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Scandinavian–Finnish Language Contact in the Viking Age in the Light of Borrowed Names

Scandinavian–Finnish language contact in Viking Age Finland is no easy topic to tackle, owing among other things to the scarcity of sources. The issue can be approached from a number of angles, none of which provides a complete picture. For Early Finnish (*Varhaisuomi* = EFi) effectively no written sources are available. Diachronic loan-word research may provide valuable findings, but for the purpose of pinpointing the date of an etymology by this methodology, the ‘Viking Age’ constitutes a rather short period of time, even within the extended time span (AD 750–1250) applied for the eastern Baltic in this publication (see introduction).

Proper names constitute a valuable, albeit limited, source of information. While historical records mostly date from the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, some isolated older toponyms are known from Latin, Old Swedish (OSw) and Old Russian sources. Even if most attestations are not quite as old as the Viking Age, these provide a corpus of proper names, some of which may date back that far. If a name was borrowed from one language into another before attestation, phonological criteria may be used to frame the date of the borrowing with a varying margin of uncertainty.

A glimpse of toponyms borrowed from Early Finnish (and/or possibly from early Estonian) into Old Scandinavian is indeed available in the thirteenth century ‘Danish Itinerary’ contained in the *Liber census Daniæ* by king Valdemar II. Another huge corpus of names consists of medieval borrowings preserved in Swedish dialects up to today. Most of these may be assumed on phonological and/or historical grounds to date back to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, for example *Köklax* (a village in Espoo) < OSw. (dial.) **Köuk(a)laxe* ← EFi. (or Estonian) *Kauk(a)laksi*. Studies of such names in the Åboland archipelago (south of Turku) by Ritva-Liisa Pitkänen have shown that some Finnish terrain names behind these loan etymologies should be dated to “the latter half of the first millennium” or “a few centuries before the settlement” (which started in the twelfth century). The archipelago is full of bays, islands or peninsulas with only a few metres of variation in altitude. For names containing references to such localities,

Pitkänen also relies on estimates for the pace of post-glacial uplift (rebound = glacial isostatic adjustment) of the seabed (Pitkänen 1986: 345–348, although cf. 370).

By analogy, the Finnish loan originals of medieval Swedish names or other Finnish names known to be medieval may partly be from the Viking Age also in other regions where continuity of settlement may be shown to have existed. This especially applies to names of large islands and waters, which are normally known to best resist change. It may also apply to the names of some larger localities, such as those of the oldest parishes, which may preserve names of pre-Christian areal administrative entities (*muinaispitäjät*). Ethnonyms may also be particularly well preserved.

As a scholar primarily occupied with Scandinavian and Finnic Iron Age language change and language contact, I will not attempt to embark on an exhaustive inventory of proper names in Finland datable to the Viking Age based on external and/or later attestations. Instead, I will select some examples relevant to Scandinavian–Finnish language contact, where a linguistic argument may provide added value to their understanding.

In addition to some examples from the Danish Itinerary, I will give special attention to a couple of Viking Age names in Scandinavian sources, particularly the name *Tafstalonti* known from an eleventh-century rune stone, and a name *Herdalar* in the land of the *Finnlendingar* mentioned in a skaldic poem by the eleventh-century poet Sighvatr Þórðarson. This name was recorded by Snorri Sturluson in Iceland a couple of centuries after Sighvatr. As no loan etymology is plausible for the attestation of the name *Finland* on rune stone U582 from Söderby-Karl in Roslagen, I have chosen to mention this attestation only as a contemporary parallel to the attestation of the name *Tafæistaland*.

In addition, I will present two cases where the methodology of diachronic linguistics in its own right may hint at language contact before, during or after the Viking Age. I have chosen the name OFi. *Kiulo* ~ Sw. *Kjulo* corresponding to present day Fi. *Köyliö* and the name OFi. *Ahuen maa* ~ OSw. *Alandh* corresponding to present-day Sw. *Åland*, both of which have been widely discussed between linguistic and onomastic scholars and where I have made a contribution with my own research. For the same reasons, I will also touch upon the name Fi. *Kymi* ~ Sw. *Kymmene*.

Methodological Considerations

As sound change and relative chronologies are largely reconstructible, relative chronologies for neighbouring languages may be synchronised one with the other through the analysis of lexical borrowings. With regard to borrowings between Early Finnish and East Scandinavian, the chronology of the latter is much better known. Profound sound changes during the period AD 500–800 may serve as reliable dating criteria for postdating a borrowing to a period after the beginning of the Viking Age. For the end of the Viking Age, few reliable criteria exist. Indeed, ninth- to eleventh-

century Runic Swedish is very similar to the archaic dialects of twelfth- to fourteenth-century settlers. For EFi., only relative chronologies are reliable.

For borrowed proper names, an approach based on sound change alone can produce reliable results only under critical scrutiny and favourable circumstances. The risk of wrong assumptions is much greater than for common nouns for the following reasons:

Firstly, proper names function as designators to the referent with no proper ‘meanings’ in a strict sense. Whatever meaning might be associated with the lexical elements used as a basis for naming indeed becomes functionally redundant through the genesis of the proper name. Any perception of ‘meaning’ is of little help when postulating etymologies for proper names because possible reminiscences of the original naming basis are unreliable and often shortlived. In the case of loan etymologies, such reminiscences typically disappear instantly without the support of bilingual populations.

In order to establish a loan etymology, one may also have problems ruling out extinct loan words or human names. If a village is called *Kuninkaala*, it obviously does not mean that the name is Proto-Germanic and the village is prehistoric even if the first element is the PGmc loanword *kuningas* [‘king’]. Analogous cases are tricky if the appellative is extinct. Such an extinct appellative has been postulated behind the names *Vammala*, *Vammaskoski* and *Vampula*. The appellative would have been borrowed from a Scandinavian original meaning ‘stomach’, represented today by English *Womb* and Sw. *Våmm*. This etymon, describing the belly-like shape of a river, has also been productive in toponyms in Swedish (SPNK respective entries, cf. Koivulehto 1987: 32). In a similar way, the assumed naming basis for the name *Harjavalta* (old parish/municipality in Western Finland) is an extinct EFi. man’s name because the location most certainly appears younger than the etymology. Moreover the man’s name is far from hypothetical as it is attested in Germanic. The name was borrowed from a PSc original **Harjawalda-*, with a later representative in the Norse name *Haraldr* (presupposing a Runic **Hariwaldar* cf. engl. *Harold* and *herald*), and referred to in Latin as *Chariovalda* (Janzen 1947: 77ff.; Koivulehto 2007: 76). The original for the now extinct EFi. man’s name **Hauho*, reflected in an old parish name in southern Finland, would have cognates in later representatives of Germanic *hauha-* [‘high’ also meaning ‘noble, highly regarded’]. Logically, the toponym cannot be older but it must indeed be younger than the genesis of this man’s name. The name of the southwestern parish *Perniö* clearly derives from a man’s name as well, a name that one way or another has its roots in Scandinavian or West Germanic. The dating is not clear, nor is it clear beyond doubt whether the Swedish name *Bjärnä*, first attested as *in Birnum* (1330), *Bernaa* (1352), *Beerna* (1405), *Birno Soken* (1442), *Biærna* (1450) and *Byerno* (1457), is an autonomous follower of that man’s name, a genuine genetic ‘doublet’, or a rather early reborrowing from Early Finnish (FSB: s.v. ‘Bjärnä’; SPNK s.v. ‘Perniö’).

In general, the use of human names as naming bases has caused trouble and controversy. In areas of remote colonisation, the use of personal names is

manifestly widespread as the names of the colonisers have been more widely known than indigenous terms for local features such as topography (Huldén 2012: 244ff.). From the point of view of linguistic methodology, however, this introduces a further arbitrary complication, as ‘meaning’ is removed not only from the referent but also from the naming basis itself: practically any toponym will have an element resembling some individual’s personal name and is thus opened to potential etymologies in a rather arbitrary fashion. An illustrative example would be the name **Karjas*, discussed below as a possible cognate of the name *Herdalar*. A suggestion that it could have been formed on the name *Makarios* (Huldén 2001: s.v. ‘Karis’; NB the suggestion is later withdrawn in FSB: s.v. ‘Karis’) is notoriously difficult either to verify or refute, given all the uncertainties involved (why not *Ansgarius* or *Zacharias*?). Yet, it is beyond doubt that personal names have been the naming basis for many toponyms and Lars Huldén (2012: 245ff.) maintains that also rivers in Finland, including even rivers of prehistoric significance such as *Kymi* and *Eura*, seldom have primary names, but are named after localities through which they flow, which he in turn often interprets to have received their names after persons.

It is furthermore important to note that proper names are subject to unexpected sound change, to the extent that onomastic scholars without a good understanding of historical linguistics have difficulties in coming to grips with this issue. Keeping in mind varying confused accounts on this issue, it is good to make clear that sound change in proper names is not completely arbitrary, nor are proper names indeed exempt from sound laws operating on common nouns. Yet sound change is often accelerated by wear and tear much as in pronouns and particles, probably as a result of frequent use and the reasons given in the following paragraphs. Hence the Old English name *Eoforwic* has been shortened to *York* and the name *Leicester* is pronounced as if it were spelled *Lester*.

Because proper names are often preserved as compounds, in which different stress patterns would cause some syllables to lose emphasis, syllables are often shortened or lost altogether. As we will see below, elements forming part of a compound thus develops differently from the corresponding common noun. Thus names containing the word *town* as a less emphasised element, such as in *Sutton* (< ‘south town’), today end in *-ton* rather than *-town*.

Moreover, the arbitrary relation between form and ‘meaning’ in proper names also delinks proper names from the mechanism governing the declension of common nouns. Proper names can easily change declension. In Old Swedish, names of lakes are predominantly declined as masculines while rivers are feminines regardless of the declension of the corresponding common noun. Moreover fossilisation may occur in the case of obscure morphemes, which may be preserved and incorporated into the stem after they have disappeared from the paradigms of the common nouns. Thus where an OSw. dative plural ending *-om* was fossilised, as in the name *Sundom*, the ending would at the latest have started to behave like a part of the stem when the use of the corresponding ending disappeared from the

common language. Obsolete morphemes are of course just as arbitrary in terms of meaning as the rest of the elements of the name.

