva* has a known cognate only in the Karelian and Estonian languages, which means that the word seems to have a rather limited distribution in the Finnic languages. The compound *Kalevanpoika* [‘Kaleva’s son’] ‘strong giant’ also occurs in Ingria, including the Votic region of Ingria. The Finnish and Karelian common noun *kaleva* has been attested at least in the following meanings: ‘giant’, ‘tall strong man’, ‘ill-mannered (and notorious) person (who practises witchcraft)’, ‘introverted taciturn old-fashioned person’, ‘arrogant person’, ‘tall tree’ and ‘term of abuse, used in name-calling’ (cf. the Finnish words *hiisi*, originally ‘pagan cemetery’, ‘place of worship’, after the introduction of Christianity ‘spiritual being, the deuce’, *hitto* ‘the deuce’ and the Proto-Sami loanword *pisa* ‘the deuce’ and its Finnish cognate *pyhä* ‘holy’) (SMS 1999: 24–25, 27–28). In old folk stories, *Kaleva* is a giant of the ancient times, or “the general of all giants” as Christfrid Ganander (2003: 48–49), the writer of Mythologia fennica, formulates *Kaleva*’s nature (Huurre 2003: 236–237).
The Estonian word *kalev* has two meanings, ‘giant’ and ‘broadcloth, woollen cloth’, the latter of which has most likely arisen elliptically from the phrases *kalevirohi* ‘broadcloth’ [“kalev’s grass”], *kalevipoja hiused* ‘id.’ [“kalev’s son’s hair”] and *kalevid* ‘id.’ [“kalevs”], where *kalev* means ‘giant’ (Turunen 1979: 88). The unchangeable word-final vowel *kalev_* (nom. sg.): *kalevi* (gen. sg.) < OEst *kalevi*: *kalevin* suggests that *kalevi* is either a relatively young word in the language or it has emerged through denominal derivation *kaleva-j* > *kalevi*: *kalevin* > *kalev*: *kalevi*. As in Estonian, the Finnish and Karelian word *kaleva* occurs (read: has been preserved until historical times) in many established phrases and compounds such as *kalevanpoika* ‘giant’ (cf. the Estonian cognate *kalevipoeg* ‘kalev’s son’), *puun kaleva* ‘exceptionally tall tree’, *kalevantuli* ‘kalev’s fire’, *Kalevan tähti* ‘Orion’ (literally ‘Kaleva’s star’), *Kalevan miekka* ‘Kaleva’s sword’ and *Kalevanpojan jäljet* ‘Kaleva’s son’s footprints’. The word *Kalevatar* [‘Kaleva’s daughter’] is attested as well. (Haavio 1967: 268; Turunen 1979: 88–89; Pentikäinen 1989: 155; SMS 1999: 24–25, 27–28.) The attested parallel forms of the Finnish word *kaleva* are *kalevi*, *kalevo*, *kalehva*, *kalehvo*, *kalevi*, *kalevas*, *Kaleva*, *Kalevas*, *Kalevainen* and *Kalavainen* (Turunen 1979: 88–90; SMS 1999: 24–25, 27–28; Huurre 2003: 236–237; Ganander 2003: 48–49). The forms *kalevi* and *kalevo* prove that the stem form *kaleva* really has been augmented with a derivational suffix *-j* (cf. the Estonian word). The h-forms *kalehva*, *kalehvo*, *kalehvi* have arisen through a metathesis as follows: *kalevas* : *kalevahan* > *kalehvaan* > *kalehva* (cf. *imeh* > *ihme* ‘wonder’), *Kainus* : *Kainuhun* > *Kaihmuun*, *taivas* : *taihvoan* ‘sky, heaven’ > *taihvaan*, *kirves* : *kirvehen* ‘axe’ > *kirveen*). An implication is that *kalevas* is likely this word’s original stem form.

Many heroes in Finnic folk poetry bear the epithet *Kalevanpoika* at least in some versions of rune songs, including the old and steadfast *Väinämöinen*, the primary divine shaman and hero of Kalevala (Siikala 1987: 18). *Kalevanpoikas* are giants (either constructive or destructive ones) and *kalevanpoika* is a common epithet for a hero in (south-western) Finnish folklore (Huurre 2003: 236, 253). The name *Kaleva* occurs in many (south-western) Finnish toponyms, e.g. *Kalevanharju* ‘Kaleva’s ridge’, *Kalevankangas* ‘Kaleva’s heath’, *Kalevanniitty* ‘Kaleva’s meadow’, *Kalevanmäki* ‘Kaleva’s hill’, *Kalevanhauta* ‘Kaleva’s grave’, *Kalevankallio* ‘Kaleva’s rock’, *Kalevankivi* ‘Kaleva’s stone’, *Kalevanpojankallio* ‘Kaleva’s son’s rock’, *Kalevanpoikainkivi* ‘Kaleva’s son’s stone, i.e. erratic boulder’ etc. (cf. *Hiidenkivi* ‘The devil’s stone’, etc.)
Äijänkivi ‘Old man’s stone’ and Ukonkivi ‘Old man’s stone’, all terms for erratic boulders) (Names Archive; MapSite; see Appendix). A general observation regarding these toponyms is that they are names of objects of exotic shape and/or size in nature, such as erratic boulders, rocks and crags, whose existence has been explained as the work of giants (Huurre 2003: 250). The Kalevanpoika tradition is concentrated in the south-western parts of Finland – the so-called Varsinais-Suomi ['Finland Proper'] – and there especially in the Laitila-Kalanti region [= the so-called Vakka-Suomi] (Koski 1967: 111; Järv 1987: 32; Siikala 1987: 16; Vahtola 1987: 40; Huurre 2003: 247, 251–252, 434–437). The Laitila-Kalanti region also has a greater density of place-names which refer to Kalevalaic mythic heroes (Anttonen 2003: 226). I will return to the origin of the place-name Kalanti later in this article.

2. The earliest historical records of the name Kaleva

The father of the Finnish written language Mikael Agricola (ca. 1510–1557) mentions Caleuanpojat in his list of Tavastian pre-Christian gods in 1551 (SSA 2001 s.v. Kaleva). Finnish farms (and families) called Kaleva are found in historical documents from the 15th century onwards. The capital of Estonia, Tallinn, and the homophonic name of a heroic giant is mentioned in Old Russian chronicles and folk tales (bylinas) in the form Kolyvan from the year 1223 CE onwards. The town name Kolyvan is probably to be read as *Kalevan(linna) ‘Kaleva’s (burg)’ (USN 1988: 94; Huurre 2003: 250).1 The final vowel in the name Kolyvan points to that the Estonian kalev goes back to an earlier form *kaleva, identical with the Finno-Karelian stem form. An even earlier attestation of the name Kaleva might be found in a source from a distant country. The Arab geographer Muhammad Al-Idrisi (ca. 1100–1165) from Sicily began the work of

