

Were the "Kainulaiset" in the Kalix River valley Finnish or Swedish-speakers?

A reinterpretation of ethnonyms in Finland and the Gulf of Bothnia area from the Viking Age and onwards

Abstract

The Norwegian ethnonym *Kven* and the Finnish ethnonym *Kainulainen* occurred at latest in the first millennium AD. A tacit truth held today is that the ethnonyms represent the same ancient Finnish-speaking group, only named differently by Norwegians and Finns. The aim of the article is to find out whether the ethnonyms have been used to designate different groups of people. The Finnish-speakers in the nearby Tornedalen has called the lower part of the Kalix River in northernmost Sweden the *Kainuu River* [Fin. Kainuunväylä] and the upper part *Kaalasjoki* after the original Sámi name of the river. According to theories on ethnicity they called the lower part the *Kainuu River* [Fin. Kainuunväylä] because they wanted to mark out a group of different ethnicity, who they called Kainulaiset. The latter mainly settled the lower part of the river in the Middle Ages and Finnish-speakers the upper part. The article reveals that the Sámi variety *Gainoláš* was used by the Sámi for depicting dominant majority populations of different ethnicity, especially Scandinavians, but sometimes also Finns. It also argues that Finnish settlers in southern Finland and northernmost Gulf of Bothnia used *Kainulainen* for depicting Swedish settlers when the two language groups first encountered.

Keywords: ethnonym, Kainulainen, ethnicity, nationalism, Sámi, Finn, Kven.

This work was supported by Riksbankens Jubileumsfond [grant number M11-0361:1].

In an account from the end of the 9th century the Norwegian Chieftain Ohthere, from Hålogaland in northern Norway describes the Kven as a group of people who lived in Kvenland, to the East of the Scandinavian mountain ridge. Over the years, researchers have tried to position the Kven people regarding time and place. In a similar way the Finnish ethnonym *Kainulainen*¹, and place names based on Kainuu, have tempted researchers to try to identify the ethnic group concealed behind the name and to place it, historically and geographically. In the most extensive interpretations, *Kainulainen* has been described as an indigenous late Bronze Age Finnish people, who initially inhabited the coastal area of southern Finland, then spreading around the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia also to the Swedish side. They have also been described as living along the Norwegian coast of the Arctic Ocean and at the Kola Peninsula (Vilkuna 1969; Julku 1986). Their place of living has also been extended eastward from Finland into northwestern Russia (Wallerström 1995).

The issue is also very much related to ideologies of nationalism. Historically the issue of a nation's territorialisation has a special status because it legitimizes the autonomy, self-

determination and identity of the nation itself. In this way, the question of how and when encounters occurred between groups of people is linked to nationalistic patterns of interpretation. The methods used to seek an understanding of the relationship between ethnonyms have remained locked in a methodological nationalism based on the ethnic self-esteem of the majority groups in each state (Chernilo 2007). From the mid-19th century, the Finns in Finland sought to raise Finnish culture to a nation-state level and to expand the status of the Finns within the Finnish nation and the history of Finland. In this context the kind of relationship that existed among Finns, Sámi and Swedes in ancient times gained significant meaning for Sweden and Finland as nation-states, as also did the interpreted ethnicity contained in the ethnonyms Kainulainen and Kven. Finnish researchers increasingly began to equate the Norwegian ethnonym Kven with the Finnish-speaking ethnonym Kainulainen and the name Kvenland with the Finnish region Kainuu in the County of Ostrobothnia (Yrjö-Koskinen 1874, 7–53; Jaakola 1941, 32–41).

Influenced by an intensified rivalry between nationalists in Sweden and Finland, the debate gradually became more polemic, meeting opposition from Swedish researchers who asserted that the Kvens were a Swedish folk group (Wiklund 1896, 103–117; Wiklund 1947). The fusion of the ethnonyms Kainulainen and Kven was also interwoven with the issue of the ethnic background of the *birkarlar*, who were tradesmen specialised in trading with the Sámi (Steckzén 1964, 108–118; Luukko 1966, 21–38; Julku 1986, 170–172). Since the controversy was about the cradle of the Finnish nation, it came to be concerned with the historical presence of Finns and Swedes in Finland, or which of the two groups was to be considered the later invaders (Fewster 2000, 107–124; Huldén 2002, 13–38; Tarkiainen 2008, 49–63).² In the late modern society interethnic conflicts on historical rights to land and water has escalated in the Nordic countries. When it comes to ethnonyms and the history of ethnic groups, the conflict has especially taken place between Finnish-speaking groups and Sámi groups. The trans-nationally organised Kven movement in Norway and Sweden has argued to be regarded as an indigenous people as the Sámi (Wallerström 2006; Elenius 2007; Ojala 2009; Hagström Yamamoto 2010; Elenius 2018).

The prolonged debate has been characterised by interpretation of the two ethnonyms based on analyses of the Swedish and Finnish majority populations in each country, while the Sámi population has played only a subordinate role. In fact, with regard to the period in question, the first millennium A.D. up to the Middle Ages, the Sámi should have been the first group to

consider when analysing how ethnonyms have arisen in the encounter between ethnic groups in Finland and northern Sweden. Despite the obvious nationalistic interpretations of the connection between Kainulainen and Kven, the fusion of the two ethnonyms has long been regarded as an accepted truth among historians and linguists.

Arising from the above, the purpose of this article is to investigate whether the fused ethnonyms, Kainulainen and Kven, can be considered designations in different languages for one, historically uniform, group of people, or whether the ethnonyms have been used to designate different, separated, groups of people. From the results it will be further investigated whether these people can be considered to have lived in the same area in the northern part of the Gulf of Bothnia or in different areas. Since Kven is almost lacking in place names in Sweden and Finland the focus of investigation will be on the ethnonym of Kainulainen. According to etymology, Kainuu is a determination for three different areas; (1) the coastal area of the old province of Ostrobothnia in Finland, (2) the coastal area, or a specific part, of the county of Norrbotten in Sweden, (3) the immediate surroundings of Kajana and the area further north, and also to the Kajana county district belonging parishes (Toivonen 1955, 142–143). The article focuses geographically on these three ethnic contact zones between Sámi, Finnish and Swedish-speakers, associated with place names of Gajno (Sámi) or Kainuu (Finnish). There is a special focus on the valleys of the Torne River and the Kalix River, which make up a historically important contact zone between Sámi, Finnish and Swedish cultures. The period of investigation considering the encounters of ethnic groups starts with the first millennium A.D. when a clear difference started to appear between agricultural groups and hunter/gatherer groups in southern Finland. The encounters are traced through different sources up to the Mid 20th century. The historiographical analyses starts in the Mid 19th century and lasts till today.

A major methodological problem with the fusion of the ethnonyms Kven and Kainulainen is that different time contexts have been merged together. Ethnonyms, which arose in completely different historical contexts, are subsumed homologically into a common "fused" group of people. One aspect is how Norwegian settlers in northern Norway in the 9th century may have viewed ethnic groups in a geographically widespread regional context; another is how Finnish-, Sámi- and Swedish-speaking settlers in southern and northern Finland may have regarded ethnic groups in the vicinity over a time span from perhaps the 6th to the 20th centuries. To merge stories about ancient ethnonyms from different times does not benefit the attempt to explain the relationship between them.

Another problem in dealing with the two notions is that full attention has rarely been given to theories about how ethnic boundaries are created. The Kalix River is a typical example. In Sámi it is called Kaalasjoki or Kaalasätno, which has been interpreted as originating from either the Sámi word *kallet* for "wade" or *kalus* for "chilly, cool or cold." When the Swedes arrived in the Bothnian area they adopted the Sámi name and transformed it into *Kalixälven* [Eng. the Kalix River] The Finnish-speaking Tornedalians, however, have two names for the Kalix River. The upper part is called Kaalasjoki or Kaalaväylä, using the same name as the Sámi (Collinder 1964, 76; Pellijeff 1980, 14-16), while the lower part south of Tärendö is called Kainuunväylä, derived from the Finnish ethnonym Kainulainen [Sv. Kainubo] (Wahlberg 1963, 143). This raises questions about the ethnic encounter connected to the dual naming of the river.

If Kainulainen is a Finnish denomination for the Finnish-speakers in the lower part of the Kalix River valley, one might ask, following theories of ethnicity, why the Finnish-speakers in the Torne River Valley called attention to another Finnish-speaking group in the region of the lower part of Kalix River. What in their livelihood, culture or political status distinguished them so much from other Finnish-speakers in northern Sweden that they named the river after them? Why is the current place names and culture in the lower part of the valley so significantly Swedish, the part that is named after Kainulaiset? The signs of Swedish influences in the lower part of the Kalix River are reinforced by the fact that only 20 kilometres east of its mouth lies the burial mound of a Scandinavian warrior from the Viking Age. In 1923, after an earlier looting of the grave mound, the archaeologist Gustaf Hallström heard from the looters that they had recovered a long scramasax and a shield bucket typical of the late Iron Age together with the skeleton of a human being. A later excavation in 1937 did not discover any new objects. Approximately 15 km upstream on the Sangis River at the Espinära marsh there is another grave of the same type, with the addition of a stone arrangement and a nearby cooking pit. Its location makes it difficult to interpret the two grave mounds as directly related to each other. None of these has been archaeologically investigated after Hallström, but during the years 2012-2014, the archaeologist Per Ramqvist and the palaeologist Greger Hörnberg excavated the promontory on which the Sangis grave is located. From the form and content of the grave, they estimated that it was created in the 7th century AD. The use of the promontory could be dated to two periods, AD 600-800, and from AD 1070 onwards, but no traces of agriculture were found at the excavation on the former headland along the sea where the Sangis grave is located, nor in the Palynological

investigation of the close environment. The Palynological finds cover the vegetation during the period A.D. 575–1210, thus up to the early Middle Ages (Ramqvist & Hörnberg 2015).

The grave finds from the Sangis grave are of a common Nordic type. Both of these graves resemble the burial mounds in Middle-Norrland, with the difference that those burial mounds are usually close to farmhouses (Liedgren 1992, 193). A Norwegian origin has been excluded because of the distance of transportation from Norway, as has an Ostrobothnian origin because of the shape of the grave (Ramqvist & Hörnberg 2015). However, the lack of a connection to a farmhouse does not exclude the possibility that the Sangis grave's occupant was from Mälardalen. We know that trade in the Gulf of Bothnia area during the Middle Ages was in the direction of Mälardalen (Stockholm), not Middle Norrland, and we know that journeys undertaken in the Viking Age were very extensive. It must be out of question that one or another trade expedition from Uppland and the Mälardalen area was undertaken to the Gulf of Bothnia area for developing the attractive fur trade in this period of extreme Scandinavian military and trade expansion all over Europe and to the Middle East area (Logan 1991; James 2009; Heather 2010; Andersson 2013).

