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WAS THERE A FINNISH SETTLEMENT IN UUSIMAA  
BEFORE THE SWEDISH ONE?

**Abstract.** Although there are many toponyms of undoubtedly Finnic provenance in the Swedish parishes along the southern coast of Finland, none of the demonstrably old names distinguishes themselves as exclusively Finnish. Almost every one of them could be derived from items in the Estonian vocabulary, and several show even slightly more affinity to Estonian than to Finnish. Even with access to spellings from the 14th and 15th centuries, we must realise that by that time the names had already been transferred orally through several generations and their pronunciation may have been blurred to a certain extent. The change does not necessarily follow simple rules. Therefore, a theory of the identity of the name-givers should not be based on linguistic evidence in the first place. Also, not only hypothetical residents should be taken into consideration in the name-giving situation, but also the possibility of occasional explorers, habitually visiting fishermen, etc. Supposing that the coast was considered cultivable even before the Swedish settlement, it would have been within easy reach from Estonia. We would, therefore, expect Estonians to have had some incentive to settle outside their country long before the less numerous Finns from Häme had felt any urge to clear land many days wanderings from their native region. This assumed prehistoric influx of Estonians would have resulted in a genetically mixed Swedish speaking population, containing not only genes from the Häme-Finnish neighbours of a later age but also genes from the Estonians. As a matter of fact, it can be shown that the Estonian component is even more conspicuous than the Finnish one among the Uusimaa Swedes.

At the 9th International Finno-Ugric Congress, Ritva Liisa Pitkänen delivered a paper on place names along the southern coast of Finland (2001). Throughout the paper, all the toponyms of non-Swedish origin in the province of Uusimaa are treated as if they could have originated only from Finnish words, and consequently, the hypothetical primordial population is declared to have consisted of Finns — more specifically of Häme-Finns. The paper declares that "there are so many loan words [---] referring to the Finnish interior, that the large number of the names as such is evidence of the settlement history" (Pitkänen 2001 : 58). On the other hand, an attempt has been made to find connections with Estonian settlers. It is maintained (erroneously) that the idea of such connections would be based on names resembling each other in Estonia and Uusimaa, such as *Karis* in Uusimaa and *Karja* in Saaremaa, *Porkala* in Kirkkonummi and *Purku*

in Rapla. It is followed by a reservation admitting that this type of evidence is uncertain and fragmentary (actually a matter of course) (s. Pitkänen 2001 : 58). The host of other evidence of various kinds about Estonian connection (Nordling 1974; 1976), published some 25 years ago, is not mentioned at all.

The general impression of the paper, therefore, remains that it can be proved that there was a settlement of Häme-Finns on the southern coast of Finland before the Swedes arrived. The evidence proving it would be some 400 toponyms of purportedly verified Finnish origin, but mostly of unverified age.

Disregarding for the present the purported evidence, the theory of a Häme-Finnish settlement on the coast in the 12th or 13th century seems highly improbable. A similar theory was maintained, e.g. by V. Voionmaa (1913) and by G. Kerkkonen (1945), who claimed that the Häme-Finns originally populated not only Häme but also Uusimaa, without any gaps. There is, however, a tangible archaeological gap between central Häme and southern Uusimaa, a gap that occurs also in the stock of early documents concerning Finland. This gap covers all of Uusimaa north of the belt settled by Swedes. The archaeological finds indicate that the Iron Age settlement in Häme was concentrated in certain places in the lake-district that lies in its entirety more than 100 km from the coast. From this nucleus the settlement spread out in the beginning of the second millennium, along the waterways in the first place. The crossing of the watershed between the lake-district and Uusimaa seems to have taken place as late as in the 14th and 15th centuries. While the churches of Porvoo (*Borgå* 1327) and Hattula (*Hattala* 1324) were completed at least about 1350 and a dozen villages within the parish of Porvoo are already mentioned before the year 1400, the records do not mention even a single village in Nurmijärvi, Pyhäjärvi and Sippola before the year 1527<sup>1</sup>. Obviously the whole area covered by what became later the parishes of Anjala, Artjärvi, Askola, Pornainen, Elimä, Karjalohja, Myrskylä, Nummi, Nurmijärvi, Pukkila, Pusula, Pyhäjärvi, Sammatti and Sippola was practically uninhabited as late as in the 14th century. Only six place-names in this vast area are recorded before 1440, as compared to more than 120 in the coastal section. Apparently the Häme-Finns began breaking new soil in the northern belt of Uusimaa at about the beginning of the 15th century.

Considering this state of things, it seems rather unlikely that there should have been a settlement of Häme-Finns even farther from their heartland than this belt as early as 1200 or before. Only five parishes are known to have existed in Häme in 1335 (Leinberg 1886). There were hardly more than 1500 or 2000 inhabitants in each parish in those days, which means that the population of Häme would have been less than 10000 in 1335. It grew steadily and reached the number of 45 000 in 1650. Assuming the same growth rate before 1335 as after, there would have been only about 5000 Häme-Finns in the year 1200. There is nothing to indicate a reverse trend before 1335, and, consequently, there would hardly have been more than 10000 Häme-Finns in Häme at any time before 1335. Obviously this

<sup>1</sup> Whenever not otherwise indicated, all Uusimaa place-names quoted refer to Hausen 1920—1924. As a rule, the oldest form is quoted with the year of record given in brackets.

demographic situation makes an early Häme-Finnish settlement on the coast unlikely, and, therefore, strong evidence would be needed to prove that it happened, nevertheless. It is not enough to prove that there are certain place-names that could emanate from residents descended from Häme-Finns in the Finnish interior. It must also be proved that the names in question could not possibly have originated in some other way. A clue to another possibility is given in Pitkänen's paper by the notification that King Magnus Eriksson granted fishing rights in Uusimaa to a certain monastery in Estonia in the 14th century. By contrast, there is no documentary proof of Häme-Finns having had such rights in Uusimaa, although this is asserted in the paper. The document referred to says in effect: "We [King] Magnus make it known to all men, that we, to these letter-holders, who live in Överby [etc.], adjudge all their [fishing-]waters of old, that our sheriffs have adjudged to them on our behalf, and that parishioners [*sochne männer*] from Hattala, that is Husö and Östersundom, have unduly hindered them [to use]." (Diplomatarium Svecanum 1858—1865 : 741—742).

The document obviously deals with a dispute between parishioners of Sipoo where Husö and Östersundom are situated. These places seem to have been called Hattala (probably an abridgement of *\*Hattahalla*, a name composed of the Swedish words *hatter* 'cliff' and *hall* 'flat rock'), when the original Royal letter was written in 1347. In the extant document, a transcript from 1624, some useful explanations have been added, among them apparently also the quoted definition of the name *Hattala*. The name *Hattala* occurs, furthermore, as a village name in Porvoo Parish and as a parish name in the middle of Häme. It is the latter fact that has caused the misunderstanding that the loosing party would have been a group of Häme-Finns. Actually the locution *sochne män(ner)* is an analogue to *landsmän* ('fellow countrymen') and, therefore, clearly refers to fellow parishioners (of Sipoo).

Supposing that the coast was considered cultivable even before the Swedish settlement, it would have been within easy reach from Estonia. (A sail from Estonia to the Porvoo archipelago takes 12 hours with a speed of four knots.) As early as in about 1250, Estonia had a population of 150 000 to 180 000 (as deduced from the registration of about 22 000 *carucates*) (Indreko 1961 : 31) and we would, therefore, expect Estonians to have had some incentive to settle outside their country long before the less numerous Finns from Häme (or even from the Turku region) had felt any urge to clear land many days wanderings from their native region.