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1 Cf. the name of the city of Tallinn (Fin Tallinna) derives from *Taninlinna [sic] ‘the burg of the Danes’ > *Tanilinn > Tallinn (cf. Pajusalo, Hennoste, Niit, Päll & Viikberg 2002: 242). The usually given reconstruction *Taani linn (e.g. Turunen 1979: 328; Zetterberg 2007: 55, 67–68) is anachronistic for two reasons: Firstly, the Scandinavian etymon dan ‘Dane’ of the Estonian word taani ‘Dane, Danish’ still had a short vowel at the time of the Danish conquest of Estonia in 1219 CE. Secondly, the reduction of unstressed syllables was just beginning in Old Estonian. Consider Somelinde (1212 CE), Lindanise (1219), Soomtagana (1211), Herjænæ (1241), Poimpe (1241) and Udenkúll (1323). (Haugen 1976: 258–259; SSA s.v. linna; Pajusalo et al. 2002: 235, 271, 278; Lättlläinen 2003: 120, 133, 187.)
drawing a world map with a commentary in 1140 at the court of and by the commission of the Norman King Roger II of Sicily (1095–1154). Al-Idrisi published his famous world map and its commentary (Tabula Rogeriana) in 1154. On the map, a small fortress town spelled qlwry is mentioned as situated in the country of ‘sl’ndh /aslandh/ ‘Estonia’ (cf. OGut Aistland ‘Estonia’). (Tuulio 1936: 34–40; USN 1988: 94; Grünthal 1997: 220, 237; Tarvel 2004: 1–9; Salo 2008: 294–298.) Vowels are not written in Arabic so they have to be added, but the first three consonants qlw in qlwry fit with the ones in the Finnish–Estonian name Kalev(a). When compared with the Old Russian name Kolyvan for Tallinn, it is possible that the burg and town of qlwry really refers to Tallinn and contains the earliest known attestation of Kaleva less than a hundred years after the end of the Viking Age, which traditionally has been dated as ranging from 793 CE to 1066 CE or from 800 to 1050 (Hentilä, Krötzl & Pulma 2002: 14; Palm 2010: 459–461). However, a more realistic starting point for the Nordic Viking Age would be ca. 760 (Salo 2008: 223; Tarkiainen 2008: 38; Palm 2010: 459). I wonder if qlwry actually stands for an Old Finnish compound *Kaleveeri < *Kalevinveeri “Kaleva’s hill(side)” (cf. the nearby place-names Randvere, Kallavere, Kostivere) (see SSA s.v. vieri; Pajusalu et al. 2002: 272–274).

3. Previously posited etymologies of Kaleva and their shortcomings

There have been many attempts to etymologize the nationally important name Kaleva, none of which turns out to be both phonologically and semantically satisfactory after critical scrutiny, which means that the origin of Kaleva has so far remained unknown (Huurre 2003: 249; EES 2012: 121). I will first go through and briefly comment on previous etymologies for Kaleva before I present and motivate my own etymology.

The first serious attempt to etymologize Kaleva was made by the compiler of Kalevala Elia Lönnrot (1802–1884) himself. Lönnrot derived Kaleva from the Russian word golová [gɔłɔvá] ‘chief, head’ (Turunen 1979: 88). Lönnrot undoubtedly had an eye for etymology, but he did not have access to the results of modern historical linguistics. Lönnrot’s etymology is impossible because Kaleva clearly belongs to the pre-Christian Finnic worldview, i.e. prehistoric times, and no loanword could have been borrowed from medieval or New Age Russian to prehistoric Finnic. Neither the Proto-Slavic proto-form *golva nor the Proto-Balto-Slavic proto-form *golHváH (> Lith galvà ‘head’) of the Russian word
golová comes into question for phonological reasons (Fraenkel 1962: 131; Kortlandt 1983: 7).

In another etymology, Kaleva has been derived from the Old Norse name kylfingjar mentioned in Egil’s Saga (Turunen 1979: 88; Järv 1987: 31). This etymology is phonologically impossible, as the vowels do not fit. Kaleva cannot be derived from either kylfingjar or its Proto-Scandinavian proto-form *kulbingōŘ (→ Rus kolbjagi).

According to Julius Krohn, J. J. Mikkola and Hannes Pukki, Kaleva originally meant ‘(red) broadcloth’ because the Estonian word kalev means ‘(red) broadcloth’ besides the meaning ‘giant’ (Turunen 1979: 88). I find this etymology highly improbable because it contains a major semantic error. The Estonian word kalev ‘(red) broadcloth’ has the parallel forms kalevirohi and kalevipoja hiused (Turunen 1979: 88). The short form karev likely emerged elliptically from the compounds. In other words, kalev did not originally mean ‘broadcloth’ but ‘giant’, because kalevirohi – literally ‘kalev’s (= giant’s) grass’ – was a metaphorical expression for broadcloth, comparable with other metaphorical phrases/compounds such as äijänkivi ‘erratic boulder’, and the Finnish word äijä definitely does not mean any kind of stone but ‘old man’, although the compound äijänkivi has a completely different meaning. If the word karev had originally meant ‘broadcloth’, the expressions kalevirohi “broadcloth’s grass” and kalevipoja hiused “broadcloth’s son’s hair” would be semantically completely absurd. After having shortened elliptically and having consequently acquired the etymologically secondary meaning ‘red broadcloth’, the word karev started to be used in new compounds such as kalevitõbi ‘scarlet fever’, literally “red broadcloth’s illness”.

Paul Ariste has proposed that the Estonian noun karev is a derivative from the adjective kare ‘hard, severe’ that has a known cognate in Finnish (kalea ‘cool, hard, slippery’), Ingrian (kale ‘cool’) and Karelian (kale ‘cold weather in the autumn’). This etymology has been favoured by Ants Järv (1987: 31). However, I find it rather unlikely because of morphological and semantic problems. The Finnic suffix -val-vä and -pal-pä, e.g. lihava ‘fat’, kätevä ‘handy’, väkevä ‘strong’, juopa ‘small river’ and syöpä ‘cancer’ (< EPF *-pal*-pä and *-ŋa*-ŋä) undoubtedly derives adjectives from nouns and present participles (which often develop into adjectives) from verbs, but not adjectives from other adjectives (cf. Fin nopea ‘quick, rapid’ **nopeva) (Sammallahti 1998: 91; Lehtinen 2007: 125). The primary meaning of the Finnic word kalea (< LPF *kaleða) is ‘cool, chilly, cold’, whereas ‘hard’ is secondary. The Finnic word itself is a Germanic
loanword. (SSA 2001 s.v. *kalea*; Aikio 2006: 29, 48). Ariste motivates his etymology with the Estonian adjective *kalevine* which according to him means ‘strong’, but if *kalev* were an adjective (indeed it is a noun meaning ‘giant; broadcloth’) and it already meant ‘strong’, so why should it have been augmented with a suffix in order to acquire the adjectival meaning ‘strong’? Moreover, the adjective *kalevine* means ‘gigantic’ according to Paul F. Saagpakk (1982: 235). So instead, I would claim that the Estonian word *kalevine* (< OEst *kalev-inen*) is an adjectival derivative of *kalev* ‘giant’ and the meaning is explained by the fact that giants were thought to be very strong beings.

August Ahlqvist and Emil Nestor Setälä thought that *kaleva* stems from the Baltic languages. According to Ahlqvist and Setälä, a potential original would be the Lithuanian word *kalvis* ‘smith’ (Turunen 1979: 88). This etymology has been favoured as most probable by Aimo Turunen (1979: 88), and Ants Järv (1987: 31) does not dislike it either. I do not consider it plausible because of phonological and semantic problems (cf. Junttila 2005: 55). Firstly, the primary meanings of *kaleva* do not include ‘smith’ (Junttila 2005: 55). Secondly, the Proto-Baltic word (*kalvis* would not have rendered *kaleva* in either Proto-Finnic or Finnic, but it would have become PFinn **kalviš** > Fin **kalve** or (P)Finn **kalvis** depending on the date of the borrowing (Heikkilä forthcoming). Furthermore, *Ilmarinen* (< PF (*ilma* < Finno-Ugric *ilma* ‘air, weather’) was clearly the primary (if not the only) god of the sky and of iron-working in the Finnic pre-Christian religion instead of *Kaleva* (Turunen 1979: 65–66).