Moreover, the Norwegian cultural influence on Middle-Norrland up to 500–600 AD is considerable, for example in the form of early given place names based on the old Norse word *anger* (Swe. ånger). They were used for depicting gulfs in the river outlets, like for example in names like Ångermanland, Njutånger and Lövånger. They are clear evidences of the Norwegian cultural influences in the time when the first Scandinavian place names were created along the coast of Middle Norrland. Other examples of influences between Norway and Mid-Norrland are place names with the word component *vin* (Dahl et al. 2010, 80–84). Another example of interrelation is that after the death of the Norwegian king St. Olof in 1030 AD the Hälsinglanders payed a special gift to Saint Olof in the church of Nidaros in Norway until the late 13th century (Tegengren 2015, 137). The grave in Sangis is a typical warrior grave of Scandinavian descent, and it matches the written accounts in Ohthere's account from the late 900s and the medieval Egils Saga about Norwegian warriors visiting the area. This means that a Norwegian origin cannot be excluded.

The grave mound was located on a symbolic place on a sandy point just near the seashore in the time it was created. The lack of pollen from agriculture in the near vicinity eliminates the possibility that it was located in the proximity of a local settlement. It is more likely a warrior grave from a military or trade expedition. In any way we can state that the objects clearly

place the grave mound within a Scandinavian, probably Swedish, cultural sphere. The post-1970s archaeological excavations along the coast of Norrland, have revealed no traces of agriculture from the younger Iron Age north of Örnsköldsvik, but not as far as the Kalix River valley (Engelmark 1976; Ramqvist 1983; Liedgren 1992). However, pollen analyses have proved that continuous cultivation began during the 6th century in many locations in Västerbotten, and at a short distance from the coast, as in Burträsk (Josefsson et al. 2017). Palynological surveys in the 1980s, 50 kilometres up the Torne River in the village of Kainuunkylä, show traces of the cultivation of rye and other grains associated with permanent settlement in the years A.D. 1000-1100. These results are partly confirmed by archaeological surveys in the same area (Sundström & Vahtola & Koivunen 1981, 244-283; Sundström 1983; Sundström 1984; Wallerström 1995).

It is only about 40 km between the Torne River and the Sangis River, and the Sangis burial mound lies precisely on the sharp 18th century linguistic boundary between Swedish and Finnish, noted by Carl von Linné and Abraham Hülphers (Linné 1969 [1732]; Hülphers 1978 [1758]). It indicates that the mouth of the Kalix River belonged at that time to an area under influence of Swedish culture, while the Torne River was subject to influence of Finnish culture.

When evaluating all the above facts together we must assume that the estuaries in the northern Gulf of Bothnia area were already settled by farmers when the Swedish state- and church-led colonisation of the area started in the early 1300s. In 1543, the parish of Kalix stretching about 80 km upstream had already 33 villages with 184 farms (Melin & Westerberg 1989, 15–25). The number of inhabitants has been estimated to more than 1260 at that time (Huss 1902, 64).

In order to judge the reliability of earlier interpretations, the argumentation of archaeological, linguistic and historical research concerning the interpretation of the two ethnonyms is investigated. The hypothesis is that the ethnonyms, which have previously been interpreted very much in nationalistic discourses, in fact have an ambiguous content based on the historical context in which they were created.

Ethnicity and ethnonyms in history and archaeology

In the analysis of the encounter between ethnic groups, one can identify the physical space that determines the meeting and conditions of the groups involved. In such a context, space is

regarded as a cultural construct (Edlund & Andersson 2012, 7-9). Areas where ethnic groups meet is in this article called *ethnic contact zones* to emphasize the cultural and political exchange in the encounter, rather than emphasising a linguistic boundary in the landscape. Such ethnic contact zones have different time spans for different types of linguistic phenomena and must be defined contextually using a variety of sources.

The article uses place names to reconstruct the meeting of ethnic groups. A common way for ethnic groups to manifest the encounter with other groups is to name places in nature after them. There are many psychosocial factors that affect the creation and change of place names. The most basic is constituted by concepts such as *contact*, *prestige* and *identification*. This is suggestive of the complex process that causes a language to become dominant in an area (Edlund & Andersson 2012, 10 ff.). In this context, one must also distinguish between the language strategies of different bands and individuals within the same ethnic group. They may differ depending on gender, social background, family traditions and the like. Ethnic groups are not necessarily homogeneous in all respects (Elenius 2001). Demographic factors that are important in multilingual environments must also be considered. Language boundaries tend to stabilise when a language group carries the dominant weight in an area, and conversely, language boundaries change when demography changes (Naert 1995; Sonderegger 1976).

One starting point must be that temporally stable language boundaries in the landscape represent distinct ethnic boundaries, which are also formed by the population size of respective ethnic groups. When using settlement names for a study of the settlements over a larger area, a prerequisite is that the settlement names remain relatively stable over time. Such a study requires name-continuity and presupposes that settlement names of a certain time have been created within a relatively short period (Brink 1983, 8–39). A distinction is made in the article between the concepts of *people* [Swe. folk], *groups of people* [Swe. folkgrupper] and *language groups* [Swe. språkgrupper]. The concept of ethnically demarcated *people* is used to denote a unified group of people within a relatively broadly defined territory of settlement, united by a common language, culture, history and mythology, and identifying themselves as a people in relation to other people (Smith 1991). It is not used here explicitly to designate national identification, but is based on the same kind of cultural markers as ethnicity and national identification for the maintenance of boundaries towards other people. A distinction must be made between the cultural and political content of the identification, because both parts are involved in the identifying idea of belonging to a people (Hutchinson

1987; Fewster 2000). The peoples involved in this context are, in particular, culturally and linguistically separate people, such as Sámi, Finns, Norwegians, Swedes and Russians, who have demonstrated, up to modern times, a continuity in demarcating themselves vis-à-vis each other.

Belonging to a people as part of a clan society, with alliances between different houses and families, must have meant, for the people of ancient times, a strong political identification, as it has for people within an established territorial or nation state. Political identification, as part of one's identity, is not only reserved for the nation-state period, but was also the ultimate manifestation of power and control of resources for ancient people. This does not mean that the content of the terms *people* and *power* can be equated for different times, but that ancient people can be conceived both culturally and politically constituted people in relation to other people, just like today.

Before the introduction of Christianity and a new kind of centralised state building, there were regional subgroups of different peoples who were politically autonomous (Ramqvist 1991, 305–318; Tegengren 2015, 1-9, 41-77). They are in this context called ethnically demarcated *groups of people*. The fact that they are called *groups of people* mean that they identified themselves with the larger category of *people*, but that they constituted a subgroup within it and populated a certain territory they considered their own. One could mention the Tavastians and Karelians in Finland, the Svear and Hälsinglanders in Sweden, and the Tröndelags [Swe. tröndelagare] and Hålogalanders [Swe. hålogaländare] in Norway. They could ethnically demarcate themselves from other groups of people within their own people, but also identify themselves in relation to groups of people belonging to other peoples. Such groups of people fall within the boundaries that we associate with ethnicity even if the boundary in relation to the Other may be difficult to prove (Opsahl 2003, 29 ff.). The term *language group* refers to people who speak languages that differ from those of other groups.

The relevance of applying ethnicity to prehistoric conditions has been debated in the field of archaeology (Jones 1998; Olsen 2003; Myrvoll & Henriksen 2003; Hansen and Olsen 2006). The problem in this context is that the finds, which are expected to clarify social boundaries between groups using cultural markers, are usually so sparse that they do not provide enough information to draw conclusions about ethnicity (Wallerström 2006). There has been criticism of using ethnicity in archaeological contexts in that it evokes the idea that ethnic groups inhabited territories separated by clear-cut inter-ethnic borders. It has been pointed out that

several ethnic groups could coexist in an area (Forsberg 1996, 167-168; Karlsson 2006, 16-19).

The archaeologist Thomas Wallerström has investigated in depth how ethnonyms have been used historically as self-designations for group identities, also as designations of Others in the form of negative or positive stereotypes (Wallerström 1997). In carefully thought out critical reviews of how ethnicity has been used too carelessly in scientific contexts, or has been used in policing in the present, he has pointed to the problem of using ethnonyms in the analysis of ancient relationships. The arguments regarding the sources are very relevant, but at the same time he has questioned if one can use the concept of ethnicity analysing the relationship between prehistoric groups. On very good grounds he has criticised the current politicization of archaeology, but the argument that ethnicity is dubious to use because ancient people maybe did not use the concept is weaker (Wallerström 2006, 55, 66, 80). That view has been criticised because it confuses the sometimes thin archaeological finds with current theoretical tools. It is anachronistic and implies that ethnicity as a border maintenance process loses its relational meaning (Elenius, 2007, 207, Note 6). If doubt is cast on the idea that ancient people thought in ethnic categories, i.e. that cultural markers of a group of people created identity in relation to another group of people, then the existence of distinct group identities in ancient times is also brought into question. Nothing dictates that ancient people had less need for group identities than today's people. It is the boundary towards the Other that creates both individual and collective identity.

As long as comparisons of ethnic groups are made at the same time in history, and have relevant empirical material connected to them, there are no barriers to analysing group identities in studies of ancient societies. However, the cultural markers to be investigated must be clearly identified and evaluated in a source-based manner. The sources are different and are difficult to interpret in different historical periods. We must therefore think of a scale with varying degrees of analytical precision for different research areas, not of one absolute standard. Naming other groups than those one identifies with, or naming places in the landscape associated with other groups, are typical expressions of the maintenance of ethnic boundaries. Place names and ethnonyms are therefore used in this article as typical markers for maintaining ethnic boundaries between groups that identify themselves as different from each other.

The reconstruction of the antiquity of Finnish-speakers

In the attempt to reconstruct the past of Finnish-speakers, it is necessary to determine the approximate times and contexts in which Kven and Kainulainen were first used. In order to indicate the ethnicity of which the ethnonyms were carriers, we need to separate them methodologically from each other. Because of the limited space for the article, the focus will be on the Kainulaiset.

The fusion of the ethnonyms Kainulaiset and Kvens

Place names based on Kainuu or Gajno occur in different varieties from southern Finland to the northern Gulf of Bothnia and Lapland, while Kven is a clearly Norwegian ethnonym. As a place name, it forms part of the name of the fiord *Kvænangen* in Northern Norway and appears in some places in the same vicinity, but not at all in Sweden or Finland (Julku 1986). The name has, however, also been interpreted as a possible Sámi name, making it necessary to regard the earlier unambiguous linguistic explanations connected with Kven with a certain degree of caution (Holm 1991, 295).

From the middle of the 19th century, Finnish researchers in particular began to equate the Norwegian ethnonym Kven with the Finnish ethnonym Kainulainen, based on folklore material and place-name research. The schoolmaster and writer Gabriel Lagus was the first to claim, in 1853, that the two ethnonyms referred to the same people but from the point of view of different nations. He showed that the Russians were familiar with the name Kajaana which they placed in eastern Finland, while western writers placed it more to the west and called it Qvenland. He himself placed it in the Norrbotten area. Finnish historians subsequently embraced this idea. Senator Yrjö Koskinen, who was a central figure in the nationalist Fennoman party, claimed that Kainulaiset were a Fenno-Ugric people but not necessarily Finns. He became involved in a debate with the state archaeologist, J.R. Aspelin, who did not disagree with the claim that Kainulaiset were of Finnish origin but, based on his history of Korsholm, believed that they had lived in northern Sweden and from there were driven eastwards on the arrival of Swedes (Julku 1986, 170-172).

