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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 **χ^alewaz*, 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^aC/ 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* ‘kaleva’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*, *kalehvi*, *kalevas*, *Kalava*, *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* > *Kaihnuun*, *taivas* : *taivahan* ‘sky, heaven’ > *taihvaan*, *kirves* : *kirvehen* ‘axe’ > *kirhveen*). 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’,

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 (Hurre 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; Hurre 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; Hurre 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

¹ Cf. the name of the city of Tallinn (Fin *Tallinna*) derives from **Taninlinna* [sic] ‘the burg of the Danes’ > **Tanilinn* > *Tallinn* (cf. Pajusalu, 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), *Soontagana* (1211), *Hergænþæ* (1241), *Paiumpe* (1241) and *Udenküll* (1323). (Haugen 1976: 258–259; SSA s.v. *linna*; Pajusalu et al. 2002: 235, 271, 278; Lättiläinen 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 Estonian 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* Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884) himself. Lönnrot derived *Kaleva* from the Russian word *golová* [gələvá] ‘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 **golvá* nor the Proto-Balto-Slavic proto-form **golHvāH* (> 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 **kulþingōR* (→ 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 *kalev* 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 *kalev* 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 *kalev* 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 *kalev* is a derivative from the adjective *kale* 'hard, severe' that has a known cognate in Finnish (*kalea* 'cool, hard, slippery'), Ingrian (*kale* 'cool') and Karelian (*kalie* '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 *-va/-vä* and *-pa/-pä*, e.g. *lihava* 'fat', *kätevä* 'handy', *väkevä* 'strong', *juopa* 'small river' and *syöpä* 'cancer' (< EPF **-pa/*-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 *kálvis* ‘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 PFin ***kalviš* > Fin ***kalve* or (P)Fin ***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 *källaka jussa* ‘suddenly descending thick fog over a lake’ (Turunen 1979: 88).² The uninflected form is *källak*. 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 *källaka jussa* is “old man’s fart” (cf. *kalevirohi* p. 98).

view, the supposed etymological connection between *Kaleva* and *kállak* is impossible because of problematic sound correspondences. These words cannot be derived from a common Proto-Finno-Sami proto-form. The vowel combination /á–a/ in the Sami word *kállak* 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 *kállak* had the sound shape **kāl̥lekk̥e* 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-Sami proto-language, i.e. Early Proto-Finnic (Aikio 2006: 44). If the Finnic word *Kaleva* dated back to the Finno-Sami proto-language or even further back in history, which I do not believe, the Finnic proto-form would have been **kal̥i-pa* or **kal̥i-ŋa*. As we can see, the Proto-Finnic and Proto-Sami forms do not fit together. I would therefore propose that this Sami word is a derivative from the common Sami lexeme *gállis* ‘old honoured man’, which had the sound shape **kāllās* in Proto-Sami. This word itself is a loanword from the Proto-Scandinavian noun **karlaz* ‘(old) man’ (cf. the Greek cognate *gérōn* ‘old man’), whence Swe *karl* ‘man’ and the Germanic male name *Karl* (> Swe/Fin *Kalle*) (Hellquist 2008: 447; Álgú database s.v. *gállis*).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 *kállak* also occurs in certain names of stars, such as *Boaris-Gál lá* ‘Sirius’ (literally ‘Old Man’), which have been folk-etymologically associated with *gállis* (Álgú database s.vv. *boaris*, *gállis*). However, I venture to say that *gállis* and *Gál lá* belong not only folk-etymologically but also etymologically together since saN nom. *Gál lá* : gen. *Gállá* ‘Sirius’ is an analogical formation from *gállis* : *gál 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