4. **Has Kaleva a cognate in Sami?**

In 1918 the famous Finnish linguist and folklorist Toivo Ilmari Itkonen connected *Kaleva* with the North Sami word *gállagas-dolla* ‘phosphorescence of the sea’ and the Lule Sami word *kållaka jussa* ‘suddenly descending thick fog over a lake’ (Turunen 1979: 88).² The uninflected form is *kållak*. The linguists Uno Harva and Y. H. Toivonen accepted Itkonen’s etymology and developed it by deriving both the Finnic and the Sami word from a common proto-form *kaleya*. Their etymology has been accepted (with some reservations) in SSA (s.v. *Kaleva*). In my

² The Lule Sami word *jussa* literally means ‘fart of a wild animal’ (Grundström 1946: 123). Thus *kållaka jussa* is “old man’s fart” (cf. *kalevirohi* p. 98).
view, the supposed etymological connection between *Kaleva* and *kāllak* is impossible because of problematic sound correspondences. These words cannot be derived from a common Proto-Finn-Samish proto-form. The vowel combination /á–a/ in the Sami word *kāllak* is unetymological, which indicates that the lexeme has entered the language after the so-called great Sami vowel shift (on which see Aikio 2006: 13, 44). The Sami word *kāllak* had the sound shape *kǣlǣkē* in Proto-Sami. The unetymological vowel combination indicates that the Sami word cannot even be traced back to the Early Proto-Sami language, not to mention about the Finno-Samish proto-language, i.e. Early Proto-Finnic (Aikio 2006: 44). If the Finnic word *Kaleva* dated back to the Finno-Samish proto-form or even further back in history, which I do not believe, the Finnic proto-form would have been *kālī-pa* or *kālī-ŋa*. As we can see, the Proto-Finnish and Proto-Sami forms do not fit together. I would therefore propose that this Sami word is a derivative from the common Sami lexeme *gāllis* ‘old honoured man’, which had the sound shape *kǣlǣs* in Proto-Sami. This word itself is a loanword from the Proto-Scandinavian noun *karlaz* ‘(old) man’ (cf. the Greek cognate *gērōn* ‘old man’), whence Swe *karl* ‘man’ and the Germanic male name *Karl* (> Swe/Fin *Kalle*) (Hellquist 2008: 447; Álg database s.v. *gāllis*).3 A similar change of suffix is demonstrated by the Sami noun *vuotta* ‘shoelace’ < EPSa *vant-ik* ← PGerm *wanduz* (> Got *wandus* ‘whip, twig’) → PF *vantiš* > Fin *vanne* ‘hoop’ (SSA 2001 s.v. *vanne*). SSA (2001 s.v. *Kaleva*) states that *kāllak* also occurs in certain names of stars, such as *Boaris-Gāl lá* ‘Sirius’ (literally ‘Old Man’), which have been folk-etymologically associated with *gāllis* (Álg database s.v. *boaris, gāllis*). However, I venture to say that *gāllis* and *Gāl lá* belong not only folk-etymologically but also etymologically together since *saN nom. Gāl lá*: gen. *Gāllá* ‘Sirius’ is an analogical formation from *gāllís*: gāl’lá, so actually ‘Mythic Old Man’ (cf. Germ *Mann* ‘man’ and *Männchen* ‘elf’, literally ‘little man’).

It has also been suggested that *Kaleva* might have been mentioned in the oldest surviving Old English poem called *Widsith* (“Wide-traveller”), where it is said that “Casere weold Creacum ond *Cælic Finnum*”, which can be translated as “(Julius) Caesar ruled the Greeks and *Cælic* the Finns”. Finns are mentioned three times in the poem. *Widsith* is a “thoroughly heathen poem” that tells about historical and mythical tribes, chiefs, kings

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3 The same word occurs in the name *Horagalles* ‘(South) Sami thunder-god’ (cf. ON *Þórr* ‘thunder-god’) (Haavio 1967: 85; Pentikäinen 1995: 233–234; Sammallahti 1998: 36).
and heroes in (Northern) Europe in the early Migration Period (375–449 CE) [Germ Völkerwanderung] before the Germanic conquest of Britain beginning in 449 CE. It has been estimated that Widsith was probably composed in the 7th century in Mercia in Britain, that is to say, in the Merovingian Period, and the transcript was written down in the Viking Age ca. 1000, but the historical events mentioned in the poem took place much earlier. (Alexander 1977: 32–35, 38–42; Turunen 1979: 88; Huurre 2003: 249–250.) However, I would argue that the sound shape Cælic cannot be derived from Kaleva but might be derived from the Proto-Sami word *kållek (> SaLu källak) since the Sami root vowel was somewhat front (cf. SaI šäämi ~ ON sæmsvein ‘Sami man’) and, furthermore, a back root vowel /a/ before a second syllable front vowel /i/ developed into /æ/ in Pre-English already, in the so-called i-umlaut. The substitution of the English second syllable /i/ for the Proto-Sami second syllable /ɛ/ is predictable since only four vowels, namely /i/, /æ/, /a/ and /u/, were phonotactically possible in non-root syllables in Old English. The geminate /l:/ in the Sami word *kållek rendered a single consonant in Old English because a geminate sound /lː/ did not occur after a long stressed vowel /æː/. (Korhonen 1981: 109–114; ODEE 1982: passim; Nielsen 2000: 79; Wójcik 2001: 383; Antonsen 2002: 332.) The possibility that Cælic is a phonological blend of Kaleva and *kållek should, however, be left open. Presumably, facts about the Finns and the Sami have repeatedly been intermingled in old foreign sources (see Julku 1985: 85, 1986: 51; Linna et al. 1988: 165; Pentikäinen 1995: 165). As mentioned above, I derive the Late Proto-Sami *kållek from the common Sami noun which is gállis ‘old honoured man’ in North Sami. However, the Sami names Gállá ‘Sirius’ and Gállábárdnit ‘Gállá’s sons’ may well have been semantically influenced by the Finnish Kalevan tähti ‘Orion’ and Kalevanpojat ‘Kaleva’s sons’ (see further Pentikäinen 1995: 137). In conclusion, as far as I can see, the answer to the question posed in the heading above is negative.

5. The origin of Kaleva – a Proto-Scandinavian loanword?

As mentioned above, the mythical being Kaleva belongs to the pre-Christian Finnic worldview, so the word must have existed in the Iron
Age. However, Kaleva’s distribution is rather limited. The word has been attested only in a handful of Finnic languages, which implies that it most likely does not stem from “time immemorial” and does not go back to the Uralic proto-language. Kaleva can hardly be older than the Iron Age (ca. 500 BCE–1200 CE). This is the case especially if and when the Sami word källak is not a cognate of Kaleva. It is quite natural to seek a loan original for Kaleva among the names of the figures in Old Scandinavian mythology since we know that a great deal of the Finnic as well as the Sami vocabulary has been borrowed from Early Proto-Germanic, Proto-Germanic and Proto-Scandinavian, one of the descendents of Proto-Germanic (see LÄGLOS 1991–2012). Indeed, in Old Scandinavian mythology, I have found a very potential etymon which in my opinion is phonologically, semantically and (cultural) historically impeccable and which I will write next about.