The Swedish linguist K.B. Wiklund, then a lecturer in the Finnish-Ugric language in Uppsala, entered the debate in 1896. Based on etymology, he rejected the connection between Kainulainen and the Icelandic Kvenir as well as Norwegian Kvæn, but did not indicate what he thought about the linguistic seat of the language of Kainulaiset. He focused instead on the

broad cultural background of the Kvens. After an exhaustive account of the references to the Kvens in the ancient and medieval sources, he noted that everything indicated that they were "a population of Scandinavian birth" alongside Hälsinglanders [Swe. hälsingar] and Jämtlanders [Swe. jämtar] (Wiklund 1896, 103-117). He maintained this position in his posthumously published work on the Sámi (Wiklund 1947).

Historian Jalmari Jaakola developed a theory in the 1930s and 40s that the Lap traders, so-called *birkarlar*, originated from Pirkkala parish in southwestern Finland. According to his theory, the Kvens were their Finnish predecessors who created an early ancient Finnish northern power with branches extending all the way to the Arctic Ocean (Jaakola 1941, 32-41). He encountered harsh criticism from the Swedish historian Birger Steckzén, who called his concept of a mighty Kven power in Västerbotten³ a "grandiose tentative idea", that was not realistic (Steckzén 1964, 108-118).

In the latter part of the 20th century, it was mainly ethnologist Kustaa Vilkuna and historian Jouko Vahtola who helped to describe the scope and distribution pattern of Kainuu and Kven place names from a Finnish perspective. Vilkuna linked his extensive study of place names to folklore materials, but also to racial biological analyses based on human stereotypes and the shape of skulls, which has weakened their credibility. He concluded that the Kainulaiset were a Finnish indigenous people who initially lived along the coastal area of southwestern Finland and then spread round the Bothnian coast to the Swedish side. He asserted that this Finnish tribe, by their presence, had given the Finnish name Kainuu to the village of Kalix and the name Kainuunväylä to the lower part of the Kalix River (Vilkuna 1969). Vilkuna's investigation was sorrowfully carried out, with detailed place-name analyses and geographical and ethnological details, but he also used comparative analyses of human typologies of the kind that was popular in the 1930s, and categorically rejected all questioning of his hypothesis with more or less far-fetched arguments.

Vahtola expanded Vilkuna's place name survey into a comprehensive study. Although, like most other researchers, both assumed that the Sámi were the earliest residents in Finland, they demonstrated a need to clarify the early emigration history of the Finns from the south and east to the north. Vahtola wrote explicitly in his dissertation that he intended to give a picture of how the Finnish settlements were established in Ostrobothnia and Northern Finland (Vahtola 1980, 459). He made an etymological diffusion analysis of how groups of Finnish

people spread in Finland and he returned to the 19th century debate on the etymological link between the ethnonyms.

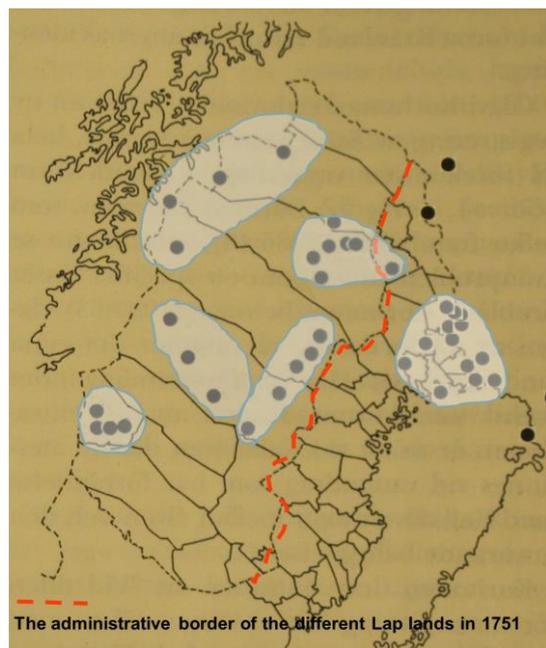
Vahtola held the opinion that the term Kainuu came into Finnish from the ancient Germanic **hvaino* as a term for low-lying and sunken land, and was used by people from Karelia and Savolax, who migrated to south-eastern Finland to denote the population living in these low-lying coastal areas. They were subsequently named Kainulaiset. He then linked the Norwegian *kvei(i)n* with the above-mentioned Germanic **hvaino*, indicating that both terms described the population living in the low-lying Bothnian area. He referred to the Swedish etymologist Tryggve Sköld who, in his investigation concerning the relationship between the Old Norse word (*h*)ven and the Finnish *vainio*, thought that the Finnish word was borrowed from Old Norse (Sköld 1967, 1–12). Vahtola pointed out that Kvens and Kainulaiset do not need to be names for the same people, but that both ethnonyms referred to the people on the coast of Bothnia, in the case of Finland mainly Ostrobothnia (Vahtola 1980: 459–488, 561–562). It is clear, however, that Vahtola believes that Kvens and Kainulaiset are different names for the same group of people and that they refer to a Finnish-speaking group.

Vahtola's linguistic interconnection of Kven and Kainulainen was questioned by the Swedish linguist Gösta Holm, who, like K.B. Wiklund a hundred years earlier, thought that such a link is not valid for etymological reasons. Holm carefully reviewed the linguistic evidence in all relevant ancient English and Nordic sources, and his thorough investigations have great merit. He ascribed the greatest importance to Ohthere's story in the text of King Alfred of Wessex and the ancient Icelandic saga, Egil's saga. He liked the theory as such, but held the opinion that, from a linguistic viewpoint, the two ethnonyms could not be unified (Holm 1982a, 131–144). Vahtola later responded to Holm's criticism and wrote that he never claimed that historical and linguistic facts unequivocally indicated that the two ethnonyms belong together, but concluded that 'the problem must be solved in some way, and Holm has no better alternative' (Vahtola 1991, 209–214). He, thus, kept to his idea of the fusion of the two ethnonyms.

The Finnish-Ugrian language researcher Olavi Korhonen expanded Vilkuna's and Vahtola's place-name list with an investigation into the existence of Gaino or Kainuu names in the Sámi area in Sweden. They lie above the Lapland border with a clear Finnish-speaking K-spelling in northern Lapland and a Sámi-speaking G-spelling in southern Pite Lapland and Ume

Lapland (Korhonen 1987, 62-82). When the maps of Korhonen and Vahtola are put together, some interesting ethnic contact zones emerge where the names occur, indicating the meeting of Sámi, Finns, Norwegians and Swedes.

Figure 1. The spreading of Gaino and Kainuu names in Sweden according to Jouko Vahtola and Olavi Korhonen.



Source: Vahtola 1980, 474 and Korhonen 1987, 64.

They appear: (1) in the mountain area on the border with Norway in proximity to the Norwegian fjords; (2) just above the Lapland border in Pite and Lule Lapland; (3) along the Kalix River and its tributary the Ängesån River near the Lapland border; and (4) in the lower reaches of the Torne and Kalix Rivers, see Map 4. Korhonen believes that some of the mountain names have no connection with livelihoods, while others refer to fishing with a seine (Korhonen 1987, 62–82).

Kainuu/Gaino names occur only in places with a strong core area of Sámi and Finnish languages in northern Sweden. They are not found at all in the Swedish-speaking part of the Västerbotten coastal area, or south of Pite Lapland, apart from a concentrated area in Ume Lapland on the border with Norway. One might ask why this is so, given that individual place names with a deviant ethnonym must, in most cases, be expected to be the resident ethnic core group's designation of the Other. If you are a Sámi living in a predominantly Sámi area, you

do not name a place where a Sámi lives with a name including that ethnonym. It is the ethnic deviation, the Other, which you need to point out, not the conformity. Korhonen does not draw explicit conclusions about ethnicity in his investigation of names, but states that the names indicate a meeting between Sámi hunter-gatherers and other populations in the proximity of the river. He connects varieties of Gajno names with fishing, especially fishing with a seine. They are connected with both "kvän" and "kalixbo" [Eng. a resident of Kalix] (Korhonen 1987, 62-82).

The archaeologist Thomas Wallerström also subscribes to the general view that Kvens and Kainulaiset are identical concepts, and that Kvenland and Kainuu designate the same area. He derives his theoretical point of view from how ethnonyms are created, arguing that the Kainuu-names are not a criterion for where Kvenland has been located, but for a contact zone between different groups of people. Based on such reasoning, he then expands the discussion and presents a hypothesis that linguistic variants such as the Russian Kajbany, Norwegian Kvæner and Finnish Kainulaiset in fact have the same meaning, expressed in three different languages. They designate non-Sámi people in the Bothnian area, but also in Russian areas on the eastern border of Finland. He interprets the ethnonyms as being abusive collective designations applied to several different people, and argues that those who were given this epithet were probably somehow engaged in the early mediaeval fur trade (Wallerström 1995, 213-229, 238). Wallerström thus, indirectly, agrees with Vilkuna's assertion that the designation Kvens referred to armed wilderness bands or working teams (Vilkuna 1969, 114). Wallerström avoids the question of specific ethnic identifications and instead creates an all-inclusive ethnic group in which he assigns the different ethnonyms to a common occupational or livelihood group.

In the cultural area of Scandinavia in the Viking Age, the *province* [Swe. landskap] represented an area that was based on legislation that was regulated in the court [Swe. ting]. This was connected to the regulatory forms of the collective. In that way the '-land' names, for example for the Swedish provinces Västergötland, Uppland or Hälsingland, marked that they were political entities that were governed by provincial laws [landskapslagar] (Tegengren 2015). The term *mark* designated a border area between the cultivated and the wild for the resident agricultural population, but it could also mark the difference between regional units that were governed by provincial laws and those that were not (Olwig 2004, 39-63). A clear example is the difference between the north Norwegian Nordland, which for a

long time designated the northern boundary of the Norwegian resident culture, and Finnmark that was outside direct Norwegian influence. In the land areas the Norwegians lived under land legislation, in mark areas the Sámi lived an autonomous life outside the cultivated countryside; Elenius 2014, 32–69). Another meaning of *mark* in Old Norse is a forest frontier or a governor (Sw. markgreve) over a borderland (Hellqvist 1948, 630–631). In these regards, it is unclear what the meaning of the Norwegian province Hedmark was, but there was also an earlier Sámi population.

Considering the meaning of “land” at the dawn of the 11th century, it seems far-fetched to believe that Kvenland would have been named after a livelihood group. The teacher and historian Olof Hederyd made another interpretation of the connection between Kainulaiset and Kvens. He launched the theory that Kainulaiset in fact referred to those Hälsinglanders who colonised Ostrobothnia before the Swedish military conquest of Finland (Hederyd 1991, 77–89). He does not explain why the Finns have always called the medieval landscape of Hälsingland by its Swedish name or Helsinglanti, but never Kainuunmaa. Nor does he explain why the city of Helsinki has never been called Kainuu or something similar, or why the Hälsinglanders have not been called Kainulaiset by the Finns. His interpretation points to the problem in the fusion of Kven and Kainulainen, but the historical interpretation is vague and locked into the straitjacket of nationalism. He avoids the issue of the ethnic origin of the Kvens.