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 **käll̥ək* (> SaLu *källak*) since the Sami root vowel was somewhat front (cf. SaI *säämi* ~ 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 /e/ 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 **käll̥ək* rendered a single consonant in Old English because a geminate sound /l:/ did not occur after a long stressed vowel /æ:/. (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 **käll̥ək* 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 **käll̥ək* 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.⁴ 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 descendants of Proto-Germanic (see LÄGLOS 1991–2012).⁵ 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 Læsø⁶ (< ON *Hlésey* 'Hlér's island') in Kattegat (off the Danish coast)'] (Ohlmarks 1983: 153, 406).⁷

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 (Huurte 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 **kapiš* ← PreGerm **skabis* > PGerm **skapiz* > Swe *skapelse* 'creature'), *menninkäinen* 'troll' (← PGerm **menþingō* > Icel *minning* 'memory of the deceased'), *tur(i)sas* 'sea-monster, sea-god' (> the Finnic mythical figure *Iku-Turso* 'gigantic sea-monster') (← PGerm **pur(i)saz* > ON *þurs* 'evil giant', OHG *thur(i)s*, OE *þyrs*), *Runkoteivas* 'name of a god' (← EPGerm **Teiwaz* 'clear sky' > PGerm **Tīwaz* > ON *Týr* 'name of a Old Scandinavian god') and *halti(j)a* '(physical) holder; (mythical) holder of a place' (← PScand **halðijaz*, 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; Holtmark 2001: 130).

⁷ For more information about *Hlér* and the synonymous name *Ægir*, see Holtmark (2001: 130–131) and Ohlmarks (1983: 153, 406).

The deity names *Hlér* and *Ægir* are personifications of the Old Norse common names *hlér* and *ægir* 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. (Julku 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 réð fyrir því landi, er kallat er *Finnland* ok *Kvenland*; þat liggr fyrir austan hafsbótinn þann, er gengr till móts við Gandvik; þat kǫllu vér Helsingjabotn; Fornjótr átti þrjá syni; hét einn *Hlér*, er vér kǫllum *Ægi*, annarr Logi, þriðji Kári; hann var faðir Frosta, fǫður Snæs hins gamla. Hans sonr hét Þorri; hann átti tvá syni; hét annarr Nórr, en annan Górr, dóttir hans hét Góí. *Þorri var blótmaðr mikill; hann hafði blot á hverju ári at miðjum vetri; þat kǫlluðu þeir þorrablót; af þi tók 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 *Hler*, 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 Góí. *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.)*⁸

From *Hversu Noregr byggðist* in Old Icelandic:

Fornjótr hét maðr. Hann átti þrjá sonu; var einn Hlér, annarr Logi, þriði Kári. Hann réð fyrir vindum, en Logi fyrir eldi, Hlér fyrir sjó. Kári var faðir Jökuls, föður Snæs konungs, en börn Snæs konungs váru þau Þorri, Fönn, Drífa ok Mjöll. Þorri var konungr ágætr. Hann réð fyrir Gotlandi, Kænlandi ok Finnlandi. Hann blótuðu Kænir til þess, at snjóva gerði ok væri skíðfæri gott. Þat er ár þeira. Þat blót skyldi vera at miðjum vetri, ok var þaðan af kallaðr Þorra mánaðr. Þorri konungr átti þrjú börn. Synir hans hétu Nórr ok Górr, en Gói dóttir. (The Northern Way 2009)

English translation:

*There was a man called Fornjotr. He had three sons; one was Hler, another Logi, the third Kari; he ruled over winds, but Logi over fire, Hler [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, Drífa 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.*⁹ (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

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^aR] 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; Runtexdatabas 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).^{10,11} For instance, the phonemic Proto-Germanic reconstruction of the Common Germanic word for ‘raven’ is **χrabnaz* (> 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 Järsberg (in Värmland, Sweden) runic inscription, dated 520–570 CE (Antonsen 2002: 120–123; Runtexdatabas 2008 s.v. *harabanaz*). Thus, the phonetic reconstruction of **χlewaz* is **χ^alewaz*, 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 **/š/* (> /h/) into Proto-Finnic. In this case, the general dropping of the word-final consonant is predictable and understandable because there are few or

¹⁰ In the Gotlandish dialect of Swedish, a chronologically later epenthetic vowel is /a/, too (Wessén 1966b: 50; Pamp 1978: 78).