I propose that Kaleva ‘giant’ is a Proto-Scandinavian loanword whose origin is the Proto-Scandinavian proto-form of the Old Norse sea-god giant Hlér. In Old Norse mythology Hlér is the same as Ægir, who is described as being “havets jätte, bosatt i en hall under Læsø i Kattegatt” [‘the giant of the sea living in a hall under the island of Læsø’ (< ON Hlésey ‘Hlér’s island’) in Kattegat (off the Danish coast)] (Ohlmarks 1983: 153, 406).5

4 Old Finnish folk stories tell how Kalevanpoikas did not like churches and threw big stones at them (although never hitting the target) when the first churches were being built in Finland (Huurre 2003: 244). These stories actually tell about the tension and conflict between the old and the new beliefs.

5 In addition, several names of figures in the Finnic mythology have been proven to be of Germanic origin. I refer to such words as Kar kaveh : kapehen ‘creature, mythological being/maiden’ ~ SaN guobas ‘witch’ (< EPF *kapijš ← PreGerm *skabis > PGerm *skapiz > Swe skapelse ‘creature’), menninkäinen ‘troll’ (< PGerm *menпiпgо > Icel minning ‘memory of the deceased’), tur(i)sas ‘sea-monster, sea-god’ (> the Finnic mythical figure Iku-Turso ‘gigantic sea-monster’) (< PGerm *þur(i)saz > ON þurs ‘evil giant’, OHG thur(i)s, OE þyrs), Runkoteivas ‘name of a god’ (< EPGerm *Teiwaz ‘clear sky’ > PGerm *Tiwaz > ON Týr ‘name of a Old Scandinavian god’) and halti(j)a ‘(physical) holder; (mythical) holder of a place’ (< PScand *halдiжa, cf. Eng holder) (Haavio 1967: 109–110; Hofstra 1985: 331; SSA s.vv. haltija, menninkäinen, tursas; Aikio 2006: 11; Hellquist 2008: 1249). The words’ sound shapes and distributions suggest that the cognate set kave ~ guobas is the oldest among these examples.

6 Læsø is the largest island in Kattegat. The name-form Ægir also occurs in two hydronyms (Ohlmarks 1982: 406; Holtsmark 2001: 130).

7 For more information about Hlér and the synonymous name Ægir, see Holtsmark (2001: 130–131) and Ohlmarks (1983: 153, 406).
The deity names *Hlér* and *Ægir* are personifications of the Old Norse common names *hlér* and *ægi* respectively, both of which mean ‘sea’. The word *hlér* ‘sea’ is a euphemism, the original meaning being ‘good conditions for sea-farers’. (NO 1993: 191, 511.) Since *Hlér* and the synonym *Ægir* are mentioned in two Old Norse sagas, let us now take a look at a couple of extracts, taken from *Fundinn Noregr* [‘The Foundation of Norway’] and *Hversu Noregr byggðist* [‘How Norway was inhabited’], both of which are included in the *Orkneyinga Saga* (or The History of the Earls of Orkney). The manuscripts are included in the Icelandic *Flateyjarbók*. The surviving manuscript was written between 1387 and 1394 CE, but the Orkneyinga Saga was probably composed in Iceland ca. 1230 and its author was probably the great Icelandic saga author Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241) himself. (Julk 1986: 70; Rowe 2000: 441–454.) Even if the sagas were recorded long after the conversion to Christianity – which officially took place in 1000 CE in Iceland – they must have existed in an oral form (the so-called skaldic poetry) long before because they most often tell about events that happened in the Viking Age before the introduction of Christianity, e.g. *Landnámabók* [‘The Book of Settlement’] describes the time ca. 870–930 CE, and reflect a pre-Christian worldview (Häme 1991: 182, 185–186; Hentilä, Krötzl & Pulma 2002: 31; Palm 2010: 460). The extracts in question are:

From *Fundinn Noregr* in Old Icelandic:

*Fornjótr* hefir konunger heitit; hann rėð fyrir því landi, er kallat er *Finnland* ok *Kvenland*; þat líggr fyrir austan hafsbót þann, er gengr till móts við Gandvik; þat kōllu vēr Helsingjabót; Fornjótr átti þrjá syni; hét einn *Hlér*, er vēr kōllum *Ægi*, annarr Logi, þrōði Kári; hann var faðir Frost, fōður Snæs hins gamla. Hans sonr hét *Þorri*; hann átti tvá syni; hét annarr Nōrr, en annan Gōrr, dōttir hans hét Gōi. *Þorri* var blótmaðr mikill; hann hafði blot á hverju ári at midjum vetri; þat kōlludu þeir þorralbót; af þi tōk mánaðrinn heiti. (Malling 1860: 219; Julku 1986: 61.)

English translation:

There was a king named *Fornjot[r]*; he ruled over [that land] which [is] called *Finland* [Proper] and *Kvenland* [= south-western Finland]; that is to the east of that bight of the sea which goes northward to meet Gandvik [= the Kandalaksha Gulf]; that we call the Helsingbight [= the Gulf of Bothnia]. *Fornjot[r]* had three sons; one was named *Hlér*, whom we [= Icelanders] call *Ægir*, the second Logi, the third Kari; he was the father of Frost, the father of Snow the old, his son’s name was *Thorri*; he had two sons, one was named Norr and the other Gorr; his daughter’s name was Goi. *Thorri* was a great sacrificer, he had a sacrifice every
year at midwinter; that they called Thorri’s sacrifice; from that the month took its name. (Dasent 1894; Pálsson & Edwards 1978: 23.)

From *Hversu Noregr byggðist* in Old Icelandic:


English translation:

> There was a man called Fornjótr. He had three sons; one was Hlér, another Logi, the third Kari; he ruled over winds, but Logi over fire, Hlér [ruled] over the seas. Kari was the father of Jökull, the father of [K]ing Snow. But the children of [K]ing Snow were these: Thorri, Fönn, Drifa and Mjol. Thorri was a noble king; he ruled over Gotland, Kvenland and Finland. To him Kvens sacrificed that it might be snowy, and that there might be good going on snow-shoon. That was their harvest. (Dasent 1894)

From these extracts we see that pre-Christian Scandinavians believed that the seas were ruled by a sea-god whose name was either Hlér or Ægir, both meaning ‘sea’. Furthermore, we can see that the archaeologically and linguistically indisputable lively contacts between Scandinavia (including Gotland) and Finland (on which see Salo 2003a; Lehtinen 2007: 232) are mentioned in two historical documents. It is also worth noting that Finland Proper and Kvenland must originally have lain close to each other, because they were understood as one land with two names in the eyes of the ancient Scandinavians. This is in accordance with the conception that Kvenland originally lay in the present-day south-western Finland slightly to the north of Finland Proper (Vilkuna 1969: passim; Nuutinen 1989: 21–22; Koivulehto 1995: 93–94; Salo 2003a: 90, 2003b: 36, 59–60, 2008: 158, 161; see also Julku 1986: 36–37; Lehtinen 2007: 256). However, this formulation must preserve memories from a fairly distant past. Namely, when the saga was written down by Snorri Sturluson in ca. 1230, the name

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8 The comments in the square brackets are the present writer’s amendments and explanations.