Last but not least, a community that passes the proper names on to later generations may very well, based on their form alone, have conflicting or obscure ideas of their original naming bases. Thus any particular name would be prone to undergo so-called folk etymology, where later uninformed assumptions about the naming basis would feed back changes into the form of the name. The name for the municipality *Esbo* (attested as older *Æspa*), is probably such a case: this name is believed to be from a derivative of the name for the tree *asp* [‘aspen, *populus tremula*’]. After association with the very productive naming element *-bo* (as in *Åbo* [‘Turku’]), the /p/ has become /b/ by folk etymology. These changes are obviously irregular with regard to sound laws.

Against this background, great caution is called for in attempting to establish loan etymologies for prehistoric proper names on the basis of one sided considerations. Phonological similarity is a necessary precondition, but even if the match is perfect, as in Lauri Kettunen’s proposal (discussed below) postulating a verb **tavastaa* as an original for **Tafæistaland* [‘Häme’], the argument does not carry weight unless backed up by attestations and/or valid evidence from the other auxiliary disciplines of onomastic research. The competing proposal by Adolf Neovius, relying on a hypothetical Finnish name ***Taustamaa*, and in particular my criticism of it, is an example of the opposite: disregarding or violating phonological history is not uncommon but does not produce uncontested results.¹

In the best of cases, a credibly obvious genetic ‘doublet’ exists in the language providing the borrowing, namely a later representative of the loan original. Yet, such doublets are unfortunately too seldom available.

The Periodisation of Scandinavian and Finnish Language History

In order to be able to follow the argumentation on the chronology of loan words and the direction of borrowings, it is necessary to establish a common periodisation of the development of the two language families. Some of the earlier languages in the table below correspond to ‘reconstruction levels’, used by diachronic linguistics to codify certain theoretical historical stages of development by means of the comparative method.

The reconstructed level called Proto-Germanic (PGmc) is thus a theoretical image of the common ancestral language common to all Germanic languages, including in particular Gothic, which belongs to a separate branch of Germanic, so-called East Germanic. Northwest Germanic is in a similar fashion a theoretical image of the common ancestor of all contemporary Germanic languages, the Scandinavian and the West Germanic ones alike. By the time Northwest Germanic was spoken, a separate branch called East Germanic was already separated, soon to be documented through Gothic.

The next stage was the separation of West Germanic and North Germanic: West Germanic branch developed into Old High German, Old English, Old

Saxon and so forth while North Germanic branch became the languages of Scandinavia, of which the common reconstructed form is called Proto-Scandinavian (or sometimes Proto-Norse). Proto-Scandinavian is already documented in a handful of runic inscriptions, and is thus one of the oldest documented languages of Europe. The carvings are so scarce, however, and so inconsistently spelled, that the knowledge of this 'Runic' language relies heavily on the comparative method as well. The records are just enough to double check and fine tune the theoretical work of scholars. Yet the existence of carvings contributes a lot to the division of Proto-Scandinavian into early, middle and late stages of development.

It is common in the literature to put a divide between Late Proto-Scandinavian (or Late Proto-Norse or 'Common Scandinavian') and subsequent stages portrayed as precursors of the languages of present nation states (Old Swedish, Old Danish, Old Icelandic etc.). A grey zone in this respect is a period of four or five centuries roughly corresponding to the Viking Age. Inscriptions in the later runic *futhark* (runic alphabet) also belong here. On the one hand, there is a tendency to transcribe all these inscriptions in a very Norwegian/Icelandic (Norse) type of orthography and emphasise how close this language was to archaic Old (West) Norse that was documented some centuries later. The concept of *formnordiska* [literally 'Old Nordic'] is also used and the corresponding Finnish term *muinaisskandinaavi* [literally 'Ancient Scandinavian'] is standard in Finnish language literature. Notwithstanding this, Swedish linguists have traditionally included this period in the history of national language development, calling the dialects then spoken in their country *runsvenska* ['Runic Swedish'].

In this work, I have opted to dispense with both the later nation states and the aspiration for Scandinavian unity. Since the chosen focus of this volume is the Viking Age in the Baltic region, it is justified to use a terminology which adequately describes the dialect map relevant at that time. During the Viking Age, Scandinavian dialects in the Atlantic area formed a western group while dialects in the Baltic Sea area formed two eastern groups. The main divide within the eastern group was between late Runic in Denmark and Sweden on the one hand and in Gotland on the other. These differences have their roots in the last period of Proto-Scandinavian, which I shall call Early East Scandinavian, and it continues to be relevant throughout the period of the later runes.

Using 'Old East Scandinavian' even for the first texts in Latin characters could also be justified because differences were still small. Some place names on the Finnish coast recorded in the Danish Itinerary are for example explicitly called 'Danish'. This is certainly not meant to be distinctive from 'Swedish', as the distinction was not yet perceived as meaningful in the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, I have opted to use mainly 'Old Swedish' (in parallel with 'Old Scandinavian' where the context requires) for the era from 1225 when the language was codified in Latin characters. Here there is enough reason to follow well-established practice as there are large corpuses labeled Old Swedish and Old Danish respectively.

Table 1. An absolute chronology (column 1) of the development from Proto-Germanic to Early New Swedish (column 3) with comparison to the development from Middle Proto-Finnic to Old Finnish (column 5) and accompanied by the abbreviations used in this chapter for the relevant reconstructed stages of language development (columns 2 and 4).

Period	Abbr.	Development stage of Scandinavian	Abbr.	Development stage of Finnic
500–100 BC	PGmc	Proto-Germanic	MPF	(early) Middle Proto-Finnic ~ (<i>varhainen</i>) <i>keskikantasuomi</i>
100 BC – AD 200	NwG	Northwest Germanic	MPF	(late) Middle Proto-Finnic ~ (<i>myöhäinen</i>) <i>keskikantasuomi</i>
AD 200–400	PSc	(Early) Proto-Scandinavian ~ (<i>tidig</i>) <i>urnordiska</i>	LPF	Late Proto-Finnic ~ <i>myöhäiskantasuomi</i>
AD 400–550	PSc	(Middle) Proto-Scandinavian ~ (<i>medel-</i>) <i>urnordiska</i>	CF	Coastal (Gulf of Finland) Finnic
AD 550–750/800	EESc	Early East Scandinavian ~ (<i>östlig</i>) <i>urnordiska</i>	NF	Northern Finnic
1225/1375 AD	OSw (classic)	Old Swedish ~ <i>klassisk/äldre fornsvenska</i>	EFi	Early Finnish ~ <i>varhaisuomi</i>
1375–1521/1540 AD	OSw (late)	Old Swedish ~ <i>yingre fornsvenska</i>	EFi	Early Finnish ~ <i>varhaisuomi</i>
1521/1540–1732 AD	ENSw	Early New Swedish ~ <i>äldre nysvenska</i>	OFi	Old Finnish ~ <i>vanha suomi</i>

The periodisation of Finnic is a more difficult issue. The only uncontroversial reconstruction levels are Proto-Uralic, Proto-Finno-Permic and Late Proto-Finnic. For the purpose of this chapter, only the last is relevant. Late Proto-Finnic is an image of the common ancestral language of the Finnic (or also called Baltic Finnic) languages from South Estonian in the southeast to Meänkieli in the northwest and from Livonian in the south-west to Vepsä in the east. Knowledge of Middle Proto-Finnic, which covers a sequence of older stages of this same language, may be acquired by means of internal reconstruction, comparison with previous reconstruction levels and loan-word studies.

The intermediate stages between Late Proto-Finnic and Old Finnish are all difficult to recover (cf. HÄKKINEN). Any meaningful reconstruction depends on one's understanding of the branching of the family tree. Any absolute chronology for any of the Finnic languages will be prone to criticism. Yet, for the purpose of presentation in this chapter, it is opportune to establish correspondences to the Germanic chronology, which is absolute, albeit provisionally and with reservations, as shown in Table 1. In that respect, I follow closely the family tree and the chronology for Finnic presented in PETRI KALLIO's chapter "The Diversification of Proto-Finnic" in this publication.²

Suggested Viking Age and Pre-Viking Age Loan Etymologies

It is symptomatic that, because of all the methodological limitations involved, very few suggested pre-historic loan etymologies have been accepted, while only some of them have been conclusively refuted. In the course of the early twentieth century serious scholars like Saxén, Pipping, Karsten and others proposed hundreds of Proto-Scandinavian loan etymologies for Finnish toponyms, but among these, none appear to have been permanently accepted without dissent. On the other hand, far from all of them have been convincingly refuted. This is indeed almost equally difficult because of methodological constraints.

Serious and recently discussed candidates for Early East Scandinavian, Proto-Scandinavian or Pre-Scandinavian etymologies among Finnish toponyms would include at least **Ahve-* (as in *Ahvenanmaa*, from PGmc), *Aura* (NwG or later), *Eura* (PGmc), *Kainuu* (PSc or EESc), *Karjala* (NwG) and *Kymi* (PGmc or older). There is also one example based on, or mixed with, ethnonymic use, namely **hämä-/Häme* (PG). Most of these etymologies are older than the time span chosen for this publication. (Koivulehto 1987: 33–37; Schalin 2008a; 2008b; 2012; cf. also SPNK respective entries.)³

With the possible exception of *Ahvenanmaa*, which much like *Vammala* above may in fact reflect an appellative, none of these names has a probable genetic doublet preserved in Swedish which would attest to the existence of the assumed loan original. If we include attestations in the form of other proper names presumably representing a similar etymology, we may mention the *Oder* (in Germany) for *Aura* and *Eura*, *Härjedalen* (in Sweden) for *Karjala* and *Kymmen* (in *Värmland*) for *Kymi*. We have already discussed two examples of borrowed names which were borrowed as men's names from PSc but have passed into toponymic use later, namely *Harjavalta* and *Hauho* (Koivulehto 1987: 31–32; 2007: 76). The date of origin for these two toponyms may not be recovered by linguistic methods but may well be pre-Christian as the names themselves are pre-Christian.