If, however, Finns settled in the area, one would expect to find a number of names ending on the suffix *-la* (or *-lä*) that often denotes inhabited places in Häme (and somewhat less often in Estonia). In those parts of Uusimaa that have been inhabited by Finns continuously, we find about 160 such names with records from before 1600. In the archipelago (including the waterfront), on the other hand, old names of this type are practically absent. Only in the Porvoo river valley we find the *-la* names *Hattula*, *Hentala*, *Kallela*, *Kijalla* and *Thezala*. (These names will be dealt with below.) Later the name *Hoornhatt* (1414) was renamed *Hornehattela* (1541). We should also note that the typical Häme-names that contain the words *kytö*, *kyrö*, *erä*, *kemi*, *paatti* and 15 other names, shown on the maps by J. Vahtola (1980), are not to be found on the coast, although they occur in

many other places outside Häme. The only class of names common to Häme and the southern coast is the group ending in *-salo* in the Häme names and in *-sal* in the coastal names. This happens to be one of the two of J. Vahtolas examples that occur also in Estonia, where the same end-element appears in the form *-salu*.

Anyway, even unexpected and unlikely things happen sometimes, and Häme-Finns could, of course, have settled in southern Uusimaa despite the unfavourable odds. Let us look at the linguistic evidence. The many names ending in *-lax*, *-sal*, *-sår* (*-sor*, *-sär*) and *-pä* do not as such prove Finnish provenance, since these elements originate from words common to Finnish and Estonian. The same applies to the occurrence of diphthongs, such as *ai* and *au*, which are common both in Estonian and Finnish place-names. The diphthong *ei* occurs also in some Swedish dialects in Uusimaa.

Regarding such names as *Orvlaks*, *Rilax* and *Vättlax*, they are useless as indicators of provenance since the words *orv*, *ria* and *vätte* occur in Swedish and so these names might not originate from a Finnic people in spite of their apparent "Finnishness". Incidentally, there are toponyms such as *Orvenbo*, *Ri*, *Riala*, *Riberget*, *Vätflösa* and *Vettsjön* in Sweden, and in Uusimaa we find many hybrid names, such as *Hirdal*, *Kaitviken*, *Pakasby* and *Skräddarla*. The names *Vestlax* and *Bolax* hint to the possibility of hybrid toponyms ending in *-lax* as well.

Since the parishes of Bromarv and Tenala do not lie on the southern coast of Finland and since their Finnic sounding toponyms are directly related to the large group of Finnic loan names in the archipelago of Turunmaa, we will not deal with them in the present context, but concentrate on the coast from Hanko eastwards.

If there was a settlement of Häme-Finns on the coast and in the archipelago before the Swedish immigration, we have reason to expect that both groups of settlers made use of the most suitable and fertile pieces of land in this vast area. Since, according to the theory, the Finns somehow disappeared or merged into the Swedish population, the Swedes would sooner or later have taken over the originally Finnish villages. The many extant documents from the 14th and 15th centuries tell us that the coastal population was entirely Swedish at that time. By 1540 practically all villages in Uusimaa had been registered in some document or other. We can feel rather sure that all villages that existed when the Swedish settlement started are among those noted in the documents emanating from the period before the year 1600. The names of all these villages were listed by G. Hausen (1922). Thus, village names not found in the Hausen list can hardly be old enough to refer to settlements from the pre-Swedish period, and as far as names of settlements are concerned, the Hausen inventory will suffice for our study.

Now, if there was a Finnish (or other) settlement in coastal Uusimaa before the Swedish one, the villages certainly had names in the native language of their inhabitants. When the arriving Swedes took over these villages, they would most probably have taken over the original names as well. Demonstrably, this is what happened with a number of names that were originally names of bays, islands and the like. A crushing majority of all the old Swedish toponyms in Uusimaa end in *-by*, *-böle*, *-bolstad*,

-gård or -stad (Swedish words denoting village, farm and the like). One would, therefore, expect at least a part of the toponyms left by a Finnish settlement to designate village, farm, etc. A search for this type of safe traces of the purportedly resident Häme-Finns in coastal Uusimaa reveals that there are only seven names ending in something like the Finnish *-kylä* 'village, hamlet'. Although Estonian pronunciation and spelling nowadays differ from Finnish as far as this word is concerned, it did not do so at the presumed time of naming the villages. Thus the names ending in *-kylä* and *-kila* do not distinguish them as non-Estonian. As for *Ingvarskila* (1450) and *Råddkila* (1457) in Ingå, they are hybrid toponyms, *Ingvar* being a Swedish name and the word *rådd* (possibly an Estonian loan-word?) occurring only in (dialectal) Swedish. The other *-kila* toponyms begin with *Humla-*, *Rand-* and *Oll-* (*Åll-*), words that are found in Sweden as well as in Ingå. The inference is that there may have been a mixed population of Swedes and speakers of a Finnic language at the time when the names were coined. The village *Tammikylä*, on the other hand, is of later provenance and together with the villages *Haapajärvi* (1502), *Kahola* (1540) and *Kylmelä* (1540) it lies not far from the parish of Nummi where the first Finnish villages are noted from about 1420. A more widespread settlement followed in the 16th century. These four villages in Kirkkonummi seem to originate from the latter Häme-Finnish colonization of northern Uusimaa. Thus, neither the *kila* names nor *Tammikylä* supply sufficient proof of a Finnish settlement preceding the Swedish colonization of Uusimaa. Nor does the village *Kynnär* (1417) in Siuntio (not far from the *-kila* villages) indicate a Finnish provenance. Considering the existence of Scandinavian names such as *Kynnefjäll*, one cannot exclude the possibility that *Kynnär* is a Swedish name, like the neighbouring *Siundo* (1417), *Bollstad* (1451), *Karskog* (1532) and *Siundeby* (1417). If we are looking for Finnic roots, however, it should be words with a short *ü* and a long *n* in the first place, such as Estonian *künna-pü* 'elm' or *künnäri* 'schooner'.<sup>2</sup> Obviously, the etymology of the name *Kynnär* remains too doubtful for providing even a hint about its provenance.

Next, let us scrutinize the other toponyms ending in *-la*. These are *Käla*, *Pikkala* in Siuntio, and *Hattula*, *Henttala*, *Kiala*, *Kallela* and *Teissala* in Porvoo. Out of these, *Käla* (1472) is no more Finnish than, e.g. *Käläbodarna*, *Kälasjön* and *Kälen* — names that abound in Sweden. *Pikkala* (1476) reminds of the Estonian place-names *Pickuta*, *Pikæuækæ* (both mentioned in the *Liber Census Daniae* (= LCD), s. Johansen 1933<sup>3</sup>) and *Pikkuna* (Kettunen 1955) and cannot be proved to be exclusively Finnish.

The Porvoo names, taken as a group, sound definitely Finnic. They should be considered in connection with *Nieto* (1363), the name of a nearby village in Askola Parish — with reservations for the possibility that *Nieto* could also be of Lappish provenance (cf. *Nietsak* in Lappland). *Hattula* (1555) is a late Finnish appellation for *Gambla konungsgården* (1413) 'The Old Royal Manor', but the name probably originates from an older Swedish toponym, *\*Hattahalla*, presumably the name of some steep hill. *Kallela*, a name of uncertain meaning, could be Estonian just as well as Finnish.

<sup>2</sup> If not otherwise indicated, Estonian and Finnish words are quoted from Wiedemann 1893, and Lönnrot 1874—1880, respectively.