9 Good skiing conditions were needed on voyages from Kvenland to Lapland and back (Salo 2003b: 34–36).
Kvenland had centuries before begun to be used about a far more northern region than south-western Finland, first about southern Ostrobothnia and later about northern Ostrobothnia (see Julku 1986: 38, 52–57; Koivulehto 1995: 94–95).

Let us now return to the direct traces of Kaleva. The phonemic Proto-Germanic and Proto-Scandinavian reconstruction of Hlér is *χlewaz, from which Kaleva cannot be phonologically successfully derived, but the situation is changed decisively by evidence from runic inscriptions and loanword study which prove that there was an epenthetic (svarabhakti) vowel [a] in Proto-Scandinavian consonant clusters consisting of one of the sounds /l, m, n, r/ (= sonorants (= R)) and another consonant, that is to say the sequence /CR/ was realized as [C*R] in speech (Antonsen 1975: 15–16, 34–36, 44–45, 53, 56–57, 64, 83–86; Antonsen 2002: 86–87, 89; Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007: 634, 688–689; Runtextdatabas 2008: passim). This vowel epenthesis was the second in sequence of the several vowel epentheses in the history of the North Germanic languages, and a similar vowel epenthesis existed in the attested medieval West Germanic languages as well (Wessén 1968: 59–61; Liberman 1992: 195–196, 205; Ringe 2006: 81, 152).\footnote{In the Gotlandish dialect of Swedish, a chronologically later epenthetic vowel is /al/, too (Wessén 1966b: 50; Pamp 1978: 78).} \footnote{There was also a Proto-Germanic consonant epenthesis, where an intrusive plosive /t/ emerged in the consonant cluster */sr/ rendering */str/ and an intrusive plosive /b/ emerged in the consonant cluster */mr/ rendering */mbr/, e.g. PIE *srou-*m-os > PGerm *straumaz > ON straumr ‘stream’ and PIE *dem-r-om > PGerm *timbra > ON timbr ‘timber’ (Hellquist 2008: 1093, 1186).} For instance, the phonemic Proto-Germanic reconstruction of the Common Germanic word for ‘raven’ is *χraƀnaz (> OE hræfen, Eng raven, OHG (h)raban, Germ Rabe(n), Icel hrafn, Nor ravn, Dan ravn and OSwe rampn), but it occurs as <harabanaz> in the Järnsberg (in Värmland, Sweden) runic inscription, dated 520–570 CE (Antonsen 2002: 120–123; Runtextdatabas 2008 s.v. harabanaz). Thus, the phonetic reconstruction of *χlewaz is *χᵃlewaz, whence Kaleva has been borrowed. The sound substitutions are regular. The regular Proto-Finnic substitute of the (word-initial) Germanic phoneme /χ/ was /k/ in old loanword strata and /h/ in younger loanwords when the Germanic /χ/ had become /h/ word-initially (Hofstra 1985: 70). The Germanic word-final consonant /z/ was quite irregularly either dropped or borrowed as /s/ or */$/ (> /h/) into Proto-Finnic. In this case, the general dropping of the word-final consonant is predictable and understandable because there are few or...
no three-syllabic words ending in \(/-\text{vas}/ \text{or} \/-\text{väs}/ \text{in the Finnic phonotactics. There are a couple of Finnish words ending in } \/-\text{vas}/ \text{or} \/-\text{väs}/, \text{such as} \textit{taivas} ‘sky, heaven’ and \textit{eväs} ‘packed lunch’, but they are disyllabic and thus not comparable, since the last syllable \(/-\text{vA}/ \text{in three-syllabic words is almost always a derivational suffix, e.g.} \textit{lihava} ‘fat’ and \textit{kätevää} ‘handy’. Furthermore, we may recall the fact that even the form \textit{kalevas/Calewas} has been attested, which certainly does not weaken the plausibility of the word’s Germanic etymology (SMS 1999: 27; Ganander 2003: 49). When \textit{Kaleva(s)} was borrowed, the phonemic step-by-step development was (ON \textit{hlér} ‘sea’, \textit{Hlérv ‘sea-god’} ←) PS scand \(\chi^\alpha\text{lēwaz} ‘\text{sea, sea-god giant}’ \rightarrow \text{LPF} \textit{Kalevas} ‘mythical giant’ > \text{Fin} \textit{Kaleva(s)} (Bjørnvand & Lindeman 2007 s.vv. \textit{le, ly}).

There is plenty of evidence of the existence of and parallels for an epenthetic vowel \(/C^3C/ \text{in both runic inscriptions and Germanic loanwords in Finnic. Consider the attested runic words} \text{harabanaz, barivitth, barutR} (\text{cf.} \text{Swe} \textit{bryter, ON} \textit{bríótr} \text{and Icel} \textit{brjótur}, \text{ihariwolafR, hápuuwulafR, wita[n]da-halaitban, harazaz, haerama, herama, worahto, waritu ‘I write’, warait ‘I wrote’ and asugisalas} (Antonsen 1975: passim). We can see that the epenthetic vowel could exist in any syllable. I think that the emergence of an epenthetic vowel in consonant clusters \(/C^3C/) \text{has been enhanced by such trisyllabic Proto-Germanic words as} \text{*sumaraz} ‘summer’ (> ON \textit{sumar}), \text{*χamaraz} ‘hammer’ (> ON \textit{hamarr}), \text{*axanō} ‘husk, glume’ (> \text{Got} \textit{ahana}), \text{*aganō} ‘husk, glume’ (> \text{OHG} \textit{agana}), \text{*gamalaz} ‘old’ (> ON \textit{gamall}), where the second syllable \(/a/ \text{is original (Bjørnvand & Lindeman 2007: passim). In addition, several Finnish words of Germanic origin show proof of an epenthetic vowel \(/a/ \text{in the etymon, e.g.} \text{haikara} ‘stork’ ← PS cand \text{*haigɾan} (> \text{OHG} \textit{heigaro} ‘stork’, \text{Swe} \textit{háger} ‘stork’), \text{matara} ‘bedstraw’ ← LPS cand \text{*maðɾan} (> ON \textit{maðra} ‘bedstraw’), \text{hattara} ‘foot cloth’ ← PS cand \text{*haptɾō} (\text{cf.} \text{OHG} \textit{hadara} ‘rag’ and \text{elaho} ‘elk’) and \text{hattara} ‘weed in oat’ ← PGerm \text{*χapɾō} (LÄGLOS 1991–2012 s.vv. \textit{haikara, hattara, kattara, matara}).\(\text{ Evidence of North Germanic vowel epenthesis is even found in the north Norwegian Sami place-name} \textit{Máhkarávju} ← PS cand \text{*Magɾauju} > \text{Nor} \textit{Magerøya}. Furthermore, more