In addition to the overall uncertainties resulting from the nature of the matter, at least three of these etymologies are challenged by Lars Huldén. For *Eura*, Huldén (1997: 184 ff., FSB: s.v. 'Eura') proposes a young origin from some short form of the medieval man's name *Eberhard*, *Evert* etc. The proposal is rejected by Koivulehto (2007: 77; for the PGmc etymology by Koivulehto see Koivulehto 1987: 33–36 and SPNK: s.v. 'Eura'). The name *Aura* Huldén derives from some short form of the name *Abraham* (FSB: s.v. 'Aura'). Huldén (2012: 245ff.) characterises Koivulehto's argumentation as elegant, but remains unconvinced as he holds the conclusions as "too good to be true", which I take to mean that the postulated antiquity of the names alone renders the hypothesis implausible as hardly any other names are from Proto-Germanic. The alternative etymologies for these rivers cast little light on the Viking Age and there is no reason to pursue the argument any further here.

For the Finnish name of the *Kymi* river, Koivulehto and Huldén uphold competing Pre-Swedish etymologies (Koivulehto 1987: 36–37; Huldén



Map 1. Toponyms in and adjacent to Åland, Satakunta, Häme, Finland Proper and Nyland discussed in this chapter (NB: spellings are not uniform).

1997: 184 ff.). Koivulehto's etymology, which elegantly derives the name from a Proto- or Pre-Germanic appellative cognate to the verb *come* and with the meaning 'accessible' or 'navigable', falls outside the time frame of this chapter,⁴ while Huldén's etymology would indeed be from the Viking Age. In a recent article on the Swedish name *Kymmene*, I have recapitulated Koivulehto's criticism of Huldén's etymology and added several arguments against it (Schalin 2012). Huldén proposes deriving both EFi. **Kymi* and OSw. *Kym(m)en(n)V* from the same Proto-Scandinavian man's name, *Kunimund-*, supposedly first applied to a locality at the mouth of the river. For such a borrowing and the changes in form, meaning and use involved in it, there is simply not enough time to explain the Finnish data. The data includes an archaic e-stem, which is left unexplained (Koivulehto 2007: 77), and the transferred use as an appellative, which must be rather old, judging from the fact that it has been used as a naming basis for other waters in the region.

The OSw. name *Kym(m)en(n)V* has a peculiar trisyllabic structure heavy in geminates and, as I have argued, is not the expected outcome of the man's name *Kunimund-*. The traditional way of explaining it as a borrowing from Finnish is also flawed. The name can, however, be analysed as the remains of a compound, where the first element is an Early Finnish borrowing **Kymi* and the second is the Old Swedish word *-mynne/-minne* ['mouth of river'] (FSO-LEX: s.v. 'minne'; FSVLDB: s.v. 'amynne'). The borrowing probably predates the Swedish settlement in eastern *Nyland* (Fi. *Uusimaa*) by at least a few generations, being from the twelfth or thirteenth century at the latest (Schalin 2012). There is in fact no purely linguistic reason not to date the borrowing even earlier, to the earlier centuries of the Viking Age.

In this context, it is worth mentioning that, in the area just west of the river *Kymi*, some well-known attempts have been made on linguistic grounds to find earlier Swedish names than the centuries typically associated with the settlement. The unusual consonant correspondence in Sw. *Pyttis* cf. Fi. *Pyhtää* has been used as one platform of argumentation and the unusual vowel correspondence between Sw. *Tessjö* cf. Fi. *Taasia* as another. Yet, alternative explanations have been favoured in order to avoid the uncomfortable and perhaps unnecessary assumption of eighth century Scandinavian settlement (Granlund 1956:80, 84ff., with references). In recent years, quite ambitious amateur archaeologists have been working in this same region, uncovering findings claimed to date from the Viking Age (Jäppinen & Nygård).

Borrowed Names with Unexpected Doublets, Including Finnish Köyliö ~ Old Finnish Kiulo ~ Swedish Kjulo

In contrast to these presumed few older borrowings there is a plethora of obviously younger Finnish names in south-western Finland which do have genetic doublets in Finnish and Swedish. A majority of them may easily be explained as medieval borrowings. Some datings may, however, deserve closer study. It is noteworthy that all genetic doublets in Finnish-

speaking areas do not reflect well the rather regular sound correspondences established by Pitkänen for the Åboland (Turku) archipelago (cf. **Kaitasaari* → *Keitsor*). For example, *Paimio* is not reflected as ***Peimo* in Swedish (but rather *Pēmar*), *Raisio* does not give ***Reiso* but *Rēso* and *Laitila* reads *Lētala* rather than ***Leital*. These reflexes may in my opinion best be explained by dialectal differences within Swedish. From the late Viking Age onwards, the monophthongisation of OESc *-æi-* to standard OSw. *-ē-* was in progress and should have spread first from overseas by urban immigrants to the nearby provincial capital of Turku already during the Viking Age (as defined in the introduction of this publication). Unlike in rural dialects with primary diphthongs spoken in Swedish-speaking archipelago villages, the borrowings could have been adapted to this productive sound change. Therefore, the pronunciation in Turku has prevailed for localities of administrative importance in Finnish-speaking areas.

One name deserves closer study because of the apparent need to backdate its sound correspondences beyond the Swedish settlement. The genetic doublet Sw. *Kjulo* ~ Fi. *Köyliö* is used for a lake, an island in the lake, a creek draining the lake into the River Eura, as well as a settlement/parish on the shore of that lake. The oldest attestations are recorded in standard handbooks as *Kiulo–Kiulæ* (1392), *Kiwla* (1420), *Kyula* (1458). Stellan Waldenström (2005: 18 with references), who has studied the name thoroughly, also gives *Thiula* (1365), *Kiula* (1368) and *Kyula* (1372). These attestations are all similar to the name in OSw. and testify first and foremost to the form in that language. The first attestation compatible with the modern Finnish language name is *Köyljoki* (1640) for the river. The name of the lake is, however, recorded earlier as Old Finnish *Kiwlo* in “Piispa Henrikin surmavirsi”, a poem describing the slaying of the national saint, Bishop Henry, which according to the legend should have occurred in 1156 (regarding the historicity of missionary activities and a first crusade see AHOLA & FROG): “Kyllä kierrän Kiwlon järven, ympäri joki koveran” [‘I will indeed circumvent Lake *Kiwlo*, [going] around the bending river’].

This attestation is hard to date as it has been passed down for generations in oral tradition but it may have roots in (the last decades of) the thirteenth century (Heikkilä 2009: 161 ff.). All the same, phonologically there is no way EFi. **Kiulo* could have developed into OFi. *Köyliö*. Neither is the reverse development conceivable. These two diphthongs are kept well apart in the Finnish language in all environments. Therefore the most economical solution is to assume that while the form Fi. *KöylV-* (the *V* stands for a vowel of unknown quality and the hyphen for a later suffixation, possibly the remains of the word *joki* [‘river’], which is common in names ending in *-io/ -iö*) is hardly a borrowing from Old Swedish, the form OFi. *Kiwlo* indeed is. The substitutions are straightforward. A reverse direction of borrowing (EFi. **Kiulo* → OSw. *Kiulo*) is conceivable in terms of sound substitution but would leave the form *Köyliö* isolated and unexplained. Lars Huldén (FSB: s.v. ‘Kjulo’) states that the form *Köyliö* probably is a “secondary” formation but he does not reveal how in his view this “secondary” form could have arisen.



Fig. 1. U1040 Fasma – Riksantikvarieämbetet. Photo: Bengt A Lundberg – 2001-04-26.⁵

Ralf Saxén (1905: 170 ff.) first suggests (alongside another theory which he later refutes himself) that the Finnish form may be a borrowing from an older precursor of the Scandinavian name *Kiule*, which is attested on rune stones U1039 and U1040, which are from around the last third of the eleventh century. Five years later Saxén (1910: 81ff.) proposes a derived

PSc/EESc name **Keuliaz* or **Keuliōn* from a common noun **keulaz*, represented later by ON *kjóll* [‘(large) ship’]. Saxén assumes a sound substitution with Finnic **eü* (front vowel variant of **eu*) regularly resulting in OFi. *öy*.

Waldenström (2005) rightly points out that OSw. *Kiul-* cannot be the outcome of PSc/EESc **Keuliaz* or **Keuliōn* because i-mutation would have resulted in ***Kyl-*. He also correctly points out that OFi. *Kiwlo*, as in the poem, could well be a later borrowing from Old Swedish. The hypothesis of Waldenström, based on a Proto-Scandinavian appellative describing the shape of the island *Kjuloholm* ~ *Köyliönsaari*, is given favourable consideration by Huldén in the latest edition of FSB (s.v. ‘Kjulo’).

Unfortunately, Waldenström misrepresents Finnish vowel harmony, assuming that the vowel /i/ in the second syllable is a necessary precondition for the back vowel glide **eu* to mutate into the front vowel glide **eü*. In Finnish, front-vowel words may occasionally arise spontaneously from back-vowel words with only slight or no differentiation in meaning. For all these reasons it seems extraneous to operate with a concept of i-mutation in order to explain the front-vowel form of *Köyliö*. Indeed, in light of parallel borrowings, the sound substitution assumed by Saxén appears to be a very archaic Pre-Scandinavian one. In recent decades it has been argued (Hofstra 1985: 44–47, 177–179; Schalin 2004: 28) that Germanic loans where the Finnish diphthong *-öy-* (< NF **-eü-*) corresponds to Proto-Germanic **-eu-* all seem relatively old on account of other criteria. Examples of the Pre-Scandinavian type include *löytää* [‘to find’] < **leütä-* ← **χleutan* and *pöytä* [‘table’] < **peütä-* ← **beuða-*. The name could of course in theory have passed into to a front vocalic form much later: *köyliö* < **keül-* < **keul-* < **kepl-* ← **keul-*.⁶ Such an assumption remains rather speculative. In any event a definite *terminus ante quem* for such an unparalleled development would be the EESc sound development *-eu-* > *-iu-* (see Haugen 1976: 154; Holm 1996: 111, 117).

In short, CF **Keül-* could in theory have been borrowed from Germanic **KeulV-*, later represented by OSw. *Kiulo*, but parallels seem in that case to suggest a dating roughly as old as Middle Proto-Finnic (=MPF) ~ PGmc/NwG, or in absolute chronological terms corresponding to the Roman Iron Age. With this chronology, I see no reason to go deeper into discussion on the archaeological evidence used by Waldenström (2005: 29), by which he attempts to demonstrate a continued Scandinavian influence from around AD 550 until the Middle Ages. In my view his starting point falls some 300 years short of the requirement in order to make the necessary sound substitutions of the borrowed name plausible.