<sup>3</sup> This work contains a host of Estonian place-names beside those in the LCD.

*Teissala*, once spelt *Thezala* (1404), is the name of an old village on the eastern bank of the river Porvoonjoki. The villages in the neighbourhood occurring in records before 1404 were all situated on the western bank, and *Teissala* would thus have been considered as "the village on the other side". The Estonian words *teisale*, *teisele poole* mean precisely 'to the other side'. If some Estonians were living in Gammelgård, Saxby and Karsby on the western bank, it would have been natural for them to refer to the village on the opposite bank as something like *Teisala* (the corresponding Finnish words are *toisaalle*, *toisella*). It would be a parallel to the Amerindian name *Accomac* that also means 'on the other side' (of Chesapeake Bay) (Stewart 1970 : 2). The name *Teissala* thus seems to indicate a mixed population of Swedes and Estonians in this river valley in the late 14th century.

The manorial name *Kiala* (1516) could be either Finnish or Estonian. The name occurs in some places in Finland, but generally toponyms beginning with *Kii-* are more common in Estonia than in Finland. Supposing that the Uusimaa *Kiala* got its name from Estonians, it could have developed from an original *\*Kiha-lage* 'throng-field', certainly an adequate name for the open field between Saxby and the manor where in Catholic times a fair day was arranged every St. Peter and Paul Day (June 29). This market is said to have attracted lots of people (Hartman 1906 : 12). The name *Henttala* (1542) is probably derived from a common Finno-Estonian word denoting 'tail; outermost part', thus leaving us without any guidance about the namegivers.

Lastly, the above mentioned name *Nieto* (1363) in Askola Parish existed long before most of Askola became populated. *Nieto* reminds of the Estonian place-name *Nehatu* (in LCD *Niggitaë*). The Finnish word *nietos* 'snowdrift' seems a bit out of place for an etymology. There is only one other village in southern Askola that is demonstrably of the same age as *Nieto*, viz. *Monnby* (originally *Mondby*, 1382). Since *Monnby* is a Swedish name, these two villages names indicate, if anything, a mixed Swedish-Estonian outpost, remotely connected with the Gammelgård-Teissala complex.

Two more place-names should be considered in this connection, viz. *Moijsze* (1540) in Espoo and the name *Wanhamoisio* or *Vannemose* that was used a couple of times (1574 and 1588) for *Gammelgård* (originally *Gamblegård* 1382) in Porvoo. *Mõisa* is an Estonian word denoting 'estate' or 'manor'. A number of places called *Wannemoise*, *Vanamõisa*, etc. have been registered in Estonia (i.a. 1583) (Johansen 1933 : 174, 318, 329, 415, 431, 530). Although Finnish has a word *moisio* 'meadow clearing' the Estonian *mõisa* has also been borrowed by Finnish in the identical form *moisio*, 'manor'. These names in Espoo and Porvoo contribute to the evidence for the presence of an Estonian streak in the early Swedish settlement in Uusimaa.

To sum up, as far as original Finnic village names are concerned, none of them is demonstrably un-Estonian. Therefore, none can be regarded as specifically Finnish. The typical village names provide no evidence for a settlement of Häme-Finns preceding the Swedes, and we have to transmit our search to another group of names, viz. old names of natural features, which have later, in many cases, become village names. It is obvious that

names of natural features could have been named by habitual visitors just as well as by permanent settlers. As regards the Uusimaa archipelago, its many sheltered bays would have provided ideal fishing-grounds for Estonian fishermen who had nothing like that on the southern side of the Gulf of Finland. Fishing in such a multitudinous group of bays, islands and skerries far from home would, of course, require navigational aids of some kind. Descriptive toponymes would provide such an aid, and we should therefore be prepared to accept a rather special name-typology differing from the ordinary Estonian name-typology.

As noted by R.-L. Pitkänen (2001 : 54), the largest subgroup of the nature names category consists of names ending in *-lax*. This element (in the form *laksi* 'bay, creek') is not specifically Finnish, but instead the ancient Finnic form of what has become *lahti* in Finnish, *laht* in Estonian. The form *laksi* has not been preserved in areas where Finnish or Estonian is spoken, but as late as in 1586 an Estonian village was known as Laxe (Johansen 1933 : 606). In LCD (c. 1250) another village appears as *Kallax* (Johansen 1933 : 398).

Names ending in *-lax* and noted before 1600 occur in 14 places within the Swedish region east of Hanko. Of these only four were registered as village names before 1525, viz. *Kökela*x (1451) and *Hapala*x (1417) in Espoo, *Ijdelax* (1414) and *Sarffuela*x (1473) in Pernå. All seem to have been applied to bays, originally.

*Kökela*x (*Köklax*, *Kiökela*x, later also *Kauklahti*) seems to have been the name of an elongated bay (c. 10 km) and R.-L. Pitkänen's paper derives it from the Finnish word *kauka*, alleged to mean 'long'. Actually the word means 'distant' in the context of space, and 'long' only in the context of time. Further, there is no indication that the name was ever pronounced [kauk-] before the Finnish *Kauklahti*-version was introduced (probably by analogy with the *haukka/hök* 'hawk' pair some time in the 19th century). Extant manuscripts from the 12th century prove that the diphthong *au* had been replaced by *ö* in Swedish well before the year 1200. Words borrowed later than that would have preserved the diphthong, as, e.g. in *Haukas* and *Haukipää*. Thus, it is by no means certain that *Kökela*x derives its origin from Finnish *kauka*. An Estonian (or even a half-Swedish) origin is also possible. There is, for instance, an Estonian word *kauk* or *kök* 'hook, pickaxe', that would be more likely as part of a solitary toponym than any word meaning 'distant'. (The latter would imply a counterpart meaning 'near'.)

The name *Hapala*x (now *Hopla*x) can be derived from the Finnish/Estonian word *haapa/haab*, 'aspen'. It is not known whether the name originally signified the large bay now called *Laajalahti* or the smaller bulge from *Laajalahti* named *Iso-Huopalahti*. Neither is it possible to determine if the name is originally Finnish or Estonian.

It is the same with the estate-name *Sarffuela*x (now *Sarvla*x) farther east. Probably it was originally applied to a large bay, Hormnäs-fjärden that (since the 15th century) has the shape of a horn (of a bull) and the Finnish and Estonian word *sarvi/sarv* means 'horn'. Abutting on the estate there is also a lake that always has been shaped as a horn. The proposed Finnish etymology *\*Sarvalaksi* is not very likely, since the word *sarva* means 'reed', a plant that is ubiquitous in all Uusimaa waters and, there-

fore, not distinctive of any bay or any part of a bay. The name *Sarvlax* could just as well derive its origin from Estonian as from Finnish.

Finally, the name *Ijdelax* (later *Idelax*, *Jddelax*, *Idlax*, etc.) appears to be derived from the Finnish/Estonian word *itä/ida*, 'east, eastern'. The name is applied to a village near the bay Fasarbyviken on the western side of a large peninsula. Such a bay would normally be called "West-bay" by the resident population. Those traveling by sea, however, would consider the bay as protruding from the eastern side of the large bay called Lillpernåviken. Non-resident fishermen navigating in these bays would, therefore, find it natural to call such a bay "East-bay". The supposedly Finnish residents would hardly have called the bay "Eastbay" in their language. But if they had, they would probably have used the form *Idänlaksi*, since the word *itä* is found in the genitive case in old Finnish toponyms, e.g. *Idänsyrjä* (Finlands medeltidsurkunder 1924 : 81) and *Idenpää* (Suomen historian lähteitä 1892—1956 : 16). It is quite unlikely that the name *Idlax* was given by resident Häme-Finns. Nothing tells against the theory that the name was given by Estonian fishermen, seasonally moving about in the archipelago.