¹¹ 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).

no three-syllabic words ending in /-vas/ or /-väs/ in the Finnic phonotactics. There are a couple of Finnish words ending in /-vas/ or /-väs/, such as *taivas* ‘sky, heaven’ and *eväs* ‘packed lunch’, but they are disyllabic and thus not comparable, since the last syllable /-vA/ in three-syllabic words is almost always a derivational suffix, e.g. *lihava* ‘fat’ and *kätevä* ‘handy’. Furthermore, we may recall the fact that even the form *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 *Kaleva(s)* was borrowed, the phonemic step-by-step development was (ON *hlér* ‘sea’, *Hlér* ‘sea-god’ <) PScand * χ^a léwaz ‘sea, sea-god giant’ → LPF **Kalevas* ‘mythical giant’ > Fin *Kaleva(s)* (Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007 s.vv. *le*, *ly*).

There is plenty of evidence of the existence of and parallels for an epenthetic vowel /C^aC/ in both runic inscriptions and Germanic loanwords in Finnic. Consider the attested runic words *harabanaz*, *bariutip*, *barutR* (cf. Swe *bryter*, ON *briótr* and Icel *brjótur*), *hariwolafR*, *hapuwulafR*, *wita[n]da-halaiban*, *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^aC/ has been enhanced by such trisyllabic Proto-Germanic words as **sumaraz* ‘summer’ (> ON *sumar*), * χ amaraz ‘hammer’ (> ON *hamarr*), * χ anō ‘husk, glume’ (> Got *ahana*), *aganō ‘husk, glume’ (> OHG *agana*), **gamalaz* ‘old’ (> ON *gamall*), where the second syllable /a/ is original (Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007: passim). In addition, several Finnish words of Germanic origin show proof of an epenthetic vowel /a/ in the etymon, e.g. *haikara* ‘stork’ ← PScand **haig^aran* (> OHG *heigaro* ‘stork’, Swe *häger* ‘stork’), *matara* ‘bedstraw’ ← LPS cand **mað^aran* (> ON *maðra* ‘bedstraw’), *hattara* ‘foot cloth’ ← PScand **hap^arō* (cf. OHG *hadara* ‘rag’ and *elaho* ‘elk’) and *kattara* ‘weed in oat’ ← PGerm * χ ap^arō (LÄGLOS 1991–2012 s.vv. *haikara*, *hattara*, *kattara*, *matara*).¹² Evidence of North Germanic vowel epenthesis is even found in the north Norwegian Sami place-name *Máhkarávju* ← PScand **Mag^arauju* > Nor *Magerøya*. Furthermore, more

¹² The words *kattara* and *hattara* were borrowed from the same North Germanic original, but they belong to two different Germanic loanword strata in Finnish. *Kattara* is an older loanword and *hattara* somewhat younger (cf. Fin *kelvata* ‘to do well’ and *kelpo* ‘good, decent, able’ (← PGerm * χ elp^ana ‘to help’ and * χ elpō ‘help’) ~ *helppo* ‘easy’ and *helpottaa* ‘facilitate’ (← EPS cand **helpō* ‘help’) and Fin *kansa* ‘(a) people’ ~ *Hansa* ‘the Hanse’) (LÄGLOS s.vv. *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 **h^{ar}ōkaz* (> Icel *hrókr* ‘magpie’)¹⁴ and Fin *kak(k)ara* ‘lump, pancake, oatmeal bread, brat’¹⁵ ← (OGut *hagri* ‘oat’ <) EPScand **χag^aran* < PGerm **χagran* ‘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. PGerm **gasiñþija*/*gasiñþijan* ‘fellow traveller’ > Got *gasiñþja*, 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 they occurred as a part of a consonant cluster. Let us consider the following examples:

EPGerm **garasnán* > PGerm **garáznán* > PScand **g^{ar}ánnæ* > ON *granni* ‘neighbour’ (cf. Got *garazna* ‘neighbour’)

PGerm **ganōgaz* > PScand **g^anōgaz* > **g^anōgaR* > ON *gnógr* ‘enough’ (cf. Got *ganōhs*, OE *ġenog*, OHG *ginuog*)

PGerm **galīkaz* > PScand **g^alīkaz* > **g^alīkaR* > 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 *šarka* ‘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’, *äpäriä* ‘illegitimate child’ (SSA s.vv. *apara*, *mukula*, *äpäriä*).

PGerm **garáiðiz* > PScand **g^aráiðiz* > **g^aréiðiR* > ON *greiðr* ‘ready’ (cf. Got *garaid* ‘ready’)

PGerm **χrábnaz* > NWGerm **χ^aaráb^anaz* > PWGerm **χ^aaráb^ana* > OHG *hraban* ‘raven’

PGerm **χléwaz* > PScand **χ^aléwaz* (→ *Kalevas*) (cf. <*halaiban*>) > **χ^aléwaR* > *Hlér* (→ *Liera*)

PGerm **gasínþija(n)* > PScand **g^asínþija* > *_*sinnija* > ON *_*sinni* ‘journey’ (cf. Got *gasinþja* ‘fellow traveller’) (Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007: passim).

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 ***_Levä*) and *tur(i)sas* (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 *sunnuntai* and *maanantai* where the nasal is regular. My conclusion is that vowel epenthesis was very likely a real phonetic phenomenon in Old Scandinavian.

SSA 2001 s.vv. *Kaleva, tursas*.) The word *tursas* is a Proto-Germanic (← **pur(i)saz* > ON *purs* ‘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 **harðijōz*), *haltija* (← PScand **halðijaz*) and *haikara* (← PScand **haiḡ^aran*) are younger than *Kaleva* (← PScand **χ^alewaz*). 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 **χ^alewaz* > 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. OSwe *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 **purzan* ‘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 **punraz* > 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.vv. *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 *Dýri*) (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 **-ndek* (> Fin *-nne* : *-nteen*), rendering (nom. sg.) **Kalendek* : (gen. sg.) **Kalenteyen* (cf. the Finnish hydronyms *Päijänne* : *Päijänteen*, *Elänne*, *Älänne* and *Peränne*). Furthermore, I assume that this **Kalendek* 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 **Kalendek* was borrowed into Elder Old Swedish as **Kalend* ‘Kalanti’, whence the derivative **kalenn-ing* ‘person from Kalanti’, which is found in the oldest attestation of the name in the form *Kaleningiatekt* [“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)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* (< **Kalenteyenkorpi*) in the Rauma municipality in south-western Finland. The existence of the second syllable vowel /a/ instead of the original /e/ 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 *Hunnun Herra* [‘Huntu’s mister’] and *Kalannin 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* (← PScand **Halluz* < PScand **halluz* > ON *hallr* ‘(bench of) rock’, cf. Got *hallus* ‘id.’), *Torre* (← PScand **PorRē* > ON *Porri*), *Kainu* (< *Kainus* < *kainus* ‘fairway, passage’ ← PScand **gainuz* ‘opening, gap, passage’), *Tuuna* (← PScand **Tūna*, cf. the *Tuna*-names in Sweden) and *Tachtoma* (< *tachto-ma* ‘outer field’ ← PScand **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*, *Närtuna* 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 *Hlér*), *Niera* (ON *Snær the old*), *Liera* (ON *Hlér*), *Torre* (ON *Þorri*) 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.