Finally, the preservation of a genetic doublet in two languages for centuries for an inland creek like *Köyliöjoki* or a corresponding settlement on the island *Kjuloholm* is hard to argue in light of the fact that so few of the other proposed Pre-Scandinavian etymologies have a valid doublet. The cases of *Taasia* ~ *Tessiö*, *Pyhtää* ~ *Pyttis* and *Perniö* ~ *Bjärnå* remain doubtful, as already stated, whereas the case of Sw. *Åland* ~ Fi. *Ahvenanmaa*, which is not an assured doublet either, is not analogous because it is a major locality in the middle of a language contact area.

As I have pointed out in a previous article (Schalin 2008a: 418), a solution based on a younger chronology is possible by assuming the reverse order of borrowing. EFi. *-eü-* (before its development into Old Finnish *-öy-*) might have rendered *-iu-* in Old East Scandinavian or Old Swedish, namely in the absence of OESc ***eu-*, which by then had disappeared from the language completely.⁷ The only alternative substitution would have been OESc *-øy-*, a diphthong that was about to become a dialect marker and perhaps therefore avoided in the Swedish language community around Turku, just as happened with the OESc diphthong *-æi-* in the names *Pēmar*, *Rēso* and *Lētala*. Still there could have been just enough time for a reborrowing of the Old Swedish name into late-medieval EFi. *Kiulo* of the poem.

In my view, this direction of borrowing is much more plausible. According to Stellan Waldenström (2005), an interpretation of OSw. *Kiul-* as a borrowing from Finnish through sound substitution had already been suggested by Liisa Nuutinen in a *pro gradu* thesis from 1988. According to him Nuutinen does not give any weight to the possibility of a PSc borrowing into Finnish but regards the Finnish element *Köyl-* as original in this respect. Nuutinen reportedly also studies other names in south-western Finland beginning with *Köyl-*, which include one medieval attestation *Köylinkoski* 1469 from Orimattila. The existence of such names adds to the weight of my argument.

In conclusion, I believe that the single Old Finnish attestation *Kiulo* is a reborrowing from Swedish. The Old Swedish name *Kiulo* is in turn a borrowing from Early Finnish **KeülV(j)o(-)*. I am neutral as to the discussion on the etymology of the Finnish name element **Keül-*. I would not *a priori* exclude a Northwest Germanic origin along the lines of Saxén and Waldenström, but other etymologies, such as the one based on a Sámi origin, may be more probable. In any event, the Old Swedish name appears in my view to be secondary, and thus of limited value when discussing the original etymology.

King Valdemar's Itinerary from the Thirteenth Century

The text of the itinerary is in Latin and forms part of a longer document known as Codex ex-Holmensis A 41 or by the better-known inauthentic name *Liber census Daniae* or in Danish *Kong Valdemars jordebog*. The codex is a collection of theological, historical and fiscal literature without a logical order. The historical and fiscal parts reflect significant knowledge of geographical and economic facts. The Codex was compiled around the year 1300 but the genesis of its different parts date back in varying degrees of decades, some as far as the first half of the thirteenth century (for a thorough discussion, see Gallén 1993: 13–19; for a facsimile edition and transcriptions of the text Gallén 1993: 50–53; cf. Zilliacus 1994: 49ff.). There are good arguments for an early dating of the itinerary on the substance matter of the text. The route described follows more sheltered waters than medieval navigation is known to have used. The change of routes was due both to

the post-glacial uplift of the seabed and the shift to larger carriers of the Hanseatic type (Zilliacus 1994: 50ff.).

Moreover the toponyms referred to in the itinerary reflects a situation where Old Swedish (referred to by the author as ‘Danish,’ noting that a distinction of ‘Danish’ from ‘Swedish’ would hardly have been meaningful at that time) names had stabilised in the south-western parts of the Åboland archipelago but only eastward as far as *Aspö*. Names with continuity in today’s Swedish are in Åland *Linæbötæ* (*Lemböte*), *Fyghelde* (*Föglö*), *Thiyckekarl* (*Kökar*) and *Iurima* (*Jurmo*, today annexed to Korpo parish). The name *Aspø* (*Aspö*) in southern Korpo marks the end of continuity with the exception of *Hangethe* (*Hangö by/Kapellhamnen*) and perhaps *Purkala* (*Porkala*) further east.

East of *Aspö* and *Jurmo*, the names have in some cases been replaced before new records appear in late-medieval times. This applies mainly (but not only) to some ‘Danish’ names. For Scandinavian borrowed names with Finnish loan originals, it is hard to determine whether they show continuity in Old Swedish or rather if they have been preserved in Early Finnish for a longer time and borrowed into Old Swedish thereafter. Only the name *Hangethe*, which designates an important mainland harbour, unambiguously shows continuity in Old Swedish from the itinerary’s attestation until late medieval times.

The fact that the eastern names in the text are quite scantily preserved in Swedish may indicate that they reflect a time rather before than after the large scale settlement of the Finnish south coast by Swedish peasants. This would be much more consistent with a dating to the early thirteenth century. By the first decades of the fourteenth century the Swedish settlement had already established itself in a continuous coastal strip, also including the easternmost parts of the Nyland province. A good case has been made for a hypothesis that speakers of Old Swedish had settled in parts of Korpo parish relatively early (Zilliacus 1994: 41–46). This would correlate well with the tendency of preservation for most of the names in Korpo.

The westernmost name that has disappeared from the language is *Aspæsund*. It may have referred to a sound next to *Aspø*, perhaps one that no longer exists due to the post-glacial uplift. Interpreted in this context, it seems equally possible, however, that it referred to a longer navigable stretch through the wider *Aspö/Nötö* archipelago, much like the names *Åmbarsund* in *Föglö* or *Barösund* in *Ingå* today.⁸ Other names may have disappeared from the language randomly or due to the change of use in connection with the developing Swedish settlement. These would include *Malmø* (now *Nötö* < [‘cattle island’] in southern *Nagu*), *Refholm* (now perhaps *Lökholm* < [‘leek island’]), *Ørsund* (now *Kyrkosund* < [‘church sound’] in *Hitis*), *Cuminpe* (now the tip of *Hangöudd* or *Hankoniemi*), *Lowicsund* (somewhere near *Tvärminne*), *Karienkaskæ* (now *Hästö-Busö* in *Ekenäs*) and *Hæstø* (now *Orslandet*). There is no way of determining how long this more ancient layer of names, to which *Hangethe* and the other preserved names of the itinerary undoubtedly may be added, had existed. As I have stated above regarding the borrowed name *Kymmene*,

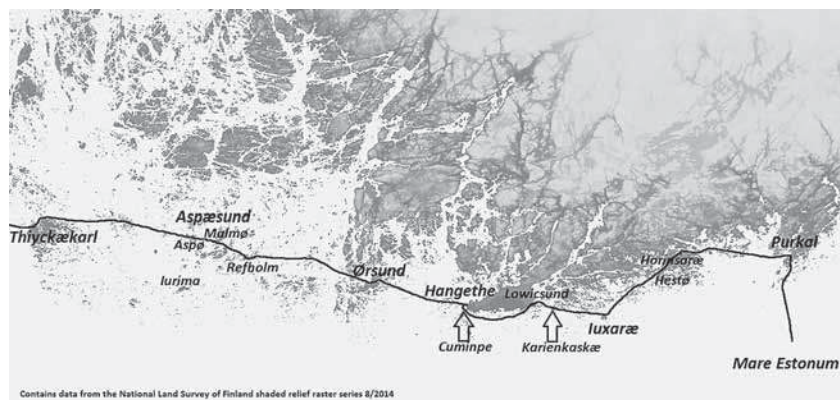
there is no purely linguistic reason not to date this layer even earlier, to the earlier centuries of the Viking Age.

The location represented by the name *Ørsund* in *Hitis* was pinpointed in 1991. Archaeological excavations there have been conducted by the National Board of Antiquities. Results published so far indicate that a market place existed there during the Viking Age (Edgren 1995; 1996; 1999; RANINEN & WESSMAN). A few Viking Age artefacts have also been found on the northern shores of *Hangö*, next to a sheltered harbour, which corresponds well to the assumed location of *Hangethe*.

As for the name *Iuxaræ*, which in modern local archaic dialect is pronounced [jʉ:sarø:], I believe that the spelling may reveal that it was yet to be borrowed permanently into Old Swedish. I have found no orthographic explanation for the spelling with “x” and hence a phonematic one could be tested. The origin of the name is thought to be EFi. **Juutinsaari* [‘the island of the Jutes’] (Zilliacus 1994: 85 and works there cited). If syncope had occurred already early in this Finnish (or Estonian) dialect, the [t] would have appeared adjacent to the [s]. This was all the more likely if the first element was not in genitive but nominative case **Juutt(i)saari*. It is not at all sure that this dialect possessed the sequence [-ts-]. Modern Finnish words with -ts- like *katsoa* [‘to look’] and *metsä* [‘forest’] should in those days have been pronounced with a geminate fricative **kaθθo-* and **meθθä*. Therefore an underlying form **Juut-saar(i)* may have emerged with a variant surface structure (pronunciation) [jüksär]. The phonetic similarity of -ts- and -ks- is striking, especially as the Finnish ‘s’ is dorso-postalveolar rather than dental.⁹ Later an assimilated form [ju:ssa:ri] would have served as an original for the Old Swedish borrowing, still pronounced with a long vowel [jʉ:sarø:].

An additional argument for a later borrowing is the short central vowel of the second syllable. Further west names like *Bengtsår* in Bromarv, *Högsåra* (< **Hautasaari*) in *Hitis* and *Åvensor* (< **Ahvensaari*) in *Korpo* proves that they participated in the late-medieval Old Swedish sound change a: > å:. They are therefore borrowed and nativised before that sound change. The pronunciation [jʉ:sarø:] reflects an unexpected short vowel /a/, without secondary stress. The name could have been permanently borrowed in the fifteenth century, after the abovementioned sound change, when the long vowel /ā/ had become a very peripheral phoneme in the Old Swedish of that region, and occurred exclusively before very few consonant clusters. The literary contemporary Finnish *Jussaari* is most certainly a much later borrowing from literary Swedish *Jussarö*.