As noticed above, all the other names ending in *-lax* are recorded only in 1525 or later. Since a considerable number of villages are mentioned (several times) in extant documents of earlier date, it is obvious that practically all the villages in Uusimaa that existed in the 13th century are among those recorded before 1525. The following villages with names ending in *-lax* are, therefore, likely to have been settled some time after the environment had become demonstrably purely Swedish: *Rilax* (1540) in Kirkkonummi, *Rilax* (1540) in Espoo, *Pirlax* (1540), *Seijtlax* by (1540), *Wögelax* (1548, later *Voglax*, *Våglax*, *Vålax*, etc.), *Kalax* (1548) and *Varlaxby* (1540), all in Porvoo, *Märttelax* (1526), *Masselax* (1532, later *Metslax*, *Messlax*, *Mestlax*, etc.) and *Serkelax* (1525) in Pernå.

Even if these names obviously do not indicate any pre-Swedish settlement, it may be of some interest to analyse their origin. The names *Seitlax* and *Vålax* are still used, not only as village names but also (with the addition of *-fjärden* 'bay') as names of two large bays, six and two km in length. These bays (together with a narrows called *Fladan*) form one of the approaches to the Porvoo River. The bays are separated from each other by the island Ramsholmen. Between Ramsholmen and the mainland there is a small holm called *Pålsholm*, a Swedish name that means 'Fur (coat) holm'. The first part of the name does not make sense, and is, therefore, likely to be a misrepresentation of some other word. There is no Finnish word fitting, but the Estonian word *pealsed* 'leaves, tops, haulm; uppers' may perhaps have been associated with what was once a shallow reminding of the sill of a lock for those entering the Seitlax bay. At least *pealsed* sounds somewhat like *päls*.

The name *Seitlax* is not likely to derive its name from any Finnish word, at least not from the word *saitta* 'pole', as has been suggested. The diphthong *ai* was generally preserved in loan names, e.g. *Kaitans*, *Aisarn*, *Haiko*, *Paipis*, and no reason for an exception in this case has been provided. Admittedly, the diphthong *ei* is rare in Estonian, but, on the other hand, there are words containing the diphthong *õi*, such as *sõit* 'journey, voyage' and *sõitl ik* 'navigable'. Since the vowel *õ* does not occur in Swedish,



it is always substituted by another vowel in loanwords. An Estonian \**Sõit(lik)laks* 'the navigable bay' (or maybe 'the short-cut bay') would, therefore, become, e.g. *Seitlax* in Swedish. The name would make sense, because the field of reeds blocking up the inlet Fladan just north of Seitlaxfjärden may leave uninformed sailors in doubt whether the fairway through the bays is navigable or not. (It is, even today.)

The southern part of the same fairway, *Våloxsfjärden*, east of Ramsholmen and Pålsholmen, would reasonably have been called \**Vooglaks* by the same sailors who supposedly invented the name \**Sõitlaks*. Since they obviously spoke Estonian, they must have made up the name from Estonian *voog* '(set of) current'. A name meaning 'bay with current' would make sense as well, because a certain amount of current is almost always noticeable in this bay (because of its peculiar topography). The first part of the name is not likely to be derived from any Finnish word, since long *o* is unusual in Finnish (except in loan words). The Estonian long *õ* corresponds to Finnish *uo*, which is rendered in Swedish as *u* or *o*, not as *å* (e.g. *Ruona* > *Runa*, *Luoto* > *Lotan*) (Pitkänen 1995).

It may be added that the village situated between Seitlax and Vålox bears the name *Fagerstad*, which is a typical Swedish Iron Age name. It was first mentioned in 1404, but it must be much older than that. Actually, almost all villages in the archipelago of Porvoo and Pernå, which are noted in 14th or 15th century documents, have Swedish names (ending with *-by*, *-böle*, *-gården*, etc.). This indicates that the Swedes are likely to have been the first *settlers* in the neighbourhood, even if they were not the first *users* of it. The non-resident users certainly needed descriptive names of the bays and islands among which they moved about.

It is possible that all the names ending in *-lax* were intended to be descriptive, even if we cannot prove it any more. In many cases it is also impossible to find out whether a certain name is of Finnish or Estonian provenance. Therefore, let us analyse just two more of the *-lax* names, viz. *Mestlax* and *Kalax*. *Mestlax* was first noted as *Masselax* (1532). There are 13 references to this place before the year 1550, and of these 12 have the vowel *-e-* in the first syllable, followed by *-tʒs-* in seven cases and *-dz-* in two cases. There are three spellings with *-ss-* and one with *-sz-*. Later *-tʒ-* and *-ss-* alternate, finally to be replaced by *-st-* in 1588. It is obvious that this name was pronounced like the Swedish words *nätsla* and *vatsla* in the beginning of the 16th century. When these words changed into *nässla* and *vassla* (Bergman 1968), the *Mets-* followed suit. Finally, the form *Mestlax* was created after the pattern of words like *nästla* (a verb from the root *nätsla*).

Considering the phonetic history of the name, its origin seems to be the Estonian *mets* 'forest', not the corresponding early Häme-Finnish word that was pronounced [meth:ä]<sup>4</sup>. The sound [th] in Swedish changed into [t] before the year 1500, and the word 'forest', if borrowed from Häme-Finnish, would have become \**mettä* in Swedish. However, *Mestlax* has never been spelt *Mettlax*. Also in the Häme dialect, the [th] changed into

<sup>4</sup> Square brackets and letters with their sound values in Swedish are used to render the pronunciation whenever necessary. The sound in the middle of the English word *method* is rendered as [th] and as [th:] when long. Otherwise long consonants are rendered double, long vowels single followed by a colon.

[t], and there is a toponym *Mettälä* in Elimäki Parish (where this dialect is spoken). Standard Finnish adapted the Estonian *ts* instead, which led to the corresponding pronunciation [ts].

Obviously the name *Mestlax* cannot be of Häme-Finnish origin, and it is, therefore, likely that it was given by Estonians.

The name *Kalax* (1548) must have developed from a longer original form, e.g. *\*Kahalaks*, since there is no word *kaa* in either language. The Finnish word *kaha* means 'basket, box, tub, sieve', and thus it is not likely to be used for characterising a bay. The Estonian word *kaha*, on the other hand, occurs inter alia in the compound *kahatee* 'crossroad'. The Estonian name *\*Kahalaks* would, therefore, mean 'Fork-bay'. Actually, the name is borne by a village lying next to the bifurcation of the long bay Lillpernåviken, the outer part of which surrounds a large island, Sarvsalö. Moreover, this part of Lillpernåviken is called *Korsfjärden* in Swedish, i.e. 'Crossroad Bay' or 'Fork-bay'. The suggested original form *\*Kahilalaksi* is less likely for two reasons. The word *kahila* means 'reed', and as noted above, this plant is extremely abundant and, therefore, not distinctive of Lillpernåviken or of any part of it. Also, the local dialect would probably have retained the vowel *-i-* in *kahila*, thus producing the form *\*Kailax* (cf. *Haiko*, *Paipis*). No such form has been seen; instead there are two examples of the spelling *Kahalax* (Allardt 1925 : 56). The suggested ethymology for *Kalax* should be considered as a counterpart of the one proposed further on for *Tervik*.