In Finnish research the fusion between the two ethnonyms has remained unchanged throughout the 20th century into the 21st century, using methods like comparative philological, history and genetics (Wiik 2002, 2004; Heikkilä 2014, 181–266). In a Swedish Gulf of Bothnia context, the question has raised of whether the Kvens formed a third section of the population, beside Laps and Finns, in the transition from pre-historic to historic time.

This interpretation includes the view that the ethnonyms ‘lapp’, ‘finne’ and ‘kvän’ represent an economic differentiation between livelihoods. It is proposed that ‘kvän’ designates “a section of the population in common with the Laps and Finns”, but with separate livelihood profiles directed towards agriculture with elements of cultivation, hunting, trapping and perhaps reindeer herding. In that context the possibility has been discussed that a common language remained among Sámi and Finns in the transition from Iron Age to the Middle Ages, and that the Kvens were the carriers of that language. In this view, the Gaino/Kainuu names

above the Lapland border are Sámi denomination for Kvens, but in the coastal area, they were subsumed into the Swedish denominations 'lapp' [Eng. Lap] or 'finne' [Eng. Finn] (Bergman 2010, 178–178). Also this interpretation is based on the fusion of Kven and Kainulainen, but it opens new possibilities for interpreting 'kvän' as an older form of Fenno-Ugric hybrid identity.

Re-interpretation of the ethnonyms as separate groups of people

The following description of what *Gáidnolač* or *Kainulainen* may have denoted in ancient times is an attempt to reconstruct a Sámi and Finnish approach to opposite groups of people by means of ethnonyms. It is based on theories concerning language change and migrations in ancient Finland, extended empirically also to the northern Gulf of Bothnia area. There is, thus, no attempt to arrive at an exact meaning for ethnonyms or to reconstruct the linguistic interaction between Sámi and Finnish.

To discover whether Kainulainen mean a Sámi-, Finnish- or Swedish-speaking group of people we need to start by looking at the question from a Sámi perspective. The Sámi lived in the large area stretching from southern Finland around the inner part of the Gulf of Bothnia down to Härjedalen, and from Trondheim in Norway up to the Varanger fjord, and even the Kola Peninsula in Russia. Within this large area, different Sámi groups met people of varying ethnicities, who occupied dominant majority positions in relation to them.

By examining the Sámi designations of non-Sámi we get a picture of how the hunter-gatherers named the Others, but also how the different contexts caused the content of one and the same ethnonym to differ depending on which part of the Sámi settlement area one lived in. Sámi ways of identifying others have in the article been investigated in three systematically compiled major Sámi dictionaries; Eliel Lagercrantz's *Lappisscher Wortschatz* (1939), Konrad Nielsen's *Lappisk (samisk) ordbok I-V* (1979 [1932-1962]) and Harald Grundström's *Lulelappsk ordbok fasc. 1-12* [1946-1953]. They cover a geographical area that includes the Sámi settlement area north of Trondheim in Norway and Östersund in Sweden as well as Finnish Lapland. Nielsen concentrates on North Sámi in Kautokeino, Karasjok and Polmak, Grundström on Luleå Sámi in Jokkmokk and Gällivare, while Lagercrantz has various examples from Sweden, Norway and Finland. All the above sources were created through interviews in the first part of the 20th century, thus reflecting the use of ethnonyms among

Sámi in modern time. An important issue is how stable the ethnonyms have been over time, and when we can expect that they have changed to its content. The Sámi names for groups of people are characterized by the fact that the names are often linked to their activities in the landscape. They can also characterise people according to the type of landscape in which they are active. For example, *vűõwtie* in Tysfjord in North Norway represents a forest, but in Suojavaara and Kõnkämä in northern Sweden, it refers to a forest area where the forest Sámi reside (Lagercrantz 1939, 1036, No. 8855).

The use of the direction *lullêk* in different variants shows how locally bounded the Sámi vocabulary can be. Both in Gratangen in North Norway and Snåsa in the South Sámi area in the middle of Norway in the 1930s *lullêk* denoted the eastern direction, but also meant "the warm land." In Snåsa, it could also designate an Eastlander, someone who lived eastwards. In Kõnkämä and Parkalompolo in northern Sweden, *lullêk* instead denoted the southern direction, a completely different direction than in the Norwegian localities. In Kõnkämä it could also denote a southerner, but then in the meaning of a forest Sámi. It also denoted the city of Luleå in the northern part of the Gulf of Bothnia (Lagercrantz 1939, 443, No. 3572, p. 4, 7, 9, 9, 10). It appears that the designation of groups of people is contextually determined and that the same word can denote different groups of people.

In a South Sámi context, in Sweden and Norway, a *lattie* designates a Scandinavian farmer or a Scandinavian in general. In north Norwegian Tysfjord, however, it denotes specifically a Norwegian or a Norwegian farmer. The ethnonym *lättëlaš* in Lyngen, Kõnkämä, Nesseby and Repperfjord refers instead to a Finn or a Finnish citizen/someone from the Finnish state, especially one living in Lapland. Joined with the word *people* it depicts the Finnish people (Lagercrantz 1939, 401, No. 3202). In the northern Swedish parishes Gällivare, Jokkmokk and Råneå, the corresponding words *laddē* and *laddēlatj* denote a Swedish person. If the person is called a *vuona-laddē* or *vuona-laddēlatj*, it means a Norwegian (Grundström 1946, Fasc. 3, 372). In Northern Norway, *laddē* and *laddēlatj*, in addition to denoting a Finn may also denote a Kven, a Finnish-speaking immigrant in North Norway from northern Sweden and northern Finland (Nielsen 1979, Vol. 2, 470). The examples show how the same words in different contexts denote three different nationalities and one separate ethnic group, Norwegians, Swedes, Finns and Kvens.

Language researcher Israel Rong, who was himself a Sámi and whose mother tongue was Pite-Sámi, interviewed Sámi people and made a compilation of relational names for the Other that the Sámi used. A *ládde* denoted a close neighbour next to the spruce forest, one you could have good relations with and with whom you had a social and economic exchange. It was a close contact, called a *Verdi*, that you could exchange goods with, rent accommodation from and the like. A *dážža* was a more remote resident Swede in the lower country, a term that could often be used derogatorily. The term *dárulač* was used more objectively and neutrally about foreigners; it could refer to languages or habits. A *gáidnolač*, finally, denoted a totally strange Swede (Ruong 1982, 235-242). In Jokkmokk in northern Sweden, the ethnonym *kai'nōlatj* was associated with a Swede from the coastal region of the Gulf of Bothnia, and in Gällivare with a farmer from the Swedish coastal area (Grundström 1946, Fasc. 1, 146)⁴. A male informant about southern Sámi in Snåsa in Norway said that *kajnelača* had the more general meaning of a non-Sámi peasant. A female communicator from the same place said that *kajnuo* meant a farmer, with no ethnic content. The same applies to *kajnài* in Härjedalen in Sweden. On the other hand, in Tysfjord in northern Norway *kàjnnulaš almaze* meant a Finnish citizen, a person belonging to the Finnish state in the middle of the 1920s when the interviews were made. At this time, a *kajnulas* was a Finn from Kainuu in northern Finland (Lagercrantz 1939, 258, No. 2044).

The ethnonyms described above are also used in territorial denominations of various kinds. Among Sámi in northern Sweden in the 1930s, the term *Kajnnuõ* resembled the name for the Finnish province Kainuunmaa or Kainuu (Lagercrantz 1939, 258, No. 2044). Among the northern Sámi in Norway in the 1910s, *Lad'de* was the name of the area in Finland that extends southwards from Enontekiö, but excluded Utsjoki, Enare and Petasmo (Nielsen 1979, Vol. 2, 470). In northern Norway, *Suobmâ* or *Suomâ-æuomm* are used to name Finland as a nation (Nielsen 1979, Vol. 3, 584). In Könkämä and Enontekiö, *Suopma* was used in the same way. In Suojavaara, Lyngen, Nesseby and Parkalompolo, *Ruodda* was used in the 1920s to designate Sweden, and in Gratangen *Ruohta* was used with the same meaning (Lagercrantz 1939, 753, No. 5978b; 754, No. 5989; 858, No. 7158). There are also uniform descriptions for Scandinavians. In Meraker near Trondheim, *táčä* denoted a Scandinavian farmer, while *tācca* in Parkalompolo, Könkämä and Lyngen in northern Scandinavia denoted a Norwegian. In Arjeplog in Sweden, a *tārruó* could mean both a Norwegian and a Scandinavian in general (Lagercrantz 1939, 904, No. 7688; 910, No. 7749).

This compilation shows the different contexts in which these ethnonyms have been used in the Sámi language. The Sámi had both a place-bound and relational way of using names for other groups of people. This stems from the fact that, as seasonal residents, they came into constant contact with other ways of living and needed to judge their *relationships* with others. It was not as important to know exactly what the area was called by the permanent residents from their administrative or ownership point of view. To interpret the term *gáidnolač* in its Bothnian context, however, we must also investigate how it relates to the Finnish Kainulainen in southern Finland.

The encounter between hunter-gatherers and farmers in southern Finland

Linguistic researchers consider that the Sámi met Scandinavians in the first millennium A.D. and that it happened on the Norwegian coast of the Arctic Ocean, not in Finland (Korhonen M. 1979, 60-65). Based on archaeological finds in Kjelmöy in Varanger the first contacts between Sámi and Scandinavian people date to the 4th century A.D. (Nesheim 1979, 95). From that time, the encounters of Sámi and Finns with Scandinavians increased both in the north and along the Finnish shore of the Gulf of Bothnia. The relationship between Sámi and Finns was difficult to explain because linguistic and racial ideas clashed.

The Sámi and Finns were considered to have very similar languages, while being culturally and racially distinctly separate. These contradictory observations resulted in three main hypotheses about the origin of the relationship between the two peoples: (1) the language exchange hypothesis, (2) the loan contact hypothesis, and (3) the early Proto-Finnish hypothesis. All three were closely linked to the territorialisation of Finland (Korhonen M. 1979). The hypothesis that Sámi and Finns share a common protolanguage within Uralic, Pre-Finnic, today finds less support (Saarikivi 2006, 5), but will not be any matter of analyses here.

The fact that the Sámi were held to be the first settlers in Finland, meeting a later immigration of Finnish-speaking groups, had to match the linguistic theories on Finnic languages. Regarding these matters, researchers have switched between various forms of *migration theories* and *continuity theories* to bring together the picture of the meeting between Sámi and Finns.⁵ The Finnish philologist specialising in Nordic languages, Olav Ahlbäck, and the archaeologist Carl-Henrik Meinander undermined the immigration theories, which formed the

basis for earlier language theories and launched instead, in the 1970s, a continuity theory based on new archaeological findings.