Not much further east from this location the name *Horinsaræ* is obviously not yet nativised as the text itself states that the Danish name was *Hestø*: “Inde horinsaræ quod danice dr hestø ii” [‘From *Horinsaræ*, which the Danes call *Hestø* 2 rowing shifts’].¹⁰ This name must later have been borrowed into Old Swedish in time for it to be attested as *Oris* (1451) > Sw. *Oorss* (1534) [u:rs] in the *Ingå* archipelago. The Danish name suggests that the original was **Orihinsaari* or **Orhinsaari* [‘Stallion Island’],¹¹ which is still the preferred interpretation, even if the later pronunciation [u:rs] presents difficulties for



Map 2. Toponyms mentioned in the Danish Itinerary located according to Zilliacus 1994.

the assumed sound development. One would assume [ɔrins] or [ɔrisso:r] or the like with a mid-low vowel. This difficulty has justified an alternative interpretation as an original *Ohðensaari* [‘Bear Island’]. This etymology cannot, however, explain why the EFi. alveolar spirant * δ would occur as /r/ so much earlier than expected and in a so-called ‘l-area’, where the preferred OFi. representation of the EFi. * δ . was -l- rather than -r-.

My suggestion is that the pronunciation [u:rs] could also reflect older **Orn(i)s(ar)* because the cluster -rn- is known to lengthen the preceding vowel, which subsequently would have risen. In this case, the attested *Oris bol* (1451) would be a worn down form of an intermediate **Ornis(ar)* representing metathesis of -in- > -ni- with relation to the primary borrowing **Orins(ar)* (and its loan original). Likewise the day *onsdag* < *ōþinsdagh* [‘Wednesday’] is pronounced [u:nisdag] in several East Nyland dialects. The element *-ar could have been dropped when reanalysed as an obsolete genitive ending.

The root vowel of the last name *Purkal* does not reflect the vowel of the assumed Finnish original *Porkkala*. Unlike in Early Finnish, no phonemic opposition could, in Old Swedish/Danish of the thirteenth century, have been upheld between [o] and [u] in this position. Therefore the spelling could easily have shown random variation. The spelling may in my view not be used to determine whether this name had been nativised in Old Swedish or whether it still occurred as an ad hoc borrowing.

Overall, there is no evidence that a single name of Early Finnish (or Estonian) origin attested in the itinerary appearing east of *Hangethe* was permanently borrowed into Old Swedish in the early thirteenth century. Indeed, I have argued that the name *iuxaræ* corresponding to EFi. **Juutsaari* and Sw. dialect [ju:sarø:] may indicate that at least this name was not. This leaves *Hangethe*, a village and harbour just north of the contemporary town, as the easternmost name of the itinerary indisputably nativised in Old East Scandinavian and preserved into modern Swedish, *Aspø* in Korpo being the second-most easterly name of this character. East of this geographic area

the name *Kymmenne* should also have been nativised at the latest by the thirteenth century.

In these names mentioned in the itinerary, be they Finnish or Danish names, few features are available that would make them stand out as clearly older than the source text. The second part of the name *Hangethe* is certainly obscure, which makes it a candidate for an old name together with other names containing that element (alongside *Narigeth* ~ *Naissaar* occurring in the itinerary itself and for example also *Dageida* ~ Gutnish *Dagaiþ* ~ Estonian *Hiiumaa*). The first element seems to be a borrowing from Fi. *Hanka* [‘bifurcated peninsula’ and as an appellative also ‘oarlock’]. The first element of the name *Lurima*, mentioned above, is equally obscure. If it could be shown that it contains the well-known Baltic word for ‘sea’, as in Latvian *Jurmala*, this would certainly bear testimony of a lost borrowed noun in a local dialect and would therefore hint at its great age.¹²

The Name Tafæistaland

Two toponyms in present-day Finland, attested as being from the Viking Age, are OESc *Tafæistaland* and an attestation of the name *Finland* on the rune stone U582 (now lost, but documented in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) from Söderby-Karl in Roslagen. The latter name appears in a text translated ‘Björn and Igulfrid raised the stone in memory of Otrygg, their son. He was killed in Finland.’ This is an interesting and contemporary parallel to the attestation of the name *Tafæistaland*. As no proposed loan etymology is involved, however, I have chosen not to discuss this attestation any further.

The Old East Scandinavian name *Tafæistaland* appears in a runic inscription classified as Gs13 from Hämlinge, Söderby, Valbo socken, Gästrikland, Southern Norrland, Sweden. The inscription is dated to the first half of the eleventh century and the line in question reads: **in h-n uarþ tauþr a tafstalonti**, which in normalised OES spelling usually is recorded as *en h[a]nn varð dauðr a Taf[æi]stalandi* [‘and he died in Tafæistaland’]. The name *Tafæistaland* here appears with the ending for the dative singular case. The diphthong that is inserted in normalised spelling is based on the fact that the name also appears in early-fourteenth century Old Icelandic sources in the form of *Tafeistaland* (the vowel correspondence *æi* ~ *ei* is regular) and the simple fact that runic inscriptions often lack runes. The name corresponding to the first element also spells *Tafæist-* in other inscriptions, as we shall see below.

The whole inscription rendered into English reads:

Brúsi had this stone erected in memory of Egill, his brother. *And he died in Tafæistaland*, when Brúsi brought (= led?) the land’s levy(?) (= army) in memory of, his brother. He travelled with Freygeirr. May God and God’s mother help his soul. Sveinn and Ásmundr, they marked.



Fig. 2. G13 Gävle. Photo: Berig (Own work 2008-02-28).¹³

From medieval sources we know that the name is synonymous with the name of the Finnish province *Häme* or *Hämeenmaa*. Other attestations include: *de Teuestia* (1237) and *in Tavastia* (1303). They show fluctuation in the vowel of the second syllable but no attestation (with the exception of Gs13 above) completely lacks a vowel/syllable in this position. The name qualifies in this chapter on borrowed names because Adolf Neovius proposed in 1908 that Runic *Tafstaland* was a borrowing from Early Finnish **Taustamaa* [‘hinterland’, e.g. the land (viewed from the sea) ‘behind’ the older coastal settlements of Finland proper]. This is the single solution cited in the standard handbook on Swedish toponyms in Finland (FSB: s.v. ‘Tavastland’) while the new handbook on Finnish toponyms (SPNK: 450) states that the hypothesis is not refuted. Both publications refer to the lack of evidence of a Finnish loan original. The semantics of the hypothesis are also not very convincing. Yet in my view, the hypotheses may indeed be refuted, in particular with regard to the sound correspondences.

The word *tausta* [‘background’, ‘wealth’] is first attested in Juslenius’ lexicon of 1745. Another shorter derivative *taus* seems to be the older one with cognates in related languages (cf. Veps *tagus*, Vote *taguz* and Sámi *duogaš* [‘wealth, property’]). Even if a Finnish word **tausta* existed in the Viking Age, which is highly doubtful in light of this data, it would, as a derivative of *taka*, have been trisyllabic, EFi. **tayusta*, and the purely hypothetical name for *Häme* would have been **Tayustamaa*. Therefore the hypothesis requires a very awkward substitution **Tayusta-maa* → **Tafæista-land* (or **Tafa(i)sta-land*). A sound substitution with /f/ for /ɣ/ in the original is just as farfetched as *-æista-* (or *-a(i)sta-*) for **-usta-*, even as a folk etymology.

Therefore there are enough problems even in the phonological area alone to consider this hypothesis unfounded.

From a phonological point of view, no similar problems undermine the suggestion of Viljo Nissilä, who reconstructs a man’s name **Tapainen* from which he derives a toponym **Tavaistenmaa*. Because of the many other necessary assumptions involved, however, this proposal has not gained much acceptance. The same may be said for the reconstruction by Lauri Kettunen of a hypothetical verb **tavastaa* [‘go hunting/wandering in the wilderness’]. (SPNK: s.v. ‘Tavastland’)

From here we may conclude that there is not sufficient basis for pursuing a loan etymology for the Swedish name *Tavastland*. Neither is there a need for one. According to one of the alternatives recorded in SPNK the name is a straightforward formation from the ethnonym *Tavast* [‘person from Häme’]. The structure of the Scandinavian name includes a connecting vowel *-a-* in the middle of the compound. It must be analysed as a genitive plural ending of the first element. *Tafæist-a-land* should therefore be read as ‘the land of the Tafæists’. From this it follows that the toponym is derived from the ethnonym rather than the other way around.

As pointed out in SPNK, the ethnonym would in this case contain the element **Aistaz* [‘Estonian’] and a preceding element *Taf-* [‘laggard’]. The compound is plausible under the assumption that the Scandinavians were inclined to perceive that the Finnic communities on both sides of the Gulf of



Fig. 3. U722 Löts kyrka – Riksantikvarieämbetet. Photo: Bengt A Lundberg – 1995–09–18.¹⁴

Finland indeed belonged to similar ethnicities. The ethnic component may have come in handy to distinguish the *Tafæist* communities from the Sámi ones. Both ethnicities would have been present in the vicinity of each other in large parts of today's Southern Finland.

According to this interpretation, the ethnonym would also have been the basis for the formation of the man's name *Tafæistr*, attested on the rune stone classified as U722 from Löts kyrka, Löts sn, Trögds härad, Uppland. The line in question reads: **tafaistr * lit * raisa : stain * at . . .**, which in normalised OES spelling should be recorded as *Tafæistr let ræisa stæin at . . .* ['Tafeistr had the stone raised in memory of . . .?].

Another attestation appears on the rune stone classified as U467 Tibble, Vassunda sn, Ärlinghundra hd. The line in question reads: **tafaist--sa stei(n) * þen. . .**, which in normalised OES spelling should be recorded as *Tafæist[r] . . . [ræi]sa stæin þenn[a]* ['Tafeistr . . . this stone raised . . .?].

The first element also exists as a stand-alone man's name *Taf-*. This name would of course not be formed on the basis of the ethnonym. Rather it is indirect evidence for the productivity of the adjective *TafR* ['laggard'] as an attribute used for naming men, be it as a proper name or as an ethnonymic qualifier.

An attestation of this name appears on the rune stone classified as Vs FV 1988; 36 in Jädra, Hubbo socken, Västmanland. The line in question reads: **taf : lit : risa : estn : þina : hitir : kri(m)ut . . .**, which in normalised OES spelling is usually recorded as *Taflet ræisa stæin þenna eftir Grimmund* ['Taf had this stone raised in memory of Grimmundr?].