The names *Pirlax* and *Serkelax* are derived from words common to Finnish and Estonian and may be left at that. The name *Märttelax*, for once, appears to have been derived from a Finnish word, viz. *merta* 'fish trap'. At the same time, it is worth noticing that the LCD includes a resembling name, viz. *Martækilæ*. Obviously, there remains some doubt about the provenance of *Märttelax*, after all.

In a few words: none of the names ending in *-lax* has been shown to be exclusively Finnish or to indicate an early human settlement at all.

Between the bays there are headlands, and the names of a few villages indicate that some headlands once had Finnic names ending in *-pää* (or *-pea*). These village names are *Härckepäby* (1540), *Kärepä* (1448) and *Pickepä* (1473), all in Pernå. There are also a couple of *-pää* names attributed to headlands without settlement. The oldest is *Cuminpe*, noted in the "Itinerary" included in the LCD (Finlands medeltidsurkunder 1910 : 41) and assigned to *Hangethe*, i.e. the Hanko Peninsula. The ending *-pe* obviously stands for *pää* 'end', 'tip' or 'head'. *Cuminpe* therefore must refer to the very tip of the peninsula and not to the nearby harbour, Kappelhamnen (never noted for any Finnic name). This is on a line with scores of names in the LCD-itinerary that denote places totally unsuitable as harbours — beside the many good harbours that are also in the list. *Cumin-* may be interpreted as the Estonian word *kumin* corresponding to Finnish *kumina* 'roar(ing)', but it could also be an old genitive of the Estonian word *kuum* 'foam'. The tip of the Hanko Peninsula was certainly known as both roaring and foaming in the Middle Ages so the name in itself does not tell us whether it was given by Finns or Estonians. What we know is that many Estonians (as also Estonian-Swedes) were seal hunters and made "ice-voyages" that could last several months (Bunge 1877 : 218; Russwurm 1855

: 29). The name *Kooskanpee* (1537) in the Åland archipelago (Hausen 1927 : 7) testifies to Estonians having reached at least that far, since the Finnish word *koski* means only 'rapids', while the Estonian word *kosk* stands also for 'stone dam' or 'sill' (in places other than rivers). The Hanko peninsula was one of the critical points on such voyages into the Gulf of Bothnia. People living in Finland certainly had less need to double the dangerous promontory.

There is also a headland in Kirkkonummi called *Haukipää*, but this is not mentioned in any document dated before 1600. *Haukipää* is, therefore, either a relatively recent Finnish name or a modern form of a name contemporary with e.g. *Haukosma* (1347) in Sipoo. The latter has never been etymologised, but it may be explained as an Estonian compound meaning 'bushy land' (from *haukas* 'bushy'). *Haukipää* could thus be a modernized Finnish form of an ancient *\*Haukospää*, 'the bushy head (headland)'. At least, such an etymology makes more sense than the present form that means 'pike's head'. This, in its turn, certainly makes to-day's leisure fishermen feel at home.

The name *Härckepä* (locally pronounced and spelt *Härpe*) is a compound meaning (literally) 'bull's head' in Estonian and Finnish. The Finnish word, however, is used in a figurative sense, same as the English *mule*, 'mulish person'. The village of *Härpe* is situated at a bay enclosed by two "horns". When referring to some part of the body of a bull or something shaped as such, Finnish prefers the genitive (with *-n-*) of *härkä* 'bull', as in the toponym *Härjänwadza* (1514) in Karjalohja (a parish constantly settled by Finns). Estonian place-names, except the very oldest, usually lack the letter *-n-* between the two words forming the name, e.g. *Haapsipää*, *Härjapää*, *Kanapää*, *Kirapää*, *Otepää* (Kettunen 1955).

The name *Kärepe* (1448) is found already in 1405, although then in the form *Kärpa* and used as a personal name. Finnish *kääre* means 'bandage, bundle', hardly a likely word to be used to characterise a headland. Instead, the Estonian language offers two phonetically appropriate words fitting as parts of names of natural features, viz. *käär* 'bend, curve' and *käärd* 'headland formed between two streams that meet'. Accidentally two bays meet and form a headland quite close to the village *Kärpe*. By chance, the name was spelt *Kärdepä*, *Kierdepä* and *Kiäredpä* in four different deeds 1552—1557. The Estonian name *\*Käärdepää* would mean something like 'Promontory-hill', since *pää* in Estonian also means 'hillock', and, as a matter of fact, there is a hill on the very point of the headland in question. The Estonian origin seems much more likely than the Finnish one.

Finally, there is the name *Pickepä*, locally pronounced [pippe]. This name was alternately spelt *Picke-* and *Pidke-* (or *Pitke-*) in the 20 oldest documents (1473—1550). After that the spelling with *-tk-* (*-dk-*) became more and more prevalent, despite the spoken name tending towards *Pippe*. (The scribes were apparently influenced by their knowledge of Finnish.) It is obvious that the name was applied to a long peninsula that existed some centuries ago, before the uplift connected one of its sides to the mainland. The Finnish word *pitkä* means 'long', while the corresponding Estonian word has taken the form *pikk* in some dialects, albeit not in North-Estonian. Anyway, the early instances of the spelling *Pick-* indicate that the name is a little more likely to have been given by Estonians than by

Finns, who even have a word *pikku* 'little' — almost the opposite meaning of *pikk*. (In the parish of Lohja, at all times Finnish, the name *Pitkää bol* (1553) was spelt with *-tk-* from the beginning until 1580. Thereafter *Pitkä* alternates with *Pickæ*, *Pickå* and the like, which apparently reflects an increasingly slipshod pronunciation by the Finnish inhabitants).

Thus, we find that the names ending in *-pää* neither show characteristics that are exclusively Finnish nor indicate an early settlement. Like the former group of names they were certainly applied to natural features long before they became village names.

Let us now turn to the old names ending in *-sal* and *-sar(i)*. These are *Hacksall* and *Emesall* in Porvoo, *Kiffsall*, *Possall* and *Sarvesal* in Pernå, *Sinisarij* in Sipoo, *Hirffuisal* in Kirkkonummi, and *Vecke saar* in Snapertuna. It is beyond dispute that the element *sal* comes of Finnish/Estonian *salo/salu*. The word has several senses, but in the Uusimaa toponyms it is used only to denote wooded islands. The word *saari/saar* stands for 'island' in general.

The main fairway from the open sea to the mouth of the Porvoo river is much broader than the one through Vålaxfjärden and Seitlaxfjärden, discussed above. The sailor who approaches the river mouth along the main fairway sees a small and a big island on his left hand and a still larger island on his right hand. The small island was called *Hacksall holme* in 1555 (later also *Hackesarij*, *Haxalö*, etc.) The big island that follows *Haxall* is named *Emsalö* (*Emesall* 1531). These names may possibly be derived from the Estonian *hakk-saar* and *eem-salu*, meaning 'beginning-island' and 'farther-away-island', respectively (there is no Finnish counterpart to the Estonian word *hakk* 'beginning'). It is less likely that *Emesall* comes of the Finnish word *äimä* 'coarse needle', since the vowel *ä* occurs in genuine Swedish names as well as in loan-names (e.g. *Isnäs*, *Kärepä*) and is, therefore, likely to be preserved when it occurs in the stressed syllable of a loan-name. Besides, there is nothing especially needle-like about *Emsalö*. Still, these etymologies make sense only when considered as a pair. The large island on the right hand of the same fairway is called *Vessölandet* (*Weszöö* 1556), locally pronounced [vesula:nde]. This could be a semi-translation of a hypothetical Estonian *\*Vesu-maa* (with *maa* 'land'), in its turn an ellipse of a *\*Vesu-käsi-maa* 'right-hand-land'. The Estonian word *vesu* means 'leaf-sickle', but the compound *vesu-käsi* (with *käsi* 'hand') was formerly used in the meaning 'the right hand'. These three toponyms provide good examples of the special "navigational" name-typology envisaged above.