According to the continuation theory, we must imagine that the hunter-gatherer population in the inland area needed to name the coastal population, here called the *agricultural people*, just as the coastal population needed to name the inhabitants of the inland area, here called the *hunting people*. The long period during which the hunting people developed into many differentiated groups and spread across Fennoscandinavia, continued up to about the 9th century A.D. By that time, the Sámi had developed into their current dialects and, correspondingly, the Finnish language became distinct (Häkkinen 1996; Korhonen 1997, 79-83; Sammallahti 1998; Carpelan 2006, 75-82). On the other hand the dividing lines between the ethnic groups of people were not so distinctly drawn between agriculture and hunting in this time. As has been demonstrated in research from the White Sea area there existed Finnic agricultural groups and Sámi hunting groups side by side already in the 9th century (Saarikivi 2006). New research has shown experiments with cultivation of cereals in the inland Sámi area of Västerbotten already in 800 AD (Bergman & Hörnberg 2015; Hörnberg et al. 2015). In this regards the dichotomy between an agricultural and hunting society is disintegrated. We must assume the existence of hybrid cultures of a mixture of hunting and agriculture, which both Finnic and Scandinavian groups of people carried out when they first encountered each other.

This anti-migration theory corresponds to a similar theoretical shift all over Europe at that time, focusing more on internal than external influences on culture (Heather 2010).

The continuity theory states that both coastal and inland populations had existed in nowadays Finland since the Iron Age and perhaps since the Bronze Age. There is a long continuity for both populations in what is present-day Finnish territory. The coastal population was subject to Baltic and German influences in the form of migrations and cultural dissemination, but these influences were always assimilated into the culture of the indigenous peoples. The external cultural impact on the coastal population increasingly differentiated its culture from that of the inland population (Ahlbäck 1977, 45-56; Meinander 1983, 229-251; Huldén 2002, 13-38; Tarkiainen 2008, 14-63). The gap between a hunter-gather population in the inland area and a farming population in the coastal area widened (Korhonen 1997, 53-106).

The delay in the encounter between different ethnic groups is important for the interpretation of the ethnonym Kainulainen. In earlier interpretations, the contacts between Finns and Swedes have been considered, but the encounter between Sámi and other groups has been neglected. The presumption in the article is that the denomination Kainulainen was created in order to match two kinds of dichotomies between ethnic groups. The first is the dichotomy between the hunting people in the inland (the Sámi) and the agricultural people on the coast (Swedish and Finnish-speaking groups of people). The second is the dichotomy between the Finnic and Scandinavian groups of people who carried out a mixed livelihood of fishing, hunting, agriculture and farming. Björn Collinder believed that Kainulaiset was borrowed from Finnish into Sami and Gösta Holm accepted that the ethnonym could originally have been Sámi and borrowed into both the Finnish and Nordic languages (Holm 1982b, 140 footnote 2 and 3).

The Finnish etymologist, Jorma Koivulehto, radically reinterpreted the term Kainuu in the mid-1990s. He claimed that the word *kainuu* comes from the proto-Scandinavian **gainu* or *gainu-z* meaning of an opening, a mouth, lane or gap. The meaning was transferred to the opening of a seine (Swe. fisknot) and then to a special wooden tool for the seine. The meaning of an opening was later transferred into Finnish to refer to another type of opening concerning the details of a winter sledge. Koivulehto showed that Swedish and Norwegian varieties of the terms for fishing with a seine, **gain*, **gail-*, **gair-*, corresponded to the varieties of the southwest Finnish sledge terms *kainus*, *kailus*, *kairus*. In his view, both the Sami form *gai`no*, in the sense of a towrope for a seine, made of spruce roots, and the Finnish form *kainu(u)*, have been borrowed from Scandinavian languages, and forms of the word have also been borrowed into the dialects of Västerbotten. He touched on the Sámi perspective regarding the ethnonym Kainulainen but believed that the Sámi borrowed the term *Gaino* from the Finns (Koivulehto 1995, 72-84).

In this article is proposed that the word Kainulaiset was initially used by Finnish-speaking groups of people to name Scandinavian groups of people, probably Swedish-speakers that they encountered along the coastline. The term then spread to the Sami, parallel in southern Finland and in the northern Gulf of Bothnia area, by a resident Finnic population in the north and with the colonization of the inland area by other Finnic groups of people. The connection that Koivulehto makes to the proto-Scandinavian language dates the term's transfer to Finnish to some times between the 4th and 9th centuries A.D. The interpretation of the ethnonym is in

the article also limited to this period and specifically to the Iron Age when agriculture and the permanent settlement of southern Finland took a more consistent form. While the influences on early Iron Age culture were primarily Eastern Baltic in character, the Scandinavian impact, especially from Sweden, became increasingly apparent from the first mid-millennium onwards. It was not, however, a question of large-scale occupations so the cultural influences were incorporated into an independent Finnish and Sámi culture. In the inland area a Finnish slash-and-burn agriculture was carried out, which constantly bordered on and broke into the Sámi area of hunting and early reindeer breeding. In the coastal area, a Finnish style of agriculture developed parallel to a Swedish one, although the settlement of Swedes eventually came to dominate along the coast (Kivikoski 1964, Meinander 1983, Edgren 1988, 152–270; Heikkilä 2014).

Koivulehto's etymological interpretation of Kainuu was initially not to point out the place where an ethnic group lived or worked, but a Scandinavian nature term for the mouth or opening into water. He believed that the Finnish name *Kainuun meri* for the Gulf of Bothnia once designated a large opening, a Kainuu, and that those who lived on the shores of this opening were called Kainulaiset, just like those living on smaller openings, such as river mouths or straits, in southwestern Finland. The term was later transferred to the opening in the seine, and later to those fishing people who set the seines in river mouths or straits. Place names that include Kainuu names are primarily associated with local natural conditions. When the older term for "estuary" was changed into proper names for places in the landscape, the term Kainuu came to designate also "low land", such as Ostrobothnia. (Koivulehto 1995, 92). The Finns in southwestern Finland, thus, transformed the fishing term into an ethnonym and began calling the Swedish-speaking coastal inhabitants by such waters Kainulaiset.

It is well documented that the coastal area of Ostrobothnia was earlier called Kainuu by the inland inhabitants. According to Matti Huurre, the name was at least from the 17th century extended from the coastal environment to the inland Oulu Lake (Huurre 1987, 19). Since there is today an inland region called Kainuu including the lake Oulu, with a typical Finnish-speaking culture, one might ask how it fits to the hypothesis of the Kainulaiset as Swedish-speakers.

There is an obvious Scandinavian influence in southern Ostrobothnia from the 5th century to the 9th century in form of grave finds like swords and jewellery that are similar as in Sweden

and Norway. The grave mounds in the latter part of the period are similar and derives its origin typically from Sweden, but not necessary with a concomitant settlement. There seems to have been a connection between the flourishing culture in Norway, Mid-Norrland and Ostrobothnia. In the beginning of the Viking Age Ostrobothnia was instead depopulated (Kivikoski 1964, 164–194). Also in the present inland region of Kainuu, there are early finds that derives its origin from Scandinavia, which Huurre interpret out of Egils saga and Ohthtere's account as probably Norwegian. There are also eastern finds from Karelia and Russia and finds from Western Finland (Huurre 1987, 19–32). The prehistoric area of nowadays Kainuu region must be regarded as an environment of multicultural influences.

Before the 16th century there was only a Sámi population in the inland area of Ostrobothnia, but from that time a fast immigration of Savolax and Karelian settlers took place (Keränen 1984; Huurre 1987). The permanent Finnish-speaking population in nowadays region of Kainuu is, thus, of an early modern origin. In the history of the region, there is a dual relation to the tract names Kainuu and Kajana. In the treaty of Nöteborg in 1323, the Russians used *Kajano more* to depict the Gulf of Bothnia. The Swedes used *Helsingh haff* (Gallén 1968, 2–4). For the Swedes, the name was a way of marking identification with the Swedish-speaking Hälsinglanders, thus strengthening the legitimacy of the claims of the royal power to the disputed area on the eastern side of Bothnia Bay. The Russian *Kajano* in *Kajano more* seems to have depicted the area of the historical province of Ostrobothnia from the eastern boundary between Russian and Finns down to the Gulf of Bothnia. According to Kyösti Julku *Kainuun meri* was a common Finnish name of the Gulf of Bothnia, but it was never used in treaties or other peace documents between Sweden and Russia, because the languages used in that time were Swedish, Russian or Latin (Julku 1986, 94, 178–179). For the Finns, the sea was named after Kainulaiset, the Other, i.e. the sea of the Swedish-speaking Kainulaiset who lived along the coastal area. It also explains the parallel names of the medieval village Kainuunkylä in Tornedalen, which is in Swedish called Hälsingebyn. The Finns called it Kainuunkylä in accordance with the Swedish speakers settling there. The Swedes called it Hälsingebyn after the Hälsinglanders, who were Swedish speakers from the province of Hälsingland.

In a peace letter from negotiations between Sweden and Novogorod in 1473, the border should be fixed from Systerbäck ("Systrene") in the Gulf of Finland to Norrbotten ("Norrbodn"). In 1487, it was stated that the border should be drawn in the terrain up to the Gulf of Northern Bottom ("dat Norderboddernsche Haff"). In a document ten years later,

“Mare Koen” is mentioned as the endpoint of the border from 1323. In a document in 1504, it is called “Camus mare”. In 1513 it is called “Kaijno haf” (Hildebrand 1852, 24–52). Those latter names was by Bror Emil Hildebrand interpreted as Kajana, but could also be interpreted as Kainuu. The Finnish name of Ostrobothnia is *Pohjanmaa*, which means “the northern bottom”. It is exactly the same meaning as the old Swedish “Norra botten” for the northernmost Gulf of Bothnia (Gallén 1968, 19–38; 57–72).

There are several peace documents from the negotiations between Sweden and Novgorod between the early 14th and the early 16th century. In these negotiations the northern part of Gulf of Bothnia was mostly associated with the region of Hälsingland, Norra botten (the informal region in medieval time, not the present county of Norrbotten), Österbotten or the region of Kajana, thus altering between Swedish and Russian ways of naming regions.

The old name *Kainuu* for the area were Finnish and Swedish-speakers encountered must be regarded as a primary Finnish regional name in a pre-state context. A similar name for early encounters between Russians and Finns was the ethnonym *Kayeni*. It was used by Russians to depict a Finnish-speaking group in the northern part of Finland in medieval time. The Russian diplomat Gregory Istoma and his Scottish accompany travelled along the Dvina River northward to the White Sea in 1496 and told that between the estuary of Dvina and Vardöhus they sailed 800 kilometres to the land “Nordpoden” which belonged to the Swedish king. The Russians called it Kaienske-Semla and the people Kayeni (Enewald 1920, 33–34). *Kainuu* and *Kayeni* is the expression of two early encounters between different people, on one hand Swedes and Finns, on the other hand Russian and Finns. The dual encounters partly took place in the same landscape and did therefore partly overlap each other as regional concepts.