Returning to the question of the ethnonym discussed above, there are no compelling reasons to take the runic sequence **tafstalonti** to mean that a form with a missing second syllable would be the oldest one. All other attestations cited include a vowel in this position. On the other hand, it is not sure that the original diphthong *-æi-* was pronounced in this position as such in eleventh-century OESc. The fact that the diphthong appears in a less emphasised syllable could explain the unexpected vowel in the medieval name *Tafvast* attested in Latin as *in Tavastia* (1303).

The varying vowel representation may be explained as the remains of different case and/or compound forms, the pronunciation of which had developed conditioned on the variation in stress patterns. The profound changes in the language taking place in and around the eighth century were largely dependent on accent and length. A shortening of *-æi-*, which in length equals a long vowel, gave different results depending on when it happened. For a shortening during Old East Scandinavian times, one would expect /æ/ as in Sw. *hälsa* ['health'] (derived from OESc *hæil-* ['whole']) or *älska* ['to love'] (derived from EESc **æil-* ['fire']; see also VAEO: s.v. 'elske'). A shortening of an older date and/or in a less stressed syllable could give /a/, as in the compounded Norse name *Ólaf-* from **Anulaiðu-*. This name is well known for its many attested variant forms *Ólaf-* ~ *Óláf-* ~ *Áleif-* showing precisely the phenomenon described at the beginning of this paragraph (Janzen 1947: 85, 108–109).

Therefore, some case forms of the ethnonym could have retained the diphthong as in *Tafæistr*, while the regular outcome for some case forms, where the relevant syllable was minimally stressed (**Taf^{ai}stumz*) would have been *Tafast-*. Thus the variations in the vocalism is consistent with Scandinavian origin, especially if we may assume that the ethnonym, if not



Fig. 4. Vs Fv1988;36 Jädra – Photo: Berig (Own work 2007–08–30).¹⁵

the toponym, is older than or concurrent with the changes taking place in and around the seventh century.

As regards considerations belonging to other disciplines, contacts with the Tavastians would have been likely either in the Kokemäki river region, on the south coast of Finland between the Pikkala creek and the Kymi river or possibly in Halikko Bay, used by Tavastians as a trading point.

*The Names Swedish Karis ~ Finnish Karja(h)a- ~ ?
Old Norse Herdalar*

The first event ever supposed to have occurred in *Finland* is a skirmish attributed in the thirteenth-century *Óláfs saga Helga* [‘The Saga of Óláfr the Saint’] of *Heimskringla* (OSH, SOH) to the adolescent Saint Óláfr. According to what is known about Óláfr’s youth, the encounter must have taken place in 1008. This portion of the text, describing his ‘third battle’, contains a poem by Sighvatr Þórðarson (995–1045). The combat, or rather the military debacle, is told in the saga, attributed to the Icelander Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241), to have occurred close to *byggðir nokkurar* [‘some inhabited places / settlements’] called *Herdalar* (cf. ON *dalr* [‘dale, vale’], archaic West Norse and OSw. pl. *dalar*) in *Finland*, somewhat inland from the *Bálagarðs síða* [‘shore/coast of *Bálgarðr*’] (cf. ON *garðr* [‘realm, inhabited property, enclosure’]) and inhabited by the *Finlendingar*. The place names and ethnonym are attested in Sighvatr’s poem, which is otherwise low on informational content:

Hríð varð stáls í stríðri
ströng Herdala göngu
Finlendinga at fundi
fylkis niðs hin þriðja.
En austr við lá leysti
leið víkinga skeiðar.
Bálagarðs at barði
brimskíðum lá síða.
(Source: OSH Chapter 9 “Orusta þriðja”)

The third fight was at Herdales (or ‘Army-Dales’), where
The men of Finland met in war
The hero of the royal race,
With ringing sword-blades face to face.
Off Bálagarðr’s shore the waves
Ran hollow; but the sea-king saves
His hard-pressed ship, and gains the lee
Of the east coast through the wild sea.

Since a suggestion in 1895 the location has often been identified with a village *Hirdal* in the Ingå parish, western Nyland province. The millennium of this event was celebrated in Ingå in 2008 (VNUR). In an article published in that same year, I argued that the identification with the village *Hirdal*, supported by J. R. Aspelin, Gunvor Kerkkonen, J. M. Granit, Ola Brenner, Jarl Stormbom and Gustaf Sundman, is not sustainable for the following reasons (Schalin 2008a).

The first mention of Ingå’s *Hirdal* is from 1540, *Hijrendaall*. The spelling of all the oldest attestations points to a long palatal vowel and a third medial syllable subsequently lost. The name is thus not phonologically consistent with ON *Herdalar*. Being a minor village, *Hirdal* is far too small to fit Snorri’s description of *Herdalar* as ‘some settlements’, and it is also too small to have

mobilised a successful defence against these Viking ships. According to the history of settlement, Hirdal was founded on the outskirts of the medieval communities of *Finnpada* and *Backaby* (Kerkkonen 1945: 172f). Thus it is also far too young to have existed in 1008. Moreover, if we attach any credibility to the narrative, Hirdal is closer to the shore than *Herdalar*, which was located several hours' walk inland. After the Vikings had fled to the ships and had set sail, according to the story, the *Finnledingar* marching along the shore followed the ships, which tacked their way towards the open sea. If correctly described, this is consistent only with the topography of the western shore of the bay *Pojoviken* (Fi. *Pohjanpitäjänlahti*), equalling the eastern shore of the peninsula *Hangö udd* (Fi. *Hankoniemi*) some 15 miles further west from Hirdal. The south-western coast in any other location is heavily indented by bays and peninsulas.

In many ways, the description of this skirmish would fit the ancient parish of *Karis* (late OSw. *Karis* is a secondary formation from earlier OESc/OSw. **Karjas* ← EFi. **Karjas/ Karjaha-* still preserved in Fi. *Karjaa*). The parish shows some continuity of settlement throughout the Viking Age and could have been the most important community existing at that time on the south coast exposed to a naval raid. This most western region of present day Nyland would definitely in pre-Christian times have qualified as 'Finnish' (extension of Finland Proper) rather than 'Tavastian'. As Unto Salo (2000: 158f., 212 note 21; 2008: 199) points out, there is a striking phonological similarity between the first part of the ON name *Herdalar* and the PGmc/NwG loan original postulated for the Finnish name **Karjas*, notably **χarjaz* ['army, host, crowd, mob'] (for the etymology see SPNK: s.v. 'Karjaa' and Nissilä 1954 & 1962). The same word is preserved in the Icelandic noun *her* and Swedish *här* with the same meaning. A derived weak masculine occurs as a man's name on rune stone SÖ 32 in Skåäng, Vagnhärad parish, Hölbo, Södermanland as well as on the comb DR 207 from Vimose, Fyn island, Denmark, dated to the second century AD. As I have reminded elsewhere (Schalin 2008a), this etymon has also been productive in Swedish as a designator of pre-Christian administrative recruitment areas, as shown by the common nouns Sw. *härad* and *hundare* (< **hunda-harja*), both meaning 'district' (SEO: s.v. 'härad'; Pamp 1988: 79f.; Andersson 2004: 6–8; 2005: 13 f.).

It should be noted that the NwG etymology of the name *Karjaa* is not uncontroversial. Similar names exist elsewhere, including an important settlement south of the Gulf of Finland from where the name could have travelled (perhaps in the Viking Age?).

Apart from the uncertain etymology, a solution based on the assumption that ON *Herdalar* indeed is a reminiscence of this word has at least three weaknesses. Firstly, the unlikely assumption is necessary that the name had been preserved in Scandinavian from the (late) Roman Iron Age, when the substitution **k-* ← **χ-* ceased to be productive (cf. later Fi. *hartia* ← EESc **hardiō-*). A later borrowing should have produced Fi. ***Harjaa* unless of course an exceptionally archaic sound substitution may be assumed under influence of the common noun Fi. *karja*. This noun today means 'cattle' but at that time it is still likely to have carried the meaning of its loan original.

Note that Unto Salo (2000: 158 ff.) assumes a retranslation from Finnish, with an unlikely sound substitution triggered by the consciousness of the meaning of the Finnish name.

A second minor weakness is the topography described above. In order to follow the ships along the shore of *Hangö udd*, the inhabitants of *Karjaa* would have to helicopter themselves across the bay of *Pojoviken*. In order to save the hypothesis, one could of course assume a larger prehistoric parish of *Karjah-*, including the core settlements of present day *Tenala* (Fi. *Tenhola*) west of the bay, implying a larger recruitment area for the defence of these habitations. While continuity of settlement throughout the Viking Age is explicitly assumed for *Karjah-*, including present-day *Snappertuna* (Forsén & Moisanen 1995: 33–38; Hagggrén *et al.* 2003: 19ff.; Alenius *et al.* 2004), one could speculate that *Tenala* was also originally an offshoot of this settlement, existing already in 1008. However, this is in any event a minor weakness not least because the saga source was written more than two centuries later in Iceland by someone who likely had no first-hand knowledge of any coasts on the Baltic Sea.

This brings us to the third, rather grave weakness: the reliability of the saga itself. The poem of Sighvatr in itself is more or less contemporary with the event and should have been passed on to the fourteenth century protected by its stringent metrics. The names *Herdalar* and *Bálagarðr*, however, are compounds of common nouns of that time, nouns closely associated with the theme of the poem. As pointed out by Clive Tolley in the November 2011 seminar, the words are rather suspicious as compounded names comprised of thematically relevant elements and could thus be ad hoc formulations during the composition of the poem rather than historical toponyms.¹⁶ Productive invention of ad hoc compounds, such as ‘kennings’, was a common tool for poets to be able to formulate their story without violating the strict metrics. Lars Huldén (2012: 249) has recently suggested that *Bálagarðr* [‘the realm/ enclosure of (bon)fires’] is originally a kenning meaning ‘hell, inferno, realm of death’. Huldén backs up his argument with half a dozen of other attestations, some of which relate to other geographical areas and others that appear have no geographic connotations at all. Even in Sighvatr’s poem, the word occurs in the context of sorcery and severe danger.

The narrative, on the other hand, is clearly secondary to the poem and may include later attempts to elaborate on obscure elements in it. As many poems of the same saga do contain names of real and identifiable places, Snorri might have reinterpreted a kenning into a geographical context.