\footnote{The words \textit{kattara} and \textit{hattara} were borrowed from the same North Germanic original, but they belong to two different Germanic loanword strata in Finnish. \textit{Kattara} is an older loanword and \textit{hattara} somewhat younger (cf. Fin \textit{kelvata} ‘to do well’ and \textit{kelpo} ‘good, decent, able’ (← PGerm \text{*jelpa} ‘to help and \text{*jelpō} ‘help’) ~ \textit{helppo} ‘easy’ and \textit{helpottaa} ‘facilitate’ (← EPS cand \text{*helppō ‘help’) and Fin \textit{kansa} ‘(a) people’ ~ \textit{Hansa} ‘the Hanse’) (LÄGLOS s.vv. \textit{hattara, helppo, kansa, kattara, kelvata}).}
loanwords of this kind may be discovered in the Finnic lexicon. Previously unnoticed words of Germanic origin containing proof of an epenthetic vowel in the etyma are Fin harakka, Est harakas\(^{13}\) ‘magpie’ < LPF *harakka(s) ← PScand *h₄rōkaz (> Icel hrókr ‘magpie’)\(^{14}\) and Fin kak(k)ara ‘lump, pancake, oatmeal bread, brat\(^{15}\)’ (OGut hagri ‘oat’ <) EPScand *χ₄agran < P Germ *χ₄agran ‘oat’ → PF *kakra > Finnic kakra and kaura ‘oat’ (LÄGLOS 1991–2012 s.v. kaura; SSA 2001 s.v. kaura). Another similar Germanic loanword in Finnic is karhu ‘bear’ ← karhea ’rough’ < PF *karšeta ← PF *karša ← EPGerm *skraχā ‘skin, hide’ (cf. another sound substitution in EPGerm *skraχā → PF *raša ‘squirrel skin’ > Fin raha ‘money’). This etymology has unnecessarily been rejected in LÄGLOS (s.v. karhea).

Previously unnoticed new evidence of the existence of an epenthetic vowel in Proto-Scandinavian is provided by the sound development of some root words augmented with the unstressed Germanic prefix ga-. This prefix was retained in ancient East Germanic (Gothic) and West Germanic languages, but was regularly dropped in North Germanic, e.g. P Germ *gasinþijal/gasinþijan ‘fellow traveller’ > Got gasinþja, OHG gisind/gisindi, OSax gisīth/gisīthi, OE gesīð (cf. Widsith pp. 100–101) and ON _sinni (Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007: 381; Hellquist 2008: 912). However, there was one exception to this rule: The consonant /g/ in the prefix ga- was retained if the prefix was succeeded by one of the sonorants /l, m, n, r/, i.e. the same sounds which took the epenthetic vowel [a] when occurred as a part of a consonant cluster. Let us consider the following examples:

- EPGerm *garasnán > P Germ *garáznan > PScand *gārōnnē > ON granni ‘neighbour’ (cf. Got garazna ‘neighbour’)
- P Germ *ganōgaz > PScand *gānōgaz > *gānōgar > ON gnógr ‘enough’ (cf. Got ganōhs, OE ġenog, OHG ginuog)
- P Germ *galīkaz > PScand *gālikaz > *gālikaR > ON glíkr ‘like’

\(^{13}\) I wish to thank Mr. Johan Schalin, who came up with this etymology in our discussions in the seminar *The Viking Age in Finland* in November 2011. However, the precise reconstruction of the word’s phonological development and responsibility for its correctness is mine.

\(^{14}\) The standard Proto-Baltic etymology (cf. Lith šārka ‘magpie’) of the Finnic word harakka mentioned in SSA (s.v. harakka) is phonologically more problematic since a Proto-Baltic *šarka should have rendered **harka in Finnish.

\(^{15}\) Cf. Fin mukula ‘protuberance; kid’, apara ‘beverage of oat, yeast, mash’, äpärä ‘illegitimate child’ (SSA s.vv. apara, mukula, äpärä).
The next question is: when was Kaleva borrowed from Germanic into Finnic? On the basis of the word’s sound shape, the date of borrowing can be estimated. The dates of the runic inscriptions containing the epenthetic vowel /a/ give us a terminus ante quem and possibly also a terminus post quem for the borrowing. The epenthetic vowel /a/ occurs in numerous runic inscriptions written in the Elder Futhark between ca. 300 CE and ca. 650 CE (Antonsen 1975: passim). However, since the oldest runic inscriptions have been found within the territory of modern Denmark and Norway, and, because no runic inscriptions older than 300 CE are known from Svealand, Götaland or Gotland, that is to say the very regions in Scandinavia which the Proto-Finns were most in contact with, the vowel epenthesis may be older in these regions, as the Germanic loanword evidence in Finnic suggests (Haugen 1976: 114; Dahl 2001: 224; Salo 2003b: 9). The epenthetic vowel was probably short and somewhat reduced – though clearly audible – since it did not change the Proto-Scandinavian stressing pattern of the words involved. Its quality seems to have stood nearest to the full vowel /a/, because this epenthetic vowel was consistently written with the rune denoting <a> and because it was borrowed as /a/ to Late-Proto-Finnic.16 Yet, the rather limited distribution of the word Kaleva suggests that it is hardly very much older than the runic inscriptions. Kaleva (not **Haleva or **_Levâ) and tur(i)tas (not **tur(e)has) are approximately equally old on the basis of phonological and distributional criteria. The Finnish word tursas ‘(evil) sea-monster, sea-deity’ has a cognate in the Karelian, Estonian and Veps languages, so this word’s known distribution is slightly wider than Kaleva’s distribution. (Haavio 1967: 108–115, 118;

16 In younger runic inscriptions, another epenthetic vowel written with <e> and <i> was recorded, too (Antonsen 2002: 86–87). It has not hitherto been noticed that the Finnish weekday name perjantai ‘Friday’ seems to reflect this younger epenthetic vowel /e/. The word perjantai (< perjantaki) has been borrowed from LPScand *frīadagr (> ON frīadagr ‘Friday’). The word-medial /n/ is an analogy from sumuntai and maanantai where the nasal is regular. My conclusion is that vowel epenthesis was very likely a real phonetic phenomenon in Old Scandinavian.
The word *tuursas* is a Proto-Germanic (*← *þur(i)saz > ON þurs ‘evil giant’, OHG thur(i)s*) loanword. It has probably been borrowed after the Proto-Finnic sound change */š/ > /h/ (cf. Swe fors ‘rapids’ < PGerm *fursa → EPF *purša > Fin purha ‘foaming rapids’, SaN borsi ‘foaming rapids in a canyon’). This sound change belongs to the younger ones in the relative chronology of Proto-Finnic sound changes. The substitution pattern of the Germanic /s/ and /z/ changed from */š/ to /s/ in Proto-Finnic after this sound change (Hofstra 1985: 160–163; Aikio 2006: 19–20; Kallio 2007: 235–237; Heikkilä 2011: 70–73.) In my dissertation (Heikkilä forthcoming), I estimate that it took place in the 2nd century BCE, which is also the terminus post quem for the existence of Kaleva in Finnic. A terminus ante quem can be determined, too. Judging from the initial consonants (i.e. /h/ vs. /k/), the Germanic loanwords *hartia/o* ‘shoulder’ (← PScand *harðýjóz*), *haltija* (← PScand *halðíjaz*) and *haikara* (← PScand *hæig*ran) are younger than Kaleva (← PScand *χaleza*). The lexemes *hartia* (cf. ON herðr ‘shoulder’) and *haltija* were borrowed before the Proto-Scandinavian i-umlaut and *haikara* before the similarly Proto-Scandinavian sound change /ai/ > /ei/, both of which took place about 500 CE, which is the terminus ante quem (Antonsen 2002: 28–29; Heikkilä forthcoming). Thus, Kaleva is likely a Roman Iron Age loanword. Kaleva and *tursas* belong to an early stratum of mythology-related loanwords of Germanic origin in Finnish. Younger mythic words of Germanic origin will be discussed below.