The Russian *Kajano* was incorporated into the Swedish vocabulary as *Kajana*. In international and Swedish maps from the late 1500s to the late 1700s are varieties as *Cajanie*, *Caiana* or *Cajanie Bothnie Orientalies* used parallel with *Österbotten* for the coastal area of Ostrobothnia, but sometimes also including the inland area. It is not before 1741 that the nowadays area of the modern Kainuu Region was detached on a map, but it was still called *Caiana* (Fredrikson 2000). The name Kainuu for the inland area of Ostrobothnia had been gradually forgotten in western Finland. It was actually not before the late 19th century that the name came into use for the inland region. The national ideals of the time tended to seek the cultural heritage and folk tradition of the Finnish nation in the east, which influenced the

cultural climate also in Kajaani. The old concept Kainuu was adopted again and used in newspapers and by writers and artists. The folk high school of Kainuu (Fi. Kainuun kansanopisto) was founded in 1909, the newspaper Kainuun Sanomat in 1917 and many regional societies at the beginning of the century (Salo 2007, 183–197). The new name Kainuu for the inland region was misleading since the name had originally referred to the eastern coastal area of the Gulf of Bothnia.

From the description above, it is conceivable that it was the Finnish-speaking Suomalaiset and Hämeläiset, not Sámi, who started to call the agriculturalists and fishers on the coast Kainulaiset, but that the Sámi later incorporated the name into their vocabulary. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that there are no related coastal place names based on *gaino* or *kainuu* south of the Kalix River [Fin. Kainuun Väylä] on the western side of the Gulf of Bothnia. If it had originally been a Sámi ethnonym, it ought also to have been used in the ethnic contact zones along the coast of Norrland where Sámi and Swedes met early on. That is not the case. Along the Finnish coastline of the Bay of Bothnia, the Kainuu place names follow the contact zone from southern Finland up to the Kalix River where Finns and Swedes met. After that, they end abruptly and do not occur at all on the western side of the Gulf of Bothnia.

From the Iron Age onwards, everything points to the fact that, on the coast of southwestern Finland, the ethnonym Kainulainen referred to a Swedish-speaking population, albeit one that in the beginning was made up of very small groups of fishermen and maybe resident farmers. This applies regardless of whether the ethnonym Kainulainen was initially used by Finns or Sámi for naming Swedish-speakers. The increasing influence of the Scandinavian languages on the Sami language from around the 3rd century A.D. reflects increasing contact between Sami and Scandinavians. In southern Finland, this mainly applied to Swedes and in northern Finland to Norwegians. We must regard the settlement of farming Finns and Swedes as a parallel process in different areas still not subjugated by any state. Before the establishment of agriculture there were Finnic tribes of hunters and gatherers from which tribes of Lapplaiset (Sámi), Hämeläiset, Savolaiset and Karelians evolved as distinct ethnic groups. Kainulaiset were late coming Swedish-speakers in the coastal area and they were mainly fishing and hunting. Agriculture was spread as an innovation among all these groups except Sámi who instead specialised on reindeer hunting and breeding. The spread of settlements and

agriculture, as well as the change in the stock of objects after the 6th century illustrates the increased Swedish influence in the coastal areas of central and southern Finland.

Distribution maps for the Kainuu names in Finland show a marked concentration in the ethnic contact zone where permanent Swedish settlement was established and encountered Finns and Sami. The era of the Great Migration seems to have brought an increase in Swedish language influences in Finland, but a continuous settlement from the Iron Age to the early Middle Ages is difficult to prove. It appears to be the case that there was a numerically insignificant Swedish-speaking population before a major immigration occurred in the early Middle Ages after the Swedish crusades to Finland (Meinander 1977, 11-44; Ahlbäck 1977, 45-56; Baudou 1991; Ivars & Huldén 2002). Kari Tarkiainen is of the opinion that the ancient Teutonic coastal population melted into the Finns so that the culture in early medieval time was homogenous Finnish. There were no Swedes in the country before the introduction of Christianity (Tarkiainen 2008, 282–292). A crucial question is how many Finns there were in the area of present Finland before the introduction of Christianity. It seems like permanent ethnic Finns did not introduce agriculture long before the ethnic Swedes settled permanent along the coastal areas in Ostrobothnia, southwestern and southern Finland.

One can easily assume that the many Kainuu names around Lake Oulu show the advance of Swedish-speaking Kainulaiset from an initial settlement on the coast to the inland area. These names also show, in addition to contact between Swedes and Sámi, contact between Swedes and Finns, giving rise to the Kainuu names. Kainulaiset was those living along the seashore who talked a more refined Finnish. It was the fishing people who slurped fish soup in contrast to the inland Savo people who ate porridge (Vilkuna 1969; Vahtola 1980, 469–471). Vilkuna and Vahtola interpreted the soup slurpers as Finnish-speakers, but in this new interpretation, they were Swedish-speakers. One of the few who reported on the ethnicity, with which the Kainuu names were associated in this area, is the Finnish historian A.H. Wirkkunen. In 1884, he made a note about *Kainuunsaari* [Eng. *The Kainuu Island*], a place on the lower part of the Kiiminki River, claiming that its name should have come from the Kainuu people, which was the name for Swedes at that time in the area (Vilkuna 1969, 31). The island is located about 40 km from the seashore. In addition to southwestern Finland and southern Ostrobothnia, there is a significant concentration of Kainuu names upstream the Oulu and Ii rivers in northern Ostrobothnia, not least round Lake Oulu (Vilkuna 1969, 22; Vahtola 1980, 474).

Subsequently the Swedish-speakers were assimilated into the advancing Finnish culture and the inland Kainuu region today represents a predominantly Finnish-speaking culture.

After the Swedish crusades, the Sámi used *Ruotsalâš* and the Finns used *Ruotsalaiset* to designate the state-forming Swedes, ethnonyms that incidentally are very similar to *Ruoššâlâš* as a name for Russians (Nielsen 1979, Vol.3, 338-340). The founding of states by the Rus population between the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. in the form of Sweden and Russia was the reason that the new ethnonyms began to be used and the regional Kainuu notion disappeared in southern Finland. In Ostrobothnia, it did in the late 19th century give its name to the new, mainly Finnish-speaking, inland region of Kainuu as part of national and regional revitalisation and political mobilisation. The ethnonym *Ruotsalaiset* represented the new era when the Swedes, as the dominating ethnic group of the state established royal power over Finnish territory, but also power over the previously relatively independent Bothnian area.

Separation of the ethnonyms in the Kalix and Torne River valleys

It has been described above how the Sámi in Härjedalen in southern Norrland, and in the corresponding area in Norway, used the term *Kainulaiset* for farmers in general, regardless of ethnicity. Among the Sámi in Pite and Lule Lapland in Sweden it was used to refer to a foreign Swede or a Swedish farmer from the Gulf of Bothnia area. In Tysfjord in northern Norway, and among the northernmost Sámi in Sweden, the ethnonym was synonymous with Finnish citizens or Finns from Kainuu in Finland. We also know that the Tornedalians along the Torne River called the Swedish settlement at Kalix for Kainuu and that *Kainuunväylä* signifies the Kalix River.

To solve these seemingly contradictory statements, a contextual method that considers the time aspect must also be used. We cannot assume that the meaning of *Kainulainen* is the same in southern Finland, the Gulf of Bothnia area and the Sámi area in general from the early Iron Age to the Middle Ages. We must reconstruct what it designated in the regional environment of the Kalix River during the transition from the Viking Age to the Middle Ages. The Sámi name *Kaalasjoki* or *Kaalasätno* serves as the basis for both the Swedish and Finnish names of the Kalix River. It must have been commonly used when the three ethnic groups first met in the area.

The Swedes and Sámi retained the Sámi naming in the form of *Kaalas-* [Sámi] and *Kalix-* [Swedish]. The nearby Finns in Tornedalen kept to the Sámi *Kaalasjoki* for the upper part of

the river, but began to use the divergent *Kainuunväylä* for the lower part. There is a very interesting parallel in Ostrobothnia in Finland, where the lower part of Ahtavajoki (Sw. Esse å) was called Kainuunjoki (Toivonen 1955, 142–143). It supports the statement that Kainulainen was an ethnonym used for depicting lowland Swedish-speakers by inland Finnic groups of people. *Kàjnaha suòhkan* has also been used among North Sámi to name the parish of Kalix. Harald Grundström derives the term from the Finnish word Kainuu which in turn is derived from a supposed form **Kāinai*. His main informant in the northern part of Gällivare parish knew this parish name, but not the informants in Jokkmokk (Grundström 1946, Fasc. 1, 146). It seems like the word was transferred to the Gällivare Sámi by the Finns who travelled along the Torne and Kalix rivers up to the Torne Lapland, where they later settled down.

The Swedes in Jokkmokk had no reason to call the municipality of Kalix by the Finnish name, Kainuu, which was associated with the Swedish settlement there, but used the Swedish name Kalix instead to denote the place. Nor did the Jokkmokk Sámi use the Kainuu name for Kalix, as they had no direct contact with Finnish-speakers. Kainuu was contextually used by the Finns who lived near the Kalix River and was transmitted from them to the Sámi with whom they came into contact, i.e. the Sámi in the Torne Lapmark. There is no doubt that the parish of Kalix was dominated by a Swedish settlement from the early Middle Ages, manifested in the early Latin name Calix [Swe. (nattvards)kalk], also that both Sámi and Finns in the close surroundings meant Swedes when they referred to Kainulaiset and therefore called Kalix Kàjnaha or Kainuu. The question is whether there was also continuous Swedish settlement in the lower part of the river valley from the Viking Age up to the Middle Ages.

The prehistoric grave mound at Sangis is a good starting point for dating a possible settlement process. Its location on the Swedish-Finnish language boundary means that it constitutes early archaeological evidence of an ethnic contact zone between Sámi, Finns and Swedes. Because it is so clearly Scandinavian in its content and has been dated in archaeological surveys, it can be used as a reference for etymological and historical sources. As there are no other dateable archaeological finds during the transition period to historical time, place names that contain ethnonyms are used to determine the extent to which the ethnic contact zones coincide with the verified medieval settlement in the Kalix and Torne River valleys.

It is generally difficult to estimate when names containing ethnonyms were given. It is possible, for example, that some place names with ‘lapp’ came relatively late, when Sámi

people were barred from reindeer herding and settled in the outskirts of the villages (Bergman 2010). This article starts from the view that ‘lapp’ names in the coastal area, and near villages, presumably arose relatively early in the period of contact between different language groups. At that time, before farming was extensively established, it can be presumed that the Sámi population was relatively widely spread throughout the coastal area, wherever there were good fishing and hunting places. When Carl von Linné in the early 18th century met some Sámi people with 60–70 reindeers in the coastal area of Hälsingland, he asked why they were down at the seaside. They answered, in Swedish, that they were born there and wanted to die there (Linné (1969) [1732], 18). Thus, Sámi living in the coastal area of Hälsingland, more than 700 km south of Torneå, claimed that their home was in the coastal area. There is no reason not to believe that it was the same in the northernmost Gulf of Bothnia area many hundred years earlier, but the exact time of name giving cannot be granted.