In the case of Sighvatr’s poem, *Balgarðr* carries both alliteration and rhyme and *síða* carries the type of rhyme that requires participation of the vowel in the position requiring this rhyme on a heavy syllable (Frog, p.c). This might favour the interpretation that it indeed did not represent a geographical term before Snorri. However, *Herdalar* carries neither alliteration nor rhyme and merely completes three of the required syllables of the line and requirements of stressed positions, the technicalities of which remain open to debate (Frog, p.c.). This would leave some more space for an interpretation that *Herdalar* represents a geographical name, but in the

absence of any other tangible indication to that effect, one must remain very reserved.

On the whole, I am no more inclined to propagate my own suggestion than in 2008, when I concluded that the possibility of etymological coincidence between **Karjas* and *Herdalar* may not be ruled out. Indeed the weaknesses of the hypothesis seem to outweigh its strengths. Of course this would by no means contradict the good arguments for locating the event somewhere in the area where *Finland* meets the open seas of the *Baltic* such as the one discussed above. Neither would this undermine the possible Northwest Germanic etymology of *Karjaa*. One must only caution against using the attestation of the name *Herdalar* as remarkable evidence for either.

The Names Old Finnish Ahuen maa ~ Old Swedish Alandh

It has been long known that both the first element of OSw. *Alandh* and the first element of OFi. *Ahuen maa* could reflect a Germanic (feminine) noun for running water, attested in Gothic *ahva* and ON *ā*. ~ OSw. *ā*. The Finnish form is easily explained as a borrowing from this word. The correspondence between Gothic and Scandinavian is phonologically regular, remembering that the nominative and accusative of the Early East Scandinavian word is in fact **ah(w)u* rather than ***ahwa*, sometimes wrongly cited.

Semantically, the association with this etymon creates just as many problems as it solves, because the province of *Åland* is certainly not known for its rivers and there is no independent evidence for reconstructing other meanings for the word **ah(w)u*, than indeed ‘river’, which is attested also in Gothic and therefore reconstructable to Proto-Germanic (Andersson 1964–1965: 281 with references). The phonetic similarity is however so striking that there is scope for improvement of the hypothesis by adding one or two reasonable assumptions. In theory, one can proceed in two different directions.

Several scholars since the 1960s (Ståhl 1964; Andersson 1964–1965; Huldén 1976; cf. FSB: s.v. ‘Åland’) have interpreted the latter element *-land* as meaning ‘large island’ rather than ‘province’. The arguments for that are quite convincing since the phonological correspondences of the two names requires a borrowing that is older than the emergence of a meaning of ‘province’ for the word *land*, alongside the established meaning ‘large island’. Some large neighbouring islands (*Hammarland*, *Lemland* and *Lumparland*) indeed carry names based on that long established meaning. As regards semantics the argument remains problematic for the first element of the name. The postulated naming basis ‘river island’ is quite odd. There are no proper rivers on the barren islands of the Baltic Sea and the streams on the *Åland Islands* are rather brooks than creeks. In the Iron Age they would have been even tinier as they drained lesser water sheds. In theory one could speculate that some scarce brooks on a few islands in the Baltic might stand out as a naming basis for those islands. Yet, accepting that logic in one case, rouses the expectation to find another analogous example of the naming basis

‘creek island’. Indeed it is disturbing in that regard, that even though there is a myriad of named islands in Sweden and Finland, not a single example exists, where then lexeme *Å*- (or Fi. *Joki*-) as a first element would refer to a watercourse on that island (see further Schalin 2008b: 26). It is noteworthy that of the three scholars, which have defended that hypothesis, each has differed in proposing his favoured *Åland* rivulet (Ståhl 1964; Andersson 1964–1965: 290ff.; FSB s.v. ‘Jomala’). Moreover it is not clear which island, according to an Iron Age shore line, the name would refer to. In his classical monograph on toponyms in *Åland* Lars Hellberg (1987: 233) thus deems “very unlikely” that the name *Åland* is based on any known stream in that province.

A second way to salvage the hypothesis, is to assume a meaning of ‘island(s)’ for the first element, which is present in at least one derived stem of the same etymon, namely Sw. *ö* traditionally reconstructed OESc. *ø̅y* < (Middle) PSc. **auju* < NwG. **awjō-* < PGmc **ag^wjō-*. At first glance that would solve much of the semantic problem because islands are just as abundant and characteristic for the area as rivers are not. Yet, the most obvious naming basis ‘island province’ has been categorically dismissed as anachronistic for a Proto-Scandinavian name (Ståhl 1964: 12ff.). Hence, unless the last element *-land* can be argued to be a late Viking Age addition, we would have to look for a naming basis involving one single more ancient island, the ‘island of islands’. Despite its apparent tautology, the latter is plausible in the Baltic where the post-glacial uplift of the seabed has caused islands in the ever changing archipelago to merge into larger entities over time. A formation *Skärlandet* [‘Skerry Island’] or [‘the large island characterised by accreting skerries’] or [‘the large island of the archipelago/skärgård’] is found in the *Ekenäs* archipelago. Another possibility would be a naming basis such as the ‘island of peninsulas’ or the ‘island of the watery meadows’, based on various other well-known meanings of this particular word for island (SEO: s.v. ‘ö’; VAEO: s.v. ‘øy’).

Phonologically a solution based on this lexical item is very problematic, though, since the expected outcome, *prima facie*, would be *Öland* rather than *Åland*. Indeed a major island/province in Sweden carries precisely the name *Öland* (SOL: s.v. ‘Öland’) and the ancient Scandinavian name for *Saaremaa* in Estonia is Icelandic *Eysýsla*, Sw. *Ösel*. The vocalism of these names would effectively constitute counter examples for the vocalism of such a compound, unless they can be shown to be compounded considerably later.¹⁷

In a previous article I have given preference to postulating, in order to explain the vowel, a borrowing into Early East Scandinavian from Northern Finnic (Schalin 2008b: 23ff), based on an idea first put forward by Lars Huldén (1976), but which he later has set aside in favour of his preferred option. I there explained the Finnic loan original, namely the precursor of the name *Ahveen-maa*, attested in 1833, as an early borrowing into an appellative meaning ‘islands, archipelago’ from a Proto-Germanic lexeme today represented by Sw. *ö* [‘island’] ~ Icl. *ey* [‘ibid’], thus developing and modifying ideas by Heikki Ojansuu (1920: 4–5) and Matts Dreijer (1979: 112 ff.). The borrowing would have occurred before the development of

PGmc *g^w > -w- in this word. Naming based on this Germanic appellative (or in some cases its synonymous weak stem), which in plural appears to have meant a ‘cluster of island’, is attested at least in Scandinavian language for many localities, one further north along the Finnish west coast, and several occurrences across Sweden, always appearing in the plural: *Öja*. Also (*Vestmanna*)*eyjar* off the coast of Iceland is colloquially called *Eyjar*.

The Middle Proto-Finnic suffix *-eš > *-efj > -eh may well have been added as a reflex of the plural ending, or spontaneously as in the name *Häme*, resulting in (late) MPF **Afjvefj*. The suffix is certainly attested in (1833) *Ahveen-maa* whereas the earlier attestation of *Ahuen maa* is ambiguous as vowel length was not marked in spelling at the time. A reborrowing of early NF **Ahveh-* ‘the archipelago region’ into EESc. around the sixth century could have resulted in OSw. *Ålandh*, on condition that the substitution of the second syllable (probably **Ahwa-* with accommodation to the most common stem vowel for compounds), would not trigger i-mutation. One challenge for this kind of reasoning, which I have attempted to solve (Schalin 2008b: 25ff.), is to explain the later annexation of the elements *-land* and *-maa* respectively, and separately in the two languages.

Here we face a riddle, after all, which may only be solved through a comprehensive assessment of analogous cases and pursuing a maximum economy of unnecessary assumptions. If we want to maintain that the phonological match is not a coincidence we firstly have to accept that the name is older than just about all the other names in that region. In addition we either have to:

1. Accept and explain the unlikely naming basis ‘creek island’ (Ståhl 1964; Andersson 1964–1965: 290ff.; FSB s.v. ‘Jomala’), as well as an additional assumption of a differential treatment of the first element (sound substitution) in relation to the latter (translation),
2. Accept the assumption of a (re)borrowing from Finnish and explain how and when the Finnish name originated, as well as the later annexation of the elements *-land* and *-maa* respectively (Schalin 2008b),
3. Postulate a hypothetical word, derived with a suffix from the same etymon, which might allow us to dispose of a number of the other necessary assumptions (Greule 2004: 75ff.),¹⁸ or
4. Postulate an even earlier Pre-Roman Iron Age borrowing (cf. endnote 17), with the shorelines of those times, thus reducing the postulated borrowing events from two to one.

The fall-back option would always be there, meaning that the phonological resemblance is more or less coincidental and the name is not necessarily older than most of the other names in Åland (for possible interpretations on that basis see Schalin 2008b: 27n.4). I will return with a comprehensive assessment in the forthcoming publication (Schalin with Frog 2014), also elaborating the analysis of options 3 and 4 above, as well as the fall back option.

*The Name Early Finnish *Rooṙṙi (? < *Roocci) ~ Old Swedish *Rōþ- ~ Old Russian Rus' and Old Swedish Rýtzer*

The prevailing understanding is that the Russian name *Rus'* is considered a borrowing from Finnic and the Finnic name is considered a borrowing from East Scandinavian (Häkkinen 2005: s.v. 'Ruotsi'; Andersson 2007 and works there cited; but differently Stang 1996: 185ff.).

The Finnic word has representatives in all Finnic languages (although the meaning further east is 'Lutheran Finnish' rather than 'Swedish') and exhibits forms that are regular with regard to sound correspondences (see KALLIO). Therefore the word should rather be reconstructed to a distinctively common Finnic stage of development. A certain margin of uncertainty follows from the fact that the word could have entered one Finnic dialect and continued through a dialect continuum undergoing so-called nativisation. Even with this assumption, the dating could be no later than the ultimate break-up of the continuum of dialects north and south of the Gulf of Finland respectively, which puts it at the end of the first millennium at the latest (see KALLIO). If the Finnic peoples indeed mediated a term for Swedish seafarers to East Slavic, it would be natural to assume that this happened in the very beginning of or before the Viking Age, before the Ladoga–Volchov trade route had become established. After that, the Slavs would of course have had no reason to borrow an ethnonym from a Finnic language.