The village *Saruesalby* (1540) has apparently borrowed its name from the large island *Sarvsal(ö)* in Pernå, thereby getting this island-name into the rolls. The local pronunciation is [sarvsal], and the name is clearly composed of *sarvi/sarv* 'horn' and *salo/salu* 'wooded island'. A circumnavigation of the island will convince any normally observant person that the island has the shape of a bull's horn. Fishermen from far away may be a little more keen on such explorations than residents, but certainly even Häme-Finns would have noticed the horn-shape — provided some of them had lived there. They would hardly have named this big island after any water-based meadow (*sarva*) as suggested in R.-L. Pitkänen's paper (2001 : 58).

*Påsalö*, first mentioned as *Possall* (1545), is a small island mostly consisting of a moraine ridge. A thin clump of pine trees forms the natural vegetation on this ridge. These trees, always exposed to the breeze, would have provided an ideal natural rack for hanging out fishing-nets to dry. The obsolete Estonian word *poos* means precisely 'hanging up' and the local pronunciation of the name is [på:ssal]. There is no good Finnish etymology for the name, a proposed *Paasi-salo* 'flat rock island' would not have developed into *Påsal*, because the local dialect has preserved the ancient sound [a:] in names that do not contain identifiable Swedish words (in which [a:] was transformed into [å:]). Thus, certain old toponyms in Porvoo are still pronounced [ka:laks], [ka:dra], [ka:rsby] and [va:rlaks], just as they always were.

*Kejvsalö*, first called *Kiffsall* (1540, later *Keuesal*, *Keijffuesal*, *Kieffsall*, etc.) is the name of a sizeable (6 km), but rather barren island with only a single plot. Various writers have proposed the etymology \**Kivisalo* 'stone island'. This is improbable for two reasons. There is no example of a change from [i] to [ie] or [ei] in the dialect, and the island is not especially rich in stones. The marshy moraine that abounds would rather suggest a derivation from Estonian *kehv* 'meagre'. The un-Swedish sound [ehv] is likely to be substituted by [e:v] or the dialectal [eiv] when taken over by Swedes.

The small island now known as *Simsalö* was formerly noted as *Sinisarij* (1572) and *Sinnsari*, *Sinsar*, etc. Only in the 18th century the letter *-m-* was introduced instead of *-n-*. The substitution of *-sal* for *-sar* must have happened earlier. The Finnic word *sini* means 'blue' and 'Blue-island' is therefore the obvious interpretation. The only objection is that there is nothing specially blue about this very ordinary wooded island. Therefore, we cannot totally ignore the fact that there is an old Estonian word *sinid*, meaning 'flax'. Since the Swedes, for some reason, have called a neighbouring island *Linholmen*, 'Flax-island', Estonian visitors might, of course, have done the same. These two islands could perhaps have served some purpose in connection with the Estonia-Uusimaa flax trade in the 16th century (Neovius 1897 : 24).

*Hirsala*, originally *Hirffuisall* (1540, later even *Hirffuisaar*), is also a rather small island (2 km), where certainly deer or roe (*hīrv* in Estonian) may have been seen just as well as elk (*hīrvi* in Finnish). The Estonian word formerly ended in a vowel, cf. *Hirve* (1410), *Hirwekylla* (1693) (Johansen 1933 : 364). Since the elk is a more imposing animal than the deer, the Finnish etymology is a little more likely, at least when regarded independently.

The island name *Vecke saar öö* (1540) later became *Vexar*, *Veckesäär*, etc. and finally *Växär*. The etymology is obscure and Finnish and Estonian provenance seem equally probable. The same may be said about *Karf-fuesarhe* (1410), 15 km east of Hanko (nowadays called *Koverhar*).

From the *sal-* and *sar-*names we now turn to the purported *joki-*names. According to R.-L. Pitkänen there are four toponyms containing the Finnish word *joki* 'river, stream', i.e. *Tervejoche* (1421) and *Rikesby* (1540) in Pernå, *Norikesby* (1540) and *Ylikesby* (1540) in Porvoo; later on named *Tervik*, *Rike*, *Norike* and *Ylike*.

Since at least the 1920s various authors have derived the manorial name *Tervejoche* from Finnish *terva* 'tar' and *joki* 'river'. This would mean that

the assumed (Häme-Finnish) name-givers had used the word *joki* to designate an insignificant brook — the only stream about the place. However, no example of such usage in Häme has ever been presented. Brooks of this size are normally called *puro* or *oja* in Finnish. Also no reason has been given why the brook would have been connected with tar. In 1974 the present writer proposed another etymology for *Tervejoche*, based on the Estonian words *terve* 'whole, undivided' and *jõgi* 'river', where the "river" referred to was supposed to be the large bay Storpernåviken (Nordling 1974). This is not bifurcated like its neighbour, Lillpernåviken, and the word *jõgi* was actually used not only for rivers, but also for such large bodies of water as the Gulf of Finland (*Ida-põhja-jõgi* 'East-north-river'). In the Middle Ages the Tervik manorial estate was the administrative centre of the bay population, and the name of the local parish priest in 1404 was *Helwik* (Finlands medeltidsurkunder 1915 : 40), which means 'whole bay' in Swedish. The derivation from *terve* 'undivided' should be considered as a counterpart to *Kalax* from *kaha* 'divided', proposed above as a possible original Finnic name of Lillpernåviken. If non-resident fishermen coined all the Finnic toponyms chiefly as aids for navigation — as assumed here — they would certainly have needed names for these two large bays as well. It is noteworthy that even the Swedish namegivers have treated the bays as a pair, distinguishing their names with *Stor-* 'Big-' and *Lill-* 'Little-'.

The element *Rike* in *Rikesby* has been suggested to be a curtailment of an original *\*Riihjoki* 'kiln-river'. Again no river of any size has been identified. Threshing kilns were, of course, ubiquitous in those days, and there must have been several along every real river. Since most toponyms in Pernå are Swedish, there is no reason to suspect a Finnish origin for a name that lacks specific Finnish traits. The element *-rike* occurs in decidedly Swedish names, such as *Soderrike* (1433) in Espoo and *Narike* in Sweden. In this case we should also consider the fact that *Rike* was a personal name (surname or byname) in the Middle Ages (Registrum ecclesiae aboensis 1890 : 358).

R.-L. Pitkänen (2001 : 57) derives the name *Norike* [nå:rike] from the Finnish words *naara* 'grapnel; drag net', and *joki*. Also in this case there is no river, and the nearest brook is trifling and does not distinguish itself in any way among the hundreds of brooks in the Swedish parishes. Besides, the local dialect has preserved the ancient sound [a:] as such in unfamiliar toponym parts, as noted above.