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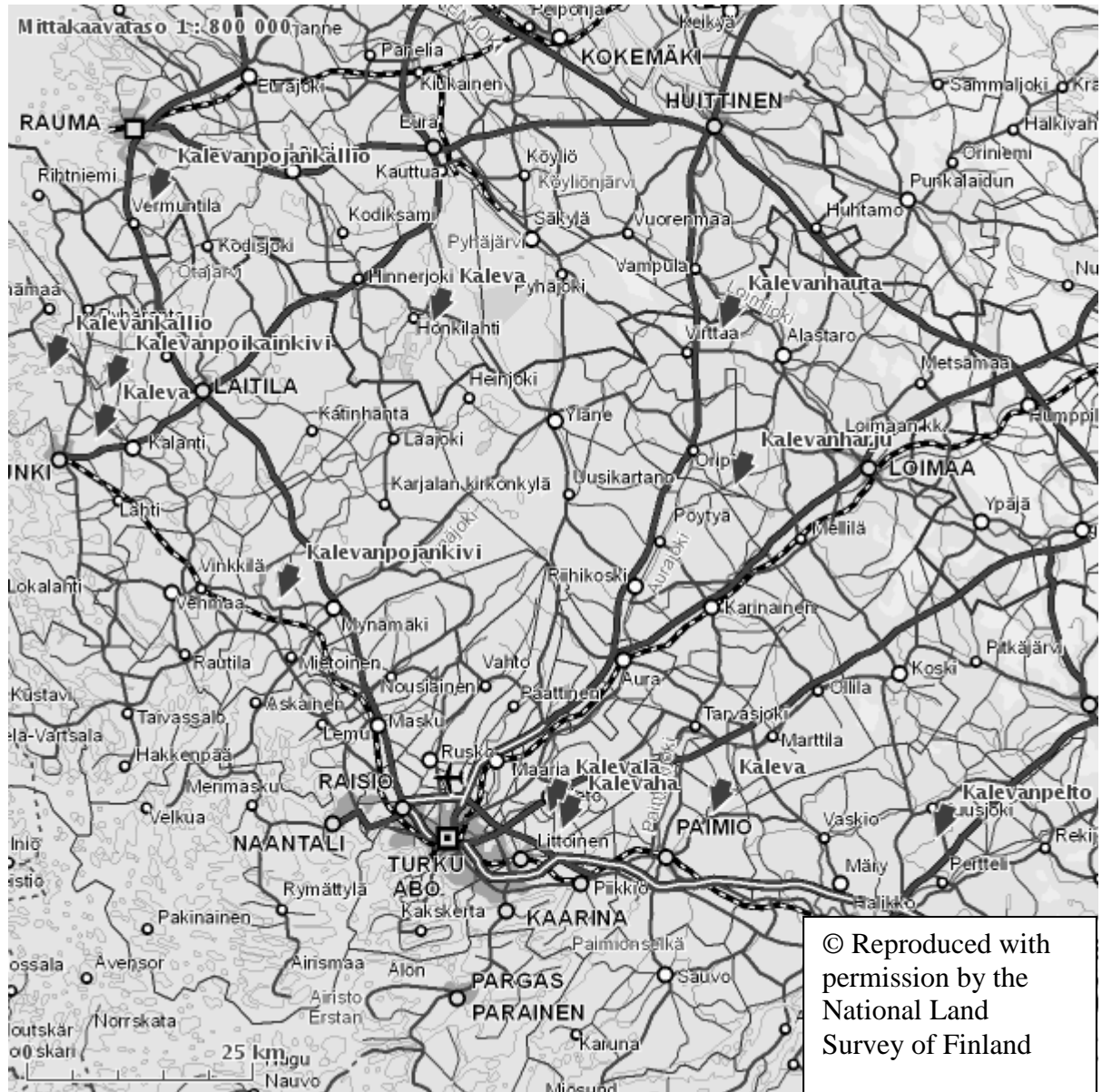
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Appendix

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 (varhaisuomi) (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 = norrønt) (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
SaI = Inari Sami
SaLu = Lule Sami
SaN = North Sami
sg. = singular
Swe = Swedish
Vot = the Votic language

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