The OESc etymology for the Finnic name is problematic. The medial consonants were traditionally explained as a substitution of the sequence *-ðs-* in **rōðs-* as in OSw. *rōþs-land*, *rōþs-karl*, *rōþs-mæn* (so still in SSA s.v. 'Ruotsi'; Heide 2006). Severe problems with this etymology have been put forward during past decades, first by Sven Ekbo and Juluis Mägiste in 1958 (for references see Stang 1996: 286f.; Andersson 2007: 8). Most importantly, the word in question would not to begin with have been declined with a plain *-s* in the genitive during the early Viking Age. Relevant data strongly suggest that the genitive would originally have been something like **rōþ(r)ar* (from a *u*-stem) or **rōþrs* (cf. SEO: s.v. 'rodd'). The proposition, which has been forwarded instead (which Andersson accepts), namely that the borrowing would have been based on a syncopated **rōþr* or **rōðr* from a former *u*-stem, also presents unparalleled difficulties with regard to morphological substitution practices.

In order to develop a discussion on the strengths and weaknesses of all the arguments involved further research is necessary. It is my intention to return to this problem in another context. In the meantime, attention could be drawn to a promising line of reasoning, overlooked so far, which is to discard the assumption of the sibilant in the loan original. The precise phonetic value of LPF **-cc-* during its development into EFi. **-ṙṙ-* is not reconstructable for each intermediate stage. It has been thought to emerge during the genesis of consonant gradation (Lehtinen: 171–172 with references). A substitution for that geminate of Early East Scandinavian *-þ-* could not be completely ruled out, even in the absence of parallels.

A final word may be said about the OSw. ethnonym *Rýtzer* [‘Russian’]. There is no easy explanation for the fronted character of the rounded root vowel in this word. No front vowel variants exist in Finnic (nor indeed in Slavonic or Eastern Baltic) languages, serving as a potential loan original. Any genetic development from the EESc original word is also ruled out. A reborrowing from EFi **Ruoθθi* (Heikkilä 2014: 189n.167) presents considerable phonological and chronological difficulties, not to mention the semantic ones, and cannot be accepted. The only conceivable origin would be a precursor of the Middle High German form *Riuze*, still reflected in the German duchy of *Reuss* (SEO: s.v. ‘Ryss’). In Old East Scandinavian, unlike in Western, the sequence *Riū-* was regularly assimilated to *Rȳ-*. The same could probably occur through a nativising sound substitution some time towards the end of the Old East Scandinavian period. Also this hypothesis requires further study.

Conclusion

As we have seen above, the borrowing of names between East Scandinavian and Early Finnish occurred in prehistoric times but it is hard to date these borrowing events with sufficient precision to say whether a borrowing has occurred precisely during the Viking Age or indeed before or after it. There are a number of Finnish toponyms that may have pre-Scandinavian etymologies. Apart from the possible exception of *Ahvenanmaa* none of these names necessarily has a preserved doublet in Swedish. I have previously proposed that the name *Åland* may be a reborrowing from North Finnic a century or two before the Viking Age but the argument relies heavily on a likely but moot premise that the Finnish and Swedish names are indeed phonologically related. And if the names are phonologically related, an explanation involving a much older common origin may be more elegant.

The name *Tavastland* is no borrowing at all but together with the name *Finland* it testifies to continuing Scandinavian–Finnish contact throughout the Late Iron Age. Borrowing of common nouns bears witness to the same, as seen in KAISA HÄKKINEN’s chapter in this publication.

The name Sw. *Kjulo* may well be borrowed from EFi. towards the end of the Viking Age, as periodised in this publication. Probably it belongs to a stratum of eleventh or twelfth century borrowings in south-western Finland, adapted to the Turku pronunciation of Swedish. Other more ancient solutions are possible but not probable. The name *Karis* is certainly, like so many other names in the Swedish-speaking areas (cf. *Ors* and *Jussarö*), a borrowing that would not necessarily predate the Swedish settlement. The name Fi. *Karjaa* may or may not be a borrowing from Northwest Germanic but whether the attestation *Herdalar* in the Icelandic sagas is a correct etymon which increases this probability is highly doubtful. The ethnonym *Ruotsi* [‘Swedish’] probably predates the Viking Age, but the etymology will continue to be discussed. The Swedish names *Kymmene* and *Hangethe* [‘Hangö Village’] are archaic in the context of medieval names and appears to predate the Swedish

settlement by at least a few generations. Together with a number of later forgotten names mentioned in King Valdemar's Itinerary, they seem to a greater or lesser extent earlier than the thirteenth century.

NOTES

- 1 See, for example, the criticisms of Jouko Vahtola's research (in Koivulehto 2007: 67–76) and of Paula Wilson's (in Schalin 2007).
- 2 For an absolute chronology of Scandinavian see Wessén 1958: 4–24; Nielsen 2000: 286f.; Pettersson 2008: 71–80; cf. Haugen 1976: 8–9; for more on early loan word stratification, see Kallio 2012.
- 3 On the eve of publishing the volume containing this chapter, the doctoral dissertation of Mikko Heikkilä (2014) was published. This dissertation contains proposals of new etymologies and various detailed claims relevant to this chapter, much of which is supportive of my findings, but it was not possible to critically assess all of these claims or fully integrate them into this chapter in the time available.
- 4 Mikko Heikkilä has recently attempted to argue that the Swedish name Kymmene may be a later representative of the Germanic loan original of Fi. *Kymi.*, rather than a reborrowing, an idea earlier floated by Juha Janhunen (Heikkilä 2014: 263–265).
- 5 CC-BY-3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/>), via Wikimedia Commons.
- 6 In light of parallels, one would expect from a Proto-Scandinavian sequence **keul-* Coastal Finnic **kepl-/kekl-* as in *keula* ['bow'] < *kepla/kekla* ← **skeula* (> NSw. *skjul* ['shelter']) or ← **keula* ['(large) ship'] (LÄGLOS: s.v. 'teuras', 'keula').
- 7 Still today, the sequence remains unpronounceable, as can be heard when a Swedish speaker pronounces words like *Euro* and *terapeut*.
- 8 The Hälsinge law states that "If *lepung* goes over the sea or out of *Aspasund*, then they are not obliged to deliver the *lepungslama*." This *Aspasund* has been identified with several places, including a strait near *Aspö* in Stockholm's southern archipelago, on the border between Uppland and Södermanland, but also *Aspæsund* in Korpo has been mentioned (Gallén 1993: 71).
- 9 At a completely different stage of Pre-Finnic language development, the sequence *-ts-* was also absent. At that time, Pre-Iranian words containing the sequences *-ts-* or *-dz-* were borrowed into Pre-Finnic with *-ks-* as in *kahdeksan* ['cardinal 8'] (Pärpola 1999: 198; Koivulehto 1999: 219–225).
- 10 The measurement of distances in the text is based on a rowing shift (*ukesio*). Later this terminology was used for an old sea-mile, which is roughly equal to 4 nautical miles (Zilliacus 1994: 54).
- 11 The loss of word-initial [h-] in pronunciation, followed by random variation in spelling with or without initial 'h-' is an ancient feature in many Uppland dialects, coincidentally preserved well into modern times also in the Ingå dialect. The spelling of EFi. **Orhinsaari* as *Horinsaræ* could be used as evidence of a resident population in Ingå originating in Uppland before the time of the itinerary, but of course the spelling could also come from an informant being a native of that province.
- 12 Applying the possibility of a man's name here, the medieval Low German form for George, *Jurian*, would fit well
- 13 Item CC-BY-3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/>) via Wikimedia Commons.
- 14 CC-BY-2.5 SE (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.5/se/>).
- 15 CC-BY-3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/>), via Wikimedia Commons.

- 16 Coincidentally, a valley named *Härdalen* and some adjacent mountains called *Härdalsbergen* are situated at the western fringe of the Saltvik parish in Åland, just north of Ödkarby.
- 17 For many names even in the oldest stages of Proto-Scandinavian the expected compositional suffix *-ja-* is attested as a simple *-i-*, even after short root syllable (Syrett 1994: 70ff.; Janzén 1947: 77ff). Such a sequence would typically not cause i-mutation. If the word had been compounded early enough (the first element in the compound would probably have come in so-called stem form with a suffix ending in *-ja-* rather than *-jō-*), it is not at all clear how the wear and tear typical for toponyms would have shaped it and thus whether the result would be i-mutation after all.
- 18 A rather attractive proposition by Albrecht Greule relates the name to the German names *Ehn* and *Ehnheim* (AD 788 *Ehinheim*) based on a word, which he reconstructs as **Ah(w)ina*. A proposition very similar to that of Greule had been made by Hugo Pipping already in 1917 (1964–1965: 280 ff., Huldén 1976: 220), which Greule fails to take note of. This proposition never gained acceptance because its postulated appellative could not be established in Scandinavian vernacular. If such an appellative would have existed, one would contrary to Greules expectation expect it in a form in accordance with Verner’s law, such as **Awina-*, which in turn could, however, have become *Ä(l)land* rather than *Ö(l)land* anyway (cf. Nielsen 1985: s.v. ‘ålam’; VAEO s.v. ‘ær’).

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Abbreviations

- FSB = Finlandssvenska bebyggelsenamn.
 FSVLDB = Fornsvensk lexikalisk databas.
 FSO-LEX = Finlands svenska ortnamn -namnledslexikon.
 SEO = Hellqvist 1980 [1922]. *Svensk etymologisk ordbok*.
 SOH = Snorre Sturluson 1844: *Heimskringla*.
 SOL = Wahlberg 2003: *Svenskt ortnamnslexikon*.
 LÄGLOS = Kylstra *et al.* 1991–2012: *Lexikon der älteren germanischen Lehnwörter in den ostseefinnischen Sprachen..*
 SKAS = Suomen keskiajan arkeologian seura – Sällskapet för medeltidsarkeologi i Finland
 SKS = Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura
 SSA = *Suomen sanojen alkuperä* (1992–2000).
 SPNK = Paikkala 2007: *Suomalainen paikannimikirja*.
 VAEO = Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007 [2000]: *Våre arveord*.
 VNUR = Om Snorre och Olav.

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