The visibility of Sámi in the landscape generated ‘lapp’ names for various places, a visibility that decreased with the influx of Finnish- and Swedish-speakers and a growing assimilation of the Sámi into the larger ethnic groups. Using Lantmäteriet’s search engine for place names on the topographical map, the Swedish word form ‘lapp’ and the Finnish varieties ‘lapin’, ‘lappa’, ‘lappea’ and ‘lappalaisen’, given in Table 1 below, were searched for.

Table 1. Place name containing the ethnonym ‘lapp’ in Finnish and Swedish 2017.

Ethnonyms	Haparanda	Övertorneå	Kalix	Överkalix	SUM
Fi. ‘lapin’	6	12	0	0	18
Sv. ‘lapp’	4	4	42	10	60
SUM	10	16	42	10	

Source: Lantmäteriet search engine for place names at: <https://www.lantmateriet.se/sv/Kartor-och-geografisk-information/Kartor-flygbilder-och-ortnamn/>

The extent of the ethnic contact zones is very clearly demonstrated. The lower part of the Kalix River (Kalix and Överkalix) has 52 place names that include ‘lapp’ compared to the lower part of Tornedalen (Haparanda and Övertorneå) which has only 26 such names. It is also clear that while Tornedalen has a certain number of both Swedish and Finnish varieties, in the Kalix River valley there are no Finnish, only Swedish, ‘lap’ names. The fact that ethnic markers for the Sámi in the lower part of the Kalix River valley only occur as Swedish ‘lapp’ names, indicates even more clearly that the early agricultural colonisation and settlement in this part was carried out by Swedish-speakers.

One conclusion that can be drawn is that the area between the Kalix and Torne Rivers had a mixed population of Sámi, Finns and Swedes at the time of the Viking burial at Sangis, but that a language boundary took form between these large rivers during the settlement process of Finnish and Swedish speaking groups. There are many 18th century Norwegian sources where Kvenland and the Kvens are associated with Tornedalen and the Torne River tributaries, specifically marking it off in the coastal area from the Kalix River valley (Qvigstad & Wiklund 1912, 286–287, 348; Schnitler 1929, 360, 386, 388, 410–411). These observations strengthen the opinion that Norwegians regarded the Finnish speaking Tornedalians as the Kven people in the Viking Age, probably within a wider, but more densely populated area than in the 18th century (Elenius 2019). Still today, the Finnish-speaking minority in northern Norway, who migrated from Tornedalen and northern Finland to Norway, is called the Kven minority, nowadays recognised as a national minority.

It is not likely that the Norwegians lumped together the Finns and Swedes to one single ethnically demarked group of people, calling them Kvens. The two ethnonyms must be kept apart from each other, depicting two different ethnic groups of people. In northern Finland and Sweden there are no place names containing the ethnonym Kven. It has always been an exclusive Norwegian ethnonym depicting the Other in the Bothnian area. The Swedish-speakers in the Kalix River valley never called the Finnish-speaking Tornedalians for Kvens, nor did the Finnish-speakers in Tornedalen call the Swedish-speaking settlers in Kalix for Kvens. The Tornedalians named the Swedish-speakers Kainulaiset. West of the language boundary at the Sangis River place names in Swedish dominate, largely in combination with many Swedish 'lapp' names and 'finn' names. There are also examples of Finnish influenced place names in the coastal area around the Kalix and Sangis Rivers, such as Ryssbält, Pålänge and Vånafjärden, as well as single instances as far south as the Piteå area. However, they are strongly underrepresented compared with place names in Swedish (Pellijeff 1980).

On the economic and topographical map of Överkalix, there are many Finnish forms of lake names such as -järvi and -lompolo that have later become Swedish in the hybrid forms of -järv and -lomb. This shows that the lakes were named by Sámi and Finns before the Swedes and Finns established permanent farms (Pellijeff 1980, 1985; Wahlberg 2016). It is an evidence of the co-existence of Sámi, Finnish and Swedish cultures in the coastal and inland area during the long period when the place names were established. Along the lower part of the

Kalix River there are, however, no settlement or nature names based on the Kainuu varieties that Vilkuna and later Vahtola used in their investigations, despite the existence of *Kainuunväylä* for the Kalix River. Those who established place names in this area were Swedish-speakers, and they did not use the Finnish ethnonym *Kainulainen* for depicting themselves.

It is difficult to determine the order in which the place names Kainuu and *Kainuunväylä* occurred. The comparison between southern Finland and the Norrland coast in Sweden suggests, as discussed earlier, that the name giving was primarily Finnish. It must have occurred at the earliest phase of encounter when Finnish and Swedish-speakers settled permanently in southern Finland and the upper Gulf of Bothnia area. It also explains why the Finns in Tornedalen chose to call the main village at the river outlet of the Kalix River for Kainuu instead of the Sámi name *Kaalas*. The other chief municipal centres at the outlets of the main rivers, such as Torneå, Piteå, Luleå, Skellefteå and Umeå, all got their names from the original Sámi name of respective rivers, and there is no deviation in the name form between Sámi, Finnish and Swedish. The Kalix River is the exception.

We have to take into consideration that social differences maintain ethnic boundaries. These differences are marked in form of deviant cultural features. Let us change the perspective and test the idea that the *Kainulaiset* were a Finnic group of people. If the Finnish-speaking *Kainulaiset* were living permanently at Kalix when the Swedes began to visit the area, the Swedes could have called the place Kainuu after them, but probably they had used the well-known ethnonym *Finn* as they did for other Finnic groups of people. The name of the village should have been *Finnbyn* or something similar.

The divergence of the Finnish group should have created the need among the Swedish-speakers to point out the Other, but they did not do so. They used the Sámi name *Kaalas* for the river, which later in its Swedish form gave the village its name of Kalix. From this, we must draw the conclusion that it was neither a Finnish nor Swedish, but rather a Sámi settlement that dominated at the mouth of the Kalix River when the village of Kalix got its Swedish name.⁶ The Swedes kept the name *Kaalasjoki* for the river. It was the Finns who created *Kainuunväylä* to mark the ethnic boundary in relation to the Swedish population. One also gets the strong impression that the parish boundaries in Kalix and Överkalix was in the

Middle Ages drawn along a relatively clearly defined language boundary between Swedish and Finnish.

A search in the current topographical map for place names with the elements *gaino*, *kainu*, *kaihnu* or *kaino* shows the continuity of the place names in the municipalities of Norrbotten, where they occur, see Table 2. The topographical map of the 21st century has been reconstructed and reworked since the 1980s to make visible place names in the national minority languages, Sámi, Finnish and Meänkieli. The scale of the printed maps for the municipalities treated here, printed in 2008-2015 is 1:50 000, but that of the electronically published, continuously upgraded, topographical maps, where the city names can be searched digitally, is 1:1900. This makes it possible to search for place names in the terrain at a level of refined details than in the printed map and, therefore, provides more detailed information than before on how many Kainuu names survive to the present.

The search was made according to the name forms mentioned in Jouko Vahtola's map of 1980, limited to the county of Norrbotten. The Finnish part of Tornedalen is, thus, missing. His research cites 13 name forms based on Kainu(u) in the lower part of Torne River up to Övertorneå, on both sides of the river, three names around the Lapland border upstream of the Kalix River and two on the Finnish side opposite (Vahtola 1980, 474). On the topographical map from 2017, there are a total of 24 names in Norrbotten based on Kainu(u), Kaihnu(u) (Tornedalian form) and Kaino, and two on Gaino. There are thus twice as many as in Vahtola's 1980 survey.

Table 2. Place names starting with Gaino, Kainuu, Kaihnuu or Kaino in municipalities in the county of Norrbotten 2017.

	Name forms in the 2017 topographical map				
	Gaino	Kainuu	Kaihnuu	Kaino	SUM
Kalix *	–	1	1	–	2
Överkalix**	–	1	–	–	1
Haparanda	–	–	2	–	2
Övertorneå	–	3	–	–	3
Pajala	–	2	2	–	4
Gällivare	–	2	6	–	8
Kiruna	–	–	–	–	–
Jokkmokk	–	–	–	4	4
Arjeplog	2	–	–	–	2
SUM:	2	9	11	4	

Source: Lantmäteriet search engine for place names at: <https://www.lantmateriet.se/sv/Kartor-och-geografisk-information/Kartor-flygbilder-och-ortnamn/>

* For Kalix municipality, the Finnish name Kainuu for the municipal centre Kalix is included, which is not listed in the 2017 electronic topographic map. Kalix River is included once (1) in the table under *Kaihnu* in the row for Kalix.

** For Överkalix, the Finnish name Ylikainuu for the municipal centre Överkalix is included, which is not listed in the 2017 electronic topographical map.

In the ethnic contact zone between speakers of Sámi, Finnish and Swedish it is obvious how absent Kainuu names are in the municipalities of Kalix and Överkalix on the lower stretches of the Kalix River where the Swedish language dominates. They occur in the traditional Sámi and Finnish-speaking areas. The reason is that there was a need to name the Swedish-speakers as the Other, a need that was absent in the municipalities dominated by Swedes. In the other municipalities in Norrbotten and Västerbotten, they do not exist at all.

Kustaa Vilkuna provided examples of what the inhabitants of the Kemi River valley and Tornedalen thought about the location of Kainuu, and he stated that for them Kainuu existed only in the Swedish Norrbotten along the lower course of the Kalix River. On the other hand older people in Kolari stated that: 'Sweden does not start before you have passed the Kalix River.'⁷ In this way they included the Kalix River in the Finnish cultural sphere, but did not clarify which part of the river they referred to. From Kolaris' point of view at the Könkämä River, at that upper latitude of the Torne River, about 180 km from the coast, there were only Finnish-speakers. The source used by Vilkuna was Sanakirjasäätö's ethnological questionnaire No. 26 from 1935 (Vilkuna 1969, 18-19). Despite the explicit evidence that the ethnonym *Kainulaiset* has been applied to different ethnic groups of people, not least Swedish, Vilkuna held that, in all the contexts he describes, the ethnonym has meant only the Finnish-speaking indigenous people whom he sought to reconstruct.

He was the first to track the Kainuu name to the Sámi name forms *Gainuōlāc* or *Kainuo*. He then made the important observation that Forest Sámi in northern Sweden and northern Norway used the ethnonyms as designations for the majority population, whether it was Swedish, Norwegian or Finnish (Vilkuna 1969, 85-88). However, by fusing the ethnonyms *Kven* and *Kainulainen* he obliterated the historical time context, making it impossible to reveal their contextual use.

The ethnic boundary between Finns and Swedes in the area, which lies between the Kalix River valley and Tornedalen, is evident from the fact that the three Kainuu names in Övertorneå municipality are grouped on the border between Kukasjärvi (primarily a Finnish-speaking settlement) and Storsjön (primarily a Swedish-speaking settlement) 3 km to the south. In this ethnic zone of contact between Swedish-speaking and Finnish-speaking settlements, the Kainuu names are marks applied by the Finns to the Swedes, not the other way around.