6. **Tiera, Niera, Liera and Torre – the Scandinavian fellows of Väinämöinen**

The so-called Kalevalaic folk poetry also knows such mythical characters as Tiera, Niera and Liera, who most often occur together in a formulaic line such as “Iku Tiera, Nieran poika” [“Iku Tiera, Niera’s son”] (Haavio 1967: 205–208, 211; SKVR 2007). These variant forms are attested in rune songs in the meaning ‘Väinämöinen’s helper warrior and friend’. The striking feature about the forms Tiera, Niera and Liera is their end rhyme instead of alliteration, which is a key feature of Finnic folk poetry. It seems to me that these names are of Scandinavian origin, too. Their Scandinavian origin has also been supported by Harry Lönnroth and Martti Linna (Messenius 2004: 6). I assume that Liera is a younger loan from the same North Germanic word, namely EPScand *χaleza* > LPScand *HlewaR > ON Hlér → EFin *Leera > Fin Liera, as Kaleva, and Niera can be
successfully explained as an equally old borrowing from Snær [snɛ:r] (< PGerm *snaiwaz ‘snow’) (cf. OŚwe hæria ‘destroy, devastate, plunder’ → Fin herjata ‘revile’). The place-name Torre and Torren lähde [‘Torre’s spring’] in Laitila (cf. the toponym Torrenkangas in Kaustinen in Ostrobothnia and the farm name Torra in Sastamala in Satakunta) seem to reflect the Old Norse saga name Porri, the mythical king of Finland and Kvenland17, whose Proto-Scandinavian proto-form was *PorRē (< PGerm *þurzan ‘dry snow’ (cf. Snær ‘snow’, Frosti ‘frost’, Drífa ‘snowdrift’)), whence the Finnish toponym was borrowed in ca. 400 CE (Names Archive, Heikkilä forthcoming). The connection between Torre and Porri was first made by Unto Salo (2008: 158, 161, 163), although he thinks that Torre/Porri is equal with the Scandinavian god-name Pórr (< PGerm *þunraz > Eng thunder), which is chronologically and thus phonologically very unlikely. I suppose that Torren lähde was a place of worship dedicated to the deity Porri (cf. what is said in the sagas above). Tiera can be seen as formed on the analogy of the original assonant names Niera and Liera and it has replaced the older form Torre in runes, but Torre has been preserved in a couple of place-names. The date of borrowing is between ca. 650, when the reduction of the unstressed syllable took place, and 1142, when the already Christianized Swedes and a bishop among them made a raid on Ladoga (Antonsen 1975: 78–88; SVL 1989: 121; Jokipii 2003: 316). I would like to point out that the other Finnish (and Sami) words meaning ‘giant’ are of (North) Germanic origin as well, e.g. tursas (> Iku-Turso ‘gigantic sea-monster in Finnic folk poetry’), jatuni, jättiläinen and saN jiehtanas (SSA s.v. jatulit, jätti, tursas, Álgu s.v. jiehtanas). One more similar mythical name is Teuri, who is a warrior in Kalevalaic runes (Turunen 1979: 336–337; SKVR 2007). It is most likely a Scandinavian loanword, too. The original is the Proto-Scandinavian male name (Swe djur ‘animal’, Germ Tier ‘animal’ < PGerm *deuza → PScand *deuzan >) *DeuRē (> the male names RSwe TiuRi, Icel Dýrî) (Larsson 2002: 127;

17 The Scandinavian influence and settlement wave to south-western Finland at the beginning of the Common Era may be recorded in the Roman historian Tacitus’ book Germania (98 CE), where he describes a tribe called Sitones living on the coast of the Baltic Sea in the vicinity of Suiones (cf. Icel svíar, Swe Svealand). The Latinate tribal name Sitones can be derived from PGerm *sīðōn (> ON síða ‘side, coast’, Eng side). A good translation would be ‘Coast people’. In Tacitus’ description Sitones are said to greatly resemble the Germanic tribe Suiones with the only exception that Sitones are ruled by a woman (cf. Adam of Bremen’s Terra feminarum ‘Women’s land’ in ca. 1075 CE) (Tacitus 98: 45; Julku 1985: 85, 1986: 51–52, 84–88; Salo 2008: 129).
Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007 s.v. dyr, Hellquist 2008: 146). The word’s phonemic shape is very probative as to the date of borrowing. It was borrowed after the sound change /z/ > /R/, but before the sound change /eu/ > /iu/, both of which occurred in Proto-Scandinavian (see Wessén 1966a: 28, 36; Haugen 1976: 154–155). I (Heikkilä forthcoming) estimate that these sound changes took place around the year 400 CE, which is also the date of borrowing. In conclusion, the Old Scandinavian deity name Hlér seems to have been borrowed twice into Finnic.

7. Kaleva’s sons from Kalanti – a new etymology for the place-name Kalanti

In my opinion, not only the etymon and the date of Kaleva but also the place of borrowing can be traced quite exactly thanks to onomastic evidence. I propose that Kaleva was borrowed from the Scandinavians in the Kalanti region, where there is a strong concentration of old folk stories about Kalevanpoikas and many place-names beginning with Kalevan-(Huurre 2003: 236; Names Archive; MapSite). A document from the year of 1347 reveals that Kalanti was the name of the whole Vakka-Suomi region at that time (Vilkuna 1969: 78; DF No. 521). Furthermore, I propose that the very toponym Kalanti is a derivative of Kaleva. The last syllable in the word Kaleva was associated with the homophonous derivational suffix which could be removed and replaced with another derivational suffix (see pp. 105–106). I assume that the (wrongly analyzed) root Kale- was augmented with the Late-Proto-Finnic place-name suffix *-nδek (> Fin -nne : -nteen), rendering (nom. sg.) *Kalenδek : (gen. sg.) *Kalenteɣen (cf. the Finnish hydronyms Päijänne : Päijänteen, Elänne, Älänne and Peränne). Furthermore, I assume that this *Kalenδek was the name of the ancient long bay of the Laitila-Kalanti region which was later silted up by the isostatic uplift (see Salo 2003a: 20, 2008: 150, 152). At the mouth of this ancient fairway lie the place-names Kalevankallio and Kalevanpojanvaha, and along this fairway lie the toponyms Kalevankallio and Kalevanpoikainkivi (Huurre 2003: 247; MapSite). The hydronym *Kalenδek was borrowed into Elder Old Swedish as *Kalend ‘Kalanti’, whence the derivative *kälenn-ing ‘person from Kalanti’, which is found in the oldest attestation of the name in the form Kalenningatext [“outer field of a person from Kalanti”] in a letter dated 23.6.1316. Kalanti is Kaland
[ka:land] (Kaland in 1437, Anders Kaalandes in 1435)\(^\text{18}\) in documented Swedish, the other official language of Finland, because the name pair *Kalend : *kalenning was associated with the common North Germanic place-name pattern x-land : x-länning, e.g. Island ‘Iceland’ : islänning ‘person from Iceland’ (cf. Icel Island : islendingur) and Åland : ålänning. The modern Finnish form Kalanti is a re-loan from Swedish (cf. Swe Gotland → Fin Gotlanti and Swe Öland → Fin Öölanti). A more original sound shape is found in the place-name Kalanteenkorpi (< *Kalanteenkorpi) in the Rauma municipality in south-western Finland. The existence of the second syllable vowel /a/ instead of the original /ɛ/ can be attributed to two factors: the Swedish model Kaland and the association with the Finnish word kala ‘fish’ (cf. the similar vowel variation in Kaleva ~ Kalava). A Latinate form Kalandia is documented as early as 1332 and the oldest attestation of the name in a document written in Finnish is Calandis (ines. sg.) from the year 1548 by Mikael Agricola (Huldén 1984: 123; Salo 2003a: 13, 17). In addition, the name Kalanti is mentioned in a folk story written down in Vesilahti in Tavastia. The folk story tells about an early foreign missionary called Hunnu Herra [“Huntu’s mister”] and Kalandin kala [“Kalanti’s fish”], who converted people in Vesilahti to the Christian faith. (Punkari 2005.)