Finally, there is *Ylike*, supposedly from an original *\*Ylijoki* 'Upper River'. Again, there is no river, and none of the brooks in the neighbourhood would deserve to be called "upper". Actually the villages of *Norike* and *Ylike* are neighbours and the only ones with names ending with the element *-ike* (save *Rike*). This suggests that the names were intended to form a pair (like, e.g. *Storpernåviken* and *Lillpernåviken*, *Mallorca* and *Menorca*, *North* and *South Carolina*, *Dakota*, etc.). If we assume that the names were created by Estonians it is easy enough to find a suitable etymology. The Estonian words *noorik* and *ülgä(v)* mean 'maiden' or 'newly wedded woman' and 'bridegroom', respectively. There is also a word *ülik* 'headman' in some dialects. The Finnish equivalent of *ülgä* is *ylkä* 'bridegroom', thus a quite acceptable origin of *Ylike*. The Finnish word *nuorikko*

'young mother' is not, however, a natural counterpart to *ylkä*. Also, it would not have developed into [nä:rike] in Swedish, since *-uo-* normally becomes [u:] or [o:], as noted above. Toponyms reminding of *Norike* and *Ylike* occur in Estonia as well, e.g. *Noorekle* and *Ülgabe* (Kettunen 1955).

The names ending in *-järvi* 'lake' and *-koski* 'rapids' naturally belong to places at some distance from the waterfront. Many of such names in Uusimaa were recorded after the year 1500 and belong to places more than 15 km from the coastline. These names probably stem from the colonisation of northern Uusimaa by Häme-Finns in the 15th century. The remaining eight names call for a more careful consideration. At their first occurrence they were noted as follows: *Saffuierffui* (1382, 9 km from the coast) in Sipoo, *Kirveskoski* (1471, 15 km), *Löffkoski* (1530, 12 km), *Ninekoskeby* (1540, 15 km) and *Walckijerffui* (1382, 15 km) in Pornainen, *Wekkoske* (1413, 8 km) and *Vekierff* (1539, 3 km) in Porvoo and *Kusekoske* (1455, less than 5 km) in Pernå. Regarding the form of the names, all could be of Finnish just as well as of Estonian provenance. That means that either Finns or Estonians seem to have been inhabiting, or at least exploring, the coastal zone of eastern Uusimaa when the Swedes settled there. Other evidence must be used for tipping the scale between the two peoples.

Among such evidence is the toponym *Piaputtis* (1414, later *Pöhæpott*, *Pepott*, etc.) in Porvoo. The name *Pöhæpott* may have been derived from the Estonian word *põhi* 'shoal, shallows'. The village in question is situated near the mouth of the Porvoo river and it could very well have borrowed its name from some of the shallows in this mouth (these shallows were blasted away in the early 1880s). The Finnish etymology based on the word *pyhä* 'holy' (this word is common to Finnish and Estonian) is less likely, because words of religious import are not used in other toponyms in this area. Besides, the latter part of the name does not signify any of the traditionally holy objects: groves, springs and boulders.

A special group of place names are those that contain the ethnic designations *Finn-*, *Est-* and *Tavest-*. There are about twenty of them. Naturally, such names were given by the dominant Swedish population to designate places inhabited by some ethnic minority. At first sight, one would perceive the element *Tavest* as identical with the Swedish word *tavast* 'Häme-Finn' (*hämäläinen* in Finnish). There is, however, a slight difference. The names *Tavastehus* and *Tavastland* (referring to Hämeenlinna and Häme) were mainly spelt with the letter *-a-* in the second syllable already in the 14th century. The *Tavest*-names in Uusimaa recorded in the 15th and 16th century are spelt with the letter *-e-* in 62 percent of the cases (*-i-* 20 % and *-a-* 18 %). This is in accordance with the local pronunciation of the word and also with the spelling used in the ancient chronicle *Erikskrönikan* (c. 1335). The latter mentions the people in question three times, and in each case the metre requires stress on both *Tav* and *est*, thus indicating that the word may be a compound with the word *est* 'Estonian' as its second element. *Erikskrönikan* describes the Swedes' confrontation with the heathen *Taffwesta* about 1240 after the Swedish Marine Corps (*ledung*) had landed at the coast (s. *Erikskrönikan* 1921). As the present writer has shown elsewhere (Nordling 1976), it is very likely that the landing place was the mouth of the Porvoo river and that a group of Estonians (called *Tavesta*) were living in this region already in the 13th

century (the word *tavast* that lacks even a partial etymology may be a corruption of an original *tavest*). It seems quite possible that small Estonian settlements could have existed already before the large-scale Swedish colonisation. In any case, the Estonians certainly had free access to the coast of Uusimaa during many centuries. Even if their main interest was fishing, they would hardly have forgone to make occasional hunting, berry-picking and crayfishing expeditions a little bit inland. The old toponyms ending in *-järv* and *-kosk* could, therefore, very well be given by Estonians. Consequently, and since there is no other evidence for the early presence of Häme-Finns, the *-järv* and *-kosk* names do not prove the existence of a settlement of Häme-Finns before the Swedish colonisation.

Just as there are Finnic names a few kilometres from the areas used by fishermen, the LCD-itinerary lists Finnic names of places equally distant from the villages inhabited by farmers. Eastward from the above mentioned *Cuminpe/Hangethe* by way of *Lowicsund* (a Swedish name) we come upon *Karienkaskæ*. This seems to be a misspelling for *Karienneske* 'Between-skerry', an equivalent of Swedish *Mellanskär*, the present name of a certain skerry situated between other skerries. *Mellanskär* lies on the very place where we would expect to find the *Karienneske*. The following place on the list is *Juxaræ*, later called *Jusar* (1547), that may originate from the Estonian compound *juuk-saar* meaning 'island with muddy sand or sludge'. A less likely derivation would be *juka-saari* or *juga-saar*, the initial part of which means 'cascade' in Finnish and Estonian, but *juga* also forms a part of the word *liiva-juga* 'sandbank' in Estonian. (The long vowel of the first syllable is retained in the local pronunciation, [ju:ssa:r], although the written form has become *Jussarö*). The island *Russarö* south of Hanko is not listed in the Itinerary but its name may be contemporary with *Jussarö* and could be derived from Estonian *ruus* 'gravel'. Next comes an island with the double name *Horinsaræ/Hestö* (nowadays *Orslandet*), the Finnic form meaning 'Stallion-island' and the Danish form 'Horse-island'. Finally, we have *Purkal*, later *Porkall* (1429). This name is difficult to associate with any known Finnish or Estonian topographic term. Nonetheless, similar toponyms occur in both Finland and Estonia, e.g. *Purkuli* (LCD) and *Porkasaar*, a peninsula in Lake Peipsi.

Obviously, the place-names in the LCD-itinerary do not prove that Häme-Finnish voyagers ever frequented this route, let alone settled in the archipelago.

Finally, a few words about the parish names, which are generally among the oldest place names known. The earliest source that mentions a name that was to become a parish name is the First Novgorod Chronicle (1311) where a river named *Perna* is noted in connection with a war raid against places on the southern coast of Finland in 1292 (Mikkola 1927). The river referred to seems to be the Forsby River, the only one in Pernå. The next references to *Perna*, now as a parish, are from 1352, 1398 and 1404. *Pernå* (1532) is the accepted Swedish form, while the Finnish name is *Pernaja*, a traditional form that suggests an original Finnic *Pern-oja* 'Linden-brook'. Rivers of this size are normally called *joki* in Häme-Finnish areas, e.g. *Paliockij* (1540) in Nurmijärvi and *Vihtijoki* in Vihti. The Estonians, on the other hand, who used the word *jõgi* for as large objects as the Gulf of Finland, could be expected to use another word for a stream much smaller.