Of the two Kaihnuu names (Tornedalian variety with -h) in Haparanda municipality, one lies on the Torne River, no more than a mile south of the medieval village of Kainuunkylä located on the Finnish side, and has the corresponding name of Hälsingebyn. The other one, called Kaihnuunletto, is located on an island on the coast and is a relatively late name. It is located seven to eight km inside the Finnish-speaking side of the language boundary at Sangis. The village of Kainulasjärvi is located about 30 km northwest of Korpilombolo on the lake with the same name. All these examples show that they are probably islands of Swedish-speaking settlement in Finnish-speaking Tornedalen, and that they therefore became known as Kaihnuu settlements. The Sámi had an intermediary role between the Norweigan, Swedish and Finnish majority population. They used the term Gainolâš in a flexible contextual way to depict different kinds of majority groups.

For Finns in an otherwise Finnish-speaking area, there was no need to name places after their own group of people, as was true for the Swedes in the Kalix River valley. The ethnonym Kainulaiset has never been used as a unitary denomination for one single ethnic group, but as a contextually determined ethnonym for the Other, most often linked to farmers of the majority population in coastal areas, but sometimes designating the dominant majority people as a whole. For those Sámi and Tornedalians living close to the lower part of the Kalix River it has referred to the Swedish-speaking population.

Comprehensive conclusions

Previous research has not convincingly connected the two ethnonyms Kainulainen and Kven with an ethnically and historically credible explanation of the process of settlement and colonisation in the two river valleys. It has done the opposite, fused the two concepts and drawn conclusions from that. As a result, the concept of Kven has been given a meaning that

is so wide and profound that it is completely incompatible with what is actually manifested in the set of place names and in the written sources.

The Swedish settlement in southwestern Finland and the northern Gulf of Bothnia area has earlier been regarded as a colonisation process starting in the south with the crusades to Finland in the 12th century. According to the narration, a state colonisation of the northern Gulf of Bothnia area followed two hundred years later. This view must be corrected. The primary period for the creation of the ethnonym Kainulainen is probably parallel in the coastal area of southwestern Finland and northernmost Gulf of Bothnia, somewhere in the second half of the first millennium AD.

Under the pressure of methodological nationalism, a debate took place in the late 19th and the 20th century between Finnish and Swedish researchers, focusing on which modern nationality the ethnonyms represented. The article has shown how the Finns and Sámi, using the designations of Kainuu and Gajno, mostly referred to foreigners in the coastal area, a settlement area that is typical for the Scandinavian territorial expansion in Finland, northern Norway and the Gulf of Bothnia area. It followed a pattern of waterborne warrior and trading journeys that the Vikings carried out along the Norwegian coast, cross the North Sea, in the Baltic, along the Russian rivers, in Finland and the Gulf of Bothnia area. The contextual use of the ethnonym Gainolâš or Kainulainen also shows how the Sámi and Finns interpreted the ethnic content of the ethnonym in different ways.

Place names with Kainuu and similar variants in southwestern Finland seem to have their origin in the proto-Scandinavian term **gainu* or *gainu-z* for an opening or a mouth into a water, and were later transferred to Finnish as terms for pulling in seines and terms concerning details in sledges. The transformation of the term demonstrates an increasing encounter between Swedish and Finnish-speakers. The widespread use of Kainuu in place names in so different areas as southern Finland, Ostrobothnia and northern Gulf of Bothnia shows that Kainulainen is not based on a common tract name. It must have been used as an ethnic denomination of the Other. The ethnonym was probably created during the latter part of the first millennium AD to distinguish Swedish-speaking fishermen and farmers in the coastal area from similarly employed Finnish-speaking groups.

The term Kainulainen appeared in a pre-state context of militant clan chiefs who primarily gathered armed followers, recruited from their own group of people, to compete for resources

with other groups of people. When regarding the coastal areas of Västerbotten and Ostrobothnia as a common Bothnian area there is only one spot where Swedish colonisers did not settle down. It is in the coastal area roughly demarcated between the Sangis River in nowadays Sweden and Oulu in nowadays Finland. The neighbouring settlement to the west at the Kalix River was by the Finns called Kainuu, as was the neighbouring settlement to the south in Ostrobothnia. It was not because these were low-land-areas, that have been argued earlier, but because the nearest ethnic neighbour to the Finnish settlement was the Swedish speaking Kainulaiset, both in the west and the south. In the northernmost Gulf of Bothnia, we see the presence of Scandinavian groups of people in form of the Viking Age grave mounds in Sangis, and the many place names on Lapp and Finn in this area. The encounter is also supported by written sources from Viking Age and further on. In this multi-cultural environment, the Swedish-speakers started to call the village in the estuary of the Kalix River for Kalix. The Finnish-speakers in the Torne River valley called it Kainuu, and the lower part of the Kalix River for the Kainuu River (Fi. Kainuunväylä) after the Swedish-speakers that dominated there.

The dual use of Kainuu as the old name of the coastal area of Ostrobothnia, and in the same time, the modern name of the inland province of Kainuu needs clarification. The spreading of Finnish Kainuu names is associated with the settlement of Swedish-speakers in the coastal area of south-western Finland and the Ostrobothnian region after the activities of early Scandinavian fishers and farmers. The Finnish name Kainuu for Ostrobothnia was never used in official written documents since the official languages in use were Swedish, Russian or Latin. Forms of *Kajana*, *Kayeni*, *Caiani* and similar was officially used parallel with *Österbotten* in descriptions and maps for both the inland and coastal area from the early 14th century. It seems like the Swedish name *Kajana* was adopted from the Russians.

In the Mid-18th century the area of nowadays inland province of Kainuu was for the first time embarked on maps as an own territory under the name *Kajana*. The name *Kainuu* for the territory was not in official use in Finland before the late 19th century when it started to be used as part of Finnish nationalism and regional revitalisation and mobilisation. It is a rather modern ethnic construct that has conflated the tract names *Kajana* and *Kainuu* for political reasons. It shall not be confused with the early Finnish use of *Kainulainen* for depicting Swedish-speakers.

The inland area of nowadays province of Kainuu was in the Middle Ages a settlement for neither Swedish nor Finnish-speakers. There were only Sámi people living in the area when Finnish-speakers from Savolax and Karelia started to settle in the 16th century. However, it was much earlier used as an extensive area for hunting and fishing by Karelian, Savolax and Häme people, what in Finnish is called *erämaa*. As the Kainuu names along the Oulu River and round the lake Oulujärvi shows, some early Swedish speaking fishers and hunters also seems to have used it at least temporally before the Swedish state integration.

When the ethnonym *Kainuu* was transferred to *Gainoláš* by the Sámi its feature changed. Unlike the Scandinavians and Finns, the Sámi named groups of people in a more relational way to indicate how closely related the other group of people was to the Sámi. It has sometimes denoted farmers in general with a common livelihood, or sometimes more specifically Swedish, Norwegian or Finnish farmers. They have sometimes been used to refer to Scandinavians as a whole or to Finns as a whole, and sometimes to Swedes, Norwegians and Finns as individual majority groups in relation to Sámi.

Among the Sámi the content of the ethnonym varied according to context, but always depicted a dominant non-Sámi population. This is the starting point for some of the conclusions that can be drawn from the overall survey presented above. Ethnonyms based on *Gainoláš* or *Kainulainen* has been used at different stages of history by Sámi and Finns, from southern Finland to the Bothnian area, and among the Sámi within their dissemination area in Fennoscandinavia.

Informant data from northern Ostrobothnia in the 19th century shows that, in this part of Finland, Kainuu was associated with Swedish-speaking people. The fact that Kainuu names cease at the Kalix River is therefore no coincidence. The names were probably given in a period of a spontaneous settlement of Finnish and Swedish groups of people who combined fishing and hunting with early simple forms of farming. At the Kalix River and Sangis River, Swedish expansion on the western side of the Gulf of Bothnia met Finnish expansion on the eastern side. In the Swedish-speaking areas west and south of this border, there was no place for Kainuu names because they were inhabited mainly by Swedes and there was no Finnish population who needed to mark ethnic borders with the Swedes. Following the process of state-formation, also the Kainulaiset became part of the Kingdom of Sweden. As part of the dominating ethnic group, they were now called Swedes (Fi. Ruotsalaiset) by the Finns.

For the Sámi the ethnonym *Gainolâš* has always depicted a settled non-Sámi of a dominant ethnic group in relation to them. For Sámi in the Torne Lap land and the neighbouring area of the Kalix River the ethnonym designated the Swedish-speaking population in the lower part of the Kalix River. For some northern Sámi it referred to the Finnish-speaking population in Tornedalen or to Finns in general. For southern Sámi it could depict Norwegians or Scandinavians in general, or farmers in general.

From the above it is clear that the ethnonyms of Kven and Kainulainen must be kept separated in historical analyses. As the article has shown, the ethnonym *Gainolâš* and Kainulainen never designated only one unified group of people with a specific ethnicity throughout history. The use has differed in different historical contexts. Swedish and Finnish groups of people never used the ethnonym Kven. It was used by Norwegians and Islanders. From the early 18th century, the ethnonym Kven was reserved for the immigrating Finnish-speaking population to the Norwegian coast. Their place of origin was described as the area of the Torne River valley with tributaries, but we do not actually know how the Tornedalians named themselves in the pre-state period, but probably it was after the river or the village where they lived, depending on the context. Kainulainen was the name Finnish-speakers used for depicting Swedish-speakers in the pre-state period.

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¹ In this article the ethnonyms for different historical ethnic groups are given in each nations's language to keep them analytically apart. The Finnish ethnonym Kainulainen could otherwise be translated into such different ethnonyms as Kainulainen, Ostrobothnian, Kainuu-dweller or Kven, depending on how the researcher has interpreted the ethnonym in a historical context. *Kainulainen* is the singular form and *kainulaiset* the plural.

² For more extensive overviews regarding research on the Kainulas and Kven problem, see Steckzén 1964, 32–118; Vilkuna 1969, 5; Julku 1986, 11–43, 170–187; Vahtola 1980 and Wallerström 1995, 213–238.

³ In the article the counties of Västerbotten and Österbotten are called Västerbotten and Österbotten. The new county of Norrbotten was created in 1809 as a result of the division of Västerbotten into two parts.

⁴ In the 17th of April 2018 I interviewed an 88 years old male Sámi who had carried out reindeer herding in the Råne river valley in the Mid 20th century. The river is located between the Lule and Kalix rivers. He confirmed the use of *lådde* for coastal farmers in the Råneå and Luleå outlets, and also that *gáidnolač* had formerly been used for depicting those living in the lower part of the Kalix river valley (the Kalix people). Swedish speakers according to language was called *dárro*. (Privat digitally stored interview).

⁵ For the discussion on the three language hypotheses, see Wiklund 1904, 182–184; Korhonen M. 1979, 59–60; Collinder 1953, 56–57.

⁶ It does not, however, exclude the possibility that there was also a small Finnish-speaking population at the time when the Swedes settled the mouth of the Kalix River.

⁷ The original Finnish sentence is: 'Kainuunjoen takaa alkaa vasta Ruotsinmaa'... (Vilkuna 1969, 18-19)