An archeologically and onomastically visible wave of Scandinavian influence (and quite likely also Scandinavian settlement) came to south-western Finland in about 100 CE and a second wave in the 5th century CE. Probative place-names are e.g. Hallu and the hill-name Hallusvuori (← PSScand *Halluz < PSScand *halluz > ON hallr ‘(bench of) rock’, cf. Got hallus ‘id.’), Torre (← PSScand *ÞorRē > ON þorri), Kainu (< Kainus < kainus ‘fairway, passage’ ← PSScand *gainuz ‘opening, gap, passage’), Tuuna (← PSScand *Tūna, cf. the Tuna-names in Sweden) and Tachoma (< tachto-ma ‘outer field’ ← PSScand *takipō > Swe täkt ‘outer field’). In the light of the archaeological evidence, the Scandinavian settlers became assimilated into the Finns, but the contacts between Finland–Kvenland [‘Muinais-Kainuu’] and Scandinavia remained strong during the Merovingian Period and the Viking Age. (Koivulehto 1995: 93; Salo 2003a: 39, 2003b: 26, 2008: 68.) Judging from the sound shape, Kaleva

\(^{18}\) As in many other Germanic languages, including English, originally short vowels were lengthened in stressed open syllables in Late Old Swedish ca. 1400 (Wessén 1968: 90–92; Haugen 1976: 258–259). After the lengthening of the short vowel the Swedish name Kaland [ka:land] was folk-etymologically reinterpreted and translated into Kaalimaa “Cabbage land” by the Finns (Salo 2003a: 58).
most likely belongs to the older stratum of Scandinavian influence whereas Torre represents a younger stratum, and it can probably be dated to ca. 400 CE. Liera, Niera and Tiera are even younger. They were very likely borrowed between ca. 625 and 1142, that is to say, most probably during the Viking Age. The belief in Kaleva was introduced into south-western Finland by Iron Age Scandinavians. I would like to point out that place-names containing the name of a mythical pre-Christian being are by no means rare in the Scandinavian toponymy, e.g. Odensåker, Odensala, Ulleråker, Torstuna, Torsåker, Frötuna, Fröstuna, Nårtuna and Tiveden (Pamp 1988: 32, 41, 109; SOL 2003: passim).

8. Conclusions

We have seen that many mythic beings of the Finnic pre-Christian mythology and their names have turned out to be Iron Age loans from Proto-Scandinavian. This is not at all peculiar since so many lexemes with a real world referent are of the same origin, too. The Finnic name Kaleva seems to have been borrowed from Proto-Scandinavians in south-western Finland, from where it spread to Karelia with the western Finnish migration in the 7th and 8th centuries, in other words at the same time as the Vikings’ famous austrvegr ['eastway'] was established at the latest (see Huurre 2003: 250; Vahtola 2003: 24; Harrison 2009: 108, 112). In theory, Kaleva could have been borrowed independently from Proto-Scandinavians in northern Estonia (Est Virumaa), but it is also rather likely that it was borrowed across the Gulf of Finland with the intensive contacts in the Middle Iron Age, prior to the Viking Age when contacts became less [sic] intensive (see Huurre 2003: 253–254; Salo 2008: 135, 173, 195, 232). The folk poems and tales about Kaleva (ON Hléðr), Niera (ON Snær the old), Liera (ON Hléðr), Torre (ON Porri) etc. were a part of people’s worldview in the Late Iron Age both in Scandinavia and Finland, and even in Karelia and Estonia, in short, in Northern Europe. In the light of my linguistic and folkloristic article, the Late Nordic Iron Age can in many ways be seen as the last period of fully preserving the old – the climax of the Iron Age and pre-Christian Nordic culture – before a new era. Relics of the old era have been retained in the numerous Germanic loanwords in Finnish, for instance, and Kaleva is one of them. What further happened during the Late Iron Age was that knowledge about Finland and Kvenland, initially very little, began gradually to spread to new geographical regions, namely Britain and Iceland.
References


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Kaleva and His Sons from Kalanti


Names Archive. Helsinki: The Institute for the Languages of Finland.


KALEVA AND HIS SONS FROM KALANTI


Appendix

A map of some place-names containing the word *Kaleva* in south-western Finland

Abbreviations

A → B = B is borrowed from A, derivation
A > B = A develops into B
* = reconstructed sound shape
** = impossible or non-existing sound shape
C´C = the overlong grade in the Sami consonant gradation
Dan = the Danish language
EFin = Early Finnish (varhaissuomi) (ca. 1000–1543 CE)
Eng = the English language
EPF = Early Proto-Finnic (ca. 1500–500 BCE)
EPGerm = Early Proto-Germanic (ca. 1000–600 BCE)
EPSa = Early Proto-Sami (ca. 600–1 BCE)
EPScand = Early Proto-Scandinavian (ca. 160–500 CE)
ESa = Early Sami (ca. 600–1000 CE)
Est = the Estonian language
Fin = the Finnish language
gen. = genitive
Germ = the German language
Got = the Gothic language
Icel = the Icelandic language
ines. = inessive
Kar = the Karelian language
Lith = the Lithuanian language
LPF = Late Proto-Finnic (the first millennium of the Common Era)
LPScand = Late Proto-Scandinavian (ca. 500–800 CE)
MPF = Middle Proto-Finnic (ca. 500–1 BCE)
nom. = nominative
Nor = the Norwegian language
NWGerm = North-West-Germanic (ca. 1–200 CE)
OE = Old English (ca. 700–1100 CE)
OEst = Old Estonian (ca. 1000–1500 CE)
OGut = Old Gutnish (spoken in Gotland) (ca. 900–1500 CE)
OHG = Old High German (ca. 750–1100 CE)
ON = Old Norse (fornvästnordiska = norrönt) (ca. 800–1350 CE)
OSax = Old Saxon (ca. 750–1100 CE)
OSwe = Old Swedish (1225–1526 CE)
PF = Proto-Finnic (ca. 500 BCE–1000 CE)
Pgerm = Proto-Germanic (ca. 600–1 BCE)
PIE = Proto-Indo-European (ca. 4000 BCE)
PreGerm = Pre-Germanic (ca. 1800–600 BCE)
Pscand = Proto-Scandinavian (urnordiska) (ca. 160–800 CE)
PWGerm = Proto-West-Germanic (ca. 200–450 CE)
RSwe = Runic Swedish (ca. 800–1225 CE)
Rus = the Russian language
Sa = Saami
Sal = Inari Sami
SaLu = Lule Sami
SaN = North Sami
sg. = singular
Swe = Swedish
Vot = the Votic language

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