In Estonia toponyms with *-oja* or *-aja* as the last component are not uncommon, e.g. *Liivoja*, *Mustaja*, *Riidaja* (Kettunen 1955). Two other parish names seem to be of Finnic provenance, viz. *Kariis* (1326), later *Karis*, and *Paya* (1335), later *Pojo*. The former name is identical with the first element of *Karisierffui* (1539) in Pusula, but it also shows a marked affinity to such Estonian names as *Karis* (1688) (Johansen 1933 : 392), *Kariæl* (LCD), *Carias* (LCD) and *Kariscaë* (LCD). The origins of both *Karis* and *Paya* remain indeterminable. All other parish names are of Swedish provenance: *Borga* (1327), *Sibbaa* (1353), *Jnga* (1335), *Siundo* (1417), *Esbo* (1431), *Kirkeslæth* (1330), *Helsingaa* (1351), *Ekenäs* (1451), *Lappträsk* (1414) and *Degerby* about a century later (1540). The first five names were obviously river names before they became parish names. This indicates that the first Swedes in Uusimaa may have been farmers interested in river valleys, while the first non-Swedes obviously gave their attention mostly to bays and islands, as fishermen would do.

In summary, although there are many toponyms of undoubtedly Finnic provenance in the Swedish parishes along the southern coast of Finland, none of the demonstrably old names distinguishes themselves as exclusively Finnish. Almost every one of them could be derived from items in the Estonian vocabulary, and several show even slightly more affinity to Estonian than to Finnish, e.g. *Teissala*, *Idlax*, *Våglax*, *Påsalö*, *Norike* and *Tervik*. The only exception is the name *Hurskusnes* (1544) in Snappertuna, which reminds of *Hurskaala* between Pieksämäki and Virtasalmi in Savo and also of the Finnish word *hurskas* 'righteous'. Even with access to spellings from the 14th and 15th centuries, we must realise that by that time the names had already been transferred orally through several generations and their pronunciation may have been blurred to a certain extent. The change does not necessarily follow simple rules. E.g. the Finnic word *saar(i)* demonstrably appears as *-sar*, *-sår*, *-sär*, *-har* and *-sal* in different toponyms. Also, we do not know exactly what changes the Finnish and Estonian words have undergone since the 13th and 14th centuries in order to arrive at the forms noted in the oldest dictionaries.

Therefore, a theory of the identity of the name-givers should not be based on linguistic evidence in the first place. Also, not only hypothetical residents should be taken into consideration in the name-giving situation, but also the possibility of occasional explorers, habitually visiting fishermen, etc. Taking into account all such factors, I propose the following as the theory that fits all the facts in the best way.

The soil of Estonia in the Iron Age yielded cereals enough to support a population of considerable size. At the same time the yield of fish from the few brooks and lakes must have been rather insufficient. In glaring contrast to the situation in the Häme lake district, fish was long considered a commodity in short supply in Estonia, as indicated by the stock phrase *meil on leib kalaks* 'we (have to) use bread as fish'. This would have led to the development of sea-fishing industry along the coast and on the islands. Sea-fishing off the unsheltered coast of Estonia requires sea-going craft and once such craft were available, the coast of Finland was within easy reach. This coast with its sheltering archipelago would have been the favourite fishing-grounds for many Estonian fishing parties — as it continued to be until the 18th century (Kuvaja, Rantanen 1994 : 392). But in

order to navigate in this multifarious *skärgård* (literally 'skerry-yard'), without pilots, charts and navigation marks, it would have been necessary to memorise and transmit reports of the distinctive traits of the islands, straits and bays that were essential for the orientation. Consequently, the Estonians would most probably have created toponyms meaning the so-and-so shaped or placed island, the divided bay, the undivided bay, and things like that. In other words, they would in all probability have used names of precisely the type analysed above, thereby diverging from the usual name-typology.

At some moment Swedes then began colonizing the coast of Uusimaa and called it *Nyland* (1310) 'New Land'. The colonisers certainly met Estonian fishermen and perhaps employed some of them as (much needed) pilots. Thereby they would have learnt the names of the most important bays and islands. In areas where the Swedes settled even before Estonian toponyms had been established (e.g. in the Snappertuna region) they may have named certain islands after their still worshipped gods, calling them e.g. *Toorsböle*, *Torsöö*, *Odensö*. Since there were no existing villages with established names, they had to invent their own names for the first set of villages to be built, e.g. *Fagrastada* (1404), *Karsby* (1382), *Kulla* (1332), *Stensböla* (1327), *Westersundom* (1347), *Fassareby* (1356), *Myklebolstad* (1427), *Engelbigh* (1347), *Norbijggiom* (1382), *Nörraby* (1405) and *Sudherby* (1405), to name just a few typical village names in Uusimaa. To these settlers river valleys were more important than headlands, islands and skerries, so they certainly had to invent names for the rivers as well, notably *Jnga* (1335), *Siundo* (1417), *Espa* (1431), *Helsingaa* (1351), *Sibbaa* (1352) and *Borga* (1327). Obviously, the latter name was preceded by the building of the moated earthwork *Borgbacken* ('The Castle Hill'). An early administrative and commercial centre seems to have been called *\*Tuna*, preserved as *Snappertuna* (1540, probably < *\*Hnappertuna* 'Place of assembly') conforming to Swedish practice in pagan times (the provenance and age of the name *Ultuna* in Sipoo is unknown).

Since Estonia was only one day's journey removed, the Swedish settlers would have been likely to hire farmhands and maids from across the Gulf. This would have brought in its train Estonians setting up houses and hamlets. Such settlements would have been called e.g. *Estebigge bol* (1451 in Kirkkonummi) or perhaps *Tafwistemaja* (1414 in Lappträsk), provided that Estonians (or some of them) went under the name *tav-ester* at some stage (as has been argued, s. Nordling 1976 : 52–78). They may also have created their own village names, such as *Randekila* (1450), *Moijsze* (1540), *Hentala* (1542) and *Tarkis* (1548).

This assumed prehistoric influx of Estonians would have resulted in a genetically mixed Swedish speaking population, containing not only genes from the Häme-Finnish neighbours of a later age but also genes from the Estonians. As a matter of fact, it can be shown that the Estonian component is even more conspicuous than the Finnish one among the Uusimaa Swedes (Nordling 1993). The calculation is complicated, but a simple example will show the principle. The allele *Gc1* occurs in a high proportion (c. 92 percent) among the Samis, less among the East-Finns (c. 81 percent) and still less among the Häme Finns (c. 79 percent). The proportion among the Estonians is only 72 percent (Nevanlinna 1973). The contributions of

genes from the Häme-Finns and from the Estonians to the Uusimaa Swedes seem to have balanced each other, because the latter still show the same percentage as the Swedes in Sweden, viz. 74.

The above theory obviously brings a number of facts into a natural context and renders a number of seemingly rather nonsensical place-names finally to make sense. It entails, however, the idea of a somewhat special name-typology for the unusual case of naming places for the special purpose of navigation.

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**ЖИЛИ ЛИ ФИННЫ В УУСИМАО  
ДО ЗАСЕЛЕНИЯ ЕГО ШВЕДАМИ**

В шведских приходах южного побережья Финляндии встречаются топонимы, прибалтийско-финское происхождение которых не вызывает сомнений, но ни одно из старых названий нельзя доказательно считать финским по происхождению, почти все они могут быть выведены и из эстонского языка, причем многие явно имеют больше родственных черт с эстонским языком, чем с финским. При выяснении происхождения авторов этих названий наряду с гипотетическим населением следует учитывать и мигрантов, например, эстонских рыбаков. Из Эстонии очень просто было попасть на южное побережье Финляндии. Поэтому вполне вероятно, что эстонцы скорее могли заселить эти земли, чем хямэские финны, численность которых была значительно меньше. Да и в генетическом отношении теперешнее шведское население Уусимаа ближе к эстонцам, чем к финнам.